

AIMS AND WAYS OF COMPARATIVE RESEARCH
ON THE DEMOGRAPHY OF THE JEWS

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Section 1. Aims of the Paper

It is perhaps not entirely utopian to expect that within the next few years it will be possible to take a comprehensive stock of the present situation, prevailing trends and past evolution of Jewish demography the world over. In view of this possibility⁽¹⁾ envisaged, however, with a rather rosy overoptimism, it may be of use to make an attempt to conceptualize and to clarify some aspects of the research involved, such as:

- a) The field to be covered by research on the demography of the Jews (cf. section 2).
- b) Chronological and geographical limits of this research, as dictated by conceptual frames and by limitations imposed by available sources (cf. section 3).
- c) Alternative approaches in the presentation of the findings (cf. section 4).
- d) Examples of problems to be studied in comparative research on the Jews (cf. sections 5 - 9).

This paper has been drafted as a working document in order to encourage discussion on those topics. The examples of problems put forward as research proposals were selected on the basis of cursory perusal of a small part of the available empirical information, and no attempt was made to substantiate the hypotheses presented by means of bibliographical or statistical data⁽²⁾. Should the systematic work suggested

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- (1) Some of the ideas expressed in the first draft of this paper (1973) have later been used in a provisional outline on the evolution of Jewish demography (see: Bachi, R. *Population Trends of World Jewry*. Jerusalem, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University, 1976). However, the work envisaged here is on a much wider scale and calls for many years of systematic research. This, in turn, asks for additional data collection, for analysis to be undertaken by a team of research workers, and for financial means.
 - (2) The reader is referred to the following comprehensive bibliographical surveys on the demography of the Jews in the Diaspora and in Israel, and the following general sources for Jewish demography: Schmelz, U.O. with the assistance of Shebath, R. *Jewish demography and statistics - bibliography for 1920-1960*. Jerusalem, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University, 1961; Schmelz, U.O. (gen. ed.). *Demography and Statistics of Diaspora Jewry 1920-1970: Bibliography*. Vol. I. Jerusalem, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University, 1976; Schmelz, U.O. and Glikson, P. (eds.). *Jewish Population Studies - 1961-1968*. The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University & Institute of Jewish Affairs, Jerusalem - London, 1970. 174 p.; Schmelz, U.O., Glikson, P. and Gould, S.J. (eds.). *Studies in Jewish Demography - Survey for 1969-1971*. The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University & Institute of Jewish Affairs, Jerusalem - London, 1973. 354 p.

be undertaken, it is very likely that many of the hypotheses will have to be changed or refined.

Section 2. Fields to be Covered by Research on Jewish Demography

We shall accept for our working purposes the definition of "demography" and "population studies" given by P.M. Hauser and O.D. Duncan: "Demography is the study of the size, territorial distribution and composition of populations, changes therein and the components of such changes which may be identified as natality, mortality, territorial movements (migration) and social mobility (change of status)"... "Population studies are concerned not only with demographic variables but also with relationship between population changes and other variables - social, economic, political, biological, genetic, geographic and the like. The field of population studies is at least as broad as interest in 'determinants and consequences of population trends' "(3).

Demography may take interest in world population as a whole or in each of its component parts. Within this enormous range of research, there are many branches specialized in the study of a specific aspect of demography, or in the study of a certain group of populations, or in a given population or sub-population. We can consider Jewish demography as a branch of demographic research characterized by a specific population ("the Jews") taken as its main objective. This limitation entails exclusion from the domain of Jewish demography of problems which are meaningful in relation to populations of entire countries only, such as study of relationships between the population growth and economic development or composition of the labour force as an aspect of the economic structure of a country. Therefore studies of this type for Israel would not, strictly speaking, be considered as part of Jewish demography.

On the other hand the special character of the population analysed, entails the need of enlarging the frame of research beyond the traditional chapters of formal demography so to obtain a broader understanding of connections between demographic variables and the variables indicated by Hauser and Duncan in relation to "population studies". These variables refer both to characteristics of the environment in which Jewish populations under study are found and to specific characteristics of those populations. Disentangling "environmental" effects from possible effects of "Jewish characteristics", however defined, in demographic variables, appears in fact as one of the most interesting objectives of Jewish demographic research. This objective is connected with an array of very complex comparisons between Jews and non-Jews, and between Jews in various places and times, which will be discussed later.

In comparison with branches of demography engaged in the study of a population defined from a territorial point of view (say, demography

(3) Hauser, P.M. and Duncan, O.D. *The study of population*. The University of Chicago Press, 1959. p. 2.

of France), Jewish demography is more complex, as it must deal with a very large and changing number of populations scattered over many countries of the world.

Section 3. Chronological and Geographical Limits of Sources Available and Research on Jewish Demography

The political, social and cultural history of the Jews in the Land of Israel and in the Diaspora stretches back for well over three thousand years and it is rather well known and well documented for many epochs and places.

In contrast with that, solid knowledge on the demography of the Jews is very limited in time and space⁽⁴⁾. This is due both to lack or scarce reliability of sources and to insufficiency and lack of co-ordination in research. In the following, available sources are briefly reviewed, by distinguishing between the short modern statistical era and the long periods which preceded it and between the Land of Israel and the Diaspora.

3.1. Sources of information on the demography of the Jews

3.1.1. Land of Israel: From ancient times to the end of the Ottoman era

From ancient times a not inconsiderable number of scraps of information is available on the size of population at different epochs and on events having demographic implications, such as size of armies levied in the country or invading it, deportations, slave sales, deaths due to epidemics, war or other catastrophes, size of tributes levied, etc. This information can be derived from the many censuses, enumerations and other figures quoted in the Bible for many periods between the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt to the return of the exiles from Babylon; from epigraphic and documentary material of Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Israelite, Roman, Byzantine and other origin; from figures or facts referred to by early Jewish, Roman and Christian historians.

From Crusaders' times to the end of the Ottoman era, besides some scanty numerical data quoted by historians, estimates having direct or indirect demographic interest are occasionally referred to by Jewish, Christian and Moslem travellers who visited the Holy Land. An additional important source of information, which has been exploited only partially, is given by the lists of households, detailed by religion, in each of the inhabited places in Palestine found in the Ottoman

(4) This statement does not imply any criticism of the important and difficult work done by the demographers, historians and scientists who have contributed to the existing body of knowledge on Jewish demography.

archives in Turkey (starting from the 16th century), and by lists of houses, families, people enlisted in services, or population, available for some parts of Palestine in the 19th and early 20th century.

The interpretation of a considerable part of the material quoted above is difficult. For instance, concerning the Biblical censuses the opinion of the scholars is divided in regard of credibility and aims of the enumeration operations, possible ways for eliminating contradictions between the results quoted, methods for "inflating" the figures of able-bodied in order to evaluate total population, and ethnic and geographical coverage of censuses.

Figures quoted by historians and travellers, and those emerging from epigraphic sources are often inaccurate, contradictory or biased, due to the tendency of victors to boast the damages inflicted upon their foes and of chroniclers to exaggerate the effects of the catastrophes described.

In dealing with these sources, both uncritical acceptance and hypercritical rejection are dangerous. Therefore the considerable research effort invested in recent decades on their analysis by some historians, Bible critics and semitologists is to be seen as an encouraging step. Moreover, wide new vistas have been opened by the possibility of integrating systematically the results obtainable from written sources with the analysis of results of the very wide and intensive archeological and survey activities conducted mainly in recent times in the country. This may enable to evaluate numbers and sometimes sizes of towns and villages which existed in the various epochs in the various areas. Moreover, studies of economic and geographic history giving indirect evidence of changes in extent of cultivated areas, progress or regress in agricultural methods, extent of soil erosion, development or recession of industries and communication, trade and urban life in the various epochs may cast important light on tentative demographic estimates.

3.1.2. Land of Israel: Statistical era

Basic statistical tools (such as population censuses, vital and migratory statistics) were established by the British Mandatory power since the 'twenties of this century. Some earlier and limited sources of statistical information, partly still unexploited, were autonomously developed by the Jewish population. With the establishment of the State of Israel, a fully fledged modern system of population statistics was developed and integrated with economic and social statistics. Moreover, many types of population studies (on family life, labour force, immigrants' absorption, etc.) have been undertaken.

3.1.3. Diaspora: Before statistical era

The only comprehensive census for the entire Jewish people in ancient times is that allegedly taken by the Emperor Claudius, in regard to the credibility of which opinions of the scholars are divided. Apart

from that, only scattered and scarce sources exist which are fragmentary in time and space. The same is true also for the Middle Ages and part of the modern epoch. In fact, few censuses or direct population counts of Diaspora communities are available. Existing estimates of population in certain places or times, as collected by Jewish or general authorities or referred to by historians or travellers are sometimes of dubious value.

However, for certain Jewish communities lists of vital events systematically registered (mainly since the 18th century) have been preserved. These lists have only been exploited partially. They have been utilized in certain cases for extensive reconstruction of vital statistics. Recent small pieces of experimental research prove that they could be utilized in certain cases also for deeper study based on modern technique of reconstruction of family genealogies, by matching information on marriages, births and deaths.

3.1.4. Diaspora: Statistical era

The modern development of general official statistics has brought in its wake a considerable improvement also in the sources of Jewish statistics. Official statistical information on Jewish populations in some Central and West European countries goes back to the middle of the 19th century, and even somewhat earlier. As far as East European Jewry is concerned such information is much later, going back only to the end of the 19th century, as the census in Tsarist Russia of 1897 is the most important source. Publication of data on the Jews in some European colonies in Asia and Africa started generally even later.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, data on size, geographical distribution, and sometimes on sex and age and occupational structure of the Jews, on their vital statistics and, in some cases, on their migrations were currently available for a considerable part of the Diaspora and were systematically centralized by institutions, such as the Bureau fuer die Statistik der Juden. However, Jewish demographic statistics, unlike demographic statistics in the world at large, suffered a long period of regression since World War I, and especially since World War II. An increased proportion of Jewish world population is found in countries in which official statistics do not record religion or ethnicity, thus making it impossible to identify Jews as a separate population group.

Only recently the situation has somewhat improved. Systematic work has been undertaken in various countries, either by carrying out detailed sample studies on the Jewish populations (U.S.A., France, Italy, i.e. in countries where Jews are not shown separately in official statistics), as well as in South Africa, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, where special surveys supplemented the scanty information which could be derived from the official records. In some countries (Great Britain, South Africa, Argentina) efforts were made to collect and analyze Jewish vital records, and with regard to other countries in order to analyze critically data relating to the Jewish population in the official censuses

(the USSR, Argentina, Germany, Austria, Canada, Switzerland). Much of the work was done by, or in cooperation with, the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University where a special Division for Jewish Demography and Statistics was set up to centralize, coordinate, elaborate and analyze demographic data collected from all over the world(5).

In regard to communities in Asia and Africa before the mass exodus to Israel, indirect important knowledge was obtained through retrospective data collected in Israel.

3.2. *Chronological and geographical frames for research*

The preceding review of available sources may suggest some limited possibilities for enlarging the frontiers of what is known in Jewish demography. In regard to the Land of Israel before the recent modern era, it seems that prospects exist of building some estimates or guesses on the order of magnitude of the population at certain epochs, and, in some cases, also to evaluate grossly its religio-ethnic and rural-urban compositions and its geographical distribution. The periods for which prospects seem better are the Israelite, Roman, Byzantine, and those from the Crusaders to the end of the Ottoman era. Changes between order of magnitude of population in the various epochs can be expected to be so large that, despite uncertainties in estimates, some extremely rough correlation between demographic and socio-economic and political conditions of the country may emerge. However, the goals outlined may be reached only if it is possible to arrive to some form of cooperation in research between demographers on the one side and historians, archaeologists, geographers and scholars conversant with available sources and with the many relevant languages and cultures, on the other.

The suggested historical reconstruction of some aspects of the Land of Israel may add an important dimension to the investigation of the past evolution of this country. However, systematic demographic analysis of the *Land of Israel* appears to be confined to a comparatively very short modern period. With considerable efforts, the limits of this period can perhaps be pushed back, in regard to certain very narrow aspects of vital statistics and demography of the Jews, to the last decades of the 19th century. However, broad comparative knowledge on the demography of the country can be brought back for some 50 years only and deep analysis, including relationships between demographic, economic, sociological and psychological factors, is actually possible only for the period after the establishment of Israel (1948).

In regard to the *Diaspora*, the possibilities of long-term historical reconstructions appear much more limited. Systematic scientific exploitation of existing material (as indicated above might perhaps give

(5) See the publications quoted above and also *Papers in Jewish Demography*, 1970. Jerusalem, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University, 1973.

some suggestions on the demographic forces which operated among the Jews before the modern evolution. This, in turn, may help in making some sense out of the rough estimates existing for certain epochs and places and in suggesting possible ways of linking guesses on the number of Jews in the ancient and modern eras.

As for most other populations, also for Diaspora Jews, systematic demographic research is practically limited, by lack of sources, to a comparatively short period. However, in the case of Diaspora Jews, we must often struggle, even for the modern period, with fragmentation of data in respect of time, incompleteness of geographical coverage, uneven quality of sources, uncertainties in definition of Jews, and often lack of desirable detail or cross-classifications. Progress can be accomplished only by continuing the efforts for enlarging the network of autonomous Jewish data collection, deepening the analysis of existing data, estimating possible order of magnitude of population and of its structure in communities for which data are not available, on the basis of known values in similar communities. In this way, "world coverage" of Jewish statistics which has not yet been attained, may perhaps be approached. It is quite possible that "working back" and utilizing every bit of information that is available for intermediate periods, some broad retrospective reconstruction with regard to the 20th century may become feasible.

With a great deal of wishful thinking, we may perhaps look forward to a situation in which it will become possible to obtain a world-wide overview of Jewish demography on the basis of data or estimates relating to: a) a few selected countries since the 18th century, or even earlier; b) Jews in different countries in Europe, starting from different points of time (but generally in the 19th century); c) Jews of the Americas, North Africa and Oceania, starting from different points of time (in some cases from the end of the 19th century, but generally in the 20th); d) Jews in the Land of Israel (generally after World War I); e) Jews in other countries in Asia and Africa in a few recent decades.

Should the development outlined above be possible, it may enable to obtain a deeper understanding of Jewish demography than is available today.

While we have emphasized in the above discussion the need for pushing back in time as far as possible our knowledge of Jewish demographic research, it may not be useless to underline also the importance and practical uses of demographic research as part of the study of contemporary Jewish life and Jewish society.

If demographic research on the Jews can produce a deep analysis of current trends and future projections, it can become an instrument for forecasting, and for planning Jewish policies and services both at the worldwide and local levels. In this instance, investigation of dangers to Jewish survival in the various Diaspora communities from the demographic viewpoint, seems to be of great importance.

Section 4. Alternative Approaches for Presentation of Data and Findings in Jewish Demography

Presentation of data and findings on Jewish demography can be undertaken in many ways, depending largely upon the aims of research and the type of prospective readers or users. Considering the needs of world-wide research, the following methods may be conceived:

a) Preparation of monographs on individual countries, depicting, along a general common outline, the demographic, and socio-economic evolution of the Jews within a more or less clearly defined geographical and geopolitical framework, as well as the present demographic characteristics and trends in their connection with other factors, including Jewish orientation and behaviour. Country monographs are widely used in general demography, and have been used to some extent in Jewish demography⁽⁶⁾. They may fulfil important functions, as pieces of scholarly research, as case studies assisting further world-wide research in Jewish demography, as sources of information required to formulate local plans for Jewish policies and services. However, we cannot hope for the coverage of the entire Diaspora, and such monographs cannot provide a world-wide overview of Jewish demography, because such an overview must be based on proper evaluation of interconnection between demographic characteristics and evolution of the Jewish population in the different parts of the world.

b) World synopsis and analysis of data on the Jews in regard to the main topics of formal demography, such as population structure, family formation and dissolution, fertility, mortality, urbanization, geographical distribution, etc.⁽⁷⁾, may be of great use in providing

(6) A few examples of country monographs: among works published before World War II - Silbergleit, H. *Die Bevoelkerung und Berufsverhaelt-nisse der Juden im Deutschen Reich*. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1930; Rosenberg, L. *Canada's Jews*. Montreal, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1939; Bachi, R. *L'evoluzione Demografica degli Ebrei Italiani (1900 - 1937)*; among recent works undertaken in cooperation with the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University - Della Pergola, S. *The Demography of the Italian Jews*. The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1972 (Ph. D. Thesis in Hebrew); Praag, Ph. van. *The Demography of the Jews in the Netherlands*. Jerusalem, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University, 1976.

(7) Recent examples of this method can be seen, e.g., in: Schmelz, U.O. *Infant and early childhood mortality among the Jews in the Diaspora*. The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 104 p., and Della Pergola, S. *Jewish and mixed marriages in Milan 1901 - 1968*. The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University, 1972. 166 p. Both published in the Jewish Population Studies series.

statistical information in a convenient way, and also in making it possible to discover common characteristics or dissimilation among Jewish communities the world over. in regard to levels or evolution of the variables studied. However, such analyses cannot be expected to show fully the interconnections between the variables, and to furnish a satisfactory overview of the demographic evolution of the Jews.

c) It may be desirable therefore, together with fostering studies indicated under a) and b), to strive step by step, and through unavoidable trial and error, towards a more organic and comprehensive synthesis of the main conclusions which may be drawn from the analysis of the statistical information on Jewish demography listed at the end of the preceding paragraph.

The following approach is provisionally proposed:

1) It appears feasible to trace back a few basic characteristics, such as strong influence of the religion on the daily life of the Jews, segregation from surrounding society, peculiar socio-economic structure, etc., which seem to have been largely predominant in almost all Jewish communities prior to "modern"⁽⁸⁾ evolution, say, some 200 years ago among Jews in Western Europe, some 100 years ago among East European Jews, and in a more recent period among Jews in Moslem countries (cf. section 5.1.).

2) It is suggested to investigate whether in the period prior to "modern" evolution, within the framework of Jewish society with its supposedly common traits, there were also some broad similarities in the demographic characteristics of the various Jewish communities (cf. section 5.2.), taking into account possible differentials connected with different environments or other factors (cf. section 5.3.).

3) With regard to the Jewish communities which remained in the "traditional" Jewish habitats or their neighbourhood, it is suggested: (i) to follow up the ecological, socio-economic and educational "modern" evolution (for the European Jews until the Holocaust, and for the Jews in Moslem countries until their emigration to Israel or elsewhere)

(8) The word "modern" is used here and throughout the paper with a special - although somewhat vague - connotation. We refer on one side to the period in which changes due to "enlightenment" and "industrial revolution" have become operative in each of the environments in which the Jews lived, and on the other side to the "emancipation" of the Jews from their inferior legal status. The timing varied in different countries (cf. sections 5.1. and 6.1.). In each country, the period immediately preceding the "modern" evolution, is termed "pre-modern". The hypothesis that there were broad socio-economic and demographic similarities between various Jewish communities in "pre-modern" times, does not necessarily imply that these characteristics were common to the Jews in more remote times, e.g., at the beginning of the middle ages, or in the Spanish period.

(cf. section 6.1.); (ii) to undertake a comparative study of the demographic evolution of the Jews, taking into account ecology, socio-economic and educational similarities and dissimilarities (cf. section 6.2.); (iii) to consider in contemporary demographic research on these areas, the more recent demographic evolution and the demographic consequences of the Holocaust (cf. section 6.3.); (iv) to pay special attention to the problems of "remnant communities" which survived the Holocaust as compared to other types of small Jewish communities (cf. section 7.).

4) With respect to Jewish "overseas" Diaspora communities, it appears desirable to adopt common methods of investigations of their demographic characteristics and evolution in view of the basic similarities in their development (i.e. similarities in the origin and background of the basic "human stock"; "modern" pattern of development in a free society; no major break in their evolutionary process such as occurred in Europe or in the Moslem countries) (see section 8.).

5) With respect to the Jewish population in Israel, the heterogeneity of its origin and background, the progress towards homogeneity, and the fact that it enjoys a "majority" status, suggest particular ways of interpretation of its demographic evolution in comparison with that of the Diaspora (cf. section 9.).

Section 5. Proposed Approach to the Study of the Demography of the Jews prior to "Modern" Evolution

5.1. *Ecological, political and socio-economic conditions of the Jews prior to "modern" evolution*

In order to study the demographic characteristics which are possibly common to a large part of the Jewish population in "pre-modern" period (cf. section 5.2.), it is desirable to present a brief sketch of the general conditions⁽⁹⁾ prevailing in Jewish communities prior to the commencement of "modern" evolution. In some countries this evolution started only close to the present time, but in others it began some two centuries ago. To find a situation in which practically all Jewish communities were at a "pre-modern" stage, it is necessary to go back to the end of the 18th century. At that time three events occurred, which were destined to play a decisive role in Jewish history: the partition of Poland which brought the largest Jewish population group within the confines of the Tsarist empire; the French Revolution which spread the seed of emancipation throughout the Jewish world; the American Revolution, which brought independence to the country in the largest Jewish

(9) There is nothing novel in this presentation (as well as in that given in section 6.1.) and it may contain some inaccuracies and undue generalizations. However, such a presentation may be useful as a background to the discussion on the methodology of demographic analysis.

overseas community was later established.

At that time the Jewish population was still comparatively small and dispersed over a very limited part of the globe:

1) The large majority was found in what we shall term for short the "East European belt", i.e. a stretch of land between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, corresponding roughly to the boundaries of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth prior to its partition, to the Southern Ukraine and various bordering territories, such as Moldavia, Bessarabia, Bukovina, etc.

2) The second largest concentration of Jews was in the Ottoman empire (including the Balkans, Asia Minor and North Africa), and in the neighbouring territories of Yemen, Morocco and Persia. We shall term them for short "Moslem countries".

3) Apart from minute splinter groups, such as those which succeeded to penetrate the European overseas colonies, the numerically rather small residual of the Jewish population was scattered over some parts of Western and Central Europe, such as Bohemia and Moravia, other parts of the Habsburg monarchy, various German states, the Netherlands, England; parts of France and some of the North and Central Italian states.

In general, disregarding exceptions or minor differences, the Jews constituted in all of the above mentioned areas secluded groups, marked by many peculiar characteristics, such as:

- (i) Different and often inferior legal status;
- (ii) Autonomy in personal and family affairs;
- (iii) Strong adherence to religion and traditional ways of life;
- (iv) Rather strong communal organisation;
- (v) Cultural segregation;
- (vi) Peculiar geographic distribution;
- (vii) Peculiar occupational distribution;
- (viii) Wide-spread poverty.

Re (i)

The peculiar legal status of the Jews found expression in regulations which varied from locality to locality and from time to time and which concerned many different aspects of life: limitation of right of residence; limitation or prohibition of land ownership; limitation of free choice of occupations; limitation of access to educational facilities; exclusion from corporations and public services; imposition of special taxation; prohibition of marriage and sometimes even of sexual intercourse with non-Jews; limitation of contracting (Jewish) marriages; distinctive dress.

Re (ii), (iii) and (iv)

Although no statistical data are available with regard to religious behaviour in the period under consideration, it appears that the majority of the Jews adhered to their faith, observed *mitzvot* and traditional customs. Jewish autonomy in matters pertaining to the family and personal affairs was generally acknowledged, although modified in the course of time and from country to country. Rabbinical authority was generally accepted, and communal authorities were able to exert a considerable degree of supervision over the life of the Jews.

Re (v)

There was a strong consciousness of belonging to a separate people, having its own tradition, ways of life and culture and a considerable internal solidarity. The cultural segregation was reinforced by linguistic separation: in the East European belt Jews commonly used Yiddish which kept them apart from the great variety of other ethnic and religious groups living in the area; Sephardic or Sephardized communities in the Ottoman empire were to a large extent Ladino-speaking and kept culturally aloof from the Turkish elite despite the fact that they generally maintained good relations with the Ottoman authorities. Paradoxically cultural separation was less marked in the most advanced countries in Western Europe and in the most backward non-Sephardized communities in Asia and North Africa; in both, Jews were using the language of the majority - though occasionally with particular variations.

Re (vi)

Persecutions and expulsions in the preceding centuries had led to the peculiar geographic distribution of the Jewish population. From the economic point of view this distribution implied that in the period of colonial expansion and at the early stages of the industrial revolution, Jews were largely concentrated not in the rapidly developing areas in Western Europe, but in the Slavic and Turkish lands which had a rather poor agrarian economy.

The ecological distribution of the Jews within the various areas, although of a non-agrarian character, was rather differentiated:

- in some countries, strict regulations were in force restricting or limiting Jewish residence in the more important and expanding towns;
- in some, Jews were not permitted to live in villages;
- in some others, there was a considerable dispersion among townlets and villages;
- in most countries the Jewish communities were small; there were but few communities reaching tens of thousands of persons.

Re (vii) and (viii)

Notwithstanding considerable differences from locality to locality and over time, the occupational structure of the Jews in the period under consideration seems to have had some general common characteristics. An almost total absence from agriculture, which formed the main

occupation of the surrounding population, gave to the Jews a very peculiar structure. Nearly everywhere there was a large proportion of Jews in trade, with prevalence of small middlemen and merchants, dealers in secondhand articles, money lenders, old-clothes pedlars, and in Eastern Europe also innkeepers and sellers of alcoholic drinks. Jews were frequently engaged in crafts, but mainly as petty artisans; some crafts, such as tailoring turned into characteristically Jewish occupations. In some communities, mainly among the Sephardim, there existed small wealthy sections (e.g. brokers, financiers, jewellers, wholesale traders, importers and exporters, etc.). forming elite groups. However, the majority of the Jewish population lived in miserable conditions, and the socio-economic level of World Jewry was probably very low in the period in question.

5.2. Examples of problems in Jewish demography to be investigated with regard to the pre-modern times

We have now to consider the question: within the broadly similar frame of ecological, political and socio-economic conditions of the Jews in many communities (as described in section 5.1.), did the demography of the Jews possess also common traits? We may suppose that there existed some differentials between various communities, and perhaps between geographical groups of communities (cf. section 5.3.), but the question of basic similarities in many aspects of demography in pre-modern times appears to be worthy of investigation. We shall not attempt here such an investigation, but only indicate examples of suggested topics of study, especially with regard to: (i) family formation and dissolution; (ii) fertility; (iii) mortality; (iv) natural increase; (v) conversions; (vi) migrations; (vii) distribution within towns. Some hints of proposed methods of investigation are given in section 5.3. Different time limits for the beginning of the modern period in the different groups of communities are indicated in section 6.1.

Re (i) Family formation and dissolution

Frequent references in general literature and some statistical data concerning Jewish life in pre-modern times, as well as knowledge of later evolution, appear to suggest that the Jews in times preceding modern evolution had the following characteristics: tendency to contract only or almost exclusively endogamous marriages; tendency towards universality of marriage; tendency towards marriage at young or even very young age (both for bridegroom and bride); generally monogamous marriage; frequent re-marriage of widowed and divorced persons; prevalent selection of marriage partners by families and not by the partners themselves according to love. This feature, together with frequent resort to matchmakers and the community's assistance in fostering marriages, may help to explain the high level of Jewish nuptiality which may appear quite astonishing in a period of prevailing dispersion of the Jews among a multitude of small communities; otherwise, the very dispersion

might have made it difficult to solve the problem of finding suitable partners for persons reaching marriageable age.

Should further research confirm the prevalence of such Jewish nuptiality patterns as suggested above, it may be of interest

- to establish with some accuracy their time and space limits;
- to interpret them properly; and
- to evaluate their possible demographic consequences.

In broad outlines, Jewish nuptiality habits seem to follow closely Jewish religious and traditional prescription with regard to family formation. However, some of these traits, may have also been common to Slav and Moslem populations among whom the majority of the Jews dwelt. It may be desirable, therefore, to disentangle this possible "environmental" and the "Jewish" influences. It may be supposed, e.g., that the fact that polygamy was not infrequent in certain Jewish communities in Africa and Asia was influenced by the environmental Moslem habits.

In order to evaluate the meaning of Jewish endogamy, in a period of prevalent legal barriers against mixed marriage, it may be desirable to investigate its extent in countries or localities in which no such barriers existed, and where other religious or ethnic groups intermarried among themselves.

Jewish nuptiality habits appear to have been generally favourable to Jewish fertility, apart from the possible unfavourable effects of marriages contracted at too young an age, and of rather frequent consanguineous marriages.

In some Central and West European countries there were legal obstacles to Jewish marriages. The extent of their actual application, or whether they determined a long-term change in Jewish nuptiality habits are problems which ought to be investigated.

Re (ii) Fertility

In view of the nuptiality habits described above, Jewish births should have been almost exclusively legitimate, apart from those countries or localities in which laws limiting Jewish marriages were in force.

The tendency not to limit marital "natural fertility" can be assumed to have been quite prevalent among the Jews. However, it is known that in certain periods and in some localities, measures to limit marital fertility were in fact employed, with or without rabbinical approval. Poverty and overcrowding in closed ghetto quarters, or special contingencies may have discouraged fertility; bad health conditions, marriages contracted at too young an age and high mobility must also be taken into consideration.

At the time when adherence to *mitzvoth* was rather general, probably the *mitzvah* of abstention from sexual intercourse when the wife is *niddah* was also largely observed. This limits the probability of

of intercourse, but the main effect is probably to concentrate it in the period of the menstrual cycle when fertility is greater and thus maintain its high level. Presumably also the low incidence of venereal diseases among the Jews acted in the same direction.

Pro-natalistic tendencies were common to many traditional agrarian populations in pre-modern times. In the case of the non-agrarian Jewish population, the pro-natalistic attitude may have been based on Jewish religious tradition in which children were seen as God's blessing and, in some instances, may have been an expression of the "will to survive" of a persecuted minority sharing a strong collective religious orientation.

Due to the generally favourable nuptiality habits and to factors mentioned above, Jewish fertility was in all probability rather high in the pre-modern period (though subject to variations between localities and times). This does not mean necessarily that it was higher than that of the surrounding Slav and Moslem agrarian population but, on the whole, it must have been above the fertility levels prevailing in several West European countries in the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th century.

Re (iii) and (iv) Mortality and natural increase

For lack of sufficient direct information it is very difficult to study the problem of Jewish mortality and its causes in pre-modern times. On the basis of a rather superficial perusal of some scanty evidence and of hypotheses for later periods (cf. section 6.2.) the following tentative formulations can be suggested, which, despite their very speculative character, may be worth further investigation.

Despite considerable differences in mortality which are to be expected in various Jewish population groups, it may be supposed that many characteristics were common; some of these acted to increase Jewish mortality in comparison to that of the surrounding populations, while others acted in the opposite direction. We shall consider first the "catastrophic periods", and then "normal periods". In both periods we shall distinguish various types of "environmental" and of "genetic" factors.

Jewish history in pre-modern times abounds in reports of catastrophes, such as pestilences, droughts, famines and earthquakes; wars and massacres of civilian populations; persecutions; anti-Jewish riots and mass murders; expulsions and forced migrations.

Many of the calamities in the catastrophic years were shared with non-Jewish populations in an equal or unequal measure, depending on many elements which cannot be discussed here. However, some of the calamities were of distinct anti-Jewish character and, even making an allowance for possible exaggerations by chroniclers, contributed a specific addition to Jewish mortality.

It has been often suggested that the Jews, in periods of segregation and strict religious observance, were less exposed to venereal diseases and diseases connected with alcoholism. The strict observance

of religious precepts implied also some basic personal and food hygiene. In a more speculative way it has been suggested that in comparison to some very primitive surrounding populations, the Jews may have shown, also in accordance with religious precepts, more solicitude for their own health and for that of the members of their family, and more inclination towards medical professions.

It is not clear what influence was exerted by the socio-economic and ecological factors common to the Jews and differentiating them from the surrounding populations. A better understanding may perhaps be gained by studying the possible effects on mortality by

- the distribution of the Jews (in different geographical areas of their settlement and at different periods), between villages, townlets and big towns;
- the overcrowding in ghettos and in *hadarim*;
- the distinctive Jewish occupational structure, their indoor way of life and defective physical development in pre-modern times.

It is quite likely that all these factors had adverse effects on the level of Jewish mortality⁽¹⁰⁾, though possibly also a selective effect on later generations (as suggested by some scholars who tried to explain, for instance, the lower incidence of Jewish mortality caused by tuberculosis).

In pre-modern times most of the Jewish communities were small and isolated. This and possibly the higher frequency of consanguineous marriages may have increased the incidence of genetic diseases.

Re (v) Conversions

In studies of Jewish populations, the balance sheet must always include entrances and withdrawals from Jewry (however defined). For pre-modern times, the following research hypotheses may be suggested:

- Unlike in our times, differences between Jews and non-Jews were generally clear-cut, also legally, apart from special cases of converts and their descendants.
- Apart from forced mass conversions in "abnormal" times, individual conversions were infrequent despite strong pressures and inducements in many countries and periods.
- As a rule conversions were from Jewry to the dominant religions, and not vice versa (excepting the return of "conversos" to the Jewish fold).

(10) In some more isolated Jewish communities, such as that of Yemen, socio-economic, educational and ecological conditions were so adverse, as to create a very high "environmental" mortality until almost our days.

Re (vi) Migrations

Migrations of the Jews have been determined , throughout the period under consideration, not only by "normal" economic reasons, but also by the precariousness of residential rights, expulsions, persecutions, etc. Separated from the surrounding populations, having no connection with agriculture and no immobile property, but with close trade and other relations with their coreligionists in other countries, the Jews had presumably a greater mobility in comparison to other populations.

Re (vii) Distribution within towns

The type of distribution of Jews within towns had probably a common tendency "to stick together" which was connected with some of the characteristics indicated in section 5.1. In many instances the decisive cause was the legal status of the Jews: they were forced by law to reside in ghettos. Religious precepts to which they adhered, strengthened the need to live together or in groups in order to attend synagogal services, etc. Cultural segregations and mutual distrust increased the separation between Jews and gentiles.

However, the formation and development of Jewish quarters differed among geographical areas of their settlement and at different times: West European ghettos surrounded by walls, North African *mellahs*, preponderantly Jewish townlets in Eastern Europe, were basically different in their structure and in their possibility of growth. Establishment of a ghetto in one town and forcing into it all the Jews of the region, or illegal penetration of a few Jews into a prohibited town, around whom a tolerated community developed, were in a certain sense opposite types of formation.

The following seem to be relevant research problems:

- Whether there existed common characteristics in the geographical location of the Jewish quarter within the towns;
- The extent of differentiation in geographical distribution between the poor Jewish masses and the Jewish elites, and between distinct origin groups of the Jews;
- Comparative density and possibly overcrowding of Jewish quarters, etc.

5.3. *Methods of analysis and interpretation*

It appears that some statistical data may be available (see end of section 3.) to carry out some of the studies on the Jewish population at the end of pre-modern times, or in slightly later periods.

If we accept the hypothesis that the Jewish population at that

time tended in many communities to be stable or quasi-stable⁽¹¹⁾, analysis of such data by employing more refined methods than those used by earlier students of Jewish demography, and also possible utilization of genealogical or family records, may bring us to a re-appraisal of Jewish demography in pre-modern times and help us to give an answer to at least some of the problems indicated in section 5.2. Other problems can probably be investigated by using non-statistical sources, such as rabbinical responsa, etc.

The investigation should be mainly directed:

- to check whether the existence of common demographic characteristics is substantiated by empirical evidence;
- if so, what characteristics can be connected with each of the general Jewish traits as indicated in section 5.1. (with respect to religious behaviour, ethnic-religious separateness, peculiar socio-economic and ecological structure);
- whether some demographic characteristics were typical of certain Jewish groups but not of others.

With regard to the last question, it would be of interest to ascertain, although it is probably difficult to do so, whether there was some demographic differentiation a) between the small elite groups and the poor masses and b) between various Jewish communities. In trying to solve problem b), it will be necessary to establish classes of Jewish communities, within each of which variability was small, while it was great between the various classes. The simplest and most applicable classificatory criterion is the geographical one which will make it also possible to establish, whether the differences between groups of Jewish communities are to be considered "environmental" and related to corresponding differences among the surrounding populations.

The main hypotheses to be checked are general uniformity (with possible minor internal variability) of the Jews in (i) the East European belt; and (ii) in Sephardic and Sephardized communities. On the other hand it is possible that (iii) isolated "oriental" communities in Moslem countries and in the southern borders of the Tsarist empire, or in (iv) West European countries, may have constituted somewhat less homogeneous groups. Despite characteristics common to all Jews and to each group, these communities may have been more exposed to differential environmental influences (cf. section 5.1.).

Section 6. Proposed Approach to the Study of "Modern" Jewish Demographic Evolution in Europe and Moslem Countries

In order to present problems connected with the analysis of the modern demographic evolution in the original habitats of the Jews or

⁽¹¹⁾ However, the problem of possible effects of migration on age structure should be always kept in mind when analyzing data relating to Jewish populations.

in their neighbourhoods (cf. section 6.2.), it may be of some help to envisage the demographic aspect within the frame of the general modern evolution of the Jews in those areas; we shall attempt to indicate this frame with respect to Western and Central Europe in section 6.1.1, with respect to Eastern Europe in section 6.1.2, and Moslem countries in section 6.1.3.

6.1. Ecological, political and socio-economic evolution

6.1.1. Western and Central Europe

The "modern" evolution of the Jews started in Western and Central Europe. Already in the second half of the 18th century signs heralding Jewish emancipation were visible there. Legal and administrative measures to eliminate the inferior status of the Jews and to transform them into citizens with equal rights and duties were introduced between, say, the French Revolution (1789) and the Congress in Berlin (1878). In general these measures entailed loss of autonomous Jewish status in personal and family affairs. Although the justification generally given to the persistence of the Jewish minority in the Western European context was religious, actual observance of religious precepts declined quickly, due also to the general secularization processes in West European societies. Even before the emancipation, Jews used national languages (German, French, Italian, etc.), and with the speedy rise of their educational standards, they were able to adapt themselves quickly to the national culture of the country in which they lived. By and large, cultural segregation and the consciousness of constituting a separate nation disappeared, resulting in marked social and geographical mobility.

Jews were not slow to grasp the new opportunity of choosing freely localities of residence by leaving the less developing regions. From certain areas, such as parts of Germany, or the segments of the East European belt that were incorporated in Germany, they emigrated to the developing overseas countries. In general, however, within the frame of the developing urban and industrial economy of Western and Central European countries, they migrated internally to large towns. As in the preceding period, they did not pursue agricultural occupations, but within the secondary and tertiary occupations, their transformation was astounding: they participated largely in trade and business, but they moved also in growing numbers to industry, public services and liberal professions. Among the Jews, there was a smaller proportion of salaried workers than among non-Jews, and a considerably greater proportion of self-employed or employers. The socio-economic progress of the Jews was quite considerable. In some of the West European countries, they took a prominent part in politics, public life, arts, etc. Jews were largely absorbed into the local urban bourgeoisie and the intellectual strata of the society, and retained but little of the feeling of separateness. The influence of the Jewish community on the life of the individual declined, and almost all the characteristics of "pre-modern" Jews were thus reversed.

A somewhat peculiar evolution took place in Central Europe under the impact of the large immigration wave from the East European belt: in Germany and the Habsburg empire this movement was to a large extent "internal", coming from those parts of the belt which were incorporated in those countries, but it was later reinforced by migrations of Russian nationals. "Ostjuden" who immigrated to Central Europe retained at the beginning many of the "pre-modern" Jewish characteristics, and were at marked variance with the assimilated "Westjuden". The process of mingling of the two elements was not always easy. Immigrants from West Europe contributed quite substantially to the large numerical increase of the Jewish communities in Central Europe and in particular of the new large communities in big towns.

6.1.2. Eastern Europe

Legal emancipation occurred much later in Eastern Europe and was accompanied by continuation of many political and economic discriminatory measures affecting Jewish life. Persisting political difficulties and inferior economic conditions in the East European belt, rapid natural increase, and growing secularization, were probably the underlying factors of the enormous migratory movement directed - in the main, between the last decades of the 19th century and the outbreak of World War I, - towards the more developing areas: overseas countries (Americas and British empire), Central Europe (cf. above), and other European countries opened to Jewish settlement (France, Switzerland, Belgium, Scandinavia), large towns in Russia, Poland and Rumania.

The cultural and socio-economic transformation took a different character, according to period, type of locality (villages or townlets, big towns), and to the political frame in which the Jews were included (Tsarist empire, Poland, Baltic States, Rumania, the U.S.S.R., etc.). World War I and the Russian Revolution marked the major turning points. By and large, and with no pretence to accuracy, it may be asserted that secularization movements had lesser influence in the townlets of the traditional Jewish habitat, at least until the outbreak of World War I, but gained great momentum elsewhere, as expressed in a growing tendency toward secular education and outlook, and decreasing observance of religious precepts. However, unlike in Western and Central Europe, in spite of assimilatory tendencies and measures, use of Yiddish was still predominant, and so were autonomous Jewish education and the consciousness of being a separate people.

Economic transformation was more marked in large towns where Jews participated in the more modern system of trade and industry, forming a numerically considerable class of salaried workers, and penetrated the professions to a great extent. However, apart from later changes in the U.S.S.R., the economic situation of East European Jews was generally far below that of the Jews in Central and Western Europe.

The Holocaust brought a tragic end to the largest population group of World Jewry. Only part of Soviet Jewry and small remnants of other communities remained of East European Jewry after World War II, and they

were further reduced by later emigrations.

6.1.3. Moslem countries

The separate legal status affecting the Jews was abolished in the Moslem countries in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, partly as a consequence of European conquests or penetration in North Africa, and partly as a consequence of evolution of independent Moslem countries, such as occurred first in Turkey, and later in Shiite Iran, while Shiite Yemen denied equality to the Jews until the very end of their stay in that country. European education, ways of life and outlook were accepted to an increasing degree in countries like Algeria and Egypt, and penetrated later into Jewish elites in Turkey, Lebanon, Iraq, Tunisia, and still later, in Syria, Morocco and Libya, but practically did not reach Yemen. However, complete secularization or complete assimilation to another nationality prevailed only in certain countries, such as Algeria. In many others, the bulk of the Jewish population continued to adhere to the traditional Jewish attitudes.

Jews took a prominent part in modernizing economies and urbanization movements of some Moslem countries, but in spite of economic advancement, the general level of the majority of the Jewish population remained low. There was some emigration towards Europe and the Americas, mainly from Turkey, Syria and Lebanon, and also to a limited extent to Palestine both in the Ottoman and British mandatory periods, but this turned into mass emigration only after the Israeli-Arab conflict became acute. Further emigration from North Africa, mainly to Europe, has almost completed the exodus of the Jewish communities from the Moslem countries, apart from Turkey and Iran.

6.2. *Examples of problems to be investigated in regard to modern demographic evolution of the Jews*

Let us assume that the demographic characteristics of the Jews, prior to their "modern" evolution, have been determined (cf. section 5.2). To indicate ways of systematic comparative research on the modern evolution of demographic characteristics in various parts of Europe and in Moslem countries, within the framework of the political and socio-economic development of the Jews (cf. section 6.1.), we shall discuss analogous sets of problems as in section 5.2, although in a somewhat different order of presentation.

(i) Mortality

A considerable amount of statistical information on Jewish mortality is available for most of the Jewish communities in "modern" times. A very cursory perusal of these data indicates the following features:

- Infant and child mortality among the Jews is generally lower than among non-Jews in the same locality and at the same time.

- Wherever specific mortality rates by age are available, it appears that the mortality of the Jews remains lower also in other age groups, although a reversal of the situation appears sometimes in the highest age groups.
- Crude death rates, if due consideration is made for the often peculiar age distribution of the Jews⁽¹²⁾, confirm the generally lower age-specific Jewish mortality.

Analysis of the causes of death - comparing Jewish and non-Jewish populations in the same period and in the same locality or country (mainly in Europe) - reveals systematic differentials, such as lower mortality from tuberculosis and other infectious diseases, digestive and sometimes respiratory diseases, maternal deaths, etc., and higher mortality from diseases of the nervous system, circulatory diseases, diabetes, also from certain types of cancers (though lower for other types), and in some countries higher and growing tendency to suicide.

In earlier studies in which the above differentials between Jews and non-Jews were discussed, there was a tendency to "explain" them in two opposite ways which were not always free from some basic misconceptions: some students of the problem, presupposing the existence of a "Jewish race" different from a "European race" or "races", however, the term was defined, attributed to a large extent the peculiarities of Jewish mortality and "Jewish pathology", as of Jewish demography in general, to "racial" differences. Those who opposed the very existence of "racial differences" between "Jews" and "non-Jews" explained the differentials in mortality as being due mainly to socio-economic and ecological factors.

The "racial" theory, in its crudest form, is certainly false and does not meet the basic test of explaining the enormous variability in Jewish mortality over time and from locality to locality. However, we cannot completely reject the idea that "the Jews", or "some Jewish groups" may possess some peculiar pathological characteristics, which may be inherited. E.g., the hypothesis put forward by some writers that in the period of overcrowding in the Ghettos, the Jews may have acquired, through selection of the fittest, some immunization against tuberculosis, which was passed on to later generations, appears to be worthy of consideration in explaining one of the most constant and prominent charac-

(12) Age structure of Jewish communities is often strongly affected by (i) effects of internal or external immigration or emigration; (ii) earlier decline of fertility among the Jews; and, in recent decades by (iii) direct effects and after-effects of the Holocaust. Study of the crude birth, marriage and death rates without separation of effects of (a) the intrinsic age-specific force of these factors, and (b) the age-distribution, may lead to gross mistakes. A typical example can be seen in the increase of Jewish crude death rates and the excess of crude death rates of the Jews over those of non-Jews in various localities and periods in the 20th century. These were only due to rapid ageing of the Jewish population.

teristics of Jewish mortality⁽¹³⁾.

There is certainly a grain of truth in the second theory: socio-economic, ecological and educational factors may have an important influence on mortality differentials. It can be expected that if the structure of "Jewish" and "non-Jewish" populations by such factors in a given country and period are different, there will be a difference in mortality between Jews and non-Jews, even if the specific mortality between Jews and non-Jews at each socio-economic or educational level, or in the same ecological conditions, is equal. Unfortunately, this theory cannot be easily checked because the mortality data for Jewish Diaspora communities are rarely specified by socio-economic or educational levels. Moreover, wherever such data are available, they seem to suggest that by controlling socio-economic or ecological factors, the differentials between Jews and non-Jews decrease but are not entirely eliminated.

A more comprehensive and dynamic approach may be suggested to explain, at least in part, the characteristics of Jewish mortality and pathology. Such an approach is based on supposed "pre-modern" Jewish mortality characteristics (as discussed in section 5.2. (iii-iv)), and on the general transition process in mortality.

It was already suggested that in "pre-modern" times, Jewish mortality due to natural catastrophes and persecutions was strong. However, in "modern" times between the last bloody Ukrainian pogroms in 1768 and the pogroms in the wake of World War I, massacres of Jews had no large influence on the general level of their mortality. The destructive influence of epidemics declined in the course of the 19th century, and the mass migrations which took place in the 19th and 20th centuries, were not accompanied by mass mortality. Probably the wars of the 19th century were comparatively not very destructive for the Jews. Thus, when those adverse factors became weaker, it is quite possible that the favourable features connected with Jewish way of life (cf. section 5.2. (iii)) could act powerfully to decrease the level of Jewish mortality, at least in some countries, in comparison with the preceding and with the mortality level of the surrounding populations.

Moreover, the first expression of modern demographic transition - viz. a marked reduction in mortality also in "normal" times - may have started earlier and advanced more rapidly among the Jews than among the surrounding populations. This assumption is well in line with the findings indicated at the beginning of this section. However, this hypothesis needs to be substantiated by further research. In particular, studies should be extended to cover all countries for which data or indirect evidence is available in order to analyse:

- To what extent the causes of death which were reduced by the general transition coincide with those in which Jewish mortality was lower than that of the non-Jews.

(13) Excluding recent decades during which mortality from tuberculosis has been practically eliminated by use of previously unknown methods of treatment.

- To what extent the differentials between Jews and non-Jews were increasing in the course of time, and then decreasing, as should be expected with regard to a time-lag in a substantially similar situation.
- Whether in comparing the distribution of deaths by causes for Jewish and non-Jewish populations, it is found that they are more similar when the comparison is made not with regard to the same period, but with regard to Jews in a given period, and non-Jews in a later period.
- Whether timing in the substantial reduction of Jewish mortality in various countries has some connection with timing in reduction of general mortality; or, in other words: whether the reduction in Jewish mortality occurred first in more progressive, and later in the less progressive countries.

The approach suggested above, might explain the fact which was found puzzling by some of the earlier students of Jewish demography, that the reduction in mortality of the Jews started "too early" in many geographic areas to be explained only by modern transition. However, the theory of "anticipation in reduction of mortality", even if confirmed by means of the above-mentioned tests, or by other tests, needs further "explanations". To put it simply: how can we justify the idea that the reduction in Jewish mortality started before that of the surrounding populations? In the following, a tentative justification is suggested but it will require further research.

Differences in levels or speeds of improvement in educational and socio-economic conditions and different ecological conditions which are connected with different availability of medical services, and the promptness of using them, with levels of food and housing hygiene, etc., are often quoted as causes of differentials in starting points and speed in modern reduction of mortality among many populations. We have already noted that the geographaphical shifts of the Jews brought them towards more rapidly developing areas, and that in some of those areas a remarkable advancement took place in their socio-economic conditions and in the level of their "secular" education. The changes in their conditions and the concentration of the Jews in those countries and localities in which the modern decline in mortality was strongest, should have acted favourably in accelerating - on the "average" - the decline in Jewish mortality. A further point of importance, which might be substantiated by the existing documentation, is that possibly in "modern" times the number of Jewish physicians has increased in almost all of the Jewish communities (apart perhaps from some isolated communities in Moslem countries). It is true that such an increase was greater among the Jews than among the non-Jews, and on the assumption that Jewish physicians worked largely among the Jews, this may help explaining why Jewish mortality declined even in those areas in which the majority of the Jewish population still subsisted in poor socio-economic conditions. An additional problem which requires further research is that of the possible effects of the modern development in many countries of autonomous Jewish medical services.

(ii) - (iii) Family formation and dissolution; fertility

The characteristics indicated in section 5.2. (ii) with regard to marriage and fertility in the "pre-modern" period, have disappeared completely or almost completely among the Jews of Western and Central Europe during the "modern" era which started there much earlier than in other areas of Jewish settlement. In some cases, after "modern" evolution, the differentials between Jews and non-Jews became the opposite of what they had been before. This can be compared with the inversion of the socio-economic and political conditions mentioned in section 6.1.1.

The "modern" family concept, whereby the will of the partners is the dominant factor in the family formation, was predominantly adopted by the Jews of Western and Central Europe. Early marriages have completely disappeared, wherever they actually existed among West and Central European Jews in "pre-modern" period. In some countries, the Jews delay marriages for longer than the surrounding populations. Disappeared has also the tendency to universal marriages, and there has been an increase in the proportion of illegitimate births (though it remained generally lower than among non-Jews). There may have been also an increase in the rate of Jewish divorce, at least in countries in which divorce is compatible with civil laws.

A new phenomenon destined to have an overwhelming influence on Jewish demography, was the growth of mixed marriages, which in certain countries of Western and Central Europe determined in the course of time a far-reaching process of demographic absorption by the surrounding populations.

Widespread adoption of birth control methods became another dominant feature of Jewish demography in Western and Central Europe. It may be argued that the extremely low fertility of the Jews in Western and Central Europe was mainly due to the rationalization and secularization processes, affecting Jewish life.

The evolution of marriage and fertility habits of East European Jews occurred later and had somewhat different characteristics. On the basis of the available evidence, it would appear that the change in the age at marriage took place only in the closing decades of the 19th century. It was probably followed by a decline in fertility which became very rapid later on. The beginning of this process and the intensity of the decline in fertility varied from one community to another. On the other hand, rather strict endogamy continued to be typical for large sections of East European Jewry until the Holocaust, although this may not apply to in certain parts of the U.S.S.R. after the Revolution.

In North Africa and the Middle East, the evolution in marriage habits and fertility began in general even later, and was strong only in certain communities which had more intensive contact with European culture. In some more isolated countries, such as Yemen, no signs of such an evolution seem to have appeared. In most of the Jewish communities in Moslem countries, endogamy remained strong until recent mass emigration.

Thus, in a broad outline, the timing and intensity in Jewish marriage and fertility habits would appear, at least at first sight, to be connected with the timing and intensity of decline in mortality. Possibly, the drop in child mortality which increased, *ceteris paribus*, the proportion of surviving children, strengthened the need to control the family size by changing nuptiality habits and fertility.

Changes in marriage and fertility habits appear also to be connected with the general political, educational and socio-economic evolution of the Jews as analysed in section 6.1. It appears likely that these changes appeared earlier and were more intensive wherever the general evolution was early and intensive. If so, we see here another example of the fact that the various aspects of demographic transition are interconnected with various aspects of societal modernization, however defined.

But of interest are also the peculiar Jewish aspects of this evolution. Let us assume that the somewhat vague generalizations indicated above can be transformed into a comprehensive body of knowledge about the timing and intensity of evolution of Jewish nuptiality and fertility in European and Moslem countries. We shall be able then to disentangle the effects of the "general factors" of transition, such as changes in education, socio-economic advancement and urbanization, from the specific factors affecting the Jewish minority, such as secularization, assimilation, and changes in the generally accepted values.

Various ways may be suggested for such a research, even if we take into consideration the restricted statistical material which is available. We may try to obtain, on the basis of historical and sociological information, a broad classification of the communities considered in various periods, by groups formed according to presumable attitude with regard to degree of secularization, distinctiveness from the surrounding population and of prevailing socio-economic conditions. We shall then be able to clarify, at least, some aspects of the factors influencing the changes in Jewish nuptiality and fertility. Even from a very superficial comparison of what has been said in section 6.1. and here, it may appear possible to suggest some hypotheses which deserve further investigation. For instance: the hypothesis that marriages at early age were connected with Jewish tradition and that they disappeared with the increase in secularization; the hypothesis that intermarriages emerge not only as a consequence of secularization, but largely as a consequence of the decline in the national, ecological and social separateness between Jews and non-Jews; the hypothesis that the decrease in mortality would not have been sufficient to influence the decrease in fertility, had the secularization movement not developed, etc.

Another approach to disentangle the various factors of evolution of nuptiality and fertility is that of studying special groups for which certain factors are well-identified, such as nuptiality and fertility of Jews and non-Jews in the same locality, or in the same social group and locality, or Jews in the same social class in different localities, etc. However, with respect of the two last cases, there may be considerable difficulties in undertaking a comparison, because of lack of sufficient-

ly detailed statistical data, and problems of classification.

Alternatively or concurrently, it may be of interest, and perhaps easier, to undertake ecological studies for well-defined groups of Jews (such as in villages and towns in the East European belt; in large towns within this belt; large towns in Eastern Europe outside the belt; large towns in Central Europe, etc.) in which the operation of certain factors can to some extent be isolated (e.g. "East European origin", "large-town effect", etc.). Sometimes it may be preferable to undertake such a comparison in a dynamic context from which shifts in timing and rapidity of the evolution can be inferred.

It is also possible to compare special groups in which certain "Jewish factors" may be considered more or less fixed, while other environmental factors undergo change, such as behaviour of orthodox Jews, observing all *mitzvot* or supposed to do so, in East European townlets and in some Moslem countries, as compared to the extremely orthodox groups in Israel today, which can be studied by ecological methods or by obtaining separate marriage data.

Assimilated Jews in Eastern Europe constitute yet another group for which "Jewishness" assumed a peculiar connotation expressed in statistics. By comparing the difference of "Jews by religion" and "Jews by nationality" in the statistics of Poland, Rumania, Baltic republics, etc., a considerable statistical documentation can be obtained on the characteristics of nationally assimilated Jews. The same can be applied also for other countries outside Eastern Europe - Czechoslovakia or Canada. To the extent to which those data are cross-classified by age or available in regard to births, deaths and marriages, they enable us to contrast in the same environment "denationalized" and "national Jews", and to indicate the effects of the "national" factor, other factors being kept fixed.

(iv) Natural increase

The above hypotheses appear to accord with the actual development of Jewish natural increase. Assuming that the first stage of the earlier and stronger decline in Jewish mortality occurred during a period in which the Jews still had "pre-modern", or nearly "pre-modern", nuptiality and fertility characteristics, a considerable growth of Jewish natural growth can be expected. A cursory perusal of available data seems to indicate that this is just what took place among European Jews at a comparatively very early period of modern development. Among Jews of Eastern Europe this development lasted for a considerable time and this fact can explain the modern "Jewish population explosion". Among the Jews of Western and Central Europe the development reached its end much earlier (see below). Among Jews of North Africa and perhaps part of the Asian Jews, this development occurred only during a short period between the more intensive penetration of the process of modernization and the recent mass emigration movement.

Inversions of nuptiality and fertility habits among the Jews of Western and Central Europe determined the inversions of trends of natural

increase. The increase not only became smaller than that of the surrounding populations, but in various countries became negative. Concurrent effects of mixed marriages and withdrawals from Jewry (see below) led to a "demographic crisis" which threatened the existence of many Jewish communities in Western Europe since the end of the 19th century. A reversal in trends of natural increase occurred also among East European Jews, but prior to the Holocaust it did not assume the same intensity as in the West. Among North African and Asian Jews only the beginning of such a development were discernible and only with regard to the more modernized groups. The emigrants who came en masse to Israel brought with them demographic habits corresponding to the early stages of the growing natural increase described above.

A more comprehensive study of these developments calls for better instruments of research than crude rates of natural increase, or estimated total increase, as are available at present with respect to many Jewish communities. It is desirable, whenever possible, to introduce measures which enable to distinguish between effects of the great changes in age distribution, effects of changes in natural movements of the population and effects of losses due to mixed marriages and withdrawals from the Jewish fold (see below).

(v) Conversions and withdrawals from Jewry

It is well known that in the period under consideration, differences between Jews and non-Jews became less clear-cut, and that the proportion of people with ill-defined Jewishness increased. Many studies have been devoted to this problem, and there is no need to discuss it here. We only wish to indicate two minor points which may possibly deserve further research:

- Quite a considerable amount of information on the number and characteristics of those people can be derived from Nazi-organized censuses immediately before the Holocaust, in which people are often defined both by the Jewish origin ("race"), and by religion at birth or later date. While some of those censuses have been analyzed in different countries, it seems that no comprehensive overview of the results has been undertaken.
- In various countries data are available on conversions and on the effects of mixed marriages on children's religion. It would be desirable to have an overview of these data, also in order to obtain statistical material comparable to that which can be obtained from contemporary country-wide surveys of Jewish populations.

(vi) Internal migrations

In regard to the large scale internal and international migrations of the Jews in the modern period, it may be argued that they had the following in common: In "pre-modern" times, the ecological distribution of the Jews was largely due to restrictions imposed upon them. After the emancipation they moved toward rapidly developing regions where, they hoped, their educational and economic abilities would be better employed.

The direction of their migration was to a very large extent the same as of the other populations. However, among the Jews the proportion of people who changed their residence permanently was extremely high, and Jewish migrations had predominantly a permanent and long-distance character. Therefore, it may be supposed that migrations determined a much more pronounced change in the geographical distribution of the Jewish population than in that of the surrounding populations.

(vii) Urbanization and metropolization

In modern times the great concentration of the Jews in towns is a well-known phenomenon, but we still lack comparative synthetic measures of its extent. As statistical data or estimates on size of Jewish and general urban population are generally available with regard to the modern period, and for all countries of Jewish dispersion, it should not be too difficult to calculate indices of urban concentration in each major region and for successive periods. We may expect that such indices will show both similarities and dissimilarities in the evolution of Jewish and non-Jewish urbanization, and between Jews in different regions, according to factors, such as ecological distribution in "pre-modern" times; characteristics of migratory movements (internal and external), etc.

(viii) Distribution within towns

A rather large amount of statistical material is available on the distribution of Jewish populations within European towns and its changes in the course of modern times. It appears to be desirable to undertake a comparative analysis of this material, especially by means of modern standard methods, such as rational mapping, detailed historical, sociological and ecological analysis for each case under study, calculation of comparable synthetic geostatistical indicators for as many towns and periods as possible, for different socio-economic groups of the Jewish and non-Jewish populations, distinguishing also between Jewish groups, according to religious or national characteristics, etc. It is possible that such an analysis will permit to assess the changes between various towns and periods, and the tendency of the Jews of various groups to reside together or to disperse among the general population or the population of the same socio-economic level. It may also be possible to establish a typology of Jewish distribution within towns, taking into consideration factors such as the following: general type of urban development and social and ethnic geography of the towns; existence of a Jewish quarter, dating from "pre-modern" times, with its own "Jewish life" and institutions; prevailing type of Jewish immigration to the towns (i.e. whether internal or foreign; predominantly religious or secular; immigration size, etc.).

6.3. *Examples of problems to be investigated in regard to demographic evolution of Continental European Jews in the last decades*

The examples of problems discussed in section 6.2. may also be applicable for the study of European Jewry in the last few decades, i.e.

in the post-Holocaust period. However, in the study of contemporary developments there appear some additional relevant problems, such as:

- The appraisal of the immediate consequences of the Holocaust on the basis of the projection of the size of World Jewry from 1939 to 1946, and comparison with revised evaluations for 1946.
- Long term consequences of the Holocaust ought to be evaluated with regard to the Jewish population of Europe.
- In the study of Jewish demography in the last decades, the customary division between Eastern and between Central and Western Europe has lost much of its previous connotation. The rather vague notion, valid perhaps for the period between the beginning of the emancipation until the outbreak of World War I, that Jewish demographic transition was earlier and stronger in Central and Western than in Eastern Europe, appears to be meaningless in the contemporary context. A sort of convergence of the demographic characteristics between various Jewish communities seems to have taken place in our times.
- On the other hand, it may be of some use to consider separately Jewish populations in Communist and non-Communist countries. Prima facie, it would appear that under the impact of Communist regimes, the socio-economic transformation of the Jewish population was far-reaching and has followed somewhat different lines from that in the non-Communist countries, despite fundamental similarity in the non-agricultural and increasingly metropolitan character of the Jewish populations. Under the impact of growing secularization, the inversion of "pre-modern" Jewish demographic characteristics (including endogamy) seems to have spread also in the Soviet bloc countries. However, there are only hypotheses which need to be checked. There is an acute need to improve our knowledge of the demographic evolution which took place in the Communist-dominated part of Europe. A considerable amount of information may be provided by the last Soviet census, and the possibility may thus arise to compare two censuses conducted within a decade or so under similar conditions. There is also the possibility to utilize the presence of the considerable number of Jewish immigrants from the USSR in Israel, and the surveys of the Jewish population in Communist countries such as Yugoslavia.
- With regard to the non-Communist part of Europe, Jewish demographic research must take a different course in the few countries which were less affected by the Holocaust, in the countries where only small remnants of the pre-Holocaust Jewish population were left, and in the countries in which the structure of the Jewish community was to a large extent or almost completely changed after the Holocaust.
- In both Communist and non-Communist countries the chances of demographic survival of the small Jewish communities are of special importance in the post-Holocaust period (see section 7).

Section 7. Examples of Demographic Problems to be Investigated with Regard to Small Jewish Communities

The problem of demographic survival or disappearance of the small communities is of some importance to Jewish demography, both in historical perspective and particularly today, and appears to be worthy of a comparative study. In the following we shall indicate a few types of small Jewish population groups, first of all in "pre-modern" and then in "modern" times:

1) "Pre-modern" period

a) Small communities in villages and townlets in the East European belt, in certain countries of North Africa, and in Western and Central Europe.

b) Small groups of "tolerated" Jews in some European towns.

c) Small Jewish groups scattered in different parts of the colonial world, with or without official recognition.

2) "Modern" period

d) Remnants of communities in the small localities in Eastern Europe and Moslem countries, following the large-scale emigration to large towns or abroad.

e) Remnants of communities in small localities in Western and Central Europe, following the large-scale emigration to larger towns.

f) Diffusion of small groups of Jews, who mainly for reasons of work settled in a great number of localities in which there were no established Jewish communities. This process was parallel to that of concentration of Jews in large towns.

g) Reduction of many communities to "splinter groups", following the Holocaust.

h) Small villages, moshavim and kibbutzim in Palestine/Israel.

Important research tasks appear to be as follows:

- To check what has been the relative proportion of Jewish population living in small communities in various geographic areas and times.
- To investigate whether there is a factual basis to the impression, gained by superficial perusal of data, that communities of type a) and d) have had quite often the ability to survive and even to develop; that communities of type b) have become sometimes the nucleus of a considerable demographic development, while communities of type c), e), f) and g) appear to have or have had a much lower ability to survive. In the case of communities of type h) the general tendency appears to be toward survival and further development, but not without exception.

- In such studies, the part played by irregularity of age and sex distribution, due to smallness of the population, should be taken into consideration. Communities of type c) and f), may have been at the beginning much younger in general, but also more masculine; those of type d) and e) may have high proportion of old people; type h) may have been younger and relatively balanced with regard to sexes, and in type g) irregularity of composition may have been strengthened by the effects of the Holocaust.
- Some of the factors indicated in the above paragraph, may have led to decreased tendency toward marriage, delay in marriage age and, above all, to an increase in outmarriage; this, in turn, may have been in general the cause of decrease of the Jewish population in question, and can to a large extent explain the presumed demographic decline of the communities of type c), e), f) and g). On the other hand, the collective will of survival and other "pre-modern" characteristics (including the probable wide recourse to matchmakers) may explain the demographic resilience of communities of type a), and perhaps also of type b) and d). However, this may have been accompanied by some unfavourable genetical consequences of inbreeding.

Developments in small villages, moshavim and kibbutzim in Palestine/Israel appear to be more complex: problems of persistence of small settlements in Israel belong rather to the spheres of economy and security than to demography. As contacts with other Jewish settlements are not difficult in the country, the "marriage market" is not necessarily restricted to each separate settlement.

Section 8. Examples of Problems to be Investigated in Regard to Demographic Evolution of Jewish "Overseas" Diaspora Communities

The problems connected with follow-up of demographic evolution of the Jews in modern times discussed in section 6.2. apply also to a considerable extent to the Jewish communities which grew in "overseas" countries during the last century, such as that in the U.S.A. and Canada; Latin America; Great Britain; South Africa; Australia and New Zealand.

However, it appears that studies of these communities should have a note of their own, owing to some specific factors which are indicated below, without any pretence to precision.

1) The majority of immigrants who contributed to the development of these communities, hailed from the East European belt, mainly in the period 1880-1914, and to a lesser extent 1921-1930. The already existing Jewish communities of the Sephardim and Central Europeans were swamped by the immigrants from Eastern Europe.

2) Apart from minor differentials between East European immigrants, due to geographical, political or socio-economic selectivity of emi-

gration, and to the varying times of their arrival, we can by and large assume that the background of the immigrants who developed the "overseas" Jewries was similar. Their basic demographic characteristics corresponded to those prevailing in the East European belt at the beginning of "modern" evolution, such as the tendency towards universal and endogamous marriage, perhaps some residuals of the tendency towards marriage at young age, rather high fertility and prevalence of various factors of low mortality despite their unfavourable socio-economic conditions.

3) In the continental European setting, examined in section 6.2, the difficulties encountered in comparative research derive from the fact that the "modern" period coincided with the emancipation, and that the process of emancipation was a prolonged one with very different timing in various countries and regions. In contrast, the legal discrimination in all five groups of "overseas" communities here considered, has been insignificant or non-existent, even if anti-Jewish feelings or discrimination were of some significance and had a somewhat different character from a simple opposition to undesirable new immigrants in general. By and large, all "overseas" groups of countries may be regarded as free societies from the point of view of selection of residence, educational and occupational opportunities, and freedom of associating together as Jews.

4) The demographic evolution of the Jews in the "overseas" societies has developed organically until today without any major breaks - unlike what happened to the Jews in Europe during the Holocaust.

5) We have thus a similar setting in which Jews of similar background started a new life at about the same time, in more or less free societies with no unwanted interruptions until today. Disregarding minor immigration waves of refugees or others in later periods, the large immigration movements ceased about half a century ago. By and large, the evolution to be studied covers three generations: new immigrants, their children and their grandchildren.

6) The general population of the U.S.A., Canada, Latin America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand evolved largely out of immigration which came in its majority from Europe. Jewish immigration from Europe was not regarded as something exceptional in these countries. Study of the evolution of Jewish demography there can be regarded as a special case in the study of evolution of a group of European immigrants and of two generations of their descendants. In the case of the Jews, their distinctive character derived from their religious characteristics and traditions, ethnic separatedness and socio-economic and cultural background brought from Eastern Europe. Within this setting, comparative studies between Jews and other immigrant groups (cf. 7-8 below), between generations (cf. 8), and between Jews in various countries (cf. 9-10), appear to be of interest.

7) In each country, the demographic evolution of the Jews and that of other immigrant groups who entered the country in the same period; can be comparatively studied within the frame of their respective ecological and socio-economic structures. For instance, it may be

of interest to study whether the possibilities offered by the extensive development programmes for the countries under survey to absorb, in certain branches of the economy and in certain large towns, considerable proportion of foreigners, even if not very skilled or culturally assimilated, may have created, at the start, some similarity between Jews and other minorities in their ecological and socio-economic distribution. The subsequent socio-economic, ecological, cultural and educational evolution of the first and following generations may involve continued similarity or differentiation between the Jews and other minorities. Within the general study of this evolution, changes occurring in demographic characteristics of Jews and other groups may be better understood.

8) This study of the demographic evolution of the Jews (and other groups) must be based - as far as possible - on a comparative analysis of changes in demographic characteristics which occurred between the generation of new immigrants, that of their children and that of their grandchildren. Such a comparison requires data on the Jewish population by nativity and nativity of parents. If not available, a rough substitute is to follow the demographic evolution of the Jews in the course of time and to interpret the data, by evaluating the proportion which Jews of first, second or further generations may have formed within the total Jewish population or in the reproductive or working ages.

9) The basic similarities in the formation of Jewish communities in "overseas" countries warrant comparison between the general and demographic evolution of the Jews in the various countries (at the same points of time, or in regard to the same generation). However, despite such basic similarities, the political and environmental conditions of the various countries may differ, and this in turn may affect the political, socio-economic and ecological characteristics of the Jews. For instance: the ethnic and religious structure of countries such as Canada, the U.S.A., Great Britain, South Africa or Latin America, etc. is different and this in turn may affect the attitude of society towards legitimacy of religious, ethnic or cultural minorities (separated from a uniform majority or from a plurality of other groups); the educational, cultural, socio-economic and ecological developments of the various countries differ; also demographic characteristics, such as nuptiality, age at marriage, fertility, mortality, etc., show considerable differences between, say the U.S.A., Great Britain, Brazil, etc., and even among their urban middle classes.

Under these circumstances it is of importance to study:

- Whether the socio-economic, ecological, cultural and educational evolution of the Jews in the various countries shows differences;
- Whether these can be accounted for by the political and environmental differences mentioned above;
- Whether there appear differences in the demographic characteristics of the Jews in the various countries which, in turn, may be connected with the differences in the evolution of the Jews and with the differences in the political and environmental settings.

It is possible that such studies may require a systematic classification of the overseas communities by "types", according to various political and environmental conditions of the country, or of the Jews there in various periods, and comparison of demographic data for the communities "within type" and "between types". In some cases demographic analysis based on detailed data for various classes of Jews may be based on nationwide Jewish sample studies. These data should be provided in a way that makes it possible to isolate, say, effects on demographic characteristics produced by Jewish outlook, religious behaviour, family background, Jewish education, and of socio-economic, educational, cultural and ecological factors, etc.

10) It is possible that comparative studies of overseas Jewish communities may reveal progressive change from the "pre-modern" demographic conditions, which were supposed to be common to the first generation of immigrants; as well as some broad similarities of general and demographic evolutions, and increasing differentials due to different environmental effects. The interpretation of the trends may be somewhat complex, but should be of of great interest and value.

The comparison with other Jewish communities may also be of interest, but will prove to be much more complicated. The first generation of Jewish immigrants in the overseas countries can be compared to the Jewry of East European belt in the same period. However, the very fact that the Jews were alien may have delayed modern demographic evolution, while the character of the countries of immigration and lack of specific anti-Jewish restrictions may have accelerated it. The second and third generation in the overseas countries should rather be compared to Jews in Central and Western Europe in the second and third generation after the emancipation. Therefore in comparing, for instance, evolution of intermarriage or fertility, we may compare contemporary data on Jewish communities with those in Western and Central Europe some generations ago. Such a comparison may reveal some similarities, which can help to forecast the future demographic evolution of overseas Jewries. It should be pointed out, however, that certain specific features of some Jewish communities (e.g., the extremely high percentage of Jewish students in residential universities in the U.S.A.), may diminish the predictive usefulness of such similarities.

Section 9. Examples of Problems to be Investigated Regarding the Comparison between Demography of Israel and of the Diaspora

The main aim of this paper is to discuss the problems of comparative research on the demography of the Diaspora Jews. However, it may be useful to add a few remarks on the integration of this research with the demographic analysis of the Jews in Israel, and the possibility of reaching a world overview of Jewish demography.

When comparisons between the demography of the Jews in the Diaspora and in Israel are considered, the following points should be

borne in mind:

a) The Jewish population of Israel has been formed mainly by immigrants who came to Palestine/Israel over almost a century, but in particular since the end of World War I.

b) The immigration brought to this country Jews from all over the Diaspora. However, by and large, the propensity to immigrate has been very large among the Jews in Moslem countries, comparatively large among the Jews in the East European belt and its surroundings, smaller among the Jews in Central and Western Europe, and comparatively very small among the Jews in the overseas countries.

c) In these immigration streams, people in all stages of demographic evolution were represented: "pre-modern" customs still prevailed largely among immigrants from Moslem countries and among the first groups of Jews arriving from Eastern Europe. Later groups of East European Jews and immigrants from Central and Western Europe and overseas countries were predominantly influenced by modern evolution. Therefore, if we consider the immigrants at the time of their arrival to Israel, we find that they have been marked by strong differentials with regard to the stage in demographic transition, to Jewish outlook, and to socio-economic and cultural levels. This in turn, has been reflected by a variety of health standards, and marriage and fertility habits. When we consider periods of very strong immigration streams, such as the first years after the establishment of the State of Israel, variability and not similarity appears to have been then a basic aspect of the demography of Israel.

d) However, the immigrants have undergone a process of initial adaptation and cultural assimilation within the Israeli society, and have been influenced by a far-reaching and rapid process of socio-economic development, accompanied by intensive public policies in fields such as health, education, immigrant absorption, housing, labour, social welfare, etc. These processes have speeded up the "modern" demographic transition of most of the groups with "pre-modern" features, and brought a rapid and far-reaching homogenization of the demographic characteristics.

e) In the course of time, the Jews of Palestine and Israel have passed from the stage of being a small minority in the Ottoman period, to an acknowledged minority attempting to build an autonomous society in the Mandatory period, and to that of the majority after the establishment of the State of Israel.

Taking the above points into consideration, the following remarks with regard to comparative analysis of the demography of Diaspora and Israeli Jews appear to be pertinent:

1) An overall comparison of respective averages for Israeli and Diaspora Jews at the same time would be misleading in regard to several demographic variables. To obtain meaningful comparisons, data for people of the same origin and at the same stage of evolution in Israel and in the corresponding Diaspora countries should be confronted. Fortunately, the statistical data in Israel can provide information on demographic

variables according to origin and length of stay in the country by the first generation, according to origin of the second generation, and according to many socio-economic or educational factors.

2) The demographic evolution taking place in Israel can thus be studied since the arrival of the immigrants. Proper comparison of the characteristics of immigrants at the time of their arrival with the characteristics of the community of their origin, whenever available, may enable us to investigate to what extent the immigrants of each origin constitute a representative sample of the community of origin or, alternatively, to what extent the immigration was selective.

3) Following up the demographic transformation of immigrants of each origin during their stay in Israel, and of the change which occurred with the transition from the first to later generations, is of great interest and reveals some aspects, partly similar and partly dissimilar, to those discussed with regard to Jews in overseas countries (cf. section 8).

4) Emphasis on intergenerational comparisons appears to be as justified in Israel as in the Diaspora. The value of such studies is even greater in Israel, because of the possibility of undertaking intergenerational comparisons at different times for the same origin group, and at the same time between people of various origins.

5) Comparison between the demographic evolution in Israel and the Diaspora with regard to people of the same origin may be of particular interest and meaning. We may envisage, e.g., a comparison of the demographic characteristics of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and Central Europe in any other overseas country and in Israel, and of immigrants from North Africa in France and in Israel. Such studies, if properly planned⁽¹⁴⁾, can reveal similarities and differentials in evolution. These, in turn, may reveal the possible influence of "Israeli environment" and "Diaspora environment" on the demographic characteristics.

In this connection we may ask ourselves, whether the formation of an autonomous Jewish society in Palestine, which grew into a majority in Israel had an impact on the demographic evolution. A few examples of such a possible impact are given below.

6) Let us consider again, for instance, the marriage and fertility habits which have undergone a strong transformation from "pre-modern" to "modern" patterns in the Diaspora. We have advanced the hypothesis that in the "pre-modern" Diaspora young, universal and endogamous marriages and high fertility were influenced to a considerable extent by

(14) For instance, we must not overlook that a) the characteristics of the "first generation" of immigrants of East European origin were different at different periods of immigration; while most of East European Jews migrated to overseas countries in 1880-1914, they came to Israel in 1919-1951; b) there has been a process of selection by cultural level and socio-economic conditions among the Jews who emigrated from North Africa to Israel or to France.

Jewish religious traditions and a collective will to survive. With the advent of secularization and other modern transitions such influences disappeared, and have been largely substituted in the Diaspora by considerations of individual and parental responsibility. Marriage was delayed, no longer universal and to a greater extent exogamous; fertility became particularly low, and many children of mixed couples were lost to Jewry. In Israel, comparatively small groups with strong religious outlook continued to marry at a young age, and also kept the universality and endogamous character of marriages, and retained - at least partly, depending on the strength of their religious outlook and behaviour - a high level of fertility.

However, the majority of the Jews in Israel underwent the process of secularization either abroad or in this country. The final demographic results of this process may not be the same as in the Diaspora. While the individual and parental considerations in marriage or in fertility decisions prevail also in Israel, some conscious or unconscious influence of the collective will to survive may be felt. Moreover, individual and parental considerations may have produced a different outlook and behaviour with regard to marriage and fertility in the Israeli society, for here the Jews have passed from minority to majority status.

It is therefore of great importance for Jewish demography to investigate, e.g., whether the facts that marriage delays are less frequent in Israel than in many Diaspora communities, and marriages more universal, may be connected with the different status and situation of the Jews in Israel, and to what extent these factors apply to the fertility in Israel of people of Western origin.

7) Also the problem of intermarriage and its demographic consequences in Israel deserves a proper statistical analysis and interpretation. As a matter of fact we do not know at present how many legitimate or illegitimate mixed couples are formed annually in Israel and what proportion of their children are raised as Jews. One gets a rather vague impression that mixed couples constitute only a marginal phenomenon, and that the total number of adhesions to Jewry is larger than that of conversions out and withdrawals from Jewry (however defined).

Should it be possible to confirm it by statistical studies, it would be desirable to investigate to what extent the marginality of mixed marriages is due to legal restrictions; to the relative smallness of the non-Jewish population; to social and ecological separation between the Jews and non-Jews. Should the impression that there is net gain in adhesions to Jewry be true, it will be worthwhile to investigate to what extent this phenomenon is influenced by the very fact that the Jews form a majority in Israel, and by possible other political, cultural and socio-economic factors. At all events, there may be here a phenomenon which is completely at variance with the situation in the Diaspora.

8) It may be expected that as a consequence of the homogenization process (cf. d. above), and of increasing intermarriage between Jews of different origin in Israel, many of the demographic differentials will

disappear or become smaller, and that there will emerge common, or almost common, demographic features for the entire Jewish population in Israel. This has already occurred, e.g., with regard to mortality which has similar general levels for various Jewish population groups, although it shows differentials in composition by causes and, to some extent, by ages. There has also emerged a strong standardization in age of marriage between various origin groups, and differentials in fertility levels are likewise decreasing.

Section 10. Conclusions

In conclusion, I would like to stress again the desirability of undertaking a world-wide analysis of the demography of the Jews, alongside the current analyses of data on each of Jewish communities, which are required for scholarly or practical reasons. Such world-wide analysis should be dynamic and integrated into the study of permanent and changing characteristics of Jewish society. Starting with the demography of "pre-modern", traditional and secluded Jewish communities, we should follow the demographic evolutions and revolutions within the context of the religious, political, ecological and socio-economic conditions of Diaspora life. The processes that take place under our eyes in Israel should be seen partly as a continuation or acceleration of the modernization processes (e.g., of the immigrants from Moslem countries), partly as the elimination of those characteristics which emerged as a consequence of the status of the Jews in the Diaspora, and partly as a mutual adjustment of different origin groups to Israel society. The general demographic patterns which are likely to emerge in Israel, may have some traits common to the "pre-modern" Jewish type, some common to the "modern" Diaspora, and some quite dissimilar to the "pre-modern" and "modern" Diaspora.

Conceivably such a comparative analysis may help to explain some of the most puzzling problems of Jewish demography, such as the following:

- Why did World Jewry emerge from "pre-modern" times so reduced in size?
- Why did the number of East European Jews and of their descendants, multiply about six times over a century between 1830 and 1930, while in the same period the total population of Europe, America and Oceania increased by less than three times?
- What are the prospects of demographic survival of the Jewish Diaspora communities, after some of their basic demographic characteristics have been reversed by modern evolution?
- To what extent and why are the demographic prospects of Jews in Israel different from those of the Diaspora?

The task suggested is so wide that it may appear visionary. However, it is so rewarding, both from the general scientific point of view, and from the Jewish viewpoint, that it is highly desirable to

start thinking whether and how it can be accomplished by a joint effort of all those who the world over are interested in Jewish demography.