World Jewish Population, 2004

THE WORLD'S JEWISH POPULATION was estimated at 12.99 million at the beginning of 2004—an increase of about 40,000 over the previous year's revised estimate.[1] The new figure reflects updated information on Jewish population that became available following the major round of national censuses and Jewish population surveys in countries with large Jewish populations over the period 1999–2002. This new evidence generally confirmed our previous estimates, but sometimes suggested upward or downward revisions. Over the last decade, a significantly expanded database has become available allowing for critically assessing the worldwide Jewish demographic picture.

Figures on population size, characteristics, and trends are a primary tool in the evaluation of Jewish community needs and prospects at the local level and internationally. The estimates for major regions and individual countries reported in this overview 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.

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[1]The previous estimates, as of January 1, 2003, were published in AJYB 2003, vol. 103, pp. 588–612. See also Sergio DellaPergola, Uzi Rebhun, and Mark Tolts, "Prospecting the Jewish Future: Population Projections 2000–2080," AJYB 2000, vol. 100, pp. 103–46; and previous AJYB volumes for further details on earlier estimates.

[2]Many 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.

[3]For 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; and Sergio DellaPergola, "Demography," in Martin Goodman, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 797–823.

Determinants of Jewish Population Change

Major geopolitical and socioeconomic changes have affected the world scene since the end of the 1980s, particularly the political breakup of the Soviet Union, Germany's reunion, the European Union's gradual expansion to 25 states (including the addition of ten new members on May 1, 2004), South Africa's transition to a new regime, political and economic instability in several Latin American countries, and the volatile situation 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 were the most visible effects, accompanied by other significant Jewish population transfers. Reflecting geographical mobility and increased fragmentation but also new consolidation of the global system of nations, over 80 percent of world Jewry live in two countries, the United States and Israel, and 95 percent are concentrated in the ten largest country communities. Six of the G8 countries[4] (the United States, France, Canada, the United Kingdom, the Russian Republic, and Germany) comprise 87 percent of the total Jewish population outside of Israel. The aggregate of these major Jewish population centers virtually determines the assessment of world Jewry's total size and trends.

One fundamental aspect of population in general and of Jewish population in particular is its perpetual change. Population size and composition reflect a continuous interplay of three major determinants. Two of these are shared by all populations: (a) the balance of vital events (births and deaths); and (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 applies only to populations—usually referred to as sub-populations—that are defined by some cultural, symbolic or other specific peculiarity, as is the case with Jews. The latter type of change does not affect people's physical presence but rather their willingness or ability to identify with a particular religious, ethnic or otherwise culturally defined group.

The country figures presented here for 2004 were updated from those for 2003 in accordance with the known or estimated changes in the interval—vital events, migrations, and identificational changes. In our up-

[4]The eight leading economies in the world, also comprising Japan and Italy.

dating procedure, whether or not exact data on intervening changes were available, we consistently applied the known or assumed direction of change, and accordingly added to or subtracted from previous Jewish population estimates. If there is evidence that intervening changes balanced each other off, Jewish population remained unchanged. This procedure proved highly efficient in the past. Whenever improved Jewish population figures became available reflecting a new census or survey, our annually updated estimates generally proved on target.

The more recent findings basically confirm 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.[5] Concisely stated, these involve a positive balance of vital events (Jewish births and deaths) in Israel and a negative one in nearly all other Jewish communities; a positive migration balance for Israel, the United States, Germany, Canada, Australia, and a few other Western countries, and a negative one in Latin America, South Africa, Eastern Europe, Muslim countries, and some Western European countries as well; a positive balance of accessions and secessions in Israel, and an often negative, or, in any event, rather uncertain one elsewhere. While allowing for improvements and corrections, the 2004 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 magnified at a time of enhanced international migration, often implying double counts of people on the move. Consequently, the analyst has to come to terms with the paradox of the *permanently provisional* nature 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 so-

[5]See 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).

ciodemographic surveys. National censuses yielded results on Jewish populations in Ireland, the Czech Republic, and India (1991); Romania and Bulgaria (1992); the Russian Republic and Macedonia (1994), Israel (1995), Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand (1996 and 2001); Belarus, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan (1999); Brazil, Mexico, Switzerland, Estonia, Latvia, and Tajikistan (2000); the United Kingdom, Hungary, Croatia, Lithuania, and Ukraine (2001); and the Russian Republic and Georgia (2002). Permanent national population registers, including information on the Jewish religious, ethnic or national group, exist in several European countries (Switzerland, Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), and in Israel.

In addition, independent sociodemographic studies have provided most valuable information on Jewish demography and socioeconomic stratification, as well as on Jewish identification. Surveys were conducted over the last several years in South Africa (1991 and 1998); Mexico (1991 and 2000); Lithuania (1993), the United Kingdom, and Chile (1995); Venezuela (1998–99); Israel, Hungary, the Netherlands, and Guatemala (1999); Moldova and Sweden (2000); and France and Turkey (2002). In the United States important new insights were provided by two large surveys, the National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS, 2000–01) and the American Jewish Identity Survey (AJIS, 2001). Several further Jewish population studies were separately conducted in major cities in the United States (notably in New York City in 2002) 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, Italy, Buenos Aires, and São Paulo. Detailed data on Jewish immigration routinely collected in Israel help in the assessment of changing Jewish population sizes in other countries. Some of this ongoing research is part of a coordinated effort constantly to update the profile of world Jewry.[6]

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[6]Following the International Conference on Jewish Population Problems held in Jerusalem in 1987, initiated by the late Roberto Bachi of the Hebrew University and sponsored by major Jewish organizations worldwide, an International Scientific Advisory Committee (ISAC) was established. See Sergio DellaPergola and Leah Cohen, eds., *World Jewish Population: Trends and Policies* (Jerusalem, 1992). A new Initiative on Jewish Demography, sponsored by the Jewish Agency, led to an international conference held in Jerusalem in 2002 and a plan of data collection and analysis. The newly established Jewish People Policy Planning Institute (JPPPI), chaired by Ambassador Dennis Ross, provides a framework for policy suggestions in relation to population issues. See Sergio DellaPergola, *Jewish Demography: Facts, Outlook, Challenges*, JPPPI Alert Paper 2 (Jerusalem, 2003).

Definitions

A major problem with Jewish population estimates periodically circulated by individual scholars or Jewish organizations is a lack of coherence and uniformity in the definitional criteria followed—when the issue of defining the Jewish population is addressed at all. Simply put, the quantitative study of Jewish populations can rely only on operational, not normative, definitional criteria. Three major concepts must be considered in order to put the study of Jewish demography on serious comparative ground.

The *core Jewish population*[7] 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 reflecting the nature of most available sources of data on Jewish population. In countries other than Israel, such data often derive from population censuses or social surveys where interviewees have the option to decide how to answer relevant questions on religious or ethnic preferences. Such a 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. They do *not* depend on any measure of that person's Jewish commitment or behavior in terms of religiosity, beliefs, knowledge, communal affiliation, or otherwise. The *core* Jewish population includes all converts to Judaism by any procedure, as well as other people who declare they are Jewish. Also included are persons of Jewish parentage who claim no current religious or ethnic identity. Persons of Jewish parentage who adopted another religion are excluded, as are other individuals who explicitly identify with a non-Jewish group without having converted out. In Israel, personal status is subject to the rulings of the Ministry of the Interior, which relies on rabbinical authorities. In Israel, therefore, the *core* Jewish population does not simply express subjective identification but reflects definite legal rules, those of Halakhah.

The question whether Jewish identification according to this *core* definition can or should be mutually exclusive with other religious corporate identities emerged on a major scale in the preparation of the 2000–01 NJPS. The solution chosen—admittedly after much debate—was to

[7]The term was initially suggested in Barry A. Kosmin, Sidney Goldstein, Joseph Waksberg, Nava Lerer, Ariela Keysar, and Jeffrey Scheckner, *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey* (New York, 1991).

allow for Jews with multiple religious identities to be included under certain circumstances in the standard definition of Jewish population.[8] A category of Persons of Jewish Background (PJBs) was introduced: some of these were included in the Jewish population count and others were not. By the same token, Jews with multiple ethnic identities were included in the standard Jewish population count in Canada. The adoption of such extended criteria by the research community tends to stretch Jewish population definitions further than had usually been done in the past. This should be kept in mind when attempting to compare findings for a given Jewish population at different points in time.

The *enlarged Jewish population*[9] includes the sum of (a) the *core* Jewish population; (b) all other persons of Jewish parentage who are *not* Jews currently (or at the time of investigation); and (c) all of the respective further non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.). Non-Jews with Jewish background, as far as they can be ascertained, include: (a) persons who have themselves adopted another religion, even though they may claim to be also Jewish by ethnicity or religion—with the caveat just mentioned for recent U.S. and Canadian data; and (b) other persons with Jewish parentage who disclaim being Jews. As noted, some PJBs who do not pertain to the *core* Jewish population naturally belong under the *enlarged* definition.[10] It is customary in sociodemographic surveys to consider the religio-ethnic identification of parents. Some censuses, however, do ask about more distant ancestry. For both conceptual and practical reasons, the *enlarged* definition does not include other non-Jewish relatives who lack a Jewish background and live 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,

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[8]See Laurence Kotler-Berkowitz, Steven M. Cohen, Jonathon Ament, Vivian Klaff, Frank Mott, and Danyelle Peckerman-Neuman, with Lorraine Blass, Debbie Bursztyn, and David Marker, *The National Jewish Population Survey 2000–01: Strength, Challenge, and Diversity in the American Jewish Population* (New York, 2003). See also the 2004 volume of *Contemporary Jewry* (the scholarly journal of the Association for the Scientific Study of Jewry, edited by Samuel Heilman), which is devoted entirely to critical essays and analyses of NJPS method and findings.

[9]The term *enlarged Jewish population* was initially suggested by 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.

[10]See Kotler-Berkowitz et al., *National Jewish Population Survey 2000–01*.

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 as such does not affect a person's Jewish status—which, as noted, is adjudicated by Israel's Ministry of Interior and rabbinical authorities—but only the specific benefits available under the Law of Return. The law extends its provisions to all current Jews, their children, and grandchildren, as well as to the respective Jewish or non-Jewish spouses. As a result of its three-generation and lateral extension, the Law of Return applies to a large population, one of significantly wider scope than *core* and *enlarged* Jewish populations defined above.[11] 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.

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.

Presentation and Quality of Data

Until 1999, Jewish population estimates presented in the *American Jewish Year Book* 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. Efforts to provide the most recent possible picture entail a short span of time for evaluation and correction of available information, hence a somewhat greater margin of inaccuracy. Indeed, where appropriate, we revised our previous estimates in the light of newly accrued information on Jewish populations (tables 1 and 2). Corrections were also applied retrospectively to the 2003 figures for major geographical regions so as to ensure a better base for comparisons with the 2004 estimates. Corrections of the latest estimates, if needed, will be presented in future volumes of the AJYB.

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[11]For 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 in his *Jewish Identity: The Case of Ethiopian Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1998).

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 2003 total population,[12] the estimated 1/1/2004 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. The 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 respective 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 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 is also stated. For countries whose Jewish population estimate for 2004 was not only updated but also revised in the light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

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[12]Data and estimates derived from Population Research Bureau, *2003 World Population Data Sheet* (New York, 2004).

One additional tool for updating Jewish population estimates is provided by a recent set of demographic projections developed at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.[13] Such projections extrapolate the most likely observed or expected Jewish population trends over the first decades of the 21st century. Even where reliable 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 were lacking, we used indications from these projections to refine the 2004 estimates as against previous years. On the other hand, projections are clearly shaped by a comparatively limited set of assumptions, and need to be periodically updated in the light of actual demographic developments.

World Jewish Population Size

The size of world Jewry at the beginning of 2004 was assessed at 12,989,700. World Jewry constituted 2.06 per 1,000 of the world's total population of 6,314 millions. One in about 488 people in the world is a Jew. According to the revised figures, between January 1, 2003 and January 1, 2004, the Jewish population grew by an estimated 41,500 people, or about 0.3 percent. This compares with a total world population growth rate of 1.3 percent (0.1 percent in more developed countries, 1.6 percent in less developed countries). Despite all the imperfections in the estimates, world Jewry continued to be close to "zero population growth," with increase in Israel (1.4 percent) slightly overcoming decline in the Diaspora (–0.4 percent).

Table 1 gives an overall picture of Jewish population for the beginning of 2004 as compared to 2003. For 2003 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 decrease of the 2003 estimated size of world Jewry by 2,000. Explanations are given below of the reasons for these corrections.

The number of Jews in Israel rose from 5,094,200 in 2003 to 5,165,400 at the beginning of 2004, an increase of 71,200 people, or 1.4 percent. In

[13]See DellaPergola, Rebhun, and Tolts, "Prospecting the Jewish Future."

contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora diminished from 7,854,000 (according to the revised figures) to 7,824,300—a decrease of 25,700 people, or –0.4 percent. These changes reflect the continuing Jewish emigration from the FSU and other countries, but also the internal decrease typical of the aggregate of Diaspora Jewry. In 2003, the estimated Israel-Diaspora net migratory balance (immigration minus emigration) amounted to a gain of 5,200 core Jews for Israel.[14] This calculation includes Israeli citizens born abroad who enter Israel for the first time. Therefore, internal demographic evolution (including vital events and conversions) produced nearly all of the growth among the Jewish population in Israel, and most of the decline in the Diaspora.

Recently, instances of accession or "return" to Judaism can be observed in connection with the migration and integration of people from Eastern Europe and Ethiopia, and the comprehensive provisions of the Israeli Law of Return. The return or first-time access to Judaism of some of such previously unincluded or unidentified individuals contributed to slowing down the pace of decline of the relevant Diaspora Jewish populations and some gains for the Jewish population in Israel.

As noted, corrections should be introduced in previously published Jewish population estimates in the light of new information that has become available. Table 2 provides a synopsis of the world Jewish population estimates relating to the period 1945–2004, 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 database, these new revisions are not necessarily the same revised estimates that we published year by year in the AJYB based on the information that was available at each date. It is likely that further retrospective revisions may be necessary reflecting ongoing and 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-Shoah 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 32,000 in the 1990s. While it took 13 years to add one million to world Jewry's postwar size, the next 45 years were not enough to add another million. Table 2 also outlines the slow Jewish population growth rate versus total

[14]Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* (Jerusalem, 2004).

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 2003 AND 2004[a]

Region	2003			2004		Yearly % Change
	Original	Revised[b]				
	Abs. N.	Abs. N.	Percent[c]	Abs. N.	Percent[b]	2003–2004
World	12,950,200	12,948,200	100.0	12,989,700	100.0	0.3
Diaspora	7,856,000	7,854,000	60.7	7,824,300	60.2	−0.4
Israel	5,094,200	5,094,200	39.3	5,165,400	39.8	1.4
America, Total	6,071,600	6,071,600	46.9	6,059,000	46.6	−0.2
North[d]	5,670,500	5,670,500	43.8	5,661,000	43.6	−0.2
Central	52,100	52,100	0.4	52,000	0.4	−0.2
South	349,000	349,000	2.7	346,000	2.7	−0.9
Europe, Total	1,550,800	1,550,800	12.0	1,535,800	11.8	−1.0
European Union[b]	1,046,500	1,121,200	8.7	1,121,600	8.6	0.0
Other West	19,900	19,800	0.2	19,800	0.2	0.0
Former USSR[c]	389,700	375,200	2.9	360,000	2.8	−4.1
Other East and Balkans[c]	94,700	34,600	0.3	34,400	0.3	−0.6
Asia, Total	5,137,000	5,136,300	39.7	5,206,000	40.1	1.4
Israel	5,094,200	5,094,200	39.3	5,165,400	39.8	1.4
Former USSR[c]	23,300	22,600	0.2	21,300	0.2	−5.8
Other	19,500	19,500	0.2	19,300	0.1	−1.0
Africa, Total	83,900	82,600	0.6	81,000	0.6	−1.9
North[f]	7,300	6,000	0.0	5,400	0.0	−10.0
South[g]	76,600	76,600	0.6	75,600	0.6	−1.3
Oceania[h]	106,900	106,900	0.8	107,900	0.8	0.9

[a]January 1.
[b]Revised 2003 figures include effects of European Union expansion to ten new countries, two from Other West Europe (100 Jews), three from the former USSR (14,500 Jews), and five from Other East Europe and Balkans (60,100 Jews).
[c]Minor discrepancies due to rounding.
[d]U.S.A. and Canada.
[e]Asian regions of Russia and Turkey included in Europe.
[f]Including Ethiopia.
[g]South Africa, Zimbabwe, and other sub-Saharan countries.
[h]Australia, New Zealand.

TABLE 2. WORLD JEWISH POPULATION, ORIGINAL AND CORRECTED ESTIMATES, AND TOTAL POPULATION, 1945–2004

Year	Jewish Population			World Population		Jews per
	Original Estimate[a]	Corrected Estimate[b]	Yearly % Change[c]	Total Millions	Yearly % Change	1000 of Total Pop.
1945, May 1	11,000,000	11,000,000		2,315		4.75
1950, Jan. 1	11,303,400	11,297,000	0.57	2,524	1.87	4.48
1960, Jan. 1	12,792,800	12,079,000	0.67	3,027	1.83	3.99
1970, Jan. 1	13,950,900	12,585,000	0.41	3,702	2.03	3.40
1980, Jan. 1	14,527,100	12,819,000	0.18	4,447	1.85	2.88
1990, Jan. 1	12,810,300	12,868,000	0.04	5,282	1.74	2.44
2000, Jan. 1	13,191,500	12,900,000	0.02	6,010	1.30	2.15
2001, Jan. 1	13,254,100	12,914,000	0.11	6,055[d]	1.50	2.13
2002, Jan. 1	13,296,100	12,935,600	0.17	6,137[d]	1.35	2.11
2003, Jan. 1	12,950,000	12,948,200	0.10	6,215[d]	1.27	2.08
2004, Jan. 1	12,989,700		0.32	6,314[d]	1.59	2.06

[a]As published in *American Jewish Year Book,* various years. Estimates reported here as of Jan. 1 were originally published as of end of previous year.
[b]Based 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.
[c]Based on corrected estimates, besides last year.
[d]Midyear estimate of preceding year. Source: Population Reference Bureau.

population growth globally, and the declining Jewish share of world population. In 2004 the share of Jews per 1,000 world population was less than half what it was in 1945.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY MAJOR REGIONS AND COUNTRIES

About 47 percent of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with about 44 percent in North America. Some 40 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 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 2004. Moderate Jewish population gains were also estimated for the European Union (including 25 member countries), and Oceania. We estimate that Jewish population size diminished to variable extents in North, Central, and South America, the former Soviet republics in Europe and Asia, and Africa. These regional changes reflect the trends apparent in the Jewish population in each of the major countries. We now turn to a review of recent trends in the largest Jewish populations.

North America

In the United States (table 3), two major studies were recently undertaken, the 2000–01 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS)[15] and the 2001 American Jewish Identity Survey (AJIS).[16] The NJPS was sponsored the United Jewish Communities (UJC), the coordinating body for the local Jewish federations in the U.S., and advised by a National Technical Advisory Committee chaired by Frank Mott and Vivian Klaff. A national, stratified, random- digit-dialing (RDD) sample covered the U.S., subdivided into seven strata based on pre-survey estimates of Jewish population density, with sampling probabilities proportional to Jewish density in each stratum. Over 175,000 households were screened for possible inclusion, based on four questions: (1) What is your religion (or that of other adults in the household), if any? (2) Do you or does any other adult in the household have a Jewish mother or a Jewish father? (3) Were you or any other adult in the household raised Jewish? (4) Do you, or does any other adult in the household, consider your/him/herself Jewish for any reasons? Answers to these questions included options other than yes or no, thus allowing for a nondichotomic resolution of Jewish population definition. From the beginning, such screening criteria were expected to produce results not strictly comparable with the 1990 NJPS.

The final unweighted sample included 4,220 Jewish respondents and 303 people of Jewish background (PJB), for a total of 4,523 Jewish households; 625 non-Jews of Jewish background; and 4,027 non-Jews, for a total of 9,175 respondent households. The 4,027 non-Jewish households

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[15]Kotler-Berkowitz et al., *National Jewish Population Survey 2000–01.*

[16]Egon Mayer, Barry Kosmin, and Ariela Keysar, *American Jewish Identity Survey 2001—AJIS Report—An Exploration in the Demography and Outlook of a People* (New York, 2002). See also Barry A. Kosmin, Egon Mayer, Ariela Keysar, *American Religious Identification Survey 2001* (New York, 2001).

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, 1/1/2004

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Canada	31,600,000	371,000	11.7	B 2001
United States	291,500,000	5,290,000	18.1	B 2001
Total North America[a]	323,227,000	5,661,000	17.5	
Bahamas	300,000	300	1.0	D
Costa Rica	4,200,000	2,500	0.6	C 1993
Cuba	11,300,000	600	0.1	C 1990
Dominican Republic	8,700,000	100	0.0	D
El Salvador	6,600,000	100	0.0	C 1993
Guatemala	12,400,000	900	0.1	A 1999
Jamaica	2,600,000	300	0.1	B 1995
Mexico	104,900,000	39,900	0.4	B 2001
Netherlands Antilles	215,000	200	0.9	B 1998
Panama	3,000,000	5,000	1.7	C 1990
Puerto Rico	3,900,000	1,500	0.4	C 1990
Virgin Islands	115,000	300	2.6	C 1986
Other	23,300,000	300	0.0	D
Total Central America	181,530,000	52,000	0.3	
Argentina	36,900,000	185,000	5.0	C 2002
Bolivia	8,600,000	500	0.1	C 1999
Brazil	176,500,000	96,800	0.5	B 2001
Chile	15,800,000	20,800	1.3	C 1995
Colombia	44,200,000	3,300	0.1	C 1996
Ecuador	12,600,000	900	0.1	C 1985
Paraguay	6,200,000	900	0.1	B 1997
Peru	27,100,000	2,400	0.1	C 1993
Suriname	420,000	200	0.5	C 1986
Uruguay	3,400,000	19,600	5.8	C 2001
Venezuela	25,700,000	15,600	0.6	B 1999
Total South America[a]	358,420,000	346,000	1.0	
Total	863,177,000	6,059,000	7.0	

[a]Including countries not listed separately.

were interviewed for a National Survey of Religion and Ethnicity (NSRE) to collect data necessary for weighting and thus estimating the size of the Jewish population, and to provide comparative data to Jews and PJBs on sociodemographic topics. The rate of response to the screening interview was 28 percent. Weights were directly or indirectly estimated and applied to adjust for the number of telephone lines in the household, and to match sample household and respondent data to the U.S. Census totals for sampling strata, age, gender, and region.[17]

Following claims of excessively low respondent rates, selective population undercounts, and other inappropriate procedures during and following fieldwork, the NJPS was submitted to independent professional scrutiny. It was concluded that the study—although handicapped by several methodological shortcomings such as low response rates, inconsistent survey coverage of relevant subpopulations, and loss of documentation—stood within the range of professionally acceptable research standards and biases.[18]

The total Jewish population was estimated at 5.2 million, including 4.3 million with clearly Jewish connections, 800,000 persons of Jewish background but whose Jewish connections were less clear, and over 100,000 persons in institutions (the actual NJPS number was below 5.1 million, but a round estimate of 5.2 million was arrived at by including persons in institutions and persons who did not report their age). Respondents from the first group, the 4.3 million, were administered a long-form questionnaire, while respondents from the second, the 800,000, were administered a short-form questionnaire that covered a limited selection of the survey's variables. The total number of Jews plus non-Jews of Jewish background (including those with no Jewish connections) was estimated at 6.7 million. The total number of individuals in the 2.9 million households with at least one Jewish member was estimated at 8.7 million, significantly higher than in 1990.

Even as one major national Jewish population survey (the NJPS) was being undertaken, an alternative one (the 2001 AJIS) was being developed, testifying to substantive disagreements within the Jewish community and among its researchers about how to go about such a project. AJIS was based on a national RDD sample. Out of all successful contacts, a total of 50,238 respondents agreed to be interviewed. After a se-

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[17]Kotler-Berkowitz et al., *National Jewish Population Survey 2000–01*.

[18]Mark Schulman, "National Jewish Population Survey 2000–01: Study Review Memo," prepared for the United Jewish Communities, 2003.

ries of screening questions quite similar to those of NJPS 1990, 1,668 respondents qualified to be included in a survey of American Jewish households. The response rate was 18 percent.[19]

The estimated core Jewish population, including Jews with no religion and Jews by choice, as well as Jews in institutions, was 5,340,000. Of these, 3,460,000 were born Jews whose religion was Judaism, 170,000 were converts to Judaism/Jews by choice, and 1,710,000 were born Jews with no religion. The total of Jews and others of Jewish origin was 7,690,000. The total of individuals in all households surveyed, including households without any current "core" Jew, was 9,740,000, excluding persons in institutions. The AJIS data (and not those of the 2000–01 NJPS) conceptually match the 1990 NJPS figures.

Combined reading of these two major current surveys suggests a core Jewish population in the range of 5.2–5.35 million. Assuming an intermediate value of 5.3 million, the revised 2001 estimate was at least 400,000 short of the 5.7 million we had projected for 2002 based on the 5.515 million estimated for mid-1990 by the previous NJPS.[20]

There had reportedly been a Jewish influx during the 1990s of at least 200,000 new immigrants—from the former Soviet Union, Israel, Latin America, South Africa, Iran, and Western Europe. However, continuing low Jewish fertility rates, the consequent aging in population composition, and comparatively weak propensities to identify with Judaism among younger adults of Jewish ancestry apparently led to a significantly lower total core population size. In the historical perspective of Jewish population research in the U.S. over the last 50 years, the new findings appeared quite consistent, and more likely to be the product of actual demographic trends than an artifact of insufficient data.[21]

A 2002 study of the Jews in New York, the largest U.S. metropolitan community, pointed to a stable Jewish population of 1.4 million in the extended eight-borough area, but, for the first time in over three-quarters of a century, fewer than one million Jews lived in New York City's five boroughs.[22]

Our national U.S. estimate for 2004 assumes that the lack of growth—

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[19]Mayer, Kosmin, and Keysar, *American Jewish Identity Survey;* and Barry A. Kosmin, personal communication to the author.

[20]See Kosmin et al., *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey.*

[21]Sergio DellaPergola, "Was It the Demography? A Reassessment of U.S. Jewish Population Estimates, 1945–2001," *Contemporary Jewry*, 2004 (forthcoming).

[22]See http://www.ujafedny.org/site/PageServer?pagename=jewishcommunitystudy

in fact, actual population decrease—manifested, despite continuing immigration, through the 2001 surveys, is now a well-established trend. As a result, U.S. Jewry is characterized by an aging population composition, and its effectively Jewish fertility levels are significantly below its virtual demographic potential even with the inclusion of all the children of outmarriages. We therefore suggest a demonstrative reduction by 10,000 from our 2003 estimate of 5.3 million, to 5,290,000, still the largest Jewish population on Earth.

In Canada, the 2001 population census[23] indicated a decrease in the number of Jews according to ethnicity (including those declaring a religion other than Judaism) from 369,565 in 1991 to 348,605 in 2001 (–20,960, or 5.7 percent). Of the ethnic Jews in 2001, 186,475 indicated that Jewish was their sole ethnicity, and the other 162,130 mentioned it as one of their several ethnic identities. The percentage with an exclusively Jewish ethnicity thus amounted to only 53 percent of all those reporting a Jewish ethnicity, as compared to 66 percent in 1991 and 90 percent in 1981. On the other hand, the number of Canada's Jews according to religion increased from 318,070 in 1991 to 329,995 in 2001 (+11,925, or 3.7 percent). It should be noted that 22,365 Jews entered the country during the ten-year interval between the two censuses, and consequently the Jewish population would have decreased by 10,440 (3.3 percent) were it not for this immigration.

Keeping in mind that some ethnic Jews are not Jewish by religion and that an even greater number of Jews by religion do not declare a Jewish ethnicity, a combined estimate of 370,520 obtained for Canada's Jewish population, up 4 percent from 356,315 in 1991.[24]

This figure was not strictly comparable with the concept of *core* Jewish population as it included some individuals for whom Jewish was only one among multiple ethnic identities. Some of these would otherwise be included in the *enlarged* Jewish population. Assuming continuing immigration to Canada, we evaluate the 2004 Jewish population at 371,000, the world's fourth largest.

Latin America

In Latin America, the Jewish population was generally in decline, reflecting economic and local security concerns. In Argentina, nearly 6,000

[23]See http://www.statcan.ca

[24]Charles Shahar, *The Jewish Community of Canada* (Toronto, 2004).

Jews emigrated to Israel in 2002—the highest figure ever in a single year from that country—due to the dire economic conditions and special incentives offered on the Israeli side. In 2003 the economic situation eased somewhat and Israel suspended its incentives. About 1,500 Jews emigrated from Argentina to Israel during the year.[25] Based on the experience of previous years, approximately 20 percent of these migrants were non-Jewish household members in the enlarged population, and partial evidence from different sources indicated that less than half of total Jewish emigration from Argentina went to Israel. Contrary to some rumors, the official data pointed to high permanence rates in Israel of the new immigrants, at least during the first year, and an expected attrition of about 10 percent leaving within the first three years.[26] We consequently assessed Argentina's Jewish population at 185,000 in 2004, the world's seventh largest.

The 2000 census of Brazil indicated a rather stable Jewish population of 86,828, up from 86,416 in 1991.[27] Considering the possible noninclusion of individuals who did not answer the census question on religion, we assessed Brazil's Jewish population at 97,000 in 2003 and, allowing for moderate emigration, 96,800 in 2004, the world's tenth largest. This appeared to be consistent with a systematic documentation effort undertaken by the Jewish Federation of Sao Paulo,[28] and an assumption that about one half of Brazil's Jews live in that city.

In Mexico, the 2000 census indicated a Jewish population of 45,260 aged 5 and over.[29] Of these, 32,464 lived in the metropolitan area of the capital, Mexico City, while—consistent with erratic figures in past censuses—a most unlikely 12,796 were reported in states other than the Federal District and Mexico State. Allocation of the 0–4 age group based on a 2000 Jewish survey determined a corrected estimate of about 35,000 Jews in Greater Mexico City, and 40,000 nationwide. In 2004, allowing for minor emigration, we estimated the Jewish population at 39,900, the world's 14th largest.

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[25]See Israel Central Bureau of Statistics: http://www.cbs.gov.il

[26]Shmuel Adler, *Emigration among Immigrants from Argentina that Arrived During the Period 1.1.89–31.12.02* (Jerusalem: State of Israel Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, Division of Planning and Research, 2004).

[27]See http://www.ibge.br; René D. Decol, "Brazilian Jews: a Demographic Profile," unpublished paper delivered at the International Conference on Jewish Demography, Jerusalem, 2002.

[28]FISESP (Federação Israelita do Estado de São Paulo), *Recadastramento comunitário 2000–01* (São Paulo, 2002).

[29]See Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, Geografia e Informatica, *XII Censo General de Poblacion y Vivienda 2000* (Mexico City, 2002).

The fourth largest Jewish community in Latin America is located in Chile,[30] whose relatively stable Jewish population is now larger than those of Uruguay[31] and Venezuela,[32] which have experienced significant emigration in recent years.

European Union

Jewish population in Europe (table 4) tended to be increasingly concentrated in the western part of the continent, and within the European Union. On May 1, 2004, the EU expanded from 15 to 25 countries, incorporating three countries that had been part of the Soviet Union (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), another five that had been part of the old communist East European bloc (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia), and two southern European countries (Cyprus and Malta). The EU thus reached an estimated total of 1,121,500 Jews, comprising 73 percent of the continent's total Jewish population. The other former Soviet republics in Europe outside the EU comprised 360,000 Jews, or 24.4 percent of European Jewry. All other European countries comprised 54,200 Jews, or 3.4 percent of the Jews of Europe. The EU's expanded format symbolized an important historical landmark: the virtual boundary between Western and Eastern Europe that had existed since time immemorial was erased.

The largest Jewish community in Europe was in France, where a new countrywide survey undertaken at the beginning of 2002 suggested a downward revision to 500,000 Jews plus an additional 75,000 non-Jewish members of Jewish households.[33] Before the survey, our Jewish population estimate stood at 519,000. The difference, cumulated over several years, was primarily due to a growing pace of Jewish emigration not only to Israel—amounting to about 1,800 in 2003—but also to Canada and other countries. The emigration tended to respond to increasing manifestations

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[30]Gabriel Berger et al., *Estudio Socio-Demográfico de la Comunidad Juía de Chile* (Santiago-Buenos Aires, 1995).

[31]Nicole Berenstein and Rafael Porzecanski, *Perfil de los egresados de la Red Formal de Educación JudíaUrguaya* (Montevideo, 2001).

[32]Sergio 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 Asociación Israelita de Venezuela, the Union Israelita de Caracas, and the Asociación de Amigos de la Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalén.

[33]See Erik H. Cohen with Maurice Ifergan, *Les Juifs de France: Valeurs et identité* (Paris, 2002).

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE, 1/1/2004

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Austria	8,200,000	9,000	1.1	B 2001
Belgium	10,400,000	31,300	3.0	C 2002
Denmark	5,400,000	6,400	1.2	C 2001
Finland	5,200,000	1,100	0.2	B 1999
France[a]	59,800,000	496,000	8.3	B 2002
Germany	82,600,000	112,000	1.4	B 2002
Greece	11,000,000	4,500	0.4	B 1995
Ireland	4,000,000	1,200	0.3	B 2001
Italy	57,200,000	28,800	0.5	B 2002
Luxembourg	450,000	600	1.3	B 2000
Netherlands	16,200,000	30,000	1.9	B 2000
Portugal	10,400,000	500	0.0	C 1999
Spain	41,300,000	12,000	0.3	D
Sweden	9,000,000	15,000	1.7	C 1990
United Kingdom	59,400,000	299,000	5.0	B 2001
[Total European Union 15]	[380,550,000]	[1,047,400]	[2.8]	
Estonia	1,400,000	1,700	1.2	B 2001
Latvia	2,300,000	8,900	3.9	B 2001
Lithuania	3,500,000	3,400	1.0	B 2001
Czech Republic	10,200,000	4,000	0.4	C 2001
Hungary	10,100,000	50,000	5.0	C 2001
Poland	38,600,000	3,300	0.1	C 2001
Slovakia	5,400,000	2,700	0.5	C 2001
Slovenia	2,000,000	100	0.1	C 1996
Other[b]	1,300,000	100	0.1	D
Total European Union 25	455,350,000	1,121,600	2.5	
Gibraltar	25,000	600	24.0	B 1991
Norway	4,600,000	1,200	0.3	B 1995
Switzerland	7,300,000	18,000	2.5	A 2000
Total other West Europe	12,385,000	19,800	1.6	

TABLE 4.—*(Continued)*

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Belarus	9,900,000	22,000	2.2	B 1999
Moldova	4,300,000	5,000	1.2	C 2000
Russia[d]	145,500,000	244,000	1.7	B 2002
Ukraine	47,800,000	89,000	1.9	B 2001
Total FSU Republics	207,500,000	360,000	1.7	
[Total FSU in Europe]	[214,700,000]	[374,000]	[1.7]	
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3,900,000	500	0.1	C 2001
Bulgaria	7,500,000	2,200	0.3	C 2001
Croatia	4,300,000	1,700	0.4	C 2001
Macedonia (FYR)	2,100,000	100	0.0	C 1996
Romania	21,600,000	10,500	0.5	B 2001
Serbia-Montenegro	10,700,000	1,500	0.1	C 2001
Turkey[d]	71,200,000	17,900	0.3	B 2002
Total other East Europe and Balkans[c]	124,400,000	34,400	0.5	
Total	799,635,000	1,535,800	1.9	

[a]Including Monaco.
[b]Cyprus and Malta.
[c]Including countries not listed separately.
[d]Including Asian regions.

of anti-Jewish intolerance, including physical violence. Our 2004 estimate for French Jewry is therefore 496,000, the third largest in the world.

In the United Kingdom, the 2000 national population census provided detailed data about religion, for the first time since the nineteenth century.[34] The total Jewish population of 266,741 for England, Wales, Scot-

[34]The census is available at http://www.ons.uk. See also Barry Kosmin and Stanley Waterman, *Commentary on Census Religion Question* (London, 2002),a publication of the JPR (Institute for Jewish Policy Research).

land, and Northern Ireland closely approximated our 273,500 estimate for 2002. However, considering that 22.8 percent of the UK population indicated that they had no religion and that another 7.3 percent did not answer the question—at a time when much of the organized Jewish community publicly supported participation in the census—we suggest raising the estimate to 300,000. More detailed data from the same census for Scotland (some of its questions were different than those asked in the rest of the UK) indicated 6,448 people currently reporting Jewish religion as compared to a total of 7,446 who said they were raised as Jews—a net loss of 13 percent.[35] Vital statistics routinely collected by the Board of Deputies Community Research Unit show a continuing excess of Jewish deaths (3,670 in 2002 and 3,592 in 2003) over Jewish births (2,665 in 2002).[36] Taking into account some minor emigration as well, we estimated the UK's total Jewish population at 299,000 in 2004, the world's fifth largest.

In Germany, significant if slightly diminished Jewish immigration continued. In 2003, 6,224 immigrants from the former Soviet Union were recorded as new members of German Jewish communities, as compared to 6,597 in 2002.[37] Since 2002, the enlarged total of Jews and non-Jewish family members who came to Germany from the FSU was larger than the respective number of FSU migrants to Israel. The total number of core Jews registered with the central Jewish community grew to 102,594 at the beginning of 2004, versus 98,335 one year earlier. Of the current total, fewer than 13,000 were in the initial pool of 28,081 members that existed at the end of 1990, and the rest were recent immigrants. The age composition of the Jewish old-timers—and even more so of the newcomers—was extremely skewed to the elderly. In 2003 there were 164 Jewish births and 1,188 Jewish deaths recorded in Germany. This explains why the growth of the Jewish community is significantly less than the total number of new immigrants. Allowing for delays in joining the organized community and a preference on the part of some members of a minority not

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[35]United Kingdom, Scotland, General Register Office (Edinburgh, 2002). Also see *JPR/News,* Spring 2003, p. 6.

[36]The Board of Deputies of British Jews, Community Research Unit, *Report on Community Vital Statistics 2003* (London, 2004). See also Stephen Miller, Marlena Schmool, and Antony Lerman, *Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey* (London, 1996).

[37]Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWJD), *Mitgliederstatistik; Der Einzelnen Jüdischen Gemeinden und Landesverbände in Deutschland* (Frankfurt a.M., 2004). We acknowledge the kind assistance of Ms. Ellen Rubinstein of ZWJD in making these data available.

to identify officially with its institutions, we assess Germany's core Jewish population at 112,000, the world's eighth largest.

In Hungary, our core estimate of 50,000 (the world's 13th largest) reflects the unavoidably negative balance of Jewish births and deaths in a country where the total population's vital balance has been negative for several years in a row. While a Jewish survey in 1999[38] indicated a conspicuously larger enlarged Jewish population, a demographic extrapolation based on the usually accepted number of post-Holocaust core Jewish survivors and that accounted for the known or estimated numbers of births, deaths, and emigrants since 1945 closely matches our assessment. It should be noted that in the 2001 Hungarian census a scant 13,000 people reported themselves Jewish by religion.

Belgium's Jewish population was estimated above 30,000, the 15th largest worldwide. Quite stable numbers reflected the presence of a traditional Orthodox community in Antwerp and the growth of a large European administrative center in Brussels. Local Jewish population estimates were quite obsolete in comparison with most other EU countries. The next two largest Jewish communities in the EU were those in the Netherlands and Italy. In the Netherlands, a survey in 2000 estimated a Halakhic Jewish population of 30,072, of which perhaps as many as a third were immigrants from Israel, and an enlarged Jewish population of 43,305.[39] In Italy, total Jewish community membership—which historically comprised the overwhelming majority of the country's Jewish population—declined from 26,706 in 1995 to 25,143 in 2001.[40] Our estimate, slightly below 29,000, adequately allocates for non-members.

Former Soviet Union

In the former Soviet Union, rapid Jewish population decrease continued, reflecting an overwhelming surplus of Jewish deaths over births, high rates of outmarriage and low rates of Jewish identification of the chil-

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[38]András Kovács, *Zsidók és Zsidóság a Mai Magyarországon: Egy szociológiai kutatás eredményei* [Jews and Jewry in Contemporary Hungary: Results of a Sociological Survey] (Budapest, 2002).

[39]Hanna van Solinge and Marlene de Vries, eds., *De Joden in Nederland Anno 2000: Demografisch profile en binding aan het joodendom* (Amsterdam, 2001). The survey was undertaken as a collaborative effort between the Stichting Joods Maatschappelijk Werk and NIDI (Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute). See also C. Kooyman and J. Almagor, *Israelis in Holland: A Sociodemographic Study of Israelis and Former Israelis in Holland* (Amsterdam, 1996).

[40]Unione delle comunità ebraiche italiane, *IV Congresso, relazione del consiglio* (Roma, 2002) pp. 162 ff.

dren, and conspicuous though diminishing emigration. Our 2004 assessment of the total core Jewish population in the aggregate of the 15 former Soviet Republics was 395,300, of which 374,000 lived in Europe and 21,300 in Asia. At least as many non-Jewish family members were part of the respective enlarged households. The ongoing process of demographic decline was compensated only to a minor extent by the revival of Jewish cultural and religious activities.[41]

In the Russian Republic, the October 2002 census indicated 233,000 Jews as against our core Jewish population estimate of 252,000 (derived from the February 1994 Russian Microcensus estimate of 408,000 Jews).[42] Allowing for some census undercounts after the compulsory item on ethnicity (*natsyonalnost*) on identification documents was canceled, and the option not to state an ethnicity was allowed for the first time, we estimate the Jewish population at 244,000 in 2004, the sixth largest in the world. The size of Russian Jewry was more stable and resilient than in the other former Soviet republics. This was partly a consequence of Jewish migrations between the various republics and also the lower emigration propensities from Moscow and some of the other main urban areas.[43] Nevertheless, the striking imbalance of Jewish births and deaths meant continuing population decline and an elderly age composition. The decline in the number of births to at least one Jewish parent was much faster than that of Jewish deaths, and as a result the estimated negative balance of these vital events increased from about –5,800 in 1988 to –6,900 in 1998.[44]

In the Ukraine, the population census undertaken on December 5, 2001, yielded 103,600 Jews, whereas we had expected 100,000 on January 1, 2002. Considering that our baseline for the latter estimate were the 486,300 Jews counted in the previous census of January 1989 (not including a few "oriental" Jews), the fit between expected and actual results was quite remarkable.[45] Taking into account the dramatic pace of emi-

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[41]Zvi Gitelman, "Becoming Jewish in Russia and Ukraine" in Zvi Gitelman, Barry Kosmin, and András Kovács, eds., *New Jewish Identities: Contemporary Europe and Beyond* (Budapest/New York, 2003) pp. 105–37.

[42]Mark Tolts, "Demographic Trends among the Jews of the Former Soviet Union," unpublished paper presented at the International Conference in Honor of Professor Mordechai Altshuler on Soviet and Post-Soviet Jewry, Jerusalem, 2003. A German translation is forthcoming in *Menora* (Bodenheim/Berlin, 2004).

[43]Mark Tolts, "Mass *Aliyah* and Jewish Emigration from Russia: Dynamics and Factors," *East European Jewish Affairs* 33, Winter 2003, pp. 71–96.

[44]Tolts, "Demographic Trends."

[45]Ukrainian Ministry of Statistics, *Population Census 2001* (Kiyev, 2002); Mark Tolts, *Main Demographic Trends of the Jews in Russia and the FSU* (Jerusalem, 2002).

gration since 1989, the other major intervening changes among Ukraine's Jews, and the continuing emigration at the end of 2001, the census fully confirmed our previous assessment of ongoing demographic trends. Taking into account continuing emigration in 2003, we now assess the core Jewish population at 89,000, the 11th largest in the world.

Of the other former Soviet republics in Europe, after the accession of the three Baltic states to the European Union, the main Jewish population was in Belarus, now assessed at 22,000. Pending a new census, a survey in Moldova found an enlarged Jewish population of 9,240 corresponding to a core Jewish population of about 5,000.[46]

Rest of Europe

After Hungary—the largest Jewish community in the rest of Central and Eastern Europe—together with Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Slovenia joined the EU, only 34,400 Jews remained in non-EU East Europe and the Balkans, primarily in Turkey. A survey in Istanbul pointed to widespread ageing in a community that has experienced significant past emigration. In Istanbul, 14 percent of the Jewish population was under age 18, versus 18 percent above 65.[47]

Asia

Jewish population in Asia is mostly affected by the trends in Israel (table 5). At the beginning of 2004, Israel's core Jewish population reached 5,165,400, forming an enlarged Jewish population of 5,446,800 million when combined with 281,400 non-Jewish members of Jewish households.[48] Most of those who underwent conversions to Judaism were new immigrants from Ethiopia, while a few hundred were immigrants from the FSU. In 2003, 26,100 new immigrants arrived in Israel, of whom 16,800 were Jewish.[49] Current Jewish emigration reduced this to a net mi-

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[46]Malka Korazim and Esther Katz, "Patterns of Jewish Identity in Moldova: The Behavioral Dimension," in Gitelman, Kosmin, and Kovács, eds., *New Jewish Identities,* pp. 159–70.

[47]Data kindly provided by Ms. Lina Filiba of the Jewish Community Council.

[48]Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel,* 55, 2004. See also http://www.cbs.gov.il

[49]These data include about 3,000 immigrant citizens, the foreign-born children of Israelis on their first-time entrance in the country. Not included are foreign workers and illegal residents.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, 1/1/2004

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Israel[a]	6,523,000	4,940,100	757.3	A 2004
West Bank and Gaza[b]	3,755,400	225,400	60.0	A 2004
Total Israel and Palestine	10,278,400	5,165,400	502.5	
Azerbaijan	8,200,000	7,200	0.9	B 1999
Georgia	4,700,000	3,800	0.8	B 2002
Kazakhstan	14,800,000	4,000	0.3	B 1999
Kyrgyzstan	5,000,000	700	0.1	B 1999
Turkmenistan	5,700,000	400	0.1	C 2000
Uzbekistan	25,700,000	5,200	0.2	C 2000
Total former USSR in Asia[c]	73,900,000	21,300	0.3	
China[d]	1,295,900,000	1,000	0.0	D
India	1,068,600,000	5,100	0.0	B 1996
Iran	66,600,000	10,900	0.2	C 1986
Japan	127,500,000	1,000	0.0	C 1993
Korea, South	47,900,000	100	0.0	C 1998
Philippines	81,600,000	100	0.0	D
Singapore	4,200,000	300	0.1	C 1990
Syria	17,500,000	100	0.0	C 1995
Thailand	63,100,000	200	0.0	C 1998
Yemen	19,400,000	200	0.0	C 1995
Other	881,421,600	300	0.0	D
Total other Asia	3,673,721,600	19,300	0.0	
Total	3,757,900,000	5,206,000	1.4	

[a]Total population of Israel, including Jews in West Bank and Gaza, 1/1/2004: 6,748,400.
[b]Total Palestinian population in West Bank and Gaza: 3,530,000.
[c]Including Armenia and Tajikistan. Not including Asian regions of Russian Republic.
[d]Including Hong Kong and Macao.

gration balance of 5,200. Israel's Jewish fertility rate continued to be stable at 2.6 children per woman, higher than that of every other developed country and probably twice or more the effective Jewish fertility level across Diaspora Jewish communities. Of the 5,165,400 core Jews in 2004, 4,940,000 lived within the pre-1967 borders plus East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and 225,400 lived in the West Bank and Gaza.

The Jewish population in the rest of Asia consisted mainly of the rapidly declining communities in the FSU's eight Asian republics, the largest of which was Azerbaijan with 7,200 Jews.[50] A minor revision in Georgia's estimate following the 2002 census (–700) brought the Jewish population in that Caucasian country to 3,800. The largest Jewish population in a single country in Asia besides Israel was in Iran. Our estimate there reflects an effort to monitor widespread emigration since the Islamic revolution of the late 1970s.

Africa

Jewish population in Africa was mostly concentrated in South Africa (table 6). According to the 2001 census,[51] the white Jewish population amounted at 61,675. After factoring in the national nonresponse rate of 14 percent, a corrected estimate of 72,000 obtained. Allowing for a certain proportion of Jews reported among nonwhites (11,979 blacks, 1,287 coloreds, and 615 Indians), we assessed the total size of the Jewish community at 75,000. Allowing for a moderate pace of continuing emigration, we estimate South Africa's Jewish population at 74,000 in 2004, the world's 12th largest.

Our revised estimates for North Africa acknowledge the ongoing reduction in the small Jewish population remaining in Morocco and Tunisia, now assessed at 5,200 overall.

Oceania

Continuing immigration produced some increase in the size of Jewish populations in Oceania (table 7). Australia's 2001 census indicated a Jew-

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[50]Tolts, "Demographic Trends."

[51]See David Saks's analysis in *Jewish Report,* 2003. See also Barry 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).

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, 1/1/2004

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	72,100,000	100	0.0	C 1998
Ethiopia	70,700,000	100	0.0	C 1998
Morocco	30,400,000	4,000	0.1	C 2003 X
Tunisia	9,900,000	1,200	0.1	C 2003
Total North Africa[a]	258,700,000	5,400	0.0	
Botswana	1,600,000	100	0.1	C 1993
Congo D.R.	56,600,000	100	0.0	C 1993
Kenya	31,1600,000	400	0.0	C 1990
Namibia	1,900,000	100	0.1	C 1993
Nigeria	133,900,000	100	0.0	D
South Africa	44,400,000	74,000	1.7	B 2001
Zimbabwe	12,600,000	500	0.0	B 2001
Other	319,700,000	300	0.0	D
Total other Africa	602,300,000	75,600	0.1	
Total	861,000,000	81,000	0.1	

[a]Including countries not listed separately.

ish population of 83,500, up about 4,000 from 1996.[52] Taking into account nonresponse but also the community's aging composition, we estimate the core Jewish population at 101,000 in 2004, the ninth largest in the world. The 2001 census also pointed to some Jewish population increase in New Zealand.

[52]Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Population Census 2001* (Canberra, 2002). See also Gary Eckstein, *Demography of the Sydney Jewish Community 2001* (Sydney, 2003).

Dispersion and Concentration

Reflecting global Jewish population stagnation along with growing concentration in a few countries, 97.3 percent of world Jewry lives in the largest 15 communities, and, excluding Israel from the count, 95.6 percent lives in the 14 largest communities of the Diaspora (table 8). In 2004, there were at least 100 Jews in 93 different countries (table 9). Two countries had Jewish populations above 5 million individuals each (the U.S. and Israel), another seven had more than 100,000 Jews, four had 50,000–100,000, four had 25,000–50,000, ten had 10,000–25,000, and 66 countries had less than 10,000. In only nine communities outside of Israel did Jews constitute at least about 5 per 1,000 (0.5 percent) of their country's total population. In descending order by the relative weight (not size) of their Jewish population they were Gibraltar (24.0 Jews per 1,000 inhabitants), the United States (18.1), Canada (11.7), France (8.3), Uruguay (5.8), Australia (5.1), Argentina (5.0), the United Kingdom (5.0), and Hungary (5.0).

By combining the two criteria of Jewish population size and density, we obtain the following taxonomy of the 26 Jewish communities with populations over 10,000 (excluding Israel). There are six countries with over 100,000 Jews and at least 5 Jews per 1,000 of total population: the U.S., France, Canada, the UK, Argentina, and Australia; another two countries with over 100,000 Jews and at least 1 per 1,000 of total population: Russia and Germany; two countries with 10,000–100,000 Jews and about 5 per 1,000 of total population: Hungary and Uruguay; eight more countries with 10,000–100,000 Jews and at least 1 per 1,000 of total population: Ukraine, South Africa, Belgium, the Netherlands, Chile, Belarus, Switzerland, and Sweden; and eight countries with 10,000–100,000 Jews and less than 1 per 1,000 of total population: Brazil, Mexico, Italy, Turkey, Venezuela, Spain, Iran, and Romania.

Jews represented 765.4 per 1,000 inhabitants in the State of Israel, including East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, and the Jewish but not the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza. Jews comprised 60.0 per 1,000 total inhabitants in the West Bank and Gaza. Considering the total legal population resident in the State of Israel, West Bank, and Gaza, Jews represented 502.5 per 1,000, or slightly more than half. All of the preceding figures relate to the core Jewish population. If non-Jewish members of Jewish households are taken into account, the enlarged Jewish population thus obtained represented 807.1 per 1,000 of Israel's pop-

TABLE 7. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, 1/1/2004

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	19,900,000	101,000	5.1	B 2001
New Zealand	4,000,000	6,800	1.7	A 2001
Other	8,400,000	100	0.0	D
Total	32,300,000	107,900	3.3	

TABLE 8. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST CORE JEWISH POPULATIONS, 1/1/2004

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the World		In the Diaspora	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,290,000	40.7	40.7	67.6	67.6
2	Israel	5,165,400	39.8	80.5	=	=
3	France	496,000	3.8	84.3	6.3	73.9
4	Canada	371,000	2.9	87.2	4.7	78.7
5	United Kingdom	299,000	2.3	89.5	3.8	82.5
6	Russia	244,000	1.9	91.3	3.1	85.6
7	Argentina	185,000	1.4	92.8	2.4	88.0
8	Germany	112,000	0.9	93.6	1.4	89.4
9	Australia	101,000	0.8	94.4	1.3	90.7
10	Brazil	96,800	0.7	95.2	1.2	92.0
11	Ukraine	89,000	0.7	95.8	1.1	93.1
12	South Africa	74,000	0.6	96.4	0.9	94.0
13	Hungary	50,000	0.4	96.8	0.6	94.7
14	Mexico	39,900	0.3	97.1	0.5	95.2
15	Belgium	31,300	0.2	97.3	0.4	95.6

TABLE 9. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER, AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN EACH COUNTRY, 1/1/2004

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[a]	93	61	22	6	3	1
100–900	35	31	3		1	
1,000–4,900	22	19	3			
5,000–9,900	9	3	6			
10,000–24,900	10	5	4	1		
25,000–49,900	4	2	2			
50,000–99,900	4	1	2	1		
100,000–999,900	7		2	4	1	
1,000,000 or more	2				1	1
	Jewish Population Distribution (Absolute Numbers)					
Total[a]	12,989,700	303,700	707,300	1,150,600	5,661,600	5,165,400
100–900	11,300	9,500	1,200		600	
1,000–4,900	53,200	44,300	8,900			
5,000–9,900	58,600	17,500	41,100			
10,000–24,900	162,300	66,900	75,800	19,600		
25,000–49,900	130,000	68,700	61,300			
50,000–99,900	309,800	96,800	163,000	50,000		
100,000–999,900	1,808,000		356,000	1,081,000	371,000	
1,000,000 or more	10,455,400				5,290,000	5,165,400
	Jewish Population Distribution (Percent of World's Jews)					
Total[a]	100.0	2.3	5.4	8.9	43.6	39.8
100–900	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1,000–4,900	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
5,000–9,900	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
10,000–24,900	1.2	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.0
25,000–49,900	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
50,000–99,900	2.4	0.7	1.3	0.4	0.0	0.0
100,000–999,900	13.9	0.0	2.7	8.3	2.9	0.0
1,000,000 or more	80.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.7	39.8

[a]Grand total includes countries with fewer than 100 Jews, for a total of 1,100 Jews. Minor discrepancies due to rounding. Israel includes West Bank and Gaza.

TABLE 10. METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH LARGEST CORE JEWISH POPULATIONS, 1/1/2004

Rank	Metro Area[a]	Country	Jewish Population	Share of World's Jews	
				%	Cumulative %
1	Tel Aviv[b,c]	Israel	2,663,000	20.5	20.5
2	New York[d]	U.S.	2,051,000	15.8	36.3
3	Los Angeles[d]	U.S.	668,000	5.1	41.4
4	Haifa[b]	Israel	663,000	5.1	46.5
5	Jerusalem[e]	Israel	647,000	5.0	51.5
6	Southeast Florida[d,f]	U.S.	498,000	3.8	55.4
7	Be'er Sheva[b]	Israel	347,000	2.7	58.0
8	Philadelphia[d]	U.S.	285,000	2.2	60.2
9	Paris[g]	France	284,000	2.2	62.4
10	Chicago[d]	U.S.	265,000	2.0	64.4
11	Boston[d]	U.S.	254,000	2.0	66.4
12	San Francisco[d]	U.S.	218,000	1.7	68.1
13	London[h]	United Kingdom	195,000	1.5	69.6
14	Toronto[i]	Canada	180,000	1.4	71.0
15	Washington[j]	U.S.	166,000	1.3	72.2
16	Buenos Aires[k]	Argentina	165,000	1.3	73.5
17	Baltimore[j]	U.S.	106,000	0.8	74.3
18	Detroit[d]	U.S.	103,000	0.8	75.1
19	Moscow[l]	Russia	95,000	0.7	75.9
20	Montreal[i]	Canada	93,000	0.7	76.6
21	Cleveland[d]	U.S.	86,000	0.7	77.2
22	Atlanta[j]	U.S.	86,000	0.7	77.9

[a]Most metropolitan areas include extended inhabited territory and several municipal authorities around central city. Definitions vary by country. Some of the estimates may include non-core Jews.
[b]As newly defined in the 1995 Israeli Census.
[c]Includes Ramat Gan, Bene Beraq, Petach Tikwa, Bat Yam, Holon, Rishon Lezion, Netanya, and Ashdod, each with a Jewish population above 100,000.
[d]Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA).
[e]Revised estimate. Includes the whole Jerusalem District and parts of Judea and Samaria District.
[f]Miami-Ft. Lauderdale and West Palm Beach-Boca Raton CMSA.
[g]Departments 75, 77, 78, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95.
[h]Greater London and contiguous postcode areas.
[i]Census Metropolitan Area.
[j]Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA).
[k]Capital Federal and Gran Buenos Aires Partidos.
[l]Territory administered by city council.

ulation (as defined above), and 529.9 per 1,000 of the total population of Israel and the Palestinian territories.

The overwhelmingly urban concentration of Jewish populations globally is evinced by the fact that in 2004, 51.5 percent of world Jewry lived in only five metropolitan areas—Tel Aviv, New York, Los Angeles, Haifa, and Jerusalem—and another 25 percent lived in the next 15 largest metropolitan areas (table 10). Of the 22 largest metropolitan areas of Jewish residence, 12 were located in the U.S., four in Israel, two in Canada, and one each in France, the UK, Argentina, and Russia.

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