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THE NUMBER OF ISRAELI IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1990*

YINON COHEN AND YITCHAK HABERFELD

In this paper we estimate the size of several categories of "Israeli" immigrants in the United States. According to the 1990 U.S. census, there were about 95,000 Israeli-born immigrants in the United States in that year. Using the language and ancestry information available in the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) of the 1990 census, we estimate that of this total, about 80,000 are Jews and 15,000 are Palestinian Arabs born in Israel. In addition to the Israeli-born, we present a range for the number of Jewish immigrants from Israel who are not Israeli-born (about 30,000–56,000). Thus our estimate for the total number of Jewish immigrants from Israel in the United States in 1990 is between 110,000 and 135,000. Fertility information available in the PUMS, also enable us to provide estimates for the number of second-generation Israelis in the United States in the 1990 (about 42,000). Finally, using both the 1980 and 1990 PUMS, we provide estimates for the rate of return migration among Israeli-born Jewish immigrants in the United States.

Unlike other countries which have restricted immigration in the last half century, Israel has consistently encouraged unlimited Jewish immigration. Jewish emigration from Israel is, of course, a different matter: Emigration of Jews is highly discouraged and is defined as a major social problem in Israel. This is understandable given the centrality of Zionist ideology in the Israeli society and the long-standing conflict between Israel and the Arab world. Loss of Jews through emigration is perceived not only as threatening the State's ability to prevail in the ongoing conflict, but also as endangering the foundation of the whole Zionist enterprise, which is based on maintaining a large Jewish majority in Israel (Cohen 1988; Kass and Lipset 1982). Some Israeli Jews, however, view emigration of Palestinian Arabs from Israel and from the Occupied Territories as a blessing, but this is not the official stance taken by the state of Israel.

That the United States is the principal destination country for Israelis, and that the American Jewish community also views Jewish emigration as problematic explains the vast research on Israeli immigration in the United States and its sole focus on Jews.[1] How extensive is the "problem" of Israeli immigrants in the United States? In other words, how many Israelis—Jews and Palestinian Arabs—are there in the United States?

Unfortunately there is little agreement on this issue. In the 1980s, scholarly estimates for the number of Jewish immigrants from Israel varied from as low as 100,000–120,000 (Herman 1988; Herman and LaFontaine 1983) to 170,000 (Ahiram, Danziger and Liberman 1984; Eisenbach 1989) to 350,000 and higher (Goren 1980; Kass and Lipset 1979, 1982). Estimates published by various Israeli agencies responsible for preventing emigration and for bringing Israelis back home were naturally higher, and reached staggering figures of over 450,000 Israeli Jews in the United States (Haddad 1987; Lahis 1980). In the 1990s, estimates generally were lower than those published in the 1980s, but the estimated range for the number of Israeli Jews in the United States still was very wide—90,000–193,000 (Gold and Phillips 1996).[2] Yet the popular press, both creating and reflecting public perceptions, continued to estimate the number of Jewish immigrants from Israel to be around 400,000–500,000. These estimates, however, are incompatible with U.S. census data and with data published by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS). The U.S. census estimated that the total number of Israeli-born Americans was less than 90,000 in 1990 (Lapham 1993), and even less than that in 1980 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1985). Likewise, on the basis of departures abroad and arrivals of Israeli residents, the CBS estimated that the *upper bound* for the number of Israelis abroad in 1979 was about 340,000 (Goldschieder 1996; Israel 1984; Lamdany 1982). Given that the United States is the destination country for about 50%–60% of Israeli immigrants (Paltiel 1986), 500,000 appears to be a gross overestimation, as are some scholarly estimates for the size of the Israeli population in the United States. Our aim in this paper is to provide credible estimates for 1990.

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1. The vast annotated bibliography on emigration from Israel, published by the Sald Institute (1989), does not contain even one item discussing immigration of Israeli-Arabs.

2. Gold and Phillps (1996) present five estimates relying on different data sources and methodologies. The two high estimates for the number of Israeli Jews in the United States (173,000–193,000) are based on Israeli border control data, and on partial U.S. census data for Los Angeles and New York. The three low estimates (90,000–117,000) are based on (1) the small sample of Israelis in the 1990 National Jewish Population Study; (2) the 1991 New York Jewish Population Study; and (3) Herman's analysis (cited by Gold and Phillips 1996) of INS data combined with estimates for return migration and illegal Israeli immigrants.

Unlike immigrants from most countries, whose numbers in the United States can be ascertained from U.S. censuses, there is a problem in defining, and therefore in estimating, the number of "Israeli immigrants" in the United States. Two questions unique to the Israeli case are at issue. First, should Israelis, like other immigrant groups, be defined solely by their country of birth or also by their country of last residence or nationality? The answer to this question is important, as many Israeli immigrants to the United States were not born in Israel. Second, should Palestinian Arab (PAR) immigrants who were born in Israel and the Occupied Territories be considered "Israeli"? Again the answer to this question is crucial, as both Jews and PARs are classified as Israeli-born in U.S. censuses. Because most previous estimates were of Jewish immigrants only, they attempted to include all Jewish immigrants from Israel, regardless of their country of birth, and excluded PARs. Alas, U.S. censuses, which are the main data source for estimating immigrant stock, include information about country of birth, but not about religion or country of last residence.

The other source for immigration statistics, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) reports, contain information about immigrants' country of last residence, but for legal immigrants only. Moreover, INS data provide information on annual immigrant flows rather than on immigrant stock, thereby disregarding return migration. In fact, Herman (1988) demonstrated that failure to consider Israelis' high rates of return migration may be one of the reasons for the popular perception that the number of Israelis in the United States is as high as assumed.

Given this problem with identifying Israeli immigrants, some previous research assumed all or most Israeli-born persons enumerated in the 1980 U.S. census to be Jewish immigrants from Israel (Ritterband 1986); however, many in fact were PARs born in Israel and the Territories. Further, because the number of Israeli immigrants not born in Israel (henceforth, foreign-born Israeli immigrants) could not be ascertained from U.S. data, the number of these immigrants was estimated on the basis of indirect data (Kass and Lipset 1979, 1982), to be much higher than the number of Israeli-born immigrants. In these cases, returning Americans (i.e., American-born Jews who immigrated to Israel and later returned to the United States) were also included in the count (e.g., Eisenbach 1989; Gold and Phillips 1996). Finally, some estimates for the number of Israelis in the United States included, implicitly and at times explicitly, U.S.-born offspring of Israeli immigrants (i.e., second-generation Israelis) as immigrants themselves (e.g., Lahis 1980).

One of the problems listed above—distinguishing between Israeli-born Jews and PARs in the United States—has already been solved. The 1980 census estimated that there were 66,961 Israeli-born immigrants in the United States in that year (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1985). This number includes all those reporting Israel or Palestine as their country of birth. Using the ancestry and language questions available in the 5% Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) of the 1980 census, Cohen and Tyree (1994) developed an algorithm for distinguishing between Jews and PARs Israeli-born immigrants in the United States. They found that among the Israeli-born in the PUMS 68.6% were Jews and 31.4% were PARs. Thus the number of Israeli-born Jewish immigrants in the United States in 1980 was about 46,000 (.686 × 66,961), which is much lower than some previous estimates (Eisenbach 1989 is an exception) and popular perceptions.

Here we address the other three problems: (1) identifying and estimating the number of Jewish, foreign-born immigrants; (2) estimating the rate of return migration among Israelis; and (3) identifying and estimating the number of second-generation Israeli Jewish immigrants in the United States. To this end we rely on the 5% PUMS of the 1980 and 1990 censuses and on INS data regarding legal immigrants from Israel. We use these data to provide estimates for the various categories of Israeli immigrants in the United States in 1990 (Israeli-born Jews, foreign-born Israeli Jews, second-generation Israeli Jews, and Israeli- and Palestinian-born PARs) and for the rate of return migration among Israeli-born Jewish immigrants.

JEWISH AND PALESTINIAN ARABS BORN IN ISRAEL OR PALESTINE

First, we introduce some necessary modifications to the algorithm developed for the 1980 census, and use the modified algorithm for distinguishing between Jews and PARs in the 1990 PUMS. In the 1990 census, persons reporting their country of birth as "Palestine," the "West Bank," or "Gaza Strip," were listed as born in these places, and those reporting "Israel," were classified as Israeli-born.[3] The census bureau estimates that there were 86,048 Israeli-born and 21,070 Palestinian-born (including those born in the West Bank and Gaza Strip) immigrants in the United States in 1990 (Lapham 1993). It is likely that Jews and PARs are included in both the Israeli-born and the Palestinian-born estimates. The Israeli-born contain a majority of Jews and a sizable minority of PARs who are Israeli citizens (henceforth, Israeli-Arabs). Although the group of Palestinian-born include mostly PARs (under occupation), it is possible that a handful of non-Zionist orthodox Jews preferred to report Palestine over Israel as their country of birth. Thus to estimate the number of Jewish and PAR immigrants in the United States in 1990, we must use the ancestry and language questions available in the 1990 PUMS and identify Jews and PARs among both the Israeli-born and the Palestinian-born.

Israeli-Born Immigrants

The 1990 PUMS includes 4,298 individuals reporting Israel as their country of birth, representing 94,781 persons in the U.S. population (standard error of 2,950). This figure is higher than the census estimate of 86,048 Israeli-born Americans because the census does not consider those "born abroad to American parents" to be foreign-born (Lapham 1993; U.S.

3. In the 1980 census, those reporting Palestine as their birth country were classified as Israeli-born, whereas in the 1990 census they were recorded as Palestinian-born.

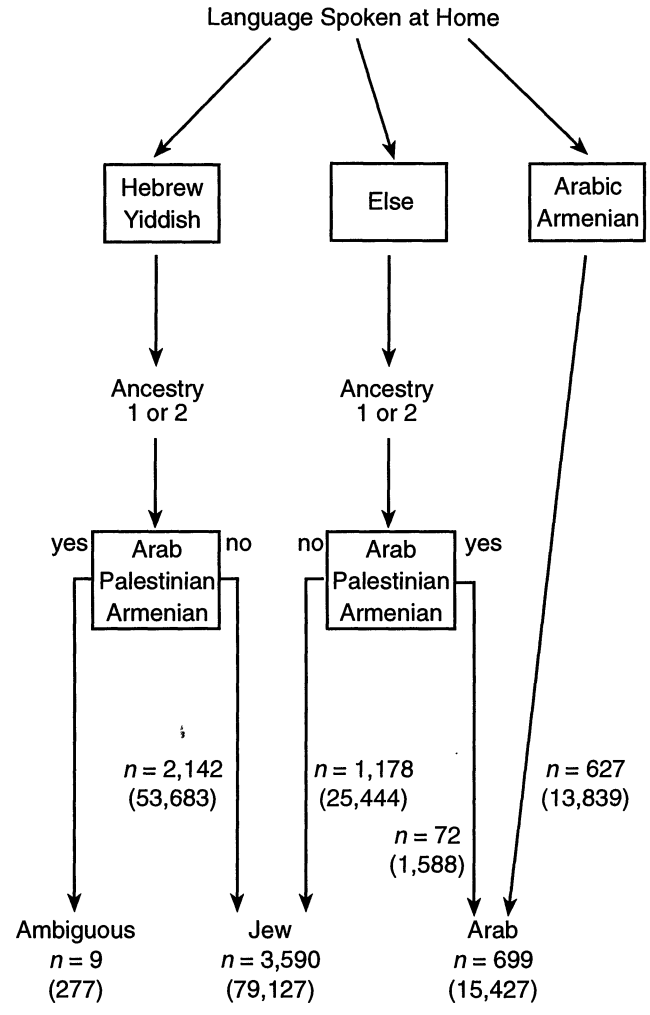
Bureau of the Census 1992).[4] Apparently, over 10% of Israeli-born persons in the United States were born to parents holding U.S. citizenship. It is reasonable to consider these persons Israeli-born immigrants.

Following the procedure developed by Cohen and Tyree (1994), we identify Jews and PARs in two stages (see Figure 1). In the first stage, we define Jews as all those speaking Hebrew or Yiddish at home, and PARs as all Arabic or Armenian speakers.[5] Classifying all Arabic speakers as Arabs would have been problematic had the sample included Jewish immigrants born in Arabic-speaking countries. Because we limit the analysis here to the Israeli-born, however, the assumption that Israeli-born Jews rarely speak Arabic is justified. The assumption that all Arabic speakers are PARs is equally justified: Virtually all Israeli-Arabs have a better command of Arabic than of Hebrew, and Jewish-Arab marriages are almost nonexistent.

In the second stage, we use the ancestry questions. Among those born in Israel and not speaking one of the languages stated above, and among children less than five years old, for which language data are not available, PARs are defined as all those stating their first or second ancestry as "Arab," "Palestinian," or "Armenian." Jews are all those choosing a different ancestry. For a few individuals, however, the combination of language and ancestry raises a problem, as in the case of Yiddish speakers reporting an Arab ancestry.

The Israeli-born, by language spoken at home and first ancestry, are presented in Table 1. Most immigrants speaking Arabic in their new homes in the United States also indicate that their first ancestry is Arab or Palestinian, and most Hebrew speakers report an Israeli ancestry. Yiddish speakers, who are probably orthodox Jews, most often provide "other responses" for first ancestry.[6] It is revealing that Israeli-born Jews in the United States are more likely to speak Hebrew or Yiddish at home than to choose Israel as their first ancestry. Apparently, the country from which their parents immigrated to Israel, rather than their own country of birth (Israel), is considered by more of them to be their

FIGURE 1. ALGORITHM FOR IDENTIFYING JEWS AND PARs AMONG THE ISRAELI-BORN, 1990 U.S. CENSUS



Note: Population estimates in parentheses.

first ancestry. The selection procedure among the total of 94,781 Israeli-born immigrants in the United States identifies 79,127 Jews (83.7%), 15,427 PARs (16.3%), and 227 ambiguous cases. Using these proportions to allocate the 227 ambiguous cases to Jews and PARs, we obtain a total of 79,317 (standard error of 2,699) for Jews, and 15,464 (standard error of 1,192) for PARs. Of these totals about 12% of Jews, but only about 6% of PARs, were born to U.S. citizens. This difference is understandable given the post-1967 immigration of American Jews to Israel.

It is reasonable to assume that the 15,464 immigrants identified as PARs are mostly Israeli-Arabs. PARs born in the Territories most likely chose Palestine, the West Bank, or Gaza Strip as their country of birth, rather than Israel. However, since both populations of PARs—Israeli Arabs and

4. The figure of 94,781 is obtained by using the individual weights available in the 1990 PUMS. Following the census definition for the foreign-born (i.e., excluding those born to American parents), the PUMS includes 84,350 persons born in Israel, with a standard error of 2,783. This means that the census estimate (86,048) is well within the 95% confidence interval of the estimate based on the PUMS. Because the census does not report its own estimate for the number of those born in Israel to U.S. citizens, nor the sizes of other groups we will estimate, we will use the weighted PUMS to obtain population estimates in the reminder of this paper. Standard errors are adjusted by the design factors (e.g., 2.2 for country of birth) available in the 1990 PUMS Technical Documentation (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1992: chap. 3, tab. G).

5. Because Armenians are viewed in Israel as part of the PAR population, we also consider them as such. Unfortunately the PUMS does not enable us to identify Christians (other than Armenians) and Moslems among PARs.

6. Those who receive this ancestry code are most likely Jews who elected to report "Jewish"—an unacceptable response in the U.S. census—as their ancestry. Indeed, the proportions coded as having "other responses" on their first or second ancestries are much higher among Hebrew, Yiddish, and English speakers than among Arabic speakers.

TABLE 1. FIRST ANCESTRY BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME: ISRAELI-BORN IN THE UNITED STATES, 1990 CENSUS

	Language						
Ancestry[a]	English	Hebrew	Yiddish	Arabic	Armenian	Other	Total
Israeli	241	1,198	28	48	0	98	1,613
	(5.5)	(27.8)	(.6)	(1.1)	(0)	(2.2)	(37.3)
Arab	23	1	0	275	0	12	311
	(.5)	(.0)	(0)	(6.6)	(0)	(.3)	(7.4)
Palestinian	14	5	1	125	0	12	157
	(.4)	(.1)	(.0)	(3.0)	(0)	(.3)	(3.8)
Armenian	5	1	0	5	59	2	72
	(.1)	(.0)	(0)	(.1)	(1.3)	(.0)	(1.6)
Other Ancestry	462	625	78	97	1	203	1,466
	(10.6)	(14.7)	(2.1)	(2.1)	(.0)	(4.6)	(34.0)
Other Responses[b]	130	405	79	17	0	48	679
	(3.1)	(9.6)	(1.9)	(.3)	(0)	(1.0)	(15.9)
Total	875	2,235	186	567	60	375	4,298
	(20.1)	(52.3)	(4.6)	(13.3)	(1.3)	(8.4)	(100)

Notes: Percentages of total in parentheses. Raw numbers are unweighted cases of all Israeli-born in the 5% PUMS (n = 4,298). Percentages are based on individual weights for the same cases (n = 94,781).

[a]Because the table disregards second ancestry, it is not possible to derive from it the precise total number of Jewish and PAR Israeli-born immigrants.

[b]Code "998" in the PUMS, including religions and other unacceptable entries.

those under occupation—view themselves as Palestinians under Israeli control, it is possible that some Israeli Arabs reported Palestine as their country of birth, while some PAR residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip reported Israel as their country of birth. Unfortunately, the data do not enable us to distinguish more clearly between Israeli Arabs from other PARs. However, consistent with our assumption that the majority of PARs who report Israel as their birth country are indeed Israeli Arabs, less than 20% of the Israeli-born PARs (Table 1) and over 50% of the Palestinian-born PARs (Table 2) report a Palestinian ancestry.

Palestinian-Born Immigrants

The 1990 PUMS includes 963 persons reporting Palestine, the West Bank, or Gaza Strip as their country of birth,[7] representing 21,027 (standard error of 1,390) in the U.S. population.[8] As presented in Figure 2, the first stage of the identification algorithm is similar to that specified for identifying Israeli-born immigrants: Jews are Hebrew and Yiddish speakers, and PARs are Arabic and Armenian speakers. The second stage, using the ancestry questions, is different than that used in identifying the Israeli-born: Among those not speaking one of the above languages, we define Jews as those reporing their first or second ancestry to be Israeli or those providing "other responses." All others are defined as PARs. This selection procedure identified 20,599 (98%; standard error of 1,377) PARs and only 428 (2%; standard error of 198) Jews. Information provided in Table 1 are replicated in Table 2 for the Palestinian-born. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of the Palestinian-born speak Arabic and report Palestinian or Arab as their first ancestry. Likewise, none of the PARs speaking Arabic or Armenian report an Israeli ancestry.

Total Number of Jews and PARs Born in Israel or Palestine

It is now possible to estimate the size of the entire Israeli-born and Palestinian-born immigrant population in the United States for both Jews and PARs. The total number of Jews, born in Israel or Palestine, is 79,745 (79,317

7. Only 31 and 12 persons identified the West Bank and Gaza Strip, respectively, as their country of birth. The remaining 920 individuals reported Palestine as their country of birth.

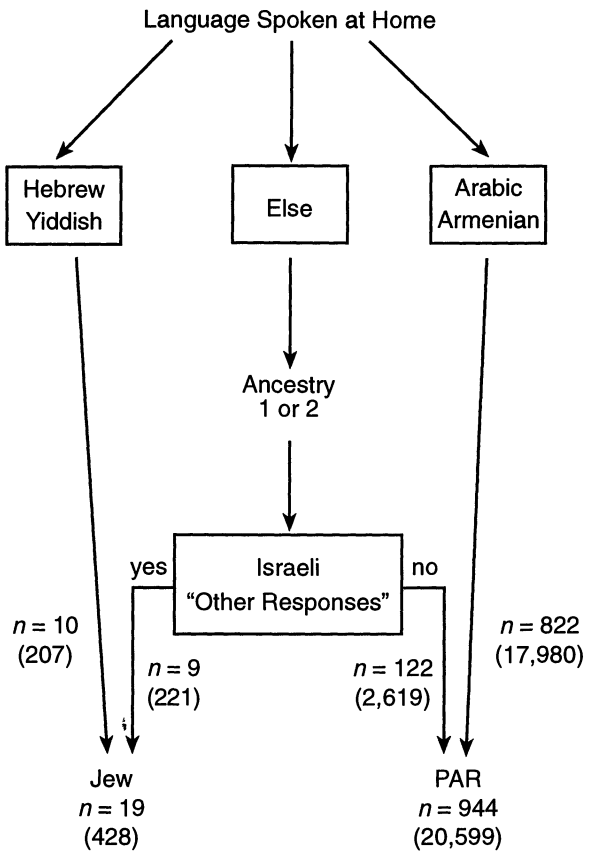
8. The census estimate for those born in Palestine (21,070) does not include those born to U.S. citizens. Following the census definition for the foreign-born (i.e., excluding those born to U.S. citizens), the PUMS includes 20,673 (standard error of 1,679) persons born in Palestine. Not surprisingly, the proportion of those born abroad to U.S. citizens is appreciably smaller among Palestinian-born than among Israeli-born.

Israeli-born plus 428 Palestinian-born). The total number of Palestinian Arabs is 36,063 (15,464 Israeli-born plus 20,599[9] Palestinian-born).[10]

The 1990 census undercount is estimated to be around 1.6% (Hogan 1993). The undercount among illegal immigrants is probably higher, as these immigrants try harder than others to avoid the census. Unfortunately, estimates are available for the undercount among illegal immigrants only for the 1980 census. What is available for the late 1980s and 1990s is the total number of illegal aliens by country of citizenship. In both 1988 and 1992 the number of illegal Israeli *citizens* in the United States was estimated at about 10,000 (INS 1997).[11]

In 1980 the census undercount of illegal immigrants was estimated at about one-third (Warren and Passel 1987). Even if the undercount of illegal Israeli immigrants was as high as it was in 1980 for the total population of illegal aliens, the number of Israeli citizens not covered by the 1990 census is only about 3,300. Not only is this figure relatively small, it includes all Israeli citizens—Israeli-born and foreign-born PARs and Jews. Moreover, there are reasons to believe that the rate of coverage among undocumented Israeli citizens is much higher than among other groups of illegal immigrants. Of the 2.1 million illegal residents counted by the 1980 census, 18,000 (nearly 1%) were Israeli-born (Warren and Passel 1987). If the rate of coverage among illegal Israelis were the same as that for the entire illegal immigrant population, we could assume there were about 27,000 illegal Israeli-born in the United States in 1980. This figure is not compatible with the 1988 estimate of only 10,000 illegal Israeli citizens and with the relatively small number (2,572) of Israeli citizens who applied for amnesty under the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 (INS 1992). Because illegal Israeli immigrants are better educated and better informed than the average illegal immigrant, it is likely that all Israelis who were entitled to amnesty under the IRCA applied. Thus it is likely that the coverage of illegal Israelis in the 1980 census was much higher than that of other illegal immigrants, in part because many undocumented Israelis were children who are more likely to be counted by the census (Warren and Passel, 1987). Therefore, we conclude that the number of illegal Israeli immigrants in the United States who were not enumerated by the 1990 census is probably very small, and can be safely disregarded in estimating the number of Israelis in the United States.

FIGURE 2. ALGORITHM FOR IDENTIFYING JEWS AND PARs AMONG THE PALESTINIAN-BORN, 1990 U.S. CENSUS



Note: Population estimates in parentheses.

Our main interest in this paper is to estimate the size of various groups of Jewish immigrants from Israel in the United States. So far we have arrived at a figure of 79,745 for the size of the largest group of immigrants from Israel—the Jewish Israeli-born. We believe that this estimate is accurate though, of course, not precise: It includes Jewish Israeli-born residents in the United States in 1990, regardless of their legal status (i.e., tourists, students, permanent residents, naturalized citizens, and children born in Israel to U.S. citizens). Although many eventually return to Israel, as we shall later demonstrate, we include them all in our estimation. To the extent that we are interested in the stock of the Jewish Israeli population in the United States in a particular year, all those residing in the country during that year should be included, regardless of their declared purpose of coming to the United States, or their future place of residence.

9. Most PARs who stated Palestine as their country of birth were born in what was, in 1990, the Occupied Territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Some (mostly older immigrants) are Palestinian refugees of the 1948 war who eventually reached the United States.

10. Excluding those born in Israel or Palestine to U.S. citizens, the figures for Jews and PARs drop to 70,212 and 34,811, respectively.

11. During the four-year period (1988–1992) the total number of illegal immigrants in the United States grew from 2.8 million to 3.9 million. By 1996 the total number of illegal immigrants in the United States reached 5 million, 11,000 of whom were Israeli citizens (INS 1997). Thus the share of Israeli citizens among illegal immigrants in the United States has declined from 0.345% percent in 1988 to 0.220% in 1996.

TABLE 2. FIRST ANCESTRY BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME: PALESTINIAN-BORN IN THE UNITED STATES, 1990 CENSUS

	Language						
Ancestry[a]	English	Hebrew	Yiddish	Arabic	Armenian	Other	Total
Israeli	1	0	1	0	0	1	3
	(.1)	(0)	(.1)	(0)	(0)	(.1)	(.3)
Arab	16	1	0	213	1	11	242
	(1.4)	(.1)	(0)	(21.5)	(.1)	(1.0)	(24.1)
Palestinian	21	0	1	498	1	19	540
	(2.0)	(0)	(.1)	(52.6)	(.1)	(2.2)	(57.0)
Armenian	4	0	0	2	21	1	28
	(.4)	(0)	(0)	(.3)	(2.0)	(.1)	(2.7)
Other Ancestry	35	2	1	73	3	15	129
	(3.7)	(.2)	(.1)	(7.5)	(.2)	(1.6)	(13.4)
Other Responses[b]	7	3	1	10	0	0	21
	(.9)	(.3)	(.1)	(1.1)	(0)	(0)	(2.3)
Total	84	6	4	796	26	47	963
	(8.5)	(.6)	(.4)	(83.0)	(2.5)	(5.0)	(100)

Notes: Percentages of total in parentheses. Raw numbers are unweighted cases of all Palestinian-born in the 5% PUMS ($n = 963$). Percentages are based on individual weights for the same cases ($n = 21,027$).

[a]Because the table disregards second ancestry, it is not possible to derive from it the precise total number of Jewish and PAR Palestinian-born immigrants.

[b]Code "998" in the PUMS, including religions and other unacceptable entries.

ISRAELI JEWISH IMMIGRANTS WHO ARE NOT ISRAELI-BORN

Because Israel itself is an immigrant country and some of its foreign-born citizens immigrated to the United States, the figures for the Israeli-born Jews do not include all Israeli immigrants. The PAR population in Israel and the Territories is virtually all native-born. Israel's immigration law makes it nearly impossible for non-Jews, and especially for PARs, to immigrate to Israel or the Territories. By contrast, ever since the establishment of Israel in 1948, the Jewish state has been active in attracting Jewish immigrants. By 1989, before the beginning of the latest wave of Russian immigration to Israel, over 40% of Israel's Jewish population was foreign-born (Israel 1990a). Many immigrants to Israel subsequently immigrated to third countries, including the United States. The 1990 PUMS does not contain information on last country of residence. It does, however, include information on ancestries and language spoken at home. We use this information to identify and to provide an initial estimate for the number of foreign-born Israelis who resided in the United States in 1990.

Low Estimate Based on Language and Ancestry

We assume that most foreign-born residents in the United States who speak Hebrew at home came to the United States from Israel, or at least spent some time in Israel. It is rare for people to have a good command of Hebrew unless they have resided for some significant time in Israel. The 1990 PUMS includes 1,249 Hebrew speakers born in countries other than Israel and the United States. We assume they are foreign-born Israeli immigrants. The PUMS also include 137 foreign-born (not including Israeli-born) immigrants speaking languages other than Hebrew, who reported Israeli as their first or second ancestry. Reporting an Israeli ancestry is not as strong an indication as speaking Hebrew for Israeli residency before immigration. Because many foreign-born Israelis emigrated to the United States before they had a good command of Hebrew and/or married a non-Hebrew speaking spouse, however, it is reasonable to assume that most of these individuals also are former residents of Israel. That only 137 non-Hebrew speakers reported having an Israeli ancestry suggests that, unless they had resided in Israel, many Jewish immigrants in the United States avoided reporting an Israeli ancestry.

Taken together, the number of Jewish immigrants in the United States who were not born in Israel, but who speak Hebrew and/or stated an Israeli ancestry is 1,386 (1,249 + 137). Table 3 shows the reported first ancestry of Israeli Jewish immigrants and the language they speak at home. Similar to their Israeli-born counterparts, the number of foreign-born Israelis speaking Hebrew is higher than the number of those reporting an Israeli ancestry.

The 1,386 foreign-born Israeli immigrants in the PUMS represent about 29,896 immigrants (standard error of 1,659) in the United States in 1990 whose last country of residence was Israel. This is an underestimate: Jews who immigrated to Israel, and who subsequently immigrated to the United States, are not included in this figure if they neither speak Hebrew nor report an Israeli ancestry. Although it is reasonable to argue that foreign-born Jews should not be classified as Israeli immigrants unless they speak Hebrew and/or report Israeli as one of their two ancestries, this is not the prevailing view among scholars of Israeli immigration. Rather, all Jews living in the United States who have ever resided in Israel and/or have acquired Israeli citizenship typically have been considered Israelis in previous research. Therefore, an additional method for estimating the number of all foreign-born, Israeli Jewish immigrants in the United States is in order.

High Estimate Based on the Share of the Foreign-Born Among All Immigrants From Israel

To derive this estimate, we rely on information available in the annual reports published by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for the years 1950–1990. In general, INS reports and raw data are not helpful for estimating immigrant stock, as they report annual flows for legal immigrants only (i.e., for those admitted to residency in a particular year). Because INS annual reports (INS different years) include information about both country of birth and country of last residence, however, it is possible to use these data to calculate the proportion of the Israeli-born among all legal Israeli (Israeli-born and foreign-born) immigrants whose last country of residence was Israel and who were granted U.S. residency in a given year (Herman 1988; Paltiel 1986).We have already arrived at an accurate estimate for the total number of Israeli-born immigrants from the 1990 PUMS. Thus, if we know what percentage of all Israelis in the United States (Israeli-born and foreign-born) the Israeli-born constitute, we can estimate the number of foreign-born Jewish Israeli immigrants.

We use the INS data only to derive the proportions of Israeli-born among those granted U.S. residency whose last country of residence was Israel, by period of immigration. These proportions are shown in Column 5 of Table 4. Not surprisingly, the proportion of the Israeli-born has increased during the period 1950–1990, reflecting the increase of the native-born among the Jewish population in Israel during these years. The proportion of Israeli-born was about 35% in the first decade (1950–1959), rose to over 50% after the 1967 war, and reached nearly 80% among those granted U.S. residency during the 1980s.[12]

TABLE 3. FIRST ANCESTRY BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME: FOREIGN-BORN ISRAELI JEWISH IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES[a], 1990 CENSUS

	Language				
Ancestry	English	Hebrew	Yiddish	Other	Total
Israeli	39	163	3	62	267
	(2.5)	(11.7)	(.3)	(4.45)	(18.9)
Other Ancestry	11	811	1	17	840
	(.7)	(59.0)	(.1)	(1.2)	(61.1)
Other Responses[b]	1	275	3	0	279
	(.0)	(19.8)	(.2)	(0)	(20.0)
Total	51	1249	7	79	1,386
	(3.3)	(90.5)	(.6)	(5.6)	(100)

Notes: Percentages of total in parentheses. Raw numbers are unweighted cases (n = 1,386). Percentages are based on individual weights for the same cases (n = 29,986).

[a]Total includes all individuals not born in Israel or in the United States who speak Hebrew at home and/or reported Israeli as one of their ancestries.

[b]Code "998" in the PUMS, including religions and other unacceptable entries.

To produce credible estimates for the stock of the entire Israeli population in the United States in 1990, we must assume that the proportion of Israeli-born among legal Israeli immigrants (i.e., those admitted to residency) during the period 1950–1990 is similar to their proportion among the entire Israeli population in the United States in 1990. We believe that this is indeed the case. Previous research (Cohen 1989) relying on the 1980 census and the 1979 INS Public Use File did not detect major differences in the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics between the two groups of legal Israeli immigrants (Israeli-born and foreign-born, obtained from the INS data) and the entire population of Israeli-born in the United States (obtained from the 1980 PUMS). The three groups are relatively young, tend to be married, and hold similar occupations. Therefore, there is no reason to expect the proportion of the Israeli-born among the entire population of Israelis in the United States to differ sub-

12. These figures are higher than the proportion of the Israeli-born among the Jewish population in Israel, in part because INS figures include PARs—Israeli Arabs until 1967 and both Israeli-Arabs and some PARs under occupation since then. In addition, foreign-born Israeli immigrants are not considered Israelis in INS reports if they reached the United States via a third country. Thus it is possible that INS figures need to be adjusted to include these Jewish immigrants and to exclude PARs under occupation. To check whether such adjustment appreciably changes the proportion of the Israeli-born among all Israelis, we analyzed the 1979 Public Use Sample of the INS. In addition to country of birth and country of last residence, information on citizenship is included in the data. After including Israeli nationals who were neither natives of Israel, nor residents of that country before immigrating to the United States, and excluding stateless nationals (whom we assume to be PARs under occupation) we calculated the proportion of Israeli-born (including Israeli-Arabs) among all Israeli immigrants (i.e., native Israelis, immigrants whose last country of residence was Israel, and Israeli nationals). The proportion we obtained was similar to the proportion obtained from the INS report for 1979. We, therefore, decided not to adjust the proportions presented in Column 5.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN JEWISH IMMIGRANTS FROM ISRAEL IN THE UNITED STATES, 1990

(1)	Israeli-Born Jews[a,b] (2) PUMS	Israeli-Born PARs[b] (3) PUMS	Israeli-Born, Total[a,b] (4) (2 + 3)	Proportion of Israeli-Born (5) INS[c]	Immigrants from Israel (6) (4/5)	Foreign-Born Jews (7) (6 – 4)
Period of Immigration						
1987–1990	16,145	2,568	18,713	.7888	23,723	5,010
1985–1986	8,621	1,090	9,711	.7341	13,228	3,517
1982–1984	6,260	1,442	7,702	.8068	9,546	1,844
1980–1981	4,991	1,507	6,498	.8068[d]	8,054	1,556
1975–1979	9,374	3,052	12,426	.6590	18,856	6,430
1970–1974	6,318	2,038	8,356	.6834	12,227	3,871
1965–1969	4,461	1,354	5,815	.5297	10,998	5,183
1960–1964	4,897	571	5,468	.3705	14,758	9,290
1950–1959	6,674	837	7,511	.3458	21,721	14,210
Before 1950	2,471	76	2,547	.3458[d]	7,366	4,819
Total	70,212	14,535	84,747		140,477	55,730

[a]Including 397 Palestinian-born Jews.

[b]Excluding those born to U.S. citizens.

[c]Proportion of Israeli-born among all immigrants admitted to residency whose last country of residence was Israel.

[d]Estimate. Data are not available in INS reports.

stantially from their proportion among those who were granted U.S. residency. This implies that the rates of staying in the United States are similar among the two populations of immigrants from Israel—the Israeli-born and the foreign-born. Although it is plausible that the Israeli-born are more likely to return to Israel than the foreign-born, the foreign-born are more likely to emigrate from the United States to other countries, including their countries of birth.

We now return to the PUMS data. Estimates for the total number of Israeli immigrants (excluding those born to U.S. citizens,[13] and including Israeli-Arabs) by year of immigration are displayed in Column 6 of Table 4; these figures, excluding the Israeli-born (both Jews and Israeli-Arabs) are shown in Column 7. Because virtually all foreign-born immigrants from Israel are Jews, we estimate that in 1990 there were about 55,730 Jewish immigrants in the United States, whose last country of residence or citizenship (but not county of birth) was Israel. This estimate is supposed to include all foreign-born Israeli immigrants; thus it is not surprising that it is much higher than the figure of 29,896 obtained from the PUMS for foreign-born (not including Israel) immigrants speaking Hebrew at home and/or stating an Israeli ancestry.

We wish to stress, however, that these estimates do not include returning Americans (i.e., U.S.-born Jewish immigrants to Israel who eventually returned to the United States). During the years 1948–1989, particularly after the 1967 war, about 62,000 U.S.-born Jews immigrated to Israel (Israel 1990a). About 25%–38% of them are estimated to have returned to the United States within three years of immigration (Blejer and Goldberg 1980; Israel 1986, 1989; Waxman 1989). Although it is not known how many of them left Israel after a longer stay, on the basis of the number of U.S.-born Israelis in 1990 we think that the overall rate of return migration from Israel to the United States is around 40%–50%. Although returning Americans may be considered emigrants in Israel, they surely are not immigrants in their country of birth. We therefore exclude the estimated 25,000–31,000 returning Americans from our count of Israeli immigrants in the United States.

In sum, we estimate that the number of immigrants from Israel who were born elsewhere ranges from 29,896 to 55,730. The lower bound, based on PUMS data, includes only those speaking Hebrew at home and/or stating an Israeli ancestry, whereas the upper bound adjusts this figure according to INS data. When we add this range to our estimate of 79,745 Israeli-born Jews in the United States, our estimate for the total number of Israeli Jewish immigrants (both Israeli-born and foreign born) in the United States in 1990 is between 109,641 and 135,475.

13. Those born in Israel to U.S. citizens are U.S. citizens and, thus, are not included in INS reports. We therefore excluded them from the computations shown in Table 4.

This is by no means an underestimation or a lower bound for the number of Israeli immigrants in the United States. Our estimate for the number of Israeli-born Jews is as accurate as possible using the best available data—the 5% PUMS of the 1990 U.S. census. The estimate for the number of foreign-born immigrants from Israel is less accurate than the estimate for the number of the Israeli-born. It is not likely, however, that the "true" size of the foreign-born population of immigrants from Israel is outside the estimated ranges. Assuming that the proportion of immigrants from Israel who eventually adjusted their status and remained in the United States is similar for Israeli-born and foreign-born Jews, the upper bound of our estimate is indeed high: In addition to all Israeli-born Jews (including those born to U.S. citizens), all Jewish immigrants to Israel who eventually emigrated to the United States from Israel, even if they had resided in Israel for a only short period, are included in the upper bound.

RETURN MIGRATION

Many Israeli immigrants return to Israel after a few years in the United States. Perhaps the prevailing notion that the Israeli community in the United States is larger than its true size is rooted in the popular perception that every Israeli residing in the United States is an immigrant. It is true that the number of these Israelis is much higher than our estimate for the stock of Israeli immigrants in the United States in a particular year. Thus estimates for number of immigrants that are based on immigrant flows to the United States implicitly assume that all those arriving in the United States stay forever. These estimates (e.g., INS data on legal immigrants) are important for understanding temporal changes in the incentives for immigration from Israel to the United States; but when a substantial proportion of the immigrants return to Israel, these estimates are misleading for assessing the stock of Israelis in the United States.

The PUMS data for 1980 and 1990 can be used to estimate the rate of return migration among the cohort of Israeli-born Jews arriving in the United States in the years 1975–1980. We can trace this cohort in the 5% PUMS of the 1980 and 1990 censuses. In 1980 the size of this cohort was 15,340 individuals.[14] By 1990, the size of this immigrant cohort had declined to 10,362 individuals. The missing 4,978 (standard error of 1,475) individuals in 1990 either returned to Israel, emigrated to a third country, or died during the years 1980–1990. Using life tables and the age-sex structure of this cohort, we estimate that no more than 220 of the 15,340 individuals died between 1980 and 1990 (1.44% mortality rate).[15] We also can safely assume that very few Israeli immigrants in the United States emigrated to third countries. Studies of return migration normally assume that all emigrants returned to their native countries rather than to a third country. There is no reason to expect Israeli-born immigrants in the United States to behave differently. Finally, assuming that the census undercount among Israelis immigrants in the United States was similar in both 1980 and 1990,[16] we estimate that the rate of return migration to Israel among this cohort is 31.5% [(4,978 – 220)/(15,340 – 220)].[17] In other words, nearly one out of three Israeli-born Jewish immigrants arriving in the United States between 1975 and 1980 and residing there in 1980 returned to Israel during the following 10 years. There is no reason to expect the rate of return migration among the 1975–1980 cohort to be higher than the rates of return experienced by the cohorts leaving Israel during the 1980s. Given the growing Israeli economy in the second half of the 1980s through the 1990s, it is reasonable to expect the rates of return migration from the United States to Israel to be at least as high as they were in the early 1980s. We have no data on the rates of return migration among foreign-born Jewish immigrants. On one hand, it is likely that these immigrants are less tied to Israel because they were born eleswhere, and therefore are less likely than their Israeli born counterparts to return to Israel. On the other hand, it is equally possible that the overall rate of return migration of foreign-born Israeli immigrants is similar to that of their Israeli-born counterparts. After immigrating to the United States, Israeli-borns are likely to return to Israel, but foreign-borns also are likely to emigrate to other countries.[18]

Consistent with previous research (Herman and LaFontaine 1983), the rate of return migration among Israeli-borns is high compared with the rates experienced by other immigrant groups in the United States (Jasso and Rosenzweig 1990). Moreover, this rate of return migration was derived from immigrants who have been residing in the United States an average of 2.5 years, and for as many as 5 years. Most immigrants returning to their home countries do so one to two years after migration. Thus our estimate is a lower bound because it omits from the calculation all those who immigrated to the United States and returned to Israel during the period 1975–1980. An upper bound for the rate of return migration among Israelis abroad can be estimated using data collected by the Israeli border police and analyzed by the CBS. The border police keep count on all exits and

14. There are 767 unweighted cases. Unlike the 1990 PUMS data, the 1980 5% PUMS data are self-weighted. Population estimates are derived by multiplying the count by 20.

15. This low mortality rate is a function of the young age structure of this immigrant cohort. The mean and median ages of this cohort in 1980 were 22 and 25, respectively. Only 40 immigrants (5% of the total) were over 40 years old in 1980, and none were over 62 years old.

16. The undercount in 1990 was 1.6% compared to about 1.2% in the 1980 census. It is likely, however, that the undercount among the cohort of 1975–1980 was higher in 1980 (when they were recent immigrants) than in 1990 (10–15 years after arriving inUnited States). Thus although the overall undercount in 1990 was higher than in 1980, we do not believe that this was the case among the immigrant cohort under discussion.

17. The large standard error of the difference implies that the 95% confidence interval of the rate of return migration is very wide—between 12% and 51%.

18. Many foreign-born Israelis could not return to their birth countries in the Middle East and Eastern Europe. Those born in Western Europe and South America, however, could return from the United States to their birth countries.

entries among Israeli residents leaving the country for all destinations and purposes.[19] During 1975, for example, 246,000 Israelis (both Israeli-born and foreign-born) left for all destinations. By the end of 1976 (12–24 months since "migration"), most of them returned to Israel; only 30,300 remained continuously abroad between one and two years. Of these 30,300 individuals, 19,900 returned to Israel during the following seven years, 1977–1984 (Israel 1984). Hence, the rate of return migration among Israelis who have been abroad 12–24 months is nearly two-thirds (19,900/30,300).[20] Unfortunately, it is not possible to distinguish in the Israeli CBS data between immigrants to the United States and those to other countries, nor between Israeli-borns and foreign-borns. Because the United States is the destination country for over half the Israeli immigrants during the last three decades, however, we believe that the rate of return migration as reported by the CBS for all Israeli immigrants does not differ much from the rate among those leaving for the United States.

SECOND-GENERATION ISRAELIS IN THE UNITED STATES

Estimate Based on Language and Ancestry

The ancestry question is the key variable for tracing the national origins of the native-born population in the United States. Most Americans, including American Jews, trace their ethnic origins to the countries from which their ancestors immigrated (Lieberson and Waters 1988). We have already seen, however, that using only this indicator in the Israeli case may not suffice to include all Israeli immigrants. Therefore, in addition to ancestry, we examine whether speaking Hebrew at home can be used as an indicator of being born to Israeli immigrants in the United States. Unlike the case of first-generation Israelis in the United States, some U.S. Jews, mostly older orthodox Jews, may use Hebrew in their prayers. Therefore they may state that they also speak Hebrew at home.[21] Given the limitations of the PUMS, examining the age structure of U.S.-born individuals reporting an Israeli ancestry and/or speaking Hebrew is the best method to assess whether they are indeed second-generation Israelis. Second-generation Israelis must be relatively young because Israel is a young country that started sending Jewish immigrants to the United States only after the establishment of the state in 1948 and the following influx of Jewish immigration.

The PUMS includes 4,390 U.S.-born individuals identifying Israel as their first or second ancestry and/or speaking Hebrew at home. Of this total, only 304 individuals both spoke Hebrew and reported an Israeli ancestry. We therefore examined the age structure of two groups, which are not mutually exclusive: (1) those reporting Israel as their first or second ancestry, regardless of language spoken at home; and (2) those speaking Hebrew at home, regardless of their reported ancestries. The age distributions of these two groups and of a sample of all native-born Americans are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5. AGE DISTRIBUTIONS AMONG U.S.-BORN AMERICANS: THOSE REPORTING AN ISRAELI ANCESTRY, THOSE SPEAKING HEBREW AT HOME, AND THE U.S. POPULATION, 1990 CENSUS.

	Group		
Age Groups	Israeli Ancestry	Hebrew Speakers	U.S. Population[a]
0–14	48.8	25.3	22.7
15–42	36.7	51.4	43.9
43–64	10.5	13.2	20.8
65 +	3.9	10.1	12.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean Age	20.7	31.4	34.4
Median Age	15	28	32
U.S.-Born, Aged 5+			
Mean age	25.8	31.4	37.2
Median age	21	28	34
N[b]	1,710	2,984	56,028

[a]Data in this column are based on 1/4,000 random sample of native-born Americans (.5% of the 5% PUMS).

[b]Unweighted number of cases. Percentages and statistics in the table are based on weighted cases.

Both groups are much younger than the native-born U.S. population. The very young age structure of those reporting an Israeli ancestry (median age of 15 compared to 32 for all other native-born Americans) suggests that we can safely consider them to be offspring of Israeli immigrants in the United States. Of this group, however, 14.4% were over 42 years of age in 1990 (i.e., they were born before 1948). Although some of them indeed may be offspring of Israeli immigrants who arrived from Israel in the first half of the twentieth century, it is likely that others are Jews who identify with Israel and reported an Israeli ancestry for that reason. Furthermore, like most studies of Israeli immigration in the United States, our goal is to assess the number of offspring of Israeli immigrants who left Israel since 1948, rather than the number of those who left Israel or Palestine during the British Mandate. Thus we exclude from our estimation all those over 42 years of age.

19. These records are the basis for all CBS estimates regarding the number of Israelis abroad.

20. We consider the CBS figures as an upper bound for the rate of return migration, because entries and exits of visiting immigrants are recorded as well. Thus immigrants residing abroad and visiting Israel periodically are recorded as returning to Israel every time they enter Israel for a visit. The rate of return migration is, thereby, biased upward.

21. The question of the 1990 census concerning language was: Does this person speak a language *other* than English at home (emphasis added).

Though not as young as those reporting an Israeli ancestry, Hebrew speakers are also younger than native-born Americans, partly because the age distribution of Hebrew speakers does not include children less than 5 years old. The median age of those reporting an Israeli ancestry when we include those 5 years or older is 21, compared to 28 among Hebrew speakers, and 34 among all U.S.-born. Because those reporting an Israeli ancestry are much younger than Hebrew speakers, it is likely that more persons of the former group than of the latter are indeed second-generation Israelis. It thus appears that although language is a more precise indicator than ancestry for identifying first-generation Israeli immigrants in the U.S. census, the opposite is true for second-generation Israelis: Ancestry is probably a more precise indicator than language for second-generation Israelis. Nevertheless, the fact that the age structure of Hebrew speakers is appreciably younger than that of all native-born Americans suggests that many of them are indeed second-generation Israelis.

We provide two estimates for the number of second-generation Israelis in the United States. The low estimate, which includes only those under 43 years of age reporting an Israeli ancestry is 31,233. This estimate follows conventions used in similar studies that use the ancestry questions for assessing the ethnic origin of the U.S. population. The high estimate, which includes all those under 43 years of age reporting an Israeli ancestry or speaking Hebrew at home (regardless of their reported ancestry) is 75,234. First ancestry by language spoken at home among these individuals is displayed in Table 6.

These estimates, however, also include returning Americans—U.S.-born Jews who immigrated to Israel from the United States, resided there, and had returned to the United States by 1990. There is no readily available method to separate returning Americans from second-generation Israeli immigrants. Using the variable "place of residence 5 years ago," however, we can identify Hebrew speakers and/or those reporting an Israeli ancestry and living outside the United States in 1985. Because these U.S.-born persons speak Hebrew and/or state an Israeli ancestry, we assume that they returned to the United States from Israel. There are only 142 such individuals in the 1990 PUMS, representing about 3,150 persons in the 1990 U.S. population.

To be sure, this is an underestimate for the number of returning Americans because those who returned to the United States before 1985 and those who neither speak Hebrew nor report an Israeli ancestry are excluded. We must exclude returning Americans from the estimate, however, because most of them are not offspring of Israeli immigrants in the United States.[22] We are thus left with a range of 28,082–72,084 (standard errors of 1,533 and 2,457, respectively) second-generation Israelis in the United States in 1990.

22. It is possible that some offspring of Israeli immigrants in the United States immigrated to Israel, and later returned to the United States. Thus some of those defined above as returning Americans are also second-generation Israelis. They are probably a minority, however, among the American Jews who immigrated to Israel and later returned to the United States.

TABLE 6. FIRST ANCESTRY BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME: SECOND-GENERATION (U.S.-BORN) ISRAELI JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES,[a] 1990 CENSUS

	Language				
Ancestry	English	Hebrew	Yiddish	Other	Total
Israeli	499	247	27	297	1,070
	(14.0)	(6.9)	(.8)	(8.5)	(30.3)
Other Ancestry	213	1,497	20	89	1,819
	(6.2)	(43.9)	(.5)	(2.5)	(53.1)
Other Responses[b]	18	537	1	7	563
	(.6)	(15.7)	(.0)	(.2)	(16.6)
Total	730	2,281	48	393	3,452
	(21.1)	(66.1)	(1.4)	(11.4)	(100.0)

Notes: Percentages of total in parentheses. Raw numbers are unweighted cases (n = 3,452). Percentages are based on individual weights for the same cases (n = 75,234).

[a]Total includes all U.S. born individuals less than 43 years old, who speak Hebrew at home and/or reported "Israeli" as one of their ancestries.

[b]Code "998" in the PUMS, including religions and other unacceptable entries.

This range is very wide, and hence is less helpful than other estimates provided so far for the number of first-generation Israeli immigrants. Moreover, some English-speaking, second-generation Israeli immigrants in the United States may trace their ethnic origins to the countries from which their ancestors started their immigration rather than to Israel, where their parents where born or where they spent some years. To the extent that this is true, even the high estimate we provided may be an underestimate for the number of second-generation Jewish Israeli immigrants in the United States. In the next section, however, we will demonstrate that this is unlikely. Nevertheless, we wish to stress that our estimates for the number of second-generation Israelis in the United States are no worse, and are probably better, than the estimates for the number of second-generation and higher-generation immigrants from other countries. Studies on the origins of the U.S. population normally rely on reported ancestry as a sole indicator for national origin. Moreover, because of data limitations these studies are unable to distinguish between second- and higher-generation immigrants. In the Israeli case, we were able to use language and ancestry to identify offspring of Israeli immigrants, and we can safely assume that virtually all of them are second-generation rather than third- and higher-generation immigrants.

Estimate Based on Fertility of Israeli-Born Women in the United States

An alternative method for estimating the number of second-generation Israelis in the United States is to examine the fer-

TABLE 7. POPULATION ESTIMATES FOR VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF ISRAELI IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Group	Jews	Palestinian-Arabs	Total
(1) Israeli-Born[a]	79,317 (2,699)	15,464 (1,192)	94,781 (2,950)
(2) Palestinian-Born[b]	428 (198)	20,599 (1,377)	21,027 (1,390)
(3) Foreign-Born			
Based on ancestry and language[c]	29,896 (1,659)	—	—
Based on INS[d]	55,730	—	—
(4) Second Generation			
Based on ancestry[e]	28,082 (1,533)	—	—
Based on ancestry and language[f]	72,084 (2,457)	—	—
Based on fertility[d]	42,296	—	—
Total Born in Israel or Palestine (1 + 2)	79,745	36,063	115,808
Total From Israel or Palestine (1 + 2 + 3)	109, 641–135,475	—	—
Total Israeli Jewish Community (1 + 2 + 3 + 4)	128,190–207,559	—	—

Source: 5% PUMS of the 1990 U.S. census.

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

[a]Including 9,502 Jews and 929 PARs born to U.S. citizens in Israel.

[b]Including 31 Jews and 323 PARs born to U.S. citizens in Palestine.

[c]Number of persons born in countries other than Israel or the United States who speak Hebrew at home and/or stated "Israeli" as one of their ancestries.

[d]See text for explanations.

[e]U.S.-born persons less than 43 years old, who stated "Israeli" as one of their ancestries.

[f]U.S.-born persons less than 43 years old, who stated "Israeli" as one of their ancestries and/or speak Hebrew at home.

tility of Jewish Israeli-born women in the United States. Based on our analysis of the 1990 PUMS, the total number of children born to these women is 49,700. Some children, however, are first-generation Israelis: They were born in Israel and came to the United States with their families. We assume that all Israeli-born who arrived the U.S. before they were 18 years old, belong to this group of first-generation Israeli children. There are about 34,200 such children. We are thus left with an estimate of 15,500 U.S.-born children to Israeli-born Jewish women. Israeli-born Jewish women constitute about 59% of all Jewish immigrant women from Israel, including the foreign-born.[23] Assuming that fertility for Israeli-born women in the United States is similar to that for foreign-born women, we obtain a figure of about 26,271 for the total number of children born in the United States to immigrant women who were born in Israel and/or resided there before immigrating to the United States.

Because fertility data are available for women only, we assume that the number of children born to Israeli women is similar to the number of children born to other women married to Israeli men. First, however, we must omit those Israeli-born men who are married to Israeli women in order to avoid double counting. We find that 39% of Israeli-born women with children are married to Israeli-born men. Thus to estimate the total number of children born to families in which one parent is an Israeli, we multiply the total obtained for the Jewish Israeli women (26,271) by 1.61. We reach a figure of about 42,296 for the total number of persons born in the United States to families with at least one parent who was either born in Israel and/or resided there in the past.

The Israeli CBS estimated that as of 1987, 141,000 children were born to Israeli Jews living outside Israel (Israel 1990b). Because U.S. immigrants constitute about 50%–60% of Israelis abroad, the number of second-generation Israeli Jews in the United States is about 70,000–85,000. These figures are higher than our estimate of about 42,296 children born in the United States to former Israelis, but we believe that our estimate is more accurate. The CBS assumes that fertility rates of Israelis abroad are as high as those of Jews in Israel. This assumption is not warranted. Our analysis of the PUMS suggests that the fertility rates of Israeli-born Jewish women in the United States is appreciably lower than that of their counterparts who stayed in Israel (data not shown). Our findings are consistent with previous research on Jewish immigrant women in France, whose fertility is lower than the fertility of demographically comparable Israeli women. (DellaPergola 1981).

CONCLUSIONS

We started this paper by presenting the wide range of estimates regarding the number of Israeli immigrants in the United States. Our estimates for the various categories of Israeli immigrants in the United States are presented in Table 7. It is evident that the size of this group depends on the definition of "Israeli immigrants." It ranges between less than 70,000 for Israeli-born Jews whose parents were not Americans, to over 200,000 for the entire Israeli-Jewish community in the United States—Israeli-born and foreign-born immigrants and their U.S.-born offspring. The total comes close to 250,000 if we add PARs born in Israel and the Occupied Territories to the Israeli-Jewish community in the United States. Finally, we can add returning Americans to this figure—

23. The proportion of men and women Jewish immigrants is about equal. Total number of Israeli-born is 79,745. The total number of foreign-born Jews is 55,730 (see Table 4). Thus we compute the proportion of Israeli-born Jewish women as: 79,745/135,475 = .588.

25,000–31,000 U.S.-born Jewish immigrants to Israel who returned to the United States during the years 1948–1989. (We only briefly discussed this group, as it should not be considered an immigrant group in its native country.)

Most countries consider only their native-born to be U.S. immigrants if they reside in the United States. This is not true in the Israeli case, where scholarly and popular writers are interested primarily in Jews. Thus Israeli- and Palestinian-born PARs are rarely discussed in the vast literature on the Israeli community in the United States, and are not included in estimates of the number of Israeli immigrants in the United States. By contrast, all Jews who ever resided in Israel and immigrated to the United States are considered Israeli immigrants, regardless of whether they consider their ancestry to be Israeli or speak Hebrew. By this Israeli-specific standard, the number of Jewish Israeli immigrants in the United States in 1990, excluding returning Americans, is around 135,000. If one adopts a strict definition for being an Israeli Jew, and includes all the Israeli-born (including those born to U.S. citizens) and the foreign-born who speak Hebrew and/or state an Israeli ancestry, the number declines to about 110,000.

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