

# Haredi Jews around the world: Population trends and estimates

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The European Jewish Demography Unit at the Institute for Jewish Policy Research is dedicated to generating demographic data to support community planning. With haredi (strictly Orthodox) populations growing in several European countries, this paper extends its analysis of this group to the rest of the world, to look at it in its global context.

## / Introduction

This paper presents estimates of the global strictly Orthodox Jewish, or *haredi*, population. This is the first time in the history of this subject that such estimates have been calculated. Estimates for the global Jewish population as a whole have appeared in the *American Jewish Year Book* since the end of the nineteenth century, but to date, there has been no attempt to create and maintain estimates of the haredi population specifically. This is for two reasons. First, religiosity in the West has declined over the past 120 years among Jews and non-Jews alike, and strong and committed religiosity has become very marginal in many Western societies. In view of this decline, monitoring the population dynamics of the haredim did not feel like a high priority. Second, creating estimates of the Jewish population as a whole is a challenging task in and of itself. Not all countries have population censuses that ask about religion or ethnicity, which allow for the identification of their Jewish populations. Not all sample surveys of the population ask about religion or ethnicity either, and those that do, often contain only a small number of Jews, in proportion to their population share, so are commonly unusable for that reason. And where estimation of the total number of Jews is difficult, estimation of the size of a subgroup within the larger Jewish population is bound to be even more complex.

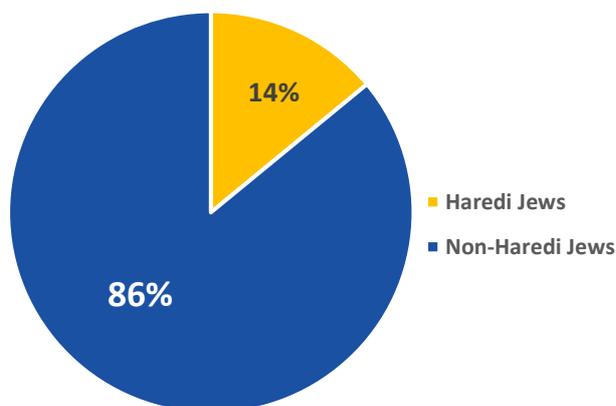
However, new winds have started to blow in the early twenty-first century, with respect to research and policy priorities, and to data availability. Due to the ethnic and religious diversification of Western societies, demand for population estimates of religious and ethnic groups has soared. That has led to the introduction of questions on religion and ethnicity in a number of censuses and surveys. These questions have not been added with the specific purpose of identifying Jews, but the demographic study of Jewish populations has benefited considerably from them. At the same time, the visibility of haredi Jews, both numerical and political, has increased, alongside the greater visibility of other minorities, for reasons to do with their vigorous rates of natural increase. Furthermore, running surveys has become an easier and cheaper enterprise due to the transition from pen-and-paper to online methods. For example, two major surveys of Jewish populations in Europe, conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights in 2012 and 2018, would have been impossible without new online platforms of data collection. In addition, the scholarly understanding of haredi demography has matured as resources other than censuses and surveys have accumulated. Administrative sources of haredi communities (such as communal directories and school statistics) have become known to researchers; their properties have been studied and their utility for constructing population estimates of haredim have been confirmed. Finally, the Israeli statistical authority, the Central Bureau of Statistics, has accumulated significant resources pertaining to the Israeli haredi population, and these resources can also be used to improve demographic understanding of the haredi population in the Diaspora.

This paper capitalises on such new resources and advances made in the methods of estimation. It brings together existing estimates of haredi numbers, and develops new estimates for places where none existed previously. Since there is no formal definition of what constitutes the haredi population, the estimates typically rely on a variety of definitions. Some utilise self-identification of Jews as ‘haredi’ in social surveys of Jewish populations, others employ data from various administrative registers of the haredi population (such as communal directories and educational institutions), and still others resort to geographical methods, building on a tendency for haredi Jews to live in relatively homogeneous geographical clusters. Notwithstanding these differences in methods, the estimates are generally comparable with each other. In this paper, information on the number of haredi Jews is first presented globally, and then by country for the most important locations containing haredi populations. Some considerations regarding the demographic future of haredi and non-haredi Jews are also presented. All figures are rounded for readability. The methodologies used to produce these figures are summarised in the Appendix.

## 1 / The global haredi population

Globally, the haredi Jewish population is currently estimated at about 2,100,000. It constitutes about 14% of the total Jewish population in the world (estimated at around 15,000,000 at the end of 2020). Expressed differently, every seventh Jewish individual today is haredi.

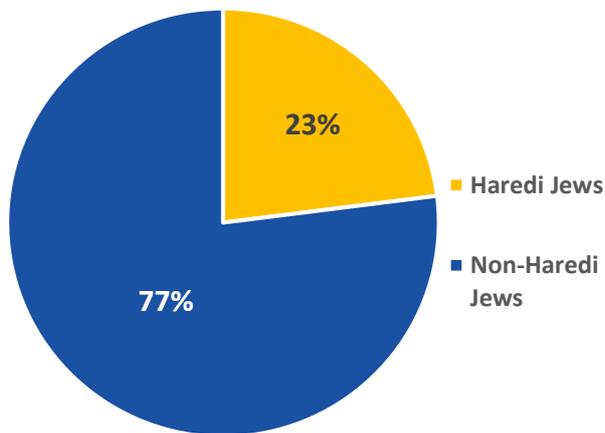
**Figure 1. Proportion of haredi out of the total Jewish population of the world, around 2020, %**



Among *non*-haredi Jews, there is considerable heterogeneity in the rate of growth across different communities. As a consequence, looking at Jewish population sizes as a whole, growth in the haredi sector can either be supplementary to the growth of the non-haredi sector – a booster of sorts – or it can be an exclusive source of growth. The first scenario exists in Israel. The non-haredi Jewish population in Israel is growing at a rate of about 1% per year – considered high in contemporary realities – as a result of natural increase alone, i.e. driven just by the preponderance of births over deaths. The growth seen in the haredi population boosts Israel’s overall Jewish natural growth to 1.5% per year. Haredi growth accounts for about 40% of the total natural increase among Jews in Israel. Among non-haredi Jews in the Diaspora the growth – if it occurs – is on a much more modest scale, and in many communities the non-haredi segment is stable or declining. Some Diaspora Jewish populations, such as the one in the UK, seem to grow exclusively due to the haredi contribution.

The continuation of very high haredi growth into the future, combined with very low positive growth in the non-haredi segment of the global Jewish population, means that the haredi share of the total Jewish population is bound to grow. Consider this: haredi population growth at a rate of 3.5%-4% causes it to double in size every 18-20 years or so; the same doubling effect among the non-haredi segment, with its growth rate of 0.2%, would take 350 years. The overall effects of these dynamics point to a scenario in which the proportion of haredi Jews in the total Jewish population will climb from 14% today, to an estimated 23% by 2040 (Figure 2).

**Figure 2. Projected proportion of haredi Jews out of the total Jewish population of the world, around 2040, %**



Note: projected using a 3.5% annual growth rate for the haredi population and a 0.2% annual growth rate for the non-haredi population.

There is an inherent issue with population projections in that they rely on the assumption that future demographic realities are known. In this case, the assumption is that the differential rates of growth of the haredi and non-haredi populations will continue into the future. Political, cultural and technological developments are largely unpredictable, and they may significantly impact both fertility and mortality, two processes that underly the rates of growth. However, in this case, we are on relatively safe ground. Twenty years is less than a demographic generation and it can be reasonably assumed that significant changes during this length of time are unlikely, even if significant socioeconomic changes take place. As a rule, demographic processes are gradual and slow to change.

Haredi fertility is well-documented: the total fertility rate of this population is at a level of 6-7 children per woman, on average.<sup>1</sup> This should be compared to an average of 1.6 children per woman in contemporary Europe, 1.8 in the USA, and 3.0 in Israel.<sup>2</sup> There have been no signs so far that would suggest that haredi fertility will drop significantly, at least in the short to medium term. Moreover, haredi rates of growth are very high not just due to high fertility – that is a popular misconception – but due to a combination of very high fertility and very low mortality. Indeed, haredi populations

<sup>1</sup> This evaluation is based on: (1) Hleihel, A. 2017. Fertility among Jewish women in Israel by level of religiosity, 1979-2017. Working Paper Series, 101. Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel. (*Hebrew*), and (2) Staetsky, L.D. and Boyd, J. 2015. *Strictly Orthodox rising: what the demography of British Jews tells us about the future of the community*. Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

<sup>2</sup> Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). World Population Prospects 2019, custom data on fertility acquired via website.

display very high life expectancy: at the same level or higher than the life expectancy of non-haredi Jews. Jews are, and have been for a while, a vanguard population in terms of life expectancy. Indeed, demographers consider Jewish longevity indicative of the maximal achievable life expectancy under a given set of conditions. Haredi Jews in that sense are no different from non-haredi Jews, despite being less prosperous on average. Haredi Jewish life expectancy stands today at about 83 years for males and 86 years for females.<sup>3</sup> This compares favourably to European and American values: approximately 76 years for males and 82 years for females.<sup>4</sup>

Being haredi is a lifestyle, and lifestyles can change, so some individuals born and bred within the haredi community may disaffiliate from that community when they mature. That could happen in the form of a gradual drifting to less intense religious lifestyles (a majority of the 'switchers' follow this path), or it could involve a sharper and more dramatic change (only a small minority of 'switchers' behave in this way). Religious 'switching' among haredi Jews has been quite well documented and the trend is not powerful enough to change the conclusions regarding haredi growth over the next twenty years or so. Data from Israel and the UK tell us that about 20% of all those born in haredi families are expected to self-identify as *non*-haredi in adulthood.<sup>5</sup> About 60%-70% of the 'switchers' will remain religious or traditional in terms of their lifestyle, without explicitly opting for a 'haredi' label, so we could refer to them as 'drifters' rather than 'switchers'. If one accounts for religious switching at a rate shown above, the annual growth rate of the haredi population is expected to remain at a level of about 3%. Such an adjustment of the rate of growth means that the projected percentage of haredim out of the total Jewish population around 2040 would be closer to 21% rather than 23%. This is an insignificant adjustment that does not change the big picture. It also does not account for the switching from a non-haredi to a haredi lifestyle that is known to exist.<sup>6</sup>

It is the particular combination of high fertility, high longevity and high rates of lifestyle retention that is producing the phenomenal rates of growth seen among haredi Jews. High fertility is a thing of the past in the West. However, when European levels of fertility were close to those observed among haredim today, life expectancy was rather low. With such high mortality, especially at young ages, high fertility simply could not generate as vigorous a growth as it does today. A combination of haredi levels of fertility with a life expectancy of 40 years – a not unusual level for a historical population – would have produced an annual growth of 2% – a respectable level resulting in a population doubling time of 35 years, but very far from the levels exhibited by the haredi population today.<sup>7</sup> Thus, metaphorically speaking, haredi Jews are a 'demographic hybrid'. They are very traditional when it comes to fertility patterns, but very modern when it comes to longevity. Traditional haredi patterns of fertility sit well with the haredi community's self-understanding of its lifestyle as authentic uncompromising traditionalism. Modern haredi longevity demonstrates that it is impossible for a population to be entirely frozen in the past. Simple 'embeddedness' in modern conditions results in

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<sup>3</sup> Sources : (1) Paltiel, A., Sepulchre, M., Kornilenko, I., Maldonado, M. 2012. Long-range population projections for Israel: 2009-2059. Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel, and (2) Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel. 2021. Statistical Abstract of Israel 72, Table 3.5.

<sup>4</sup> Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). World Population Prospects 2019, custom data on mortality acquired via website.

<sup>5</sup> An average of disaffiliation rates observed among Israeli and British Haredi. Sources: (1) analysis of the original file of the National Jewish Community survey conducted by JPR in 2013, and (2) Hleihel, A. 2017. Fertility among Jewish and Muslim women in Israel by level of religiosity, 1979-2009. Working Paper Series, 60. Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel. (*Hebrew*), Appendix 2A.

<sup>6</sup> DellaPergola, S. and Staetsky, L.D. 2021. *The Jewish identities of European Jews: what, why and how*. European Jewish Demography Unit/JPR.

<sup>7</sup> These calculations are based on the demographic regularities connecting level of mortality, fertility and growth, featured in: Livi-Bacci, M. 1992. *A concise history of world population*. Cambridge, MA and Oxford, UK: Blackwell, p. 102.

uncontrollable and unconscious modernisation of many aspects of one’s existence. The only tenable form of traditionalism is a ‘modern traditionalism’.

## 2 / Country-specific picture

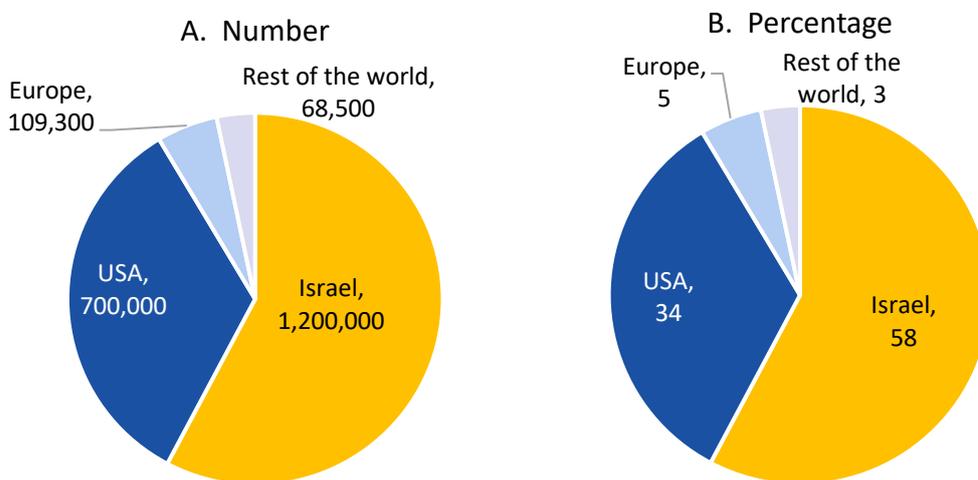
The majority of haredi Jews live in just two countries, Israel and the USA, which, combined, account for about 92% of all haredi Jews in the world. About 85% of Jews globally live in Israel or the USA, so the haredi concentration in these two countries is slightly higher than for the Jewish population as a whole. Thus, Israel and the USA hold a greater share of haredim than their total share of Jews.

Europe hosts 9% of the global Jewish population but only 5% of the global haredi population. Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia host 5% of the global Jewish population and 3% of the global haredi population.

Today, Israel hosts the largest haredi population in the world. Around 2020, the haredi population in Israel was estimated at about **1,200,000**, or nearly 13% of the country’s total population and about 17% of its Jewish population.

The United States of America contains the second largest haredi population. Around 2020, it can be estimated at about **700,000**, about 12% of the total American Jewish population.

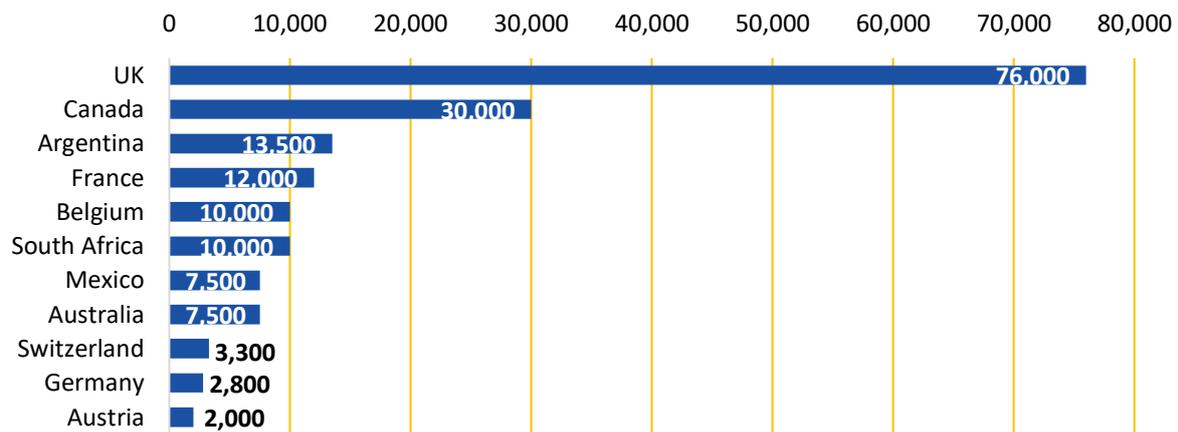
**Figure 3. Haredi population by geographical area, around 2020**



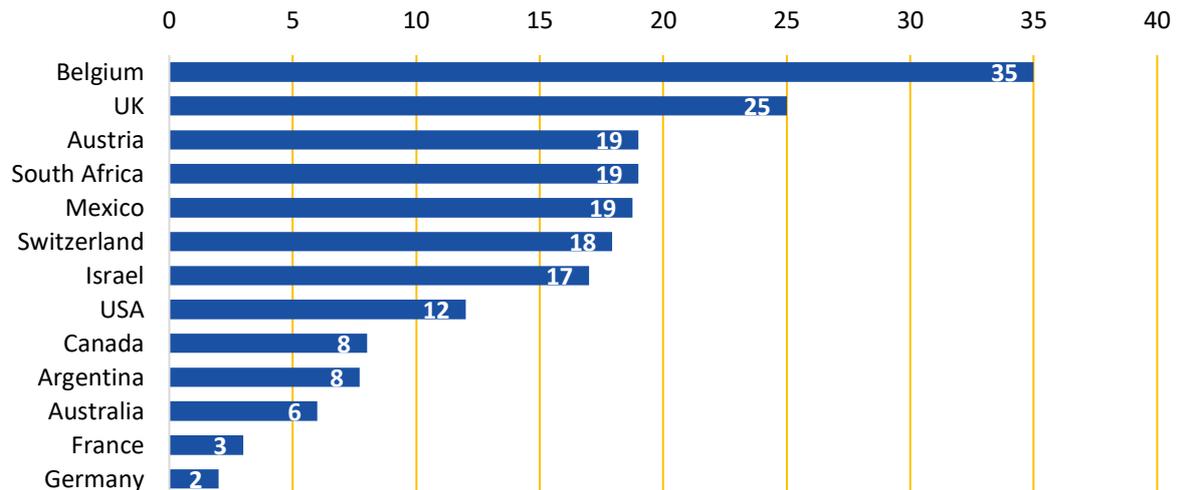
Outside of Israel and the USA, the two largest haredi populations are located in the UK (about **76,000**, or 25% of all British Jews) and Canada (**30,000**, or 8% of Jews in Canada). All remaining countries contain no more than 30,000 haredi Jews each, and usually, considerably fewer (Figure 4).

The six countries with the largest proportion of haredim out of the total Jewish population (very close to 20% or above) are Belgium, UK, Austria, South Africa, Mexico and Switzerland, with Belgium being the undisputed leader (Figure 5). Note that four out of these six countries where the proportion of haredi Jews is highest are located in Europe. Unless a major reshuffling of the haredi Jewish population in Europe takes place, for example, as a result of migration, then the total Jewish populations of the UK, Austria and Switzerland can be expected to grow after many years of stability or decline.

**Figure 4. Largest haredi population sizes outside of Israel and the USA, around 2020**



**Figure 5. Largest haredi populations as a proportion of the total Jewish population, around 2020 (%)**



**Table 1. Overview of numbers and proportions of haredi Jews in the world, around 2020**

Country	Core Jewish population	Haredi Jews	% Haredi
<b>Total</b>	<b>15,166,200</b>	<b>2,077,300</b>	<b>14</b>
Israel	6,900,000	1,200,000	17
USA	6,000,000	700,000	12
UK	292,000	76,000	26
Canada	393,500	30,000	8
Argentina	175,000	13,500	8
France	446,000	12,000	3
Belgium	28,900	10,000	35
South Africa	52,000	10,000	19
Mexico	40,000	7,500	19
Australia	118,000	7,500	6
Switzerland	18,400	3,300	18
Germany	118,000	3,000	3
Austria	10,300	2,000	19
Rest of the world	574,100	3,000	1

The haredi population is genuinely global. Significant migration streams connect all haredi populations to Israel and to each other. Much of the global migration among haredi Jews is driven by marriage, as well as by employment, business and study opportunities. Consequently, building projections of haredi numbers on a global scale is safer than doing so for specific countries. For that, an assumption of an unchanging geographical distribution is needed, and it is not clear to what extent such an assumption can hold. All the same, should the basic geographical distribution of the haredi population in twenty years from now resemble today's distribution, haredim will constitute 25% of the total Jewish population of Israel and about 20% of American Jews. The American Jewish population will resemble today's European Jewish populations with a very high proportion of haredim, such as the United Kingdom and Austria. The United Kingdom can be expected to reach, and perhaps even rise above, the status of Belgium today: by 2040, the haredi segment is expected to constitute 40% of the British Jewish population.<sup>8</sup>

In the title of his landmark 2010 book, Eric Kaufmann asked *Shall the religious inherit the earth?* A projection horizon longer than twenty years is needed to answer this question – many eminent demographers have produced inaccurate results when issuing long-term predictions. Nevertheless, it is clear that in the short to medium term, the most religious segment of Jews will increase in demographic and socio-political terms, visibility and power.

## **/ Appendix: sources and estimation methods**

### **Israel**

The estimate is based on the following sources: (1) Paltiel, A., Sepulchre, M., Kornilenko, I., Maldonado, M. 2012. Long-range population projections for Israel: 2009-2059. Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel (*Hebrew*); (2) Malach, G. and Cahaner, L. 2020. Statistical report on ultra-Orthodox society in Israel. Ha-Machon ha-Israeli le-Demokraya (*Hebrew*); (3) Central Bureaus of Statistics. 2021. Results of the CBS Social survey 2020, Table 28.1.

### **United States of America**

The estimate, by this author, is based on the following considerations. Surveys of the American Jewish population conducted by the Pew Centre found that haredim constituted about 6% of the total Jewish American survey respondents. Because each adult survey respondent is a unique representative of a household, this figure can be read as a proportion of haredi households out of the total number of Jewish households in the USA. Household sizes of haredi Jews are significantly higher than non-haredi Jews, and so it follows that the proportion of haredim in the total Jewish population of the USA is higher than 6%. Assuming that the core Jewish population of the USA is 6,000,000 (as estimated by Sergio DellaPergola), and that the average household size of the total American Jewish population is about 2.7 people (as indicated by the two Pew Centre surveys to date), there are 2,222,222 Jewish households in the USA ( $6,000,000/2.7$ ). It follows that the number of haredi households is 133,333 ( $2,222,222*6/100$ ). The average number of persons in a haredi household is in the range of 5.0-5.5. It follows that the total number of haredi Jews in the USA, including adults and children, is in the range of 666,666 – 733,332 (mid-value 699,999). That constitutes 11%-12% of the total Jewish population of the USA. Given a degree of uncertainty relating to the total size of the American Jewish population, used here as a base for calculations, and a degree of uncertainty regarding the proportion of haredi Jews among adult Jews (owing to the fact that the estimates originate from surveys and are subject

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<sup>8</sup> The projection for Israel is adopted from: Paltiel, A., Sepulchre, M., Kornilenko, I., Maldonado, M. 2012. *Long-range population projections for Israel: 2009-2059*. Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel. For all other places, the projection is made on the assumption that the haredi population will grow at an annual rate of 3.5% and the non-haredi population at 0.2%.

to sampling error), it is reasonable to think of the number of haredi Jews in terms of an approximate range of 650,000-750,000 instead of a single number. Their estimated proportion out of the total American Jewish population (12%) remains unaffected by the uncertainties. The estimates obtained here match very well with the estimates of haredi numbers by Gilad Malach and Yair Ettinger (around 652,000 haredim). The latter were made on the basis of school enrolment figures in haredi schools in the USA.

#### Sources:

- 1) Core Jewish population in the USA: DellaPergola, S. 2022. 'World Jewish population, 2021.' *American Jewish Year Book 2021*. Eds. Dashefsky, A. and I. Sheskin. Cham: Springer.
- 2) Proportion of haredi among Jewish adults and the average household sizes of American Jews: (a) Pew Research Center. 2013. 'A portrait of Jewish Americans: findings from the Pew Research Center of the U.S Jews'; (b) Pew Research Center. 2021. 'Jewish Americans in 2020'; (c) Pew Research Center. 2021. '2019-2020 survey of U.S Jews: final topline.'
- 3) Haredi household sizes: [Jewish World in Data](#)-Daniel Staetsky.
- 4) Alternative estimates: Malach, G. and Ettinger, Y. 2021. 'Torah learning and secular studies: ultra-orthodox boys education in the United States.' *Mehkar Medinyut 163*. Ha-Machon ha-Israeli le-Demokraya (*Hebrew*).

#### **United Kingdom**

The estimate, by this author, is based on the following considerations. First, a synagogue membership survey conducted in the UK by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research in 2016 found 10,712 haredi households. The scope of suspected undercount of haredi households (an estimate based on haredi address and telephone directories – 'Shomer Shabbos' directories – covering four major locations of haredi communities in the UK: Stamford Hill, London-Barnet, Manchester-Broughton Park, and Gateshead) is about 10%. This information allows for a correction of haredi households to be introduced; the adjusted number of haredi households in 2016 is about 12,000 ( $10,712 \times 100/90 = 11,902$ ). Assuming an average household size of 5.5 brings the total number of British haredi Jews to about 65,000 ( $11,902 \times 5.5 = 65,462$ ). Progressing this number to 2020 and applying an annual growth of 4% suggests about 77,000 haredi Jews. Second, the number of children at the primary educational stage (ages 5-11 years) across haredi Jewish schools in the UK was 14,777 on the cusp of 2020. The known age distributions of haredi Jews in Jerusalem suggests that those aged 5-11 years form approximately 18% of the total haredi population. The same age group forms about 20% of the total population of the strictly Orthodox in the UK that could be unambiguously identified as such in the 2011 Census. Based on this, the number of haredi Jews in the UK can be estimated at about 74,000 ( $14,777 \times 100/20 = 73,885$ ). The average figure of these two estimates (77,000 and 74,000) is 75,500, rounded up to 76,000 here for simplicity). Given that the total number of Jews in the UK is in the region of 300,000, haredi Jews constitute about 25% of all British Jews ( $76,000/300,000 \times 100$ ). In view of this new assessment, the earlier published estimates of the number of haredi Jews in the UK appear to underestimate the size of this population. Recent developments in estimation methodology and data availability have made better estimates possible.

#### Sources:

- 1) Core Jewish population in the UK: DellaPergola, S. 2022. 'World Jewish population, 2021.' *American Jewish Year Book 2021*. Eds. Dashefsky, A. and I. Sheskin. Cham: Springer.
- 2) The total number of haredi households in the UK: Casale-Mashiah, D. and Boyd, J. 2017. *Synagogue membership in the United Kingdom in 2016*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.
- 3) Haredi household sizes: [Jewish World in Data](#), Daniel Staetsky.
- 4) Scope of undercount of haredi households: Matty Beck, an analyst at Interlink Foundation, London-Stamford Hill, UK.

- 5) The number of children at a primary educational stage in haredi schools: Horup, B., Lessof, C. and Boyd, J. 2021. *Numbers of Jewish children in Jewish schools: statistical bulletin for 2018/19 to 2020/21*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.
- 6) Age distribution of haredi Jews in Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research. 2019. *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem. Population, Table Gimel/15*.
- 7) Age distribution of haredi Jews in the UK: Office for National Statistics, 2011 Census Table DC2107EW, deposited at NOMIS-Official Labour Market Statistics.
- 8) Earlier published estimates: Staetsky, L.D. and Boyd, J. 2015. *Strictly Orthodox rising: what demography of British Jews tells us about the future of the community*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research. Estimates of the overall size of the haredi population (pp. 6-7) are underestimates. The rest of the findings and conclusions in the report hold good; the scope of underestimation was not at a level, and of a nature, that could affect other findings (e.g. population pyramid, age dependence picture, projections and estimations of haredi fertility).

### Canada

The estimate, by this author, is based on the following considerations. The core Jewish population in Canada is estimated at about 393,500. According to the 2018 survey of Jewish population of Canada, about 3% of *adult* Canadian Jews covered by the survey (i.e. unique representatives of the households) identified as haredi. This figure can be treated as representative of the haredi share of the total number of Jewish households in Canada. The average household size of Canadian Jews is around 2.65, which translates into 148,490 households ( $393,500/2.65$ ). Haredi households are 4,455 in number ( $148,490 \times 3/100$ ), and assuming an average household size of 5.03 among haredi Jews, this suggests a population size of 22,407. Underestimation of the proportion of haredi Jews is possible in this survey, and it is not unusual in Jewish communal surveys in general. Therefore, we can relate to this figure as a lower boundary. Another estimate of the size of the haredi population in Canada, by this author, is based on Charles Shahar's study of the size and characteristics of haredi Jews in Montreal – the main site of the Canadian haredi community. Charles Shahar's study, conducted in 2003, found 2,193 haredi households in Montreal, listed in an exclusive haredi telephone and address directory. Assuming an average household size of 5.03, this means that 11,031 haredi Jews lived in Montreal in 2003 ( $2,193 \times 5.03$ ). Shahar's re-estimation of the number of haredim in Montreal in 2014, based on the same source, indicated the presence of about 15,500 haredi Jews. Assuming a 3.5% annual growth rate between 2003 and 2020 leads to the conclusion that the expected number of haredim in Montreal around 2020 should be in the region of 20,000. According to the 2018 survey of the Jewish population of Canada, 66% of haredi Jews in Canada live in Montreal, and so it follows that the total estimated number of haredim in Canada approximates 30,000 ( $20,000 \times 100/66$ ). It follows that haredim constitute about 8% of Jews in Canada ( $30,000/393,500 \times 100 = 7.7\%$ ).

### Sources:

- 1) Core Jewish population of Canada: DellaPergola, S. 2022. 'World Jewish population, 2021'. *American Jewish Year Book 2021*. Eds. Dashefsky, A. and I. Sheskin. Cham: Springer.
- 2) The average household size of Canadian Jews: 2018 survey of Jews in Canada, by personal communication with Professor Robert Brym. The survey is summarised in: Brym, R., Neuman, K. and Lenton, R. 2018. '2018 survey of Jews in Canada.' University of Toronto/York University/Enviroinformatics Institute for Survey Research.
- 3) Proportion of haredim in Canadian Jewish population, by location: the original SPSS dataset, 2018 survey of Jews in Canada. 'Haredi' defined as those self-identifying as Hasidic, Yeshivish or Chabad in question on religious denomination.
- 4) The average household size of haredi Jews in Canada: Shahar, C. 2003. 'A comprehensive study of the Frum community of Greater Montreal.' Montreal: Federations CJA and Ahavas Chesed.

## Belgium

The estimate is based on large-scale data collection work undertaken by the author in the Belgian Jewish community in 2020, in an attempt to document the demographic and sociological profile of this community. This was done as a part of a project aiming to update the demographic picture of European Jewish communities. The project is housed by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research's European Jewish Demography Unit. The number of haredi Jews in Belgium is derived from a combination of sources, including haredi communal address and telephone directories, statistics on numbers of pupils in haredi schools and vital statistics (the number of deaths in particular). The results and the methodology of the study of Belgian Jewry appear in the forthcoming report: Staetsky, L. Daniel and DellaPergola, S. 2022. *Jews in Belgium: a demographic and a social portrait*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

## South Africa

The estimate, by this author, is based on the following considerations. The core Jewish population of South Africa is estimated to be around 52,300. Its average household size is estimated to be at 2.3 persons per household. This translates into 22,739 Jewish households ( $52,300/2.3$ ). The 2019 Jewish Community Survey of South Africa suggested that haredi households are 8.4% of the total number of Jewish households. This translates into 1,910 haredi households ( $22,739*8.4/100$ ). Assuming the average haredi household size to be situated in the range of 5.0-5.5, the haredi population can be estimated at 9,550-10,505, with a mid-value of 10,000. Thus, haredim constitute 19% of all Jews in South Africa ( $10,000/52,300*100$ ).

### Sources:

- 1) Core Jewish population of South Africa, its average household size and proportion of haredi households: Graham, D. 2020. *The Jews of South Africa in 2019: identity, community, society, demography*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.
- 2) Haredi household sizes: [Jewish World in Data](#), Daniel Staetsky.

## Mexico

The estimate for Mexico, by this author, is based on the following considerations. Data from Jewish schools in Mexico indicate the presence of 1,485 pupils aged 6-11 years in schools defined as strictly Orthodox by ethos, around the year 2018. It is known that not all children studying in haredi schools in Mexico are haredi, although the majority are. On the basis of this information, one can come up with two scenarios. The cautious scenario assumes that only 50% (743) of those pupils are haredi. The alternative scenario assumes that all are haredi. The known age distributions of haredi Jews in Jerusalem suggest that those aged 6-11 years form 15% of the total haredi population. Thus, applying the assumptions of the cautious scenario signals the presence of about 5,000 people ( $743*100/15=4,905$ ); applying the assumptions of the alternative scenario indicates a haredi count close to 10,000 ( $1,485*100/15=9,900$ ). The mid-value provided by these minimal and maximal boundaries is about 7,500. Thus, haredim comprise 19% of the Jewish population of Mexico ( $7,500/40,000*100$ ). This estimate is supported by additional administrative sources held by the Mexican Jewish community. Membership lists of some Mexican Jewish subcommunities (e.g. Maguen David and Monte Sinai) indicate the presence of about 1,000 haredi families. However, haredi families also exist outside of these frameworks, so 5,000-5,500 haredi individuals (across 1,000 haredi families) represents the minimal boundary of haredi numerical strength.

### Sources:

- 1) Number of pupils in haredi schools: (a) Vaad hajinuj consejo de educacion judia Mexico. 2019. 'Diagnostico para la planeacion estrategica educativa de vaad hajinuj. A partir dec ciclo 2019-2020', and (b) Mexican Jewish school census tables communicated by Professor Judit Bokser Liwerant.

- 2) Age distribution of haredi Jews: Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research. 2019. *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*. Population, Table Gimel/15.
- 3) Estimates of haredi numbers based on administrative list of selected communities in Mexico: Professor Judit Bokser Liwerant, personal communication, March 2020.
- 4) Core Jewish population of Mexico: DellaPergola, S. 2022. 'World Jewish population, 2021.' *American Jewish Year Book 2021*. Eds. Dashefsky, A. and I. Sheskin. Cham: Springer.

### **Argentina**

The estimate, by this author, is based on the following considerations. In 2014, there were 5,245 children attending haredi schools across Argentina. This number covers ages 4-17 years. The scope of the presence of non-haredi children in haredi schools in Argentina is unclear. Two assumptions are possible, as with the case of Mexico, namely that: (1) all children are haredi; or (2) only 50% of them are (a cautious scenario). Haredim aged 4-17 years constitute about 35% of the haredi population in Jerusalem. Thus, under the first assumption, the number of haredi Jews in Argentina is about 15,000 ( $5,245 \times 100 / 35 = 14,985$ ), and under the second, the number is about 7,500 ( $2,623 \times 100 / 35 = 7,492$ ). The average figure is 11,000. Assuming an average growth at a level of 3.5% per annum, the haredi population in 2020 is estimated at about 13,500. Therefore, haredim constitute about 8% of the Jewish population in Argentina ( $13,500 / 175,000 \times 100$ ).

#### Sources:

- 1) Number of pupils in haredi schools: Judit Bokser-Liwerant, Sergio DellaPergola, Leo Senkman, Yosi Goldstein (2015). *El educador judío latinoamericano en un mundo transnacional*. Vol. 1. Informe de investigación.
- 2) 'Age distribution of haredi Jews': Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research. 2019. *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*. Population, Table Gimel/15.
- 3) Core Jewish population of Mexico: DellaPergola, S. 2022. 'World Jewish population, 2021.' *American Jewish Year Book 2021*. Eds. Dashefsky, A. and I. Sheskin. Cham: Springer.

### **Australia**

The estimate, by this author, is based on the following considerations. The core Jewish population of Australia is estimated to be around 113,000, of whom about 85,000 are adults aged 18 years or over (75%). The number of adult haredi Jews is estimated at 3,800, 4.5% of the adult Jewish population. Adults (people aged 18 years and over) constitute 52% of the haredi Jewish population of Jerusalem. This suggests that the total haredi population in Australia amounts to 7,308 ( $3,800 \times 100 / 52$ ), which is 6.5% of all Jews in Australia.

#### Sources:

- 1) Core Jewish population of Australia and the number of adult haredi: Graham, D. and Markus, A. 2018. *GEN17 Australian Jewish community survey: preliminary findings*. Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation and JCA.
- 2) 'Age distribution of haredi Jews': Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research. 2019. *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*. Population, Table Gimel/15.

### **Switzerland**

The estimate, by this author, is based on the following considerations. Records of haredi Jewish schools in Zurich, the main centre of the haredi community in Switzerland, indicate the presence of about 250-500 children aged 6-11 years. The uncertainty around the exact number is explained by the fact that the nature of some schools (haredi or not) remains unknown. Children aged 6-11 years constitute 15% of the haredi Jewish population of Jerusalem. Thus, the total number of haredim in Zurich can be estimated at 1,666-3,333 ( $250 \times 100 / 15$  or  $500 \times 100 / 15$ ). To our knowledge, other haredi communities existing in Switzerland (e.g. Basel) are smaller in size than the haredi community in

Zurich. Given the fact that it is impossible at present to account for the existence of these other communities, the top limit of the estimation range for Zurich is adopted to reflect the number of haredi Jews in Switzerland as a whole. It follows that haredim form about 18% of the total Jewish population in Switzerland:  $3,333/18,400*100$ . Future research is expected to bring greater precision to this number but is not expected to result in a significant revision of the scale of the haredi presence in Switzerland.

Sources:

- 1) The number of children in Jewish schools: Educational authority of Zurich Canton.
- 2) 'Age distribution of haredi Jews': Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research. 2019. *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*. Population, Table Gimel/15.
- 3) Core Jewish population of Switzerland: DellaPergola, S. 2022. 'World Jewish population, 2021.' *American Jewish Year Book 2021*. Eds. Dashefsky, A. and I. Sheskin. Cham: Springer.

**Austria**

The estimate is based on the large-scale data collection undertaken by the author in the Austrian Jewish community in 2018-2019, in an attempt to document the demographic and sociological profile of this community. This was done as a part of a project aimed at updating the demographic picture of European Jewish communities. The project is housed at the Institute for Jewish Policy Research's European Jewish Demography Unit. The number of haredi Jews in Austria is derived from a combination of sources, including the administrative database of the Jewish community of Vienna and statistics on the numbers of pupils in haredi schools. The results and the methodology of the study of Austrian Jewry appear in the report: Staetsky, L. Daniel and DellaPergola, S. 2020. *Jews in Austria: a demographic and a social portrait*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research (European Jewish Demography Unit).

**France**

The estimate, by this author, is based on two sources. Records of the Fond Social Juif Unifié (FSJU) show that the number of haredi children aged 6-10 years in Jewish schools in France is in the region of 1,500. Not all Jewish children attending schools with a haredi ethos are in fact haredi: some haredi schools are exclusively haredi, whereas 'mixed' haredi schools contain 25-30% haredi children, according to the explanation supplied by the analysts at FSJU. This reality has been taken into account in producing this number. The number 1,459 (rounded as 1,500) reflects the number of Jewish children growing in families that can be defined as haredi by lifestyle. Among haredi Jews in Jerusalem, those aged 6-10 years constitute 13% of the total haredi population. Thus, the total haredi population of France can be estimated at 11,223 ( $1,459*100/13$ ). This estimate is supported by the results of the 2018 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights survey of Jews in France. The survey found that 1.4% of French Jewish households are haredi. Given the average household size of French Jews (2.7) and the current size of the French Jewish population (446,000), there are an estimated 165,185 Jewish households in France (obtained as  $446,000/2.7$ ). It follows that the number of haredi households in France can be estimated at 2,313 ( $165,185*1.4/100$ ). Given the average size of haredi households, the haredi population can be estimated at around 12,000, an average of 11,565 ( $2,313*5$ ) and 12,721 ( $2,313*5.5$ ). Haredim constitute about 3% of the French Jewish population ( $12,000/446,000*100=2.7\%$ ).

Sources:

- 1) The number of children in Jewish schools: educational division of Fond Social Juif Unifié (FSJU).
- 2) 'Age distribution of haredi Jews': Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research. 2019. *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*. Population, Table Gimel/15.
- 3) Core Jewish population of France: DellaPergola, S. 2022. 'World Jewish population, 2021.' *American Jewish Year Book 2021*. Eds. Dashefsky, A. and I. Sheskin. Cham: Springer.

- 4) Proportion of haredi households among Jewish households in France and the average size of French Jewish household: the 2018 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights survey of Jews in France.
- 5) Haredi household sizes: [Jewish World in Data](#)-Daniel Staetsky.

### The rest of Europe, not already accounted for above

The haredi presence in some parts of Europe is relatively well documented. In addition to the European countries already shown, there are reliable sources that support the construction of haredi estimates in eight European countries covered by the 2018 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights survey of Jews in Europe: Denmark, Germany, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Netherlands, Poland and Sweden. The survey provides an indication of the proportion of haredi households. Coupled with information on the size of haredi and non-haredi households and the total size of Jewish populations, the survey allows derivation of the number, and proportion, of haredi Jews in the total Jewish populations. Calculations are presented in Table 2 for transparency.

**Table 2. Estimation of size of haredi population in selected countries of Europe**

Country	(A) FRA 2018 % of haredi households	(B) Average household size	(C) Core Jewish population	(D) Jewish households, number (C/D)	(E) Haredi households, number (A*D/100)	(F) Average household size of 5	(G) Average household size of 5.5	(H) Haredi population, number 1 (E*F)	(I) Haredi population, number 2 (E*G)	(J) Haredi population average, number Average of H & I	(K) Haredi population, % of Jews (J/C*100)
Denmark	0.1	2.3	6,400	2,783	3	5	5.5	14	15	15	0.2
Germany	1.1	2.4	118,000	49,167	541	5	5.5	2,704	2,975	2,839	2.4
Spain	0.4	2.6	12,900	4,962	20	5	5.5	99	109	104	0.8
Italy	1.1	2.8	27,200	9,714	107	5	5.5	534	588	561	2.1
Hungary	0.9	2.5	46,800	18,720	168	5	5.5	842	927	885	1.9
Netherlands	0.7	2.4	29,700	12,375	87	5	5.5	433	476	455	1.5
Poland	0.6	2.4	4,500	1,875	11	5	5.5	56	62	59	1.3
Sweden	0.1	2.3	14,900	6,478	6	5	5.5	32	36	34	0.2
<b>Total</b>			<b>260,400</b>							<b>4,952</b>	<b>1.9</b>

### Sources:

- 1) Proportion of haredi households and average household sizes of Jewish populations: the 2018 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights survey of Jews in Europe.
- 2) Haredi household sizes: [Jewish World in Data](#), Daniel Staetsky.
- 3) Core Jewish populations: DellaPergola, S. 2022. 'World Jewish population, 2021.' *American Jewish Year Book 2021*. Eds. Dashefsky, A. and I. Sheskin. Cham: Springer.

Thus, it can be concluded that in the eight countries mentioned above, the approximate number of haredi Jews is 5,000, accounting for about 2% of the total Jewish population of these countries combined. The rest of Europe, unaccounted for so far, contains, in high probability, fewer than 1,000 haredi Jews. This is based on an indirect assessment. Jewish communities in these areas are relatively small, with Russia and Ukraine being the exceptions. The number of haredi Jews in all of these areas is known to be very small. Thus, it can be assumed that the proportion of haredi households out of the total number of Jewish households in these countries is similar to the proportions observed in Sweden and Denmark (0.1%). The total Jewish population of these areas amounts to 261,000. Assuming an average household size of about 2.5 (the average Jewish household size in countries covered by the 2018 EU-FRA survey of Jews in Europe), the number of Jewish households can be

estimated at 104,400. Consequently, these areas are expected to host about 104 haredi households ( $104,400 \times 0.1/100$ ), which translates into about 550 haredi Jews.

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## / About the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR)

The **Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR)** is a London-based research organisation, consultancy and think-tank. It aims to advance the prospects of Jewish communities in the United Kingdom and across Europe by conducting research and informing policy development in dialogue with those best placed to positively influence Jewish life. Its **European Jewish Demography Unit** exists to generate demographic data and analysis to support Jewish community planning and development throughout the continent. Web: [www.jpr.org.uk](http://www.jpr.org.uk).

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