Social mobility and integration of Amsterdam Jews: the ethnic niche of the diamond industry, 1850-1940

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1
Introduction

"Is Amsterdam, then, a Jewish town?
"Nay, but 'tis the Jerusalem of the West."
— Israel Zangwill[1]

1.1 Amsterdam: Jerusalem of the West, City of Diamonds

1.1.1 *Introduction*

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Jewish poet Israel Zangwill asserted Amsterdam was "the Jerusalem of the West." [2] The autochthonous Dutch-Jewish community had by then already been formally emancipated for nearly a century,[3] as the comparatively tolerant Netherlands had been one of the first European nations to grant such freedoms.[4] The Jewish population of Amsterdam encapsulates a notable case in the discussion around Jewish social mobility and integration in nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Europe.[5] The city provided Jews with the freedom and opportunities to integrate on their own terms. [6] Nevertheless, Amsterdam Jews, comprising approximately 10 percent of the total population, were characterised by sparse intermarriage and high residential segregation in comparison to other Western European Jewish communities.[7] Apart from the growing adoption of the Dutch language, changes in the material and social conditions of Amsterdam Jewry had been minimal in the first half-century after their emancipation. [8] However, consequential changes started taking place after 1850. Jews began moving out of the Jewish Quarter, a semi-secluded settlement zone to the east of Amsterdam's city centre, and settled in newly-

[1] Israel Zangwill, *Dreamers of the Ghetto* (New York, 1892), 82.
[2] Idem.
[3] Jozeph Michman, "De emancipatie van de Joden in Nederland," *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 96.1 (1981): 78–82.
[4] Ivo Schöffer, "The Jews in the Netherlands: The Position of a Minority through Three Centuries," *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 1981, 90; Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson, "Emancipation and the Liberal Offer," in *Paths of Emancipation. Jews, States, and Citizenship*, ed. Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson (Princeton, 1995), 24.
[5] Calvin Goldscheider and Alan Zuckerman, *The Transformation of the Jews* (Chicago, 1984), 14–15, 44–45.
[6] Hans Daalder, "Dutch Jews in a Segmented Society," in *Paths of Emancipation. Jews, States, and Citizenship*, ed. Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson (Princeton, 1995), 37–58; Bart Wallet, "Joden in Amsterdam," in *Migratie als DNA van Amsterdam: 1550-2021*, ed. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Amsterdam, 2021), 90–91.
[7] Wout Ultee and Ruud Luijkx, "Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage in Six European Cities 1900-1940. Explaining Differences and Trends," *The Netherlands' Journal of Social Sciences* 34.2 (1998): 171.
[8] Bart Wallet, "'End of the Jargon-Scandal.' The Decline and Fall of Yiddish in the Netherlands (1796–1886)," *Jewish History* 20.3 (2006): 333–48; Karina Sonnenberg-Stern, *Emancipation & Poverty: The Ashkenazi Jews of Amsterdam* (Basingstoke, 2000); Bart Wallet, "'Godsdienstzin, beschaving en arbeidzaamheid'. De centralisatie en nationalisering van de Nederlandse joden, 1814-1870," in *Geschiedenis van de Joden in Nederland*, ed. Hans Blom et al. (Amsterdam, 2017), 247–53.

built neighbourhoods with fewer coreligionists and more sanitary housing.[9] They experienced occupational upgrading and diversification;[10] they increasingly secularised and took leading positions in the Social Democratic and labour movements.[11] They married Gentile partners more frequently;[12] and they were over-represented among high school and university graduates.[13] While one may question the degree to which Amsterdam's Jewry had assimilated or integrated,[14] it can undoubtedly be stated that thousands of Amsterdam Jews saw tremendous improvements and developments in their economic and social lives from the mid-nineteenth century up to the brink of the Second World War.

The bloom of the Amsterdam diamond industry, although not the only change, undoubtedly was a central element in this transformation. This modest industry, an occupational niche numerically dominated by Jews since the mid-eighteenth century, experienced a massive expansion during the early 1870s when rough diamonds were discovered in South Africa and transported to Amsterdam.[15] Following this boom, the number of diamond workers rose from 1400 in the mid-1860s to over 10,000 in the 1890s.[16] During those decades, upwardly mobile Jewish diamond workers became the symbol of Jews' socioeconomic advancement.[17] Around the turn of the twentieth century, the diamond industry was the most important form of employment for Amsterdam Jews, engaging nearly one-third of all working Jewish men and one-tenth of working Jewish women.[18] In Jewish circles it was unequivocally known as *het vak* ('*the* profession').[19] Joining forces with Gentile workers in this industry, Jewish diamond workers established a non-denominational, and the first modern, trade union that would soon become the model for the Dutch trade union federation.[20] The union invested heavily in

[9] Robert van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Jacqueline Vijgen, and Michiel Wagenaar, "Jewish Amsterdam 1600–1940: From 'Ghetto' to 'Neighbourhoods,'" in *Immigration et société urbaine en Europe occidentale, XVIe-XXe siècle* (Paris, 1985), 127–41.

[10] Peter Tammes, "'Hack, Pack, Sack': Occupational Structure, Status, and Mobility of Jews in Amsterdam 1851–1941," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 43.1 (2012): 12–19.

[11] Karin Hofmeester, "'Als ik niet voor mijzelf ben…' De verhouding tussen joodse arbeiders en de arbeidersbeweging in Amsterdam, Londen en Parijs vergeleken, 1870-1914" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 1999), 73–74; Adriaan Pieter Veldhuizen, "De partij: over het politieke leven in de vroege SDAP" (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2015), 60–65; Sietske van der Veen, "'Je had als vrouw al een achterstand, maar als Joodse vrouw nog veel sterker': Joodse vrouwen in de vrouwenbeweging (1870-1940)," *Historica* 2021.3 (2021): 39–45.

[12] Emanuel Boekman, *Demografie van de Joden in Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1936), 59–63; Peter Tammes, "Jewish–Gentile Intermarriage in Pre-War Amsterdam," *The History of the Family* 15.3 (2010): 301–3.

[13] Kees Mandemakers, "Gymnasiaal en middelbaar onderwijs. Ontwikkeling, structuur, sociale achtergrond en schoolprestaties, Nederland, ca. 1800-1968" (PhD diss., Erasmus University Rotterdam, 1996), 615. Volkstelling 1930, Statistiek der academisch gegradueerden p. 166-167.

[14] Selma Leydesdorff, "The Veil of History: The Integration of Jews Reconsidered," in *Dutch Jewry: Its History and Secular Culture (1500-2000)*, ed. Jonathan Israel and Reinier Salverda (Leiden, 2002), 225–38.

[15] Robert Vicat Turrell, *Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields, 1871-1890* (Cambridge, 1987); Daniël Metz, *Diamantgracht: het joodse hart van een typisch Amsterdamse industrie* (Zutphen, 2022), 42–45.

[16] Theo van Tijn, *Amsterdam en diamant 1845-1897* (Amsterdam, 1976), 15, 49.

[17] Boudien de Vries, "De joodse elite in Amsterdam, 1850–1900: oude en nieuwe rijkdom," in *De Gelykstaat der Joden*, ed. Hetty Berg (Amsterdam, 1996), 81–91.

[18] Jakob van Zanten, "Eenige demografische gegevens over de joden te Amsterdam," *Mens en Maatschappij* 2.1 (1926): 1–24.

[19] Philo Bregstein and Salvador Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1978), 48–51; Karin Hofmeester, "The Impact of the Diamond Industry and the Diamond Workers' Union on Jewish Life in Amsterdam, 1894–1920," *Shofar* 38.3 (2020): 49.

[20] Theo van Tijn, "De Algemeene Nederlandsche Diamantbewerkersbond (ANDB): een succes en zijn verklaring," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 88.3 (1973): 403–18;

the socioeconomic and cultural advancement of their members, who were among the first Jews to move to newer neighbourhoods and invest more intensively in education and the arts.[21] Consequently, the diamond workers were known as pioneers in the *verheffing* ('uplifting') of the working class.[22] However, the diamond industry was only temporarily a source of highly paid employment for a large number of Amsterdam Jews. Since 1920, low-wage competition from Antwerp and other international diamond centres plagued the Amsterdam diamond industry with long bouts of unemployment and successive wage reductions.[23] Over 40 percent of the workers were forced to find new employment or, alternatively, migrate to other diamond centres, within the first four years of this crisis.[24] Fewer than 3500 members remained by the end of 1939, less than one-third two decades prior.[25] How their former careers and the union's explicit 'civilising' influence impacted the subsequent social mobility and integration of Dutch Jews' most economically and culturally influential group of workers has never been studied. To fill this gap, my dissertation will use large new microdata and innovative methods to examine the trends and determinants of their social mobility and integration.

1.1.2 *Research Questions*

To map and study social mobility and integration, this dissertation reconstructs the lives and careers of Jewish diamond workers. I analyse life courses of various groups of Jews whose lives primarily took place in Amsterdam—studying their experiences in work, marriage, residence, and education—to improve our understanding of social mobility and integration trajectories more broadly of Amsterdam Jews. An emphasis is placed on Jewish diamond workers. Though the topic of earlier scholarship, these diamond workers' life courses, constructed specifically for this dissertation, are the most detailed investigation of their lives to date. Several life domains are studied to examine differences in life transitions and outcomes within the Jewish community and between Jews and Gentiles. The following three questions will guide this dissertation:

> *Research Question 1*:
> Why did some Jews experience upward mobility in early-twentieth-century Amsterdam while others did not?

Hofmeester, "'Als ik niet voor mijzelf ben...,'" 68–70; Ad Knotter, "Trade Unions and Workplace Organization: Regulating Labour Markets in the Belgian and American Flat Glass Industry and in the Amsterdam Diamond Industry in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Labor History* 57.3 (2016): 429.

[21] Salvador Bloemgarten, "Henri Polak: sociaal democraat 1868-1943" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 1993), 114–16, 149–51, 317–19, 325–26, 500–502, 507–8, 644–48; Karin Hofmeester, "The Amsterdam Diamond 'Marketplace' and the Jewish Experience," *Jewish Culture and History* 24.1 (2023): 50–75.

[22] Frits de Jong Edz., *Van ruw tot geslepen. De culturele betekenis van de Algemene Nederlandse Diamantbewerkers Bond in de geschiedenis van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1955), 737.

[23] Wietske van Agtmaal, "Het diamantvak in Amsterdam: van oudsher een joodse negotie," in *Venter, fabriqueur, fabrikant. Joodse ondernemers en ondernemingen in Nederland 1796-1940*, ed. Hetty Berg, Thera Wijsenbeek, and Eric Fischer (Amsterdam, 1994), 127.

[24] *Verslag nopens den toestand en de verrichtingen van den Algemeenen Nederlandschen Diamantbewerkers-bond over het tijdperk 1 januari 1924-31 december 1925*, 108-10 (henceforth cited as *Jaarverslag*).

[25] *Weekblad van den ANDB* 05-01-1940, "Loop van het ledental" (henceforth cited as *Weekblad*).

The upward rise of a great number of Amsterdam Jews overshadows experiences of downward mobility experienced by others.[26] While common, upward social mobility through the diamond industry was by no means guaranteed. This is partially evidenced by the growing number of peddlers with prior work experience in the diamond industry leading up to World War II.[27] These divergent paths make critical understanding why some moved up and others did not crucial. Although the post-1870 diamond industry was initially a great source of intergenerational upward mobility, it also imbedded Jews in their existing Jewish economy and networks.[28] The long-term social and economic payoffs of this entrenchment in the Jewish community, such as the strengthening of social networks within but not outside of this community, have so far been unclear. Specific individual characteristics may additionally have bolstered opportunities for some and not for others. Therefore, a second question is:

> *Research Question 2:*
> Which characteristics of Jewish diamond workers aided or hampered social mobility and integration in the core life domains?

Early scholars debating assimilation believed that social mobility and integration were intricately linked, with one inevitably leading to the other.[29] These two processes have been separated analytically in more recent theoretical work.[30] In the case of the diamond industry, the possibility exists that the social mobility of Jewish families through entering and remaining in the diamond industry had a long-lasting negative impact on their integration in all domains of life, including marriage, residence, and investment in education. This allows us to ask the third research question:

> *Research Question 3:*
> To what extent were social mobility and integration interrelated processes for Jewish diamond workers; and in what direction did these processes move?

These questions will be answered by comparing Jewish and Gentile diamond workers, Jews and Gentiles in other careers, and Jews in advanced stages of the integration process. Such comparisons will reveal the influence of the diamond industry and union on the Jewish workers and how it may have differed from Gentile workers. To accomplish this, I combine the richness of the Amsterdam population registers, which provide longitudinal social and demographic data, with the details of the diamond union's membership administration. This allows me to examine in-depth five domains of life:

[26] Selma Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat van Amsterdam 1900-1940 in woord en beeld* (Amsterdam, 2023), 257–62.
[27] Veronica Huberts, "De Amsterdamse venters: een sociografische monografie" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 1940), 78–79.
[28] Jaap Meijer, *Zij lieten hun sporen achter. Joodse bijdragen tot de Nederlandse beschaving* (Utrecht, 1964), 175–76.
[29] Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (Oxford, 1964); Jaap Meijer, *Hoge hoeden, lage standaarden: De Nederlands joden tussen 1933 en 1940* (Baarn, 1969), 116.
[30] Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530.1 (1993): 74–96; Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003).

work and occupations; education;[31] marriage and family networks; choice of residence; and personal identification.

1.1.3 *Chapter outline*

Before we get to our analyses, this chapter will first introduce the theoretical framework and discuss useful concepts to be applied throughout the dissertation. Using the terminology obtained from the theoretical framework, I will outline existing scholarship in social mobility and integration of Jews and Gentiles relevant for my dissertation. Next, this introduction will provide an overview of how the theoretical framework will be applied to the life domains of work, marriage, residence, and education. The following section presents and summarises the data sources used for the analyses. Here we will also discuss the theoretical and practical question of who can be defined as Jewish. Finally, an outline of the rest of the dissertation, including brief summaries of each chapter, is presented.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

This dissertation tries to reconstruct the social mobility and integration of Jews in nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Amsterdam. Chapter 2 will provide an in-depth background and discussion on these topics. But what do we mean by these terms? The current section will introduce these and several other theoretical concepts that will prove helpful in understanding the economic and social trajectories of our research groups. The concepts are grouped in four categories. First, we build a working definition of social mobility and discuss how one can study it. Given their relative isolation until the mid-nineteenth century, a good understanding of the process of adaptation for the ethno-religious minority group of Amsterdam Jews across various life domains requires a strong theoretical foundation. We therefore turn next to the literature on assimilation—or integration, as I shall refer to this process throughout the dissertation. Then we will discuss relevant topics that, either directly or indirectly, apply to both social mobility and integration. These include the ideas of ethnic economies, ethnic niches, and social and cultural capital. The diamond industry was a unique ethnic niche within the 'Jewish economy' of Amsterdam.[32] Large segments of Amsterdam Jewry saw work in this niche as *the* pathway to socioeconomic advancement, consciously or unconsciously forgoing economic integration into the mainstream economy. These ethnic niches and economies relied heavily on social and cultural capital, discussed in the next subsection. Social capital, embodied for instance by personal or professional ties to Jews and non-Jews, in the diamond industry or outside of it, may have provided different costs, benefits, and opportunities for economic mobility or social integration. Next, I will discuss how all these aspects can be combined in a life course approach. This perspective allows us to understand the influence of time and place, family, and societal changes on individual persons' lives; and how they may have differed between Jews and Gentiles, diamond workers and those in other forms of employment.[33] Finally, I will provide a

[31] The analyses on education are based on research persons' sons' conscript records between 1919 and 1940. This is an extension of the dataset.
[32] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 94.
[33] Jan Kok, "Church Affiliation and Life Course Transitions in the Netherlands, 1850-1970," *Historical Social Research* 42.2 (2017): 59–91.

theoretical discussion on who is considered Jewish and who is Gentile, or non-Jewish. This will be complemented by a practical discussion on how this definition is operationalised using our sources is discussed in Section 1.4.5.

1.2.1 *Social mobility*

Social mobility refers to "the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society."[34] We can express these positions as socioeconomic *origins* and *destinations*.[35] These positions are generally measured in social classes. Movements to higher social classes are considered 'upward mobility.' Likewise, a decline in social class is seen as 'downward mobility.' Horizontal mobility occurs when individuals move between positions within the same class. In historical research, social classes are commonly deduced from occupations.[36] Some explicitly distinguish social *occupational* mobility from other forms of mobility, such as educational or income mobility. Since this dissertation uses occupations to approximate social classes and social status,[37] social mobility will implicitly refer to social occupational mobility.

While mobility can occur at any time, three main types of mobility are usually studied in historical settings: intergenerational mobility, marital mobility, and life course mobility, also known as career mobility.[38] Intergenerational mobility concerns differences across generations. The class origin is the social class of the parents or father, and the class destination is the social class of their child. In studies of marital mobility, a comparison is commonly made between the groom and his father-in-law. Depending on the person of interest, this comparison can be interpreted as either the mobility of the groom or the mobility of the bride.[39] Career mobility examines movements across social classes during the life course. Both the origin and destinations of career mobility can vary by the duration of the life course studied, for instance from the start until the end of one's career, or from age 30 to age 50.

A fourth element of mobility can be added. While residential mobility is frequently used to refer to the *geographical* aspect of moving between residences, it can also refer to the movement between neighbourhoods with varying class connotations. Although this can be interpreted as the outcome of other forms of social mobility, such as the consequence of career mobility, it is a distinctive process with benefits separate from the other social mobilities. In sociological literature this process has also been referred to as 'neighbourhood upgrading.'[40] Downgrading of neighbourhoods was also possible, for instance as a consequence of gentrification which raised rents in previously affordable neighbourhoods and forced residential relocations. Like career mobility, residential mobility can be measured at different points in time, either comparing two instances or examining each residential relocation across a life course.

[34] Seymour Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (Berkeley, 1959), 1–2.
[35] Richard Breen, *Social Mobility in Europe* (Oxford, 2004), 3–4.
[36] Marco van Leeuwen and Ineke Maas, "Historical Studies of Social Mobility and Stratification," *Annual Review of Sociology* 36.1 (2010): 430.
[37] Using HISCO, HISCLASS, and HISCAM schedules. For more information, see Section 1.4.4.
[38] Van Leeuwen and Maas, "Historical Studies."
[39] Andrea Tyree and Judith Treas, "The Occupational and Marital Mobility of Women," *American Sociological Review* 39.3 (1974): 293–302.
[40] David Varady, *Neighborhood Upgrading: A Realistic Assessment* (New York, 1986).

For each type of social mobility, researchers have distinguished between *absolute* and *relative* mobility.[41] Absolute mobility is the raw movement from one social category to another. It can be studied for individuals as well as societies and its subpopulations. Those who are interested in class or group formation tend to use this measure.[42] Absolute mobility does not account for changes in the economy or in social stratification. As an example, in an industrialising society the replacement of agriculture by factory employment may be considered an increase in absolute mobility without this society allowing the lowest social classes entry into higher classes. Relative mobility, in contrast, concerns the strength of the relationship between social origins and destinations. A strong correlation between the two implies a 'closed' society, while a low correlation between origin and destination suggests more fluidity. Relative mobility is not estimated at the individual level, but generally at larger levels of aggregation, such as cities or countries. It measures social mobility while accounting for structural changes to the economy or population, such as widespread industrialisation, which change absolute status or class but may not change their relative positions or distributions. In my dissertation the emphasis is placed on absolute mobility, since still little is known regarding Amsterdam Jews' general social mobility patterns. In the decades around the turn of the twentieth century, structural factors were significant determinants of careers for both Jews and Gentiles in Amsterdam.[43] The massive expansion of the diamond industry and educational attainment being major examples. These need to be included to study their differential impact on the various ethno-religious groups.

1.2.2 *Assimilation and Integration*

Literature on assimilation is mostly based on the American context. An early definition was provided by Robert Park, a leading figure in the Chicago School of sociology, who defined assimilation as "[t]he name given to the process or processes by which peoples of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence."[44] Early adopters of this definition relied heavily on fieldwork studying the experiences of American Jews.[45] In their view, Jews were completely representative for the overall immigrant experience; Louis Wirth stated that "[w]hat has happened in the case of the Jews is essentially what has taken place in all minority groups in recent times."[46] However, early assimilation scholars emphasised empirical work over theorising, which led them to believe that assimilation was wanted, inevitable, and linear. Sociological studies since 1965 have discussed whether older assumptions regarding assimilation

[41] Robert Erikson and John Goldthorpe, *The Constant Flux. A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies* (Oxford, 1992), 55–56.
[42] Andrew Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England* (Basingstoke, 1999), 6.
[43] Theo van Tijn, *Twintig jaren Amsterdam. De maatschappelijke ontwikkeling van de hoofdstad van de jaren '50 der vorige eeuw tot 1875.* (Amsterdam, 1965); Ad Knotter, *Economische transformatie en stedelijke arbeidsmarkt. Amsterdam in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw.* (Zwolle, 1991).
[44] Robert Park, "Assimilation, Social," in *The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. Edwin Seligman and Alvin Johnson (London, 1930), 281.
[45] Robert Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology* 33.6 (1928): 881–93; Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (Chicago, 1928); Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (New Haven, 1945).
[46] Wirth, *The Ghetto*, 127.

still held true for new groups of immigrants. Since then, assimilation theory has split in two directions addressing this problem.

Classical assimilation theory

The earliest comprehensive theory of assimilation, which is now known as 'classical assimilation theory,' was provided in Milton Gordon's magnum opus *Assimilation in American Life*.[47] Although providing much of the same analyses as his predecessors, Gordon's work set itself apart by creating a larger theoretical framework in which he split assimilation into several dimensions.[48] He distinguished between seven stages in the assimilation process. *Cultural assimilation* or acculturation, the "change of cultural patterns to those of the host society," was commonly the first to occur when new immigrants arrived in America and could last indefinitely without any of the subsequent stages.[49] The cultural patterns encapsulated in this concept of acculturation included religious beliefs and observance. Next was *structural assimilation*, which encompassed entering mainstream society by engaging in "large-scale primary group relationships," entering host networks and society.[50] This stage includes the entry of minority group members into clubs and institutions. Mixed marriages between the ethnic minority group and the members of the host society, the conceptualisation of *marital assimilation*, was seen as "an inevitable by-product of structural assimilation."[51] This would in turn cause outsiders to lose their ethnic identity and lead to *identificational assimilation*. In fact, "once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow."[52] Finally, during the stages of *attitude* and *behavioural receptional assimilation* and *civic assimilation*, prejudices, discrimination, and power conflicts would disappear.

Although the seven stages provide a strong demarcation of the assimilation process, Gordon's conceptualisation of assimilation was criticised on several fronts.[53] The theory was normative and unidirectional, suggesting that minority groups inevitably assimilated into an unchanging mainstream dominated by a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant middle-class. It also overlooked the importance of economic assimilation and the potential economic benefits of forgoing assimilation. Nonetheless, concepts introduced by Gordon remain a worthwhile lexicon in our discussion.

Segmented assimilation and new assimilation theory

In response to the failings of classical assimilation theory, assimilation theory diverted into two directions. Segmented assimilation added two pathways to the classical assimilation theory.[54] Besides Gordon's idea, which Portes and Zhou rephrased as 'linear upward assimilation,' ethnic minorities could also experience 'linear downward assimilation' when they assimilated into "permanent poverty and [i]nto the under-class."[55] Alternatively, minority groups could avoid such fates by 'delayed acculturation'

[47] Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*.
[48] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 23.
[49] Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, 71, 77.
[50] Ibid., 70–71.
[51] Ibid., 80.
[52] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 81.
[53] Richard Alba and Victor Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration," *International Migration Review* 31 (1997): 826–74.
[54] Portes and Zhou, "The New Second Generation."
[55] Ibid., 82.

or 'selective assimilation,' whereby individuals outside of mainstream society maintain close coethnic ties, work in ethnic economies, and pursue socioeconomic advancements along those lines. Segmented assimilation effectively decoupled assimilation and acculturation from economic mobility, incorporating socioeconomic advancement without assimilation into the assimilation framework. However, one of the main downsides of segmented assimilation is how it approaches class. Upward and downward assimilation suggest there is no room for an ethnic middle-class. [56] Segmented assimilation also places more emphasis on overall assimilation, rather than experiences in different domains of life.

New assimilation theory

A separate account of assimilation was provided in Richard Alba and Victor Nee's 'new assimilation theory.'[57] This theory rephrases assimilation "[a]s the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences."[58] This decline could mean that distinctions become less salient, less frequent, or relevant for fewer domains of life. Ethnicity here is seen as a social boundary that shapes actions by individuals and affects how people are perceived by others.[59] These boundaries can be altered in three ways: by boundary blurring, crossing, or shifting.[60] Boundary blurring occurs when the social distinction of ethnicity becomes clouded. For instance, Jewish-Gentile marriages and religious disaffiliation make the boundary between Dutch Jews and mainstream Christian society harder to distinguish.[61] Children of mixed couples blur boundaries further. Boundary crossing is closely related to the conceptualisation of individual-level assimilation; individuals belonging to the minority group 'cross over' the boundary, leaving the boundary unchanged. Jewish conversions to Christianity are one example of boundary crossing. More extreme is boundary shifting, which moves the boundary to include groups which were previously excluded into mainstream society. In the Western world, for instance, formerly excluded Jews became part of "Judeo-Christian society," but only in the late twentieth century and as a means to exclude newer 'Others' such as Muslims.[62]

New assimilation theory avoids several pitfalls of the classical assimilation model. It highlights the bilateral direction of assimilation, sees mainstream society as an ever-changing entity—thereby avoiding a predestined destination; and makes no reference to a fixed or superior cultural group in mainstream society. It also incorporates discussions of social class beyond a mainstream White Anglo-Saxon Protestant middle class, thus diversifying the pathways, opportunities, and destinations of assimilation.[63]

[56] Kathryn Neckerman, Prudence Carter, and Jennifer Lee, "Segmented Assimilation and Minority Cultures of Mobility," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22.6 (1999): 945–65.
[57] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*.
[58] Ibid., 11.
[59] Idem.
[60] Ibid., 60.
[61] Tammes, "Jewish–Gentile Intermarriage in Pre-War Amsterdam," 300.
[62] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 283; See also Ernst van den Hemel, "(Pro)Claiming Tradition: The 'Judeo-Christian' Roots of Dutch Society and the Rise of Conservative Nationalism," in *Transformations of Religion and the Public Sphere*, ed. Rosi Braidotti et al. (London, 2014), 53–76.
[63] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 12.

Integration in this dissertation

In this dissertation, I will mainly use the framework provided by new assimilation theory. However, where relevant, concepts from classical and segmented assimilation theory are applied. For instance, Jewish porters discussed in Chapter 5 embody the concept of downward assimilation well. Furthermore, I will refer to assimilation as described in the new assimilation theory as 'integration.' Although the terms 'assimilation' and 'integration' are not always synonymous, the two words encompass similar ideas and are often used interchangeably unless otherwise specified. This decision rests on two factors. First, the term assimilation and the sociological literature corresponding to it is a largely American endeavour. [64] European historians and sociologists have more often preferred the term 'integration.'[65] Second, 'assimilation' is frequently used in Jewish history to refer to the *project* of assimilation, rather than the *process* of assimilation. In this context, Jews with no explicit preference for assimilation could derogatorily be called "assimilants":

> "[Z]ionists routinely denounced deeply committed but non-Zionist Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jews as assimilated, or assimilationist... Thus, both "assimilation" and "assimilated Jew" became terms of opprobrium rather than of precise meaning; *an "assimilated Jew" came to mean any Jew whose version of Jewishness one did not like*."[66] (Emphasis mine).

This was true in the Netherlands as well.[67] For some Dutch Jews, Zionism was considered the only non-assimilant path. "There is only one distinction, and that is between Zionist and assimilant," expressed Jewish economist and Zionist Salomon Kleerekoper in 1938.[68] Using the word integration, which does not have the same historical meaning within the Jewish community, therefore avoids the problem of misunderstanding.

1.2.3 *Ethnic niches, entrepreneurs, and economies*

Since the 1990s, sociologists have established a body of literature that studies the clustering of minority groups in occupations, self-employment, and segments of the economy. These occupational ethnic concentrations are highly relevant for the diamond industry, the most significant ethnic niche in the Dutch-Jewish case. Ethnic concentrations could be found in specific occupations, i.e. ethnic niches, in the economy as a whole, in ethnic economies, and in entrepreneurship. Ethnic niches influenced intergenerational career patterns, marriage opportunities, residential choices, and educational attainment. Since the main niche in this dissertation, the diamond industry, was already an ethnic niche long before the start of the period studied in this dissertation, I have chosen not to include a discussion regarding ethnic niche formation.

[64] Richard Alba and Nancy Foner, *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe* (Princeton, 2015), 6–8.
[65] Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850* (Champaign, 2005), 18–20; Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*, 6–8.
[66] Michael Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky* (Berkeley, 2001), 7.
[67] Meijer, *Hoge hoeden, lage standaarden*, 87; Evelien Gans, "De kleine verschillen die het leven uitmaken. Een historische studie naar joodse sociaaldemocraten en socialistisch-zionisten in Nederland" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 1999), 117.
[68] Gans, "De kleine verschillen," 37.

Instead, this dissertation focuses on the outcome of this particular ethnic niche. Nonetheless, in each chapter thoughtful consideration is placed on the historical, path-dependent nature of the diamond industry as an ethnic niche and how this has affected future Jews' lives and their decision-making.

Ethnic niches

The diamond industry is a perfect example of an ethnic niche and possibly the most important one in nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Amsterdam. Simply said, "ethnic niches are just ethnic concentrations at high density."[69] Ethnic concentrations here refer to the clustering in occupations. When distinguishing ethnic niches, Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr used the metric of (1) at least 1000 people in the industry in total and (2) minority groups were at least 50 percent overrepresented in the niche compared with their share in the total population.[70] Since 1850, the Amsterdam diamond industry counted at least 1000 workers excluding the various forms of employers. Jews consistently made up over 70 percent of this workforce; an over-representation of 700 percent compared with their population share of Amsterdam; and 3500 percent compared with their share in the Dutch population.[71] Among diamond workers' employers, their share was even higher.

Ethnic economies

The diamond industry was distant from the general labour market. It hired predominantly ethnic (Jewish) workers and products were exported rather than sold to the domestic mainstream market. Jews owned most of the factories, were virtually all employers, and nearly three-fourths of the workforce at the end of the nineteenth century consisted of Jews. In Light and Gold's terminology, the Amsterdam diamond industry was an integral part of an *ethnic-ownership economy*: "An *ethnic economy* or, as we shall later call it, an *ethnic ownership economy* exists whenever *any* immigrant or ethnic group maintains a private economic sector in which it has a controlling ownership stake."[72]

The concept of ethnic economies is related to the work of Leydesdorff on the Amsterdam-Jewish 'proletariat.' While not engaging explicitly with the work of sociologists like Light and Gold, Leydesdorff refers to key ideas presented in this literature. She argued that in early-twentieth-century Amsterdam, "[t]here was a "Jewish economy"—in other words, Jews were unevenly distributed through the various industrial sectors."[73] When ethnic groups, like the Amsterdam Jews, sought work in the general labour market, they were confronted with ethnic-controlled economies of other ethnic groups,[74] including the mainstream Gentile population. This could lead to

[69] Ivan Light and Steven Gold, *Ethnic Economies* (Orlando, 2000), 21.
[70] Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, "The Making of a Multicultural Metropolis," in *Ethnic Los Angeles*, ed. Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr (New York, 1996), 28.
[71] Around the turn of the century, Jews made up 2 percent of the total Dutch population, 10 percent of the Amsterdam population, and 70 percent of diamond workers. Van Zanten, "Eenige demografische gegevens over de joden te Amsterdam," 9.
[72] Light and Gold, *Ethnic Economies*, 9.
[73] Selma Leydesdorff, *We Lived with Dignity. The Jewish Proletariat of Amsterdam 1900-1940*, trans. Frank Heny (Detroit, 1994), 53.
[74] Light and Gold, *Ethnic Economies*, 25.

discrimination. Leydesdorff mentions that in cases of competition, non-Jewish employers generally chose for Gentile employees.[75] Jewish ethnic entrepreneurs and economies existed in the diamond industry, in Jewish-owned department stores, and in the garment industry. Within Light and Gold's conceptualisation, Jewish self-employed peddlers as well as working proprietors—generally merchants or shopkeepers—can also be included in the concept of Jewish economy. The size, composition, and impact on social mobility and integration of the evolving Jewish economy will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Ethnic entrepreneurs

Entrepreneurship has always been an important driver of social mobility. However, the reasons for and methods of entrepreneurial activity differed between members of mainstream society and outsider groups. Historically, ethno-religious minorities such as Dutch Jews were overrepresented among entrepreneurs.[76] They turned to self-employment for both economic and non-economic reasons. In the model developed by Waldinger and collaborators,[77] ethnic entrepreneurship is the result of an interaction between opportunity structure and the ethnic group's resources. The opportunity structure consists of several factors. Job market conditions are one. If members of an ethnic group are unable to find jobs with non-coethnic employers, or are only offered work in poor working conditions, then entrepreneurship may appear a more worthwhile alternative. In that case, market conditions and the legal framework become important. These conditions differ by time and place. For instance, eighteenth-century Dutch Jews were not allowed to open stores. Ethnic group's resources form the other key part of ethnic entrepreneurship. The social networks of the members of an ethnic group are an important driver of entrepreneurship. Cultural traditions can drive both the creation of such networks and be a pushing factor for entrepreneurship. For instance, Dutch Jews in smaller towns in the countryside were particularly involved in the cattle trade and related fields. Jewish dietary traditions pushed Jews to prepare their own meat and dairy. With networks in the cattle trade, entrepreneurship in hides, furs, and leather was a logical next step.[78] Networks and traditions together form an ethnic group's ethnic resources. These resources can, in turn, overlap and interact with class resources such as general or specialised human capital attainment.[79]

While ethnic entrepreneurship and the disproportionate entry into self-employment allowed ethnic groups, including Jews, to rapidly move upwards in prosperous times, it also required large amounts of risk. This risk and the resulting precariousness were central to ethnic entrepreneurship according to Morawska: "[the] middle-class standard of living allowed by ethnic entrepreneurship, however, was an unstable achievement, an insecure prosperity—now present, then threatened, then returning again."[80] This

[75] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 93–94, 242–43.
[76] Hetty Berg, Thera Wijsenbeek, and Eric Fischer, "Geschiedenis van de joden in Nederland en joden in Neerlandse economische geschiedschrijving," in *Venter, fabriqueur, fabrikant. Joodse ondernemers en ondernemingen in Nederland 1796-1940*, ed. Hetty Berg, Thera Wijsenbeek, and Eric Fischer (Amsterdam, 1994), 15–17.
[77] Roger Waldinger et al., *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Society* (Thousand Oaks, 1990).
[78] Serge ter Braake and Paul van Trigt, *Leerhandelaar, looier, lederfabrikant. Het succes van Joodse ondernemers in de Nederlandse Leerindustrie (1870-1940)* (Amsterdam, 2010).
[79] Ewa Morawska, *Insecure Prosperity: Small-Town Jews in Industrial America, 1890-1940* (Princeton, 1996), 32.
[80] Morawska, *Insecure Prosperity*, 73.

instability, a "chronic condition" among Jews in Johnstown, was similar to the experiences of Amsterdam's diamond workers, whose main source of employment fluctuated heavily with international economic conditions and whose niche was costly to learn due the expensive nature of their product.

1.2.4 *Social and cultural capital*

Financial capital allowed minority group members to become self-employed. However, other types of capital, such as social and cultural capital, [81] helped ethnics find employment and advance in their careers. Social networks are one form of 'social capital' that were highly important for ethnic minorities.[82] Family networks are an important aspect of these social networks.[83] Although not within the scope of this dissertation, the non-economic value of extending such networks beyond the Jewish community is highlighted by the increased survival rates of Jews with stronger non-Jewish networks during the Holocaust.[84]

Contemporary research suggests that inter-ethnic ties were more important in achieving higher incomes for low-status workers than for high-status workers.[85] These inter-ethnic ties could assist in securing higher-paid employment of similar status outside of ethnic economies and within the mainstream economy. In contrast, high-status groups economically benefited more from intra-ethnic ties on the labour market, which could help with entrepreneurship.[86] For example, stronger ties with Jews may have supported Jewish diamond workers in becoming self-employed or earn higher wages within the industry, whereas ties with Gentiles could allow them easier access to office work in the mainstream economy.

Cultural capital, defined by Bourdieu "as competence in a society's high-status culture,"[87] can be applied from both a social mobility and an integration perspective. General knowledge about art, literature, furniture, and cuisine could all be helpful in being perceived as a certain social class or reflect as more or less Jewish.[88] This cultural capital is obtained in the family or in formal schooling. Light and Gold relate this to entrepreneurship; having entrepreneur kinfolk provides cultural capital of entrepreneurship through exposure. The same can be applied for other careers. Having a large share of the family employed in the diamond industry provides tremendous cultural

[81] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson (Westport, 1986), 241–58.
[82] Roger Waldinger, "The Making of an Immigrant Niche," *International Migration Review* 28.1 (1994): 3.
[83] Alejandro Portes, "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 1–24.
[84] Peter Tammes, "Survival of Jews during the Holocaust: The Importance of Different Types of Social Resources," *International Journal of Epidemiology* 36.2 (2007): 330–35.
[85] Emi Ooka and Barry Wellman, "Does Social Capital Pay off More within or between Ethnic Groups? Analyzing Job Searchers in Five Toronto Ethnic Groups," in *Inside the Mosaic* (Toronto, 2006), 199–226.
[86] Ooka and Wellman, "Does Social Capital Pay off More within or between Ethnic Groups?," 213; Dutch-Jewish economic elites often succeeded in economic sectors where Jews were historically present, although they increasingly broke through in non-traditional fields also. Sietske van der Veen, "Novel Opportunities, Perpetual Barriers: Patterns of Social Mobility and Integration among the Jewish Dutch Elite, 1870-1940" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2024), 105.
[87] Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 270.
[88] A discussion on Jewish perception and self-perception can be found in Chaya Brasz and Yosef Kaplan, eds., *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others* (Leiden, 2001).

capital for diamond work; but thereby limits the exposure to other forms of cultural capital, such as that for white-collar work.

While social and cultural capital can be helpful, reliance on such capital "gives rise to dependence on the ethnic community."[89] In times of crisis, the greater investment in intra-ethnic ties could prove detrimental for future outcomes. Economic specialisation within an ethnic community creates larger risks through lessened diversification. Thus, when the Amsterdam diamond industry was hit with a severe crisis in the early-1920s, a large part of the Jewish community was affected. Hypothetically, those whose social networks consisted primarily of Jewish connections would have suffered the most in finding new employment. They faced downward mobility and downward assimilation, relying more on low-wage, low-skill labour or risky self-employment.[90]

Social and cultural capital are therefore useful terms to help understand Amsterdam Jewish pre-war experiences. Chapter 4 shows how strong intergenerational ties led to greater occupational following in the Jewish community. In Chapter 5 we see that these coethnic ties are not limited to own kin but are further built and strengthened through marriages with coreligionists. Chapter 6 shows that stronger inter-ethnic ties could help Jews advance on the labour market. Chapter 7 shows how the changing Jewish residential distribution changed inter-ethnic neighbourhood ties.

1.2.5 *Life course approach*

Rather than study individuals at one moment in time, or cross-sectionally, this dissertation studies groups of individuals across their lifetimes. This is done by collecting microdata, information at the individual level, for different points in persons lives. Combining these longitudinal microdata form life courses, which are "basically standardized biographies."[91] Life courses allow researchers to study individual lives within the context of social change. Individual changes within life courses, known as *events* or *transitions*, can be measured in sequence or *trajectories*. In this dissertation, a number of life course transitions are examined. These primarily emphasise changes in occupations and accompanying social class, marital status, and residential locations. By placing these transitions in chronological order, temporal relationships can be established between them.

Different groups of life courses are needed to understand how social, economic, or environmental changes affect individual life courses differently. For instance, the influence of being born in a 'Jewish' family can only be understood in comparison to non-Jewish life courses. Jan Kok has shown that such differences in religious affiliation were related to significant variation in life trajectories.[92] Jews were more likely to marry at a later age and had higher propensities to co-reside with kin during the entire life course.[93] Similarly, since we are interested in the influence of passing through the diamond industry—that is, being a diamond worker for at least a minimal period of time—on the lives and careers of Jews, a comparison is made with Jews who did not pass

[89] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 49.
[90] Portes and Zhou, "The New Second Generation," 86–87; Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 49.
[91] Jan Kok, "Principles and Prospects of the Life Course Paradigm," *Annales de Démographie Historique* 113.1 (2007): 203.
[92] Kok, "Church Affiliation and Life Course Transitions."
[93] Ibid., 72.

through the diamond industry. This will indicate the influence of occupational choice on a variety of life outcomes, including partner choice, residential destinations, and the educational attainment of their next of kin.

The life courses used in this dissertation are unique. They are combined with detailed union data and pertain to an ethno-religious group, Jews, for whom few life courses currently exist. It also marks the first time comparisons are made within an occupational group of workers by ethno-religious background in the Dutch setting. However, such comparisons between Jews and Gentiles in various occupational sectors require us to identify *who* is Jewish or Gentile. We therefore turn next to a theoretical discussion on this definition.

1.2.6 *Who is Jewish and who is Gentile: theoretical*

Researchers have used a number of classifications to categorise Jews. They have been considered and studied as a religious, ethnic, racial, and social group. In her doctoral research, Leydesdorff referred to them as simply 'a group.'[94] I, too, study Jews as a social group. The most comprehensive definition of 'who is Jewish,' and the one that is the most usable for the current dissertation, was offered by Dik van Arkel in 1966. Van Arkel suggested four categories of Jews:

1. Members of a Jewish congregation;
2. (Non-practising) former members of a Jewish congregation;
3. Descendants of either of the above two groups; or
4. Those who, without any specific affiliation or personal affinity with a Jewish congregation, are seen as Jews by others.[95]

Van Arkel's classification allows the multifaceted identifications of different segments of Jews to coexist. For the most part, Amsterdam Jews were comprised by the first two categories. In 1941, no more than 7 percent of Amsterdam Jewry was no longer a member of a Jewish congregation.[96] The definition also does not limit itself to the matrilinear *Halakha*, which states that only those children born from Jewish mothers were Jewish. While having mixed parents may have affected Jews' self-identification, most Jews with non-Jewish mothers are and were considered Jewish by non-Jews.

1.3 Recent Scholarship

In this dissertation I will build on existing literature encompassing the social mobility, integration trajectories, and economic lives of Jews. The relevant literature can be divided into four groups. The first contains research on social mobility trends in the Netherlands. To understand the chances for social mobility for the average Dutch citizen, we first discuss the literature on social mobility in mainstream Dutch society. This establishes a baseline which we can compare Jewish social mobility to. Next is a smaller body of literature that has directly or indirectly addressed social mobility patterns of Jews in the Netherlands. This literature has primarily studied specific

[94] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 82–85.
[95] Dik van Arkel, "Antisemitism in Austria" (PhD diss., Leiden, Leiden University, 1966), XVI.
[96] A. Veffer, *Statistische gegevens van de joden in Nederland, deel 1* (Amsterdam, 1942), 29.

occupational categories or entrepreneurial clusters, as we are doing in the current dissertation. A third, larger body of work has emphasised integration of Jews in the Dutch context. This has led to two diverging strands of scholarship with diverging conclusions regarding the pre-World War II social destinations of Jews. Lastly, I will disccuss a growing international literature that has addressed Jewish economic lives. Like the works on Dutch Jews' social mobility, this literature has focused on occupational niches and used a predominantly cultural perspective.

1.3.1 *Social mobility in the Netherlands*

Social mobility research has a rich tradition in the Netherlands. In recent decades, the Historical Sample of the Netherlands (HSN) and LINKS, both described in Section 1.4, have led to a number of studies on Dutch social mobility in different ways. These have predominantly focused on the impact of industrialisation and modernisation on mobility rates.[97] This body of literature has shown that more modern municipalities and cities saw higher starting positions of careers but less career growth;[98] and provided evidence that suggests that persons' achieved status—that is, their own qualifications and abilities—rather than their ascribed status—the characteristics of one's family—became increasingly important.[99] Knigge revealed that nineteenth-century inter-generational mobility was low, demonstrated by high correlations between fathers' and sons' social status.[100] However, his dissertation also showed that much of this correlation was explained by other family members, including siblings and grandfathers.[101] More recently, it has been shown that uncles were important, also;[102] and mothers, who were particularly important for the status attainment of both sons and daughters.[103] International comparisons have confirmed that intergenerational mobility among Dutch men was "unexpectedly low."[104] Although this research covers the Netherlands as a whole, rather than the city of Amsterdam specifically, it shows that pre-war Netherlands was not a place with remarkable social mobility rates. This is the baseline we will consider when we compare Jews' social mobility rates.

[97] Richard Zijdeman, "Status Attainment in the Netherlands, 1811-1941: Spatial and Temporal Variation before and during Industrialization" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2010); Ineke Maas and Marco van Leeuwen, "Modernization and Long-Term Trends in Social Mobility," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Stratification*, ed. Markus Gangl et al. (Oxford, 2023).

[98] Wiebke Schulz, Ineke Maas, and Marco van Leeuwen, "Occupational Career Attainment during Modernization. A Study of Dutch Men in 841 Municipalities between 1865 and 1928," *Acta Sociologica* 58.1 (2015): 5–24.

[99] Ineke Maas and Marco van Leeuwen, "Partner Choice in the Netherlands, 1813–1922: The Changing Importance of Ascribed and Achieved Status," *The History of the Family* 24.1 (2019): 123–48.

[100] Antonie Knigge, "Sources of Sibling Similarity. Status Attainment in the Netherlands during Modernization" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2015), 19–20.

[101] See also Antonie Knigge, "Beyond the Parental Generation: The Influence of Grandfathers and Great-Grandfathers on Status Attainment," *Demography* 53.4 (2016): 1219–44.

[102] Kim Stienstra and Antonie Knigge, "Indirect Pathways of Multigenerational Persistence: The Role of Uncles and Assortative Mating in the Netherlands, 1857-1922," *The History of the Family* 28.1 (2023): 67–94.

[103] Siyang Kong, Ineke Maas, and Marco van Leeuwen, "Like My Mother before Me: Gender and Cross-Gender Effects on Status Attainment during Modernization," *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 69 (2020): 1–14.

[104] Ineke Maas and Marco van Leeuwen, "Toward Open Societies? Trends in Male Intergenerational Class Mobility in European Countries during Industrialization," *American Journal of Sociology* 122.3 (2016): 873.

1.3.2 *Jewish social mobility in the Netherlands*

The social mobility of Jews in the Netherlands, and in Amsterdam particularly, has been assessed to have been generally upwards.[105] However, few studies have looked at a population at large at the micro-level while comparing and addressing the extent and pathways through which social mobility occurred for different ethno-religious groups. An exception is the article by Van Poppel, Liefbroer, and Schellekens studying social mobility by religious denomination in late-nineteenth-century The Hague.[106] It reveals that Jews and Catholics both faced exclusion from higher social strata, although it was weaker for Jews. [107] The authors argued this exclusion was not the result of discrimination, but rather the historical class structure in The Hague, wherein many Jews were already part of the petty bourgeoisie as merchants and shopkeepers. Much of the existing focus in the literature has been on such Jewish 'ethnic entrepreneurs.' A prime example of this literature is the volume *Venter, Fabrikant, Fabriqueur* ('Peddler, Factory Owner, Manufacturer').[108] Comparing Jewish and non-Jewish entrepreneurs in various economic sectors, it concluded that a 'typical Jewish entrepreneur' did not exist.[109] This opposed De Vries who saw Jewish entrepreneurs in the textile trade as more innovative than Protestant and Catholic entrepreneurs due to the Jewish "heritage for learning."[110] Instead, the editors of the volume found no 'typical Jewish entrepreneur,' but rather commonalities between Jewish entrepreneurs, particularly in social class and social ties.[111] Like Protestants and Catholics, Jews depended more on networks consisting of members of their own ethno-religious background. Nor were Jewish entrepreneurs exceedingly innovative; Jews commonly only innovated more in industries where they had generations of experience.[112] For example, Jewish entrepreneurs more frequently specialised in segments of a trade, such as the leather and hide trade[113] and more expensive cinemas within the film industry.[114] Moreover, although Jewish entrepreneurs rarely asserted their Jewishness, there often was greater Jewish solidarity between Jewish entrepreneurs than in other groups. Non-Jewish entrepreneurs more often connected on shared regional backgrounds, while Jews connected on their shared ethno-religious backgrounds.[115]

In contrast to Jewish entrepreneurs, much less attention has been paid to the experiences of Jewish workers. While Jewish diamond workers have received attention

[105] Jakob Kruijt, "Het Jodendom in de Nederlandse samenleving," in *Antisemitisme en Jodendom. Een bundel studies over een actueel vraagstuk*, ed. Hendrik Josephus Pos (Arnhem, 1939), 206–10; Tammes, "'Hack, Pack, Sack,'" 9–19; Hans Blom and Joël Cahen, "Joodse Nederlanders, Nederlandse joden en joden in Nederland," in *De Geschiedenis van de Joden in Nederland*, ed. Hans Blom et al. (Amsterdam, 2017), 287–98.
[106] Frans van Poppel, Aart Liefbroer, and Jona Schellekens, "Religion and Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century The Hague," *Sociology of Religion* 64.2 (2003): 247–71.
[107] Ibid., 264.
[108] Berg, Wijsenbeek, and Fischer, "Geschiedenis van de joden in Nederland."
[109] Ibid., 28.
[110] Benjamin de Vries, *From Pedlars to Textile Barons. The Economic Development of a Jewish Minority Group in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam, 1990), 153.
[111] Hetty Berg, Eric Fischer, and Thera Wijsenbeek, *Venter, fabriqueur, fabrikant; joodse ondernemers en ondernemingen in Nederland 1796-1940* (Amsterdam, 1994), 28.
[112] Berg, Wijsenbeek, and Fischer, "Geschiedenis van de joden in Nederland," 28.
[113] Ter Braake and Van Trigt, *Leerhandelaar, looier, lederfabrikant*.
[114] Fransje de Jong, "Joodse ondernemers in het Nederlandse film- en bioscoopbedrijf tot 1940" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2013).
[115] Ter Braake and Van Trigt, *Leerhandelaar, looier, lederfabrikant*, 82.

in several academic works over the last century, none have dived deeply into their social mobility and integration trajectories.[116] Boudien de Vries has shown that successful diamond workers in the 1870s reversed a position of underrepresentation of Jews among the Amsterdam financial elite to one of over-representation by the end of the nineteenth century.[117] Their social destinations after the ruinous 1920-crisis has, however, been up for debate. According to Henri Heertje, a contemporary of these diamond workers, many of them ended up in similar or higher social classes.[118] Especially their children were believed to have accumulated significant human capital and gone on to white-collar work. In contrast, Leydesdorff argued that "the social mobility between the diamond workers and the others [JK: the 'proletariat' or poor] increased so radically that it becomes meaningless to describe them separately from the poor or the peddlers. [...]. What was once the proud culture of the diamond workers steadily degenerated into the lost glory of an increasingly rough group of hard-core unemployed."[119] More recent publications on the diamond industry have not remarked on the class destination of unemployed diamond workers in the post-1920 period.[120] This dissertation aims to fill this gap using new and unique data.

1.3.3 *Integration in Dutch-Jewish History*

A more pressing debate has been the degree to which Dutch and Amsterdam Jews integrated into Gentile society leading up to the war. In this debate, the relationship between social mobility and integration has been contrived.[121] On one end, historians and social scientists have emphasised the growing similarities between Jews and Gentiles. Among them, historians such as Hans Blom and Joël Cahen have argued that Jews integrated gradually but continuously since the mid-nineteenth century. Jan Lucassen concluded in the introduction of a volume on Jewish entrepreneurs that "first slowly, but in the [twentieth century] more quickly, the minority position of Dutch Jews was declining and that they were on their way to [full] assimilation."[122] More recently, social and migration historians Jan and Leo Lucassen have stated that, at the brink of the Second World War, Jews were hardly distinguishable from non-Jews in the domains of work, schooling, and housing.[123] Sociologists Peter Tammes and Peter Scholten have shown, with new data, that structural integration had moved rapidly in the first half of

[116] Henri Heertje, *De diamantbewerkers van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1936); Van Tijn, *Twintig jaren Amsterdam*; Van Tijn, "De Algemeene Nederlandsche Diamantbewerkersbond"; Van Tijn, *Amsterdam en diamant*; Knotter, *Economische transformatie*; Karin Hofmeester, *Jewish Workers and the Labour Movement: A Comparative Study of Amsterdam, London and Paris 1870-1914* (London, 2017); Karin Hofmeester, *Een schitterende erfenis: 125 jaar nalatenschap van de Algemene Nederlandse Diamantbewerkersbond* (Zutphen, 2020); Metz, *Diamantgracht*.

[117] De Vries, "De joodse elite in Amsterdam."

[118] Heertje, *De diamantbewerkers*, 223–29.

[119] Leydesdorff, *We Lived with Dignity*, 60; Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 101; this idea was shared by Ben Braber, *This Cannot Happen Here: Integration and Jewish Resistance in the Netherlands, 1940-1945* (Amsterdam, 2013), 45.

[120] Hofmeester, *Een schitterende erfenis*; Metz, *Diamantgracht*; Hofmeester, "The Amsterdam Diamond 'Marketplace' and the Jewish Experience"; Saskia Coenen Snyder, *A Brilliant Commodity: Diamonds and Jews in a Modern Setting* (Oxford, 2023).

[121] See Van der Veen, "Novel Opportunities, Perpetual Barriers."

[122] Jan Lucassen, "Joodse Nederlanders 1796-1940: een proces van omgekeerde minderheidsvorming," in *Venter, fabriqueur, fabrikant. Joodse ondernemers en ondernemingen in Nederland, 1796-1940*, ed. Hetty Berg, Thera Wijsenbeek, and Eric Fischer (Amsterdam, 1994), 43.

[123] Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, *Vijf eeuwen migratie: Een verhaal van winnaars en verliezers* (Amsterdam, 2018), 68.

the twentieth century.[124] International comparisons have shown the uniqueness of the Dutch-Jewish integration process.[125]

On the other end, Selma Leydesdorff has questioned the degree to which Jews had integrated. In her doctoral research on the Jewish 'proletariat'[126] in the beginning of the twentieth century, she found that Jews were stuck in the 'Jewish economy,' living separate lives isolated from Gentile society.[127] She argued that Jews spoke a different language, were discriminated in various segments of the economy, worked in distinctly different occupations, and continued to adhere to traditional customs.[128] Leydesdorff's positioning against the integration of Jews may have been a result of her studying individual and not necessarily representative lives; her dissertation was based on 90 interviews with Holocaust survivors. Furthermore, her focus was explicitly on the 'Jewish proletariat' who most likely had the least resources, such as financial or social capital, available to them to effectively integrate. In contrast, those who have addressed integration at a larger scale, including Jews from all social classes, have offered a more nuanced view, highlighting the heterogeneity of the Dutch-Jewish community in early-twentieth-century Netherlands. This view is shared by Van der Veen, whose recent dissertation has demonstrated the advanced progress of Jewish elites' integration, the diverse ways integration could take form, and the bidirectional nature of Dutch-Jewish integration.[129]

Nonetheless, a reassessment of the process for the Jewish working class is needed. Karin Hofmeester has already established that Amsterdam-Jewish workers were far more integrated in the domestic non-denominational trade unions than Jews in Paris and London, where Jewish workers formed smaller denominational unions.[130] A similar tendency towards a separate labour movement was present in the United States.[131] The current dissertation will add further resources and data to quantitatively estimate the degree to which a key segment of the Jewish working class remained an isolated segment of Amsterdam society, or whether they increasingly entered Gentile and mixed domains.

[124] Peter Tammes and Peter Scholten, "Assimilation of Ethnic-Religious Minorities in the Netherlands: A Historical-Sociological Analysis of Pre–World War II Jews and Contemporary Muslims," *Social Science History* 41.3 (2017): 477–504.

[125] Nathan Weinstock, *Le Pain de Misère: L'histoire du mouvement ouvrier juif en Europe* (Paris, 1984); Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson, eds., *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship* (Princeton, 1995).

[126] I have placed 'proletariat' in quotes since, although it is used by Leydesdorff themselves, I disagree with its application to the persons studied in her research. Much of Leydesdorff's work addresses diamond workers and their families, a group who decidedly did not belong to the 'proletariat.' As we shall see across this dissertation, Leydesdorff's depiction of diamond workers as a *lumpenproletariat* is demonstrably incorrect and Jewish diamond workers had social mobility trajectories distinct from other working-class Jews.

[127] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 264–67.

[128] Leydesdorff, "The Veil of History"; the different language refers to nicknames used by Jews to refer to certain streets. Many Jewish words and phrases became part of the 'Amsterdam dialect.' For example, see Megan Raschig, "Goeie Ouwe Gabbers: Listening to 'Jewishness' in Multicultural Mokum," *Quotidian* 3.1 (2012): 21–36.

[129] Van der Veen, "Novel Opportunities, Perpetual Barriers," 8–9.

[130] Hofmeester, *Jewish Workers and the Labour Movement*.

[131] Daniel Soyer, *Jewish Immigrant Associations and American Identity in New York, 1880-1939* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997).

1.3.4 *Jewish economic lives in Jewish History*

The current dissertation is neither a purely sociological work, nor is it a traditional Jewish history dissertation. Instead, it merges the disciplines and contributes to both using novel datasets to show new findings in the socio-economic sphere. Until recently, economic life was given little attention in Jewish history. The Jewish working class in particular received little emphasis. In the words of Nancy Green:

> "The Jewish worker remains an anomaly. Ignored at worst, seen as ephemeral at best, the Jewish cap makers, shoemakers, diamond workers, and tinsmiths of the turn of the century have all but faded from memory in a history of modern Jewish social mobility. Only the Jewish tailor remains an emblematic if somewhat folkloric figure of a Jewish working class."[132]

Since then, attention for Jewish artisans and workers has remained marginal. However, a new shift has been noticeable in the years since Green's statement in 1998. More attention has been placed on 'Jewish economic difference.'[133] Rather than argue for or against Jewish exceptionalism as the creators of capitalism, a key part of Jewish economic history since Sombart's thesis,[134] a greater emphasis should be placed on what explains the differences between Jewish and non-Jewish economic endeavours. In this context Jewish history has witnessed an 'Economic Turn.' This body of literature has targeted the study of economic life of Jews from a culturally-oriented perspective.[135] Publications now include studies of entrepreneurs in coral and diamonds,[136] ostrich feathers,[137] textiles and the rag trade,[138] alcohol,[139] cotton,[140] and department stores;[141] as well as peddlers [142] and shopkeepers. [143] Thus, it has focused largely on Jewish entrepreneurship and self-employment, and placed only marginal attention on the Jewish working-class and artisans.

[132] Nancy Green, *Jewish Workers in the Modern Diaspora* (Berkeley, 1998), 1.
[133] Derek Penslar, *Shylock's Children: Economics and Jewish Identity in Modern Europe* (Berkeley, 2001).
[134] Werner Sombart, *Die Juden and das Wirtschaftsleben* (Leipzig, 1911).
[135] Gideon Reuveni, "Prolegomena to an 'Economic Turn' in Jewish History," in *The Economy in Jewish History*, ed. Gideon Reuveni and Sarah Wobick-Segev (Oxford, 2011), 1–2.
[136] Gedalia Yogev, *Diamonds and Coral: Anglo-Dutch Jews and Eighteenth-Century Trade* (Leicester, 1978); Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, 2009); David De Vries, *Diamonds and War: State, Capital, and Labor in British-Ruled Palestine* (New York, 2010); Tijl Vanneste, *Global Trade and Commercial Networks: Eighteenth-Century Diamond Merchants* (London, 2015); Coenen Snyder, *A Brilliant Commodity*.
[137] Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Plumes: Ostrich Feathers, Jews, and a Lost World of Global Commerce* (New Haven, 2008).
[138] Nancy Green, *Ready-to-Wear and Ready-to-Work: A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York* (Durham, 1997); Andrew Godley, *Jewish Immigrant Entrepreneurship in New York and London 1880–1914* (London, 2001); Adam Mendelsohn, *The Rag Race: How Jews Sewed Their Way to Success in America and the British Empire* (New York, 2016); Laura Ekholm, "Jews, Second-Hand Trade and Upward Economic Mobility: Introducing the Ready-to-Wear Business in Industrializing Helsinki, 1880–1930," in *Global Perspectives on Changing Secondhand Economies*, ed. Karen Tranberg Hansen and Jennifer Le Zotte (London, 2022), 73–92.
[139] Marni Davis, *Jews and Booze: Becoming American in the Age of Prohibition* (New York, 2020).
[140] Michael Cohen, *Cotton Capitalists: American Jewish Entrepreneurship in the Reconstruction Era* (New York, 2017).
[141] Paul Lerner, *The Consuming Temple: Jews, Department Stores, and the Consumer Revolution in Germany, 1880–1940* (Ithaca, 2015).
[142] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven, 2015); Diane Catherine Vecchio, *Peddlers, Merchants, and Manufacturers: How Jewish Entrepreneurs Built Economy and Community in Upcountry South Carolina* (Columbia, 2024).
[143] Morawska, *Insecure Prosperity*.

This dissertation aims to contribute to this literature while returning the focus on the Jewish worker. The diamond worker is, in the Dutch context, the one Jewish artisan who has received the most attention. Henri Heertje's 1936 dissertation *De diamantbewerkers in Amsterdam* is an invaluable resource in this regard.[144] Theo van Tijn, Karin Hofmeester, and Daniël Metz have continued to build on this work.[145] However, detailed individual career and life trajectories have so far not been used in this literature. The life courses and additional data used in this dissertation, discussed in the following section, allows me to study the social and economic lives of Amsterdam Jews in greater detail than ever before.

1.4 Data and Methods

So far, we have discussed what we aim to study, namely the social mobility and integration of Amsterdam Jews and Jewish diamond workers; and also what we mean by these terms. Next is a clarification of the data and methods used in this dissertation. Until now, data on Dutch Jews has been limited and depended on oversampling on a number of criteria.[146] Oversampling here refers to selecting a specific subgroup, such as Dutch Jews, at greater numbers than their actual representation in the overall population. In this dissertation, existing data on Amsterdam Jews is complemented with the entire diamond workers' union membership administration and for a sample of the diamond workers' membership cards extra data. For each individual on these sampled membership cards, complete life course information is gathered from the Amsterdam population registers. Additionally, using a technique novel in the Dutch context, I identify Jewish families on the full-count marriage certificates of Amsterdam. In this section we will also revisit the question *Who is Jewish* and approach it from a practical and data-driven perspective.

1.4.1 *Membership administration of the Algemene Nederlandse Diamantbewerkersbond*

The core of the dissertation's work is based on the archive of the *Algemene Nederlandse Diamantbewerkersbond* (ANDB; 'General Dutch Diamond Workers Union'). The first modern trade union in the Netherlands, the ANDB was founded in 1894 following an industry-wide strike comprising all 10,000-plus Jewish and Gentile diamond workers in Amsterdam.[147] Due to the success of the strike, the ANDB was able to implement a mandatory union membership in collaboration with the employers' organisation. The ANDB membership administration, which covers the period 1898 until 1958—when the union merged into the metal workers' union—therefore comprises the entire industry, excepting members of three small denominational unions of limited numerical importance: the Protestant *Patrimonium*, the Roman Catholic *Sint Eduardus*, and the Jewish *Betsalel*.[148] The ANDB administration was unique in its breadth and detail, making

[144] Heertje, *De diamantbewerkers*.
[145] Van Tijn, *Twintig jaren Amsterdam*; Van Tijn, *Amsterdam en diamant*; Hofmeester, *Jewish Workers and the Labour Movement*; Hofmeester, *Een schitterende erfenis*; Metz, *Diamantgracht*.
[146] Tammes, "'Hack, Pack, Sack'"; Van Poppel, Liefbroer, and Schellekens, "Religion and Social Mobility."
[147] Van Tijn, "De Algemeene Nederlandsche Diamantbewerkersbond."
[148] Herbert Schijf, "De leerlingen van de ANDB. Een indrukwekkende administratie," in *Een schitterende erfenis: 125 jaar nalatenschap van de Algemene Nederlandse Diamantbewerkersbond*, ed. Karin Hofmeester (Zutphen, 2020), 60.

it the country's most informative union membership administration.[149] The level of detail is amplified by the high membership rate, as the union effectively blocked non-union workers to continue their activities in the industry. However, the administration of these workers only covers information regarding their careers *during* their memberships. While this is extremely informative for those who aim to study the changes within the industry, it cannot adequately describe workers' lives before and after their memberships, crucial ingredients to study their social mobility and integration. Nor does membership data tell us anything about religious affiliation, family background, or partner selection. To cover these gaps, additional sources are used to complement the career information included in the ANDB archive. For a sample of 800 diamond workers, explained in detail in Section 1.4.2, population registers shed light on complete life courses throughout Amsterdam, including family backgrounds, all co-resident individuals, additional occupational information, and residential histories. Marriage certificates for ever-married persons reveal additional family network information, including both sets of parents of the bridal pair and between two and four marital witnesses present at the marriage ceremony. This sample and the population registers will be discussed after a description of the different facets of the ANDB membership administration.

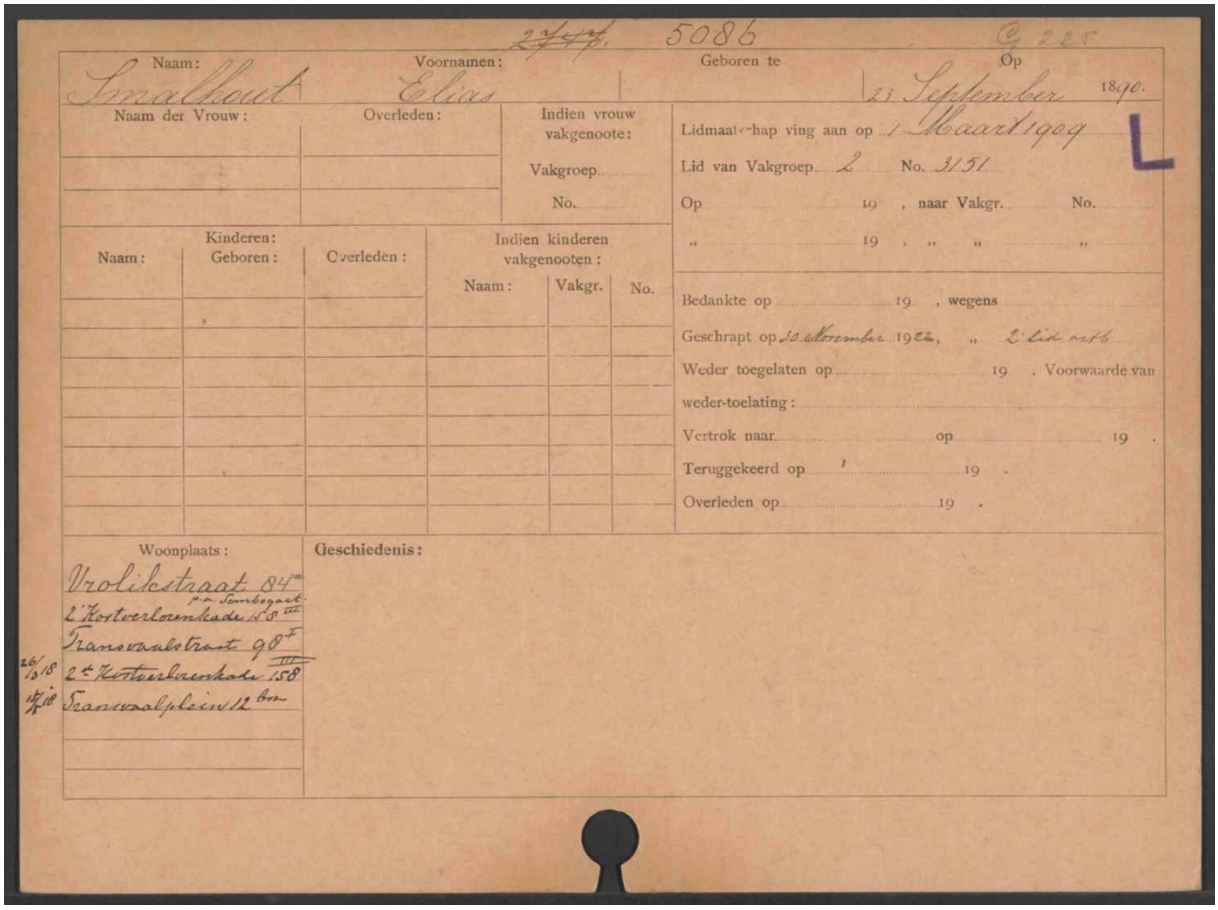
Membership cards

The first part of the ANDB's administration were membership cards introduced in January 1898. All full members of the union were registered on individual cards. Between 1898 to 1958, a total of 20,729 cards were filled out covering 18,150 unique members. Persons who had especially long careers in the diamond industry or who frequently migrated between Amsterdam and other diamond centres needed a second card to cover all accrued membership information and mutations. Membership cards were printed on thick pieces of cardboard and contained information on both sides. Personal information and membership mutations were recorded on the front while the backs counted the annual employment histories of workers' activities by the number of weeks.

An example of the front of a membership card is shown in Illustration 1.1. In 2018 and 2019, hundreds of volunteers contributed to the transcription of the information.[150] At the start of the membership, the date, names and date of birth, address, the specialisation—recorded as the 'section of the union'—and membership number were recorded. Over the years more information was added. In the above example, Elias was member of Section 2 of the union, the brilliant polishers; these were the most numerous workers in the industry. Once issued, cards were kept at the headquarters of the ANDB and updated regularly. The front of the card was updated for each residential change and when Elias' membership was ended in 1922 due to prolonged unemployment. On the cards of women, husbands' surnames were affixed to women's maiden names at the time of marriage. Nearly half of all female union members were listed with such double surnames, indicating the high share of working married women in this ethnic niche.[151]

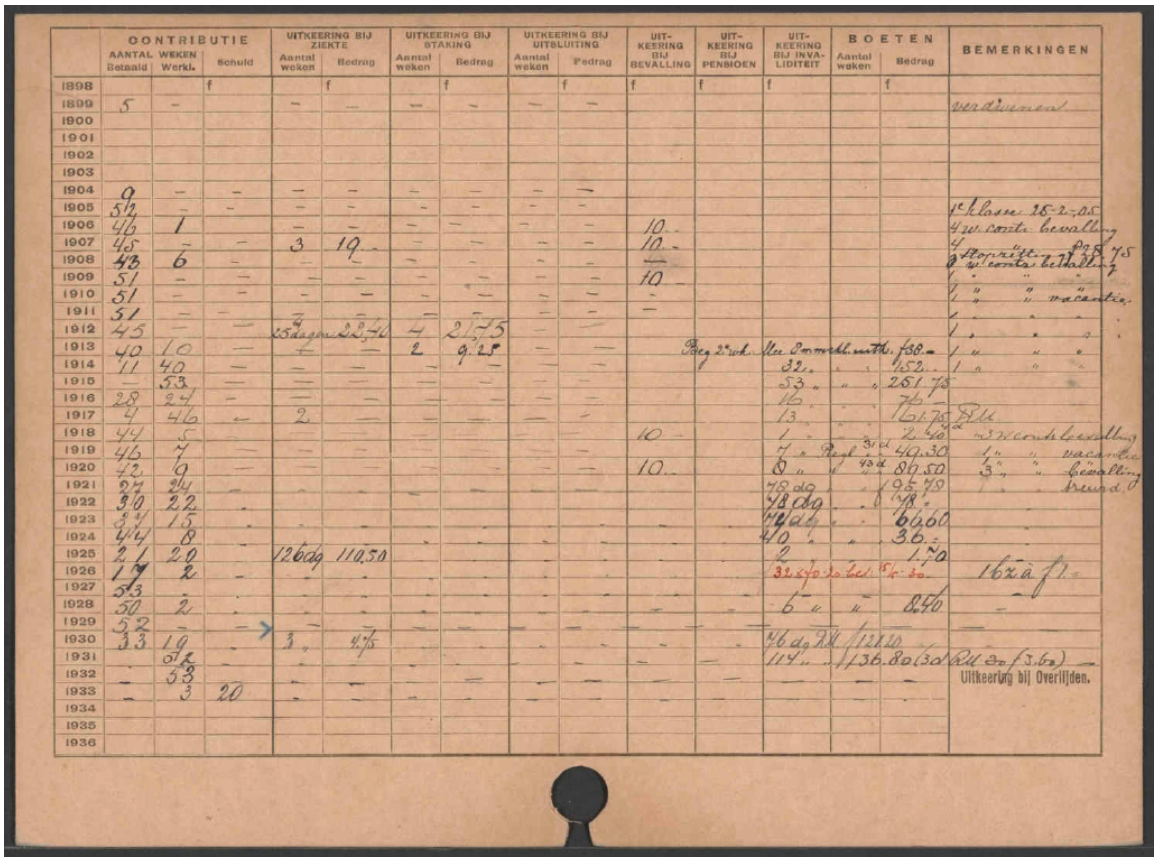
[149] Jan Hornix, "Op zoek naar het vakbondslid. Een nieuw perspectief op onderzoek naar geschiedenis van de vakbeweging" (Nijmegen: Katholiek Documentatie Centrum, 2022).
[150] Volunteers entered the information on the citizens' science website VeleHanden.nl. All membership and apprenticeship cards can be viewed on https://diamantbewerkers.nl.
[151] Hofmeester, "The Impact of the Diamond Industry," 156.

ILLUSTRATION 1.1 Example of the front of an ANDB membership card.
Source: ANDB archive, ARCH00210 #9450.



While the front of the cards provides uniquely detailed information on the changes in membership status, information registered on the backs of the cards contain more detail. The backs of these cards, one example shown in Illustration 1.2, report the number of weeks in a year that a member (*i*) worked, (*ii*) spent unemployed, (*iii*) was on sick leave, (*iv*) on strike, and (*v*) locked out. This information was important to record to keep track of workers' eligibility for certain benefits in time of need. For each category, an amount in guilders of benefits paid to the worker was recorded. The sum of the number of weeks add up to a full year, although rounding of weeks lead most years to cumulate to between 50 and 54 weeks. If workers left during the year, either temporarily or permanently, the number of weeks would equal less than 52. Workers who did not pay their membership fees had their debts listed here, too. Other information listed in the columns refer to the 10-guilder benefit payment to women giving birth. These payments, together with the presence of husbands' surnames, indicate that women in the diamond industry worked in a variety of different life stages and family situations, including as married women and mothers.

ILLUSTRATION 1.2 Example of the back of an ANDB membership card.
Source: ANDB archive, ARCH00210 #9450.

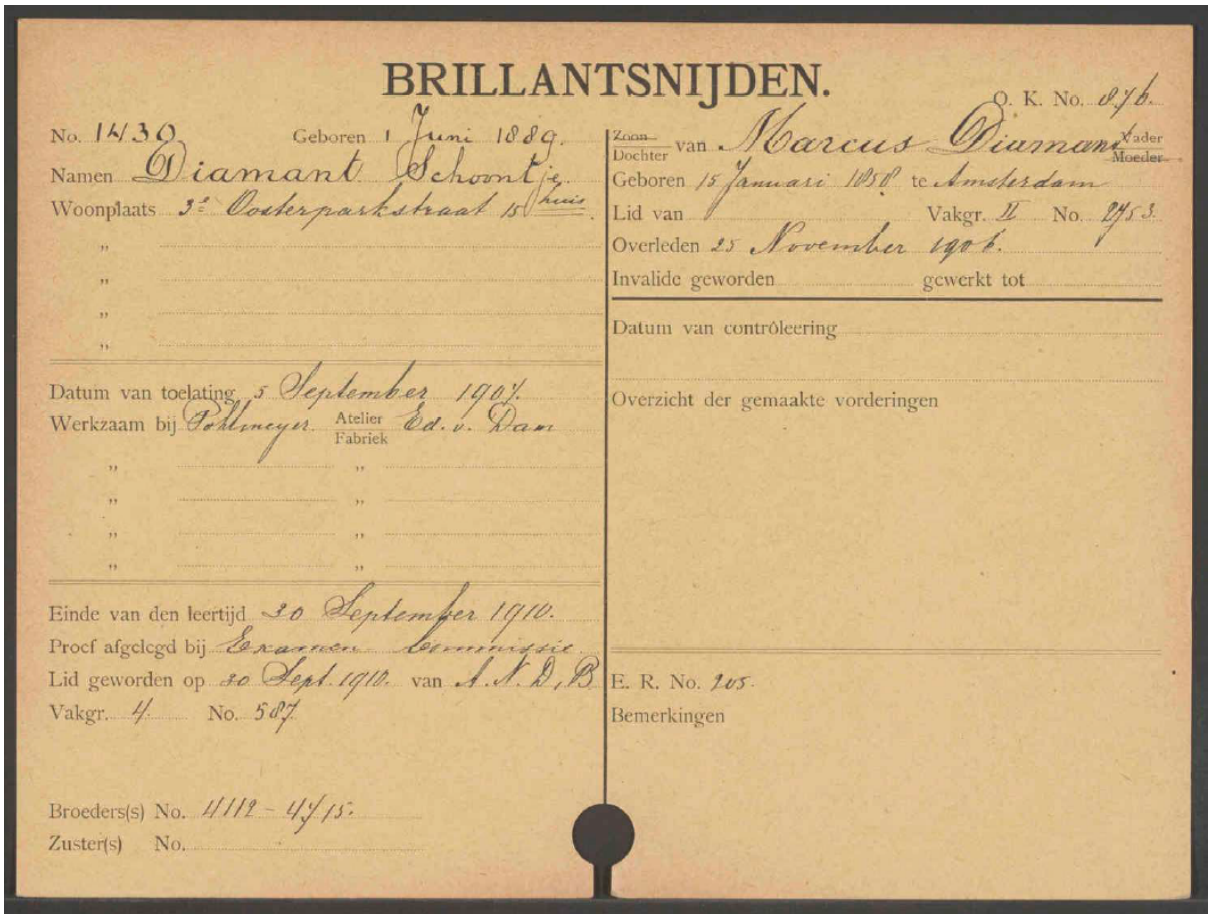


Apprenticeship cards

When membership cards were introduced in 1898, the union had just implemented an indefinite bar on new apprentices; large inflows of apprentices in the 1880s and 1890s had led to an excess of workers.[152] This temporary ban on apprenticeships ended in 1904 in agreement with the AJV for a reduction in working hours. In the same year, 500 new apprentices were selected and placed with instructors.[153] Consequently, a new card system needed to be introduced. Between 1904 and 1958, 7695 apprenticeship cards were issued. Besides personal identifying information, the apprenticeship cards recorded for one of the apprentices' parents' full names, dates of birth, and occupational information. These are shown on the top right corner of Illustration 1.3. In the case of Schoontje Diamant (1889–1957), her father Marcus Diamant (1858–1906) had worked in Section 2 ("II") until 25 November 1906, when he passed. The amount of information on the parents of apprentices reflects the power the ANDB had over the labour market in this industry. Although hopeful entrants could, on paper, only enter when a parent was a diamond worker, in practice nearly one-fourth of apprentices had parents who were not active as or had never worked as diamond workers.

[152] Heertje, *De diamantbewerkers*, 89.
[153] *Jaarverslag 1903–1904*, 39–40.

ILLUSTRATION 1.3 Example of an apprenticeship card.
Source: ANDB archive, ARCH00210#9411.



BRILLANTSNIJDEN.

O. K. No. 876.

No. 14/30 Geboren 1 Juni 1889.
Namen Diamant Schoontje.
Woonplaats 3e Oosterparkstraat 15 huis
" "
" "
" "
" "

Zoon / Dochter van Marcus Diamant Vader / Moeder
Geboren 15 Januari 1850 te Amsterdam
Lid van Vakgr. II No. 2753
Overleden 25 November 1906.
Invalide geworden gewerkt tot

Datum van contróleering

Datum van toelating 5 September 1907.
Werkzaam bij Pohlmeyer Atelier / Fabriek Ed. v. Dam
" "
" "
" "
" "

Overzicht der gemaakte vorderingen

Einde van den leertijd 30 September 1910.
Proef afgelegd bij Examen Commissie
Lid geworden op 30 Sept. 1910. van A.N.D.B.
Vakgr. 4 No. 587

E. R. No. 105
Bemerkingen

Broeders(s) No. 4112 - 4715
Zuster(s) No.

In the middle of the card we see that Schoontje started her apprenticeship on 5 September 1907 at the age of 18. Her instructor, listed here as Pohlmeijer,[154] instructed her in *brillantsnijden* ('brilliant cutting')—written in large letters at the top of the card—in Eduard van Dam's ("Ed. v. Dam") factory. In the bottom left we learn that she completed her apprenticeship on 30 September 1910, roughly three years after she started as an apprentice. She finished her examination at the union's exam committee ("Examen commissie") and became a member of the union on the same day. She was given a membership card stating that she was a member of Section 4 and member number 587. The information recorded on the bottom ("4112-4715") refers to the apprenticeship numbers of her siblings. Her younger brothers Maurits (1897-1942) and Jacob Diamant (1898-1921)[155] also had apprenticeships cards. Maurits apprenticed from 1912 until 1919, Jacob from 1913 until 1919. Both completed their apprenticeships as

[154] Only two Pohlmeijers were recorded in the union: Karel Hendrik Pohlmeijer (b. 1871) and his son Carl Hendrik Pohlmeijer (b. 1896). Given their age, Schoontje must have been instructed by Karel. At birth, Karel was listed as belonging to the Protestant *Hersteld Evangelisch Luthers* church. However, when he left for Idar, a German diamond production centre, in 1902, he was listed as religiously unaffiliated in the Amsterdam population register. Thus, the Jewish Schoontje Diamant was trained across sex and religious divisions.
[155] Jacob passed on 17 August 1921 in a fatal accident. Funeral notices were published in the newspapers *Algemeen Handelsblad* and *Het Volk* and the ANDB newsletter.

brilliant polishers, although Maurits' card noted that he had been kicked out of one of his apprenticeships for lack of ambition.

1.4.2 *Life courses and the Historical Sample of the Netherlands*

Although the various membership cards provide a complete overview of their working life during their memberships, they tell us little about their social and demographic lives outside of work, nor anything regarding their lives prior to becoming apprentices or after their memberships ended. For a complete overview of social mobility and integration, what we want is longitudinal information with continuous information on occupations, residence, and civil status. For this reason we turn to the *Historical Sample of the Netherlands* (HSN). The HSN has compiled over 40,000 life courses across the Netherlands for persons born between 1850 and 1922.[156] Using the methodology and software of the HSN, we have reconstructed comparable life courses for 800 diamond workers. Before going into our sample, I will first discuss the methodology of the HSN.

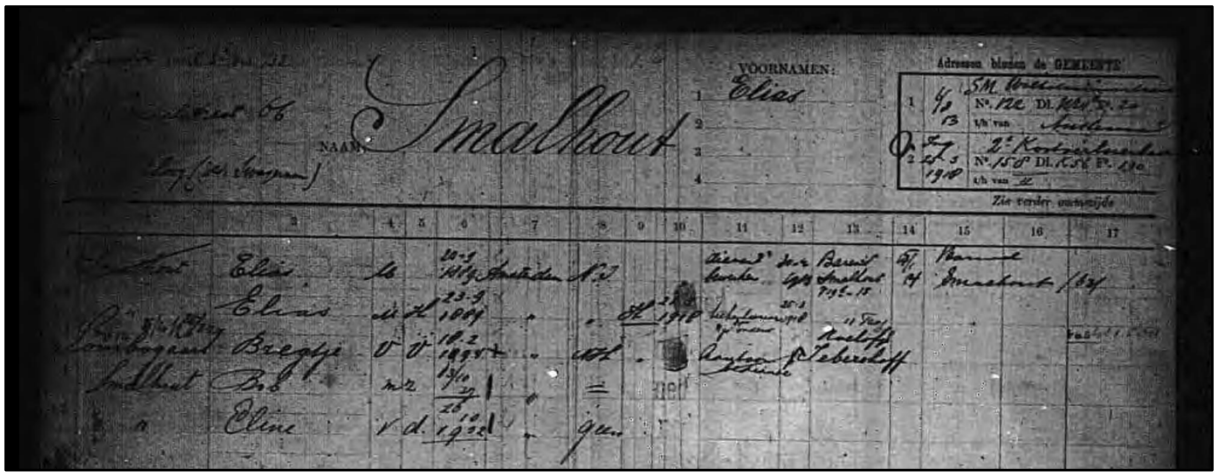
Historical Sample of the Netherlands

The HSN is a large-scale relational database containing life courses for Dutch residents all over the country.[157] It has compiled a representative population of the Netherlands by sampling birth certificates and constructed life courses by adding marriage and death certificates and entries from the population registers. These registers enable continuous tracking of individuals over time and space, making it one of the highest quality databases of historical life courses in the world.[158] Below, I will showcase the potential of the HSN at the hand of examples used in this dissertation.

The Amsterdam local government used population registers between 1850 and 1893 to keep track of residents and their movements. These were succeeded by *Gezinskaarten* ('Family cards') in 1893 until 1939. On both source types, each head of household was registered on these cards alongside the co-residents in their household. An example of such a *Gezinskaart* is presented in Illustration 1.4. The card registers Elias (Eli) Smalhout (1889-1939) and was issued after Eli left his parental home at age 24. In the top line we see Elias as a bachelor. From April 1913 until January 1914 he briefly lived by himself during his time as a diamond worker before moving back into his family's home. On the second line we see that he returns together with his partner Bregtje Sombogaart (1894-1991). They moved in on the 25th of March 1918, four days after their wedding. Elias is no longer listed as a diamond worker, but instead as an art teacher. Elias' religious affiliation is listed as *N.I.*, short for *Nederlands Israëlitisch* ('Dutch Israelite');[159] Bregtje's as *N.H.* (*Nederlands Hervormd* ['Dutch Reformed']). The Family cards therefore allow us to identify mixed marriages. Their children, Bob and Eline, are listed without religious affiliations, but neither Elias' nor Bregtje's affiliations were changed.[160] Thus, while the

[156] Kees Mandemakers and Jan Kok, "Dutch Lives. The Historical Sample of The Netherlands (1987–): Development and Research," *Historical Life Course Studies* 9 (2020): 72.
[157] Mandemakers and Kok, "Dutch Lives."
[158] Steven Ruggles, "The Future of Historical Family Demography," *Annuel Review of Sociology* 38 (2012): 425.
[159] Dutch Israelite meaning a member of the Dutch Israelite Religious Community (*Nederlands Israëlitisch Kerkgenootschap*), i.e. Ashkenazi Jewish.
[160] Both Elias and Bregtje later became members of the Socialist-Zionist organisation Paole Zion. See Bert de Cort, "Elias Smalhout," *Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en de Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland* (blog), 2017.

ILLUSTRATION 1.4 An example of a *Gezinskaart* in Amsterdam, ca. 1920.
Source: Amsterdam City Archive, 5422 #1371, "E. Smalhout (28-09-1889)."



religious upbringing of their children did not appear to head in either direction, their feelings towards their religious affiliation were ambivalent enough that they did not request government officials to change their own affiliations. Elias moved from his parental home in the Lepelstraat surrounded by Jews in the East of Amsterdam to the Tweede Kostverlorenkade in the Southwest of Amsterdam. This move was a neighbourhood upgrade and residential integration in one. This individual Family card has therefore informed us about Elias' career mobility, intermarriage, and residential mobility while also suggesting how he felt about his religious affiliation.

ANDB sample

Ideally, we would collect this same life course information for all 18,000-plus diamond workers. However, this is much too time-consuming. I therefore follow the HSN methodology and take several samples of randomly selected membership cards; 800 cards were sampled in total. To ensure comparability, we sample the same 10-year birth cohorts used by the HSN ranging from 1873-1882 to 1913-1922. Although women make up 19 percent of the union's members,[161] we need more data for women to identify patterns in their life courses. Without oversampling, women would make up an estimated 32 research persons in each birth cohort. This small number would provide us with too little statistical power to make statistically significant claims. Thus, rather than letting randomness decide the share of men and women, I selected 400 men and 400 women after deducing the names from HSN naming files.[162] These were evenly spread over the five birth cohorts, meaning that we have 80 men and 80 women in each birth cohort. Approximately 65 percent of men and 85 percent of women were Jewish, for a total of 75 percent of diamond workers' life courses. Collected information from regional population registers was limited to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague since Jews were mostly concentrated in Amsterdam and, to a smaller extent, in other large cities in

[161] Hofmeester, "The Impact of the Diamond Industry," 50.
[162] We used gendered name information from the HSN to dictate which person was male and who female. Names that could not be statistically deduced were manually indicated as male or female.

the Netherlands; and the diamond industry was more or less exclusively located in Amsterdam.[163]

Jewish Dutch or Dutch Jews sample

To obtain a sizable comparison group of Jews who did not enter the diamond industry, I turn to the data collection of others. In earlier work, Peter Tammes collected life courses of several samples of Jews in Amsterdam for his NWO Veni project *Jewish Dutch or Dutch Jews* (JDJ).[164] These individuals were sampled from the 'municipal registration list' of Amsterdam. The 'municipal lists' of 1941 were the outcome of 'Verordening 6/1941' by German *Reichskommissar* Seys-Inquart during the German occupation of the Netherlands.[165] This ordinance required all persons with at least one Jewish grandparent to self-report and fill in a questionnaire within a limited time span. Few persons refused since information regarding their ethno-religious background was meticulously recorded in the population registers and Synagogues' membership administration.[166] The Amsterdam list counted all 77,000 'full' Jews living in Amsterdam.[167] During the war, these lists were used to segregate and deport Jews.[168]

The JDJ database sampled 725 Jewish individuals present on the Amsterdam 'municipal list,' spread evenly across four ten-year birth cohorts from 1883-1892 up to 1913-1922. To study both the general Jewish experience as well as the lives of integrated Jews, four separate groups were sampled: 395 'representative' Jews—sampled without additional characteristic requirements; 110 intermarried Jews, 110 religiously unaffiliated Jews, and 110 Jews who converted to Christianity. Due to their small numbers, the last three samples are combined in this dissertation under the name "non-identifying Jews." For the purpose of the current dissertation we have added 200 life courses for the birth cohort 1873-1882 using the same relative distributions of the four samples. This enables us to continue comparing the ANDB life courses with the JDJ database across all birth cohorts.

Gentile Amsterdam sample

To study Jews in a comparative perspective we require similar life courses for Amsterdam Gentiles. For this reason I extracted from the central HSN database all Gentile individuals who were born between 1873 and 1922. I selected only Amsterdam-

[163] A small predominantly clandestine diamond industry grew in Hilversum. However, it was of minor importance, and it was uncommon for Jews to work here. For more information, see Joppe Schaap's blogpost https://steengoedhilversum.nl/de-geschiedenis-van-de-diamantindustrie-in-hilversum/.

[164] Information on this Veni project, titled *Jewish Dutch or Dutch Jews?*, can be found on the website of the NWO with project number 275-52-007.

[165] Peter Tammes, "Het belang van Jodenregistratie voor de vernietiging van joden tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog," *TSEG-The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 6.2 (2009): 34–62.

[166] Blom highlights the exceptional quality of the Dutch population registries in his comparison of the persecution of Jews in the Netherlands in an international comparative perspective. See Johan Blom, "De vervolging van de joden in Nederland in internationaal vergelijkend perspectief," *De Gids* 150 (1987): 502.

[167] According to the 1935 Nuremberg Laws in Nazi Germany, a 'full Jew' was someone with at least three Jewish grandparents, or two Jewish grandparents and either belonged to a Jewish congregation or married to another 'full' Jew.

[168] Historians have debated the impact of these lists on Dutch Jews' mortality outcomes during the Holocaust. In a comparative article, Tammes has argued that the registration of Jews across different occupied countries had little impact on the share of murdered Jews during the Shoah. Tammes, "Het belang van Jodenregistratie," 41.

born individuals to limit migrant biases and observe persons' chances for social mobility since birth. Since all Jewish diamond workers with a membership card and all Jews on the municipal lists were at least 18 years of age, I limit the Gentile Amsterdam sample to those who survived until at least age 18. Since Jews in the base HSN database were used for the construction of Tammes' database, discussed above, I excluded everyone who was listed as belonging to a Jewish religious affiliation. This left 1201 individuals who function as our 'general' Gentile comparison group.

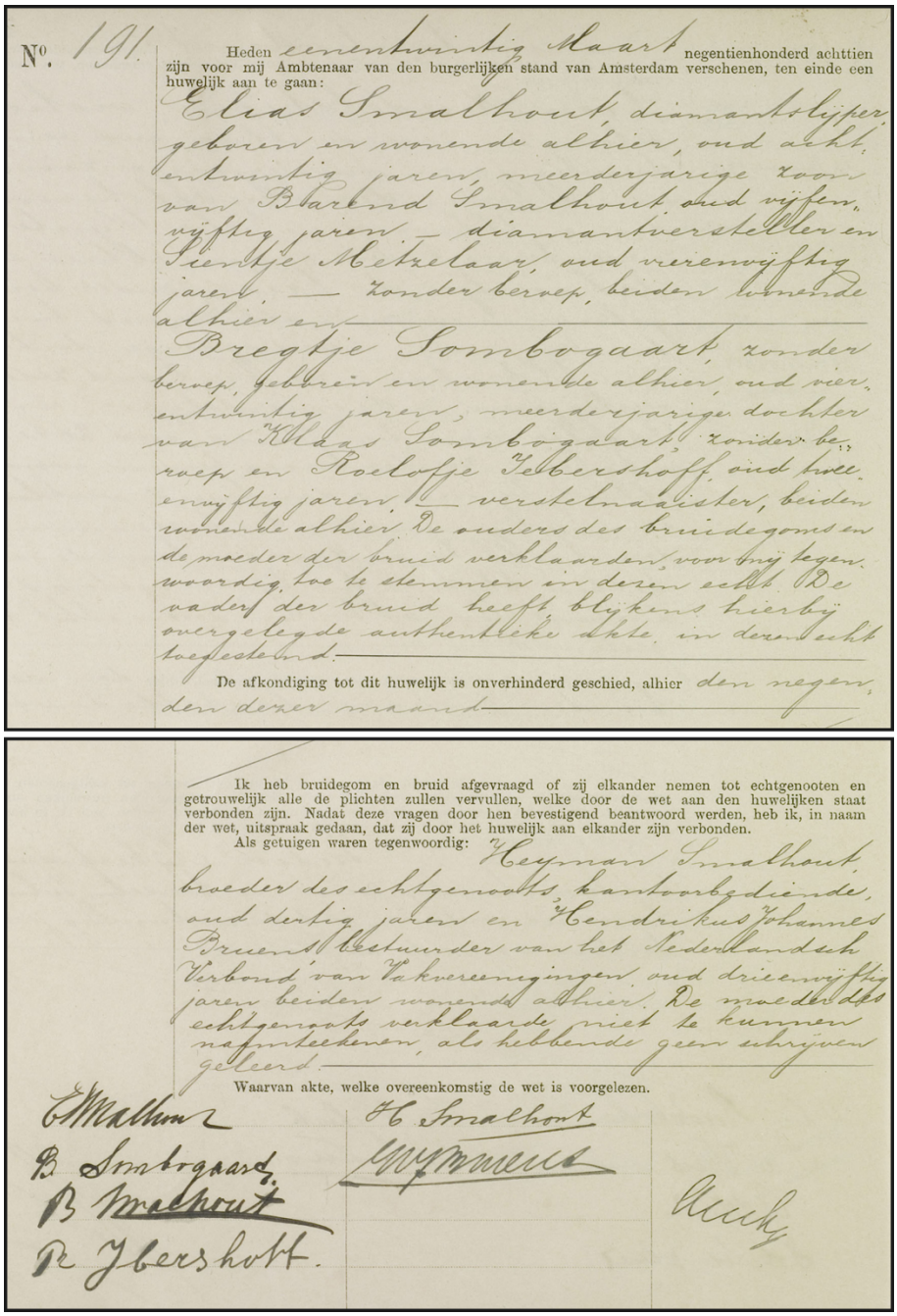
1.4.3 *Marriage certificates*

While the life course data is extremely detailed, it is limited in size and breadth of the study period. I therefore turn to an alternative database, LINKS ('LINKing System for historical family reconstruction'), to examine more people for a longer time period. LINKS is a software system which compiles and standardised Dutch civil certificates between 1811 until privacy laws allow.[169] Useful for this dissertation are the marriage certificates which are available for the entire country until 1932. Since we are interested in the case of Amsterdam Jews, we limit marriages to Amsterdam and three cities where (1) Amsterdam residents married frequently;[170] and (2) Jews were common among the bridal pairs that married there. These are Amsterdam, Zaandam, Weesp, and Watergraafsmeer.[171] In these localities, 417,000 marriage certificates are available for the period 1811-1932.

The marriage certificates provide occupational information at a semi-standardised life stage, namely the time at marriage. For most men and women that ever married, marriage was the main transition to adulthood.[172] In this sense, we observe the occupations of men at a comparable and important stage of their life. Despite unmarried men being absent from marriage certificates and occupations of fathers and fathers-in-law being incomplete in cases of early bereavement,[173] the marriage certificates are still largely representative for the occupational structure and intergenerational mobility trends.[174] In this period, nearly all men married during their lifetimes.[175] At the time of marriage, a groom is one generation removed from his father; occupations are therefore measured at different life stages. Linking marriage certificates of grooms with those of their parents allows for comparisons where both men are more similar in age and life stage.[176] In Chapter 4 I use LINKS' linked database of marriage certificates to study intergenerational mobility in this way.[177]

[169] Kees Mandemakers et al., "LINKS. A System for Historical Family Reconstruction in the Netherlands," *Historical Life Course Studies* 13 (2023): 148–85.
[170] Richter Roegholt, *Ben Sijes: een biografie* (The Hague, 1988), 16.
[171] The municipality of Watergraafsmeer was annexed by Amsterdam in 1921.
[172] Hilde Bras, Aart Liefbroer, and Cees Elzinga, "Standardization of Pathways to Adulthood? An Analysis of Dutch Cohorts Born between 1850 and 1900," *Demography* 47.4 (2010): 1013–34.
[173] Henk Delger and Jan Kok, "Bridegrooms and Biases: A Critical Look at the Study of Intergenerational Mobility on the Basis of Marriage Certificates," *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 31.3 (1998): 113–21.
[174] Zijdeman, "Status Attainment in the Netherlands, 1811-1941," 16–17; Van Leeuwen and Maas, "Historical Studies," 431.
[175] Peter Ekamper et al., eds., *Bevolkingsatlas van Nederland: demografische ontwikkelingen van 1850 tot heden* (Rijswijk, 2003).
[176] Knigge, "Sources of Sibling Similarity."
[177] Kees Mandemakers and Fons Laan, "LINKS Dataset Linked Marriages, the Netherlands, 1796–1943," 2020.

ILLUSTRATION 1.5. An example of a marriage certificate.
Source: Noord-Hollands Archief, 358.6#2327.



Nº. 191.

Heden eenentwintig Maart negentienhonderd achttien zijn voor mij Ambtenaar van den burgerlijken stand van Amsterdam verschenen, ten einde een huwelijk aan te gaan:

Elias Smalhout, diamantslijper, geboren en wonende alhier, oud acht entwintig jaren, meerderjarige zoon van Barend Smalhout oud vijfen vijftig jaren, diamantverstelder en Sientje Metzelaar, oud vierenvijftig jaren, — zonder beroep, beiden wonende alhier en

Bregtje Sombogaart, zonder beroep, geboren en wonende alhier, oud vier entwintig jaren, meerderjarige dochter van Klaas Sombogaart, zonder beroep en Roelofje Sebershoff, oud twee envijftig jaren, verstelnaaister, beiden wonende alhier. De ouders des bruidegoms en de moeder der bruid verklaarden voor hun tegenwoordig toe te stemmen in deren echt. De vader der bruid heeft blijkens hierbij overgelegde authentieke akte in deren echt toegestemd.

De afkondiging tot dit huwelijk is onverhinderd geschied, alhier den negen den dezer maand

Ik heb bruidegom en bruid afgevraagd of zij elkander nemen tot echtgenooten en getrouwelijk alle de plichten zullen vervullen, welke door de wet aan den huwelijken staat verbonden zijn. Nadat deze vragen door hen bevestigend beantwoord werden, heb ik, in naam der wet, uitspraak gedaan, dat zij door het huwelijk aan elkander zijn verbonden.

Als getuigen waren tegenwoordig: Heyman Smalhout, broeder des echtgenoots, kantoorbediende, oud dertig jaren en Hendrikus Johannes Bruens, bestuurder van het Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakvereenigingen, oud drieenvijftig jaren beiden wonende alhier. De moeder des echtgenoots verklaarde niet te kunnen naamteekenen, als hebbende geen schrijven geleerd.

Waarvan akte, welke overeenkomstig de wet is voorgelezen.

B. Sombogaard, B. Smalhout, R. Ibershoff. H. Smalhout

Illustration 1.5 shows the marriage certificate of Elias Smalhout, who we met earlier. On 21 March 1918, the Jewish Elias married with Gentile woman Bregtje Sombogaart. Each Dutch marriage certificate lists both parents of the groom and bride. We therefore also observe Barend Smalhout and Sientje Metzelaar, Elias' parents, and Klaas Sombogaart and Roelofje Sebershoff, Bregtje's parents. Barend's occupation was listed as *diamantversteller* ('diamond setter'), a lower-ranked occupation in the diamond industry than Elias. Klaas was listed as no longer living and therefore listed without an occupation. Instead, although Amsterdam brides and mothers were rarely listed with occupations in this period, Klaas' widowed wife Roelofje was listed as a *verstelnaaister* ('mending seamstress').

1.4.4 *HISCO, HISCLASS, and HISCAM*

As we discussed earlier, occupations are commonly used in historical research to estimate social status or class.[178] Researchers are assisted in this with standardised dictionaries of occupational titles. Such dictionaries standardise occupational titles and categorise them into sectors and subsectors of the economy, facilitating international and intertemporal comparisons. In social and economic history, HISCO ('Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations') is most commonly used.[179] HISCO gives each occupational title a five-digit code. These combinations of digits specify what type of work is being referred to. Diamond workers are included in code 88030. This refers to major group 8 ('Manufacturing and transport'), minor group 88 ('Jewellers and precious metal workers'), and occupation 88030 ('Gem cutters and polishers').

Additional schemes add more information to the occupations incorporated in HISCO. To stratify all occupations into social classes, HISCLASS was developed.[180] Common versions of HISCLASS include five or twelve social classes. However, since the present dissertation studies a highly urban locality where farmers are completely absent, I have reconstructed the social class scheme into five different classes. The classification used throughout the dissertation, unless stated otherwise, consists of (*i*) "Higher professionals and managers" (HISCLASS 1-2); (*ii*) "Lower professionals and managers" (3-5); (*iii*) "Skilled workers" (6-8);[181] (*iv*) "Semi-skilled workers" (9); and (*v*) "Unskilled workers" (10-12).

For certain analyses, a numeric value of social position is preferred to the categorical HISCLASS. HISCAM provides such numeric values. Using a large database of marriages in nineteenth-century Europe, the HISCAM approach estimates the relative social position of incumbents of occupations groups based on who they married.[182] For instance, if lawyers frequently married (the offspring of) doctors, but never married into the families of unskilled workers, then lawyers and doctors are in similar positions of the social stratification, while unskilled workers are not. By calculating such relations between occupations, researchers have been able to identify the position of each occupation in the social stratification. These schedules were calculated for Europe as a whole and for specific countries. I use the HISCAM-schedule for the Netherlands since diamond workers had significantly different status based on where they worked.[183] The Dutch HISCAM-schedule ranges from 40, a score corresponding to maids and servants, to 99, where we find mayors, doctors, lawyers, and judges. Diamond workers had a HISCAM-score of 63, one of the highest scores among skilled workers. It falls reasonably between the scores of other occupations that were common among nineteenth-century Jews: porters had a score of 47; cigar makers and peddlers 49; carters, cobblers, and tailors 51; office clerks 65; merchants 66; and commercial representatives 67. The Dutch

[178] Van Leeuwen and Maas, "Historical Studies," 430.
[179] Marco van Leeuwen, Ineke Maas, and Andrew Miles, *HISCO: Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002).
[180] Marco van Leeuwen and Ineke Maas, *HISCLASS: A Historical International Social Class Scheme* (Leuven, 2011).
[181] *Foremen* (HISCLASS 6) and *Farmers and fishermen* (8) are included with *Skilled workers* (7) due to their small sample sizes.
[182] Paul Lambert et al., "The Construction of HISCAM: A Stratification Scale Based on Social Interactions for Historical Comparative Research," *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 46.2 (2013): 77–89.
[183] Amsterdam diamond workers had much better working conditions and renumeration than Antwerp diamond workers, for instance.

HISCAM-scores therefore place diamond workers near the top of manual workers, but below most white-collar work, thus corresponding with the HISCLASS tiers while providing more differentiation within each social class.

1.4.5 *Who is Jewish and who is Gentile: practical*

Most historical sources do not state whether individuals were (former) members of a Jewish congregation, descendants of such individuals, or were perceived by others as being Jewish. Exceptions include the Amsterdam population registers and the 'municipal registration lists' constructed in 1941, both of which state religious affiliation. The full-count ANDB membership administration, counting nearly 20,000 unique persons, does not state this information. Therefore, researchers who are interested in differences between Jews and Gentiles must find another way to identify Jews.

In this dissertation, Jews are identified by several tiered techniques. When available, sources containing religious affiliation are used. This is true for all life courses based on population registers. The distinctiveness of Jewish names is used when religious affiliation is absent. That names were distinguishable as Jewish is evident from the frequency of Jewish name changers.[184] "With our despised immigrant clothing we shed also our impossible Hebrew names" stated one Jewish-American name changer.[185] Using names to identify Jews has a longstanding history, especially in the United States.[186] Spitzer created a name-based algorithm to identify Eastern European Jews arriving at Ellis Island.[187] Recently, Chiswick used a name-based approach for his book *Jews at Work*.[188] In the Dutch case, the distinctiveness of Jewish names was no different.[189] Amsterdam Jews increasingly replaced their Biblical first names with less Jewish-sounding names going into the twentieth century; Jacob became Jacques, Levi became Louis, and Saul became Paul.[190] In a technique described in Appendix A, I utilise the full-count population register of Amsterdam circa 1850 to calculate which names occurred so disproportionately among Jews that, statistically speaking, those who held those names could credibly be considered Jewish. For instance, the surname Voorzanger, the Dutch word for precentor or Jewish cantor ('chazzan'), occurred 126 times and exclusively among Jews. Likewise, names that virtually never occurred among Jews are considered Gentile. Johannes or Jan, common given names among Gentiles, occurred 9620 times among Gentiles and only twice among Jews in Amsterdam. Using this information, individuals with distinctively Jewish (or Gentile) names are considered Jewish (or Gentile) in our sources.

However, not everyone had a distinctive Jewish name. Paul de Groot, born as Saul de Groot, would be listed with neither a given name nor surname distinguishable enough as either Jewish or Gentile. For these individuals, records are traced in the Amsterdam

[184] Kirsten Fermaglich, *A Rosenberg by Any Other Name: A History of Jewish Name Changing in America* (New York, 2020).
[185] Ibid., 5.
[186] Harold Himmelfarb, Michael Loar, and Susan Mott, "Sampling by Ethnic Surnames: The Case of American Jews," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 47.2 (1983): 247–60.
[187] Yannay Spitzer, "Essays on the Economics of the Jews and Their Migration" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2015).
[188] Barry Chiswick, *Jews at Work: Their Economic Progress in the American Labor Market* (New York, 2020).
[189] An article published in *De Vrijdagavond* listed 48 'types' of Jewish names. *De Vrijdagavond* 19-09-1924, "Uit ons krijnpotje."
[190] Based on the examples Jacques (Jacob) Presser, Louis (Levie) de Vries, and Paul (Saul) de Groot.

population register to deduce their ethno-religious background using the listed religious affiliation. For religiously unaffiliated individuals I look at their parents and, if necessary, grandparents.

For the marriage certificates used in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5, ethno-religious backgrounds are distinguished based on the given and family names of the groom or bride and their respective parents. These three individuals have a total of five unique names, excluding the overlapping surnames of father and child; three given names and two surnames. A person is considered Jewish if three out of the five names are distinctively Jewish.[191] If both surnames are Jewish, two Jewish names suffice. In this methodology, an individual could be considered Jewish even when neither their given name nor surname were Jewish if their father had a Jewish given name and their mother had a Jewish given and surname. Philippus Meijer, son of Hartog Meijer and Schoontje Polak, is one such example.[192]

The definition of Jews as a 'social' group also affects the comparison group. If we had considered Jews solely as a religious group, those outside of the Jewish faith could be grouped by their own religious denominations. In this scenario, the clusters described by Jan Kok—Roman Catholics, Orthodox Protestants, and Liberal Protestants—would have made more sense. [193] However, I do not define Jews by their religious denomination—although our definition of Jewish is highly correlated with those whose religious denomination was Jewish since few Jews in the social category disaffiliated from their Synagogues. Nonetheless, the comparison I make throughout the dissertation is instead with 'Gentiles;' *goj* or *gojim* in Dutch-Yiddish. Thus, in this dissertation I will not make explicit comparisons between Catholics and Protestants.[194]

Furthermore, the definition of Jewish includes both Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews. In the Dutch context, both were considered Jewish, although ties between the groups were only formal until the late nineteenth century (see Chapter 2). The small number of Sephardim make it hard to consistently compare them. Through growing intermarriage, Sephardic Jews became closely intertwined with, and hard to distinguish from, Ashkenazi Jews by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. For this reason, I will only occasionally discuss the differences between the groups when those differences existed.

1.5 Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation is split into two parts. Part I comprises the current and next two chapters and provides an introduction and necessary background to this dissertation. Chapter 2 overviews the social, economic, and demographic changes that occurred in the Amsterdam-Jewish community from 1850 up to 1940. It will discuss the changes in the Amsterdam economy as a whole, how the lives and careers of Amsterdam Jews changed over time, and discuss progress in several indicators of integration. Chapter 3 covers the history and essential context of Amsterdam's diamond industry. This includes an extensive discussion on the diamond workers' union—the ANDB—and her role in

[191] See Appendix A for the threshold of 'distinctively.'
[192] Philippus was a Jewish name originating from Philip the Tetrarch (26 BCE – 34 CE).
[193] Kok, "Church Affiliation and Life Course Transitions."
[194] Comparisons between Roman Catholics and Protestants are abundant in the Dutch historiography. For an overview, see Ibid., 70–82.

uplifting the diamond workers. It will also present the hierarchy that existed in the industry and examine differences between Jewish and Gentile diamond workers.

Part II consists of Chapters 4 through 9. These chapters and the dissertation's conclusion are based on analyses of new and high quality data. They apply the discussed theoretical framework to examine the social mobility and integration of Jews working in the occupational niche of the diamond industry and those employed in the mainstream economy in the life domains of work, marriage, residence, and education. Thus far, only Tammes and Scholten have applied new assimilation theory to the context of pre-war Amsterdam Jews.[195] They argued that boundaries were mostly altered by blurring and crossing; through intermarriages, religious disaffiliation, and a strong presence in Social Democratic politics. However, their research did not compare within the Jewish community or between Jews and Gentiles and did not explicitly address Jews' social mobility. In this dissertation I will examine transitions in life domains from the perspectives of both integration *and* social mobility in a comparative perspective.

Chapter 4 will examine intergenerational mobility. It uses marriage certificates and union administration data to estimate improvements in social class and positions within the diamond industry across generations. Chapter 5 focuses on the domain of marriage and studies partnerships between spouses of different social classes and ethno-religious backgrounds. By examining at the interaction between the two—that is, comparing the social positions of intermarrying Jews and Gentiles with those who married co-ethnic partners—it establishes the degree to which Jews were seen as favourable marriage partners. Furthermore, similarities in the occupations of grooms, fathers, and fathers-in-law are studied to examine varying and changing social networks by ethno-religious group. Chapter 6 examines the domain of work. It dives deeper into the careers of diamond workers and studies how career characteristics and trajectories differed between Jewish and Gentile diamond workers, as well as between men and women. Using the detailed life course and union administration data, this chapter enables a careful comparison in Jewish and Gentile diamond workers' career mobility. Housing choices are the focus of Chapter 7. Once again, the combination of life course and union administration data allows for following Jewish workers as they relocate to different areas of the city, to neighbourhoods varying in Jewish presence, and to districts characterised by lower or higher social-class residents. Chapter 8 explores the next generation, the sons of diamond workers, and studies their educational attainment. Conscript records are added to our life course data to observe educational attainment of sons aged 19 to 20 years old between 1919 and 1940. The chapter extends the results from Chapter 4 by introducing education as an element to intergenerational mobility and illustrates the impact of the ANDB's 'civilising offense' on life outcomes of subsequent generations. Chapter 9 will synthesise the findings from these analytical chapters, discuss their interconnections, and discuss desirable paths for future research.

[195] Tammes and Scholten, "Assimilation of Ethnic-Religious Minorities in the Netherlands."