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ETHNIC AND OTHER PRIMORDIAL DIFFERENTIALS
IN INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY IN ISRAEL

by

Judah Matras and Dov Weintraub

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Ethnic and other primordial differential

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Judah Matras and Dov Weintraub**

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** Matras is associated with Brookdale Institute and both Matras and Weintraub are Associate Professors of Sociology at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This is part of the study, "The Opportunity Structure, Mobility, and Fertility in Israel", conducted by the Department of Sociology, The Hebrew University, jointly with The Brookdale Institute, Jerusalem, and with the cooperation of the Israel Center Bureau of Statistics. The data collected with the help of a grant by the Population Council, which we gratefully acknowledge. Thanks are due to Ms. Gila Noam and Mr. Yossi Shavit for their assistance. Computations were designed and supervised by Mr. Moshe Nordheim.



ETHNIC AND OTHER PRIMORDIAL DIFFERENTIALS
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ABSTRACT

In this paper we study intergenerational educational and occupational mobility of Israeli males aged 25 and over; and we examine religion, nativity and geo-cultural origin differences in such mobility, with special attention to processes of strata formation. Our data are based on Israel's first national mobility survey carried out in 1974, and constitute thus the first national probability sample addressed explicitly to the investigation of educational and occupational mobility. The findings show that in Israel there have been sharp ethnic and other primordial differences in distributions by educational attainment and occupational groups; and that for the most part intergenerational mobility has not operated to close these gaps - but that at least among Jews, no ethnically dual stratificational system has crystallized. More generally, mobility processes are seen to nurture the formation of new strata, great expansion of previously small strata, and a re-ordering of sizes and composition - showing that the mobility regime is itself a prime mover in strata formation processes and not simply a function of exogenously determined shifts in strata organization and relationships.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we examine intergenerational educational mobility and intergenerational occupational mobility of Israeli males aged 25 and over; and we analyze religion, nativity, and geo-cultural origin differences in such mobility with special attention to processes of strata recruitment and formation.

This focus has its roots in earlier studies, which examined ethnic differences in intergenerational and intragenerational mobility in Israel largely in terms of the relationship between mobility and absorption or social integration of immigrants (cf. Eisenstadt, 1956; Matras, 1962; Lissak, 1964). Taking the concept of institutional dispersion of immigrants (cf. Eisenstadt, 1953) as an index of these processes, and the convergence of occupational distributions as the main indicator of institutional dispersion, these studies showed that patterns of intergenerational mobility tended to imply continuity of occupational segregation along ethnic lines rather than the coming together of the respective distributions over time. Discussion (cf. Matras, 1965; Zloczower, 1968, 1973; Lissak, 1969) of these findings pointed to the ethnic dimensions of strata formation probably obtaining in Israel as a result, but did not develop that line of analysis systematically - chiefly because the data available were limited in scope and in the populations studied. Our data, by contrast, are from the country's first national mobility survey, carried out as part of the Israel Labour Force Survey in April 1974. They are thus the first national probability sample addressed explicitly to the study of educational and occupational mobility, only now allowing a closer look at the issue.

Outside of Israel, the situation has been largely the reverse. National mobility studies have been available for more than a decade; but the examination of ethnic differences in intergenerational and intra-generational mobility has, until very recently (cf. Boyd et al., 1976), usually been separate from the analysis of migration and immigrant absorption, has largely ignored the issues of social integration, and, albeit with some notable exceptions (cf. Hirschman, 1975, 1976), has for the most part touched on the problem of strata formation only indirectly.

In this way, the research of which the present paper forms a part represents the convergence of two hitherto largely separate traditions or strands of investigation - namely interest in ethnic stratification on the one hand, and the utilization of national mobility data, on the other. And while in other papers resulting from this research attention has been given mainly to the ethnic "effects" on various dimensions of individual socio-economic achievements (cf. Matras and Weintraub, forthcoming; Matras et al., forthcoming) - here we present findings on group processes. That is, we are concerned with "primordial" differences in intergenerational mobility from the point of view of access to the various educational and occupational status groupings, and of similarity or dissimilarity of the primordial categories with respect to educational and occupational location; and we hope to relate these factors to ethnic integration, and to processes of strata recruitment and strata formation in general.

Such an analysis seems the more timely and important, as our earlier findings (Matras and Weintraub, forthcoming) have shown that class and

occupational origin "dominance" in Boudon's (1974) sense, seems relatively less pronounced, and the occupational structure more open, in Israel than in industrialized Western European and North American countries. Our purpose here, then, is to examine whether and in what way primordial differences operate instead; and to see the extent to which they persist under a stratificational system that is on the whole more open, and in a society that professes an egalitarian ideology and practices a policy of positive discrimination of the underprivileged groups, and at the same time has been undergoing a process of rapid economic development and population growth - all characteristics conducive to convergence rather than closure.

Our major attention will be devoted to geo-cultural (or "ethnic", as often formulated) origin differences in patterns of intergenerational educational and occupational mobility among Jewish males. But, both by way of documentation and study of patterns of primordial dominance, and to give ourselves an initial opportunity and a broadly comparative setting for examining them, we also present for the first time data on intergenerational mobility of non-Jewish (i.e. Arab) males.¹

Our presentation thus has two foci. To begin with, we give and interpret briefly the basic primordial differentials in intergenerational mobility, educational and occupational, in terms of religion and background, and examine mobility rates and patterns of Jews and of Arabs - Moslems and Christians; and among the Jews: of those born in Israel, or abroad, with geo-cultural origins in Europe and America, or in Asia and Africa.² Second, we take up the ethnic differentials within the Jewish

community itself and examine them with respect to place of birth and age at arrival in Israel, which allows us to distinguish between those respondents whose socialization, education, or employment have taken place mainly abroad or in Israel. In addition, we examine the intergenerational shifts in ethnic occupational distribution dissimilarities deriving from the patterns of differential mobility.

A. SOURCE OF DATA

We were able to arrange to have appended to the Israeli national Labour Force Survey a mobility questionnaire which has provided intra-generational mobility data for all persons aged 14 and over in some 6000 households sampled in April-June, 1974, and intergenerational mobility data for heads of the households and their wives. The target population in the survey of mobility is similar to that of the ongoing current Labour Force Survey in Israel and includes all persons aged 14 years and older in Israel. There were some 857,000 households in Israel during the survey period, including 783,000 Jewish households (head of the household is Jewish) and 74,000 non-Jewish households. The inflated target population consists of an estimated 2,161,283 persons aged 14+, including 1,911,526 Jews and 249,757 non-Jews. The number of sample records in the Mobility Survey sample is 15,078, including 11,917 Jews and 3,161 non-Jews. The sampling procedure is identical to that of the ongoing Labour Force Survey and has been noted in Central Bureau of Statistics publications. The survey was carried out in the field in April-June, 1974, in conjunction with the Labour Force Survey. The April-June, 1974 Mobility

Survey population differs from the April-June, 1974 Labour Force Survey only as follows:

1) The population of kibbutzim is not included, and the institutional population is not included (in both instances, information for these populations is obtained collectively rather than individually whereas the nature of the variables studied in the mobility survey ruled out obtaining data on a group or collective basis).

2) Jewish respondents in the sample comprised respondents in the C and D (of A, B, C, and D) panels only, i.e., including only half the total of Jews sampled in the LF Survey; but non-Jews comprised respondents in all four panels, A, B, C, and D, of the LF Survey, i.e., all the non-Jews sampled in the LF Survey. A pretest of the Mobility Survey questionnaire was carried out in October-December, 1973.

The questions of the mobility survey are divided into three groups, according to subject matter and according to population to whom they are addressed. The first group of questions deals with length of employment of the respondent in his current job and description of his employment five years ago (whether in Israel or abroad). Analysis of response to these questions in conjunction with responses to questions on current employment permits description of intragenerational mobility. These questions are addressed to all the respondents in the survey. The second group of questions concerns details of the family of orientation of the respondent: the number of siblings when he was 14 years of age, his father's educational attainment. These questions are addressed to heads of households and to wives of heads of households only, i.e., to at least

one person and at most two persons in every household. The last set of questions includes only a single question, pertaining to fertility or number of children ever born to married women, wives of heads of households only.

B. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

The general format of our description of intergenerational educational mobility is illustrated in Appendix Table A for Jewish and non-Jewish males respectively; and the format for description and discussion of intergenerational occupational mobility is shown in Appendix Tables B, C, D, and E.

The vertical and horizontal stubs of Appendix Table A, i.e, the classifications of fathers and of respondents by educational attainment, are not the same. In Israeli census and survey statistics respondents' educational attainment is reported in terms of numbers of school years completed. But the same index for Jewish respondents' fathers, who may have attended school in any one of several dozens of countries of origin, is both difficult to obtain and very difficult to interpret when obtained. In particular, it would not be appropriate to equate the educational attainment of sons and fathers reporting the same number of school years completed, the former in Israel and the latter abroad.

The educational attainment groupings employed leave open several questions of comparability. For fathers of Jewish respondents, it is the extent to which "elementary", "secondary", "university" level education, or the Jewish religious "Yeshiva" education, is comparable in the various

places of origin. For respondents themselves the "numbers of school years" reported may have been in Israel or abroad. And even in Israel there are questions of comparability of given numbers of school years completed among alternative educational career paths, between the different areas and types of communities, between religious and secular education among Jews, and - not least - between Hebrew and Arabic school systems for Jewish and non-Jewish pupils respectively.

In an earlier presentation of intergenerational occupational mobility data from the national survey we indicated our reservations about the conventional ILO 1-digit occupational classification employed in Israeli official statistics, and which we used - because of the considerable heterogeneity of some of the occupational categories with respect to occupational tasks included, educational or other credentials and certification required, proportion self-employed, and average or range of salary or income. We have now worked out a set of occupational categories more appropriate for analysis of occupational mobility, drawing on the SES score and prestige score data (cf. Tyree, 1975; Kraus, 1976).

Our occupational classification is built on the 2-digit Israel CBS Codes. It is intended to form a hierarchy and to describe occupational groupings of both Jewish and non-Jewish respondents and their fathers; to seek task, SES (educational credentials and income) level, and prestige level homogeneity as far as possible; and to distinguish among employees and self-employed within certain of the occupational categories. The occupational categories are:

1. Scientific and Academic, Self-Employed

2. Scientific and Academic, Employees
3. Managers and Administrators, Self-Employed
4. Managers and Administrators, Employees
5. Other Professional and Semi-Professional Workers
6. Technicians and Technical Workers
7. Proprietors
8. Sales Employees
9. Clerical Workers
10. Craftsmen, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled, Proprietors
11. Craftsmen, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled, Employees
12. Service Workers
13. Unskilled Workers, except Agricultural
14. Farm Owners
15. Unskilled Agricultural Workers

In the following sections we use the 15 categories both in their full detail (Tables 2 and B, C, D, E, F, of Appendix) and in two collapsed formats, as follows: a 7-category classification includes -

- I. Higher White Collar, including 1, 2, 3, 4
- II. White Collar Proprietors, including 7
- III. Other White Collar Employees, including 5, 6, 8 and 9
- IV. Blue Collar Proprietors, including 10
- V. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled Employees, including 11
- VI. Service and Unskilled Workers, including 12 and 13
- VII. Farm Owners and Unskilled Workers, including 14 and 15;

and a 3-category classification includes -

- A. Higher White Collar, including 1, 2, 3, 4
- B. Other White Collar, including 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9
- C. Manual, including 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

The occupational classification which we have adopted here requires considerable study and probably needs further elaboration. The categories are of quite different sizes for Jewish and non-Jewish respondents and their fathers respectively, and this reflects both different occupational origins and differentials in mobility patterns, which is what we are interested in studying. It may, however, also reflect different meanings of occupational titles, tasks, and statuses among the different groups. A special problem, unresolved so far, is the complete absence of detail for the category "crafts, skilled, and semi-skilled employees" (No. 11) which includes 30% of Jewish and 36% of non-Jewish respondents. The Israel Central Bureau of Statistics' 2-digit codes do not seem to allow for any but economic sector - or industrial classification - detail within this large grouping, with no further task, responsibility, or status breakdowns available.

We turn next to a discussion of the main primordial differences in mobility.

II. MAIN PRIMORDIAL DIFFERENCES IN MOBILITY

The main features of primordial differences in intergenerational educational mobility are summarized in Table 1. And the major primordial occupational mobility differences are shown in detail in Appendix Tables B-E, with occupational distributions of respondents and their fathers

summarized for the major primordial categories in Table 2.

A. Jews and Non-Jews

The most obvious and most salient primordial differences in inter-generational educational and occupational mobility patterns are those between Jews and non-Jews in Israel. We can in no way do justice to this important area of inquiry, but we hope to contribute to opening it to more systematic investigation and discussion.

A substantial part (18%) of Jewish respondents reported fathers with no formal education. However, about half (47%) reported fathers with elementary school education, and more than one-third reported fathers with post-primary education (including 29% with secondary or Yeshiva education and 6% with higher or other post-secondary education). By contrast, a very large majority (74%) of the non-Jewish males reported that their fathers had had no schooling at all. About one-fourth of the non-Jewish respondents reported that their fathers had had some primary schooling, and less than 2% reported fathers with post-primary education.

The intergenerational educational mobility tables (Appendix Table A and top panel of Table 1) show widespread entrance of Jewish respondents into post-secondary and higher education (20% of the total) even among respondents of lower educational origins. For non-Jewish respondents, entrance into the post-primary educational attainment group is much less prevalent (6% of the total). But among both Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, there was widespread "exit", "shift", or "upward mobility" away from the 0-school years category, with only 6% of Jewish respondents and 19% of the non-Jewish respondents reporting themselves in this category.

TABLE 1
Major Præmordial Differences in Educational Attainment Distributions of Respondents and Fathers, and in
Intergenerational Educational Mobility Rates: Israel, Male Heads of Households, 25+, 1974

Primordial Categories	Percent Distributions by Educational Attainment and Indexes								Educational Mobility Percentages by Father's School Attainment					
	Est.No. =100%	0	1-8	9-12	13+	△ (Fa,R)	△ (Fa,Fa)	△ (R,R)	Fathers Have No Formal Education		Fathers Have Elementary Education		Fathers Have Secondary Education	
									% Rs 0 Yrs	% Rs 9+ Yrs	% Rs 9-12 Yrs	% Rs 13+ Yrs	% Rs 0-8 Yrs	% Rs 13+ Yrs
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
<u>Jews and Non-Jews</u>														
Jews : Fathers	} 495,000	18	47	29	6	} 21	} 56	} 39	22	21	38	15	24	31
Jews : Respondents		6	38	36	20									
Non-Jews: Fathers	} 54,000	74	24	2	0	} 55	}	}	24	9	17	18	(43)	(8)
Non-Jews: Respondents		19	64	11	6									
<u>Jews: "Indigenous" and "Non-Indigenous" Primary Education</u>														
Indigenous Education : Fathers		15	46	30	9	} 34	} 7	} 24	5	35	49	20	13	39
Indigenous Education : Respondents		1	26	46	27									
Non-Indigenous Education: Fathers		20	48	28	4	} 14	}	}	28	15	32	12	30	27
Non-Indigenous Education: Respondents		8	43	30	19									
<u>Jews: European-American and Asian-African Origins</u>														
European-American Origin: Fathers		6	49	36	9	} 23	} 28	} 31	10	26	40	19	19	36
European-American Origin: Respondents		1	31	40	28									
Asian-African Origin : Fathers		36	44	18	2	} 22	}	}	25	19	33	8	41	17
Asian-African Origin : Respondents		14	49	29	8									
<u>Non-Jews: Moslems and Christians</u>														
Moslems : Fathers		79	20	1	0	} 60	} 32	} 21	24	9	15	16	(68)	(15)
Moslems : Respondents		19	68	9	4									
Christians: Fathers		48	48	4	0	} 40	}	}	14	20	21	23	(16)	(15)
Christians: Respondents		7	59	22	12									

parentheses () Denote Percentage Based on Fewer than 15 Sample Cases.

In Table 1 (and in more detail in Table A) it is evident that respondents whose fathers had had no formal education or only elementary education were distinctly disadvantaged as far as their own educational attainment is concerned. Compared to all others, these respondents included low proportions completing 13-15 or 16+ school years. A quite high proportion of respondent sons of fathers with no education had themselves no schooling at all or only elementary education. On the other hand, of those whose fathers completed only elementary education about eight percent completed a college, university, or other post-secondary education (16+ years) and seven percent attended but did not complete higher education. Conversely, respondents whose fathers had completed secondary school are themselves distinctly advantaged educationally, with about 40% having at least some post-secondary education.

Table 1 about here

Among sons of fathers with no education about the same percentages of Jews and non-Jews themselves remained with no education (22% and 24% respectively), but a much higher percentage of the Jewish respondents attained post-primary education (21% of the Jews, compared to 9% of the non-Jews). (Top panel, columns (9) and (10) of Table 1.) And among respondents whose fathers had elementary schooling only, the Jews were much more likely to report post-primary school attainment.

Intergenerational educational mobility has shifted upward the educational distributions of non-Jews relatively more than the corresponding

shift for Jews. The index of dissimilarity of respondents' and fathers' educational attainment distributions [$\Delta(\text{Fa}, \text{R})$ in column 4 of Table 1] for non-Jews is more than two-and-a-half times the corresponding index for Jews. Similarly, comparison of the indexes of dissimilarity between the distributions of Jewish and non-Jewish fathers and that between the distributions of Jewish and non-Jewish respondents [$\Delta(\text{Fa}, \text{Fa})$ and $\Delta(\text{R}, \text{R})$ in columns 7 and 8] respectively shows that intergenerational educational mobility has moved the educational attainment distributions of Jewish and of non-Jewish respondents considerably closer together than was the case for their fathers.

A large proportion of the Jewish respondents report fathers with proprietor occupations - 36% white collar proprietors and 20% blue collar proprietors - and 10% report fathers as skilled or semi-skilled employees. (Table 2, top panel). A majority, 56%, of non-Jewish males reported fathers as farm owners, and 11% reported fathers as skilled or semi-skilled employees. Intergenerational occupational mobility of male heads of households is shown in Table B in terms of the 15-category classification. For both Jewish and non-Jewish respondents there is a pronounced pattern of outflow to category 11, the skilled and semi-skilled employees category, from almost all occupational origins, and for non-Jewish respondents there is outflow to this category from farm, from blue collar, and from lower white collar (categories 6, 7, 8 and 9) origins, but not from higher white collar origins. For Jewish respondents there is also substantial outflow

Table 2 about here

TABLE 2
Major Primordial Differences in Occupational Distributions of Respondents and Fathers:
Israel, Male Heads of Households, 25+, 1974

Primordial Categories	Per Cent Distributions by Occupation Groups and Indexes																Δ (Fa,R)	Δ (Fa,Fa)	Δ (R,R)
	Est.No. =100%	Non-Manual									Manual				Farm				
		Scientific, Academic		Managers and Administrators		Other Pro- fessionals & Semi-Pro- fessionals	Technicians & Technical Workers	Proprietors	Sales Employees	Clerical Workers	Craftsmen, Skilled, & Semi-Skilled		Service Workers	Unskilled Wkrs, exc. in Agri- culture	Farm Owners	Farm Workers			
		Self- Empl'd	Employees	Self- Empl'd	Employees						Self- Empl'd	Employees							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15			
Jews and Non-Jews																			
Jews : Fathers	447,000	3	3	3	1	1	0	36	2	6	20	10	2	6	5	2	43	58	31
Jews : Respondents		2	7	2	4	3	4	8	3	13	9	30	5	6	3	1			
Non-Jews: Fathers	49,000	0	1	1	1	1	1	8	0	0	6	11	1	7	56	6	51		
Non-Jews: Respondents		0	2	0	1	5	0	10	1	2	14	36	3	14	10	2			
Jews: "Indigenous" and "Non-Indigenous" Occupational Mobility																			
Indigenous Mobility : Fathers	168,000	2	2	2	2	1	1	23	2	9	17	17	3	9	6	4	38	29	18
Indigenous Mobility : Respondents		2	9	1	5	4	6	4	4	12	10	32	3	3	4	1			
Non-Indigenous Mobility: Fathers	274,000	3	3	3	1	1	0	44	2	5	22	6	2	4	3	1	50		
Non-Indigenous Mobility: Respondents		2	6	2	3	2	3	9	3	14	9	28	7	8	3	1			
Jews: European-American and Asian-African Origins																			
European-American Origin: Fathers	270,000	3	3	4	1	10	1	32	2	7	18	9	2	3	4	1	44	20	26
European-American Origin: Respondents		3	10	2	5	3	6	7	4	16	9	25	3	4	3	0			
Asian-African Origin : Fathers	178,000	2	1	1	1	1	0	38	2	4	21	11	3	8	4	3	46		
Asian-African Origin : Respondents		1	2	1	2	3	2	7	2	10	9	37	9	10	4	1			
Non-Jews: Moslems and Christians																			
Moslems : Fathers	37,000	0	1	1	0	0	0	9	0	0	4	12	1	8	56	8	51	24	26
Moslems : Respondents		0	3	0	0	4	0	10	1	2	12	34	4	17	11	2			
Christians: Fathers	9,000	1	1	3	1	2	3	8	0	0	18	8	2	6	46	1	54		
Christians: Respondents		0	2	1	0	9	0	11	1	3	21	42	3	4	3	0			

from all occupational origins to clerical occupations (category 9) and from all white collar origins - but much less, though not negligible, rates from blue collar origins - to scientific and academic and to manager and administration employees (categories 2 and 4) positions. For non-Jewish respondents there is no pronounced entrance into white collar employee occupations except for category 5, other professional and semi-professional workers (mostly school teachers), but there is some movement from blue collar origins to white collar proprietor positions.

The distributions of fathers' occupations reported by Jewish and by non-Jewish respondents respectively reflect very different histories of occupational patterns, on the one hand, and of migration, on the other hand.

Of the Jewish respondents, about 37% reported occupations of their fathers in Israel and about 63% reported fathers' occupations abroad (we discuss "indigenous" and "non-indigenous" mobility of Jews below). Thus, the occupational distributions of fathers of Jewish respondents reflect both the peculiarities of the occupational distributions of Jews in the respective countries of origin as well as patterns of differential migration to Palestine or Israel and the chronology of migration waves from the different countries. The fathers of Arab respondents, on the other hand, were part of a larger Arab community in pre-independence Palestine, a substantial proportion of which - especially of the non-agricultural population - fled or emigrated in 1948/49. Thus neither the distributions of Jewish nor that of the non-Jewish fathers can be presumed to represent in any sense a previous "occupational structure".

For Jewish males the intergenerational mobility reflects a process of filtering into a broad range of occupations in a modern economy from relatively highly concentrated - white collar proprietor, blue collar proprietor, and skilled and semi-skilled employee - occupational origins. This process has involved both extensive upward mobility - to academic or professional, managerial, and to lower white collar positions from both lower white collar and manual origins - and downward mobility - to skilled and semi-skilled, and sometimes to farm positions from proprietor and lower white collar origins (Table B, Appendix). For non-Jewish males the intergenerational mobility reflects almost exclusively off-the-farm movement, mostly to skilled, semi-skilled, and to unskilled blue collar positions, with only very limited inroads into white collar positions.

For both Jews and non-Jews the intergenerational transformations in occupational distributions are substantial [$\Delta(Fa, R)$ equal 43% and 51% for Jews and non-Jews respectively]. And comparison of the indexes, $\Delta(Fa, Fa)$ and $\Delta(R, R)$, for Jewish and non-Jewish fathers and respondents respectively, shows that the occupational distributions of Jews and of non-Jews have tended to converge substantially over time, in connection with the intergenerational mobility.

B. "Indigenous" and "Non-Indigenous" Mobility of Jews

In a previous paper (Matras and Weintraub, forthcoming) we noted the problem of separation of intergenerational mobility processes taking place in Israel alone from those involving international migration: emigration from places of origin and immigration to Israel. We are now able to take some first steps toward examining these kinds of "indigenous"

and "non-indigenous" mobility processes separately.

We separated Jewish male respondents born in Israel or born abroad but immigrating at age 13 years or under - and hence subject to Israel's compulsory education laws - from those born abroad and immigrating at age 14 or over. In the second (horizontal) panel of Table 1 we note that fathers of respondents born in Israel or immigrating at younger ages were themselves educationally somewhat advantaged compared to fathers of respondents born abroad and immigrating at older ages. The fathers of the "indigenous primary education" group were less likely to have had no formal education, and more likely to have had post-secondary education, than fathers of the "non-indigenous primary education" respondents. But the mobility rate data (columns 9-14) show, moreover, that the "indigenous" respondents were much less likely to remain without schooling or with only elementary school attainment, and much more likely to attain secondary or post-secondary education, than those in the "non-indigenous" group of respondents irrespective of their fathers' educational attainment.

Thus, for respondents whose fathers had no formal education some 28% of the "non-indigenous" group themselves had no education, compared to only 5% among the "indigenous" group. Of those whose fathers had had elementary school education, 69% of the "indigenous" group attained some secondary or higher education, compared to only 44% of the "non-indigenous" group. Altogether the "indigenous" respondents comprised almost three-fourths with post-primary school attainment, compared to only half the "non-indigenous" respondents, and about 9% of the "non-indigenous", compared to only 1% of the "indigenous", respondents reported no formal education.

Upward educational mobility was thus much more pronounced for the "indigenous primary education" respondents than for the "non-indigenous" group, a comparison reflected in the Δ (Fa, R) indexes of 34% and 14% respectively. The intergenerational educational mobility had the effect of creating dissimilarity between the "indigenous" and "non-indigenous" respondents [Δ (R, 4) = 24%] where relatively little had existed between their fathers [Δ (Fa, Fa) = 7%].

In the mobility survey respondents were asked to state their fathers' occupations when they - the respondents - were 14 years old. In Appendix Table C we combine Jewish males born in Israel and those born abroad but immigrating at ages 14 or under to form a population of males all of whose fathers were in Israel when they were 14 years old (i.e., for whom intergenerational mobility is recorded with reference to fathers whose reported occupations are in Israel as well) and whose mobility is "indigenous" mobility. Appendix Table C shows intergenerational occupational mobility of Jewish males born abroad and immigrating at ages 15 or over, i.e., "non-indigenous" mobility. The occupational distributions are shown in the second panel of Table 2.

The (indigenous) occupational origins of Jewish males born in Israel or immigrating young are in considerable measure concentrated in the white and blue collar proprietor (23% and 17% respectively) groups. But large numbers of these respondents reported fathers in skilled and semi-skilled (17%) and in unskilled (9%) blue collar occupations or in agriculture (10%). But the (non-indigenous) occupational origins of Jewish males immigrating at age 15 or over are very much more concentrated in the

proprietor - white collar (44%) and blue collar (22%) proprietor - groups. Percentages reporting fathers in blue collar employee positions or in agriculture were much smaller (6% in skilled and semi-skilled, 4% in unskilled, and 4% in agricultural occupations). The "indigenous occupational origin" respondents reported fathers in clerical occupations about twice as frequently as the "non-indigenous occupational origin" respondents; but very small percentages in both groups reported fathers in "higher white collar" occupations - in scientific and academic, or in managerial and high administrative positions.

In Table 2 (and in detail in Appendix Table C) it is seen that the upward mobility to higher white collar positions - from lower white collar and from manual origins - is much more pronounced in the "indigenous mobility" group than in the "non-indigenous mobility" group. By contrast, the downward mobility to manual occupations - from higher and lower white collar to manual origins - is distinctly more pronounced in the "non-indigenous mobility" group, though apparent in the "indigenous mobility" group as well. In Table C it is seen that Israeli-born and child-aged immigrant sons of proprietors, clerical workers, and skilled and semi-skilled proprietors and employees are, on the one hand, much more likely than their youth- or adult-aged immigrant counterparts to attain high white collar occupations and, on the other hand, only rarely downwardly-mobile to service or unskilled occupations. Although respondents in both groups have entered skilled and semi-skilled blue collar occupations, entrance into service and unskilled blue collar occupations is largely restricted to those born abroad and immigrating at age 15 or over.

The total percentage mobile among the respondents born in Israel or immigrating at young ages is about as high as that for the respondents immigrating at age 15 or older; but the dissimilarity between respondents and their fathers is higher in the latter category, the "non-indigenous" group. At the same time, the effect of the intergenerational mobility is to render the occupational distributions of the two categories of respondents less dissimilar than were the distributions of their respective fathers [$\Delta(R, R) = 18\%$, compared to $\Delta(Fa, Fa) = 29\%$]. This is consistent with the view that the shifts in occupational distribution associated with immigration to Israel - reflected in the distributions of fathers whose occupations abroad were reported (by the "non-indigenous" group of respondents) as compared to those of fathers whose occupations in Israel were reported (by the "indigenous" group) are more substantial than those associated with intergenerational mobility.

C. European-American and Asian-African Origin

The most widely-perceived source of social inequality in Israel today is geo-cultural, or "ethnic", origin in the Jewish population, in particular European and "Western" origins as distinct from non-European - Middle Eastern, Asian, or African - or "Oriental" origins. Those of European origins - whether born in Israel or themselves immigrants - are widely perceived to be advantaged with respect to virtually all social and economic rewards, and those of Asian and African origins disadvantaged, perceptions which are fully sustained in virtually all data describing such differences quantitatively. But we are, of course, concerned here with comparison of differential access to educational and occupational

attainment for the ethnic-origin subgroups within educational-origin and occupational-origin categories.

We turn first to ethnic differentials in intergenerational educational mobility. The full educational mobility tables by geo-cultural origin of respondents are presented elsewhere (Matras and Noam, 1976), and their main entries are summarized in Table 1. Fathers of respondents of each geo-cultural origin group are generally reported as having low levels of educational achievement relative to those of the respondents themselves, but the attainments of the Asian and African fathers are particularly low. Thus, for example, while 36% of the Asian and African origin fathers of respondents are reported as having received no education, corresponding proportions for the European-American origin fathers are only 6%.

The educational attainment distribution of Asian and African origin Jewish males differs considerably from that of their fathers in that the proportion receiving no education has declined sharply, from 36% to 14%. However, more than half the Asian and African origin respondents still did not attain schooling beyond the elementary level - 29% attained 9-12 years and only 8% attained post-secondary education.

Respondents of European-American origins on the other hand, are characterized to a much greater degree by movement into the secondary and post-secondary categories, with 28% attaining post-secondary education. Israeli-born respondents are clearly characterized by the highest level of educational attainment, with almost none having attained under eight years of schooling and, on the other hand, 35% achieving post-secondary education. An additional 49% attained between 9-12 years of

schooling.

Thus, while respondents in every ethnic group have been characterized by considerable intergenerational educational mobility, the process has implied large-scale entrance into the highest educational categories primarily for European-American origin respondents, and particularly for the Israeli-born of European origin. Even entrance into the post-primary category (9-12 years) is more characteristic of the European-origin and Israeli-born respondents.

The data of columns 9-14 in Table 1 show that of the (few) European-American origin respondents whose fathers had had no schooling, 10% had themselves had no schooling, while 26% attained post-primary education. But of those of Asian or of African origin whose fathers had had no schooling about one-fourth had themselves had no schooling, and less than one-fifth attained post-primary education.

Finally, it is seen in Table 1 that among respondents reporting that their fathers had had secondary school education, 41% of those born or with parents from Asia or Africa - but only 19% of the European-American-born or parentage - reported that their own educational attainment did not exceed elementary school. On the other hand, 36% of the European-American origin respondents whose fathers had had secondary school education reported that they had themselves had post-secondary schooling, compared to 17% so reporting among those born in Asia and in Africa.

Thus both the respondents of Asian or African origin and those of European or American origin experienced notable upward educational mobility

and, as groups, experienced upward shifts in the educational attainment distributions relative to those reported for the respondents' fathers. However, this intergenerational mobility did not serve to diminish the gap, or the dissimilarity, in educational attainment distributions. The index of dissimilarity between educational attainment distributions of European-American and of Asian-African origin respondents is virtually unchanged in comparison with the corresponding indexes calculated for the respondents' fathers, i.e. $\Delta (R, R) = 31\%$ compared to $\Delta (Fa, Fa) = 28\%$.

Turning next to European-American and Asian-African origin differentials in intergenerational occupational mobility, in Appendix Table D and the third panel of Table 2 we combine the mobility of Israeli-born respondents of European-American parentage (fathers) with that of European-American immigrant respondents and mobility of respondents of Asian-African parentage with that of Asian-African immigrant respondents. The European-American origin respondents report white collar origins more frequently than do the Asian-African origin respondents, and the latter more frequently report service and unskilled blue collar origins. But both groups exhibit the very high concentration in proprietor-origin categories, white collar and blue collar (occupational categories 7 and 10).

In columns 21-23 of Table 2 it is clear that upward mobility to the high white collar positions is frequent among European-American origin respondents, whether from other white collar or from manual occupational backgrounds, but it is relatively infrequent among Asian-African origin

respondents. Conversely, downward mobility, while not infrequent for European-American origin respondents, is much more characteristic of Asian-African origin respondents. In Table D it is apparent that, while there is very considerable European-American origin outflow to the skilled and semi-skilled employee category (No. 11) from all occupational origin groups, there is very little to the service or unskilled occupations category from blue collar origins and almost none from white collar origins. For Asian-African origin respondents, the outflow to the skilled and semi-skilled category is even stronger - especially from white collar origins - and in addition there is very considerable outflow into service and unskilled occupations, from white collar as well as blue collar origins.

For the Asian-African origin respondents there is considerable outflow from all origins to the "clerical" occupations category (No. 9), and from both white collar and blue collar proprietor origins to the white collar proprietor category (No. 7); but only quite weak outflow to other white collar occupational attainments. Among European-American respondents outflow to the clerical occupations is even stronger - especially from manual occupation origins - and both white collar origin and manual origin outflow to other white collar occupation groups - especially to scientific and academic employee (No. 2), to white collar proprietor (No. 7) and to the technician and technical worker (No. 6) groups, is much more pronounced than for the Asian-African origin respondents.

Again, both European-American origin and Asian-African origin respondents experienced very considerable intergenerational occupational

mobility. Yet the dissimilarity between the occupational distributions of the respondents in the respective origin groupings increased compared to the dissimilarity between those of their fathers.

D. Moslems and Christians in the Arab Population

We conclude this section with a brief examination of religious differences within the non-Jewish population. This is necessarily a very tentative exercise, both because of the small sample numbers available and because of serious limitations on our own familiarity with, and knowledge about these communities. Comparisons of intergenerational educational mobility rates for Moslem and Christian males are shown in Table 1, and comparisons of their intergenerational occupational mobility patterns are shown in Table 2 and in Appendix Table E.

Among the fathers of Moslem male respondents (aged 25+) almost four-fifths (79%) had not attended school at all, 20% attended elementary school and only 1% had had post-elementary school education. Among the Christian male respondents, 53% reported that their fathers had attended school, including 49% elementary school and 4% post-elementary school; and 47% reported that their fathers had had no schooling. Of the respondents themselves, 19% among the Moslems and 7% among the Christians had not attended school at all, 68% of the Moslems and 59% of the Christians attended primary school; and 9% of the Moslems and 22% of the Christians attended post-primary school; and 4% of the Moslems and 12% of the Christians had post-secondary education (data not shown). The bottom lines of Table 1 indicate that the educational attainments of Christian males had to be higher than those of Moslem males of similar educational origins.

Among those with fathers having had no schooling, Moslem respondents are almost twice as likely to report not having any schooling themselves, but Christian respondents are about two-and-one-half times as likely to report post-primary level educational attainments. Similarly, among those whose fathers are reported to have had elementary schooling, the percentage of Christian respondents themselves with post-elementary level schooling is substantially above that of the Moslems.

The intergenerational transformation in educational-attainment distribution is substantially greater for Moslem males than for Christian males. This is reflected in comparison of the two respondents - fathers indexes of dissimilarity: $\Delta (Fa, R) = 60\%$ for Moslems, and $\Delta (Fa, R) = 40\%$ for Christians. But the intergenerational educational mobility has reduced somewhat the gap between Christian and Moslem distributions ($\Delta (R, R) = 21\%$, compared to $\Delta (Fa, Fa) = 32\%$).

Looking, finally, at intergenerational occupational mobility, we note first that fathers of both Moslem and Christian respondents were heavily concentrated in farm owner (No. 14) occupations. Fathers of Christian, but not of Moslem, respondents were also concentrated in blue collar proprietor occupations, while for Moslem fathers there was some minor concentration in the skilled and semi-skilled employee category as well as in the unskilled worker groups (Nos. 13 and 15). The data of Table 2 show that Christian respondents of manual origins are more likely to be upward mobile to white collar occupations than are Moslems, and that Moslems are more likely to be downward mobile from white collar origins to manual positions. However, for both groups "white collar" means largely white

collar proprietors, and the sample numbers are very small.

Of more interest - obscured in the data of Table 2, but evident in Appendix Table E - are the differences in intergenerational shifts within the manual categories. For Moslem respondents there is intergenerational outflow - mostly from farm owner and unskilled farm worker origins, but from other manual and from white collar proprietor origins as well - to the unskilled and to farm owner occupational categories as well as to the crafts, skilled and semi-skilled employee and proprietor categories. But for Christian respondents the outflows are very highly concentrated and directed to the crafts, skilled, and semi-skilled employee and proprietor categories primarily - with only very minor outflow to farm, unskilled, or service occupational categories. Thus the occupational distributions of Moslem and Christian respondents show about the same degree of dissimilarity [$\Delta(R, R) = 26\%$] as do the occupational distributions of their fathers [$\Delta(Fa, Fa) = 24\%$] despite the quite substantial intergenerational shifts within each grouping.

To sum up briefly the data presented so far, four points appear most salient.

1. The generally low level of both educational and occupational attainments of respondents' fathers - with high concentrations in illiteracy or elementary schooling, and in farm and unskilled jobs - reflects the underdeveloped baseline of Israel upon independence and immediately afterwards. This can undoubtedly be traced to the fact that a considerable part of the new population - i.e., the Arab community almost as a whole, and many of the Jewish immigrants - was premodern; and that the

Israeli economy and society itself, even though its veteran Jewish inhabitants were relatively westernized, was as yet not industrialized and limited in range.

2. The attainments of the respondents, by contrast, are on the whole considerable in both education and occupation. Specifically, there is a clear mobility pattern out of the lowest educational rungs and into progressively higher schooling, and out of farm and unskilled jobs, into blue and white collar jobs. And this trend clearly attests to processes of accelerated development in general, and to both industrialization and "post-industrialization" (that is, growth of services), in particular. These findings thus confirm the salience of developmental factors in the opportunity structure of Israel, suggested tentatively in our earlier publication.

3. The overall spurt in mobility, however, cannot obscure the decisive differentials along primordial lines between the Jews and the non-Jews. At this stage it is too early to interpret this finding fully; but clearly, the Arabs are considerably behind in participating in the process described above, so much so that it is doubtful whether one can speak of one common mobility regime in Israel, but rather of a dual one.

4. Within the Jewish population itself, significant geo-cultural differences are observed too, though nowhere as decisive. This is so both in terms of "seniority" in the country ("indigenous" versus "non-indigenous"), and as regards ethnic origin. These differences, moreover, are evident not only in background - i.e., in the educational and occupational points of departure (showing the advantage of those of Western

TABLE 3

Jewish Males, Heads of Households, 25+, by Place of Birth or Origin and Age at Immigration to Israel:
Percent Distributions by Educational Attainment Groups, and by Fathers' Educational Attainment Groups,
And Selected Intergenerational Mobility (Outflow) Percentages, Israel, 1974

Place of Birth or Origin and Age at Immigration	Estimated Number in Population	Distribution of Respondents and Fathers by Educational Attainment Groups					Intergenerational Educational Mobility - Selected Percentages							
		Total	0	1-8	9-12	13+	"Minimum" Percent Mobile $\Delta = (Fa, R)$	Fathers With No Formal Education		Fathers With Elementary Education		Fathers With Secondary Education		
								0 Yrs	9+ Yrs	9-12 Yrs	13+ Yrs	0-8 Yrs	13+ Yrs	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	
TOTAL --		Fa's	100.0	18	47	29	6							
All Places of Birth	495,000	R's	100.0	6	38	36	20	21	22	21	38	15	24	31
Born in Israel; Father		Fa's	100.0	12	43	39	6							
Born in Israel	17,000	R's	100.0	2	22	45	31	31	17	38	45	28	14	34
Born in Israel; Father		Fa's	100.0	22	58	18	2							
Born in Asia, Africa	14,000	R's	100.0	0	42	48	10	38	0	33	45	10	(10)	(41)
Born in Asia, Africa;		Fa's	100.0	32	50	16	2							
Immigrated Age 13 or Under	51,000	R's	100.0	2	49	40	9	31	4	33	43	10	34	19
Born in Asia, Africa;		Fa's	100.0	39	41	19	1							
Immigrated Age 14 or Over	135,000	R's	100.0	20	50	23	7	19	33	14	27	6	47	16
Born in Israel; Father		Fa's	100.0	2	37	41	20							
Born in Europe, America	44,000	R's	100.0	0	5	51	44	34	(0)	(57)	61	33	5	48
Born in Europe, America;		Fa's	100.0	5	48	37	10							
Immigrated Age 13 or Under	36,000	R's	100.0	1	16	48	35	36	(12)	(40)	53	26	10	44
Born in Europe, America;		Fa's	100.0	8	52	34	6							
Immigrated Age 14 or Over	198,000	R's	100.0	1	39	36	24	20	10	23	34	15	24	31

SOURCE: Mobility Survey Tables

origin, as against those born or with origins in Asia and Africa, and the edge of the "natives" over the "aliens"), but also in subsequent mobility patterns. That is to say, the different groups have differential mobility also in relation to a similar baseline - with respondents in the Western-Israeli (and indigenous) categories going both educationally and occupationally further even when fathers' level is controlled. All in all, in fact, the rates of mobility of this group are so much greater, that even though the Afro-Asians have objectively been highly mobile upwards, the gap between the "ethnics" is not decreasing. In effect, then, the geo-cultural factor impinges both on the initial endowment, and on subsequent behaviour. In the next section this point is documented and elaborated further.

III. PLACE OF BIRTH AND AGE-AT-IMMIGRATION

Our next concern is to inquire about the extent to which place of birth or age at immigration bears on ethnic mobility differentials: i.e., does being born in Israel, or does immigration at an early age, operate to overcome ethnic disadvantage (or ethnic advantage) in opportunities for educational or occupational attainment?

A. Educational Mobility and Attainment

Indicators of place-of-birth and age-at-immigration effects on the ethnic differentials in intergenerational educational mobility are derived from educational outflow tables summarized in Table 3.³ In general, those

Table 3 about here

respondents immigrating at ages 14 or over have lowest educational attainments and those born in Israel have the highest educational attainments. We may compare the ethnic differences in school years completed and outflow percentages for those born in Israel, immigrating at ages 13 or under, or at 14 and over.

For the Asian-African origin groups, there are dramatic declines in the percentages not attending school, and corresponding rises in the percentages attaining post-primary education. While there is no corresponding decline in percentages not attending school among the elementary-education-fathers group of European-American origin, the rise in percentages attaining post-primary and, indeed, post-secondary education is even more spectacular. And this improvement in education attainment for the European-American origin born-in-Israel group operates actually to increase the educational attainment gap between them and the Asian-African origin group.

Thus, of the European-American origin respondents born in Israel, 95% reported at least post-primary education, including 44% reporting post-secondary education. But of the Asian-African origin respondents born in Israel, only 58% continued to post-primary education, and these included only 10% reporting post-secondary education.

Selected values from the intergenerational educational mobility outflow tables are shown in the right panel of Table 3. There are very few respondents of European-American origin whose fathers had had no formal education at all, and the comparability of "Yeshiva" education between fathers of respondents of the different origin groups is very

much in question. So we restrict ourselves to comparisons of educational attainment of respondents whose fathers had had elementary and secondary level schooling, respectively.

As we saw earlier, entrance into the secondary or post-secondary educational attainment categories is positively associated with educational origins: sons of fathers with secondary or post-secondary educational attainment are advantaged, and sons of fathers with no education or only primary-level education are disadvantaged, with respect to their own educational levels of attainment. In Table 3 it is seen that this relationship holds for all of the origin subgroups. For example, the percentage of respondents whose fathers had secondary education who themselves reported 13 or more years of school (entries in Column 13) are always much higher than those for respondents with fathers having only elementary education (entries in column 11).

Respondents born in Israel or born abroad and immigrating by age 13 are distinctly advantaged with regard to educational attainment, as compared to those immigrating at ages 14 or older, regardless of their fathers' educational attainment and regardless of geo-cultural origin group. Among respondents of European-American origin those born in Israel are advantaged by comparison even with those immigrating at age 13 or under. This advantage to the born-in-Israel group does not seem to hold for those of Asian-African origins whose fathers had only elementary education; but the full outflow tables (not shown here) indicate that these groups as well those respondents born in Israel are virtually never in the "0 years attained" category, while the born-abroad-

immigrating-young group generally do include small percentages of respondents never attending school.

Finally, in the outflow percentages shown in Table 3 it is clear that, regardless of fathers' educational attainments and irrespective of place of birth or age at immigration, European-American origin respondents were more likely to enter the secondary level educational attainment categories, and much more likely to enter the higher or other post-secondary level educational attainment categories than were the respondents of Asian-African origin with similar educational origins or place-of-birth or age-at-immigration characteristics. Thus the handicap of Asian-African origin for educational attainment extends beyond that implied by background attributes alone.

B. Occupational Mobility and Attainment

Indicators of place-of-birth and age-at-immigration effects on the ethnic differentials in intergenerational occupational mobility are derived from intergenerational occupational mobility outflow tables for Jewish males classified by ethnic origin (European-American or Asian-African), place of birth (Israel or abroad), and - for those born abroad - by age at immigration to Israel (≤ 14 , or 15+) and are shown in Table 4. The table employs the 7-category occupational classification discussed in section I above for both respondents and their fathers. The number of comparisons possible from the data of this table is, of course, very large indeed. We restrict ourselves to European-American vs. Asian-African occupational distribution and outflow percentage comparisons within place-of-birth and age-at-immigration categories.

TABLE 4

Jewish Males, Heads of Households, 25+, by Place of Birth or Origin and Age at Immigration to Israel:
 Percent Distributions by Occupational Status Groups and by Fathers' Occupational Status Groups, and
 Selected Intergenerational Mobility (Outflow) Percentages, Israel, 1974

Place of Birth or Origin and Age at Immigration	Estimated Number in the Population	Distributions of Respondents & Fathers by Occupational Status Groups									Intergenerational Occupational Mobility - Selected Outflow Percentages										
		Total	High W.C.	W.C. Props.	Other W.C.	B.C. Props.	Crafts, Skilled, Semi- Skilled	Service, Unskilled	Farm Owners, Workers	Total		Sons of W.C. and B.C. Proprietors						Fathers Other W.C.		Fathers Skilled, Semi-Skilled	
										"Minimum" △ (Fa,R)	Actual %	Fathers W.C. Props.		Fathers B.C. Props.				To Hi W.C.	To B.C.	To W.C.	To Un- skilled Farm
												Mobile to High W.C.	Mobile to Manual	Mobile to High W.C.	Mobile to Other W.C.	Mobile to Other Manual					
TOTAL --		Fa's 100.0	9.5	36.0	9.7	19.7	10.4	8.3	6.4												
All Places of Birth	442,000	R's 100.0	14.6	7.6	23.2	9.4	29.6	11.7	3.9	41.2	72.1	13.3	50.6	8.6	19.5	48.8	20.7	39.7	38.1	10.8	
Born in Israel; Father		Fa's 100.0	10.2	24.7	15.4	18.0	15.5	6.8	7.4												
Born in Israel	16,000	R's 100.0	21.2	11.0	25.4	11.0	26.6	2.4	2.6	31.0	69.6	18.5	18.0	26.5	18.2	28.6	(31.2)	32.3	(32.7)	(0.0)	
Born in Israel; Father		Fa's 100.0	4.2	19.6	14.2	11.2	17.4	22.4	11.0												
Born in Asia, Africa	13,000	R's 100.0	13.2	3.2	22.5	13.8	33.2	8.9	5.2	35.7	80.8	(31.9)	(37.4)	0.0	(41.9)	(10.6)	(7.2)	72.2	(41.4)	(14.6)	
Born in Asia, Africa;		Fa's 100.0	3.6	25.7	6.3	17.3	16.0	16.7	14.4												
Immigrated Age 14 or Under	56,000	R's 100.0	8.7	3.2	15.2	11.4	44.4	12.2	4.9	42.4	79.8	8.4	71.6	9.8	10.0	66.5	27.9	55.1	21.2	10.1	
Born in Asia, Africa;		Fa's 100.0	6.6	46.9	6.4	23.2	6.9	7.0	3.0												
Immigrated Age 15 or Over	108,000	R's 100.0	4.6	9.9	16.0	7.6	33.2	23.8	4.9	54.6	84.4	4.6	67.1	2.0	12.1	65.4	6.2	52.3	25.4	22.1	
Born in Israel; Father		Fa's 100.0	16.8	15.5	18.1	15.4	16.6	7.2	10.4												
Born in Europe, America	41,000	R's 100.0	28.7	5.3	33.8	5.6	18.3	2.4	5.9	29.3	72.0	27.7	22.3	26.5	44.2	15.1	34.7	20.5	62.2	5.6	
Born in Europe, America;		Fa's 100.0	8.6	26.7	12.9	18.5	19.4	9.9	4.0												
Immigrated Age 14 or Under	41,000	R's 100.0	20.7	3.0	32.1	10.8	28.9	1.7	2.8	40.8	76.7	21.0	29.2	12.6	31.8	33.8	20.1	26.8	40.7	9.0	
Born in Europe, America;		Fa's 100.0	12.3	42.1	9.1	20.4	5.8	5.2	5.1												
Immigrated Age 15 or Over	166,000	R's 100.0	17.3	9.3	25.4	10.0	25.8	9.6	2.6	45.7	77.6	17.1	33.7	7.6	19.6	47.1	19.0	36.3	44.6	5.0	

SOURCE: See Tables 7a-7b of Matras and Weintraub (forthcoming).

Of respondents born in Asia or Africa and immigrating at ages 15 or over, less than 5% were in higher white collar occupations, and almost one-fourth were in service and unskilled occupations. But more than 13% of the Israeli-born respondents of Asian-African origin were in higher white collar occupations, while only about 9% were in service or unskilled occupations. But among the European-American origin immigrants who arrived at ages 15 or later, about 17% were in the higher white collar occupations, and the percentage in such occupations among the Israeli-born of European-American origin is about 29%. Conversely, while about 10% of the older-immigrant European-American group were in unskilled or service occupations, only 2% of the European-American born-in-Israel subgroups were in such occupations.

For all subgroups there is an intergenerational increase in the percentage employed in the high white collar occupations. The single exception is for respondents born in Asia or Africa and immigrating at age 15 or over, i.e. reporting their fathers' occupations abroad: in this group less than 5% were themselves in high white collar occupations, compared to almost 7% among their fathers. The increase in percentages in high white collar occupations are most pronounced in the born-in-Israel subgroups, and consistently higher among those of European-American origin whether born in Israel or abroad. Similarly, for all subgroups there is an intergenerational increase in the percentage who are skilled or semi-skilled employees. However, this increase is less pronounced among respondents of European-American origin than among Asian-African origin.

Moreover, among respondents of European-American origin, the

percentages in skilled and semi-skilled occupations are lowest among those born in Israel. For all groups there is a sharp intergenerational decrease in the percentages in proprietor occupations, whether manual or non-manual. Among respondents of European-American origin the percentage in blue collar proprietor occupations is lowest for those born in Israel, but among respondents of Asian-African origin, this percentage is highest among those born in Israel.

Among those immigrating at ages 14 or under, the European-American origin immigrants had very high outflow rates to the high white collar (I) and other white collar (III) occupation categories, relative to those of Asian-African origin; and the advantage of European-American origin group in access to white collar occupations, and especially to the higher white collar occupations (I) relative to that of the Asian-African origin group, improved substantially for those immigrating at ages ≤ 14 compared to the advantage of those immigrating at older (15+) ages. Among the younger immigrants, there is virtually no European-American origin outflow to service and unskilled occupations (VI), but there is substantial Asian-African origin outflow to this category. European-American origin immigrants of farm backgrounds (fathers in category VII) were quite likely to remain in farm occupations or, alternatively, to move to white collar occupations; while Asian-African origin respondents of farm backgrounds were more likely to shift to craft, skilled, or semi-skilled proprietor or employee occupations (IV or V).

Among those immigrating at ages 15 or over (and for whom mobility is reckoned with respect to fathers' reported occupations abroad), those

of European-American origin are characterized by much higher outflow to high white collar occupations (I) than the Asian-African immigrants for virtually all occupational origins. White collar and farm origin European-American immigrants have much lower outflow rates to skilled and semi-skilled employee occupations (V) than do Asian-African immigrants, though European-American and Asian-African groups of blue collar origin have similar outflow rates to this category. Except for those of unskilled in farm origins, the European-American immigrant respondents had much lower outflow rates to the service and unskilled category (VI), and generally lower outflow rates to the farm occupation category (VII) than did the Asian-African origin respondents.

Among those born in Israel, the numbers of respondents aged 25 and over with fathers born in Asia and Africa are small, and we restrict the comparisons to those of white collar proprietor (II), of skilled and semi-skilled employee (V), and of service and unskilled employee (VI) backgrounds. For these groups there appears to be some closure of the white collar outflow gap between European-American and Asian-African origin respondents who were born in Israel. Among those of white collar (II) and skilled and semi-skilled employee (V) origins, the Israeli-born respondents of European-American origin show relatively high outflow rates to the white collar proprietor category (II), while the Asia-Africa origin Israeli-born respondents show high outflow rates to the blue collar proprietor category (IV). In this born-in-Israel category of respondents there is also some closure of the ethnic gap in outflow to the skilled and semi-skilled occupation (V) category, though the Asian-African origin

percentages remain higher. Finally, among the Asian-African origin Israeli-born respondents there is still some outflow to the service and unskilled occupations (VI) category, but virtually none among the European-American origin born-in-Israel respondents.

IV. INTERGENERATIONAL SHIFTS IN ETHNIC DISSIMILARITIES

An important concern in the study of ethnic dimensions of social organization in Israel, and of ethnic integration or relationships generally, has been the similarity or dissimilarity of the distinct ethnic groupings with respect to composition or distribution of social roles and social locations. To the extent that two or more groupings are similarly composed, or similarly distributed, with respect to places of residence, to economic roles, to educational attainment categories, to community or political participation, or to marriage markets and choices, the groups are typically said to be "integrated" or "institutionally dispersed" (cf. Eisenstadt, 1956; Matras, 1962; Lieberman, 1963; Hirschman, 1975). To the extent that there are dissimilarities in their respective distributions or compositions by social roles and locations, two such ethnic groupings are seen as "not integrated", "segregated", or, sometimes, pluralistically organized. We can study the bearing of intergenerational educational and occupational mobility in the "integration" or "institutional dispersion" of the main ethnic- or geo-cultural-origin groups in Israel by measuring dissimilarity in educational attainment compositions or in occupational distributions between them, and by comparing the measures of dissimilarity among the corresponding pairs of ethnic

subgroups of respondents' fathers.

Measures of ethnic subgroup dissimilarity with respect to composition by educational attainment are shown for respondents in the top right part (above the major diagonal) of Table 5 and for respondents' fathers in the bottom left part of Table 5.⁴ Indexes of ethnic subgroup dissimilarity with respect to occupational distribution are shown in similar format in Table 6. These are based on the data of Table 3 and Table 4 respectively; and in each instance the comparison of an index computed for two subgroups of respondents' fathers with the corresponding index computed for the two subgroups of respondents themselves measures the intergenerational convergence or divergence of the subgroups. In particular, to the extent that being born in Israel or immigrating to Israel at young ages is a factor in diminishing ethnic inequalities in educational or occupational opportunities, we would expect that among respondents:

$\Delta(\text{Isr}, \text{AA}, \text{Isr}, \text{EA}) \leq \Delta(\text{AA } 13, \text{EA } 13) \leq \Delta(\text{AA}14+, \text{EA}14+),$
i.e., that ethnic dissimilarities are lowest for those respondents born in Israel and highest for those immigrating at relatively older ages and that, in general, the ethnic dissimilarities observed for respondents are less than those computed for the respondents' fathers.

A. Ethnic Educational Level Dissimilarities

The major ethnic educational level dissimilarities found for fathers of the respondents in the survey are shown in the bottom left part of Table 5 and enclosed there in two broken-lined rectangles. One rectangle

encloses indexes of dissimilarity between Israeli-born fathers of Israeli-born respondents and fathers of Asian-African respondents; and the second encloses indexes of dissimilarity between European-American origin fathers and Asian-African origin fathers of respondents. The largest dissimilarities are observed between fathers of Israeli-born European-American origin respondents and all subgroups of fathers of Asian-African origin respondents. European-American born fathers of Israeli-born respondents are those with the longest residence in the country; many may themselves have been educated in Israel or in pre-independence Palestine; and others were educated in pre-World War II Europe or America. In particular there are virtually no fathers in this group who had not had at least some formal education (cf. Table 3).

Asian-African born fathers of respondents, by contrast, typically include substantial percentages with no formal education at all. Most underwent early socialization - with or without formal education - in their countries of origin. Even the fathers of Asian-African origin respondents who were born in Israel (aged 25+ in 1974, hence born in 1949 or earlier) were most likely to have immigrated to Israel in the years just prior to the birth of the respondents. Finally, even those Asian-African born fathers of Israeli-born respondents who were in Israel or Palestine at ages when they could have attended school generally belonged to the depressed, low socio-economic level, high-illiteracy Middle-Eastern or "Oriental" Jewish enclaves largely disconnected from the organized new

Table 5 about here

TABLE 5

Indexes of Dissimilarity Between Educational-Attainment Group Composition of Geo-Cultural Origin Sub-Groups:
Jewish Male Respondents, 25+, By Place of Birth or Origin and Age-At-Immigration, and Respondents' Fathers

FATHERS (below diagonal)	RESPONDENTS (above diagonal)							
	Total	Isr, Isr	Isr, AA	AA, ≤ 13	AA, 14+	Isr, EA	EA, ≤ 13	EA, 14+
Total		20	16	15	26	39	27	5
R Born in Israel, Fa Born in Israel = Isr, Isr	10		23	27	46	19	7	17
R Born in Israel, Fa Born in Asia or Africa = Isr, AA	15	25		9	28	37	26	15
R Born in Asia or Africa, Immigrated at Age 13 or Under = AA, ≤ 13	17	27	10		19	45	34	15
R Born in Asia or Africa, Immigrated at Age 14 or Over = AA, 14+	21	27	18	10		65	53	30
R Born in Israel, Fa Born in Europe or America = Isr, EA	26	16	41	43	41		13	35
R Born in Europe or America, Immigrated at Age 13 or Under = EA, ≤ 13	13	9	27	29	34	14		23
R Born in Europe or America, Immigrated at Age 14 or Over = EA, 14+	10	9	20	24	31	21	7	

SOURCE: See Table 3

Jewish community and the Zionist establishment and institutions in Palestine, and hence often did not attend school either (cf. Eisenstadt, 1950; Smoocha, 1976; Smoocha and Peres, 1975). The Israeli-born fathers of Israeli-born respondents were themselves born in Palestine largely in the 1920's or earlier. For the most part these fathers belonged to the old-established religious Jewish communities in Palestine, in Jerusalem, Hebron, Safad, or Tiberias, communities characterized by minimum levels of religious education and, for some subgroups, high standards of learning and scholarship.

In general, the indexes of educational attainment dissimilarities between the ethnic subgroups are not smaller for the respondents than for their fathers, i.e. the entries in the top right part of Table 5 are for the most part as great or greater than the corresponding (reflection across the major diagonal) entries in the bottom left part. Again, the major ethnic educational level indexes of dissimilarity are enclosed in the two broken-lined rectangles, above the major diagonal for respondents.

Comparison of the entries in the rectangles for respondents and for fathers of the respondents shows that dissimilarities between respondents born in Asia or Africa and immigrating at ages 14 or over (AA, 14+) and all European-American origin - as well as Israeli-born-father - Israeli-born (Isr, Isr) groups are substantially higher than the corresponding dissimilarities characterizing the respective subgroups of fathers. As we saw in an earlier section, the Asian-African origin respondents who immigrated too late to be subject to Israeli compulsory primary education have remained a group educationally disadvantaged, while

the educational opportunities and attainments of all other subgroups have improved substantially. This has resulted in intergenerational divergence of these subgroups from the point of view of their composition by educational attainment categories and in increased dissimilarity between Asian-African origin respondents immigrating after age 13 and the rest of the population.

Looking, finally, at the question initially posed concerning being born in Israel or immigrating at young ages as factors diminishing ethnic inequalities, we note that the differences in the top right (respondents') part of Table 5 between $\Delta(\text{Isr}, \text{AA}; \text{Isr}, \text{EA})$, $\Delta(\text{AA} \leq 13, \text{EA} \leq 13)$, and $\Delta(\text{AA}14+, \text{EA}14+)$ are small. Moreover, the order of the values of these indexes of dissimilarity between European-American and Asian-African origin respondents is the reverse of that expected. In fact, among the respondents (entires underscored in top right part of Table 5) the European-American vs. Asian-African origin dissimilarity is greatest for those born in Israel [$\Delta(\text{Isr}, \text{AA}; \text{Isr}, \text{EA}) = 37$], smallest for those born abroad and immigrating at ages 14 or over [$\Delta(\text{AA}14+; \text{EA}14+) = 30$] and intermediate for those immigrating at ages 13 or under [$\Delta(\text{AA} \leq 13, \text{EA} \leq 13) = 34$], though, again, the differences are small. As we have already indicated earlier, though the Asian-African origin respondents born in Israel are educationally greatly advantaged compared to Asian-African origin respondents born abroad, so great has been the expansion of educational opportunities for Israeli-born European-American origin respondents that the gap between their respective educational attainment distributions has hardly diminished relative to that which characterized their fathers.

TABLE 6

Indexes of Dissimilarity Between Occupational Distributions of Geo-Cultural Origin Subgroups:

Jewish Male Respondents, 25+, by Place of Birth or Origin and Age-At-Immigration, and Respondents' Fathers

FATHERS (below diagonal)	RESPONDENTS (above diagonal)							
	Total	Isr, Isr	Isr, AA	AA, ≤ 14	AA, 15+	Isr, EA	EA, ≤ 14	EA, 15+
Total		14	9	17	19	27	16	7
R Born in Israel, Fa Born in Israel = Isr, Isr	14		19	30	30	19	9	7
R Born in Israel, Fa Born in Asia or Africa = Isr, AA	30	20		14	22	30	17	14
R Born in Asia or Africa, Immigrated at Age 13 or Under = AA, ≤ 14	22	17	16		19	42	29	25
R Born in Asia or Africa, Immigrated at Age 15 or Over = AA, 15+	14	27	42	30		43	35	24
R Born in Israel, Fa Born in Europe or America = Isr, EA	26	13	21	26	39		16	23
R Born in Europe or America, Immigrated at Age 14 or Under = EA, ≤ 14	14	6	21	17	25	20		14
R Born in Europe or America, Immigrated at Age 15 or Over = EA, 15+	10	21	40	31	10	32	22	

SOURCE: See Table 4

B. Ethnic Occupational Distribution Dissimilarities

The major ethnic occupational distribution dissimilarities are enclosed in broken-lined rectangles in Table 6, above and to the right of the major diagonal for respondents, and below and to the left for respondents' fathers. For the fathers the largest indexes of dissimilarity are those involving those fathers whose occupations abroad were reported (i.e., fathers of respondents born abroad and immigrating at age 15 or later and therefore reporting fathers' occupations outside Israel in response to the question on "father's occupation when respondent was 14 years old") compared to those whose occupations in Israel were reported. For example, all the indexes involving such European-American origin (EA15+) fathers: Δ (EA15+, Isr, Isr), Δ (EA15+, Isr, AA), etc. are high. Similarly all the indexes involving Asian-African origin (AA15+) fathers are high. The exception is Δ (EA15+, AA15+) = 10 involving comparison of European-American origin fathers and Asian-African origin fathers, but with occupations abroad reported for both groups. Both groups of fathers included very large percentages in the "white collar proprietor" occupational category and small percentages in the manual employees categories (see Table 4). The dissimilarities for fathers of respondents immigrating at younger ages or born in Israel, and for whom occupations in Israel are reported, are notably higher: Δ (Isr, EA, Isr AA) > Δ (EA \leq 14, AA \leq 14) > Δ (EA15+, AA15+) in the lower left (fathers') part of Table 6.

Table 6 about here

The dissimilarities between Israeli-born fathers' occupational distributions and those of European-American-born fathers whose occupations in Israel are reported (Is, EA and $E \leq 14$ respondents' fathers) are low, with $\Delta(\text{Isr}, \text{Isr}; \text{Isr}, \text{EA}) = 13$ and $\Delta(\text{Isr}, \text{Isr}; \text{EA} \leq 14) = 6$. These groups of fathers all have moderately high percentages in blue collar proprietor and in skilled and semi-skilled employee categories, as well as moderately high (i.e., neither extremely high nor extremely low, relative to the percentages for the total) percentages in the various non-manual occupational categories (Table 4). But the dissimilarities between the Israeli-born fathers and all other groups of fathers are high, whether compared to occupations abroad (for EA, 15+ or AA, 15+) or in Israel (Isr AA or $AA \leq 14$). All of the latter groups of respondents' fathers are characterized by some more extreme concentration - either in a manual or in a non-manual occupational category - than are the Israeli-born fathers.

The ethnic occupational distribution dissimilarities of the respondents themselves are on the whole greater than those found for their fathers. For the respondents all the dissimilarities are reckoned with reference to occupational distributions in Israel, and there are no in-Israel-out-of-Israel comparisons.

Again, the indexes show that being born in Israel or immigrating at young age does not diminish the ethnic dissimilarities among the subgroups of respondents. The inter-ethnic indexes of dissimilarity for those born in Israel and for those immigrating at young ages [$\Delta(\text{Isr}, \text{EA}; \text{Isr}, \text{AA}) = 30$; and $\Delta(\text{EA} \leq 14; \text{AA} \leq 14) = 29$] are high, indeed slightly

higher than the index for those immigrating at ages 15 or over [$\Delta(EA15+, AA15+) = 24$]. The only relatively small inter-ethnic index of dissimilarity is for respondents born in Israel of Asian-African origin and those born in Europe or America but immigrating at age 15 or over [$\Delta(Isr\ AA, EA15+) = 14$], groups both with moderate percentages in high white collar, other white collar, and manual occupations. The most extreme inter-ethnic indexes are those for Israeli-born respondents of European-American origin - with very high percentages in high white collar and in other white collar occupations - relative to Asian-African-born respondents - with high percentages in manual occupations, both skilled and unskilled [$\Delta(Isr, EA; AA\ 14) = 42$ and $\Delta(Isr, EA; AA15+) = 43$].

Finally, it is of some interest to note that even within ethnic origin categories the subgroups of respondents born abroad and immigrating at ages 15 or older show relatively high indexes of dissimilarity relative to the occupational distributions of those in the same ethnic origin categories but born in Israel or immigrating at younger ages. Thus $\Delta(EA15+, Isr\ EA) = 23$ and $\Delta(AA15+, Isr\ AA) = 22$, while the other intra-ethnic indexes are smaller. These dissimilarities correspond to age-at-immigration differences in educational attainment category compositions noted above.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In Israel there have been sharp ethnic and other primordial differences in distributions by educational attainment and occupation groups, and there have been notable ethnic and other primordial differences in patterns of intergenerational educational and occupational mobility. For the most part intergenerational mobility has not operated to close these educational or occupational distribution gaps. Rather, they have remained stable or even widened intergenerationally both because of differential outflow patterns and rates and because of very different initial educational and occupational distributions.

As found elsewhere, entrance into the various occupational strata takes place differentially in relation (i) to educational attainment or credentials and, to a lesser extent than in North America or Europe, (ii) to social or occupational strata origins. But in Israel there is also differential entrance into the respective educational and occupational strata by ethnic or other primordial characteristics and attachments. In our data the ethnic and religious differences in mobility patterns are retained when education, social origins, place of birth, or age at immigration are controlled. We have elsewhere (Matras and Weintraub, forthcoming) referred to this as ethnic or primordial "dominance", as contrasted with social origin "dominance", in access to social positions and occupational attainments, as discussed by Boudon (1974). By and large, then, even in conditions of rapid development and growth which have opened up new jobs and opportunities, within a stratificational system

that is relatively open, and under policies of "positive" discrimination - the salience of the ethnic criterion has persisted, with no convergence yet in sight; and within the admittedly short span of a generation, processes of mobility have done little to diminish this salience. At the same time, no pattern of ethnic duality or of institutional pluralism (in the sense of the co-existence of separate stratificational systems) has emerged - at least in so far as Jews are concerned; and this is evident in the same openings and avenues of mobility being available to all (albeit on the whole on different levels), in the considerable overlap between the ethnically defined groups, and in the crystallization of "high-oriental" as against "low occidental" formations (it is, in fact, shown elsewhere (Matras, 1973) that a process of intermarriage between these groups is taking place, and serves as a mechanism of social integration).

More generally, and side by side with the ethnically embedded processes, the mobility patterns observed have nurtured the formation of new educational and occupational strata, great expansion of previously quite-small or obscure strata, and a general re-ordering of strata sizes and composition. It seems reasonable to conjecture, though we cannot now show directly, that these demographic-morphological shifts in strata have in turn given rise to changes in inter-strata relationships generally. Thus, the mobility regime is itself a prime mover in strata formation processes and not simply a function of exogenously-determined shifts in strata organization and relationships.

NOTES

1. As far as we know, these are the first data on intergenerational mobility in an Arab population.
2. As is well known, upon and following independence, the small veteran Jewish community in Palestine absorbed large waves of socially and culturally heterogeneous immigrant groups. These groups ran the whole gamut of socio-cultural patterns as regards tradition and modernity of background compounded by specific ethnic identity (such as Yemenites, Kurds, Moroccans, etc.). To do justice to this variety is clearly beyond the resources of the present study; and we thus identify as "European-American" the modern-Western groups of origin, including Western Europe, and North and South America; the pre-modern group of origin in which we include various traditional and transitional communities from Asia and Africa, and who are identified as "Asian-African"; and the Israeli born (whom, when the analysis so indicates, we split among the others, according to origin).
3. "Yeshiva" is included in the "9-12 Years" category and "Teachers' Seminar" is included in the "13+ Years" category in the left panel of Table 3.
4. The index of dissimilarity is computed as $\Delta(a,b) = \frac{1}{2}(a_i - b_i)$ where a_i are the percentage distribution of the first population, and b_i are the percentage distribution of the second population, with respect to the standardized-categories, i , of some variable, e.g. educational-attainment group, and the index is always valued $0 \leq \Delta(a,b) \leq 1$. See Taeuber and Taeuber (1965).

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Table A

Jewish and Non-Jewish Males, 25+, by Father's Educational Attainment:

Percent Distributions by Own Number of School Years Completed (Outflow Percentages)

FATHER'S LAST SCHOOL ATTENDED			RESPONDENT'S NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED									
	Estimated No.	Percent Dist.	Total	0	1-4	5-7	8	9-12	13-15	16+		
<u>Jewish Males</u>												
Total	495300	100.0	100.0	6.2	7.6	11.9	18.4	35.5	9.1	10.8	0.5	
Did Not Attend School	91700	18.5	100.0	21.7	16.3	15.7	25.1	17.9	2.2	0.5	0.6	
Elementary School	232800	47.0	100.0	3.3	8.1	14.8	21.3	37.4	7.0	7.8	0.4	
Secondary School	68700	13.9	100.0	0.4	0.4	3.4	8.3	47.9	18.0	21.1	0.4	
Yeshiva	73400	14.8	100.0	3.6	4.7	10.5	16.2	40.3	12.0	11.8	1.0	
Teacher's Seminary	3900	0.8	100.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	11.7	36.5	15.3	33.3	0.0	
University	24800	5.0	100.0	0.0	0.6	0.6	1.5	34.6	19.5	43.1	0.0	
<u>Non-Jewish Males</u>												
Total	54400	100.0	100.0	18.6	23.7	23.5	17.3	10.7	4.2	2.0		
Did Not Attend School	39700	73.0	100.0	24.0	27.3	22.2	17.2	7.8	1.2	0.3		
Elementary School	13100	24.0	100.0	2.1	14.3	28.7	19.2	17.4	13.1	5.1		
Secondary School	800	1.5	100.0	25.5	0.0	8.8	8.8	49.0	0.0	7.9		
Teacher's Seminary	100	0.2	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0		
University	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Other	700	1.3	100.0	10.8	19.4	21.0	0.0	9.6	15.0	23.9		

TABLE B

Jewish and Non-Jewish Male Heads of Households, Aged 25+, by Father's occupation Group and Own Occupation Group, 1974:

Number, Percent Distributions and Outflow Percentages

			RESPONDENT'S OC CUPATION GROUPS: OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES																	
FATHER'S OCCUPATION GROUPS	No.	% Dist.	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
<u>Jewish Males -- Total</u> (a)			446800	100.0	100.0	1.9	7.2	1.6	3.9	2.6	4.2	7.6	3.1	13.3	9.4	29.6	5.5	6.2	3.3	0.6
1. Scientific and Academic, Self-Employed	11000	2.5	100.0	<u>4.0</u>	20.3	1.1	12.5	2.3	7.6	4.1	1.9	12.2	2.6	23.8	1.4	1.4	4.6	0.0		
2. Scientific and Academic, Employees	12100	2.7	100.0	1.3	<u>23.1</u>	0.0	7.1	3.0	13.3	5.2	1.6	17.4	4.6	18.4	1.2	1.3	2.5	0.0		
3. Managers and Administrators, Self-Employed	13100	2.9	100.0	2.3	14.3	<u>9.5</u>	10.2	4.1	1.2	6.9	1.2	15.9	8.7	14.4	7.0	2.2	2.1	0.0		
4. Managers and Administrators, Employees	6100	1.4	100.0	6.9	18.2	0.0	<u>11.6</u>	0.0	9.3	2.8	0.0	19.4	7.4	15.2	0.0	2.4	6.7	0.0		
5. Other Professional, Semi-Professional Workers	5100	1.1	100.0	0.0	14.1	0.0	5.4	<u>10.9</u>	5.8	9.4	2.9	12.6	4.0	11.6	3.8	11.4	7.9	0.0		
6. Technicians and Technical Workers	1900	0.4	100.0	0.0	34.3	0.0	12.9	0.0	<u>10.0</u>	0.0	14.0	7.8	0.0	21.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
7. Proprietors	159000	35.6	100.0	2.4	5.2	2.0	3.7	1.7	3.4	<u>13.2</u>	3.9	13.8	7.4	27.0	6.2	6.4	3.3	0.4		
8. Sales Employees	8100	1.8	100.0	0.0	14.2	0.0	2.0	4.0	8.7	3.7	<u>4.9</u>	12.9	7.4	27.0	7.4	7.9	0.0	0.0		
9. Clerical Workers	27700	6.2	100.0	3.7	12.1	1.6	3.3	5.4	5.3	1.3	3.0	<u>27.8</u>	4.5	24.9	2.4	3.7	0.5	0.6		
10. Craftsmen, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled,Self-Employed	87200	19.5	100.0	1.4	4.4	1.0	1.6	2.1	3.2	6.4	3.7	10.7	<u>15.6</u>	31.4	8.3	7.3	1.8	1.0		
11. Craftsmen, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled,Employees	45900	10.3	100.0	1.3	6.2	0.8	6.1	3.2	5.8	3.6	2.1	9.1	8.3	<u>43.9</u>	2.6	4.1	2.6	0.4		
12. Service Workers	10400	2.3	100.0	1.9	3.6	0.0	2.9	1.5	2.2	8.4	4.2	13.3	6.6	44.2	<u>7.0</u>	4.3	0.0	0.0		
13. Unskilled Workers, except Agricultural	26400	5.9	100.0	0.5	4.0	0.0	2.3	2.7	3.2	1.3	1.4	9.1	13.8	39.1	6.0	<u>15.2</u>	0.0	1.4		
14. Farm Owners	20400	4.6	100.0	1.0	6.2	0.7	2.8	2.2	2.5	3.8	3.2	10.7	8.8	27.3	5.0	4.1	<u>20.4</u>	1.4		
15. Unskilled Agricultural Workers	8000	1.8	100.0	0.0	0.0	5.7	0.0	10.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	6.8	24.6	35.9	1.8	6.7	3.9	<u>0.0</u>		
<u>Non-Jewish Males -- Total</u> (a)			48650	100.0	100.0	0.2	2.3	0.3	0.4	5.0	0.3	9.5	1.2	1.9	13.5	35.8	3.4	14.3	10.2	1.6
1. Scientific and Academic, Self-Employed	60	0.1	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-		
2. Scientific and Academic, Employees	330	0.7	100.0	-	-	-	-	21.6	-	22.2	-	-	56.2	-	-	-	-	-		
3. Managers and Administrators, Self-Employed	450	0.9	100.0	-	-	14.8	-	40.7	-	-	-	-	29.7	14.8	-	-	-	-		
4. Managers and Administrators, Employees	200	0.4	100.0	-	-	-	-	44.0	-	-	-	-	56.0	-	-	-	-	-		
5. Other Professional, Semi-Professional Workers	200	0.4	100.0	-	-	-	-	34.5	-	30.9	-	-	34.5	-	-	-	-	-		
6. Technicians and Technical Workers	300	0.6	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	37.8	-	-	-	62.2	-	-	-	-		
7. Proprietors	4030	8.3	100.0	-	5.1	-	-	5.3	-	28.9	8.7	5.9	7.7	17.4	5.3	10.5	5.2	-		
8. Sales Employees	140	0.3	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	-		
9. Clerical Workers	130	0.3	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	-		
10. Craftsmen, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled,Self-Employed	2920	6.0	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.8	-	2.3	36.7	48.5	2.9	4.8	-	-		
11. Craftsmen, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled,Employees	5330	11.0	100.0	2.2	2.1	4.8	-	-	-	3.4	2.9	2.9	13.1	49.6	1.6	11.9	3.5	2.2		
12. Service Workers	660	1.4	100.0	-	9.1	-	-	-	-	10.1	-	-	10.1	30.3	30.3	-	-	-		
13. Unskilled Workers, except Agricultural	3610	7.4	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.4	-	-	2.0	12.8	46.4	3.9	32.5	-		
14. Farm Owners	27140	55.8	100.0	-	2.6	0.3	0.7	5.7	0.5	8.8	0.3	1.4	11.7	34.9	3.0	13.8	15.3	1.0		
15. Unskilled Agricultural Workers	3090	6.4	100.0	-	2.4	-	-	-	-	8.6	-	-	7.3	28.1	4.1	27.2	13.9	8.4		

a) Includes respondent's reporting fathers in scientific, managerial, sales, or skilled and semi-skilled occupations for whom class-of-workers (self-employed or employee) unknown.

TABLE C
"Indigenous Mobility": Jewish Males, 25+, Born in Israel or Immigrating at Age 14 or Under, By Father's Occupation Group:
Percent Distribution by Own 1974 Occupation Group (Outflow Percentages)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION GROUPS	Estimated No.	% Dist.	RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATION GROUPS															
			Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
TOTAL	168200	100.0	100.0	2.3	9.2	1.3	5.3	3.8	6.4	4.4	3.8	11.4	10.0	31.5	2.8	3.2	4.1	0.4
1. Scientific and Academic, Self-Employed	3800	2.3	100.0	<u>0.0</u>	22.2	0.0	15.6	2.4	11.0	0.0	5.5	27.5	0.0	11.7	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0
2. Scientific and Academic, Employees	3600	2.1	100.0	0.0	<u>24.1</u>	0.0	12.2	0.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	21.2	8.7	14.6	0.0	0.0	4.1	0.0
3. Managers and Administrators, Self-Employed	3700	2.2	100.0	4.5	12.9	<u>7.7</u>	15.7	4.2	0.0	9.5	0.0	14.1	13.0	8.5	9.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
4. Managers and Administrators, Employees	3600	2.1	100.0	11.5	17.0	0.0	<u>14.2</u>	0.0	10.3	4.6	0.0	11.2	4.4	15.6	0.0	0.0	11.2	0.0
5. Other Professional, Semi-Professional Workers	2200	1.3	100.0	0.0	16.6	0.0	12.3	<u>9.1</u>	13.2	6.8	0.0	16.2	9.1	0.0	0.0	10.2	6.5	0.0
6. Technicians and Technical Workers	900	0.5	100.0	0.0	15.9	0.0	26.0	0.0	<u>0.0</u>	0.0	0.0	15.8	0.0	42.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
7. Proprietors	38500	22.9	100.0	2.4	6.5	2.9	6.1	3.4	5.7	<u>9.9</u>	5.1	12.2	7.4	28.8	3.6	3.4	2.4	0.0
8. Sales Employees	2700	1.6	100.0	0.0	19.1	0.0	5.9	6.3	8.1	0.0	<u>9.0</u>	0.0	6.3	45.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
9. Clerical Workers	15000	8.9	100.0	3.9	17.8	1.1	3.2	4.4	7.1	1.4	4.1	<u>22.7</u>	5.5	26.1	1.3	1.4	0.0	0.0
10. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled Self-Employed	28100	16.7	100.0	3.3	8.8	0.5	3.0	2.5	6.5	4.1	6.5	10.7	<u>15.1</u>	32.0	3.3	2.8	0.9	0.7
11. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled Employees	28700	17.1	100.0	1.4	6.4	0.6	6.5	4.6	7.7	3.4	1.8	6.8	8.5	<u>44.2</u>	1.3	3.8	3.0	0.0
12. Service Workers	5200	3.1	100.0	3.8	7.3	0.0	0.0	3.0	4.5	3.9	8.4	14.1	7.3	44.0	<u>3.7</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0
13. Unskilled Workers, except Agricultural	15400	9.2	100.0	0.9	5.7	0.0	3.4	3.3	5.5	1.2	1.1	9.9	17.3	36.7	6.5	<u>6.9</u>	0.0	1.3
14. Farm Owners	10900	6.5	100.0	1.9	9.0	0.0	2.3	1.5	4.6	1.4	4.2	3.8	5.6	25.0	1.0	3.6	<u>32.7</u>	2.7
15. Unskilled Agricultural Workers	5900	3.5	100.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	13.3	3.9	0.0	0.0	4.1	28.2	34.2	2.5	3.5	5.3	<u>0.0</u>

"Non-Indigenous Mobility": Jewish Males, 25+, Born Abroad and Immigrating at Age 15 or Over, by Father's Occupation Group:
Percent Distribution by Own 1974 Occupation Group (Outflow Percentages)

TOTAL	274000	100.0	100.0	1.7	5.9	1.7	3.0	2.0	2.8	9.6	2.7	14.4	9.1	28.4	7.2	8.0	2.9	0.6
1. Scientific and Academic, Self-Employed	7200	2.6	100.0	<u>6.0</u>	19.2	1.7	10.9	2.2	5.9	6.3	0.0	4.1	4.0	30.3	2.2	2.2	4.9	0.0
2. Scientific and Academic, Employees	8600	3.1	100.0	1.8	<u>22.7</u>	0.0	5.0	4.2	12.6	7.4	2.2	15.9	2.9	19.9	2.9	1.8	1.8	0.0
3. Managers and Administrators, Self-Employed	9300	3.4	100.0	1.4	14.9	<u>10.8</u>	8.1	4.0	1.7	5.9	1.7	16.6	7.0	16.7	5.8	3.1	2.9	0.0
4. Managers and Administrators, Employees	2500	0.9	100.0	0.0	20.1	0.0	<u>7.9</u>	0.0	7.9	0.0	0.0	31.5	12.0	14.6	0.0	6.0	0.0	0.0
5. Other Professional, Semi-Professional Workers	2800	1.0	100.0	0.0	12.2	0.0	0.0	<u>12.3</u>	0.0	11.4	5.2	9.8	0.0	20.7	6.8	12.4	9.1	0.0
6. Technicians and Technical Workers	900	0.3	100.0	0.0	52.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	<u>19.8</u>	0.0	27.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
7. Proprietors	120400	43.9	100.0	2.4	4.8	1.7	2.9	1.2	2.7	<u>14.2</u>	3.5	14.3	7.4	26.4	7.1	7.3	3.6	0.5
8. Sales Employees	5500	2.0	100.0	0.0	11.8	0.0	0.0	2.9	9.0	5.5	<u>2.9</u>	19.2	8.0	18.1	11.0	11.7	0.0	0.0
9. Clerical Workers	12700	4.6	100.0	3.4	5.4	2.1	3.4	6.6	3.2	1.2	1.8	<u>33.6</u>	3.4	23.4	3.7	6.4	1.2	1.2
10. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled Self-Employed	59200	21.6	100.0	0.6	2.4	1.3	1.0	1.8	1.5	7.5	2.3	10.6	<u>15.9</u>	31.1	10.7	9.4	2.2	1.2
11. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled Employees	17100	6.2	100.0	1.1	5.8	1.1	5.4	0.9	2.6	3.8	2.6	13.0	7.9	<u>43.4</u>	4.7	4.5	2.1	1.1
12. Service Workers	5200	1.9	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	12.8	0.0	12.6	5.9	44.3	<u>10.1</u>	8.5	0.0	0.0
13. Unskilled Workers, except Agricultural	11000	4.0	100.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.9	1.8	0.0	1.3	1.5	7.9	8.9	42.4	5.3	<u>26.9</u>	0.0	1.4
14. Farm Owners	9500	3.5	100.0	0.0	3.1	1.6	3.3	3.1	0.0	6.6	2.0	18.6	12.4	30.0	9.2	4.7	<u>6.4</u>	0.0
15. Unskilled Agricultural Workers	2100	0.8	100.0	0.0	0.0	7.4	0.0	0.0	7.5	0.0	0.0	14.2	14.5	40.7	0.0	15.7	0.0	<u>0.0</u>

TABLE D

"Europe-America-Origin Mobility": Jewish Males, 25+, Born in Europe, America, or Born in Israel, Father Born in Europe-America,

By Father's Occupation Group: Percent Distribution by Own Occupation Group, 1974 (Outflow Percentages)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION GROUPS			RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATION GROUPS															
			Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
TOTAL	270100	100.0	100.0	2.7	10.2	2.0	5.0	2.8	5.9	7.6	3.6	15.8	9.5	24.8	3.5	3.6	3.1	0.1
1. Scientific and Academic, Self-Employed	6900	2.6	100.0	<u>1.9</u>	29.7	1.8	12.9	2.3	12.2	2.7	3.0	10.8	4.2	11.2	2.3	0.0	5.1	0.0
2. Scientific and Academic, Employees	9400	3.5	100.0	1.6	<u>25.9</u>	0.0	6.9	2.2	15.0	6.8	2.0	14.8	3.3	16.4	1.6	1.7	1.6	0.0
3. Managers and Administrators, Self-Employed	10500	3.9	100.0	2.8	14.9	<u>10.3</u>	1.27	5.1	1.5	5.6	0.0	16.8	7.7	13.6	5.2	1.2	2.6	0.0
4. Managers and Administrators, Employees	4100	1.5	100.0	5.6	17.1	0.0	<u>17.3</u>	0.0	13.8	4.1	0.0	15.8	7.2	9.2	0.0	0.0	9.9	0.0
5. Other Professional, Semi-Professional Workers	27800	10.3	100.0	0.0	17.5	0.0	4.6	<u>7.3</u>	5.3	11.6	5.3	18.3	0.0	15.6	0.0	0.0	14.5	0.0
6. Technicians and Technical Workers	1500	0.6	100.0	0.0	43.4	0.0	16.3	0.0	<u>12.7</u>	0.0	17.7	9.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
7. Proprietors	87200	32.2	100.0	3.8	7.8	2.3	4.5	2.3	4.3	<u>13.2</u>	5.1	17.1	7.5	23.3	4.0	2.0	2.7	0.0
8. Sales Employees	4200	1.6	100.0	0.0	24.2	0.0	0.0	4.0	13.4	7.1	<u>3.8</u>	9.2	14.3	16.1	3.5	4.5	0.0	0.0
9. Clerical Workers	19200	7.1	100.0	4.1	12.9	1.4	1.1	7.8	7.6	0.0	3.2	<u>29.5</u>	3.5	21.7	1.6	3.4	0.8	0.0
10. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled, Self-Employed	48100	17.7	100.0	1.9	5.6	1.3	2.1	2.4	5.4	5.6	4.0	12.9	<u>17.9</u>	29.1	5.5	4.4	1.6	0.4
11. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled, Employees	24500	9.1	100.0	1.8	9.0	1.5	9.5	3.4	6.3	4.0	2.5	10.2	9.4	<u>35.8</u>	0.5	4.5	1.4	0.0
12. Service Workers	4000	1.5	100.0	4.9	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.8	12.7	0.0	18.8	5.7	35.1	<u>9.6</u>	3.9	0.0	0.0
13. Unskilled Workers, except Agricultural	8400	3.1	100.0	0.0	10.8	0.0	3.0	0.0	8.1	1.8	2.0	14.4	11.0	37.5	2.3	<u>9.2</u>	0.0	0.0
14. Farm Owners	12200	4.5	100.0	1.7	10.4	1.2	4.6	0.0	2.6	6.4	1.9	14.6	7.6	21.6	4.8	4.2	<u>17.3</u>	1.2
15. Unskilled Agricultural Workers	2100	0.8	100.0	0.0	0.0	7.3	0.0	0.0	18.0	0.0	0.0	14.0	14.3	23.9	0.0	15.5	7.0	<u>0.0</u>

"Asia-Africa-Origin Mobility": Jewish Males, 25+, Born in Asia, Africa, or Born in Israel, Father Born in Asia-Africa,

By Father's Occupation Group: Percent Distribution by Own Occupation Group, 1974 (Outflow Percentages)

TOTAL	177500	100.0	100.0	0.8	2.4	0.9	2.4	2.4	2.1	7.3	1.9	9.8	9.3	36.9	8.9	10.2	3.5	1.1
1. Scientific and Academic, Self-Employed	4100	2.3	100.0	<u>7.4</u>	4.7	0.0	12.0	2.2	0.0	6.5	0.0	14.5	0.0	44.8	0.0	3.8	3.9	0.0
2. Scientific and Academic, Employees	2400	1.4	100.0	0.0	<u>15.6</u>	0.0	9.2	6.2	8.8	0.0	0.0	20.8	10.2	22.7	0.0	0.0	6.8	0.0
3. Managers and Administrators, Self-Employed	1900	1.1	100.0	0.0	15.9	<u>0.0</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.0	8.6	16.5	0.0	23.9	19.7	8.4	0.0	0.0
4. Managers and Administrators, Employees	1400	0.8	100.0	13.9	11.7	0.0	<u>0.0</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	23.2	0.0	40.3	0.0	10.9	0.0	0.0
5. Other Professional, Semi-Professional Workers	1600	0.9	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<u>21.6</u>	9.1	0.0	0.0	9.1	12.6	0.0	11.9	35.7	0.0	0.0
6. Technicians and Technical Workers	400	0.2	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<u>0.0</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
7. Proprietors	67700	38.1	100.0	0.8	1.8	1.5	2.3	0.9	2.4	<u>12.3</u>	1.6	9.5	7.7	32.2	9.5	12.4	4.2	0.8
8. Sales Employees	3700	2.1	100.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	4.2	4.2	3.8	0.0	<u>6.4</u>	17.8	0.0	35.5	12.1	12.1	0.0	0.0
9. Clerical Workers	6600	3.7	100.0	3.3	6.7	2.6	6.5	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	<u>25.1</u>	5.2	35.0	5.3	5.5	0.0	2.4
10. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled, Self-Employed	36200	20.4	100.0	0.0	2.5	0.4	1.1	1.3	0.5	8.1	2.8	8.2	<u>11.7</u>	34.6	12.8	11.7	2.3	1.9
11. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled Employees	18800	10.6	100.0	0.7	0.8	0.0	2.5	2.2	6.0	3.4	1.8	8.0	6.8	<u>52.3</u>	5.7	4.0	4.6	1.0
12. Service Workers	6000	3.4	100.0	0.0	3.1	0.0	5.0	2.6	0.0	6.0	3.8	8.2	7.5	53.5	<u>5.6</u>	4.7	0.0	0.0
13. Unskilled Workers, except Agricultural	13900	7.8	100.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	1.5	5.0	1.2	1.4	1.4	8.5	14.9	38.7	8.8	<u>14.8</u>	0.0	2.6
14. Farm Owners	7000	3.9	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.5	2.7	0.0	2.7	5.7	11.0	37.8	5.9	2.3	<u>17.0</u>	0.0
15. Unskilled Agricultural Workers	5800	3.3	100.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	13.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.1	28.4	40.3	2.5	3.5	2.8	<u>0.0</u>

TABLE E

"Moslem Mobility": Moslem Males 25+, Heads of Households, by Father's Occupation Group:Percent Distribution by Own Occupation Group, 1974 (Outflow Percentages)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION GROUPS	Estimated No.	% Dist.	RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATION GROUPS															
			Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
TOTAL	36880	100.0	100.0	0.3	2.5	0.2	0.2	4.5	0.4	9.6	1.3	1.7	12.0	34.2	3.6	16.9	10.8	1.7
1. Scientific and Academic, Self-Employed	0	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Scientific and Academic, Employees	260	0.7	100.0	-	-	-	-	27.6	-	-	28.3	-	44.1	-	-	-	-	-
3. Managers and Administrators, Self-Employed	180	0.5	100.0	-	-	37.4	-	62.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Managers and Administrators, Employees	90	0.2	100.0	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Other Professional, Semi-Professional Workers	70	0.2	100.0	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Technicians and Technical Workers	70	0.2	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-
7. Proprietors	3220	8.7	100.0	-	2.1	-	-	2.7	-	28.0	10.8	5.3	6.9	21.8	2.7	13.1	6.5	-
8. Sales Employees	130	0.4	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	-
9. Clerical Workers	130	0.4	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled, Self-Employed	1290	3.5	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.9	-	-	36.8	40.1	6.6	5.6	-	-
11. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled, Employees	4590	12.4	100.0	2.5	2.4	-	-	4.0	-	1.5	1.9	-	10.9	54.6	1.9	13.8	4.0	2.5
12. Service Workers	440	1.2	100.0	-	13.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.5	45.6	-	-	15.3
13. Unskilled Workers, except Agricultural	3070	8.3	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.9	-	2.3	12.9	42.9	4.5	34.5	-	-
14. Farm Owners	20440	55.4	100.0	-	3.0	0.0	0.4	5.1	0.7	10.1	0.4	1.9	12.2	30.9	3.0	15.7	15.4	1.3
15. Unskilled Agricultural Workers	2900	7.9	100.0	-	2.5	-	-	-	-	5.2	-	-	7.7	29.9	4.4	28.9	14.8	6.4

"Christian Mobility": Christian Males 25+, Heads of Households, by Father's Occupation Group:Percent Distribution by Own Occupation Group, 1974 (Outflow Percentages)

TOTAL	8740	100.0	100.0	-	1.6	0.9	-	9.0	-	11.3	0.8	3.3	21.1	42.2	3.0	3.6	3.2	-
1. Scientific and Academic, Self-Employed	60	0.7	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-
2. Scientific and Academic, Employees	70	0.8	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-
3. Managers and Administrators, Self-Employed	270	3.1	100.0	-	-	-	-	26.4	-	-	-	-	49.1	24.5	-	-	-	-
4. Managers and Administrators, Employees	110	1.3	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-
5. Other Professional, Semi-Professional Workers	130	1.5	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	47.2	-	-	52.8	-	-	-	-	-
6. Technicians and Technical Workers	220	2.6	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	-
7. Proprietors	740	8.5	100.0	-	9.7	-	-	17.2	-	35.3	-	9.1	11.5	-	17.2	-	-	-
8. Sales Employees	0	0.0																
9. Clerical Workers	0	0.0																
10. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled, Self-Employed	1560	17.8	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.3	33.9	57.5	-	4.3	-	-
11. Crafts, Skilled, and Semi-Skilled, Employees	670	7.7	100.0	-	-	-	-	10.7	-	17.1	10.0	22.6	29.6	10.0	-	-	-	-
12. Service Workers	220	2.5	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	30.2	-	-	30.2	39.6	-	-	-	-
13. Unskilled Workers, except Agricultural	540	6.2	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.3	66.5	-	21.2	-	-
14. Farm Owners	4020	46.0	100.0	-	1.7	2.0	-	12.8	-	6.5	-	-	11.4	52.1	3.3	3.3	6.9	-
15. Unskilled Agricultural Workers	120	1.3	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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