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

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5

"*Mazzel* and *Broche* for the Whole *Misjpoge*"[1] Social Exogamy, Intermarriages, and Social Networks

"I need a man in '*the trade*'[2] for my daughter. Only he will let her buy the most beautiful costumes whenever she wants. Only he will not let her miss any opera; he alone will allow her to experience every concert, wonder, and light."

— 'Dr. Toby'[3]

5.1 Introduction

Family was an important part of life for Jews in nineteenth and twentieth-century Amsterdam.[4] It was especially important for Jews employed in the diamond industry.[5] Before diamond polishing factories opened in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, production in this industry was centred around the household with each family member contributing to the finished product. Fathers and sons polished while mothers and daughters powered the men's tools and cut facets onto the gems.[6] Even after the different stages of the diamond manufacturing process were relocated to separate workplaces, family connections remained key. Chapter 4 provided evidence for this – a majority of apprentices in the early-twentieth-century diamond industry had family ties within the industry and used these directly through tutelage and employment ties, or indirectly through valuable information networks. During prolonged periods in the diamond industry's history, new entrants were only welcomed if they were the direct offspring of incumbent workers.[7] Upon completing their apprenticeship, often under the supervision of a family member or established through kin connections,[8] many diamond workers collaborated with direct or extended kin as family members often served as employers or provided information on employment opportunities during economic

[1] "Mazzel en broche," Yiddish for luck and blessings, was a common term to conclude business deals in the diamond industry. "Mazzel en broche voor de hele misjpoge" ('Mazzel and broche for the whole Mispoge'), misjpoge being Yiddish for family—thus meaning luck and blessings for the whole family—was also used in the Jewish community to bless someone's weddings. See also Sluyser, *Hun lach klinkt zo ver…*, 47–48.
[2] 'The trade' is how Jews referred to the diamond industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Hofmeester, "The Impact of the Diamond Industry," 49.
[3] Dr. Toby, *Het diamantvak en zijne belijders* (Amsterdam, 1880).
[4] Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 125–35; Robert Cohen, "Family, Community and Environment: Early Nineteenth-Century Dutch Jewry," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 19.2 (1985): 321–41; Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 175–78.
[5] Heertje, *De diamantbewerkers*, 239.
[6] Ibid., 23; Everard, "Verandering en continuïteit in de arbeid van vrouwen," 94–95.
[7] See Chapter 3 for a discussion on these periods.
[8] Hofmeester, "The Impact of the Diamond Industry," 56; Metz, *Diamantgracht*, 31–32.

downturns. Marrying into better-positioned families in diamond manufacturing could therefore bolster employment opportunities within the industry. Through information exchange, having a successful father- or brother(-in-law) in the industry could mean the difference between employment and unemployment during the recurrent crises. Additionally, marriages could function as pathways to alternative career paths if the spouse's family members worked in other professions. Sons of diamond workers seeking careers different from their fathers could benefit from marrying daughters in other social classes, such as that of white-collar workers, who could assist in securing work in another employment sector. [9] Furthermore, marrying a Gentile spouse could, hypothetically, improve the chances of Jews to enter occupations that were previously informally closed to them through lacking social networks or stronger societal pressures of exclusion.[10] A non-Jewish partner might also have reflected intermarried Jews' more advanced stages of integration or symbolised a greater willingness to integrate to potential employers. [11] In this chapter we will test whether ethno-religious intermarriage indeed facilitated upward mobility.

The current chapter focuses on two forms of intermarriages—between spouses varying in social classes and between spouses belonging to different ethno-religious groups. While both have been referred to as intermarriage, I will refer to marriages across social classes as 'social exogamy' or 'marital mobility'[12] and marriages across religious lines as 'intermarriages,' 'interfaith marriages,' or 'mixed marriages.' Furthermore, 'in-marrying' will refer to persons marrying partners from their own group, whereas 'out-marrying' indicates intermarrying persons. Social exogamy has been used as a measure for the social fluidity in a society.[13] If only a few people marry outside of their social class in a society, then that society is likely characterised by strong class boundaries.[14] Marriages in such immobile societies provide little room for social mobility. However, if persons frequently married individuals from different social classes, this would indicate that meaningful interactions and connections were made across social classes and marriages could help socioeconomic advancement. Marital mobility is generally studied using one or several of the following comparisons: comparing (*i*) grooms' fathers with fathers-in-law, (*ii*) grooms with fathers-in-law, and (*iii*) grooms with brides.[15] Historical sources often report few women's occupations, commonly underreporting them.[16] This confines researchers to the first two com-

[9] Consistent with the concept of "bridging ties." See, for instance, Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties"; and Nan Lin and Mary Dumin, "Access to Occupations through Social Ties," *Social Networks* 8.4 (1986): 365–85.

[10] Delia Furtado and Nikolaos Theodoropoulos, "Why Does Intermarriage Increase Immigrant Employment? The Role of Networks," *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy* 10.1 (2010).

[11] Xin Meng and Robert Gregory, "Intermarriage and the Economic Assimilation of Immigrants," *Journal of Labor Economics* 23.1 (2005): 135–74.

[12] Van Leeuwen and Maas, "Historical Studies," 440.

[13] Marco van Leeuwen and Ineke Maas, "Endogamy and Social Class in History: An Overview," *International Review of Social History* 50.S13 (2005): 1–2.

[14] Idem.

[15] Jan Van Bavel, Hilde Peeters, and Koen Matthijs, "Connections between Intergenerational and Marital Mobility: A Case Study: Leuven, 1830–1910," *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 31.3 (1998): 122–34.

[16] For a discussion on the historical undercount of women's occupations, see Jane Humphries and Carmen Sarasúa, "Off the Record: Reconstructing Women's Labor Force Participation in the European Past," *Feminist Economics* 18.4 (2012): 39–67.

parisons.[17] Nineteenth-century Dutch marriage certificates indeed rarely mentioned women's occupations, especially in Amsterdam.[18] Furthermore, if one group advances in social status more quickly than another, than comparisons across generations become biased. In Chapter 2 we observed that Amsterdam Jews advanced more rapidly in terms of occupational status than Gentiles; Chapter 4 showed Jews had higher rates of intergenerational mobility. Thus, if we were to compare grooms with their fathers-in-law, Jewish grooms would appear more downwardly mobile than if we compared grooms' fathers with the grooms' fathers-in-law. The current chapter will therefore compare the social origins of grooms and brides in the same generation, thereby avoiding biases from differing intergenerational mobility trends. While such comparisons between grooms' and brides' fathers has been referred to as 'intra-generational' marital mobility,[19] I will refer to it as simply 'marital mobility' throughout this chapter. The term 'social background' or 'social origins' will indicate the social class or occupational scores of the fathers of grooms and brides.[20]

The other main comparison in this chapter concerns ethno-religious differences between spouses. Religious intermarriages reflect contact and interactions between various ethno-religious groups in a society.[21] In new assimilation theory, intermarriages are seen as the "litmus test" of integration and represent "the visible tip of a denser mass in interethnic contacts."[22] While not all interactions lead to marriage, a higher inter-marriage rate often follows from increasing exposure between groups. Moreover, for individuals outside the majority group, intermarriage itself can be seen as the greatest form of acceptance by at least one member of the host society. Intermarriages also expand the ethnic heterogeneity of social networks for the individuals involved.[23] While it is frequently taken as a direct measure of—or, to some, even a requirement for—complete integration, it also affects integration in other domains of life. For instance, intermarried couples may choose to move further away from the Jewish residential centres and instead settle in more mixed-ethnicity neighbourhoods.[24]

Intermarriage as a measure of integration has been critiqued by sociologists and historians.[25] Song, for instance, points to potential inequalities between intermarried partners, lack of acceptance by family members, and experiences of discrimination of mixed offspring.[26] In the case of Dutch Jews, the impact of intermarriages on the personal lives of Jews and the degree to which they were accepted by both mainstream

[17] Maas and Van Leeuwen, "Partner Choice in the Netherlands."
[18] Boter, "The Emergence of the Dutch Housewife Revised."
[19] Bavel, Peeters, and Matthijs, "Connections between Intergenerational and Marital Mobility," 123.
[20] As measured through HISCLASS and HISCAM. For a discussion, see Chapter 1 or Van Leeuwen and Maas, *HISCLASS*; Lambert et al., "The Construction of HISCAM."
[21] Alberto Bisin, Giorgio Topa, and Thierry Verdier, "Religious Intermarriage and Socialization in the United States," *Journal of Political Economy* 112.3 (2004): 615–64.
[22] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 90.
[23] Stanley Lieberson and Mary Waters, *From Many Strands: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Contemporary America* (New York, 1988), 162.
[24] Residential patterns of intermarried Jews are discussed in Chapter 7. See also Ceri Peach, "Ethnic Segregation and Intermarriage," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70.3 (1980): 371–81; Tammes' results indicate that intermarried Jews were more likely to live outside of the common Jewish districts in adolescence and during adulthood. Tammes, "Residential Segregation of Jews in Amsterdam," 257, 261.
[25] For a discussion from the sociology perspective, see Miri Song, "Is Intermarriage a Good Indicator of Integration?," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35.2 (2009): 331–48.
[26] Song, "Is Intermarriage a Good Indicator of Integration?," 337, 341.

and Jewish society have been debated broadly. The Jewish politician and demographer Emanuel Boekman saw intermarriage as a *departure* from Jewish society.[27] Jaap Meijer, historian of Dutch Jews and the son-in-law of diamond workers Maria Boom and Isidore Herman Voet, argued that intermarriages made Jews *disappear* from Judaism and be absorbed in the "large masses."[28] He believed this was celebrated by 'assimilants'—Jews in favour of integration—as a pathway to complete emancipation.[29] Other historians have argued that intermarriages did not lead to greater acceptance by mainstream Gentile society, but instead led to weaker acceptance by both Gentile and Jewish communities. Based on interviews with Jewish Holocaust survivors and personal pre-war experiences, respectively, Leydesdorff and Gans believed that Jewish-Gentile intermarriages did not lead directly to entry into Christian society.[30] Rather, they argued interfaith couples were more frequently ostracised by both Gentiles *and* Jews and therefore marginalised from both communities. Nonetheless, the share of Jews with Gentile spouses increased rapidly in the twentieth century.[31] The strong correlation between intermarriage and religious disaffiliation suggests that many out-marrying Jews had already partially left the 'Jewish fold' prior to their mixed marriages.[32]

In contrast to the expansive discussion on Jewish-Gentile intermarriages, little has been written about the social fluidity of the Jewish community of Amsterdam. It is therefore unclear whether Jews utilised marriage as a strategy for upward mobility through marrying someone with a higher social background. Furthermore, although we know that Amsterdam Jews were increasingly intermarrying with Gentiles in the twentieth century—an increase from 6 to 17 percent of all marrying Amsterdam Jews between 1901 and 1934[33]—the sources used did not enable a study on the social background of these out-marrying Jews or their non-coethnic partners. Thus, we also do not know if Jews intermarried with Gentiles to progress their integration or achieve upward mobility. Furthermore, the statistics used by Boekman and Tammes to study intermarriage require some nuance. While providing yearly information, the Statistical Yearbooks of Amsterdam are limited to the twentieth century and are based on classifications along religious denominations. For Boekman, marriages where one or both members were religiously unaffiliated were not counted as intermarriages. Tammes interprets marriages between a Jewish person (based on ancestry) and a disaffiliated Jew (based on religious affiliation) as an intermarriage. This presumes different measures of identification for different groups. In order to address this important question, I turn to the full-count marriage certificates of Amsterdam between 1830 and 1932.[34] Using the *Jewish Name Index* approach which I developed for the Dutch case,[35] I can identify both the groom and the bride as either Jewish or Gentile for nearly

[27] Gans, "De kleine verschillen," 107.
[28] Meijer, *Hoge hoeden, lage standaarden*, 15. For a discussion on the word "assimilant" in the Dutch-Jewish context, see Chapter 1.
[29] Ibid., 15-16.
[30] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 316; Mozes Heiman Gans, *Het Nederlandse Jodendom: de sfeer waarin wij leefden* (Utrecht, 1985), 30.
[31] Tammes, "Jewish–Gentile Intermarriage in Pre-War Amsterdam."
[32] Van der Veen, "Novel Opportunities, Perpetual Barriers," 147–48; Endelman, *Leaving the Jewish Fold*, 166.
[33] Boekman, *Demografie van de Joden in Nederland*, 59.
[34] The marriage certificates are available since 1811, but certificates in the first two decades inaccurately report occupations at time. I therefore limit the sample to marriages that occurred since 1830. A discussion of this source can be found in Chapter 1. Alternatively, see Mandemakers et al., "LINKS."
[35] Discussed in Appendix A.

60 percent of all Jewish marriages. This technique avoids the above problems related to classification of ethno-religious affiliation.[36]

In the first part of this chapter, we will look further into partner choices, study the rates of marital mobility and interfaith marriages, and observe to what extent Jews were able to marry Gentiles of equal status—or whether they had to 'pay status premiums,' that is: have higher social status backgrounds than their spouses, to enter mixed partnerships.[37] The second part of this chapter addresses social networks. It will examine the occupational overlap between grooms, their fathers, and their fathers-in-law to see whether Jews and Gentiles strengthened or widened their family networks in their occupational categories. These networks are an important side effect of marriages and will also be important for understanding the career mobility of Jews in Amsterdam discussed in Chapter 6.

First, however, I will begin by discussing how sociological and historical literature have approached these topics. An overview of how the context of the Amsterdam Jews and the diamond industry may have affected trends over time will be laid out next. We then address social exogamy and intermarriage separately, comparing the expected experiences of Jews, Gentiles, and diamond workers in each. After establishing these trends by group, we will estimate the status premiums involved in mixed marriages and examine their trends over time. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a discussion on these patterns and reflect on what they tell us about the changes in the Jewish community, the diamond industry, and the acceptance of Jews in Amsterdam as a whole.

5.2 Who (Inter)Marries Whom?

A sizable sociological literature has explored the question of who marries whom to better understand aggregate and individual-level trends in partner choices across ethnic groups and social classes.[38] Historically, individuals predominantly married within their own religious group and social class.[39] However, to what extent—and how—has this changed towards the end of the nineteenth century and beginning the twentieth century for the context of Amsterdam and its Jewish community? Which determinants can explain the changes in social fluidity, the increasing number of marriages between individuals from varying class backgrounds, and marital unions of persons belonging to different religious denominations? The next section will introduce the existing sociological literature and provide insights for the case of Amsterdam and its Jewish community.

[36] However, it is not free of faults. While false negatives in the identification are extremely scarce, as has been shown in Appendix A, the approach cannot identify all grooms and brides as either Jewish or Gentile. Moreover, more integrated Jews with names that sounded less Jewish had a smaller chance of getting identified as either and were more likely to be listed as 'ambiguous.' The estimated intermarriage rates in this chapter can therefore be seen as a lower bounds for the actual intermarriage rates.

[37] Xuanning Fu, "Interracial Marriage and Family Socio-Economic Well-Being: Equal Status Exchange or Caste Status Exchange?," *The Social Science Journal* 45.1 (2008): 132–55.

[38] For overviews, see Matthijs Kalmijn, "Assortative Mating by Cultural and Economic Occupational Status," *American Journal of Sociology* 100.2 (1994): 422–52; Matthijs Kalmijn, "Intermarriage and Homogamy: Causes, Patterns, Trends," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24.1 (1998): 395–421; Daniel Lichter and Zhenchao Qian, "The Study of Assortative Mating: Theory, Data, and Analysis," in *Analytical Family Demography*, ed. Robert Schoen, vol. 47 (New York, 2019), 303–37.

[39] Van Leeuwen and Maas, "Endogamy and Social Class in History."

5.2.1 *Partner Choice Theory*

Partner choice theory has identified three main clusters of determinants to explain social endogamy: (*i*) marital candidates' personal characteristics and preferences for partners' characteristics; (*ii*) the values and opinions of 'third parties' surrounding marital candidates; and (*iii*) constraints on the (local) marriage market(s).[40] These three clusters can be used to understand both social exogamy and ethno-religious intermarriages.

Persons looking for a spouse are more likely to marry individuals with characteristics they prefer. In the past and in modern days, these included height and income,[41] as well as education and cultural or religious similarity.[42] More generally, preferences can be split into socioeconomic and cultural capital. If different social classes have distinct cultures or characteristics that are not preferred by members of the other social class, than social exogamy may be limited as a result. Third-party influences can be separated into institutional barriers, such as laws against marriages between certain groups, institutional voices (such as 'the Church' or Synagogue), and the role of the family and the neighbourhood in which a person grew up. This last one functions separately from the opportunity of meeting, for instance by living in the same street. Instead, the neighbourhoods a person grows up in, shape their self-identification in terms of social class or religious belonging. Moreover, persons living amid high concentrations of co-ethnics are more likely to identify in similar terms to their parents and neighbours.[43]

Marriage markets cover two key elements. The first is the likelihood that two individuals from different groups meet. This depends on the relative size of the groups and the characteristics of each group. The second element is the actual 'local marriage markets' where people meet. This refers to the physical spaces which allow people to interact amongst each other and includes area of residence, schools, workplaces, and social clubs. Such local marriage market may affect the characteristics of the couples through a selection effect. For instance, couples that meet through close proximity in their residence tend to be more homogeneous to their parents' characteristics than if they were to meet at school.[44]

5.2.2 *Expected directions of social exogamy and intermarriages*

On top of the overall expectations for changes in social exogamy and ethno-religious intermarriages during the nineteenth and twentieth century—periods of modernisation and industrialisation—there have also been changes specific to the Jewish community of Amsterdam. These can be summarised into five categories: (*i*) Jewish culture and

[40] Kalmijn, "Intermarriage and Homogamy"; Zhenchao Qian and Daniel Lichter, "Marriage Markets and Intermarriage: Exchange in First Marriages and Remarriages," *Demography* 55.3 (2018): 849–75.
[41] Michela Ponzo and Vincenzo Scoppa, "Trading Height for Education in the Marriage Market," *American Journal of Human Biology* 27.2 (2015): 164–74; Kristina Thompson, Xander Koolman, and France Portrait, "Height and Marital Outcomes in the Netherlands, Birth Years 1841-1900," *Economics & Human Biology* 41 (2021): 100970.
[42] For example, Martin Dribe and Christer Lundh, "Status Homogamy in the Preindustrial Marriage Market: Partner Selection According to Age, Social Origin, and Place of Birth in Nineteenth-Century Rural Sweden," *Journal of Family History* 34.4 (2009): 387–406.
[43] Kalmijn, "Intermarriage and Homogamy," 401.
[44] Matthijs Kalmijn and Henk Flap, "Assortative Meeting and Mating: Unintended Consequences of Organized Settings for Partner Choices," *Social Forces* 79.4 (2001): 1289–1312.

secularisation; (*ii*) the changing meaning of the diamond industry and its union; (*iii*) the political climate; (*iv*) the growing educational attainment of Jews; and (*v*) residential (de)segregation. Additionally, the small and unchanging relative population size of Jews combined with their social isolation made it difficult for Jews and Gentiles to meet. Jews also had parents that lived longer due to lower adult mortality among Jews.[45] This may have affected the rates of endogamous marriages, since research has shown that the presence of living parents increased the likelihood that persons married similar people.[46]

(i) Jewish Culture and Secularisation

Until the end of the nineteenth century, the Jewish community of Amsterdam was 'moderately Orthodox.' [47] While religious leaders, like Abraham Carel Wertheim, preached for Orthodoxy despite being secular and non-practicing, the strong religious undertones that persisted in Jewish society made religious intermarriages difficult. Most Jews continued to observe key Jewish traditions, such as the Sabbath, until the twentieth century and the circumcision of boys for even longer.[48] These traditions created a divide between Jews and Gentiles who might prefer to live and interact with culturally similar individuals. This rift, however, diminished in the second half of the nineteenth century due to increasing secularisation in both groups.[49] A growing share of the Jewish community stopped observing the Sabbath and attending Synagogue services. This affected not only the preferences for a spouse, who now was not required to observe the same religious traditions, but also weakened the third-party influences of the Synagogue. While notable rabbis continued to spread anti-intermarriage messaging well into the twentieth century, these messages were received by a declining share of Amsterdam Jews. Meanwhile, regardless of the degree of religiosity, Jews' partner choices were still strongly influenced by their family. Several Jews in high social positions remarked that they continued to observe certain special Jewish traditions, such as *chuppahs*, Jewish religious weddings, to please their less secularised family members.[50]

Growing secularisation also affected the possibilities for social exogamy within the Jewish community. Jews in higher social classes tended to be more secularised and adhered to fewer common traditions. When few working-class Jews possessed these characteristics, middle and upper-class Jews seeking culturally similar people were limited to their class peers. We can see these temporal changes clearly for Sephardic Jews. The Sephardim had, on average, always been wealthier than the Ashkenazim until the nineteenth century. During those times, marriages between Sephardic and

[45] Boekman, *Demografie van de Joden in Nederland*, 112.
[46] Frans van Poppel, Jurjen de Jong, and Aart Liefbroer, "The Effects of Paternal Mortality on Sons' Social Mobility: A Nineteenth-Century Example," *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 31.3 (1998): 101–12; Van Leeuwen and Maas, "Historical Studies," 441.
[47] Blom and Cahen, "Joodse Nederlanders," 264–65.
[48] Ibid., 298-99.
[49] Jakob Kruijt, *De onkerkelijkheid in Nederland: haar verbreiding en oorzaken* (Groningen, 1933); Hans Knippenberg, "Secularization in the Netherlands in Its Historical and Geographical Dimensions," *GeoJournal* 45 (1998): 209–20.
[50] Gans, "De kleine verschillen," 134-135. For a discussion on the high levels of such ordained weddings, see; Blom and Cahen, "Joodse Nederlanders," 299.

Ashkenazi Jews were uncommon. As the relative social position of Ashkenazi Jews rose,[51] and the Sephardic community remained too small to continue in-marrying, marriages between the two groups increased rapidly in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[52]

(ii) The diamond industry and ANDB

Between 1850 and 1900, the diamond industry expanded from 1500 to 10,000 workers while the share of Gentiles increased from 15 to roughly 30 percent. The non-denominational ANDB, created through combined collective action of Jews and Gentiles, was the strongest union of its time and significantly 'emancipated' the workers.[53] The union raised the status of diamond workers and provided them means to acquire additional forms of social, cultural, and human capital. The library, lectures, cultural clubs, and informative weekly newsletters are clear examples of the options for self-improvement advocated for, and offered by, the union.[54] The eight-hour working day obtained in 1911 was believed to open up eight hours for learning. The increases in status and various forms of capital should, in theory, have increased rates of upward marital mobility since marrying a partner working in the diamond industry became more attractive. Moreover, the growing share of Gentiles in the industry and the expanding opportunities to meet them—at the union headquarters, in the library, or at union meetings—increased exposure between Jews and Gentiles. This increase in exposure could, in turn, have led to more intermarriages.

(iii) Pillarisation and Socialism

As the diamond industry expanded, Dutch society increasingly built around religious and political 'pillars.' While Jews did not construct such a pillar of their own, they aligned closely to the Liberal and Socialist pillars.[55] This may have further weakened their group identity but also made them culturally closer to like-minded Gentiles. For some, Socialism was seen as the replacement of Judaism.[56] Fittingly, Henri Polak, a Jewish senator of the SDAP and the president of the ANDB, was called the 'rebbe' of the diamond workers.[57] Bram Reens, a young Jewish diamond worker who played an important role in getting Jews to join the Social Democratic movement, exclaimed in 1894 "[w]e have stopped being Jews and have become Socialists."[58] A generation later, Alida de Jong, the daughter of a diamond worker and a leading woman in the Dutch labour movement, spoke the words "[a]s a Socialist, not as an Israelite" to protest at the congress of Social Democratric Women's organisations against religious undertones in Socialist news-

[51] Van der Veen, "Novel Opportunities, Perpetual Barriers," 16, 36, 130.
[52] Blom and Cahen, "Joodse Nederlanders," 301–3.
[53] See Chapter 3 for examples of the emancipatory pressure of the union. Alternatively, Bloemgarten, "Henri Polak," 1993, 114–16, 149–51, 317–19, 325–26, 500–502, 507–8, 644–48.
[54] Hofmeester, "The Impact of the Diamond Industry," 59.
[55] Daalder, "Dutch Jews in a Segmented Society," 55.
[56] For instance, Emmanuel Aalsvel describes how Jewish children no longer identified as Jews, but as Socialists. "There was no difference between Jews and Christians, there we simply lived next to one another. There was a difference with the Smitstraat, because the Catholics lived there. We played football against them, but not as Jews, but as Socialists." Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 182.
[57] Meijer, *Hoge hoeden, lage standaarden*, 22.
[58] Jaap Cohen, *De onontkoombare afkomst van Eli d'Oliveira: een Portugees-joodse familiegeschiedenis* (Amsterdam, 2015), 202.

papers.[59] The Jewish alignment with Socialism also helped create new co-ethnic spaces which enhanced exposure between the two groups.[60] The *Arbeiders Jeugdcentrale*, the youth organisation of the SDAP, is repeatedly mentioned in the historiography as an interfaith dating pool for the offspring of Jewish and Gentile socialists.

However, while growing allegiance to political movements brought ideologically similar Jews and Gentiles closer together, it widened differences between working-class and white-collar Jews. The latter were predominantly aligned with Liberalism and, over time, felt less connected to Jews with other political worldviews.[61] As Gentile society and its organisations became structured more strongly around their religious pillars, Jewish society became more separated by class and less bounded by religion. Thus, the growing affiliation between the Jewish working class and Socialism is predicted to have increased religious intermarriages and decreased social exogamy.

ILLUSTRATION 5.1 Members of the AJC dancing at the May dance, Watersgraafsmeer 1935.
Source: Amsterdam Archive City, 10003, #47749.

(iv) Educational attainment of Jews

Another factor that impacted both social exogamy and intermarriages was the educational attainment of Jews. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the quality of Jewish-denominational schools was particularly poor. Working-class Jews sent their children to specific 'poor schools' subsidised by the municipal government, while higher-status Jews more frequently sent their children to private schools.[62] Since the Education Act of 1857, Jews from all social classes increasingly enrolled their children in

[59] Margreet Schrevel, "'Als Socialist, niet als Israëliet.' De SDAP en het 'Joodse vraagstuk,'" *De Gids* 156 (1993): 501–9.
[60] For instance, Heertje writes: the socialist movement has, through intermingling at meetings and events, led to secularisation and marriages between Jews and non-Jews. Heertje, *De diamantbewerkers*, 266.
[61] Hofmeester, "'Als ik niet voor mijzelf ben...,'" 59; Van der Veen, "Novel Opportunities, Perpetual Barriers," 130–31.
[62] See Section 2.6 of this dissertation and Marjoke Rietveld-van Wingerden and Siebren Miedema, "Freedom of Education and Dutch Jewish Schools in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Jewish History* 17.1 (2003): 33.

public non-denominational schools. These were of higher quality than the Jewish poor schools; many religious private schools disappeared with the loss of subsidies for denominational education. The Education Act and the non-denominational schools that were opened as a result therefore increased the inter-mingling of pupils from different social classes and religious groups. While Jews had lagged behind other ethno-religious groups in terms of educational attainment until the mid-nineteenth century, Jews increasingly became over-represented in higher levels of education. This was observed in both secondary education and among university graduates[63]—and will also be seen in our discussion of educational attainment in Chapter 8.

Higher levels of education raised the status of Jews, provided them with various forms of desired social and cultural capital, and made Jews more attractive partners to non-Jews. Their higher educational attainment, however, also diminished the group identity of Jews.[64] As successive generations of Jews became more highly educated, the parents of each cohort also had more human capital. If we follow the argument that education decreased group identity, then parents with higher levels of educational attainment felt less negatively towards intermarriage. The influence of the diamond workers' union would have given diamond workers in particular more informal human capital, a positive influence on their social exogamy rates.

(v) Residential segregation

In terms of meeting places and exposure, residential segregation was one of the largest changes in Amsterdam. Until the mid-nineteenth century, Jews lived segregated along ethno-religious lines.[65] Virtually all Jews, except for a minute segment of acculturated and high-class Jewish elites, remained concentrated around the Jewish Quarter. Inadvertently, this religious segregation maintained a small geographical distance between Jews of various social classes. Gentiles, who resided in a much larger geography of Amsterdam, had greater possibilities to segregate by class. This is also what we observe among Jews since the second half of the nineteenth century. Successful Jews who saw social advancement through occupational upgrading increasingly moved to neighbourhoods with better housing, predominantly in the east and later the south of Amsterdam. This implied religious desegregation as Jews and Gentiles moved to the same neighbourhoods, but also greater residential separation by class within the Jewish community. Jews and Gentiles in similar social classes now living in closer proximity, raising their exposure to one another, was likely a positive influence on their intermarriage rates. However, growing class segregation in the Jewish community is expected to have diminished social exogamy of in-marrying Jews. Well-to-do Jews more frequently moved to the southwest of Amsterdam, residing in the Apollobuurt, Concertgebouwbuurt, and Rivierenbuurt, whereas working-class and segments of middle-class Jews moved to the Oosterparkbuurt and Transvaalbuurt. The 'sanitation'

[63] Mandemakers, "Gymnasiaal en middelbaar onderwijs," 615. See also Dutch census of 1930.

[64] In Chapter 2 we saw that Jews in the highest social class, the category including most university graduates, were most likely to have explicitly unidentified as Jewish in the official population registers. For a discussion on the educational attainment of Dutch-Jewish elite, see Van der Veen, "Novel Opportunities, Perpetual Barriers," 111–16.

[65] Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Vijgen, and Wagenaar, "Jewish Amsterdam 1600-1940"; Van Leeuwen, *The Logic of Charity*, 39, 44; Tammes, "Residential Segregation of Jews in Amsterdam"; Clé Lesger, Marco van Leeuwen, and Bart Vissers, "Residentiële segregatie in vroegmoderne steden. Amsterdam in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw," *TSEG-The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 10.2 (2013): 102–32.

of the old Jewish Quarter starting with Uilenburg in 1916 placed the lowest social classes of Jews nearer to the upper-working-classes. Thus, Jewish peddlers, carters, and porters lived nearer to Jewish diamond workers and cigar makers in the east of Amsterdam than Jewish office workers, lawyers, and doctors living in the south. We might therefore expect more marriages within the type of work—that is, within white-collar and non-manual occupational groups on the one hand and blue-collar and manual groups on the other—while less so between those two.

Summary

All changes discussed above suggest that Jews would increasingly intermarry with Gentiles. Within the Jewish community, however, various forces pushed the possibilities for social exogamy in different directions. While Jewish diamond workers were becoming more educated and possessed more social and cultural capital with the introduction of the union, they also diverged more in terms of living area and political ideology compared to Jewish white-collar workers. We therefore turn to the marriage certificates to see in what direction the social fluidity of Amsterdam's Jews moved.

5.3 Social Exogamy

As the occupational distribution of Jewish men diversified over time, the potential overlap between grooms' fathers and fathers-in-law decreased. This meant that successive cohorts of the grooms' fathers had more varied occupations, with social classes that potentially differed from the grooms' fathers-in-law. Rates of overlapping occupations, however, consistently remained higher for Jews than for Gentiles. The question we ask here is: to what extent did Jewish and Gentile grooms marry brides from the same or better social upbringings?

Figure 5.1 shows the share of Jewish and Gentile grooms in Amsterdam between 1865-1929, based on whether their fathers and fathers-in-law had the same social class or not. The figure also presents separate plots referring to two different samples: all grooms or grooms in the diamond industry at the time of marriage. Part 1 compares the share of grooms whose fathers and fathers-in-law belonged to the same social class, otherwise referred to as intergenerational marital *immobility*, between Jews and Gentiles. The left plot looks at these shares for all grooms, and the right for grooms who were diamond workers at marriage. From 1870 to 1929, roughly half of all Jews entered a marriage where their father-in-law had the same social class as their own father. For Gentiles, this percentage fluctuated between 30 and 40 percent. Thus, the Gentile community showed more social fluidity than the Jewish community. While we expected that the residential clustering of Jews, regardless of class status, would have helped their social exogamy rates; their occupational clustering, which was expected to lower their exogamy rates, appears to be more important as a determinant. We see similar trends among Jewish diamond workers, one of the largest occupational concentrations of Jews. Although Jewish diamond workers did not exhibit a stronger tendency to marry partners with the same class origins compared to the average Jewish groom, they did consistently show greater rates of such immobility than Gentile men working in the diamond industry.

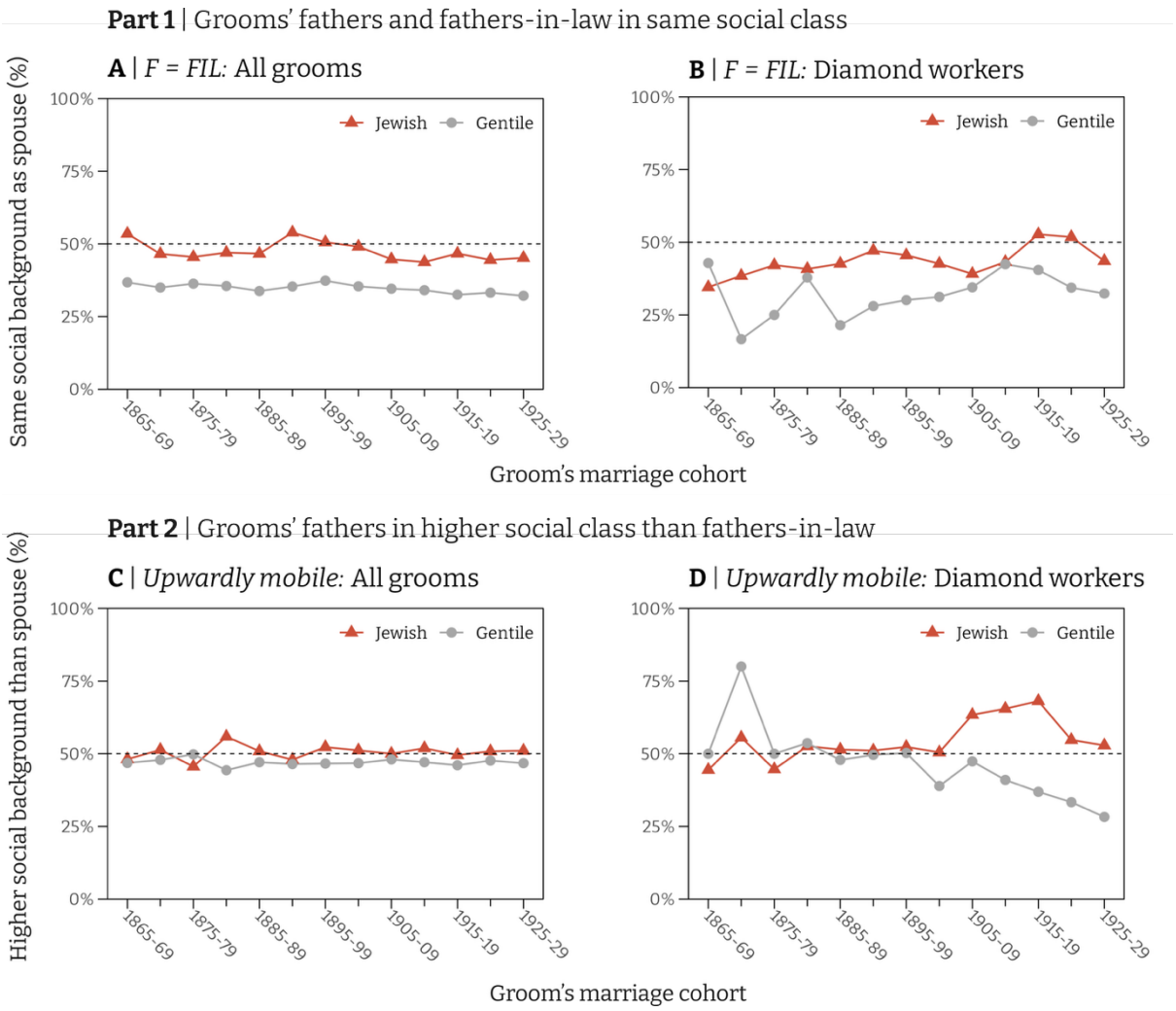

FIGURE 5.1 Share of grooms whose fathers and fathers-in-law have the social class (part 1); and the share of upwardly-mobile grooms when the fathers did not have the same social class (part 2); by ethno-religious background, Amsterdam 1865-1929.
Source: author's calculations using LINKS "Cleaned Civil Registry" 2022 release; and JNI approach.
Note: The sample is based on all Amsterdam marriage certificates where both the groom and bride were distinguished as either Jewish or Gentile. See Appendix A for a description of the selection process. *F* = father; *FIL* = father-in-law. *N* = 22,822 (part 1) and 41,087 (part 2).

Part 2 of Figure 5.1 focuses on grooms whose father and father-in-law did *not* have the same social class. These are considered to be 'mobile' grooms and could therefore be either upwardly or downwardly mobile. The plots in this panel present the share of all 'mobile' grooms that married a partner from a higher social class background than their own. For all Jews and Gentiles, this percentage fluctuated around 50 percent. Thus, when Jews and Gentiles were 'mobile,' they were equally likely to move up or down. However, the trends of diamond workers diverged. Except for the peak of Gentile diamond workers' upward marital mobility between 1870-1874—which is the result of a low sample size and early entrants profiting disproportionately from the *Cape Time* boom—Jewish diamond workers consistently were more likely to marry up than Gentile diamond workers. This accelerated in the twentieth century when over 60 percent of

Jewish diamond workers moved up through marriage. In the years 1915-1919, two-thirds of 'mobile' diamond workers moved up, meaning only one-third of 'mobile' grooms moved down. In contrast, three out of eight Gentile diamond workers (37.5%) moved up in social class and five of eight moved down. Two changes during this period can explain the increasing upward marital mobility of Jewish diamond workers. First, their union had a disproportionately positive impact on Jewish workers in the industry in contrast to their Gentile counterparts. For Jews, the diamond industry was '*the trade*,' rather than one of many. Additionally, the growing Jewish middle class—discussed in Chapter 2—expanded the opportunities for Jewish diamond workers to marry partners from higher social backgrounds.

Thus, the Amsterdam-Jewish community was less socially fluid than Gentile Amsterdam. The most reasonable explanation is the occupational concentration of Jews, which led to higher rates of within-class marriages. The fact that Jewish parents lived longer—and, initially, Jews married at a younger age—also increased the rate of endogamous marriages.[66]

5.4 Intermarriages

Although precise aggregated numbers of Jewish-Gentile intermarriages are available for the twentieth century, these figures do not allow one to observe individual characteristics of out-marrying Jews and do not trace back to the beginning of the nineteenth century.[67] Therefore I use the full-count marriage certificates in LINKS, distinguishing between Jews and Gentiles on the basis of their names. I limit the marriages to those where both the groom and bride can be distinguished as either Jewish or Gentile.[68] The intermarriage rate, the share of Jews that married Gentile partners and vice versa, is summarised for each 10-year marriage cohort from 1850-1859 up to 1920-1929. Table 5.1 presents these figures for the overall population of Jewish grooms, as well as all Jewish grooms employed in the diamond industry at the time of their marriage.

In the 1850s, Jewish-Gentile marriages were a rarity. Only one in fifty Jewish grooms married a Gentile partner in that decade. Since then, intermarriage rates increased rapidly. By the end of the nineteenth century it had become three times as common, and by the 1920s one in seven Jewish men entered interfaith marriages. These levels remained lower than in other European cities best explained by Amsterdam's high rate of residential segregation.[69] Although the diamond industry could be expected to be a

[66] Van Poppel, De Jong, and Liefbroer, "The Effects of Paternal Mortality on Sons' Social Mobility"; Van Leeuwen and Maas, "Historical Studies," 441.

[67] Boekman and Tammes both made independent use of the Statistical Yearbooks of the Amsterdam municipality, which have been published since 1895. These provide information on the religious denominations of brides and grooms starting in 1901. Boekman, *Demografie van de Joden in Nederland*, 57–63; Tammes, "Jewish–Gentile Intermarriage in Pre-War Amsterdam," 302.

[68] Between 1850 and 1929 this concerns 181,330 marriages, or 58.9% of total marriages. Individuals with lower likelihoods of being identified using our methodology include those with more ambiguous (i.e. less Jewish-sounding) names and those of intermarried parents. If we assume that these groups were more likely to intermarry than the average Jewish or Gentile person, then the results presented in Table 5.1 can be interpreted as the lower bounds.

[69] Ultee and Luijkx, "Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage in Six European Cities," 171, 184–85; Steven Lowenstein, "Jewish Intermarriage in Germany and Austria," *Modern Judaism* 25.1 (2005): 23–61.

TABLE 5.1 Jewish-Gentile intermarriage rates of all Jewish grooms and Jewish diamond workers, Amsterdam 1850-1929.

	All Jewish grooms		Jewish diamond workers		
Period	Intermarried / *N*	Pct.	Intermarried / *N*	Pct.	*p*-value
1850-1859	30 / 1532	1.96%	1 / 318	0.31%	***
1860-1869	39 / 1652	2.36%	2 / 249	0.80%	***
1870-1879	56 / 2073	2.70%	2 / 548	0.36%	***
1880-1889	74 / 2236	3.31%	8 / 828	0.97%	***
1890-1899	130 / 2228	5.83%	37 / 930	3.97%	**
1900-1909	231 / 2922	7.91%	64 / 926	6.91%	
1910-1919	380 / 3478	10.93%	57 / 837	6.81%	***
1920-1929	474 / 3369	14.07%	56 / 566	9.89%	***
1850-1929	1414 / 19,490	7.26%	227 / 5202	4.36%	***

Source: author's calculations using LINKS 2022 "Cleaned Civil Registry" release; https://hdl.handle.net/10622/ON0SRY.

Note: N are all marriages within the group. The sample is based on all Amsterdam marriage certificates where both the groom and bride were distinguished as either Jewish or Gentile. See Appendix A for a description of the selection process. *p*-value measures whether the shares of intermarrying Jewish diamond workers were statistically different from the intermarriage rates of all Jewish grooms; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

sector where Jews were more likely to intermarry—after all, they were forerunners in adapting Social Democratic ideology, among the first to move out of the old Jewish Quarter, and their high incomes could have functioned as status premiums—we instead observe that diamond workers were consistently less likely to marry a non-Jewish partner. Only in the period 1900-1909 were differences small enough that, statistically, we cannot say for certain that diamond workers intermarried less.

Which factors could explain both the increasing likelihood of intermarriage among Jews and the low rates of intermarriage among Jewish diamond workers? A possible explanation could be that diamond workers faced more antisemitism than other Jews. One example of this is Samson (Sem) Bonn (1906-1995), a secularised Jewish son of a diamond worker, who experienced his first instance of antisemitism when he met his future parents-in-law, two Gentile diamond workers, for the first time in 1928.[70] His future mother-in-law told him she believed Jews "used and discarded" Gentiles, while his father-in-law remarked "I am not antisemitic, but I *do* hate the Jews."[71] While such anecdotes reveal that antisemitism affected Jews regardless of one's occupation, no systematic evidence exists that suggests that Jewish diamond workers were at greater risk of antisemitic discrimination. We therefore should consider seeking for alternative explanations.

Another possibility is social class. If only Jewish white-collar workers and professionals entered mixed marriages, while diamond workers and other (un- or semi-)skilled workers did not, than Jewish diamond workers' low intermarriage rates would simply be explained by their status. To test this, Figure 5.2 presents Jewish intermarriage rates by social class. It demonstrates that, while social class certainly was correlated with

[70] Gans, "De kleine verschillen," 139.
[71] Idem.

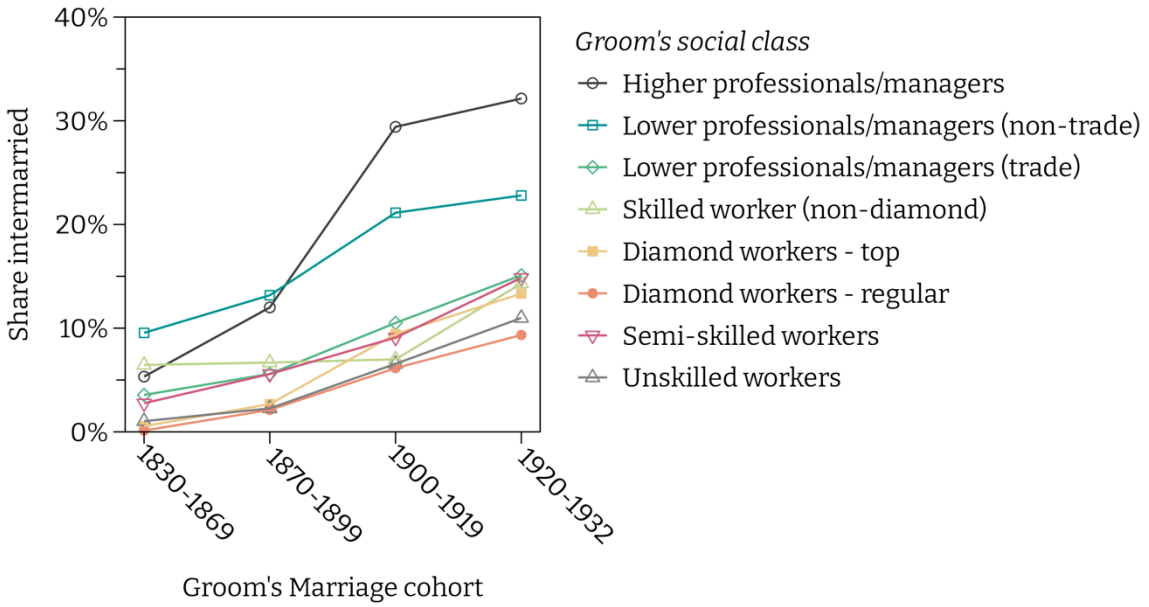

FIGURE 5.2 Jewish-Gentile intermarriage rates by for Jewish grooms by social class of the groom at the time of marriage, Amsterdam 1830-1932.
Source: author's calculations using LINKS "Cleaned Civil Registry" 2022 release; and JNI approach.
Note: The sample is based on all Amsterdam marriage certificates where both the groom and bride were distinguished as either Jewish or Gentile. See Appendix A for a description of the selection process. *N* = 24,418 marriages where the groom is identified as Jewish and the bride is identified as either Jewish or Gentile.

intermarriage rates, it did not explain why Jewish diamond workers intermarried less. Despite having a social class in the middle of the social hierarchy—and above other skilled workers—Jewish diamond workers were the least likely to intermarry, echoing trends in religious disaffiliation seen in Chapter 2.7. Their intermarriage rates were lower even than Jewish grooms who worked as unskilled workers. We can also note only a small difference between the diamond workers at the top of their industry, the cleavers and cutters, and the rest of the regular diamond workers. These top workers of the diamond industry had slightly higher levels of intermarriage, but also worked in more religiously mixed environments, were more highly esteemed by their colleagues, and earned higher wages than those diamond workers who worked in the factories. Nonetheless, they too intermarried less commonly than expected by their social class.

Since the late nineteenth century especially higher white-collar workers, and since the start of the twentieth century also the lower white-collar workers, were most prone to enter interfaith marriages. Remarkable also are the semi-skilled workers with intermarriage rates in the twentieth century exceeding those of diamond workers, skilled workers, and merchants. Their rates were particularly boosted by the high likelihoods of intermarriage among Jewish coachmen, drivers, and waiters. In these

occupations, characterised by generally low status and high levels of exposure to Gentiles, over 20 percent of Jews intermarried in the early twentieth century.[72]

Findings suggest that the lagging intermarriage rates of Jewish diamond workers was not a story of class, but instead a story of exposure. In the diamond industry, most Jews worked only with Jewish co-workers in Jewish factories in predominantly Jewish neighbourhoods.[73] While the diamond workers' union and Socialist party to which the Jewish diamond workers were so strongly aligned with created new places to interact with Gentiles —underlined by the peak growth in intermarriages between 1890 and 1909—they still met Gentiles much less frequently than the average Jew. The reverse comparison corresponds with this trend. While few Gentiles married Jewish partners, intermarriage rates of Gentile grooms working in the diamond industry were higher than the Gentile average. The relative figures (presented in Table C1 in Appendix C) highlight that the diamond industry was characterised by above average exposure to Jews.

If the lack of intermarriages was instead due to preferences for more in-marriages by Jewish diamond workers, rather than their lower exposure to Gentiles, then we expect that at least some of these preferences would be transmitted to their children.[74] In this case, the children of Jewish diamond workers should also be less likely to intermarry than the average Jewish son or daughter. Tables C2 and C3 in Appendix C show that this was not the case. The sons of Jewish diamond workers were roughly as likely to intermarry with a Gentile spouse as the average Jewish son, while Jewish daughters of diamond workers were more likely than the average Jewish daughter to intermarry. Since occupational following had become rather uncommon in the twentieth century, even among the diamond workers, this period is more characterised by the transferring of preferences than the transferring of occupations. Thus, it does not appear that Jewish diamond workers preferred marrying Jews, or not marrying Gentiles, a value they could have passed to their next of kin. Rather, they met potential Gentile partners less frequently. Additionally, we have documented an increase in intermarriages among Jewish diamond workers during the 1920s, a period when the average income of diamond workers was falling due to a major industry-wide crisis. Since intermarriage rates for this group continued to rise instead of fall, despite falling absolute incomes, their financial power does not appear crucial for determining their intermarriage rates. Taken altogether, these observations strongly suggest that (the lack of) exposure to Gentiles was the biggest contributor to the below-average intermarriage rates among Jewish diamond workers.

[72] That exposure in and around work is important is also seen in the case of Jewish-owned businesses, which often functioned as a marriage market for young men and women. Bregstein and Bloemgarten, *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam*, 44.

[73] The idea of Jewish neighbourhoods is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

[74] Kalmijn and co-authors argue that most of the absence of Jewish-Gentile intermarriages in post-World War II Netherlands was the result of the intergenerational transmission of preferences for endogamous marriages. Matthijs Kalmijn et al., "The Family Factor in Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage: A Sibling Analysis of the Netherlands," *Social Forces* 84.3 (2006): 1347–58.

5.5 Status premiums

5.5.1 *All Jews*

The growing rates of intermarriage reflect growing interactions between Jews and Gentiles. But to what extent were they considered equals in these marriages? If intermarriages only occurred when Jewish spouses offered greater resources, such as higher occupational status, than this imbalance reflects an ethno-religious hierarchy in the labour market and possibly society at large.[75] We can measure whether this was the case by comparing the social backgrounds of in- and out-marrying Jews and Gentiles. If Jews marrying Gentiles consistently came from higher social backgrounds than their spouses, and Gentiles marrying Jews a lower social background than their spouse, an inequality exists. The HISCAM occupational scores,[76] with values ranging from 40 to 99 reflecting relative social status of the fathers of brides and grooms allow us to measure these backgrounds numerically. Earlier we saw that roughly 35 percent of Gentiles and 50 percent of Jews married partners with the same social class background. On average, Jews and Gentiles who married spouses within their own group married partners with the same status. Since partners tend to be similar in terms of age, social class, and ethno-religious background, differences in certain characteristics can be compensated by differences in other areas.[77] For instance, a large age gap can be compensated with greater wealth.

To examine whether being Jewish was one such factor that required compensation on the marriage market, I calculate status premiums for different Jewish and Gentile partnerships. To observe the trends over time, I split the marriages into three cohorts: 1870-1899, 1900-1919, and 1920-1932. We start in 1870 since the number of intermarriages and diamond workers are limited before then. Each cohort contains roughly the same number of marriages and reflect key periods in the diamond industry: an expansionary, pre-union period; relative prosperity up to 1919; and rapid decline from 1920 onwards.

The status premiums themselves are calculated as follows. For each possible marriage combination of Jewish and Gentile grooms and brides—i.e. Jewish-Gentile, Gentile-Gentile, Gentile-Jewish, and Jewish-Jewish—we calculate the average status difference in backgrounds. These status backgrounds are approximated using fathers' social status at the time of their child's wedding. The status difference is calculated as

Status difference = [occupational score groom's father] – [occupational score bride's father]

If the groom and bride have a similar social background, status differences gravitate to 0. If instead grooms and brides came from distinctly different social backgrounds, status differences turn positive or negative. Table 5.2 reports the social background for each groom and bride, and their respective status differences, by period.

The status differences are used to calculate *status premiums*. The starting point for each of the three status premiums is the status difference between Jewish grooms and their Gentile brides. This status difference tells us whether Jewish differed from or were

[75] Matthijs Kalmijn, "Educational Inequality, Homogamy, and Status Exchange in Black-White Intermarriage: A Comment on Rosenfeld," *American Journal of Sociology* 115.4 (2010): 1252.
[76] Explained in detail in Chapter 1.4.
[77] Fu, "Interracial Marriage and Family Socio-Economic Well-Being," 133.

similar to their Gentile spouses in terms of social backgrounds. These are reported with grey outlines in the first row of each period in Table 5.2. In each period we see a large and positive status difference. Thus, intermarrying Jewish grooms had higher social backgrounds than their Gentile spouses.

We compare the status differences of out-marrying Jewish grooms with those of in-marrying Gentile grooms, in-marrying Jewish grooms, and out-marrying Gentile grooms to examine if this is the result the characteristics of Jewish and Gentile grooms and brides, or specifically the result of their marital combinations. These comparisons result in the following three status premiums:

Status premium 1 =
[status difference Jewish groom and Gentile bride] –
[status difference **Gentile** groom and **Gentile** bride]

The first status premium, shown at the end of the second row for each period in Table 5.2, extracts whether Gentile brides always had partners with higher social backgrounds than themselves. This appears not the case. Gentile brides only had lower social backgrounds when their partners were Jewish.

Status premium 2 =
[status difference Jewish groom and Gentile bride] –
[status difference **Jewish** groom and **Jewish** bride]

The second status premium, shown in the third rows, asks whether Jewish grooms also had higher statuses than their Jewish brides. This was not the case; Jewish grooms and Jewish brides had similar social backgrounds. This indicates that Jewish grooms only had higher social statuses than their brides if the brides were non-Jewish.

Status premium 2 =
[status difference Jewish groom and Gentile bride] –
[status difference **Gentile** groom and **Jewish** bride]

The third status premium, found in the fourth rows, indicate whether other intermarriages also led to high status differences in favour of grooms, or whether this was only true for Jewish grooms and Gentile brides. The latter seems to be true. In fact, Gentile grooms often had *lower* social backgrounds than their Jewish spouses when they intermarried. Thus, while Jewish grooms 'paid' a status premium to marry Gentile spouses, Gentile grooms 'received' a status premium by marrying Jewish spouses.

The results presented in Table 5.2 indicate that being Jewish was one of such factors that was compensated for on the marriage market. Jews had to 'pay' a 'status premium' to marry a non-Jewish partner. In other words, the average Jewish groom required a significantly higher social status background than their partner to marry Gentile spouses. As an example, we will first discuss the results for the period 1870-1899 in detail. In the first row of Table 5.2 we find the average social backgrounds of Jewish husbands and their Gentile wives marrying between 1870 and 1899. In this period, Jewish men marrying Gentile wives had fathers whose occupational score averaged 64.2, while the fathers of their Gentile brides averaged a score of 57.5. Thus, Jewish men entering interfaith marriages had social backgrounds that were 6.7 occupational points higher

TABLE 5.2 Average social status origins, differences between spouses, and status premiums by combinations of Jewish and Gentile spouses, Amsterdam 1870-1932.

		Partner combinations		Social background			
Period	*N*	*Groom*	*Bride*	*Groom*	*Bride*	Status difference	Status premium
1870-1899	59	Jewish	Gentile	64.2	57.5	6.7	
	11,564	Gentile	Gentile	55.1	54.7	0.4	#1. 6.3
	2484	Jewish	Jewish	57.2	57.5	-0.3	#2. 7.0
	30	Gentile	Jewish	60.0	59.8	0.2	#3. 6.5
1900-1919	161	Jewish	Gentile	62.8	57.4	5.4	
	17,720	Gentile	Gentile	55.6	54.9	0.7	#1. 4.7
	2346	Jewish	Jewish	60.4	60.5	-0.1	#2. 5.5
	88	Gentile	Jewish	58.0	62.8	-4.8	#3. 10.2
1920-1932	235	Jewish	Gentile	62.3	57.9	4.4	
	16,662	Gentile	Gentile	56.4	55.7	0.7	#1. 3.7
	1588	Jewish	Jewish	60.9	61.0	-0.1	#2. 4.5
	169	Gentile	Jewish	57.6	59.7	-2.1	#3. 6.5

Source: author's calculations using LINKS "Cleaned Civil Registry" 2022 release.
Note: the sample is based on all Amsterdam marriage certificates where both the groom and bride were distinguished as either Jewish or Gentile. See Appendix A for a description of the selection process. Social background measured as the HISCAM-score of the father of the groom and bride at the time of marriage. All status premiums significantly different from 0 with $p < 0.01$.

than their Gentile spouse. This was a sizable difference, roughly equal to the difference between a government clerk (69) and a diamond worker (63) or a diamond worker and a mechanic (57). Many of these Jewish grooms had fathers that worked as merchants, while their fathers-in-law worked in a variety of occupations, but most generally as semi-skilled workers.

In the next line of Table 5.2, we observe that Gentile husbands had a score that was on average 0.4 points higher than their Gentile spouses. Jewish men, who had social backgrounds averaging 6.7 points higher than their Gentile spouses, therefore 'offered' statuses 6.3 points higher to marry a Gentile bride when compared to in-marrying Gentile men. [78] Since Jewish men marrying Jewish women (line 3) had social backgrounds 0.3 points lower than their spouse, the status premium of out-marrying Jews was 7.0 in comparison to in-marrying Jews.[79] In contrast, out-marrying Gentiles only had social backgrounds 0.2 higher than Jewish spouses. Hence, the third status premium, comparing out-marrying Jews with out-marrying Gentiles, is 6.5.[80] While endogamous partners came from similar backgrounds, and Gentiles grooms' backgrounds were not higher than their Jewish brides' backgrounds, Jewish men had come from much higher status backgrounds than their Gentile partners.

If all three status premiums are positive and significant this indicates the existence of a 'caste-status exchange'—the 'caste' of Jews was seen as a negative attribute on the

[78] 6.7 – 0.4 = 6.3.
[79] 6.7 – (−0.3) = 7.0.
[80] 6.7 – 0.2 = 6.5.

marriage market and needed to be compensated for with higher social status or backgrounds.[81] This appears to be the case throughout the period studied; in all three periods all three status premiums are positive and significant. However, the size of these premiums were declining over time, suggesting that the relative position of Jews was improving. One exception is found when comparing out-marrying Jews with out-marrying Gentiles. Gentile men marrying Jewish spouses in the 1900-1919 period had significantly lower status backgrounds than their partners. During this period, a growing number of working-class Gentiles started intermarrying, while concurrently the average status background of Jews was increasing. Thus, while the background of the average intermarrying Jew was increasing, the status of the average intermarrying Gentile was decreasing. Occupational upgrading in the Jewish community meant that the average Jew had achieved a higher status than the average Gentile,[82] leaving fewer chances for upward mobility through intermarriage.

5.5.2 *Jewish grooms in the diamond industry*

The small number of Gentile men working in the diamond industry *and* marrying Jewish partners makes it statistically impossible to compare the general results of Table 5.2 with the same numbers for Jewish and Gentile grooms working in the diamond industry. However, we can still compare the status premiums of male Jewish diamond workers intermarrying with Gentile spouses relative to in-marrying Jewish and Gentile diamond workers. This allows us to compare the status premiums of general Jews from Table 5.2 with the status premiums of diamond workers to see if the latter provided smaller or larger premiums to marry across ethno-religious lines.

Table 5.3 reports the status premiums of Jewish grooms working in the diamond industry and compares them to the status premiums of all Jewish grooms reported in Table 5.2. In the 1870-1899 period, status premiums of Jewish diamond workers were much lower than those of the average Jew. Although only a limited number of Jewish diamond workers intermarried during this period, the ones who did had much smaller differences in social backgrounds with their spouse. While the status premiums became smaller for all Jews in the subsequent period, they grew larger for the diamond workers. The growing number of Jewish diamond workers marrying Gentile brides now had fathers with occupational scores 7.3 points higher than their brides' fathers. It is this period where Jewish diamond workers saw a boost in their intermarriage rates *and* increasingly aligned themselves with the Social-Democratic movement. If we believe that these intermarrying Jewish diamond workers met through the Socialist youth clubs or organisations, then this growing divergence between the social background of the Jewish diamond workers and their spouses are unsurprising. After all, the Socialist movement in Amsterdam was a mostly working-class endeavour, and the Jewish diamond workers were the elites of this class of manual workers. In the final period we see smaller differences between all Jewish men and Jewish diamond workers. We also observe a negative status premium for the latter group. These can be explained by the worsening economic position of diamond workers following the 1920 crisis. After 1920,

[81] Fu, "Interracial Marriage and Family Socio-Economic Well-Being," 141.
[82] See Chapter 2.4.

Table 5.3 Average status premium and status premium differences between Jewish diamond worker grooms and all Jewish grooms, by combinations of Jewish and Gentile spouses, Amsterdam 1870-1932.

	Partner combinations		All grooms		Diamond workers		Difference in status premiums
Period	*Groom*	*Bride*	*Status diff.*	*Status premium*	*Status diff.*	*Status premium*	
1870-1899	Jewish	Gentile	6.8		1.3		
	Gentile	Gentile	0.4	6.4	0.6	0.7	5.7
	Jewish	Jewish	-0.3	7.1	-0.1	1.4	5.7
1900-1919	Jewish	Gentile	5.5		7.3		
	Gentile	Gentile	0.7	4.8	3.8	3.5	1.3
	Jewish	Jewish	-0.1	5.6	-0.1	7.4	-1.8
1920-1932	Jewish	Gentile	4.3		6.7		
	Gentile	Gentile	0.8	3.5	7.4	-0.7	4.2
	Jewish	Jewish	-0.1	4.4	1.8	5.9	-1.5

Source: author's calculations using LINKS "Cleaned Civil Registry" 2022 release.
Note: The sample is based on all Amsterdam marriage certificates where both the groom and bride were distinguished as either Jewish or Gentile. See Appendix A for a description of the selection process; social background measured as the HISCAM status of the father of the groom and bride at the time of marriage.

primarily less talented Jews entered the diamond industry given regressing conditions and prospects in the industry. While Jewish diamond workers still had much higher status backgrounds than their Gentile partners, the Gentile diamond workers marrying Gentile partners had even larger discrepancies. In comparison to the previous period, Gentile diamond workers' fathers' status had increased significantly, but this cohort of diamond workers married spouses with the same social backgrounds as before.

The results in Table 5.3 suggest that Jewish diamond workers were, through the improvements in their social standing in the late nineteenth century, in a better position to marry Gentile spouses. However, the industry they worked in created few opportunities to meet such Gentile partners. In the beginning of the twentieth century, auxiliary organisations surrounding the diamond industry created new pathways for Jewish diamond workers to meet non-Jewish brides.[83] This opened up opportunities for Jewish diamond workers to meet Gentile partners who, on average, came from lower social backgrounds than themselves. As the relative standing of diamond workers declined in the period after 1920, both Jewish and Gentile diamond workers saw growing differences between their own and their spouses' social background, but this increase was smaller for the Jewish diamond workers. The existence of status premiums suggests that Jews and Gentiles were not equal on the interfaith marriage market. Jewish men who married Gentile women had considerably higher status backgrounds than Gentile men marrying Gentile women; and Gentile women who married Jewish men had significantly lower status backgrounds than Jewish women marrying Jewish men. Part of this can be explained by hesitance of Gentile women to marry Jewish men. Anecdotes

[83] These meeting spaces were not exclusive to Jewish men and non-Jewish women; Jewish women could also meet Gentile husbands here and vice versa.

like Sem Bonn's story suggest that certain Gentile parents did not want their daughters to marry Jewish men. In these cases, bringing home Jewish boyfriends with higher incomes or class backgrounds could have made Gentile parents more lenient to potential Jewish sons-in-law. However, the story is not exclusively explained by discrimination, which declined over time according to Tables 5.2 and 5.3. Instead, a key part of this story can be attributed to the increasing upgrading of the social position of the Amsterdam-Jewish community as a whole. As the average status background of Jewish men and women increased more rapidly than for Gentiles, increasing intermarriage rates would near-inevitably be paired with increasing social differences between the two groups. This also meant that for most Jews who entered interfaith marriages, an immediate upgrade in their social status was uncommon. From the Jewish perspective, Jewish-Gentile intermarriages rarely occurred as a short-term strategy for improving one's material conditions, although these marriages could still prove beneficial long-term through increased integration and changing networks.

5.6 Social Networks

We now turn to another aspect of marriages. So far, we have compared the social class of grooms and brides' fathers with their fathers-in-law. We saw that Jewish diamond workers were able to 'marry up' more frequently than the average Jewish groom or Gentile diamond workers. However, even when marriages were neither a social move up or down, they could still exhibit a diversification or strengthening of existing social networks for the person about to get married. Even if one's father-in-law had the same class standing as their own father, if the father-in-law had a different occupation than their father this could prove advantageous when one needed to change careers. Crises in the diamond industry frequently confronted diamond workers with the question of changing careers, and numerous diamond workers had secondary occupations to fall back on when unemployed.[84] If, on the other hand, the father and father-in-law of a groom worked in the same occupational group, this could instead help one remain or move upward in their current industry. Diamond workers who married daughters of diamond workers strengthened their networks in the diamond industry which could help avoid unemployment in times of crises. If Jews more generally married primarily within their own occupational group, this would reinforce their existing occupational choices and niches, limiting economic integration through occupational concentration. Although potentially rewarding in times of crises, continuous reinforcements of this kind could create an entrenchment within a social group or class which increasingly became harder to escape.

In Chapter 4 we learned that both Jews and Gentiles were likely to have the same occupation as their father at the time of their respective marriages. We build further on this by examining the occupational overlap of grooms, grooms' fathers, and grooms' fathers-in-law at the time of the grooms' weddings. To accomplish this, I have selected all marriages in 'larger' Amsterdam between 1850 and 1932 where (*i*) both the groom's father and father-in-law were still alive; (*ii*) the groom, groom's father, and father-in-law all had a valid occupation; and (*iii*) grooms had an occupation that occurred at least

[84] Heertje, *De diamantbewerkers*, 27. A discussion of the practice of secondary occupations is presented in Chapter 7.

100 times among both Jewish and Gentile grooms.[85] Out of 415,597 marriages in 'larger' Amsterdam, 327,608 occurred between 1850 and 1932; of which 91,568 had living fathers and fathers-in-law with valid occupations; of which 9002 could be identified as Jewish grooms and 64,219 as Gentile grooms.[86] For each major occupational group—the first two digits of the HISCO-classification—I calculate the share of grooms that belong to the same occupational group as (*a*) their father, (*b*) their father-in-law, and (*c*) both their father and father-in-law. Those percentages are presented in Table 5.4. Using occupational groups, rather than exact occupations, means that occupational titles and relative positions can vary within the group. Merchants are clustered with shopkeepers; primary school teachers with secondary school teachers; and other occupational groups are similarly comprised of similar, related occupational titles.

Jews were more likely to belong to the same occupational group as their father *and* as their fathers-in-law at the time of the groom's wedding. In other words, the average Jewish groom possessed stronger direct kin networks in the occupations that they worked in. The strength of these networks varied significantly by social class. Among *Higher professionals and managers*, Jews less commonly belonged to such family networks; both in comparison to other Jews and to Gentiles in the same social class. We can see this most clearly in the occupational group of *Teachers*, an occupation in which Jews were heavily under-represented. While 1.7 percent of Jewish teachers had a father-in-law that also worked as a teacher, this percentage was 9.4 for Gentile teachers. Thus, while Jews had stronger family networks in the domain of work on average, they did not within higher white-collar positions. Instead, Jewish *Higher professionals and managers* may have married daughters with fathers in other professions but within the same social class. In the case of teachers, Jews most commonly had fathers-in-law working as merchants or diamond workers, while Gentile teachers more often married spouses whose fathers worked as office workers or teachers.

Jews had much stronger ties in the group *Lower professionals and managers.* For Jews, this category was dominated by positions in trade, comprising the large group of *Working proprietors*—a HISCO group with more variety in occupational titles—within which both Jews and Gentiles had strong networks. However, Jewish networks were demonstrably stronger: 38.6 percent of Jewish *Working proprietors* had a father *and* a father-in-law in the same category; this was true for less than 10 percent of Gentiles. However, within the category of *Clerical workers*—predominantly those working as office clerks—it was Gentiles who had stronger family ties. These weaker ties in office work help explain why Jewish sons of diamond workers were less likely to become office clerks despite higher levels of educational attainment, as we will see in Chapter 8.

[85] An exception was made for occupations within the social class *Higher managers and professionals* as the number of Jews in this group was otherwise too small. Here a minimum of 25 was used.

[86] Requiring both the father of the groom and the father of the bride to be alive and listed with a valid occupational title reduces the sample significantly. However, the share of Jews in the final sample (12.3 percent), roughly identical to the share of Jews observed in Amsterdam's population according to the population censuses (see Chapter 2.3), suggests that there was little to no selection bias in favour of either group. Appendix D tests whether Jewish and Gentile men differed in their occupational scores if one or both of the fathers(-in-law) were missing. The results suggest that while Jewish men had higher average statuses at the time of marriage, whether fathers were present or not did not meaningfully impact this difference. In other words, there was little to no bias in terms selection by parents' early bereavement. Moreover, since the ethno-religious identification based on names has error margins approaching zero (see Appendix A), there is no reason to suspect results based on a full sample to deviate significantly from the results presented here.

Due to the diamond industry, included in the occupational group *Gem cutters*, Jewish grooms were more likely to work in the category *Skilled workers* than Gentiles. Consequently, the diamond industry dominates the Jewish trends within this social class. One in six diamond workers had a father and father-in-law employed in the diamond industry. For Jewish tailors, another common Jewish occupation, this percentage was as low as 0.3 percent; over 50 times less likely than among diamond workers. In contrast, Gentile *Skilled workers* had high rates of following but only marginal rates of entering marriages where their fathers-in-law had similar occupations. In fact, whereas 61.2 percent of Jewish sons working as *Skilled workers* who followed their fathers had fathers-in-law in the same occupational group,[87] this was true for only 22.8 percent of corresponding Gentile sons.[88] This is the largest discrepancy between Jewish and Gentile sons across social classes. The limited occupational distribution of Jews, especially in skilled manual work, meant that they often built stronger family networks in those occupations, but had fewer ties to other industries. This was helpful when they could work in their trained profession, but disadvantageous when one had to switch careers; what disproportionately happened to Jewish diamond workers in the 1920s.

Jewish *Unskilled workers*—mostly *peddlers* and *porters*—had high rates of working in the same occupational group as their fathers and marry into similar families. Nearly half of Jewish peddlers married a peddlers' daughter. The occupational concentration of Jews within a limited number of occupations and the relative absence of marrying into higher social classes made it harder for them to enter new occupations. The group of Jewish *Unskilled workers*, which made up roughly 20 percent of the Jewish grooms in the sample, signifies a persistent poor Jewish working-class who were less able to improve their conditions intergenerationally going into the twentieth century. Within the category *Porters* for instance, 62 percent of Jews married a spouse whose father belonged to the social class of unskilled workers; compared with 42 percent of Gentiles. Due to Gentiles' wider occupational distribution, Gentile porters were more likely to marry into families where their fathers-in-law worked in (semi-)skilled labour. However, such differences between Jewish and Gentiles in favour of the latter were not true for all unskilled occupations. Among day labourers, an occupational group more common among Gentile men, Gentiles were similarly more likely to marry into (semi-)skilled families, but Jews were much more likely to marry into a merchant family. Thus, not all Jewish grooms at the bottom of the social ladder were unable to marry upwards; although this inability was particularly true for porters. For nearly 10 percent of Jewish porters' sons, the diamond industry was a way to move upward. Such marriages could aid upward social mobility of the next generation.

However, these patterns were also changing over time. Figures C1 through C3 in Appendix C show that by the 1930s only Jews working as *Lower professionals* or *Diamond workers* had family networks stronger than their Gentile peers. The declining overlap with family was especially pronounced for *Unskilled workers*, where variation over time for Gentiles was limited but fell rapidly for Jews. Clearly, Jewish social networks were changing across all social backgrounds.

[87] 0.216/0.353 = 0.612 or 61.2%.
[88] 0.68/0.298 = 0.228 or 22.8%.

TABLE 5.4 Share of grooms working in the same major occupational group as their fathers and fathers-in-law by ethno-religious background, Amsterdam 1850-1932.

	Jewish grooms				Gentile grooms			
		Occupational group overlaps with (%)				Occupational group overlaps with (%)		
Social class Occupational group	*N*	Father	FIL	Both	*N*	Father	FIL	Both
Higher professionals and managers	181	16.6	5.0	1.1	1960	20.9	6.6	2.4
13. Teachers	58	5.2	1.7	0.0	752	18.4	9.4	3.1
21. Factory owners	32	46.9	12.5	3.1	324	43.2	8.0	4.0
61. Doctors	26	19.2	3.9	0.0	174	14.4	2.9	1.2
Lower professionals and managers	2378	44.8	28.6	20.8	15,552	22.4	10.1	4.9
41. Working proprietors	1248	75.2	46.2	38.6	2806	45.8	17.9	9.7
43. Commercial travellers; agents	413	12.3	7.3	1.0	1039	14.1	4.4	0.8
39. Clerical workers	252	4.4	2.4	0.4	5093	13.2	7.0	1.5
17. Artists	117	22.2	10.3	2.6	311	17.7	6.1	1.0
Skilled workers	3406	35.3	21.6	11.9	18,992	29.8	6.8	2.8
88. Gem cutters	2501	41.7	19.4	15.8	1662	30.7	7.5	5.0
79. Tailors	296	15.9	3.7	0.3	1419	49.6	9.2	3.7
77. Food and beverage processors	231	25.1	9.1	2.2	1804	30.2	6.8	2.3
80. Cobblers and leather workers	144	10.4	4.9	2.1	939	36.2	6.7	3.1
Semi-skilled workers	1028	16.9	4.0	1.5	13,245	22.7	5.2	2.5
78. Tobacco workers	476	12.6	2.3	1.3	754	27.2	6.5	2.5
Unskilled workers	1977	51.9	32.9	24.5	13,876	34.0	23.0	12.2
97. Porters	706	49.2	37.0	26.6	2906	25.5	13.8	5.3
45. Street vendors	644	69.3	47.8	33.5	987	34.4	14.2	7.6
99. Day labourers	437	45.1	29.7	17.6	6520	47.3	38.6	21.8
Total	9002	39.3	23.9	15.7	64,219	28.1	11.6	5.6

Source: author's calculations using LINKS "Cleaned Civil Registry" 2022 release.
Note: FIL = groom's father-in-law; digits preceding occupational groups represent first two units of HISCO codes.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at the social exogamy, intermarriages, and social networks of Jews and Gentiles in the diamond industry, comparing them with those from other social classes and occupational groups. We observed that there was less social fluidity in the Jewish community; most Jews married Jewish partners from similar social backgrounds. However, Jewish diamond workers were more likely than both the average Jewish groom and Gentile diamond workers to 'marry up.' This happened predominantly within the Jewish community since, contrary to what we anticipated, Jewish diamond workers were less likely to marry Gentile partners than the average Jewish man. The speed at which the intermarriage rates increased decade by decade suggests that Socialism and the ANDB had large positive influences on the intermarriage rates of Jewish diamond workers. Since the sons and daughters of diamond workers, who rarely followed their parents in the twentieth century, were just as likely to intermarry as the average Jewish groom or bride, perhaps even slightly more prone to mixed marriages, we deduced that diamond workers did not forego intermarriages because of preference. Nor was social class the determining factor, since the highly-skilled Jewish diamond workers intermarried less frequently than semi- and unskilled Jews. Instead, their lower intermarriage rates can be explained by their lower exposure to Gentiles through and around work. In the diamond industry, most workers were Jewish. Working in this industry meant an above average exposure to Jews for both Jews and Gentiles. In each decade studied, Gentile diamond workers were more likely to intermarry with a Jewish spouse than the average Gentile person. The diamond industry therefore helped Jews move up in society but did not bring them in closer contact to the Gentile population. In contrast, the diamond industry did not improve Gentiles' chances for upward marital mobility but did bring them in closer contact with the Jews of Amsterdam.

These two factors—upward marital mobility and mixed marriages—appeared to move in opposite directions. Intermarriages rarely coincided with upward marital mobility for Jews. In fact, most intermarried Jews married down in terms of social class. This is reflected in the high 'status premiums' offered by Jews marrying Gentile partners. Differences in socioeconomic backgrounds were significantly higher between a Jewish and a Gentile spouse than the differences in Jewish-Jewish and Gentile-Gentile couples. Evidently, Gentiles saw being Jewish as a negative characteristic on the marriage market, but one that could be compensated for by higher social status. This status gap between Jewish and Gentile spouses decreased over time, concurrent with rapid increases in the average social class positions of Jews that outpaced those of Gentiles. If there was no growing acceptance, and only a growing difference in status between Jews and Gentiles, then status gaps should have increased during this period. Thus, the results in this chapter suggest that the early twentieth century was one of growing acceptance between Jews and Gentiles. This contrasts the suggestion by Leydesdorff that intermarrying Jews were increasingly moving to the margin of Jewish society due to mutual exclusion.[89]

Furthermore, marriages could be socially and economically advantageous even if they were neither to a spouse from a higher social class background or to a non-Jewish spouse. Jews more frequently married into families with similar socioeconomic backgrounds. This allowed them to build strong occupational networks. The

[89] Leydesdorff, *Het Joodse proletariaat*, 316.

strengthening of networks over time, particularly in the diamond industry and in commerce, helps explain the persistence of Jews in these occupational groups. These occupations, once taken up as a consequence of exclusion elsewhere in the economy, became more imbedded in Jewish circles through marriages and their impact on one's social networks. Such networks increased economic opportunities in the sector one worked in but also increased financial risks to the extended family in times of crises through lessened diversification. Thus, while Jews' overrepresentation in certain occupations and tendency to marry into families with similar occupations might have helped Jewish entrepreneurs to succeed in the twentieth century, it also meant that Jews in the lowest social classes, such as porters, struggled to provide their offspring with better futures. While Chapter 2 showed that the share of Jews in unskilled work dropped from 40 percent in the mid-nineteenth century to 15 percent in the 1920s, the remaining Jewish unskilled workers were predominantly marrying within their own social class and occupations. In these cases, social endogamy could hardly be seen as positive. How these networks affected future career outcomes for the different social classes of Jews is discussed in the next chapter.