

# Sources for the Demographic Study of the Jews in the Former Soviet Union

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*The indication of ethnicity in a Soviet internal passport was a curse for the Jews but a blessing for statisticians.<sup>1</sup>*

Demographic study of the Jews in the former Soviet Union (FSU), based on a wealth of statistical data, has a long and well-established tradition. This essay first presents an overview of tsarist and Soviet demographic data regarding Jews. Because most of the Soviet data were kept hidden until the end of the Soviet period, the focus here is on findings of the last quarter century. Particular attention will then be given to the role of the Soviet internal passport (which, because it listed ethnicity, was the basis for Jewish statistics) and to the consequences of the elimination of compulsory ethnic identification in the post-Soviet Slavic countries.

## **Tsarist and Soviet Demographic Data**

Vital statistics data were routinely collected and processed for European Russia starting in 1867, with Jews considered one of the empire's religious groups. In the first census of the tsarist empire in 1897, Jews were categorized on the basis of religion and/or language for the country as a whole and for each of its regions. At the beginning of the 20th century, data on Jewish marriages, births, and deaths over a 40-year period were compiled and analyzed by Sergei Novoselsky and Veniamin Binshtok.<sup>2</sup> Another early 20th-century study, dealing with Jews recorded in the 1897 census, was carried out by Boris Brutskus.<sup>3</sup> In the 1970s, Bronislaw Bloch approached the data with much more sophisticated demographic techniques and established baselines (that is, total fertility rate and life expectancy) for the study of subsequent developments.<sup>4</sup> Several years later, Shaul Stampfer analyzed marriage patterns of Jews in the tsarist empire.<sup>5</sup>

During the years of revolution and civil war, statistical data collection was suspended in most parts of the country. In the 1920s, there was a resumption of coverage of Jewish vital events and the size and structure of the Jewish population. Whereas

the tsarist statistics had covered religious groups, the Jews were now presented only as an ethnic group among many others.<sup>6</sup> Detailed statistics, including the results of the Soviet census of 1926, were published during the course of the decade, although some regions (in particular, Ukraine) were more comprehensively covered by vital statistics data than others. In the 1930s, especially in the first half, the quality of Soviet statistics dramatically declined. The statistical administration ceased its systematic publication of demographic statistics, and most of its results for the 1930s were kept secret until the last years of the Soviet regime.<sup>7</sup> Only in the 1990s, owing to the efforts of Mordechai Altshuler, were the Jewish demographic data for the 1930s assembled from archival sources and published.<sup>8</sup> To date, however, Altshuler's publications have not been accorded the attention they merit. As a result, obsolete and inaccurate data regarding the pre-Second World War Jewish population continue to appear even in serious scholarly publications.<sup>9</sup>

Combined with tsarist-era demographic data and the statistical data compiled during the 1920s, the previously unknown Soviet data for the 1930s provide a good basis for the study of Jewish demographic development for a period covering more than a century.<sup>10</sup> With the outbreak of the Second World War, there was another break in demographic data collection by ethnicity that lasted until the late 1950s.

Almost all data for the postwar period that were published in the Soviet Union before glasnost are presented and analyzed in Altshuler's first book, which is the best collection of knowledge concerning Soviet Jewish demography from the period preceding the revelation of hidden Soviet statistics.<sup>11</sup> We shall present here mostly data that was not available when Altshuler was writing his book.

Beginning in 1958, annual data on the total number of Jewish births and deaths were collected in the various republics of the Soviet Union. The total numbers of births to Jewish mothers were recorded, as were the numbers of births to Jewish mothers with fathers of other ethnicities. It is therefore possible to calculate residually the annual numbers of births of children with two Jewish parents. Among Jewish deaths, the numbers of deaths of children under one year old born to Jewish mothers were also counted. All of this data remained mostly unpublished until the end of the Soviet period.

Much of the postwar data regarding Jews were collected by a team headed by Leonid Darsky of the Institute of the Soviet Central Statistical Administration.<sup>12</sup> Together with Evgeny Andreev, Darsky pioneered in the publication of the total fertility rate and life expectancy of Soviet Jews.<sup>13</sup> The respective indicators were also computed and published separately for the Jewish populations of the Russian Federation and Ukraine.<sup>14</sup> Only after the dissolution of the Soviet Union were the annual numbers of Jewish births and deaths for the period starting from 1958 published for the Jewish populations of the three Slavic republics: Belorussia, Ukraine, and Russia.<sup>15</sup> To date, there has not been systematic publication of the annual data for other parts of the FSU. However, birth and death rates have been published for most of the republics for the years surrounding the Soviet censuses of 1959 and 1989.<sup>16</sup> In addition, data on mixed marriage by age and sex in 1988, coupled with the respective 1978 data, were promptly published for the three Slavic republics when glasnost was proclaimed.<sup>17</sup> In the post-Soviet period, the percentage of children of mixed origin among all children born to Jewish mothers was calculated by republic for the years surrounding the Soviet censuses.<sup>18</sup>

Four censuses were undertaken in the Soviet Union in the postwar period: in 1959, 1970, 1979, and 1989. In all of these censuses, ethnicity was recorded and data on Jews were collected, including statistics relating to geographical distribution, age-sex composition, and marital structure. Most of these data were not published before the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Even the total number of Jews in many large Soviet cities in the postwar period was not publicly known until Mark Kupovetsky presented findings based on previously inaccessible archival sources.<sup>19</sup> For most of the former Soviet republics, material relating to age composition of the Jewish population has been published only for large age groups.<sup>20</sup> Details regarding age-sex composition have been published for the Jewish populations of the three Slavic republics (from all postwar Soviet censuses), for Uzbekistan (from the 1959 and 1989 Soviet censuses), and for Dagestan (from the 1989 Soviet census).<sup>21</sup> To this should be added existing data on the number of children ever born to Jewish women from the 1979 and 1989 Soviet censuses, and information on the family structure of the Jewish population that was detailed in the results of the same censuses. Based on the special processing of the 1979 Soviet census data for different ethnicities, the incidence of mixed marriage among Jews and ethnic affiliation of children of mixed couples was also measured.<sup>22</sup>

In sum, Soviet censuses and vital statistics have resulted in a long and detailed series of data on ethnicity. Some of the previously suppressed data for the Jewish population were published in the post-Soviet period. Much other information remains to be studied. There is, however, a strong basis for future research on the Jewish population of the FSU.

### The Soviet Internal Passport and Counting of Jews

Soviet internal passports that indicated ethnicity (*natsionalnost*) were introduced in 1932—though in fact such passports had long been part of the tsarist regime's tradition of population surveillance.<sup>23</sup> Under the tsarist regime, Jews had been categorized by religion rather than ethnicity and were subject to official discrimination and persecution. In contrast, the early Soviet regime targeted segments of the population on the basis of social (class) status and origin. Thus, Jews as such did not fear unfavorable consequences when their ethnic origins were made known to the Soviet authorities.

Overall, the Jewish population constituted one of the most loyal components of the new Soviet society. Many Jews benefited from opportunities for rapid upward social mobility, in particular those who moved to cities and joined the Soviet elite.<sup>24</sup> Many others remained in the *shtetlach* of the former tsarist Pale of Settlement. Having endured pogroms both before and during the civil war, they feared anarchy and accepted the Soviet regime as the lesser evil among the various possibilities.<sup>25</sup> In consequence, the great majority of Soviet Jews voluntarily chose to be registered as Jews in their passports.

By the end of the 1930s, this ethnic identification had become permanent and could not be officially changed.<sup>26</sup> The ethnicity of every Soviet citizen aged 16 and above was written in his or her internal passport, and anyone with two Jewish parents

had no choice but to be registered as Jewish. Soviet authorities, contrary to their proclaimed goal of assimilation, actually preserved Soviet Jewry by the compulsory labeling of individuals as Jews.<sup>27</sup> Only the offspring of mixed marriages had the option to choose the ethnicity of one or the other parent: most of them preferred to be listed under the ethnic label of the non-Jewish parent.<sup>28</sup>

The listing of ethnicity in Soviet internal passports formed a good basis for ethnic statistics.<sup>29</sup> Soviet vital statistics listed the ethnicity of the parents of a newborn child or that of a deceased adult on the basis of what was recorded in the internal passports.<sup>30</sup> For deceased children under the age of 16 (who did not have such passports), ethnicity was established on the basis of the parents' ethnicity. In the case of the death of a child whose parents belonged to different ethnicities, the child was recorded as having the ethnicity stated by the person who reported the death. Only if the deceased child was less than one year old was he or she automatically recorded as being of the mother's ethnicity.

Significantly, data from the Soviet censuses were based entirely on the self-declaration of respondents. There was no requirement to provide documentary evidence for any answer given, and with regard to ethnicity, census takers were given explicit instructions that ethnic identity was to be determined solely by the person polled—without any corroboration.<sup>31</sup> For children, ethnicity in censuses was determined by parents. In the first three postwar censuses (1959, 1970, and 1979), whenever there was difficulty in determining the ethnicity of a child whose parents belonged to different ethnicities, preference was to be given to that of the mother. In the last Soviet census (in 1989), some of the recommendations in this regard were removed from the instructions to the census takers.

Some scholars have claimed that a sizable number of Jews in the Soviet censuses were recorded under another ethnicity. Benjamin Pinkus, for instance, argued that 11 percent of Jews polled in the 1926 Soviet census, 8 to 10 percent in the 1939 Soviet census, and as many as 15 percent in the 1959 Soviet census were counted as members of another ethnic group.<sup>32</sup> Most scholars today, however, are in agreement that the Soviet census figures on Jewish ethnicity (adults only) are in fact very much in accord with the "legal" ethnicity recorded in internal Soviet passports.<sup>33</sup>

Uziel O. Schmelz was the first who properly studied the published data of the 1959 and 1970 Soviet censuses for Jews; based on their results (that is, in the absence of published birth and death data), he recognized that there was a negative balance of births and deaths among the Jewish population.<sup>34</sup> In this manner, the question regarding trends of demographic development for the Soviet core Jewish population was answered. As noted, data from the Soviet censuses was based entirely on the self-declaration of respondents, and therefore they are regarded as "a good example of a large and empirically measured core Jewish population in the Diaspora."<sup>35</sup>

According to the 1989 census, in all age groups under the age of 55 in the Soviet Union, there were more males than females among Jews. This finding was questioned by some scholars. For instance, Yoel Florsheim and Dorith Tal attempted to correct age-sex ratios for the Jewish population of the Soviet Union based on the respective ratios recorded for Soviet immigrants to Israel from 1989 to 1994.<sup>36</sup> However, their calculations ignored the fact that (as will later be discussed in more detail) many of the immigrants had not been listed in their internal passports as Jews, and were thus

not listed as Jewish in the 1989 Soviet census. Moreover, this migration was highly selective. For all destinations, the emigration rates among Jews from the Russian Federation were generally higher for females than for males.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, using age-sex ratios of the immigrants is not a reasonable approach. It is important to note that, at my request, Evgeny Andreev computed a stable population model<sup>38</sup> that took into account mortality rates among the Jews in the Soviet Union in 1988–1989. According to this model, the male-female ratio for Jews in all groups up to (and including) that of individuals aged 50–54 was similar to that reported in the 1989 Soviet census.<sup>39</sup>

To be sure, some of the results of the Soviet censuses with regard to Jews were unintentionally distorted in the course of the concealment of certain groups—for instance, prisoners and military personnel—in the general results. The most striking example of unintentional distortion is the biased geographical distribution of some parts of the Jewish population in the official results of the 1939 Soviet census. Data in this census were falsified to some extent in order to mask the great population losses caused by the forced collectivization and famine of 1932–1933. The procedures used to falsify data were rather complicated, and resulted in a certain amount of distorted data with regard to all ethnic groups, among them the Jews.<sup>40</sup>

For instance, according to the 1939 census for the Kazakh SSR, an unusually high percentage of Jews—47.5 percent—lived in rural areas. In some provinces of Kazakhstan the reported percentage was even higher: 83.0 percent in Kustanai, 82.8 percent in Akmolin, 76.0 percent in Pavlodar. Moreover, these proportions correlate with an unusually high percentage of males among the Jewish population. These deviations were caused in the main by the redistribution of many census forms of gulag prisoners (held in the Russian Federation) to Kazakhstan, the most famine-ravaged republic, in order to conceal the concentration of huge numbers of prisoners in the northern and eastern parts of Russia. According to my calculations, some 5,600 Jewish prisoners were “reassigned” to the Kazakh SSR; in consequence, the Jewish population of Kazakhstan was inflated by more than 40 percent for this reason alone. Moreover, in the 1939 Soviet census in Kazakhstan, the general inflation ratio seems to be as high as about 3.0 for rural Jews (that is, showing three times as many Jews as were actually present) and more than 1.5 for total Jews.<sup>41</sup>

According to analogous calculations, it appears that the official results of the 1939 census reassigned 5,800 Jews imprisoned in the Russian Federation to Ukraine, the second most terribly famine-ravaged republic. However, given the large Jewish population of Ukraine (according to the official data, more than one and a half million), the same phenomenon had a much smaller impact on the total reported number of Jews in this republic.

From the above, we may conclude that the significant distortions estimated for the official 1939 census results of the Jews in Kazakhstan were the exception rather than the rule even in this census. In all, redistribution of prisoners’ census forms from the northern and eastern parts of the Russian Federation did not seriously change the geographic distribution of the Jewish population as a whole.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, one should stress that both these parts of the Soviet Union—Kazakhstan and those places of the Russian Federation from which the filled-in census forms were taken—were not occupied by the Nazis during the Second World War; in the case of Ukraine, which *was* occupied, the inflation ratio is rather small. Consequently,

these census falsifications are of marginal importance in terms of estimates of Jewish losses during the Second World War.

Similarly, there is a certain distortion of data in all postwar Soviet censuses, resulting from the fact that the census forms of many conscripts were not sent back to the regions from which they were drafted.<sup>43</sup> Since military draftees are almost exclusively males in a very narrow age range, the consequence can be a serious distortion of general census results, especially in the case of small ethnic groups. For example, according to the data of the 1989 census, the age-sex ratios for the Central Asian (Bukharan) Jews in Uzbekistan were most unusual. At age 18 there were only 55 males per 100 females, and at the age of 19 this ratio was as low as 39. Conversely, for the pre-draft age of 17, the ratio was 111 males per 100 females.

Even after Schmelz's analysis of the decline in core Jewish population was published, there continued to be a widespread perception that the total number of people of Jewish parentage (and their spouses) was on the increase. How was this broader category of the Soviet Jewish population to be measured? The solution was to employ an additional definition of Jewish population based on household data from Soviet censuses. This approach empirically measured the enlarged Jewish population, which includes core Jews as well as all their household members.<sup>44</sup> Based on the 1989 census results, the enlarged Jewish population was estimated for the Soviet Union as a whole and for its three Slavic republics.<sup>45</sup> These estimates showed that the spread of mixed marriage, concurrent with a low level of Jewish ethnic affiliation of the children of such marriages, brought about a situation whereby the enlarged Jewish population in the Soviet Union on the eve of its dissolution was much larger than the core Jewish population: in the late 1980s, the ratio of core to enlarged Jewish population was roughly 1 to 1.5.<sup>46</sup>

At the same time, estimates showed that this category of Jewish population was itself shrinking. For example, in the Russian Federation, the estimated size of the enlarged Jewish population decreased from about 1,100,000 in 1979 to 910,000 in 1989, despite an increase in the ratio of core to enlarged Jewish population from 1.5 in 1979 to 1.6 in 1989. This corresponds with the negative balance of total number of children born to Jewish parents and Jewish deaths beginning in the 1960s. By the end of the 1980s, the Jewish demographic balance was decidedly unfavorable in all the republics of the European part of the Soviet Union.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the demographic collapse of Soviet Jewry was discovered with the help of different indicators, all of which show that the trend began before the start of the great emigration of the 1990s.

### **Changes in Vital and Migration Statistics in the Post-Soviet Era**

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, demographic statistics of the 15 newly independent states started to diverge. However, the old Soviet system of collecting and processing demographic information by ethnicity continued to operate in most of these countries. As a result, for 1993, it was possible to obtain and publish the number of births to Jewish mothers and the number of Jewish deaths for 13 of the post-Soviet countries (all except Georgia and Lithuania).<sup>48</sup> Moreover, Jewish mortality in Moscow in 1993–1995 was detailed and compared with that of the other ethnic groups.<sup>49</sup>

A microcensus conducted in 1994 in the Russian Federation has become an additional important source of post-Soviet Jewish demographic research.<sup>50</sup> This survey, encompassing a 5 percent representative sample of the total population, provided a new basis for estimating the core Jewish population along with its geographical distribution and structure.<sup>51</sup> Based on the data of this microcensus, geographical distribution and age-sex structure of the enlarged Jewish population were also estimated. The enlarged population was estimated for the country as a whole, as well as separately for the Jews in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and the provinces outside these two cities.<sup>52</sup> These estimates did not cover some non-Ashkenazi Jews, mostly Mountain Jews (with their non-Jewish household members). To include them, I accordingly adjusted the total number of the enlarged Jewish population in the Russian Federation.<sup>53</sup>

In the mid-1990s, authorities of the three post-Soviet Slavic countries made a decision to cancel the listing of ethnicity in their internal passports. In general, Jews and other ethnic groups (for instance, Germans) who had suffered from discrimination in the Soviet Union were pleased with this reform.<sup>54</sup> However, for the demographic study of the Jews in these countries, the consequences of such a change were disastrous. Over the next decade, vital and migration statistics by ethnicity ceased to exist for the great majority of FSU Jews.

In the Russian Federation, 1998 was the last year in which comprehensive information regarding births and deaths by ethnicity was collected. In 1999, a new form of birth certificate was introduced, for which ethnicity became an optional listing “to be filled out according to the wishes (*po zhelaniuu*) of the person making the statement.”<sup>55</sup> The following year, the registered number of births to Jewish mothers decreased significantly (by 29 percent) despite the fact that the number of births for the total population of Russia saw no dramatic change.<sup>56</sup> Previously, from 1995 to 1998, the registered number of births to Jewish mothers had decreased more moderately (by 19 percent) over the entire period. Thus, the significant reduction in 1999 can probably be attributed to the new form of birth certificate. Interestingly, among the recorded births to Jewish mothers in 1999, the share born with Jewish fathers remained stable (26 percent). We may conclude that, in Russia today, many individuals who were once “officially recognized” Jews (those listed as Jews in Soviet passports) prefer not to declare their Jewish ethnicity, regardless of whether they are married to Jews or non-Jews.<sup>57</sup>

Among the total urban population of the Russian Federation, the share of newborns for whom ethnicity of mother was unknown increased from less than 2 percent in 1998 to 31 percent in 2002, and to 51 percent in 2008; the share of unknown among deaths increased from about 2 percent in 1998 to 17 percent in 2002, and to 65 percent in 2008. Consequently, in 2009, the Russian Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat) cancelled the processing of data on births and deaths by ethnicity.

The preceding year, Rosstat had ceased the processing of data on migration by ethnicity.<sup>58</sup> Fortunately, however, enough data had previously been collected to allow for the investigation of an important phenomenon in the contemporary numerical dynamics of world Jewry—the massive shift in ethnic/religious status of immigrants from the FSU upon their arrival in Israel.

In the Russian Federation, the internal passport was revised in 1997. As noted, the new passports did not contain a listing for ethnicity. When these new passports were

introduced, the Goskomstat of Russia (as the statistical agency was then called) recommended that ethnicity be specified in personal forms of the statistical registration of migration “as reported by the citizen himself (*so slovo*).”<sup>59</sup> Children under 14 would not have their own passports, and in migration statistics their ethnicity would be determined, as previously, on the basis of that of their parents. If the father and mother belonged to different ethnic groups, “one registers the ethnic identity [of the child] as that of one of the parents, preference being given to the mother’s ethnicity.”<sup>60</sup>

Israeli statistics are based on the Ministry of Interior population register file, which defines “who is a Jew” in accordance with Jewish religious law (*halakhah*): either a person born to a Jewish mother (female lineage is decisive and the number of generations backwards is not determined) or one who has converted to Judaism. As in the Israeli Law of Return, only conversion to another religion can abrogate Jewish lineage. Logically, in the official Israeli data, the share of Jews among all immigrants from the FSU countries is much higher than what appears in FSU migration statistics, as is seen, for example, in the data regarding people who arrived from the Russian Federation (Table 8.1).

Obviously, the converse can also be true. Some of the immigrants who were considered Jews according to their former Soviet internal passports (as well as in population censuses)—that is, the offspring of a Jewish male and non-Jewish female—fall under the category of non-Jews in Israeli statistical data. However, the opposite situation is in fact more prevalent: there are many more immigrants who are counted as Jews in Israel than were registered as such in the FSU. These individuals, who had previously neither identified themselves nor had been regarded by FSU authorities as Jews, represent a significant recent addition to the core Jewish population in Israel and to world Jewry as a whole.

Lack of understanding with regard to provisions of the Israeli Law of Return has led to claims such as that, in 2006, “three-quarters of emigrants to Israel [from Russia] were [ethnic] Russians.”<sup>61</sup> According to the Israeli data for that year, the share of Jews among immigrants from Russia was 46 percent—whereas in the comparable Rosstat count, it was only 20 percent. Moreover, according to the Israeli data, when only non-Jewish spouses and children of Jews are included in the reckoning in addition to Jews (that is, leaving out more distant relatives such as spouses of non-Jewish children, and non-Jewish grandchildren and their spouses), the figure rises to more than 70 percent of all immigrants from the FSU in 2006.

It is difficult to obtain current, detailed vital statistics for Jews (and other ethnic groups) in the post-Soviet countries: such studies that exist cover only small groups. The practice does continue in Latvia and Moldova. However, in general, the old tradition of collecting data on vital events by ethnicity, on which many demographic studies of the Jews in the FSU were based, has all but ended.

### Post-Soviet Censuses and the Jews

Between 1995 and 2004, the first post-Soviet censuses were conducted in all the newly independent states, except Uzbekistan. A question on ethnicity, which counted Jews among many other ethnic groups, was included in each of these censuses.



**Table 8.1.** Percentage of Jews among Migrants to Israel from the Russian Federation and the Entire FSU, 1990–2009

Year	Russian Federation		Entire FSU
	Rosstat data <sup>a</sup>	Israel CBS data <sup>b</sup>	Israel CBS data <sup>b</sup>
1990		94	96
1991		87	91
1992	64 <sup>c</sup>	82	84
1993	60	82	82
1994	58	77	77
1995	53	73	72
1996	49	67	67
1997	36	59	59
1998	31	54	53
1999	31	49	49
2000	27	47	45
2001	25	44	43
2002	24	43	41
2003	(24)	45	43
2004	(22)	45	41
2005	(21)	46	43
2006	(20)	46	45
2007	(22)	48	46
2008		44	45
2009		43	41

<sup>a</sup> Of the emigrants whose ethnicity was known; for 1990–1991 and 2008–2009, the data on ethnicity of the migrants were not processed by Rosstat. Between 2003 and 2007, the registered number of Jews among the migrants was lower than that of people of unknown ethnicity.

<sup>b</sup> Refers to immigrants whose ethnicity/religion was known by mid-2011.

<sup>c</sup> Data relate to the second half of 1992.

Sources: Rosstat; Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS).

Data on Jews were presented very differently in each country’s census. The most detailed information was offered by publications of the Russian Federation and Belarus, with much less material provided for the second-largest Jewish community of the FSU, that of Ukraine. Overall, results of these censuses empirically confirmed earlier predictions with regard to the dramatic demographic decline of the Jewish population in the former Soviet republics. For instance, in the Russian Federation, the October 2002 census numbered 233,596 Jews (including those recorded as Central Asian [Bukharan], Georgian, Mountain Jews, and Krymchaks), as against my own estimate of a core Jewish population of 254,000 for the census date (derived from the February 1994 Russian microcensus estimate of 401,000 Jews and subsequent vital and migration dynamics). As with previous Soviet censuses, the 2002 Russian

census was based entirely on the self-declaration of respondents; in the post-Soviet Russian Constitution (Article 26.1), the collection of information on an individual's ethnicity against his or her will is expressly forbidden. For this reason, in the 2002 Russian census there appeared for the first time a rather large group (about 1.5 million) whose ethnicity was not recorded. Clearly, there were some Jews among them, a fact I took into account when making my own calculations.<sup>62</sup>

The gap of some 20,000 people between my estimate and that of the official census demonstrates the accelerated process of Jewish assimilation in contemporary Russia. As noted, since the introduction of the new internal passport in 1997, a significant portion of Jews in the Russian Federation have opted not to be recorded as Jewish.<sup>63</sup> This fits in with the findings regarding birth statistics, whereby many former "officially recognized" Jews prefer not to declare their ethnicity even when they are not part of a mixed marriage.

My correction is almost three times higher than that of Nikita Mkrтчian in the framework of general corrections by ethnicity in the results of the 2002 Russian census. He based his adjustment for Jews on 0.5 percent of the total number of people whose ethnicity was not recorded in this census (as noted above, these numbered about 1.5 million).<sup>64</sup> At the same time, my correction is much more conservative than that of Aleksandr Sinelnikov.<sup>65</sup> Like Yoel Florsheim and Dorith Tal in the above-noted paper devoted to the Soviet Jewish population as a whole, Sinelnikov based the necessity of his correction on the peculiarities of the recorded Jewish age-sex structure in the Russian Federation. According to the 1989 Soviet census, the number Jewish men in the Russian Federation was greater than that of Jewish women in all ages up to 60. In part, this dearth of Jewish women in Russia stems from the earlier migration to this republic of predominantly male Jews from Ukraine.<sup>66</sup> According to the 2002 Russian census, this shortage extended to all ages up to 70.

There must be a reason for this development. It cannot be explained by the difference in mortality rates between sexes, as male mortality rates are always higher than those of females in modern developed countries. A more plausible explanation is that in this period of mass emigration, Jewish females, as noted, were more prone to leave the country than were Jewish males.<sup>67</sup> Alternative interpretations such as higher rates of ethnic assimilation of Jewish women in mixed marriages and/or higher rates of ethnic reaffiliation with the Jewish people for men of mixed parentage seem less relevant, especially for the older age groups, in which the Jewish sex imbalance grew as well.

Sinelnikov, however, assumed that many Jewish women in the census count were simply "missed," that is, they were recorded as being of another ethnicity when census takers filled in census forms in their absence. He used the age-sex structure of the Israeli Jewish population in his correction. Yet the Israeli Jewish population, as rightly noted by Florsheim and Tal, is unusual in the extent to which it is affected by migration.<sup>68</sup> Sinelnikov also relied on an arbitrary supposition that, in the 2002 Russian census count, half as many Jewish men as Jewish women were "missed." All in all, he inflated the census figure for Jews in the Russian Federation by 23 percent.<sup>69</sup>

The census results of two Baltic countries, Latvia and Estonia, were exceptional with regard to their findings on the Jews, as they showed a net increase in the Jewish

population. In Latvia, the number of Jews recorded in the first post-Soviet census of 2000 (10,385) is substantially higher than the estimate based on the 1989 Soviet census and subsequent vital and migration balances by the local statistical agency (7,976).<sup>70</sup> It is known, however, that ethnicity in the 2000 Latvian census was drawn from the national population register rather than being based on answers to a census question.<sup>71</sup> In the first 10 years following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, only 12 Jews officially changed their identities to Latvian, whereas many more—122 Latvians—changed their identities to Jewish in the population register.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Latvian Jews are mostly Russophones, and we may surmise that the number of persons of mixed Jewish-Russian origin who officially changed their identities from Russian to Jewish—for which there is no known information—was much greater: this may have produced most of the jump in the Latvian census results for the number of Jews. A corresponding shift for Estonia was also found.<sup>73</sup> Currently, the population registers of the three Baltic states of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania have become a source of annually updated information on the number of Jews.

Since 2009, a new round of censuses has begun in the FSU countries, and there is once again a question on ethnicity in each of these censuses. Uzbekistan is not planning a census count; for this country, the last census data are those from the 1989 Soviet census.

The October 2010 Russian census confirms a continuation of the accelerated process of Jewish assimilation; it recorded 157,763 Jews (including those recorded as Central Asian [Bukharan], Georgian, Mountain Jews, and Krymchaks) as against my own core Jewish population estimate of 200,000 for the census date (based on the same approach as for the previous census). Thus, at the 2010 census count there were many more Jews (approximately 42,000) among people whose ethnicity was unknown/unstated.

A novel feature of census questionnaires of several FSU countries is their inclusion of a question on religion. The data of the Lithuanian 2001 census show many fewer people counted as adhering to the Jewish religion (1,272) than as identifying as ethnic Jews (4,007).<sup>74</sup> The analogous results of the 2004 census of Moldova were 902 Jews by religion versus 3,608 ethnic Jews (with the territory east of the Dniester River not being covered).<sup>75</sup> Only the 2002 census of Georgia reported similar numbers for Jews by religion (3,600) and Jews by ethnicity (3,800) (this census did not include Abkhazia and South Ossetia).<sup>76</sup> Far more dubious were the results reported for Jews in the second census conducted in independent Kazakhstan (in 2009), which introduced a question on religion. According to the census, there were 5,281 Jews by religion and 3,578 Jews by ethnicity, with the latter figure including Central Asian [Bukharan], Georgian, Mountain Jews, and Krymchaks.<sup>77</sup> Yet of those recorded as Jews by religion, fully 37 percent were recorded by ethnicity as Kazakhs, and 27 percent as Russian. Another inexplicable finding concerned the age of Jews by religion: less than 11 percent were aged 65 and above. From all this, it is clear that the number of Jews by religion in this census was seriously overstated and that some people, in the main traditionally Muslim Kazakhs, were mistakenly counted as adherents to the Jewish religion.

The most comprehensive data for religious affiliation with regard to Jews were recorded in the results of the 2000 Estonian census.<sup>78</sup> This is the first census for

which enough statistical data is available concerning apostasy. According to the 2000 Estonian census data, only 19.8 percent of Jews aged 15 and older (whose numbers totaled 1,989) were recorded as “followers of a particular faith”; of these, 11 percent stated Judaism as their religion, whereas more than 7.5 percent declared themselves to be followers of one of the branches of Christianity. More specifically, more than two-thirds of those professing Christianity belonged to the Orthodox [Christian] church (*pravoslavnye*). This is noteworthy, given that most Estonian Christians are Lutherans. One possible explanation for this anomaly is that, according to the census, more than 80 percent of Estonian Jews spoke Russian as their mother tongue. The closeness to Russian culture may explain the appeal of Russian Orthodoxy to those opting out of Judaism.

According to the 2000 Estonian census, only 38 non-Jews by ethnicity declared Judaism to be their religion, whereas 151 ethnic Jews were recorded as belonging to different branches of Christianity. Thus, the balance is clearly negative for Judaism. To be sure, none of the above-cited data can be utilized for any corrections of the core Jewish population, since approximately one-third of the Jews and one-sixth of the non-Jews either refused to answer the question regarding religious affiliation or (for technical reasons) their religious affiliation could not be determined. At the same time, data from the 2000 Estonian census clearly demonstrate erosion of the core Jewish population through apostasy.<sup>79</sup>

In post-Soviet Russia and Ukraine, a sampling of the Jewish population found that “over 10 percent see Christianity as most attractive.”<sup>80</sup> Moreover, according to Elena Nosenko-Stein, many of the Jews attracted to Christianity—in particular, baptized Jews in Russia—identified themselves as being “Russian Orthodox Christian Jewish.”<sup>81</sup> Another significant finding emerged in a study undertaken in St. Petersburg, which showed that all of the Jews (with two Jewish parents) who had converted to Christianity continued to identify themselves ethnically as Jews.<sup>82</sup> Given that our estimates of the core Jewish population (which, according to general definition, excludes persons of Jewish parentage who adopt another religion) are based on census data, FSU numbers with regard to core Jews are obviously somewhat overstated.

The 2002 Russian census data provided a new opportunity to update estimates of the enlarged Jewish population.<sup>83</sup> There is no analogous estimate based on the post-Soviet census published for any other FSU country. However, Mark Kupovetsky undertook the ambitious project of evaluating “the potential of Jewish emigration” based on an even broader definition than that defined by the Israeli Law of Return (which comprises Jews, their children and grandchildren, and all their respective spouses). Kupovetsky’s category included Jews who had converted to another religion, who would be ineligible to immigrate to Israel under the provisions of the Law of Return. He produced the figures based on this definition for each FSU country for 1989 and 2003.<sup>84</sup> However, given the lack of much appropriate data for his computations, Kupovetsky inevitably made use of guesstimates. In addition, he did not outline the stages of his computations, which makes it difficult to judge their validity. At the same time, it is clear that the attempt to estimate the size and structure of broader categories of the Jewish population should be continued.

## Conclusion

In the face of ample data pointing to a demographic collapse of Jewish population in the countries comprising the former Soviet Union, wishful thinking persists. With regard to the Russian Federation, for instance, highly inflated figures purporting to be the “real” number of Jews—ranging from 1,000,000–2,000,000 to the more fantastical figure of 10 million<sup>85</sup>—continue to circulate online and in the popular press, even as the number of pupils in Jewish schools and the roster of those receiving aid from Jewish charities continue to decline.<sup>86</sup> The problem is exacerbated when erroneous figures find their way into scholarly publications. Thus, for example, a 2002 Russian census figure of 259,000 has been presented for the total Jewish population of Russia, and it has been reported that the two largest cities, Moscow and St. Petersburg, have a Jewish population of, respectively, 148,000 and 55,200.<sup>87</sup> In fact, according to the officially published data of the 2002 Russian census, there are 233,596 Jews in the Russian Federation as a whole, 80,421 Jews in Moscow, and 36,650 Jews in St. Petersburg (including those recorded as Central Asian [Bukharan], Georgian, Mountain Jews, and Krymchaks).<sup>88</sup> The official census figures show that Moscow and St. Petersburg account for about half the total Russian Jewish population, whereas the erroneous figures show that 78 percent of Russian Jews live in these two cities. In terms of Jewish communal funding, a reliance on inaccurate data may lead to serious underfunding of provincial Jewish communities outside of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

The post-Soviet shift in data collection, in particular, the elimination of the categories of vital and migration statistics by ethnicity, has dealt a blow to Jewish demography. An especially serious consequence is the inability to obtain new information on Jewish mortality. At the same time, post-Soviet censuses have continued to collect data by ethnicity, and these provide scholars with much important information regarding Jewish age-sex structure, fertility, and nuptuality, including mixed marriage. In addition, migration statistics of receiving countries, especially those of Israel, remain of real importance. There is also a good deal of previously collected data; alongside new information, such data provide a solid basis for the continuing demographic study of Jews in the post-Soviet countries.

## Notes

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1. Leonid Darsky, in conversation with the author. On Darsky, see n. 12.

2. Veniamin I. Binshtok and Sergei A. Novoselsky, *Materialy po estestvennomu dvizheniiu evreiskogo naselenia v Evropeiskoi Rossii za 40 let (1867–1906 gg.)* (Petrograd: 1915).

3. Boris D. Brutskus, *Statistika evreiskogo naseleniia: raspredelenie po territorii, demograficheskie i kulturnye priznaki evreiskogo naseleniia po dannym perepisi 1897 g.* (St. Petersburg: 1909); see also idem, *Professionalnyi sostav evreiskogo naseleniia Rossii: po materialam pervoi vseobshchei perepisi naseleniia, proizvedennoi 28 ianvaria 1897 goda* (St. Petersburg: 1908).
4. Bronislaw Bloch, "Vital Events among the Jews in European Russia towards the End of the XIX Century," in *Papers in Jewish Demography 1977*, ed. Uziel O. Schmelz, Paul Glikson, and Sergio DellaPergola (Jerusalem: 1980), 69–81.
5. Shaul Stampfer, "Remarriage among Jews and Christians in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Europe," *Jewish History* 3, no. 2 (1988), 85–114.
6. The only exception was the 1937 Soviet census, in which a question on religion was asked. For data on religion for the Jews from this census, see Mordechai Altshuler, "Religion in the Soviet Union in the Late 1930s in the Light of Statistics," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 14, no. 1 (1991), 23–26.
7. See Mark Tolts, "The Failure of Demographic Statistics: A Soviet Response to Population Troubles," paper presented at the IUSSP XXIVth general population conference, Salvador-Bahia (Brazil), 18–24 August 2001; online at [http://www.archive-iussp.org/Brazil2001/S00/S07\\_02\\_tolts.pdf](http://www.archive-iussp.org/Brazil2001/S00/S07_02_tolts.pdf) (accessed 9 January 2013).
8. Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust: A Social and Demographic Profile* (Jerusalem: 1998); see also idem (ed.), *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: 1993).
9. See, for instance, Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman (eds.), *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: 2008), 383; cf. Altshuler (ed.), *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939*, 28, 30.
10. Mark Tolts, "Ethnicity, Religion and Demographic Change in Russia: Russians, Tatars and Jews," in *Evolution or Revolution in European Population/European Population Conference, Milano 1995*, vol. 2 (Milan: 1996), 165–179; idem, "Jews in Russia: A Century of Demographic Dynamics," *Diaspora/Diasporas* 1, no. 1 (1999), 180–198.
11. Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry since the Second World War: Population and Social Structure* (New York: 1987); cf. the compilation of demographic data based on post-Soviet findings authored by Viacheslav Konstantinov, *Evreiskoe naselenie byvshego SSSR v XX veke* (Jerusalem: 2007), chs. 1–2.
12. See, for instance, *Skolko budet detei v sovetskoi sem'e (rezultaty obsledovaniia)*, under the direction of Leonid E. Darsky (Moscow: 1977), 23, 26–27, 76. Darsky, the chief adviser on problems of vital statistics analysis, used his influence at the Soviet Central Statistical Administration to assure that vital statistics on the Jews would continue to be collected (this evaluation is based on communications with Darsky and a number of his colleagues).
13. Leonid E. Darsky and Evgeny M. Andreev, "Vosproizvodstvo naseleniia otdelnykh natsionalnostei," *Vestnik statistiki*, no. 6 (1991), 3–10.
14. For a compilation of these indicators, which also include life expectancy for the Jews in Soviet Central Asia, see Mark Tolts, "Post-Soviet Aliyah and Jewish Demographic Transformation," paper presented at the 15th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 2–6 August 2009, 17, 20; online at [www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=11924](http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=11924) (accessed 4 December 2012).
15. Mark Tolts, "Demographic Trends among the Jews in the Three Slavic Republics of the Former USSR: A Comparative Analysis," in *Papers in Jewish Demography 1993*, ed. Sergio DellaPergola and Judith Even (Jerusalem: 1997), 174–175. It should be noted that no data were discovered for 1981 for any of the republics, and for 1969–1975 for Russia and Belorussia; such data may or may not exist.
16. Mark Tolts, "The Balance of Births and Deaths among Soviet Jewry," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 16, no. 2 (1992), 13–26; see also Mark Kupovetsky, "Liudskie poteri evreiskogo naseleniia v poslevoennykh granitsakh SSSR v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve* 9, no. 2 (1995), 148.
17. Goskomstat of the USSR, *Naselenie SSSR, 1988: statisticheskii ezhegodnik* (Moscow: 1989), 212–213, 222–223, 235.

18. Mark Tolts, "Mixed Marriage and Post-Soviet Aliyah," in *Jewish Inter-marriage around the World*, ed. Shulamit Reinharz and Sergio DellaPergola (New Brunswick: 2009), 94, 96.

19. [Mark Kupovetsky], "Etnicheskaia demografiia sovetskogo evreistva," in *Kratkaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 8 (Jerusalem: 1996), cols. 300–301.

20. See, for instance, Mark Tolts, "Trends in Soviet Jewish Demography since the Second World War," in *Jews and Jewish Life in Russia and the Soviet Union*, ed. Yaacov Ro'i (London: 1995); 370–371; idem, "Demography of the Jews in the Former Soviet Union: Yesterday and Today," in *Jewish Life after the USSR*, ed. Zvi Gitelman, with Musya Glants and Marshall I. Goldman (Bloomington: 2003), 196.

21. Mark Tolts, "Demographic Trends among the Jews in the Three Slavic Republics of the Former USSR," 171–173; idem, "The Demographic Profile of the Bukharan Jews in the Late Soviet Period," in *Bukharan Jews in the 20th Century: History, Experience and Narration*, ed. Ingeborg Baldauf, Moshe Gammmer, and Thomas Loy (Wiesbaden: 2008), 89–90; idem, "Demography of North Caucasian Jewry: A Note on Population Dynamics and Shifting Identity," in *Ethno-Nationalism, Islam and the State in the Caucasus: Post-Soviet Disorder*, ed. Moshe Gammmer (London: 2008), 222.

22. Aleksandr A. Susokolov, *Natsionalno-smeshannye braki i sem'i v SSSR*, part 1 (Moscow: 1990), 97–99; Andrei Volkov, "Etnicheski smeshannye sem'i v SSSR: dinamika i sostav," *Vestnik statistiki* 8 (1989), 8–24. For Jewish-related data derived from this unique processing, see Tolts, "The Balance of Births and Deaths among Soviet Jewry," 22.

23. On prerevolutionary internal passports and the Jews, see Eugene M. Avrutin, *Jews and the Imperial State: Identification Politics in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca: 2010).

24. See, for instance, Zvi Gitelman, *A Century of Ambivalence: The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: 2001), ch. 3.

25. Arkadii Zeltser, *Evrei sovetskoi provintsii: Vitebsk i mestechki 1917–1941* (Moscow: 2006), 182, 188.

26. See, for instance, Dominique Arel, "Fixing Ethnicity in Identity Documents: The Rise and Fall of Passport Nationality in Russia," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 30, nos. 1–2 (2003), 130; see also David Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien: Passportization, Policing, and Identity in the Stalinist State, 1932–1952," *The Journal of Modern History* 76, no. 4 (2004), 835–881.

27. Zvi Gitelman, "Recent Demographic and Migratory Trends among Soviet Jews: Implications for Policy," *Post-Soviet Geography* 33, no. 3 (1992), 140.

28. For example, according to the 1979 census data, in the case of couples (in the Russian Federation) consisting of a Jewish husband and a Russian wife, only 6.1 percent of children under 18 were declared to be Jewish. The number was even lower (4.5 percent) in the case of children of couples consisting of a Russian husband and a Jewish wife (Tolts, "The Balance of Births and Deaths among Soviet Jewry," 22).

29. On Soviet ethnic statistics in general, see Iurii V. Arutiunian, Leokadiia M. Drobizheva, Valerii S. Kondrat'ev, and Aleksandr A. Susokolov, *Emosotsiologiya* (Moscow: 1984), ch. 2; Galina A. Bondarskaya, "Nationality in Population Statistics in the U.S.S.R.," in *Challenges of Measuring an Ethnic World: Proceedings of the Joint Canada-United States Conference on the Measurement of Ethnicity* (Ottawa: 1993), 333–361; Brian D. Silver, "The Ethnic and Language Dimensions in Russian and Soviet Censuses," in *Research Guide to the Russian and Soviet Censuses*, ed. Ralph S. Clem (Ithaca: 1986), 70–97.

30. Some unwed Jewish mothers may have reported the ethnicity of the child's father as non-Jewish even if this was not the case. Such instances would obviously have been a rather marginal phenomenon.

31. Ward W. Kingkade, "Content, Organization, and Methodology in Recent Soviet Population Censuses," *Population and Development Review* 15, no. 1 (1989), 123–138.

32. See Benjamin Pinkus, *The Jews of the Soviet Union: The History of a National Minority* (New York: 1988), 89, 261.

33. See, for instance, Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry since the Second World War*, 21–24; Zvi Gitelman, "The Reconstruction of Community and Jewish Identity in Russia," *East European Jewish Affairs* 24, no. 2 (1994), 40; Mark Kupovetsky, "K otsenke chislennosti evreev i

demograficheskogo potentsiala evreiskoi obshchiny v SSSR i postsovetskikh gosudarstvakh v 1989–2003 gg.,” *Evroaziatskii evreiskii ezhegodnik 5765 (2004/2005 god)* (Kiev: 2005), 82.

34. Uziel O. Schmelz, “New Evidence on Basic Issues in the Demography of Soviet Jews,” *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 16, no. 2 (1974), 209–223.

35. Uziel O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, “World Jewish Population, 1993,” *American Jewish Year Book* 95 (1995), 481.

36. Yoel Florsheim and Dorith Tal, “A Correction to the Jewish Population Data in the 1989 Soviet Census,” *Jews in Eastern Europe* 30, no. 2 (1996), 18–23.

37. Mark Tolts, “Recent Jewish Emigration and Population Decline in Russia,” *Jews in Eastern Europe* 35, no. 1 (1998), 12.

38. On this model, see for instance, Colin Newell, *Methods and Models in Demography* (New York: 1988), 120–126.

39. Cited in Mark Tolts, “Jewish Marriages in the USSR: A Demographic Analysis,” *East European Jewish Affairs* 22, no. 2 (1992), 5.

40. Tolts, “The Failure of Demographic Statistics,” 9–10.

41. Mark Tolts, “Ethnic Composition of Kazakhstan on the Eve of the Second World War: Re-Evaluation of the 1939 Soviet Census Results,” *Central Asian Survey* 25, nos. 1–2 (2006), 143–148.

42. At the same time, such manipulation lowered the number of Jews in those places from which the filled-in census forms were taken. For instance, one may assume that 1,500 Jews were subtracted from the results for Komi autonomous republic. The official results of the census for this autonomous republic included data on only 570 Jews, that is, 2.6 times less than the estimated number of Jewish prisoners whose census forms were redistributed from there (Mark Tolts, “Figures that Came in from the Cold,” *Jews in Eastern Europe* 25, no. 3 [1994], 82).

43. See Oleg N. Nikiforov, “Istochniki dannykh o naselenii,” in *Demografiia i statistika naseleniia*, ed. Irina I. Yeliseeva (Moscow: 2006), 57–113.

44. See Sergio DellaPergola, “Jewish Demography,” in *The Modern Jewish Experience: A Reader’s Guide*, ed. Jack Wertheimer (New York: 1993), 277.

45. Mark Tolts, “Jewish Demography of the Former Soviet Union,” in *Papers in Jewish Demography 1997*, ed. Sergio DellaPergola and Judith Even (Jerusalem: 2001), 112.

46. *Ibid.*; for an alternative estimate that attempts to cover all persons with Jewish parentage, see Aleksandr Sinelnikov, “Nekotorye demograficheskie posledstviia assimilatsii evreev v SSSR,” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve* 5, no. 1 (1994), 95.

47. Tolts, “Jewish Demography of the Former Soviet Union,” 123.

48. *Ibid.*, 138.

49. Vladimir M. Shkolnikov, Evgueni M. Andreev, Jon Anson, and France Meslé, “The Peculiar Pattern of Mortality of Jews in Moscow, 1993–95,” *Population Studies* 58, no. 3 (2004), 311–329.

50. On the microcensus, see Andrei G. Volkov, *Methodology and Organization of the 1994 Microcensus in Russia* (Groningen: 1999).

51. Mark Tolts, “The Interrelationship between Emigration and the Socio-Demographic Profile of Russian Jewry,” in *Russian Jews on Three Continents*, ed. Noah Lewin-Epstein, Yaacov Ro’i, and Paul Ritterband (London: 1997), 151–155, 176.

52. Evgeny Andreev, “Jews in Russia’s Households (Based on the 1994 Microcensus),” in DellaPergola and Even (eds.), *Papers in Jewish Demography 1997*, 141–159; Evgeny Soroko, “Jewish Households in Russia according to the 1994 Microcensus,” in *ibid.*, 161–179.

53. Mark Tolts, “Jews in the Russian Federation: A Decade of Demographic Decline,” *Jews in Eastern Europe* 40, no. 3 (1999), 13. For an alternative estimate, see Aleksandr Sinelnikov, “Pochemu ischeztaet rossiiskoe evreistvo?” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve* 12, no. 2 (1996), 51–67.

54. Sener Akturk, “Passport Identification and Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Russia,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 26, no. 4 (2010), 319, 325.

55. *Sobranie zakonodatelstva Rossiiskoi Federatsii* 28 (13 June 1998), 6296–6297.

56. See, for instance, Goskomstat of Russia, *The Demographic Yearbook of Russia, 2000* (Moscow: 2000), 55.



57. Just before the loss of coverage by ethnicity in the Russian birth statistics became decisive (in the framework of a special processing of the birth certificates of 2002), data regarding premarital conceptions and out-of-wedlock births among children born to Jewish women in the Russian Federation were computed. See Mark Tolts, "Contemporary Trends in Family Formation among the Jews in Russia," *Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe* 57, no. 2 (2006), 10.

58. These data were analyzed in detail in Mark Tolts, "Statistical Analysis of Aliyah and Jewish Emigration from Russia," in *The World in the Mirror of International Migration*, ed. Vladimir A. Iontsev (Moscow: 2002), 171–185.

59. Goskomstat of Russia, *Rekomendatsii po zapolneniiu pervichnykh dokumentov statisticheskogo ucheta migrantov* (Moscow: 1997), 5.

60. Ibid.

61. Anatoly G. Vishnevsky (ed.), *Naselenie Rossii, 2006* (Moscow: 2008), 245.

62. For detailed analysis of the 2002 Russian census results for the Jewish population, see Mark Tolts, "The Post-Soviet Jewish Population in Russia and the World," *Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe* 52, no. 1 (2004), 37–47.

63. Ibid., 45–46.

64. Nikita Mkrtchian, "Vliianie migratsii na izmenenie etnicheskogo sostava naseleniia Rossii i ee regionov: predvaritelnaia otsenka itogov Perepisi-2002," in *Etnicheskaia situatsia i konflikty v gosudarstvakh SNG i Baltii. Ezhegodnyi doklad 2004*, ed. Valery Tishkov and Enena Filippova (Moscow: 2005), 53.

65. Aleksandr Sinelnikov, "Vozmozhna li korrektsiia dannykh perepisi 2002 goda o chislennosti evreev v Rossii?" *Evroaziatskii evreiskii ezhegodnik 5766 (2005/2006 god)* (Kiev: 2005), 218–231; his adjusted estimate appears on p. 227.

66. Mark Tolts, "Demographic Trends among the Jews in the Three Slavic Republics of the Former USSR," 149.

67. Mark Tolts, "Recent Jewish Emigration and Population Decline in Russia," 10–13.

68. Florsheim and Tal, "A Correction to the Jewish Population Data in the 1989 Soviet Census," 21–22. Sinelnikov does not mention this article, perhaps because he was unaware of it.

69. Sinelnikov, "Vozmozhna li korrektsiia dannykh perepisi 2002 goda o chislennosti evreev v Rossii?" 227.

70. Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, *Demography 2000* (Riga: 2000), 38.

71. Brian D. Silver, *Nationality and Language in the New Censuses of the Baltic States* (East Lansing: 2002), 21–25; online at [www.msu.edu/~bsilver/BalticCensus2000.pdf](http://www.msu.edu/~bsilver/BalticCensus2000.pdf) (accessed 4 December 2012).

72. Daniel A. Kronenfeld, "The Effects of Interethnic Contact on Ethnic Identity: Evidence from Latvia," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 21, no. 3 (2005), 267.

73. Kupovetsky, "K otsenke chislennosti evreev i demograficheskogo potentsiala evreiskoi obshchiny v SSSR i postsovetskikh gosudarstvakh v 1989–2003 gg.," 86.

74. United Nations Statistics Division, *Demographic Yearbook Special Census Topics 2000 Round*, Volume 2b—*Ethnocultural Characteristics*, Tables 4 and 6; online at <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/dyb/dybcens.htm> (accessed 4 December 2012).

75. National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova, *Population Census, 2004*, vol. I (Chisinau: 2006), 301, 476.

76. Interstate Statistical Committee of the CIS, *Results of Population Censuses in the Countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (2000 Round): Statistical Abstract* (Moscow: 2006), 268, 271.

77. Our analysis of these data is based on the (fortunately comprehensive) publication of the 2009 Kazakhstan census results on ethnicity and religion: The Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *Natsionalnyi sostav, veroispovedanie i vladenie iazykami v Respublike Kazakhstan: Itogi Natsionalnoi perepisi naseleniia 2009 goda v Respublike Kazakhstan* (Astana: 2010).

78. For a detailed presentation of data, see Mark Tolts, "Post-Soviet Jewish Demography, 1989–2004," in *Revolution, Repression and Revival: The Soviet Jewish Experience*, ed. Zvi Gitelman and Yaacov Ro'i (Lanham: 2007), 288–290.

79. On apostasy among Jews in the late Soviet period, see Judith Deutsch Kornblatt, *Doubly Chosen: Jewish Identity, the Soviet Intelligentsia, and the Russian Orthodox Church* (Madison: 2004).

80. Zvi Gitelman, "Thinking about Being Jewish in Russia and Ukraine," in Gitelman (ed.), *Jewish Life after the USSR*, 51.

81. Elena Nosenko-Stein, "Aliens in an Alien World: Paradoxes of Jewish-Christian Identity in Contemporary Russia," *East European Jewish Affairs* 40, no. 1 (2010), 19–41; see also Anna Shternshis, "Kaddish in a Church: Perceptions of Orthodox Christianity among Moscow Elderly Jews in the Early Twenty-First Century," *Russian Review* 66, no. 2 (2007), 273–294.

82. Boris Wiener, "Konstruirovaniie sovremennoi ethnokonfessionalnoi identichnosti: ot bezveriiia k vere chuzhogo naroda," *Diaspory/Diasporas* 6, no. 1 (2004), 196.

83. Tolts, "Contemporary Trends in Family Formation among the Jews in Russia," 16.

84. Kupovetsky, "K otsenke chislennosti evreev i demograficheskogo potentsiala evreiskoi obshchiny v SSSR i postsovetskikh gosudarstvakh v 1989–2003 gg.," 78–91.

85. See, for instance, [Anonymous], "Evrei 'vozvrashchaiutsia v Rossiui,'" published on BBC Russian Service website (25 October 2004); online at [http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/russian/russia/newsid\\_3952000/3952609.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/russian/russia/newsid_3952000/3952609.stm) (accessed 5 December 2012). See also Anna Rudnitskaya, "Fishing for Jews in Russia's Muddy Waters," *JTA* (23 February 2010), online at [www.jta.org/news/article/2010/02/23/1010779/fishing-for-jews-in-russias-muddy-waters](http://www.jta.org/news/article/2010/02/23/1010779/fishing-for-jews-in-russias-muddy-waters) (accessed 5 Dec. 2012).

86. See, for instance, Zvi Gitelman, "Do Jewish Schools Make a Difference in the Former Soviet Union?" *East European Jewish Affairs* 37, no. 3 (2007), 377–398; Betsy Gidwitz, "Post-Soviet Jewry on the Cusp of Its Third Decade—Part 2," *Changing Jewish Communities* 68 (15 June 2011), online at [www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=11906](http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=11906) (accessed 5 December 2012). See also Michael Beizer, "Simon Dubnov's Theory of Autonomism and Its Practicability in the CIS," in *Writer and Warrior. Simon Dubnov: Historian and Public Figure*, ed. Avraham Greenbaum, Israel Bartal and Dan Haruv (Jerusalem: 2010), 87\*–102\*.

87. See, for instance, *Istoriia evreev v Rossii: Uchebnik* (Moscow: 2007), 712; Gershon David Hundert (ed.), *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, vol. 2 (New Haven: 2008), 1205.

88. Rosstat, *Itogi Vserossiiskoi perepisi naseleniia 2002 goda*, vol. 4, part 1 (Moscow: 2004; CD-ROM Edition), Tables 1 and 2.