

World Jewish Population, 2001

THE WORLD'S JEWISH POPULATION was estimated at 13.25 million at the beginning of 2001 — an increase of about 40,000 over the previous year's revised estimate.¹

Figures on population size, characteristics, and trends constitute a primary tool in the assessment of Jewish community needs and prospects at the local level and worldwide. The estimates for major regions and individual countries reported in this article reflect a prolonged and ongoing effort to study scientifically the demography of contemporary world Jewry.² Data collection and comparative research have benefited from the collaboration of scholars and institutions in many countries, including replies to direct inquiries regarding current estimates. It should be emphasized, however, that the elaboration of a worldwide set of estimates for the Jewish populations of the various countries is beset with difficulties and uncertainties.³ Users of Jewish population estimates should be aware of these difficulties and of the inherent limitations of our estimates.

Major geopolitical changes have affected the world scene since the end of the 1980s, particularly the political breakup of the Soviet Union into 15 independent states, Germany's political reunion, and the volatile political process along with significant socioeconomic change in Israel and the Middle East. Jewish population trends were most sensitive to these developments, large-scale emigration from the former USSR (FSU) and rapid population growth in Israel being the most visible effects. Geographical mobility and the increased fragmentation of the global system of nations notwithstanding, over 80 percent of world Jewry live in two countries, the United States and Israel, and 95 percent are concentrated

¹The previous estimates, as of January 1, 2000, were published in *AJYB* 2000, vol. 100, pp. 484–95. See also Sergio DellaPergola, Uzi Rebhun, and Mark Tolts, "Prospecting the Jewish Future: Population Projections 2000–2080," *ibid.*, pp. 103–146; and previous *AJYB* volumes for further details on previous estimates.

²Many of these activities are carried out by, or in coordination with, the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics at the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry (ICJ), the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The collaboration of the many institutions and individuals in the different countries who have supplied information for this update is acknowledged with thanks.

³For overviews of the subject matter and technical issues see Paul Ritterband, Barry A. Kosmin, and Jeffrey Scheckner, "Counting Jewish Populations: Methods and Problems," *AJYB* 1988, vol. 88, pp. 204–21; Sergio DellaPergola, "Modern Jewish Demography," in Jack Wertheimer, ed., *The Modern Jewish Experience* (New York, 1993), pp. 275–90.

in ten countries. The aggregate of these major Jewish population centers virtually determines the assessment of world Jewry's total size.

Main Problems in Jewish Population Research

DETERMINANTS OF JEWISH POPULATION CHANGE

One fundamental aspect of population in general and of Jewish population in particular is its perpetual change. Population size and composition continuously change reflecting a well-known array of determinants. Two of these are shared by all populations: (a) the balance of vital events (births and deaths); (b) the balance of international migration (immigration and emigration). Both of these factors affect increases or decreases in the physical presence of individuals in a given place. The third determinant consists of identificational changes (accessions and secessions) and only applies to populations defined by some cultural or symbolic peculiarity, as is the case with Jews. The latter type of change does not affect people's physical presence but rather their willingness to identify with a specific religious, ethnic or otherwise culturally defined group.

The country figures presented here for 2001 were updated from those for 2000 in accordance with the known or estimated changes in the interval — vital events, migrations, and identificational changes. In our updating procedure, whether or not exact data on intervening changes are available, we consistently point to the known or assumed direction of change, and, accordingly, add to or subtract from previous Jewish population estimates unless there is evidence that intervening changes balanced each other off and total size remained unchanged. This procedure proved highly efficient in the past when a new improved Jewish population figure became available reflecting a new census or survey, and our annually updated estimates generally proved on target.

The most recent findings basically confirmed the estimates we had reported in previous AJYB volumes and, perhaps more importantly, our interpretation of the trends now prevailing in the demography of world Jewry.⁴ Concisely stated, these involve a positive balance of vital events in Israel and a negative one in nearly all other Jewish communities; a positive migration balance for Israel, the United States and a few other western countries, and a negative one in Latin America, Eastern Europe, Muslim countries, and some western countries as well; a positive balance of accessions and secessions in Israel, and an often negative, or in

⁴See Roberto Bachi, *Population Trends of World Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1976); U.O. Schmelz, "Jewish Survival: The Demographic Factors," AJYB 1981, vol. 81, pp. 61–117; U.O. Schmelz, *Aging of World Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1984); Sergio DellaPergola, "Changing Cores and Peripheries: Fifty Years in Socio-demographic Perspective," in Robert S. Wistrich, ed., *Terms of Survival: The Jewish World since 1945* (London, 1995), pp. 13–43; Sergio DellaPergola, *World Jewry Beyond 2000: Demographic Prospects* (Oxford, 1999).

any event rather mixed one elsewhere. While allowing for improvements and corrections, the 2001 population estimates highlight the increasing complexity of the sociodemographic and identificational processes underlying the definition of Jewish populations, and hence the estimates of their sizes. This complexity is heightened at a time of enhanced international migration, often implying double counts of people on the move. Consequently, as will be clarified below, the analyst has to come to terms with the paradox of the *permanently provisional* character of Jewish population estimates.

SOURCES OF DATA

In general, the amount and quality of documentation on Jewish population size and characteristics is far from satisfactory. In recent years, however, important new data and estimates became available for several countries through official population censuses and Jewish-sponsored sociodemographic surveys. National censuses yielded results on Jewish populations in the Soviet Union (1989), Switzerland (1990), Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand (both 1991 and 1996), Brazil, Ireland, the Czech Republic, and India (1991), Romania and Bulgaria (1992), the Russian Republic and Macedonia (1994), Israel (1995), Belarus, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan (1999), and Latvia (2000). Permanent national population registers, including information on the Jewish religious or national group, exist in several European countries (Switzerland, Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), and in Israel.

Where official sources on Jewish population are not available, independent sociodemographic studies have provided most valuable information on Jewish demography and socioeconomic stratification, as well as on Jewish identification. The largest of such studies so far have been the National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) in the United States (1970–71 and 1990). Similar surveys were conducted over the last decade in South Africa (1991 and 1998), Mexico (1991), Lithuania (1993), the United Kingdom and Chile (1995), Venezuela (1998–99), Hungary, the Netherlands, Guatemala, and Moldova (1999), and Sweden (2000). Several further Jewish population studies were separately conducted in major cities in the United States and in other countries. Additional evidence on Jewish population trends can be obtained from the systematic monitoring of membership registers, vital statistics, and migration records available from Jewish communities and other Jewish organizations in many countries or cities, notably in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Buenos Aires. Detailed data on Jewish immigration routinely collected in Israel help to assess changing Jewish population sizes in other countries. Some of this ongoing research is part of a coordinated effort to constantly update the profile of world Jewry.⁵ A new round of official

⁵Following the International Conference on Jewish Population Problems held in Jerusalem in 1987, initiated by the late Dr. Roberto Bachi of the Hebrew University and

censuses and Jewish surveys is expected to highlight the demographic profile of large Jewish communities at the dawn of the new millennium, primarily the new U.S. National Jewish Population Survey (2000–01), the 2001 Canadian census, and censuses of several of the republics of the FSU planned for 2001 and subsequent years. The U.K. 2001 census will include a new optional question on religion.

DEFINITIONS

A major problem in Jewish population estimates periodically circulated by individual scholars or Jewish organizations is a lack of coherence and uniformity in the definition criteria followed—when the issue of defining the Jewish population is addressed at all. The following estimates of Jewish population distribution in each continent (table 1 below), country (tables 2–9), and metropolitan area (table 10) consistently aim at the concept of core Jewish population.⁶

The *core Jewish population* includes all those who, when asked, identify themselves as Jews; or, if the respondent is a different person in the same household, are identified by him/her as Jews. This is an intentionally comprehensive and pragmatic approach. Such definition of a person as a Jew, reflecting subjective feelings, broadly overlaps but does not necessarily coincide with Halakhah (rabbinic law) or other normatively binding definitions. It does not depend on any measure of that person's Jewish commitment or behavior—in terms of religiosity, beliefs, knowledge, communal affiliation, or otherwise. Included in the core Jewish population are all those who converted to Judaism by any procedure, or joined the Jewish group informally and declare themselves to be Jewish. Persons of Jewish descent who adopted another religion are excluded, as are other individuals who did not convert out but currently refuse to acknowledge their Jewish identification. In Israel personal status is subject to the ruling of the Minister of Interior, which relies on rabbinical authorities.

Two additional operative concepts must be considered in the study of Jewish demography. The *extended Jewish population* includes the sum of (a) the *core Jewish population* and (b) all other persons of Jewish parentage who are not Jews currently (or at the time of investigation). These non-Jews with Jewish background, as far as they can be ascertained, include: (a) persons who have them-

sponsored by major Jewish organizations worldwide, an International Scientific Advisory Committee (ISAC) was established. Currently chaired by Dr. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University, ISAC aims to coordinate and monitor Jewish population data collection internationally. See Sergio DellaPergola and Leah Cohen, eds., *World Jewish Population: Trends and Policies* (Jerusalem, 1992).

⁶The term *core Jewish population* was initially suggested by Barry A. Kosmin, Sidney Goldstein, Joseph Waksberg, Nava Lerer, Ariella Keysar, and Jeffrey Scheckner, *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey* (New York, 1991).

selves adopted another religion, even though they may claim still to be Jews ethnically; (b) other persons with Jewish parentage who say they are not Jews. It is customary in sociodemographic surveys to consider the religio-ethnic identification of parents. Some censuses, however, do ask about more distant ancestry. The *enlarged Jewish population*⁷—in addition to all those who belong in the *extended Jewish population*—also includes all of the respective further non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.). For both conceptual and practical reasons, this definition does not include any other non-Jewish relatives living elsewhere in exclusively non-Jewish households.

The Law of Return, Israel's distinctive legal framework for the acceptance and absorption of new immigrants, awards Jewish new immigrants immediate citizenship and other civil rights. According to the current, amended version of the Law of Return, a Jew is any person born to a Jewish mother, or converted to Judaism (regardless of denomination—Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform), who does not have another religious identity. By ruling of Israel's Supreme Court, conversion from Judaism, as in the case of some ethnic Jews who currently identify with another religion, entails loss of eligibility for Law of Return purposes. The law *per se* does not affect a person's Jewish status, which, as noted, is adjudicated by Israel's Ministry of Interior and rabbinical authorities. The law extends its provisions to all current Jews and to their Jewish or non-Jewish spouses, children, and grandchildren, as well as to the spouses of such children and grandchildren. As a result of its three-generation time perspective and lateral extension, the Law of Return applies to a sizeable population, one of significantly wider scope than *core*, *extended*, and *enlarged Jewish populations* defined above.⁸ It is actually quite difficult to estimate what the total size of the *Law of Return* population could be. These higher estimates are not discussed below systematically, but some notion of their possible extent is given for the major countries.

Presentation of Data

While Jewish population estimates presented in volumes of the *American Jewish Year Book* until 1999 referred to December 31 of the year preceding by two the date of publication, since 2000 our estimates refer to January 1 of the current year of publication. This attempt to present the most recent possible picture

⁷The term *enlarged Jewish population* was initially suggested in Sergio DellaPergola, "The Italian Jewish Population Study: Demographic Characteristics and Trends," in U.O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S.J. Gould, eds., *Studies in Jewish Demography: Survey for 1969–1971* (Jerusalem-London, 1975), pp. 60–97.

⁸For a concise review of the rules of attribution of Jewish personal status in rabbinic and Israeli law, including reference to Jewish sects, isolated communities, and apostates, see Michael Corinaldi, "Jewish Identity," chap. 2 of his *Jewish Identity: The Case of Ethiopian Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1998).

entails a shorter span of time for evaluation and correction of the available information, thus somewhat increasing the margin of inaccuracy. Indeed, where appropriate, we revised our previous estimates in the light of newly accrued information on Jewish populations (see tables 1 and 2). Corrections were also applied retrospectively to the 2000 figures for major geographical regions so as to ensure a better base for comparisons with the 2001 estimates. Corrections of the latest estimates, if needed, will be presented in future volumes of the AJYB.

ACCURACY RATING

We provide separate figures for each country with approximately 100 or more resident *core* Jews. Residual estimates of Jews living in other smaller communities supplement some of the continental totals. For each of the reported countries, the four columns in tables 3–7 provide an estimate of midyear 2000 total population,⁹ the estimated 1/1/2001 Jewish population, the proportion of Jews per 1,000 of total population, and a rating of the accuracy of the Jewish population estimate.

There is wide variation in the quality of the Jewish population estimates for different countries. For many Diaspora countries it would be best to indicate a range (minimum-maximum) rather than a definite figure for the number of Jews. It would be confusing, however, for the reader to be confronted with a long list of ranges; this would also complicate the regional and world totals. Therefore figures actually indicated for most of the Diaspora communities should be understood as being the central value of the plausible range of the respective core Jewish populations. The relative magnitude of this range varies inversely to the accuracy of the estimate.

The three main elements that affect the accuracy of each estimate are the nature and quality of the base data, how recent the base data are, and the method of updating. A simple code combining these elements is used to provide a general evaluation of the reliability of the Jewish population figures reported in the detailed tables below. The code indicates different quality levels of the reported estimates: (A) Base figure derived from countrywide census or relatively reliable Jewish population survey; updated on the basis of full or partial information on Jewish population movements in the country during the intervening period. (B) Base figure derived from less accurate but recent countrywide Jewish population data; partial information on population movements in the intervening period. (C) Base figure derived from less recent sources, and/or unsatisfactory or partial coverage of a country's Jewish population; updating according to demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends. (D) Base figure essentially

⁹Data and estimates derived from the United Nations Population Division, *World Population Prospects, The 2000 Revision, Highlights* (New York, 2001).

speculative; no reliable updating procedure. In categories (A), (B), and (C), the year in which the country's base figure or important partial updates were obtained are also stated. For countries whose Jewish population estimate for 2001 was not only updated but also revised in the light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

One additional tool for updating Jewish population estimates is provided by a new set of demographic projections recently developed at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.¹⁰ Such projections extrapolate the most likely observed or expected trends out of a Jewish population baseline assessed by sex and detailed age groups as of end-year 1995. Even where detailed information on the dynamics of Jewish population change is not immediately available, the powerful connection that generally exists between age composition of a population and the respective vital and migration movements helps provide plausible scenarios of the developments bound to occur in the short term. Where better data was lacking we used indications from these projections to refine the 2001 estimates as against previous years. On the other hand, projections are clearly shaped by a definite and comparatively limited set of assumptions and need to be periodically updated in the light of actual demographic developments.

Global Overview

WORLD JEWISH POPULATION SIZE

The size of world Jewry at the beginning of 2001 is assessed at 13,254,100. World Jewry constituted about 2.19 per 1,000 of the world's total population in 2000. One in about 457 people in the world is a Jew. According to the revised figures, between 2000 and 2001 the Jewish population grew by an estimated 41,300 people, or about 0.3 percent. The world's total annual rate of population growth is 1.4 percent (0.1 percent in more developed countries, 1.7 percent in less developed countries). Despite all the imperfections in the estimates, world Jewry continued to be close to "zero population growth," with the natural increase in Israel slightly overcoming the decline in the Diaspora.

Table 1 gives an overall picture of Jewish population for the beginning of 2001 as compared to 2000. For 2000 the originally published estimates are presented along with somewhat revised figures that take into account, retrospectively, the corrections made in certain country estimates in the light of improved information. These corrections resulted in a net increase of the 2000 world Jewry's estimated size by 21,300. This change resulted from upward corrections for Ukraine (+27,000), Latvia (+1,800), the Netherlands (+2,000), Portugal (+200), Azerbaijan (+2,000), Uzbekistan (+1,000), and New Zealand (+300), and downward cor-

¹⁰See DellaPergola, Rebhun, and Tolts, "Prospecting the Jewish Future."

rections for Israel (-9,200), Venezuela (-2,000), Guatemala (-100), Kazakhstan (-1,000), Kyrgyzstan (-600), and Tajikistan (-100). Explanations are given below of the reasons for these corrections.

The number of Jews in Israel rose from a revised figure of 4,872,800 in 2000 to 4,952,200 at the beginning of 2001, an increase of 79,400 people, or 1.6 percent. In contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora declined from 8,340,000 (according to the revised figures) to 8,301,900—a decrease of 38,100 people, or -0.5 percent. These changes primarily reflect the continuing Jewish emigration from the FSU. In 2000, the estimated Israel-Diaspora net migratory balance amounted to a gain of about 20,000 Jews for Israel.¹¹ Internal demographic evolution (including vital events and conversions) produced a further growth of about 59,000 among the Jewish population in Israel, and a further loss of about 18,000 in the Diaspora. Recently, instances of accession or “return” to Judaism can be observed in connection with the emigration process from Eastern Europe and Ethiopia, and the comprehensive provisions of the Israeli Law of Return (see above). The return or first-time access to Judaism of some of such previously unincluded or unidentified individuals has contributed to slowing down the pace of decline of the relevant Diaspora Jewish populations and some further gains for the Jewish population in Israel.

As noted, it is customary to introduce corrections in previously published Jewish population estimates in the light of improved information that became available at a later date. Table 2 provides a synopsis of the world Jewish population estimates relating to the period 1945–2001, as first published each year in the *American Jewish Year Book* and as corrected retroactively, incorporating all subsequent revisions. These revised data correct, sometimes significantly, the figures published until 1980 by other authors, and since 1981 by ourselves. Thanks to the development over the years of an improved data base, these new revisions are not necessarily the same revised estimates as those published year by year in the AJYB based on the information that was available at each date; nor is it unlikely that further retrospective revisions will become necessary as a product of future research.

The revised figures in table 2 clearly portray the slowing down of Jewish population growth globally since World War II. Based on a post-Holocaust world Jewish population estimate of 11,000,000, a growth of 1,079,000 occurred between 1945 and 1960, followed by growths of 506,000 in the 1960s, 234,000 in the 1970s, 49,000 in the 1980s, and 344,000 in the 1990s. While it took 13 years to add one million to world Jewry's postwar size, it took 38 years to add another million. The modest recovery of the 1990s mostly reflects the already noted cases of individuals, especially from Eastern Europe, first entering or returning to Judaism, as well as a short-lived “echo effect” of the postwar baby boom (see below).

¹¹Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population and Vital Statistics 1997* (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 2–8.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 2000 AND 2001^a

Region	2000			2001		Yearly % Change 2000-2001
	Original Abs. N.	Revised Abs. N.	Percent ^b	Abs. N.	Percent ^b	
World	13,191,500	13,212,800	100.0	13,254,100	100.0	0.3
Diaspora	8,309,500	8,340,000	63.1	8,301,900	62.6	-0.5
Israel	4,882,000	4,872,800	36.9	4,952,200	37.4	1.6
America, Total	6,483,900	6,481,800	49.1	6,479,300	48.9	-0.0
North ^c	6,062,000	6,062,000	45.9	6,064,000	45.8	0.0
Central	52,800	52,700	0.4	52,600	0.4	-0.2
South	369,100	367,100	2.8	362,700	2.7	-1.2
Europe, Total	1,583,000	1,614,000	12.2	1,582,800	11.9	-1.9
European Union	1,026,700	1,028,900	7.8	1,032,100	7.8	0.3
Other West	19,900	19,900	0.2	19,700	0.1	-1.0
Former USSR ^d	438,100	466,900	3.5	434,000	3.3	-7.0
Other East and Balkans ^d	98,300	98,300	0.7	97,000	0.7	-1.3
Asia, Total	4,932,900	4,925,000	37.3	5,000,500	37.7	1.5
Israel	4,882,000	4,872,800	36.9	4,952,200	37.4	1.6
Former USSR ^d	30,000	31,300	0.2	28,000	0.2	-10.5
Other ^f	20,900	20,900	0.2	20,300	0.2	-2.9
Africa, Total	89,800	89,800	0.7	88,300	0.7	-1.7
North ^e	7,700	7,700	0.1	7,500	0.1	-2.6
South ^f	82,100	82,100	0.6	80,800	0.6	-1.6
Oceania ^g	101,900	102,200	0.8	103,200	0.8	1.0

^aJanuary 1.^bMinor discrepancies due to rounding.^cU.S.A. and Canada.^dThe Asian parts of Russia and Turkey are included in Europe.^eIncluding Ethiopia.^fSouth Africa, Zimbabwe, and other sub-Saharan countries.^gAustralia, New Zealand.

TABLE 2. WORLD JEWISH POPULATION ESTIMATES: ORIGINAL AND CORRECTED, 1945–2001

Year	Original Estimate ^a	Corrected Estimate ^b	Yearly % Change ^c
1945, May 1	11,000,000	11,000,000	
1950, Jan. 1	11,303,400	11,297,000	0.57
1960, Jan. 1	12,792,800	12,079,000	0.67
1970, Jan. 1	13,950,900	12,585,000	0.41
1980, Jan. 1	14,527,100	12,819,000	0.18
1990, Jan. 1	12,810,300	12,868,000	0.04
2000, Jan. 1	13,191,500	13,212,500	0.26
2001, Jan. 1	13,254,100	=	0.31

^aAs published in AJYB, various years. Estimates reported here as of Jan. 1 were originally published as of end of previous year.

^bBased on updated, revised, or otherwise improved information. Original estimates for 1990 and after, and all corrected estimates: The A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

^cBased on corrected estimates, besides latest year.

DISTRIBUTION BY MAJOR REGIONS

Just about half of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with about 46 percent in North America. Over 37 percent live in Asia, including the Asian republics of the former USSR (but not the Asian parts of the Russian Republic and Turkey)—most of them in Israel. Europe, including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey, accounts for about 12 percent of the total. Fewer than 2 percent of the world's Jews live in Africa and Oceania. Among the major geographical regions listed in table 1, the number of Jews in Israel—and, consequently, in total Asia—increased in 2000. Moderate Jewish population gains were also estimated for North America, the European Union (including 15 member countries), and Oceania. Central and South America, Eastern Europe, Asian countries outside of Israel, and Africa sustained decreases in Jewish population size.

Individual Countries

THE AMERICAS

In 2001 the total number of Jews in the American continents was estimated at close to 6.5 million. The overwhelming majority (94 percent) resided in the United States and Canada, fewer than 1 percent lived in Central America including Mex-

ico, and about 6 percent lived in South America—with Argentina and Brazil the largest Jewish communities.

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, 1/1/2001

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating	
Canada	30,757,000	364,000	11.8	B 1996	
United States	283,230,000	5,700,000	20.1	B 1990	
Total North America ^a	314,114,000	6,064,000	19.3		
Bahamas	304,000	300	1.0	D	
Costa Rica	4,024,000	2,500	0.6	C 1993	
Cuba	11,199,000	600	0.1	C 1990	
Dominican Republic	8,373,000	100	0.0	D	
El Salvador	6,278,000	100	0.0	C 1993	
Guatemala	11,385,000	900	0.1	A 1999	X
Jamaica	2,576,000	300	0.1	A 1995	
Mexico	98,872,000	40,500	0.4	B 1991	
Netherlands Antilles	215,000	200	0.9	B 1998	
Panama	2,856,000	5,000	1.8	C 1990	
Puerto Rico	3,915,000	1,500	0.4	C 1990	
Virgin Islands	114,000	300	2.6	C 1986	
Other	23,051,000	300	0.0	D	
Total Central America	173,162,000	52,600	0.3		
Argentina	37,032,000	197,000	5.3	C 1990	
Bolivia	8,239,000	500	0.1	C 1999	
Brazil	170,406,000	97,500	0.6	B 1991	
Chile	15,211,000	21,000	1.4	B 1995	
Colombia	42,105,000	3,500	0.1	C 1996	
Ecuador	12,646,000	900	0.1	C 1985	
Paraguay	5,496,000	900	0.2	B 1997	
Peru	25,662,000	2,700	0.1	C 1993	
Suriname	417,000	200	0.5	B 1986	
Uruguay	3,337,000	22,500	6.7	C 1993	
Venezuela	24,170,000	16,000	0.7	A 1999	X
Total South America ^a	345,647,000	362,700	1.0		
Total	832,923,000	6,479,300	7.8		

^aIncluding countries not listed separately.

United States. The 1989–1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS), sponsored by the Council of Jewish Federations and the North American Jewish Data Bank (NAJDB), provided new benchmark information about the size and characteristics of U.S. Jewry—the largest Jewish population in the world—and the basis for subsequent updates.¹² According to the official report of the results of this important national sample study, the core Jewish population in the United States comprised 5,515,000 persons in the summer of 1990. Of these, 185,000 were not born or raised as Jews but identified with Judaism at the time of the survey. An estimated 210,000 persons, not included in the previous figures, were born or raised as Jews but in 1990 identified with another religion. A further 1,115,000 people—415,000 adults and 700,000 children below age 18—were of Jewish parentage but had not themselves been raised as Jews, and declared a religion other than Judaism at the time of the survey. All together, these various groups formed an extended Jewish population of 6,840,000. NJPS also covered 1,350,000 non-Jewish-born members of eligible (Jewish or mixed) households. The study's enlarged Jewish population thus consisted of about 8,200,000 persons. The 1990 Jewish population estimates are within the range of a sampling error of plus or minus 3.5 percent.¹³ This means a range between 5.3 and 5.7 millions for the core Jewish population in 1990.

Since 1990, the international migration balance of U.S. Jewry should have generated an actual increase of Jewish population size. According to HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), the main agency involved in assisting Jewish migration from the FSU to the United States, over 250,000 migrants were assisted over the period 1991–2000.¹⁴ These figures refer to the *enlarged* Jewish population concept, incorporating the non-Jewish members of mixed households. The actual number of FSU Jews settling in the U.S. was therefore somewhat smaller than 250,000, still substantial though steadily declining since 1992. More migrants arrived from Israel, Latin America, South Africa, Iran, and other countries. At the same time Israeli statistics continue to show moderate but steady numbers of immigrants from the United States. Between 1990 and 2000, a total of about 20,000 American Jews went on aliyah, and larger numbers of Israelis left the United

¹²The 1989–1990 National Jewish Population Survey was conducted under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Federations with the supervision of a National Technical Advisory Committee chaired by Dr. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University. Dr. Barry Kosmin of the North American Jewish Data Bank and City University of New York Graduate School directed the study. See: Kosmin et al., *Highlights*; and Sidney Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry: Insights from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey," *AJYB* 1992, vol. 92, pp. 77–173.

¹³See Kosmin et al., *Highlights*, p. 39.

¹⁴HIAS, *Annual Report 1997* (New York, 1998). See also: Barry R. Chiswick, "Soviet Jews in the United States: An Analysis of Their Linguistic and Economic Adjustment," *Economic Quarterly*, July 1991, no. 148, pp. 188–211 (Hebrew), and *International Migration Review*, 1993 (English).

States after a prolonged stay and returned to Israel, bringing with them their U.S.-born children.¹⁵

Detailed analyses of the 1990 NJPS data provide evidence of a variety of factors contributing to slow Jewish population growth in the U.S.: low levels of “effectively Jewish” fertility, aging of the Jewish population, increasing rates of out-marriage, declining rates of conversion to Judaism (or “choosing” Judaism), rather low proportions of children of mixed marriages being identified as Jews, and a growing tendency to adopt non-Jewish rituals.¹⁶ A temporary increase in the Jewish birthrate occurred during the late 1980s, because the large cohorts born during the baby boom of the 1950s and early 1960s were in the prime procreative ages. However, by the mid-1990s this echo effect had faded away, as the much smaller cohorts born since the late 1960s reached the stage of parenthood. A surplus of Jewish deaths over Jewish births probably prevailed among U.S. Jewry.

Our estimate starts from the NJPS benchmark core Jewish population of 5,515,000, accounts for a positive balance of immigration net of emigration, and assumes some quantitative erosion in the light of recent marriage, fertility, and age-composition trends. After reaching a level of 5,700,000 at the end of 1996, we have assumed a stable population total for the U.S. core Jewish population.

The research team of the NAJDB that was responsible for the primary handling of NJPS data also continued its yearly compilation of local Jewish population estimates. These are reported elsewhere in this volume.¹⁷ NAJDB estimated the U.S. Jewish population in 1986 at 5,814,000, including “under 2 percent” non-Jewish household members. This closely matched our own pre-NJPS 1990 estimate of 5,700,000. The NAJDB estimates were later updated up to 6,061,000 in 2000. Besides a significant downward revision in 1991, following NJPS, changes in NAJDB estimates reflected corrections and adaptations made in the figures for several local communities—some of them in the light of new community studies. Clearly, compilations of local estimates, even if done as painstakingly as in the case of the NAJDB, are subject to a great many local biases, and tend to fall behind the actual pace of national trends. This is especially true in a context of

¹⁵*Statistical Abstract of Israel*, vol. 49, 1998, pp. 4-3, 4-5, 5-7; Yinon Cohen and Yitzchak Haberfeld, “The Number of Israeli Immigrants in the United States in 1990,” *Demography* 34, no. 2, 1997, pp. 199–212.

¹⁶See Goldstein, “Profile”; U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Basic Trends in U.S. Jewish Demography* (American Jewish Committee, New York, 1988); and Sergio DellaPergola, “New Data on Demography and Identification among Jews in the U.S.: Trends, Inconsistencies and Disagreements,” *Contemporary Jewry* 12, 1991, pp. 67–97.

¹⁷The first in a new series of yearly compilations of local U.S. Jewish population estimates appeared in Barry A. Kosmin, Paul Ritterband, and Jeffrey Scheckner, “Jewish Population in the United States, 1987,” *AJYB* 1987, vol. 87, pp. 164–91. For 1999 see Jim Schwartz and Jeffrey Scheckner, “Jewish Population in the United States, 1999,” *AJYB* 2000, vol. 100, pp. 242–264. The 2000 update appears elsewhere in the present volume.

vigorous internal migration, as in the United States.¹⁸ In our view, NJPS figures, in spite of sample-survey biases, offer a more reliable baseline for assessing national Jewish population than the sum of local estimates.¹⁹ A corrected baseline will be provided by the new NJPS to be completed in the course of 2001.

Canada. The 1996 Canadian census provided new evidence for the estimate of the local Jewish population. As customary in Canada, this mid-decade census provided information on ethnic origins whereas the 1991 census included questions on both religion and ethnic origin, besides information on year of immigration of the foreign-born, and languages. In 1996, 351,705 Canadians reported a Jewish ethnic origin—195,810 as a single response, and 155,900 as one selection in a multiple response with up to four options.²⁰ To interpret these data it is necessary to make reference to the previous census and to the special processing by a joint team of researchers from McGill University's Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning, Statistics Canada, and Council of Jewish Federations Canada.²¹

The 1991 census enumerated 318,070 Jews according to religion; of these, 281,680 also reported to be Jewish by ethnicity (as one of up to four options to the latter question), while 36,390 reported one or more other ethnic origins. Another 38,245 persons reported no religion and a Jewish ethnic origin, again as one of up to four options.²² After due allowance is made for the latter group, a total core Jewish population of 356,315 was estimated for 1991. A further 49,640 Canadians, who reported being Jewish by ethnic origin but identified with another religion (such as Catholic, Anglican, etc.), were not included in the 1991 core estimate. Including them would produce an extended Jewish population of 405,955 in 1991.

The 1991 census equivalent of the 1996 census figure of 351,705 ethnic Jews (including those not Jewish by religion, but excluding those Jews who did not re-

¹⁸See Uzi Rebhun, "Changing Patterns of Internal Migration 1970–1990: A Comparative Analysis of Jews and Whites in the United States," *Demography* 34, no. 2, 1997, pp. 213–223.

¹⁹The NAJDB estimate for the total U.S. Jewry in 2000 exceeds ours by over 360,000 (a difference of 6.3 percent). Over the years 1990–2000 we have estimated a Jewish population increase of 185,000 as against 546,000 according to NAJDB.

²⁰The sum inconsistency appears in the original report: Statistics Canada, *Top 25 Ethnic Origins in Canada, Showing Single and Multiple Responses, for Canada, 1996 Census (20% Sample Data)* (Ottawa, 1998).

²¹Jim L. Torczyner, Shari L. Brotman, Kathy Viragh, and Gustave J. Goldmann, *Demographic Challenges Facing Canadian Jewry: Initial Findings from the 1991 Census* (Montreal, 1993); Jim L. Torczyner and Shari L. Brotman, "The Jews of Canada: A Profile from the Census," *AJYB* 1995, vol. 95, pp. 227–260.

²²Statistics Canada, *Religions in Canada—1991 Census* (Ottawa, 1993). See also Leo Davids, "The Jewish Population of Canada, 1991" in Sergio DellaPergola and Judith Even, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1993 in Memory of U.O. Schmelz* (Jerusalem, 1997) pp. 311–323.

port a Jewish ethnic origin), was 349,565. Based on a similar criterion of ethnic origin, Canadian Jewry thus increased by 2,140 people over the 1991–1996 period. Though it should be stressed that the ethnic origin definition is not consistent with our concept of a core Jewish population, the evidence was of very slow Jewish population increase—notwithstanding continuing immigration. Taking into account the increasingly aged Jewish population structure, we suggest that in years following the 1991 census the continuing migratory surplus would have generated a modest surplus over the probably negative balance of internal evolution. For the beginning of 2001 we updated the 1991 baseline of 356,300 to 364,000, making the Canadian Jewish population the world's fourth largest.

Central America. Results of the 1991 population survey of the Jews in the Mexico City metropolitan area²³ pointed to a community less affected than others in the Diaspora by the common trends of low fertility, intermarriage, and aging. Some comparatively traditional sectors in the Jewish community still contributed a surplus of births over deaths, and overall—thanks also to some immigration—the Jewish population was stable or moderately increasing. The new medium Jewish population estimate for 1991 was put at 37,500 in the Mexico City metropolitan area, and at 40,000 nationally. Official Mexican censuses over the years provided rather erratic and unreliable Jewish population figures. This was the case with the 1990 census, which came up with a national total of 57,918 (aged five and over). As in the past, most of the problem derived from unacceptably high figures for peripheral states. The new census figures for the Mexico City metropolitan area (33,932 Jews aged five and over in the Federal District and State of Mexico) came quite close—in fact were slightly below—our survey's estimates. Taking into account a modest residual potential for natural increase, as shown by the 1991 survey, but also some emigration, we estimated the Jewish population at 40,500 in 2001.

The Jewish population was estimated at about 5,000 in Panama, 2,500 in Costa Rica, 1,500 in Puerto Rico, and 900 in Guatemala.²⁴

*South America.*²⁵ The Jewish population of Argentina, the largest in Latin

²³Sergio DellaPergola and Susana Lerner, *La población judía de México: Perfil demográfico, social y cultural* (México-Jerusalén, 1995). The project, conducted in cooperation between the Centro de Estudios Urbanos y de Desarrollo Urbano (CEUDU), El Colegio de México, and the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics of the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University, was sponsored by the Asociación Mexicana de Amigos de la Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalén.

²⁴Carlos Tapiero, "The Jewish Community of Guatemala: Sociodemographic Profile and Cultural and Religious Identity" (Hebrew and Spanish), unpublished M.A. thesis, Jerusalem, 2001.

²⁵For a more detailed discussion of the region's Jewish population trends, see U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demography of Latin American Jewry," *AJYB* 1985, vol. 85, pp. 51–102; Sergio DellaPergola, "Demographic Trends of Latin American Jewry," in J. Laikin Elkin and G.W. Merks, eds., *The Jewish Presence in Latin America* (Boston, 1987), pp. 85–133.

America and seventh largest in the world, was marked by a negative balance of internal evolution. Various surveys conducted in some central sections of Buenos Aires at the initiative of the Asociación Mutualista Israelita Argentina (AMIA), as well as in several provincial cities, pointed to growing aging and intermarriage.²⁶ In the absence of a major new survey in the Greater Buenos Aires area, quality of national estimates remained inadequate. Since the early 1960s, when the Jewish population was estimated at 310,000, the pace of emigration and return migration has been significantly affected by the variable nature of economic and political trends in the country, generating a negative balance of external migrations. Most Jews lived in the Greater Buenos Aires area, with about 25,000–30,000 left in provincial cities and minor centers. The predominantly middle-class Jewish community confronted serious economic difficulties, to the point that the problem of a “new Jewish poverty” was noted.²⁷ This in turn negatively affected the Jewish institutional network, including Jewish education. Between 1990 and 2000, over 10,000 persons migrated to Israel, while unspecified numbers moved to other countries. Steady decline in the number of burials performed by Jewish funeral societies was another symptom of population decline, though the high cost of Jewish funerals might have induced some Jewish families to prefer a non-Jewish ceremony. Accordingly, the estimate for Argentinean Jewry was reduced to 197,000 in 2001.

In Brazil, the population census of 1991 indicated a Jewish population of 86,816, a decline of 4,979 against the previous 1980 census. In 1991, 42,871 Jews lived in the state of São Paulo (44,569 in 1980), 26,190 in the state of Rio de Janeiro (29,157), 8,091 in Rio Grande do Sul (8,330), and 9,264 in other states (9,739).²⁸ Since some otherwise identifying Jews might have failed to declare themselves as such in that census, we had adopted a corrected estimate of 100,000 since 1980, assuming that the overall balance of Jewish vital events, identificational changes, and external migrations was close to zero. The 1991 census figures pointed to Jewish population decline countrywide, most of it in Rio de Janeiro where Jewish population was decreasing since 1960. On the other hand, in São Paulo—Brazil’s major Jewish community—all previous census returns since 1940 and various other Jewish survey and register data supported the widely held perception of a growing community, but the 1991 census figure contradicted that assumption.²⁹ A 1992 study in the state of Rio Grande do Sul and its capi-

²⁶Rosa N. Geldstein, *Censo de la Poblacion Judia de la ciudad de Salta, 1986; Informe final* (Buenos Aires, 1988); Yacov Rubel, *Los Judios de Villa Crespo y Almagro: Perfil Sociodemográfico* (Buenos Aires, 1989); Yacov Rubel and Mario Toer, *Censo de la Población Judia de Rosario, 1990* (Buenos Aires, 1992); Centro Union Israelita de Cordoba, *First Sociodemographic Study of Jewish Population; Cordoba 1993* (Cordoba, 1995).

²⁷See a brief overview of the problems in Laura Golbert, Norma Lew, and Alejandro Rofman, *La nueva pobreza judía* (Buenos Aires, 1997).

²⁸IBGE, *Censo demográfico do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1997).

²⁹Henrique Rattner, “Recenseamento e pesquisa sociológica da comunidade judaica de São

tal Porto Alegre—Brazil's third largest community—unveiled an enlarged Jewish population of about 11,000.³⁰ Excluding the non-Jewish household members, the core Jewish population could be estimated at about 9,000, some 10 percent above the 1991 census figure. In the light of this and other evidence of a substantially stable Jewish population—though one confronting high rates of intermarriage and a definite erosion in the younger age groups³¹—we estimated the Jewish population at 97,500 in 2001, making Brazil the 11th largest Jewish community in the world.

In Chile, a sociodemographic survey conducted in the Santiago metropolitan area in 1995 indicated an enlarged Jewish population of 21,450, 19,700 of them Jews and 1,750 non-Jewish relatives, including persons not affiliated with any Jewish organization.³² Assuming another 1,300 Jews living in smaller provincial communities, a new countrywide estimate of 21,000 Jews was obtained. Previous lower estimates, reflecting results of the 1970 population census and a 1982–83 community survey, possibly overestimated the net effects of Jewish emigration. The new survey portrayed a rather stable community, with incipient signs of aging and assimilation.

In Venezuela, a new sociodemographic survey was carried out in 1998.³³ Based on a comprehensive list of affiliated households and an indicative sample of the unaffiliated, and supplemented by a compilation of Jewish death records, the survey suggested a downward revision of the Jewish population estimate to 16,000.

On the strength of fragmentary information available, our estimates for Uruguay, Colombia, and Peru³⁴ were slightly reduced to 22,500, 3,500, and 2,700 respectively.

Paulo, 1968," in Henrique Rattner, ed., *Nos caminhos da diáspora* (São Paulo, 1972); Claudia Milnitzky, ed., *Apendice estatístico da comunidade judaica do estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1980); Egon and Frieda Wolff, *Documentos V: Os recenseamentos demográficos oficiais do século XX* (Rio de Janeiro, 1993–1994).

³⁰Anita Brumer, *Identidade em mudança: Pesquisa sociológica sobre os judeus do Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre, 1994).

³¹Rene D. Decol "Imigrações urbanas para o Brasil: o caso dos Judeus," unpublished Ph.D. diss., Campinas, 1999; Daniel Sasson, *A comunidade judaica do Rio de Janeiro: Metodologia da pesquisa* (Rio de Janeiro, 1997).

³²Gabriel Berger et al., *Estudio Socio-Demográfico de la Comunidad Judía de Chile* (Santiago-Buenos Aires, 1995).

³³Sergio DellaPergola, Salomon Benzaquen, and Tony Beker de Weinraub, *Perfil sociodemográfico y cultural de la comunidad judía de Caracas* (Caracas, 2000). The survey was sponsored by the two main local Jewish community organizations, the Asociación Israelita de Venezuela and the Union Israelita de Caracas, and by the Asociación de Amigos de la Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalén.

³⁴Local observers had expected quicker reduction of Jewish population size. See Leon Trahtemberg Siederer, *Demografía judía del Perú* (Lima, 1988).

EUROPE

About 1.6 million Jews lived in Europe at the beginning of 2001; 66 percent lived in Western Europe and 34 percent in Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries—including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey (see table 4). In 2000 Europe lost 1.9 percent of its Jewish population, mainly through the continuing emigration from the European republics of the FSU.

European Union. Incorporating 15 countries since the 1995 accession of Austria, Finland, and Sweden, the European Union (EU) had an estimated combined Jewish population of 1,032,100—an increase of 0.3 percent over the previous year. Different trends affected the Jewish populations in each member country.³⁵

With the breakup of the USSR, France had the third largest Jewish population in the world, after the United States and Israel. The size of French Jewry was estimated at 530,000 when a major survey was taken in the 1970s.³⁶ Over the following 20 years, the plausible trends of both the internal evolution and external migrations of Jews in France suggest little net change in Jewish population size. A study conducted in 1988 at the initiative of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU) confirmed the basic demographic stability of French Jewry.³⁷ The French Jewish community continued to absorb a small inflow of Jews from North Africa, and its age composition was younger than in other European countries. However, migration to Israel amounted to 7,500 in 1980–1989 and over 15,000 in 1990–2000. Since the 1990s, aging tended to determine a moderate surplus of deaths over births. In view of these trends, our French Jewish population estimate was revised to 525,000 in 1995 and 520,000 at the beginning of 2001.

A significant revision of the size of Jewish population in the United Kingdom was released in 1998 by the Community Research Unit (CRU) of the Board of Deputies of British Jews.³⁸ Current evaluation of Jewish birth and death records confirmed the downward trend that had emerged from previous research and generated a new estimate of 285,000 for 1995. The vital statistical records regularly compiled by the CRU showed an excess of deaths over births in the range of about 1,000–1,500 a year.³⁹ An attitudinal survey of British Jews conducted in 1995 in-

³⁵Sergio DellaPergola, "Jews in the European Community: Sociodemographic Trends and Challenges," *AJYB* 1993, vol. 93, pp. 25–82.

³⁶Doris Bensimon and Sergio DellaPergola, *La population juive de France: socio-démographie et identité* (Jerusalem-Paris, 1984).

³⁷Erik H. Cohen, *L'Etude et l'éducation juive en France ou l'avenir d'une communauté* (Paris, 1991).

³⁸Marlena Schmool, Frances Cohen, *A Profile of British Jewry: Patterns and Trends at the Turn of the Century* (London, 1998)

³⁹Steven Haberman, Barry A. Kosmin, Caren Levy, "Mortality Patterns of British Jews 1975–79: Insights and Applications for the Size and Structure of British Jewry," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, A*, 146, pt. 3, 1983, pp. 294–310; Steven Haberman and Marlena Schmool, "Estimates of British Jewish Population 1984–88," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, A*, 158, pt. 3, 1995, pp. 547–62; Stanley Waterman and Barry Kosmin,

icated a significant rise in intermarriage (38 percent of all married men, 50 percent of married men under 30), implying increasing assimilatory losses.⁴⁰ Further attrition derived from emigration (over 7,000 emigrants to Israel in 1980–1989 and about 6,000 in 1990–2000). Allowing for a continuation of these well-established trends, we adopted an estimate of 275,000 for 2001 (fifth largest worldwide).

In 1990, Germany was politically reunited. In the former (West) German Federal Republic, the 1987 population census reported 32,319 Jews.⁴¹ Immigration compensated for the surplus of deaths over births in this aging Jewish population. Estimates about the small Jewish population in the former (East) German Democratic Republic ranged between 500 and 2,000. According to available reports, over 100,000 immigrants from the FSU settled in united Germany since the end of 1989, including non-Jewish family members.⁴² Detailed estimates are available for Jews affiliated with the Zentralwohlfahrtstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZDJ).⁴³ The total of Jews registered in German Jewish communities increased from 27,711 at the beginning of 1990 to 87,756 at the beginning of 2001. It should be noted that by the same community registers, the number of Jews would have declined from about 28,000 in 1990 to 19,000 in 2001 due to the continuing excess of Jewish deaths over Jewish births, were it not for steady immigration from the FSU. Our own population estimates assume there are enough incentives for most newcomers to be willing to affiliate with the Jewish community, but allow for some time lag between immigration and registration with the organized Jewish community, and take into account a certain amount of permanent nonaffiliation. Assuming the latter at about 10,000, an estimate of 98,000 core Jews (not including non-Jewish members of households) obtained for 2001, bringing Germany to the position of ninth largest Jewish community worldwide.

Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands each had Jewish populations ranging around 30,000. There was a tendency toward internal shrinkage of all these Jewries, but in some instances this was offset by immigration. In Belgium, the size of the Jewish population, estimated at 31,500, was probably quite stable owing to

British Jewry in the Eighties: A Statistical and Geographical Guide (London, 1986); Marlena Schmool, *Report of Community Statistics* (London, yearly publication).

⁴⁰Marlena Schmool and Frances Cohen, *British Synagogue Membership in 1990* (London, 1991); Stephen Miller, Marlena Schmool, and Antony Lerman, *Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey* (London, 1996).

⁴¹Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit, Volkszählung vom 25 Mai 1987*, Heft 6 (Stuttgart, 1990).

⁴²See Madeleine Tress, "Welfare State Type, Labour Markets and Refugees: A Comparison of Jews from the Former Soviet Union in the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 1, 1998, 116–137.

⁴³Zentralwohlfahrtstelle der Juden in Deutschland, *Mitgliederstatistik; Der Einzelnen Jüdischen Gemeinden und Landesverbände in Deutschland* (Frankfurt, yearly publication).

the comparatively strong Orthodox sector in that community. In Italy, membership in Jewish communities became voluntary in 1987, a change from the long-standing system of compulsory affiliation. Although most Jews reaffiliated, the new, looser legal framework facilitated the ongoing attrition of the Jewish population. Recent Jewish community records for Milan indicated an affiliated Jewish population of 6,500, in contrast to over 8,000 in the 1960s, despite substantial immigration from other countries in the intervening period. This evidence, and data on declining birthrates in most other cities, prompted a reduction in our national estimate for Italy to 29,500.⁴⁴ In the Netherlands, a recent study indicated a growing number of residents of Israeli origin, substantially offsetting the declining trends among veteran Jews.⁴⁵ In the light of a new Jewish population survey that covered an enlarged Jewish population of 43,000–45,000, including Israeli and Russian new immigrants, we revised the core Jewish population estimate to 28,000 in 2001.⁴⁶

Other EU member countries had smaller and, overall, slowly declining Jewish populations. Possible exceptions are Sweden and Spain, whose Jewish populations were very tentatively estimated at 15,000 and 12,000, respectively, based on figures on affiliation in the major cities. Austria's permanent Jewish population was estimated at 9,000. While a negative balance of births and deaths has long prevailed, connected with great aging and frequent outmarriage, immigration from the FSU tended to offset internal losses. The small Jewish populations in other Nordic countries were, on the whole, numerically stable. In Ireland, the 1991 census indicated 1,581 Jews. Since 1961 the Jewish population has regularly declined by 500–600 every ten years. We put the 2001 estimate at 1,000.

Other West Europe. Few countries remain in Western Europe which have not joined the EU. In 2001 they accounted for a combined Jewish population of 19,700. The estimate of Switzerland's Jewish population was based on the results of the 1990 census. The official count indicated 17,577 Jews as against 18,330 in 1980—a decline of 4 percent.⁴⁷ Allowing for undeclared Jews, and also for about 1,000 emigrants to Israel during the 1990s, we put the estimate at 17,800.

⁴⁴For an overview see Sergio DellaPergola, "La popolazione ebraica in Italia nel contesto ebraico globale" in *Storia d'Italia, Ebrei in Italia*, ed. Corrado Vivanti (Torino, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 895–936.

⁴⁵C. Kooyman and J. Almagor, *Israelis in Holland: A Sociodemographic Study of Israelis and Former Israelis in Holland* (Amsterdam, 1996); Philip van Praag, "Between Speculation and Reality," *Studia Rosenthaliana*, special issue published together with vol. 23, no. 2, 1989, pp. 175–179.

⁴⁶Personal communication from Dr. Chris Kooyman, Stichting Joods Maatschappelijk Werk, Amsterdam.

⁴⁷Bundesamt für Statistik, *Wohnbevölkerung nach Konfession und Geschlecht, 1980 und 1990* (Bern, 1993).

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE,
1/1/2001

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Austria	8,080,000	9,000	1.1	C 1995
Belgium	10,249,000	31,500	3.1	C 1987
Denmark	5,320,000	6,400	1.2	C 1990
Finland	5,172,000	1,100	0.2	B 1999
France ^a	59,268,000	520,000	8.8	C 1990
Germany	82,017,000	98,000	1.2	B 2001
Greece	10,610,000	4,500	0.4	B 1995
Ireland	3,803,000	1,000	0.3	B 1993
Italy	57,530,000	29,500	0.5	B 1995
Luxembourg	437,000	600	1.4	B 2000
Netherlands	15,864,000	28,000	1.8	B 1999 X
Portugal	10,016,000	500	0.0	C 1999 X
Spain	39,910,000	12,000	0.3	D
Sweden	8,842,000	15,000	1.7	C 1990
United Kingdom	59,415,000	275,000	4.6	B 1995
Total European Union	376,533,000	1,032,100	2.7	
Gibraltar	25,000	600	24.0	B 1991
Norway	4,469,000	1,200	0.3	B 1995
Switzerland	7,170,000	17,800	2.5	B 1990
Other	829,000	100	0.1	D
Total other West Europe	12,493,000	19,700	1.6	
Belarus	10,187,000	25,000	2.5	B 1999
Estonia	1,393,000	2,000	1.4	B 2000
Latvia	2,421,000	10,000	4.1	B 2000 X
Lithuania	3,696,000	4,000	1.1	B 2000
Moldova	4,295,000	6,000	1.4	B 2000
Russia ^b	145,491,000	275,000	1.9	B 2000
Ukraine	49,568,000	112,000	2.3	C 1997 X
Total former USSR in Europe	217,051,000	434,000	2.0	

TABLE 4.—(Continued)

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per	Accuracy Rating
			1,000 Population	
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3,977,000	300	0.1	C 1996
Bulgaria	7,949,000	2,500	0.3	B 1992
Croatia	4,654,000	1,300	0.3	C 1996
Czech Republic	10,272,000	2,800	0.3	B 1998
Hungary	9,968,000	51,500	5.2	C 1999
Macedonia (FYR)	2,034,000	100	0.0	C 1996
Poland	38,605,000	3,500	0.1	D
Romania	22,438,000	11,000	0.5	B 1997
Slovakia	5,399,000	3,300	0.6	D
Slovenia	1,988,000	100	0.1	C 1996
Turkey ^b	66,668,000	18,900	0.3	C 1996
Yugoslavia ^c	10,552,000	1,700	0.2	C 1996
Total other East Europe and Balkans ^d	187,638,000	97,000	0.5	
Total	793,715,000	1,582,800	2.0	

^aIncluding Monaco.

^bIncluding Asian regions.

^cSerbia and Montenegro.

^dIncluding Albania.

Former USSR (European parts). Since 1989, the demographic situation of East European Jewry has been radically transformed by the dramatic geopolitical changes in the region.⁴⁸ Official governmental sources provide the fundamental basis for information on the number of Jews in the FSU.⁴⁹ The Soviet Union's and subsequent data distinguish the Jews as one recognized "nationality" (ethnic group). In a society that, until recently, left little or no space for re-

⁴⁸For the historical demographic background see U.O. Schmelz, "New Evidence on Basic Issues in the Demography of Soviet Jews," *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 16, no. 2, 1974, pp. 209–23; Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry Since the Second World War: Population and Social Structure* (Westport, 1987); Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust: A Social and Demographic Profile* (Jerusalem, 1998).

⁴⁹Dr. Mark Tolts of the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University actively contributed to the preparation of FSU Jewish population estimates. See Mark Tolts, *Main Demographic Trends of the Jews in Russia and the FSU* (Jerusalem, 2001).

ligions, the ethnic definition criterion could be considered comprehensive and valid. Data from the last all-Soviet population census, carried out in January 1989, revealed a total of 1,450,500 Jews,⁵⁰ confirming the declining trend shown by the previous three USSR censuses: 2,267,800 in 1959, 2,150,700 in 1970, and 1,810,900 in 1979.

Our reservation about USSR Jewish census figures in previous AJYB volumes bears repeating: some underreporting is not impossible, but it cannot be easily quantified and should not be exaggerated. The prolonged existence of a totalitarian regime produced conflicting effects on census declarations: on the one hand, it stimulated a preference for other than Jewish nationalities in the various parts of the FSU, especially in connection with mixed marriages; on the other hand, it preserved a formal Jewish identification by coercion, through the mandatory registration of nationality on official documents such as internal passports. Viewed conceptually, the census figures represent the core Jewish population in the USSR. They actually constitute a good example of a large and empirically measured core Jewish population in the Diaspora, consisting of the aggregate of self-identifying Jews. The figures of successive censuses were remarkably consistent with one another, and with the known patterns of emigration and internal demographic evolution of the Jewish population in recent decades.

Jewish emigration played the major role among demographic changes intervening since 1989.⁵¹ The economic and political crisis that culminated in the disintegration of the Soviet Union as a state in 1991 generated a major emigration upsurge in 1990 and 1991. Emigration continued at lower but significant levels throughout 2000. Over the whole 1990–2000 period, over 1.4 million people emigrated from the FSU who were Jewish according to the enlarged Law of Return definition. Of these, nearly 900,000 went to Israel, about 300,000 to the United States, and over 200,000 chose other countries, mainly Germany. Out of the total number, about 980,000 were Jewish by the core definition. Periodic declines in the volume of emigration should not be misconstrued: when compared to the fast declining Jewish population figures in the FSU, the emigration trend remained remarkably stable.

⁵⁰Goskomstat SSSR, *Vestnik Statistiki* 10, 1990, pp. 69–71. This figure does not include about 30,000 Tats who were in fact Mountain Jews—a group mostly concentrated in the Caucasus area that enjoys fully Jewish status and the prerogatives granted by Israel's Law of Return.

⁵¹Yearly migration estimates can be compiled using (ex-)Soviet, Israeli, American, German, and other sources, especially Israel Central Bureau of Statistics and HIAS yearly reports. See also Mark Tolts, "Demography of the Jews in the Former Soviet Union: Yesterday and Today," in *Jewish Life After the USSR: A Community in Transition* (Cambridge, 1999); Yoel Florsheim, "Emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union in 1989," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, 2, no. 12, 1990, pp. 22–31; Sidney Heitman, "Soviet Emigration in 1990," *Berichte des Bundesinstitut für Ostwissenschaftliche und internationale studien*, vol. 33, 1991; Tress, "Welfare State Type, Labour Markets and Refugees"; and Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle.

While mass emigration was an obvious factor in Jewish population decrease, a heavy deficit of internal population dynamics developed and even intensified due to the great aging that prevailed for many decades among FSU Jewry. For example, in 1993–1994 the balance of recorded vital events in Russia included 2.8 Jewish births versus 30.0 deaths per 1,000 Jewish population; in Ukraine, the respective figures were 4.2 and 35.9 per 1,000; in Belarus, 5.2 and 32.6 per 1,000; in Latvia, 3.1 and 24.5 per 1,000; in Moldova 5.9 and 34.6 per 1,000.⁵² These figures imply yearly losses of many thousands to the respective Jewish populations. Frequencies of outmarriage were close to 70 percent of Jewish spouses who married in Russia in 1988, and close to 80 percent in Ukraine and Latvia in 1996; furthermore a non-Jewish nationality was generally preferred for the children of the outmarried.⁵³ Aging in the countries of origin was exacerbated by the significantly younger age composition of Jewish emigrants.⁵⁴ As a result, the Jewish population rapidly shrank.⁵⁵

On the strength of these considerations, our estimate of the core Jewish population in the USSR (including the Asian regions) was reduced from the census figure of 1,480,000 at the beginning of 1989 (including Tats) to 890,000 in 1993.

⁵²Mark Tolts, "The Jewish Population of Russia, 1989–1995," *Jews in Eastern Europe* 3, no. 31, 1996; idem., "Demography of the Jews in the Former Soviet Union: Yesterday and Today."

⁵³Mark Tolts, "Some Basic Trends in Soviet Jewish Demography," in U.O. Schmelz and S. DellaPergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1989* (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 237–243; Viacheslav Konstantinov, "Jewish Population of the USSR on the Eve of the Great Exodus," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 3, no. 16, 1991, pp. 5–23; Mordechai Altshuler, "Socio-demographic Profile of Moscow Jews," *ibid.*, pp. 24–40; Mark Tolts, "The Balance of Births and Deaths Among Soviet Jewry," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 2, no. 18, 1992, pp. 13–26; Leonid E. Darsky, "Fertility in the USSR; Basic Trends" (paper presented at European Population Conference, Paris, 1991); Mark Tolts, "Jewish Marriages in the USSR: A Demographic Analysis," *East European Jewish Affairs* 22, no. 2, 1992; Sidney and Alice Goldstein, *Lithuanian Jewry 1993: A Demographic and Sociocultural Profile* (Jerusalem, 1997).

⁵⁴Age structures of the Jewish population in the Russian Federal Republic were reported in: Goskomstat SSSR, *Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1970 goda*, vol. 4, table 33 (Moscow, 1973); Goskomstat SSSR, *Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1979 goda*, vol. 4, part 2, table 2 (Moscow, 1989); Goskomstat SSSR, *Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1989 goda* (Moscow, 1991). Age structures of recent Jewish migrants from the USSR to the United States and to Israel appear, respectively, in HIAS, *Statistical Report* (New York, yearly publication) and unpublished annual data kindly communicated to the author; Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigration to Israel*, Special Series (Jerusalem, yearly publication); Yoel Florsheim, "Immigration to Israel and the United States from the former Soviet Union, 1992," *Jews in Eastern Europe* 3, no. 22, 1993, pp. 31–39; Mark Tolts, "Trends in Soviet Jewish Demography since the Second World War," in Ya'acov Ro'i, ed., *Jews and Jewish Life in Russia and the Soviet Union* (London, 1995), pp. 365–82; and Mark Tolts, "Demography of the Jews in the Former Soviet Union: Yesterday and Today."

⁵⁵Mark Tolts, "Demographic Trends of the Jews in the Three Slavic Republics of the Former USSR: A Comparative Analysis," in S. DellaPergola and J. Even, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1993* (Jerusalem, 1997), pp. 147–175; Mark Tolts, "The Interrelationship

The February 1994 national Microcensus of the Russian republic confirmed the known trends.⁵⁶ The data, based on a 5-percent sample, revealed a Jewish population of about 400,000 plus approximately 8,000 Tats, for a total of 408,000, with a range of variation between 401,000 and 415,000 allowing for sampling errors. Our subsequent estimates, as usual, reflect for each FSU republic separately all available data and estimates concerning Jewish emigration, births, deaths, and geographical mobility between republics.

The total Jewish population for the FSU was estimated at 462,000 at the beginning of 2001. Of this total, 434,000 lived in the European republics and 28,000 in the Asian republics (see below). Russia kept the largest Jewish population in any of the FSU republics—currently the fifth largest in the world. Our 2001 estimate for Russia was 275,000 (as against census-based estimates of 570,000 [including Tats] for 1989 and 410,000 for 1994). In spite of decline, Russia's share of the total Jewish population of the FSU significantly increased over time due to lower emigration frequencies. Jews in the Ukraine were estimated at 112,000 (reflecting an upward correction, but also the large-scale emigration of recent years), making the Jewish community the eighth largest worldwide (487,300 in 1989). In Belarus, the 1999 census⁵⁷ indicated a Jewish population of 27,798 (112,000 in 1989). For 2001 we estimated 25,000 Jews there. In the Republic of Moldova a survey initiated by the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in 1999 confirmed the declining trends and sustained a 6,000 estimate for 2001 (65,800 in 1989). Based on updated figures from the local national population registers, a combined total of 16,000 were estimated for the three Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia (versus 39,900 in 1989). The figure for Latvia includes a 1,800 upward correction based on the 2000 census.⁵⁸

It should be reiterated that the new population censuses conducted in parts of the FSU produced figures only barely higher than our estimates obtained through a ten-year accountancy of known or expected vital events and international migration. Some of these inconsistencies can be explained by any combination of the following five factors: (a) migration of several thousands of Jews between the various FSU republics since 1991, especially to the Russian republic-

between Emigration and the Sociodemographic Trends of Russian Jewry," in Noah Lewin-Epstein, Yaakov Ro'i, and Paul Ritterband, eds., *Russian Jews on Three Continents* (London, 1997), pp. 147–176.

⁵⁶See V. Aleksandrova, "Mikroperepisis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi Federatsii," *Voprosy Statistiki*, 1994 (1), p. 37 (Moscow, 1994). See also Mark Tolts, "The Interrelationship between Emigration and the Socio-Demographic Profile of Russian Jewry."

⁵⁷Ministry of Statistics and Analysis of the Republic of Belarus, *Population of the Republic of Belarus: Results of the 1999 Population Census Conducted in the Republic of Belarus* (Minsk, 2000).

⁵⁸Goldstein, *Lithuanian Jewry 1993*; Lithuanian Department of Statistics, *Demographic Yearbook 1996* (Vilnius, 1997); Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, *Demographic Yearbook of Latvia 1997* (Riga, 1997); Anna Stroi, "Latvia v chelovecheskom izmerenii: etnicheskii aspekt," *Diena* (Riga, 1997).

lic; (b) a higher proportion of non-Jews than previously assumed among the enlarged pool of Jewish emigrants from the FSU, resulting in excessively lowered estimates of the number of core Jews remaining there; (c) a Jewish identification in the most recent sources by people who declared a different national (ethnic) identification in previous censuses; (d) counting in the republics' national censuses and population registers some people as residents—according to the legal criteria of the country of origin—who have actually emigrated to the State of Israel or other countries; (e) some returns to Russia and other republics from Israel⁵⁹ and other countries by migrants who are still registered as residents of the latter. While it is difficult to establish the respective weight of each of these factors, their overall impact has so far been quite secondary in the assessment of Jewish population changes. Factors (d) and (e) above point to likely double counts of FSU Jews in the respective countries of origin and of emigration. Consequently our world synopsis of core Jewish populations may be overestimated by several thousands.

The respective figures for the enlarged Jewish population—including all current Jews as well as other persons of Jewish parentage and their non-Jewish household members—are substantially higher in the FSU, where high intermarriage rates have prevailed for decades. While a definitive estimate for the total USSR cannot be provided for lack of appropriate data, evidence for Russia and the other Slavic republics indicated a high ratio of non-Jews to Jews in the enlarged Jewish population. In 1989, 570,000 Jews in Russia, together with 340,000 non-Jewish household members, formed an enlarged Jewish population of 910,000; in 2001, the 275,000 core Jews and their 245,000 non-Jewish household members produced an enlarged population of 520,000.⁶⁰ The ratio of enlarged to core therefore increased from 1.6 in 1989 to 1.9 in 2001. Due to the highly self-selective character of aliyah, non-Jews constituted a relatively smaller share of all new immigrants from the FSU than their share among the Jewish population in the countries of origin, but such share was rapidly increasing.⁶¹

It is obvious that the wide provisions of Israel's Law of Return apply to virtually the maximum emigration pool of self-declared Jews and close non-Jewish relatives. Any of the large figures attributed in recent years to the size of Soviet Jewry, insofar as they were based on demographic reasoning, did not relate to the

⁵⁹Council of Europe, *Recent Demographic Developments in Europe, 2000* (Strasbourg, 2000).

⁶⁰Mark Tolts, "Jews in the Russian Republic since the Second World War: The Dynamics of Demographic Erosion," in International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, *International Population Conference* (Montreal, 1993), vol. 3, pp. 99–111; Evgeni Andreev, "Jews in the Households in Russia," forthcoming in S. DellaPergola and J. Even, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1997* (Jerusalem); Tolts, *Main Demographic Trends and Characteristics*.

⁶¹Israel's Ministry of Interior records the religion-nationality of each person, including new immigrants. Such attribution is made on the basis of documentary evidence supplied by the immigrants themselves, and is checked by competent authorities in Israel. Accord-

core but to various (unspecified) measures of an enlarged Jewish population. The evidence also suggests that in the FSU core Jews constitute a smaller share (and the non-Jewish fringe a larger share) of the enlarged Jewish population than in some Western countries, such as the United States. Just as the number of declared Jews evolved consistently between censuses, the number of persons of Jewish descent who preferred not to be identified as Jews was rather consistent too. However, the recent political developments, and especially the current emigration urge, probably led to greater readiness to acknowledge a Jewish self-identification by persons who did not describe themselves as such in past censuses. These "returnees" imply an actual net increment to the core Jewish population of the FSU, Israel, and world Jewry.

Other East Europe and Balkans. A new survey of Hungarian Jewry provided new evidence on the size and characteristics of the largest community in Eastern Europe outside the FSU.⁶² As against an overall membership in local Jewish organizations estimated at about 20,000–25,000, the new data revealed a wide gap between core and enlarged Jewish population figures. The broader definition including all persons of Jewish ancestry referred to 150,000–200,000 persons. On the other hand a detailed assessment of Jewish migrations and vital statistics based on an end-1945 estimate of about 144,000 Holocaust survivors produced a total of 50,000–55,000 for end-2000. Our core Jewish population estimate of 51,500 attempts to reflect the significant excess of deaths over births that prevails in Hungary according to available indications.

The January 1992 census of Romania reported a Jewish population of 9,107. Based on the detailed Jewish community records available with the *Federatia Comunitatilor Evreiesi*, our estimate for the beginning of 2001 was 11,000. The Czech census of 1991 reported 1,292 Jews, but according to the Federation of Jewish Communities there were at least twice as many, reflected in our estimate of 2,800. The number of Jews in Poland and Slovakia was very tentatively estimated at 3,500 and 3,300 respectively. In Bulgaria, the December 4, 1992, census reported 3,461 Jews;⁶³ our 2001 estimate, reflecting emigration, was 2,500. Crisis continued in the former Yugoslavia, spurring Jewish population decline. The core Jewish population for the total of the five successor republics, reduced through emigration, was assessed at about 3,500 at the beginning of 2001. Of these, fewer

ing to data available from the Interior Ministry's Central Population Register, 90.3 percent of all new immigrants from the USSR during the period October 1989–August 1992 were recorded as Jewish. In 1994, the percent had declined to 71.6, in 1998 it was below 60 percent, and in 2000 below 50 percent. Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigration to Israel 1998* (Jerusalem, 2000), and unpublished data. See also Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demographic Context of the Soviet Aliya," in *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 3, no. 16, 1991, pp. 41–56.

⁶²The survey was directed by Prof. Andras Kovács of the Central European University in Budapest. Publication is forthcoming.

⁶³*Statistical Yearbook* (Sofia, 1992).

than 2,000 lived in the territorially shrunken Yugoslavia (Serbia with Montenegro), and 1,300 in Croatia.⁶⁴ The Jewish population of Turkey, where a significant surplus of deaths over births has been reported for several years,⁶⁵ was estimated at about 19,000.

ASIA

Israel. At the beginning of 2001, Israel's Jewish population was 4,952,200.⁶⁶ This was half a million more than the 4,459,696 Jews enumerated in the November 1995 census. Adding the roughly 250,000 non-Jewish members of immigrant families, mostly from the FSU but also from Ethiopia and other countries, an enlarged Jewish population of 5.2 million obtained,⁶⁷ out of a total population of 6,363,800.

Israel accounted for 99 percent of the 5 million Jews in Asia, including the Asian republics of the former USSR but excluding the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey (see table 5). By the beginning of 2001, Israel Jews constituted 37.4 percent of total world Jewry.⁶⁸ Israel's Jewish population grew in 2001 by 79,400, or 1.6 percent. The pace of growth was slowing down after reaching growth rates of 6.2 percent in 1990, 5 percent in 1991, and 2–2.5 percent between 1992 and 1996. The number of new immigrants in 2000 (60,130) declined by 21.7 percent from 1999 (76,766) which in turn represented a 35-percent increase over 1998 (56,730). About 25 percent of Jewish population growth in 2000 derived from the net migration balance, as against 42 percent in 2000; most Jewish population growth derived from natural increase. Moreover, 4,000 persons underwent Orthodox conversion in Israel in 1999, and 4,600 were attending conversion classes in 2000—most of them immigrants from Ethiopia and the FSU and their children, who were previously listed as non-Jews.⁶⁹ More than half of all new candidates for conversion to Judaism attended the Institute for Judaism

⁶⁴For an overview see Melita Svob, *Jews in Croatia: Migration and Changes in Jewish Population* (Zagreb, 1997).

⁶⁵Shaul Tuval, "The Jewish Community of Istanbul, 1948-1992: A Study in Cultural, Economic and Social Processes," unpublished Ph.D. diss., Jerusalem, 1999.

⁶⁶Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population and Vital Statistics 1999* (Jerusalem, 2000); *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* (Jerusalem, 2001).

⁶⁷The Israel Central Bureau of Statistics refers to such enlarged population as "Jews and others."

⁶⁸Thanks to the staff of Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics for facilitating compilation of published and unpublished data. For a comprehensive review of sociodemographic changes in Israel, see U.O. Schmelz, Sergio DellaPergola, and Uri Avner, "Ethnic Differences among Israeli Jews: A New Look," *AJYB* 1990, vol. 90, pp. 3–204. See also Sergio DellaPergola, "Demographic Changes in Israel in the Early 1990s," in Y. Kop, ed., *Israel's Social Services 1992–93* (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 57–115.

⁶⁹Data released by rabbinical courts and special conversion courts. See *Ha'aretz*, December 24, 2000.

Studies conducted jointly in Israel by the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform movements.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, 1/1/2001

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Israel ^a	6,363,800	4,952,200	778.2	A 2001 X
Azerbaijan	8,041,000	7,500	0.9	C 1999 X
Georgia	5,262,000	5,500	1.0	C 2000
Kazakhstan	16,172,000	5,200	0.3	B 1999 X
Kyrgyzstan	4,921,000	1,100	0.2	B 1999 X
Tajikistan	6,087,000	1,000	0.2	C 1999 X
Turkmenistan	4,737,000	700	0.1	C 1999
Uzbekistan	24,881,000	7,000	0.3	C 1999 X
Total former USSR in Asia ^b	73,888,000	28,000	0.4	
China ^c	1,282,437,000	1,000	0.0	D
India	1,008,937,000	5,400	0.0	B 1996
Iran	70,330,000	11,500	0.2	C 1986
Iraq	22,946,000	100	0.0	C 1997
Japan	127,096,000	1,000	0.0	C 1993
Korea, South	46,740,000	100	0.0	C 1998
Philippines	75,653,000	100	0.0	C
Singapore	4,018,000	300	0.1	B 1990
Syria	16,189,000	100	0.0	C 1995
Thailand	62,806,000	200	0.0	C 1988
Yemen	18,349,000	200	0.0	B 1995
Other	789,579,200	300	0.0	D
Total other Asia	3,525,080,200	20,300	0.0	
Total	3,605,332,000	5,000,500	1.4	

^aTotal population of Israel 1/1/2001. Jewish population includes residents within Palestinian Autonomy.

^bIncluding Armenia. Not including Asian regions of Russian Republic.

^cIncluding Hong Kong.

Former USSR (Asian parts). The total Jewish population in the Asian republics of the former USSR was estimated at 28,000 at the beginning of 2001. Ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus area and the fear of Muslim fundamentalism in Central Asia continued to cause concern and stimulated Jewish emigration.⁷⁰ At the beginning of the 1990s, minimal rates of natural increase still existed among the more traditional sections of these Jewish communities, but conditions were rapidly eroding this residual surplus.⁷¹ Reflecting these trends, the largest community remained in Azerbaijan (8,900 according to the 1999 census and 7,500 in 2001⁷² versus 30,800 in 1989), followed by Uzbekistan (7,000 in 2001 vs. 94,900), Georgia (5,500 vs. 24,800), Kazakhstan (6,800 according to the 1999 census⁷³ and 5,200 in 2001, vs. 19,900 in 1989), and the remaining republics (2,800, thereof 1,600 in Kyrgyzstan according to the 1999 Kyrgyzstan census, vs. 24,000 in 1989).

Other countries. It is difficult to estimate the Jewish population of Iran, last counted in the 1986 national census.⁷⁴ Based on evidence of continuing decline, the 2001 estimate was reduced to 11,500. In other Asian countries with small, old communities the Jewish population tended to decline, even to the point of disappearance. The recent reduction was more notable in Syria and Yemen after Jews were officially allowed to emigrate.

In India, the 1991 census provided a figure of 5,271 Jews, 63 percent of whom lived in the state of Maharashtra, including the main community of Mumbai.⁷⁵ Another 1,067 persons, belonging to such religious groups as Messianic Judaism and Enoka Israel, all from Mizoram, were also counted. A survey conducted in 1995–96 by ORT India covered 3,330 individuals, fairly well educated and experiencing the customary patterns of postponed marriage, declining fertility, and aging.

Very small Jewish communities, partially of a transient character, exist in several countries of Southeast Asia. After the reunion in 1997 of Hong Kong with mainland China, China's permanent Jewish population was estimated at roughly 1,000, the same as Japan's.

⁷⁰Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigration to Israel 1998* (Jerusalem, 2000); Ministry of Immigrants Absorption, Division of Data Systems, *Selected Data on Aliyah, 2000* (Jerusalem, 2001); Jewish Agency for Israel, Division of Aliyah and Absorption, *Data on Aliyah by Continents and Selected Countries* (Jerusalem, 2001).

⁷¹Tolts, "The Balance of Births and Deaths."

⁷²Not including the Jewish portion of the Tat group.

⁷³Statistical Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *Natsional'nyi sostav naseleniia Respubliki Kazakhstan: Itogi perepisi naseleniia 1999 goda v Respublike Kazakhstan*, vol. 1 (Almaty, 2000).

⁷⁴Data kindly provided by Dr. Mehdi Bozorgmehr, Von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California-UCLA, Los Angeles.

⁷⁵Asha A. Bhende, Ralph E. Jhirad, Prakash Fulpagare, *Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Jews in India* (Mumbai, 1997).

AFRICA

About 88,000 Jews were estimated to remain in Africa at the beginning of 2001, of which about 90 percent lived in the Republic of South Africa (see table 6). According to the 1980 national census, there were about 118,000 Jews among South Africa's white population.⁷⁶ Substantial Jewish emigration since then was partially compensated for by Jewish immigration and the return migration of former emigrants, but an incipient negative balance of internal changes produced some further attrition. The 1991 population census did not provide a reliable new national figure on Jewish population size since the question on religion was optional and only 65,406 white people declared themselves to be Jewish. The results of a Jewish-sponsored survey of the Jewish population in the five major South African urban centers, completed—like the census—in 1991, confirmed the ongoing demographic decline.⁷⁷ Based on that evidence, the most likely range of Jewish population size was estimated at 92,000 to 106,000 for 1991, with a central value of 100,000. According to the 1996 census there were 55,734 white Jews, 10,449 black Jews, 1,058 “coloured” (mixed-race) Jews, and 359 Indian Jews. Continuing Jewish emigration from South Africa to Israel and other Western countries (especially Australia) stimulated by personal insecurity and other fears about the future was reflected in a new survey carried out in 1998.⁷⁸ A new estimate was suggested of 80,000 for 2000, lowered to 79,000 in 2001, making South Africa the 12th largest Jewish population worldwide.

In recent years, the Jewish community of Ethiopia was at the center of an international rescue effort. In the course of 1991, the overwhelming majority of Ethiopian Jews—about 20,000 people—were brought to Israel, most of them in a dramatic one-day airlift. Some of these migrants were non-Jewish members of mixed households. It was assumed that few Jews had remained in Ethiopia, but in subsequent years the small remaining core Jewish population appeared to be larger than previously estimated. Between 1992 and 2000, 17,700 immigrants from Ethiopia arrived in Israel—mostly non-Jewish immigrants seeking reunification with their Jewish relatives. Although it is possible that more Jews may appear asking to emigrate to Israel, and that more Christian relatives of Jews already in Israel will press for emigration before Israel terminates the family reunification program for such relatives, a conservative estimate of 100 Jews was

⁷⁶Sergio DellaPergola and Allie A. Dubb, “South African Jewry: A Sociodemographic Profile,” *AJYB* 1988, vol. 88, pp. 59–140.

⁷⁷The study was directed by Dr. Allie A. Dubb and supported by the Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies, University of Cape Town. See Allie A. Dubb, *The Jewish Population of South Africa: The 1991 Sociodemographic Survey* (Cape Town, 1994).

⁷⁸Barry A. Kosmin, Jaqueline Goldberg, Milton Shain, and Shirley Bruk, *Jews of the New South Africa: Highlights of the 1998 National Survey of South African Jews* (London, 1999).

tentatively suggested for 2001. Small Jewish populations remained in various other African countries south of the Sahara.

The remnant of Moroccan and Tunisian Jewry tended to shrink slowly through emigration, mostly to Israel, France, and Canada. The 2001 estimate was 5,700 for Morocco and 1,500 for Tunisia.⁷⁹ As some Jews had a foothold both in Morocco or Tunisia and also in France or other Western countries, their geographical attribution was uncertain.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, 1/1/2001

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	67,884,000	100	0.0	C 1993
Ethiopia	62,908,000	100	0.0	C 1998
Morocco	29,878,000	5,700	0.2	B 1995
Tunisia	9,459,000	1,500	0.2	B 1995
Other	69,593,000	100	0.0	D
Total North Africa	239,722,000	7,500	0.0	
Botswana	1,541,000	100	0.1	B 1993
Congo D.R.	50,948,000	100	0.0	B 1993
Kenya	30,669,000	400	0.0	B 1990
Namibia	1,757,000	100	0.1	B 1993
Nigeria	113,862,000	100	0.0	D
South Africa	43,309,000	79,000	1.8	B 1999
Zimbabwe	12,627,000	700	0.1	B 1993
Other	299,565,000	300	0.0	D
Total other Africa	554,278,000	80,800	0.1	
Total	794,000,000	88,300	0.1	

⁷⁹See George E. Gruen, "Jews in the Middle East and North Africa," *AJYB* 1994, vol. 94, pp. 438-464; and data communicated by Jewish organizations.

OCEANIA

The major country of Jewish residence in Oceania (Australasia) is Australia, where 95 percent of the estimated total of 103,000 Jews live (see table 7). A total of 79,805 people in Australia described their religion as Jewish in the 1996 national census.⁸⁰ This represented an increase of 5,419 (7.3 percent) over the 1991 census figure of 74,186 declared Jews.⁸¹ In Australia the question on religion is optional. In 1996, over 25 percent (and in 1991, over 23 percent) of the country's whole population either did not specify their religion or stated explicitly that they had none. This large group must be assumed to contain persons who identify in other ways as Jews, though there is no way to know whether Jews in Australia are more or less likely to state their religion than are other Australians.

TABLE 7. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, 1/1/200

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	19,138,000	98,000	5.1	B 1996
New Zealand	3,778,000	5,100	1.3	B 1996 X
Other	7,645,000	100	0.0	D
Total	30,561,000	103,200	3.4	

In a 1991 survey in Melbourne, where roughly half of all Australia's Jews live, less than 7 percent of the Jewish respondents stated they had not identified as Jews in the census.⁸² The Melbourne survey actually depicted a very stable community, one that combined growing acculturation with moderate levels of intermarriage. Australian Jewry has received migratory reinforcements during the last decade, especially from South Africa, the FSU, and Israel. At the same time, there were demographic patterns with negative effects on Jewish population size, such as declining birth cohorts and strong aging.⁸³ Taking into account these various factors, our 2001 estimate was 98,000—ninth largest community worldwide—

⁸⁰William D. Rubinstein, "Jews in the 1996 Australian Census," *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal* 14, no. 3, 1998, pp. 495–507.

⁸¹Bill Rubinstein, "Census Total for Jews Up by 7.7 Percent: Big Gains in Smaller States," unpublished report (Geelong, Victoria, 1993).

⁸²John Goldlust, *The Jews of Melbourne; A Report of the Findings of the Jewish Community Survey, 1991* (Melbourne, 1993).

⁸³Sol Encel and Nathan Moss, *Sydney Jewish Community: Demographic Profile* (Sydney, 1995).

substantially more than official census returns, but less than would obtain by adding the full proportion of those who did not report any religion in the census.

In New Zealand, according to the 1996 census, 4,821 people indicated a Jewish religious affiliation; a total of 1,545 indicated an Israeli/Jewish/Hebrew ethnicity, of which 633 were also Jewish by religion, 609 had another religion, and 303 reported no religion. Adding the latter to those who reported a Jewish religion, a core Jewish population estimate of 5,124 obtained.⁸⁴

Dispersion and Concentration

COUNTRY PATTERNS

While Jews are widely dispersed throughout the world, they are also concentrated to a large extent (see table 8). In 2001, over 97 percent of world Jewry lived in the 15 countries with the largest Jewish populations; and over 80 percent lived in the two largest communities—the United States and Israel. Similarly, ten leading Diaspora countries together comprised over 93 percent of the Diaspora Jewish population; three countries (United States, France, and Canada) accounted for 79 percent, and the United States alone for nearly 69 percent of total Diaspora Jewry.

TABLE 8. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, 1/1/2001

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the World		In the Diaspora	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,700,000	43.0	43.0	68.7	68.7
2	Israel	4,952,200	37.4	80.4	=	=
3	France	520,000	3.9	84.3	6.3	74.9
4	Canada	364,000	2.7	87.0	4.4	79.3
5	United Kingdom	275,000	2.1	89.1	3.3	82.6
	Russia	275,000	2.1	91.2	3.3	85.9
7	Argentina	197,000	1.5	92.7	2.4	88.3
8	Ukraine	112,000	0.8	93.5	1.3	89.7
9	Germany	98,000	0.7	94.3	1.2	90.8
	Australia	98,000	0.7	95.0	1.2	92.0
11	Brazil	97,500	0.7	95.7	1.2	93.2
12	South Africa	79,000	0.6	96.3	1.0	94.1
13	Hungary	51,500	0.4	96.7	0.6	94.8
14	Mexico	40,500	0.3	97.0	0.5	95.2
15	Belgium	31,500	0.2	97.3	0.4	95.6

⁸⁴Statistics New Zealand, *1996 Census of Population and Dwellings, Ethnic Groups* (Wellington, 1997).

Table 9 demonstrates the magnitude of Jewish dispersion. The 94 individual countries listed above as each having at least 100 Jews are scattered over six continents. In 2001, 8 countries had a Jewish population of 100,000 or more; another 5 countries had 50,000 or more; 15 countries had 10,000–50,000; 11 countries had 5,000–10,000; and 55 countries had fewer than 5,000 Jews each. In relative terms, too, the Jews were thinly scattered nearly everywhere in the Diaspora. There is not a single Diaspora country where Jews amounted to 25 per 1,000 (2.5 percent) of the total population. In most countries they constituted a far smaller fraction. Only 3 Diaspora countries had more than 10 per 1,000 (1 percent) Jews in their total population; and only 5 countries had more than 5 Jews per 1,000 (0.5 percent) of population. The respective 8 countries were, in descending order of the proportion, but regardless of the absolute number of their Jews: Gibraltar (24.0 per 1,000), United States (20.1), Canada (11.8), France (8.8), Uruguay (6.7), Argentina (5.3), Hungary (5.2), and Australia (5.1). Other major Diaspora communities having lower proportions of Jews per 1,000 of total population were the United Kingdom (4.6 per 1,000), Russia (1.9), Ukraine (2.3), Germany (1.2), Brazil (0.6), South Africa (1.8), Mexico (0.4), and Belgium (3.1).

In the State of Israel, by contrast, the Jewish majority amounted to 778 per 1,000 (77.8 percent) in 2001—not including the Arab population of the Palestinian Autonomy and administered areas.

CONCENTRATION IN MAJOR CITIES

Intensive international and internal migrations led to the concentration of an overwhelming majority of the Jews into large urban areas. Table 10 ranks the cities where the largest Jewish populations were found in 2001.⁸⁵ These 20 central places and their suburban and satellite areas altogether comprised over 70 percent of the whole world Jewish population. Ten of these cities were in the U.S., four in Israel, two in Canada, and one each in France, the United Kingdom, Argentina, and Russia. The ten metropolitan areas in the United States included 78 percent of total U.S. Jewry, and the four Israeli major urban areas included 80 percent of Israel's Jewish population.

⁸⁵Definitions of metropolitan statistical areas vary across countries. Estimates reported here reflect the criteria adopted in each place. For U.S. estimates see Schwartz and Scheckner, "Jewish Population," AJYB 1998; for Canadian estimates see Torczyner and Brotman, "Jews of Canada"; for other Diaspora estimates see A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry; for Israeli estimates see Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population and Vital Statistics 1999*; and *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*. Following the 1995 population census in Israel, major metropolitan urban areas were redefined. The two cities of Netanya and Ashdod, each with a Jewish population exceeding 100,000, were included in the outer ring of the expanded greater Tel Aviv area.

TABLE 9. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER, AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN EACH COUNTRY, 1/1/2001

Number of Jews in Country	Jews per 1,000 Population					
	Total	0.0-0.9	1.0-4.9	5.0-9.9	10.0-24.9	25.0+
	Number of Countries					
Total*	94	62	23	5	3	1
100-900	34	30	3		1	
1,000-4,900	21	19	2			
5,000-9,900	11	5	6			
10,000-49,900	15	7	7	1		
50,000-99,900	5	1	2	2		
100,000-999,900	6		3	2	1	
1,000,000 or more	2				1	1
	Jewish Population Distribution (Absolute Numbers)					
Total	13,254,100	315,600	1,031,500	889,000	6,064,600	4,952,200
100-900	11,000	9,200	1,200	0	600	0
1,000-4,900	44,700	38,700	6,000	0	0	0
5,000-9,900	67,800	30,800	37,000	0	0	0
10,000-49,900	310,200	139,400	148,300	22,500	0	0
50,000-99,900	424,000	97,500	177,000	149,500	0	0
100,000-999,900	1,743,000	0	662,000	717,000	364,000	0
1,000,000 or more	10,652,200	0	0	0	5,700,000	4,952,200
	Jewish Population Distribution (Percent of World's Jews)					
Total	100.0	2.4	7.8	6.7	45.8	37.4
100-900	0.1	0.1	0.0		0.0	
1,000-4,900	0.3	0.3	0.0			
5,000-9,900	0.5	0.2	0.3			
10,000-49,900	2.3	1.1	1.1	0.2		
50,000-99,900	3.2	0.7	1.3	1.1		
100,000-999,900	13.2		5.0	5.4	2.7	
1,000,000 or more	80.4				43.0	37.4

*Excluding countries with fewer than 100 Jews, with a total of 1,200 Jews. Minor discrepancies due to rounding.

TABLE 10. METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS,
1/1/2001

Rank	Metro Area ^a	Country	Jewish Population	Share of World's Jews	
				%	Cumulative %
1	Tel Aviv ^{b,c}	Israel	2,560,000	19.3	19.3
2	New York ^d	U.S.	1,970,000	14.9	34.2
3	Haifa ^b	Israel	655,000	4.9	39.1
4	Los Angeles ^e	U.S.	621,000	4.7	43.8
5	Jerusalem ^f	Israel	570,000	4.3	48.1
6	Southeast Florida ^g	U.S.	514,000	3.9	52.0
7	Paris ^h	France	310,000	2.3	54.3
8	Philadelphia ⁱ	U.S.	276,000	2.1	56.4
9	Chicago ^j	U.S.	261,000	2.0	58.4
10	Boston	U.S.	227,000	1.7	60.1
11	San Francisco ^k	U.S.	210,000	1.6	61.7
12	London ^l	United Kingdom	195,000	1.5	63.1
13	Buenos Aires	Argentina	175,000	1.3	64.5
14	Toronto	Canada	175,000	1.3	65.8
15	Washington ^m	U.S.	165,000	1.2	67.0
16	Be'er Sheva ⁿ	Israel	165,000	1.2	68.3
17	Moscow ^o	Russia	108,000	0.8	69.1
18	Baltimore	U.S.	95,000	0.7	69.8
19	Montreal	Canada	95,000	0.7	70.5
20	Detroit	U.S.	94,000	0.7	71.2

^aMost metropolitan areas include extended inhabited territory and several municipal authorities around central city. Definitions vary by country.

^bAs newly defined in the 1995 Census.

^cIncludes Ramat Gan, Bene Beraq, Petach Tikva, Bat Yam, Holon, Rishon LeZiyon, Netanya and Ashdod, all with a Jewish population above 100,000.

^dIncludes Orange, Putnam, and Rockland counties, Northeastern New Jersey, and Fairfield County in Connecticut.

^eIncludes Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, Ventura counties.

^fAdapted from data supplied by Jerusalem Municipality, Division of Strategic Planning and Research.

^gDade, Broward, Palm Beach counties.

^hDepartments 75, 77, 78, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95.

ⁱIncludes Cherry Hill-Southern N.J., Princeton and Trenton areas in New Jersey, and Wilmington and Newark areas in Delaware.

^jIncludes Cook and DuPage counties and part of Lake County.

^kIncludes Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Sonoma, San Mateo, Santa Clara counties.

^lGreater London and contiguous postcode areas.

^mIncludes Montgomery and Prince Georges counties in Maryland, and northern Virginia.

ⁿCentral city only. Our estimate from total population data.

^oTerritory administered by city council.

Even more striking evidence of the extraordinary urbanization of the Jews is the fact that over one-third of all world Jewry live in the metropolitan areas of Tel Aviv and New York, and 52 percent live in only six large metropolitan areas: in and around New York (including areas in New Jersey and Connecticut), Los Angeles (including neighboring counties), and Southeastern Florida in the U.S.; and Greater Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem in Israel.

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