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World Jewish Population, 2002

THE WORLD'S JEWISH POPULATION was estimated at 13.3 million at the beginning of 2002—an increase of about 40,000 over the previous year's revised estimate.[1]

Figures on population size, characteristics, and trends are 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 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, South Africa's political transition, problems with Latin American economies, 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

[1]The previous estimates, as of January 1, 2001, were published in AJYB 2001, vol. 101, pp. 532–569. 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 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; Sergio DellaPergola, "Modern Jewish Demography," in Jack Wertheimer, ed., *The Modern Jewish Experience* (New York, 1993), pp. 275–90.

(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 in ten countries. The aggregate of these major Jewish population centers virtually determines 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 themselves with a specific religious, ethnic or otherwise culturally defined group.

The country figures presented here for 2002 were updated from those for 2001 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 apply the known or assumed direction of change, and accordingly add to or subtract from previous Jewish population estimates. If there is evidence that intervening changes balanced each other off, Jewish population remains 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.[4] Concisely stated, these involve a positive balance of vital events among Jews in Israel and a negative one in nearly all other Jewish communities; a positive migration balance for Israel, the United States, Germany, 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 any event, rather uncertain one elsewhere. While allowing for improvements and corrections, the 2002 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, 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 Estonia, Latvia, and Tajikistan (2000). The U.K. 2001 census included a new optional question on religion. Permanent national population registers, including information on the Jewish religious or national group, exist in several European countries (Switzerland, Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), and in Israel.

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[4]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).

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 and Guatemala (1999), and Moldova 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 constantly to update the profile of world Jewry.[5]

A new round of official censuses and Jewish surveys is expected to highlight the demographic profile of large Jewish communities at the dawn of the new millennium, primarily the U.S. National Jewish Population Survey (2000–01), the 2001 censuses of Canada, the Ukraine, and Australia, and the 2002 census of the Russian Republic. These new findings will allow for a significant revision and improvement of the currently available database on Jewish population.

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. Three operative concepts

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

should be considered in order to put the study of Jewish demography on serious comparative ground.

The *core Jewish population*[6] 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 the interviewees decide how to answer to relevant questions on religious or ethnic preferences. Such definitions of a person as a Jew, reflecting *subjective* feelings, broadly overlap but do 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 other people who declare themselves to be Jewish. Also included are persons of Jewish parentage who claim no current religious or ethnic belonging. Persons of Jewish parentage who adopted another religion are excluded, as are other individuals who did not convert out but explicitly identify with a non-Jewish group. In Israel, personal status is subject to the rulings of the Ministry of the Interior, which relies on rabbinical authorities. Therefore the *core* Jewish population in Israel does not simply express subjective identification but reflects definite legal rules, namely Halakhah.

The *enlarged Jewish population*[7] 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 still to be Jews by ethnicity or religion; (b) other persons with Jewish parentage who disclaim being Jews. It is customary in sociodemographic surveys to consider the religio-ethnic identification of parents.

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[6]The term *core Jewish population* was initially suggested by 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).

[7]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.

Some censuses, however, do ask about more distant ancestry. For both conceptual and practical reasons, this 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, 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 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.[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.

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 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. The effort to provide the most recent possible picture entails a shorter span of time for evaluation and correction

[8]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).

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 (see tables 1 and 2). Corrections were also applied retrospectively to the 2001 figures for major geographical regions so as to ensure a better base for comparisons with the 2002 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 1/1/2002 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 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

[9]Data and estimates derived from the United Nations Population Division, *Population, Resources, Environment and Development Databank* (New York, 2002).

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; updated 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 2002 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 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 detailed age-sex groups as of end-year 1995. 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 to 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 2002 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 2002 is assessed at 13,296,100. World Jewry constituted about 2.19 per 1,000 of the world's total population. One in about 457 people in the world is a Jew. According to the revised figures, between 2001 and 2002 the Jewish population grew by an estimated 44,000 people, or about 0.3 percent. This compares with a total world population growth rate of 1.4 percent (0.1 percent in more developed countries, 1.7 percent in less developed countries). De-

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

spite all the imperfections in the estimates, world Jewry continued to be close to "zero population growth," with increase in Israel (1.5 percent) slightly overcoming decline in the Diaspora (–0.3 percent).

Table 1 gives an overall picture of Jewish population for the beginning of 2002 as compared to 2001. For 2001 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 2001 world Jewry's estimated size by 2,000. This change resulted from upward corrections for Azerbaijan (+500), and downward corrections for Turkey (–2,000) and Tajikistan (–500). Explanations are given below of the reasons for these corrections.

The number of Jews in Israel rose from 4,952,200 in 2001 to 5,025,000 at the beginning of 2002, an increase of 72,800 people, or 1.5 percent. In contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora declined from 8,299,900 (according to the revised figures) to 8,271,100—a decrease of 28,800 people, or –0.3 percent. These changes primarily reflect the continuing Jewish emigration from the FSU. In 2001, the estimated Israel-Diaspora net migratory balance amounted to a gain of about 15,000 Jews for Israel.[11] Internal demographic evolution (including vital events and conversions) produced a further growth of about 58,000 among the Jewish population in Israel, and a further loss of about 14,000 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, corrections should be introduced 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 1945–2002, as first published each year in the *American Jewish Year Book* and as corrected retroactively, incorporating all subsequent revisions. These revised data

[11]Israel, 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, 2001 AND 2002[a]

Region	2001			2002		Yearly % Change
	Original Abs. N.	Revised Abs. N.	Revised Percent[b]	Abs. N.	Percent[b]	2001–2002
World	13,254,100	13,252,100	100.0	13,296,100	100.0	0.3
Diaspora	8,301,900	8,299,900	62.6	8,271,100	62.2	–0.3
Israel	4,952,200	4,952,200	37.4	5,025,000	37.8	1.5
America, Total	6,479,300	6,479,300	48.9	6,476,300	48.7	–0.0
North[c]	6,064,000	6,064,000	45.8	6,064,000	45.6	0.0
Central	52,600	52,600	0.4	52,500	0.4	–0.2
South	362,700	362,700	2.7	359,800	2.7	–0.8
Europe, Total	1,582,800	1,580,800	11.9	1,558,500	11.7	–1.4
European Union	1,032,100	1,032,100	7.8	1,034,400	7.8	0.2
Other West	19,700	19,700	0.1	19,600	0.1	–0.5
Former USSR[d]	434,000	434,000	3.3	410,000	3.1	–5.5
Other East and Balkans[d]	97,000	95,000	0.7	94,500	0.7	–0.5
Asia, Total	5,000,500	5,000,500	37.7	5,069,900	38.1	1.4
Israel	4,952,200	4,952,200	37.4	5,025,000	37.8	1.5
Former USSR[d]	28,000	28,000	0.2	25,000	0.2	–10.7
Other	20,300	20,300	0.2	19,900	0.1	–2.0
Africa, Total	88,300	88,300	0.7	87,200	0.7	–1.2
North[e]	7,500	7,500	0.1	7,400	0.1	–1.3
South[f]	80,800	80,800	0.6	79,800	0.6	–1.2
Oceania[g]	103,200	103,200	0.8	104,200	0.8	1.0

[a]January 1.
[b]Minor discrepancies due to rounding.
[c]U.S.A. and Canada.
[d]The Asian parts of Russia and Turkey are included in Europe.
[e]Including Ethiopia.
[f]South Africa, Zimbabwe, and other sub-Saharan countries.
[g]Australia, New Zealand.

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 expected that further retrospective revisions will be necessary as a product of 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-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 first entering or returning to Judaism, especially from Eastern Europe, as well as a short-lived "echo effect" of the postwar baby-boom (see below).

TABLE 2. WORLD JEWISH POPULATION ESTIMATES: ORIGINAL AND CORRECTED, 1945–2002

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	13,252,100	0.30
2002, Jan. 1	13,296,100		0.33

[a]As published in AJYB, 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 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 38 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 2001. Moderate Jewish population gains were also estimated for the European Union (including 15 member countries), and Oceania. Central and South America, other regions in Europe, Asian countries outside of Israel, and Africa sustained decreases in Jewish population size.

Individual Countries

The Americas

In 2002 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, less than 1 percent lived in Central America including Mexico, and about 6 percent lived in South America—with Argentina and Brazil the largest Jewish communities there (see table 3).

United States. Field work for the 2000–01 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS), sponsored by United Jewish Communities (UJC), was completed but final results were not yet available at the time of this writing. The 1989–90 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) provided the current benchmark information about the size and characteristics of U.S. Jewry and the basis for subsequent updates.[12] In the summer of 1990 the core Jewish population in the United States comprised 5,515,000 per-

[12]The 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.

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, 1/1/2002

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
Jamaica	2,576,000	300	0.1	A 1995
Mexico	98,872,000	40,400	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	52,500	0.3	
Argentina	37,032,000	195,000	5.3	C 1990
Bolivia	8,239,000	500	0.1	C 1999
Brazil	170,406,000	97,300	0.6	B 1991
Chile	15,211,000	20,900	1.4	B 1995
Colombia	42,105,000	3,400	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	2,600	0.1	C 1993
Suriname	417,000	200	0.5	B 1986
Uruguay	3,337,000	22,300	6.7	C 1993
Venezuela	24,170,000	15,800	0.7	A 1999
Total South America[a]	345,647,000	359,800	1.0	
Total	832,923,000	6,476,300	7.8	

[a]Including countries not listed separately.

sons. Of these, 185,000 were not born or raised as Jews but currently identified with Judaism. 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 of them adults and 700,000 children below age 18—had a Jewish parent but had not themselves been raised as Jews, and declared a religion other than Judaism at the time of the survey. Altogether, 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 reached about 8.2 million. The 1990 Jewish population estimates are within the range of a sampling error of plus or minus 3.5 percent.[13] This means a 5.3–5.7-million range for the core Jewish population in 1990.

Since 1990, the international migration balance of U.S. Jewry should have generated Jewish population increase. 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, thus incorporating the non-Jewish members of mixed households. The actual number of FSU Jews settling in the U.S. was therefore somewhat smaller, still quite 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 States after a prolonged stay and returned to Israel, bringing with them their U.S.-born children.[15]

The 1990 NJPS provided evidence of a variety of factors contributing to slowing down Jewish population growth in the U.S.: low levels of "effectively Jewish" fertility, aging of the Jewish population, increasing rates of outmarriage, declining rates of conversion to Judaism (or "choosing" Judaism), rather low proportions of children of mixed marriages being identified as Jewish, and a growing tendency to adopt non-Jewish ritu-

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

[14]See HIAS, *Annual Report* (New York) for these years.

[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.

als.[16] As a consequence, a surplus of Jewish deaths over Jewish births probably prevailed among U.S. Jewry. From the NJPS benchmark core Jewish population of 5,515,000, accounting for a positive balance of immigration net of emigration and assuming some quantitative erosion in the light of recent marriage, fertility, and age-composition trends, we estimated the current Jewish population at 5,700,000—the world's largest.

Another study completed in 2001 based on a countrywide sample, the American Jewish Identification Survey (AJIS), estimated a core Jewish population of 5,340,000 and an enlarged total of 10 million, including non-Jewish members of Jewish households and households of Jewish descent without any core member.[17] AJIS aimed at replicating the 1990 NJPS methodology, whereas the 2000–01 NJPS introduced several conceptual and technical changes intended to improve its effectiveness in portraying American Jewry. AJIS findings imply a decline of 175,000 in the core Jewish population and an increase of 1,975,000 in the non-core total since 1990. The latter figure comprises 845,000 adults of Jewish parentage with other religions, 173,000 children with Jewish parentage and other religion, and 957,000 other non-Jews. The AJIS would indicate that the processes of demographic and identificational erosion shown by the 1990 NJPS significantly strengthened during the 1990s. Our revision of the U.S. Jewish population estimate will be determined once the 2000–01 NJPS becomes available.

The North American Jewish Data Bank (NAJDB) continued its yearly compilation of local Jewish population estimates. These are reported elsewhere in this volume.[18] The NAJDB estimates were updated to 6,136,000 in 2000, including an unknown percent of non-Jewish members of Jewish households. 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 local community studies. Clearly, compilations

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[16]See Goldstein, "Profile"; U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Basic Trends in U.S. Jewish Demography* (New York, 1988); 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.

[17]Egon Mayer, Barry Kosmin, and Ariela Keysar, *American Jewish Identity Survey 2001* (New York, 2001).

[18]The 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, 1986," AJYB 1987, vol. 87, pp. 164–91. For 2000 see Jim Schwartz and Jeffrey Scheckner, "Jewish Population in the United States, 2000," AJYB 2001, vol. 101, pp. 253–280. The 2001 update appears above, pp. 247–74, in this volume.

of local estimates, even if done as painstakingly as those 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 vigorous internal migrations, as in the United States.[19] In our view, and in spite of sampling biases, national surveys such as NJPS offer a more reliable Jewish population baseline at the countrywide level than the sum of local estimates.[20]

Canada. As customary in Canada, the mid-decade 1996 census provided information on ethnic origins, whereas the 1991 census included questions on both religion and ethnic origin, plus information on year of immigration of the foreign-born, and languages. In 1996, 351,705 Canadians reported a Jewish ethnic origin, 195,810 of them as a single response and 155,900 as one selection in a multiple response with up to four options.[21] To interpret these data it is necessary to refer to the 1991 Canadian census, which enumerated 318,070 Jews according to religion.[22] 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. With due allowance for the latter group, a total core Jewish population of 356,315 obtains 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 report a Jewish ethnic origin), was 349,565. Based on a sim-

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[19]See 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.

[20]The NAJDB estimate for total U.S. Jewry in 2000 exceeds ours by 436,000 (a difference of 7.6 percent). Since 1990 we have estimated a Jewish population increase of 185,000 as against 621,000 according to NAJDB, and a decline of 175,000 according to AJIS.

[21]The 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).

[22]Statistics Canada, *Religions in Canada—1991 Census* (Ottawa, 1993); Jim 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. 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. 311–23.

ilar 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 the 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 2002, we updated the 1991 baseline of 356,300 to 364,000, making the Canadian Jewish population the world's fourth largest. The 2001 census will provide a better baseline.

Central America. The 1991 population survey of the Jews in the Mexico City metropolitan area[23] pointed to a community less affected than others in the Diaspora by the common trends of low fertility, intermarriage, and aging. Some comparatively more 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 quite 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 40,400.

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]

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[23]Sergio 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 (CEDDU), El Colegio de Mexico, 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.

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

South America.[25] Argentinean Jewry, the largest in Latin America and seventh largest in the world, was marked by a negative population balance. 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 increased aging and intermarriage.[26] Short 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 was 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 25–30,000 left in provincial cities and minor centers. The predominantly middle class Jewish community suffered from Argentina's national economic crisis, to the point of an emerging problem of "new Jewish poverty."[27] The Jewish institutional network was negatively affected, including Jewish education. Between 1990 and 2000, over 10,000 persons migrated to Israel and numbers were significantly rising in 2001–02, while unspecified numbers moved to other countries. Diminishing numbers of burials performed by Jewish funeral societies were also symptoms 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 195,000 in 2002.

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

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[25]For 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.

[26]Rosa N. Geldstein, *Censo de la Población Judía 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 Judía de Rosario, 1990* (Buenos Aires, 1992); Centro Union Israelita de Cordoba, *First Sociodemographic Study of Jewish Population; Cordoba 1993* (Cordoba, 1995).

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

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

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 had been decreasing since 1960. In São Paulo—Brazil's major Jewish community—all previous census returns since 1940 and various other Jewish survey and register data supported the 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 capital, Porto Alegre—Brazil's third largest community—unveiled an enlarged Jewish population of about 11,000.[30] The corresponding core Jewish population could be estimated at about 9,000, some 10 percent above the 1991 census figure and quite consistent with it. 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 groups,[31] we estimated Brazil's Jewish population at 97,300 in 2002, 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, of which 19,700 were 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

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[29]Henrique Rattner, "Recenseamento e pesquisa sociológica da comunidad judaica de São Paulo, 1968," in Henrique Rattner, ed., *Nos caminhos da diáspora* (São Paulo, 1972); Claudia Milnitzky, ed., *Apendice estatistico da comunidade judaica do estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1980); Egon and Frieda Wolff, *Documentos V; Os recenseamentos demográficos oficiais do seculo XX* (Rio de Janeiro, 1993–1994).

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

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

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

1998–99.[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 and subsequent emigration trends suggested a Jewish population estimate of 15,800 in 2002.

On the strength of fragmentary information available, our estimates for Uruguay, Colombia, and Peru[34] were slightly reduced to 22,300, 3,400, and 2,600 respectively.

EUROPE

Over 1.5 million Jews lived in Europe at the beginning of 2002, two-thirds in Western Europe and one-third in Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries—including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey (see table 4). In 2001 Europe lost 1.4 percent of its Jewish population, mainly through 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 1,034,400—an increase of 0.2 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 estimated size of French Jewry, assessed at 530,000 in the 1970s,[36] was rather stable over the following 20 years.[37] The Jewish community of France continued to absorb a small inflow of Jews from North Africa, its age composition being younger than in other European countries. Migration to Israel amounted to 7,500 in 1980–1989 and over 15,000 in 1990–2000.

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[33]Sergio DellaPergola, Salomon Benzaquen, and Tony Beker de Weinraub, *Perfil sociodemográfico y cutural 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.

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

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

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

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

Since the 1990s, aging tended to bring a moderate surplus of deaths over births, while intermarriage was steadily growing. In view of these trends, our French Jewish population estimate was revised to 525,000 in 1995 and 519,000 at the beginning of 2002. A new survey completed in 2002 will soon provide fresh insights on French Jewry.

A significant downward 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 compilation of Jewish birth and death records showed an excess of deaths over births in the range of about 1,000–1,500 a year.[39] A survey of British Jews conducted in 1995 indicated a significant rise in intermarriage (38 percent of all married men, and 50 percent among Jewish men less than 30 years old), 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 further continuation of these well-established trends, we adopted an estimate of 273,500 for 2002 (fifth largest worldwide).

In 1990 Germany was politically reunited. In the pre-unification 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 of the small Jewish population in the former (East) German Democratic Republic then ranged between 500 and 2,000. According to available reports, over 150,000 immigrants from the FSU settled in united Germany since the end of 1989, including non-Jewish family members.[42] Detailed records of Jews affiliated with

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

[39]Steven Haberman, Barry A. Kosmin, and 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. 547–562; Stanley Waterman and Barry Kosmin, *British Jewry in the Eighties: A Statistical and Geographical Guide* (London, 1986); Marlena Schmool, *Report on Community Statistics* (London, yearly publication).

[40]Marlena 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).

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

[42]See 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, pp. 116–37.

the Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZDJ)[43] show an increase from 27,711 at the beginning of 1990 to 93,326 at the beginning of 2002. By the same community registers, were it not for steady immigration from the FSU, the number of Jews would have declined from about 28,000 in 1990 to less than 18,000 in 2002, due to the continuing excess of Jewish deaths over Jewish births. We assume that 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 103,000 core Jews (not including non-Jewish members of households) obtained for 2002, making Germany the eighth largest Jewish community worldwide.

Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands each had Jewish populations ranging around 30,000. The tendency toward internal shrinkage of all these Jewries was partially offset by immigration. In Belgium, the size of the Jewish population, estimated at 31,400, was probably quite stable owing to the comparatively strong Orthodox section in that community. In Italy, compulsory membership in Jewish communities became voluntary in 1987. 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. These and other data on declining birthrates in most other cities prompted a reduction in our national estimate for Italy to 29,400.[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,[46] includ-

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

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

[45]C. 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. 175–79.

[46]Personal communication by Dr. Chris Kooyman, Stichting Joods Maatschappelijk Werk, Amsterdam.

ing Israeli and Russian new immigrants, we revised the core Jewish population estimate to 28,000.

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, leading to a 2002 estimate of 1,000.

Other West Europe. Few countries remain in Western Europe which have not joined the EU. In 2002 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 for about 1,000 emigrants to Israel during the 1990s, we put the 2002 estimate at 17,700.

Former USSR (European parts). Since 1989, the demographic situation of East European Jewry was radically transformed by the dramatic geopolitical changes in the region.[48] Official governmental sources provide the fundamental basis of information on the number of Jews in the FSU.[49] The Soviet Union's censuses and subsequent data distinguish the Jews as one recognized "nationality" (ethnic group). In a society that, until recently, left little or no space for religions, the ethnic definition criterion could be considered comprehensive and valid. Data from the last

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

[48]For 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, Conn., 1987); Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust: A Social and Demographic Profile* (Jerusalem, 1998).

[49]Dr. 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 two studies by Tolts, *Main Demographic Trends of the Jews in Russia and the FSU* (Jerusalem, 2001), and *Statistical Analysis of Aliyah and Jewish Emigration from Russia* (Jerusalem, 2002).

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE, 1/1/2002

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	31,400	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	519,000	8.8	C 1990
Germany	82,017,000	103,000	1.3	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	29,400	0.5	B 1995
Luxembourg	437,000	600	1.4	B 2000
Netherlands	15,864,000	28,000	1.8	B 1999
Portugal	10,016,000	500	0.0	C 1999
Spain	39,910,000	12,000	0.3	D
Sweden	8,842,000	15,000	1.7	C 1990
United Kingdom	59,415,000	273,500	4.6	B 1995
Total European Union	376,533,000	1,034,400	2.7	
Gibraltar	25,000	600	24.0	B 1991
Norway	4,469,000	1,200	0.3	B 1995
Switzerland	7,170,000	17,700	2.5	B 1990
Other	829,000	100	0.1	D
Total other West Europe	12,493,000	19,600	1.6	
Belarus	10,187,000	24,300	2.4	B 1999
Estonia	1,393,000	1,900	1.4	B 2001
Latvia	2,421,000	9,600	4.0	B 2001
Lithuania	3,696,000	3,700	1.0	B 2001
Moldova	4,295,000	5,500	1.3	B 2000
Russia[b]	145,491,000	265,000	1.8	B 2000
Ukraine	49,568,000	100,000	2.0	C 1997
Total former USSR in Europe	217,051,000	410,000	1.9	

TABLE 4.—*(Continued)*

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3,977,000	300	0.1	C 1996
Bulgaria	7,949,000	2,300	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	51,300	5.1	C 1999
Macedonia	2,034,000	100	0.0	C 1996
Poland	38,605,000	3,500	0.1	D
Romania	22,438,000	10,800	0.5	B 1997
Serbia and Montenegro	10,552,000	1,700	0.2	C 1996
Slovakia	5,399,000	3,300	0.6	D
Slovenia	1,988,000	100	0.1	C 1996
Turkey[b]	66,668,000	17,000	0.3	B 2001 X
Total other East Europe and Balkans[c]	187,638,000	94,500	0.5	
Total	793,715,000	1,558,500	2.0	

[a]Including Monaco.
[b]Including Asian regions.
[c]Including Albania

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

[50]Goskomstat 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.

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. Our estimates reflect for each FSU republic separately all available data and estimates concerning Jewish emigration, births, deaths, and geographical mobility between the different republics.

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 2001. Over the whole 1990–2000 period, over 1.4 million people defined as Jews by the enlarged Law of Return criteria, emigrated from the FSU. 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 of migrants, 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.

While mass emigration was an obvious factor in Jewish population decrease, a heavy deficit of internal population dynamics developed and

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[51] Yearly migration estimates can be compiled according to (ex-)Soviet, Israeli, American, German, and other sources, especially Israel Central Bureau of Statistics and HIAS yearly reports. See also Mark Tolts, "Jewish Demography in the Former Soviet Union," in Sergio DellaPergola and Judith Even, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1997* (Jerusalem, 2001), pp. 109–139; Yoel Florsheim, "Emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union in 1989," in *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 fur Ostwissenschaftliche und internationale studien* 33, 1991; Barbara Dietz, Uwe Lebok, and Pavel Polian, "The Jewish Emigration from the Former Soviet Union to Germany," *International Migration* 40, no. 2, 2002, pp. 29–48; and Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle. . . .

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 approached 80 percent among Jews who married in Russia in the late 1980s, and in Ukraine and Latvia in 1996. Outmarried parents generally preferred a non-Jewish nationality for their children.[53] The significantly younger age composition of Jewish emigrants exacerbated aging in the countries of origin.[54] As a result, Jewish population rapidly shrank.[55]

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[52]Mark Tolts, "The Jewish Population of Russia, 1989–1995," *Jews in Eastern Europe* 3, no. 31, 1996, pp. 15–19; Tolts, "Jewish Demography in the Former Soviet Union."

[53]Mark Tolts, "Some Basic Trends in Soviet Jewish Demography," in U. O. Schmelz and Sergio 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," unpublished paper presented at the European Population Conference, Paris, 1991; Mark Tolts, "Jewish Marriages in the USSR: A Demographic Analysis," *East European Jewish Affairs* 22, no. 2, 1992, pp. 3–19; Sidney and Alice Goldstein, *Lithuanian Jewry 1993: A Demographic and Sociocultural Profile* (Jerusalem, 1997).

[54]Age structures of the Jewish population in the Russian Federal Republic were reported in: Goskomstat SSSR, *Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1970 goda*, Vol. 4, Tab. 33 (Moscow, 1973); Goskomstat SSSR, *Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1979 goda*, Vol. 4, Part 2, Tab. 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 Tolts, "Jewish Demography in the Former Soviet Union."

[55]Mark Tolts, "Demographic Trends of the Jews in the Three Slavic Republics of the Former USSR: A Comparative Analysis," in DellaPergola and Even, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1993*, pp. 147–175; Mark Tolts, "The Interrelationship between Emigration and the Sociodemographic Trends of Russian Jewry," in Noah Levin-Epstein, Yaakov Ro'i, and Paul Ritterband, eds., *Russian Jews on Three Continents* (London, 1997), pp. 147–176.

On the strength of these considerations, our estimate of the core Jewish population in the FSU (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, and 435,000 at the beginning of 2002. Of these, 410,000 lived in the European republics and 25,000 in the Asian republics (see below). Tentative estimates of the enlarged Jewish population, including non-Jewish members of Jewish households, would probably be twice as high, and higher estimates would obtain for the total number eligible for the Law of Return.

Russia kept the largest Jewish population among the FSU republics—currently the fifth largest in the world. As against a 1989 census-based estimate of 570,000, including Tats, the February 1994 national Microcensus of the Russian Republic based on a 5-percent sample revealed a Jewish population of about 400,000, plus approximately 8,000 Tats.[56] This amounts to a total of 408,000, with a range of variation between 401,000 and 415,000 allowing for sampling errors. In 2002, on the eve of a new national census, our estimate for Russia was 265,000. In spite of decline, Russia's share of the total Jewish population of the FSU significantly increased over time due to lower emigration frequencies. Waiting for the results of the 2001 national census, we estimated Jews in the Ukraine at 100,000 in 2002 versus 487,300 in 1989, reflecting continuing large-scale emigration—currently the ninth largest community worldwide. In Belarus, the 1999 census[57] indicated a Jewish population of 27,798 (112,000 in 1989). For 2002 we estimated 24,300 Jews there. In Moldova, a survey conducted in 2000 at the request of the JDC-FSU Division and the local Jewish community confirmed the patterns of a declining and very elderly population.[58] We estimated the core total at 5,500 for 2002 (65,800 in 1989). Based on updated figures from the local national population registers, a combined total of 15,200 was estimated for the three Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia (versus 39,900

[56]See V. Aleksandrova, "Mikroperepisis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi Federatsii," *Voprosy Statistiki*, 1994 (1), p. 37 (Moscow, 1994). See also Tolts, "The Interrelationship between Emigration and the Sociodemographic Trends."

[57]Ministry 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).

[58]Malka Korazim, Ester Katz, and Vladimir Bruter, *Survey of the Jewish Population in Moldova* (Jerusalem, 2002).

in 1989). The figure for Latvia includes a 1,800 upward correction based on the 2000 census.[59]

The new population censuses conducted in parts of the FSU produced figures only barely higher than our estimates based on a yearly 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; (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 Israel or other countries; (e) and some returns to Russia and other republics from Israel[60] 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 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 several 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

[59]Goldstein, *Lithuanian Jewry 1993*; Lithuanian Department of Statistics, *Demographic Yearbook 1996* (Vilnius, 1997); Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, *Demographic Yearbook of Latvia 2001* (Riga, 2001).

[60]Council of Europe, *Recent Demographic Developments in Europe, 2000* (Strasbourg, 2000).

core Jews and their 245,000 non-Jewish household members produced an enlarged population of 520,000.[61] 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.[62]

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 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 consistent too. However, 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 survey of Hungarian Jewry provided evidence on the size and characteristics of the largest community in Eastern Europe outside the FSU.[63] As against an overall membership

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[61]Mark Tolts, "Russian Jewish Migration in the Post-Soviet Era," *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 16, no. 3, 2001, pp. 183–99; Evgeni Andreev, "Jews in Russia's Households (based on the 1994 Microcensus)," in DellaPergola and Even, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1997,* pp. 141–59; Tolts, "Jewish Demography in the Former Soviet Union."

[62]Israel'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 checked by competent authorities in Israel. According to data available from the Interior Ministry's Central Population Register, 90.3 percent of all new immigrants from the USSR during the period Oct. 1989–Aug. 1992 were recorded as Jewish. In 1994, the percent had declined to 71.6, in 1998 it was less than 60 percent, and in 2000 less than 50 percent. See 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," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 3, no. 16, 1991, pp. 41–56.

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

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 encompassed 150,000–200,000 persons. On the other hand, a detailed reconstruction of Jewish international migration and vital statistics based on the World Jewish Congress end-1945 estimate of about 144,000 Holocaust survivors, and the 1948 Hungarian census figure of 134,000[64] produced a total of 50,000–55,000 for end-2000. The number of applicants for compensation (about 20,000 persons born before May 9, 1945, and defined according to the "enlarged" criteria) seems consistent with these calculations. Our admittedly minimal estimate of a core Jewish population of 51,300 for 2002 reflects the clear excess of deaths over births that prevails in Hungary in general, and among Jews particularly.

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 2002 was 10,800. The Czech census of 1991 reported 1,292 Jews, but according to the Federation of Jewish Communities there were at least twice as many, and that is 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 census of December 4, 1992, reported 3,461 Jews;[65] our 2002 estimate, reflecting emigration, was 2,300. Crisis in the former Yugoslavia encouraged Jewish population decline. The core Jewish population for the total of five successor republics was assessed at about 3,500 at the beginning of 2002. Of these, fewer than 2,000 lived in Serbia and Montenegro, and 1,300 in Croatia.[66] The Jewish population of Turkey, where a significant surplus of deaths over births has been reported for several years, was reestimated at about 17,000.[67]

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[64]Tamás Stark, "Hungarian Jewry during the Holocaust and after Liberation," in DellaPergola and Even, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1993*, pp. 139–145.

[65]*Statistical Yearbook* (Sofia, 1992).

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

[67]Shaul Tuval, "The Jewish Community of Istanbul, 1948–1992: A Study in Cultural, Economic and Social Processes," unpublished Ph. D. diss., Jerusalem, 1999, and personal communication.

Asia

Israel. At the beginning of 2002, Israel's Jewish population was 5,025,000[68]—second largest in the world and 565,000 more than the number enumerated in the November 1995 census. Crossing the line of 5 million Jews in Israel during 2001 was a significant landmark in Jewish population history. Adding over 250,000 non-Jewish members of immigrant families, mostly from the FSU but also from Ethiopia and other countries, an enlarged Jewish population of 5,278,700 obtained,[69] out of Israel's total population of 6,508,400 (not including the Palestinian population of the territories).

Israel accounted for 99 percent of the over-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). At the beginning of 2002, Israeli Jews constituted 37.8 percent of total world Jewry.[70] Israel's Jewish population grew in 2001 by 72,800, or 1.5 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 2001 (43,443) declined by 28 percent versus 2000 (60,130), which in turn represented a 22-percent decline as compared to 1999 (76,766). About 25 percent of Jewish population growth in 2001 derived from the net migration balance, against 32 percent in 2000; most Jewish population growth derived from natural increase. Moreover, 4,000 persons underwent Orthodox conversion in Israel in 1999, and 3,500 did in 2001—most of them immigrants from Ethiopia and the FSU and their children who were previously listed as non-Jews.[71] More than half of all new candidates for conversion to Judaism attended the Institute for Judaism Studies that the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform movements run jointly in Israel.

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[68]Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population and Vital Statistics* (Jerusalem, 2002); *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* (Jerusalem, 2002).

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

[70]We thank 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.

[71]Data released by rabbinical courts and special conversion courts. See *Ha'aretz*, Dec. 24, 2000.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, 1/1/2002

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating	
Israel[a]	6,508,800	5,025,000	772.0	A 2001	
Azerbaijan	8,041,000	7,900	1.0	C 1999	X
Georgia	5,262,000	5,000	1.0	C 2000	
Kazakhstan	16,172,000	4,500	0.3	B 1999	
Kyrgyzstan	4,921,000	900	0.2	B 1999	
Tajikistan	6,087,000	100	0.0	C 1999	X
Turkmenistan	4,737,000	600	0.1	C 1999	
Uzbekistan	24,881,000	6,000	0.2	C 1999	
Total former USSR in Asia[b]	73,888,000	25,000	0.3		
China[c]	1,282,437,000	1,000	0.0	D	
India	1,008,937,000	5,300	0.0	B 1996	
Iran	70,330,000	11,200	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	D	
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	789,434,200	300	0.0	D	
Total other Asia	3,524,935,200[d]	19,900	0.0		
Total	3,605,332,000	5,069,900	1.4		

[a]Total population of Israel 1/1/2002. Jewish population includes 207,700 residents of Palestinian Territories.
[b]Including Armenia. Not including Asian regions of Russian Republic.
[c]Including Hong Kong.
[d]Including an estimated 3,200,000 in Palestinian Territories.

At the beginning of 2001, Israel's enlarged Jewish population (including non-Jewish household members) amounted to 5,180,600. Of these, 4,794,600 lived on land included in Israel before the 1967 war, 172,000 lived in Jerusalem neighborhoods incorporated since 1967, 191,500 in the West Bank, 6,700 in the Gaza strip, and 15,800 on the Golan Heights.[72]

Former USSR (Asian parts). The total Jewish population in the Asian republics of the former USSR was estimated at 25,000 at the beginning of 2002. Ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus area and the fear of Muslim fundamentalism in Central Asia continued to cause concern, stimulating Jewish emigration.[73] At the beginning of the 1990s, minimal rates of natural increase still existed among the more traditional sectors of these Jewish communities, but conditions were rapidly eroding this residual surplus.[74] Reflecting these trends, the largest community remained in Azerbaijan (8,900 according to the 1999 census and 7,900 in 2002,[75] versus 30,800 in 1989), followed by Uzbekistan (6,000 in 2002 vs. 94,900), Georgia (5,000 vs. 24,800), Kazakhstan (6,800 according to the 1999 census[76] and 4,500 in 2002, vs. 19,900 in 1989), and the remaining republics (1,600 overall—900 of them in Kyrgyzstan—vs. 24,000 in 1989).

Other countries. It is difficult to estimate the Jewish population of Iran, last counted in the 1986 national census.[77] Based on evidence of continuing decline, the 2002 estimate was reduced to 11,200. In other Asian countries with veteran communities the Jewish population tended toward 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.[78] Another 1,067 persons belonging to such religious

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[72]Sergio DellaPergola, "Demography in Israel/Palestine: Trends, Prospects, Policy Implications," unpublished paper presented at IUSSP XXIV General Population Conference, Salvador de Bahia, 2001.

[73]Israel 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).

[74]Tolts, "The Balance of Births and Deaths."

[75]Not including the Jewish portion of the Tat group.

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

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

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

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. Our 2002 estimate was 5,300.

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 the mainland, China's permanent Jewish population was estimated at roughly 1,000, the same as Japan's.

Africa

About 87,000 Jews were estimated to remain in Africa at the beginning of 2002, of which about 90 percent lived in the Republic of South Africa (see table 6). The 1980 national census counted about 118,000 Jews among South Africa's white population.[79] Substantial Jewish emigration since then was partially compensated for by Jewish immigration and 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 ongoing demographic decline.[80] 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 countries in the West (especially Australia), stimulated by personal insecurity and other fears about the future, was reflected in a survey carried out in 1998.[81] A new estimate was suggested of 80,000 for 2000, lowered to 78,000 in 2002, making South Africa the 12th largest Jewish population worldwide.

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[79]Sergio DellaPergola and Allie A. Dubb, "South African Jewry: A Sociodemographic Profile," AJYB 1988, vol. 88, pp. 59–140.

[80]The 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).

[81]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 JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, 1/1/2002

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	5,600	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	7,400	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	78,000	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	79,800	0.1	
Total	794,000,000	87,200	0.1	

In recent years, the Jewish community of Ethiopia was at the center of an international effort of rescue. In 1991, the overwhelming majority of Ethiopian Jews—about 20,000 people—were brought to Israel, most of them in a one-day dramatic airlift. Some of these migrants were non-Jewish members of mixed households. It was assumed that only 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 2001, nearly 20,000 immigrants from Ethiopia arrived in Israel—mostly non-Jewish relatives seeking reunification with their Jewish families. Although possibly more Jews may appear asking to emigrate to Israel, and more Christian relatives of Jews already in Israel may press for emigration before Israel terminates its current family reunification program, a conservative figure of 100 Jews was tentatively sug-

gested for 2002. Small Jewish populations remained in various 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 2002 estimate was 5,600 for Morocco and 1,500 for Tunisia.[82] As some Jews had a foothold both in Morocco or Tunisia and also in France or other Western countries, their geographical attribution was uncertain.

Oceania

The major country of Jewish residence in Oceania (Australasia) is Australia, where 95 percent of the estimated total of 104,000 Jews live (see table 7). A total of 79,805 people in Australia described their religion as Jewish in the 1996 national census.[83] This represented an increase of 5,419 (7.3 percent) over the 1991 census figure of 74,186 declared Jews.[84] 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, although it is not certain whether Jews in Australia state their religion more or less often that other Australians. 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.[85] The Melbourne survey actually depicted a very stable community combining growing acculturation with moderate levels of intermarriage. Australian Jewry 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.[86] Taking into account these factors, our 2002 estimate was 99,000—sub-

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

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

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

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

[86]Sol Encel and Nathan Moss, *Sydney Jewish Community; Demographic Profile* (Sydney, 1995).

TABLE 7. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, 1/1/2002

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	19,138,000	99,000	5.2	B 1996
New Zealand	3,778,000	5,100	1.3	B 1996
Other	7,645,000	100	0.0	D
Total	30,561,000	104,200	3.4	

stantially 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. Thus Australian Jewry was the tenth largest worldwide. The 2001 census will provide an improved population baseline.

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.[87]

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 2002, 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 92 percent of the Diaspora Jewish population; three countries (United States, France, and Canada) accounted for nearly 80 percent, and the United States alone for nearly 69 percent of total Diaspora Jewry.

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

TABLE 8. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, 1/1/2002

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the World		In the Diaspora	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,700,000	42.9	42.9	68.9	68.9
2	Israel	5,025,000	37.8	80.7	=	=
3	France	519,000	3.9	84.6	6.3	75.2
4	Canada	364,000	2.7	87.3	4.4	79.6
5	United Kingdom	273,500	2.1	89.4	3.3	82.9
6	Russia	265,000	2.0	91.4	3.2	86.1
7	Argentina	195,000	1.5	92.8	2.4	88.5
8	Germany	103,000	0.8	93.6	1.2	89.7
9	Ukraine	100,000	0.8	94.3	1.2	90.9
10	Australia	99,000	0.7	95.1	1.2	92.1
11	Brazil	97,300	0.7	95.8	1.2	93.3
12	South Africa	78,000	0.6	96.4	0.9	94.2
13	Hungary	51,300	0.4	96.8	0.6	94.8
14	Mexico	40,400	0.3	97.1	0.5	95.3
15	Belgium	31,400	0.2	97.3	0.4	95.7

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 2002, nine countries had a Jewish population of 100,000 or more; another 4 countries had 50,000 or more; 14 countries had 10,000–50,000; 11 countries had 5,000–10,000; and 56 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 three Diaspora countries had more than 10 per 1,000 (1 percent) Jews in their total population; and another five countries had more than 5 Jews per 1,000 (0.5 percent) of population. The respective eight 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), Australia (5.2), and Hungary (5.1). Other major Diaspora communities having lower proportions of Jews per 1,000 of total

ministered areas. Excluding both Jews and non-Jews in the West Bank and Gaza, the proportion of Jews in Israel (with East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights) was 76.5 percent. Jews represented 8.5 percent of the total population in the West Bank and 0.6 percent in the Gaza Strip.

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 2002.[88] These 20 central places and their suburban and satellite areas altogether comprised over 73 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.

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 in the Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem conurbations in Israel.

SERGIO DELLAPERGOLA

[88]Definitions of metropolitan statistical areas vary across countries. Estimates reported here reflect the criteria and updates adopted in each place. For U.S. estimates, see above, pp. 257–58; for Canadian estimates see Torczyner and Brotman, "Jews of Canada"; for other Diaspora estimates, A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry; for Israeli estimates, Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population and Vital Statistics 1999* and *Monthly Bulletin*. Following the 1995 population census in Israel, major metropolitan urban areas were redefined. Netanya and Ashdod, each with a Jewish population exceeding 100,000, were included in the outer ring of the Greater Tel Aviv area. A metropolitan area for Beer Sheva was newly established in 2001, covering a Jewish population nearly double that of the central city.