

The Population of Reunited Jerusalem, 1967–1985

by U.O. SCHMELZ

JERUSALEM IS A CITY with a long and fascinating history, a city held sacred by three faiths. Even in the modern period, Jerusalem's religious importance has been a fundamental determinant of the city's development.

The course of Jerusalem's general and demographic evolution in the 20th century has been uneven. Prior to World War I, Jerusalem was the largest city—in terms of total and Jewish populations—of what became Mandatory Palestine. Indeed, Jerusalem had a Jewish majority among its total population going back to the second half of the 19th century. But World War I caused a great loss of inhabitants, especially Jews, due to departures and mortality. Though Jerusalem became the country's capital when Palestine was constituted as a British Mandate (1918–1948), the city's Jewish and total populations experienced lesser relative growth than Tel Aviv (and Yafo)—which overtook Jerusalem in numbers in about 1930—and Haifa. This was due to limited economic opportunities in Jerusalem and—from the Jewish standpoint—the city's location within a compact Arab region. Jerusalem had 62,700 inhabitants, including 34,100 Jews, according to the census of 1922; there were 93,100 inhabitants, including 53,800 Jews, according to the census of 1931. The last estimates of the Mandatory government put the corresponding figures at 164,400 and 99,300, as of 1946.

Israel's War of Independence in 1948 included among its important aspects the siege of the Jewish part of Jerusalem by the Arabs and the area's subsequent relief by Israeli forces. As a result of the war there was a partition into two cities—an Israeli Jerusalem and a Jordanian Jerusalem. Both sides experienced population losses through out-migration during the war. On the Jewish side, this was soon overcome when a portion of the mass of immigrants who flocked into the newly created State of Israel were directed to Jerusalem.

During the 19 years of partition, Jerusalem was Israel's official capital city. Yet, Jewish Jerusalem led an uncomfortable existence during this period, constricted as it was on three sides by an inimical armistice line that left it connected to the main body of the state by only a narrow corridor. While no Jews could live in Jordanian Jerusalem, 99 percent of Israeli Jerusalem's inhabitants were Jewish. Their number leaped from the 82,900

permanent residents—the *de facto* number was smaller—who were enumerated in November 1948, to 138,600 by 1951, in an enlarged city territory, and then to 165,000 according to the 1961 census, and an estimated 196,800 in September 1967. In 1961, 60,500 inhabitants were counted in Jordanian Jerusalem.

The Six Day War of June 1967 led to the reunification of Jerusalem and to a considerable enlargement of the municipal territory on the former Jordanian side. Thus, urban areas that had sprung up outside the narrow Jordanian city boundaries, together with a hemicycle of Arab villages, elements of a Bedouin tribe in course of sedentarization, and a camp of 1948 Arab refugees were all included in the enlarged city territory. The war led to the departure of numerous Arabs, primarily during the summer months of 1967, many of them wives and children going to join family heads elsewhere in the Middle East.

At the end of September 1967, a special census held in "East Jerusalem," i.e., the ex-Jordanian areas, counted 68,600 persons. Adding an estimate for those areas of Jerusalem that already formed part of Israel, a total population of 267,800 is arrived at, including 196,800 (73.5 percent) Jews. Had it not been for the enlargement of the city territory on the ex-Jordanian side, the proportion of Jews would have amounted to 81 percent. Since the 1967 census, the whole of enlarged Jerusalem has been included in the official statistics of Israel's population.

This article will describe the sociodemographic characteristics of Jerusalem between 1967 and 1985, with emphasis on data from the population census of 1983. The article forms part of a larger study of Jerusalem's demographic evolution since the middle of the 19th century.*

Israel's Population, 1967–1985

The general evolution of population in Israel during 1967–1985 provides the framework for an examination of the specific evolution in Jerusalem. Between September 1967 and the end of 1985, the total population of Israel rose from 2,765,000 to 4,266,000 (i.e., by about 1,500,000, or 54 percent) and the Jewish population from 2,374,000 to 3,517,000 (i.e., by 1,143,000, or 48 percent (table 1).¹ The number of non-Jews in the state experienced an abrupt increase because of the addition of East Jerusalem, rising from 312,000 at the end of 1966 to 391,000 in September 1967, and then grew

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¹See Appendix for tables.

gradually to 749,000 in 1985 (i.e., by another 92 percent). The annual growth rates were 2.4 percent for the total population, 2.2 percent for Jews, and 3.6 percent for non-Jews. Categorized by religion, the latter are almost exclusively Muslims, Christians, and Druze.

JEWS

After 1967 the number of Israel's Jews grew, primarily owing to natural increase. The striking fertility differential that existed in Israel in the mid-1950s between Asian-African Jews and European Jews had by 1985 virtually disappeared. While the Asian-African Jews rapidly reduced their fertility, European Jews slightly raised theirs, thus constituting an exception to the great fertility decline that swept over the developed countries beginning in the 1960s. The current fertility of Israel's total Jews—an average of 2.8 children per woman (regardless of marital status)—markedly exceeds not only that of Diaspora Jews but also the levels observed among the general populations of developed countries. The level suffices for natural increase to a not insubstantial extent—1.4 percent in recent years. With regard to patterns of nuptiality, fertility, and very low mortality, similar levels have been attained between the two previously diverse major origin groups of Israel's Jews, more so than in many other spheres. It should be noted that above 20 percent of recent marriages between Jews are origin-mixed in respect to these two major groups.

About half a million Jews immigrated to Israel during 1967–1985, of whom nearly 80 percent came from Europe-America, about 165,000 from the Soviet Union alone.² In recent years, however, owing to the virtual stoppage of Jewish departures from the USSR, immigration has been at a very low level (minor spurts such as refugees from Ethiopia notwithstanding). Nor is any real change likely, unless large numbers of Jews are again allowed to leave the Soviet Union—and on the further condition that they actually come to Israel and do not opt for other destinations—or that *aliyah* (immigration) increases significantly from the free and affluent countries of the West. The external migration balance—immigrants minus emigrants—of Israel's Jews during the whole span 1967–1985 amounted to about 285,000, but has been small in the most recent years.

NON-JEWS

The rapid growth of Israel's non-Jewish population has been essentially due to high natural increase, though the addition of East Jerusalem and, later, of the Golan Druze has contributed as well. The migration balance

²The entire Soviet Union is classified under "Europe" in Israel's official immigration statistics.

of all non-Jews in Israel is close to nil. Their mortality is low, thanks to Israel's well-developed health services. A conspicuous difference has long prevailed between the high fertility of Muslims and Druze, on the one hand, and the rather low fertility of Christians, on the other, though the latter, too, are overwhelmingly Arab. The average fertility of Muslims reached peaks above 9 children per woman in the 1960s, but has dropped with dramatic speed since the 1970s—it is already below 5 and still decreasing. This momentous change can be attributed to the replacement, in the reproductive age groups, of the generation born in the Mandatory period by that born since the establishment of Israel. This turnover of generations has been accompanied by, among many other things, a substantial rise in education, in which women have also participated. Whereas the natural increase of Israeli Muslims was 4.5 percent on average in the 1960s and that of all non-Jews above 4 percent, the corresponding figures for 1985 were only 3.1 and 2.9 percent, respectively. Despite this strong reduction, however, the natural increase of Israel's non-Jews is still twice as high as that of Jews. But the differential continues to narrow.

The non-Jewish population of Israel is now distributed as follows: Muslims—77 percent; Christians—13 percent; and Druze—10 percent. The relative share of Christians is slowly shrinking due to their smaller natural increase.

Since the termination of massive Jewish immigration and partly also due to the incorporation of East Jerusalem, the proportion of Jews in Israel's total population receded from 88 percent in 1966 to 82 percent in 1985.

The Arabs in the administered areas still have relatively high fertility and natural increase, but—unlike the Arabs in the state territory of Israel—they have a long-standing tendency to emigrate for economic reasons. (Since 1967, nationalistic motives have also played a role in this regard.) This emigration slows down their population growth, one result being that the proportion of Jews in the entire territory of what was Mandatory Palestine has remained about 63–64 percent throughout the period 1967–1985.

General Evolution of Jerusalem

Within the general Israeli framework, reunited and enlarged Jerusalem, with a 1985 population above 450,000, is a widespread city with an area of more than 100 square kilometers. Since 1967 intensive building activity has taken place, decisively changing the townscape. Most evident are the large-scale public-housing projects for Jews on the perimeter of the new municipal territory, but there has also been a great deal of building by Arabs. Movement is now free and unfettered to and from Jerusalem in all directions within Israel and the administered areas. The latter are legally and administratively distinct, but there are no limitations to the flow of persons and goods, nor any control posts on the road. This is both practically and

psychologically important for Jerusalem, which is situated along the previous armistice line, at a junction between territories inhabited predominantly either by Jews or Arabs.

Jerusalem's traditional geographic handicap of inland location in a mountainous terrain has become less important in an age of good roads and fast traffic. As the nation's capital, Jerusalem functions as a center for public services, in addition to being a holy city and tourist attraction of international renown. Yet, the comparative deficiency of other economic branches remains a source of obvious weakness for Jerusalem's economy.

Coexistence of diverse groups continues to be the rule in Jerusalem's population and society, but the practical expressions of it are now somewhat modified, compared to late Mandatory times. There is more economic cooperation between Jews and Arabs, both in the exchange of goods and services and in the employment of Arabs by Jews. (Jews are not hired by Arabs, however.) Residential separation between religious groups, which is an age-old practice in the Levant, continues to predominate in Jerusalem as between Jews and Arabs, as well as between Christians and Muslims. In the Mandatory period, huge separate zones of Arabs and Jews crystallized, practically bisecting the city before its actual partition during 1948–1967. Since 1967 a pattern of alternating medium-sized areas has formed in the ex-Jordanian zone, each of which is inhabited almost exclusively by people of one group or another.

Among Jews, the earlier tendency in the direction of separate residential location for people from a particular geographical region abroad has been much reduced and is largely confined to long-established and rather poor families, especially their older members. A growing portion of the Jewish population, particularly among the younger generation, lives in large housing projects or smaller condominiums, regardless of family origin. For this segment, it is life-style and financial means that determine residential location in the modern parts of the city. Some overlap still exists between those categorized as living in less privileged surroundings and being of Asian-African origin, reflecting the socioeconomic conditions of many of the immigrants who came from Asia-Africa in the first two decades of the state. Another long-existing social and residential differentiation—that between the ultra-Orthodox and other Jews—is assuming increased prominence in Jerusalem, with the growing ultra-Orthodox subpopulation expanding its accustomed residential areas and establishing itself in new ones.

Physically, Jerusalem's Arabs live at a distance from other Arabs in the state territory of Israel but are surrounded by those of Judea, in the administered areas. Culturally, they are in an intermediate position: they have lived in the Israeli context and have been exposed to Israeli influences for a shorter time than other Arabs in Israel—only since 1967—but they are more intensively exposed to those influences than are the Arabs of the

administered areas. By now half of Jerusalem's Arab residents have been born under Israeli administration. Since its reunification, Jerusalem has had by far the largest population of Arabs, and, among them, of Muslims, of any town in the state territory of Israel.

Jerusalem's sphere of influence has widened as modern transportation has diminished the importance of distances in a small country like Israel. In particular, Jerusalem is now the nucleus of what amounts functionally to a metropolitan area, or rather two such areas that partly overlap. The one consists of the Jewish satellite towns and settlements in the former "corridor" to the west, as well as in Judea and parts of Samaria, which are closely linked to the city. The other consists of the Arab towns and villages in Judea which do the following: look to the Arab sector in Jerusalem as their own major urban center; find in the Jewish sector of the city important suppliers of goods and services, as well as customers and employers; and have recourse to governmental or Jewish institutions (e.g., hospitals) in Jerusalem.

Population Dynamics in Jerusalem

The main sources of demographic data on the population of Jerusalem and Israel since 1967 are the following: the national censuses of May 1972 and June 1983,³ including special tabulations which the author prepared from the data files deposited with the Hebrew University;⁴ and statistics of vital events, internal migration, and immigration, as well as up-dated estimates, all prepared by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics.⁵ With special reference to Jerusalem are the following: the census of East Jerusalem, conducted in September 1967,⁶ and special studies which the author made of fertility of Jews according to degree of religiosity.⁷ The data in the

³See the publications of the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, issued bilingually in Hebrew and English: *Census of Population and Housing 1972*, 17 vols.; *1983 Census of Population and Housing*, publication in progress. Numerous ultra-Orthodox Jews in Jerusalem refused to be enumerated in both these censuses, but a part of the data for them could be supplemented from other sources.

⁴Marked as such in the statistical tables of this article.

⁵See the publications of the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, issued bilingually in Hebrew and English: the data are summarized annually in *Statistical Abstract of Israel*; specific publications are issued on vital statistics, immigration, etc.; see also *Population in Localities 30 V 1977* (Special Publication no. 673).

⁶Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *East Jerusalem: Census of Population and Housing 1967*, 2 vols. (Hebrew and English).

⁷See the articles by U.O. Schmeltz: "Fertility of Jewish Women in the Metropolitan Areas of Israel, 1972," in U.O. Schmeltz and G. Nathan (eds.), *Studies in the Population of Israel in Honor of Roberto Bachi* (Jerusalem, 1986), Scripta Hierosolymitana, vol. 30; "Religiosity and Fertility Among Israel's Jews," in U.O. Schmeltz and S. DellaPergola (eds.), *Papers in Jewish Demography 1985*, forthcoming.

statistical tables appearing in this article are taken from the above-mentioned official sources (including some unpublished figures), unless stated otherwise.

The demography of Israel at the beginning of this period is described in Roberto Bachi's *The Population of Israel* (Jerusalem, 1977). Accounts of the demography of Jerusalem are contained in several articles written by the author.⁸

RELIGIOUS GROUPS

The growth of major religious groups in Jerusalem between September 1967 and the end of 1985 can be seen from table 2. During that period the Jewish population grew more rapidly in Jerusalem than in the other two main cities (Tel Aviv and Haifa), their conurbations,* or the whole state (table 3). Accordingly, Jerusalem's share among all Jews in Israel increased somewhat from 8.3 percent in 1967 to 9.3 percent in 1985. This marked a reversal of the trend that had seen the continued reduction of Jerusalem's proportion during the Mandatory period and the first two decades of the state. Muslims, due to their high natural increase, grew relatively more than the other population groups in Jerusalem. The doubling of their size in the city during 1967–1985 corresponded to their rate of increase in the whole of Israel. The number of Christians in Jerusalem declined for some time after 1967 but then reversed itself, and is now back at the 1961 level (for both zones of the formerly partitioned city added together). In 1985 Jerusalem accounted for the following shares among Israel's population: total—10.7 percent; Jews—9.3 percent; Muslims—20.0 percent; and Christians—14.3 percent. (There are hardly any Druze in Jerusalem.) The city's proportion among Israel's total population increased from 9.7 percent in September 1967 to 10.7 percent at the end of 1985.

With regard to the characteristics and behavioral patterns of Muslims and Christians in Jerusalem, the influences of specific subgroups should be noted. Jerusalem's Muslims now include many ex-villagers whose localities were incorporated into the enlarged city territory in 1967, but whose adaptation to urban standards could not be other than gradual. In contrast, Jerusalem's Christian population includes a number of non-Arabs of considerable educational attainments, some of them ecclesiastical personnel, who are demographically atypical.

⁸See the articles by U.O. Schmelz: "Jerusalem's Jewish Population in the Decade Since the City's Reunification," in U.O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. DellaPergola (eds.), *Papers in Jewish Demography* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 379–397; "Demography of Muslims and Christians in Jerusalem," *Hamizrah Hehadash*, vol. 28, no. 1–2, 1979, pp. 39–73 (Hebrew); "A United Jerusalem: Demographic Characteristics of the Main Population Groups," in A. Shmueli, D. Grossman, and R. Zeevy (eds.), *Judea and Samaria* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 467–478 (Hebrew).

*Conurbation: a metropolitan area.

It is generally agreed that nearly all of Jerusalem's Muslims are Arabs, but this is not the case with Christians. A rough estimate of the proportion of Arabs among the city's Christians can be obtained from the 1983 census data on language use. In the census, 68 percent of the Christian residents of Jerusalem aged 15 and over reported Arabic as their principal spoken language and can therefore be considered, virtually without exception, to be Arabs. Since the proportion of Arabs must be greater among Christian children than among Christian adults—because of the Arabs' greater fertility and the immigration of non-Arab adults (e.g., religious functionaries)—the proportion of Arabs among all Christians in Jerusalem is apparently above 70 percent.

Jerusalem is once again the city in Israel with both the largest total and Jewish populations. Jerusalem overtook Haifa in 1967; it outpaced Tel Aviv-Yafo around 1975 in total population size and in 1984 in the number of Jews. Population size in the city of Haifa has been almost stationary since the early 1970s, and the growth of the Haifa conurbation has also been moderate. The population of the city of Tel Aviv-Yafo has been slowly but steadily shrinking since the mid-1960s, due to persistent suburbanization involving residential moves to the surrounding towns. By contrast, by 1985 the conurbation of Tel Aviv—according to the wider delimitation adopted for the 1983 census—comprised 38 percent of Israel's total population and as many as 45 percent of Israel's Jews.

COMPONENTS OF POPULATION CHANGE

Table 4 analyzes the components of change in population size, and presents average annual rates for three subperiods of the entire span 1967–1985. Throughout these years Jews experienced stronger growth in Jerusalem than in the whole country and the two conurbations, especially that of Haifa, and the differences widened in the course of time. This was essentially due to higher rates of birth and natural increase in Jerusalem, which remained rather stable in the city, while declining somewhat in Israel as a whole and more markedly in the two conurbations. By 1983–1985 the natural increase of Jews in Jerusalem was twice as high as that in the Tel Aviv conurbation and three times as high as that in the Haifa conurbation.

The mortality of all Israel's Jews is very low in international comparison. The death rate for Jews per 1,000 of their population (all ages together) is now even lower in Jerusalem than in the other mentioned locations⁹ because of the younger age composition of Jerusalem's Jews.

⁹The term "locations" is used here in comparing Tel Aviv and Haifa (these cities alone or with their surrounding areas) and total Israel with Jerusalem.

Around 1970 the external migration balance was still important for Jewish population growth, and Jerusalem's relative increment thereof corresponded to that in the whole country. This was unlike the situation in previous decades when the city absorbed a smaller proportion of new immigrants than its share in Israel's Jewish population. The special appeal of reunited Jerusalem attracted immigrants, including those from Western countries. Over the last decade, however, *aliyah* has been no more than a secondary factor with regard to population growth in Jerusalem, as in Israel as a whole. Another change from the past was that, in the first decade after reunification, Jerusalem had a positive balance of internal migration vis-à-vis other localities in Israel, because of the transfer of certain government offices to the capital and generally improved conditions in the city. However, in the last ten years Jerusalem's internal migration balance has again become somewhat negative, though with a significant difference as compared with the past. In the earlier period it was the economic advantages in the coastal belt, particularly in Tel Aviv and its surrounding areas, that drained Jewish population away from Jerusalem. At present, a large segment of the out-migrants, especially young couples, move to satellite towns and smaller settlements in Judea and Samaria, some of which are just beyond the municipal boundaries, as part of a process of suburbanization to what are primarily dormitory localities. This reduces the growth in the number of inhabitants of Jerusalem proper, while furthering the processes of metropolitanization.

In the past decade, the not inconsiderable net growth of Jews in the municipal territory of Jerusalem—slightly above 2 percent per annum—has been entirely due to natural increase, whereas the overall migratory balance has been nil. Not only has the balance of the internal migrations of Jews within Israel been smaller, relative to population, in Jerusalem than in the Tel Aviv conurbation, but the volume (i.e., the sum of entrances and departures) has also been relatively lower in Jerusalem than in the two conurbations and the whole of Israel.

Non-Jews in Jerusalem, most of whom are Muslims, show greater natural increase than Jews, but the differential has narrowed from 36 versus 22 per 1,000 of population in 1972–1975 to 28 versus 22 in 1983–1985. The birth-rate of Jerusalem's Jews has fluctuated at about 28 per 1,000 of population, whereas that of the city's non-Jews has declined from 44 to 32 in that interval. However, the relative drop in the death rate of the city's non-Jews has been even more striking—from at least 11 per 1,000 in the quinquennium after the city's reunification, and still 8 in 1972–1975, to only 4 by 1983–1985. The current death rate of Jerusalem's non-Jews is the same as that which prevails among Israel's non-Jews generally, and is, paradoxically, in both instances markedly lower than that of Jews, in consequence

of the non-Jews' much younger age structure. The registered infant mortality rate of non-Jews in Jerusalem was reduced from 68 per 1,000 live-born in 1972 to 21 by 1984.

The birthrate of Muslims declined from 47 per 1,000 of population in 1972–1975 to 36 in 1982–1984, and that of Christians from 22 to 15. Over the same years the death rate of Muslims dropped from 7 to 4 per 1,000 of population and that of the Christians from 11 to 9. This last figure, which is comparatively high, is indicative of aging among the Christian population in Jerusalem (see below). Analysis of the 1967 census suggests that, in the preceding years, of 1,000 Muslim newborn in East Jerusalem, 177 had died before reaching age 5; the corresponding figure for Christians was 131. In 1973–1975 the registered infant-mortality rates (deaths in the first year of life) for these communities were down to 54 and 26 per 1,000 live-born, respectively, and by 1982–1984 to only 21 and 15, compared to 11 among Jewish infants in Jerusalem.

FERTILITY

The substantial birthrate of Jerusalem's Jews has been due to their relatively elevated fertility level, which has been consistently higher than that in the whole country and especially that in Tel Aviv and Haifa. This is the case not only with regard to the total Jewish population but also when comparisons are made by region of birth (table 5). In this regard, interesting changes have taken place. For a long period the fertility ranking by birth region among Jews in Palestine/Israel was as follows: Asian-African-born; Israeli-born; and European-born. A fertility differential clearly existed between the Asian-African-born and the European-born, though on a generally diminishing scale, while the Israeli-born (who are of mixed origin) occupied an intermediate position, reflecting the tendency toward convergence. Beginning in the 1950s the fertility of the Israeli-born actually began to approach that of the European-born, at first because most were themselves of European origin and later for social reasons. This pattern continues to prevail in Israel as a whole, as well as in Tel Aviv and Haifa. In contrast, the fertility ranking in Jerusalem had changed by 1983, with the Israeli-born coming first, the European-born next, though at a considerable distance, and the Asian-African-born, last. In 1983 the total fertility rates (TFRs)¹⁰ in Jerusalem of Israeli-born Jewish women whose fathers were born, respectively, in Israel or Europe stood as high as 4.37 and 4.23 children on

¹⁰"Total fertility rate" indicates the average number of children that a woman would bear during her lifetime if the age-specific fertility rates remained the same as in the year(s) under consideration. Under conditions of very low mortality, the "replacement level" is 2.1 children per woman (regardless of marital status).

average, while Israeli-born women with Asian-African fathers attained only 3.47. The main explanation lies in the greater fertility of very religious Jews, particularly the ultra-Orthodox,¹¹ and their strong representation in Jerusalem, especially among Jews of European birth or parentage, as well as among the Israeli-born whose fathers were also born in the country.

The striking fertility differences among Jerusalem's Jews according to degree of religiosity (when women's origin and age are controlled) and the high average levels of cumulative number of births attained by very religious women at ages 30–34 are illustrated in table 6, based on the results of three specific studies.¹² The data suggest that the completed fertility of the very religious was about 6 children, at least twice that of Jews of low religiosity. It was mainly this fact and the frequency of the ultra-Orthodox in Jerusalem which raised the fertility level of the city's total Jews by almost 30 percent above that in the whole of Israel, as of 1983. The data also seem to point to a rising fertility trend among the very religious of European origin.

According to the 1967 census of East Jerusalem, the average completed fertility of 45–49-year-old married women was as follows: Muslim—9.7; Christian—6.0. The total fertility rate of all Muslim women in Jerusalem amounted to 7.5 in 1972, but only 4.9 in 1983; the corresponding figures for all Christians (Arabs and others) were 2.8 in 1972, but merely 1.8—i.e., below replacement level—in 1983. Thus, the fertility of Muslims and total non-Jews in Jerusalem, as in the whole of Israel, is now below that of the very religious Jews in Jerusalem, while Christian fertility in Israel and especially in Jerusalem falls short of that of total Jews.

Demographic Characteristics

COUNTRIES OF BIRTH AND ORIGIN

The percentage of Israeli-born among Jews continues to be greater in Jerusalem than in the whole state, or in Tel Aviv and Haifa, or in the entire conurbations of these two cities (table 7). However, the respective differences have narrowed. By 1983, 63 percent of Jerusalem's Jews were native-born. This proportion is continually increasing, particularly since *aliyah* is low at present. Of Jerusalem's Israeli-born Jews, 38 percent, considerably

¹¹For the ultra-Orthodox, see the discussion below.

¹²Ecological studies for 1970–1974 and 1983, respectively, compared fertility in areas of varying religiosity in Jerusalem, as indicated by the percentages of votes cast for religious parties in parliamentary elections. An interview study of maternity cases, conducted in 1975–1976 by Professors M. Davis and S. Harlap, made it possible to investigate differential fertility according to selected religious behaviors (e.g., woman going to the *mikveh*, husband being a yeshivah student or rabbi). Cf. footnote 7.

more than in the other mentioned locations, had fathers who were also born in the country; they constituted 24 percent of Jerusalem's total Jews. In contrast, the proportion of the foreign-born is generally receding, owing to the substantial level of natural increase among Jews in Israel, especially in Jerusalem, and the great reduction in *aliyah*. The latter reason applies with particular force to the Asian-African-born, who have been a minority of *olim* (immigrants) during the last two decades. In 1972, the Asian-African-born were still a slight majority of the foreign-born Jews in Jerusalem, but a minority in the whole state and especially in the two conurbations. By 1983, owing to the preponderantly European-American provenance of the immigration since 1972, the Asian-African-born had turned into a minority among the foreign-born in all the locations mentioned, and their proportions were rather similar in Jerusalem, the Tel Aviv conurbation, and the whole state, though far smaller in the Haifa conurbation.

Table 7 also shows the geographical origin of Jews, i.e., their distribution according to personal birth region of the foreign-born or father's birth region for the Israeli-born. However, "Israeli origin"—i.e., the Israeli-born whose fathers were also born in the country—is really an indeterminate group (since the censuses did not ask about birthplace of grandfather). If it is set aside and origin is examined only for the two generations for which it could be geographically ascertained from the census—the foreign-born and the Israeli-born whose fathers were born abroad—we find that in 1983 the Asian-African-origin group exceeded the European group¹³ in Jerusalem and the whole of Israel, but not in the Tel Aviv and Haifa conurbations. By 1983 the Europeans had surpassed in numbers the Asian-Africans among *foreign-born* Jews in Jerusalem—as in the Mandatory period and unlike in 1961 and 1972—but Europeans remained a minority according to *origin*, because of their lower fertility in the past. Jews who were born in Asia or were of Asian origin continued to be more numerous in Jerusalem than corresponding Jews from Africa.

The relative share of persons born in Central and Western Europe or America among all the European-American-born Jews continued to be much greater in Jerusalem than in the other locations. In 1983 the breakdown was as follows: Jerusalem—54 percent; Tel Aviv conurbation—24 percent; Haifa conurbation—21 percent; and State of Israel—28 percent.

Table 8 illustrates the present heterogeneity of Jerusalem's and Israel's Jewish population with regard to geographical origin. The following

¹³Jews from America (or Australia) have been relatively few in numbers in Palestine/Israel, especially prior to the Six Day War, and most have themselves been of European extraction. Therefore they are usually grouped together with Jews from Europe in the available statistics. When, for simplicity's sake, the text of this article refers to "European Jews," American Jews are meant to be included.

countries of birth each accounted for more than 5 percent of the foreign-born Jews in Jerusalem, according to the 1983 census: Morocco—14.2 percent; USSR—11.7 percent; North America and Oceania—10.5 percent; Iraq—8.8 percent; Rumania—7.3 percent; Iran—7.2 percent; and Poland—7.1 percent. All these countries recurred with a representation of at least 5 percent in the origin distribution of both the foreign-born and the Israeli-born with foreign-born fathers. In comparing countries of origin of the Israeli-born with birth countries of the foreign-born, the above-mentioned Asian-African countries had augmented frequencies, whereas the USSR, Rumania, and North America-Oceania had reduced frequencies. This can be explained by differences in the proportions of Israeli-born—due to disparities in length of residence in Israel and past fertility—among those originating in the two groups of countries.

The frequency distribution of countries of birth and origin of Jews in Jerusalem largely corresponded to that in the whole of Israel, except that the latter included Yemen (above 5 percent only according to origin) but did not include either Iran or North America and Oceania. While Jews born in North America-Oceania amounted to only 2.6 percent of all the foreign-born in Israel, they were as many as 10.5 percent of the foreign-born in Jerusalem. By contrast, Polish and Rumanian Jews were far less represented in Jerusalem than in Israel as a whole.

Foreign-born Jews are differentiated not only by countries/continents of birth and their correlates—e.g., fertility and educational attainment (see below)—but also by years of immigration (table 9). The difference between time of arrival and any later date, e.g., that of a census, indicates the remaining immigrants' duration of stay in Israel. Since its reunification, Jerusalem has exercised a special attraction for new immigrants; consequently, they have formed a larger share of all foreign-born Jews there than in the other two main cities and the respective conurbations, or in Israel as a whole. This applies to arrivals since 1965 in the censuses of both 1972 and 1983. For every 100 foreign-born Jews in Israel in 1983, the proportions of those who had arrived only since 1965 were 23 and 25 percent, respectively, in the conurbations of Tel Aviv and Haifa, 27 percent in total Israel, but as high as 38 percent in Jerusalem. The most recent immigrants, those who had arrived during the time span 1980–May 1983, accounted for 3.6 percent of Israel's Jewish population and 8.2 percent of Jerusalem's. In keeping with the general composition of the immigrants since 1965 by provenance, 81 percent of the post-1965 arrivals who resided in Jerusalem in 1983 had come from Europe or America. Conversely, immigrants who had come since 1965 constituted nearly 54 percent of all the European-American-born in Jerusalem as compared to only 22 percent of all the African-born, and 13 percent of all the Asian-born. In Jerusalem, as of 1983, 58 percent of the Asian-born

had arrived during 1948–1954, and 74 percent of the African-born during 1948–1964.

AGE

The age structure of Muslims in Jerusalem, as in Israel as a whole, is younger than that of Jews. In turn, the age composition of Jews in Jerusalem is younger than that of Christians in the city and the whole country, as well as Jews in Israel and in the two conurbations. This can be easily seen from table 10 by comparing the median ages of the various populations. In all the populations presented in that table, the median age rose somewhat from 1972 to 1983. This was largely due, especially among Jerusalem's Jews, to a diminished proportion in ages 15–24 and an augmented one in ages 25–34. Many of those who were around age 20 in 1972, and thus around age 30 in 1983, had been born about 1950, when the natural increase of Asian-African Jews was very high and European Jews were experiencing a baby boom. In contrast, those who were around age 20 in 1983 were born about 1960, when the natural increase of Jews was generally lower. In 1972 and 1983, the proportion (31–32 percent) of children aged 0–14 among Jerusalem's Jews had shrunk somewhat, as compared to earlier periods, but continued to be larger than in the other mentioned locations. Unlike in the past, Jerusalem's proportion of elderly (aged 65+) was smaller than in the rest of Israel, though it rose a little, as it did generally in the country—in Jerusalem, from 7.4 percent in 1972 to 8.7 percent in 1983. The dependency ratio among Jerusalem's Jews—i.e., the ratio of young dependents (aged 0–19) plus elderly (65+) to the number of persons in the productive ages (20–64)—increased from 95 per 100 in 1972 to 98 per 100 in 1983. This rise was similar to that for Israel's total Jews, but the actual ratios were somewhat higher in Jerusalem.

Israeli-born Jews as a group are much younger than the foreign-born, since any children born in Israel to the latter are classified among the Israeli-born. The age composition of the foreign-born in Israel is thus influenced not only by their own ages at arrival, but also by the duration of their stay in Israel. A group that receives few migratory reinforcements must age rapidly, since its Israeli-born children are not classified together with their parents, and because of the cumulative effects of mortality and emigration. If the four main origin groups of Jews (combining the foreign-born and Israeli-born) are compared, the Israeli-origin group is by far the youngest—58 percent children below age 15 in Jerusalem in 1983—because it is composed of Israeli-born persons only. The Asian- and especially the African-origin groups are younger than the European-, in accordance with the former's greater fertility in the past. The proportions of the origin

groups among Jews vary with age. Israeli origin is most represented among children—44 percent at ages 0–14 in Jerusalem as of 1983. Conversely, persons of European origin account for a large share of the elderly—63 percent at ages 65 and over in Jerusalem as of 1983. Altogether, 93 percent of the 0–14-year-old Jewish children in the city were Israeli-born (regardless of origin).

Similarly, the proportions of the religious groups—Jewish, Muslim, and Christian—vary with age, in keeping with their different levels of fertility and migration. In Jerusalem, as of 1983, Jews formed 71 percent of the total population, but only 64 percent of the children and as many as 83 percent of the elderly. The corresponding figures for Muslims were 25 percent, 33 percent, and 12 percent, respectively, while for Christians they were 3.3 percent, 2.4 percent, and 4.6 percent. The age composition of Muslims is similarly young in Jerusalem and in the whole of Israel, whereas Christians are more aged in Jerusalem than in Israel as a whole (median ages of 29.4 and 23.8 years, respectively, in 1983).

The demographic characteristics of Jerusalem's total population are, of course, weighted averages of those of the city's Jews and non-Jews, respectively, and, with regard to the latter, especially, of the predominant Muslims. In terms of age structure, Jerusalem's population as a whole is more youthful than that of local Jews, but less so than that of the Muslims.

SEX

The sex composition of all Jews in Jerusalem, the conurbations of Tel Aviv and Haifa, and the whole of Israel, as well as of all Muslims in Jerusalem, was fairly balanced (49–51 percent males) as of 1983; only Christians had a marked surplus of women in Jerusalem, as they did in the whole state (table 11). There was a surplus of boys among the children of all these populations, according to the biologically determined sex ratio at the time of birth.¹⁴ Similarly, the surplus of women among the elderly that was found in all the populations compared has an essentially biological foundation in the age-specifically lower mortality of females. Among adults aged 15–64, the excess of women in all the Jewish groups compared was slight, but marked among the Christians. The excess of adult Christian women, especially among the elderly in Jerusalem, is probably due to greater out-migration of men in the past and some in-migration of women,¹⁵ as well. The absolute differences were 5,651 women to 4,410 men among all Jerusalem Christians aged 15 and over in 1983. The majority of the

¹⁴Slightly more boys than girls are born in human populations, so that one usually finds a male surplus among children.

¹⁵Including the wives of some religiously mixed immigrant couples.

Israeli-born Jews in Jerusalem were males (51.4 percent as of 1983), since nearly half of them were children below age 15; in contrast, foreign-born Jews, who were overwhelmingly adults and included 21 percent elderly, had a minority (47.2 percent) of males.

MARITAL STATUS

Regarding marital status (ages 15 and over), in 1983 the proportions of single persons of both sexes in different population groups ranked in the following ascending order: Jews in Israel; Jews in Jerusalem; Muslims and Christians in Jerusalem (table 12). The proportions of the currently married tended to diminish inversely. Two major determinants operate directly in this context: age structure and marriage patterns (the propensity to marry and age at first marriage). There were relatively more single persons among the enumerated Jews in Jerusalem than in the whole state, both in 1972 and 1983, because their age composition was younger and because they married later and were somewhat more likely to not marry at all. This can be seen from their lower sex-age-specific proportions of ever-married persons, especially among women, in table 13. Generally, there has been some rise in marriage age and some decrease in the propensity for marriage among Israel's Jews since the late 1970s. The greater proportion of highly educated persons in Jerusalem (see below), as well as opportunities for professional and clerical jobs in public services in the city, which give economic independence to many young women, have perhaps influenced the reduction in the age-specific proportions of the ever-married that has been observable among Jews there.¹⁶

It may seem paradoxical that the sex-age-specific proportions of the ever-married among Jews declined from 1972 to 1983 among Jews in Jerusalem, as in the whole of Israel (table 13), while some reduction took place in the overall share of single persons among adult Jews in each sex (table 12), meaning that the overall share of the ever-married actually rose. The apparent contradiction is explainable by shifts in age composition, especially with regard to the principal marriageable ages, between approximately 20 and 30 (see above). In Jerusalem, had the age composition of 1972 remained unchanged, the percent single among all Jewish men would have risen to 37.8 percent by 1983; instead, the percent single actually shrank from 35.4 percent to 34.6 percent. Similarly, the corresponding figures for Jewish women in Jerusalem were 28.3 percent in 1972 and 26.6 percent in 1983, but the proportion single rises to 30.5 percent for the latter year when the data are age-standardized.

¹⁶The underrepresentation of the ultra-Orthodox in population censuses (cf. footnote 3) must be remembered in this context. The marriage age of the ultra-Orthodox is low.

The larger proportions of single persons among the Muslims of Jerusalem, compared to the Jews, were decisively due to younger age composition, since the Muslims' marriage age was earlier than that of the Jews (which factor operated in the opposite direction). About 1983, the marriage age of Muslim women was even lower in Jerusalem, despite its urban character, than in the whole of Israel. Among the populations here compared, Christians in Jerusalem had the highest shares of single persons, the aging of their population notwithstanding (cf. table 10). This was due to later marriage age and to the unusual frequency of permanent celibacy among clergy, monks and nuns, and other religiously minded Christians who spurned marriage.

HOUSEHOLD SIZE

The average number of persons per private household was greater in the Jewish population of Jerusalem than in the whole state and the conurbations of Tel Aviv and Haifa. In a comparison by religion, average household size in Jerusalem was in the following descending order: Muslims; Christians; Jews (table 14). Greater household size is strongly connected with high fertility, though other factors—such as age structure of the population, marriage age of the younger generation, and patterns of coresidence—also play a role. Recorded household size generally decreased between the 1972 and 1983 censuses—except among Jerusalem's Muslims—but this was in part due to a downward bias in the 1983 census results (caused by a change in the enumeration technique). Whereas households of 6 or more persons were a limited minority among Jewish households, they still were 56 percent of all Muslim households in Jerusalem as of 1983. On the other hand, one-person households have been relatively more numerous among Jerusalem's Jews and Christians than among the city's Muslims and Israel's total Jews.

For all the religious groups of Jerusalem, average household size increases with age of household head up to a peak at about ages 40–49, due to family formation and growth; at later ages of the household head it decreases, because of residential separation of grown-up children and eventual instances of widowhood. Households in Jerusalem headed by women are a minority; in 1983 they were found in the following proportions: total population—22 percent; Jews—23 percent; Muslims—15 percent; and Christians—33 percent. Among Jews, average household size was greatest if the head was born in Asia or Africa (averages of 3.8–3.9 persons) and lowest for the European-born (2.7). This difference was due mainly to the much greater fertility of the former group in the past, but it was also influenced by disparities in the age distribution of the respective household

heads. At any rate, the difference has considerably narrowed in the course of time.

As a religious and educational center, Jerusalem has comparatively greater percentages of persons who live in institutions than is usual in Israel; the 1983 figures for Jerusalem were as follows: total population—4.5 percent; Jews—5.4 percent; Muslims—1.2 percent; and Christians—9.7 percent.

Sociocultural Characteristics

EDUCATION

Jerusalem's Jews formerly comprised greater proportions both of illiterates and of highly educated persons than the Jews of Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Israel as a whole. The first difference has disappeared: in 1983 the percentage of Jews with 0–4 years of schooling was even slightly lower in Jerusalem than in the other locations. However, a considerably greater share of highly educated persons among Jerusalem's Jews persists (table 15). It is connected in part with the prominence of public services in the city, since the professional positions, and by now usually the upper positions in administrative services, require higher education.

There has been great educational progress in Jerusalem generally, as in Israel as a whole, over the past 20–25 years. The percentage of adults in Jerusalem with 0–4 years of schooling dropped from 1961 (1967 for non-Jews) to 1972 and 1983, as follows: Jews—19 percent, 11 percent, and 7 percent; Muslims—50 percent, 44 percent, and 27 percent; and Christians—25 percent, 26 percent, and 11 percent. Conversely, the share of persons with 13 or more years of study rose as follows: Jews—19 percent, 26 percent, and 35 percent; Muslims—4 percent, 5 percent, and 13 percent; and Christians—10 percent, 12 percent, and 27 percent.

Educational attainment is, on the whole, inversely related to age, since there has been a marked trend toward improved education for the young over time. However, the proviso must be added that the almost complete shares of persons with 13+ years of schooling—and even more so with 16+ years or academic degrees—are reached only after age 30. Changes in the educational distribution of an adult population are slowed down by the fact that education is usually acquired in childhood and in the earlier adult ages. Almost all persons beyond these ages at the time of any given census preserve their respective educational attainments for many decades until their eventual decease. Thus, an adult population's educational level is raised mainly by the replacement of the less educated elderly, who die, by more educated young persons, whereas its improvement is retarded by the

educational inertia of persons beyond early adulthood. The process is accelerated if the population has high natural increase, so that relatively many youngsters join the adult sector. This demographic factor, together with the existence of compulsory schooling, explains the rapid decrease in the share of uneducated persons among Jerusalem's Muslims. It also implies that the educational distribution of any population may be considerably influenced by age structure. We therefore present in table 15A age-standardized data on the respective educational attainments of the principal population groups in Jerusalem as of 1983.

Aside from the educational differentials between the total of Jews and the other religious groups, especially Muslims, there are differentials among Jews themselves. Lack of or low education is now mainly confined to aging women born in Asia-Africa. Even among those with 13+ years of study, there is still a marked gap between the European-origin group, where a majority has attained this level, and the other Jewish groups according to origin and place of birth (abroad or in Israel). Another relevant factor used to be sex differences in education, particularly for persons belonging to Islamic societies or who had lived in them. According to the 1967 census, a majority (62 percent) of Muslim women in Jerusalem had little or no schooling (0-4 years of study). The corresponding proportions were 65 percent of all Jewish women born in Asia-Africa who had immigrated as adults, and even above 90 percent for Yemenite Jewish women, according to Israel's 1961 census. By 1983, the percentages of persons with 0-4 years of schooling among Jerusalem's Muslims aged 15-24 were already low and with little sex differential: males—4.6 percent; females—6.0 percent. Such differentials do, however, persist among the entire population of adult Muslims (tables 15 and 15A), because of the above-explained slowing effect.

In 1983, 17 percent of adult Jews in Jerusalem (both sexes together) held academic degrees, as compared to 13 percent among Christians and only 6 percent among Muslims. The corresponding proportions for Jews aged 25-34 or 35-44 were 26 percent and 27 percent, respectively; 13 percent of Jews at the latter age had postgraduate degrees.

LANGUAGE USE

In a society that is heterogeneous in terms of its members' geographical origins, the use of many languages signifies differentiation, whereas use of a *lingua franca* is one of the mechanisms of societal integration. In Israel, there are several *linguae francae*: Hebrew and Arabic, various international languages, and widespread Jewish Diaspora tongues such as Yiddish or Ladino. The 1983 census contained the question "What language(s) do you speak daily?" and up to two languages per person could be registered. Table

16 shows what percentages of adult Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Jerusalem used any of the more common languages as principal tongue or at all (i.e., as principal or second tongue) in daily speech.

The successful revival of Hebrew as a living language and its practical use as the national language of Israel's Jews is generally recognized as a remarkable cultural achievement. In 1983, as many as 84 percent of adult Jews in Jerusalem reported Hebrew as their principal spoken language. This left limited room for Hebrew as a second language of Jews, and in fact English and Arabic were somewhat more frequent in this capacity. In all, 50 percent of Jews reported everyday use of a second language. Arabic, English, French, Spanish, and Russian may have been either the mother tongue of Jews who migrated from countries where one of these was the national language, or they were used in Israel as relatively frequent media of communication with others who were familiar with one of these languages. Yiddish is, of course, an international Jewish language, though its use has much decreased compared to that of the national languages in countries where Jews live, including Hebrew in Israel. Spanish includes the traditional Judeo-Spanish, i.e., Ladino; the two variants could not be distinguished in the census returns because the same Hebrew word, if not qualified by additional terms, may mean either of them.

Among the other somewhat common everyday languages of Jerusalem's Jews, several groups can be distinguished: Rumanian, Persian, and Bokharian serve, among others, new immigrants; German and Hungarian are used by immigrant groups of long standing in Israel, but who, according to the findings of recurrent studies, evince less propensity than others to abandon the everyday use of their mother tongues; and the same apparently applies to speakers of Kurdish. A noteworthy feature of the recent linguistic situation of Jews in Israel, and for that matter in Jerusalem, is the near disappearance of Polish as an everyday language.

In 1983 all adult Jews in Jerusalem were distributed as follows, according to everyday speaking of Hebrew (in percent): as only language—44.8 percent; as first language—39.4 percent; as second language—9.7 percent; no Hebrew—6.1 percent. The differences between the sexes were limited; 87 percent of Jewish men and 82 percent of Jewish women spoke Hebrew as the principal language. Everyday use of Hebrew as either the only or as the first language depends not only on personal predilection but also on surroundings, e.g., the need to communicate in another language with elderly relatives, or to speak at work with new immigrants, foreign-business relations, or Arabs. While Hebrew is now the principal language of virtually all Israeli-born Jews of either sex (98 percent in Jerusalem as of 1983 for both sexes together), it is not as prominent among the foreign-born (71 percent). Among the latter its use decreases in the more advanced age

groups and is somewhat smaller among women than men. These distinctions prevail in Jerusalem as in the whole of Israel. Research has shown that the transition to use of Hebrew—in general or principally—is facilitated for foreign-born Jews not only by increasing duration of stay in Israel but also by lower age at arrival, in particular since immigrant children receive their schooling in Hebrew. Moreover, transition to Hebrew by foreign-born Jews is facilitated by higher education and participation in the labor force. Sex differences in the latter respect largely account for the limited overall differential that does exist between the sexes in everyday use of Hebrew.¹⁷

Muslims in Jerusalem speak almost exclusively Arabic as the first language. English somewhat exceeded Hebrew among the relatively few—only 19 percent—who reported a second everyday language in 1983. The reported extent of Hebrew speaking among Muslims, virtually always as second language, is markedly lower in Jerusalem (9 percent) than in the whole of Israel (30 percent). While it is true that the Muslims of Jerusalem have lived in the Israeli context for a shorter time than those elsewhere in the state, the 17 years from the Six Day War to the 1983 census were a not inconsiderable period. Additional reasons for the difference may therefore be sought in other considerations. For one thing, the census question did not relate to knowledge or intermittent use, but to daily speaking of languages; opportunity for this is limited, since the rather compact body of non-Jews in Jerusalem (more than 100,000 by 1983), with the Arabs of Judea surrounding them, lead a largely self-contained existence, economically as well as culturally. Another consideration is that Jerusalem's Jews comprise a sizable share from Arabic-speaking countries as well as many adults among the long-established Ashkenazi families who know some Arabic, while many of the younger Jewish generation learned it at school.¹⁸ As elsewhere among Muslims in Israel, daily speaking of Hebrew in Jerusalem, though nearly always as a second language, was most frequent among young men, for work-related reasons—22 percent at ages 25–34.

Among Jerusalem's Christians, as of 1983, 78 percent spoke Arabic, 68 percent as a first language, and 10 percent as a second language, while 54 percent used a second daily language. Hebrew was reportedly used by more than 12 percent of all Christians in Jerusalem and by 18 percent of 25–34-year-old men, mostly as a second language. Non-Arab Christians are very

¹⁷Roberto Bachi, "A Statistical Analysis of the Revival of Hebrew in Israel," in R. Bachi (ed.), *Studies in Social Sciences* (Jerusalem, 1956), Scripta Hierosolymitana, vol. 3, pp. 179–247; U.O. Schmeltz and R. Bachi, "Hebrew as Everyday Language of the Jews in Israel—Statistical Appraisal," in *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 745–785; U.O. Schmeltz, "New Immigrants' Progress in Hebrew—Statistical Data from Israel," in *Contemporary Jewry—Studies in Honor of Moshe Davis* (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 191–216.

¹⁸The possibility of some reporting bias against Hebrew by Arab nationalists in Jerusalem also cannot be ruled out.

heterogeneous as to provenance, and numerous Arab Christians have affinities, economic or cultural, to foreign institutions. Thus, other not infrequent languages in daily use by Christians were English, to a far lesser extent French, and, indicative of specific national communities, Armenian and Greek.

Labor-Force Characteristics

PARTICIPATION IN LABOR FORCE

Of the 278,000 Jerusalem residents aged 15 and over in 1983, 143,600 (or 52 percent for both sexes together) participated in the civilian labor force. The corresponding percentages, by religious group, were as follows: Jews—57 percent; Muslims—34 percent; and Christians—38 percent (table 17). These differences are largely explained by the low labor-force participation of Arab women (see below), but dissimilarities in age structure also play an important role. Thus, Muslims at ages 15 and over include comparatively many adolescents who do not yet work, while Christians are an aging group.

In measuring the labor force active in Jerusalem, commuting must also be taken into account. This is mainly of two types: by Israelis commuting between Jerusalem and other localities and by Arabs commuting from the administered areas. Of the total labor force of Israeli inhabitants, 90 percent gave identifiable returns to the question on locale of employment in the 1983 census. Among them, while the overall numbers of Jerusalemites commuting elsewhere and of inhabitants of other localities commuting to Jerusalem virtually equaled out at 8 percent, there was a somewhat positive balance for Jerusalem among Jews and a somewhat negative balance among non-Jews.¹⁹ The extent of commuting to Jerusalem by Jews may be on the increase as residential moves to dormitory localities outside the municipal boundaries continue. In addition, sample surveys carried out in the administered areas in 1984–1985 yielded information on about 17,000–18,000 Arabs from these areas working in Jerusalem.

The participation of Jewish men in the labor force was somewhat smaller in Jerusalem, both in 1972 and 1983, than in the conurbations of Tel Aviv and Haifa, as well as in the whole of Israel (table 17). The difference was, partly at least, connected with more prolonged study (university, yeshivah, etc.) among Jerusalem's Jewish young men. However, both in 1972 and 1983, labor-force participation of Jewish women was distinctly greater in Jerusalem than in the other mentioned locations, especially the two conurbations. This in turn is related to the particular prominence of public services in Jerusalem, which offer professional and clerical occupations

¹⁹About 2,000 non-Jewish residents of Jerusalem worked in the administered areas.

convenient to women. (Mention should be made in this context that the proportion of those employed part-time among the Jewish labor force—both sexes together—is greater in Jerusalem than in the conurbations and total Israel.) Labor-force participation of women increased in the interval between the 1972 and 1983 censuses. By the latter year half of Jerusalem's Jewish women aged 15 and over were in the labor force. However, between the two censuses the proportion of labor-force participants among men dropped slightly in Jerusalem and the other mentioned locations. As for Jews of both sexes together, the percentage in the labor force was somewhat greater in Jerusalem than in the other locations, due to the influence of the local women, and the respective differences widened from 1972 to 1983.

The labor-force participation of Muslim and especially Christian men in Jerusalem was somewhat smaller than that of Jewish men. Christians are, as already noted, a comparatively aging group, of whom a not negligible proportion live in institutions and engage in religious pursuits only. The labor-force participation of Christian and especially of Muslim women, as reported in the censuses, was very low. Insofar as Muslim women are concerned, this is partly attributable to the large number of children that they have, on average, as well as to their low educational attainment, which bars them from many occupations. More generally, though, it reflects the customary tendency of Arab society, especially in the urban sector, not to allow women to work outside the home. Christian women are better educated, which qualifies not a few of them for professional jobs in the Arab sector; in Jerusalem, however, they are a comparatively aged group and some fulfill only religious tasks outside the labor force. In part, the low labor-force participation of Arab women, as measured by censuses and surveys, is probably due to a downward reporting bias, since, for the just mentioned social reasons, it is difficult to elicit information about Arab women's "work" (apart from accepted domestic tasks).

In Jerusalem, as elsewhere in Israel, labor-force participation rises after ages 15–24, when a great many individuals are still exclusively engaged in studies or, among Jews, perform their compulsory military service for several years; it decreases again in advanced ages, and earlier among women than men. In the 1983 census, at the peak ages 35–54, 92–94 percent of Jewish men in Jerusalem belonged to the annual labor force; the corresponding peak proportion for Jewish women in the city was 74 percent at ages 25–34. Age-standardized percentages of labor-force participation in 1983 show rather small differences among Jewish men according to origin and birthplace (table 17A).

ECONOMIC BRANCHES AND OCCUPATIONS

The mainstay of Jerusalem's economy continues to be public services (administrative and professional). The proportion of those employed in

public services among the city's Jewish labor force, as divided by economic branch, was as follows in 1972: total—49 percent; men—39.5 percent; women—64.5 percent. The corresponding figures for 1983 were as follows: total—49 percent; men—38 percent; women—62 percent.²⁰ These percentages far exceeded the corresponding ones in the Tel Aviv and Haifa conurbations and in Israel as a whole (table 18). The relative share of public-service employment among Christians in Jerusalem is similar to that among Jews, also for each sex separately. The corresponding figures for total Muslims and for Muslim men are much lower; the respective figure for employed Muslim women is high, but relates to a very small group (see above). Altogether, 46 percent of Jerusalem's total labor force was employed in public services as of 1983. Among Jews employed in Jerusalem, the proportion in public services is greatest at middle age, and for men at a somewhat higher middle age than for women. Age-standardized data show the highest percentages employed in this branch in the European-origin group, with origin-specific differences greater among men than women (table 18A).

Industrial establishments are rarer in Jerusalem, relative to population, than in the two conurbations and in the country as a whole. Moreover, those that exist have relatively fewer workers and less output (in money terms).²¹ In consequence, industry in Jerusalem accounted for only about half the share of the employed—11 percent in 1983—that it did in the other mentioned locations. In Jerusalem, 16 percent of all employed men, but only 6 percent of all women, worked in industry. According to age-standardized data, employment in industry was for either sex somewhat more frequent among foreign-born than among Israeli-born Jews. Industry, including crafts, accounted for somewhat larger shares among employed Muslims and Christians than among Jews in Jerusalem.

Nearly a quarter of the 1983 labor force was engaged in commerce and finance in Jerusalem, with little difference by religious group. Nor were there great differences in this respect between Jerusalem, the conurbations, and Israel as a whole. But the share of commerce, as distinct from finance, was greater among employed Muslims and Christians than among Jews in Jerusalem, and greater among Jewish men than Jewish women. The persons employed in commerce were comparatively aged. According to age-standardized data for Jews, commerce was particularly frequent among Asian-born men.

²⁰The increased labor-force participation of women as of 1983 explains why the proportion employed in public services did not change in the total Jewish labor force (both sexes together), compared to 1972, though it receded slightly for each of the sexes if they are considered separately.

²¹As substantiated by surveys of industry carried out by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics.

Relatively more Muslim men worked in construction than did Jews or Christians. Insofar as this relates to manual labor, it is connected to the existing educational differentials. A large proportion of workers from the administered areas were also employed in Jerusalem in the construction of buildings and roads.

With regard to personal occupation, Jerusalem's Jews have a greater share of academic and other professional workers, and of managers, than the two conurbations and the whole country (table 19). The differences are much smaller with regard to clerical workers. As of 1983, all these white-collar occupations together accounted for 63 percent of employed Jews resident in Jerusalem; the corresponding figures for men and women were 54 and 75 percent, respectively, some rise having occurred for each sex since 1972. Age-standardized data show higher proportions for the total of these white-collar occupations and for their upper bracket (academic, other professional, and managerial) per 100 employed of European-origin than of Asian-African origin, of each sex (table 19A). The ranking of the two origin groups was reversed with regard to the frequency of clerical occupations among them, while Jews of Israeli origin occupied an intermediate position in both respects.

In contrast, skilled workers in industry, building, and transport constituted far smaller percentages among the employed Jews of Jerusalem than in the other mentioned locations, in keeping with the city's limited industrial development. The occupational distribution of employed Christians in Jerusalem somewhat resembled that of Jews, though with smaller proportions in academic and managerial jobs. The distribution of Muslims, however, who are a far less educated group, was quite different; nearly 40 percent were skilled, and nearly 10 percent unskilled, manual workers.

The overwhelming majority of the labor force in Israel is made up of employees. The distribution by employment status in Jerusalem as of 1983 was as follows: employees—87.9 percent; self-employed—7.4 percent; employers—3.3 percent; others—1.5 percent. There were no great differences in this respect between religious groups, except that non-Jews had somewhat more self-employed persons and fewer employers than did Jews. The proportion of employees was even greater among women who participated in the labor force than among men.

About 40 percent of the non-Jews who both resided and worked in Jerusalem were employed in predominantly Jewish subquarters of the city, insofar as this is ascertainable from the 1983 census.²² In addition, a

²²The 1983 census data on this topic are deficient and can only be used with reservation. Among Jerusalem's employed non-Jews, 21 percent did not report the locality where they were working (though it is obvious that this was mostly Jerusalem); and of those who indicated that they were working in Jerusalem, 20 percent did not report a sufficiently detailed address for identification of the particular subquarter.

significant proportion of Arabs from the administered areas, particularly Judea, who were working in Jerusalem, were hired by Jews or for public-housing projects and road construction in Jewish neighborhoods.

Living Conditions

Considerable improvement in living conditions took place between 1972 and 1983 among Jerusalem's Jews and non-Jews, as well as in the two conurbations and in Israel as a whole. When comparing the respective census data in table 20, it should be remembered that the areas of the Tel Aviv and Haifa conurbations, as defined for statistical purposes, were widened in the 1983 census.

HOUSING

In 1983, 23 percent of Jewish households in Jerusalem and rather similar percentages in the other mentioned locations lived in apartments that had been built as recently as 1975 and after. This usually implied more modern dwelling facilities and, if a whole neighborhood was newly constructed, improved amenities. The corresponding figures for Jerusalem's non-Jews were much lower. However, Jerusalem's Jews exceeded those of the other locations in the share of households that had moved since 1975 into the apartments which they occupied in June 1983. The respective share in Jerusalem—55 percent—implied, on the whole, not only rapid residential mobility but also upward socioeconomic mobility. The corresponding figure—42 percent—for Jerusalem's non-Jews was also very considerable for a span of only 8½ years.

Small dwellings of up to two rooms became much less frequent in all locations from 1972 to 1983; at the latter date, they accommodated about a quarter of the Jewish households in Jerusalem, the conurbations, and the whole of Israel, but still constituted upward of half the dwellings of Jerusalem's non-Jews. On the other hand, large apartments of four rooms or more had become more common. By 1983 they amounted to roughly similar proportions—around 20 percent—in all the mentioned locational and religious categories. The average number of persons per dwelling room had been reduced to about 1 in all the mentioned locational categories of Jews, but remained more than 2 among the non-Jews of Jerusalem. In 1983 a dwelling density of less than 1 person per room was found in about 40 percent of Jewish households in Jerusalem, the conurbations, and Israel as a whole, whereas it was rare among the city's Muslims.

The proportion of households that owned the apartments they lived in showed an increase. In 1983 between two-thirds and three-quarters of the households in all the mentioned categories owned the apartments in which they were enumerated, except for Christians in Jerusalem, many

of whom resided in buildings that were the property of institutions. Apartments with at least two lavatories, which were more likely to be found in recently erected buildings, were somewhat more frequently inhabited by Jewish households in Jerusalem than in the other locations, as of 1983.

STANDARD OF LIVING

Possession of telephones and cars had much increased between the two censuses. Both in 1972 and 1983, Jerusalem's Jewish households resembled those in the other mentioned locations regarding possession of one or more cars, and in this respect far surpassed the non-Jewish households in the city. Whereas by 1983 telephones were very common in Jerusalem's Jewish households, they were comparatively rare among Muslims, with Christians in an intermediate position.

Because of Israel's strong inflation between 1972 and 1983, household incomes reported in the two censuses cannot be compared in direct money terms. Also, the approach for measuring income was different in the two censuses—gross annual income in 1972 and net monthly income in 1983—though in either case the published figures related to households of employees only. For these reasons, table 20 presents index numbers showing the relative differences in income between the various locational and religious categories and between Israel's total Jewish employee-headed households at the time of each census. The data suggest that the income differentials—per household and especially per capita—between the categories that are compared in the table narrowed during 1972–1983.²³ According to the 1983 census, the mean net monthly income per standard person in households headed by employees—who are the overwhelming majority of Israel's labor force (see above)—was similar among Jews in Jerusalem, the conurbations, and the whole of Israel. Taking the countrywide figures as the basis (= 100.0), the index numbers for respective locations were as follows: Jerusalem—104; Tel Aviv conurbation—106; Haifa conurbation—108. The corresponding incomes were much lower among Christians and especially Muslims in Jerusalem: 54 and 35, respectively. The low level of the Muslim figure is partly explained by the Muslims' much greater household size, which reduces the per capita income, but even the entire household income of Muslim employees was not much more than half that of their Jewish counterparts. This is connected to the large educational differential between the two groups and the low labor-force-participation rates of Arab and especially Muslim women.

²³The narrowing of the per capita income differences in 1983 was influenced by the use of the "standard person" concept, which adjusts with decreasing weights for the number of persons in a household.

Some Specific Subpopulations

ULTRA-ORTHODOX JEWS

There is a conspicuous differentiation within Jewish society in Jerusalem between the ultra-Orthodox and all other Jews. The ultra-Orthodox constitute a large segment of the very religious Jews. They are not only punctilious in religious observance but also strictly follow traditionalist modes of life, including distinctive styles of dress. The ultra-Orthodox live together in common neighborhoods, for ritual and social reasons, and try to avoid contact with persons who do not share their way of life. In the political sphere, ultra-Orthodox groups express non-Zionist or anti-Zionist views. It is now usual to denote the ultra-Orthodox in Jerusalem and Israel generally by the term *haredim*. In fact, complicated divisions and power contests exist between subgroups of the ultra-Orthodox—according to geographical origin, ideological tenets, and loyalty to certain leaders—but they share many common features that set them off from the majority of Jewish society.

The considerable representation of the ultra-Orthodox in Jerusalem is an undoubted fact of everyday life, Jerusalem being one of the two cities in Israel—the other is Bene-Berak—where the ultra-Orthodox live in large absolute and relative numbers. Yet it is by no means easy to measure statistically the frequency of the ultra-Orthodox, since there are no generally accepted criteria for defining them and no direct data sources. Population censuses and other official demographic statistics cannot be a direct source, because they do not presume to inquire into people's attitudes in religious, let alone political, matters. Statistics of school enrollment and election results are not conclusive. Agudat Israel and Shas, the two overtly ultra-Orthodox parties at the time of the 1984 parliamentary elections, together won about 14.5 percent of the Jewish vote in Jerusalem,²⁴ but this does not convey the full proportion of the ultra-Orthodox, since some of them boycotted the balloting at the instigation of extremist leaders, and others voted for different parties. In estimating the ultra-Orthodox subpopulation—including children—one must take into account its particularly young age structure; because of high fertility, the ultra-Orthodox comprise a greater share of Jewish children than of total Jews (of all ages together) or, more narrowly, those aged 18 and over, who are entitled to vote in elections.

In order to arrive at an admittedly very rough approximation of a figure for the ultra-Orthodox in Jerusalem, the author ascertained the number of

²⁴Shas is not only an ultra-Orthodox party but also an "ethnic" party, made up of Sephardim and members of oriental (Asian/African-origin) communities. For this reason Shas may have won votes from persons of such ethnicity who are religious, though not themselves ultra-Orthodox.

Jews who, according to the 1983 population census, lived in tracts (according to a detailed division) where at least 30 percent of the valid votes in the 1984 parliamentary elections were cast for Agudat Israel and Shas. Knowledge of local conditions indicates that most, if not all, the Jews in each of these tracts actually belonged to ultra-Orthodox society according to their mode of life. Any individuals who were not ultra-Orthodox themselves in some of these particular tracts were, roughly speaking, offset by smaller clusters of the ultra-Orthodox elsewhere (whose presence there is documented, among other signs, by additional votes cast for the two mentioned parties). The resulting estimate of an ultra-Orthodox subpopulation of around 20 percent of Jerusalem's Jews—or something like 60,000 people in absolute numbers—can convey the order of magnitude of this phenomenon among Jerusalem's Jews as of a few years ago. Since the Jewish population of Jerusalem now grows mainly by natural increase, and since the ultra-Orthodox have more children—and are also less prone to migrate from the city—their share of the Jewish population seems bound to increase, unless there is considerable in-migration of other Jews.

NON-JEWS

An obvious differentiation among Jerusalem's Arabs, according to mode of life, is that between urban population and ex-villagers or ex-Bedouin, but since these matters are connected with locale of residence, they will be considered below in the section on spatial distribution.

Christians are divided into many churches and sects. The significance of this division is not only religious but relates to residential location and mode of life as well, since some of the sects form distinct nuclei within the city. This is true especially in the Old City, where the Armenian Quarter is a conspicuous example. Since the religious breakdown of Jerusalem's Christian residents from the 1983 population census has not been published, the following data are from the 1972 census: Catholics (Roman, Greek, etc.)—48.2 percent; Orthodox (Greek, etc.)—32.3 percent; Armenians—10.1 percent; Syrians—0.7 percent; Copts—1.3 percent; Ethiopians—0.4 percent; Protestants—3.6 percent; others and unspecified—3.4 percent.²⁵

Spatial Distribution

In the period since reunification, Jerusalem's population not only grew substantially—by 71 percent (cf. table 2)—but also underwent considerable

²⁵The data for Armenians, Syrians, and Copts include both the Orthodox and the Catholic (Uniate) sections of each of these denominations; the data presented for Catholics and Orthodox do not, however, include Armenians, Syrians, or Copts.

geographical redistribution within the enlarged city territory. This was rendered possible by large-scale building activity, particularly publicly initiated Jewish housing projects. Residential separation between Jews and Arabs persists, but its spatial pattern has been altered.

RESIDENTIAL EXPANSION

Soon after the Six Day War, a Jewish land bridge was created between the north of what had been the Israeli city (see map 1)²⁶ and the institutional sites—the Hebrew University campus and Hadassah Hospital—on Mount Scopus (in the center of Sq 29), which had been practically inaccessible to Jews during the years of the city's division. This was achieved through the establishment of Jewish housing projects in the previously unbuilt Sq 28 (Ramat Eshkol, across the defunct armistice line) and in the western section of Sq 29 (French Hill). At the time of the 1972 census, 8,300 Jews already lived there; by 1985 their number had grown to 23,200. The Mount Scopus campus and the hospital were renovated and expanded and resumed their functions.

During the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s, the Jewish Quarter in the Old City was restored and to a large extent rebuilt. With great care, usable portions of old buildings were joined to newly erected ones. By this blend of the old and new, modern apartments with up-to-date facilities were created, while a good deal of the appearance and atmosphere of the historic quarter was retained. Also, many Jewish religious sites were reconstructed and put to use again, the most important being the Western Wall of the Temple Mount (the so-called Wailing Wall), now with a large open-air expanse for prayer and ceremonies in front of it. The Arabs who had installed themselves in this quarter during the Jordanian period were indemnified so that they could acquire dwellings elsewhere. By now more than 2,000 Jews live in the Old City, a select socioeconomic group, very distinct from the inhabitants of the other, long-neglected sections of the Old City.

Since the early 1970s, four big Jewish residential clusters have been set up on empty land along the outer perimeter of enlarged East Jerusalem. At the time of the 1972 census, they were just being started and were virtually

²⁶Map 1 shows the division of Jerusalem's municipal territory into "subquarters" (abbreviated "Sqs"), as used in the official statistics and last updated on the occasion of the 1983 population census. However, the numeration of the subquarters has been changed here from the official one so as to more specifically express the spatial structure of Jerusalem according to geographic, chronological, and demographic considerations. This modified numeration starts with the Jewish Quarter of the walled Old City, which alone has been inhabited almost continuously since biblical times.

Map 1 Jerusalem Subquarters, 1983

Old City:

- 1 Jewish Quarter
- 2 Muslim Quarter
- 3 Armenian Quarter
- 4 Christian Quarter

Urban Core:

- 5 Town Center
- 6 Musrara (Morashah)
- 7 Me'ah She'arim,
- Beit Yisra'el, Bukharim
- 8 Kerem Avraham,
- Mekor Barukh
- 9 Nahla'ot
- 10 Rehavia

Central, South:

- 11 Talbieh (Komemi'ut)
- 12 Katamon (Gonen), German
- Colony (Emek Refa'im)
- 13 Bak'a (Ge'ulim)
- 14 Talpiot
- 15 Rassco
- 16 Katamonim

West:

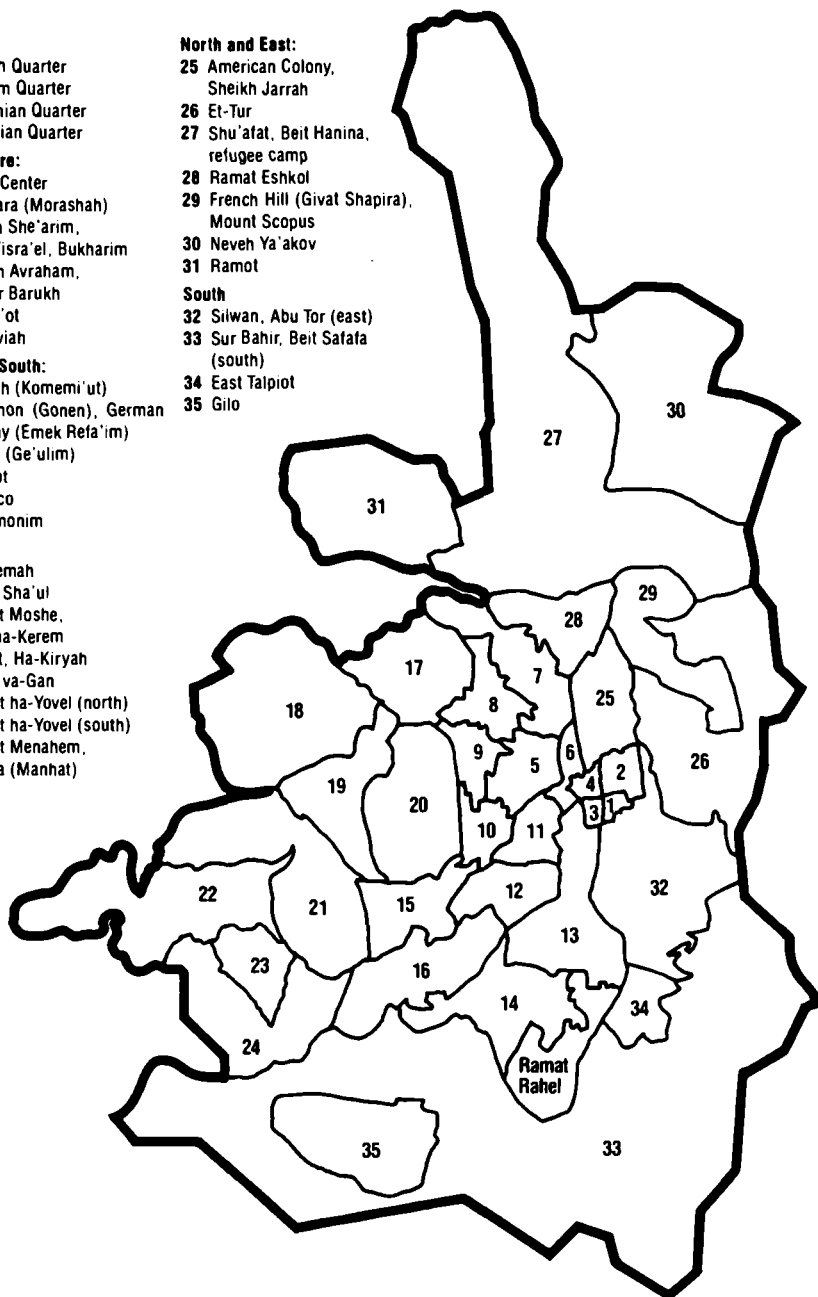
- 17 Romemah
- 18 Givat Sha'ul
- 19 Kiryat Moshe,
- Beit ha-Kerem
- 20 Nayot, Ha-Kiryah
- 21 Bayit va-Gan
- 22 Kiryat ha-Yovel (north)
- 23 Kiryat ha-Yovel (south)
- 24 Kiryat Menahem,
- Malha (Manhat)

North and East:

- 25 American Colony,
- Sheikh Jarrah
- 26 Et-Tur
- 27 Shu'afat, Beit Hanina,
- refugee camp
- 28 Ramat Eshkol
- 29 French Hill (Givat Shapira),
- Mount Scopus
- 30 Neveh Ya'akov
- 31 Ramot

South

- 32 Silwan, Abu Tor (east)
- 33 Sur Bahir, Beit Safata
- (south)
- 34 East Talpiot
- 35 Gilo



uninhabited, but by the 1983 census they already housed 51,000 Jews, and by the end of 1985 the figure had increased to 70,000, according to the updating notifications received by the Israel Population Registry. These new residential clusters are Neveh Ya'akov (Sq 30) and Ramot (Sq 31), in the north, the former with an extension—Pisgat Ze'ev—now being constructed to connect it with Mount Scopus. In the south are East Talpote (Sq 34) and Gilo (Sq 35), the last mentioned now the largest of them all with an estimated population of 24,000 in 1985.

In addition, there has been a good deal of residential building in already existing Jewish neighborhoods, particularly in the west, where the populations of Kiryat Moshe, Beit ha-Kerem, Bayit va-Gan, and Nayot (Sqs 19–21) more than doubled, from 16,000 to 37,400, between 1967 and 1985.

As already stated, 23 percent of all Jewish households in Jerusalem reported in the 1983 census that their apartments had been built since 1975, while only 12 percent of all non-Jewish households in the city did so. Yet, there was also a considerable amount of new housing constructed by Arabs in, or close to, already existing Arab neighborhoods. This took place particularly in the north (Shu'afat and Beit Hanina, Sq 27), where a quarter of the non-Jewish households reported in 1983 that their apartments had been built since 1975.

In addition, several new industrial zones, though of limited dimensions, were set up at the outskirts of Jerusalem, particularly in Talpote, Har Hotzvim, and Atarot (in Sqs 14, 7, and 27).

The above-outlined new constructions for residential and other purposes have not only widely extended the built-up area but have also improved its appearance. The new housing developments consist mainly of condominiums, however, in which even the minority of one-family houses are built relatively close to one another. This has been due to considerations of security, economy (in land and infrastructure), and the saving of construction time. Jews who aspire to a house and garden of their own, on comparatively easy terms, often move to the new Jewish suburbia of Jerusalem that is springing up outside the municipal territory (see below).

SEPARATION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS

The spatial pattern of residential separation between Jews and Arabs has changed since 1967 (tables 21 and 22; maps 2A and 2B). Arabs have stayed within the ex-Jordanian territory, whereas Jews have not only returned to the Old City and Mount Scopus but have also established the three tiers of new residential neighborhoods that were mentioned above: Neveh Ya'akov and Ramot at the northern outskirts of the city territory (Sqs 30 and 31); still in the north but more inwardly located, Ramat Eshkol and French Hill

(Sqs 28 and 29), as a connection between Mount Scopus and the bulk of the Jewish area; and East Talpote and Gilo at the southern outskirts (Sqs 34 and 35).

Map 2B shows that a kind of checker pattern has emerged in the north, east, and south, made up of sizable sections that are each inhabited predominantly by Jews or by Muslims and Christians. Of the 35 subquarters into which Jerusalem is now divided for statistical purposes, there were only 6 in which the proportion of either Jews or non-Jews (i.e., the sum of Muslims and Christians) did not exceed 95 percent in 1983; in 25 subquarters the respective proportions exceeded 98 percent. Even the few exceptions were mostly due to discrepancies between the subquarter boundaries and the habitation limits of the population groups, or to the existence of small enclaves, rather than to actual residential intermingling. Intermingling exists only on a small scale, usually with Christians living among Jews.²⁷

Comparison of tables 22 and 23 indicates the changes in the spatial distribution of population that took place in Jerusalem between 1967 and 1985; maps 2A and 2B show the religious composition of population within each subquarter in 1967 and 1983.²⁸ The general tendency was centrifugal, with a growing spread toward the city boundaries, particularly in the north and south, where wide stretches had previously been unbuilt.

Table 23 (and maps 3A and 3B) shows the differences in residential density of population (thousands of inhabitants per square kilometer) between the various subquarters. Density is greatest in the Old City (Sqs 1-4) and in the Jewish urban core (Sqs 5-10). In the latter, a decreasing trend prevails due to net out-movement of population, except for the ultra-Orthodox Sqs 7 and 8. Density is comparatively low in the large peripheral regions of Jerusalem.

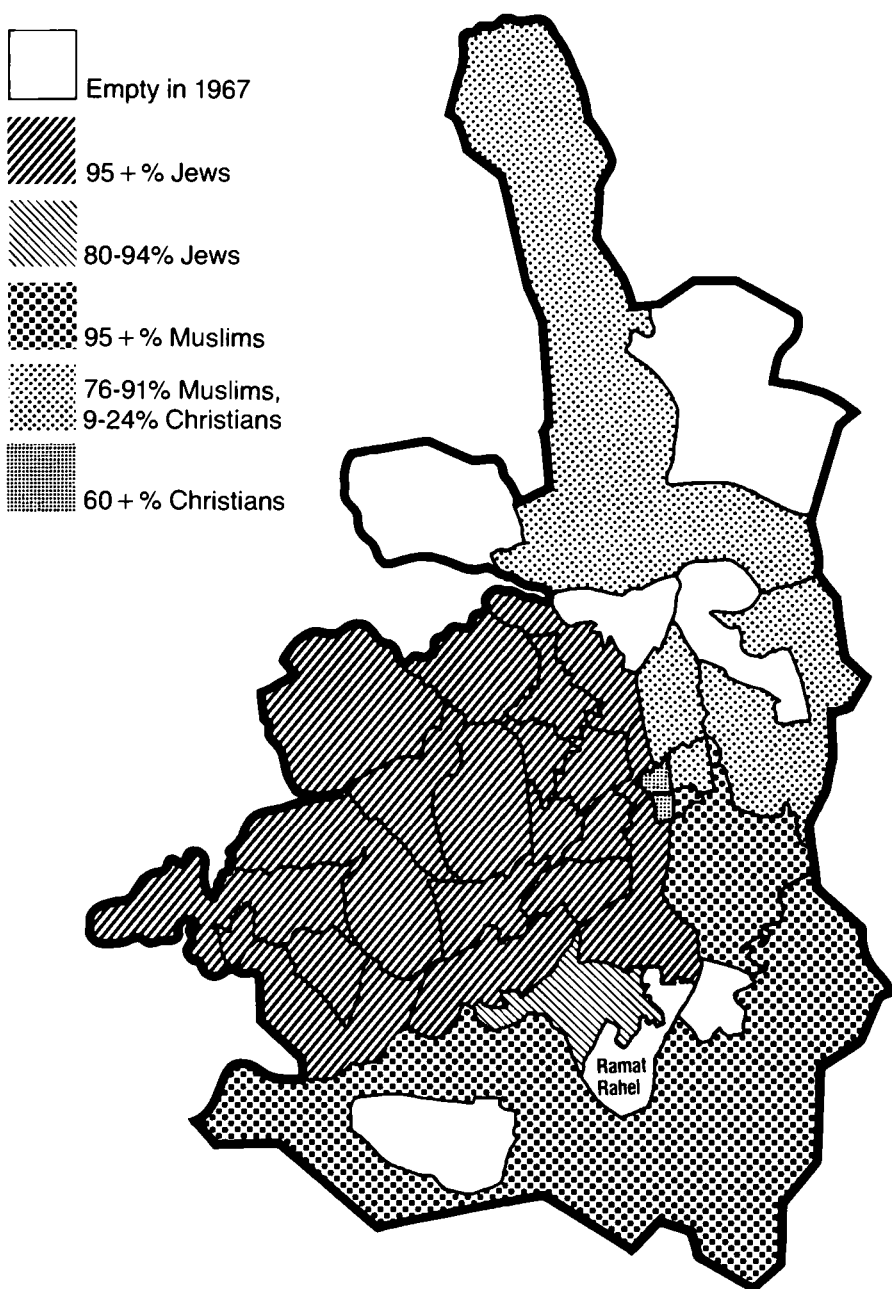
JEWISH AREAS

The Jewish population underwent a far-reaching redistribution across large sections of the extended city territory. Between 1967 and 1985, the urban core of Jewish Jerusalem (Sqs 5-10) lost population not only relatively, from 43 to 21 percent of total Jews, but also absolutely, from 84,000 to 68,000 (tables 22 and 23). This happened, on the one hand, because of

²⁷Including instances of mixed households.

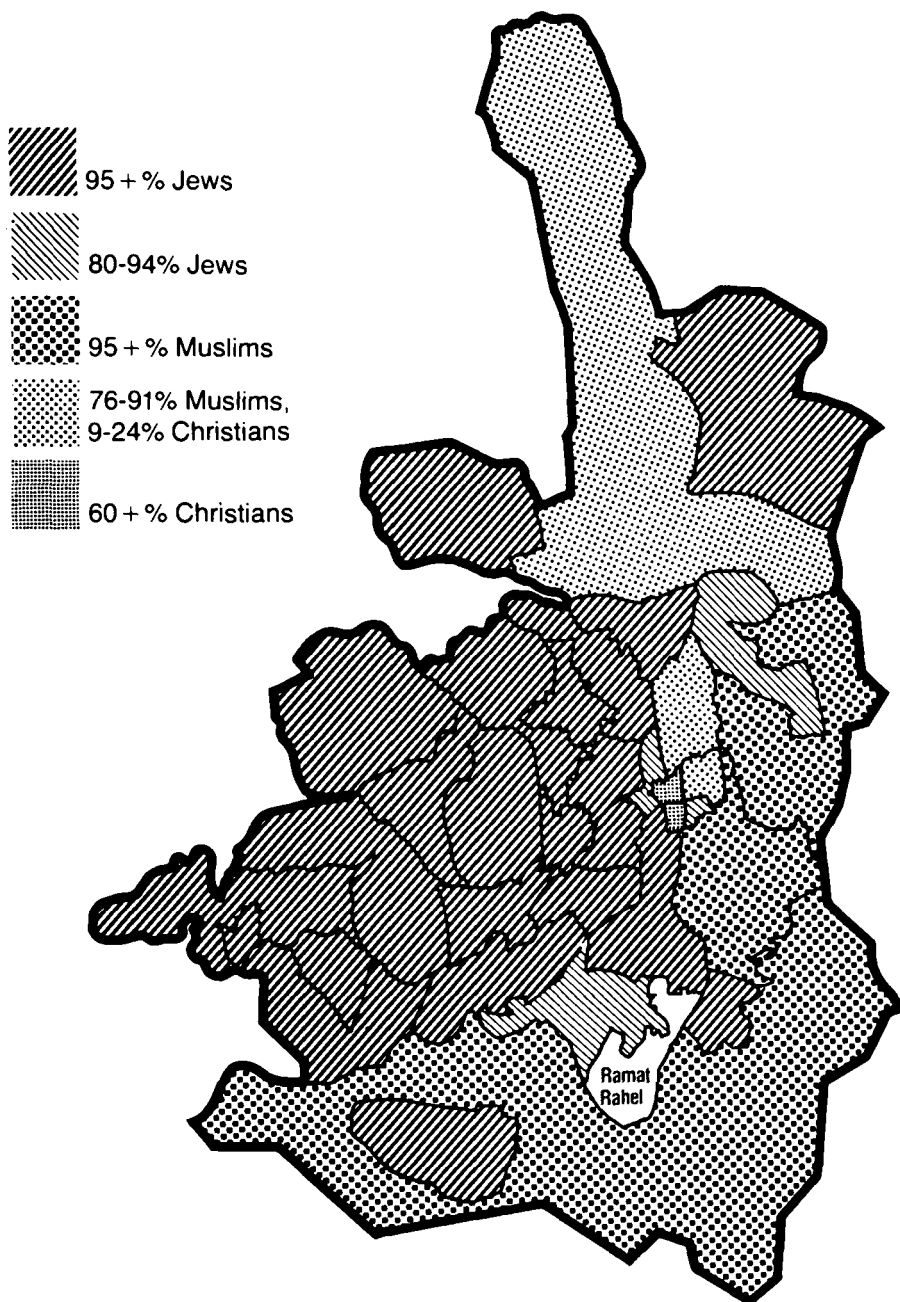
²⁸The data for Jews in map 2A are the author's estimates based on figures of the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics for proximate years and ultimately on the 1961 and 1972 censuses; the data for Muslims and Christians in map 2A are nearly all taken from the 1967 census of East Jerusalem (see footnote 6). The aggregates of these data have supplied the information for map 3A.

Map 2A
Jerusalem: Religious Composition,
September 1967



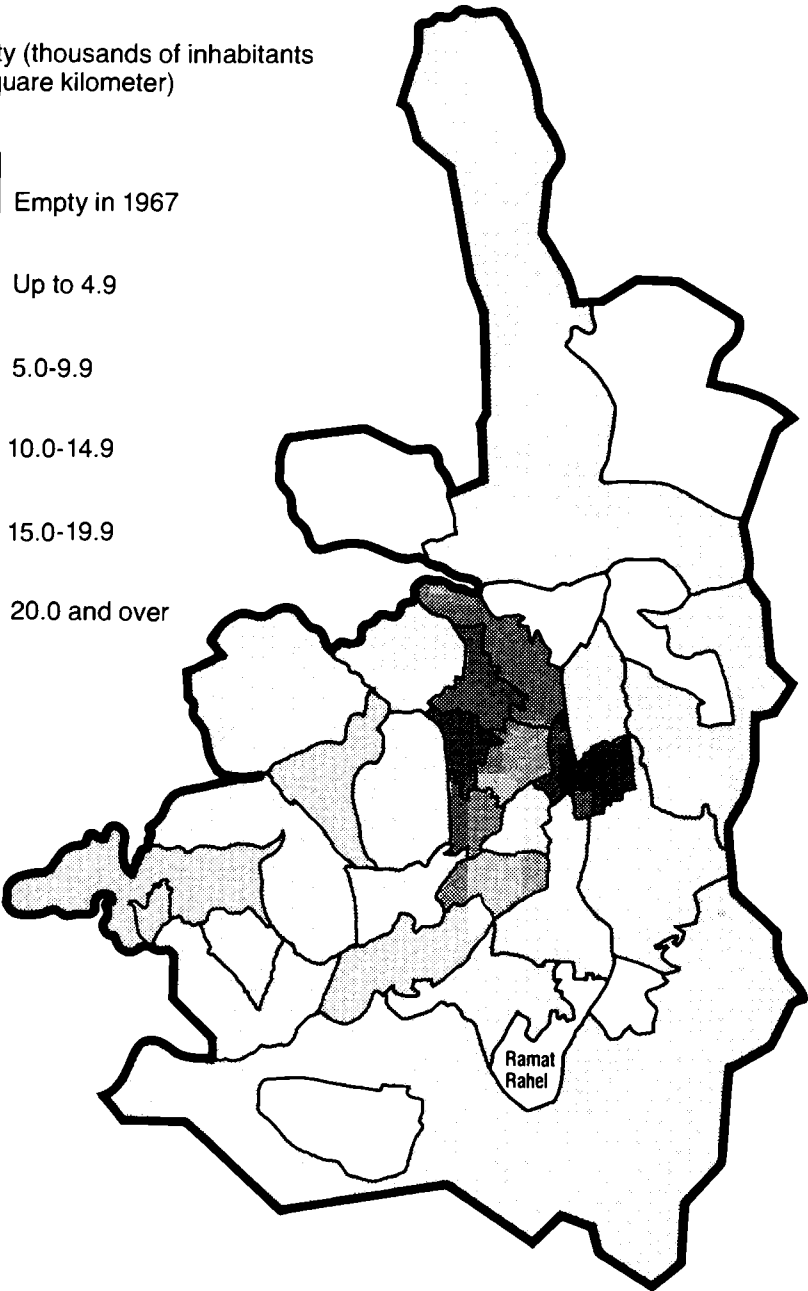
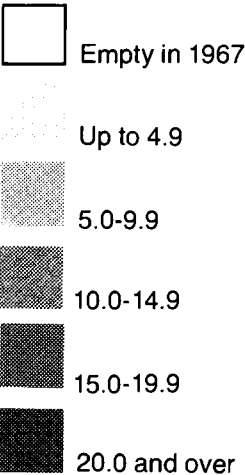
Map 2B

Jerusalem: Religious Composition, 1983



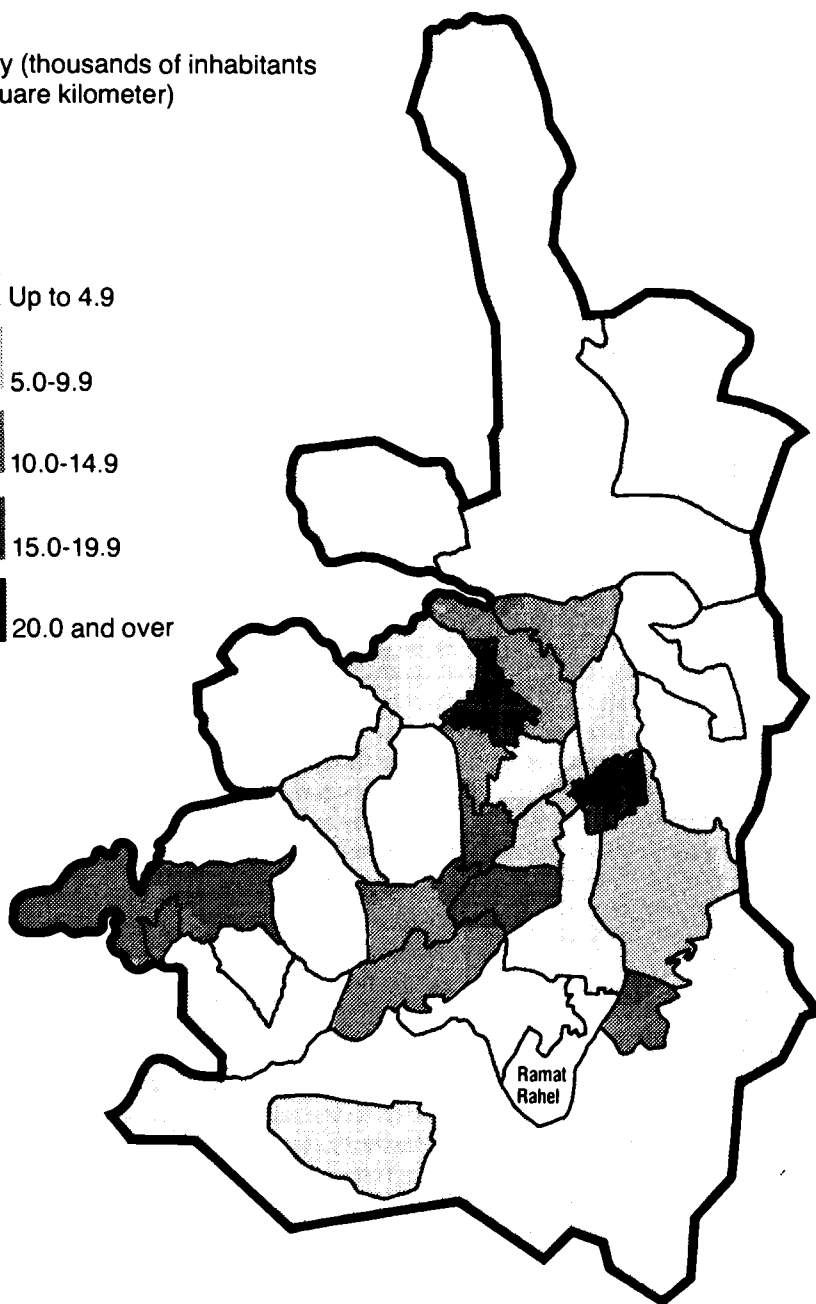
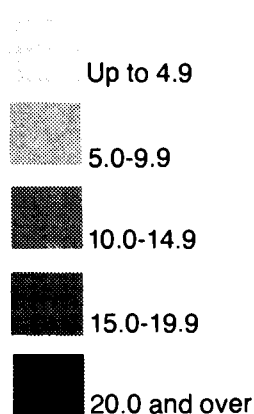
Map 3A
Jerusalem: Population Density,
September 1967

Density (thousands of inhabitants
per square kilometer)



Map 3B
Jerusalem: Population Density,
1985

Density (thousands of inhabitants
per square kilometer)



the increasing sprawl of the downtown area, with business premises and offices spreading throughout the urban core, and, on the other hand, continual out-movement of residents, particularly younger couples, from low-grade neighborhoods in the area toward more attractive ones elsewhere. However, the process of replacing older houses with new business and office structures has moved at a slow pace. A special case is Sq 6, whose southern part (the Mamilla region) is scheduled for rebuilding and has been gradually abandoned by its population. At the same time, within the Jewish urban core, the population has grown in the now mainly ultra-Orthodox Sqs 7 and 8 (Me'ah She'arim, etc., Kerem Avraham, etc.) because of the strong natural increase there.

Many other areas of what had been the Israeli zone of divided Jerusalem have also lost population, relatively or even absolutely. This is true of the following: Talbieh, Katamon, Bak'a, and Talpiot (Sqs 11–14), which were first established in the late Ottoman or Mandatory periods; the Katamonim (Sq 16), with new-immigrant housing set up in the 1950s and early 1960s; and Sqs 22–24 in the southwest (Kiryat ha-Yovel, etc.) that accommodated new immigrants in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s.

In contrast, marked growth of Jewish population during 1967–1985 took place in the following areas: Kiryat Moshe, Beit ha-Kerem, and Bayit va-Gan (Sqs 19 and 21), which started as garden suburbs in the Mandatory period and still preserve a comfortable residential character; Rassco (Sq 15), which in the 1960s attracted intelligentsia of European origin, among them many young Israeli-born Jews; Nayot (Sq 20), a relatively new upper-class neighborhood; and Romemah and Givat Sha'ul (Sqs 17 and 18), which contain growing numbers of new housing projects for the ultra-Orthodox with their large families.

The main thrust of Jewish residential development has been beyond the former Israeli zone of divided Jerusalem—to Sqs 28–31, 34, and 35, as already stated. Not only new immigrants have been directed there since the 1970s; a great many families of the existing Jewish population, particularly younger couples, have moved there as well. This is due to the larger size of apartments, the superior structural and town-planning aspects of the new housing, and cost-benefit considerations (comparatively low prices, though a greater distance from most places of work). By 1985, the Jewish population of these new residential areas already approached 100,000, or 30 per cent of Jerusalem's total Jews.

While date of immigration of the foreign-born continues to be an important determinant of the residential distribution of the Jewish population, financial resources and ages of the adults are increasingly significant factors in this regard. The obvious tendency of younger couples to move to peripheral locations better suited for child rearing is reinforced by the lower prices

of apartments in new and more distant places, and facilitated by public mortgage loans that are allocated specifically to new couples.

A similar process, leading to increased spread of the Jewish population within Jerusalem, applies to the housing needs of the younger generation among the ultra-Orthodox. Up to the first decade of the state, the ultra-Orthodox were mainly concentrated in certain sections of Sq 7 (Me'ah She'arim, etc.). Since then they have experienced a population explosion, due to high fertility and also to greater success than before in retaining their younger generation within the fold. At first they filled Sq 8 (Kerem Avraham, Mekor Barukh), gradually replacing the previous Jewish inhabitants. When this area became insufficient and the demand for improved living standards grew, special housing projects for ultra-Orthodox families were erected in Sanhedria Murhevet (in Sq 28), Kiryat Matersdorf, and Kiryat Zanz near Romemah (Sq 17), as well as in Har Nof and in parts of Givat Sha'ul and Bayit va-Gan (Sqs 18 and 21), plus Ramat Polin (in Sq 31).

One of the consequences of sustained residential out-movement, which is primarily undertaken by younger adults with children, is the aging of the population that remains in the older neighborhoods. This process is very conspicuous in the urban core of Jewish Jerusalem (Sqs 5–10). Of the 36 tracts distinguished there for statistical purposes, in 1983 no fewer than 29 had a proportion of the elderly (aged 65+ years) in excess of 10 percent, as compared to an 8.7-percent city average for Jews at the time. Moreover, 17 of these tracts had between 15 and 35 percent elderly.

Jerusalem's Jews were distributed in 1985 as follows: Old City—0.8 percent; business center (Sq 5)—1.5 percent; lower-class neighborhoods largely built before 1948 (Sqs 6–9)—17.0 percent; upper-class neighborhoods first set up before 1948, partly as garden suburbs, but most of them now with large additions of buildings (Sqs 10–14, 17–19, 21)—30.5 percent; housing projects started 1948–1967, some having been expanded since then (Sqs 15, 16, 20, 22–24)—21.6 percent; housing projects initiated from 1967 onward (Sqs 28–31, 34, 35)—28.6 percent.

Region of birth of the foreign-born and origin of the Israeli-born are still consequential for the sociodemographic character of particular residential areas in Jerusalem because of the discrepant backgrounds of the Jews who came, respectively, from Asia-Africa and Europe-America. The gaps express themselves, as noted above, in demographic patterns (e.g., fertility and age composition), educational attainments, occupational distribution, etc. The origin-related sociodemographic disparities have, however, narrowed in the course of time, even among the foreign-born and much more so in the second generation, which is already Israeli-born. Among the determinants of residential profile, education is important because of its manifold

implications for demographic behavior and other socioeconomic characteristics (e.g., occupation and income). Age structure is not only *per se* a basic aspect of a population, but it influences labor-force participation, income levels, and life-styles.

The period in which most apartments in a neighborhood were built is relevant for structural characteristics, number and size of rooms, and the original availability of modern facilities, as well as for the prevalence of ownership by residents. Up to the Mandatory period, building for rental was common, whereas since then, owning—actual or prospective—of apartments by their residents (often in condominiums) has been usual in Jerusalem, as in Israel generally. Moreover, the time when a neighborhood was chiefly constructed, especially if this occurred after the establishment of the state, is reflected in the foreign-born residents' distribution by immigration period, since in any given period the new arrivals were largely directed to vacant apartments in neighborhoods just being built. The distance of a neighborhood from the center of town influences possession of cars, which in Israel is an indicator of socioeconomic status. The degree of religiosity in a neighborhood influences fertility, and thereby age composition, with its various concomitants.

A factor of demographic dynamics that is apt to override others is an area's migration balance. In Jerusalem, for instance, Sq 9 (the Nahla'ot) has long had a major concentration of oriental Jews, who once were very fertile and had a high proportion of young people. By 1983 the neighborhood had a rather aging population—median age of 30.9 years, compared to the city average for Jews of 25.1—because the younger generation had been leaving for more attractive neighborhoods. All these and other factors influence one another in complex interrelationships which together create a particular residential profile.

According to data from the 1983 census and other information, the group of Jerusalem Jewish subquarters that ranked highest sociodemographically included the adjacent areas numbered 10 (Rehavia), 11 (Talbieh), and 20 (Nayot, etc.). These are also the subquarters with the greatest proportions of European and American Jews. Rehavia and Talbieh have been upper-class neighborhoods since their establishment in Mandatory times; Nayot is rather new and has only a small population (Sq 20 is mainly institutional). After these comes a group of more outlying subquarters: 15 (Rassco), 19 (Beit ha-Kerem), and 29 (French Hill). At the bottom of the ranking is the following group of Jewish subquarters: 9 (Nahla'ot)—with its already-mentioned traditional concentration of oriental Jews;²⁹ (7) (Me'ah She'arim, etc.)—the original concentration of the ultra-Orthodox Ashkenazim, including several oriental Jewish neighborhoods as well; and 6 (Musrara)—

²⁹Though some process of "gentrification" is now under way in parts of the Nahla'ot.

at the border with the ex-Jordanian zone, along the course of the armistice line that had divided Jerusalem.³⁰ All three of these areas were built in Ottoman or early Mandatory times and have largely become slums.

NON-JEWISH AREAS

The spatial-distribution trends of the non-Jewish population in Jerusalem since 1967 have been characterized by moves from the crowded Old City to the northern, eastern, and southern areas outside it (respectively Sqs 27, 26, 32, 33). Large sections of the Old City, especially in the Muslim Quarter and in part of the Christian Quarter, are slums—despite the historical buildings in them—because of long neglect. Great natural increase notwithstanding, the non-Jewish population of the Old City has kept within the narrow limits of 22,000–23,000 throughout the years 1967–1985. Thus, its proportional share among Jerusalem's total non-Jews has fallen from 33 to 18 percent. In contrast, the population of the non-Jewish subquarters outside the walls grew 2.3 times during the same years, and accounted in 1985 for 79 percent of Jerusalem's non-Jews.

As of 1983, the non-Jewish population of Jerusalem could be divided according to residential typology roughly as follows (in percentages):

	Total Non-Jews (%)	Muslims (%)	Christians (%)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Old City (Sqs 1–4)	19.0	15.5	47.2
Other urban sections, first set up before 1948 (Sq 25, part of Sq 26) ^a	11.0	10.1	18.6
Other urban sections, set up after 1948 (most of Sq 27, part of Sq 32) ^a	24.7	24.5	26.3
Ex-villages (in a hemicycle around the Old City) with old nuclei and many new buildings	35.5	38.8	7.9
Ex-Bedouin (in part of Sq 33)	5.0	5.6	0.0
Refugee camp (in part of Sq 27)	4.8	5.5	0.0

^aIncluding also non-Jews scattered in relevant Jewish subquarters.

Socioeconomically, according to a variety of indicators, the highest Muslim level was in the older urban neighborhoods outside the walls (Sq 25),

³⁰The northern part of this subquarter—Musrara proper—is now being rehabilitated. The southern part has been virtually emptied of population because of large-scale rebuilding plans for the approaches to Jaffa Gate.

but lowest in the Old City (Sqs 1–4), among the ex-Bedouin (Sq 33), and in the refugee camp (Sq 27).

Jerusalem's Christians were concentrated in particular neighborhoods. A much larger proportion of Christians than Muslims lived in the Old City. The respective percentages in 1967, 1972, and 1983 were as follows: Christians—53, 56, 47 percent; Muslims—29, 23, 15.5 percent. Christians formed a majority of non-Jews and of the total population in the Christian and Armenian quarters of the Old City (Sqs 4 and 3), and were also numerous in those sections of the Muslim Quarter (Sq 2) that were contiguous with their own. They have two more concentrations in Jerusalem, in upper-level non-Jewish neighborhoods: as of 1983 they formed 18 percent in the older urban areas outside the walls (American Colony, etc., Sq 25) and altogether 9 percent in the northern Sq 27 (Beit Hanina, etc.), but as many as 22 percent in a particular tract thereof. There exist specific neighborhoods inhabited by adherents of certain Christian churches, particularly in the Old City. On the other hand, Christians are hardly represented in the south of Jerusalem (Sqs 32, 33). Socioeconomically, their upper class is found mainly in Sq 25; Sqs 27 and 3 (the latter is the Armenian Quarter) rank next; while the Christian population elsewhere in the Old City ranks lowest, on the whole.

The major changes in the spatial distribution of Jerusalem's total population between 1967 and 1985 can be seen in tables 22–23, which furnish evidence of a strong centrifugal tendency that has increased demographic dispersal over the large municipal territory. The share of the population residing in enlarged East Jerusalem among the entire municipal population increased from about a quarter to one-half—from 26 to 49 percent—during 1967–1985, because of the new residential neighborhoods established there. For the same reason, the proportion of Jews in enlarged East Jerusalem rose from nil to 43 percent of the total population there.

SURROUNDINGS OF THE CITY

Demographic dispersal did not stop at the city's boundaries, but went beyond them. The Jewish population in the corridor that links Jerusalem with the bulk of the state's territory grew from 28,000 to 44,000 during 1966–1985. The corridor now comprises 64 Jewish localities. In addition to the townlet of Beit Shemesh at its western end, there is another, Mevasseret Zion, at the eastern end, bordering on Jerusalem. The latter's recent rise of population, to 10,200 in 1985, is largely accounted for by Jerusalemites moving to one-family houses there.

At the end of 1985, Judea and Samaria had 105 Jewish settlements with 44,000 inhabitants. A large proportion of the settlers in Judea and in the

southern part of Samaria came from Jerusalem, either for ideological and religious reasons or in quest of improved quality of life at comparatively low cost. Of several townlets that are being built, two lie quite close to Jerusalem: Ma'ale Adumim, with a population of only 3,500 at the time of the 1983 census, but with 9,300 inhabitants at the end of 1985; and Givat Ze'ev, which had not yet been settled in 1983, but which had 2,200 registered inhabitants at the end of 1985. These two and many other localities in Judea-Samaria fulfill a dormitory function for families whose earners work in Jerusalem. While these localities have put an end to the previous isolation of Jerusalem (from the Jewish point of view), they draw population away from the city's municipal territory. Moreover, those who leave are usually younger couples who are likely to have additional children, so that both the migration balance and the natural increase of the city's Jews are affected.

There has also been some out-movement of Jerusalem Arabs to dormitory neighborhoods beyond the municipal boundaries. In terms of building continuity, Arab Jerusalem is now increasingly linked with Arab towns and townlets on three sides: the triplet of Bethlehem, Beit Jala, and Beit Sahur in the south; Ezaria and Abu Dis in the east; and the twin towns of Ramallah and El Bira in the north. The functional links extend over a much wider area and are of a multifold character, since, as noted above, they bring into contact the Arab population of Judea-Samaria with the Arab sector, the Jewish sector, and public institutions in Jerusalem.

While it is evident that the city of Jerusalem exercises a powerful influence on its wider geographical surroundings, existing distinctions—legal, administrative, and political—between the state territory of Israel and Judea-Samaria, as well as between the Arab and Jewish localities in the latter region, make it difficult at present to speak in terms of an integrated Jerusalem metropolitan area.

Conclusion

Since 1967, substantial advances have taken place in Jerusalem, in terms of population growth, socioeconomic development, and modern town planning. However, the city's overall situation is highly complex. For one thing, its international status remains in dispute; for another, its demographic diversity is a source of considerable tension, actual or potential. Two people and three major religions have stakes in Jerusalem—and each of these, in turn, is divided and subdivided along a variety of lines. What these diverse groups have in common is a deep awareness of the city's place in history, its spiritual importance over the centuries. In their many different ways, the people of Jerusalem cherish the uniqueness of the city they share.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. POPULATION OF ISRAEL, BY RELIGION, 1967-1985

Date	Total	Jews	Muslims	Christians	Druze ^a	% Jews	% Muslims Among Non-Jews
<u>Absolute Numbers (Thousands)</u>							
Sept. 1967 ^b	2,764.7	2,373.9	287.9	71.0	31.9	85.9	73.7
May 1972	3,147.7	2,686.7	352.0	72.1	36.9	85.4	76.4
June 1983	4,037.6	3,350.0	526.6	94.2	66.8	83.0	76.6
Dec. 1985	4,266.2	3,517.2	577.6	99.4	72.0	82.4	77.1
<u>Relative Growth (Sept. 1967=100)</u>							
1985	154	148	201	140	226		
<u>Annual Percent of Growth</u>							
1967-85	2.4	2.2	3.9	1.9	4.6		

Sources: For sources of data for all tables, see text pp. 44-45.

^aIncl. some "others."

^bMy estimate.

Note: Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

TABLE 2. POPULATION OF JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION, 1967-1985

Date	Total ^a	Jews	Muslims	Christians	% Jews	% Muslims Among Non-Jews
<u>Absolute Numbers (Thousands)</u>						
Sept. 1967 ^b	267.8	196.8	58.1	12.9	73.5	81.8
May 1972	313.9	230.3	71.8	11.7	73.4	85.9
June 1983	428.7	306.3	108.5	13.7	71.4	88.6
Dec. 1985	457.7	327.7	115.7	14.2	71.6	89.1
<u>Relative Growth (Sept. 1967 = 100)</u>						
1985	171	167	199	110		
<u>Annual Percent of Growth</u>						
1967-85	3.0	2.8	3.8	0.5		
1967-72	3.5	3.5	4.6	-2.0		
1972-83	2.9	2.6	3.8	1.4		
1983-85	2.6	2.6	2.5	1.4		

^aIncl. some "Druze and others."^bMy estimate.

TABLE 3. JEWS IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, 1967-1985

Location	Absolute Numbers (Thousands)				Relative Growth ^a	
	Jan. 1967	May 1972	June 1983	Dec. 1985	1967-83	1983-85
Jerusalem	193.0	230.3	306.3	327.7	159	107
Tel Aviv:						
City	383.2	357.4	317.8	312.6	83	98
Conurbation ^b	943.6	1,083.5	(1,300.0)	n.a.	138	n.a.
" ^c	n.a.	n.a.	1,530.1	1,579.7	n.a.	103
Haifa:						
City	195.8	207.2	208.4	205.8	106	99
Conurbation ^b	292.4	323.1	(364.5)	n.a.	125	n.a.
" ^c	n.a.	n.a.	369.1	372.8	n.a.	101
Israel	2,344.9	2,686.7	3,350.0	3,517.2	143	105

^aBase year = 100.^bAs delimited for the 1972 census.^cAs delimited for the 1983 census.

Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 4. COMPONENTS OF CHANGE IN POPULATION SIZE IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION, 1967-1985 (RATES PER 1,000)

Components of Change	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem
	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb. ^a	Haifa Conurb. ^a	Israel	
<u>Jan. 1967^b-Dec. 1976</u>					
Total changes	32	23	18	25	38
Natural increase	21	14	12	17	34
Births	28	22	20	24	43
Deaths	7	8	8	7	9
Migratory movement	11	9	6	8	4
External migration ^c	7	2	7	8	n.a.
Internal migration	4	7	-1	0	n.a.
Entered	24	45	33	38	n.a.
Left	20	38	34	38	n.a.
<u>Jan. 1977-June 1983</u>					
Total changes	21	14	6	18	32
Natural increase	21	12	8	15	34
Births	27	20	18	22	39
Deaths	6	8	10	7	5
Migratory movement	0	2	-2	3	-2
External migration ^c	2	0	0	3	-2
Internal migration	-2	2	-2	0	0
Entered	24	43	37	42	n.a.
Left	26	41	39	42	n.a.
<u>June 1983-Dec. 1985</u>					
Total changes	22	10	1	16	24
Natural increase	22	11	7	14.5	28
Births	28	19	17	22	32
Deaths	6	8	10	7.5	4

Continued on the next page

TABLE 4.—(Continued)

Components of Change	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem
	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb. ^a	Haifa Conurb. ^a	Israel	
Migratory movement	0	-1	-6	1.5	-4
External migration ^c	3	-1	0	1.5	-4
Internal migration	-3	0	-6	0	0
Entered	28	44	36	45	2
Left	31	44	42	45	2

^a1972 delimitation of conurbations for 1967-1976 and 1977-June 1983; 1983 delimitation for June 1983-1985.

^bSeptember 1967 for non-Jews in Jerusalem.

^cImmigration minus emigration.

Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 5. TOTAL FERTILITY RATES^a OF JEWISH WOMEN IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY REGION OF BIRTH, 1972 AND 1983

Region of Birth	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv-Yafo	Haifa	Israel
<u>1972</u>				
Total	3.28	2.50	2.72	3.19
Israel	3.16	2.33	2.77	2.96
Asia-Africa	3.70	3.40	3.62	3.85
Europe-America	3.06	2.13	2.43	2.71
<u>1983</u>				
Total	3.65	2.13	2.37	2.83
Israel	3.94	2.12	2.32	2.85
Asia-Africa	3.23	2.46	2.75	3.13
Europe-America	3.44	2.04	2.26	2.83

^a"Total fertility rate" indicates the average number of children that a woman would bear during her lifetime if the age-specific fertility rates remained the same as in the year(s) under consideration. Under conditions of very low mortality the "replacement level" is 2.1 children per woman (regardless of marital status).

TABLE 6. AVERAGE BIRTH ORDER OF NEWBORN CHILDREN OF JEWISH WOMEN (AGED 30-34) IN JERUSALEM, BY ORIGIN AND RELIGIOSITY, 1974-1983^a

Indicators of Religiosity	Total	Origin Israel	Origin Asia-Africa		Origin Europe-America	
			Born in Israel	Born Abroad	Born in Israel	Born Abroad
1970-1974 ^b						
Religiosity of residential region:						
Total	n.a.	4.4	n.a.	n.a.	3.3	3.2
Low	n.a.	3.6	n.a.	n.a.	3.0	2.9
High	n.a.	6.2	n.a.	n.a.	5.0	5.4
1975-1976						
Total	3.7	4.2	3.3	4.1	3.3	3.2
Woman does not go to <i>mikveh</i>	3.0	2.9	3.0	3.6	2.6	2.4
Woman goes to <i>mikveh</i> and husband is:						
-not in yeshivah	4.3	4.4	3.8	4.5	3.8	4.0
-in yeshivah	5.2	5.5	(5.6)	4.7	4.9	5.3
1983						
Religiosity of residential region:						
Total	3.8	4.4	3.3	3.5	3.9	3.9
Very low	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.3	2.7	3.0
Rather low	4.1	4.3	3.4	4.1	4.2	4.4
Rather high	5.4	5.8	4.7	5.2	5.5	5.6
Very high	5.9	5.8	4.9	4.9	5.9	6.5

^aFor sources, see footnote 12 to text.
^bBoth spouses of European or Israeli origin.
Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 7. JEWS IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY REGIONS OF BIRTH AND ORIGIN, 1972 AND 1983 (PERCENT)

	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb. ^a	Haifa Conurb. ^a	Israel
<u>Region of Birth</u>				
1972:				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Israel	58.7	46.7	42.7	47.4
Asia	11.3	14.5	6.0	11.8
Africa	9.7	6.6	11.0	13.0
Europe-America	20.3	32.2	40.3	27.9
1983:				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Israel	62.7	56.8	52.1	57.5
Asia	8.4	11.8	4.7	8.9
Africa	7.3	6.0	9.0	9.6
Europe-America	21.6	25.5	34.3	23.9
<u>Percentage Asian-African-Born Among Foreign-Born</u>				
1972	50.8	39.5	29.7	47.0
1983	42.1	41.0	28.5	43.6
<u>Percentage Born in Central and Western Europe or America Among All European-American-Born</u>				
1972	43.5	21.1	26.3	25.8
1983	53.5	23.5	20.7	27.7
<u>Region of Origin^b</u>				
1972:				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Israel	19.6	8.7	7.8	8.4
Asia	26.9	28.7	12.0	24.4

TABLE 7.—(Continued)

	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb. ^a	Haifa Conurb. ^a	Israel
Africa	17.8	11.7	19.1	23.0
Europe-Americas	35.7	50.9	61.1	44.2
1983:				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Israel	23.9	16.2	14.5	15.9
Asia	23.7	27.7	11.4	22.1
Africa	16.5	13.4	19.7	21.9
Europe-Americas	35.9	42.8	54.5	40.1

^aIn this and the following tables, conurbations are as delimited for the 1972 and 1983 censuses, respectively.

^bBirth country of foreign-born and father's birth country for Israeli-born.

TABLE 8. JEWS IN JERUSALEM AND ISRAEL, BY PRINCIPAL COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, 1983 (PERCENT)

Principal Country of Origin ^a	Jews in Jerusalem			Jews in Israel		
	Total	Born in Israel	Born Abroad	Total	Born in Israel	Born Abroad
Israel	23.9	38.2	—	15.9	27.7	—
Abroad, total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Asia, total	31.3	39.7	22.6	26.3	31.7	20.9
Turkey	3.0	3.8	2.2	3.3	3.5	3.1
Syria, Lebanon	1.7	2.1	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.1
Iraq	13.0	17.1	8.8	9.4	11.8	7.1
Yemen, South Yemen	3.3	4.8	1.8	5.8	8.1	3.6
Iran	8.7	10.1	7.2	4.3	4.6	4.0
India, Pakistan	0.4	0.5	0.5	1.3	1.3	1.4
Others in Asia	1.1	1.3	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.6
Africa, total	21.6	23.6	19.6	26.1	29.7	22.8
Morocco	16.1	18.0	14.2	16.2	18.2	14.3
Algeria, Tunisia	3.0	3.1	2.9	4.3	5.0	3.7
Libya	0.5	0.7	0.3	2.7	3.6	1.9
Egypt	1.3	1.4	1.2	2.5	2.7	2.3
Others in Africa	0.6	0.4	1.0	0.4	0.2	0.6
Europe-America, total	47.1	36.7	57.8	47.6	38.6	56.3
USSR	9.2	6.9	11.7	10.6	7.0	14.0
Poland	7.9	8.7	7.1	11.3	10.9	11.7
Rumania	5.8	4.3	7.3	10.0	7.4	12.6
Bulgaria, Greece	0.9	1.0	0.8	2.4	2.4	2.4
Germany, Austria	4.1	4.0	4.2	3.3	3.4	3.2
Czechoslovakia	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.6
Hungary	2.4	2.2	2.5	1.7	1.6	1.7
Others in Europe	6.3	4.2	8.5	3.2	2.4	3.9
North America, Oceania	6.6	2.7	10.5	1.7	0.8	2.6
Latin America	2.3	1.1	3.5	1.9	1.2	2.6

^aSee note b to table 7.

TABLE 9. FOREIGN-BORN JEWS IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION AND REGION OF BIRTH, 1983 (PERCENT)

Period of Immigration	Jerusalem				Tel Aviv Conurb.	Haifa Conurb.	Israel
	Total	Asia-Born	Africa-Born	Europe-America-Born			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Up to 1947	16.0	18.3	3.5	19.3	19.1	18.9	15.4
1948-1954	27.8	58.0	30.7	15.1	57.5	56.3	34.1
1955-1964	17.8	10.4	43.3	12.0			23.5
1965-1971	10.8	5.7	11.4	12.5	23.4	24.8	9.2
1972-1974	8.7	1.5	3.4	13.2			7.2
1975-1979	10.8	4.1	4.3	15.6			7.0
1980-1983	8.2	1.9	3.4	12.2			3.6

TABLE 10. POPULATION OF JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION AND AGE, 1972 AND 1983 (PERCENT AND MEDIAN)

Age	Jeru- salem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jeru- salem	Tel Aviv Conurb.	Haifa Conurb.	Israel	Muslims	Chris- tians
<u>1972</u>							
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-14	35.1	31.0	26.3	25.0	29.6	49.3	29.2
15-64	58.2	61.6	64.5	65.2	62.6	46.6	61.1
65+	6.7	7.4	9.1	9.8	7.7	4.1	9.6
Median age	22.1	23.8	27.9	29.2	25.1	15.4	28.3
<u>1983</u>							
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-14	35.1	31.7	28.2	25.9	30.0	45.9	26.7
15-64	57.4	59.6	60.2	60.7	59.9	50.5	62.6
65+	7.5	8.7	11.5	13.3	10.1	3.6	10.7
0-4	12.7	11.4	9.3	8.5	10.2	17.1	8.3
5-14	22.4	20.3	18.9	17.4	19.8	28.8	18.4
15-24	18.9	18.2	14.5	14.4	15.9	21.2	17.0
25-34	14.5	15.2	15.7	14.8	15.8	12.7	13.7
35-44	9.9	10.5	11.3	10.5	10.8	7.8	12.9
45-54	7.9	8.7	9.4	10.0	8.9	5.2	11.0
55-64	6.1	7.0	9.3	11.0	8.4	3.6	8.0
65-74	4.5	5.2	7.4	8.7	6.6	2.2	6.8
75+	2.9	3.5	4.1	4.6	3.5	1.4	3.9
Median age	22.8	25.1	29.9	31.7	27.6	16.9	29.4

TABLE 11. PERCENTAGE OF MALES IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION AND AGE, 1972 AND 1983

Age	Jeru- salem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jeru- salem	Tel Aviv Conurb.	Haifa Conurb.	Israel	Muslims	Chris- tians
<u>1972</u>							
Total	50.1	50.0	49.5	49.7	50.1	51.0	47.0
0-14	51.6	51.5	51.2	51.7	51.4	52.1	50.6
15-64	49.4	49.4	48.8	49.2	49.6	50.1	46.3
65+	48.1	48.6	49.6	47.7	49.1	48.1	40.2
<u>1983</u>							
Total	49.9	49.8	49.0	49.0	49.6	50.5	45.6
0-14	51.5	51.7	51.1	51.3	51.3	51.0	50.5
15-64	51.8	49.5	48.4	48.6	49.3	50.1	45.1
65+	45.3	45.3	46.8	46.0	46.7	48.7	36.5

TABLE 12. POPULATION OF JERUSALEM AND ISRAEL, BY RELIGION, SEX, AND MARITAL STATUS,^a 1972 AND 1983 (PERCENT)

Marital Status	Jerusalem,	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
	total	Jerusalem		Israel		Muslims	Christians
	1983	1972	1983	1972	1983	1983	1983
<u>Men</u>							
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single	36.6	35.4	34.6	31.5	28.9	41.8	46.9
Married	60.2	61.4	61.7	65.1	66.8	56.6	50.0
Divorced	1.4	1.0	1.7	0.9	1.6	0.5	0.9
Widowed	1.8	2.2	2.0	2.5	2.6	1.1	2.2
<u>Women</u>							
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single	27.6	28.3	26.6	22.9	20.8	28.4	42.4
Married	59.0	58.8	59.5	63.7	64.1	60.4	42.9
Divorced	3.0	2.1	3.5	1.9	3.2	1.5	1.7
Widowed	10.3	10.7	10.4	11.5	11.9	9.7	13.0

^aAges 15 and over.

TABLE 13. PERCENTAGE OF EVER-MARRIED PERSONS IN JERUSALEM AND ISRAEL, BY RELIGION, SEX, AND AGE, 1972 AND 1983

Age	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
	Jerusalem		Israel		Muslims	Christians
	1972	1983	1972	1983	1983	1983
<u>Men</u>						
15-19	1.2	1.3	1.1	0.9	2.4	0.5
20-24	22.2	17.5	23.2	17.2	25.3	6.5
25-29	69.0	61.3	72.5	67.7	66.4	34.3
30-34	87.9	86.0	90.7	88.6	87.8	64.1
35-39	92.0	93.2	94.3	94.7	93.8	78.1
40-44	94.2	95.1	95.3	96.5	96.5	80.5
45-64	95.1	95.5	96.8	96.9	97.7	81.4
65+	97.0	96.7	97.7	97.7	96.4	74.7
<u>Women</u>						
15-19	5.5	4.6	6.7	5.1	22.1	5.3
20-24	43.8	38.8	52.9	47.5	62.7	36.3
25-29	75.6	73.4	84.2	81.7	84.7	62.1
30-34	89.2	84.4	93.8	90.5	89.1	71.0
35-39	93.9	89.6	96.8	93.8	89.6	71.3
40-44	95.7	93.3	97.5	96.1	90.6	68.5
45-64	96.2	96.0	97.9	97.9	94.2	68.6
65+	96.3	96.6	97.4	97.7	95.9	61.0

TABLE 14. HOUSEHOLDS IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE, 1972 AND 1983

Number of Persons per Household	Jeru- salem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jeru- salem	Tel Aviv Conurb.	Haifa Conurb.	Israel	Muslims	Chris- tians
<u>Percent Distribution, 1983</u>							
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1	19.4	21.6	19.6	21.9	18.6	7.5	23.4
2-3	33.0	36.4	40.7	43.8	39.3	16.7	27.1
4-5	27.4	28.8	32.4	28.8	32.4	20.0	27.0
6-7	11.8	9.9	6.2	4.6	7.7	21.1	15.0
8-9	4.7	2.4	0.9	0.7	1.5	16.6	5.1
10+	3.6	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.5	18.2	2.3
<u>Average Household Size</u>							
1972	4.0	3.6	3.3	3.2	3.6	6.2	4.1
1983	3.8	3.3	3.1	2.9	3.2	6.3	3.8

TABLE 15. POPULATION IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION, SEX, AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, 1972 AND 1983^a (PERCENT)

Year and Sex	Jeru- salem, total	Jews			Israel	Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jeru- salem	Tel Aviv Conurb. ^b	Haifa Conurb. ^b		Muslims	Chris- tians
<u>0-4 Years of Study</u>							
1972:							
Total	18.3	11.4	10.9	11.4	13.7	44.3	25.6
Men	13.3	7.4	8.3	9.0	10.4	34.5	22.6
Women	23.1	15.1	13.6	13.9	16.8	54.1	28.1
1983:							
Total	11.6	7.4	8.1	7.6	9.0	26.8	11.0
Men	7.8	4.7	n.a.	n.a.	6.6	18.8	6.8
Women	15.3	9.9	n.a.	n.a.	11.3	34.9	14.4
<u>13+ Years of Study</u>							
1972:							
Total	21.5	26.2	16.0	17.2	14.9	4.6	12.4
Men	23.5	28.2	17.1	20.1	15.9	6.6	16.4
Women	19.6	24.4	14.3	15.1	13.9	2.5	9.1
1983:							
Total	29.9	34.8	23.2	26.3	23.1	12.7	27.4
Men	31.6	35.7	n.a.	n.a.	23.9	16.7	33.1
Women	28.3	33.9	n.a.	n.a.	22.4	8.7	23.0

^aIn 1972, ages 14 and over; in 1983, ages 15 and over.^bIn 1972, total population, i.e., including some non-Jews.

Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 15A. POPULATION IN JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION, ORIGIN, SEX, AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, 1983 (PERCENT)

Religion and Origin	0-4 Years of Study ^a		13+ Years of Study ^a	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total	8.1	14.7	31.8	28.4
Jews, total	4.6	8.9	35.9	34.1
Origin Israel	1.9	4.3	33.0	27.5
Origin Asia				
Born in Israel	3.7	10.7	18.3	15.8
Born abroad	11.3	24.8	21.6	20.2
Origin Africa				
Born in Israel	4.2	7.9	15.9	18.9
Born abroad	9.0	18.4	27.2	24.5
Origin Europe-America				
Born in Israel	1.3	3.2	56.1	55.2
Born abroad	1.5	2.2	56.6	54.9
Non-Jews, total	21.4	35.2	18.1	10.5
Muslims	24.9	41.9	15.3	7.7
Christians	6.3	11.5	34.3	26.6

^aAge-standardized data according to age distribution of Jerusalem's total population (ages 15 and over); my tabulations.

TABLE 16. POPULATION OF JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION AND SPOKEN LANGUAGES, DAILY^a AND PRINCIPAL USE, 1983 (PERCENT)^b

Language	Total Population ^c		Jews		Muslims		Christians	
	Daily Use	Principal Use	Daily Use	Principal Use	Daily Use	Principal Use	Daily Use	Principal Use
Hebrew	72.2	62.8	93.9	84.2	8.9	0.5	12.5	3.4
Arabic	33.2	25.5	11.5	1.7	99.3	98.9	77.8	68.2
English	14.2	3.3	15.0	4.1	10.3	0.3	30.1	6.2
French	4.2	1.2	5.3	1.5	0.0	—	6.5	2.7
Yiddish	3.9	1.1	5.2	1.5	—	—	0.1	0.0
Spanish ^d	2.9	0.7	3.9	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.8	0.4
Russian	2.6	1.3	3.4	1.7	0.0	0.0	1.5	1.3
Persian	2.1	0.6	2.9	0.8	0.0	—	—	—
German	2.0	0.6	2.5	0.7	0.1	0.0	2.3	1.5
Rumanian	1.5	0.5	2.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.4
Hungarian	1.1	0.4	1.4	0.5	—	—	0.2	0.2
Kurdish	0.8	0.1	1.1	0.2	—	—	—	—
Polish	0.5	0.1	0.7	0.2	—	—	0.7	0.5
Grusinian ^e	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
Armenian	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.3	8.5
Bokharian	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	—	—
Italian	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	2.9	1.7
Greek	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	2.4

^aPrincipal or second language in daily speech.^bMy tabulations; the percentages in the "Daily Use" columns add up to more than 100.0, since two languages could be reported by a person.^cAged 15 and over.^dIncl. Ladino.^eI.e., Georgian.

TABLE 17. PERCENTAGE IN LABOR FORCE^a IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION AND SEX, 1972 AND 1983^b

Year and Sex	Jerusalem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb. ^c	Haifa Conurb. ^c	Israel	Muslims	Christians
1972:							
Total	49.9	51.9	50.8	50.3	51.6	35.9	40.4
Men	66.5	66.7	69.9	69.3	68.4	66.1	63.7
Women	33.9	41.2	32.5	32.5	35.0	6.1	21.5
1983:							
Total	51.7	57.3	54.5	53.3	55.3	33.7	38.0
Men	63.3	64.6	68.0	66.2	67.1	59.8	54.8
Women	40.5	50.4	42.1	40.7	44.2	7.3	24.8

^aAnnual civilian labor force.^bIn 1972, ages 14 and over; in 1983, ages 15 and over.^cIn 1972, total population, i.e., including some non-Jews.

TABLE 17A. PERCENTAGE IN LABOR FORCE^a IN JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION, ORIGIN, AND SEX, 1983

Religion and Origin	Men ^b	Women ^b
Total	64.0	40.5
Jews, total	64.7	50.7
Origin Israel	63.3	49.6
Origin Asia		
Born in Israel	65.7	48.1
Born abroad	65.3	44.9
Origin Africa		
Born in Israel	65.1	49.1
Born abroad	65.0	49.4
Origin Europe-America		
Born in Israel	66.1	57.0
Born abroad	65.8	56.2
Non-Jews, total	60.2	10.3
Muslims	60.8	7.3
Christians	53.9	25.7

^aAnnual civilian labor force.^bAge-standardized data according to age distribution of Jerusalem's total population (ages 15 and over); my tabulations.

TABLE 18. PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN PUBLIC AND COMMUNITY SERVICES^a IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION AND SEX, 1972 AND 1983^b

Year and Sex	Jerusalem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb. ^c	Haifa Conurb. ^c	Israel	Muslims	Christians
1972:							
Total	45.3	49.0	25.5	31.0	28.2	22.2	38.0
Men	35.4	39.5	19.5	24.6	21.8	19.0	29.3
Women	64.5	64.5	38.6	45.3	41.4	69.7	58.3
1983:							
Total	45.9	48.8	27.6	34.8	31.5	26.6	47.3
Men	34.6	37.7	n.a.	n.a.	21.8	22.2	35.0
Women	62.6	62.1	n.a.	n.a.	45.7	75.0	68.1

^aAmong annual civilian labor force.^bIn 1972, ages 14 and over; in 1983, ages 15 and over.^cIn 1972, total population, i.e. including some non-Jews.

Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 18A. PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN PUBLIC AND COMMUNITY SERVICES^a
IN JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION, ORIGIN, AND SEX, 1983

Religion and Origin	Men ^b	Women ^b
Total	34.2	62.5
Jews, total	37.2	62.0
Origin Israel	34.3	61.5
Origin Asia		
Born in Israel	29.9	61.3
Born abroad	27.5	60.3
Origin Africa		
Born in Israel	36.9	55.8
Born abroad	35.6	61.5
Origin Europe-America		
Born in Israel	48.6	68.0
Born abroad	44.5	62.0
Non-Jews, total	25.1	71.2
Muslims	23.7	72.1
Christians	34.3	67.8

^aAmong annual civilian labor force.^bAge-standardized data according to age distribution of Jerusalem's total labor force; my tabulations.

TABLE 19. PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN ACADEMIC, OTHER PROFESSIONAL, MANAGERIAL, AND CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS^a IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION AND SEX, 1972 AND 1983^b

Year and Sex	Jerusalem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb. ^c	Haifa Conurb. ^c	Israel	Muslims	Christians
1972:							
Total	52.3	58.3	44.6	47.0	40.3	15.8	42.5
Men	41.9	49.2	35.6	38.3	32.2	12.3	34.2
Women	72.2	72.7	63.6	65.8	56.3	68.5	59.3
1983:							
Total	57.5	63.2	53.6	56.5	50.3	21.9	54.5
Men	45.8	53.5	n.a.	n.a.	37.3	16.5	44.9
Women	74.7	74.7	n.a.	n.a.	65.6	77.6	71.1

^aAmong annual civilian labor force.^bIn 1972, ages 14 and over; in 1983, ages 15 and over.^cIn 1972, total population, i.e., including some non-Jews.

Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 19A. PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN ACADEMIC, OTHER PROFESSIONAL, MANAGERIAL, AND CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS^a IN JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION, ORIGIN, AND SEX

Religion and Origin	Men ^b	Women ^b
Total	45.3	73.5
Jews, total	52.7	73.8
Origin Israel	53.3	78.3
Origin Asia		
Born in Israel	38.8	70.9
Born abroad	35.1	57.6
Origin Africa		
Born in Israel	42.7	69.2
Born abroad	44.3	56.8
Origin Europe-America		
Born in Israel	69.5	87.2
Born abroad	67.6	78.0
Non-Jews, total	21.1	72.5
Muslims	17.3	74.0
Christians	45.2	70.8

^aAmong annual civilian labor force.

^bAge-standardized data according to age distribution of Jerusalem's total labor force; my tabulations.

TABLE 20. SELECTED INDICATORS OF HOUSING CONDITIONS AND STANDARD OF LIVING IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION, 1972^a AND 1983

Selected Indicators	Jerusalem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem		
		Jerusalem	Tel Aviv		Haifa	Israel	Muslims	Christians
			Conurb. ^a	Conurb. ^a				
<u>1972</u>								
% Apartments:								
With up to 2 rooms	45.1	39.9	42.0		40.0	39.8		67.2
With 4+ rooms	16.3	17.0	11.0		13.0	13.0		4.4
Aver. no. of persons per room	1.6	1.4	1.3		1.3	1.4		2.7
% Apartments owned by household	55.4	58.2	n.a.		n.a.	65.3 ^d		45.0
% Households possessing:								
Telephone	43.0	51.3	52.6		60.9	44.5		7.5
Car	19.7	22.8	27.1		23.7	23.3		6.3
Index of average income of employee-headed households (Jewish average for Israel = 100.0) ^b								
Per household	98.2	107.4	103.8		112.9	100.0		51.0
Per person	89.6	108.1	122.4		128.7	100.0		31.4

Table 1. Housing and income of the Jewish population in Israel, 1975									
Percentages, unless otherwise indicated									
% Apartments:									
Built 1975 +	20.9	23.1	20.6	19.2	23.5	12.7	9.7		
With up to 2 rooms	29.4	24.2	24.1	24.3	22.2		52.0		
With 4 + rooms	22.6	23.3	20.0	21.2	23.6		19.3		
Aver. no. of persons per room									
	1.3	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.1		2.3		
% Apartments owned by household									
	63.0	64.7	78.0	73.2	71.8	63.7	18.7		
% Households that moved into apartments 1975 +									
	52.8	54.9	47.4	46.5	50.5 ^d		41.6		
% Households possessing:									
Telephone	75.0	87.8	77.6	86.0	75.8	18.4	46.2		
Car	40.2	44.8	49.5	45.5	46.4	20.6	27.9		
Index of average income of employee-headed households									
(Jewish average for Israel = 100.0) ^b									
Per household	92.3	101.2	102.5	104.5	100.0	53.6	58.6		
Per standard person ^c	86.5	104.2	105.7	107.8	100.0	34.8	53.9		

^bIn 1972, gross annual income in urban localities only; in 1983, net monthly income, including some non-Jewish ones.

^dUrban localities only.

Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 21. POPULATION OF JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION AND SUBQUARTER, 1983

Subquarter ^a No./Designation	Total population (thousands)	Percent Distributions				% Jews	% Muslims Among Non-Jews
		Total		Christians			
		Total	Jews	Muslims	Christians	% Jews	% Muslims Among Non-Jews
Total	428.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.7	88.7
Old Israeli zone, total	232.7	54.2	75.1	1.4	10.2	98.7	51.6
5,6 Town Center	8.1	1.9	2.5	0.1	2.1	95.1	34.0
7,8 Me'ah She'arim, Kerem Avraham	44.6	10.4	14.5	0.0	0.3	99.8	36.8
9 Nahla'ot	9.5	2.2	3.1	0.0	0.2	99.7	13.3
10 Rehavia	8.3	1.9	2.7	0.0	0.6	99.0	2.4
11,12 Talbieh, Katamon	15.8	3.7	5.1	0.1	2.0	97.9	14.7
13,14 Bak'a, Talpiot	20.1	4.7	6.2	0.9	2.0	93.9	76.7
15 Rasso	13.5	3.1	4.4	0.0	0.3	99.6	10.7
16 Katamonim	24.0	5.6	7.8	0.1	0.2	99.6	77.8
17,18 Romemah, Givat Sha'ul	19.3	4.5	6.3	0.0	0.2	99.0	55.6
19-21 Kiryat Moshe, Bayit va-Gan	37.4	8.7	12.1	0.1	0.7	99.7	58.8
22-24 Kiryat ha-Yovel	32.1	7.5	10.4	0.1	1.6	98.8	40.0

Ex-Jordanian zone, total	196.0	45.8	24.9	98.6	89.8	39.1	89.6
1-4 Old City	25.5	6.0	0.7	15.5	47.2	8.8	72.1
25 American Colony	7.6	1.8	0.0	5.7	10.0	0.1	32.9
26,27 Et-Tur, Beit Hanina	50.1	11.7	0.0	42.7	26.3	0.3	92.8
28 Ramat Eshkol ^b	14.8	3.4	4.7	0.2	0.4	98.2	75.8
29-31 French Hill, Neveh Ya'akov, Ramot	34.1	8.0	10.7	0.9	2.2	96.3	74.2
32,33 Silwan, Sur Bahir	36.7	8.6	0.0	33.5	2.4	0.1	99.1
34,35 East Talpiot, Gilo	27.2	6.3	8.8	0.1	1.3	98.8	42.8

^aFor principal neighborhoods in the various subquarters see map 1.

^bUntil 1967 across the armistice line and unbuilt.

TABLE 22. CHANGES IN SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF JERUSALEM'S POPULATION, BY RELIGION AND SUBQUARTER, SEPT. 1967a-1985

Subquarter ^b No./Designation	Total Population		Jews		Non-Jews	
	1967	1985	1967	1983	1967	1985
	<u>Thousands</u>					
Total	267.8	457.7 ^d	196.5	306.3	71.3	130.0 ^d
Old Israeli zone	199.2	234.3	196.5	229.7	2.7	3.1
Ex-Jordanian zone	68.6	223.4	—	76.6	68.6	126.9
	<u>Percent</u>					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Old Israeli zone, total	74.4	51.1	100.0	75.1	3.8	2.5
5,6 Town Center	6.0	1.5	7.9	2.5	0.9	0.3
7,8 Me'ah She'arim, Kerem Avraham	14.8	10.0	20.2	14.5	0.0	0.1
9 Nahla'ot	7.0	1.8	9.5	3.1	0.0	0.0
10 Rehavia	3.9	1.7	5.3	2.7	0.0	0.1
11,12 Talbieh, Katamon	7.0	3.2	9.1	5.1	0.7	0.2
13,14 Bak'a, Talpiot	6.5	4.5	8.3	6.2	1.9	1.0
15 Rasseco	2.1	3.0	2.8	4.4	0.0	0.1
16 Katamonim	7.5	5.3	10.2	7.8	0.1	0.1
17,18 Romemah, Givat Sha'ul	3.7	5.2	5.1	6.3	0.0	0.0
19-21 Kiryat Moshe, Bayit va-Gan	6.0	8.2	8.1	12.1	0.0	0.2
22-24 Kiryat ha-Yovel	9.9	6.8	13.5	10.4	0.2	0.4

Ex-Jordanian Zone, total	25.6	48.9	—	24.9	29.4	96.2	97.5
1-4 Old City	8.8	5.7	—	0.7	0.8	33.2	18.3
25 American Colony	2.3	1.7	—	0.0	0.0	8.7	5.9
26,27 Et-Tur, Beit Hanina	8.1	11.7	—	0.0	0.0	30.3	40.9
28 Ramat Eshkol ^c	—	3.3	—	4.7	4.5	—	0.2
29-31 French Hill, Neveh Ya'akov, Ramot	—	9.8	—	10.7	13.3	—	1.1
32,33 Silwan, Sur Bahir	6.4	8.8	—	0.0	0.0	24.0	30.7
34,35 East Talpiot, Gilo	—	7.9	—	8.8	10.8	—	0.4

^aMy estimates except for census figures of non-Jews in ex-Jordanian zone (East Jerusalem).

^{b,c}See notes a and b to table 21.

^dIncluding some persons whose domicile was not known.

TABLE 23. CHANGES IN SIZE AND DENSITY OF JERUSALEM'S POPULATION, BY SUBQUARTER, SEPT. 1967a-1985

Subquarter ^b No./Designation	Population				Density ^c	
	Thousands		%	Change	1967	1985
	1967	1985				
Total	267.8	457.7 ^d	+71		2.5	4.2
Old Israeli zone, total	199.0	234.0	+18		5.3	6.3
5,6 Town Center	16.1	7.1	-56		12.6	5.
7,8 Me'ah She'arim, Kerem Avraham	39.6	45.5	+15		14.9	17.
9 Nahla'ot	18.7	8.2	-56		30.4	13.
10 Rehavia	10.4	7.7	-26		16.2	12.
11,12 Talbieh, Katamon	18.5	14.9	-19		10.5	8.
13,14 Bak'a, Talpiot	17.5	20.5	+17		4.0	4.
15 Rasso	5.6	13.5	+141		4.8	11.
16 Katamonim	20.1	24.0	+19		9.8	11.
17,18 Romemah, Givat Sha'ul	10.0	23.6	+136		1.5	3.
19-21 Kiryat Moshe, Bayit va-Gan	16.0	37.7	+135		1.8	4.
22-24 Kiryat ha-Yovel	26.5	31.3	+18		3.6	4.

Ex-Jordanian zone, total	68.6	222.6	+ 224	1.0	3.
1-4 Old City	23.7	26.2	+ 10	27.2	30.
25 American Colony	6.2	7.6	+ 22	4.1	5.
26,27 Et-Tur, Beit Hanina	21.6	53.2	+ 146	1.0	2.
28 Ramat Eshkol ^c	—	15.0	great	—	10.
29-31 French Hill, Neveh Ya'akov, Ramot	—	44.9	great	—	3.
32,33 Silwan, Sur Bahir	17.1	39.8	+ 132	0.6	1.
34,35 East Talpiot, Gilo	—	35.9	great	—	9.

^a ^d See notes a and d to table 22.

^b, ^c See notes a and b to table 21.

^e Thousands of inhabitants per square kilometer.