

**ISRAELIS IN HOLLAND**

**A Socio-demographic Study of Israelis  
and former Israelis in Holland**

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## FOREWORD

The foundation Joods Maatschappelijk Werk (JMW) coordinates, promotes, and provides social care for Jews in Holland. The group of "Jews in Holland" is not always identical to the group of "Dutch Jews." As has often happened before, many Jews presently in Holland are from other countries. Three general groups have been identified: refugees (from Eastern Europe, Iraq, Iran, and South America), Israelis, and others.

The objective of the present study involved gathering data about Israelis in Holland. This project is a continuation of previous studies sponsored by JMW with respect to the target group. Such research includes two demographic investigations of Jews in Holland in 1954 and 1966 (plans for a study in 1985 were never realized).

We wish to thank everybody whose help, involvement, and interest contributed to the completion of this report.

Drs H. Emmanuel, Professor Dr D.J. van de Kaa and Drs R.M. Naftaniel willingly provided comments for the research design. This plan served as the basis for coordinating the project, which was executed by the undersigned, Dr J. Almagor (specially recruited by JMW) and Drs C. Kooyman (a staff member at JMW), with assistance from O. Levanon (as part of his university internship) at a later stage. L.K. Mitzman, a translator with cultural roots in the Jewish communities of Holland and the United States and strong ties with Israel, provided the English translation.

Two committees provided assistance and counsel. The first was an in-house committee that included:

Mrs W.R. Stein-Olman, Director of JMW (chairwoman)  
Drs C.J. van Horzen, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam  
R.J.H. van Ginkel, JMW staff  
Mrs K. Anstadt, JMW staff  
Y. Dvir, JMW staff

The second was a board committee that consisted of:

M.L. Mock, Esq., JMW board member (chairman)  
Professor Dr I. Lipschits  
U. Itzhaki, consul to the Israeli Embassy in The Hague  
Drs C. van Praag, Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau  
Dr R.W. Koster, JMW board member

The Israeli Embassy in the Hague provided essential support and agreed to send out the questionnaires.

Sinai Ambulant and the Federatie Instellingen Joodse Bejaardenzorg (FIJB) supplied funding for the project.

We are indebted to the numerous Jewish organizations and individuals that helped distribute the questionnaires.

We are especially grateful for the advice provided by Drs A.J. Agsteribbe, Dr J.R. Lette, and Drs Ch. Brasz (director of the Institute for Research on Dutch Jewry, Hebrew University, Jerusalem), for the constant support from Mrs B. Lievendag, Mrs M. van der Weerd, and Mrs K. Anstadt, and for the typographical support from Mr T. Vleeshouwer in publishing the research updates.

C. Kooyman  
J. Almagor

Amsterdam, March 1996

## KEY WORDS

- **Israelis:** 1) people with Israeli citizenship
- 2) people who used to have Israeli citizenship
- 3) people who consider themselves Israelis
- 4) children of any such individuals

The term Israelis therefore also includes former Israelis. The designation "former Israelis" appears only where this group is explicitly distinguished from Israelis.

-A total of **692** Israelis completed and returned the questionnaire before the deadline for the investigation. The designation **heads of households** distinguishes the 692 respondents from their 661 children.

-The 692 heads of households constitute **604 households**, thus yielding 88 households in which two persons completed the questionnaire. Such cases involved Israeli couples.

-The study involved **1,353** people (comprising 692 heads of households and their 661 children).



## SELECT RESEARCH FINDINGS BY CHAPTER

- 1.1 About 9,800 Israelis live in Holland.
- 1.2 About 80 percent of these Israelis lives in the *Randstad* metropolitan region in the West, especially in and around Amsterdam.
- 1.3 The Israelis in Holland tend to be very young. Their age distribution is very uneven: Israelis aged 0 to 10 and 25 to 40 are proportionately the largest groups, and Israelis aged 15 to 19 and over 45 are the least numerous. The arrival of the Israelis may slow down the increasing marginalization of the Dutch Jews, which is caused by factors such as demographic decline.
- 1.4 With respect to marital status, 66 percent of the Israelis is married, about 12 percent cohabits, and 22 percent is single. They tend to marry late: the proportion of married Israelis exceeds 50 percent only among the ones over 30. Men marry later than women. Men are more likely to cohabit than women.
- 1.5 Israelis become parents relatively late (about 27 to 31). Forty-five percent of all households is childless. Most children (81 percent) are born in wedlock.
- 1.6 Nineteen percent of Israelis in Holland has been married before.
- 1.7 The study yielded virtually no information on Israeli homosexuals.
- 1.8 Fifty-seven percent of the Israelis has a Jewish partner, and 28 percent has a non-Israeli Jewish partner. Married and single Israelis are more likely to have Jewish partners than cohabiting Israelis. Israeli men are more likely than Israeli women to marry Jews. Eighty percent of the children has a Jewish mother.
- 1.9 Seventy percent of the Israeli heads of households was born in Israel, 10 percent was born in Holland. Sixty-four percent of their children was born in Holland, and 35 percent was born in Israel.  
Thirty-five percent of the parents of Israelis in Holland was born in Eastern or Western Europe, 29 percent is Sephardi or Oriental, and 10 percent was born in Israel.  
Eighty percent of the Israeli heads of households has Dutch citizenship. Fifty-six percent of the children has Israeli citizenship. Forty-two percent of the Israeli heads of households and children has dual citizenship.
- 1.10 Seventy-two percent of the Israelis lived in Israel for over two decades. Only 2.1 percent spent less than five years there. Israeli men in Holland tend to have resided in Israel longer than their female counterparts.  
The mean age of the Israelis upon their arrival in Holland is 29. Their most common age upon their arrival is 24.

Fifty percent of the Israelis has lived in Holland for 4 to 10 years. Thirty-five percent arrived over ten years ago, and fifteen percent has been here less than four years.

Rather than work (16 percent) or study (9 percent), a partner (44 percent) proved the most common reason for coming to Holland. Women are more likely than men to list a partner as their reason; men are more likely than women to mention their work.

1.11 A considerable share of the Israelis in Holland is well educated or has pursued higher education (46 percent). Most attended their highest level of education in Israel (65 percent).

In Israel, they were especially likely to have worked on a kibbutz (16 percent) or to have participated in the administrative sector (12 percent) of the economy; in Holland, they tend to work in commerce (21 percent) and industry and technology (12 percent). None of respondents reported they were unemployed. The kibbutzniks in Holland are mainly men.

The stratification of professional prestige is somewhat polarized: the fairly sizeable middle rank in Israel is much smaller in Holland, and the higher and lower ranks are significantly larger.

Israelis with a longer period of residence in Holland tend to score lower with respect to stratification of professional prestige.

The proportion of self-employed individuals is higher in Holland than in Israel.

2.1 Seventy-one percent of the Israelis in Holland is secular, 25 percent is traditional, and 4 percent is religious.

2.2 Nearly half the Israelis never goes to a synagogue. Ten percent goes more than ten times a year.

2.3 On the average, the Israelis maintain regular social contact with 8.1 Dutch people, 5.2 Israelis, and 3.9 Jews. The Israelis in and around Amsterdam tend to have more contact with other Israelis and Jews than their counterparts in other parts of Holland.

2.4 Seventy-six percent of the Israelis indicated a strong or a very strong bond with Israel.

2.5 Between 55 and 75 percent of the Israelis has apparently settled permanently in Holland permanently.

2.6 Israelis in Holland score low on the scale of attachment to Judaism. This bond seems stronger among Israelis who have been in Holland for longer periods.

Israelis in Holland score high on the scale of attachment to Israel. The duration of residence in Holland does not affect this attachment.

2.7 Half the Israelis in Holland has had no contact with the Jewish community. The ones who have had contact mention slightly more positive than negative experiences. Most complaints concern the attitude of the Dutch Jews.

- 2.8 Twenty-five percent of the Israelis belongs to a Jewish organization, usually a religious congregation. A fairly large proportion belongs to the LJG (liberal Jewish community, similar to Conservative Judaism).
- 3.1 Israelis in Holland almost always receive their primary care from a Jewish organization (such as JMW, the foundation for Jewish social work); fifty percent obtain their secondary care (Sinai Ambulant) from a Jewish organization.
- 3.2 Forty-five percent of the Israelis in Holland has heard of JMW, and a full fifteen percent has used this foundation's services. Familiarity with JMW is more likely among people who are older, have a stronger attachment to Judaism or a Jewish partner, have resided in Holland longer, have pursued higher education, and live in and around Amsterdam. The more educated individuals and the people living outside Amsterdam who have a strong attachment to Israel are more likely to use the services of JMW.
- Twenty-three percent of the Israelis in Holland has heard of Sinai Ambulant (previously JGG), five percent reports having used its services. Familiarity with Sinai Ambulant is more likely among people who are older, who have a stronger attachment to Judaism or a Jewish partner, have resided in Holland longer, have pursued higher education, and live in and around Amsterdam. Factors increasing the likelihood of using the services of Sinai Ambulant include longer periods of residence in Holland, older groups of the population, living in and around Amsterdam, and an Eastern or Western European background. A Sephardi background significantly reduces this likelihood.
- Fifty-three percent of Israelis in Holland is familiar with the NIW, 35 percent knows about *Jom Havoetbal* (annual international soccer tournament for Jewish organizations), and 16 percent has heard of Sjalhomo. Thirteen percent has been to *Jom Havoetbal*, and 27 percent has attended the Yom Ha'atzma'out party organized by the Israeli Embassy.
- 3.3 Israelis in Holland consider integration their main problem. The respondents who have been in Holland longer are more likely to mention this issue.
- The absence of social and cultural activities and a coordinating Israeli organization is another common problem and is mentioned more frequently by people outside the area of Amsterdam and by Sephardim.
- 3.4 Social and cultural activities and a nationwide Israeli organization are the most important needs and are especially likely to be mentioned by Israelis who are sabras or have a Sephardi background. Together with some other practical and Israeli desires, 70 percent of the wishes indicated reflected an Israeli perspective.
- 4.1 About 4,800 Israeli children live in Holland. Sixty-four percent was born in Holland and 35 percent in Israel.
- 4.2 Thirty-five percent of the children is fluent in Hebrew, and 37 percent knows some Hebrew. Their Hebrew tends to be better in cases where the bond with Israel is stronger or where their Israeli parent's spouse is Jewish.

4.3 Twenty percent of the children belongs to a Jewish or Israeli youth group. Fifty-seven percent of this group belongs to Habonim or Tsabbar. B'ne Akiwa is the largest religious youth movement (12 percent).

4.4 Forty-one percent of the children living in and around Amsterdam attends a Jewish school there. They are more likely to attend a Jewish school in cases of a strong Jewish or Israeli attachment or in cases where the Israeli parent has a Jewish partner. Parental background and education is not a factor.

Some Israelis send their children to a Jewish school because of Jewish values. The religious nature of the Jewish school has a deterrent effect for others.

4.5 The facilities most frequently desired for children include social and cultural activities, education, and Hebrew lessons.

## INTRODUCTION

Despite the virtual absence of systematic figures concerning Israelis in Holland,<sup>1</sup> general opinion from the past decade holds that a considerable number of Israelis has settled in Holland. Clearly, these people tend not to use the services of existing Jewish institutions (except for the Jewish schools), in spite of belonging to the target group. Designing comprehensive Jewish facilities requires relevant data. The lack of such data led JMW to join forces with other Jewish organizations in launching a study about Israelis in Holland.

The present report relates the details of the study on the demography of Israelis residing in Holland as of 1 January 1995, their attachment to Israel and Judaism, as well as their use of and need for Jewish facilities.

The study is based on a questionnaire and complemented by data from the CBS and the Israeli Embassy.

The questionnaires reached the Israelis in Holland through two means:

- 1) In early October 1994, the Israeli Embassy in The Hague sent questionnaires to all Jewish households (1,920) listed in its records following a request from JMW. The embassy repeated this mailing in mid December in an effort to increase the response.
- 2) In late October, a network of Jewish and Israeli organizations and personal contacts distributed about 1,500 questionnaires, thus reaching about 700 Israeli households that had **not** received forms from the embassy (see Appendix I for details about the network). Accordingly, a total of about 2,620 Israeli households received this questionnaire.

The questionnaire consists of structured and open questions concerning individual household situations. Both singles and people whose partners were not Israeli completed the questionnaire alone. Each form provided space for the answers from both members of married and cohabiting Israeli couples. Parents entered information about any children living at home on the same form. The questionnaire, the instructions, and an enclosed information booklet about Jewish institutions were provided in Hebrew, both to facilitate completion and to ensure that the survey was filled out exclusively by Israelis.

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<sup>1</sup> J. Voet, *Migration Holland Israel, a two way affair*, paper delivered at the fifth international symposium about the history of Jews in the Netherlands, November 1988, p.2, mentions an estimate placing the number of Israelis in the Netherlands at over 3,000.

Of approximately 2,620 questionnaires that actually reached Israelis, 604 forms were returned to JMW in the enclosed, postage-paid envelopes by 17 February 1995. The study therefore comprises data from 604 households. Because 88 households consisted of more than one adult Israeli (designated as "heads of households"), the number of heads of households (692) exceeded the number of households (604).

After the period in which we were able to process the data had elapsed survey forms arrived from an additional 13 households comprising 16 heads of households and 11 children. Altogether, 617 households comprising 708 heads of households participated in the survey.

In addition to the 692 heads of households, the 604 households included in the study contained 661 children. The data processed therefore cover 1,353 individuals (see Appendix II regarding the distribution of the questionnaire and the response).

The degree of accuracy of the impression of Israelis in Holland conveyed by the information supplied by these 1,353 persons is impossible to determine. Nevertheless, the following assumptions are in order:

- 1) Registration at the embassy was the main basis for distribution and the major source of responses to the questionnaire (approximately 70 percent of the forms that were returned had been distributed through the embassy's list). This registration is not systematically distorted in a manner that might lead to under or overrepresentation of specific categories (such as people living in or outside Amsterdam, sex, age, etc.): all types of Israelis are equally likely to appear in the embassy records. Only Israelis that recently arrived in Holland tend to be underrepresented. They are less likely to have contacted the embassy for matters such as passport renewal. Accordingly, the data from the embassy's register is representative of Israelis residing in Holland, with the exception of recent arrivals in this country.
- 2) As Israelis who have recently arrived in Holland are less likely to have an extensive network of personal contacts, they are also less likely to have received forms through the survey network. This category is probably underrepresented in the results of the investigation as well.
- 3) The portion of Israelis residing in Holland illegally that received forms is unclear. They may also be underrepresented in the results of the investigation.
- 4) The large percentage of well-educated individuals indicated by the study suggests that this category of Israelis is especially likely to settle in Holland. This finding agrees with the general educational pattern of Israelis living abroad (see Chapter 1.11 Education and Occupation).

The greater tendency of well-educated individuals than of less educated people to participate in a written survey may also play a role. Incidentally, the overview of statistical

tests (see Appendix IX) shows that well-educated respondents mostly achieved scores very similar (except for knowledge of Jewish facilities) to those of their less well-educated counterparts.

- 5) Comparing the geographic distribution of Israelis in Holland that emerges from the study with the geographic distribution of the embassy's mailing list yields two very similar patterns (see Appendix IV).
- 6) The distribution according to age group and sex may be compared with CBS data (see Chapter 1.3). The results show that the picture of Israelis presented by the study is roughly equivalent to the impression conveyed by an external source such as the CBS.

**PART I DEMOGRAPHIC DATA**

## 1.1 THE ISRAELI POPULATION IN HOLLAND

The data for this study come from three sources:

- 1) The survey. The survey was the main source of virtually all data.
- 2) The CBS. Recent CBS data (from 1990 and 1994) provided figures concerning the total number of Israelis in Holland and their distribution according to age group and sex.
- 3) Registration at the Israeli Embassy. Registration at the Israeli Embassy was the basis for determining the geographic distribution of Israelis in Holland. This record also facilitated calculation of the total number of Israelis in Holland.

### Calculation based on embassy and survey data

The Israeli Embassy in The Hague has a list of 1,920 Israeli households in Holland.<sup>2</sup> As requested by JMW, the embassy mailed questionnaires to these households in early October 1994. One month later, a national sample was taken of 237 random **Israelis and former Israelis** (i.e., both Israelis who were registered and Israelis who were not registered with the embassy). The findings indicated that 47 percent had received the questionnaire from the embassy (see Appendix III).

The 604 households that completed and returned the questionnaires comprised 1,353 people. The average number of people in each household therefore equals  $(1,353 : 604 =) 2.24$ . The embassy list contained the addresses of 1,920 households. If an average household consists of 2.24 people, the embassy's mailing list comprises  $(1,920 \times 2.24 =)$  about 4,300 individuals. These 4,300 individuals account for 47 percent of all Israelis in Holland. The remaining 53 percent - who did **not** receive the questionnaire from the embassy - therefore comprises approximately 4,850 individuals. Accordingly, the total number of Israelis in Holland may be estimated at  $(4,300 + 4,850 =)$  about 9,150.

Some indication of the accuracy of this figure may be obtained by using a method described in a recent study of Israelis in England.<sup>3</sup>

In keeping with research in the United States, this study assumes a fixed relationship between the number of persons born in Israel and the number of Hebrew speakers (the true number of

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<sup>2</sup> As of 1 October 1994, the embassy records actually listed 2,098 Israeli households in the Netherlands. The mailing revealed, however, that 178 addresses were incorrect. After subtracting the 178 households from the total of 2,098, the embassy's net register contained 1,920 households.

<sup>3</sup> M. Schmool, *Israeli-born in the 1991 British Census* (London, 1995), p. 11.

Israelis): this ratio is approximately 65 : 144.

Information from the CBS<sup>4</sup> indicated that 4,120 persons who had been born in Israel resided in Holland as of 1 January 1994. The ratio of 65 : 144 generates an actual total of 9,127 Israelis. The British study stresses that this method yields a minimum figure.

#### Calculation based on CBS data and the questionnaire

According to CBS data,<sup>5</sup> 5,227 people of Israeli extraction resided in Holland as of 1 January 1990. According to the CBS people of "Israeli extraction" are:

- adults, born in Israel, or adults with at least one parent who was born in Israel;
- children, born in Israel, or children with a mother born in Israel.

With respect to the figure from 1990 the following remarks are in order:

1) From 1 January 1990 to 1 October 1994

From 1 January 1990 to 1 October 1994, the balance of emigration to and immigration from Israel by people without Dutch citizenship was 1,273.<sup>6</sup> Between these dates, 1,273 people who were not Dutch (of whom 80 percent held only Israeli citizenship) arrived in Holland from Israel.

This figure of 1,273 should be regarded as a minimum. The list omits individuals with dual citizenship, as the CBS counts Dutch people with dual citizenship as Dutch. These dual nationals are absent from both emigration and immigration lists. Nevertheless, the number of immigrants from Israel is almost triple the number of emigrants to Israel. The balance omits an unknown number of Israelis with dual citizenship.

The number of people of Israeli extraction (5,227 as of 1 January 1990) should therefore be adjusted to include the balance of emigration and immigration (1,273 as of 1 October 1994). The sum yields a minimum population of Israelis in Holland of (5,227 + at least 1,273 =) 6,500.

2) Use of the designation "of Israeli extraction"

The list of persons of Israeli extraction excludes Israelis not born in Israel whose parents were also born outside Israel. This group consists mainly of Israelis who arrived in Israel as children during the great waves of immigration after 1948.

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<sup>4</sup> *Jaarcijfers* CBS 9/1994, pp. 37-41.

<sup>5</sup> *Maandstaat Bevolking*, May 1991, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Maandstaat Bevolking* through October 1994. Foreign emigration from and to Israel. Copy of the original, file hnscs/tijdreeks/bua/Israël.

The present study indicates that 33.8 percent of the Israelis reporting their own country of birth or that of their parents (among adults) or mothers (among children) was born outside Israel.

The figure of 6,500 (= 66.2 percent) should therefore be increased by 3,318 (= 33.8 percent). The resulting total is 9,818.

Various data justify including this group among the Israelis. The aforementioned group of 3,318 people comprises:

- a) adults who were not born in Israel and whose parents were not born in Israel either; the survey indicates that they resided in Israel for an average of 16.1 years;
- b) children who were not born in Israel and whose mothers were not born in Israel either; such children were born in Holland, and their mothers resided in Israel for an average of 18.1 years.

### 3) Municipal reports

In addition, the CBS data are based on fairly accurate reports submitted by municipalities. An oral comment noted that any inaccuracies would always be biased toward underreporting persons of Israeli extraction. Of course, incomplete or unclear reports from municipalities may have resulted in estimates of the population of Israeli extraction that are not comprehensive.

### 4) Illegal aliens

Finally, the omission from CBS data of Israelis residing in Holland illegally merits consideration.

The aforementioned approximate total of 9,818 Israelis should therefore be regarded as a minimum figure.

## Conclusion

Comparing the results shows a strong correlation between the CBS data and the study's findings with respect to the total number of Israelis in Holland. Because the calculation using CBS data is not based on a sample, the sum of approximately 9,150 yielded by the information gleaned from the embassy and the survey is probably rather low.

**Estimating the number of Israelis in Holland at 9,800 therefore appears justified.**

## 1.2 GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

The table below conveys the distribution of Israelis in Holland. The absolute figures reflect calculations that served to adjust the proportional distribution of Israelis as indicated by the embassy register to reflect the total number of approximately 9,800 Israelis (the figure based on the CBS data).

Table 1.2.1

PROJECTED GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF ISRAELIS BY PROVINCES AND MAJOR CITIES		
province	number	%
Groningen	158	1.6
Groningen (city)	138	1.4
Friesland	128	1.3
Drenthe	60	0.6
Overijssel	207	2.1
Gelderland	618	6.3
Arnhem	147	1.5
Utrecht	805	8.2
Utrecht (city)	275	2.8
Flevoland	168	1.7
Almere	98	1.0
Noord-Holland	4617	47.1
Amsterdam		
Amstelveen	2989	30.5
Haarlem		
Hoofddorp	667	6.8
	118	1.2
	108	1.1
Zuid-Holland	2284	23.3
The Hague		
Rotterdam	677	6.9
Leiden		
Delft	530	5.4
	206	2.1
	147	1.5
Zeeland	40	0.4
Noord-Brabant	481	4.9
Limburg	226	2.3
total	9792	100.0

Two sources of information convey the geographic distribution of Israelis in Holland: the register at the embassy (the original mailing list for the questionnaires) and the results of the survey. The register at the embassy revealed no systematic distortions. Because it comprised many households (1,920), this list served as the basis for determining the distribution of Israelis in Holland.

Appendix IV compares the distribution of Israelis indicated by the embassy register with the results from the survey. The two patterns are virtually identical. The survey may therefore be considered representative of the geographic distribution.

The table above reveals an overwhelming concentration of Israelis inside the Randstad metropolitan area in the West, centered in Amsterdam and Amstelveen (together about 37 percent of the Israelis in Holland).

The concentration of Israelis in the Randstad corresponds to the distribution of Jews in Holland indicated by the most recent demographic study on this subject from 1966.<sup>7</sup>

The proportion of Jews in Amsterdam, however, reveals a marked difference: about 50 percent of all Dutch Jews lived in and around Amsterdam at the time.

Nevertheless, the Israelis in Holland also tend to be urban dwellers.

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<sup>7</sup> Ph. van Praag (ed.), *Demografie van de Joden in Nederland: uitkomst en evaluatie van een telling van de Joden in Nederland per 1 januari 1966* (Assen, 1971), p. 40.

### 1.3 DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE GROUP

The CBS is the most reliable source of information on the distribution according to age group and sex of Israelis in Holland. The CBS data concern 5,227 of the approximate total figure of 9,800 Israelis in Holland.

The CBS data<sup>8</sup> concerning persons of Israeli origin provided the following pattern of distribution according to age group and sex for persons of Israeli origin.

Table 1.3.1

POPULATION OF ISRAELI ORIGIN BY SEX AND AGE GROUP (as of 1 January 1990)						
	man	vrouw	man %	vrouw %	totaal	totaal %
0-4	414	400	13.9	17.9	814	15.6
5-9	386	346	12.9	15.4	732	14.0
10-14	255	229	8.5	10.2	484	9.3
15-19	186	165	6.2	7.4	351	6.7
20-24	214	195	7.2	8.7	409	7.8
25-29	391	238	13.1	10.6	629	12.0
30-34	405	221	13.6	9.9	626	12.0
35-39	345	212	11.6	9.5	557	10.7
40-44	177	104	5.9	4.6	281	5.4
45-49	82	52	2.7	2.3	134	2.6
50-54	68	30	2.3	1.3	98	1.9
55-59	23	17	0.8	0.8	40	0.8
60-64	14	9	0.5	0.4	23	0.4
65+	27	22	0.9	1.0	49	0.9
totaal	2987 (57.1%)	2240 (42.9- %)	100.0	100.0	5227 (100%)	100.0

<sup>8</sup> *Maandstaat Bevolking*, May 1991, p. 4.

The following age pyramid is based on the same data:

Graph 1.3.2

The table above reveals a highly unequal age distribution for Israelis in Holland. The age groups 0 to 10 and 25 to 40 are very well represented, whereas the age groups 15 to 19 and over 45 are very poorly represented. The share of men also considerably exceeds the share of women (56 and 44 percent, respectively), primarily because of the major discrepancy among the 25 to 45 age group. This result is roughly equivalent to the finding from the survey: 54.5 percent men and 45.5 percent women.

The uneven sex distribution is attributable to the fact that more men than women come to Holland from Israel.

The age distribution obviously indicates that the Israelis in Holland are a very young demographic group.

It is not possible to compare the age distribution of Israelis to that of Jews in Holland for all age groups. While a reasonable measure of current information is available for

older age groups (over 55), these data are not suitable for a comparison with the Israelis because few Israelis are over 55. For younger age groups (i.e., under 55), the only data available are the figures from the demographic study about Jews from 1966. Although these figures are very obsolete (especially because no new figures for death or migration have been released), they reveal that:

- Dates of birth between 1946 and 1950 are heavily overrepresented with 450 to 740 births per year.
- During the 1960s, however, annual birth rates for this group hovered around 300. Nothing suggests a comparable surge of births in subsequent years.

Given the large share of Dutch Jews over 55, the structure of the age distribution for the Jewish population resembles a mushroom. As depicted above, the age distribution of Israelis in Holland reflects an entirely different pattern. The following diagrams represent the different population pyramids<sup>9</sup>:

Graph 1.3.3



Despite the lack of information concerning the age distribution of Dutch Jews in 1995, the shapes of the two age pyramids are probably roughly complementary. While the Dutch Jews are an aging segment of the population, the Israelis in Holland tend to be rather young.

Because Israelis in Holland are quite numerous, it seems reasonable to conclude that the infusion of Israelis will fundamentally alter the age distribution of Jews in Holland.

This finding is of great significance for the future. While the

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<sup>9</sup> The diagram representing Dutch Jews has been derived from: Ph. van Praag, "Between speculation and reality," *Studia Rosenthaliana*, Vol. XXIII (1989), p. 177.

Dutch Jews seemed doomed to marginalization by assimilation and demographic decline, the arrival of the Israelis may change these prospects dramatically.

An important question with respect to the representative nature of the research data involves the measure of similarity between the findings from the survey<sup>10</sup> and the CBS data. The following graph compares both sets of results:

Graph 1.3.4

Because the figures reflect different reference dates, they cannot be compared directly. At best, the general pattern may be considered indicative. The general pattern reveals that the CBS figures roughly parallel (with one minor exception for ages 0 to 4) the results of the survey.

As stated above, the ratio of men to women in the survey was virtually identical to their ratio in the CBS data. This

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<sup>10</sup> The CBS provides an accurate impression of the distribution by sex for all age groups. For this reason, the survey did not contain questions concerning the sex of the children, but distributed them by age group according to 51 boys for 49 girls. Based on: *Amsterdams buro voor O. & S., Amsterdam in cijfers, jaarboek 1993*, pp. 65 and 46 (sex distribution at birth is 51.5 boys to 48.5 girls; the ratio for children from 0 to 19 is 50.8 to 49.2).

statement also applies in a general sense to the age distribution. With respect to sex and age group, the impression obtained from the survey is therefore very likely to reflect the actual situation.

## 1.4 DOMESTIC SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO SEX AND AGE GROUP

### DOMESTIC SITUATION

Initially, the survey inquired about marital status. The following responses were possible: married, separated, single, cohabiting. Nobody selected the "separated" category. Many respondents who listed themselves as single, however, indicated that their partner was Jewish or gentile on the question about a Jewish partner.

Thus, the 690 heads of households who reported their domestic situation comprise the following 3 categories:

- 1) married (454 persons);
- 2) single a) no partner (130 persons);  
b) with a partner, i.e., "LAT" relationships (22 persons);
- 3) cohabiting (84 persons).

The percentages generate the following pie chart:

Graph 1.4.1

Evaluating the percentage of married individuals is rather complicated. The 1966 demographic study of Jews in Holland indicated that 46 percent was married. This percentage includes

the 0 to 19 age group.

Using the same procedure in this survey yields a share of married persons equal to approximately 35 percent.

The difference is mainly attributable to the 15 to 24 age group, of which a far larger share was married among the Jewish population in 1966.

Comparing the percentage of married Israelis with the current rate of marriage among an urban population such as that of Amsterdam is probably more realistic. In 1993, 32 percent of this group was married. This share is almost identical to the percentage of married Israelis.

**DOMESTIC SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO AGE GROUP AND SEX**

Of the 611 females (both heads of household and children) reporting their age and domestic arrangement, 366 (59.9 percent) are single, 211 (34.6 percent) are married, and 24 (5.6 percent) cohabit.

The following table depicts the **age distribution** and respective domestic situations for Israeli females in Holland:

Table 1.4.2

ISRAELI FEMALES BY AGE GROUP AND DOMESTIC SITUATION								
agegroup	single		married		cohabiting		Total	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs	%
< 20	277	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	277	100
20-24	31	81.6	4	10.6	3	7.9	38	100
25-29	19	35.2	22	40.7	13	24.1	54	100
30-34	5	7.8	49	76.6	10	15.6	64	100
35-39	6	12.0	41	82.0	3	6.0	50	100
40-44	9	20.0	36	80.0	0	0.0	45	100
45-49	10	19.2	39	75.0	3	5.8	52	100
50-54	6	28.5	14	66.7	1	4.8	21	100
55-59	1	25.0	3	75.0	0	0.0	4	100
60-64	0	0.0	2	66.7	1	33.3	3	100
65-69	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0.0	2	100
70-74	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100
> 75	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	100

Twenty-seven women did not report their age or domestic situation.

Less than half of all Israeli women under age 30 is married. Nearly one quarter of those between 25 and 29 cohabits. The share of women who cohabit decreases rapidly after age 30.

The percentage of Israeli women who are married begins to decrease after age 45. Both the death of husbands and divorce are possible causes. A fairly large share of women above this age reported they were divorced (see Appendix V).

Of the 692 males (heads of households and children), 410 (59.2 percent) are single, 232 (33.5 percent) are married, and 50 (7.2 percent) cohabit. The following table depicts the **age distribution** of males with their respective domestic arrangements for Israeli males in Holland:

Table 1.4.3

ISRAELI MALES BY AGE GROUP AND DOMESTIC SITUATION								
agegroup	single		married		cohabiting		Total	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs	%
0-19	290	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	290	100
20-24	32	94.1	0	0.0	2	5.9	34	100
25-29	29	54.7	9	17.0	15	28.3	53	100
30-34	17	22.1	46	59.7	14	18.2	77	100
35-39	8	10.7	57	76.0	10	13.3	75	100
40-44	16	23.5	48	70.6	4	5.9	68	100
45-49	7	15.9	34	77.3	3	6.8	44	100
50-54	2	11.1	15	83.3	1	5.6	18	100
55-59	5	35.7	9	64.3	0	0.0	14	100
60-64	1	14.3	5	71.4	1	14.3	7	100
65-69	1	25.0	3	75.0	0	25.0	4	100
70-74	2	33.3	4	66.7	0	0.0	6	100
75+	0	0.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	2	100

Twenty-three men did not report their age or domestic situation.

Men tend to marry later than women. While nearly 80 percent of the women around age 35 is married, the corresponding figure for men is only 60 percent.

Among the older age groups, a larger share of men than women is married. This trend is common, given that older women outnumber older men.

Men cohabit more frequently than women.

**1.5 AGE AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD**

**AGE AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD**

Table 1.5.1

<b>AT WHAT AGE DO ISRAELIS START HAVING CHILDREN?</b>										
age-group	man				woman				Total	
	with an Israeli partner		with a non-Israeli partner		with an Israeli partner		with a non-Israeli partner			
	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%
0-19	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	4.5	2	1.7	5	1.3
20-24	9	12.5	14	11.1	20	29.8	14	12.1	57	15.0
25-29	32	44.4	47	37.3	29	43.3	45	38.8	153	40.2
30-34	21	29.2	44	34.9	12	17.9	42	36.2	119	31.2
35-39	8	11.1	13	10.3	3	4.5	11	9.5	35	9.2
40+	2	2.8	8	6.3	0	0.0	2	1.7	12	3.1
Total	72	100.0 (18.9 )	126	100.0 (33.1 )	67	100.0 (17.6 )	116	100.0 (30.4 )	381	100. (100 )

Most Israelis in Holland who start having children are between 25 and 29. Notwithstanding the age groups indicated above, the most common age range for starting parenthood is 27 to 31. This pattern corresponds roughly to groups such as the overall population of Amsterdam.<sup>11</sup>

Statistical analysis confirms the information in the table:

- women start parenthood younger than men;
- Israeli women with non-Israeli partners bear their first child later than Israeli women with Israeli partners;
- while Israeli men exhibit the same tendency, the link is not statistically significant.

**NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD**

<sup>11</sup> Amsterdams Bureau voor O & S, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

Of the 604 households that participated in the survey, 600 provided information about the number of children living at home. The following table depicts this data:

Table 1.5.2

NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD		
number of children	number of households (abs.)	number of households (%)
0	271	45.2
1	97	16.2
2	153	25.5
3	61	10.2
4	16	2.7
5	1	0.2
6	1	0.2
Total	600	100.0

Given that Israelis in Holland begin having children fairly late and have a relatively low mean age, the pattern of the number of children per household may very well change in the years to come. Additional children will probably be born into many households.

With respect to household size (including singles), Israelis in Holland differ significantly from their counterparts in Israel. In 1993, the average Jewish household in Israel comprised 3.38 persons,<sup>12</sup> whereas the average household size for Israelis in Holland was only 2.24 (as noted in Chapter 1.1).

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<sup>12</sup> CBS, *Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1994, no 95* (Jerusalem 1994), p. 100.

## 1.6 PREVIOUS MARRIAGES

The survey indicated that 129 persons (18.8 percent) had been married previously:

58 to an Israeli

57 to a Dutch man or woman

7 to someone of a different nationality

7 to someone of an unreported nationality.

Of these 129 individuals, 81 men and women reported a total of 155 children from previous marriages.

Appendix V contains an overview of the sex and age distribution of the people who were married before. The table indicates that one third has remarried. Most people who were married previously are presently between 45 and 49 years old.

## 1.7 HOMOSEXUALS

The survey results do not convey whether many Israeli homosexuals settled in Holland because Dutch society is more permissive than Israeli society of a homosexual lifestyle. Apparently, the questions were not specific enough on this subject.

Only 1 homosexual couple responded to the survey; in addition, 6 respondents indicated they were members of Sjalhomo. Although homosexuals are presumably more likely to know about Sjalhomo than non-homosexuals, the number of people that reported having heard of Sjalhomo (104 = 15.8 percent of the heads of households) does not provide conclusive information concerning the number of Israeli homosexuals in Holland.

Surprisingly, familiarity with Sjalhomo was as common outside Amsterdam as in and around Amsterdam. Of the 104 people who had heard of Sjalhomo, 40 (= 38 percent) lived in and around Amsterdam. This figure of 38 percent is almost identical to the percentage suggested by the share of Israelis in Holland that resides in and around Amsterdam (approximately 37 percent). The statistical analysis also indicated greater familiarity with Sjalhomo among Israelis with a strong bond with Judaism, a Western-European background, and more education, as well as among those who were older, had a Jewish partner, and had resided in Holland for longer.

Finally, the question "have you heard of Sjalhomo" drew 5 negative comments (e.g., "chas ve'chalila," meaning "Heaven

forbid").

## 1.8 MIXED MARRIAGES

### MIXED MARRIAGES AND DOMESTIC SITUATION

A total of 549 Israelis responded 'yes' or 'no' to the question "Is your partner Jewish?" Nine married and two cohabiting respondents did not report whether their partner was Jewish. The following table depicts the answers:

Table 1.8.1

ISRAELIS BY DOMESTIC SITUATION AND ISRAELI OR JEWISH PARTNER					
domestic situation	Jewish partner, non-Israeli	Jewish partner Israeli	non-Jewish partner	non-Jewish partner Israeli	Total
married	125	147	160	13	445
cohabiting	12	10	58	2	82
"LAT"	16	1	5	0	22
Total	153	158	223	15	549
Total (%)	27.9	28.8	40.6	2.7	100.0

Approximately 57 percent of the Israelis has a Jewish partner. Often (approximately 28 percent of all cases), this Jewish partner is not Israeli. About 29 percent has a partner who is both Jewish and Israeli, and about 43 percent has a gentile partner.

Israelis with Jewish partners differ considerably from their counterparts with gentile partners in their domestic situations. The pattern among singles bears a striking resemblance to the pattern among married individuals. In addition, the data reveal major differences between married and cohabiting individuals and between cohabiting and single individuals:

married                    61 percent has a Jewish partner (125 + 147 = 272 of the 445 married respondents)  
 cohabiting                27 percent has a Jewish partner (12 + 10 = 22 of the 82 cohabiting respondents)  
 single                      77 percent has a Jewish partner (16 + 1 = 17 of the 22 single respondents).

No explanation for these differences was available. Perhaps cohabiting individuals are less conventional and manifest this trait both in their choice of partner and in their

domestic arrangement. Nevertheless, Israelis who cohabit with

gentile partners are known to have arrived in Holland more recently than their married and single counterparts.

The following table presents the percentage of Israeli men and women married to Jews by age group:

Table 1.8.2.

ISRAELIS WITH JEWISH SPOUSES BY SEX AND AGE GROUP				
age-group	married men (abs.)	with Jewish spouses (%)	married women (abs.)	with Jewish spouses (%)
0-19	0	0.0	0	0.0
20-24	0	0.0	4	50.0
25-29	9	44.4	22	63.3
30-34	46	45.7	49	53.1
35-39	57	59.6	41	46.3
40-44	48	64.6	36	55.6
45-49	34	64.7	39	71.8
50-54	15	86.7	14	71.4
55-59	9	100.0	3	33.3
60-64	5	40.0	2	100.0
65-69	3	67.7	1	100.0
70-74	4	100.0	0	0.0
75+	2	50.0	0	0.0
Total	232	61.6	211	58.3

Two male and nine female heads of households did not report their ages or whether their spouses were Jewish.

Men are slightly more likely than women to have Jewish spouses. The older the men, the higher the percentage with Jewish spouses.

The data concerning the men indicate a turning point around age 35: over half the men from this age group has a Jewish wife.

The percentage with a Jewish spouse rises progressively after this age. This pattern might indicate:

- the tendency to marry Jews used to be stronger;
- older men are more likely to marry Jewish women;
- men are more likely to marry Jewish women when they marry for the second time.

The pattern among women is very different. Younger women (i.e., under 35) are more likely to have Jewish spouses than their male counterparts. Over 35, the women are much less likely to have

Jewish spouses than the men. Only among the women over age 45 did a large share report their spouse was Jewish.

No proper basis for comparison with Dutch Jews is available. The most recent reliable data are from 1966. At the time, 54 percent of all men and 45 percent of all women in the Jewish community registers married gentiles between 1960 and 1965.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the percentage of mixed marriages rose progressively among younger individuals, revealing over 50 percent mixed marriages among those under 25 (the youngest age group).

In 1968, A. Lange submitted that "definitely over 40 percent - according to my conservative estimate - of married Jews has a gentile spouse."<sup>14</sup>

This trend from 1966 and 1968 suggests that a clear majority of Jews in Holland currently has a gentile spouse. In this respect, the Israelis and Jews in Holland probably differ considerably.

Another striking difference is that among Dutch Jews, the men are more likely than the women to enter mixed marriages, compared with the opposite pattern among Israelis (more Israeli women than Israeli men enter mixed marriages in Holland).

Geographically the share of Israeli's with a gentile partner differs considerably:

- in cities except for Amsterdam 51.6%
- in rural areas 45.6%
- in Amsterdam/Amstelveen 33.6%

It's clear that the percentage with a Jewish partner is much higher in Amsterdam than in the rest of Holland.

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<sup>13</sup> Demografie der Joden in Nederland, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> A. Lange, *De autoritaire persoonlijkheid en zijn godsdienstige wereld* (Assen, 1971), p. 80.

**MIXED MARRIAGES AND CHILDREN**

The following table indicates the number of children born into a relationship where the partner is Jewish (Israeli or otherwise) or gentile (Israeli or otherwise). The table also distinguishes the various domestic situations:

Table 1.8.3

<b>NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF ISRAELIS BY DOMESTIC SITUATION AND ISRAELI OR JEWISH PARTNERS</b>					
domestic situation	Jewish partner	Israeli partner (Jewish)	non-Jewish partner	non-Jewish partner (Israeli)	Total
married	194	131	214	22	561
cohabiting	5	3	19	0	27
"LAT"	9	0	5	0	14
Total	208	134	238	22	602
Total (%)	34.5	22.3	39.5	3.7	100.0

Seven parents of Israeli children did not indicate whether their partner was Jewish. Fifty-two children were born from the group of 130 Israeli singles without partners.

The following data concern the Jewish parentage of the children of the Israelis in Holland:

Table 1.8.4

<b>NUMBER OF ISRAELI CHILDREN WITH PARENTS WHO ARE JEWISH OR GENTILE</b>		
parents	number of children (abs.)	number of children (%)
Jewish father and mother	342	51.7
Jewish mother only	136	20.6
Jewish father only	124	18.8
Jewish mother, father's background unknown	31	4.7
Jewish father, mother's background unknown	28	4.2
Total	661	100.0

The overwhelming majority of the children (about 80 percent) has

a Jewish mother.

The following factors may change the share of Jewish parents in the future:

- over 70 percent of the cohabiting Israelis, who tend to be fairly young, has a gentile partner;
- among the younger age groups, considerably fewer married Israelis (especially men) have Jewish spouses than among the older age groups.

Because the data concerning Jews in Holland are obsolete, no basis for comparison is available in this respect.

Between 1954 and 1965, 39.9 percent of the children of Jewish or mixed couples had both a Jewish father and a Jewish mother, 29.4 percent had a Jewish mother only, and 30.7 percent had a Jewish father only. According to these figures, about 70 percent of such children during this period had a Jewish mother.

Presumably (also see 1.8 "Mixed Marriages and Domestic Situation"), the share of such children from mixed marriages has risen considerably. This trend deviates considerably from the pattern among the children of the Israelis.

## 1.9 COUNTRY OF BIRTH, BACKGROUND, AND NATIONALITY

### COUNTRY OF BIRTH

In the following pie chart, "Israel" comprises Israelis born in that country (known as tsabbarim or sabras). "Sephardi" (plural: Sephardim or Sephardi Jews) comprises Sephardi and Oriental Israelis not born in Israel.

Graph 1.9.1

Most Israelis (about 70 percent) were born in Israel. Approximately 10 percent was born in Holland and 20 percent in other countries.

The share of only 10 percent that was born in Holland is surprising. A relatively large number of Dutch Jews participated in the aliyah and yeridah process: between 1950 and 1986 alone, nearly 10,000 Dutch Jews emigrated to Israel. About 7,000 returned.<sup>15</sup> One

would have expected their share in the survey to exceed 10 percent. Most Dutch Jews who return from Israel apparently do

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<sup>15</sup> Voet, *op. cit.*, passim

not consider themselves Israelis.

Comparing the countries of birth among Israelis in Israel with those of their counterparts in Holland reveals striking differences.

As of 31 December 1993, the data for people in Israel over 19 indicated that<sup>16</sup>:

- 21.0 percent was born in "Sephardi" or "Oriental" countries
- 28.0 percent was born in Eastern Europe
- 3.2 percent was born in Western Europe
- 45.0 percent was born in Israel
- 2.9 percent was born in other parts of the world.

Clearly, the share of sabras among the Israelis in Holland considerably exceeds the corresponding share in Israel. While the share of the group born in Western Europe (especially in Holland) is also larger, the share born in Eastern Europe is smaller, and the share actually born in "Sephardi" or "Oriental" countries is much smaller.

The considerably larger share of sabras among Israelis in Holland compared to their share in Israel conflicts with the prevailing pattern of Israelis abroad. Israeli data for several Western countries convey an entirely different picture suggesting underrepresentation of sabras among Israelis in these countries.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> CBS, *Statistical Abstract of Israel 1994 no 45* (Jerusalem 1994), pp. 96 and 97. To facilitate a comparison between the findings from this study and the data from the CBS, the CBS definition of Europe with respect to Asia has been modified slightly to match the corresponding definition applied in the study.

<sup>17</sup> *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, Vol. 37, No 6, June 1986, p. 71. The Western countries include: the United States, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, France, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, the Federal Republic of Germany, South Africa.

## BACKGROUND

A total of 661 heads of households reported the country of birth for both parents. The parents of most respondents come from the same general region.

In the following pie chart, "Israel" refers to Israelis whose parents were both born in Israel (i.e., the parents are sabras). The term Sephardim comprises Israelis whose parents are both Sephardi or Oriental Israelis not born in Israel. Such individuals are referred to as Sephardim in the following sections. The terms Western Europe and Eastern Europe comprise Israelis whose parents were both born in Western Europe or Eastern Europe, respectively. The large share of sabras among Israelis in Holland has led us to distinguish (cultural) background according to the country of birth of their parents, rather than the country of birth of the actual respondents.

Graph 1.9.2

Western Europe (15.7 percent) primarily comprises parents born in Holland: both parents of the respondent were born in Holland in 11.2 percent of all cases.

This figure seems high with respect to the share of respondents born in Holland (10.3

percent). In 8.5 percent of the cases, both the respondents and their parents were born in Holland.

The section "Country of Birth" already noted the small share of Israelis born in Holland. This finding also holds true for their parents.

Israelis in Israel differ significantly from their counterparts in Holland with respect to the country of birth of their parents (their background). The following data are available concerning the country of birth for the parents of Israelis in Israel<sup>18</sup>:

- 8.6 percent Israel
- 43.3 percent Sephardi or Oriental
- 39.5 percent Eastern Europe
- 5.2 percent Western Europe
- 3.5 percent other

The differences between the backgrounds of the Israelis roughly correspond to the differences between their countries of birth. The "Israel" group is the only exception: Israelis in Holland are as likely as Israelis in Israel to have parents who are sabras.

Comparing the countries of birth for Israeli heads of households in Holland (i.e., the parents) with the countries of birth for their children and their parents (i.e., the grandparents) sheds an interesting light on the aliyah and yeridah aspect of Jewish history:

grandparents	parents	children	
born in Israel	10 %	70 %	35 %
born elsewhere	90 %	30 %	65 %

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<sup>18</sup> Statistical Abstract of Israel 1994, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 and 97. In the Statistical Abstract, "Israel" comprises individuals born in Israel with fathers who were also born in Israel.

For the other countries, the data assume that the parents of Israelis born outside Israel were born in the same country as their children.

Both sets of data concern individuals over 20.

## NATIONALITY

Table 1.9.3

ISRAELIS BY NATIONALITY (%)			
nationality	heads of households	children	heads of households + children
Israeli	39.5	9.0	24.5
Dutch	16.3	42.9	29.3
Israeli and Dutch	38.5	44.8	41.5
other (*)	3.4	3.4	4.6

N heads of households = 676

N children = 648

N heads of households + children = 1,324

(\*) The group "other" (heads of households + children) comprises:

39 people of Israeli and one other nationality (not Dutch)

11 people of Israeli, Dutch, and one other nationality

5 people of American nationality only

5 people of Dutch and one other nationality

1 person of Israeli and two other nationalities.

About 80 percent of the Israeli heads of households has at least Israeli citizenship (i.e., either exclusively Israeli citizenship or Israeli citizenship in combination with another type of citizenship), and about 55 percent has at least Dutch citizenship.

About 56 percent of the children has at least Israeli citizenship, and about 89 percent has at least Dutch citizenship.

As a group, about 67 percent of the Israelis in Holland therefore has at least Israeli nationality, and about 72 percent has at least Dutch nationality.

Of the three categories identified, the group holding dual citizenship is the largest (about 42 percent).

With respect to dual citizenship, Dutch policy tends to undergo major changes. Regulations vary from allowing dual citizenship to discouraging or prohibiting this status.

## 1.10 ARRIVAL IN HOLLAND

### LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN ISRAEL

The following pie chart depicts the lengths of residence in Israel among the heads of households:

Graph 1.10.1

Most Israelis resided in Israel for extended periods before coming to Holland: fully 75 percent spent more than two decades there. Only 2.1 percent lived in Israel less than five years.

The statistical analysis revealed that the men had resided in Israel longer than the women. One factor is probably the duration of military service, which is longer for Israeli men than for Israeli women. The tendency of women to choose their partners when they are younger is also a conceivable factor.

## AGE UPON ARRIVING IN HOLLAND

The following table indicates the ages of the Israelis upon arriving in Holland:

Table 1.10.2

AGES OF ISRAELIS UPON ARRIVING IN HOLLAND		
age group	number (abs.)	number (%)
1 - 19	18	2.7
20 - 24	223	33.4
25 - 29	177	26.5
30 - 34	110	16.5
35 - 39	68	10.2
40 - 45	38	5.7
45+	34	5.1
Total	668	100.0

While the mean age of Israeli heads of households upon arriving in Holland is 29, the most common age is 24.

Most Israelis were between 20 and 24 years old upon arriving in Holland, which means that they came shortly after completing their military service. Over 60 percent of Israelis arrived in Holland before turning 30.

This finding correlates with the results of another study, which revealed that the ages of Israeli immigrants in other countries are concentrated between 25 and 31.<sup>19</sup>

Considering the preceding information together with the data from Graph 1.10.1 indicates that most Israeli heads of households have spent most of their lives in Israel.

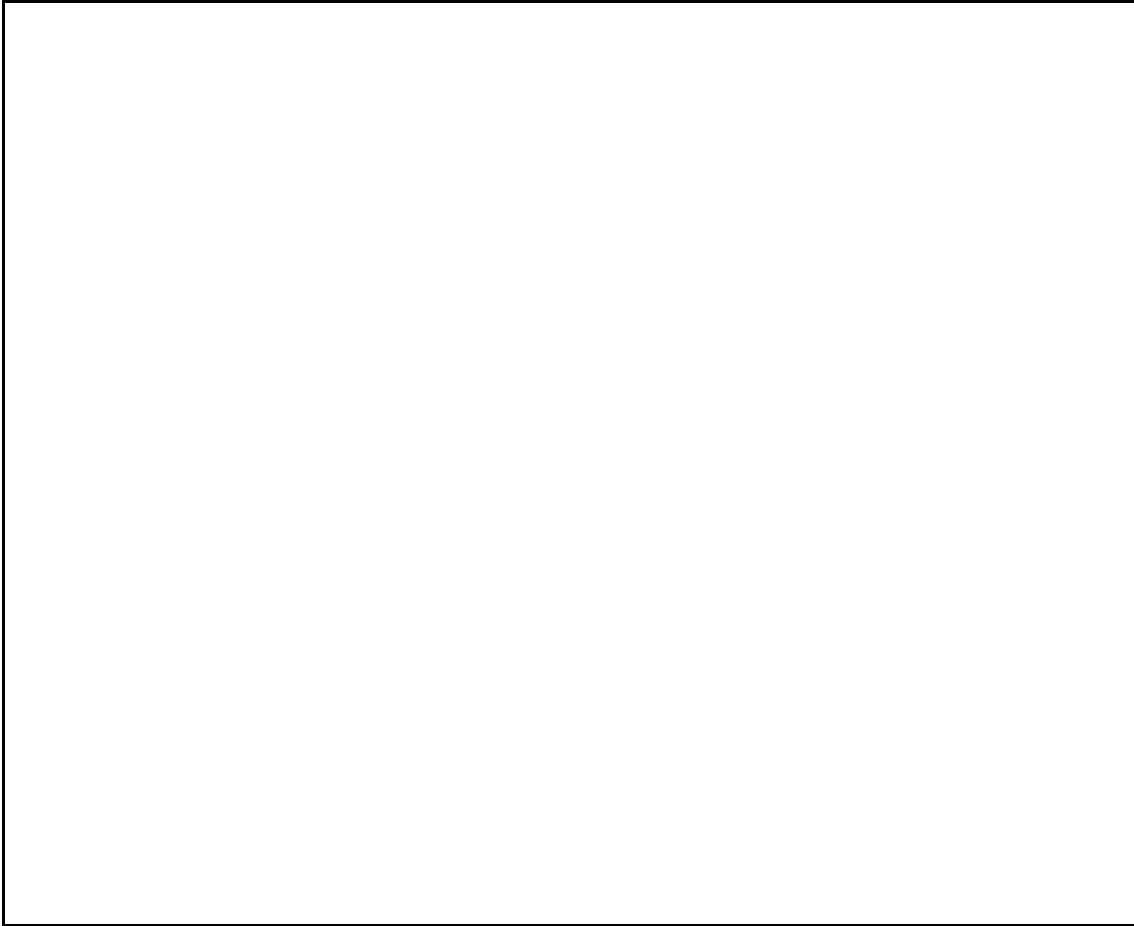
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<sup>19</sup> Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

## LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN HOLLAND

The following pie chart indicates how long the Israelis had resided in Holland as of 1 January 1995:

Graph 1.10.3



About 50 percent of the Israelis had lived in Holland for 4 to 10 years at the time of the survey. About 35 percent had been in Holland longer than 10 years.

The following information was provided concerning the arrivals in Holland of Israeli nationals over the years<sup>20</sup>:

- until 1974 the annual arrivals involved small numbers (25 - 150 per year)
- from 1974 to 1988 the numbers increased (200 to 300 per year)
- from 1988 to 1992 arrivals varied between 300 and 500 each

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<sup>20</sup> Maandstaat Bevolking, through October 1994, *op.cit.*, p.1.

year (the trend peaked in 1991)  
- since 1992 arrivals have decreased to their levels in 1985 and 1986.

The scud missile attack on Israel during the spring of 1991 may have played a role.

## REASONS FOR COMING TO HOLLAND

Concerning the question about the main reasons for settling or residing in Holland, respondents could select the following answers: work, study, partner, other.

Seventy-nine percent of the respondents listed only one main reason.

Because the reason "return" (i.e., Israelis originally from Holland who were returning) appeared several times, it was added to the list of reasons.

Most responses in the "other" category were family-related.

In 21.4 percent of the answers, combinations were indicated, such as partner and work, partner and study.

The pie chart below depicts the main reasons; the adjacent graph contains a breakdown of the combined reasons involving partner, work, and the like.

Graph 1.10.4



Israelis deviate from the norm with respect to their motives for emigration: choice of partner appears to be the most common motive for coming to Holland, rather than work or political conditions.

These results are not attributable to the fact that about 29 percent of the Israelis has an Israeli partner. On the contrary. Assuming that among respondents with Israeli partners one partner generally accompanied the other one to Holland, 50 percent of responses

from Israeli couples might be expected to list "partner" as the main reason. In fact, only 30 percent of this group listed "partner" as the primary motivation.

As indicated above, "work" was clearly not a predominant motive, as it figures as the main reason in only 16 percent of the cases. In addition, work is listed in 27 percent of the responses involving combinations. "Partner and work" is the most common combination (4.8 percent of all responses).

Former kibbutzniks were statistically more likely to list "return" as their main reason than other professional groups. In addition, 49 of the 79 former kibbutzniks listed "partner" as their reason for coming to Holland.

Women indicated "partner" as their reason for coming to Holland more frequently than men (53 percent and 34 percent, respectively). Men were more likely than women to indicate "work" (22 percent and 8 percent, respectively).

Conventional motives for moving (e.g., lack of jobs, oppression, or economic prospects, tolerance, and climate) proved of little significance upon analyzing the migration pattern of Israelis in Holland. While one might expect to be the primary reason "work" in this context, this factor plays a subordinate role in the general picture. The importance of partners and family relationships in Israeli patterns of migration correlates with existing research indicating that many Israeli immigrants in the United States have relatives in the new country.<sup>21</sup> The research did not identify factors such as political motives and tensions as important motivations for leaving Israel. This motive was listed only twice under "other."

The unequal ratio of men to women (see tables 1.3.1 and 1.3.2) already revealed that more Israeli men than women emigrate to Holland. This difference is even greater than suggested by the composition of 57 percent men and 43 percent women if only individuals over 19 are considered. For Israeli adults, the ratio is 61 percent men and 39 percent women. This finding contradicts other available data, which implied virtually

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<sup>21</sup> Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

identical patterns of migration among men and women.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

## 1.11 EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

### LEVEL OF EDUCATION AMONG THE ISRAELIS

The category high school comprises all secondary education before the stage of advanced vocational training and junior colleges or university (i.e., also basic vocational education). The question about education yielded the following responses:

Graph 1.11.1

A considerable share of respondents (46 percent) reported having pursued higher education. Some individuals who indicated they had attended a junior college or university may not have completed the program.

With respect to their education, Israelis differ significantly from the larger groups that have come to Holland from abroad (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese). The average attendance of higher education among these groups is only 9 percent.<sup>23</sup>

The Israelis in Holland are also very well educated with respect to the native Dutch population, which has an average rate of

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<sup>23</sup> N.C.B., *Allochtonen over Nederland(ers)* (Utrecht, 1995), p. 8.

attending higher education of 20 percent.<sup>24</sup>

Finally, the Israelis in Holland are even well educated with respect to their counterparts in Israel. In 1992, 13.3 percent of the Jewish population over 15 in Israel had completed 15 years of full-time education.<sup>25</sup>

Several factors may explain the unusual rate of higher education among the Israelis in Holland:

-Study was the primary motive for Israelis to come to Holland in 10 percent of all cases and a secondary motive in 20 percent of all cases. Because such cases generally involve courses of higher education, study as a motive for immigration increases the share of persons with higher education.

-In addition, people who pursued higher education and were unable to apply these skills in Israel are more likely to try their luck elsewhere.

Studies in South Africa<sup>26</sup> and the United States<sup>27</sup> also reveal a high level of education among emigrant Israelis.

-The high percentage of educated individuals may also result from an imbalance among the respondents. The lack of any previous data concerning the education of Israelis in Holland precludes any corrections with respect to education. As a written survey may be expected to elicit a higher response among better educated individuals, the less educated are probably systematically underrepresented among the respondents.

This assertion is further substantiated by the high percentage of students (14 percent) that participated in the study.

All factors considered, the conclusion that the Israelis in Holland tend to be well educated seems highly plausible.

From the Israeli perspective, this pattern signifies a serious brain drain.

The statistical analysis also revealed the following

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<sup>24</sup> Martens & al., *Sociaal en cultureel rapport* (1992), p. 239.

<sup>25</sup> Statistical Abstract of Israel 1994, *op. cit.*, p. 636.

<sup>26</sup> S. Frankenthal, "Israelis in South Africa: Profile of a Migrant Population," *Papers in Jewish Demography 1985* (Jerusalem, 1989), p. 274; among Israeli immigrants arriving between 1980 and 1984, 39.8 percent had pursued academic education.

<sup>27</sup> Z. Eisenbach, "Jewish Emigrants from Israel to the United States," *Papers in Jewish Demography 1985* (Jerusalem, 1989), p. 261; in 1980 about one third of the Israelis in the United States had a university or college education; the rate was even higher among the younger individuals.

information:

- The level of education increases with age among the respondents (except for the group reporting only elementary school); Israelis in and around Amsterdam are less likely to have attended advanced vocational training or junior colleges than their counterparts in the *mediene*.
- Israelis with a Western or Eastern European background tend to be well educated; Israelis with a Sephardi background tend to have little education.
- The length of residence in Holland led to various conclusions:
  - respondents with little education have resided in Holland for a long time (average is 13 years)
  - respondents who attended junior colleges have also resided here for a quite a while (average is 10.9 years)
  - respondents who completed high school have arrived relatively recently (average is 8.7 years)
  - respondents who attended advanced vocational training or university were in the middle in terms of their length of residence (averages were 9.3 and 9.9 years, respectively).

The survey did not contain questions concerning the nature of the educational programs attended by the respondents. Previously, many Israelis attended the course of veterinary medicine taught at Utrecht University. No such program was available in Israel at the time.

When the survey was conducted, popular educational institutions for Israelis in Holland were the Gerrit Rietveld Academy of Art and Design in Amsterdam (15 Israeli students) and Delft University of Technology (approximately 18 Israeli students).

## PLACE OF EDUCATION

The following information is available concerning the place where respondents attained their highest level of education:

Graph 1.11.2

About 65 percent of the Israeli respondents was educated in Israel. A considerable share (30 percent), however, pursued education in Holland.

The data indicate that 70 percent of the heads of households was born in Israel and 10 percent in Holland. They also reveal that study was the primary motivation for coming to Holland for about 9 percent and the secondary motivation for about 4 percent. According to these two pieces of information, the actual percentage educated in Holland is remarkably high.

## OCCUPATIONS IN ISRAEL AND HOLLAND

The following table shows the share of Israelis in their respective **paid** occupations, previously in Israel and currently in Holland:

Table 1.11.3

ISRAELIS BY OCCUPATION IN ISRAEL AND HOLLAND (%)		
occupation	in Israel	in Holland
kibbutz	16.4	-
miscellaneous (*1)	12.7	17.7
administration	11.6	7.3
commerce (*2)	7.9	21.0
education	7.3	5.2
security (*3)	6.7	3.8
technology	6.2	7.3
artistic pursuits	6.0	6.4
health care	4.4	6.6
computers	4.4	4.3
agriculture	3.5	1.9
industry	3.3	5.0
hotels, etc.	3.3	6.6
social welfare	3.1	3.8
academia	3.1	3.1

N in Israel = 481

N in Holland = 423

(\*1) miscellaneous = sales, tourism, journalism, driving, hairstyling, translation, babysitting

(\*2) commerce = import and export agent, shop owner, sales representative, manager, owner of a driving school

(\*3) security = including police and defense forces

Not included in the diagram of occupations:

In Israel: 103 individuals who were too young to work, 21 students, 3 housewives and househusbands, and 84 unreported.

In Holland: 6 retired individuals, 97 students, 22 housewives and househusbands, and 144 unreported.

As might have been expected, administrative occupations, education, security, agriculture, and of course the kibbutz appeared less frequently on lists of occupations in Holland than in Israel.

The absence of the kibbutz is obvious as is the reduced incidence of security work (which generally involved enlisted personnel). In educational and administrative positions, language, cultural differences, and specific training programs (which often differ significantly between Israel and Holland) play an important role. Finally, very few job opportunities are available to Israelis in agriculture.

The range of occupations among Israelis in Holland is remarkably diverse. No single trade or group of trades - except for commercial enterprise - is characteristic. The only information enabling a comparison with Dutch Jews concerns obsolete data on Jews in Amsterdam.<sup>28</sup> This study by Wijnberg revealed that over 50 percent of the Jews in Amsterdam was involved in traditionally Jewish occupations (textile, jewelry, and intellectual professions). The Israelis do not conform to this pattern.

No respondent indicated "unemployed" in the space provided for occupation. Israelis who lose their jobs may return to Israel or move on to another country. Conceivably, the unemployed may be reluctant to report this situation in a survey.

A remarkable percentage of Israelis in Holland came from a kibbutz (16.4 percent of the heads of households). Most such individuals are male (55 men and 24 women). In Holland, former kibbutzniks are most likely to become involved in technology and industry (20) and commercial enterprise (14).

The increased involvement in commercial enterprise and hotels, restaurants, and catering are also significant. This activity is probably attributable to the greater attraction of such sectors for new immigrants eager to get ahead.

The statistical analysis also revealed that in Holland

-women were more likely than men to work in the following fields: administrative work, education, security, and health care;

-men were more likely than women to engage in: commercial enterprise, technology, computers, agriculture, industry, restaurants, hotels, catering, and academia.

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<sup>28</sup> S. Wijnberg, *De Joden in Amsterdam* (Assen, n.d. [1967]), pp. 105ff.

This pattern is quite conventional, except for security work (which probably entails work at Schiphol Airport).

## STRATIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE

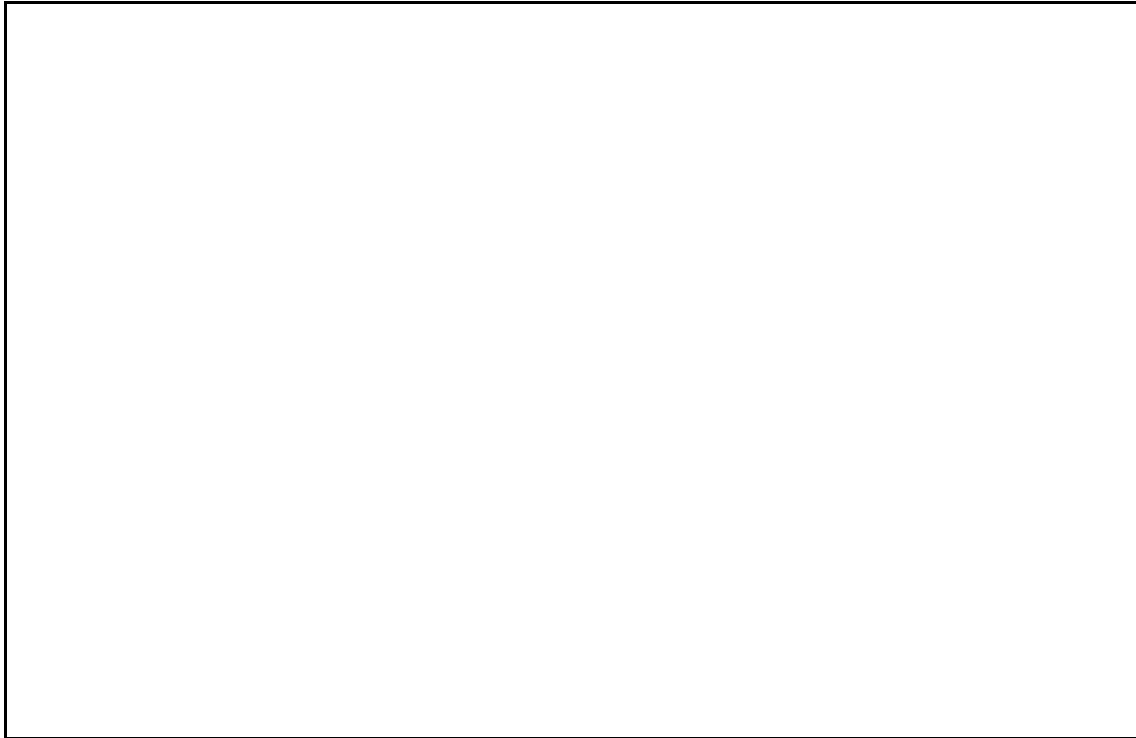
All occupations were ranked according to the occupational prestige scale of Sixma and Ultee.<sup>29</sup> This stratification generated six sub-categories: I (= low), II, III, IV, V, VI (= high). The concerned individual's education was also a factor of consideration in borderline cases. In Israel, for example, enlisted personnel who had finished high school were assigned to Category IV, whereas enlisted personnel who had attended university were entered in Category V. For the sake of simplicity, the two highest, the two middle, and the two lowest categories consistently appear together. The following series of fairly common occupations shed light on the distribution method:

high: teacher, accountant, high ranking military personnel, engineer, university instructor, scientist, doctor, dentist, veterinarian.

middle: kibbutznik, secretary, instructor, bookkeeper, nurse, low ranking enlisted personnel, entrepreneur (small business), actor, dancer, receptionist, electrician.

low: waiter, guard, driver, hairdresser, sales clerk, home help, production worker.

Graph 1.11.4



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<sup>29</sup> H. Sixma and W. Ultee, "Occupational Prestige Scale for the Netherlands in the Eighties," in: *Social Stratification and Mobility in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam, 1984), pp. 25-28.

The differences between occupational prestige stratifications in Israel and Holland reflect an ambiguous but nevertheless interesting trend: the lowest and highest categories grow larger in Holland, while the middle category shrinks significantly. Thus, the high and low ends of prestige appear to absorb part of the fairly large middle category from Israel.

The emerging polarizing trend indicates that new immigrants either gain or forfeit professional prestige. The shrinkage of the middle category merits some relativization, as about half of this category has remained intact. Very few Israelis have reverted to the lowest category in Holland, where only 1.6 percent of the respondents pertained to this category.

The following factors probably underlie this polarization of occupational prestige:

- the relatively large number of former kibbutzniks assigned to the middle category in Israel and to a higher or lower category in Holland (of the 71 former kibbutzniks with paid employment in Holland, 27 retained their level of occupational prestige, 22 rose, and 7 fell on the scale);
- rather than work, partner was the primary motive for coming to Holland, possibly involving sacrifices in occupational prestige;
- people who are well educated and have successful careers are rarely inclined to emigrate, as opposed to their counterparts with less professional success. Upon encountering high unemployment in fields such as academia in Holland, however, they are likely to accept work for which they are overqualified. The statistical analysis partially confirms this explanation by proving that the measure of education is not related to the level of occupational prestige.

The statistical analysis also indicated that Israelis with an Eastern or Western European background scored higher on the scale of occupational prestige than Israelis with a Sephardi background.

## OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE STRATIFICATION AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN HOLLAND

Israelis might be expected to ascend the scale of occupational prestige as the length of their stay in Holland increases. A study from the United States even mentions a "socioeconomic dualism" between the successful Israelis (who emigrated to the United States before 1960) and their less successful counterparts (who arrived after 1975).<sup>30</sup>

The following graph presents the three categories of professional prestige stratification with respect to the length of residence in Holland:

Graph 1.11.5

Contrary to expectations, the information revealed by the graph above may be confirmed through statistical analysis: Israelis who have resided in Holland for longer periods score lower on the scale of occupational prestige stratification. Possible

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<sup>30</sup> Y. Cohen, "Socioeconomic Dualism: The Case of Israeli-Born Immigrants in the U.S.," *International Migration Review*, Vol. XXIII (Summer 1989), p. 285.

explanations include the same factors that apply with respect to "Economic Sector in Israel and Holland," such as the influence of the kibbutzniks, the role of the partner in coming to Holland, and the restricted career opportunities for academics. Finally, a rather speculative partial explanation: perhaps successful Israelis return to Israel within a specific time frame.

The present research findings clearly contradict the socioeconomic dualism reported in the aforementioned study from the United States. It remains unclear whether the differences between the situations in Holland and the United States are responsible, or whether the different period plays a role (very few Israelis lived in Holland before 1960).

**OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE STRATIFICATION AND OCCUPATION**

For various occupations, we were able to compare the respective occupational prestige stratifications in Israel and Holland. No major discrepancies were observed.

The average occupational prestige stratification for the different professions was almost identical in Israel and Holland, except for the prestige associated with security work (which tended to be higher in Israel) and the prestige associated with work in hotels, restaurants, and catering operations (which tended to be higher in Holland).

**ENTREPRENEURS AND EMPLOYEES**

Three occupational groups have been identified to investigate any differences between self employment in Israel and Holland. In a considerable number of cases, the information provided by the respondents concerning their occupations enabled assessment of entrepreneurial status (Thirty respondents who indicated their occupation in Israel did not mention their occupation in Holland; 33 respondents who indicated their occupation in Holland, did not mention their occupation in Israel):

Graph 1.11.6

<b>ISRAELIS IN HOTELS, RESTAURANTS, AND CATERING, IN COMMERCE, AND IN COMPUTERS</b>				
sector	in Israel		in Holland	
	entrepreneu rs	employees	entrepreneu rs	employees
commerce	16	14	48	28
hotels, etc.	1	10	9	11
computers	2	2	2	4
Total	19	26	59	43
Total (%)	42.2	57.8	57.8	42.2

The table clearly indicates that the number of entrepreneurs in these trades in Holland exceeds the corresponding figure in Israel. In fact, the ratio is *exactly* inversely proportional. This finding reflects the plight of immigrants, who have to make it on their own.



**PART II ATTACHMENT TO ISRAEL AND JUDAISM**

## 2.0 INTRODUCTION

### Attachment and Services

Emotional attachments to Israel and Judaism play a major role in the use of services. Given an existing need, such attachments determine people's choice of institution or organization.

We therefore decided not to include a long list of services in the survey with the option of indicating current or probable future needs for specific facilities.

Understandably, the survey contained an open question about necessary services, both for independent heads of households and for children. Although the answers to this question are important in the research, determining individual bonds with Israel and Judaism seems even more essential. Such information would enable Jewish organizations to make long-term decisions about the supply of services.

As assessing an individual bond is rather complicated, the relevant questions were intended to ascertain patterns of behavior and were formulated in a manner conducive to unambiguous comprehension by the respondents. The direct question about attachment to Israel is an exception in that it is somewhat ambiguous. Nevertheless, the possible interpretations all served the intentions of the investigators.

## 2.1 RELIGIOUS SELF-DEFINITION

The question about religious orientation included three possible answers: religious, traditional, or secular (formulated in Hebrew as *dati*, *massorti*, or *chiloni*, respectively). The following pie chart conveys the answers:

Graph 2.1.1

The survey did not define the concepts secular, traditional, and religious. Although the distinctions between secular, traditional, and religious may vary, the overwhelming majority of respondents answered this question without any additional remarks. The survey clearly indicates that a large majority views itself as secular, a limited share prefers the traditional category, and a tiny minority considers itself religious. This pattern is surprisingly similar to the results of a study in South Africa,<sup>31</sup> where 4.1 percent of the Israelis viewed itself as religious, 36.7 percent as traditional, and 59.2 percent as secular. Longer residence in South Africa coincided with increased selection of the religious and traditional categories.

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<sup>31</sup> S. Frankenthal, "Israelis in South Africa: Profile of a Migrant Population," *Papers in Jewish Demography 1985*, Jewish Population Studies no 19, Jerusalem 1989, p. 278.

## 2.2 ATTENDANCE OF RELIGIOUS SERVICES AT A SYNAGOGUE

The open question "How many times a year do you attend services at a synagogue?" allowed respondents to indicate a number. Their responses yielded the following pattern:

Graph 2.2.2

The pattern of attendance of religious services at a synagogue is more varied than the pattern of religious orientation. Half the respondents never go to a synagogue. Over 40 percent goes occasionally, and nearly 10 percent goes more than 10 times a year.

This final percentage is higher than suggested by the 3.8 percent share of Israelis that selected the religious category.

### 2.3 PATTERN OF CONTACTS

The question "With how many Israelis, Jews, or Dutch people do you maintain regular social contact?" did not include an explanation. The absolute figures mattered less than the ratio between the different groups. Respondents were given a choice of the following options: none, less than 5, 5 to 10, and over 10. Assigning values of 0, 2.5, 7.5, and 12.5 to the respective categories generated the following bar chart:

Graph 2.3.1

The average Israeli maintains regular social contact with 8.1 Dutch people, 5.2 Israelis, and 3.9 Jews.

The question concerning the pattern of social contacts may also be phrased as "With whom do they have the most social contact?" As the following table reveals, this formulation generates a different picture. Social contacts with Dutch people rank first by a wide margin, followed by contacts with Israelis and finally Jews.

The distortion results from the small group of Israelis that has a great many social contacts with other Israelis and Jews, whereas the large majority of Israelis has few such acquaintances.

Table 2.3.2

WITH WHOM DO ISRAELIS MAINTAIN THE MOST SOCIAL CONTACT?	
Dutch people	288
Dutch people & Israelis	96
Dutch people & Jews	72
Dutch people, Israelis & Jews	79
Total	535

Israelis	94
Israelis & Dutch people	96
Israelis & Jews	20
Israelis, Dutch people & Jews	79
Total	289

Jews	27
Jews & Dutch people	72
Jews & Israelis	20
Jews, Dutch people & Israelis	79
Total	

Compared to the larger groups of foreigners that have come to Holland from abroad (Moroccans, Turks, and Surinamese), the Israelis have a lot of social contact with Dutch people. Among the other groups mentioned, 9 percent has no social contact with Dutch people, 23 percent has very little, 37 percent has some, and 32 percent has a lot<sup>32</sup>: a totally different pattern.

Aside from the factors of education and linguistic proficiency, this difference probably arises because these other groups contrast with the Israelis in their high rate of unemployment and tendency to concentrate in specific districts or neighborhoods.

The significance of such concentration is apparent from the connection established between place of residence and number of contacts: while Israelis in and around

Amsterdam average almost as many Dutch contacts as their

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<sup>32</sup> *Allochtonen over Nederland(ers)*, op. cit., p.23

counterparts outside this area, they have about 30 percent more Israeli contacts and about 40 percent more Jewish contacts.

Considering that the Israelis do not live in concentrated groups, their measure of contact with fellow Israelis should not be underestimated. This observation also applies to their contacts with Jews.

The statistical analysis also shows - not surprisingly - that Israelis who have been in Holland longer tend to have more social contact with Dutch people.

## 2.4 ATTACHMENT TO ISRAEL

The question about attachment to Israel was formulated in a direct manner. Israelis were requested to indicate one of the following responses: none, weak, moderate, strong, very strong. The pattern of answers was as follows:

Graph 2.4.1

Israelis have a strong emotional attachment to Israel. A full 76 percent reported a strong or very strong attachment to Israel, and only 24 percent expressed a moderate or weak attachment. Nobody selected the category indicating "no attachment."

## 2.5 RETURNING TO ISRAEL

Possible answers to the question "Do you ever plan to return to Israel?" included "yes" and "no." In coding the responses, an additional category ("don't know") was available and proved necessary. Possible answers to the next question ("Within three years?") consisted of "yes," "no," and "don't know."

Combining the responses to the two questions generated the following options:

yes, yes	= planning to return, within 3 years.
yes, don't know	= planning to return, don't know when.
yes, no	= planning to return, not within 3 years.
don't know, don't know	= don't know whether I will return, don't know when.
don't know, no	= don't know whether I will return, not within 3 years.
no	= won't return.

Graph 2.5.1

The answers to the question about plans for returning to Israel can be interpreted in two ways:

1) The first interpretation concerns the bond with Israel. A common phenomenon among some emigrant groups involves the extended persistence of expectations of returning to their country of origin, even if prospects are slim. In such cases, the desire to return is more indicative of attachment to the country of origin than of realistic prospects for the future. According to this rationale, the answers presented in the above graph reveal a strong emotional attachment to Israel: about 87 percent expects to return, even though about 50 percent is known to have resided in Holland for 4 to 10 years, and about 35 percent has been here more than 10 years. Only about 13 percent does not expect to return.

2) The answers to the question about returning to Israel may also be perceived as actual plans for returning to Israel. At first impression, the answers appear quite varied. The aforementioned phenomenon, however (namely that people may long cling to an unrealistic idea of returning), leads to a different interpretation of the answers to this question:

- A small share (the people planning to return within 3 years, i.e., about 14 percent) is very likely to return: these individuals may even have planned their return date.
- A large share (about 46 percent) expects to return, but has postponed this action to an unspecified point in the future. Among this category, the idea of returning is probably an expression of attachment to the native country, rather than an indication of concrete plans.
- The remaining Israelis (about 40 percent) either know they will not return or have such vague plans that actual return is extremely unlikely.

The fact that about 50 percent of the respondents has lived in Holland for 4 to 10 years, and about 35 percent has been in Holland more than 10 years, seem to justify these interpretations. In addition, most of the children have been born and raised in Holland.

Therefore, the assertion that 55 to 75 percent of the Israelis in Holland is here to stay is probably realistic. Even in the unlikely event that Israelis stop coming to Holland, this share of the current population of 9,800 includes about 6,400 individuals permanently established in Holland. The remainder, which comprises about 3,400 "floating" Israelis, may undergo significant changes.

## 2.6 SCALES OF ATTACHMENT TO JUDAISM AND ISRAEL

### INTRODUCTION

Each of the variables previously discussed indicates a measure of attachment on the part of the Israelis to Israel and Judaism. Their diversity may complicate identification of the common denominator among the different variables. This problem is especially true with respect to the search for possible links between such attachment and other variables. Scales depicting attachment to Israel and attachment to Judaism are therefore in order.

The scale of attachment to Israel is based on the following variables:

- a) possibility of returning to Israel and likelihood of doing so within three years;
- b) bond with Israel;
- c) pattern of contacts with Israelis.

The scale of attachment to Judaism comprises:

- a) religious orientation;
- b) attendance of religious services at a synagogue;
- c) pattern of contacts with Jews.

Details about the scales and the method of testing applied appear in Appendix VII.

In the two graphs below, 0 points indicate a non-existent or very weak emotional attachment, 2 points signify little emotional attachment, 4 points reflect a strong attachment, and 6 points represent the maximum score attainable for the different aspects of attachment, thus revealing a very strong bond.

## ATTACHMENT TO JUDAISM

The following graph indicates the bond of the Israelis with Judaism, as expressed by the scale "Attachment to Judaism":

Graph 2.6.1

Israelis in Holland have a weak bond with Judaism, as indicated by the scale of Attachment to Judaism. Nearly 80 percent considers their bond weak or non-existent; only 20 percent feels a strong or very strong bond (the share of the group with a very strong bond is minimal).

The statistical analysis yielded the following information:

- Israelis with an extended period of residence in Holland tend to have stronger emotional attachments to Judaism.
- Israelis with Jewish partners also tend to have stronger attachments to Judaism.
- Emotional attachments to Judaism tend to be stronger in and around Amsterdam than in the *mediene*. The presence of Jewish facilities here might be attributable to this trend, as people with a strong Jewish identity are more likely to use such services.
- The background of Israelis does not influence their attachment to Judaism.

## **ATTACHMENT TO ISRAEL**

The following graph indicates the emotional attachment of the Israelis to Israel, as expressed by the scale of Attachment to Israel:

Graph 2.6.2

The pattern of emotional attachment to Israel differs significantly from the corresponding pattern for Judaism. The share of the categories indicating a weak or non-existent bond is only about 40 percent, whereas the categories expressing a strong or very strong bond account for about 60 percent.

The responses to the question "Is your attachment to Israel strong?" which were mostly affirmative, are somewhat contradictory to the responses to the questions about returning and patterns of contacts, which reflected a far weaker orientation toward Israel. Concern with being socially desirable may have influenced the responses to the question about emotional attachment to Israel: "of course" the respondents feel a strong bond with Israel.

The statistical analysis indicated that having a Jewish partner increased the likelihood of a strong bond with Israel and a very strong bond with Judaism.

Education, duration of residence in Holland, and background bore no relation to emotional attachment to Israel.

## 2.7 EXPERIENCES WITH THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Of the 672 Israelis who responded to the question "What experience have you had with the Jewish community (*hakehillah ha'yehudit*) in Holland?":

330 (49.1%) had no experience with the Jewish community,  
 195 (29%) had good experiences,  
 147 (21.9%) had bad experiences.

The adjacent section for brief remarks was intended for a description of the experiences. The remarks listed the following 342 good and bad experiences (one type of experience has been coded for each respondent):

Table 2.7.1

EXPERIENCES WITH THE JEWISH COMMUNITY (%)				
	good experiences		bad experiences	
<b>general</b>	universally good	<b>35.4</b>	universally bad	<b>13.7</b>
<b>general/ social</b>	social circles and other activities	<b>11.5</b>	aloofness/snobbism discrimination	<b>21.8</b>
<b>practical</b>	help	3.5	help/JMW	0.6
	student loans	1.5	student loans/financial	1.2
	<b>subtotal</b>	<b>5.0</b>	<b>subtotal</b>	<b>1.8</b>
<b>religious</b>	through the synagogue	2.3	through the synagogue	0.6
	conversion of partner	0.6	non-Jewish partner/ conversion of partner	3.2
	brit or bar/bat mitzvah	1.8	brit	0.3
	rabbinate	0.6	too religious	1.5
	<b>subtotal</b>	<b>5.3</b>	<b>subtotal</b>	<b>5.6</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>57.0</b>		<b>43.0</b>

Among the 330 individuals without any experience with the Jewish community, 51 listed reasons such as: distance, no need, insufficient information, and lack of time.

Experiences in the general/social section generally involve good experiences with the operation of Jewish organizations in addition to the network of friends.

The respondents who mentioned aloofness, discrimination, and snobbism also used words like: too old, unfriendly, hostile, apathetic, estranged, conservative, racist, arrogant,

hypocritical.

Half the Israelis in Holland has had no experience with the Jewish community. This share is remarkable, considering that 85 percent has spent 4 or more years in Holland, and about 28 percent has a Dutch Jewish partner. Apparently, they are not very interested in such contact.

Among the Israelis who have had contact with the Jewish community, good experiences slightly outnumber bad ones.

The experiences that are specified primarily involve incidents of a general or social nature. The social interactions are particularly common sources of bad experiences: while few seem bothered by any lack of help with practical or religious matters, they object to the attitude of the Dutch Jews (see the appendix with remarks from respondents).

The search for a link between the score on the scale of Attachment to Judaism and the type of experiences with the Jewish community revealed that the stronger the Jewish identity (i.e., the higher the score on the scale of Attachment to Judaism), the greater the likelihood of experiences with the Jewish community (both good and bad).

Background and education bore no relation to the type of experiences with the Jewish community.

## 2.8 MEMBERSHIP OF JEWISH ASSOCIATIONS

A total of 676 Israeli heads of households answered the question about membership of Jewish associations:

168 (24.9%) belong to such an association;  
 508 (75.1%) do not.

These 168 people hold a combined total of 188 memberships (a single individual may belong to multiple associations; see the overview in Appendix VI). These 188 memberships are distributed as follows:

109 (58.0%) belong to a religious association;  
 60 (31.9%) belong to a social association;  
 11 ( 5.9%) belong to an Israeli association;  
 8 ( 4.3%) belong to a sports club.

Of the 508 individuals who do not belong to any Jewish association, 281 listed their general or specific reasons.

232 (82.6%) of the 281 respondents provided a general reason;  
 49 (17.4%) mentioned a specifically Jewish reason.

Table 2.8.1

REASON FOR NOT JOINING A JEWISH ASSOCIATION		
general reason	no need	30.6%
	no information	29.3%
	no time	14.2%
	distance	13.8%
	nothing suitable	5.6%
	financial	3.4%
	aversion to organizations	1.7%
	language barrier	1.3%
	total	100.0%

specifically Jewish reason	too religious	46.9%
	estrangement	22.4%
	hostility	18.4%
	gentile partner	10.2%
	Jewish racism	2.0%

	Total	100.0%
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In addition to these 168 individuals who belong to a Jewish or Israeli association, 22 Israeli heads of households who are not members of such an association have 35 children who are. Sixteen such cases involve membership of a Jewish youth group, 15 entail membership of the Israeli youth group Tsabbar, and 4 lack any indication of whether the group is Jewish or Israeli.

One quarter of the Israeli heads of households in Holland belongs to a Jewish association or organization. This share increases if children's memberships are included. Considering that over half the Jewish organizations are religious associations (usually congregations), and that only 3.5 percent considers itself religious, this share is substantial. No basis for comparison is available among the Dutch Jews, as the share of this group that belongs to a congregation or any other Jewish organization is unknown. An estimate of 30 percent would differ only slightly from the rate of membership among Israelis.

Not surprisingly, the statistical analysis reveals that the members of Jewish associations often have Jewish partners and a strong attachment to Judaism. As the combined membership of the NIK and the PIK considerably exceeds that of the LJG, memberships of the LJG account for a remarkably large share among Israelis (25 percent of Israeli memberships), with respect to the NIK and the PIK (together only 29 percent of Israeli memberships).

The WIZO is the only non-religious organization accounting for a substantial share of Israeli memberships (8.5 percent of the 188 memberships).

Other information generated by the statistical analysis revealed that Israelis with Sephardi or sabra backgrounds (i.e., whose parents are both either Sephardim or sabras) are more likely to be members, while Jews with Western-European backgrounds are less likely to join.

As might have been expected, older age groups account for more memberships (the bond with Judaism is also stronger among these categories), as do Israelis who have resided in Holland longer. Education, region, and sex are not related to the likelihood or unlikelihood of belonging to Jewish or Israeli associations.

Most people who do not belong to Jewish or Israeli associations are motivated on general grounds (about 83 percent). This finding is far from surprising, given that half the Israelis lack any experience with the Jewish community.

Regarding the nature of the reasons for not being a member, a minority (49 individuals, or about 17 percent) listed 'Jewish' reasons. Roughly half such cases involve religious grounds and the other half social Jewish motivations. These 49 individuals account for about 7 percent of the total group of respondents. The rate differs from the pattern of experiences with the Jewish community: 21 percent listed bad experiences that mainly concerned the attitude of Dutch Jews, rather than religious aspects.

Bad social experiences with the Jewish community are clearly an incidental reason for not joining a Jewish organization. Religion plays a greater role.

The relatively high percentage of Israelis that belongs to a Jewish organization may be partially indicative of a tendency similar to the one noted by Wijnberg among Jews in Amsterdam<sup>33</sup>: While these Jews may not be religious, they express their bond with the Jewish community by joining Jewish organizations.

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<sup>33</sup> S. Wijnberg, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

**PART III FACILITIES AND NEEDS**

### 3.1 DUTCH ASSISTANCE SERVICES

Including the responses to the question about use of JMW and Sinai Ambulant - which will be addressed in more detail in the following section - 160 respondents (about 24 percent of 666) reported using assistance services in Holland. Such assistance does not include general practitioners, dentists, or the welfare department. Home care has also been excluded on the grounds that Jewish home care is available only in Amsterdam. At any rate, very few respondents had used facilities for welfare or home care.

As some people had used the services of several care providers, use of an institution was indicated a total of 192 times. The nature of the institution was reported in 175 cases. The responses comprise 134 cases (76.6 percent) involving Jewish institutions (JMW or Sinai Ambulant) and 41 cases (23.4 percent) involving non-Jewish organizations. The non-Jewish organizations include:

- AMW 6 times ( 3.4 percent)
- RIAGG 30 times (17.1 percent)
- therapy (other than a RIAGG) 5 times ( 2.9 percent)

Of these 41 respondents, 34 provided the following reasons for not approaching a Jewish assistance organization:

- lack of information 14
- bad experience with Jewish organizations 9
- not a Jewish problem 6
- privacy 3
- distance 2

Information from the Ministry of Justice revealed an interesting fact: at the time of the study, 15 Israelis (who did not have any other nationality) were in custody at Dutch prisons and houses of detention. The source estimated that about 45 Israelis are detained annually in Holland.

Clearly, Israelis seeking general social care in Holland almost universally opt for the Jewish provider (JMW), while they are just as likely to receive secondary care from the Jewish institution (Sinai Ambulant) as from a non-Jewish institution.

The reasons for approaching a non-Jewish institution are rarely practical (e.g., distance). These decisions are motivated either by a lack of information or on "Jewish" grounds: perception of and experience with Jewish institutions.

The statistical analysis revealed that women were far more likely than men to prefer a non-Jewish institution.

### 3.2 AWARENESS AND USE OF JEWISH FACILITIES

The following table conveys the responses to the questions "Have you heard of JMW, *Jom Havoetbal*, etc?" and "Have you ever used/ attended/ participated in JMW, *Jom Havoetbal*, etc?"

Table 3.2.1

AWARENESS AND USE OF JEWISH FACILITIES (%)		
	awareness	use
JMW	44.8	15.2
<i>Jom Havoetbal</i>	34.6	12.6
Sinai Ambulant	22.9	4.6
Yom Ha'atzma'out celebration	not asked *1)	27.3
NIW	52.8	not asked
Sjalhomo	15.8	not asked *2)

N = 673

\*1) The Israeli Embassy always announces its Yom Ha'atzma'out celebration in *Gesher*, an information circular distributed by the embassy to all Israelis registered there.

\*2) Respondents could indicate they belonged to Sjalhomo at the question about membership of Jewish associations. Six did so.

The following paragraphs address awareness and use of JMW, Sinai Ambulant, and, lastly, the other three items and organizations.

## **AWARENESS AND USE OF JMW**

Reports concerning awareness and use of JMW may not be fully representative of the overall pattern among Israelis. As this organization was the source for the distribution network of the survey forms, clients who have used - or at least know - JMW are slightly overrepresented, as borne out by careful inspection of the material. As only a small share of the survey forms was distributed through JMW, however, the distortion is slight.

### Awareness of JMW

Among the respondents to this question, about 45 percent have heard of JMW.

Statistical analysis reveals that a strong attachment to Judaism, a Jewish partner, a higher age group, and extended residence in Holland increase the likelihood of an awareness of JMW. People living in and around Amsterdam and more educated respondents are also more likely to have heard of JMW. Sephardim and sabras are less likely to know about JMW, while respondents with Western-European backgrounds tend to be more familiar with the institution.

Finally, the breakdown by occupation in Holland generated the following picture:

JMW is better known among Israelis in academia (both professionals and students), administration, education, health care, art, social welfare, and miscellaneous areas. The contrary holds true for Israelis whose work involves security, hotels, restaurants, and catering, technology, industry, commerce, as well as for respondents who did not report any occupation.

Considering the generally weak attachment to Judaism among Israelis, the figure of 45 percent that has heard of JMW seems quite high.

On the other hand, 50 percent of the Israelis in Holland has resided here 4 to 10 years, and 35 percent has been here over 10 years. The data reveal that study is the main reason that 10 percent and a secondary reason that 20 percent of the respondents came to Holland. JMW arranges student grants (internal sources at JMW have indicated that considerable numbers of Israelis use this service). Jewish partners of Israelis who have heard of JMW are also likely to know about this organization.

From this perspective, awareness of JMW actually appears rather restricted.

Perhaps JMW should consider whether the fact that about 55 percent of the Israeli share of its target group has never heard

of it is cause to examine the composition of the following group: Israelis with shorter periods of residence in Holland, who live outside Amsterdam, are fairly young and less well educated, have a Sephardi or sabra background, or have an occupation characterized by little familiarity with institutions providing assistance.

## Use of JMW

Even given the fairly high incidence of short informative contacts and the role of JMW in student grants, the use of this institution is impressive.

Such use is especially high, considering that over half the Israeli share of the target group has never heard of JMW. Nor do Israelis in Holland fit in the category most likely to receive AMW (i.e., underprivileged individuals).

What does the 15 percent share of the respondents that has used JMW at any point signify? Two comparisons may provide an answer to this question:

- 1) Research data from the *Sociaal en Cultureel Rapport 1992*<sup>34</sup> indicate that 3.6 percent of the respondents has received AMW in Holland over the past two years. The two figures are not fully comparable, as the *Sociaal en Cultureel Rapport* investigated only the past two years, while the survey asked about use of JMW at any point in time. Nonetheless, the rate of about 15 percent for JMW seems rather high compared with the finding of 3.6 percent for its general Dutch counterpart.
- 2) Use of JMW among Dutch Jews. Annually, 3,000 clients use the services of JMW. For a total Jewish population of 30,000 in Holland, this figure equals 10 percent of the entire target group. The level of recidivism is unknown. At any rate, this extremely high rate of 10 percent annually compared with 3.6 percent among the general Dutch population in a two-year period certainly suggests that more than 15 percent has used JMW at a given point in time. From this perspective, the share of Israelis using JMW is high, but not as high as the rate among Dutch Jews.

Statistical analysis of the use conveyed a somewhat different impression than the analysis of the awareness of JMW: the correlation between attachment to Judaism and use of JMW was statistically insignificant; the same held true for respondents with a Jewish partner. Only among people living outside Amsterdam did a strong attachment to Israel increased the likelihood of having used JMW. Unlike in the case of awareness, therefore, the attachment factor play a very limited role in the use of JMW.

More educated respondents (some of whom probably learned about JMW through student grants) and older individuals have a greater tendency to report using JMW. The same holds true for people in occupations involving academia, health care, art, and research (students), while the other factors mentioned above are unrelated to the use of JMW.

The comparison with the use of Dutch assistance services in the

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<sup>34</sup> Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 1992, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

previous section clearly reveals that 103 (15.2 percent of 673) Israelis turned to JMW, while only 6 used the services of a different AMW institution. Apparently, Israelis in need of AMW help are very likely to approach JMW.

## **AWARENESS AND USE OF SINAI AMBULANT**

### Awareness of Sinai Ambulant

Sinai Ambulant is not very well known. Of course, secondary care providers rarely are. Here too, relevant considerations include both the possibility that Israelis may not have heard of Sinai Ambulant because they tend to have little attachment to Judaism, and because Sinai Ambulant does not offer reputation-enhancing services such as student grant arrangements. Alternatively, most Israelis have resided in Holland for an extended period, and about 28 percent has a Dutch-Jewish partner.

Statistical analysis of the awareness of Sinai Ambulant generates a pattern identical to that of awareness of JMW: people with a strong attachment to Judaism, a Jewish partner, a Western-European background, a higher level of education, and a longer period of residence in Holland, as well as those who pertain to an older age group are more likely to know about Sinai Ambulant. Here too, the rate of awareness was lower among Sephardim and sabras.

### Use of Sinai Ambulant

The survey revealed that the use of Sinai Ambulant differed considerably from that of JMW. Comparing the figures for Dutch assistance services from the previous section reveals that Israelis are almost as likely to use Dutch (i.e., non-Jewish) assistance services (30 persons) as Sinai Ambulant (31 persons).

The reasons provided for not approaching a Jewish assistance service primarily relate to Sinai Ambulant. Lack of information is a major factor (listed 14 in cases), and various "Jewish" considerations are mentioned as well (18 cases). Practical motivations play virtually no role.

With respect to the use of the RIAGG in Holland, the aforementioned investigation by the Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau revealed that 3.6 percent of the people questioned had used this facility in the past two years (the same share that had used the AMW). Within the Jewish target group, about 1,100 people use the services of Sinai Ambulant annually. Given a Jewish population in Holland of 30,000, Sinai Ambulant serves 3.7 percent of its target group each year. Considering the difference between the methods of evaluation, both percentages appear similar to the combined use of Sinai Ambulant and RIAGG facilities among Israelis (about 9 percent has used either of the two services at some point).

Statistical analysis reveals increased use of Sinai Ambulant among respondents who have resided in Holland longer, are older, live in and around Amsterdam, or have a Western or Eastern European background. The reverse holds true for individuals with

Sephardi backgrounds.

Clearly, patterns of attachment play no role with respect to use (as opposed to awareness) of this service!

## **AWARENESS OF AND INVOLVEMENT IN JOM HAVOETBAL, THE NIW, SJALHOMO, AND THE YOM HA'ATZMA'OUT CELEBRATION**

### Awareness

The *NIW* is very well known, especially considering the weak pattern of attachment to Judaism. The same applies to a lesser degree to *Jom Havoetbal*.

The Yom Ha'atzma'out celebration at the Israeli Embassy is common knowledge for many Israelis, as everyone listed in the embassy's register is notified of the event (except for some of the former Israelis).

While Sjalhomo is much less well known, this organization serves a selective share of the entire Jewish and Israeli populations (see Section 1.7 for the discussion of Sjalhomo).

Statistical analysis provided the following information:

Respondents are more likely to know the *NIW* if they have a strong attachment to Judaism, are well educated, have a Jewish partner, are older, live in and around Amsterdam, or have resided in Holland longer.

Respondents are more likely to have heard of *Jom Havoetbal* if they have a strong attachment to Judaism or Israel, have a Jewish partner, are older, live in and around Amsterdam, or have resided in Holland longer.

### Use

A remarkably large share of Israelis has attended the embassy's Yom Ha'atzma'out celebration, especially compared with their attendance of *Jom Havoetbal*. While both annual outdoor events have a lot in common, respondents are apparently more attracted to the one that is specifically Israeli.

According to the statistical analysis:

Israelis with a Jewish partner, a strong attachment to Israel, higher education, as well as Israelis living in the *mediene* are more likely to attend the embassy's Yom Ha'atzma'out celebration.

Israelis with a strong attachment to Israel or Judaism, a Sephardi background, a Jewish partner, a longer period of residence in Holland, as well as Israelis living in or around Amsterdam are more likely to attend *Jom Havoetbal*.

### 3.3 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY ISRAELIS IN HOLLAND

Among the 692 Israelis, 388 respondents listed a total of 583 problems (they were allowed to indicate multiple problems):

Table 3.3.1

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY ISRAELIS (%)		
<b>Israeli</b>	lack of social/cultural activities	13.9
	longing for/estrangement from Israel	8.2
	no nationwide Israeli organization	8.2
	lack of general information	3.6
	lack of newspapers/books in Hebrew	2.5
	lack of information from the embassy	1.0
	lack of Israeli food	0.3
	<b>subtotal: 37.9</b>	
<b>Jewish</b>	no/poor contact with Dutch Jews	10.6
	assimilation	2.7
	no synagogue/kosher food in the area	2.5
	<b>bttotal: 15.9</b>	
<b>practical</b>	language barrier	5.7
	finding work	5.0
	Dutch weather	2.4
	money	2.0
	financial/legal counsel	0.9
	residence permits	0.3
	studies	0.2
	<b>subtotal: 16.5</b>	
<b>social</b>	integration	28.0
	discrimination/anti-semitism	1.7
	<b>subtotal: 29.7</b>	
		<b>Total: 100.0</b>

N = 583

In addition to the 388 respondents who listed problems, 31 people indicated that they had no problems. Of the 419 individuals who responded to the question about problems:

- 8.1 percent had no problems
- 91.9 percent had problems.

The question on the survey was: "What do you consider the most

serious problems for Israelis in Holland?" The question was deliberately formulated to avoid inquiring about the personal problems of the respondents. The general formulation was expected to yield better responses to the question.

**Integration** appeared more often than any other single item (about 28 percent of all problems mentioned). This result is surprising because:

- a) about 70 percent of the Israelis has a Dutch partner (Jewish or otherwise)
- b) most Israelis are employed, and only a small share is seeking employment
- c) most Israelis have quite a few Dutch contacts.

Statistical analysis indicates that people with many Dutch contacts are not less likely to report integration problems. Respondents with high occupational prestige have the same tendency. Remarkably, extended residence in Holland also coincides with an increased incidence of this type of problem! This suggests that integration can be a very long-term issue. The very strong emotional bond with Israel that is felt by most respondents may be a related factor, along with the experience that the hospitality of Dutch Jews leaves much to be desired. This information may also indicate that while Israelis have an easy time with practical integration in Holland, they often have difficulty dealing with the lack of aspects of life perceived as typically Israeli.

Finally, some people who do not have problems themselves may be inclined to mention general problems common among other Israelis (e.g., integration).

The largest subsection of problems of Israelis in Holland concerns the lack of **Israeli activities, organizations, and practical matters** (about 38 percent), especially activities or organizations (respondents often mix their use of these words). People with Sephardi backgrounds are more likely to report such problems, as opposed to their counterparts with Western or Eastern-European backgrounds. As might have been expected, people living outside the area of Amsterdam who do not have a Jewish partner are also more likely to list such issues. Duration of residence in Holland is not a factor in this respect.

Considering that the respondents are immigrants, they report relatively few **practical problems**; the low rate of financial trouble (2 percent) is striking. The lack of any relationship of factors such as duration of residence in Holland, education, region, age,

and sex with respect to practical problems is also interesting.

Reports of practical problems are more common among Israelis without a Dutch-Jewish partner.

**Jewish issues** are a separate category of problems and account for about 16 percent. Such problems especially concern the attitude of Dutch Jews.

Strong attachments to Judaism or Israel, higher levels of education, living in and around Amsterdam, and longer residence in Holland increase the likelihood of reporting "Jewish" problems.

The reasons for the increased incidence of Jewish problems reported by people living in and around Amsterdam over their counterparts in the *mediene* are unclear. Perhaps Israelis residing in Amsterdam, the only city with a substantial Jewish population, expect more from Dutch Jews and are disappointed.

### 3.4 DESIRED FACILITIES

The 397 respondents to the question "Which facilities for Israelis are lacking in Holland?" provided 603 suggestions for facilities they wanted in Holland:

In addition, 42 people responded to this question by indicating "unnecessary."

Among the 439 respondents to the question about desired facilities:

- 9.6 percent does not desire more facilities
- 90.4 percent desires more facilities.

Table 3.4.1

<b>FACILITIES DESIRED FOR ISRAELIS (%)</b>		
<b>social/cultural activities</b>	with other Israelis	28.0
	with Dutch Jews	4.0
	<b>subtotal: 32.3</b>	
<b>nationwide organization</b>	for Israelis only	15.9
	<b>subtotal: 15.9</b>	
<b>practical Israeli</b>	Hebrew books	7.8
	Hebrew newspapers	6.0
	TV/radio/videos/music	5.5
	food/restaurants/cafes	1.7
	Israeli cemetery	0.5
	Hebrew translations at no charge	0.5
	bank	0.2
	<b>subtotal: 22.1</b>	
<b>practical Jewish</b>	affordable kosher food	1.8
	more synagogues	1.3
	more yeshivahs/mikvahs/ swimming pools for women	0.5
	<b>3.6</b>	
<b>practical general</b>	help finding work	5.5
	help learning Dutch	2.2
	legal aid	1.8
	advice on studies and grants	1.0
	help finding housing	0.8
	financial aid	0.7
	general help	0.2
	<b>subtotal: 12.1</b>	

<b>information</b>	about Israel	8.0
	about Dutch Jews	5.0
	from the embassy	1.0
	<b>subtotal: 14.0</b>	
		<b>Total: 100.0</b>

N = 603

Based on the observations in Section 3.3 ("Problems Encountered by Israelis in Holland"), the first striking result concerns the virtual absence of requests for facilities for relieving integration problems (and problems with Dutch Jews). On the contrary: Israelis are more interested in enhancing collective Israeli facilities.

In keeping with the reported lack of Israeli activities and an Israeli organization, Israelis feel the strongest need for **social and cultural activities or a nationwide Israeli organization** (a total of about 48 percent of all desires indicated).

Israelis with Western or Eastern-European backgrounds are less likely to express a need for a nationwide organization, as opposed to their counterparts with Sephardi backgrounds (who are more likely to do so).

The need for social and cultural activities reflects the same pattern, although sabras join the group of Israelis with Sephardi backgrounds in this respect. Most such activities are envisioned as Israeli occasions, and very few concern Dutch Jews.

Contrary to the dearth of problems reported concerning **practical Israeli concerns**, the desire for these facilities is considerable. Most such requests involved books, newspapers, and audiovisual materials. People with an Eastern-European background were less likely to

indicate these needs, whereas people with a Sephardi background were more likely to do so. Other independent variables did not affect the responses to this question.

The number of requests for **practical Jewish facilities** is virtually negligible.

Among the infrequent expressions of desires for **practical or general assistance**, help finding employment was the only request that appeared a significant number of times. Israelis with Sephardi backgrounds were more likely to express a desire for practical or general assistance than their counterparts with Eastern-European backgrounds. Understandably, such desires were also infrequent among Israelis with a Jewish partner.

The need for **information**, which was hardly mentioned in the section about problems, accounts for 14 percent of the desires listed. Because information services also play a role in the need for activities, a nationwide organization, books, newspapers, and audiovisual media, the percentage of explicit reports of a need for information seems rather high. Men were more likely than women to express this need.

As noted, 9.6 percent of the 439 respondents to this question felt no need for facilities for Israelis. This opinion was more common among men than among women.



PART IV CHILDREN

#### 4.0 GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT CHILDREN

The calculation that yielded an Israeli population of 9,818 in Holland suggests that 4,800 Israeli children live in Holland (i.e., children with at least one Israeli parent).

Their projected age distribution is as follows:

0 - 4	1529
5 - 9	1306
10 - 14	1159
15 - 19	677

This breakdown reveals a concentration of children between 0 and 9, with relatively few children aged 15 to 19.

#### 4.1 COUNTRY OF BIRTH

The following countries of birth were reported for 650 children:

419 (64.4%)	were born in Holland,
226 (34.8%)	were born in Israel,
5 ( 0.8%)	were born elsewhere.

Most children were born in Holland. Section 1.9 ("Country of Birth, Background, and Nationality") addresses this comparison with respect to children, parents, and grandparents.

## 4.2 NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO SPEAK HEBREW

Information about proficiency in Hebrew was provided for 575 children. The question did not apply to the 76 other children under 3.

Graph 4.2.1

About 35 percent of the children is fluent, and about 37 percent knows some Hebrew. This rate of proficiency is remarkable for an immigrant group that has lived in Holland for an extended period and where 70 percent has a partner who is not Israeli, even if some parents may overestimate their offspring's proficiency in Hebrew.

Statistical analysis confirms the assumption that such proficiency reflects a high level of motivation among the Israeli parents: stronger attachment to Israel coincides with a knowledge of Hebrew among the offspring. Jewish partners also increase the likelihood of proficiency in Hebrew. As might have been expected, however, children of Israelis who have lived in Holland longer are less likely to speak Hebrew.

### 4.3 YOUTH GROUPS

#### NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO BELONG TO YOUTH GROUPS

The parents of 458 children provided the following responses to the question about membership of youth groups:

yes	92 (20.1%)
no	366 (79.9%)

In addition, 196 children under 5 or over 20 (the older group consists of people who are not heads of households) are ineligible to join a youth group by virtue of their age.

Initially, the percentage of children that belongs to a Jewish youth group seems lower (about 20 percent) than the percentage of heads of households that belongs to a Jewish association (about 25 percent). Among over half the heads of households, however, such memberships concern a religious congregation.

As might have been expected, a strong attachment to Judaism (**not** a strong attachment to Israel) and a Jewish partner increase the likelihood that the children belong to a youth group.

Finally, the parents of children who belong to a Jewish youth group are more likely to have Eastern-European backgrounds and less likely to have Sephardi backgrounds. This trait may be partially attributable to the Eastern-European roots of the youth movement in Israel, which is understandably less popular among Sephardim.

## MEMBERSHIP OF YOUTH GROUPS

Evaluating the membership of youth groups should reflect the fact that about 20 percent of the Israeli offspring is not Jewish according to the *halachah* and is therefore ineligible to join religious youth groups. The percentages have not been adjusted to reflect this situation.

The parents of 83 children specified the youth groups to which their children belonged:

Graph 4.3.1

The majority of members of Jewish youth groups belong to Habonim or Tsabbar (together about 57% of all memberships), which are both non-religious. B'né Akiwa has the largest membership of Israeli offspring among the religious youth groups (about 12%). The distribution between the non-religious and the religious youth groups correlates roughly with the general pattern of secular orientation among the heads of households.

#### 4.4 JEWISH SCHOOLS

##### ATTENDANCE OF JEWISH SCHOOLS

The parents of 534 children indicated whether their offspring attended Jewish schools.

yes: 77 (14.4%) (38 at Rosj Pina, 20 at Cheider, 19 at Maimonides)

no: 457 (85.6%)

In addition, 120 children under 3 or over 20 do not yet attend or have left school. Again, the fact that 20 percent of these children is not Jewish according to the *halachah* may play a role.

Because all Jewish schools are in Amsterdam, the share of Israeli children living in Amsterdam or Amstelveen that attends a Jewish school may convey a more realistic picture:

Of the 161 Israeli children living in Amsterdam or Amstelveen whose parents indicated whether they attended Jewish schools:

66 (41%) do (33 at Rosj Pina, 20 at Cheider, 13 at Maimonides)

95 (59%) do not.

In addition, 42 children under 3 or over 20 do not yet attend or have left school.

Of the 77 Israeli children enrolled in Jewish schools, 66 (85.7%) live in Amsterdam or Amstelveen (the other 11 children live in Almere, Dronten, Haarlem, Hoofddorp, Rotterdam, and Zaandam).

The share of children enrolled at Jewish schools is remarkable, given the low scores of the Israelis on the scale of attachment to Judaism and the percentage that belongs to a Jewish organization. The substantial cost of tuition at these schools makes the rate of registration even more impressive.

The percentage is very similar to the finding of a study done in another country. In South Africa, where 60 percent of the Jewish children attended Jewish schools in 1984, 65 percent of Israelis who arrived during the 1980s enrolled their children in Jewish schools.<sup>35</sup>

As might have been expected, respondents with a strong attachment to Judaism or a Jewish partner are more likely to send their children to Jewish schools. A strong attachment to Israel also increases this probability.

Background and education of the parents do not influence the decision to send children to Jewish schools.

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<sup>35</sup>*Papers in Jewish Demography 1985, op. cit., pp. 277-278.*

## MOTIVATIONS FOR CHOICE OF SCHOOL

The 188 Israeli parents who responded to this question listed 543 considerations that affected their choice of school for their children (respondents could list multiple factors):

Table 4.4.1

DOES YOUR CHILD ATTEND A JEWISH SCHOOL? YES/NO, WHY? (%)		
<b>yes, ideological</b>	Jewish values	10.3
	<b>subtotal: 10.3</b>	
<b>yes, general</b>	high standard/good method/small school/ near home	3.0
	<b>subtotal: 3.0</b>	
<b>no, ideological</b>	too religious	16.9
	bad for integration	7.6
	<b>subtotal: 24.5</b>	
<b>no, general</b>	too far	40.9
	inadequate standard	13.4
	not a good method	7.4
	too expensive	0.6
	<b>subtotal: 62.2</b>	
		<b>Total: 100.0</b>

N = 543

In addition, 120 children under 3 or over 20 do not yet attend or have left school. Again, the fact that 20 percent of these children is not Jewish according to the *halachah* may play a role.

As the majority of Israelis lives outside the area of Amsterdam, the purely practical consideration of distance is the most common reason (about 41%) for not sending a child to a Jewish school.

Analyzing the research material also showed the importance of the distant factor: about 40 percent of the respondents who objected to the distance expressed the desire for Jewish education or Hebrew classes.

The fact that 41% of the Israeli children in Amsterdam attends a

Jewish school is an additional reason for taking this percentage seriously.

Disregarding geographic considerations in the choice of school significantly increases the relative importance of the answer "because of Jewish values." The two main factors in choosing a school then become: Jewish values (in a positive sense) versus too religious and bad for integration (negative factors).<sup>36</sup> This contrast reflects the overall pattern: half the Israelis have little connection with the Jewish community, while the other half comprises individuals with strong feelings either for or against religion.

The relatively high percentage reporting "bad for integration" is not related to the major integration issue (see Section 3.3, Problems Encountered by Israelis); respondents reporting integration problems list the argument "bad for integration" just as frequently as those not mentioning such problems.

The following section about desired facilities for children reveals a great need for education, especially outside the area of Amsterdam. It also indicates that while some respondents are interested in Jewish education, the majority would like Israeli education and takes the Jewish component for granted. Finally, a very small share of the respondents considers the Jewish schools too expensive.

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<sup>36</sup> This pattern reveals a striking parallel with the Lange's findings (A. Lange, *op. cit.*, p. 76). "He finds that practical considerations play no role in the decision to enroll children in one of the Jewish schools in Amsterdam. Rather, the bond with Judaism is the single main factor."

#### 4.5 DESIRED FACILITIES FOR CHILDREN

Altogether, 147 respondents expressed an interest in 214 facilities for children (people could list more than one item):

Table 4.5.1

<b>WHICH FACILITIES FOR CHILDREN ARE LACKING IN Holland? (%)</b>		
<b>activities</b>	social/cultural	39.3
	<b>subtotal: 39.3</b>	
<b>education</b>	prefer Israeli, Jewish if necessary	17.0 4.0
	affordable Jewish education	1.4
	<b>subtotal: 22.4</b>	
<b>language</b>	Hebrew classes	21.5
	<b>subtotal: 21.5</b>	
<b>youth group</b>	outside Amsterdam	8.4
	<b>subtotal: 8.4</b>	
<b>practical Israeli</b>	Hebrew books	4.7
	TV/videos	1.9
	Hebrew computer programs	0.9
	Hebrew music	0.9
	<b>subtotal: 8.4</b>	
		<b>Total: 100.0</b>

N = 214

In addition, 10 individuals indicated "unnecessary" in response to this question.

Of the 157 responses to this question:

- 6.4 percent does not desire additional facilities for children;
- 93.6 percent desires additional facilities for children.

Social and cultural activities, education, and Hebrew classes clearly top the list of desired facilities for children. Various options are available in Holland for elementary school

students whose native language is not Dutch. Israeli parents are

apparently unaware of these provisions.

Especially compared with the practical Israeli facilities desired by heads of households (a share of about 22 percent), the percentage of practical Israeli facilities listed for children is low (about 8 percent). The share is higher among respondents with a Jewish partner.

As might have been expected, the need for activities and education is mentioned more frequently by respondents living outside the area of Amsterdam.

Parents with Eastern-European or Sephardi backgrounds are more likely to indicate a need for activities, while their counterparts with Western-European and sabra backgrounds are less likely to do so. No explanation was found for this pattern.

Older Israelis tend to express less of a need for services providing education, language, and practical Israeli matters to their children. Of course, their children are probably older and may have outgrown such needs.

Attachment to Judaism or Israel and the educational level of the parents do not influence these needs.

**PART V APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX I

### NETWORK

The registration list at the Israeli Embassy in The Hague was the main source of reference for distributing survey questionnaires to Israelis in Holland. Additional channels for distribution consisted of official and informal networks.

#### 1) Official networks

Jewish organizations and a few other associations in Holland received requests to give or send survey questionnaires to Israeli members, participants, students, and the like. The organizations that complied with this request included: Stichting Tarboet Ressorst, the WIZO, rabbis, Jewish schools, the youth movements Habonim and Tsabbar, Sjalhomo, mohels, the Joodse Mensa, the Rosenthaliana Library, the Gerrit Rietveld Academy of Art and Design, and Israclub travel agent.

No means were available for verifying whether the members, participants, or students of these organizations had already received survey questionnaires from the Israeli Embassy. Inevitably, some Israelis therefore got multiple questionnaire forms, as noted in the cover letter. Some recipients were bothered by such a redundant approach.

The investigation as to whether any individuals had completed multiple survey questionnaires indicated that nobody had submitted more than a single form.

#### 2) Informal networks

Requests also went out to many individuals to distribute the questionnaires to Israeli acquaintances. In turn, these Israelis were expected to pass the survey questionnaire on to other Israelis. The initial pool of individuals consisted mainly of JMW staff and volunteers.

The minimal time for enlarging the distribution system (about 3 months) and the available manpower for evaluating the survey (2 part-time workers) limited the number of survey questionnaires transmitted through this network.

APPENDIX II

THE SURVEY FORMS: DISTRIBUTION AND RESPONSE

DISTRIBUTION AND RETURN OF SURVEYS						
	Embassy	Embassy (%)	Network	Network (%)	Total	Total (%)
Amsterdam	585	30.5	291	41.4	876	33.4
Amstelveen	131	6.8	62	8.8	193	7.3
The Hague	133	6.9	29	4.1	162	6.2
Rotterdam	103	5.4	30	4.3	133	5.1
rest of Holland	968	50.4	291	41.4	1,259	48.0
Total	1,920	100.0	703*	100.0	2,623	100.0
Response**	462	24.1	142	20.2	604	23.0

\*) Unlike the questionnaires distributed by the embassy (which issued a known quantity of forms), the number of forms handed out through the network that actually reached the target group is a subject of conjecture. In cases where people received questionnaire forms from multiple sources, only 1 survey questionnaire was counted.

\*\*) The survey was designed to be completed by households. The response figure reflects the number of households that responded (604). As some households comprised two Israeli adults, 692 individuals actually completed the survey forms.

The actual response exceeded the figure of 604. Fourteen additional households (comprising 17 heads of households and 11 children) returned their forms after the closing date for the survey. These data arrived too late for inclusion.

APPENDIX III

**SAMPLE**

From 1 November 1994, a nationwide sample survey was taken to determine the share of Israelis that had received the form through the embassy.

Volunteers who helped distribute the survey asked 237 Israelis whether they had received a survey questionnaire from the embassy.

The investigation did not reveal any characteristics (e.g., age, region, work or study, etc.) that systematically made certain categories of Israelis more likely than others to be included on the embassy's list of addresses.

In the absence of selective criteria, this group was considered representative of the individuals registered at the embassy.

Duration of residence in Holland proved the only exception to this rule. Extended residence increased the likelihood of inclusion in the register of addresses (for example through passport extension or renewal).

Results of the sample:

total sample	received survey from embassy	did not survey embassy	receive from
237	111		126
100%	47%		53%

Statistical conclusion: Given an estimated total of 9,150 Israelis, the sample survey indicates a 95% probability that the Israeli population in Holland is between 8,687 and 9,663.

APPENDIX IV

COMPARISON OF GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO THE SURVEY AND THE EMBASSY RECORDS

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF ISRAELIS AND FORMER ISRAELIS BY PROVINCE (SURVEY/EMBASSY) (%)		
	survey	embassy
Groningen	1.8	1.6
including Groningen (city)	1.8	1.4
Friesland	1.5	1.3
Drenthe	0.8	0.6
Overijssel	1.3	2.1
Gelderland	7.6	6.3
including Arnhem	1.8	1.5
Utrecht	10.6	8.2
including Utrecht (city)	5.6	2.8
Flevoland	1.8	1.7
including Almere	1.2	1.0
Noord-Holland	47.5	47.1
including Amsterdam	31.0	30.5
Amstelveen	6.3	6.8
Haarlem	2.5	1.2
Hoofddorp	1.2	1.1
Zuid-Holland	20.7	23.3
including The Hague	5.6	5.4
Rotterdam	5.6	2.1
Leiden	1.0	1.5
Delft	0.8	
Zeeland	0.5	0.4
Noord-Brabant	3.8	4.9
Limburg	2.0	2.3

N (survey) = 604

N (embassy) = 1,920

Remark

The geographic distribution of households in the survey reveals a strong correlation with the pattern emerging from registration at the embassy, with respect to both the provinces and the major cities.

Small (i.e., statistically irrelevant) differences appear for Utrecht (both the city and the province), Zuid-Holland, and Noord-Brabant.

APPENDIX V

CURRENT MARITAL STATUS OF DIVORCED RESPONDENTS

CURRENT MARITAL STATUS OF DIVORCED RESPONDENTS BY SEX AND AGE GROUP							
	men			women			Totaal
	singl e	marr.	coh.	singl e	marr.	coh.	
0-19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20-24	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
25-29	2	0	1	0	2	0	5
30-34	5	5	4	1	2	4	21
35-39	4	8	3	3	1	2	21
40-44	9	4	1	5	4	0	23
45-49	4	3	3	10	5	3	28
50-54	2	0	1	6	4	1	14
55-59	4	3	0	0	0	0	7
60-64	1	0	1	0	0	1	3
65-69	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
70-74	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
75+	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	33	25	14	27	18	11	128
<b>%</b>	45.8	34.7	19.4	48.2	32.1	19.6	100.0

One woman did not report her age.

marr. = married  
coh. = cohabiting

## APPENDIX VI

**MEMBERSHIP OF JEWISH ASSOCIATIONS**  
(As reported by the respondents)

<b>MEMBERSHIP OF JEWISH ASSOCIATIONS (*)</b>	
organization/association	number
LJG	47
NIG	45
PIG	6
NIHS	5
Jad Achat ( <i>educational orthodox association</i> )	3
Chacham Zwi ( <i>orthodox association</i> )	2
Orthodox	2
WIZO	16
Sjalhomo	6
IJAR ( <i>organization of Jewish students</i> )	4
Joodse Cafe's	4
FNZ ( <i>federation of Dutch Zionists</i> )	2
HOK ( <i>children in hiding</i> )	2
Joodse Wetenschappers ( <i>Jewish scholars</i> )	2
Alpha-Omega ( <i>not a fraternity</i> )	1
Bnei-Brith	1
Bnei-Hapolder ( <i>society of polder residents</i> )	1
CIZ ( <i>Jewish hospital</i> )	1
JBC	1
Joodse Vrijwilligers Noord-Holland ( <i>Jewish volunteers</i> )	1
Vriendschap Israël-Nederland ( <i>Israel-Holland friends</i> )	1
Jachad ( <i>Jewish social club</i> )	6

Matai (Jewish social club)	6
Israëlische Vrouwenkring ( <i>circle of Israeli women</i> )	4
Chaveriem Noord-Holland (Jewish social club)	3
Radioamateurs	1
Maccabi Tennis	5
Hapo'el Schieten ( <i>rifle club</i> )	3

(\*) translation provided in brackets where necessary

MEMBERSHIP OF YOUTH GROUPS	
youth group	number
Haboniem	30
Tsabbar	17
Hatsofiem	3
Kadiema	3
Shmuts	1
B'né-Akiwa	10
Hashalshélet	6
Chevrat-Tehilim	2
sports	8
members of unspecified associations	9

## APPENDIX VII

### SCALES OF ATTACHMENT TO ISRAEL AND JUDAISM

#### 1) SCALE OF ATTACHMENT TO ISRAEL

The scale of attachment to Israel comprises the three factors listed below. Two points were assigned for each expression of attachment to Israel in terms of the criteria indicated. A weak or non-existent attachment to Israel yielded no points. A total score of 0 or 2 points indicates little attachment according to the scale. A score of 4 or 6 points reflects strong ties.

The three factors are:

- 1) Possibility of returning to Israel and the likelihood of doing so within three years.
- 2) Bond with Israel.
- 3) Pattern of contacts with Israelis.

Explanation of the three factors:

1) Respondents could answer "yes" or "no" to the question "Do you ever plan to return to Israel?" Several people were expected to report "don't know." Accordingly, this category figures among the possible responses.

The question continues: "Within three years?" Possible answers are "yes," "no," and "don't know." The six possible combinations of answers are: 1 = no/not applicable, 2 = don't know/no, 3 = don't know/don't know, 4 = yes/no, 5 = yes/don't know, 6 = yes/yes.

Categories 1 to 3 indicate a weak attachment. Categories 4 to 6 indicate strong ties with Israel.

2) Possible answers to the question "Do you have a strong bond with Israel?" included 0 = none, 1 = weak, 2 = strong, 3 = very strong.

Categories 0 and 1 indicate a weak attachment; categories 2 and 3 indicate a strong attachment.

3) The answers to the questions about the number of Israeli, Jewish, and Dutch acquaintances were: none, less than five, five to ten, more than ten.

The pattern of contacts reported revealed whether Israelis accounted for a large, medium, or small share in that network of contacts for each respondent. This section reflects the relative importance of contact with Israelis with respect to contact with Jews and Dutch people.

Responses within the middle range were then broken down according to the absolute number of contacts with Israelis: responses indicating "none" or "less than five" were entered on the low end of the attachment scale, while responses indicating "five to ten" or "more than ten" were entered on the high end.

"High" signifies a strong attachment.  
"Low" signifies a weak attachment.

Several tests assessed the reliability of this scale. First, calculating the chi-square established the correlation of each of the three variables with respect to the scale. Each calculation revealed a very high positive correlation. Another factor of consideration concerned the language spoken by the first child (Hebrew or a different language). This variable does not figure on the attachment scale because many Israelis had no children in the relevant age group. Nevertheless, this test also revealed a strong positive correlation.

## 2) SCALE OF ATTACHMENT TO JUDAISM

The scale of attachment to Judaism consists of the following three dimensions. In each response to one of these dimensions, the expression of a bond with Judaism yielded two points. Responses that indicated no bond with Judaism or that indicated a very weak bond received no points. Total scores of 0 or 2 points signified little attachment according to the scale. Scores of 4 or 6 points indicated a strong attachment.

The three dimensions are:

- 1) Religious orientation.
- 2) Attendance of religious services at a synagogue.
- 3) Pattern of contacts with Jews.

Explanation of the three dimensions:

1) Responses to the question about religious orientation included: religious, traditional, or secular. "Religious" signified a strong attachment to Judaism, whereas "traditional" or "secular" indicated a weak attachment.

2) Respondents indicated the actual number of times they had attended religious services in a year. No attendance at all signified a weak bond with Judaism. One or several visits indicated a strong bond.

3) The method for evaluating the pattern of contacts with Jews was identical to the method for evaluating the pattern of contacts with Israelis. Once again, respondents might receive a high score (indicating a strong attachment to Judaism) or a low score (a weak attachment).

Several tests assessed the reliability of this scale as well. Again, the chi square revealed the correlation of each of the three variables with respect to the scale. Each of the three cases indicated a strong positive correlation.

APPENDIX VIII  
COVER LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRES







COVER LETTER (english translation)

Dear Israelis,

The foundation Joods Maatschappelijk Werk (JMW), an institution for social work serving all Jews in Holland, is investigating the particular needs of Israelis in Holland.

While JMW does not have a list of addresses for Israelis in Holland, the Israeli Embassy in The Hague has agreed to send copies of the questionnaire to all Israelis registered there (the embassy is not authorized to share its list with us).

If you like, you may complete the questionnaire and return it to JMW in the enclosed, postage-paid envelope.

All personal data will be handled with the utmost discretion and will not be communicated to any other agencies.

You may also opt to complete the questionnaire anonymously (space for general remarks is provided on the back).

In addition to this copy of the questionnaire sent by the embassy, volunteers at our organization may approach you directly. Should that happen, please return only one questionnaire.

**Please return the questionnaire, even if you have completed only part. We welcome all information!**

We hope the results of this investigation will reveal the particular needs and desires of Israelis residing in Holland. Although we cannot promise to grant all requests from Israelis, we will do our very best to realize the wishes and ideas of Israelis in Holland whenever possible.

We deeply appreciate your cooperation.

Wilma Stein  
General director of JMW

P.S.

For questions or additional questionnaires to distribute to other Israelis in your area, please contact:

Joseph Almagor 020-6730629 (JMW office), 08894-20690 (home)

Yariv Dvir 020-6730629 (JMW office)

Victor Shani 020-6730629 (JMW office)

Chris Kooyman 020-6730629 (JMW office), 020-6646180 (home).

QUESTIONNAIRE (english translation)

**TO BE COMPLETED EXCLUSIVELY BY ISRAELIS AND FORMER ISRAELIS**

If you are single, complete only the left column. If your partner is not and never was Israeli, complete only the left column. If your partner is or was Israeli, complete the left column yourself and have your partner complete the right column.

Sex	male/female	male/female
Date of birth		
Country of birth		
Nationality or Nationalities		
Father's country of birth		
Mother's country of birth		
Marital status	married/single/ cohabiting/separated	married/single/ cohabiting/separated
Any previous marriages?	no/yes to an Israeli/Dutch person/other	no/yes to an Israeli/Dutch person/other
How many children were born from your previous marriages?		
How long did you reside in Israel?		
When did you move to Holland?		
Main reason for settling or residing in Holland	work/study/partner/ other:	work/study/partner/ other:
Education	elementary school high school advanced vocational/junior college university	elementary school high school advanced vocational/junior college university
Where?	in Israel/in Holland/elsewhere?	in Israel/in Holland/elsewhere
Occupation in Israel		
Present occupation or field of study in		

Holland		
Do you have a Jewish partner?	yes/no	yes/no
Are you	secular/traditional/religious	secular/traditional/religious
Is your attachment to Israel	nihil/weak/moderate/strong/very strong	nihil/weak/moderate/strong/very strong
With how many Israelis in Holland do you maintain <b>regular</b> social contact?	none/less than five/five to ten/over ten	none/less than five/five to ten/over ten
With how many Dutch Jews do you maintain <b>regular</b> social contact?	none/less than five/five to ten/over ten	none/less than five/five to ten/over ten
With how many Dutch people do you maintain <b>regular</b> social contact?	none/less than five/five to ten/over ten	none/less than five/five to ten/over ten
Do you plan to move back to Israel?	yes/no	yes/no
Within three years?	yes/no/don't know	yes/no/don't know
What experience have you had with the Jewish community in Holland?	none/bad/good	none/bad/good
Brief remarks:		
Are you a member of a Jewish association?	yes/no	yes/no
If yes, which one(s)?		
If not, why not?		
How many times a year do you go to a synagogue?		
How many times have you gone to the Yom Ha'atzma'out picnic organized by the Israeli embassy?	never/once/several times	never/once/several times
Have you heard of JMW?	yes/no	yes/no

Have you ever used the services provided by JMW?	yes/no	yes/no
Have you ever heard of <i>Jom Havoetbal</i> ?	yes/no	yes/no
Have you ever participated in or attended this event?	yes/no	yes/no
Have you heard of Sinai Ambulant (previously JGG/JAGGZ)?	yes/no	yes/no
Have you ever used the services provided by Sinai Ambulant?	yes/no	yes/no
Have you heard of the weekly <i>Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad</i> ?	yes/no	yes/no
Have you heard of Sjalhomo?	yes/no	yes/no
Have you ever used Dutch programs for social relief or mental health care?	yes/no	yes/no
If yes, which ones?		
If you did not seek such aid from a Jewish organization at the time, why not?		
Which problems do you believe affect Israelis and former Israelis in Holland?		
Which facilities for Israelis and former Israelis are lacking in Holland?		

About the children in this family

	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4
Date of birth				
Nationality or Nationalities				
Is the child fluent in Hebrew?	yes/quite/no	yes/quite/no	yes/quite/no	yes/quite/no
Is your child a member of a youth group?	yes/no	yes/no	yes/no	yes/no
If yes, which one(s)?				
Does your child attend Rosj Pina, the Cheider, or Maimonides?	yes/no	yes/no	yes/no	yes/no
Or a public school?	yes/no	yes/no	yes/no	yes/no
What motivated your choice of school?				
Which facilities for the children of Israelis and former Israelis are lacking in Holland?				

In the future, would you be willing to participate in a more detailed follow-up survey of Israelis and former Israelis in Holland?

YES please enter your name here

NO please enter the city or province in which you reside

(This information will ensure your anonymity while indicating the geographic distribution of Israelis and former Israelis in Holland.)

## APPENDIX IX

### CORRELATIONS

The following page reviews the majority of statistical tests conducted. The symbols indicate the following information:

- 1) + = positive correlation
- = negative correlation
- \* = near positive correlation
- X = no correlation

The chi-square test was conducted for virtually all data concerning emotional attachments to Judaism and Israel, background, education, Jewish partners, region of residence, and sex. The T-test was performed on the data concerning length of residence and age.

2) Empty spaces in the table indicate either that no test was conducted, or that the complexity of the correlation defied expression through a single symbol. The following findings exemplify such complexity:

- Respondents with Sephardi and sabra backgrounds show a negative correlation in terms of familiarity with JMW, Jom Havoetbal, Sinai Ambulant, and the *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad* (NIW); responses from Israelis with Western-European backgrounds reveal a positive correlation in these areas.
- A Sephardi background indicates a negative correlation with the use of services provided by JMW and Sinai Ambulant and with participation in or attendance of *Jom Havoetbal*.
- Respondents with Sephardi and sabra backgrounds show a positive correlation with respect to membership of Jewish associations, while Israelis with Western-European backgrounds reveal a negative correlation.
- A Sephardi background indicates a positive correlation with problems (Israeli); Israelis with Eastern or Western-European backgrounds reveal a negative correlation.
- Respondents with Sephardi and sabra backgrounds show a positive correlation with the desire for activities; Israelis with Eastern and Western-European backgrounds reveal a negative correlation in this respect.
- A Sephardi background indicates a positive correlation with practical desires; Israelis with Western-European backgrounds reveal a negative correlation in this respect.
- A Sephardi background indicates a negative correlation with education; Israelis with Eastern and Western-European backgrounds reveal a positive correlation.
- Israelis with sabra backgrounds have the youngest mean age of Israelis in the Netherlands; Their counterparts with Sephardi backgrounds are in the middle in terms of mean age; Israelis with Eastern and Western-European backgrounds tend to

be the oldest.

- The highest level of education among the older Israelis tends to be either university or elementary school and is rarely high school.

- Older Israelis are more likely to have high than moderate occupational prestige.

- Older Israelis are more likely to have no Israeli acquaintances or to maintain ties with over 10 other Israelis. They are less likely to be in touch with fewer than 5 or 5 to 10 other Israelis.

- Older Israelis are more likely to have used relief facilities in Holland (including services provided by Jewish agencies).

- Older Israelis are more likely to have Eastern or Western-European backgrounds and less likely to have sabra or Sephardi backgrounds.

### 3) Abbreviations used in the table

#### Horizontal:

Jews = scale of attachment to Judaism  
Isr. = scale of attachment to Israel  
back = background  
educ. = education  
partner = Jewish (i.e., non-Israeli) partner  
dur. = length of residence in Holland  
region = in and around Amsterdam versus elsewhere in Holland  
[sex]  
[age]

#### Vertical:

Knows:  
[JMW]  
soccer = Jom Havoetbal  
[Sinai]  
[NIW]  
[Sjalhomo]  
Uses/attends:  
[JMW]  
[Soccer]  
[Sinai]  
Atzm. = Yom Ha'atzma'out celebration  
Membership = membership of Jewish association  
[Jewish partner]  
Exp. J. com. = nature of experiences with the Jewish

community  
Scale Israel/Jews = scale of attachment to Israel/Judaism  
[Background]  
[length residence]

[Problems:  
Israeli  
Jewish  
practical  
social  
Desires:  
organization  
activities  
information  
practical  
no desires

Desires for kids:  
activities  
education  
language  
youth group  
practical  
no desires]

Jewish school = Jewish school (only in Amsterdam)  
youth group = membership of Jewish youth groups  
Hebrew speaking = child speaks Hebrew

	Jews	Isr.	back.educ.	partn.	dur.	regio	sex	age			
knowsJMW			+	X		+	+	+	+	X	+
Soccer	+		+		X	+	+	+	X	+	
Sinai	+	X			+	+	+	+	X	+	
NIW	+	X			+	+	+	+	X	+	
Sjalhomo	+	X			+	+	+	+	X	+	
uses:JMW			*			+	*/+	X	X	X	+
Soccer	+	+			X	+	+	+	X	X	
Sinai	X		*/-		X	X	+	+	X	+	
Atzmaoet	*	+		X	+	+	X	-	X	X	
Membership			+			X	+	+	X	X	+
Jewish partner			+		X						+
Exper. Jew. community				+		X	X	X	X		X
Scale Israel				+		X	X	+	X		X
x											
Scale Jews				+	X	X	+	+	+	X	+
Background			X	X					X		
Length residence				+	X		+				
+											
Problems:											
Israeli			X	X		X	-	X	-	X	
Jewish	+	+	X	X	+	X	+	+	X		
practical	X	X	X	X		-	X	X	X		
social			X	X	X	X	X	+	X	X	
Desires:											
organization			X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
activities	*		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
information			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X
practical	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	
no desires	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	
Desires for kids:											
activities	X	X		X	X	X	X	-		X	
education	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-		-	
language	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		-	
youthgroup	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		-	
practical	X	X	X	X	X	+	X	X		-	
no desires	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
Jewish school				+	+	X	X	+	X		
youth group				+	X		X	+	X		
Hebrew speaking				+		X	+	-			

## COMMENTS FROM RESPONDENTS

### ORGANIZATIONS

Man (46) from Amsterdam:

People from all over the world live in Holland. Nearly every group of foreigners has an organization to protect its interests. Israelis lack an assistance organization for certain situations. We would welcome such an association and would be delighted to participate. We hope to become part of a group of mutually supportive Israelis with a view to organizing cultural gatherings and recreational facilities with an Israeli ambience.

Woman (52) from Amstelveen:

I do not think Israelis will ever feel at home in Holland. Good will on the part of the embassy and Jewish institutions, however, might improve things. Israelis in Holland lack organization and structure.

Man (34) from Haarlem:

I do not consider an infrastructure for Israelis in Holland feasible. While three kinds of Israelis live in Holland, the more popular kind suffers the most serious disadvantage [from the lack of infrastructure]. Some Israelis here lack any contact or avoid each other. Israelis are insignificant on their own. Their strength emerges when they function as a group.

Men (34) from Haarlem:

Israelis are merely an administrative presence in Holland and have no contact with other Israelis.

## INTEGRATION

Woman (32) from Enschede:

Israelis avoid adjusting to Holland and seem ensconced in an Israeli ghetto. Their excessive comparisons between Israel and Holland place them in a sort of no-man's land.

Woman (27) from The Hague:

The integration of Israelis in Dutch society is difficult because Israelis tend to expect special treatment.

Man (34) from Aalsmeer:

Israelis lack sincerity and are out to make a fast buck.

Man (39) from Hoogland:

Although we are no longer true Israelis, we will never really be Dutch either...

Man (30) from Utrecht:

Israelis will always be outsiders, both in Holland and in Israel.

Women (35) from Amsterdam:

In Holland, we lack a sense of unity or togetherness, in part because of the prevailing lack of cohesion here. People here do not have serious financial problems and care only about themselves...

Women (26) from Amsterdam:

Israelis feel like fish out of water here.

Women (30) from Amsterdam:

Israelis in Holland are *neta zaar* (young and foreign plants).

Man (37) from Voorschoten:

First Israelis can't adjust, then they can't leave.

Man (34) from Odoorn:

Holland is a country of diplomats. Israel is more people oriented.

Man (39) from De Bilt:

The Dutch lack improvisational skills and spontaneity.

Woman (29) from Amsterdam:

Israelis in Holland tend to have a bad reputation.

Man (32) from Amsterdam:

Israelis in Holland need to tolerate stereotypes [about them].

Man (47) from Volendam:

Various Israeli criminals have given Israelis a bad name.

Man (57) from Lijnden:

I am comfortable being Israeli here and being Dutch in Israel.

Man (28) from Hilversum:

I know many Israelis are bitter about being in Holland. If they are so unhappy, why don't they return to Israel!?

## DUTCH JEWS

Man (35) from Cuijk:

It's frustrating to feel more comfortable in a [gentile] Dutch environment than among Dutch Jews.

Man (33) from Capelle a/d IJssel:

Dutch Jews don't understand that Jews can preserve their cultural identity while adjusting to Dutch society at the same time.

Man (37) from The Hague:

Dutch Jews refuse to acknowledge that Israeli emigration is normal.

Man (34) Haarlem:

Dutch Jews espouse a form of internal anti-semitism with respect to Israelis.

Women (39) from Maarssenbroek:

I feel like I am a Jewish woman of second-class value in Holland.

Women (31) from Zoetermeer:

The Jewish institutions set the only course available.

Women (42) from Amsterdam:

I heard rumors that Dutch Jews discriminate against non-Jews. Since my boyfriend is gentile, I have never contacted Jewish institutions.

Man (37) from Nijkerk:

We had to go through the third degree to get a *mohel*. And he never even showed up...

Man (36) from Haarlem:

The rabbinate advised me to divorce my gentile wife.

Women (52) from Zaandam:

The Dutch Jewish community does not absorb the Israelis and is inhospitable. The synagogues could actually serve as Jewish community center by organizing activities for Israelis as a social center.

Man (42) from Apeldoorn:

Dutch Jews don't want Israeli immigrants.

Woman (47) from Amsterdam:

The Jewish community in Holland has nothing to offer Israelis.

Man (37) from The Hague:

Dutch Jews are conservative and fear innovation and innovative

spirit.

Woman (57) from Doetinchem:

Dutch Jews are no different from regular Dutch people.

Woman (41) from Maastricht:

In the Jewish community of Maastricht, only the wealthiest members have any say. A sorry situation!

Woman (43) from Huizen:

The Jewish associations are full of snobs!

Man (47) from Volendam:

Within the Jewish associations, everyone looks out for his own interests and expects God to take care of everyone!

Woman (36) from Utrecht:

I have limited contact with Jews in Holland because I am loathe to prove my Jewishness to Dutch Jews.

Man (63) from Almere:

Jewish institutions pity the generation after the Holocaust. I want nothing to do with [such agencies].

Man (39) from Delft:

We [Israelis] remind them [Dutch Jews] of what they would like to be...

Man (42) from Amsterdam:

Israelis are not Jews, Dutch Israelis are a different variety of Jews, and Dutch Jews are afraid Israelis will steal their money.

Woman (45) from Amstelveen:

Israelis are not interested in joining the Jewish community in Holland because they felt no such need in Israel. Accordingly, they have no connection with Jewish life in Holland.

Woman (52) from Utrecht:

I believe the lack of contact between Israelis and Dutch Jews is attributable in part to the harm directly inflicted upon Jews here during the war: they have become a traumatized minority. Israelis, on the other hand, have grown up as a majority without any sense of being in the minority. My experiences in America were similar. Jews there - although also in the minority - are strong and keenly aware of their own power. Israelis [in America] have a much easier time establishing immediate and fruitful contact with the American Jewish community. Of course, the sweeping cultural differences between Holland and the United States and hundreds of other factors also come into play.

Woman (47) from Rotterdam:

Israelis have tried unsuccessfully (they never will succeed) to establish a little Israel in Holland. They send their children to Hebrew school while avoiding Dutch Jews. This pattern makes life difficult for their children and eventually creates problems for them as well. They build a wall between the Jews and themselves and feel alienated as a result.

Woman (51) from Amstelveen:

If Jews and Israelis in Holland got to know each other, assimilation might be averted.

Woman (45) from Amstelveen:

Israelis would be better off participating in Jewish organizations than in nothing at all.

Woman (35) from Amsterdam:

I know that the Jewish community disapproves of Israelis because of their lifestyle in Holland...

Man (32) from Breda:

Dutch Jews are fine people. They don't talk much...

Woman (47) from Rotterdam:

Judaism is a part of my life, but not the only part.

Woman (31) from Leeuwarden:

I care about individuals, not about groups.

Woman (52) from Amsterdam:

I don't fit into any group, neither a Jewish one, nor a gentile one.

LONGING FOR AND ESTRANGEMENT FROM ISRAEL

Woman (47) from Rotterdam:

Israelis who have arrived recently need contact with Israel more than people like us who have lived here a long time.

Woman (46) from Halsteren:

The biggest problem for Israeli emigrants is that we have been taught to be ashamed of leaving Israel.

Woman (28) from Arnhem:

Many Israelis are torn between their emotional ties with Israel and their rational decision to live in Holland because life is easier here.

Man (36) from Abcoude:

The main problem for Israelis in Holland is finding the way back to Israel.

Man (41) from Leeuwarden:

Many Israelis want to return but lack the courage.

Man (32) from Soesterberg:

Phone bills are a problem for Israelis in Holland.

Woman (24) from Velsen-Noord:

Holland offers Israelis opportunities that are not available in Israel; without the Jews in Israel, however, both Dutch Jews and Israelis would have a much harder time living here.

JMW/NIW/SINAI AMBULANT/JOM HAVOETBAL/EMBASSY

Woman (46) from Nijmegen:

I found the service at JMW in Arnhem unpleasant and unprofessional.

Man (41) from Amsterdam:

The staff at JMW exhibited a lack of understanding and advised me to contact a Dutch [i.e., gentile] institution.

Woman (age unreported) from Amsterdam:

The *NIW* is a tabloid and a disgrace to Jews.

Man (37) from Wijchen:

Why does the *NIW* publish so few articles for Israelis and their children and almost nothing about the illustrious history of Jewish culture in Holland, while it covers squabbles between rabbis in great detail?

Woman (38) from Utrecht:

I worked at the Sinai Centrum until recently. I am very disappointed with the institution's attitude toward its few Jewish staff members.

Man (45) from Amsterdam:

The attitude toward Israelis at *Jom Havoetbal* is humiliating.

Man (31) from Papendrecht:

The embassy undertakes too little for its citizens in the area of outings, etc.

## CHILDREN

Woman (47) from Rotterdam:

Children of former Israelis growing up in Holland feel more Dutch and Jewish than Israeli. Still, facilities outside Amsterdam are important for maintaining contact.

Man (35) from 's-Hertogenbosch:

Maintaining a Jewish or Israeli identity is extremely difficult in Holland. While it's understandable that children grow up differently here (without necessarily being good or bad), the situation bothers us.

Woman (35) from 's-Hertogenbosch:

Facilities for Israeli children in Holland are virtually non-existent. That's one of the reasons why we plan to return to Israel in a few months.

Woman (38) from Haarlem:

Children need cultural and social activities to reinforce their Jewish and Israeli heritage that their parents can't impart.

Man (44) from Peize:

Because the Jewish community refuses to acknowledge mixed marriages, it lacks any facilities for children born from such marriages.

Woman (45) from Amstenrade:

I wish my children could go to Habonim, but this youth group doesn't have a local chapter.

Woman (46) from Nijmegen:

I wish I could send my children to a youth group that overlooks socialism, religion, and Zionism and focuses on Israel instead.

## GENERAL

Woman (50) from The Hague:

You should publicize this project more.

## RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON THE WISHES OF THE ISRAELIS

The recommendations primarily concern needs among Israelis in Holland. Nevertheless, the interests of Dutch Jews also merit consideration: possible integration of a young, dynamic, and creative group, such as the Israelis, into the Jewish community could revitalize Dutch Jewry, both in quantitative and in qualitative respects, especially given the current trend of "demographic decline, mixed marriages, and progressive assimilation in particular" (*NIK jaarverslag 1994*, p.10).

Although many Israelis belong to a Jewish organization, most consider the gulf between themselves and the current Jewish community too wide to become direct members. Facilities should therefore primarily cater specifically to Israelis and should be designed for autonomous operation by the Israelis with support from Dutch Jews. Such an endeavor clearly requires a collective effort on the part of Dutch Jews, including religious congregations, the Israeli Embassy, relief organizations, schools, associations, and the like. Extensive provisions for the very large group of Israeli children is crucial.

The specific needs of Israelis in Holland are as follows:

- An easily accessible Israeli community center, possibly with a small restaurant or cafeteria, a library, newspapers, a reference center, facilities for activities (courses, folk dancing, lectures, movies).
- The above arrangement might be combined with a central Israeli organization that arranges social and cultural events, dispenses information, sponsors activities, and has the means to assist people in settling in Holland or returning to Israel.
- Relief organizations could set up a hot line for Israelis, assist the Israelis in Hebrew, improve their knowledge about the Israeli background of clients, and help form Israeli networks.
- A Hebrew news service (perhaps issue a section of the *NIW* in Hebrew?).
- Facilities involving partners from mixed marriages (gentile women as well as men) in Dutch Jewish culture.
- Educational initiatives: options that are somewhat less religious, more opportunities for learning Hebrew (outside Amsterdam as well).

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## GLOSSARY

Aliyah	emigration to Israel (literally: ascent)
AMW	<i>Algemeen Maatschappelijk Werk</i> (general social work)
Ashkenazi	Jewish person of Eastern or Western-European cultural descent
CBS	<i>Centraal Buro voor de Statistiek</i> (bureau of statistics)
Cheider	strict Jewish Orthodox elementary school and high school
Halachah	Jewish law
Ivrit	modern Hebrew
JMW	Joods Maatschappelijk Werk, independent and non-religious national organization for social work serving Jews in Holland
<i>Jom Havoetbal</i>	annual Jewish soccer tournament in Amsterdam drawing thousands of participants and spectators from Holland and abroad
Joodse mensa	Jewish cafeteria serving kosher hot meals to students and senior citizens
LJG	<i>Liberaal Joodse Gemeente</i> (liberal Jewish community); a Conservative counterpart to the Orthodox congregations
LAT	Living Apart Together; a relationship in which the partners are not married or cohabiting
Maimonides	Jewish high school
<i>Mediene</i>	Jewish communities in Holland outside Amsterdam
Mohel	Individual who performs circumcisions
NIHS	<i>Nederlands Israëlitische Hoofdsynagoge</i> (Jewish community of Amsterdam)
NIK	<i>Nederlands-Israëlitisch Kerkgenootschap</i> (Dutch Israelite Orthodox congregation; i.e., Dutch Ashkenazim)
NIW	<i>Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad</i> (weekly newspaper for Jews in Holland)
PIK	<i>Portugees-Israëlitisch Kerkgenootschap</i> (Portuguese Israelite Orthodox congregation; i.e., Dutch Sephardim)
RIAGG	<i>Regionale Instellingen voor Ambulante Geestelijke Gezondheidszorg</i> (regional institutions for out-patient mental health care)
Rosj Pina	Jewish elementary school
Sephardi	officially a Jewish person of Portuguese or Spanish descent (i.e., from <i>Sepharad</i> , meaning Spain); the term also comprises Oriental Jews here and in many other contexts
Sinai Ambulant	<i>Europees Centrum voor Joodse Geestelijke Gezondheidszorg en Psychotraumabehandeling</i> (European center for Jewish mental health care and treatment of psychological traumas (previously JGG))
Sjalhomo	association of Jewish homosexuals and bisexuals
Tsabbar	literally meaning a sabra (an Israeli born in Israel), the term is also the name of a youth group for Israelis in Holland
Yom Ha'atzma'out	annual picnic organized by the Israeli embassy

to celebrate the  
celebration national independence day  
Yeridah emigration from Israel (literally: descent)