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EJRA

Social research on European Jewish populations

The state of the field

Dr Keith Kahn-Harris

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The **Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR)** is a London-based research organisation, consultancy and think-tank. It aims to advance the prospects of Jewish communities in the United Kingdom and across Europe by conducting research and informing policy development in dialogue with those best placed to positively influence Jewish life.

Author

Dr Keith Kahn-Harris is Project Director of JPR's European Jewish Archive. He holds a PhD in sociology from Goldsmiths College, London. Since the mid-1990s he has been engaged in social research on contemporary Jewish life. He has been commissioned by a variety of Jewish organisations to write social research reports and has published multiple articles for a variety of publications. He is the author of six books, including (with Ben Gidley) *Turbulent Times: The British Jewish Community Today* (Continuum 2010) and *Uncivil War: The Israel Conflict in the Jewish Community* (David Paul Books 2014). Dr Kahn-Harris is a senior lecturer at Leo Baeck College and holds visiting fellowships at the Pears Institute for the Study of Antisemitism, Birkbeck College and the Centre for the Study of Jewish Culture, Society and Politics at Durham University.

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/ Executive summary

The Institute for Jewish Policy Research situates itself within and contributes to the field of ***social research on contemporary European Jewish populations*** in order to provide data to support Jewish communal planning across the continent. Since 2014, JPR has been developing the **European Jewish Research Archive (EJRA)**, funded by the Rothschild Foundation Hanadiv Europe. EJRA aims to consolidate all existing social research on post-1990 European Jewish populations within one single, freely available, online resource.

EJRA is designed to be a service to community leaders, policy makers and researchers, as well as a resource to help inform the European Jewish research agenda going forward. This report contributes to this process by presenting a detailed statistical analysis of the EJRA holdings, based on a snapshot of the database as it was in July 2019. Through this analysis we are able to pinpoint specific strengths and weaknesses in the coverage of particular issues in particular countries. By finding the gaps in the research coverage, we can suggest possible strategic priorities for discussion by researchers and organisations sponsoring research.

The analysis in this report is based on **2,517 EJRA items**. We are optimistic that this sample constitutes a robust majority of the relevant items of social research post-1990 on European Jewish populations, outside of the known limitations discussed in the Appendix. **Just over half of these EJRA items were published since 2010 and there is a clear overall trend towards an increasing number of items published every year.** The reasons for this growth could not be definitively established but are likely to be due to an overall growth in the output of scholarly research, as well as to a greater interest in this particular field, or particular topics that comprise it.

The 2,517 EJRA records are associated with 1,402 named individual authors, as well as 592 editors of collections (481 of whom do not appear elsewhere as authors). Not all authors and editors have a specialist interest in social research on European Jewish populations. **We divide the authors in the field between approximately 71% who are one-off contributors, 26% authors of multiple works and 3% who have long-term careers in the field.** EJRA includes 75 PhD theses and 61% of the authors have also gone on to author other EJRA items, suggesting some kind of commitment to a research career in the field.

32% of EJRA items are scholarly journal articles. 26% of the collection consists of research or policy reports, demonstrating the significance within the field of items whose intended readership extends beyond academics. **The percentage of items identified as reports appears to have doubled between 1990–1999 and 2010–2019. This is likely to be due to the development across Europe of organisations that issue annual antisemitism monitoring reports.**

There are 600 publishers responsible for the 1,638 items for which a publisher is recorded. 37.5% of the publishers are responsible for more than one EJRA item. As with the authors, there appears to be a core of particularly active publishers, combined with a larger periphery of more occasional publishers. EJRA is populated by publications from a mixture of scholarly and Jewish organisations, with an increasingly important presence of Jewish organisations monitoring antisemitism. **24% of publishers were classified as Jewish and these publishers play a disproportionately important role in the field.**

There are 397 scholarly journals listed on EJRA, responsible for 814 items. 63 journals specialise

in issues of Jewish interest, 15.8% of the total (lower than the percentage of Jewish publishers) and these journals were responsible for 40% of all EJRA journal items. **While certain publications and publishers play a disproportionally greater role in the field, often because they are Jewish-focused, the field has a high degree of dependency on a wider scholarly and research infrastructure.**

EJRA items can be tagged with one or more country tags. The 2,517 items that form the basis of this analysis cover forty European countries. The 'top five' countries are the UK, Germany, France, Russia and Poland. 65% of items are tagged with at least one of the top five countries in the table and 80% are tagged with at least one of the top ten. **The number of items per country seems to vary broadly in line with the size of the country's Jewish population – the larger the Jewish population, the more EJRA items** – with some disproportionate outliers, such as Poland, which seems to attract more research than a Jewish population of its size generally attracts.

78.7% of EJRA items are only tagged with one European country. The size of a country's Jewish population is correlated with the proportion of 'single country' items for that country, but the correlation is weaker compared to that between the Jewish population size and the absolute number of items. **Former communist countries are more likely to be researched in conjunction with other former communist countries.** The extent to which such countries still deserve to be grouped together in social research, nearly thirty years after the fall of communism, is a topic worthy of further discussion. **Conversely, Western European countries collectively constitute nearly 70% of all single coverage items.**

EJRA items are published in 28 languages. Over 66% of items are published in English, with French being the next most prevalent language with nearly 10%. **55% of items that do not include coverage of an English-speaking country are published in the English language.** However, the percentage of English language items covering non-English speaking countries appears to have declined somewhat, from 50% between 1990–1999 to 39% between 2000–2019. **It is possible that a high proportion of English-language items for a non-English speaking country may indicate a Jewish population where research is largely commissioned from outside the country.** Notably, 66% of items that discuss Jewish populations in former communist countries are in English, whereas 53% of items that cover the non-English speaking countries of Western Europe are in English.

EJRA items can be tagged with multiple selections from a list of several hundred topics. Each item is also given one of seven mutually exclusive 'main topic' tags: Identity and Community; Demography and Migration; Education; Culture and Heritage; Holocaust and Memorial; and Other. **Identity and Community and Antisemitism are both associated with approximately 20% of items each, while the other four topics identified each comprise about 8% to 9%.**

Each main topic item is co-tagged with multiple other tags. By comparing the distribution of co-tags for each main topic, we can derive some sense of each main topic's 'cohesiveness' and the degree to which particular research topics are carried out within discreet 'sub-fields', rather than drawing on and contributing to the wider EJRA field and beyond. **Antisemitism and Identity and Community are the most cohesive topics, with Education and Other the least cohesive.**

The proportion of EJRA items dealing with antisemitism more than trebled between 1990–1999 and 2010–19, while the proportion of items dealing with demography and migration more than halved in the same period. The reason for this change in distribution is likely to be that monitoring antisemitism has become a research priority both among Jewish and non-Jewish researchers and research bodies in the last two decades. Concomitantly, the decline in demography and migration items is probably due to the fact that during the 1990s, monitoring

the great waves of immigration from the FSU was a Jewish communal priority. The proportion of items dealing with education doubled during the same time period, which probably reflects, in some cases such as the UK and France, the dramatic growth in the numbers of Jewish young people attending Jewish day schools. **Therefore, the changes in distribution over the three decades seem to reflect a highly responsive field which changes alongside Jewish communal priorities. The downside of this responsiveness may be a lack of any long-term systematic research agenda.**

There are major differences between the distribution of the seven topics across European countries. Cross-country variation appears less pronounced for the Antisemitism, Identity and Community and Other topics. Holocaust and Memorial constitutes 11.9% of items for countries that experienced Nazi occupation, compared to 3.8% of items for countries that did not. Culture and Heritage constitute 14% of items for former communist countries and 7.5% for countries without a communist history – a reflection of the place of Jewish culture in the efforts to revive Jewish life in these countries in the 1990s and thereafter. The proportion of Identity and Community and Antisemitism items are correlated with Jewish population size. **Research on *living* Jewish communities and their concerns – as opposed to the heritage and memorialisation of previous generations of Jews – appears to require a certain critical mass of Jews and a country big enough to sustain a substantial research infrastructure.**

Education, at 8%, has the lowest proportion of EJRA items compared to other topics. Only three countries other than the UK have items in double figures for Education – France with 24, Germany with 17 and Russia with 15. Thirteen countries have no Education tags at all. While Jewish schooling has expanded rapidly across Europe in the last few decades, with Jewish day schools in 26 EJRA countries, thirteen countries in which there is a Jewish school have no Jewish school tags at all. Research on Jews and education, particularly on Jewish schools, is underdeveloped in most countries other than the UK and, to a lesser extent, France, Germany and Russia. There is a lack of even very basic information on Jewish schooling in Europe (although JPR is seeking to rectify this). There is no reliable list of all Jewish schools in Europe, let alone numbers attending, how and what they teach and who runs them. **Without an overarching research framework, Jewish education research is left to individual countries, and most do not have the capacity to conduct it. This stands in stark contrast to antisemitism, and, to a lesser extent, demography, where there are European networks of information-sharing.**

Based on the findings presented in this report, JPR is keen to explore what the future of the field should look like, both with those working in the field and among those who have a stake in its future. Key questions to consider include:

- **What should the research field on contemporary European Jewish life look like?**
  The field has largely evolved organically, driven by the needs, interests and concerns of researchers, academics, communal leaders, organisational agendas and funding bodies. But what should the field look like if it was designed from scratch?

- **Should there be an overarching purpose to research about contemporary European Jewish life?**
  If research into contemporary European Jewish life is to be supported going forward, what should it aim to achieve?

- **What and who should drive the field?**
  To what extent is the field of research into contemporary European Jewish life being driven by anyone, and could it be better coordinated or managed? What infrastructural support needs to be put in place to ensure that research is supported, coordinated and utilised so that its collective value is maximised?

- **Does the field need to grow, and if so, how?**
  What should be the long-term strategic priorities for research in European Jewish populations and who, if anyone, should be responsible for setting these priorities and carrying them out? To what extent should the growth of the field be driven by encouraging particular emphases on certain subject areas, methods and approaches?

- **How might research careers be supported?**
  Should more specialist research positions in the field be created, and if so, what areas of specialisation and types of research skills are required? How might junior researchers be identified and cultivated to help contribute to the field; how might existing researchers be encouraged to invest more of their time studying European Jewish life; and how might those already fully involved be supported, developed and retained?

- **In which communities is research most needed?**
  To what extent should geographical considerations inform the research agenda going forward, and where would research support be most needed or merited?

- **What topics most require further investigation?**
  What initiatives are required to ensure that both the distribution of research topics investigated, and the ability of any single study to contribute constructively to knowledge, are appropriately considered? What is the right balance between 'blue skies' research that enables the researcher to pursue his or her own interests and lines of enquiry, and more systematic work that carefully and deliberately draws on the findings of others to work towards answers and solutions to major communal issues?

- **What kinds of research are needed by Jewish communities?**
  What makes research actionable in Jewish communities? What kinds of methodologies are more likely to feed into effective communal policy-making? And how might the answers to these questions vary in different European countries?

- **What infrastructure needs to be supported or built to strengthen and maximise the value of the field?**
  What infrastructural work needs to be done to enhance the quality and impact of research into contemporary European Jewry? What investments need to be made in researcher recruitment, training and retention; what positions need to be established in which institutions; what research initiatives need to be funded; what mechanisms need to be developed or created to ensure research is published and shared; and what opportunities need to be built for researchers to convene and share ideas?

JPR aims to monitor the development of the field over time, as EJRA grows. **We encourage readers of this report to send us items of research that are not yet on the archive.**

/ Introduction

Introducing the field

The Institute for Jewish Policy Research was established to study contemporary Jewish life and contribute to its development and enhancement. As a research body, it has long had close connections to researchers and academics involved in similar work and has benefited considerably from their contributions. Although JPR is based in the UK, it has always looked beyond the country's borders, conducting research on a variety of Jewish populations around the world and collaborating with researchers around the world in the process. In recent times, JPR has taken a strategic decision to invest considerable resources in the study of European Jewish life, in particular, as can be seen in its recent work on Jewish populations within individual European countries,[1] comparative studies involving multiple European countries,[2] and the work of the newly-established European Jewish Demography Unit.[3]

Research is always more robust when it contributes to an ongoing conversation within a wider field. In the study of contemporary Jewish life, this work requires specialists in multiple disciplines, including demography, sociology, anthropology, education, political science, public policy and history, as well as reflective practitioners working for Jewish communal organisations. The common thread that comprises a distinct and shared field is the study of contemporary Jewish life, sometimes referred to as the study of contemporary Jewry.

This field is reasonably well established in the US, where there are specialist journals, conferences, academic departments and associations that sustain it. Israel, as a nation state, has national institutions dedicated to the study of its population, including most notably, its Central Bureau of Statistics, as well as academic units and research organisations concerned with public opinion. The field of social research in contemporary *European* Jewish life is much less established. There is no specialist journal in this area and, other than JPR, no dedicated Jewish social research organisations or academic departments that work across Europe. There are, of course, individual researchers who specialise in this field and there are also institutions that specialise in one or other aspect of it (particularly in antisemitism). Some individual European countries do have a degree of organisation that allows for collective inquiry into Jewish issues in that country. On the whole, though, this is a fragmented field with few opportunities to contribute to a continuing conversation on a comparative, pan-European basis.

JPR sees the study of contemporary European Jewish life to be an important priority, and thus the development of the field, and the nurturing and development of researchers committed to it, are essential. Comparative research on European Jewish populations suggests that there are important commonalities between many of them. For example, the Jewish populations of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have

1 For example: Privalko, Darina (2014). *Jewish life in Ukraine: Achievements, challenges and priorities from the collapse of communism to 2013*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-ukr2

2 For example: Boyd, Jonathan (2019). *Young Jewish Europeans: perceptions and experiences of antisemitism*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research; Brussels: European Commission; Vienna: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-846

3 Staetsky, L. Daniel, DellaPergola, Sergio (2019). *Why European Jewish Demography? A foundation paper*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-847

faced similar challenges of post-communist reconstruction and outward migration. Jewish populations in Western Europe have faced similar challenges in developing a communal infrastructure that can respond effectively to changing manifestations of antisemitism.

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At the same time, the differences that exist across the continent – driven by distinctive histories, languages, cultures, politics and demographics – often help to highlight elements of the Jewish experience in particular places which would be less clear without the comparisons generated by multinational analyses. Thus the study of contemporary European Jewish life as a distinct field can help to create synergies, partnerships, support networks and shared insights, all of which help to enhance our understanding of Jewish life both within individual communities and across the continent. Moreover, while 'Europe' is not an undifferentiated whole, and its borders are understood differently for different purposes, it is commonly understood as a distinctive location of Jewish life[4] and a distinctive location for social research.

The European Jewish Research Archive

In 2014, JPR began a long-term project designed to consolidate and publicise the field of social research on European Jewish populations. Funded by the Rothschild Foundation Hanadiv Europe, the European Jewish Research Archive (EJRA) aims to concentrate all existing social research on post-1990 European Jewish populations within one single, freely available, online resource. The reason for the post-1990 cut-off date is that this constituted a new era in both European Jewish life and in Europe more generally, with the collapse of communism, together with the enlargement and closer integration of the European Union.

EJRA can be accessed at https://jpr.org.uk/archive.

EJRA was initially modelled on the Berman Jewish Policy Archive (BJPA) at Stanford University.[5] EJRA's database contains an import of the BJPA collection as of 2016 and there is a prominent link to EJRA on the BJPA homepage. However, the collection policies of BJPA differ in certain respects to EJRA's and the majority of the BJPA collection is US-focused.

By consolidating records of items of social research that have been published across multiple different European countries, EJRA provides a common platform for previously disparate (and often difficult to access) publications to a wider audience of both researchers and policymakers. The resource assists researchers and policymakers to look at the contemporary Jewish issues that have been investigated in their own countries and across Europe. In the long term, EJRA aspires to be a pillar of a pan-European fieldof research.

4 In a well-known formulation, Diana Pinto has called Europe the 'third pillar' of world Jewry, alongside the US and Israel: Pinto, Diana *The Third Pillar? Toward a European Jewish Identity*. Central European University, Budapest, Jewish Studies Lecture Series. March 1999. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-eur68

5 www.bjpa.org/bjpa

EJRA is searchable on a separate page of JPR's website. The powerful archiving system upon which EJRA is based, CollectionIndex+, developed by the company System Simulation, ensures that the database can cope with complex eventualities such as individual authors using variant names across multiple publications. Searches return records of individual items, including reports, books, collections and journal articles. EJRA is searchable by multiple categories, including author/editor names, geographical coverage, topic, language, date and title. Individual records contain, where possible, full bibliographical information and an abstract, including ISBNs and DOIs (Digital Object Identifier). When copyright permits, item records are accompanied by a freely downloadable pdf; if this is not possible, a link to a download is included if one is available.

Individual item record web pages include metadata that can be read by online searches. EJRA items appear in Google Scholar searches. Indeed, Google Scholar is one of the principal ways in which users 'find' the archive and its holdings.

The process of populating EJRA has taken five years to reach the point where we are confident that its holdings contain a representative majority of relevant records in most areas. In broad terms, we have sought to include every item that:

- was published since 1990, based on research conducted wholly or in part on a European Jewish population since 1990;
- covers, in whole or in part, the Jewish population of one or a number of European countries, defined for this purpose to include the countries of the former Soviet Union, excluding those within the Caucuses and Central Asia;
- covers issues that pertain, in whole or in part, to post-1990 Jewish life;
- is based on social research, broadly defined, or speaks to issues discussed in social research in this area.

The inclusion criteria are discussed in more detail in the Appendix.

About this report – researching EJRA's holdings

From the beginning of the process of building EJRA, the archive was designed to be not only a service to community leaders, policymakers and researchers, but also a resource to inform the European Jewish research agenda going forward. By analysing the EJRA holdings, now that we are confident of their comprehensiveness, we are able to pinpoint specific strengths and weaknesses in the coverage of particular issues in particular countries. By finding the gaps in the research coverage, we can suggest possible strategic priorities for researchers and organisations sponsoring research.

Having reached the point where we are satisfied that EJRA is complete enough for this research to be undertaken, this paper reports on what we have discovered.

CollectionIndex+ allows for sophisticated searches and the generation of analytics about the items it holds. In addition, it allows for the export of the database into a CSV file that can be analysed in Excel and statistical packages such as SPSS. The analysis that follows uses these tools, treating individual items as 'cases' and record fields as 'variables'. The analysis is based on a snapshot of the database as it was in July 2019, after which over 300 further items have been added (as of August 2020).

The principle of using statistical tools to analyse fields of research is not novel. A recent study examined the field of research in Jewish education through analysing referencing

in scholarly journal articles.[6] Another study of the field of sociology drew on automated text analysis of journal article abstracts.[7] However, the particular characteristics of the EJRA database required an approach that differs significantly from other studies.

The basis of most research of this kind is an analysis of references in scholarly publications, particularly scholarly journals. The development of searchable metadata has built on long-running indices of citation to enable sophisticated data mining. However, from its inception, EJRA has included not just conventional scholarly publications but also reports from Jewish and other organisations that are rarely included in scholarly databases. Further, whereas most analyses of scholarly fields focus extensively on citation practices, in many cases the citations included in the EJRA item are unavailable as we have no access to a copy of the text. This is true of many non-academic reports and is true even of scholarly publications in some countries and languages, particularly in the case of publications from the 1990s to which scholarly metadata have not subsequently been added.

The analysis was methodologically challenging and is discussed in detail in the Appendix. Within the limitations that we identify, we are confident that the findings outlined here tell us important things about the field.

How to read this report – an appeal for assistance

We urge readers of this paper to examine its findings with a critical eye. The robustness of the analysis depends on the EJRA database being comprehensive in its coverage, within the known limitations discussed in the Appendix. When identifying a particular 'gap', readers with knowledge of research in that area are encouraged to check our holdings in this area using the online search tool. If we have neglected to include more than the occasional item, readers should get in touch to draw our attention to what is missing. EJRA depends on engagement with users to identify items that meet our inclusion criteria.

The findings of this report should therefore be seen as provisional. We hope to repeat a similar analysis in the future, once we have addressed the possible limitations of the database. For now, though, this report represents the first systematic attempt to survey the field of research on post-1990 European Jewish populations.

6 Ari Y. Kelman, Marva Shalev Marom, and Benjamin Keep, 'What We Talk About When We Talk About Research in Jewish Education: How References Produce a Field', *Journal of Jewish Education* 85, no. 3 (3 July 2019): 240–67. doi.org/10.1080/15244113.2019.1639115

7 Carsten Schwemmer and Oliver Wieczorek, 'The Methodological Divide of Sociology: Evidence from Two Decades of Journal Publications', *Sociology*, 54 no. 1 (2020). doi.org/10.1177%2F0038038519853146

1 / How much research is there on European Jewry?

At the time the research was conducted, there were 2,709 items available online through the EJRA database. In addition, EJRA hosts 10,776 historic item records imported from the BJPA database, that are searchable via an option in the search form.

The analysis that follows excludes the BJPA items as well as EJRA items that are outside our official inclusion policy.[8] Removal of these items reduces our sample of analysed items from 2,709 to a total of 2,517.

While we do not claim that these 2,517 items constitute every single item of social research published on European Jewish populations since 1990, we are optimistic that they constitute a robust majority and that, outside of the known limitations discussed in the Appendix, the sample we have is representative of the whole.

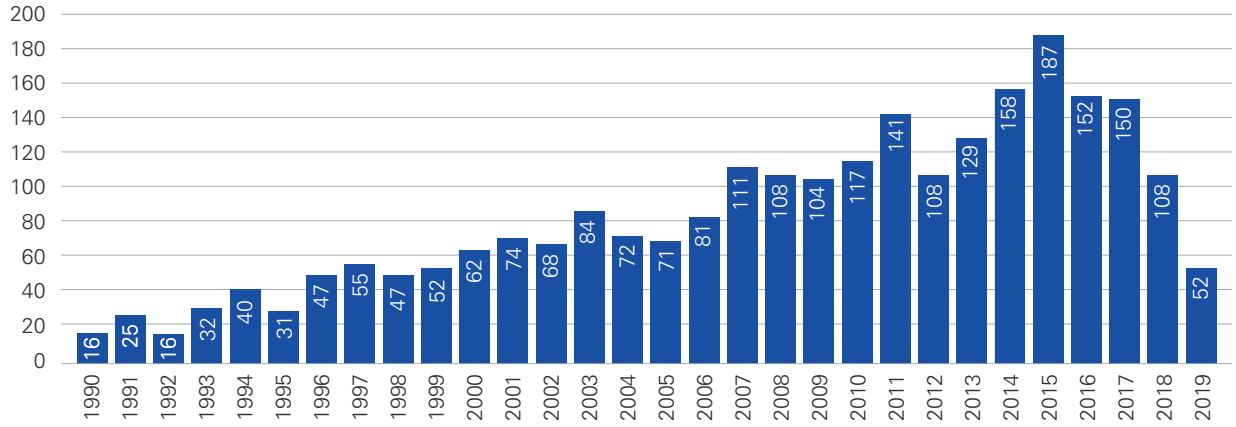
Just over half of the EJRA items were published from 2010 onwards:

Table 1. EJRA items by publication year in three bands

Publication year (in three bands)	Frequency	Percentage
1990–1999	361	14.3
2000–2009	835	33.2
2010–2019	1,306	51.9
Unknown	*15*	*0.6*
Total	**2,517**	**100**

Looking at publication frequencies on a year-by-year basis, there is a clear overall trend towards an increasing number of items published every year, peaking in 2015:

Figure 1. EJRA publication numbers per year



8 These items include the scanned archive of the *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, dating back to 1962, which was offered to us and is available nowhere else. EJRA also includes incomplete collections of items dealing with the Jewish populations of Turkey as well as the Central Asian and Caucasian successor states to the Soviet Union.

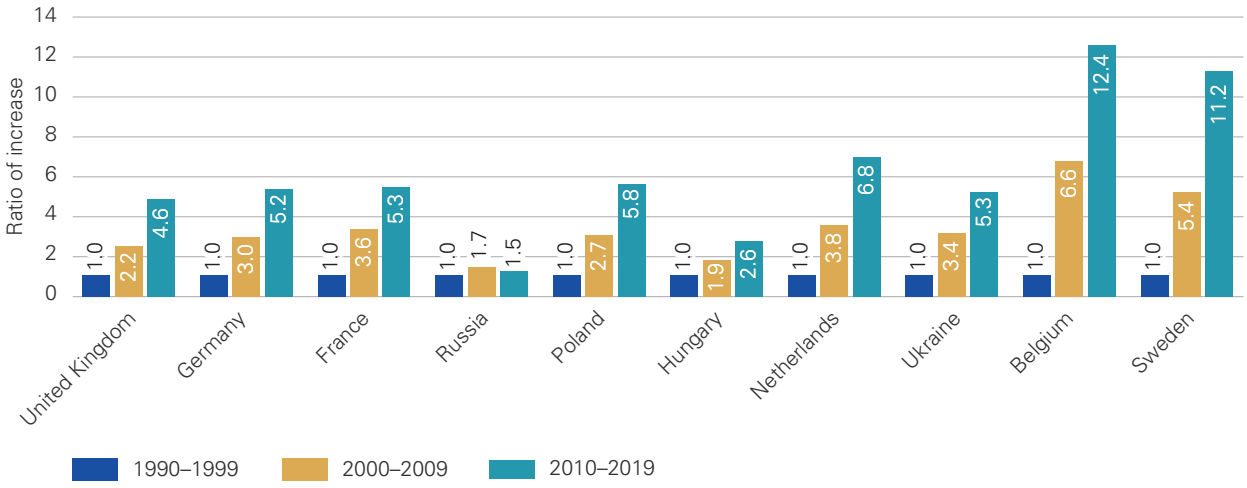
The fall-off of the numbers since 2015 may be due to a timelag between publication and the dissemination of publication details to the point where they become known to EJRA. This is certainly the case for 2019 (which, in any case, only covers half a year, since the analysis is based on the database as it was in July 2019, after which nearly fifty further items were added, to make a total similar to 2018).

While, as discussed in the Appendix, we acknowledge that items published in the pre-internet era are more likely to be missing from the database than more recent ones, the sheer scale of the year-on-year growth suggests that there is a genuine underlying trend at work. The total of 187 items published in 2015 is over eleven times that of the total of 16 in 1990.

If, as seems likely, there has been significant growth in research output since 1990, what might account for it?

One initial hypothesis was that the growth is a result of an increase in the proportion of research published in former communist countries, given that research on Jewish populations in these countries was often difficult before that date. However, there was no evidence of this in the analysis. It was impossible to establish a discernible pattern for variations in the rate of growth across countries, former communist or not. Figure 2 shows the ratio by which research output increased since 1990–1999 over the subsequent decade bands, for the top ten countries by research output.

Figure 2. Ratio of increase in publication volume for selected EJRA countries



As the chart shows, the five former communist countries in the top ten varied somewhat in their rates of increase, with Poland's 2010–2019 output nearly six times that of the first decade (Germany and Ukraine show similar patterns), but Russia's research output has been far more stable over time and even decreased slightly in the 2010s compared to the previous decade.

Another hypothesis was that the increase in publication volume stemmed from a growing interest in Jewish populations and Jewish lives in Europe (and perhaps worldwide too). Maybe there has been a growing sense of urgency among European Jews to understand the local issues? Certainly, as we shall see in a later section, there have been 'spikes' in publication volumes on particular topics that coincide with wider shifts in Jewish communal preoccupations. On the other hand, as we will also show later, social research on Jews in Europe also depends on interest from publishers, institutions and funders who are not Jewish and, hence, are perhaps less influenced by Jewish communal priorities.

A more robust hypothesis is that the increase in publications in this field is related to a more general increase in scholarly publishing output.[9] Although not all authors of EJRA publications are university-based, in many countries academics are under increasing pressure to publish more frequently in refereed publications. In some cases, there are indications that where once a scholar might have published a single monograph, output is now maximised by producing a number of journal articles or book chapters.[10] In addition, the process of publication has become much easier and quicker with the development of online publication and communication, lowering barriers to entry.

The EJRA database provides some evidence for this hypothesis. As Table 2 shows, when comparing the number of publishers and the number of scholarly journals recorded on the database, there is a clear increase in each over of the three decades covered by EJRA.[11]

Table 2. EJRA scholarly journal and publisher output frequencies by decade

	1990–1999	2000–2009	2010–2019	Total[12]
Publishers	143	257	338	600
Number of items[13]	227	590	930	1,777[14]
Items per publisher[15]	1.6	2.3	2.8	3.0
Scholarly journals	79	158	233	397
Number of items[16]	137	262	414	814
Items per journal	1.7	1.7	1.8	2.1

These statistics suggest a growth in the infrastructure for research publication. The table also presents a calculation of the average number of items for which each publisher or journal is responsible over the three decades. In the case of journals, there is little difference over time. This implies that the growth in journals represented on EJRA is concomitant with the growth in the number of individual journal articles. In the case of publishers, there has been a modest growth in the average number of items for which each is responsible, suggesting that, in this case at least, the growth in the number of publications is somewhat greater than the growth in the number of publishers.

9 See, for example: *The STM Report An overview of scientific and scholarly publishing*, STM, October 2018. www.stm-assoc.org/2018_10_04_STM_Report_2018.pdf. 'The number of articles published each year and the number of journals have both grown steadily for over two centuries, by about 3% and 3.5% per year respectively. However, growth has accelerated to 4% per year for articles and over 5% for journals in recent years. The reason is the continued real terms growth in research and development expenditure, and the rising number of researchers, which now stands at between 7 and 8 million, depending on definition, although only about 20% of these are repeat authors' p.5.

10 For example, the following British study found a sharp drop in monograph publication and a concomitant rise in journal publication since the introduction of the government research assessment exercises: *Publication patterns in research underpinning impact in REF2014 A report to HEFCE by Digital Science*, HEFCE, July 2016. https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/26933/1/2016_refimpact.pdf

11 By publisher we mean publishing houses, organisations publishing their own reports and universities responsible for theses. By scholarly journals, in most cases we mean a refereed journal, but in some cases a scholarly journal is understood more loosely to be a journal published by and for researchers.

12 Note that in this column, the total number of publishers and the total number of journals are not the sum of the previous three cells: the list of publishers and journals for each of the three decades overlaps considerably.

13 The number of items for which a publisher could be recorded (i.e. not scholarly journals).

14 This figure is slightly more than the sum of the previous three cells. The reason for this is that the publishing dates for a small number of items cannot be ascertained. There is a similar discrepancy in the number of items in the journals row.

15 This is calculated by dividing the two cells above. An alternative measure would be the mean number of items per publisher, calculated by dividing the total number of items associated with each publisher. That total is larger than the number of items, since some items have more than one publisher. However, as it transpired, the mean number of items per publisher is almost identical to the items per publisher.

16 The number of items categorised as journal articles or special issues.

As Table 3 shows, this expansion of the scholarly publishing infrastructure is accompanied by a growth in the absolute number of named authors responsible for EJRA publications over the three decades.[17] However, the number of items per author has only grown slightly. This finding casts doubt on the hypothesis that scholars are becoming, either willingly or through institutional pressure, more productive in this field.

We can, therefore, conclude that the output of the field has grown in absolute terms since 1990. While we cannot establish definitively why this is the case, the reasons are likely to be some combination of greater interest in this area (or in particular topics within it) across Europe both institutionally and by individual scholars, together with an expansion in scholarly publication more generally.

Table 3. EJRA author output frequencies over three decades

	1990–1999	2000–2009	2010–2019	Total[18]
Number of authors	291	545	784	1,402
Number of items	361	835	1,306	2,502
Items per author	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.8

17 As discussed in the Appendix, not all items have a named individual author as some are collectively authored by an institution or working party. If the individuals who work on these items anonymously were taken into account, the number of items per author would be even lower.

18 See caveats for the 'total' column of the previous table.

2 / Who researches European Jewish populations?

The 2,517 EJRA records are associated with 1,402 named individual authors. Individual items may be authored by a single author or multiple authors.

Some items are the work of authors who have briefly entered the field, whereas others are the work of authors who have dedicated an entire career to it. Not all of the authors on EJRA are social researchers *per se*. Some, for example, have published a one-off 'think piece' on an issue of Jewish concern that is more substantial than a newspaper op-ed (the latter are not included in EJRA).

EJRA also records 592 editors of collected works, 481 of whom do not appear elsewhere in the database as authors. An editor of a collection that includes items of interest to EJRA may or may not have specialist expertise in the EJRA field. In some edited collections, particularly those that compare minority communities, there may only be one chapter that concerns Jews.[19] In addition, some jointly authored books and articles, particularly those that compare minority communities, involve collaboration between an author(s) with expertise in the EJRA field and author(s) with other expertise.[20]

All these factors make estimating the size of the cohort of researchers that constitutes the field a complicated business. One way of distinguishing the occasional entrant to the field from those with greater expertise and commitment, is to separate authors of one EJRA item from those who have authored multiple items. In total, 406 authors have contributed to more than one work on EJRA, constituting 29% of the total number of authors. These '+1' authors are associated with an average of 4.25 items each. This demonstrates how far this 'core' is disproportionately responsible for much of EJRA's content.

This figure of nearly 30% is remarkably consistent throughout the period EJRA covers. In each of the three decades, the percentage of authors who have contributed to more than one item in that decade is between 27% and 29%. This figure also applies to the body of research on individual EJRA countries. With regard to the top ten countries in terms of EJRA coverage, the proportion of authors who have contributed more than one item ranges from a minimum of 21% (Sweden) to a maximum of 34% (Ukraine).

Of course, there are a considerable number of authors who have contributed to many more than two items. The following table lists all of the 27 authors who are responsible, either individually or with a co-author, for ten or more EJRA items, and states the main countries of expertise for each.

19 For example: Karady, Viktor *Problèmes ethniques et communautés particularistes sous le 'socialisme réel'. Juifs, Allemands et Tsiganes en Hongrie depuis 1945*. L'Europe Centrale et ses minorités : vers une solution européenne?. Presses Universitaires de France. 1993: 145–165. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-hun52

20 For example: Loewenthal, Kate Miriam, MacLeod, Andrew K., Cook, Susan, Lee, Michelle *The suicide beliefs of Jews and Protestants in the UK: How do they differ?* Israeli Journal of Psychiatry and Related Sciences. 2003: 174–181. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-969

Table 4. Authors of ten or more EJRA items

Author	Number of associated EJRA items	Principle EJRA countries of expertise
Graham, David	39	UK
Tolts, Mark	35	former Soviet Union
Boyd, Jonathan	27	UK/pan-Europe
Miller, Helena	22	UK
Likhachev, Vyacheslav	21	Ukraine/former Soviet Union
Cohen, Martine	19	France
Cohen, Erik H.	18	France
Kovács, András	18	Hungary
Podselver, Laurence	18	France
Schmool, Marlena	18	UK
Gitelman, Zvi	17	former Soviet Union/Eastern Europe
Staetsky, Daniel	16	UK/pan-Europe
Kosmin, Barry	15	UK/pan-Europe
Dencik, Lars	14	Sweden
Kahn-Harris, Keith	14	UK
Loewenthal, Kate Miriam	14	UK
Nosenko-Stein, Elena	14	Russia
Trigano, Shmuel	13	France
Vincze, Kata Zsófia	13	Hungary
Glöckner, Olaf	12	Germany
Khanin, Vladimir Zeev	12	Ukraine/former Soviet Union
Waligórska, Magdalena	12	Poland
Bodemann, Y. Michal	11	Germany
Vulkan, Daniel	11	UK
Harris, Paul Anthony	10	Germany
Karady, Viktor	10	Hungary
Kranz, Dani	10	Germany

The countries covered by these authors coincide reasonably closely with the largest European Jewish populations (as discussed below). This suggests that a research career in this field requires specialising in a country or countries that have a more than nominal Jewish population.

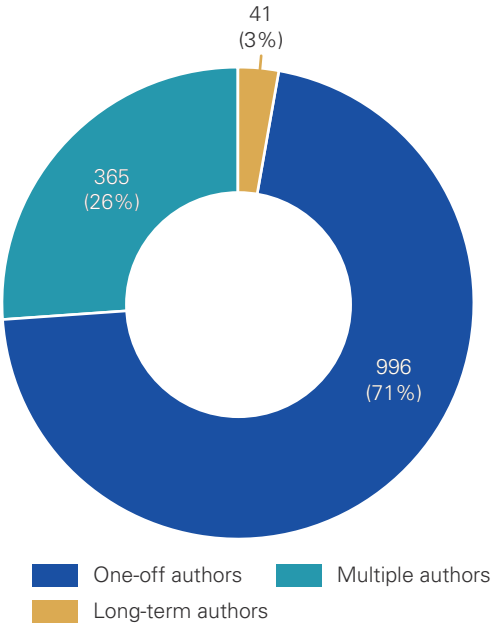
The 27 authors of 10 or more EJRA items represent 2% of the total number of authors. It is safe to assume that their careers have concentrated on research in the EJRA field.

Another way of identifying those with a long-term research career in the field is to look at the years in which they have published. 41 authors (just under 3% of the total) have published at least one EJRA item in all three decades that the archive covers. Their presence in the archive is disproportionate, with an average of 8.8 EJRA items per author. There are also another 141 authors who have published at least one item in two of the decades EJRA covers, with an average of 4.7 EJRA items per author.

Given that there is no one method of identifying the number of EJRA authors with long-term research careers, it is reasonable to take the 41 who have published in all three decades as a bare minimum. To have contributed actively to the field since 1990–1999 excludes those who are less than 40 years of age, but this exclusion is offset by those who have contributed intensely over a shorter period.

To summarise, the proportion of authors who are one-off contributors, authors of multiple entries and long-term careerists is given in Figure 3.

Figure 3. EJRA authors by degree of contribution



Given that we have no data with which to compare these percentages, it is difficult to ascertain whether the proportions are 'healthy' for the field or not. They certainly suggest that there have probably been no more than 400 researchers who have had a more than nominal interest in this field over the last thirty years. Since these researchers are spread across multiple countries and do not all share a common language, the numbers may approach the minimum limit of viability with regard to establishing a unifying European Jewish research structure including associations, conferences, journals and the like. At the same time, the field also encompasses nearly three times this number of occasional entrants who make significant one-off contributions in some area. It may be that at least some of these researchers – who number nearly 1,000 over the thirty years covered by EJRA – could be enticed and incentivised into the field.

While we know little of the institutional pathways in different countries that lead researchers to specialise in the social scientific study of Jews, nor of the country-specific barriers to a career in this field, we can state that EJRA includes records of 75 PhDs. This is likely to be an underestimate, at least for the early years of the period EJRA covers, given that the now common practice of depositing doctorates in online university repositories has proceeded at different rates in different countries. In addition, in some countries, particularly in Northern Europe, it is standard practice to publish a doctorate as a book as part of the process of passing it, meaning that it is possible that some monographs in the collection are in fact PhDs.

Some items are the work of authors who have briefly entered the field, whereas others are the work of authors who have dedicated an entire career to it

What we are able to say is that 46 authors of PhDs recorded in EJRA – 61% of the total – have also gone on to author other EJRA items, suggesting some kind of commitment to a research career that, at minimum, includes exploiting PhD research. Whether this figure of 61% is higher or lower than is the case in other fields is unknown. It is far from guaranteed that doctoral research in this field will lead to a long-term career within it. It is also possible that post-doctoral pathways vary between countries too. Although EJRA holdings of PhDs are likely to be underestimated with regard to some countries, it is interesting to note that only 39% of UK holders of PhDs published other EJRA items, whereas 100% of French holders did. This could suggest that French doctoral students in this field are more focused on developing academic careers and that universities encourage this progression. Anecdotally, we are aware of a number of British holders of doctorates in the field who conducted research late in their careers without the specific intention of developing a scholarly publishing career.

3 / Who publishes research on European Jewish populations?

EJRA lists the genre of publication in each item record. The frequency and percentage of different genres break down as follows:

Table 5. Frequency of EJRA publication genres

Publication genre	Frequency	Percentage
Scholarly journal article/issue	802	31.9
Report	661	26.3
Book chapter/section	349	13.9
Book	248	9.9
Edited collection	149	5.9
Paper/working paper/pamphlet	97	3.9
Doctoral thesis[21]	75	3.0
Conference presentation or lecture	39	1.6
Conference proceedings	39	1.6
Non-doctoral thesis or level not known[22]	31	1.2
Magazine/newspaper/ newsletter/blog article	17	0.7
Other or cannot be identified	10	0.4
Total	**2,517**	**100**

As the dominant genre in scholarly publishing, it is perhaps no surprise that the most common type of EJRA item is the scholarly journal article, (usually peer reviewed), with nearly 32% of the collection. However, over 26% of the collection consists of research or policy reports, demonstrating the significance within the field of items whose intended readership extends beyond academics.

The percentage of items identified as reports appears to have doubled between 1990–1999 and 2010–2019 and, concomitantly, the percentage of some genres of scholarly publications has declined. One likely explanation for the increase in the proportion of reports is the development across Europe of organisations that issue annual antisemitism monitoring reports.[23]

The database includes a large list of publishers from across the world. There are 600 publishers responsible for the 1,638 items for which a publisher is recorded.[24] 'Publisher' may mean a publisher of books, an organisation releasing reports or, in the case of theses, a university department.[25] While co-publishing is not as common a practice as co-authoring, there are instances where two or more organisations have collaborated on a publication and are listed as co-publishers.

225 of the listed publishers are responsible for more than one EJRA item. This represents 37.5% of the total number of publishers, a little higher than the proportion of authors responsible for more than one item. They are associated with an average of 7.89 items each. Again, as with the authors, there appears to be a core of particularly

21 This category also includes a small number of clinical doctorates and habilitation theses (the latter is a post-doctoral qualification used in some countries).

22 Given that Masters or Undergraduate theses are produced in greater numbers than doctoral theses, EJRA only includes a token number of them, selected by quality and significance. This is the only type of EJRA item for which quality is an inclusion criterion.

23 For example: the Community Security Trust in the UK and Service de Protection de la Communauté Juive in France.

24 Note that, as is usual in most bibliographic styles, publishers are not routinely recorded for scholarly journals.

25 Different departments of the same university have, in most cases, been aggregated together in the analysis stage.

active EJRA publishers, combined with a larger periphery of more occasional publishers.

Over the three decades that EJRA covers, there have been some modest but significant changes in the distribution of particular genres:

Table 6. Proportions of EJRA publication genres over three decades

Publication genre	Publication year in 3 bands		
	1990–1999	2000–2009	2010–2019
Scholarly journal article/issue	38.9%	30.4%	31.2%
Report	16.8%	20.0%	32.6%
Book chapter/section	13.7%	18.0%	11.4%
Book	13.4%	11.4%	8.0%
Edited collection	6.4%	6.8%	5.2%
Paper/working paper/pamphlet	3.1%	5.3%	3.2%
Doctoral thesis[26]	2.0%	2.9%	3.4%
Conference proceedings	1.1%	1.2%	1.9%
Conference presentation or lecture	2.5%	1.7%	1.0%
Non-doctoral thesis/dissertation or level not known	0.6%	1.4%	1.3%
Magazine/newspaper/newsletter/blog article	1.4%	0.6%	0.5%
Other	0.0%	0.2%	0.2%

The list of publishers responsible for ten or more items is shown in the following table. This list shows how EJRA is populated by publications from a mixture of scholarly and Jewish organisations. It also demonstrates the growing presence of European organisations monitoring antisemitism in particular countries.

The full list of publishers was examined more closely to identify organisations that could be categorised as being run by or for the benefit of Jewish populations or that specialised in areas of Jewish interest, such as the Holocaust and antisemitism. 145 out of 600 were classified as 'Jewish' in this way: 24.2% of the total. These Jewish organisations were associated with 5.72 items per organisation. 80 out of these 145 (55%) – were associated with more than one EJRA item. For these 80, the number of items per organisation was 9.55. It seems then that Jewish organisations may play a disproportionately important role in the field but not to the extent of dominating it.

There are 397 scholarly journals listed on EJRA, responsible for 814 items. All journals with five or more items are listed in Table 8.[27]

26 This category also includes a small number of clinical doctorates and habilitation theses (the latter is a post-doctoral qualification used in some countries).

27 One note of caution on interpreting the journal findings: in some cases, the entirety of the EJRA holdings for a journal or a large part of it consists of multiple items from a single special issue. This may overstate in some cases the importance of some journals.

Table 7. Top twenty publishers of EJRA items by frequency

Publisher	Number of associated items	Location	Type of organisation
Institute for Jewish Policy Research/ Institute of Jewish Affairs[28]	129	UK	Research
Community Security Trust	43	UK	Security and antisemitism monitoring
European Shoah Legacy Institute (ESLI)	42	Pan-European	Remembrance of Holocaust and care for survivors
Euro-Asian Jewish Congress and Institute for Euro-Asian Jewish Studies	29	Israel/FSU	Jewish representative body/Research
Board of Deputies of British Jews	27	UK	Jewish representative body
Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs	26	Israel	Think tank
Brill	25	Netherlands/ Global	Scholarly publisher
Palgrave Macmillan	24	UK/Global	Scholarly publisher
CIDI – Centrum Informatie en Documentatie Israel	23	Netherlands	Israel engagement/ Antisemitism monitoring
Routledge	22	UK/Global	Scholarly publisher
United Jewish Israel Appeal	22	UK	Israel engagement and education
Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland	22	Germany	Jewish representative body
Central European University Press	21	Hungary	Scholarly publisher
Coordination intercommunautaire contre l'antisémitisme et la diffamation (CICAD)	19	Switzerland (French-speaking)	Antisemitism monitoring
Antisemitism.be	17	Belgium	Antisemitism monitoring
Springer	17	Germany/Global	Scholarly publisher
Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem	16	Israel	University-based research centre
JDC International Centre for Community Development	15	France/Europe	Research/Evaluation
Service de Protection de la Communauté Juive	15	France	Antisemitism monitoring
The Jewish Museum, Berlin	15	Germany	Museum/Education
De Gruyter	14	Germany	Scholarly publisher
Rappaport Center for Assimilation Research and Strengthening Jewish Vitality, Bar Ilan University	14	Israel	University-based research centre
Cambridge Scholars Publishing	13	UK	Scholarly publisher
European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA)	13	Pan-European	Antisemitism/racism monitoring
Indiana University Press	13	USA	Scholarly publisher
Littman Library of Jewish Civilization	13	UK	Scholarly publisher
Stiftung EVZ	13	Germany	Holocaust, antisemitism and racism research/education
American Jewish Committee	12	USA and Global	Jewish representative body
Fonds Social Juif Unifié	12	France	Jewish welfare and education
Brüsszel Intézet/Tett és Védelem Alapítvány (TEV)	11	Hungary	Antisemitism monitoring
Schweizerischer Israelitischer Gemeindebund – Fédération suisse des communautés israélites	10	Switzerland	Jewish representative body
Паллада (Pallada)	10	Russia/FSU	Scholarly publisher

28 The Institute of Jewish Affairs was the forerunner of the Institute for Jewish Policy Research until it was re-named in 1996.

Table 8. EJRA journals with five or more items

Name of journal	Number of items	Percentage of all journal items	Principle language(s)	Journal of Jewish interest?	H-Index score[29]
East European Jewish Affairs (previously Soviet Jewish Affairs)	70	8.59%	English	Y	4
European Judaism	28	3.44%	English	Y	1
Contemporary Jewry	16	1.96%	English	Y	12
The Jewish Journal of Sociology	15	1.84%	English	Y	NA
Nordisk Judaistik/Scandinavian Jewish Studies	14	1.72%	English/Danish/ Swedish	Y	NA
Patterns of Prejudice	14	1.72%	English	Y	30
Ethnic and Racial Studies	12	1.47%	English	N	79
Jewish Culture and History	10	1.23%	English	Y	3
Journal of Modern Jewish Studies	9	1.10%	English	Y	5
Тирош (Tirosh)	9	1.10%	Russian	Y	NA
Osteuropa	9	1.10%	German	N	9
Anthropological Journal of European Cultures	8	0.98%	English	N	6
Chilufim. Zeitschrift für jüdische Kulturgeschichte	7	0.86%	German	Y	NA
Journal for the Study of Antisemitism	7	0.86%	English	Y	NA
Jewish History	7	0.86%	English	Y	13
Jewish Political Studies Review	6	0.74%	English	Y	NA
Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies	6	0.74%	English	Y	2
British Journal of Religious Education	6	0.74%	English	N	21
Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies	6	0.74%	English	N	75
Cahiers du Judaïsme	5	0.61%	French	Y	NA
Journal of Jewish Identities	5	0.61%	English	Y	NA
Limes Plus Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities	5	0.61%	English	N	NA
Aschkenas	5	0.61%	English	Y	NA
Диаспоры (Diaspory)	5	0.61%	Russian	N	NA
International Journal of Jewish Education Research	5	0.61%	English	Y	NA
Anthropology and Archeology of Eurasia	5	0.61%	English	N	6
International Journal of the Sociology of Language	5	0.61%	English	N	30
Jewish Social Studies	5	0.61%	English	Y	1
Sociological Papers	5	0.61%	English	N	NA

There are 120 journals with more than one item on EJRA, just over 30% of the total. This is similar to the percentage of publishers with more than one item and, indeed, the percentage of authors with more than one item. As with publishers, the analysis identified 63 journals that specialise

29 The h-index is one commonly used measure of the productivity and citation index of a particular author or journal. The value of *h* quoted here is the maximum value where a journal has published *h* papers cited at least *h* times. See text for further details.

in issues of Jewish interest, 15.8% of the total (lower than the percentage of Jewish publishers). These journals were responsible for 40% of all EJRA journal items.

While there are certainly journals that are particularly important for the field – some of specialist Jewish concern and some not – the existence of a plurality of journals, many of which are not focused on Jewish concerns, is vitally important. The field that EJRA covers makes contributions to a wide array of other scholarly conversations convened by a wide array of journals.

The field that EJRA covers makes contributions to a wide array of other scholarly conversations convened by a wide array of journals

The closest thing to a dominant journal in the field is *East European Jewish Affairs*, with seventy items. This is not a journal of social sciences *per se*, and much of its content is historically-focused. With thirty volumes published during EJRA's time period of interest, seventy items equate to just over two items per volume, a minority of the journal's output.

It is striking that *Contemporary Jewry*, the main scholarly journal covering the social scientific study of Jewry, is only responsible for a total of sixteen items, a demonstration of the US and (to a degree) Israel-focus of the journal. The UK-based (and now-defunct) *Jewish Journal of Sociology* was never entirely focused on EJRA's field of interest and its archives (which are hosted on EJRA but only included in this analysis if they meet the inclusion criteria) from the 1990s onwards are not necessarily sociological, much less European.

In order to gain some sense of the degree of 'prestige' of the top EJRA journals, the 'h-index' metric is included in Table 8 above.

The h-index is one commonly used measure of the productivity and citation index of a particular author or journal. The value of *h* quoted here is the maximum value where a journal has published *h* papers cited at least *h* times. The statistics were collated on 15 October 2019 from *SCImagojr.com* and derive ultimately from the Scopus database. The use of the h-index citation metric is controversial and far from the last word on ascertaining the importance and impact of a journal, but metrics such as this are becoming an increasingly important part of academic life and, in some countries and universities, scholars are encouraged to publish in 'high impact' journals as a priority.

The highest scoring EJRA journals are not specialist Jewish studies journals. Frequency of appearance on EJRA does not seem to correlate with the degree of citation impact. The h-index 'rewards' journals that cover cohesive fields where scholars cite each other regularly. That suggests that the field, as EJRA understands it, is not cohesive enough and not big enough to encourage scholars to focus publication strategies in this way. When EJRA authors choose to publish in journals whose scope is similar to EJRA's, to some extent they are limiting their impact as scholars. For those seeking an academic career, there may well be an incentive towards targeting publication strategies at broader scholarly fields. However, not all EJRA authors are academics or aspiring academics. There is a degree of tension between publishing strategies that maximise impact within Jewish populations and strategies that maximise impact within scholarly fields.

To sum up the findings of this section, there is no dominant 'home' for the field, other than EJRA itself. While certain publications and publishers have a disproportionally greater role in the field, often because they are Jewish-focused, the field has a high degree of dependency on a wider constellation of scholarly and research infrastructure. This both expands the impact of the field into other areas and also dissipates the 'critical mass' it could generate were it to be more centrally consolidated.

4 / What countries are represented?

One aim of this project was to establish which countries might be underrepresented in EJRA and to consider the causes of underrepresentation.

Each EJRA item is tagged by one or a number of 'geographic coverage' tags. These include cities, countries and regions. The following analysis focuses only on country tags.[30] Coverage of a country does not necessarily mean that the item was published within that country or was authored by a researcher based in that country.

There are 53 currently existing countries tagged in EJRA. In addition, the collection includes tags for now defunct countries such as East Germany, the USSR and Yugoslavia. The current analysis focuses only on currently existing European countries.[31] In all cases where an item tags an extinct country, a tag is also included for one or all of its successor states. The 2,517 items that form the basis of this analysis cover forty European countries: all of them with the exception of the microstates of Monaco, San Marino, Andorra and Lichtenstein.

Table 9 below breaks down the collection by country (note that there is no total as items can be tagged with multiple countries), listed in order of frequency. The table also includes each country's core Jewish population and the proportion of Jews per 1,000 of the population (discussed below).

These forty countries have very different demographic and socio-economic profiles and have experienced radically different histories, with different implications for their Jewish populations, which themselves differ significantly in size.

While it is difficult to determine what the 'ideal' distribution of country tags within EJRA should be, we can at least note that the number of items per country seems to vary broadly in line with the size of the country's Jewish population – the bigger the Jewish population, the more EJRA items. There are still some outliers. Poland seems to attract more research than a population of its size generally attracts, and France may be the reverse.

Statistical analysis confirmed this correlation between the size of the Jewish population and the number of items. However, there does not appear to be a correlation between the number of items and the *proportion* of Jews per 1,000 of the population – the absolute rather than proportionate Jewish population size is the key variable here.

Further analysis showed that this correlation is slightly stronger with the 'enlarged' Jewish population of each country (which includes non-Jews living in the same households as Jews). This may be because the size of the enlarged relative to the core Jewish population varies across countries and is greater in former communist countries. There is a weaker correlation with the overall population size of the country.

30 As a British overseas territory with self-government in most areas, Gibraltar is treated as a country and items are not co-tagged with the United Kingdom tag unless relevant. This would also have been the case with similar European territories such as Jersey. Following the completion of this analysis, one item for the Faroe Islands was added to EJRA; both are treated as countries for tagging purposes and Denmark, of which they are overseas territories, was not co-tagged. Although the issue has yet to arise, items dealing solely with overseas territories that are geographically outside Europe, such as Reunion or Ceuta, will not be treated as meeting EJRA's inclusion criteria.

31 For the purposes of this analysis, only the following former Soviet Union countries are categorised as European: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova.

Table 9. Frequencies for 40 EJRA country tags

Country	Frequency	Percentage of all items	Core Jewish Population[32]	Proportion of Jewish population of Europe	Jews per 1,000 of country population
United Kingdom	605	24.0%	290,000	21.5%	4.37
Germany	453	18.0%	116,000	8.6%	1.4
France	337	13.4%	453,000	33.6%	6.96
Russia	278	11.0%	172,000	12.8%	1.17
Poland	218	8.7%	4,500	0.3%	0.12
Hungary	186	7.4%	47,400	3.5%	4.84
Netherlands	139	5.5%	29,800	2.2%	1.74
Ukraine	135	5.4%	50,000	3.7%	1.18
Belgium	100	4.0%	29,200	2.2%	2.58
Sweden	88	3.5%	15,000	1.1%	1.49
Austria	75	3.0%	9,000	0.7%	1.02
Spain	74	2.9%	11,700	0.9%	0.25
Italy	72	2.9%	27,500	2.0%	0.45
Lithuania	65	2.6%	2,500	0.2%	0.89
Czech Republic	64	2.5%	3,900	0.3%	0.37
Romania	62	2.5%	9,100	0.7%	0.46
Switzerland	62	2.5%	18,600	1.4%	2.19
Latvia	61	2.4%	4,700	0.3%	2.47
Slovakia	56	2.2%	2,600	0.2%	0.48
Belarus	55	2.2%	9,500	0.7%	1
Denmark	51	2.0%	6,400	0.5%	1.1
Moldova	50	2.0%	2,000	0.1%	0.56
Finland	46	1.8%	1,300	0.1%	0.24
Greece	41	1.6%	4,200	0.3%	0.39
Estonia	40	1.6%	1,900	0.1%	1.46
Croatia	39	1.5%	1,700	0.1%	0.41
Norway	37	1.5%	1,300	0.1%	0.25
Portugal	37	1.5%	600	<0.1%	0.06
Bulgaria	29	1.2%	2,000	0.1%	0.28
Serbia	27	1.1%	1,400	0.1%	0.2
Ireland	24	1.0%	2,600	0.2%	0.54
Slovenia	17	0.7%	100	<0.1%	0.05
Bosnia-Herzegovina	14	0.6%	500	<0.1%	0.14
Luxembourg	14	0.6%	600	<0.1%	1
North Macedonia	13	0.5%	100	<0.1%	0.05
Cyprus	7	0.3%	100	<0.1%	0.08
Malta	6	0.2%	100	<0.1%	0.25
Montenegro	5	0.2%	NA	NA	NA
Albania	3	0.1%	NA	NA	NA
Gibraltar	3	0.1%	600	<0.1%	17.14
Iceland	1	0.0%	NA	NA	NA

32 Sergio DellaPergola, 'World Jewish Population, 2018', in *American Jewish Year Book 2018: The Annual Record of the North American Jewish Communities Since 1899*, ed. Arnold Dashefsky and Ira M. Sheskin, American Jewish Year Book (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 361–449. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-03907-3_8

The number of items for each country was also plotted against the country's 2018 GDP and the 2017 UN Development Index. There appears to be no relationship between these variables and the number of items.[33] While one might assume that the wealth of both a country's Jewish community and the wider country's research infrastructure might be related to the productiveness of its research community, we have no evidence for this when it comes to researching Jews in each country. Rather, the absolute size of the Jewish community in each country seems to be the primary correlate to the amount of research on that community.[34]

EJRA's collection is not dominated by any one country. The country with the most tags, the United Kingdom, is tagged in a minority of items: 24% of the collection. Nonetheless, further analysis revealed that 65% of items are tagged with at least one of the top five countries in the table and 80% are tagged with at least one of the top ten. This further confirms that the number of EJRA items remain broadly in line with Jewish population size.

Grouping together countries according to a variety of other geopolitical and historical criteria produces the following picture:

Table 10. Number and percentage of EJRA items by country category

Category	Number of items	Percentage of all items	Percentage of European Jewish population
Items tagged with at least one country that was a member of the EU as of July 2019[35]	1,913	76%	80%
Items tagged with at least one country or its successor state that was outside of the communist bloc during the Cold War	1,809	72%	74%
Items tagged with at least one country that experienced Nazi rule over some or all of its territory (or were client states) in World War Two[36]	1,645	65%	74%
Items tagged with at least one former communist country (including the former Soviet Union)[37]	858	34%	24%
Items tagged with at least one former Soviet Union country	450	18%	18%

The relationship between the size of the Jewish population and the number of EJRA items persists when grouping the countries in different categories, although there is modest evidence of a slight overrepresentation of former communist countries and slight underrepresentation of countries that had experienced Nazi rule. The reason why the majority of EJRA items deals with at least one EU Member State is unlikely to have anything to do with the research culture of EU states – even though the EU itself has funded research on antisemitism – as much as the fact that the majority of European Jews live in the EU. Similarly, despite EJRA's collection including items on Holocaust remembrance and the post-communist legacy, this has had very limited

33 It is possible that the rapid economic development of some former communist countries since 1990 may mask some kind of correlation at an earlier period.

34 One caveat to the above findings is that, while the items for each country were published over a thirty year period, the population figures were taken from 2018. However, while most European Jewish populations declined over this period, they declined at different rates, with many FSU and former communist countries having high rates of immigration. The observed correlation can therefore only be an approximation.

35 Given that countries acceded to the EU at different stages from 1990, some caution is advised in interpreting this statistic.

36 Germany is included. As a country that fought on the same side as Germany but was not occupied, Finland is not included here.

37 Germany is not included. While there are a few EJRA items that discuss the very end of the East German Jewish experience, for the purpose of this analysis Germany is treated as a Western European country.

impact on the proportion of EJRA items that deals with countries with these histories.

We should not assume that this close correlation between the size of the Jewish population and the number of items is necessarily ideal. Different countries have different research 'needs' (which can be defined in different ways) that may or may not be proportionate to their size in terms of urgency and complexity.

In any case, one of the challenges of analysing the distribution of geographical coverage in the EJRA collection is that the presence of a country tag does not, in itself, tell us much about *how* the country's Jewish population is discussed in individual items. In particular, items tagged with multiple countries *may* demonstrate a much more limited discussion of individual countries than an item that *only* discusses that country. For that reason, the proportion of items for each country that are 'single coverage' may be an indicator of the depth of coverage of each country.

Single and multiple country coverage

78.7% of EJRA items only include one tag from the list of countries above. Table 11 below summarises the ratio of single coverage to multiple coverage tags for each country, in order of size.

While the top country in both this and Table 9 is the United Kingdom, and France and Germany also appear in both top fives, there are some noteworthy differences in the two tables. In particular, while Russia is the fourth country in terms of the number of items, its ratio of single to multiple coverage items is 0.56, locating it far down the table. Conversely, some countries that are lower in the previous table are higher in this one, including Switzerland and Norway.

Further statistical analysis confirms that the size of the Jewish population is correlated with the percentage of single items, but the correlation is weaker compared to that between the Jewish population size and the absolute number of items. Here, history and geopolitics do appear to play a role. Individual former communist countries are more likely to be researched in conjunction with other former communist countries.[38] Collectively, former communist countries constitute a minority of EJRA single-country items. FSU countries comprise only 10.5% of all EJRA single-country items and all former communist countries make up 26.3% of single coverage items. Conversely, Western European collectively constitute nearly 70% of all single coverage items.

How far can the dominance of multiple country items for a particular country be said to be a 'weakness' of its research field? In the more extreme cases, if a country has very few single coverage items, it certainly means that very little research has taken place on its Jewish population. Indeed, with some countries, such as Luxembourg or Malta, the only single country items are reports in multi-country publication series.[39] Further, studies of multiple countries, while they might or might not contribute to capacity building in local research cultures, certainly do contribute to comparative research on a wider basis. After all, comparison is one way in which social scientists broaden and deepen the relevance of their work.

38 See, for example, the following item which examines antisemitism in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia: *Modern Antisemitism in the Visegrád Countries*. Tom Lantos Institute. 2017. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-eur184

39 For example, in 2017 the (now defunct) European Shoah Legacy Institute, produced a series of country-specific reports on Holocaust restitution that included countries with very small Jewish populations such as Malta. The research is summarised here: *Holocaust (Shoah) Immovable Property Restitution Study*. European Shoah Legacy Institute (ESLI). 2017. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-eur160

Table 11. Ratios of single to multiple coverage items for individual EJRA countries

Country	Number of single coverage items	Number of multiple coverage items	Ratio of single to multiple coverage items
United Kingdom	499	106	4.71
France	238	99	2.40
Switzerland	43	19	2.26
Germany	273	180	1.52
Netherlands	82	57	1.44
Hungary	106	80	1.33
Norway	21	16	1.31
Finland	26	20	1.30
Poland	119	99	1.20
Spain	39	35	1.11
Portugal	19	18	1.06
Iceland	1	0	1.00
Slovakia	24	32	0.75
Ukraine	55	80	0.69
Belgium	39	61	0.64
Romania	23	39	0.59
Greece	15	26	0.58
Sweden	32	56	0.57
Italy	26	46	0.57
Austria	27	48	0.56
Russia	100	178	0.56
Croatia	14	25	0.56
Denmark	18	33	0.55
Albania	1	2	0.50
Gibraltar	1	2	0.50
North Macedonia	4	9	0.44
Ireland	7	17	0.41
Moldova	12	38	0.32
Lithuania	14	51	0.27
Belarus	11	44	0.25
Montenegro	1	4	0.25
Serbia	5	22	0.23
Estonia	7	33	0.21
Malta	1	5	0.20
Czech Republic	10	54	0.19
Bosnia-Herzegovina	2	12	0.17
Bulgaria	4	25	0.16
Latvia	8	53	0.15
Luxembourg	1	13	0.08
Slovenia	1	16	0.06
Cyprus	0	7	0.00

So, while a high proportion of single country items might, in some cases, suggest a lively research culture, in other cases it may signal an unhelpful lack of comparative research. While all countries have different Jewish histories, it is worth asking whether the Jewish populations of the UK and France, for example, might benefit from being discussed alongside the Jewish populations of other countries more regularly than they are now.[40] That such countries are less present in comparative research may, in part, be a function of the way in which larger and wealthier Jewish populations, situated in larger and wealthier countries, have less need to collaborate internationally in order to sustain some kind of research culture. Conversely, in some countries, international collaboration may be financially and logistically necessary.

In some countries, a preponderance of multiple country items may also be a reflection of the intricate connections between it and others. One would certainly expect the countries of the former Soviet Union to continue to be researched together for some time to come.[41] For non-FSU former communist countries, one might make a slightly different assessment. Outside of Poland and Hungary, the generally low proportions of single coverage items raises questions as to whether, nearly thirty years after the fall of communism (and longer in some cases), the grouping together of these countries in research remains warranted beyond the pragmatic reasons for doing so.

The 'optimum' proportion of single and multiple country items is, therefore, something that probably should vary across countries. Still, the degree of variance of the ratio of single to multiple country items across countries suggests, at the very least, that there are significant gaps in the dedicated coverage of certain countries. Further analysis also showed that there appears to have been very little movement in these ratios, with the proportion of single coverage items staying very similar across the three decades EJRA covers. The degree to which research on European Jewish populations is focused on single countries seems to be engrained within the research predispositions and interests of the field.

40 For one example of UK-French comparative research see: Staetsky, L. Daniel *Is Criticism of Israel Antisemitic? What do British and French Jews Think about the Link between Antisemitic and Anti-Israel Attitudes among Non-Jews*. Unity and Diversity in Contemporary Antisemitism: The Bristol–Sheffield Hallam Colloquium on Contemporary Antisemitism. Academic Studies Press. 2019. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-718

41 For example, in demographic research, former Soviet countries are still often grouped together: Tolts, Mark *Post-Soviet Jewish Demographic Dynamics: An Analysis of Recent Data*. Jewish Population and Identity: Concept and Reality. Springer. 2018: 213–229. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/10.1007/978-3-319-77446-6_12

5 / What languages are EJRA items published in?

EJRA items are published in 28 languages, with a small number of items published in two or three languages simultaneously (Table 12).

Table 12. Distribution of EJRA languages

Language	Frequency	Percentage of all items published in this language
English	1,680	66.75%
French	246	9.77%
German	231	9.18%
Russian	112	4.45%
Dutch	78	3.10%
Hungarian	49	1.95%
Polish	25	0.99%
Spanish	22	0.87%
Swedish	19	0.75%
Norwegian	15	0.60%
Italian	14	0.56%
Czech	12	0.48%
Hebrew	11	0.44%
Danish	9	0.36%
Portuguese	7	0.28%
Slovak	7	0.28%
Finnish	6	0.24%
Croatian	5	0.20%
Romanian	5	0.20%
Catalan	2	0.08%
Estonian	2	0.08%
Latvian	2	0.08%
Serbian	2	0.08%
Ukrainian	2	0.08%
Bulgarian	1	0.04%
Greek	1	0.04%
Lithuanian	1	0.04%
Yiddish	1	0.04%

The distribution of languages is notably more unbalanced and less diverse than the distribution of countries. The dominance of English remains striking even when items from English-speaking or bilingual countries are excluded (UK, Ireland, Malta and Gibraltar): 55% of items that do not include coverage of an English-speaking country are published in English. However, the percentage of English language items covering non-English speaking countries appears to have declined somewhat, from 50% between 1990–1999 to 39% between 2000–2019.

Further analysis suggests that it is possible – but not conclusively established – that the proportion of English language items covering non-English speaking countries might have a moderate association with the size of both the Jewish and wider populations of the country. It would certainly make sense that a language with a larger number of speakers would be able to sustain a stronger non-English language scholarly community.

Inasmuch as English is an international language of scholarly communication, its dominance is unsurprising. Nonetheless, in terms of producing research that is actionable by Jewish populations in non-English speaking countries, a high proportion of English-language items may limit the field's local utility, particularly in countries where knowledge of English is less widespread.[42]

It is also possible that, in some cases, a high proportion of English-language items may indicate a Jewish population where research is largely commissioned from outside the country.

42 It is worth noting that JPR tries as far as possible to publish reports on non-English speaking countries in the local vernacular, but the complexities and costs of doing so are high.

66% of items that discuss Jewish populations in former communist countries are in English, whereas 53% of items that cover the non-English speaking countries of Western Europe are in English. This suggests that former communist countries are probably more likely to be 'externally' researched than Western European countries. Much of the work revitalising Jewish life in former communist countries is funded by American and Israeli bodies. Therefore, much of the research is too.[43] In addition, 89% of non-English items are single country coverage, compared to 69% of English-language items that cover non-English speaking countries. This suggests that the use of 'local' languages may sometimes be a sign of non-comparative research for local consumption (both Jewish and non-Jewish).[44]

Clearly, there is a dilemma in some countries, between contributing to local and international conversations (and both). While there are a few items that are produced in bilingual or multilingual editions, this is too expensive a practice to be normative. There is though, a possible distinction to be made between English language research about non-English speaking countries that is commissioned and produced locally, and that which is commissioned and produced outside the country.[45] While internationally commissioned research may well bring local Jewish populations into a wider Jewish conversation, there is always the risk that such research will not be responsive to local needs and concerns

43 For example: Cohen, Erik H. *The Camping Experience: The Impact of JDC Jewish Summer Camps on Eastern European Jews*. JDC International Centre for Community Development. 2013. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-eur104

44 See, for example, Slovakian research Peter Salner's work published in Slovak, such as: Salner, Peter *Budúci rok v Bratislave*. Marenčin PT. 2007. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-svk7

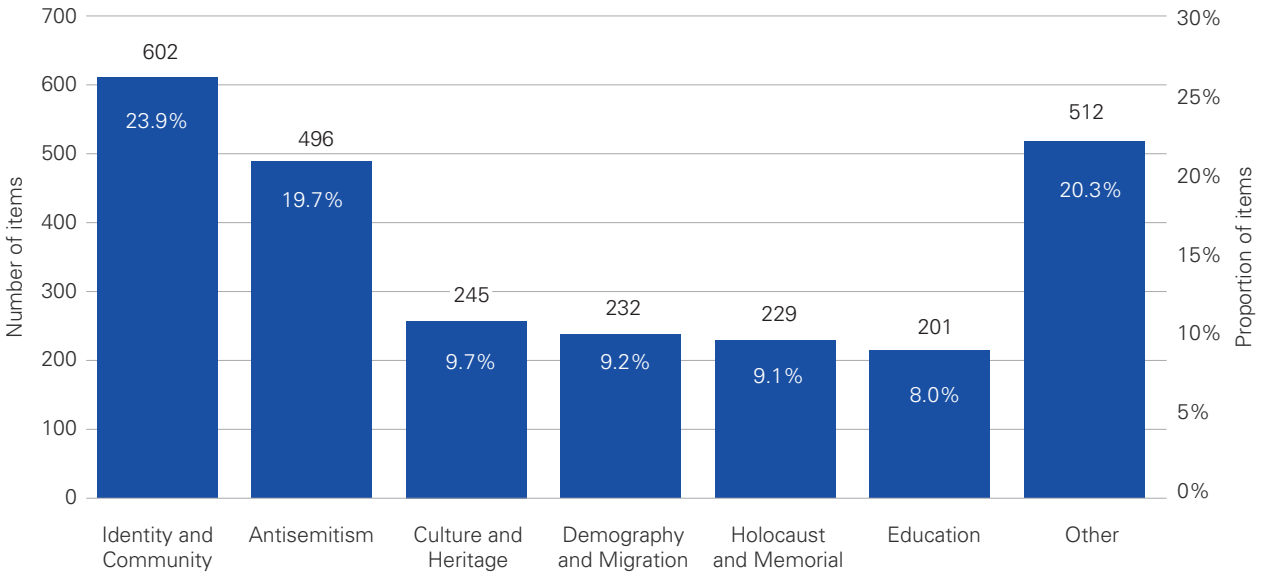
45 While attempts were made to calculate the proportion of research that is commissioned and produced 'externally' to the country in question, in the end this proved impossible as the bibliographic details available for each item are not always clear enough to identify this distinction with a sufficiently high degree of confidence.

6 / What topics are covered?

EJRA items can be tagged with multiple selections from a list of several hundred topics. Altogether, EJRA items are tagged over 10,000 times, an average of just under five tags per item.[46]

Each item is also given one of seven mutually exclusive Main Topic tags. The criteria for inclusion within each main topic are explained in detail in the Appendix. Figure 4 shows the number and percentage of items in each category.

Figure 4. Distribution of six main topics (number of reports and proportions)



As can be seen, Identity and Community and Antisemitism both constitute around 20% of items, while the other four topics identified each comprise about 8% to 10%. Opinions will vary as to the relative importance of each topic; it is not the place of this report to comment on whether the distribution is appropriate or not, but rather to simply present a portrait of the current state of the field.

Each main topic item is co-tagged with multiple other tags. There is considerable overlap between the main topics. The main topics were assigned on an assessment of the balance of the item's coverage. All the main topic tags, apart from Other, also have near equivalents that can be used as co-tags on other main topic items. So, for example, an item with the main topic tag Antisemitism can also have a Jewish identity tag (as five of them do), and Identity and Community

46 The lack of exactitude here is due to technical limitations in the database export that meant that some non-main topic tags were double counted. While for smaller lists of tags the duplicates could be combined at the analysis stage, for the totality of all tags this was not possible.

main topic items can have the Antisemitism tag (as two of them do).[47]

By comparing the distribution of co-tags for each main topic, we can derive some sense of the latter's 'cohesiveness'. Cohesiveness or a lack thereof is, in part, a methodological artefact inasmuch as the main topics were imposed on EJRA items. However, cohesiveness is also a measure of the degree to which particular research topics are carried out within discreet 'sub-fields', rather than drawing on and contributing to the wider EJRA field and beyond.

Table 13 summarises the distribution of co-tags for each main topic.

Table 13. Distribution of co-tagged topics for seven main topics

	Antisemitism	Culture/ Heritage	Demography/ Migration	Education	Holocaust/ Memorial	Identity/ Community	Other
Number of items	498	253	232	200	230	612	549
Number of co-topics	111	135	128	142	103	246	259
Average items per co-topic	11.3	8.8	6.2	5.1	8.2	9.4	7.1
Average percentage of items per co-topic	2.3%	3.5%	2.7%	2.6%	3.5%	1.5%	1.3%

Drawing on all these figures, and using other statistical tools, the main topics can be ranked in order of cohesiveness as follows:

1. Antisemitism
2. Identity and Community
3. Holocaust and Memorial
4. Culture and Heritage
5. Demography and Migration
6. Education
7. Other

The relative homogeneity of the Antisemitism topic is visible in the list of the top twenty co-tags (Table 14).

The majority of these tags are closely related to antisemitism and the top co-tag, which is largely used for reports from organisations that monitor antisemitic incidents, is included in nearly 50% of antisemitism items.[48] As can be seen, not all co-tags are thematic. 'Survey' is used to tag items by methodology, for example.

47 For an example of the latter, see: Arkin, Kimberly A. *Jews, Jesus, and the Problem of Postcolonial French Identity*. Public Culture. 2017: 457–480. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/10.1215/08992363-3869548

48 For example: *Rapport om antisemitiske hændelser i Danmark 2018*. Det Jødiske Samfund i Danmark, AKVAH JSD. 2019. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-945

Table 14. Frequency of top twenty co-tagged topics for Antisemitism main topic

Co-tag	Number of items	Percentage of items with co-tag in all main topic Antisemitism items
Antisemitism monitoring	245	49.2%
Hate crime	152	30.5%
Antisemitism: Discourse	76	15.3%
Surveys	68	13.7%
Antisemitism: Muslim	62	12.4%
Anti-Zionism	43	8.6%
Antisemitism: Left-wing	32	6.4%
Islamophobia	27	5.4%
Jewish-Muslim relations	26	5.2%
Law	22	4.4%
Antisemitism: New antisemitism	21	4.2%
European Union	19	3.8%
Racism	19	3.8%
Jewish perceptions of antisemitism	18	3.6%
Statistics	18	3.6%
Terrorism	17	3.4%
Policy	16	3.2%
Politics	16	3.2%
Government	15	3.0%
Israeli-Palestinian conflict	15	3.0%

An initial look at the top twenty co-tags for Education (Table 15) also seems to demonstrate a high degree of coherence. Indeed, the Jewish Schools co-tag is present in 60% of education items, the highest proportion of any co-tag for any of the main topics.

A key difference between the analysis on Education and Antisemitism is that Education includes 142 co-tags for 200 items, whereas Antisemitism includes 111 co-tags for 498 items. Education has a much longer 'tail' in the distribution of its co-tags, with 56 co-tags used only once, compared to 33 for Antisemitism. We can, therefore, infer that studies that are mainly about education seem to take in more related topic areas than studies of antisemitism.

Table 15. Frequency of top twenty co-tagged topics for Education main topic

Co-tag	Number of items	Percentage of items with co-tag in all main topic Education items
Jewish schools	120	60.0%
Jewish education[49]	81	40.5%
Secondary schools	21	10.5%
Jewish identity	18	9.0%
Multiculturalism	13	6.5%
Jewish Studies	12	6.0%
Surveys	12	6.0%
Teenagers	12	6.0%
Chedarim	11	5.5%
Interviews	11	5.5%
Jewish community	11	5.5%
Law	11	5.5%
Universities / Higher Education	11	5.5%
Haredi / Strictly Orthodox Jews	10	5.0%
Demography	9	4.5%
Israel tours	9	4.5%
Jewish leadership	9	4.5%
Statistics	9	4.5%
Students	9	4.5%
Youth movements	9	4.5%

The distribution of the Demography and Migration, Identity and Community, and Holocaust and Memorial main topics is more like Education than Antisemitism. These main topics all have substantial 'tails' in that their co-tags extended across a large range of other topics.

The Other topic is, as one would expect, the least coherent main topic, with no co-tag used in more than 10% of the main topic's items.

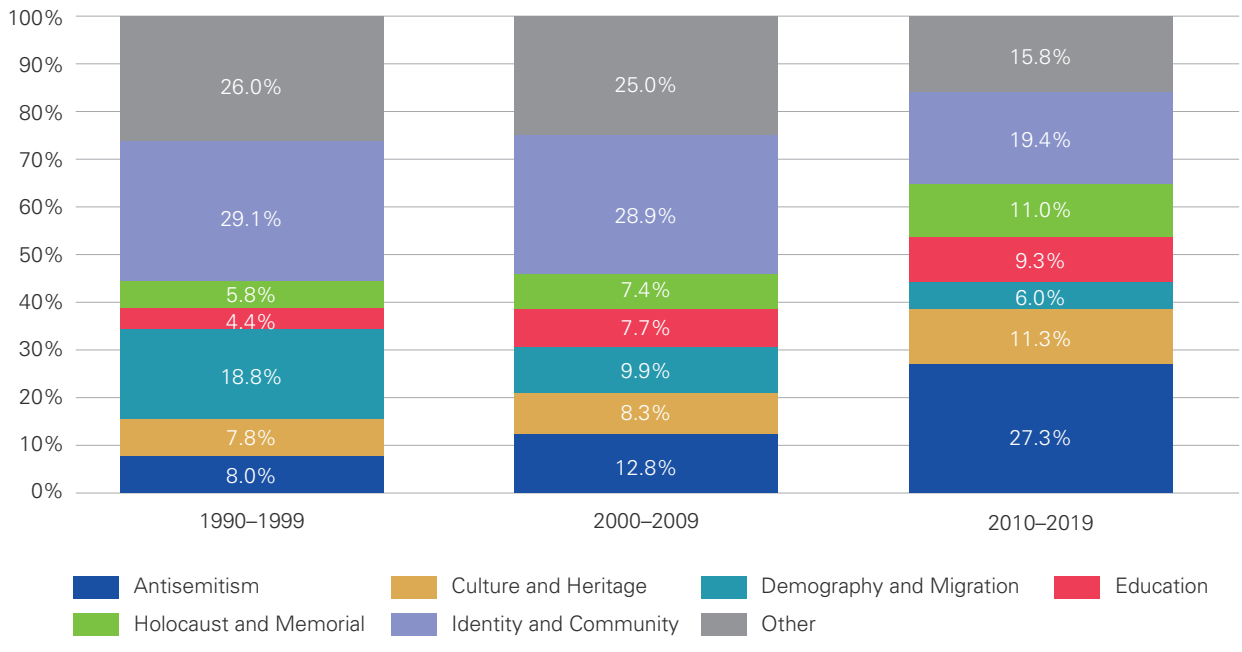
49 It may at first seem peculiar that only 40.5% of Education main items include the Jewish education co-tag, particularly since 60% concern Jewish schools in some way. The reason for this is partly that studies of Jewish educational settings do not always concern the practice of Jewish education itself. For example, there are multiple surveys of the numbers of pupils in Jewish schools in the UK and these studies rarely look at the curricula, teaching, management or funding of Jewish schools. In addition, the Education main topic also includes studies of Jews in non-Jewish schools as well as the education of non-Jews about Jews.

Table 16. Frequency of top twenty co-tagged topics for Other main topic

Co-tag	Number of items	Percentage of items with co-tag in all main topic 'Other' items
Jewish/Non-Jewish relations	51	9.3%
Jewish organisations	46	8.4%
Antisemitism	45	8.2%
Haredim	45	8.2%
Jewish revival	35	6.4%
Ethnography	34	6.2%
Interviews	34	6.2%
Jewish-Muslim relations	32	5.8%
Jewish community	32	5.8%
Post-1989	29	5.3%
Jewish women	25	4.6%
Orthodox Judaism	25	4.6%
Cities and suburbs	23	4.2%
Jewish history	23	4.2%
Diaspora	22	4.0%
Jewish neighbourhoods	22	4.0%
Politics	21	3.8%
Jewish identity	20	3.6%
Reform/Liberal/Progressive Judaism	20	3.6%
Family and household	19	3.5%

The distribution of the main topics has changed in some respects over the three decades EJRA covers, as Figure 5 demonstrates.

Figure 5. Changing distribution of main topics, 1990–99 to 2010–19



The proportion of EJRA items dealing with Antisemitism more than trebled between 1990–99 and 2010–19, while the percentage of items dealing with Demography and Migration more than halved in the same period, even though the absolute number of items in this category remained largely stable. The reason for this change in distribution is likely to be that monitoring antisemitic incidents has become a priority in the last two decades, both for Jewish and non-Jewish organisations. From the 2000s, new antisemitism monitoring organisations were set up across Europe, issuing regular reports.

The decline in Demography and Migration items is partly due to the fact that during the 1990s, monitoring the great waves of immigration from the FSU was a Jewish communal priority.[50] In addition, in the UK at least, Jewish communal concerns stemming from demographic reports in the US in the late 1980s showing Jewish population decline and assimilation generated similar research on the situation in the UK.[51]

The doubling in the proportion of items dealing with education within the time period probably reflects, in some cases such as the UK and France, a dramatic growth in the numbers of Jewish young people attending Jewish day schools.[52] Similar growth in the percentages of items in the Culture and Heritage and Holocaust and Memorial categories may be accounted for in part by the cultural renewal of Eastern European and FSU Jewry, together with the growth in memorialisation of the Holocaust.[53]

The decline in the proportion of Other and Identity and Community topics is less easy to explain. It is worth pointing out though, that in raw number of items rather than percentages, output in these areas has grown, along with the wider field. This suggests not a decline as such, but a shift in Jewish communal and scholarly priorities.

The changes in distribution over the three decades seem, therefore, to reflect a highly responsive field which changes in keeping with Jewish communal priorities. The downside of this responsiveness may be a lack of long-term systematic research agenda. That does not mean that research in areas seen as less of a priority is not being carried out. As in other aspects of the EJRA database, there is an enduring core that persists across the year-on-year churn in the nature of interest in the field.

Tracking the distribution of all seven topic areas across forty countries – creating a table with 280 cells – is a difficult endeavour, particularly given that small cell sizes in many cases make drawing wide inferences risky. However, restricting the table to the top ten countries in terms of the number of items produces a more comprehensible picture (Table 17).

50 For example: DellaPergola, Sergio, *The Demographic Context of the Soviet Aliya*. Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. 1991: 41–56. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-fsu56

51 Graham, Roy, *Jewish Community Education: Continuity and Renewal Initiatives in British Jewry 1991–2000*. University of Huddersfield. 2011. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-uk28; Kahn-Harris, Keith and Gidley, Ben (2010). *Turbulent Times: The British Jewish Community Today*. London: Continuum.

52 For example: Valins, Oliver; Kosmin, Barry and Goldberg, Jacqueline (2001). *The Future of Jewish Schooling in the United Kingdom: A Strategic Assessment of a Faith-Based Provision of Primary and Secondary School Education*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-uk201; *La consultation communautaire nationale sur les écoles juives: Principaux enseignements*. Fonds Social Juif Unifié, Département de l'Enseignement, L'Observatoire national de l'école juive. 2007. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-fra117

53 For example: Gruber, Ruth Ellen *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe*. University of California Press. 2002. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-eur41; Institute of Jewish Affairs *Jewish Restitution and Compensation Claims in Eastern Europe and the former USSR: Survey and Analysis*. Institute of Jewish Affairs. November 1992. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-eur8

Table 17. Distribution of seven main topics by top ten countries, 1990–2019

	Main Topic						
Country	**Antisemi-tism**	**Culture/ Heritage**	**Demography/ Migration**	**Education**	**Holocaust/ Memorial**	**Identity/ Community**	**Other**
Overall	**19.7%**	**9.7%**	**9.2%**	**8.0%**	**9.1%**	**23.9%**	**20.3%**
United Kingdom	20.3%	3.6%	10.6%	19.0%	2.8%	17.4%	26.3%
Germany	17.9%	9.7%	16.1%	3.8%	11.7%	20.3%	20.5%
France	25.2%	5.0%	3.0%	7.1%	3.3%	26.7%	29.7%
Russia	13.3%	8.6%	23.4%	5.4%	3.6%	34.2%	11.5%
Poland	18.3%	24.8%	0.0%	3.2%	19.3%	20.6%	13.8%
Hungary	28.5%	11.8%	1.1%	2.7%	13.4%	31.7%	10.8%
Netherlands	47.5%	7.2%	5.0%	2.2%	9.4%	15.1%	13.7%
Ukraine	20.0%	10.4%	16.3%	2.2%	8.9%	29.6%	12.6%
Belgium	49.0%	3.0%	3.0%	3.0%	9.0%	15.0%	18.0%
Sweden	42.0%	4.5%	2.3%	4.5%	8.0%	28.4%	10.2%

The table shows some fairly dramatic differences between the distribution of the seven topics across the countries. For example, Holocaust and Memorial constitutes nearly 20% of the Polish items but less than 3% of the British. Demography and Migration is entirely unrepresented for Poland but constitutes over 23% of Russian items. Cross-country variation appears less pronounced for the Antisemitism, Identity and Community and Other topics.

By varying the ways countries are grouped in the analysis, further clarity emerges. Holocaust and Memorial constitutes 11.9% of items for countries that experienced Nazi occupation, compared to 3.8% of items for countries that did not. Indeed, the countries that were occupied by the Nazis produced 85.6% of all such items. This is hardly surprising and suggests that the research preoccupations in different countries are influenced by local histories and experiences. Similarly, the Culture and Heritage topic constituted 14% of items for former communist countries and 7.5% for countries without a communist history, a reflection of the place of Jewish culture in the efforts to revive Jewish life in these countries in the 1990s and onwards.

Further analyses show that the size of each country's Jewish population, as well as the size of the country as a whole, is correlated with the proportion of some main topics within the country's collection. The proportions of Identity and Community and Antisemitism (and indeed, Other) correlate with Jewish population size. Identity and Community and Demography and Migration also correlate with the size of the country's population.

One of the implications of these findings is that Culture and Heritage and Holocaust and Memorial (Education being a special case, discussed below), are sometimes present when there is very little other coverage of a particular country. For example, North Macedonia has three Holocaust and Memorial items, six Culture and Heritage items, as well as three Identity and Community items and one Other.[54] Another implication is that research on *living* Jewish communities and their concerns – as opposed to the heritage and memorialisation of previous generations of Jews – requires a certain critical mass of Jews and a country big enough to sustain a substantial research infrastructure.

54 For example: Petrevska, Biljana, Krakover, Shaul, Collins-Kreiner, Noga *Preserving cultural assets of others: Jewish heritage sites in Macedonian cities.* Tourism Geographies. 2018: 549–572. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/10.1080/14616688.2017.1387811

There is also a strong correlation between the percentage of single country items and the Antisemitism and Education topics, and a weak correlation with Holocaust and Memorial (with the other four being somewhere in between). In the case of Antisemitism, this correlation is not surprising given the development of country-specific monitoring organisations in the 2000s and beyond. The predominance of single-country tags for Other is probably a sign that the broad range of topics in this category tends only to be explored when a country has developed a substantial enough Jewish research infrastructure to do so. The single country focus of most Education tagged items is indicative of a lack of cross-country studies in this area (discussed further below).

By testing for correlations *between* the seven topics – the extent to which the proportion of one is connected to the proportion of others – it also becomes clear that Holocaust and Memorial items and Culture and Heritage items are related; the more of one for a particular country, the more of the other. This is perhaps unsurprising given that where a country experienced the Holocaust, there is often an emphasis on Jewish cultural revival and an interest in the lost past. Demography and Migration and Identity and Community are also related, suggesting that when a country can support a significant amount of research on a Jewish community, the research produced will explore both the number of Jews in that country and on how they live Jewish lives.

The special case of Education

The Education tag most strongly correlates with the Other tag. It may be that Education research emerges only when a country can sustain a varied research field. The relative lack of multiple country research on Education also supports this hypothesis. Certainly, Education, with 8%, has the lowest proportion of EJRA items compared to other topics. There is a marked disparity between the country with the largest percentage of Education items – 19% for the UK – and every other country. The next highest percentage is 6.9% for Bulgaria, with Belarus following with 5.5%. Indeed, only three countries other than the UK have items in double figures for Education – France with 24, Germany with 17 and Russia with 15. Thirteen countries have no Education tags at all.

One of the principle co-tags topics within the main Education tag is Jewish schools. This tag appears 132 times, with 83 of them (62.8%) attached to UK items. The only countries with more than five Jewish school tags are France, with 17, and Germany with nine. It is worth noting here that Jewish schooling has expanded rapidly across Europe in the last few decades, with Jewish day schools now in 26 EJRA countries.[55] Yet thirteen countries in which there is a Jewish school have no Jewish schools tags at all.[56]

Research on Jews and education, particularly on Jewish schools, is underdeveloped in most countries other than the UK and, to a lesser extent, in France, Germany and Russia

It seems fair to conclude that research on Jews and education, particularly on Jewish schools, is underdeveloped in most countries other than the UK and, to a lesser extent, in France, Germany and Russia. This is one field where a lack of multi-country studies is an indicator of weakness. There is a lack of even very basic information on Jewish schooling in Europe (although JPR is looking to rectify this). There is no reliable list of all Jewish schools in Europe, let alone numbers attending, how and what they teach and who runs them. Without this

55 Austria, Belarus, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, Ukraine.

56 Austria, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, Gibraltar, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Spain.

overarching framework, Jewish education research is left to individual countries, and most do not have the capacity to conduct it. This stands in stark contrast to antisemitism and, to a lesser extent, demography, where there are established European networks of information-sharing.

The underdevelopment of research on education is all the more striking given the findings of repeated surveys of European Jewish communal leaders and opinion formers, conducted by the JDC Centre for Community Development.[57] The number one priority of respondents was Jewish education, a finding that has remained stable over repeated surveys. This prioritisation does not seem to have led to a concomitant expansion in research on education. Why other shifts in Jewish communal priorities have, as we have seen, experienced growth in research in those areas, whilst education has not, is unclear and perhaps deserves research in its own right.

57 Kosmin, Barry A. *Fourth Survey of European Jewish Community Leaders and Professionals, 2018*. JDC International Centre for Community Development, American Joint Distribution Committee. November 2018. https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-eur210

7 / Considering the field: what needs to be done?

This report has outlined the characteristics of the field of research on contemporary European Jewish life, as it has developed over the last three decades. It has also identified areas within that field that are arguably underdeveloped, in relative and/or absolute terms. Based on these findings, it is important to consider what the future of the field should look like, and how it ought to be developed going forward.

What should the research field on contemporary European Jewish life look like?

This report, and the European Jewish Research Archive upon which it is based, assumes that contemporary European Jewish life exists as a distinct research field. Given the amount of research that has been done, this is a reasonable assumption to make, but the field has largely evolved organically, driven by the needs, interests and concerns of researchers, academics, communal leaders, organisational agendas and funding bodies. The categories used in this study have emerged out of that organic process – they describe what is, rather than prescribing what ought to be.

However, the portrait painted raises the question of whether the research categories, systems, structures and personnel are fit for purpose. *Are the specialist subject areas the correct ones? Is the balance between them correct, for example with Identity and Community and Antisemitism so prominent, and Education lagging far behind? In short, what should the field look like if it was designed from scratch?*

Should there be an overarching purpose to research about contemporary European Jewish life?

To answer the question of what the field should look like, one should first be clear about its purpose. JPR's assumption is that its work should contribute to the shaping of community policy; its research should help community leaders and supporters to better understand contemporary realities to inform what interventions are necessary going forward. It sees European Jewry as a living entity, with hopes, aspirations and responsibilities, and with the potential to develop and thrive. In that conception, the research agenda is driven in large part by the issues that dominate – or ought to dominate – communal discourse, and less attention is paid to theoretical or exploratory work for purely academic purposes.

However, other purposes can be imagined. One could treat contemporary European Jewish life as a purely academic field, to be examined critically and systematically. One could focus research efforts mainly or exclusively on the preservation of Jewish culture and heritage, seeking to ensure that the memory of the imprint of European Jewry on the continent is conserved, particularly given the extraordinary demographic decline that has taken place over the past 150 years. One could conduct research with a clear focus on building the historical record – working to ensure that Jewish life is recorded, so that future historians will be able to look back on this period and be able to reconstruct it in some way. Or, given the continent's place as the site of the worst genocide in Jewish, if not of all history, perhaps

the greatest emphasis ought to be on Holocaust and memorialisation, or perhaps understanding racism and xenophobia. *Multiple purposes can be imagined, but each has implications for the type of research and researchers required to undertake the work, and indeed one's assessment of the picture portrayed in this study. In short, if research into contemporary European Jewish life is to be supported going forward, what should it aim to achieve?*

What and who should drive the field?

Research fields are typically driven by multiple forces. At the most basic level, individual researchers choose to invest their time in the subjects and methods that most interest them – their idiosyncratic perspectives determine their outputs. However, research typically needs funding, so the decisions taken by funding bodies – research councils, political organisations, community leaders – have a major impact on the work that is ultimately produced. Each of these bodies has their own interests, agendas, aspirations and concerns, and these play a major part in the ultimate picture of research outputs. For example, it is particularly striking how prominent antisemitism has become over the past decade – in the 1990s, there were four studies on the themes of education, identity or community for every one study of antisemitism; by the 2010s, that ratio was almost one to one. The emphasis clearly shifted, for right or for wrong, and reflection on this ought to take place. *But fundamentally, to what extent is the field of research into contemporary European Jewish life being driven by anyone, and could it be better coordinated or managed? What infrastructural support needs to be put in place to ensure that research is supported, coordinated and utilised so that we maximise its collective value?*

Does the field need to grow, and if so, how?

There are multiple locations and aspects of European Jewish life where research has been limited or non-existent. For example, aspects of Jewish schools are, in many countries, underresearched, and many countries rarely feature in the research records at all. Yet, while we can certainly point to such limitations of the field, does it follow that the field necessarily needs to grow? And, if so, what would growth look like?

From the point of view of 'blue skies' research for its own sake, there can be no limit on the aspirations of what could and should be researched in European Jewish populations. From the point of view of strategic planning – by Jewish and non-Jewish organisations and individuals – choices need to be made, given resource constraints. The questions then become: *What are the long-term strategic priorities for research in European Jewish populations? Who should be responsible for setting these priorities and carrying them out? To what extent should 'the field' be supported in pursuing its own interests, and to what extent should it be driven by encouraging particular emphases on certain subject areas, methods and approaches?*

How might research careers be supported?

It may be that steering the field towards addressing particular priorities does not necessarily require growth, so much as incentives to use existing resources in different ways. While 784 different people have authored or co-authored EJRA items published since 2010, they average only 1.7 items per author. There is a core of 30% of authors with some kind of sustained interest in the field and a much larger periphery comprised of people who occasionally enter it.

That implies that many of these researchers are either spending most of their time on non-EJRA-related issues or have left research completely

to develop alternative careers. We have no way of comparing this situation to other research fields, and it is not problematic that experts from broader fields apply themselves to issues of Jewish interest periodically, but the results of this study indicate that it is difficult to sustain a full-time career researching contemporary European Jewish life, and the numbers of people who do so are very small. *This raises questions of whether more positions ought to be created, and if so, what areas of specialisation and types of research skills are required? Furthermore, how might junior researchers be identified and cultivated to help contribute to the field; how might existing researchers be encouraged to invest more of their time studying European Jewish life; and how might those who are already fully involved be supported, developed and retained?*

In which communities is research most needed?

With two or three exceptions, the amount of research undertaken about different European Jewish communities is largely in line with their population sizes. Considerably less work has been done on Jewish life in France than the size of its population would suggest it merits; the reverse is the case in Germany and Poland, although given both countries' prominence in the area of Holocaust and memorials, this is neither surprising nor necessarily problematic. However, for right or for wrong, few Jewish populations of fewer than 1–2,000 people have more than a nominal amount of social research published on them, particularly research that deals solely with that population.

To determine where research is needed in the future, one needs to return to the question of purpose. What do we need to know, and for what reason? One can imagine a renewed research focus on small communities if it is deemed important to help maintain and build these communities, or conversely, to help them manage decline. Equally, one can imagine prioritising the larger communities; after all, three-quarters of Europe's Jewish population lives in just four countries: France, the UK, Russia and Germany. Alternatively, one can imagine emphasising countries facing particular challenges where the size of the population is immaterial – perhaps research ought to concentrate principally on countries where antisemitism is most acute, where little of a demographic nature is known, or where educational challenges are most serious. *So to what extent should geographical considerations inform the research agenda going forward, and where would research support be most needed or merited?*

What topics most require further investigation?

This study has examined the research work that has been done over three decades and identified the principal subject areas that comprise the field. In so doing, certain shifts can be detected over time. Research on antisemitism has become a major priority, rising from about one in twelve of all studies in the 1990s to about one in four in the 2010s. Studies of identity and community have moved in the opposite direction, falling from almost one in three of all research reports in the 1990s to less than one in five in the 2010s. Work on demography and migration has fallen over time, whilst research on education has grown, but neither has particularly large shares in the overall research picture over the past decade. The category Other, which picks up all manner of research topics outside of the main identified subject areas, has declined considerably over time, falling from about one in four of all studies published in the 1990s to about one in six in the 2010s, suggesting a less diverse research field, and fewer opportunities to explore new areas of enquiry.

Aside from these shifts over time, the analysis also suggests that provision for research on education – and on Jewish schools in particular – is highly variable. Whereas research seems to loosely follow changing communal priorities in other areas, the growth in Jewish schools and other forms of Jewish education

across Europe has not been accompanied in many countries by a concomitant growth in Jewish educational research. While with regard to other topics it can be difficult to ascertain what the ideal proportion and amount of research there should be, it is hard not to conclude that research on Jewish education in many European countries is significantly underdeveloped.

Putting aside the question of volume and proportions of research, the larger question concerns the extent to which the studies that have been published have contributed to our shared understanding of the issues investigated, or helped us to address the challenges raised. Bringing greater coordination to the field, which is one of EJRA's objectives, should help researchers to build on the work that has been done previously so that slowly and surely, we develop and enhance our shared understanding of each topic, and our ability to overcome the challenges we see. *What initiatives are required to ensure that both the distribution of research topics investigated, and the ability of any single study to contribute constructively to knowledge, are appropriately considered? And what is the right balance between 'blue skies' research that enables the researcher to pursue his or her own interests and lines of enquiry, and more systematic work that carefully and deliberately draws on the findings of others to work towards answers and solutions to major communal issues?*

What kinds of research are needed by Jewish communities?

While, as we have seen, the field is responsive to Jewish communal priorities to a degree, that does not mean that the type of research or its reporting is necessarily actionable and useful to Jewish communities and their policy-makers. Inasmuch as academia is an autonomous field and that 'blue skies' research is necessary to at least some degree for the vitality of the field, it is neither appropriate nor possible for the field to become entirely subordinated to the priorities of Jewish communities. Nonetheless, for researchers who wish for their research to be useful, as well as for Jewish organisations that seek to commission such useful research, there needs to be careful thought as to what kinds of research can be most impactful and transformative.

The analysis conducted for this report cannot ascertain the relative impact of particular EJRA items. Nor is it possible in all cases to classify items by the methodology used or the ways in which research findings are communicated. While, where possible, topic tags are assigned to classify items by methodology, our information is too incomplete to allow conclusions to be drawn, about, for example, the relative prevalence of qualitative and quantitative methods. It seems likely that, for example, ethnographic methods are more prevalent in purely academic research, and that research commissioned by Jewish organisations is disproportionately quantitative – but we have no definitive answer.

It would, therefore, be productive to begin a conversation within and across European Jewish communities, that includes researchers, funders and stakeholders, regarding the kinds of research that would be most effective in informing Jewish community policy-making. *What makes research actionable in Jewish communities? What kinds of methodologies are more likely to feed into effective communal policy-making? And how might the answers to these questions vary in different European countries?*

What infrastructure needs to be supported or built to strengthen and maximise the value of the field?

Research requires support. Researchers need to be attracted to the field, trained, cultivated, developed and funded. Opportunities need to be established to bring researchers together, to learn from one another, build collaborations and strengthen networks. Research institutions need to be supported and established, opportunities

to publish and distribute work need to be developed, academic associations need to be created.

The research field of contemporary European Jewish life has little of this desirable infrastructure. There are foundations that support it, particularly the Rothschild Foundation Hanadiv Europe, as well as investors in particular research studies, ranging from individual donors to the European Union. Researchers can, however, link up with other more international bodies (e.g. the Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry (ASSJ), a US-based organisation that brings together researchers in contemporary Jewry from around the world), or attend international conferences (such as the annual Association for Jewish Studies conference in the United States, which includes a social sciences component), or publish their work in journals (such as *Contemporary Jewry*, the leading academic journal focused on contemporary Jewish life). Yet contemporary *European* Jewish life barely features in these fora; they are dominated by the United States. This raises the question: *what infrastructural work needs to be done to significantly enhance the quality and impact of research into contemporary European Jewry? More specifically, what investments need to be made in researcher recruitment, training and retention? What positions need to be established in which institution? What research initiatives need to be funded? What mechanisms need to be developed or created to ensure research is published and shared? And what opportunities need to be built for researchers to convene and share ideas?*

/ Conclusion: The future of the field and the future of the European Jewish Research Archive (EJRA)

Even in the period during which this report has been researched and written, new EJRA-relevant items have been published. The field continues to grow and, no doubt, it will continue to reflect the multiple factors that have been identified in this report as shaping it. EJRA will continue to be maintained for as long as JPR is able to sustain it, and new publications in the field will continue to be added, in addition to older items that may have been missed in its earlier development (including missing items that may be identified by readers of this report).

The analysis carried out for this report represents a first step in a process of the development of a systematic methodology that will enable the monitoring of the field of research on contemporary European Jewish life. The report offers quantitative indicators that can be used to track progress towards particular goals. We have suggested some areas where there are significant gaps in research coverage and that could be possible targets for the development of the field.

JPR works to advance the prospects of Jewish communities across Europe by conducting research and informing policy development in dialogue with those best placed to positively influence Jewish life. Determining what research is undertaken, both by JPR and others, is key to this agenda, and this study highlights a set of questions that ought to be considered by those working in and supporting the field. These questions concern the future of the research field on contemporary European Jewish life, the topics covered by the field, the infrastructure that supports it and its relationship to Jewish communities.

In order to find answers to these questions, it is crucial that those who contribute to this field begin to think of themselves as part of it. One of the founding assumptions on which the entire EJRA project rests is that the field of research on contemporary European Jewish life *does* exist, but it is not always collectively conscious of its existence. By publishing this report we hope to encourage those hundreds of researchers who have contributed to the field to think of themselves as part of a wider enterprise. By situating themselves within this field, researchers may start to think how they might forge links across Europe, between Jewish populations, addressing current and future issues, filling the gaps in coverage that this report has identified and building on each other's work in pursuit of ever more insightful and helpful solutions to the existing challenges.

By its very nature, responsibility for the development of the field of research on contemporary European Jewish life is shared collectively. While particular institutions (including JPR), particularly influential researchers and particular funding bodies may have a greater ability to shape the field's direction, no institution and no individual can or should have full control over it. As such, the project of developing the field will stand or fall on the desire of its participants to work in a common direction.

At the same time, we hope that current and potential funders of research into contemporary European Jewish life will look at the findings

and consider how best to support the field going forward. This study raises questions about the topics that require exploration, the researchers who require opportunities and support, and the overarching infrastructure that needs investment. Research is often regarded as a luxury, particularly at times of economic stress, but purposeful, thoughtful and carefully-designed research initiatives managed and undertaken by skilled and talented researchers can ultimately save Jewish communities considerable sums of money if they help Jewish community leaders to make robust policy decisions.

When the analysis presented in this report is repeated, we hope to see clear evidence that this field is not only growing, but growing together, with greater purpose and impact.

/ Appendix: Methodology

In what follows, we detail how EJRA items are discovered and categorised. For the analysis presented in this report to be credible, we must have confidence that the process of discovery and categorisation has created a database that is sufficiently comprehensive to be treated as a representative dataset for a particular 'population' – the output of the field of research on contemporary European Jewish populations since 1990. As with all kinds of quantitative research, its validity and reliability depend on openness and self-reflection. We invite responses that will suggest not only missing items but also methodological improvements for future analyses of EJRA's database.

How we discovered items

EJRA was populated through a process analogous to the common qualitative research methodology of 'snowballing', in which one 'subject' refers the researcher to others. We have drawn on a number of overlapping resources:

- JPR's own reports (including some published when JPR was called the Institute of Jewish Affairs);
- Hard copy items from other organisations and publishers in JPR's library;
- The EJRA Project Director's own personal bibliography;
- Lists of references solicited from JPR Fellows, associates and colleagues across Europe;
- A bibliography of Russian items commissioned from a specialist researcher;
- Items uploaded to academia.edu, sometimes recommended by the site's algorithms and sometimes found through following particular researchers;
- Searches using Google Scholar, including following the 'cited in' links;
- Email alerts for relevant journals and publishers.

In all these cases, the discovery of a particular item would often lead to the discovery of others. Wherever possible, the bibliography and/or footnotes of an item were examined and relevant items added to the list awaiting entry onto the system.

In the first half of 2019, it became clear that the process was reaching its limit. Increasingly, bibliographies for new items were yielding only references that had already been recorded. The majority of new items were either newly-published or were at the edges of EJRA's inclusion criteria (discussed below). We, therefore, became confident that EJRA's database, as it was in the summer of 2019, would be a suitable basis for analysis.

Of course, the process of discovery has inbuilt biases, in particular:

- Given the centrality of the internet in the process of populating EJRA, there is a possibility that some items published in the 1990s and early 2000s have left no online trace;

- In the 1990s and beyond, the penetration of the internet into the Jewish and scholarly communities proceeded at different rates across Europe. It is possible that countries with developing economies have a greater number of 'lost' publications than more prosperous countries;

- Even today, the consolidation of scholarly publishing via linked metadata is not absolute. Not all journals are indexed on databases such as Web of Science and not all appear on Google Scholar searches;

- Research conducted by and for Jewish institutions is sometimes only circulated in very limited circles. Some items of Jewish communal research have undoubtedly been lost to history. In this regard, there is an inbuilt bias in the EJRA database towards the UK, since JPR researchers have personal knowledge of sometimes very obscure items of Jewish communal research that were never publicly circulated;

- Indexes of doctoral dissertations differ widely in scope from country to country. In some countries, there may be no record of dissertations in university repositories or national indexes (which, in any case, do not exist for every country and every institution) before a particular cut-off point;

- Even when references to relevant items are found, the amount of detail in such references may be too limited and vague to allow for the creation of an EJRA item;

- Given the number of countries and languages that EJRA covers, Google Translate was used extensively both in the discovery process and in retrieving bibliographic information. The quality of translation that the app offers varies across and within languages. There are risks of 'false positives' – translated titles and abstracts that appear EJRA-related but may not be – as well as missing relevant items.

These biases are impossible to fully quantify. At minimum, they suggest that the UK is disproportionately represented on the database as JPR staff know this field disproportionately well. Further, it is likely that items produced in the first decade that EJRA covers – 1990–2000 – are underrepresented in most countries and in some countries for a few years beyond that.

In addition, during the lengthy process of analysing the EJRA dataset as it was in July 2019, over 300 further items have been added to the Archive. Approximately one third of these items were published in 2019 and 2020. We have no definitive proof either way whether the analysis would produce substantially different results were it to be repeated at the time of publication. However, there are some indications that the analysis may have underestimated the number of items covering Poland and the number of items covering the main topic Holocaust and Memorial. Even here though, we have no evidence that correcting these possible undercounts would necessarily lead to a significant revision of the main findings of this report.

What is an item?

The basic unit of the EJRA database is the individual item record. Item records include multiple fields, some of which use tags created by EJRA. In the analysis of the EJRA database, an item is treated as a case would be in a survey dataset, with its fields treated as variables.

EJRA is designed to conform to bibliographic convention, in which an individual book, journal article, book chapter or PhD thesis would be treated as entirely equal to every other item. While bibliographically justifiable, such a system is more problematic from an analytical point of view. A single-authored monograph published by a prestigious university press may be the result of years of detailed research, whereas a multi-authored research note in a non-refereed journal might be the fruit of much less work by many more people. Yet both are treated as equal bibliographically-speaking.

These issues prove particularly challenging when it comes to edited collections. Should an edited collection be treated as a single item or split into individual items for each chapter (or perhaps both)? An additional complication here is that some edited books may contain only one or two chapters that fit EJRA's inclusion criteria, whereas, for others, every chapter was relevant. Given that the complexity

of CollectionIndex+, the database system that EJRA uses, means that the creation of an individual item can often be very time-consuming, difficult choices sometimes had to be made as to what to include for each edited collection that included EJRA-relevant items.

Another complicated issue arises when articles, or occasionally whole books and reports, are republished in different editions, including translated editions. Sometimes a particularly influential article may be republished in multiple versions. In addition, academics who are subject to performance targets may publish 'tactically' by producing multiple items that are closely related but distinct enough not to fall foul of plagiarism rules. It is also common for reports published for a wider, non-academic audience to form the basis of other related publications for an academic audience. Similarly, a doctoral thesis may form the basis of other works that differ to varying degrees from the 'original' text.

For all these reasons, the decision to treat each EJRA item as an analytically-equivalent case has inevitably created some distortions in the analysis. The importance of some authors may be overstated and others understated. The holdings for particular countries and on particular topics may be similarly over or underrepresented.

Inclusion criteria

Inclusion into EJRA does not imply that the database – however comprehensive it might be – constitutes the sum total of all research on European Jewish populations. Decisions had to be made as to the minimum amount of contribution to the field that would justify entry. One criterion was whether items that dealt with multiple other communities included a specific and detailed enough Jewish case study to be treated as a specific contribution to the EJRA field. Some studies that are of interest to the field, including hate crime statistics, did not meet this standard as the Jewish results were only a subset of a wider analysis produced by a unifying methodology.

Does the inclusion in EJRA imply anything about the quality of the research for individual EJRA items? And what constitutes legitimate research? In some respects, EJRA can only be 'agnostic' in this regard, in part because we do not have access to the full text of every item. Broadly speaking though, in ambiguous cases, we asked the following questions, a positive answer to all or some usually being sufficient for inclusion:

- Does the item report on a specific piece of field research?
- Does the item discuss secondary literature in the field?
- Is the item longer than one or two pages?
- Has the author published other items included in EJRA? Is s/he attached to a university or research institute?
- Is the publisher or the publication known to publish items that are cited by respected scholars in the field?
- Has the item been published as a contribution to knowledge, rather than for public relations purposes?

What is an author?

Just as different sorts of items may reflect different amounts of time put into them, so they reflect different levels of authorial engagement. Co-authorship may or may not represent the fruits of a long collaboration with entirely equal levels of contribution. Conventions for naming co-authors in the social sciences are not the same as in the natural sciences, where in some disciplines it is common to list dozens or even hundreds of co-authors for one publication deriving from a large research project. Nonetheless, we cannot exclude the possibility that some listed co-authors on some EJRA items may have had little day-to-day involvement in a particular project.

In contrast, some EJRA items have no listed authors at all.[58] In most countries that have established antisemitism monitoring organisations, regular reports of antisemitic incidents are not credited to a particular author. In some cases, the personnel behind a project may be credited in such a way that it is difficult to ascertain who should be listed as the author. For example, an individual report may have an 'editor', perhaps meaning a copy editor, but not a named author. It is also possible that some co-authors of particular items may have simply played a copy editing role.

Another complicating issue on EJRA is the status of editors. As mentioned in the main body of the report, an editor of a collection in which one or more EJRA items appears may not have any specialist expertise in the EJRA field. Even when all the items in an edited collection fall within the EJRA inclusion criteria, that does not necessarily mean that the editor is equally expert in all the topics it covers.

The editorship issue is also difficult to address due to a peculiarity of CollectionIndex+, in which it records editors and authors in a single field within its backend database even though its frontend website outputs them as separate fields. For that reason, a choice had to be made at the analysis stage whether to treat the list of editors and authors as an undifferentiated whole or to remove the editors entirely. In the end, the editors were removed (although some separate figures for editors are given in the report). This means that the relative contributions of some authors who have also edited EJRA items may, in some instances, be underestimated.

What is a date?

Some scholarly journals have very long periods between the acceptance of an article and its final publication. (This may be further complicated by a gap between publishing online and publishing in the completed journal issue). In general terms, the time lag in academic publishing tends to be greater than in public-facing non-academic publishing.

The publication year may also differ substantially from the time period under discussion in the item. Again, this may be due to time lags in publishing, but there are many other reasons too. A doctoral thesis undertaken part-time may produce a final draft years after fieldwork has been completed. An edited collection may include chapters discussing cases drawn from multiple time periods. The dividing line between history and social research is not absolute, and some items may draw on material going back decades.

While EJRA's time period criterion seems clear – items published from 1990 onwards and dealing with Jewish life since 1990 – in practice, there were many borderline cases, judged on a case-by-case basis. For example, a history of a particular Jewish community may cover decades or even centuries before turning to the present in a final chapter. In some countries where there is extremely limited EJRA coverage, there has been a conscious bias towards greater flexibility on inclusion criteria. A related issue was East Germany and the former Soviet Union, which existed as separate countries only for a short time after January 1990. In most cases, items on these countries needed to include coverage of successor states to justify inclusion.

For all these reasons, in most cases it made more sense, for the purposes of analysis, to split time periods into three decade-long bands, rather than use individual years as a variable.

What is a country?

The geographic tagging of individual items was a vital activity in creating EJRA items.

58 Originally, most items with no named author were listed in EJRA as being authored by the institution that published the items. This practice has been discontinued. All institutions listed as authors were taken out of the dataset for analysis purposes.

One of the key issues explored in the analysis is how the outputs of the field vary across countries. Assigning of a geographic coverage tag to an item was therefore both bibliographically and analytically highly significant. In many cases, this was easy and unproblematic. But there were also multiple complexities in the tagging process that have analytical consequences.

The principal complexities concerned items that discussed multiple countries. What is the minimum amount of attention devoted to a country that would justify the assignment of a tag? In general terms, the benchmark was a discussion of a country's Jewish population that was more than a passing reference and that drew, to some extent at least, either on some direct research or on secondary research literature. This benchmark was often hard to establish, particularly for items where no full-text was available.

This issue was particularly pressing with regard to studies of the Jewish population of the former Soviet Union (and, to a more limited extent, of the former Yugoslavia). Even today, the FSU remains an important analytical category used by researchers, given the long (and, in some cases, continuing) history of interconnection between the constituent states of the Soviet Union and their independent successors. Yet, does that mean that an item that discusses the Jews of the FSU should be tagged with every FSU country? In practice, many items that claim to discuss the FSU concentrate for the most part on Russia, Ukraine and perhaps a few other successor states with larger Jewish populations. Here, a decision had to be made on tagging on a case-by-case basis.

There were also items that discuss the Jews of Europe as a totality. It was often unclear, even when the full-text of the item was available, what the boundaries of 'Europe' were in particular items. In practice, most such items tend to draw on some cases more than others. We might ask whether, if a particular country is discussed as a case study that contributes to a wider argument about European Jewry, it is always justifiable to tag those case study countries? This dilemma touches on broader, philosophical issues of what constitutes a 'topic', a 'theme' or an 'argument'. While these issues are beyond the scope of this report, they cannot be entirely abstracted from a critical perspective on the analysis.

Another decision that was made at an early stage in populating EJRA was to exclude items that were genuinely global in scope. Sergio DellaPergola's regular 'World Jewish Population' reports are not included, nor are the various studies of antisemitism and attitudes to Jews worldwide that are conducted by organisations such as the Anti-Defamation League and Pew Research Center. The reason for these exclusions was that such items are contributions to global Jewish conversations that, while they may have implications for Europe and its individual countries, range beyond the boundaries of Europe. They are not produced within the field as we understand it, nor are they produced for its specific benefit. At the same time, some comparative studies that, for example, report on Russian Jewish emigrés in various countries including European ones, are included. Here, the significant factor is whether the European case studies are more than nominal and contribute specifically to research on that country's Jewish population.

One might also ask whether countries deserve their analytical centrality in this report. Certainly, EJRA geographic tags also include cities (such as London and Berlin) where there is a significant amount of specific coverage, as well as regions (such as Catalonia and Scotland) with varying degrees of autonomy, and also sub-sections of Europe such as Eastern Europe. These other kinds of geographic tags were removed from the analysis. One reason for this was that many of these tags, particularly the vaguer ones, were added simply to tally with the way the item itself defines its subject area; therefore, we cannot be confident that one author's definition of these tags will be the same as another's. Another reason is that, particularly in the case of city tags, it can be difficult to establish the difference between an item that explicitly defines itself

as concerned with that city and an item that *de facto* deals with that city. In many European countries, the Jewish population is heavily concentrated in one city, often the capital, and research is inevitably heavily weighted towards the Jews of that city, whether or not the item frames its subject area in this way.

Geographic tags do not imply that the item was published in a particular country or that the research was conducted by a resident or citizen of that country. Some attempts were made during the analysis to identify items that were produced 'externally' to the country, but in the end, this was not possible. Many items are published by multinational publishers with offices in multiple countries, making it impossible to definitively identify their publication place (despite the fact that, for bibliographic purposes, a place might be recorded). Researchers do not always stay resident within one country throughout their careers and, in any case, establishing their nationality would be immensely time-consuming given the number of EJRA authors.

What is a topic?

Many of the issues regarding geographic coverage tags also apply to topic tags. What is the minimum amount of discussion of a topic to justify the use of a particular tag? The process of creating new topic tags has continued throughout the lifetime of EJRA, although it has slowed considerably since the start of 2018. Inevitably this means that recently-created items may have more topics tagged than older ones, although tags have also been added retrospectively to older items in some cases.

The liberality of the topic tagging process has meant that the analysis has focused on the seven topics for which there are much stricter and mutually-exclusive criteria. Each EJRA item has one main topic tag. These were created retrospectively in 2017 when substantial expertise on EJRA's items had been built up and they have been applied to new items ever since. The main topics have also served to clarify inclusion criteria for EJRA as a whole. What follows are the criteria for inclusion and categorisation for each topic, in alphabetical order. In each case, an individual judgement was made as to the primary focus of each item.

1. Antisemitism

While this may seem self-explanatory, EJRA does not seek to include everything written on antisemitism in Europe since 1990. The main issue here is that much of the voluminous literature on antisemitism does not concern Jews as such, but what non-Jews think about Jews. Given that EJRA is principally concerned with Jews, the inclusion – to give a hypothetical example – of an ethnographic study of a skinhead gang in Hungary, while it would certainly be of relevance to those trying to understand how antisemites think and act, would have limited connection to the project of understanding Jewish life in Europe. Initially, then, EJRA sought to include only those studies of antisemitism that had some kind of connection with the project of understanding how Jews perceive antisemitism or are impacted by it. In time though, this distinction proved very difficult to maintain. What has resulted, therefore, is a tag that encompasses a core of items that have a strong link to the project of understanding how Jews experience antisemitism and a substantial periphery that ranges beyond this.

This core and periphery distinction is, in part, a logistical one. Given that creating EJRA items is a time-consuming process, the core antisemitism items have taken priority. It may be that, over time, as more peripheral items are added, the distinction between core and periphery will erode as coverage of this large field of research becomes more comprehensive.

2. Culture and heritage

Jewish culture is, in this context, understood in terms of the arts, aesthetics and, more broadly, some non-religious Jewish practices such as cuisine. Heritage is understood as the process through which the historical inheritance of these aspects of Jewish life is understood and operationalised in the present. For the

purposes of this topic, no distinction is made between Jewish cultural practices and their heritage as understood and performed by Jews, and as performed by non-Jews (the latter being a common phenomenon in some countries, such as Poland). Given the growth in interest in Jewish culture and heritage following the collapse of communism, demonstrated by the opening of new museums and the founding of Jewish culture festivals, this topic taps into a significant and lively sub-field of research.

The topic borders two other topic areas, whose boundaries were not always easy to adjudicate. One is humanities-based research that focuses on Jewish cultural texts themselves, as an end in itself, with varying degrees of engagement with sociological questions about the implications of these texts for living Jewish populations. In most cases, items that did not engage extensively with the latter questions were excluded. The other topic area is EJRA's own Holocaust and Memorial main topic tag. Jewish museums, for example, often include a heavy Holocaust component and serve as memorials. Judgement was exercised on a case-by-case basis on the best fit main topic tag for items that focused on Jewish museums and similar institutions.

3. Demography and Migration

The conceptual logic behind combining demography and migration in a single main topic is that both topics concern Jews as collective masses, either in terms of their global movement or in terms of counting them. In addition, both topics, particularly as they were developed in the 1990s, are concerned with tracking change systematically. Indeed, demographic studies of some Jewish populations, particularly those of former communist countries, are often *de facto* studies of migration, given the major population movements of the last three decades.

While demographic items, as the product of a specialised social scientific field, rarely caused difficulties in assigning a main topic, migration studies did require some limits placed on its inclusion in the Demography and Migration main topic. For example, qualitative studies of the Jewish identities of Jewish migrants, such as Russian Jews in Germany, were generally assigned the Identity and Community main topic. The specific migrant studies included in the Demography and Migration main topic are largely those that are quantitative and/or policy-oriented, focusing on the practical issues surrounding migration, such as access to welfare services and education.

4. Education

The education main topic includes items that focus on the education of Jews and others that focus on the education of non-Jews about Jews (as well as some that look at the relationship between the two). Education is, of course, not a practice that can be conceptually or empirically confined to specific educational institutions such as schools or universities. This means that the boundaries between Education and other main topics are complicated when it comes to items that look at education about those other topics. So do studies of antisemitism in schools, or of Holocaust education, belong in the Education tag or other main topic tags? Decisions were made based on the degree of primacy accorded in each study to the practice or site of education, together with its degree of contribution to specifically educational research literature. This means that studies of Holocaust or antisemitism education that contribute to a wider project of understanding how societies as a whole, or sub-sections of them, can best be educated about antisemitism and the Holocaust, tended to be assigned the Antisemitism and the Holocaust and Memorial main topic tags.

5. Holocaust and Memorial

A significant proportion of the EJRA holdings for this EJRA main topic consists of contributions to the growing 'memory studies' literature, itself in part a response to the increasing presence of Holocaust memorialisation worldwide in recent decades. In addition, studies of post-Holocaust property restitution in various European countries are included. A small number of items that discuss the memorialisation of other events in Jewish history are also included.

The Holocaust and Memorial main topic faces similar issues to the Antisemitism main topic. Some studies of the memorialisation of the Holocaust do not discuss living Jews at all. Yet an absolute distinction between those studies that do engage with living Jewish populations and those that do not is not sustainable either empirically or conceptually. As such, as with Antisemitism, this topic includes a core and periphery – a distinction that may collapse over time as EJRA's coverage becomes more comprehensive.

Another difficult borderline concerns items whose primary focus was on the Holocaust itself and its immediate aftermath. These were, in principle, to be excluded. A hard and fast distinction was not always possible though. For example, some items on the oral history of the Holocaust were included because they focus on the methodology and ethics of the practice of oral history. Conversely, some items in the growing literature on the *Stolpersteine* memorials in Germany, which commemorate the memory of Jews deported or killed in the Holocaust, were not included as they focused primarily on those who were memorialised, rather than the process of memorialisation itself.

6. Identity and Community

To a degree, Identity and Community is treated here simply as an umbrella term for social research on Jewish populations and individuals that do not fall into the above categories. Identity and Community are understood as signifying who Jews are and how they behave collectively. The topic also includes other aspects of collective Jewish life, such as items that discuss the workings of Jewish organisations and the practicalities of conducting Jewish practices. However, it excludes studies of aspects of Jewish life that, while they may focus on Jewish individuals or collectives, are less concerned with them *as Jews*, but as a particular sub-group that experiences wider social phenomena in specific ways. For that reason, studies of Jewish experiences of mental illness, for example, are included in the Other main topic.

EJRA items consisting of articles that present a general overview of a particular country's Jewish population tended to be included in the Identity and Community main topic, as, even though they might not contribute specifically and explicitly to research on identity and community, they are usually useful as background for more specific studies.

7. Other

The number of items included in the Other main topic is larger than originally anticipated. Initially, the preference was to broaden inclusion criteria for the other six topics rather than use the Other topic. As the EJRA item discovery process developed, it became clear that studies of European Jewish populations have encompassed a greater variety of distinct sub-literatures than initially expected. In the future, it is possible that some of these literatures within the Other topic will require the creation of new main topics. Interfaith relations and mental health are two topic areas that include significant EJRA-relevant literatures.

The growth of identifiable sub-groups within the Other main topic is a reminder that the process of identifying main topics cannot be done on a once-and-for-all basis. As the field changes and as unexpected discoveries of new items occur, the main topics will need to be reconfigured. The initial creation of the main topics was based on an analysis of the most common items in the topic list. However, the identification of main topics could be done through a more organic and more sophisticated process. A cluster analysis of some kind could identify the ways in which topics, and the items to which they are attached, cluster together in identifiable patterns; the output of this process could be a revised list of main topics.

Why we believe the analysis is meaningful

All datasets are constructs, the product of decisions made as to how to categorise information in ways that are conducive

to analysis. By laying out, in some detail, how decisions were made in categorising EJRA items, we are only making public the inescapable fact that the process of turning something as nebulous as a field of research into data is not smooth or easy. While we invite readers to read and consider the report's findings critically in the light of this Appendix, we remain confident that the analysis is meaningful and highlights genuine real-world phenomena.

We would highlight the following as grounds for this confidence:

1. The analysis confirms some phenomena that were already known

For example, Figure 5 demonstrates that the Antisemitism main topic showed a significant increase in items associated with it since 2000. This was expected, particularly given JPR's long involvement in the growth of this field and its connections with the antisemitism monitoring organisations that have emerged in recent years. Similarly, the majority of the most productive authors were known as such prior to the creation of EJRA. Some of the relative absences in research on particular countries have already been identified.

Most importantly, these 'known' findings are not confined to one variable. Confidence in analysis depends in part on variables across the entire dataset being representative. We have multiple causes for this confidence.

2. Some issues are mitigated by the volume of items and by degrees of variance.

While it is inevitable that some items are missing from EJRA, the substantial size of the EJRA database as it is means that broad relationships within the data remain detectable despite some undercounting. We are confident that, at the very least, we have not systematically missed entire bodies of literature that would comprehensively overturn a particular finding. Further, within many fields, the degrees of variance between cases are so large as to make it highly unlikely that the overall trend is illusory. Even if we have missed some significant studies of the Jewish population of Luxembourg, their hypothetical inclusion would not challenge the finding that the number of items for Russia or France is many times the size of those for Luxembourg.

3. Some issues cancel each other out.

In some respects, underrepresentation and overrepresentation 'neutralise' each other. If, for example, criteria for inclusion into the Antisemitism category might be judged to be overly generous, the effects of this might be counteracted by a systematic underrepresentation of particular countries within this category. Conversely, in an analysis of geographic coverage, overgenerously included Antisemitism items could serve to counteract an undercount from particular countries. While this is far from ideal from a statistical or methodological point of view – and the relative effects of under and overcounting are impossible to quantify – the 'balancing' effect may nonetheless be real.

4. Some statistical effects act as proxies for others.

In some cases, an under or overcount, while it may result from imperfections in the process of populating EJRA, still serves to demonstrate or reinforce particular statistical phenomena. For example, if the same paper has been unknowingly included multiple times under different titles, this will nonetheless highlight the importance and productiveness of the author within the field. Conversely, undercounts in some areas, even if they result from imperfections in the process of populating EJRA, may act as proxies for genuine relative weaknesses in the field.

On this basis, we invite methodological and analytical scrutiny of this report. Mindful of our aim of facilitating the consolidation of the field of research on European Jewish populations, we hope that future iterations of this analysis will benefit from the suggestions and critiques from researchers.

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Published by Institute for Jewish Policy Research

ORT House, 126 Albert Street, London NW1 7NE
tel +44 (0)20 7424 9265
email jpr@jpr.org.uk
website www.jpr.org.uk

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