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**THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN NEW ZEALAND:
A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF ASSIMILATION**

**A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts in Geography
at Massey University**

By

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1971

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PREFACE

Numerous references have been made to the dearth of material on New Zealand's immigrant minority groups.¹ Although listing a bibliography of approximately 90 references on immigrants and immigration in New Zealand, Thomson and Trlin in their recently published Immigrants in New Zealand ventured the opinion that, "there are still serious gaps in our knowledge and that there is a definite need for further research on all aspects of immigration, immigrants, ethnic group adjustments, assimilation and so on".² With the exception of L.M. Goldman's The History of the Jews in New Zealand and R.A. Lochore's From Europe to New Zealand (which contains a section on the Jewish people) no specialist work has been completed on the Jewish people of New Zealand.

This thesis aims therefore to make a detailed study of the New Zealand Jewish community in its New Zealand environment for two purposes:

- a) as a contribution to the literature on the New Zealand Jewish community, and
- b) on a broader base, a contribution to the greater understanding of immigration, settlement and assimilation of racial and ethnic minority groups in New Zealand.

More specifically it is aimed to:

- i) examine the origins, growth and development of Jewish settlement in New Zealand
- ii) to describe similarities to, and differences from, New Zealand's spatial, demographic, social and economic norms in the Urban Areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch where 79 percent of the Jewish population reside. In other words, to examine the pattern of assimilation of Jewish people into New Zealand life and comment on one

of the central problems of contemporary Jewish life in New Zealand - the question of survival.

Three research techniques were utilised in this thesis, viz., primary and secondary source analysis; personal interviews, discussion and correspondence; and a questionnaire mailed to every Jewish household in an urban area.

Basic material was derived from New Zealand census records and additional information made available by the Department of Statistics, Lower Hutt, for the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch Urban Areas from the 1966 census. Information obtained from the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle and various other Jewish magazine publications provided a graphic insight into the problems associated with the growth and development of the Jewish minority group and its adjustment to the host society. This was supplemented by the two works, previously recorded, on New Zealand Jewry and works referred to in the bibliography concerning minority Jewish communities further afield. Personal interviews were conducted primarily in connection with the preliminary stages of a questionnaire survey. It was hoped thereby to engender support from the Jewish leaders to ensure a satisfactory response to the questionnaire by those approached. (A full discussion of the questionnaire may be found in Appendix A). Correspondence received from members of the Jewish community has served a two-fold function in providing a valuable insight into reasons for the failure to return questionnaires and essential information on the present organisational activities of the community.

Two basic difficulties were associated with the collection of material. In New Zealand, respondents to the census question on religious professions have a statutory right to refuse to answer and personal

communication has indicated that a number of Jewish refugees from Nazi Europe have been so persecuted that religious affiliation has not always been disclosed. Also, there could well have been persons who, although Jews in origin and upbringing, may have refrained from filling in the religious section of the census on the grounds that they had abandoned the Hebrew faith. There are no methods known to the writer of ascertaining the numbers of Jews who chose to hide their Jewish identification at the 1966 census. It has been pointed out, however, that few Jews, no matter how irreligious or anti-religious would deny themselves this one opportunity of calling themselves "Jew" on a census.³ Although the census data is not complete in this respect, it is the only statistical data available, and remains adequate for showing the relative distribution of New Zealand Jewry, general population trends, and the strength of Jewish persons in various occupations and industries.

Difficulties were associated with an initial lack of co-operation encountered by the writer from members of the New Zealand Jewish community. Permission to distribute a questionnaire among members of the Wellington Jewish community was withheld so that attention was necessarily concentrated on the Auckland community. As predicted by several Auckland Jews, response to the questionnaire was so poor and the controversy caused of such embarrassment that permission to attempt a further random sample among the Auckland community was withheld.

The approach adopted to the thesis is as follows:

a) a consideration of the origins of the group and the circumstances of migration as a prerequisite to an understanding of the needs, problems and behaviour of the Jews in New Zealand.

b) a study of the community's growth in New Zealand. This

is considered essential for a true appreciation of the process of assimilation.

e) an attempt to assess statistically in the socio-economic sphere the degree of integration of the Jewish community to the host society in the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch Urban Areas, and the distribution of socio-economic characteristics within the Auckland Urban Area of the Jewish community itself.

d) the review of another form of adjustment illustrated by the religious, educational and voluntary associations of the community and the role of the Jewish press in the assimilation process.

In Chapter 1, the special significance of migration in the history of the Jewish people is considered in an attempt to provide some historical perspective for the thesis. Chapter 2 consists of a brief analysis of population change (growth and decline); the age, sex and economic composition of the Jewish population; and its distribution in space. Changes in these phenomena are studied and explanations sought to account for the degree of, and reasons for change. Statistical indices are developed where possible to compare Jewish and New Zealand population distributions.

The basic assumption behind Chapter 3 is that integration is not a "blanket process" but varies from place to place and from one socio-economic characteristic to another. Thus, the degree of adjustment is assessed in the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch Urban Areas and in different localities in the Auckland Urban Area. The indices used are: spatial (locational), demographic (age-sex composition, marital status), and economic (occupational, industrial and income distributions). These indices were chosen for two main reasons, viz. their availability, and the fact that they represent significant variables of the socio-

economic basis of any population.

It is to be expected that group sentiments will be communicated and reinforced by social intercourse. Chapter 5 therefore investigates the role of Jewish religious, educational and voluntary organizations, and Chapter 6 the role of the Jewish press in the assimilation process. Chapter 7 provides a summary of the conclusions presented in the body of the thesis and considers evidence for and against the survival of the Jewish community in New Zealand.

The author wishes to take this opportunity to thank her supervisor Mr A.D. Trlin for his interest and guidance during the writing of this thesis, and also Mr E.C.R. Warr for his interest and help with the questionnaire survey. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr R. Nelson and the staff of the New Zealand Statistics Department (Lower Hutt) for the hours spent abstracting Hebrew statistical data from unpublished census material. Gratitude is extended to all those Jewish persons who so willingly gave their time and assistance when approached on certain matters. Finally, a vote of thanks is due to Miss J. Clewer for the typing of this thesis, and my husband for his constant help and encouragement.

Footnotes

1. For example:

Thompson, R., 1963, 16.

Harper, A.G. in an introduction to Lochore, R.A., 1951, 5.

2. Trlin, A.D. in Thomson, K.W. and Trlin, A.D. (ed.), 1970, 196.

3. Price, C.A., 1964, 7.

CHAPTER ONE

THE JEWISH BACKGROUND

"The significance of migration for the fate of the Jewish people is unique; for no other people has migration played so decisive a role."¹

The Dark Ages to the Enlightenment

According to Wirth, tradition, scripture and early church law provided evidence that prior to the Crusades Jews migrated freely into Italy, Spain, Germany, France, England, up through Asia Minor and the Caucasus to the shores of the Caspian and Black Seas.² In all these countries during the Dark Ages the Jews lead lives of transience and uncertainty. Generally, however, they experienced political freedom and lived on friendly terms with their neighbours of other faiths.

Reaction in the form of persecution set in during the first Crusade of 1096. Then, for protection, the Jews turned to the popes and emperors, those in authority able to intervene on their behalf. A relationship developed in which the Jew acquired status and security in the feudal society and the ruler a source of revenue. The Jews became servi camerae, servants of the chamber, and in time, virtually the tax collectors for the rulers. They proved themselves so desirable that emperors in financial distress often found it expedient to sell the privilege of protecting the Jews, which meant to tax them, to some prince or churchman. Thus, in 1263 the Jews of Worms became the possession of the Bishop of Speyer, and in 1279 those of Strassburg and Basle were transferred to the Bishop of Basle.

In a number of ways the Jews were separated from their neighbours. Even before the days of the compulsory ghettos they lived in separate neighbourhoods concentrated around the symbol of their distinctive re-

ligious belief, the synagogue. Each community was fully corporate, autonomous and self-governing. Laws were passed, taxes collected, and punishments inflicted. Their manner of dress and general appearance, common language and strange customs, and above all their basic difference of religious belief alienated them from their Gentile contemporaries. In addition, the Jew had an economic status distinct from that of the rest of the population. As a stranger and belonging to a distinct class he was admirably suited to the role of merchant and banker shunned by the Christian population.

East European Jewry

Prior to the eighteenth century a fundamental unity existed between Eastern and Western Jewry. For a time the East could be described as a cultural dependency of the West. The Polish Jew in his kahal³ had an even greater autonomy than the German Jew of the ghetto. Rabbis were appointed, laws passed, religious ritual and education decided upon and taxes proclaimed. The frequent settlement of Jews in villages where they engaged in farming, and the more varied fields of economic activity available in the towns was a particular feature of Eastern Jewry. Some engaged in trades and handicrafts, others participated in economic activities including the leasing of crown and shlakhta⁴ estates with the right of distilling and selling spirituous liquor.

During the mid seventeenth century, however, the relative prosperity enjoyed by the East European Jew came to an end when periodic massacres by the Cossacks⁵ and later Muscovites⁶ occurred. During the latter part of the eighteenth, the entire nineteenth and part of the twentieth century the Pale of settlement/^{WAS}inaugurated within the Russian Empire and parts of Poland. The Jews were restricted to certain provinces and within these provinces to certain localities, particularly the towns and cities.

Exclusion from public life, from many occupations, from popular education and the universities followed. Social and economic decline set in; the masses became ignorant and superstitious in their learning and culture. During this specific period at least, the ghetto life of the East was more confining and isolating than that of the West. The East European ghetto persisted long after the Western ghetto had vanished, and the Jews of the West had come to share in the cultural life of the Western European peoples.

Enlightenment

During the latter half of the eighteenth century the impact of the Enlightenment and Capitalism struck the Jews. Influenced partly by the development of commerce and industry, which removed some of the stigma of the usurer from the Jew and facilitated many contacts, the people of the West came to see him in a new social and economic light. East European "Enlightenment" for the Jew was, however, a government programme. Jews were forcibly recruited into the army, converted to Christianity and forced to abandon their distinctive dress and appearance. Such persecution naturally resulted in heightened ritualism and provincialism.

Within the Jewish communities themselves a number of forces were instrumental in breaking down the ghetto walls. Nationalism was one such force. In the East this took the form of a neo-Hebraic Renaissance in which plays, poems, scientific, political and religious treatises began to appear in Hebrew. Efforts to settle the Jews on the land by the Russian government encouraged the nationalistic movement. In the West, many Jewish intellectuals unaccepted in European society returned to their people enthusiastic about the movement to establish a Jewish nation.

Other Jews attempted to find freedom by political and social revolution. Movements developed such as those associated with the names of Karl Marx

and Ferdinand Lassalle. New forms of expression such as Bundism, Reform Judaism and Conservative Judaism arose, adding new dimensions to Jewish existence. Whereas in the past Judaism and Jewishness were completely synonymous, Judaism became merely one element in a new totality called Jewishness defined as "the sum total of the many varied ways in which people called Jews wish to identify as such".⁷

Under the impact of such forces the ghetto walls gradually dissolved. Liberalism meant individual rights and the Jews were to be treated as individual members of the human race with civil, legal and political rights. In the economic sphere early capitalism by encouraging individual initiative and competition helped to stimulate the growth of individualism and break down Jewish autonomy. The Jews rather than relying on their community for support as in the past, made their own bid for economic success. The spread of religious doubt and greater contact among Gentiles helped shatter the bonds of dependence. Even Russian Jewry was revolutionised, albeit at a much slower pace.

Migration

Along with this general awakening and search for new opportunities in life began a new stream of migration. During the past one hundred and fifty years a world wide dispersion of Jewry has taken place. In the first half of the nineteenth century German Jews emigrated in great numbers; in the second half when Capitalism became intensive in Russia, the Polish provinces and Hungary, Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe predominated while the number of emigrants from Germany decreased. From 1840-1945 about 3,300,000 Jews (approximately 85 percent of all Jewish migrants) migrated into American countries. Through natural increase the 3,300,000 immigrants became more than five and a half million. Two other centres, Palestine and South Africa, may also be characterised as major recipient

centres of Jewish migration. Of more than 600,000 Jewish migrants to countries other than America, about 400,000 went to Palestine and about 75,000 to South Africa.

The forces of Enlightenment initiated the nineteenth century stream of migration and decline of Europe as the centre of world Jewry, but Hitler and Nazism added impetus to the flow and almost liquidated the centre. In those European countries occupied by Hitler where the local population had played an active role in the massacre of Jews, the returning post-war remnants were often met with such hatred that flight again was necessary. Since 1948, Israel has received 80.6 percent of the total Jewish immigrants. Within the last one hundred and fifty years New Zealand has been one of the many countries receiving only small numbers of these Jewish migrants.

Conclusion

Prior to the European Emancipation, world Jewry constituted a "traditional society". Its existence was based upon a common body of knowledge and values handed down from the past. In the context of European society the Jews were treated as aliens and not citizens, confined in separate residential areas, and because of their refusal to accept Christianity became the butt of strong hostility from the people. Judaism in this society was a complete way of life permeating dress, speech, religion and law; in fact, all the basic details of day to day existence. Initially an offshoot of West Europe, the Jews of Eastern Europe were characterised by a concentration in the backward rural areas of settlement and consequently traditionalism and ritualism was harder to break. Even today, this is apparent in the greater assimilatory potential of the Western European Jew.

Enlightenment and Capitalism revolutionised and revitalised world Jewry stimulating the growth of individualism and initiating the breakdown

of Jewish autonomy. New political, social and economic equality stimulated the Jew to search for new opportunities and new homes. This century, Hitler and Nazism added impetus to the world wide dispersion of Jewry.

While the religious tradition was strong the Jewish immigrant had to participate in the life of the Jewish community to which he had migrated. For example, his new neighbours made up the minyan⁸, which he required for public prayer, and the community owned the cemetery where he would have to purchase his burial plot. Integration into the community was the only choice available to the immigrant and hence migration reinforced a sense of kinship. Today, however, with Judaism divided into competing doctrines, which in some instances are all rejected by secularly minded Jews, there is little that religion can do to emphasize for the immigrants their interdependence. Certainly, in this century, persecution and the establishment of the State of Israel have contributed significantly to the perpetuation of a sense of Jewish unity in the Diaspora.⁹ But in this era of assimilation migration has ceased to achieve positively what it could accomplish in earlier years.

Footnotes

1. Lestschinsky, J., in L. Finkelstein (ed.), 1949, 1542.
2. Wirth, L., 1928, 11.
3. kahal - community
4. shlachta - the landed nobility
5. Cossacks - military peasant bands
6. Muscovites - citizens of Moscow.
7. Medding, P.Y., 1968, 13.
8. minyan - a quorum of ten male Jewish worshippers over the age of thirteen necessary for reciting certain congregational prayers.
9. Diaspora - the dispersion of the Jews.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NEW ZEALAND JEWISH COMMUNITY 1840-1966.

"An understanding of the growth of the community is as vital to the process of assimilation as the structure and functions of the community today."¹

Demography may be defined as the empirical, statistical and mathematical study of human populations.² Three broad phenomena are studied; population change (growth and decline), the composition of the population, and the distribution of population in space. The processes of fertility, mortality, marriage, migration and social mobility (change in social status or condition) are the mechanisms of change constantly at work within the population determining its size, composition and distribution. Changes in these phenomena over time are studied and explanations sought to account for the degree of, and reasons for change. It is felt therefore, that a demographic analysis of the New Zealand Jewish community, 1840-1966, will enable "an understanding of the growth of the community" to be obtained.

Demographic techniques consist of well established procedures of statistical methodology and applied mathematics, which in recent years have come to be known as the "demographic methodology". Sources of data include national population censuses, registration systems and often data from other administrative operations. The following demographic analysis of the foundations and growth of New Zealand Jewry is based on statistical information derived from New Zealand census records and supplemented by relevant background details from the works of Goldman and Loehore.³ The census statistics are seriously limited in that official Jewish statistics for New Zealand began in 1858 (Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand), although the first Jewish settler arrived in 1834. Also, more statistics are printed for foreigners by country of birth and nationality rather than

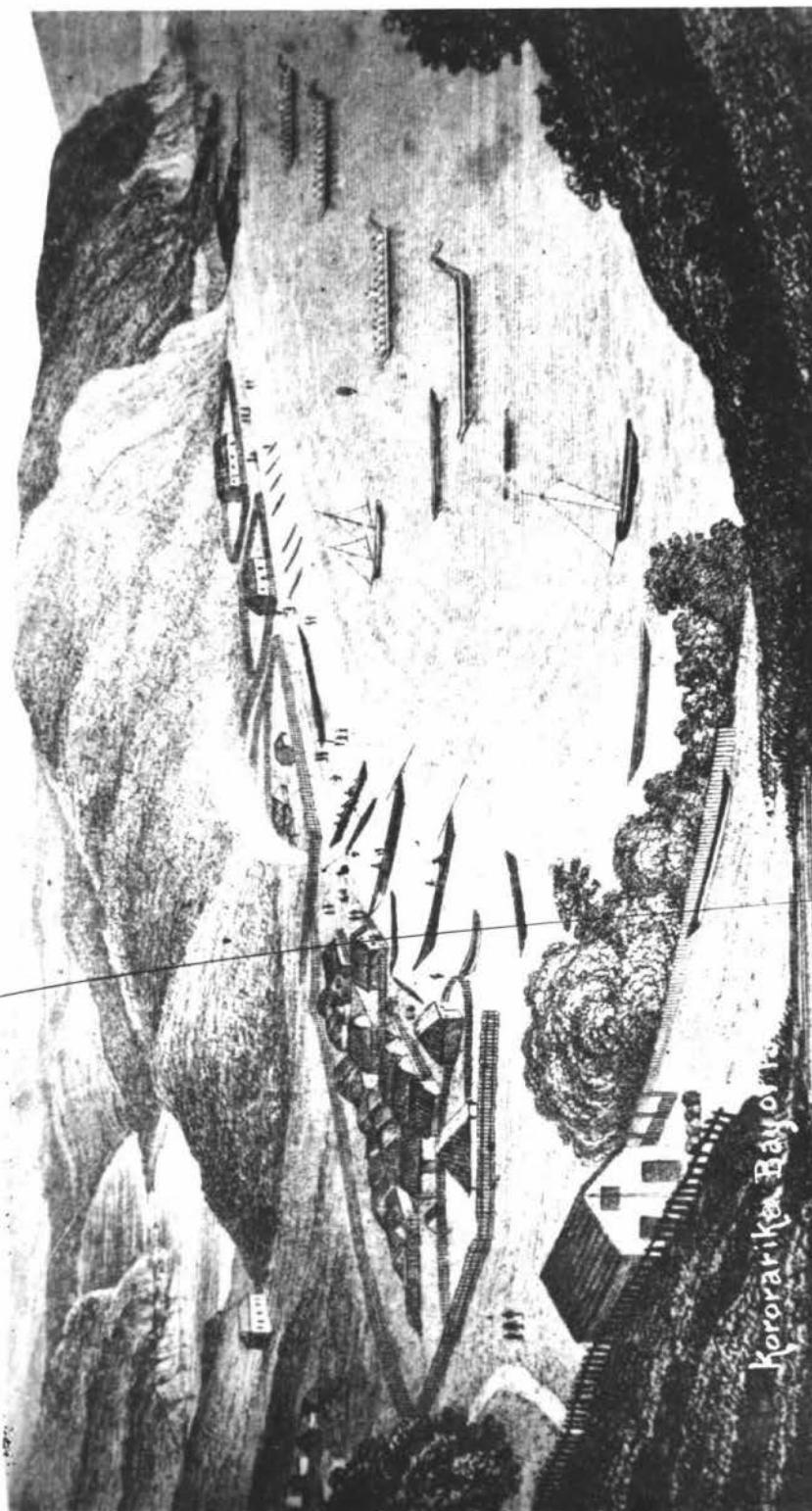
race or religion so that gaps in basic statistical categories occur for the Jew. Discussion has therefore necessarily been confined to the growth, age, sex and economic composition of the early Jewish population, and its spatial distribution throughout New Zealand.

The Index of Dissimilarity has been used in this and subsequent chapters to compare Jewish and New Zealand population distributions. The Index represents the percentage of the Jewish population that would need to relocate in order to attain the same distribution as the New Zealand population. For the Index, zero (0) would indicate complete similarity and 100 complete dissimilarity of distribution patterns with the New Zealand population.

(1) NEW ZEALAND JEWISH POPULATION GROWTH

Recorded Jewish settlement in New Zealand dates from the establishment of British sovereignty in 1840, although even prior to this several Jewish traders were actively engaged in the Bay of Islands (Plate 1). By 1858 New Zealand's Jewish population numbered 188.

Table 1 illustrates the growth of New Zealand Jewry from 1858-1966. Periods of growth are marked and correspond, with the exception of the post-World War II increase, to specific waves of immigration. New Zealand Jewry increased by 563.3 percent (i.e. 1,059 persons) between 1861-1867 as a result of the gold rushes and then remained largely static until the arrival of the Russian Jews during the last decade of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries.



Kororarika, Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 1836.
In the foreground is the store which belonged to J.S. Polack, an early Jewish trader.

- Alexander Turnbull Library.

TABLE I
JEWISH POPULATION OF NEW ZEALAND, 1858-1966

Census Date	Total population	Population No.	Increase %
1858	188		
1867	1,247	1,059	563.29
1878	1,424	177	14.19
1886	1,559	135	9.48
1896	1,549	-10	
1906	1,867	318	20.53
1916	2,345	478	25.60
1926	2,591	246	10.49
1936	2,653	62	2.39
1945	3,470	817	30.79
1956	3,823	353	10.17
1966	4,104	281	7.35

Sources: Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand, 1858-1864,
New Zealand Population Census, 1871-1966

Between 1916 and 1936 a predominantly natural increase of 12.9 per cent was recorded. This low figure corresponds to the New Zealand national downward trend in the birthrate during this time and may be accounted for largely by the economic depression. European refugees fleeing from Nazi persecution arrived during the period 1934-1945 and were responsible for the 30.8 percent increase to New Zealand Jewish

figures between 1936 and 1944. Between 1945 and 1966 New Zealand Jewry increased by 17.5 percent, a natural increase slightly larger than that of the 1916-1936 period.

Jewish population growth has, therefore, been almost continuous in New Zealand since the arrival of the first settlers, although never exactly proportional to the growth of the total New Zealand population. Only 0.154 percent of New Zealand's total population in 1966 consisted of Jewish persons, 0.204 percent in 1916, and 0.162 percent in 1858. The peak Jewish contribution was 0.31 percent in 1878. These New Zealand proportions are considerably lower than those indicated by Price for Australian Jewry;⁴ 0.56 percent of the total population in 1961, 0.39 percent in 1911, and 0.57 percent in 1841.

Factors Responsible for Growth

There were three sources from which an increase of population was possible; namely, net migration (excess of overseas arrivals over departures), natural increase (excess of births over deaths), and net conversion (in New Zealand, the surplus of converts to Judaism over those lapsed Jews or those embracing a non-Jewish religion). In New Zealand, data pertaining to these factors is negligible. Arrivals are classified by country of birth, nationality and race rather than religion. Birth and death statistics by religion are non-existent. Baptismal and burial figures which may at times act as substitutes for birth and death statistics were unobtainable and there were no adequate statistics of converts to or from other faiths.

Relevant information has therefore been abstracted from Goldman's The History of the Jews in New Zealand and Loehore's From Europe to New Zealand.

Immigration

Jewish immigration into New Zealand can be divided into four major waves. This wave-like motion correlates directly with the economic and political conditions in the country of origin and New Zealand, as well as restrictive legislation in New Zealand and changes in Jewish aspirations.

The first wave of Jewish settlers arrived during the early years of the colony's foundation, 1840-1860, coming almost completely from England where Edward Gibbon Wakefield had aroused interest in New Zealand as a suitable country for colonisation. Among the early settlers was a London Jew, Abraham Hort (senior), who in January 1843 arrived with his family to join his two sons at Port Nicholson. It may be postulated that his regular correspondence with the weekly London Jewish journal the Voice of Jacob, pointing out the benefits of emigration to New Zealand, also contributed to the slow but steady stream of immigration in the 1840's and 1850's. The editor of the Voice of Jacob was, according to Goldman, aware of London's depressed conditions and strongly supported Hort's arguments for emigration to the new colony.

The discovery of gold in 1861 in the Province of Otago heralded the second wave of Jewish immigration and settlement in New Zealand. Thousands of miners arrived from Victoria and New South Wales where the gold-fields around Ballarat, Bendigo and Bathurst were gradually becoming less lucrative. The majority of the 921 Jews who came between 1861 and 1867 (with the gold seekers) were merchants and traders aiming to supply the miner with his needs. They emigrated mainly from England and the German-Polish border.

The persecution of Jews in Russia precipitated the third wave of Jewish migration to New Zealand. Details are rather hazy, but it would appear that New Zealand received a number of Russian Jews around the turn

of the century. During the latter quarter of the nineteenth century the persecution of Jews in Russia resulted in many appeals to world Jewry for their relief. In 1891, when pogroms and oppressive legislation were particularly violent, the sympathy of the Parliament of New Zealand for the Jews of Russia resulted in a memorial of protest sent by the Speaker of the House to the Czar of Russia. However, when in 1893 news was received that 500 destitute Russian Jews were being sent to New Zealand by the London Jewish authorities, protests were at once raised all over the colony, engendered partly because of lack of knowledge and understanding of the Jew, and partly because of the fear of competition in a time of depression. Trades and Labour Council resolutions were forwarded to the Premier who instructed the Agent-General in London to assist in preventing Russian Jews being sent to New Zealand. Neither the New Zealand Parliamentary Debates nor Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives at this time indicate that these instructions were acted upon. However, Goldman recorded that 12 Russian Jews migrated to Wellington in 1882, and that the Dunedin Congregation agreed to accept five migrants on trial,⁵ and Lochore states that the 1916 census recorded 1,242 persons of Russian birth, the majority of whom were Jews.⁶

The first Jewish refugees associated with the fourth wave of immigration began to arrive in 1934; these were Central Europeans fleeing from Nazi oppression. Lochore in an analysis of data from alien registrations (only those refugees above 16 years of age were recorded) stated that 1,099 Central European aliens settled in New Zealand between 1934 and 1941.⁷ Practically all the refugees had Jewish associations of some sort.

Their acceptance by the New Zealand people was mixed. From 1930 on, New Zealand sympathisers with Nazism, influenced by German propa-

ganda, began to publish anti-semitic literature. The President of the Auckland Division of the British Medical Association wanted the initiation of protective measures to safeguard against an influx of Jewish doctors. The New Zealand Dental Association was equally outspoken. New Zealand Government policy was uncompromising. Goldman reported the Prime Minister as stating in reply to a League of Nations branch deputation, "our first duty is to the British people".⁸ The Prime Minister continued that the Government was opposed to mass migration and would deal only with individual cases through the Minister of Customs. Internal economic problems had to be remedied before large scale immigration could be instituted. The Government did not waver in this attitude despite requests from responsible organisations urging it to adopt a more reasonable and humane policy towards the refugees. The Twelfth Annual Conference of the Dominion Council of the League of Nations Union, the Wellington Synod of the Methodist Church of New Zealand, the Bishop of Chichester in England, Dr. G.K. Allen-Bell, and others, called upon New Zealand to accept more European refugees. There can be little doubt that fear and Fascist propaganda were successful in restricting the number of refugees who arrived in New Zealand. Lochore analysed and recorded the prior nationalities of the 1,054 refugees remaining in 1945 as follows: German 507, Austrian 248, Czechoslovak 121, Polish 81, Hungarian 72 and others 25.⁹ (Prior nationalities were recorded because many of the Austrians and Czechoslovaks in particular were required to exchange their previous travel documents for German passports before the Gestapo would grant them exit permits, whilst others arrived with papers showing them stateless).

Natural Increase and Net Conversion

Given the lack of statistics it is only possible to assume that in

periods when immigration was particularly sparse, Jewish population growth was, in the main, the result of natural increase. Following the outworking of the goldfields an increase of 23.7 percent between 1867 and 1896 was recorded, almost all due to natural increase. The low birth rate in the late 1880's and early 1890's was the result of economic depression, and Jewish population drops were experienced between 1867-1874 and 1881-1891. Between the Russian and refugee waves of immigration New Zealand Jewry grew by 12.9 percent (1916-1936). Mobilization and the diversion of female labour into industry during the two World Wars and the depression of the early 1930's may account for this low rate of increase. Total New Zealand population figures indicate a downward trend in the birthrate between 1876 and 1936 precisely for the reasons just enumerated. Since 1945, New Zealand's Jewish population has increased to a total of 4,104 persons (1966), an increase of 17.5 percent or average annual increase of 30 per annum. This increase has probably resulted from a reversal of wartime factors, namely, increased demobilization, the withdrawal of females from the labour market, economic stability and a security which many of the Jewish people had not experienced for some years.

It has not been possible to obtain statistics of converts from other faiths, or conversely, those lapsing or being converted from Judaism. It may be postulated, however, that with the foundation of Liberal Congregations in New Zealand a rise in the rate of conversion of non-Jewish marriage partners is likely.

(2) AGE AND SEX CHARACTERISTICS

In any demographic analysis of a community age and sex data is of particular significance as it is indicative of future population trends.

Male - Female Sex Ratios

Table II illustrates the steady decline in the number of surplus Jewish males; 172 males per 100 females in 1858, to 93 males for every 100 females in 1966. The picture is a similar one for the New Zealand population; namely 131 males per 100 females in 1858 and 100 males for every 100 females in 1966. In both instances the latter ratios are consistent with those of a normally balanced population. However, whereas the New Zealand population had a 50:50 male-female ratio by 1916, this did not occur for the Jewish population until 20 years later in 1936. The refugee influx may possibly have helped to balance the Jewish ratio. The preponderance of males in the early years is a common feature in a newly settled territory and is associated with the difficulties and hardships of pioneering and accentuated by the character of the early industries. For instance, those attracted to the gold-fields were generally young single men in the 20-40 age group.

The initial male-female imbalance had severe consequences for the Jewish population of New Zealand in the form of intermarriage. Articles published in the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle, at various times between 1930 and 1969, indicate that intermarriage continues to be the cause of some concern within the New Zealand Jewish community.¹⁰ Although the sex ratio is evenly balanced the smallness of the community limits the choice of spouse to the extent that marriage to a Gentile or travel overseas to find a Jewish partner are alternatives considered.

Rosenthal, following an analysis of Jewish figures in Washington, U.S.A., underlines the significance of intermarriage. In at least 70 percent of the mixed families in Greater Washington the children are not brought up as Jews. Thus, intermarriage usually means the end of belonging to the Jewish group. The Washington data also shows that the intermarriage rate rises from approximately 1.0 percent for the first generation

(the immigrants) to 10.2 percent for the native born of foreign parentage, and third and subsequent generations.¹¹

TABLE II
MALE-FEMALE RATIO PER 100 OF THE NEW ZEALAND AND HEBREW
POPULATIONS, 1858 - 1966.

Census Year	New Zealand Hebrew Pop- ulation	Hebrew Male- Female %s	New Zealand Population	New Zealand Male-Female %s
1858	188	64:36	61,224	57:43
1867	1,247	64:36	218,668	60:40
1886	1,559	55:45	578,482	54:46
1896	1,554.9	52:48	703,360	53:47
1906	1,867	53:47	888,578	53:47
1916	2,341	51:49	1,099,499	50:50
1926	2,591	52:48	1,344,469	51:49
1936	2,653	50:50	1,573,810	52:48
1945	3,470	49:51	1,702,298	51:49
1956	3,823	49:51	2,174,062	50:50
1966	4,104	49:51	2,676,919	50:50

Source: New Zealand Population Census 1858-1966.

Age-Sex Structures

Age-sex distribution data is available for New Zealand Jewry from 1916 through to 1966 (Figs 1 and 2). Sound distributions would involve gradually decreasing percentages for each advancing age group. The pyramids representing 1916, 1926 and 1936 illustrate the slightly 'top heavy' or over-aged nature of the community. Factors operating to cause this were possibly the conditions associated with the two World Wars (i.e. troops departing overseas, mobilization, diversion of female

labour into industry, and consequent disruption of home life) and the economic recession of the inter-war period. It is to be expected that by 1945 the bulk of the new refugee population would have settled sufficiently to start establishing new homes and families. This does not, however, appear to have occurred. The 1945, 1956 and 1966 pyramids illustrate even lower proportions of Jewish youth in the under 20 years of age group.

Writers such as Ruppin and Price¹² have noted that Jewish birth-rates are lower than those for the rest of the population. Chapter 3 provides evidence that in 1966 this is not so for New Zealand. However, the age-sex structures suggest that prior to that date this may well have been the case. Various reasons suggested for low Jewish birthrates include the fact that the Jew is basically an urban dweller and has a birthrate consistent with other urban families, lower marriage rates than those for the general population, and an "unusually strong desire for economic security and for handing on a substantial inheritance to each child".¹³

Fig 2 provides a comparison of the age distribution of New Zealand Jewry with that of the total population for 1966. At that date, 28.0 percent of the Jewish population was under 20 years of age compared with 41.7 percent of the total population; 27.9 percent were in the 20-24 age group compared with a New Zealand percentage of 36.5; and 29.3 percent were in the 45-64 age group compared with 16.3 percent for New Zealand.

In 1966, the Hebrew birthrate was 0.8 below that of the total population for the Urban Areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch.¹⁴ If this represents a new trend, the potential or capacity for the growth of New Zealand's Jewish population in the younger age groups is strong (this of course is also dependent upon other factors such as marriage

FIG 1
HEBREW AGE-SEX STRUCTURES
1916-1956

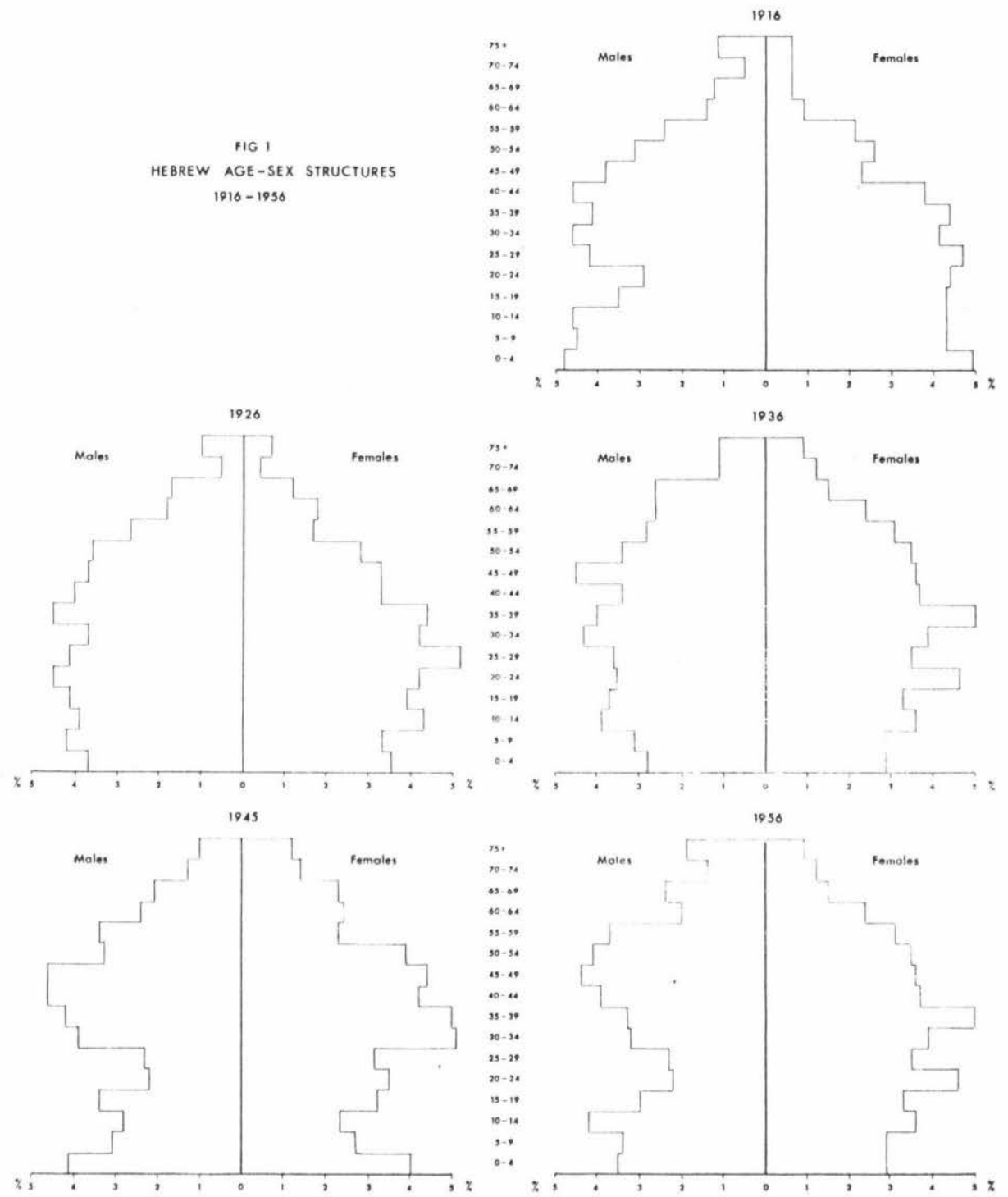
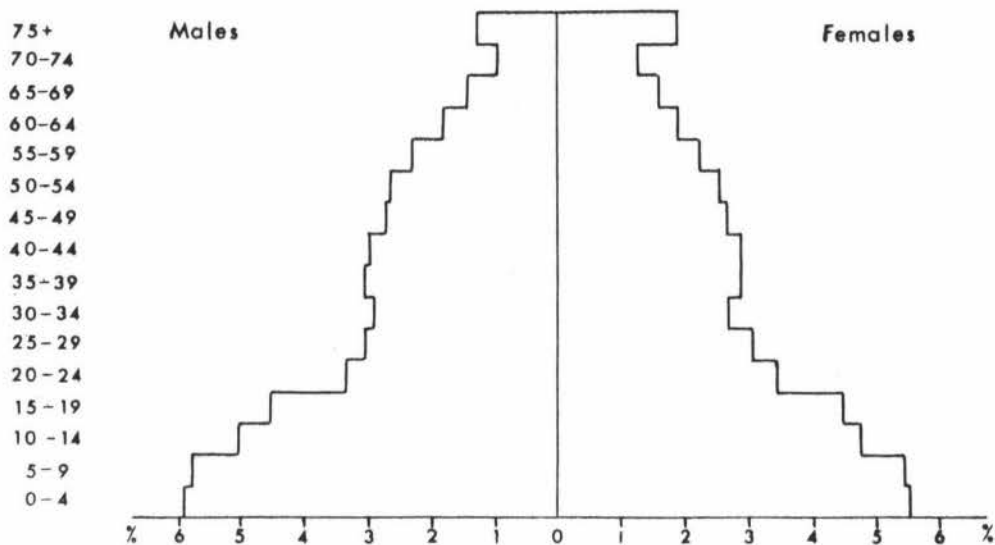


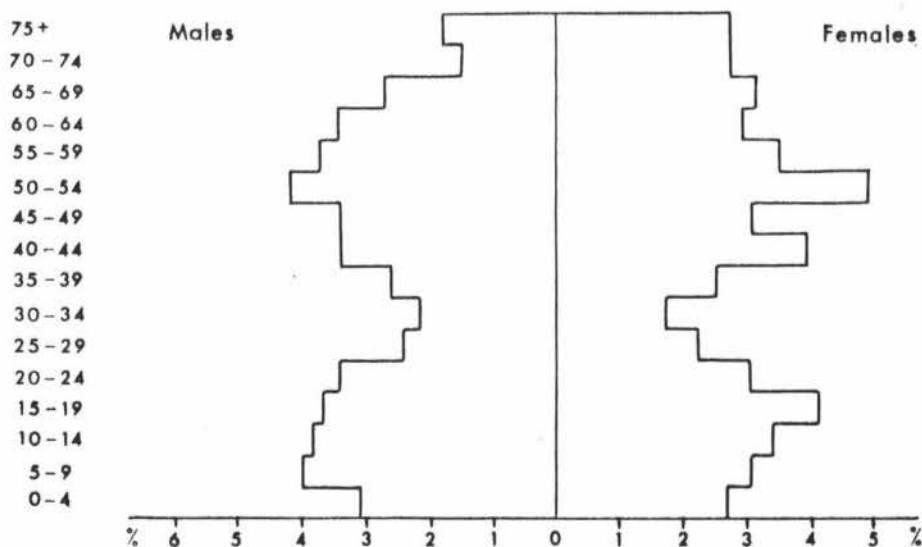
FIG 2

AGE-SEX STRUCTURES FOR THE HEBREW AND TOTAL POPULATION, 1966

NEW ZEALAND TOTAL POPULATION



NEW ZEALAND HEBREW POPULATION



rates). It is vitally important that this should occur, as in the past migration has played the most significant role in the population growth of New Zealand Jewry. Since 1949, Jewish aspirations have turned to the State of Israel and there is little hope for future immigrant waves to provide the traditional demographic revitalisation.

(3) DISTRIBUTION OF NEW ZEALAND JEWRY

Provincial Distribution

At no stage have the Jewish people been distributed evenly throughout New Zealand (Table III). The Auckland province with a Jewish population of 63.8 percent in 1858, retained until 1896 the greater proportion of New Zealand Jewish settlers. The increased density of settlement in the Wellington province at the latter date may be traced initially to the selection of Wellington City as capital of New Zealand in 1865. Following the New Zealand population trend, from 1880 onwards the Jews in the South Island began to trickle to the North Island, so that together the two dominant areas of Jewish settlement (Auckland and Wellington) held in 1896, 52.8 percent of the Jewish population, 77.4 percent in 1926, 82.6 percent in 1945, and 85.6 percent in 1956.

Provincial population peaks in Otago (1864), Westland (1871), and Nelson (1871), may be equated with the various gold strikes. By 1870 the West Coast gold rush had ended and the miners streamed back to the Canterbury province, and Christchurch in particular.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEW ZEALAND HEBREW POPULATION BY PROVINCES, 1858-1956, AND STATISTICAL AREAS, 1966

Provinces	1858		1864		1871		1886		1896		1926		1936		1945		1956		1966	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Auckland	120	60.6	252	26.4	423	33.5	426	27.3	386	24.9	997	38.5	969	36.5	1,352	38.9	1,685	44.1	1,901	46.3
Hawke's Bay	3	1.5	2	0.2	9	0.7	37	2.4	31	2.0	79	3.0	79	3.0	79	2.0	75	1.9	102	2.5
Taranaki	0	0.0	13	1.4	0	0.0	15	0.9	18	1.2	39	1.5	23	0.9	13	0.4	25	0.7	7	0.2
Wellington	38	19.2	53	5.5	113	8.9	268	17.2	432	27.9	1,006	38.8	1,119	42.1	1,517	43.7	1,587	41.5	1,669	40.5
Marlborough	0	0.0	38	3.9	6	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.1	2	0.1	2	0.1	7	0.2	9	0.2
Nelson	18	9.1	54	5.6	95	7.5	33	2.1	43	2.8	29	1.1	17	0.6	22	0.6	19	0.5	24	0.6
Westland	0	0.0	0	0.0	179	14.2	94	6.0	61	3.9	11	0.4	8	0.3	4	0.1	9	0.2	2	0.1
Canterbury	18	9.1	91	9.5	144	11.5	288	18.6	252	16.3	200	7.7	222	8.4	307	8.9	279	7.4	274	6.7
Otago	1	0.5	428	44.9	288	22.8	398	25.5	326	21.0	209	8.2	190	7.3	169	4.9	124	3.2	101	2.5
Total	198	100	955	100	1,262	100	1,559	100	1,549	100	2,591	100	2,653	100	3,470	100	3,823	100	4,104	100

Sources: Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand 1858 - 1864New Zealand Census of Population 1871 - 1966

Table IV compares the distribution of Hebrew and New Zealand population by Provinces for 1926 and 1945 and Statistical Areas for 1966.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HEBREW AND TOTAL POPULATION BY PROVINCES (1926, 1945) AND STATISTICAL AREAS (1966)

Provinces	1926			1945		
	Total Population %	Hebrews %	% difference	Total Population %	Hebrews %	% difference
Auckland	31.0	38.5	+ 7.5	35.5	38.9	+ 3.4
Hawke's Bay	7.4	3.0	- 4.4	6.8	2.0	- 4.8
Taranaki	5.1	1.5	- 3.6	4.5	0.4	- 4.1
Wellington	20.0	38.8	+18.8	20.5	43.7	+23.2
Marlborough	1.3	0.1	- 1.2	1.2	0.0	- 1.2
Nelson	2.9	1.1	- 1.8	2.7	0.6	- 2.1
Westland	1.5	0.4	- 1.1	1.4	0.1	- 1.3
Canterbury	15.5	7.7	- 7.8	14.7	8.8	- 5.9
Otago	10.6	8.1	- 2.5	8.4	4.9	- 3.5
Southland	4.6	0.7	- 3.9	4.1	0.4	- 3.7
Index of dissimilarity			26.3			26.6

Statistical Areas	1966		
	Total Population %	Hebrews %	% difference
Northland	3.5	0.2	- 3.3
Central Auckland	22.9	42.9	+20.0
South Auck-Bay of Pl.	14.5	3.2	-11.3
East Coast	1.8	0.4	- 1.4
Hawke's Bay	4.7	2.1	- 2.6
Taranaki	3.8	0.2	- 3.6
Wellington	19.6	40.6	+21.0
Marlborough	1.1	0.2	- 0.9
Nelson	2.5	0.6	- 1.9
Westland	0.9	0.1	- 0.8
Canterbury	14.0	6.7	- 7.3
Otago	6.9	2.5	- 4.4
Southland	3.8	0.3	- 3.5
Index of dissimilarity			41.0

The change from province to statistical area occurred at the 1961 census.

Source: New Zealand Census of Population 1926, 1945, 1966

A continuing concentration of the Jewish population in the Central Auckland and Wellington Statistical Areas is evident for 1966. The Jewish population is particularly over-represented in the Wellington Province and Statistical Area compared with the New Zealand population for the three years indicated. The division of the Auckland Province into the three Statistical Areas of Northland, Central Auckland and South Auckland - Bay of Plenty highlights the specific area of Jewish concentration in Central Auckland and accounts for the increased index of dissimilarity for 1966 (41.0 percent compared with 26.3 percent and 26.6 percent for 1926 and 1945 respectively). With the exception of Central Auckland and Wellington the Jewish population is under-represented to varying degrees in all other Provinces and Statistical Areas.

Urban Distribution

Urban concentration is a common feature of Jewish groups throughout the world. Percentage differences showing the over-representation of Jewish urban population in comparison with the total New Zealand urban population have been calculated for the years 1926, 1945 and 1966, and are presented in Table V.

TABLE V

URBANISATION OF JEWS IN NEW ZEALAND, 1926, 1945 and 1966.

Year	Jews resident in urban areas %	Total population resident in urban areas %	Percentage differences
1926	89.0	52.4	+36.6
1945	92.4	56.9	+35.5
1966	94.9	62.4	+32.5

Source: New Zealand Population Census, 1926, 1945 and 1966.

With over-representations of 36.6 percent, 35.5 percent and 32.5 percent respectively (Table V), the marked urban concentration of the New Zealand Jew becomes apparent.

In 1926 and 1945, 85.7 percent and 89.1 percent respectively of the Jews settled in the Auckland Province resided in the Auckland and Hamilton Urban Areas.¹⁵ In 1966, 94.2 percent of the Jews settled in the Statistical Areas of Northland, Central Auckland and South Auckland - Bay of Plenty (roughly equivalent in size to the 1926 and 1945 Province of Auckland) lived in the Auckland and Hamilton Urban Areas. A high degree of urbanisation has also been maintained in the Wellington Province and Statistical Area with 93.4 percent of the Jews residing in the Wellington and Palmerston North Urban Areas in 1926, 94.8 percent in 1945, and 94.0 percent in 1966. Similarly in Canterbury, 94.0 percent of the Jews resided in the Christchurch and Timaru Urban Areas in 1926, 98.0 percent in 1945 and 94.8 percent in 1966. The Auckland and Wellington Urban Areas have always contained the greatest concentration of urban Jewry in New Zealand. In 1966, 72.9 percent of the 94.9 percent of New Zealand's Jewish population living in an urban area resided in Auckland and Wellington.

Reasons for this urban concentration are related to the Jewish history of urban living and to the type of occupations characteristically engaged in by the Jew. Personal communication with New Zealand Jews has also confirmed that many choose to live in the larger centres to enable their children to receive some Jewish education and marry within the Jewish faith.

(4) THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

It has been suggested that the economic structure of a small minor-

ity will differ substantially from that of the majority population.^{16 26.}
In the first instance, choice of occupation will be limited by the range of economic opportunities open in the new country, and in the second, by the specific heritage (educational, technological and economic backgrounds) of the immigrants. Thus, it is unlikely that a small minority will attain the diversity involved in the complete economic structure of the total population. Also, the general desire for cohesion evident in a minority, becomes in the economic sphere a desire to be concentrated in selected industries, occupations and classes of economic status.

This section has been divided into two sub-sections; New Zealand Jewish Economic Structure, 1840-1925, based on the available literary evidence, and New Zealand Jewish Economic Structure 1926-1945 based on New Zealand census data. (Since 1945, Jewish economic statistics have not been included in census publications).

New Zealand Jewish Economic Structure 1840-1925

The available literary evidence suggests that the pioneer Jewish citizens were men of strong personality and character, with the commercial acumen of their race, keen enough to see the possibilities of development in the young colony. In the initial stages of settlement Jews were predominantly shopkeepers, auctioneers and hotel-keepers. J.S. Polack, David Nathan, J.I. Montefiore, M. Asher, B. Keesing and J.H. Moses along with others were prominent in the retail trade. In 1842, Nathan and Joseph went into partnership as auctioneers and commission agents. Charles Davis in Auckland attained prominence as an auctioneer specialising in wool, kauri oil and gum. Solomon and Philip Levy, M. Marks, Henry Keesing (junior) and William Possenniskie achieved distinction among Auckland's early Jewish publicans.

As capital, credit and trade expanded, and population increased,

many of the settlers embarked on the wholesale business. The warehouses of Bannatyne and Co. in Auckland (1842), and Bing Harris Ltd. in Wellington (1852), were then and still are particularly important. Jewish merchants such as these became an extremely powerful influence in the development of trade, and the increase of commercial pursuits between England, Australia and New Zealand. The Jews founded some of the first shipping companies. David Nathan along with his early merchandise business, opened up trade between Mauritius, the South Sea Islands and Japan. He retired in favour of his sons, in 1867, who developed the firm (L.D. Nathan and Co.) into one of the biggest wholesale and shipping businesses in New Zealand. Edward Isaacs participated in the formation of the Auckland Shipping Co., which later merged with the New Zealand Shipping Co.

As indicated previously, the gold rushes of the 1860's brought a sudden wave of settlers into the country. The occupations of the gold-field Jews served to enlarge the already existing Jewish occupational structure. Shopkeepers and merchants figure prominently in historical records although some Jews were no doubt engaged in mining (Appendix B). With the passing of the gold rushes many of the Jews returned to the larger urban centres where they continued in their retail and commercial pursuits.

New Zealand Jewish Economic Structure 1926-1945

Table VI represents the only economic census data available for the Hebrew population for 1926, 1936 and 1945. Particularly high concentrations, compared with the total population, are found in the categories, "Manufacturing, Alteration and Repair" and "Commerce and Finance". Reasons for this are not hard to find. For both sectors small entrepreneurship is feasible, as heavy capital investment in personal training

or commodities is not needed, and the heritage of the Jewish minority has favoured both the formation of useful links for the pursuit of trade and finance, and the skills involved in industry.

Within the industrial division "Manufacturing, Alteration and Repair" concentrations are apparent. In 1926, 72.1 percent of the Jewish males and 66.0 percent of the Jewish females were employed in a subdivision entitled "Manufacture, repair and other processes relating to dress". In 1936, 29.7 percent of the males and 15.4 percent of the females were engaged in "Tailoring", 42.3 percent of the males and 36.9 percent of the females were employed in "Clothing and waterproof making" and a further 20.0 percent of the females were engaged in "Dressmaking". The trend continued in 1945 when 45.7 percent of the males and 61.1 percent of the females were employed in the "Manufacture and repair of wearing apparel".

Specialisation within the industrial division "Commerce and Finance" is also apparent. In 1926, of the two subdivisions "Property and finance" and "Commerce", 89.7 percent of the males and 94.3 percent of the females were employed in the latter category. Considerably more subdivisions were named for 1936 and Jewish male concentrations of 31.8 percent and 28.1 percent occurred in the subdivisions "Textiles, clothing, drapery, hosiery, haberdashery, hats, millinery" and "Manufacturers' agents, merchants, indent agents or importers" respectively. In the same year Jewish female concentrations of 54.4 percent occurred in the "Cakes, bread, biscuits, pastry and confectionary" section and 18.4 percent in the "Textiles, clothing, drapery, millinery etc." section. Three subdivisions were detailed for 1945 and Jewish male and female percentages of 80.6 and 79.2 were represented respectively in the "Wholesale and retail trade" subdivision rather than in "Finance, banks,

TABLE VI

A COMPARISON OF THE HEBREW AND TOTAL POPULATION BY INDUSTRY DIVISIONS,
1926, 1936, 1945

Industry Division	1926			1936			1945		
	Total Popn. %	Hebrew %	% differ- ence	Total Popn. %	Hebrew %	% differ- ence	Total Popn. %	Hebrew %	% differ- ence
Fishing and Trapping	0.4	0.0	+ 0.4	0.4	0.0	- 0.4	0.4	0.1	- 0.3
Agricultural and Pastoral	18.9	1.8	-17.1	24.5	2.1	-22.4	18.8	2.2	-16.6
Forestry	1.7	0.1	- 1.6	1.7	0.3	- 1.4	0.9	0.1	- 0.8
Mining and Quarrying	1.3	0.2	- 1.1	1.9	0.3	- 1.6	1.2	0.0	- 1.2
Manufacture, Alteration and Repair	13.5	26.5	+13.0	18.0	35.7	+17.7	21.6	49.1	+27.5
Building and Construction	6.8	2.1	- 4.7	7.5	2.1	- 5.4	6.7	2.0	- 4.7
Gas, Water, Electricity Production and Supply	0.8	0.4	- 0.4	no data	0.3	-	no data	no data	-
Transport and Communications	9.2	4.8	- 4.4	10.3	3.2	- 7.1	10.9	1.9	- 9.0
Commerce and Finance	27.7	46.3	+18.6	16.6	38.8	+22.2	15.6	29.3	+13.7
Public Administration and Professional	14.8	13.6	- 1.2	9.9	10.7	+ 0.8	18.7	12.7	- 6.0
Personal and Domestic Service	4.9	4.2	- 0.7	9.3	6.6	- 2.7	5.2	2.6	- 2.6
Totals	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Index of dissimilarity			31.6			41.0			41.2

Source: New Zealand Population Census, 1926, 1936, 1945.

insurance" or "Agencies for other purposes".

The total number of Jews employed in "Commerce and Finance" declined considerably between 1926 and 1945: in 1926 there were 46.3 percent, in 1936, 38.8 percent and in 1945, 29.3 percent in this division. In turn there was a marked increase in "Manufacturing, Alteration and Repair" from 26.5 percent in 1926 to 35.7 percent in 1936 and 49.1 percent in 1945. One must assume that the refugee influx (1936-1945) was mainly absorbed into the industrial division "Manufacturing, Alteration and Repair".

Whereas relatively comparable percentages of Jews and New Zealanders were engaged in the "Public Administration and Professional division over the years, the minute proportions of Jewish people engaged in agriculture is significant. For centuries, political and legal limitations have been placed on land ownership and use for the Jew, and under such conditions they could hardly acquire the necessary agricultural skills and experience. In all other branches of the economy the Jewish share is considerably lower than that of the total population. Such branches as forestry, mining, transport and communications have often been government or large corporation dominated, and restrictions placed on the Jew.

The distinctive industrial structure outlined for New Zealand Jewry prior to 1945, particularly the concentrations in specific sectors of industry, commerce, finance and the professions, reflects the specific heritage of the immigrants. It also reflects the felt need for group solidarity and cohesion evidenced by many immigrant communities.

(5) SUMMARY

The New Zealand Jewish community is a small community representing in 1966 a mere 0.154 percent of the total population. Population growth has been, in the main, the result of migration in the form of four major waves. In future, however, Jewish migration to New Zealand will be limited and New Zealand Jewry must depend upon natural increase for its continued growth. Although the 1945, 1956 and 1966 age-sex structures illustrate an older-aged Hebrew population and under-representation of persons in the younger reproductive age groups the fertility ratio in the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch Urban Areas for 1966 demonstrated that the Hebrew population is perhaps on the threshold of increased growth by natural increase.

The settlement pattern of New Zealand's Jews is predominantly urban. Within the urban concentration, the Auckland and Wellington urban areas have, over the years, grown in significance until in 1966 they accounted for 72.9 percent of the Jewish population. This urban pattern is a common feature of world Jewry and reflects a long tradition of urban concentration.

Elements of distribution are reflected in the economic structure of the New Zealand Jewish minority. A relationship exists between the economic structure and Jewish concentration in large cities. Occupational choice has further been limited both by the range of economic opportunity in New Zealand, the specific heritage of the migrants, and their desire for group solidarity. As a result the New Zealand Jewish community prior to 1946 exhibited a distinct economic structure with concentrations in specific sectors of industry, commerce, finance and the professions and small proportions engaged in all other sectors.

Footnotes

1. Mc Gee, T.G., 1961, 22.
2. Bogue, D.J., 1969, 1.
3. Goldman, L.M., 1958, The History of the Jews in New Zealand.
Loehore, R.A., 1951, From Europe to New Zealand.
4. Price, C.A., 1964, 9.
5. Goldman, L.M., 1958, 143.
6. Loehore, R.A., 1951, 67.
7. Loehore, R.A., 1951, 73.
8. Goldman, L.M., 1958, 227.
9. Loehore, R.A., 1951, 74.
10. See Chapter 6.
11. Rosenthal quoted in Lippman, W.M., 1966, 27.
12. Price, C.A., 1964, 11.
13. Price, C.A., 1964, 11.
14. See page 44.
15. Urban Area: "An Urban Area, in addition to the central city or borough, includes neighbouring boroughs, town districts and parts of counties which are regarded as suburban and belonging to it as a centre of population, irrespective of their being under different local administration". (New Zealand Population Census, 1961, 4, 13).
16. Kutznets, S., in L. Finkelstein (ed.), 1949, 1600.

CHAPTER THREE

THE URBAN JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF AUCKLAND, WELLINGTON
AND CHRISTCHURCH, 1966.

All immigrant minorities in a society undergo a process of integration with the majority group. The process is a multi-structured one operating in various spheres of the life of the minority. Duncan and Lieberman¹ listed these as: naturalization, the acquisition of legal citizenship; absorption, or entry into productive economic activity; assimilation, or integration into the social structure more or less on terms of socio-economic equality; and acculturation, or the adoption of the local customs and the relinquishing of such cultural characteristics as would identify the immigrants as a distinct ethnic group. The process of adjustment to the host population does not affect the immigrant community as a whole - it varies in degree from place to place and from one socio-economic characteristic to another.

The degree of absorption and assimilation attained by the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch Jewish communities is examined in Chapters 3 and 4; the extent to which these communities appear to wish to avoid acculturation and retain their distinctive cultural characteristics is examined in Chapters 5 and 6. More specifically, Chapter 3 attempts a statistical assessment of the process of adjustment to the general population of the Jewish communities in the three Urban Areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch and the difference in degree of adjustment, and Chapter 4 an examination of intra-group spatial differentiation of the Auckland Jewish community.

The indices used are: (1) spatial (residential); (2) demographic (age, sex, composition, marital status); and (3) economic (occupational,

industrial and income distributions). These indices were chosen primarily for reasons of their availability, and the fact that they represent significant variables of the socio-economic basis of any population.

The Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch Urban Areas were chosen for comparison as together they represented almost four fifths of New Zealand's, predominantly urban, Jewish population and, as such, were the only areas large enough for which Census information could be released by the Department of Statistics without breaching regulations on confidentiality of data.

(1) SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Distribution

In 1966, 94.9 percent of New Zealand's Jewish population lived in an urban area compared with 62.4 percent for the total population. Almost four-fifths (79.3 percent) of the 94.9 percent were located in the three urban areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch (42.6 percent, 30.4 percent and 6.3 percent respectively).

Within urban areas the pattern of intra-urban distribution provides an indication of the degree of adjustment of the Jewish community to the host society. In situations where minority group settlement is relatively concentrated it is likely that the community is only partially integrated even though residential segregation is not complete. Informal social interaction is more likely to occur within the community. In this instance the index of residential dissimilarity was employed to measure the segregation of the Jewish community from the total population.

Figures 3, 4 and 5 indicate the areas of Jewish intra-urban concentration for 1966. The densest concentration occurs in Christchurch

where Merivale and its adjoining subdivisions, Papanui and St Albans are over-represented by 8.8 percent, 6.0 and 5.6 percent respectively. In Auckland, Remuera North, Kohimarama and Mission Bay exhibit the highest concentrations, viz., 7.2 percent, 4.7 and 3.7 percent. The highest concentration in Wellington occurs in Karori which has an over-representation of 8.3 percent, while the five subdivisions of Hataitai, Kilbirnie, Taitville, Kelburn and Johnsonville have over-representations ranging between 2.0 and 3.9 percent. With the exception of the areas mentioned above, 31 of the remaining 39 Christchurch subdivisions, 50 of the remaining 63 Auckland subdivisions and 30 of the remaining 33 Wellington subdivisions are within plus or minus 1.9 percent of the expected (i.e. total population) distribution.

Residential dissimilarity indexes for New Zealand's three major religions (in terms of adherents) and three of the minor religions were calculated for the Auckland Urban Area to provide a comparison with the Hebrew index. Whereas the three major religious groups, Church of England, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic, showed small indexes of dissimilarity (6.4, 6.8 and 6.8 respectively) and were distributed relatively evenly among the subdivisions of the Auckland urban area, the minor religious groups had dissimilarity indices of 22.4 (Salvation Army), 24.2 (Seventh Day Adventists) and 36.8 (Congregational). The Hebrew index was 41.0. Concentrations of Salvation Army persons, Congregationalists and Seventh Day Adventists were just as apparent in certain subdivisions of the Auckland urban area as the Hebrew population.

It is worth noting that the subdivisions in which the concentrations of Jews occur, have in common high socio-economic rankings in their respective urban areas. One may suggest therefore that these areas of Jewish concentration are related to economic factors rather than a desire for residential segregation.

Fig 3. Comparative Distribution of Hebrews in the Auckland Urban Area, 1966. Percentage Distribution under and over that of the total population: (1) over -4.0 (2) -2.0 to -3.9 (3) 0.0 to -1.9 (4) 0.0 to 1.9 (5) 2.0 to 3.9 (6) over 4.0. Index of dissimilarity was 41.9. See Appendix C for key to subdivisions.

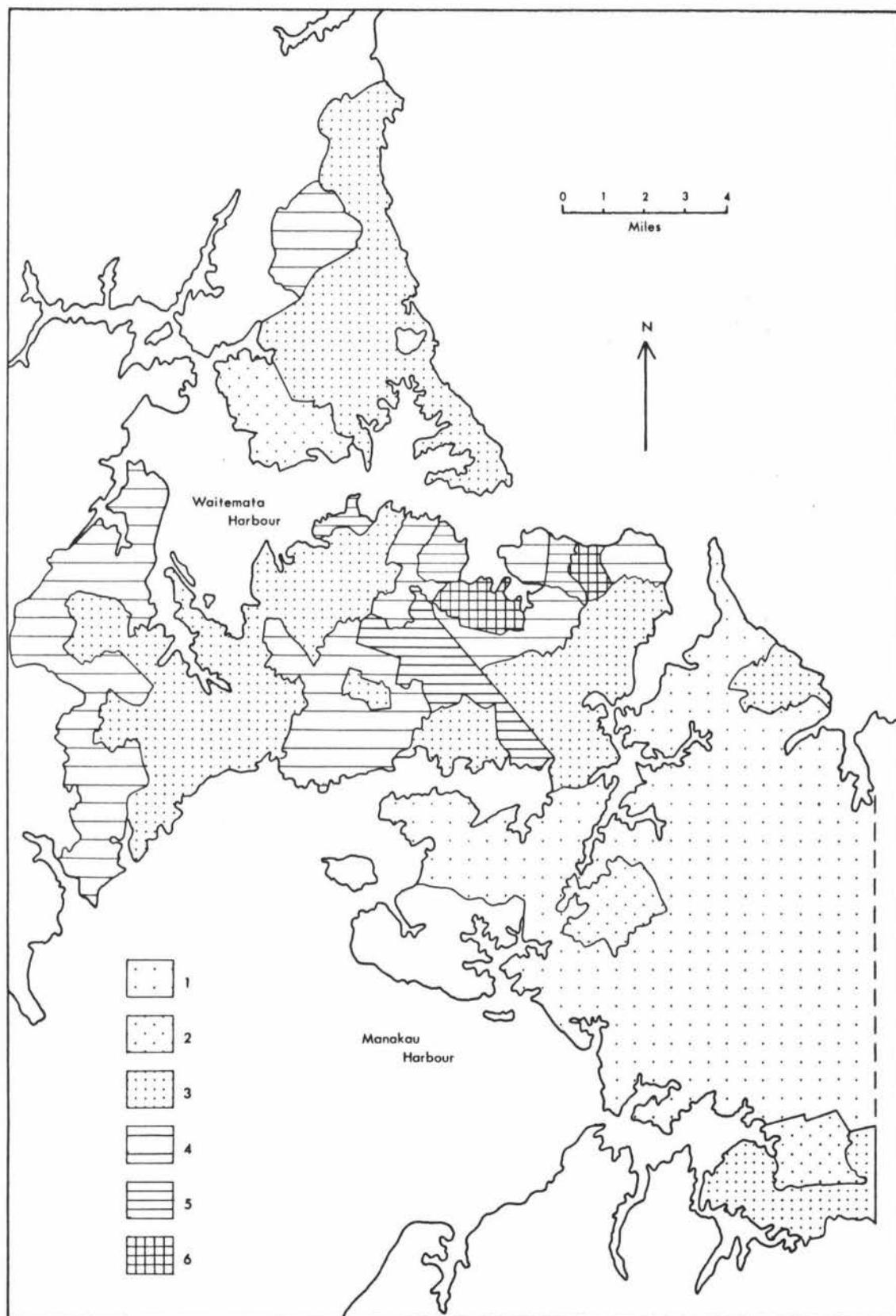


Fig 1. Comparative Distribution of Hebrews in the Wellington Urban Area, 1966.
 Percentage Distribution under and over that of the total population:
 (1) over -4.0 (2) -2.0 to -3.9 (3) 0.0 to -1.9 (4) 0.0 to 1.9 (5) 2.0 to 3.9 (6) over 4.0. Index of dissimilarity was 33.3.
 See Appendix C for key to subdivisions.

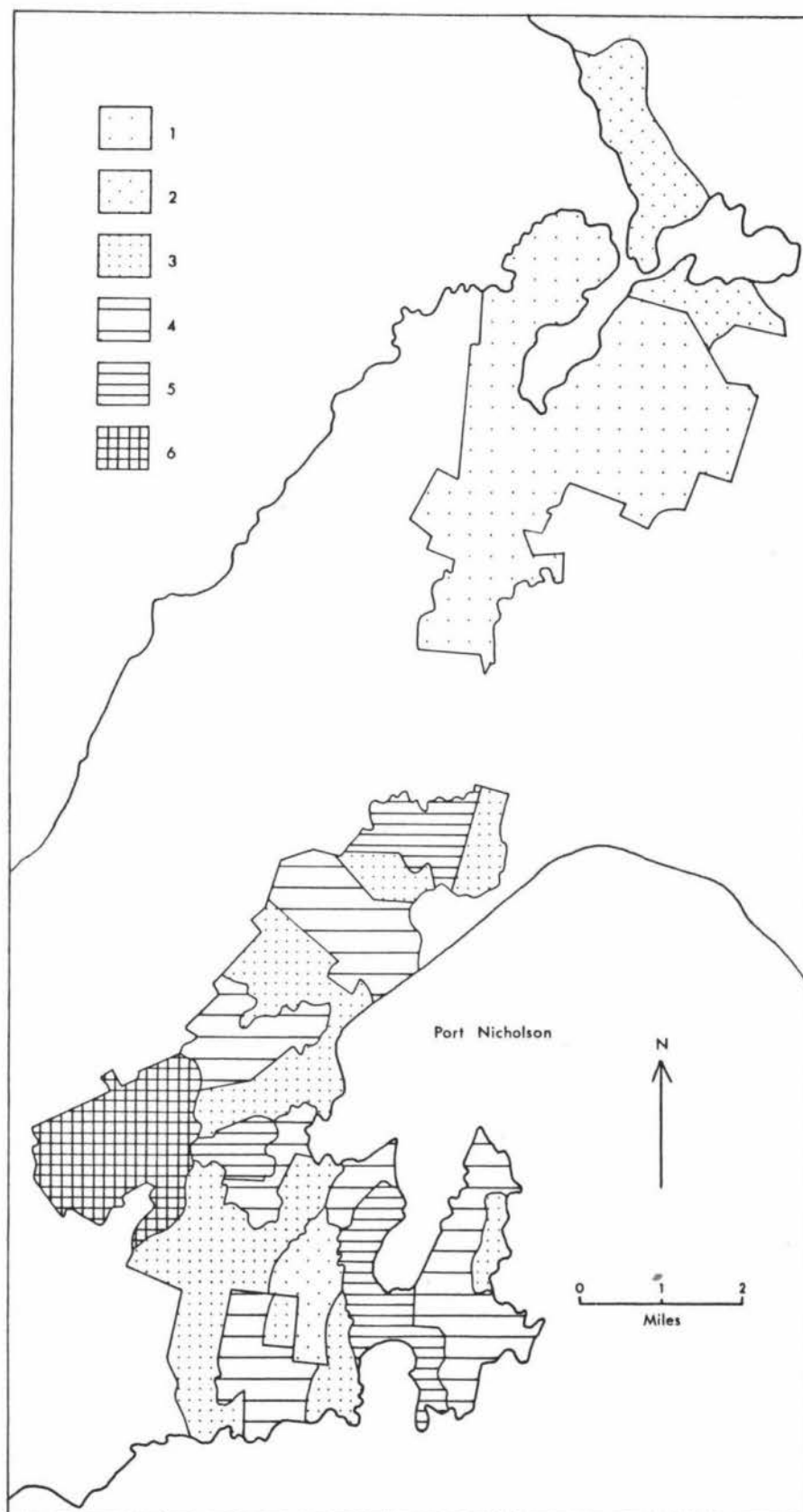


Fig 5. Comparative Distribution of Hebrews in the Christchurch Urban Area, 1966.
 Percentage Distribution under and over that of the total population:
 (1) -2.0 to -3.9 (2) 0.0 to -1.9 (3) 0.0 to 1.9 (4) 2.0 to 3.9 (5) over 4.0.
 Index of dissimilarity was 33.8.
 See Appendix C for key to subdivisions.



(2) DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Composition

Country of origin has deep significance in terms of cultural background and, subsequently, the immigrants' attitudes toward and propensity for integration. Attitudes adopted as a result of the country of origin can, however, be modified by length of residence in the new country. Unfortunately, scarcity of data precludes a consideration of length of residence in this chapter.

In 1966, 47.3 percent of those Jews residing in the Urban Areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch were born in New Zealand. A further 25.9 percent were born in Australia and the United Kingdom. Together these countries represent a total of 73.2 percent of New Zealand's Jewish population in the three Urban Areas who were born and brought up in a society in which the Jewish group has freely participated with other groups and thus undergone a degree of cultural assimilation.

The two other significant birthplace groupings (Table VII) occur in Western Europe (Germany, Austria) and Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia). In 1966, 10.1 and 8.5 percent of Auckland's Jewish minority recorded their birthplaces as being within Western and Eastern Europe respectively. In Wellington, the respective percentages were 6.7 and 13.9, and in Christchurch 10.5 and 7.0 (figures rounded). Whereas the Jewish communities of Western Europe during the nineteenth century were fairly closely identified in culture and language with the larger non-Jewish elements and hence less distinctively Jewish, the East European Jew was distinguished in language and culture as well as religion from the population of the countries in which he resided and more of his attitudes and values were distinctively Jewish. Thus,

the East European Jew on migration has, in many countries, contributed to an arrest in assimilatory tendencies. The total number of East European Jews resident in New Zealand does not appear to have been large enough to contribute significantly in this respect.

TABLE VII

AUCKLAND, WELLINGTON AND CHRISTCHURCH URBAN AREAS JEWISH
COMMUNITIES BY BIRTHPLACE, 1966.

Birth- place	Auckland Urban Area			Wellington Urban Area			Christchurch Urban Area		
	M %	F %	T %	M %	F %	T %	M %	F %	T %
Australia	0.97	2.00	2.97	1.12	1.28	2.40	1.16	1.55	2.71
N.Z.	24.46	23.25	47.71	22.76	23.48	46.23	24.42	25.19	49.60
U.K.	12.26	11.74	24.00	10.98	11.14	22.12	10.85	11.63	22.48
West Eur. ¹	4.48	5.96	10.44	2.64	4.01	6.66	5.80	4.65	10.47
East Eur. ²	4.12	4.36	8.48	7.45	6.49	13.94	3.88	3.10	6.98
Israel	0.63	0.34	0.97	0.48	0.24	0.72	0.78	0.00	0.78
Russia	0.57	0.80	1.37	1.04	1.52	2.56	0.78	0.78	1.55
Other	2.18	2.18	4.36	2.08	3.29	5.37	2.33	3.10	5.43
Total	47.37	50.63	100.00	48.55	51.45	100.00	50.00	50.00	100.00

¹ Western Europe - Germany, Austria

² Eastern Europe - Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia

Source: New Zealand Department of Statistics.

Writers have reported that in other countries of the world Jews from various parts of Europe have formed national or group settlements; in other words, settled closely enough in their new country of residence to maintain close personal relationships and share common facilities thus inhibiting absorption and assimilation.² Within New Zealand this does not appear to have occurred, probably because the absolute numbers of Jewry resident in each urban area from each different country are in most instances too small.

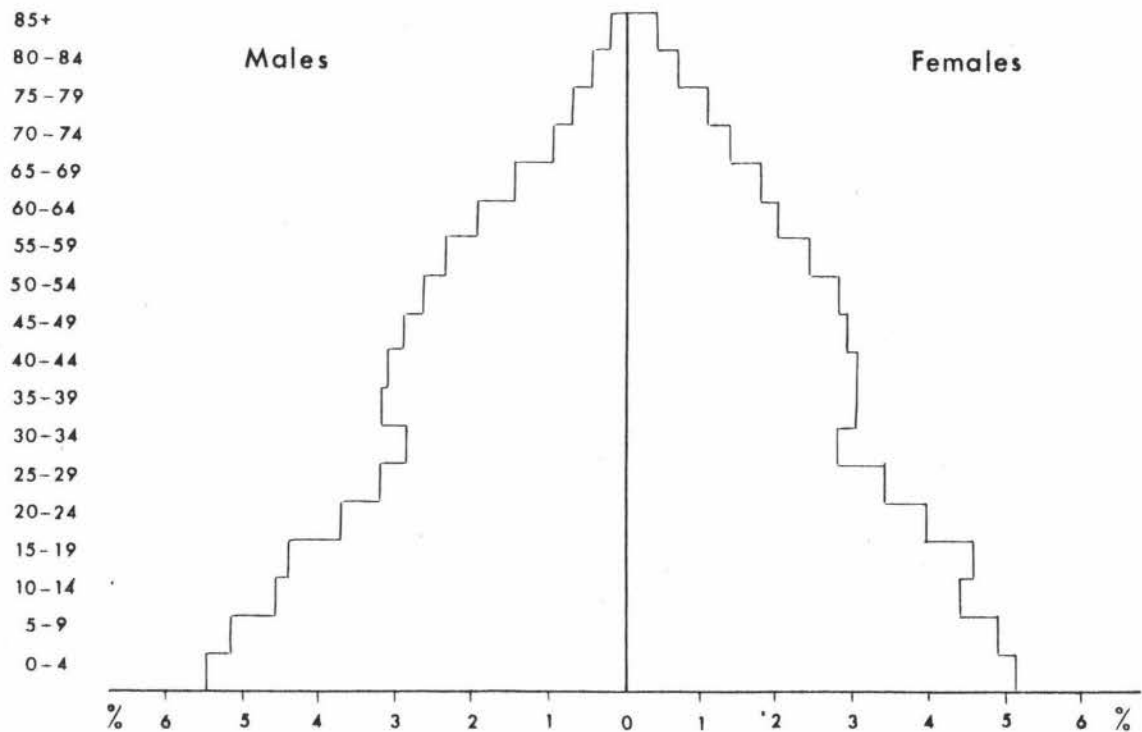
Age and Sex

Figures 6, 7 and 8 show that the characteristics illustrated in the 1966 New Zealand Jewish population pyramid (page 19); viz., the top heavy or over-aged nature of the community, and the relatively low percentage of young people in the under 20 years of age bracket, are also represented in each of the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch pyramids. Of the three Urban Areas, Christchurch has slightly atypical patterns in a number of age groups although the pyramid still illustrates the outcomes specified above. Major variations occur in the number of males in the 15-19 years category, number of females in the 80-84 years category and numbers of both sexes in the age groups 55-59 years, 65-69 years and 85+ years.

Various reasons for the structural differences occurring between the Jewish community and total population have been postulated in Chapter 2. A further factor, not previously considered, contributing to the lack of young Jewish persons in the 20-30 age group may be that of Aliyah (emigration to Israel), which is fostered by at least two of the youth movements in Auckland and Wellington - Habonim and Maodon Bnei Akiva. Unfortunately, there is no known record of the numbers leaving New Zealand on Aliyah. However, an Auckland Jewish correspondent recently

FIG 6
AGE-SEX STRUCTURES FOR THE AUCKLAND URBAN
AREA, 1966

AUCKLAND TOTAL POPULATION



AUCKLAND HEBREW POPULATION

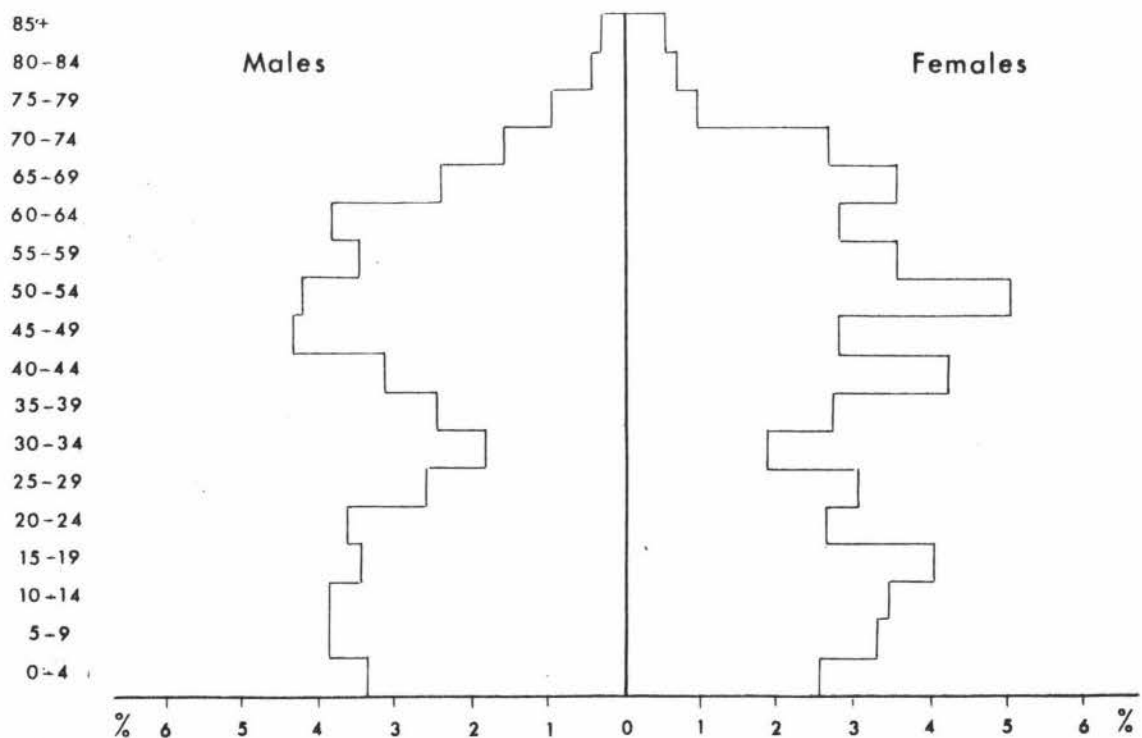
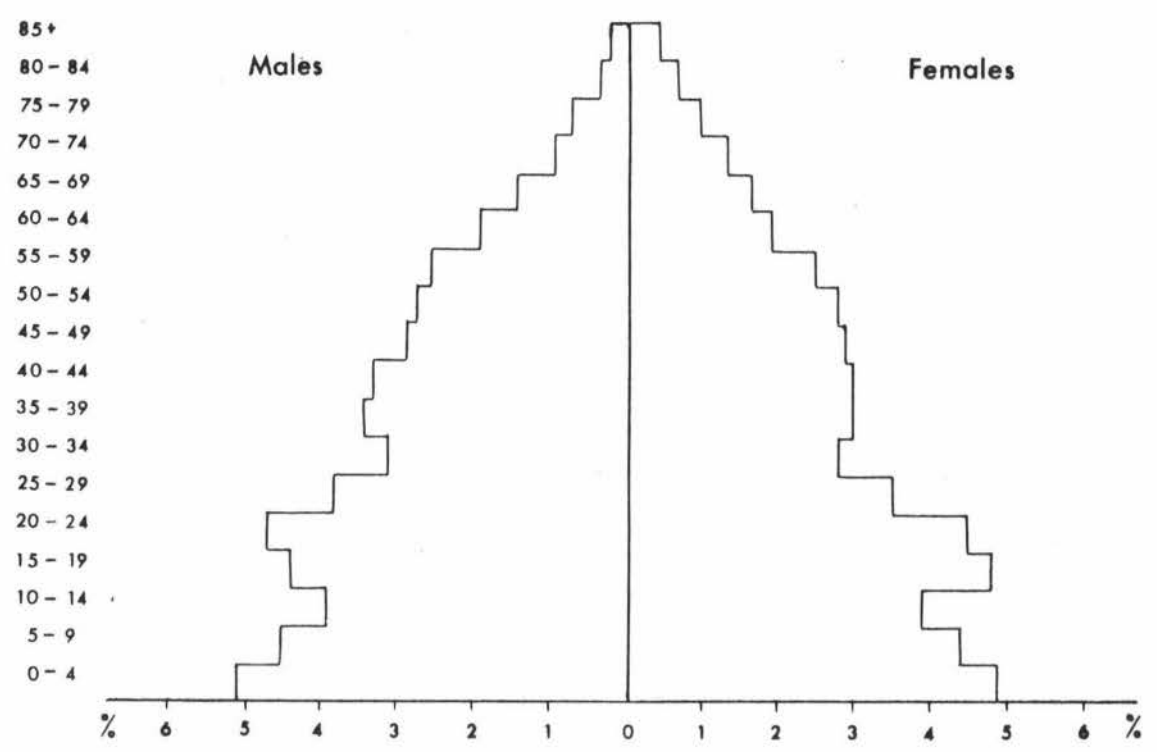


FIG 7

AGE-SEX STRUCTURES FOR THE WELLINGTON
URBAN AREA, 1966

WELLINGTON TOTAL POPULATION



WELLINGTON HEBREW POPULATION

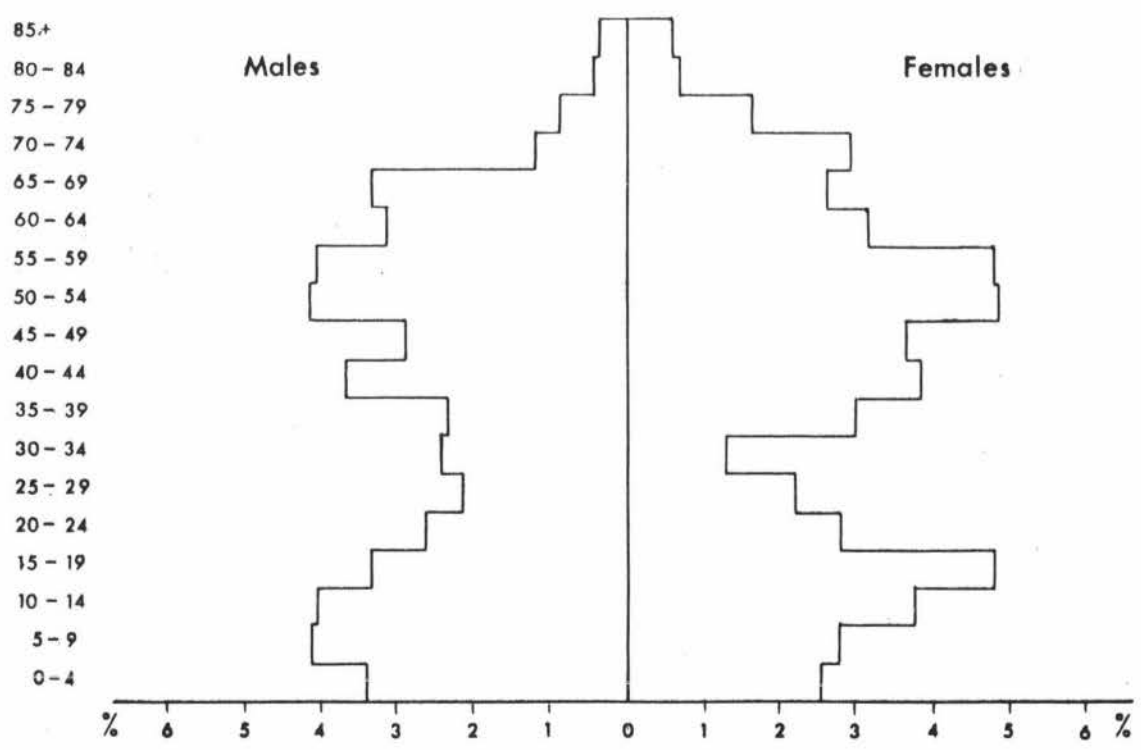
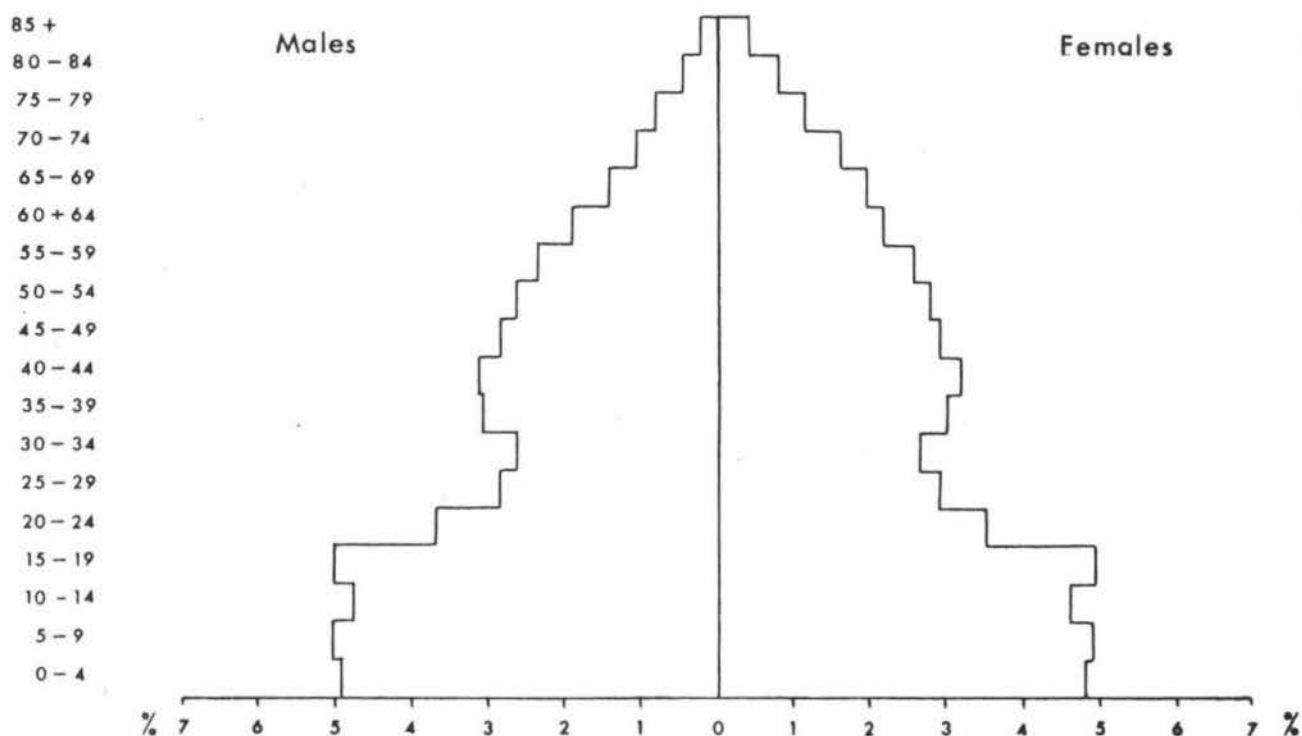


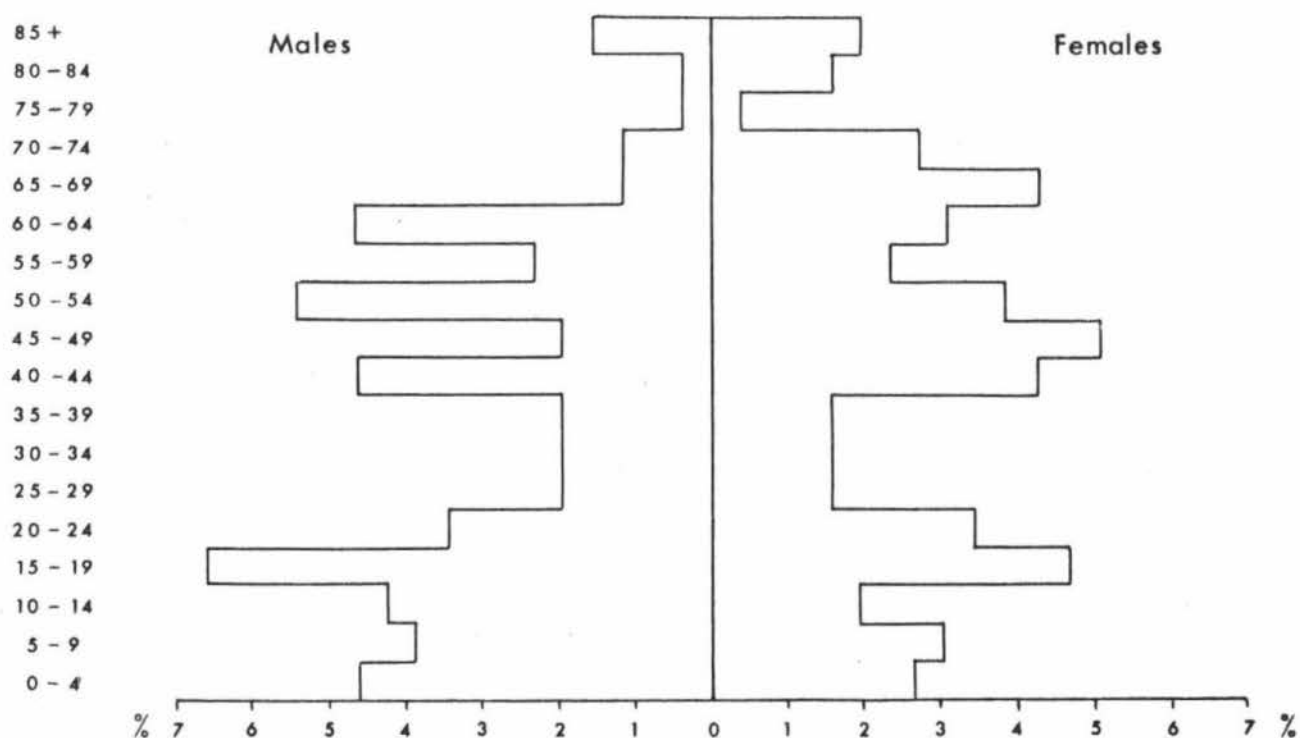
FIG 8
AGE-SEX STRUCTURES FOR THE CHRISTCHURCH
URBAN AREA, 1966

21/10/66

CHRISTCHURCH TOTAL POPULATION



CHRISTCHURCH HEBREW POPULATION



wrote, "a goodly number of some of the most able youth have left New Zealand for permanent settlement in Israel and many families would hope that one child from each family would go there".³ It was predicted by the same person that this could cause a continuing decline in Jewish population numbers in New Zealand in the future.

Aliyah must play an important role in the maintenance of Jewish consciousness both for those emigrating to Israel and to a lesser extent for their parents and friends as recipients of their letters from abroad. Within the New Zealand Jewish community intermarriage possibly acts as a counter balance to Aliyah. The severe consequences of intermarriage for the maintenance of Jewish identity have been outlined in Chapter 2.

Marital Status

Marital status affects population growth in its implications for group survival through childbearing. Table VIII shows the classification of Jews according to marital status in the three Urban Areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. Three points are worthy of note:

- a) the larger proportion of Jews in the "Married" category compared with the total population (+8.6 percent, +7.5 percent and +3.1 percent for Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch respectively).
- b) the smaller proportion of Jews in the "Never Married" category as against the total population (-10.3 percent, -9.9 percent and -8.0 percent for Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch respectively).
- c) the consistent over-representation of Jews in the "Widowed and Divorced" category.

If the married couples are normally distributed in terms of age within the Jewish communities a rate of increase at least as high as that of the total population may be expected. In fact, in 1966 the ratio of

TABLE VIII

A COMPARISON OF THE HEBREW AND TOTAL POPULATION IN THE AUCKLAND, WELLINGTON AND CHRISTCHURCH URBAN AREAS
BY MARITAL STATUS, 1966

Marital Status	Auckland Urban Area							Wellington Urban Area							Christchurch Urban Area						
	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total
	M. %	F. %	T. %	M. %	F. %	T. %		M. %	F. %	T. %	M. %	F. %	T. %		M. %	F. %	T. %	M. %	F. %	T. %	
Never Married	51.4	45.7	48.5	41.7	33.8	37.7	-10.8	53.2	47.6	50.4	43.2	38.0	40.5	-9.9	51.5	46.1	48.7	46.5	34.9	40.7	-8.0
Married	44.8	44.1	44.5	54.9	51.2	53.1	+ 8.6	42.7	42.4	42.6	52.9	47.5	50.1	+7.5	44.9	43.5	44.2	44.9	49.6	47.3	+3.1
Legally Sep.	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.4	- 0.4	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.3	-0.5	0.5	0.8	0.7	2.3	0.8	1.6	+0.9
Widowed	3.1	9.3	6.2	2.1	12.7	7.4	+2.6	3.3	9.1	6.2	3.0	12.9	8.1	+2.8	3.1	9.6	6.4	4.7	12.4	8.5	+3.6
Divorced				0.9	1.8	1.4					0.7	1.1	0.9					1.6	1.5	1.5	
Not Specified	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	+0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.4	+0.4
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	
Index of dissim.							11.2							10.4							8.0

For the total population "widowed" and "divorced" figures are available only together.

Sources: New Zealand Population Census 1966

New Zealand Department of Statistics

children under 5 to females of 15-44 was 34.9 for Jews compared with 32.1 for the total population in the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch Urban Areas. It would appear that although the total population rate of increase is slightly higher than that for the Jewish population, sufficient numbers of Jews are being born to ensure the survival of the New Zealand Jewish community by natural increase. However, as the percentage of New Zealand born Jewry continues to increase the greater the necessity for a strong and vital community life to retain those Jews brought up in the New Zealand environment from birth.

(3) ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Differences in economic distributions between an ethnic group and host society are closely related to the degree of social distance between the two populations. Generally, the most segregated occupation groups are those at the extremes of the socio-economic scale and hence at a greater social distance from the general population.

Occupational Status

Examination of Table IX reveals that in each Urban Area work force participation is slightly higher for the Hebrew than the New Zealand population (+6.2 percent, +3.0 percent and +4.8 percent for Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch respectively). Bogue⁴ has stated that sociological and demographic factors interact with economic factors to influence the level of labour force participation. Job discrimination, age, sex, race, nativity, marital status, number of children in the family etc., may all be considered pertinent factors. Obviously, in New Zealand no difficulty is experienced in obtaining employment by the Jewish minority. Of the remaining factors indicated, the Jewish over-representation in the 45 and above age category may account for the different levels of participation.

TABLE IX

A COMPARISON OF THE HEBREW AND TOTAL POPULATION IN THE
AUCKLAND, WELLINGTON AND CHRISTCHURCH URBAN AREAS BY
TOTALS "ACTIVELY ENGAGED" AND "NOT ACTIVELY ENGAGED", 1966.

Urban Areas	Totals Actively Engaged						
	Total Population			Hebrew Population			% difference for totals
	M	F	T	M	F	T	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Auckland	57.4	23.9	40.3	64.2	29.2	46.5	+6.2
Wellington	63.0	29.9	46.3	64.6	34.8	49.3	+3.0
Christchurch	55.3	21.4	37.9	58.1	27.1	42.7	+4.8
Urban Areas	Totals Not Actively Engaged						
	Total Population			Hebrew Population			% difference for totals
	M	F	T	M	F	T	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Auckland	42.6	76.1	59.7	35.8	70.8	53.5	-6.2
Wellington	37.0	70.1	53.7	35.4	65.2	50.7	-3.0
Christchurch	44.7	78.6	62.1	41.9	72.9	57.3	-4.8

Sources: New Zealand Population Census 1966 (unpublished data).

New Zealand Department of Statistics.

Within the "Actively Engaged" segment of both populations, comparable percentages of the total and Hebrew populations lie in the status categories of "Own Account" and "Wages and Salary" (Table X). It is noteworthy that the bulk of both groups in this segment, consist of wage and salary earners: 35.9 percent, 39.2 and 34.9 percent of the Jewish total and 35.7 percent, 42.7 and 34.1 percent of the general population for Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch respect-

TABLE X

A COMPARISON OF THE HEBREW AND TOTAL POPULATION IN THE AUCKLAND, WELLINGTON AND CHRISTCHURCH URBAN AREAS
BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, 1966

Occupational Status	Auckland Urban Area							Wellington Urban Area							Christchurch Urban Area						
	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total
	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.		M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.		M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	
	%	%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%	
Employer	3.8	0.5	2.1	11.7	1.9	6.8	+4.7	3.8	0.3	1.6	11.8	2.7	7.1	+5.5	3.3	0.3	1.8	9.3	1.5	5.4	+3.6
Own Account	3.6	0.6	2.0	4.6	1.7	3.1	+1.1	2.8	0.5	1.6	4.3	0.9	2.6	+1.0	3.1	0.4	1.7	1.5	0.8	1.2	-0.5
Wages or Salary	49.4	22.4	35.7	47.4	24.8	35.9	+0.2	56.8	28.9	42.7	48.2	30.8	39.2	-3.5	48.5	20.4	34.1	45.7	24.0	34.9	+0.8
Unemployed	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	-0.4	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	-0.3	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	-0.3
Not Specified	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.8	0.7	+0.6	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.4	+0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.6	0.8	1.8	+1.2
Not Actively Engaged	42.6	76.1	59.7	35.8	70.8	53.5	-6.2	37.0	70.1	53.7	35.4	65.2	50.7	-3.0	44.7	78.6	62.1	41.9	72.9	57.3	-4.8
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	
Index of dissimilarity							6.6							6.8							5.6

Sources: New Zealand Population Census 1966

New Zealand Department of Statistics

ively. However, the differentiation in the status category "Employer" between the two populations is marked. In Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch the Hebrew "Employers" totalled 6.8 percent, 7.1 and 5.4 percent respectively, compared with 2.1 percent, 1.6 and 1.8 percent for the general population. Australian Jewry exhibits a similar characteristic with substantially larger proportions of Jews listed as "Employers" than the general Australian population.⁵

Occupational Divisions

The two most fundamental ways of subdividing the total work force are by occupation and industry. The occupational classification of a person refers to the type of job that he holds while the industrial classification refers to the type of organization or firm for which he works.

The occupational indices of dissimilarity had a range of 12.3 between the three Urban Areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch in 1966 (Table XI). However, similar occupational concentrations occur in each Urban Area. Significant over-representations of 17.6 percent, 15.5 and 15.2 percent (Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch respectively) occur in the "Administrative, Executive and Managerial workers" category and 8.3 percent and 9.2 percent for Auckland and Christchurch in the "Professional, Technical and Related workers" category. A smaller over-representation exists in the category "Sales workers", viz. 4.2 percent, 6.4 percent and 2.5 percent (Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch respectively). Major under-representations occur in the category "Craftsmen, Production Process workers and Labourers", viz. 26.8 percent, 10.7 percent and 20.6 percent for the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch Urban Areas and smaller under-representations in the occupational categories of "Transport and Communications", "Service, Sport and Recreation" and "Clerical".

TABLE XI
A COMPARISON OF THE HEBREW AND TOTAL POPULATION IN THE AUCKLAND, WELLINGTON AND CHRISTCHURCH URBAN AREAS
BY OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS, 1966

Occupational Divisions	Auckland Urban Area							Wellington Urban Area							Christchurch Urban Area						
	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total
	M. %	F. %	T. %	M. %	F. %	T. %		M. %	F. %	T. %	M. %	F. %	T. %		M. %	F. %	T. %	M. %	F. %	T. %	
Prof. Tech. & related Workers	8.2	13.5	9.8	20.3	13.6	18.1	+ 8.3	11.2	15.7	12.7	13.7	9.4	12.1	- 0.6	8.5	17.0	11.0	20.0	20.6	20.2	+ 9.2
Admin. Exec. Managerial Workers	8.5	2.2	6.6	31.3	8.9	24.2	+17.6	9.5	1.5	6.9	29.9	9.4	22.4	+15.5	7.6	1.6	5.9	26.6	8.8	21.1	+15.2
Clerical Workers	8.9	29.9	15.2	9.9	39.1	19.3	+ 4.4	17.2	41.2	25.0	13.7	40.2	23.4	- 1.6	9.8	27.9	15.1	8.0	26.5	13.8	- 1.3
Sales Workers	7.7	10.9	8.7	13.0	12.8	12.9	+ 4.2	7.1	9.3	7.8	12.6	16.9	14.2	+ 6.4	8.5	11.8	9.4	10.7	14.7	11.9	+ 2.5
Farmers, Fishermen, hunters, Loggers & rel.	2.2	0.7	1.7	0.7	0.0	0.5	- 1.2	1.1	0.1	0.8	0.5	0.0	0.3	- 0.5	2.9	0.6	2.3	2.7	0.0	1.8	- 0.5
Miners, Quarrymen & related Workers	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	- 0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	- 0.1
Workers in Transport & Communications	7.6	2.0	5.9	2.2	0.0	1.5	- 4.4	7.6	2.4	5.9	1.8	0.4	1.3	- 4.6	7.2	1.5	5.5	5.3	0.0	3.7	- 1.8
Craftsmen, Prod. Process Wkrs. & Labourers not	150.8	27.7	43.9	18.8	13.6	17.1	-26.8	39.9	16.7	32.3	23.7	17.9	21.6	-10.7	49.6	25.5	42.6	21.3	23.5	22.0	-20.6
Service, Sport & Recreation Workers	3.9	12.5	6.5	2.9	12.0	5.8	- 0.7	4.8	12.3	7.3	3.9	4.9	4.2	- 3.1	3.8	13.7	6.7	2.7	2.9	2.7	- 4.0
Workers not Classifiable	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.9	0.0	0.6	+ 0.1	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.9	0.5	+ 0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	2.7	3.0	2.8	+2.7
Armed Forces	1.5	0.2	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	- 1.1	1.1	0.4	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	- 0.9	1.8	0.2	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	- 1.
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	
Index of dissimilarity							34.3							22.0							29.6

Sources: New Zealand Population Census, 1966

New Zealand Department of Statistics

In other countries of the world the superior education and higher proportion of self-employed persons are closely related to this concentration in the professions and business. There are no reliable statistics for New Zealand concerning the numbers of Jewish youth attending tertiary institutions, although a Jewish correspondent has written that there are well over 60 Jewish persons at present attending Auckland University.⁶

Industrial Divisions

Although the industrial dissimilarity range between the Urban Areas was smaller than that of the occupational dissimilarity range (7.6 compared with 12.3), differences within some categories per urban area were considerably greater. Table XII illustrates that particularly high concentrations, compared with the total population, are found in the categories "Commerce" and "Manufacturing". In the "Commerce" category Auckland has an over-representation of 9.1 percent, Wellington 7.5 percent and Christchurch 4.6 percent, whilst in the "Manufacturing" category, Wellington and Christchurch have over-representations of 13.2 percent and 6.4 percent respectively, and Auckland has an under-representation of 0.8 percent. On the other hand, Auckland is over-represented in the "Services" category by 6.6 percent compared with 0.7 percent for Christchurch and an under-representation of 3.7 percent for Wellington.

Compared with the general population major under-representations occur in all three Urban Areas in the "Construction" and "Transport, Storage and Communications" categories. In the former category these range from 5.6 percent (Christchurch) to 7.2 percent (Auckland) and in the latter, from 4.9 percent (Christchurch) to 9.9 percent (Wellington). In all other categories there appear to be no significant differences between total population and Hebrew distributions.

TABLE XII
A COMPARISON OF HEBREW AND TOTAL POPULATION IN THE AUCKLAND, WELLINGTON AND CHRISTCHURCH URBAN AREAS
BY INDUSTRY DIVISIONS, 1966

Industry Divisions	Auckland Urban Area							Wellington Urban Area							Christchurch Urban Area						
	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total
	M. %	F. %	T. %	M. %	F. %	T. %		M. %	F. %	T. %	M. %	F. %	T. %		M. %	F. %	T. %	M. %	F. %	T. %	
Agric. Forest. Hmtg. & Fishg.	1.8	0.8	1.5	0.7	0.0	0.5	- 1.0	1.0	0.2	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.5	- 0.2	2.3	0.7	1.9	1.3	0.0	0.9	- 1.0
Mining and Quarrying	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	- 0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	- 0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	- 0.2
Manufacturing	35.8	35.4	35.7	37.4	29.5	34.9	- 0.8	23.1	21.7	22.6	39.9	28.6	35.8	+13.2	34.1	30.8	33.1	41.3	35.3	39.5	+ 6.4
Construction	13.6	0.9	9.7	2.7	1.9	2.5	- 7.2	11.7	1.0	8.2	3.1	0.9	2.3	- 5.9	12.9	0.7	9.3	5.3	0.0	3.7	- 5.6
Elec., Gas, Water, Sanitary Services	1.6	0.3	1.2	0.2	0.4	0.2	- 1.0	1.7	0.3	1.2	0.0	0.5	0.2	- 1.0	1.9	0.3	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	- 1.5
Commerce	19.1	24.3	20.7	29.9	29.8	29.8	+ 9.1	22.8	27.0	24.2	30.4	33.9	31.7	+ 7.5	20.8	24.9	22.0	22.7	35.3	26.6	+ 4.6
Trans., Storage Communications	12.4	4.3	10.0	4.5	1.6	3.6	- 6.4	17.4	7.2	14.1	3.9	4.9	4.2	- 9.9	11.9	3.8	9.5	6.7	0.0	4.6	- 4.9
Services	14.8	33.3	20.4	23.7	34.1	27.0	+ 6.6	21.8	42.2	28.5	21.9	29.9	24.8	- 3.7	15.7	38.5	22.2	20.0	29.4	22.9	+ 0.7
Activities not Adequately Described	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.9	2.7	1.5	+ 0.9	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.9	0.5	+ 0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	2.7	0.0	1.8	+ 1.5
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	
Index of dissimilarity							16.6							20.8							13.2

Sources: New Zealand Population Census, 1966

New Zealand Department of Statistics

Income Distribution

The remaining question to be asked in this section concerns income distribution. Does the higher socio-economic position of the Jewish group as indicated by the higher proportion of Jews in the professions and business also mean greater income for the Jews?

Indices of dissimilarity (Table XIII) were 16.7 for Auckland, 10.6 for Wellington and 14.6 for Christchurch in 1966. Considerable under-representations are evident in the \$1,000-\$1,799, \$1,800-\$2,199 and \$2,200-\$2,599 categories for Auckland (4.6 percent, 4.5 and 5.0 percent) and Wellington (5.9 percent, 2.3 and 2.4 percent). ^{the} In Christchurch Urban Area higher under-representations are evident in the \$200-\$999, \$1,800-\$2,199 and \$2,200-\$2,599 categories (3.5 percent, 6.9 and 3.2 percent respectively). At the other end of the scale major over-representations occur in the \$8,000 and above income bracket for each Urban Area (6.1 percent, 3.0 and 5.6 percent for Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch respectively).

The mean incomes for the populations of the different Urban Areas show little difference between Urban Areas or Hebrew and total populations. While the mean income category for the Hebrew and total population in Wellington was the same (\$1,800-\$2,199), in Auckland and Christchurch the Hebrew mean was \$1,800-\$2,199 compared with \$1,000-\$1,799 for the total population.

Reasons for Jewish Economic Patterns

It has been shown that the Jewish communities of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch differ substantially from the general population in the economic sphere. In doing so they closely reproduce a pattern which is fairly universal among Jewry today. Four basic approaches have been used to provide reasons for this world-wide phenomenon: historical,

TABLE XIII
A COMPARISON OF HEBREW AND TOTAL POPULATION IN THE AUCKLAND, WELLINGTON AND CHRISTCHURCH URBAN AREAS
BY INCOME DIVISIONS, 1966

Income Divisions	Auckland Urban Area							Wellington Urban Area							Christchurch Urban Area						
	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total	Total Popn.			Hebrew Popn.			% diff. for total
	M. %	F. %	T. %	M. %	F. %	T. %		M. %	F. %	T. %	M. %	F. %	T. %		M. %	F. %	T. %	M. %	F. %	T. %	
\$ 2- 199	2.8	11.2	6.0	3.5	8.8	5.8	- 0.2	2.3	9.6	5.2	2.8	8.0	5.2	0.0	3.4	13.3	7.1	4.4	13.4	8.3	+ 1.2
200- 999	8.6	36.9	19.1	6.8	29.9	16.7	- 2.4	4.6	29.2	14.5	6.9	23.9	14.8	+ 0.3	10.7	41.3	22.0	10.0	29.9	18.5	- 3.5
1,000-1,799	17.2	39.1	25.4	12.9	31.1	20.8	- 4.6	16.0	40.3	25.8	9.3	32.2	19.9	- 5.9	19.3	34.2	24.9	14.5	38.8	24.8	- 0.1
1,800-2,199	19.5	6.8	14.8	11.2	9.2	10.3	- 4.5	18.4	12.1	15.9	12.1	15.3	13.6	- 2.3	21.4	6.2	15.8	11.1	5.6	8.9	- 6.9
2,200-2,599	19.9	2.7	13.5	10.3	6.1	8.5	- 5.0	19.9	4.4	13.5	14.8	6.7	11.1	- 2.4	19.0	2.3	12.8	16.7	0.0	9.6	- 3.2
2,600-3,999	23.1	2.3	15.4	23.1	8.6	16.8	+ 1.4	26.6	3.4	17.3	25.9	10.5	18.8	+ 1.5	19.1	1.9	12.7	15.6	7.5	12.1	- 0.6
4,000-4,999	3.9	0.5	2.6	9.8	2.2	6.6	+ 4.0	5.5	0.5	3.5	8.4	1.6	5.2	+ 1.7	3.1	0.3	2.1	8.9	1.5	5.7	+ 3.6
5,000-5,999	1.7	0.2	1.1	4.3	1.7	3.1	+ 2.0	2.5	0.2	1.6	5.3	0.5	3.1	+ 1.5	1.3	0.2	0.9	4.4	1.5	3.2	+ 2.3
6,000-6,999	1.1	0.1	0.7	3.6	1.3	2.6	+ 1.9	1.5	0.1	0.9	3.7	0.0	2.0	+ 1.1	0.9	0.1	0.6	4.4	0.6	2.5	+ 1.9
7,000-7,999	0.6	0.1	0.4	2.8	0.2	1.7	+ 1.3	0.7	0.1	0.5	3.0	0.8	2.0	+ 1.5	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	- 0.3
8,000 +	1.6	0.1	1.0	11.7	1.0	7.1	+ 6.1	2.0	0.1	1.3	7.6	0.5	4.3	+ 3.0	1.3	0.1	0.8	10.0	1.5	6.4	+ 5.6
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	
Index of dissimilarity							16.7							10.6							14.6

N.B. Nil income category excluded from the table.

Sources: New Zealand Population Census, 1966. New Zealand Department of Statistics

economic, socio-cultural and psychological.

The historical approach traces the economic structure of Jewry since the beginning of the Christian era and suggests that the non-admission of Jewish persons to the craftguilds or professions and inability to own land forced them into such businesses as peddling, money-lending and various types of middle-men activity.⁷ With this occupational experience in finance and industry they were especially well fitted to rise in the present competitive, capitalistic world.

Kuznets⁸ adopted an economic approach in an attempt to explain the lack of Jewish participation in agriculture and relatively minor participation in transport and communications, services, etc., and concentration in manufacturing, commerce and the professions. Generally, the economic functions of a minority are determined by three factors, viz, its small size, the period of its arrival, and its tendency towards cohesion. The minority's small size prevents a reproduction of the majority economic profile, while the desire for cohesion results in the concentration in specific occupations and industries which hinders dispersion. The occupational and industrial areas of concentration are determined by the time of arrival of the migrants (They will fit into those areas of the economy not fully manned at the time), their economic heritage and acquired skills. Furthermore, areas of economic activity where in the past discrimination has been experienced may well be avoided.

The socio-cultural approach traces the origin of certain religious, cultural and social middle class values possessed by the Jew. The Jewish religion is thought to have inculcated such values as "recognition of individual worth and responsibility for individual welfare, non-ascetism, rationality, empiricism, emphasis on literacy, education and

intellectual pursuits" etc.⁹ The business experience of Jews has taught them "care, foresight, moderation, the ability to make the most of opportunities, the anticipation of alternatives and the cultivation of clients and customers".¹⁰ Urban life stressed the "interhuman struggle for gain, fostered intellectuality, calculability and exactness, and loosened the bonds of the community over the individual, making him responsible for his own welfare".¹¹ Minority group status developed a "tradition of group support for individual attempts to attain economic independence and gain protection from the buffets of discriminatory pressures".¹² Hurvitz has stressed that the desire for independence is evident throughout the economic sphere and combined with the stress on education has produced the general concentration of Jews in the independent professions.¹³

Finally, the psychological approach stresses the individual's psychological and cultural orientation towards achievement and success insuleated early in life by parents.

It would appear that these general arguments based upon Jewish cultural and religious values, business experience, minority status and upon the economics of small minorities apply equally to the New Zealand Jewish community in explaining the over-representations in specific economic categories. The Jewish traditions of philanthropy and self-help were evident among New Zealand's earliest Jewish immigrants. In 1886 a Philanthropic Society was founded in Dunedin, its object being the relief of the Jewish poor. Once the problem of capital to start in business had been overcome the inherited and acquired experience, judgement and skills of the Jew could be utilised in the economic sphere. Furthermore, the Jewish migrant to New Zealand generally came from an urban area and possessed the middle class characteristics which produce

rapid economic mobility and integration. Even today, communal assistance in the form of the Hebrew Aid Society (Auckland) exists to assist approved applicants with interest free loans to help them start in business or purchase a home, thus perpetuating the patterns of self-help which have arisen in the past.

(4) CONCLUSIONS

Varying degrees of integration between the New Zealand Jewish communities and general population, indicated by the index of dissimilarity, are evident in each socio-economic category between the Urban Areas. However, basic trends among the Jewish population within each Urban Area are similar.

Work force participation is slightly higher for the Jewish community than general population and a larger proportion of Jews are self-employed persons. Occupational concentrations occur in the categories "Administrative, Executive and Managerial workers" and "Professional, Technical and Related workers" and industrial concentrations in the "Manufacturing" and "Commerce" categories. The Jewish minority participates to a relatively minor degree in other spheres of the economy. As a result of the higher socio-economic position of the Jewish minority a greater rate of earning power is reflected in the higher income brackets.

The index of residential dissimilarity reveals that in each Urban Area a pattern of residential distribution approximating the total population is apparent with the exceptions of Jewish over-representations in a number of high social status areas and under-representation in a number of the lower social status areas. It would appear that the Jewish over-representation in these areas is related to the higher socio-economic position of the Jewish minority. This is not surprising in terms of

the large numbers of Jewish persons born in New Zealand and suggests that the Jewish communities of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch are in a fairly advanced state of absorption and assimilation. However, this point will be taken up again in Chapter 4 with an examination of intra-group spatial differentiation within the Auckland Jewish community.

Footnotes

1. Duncan, O.T. and Lieberman, S., 1959, 370.
2. Price, C.A., 1964, 23-4.
3. Gluckman, A. pers comm., 14.9.70.
4. Bogue, D.J., 1969, 242.
5. Lippman, W.M., 1966, 12.
6. Gluckman, A. pers comm., 14.9.70.
7. Described by Medding, P.Y., 1968, 22.
8. Kuznets, S. in L. Finkelstein (ed.), 1964, 1597-622.
9. Medding, P.Y., 1968, 23-25.
10. Medding, P.Y., 1968, 23-25.
11. Medding, P.Y., 1968, 23-25.
12. Medding, P.Y., 1968, 23-25.
13. Hurvitz, N., 1958, 117-23.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRA-URBAN DIFFERENTIATION: THE AUCKLAND JEWISH COMMUNITY, 1966.

Populations are not homogeneous in character - they consist of numerous groups which are differentiated in many ways. The differences are particularly marked within an urban society and may be based on any one or a number of criteria; for example, age, sex, occupation, income, ethnic characteristics or political affiliation. This chapter provides an examination of intra-group spatial differentiation of the Auckland Jewish community. The Auckland Urban Area was selected for examination on the basis that it was the Urban Area containing the largest percentage of Jewry in New Zealand (43 percent) and was the only area for which census information could be made available by division into spatial groups.¹

Method

The Hebrew population was grouped on the basis of Pool's social grading of census divisions in the Auckland Urban Area. Pool used six variables, viz, "Managers" and "Professionals" from the census grouping "Occupational Divisions", "Employers" from the census grouping "Occupation by Status", and "Households without Washing Machines", "Households without Hot Water Services" and "Households without Refrigerators" from the group of data on "Household Amenities" to develop an index of social grade - the Status-Possession Index. The variables were correlated in order that the degree of relationship between them could be tested. The ranks of the highest inter-correlating variables for each census division were summed to obtain an "index figure" for each division which was then ranked and graphed. Arbitrary grades were delimited by making the widest gaps on the index graph the limits of grades.²

The small number of Jews in the Auckland Urban Area necessitated the amalgamation of Pool's six grades into three groups (A, B and C). Thus, his Upper Upper Grade and Lower Upper Grade became Group A, his Upper Middle Grade became Group B, and his Lower Middle Grade, Upper Lower Grade and Lower Lower Grade became Group C (Fig 9).

If the Hebrew population was evenly distributed among Groups A, B and C, the numbers in any occupational, status, economic or other category would be distributed proportionately in Groups A, B and C. By computing an expected distribution the deviation between spatial groups is evident for each category. The expected Hebrew population was obtained by finding the proportion of the Hebrew population in each of the three groups (A, B and C) and multiplying it by the actual number of Hebrews in any occupational, income, age or other category. For example:

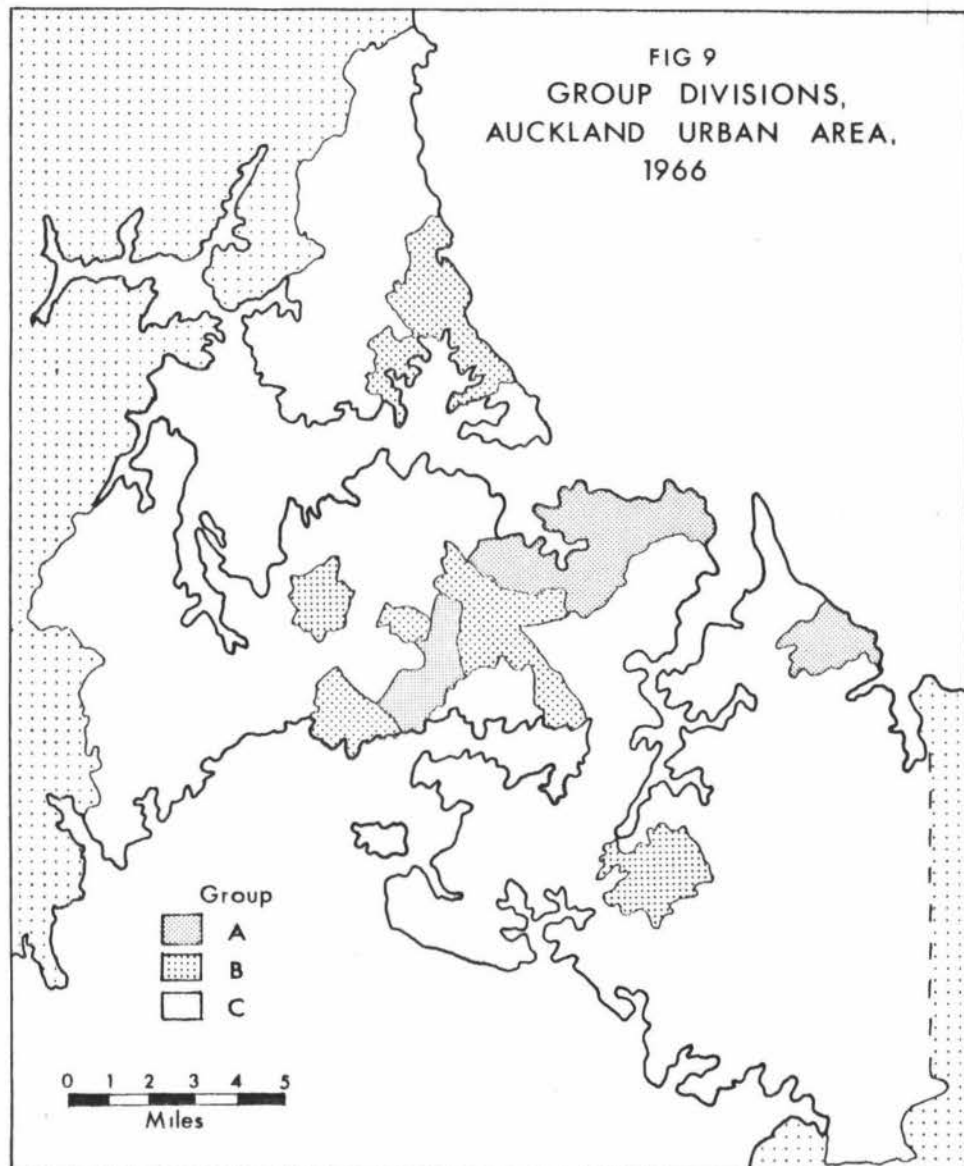
Category	Groups			Totals
	A (.5)	B (.2)	C (.3)	
X	20	8	12	40
Y	17.5	7	10.5	35
Totals	37.5	15	22.5	75

The actual population figures were obtained from the Department of Statistics. The index of dissimilarity has been used to compare the differences between Groups.

(1) DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Age and Marital Status

The age and marital status differences between Groups A, B and C within the Hebrew population were not large (Tables XIV and XV).



Grouping of Census Area Subdivisions

Group A: Mission Bay, Kohimarama, Epsom South, Howick, Hillsborough, Royal Oak, Orakei, Remuera North, Meadowbank, St. Heliers, Glendowie.

Group B: Northcote, Mt Eden South, Takapuna City, One Tree Hill, Springfield-Owairaka, Epsom North, Papatoetoe, Halsey-Waikowhai, Mt Albert Central, Remuera South.

Group C: Onehunga, Newmarket, West Tamaki, Grafton, Auckland Central, Mt Eden North, East Coast Bays, Birkenhead, Waterview, Glen Eden, Mt Wellington, Sandringham (Mt Albert), New Lynn, Avondale North, Rosebank, Sandringham (Mt Roskill), Devonport, Three Kings, Parnell, Otahuhu, Avondale South, Morningside, Waitemata County (part), Henderson, Pt Chevalier, Mt Eden Central, Westmere, Ellerslie, Herne Bay, Papakura, Manukau, Ponsonby, Kingsland, Grey Lynn, Eden Terrace, Freemans Bay, Arch Hill, Newton.

The indices of dissimilarity had a range of 3.8 and 1.4 between the three groups for the "Age" and "Marital Status" tables respectively.

TABLE XIV

A COMPARISON OF HEBREW GROUPS IN THE AUCKLAND URBAN AREA BY AGE, 1966.

Age Groups	Group A			Group B			Group C		
	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference
0-4	5.5	5.0	-0.5	5.9	6.2	+0.3	5.8	6.3	+0.5
5-9	7.1	7.8	+0.7	7.3	7.8	+0.5	7.2	6.3	-0.9
10-14	7.5	7.9	+0.4	7.3	7.0	-0.3	7.4	7.0	-0.4
15-19	7.5	7.6	+0.1	7.7	7.4	-0.3	7.5	7.4	-0.1
20-24	6.3	6.8	+0.5	6.2	8.1	+1.9	6.3	4.9	-1.4
25-29	5.6	4.3	-1.3	5.7	4.6	-1.1	5.7	7.1	+1.4
30-34	3.6	3.2	-0.4	3.5	2.5	-1.0	3.6	4.5	+0.9
35-39	5.1	5.0	-0.1	5.1	4.3	-0.8	5.3	5.8	+0.5
40-44	7.3	6.6	-0.7	7.3	7.0	-0.3	6.9	8.2	+1.3
45-49	7.1	7.8	+0.7	7.0	8.6	+1.6	7.1	5.8	-1.3
50-54	9.3	8.9	-0.4	9.5	8.7	-0.8	9.3	10.0	+0.7
55-59	7.0	8.3	+1.3	7.0	5.1	-1.9	7.1	7.1	0.0
60-64	6.6	6.5	-0.1	6.5	5.1	-1.4	6.6	7.4	+0.8
65-69	6.1	6.4	+0.3	5.9	6.5	+0.6	6.0	5.3	-0.7
70-74	4.4	3.6	-0.8	4.3	6.5	+2.2	4.3	3.9	-0.4
75-79	2.0	2.3	+0.3	1.9	3.2	+1.3	1.9	1.0	-0.9
80-84	1.2	1.5	+0.3	1.1	0.6	-0.5	1.2	1.0	-0.2
85+	0.8	0.5	-0.3	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.8	1.0	+0.2
Totals	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Index of Dissimilarity			4.6			8.4			6.3

Source: New Zealand Department of Statistics.

These small differences between Groups reflect the overall patterns of uniformity for age and marital status previously noted for the Hebrew

population between Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch Urban Areas.

TABLE XV
A COMPARISON OF HEBREW GROUPS IN THE AUCKLAND URBAN AREA BY
MARITAL STATUS, 1966

Marital Status	Group A			Group B			Group C		
	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference
Never Married	37.6	37.5	- 0.1	37.8	39.2	+ 1.4	37.3	37.1	- 0.2
Married	53.2	52.9	- 0.3	53.2	52.4	+ 0.8	53.2	53.6	+ 0.4
Legally Sep.	0.3	0.2	- 0.1	0.3	0.8	+ 0.5	0.4	0.4	0.0
Widowed	7.6	8.1	+ 0.5	7.3	6.8	- 0.5	7.4	7.2	- 0.2
Divorced	1.3	1.3	0.0	1.4	0.8	- 0.6	1.2	1.7	+ 0.5
Totals	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Index of Dissim.			0.5			1.9			0.9

Source: New Zealand Department of Statistics.

Birthplaces

Although the index of dissimilarity range between Groups is small (3.1), Table XVI illustrates that Auckland's Jewish population is not as evenly distributed in terms of country of origin as would appear initially. New Zealand born Jews are over-represented in Group A by 4.8 percent and under-represented in Groups B and C by 1.7 percent and 3.0 percent respectively; and Jews born in the United Kingdom are under-represented in Group A by 6.8 percent and over-represented in Groups B and C by 3.8 and 3.5 percent respectively. Persons born in all remaining countries were distributed relatively proportionately among Groups.

TABLE XVI

A COMPARISON OF HEBREW GROUPS IN THE AUCKLAND URBAN AREA BY
BIRTHPLACE, 1966.

Birth-places	Group A			Group B			Group C		
	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference
N.Z.	47.4	52.2	+4.8	47.6	45.9	-1.7	47.2	44.2	-3.0
Aust.	3.3	2.8	-0.5	2.9	3.5	+0.6	3.0	3.1	+0.1
U.K.	24.2	17.4	-6.8	24.3	28.1	+3.8	24.3	27.8	+3.5
W.Eur [*]	11.3	12.1	+0.8	10.8	11.9	+1.1	11.2	10.1	-1.1
E.Eur. ^{**}	8.8	9.9	+1.1	9.5	6.8	-2.7	9.1	9.4	+0.3
Israel	1.0	1.1	+0.1	1.1	0.3	-0.8	0.9	1.2	+0.3
Russia	1.5	2.2	+0.7	1.4	1.1	-0.3	1.4	1.1	-0.3
Other ^{***}	2.5	2.3	-0.2	2.4	2.4	0.0	2.9	3.1	+0.2
Totals	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Index of Dissimilarity			7.5			5.5			4.4

* W. Europe - Germany, Austria, Netherlands, Belgium, Finland, France, Norway, Sweden.

** E. Europe - Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Rumania, Lithuania.

*** Other - Bolivia, Burma, Fiji, India, Indonesia, South Africa, Mexico, Canada, Egypt, United States.

Source: New Zealand Department of Statistics.

The concentration of New Zealand born Jews in the census divisions of Group A is not surprising. Residence in a higher status area requires an adequate income and consequently is related to occupational

structure. The New Zealand born Jew has two possible advantages over the foreign born in relation to advance in the occupational system. First, a high degree of cultural affinity or similarity with the host society and hence understanding of its ways, and second, an increased amount of time to work his way up through the occupational structure (this, of course, is dependent on the age of the New Zealand born Jew and length of residence of the foreign born in New Zealand). The under-representation in Group A of Jews born in the United Kingdom is difficult to explain, particularly as migration has been spread relatively consistently over the last 50 years. Further information on the backgrounds and aspirations of the migrants is required before valid conclusions may be drawn.

Duration of Residence of the Foreign-born Jew in New Zealand

There were considerable differences between Groups in the Auckland Urban Area (Table XVII) in the length of residence in New Zealand. Over-representations of 3.7 percent and 1.6 percent occur in the 0-4 and 5-9 categories respectively for Group C and under-representations of 6.0 percent and 3.5 percent respectively for the same categories in Group A. On the other hand, under-representations of 3.5 percent and 0.9 percent occur in the 20-29 and 30-39 categories respectively for Group C and over-representations of 6.6 percent and 2.8 percent for the same categories in Group A. The 10-14 and 15-19 duration of residence categories appear to be transitional categories between Groups A and C.

Table XVII illustrates a relationship between residence in Group A, B or C and the length of time that foreign born Jews have been established in New Zealand. Other things being equal, it would appear that the longer the period of residence in New Zealand for the foreign born Jews the greater the likelihood of residential location in Group A. On the

other hand, recent New Zealand arrivals will most commonly reside in Group C.

TABLE XVII

A COMPARISON OF FOREIGN BORN HEBREW GROUPS IN THE AUCKLAND URBAN AREA BY DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN NEW ZEALAND, 1966.

Duration of Residence in Years	Group A			Group B			Group C		
	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference
0-4	13.3	7.3	-6.0	12.9	12.9	0.0	12.9	16.6	+3.7
5-9	10.8	7.3	-3.5	10.4	11.9	+1.5	10.6	12.2	+1.6
10-14	12.8	13.5	+0.7	12.9	15.9	+3.0	13.0	11.1	-1.9
15-19	16.0	15.3	+0.7	16.4	12.9	-3.5	16.0	18.1	+2.1
20-29	25.3	31.9	+6.6	25.4	23.9	-1.5	25.4	21.9	-3.5
30-39	5.9	8.7	+2.8	6.0	4.0	-2.0	6.1	5.2	-0.9
40-49	7.6	6.6	-1.0	7.5	9.0	+1.5	7.8	7.8	0.0
50+	8.3	9.4	+1.1	8.5	9.5	+1.0	8.2	7.1	-1.1
Totals	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Index of Dissimilarity			11.2			7.0			7.4

Source: New Zealand Department of Statistics

(2) ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Occupational Status

Occupational status has been examined in two ways: the distribution of totals "Actively Engaged" and "Not Actively Engaged" (Table XVIII) and the distribution within totals "Actively Engaged" and "Not Actively Engaged" (Tables XIX and XX).

The index of dissimilarity range between Groups A, B and C for the totals "Actively Engaged" and totals "Not Actively Engaged" (Table XVIII) was 1.0. Groups A and B contained small over-representations of persons

not actively engaged and small under-representations of persons actively engaged.

TABLE XVIII

A COMPARISON OF HEBREW GROUPS IN THE AUCKLAND URBAN AREA BY
TOTALS ACTIVELY ENGAGED AND TOTALS NOT ACTIVELY ENGAGED, 1966.

	Group A			Group B			Group C		
	Ex- pect- ed %	Actual %	% differ- ence	Ex- pect- ed %	Actual %	% differ- ence	Ex- pect- ed %	Actual %	% differ- ence
Total Actively Engaged	46.4	43.9	- 2.5	46.5	43.0	- 3.5	46.6	50.1	+ 3.5
Total Not Act. Engaged	53.6	56.1	+ 2.5	53.5	57.0	+ 3.5	53.4	49.9	- 3.5
Totals	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Index of Dis- similarity			2.5			3.5			3.5

Source: New Zealand Department of Statistics

The index of dissimilarity range between Groups in Table XIX was 3.1 and in Table XX 0.4. Within the table of totals "Actively Engaged" (Table XIX) Jewish "Employers" were over-represented in Groups A and B by 4.1 and 3.1 percent respectively and under-represented in Group C by 3.8 percent. Those in the category "Own Account" were under-represented in Group A by 3.0 percent and over-represented in Group B by 3.8 percent while "Wage and Salary" earners were over-represented by 3.1 percent in Group C and under-represented by 6.9 in Group B.

TABLE XIX

70.

A COMPARISON OF HEBREW GROUPS IN THE AUCKLAND URBAN AREA
WITHIN THE TOTAL ACTIVELY ENGAGED, 1966.

Actively Engaged	Group A			Group B			Group C		
	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference
Employer Own	14.3	18.4	+ 4.1	14.5	17.6	+ 3.1	14.1	10.6	- 3.8
Account Wages or Salary	6.8	3.8	- 3.0	6.9	10.7	+ 3.8	7.0	7.2	+ 0.2
Unemployed	77.4	77.0	- 0.4	77.3	70.4	- 6.9	77.3	80.4	+ 3.1
Totals	1.5	0.8	- 0.7	1.3	1.3	0.0	1.3	1.8	+ 0.5
Index of Dissim.	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
			4.1			6.9			3.8

Source: New Zealand Department of Statistics

Jewish persons in the two categories within Table XX were evenly distributed between Groups.

TABLE XX

A COMPARISON OF HEBREW GROUPS IN THE AUCKLAND URBAN AREA
WITHIN THE TOTAL NOT ACTIVELY ENGAGED, 1966.

Not Actively Engaged	Group A			Group B			Group C		
	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference
Retired	7.4	8.0	- 0.6	7.6	8.6	+ 1.0	7.5	6.5	- 1.0
Dependent on public or private support	92.6	92.0	+ 0.6	92.4	91.4	+ 1.0	92.5	93.5	+ 1.0
Totals	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Index of Dissim.			0.6			1.0			1.0

Source: New Zealand Department of Statistics

Occupation and Industry Divisions

Differences in occupational divisions between Groups A, B and C were indicated by an index of dissimilarity range of 6.9. Within Group A over-representations in the "Professional, Technical and Related workers" category and "Administrative, Executive and Managerial workers" category of 4.4 and 6.3 percent were evident. An under-representation of 8.7 percent in the "Craftsmen, Production Process workers and Labourers" category also appeared in Group A. Under-representations of 3.0 and 5.7 percent in the two former categories appeared in Group C and an over-representation of 6.7 percent in the latter category.

While Group A contained a concentration of those employed in "Commerce" (4.2 percent), Groups B and C were under-represented in this industrial category by 3.2 percent and 1.5 percent respectively (Table XXII). On the other hand Groups A and B were under-represented by 3.1 percent and 1.2 percent in the "Manufacturing" industry, while Group C was over-represented in this category (2.6 percent). These deviations from the expected distribution in each Group account for the small dissimilarity index of 2.3.

As Groups A, B and C were delimited on the basis of Pool's social grading of the Auckland Urban Area, such deviations between Groups were only to be expected. The categories of higher over-representation in Group A in both the "Occupational Status" and "Occupational Divisions" tables were some of the variables actually used for the delimitation of social grades.

TABLE XXI
A COMPARISON OF HEBREW GROUPS IN THE AUCKLAND URBAN AREA BY OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS, 1966

Occupational Divisions	Group A			Group B			Group C		
	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	18.1	22.5	+ 4.4	18.2	18.2	0.0	18.0	15.0	- 3.0
Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers	24.2	30.5	+ 6.3	23.9	27.1	+ 3.2	24.3	18.6	- 5.7
Clerical Workers	19.2	18.5	- 0.7	19.5	19.5	0.0	19.4	19.6	+ 0.5
Sales Workers	12.8	12.5	- 0.3	13.2	11.9	- 1.3	12.9	13.7	+ 0.8
Workers in Transport and Communications	1.5	0.5	- 1.0	1.3	1.9	+0.6	1.6	2.0	+ 0.4
Craftsmen, Production Process Workers, Labourers n.e.i.	17.0	8.3	- 8.7	17.0	15.1	- 1.9	17.1	23.8	+ 6.7
Service, Sport, Recreation Workers	6.0	6.0	0.0	5.7	5.7	0.0	5.7	5.7	0.0
Workers not Classifiable	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.6	0.0	- 0.6	0.5	0.8	+ 0.3
Armed Forces	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0
Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters, Loggers and related Workers	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0
Totals	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Index of dissimilarity			10.7			3.8			8.7

Source: New Zealand Department of Statistics

TABLE XXII

A COMPARISON OF HEBREW GROUPS IN THE AUCKLAND URBAN AREA BY INDUSTRY DIVISIONS, 1966

Industry Divisions	Group A			Group B			Group C		
	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference
Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting, Fishing	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0
Manufacturing	35.1	32.0	-3.1	35.2	34.0	-1.2	34.9	37.5	+2.6
Construction	2.6	1.5	-1.1	2.5	3.1	+0.6	2.6	2.8	+0.2
Electricity, Gas, Steam	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	+0.6	0.3	0.3	0.0
Commerce	29.8	34.0	+4.2	29.6	26.4	-3.2	29.7	28.2	-1.5
Transport, Storage, Communications	3.4	1.9	-1.5	3.8	4.4	+0.6	3.6	4.4	+0.8
Services	27.2	29.1	+1.9	27.0	29.6	+2.6	26.8	24.5	-2.3
Activities not adequately described	1.5	1.1	-0.4	1.3	1.3	0.0	1.6	1.8	+0.2
Totals	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Index of dissimilarity			6.1			4.4			3.8

Source: New Zealand Department of Statistics

Income Distribution

Pool's social grading is reflected in the distribution of incomes between Groups. With the exception of the \$2-\$199 income bracket Group A was consistently over-represented in the higher categories (\$2,600-\$8,000+) and under represented in the lower categories (\$200-\$2,599) while Group C, also with the exception of the \$2-\$199 bracket, was under-represented in the higher categories (\$2,600-\$8,000+) and over-represented in the lower categories (\$200-\$2,599). Group B contained over- and under-representations similar to those of Group C. The similarity between Groups B and C is further illustrated by the distribution of the mean incomes. Whereas the mean income for Group A lay between \$2,200-\$2,599 those for Groups B and C lay between \$1,800-\$2,199.

Income deviations between Groups reflect the general relationship between occupation and income. Professional and managerial occupations are situated well above others in the level of income they provide. Labourers, production process workers and private household workers at the other end of the scale receive smaller incomes, and between these extremes are placed the other occupations. Within each of the occupation divisions there is of course a wide range of income.³

TABLE XXIII

A COMPARISON OF HEBREW GROUPS IN THE AUCKLAND URBAN AREA BY
INCOME DIVISIONS, 1966.

Income Groups	Group A			Group B			Group C		
	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference	Expected %	Actual %	% difference
\$2-199	5.7	7.7	+2.0	6.0	4.6	-1.4	5.7	4.7	-1.0
\$200-999	16.8	16.0	-0.8	16.9	17.3	+0.4	16.8	17.0	+0.2
\$1,000-1,799	20.7	15.3	-5.4	20.5	24.2	+3.7	20.7	23.8	+3.1
\$1,800-2,199	10.4	7.4	-3.0	10.5	11.9	+1.4	10.4	12.1	+1.7
\$2,200-2,599	8.4	7.9	-0.5	8.2	7.3	-0.9	8.4	9.4	+1.0
\$2,600-3,999	16.8	18.3	+1.5	16.9	17.3	+0.4	16.8	15.3	-1.5
\$4,000-4,999	6.6	6.9	+0.3	6.4	6.4	0.0	6.6	6.4	-0.2
\$5,000-5,999	3.2	4.7	+1.5	3.2	2.7	-0.5	3.1	2.0	-1.1
\$6,000-6,999	2.5	3.7	+1.2	2.7	1.4	-1.3	2.7	2.3	-0.4
\$7,000-7,999	1.7	3.2	+1.5	1.8	2.3	+0.5	1.6	0.2	-1.4
\$8,000 +	7.2	8.9	+1.7	6.9	4.6	-2.3	7.2	6.8	-0.4
Totals	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Index of Dissimilarity			9.7			6.4			6.0

Note: The Nil category has been deleted.

Source: New Zealand department of Statistics

(3) CONCLUSIONS

The Hebrew population resident in the Auckland Urban Area is not homogeneous in character as there are demographic and, more particularly, marked socio-economic differences between each of Groups A, B and C. As the Groups were delimited on the basis of Pool's social grading of the Auckland Urban Area these differences reflecting factors of social grade are only to be expected.

The deviations between Groups indicate a residential distribution corresponding to the socio-economic character of each grouping as defined by Pool. The index of dissimilarity between Groups A and C was 11.6 for the Birthplace table, 10.2 for the Industry Divisions, 19.5 for the occupational Divisions, 15.7 for the Income Divisions and 18.3 for the Duration of Residence tables. By comparing Groups A and C it was found that specific categories were over-represented in Group A, for example, the Professional and Managerial occupation groups and higher income groups.

The socio-economic character of Jews in Group A indicates a high degree of absorption, that is, entry into productive activity at the highest level of the economy. It also illustrates that the Jew has undergone a considerable^{degree} of residential integration as he tends to reside with his Gentile contemporary of similar socio-economic status rather than with members of his own ethnic group. On the basis of socio-economic characteristics the Jew appears to be residentially integrated with the total population.

Footnotes

1. In 1970, the Department of Statistics stated that no information would be released for groupings containing less than three persons (Nelson, R., Department of Statistics).
2. Pool, I., 1960, 225-237.
3. Bogue, D.J., 1969, 409.

CHAPTER FIVE

JEWISH COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

Any group in the traditional minority situation faces the problem of how to survive or maintain its cultural identity. Such factors as the group's desire for survival, the existence or absence of external hostility, the degree of economic integration, education, intermarriage and the need for social solidarity, mitigate for and against the problem. Ng Bickleen Fong wrote that, "institutions are indispensable if a society or community is to endure".¹ And indeed, the existence of institutions or organisations is a first sight evidence of interest in and support for the group's traditions, and of their reinforcement. The possibility that these organisations exist because of a keen core of workers and therefore do not represent the interests of the majority of the community must not, however, be discounted.

In this chapter, the development, forms and strength of Jewish religion, education and other voluntary communal organisations in New Zealand are described and discussed. It is intended to ascertain the group's desire for survival and identification, and the influence upon Jewish institutions of life in a non-Jewish society. Chapter 1 has suggested that historically the Jewish religion has been a central feature of Jewish identification and distinctiveness; that the synagogue, the symbol of Jewish religion has traditionally stood as a House of Prayer, a House of Study and a House of Assembly. For the purposes of clarity and convenience this chapter has been divided in accordance with this threefold distinction into sections on religious, educational and other voluntary organisational activity.

(1) RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION²

HISTORY

The pioneer Jews of New Zealand were deeply aware of their religious obligations and soon after arrival contrived to organise congregational life and the grants of land for cemeteries and synagogues. Abraham Hort (senior) from London was the founder of the Wellington Hebrew Congregation. Authorised by Dr. Herschell (Chief Rabbi in England) to establish a Congregation, he conducted the first Hebrew service held in New Zealand on the 7th January 1843, four days after his arrival in the colony. Land for a Jewish cemetery in Wellington was granted in June 1843, although the site for a synagogue was then refused. Services were thus held in Hort's house in which he acted as lay minister and lay reader. On his return to England in 1859, services commenced in the house of Joseph Nathan with Benjamin Aaron officiating as Reader and Shohet.³ Eventually, ever increasing numbers necessitated the removal of the temporary synagogue from Joseph's house to the Masonic Hall in Boulcott Street. In January 1870 a new synagogue "Beth El" situated on the Terrace and seating 150 men and 70 women was consecrated.

The small Jewish community in Auckland first met for Sabbath and festival prayers in David Nathan's Shortland Street house in the early 1840's. With the expansion of the community, he fitted up a special room in his store for services. Ralph Keesing, Charles Davis and Philip S. Solomon officiated until the arrival of the Rev. Moses Elkin in 1864. Land for a burial ground was granted by the Governor and a building leased in 1885 and eventually purchased in 1862 to act as a Synagogue. Here the Congregation remained until 1884, the Rev. Moses Elkin officiating until 1879. A difference of opinion involving leading members of the Auckland Congregation led to the establishment of the "Gates of Hope" Congregation and the appointment of a minister from England (Rev. J.E.

Myers), who remained in Auckland only a few years before returning to England. The dispute was settled soon after and the communities reunited.

Prior to the discovery of gold, only five Jewish families lived in Dunedin. The arrival of Jewish miners and traders in the city led to the establishment of a congregation, and acquisition of a Synagogue and burial ground. On January 15, 1862, 14 Jews met and pledged themselves to form a Congregation. A small wooden building in George Street was purchased to become the first synagogue. The membership totalled 43 men. David Isaacs was appointed lay preacher in April 1863 and a new synagogue had been consecrated in Moray Place by September 1863. This was not an ideal place for worship and in 1881 a second building was erected at a cost of £4,800.

Louis Edward Nathan, Christchurch's first Jewish settler was responsible for the founding of the Canterbury Hebrew Congregation. Prior to the establishment of the first synagogue, services were held in Nathan's home in St. Asaph Street under the leadership of Mark Marks. A government grant enabled the congregation to construct a building for the sum of £300 which was consecrated in 1864. After several lay appointments, a rather colourful personality, the Rev. I. Zachariah a Baghdadi Sephardi Jew was appointed as Minister and Shohet in 1870. The community suffered, however, in both numbers and prosperity, while relationships between Zachariah and his community went from bad to worse. This led to Zachariah's retirement and the appointment of the Rev. A.T. Chodowski in 1880. The latter remained until 1894 when he had to shift to Brisbane as there was no money to pay him.

In these early years three minor congregations developed for short periods in the towns of Hokitika, Timaru and Nelson. The discovery of gold paved the way for settlement in Hokitika. As soon as the first

Jews arrived steps were to form a Congregation. Land was granted for a cemetery and synagogue and the latter which seated 125 persons was dedicated on September 23, 1867 (Plate 2). The Rev. Isaac Zachariah succeeded various lay persons as Minister and Shoet. At the height of the gold rushes it is reported that Jews from all over the West Coast would gather in Hokitika on High Holy Days. However, the outworking of the gold caused droves of miners to leave the coast, including Zachariah whom the depleted Congregation could no longer afford to pay. By 1900, only 5 or 6 Jewish families remained and the unused synagogue literally fell to pieces.

The desire to establish a house of worship impelled Timaru's five Jewish families to found the South Canterbury Congregation. Land for a cemetery and synagogue was obtained and the Rev. Jacob Levy appointed from Dunedin as Reader and Shoet. On 21 June, 1875 the foundation stone of the synagogue was laid and three months later the building consecrated before the 27 strong community. After a few years the Rev. Levy left for the North Island and the Rev. Zachariah conducted prayers on the High Holy Days. On Zachariah's return to his original post in Christchurch in the 1890's the Timaru synagogue ceased to function.

The number of Jews in Nelson did not warrant a government grant for a synagogue although land had been received for a cemetery. Hyam Davis therefore bought land with his own money and with monetary assistance from other New Zealand Congregations built an imposing wooden synagogue (dedicated in 1870) similar to that at Hokitika. The Hokitika pattern was re-enacted in Nelson. With the failure of the gold leads, many left including the minister. Simon Bucholz carried on as Honorary Reader until he left the district. After 1895 the synagogue did not re-open for Jewish worship.



Hokitika Synagogue, 1867. (Actually the 1st Anglican church!)

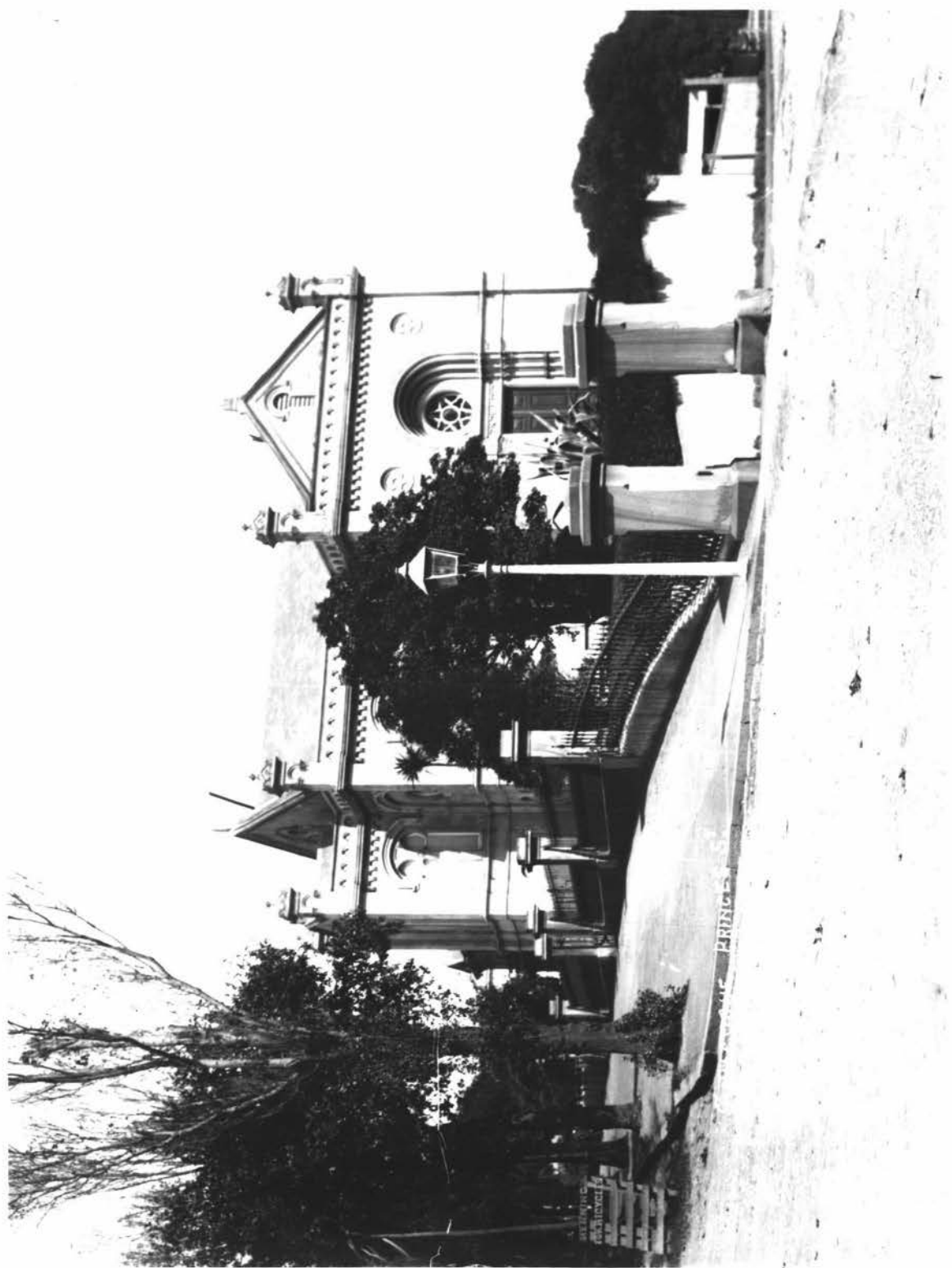
During the 1870's and 1880's the steadily increasing Jewish population led to an expansion of Congregational activity in New Zealand but more particularly in Auckland and Wellington. In Wellington, the Rev. H. Van Staveren ministered for a period of 53 years (1877-1930) ably assisted for 24 years by the Rev. Ch. Pitkowsky (1906-1930). Since the deaths of Rabbi H. Van Staveren and Rev. Ch. Pitkowsky the Wellington community has experienced many changes of leadership, but apart from various minyan,⁴ formed at different times by particular groups of Jews, has remained united. A new synagogue was consecrated in 1929 to accommodate Wellington's expanding Jewish congregation.

In Auckland much of the enthusiasm and activity must be attributed to the Rev. S.A. Goldstein who in 1930 completed 50 years of service with the Congregation. Rabbi Astor who leads the Congregation today has already completed 40 years of service.

THE PRESENT

Orthodox Jewry

In 1966, 79 percent of New Zealand Jewry lived in the three New Zealand Urban Areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch; 43 percent in Auckland, 30 percent in Wellington and 6 percent in Christchurch. Auckland and Wellington have aptly been called the spiritual giants of New Zealand Jewry.⁵ In 1968, the Auckland Hebrew Congregation moved from their Princes Street premises into a fine new building including a major and minor synagogue, offices, halls, classrooms and a kindergarten (Plate 3). Rabbi Astor (pers comm. 1969) estimates the present synagogue membership to be between 850 and 900 persons. Of the adult community, approximately 50 percent are New Zealand born, 30 percent were born in various countries of Europe and 20 percent were born in



- Alexander Turnbull Library.

Auckland Synagogue prior to 1968.

the United Kingdom and other countries of the British Commonwealth. The Wellington Hebrew Congregation, resident in a smaller and older building on the Terrace has a membership of approximately 1500. Although the community is closely knit it is possible to differentiate groups of English, Polish and German Jews. The present synagogue membership in Christchurch is approximately 250 persons, with some 75 percent being New Zealand born Jews.

Liberal Jewry⁶

Liberal Judaism commenced in New Zealand with a public meeting held for interested persons in November 1953. At subsequent meetings a small committee was set up and Sabbath morning services instituted. Property was purchased in Manukau Road, Epsom, the building being converted into a hall, which was dedicated by Rabbi Sanger, the Senior Rabbi of Temple Beth Israel (Melbourne) in 1955. Meanwhile funds were raised for the present Temple Shalom, which was constructed in front of the hall building and dedicated by Rabbi Braseh (Sydney) in 1957. A total of 25 persons constituted the initial congregation, which reached its peak of 130 in 1957, but which has since diminished to approximately 100 people. Mr J. Glatt (pers comm. 1969) attributes the loss to persons falling away, and to a number leaving the country.

Following the Auckland example, a Liberal congregation was instituted in Wellington in 1959. Early in 1960 over 60 people gathered for the first communal seder at the home of Mr and Mrs R. Dalley of Seatoun. In May 1960 the purchase of a property in Ghuznee Street, Wellington, was approved by the newly elected committee. The inaugural service was held in March 1961, and the Temple building (Temple Sinai) dedicated by Rabbi Sanger (Melbourne) in April 1961. In 1969 the Jewish Liberal Congregations of Auckland and Wellington finalized the appointment of Rabbi

Samuel H. Tov-Lev (previously Minister at Synagogue Har-El, Jerusalem) as the leader of Liberal Judaism in New Zealand.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Before the turn of the century, seven Hebrew congregations had been established in New Zealand. The first Jewish settlers were almost all of English birth and even those who came from Posen and the German-Polish border had resided for some years in either England or Australia. Thus as well as the ties of a common faith and historical heritage there were ties of a common social background and country. The constitution and laws of each synagogue were modelled on the laws of the Great Synagogue in Duke's Place, London, whilst the authority of the Chief Rabbi of England in all congregational matters was undisputed.

Although evidence suggests that the pioneer Jewish settlers were imbued with a strong religious faith the transient and unstable nature of the population in Hokitika, Timaru and Nelson and the population shift northward and difficulty in obtaining ministers meant that these three congregations were shortlived. Since the turn of the century, population decline, the cost involved in maintaining a minister and lack of facilities in New Zealand have contributed to the decline of the two southern congregations (i.e. Dunedin and Christchurch). It would appear also that modern New Zealand Jewry does not recognise its spiritual obligations as in the past. Goldman⁷ wrote that most New Zealand born Hebrews are formal members of the synagogue. They attend on the major High Holy Days but on very few others. He concluded that for the majority of the members of modern New Zealand Jewry, the synagogue is a symbol.

It is not surprising then that there have been a series of concessions made in synagogue ritual and practice. The customary Orthodox Jewish practice of conducting twice daily services in the synagogue has long

been abolished. Rabbi Goldman commented that Sabbath morning services started in peculiar places in the prayer book in some synagogues, whilst at one time in Dunedin, the committee introduced the triennial system of reading the Law, in which the Pentateuch was read once every three years rather than once every year.⁸ Dunedin also wanted the shortening of prayers and stipulated that under no circumstances was the Sabbath morning service allowed to continue beyond an hour. When it is realised that such institutional concessions have gone hand in hand with the gradual abandonment of Jewish religious practices in the home the trend towards assimilation becomes apparent.

The present condition of New Zealand Jewry in the religious sphere appears to parallel that of the Melbourne Jewish community in the early 1920's. In a largely structurally assimilated Jewish community the synagogues were peopled by Jews who adhered to few of its practices. The congregations were entitled to be called Orthodox only because they kept to the Orthodox synagogue service and were led by Orthodox Rabbis. The number of strictly observant practising Jews was small and had little influence on the community.

A small section of the Melbourne community were convinced that Judaism was out of date and in need of modernization. Sabbath laws, dietary provisions and the synagogue service itself were areas of concern. This section wished to replace Hebrew with English as the main language of prayer, and to abolish the segregation of the sexes in the synagogue. In 1930 the first Liberal Temple in Australia was established in Melbourne. However, the community still proudly accepted its status as Jews and strongly desired to ensure the group's survival. This was to be seen for example in the strong opposition to inter-marriage and demands for more and better Jewish education for their children. Conscious attempts have been made by both the New Zealand

and Melbourne communities to prevent intermarriage and provide the required education for their children. However, whereas the synagogue has now (1950-1970) become an effective means of disseminating these ideals in Melbourne, other channels have been utilised in New Zealand.

(2) EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATION

Jewish education provides the basis for perpetuating the Jewish heritage. It is the primary medium through which a person is introduced to the practices and beliefs of the Jewish religion, and the literature, history and culture of the Jewish people. According to Medding,⁹ the amount and quality of formal Jewish education is the most significant indication of a community's desire and prospects for survival.

HISTORY

Goldman wrote of the initial apathy apparent in the field of education in New Zealand. Religious educational classes were established in Dunedin under Joseph Myers four years after the foundation of the congregation. However, parental support was negligible and the synagogue committee had to take the school under its wing until the death of the Rev. B. Lichenstein in June 1892 when it ceased to function altogether. Nine months later, on the appointment of the Rev. J.L. Harrison, the school reopened but only began to function properly on the appointment of Dr Wolf Heinemann as Superintendent in July 1896. In the early days in Christchurch the Canterbury Jewish Sabbath School was conducted in the synagogue after the Sabbath morning service. The scarcity of funds, many ministerial changes and lack of enthusiasm of members contributed towards the irregularity of weekday classes. In 1891, the Hebrew school was closed altogether and the minister instructed those who desired it privately in their homes.

Conditions were no better in the North Island. On his arrival in Wellington in 1877, Rabbi H. Van Staveren immediately established both a Hebrew and a Sabbath school. In the former, lessons were given three times a week - a total of six hours tuition. Boys and girls were taught separately. In 1894, a peak 60 enrolments was reached, but by then the pupils largely bypassed the mid-week classes attending only during the weekends. It is reported that year after year in his annual reports Van Staveren admonished the parents about their apathy towards their children's Hebrew education. His admonishments appeared to fall on deaf ears. Some time after his arrival in 1864 the Rev. Moses Elkin established both Hebrew and Sabbath Schools in Auckland. His teachers, who consisted of non-trained volunteers, had no prayer-books or primers with which to teach the children and an appeal for books had to be made to the Australian congregations.

In these early years it appears that Hebrew education was not taken very seriously by either parents or children. Complaints by the clergy to parents concerning the effect of the neglect of Jewish education made little impression. Standards were low, equipment and textbooks often insufficient. Apparently the teaching material or curriculum was poor and most of the teachers inexperienced or untrained and consequently had difficulty in imparting enthusiastically the knowledge they did possess. Often, too, the teachers did not observe the religious precepts they were or should have been teaching so that perplexity resulted in the minds of the children when practices they were taught were not followed by parents or teachers.

THE PRESENT

Since the late 1940's, however, a remarkable new interest in Jewish education in New Zealand has been apparent. This has not been confined

to the Hebrew or Sabbath Schools only, but has taken three broad forms: an intensification of interest in the sphere of formal education; the establishment of Youth Clubs, a youth magazine, annual Youth Camps and the exchange of personnel with Israel; and a new emphasis on adult education with the formation of adult discussion groups, teaching of Hebrew, etc. Each of these aspects will be dealt with in turn.

Formal Education

In 1953, Mr A. Finklestein, then Chairman of the Zionist Council Education Department, prepared a report for the first Dominion conference on Jewish education called by the Board of Jewish ministers of New Zealand. Rabbi Hugo Stransky, senior spiritual leader in New Zealand at that time reported in the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle that:-

"the great need to enlarge existing facilities and adopt a more positive and aggressive programme was recognised. A Committee of Jewish Education to be established with a full time director to head a revitalised programme was the principal recommendation of the Conference".

In the wider educational sphere it was also suggested that:-

"a greater effort should be made to keep the young people together by substantially increasing the activities of the clubs and by linking the community together with the Jews of the world through frequent tours".¹⁰

Another major step forward was taken when Mr Asher Wiener of Lower Hutt presented a paper to the Easter Weekend Plenary of the New Zealand Zionist Council in 1959. Mr Wiener described the main aim of Jewish education (i.e. to develop in the Jewish children and youths a voluntary aim to continue our Jewish heritage), and the present day state (1959) of Jewish education in New Zealand. Three suggestions were made to help meet contemporary educational demands; the adoption of a plan for educational reconstruction, the constitution of a central educational authority, and an appeal for funds to be launched to the community.

While stressing that parents themselves must first be educated to realise that their children must have a Jewish education and secondly that there must be close liason between home and education, he proposed the establishment of kindergartens, afternoon and evening classes, morning classes in schools, further education of youths, and study groups to include University students, young married couples and other adults. Subjects to be taught were the Hebrew language, knowledge of the Jewish religion, history, Midrash, Rashi,¹¹ religious conduct in the synagogue, past and present Hebrew literature, knowledge of the State of Israel and Tsdaka (the necessity to give aid) and support to all Israeli and Jewish causes.

The paper provoked a spate of letters and discussion in the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle as well as the formation of committees to delve into the questions of the establishment of Jewish Day Schools. The only concrete result to date has been the establishment of a "Kadimah" (Jewish kindergarten) by the Auckland Hebrew Congregation whilst a Jewish Day School is proposed for 1971 starting with one primer class only and gradually increasing the number of grades. This is in addition to the regular Sabbath School and mid-week classes.

Extra-curricular Youth Education

The youth organisations of Habonim and B'nei Akiva exist in Auckland, Wellington and possibly Christchurch. The former is a Zionist organisation which fosters Jewish culture generally and especially education in Zionism. Regular weekly meetings are held throughout the year for those between the ages of 10-25 years. The group conducts classes in modern Hebrew and in Israeli art, music and dancing, and holds seminars during school vacations. Youth are encouraged to go on Aliyah (emigrate to Israel) to help in the upbuilding of the Jewish State.

Annual Youth Camps have been organised by the Zionist Council since 1944. Approximately 300 attend so that junior and senior camps have become a necessity. The camps enable the Jewish youth of the country to meet and get to know each other socially, but (more importantly) aim also to bring them to a consciousness and understanding of the Jewish position in the world.

In November 1948, the first Youth Emissary (trained youth leader) arrived in New Zealand. He was sent by the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem especially to build up the youth movements in Australia and New Zealand by conducting special leaders' courses, devoting time to lectures, discussion and general education, and making a major contribution to the annual youth camp. In 1960, New Zealand obtained its first long term permanent workers from Israel on a two yearly basis.

Maddon B'nei Akiva is a religious youth group catering for those between the ages of 10-23 years. Seminars and camps are held in which the children are instructed in all aspects of Jewish life. Scouting activities are included and several youths have been sent to Israel on special study courses. A major feature is the training of youth to hold their own Sabbath services.

Since its initiation the magazine Hagesher has made a major contribution to the youth education of the country. The first supplement of Hagesher (The Bridge), put out by the Education and Youth Department, was incorporated in the August 1954 issue of the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle. Since then the supplements have continued coming out fairly regularly. The supplement endeavours to present Jewish history in a readable form, to describe the festivals and their meaning, to increase knowledge about Israel and to encourage all youth to play its part in communal life and in Jewish youth organisations. The magazine reaches

almost all Jewish homes in the Dominion.

Adult Education

The New Zealand Jewish Chronicle has an overall educative function. Its general content is discussed in Chapter 6. Early in the 1950's a drive was commenced to make the average members of the Jewish congregations Jewish book conscious. Libraries were established in Auckland and Wellington and lists of new arrivals and book reviews published in the Chronicle. As well as "Teach Yourself Hebrew" sponsored in the Chronicle, Hebrew classes are held in Auckland and Wellington.

Zionist Societies in the various centres organise cultural evenings, lectures, film screenings etc., giving information on the latest developments in Israel. The Friends of the Hebrew University disseminates literature on the University and holds occasional lectures and cultural evenings. In Auckland, a Jewish Study Circle was founded in 1940 for the study of Jewish history, literature, religion etc., whilst adult discussion groups are operative in Wellington, Auckland and Christchurch.

CONCLUSIONS

The new interest in Jewish education in New Zealand may be largely attributed to the strengthening of Jewish consciousness associated with the Nazi persecution and establishment of the State of Israel. The fact that Hebrew is now a living language provides a new incentive to teach it to the children. The Jewish people look with pride at the Israeli achievement - this leads to an identification with their past heritage and in the process other aspects such as religion, traditional customs and history regain their prominence. Much of the impetus required for these new trends was provided by the Central European Jews who arrived in the late 1930's expecting Jewish facilities of a similar standard as those experienced at home.

(3) OTHER VOLUNTARY COMMUNAL ORGANISATIONS

It has been suggested that through the medium of Jewish education a person is introduced to the practices and beliefs of the Jewish religion, and the literature, history and culture of the Jewish people. It is now postulated that reinforcement of these practices and beliefs occurs through communal newspapers and organisations and in all places where Jewish people meet together.

HISTORY

A multitude of differing communal organisations have existed within New Zealand Jewry at various times during the last 100 years. Apart from the Congregations, there have been those connected with welfare, social, Zionist, educational and cultural activities, sporting bodies, burial societies and those catering for the youth.

Benevolent aid and burial societies were among the first organisations established in the four main Jewish centres of New Zealand. In both instances, Dunedin appears to have taken the lead. At the annual meeting of the Dunedin Congregation in 1873, a branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association was formed. The work of this society which operated with the Alliance Israelite Universelle of France, consisted chiefly in the promotion of Jewish education in the East; in Greece, Roumania, Turkey and Egypt. In 1886 Mr Julius Hyman founded and became first President of the Philanthropic Society in Dunedin, the object of which is the relief of the Jewish poor, either those belonging to the province or strangers requiring temporary assistance. Dunedin also established the first Chevra Kadisha Society in the colony in 1891, to attend to the sick and to give the last rites to the dead. Similar societies were subsequently established in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch.

The 1890's and early 1900's were characterised by the establishment

of a number of institutions of a social character to meet the needs of the expanding communities. Wellington was the pioneer in this respect, the Wellington Zionist Social Club having been founded in 1905. Apart from normal club activities members participated in debating, and annual smoking concert and an annual picnic. In 1921 the club, now known as the Wellington Jewish Social Club moved into larger premises and widened its activities with the formation of a cricket team and the establishment of a separate club for the ladies - the Wellington Jewish Women's Social Club. An Auckland Jewish Social Club was formed in 1923; it waned during the depression but reformed in 1931 primarily as a businessmen's lunch club. The Canterbury Jewish Social Club founded in 1907 faded and revived several times, and the Dunedin Club first operative in 1924 aims at present to provide social amenities for Dunedin's Jewish University students.

Many societies have flourished throughout New Zealand for brief periods. In Wellington, a Boy Scout's Association, a Girl Guides Association, Boy's Club, Jewish Young Peoples League, Maccabean Club for athletics, Wellington Jewish Women's Guild and a Hutt Jewish Women's Guild have been among the most prominent. Auckland too has had its Judean Boy Scout's Association, Judean Girl Guides Association and Auckland Jewish Girls' Society, which all started with enthusiasm but gradually lapsed. After World War II a number of English Jews established the Auckland Colonial Club to provide for some of their needs. The Union of Jewish Women in New Zealand with branches in the four main centres unites the Jewish women of the country in their activities and has a rather more permanent character.

Zionism

Zionism originated as a movement seeking to solve the problem of

Jewish homelessness through the establishment of Palestine as the National Homeland for the Jewish people. Simultaneously, it strove for a cultural and spiritual renaissance of the Jewish people in whatever country they resided. The second aim still stands but with the former aim accomplished the emphasis now lies on the necessity to help with the provision of funds for the work of upbuilding Israel.

Zionist activity started modestly in New Zealand with the formation of the Auckland and Wellington Zionist Societies in 1903. At first supplementing the social clubs established in the various cities it gradually prevailed over all other communal activities. The major activity of the Zionist movement in New Zealand is the annual United Israel Fund Raising Appeal. To make the community wide appeal, emissaries are brought from Israel. Israel Cohen, one of the first of these emissaries visited New Zealand on behalf of the Palestine Restoration Fund raising £21,480 for the cause. Zionist Societies at present operate in Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin Hamilton, Palmerston North and Gisborne. The other fund raising organisations are the Jewish National Fund¹² and Womens International Zionist Organisation. Mrs David Nathan founded the New Zealand branch of W.I.Z.O. in 1927. The New Zealand Womens Zionist Society pioneered the idea of establishing Infant Welfare and Mothercraft Centres in Israel on the lines of the New Zealand Plunket Society. The same body have helped with funds and personnel to establish New Zealand House in Israel which serves the special objects of W.I.Z.O. Youth Aliyah in New Zealand raises money and collects clothing and toys for the rehabilitation of migrant children in Israel. Further funds are collected by other organisations (e.g. the Friends of the Hebrew University) for specific institutions or purposes in Israel.

The second emphasis, strengthening of Jewish consciousness and loyalty as a barrier against assimilation and means of ensuring community survival has received considerable attention since the 1940's. The Zionist youth club, Habonim, various youth camps and lectures organised for youth, as well as the adult discussion groups, cultural activities, and Hebrew classes have been discussed previously.

CONCLUSIONS

Present day New Zealand voluntary organisational activity is booming. Various welfare, youth, cultural, educational and social organisations exist in all centres where substantial numbers of Jews reside (See Appendix D). The Zionist movement in New Zealand has established a vast array of activities and, as a result of the prestige of Israel among Jews, has come to occupy a position of major influence and importance in the Jewish community. It demands little from the individual Jew (sympathy for the Jewish State and financial support) and provides in return a means of Jewish identification requiring little compared with other forms e.g. ritual practices. In my opinion, Zionism has been the major means in New Zealand of strengthening a Jewish consciousness and group loyalty which had waned considerably prior to the establishment of the State of Israel. While retaining its present strength, Zionism will also provide a major means of ensuring community survival.

Footnotes

1. Fong, N.B., 1959, 50.
2. Information for the historical sections of this chapter comes predominantly from Goldman, L.M., 1958, The History of the Jews in New Zealand.

3. Reader - Person who reads the Law.
Shohet - A trained ritual slaughterer of animals and poultry.
4. Minyan - Group of ten male adult Jews, the minimum required for communal prayer.
5. Goldman, L.M., 1958, 119.
6. Liberal Judaism: "A religious trend advocating modification of Orthodox tradition in conformity with the exigencies of contemporary life and thought. The essential difference between Liberal and Orthodox Judaism revolves around the authority of the halakhah (that part of Jewish literature which deals with religious, ethical, civil and criminal law). Whereas Orthodoxy maintains the Divine authority of a halakhah in both its biblical and rabbinic expressions, Liberal Judaism subjects religious law and customs to the judgement of man."
(Werblowsky, R.J. and Wigoder, G., 1965, The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion, 328).
7. Goldman, L.M., 1958, 186-188.
8. Pentateuch - The first five books of the Old Testament.
9. Medding, P.Y., 1968, 77.
10. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle, 1953.
11. Midrash - The enormous body of parables, tales and homilies in classic Judaism, based on exegesis of Scriptural passages.
12. J.N.F. (Jewish National Fund), for land development and re-forestation in Israel.

CHAPTER SIX

THE NEW ZEALAND JEWISH PRESS

Minority group literature is an important medium of communication through which the course of adjustment of the minority group may be influenced. This chapter aims to show the part played by the New Zealand Jewish press, and its contribution to the process of assimilation between the Jewish people and the host society. An examination of the content and function of the press will be preceded by a brief summary of its history.

(1) HISTORY¹

Since its inception in 1921, the New Zealand Jewish press has published a small but continuous series of magazines, journals and newspapers. The first known Jewish paper in New Zealand was established in 1921 by Leon Cohen; it was a four page humorous broadsheet, the Ish Kabibel.² published on behalf of the Wellington Jewish Social Club. Late in 1921 editorship of the paper changed to Ben Green, who made its tone more serious, renamed it the Jewish Times and called it the organ of New Zealand Jewry. The paper developed into a monthly journal of about 20 pages adding such new features as an editorial comment on various local and national Jewish activities and a Jewish Enquiry Column. In 1926 a Zionist Supplement - independent of editorial policy - was incorporated as the Wellington Palestine League mouthpiece. Publication of the Jewish Times ceased in January 1932. The Jewish Review, a monthly social journal, published in Wellington and edited by Messrs M. Pitt and A. Katronski was its successor from 1935 to 1940.

The year 1940 was a time of world-wide crisis for the Jewish people and overseas news was avidly sought. In response to this need Mrs A.

Astor, under the sponsorship of the Auckland Judean Association and with the support of the Board of Management of the Auckland Synagogue and local societies, commenced publishing the Auckland Judean. Beginning as a small eight page publication in July 1940 it developed into a monthly journal covering world Jewish affairs and opinions and, in addition, providing local news for the Auckland community. This journal changed its name to the New Zealand Judean Bulletin and subsequently to the New Zealand Jewish Bulletin, in each instance with an increased coverage of New Zealand Jewish communal and congregational activities.

With the expansion of the Zionist movement in the mid 1940's, the Zionist Council of New Zealand decided to publish its own journal, the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle. It was first issued in September 1944 and although essentially a Zionist monthly also presented general Jewish news. Thus, two Jewish journals were being published simultaneously. In April 1949 the Chronicle and Bulletin merged retaining the name the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle, with Mrs A. Astor as managing editress. Of the merger Mrs Astor wrote,

"our people have close relationships and interests in all centres, and a paper which concentrates on one section only (Auckland) is incomplete as a chronicle of New Zealand Jewry and does not give a true record for internal or overseas files... Deplorable waste was involved in printing two papers with practically the same overseas news."³

March 21, 1961 saw the advent of fortnightly rather than monthly issues of the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle. The format changed from that of a journal to a newspaper, and up-to-date cable news from London and letter rate airmail news from Israel, Australia, America and England was included in greater quantity giving the New Zealand community a fuller coverage of world, as well as local, Jewish affairs. A further change was heralded

in September, 1969 when the newspaper again became a magazine with a glossy cover although substantially the same news coverage.

The inclusion of a youth supplement Hagesher, edited by the Education and Youth Departments, from August 1951 is worthy of note. Articles aimed to present Jewish history in a readable form, to describe the traditional festivals, to increase knowledge about Israel and to encourage all youth to play its part in communal life and in Jewish Youth Organisations.

It would appear that from time to time various congregational and club magazines have been distributed. For example: the Wellington Jewish Social Club issued for a short period from March 1955 a four page broadsheet, the Monthly Review. These magazines are of special interest to the group concerned and have a limited circulation compared with those previously discussed.

At present, the national New Zealand Jewish press consists of the widely distributed New Zealand Jewish Chronicle. It is the official organ of the Zionist Council of New Zealand, and the only current record of the Jewish people in New Zealand. With the affiliation and association of most major Jewish organisations it describes the efforts of dedicated people to maintain all that to which Jews hold fast in the Diaspora. It is a major means of disseminating Jewish news and ideals and provides a forum for discussion and evaluation of Jewish standards.

(2) CONTENT AND FUNCTION ANALYSIS

The methodological framework utilised in this content and function analysis of the New Zealand Jewish press was that formulated by Gilson and Zubrzycki in their recently published book, The Foreign-Language Press in Australia 1848-1964. In this work, foreign-language newspapers and periodicals from 28 national groups resident in Australia were studied,

the only two major exceptions being the Chinese and Yiddish presses.⁴

Part I of the work is concerned with the history of foreign-language journalism in Australia; Part II with a content analysis of the press; and Part III consists of a discussion on the "natural history of the immigrant press", its major subdivisions and metamorphoses.⁵

In Part II (the major portion of the work), Gilson and Zubrzycki advanced four hypotheses; the first two concerned with the content and function of the press and the latter two directed towards its effect on the readers. They, as the writer of this thesis has done, decided to concentrate research on Hypotheses A and B only.

Hypothesis A reads: (adapted) the New Zealand Jewish press is predominantly concerned with the maintenance of the cultural identity of the Jewish people. The concept of "cultural identity" refers to the social behavioural characteristics distinguishing the minority group from the host society, e.g. language, common religious belief, the customary differences in the style of food and eating habits. In this study, the degree to which the press perpetuates the Jewish sense of cultural identity is investigated.

Hypothesis B: (adapted) the New Zealand Jewish press is not merely a medium for the communication of local news but is also a means of translating and transmitting New Zealand ways and values to the Jewish people. Transmission of ways and values requires explanation. It is postulated that the press provides the Jew with a range of information about New Zealand. By learning these things about New Zealand "ways and values" the minority group member acquires social behaviour of which the host society approves.

The evidence brought to bear on Hypotheses A and B includes a quantitative analysis of space distribution, and a qualitative assessment of the tone of selected extracts. Following Gilson and Zubrzycki

two steps appeared necessary to make the analysis objective in comparison with a purely impressionistic review of content as for example given in Trlin and Cleveland's articles in Comment.⁶ These were to devise a simple and workable system of classification of the contents of a particular sample, and to select a quantitative unit of measurement so that the chosen categories of contents could be compared.

Sample

Five years (1927, 1937, 1947, 1957 and 1967) were selected for function and content analysis. Samples for analysis were selected at ten yearly intervals from 1927 which represented the date of the first readily available journal. Within each year the journal sample⁷ consisted of 12 issues (with the exception of 1947 and 1957 when only nine and ten issues were printed respectively). For the years 1927-1957 inclusive, this included the complete years issues, but for 1967 the issues analysed represent the first published each calendar month.

Classification of Content

It would appear that within the New Zealand Jewish press, space is allocated among six major divisions: advertisements and miscellaneous,⁸ news of Israel, other European and foreign news, New Zealand congregational (including organisational) news, and at various times literary and youth sections. The quantitative analysis of these divisions led to an assessment of the general editorial policy. This was supplemented with an assessment of the manner in which divisions (2), (3) and (4) were treated, i.e. hostile, friendly, neutral etc. Thus the method of classification made it possible to evaluate the quantitative and qualitative evidence assembled in terms of its bearing on hypotheses A and B.

Unit of Measurement

Each news article was measured in inches and percentage space alloca-

tion of divisions for each year calculated. Two assumptions were made; (a) that each article had an equal chance of being read, and that (b) the space allocated to a division over a period of time represented a fair index of the relative emphasis devoted to that subject by the journal.

Analysis of Space Distribution

The following percentage distribution of divisions emerged. The column, "advertising and miscellaneous" has been excluded from Table XXV to overcome the slight distortion of some percentage distributions which become apparent on comparison of the two Tables.

TABLE XXIV
PERCENTAGE SPACE ALLOCATION OF DIVISIONS IN
THE NEW ZEALAND JEWISH PRESS, 1927-1967 (1).

Year	Divisions (see key below)						Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
1927	42.38	4.66	12.01	26.56	4.24	10.11	100.0
1937	35.10	9.48	14.32	29.77	0.0	11.30	99.9
1947	20.57	22.86	22.40	17.35	1.78	15.02	100.0
1957	23.68	24.02	10.48	35.23	0.0	6.54	99.9
1967	26.18	15.10	21.55	24.88	4.38	7.90	100.0

Key:

- (1) Advertising and miscellaneous.
- (2) Israel.
- (3) European and other Foreign news (includes news and decisions made on Palestine and Israel).
- (4) New Zealand Congregational and communal organisation news.
- (5) Youth section.
- (6) Literary.

TABLE XXV

PERCENTAGE SPACE ALLOCATION OF DIVISIONS IN
THE NEW ZEALAND JEWISH PRESS, 1927-1967 (2).

Year	Divisions (see key above)					Total
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
1927	8.09	20.86	46.11	7.37	17.56	100.1
1937	14.61	22.07	45.89	0.0	17.42	100.0
1947	28.78	28.20	21.84	2.24	18.91	99.9
1957	31.49	13.74	46.17	0.0	8.58	100.0
1967	33.37	19.24	31.71	5.59	10.07	100.0

With the major exception of 1947 and minor exception of 1967, New Zealand congregational and communal organisational news had the greatest space allocation throughout. It is interesting to note that whereas European and other foreign Jewish news and news of Israel accounted for the second and third major space allocations respectively, the situation was reversed after 1947. Between 1937 and 1947 the news on Palestine increased by 14.17 percent reflecting events centred around World War II. The plight of Jewish refugees from Hitler's Germany, subsequent increased immigration into Palestine and the struggle for a Jewish State accounted for the increase. Throughout the following decades similar percentages of Israeli news were presented reflecting the ever growing Zionist movement in New Zealand, negotiations concerning the Gaza strip, Jew-Arab relations, and the continuing mass immigration into Israel. The new space allocation persisted because as Dr H. Ruben, one time editor of the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle wrote,

"we are the generation which was fortunate to witness the rebirth of a Jewish State, it is only natural that current news from Israel forms a major item..."⁹

In division (4), New Zealand congregational and organisational space is lost to the 1947 increase in overseas and foreign news.

It may be supposed that the space allocated to the various categories of news is an indication of the degree to which an editor is catering for the interest of his readers, whilst the tone and type of articles reveal the extent to which an editor is trying to sustain feelings of national identification and loyalty. The following section examines editorial selection and treatment of news in order to provide a basis for assessing how far the editors were trying to encourage national loyalties.

In division (2) much attention was focused on Israel's political problems, particularly during the years of struggle for national recognition. The struggle for statehood was accompanied by considerable resentment and indignation over Britain's "about face" in the White Paper.

"...the root of all evil was the White Paper. No document had ever caused so much distress and trouble as the White Paper. It was in flagrant contradiction to the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and destroyed or was about to destroy the fundamental hope of the Jewish people to build up a life of freedom in Palestine by reducing the Jews to a permanent minority in Palestine".¹⁰

By contrast, a mood of great jubilation accompanied the eventual proclamation of statehood.

"The nation for so long outcast has been welcomed back into the world community of nations, self redeemed, proudly vindicated, and justified in its faith... The admission of Israel to the United Nations on 11th May 1949... is the consummation of a peoples transition..."¹¹

And four years later:

"By force of arms... and defence of homes... at the price of widespread suffering... through telling diplomacy... by the apparatus of statehood and the rebuilding of industry... through the revival of Man and the Soul... with the tremendous sacrifice of the people of Israel and the help of brethren in the Diaspora. This is the proud history of four years of statehood".¹²

The migration of Jewish refugees into Israel increased substantially during the mid 1940's. The refugees had undergone considerable deprivation and hence the reporting was very emotional.

"...a new Polish terror has broken out, causing Jewish deportees who survived the horrors of death camps and gas-chambers and were repatriated to their homeland to fly again in panic..."¹³

But pride in the way that these refugees have settled and developed the land is also expressed. The New Zealand Jew is identified with this achievement in the annual appeal for and acknowledgement of his monetary contribution.

"Stand by Israel: War or no war, the land is ploughed, the seeds sown, the harvests reaped.
- Today the Negev settlements - Yad Mordechai, Saad, Nahal Oz, Magen, Gvulot, Nir Yitzhak are free to develop for the first time unhindered.
- Today the port of Eliat has its first opportunity to expand and pave the way for Israel's trade with the countries of Asia and the Pacific.
- Every day new immigrants reach Israel's shores.
- Every day new settlements are founded, houses constructed, pipelines laid, wells dug, roads built. Now, more than ever before Israel's development must be speeded up.
GIVE TO THE UNITED ISRAEL 1957 APPEAL".¹⁴

An article in the youth magazine Hagesher illustrates how this pride is

also fostered in the young.

"Jews in this country can rightly be proud of their contribution towards the fulfilment of the Jewish State. We have not only succeeded in keeping our less fortunate brethren, but in supporting Israel we have strengthened the cause of peace. For a strong Israel in the Middle East will ultimately prove to be a bastion and bulwark for the cause of justice and freedom".¹⁵

One would expect an emphasis on Jewish culture and traditions to be as effective in sustaining group loyalty as emotive political reporting. The New Zealand Jewish press provided such an emphasis with articles on Jewish Remembrance Days. The following article may also be noted for its political significance.

"Warsaw Ghetto Uprising National Memorial Day.

Nine years have passed since the uprising of the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto. Six million Jews from all over Europe were exterminated by the most cruel forces mankind has ever known - the Nazis...

The pitiful remnants of the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto, starved, sick, terror stricken, decided not to let themselves be dragged to the gas chambers, but to put up a stand against the Germans. Without arms, ammunition, food, outside help, yet they rose against the powerful tyrants..."¹⁶

Traditional customs and celebrations were given considerable publicity.

"The Omar festival is the latest revival among the feasts of Spring... In ancient days, the first sheaves, harvested according to an old and sacred ritual were brought in solemn procession to Jerusalem where the corn was threshed, winnowed, milled and the first flour sacrificed in the Temple..."¹⁷

Division (3), European and Foreign news reflected the essence of Diaspora happenings and thus news coverage was wide and often objective in tone. Typical items are reflected in the February 1948 issue of the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle. For example; "Position of Jews in Aden", "New York Press Extracts" and in the Chronicle of Events column, "Pogrom in Syria", "King Abdullah wants Peace", "Former Jewish Police to Serve in Jewish State", "Jewish Agency Official Killed". The plight of the Jewish refugee and flight from continuing oppression around the world has, however, been a major concern from 1937 on, and is responsible for considerable emotive reporting although this has decreased of late.

New Zealand congregational and organisational activities Division (4) were advertised, discussed and described. The previous chapter illustrated that in addition to the traditional religious services and meetings, welfare, youth, cultural, educational, sporting clubs etc., operate in all centres where substantial numbers of Jews reside. Activity reports from these groups, personal items from members overseas, Jewish births, deaths and marriages of interest to the community are printed.

On the other hand, activities implying a degree of social control frequently occur. Editorial policy in minority group publications often undertakes to maintain ethnic cohesion, advising and criticising the corporate activity of the group members. The question of Jewish education, referred to in Chapter 5, involved criticism of prevailing conditions and parental apathy. Much criticism and advice has been issued on the question of intermarriage.

"It is rather disquietening to read Rev. Bernard Cherrick's impressions of Australasian Jewry... He does not rate anti-Semitism despite its increasing manifestations, as Australasian Jewry's

gravest and most imminent danger, but instead he rates intermarriage... By working together purposefully, by studying together earnestly and meeting together socially, New Zealand Jewish Youth will overcome the ever present danger of intermarriage".¹⁸

Another warning:

"The problem of intermarriage in New Zealand is far more serious than is generally recognised. The subject is usually regarded as 'dangerous ground' and tackled with diffidence, and as a result no real information has been acquired by the Jewish authorities as to the true extent of this evil... If the future of Judaism in New Zealand is to rest on a firm foundation, the problem of intermarriage must be attacked immediately. No true security of Jewish communal life can be attained until the vast majority of our people are living and marrying within the fold, and as we have pointed out, this is not the case in New Zealand at present".¹⁹

Concern has been expressed at the apparent disinterest in Jewish affairs and lack of spirituality.

"The tendency to assimilation in these free countries which causes concern to religious leaders all the year round is noted with heightened pangs when it comes to the obvious and unashamed non-observance of our most sacred festivals..."²⁰

Similarly:

"When the five day week was introduced into the New Zealand business world many promises were made of improved attendance at our Sabbath services. Passover usually attracted a full congregation. This year it coincided with a fine weather Easter holiday, which no doubt reduced attendance, but the mere fact that Jewish people can leave their

homes during Pesach without a worry concerning observance of the Seder or kosher food, let alone attendance at the services gives grave concern for the religious future of this long-established congregation.

Concentrating on Jewish education for our children... is absolutely worthless if prayer is totally absent from the home, and public worship as ordained in our Torah completely ignored".²¹

The literary section (Division 6) contained articles on Jewish heroes (Abraham ben Meir Ibn Ezra, Theodor Herzl);^{23,24} and explanations of customs and festivals (The Story of Chanuka, The Significance of Purim);^{25,26} Jewish book and film reviews were presented (The Faithful City, Life Sentence by Howard Wadman);^{27,28} as were short stories often illustrating some aspect of Israeli life (And Others More).²⁹ The reader is constantly pointed to Israel and Judaism.

(3) CONCLUSIONS

Let us refer back to our two hypotheses. Hypothesis A suggested that the New Zealand Jewish press has as a prime concern the maintenance of the cultural identity of the Jewish people. Hypothesis B maintained that as well as communicating local news, the New Zealand Jewish press translated and transmitted New Zealand values and attitudes to the Jewish people. The evidence has been necessarily brief and selective, but representative. It would suggest that Hypothesis A is a valid statement whilst Hypothesis B is not. These contentions are supported by the space allocation to news and articles and the tone of reporting. It is clear that the editors viewed it as their prerogative not only to report, but to exhort, criticise and give praise. This attitude underlies the very important aspect of this press as an agency of social control, and in my view this attitude is a reflection of the preoccupation

with the maintenance of cultural identity. In respect to Hypothesis B, New Zealand society is not explained to the reader in any way, no information or guidance is given to assist Jews (and immigrants in particular) to achieve satisfactory settlement. The danger of assimilation is continually emphasised.

It is important to realise at this point, that this press is the product of certain organisations and individuals within the community. For example, Mrs A. Astor who for a considerable number of years edited the various press journals is the wife of Rabbi A. Astor from Auckland and therefore presumably promoted a strictly religious and Orthodox view-point. Since its inception, the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle has been the product and official organ of the Zionist Council of New Zealand and hence the emphasis on Israeli news and frequent exhortation aimed at building up the State of Israel, although Dr Ruben's point made earlier in the text must be borne in mind. Although the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle is circulated to almost every Jewish home in the Dominion, it has not been possible to quantitatively assess the numbers subscribing to the values and attitudes presented in the press.

Footnotes

1. Information concerning early publications was obtained from Goldman, L.M., 1958, The History of the Jews in New Zealand, 204.
2. Known holdings of Ish Kabibel - none.

Jewish Times - General Assembly Library,
Wellington, July 1926-Jan. 1932.

Jewish Review - General Assembly Library,
Wellington, March 1935-June 1940.

Auckland Judean - none.

New Zealand Judean Bulletin - General Assembly

Library, Wellington, May/June 1948-Dec. 1948.

New Zealand Jewish Bulletin - none.New Zealand Jewish Chronicle - General Assembly

Library, Wellington, Oct. 1944-Dec. 1970.

National Library of New Zealand, March 1945-1949 (Incomplete holdings).

Alexander Turnbull Library, Feb. 1954-Oct. 1957 (Incomplete holdings).

Auckland Institute and Museum, 1946/47-no date (Incomplete holdings).

Hashofar - General Assembly Library, Wellington,

April 1959-Dec. 1966

3. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle March/April 1949, Editorial.
4. The authors felt that a study of the Chinese and Yiddish press could not be separated from a special study on each community. In both cases, the process of adjustment had been very different from that of most European groups.
Gilson, M. and Zubrzycki, J., 1967, vi-vii.
5. Gilson, M. and Zubrzycki, J., 1967, vi.
6. Trlin, A., 1967, The Yugoslav Immigrant Press - Its Part in Assimilation. Comment No 32, 27-31.
Cleveland, L., 1968, The New Zealand Bulletin. Comment No 34, 23-27.
7. The word "journal" used in this sense incorporates magazines, journals and newspapers i.e. in whatever form the news was published at that time.
8. Includes half page titles, enquiries, notices of meetings etc.

9. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle Jan./Feb. 1959, 2.
10. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle March 1945, 82-3.
11. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle June 1949, 1.
12. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle April 1952, 7.
13. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle Feb./March 1946,
14. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle April 1957, cover page.
15. Hagesher August/Sept. 1951, 4.
16. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle April 1952, 9.
17. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle May 1947, 129.
18. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle Sept. 1948, 1.
19. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle Jan. 1927, Editorial.
20. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle April 1950, Editorial.
21. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle May 1949, Editorial.
22. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle April 1937,
23. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle Sept./Oct. 1951, 17.
24. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle June 1953, 4-5.
25. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle Dec. 1951, 13.
26. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle Feb. 1953, 3.
27. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle Sept. 1952, 16.
28. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle June 1949, 20.
29. New Zealand Jewish Chronicle Sept. 1952, 15.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CAN NEW ZEALAND JEWRY SURVIVE?

New Zealand ranks with what some Jewish scholars term the countries of "high assimilation".¹ It is a country where anti-Semitism has remained comparatively quiescent and where Jewish individuals have moved freely in all walks of society. At one extreme this climate of general liberty affords Jews the chance of exerting themselves for the preservation of their identity. Yet it also provides the opportunity for a high degree of assimilation with loss of identity as a consequence. In New Zealand, certain patterns have emerged in response to this challenge of freedom; it is these patterns which must provide an insight into the directions in which the community may move in the future.

Demographically, the Jewish population is increasingly becoming New Zealand born in composition. In the past, migration has contributed predominantly to the growth of New Zealand Jewry. Four factors, however, mitigate against a continuation of this trend. The eighteenth and nineteenth century rise in Jewish population in Europe which contributed to the establishment of the Diaspora communities is past. Two further factors responsible for emigration from East and West Europe - anti-Semitism and the expansion of Communistic influence have decreased in significance. And, since 1949, Jewish aspirations have turned to the State of Israel, with the result that Diaspora communities can no longer rely on the saving power of immigration. With New Zealand Jewry dependent upon natural increase for its future growth the Jewish population will increasingly become a New Zealand born and bred population. This fact is of some consequence when it is understood that with distance from the foreign born generation

there is generally a consistent increase in non-affiliation with Jewish organisations.

Has the New Zealand Jewish population the capacity to survive demographically? In 1966, age-sex structures illustrated a top-heavy or over-aged New Zealand Hebrew community with a relatively low proportion of young people in the under twenty years of age group. In terms of marital status, however, a higher percentage of the Hebrew population was married than the total population and the Hebrew fertility ratio was a mere 0.8 below that of the total population for the Urban Areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. Since World War II, a number of factors, among them being economic stability and (most importantly) a security which some of the Jewish people had not experienced for some years, if ever, contributed to higher rates of natural increase for New Zealand's Jewish population. Demographically, it would appear that the future of the New Zealand Jewish community rests on sound foundations.

The settlement pattern of New Zealand's Jewish population has been and continues to an increasing extent to be predominantly urban. This is a result of a long tradition of urban concentration among Jews and was necessitated partly by their urban-orientated occupational skills. With the exception of one or two areas, New Zealand's Jews are not highly concentrated in selected areas of the city but distributed relatively proportionately among the total population. The areas of residential concentration are also areas of relatively high socio-economic status and it would appear that in New Zealand the Jewish concentration is related to the higher socio-economic position of the group rather than a desire for Jewish insularity. It is not known whether concentration in selected parts of the urban area occurred

in the initial stages of settlement, from which subsequent dispersion resulted, but the relationship between residential location and duration of residence illustrated in the Auckland Urban Area does not preclude the possibility.

This study has illustrated that the degree of economic integration undergone by the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch Jewish communities is considerable. The Jew is represented and accepted at all levels of the New Zealand economy. Several Jewish community studies as well as various national public-opinion surveys overseas have clearly documented that Jews are disproportionately concentrated in the higher socio-economic ranks.² This is also evident in New Zealand where there are greater numbers of Jewish administrative, executive, managerial and professional workers compared with the total population. These differences reflect such variables as Jewish cultural and religious values and business experience and, in New Zealand, the freedom of social and economic movement and system of education.

Jewish contributions to the growth and development of New Zealand loom large in the short history of this country and reflect the degree of, and freedom of, social interaction between Jew and non-Jew. During the early history of the colony Julius Vogel, Philip A. Philips and David Davis were members of the Provincial Councils. Philip A. Philips was the first Mayor of Auckland and was succeeded by another Jew, Henry Isaacs. Three Jews served as members of the House of Representatives and four were members of the Legislative Council. The Hon. Charles Louison was four times Mayor of Christchurch. Jews were among the members of the first Chambers of Commerce in the colony and the first Harbour Boards. In medicine, law and in many professions the Jew has played and continues to play a prominent part. Perhaps the two

Jews who left the greatest impress upon the development of New Zealand were Sir Julius Vogel and Sir Michael Myers. The former was Premier from 1873-1875 and again in 1876. Besides holding other government posts he was founder of the Government Life Insurance Office and the Public Trust Office and founder and editor of The Otago Daily Times, New Zealand's first daily newspaper. Sir Michael Myers was appointed Chief Justice of New Zealand in 1931 and served in this capacity until retirement in 1946. As Chief Justice he acted as Administrator of New Zealand on a number of occasions when the Governor-General was absent from the country.

It is not surprising that with such social and economic interaction, the smallness of the community, and its exposure to public (rather than Jewish) education that intermarriage has always been a problem of considerable proportions. In 1950, Goldman estimated that between 25 and 30 percent of New Zealand's Jews were marrying out of the faith.³ Even the lower estimate must be considered a sizeable deflection from the fold. A further problem, in the eyes of Goldman and various other members of the New Zealand Jewish community (evidenced by letters to the Jewish press) rests in the gradual abandonment of Jewish religious practises in the home, the decrease in synagogue attendance and concessions in synagogue ritual and practice which have gone hand in hand over the years.

At this juncture it might appear that the New Zealand Jew is doomed to absorption. However, strong identification factors within the New Zealand Jewish community are evident along with the maintenance of some form of affiliation. And, since the establishment of the State of Israel and World War II Nazi persecution the desire for Jewish identification and strength of Jewish consciousness have increased immeasurably.

In New Zealand, the Zionist movement has been instrumental in the strengthening of Jewish consciousness and loyalty as a barrier against assimilation and a means of ensuring community survival. A number of channels have been utilised.

Habonim is a Zionist youth organisation which fosters Jewish culture generally and especially education in Zionism. The Zionist Council has organised annual junior and senior youth camps since 1944. Specially trained Youth Emissaries from Israel are frequently sent to New Zealand to help build up the youth movements while New Zealand youth are encouraged to go on Aliyah.

For the adult members of the community Zionist Societies in the various centres organise cultural evenings, lectures, discussions etc. The New Zealand Womens International Zionist Organisation is active in fund raising and strong in membership in the minor as well as the major centres. Each year the major communities are united in their efforts to raise money for the annual United Israel Fund Raising Appeal.

At present the widely distributed New Zealand Jewish Chronicle is the official organ of the Zionist Council of New Zealand and serves not only as a means of disseminating Jewish news and ideals, but has an educative influence in its concern for the maintenance of the cultural identity of the Jewish people. Overall, the Zionist movement in New Zealand has established a vast array of activities and, as a result of the prestige of Israel among Jews, has come to occupy a position of major influence and importance in the Jewish community.

As well as Zionist activity, various other welfare, youth, religious, cultural, educational and social organisations exist to cater for the needs of the Jewish community in New Zealand. These have been detailed for the Auckland and Wellington communities in Appendix D. Recent

developments in the sphere of a formal education have been evident in the formation of a "Kadimah" (Jewish kindergarten) in Auckland and the proposal of a Jewish Day School for 1971.

The overall impression created by this study of the New Zealand Jewish community is that the Jew has been largely integrated into New Zealand society. However, the existence of a large number of community organisations and the tone and subject matter of the Jewish press is evidence of the interest and determination of the Jews to maintain their identification with Judaism and the Jewish community. The future for New Zealand Jewry as a viable group within our society lies in strong and active community participation by all members of the group. In this way only will their Jewish identification persist and their future be assured as one of strength and vitality.

Footnotes

1. Lestehinsky, J., 1960, 2.
2. Westoff, C.F., 1964, 43-53.
3. Goldman, L.M., 1958, 199.

APPENDIX A
THE QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

The aims of the questionnaire were twofold:

a) to supplement basic demographic, economic and social data obtained from primary and secondary source analysis.

b) to provide further information on the adjustment of the Jewish people to the host society by adding a sociological dimension to the thesis. For example, existence of educational, religious and club activities is evidence of support for group tradition and values but only further investigation can ascertain whether these are well attended or generally ignored except by a small body of enthusiasts. Further, the most practical and most frequent expression of Jewish tradition and feeling of Yiddishkeit¹ in the home is the observance of the Jewish Dietary Laws. "Kashruth"² preserves the Jewish identity in a non-Jewish environment and maintains the purity and sanctity of Jewish life".³ The questionnaire was designed to gather information on the general individual desire for group survival evidenced by the adherence to such traditional Jewish practices.

Two questionnaires in particular were influential in determining the type and format of this questionnaire, namely, those conducted by the Anthropology and Sociology Departments of Monash University, Australia (1959), and P.Y. Medding of Melbourne University (1961-1962). A series of precautions to check the clarity of presentation, validity and acceptability of questions were undertaken on the completed questionnaire.

Firstly, the questionnaire was read by Rabbi Astor (Auckland Hebrew Congregation), Mr J. Glatt (acting Minister of the Auckland

Liberal Congregation), Mr W. Hirsch and Mr M. Pitt (leading members of the Wellington Hebrew Congregation) and Mr H.K. Emmanuel (President of the Wellington Liberal Congregation). As a result of discussion the questionnaire was cut drastically in length.

Secondly, a pilot survey with the amended questionnaire was conducted among the Jewish families of Hastings, Napier and Palmerston North. Twenty-two householders were initially contacted by telephone with interview requests. Of these, five refused to be interviewed or to answer a questionnaire sent them by post. Reasons for refusal were "too busy" (3), bed-ridden and did not wish to be disturbed (1), whilst one lady did not have sufficient command or understanding of English to understand my request. Ten householders were personally interviewed and willing to complete questionnaires, whilst seven questionnaires were posted out with the verbal promise that they would be returned. Six of the seven were returned. Results of the pilot study are summarized below:

	No. of householders
Contacted initially by phone	22
Interview refusals:	5
Questionnaires completed by personal interview:	10
Questionnaires posted:	7
Postal questionnaires returned:	6
Total completed questionnaires:	16

Several points emerged from the pilot survey:

- a) It was infinitely more rewarding (although time consuming

to conduct personal interviews, the background information gathered from chance remarks being invaluable. For instance, a number of questions presented as "black and white" in the questionnaire were intensely controversial and emotionally charged issues. In reply to the question, "Do you oppose the marriage of a Jew to a non-Jew?" many answered "yes" but remarked that faced with the situation of their own son marrying a Gentile would have hesitated to alienate him from the family as required by the Law.

b) A number of persons of foreign origin experienced difficulty in understanding the very simple English contained in the questionnaire. For such people, further explanations and examples were necessary to clarify questions.

Final Survey, Auckland Urban Area

Discussion with E.G. Thomas (Lecturer in Geography, Massey University) led to the consideration of two methods of conducting the survey.

a) a random sample of 200 families (about one third of the total) would receive questionnaires by post. Those who did not respond would be visited and completed questionnaires collected or reasons for refusals to co-operate sought.

b) the mailing of questionnaires to every Jewish household in the Auckland Urban Area. With the expected 60+ percent no visitation was envisaged.

As permission to obtain names and addresses for personal "follow up" work was withheld the second alternative had to be utilized. The questionnaires with covering letter were sent out on 15th June, 1969 to the 577 households on the Jewish National Board mailing list (the most complete list of Jews obtainable). One hundred and fifty-one questionnaires were returned completed, that is, 26 percent of the total mailed.

It is interesting to note that over half (97) of the respondents were foreign born.

The poor response may be attributed to a number of factors. Mr Glatt, the Auckland Liberal Congregation acting Minister wrote, "You must understand that quite a number of Jewish families in New Zealand are of German and Austrian extraction and it will be no easy task to get them to answer many of your questions considering the terrifying experiences many suffered at the hands of the Nazis".⁴ Similarly, Rabbi Aster of the Auckland Hebrew Congregation wrote, "I am sorry that quite a number of the community, mainly folk who were refugees from Nazi Europe have naturally felt apprehensive about replying to your questionnaire".⁵ Other correspondents have replied in the same vein and it would appear that a "persecution complex" has mitigated against a larger response. A second reason lies in the "closed" nature of parts of the community. Correspondence has indicated that a number of persons refused to answer the questionnaire because someone else respected in the community was unwilling for various reasons to do so. Several people claimed that questions were either "indiscreet" or "too personal". The fact that the writer was neither a Jew nor person of known reputation also contributed to a feeling of insecurity experienced by those who did not properly understand the nature of the thesis for which the information was required. Finally, it must be noted that, as in any community, some persons were not prepared to sacrifice the time or effort demanded to answer the request.

Footnotes

1. Yiddishkeit - Identification with Yiddish background.
2. Kashruth - Jewish dietary laws.
3. Kamelman, Rabbi Dr. Y., 1970, 14.
4. pers comm. 11.3.69.
5. pers comm. 14.7.69.

Geography Department,
Massey University,
Palmerston North.
20th May, 1969.

Dear Sir/Madam,

At present I am a student at Massey University engaged in work for an M.A. thesis on 'New Zealand Jewry.' My aim is to present a study of the New Zealand Jewish community in its total New Zealand setting, comparable to those studies made on the Polish, German, Hungarian, Yugoslav, Chinese and Indian people resident in New Zealand.

Basically, the thesis will be divided into three parts:
- an historical description of the growth of New Zealand Jewry;
- a detailed study of the Auckland Jewish community;
- a series of three generation case studies e.g. grandfather, father and son. The information to be obtained from the enclosed questionnaire is essential to the second part of the thesis. Would you be so kind as to spend half an hour one evening answering the questionnaire and returning it to me in the stamped, addressed envelope no later than 1 July, 1969.

Rabbi Aster, Mr J. Glatt, and the Board of Management of Temple Shalom have seen this questionnaire and given me full approval and support in this task.

Please note also, that the information received is strictly confidential and becomes one figure among hundreds of others. Your individuality is merged with the 600 other Jewish families in the Auckland Urban Area.

Your co-operation is essential for the completion of this thesis. Thank you very sincerely for your help.

Yours faithfully,

P.R. Thompson (Miss)
(now Mrs. P.R. Collins)

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

SECTIONS A, B, C AND D: to be answered by the head of the household and the eldest of his or her children living at home and over 20 years of age. If the head of the household has no children of this age, or they do not live at home etc., please leave column a blank.

SECTION E: to be answered by the head of the household only.

IF YOU DO NOT WISH TO ANSWER ANY PARTICULAR QUESTION WILL YOU PLEASE PUT AN X IN THE COLUMN SPACE PROVIDED.

SECTION A:

1. Are you MALE (M) or FEMALE (F)?
2. How old are you?
3. Are you MARRIED (M), WIDOWED (W), SEPARATED (S), NEVER MARRIED (NM)?
4. If you were born in New Zealand please answer this question.
 - a. Was your mother born in New Zealand? YES (Y), NO (N).
 - b. If NO, state town and country of her birth and year of coming to N.Z.
 - c. Was your father born in New Zealand? YES (Y), NO (N).
 - d. If NO, state town and country of his birth and year of coming to N.Z.

Q	Head of Household	Other Respondent
1		
2		
3		
4a		
b	Town	Town
	Country	Country
	Year	Year
c		
d	Town	Town
	Country	Country
	Year	Year

5. Please answer this question only if you were not born in New Zealand.

a. In which town and country were you born and in which year did you come to N.Z.?

b. Have you lived in any other countries besides New Zealand and that in which you were born for more than six months?

YES (Y), NO (N).

c. If YES, which ones, and for how long have you lived there?

Q	Head of Household	Other Respondent
5a	Town Country Year	Town Country Year
b		

5c.		Country	No. of Years		Country	No. of Years
	Head of Household			Other respondent		

6. What is your present address?

SECTION B:

7. Are you ~~SELF~~ EMPLOYED (SE), ON A WAGE OR SALARY (WS), RETIRED (R), UNEMPLOYED (U), HOUSEWIFE (H), ATTENDING AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION (E)?

8a. If you are SELF EMPLOYED or ON A WAGE OR SALARY, what is your occupation? e.g. Dentist, Tailor.

b. If you are RETIRED or UNEMPLOYED, what was your former occupation? e.g. Dentist, Tailor.

c. If you are an EMPLOYER, i how many people do you employ altogether?

ii how many of these are Jewish?

d. If you are an EMPLOYEE, are you employed by a Jewish person? YES (Y), NO (N),

Q	Head of Household	Other Respondent
6		
7		
8a		
b		
ci		
cii		
d		

9. What is your father's occupation? e.g. Teacher, Dentist, Labourer.

SECTION C:

- 10a. Did you go to school in New Zealand?

YES (Y), NO (N).

- b. If NO, in which country?

- c. Did you continue your education beyond school YES (Y), NO (N).

- d. If YES, was this further education FULL TIME (FT) or PART TIME (PT).

- e. Please name the highest educational qualification you hold e.g. SCHOOL CERTIFICATE (SC), UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE (UE), HIGHER LEAVING CERTIFICATE (HL), any TRADES, PROFESSIONAL OR UNIVERSITY QUALIFICATIONS (Name), or ANY OBTAINED OVERSEAS (Name).

11. Do you read any Jewish newspapers or periodicals:-

- a. Published in New Zealand? YES (Y), NO (N).

- b. Published in Australia, United States, England or any other English speaking countries? YES (Y), NO (N).

- c. Published in Israel? YES (Y), NO (N).

- 12a. Do you go to a Jewish doctor? YES (Y), NO (N).

- b. Do you go to a Jewish dentist? YES (Y), NO (N).

- c. Is your child's music teacher Jewish? YES (Y), NO (N), NOT APPLICABLE (NA).

- d. Do you obtain your groceries from a store run by a Jewish person? YES (Y), NO (N).

Q	Head of Household	Other Respondent
9		
10a		
b		
c		
d		
e		
11a		
b		
c		
12a		
b		
c		
d		

- 13a. Can you read Hebrew? YES (Y), NO (N).
- b. Can you understand Hebrew? YES (Y), NO (N).
- c. Can you read Yiddish? YES (Y), NO (N).
- d. Can you speak Yiddish? YES (Y), NO (N).
- e. Do you speak Yiddish regularly in your household? YES (Y), NO (N).
- f. Do you speak any other language besides Yiddish and English in your household?
If yes, which one(s)?
14. Are you a financial member of a New Zealand political party? YES (Y), NO (N).

SECTION D:

15. If you belong to a synagogue or temple please give its name.
16. If you belong to a synagogue or temple, how frequently have you attended services during the past twelve months? DAILY (D), WEEKLY (W), MONTHLY (M), HIGH HOLY DAYS (H), WEDDINGS OR SIMILAR OCCASIONS (O).
17. How would you describe yourself as a Jew? LIBERAL (L), ORTHODOX (O), ANYTHING ELSE (Please name.)
- 18a. What kind of special Jewish education have you had? e.g. Yiddish School, Hebrew School on Sunday, Private Tutor, None etc.
- b. For how many years?
- c. In which country did you have it?

Q	Head of Household	Other Respondent
13a		
b		
c		
d		
e		
f		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18a		
b		
c		

- 19a. Have you had a bar-mitzvah or bas-mitzvah ceremony? YES (Y), NO (N).
- b. If YES, please state in which country.
- 20a. Of how many Jewish clubs are you a member?
- b. Do you attend meetings regularly?
YES (Y), NO (N).
- c. In how many of these clubs do you hold office?
- 21a. Of how many non-Jewish clubs are you a member?
- b. Do you attend meetings regularly?
YES (Y), NO (N).
- c. In how many of these clubs do you hold office?

Q	Head of Household	Other Respondent
19a		
b		
20a		
b		
c		
21a		
b		
c		

SECTION E: (TO BE ANSWERED BY THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD ONLY.)

- 22a. State age and sex of all other people living in this household.
(Exclude other respondent.)
- b. State whether Jew or Gentile.
- c. What is their relationship to you? e.g. son, daughter, brother-in-law, mother, boarder etc.
- d. Do they GO TO WORK (W), ATTEND SCHOOL (S), ANYTHING ELSE (Please state.)
- e. Which is the highest educational qualification they hold? Any obtained overseas please note also.

Age	Sex	Jew or Gentile	Relationship	Occupation	Education
- - -	- -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
- - -	- -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
- - -	- -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
- - -	- -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
- - -	- -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -

23. Did you declare your religion as 'Jewish' in the last census?

YES (Y), NO (N).....

24. Do you oppose the marriage of a Jew to a non-Jew?

YES (Y), NO (N).....

25. Please circle within which grouping your income falls.

under \$1,000 \$4,000 - \$7,999
 \$1,000 - \$1,999 \$8,000 - \$15,999
 \$2,000 - \$3,999 \$16,000 and over.

26a. Do you usually observe the Sabbath in your household?
 YES (Y), NO (N).

b. Last Passover, did you attend a Seder?
 YES (Y), NO (N).

c. Last Hanukah, did you light Hanukah candles?
 YES (Y), NO (N).

d. Have you got a mezzuzah on any of your doors?
 YES (Y), NO (N).

27a. Do you light Friday night candles? YES (Y), NO (N).

b. Do you use separate dishes for the preparation of
 meat and dairy foods? YES (Y), NO (N).

c. Do you eat meat and dairy foods at the same meal?
 YES (Y), NO (N).

d. Do you buy meat at a kosher butcher?
 YES (Y), NO (N).

28. Have you got a Blue Box in your house?
 YES (Y), NO (N).

29. Apart from purely business acquaintances, do you entertain non-Jewish
 guests in your home? YES (Y), NO (N).

30a. Are any of your brothers, sisters, sons or daughters
 married to a non-Jewish person? YES (Y), NO (N).

b. If YES, are their children being brought up in the
 Jewish faith? YES (Y), NO (N).

31. Have any of your sons, daughters, brothers or sisters
 gone overseas and returned with a Jewish spouse?
 YES (Y) NO (N).

Q	Head of Household
26a	
b	
c	
d	
27a	
b	
c	
d	
e	
28	
29	

Q	Head of Household
30a	
b	
31	

APPENDIX B

OCCUPATIONS OF THE GOLDFIELD JEWS

Nelson and Motueka: Merchants (3), storekeepers (2), outfitter and clothier (1), painter and glazer (1), policeman (1), mayor (1).

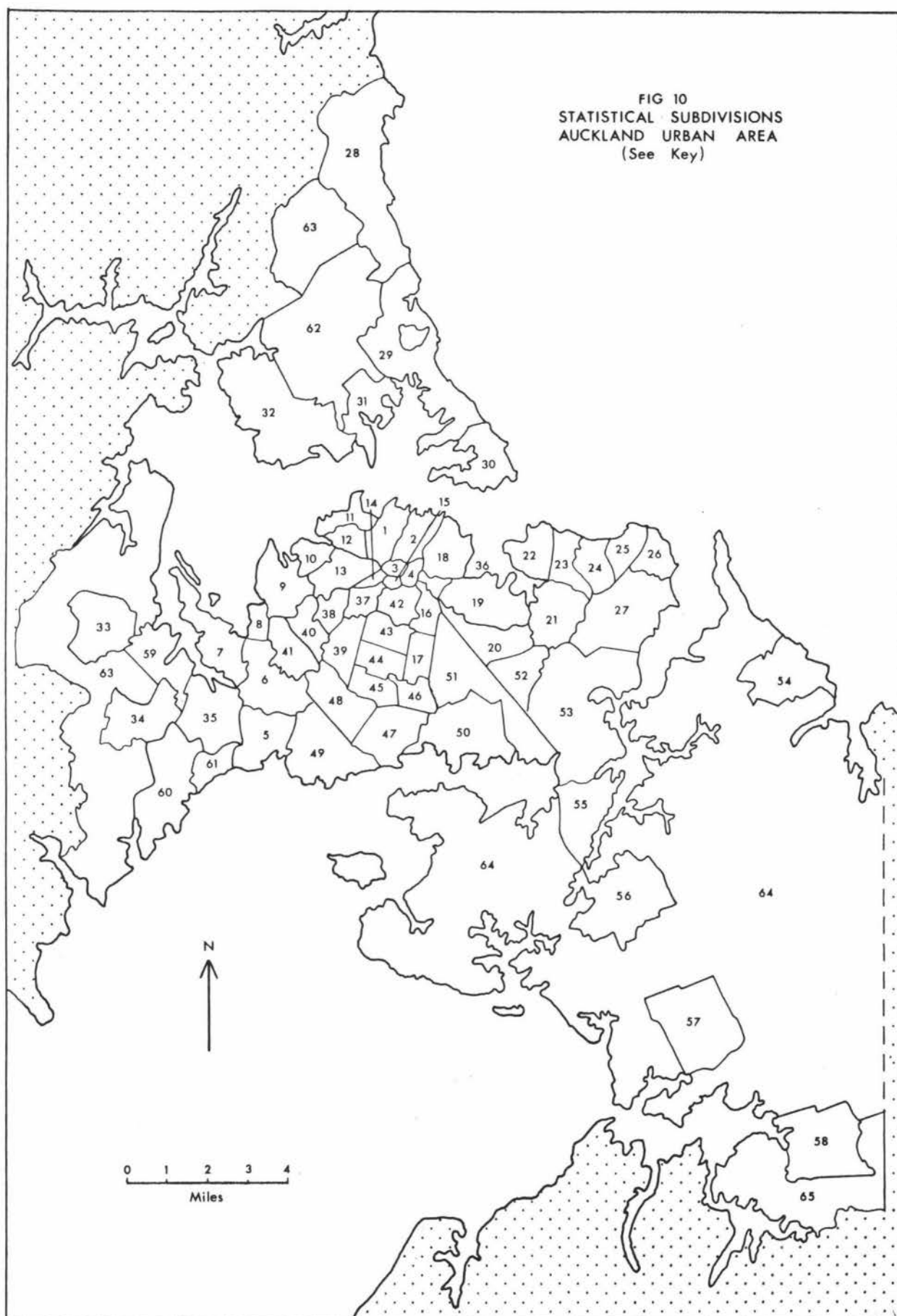
Greymouth: Merchants (2), general dealers and fancy goods merchants (5), carpenter (1), fruiterer (1), hairdresser, photographer's artist (1), auctioneer and agent (1).

Ross: Tobacconist and hairdresser (1), watchmaker and jewellers (2).

Hokitika: Grocery and other provisions (13), watchmakers and jewellers (4), ironmongers, general storekeepers, dealers and fancy goods dealers (7), clothiers (3), stationers (2), loan and money agents (2), furniture dealers, upholsterers, cabinet makers (1), leather goods (1), hawkers (3), solicitor (1), tobacconists (11).

Stafford Town: Storekeepers (6), tobacconist (1), hairdresser and barber (1), draper (1).

(From Goldman, L.M., 1958, 109-115).

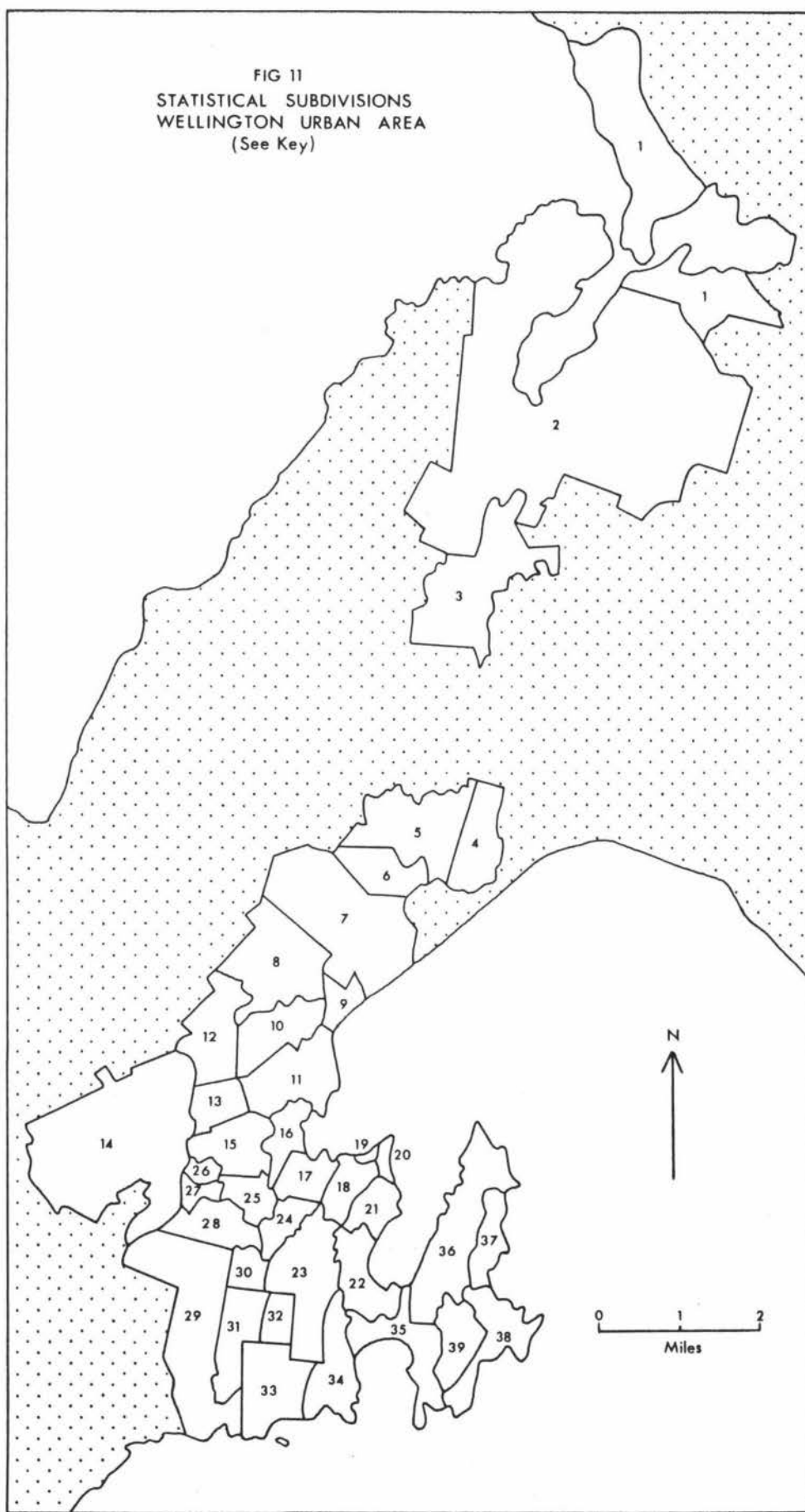


APPENDIX C

AUCKLAND URBAN AREA

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Freemans Bay | 35. New Lynn |
| 2. Auckland Central | 36. Newmarket |
| 3. Newton | 37. Kingsland |
| 4. Grafton | 38. Morningside |
| 5. Avondale South | 39. Sandringham (Mt Albert) |
| 6. Avondale North | 40. Mt Albert Central |
| 7. Rosebank | 41. Springfield-Owairaka |
| 8. Waterview | 42. Mt Eden North |
| 9. Point Chevalier | 43. Mt Eden Central |
| 10. Westmere | 44. Mt Eden South |
| 11. Herne Bay | 45. Three Kings |
| 12. Ponsonby | 46. Royal Oak |
| 13. Grey Lynn | 47. Hillsborough |
| 14. Arch Hill | 48. Sandringham-(Mt Roskill) |
| 15. Eden Terrace | 49. Halsey-Waikowhai |
| 16. Epsom North | 50. Onehunga |
| 17. Epsom South | 51. One Tree Hill |
| 18. Parnell | 52. Ellerslie |
| 19. Remuera North | 53. Mt Wellington |
| 20. Remuera South | 54. Howick |
| 21. Meadowbank | 55. Otahuhu |
| 22. Orakei | 56. Papatoetoe |
| 23. Mission Bay | 57. Manurewa |
| 24. Kohimarama | 58. Papakura |
| 25. St. Heliers | 59. Kelston West |
| 26. Glendowie | 60. Titirangi |
| 27. West Tamaki | 61. Green Bay |
| 28. East Coast Bays | 62. Glenfield |
| 29. Takapuna | 63. Waitemata County (part) |
| 30. Devonport | 64. Manakau County (part) |
| 31. Northcote | 65. Franklin County (part) |
| 32. Birkenhead | |
| 33. Henderson | |
| 34. Glen Eden | |

FIG 11
STATISTICAL SUBDIVISIONS
WELLINGTON URBAN AREA
(See Key)



WELLINGTON URBAN AREA

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Plimmerton-Paremata | 35. Lyall Bay |
| 2. Porirua | 36. Miramar |
| 3. Tawa | 37. Karaka Bay-Worser Bay |
| 4. Newlands | 38. Seatoun |
| 5. Johnsonville | 39. Strathmore |
| 6. Rarua | |
| 7. Khandallah-Naimville | |
| 8. Ngaio | |
| 9. Kaiwharawhara | |
| 10. Wadestown | |
| 11. Thorndon-Tinakori Rd | |
| 12. Wilton-Otari | |
| 13. Northland | |
| 14. Karori | |
| 15. Kelburn | |
| 16. Lambton Quay-Wellington Terrace | |
| 17. Willis St-Cambridge Tce | |
| 18. Mt Victoria West and vicinity | |
| 19. Oriental Bay | |
| 20. Roseneath | |
| 21. Hataitai | |
| 22. Kilbirnie | |
| 23. Newtown | |
| 24. Mt Cook-Wallace St | |
| 25. Aro St-Naim St | |
| 26. Taitville | |
| 27. Mitcheltown | |
| 28. Brooklyn | |
| 29. Happy Valley-Owhiro Bay | |
| 30. Vogeltown | |
| 31. Mornington | |
| 32. Berhampore | |
| 33. Island Bay | |
| 34. Melrose | |

FIG 12
STATISTICAL SUBDIVISIONS
CHRISTCHURCH URBAN AREA
(See Key)



CHRISTCHURCH URBAN AREA

1. Northcote
2. Paparui
3. Strowan
4. St Albans
5. Shirley
6. Burwood
7. North Richmond
8. Richmond
9. City East
10. City West
11. City Central
12. Riccarton B.
13. Addington
14. Spreydon West
15. Spreydon East
16. Hoon Hay
17. Somerfield
18. Sydenham
19. Beekenhams
20. Waltham
21. St Martins
22. Opawa
23. Woolston West
24. Woolston East
25. Linwood
26. North Linwood
27. East Linwood
28. Bromley
29. Aranui
30. Wainoni
31. New Brighton
32. Avonside
33. Mt Pleasant
34. Sumner
35. Heathcote County (whole)
36. Waimairi County (part)
37. Paparua County (part)
38. Sockburn County Town
39. Hornby County Town
40. Halswell County (part)
41. Lyttelton Borough

APPENDIX D

WELLINGTON:

Women's International Zionist Organisation (W.I.Z.O.): to raise money for homes and hospitals, kindergartens etc. in Israel - four regional groups.

Youth Aliyah: rehabilitation of migrant children in Israel and care of problem children...100 members.

Jewish National Fund (J.N.F.): land development and re-afforestation in Israel.

Zionist Society: general support of Israel and general Jewish education...250 members.

B'nai Brith: Jewish Lodge...100 members.

Friends of the Hebrew University: fosters education and good relationships with the University...small membership.

Women's Jewish Social Club: a social and recreational centre for Wellington Jewry...500 members.

Habonim: Zionist Youth Movement...140 members.

Moadon B'nei Akiya: Religious Youth Movement...small membership.

AUCKLAND:

Hebrew Aid Society: to assist approved applicants with interest-free loans to help them start in business or purchase a home etc.

Chevre Kadisha and Benevolent Society: to aid the sick and dying, attend to the last solemn rites for the dead and to comfort the mourners. Help to the poor and needy.

Union of Jewish Women: to unite the women of the community and co-ordinate their activities and increase their Jewish consciousness.

Synagogue Women's Guild: to assist the Synagogue in its activities, look after the sacred vestments and renew them when necessary, provide

refreshments for the Kiddush held after services on Festivals etc.

Organises cultural activities among the women.

Zionist Society: (see Wellington branch)...also organises cultural evenings, lectures, film screenings etc., classes in modern Hebrew.

Women's International Zionist Organisation: (see Wellington branch).

Friends of the Hebrew University: (see Wellington branch)...membership about 200.

Habonim: (see Wellington branch).

Moadon B'nei Akiva: (see Wellington branch).

B'nai Brith Lodge: recently a woman's chapter has been founded...

there is also a B'nai Brith Young Adults organisation numbering about 60.

Jewish Study Circle: study Jewish history, literature, religion etc... membership about 40.

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