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Can Convenience Samples be Trusted? Lessons From the Survey of Jews in Europe, 2012

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1. Introduction

Jews living in the Diaspora form a very small proportion of the total population in all countries without exception. The core Jewish population of the European Union, i.e., people who would self-identify as Jews in a survey or a census, or, in their absence, would be identified as such by their household members, stands at 1.1 million. If one includes in this count all those with a Jewish parent who may or may not consistently self-identify as Jewish, then the total figure rises to 1.3 million. In proportionate terms, Jews in the European Union are 0.2% of the total population. The largest Jewish populations in the EU are located in France (460,000), the United Kingdom (290,000) and Germany (117,000), but even in these countries they form a very small proportion of the total population: 0.7%, 0.4% and 0.1%, respectively (DellaPergola 2016). This situation ("the rarity problem") presents a major obstacle to surveying Jews: Jews are nearly impossible to capture in numbers conducive to statistical analysis in regular national sample surveys. A further complicating factor is the absence of lists of Jewish population elements - either of individuals or households - that can be used as a sampling frame. Even when a full list physically exists, as is the case in the UK, for example, in the form of the census datafile containing records of people's addresses and all characteristics including religion, access is carefully guarded by the national statistical authorities. Utilization of the census datafile as a sampling frame is inconceivable in the contemporary Western political climate.

As a result, Jewish surveys in Europe have increasingly relied on non-probability convenience samples, using membership and subscribers' lists of Jewish organizations to establish the initial contact with potential Jewish survey respondents, first asking them to respond to the survey and then to forward it to other Jews. The use of such organizationally-supported convenience sampling presents a question of the degree to which findings obtained from such samples can be generalized to the entire Jewish population. These samples are suspected of being selective and represent the more communally-involved segment of the Jewish population. Moreover, such samples may not be representative of the socio-demographic characteristics of Jewish populations -such as age, sex, geographical distribution or educational profile, and other characteristics associated with these socio-demographics. How much does that matter? Can the insights produced by such samples regarding the substantive phenomena they attempt to capture (be they antisemitic victimization, Jewish identity characteristics or anything else) be trusted? To what extent can they be understood, by academics and policy makers, as a true representation of the realities experienced by contemporary European Jewish populations?

These questions are empirically investigated using the FRA 2012 survey – the first cross-European survey of Jewish perceptions and experiences of antisemitism conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (known by its abbreviation as the FRA), the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) and the polling agency IPSOS Mori in 2012. Several publications have been produced using this survey data (Staetsky and Boyd 2014; DellaPergola and Staetsky 2015; Dencik and Marosi 2017; Graham 2018), but, to date, there has been no attempt to evaluate its methodological performance. This paper does exactly that. First, an overview of Jewish surveys in Europe and their sampling methodologies is presented – to show the background of the rise of convenience sampling.

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Next, the data source and the data collection method are briefly described. Finally, the paper implements different "representativeness tests" for convenience samples derived from the FRA 2012 survey:

(1) assessment of deviations of key socio-demographics from the benchmark distributions – censuses, probability-sampling based surveys, and large administrative datasets, where available;

(2) assessment of group variation in the substantive phenomena under investigation (e.g., degree of antisemitic victimization and Jewish identity indicators) in each country;

(3) application of weights to make the socio-demographic distributions of the FRA 2012 survey resemble the benchmarks, followed by sensitivity testing of victimization and Jewish identity indicators to sample adjustments by weights;

(4) comparison of measures of victimization and Jewish identity indicators to some independent benchmarks, where available, in an attempt to establish the former's reliability.

This paper should be seen as part of the developing enterprise to evaluate the performance of online panels and non-probability samples in social scientific research on Jews and in broader society (see Chang and Krosnik 2009; Baker et al. 2010; Yeager et al. 2011; Boxer et al. 2013; Hays et al. 2015 and references therein for just some examples).Ultimately, the paper reasserts the importance of probability-based sampling showing, at the same time, that despite the less than ideal sampling method, the findings from surveys with samples achieved by convenience sampling may still be usable to understand the experiences of Jewish populations. Instead of dismissing convenience samples, it offers the reader a path to understanding their properties and the conditions under which their use can be acceptable. Whilst doubts as to the convenience samples' representativeness remain, they may or may not be a pressing concern for various analytical and policy purposes. Convenience samples can be useful provided that their properties (and shortcomings) are understood, that consumers of their findings have a clear view of the degree of precision that the projected uses require, and that these samples exist as part of a larger "ensemble" of statistical products.

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2. Jewish surveys in Europe and sampling tribulations

In view of the Jewish "rarity problem" and the absence of sampling frames, just how exactly have Jews of Europe been sampled up until now?

2.1 Communal surveys

Partial lists of Jews may exist, especially at the level of local communities or synagogues, but these are often insufficient, or impractical to collect, for the purpose of building national Jewish samples. In certain European countries with centralized Jewish communities, socio-demographic and Jewish identity surveys have been carried out using samples derived from communal membership databases. In Italy, there is an official Jewish communal body, an umbrella organization, representative of Italian Jewry in its relationship with the state, to which all, or almost all, Jews affiliate to this day through their local communities. The existence of communal registers made surveying Italian Jews relatively straightforward: two surveys have been carried out on samples obtained from the registers - one in the mid-1960s and the other in 2011 (DellaPergola and Sabatello 1975; Campelli 2013). In Sweden, a considerable minority of Jews affiliate with the local communities (with the Council of Swedish Jewish Communities as an umbrella body). There, too, communal registers were put to use in 2000 for the purpose of a socio-demographic and identity survey (Dencik and Marosi 2007). It is important to understand that communal membership lists are tainted by the selectivity attached to communal affiliation. By definition, such lists contain Jews with the strongest attachment to Jewish communal life, religion and culture. Arguably, surveys based on such lists should be understood as Jewish communal surveys, not Jewish population surveys. This distinction may be trivial in Jewish populations with a very high communal affiliation rate (such as the Italian Jewish population), but it is important to bear in mind in communities with a relatively low affiliation rate, such as Sweden, where, at most, 50% of Jews are estimated to be affiliated to the official communities. The only example known to us of a Jewish survey in Europe that relied on a full list of elements of the Jewish population unrelated to communal organizations is the 1999 socio-demographic and Jewish identity survey in Hungary. In that survey, the Holocaust era compensation claims lists were used for sampling the older stratum of the population, although a different type of sampling, a method integrating some elements of convenience sampling, was used to ensure representation of the younger strata (Kovacs 2004).

2.2 Alternative sampling methods

The ambition to survey Jewish populations, rather than Jewish communities, motivated the use of sampling methods based on distinctive Jewish names (DJN), random dialling (RD) and respondent-driven sampling (RDS). All three methods were implemented to circumvent the "rarity problem" and the absence of full lists of elements of the Jewish population (or the selective nature of communal lists), and all three have been applied to European surveys of Jews. The DJN method relies on the identification of typical Jewish surnames in publicly available directories and databases, such as telephone directories or electoral registers. Individuals identified in this way are then approached for confirmation of their Jewishness. The purpose of the DJN method is to create a universe containing individuals who are Jews-in-high-probability. This universe can then be approached in its entirety or, more usually, used for deriving a probability sample of Jews. In particular, the DJN method can be credited with providing a picture of Jewish socioeconomic characteristics, Jewish demography, identity and social and political attitudes in France, the Netherlands and the UK in the second half of the 20th and the early 21st century (Bensimon and DellaPergola 1986; Miller et al.

1996; Van Solinge and De Vries 2001; Becher et al. 2002; Cohen 2009; Miller et al. 2015). Random dialling, assisted by the targeting of geographical areas populated by Jews, has been implemented in Britain since 2015 by a polling company called Survation for surveying Jewish voting patterns and attitudes on selected political issues[1]. The availability of the census data on the distribution of Jews at detailed geographies combined with the high concentration of Jews in certain locations (about 80% of British Jews live in and around London and Manchester) greatly facilitated the implementation of the RD method in Britain. Mobile and landline numbers in certain areas were targeted by Survation in search of self-identifying Jews; when the person confirmed his/her Jewishness he/she could proceed to the survey and was also offered an opportunity to become a member of the volunteer panel – to be contacted at some later date, with another survey on a "Jewish" topic. Thus, a volunteer panel of Jewish respondents to telephone surveys has been created by Survation as a by-product of the RD process.

Compared to the DJN and the RD methods that consistently produced good results with sample sizes mostly in excess of one thousand observations, the results obtained by RDS were less impressive. RDS was developed as a sampling method especially suited to the sampling of rare (and hard to reach) populations. It begins with the selection of initial "seeds," who are simply well-connected members of the population in question; the seeds are asked to complete the survey first and then recruit other members of the population, in return for a reward. In successful applications of RDS, the described referral process is observed to diversify the sample gradually, distancing the characteristics of the final sample from the characteristics of the seeds and resulting in a final sample composition approximating a random sample. In addition, through documenting the recruitment chains and the network size of the initial seeds and the referring respondents, it is possible to develop weights that correct the sample composition (see Heckathorn 1997 for a classic paper on this subject). The RDS method of sampling was implemented in the 2008/2009 multinational study of Jews of Eastern Europe commissioned by the Joint Distribution Committee International Centre for Community Development. The final sample contained under one thousand, four hundred observations from five countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, Latvia, Poland and Romania), with Hungary and Poland being the countries with the largest and the smallest numbers of respondents: 405 and 190, respectively). It is noteworthy that it took over a year to attain a relatively small number of observations in each country. The report produced on the back of the survey explicitly cautions against interpreting the results as representative of the Jewish populations of the surveyed countries (Joint Distribution Committee International Centre for Community Development 2011) – an outcome clearly falling short of what can be theoretically expected from RDS and signalling underperformance of the method in the context of these surveys.

2.3 Online panels and such

This brings us to the key development in the field of Jewish social surveys in Europe, which is the shift from probability sampling to methods that are reliant on non-probability sampling, either partially or exclusively. In essence, this shift resembled the trend in the wider survey industry; although Jewish social surveys went further down the route of non-probability sampling. The rise of online panels is a significant feature on the social survey scene of the early 21st century. Such panels (also called access panels) are, in fact, databases of candidate respondents who are prepared to take part in data collection exercises. It was the industry's reaction to the falling response rates in classic surveys based on probability samples, on the one hand, and the growth of computer technology and

[1] *Jewish Chronicle*, Britain's oldest Jewish newspaper, commissioned the surveys from Survation. The results of the surveys can be found in the publicly available archives of Survation polls, at http://survation.com/archive/.

online activity, making it possible to (a) recruit respondents and (b) fill in survey questionnaires online (including on mobile devices), on the other hand. There is a great diversity of access panels; some of them are probability-based while others are volunteer (and, by definition, non-probability-based) panels. Recruitment to panels takes place through specialized websites, email and text campaigns on social media, commercial operations and as a by-product of probability-based surveys, where the respondents to a particular survey are invited to join a panel and participate in additional surveys. The interested reader is advised to consult the emerging literature on the topic of access panels (see, for example, Callegaro et al. 2014). The main point here is that some Jewish surveys carried out in Europe in the first decade of the 21st century utilized such panels, although the use of access panels in the world of Jewish surveys has not, to date, acquired the same centrality that it has in the wider survey industry for reasons that will be clarified shortly.

Online panels were used in the 2015 study of Jewish attitudes in France (Tenturier and Mercier 2016); in the JPR's 2013 National Jewish Community Survey, NJCS, in the UK (Graham et al. 2014, 41-44); and also in the 2015 study of Jewish attitudes to Israel in the UK (Miller et al. 2015). In all instances, however, these panel-based studies generated relatively small samples: the number of observations derived from the panels was in the approximate range of one hundred and fifty to three hundred. In the British context, the panel-based studies were, in fact, supplementary components of larger studies relying either on the DJN sampling method or on convenience sampling, or both. The "main," i.e., the non-panel based components of both studies, managed to create much larger samples: above three thousand, five hundred in the case of the NJCS (Graham et al. 2014) and close to one thousand in the case of the 2015 British study of Jewish attitudes to Israel (Miller et al. 2015). An additional important study of Jewish identity in France, conducted by L'Institut français d'opinion publique (IFOP 2015, Fourquet and Manternach 2016) is not based on a panel, strictly speaking, but its method of recruitment of the Jewish respondents resembled the recruitment process onto online panels, in essentials. The IFOP 2015 study relied on the pre-existing forty-five thousand respondents-strong nationally representative sample of the French population, whose religious composition had been established in a previous survey. A subsample of Jewish respondents was re-contacted with a set of questions relating to various aspects of Jewish identity and behavior, resulting in 724 Jewish respondents available for analysis. These numerical realities are shaped by the continuing impact of the "rarity problem" mentioned earlier: the representation of Jews on online panels and in large-scale surveys tends to reflect their representation in the general population of any given country. It follows that even in the large online panels and surveys the number of Jews is bound to be small.

2.4 Convenience samples

The background is now set for understanding the recent gravitation of Jewish surveys in Europe towards convenience sampling. Beyond Jewish surveys, surveys in general have trended towards non-probability online panels and that was pretty much the final destination of travel away from classic scientific designs. They have not proceeded as far as convenience sampling; instead, the whole role of surveys has become subject to review and at the moment the industry seems to be entering a "new information order" of integrating surveys and other data, with the latter including censuses, large administrative datasets, probability and non-probability panels. Intensive evaluation work is also underway into the properties of non-probability panels, especially in comparison to low-response probability sampling-based surveys (see Miller 2017 for an overview and also the collection of papers in the special issue of the *Public Opinion Quarterly* 81). Because of the "rarity problem" such developments have not fully repaid in the world of Jewish surveys. Perhaps it would be more

correct to say that they have not repaid *yet*, because the size and potential of the panels and administrative sources are growing and, provided that they allow the identification of Jews (a separate issue related to cultural sensitivities and political will), the situation may change in the future. Currently, the situation is such that several important surveys of European Jewish communities have relied on convenience sampling, i.e., non-probability sampling where participants are selected based on the ease of access. The exact meaning of the term "convenience sampling" in application to European Jewish surveys and what "ease of access" means in this context will be clarified in detail shortly, but it is worth noting already at this stage that this type of sampling relies heavily on Jewish *organizations* as main distributors of the invitations to take part in the surveys. Specifically in the United Kingdom, for example, five such surveys of Jews have been conducted since 2010: the 2010 Israel survey (a survey of Jewish attitudes to Israel, Graham and Boyd 2010); the 2013 NJCS, where the main sample was generated by convenience sampling (Graham et al. 2014), the 2016 and2017 Antisemitism Barometer survey (surveys of Jewish perceptions concerning antisemitism in Britain, Campaign Against Antisemitism 2017), and the 2015 study of Jewish attitudes to Israel, in which the sample was derived by convenience sampling as the dominant component of the total sample (Miller et al. 2015). In France, convenience sampling was used in the 2004/06 Jewish citizenship survey, exploring Jewish identity and Jewish political attitudes (Schnapper et al. 2010). In Germany, a survey of Jewish identity and education relied on convenience sampling (Ben-Rafael et al. 2011) and so did the 2016 survey of Jewish perspectives on antisemitism (Zick et al. 2017). In Hungary, such organizationally-supported convenience sampling was used for obtaining responses from Jews aged under 45 years at the time of the 1999 survey, as they could not be accessed by other methods (Kovacs 2004). In another Jewish survey in Hungary, conducted in 2017, sampling proceeded by snowballing from several socio-demographically diverse seeds, a process that researchers carefully controlled through monitoring and correcting the sample composition to match the known characteristics of the Hungarian Jewish population. Such targeting was made possible by the existence of old census data on Hungarian Jews (collected in the mid-1940s), the extrapolations applied to that data and the earlier survey significantly based on random sampling (Prof. Andras Kovacs, personal communication, June 4, 2018).

The developments in Jewish surveys that took place in the second decade of the 21st century across Europe as a whole are especially important in that they mark the point when convenience sampling in Jewish surveys went "officially" mainstream. Surveys of Jews in Europe commissioned by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) have not been mentioned, and they are highly significant in this respect. In 2012 the FRA commissioned a survey of Jewish perceptions and experiences of antisemitism, focusing on nine EU countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Romania, Sweden and the United Kingdom). In 2018 the FRA commissioned another survey of European Jews, only this time its coverage expanded also to Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, Poland and Spain. In preparing the survey, on both occasions, the FRA employed the skilled methodologies of IPSOS Mori, an international polling agency, and of JPR. For the purpose of both projects, JPR convened an international committee of experts in surveying Jewish populations. In the course of the preparation of the first FRA survey (2012) several sampling options were considered and dismissed on the grounds of impracticality. Most importantly, a practical attempt was made to implement RDS. This did not produce the expected and much hoped for result – in total, only 330 observations were obtained by RDS across all participating countries after 2.5 months of fieldwork. The switch to convenience sampling in the FRA 2012 survey, for the remaining month or so of the fieldwork, was made in view of this obvious failure and somewhat reluctantly because it meant a shift from a more scientific to a considerably less scientific sampling design. The switch to convenience sampling mid-fieldwork led to the attainment of a 5,847-strong sample. When another

survey of Jewish perceptions and experiences of antisemitism (FRA 2018) was planned by the same team, convenience sampling was the only choice that seemed reasonable.

It is worth clarifying the exact meaning of convenience sampling in this context. In practical terms, this typically means distributing the survey among the members, affiliates and subscribers of various Jewish organizations, in the first place, and then requesting the survey respondents to refer the invitation to other Jews known to them, be they colleagues, acquaintances or relatives. The organizations contacted include official Jewish communal organizations (Jewish representative organizations, communal centers, synagogues, schools, etc.) but also Jewish press and information services. We will refer to such organizations as "seeds" for brevity. Importantly, the list of survey-distributing seeds is created deliberately in a way that ensures coverage of all meaningful socio-demographic and Jewish identity dimensions. This means, in reality, that the segmentation of the Jewish population by age, sex, geography and types of Jewish identity is outlined as part of the process of creation of the list of seeds; previous surveys of Jewish populations, estimates derived on the basis of communal registers, administrative datasets and (where available) the national census, all factor into it.

There are similarities and differences between the convenience sampling based surveys that are organizationally-supported in the way described here and the classic communal surveys relying on communal registers, such as the surveys conducted in Italy and Sweden. The latter are reliant exclusively on the official communal registers, i.e., membership databases of the official communal organizations, while the former rely on the registers and lists of a broad range of Jewish organizations. These include the official registers but are not limited to them, and also Jewish media, various portals, networks and information services that make the survey accessible to Jewish consumers of these types of seeds, irrespective of their patterns of affiliation to the official communal organizations. The latter do not include the referral process as an additional mechanism for increasing the number of respondents and diversifying the socio-demographic profile of the sample; the former encourage the referrals. In summary, one can see the former as a considerably less controlled version of the latter. The former do not allow, for example, any meaningful calculation of the response rates because the exact size of the universe of population elements from which the samples are drawn remains unknown. Equally importantly, the characteristics of that universe remain uncertain and so does the question of just how generalizable the findings obtained from such samples are in relation to the entire Jewish population. The remainder of the paper aims to clarify this issue.

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3. Data and method

The FRA 2012 online survey of the perceptions and experiences of antisemitism among Jews was commissioned by the FRA and developed by the joint efforts of the FRA, Ipsos MORI, and JPR. The FRA provided the basic template for the survey questionnaire with the focus on perceptions and experiences of antisemitism, in a style similar to the national crime surveys, capturing both the incidence and prevalence of the main types of general and antisemitic victimization. Ipsos MORI administered the fieldwork and contributed to the questionnaire development. JPR convened a group of experts in Jewish surveys and advised on the questionnaire development and sampling methodology. The work of this group of experts led to the supplementation of the original questionnaire template provided by the FRA with a module focusing on Jewish identity, including affiliation with the organized Jewish community, patterns of Jewish ritual observance, extent of religiosity, intermarriage and connection to Israel. Thus, in effect, the final questionnaire had two subject areas: patterns of victimization and patterns of Jewish identity, and both subject areas are examined in this paper. The investigation reported here is limited to the datasets from three countries representing the largest Jewish populations in the European Union: France, the UK and Germany. All three countries possess reliable socio-demographic benchmarks and – out of nine countries comprising the final FRA 2012 survey dataset – are the best understood by the author of this paper.

The FRA 2012 survey was launched on 3 September 2012 and closed on 3 October 2012. To qualify for participation, respondents were required to be aged 16 or over, to self-identify as Jewish, and to be resident in one of the countries included in the survey. In all countries respondents were contacted primarily through seed organizations, including Jewish media, which represented a broad cross-section of the Jewish community and held substantial email databases. Identification of the seeds followed the communal segmentation map – a basic outline of the Jewish population of each participating country in terms of the types of affiliation to the Jewish community and socio-demographics – devised by the experts. Seed organizations were equipped with online materials in different formats: (a) a pre-designed email which they were asked to send to their distribution lists; (b) an advertisement and a "Frequently Asked Questions" document, which they could incorporate into an existing email/electronic newsletter; and (c) a banner advertisement, tailored to their chosen dimensions, containing the web link to the survey. The initial sample contacted by the seed organizations, consisting of their members/affiliates/subscribers, was then enhanced by a referral process: all those contacted by seeds were asked, in addition to completing the survey, to invite their Jewish contacts to do the same. In total, 1,468 responses were obtained in the UK, 1,193 in France and 609 in Germany, best understood as organizationally-supported non-probability convenience samples. However, it is important to understand that methodologically (1) the surveying process amounted to an attempt to conduct a census of the membership/affiliation/subscription base of all involved, and diverse, seed organizations, and (2) a conscious attempt was made to include in the survey Jews who were not on the communal lists. Due to the nature of the sampling process, the degree of exposure of Jewish populations to the survey is impossible to estimate. Further information on the survey process and also on the quality control procedures can be obtained from the methodological appendix of the report dedicated to the analysis of the British FRA 2012 sample, by Staetsky and Boyd (2014).

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4. FRA 2012 dataset versus benchmarks

Socio-demographic profiles of the British, French and German Jewish communities are well documented. In the UK, the national census contains a question on religion. As a result, the distributions of age, sex, geographical location and educational attainment of Jews are available for 2011 – the year of the last British census. Patterns of Jewish communal affiliation are not captured by the national census but they are available from communal records, and, specifically, from the surveys of synagogue membership periodically conducted by the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the representative body of British Jewry. This survey, last carried out in 2016, provides the distribution of British Jewish households by the type of synagogue body to which they are affiliated: strictly Orthodox, mainstream Orthodox or Progressive (Reform, Masorti and Liberal). Relating the number of synagogue-affiliated households to the total number of Jewish households in the UK, known from the national census, makes it possible to derive a synagogue-affiliation rate for British Jewry. In France, distributions of age, sex, geographical location, educational profile and many other socio-demographic characteristics of Jews are available from a large representative survey of French Jews conducted in 2002 and based on the DJN method of sampling. In Germany, distributions of age, sex, and geographical location are available from the records of the Central Council of Jews in Germany (*Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland*), the representative organization of German Jews. Relating the number of Jews affiliated to the *Zentralrat* to the total estimated number of people with Jewish parents in Germany allows the quantification of the communal affiliation rate. The distribution of educational attainment of German Jews is available from the 2008-2009 survey of Jewish identity and educational practices in Germany (Ben Rafael et al. 2011, xi).

The differences between the FRA sample and the relevant benchmarks are shown in **Figure 1**, for all three countries. Detailed data can be found in the appendices. Most socio-demographics deviate somewhat from the benchmarks. Let us focus on the British case first. The greatest deviation is observed in relation to education. The British FRA sample has a considerably larger share of people educated to an academic degree than in the census. People who are not affiliated to a synagogue are significantly underrepresented in the FRA sample compared to the communal records. Neither feature is surprising. The FRA 2012 survey used the email databases of various Jewish communal organizations, including synagogues, as initial pools of seeds for the survey, and so the overrepresentation of those affiliated to a synagogue is naturally to be expected. Educational attainment, in general, is positively related to survey participation (Durrant et al. 2010).

The British FRA 2012 sample underrepresents females – a feature that may be related to the numerical dominance of males on the email databases of Jewish organizations. It also underrepresents the youngest Jews, which may also be related to their underrepresentation on the communal email databases as well as to their relatively low rates of survey participation. Geographical distributions of British Jews found in the FRA 2012 survey and the census are nearly identical.

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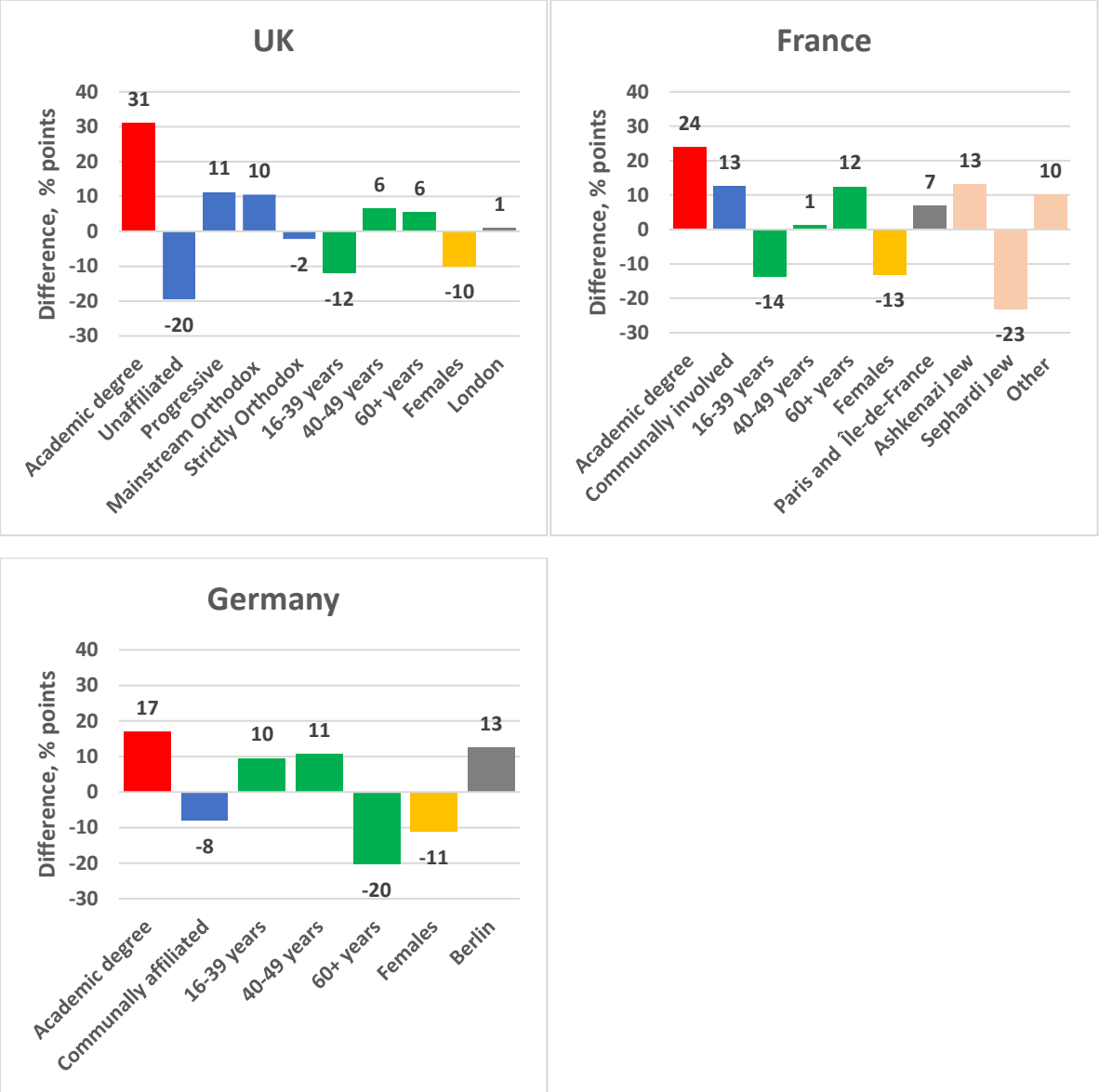
Figure 1. British, French and German FRA 2012 samples compared to benchmarks: differences between the FRA 2012 samples and the relevant benchmarks, in % points (FRA 2012 figure minus benchmark figure)



Note:

(1) Affiliation categories for the UK: "Progressive" includes respondents affiliated with the Reform, Liberal and Masorti movements; (2) "Mainstream Orthodox" includes respondents affiliated with the United Synagogue, Federation of Synagogues, Spanish and Portuguese Sephardi community and their regional equivalents; (3) "Strictly Orthodox" includes respondents affiliated with the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations.

(2) Affiliation categories for France: "Communally involved" includes respondents who reported some degree of involvement in Jewish communal activities (from rare involvement to very frequent involvement).

(3) Affiliation categories for Germany: "Communally affiliated" relates to those affiliated with the Central Council of Jews in Germany (Zentralrat). The level of affiliation to other communal organizations is not quantifiable at the level of precision required for benchmarking.

(4) Sources for benchmark data in the UK: age, sex, geography and education - 2011 census (census Tables DC2107EW, DC2107SC, DC5204EW), data for age, sex and geography are for Great Britain where practically all UK Jews live, data for education are for England and Wales where 98% of all British Jews live. Data links: England and Wales census data can be obtained from Nomis, Official Labour Market Statistics website at https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/detailed_characteristics and Scotland's census data at http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/standard-outputs.html. For affiliation with a synagogue – synagogue membership survey, see Casale Mashiah and Boyd 2017.
(5) Sources for benchmark data in France: Cohen (2009).
(6) Sources for benchmark data in Germany: data on sex, geography and communal affiliation are from Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (2013); data on education are from Ben Rafael et al. (2011); data on age are based on both Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (2013) and Ben Rafael et al. (2011), the latter source is used to correct the proportion of Jews in age category 16-39 years because the *Zentralrat's* records are suspected of undercounting the youngest Jews.

There are several similarities between the British and the French samples. In the French FRA 2012 sample the share of people educated to a degree level is higher than the benchmark survey of French Jews and so is the share of people involved in Jewish communal life. Communal affiliation in France is measured differently from in the UK. The question asked in the French benchmark survey is about frequency of attending a synagogue or a Jewish community center, with the following response options: never; rarely; occasionally, 2-3 times per year; frequently, 4-5 times per year; very frequently, once a month or more. In the British context, the benchmark survey renders a picture of "official" synagogue affiliation rather than the frequency of attendance. Nevertheless, the nature of the differences between the FRA samples and the benchmark sources is the same: the more communally involved Jews are overrepresented in both the British and French samples. Further, the French FRA 2012 sample underrepresents females and the youngest age group. That, too, is similar to the pattern observed in the British sample. In contrast to the British sample, the French sample slightly overrepresents Jews living in and around the capital city. Origin (Ashkenazi/Sephardi) is a unique aspect of diversity amongst the Jews of France, in contrast to the UK and Germany: about 70% of the French Jewish population are of Sephardic origin. The French FRA 2012 sample underrepresents the Sephardi population.

The pattern of deviations from the benchmarks shown by the German FRA 2012 sample is somewhat different from the one exhibited by the British and the French samples. Underrepresentation of females in the sample is the common feature, and so is the overrepresentation of people with an academic degree. The German FRA sample also shows some overrepresentation of Jews living in the German capital, although the difference may be smaller than the one shown: some of the German Jews living in Berlin may appear in the *Zentralrat's* records as living elsewhere (Ben Rafael et al. 2011, xii). In contrast to the British and French samples, the German sample underrepresents the oldest Jews and communally affiliated Jews. Age and rate of communal affiliation are related to each other – the share of communally affiliated is relatively high in the older age groups, and so the underrepresentation of the communally affiliated may be a side effect of the impact of age in the German context. An absolute majority of the German Jews in this age group comprises first generation Jewish migrants from the former Soviet Union, whose level of computer literacy at the time of the survey was lower than the level of the general population. This factor could have accounted for the lower than expected share of older German Jews and communally affiliated Jews.

The analysis so far has shown that all three countries display considerable deviation from the respective benchmarks. The British and French patterns of deviations are quite similar, while the

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German pattern displays some unique features. Across all samples, the maximal deviation from the benchmarks is 31 percent points, and the minimal is just one percent point. The maximal deviation is observed in relation to educational level. Out of the 27 differences presented in **Figure** 1, 20 differences (74%) are equal to or larger than 10 percent points and five differences (19%) are equal to or larger than 20 percent points. Deviations on this scale are generally considered significant enough to warrant concern. In themselves, however, deviations from the benchmarks may not cause distortions in the quantification of the substantive phenomena under investigation, be they antisemitic victimization or Jewish identity indicators, if the distributions of these phenomena across various socio-demographics are relatively uniform. Is there variation in the substantive phenomena? The next section considers this question in depth.

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5. Is there variation across major socio-demographics?

5.1. Variation in perceptions and experiences of antisemitism

The six indicators of the perceptions and experiences of antisemitism amongst Jews examined in this article are as follows:

(1) Whether or not the respondent perceives antisemitism as a fairly big or really big problem in his/her country of residence;
(2) Whether or not the respondent perceives antisemitism in his/her country of residence as increasing in the five years prior to the survey date;
(3) Whether or not the respondent is worried about becoming a victim of verbal or physical antisemitic attack in the next 12 months;
(4) Whether or not the respondent witnessed a verbal or physical antisemitic attack in the 12 months prior to the survey date;
(5) Whether or not the respondent felt discriminated against due to him/her being Jewish in the 12 months prior to the survey date;
(6) Whether or not the respondent personally experienced antisemitism in any form (antisemitic harassment in the form of comments – made in person or online – messages, stalking, silent or threatening calls, physical violence or vandalism) in the 12 months prior to the survey date.

The FRA 2012 survey dataset contains many more indicators but the six listed above evolved in the course of time as the major dimensions of interest concerning the Jewish perspective on antisemitism. Two indicators (1 and 2, as listed above) reflect Jewish perceptions of antisemitism in the society as a whole and these constitute a cognitive component of the Jewish perspective on antisemitism. In addition, one indicator of perceptions (number 3 above) is a personal-level perception of danger that adds an emotional component to the picture of perceptions. The remaining three indicators concern various aspects of experiences of antisemitism.

France stands out as the country with the largest proportion of Jews (over 80%) who think that antisemitism is a problem; that it has increased in the past five years and who are worried about becoming a victim of antisemitism (72%). The UK is the country with the smallest proportion of Jews perceiving antisemitism as a problem (48%); as a growing problem (66%) and with the lowest levels of worry about becoming a victim of antisemitism (29%). Germany fits in-between France and the UK in relation to all three perceptions (**Figure 2, Panel A**).

In relation to experiences of antisemitism, the ranking of countries is somewhat less clear. The UK consistently comes at the bottom, with the lowest proportions of Jews experiencing antisemitism, be that witnessing antisemitism or actually being a victim of antisemitic discrimination, harassment, violence or vandalism. France, on the other hand, does not consistently come at the top. Compared to German Jews, a larger proportion of French Jews report witnessing antisemitic acts. However, in relation to antisemitic discrimination the opposite is true, and in relation to other types of antisemitic victimization, the experiences of French and German Jews are comparable (**Figure 2, Panel B**).

Figure 2. Prevalence of selected perceptions and experiences of antisemitism in the UK, France and Germany, %

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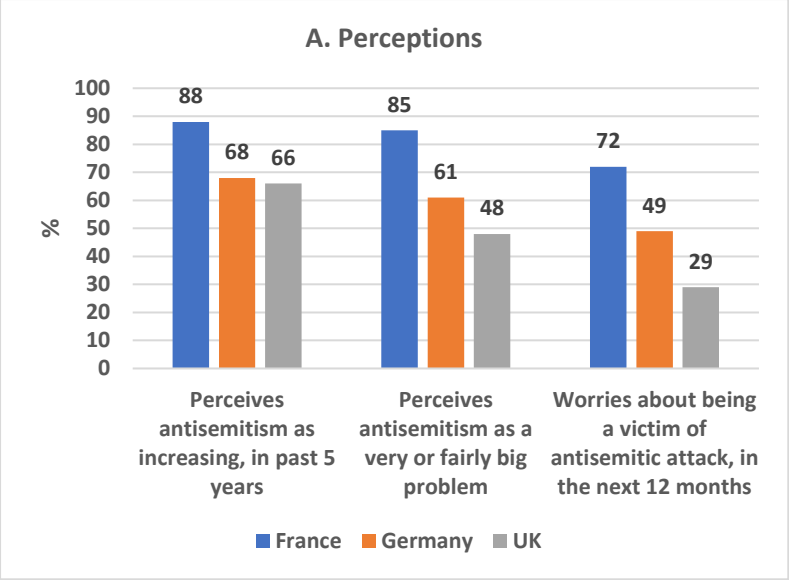

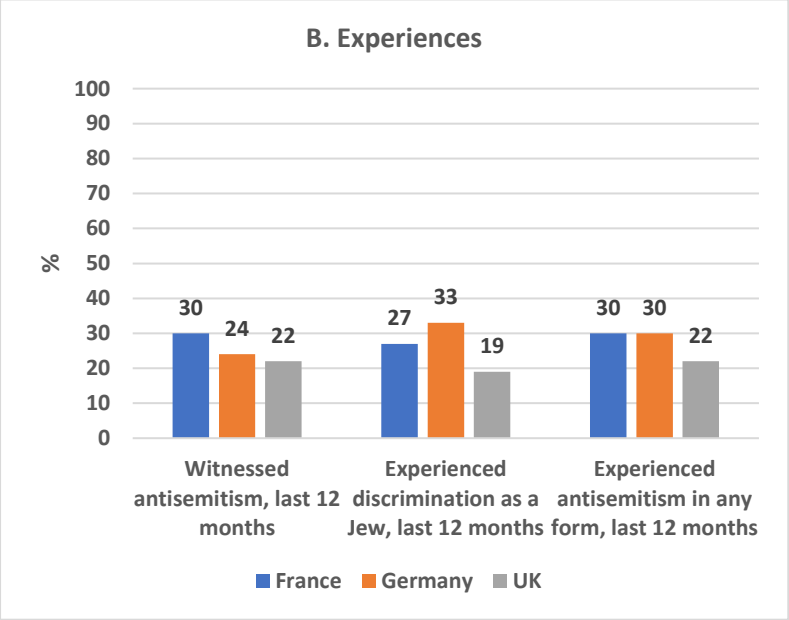

The sociological and historical meaning of these findings, their political and policy uses, if any, are unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper. These findings, whilst answering some questions regarding the perceptions and experiences of Jews, also raise new questions. In particular, there is no consistency in the position of France across different indicators: French Jews appear the most negative when it comes to perceptions of antisemitism, but this position is not matched by their experiences. The UK, on the other hand, displays perfect consistency. Further, differentiation between countries in relation to perceptions is considerably stronger than it is in relation to experiences. These findings too cannot be considered further in any depth, although we will briefly return to them in the section dealing with sensitivity to adjustment. We now turn to the topic of differentiation in perceptions and experiences by key socio-demographics.

Patterns of differentiation of all six indicators by age, sex, geography, education and Jewish communal affiliation were examined. Broadly speaking, experiences of antisemitism showed greater differentiation in comparison to perceptions, and the UK and France showed stronger variation compared to Germany. Patterns of variation by age and Jewish religious affiliation are especially noteworthy. In all three countries a relatively large proportion of the youngest Jewish respondents

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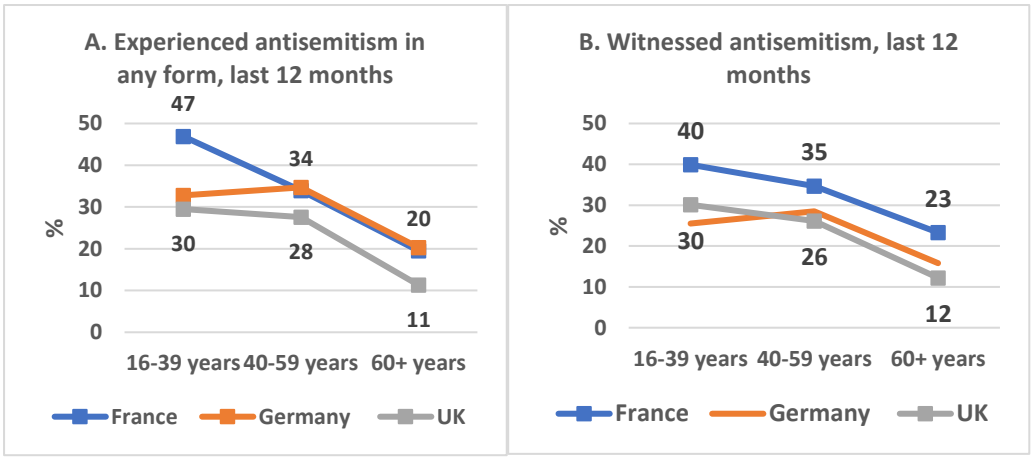
experienced antisemitism. As a rule, the proportion of Jews aged 16-39 years who experienced antisemitism is 1.5-3 times higher than the equivalent proportion among Jews aged 60 years and over in relation to two indicators of experiences of antisemitism shown in **Figure 3**: experience of antisemitism (harassment, violence or vandalism combined) or witnessing antisemitism. The prevalence of antisemitic discrimination exhibits a very similar pattern, though there is insufficient space to present it here. Perceptions of antisemitism do not vary by age to the same extent as experiences of antisemitism.

Figure 3. Differentiation of selected experiences of antisemitism by age, %



Note: The differences between the last age group (60+ years) and the younger age groups (16-39 years and 40-59 years) are always statistically significant.

Both perceptions and experiences of antisemitism vary significantly by the type of Jewish communal affiliation in the UK and France. As a rule, the most religious/most communally involved Jews experience antisemitism more than others, and the unaffiliated and uninvolved in communal affairs show the lowest prevalence of antisemitic experiences (**Figure 4**). Figure 4 presents differentiation of just two types of experiences – experiences of antisemitism in any form and witnessing antisemitism; the prevalence of antisemitic experience (which is not presented separately) resembles the patterns shown. In Germany no such variation is seen.

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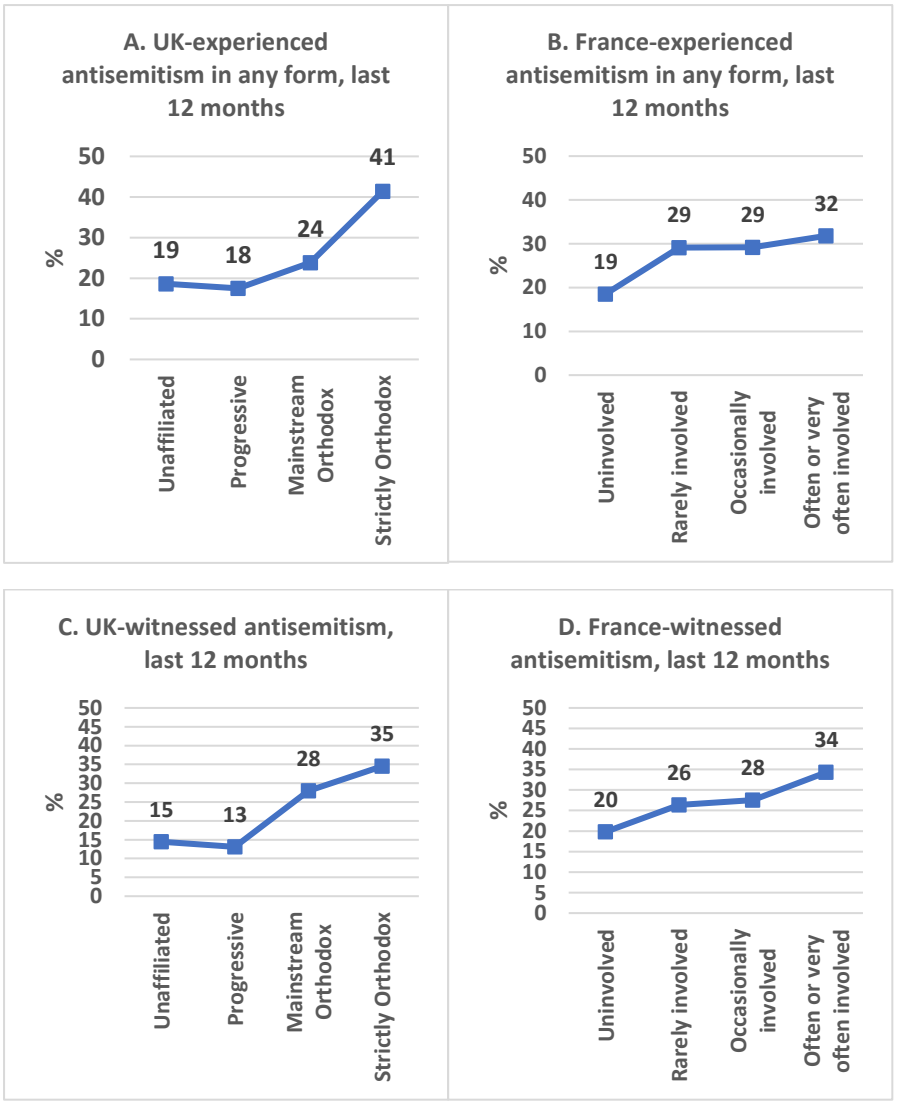
Figure 4. Differentiation of selected experiences of antisemitism by Jewish communal affiliation, %



Note: The differences between the last group (strictly Orthodox in the UK and "Often or very often involved in communal activities" in France) and the unaffiliated/uninvolved are always statistically significant.

As regards perceptions, here too the most religious/most communally involved Jews perceive antisemitism as increasing and worry about becoming its victims more than others (**Figure 5**). The perception of antisemitism as a big or a very big problem (not presented separately) behaves in a similar way. Again, as with the experiences, in Germany no variation in perceptions is observed along the lines of Jewish communal affiliation.

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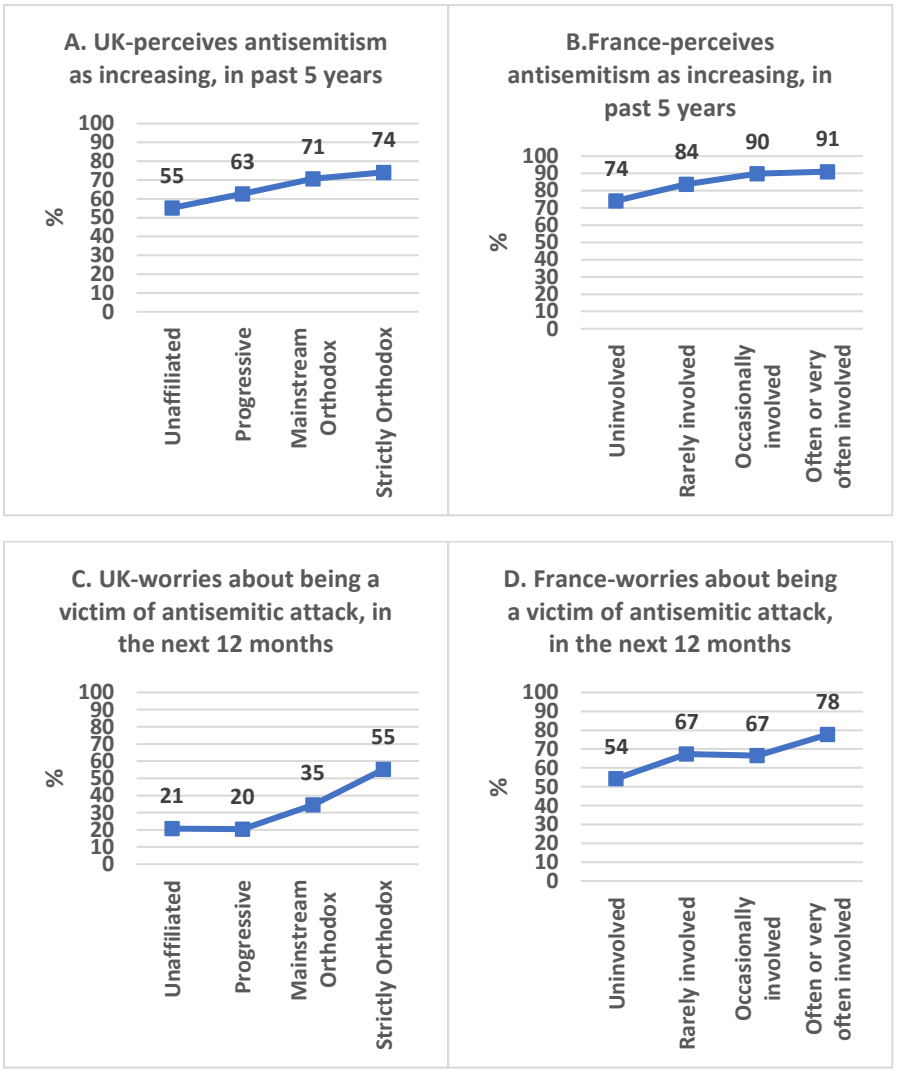
Figure 5. Differentiation of selected perceptions of antisemitism by Jewish communal affiliation, %



Note: The differences between the last group (strictly Orthodox in the UK and "Often or very often involved in communal activities" in France) and the unaffiliated/uninvolved are always statistically significant.

What do we have so far? We can see that, in addition to deviations from the benchmarks, differentiation exists primarily along the lines of age and Jewish communal affiliation in relation to perceptions and experiences of antisemitism in all three countries. No noticeable variation of perceptions and experiences was found in relation to other socio-demographics, e.g., sex, education or geography. What remains to be seen is what happens when the FRA 2012 datasets are "made to correspond" to the respective country-specific benchmarks on the most important socio-demographics. However, before this is discussed, let us look at the Jewish identity indicators included by the FRA 2012 survey and their patterns of variation.

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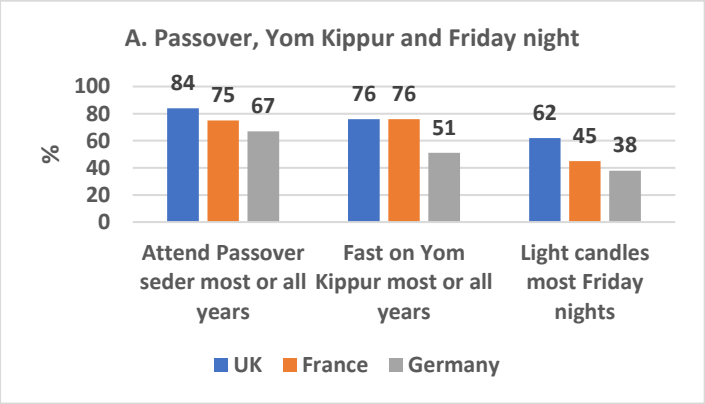
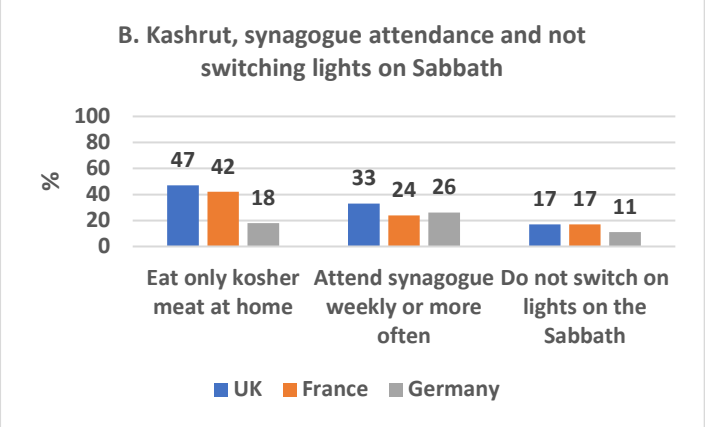
5.2. Variation in Jewish identity indicators

The eight Jewish identity indicators explored in this paper are as follows: (1) Whether or not the respondent attends Passover Seder most or all years; (2) Whether or not the respondent switches on lights on the Sabbath; (3) Whether or not the respondent attends synagogue weekly or more often; (4) Whether or not the respondent eats only kosher meat at home; (5) Whether or not the respondent lights candles most Friday nights; (6) Whether or not the respondent fasts on Yom Kippur most or all years; (7) Whether or not the respondent ever visited Israel; (8) Whether or not the (married or partnered) respondent has a Jewish spouse/partner.

The first six indicators are Jewish ritual practices; the last two are measures of connection with other Jews. These are classic indicators of Jewish identity covering its principal religious, social and ethno-nationalist aspects. The collection of these indicators is well-established practiced in Jewish surveys conducted all over the world – a fact which makes meaningful comparisons between different Jewish communities possible (see, for instance, Graham 2018; Pew Research Center 2013).

Figure 6. Jewish identity indicators in the UK, France and Germany, %





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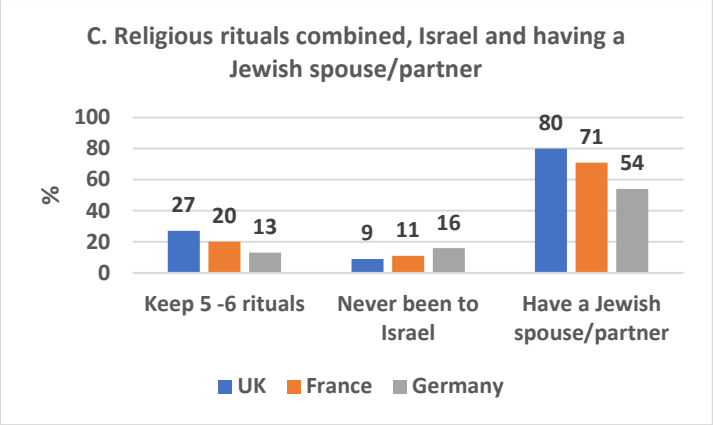


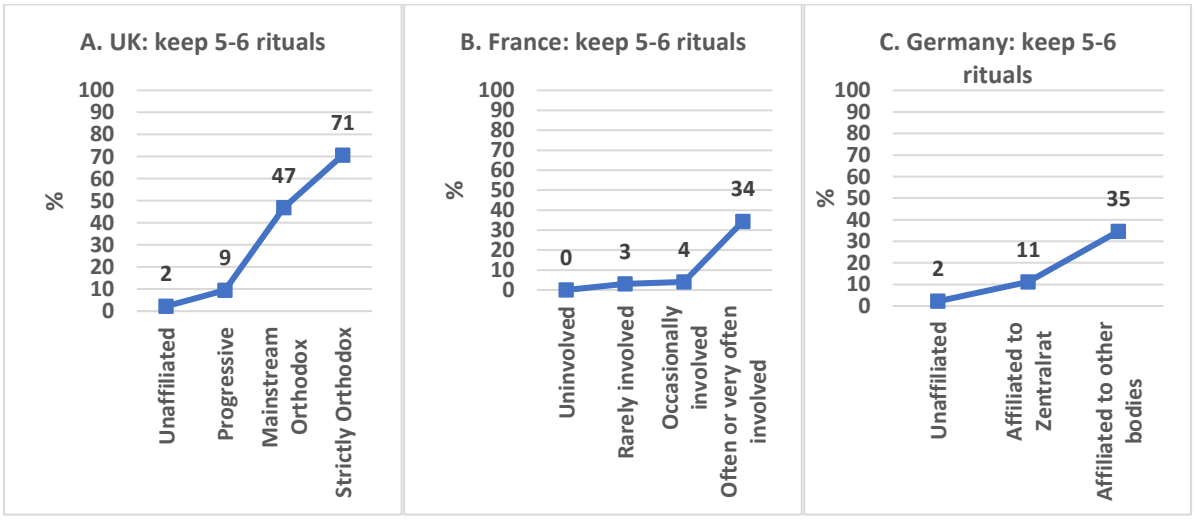
Note: (1) "Keep 5-6 rituals": religious rituals combined is a % of observing at least 5 out of 6 religious rituals; (2) % of persons with a Jewish spouse/partner relates to those whose partner is Jewish by birth (a majority) or as a result of conversion. Only married or cohabiting respondents are included in this calculation.

The overarching conclusion that one can derive from the cross-country comparison of the indicators is that Jews in the UK and France have a stronger sense of Jewish identity in comparison to Jews in Germany. A larger proportion of British and French Jews, compared to German Jews, observe Jewish religious rituals, have visited Israel and have a Jewish spouse/partner. As for the difference between the UK and France: in some respects, British Jews appear to be more observant than French Jews (most notably, lighting candles and not switching on lights on the Sabbath); in others – differences between the two communities are non-existent or negligible (e.g. fasting on Yom Kippur and visiting Israel).

In all three countries, Jewish identity indicators vary strongly with the patterns of Jewish community affiliation. They also show some variation by age and geography, albeit weaker and less consistent than is the case with community affiliation.

Variation in observance of Jewish ritual practices is shown in **Figure 7**. In all three countries, those who are not affiliated to the Jewish community exhibit negligibly low, and comparatively the lowest, level of observance of Jewish ritual practices.

Figure 7. Differentiation of observance of Jewish ritual practices by Jewish communal affiliation, %



Note: The differences between all groups are statistically significant, with the single exception of the difference between "Rarely involved" and "Occassionally involved" in France. "Affiliated to other bodies" in

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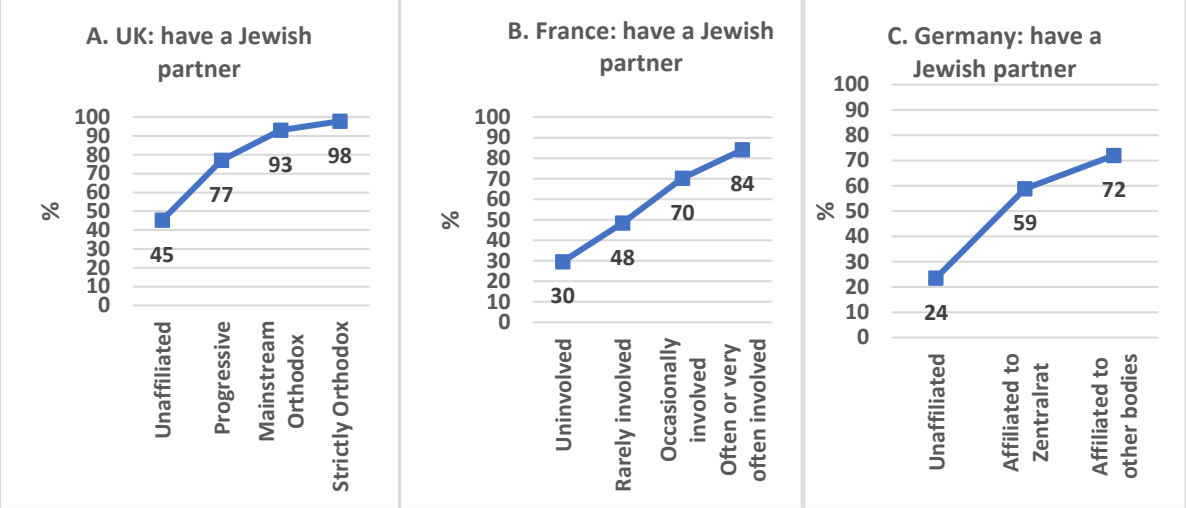
Germany includes people affiliated with a Masorti synagogue or independent Orthodox (Chabad or Lauder-Yeshurun).

Further, in all three countries, those who are not affiliated with the Jewish community exhibit the highest levels of intermarriage (**Figure 8**). As a rule, the unaffiliated/uninvolved are the only group where the intermarried form an unambiguous majority. The unaffiliated/uninvolved are also the group with the lowest proportion of people who have been to Israel (not presented separately).

Figure 8. Prevalence of inmarriage by Jewish communal affiliation, %



Note: The differences between all groups are statistically significant. "Affiliated with other bodies" in Germany includes people affiliated with a Masorti synagogue or independent Orthodox (Chabad or Lauder-Yeshurun).

Some indicators of Jewish identity showed a variation with age – of which keeping Jewish rituals is the most notable example. Across all three countries, the young seem to be more observant (**Figure 9, Panel A).** In relation to visiting Israel and intermarriage, however, the young are not distinguishable from the other age groups. Interestingly, intermarriage and visiting Israel vary by geography, with Jews living in capital cities being more likely to have a Jewish partner (shown in **Figure 9, Panel B)** and to visit Israel (not shown separately). Keeping Jewish religious rituals exhibits no geographical patterns.

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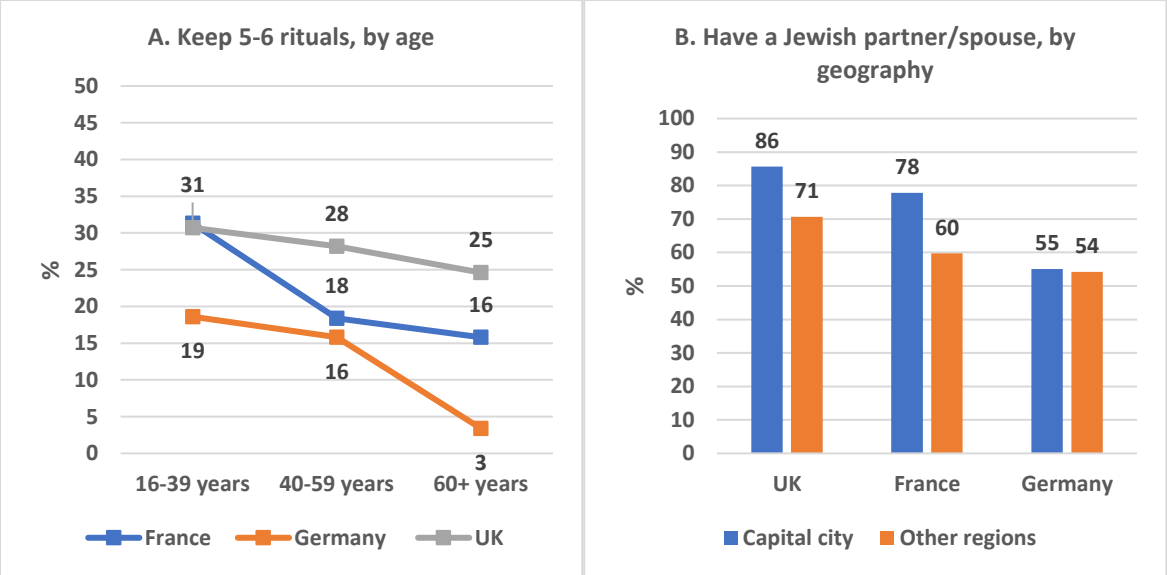
Figure 9. Differentiation of selected Jewish identity indicators by age and geography, %



Note: The differences between the last age group (60+ years) and the youngest age group (16-39 years) are statistically significant in France and Germany but not in the UK.The differences between those living in a capital city and in other regions are statistically significant in the UK and France but not in Germany.

To sum up, there is a strong variation in all examined Jewish identity indicators in relation to patterns of Jewish communal affiliation and also in relation to some other socio-demographics. Will making the FRA 2012 datasets match the country-specific socio-demographic benchmarks change the Jewish identity profiles? This is a question that the next section addresses in detail.

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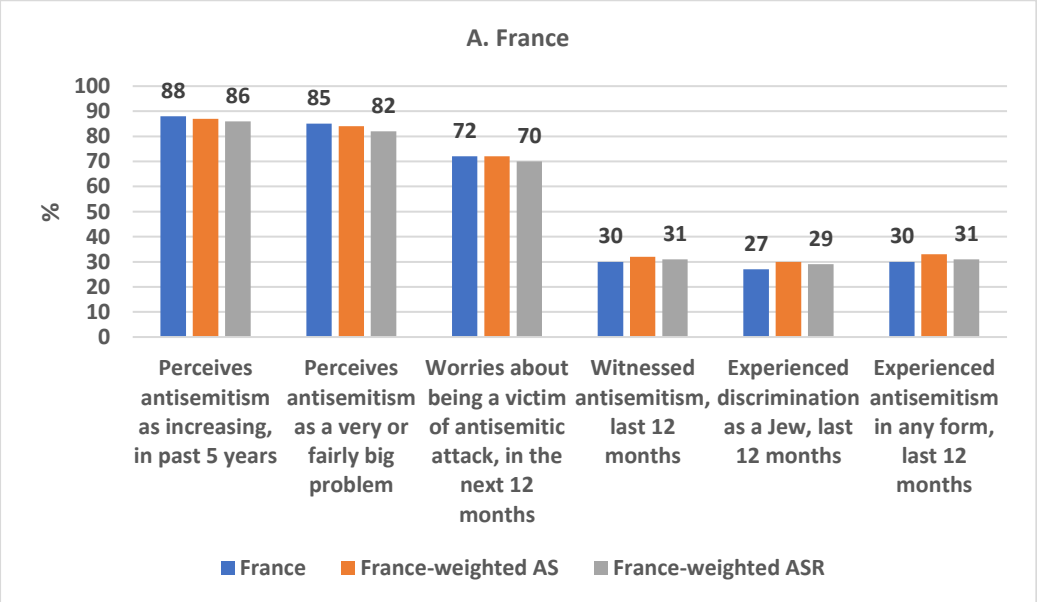
6. Sensitivity to adjustment

In order to assess the potential impact of the documented deviations from the benchmarks on the perceptions and experiences of antisemitism and Jewish identity indicators we developed a set of weights for each country. The role of weights is to adjust the socio-demographic profile of each country in a way that matches the expected profile (the benchmark). Two weights were applied in relation to each country, in turns. The first weight (*weight AS)* redressed the samples in terms of age and sex. Age is a variable that showed significant deviations from the benchmarks combined with significant differentiation by age of perceptions and experiences of antisemitism. Some Jewish identity indicators varied by age. The second weight (*weight ASR*) redressed the samples in terms of age and sex, as previously, but also in terms of Jewish communal affiliation, a variable in relation to which both perceptions and experiences of antisemitism and Jewish identity indicators showed the greatest differentiation.

Let us first examine the behavior of perceptions and experiences of antisemitism. The immediate impression from the comparison of the unweighted and weighted results in all three countries is that weighting makes little difference (**Figure 10**). The unweighted and weighted results convey the same story regarding the ways Jews perceive and experience antisemitism. Broadly speaking, 20-30% of Jews experience antisemitism annually in some form, and a two to three times higher proportion think it is a big problem, a growing problem and it makes them worry about being a victim of antisemitism.

Figure 10. Perceptions and experiences of antisemitism before and after adjustment for key socio-demographics, %



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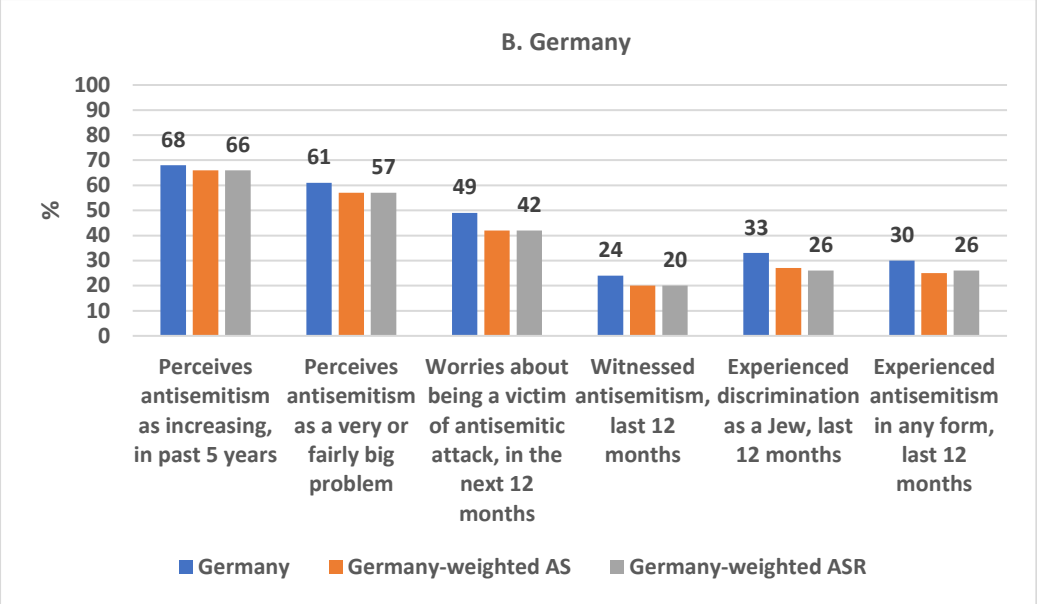

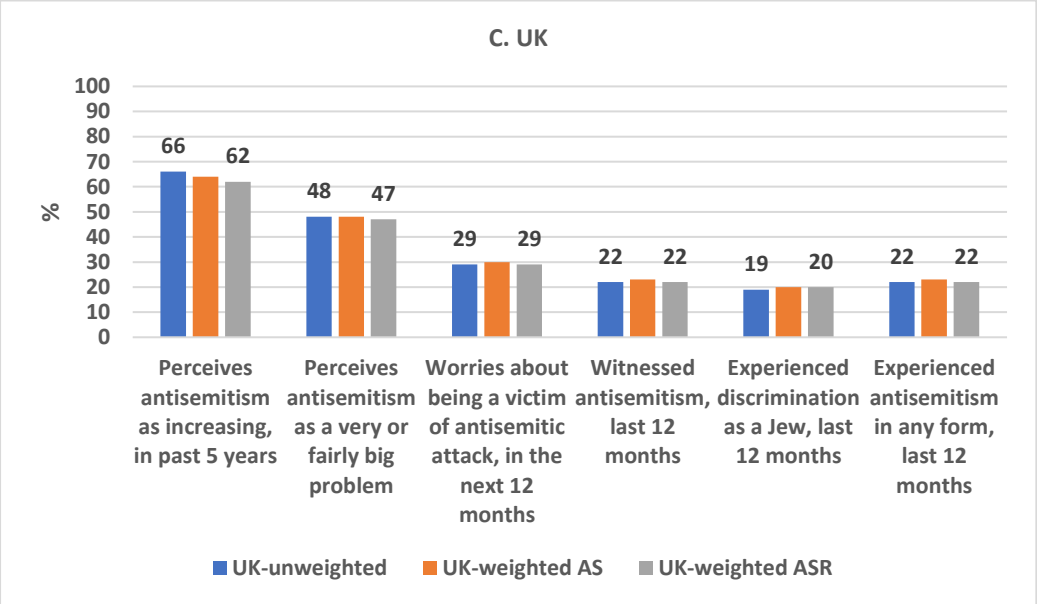

The greatest difference between the unweighted and the fully weighted results is 4 percentage points. Indeed, it is difficult to see how a difference on that scale can be important for users of these findings, be they policy makers, politicians or academics. **Figure 11** illustrates the impact of weighting on the ranking of countries in relation to antisemitic discrimination and experiences of antisemitism in any form in the last 12 months.

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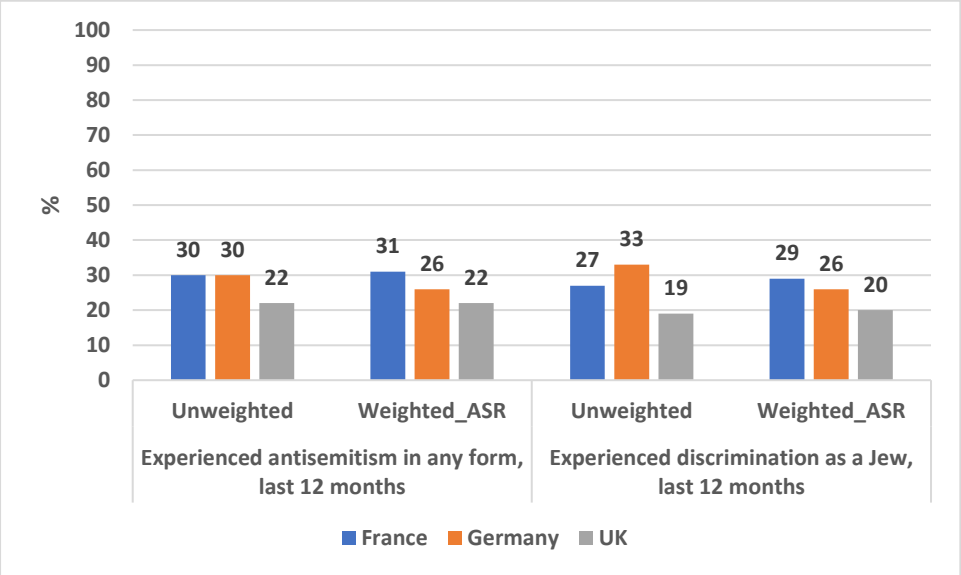
Figure 11. Experiences of antisemitism in any form (last 12 months), before and after adjustment for key socio-demographics, %



The ranking of countries changes somewhat as a result of adjustment: France becomes the country with the highest levels of antisemitic discrimination and victimization, in line with its ranking in relation to perceptions (the ranking of the latter does not change following the adjustment). However, it must be remembered that, given the sample sizes, a 3-4% margin of error applies to all survey estimates. Taking this into account it can be concluded that the adjustment in ranking as a result of weighting is trivial and certainly does not change the meaning of the findings or the overall quality of the scientific insight. With or without adjustment, levels of antisemitic discrimination and all types of antisemitic victimization in France and Germany are indistinguishable and both are higher than in the UK.

The comparison of the unweighted and weighted Jewish identity indicators reveals that weighting impacts on these indicators more than it impacts on perceptions and experiences of antisemitism (**Figure 12**). This is especially noticeable in the UK and France. The greatest difference between the unweighted and the fully weighted results is 9 percentage points (observed in the UK in relation to intermarriage). Whether or not weighting changes the essentials of the story is in the eye of the beholder and depends critically on the projected uses of these insights. Admittedly, more scientific and more formal statements are possible; it is possible, for example to examine the confidence intervals of the weighted estimates and the degree of their overlap, if any, with the confidence intervals around the unweighted estimates. This, however, does not absolve the scholars and policy makers from clearly articulating the substantive uses of data and the extent to which the size of differences between the unweighted and weighted estimates matters. If only the broad characterization of levels of observance across countries is sought then it is worth noting that with or without weighting one is led to the conclusion that only a minority of Jews keep five-six religious rituals, and less than half eat kosher meat at home, while a majority have a Jewish partner and an absolute majority visited Israel at some point.

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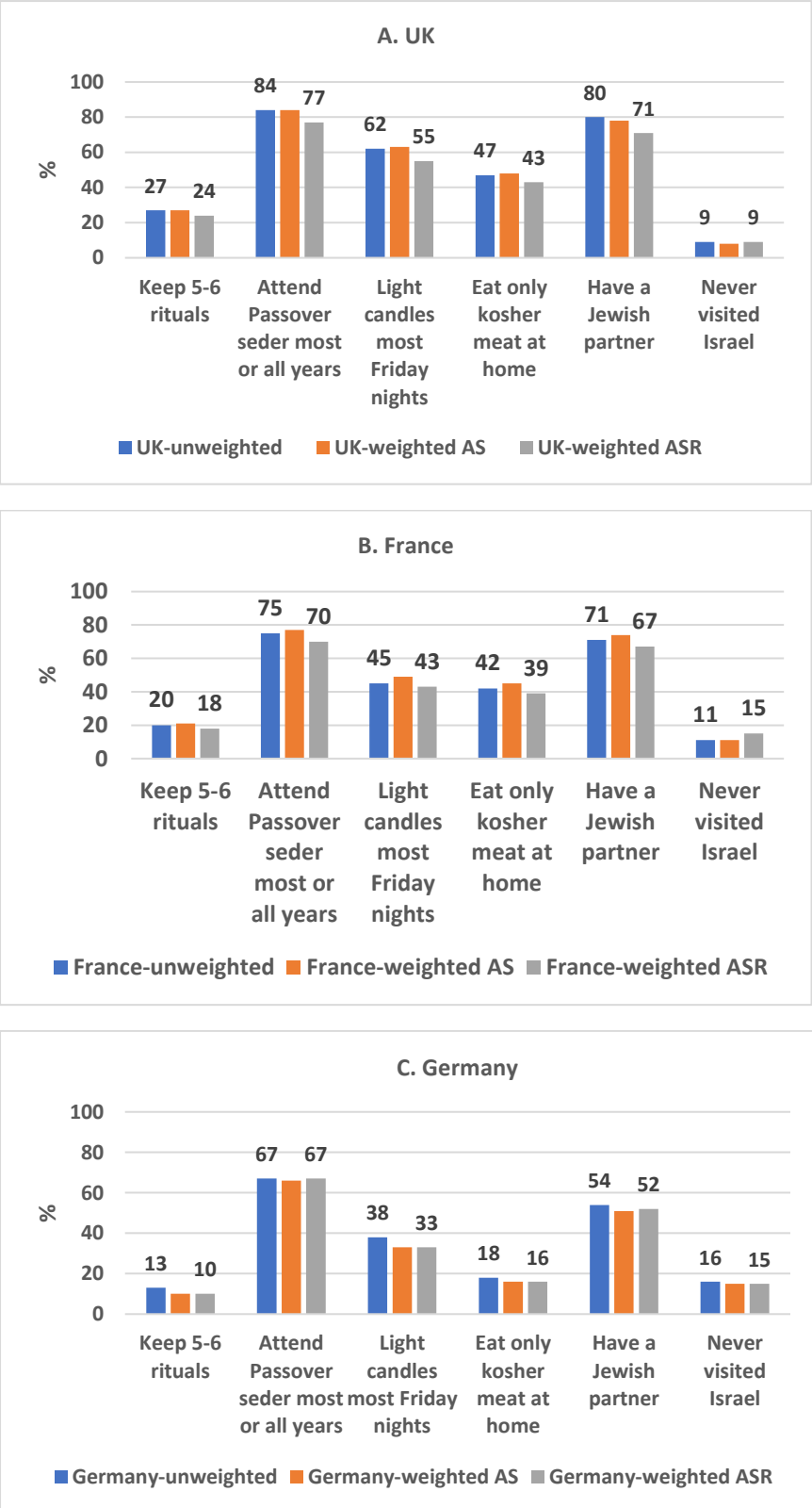
Figure 12. Jewish identity indicators before and after adjustment for key socio-demographics, %



Finally, the previously identified ranking of countries in terms of Jewish identity remains largely the same after weighting (**Figure 13**). In relation to the scope of observance of religious rituals, the scope of inmarriage and the prevalence of visiting Israel is higher in the UK and is followed by France. Germany shows the lowest levels of observance and the highest levels of intermarriage. The only

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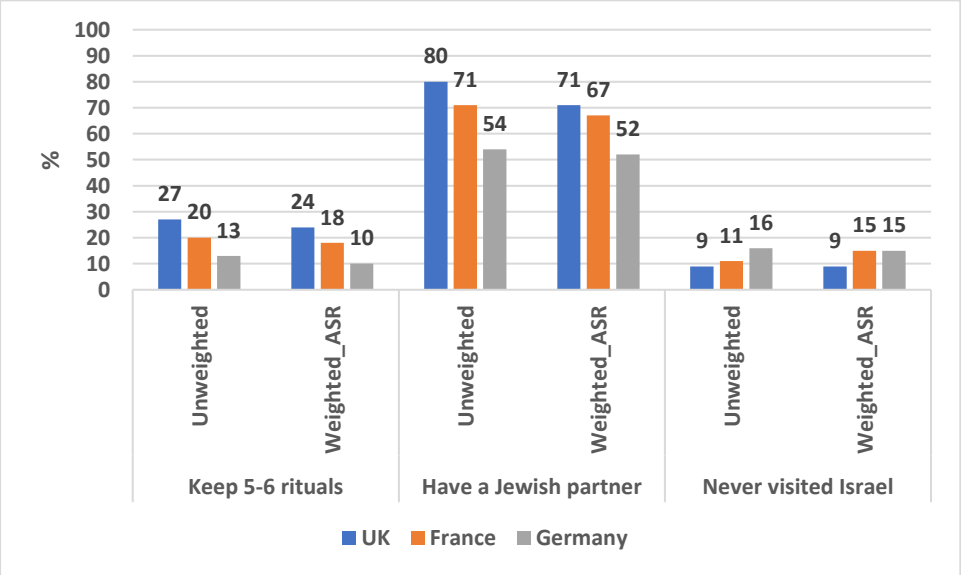
consequential change that takes place following the weighting of the dataset is the ranking of countries concerning the proportion of people who have never visited Israel: France and Germany come closer to each other after weighting, but, given how small this change is in terms of percentage points and the existence of the margin error around the survey estimates, one should not read too much into this.

Figure 13. Selected Jewish identity indicators, before and after adjustment for key socio-demographics, %



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7. Comparisons with other surveys

7.1. Victimization indicators

In this section selected victimization indicators from the FRA 2012 survey are compared to another survey. The comparison concerns *just the British FRA 2012 sample* which is compared with the England and Wales crime survey (EWCS). The purpose of this comparison is to establish the *reliability* of the overall victimization figures derived from the British FRA 2012 sample. Ideally, the comparison should specifically relate to antisemitic victimization, but such a possibility does not exist. The EWCS does not allow the quantification of racially, religiously or ethnically motivated crimes against Jews as these are relatively rare types of crime to be captured in the small annual samples of 110-180 of EWCS Jewish respondents. Still, some comparisons are possible due to the fact that the FRA 2012 study was not limited to antisemitic incidents. Instead, the FRA 2012 survey instrument presented the respondents with questions on all incidents of assault and threats – whether they were related to the respondents' Jewishness or not - and then inquired further about the connection, if any, between the incidents and the respondent's Jewishness. This was done in order to build a broad picture of the victimization of Jews and to contextualize antisemitic incidents. It leads to the conclusion that about 30% of all incidents of physical attack were perceived by the respondents as being related to their Jewishness. Methodologically, such an approach makes it possible to compare the overall (i.e. not specifically antisemitic) annual prevalence of assault and threats in the British FRA 2012 sample with the equivalent measure from the EWCS.

First conducted in 1982, then as the British Crime Survey, the EWCS is an established face-to-face survey of experiences of crime. The EWCS is notable for its large randomly-drawn sample (in terms of size, it is in the range of thirty-two thousand to forty-seven thousand since 2002), high response rate (above 70% in all years) and the inclusion of the religion question. The last feature allows the quantification of victimization measures for all major religious groups in England and Wales (see, for example, Hargreaves 2015 for a detailed investigation of the differences in victimization levels of different religious groups).

The EWCS indicates that among British Jews around 2012 the annual prevalence of physical assault and being subjected to threats is in the range of 3-6%. The levels registered by the FRA 2012 for the UK are very similar (**Figure 14**) and are covered by the 95% confidence interval of the EWCS value.

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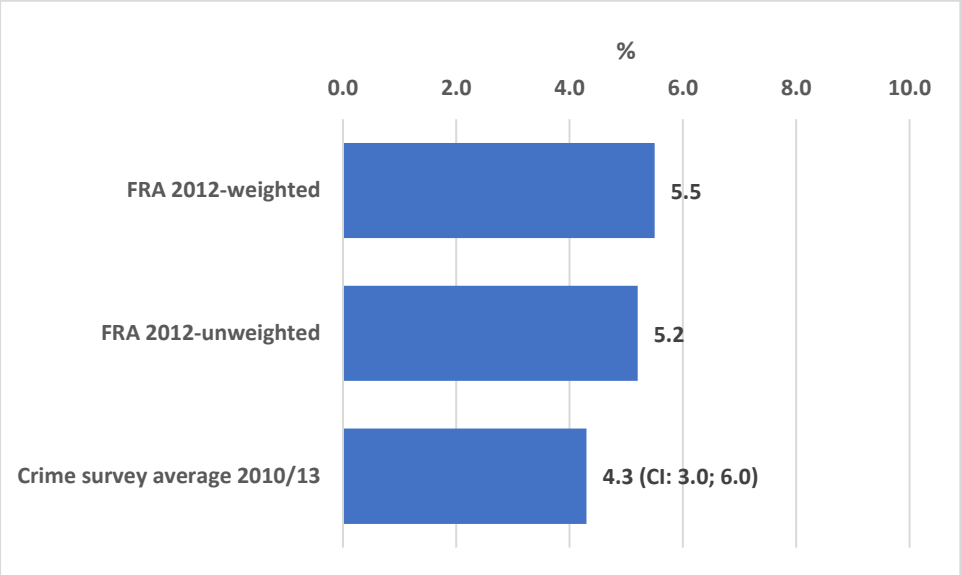
Figure 14. Prevalence of assault and threats (%): British FRA 2012 sample compared to England and Wales crime survey



Note: (1) The EWCS questions about experiences of physical assault and threats in the 12 months preceding the date of the survey read as follows:

(a) "During the last 12 months, has anyone, including people you know well, DELIBERATELY hit you with their fists or with a weapon of any sort or kicked you or used force or violence in any other way?"

(b) "During the last 12 months, has anyone THREATENED you in any way that actually frightened you? Please include threats that have been made by any means, for example in person, on-line or over the telephone"

(c) "During the last 12 months, have you been sexually interfered with, assaulted or attacked, either by someone you knew or by a stranger?"

(d) "During the last 12 months, has any member of your household (aged 16 or over) deliberately hit you with their fists or with a weapon or any sort, or kicked you, or used force or violence on you in any other way?"

In the EWCS datasets these questions are reflected by variables *allass_p* and *threat_p*. For the purpose of comparison to the FRA 2012 both variables were combined into a single binary variable marking as a victim anyone who had experienced physical assault and/or threats. This variable included the following EWCS offence codes: 11 (serious wounding), 12 (other wounding), 13 (common assault), 21 (attempted assault), 32 (serious wounding with sexual motive), 33 (other wounding with sexual motive), 91 (threat to kill/assault made against, but not necessarily to respondent), 92 (sexual threat made against, but not necessarily to respondent), 93 (other threat or intimidation made against, but not necessarily to respondent), 94 (threat against others, made to the respondents).

The comparable FRA 2012 question reads as follows: "In the PAST 12 MONTHS, how often, if at all, has somebody physically attacked you – that is, hit or pushed you – or threatened you in a way that frightened you? This could have happened anywhere, such as at home, on the street, on public transport, at your workplace or anywhere else."

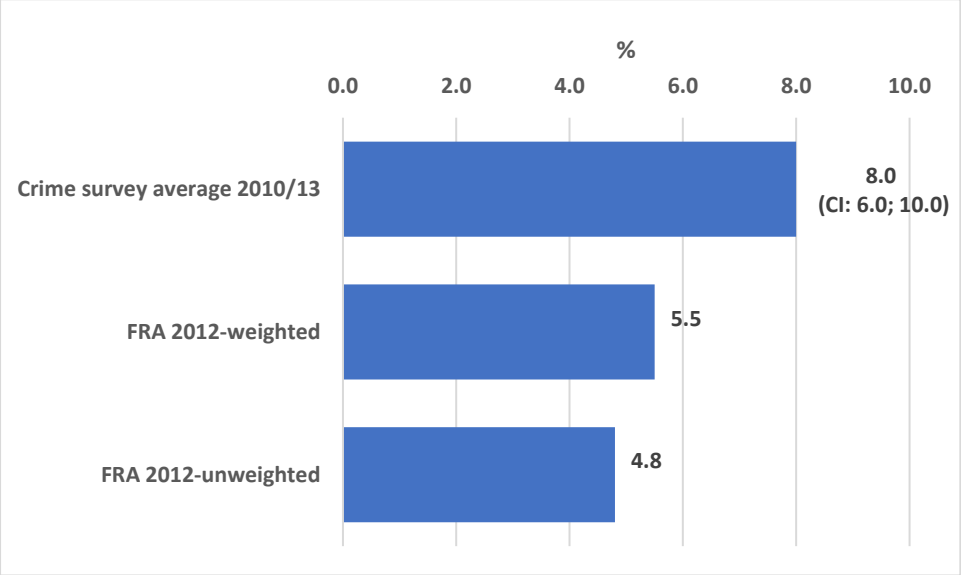
(2) 95% confidence interval appears in brackets.

(3) The 2010/13 average of the prevalence of assault and threats is calculated on the basis of data from three years of the EWCS (2010/11, 2011/12 and 212/13), weighted to reflect the true population size. Confidence intervals are based on the unweighted figures.

(4) FRA 2012 weighted figures are after weighting for age, sex and communal affiliation.

A comparison of figures relating to the prevalence of experiences of vandalism leads to a largely similar conclusion (**Figure 15**). The prevalence of this type of victimization appears to be somewhat higher in the EWCS compared to FRA 2012, perhaps because the EWCS adopts a broader definition of vandalism. Nevertheless, the range of values indicated by the EWCS (6-10% prevalence of experiences of vandalism) comes very close to values arising from the FRA 2012 data, especially the weighted dataset.

Figure 15. Prevalence of experiences of vandalism (%): British FRA 2012 sample compared to England and Wales crime survey



Note: (1) The EWCS questions about experiences of vandalism read as follows:

(a) “During the last 12 months, have you had your vehicle tampered with or damaged by vandals or people out to steal?”

(b) “During the last 12 months, did anyone GET INTO your house/flat without permission and CAUSE DAMAGE?”

(c) “During the last 12 months, did anyone deliberately deface or do damage to your house/flat or to anything outside it that belonged to someone in your household?”

(d) “During the last 12 months, has anything else of yours been DELIBERATELY DAMAGED or tampered with by vandals or people out to steal?”

In the EWCS datasets these questions are reflected by variable *vandal_p.* This variable includes the following EWCS offence codes: 80 (arson), 81-82 (criminal damage to a motor vehicle), 83-84 (criminal damage to the home), 85-86 (other criminal damage).

The comparable FRA 2012 question reads as follows: “In the PAST 12 MONTHS, how often, if at all, has somebody deliberately damaged or vandalised your home or your car, for example with graffiti?”

(2) 95% confidence interval appears in brackets.

(3) The 2010/13 average of the prevalence of assault and threats is calculated on the basis of data from three years of the EWCS (2010/11, 2011/12 and 212/13), weighted to reflect the true population size. Confidence intervals are based on the unweighted figures.

7.2. Jewish identity indicators

In this section selected Jewish identity indicators from the FRA 2012 survey are compared to the existing benchmarks. The benchmarks are: (1) the online panel element of the NJCS survey (based on the IPSOS Mori commercial panel) in the UK; (2) the online panel survey of Jews conducted by IFOP in France, and (3) the national census of England and Wales, 2011. The purpose of this comparison is to establish the *reliability* of Jewish identity figures arising from the British and French FRA 2012 samples.

The suitability of the national census for benchmarking hardly requires an explanation. The British Jewish community benefits from the fact that the national census includes a question on religion – which provides it with opportunities for benchmarking the socio-demographics and, because it collects information on the religious identity of all household members, as well as the level of intermarriage. What qualifies the panel element of the NJCS survey and the IFOP survey for the status of benchmarks in the context of this investigation is their comparatively non-selective nature in relation to the types of Jews included in them. Both surveys are selective in the sense that not everybody in the general population has an equal and/or known probability of inclusion. Inclusion in the survey is conditional on being a respondent to one of the previous surveys or a specialized recruitment process. Effectively, these are surveys where one can expect overrepresentation of especially cooperative, curious and literate members of the general public. For the purpose of extracting the reality about Jewish identity indicators, these characteristics are arguably less consequential than they are for other purposes, as long as patterns of Jewish ritual observance are not strongly related to the selectivity of online panels. Thus, researchers interested in Jewish observance can be more "forgiving" towards these surveys in view of the significant methodological challenge presented by Jewish convenience sampling-based surveys supported by Jewish organizational lists. To put it differently, the online panel element of the NJCS survey and the IFOP survey can be selective but they are not suspected of being *Jewishly selective*.

In relation to all indicators (**Table 1**), we find that the unweighted results from the FRA 2012 survey produce a picture of higher levels of Jewish ritual observance and (for the UK only) intermarriage than the weighted FRA 2012 results. In relation to Jewish ritual observance, the benchmark figures in the majority of comparisons are lower than both the unweighted and the weighted FRA 2012 results. The convenience sampling underlying the FRA 2012 survey leads to a more Jewishly observant sample than one would expect to see from the randomly drawn sample, and weighting cannot be relied upon to correct the bias.

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Table 1. Selected Jewish identity indicators: British and French FRA 2012 samples compared benchmarks

	United Kingdom				
Source	Have a Jewish spouse/partner	Attend Passover seder	Do not switch on lights on the Sabbath	Light candles on Friday night	Keep kosher at home
UK-FRA 2012 unweighted	80%	84%	17%	62%	47%
UK-FRA 2012 weighted	71%	77%	17%	55%	43%
Benchmark	73%	58%	13%	31%	38%
(95% confidence interval)		(53%-64%)	(10%-18%)	(26%-36%)	(32%-43%)
	France				
Source		Attend Passover seder	Observe Yom Kippur		
France-FRA 2012 unweighted		75%	76%		
France-FRA 2012 weighted		70%	69%		
Benchmark		51%	53%		
(95% confidence interval)		47%-55%	49%-57%		

Note:

Benchmark data for the UK: for all indicators apart from having a Jewish spouse/partner: calculations based on the IPSOS online-panel based element of the NJCS study; a slightly different version of these figures can be found in Graham et al. 2014, 44. The difference stems from further adjustments carried out on the basis of improved knowledge of the synagogue affiliation pattern of British Jews, in the aftermath of the synagogue membership survey carried out by JPR in 2016. Having a Jewish spouse/partner is derived from the 2011 census, see Graham 2016, 12.

Benchmark data for France: IFOP 2015, 3, 9.

Passover: In France the question was "Do you celebrate each of the following religious holidays?" with Passover being part of the larger list of Jewish holidays; only response options "Yes" and "No" were presented, which means that the regularity of observance could not be assessed. In theory, the quoted figure could include those whose observance is irregular. In FRA 2012 the question related to attending a Passover seder on most or all years, with response options "Yes" and "No." In the NJCS, used as a benchmark for the UK, the question related to attending a Passover seder meal, with response options: "Never," "Some years," "Most years," "Every year." For comparability with FRA 2012, the prevalence of attending a Passover meal in the UK was calculated as a sum of response options "Most years" and "Every year."

Lights on the Sabbath: In FRA 2012 the question related to refraining from switching on lights on the Sabbath, with response options "Yes" and "No." In the NJCS, used as a benchmark for the UK, the question also related to refraining from turning on lights on the Sabbath, with response options "Yes" and "No."

Friday night: In FRA 2012 the question related to lighting candles most Friday nights, with response options "Yes" and "No." In the NJCS, used as a benchmark for the UK, the question related to lighting candles at home on Friday night, with response options: "Never," "Occasionally," "Every Friday." For comparability with FRA 2012 results, the prevalence of lighting candles was calculated using the response option "Every Friday."

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Keeping kosher at home: In FRA 2012 the question related to eating only kosher meat at home, with response options "Yes" and "No." In the NJCS, used as a benchmark for the UK, the question related to the kind of meat bought for home, with response options: "None-vegetarian/vegan," "Only meat from a kosher butcher," "From an ordinary (not kosher) butcher but not pork products," "From an ordinary (not kosher) butcher, including pork products." For comparability with FRA 2012, the prevalence of keeping kosher in the UK was calculated using the response option "Only meat from a kosher butcher"; response option "None-vegetarian/vegan" was removed from the calculation.

Jewish identity indicators, when properly understood as representative of the more communally involved Jews, i.e. as being reflective of Jewish communities rather than populations, are useful for many purposes. They allow the characterization of organized Jewish communities in Europe and can be used to support research, policy and business initiatives targeting these communities. Cross-country comparisons of levels of observance inside Europe, made on the basis of the findings of the FRA 2012 survey, provide a useful insight into the mosaic of observance levels and tendencies (see Graham 2018, 23-46 for one example of such an analysis). Levels of observance registered by the unaffiliated in the FRA 2012 survey (people who are not formally attached to any communal organization but are close enough to the community to be reached by the survey distributed through communal channels) can be interpreted as the top limit of the levels of observance existing outside of the organized Jewish community. On the other hand, thorough understanding of the FRA 2012 survey as a Jewish communal survey should prevent some questionable uses and facilitate meaningful comparisons. In particular, comparisons of the FRA 2012 survey results to results of other surveys of Jewish identity carried out by different methods and reflective of Jewish populations, as opposed to Jewish communities, may be problematic.

Let us look at some examples. The recent Pew Research Center surveys of Jews in the United States and Israel, both probability-sampling based, allowed contrasting the levels of ritual observance in these two Jewish populations. Levels of observance in Israel were consistently higher than in the US (Pew Research Center 2016, 51). Where does the European Jewish population fit in this comparison? In a recent study of Jewish identity in Europe Graham (2018) suggested that, if FRA 2012 data are taken at face value, Jewish Europe may fit in-between Israel and the USA. However, Graham's study also came with a due warning: "The European survey was based on an open web approach and was targeted at people already on lists held by Jewish organizations and other relevant outlets. Such an approach… is likely to sample a narrower and more engaged Jewish population than either of the Pew studies" (Graham 2018, 17).

Focusing on the UK and France, **Table 2** shows the consequences of addressing the question on comparative ritual observance with different types of data for these Jewish populations. Four indicators are available for the Israel-USA-UK comparison: attending a Passover seder, lighting candles on Friday night, eating kosher food and fasting on Yom Kippur.

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Table 2. Levels of observance of religious rituals in Israel, USA, UK and France compared

	Israel-USA-UK comparison				
Ritual practice	**Israel**	**USA**	**UK-FRA 2012 unweighted**	**UK-FRA 2012 weighted**	**UK benchmark survey**
Attend Passover seder	**93%**	**70%**	**84%**	**77%**	**58%**
95% conf. interval	***(90%-96%)***	***(67%-73%)***			***(53%-64%)***
Light candles on Friday night	**56%**	**22%**	**62%**	**55%**	**31%**
95% conf. interval	***(53%-59%)***	***(19%-25%)***			***(26%-36%)***
Keep kosher at home	**63%**	**22%**	**47%**	**43%**	**38%**
95% conf. interval	***(60%-66%)***	***(19%-25%)***			***(32%-43%)***
Observe Yom Kippur	**60%**	**40%**	**76%**	**67%**	**53%**
95% conf. interval	***(57%-63%)***	***(37%-43%)***			***(47%-58%)***
	Israel-USA-France comparison				
Ritual practice	**Israel**	**USA**	**France-FRA 2012 unweighted**	**France-FRA 2012 weighted**	**France benchmark survey**
Attend Passover seder	**93%**	**70%**	**75%**	**70%**	**51%**
95% conf. interval	***(90%-96%)***	***(67%-73%)***			***(47%-55%)***
Observe Yom Kippur	**60%**	**40%**	**76%**	**69%**	**53%**
95% conf. interval	***(57%-63%)***	***(37%-43%)***			***(49%-57%)***

Note:

Sources: Data for Israel and the USA - Pew Research Center 2016, 51. 95% levels of confidence are in brackets. Information on 95% levels of confidence for the USA is taken from Pew Research Center 2013, 119. Information on 95% levels of confidence for Israel is taken from Pew Research Center 2016, 233.

Benchmark data for the UK: calculations based on the IPSOS online-panel based element of the NJCS study; a slightly different version of these figures can be found in Graham et al. 2014, 44. The difference stems from further adjustments carried out on the basis of improved knowledge of the synagogue affiliation pattern of British Jews, in the aftermath of the synagogue membership survey carried out by JPR in 2016.

Benchmark data for France: IFOP 2015, 3, 9.

Passover: In Israel and the USA the question related to participating in a seder last Passover. In France the question was "Do you celebrate each of the following religious holidays?" with Passover being part of a larger list of Jewish holidays; only response options "Yes" and "No" were presented, which means that the regularity of observance could not be assessed. In theory, the quoted figure could include those whose observance is irregular. In FRA 2012 the question related to attending a Passover seder on most or all years, with response options "Yes" and "No." In the NJCS, used as a benchmark for the UK, the question related to attending a Passover seder meal, with response options: "Never," "Some years," "Most years," "Every year." For

comparability with Israel and the US, the prevalence of attending a Passover meal in the UK was calculated as the sum of the response options "Most years" and "Every year."

Friday night: In Israel and the USA the question related to always/usually lighting Sabbath candles. In FRA 2012 the question related to lighting candles most Friday nights, with response options "Yes" and "No." In the NJCS, used as a benchmark for the UK, the question related to lighting candles at home on Friday night, with response options: "Never," "Occasionally," "Every Friday." For comparability with Israel and the US, the prevalence of lighting candles was calculated using the response option "Every Friday."

Keeping kosher at home: In Israel and the USA the question related to keeping kosher at home. In FRA 2012 the question related to eating only kosher meat at home, with response options "Yes" and "No." In the NJCS, used as a benchmark for the UK, the question related to the kind of meat bought for home, with response options: "None-vegetarian/vegan," "Only meat from a kosher butcher," "From an ordinary (not kosher) butcher but not pork products," "From an ordinary (not kosher) butcher, including pork products." For comparability with Israel and the US, the prevalence of keeping kosher in the UK was calculated using the response option "Only meat from a kosher butcher"; response option "None-vegetarian/vegan" was removed from the calculation.

Yom Kippur: In Israel and the USA the question related to fasting all day last Yom Kippur. In France the question was "Do you celebrate each of the following religious holidays?" with Yom Kippur being part of a larger list of Jewish holidays; only response options "Yes" and "No" were presented, which means that the regularity of observance, and fasting in particular, could not be assessed. In theory, the quoted figure could include those whose observance is irregular. In FRA 2012 the question related to fasting on Yom Kippur on most or all years, with response options "Yes" and "No." In the NJCS, used as a benchmark for the UK the question related to fasting on Yom Kippur, with response options: "Never," "Some years," "Most years," "Every year," "No-due to health reasons." For comparability with Israel and the US, the prevalence of fasting on Yom Kippur in the UK was calculated as a sum of response options "Most years" and "Every year"; the response option "No-due to health reasons" was removed from the calculation.

Using the unweighted FRA 2012 results leads to the conclusion that the British levels of observance are far higher than the American levels and, overall, quite close to the levels observed in Israel. Using the results of the IPSOS online-panel-based element of the NJCS study, serving as a benchmark due to its independence of Jewish organizational lists, tells a different story: the levels of ritual observance in the UK are now much closer to the American levels and notably below the levels observed in Israel.

The Israel-USA-France comparison is based on two indicators of ritual observance and it tells the same story, in essentials. Thus, the picture of ranking that arises from comparisons based on the benchmark is not Jews of Israel/Jews of Europe (high) vs. American Jews (low) but rather Jews of Israel (high) vs. Jews of the USA, the UK and France (low) and at broadly comparable levels when compared to each other.

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8. Conclusion

The main question addressed by the project summarized in this paper is the question of the trustworthiness of survey samples relying on convenience sampling. The convenience sampling method acquired prominence in European Jewish social statistics in view of the difficulties of sampling Jewish populations owing to the persistent "rarity problem": Jews form a small proportion of the general population and cannot be captured in numbers conducive to statistical analysis in general population surveys. So severe is the "rarity problem" that even boosting, a common technique implemented to increase the presence of minority groups in surveys, cannot solve it. Other techniques developed to overcome the "rarity problem," such sampling on the basis of distinctive Jewish names (the DJN method) and respondent-driven sampling (the RDS method) delivered mixed results. Online panels of the general population, created and maintained by commercial survey operators, were used in several Jewish surveys. They were not used as a method of solving the "rarity problem" (after all, the representation of Jews in such panels is aligned with their representation in the general population) but to survey Jews in a faster and cheaper way, as an alternative to the more expensive and demanding DJN method, on the one hand, and the completely non-probability-based convenience sampling method, on the other hand. In the world of Jewish surveys the online panels, arguably, solve the problem of "Jewish selectivity": Jews present on such panels do not represent the most "Jewishly engaged" segment (something, for example, that convenience samples based on Jewish organizational lists do). To date, online panels have performed well in some contexts (notably, in the UK and France); however, they have led to comparatively small Jewish samples. At this point in time, the online panels appear to be the greatest hope for Jewish surveys on the grounds of speed, cost and "non-selectivity" in Jewish terms. Their importance for Jewish surveys is connected to their size and is expected to grow as the sizes of the online panels expand.

Reliance on convenience sampling in the FRA 2012 and FRA 2018 surveys, two major multinational European surveys of Jews, stemmed from a lack of choice. None of the more methodologically rigorous options for Jewish surveys appeared remotely practical. Thus, in the aftermath of the FRA 2012 survey, the scholarly community found itself in possession of a large dataset collected by accessing the databases of various Jewish organizations across Europe, a version of convenience sampling. It is imperative that we try to establish to what extent the results of the FRA 2012 are reliable. The investigation that underlies this paper asked this question twice: once in relation to the perceptions and experiences of antisemitism, which was the main component of the FRA 2012 survey and the main focus of interest of the agency that commissioned the survey; and once in relation to Jewish identity. The latter "made" it into the survey partly as a tool to monitor the survey coverage of different segments of Jews and partly as an area of substantive interest. Our methodology for exploring the survey's trustworthiness is the same in relation to each subject area. The conclusions, however, are specific to each subject area:

In relation to the *perceptions and experiences of antisemitism* amongst Jews we found that:

1) deviations from the socio-demographic benchmarks existed in all three countries, and
2) a variation in Jewish perceptions and experiences of antisemitism across various socio-demographics existed as well, yet it was rather modest and, as a result,
3) the sensitivity of perceptions and experiences to adjustment was also rather low;
4) finally, no benchmark sources exist for ascertaining the levels of antisemitic victimization, however, where levels of general victimization were available (from the England and Wales crime surveys, in the British case), these were well aligned with the levels found in the British FRA 2012 sample.

Thus, we have reason to believe that the FRA 2012 survey obtained a reliable picture of the perceptions and experiences of antisemitism amongst Jews; its findings are useful both for an analytical insight into the Jewish condition in three countries of Europe, and for policy purposes.

In relation to *Jewish identity indicators* we found that:

1) variation across various socio-demographics existed and it was especially strong in relation to Jewish communal affiliation which led to
2) the considerable sensitivity of Jewish identity indicators to adjustments of socio-demographic profile;
3) in addition, a comparison of selected Jewish identity indicators in the UK and France to the available benchmarks made it clear that the FRA 2012 survey is a survey of the more engaged segments of the Jewish populations of these countries: for example, on many occasions benchmarks indicated a lower level of ritual observance compared to the levels found in the FRA 2012 survey.

Interestingly, socio-demographic adjustments brought selected indicators of Jewish identity closer to the benchmarks, but, in some instances the gap never closed completely. This leads us to suggest that the FRA 2012 survey should be viewed as a Jewish communal survey rather than a survey of the Jewish population. This may have been clear from the very fact that the representation of those who are unaffiliated to the Jewish community, however defined, falls short of the benchmarks but the results regarding the behavior of the Jewish identity indicators help to consolidate this understanding. Thus, Jewish identity indicators arising from the FRA 2012 can be seen as reliable (and useful analytically and policy-wise) only if understood as reflective of Jewish communal realities, i.e. the state of Jewish identity characteristic of those who (a) are part of the organized Jewish community in a broad sense (found among the members, affiliates and subscribers of various Jewish communities, organizations, media outlets) and (b) are not part of the organized Jewish community but who, figuratively speaking, encircle its members and affiliates at close orbits.

The reader may reasonably ask at this point: if FRA 2012 should be understood as a Jewish communal survey, rather than as a survey of the Jewish population, does this not also have consequences for the measures of perceptions and experiences of antisemitism? Are they also reflective just of the organized Jewish community? The answer is yes, but the perceptions and experiences of antisemitism outside and inside of the Jewish organized community do not differ to the same extent as Jewish identity indicators do. Sensitivity testing revealed that Jewish identity indicators change considerably more than perceptions and experiences of antisemitism in response to the application of weights that redress the sample and align with the socio-demographic benchmarks. The key to this difference is the difference in the scope of differentiation of these two phenomena. Both perceptions and experiences of antisemitism and Jewish identity indicators vary by Jewish communal affiliation: unaffiliated Jews have the lowest prevalence of antisemitic victimization and the most closely affiliated to the community have the highest; the same is true in relation to Jewish identity indicators: the unaffiliated have the lowest levels of ritual observance, for example, and the most closely affiliated have the highest. However, note the difference: the maximal distance between different categories of Jewish communal affiliation in terms of perceptions and experiences of antisemitism is on a scale of 13-36 percentage points (Figures 4 and 5), while the maximal distance in terms of Jewish identity indicators is on the scale of 33-69 percentage points. It is easy to see why adjustment by the same set of socio-demographic weights matters comparatively more for the Jewish identity indicators. This realization also leads to an additional methodological point regarding the acceptability of convenience samples: such samples are safer (i.e. have greater potential to produce a reliable estimate) in relation to modestly

differentiated phenomena. Strongly differentiated phenomena are at greater risk of being misrepresented when convenience sample socio-demographics are out of tune with the benchmarks. In this case – when strong differentiation is observed – the way to benefit from the data collected by convenience samples is to focus, analytically and policy-wise, on estimates for *subgroups*, patterns of differentiation and the range of values for each substantive phenomenon (be it the prevalence of antisemitic victimization or of Jewish ritual observance) across subgroups, abandoning the ambition to obtain a reliable description of the population as a whole with a single number.

Finally: can convenience samples, in the style collected by the FRA 2012 survey, be relied upon by the scientific community? The answer, that should be obvious by now, is: they can be useful and should not be entirely discarded. However, their usefulness is conditional on the existence of benchmarks for socio-demographic variables and also some other variables, constituting the focus of any given survey, such as the levels of victimization and Jewish identity indicators in this case. Convenience samples cannot be relied upon to generate such benchmarks, but the existence of benchmarks can make convenience samples useful by (1) providing the means of calibrating the samples to correspond to the socio-demographic reality; (2) establishing the extent (and the direction) of the convenience samples' deviations, in relation to any substantive phenomenon they are attempting to capture, e.g. the scope of Jewish ritual observance or the prevalence of antisemitic victimization, and (3) clarifying what segment of the population is represented by a given convenience sample, even if the population as a whole is not. These conclusions are well aligned with those drawn by a similar study of the performance of consumer panels in the context of the American Jewish population (Boxer et al. 2013). The implementation of convenience sampling in Jewish surveys did not develop in defiance of statistical textbooks and proper scientific method. It grew out of desperation in view of the difficulties of carrying out conventional, probability-sampling based surveys, on the assumption, often left unarticulated, that having "something" may be better than having "nothing." This paper reasserts the authority of the statistical textbooks but it also carves out a niche for convenience sampling-based surveys: the existence of an "ensemble" of scientific products generated by conventional scientific methods (probability-based surveys, census and administrative records) provides the context in which findings obtained from convenience samples may become acceptable.

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Appendix

Appendix Table 1. British FRA 2012 sample compared to benchmarks

Variable	Categories	FRA 2012, %	Benchmark, %	Difference (FRA 2012 minus benchmark)
Age	**16-39 years**	24	35	-12
	40-49 years	36	30	6
	60+ years	40	35	6
	Total	100	100	
Sex		**FRA 2012, %**	**Benchmark, %**	**Difference**
	Female	42	52	-10
Geography		**FRA 2012, %**	**Benchmark, %**	**Difference**
	London	63	62	1
		FRA 2012, %	**Benchmark, %**	**Difference**
Education	**With academic degree**	73	42	31
		FRA 2012, %	**Benchmark, %**	**Difference**
Affiliation to a synagogue	**Unaffiliated**	23	42	-20
	Progressive	29	18	11
	Mainstream Orthodox	44	34	10
	Strictly Orthodox	4	6	-2
	Total	100	100	

Note: sources for benchmark data in the UK:

(1) age, sex, geography and education - 2011 census (census Tables DC2107EW, DC2107SC, DC5204EW), data for age, sex and geography are for Great Britain where practically all UK Jews live, data for education are for England and Wales where 98% of all British Jews live. Data links: England and Wales census data can be obtained from Nomis, Official Labour Market Statistics website at https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/detailed_characteristics and Scotland's census data at http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/standard-outputs.html.

(2) affiliation to a synagogue - synagogue membership survey: Casale Mashiah and Boyd 2017.

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Appendix Table 2. French FRA 2012 sample compared to benchmarks

Variable	Categories	FRA 2012, %	Benchmark, %	Difference (FRA 2012 minus benchmark)
Age	**16-39 years**	20	33	-14
	40-49 years	33	32	1
	60+ years	47	35	12
	Total	100	100	
Sex		**FRA 2012, %**	**Benchmark, %**	
	Female	38	51	-13
Geography		**FRA 2012, %**	**Benchmark, %**	
	Paris and Île-de-France	63	56	7
Education		**FRA 2012, %**	**Benchmark, %**	
	With academic degree	90	66	24
		FRA 2012, %	**Benchmark, %**	
Participation	**Communally involved**	93	80	13
communal	**Entirely uninvolved**	7	20	-13
activities	**Total**	100	100	
		FRA 2012, %	**Benchmark, %**	
Origin	**Ashkenazi**	37	24	13
	Sephardi	47	70	-23
	Other	16	6	10
	Total	100	100	

Note: sources for benchmark data in France: Cohen (2009).

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Appendix Table 3. German FRA 2012 sample compared to benchmarks

Variable	Categories	FRA 2012, %	Benchmark, %	Difference (FRA 2012 minus benchmark)
Age	**16-39 years**	33	24	10
	40-49 years	37	27	11
	60+ years	29	49	-20
	Total	100	100	
Sex		**FRA 2012, %**	**Benchmark, %**	
	Female	43	54	-11
Geography		**FRA 2012, %**	**Benchmark, %**	
	Berlin	23	10	13
		FRA 2012, %	**Benchmark, %**	
Education	**With academic degree**	80	63	17
		FRA 2012, %	**Benchmark, %**	
Affiliation	**Communally affiliated**	60	68	-8
	Entirely unaffiliated	40	32	8
	Total	100	100	

Note: sources for benchmark data in Germany: data on sex, geography and communal affiliation are from Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (2013); data on education are from Ben Rafael et al. (2011); data on age are based on both Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (2013) and Ben Rafael et al. (2011), the latter source is used to correct the proportion of Jews in age category 16-39 years because the *Zentralrat's* records are suspected to undercount the youngest Jews.