

World Jewish Population, 1996

THE WORLD'S JEWISH POPULATION was estimated at just above 13 million at the end of 1996.¹ The estimates for the various countries reported in this article reflect some of the results of 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 world-wide set of estimates for the Jewish populations of the various countries is beset with difficulties and uncertainties.

Since the end of the 1980s, important geopolitical changes have affected the world scene, particularly in Eastern Europe. The major event was the political breakup of the Soviet Union into 15 independent states. Similarly, the former Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia broke down into several successor states. East and West Germany reunited after a political split of 45 years. The Jewish population has been sensitive to these changes, large-scale emigration from the former Soviet Union (FSU) being the most visible effect.

In spite of the increased fragmentation of the global system of nations, about 95 percent of world Jewry is concentrated in ten countries. The aggregate of these major Jewish population centers virtually determines the assessment of the size of total world Jewry, estimated at 13,025,000 persons at the end of 1996. The country figures for 1996 were updated from those for 1995 in accordance with the known or estimated changes in the interval—migrations, vital events (births and deaths), and identificational changes (accessions and secessions). In addition, corrections were introduced in the light of newly accrued information on Jewish populations. Corresponding corrections were also applied retrospectively to the 1995 figures for major geographical regions (see table 1), so as to allow adequate comparison with the 1996 estimates.

In recent years, new data and estimates became available for the Jewish populations of several countries through official population censuses and Jewish sponsored sociodemographic surveys. Several official sources have yielded results on

¹The previous estimates, as of 1995, were published in AJYB 1997, vol. 97, pp. 513–544.

²Many of these activities are carried out by, or in coordination with, the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics at the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, 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.

Jewish populations, such as the population census of the Soviet Union held in 1989, the Swiss census of 1990, the 1991 and 1996 censuses in Canada, Australia, and South Africa, the 1991 census of Brazil, the Romanian and Bulgarian censuses of 1992, the sample census conducted in the Russian Republic in February 1994, and the Israeli population and housing census of November 1995. Independent large-scale studies include the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) in the United States and the Jewish sociodemographic surveys completed in South Africa and in Mexico in 1991, in Lithuania in 1993, and in Chile in 1995. Additional evidence on Jewish population characteristics emerged from the systematic monitoring of membership registers, vital statistics, and immigration records available from Jewish communities and other Jewish organizations in many countries or cities. Some of this ongoing research is part of a coordinated effort to update the profile of world Jewry in the later portion of the 1990s.³

The more recent findings basically confirm the estimates we reported in previous AJYB volumes and, perhaps more importantly, our interpretation of the trends now prevailing in the demography of world Jewry.⁴ While allowing for improved population estimates for the year 1996 under review here, these new data highlight the increasing complexity of the sociodemographic and identificational processes underlying the definition of Jewish populations, hence the estimates of their sizes—the more so at a time of enhanced international migration. 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*. Users of Jewish population estimates should be aware of these difficulties and of the inherent limitations of our estimates.

Presentation of Data

DEFINITIONS

A major problem in Jewish population estimates periodically circulated by various scholarly or Jewish organizations across the world is a general lack of coherence and uniformity in the definition criteria followed. Often, the problem of

³Following the 1987 international conference on Jewish population problems held in Jerusalem, initiated by the late Dr. Roberto Bachi of the Hebrew University and sponsored by the major Jewish organizations worldwide, the 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).

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

defining the Jewish population is not even addressed. The following estimates of Jewish population distribution in each continent and country (tables 2–9 below) consistently aim at the concept of *core* Jewish population.⁵

We define as the *core* Jewish population 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 approach, reflecting *subjective* feelings. Our definition of a person as a Jew broadly overlaps but does not necessarily coincide with *halakhic* (rabbinic) or other legally binding definitions. It does *not* depend on any measure of that person's Jewish commitment or behavior—in terms of religiosity, beliefs, knowledge, communal affiliation, or otherwise. The *core* Jewish population includes all those who converted to Judaism or joined the Jewish group informally and declare themselves to be Jewish. It excludes those of Jewish descent who formally adopted another religion, as well as other individuals who did not convert out but currently refuse to acknowledge their Jewish background.

We adopt the term *extended* for the sum of (a) the *core* Jewish population and (b) all other persons of Jewish parentage who are *not* Jews currently (or at the time of investigation). These non-Jews with Jewish background, as far as can be ascertained, include: (a) persons who have themselves adopted another religion, even though they may claim still to be Jews ethnically; (b) other persons with Jewish parentage who disclaim to be Jews. It is customary in surveys such as these to consider parentage only and not any more distant ancestry. Some censuses, however, do ask about more distant ancestry.

We designate by the term *enlarged*⁶ the sum of (a) the *core* Jewish population, (b) all other persons of Jewish parentage included in the *extended* Jewish population, and (c) all of the respective further non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.). For both conceptual and practical reasons, this definition does not include any other non-Jewish relatives living elsewhere in exclusively non-Jewish households.

Israel's distinctive legal framework for the acceptance and absorption of new immigrants is provided by the Law of Return, first passed in 1950 and amended in 1954 and 1970. The law awards Jewish new immigrants immediate citizenship and other civil rights in Israel. 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). By decision of Israel's Supreme Court, conversion from Judaism, as in the case of some

⁵The term *core Jewish population* was initially suggested by Barry A. Kosmin, Sidney Goldstein, Joseph Waksberg, Nava Lerer, Ariella Keysar, and Jeffrey Scheckner in *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey* (New York, 1991).

⁶The term *enlarged Jewish population* was initially suggested by S. DellaPergola, "The Italian Jewish Population Study: Demographic Characteristics and Trends" in *Studies in Jewish Demography: Survey for 1969–1971*, ed. U.O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S.J. Gould (Jerusalem-London, 1975), pp.60–97.

ethnic Jews who currently identify with another religion, entails loss of eligibility for Law of Return purposes. The law extends its provisions to all current Jews and to their Jewish or non-Jewish spouses, children, and grandchildren, as well as to the spouses of such children and grandchildren. As a result of its three-generation time perspective and lateral extension, the Law of Return applies to a wide population, one of significantly wider scope than the *core*, *extended* and *enlarged* Jewish populations defined above. These higher estimates are not reported below.

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 the following tables provide the United Nations estimate of mid-year 1997 total population,⁷ the estimated end-1996 Jewish population, the proportion of Jews per 1,000 of total population, and a rating of the accuracy of the Jewish population estimate.

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

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

⁷United Nations, Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, Population Division, *World Population Prospects; The 1996 Revision* (New York, 1997).

or important partial updates were obtained is also stated. For countries whose Jewish population estimate of 1996 was not only updated but also revised in the light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

World Jewish Population Size

GLOBAL OVERVIEW

Table 1 gives an overall picture of Jewish population for the end of 1996 as compared to 1995. For 1995 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 71,000 in the estimated size of world Jewry for 1995. This change resulted from downward corrections for Israel (-69,700); Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (-1,300 together); and Colombia and Venezuela (-1,000 each); and an upward correction of 2,000 for Australia. Some explanations are given below for the countries whose estimates were revised.

The size of world Jewry at the end of 1996 is assessed at 13,025,000. World Jewry constituted about 2.26 per 1,000 of the world's total population in 1996. One in about 443 people in the world is a Jew. According to the revised figures, between 1995 and 1996 the Jewish population grew by an estimated 27,000 people, or about +0.3 percent. Despite all the imperfections in the estimates, world Jewry continued to be close to "zero population growth," with the natural increase in Israel barely compensating for demographic decline in the Diaspora.

The number of Jews in Israel rose from a revised figure of 4,479,800 in 1995 to 4,567,700 at the end of 1996, an increase of 87,900 people, or 2.0 percent. In contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora declined from 8,508,200 (according to the revised figures) to 8,457,300—a decrease of 50,900 people, or -0.6 percent. These changes primarily reflect the continuing Jewish emigration from the former USSR. In 1996, the estimated Israel-Diaspora net migratory balance amounted to a gain of about 34,700 Jews for Israel.⁸ Internal demographic evolution produced a further growth of 53,200 among the Jewish population in Israel, and a further loss of 16,200 in the Diaspora. Recently, instances of accession or "return" to Judaism can be observed in connection with the emigration process from Eastern Europe and the comprehensive provisions of the Israeli Law of Return (see above). The return or first-time access to Judaism of some 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 to the Jewish population in Israel.

As noted, it is customary to correct previously published Jewish population estimates in the light of improved information that became available at a later date.

⁸ Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel 1997*, no. 48 (Jerusalem, 1997), p. 50.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 1995 AND 1996

Region	1995			1996		% Change 1995–1996
	Original Abs. N.	Revised		Abs. N.	Percent ^a	
		Abs. N.	Percent ^a			
World	13,059,000	12,988,000	100.0	13,025,000	100.0	0.3
Diaspora	8,509,500	8,508,200	65.5	8,457,300	64.9	–0.6
Israel	4,549,500	4,479,800	34.5	4,567,700	35.1	2.0
America, Total	6,486,200	6,484,200	49.9	6,493,000	49.8	0.1
North ^b	6,052,000	6,052,000	46.6	6,062,000	46.5	0.2
Central	53,200	53,200	0.4	53,100	0.4	–0.2
South	381,000	379,000	2.9	377,900	2.9	–0.3
Europe, Total	1,741,300	1,740,000	13.4	1,691,700	13.0	–2.8
European Union	1,017,200	1,017,200	7.8	1,023,500	7.9	0.6
Other West	19,900	19,900	0.2	19,900	0.2	0.0
Former USSR ^c	600,900	599,600	4.6	546,600	4.2	–8.8
Other East and Balkans ^c	103,300	103,300	0.8	101,700	0.8	–1.5
Asia, Total	4,629,200	4,559,500	35.1	4,636,300	35.6	1.7
Israel	4,549,500	4,479,800	34.5	4,567,700	35.1	2.0
Former USSR ^c	59,100	59,100	0.5	48,400	0.4	–18.1
Other ^c	20,600	20,600	0.2	20,200	0.2	–1.9
Africa, Total	105,700	105,700	0.8	104,400	0.8	–1.2
North ^d	8,400	8,400	0.1	8,100	0.1	–3.6
South ^e	97,300	97,300	0.7	96,300	0.7	–1.0
Oceania	96,600	98,600	0.8	99,600	0.8	1.0

^aMinor discrepancies due to rounding.^bU.S.A. and Canada.^cThe Asian regions of Russia and Turkey are included in Europe.^dIncluding Ethiopia.^eSouth Africa, Zimbabwe, and other sub-Saharan countries.

Table 2 provides a synopsis of world Jewish population estimates for the 50-year period 1945–1995, as first published each year in the *American Jewish Year Book* and as corrected retroactively, incorporating all subsequent revisions. These revised data appear here for the first time. They introduce much needed corrections to the figures published up to 1980 by other authors and, since 1980, by ourselves. Thanks to the development over the years of an improved data base, 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; nor is it unlikely that further retrospective revisions will become necessary as a product of future research.

The revised figures in table 2 clearly portray the slowing down of Jewish population growth globally since World War II. Based on a post-Holocaust world Jewish population of 11,000,000, an estimated growth of 800,000 occurred between 1945 and 1955, followed by growths of 700,000 between 1955 and 1965, 242,000 between 1965 and 1975, 129,000 between 1975 and 1985, and 117,000 between 1985 and 1995, including a short period of actual decline during the late 1980s. While it took 13 years to add one million to world Jewry's postwar size, it took 38 years to add another million. The very modest recovery of the early 1990s mostly reflects the already noted cases of individuals returning to Judaism, especially from Eastern Europe, as well as a short-lived "echo effect" of the post-war baby boom (see below).

TABLE 2. WORLD JEWISH POPULATION ESTIMATES: ORIGINAL AND CORRECTED

Year	Original Estimate ^a	Corrected Estimate ^b	Yearly % Change
1945	11,000,000	11,000,000	
1950	11,490,700	11,373,000	0.67
1955	11,908,400	11,800,000	0.74
1960	12,792,800	12,160,000	0.60
1965	13,411,300	12,500,000	0.55
1970	13,950,900	12,633,000	0.21
1975	14,144,400	12,742,000	0.17
1980	13,027,900	12,840,000	0.15
1985	12,963,300	12,871,000	0.05
1990	12,806,400	12,869,000	-0.003
1995	13,059,000	12,988,000	0.18
1996	13,025,000	—	0.28

^aAs published in *American Jewish Year Book*, various years.

^bBased on updated, revised, or otherwise improved information.

Estimates for 1980 and after: The Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

DISTRIBUTION BY MAJOR REGIONS

Just about half of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with over 46 percent in North America. Over 35 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 over 13 percent of the total. Less 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 1996. Moderate Jewish population gains were also estimated for North America, the European Union (including 15 member countries), and Oceania. Central and South America, Eastern Europe, Asian countries other than Israel, and Africa sustained decreases in Jewish population size.

Individual Countries

THE AMERICAS

In 1996 the total number of Jews in the American continents was estimated at close to 6.5 million. The overwhelming majority (93 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 having the largest Jewish communities (see table 3).

United States. The 1989–1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS), sponsored by the Council of Jewish Federations and the North American Jewish Data Bank (NAJDB), provided new benchmark information about the size and characteristics of U.S. Jewry—the largest Jewish population in the world—and the basis for subsequent updates.⁹ According to the official report of the results of this important national sample study, the core Jewish population in the United States comprised 5,515,000 persons in the summer of 1990. Of these, 185,000 were not born or raised as Jews but 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—thereof 415,000 adults and 700,000 children below age 18—were of Jewish parentage but had not themselves been raised as Jews and declared a religion other than Judaism at the time of survey. All together, these various groups

⁹The 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,
END 1996**

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Canada	29,680,000	362,000	12.2	B 1996
United States	269,444,000	5,700,000	21.2	B 1990
Total North America^a	299,252,000	6,062,000	20.3	
Bahamas	284,000	300	1.1	D
Costa Rica	3,500,000	2,500	0.7	C 1993
Cuba	11,018,000	700	0.1	C 1990
Dominican Republic	7,961,000	100	0.0	D
El Salvador	5,796,000	100	0.0	C 1993
Guatemala	10,928,000	1,000	0.1	B 1993
Jamaica	2,491,000	300	0.1	A 1995
Mexico	92,718,000	40,700	0.4	A 1991
Netherlands Antilles	266,000	300	1.1	C 1996
Panama	2,677,000	5,000	1.9	C 1990
Puerto Rico	3,736,000	1,500	0.4	C 1990
Virgin Islands	106,000	300	2.8	C 1986
Other	20,515,000	300	0.0	D
Total Central America	161,996,000	53,100	0.3	
Argentina	35,219,000	205,000	5.8	C 1990
Bolivia	7,593,000	700	0.1	B 1990
Brazil	161,087,000	100,000	0.6	B 1991
Chile	14,421,000	21,000	1.5	A 1995
Colombia	35,444,000	4,000	0.1	C 1996 X
Ecuador	11,699,000	900	0.1	C 1985
Paraguay	4,957,000	900	0.2	B 1997
Peru	23,944,000	2,900	0.1	C 1993
Suriname	432,000	200	0.5	B 1986
Uruguay	3,204,000	23,300	7.3	C 1993
Venezuela	22,311,000	19,000	0.9	B 1997 X
Total South America^a	322,305,000	377,900	1.2	
Total	783,553,000	6,493,200	8.3	

^aIncluding countries not listed separately.

formed an extended Jewish population of 6,840,000. NJPS also covered 1,350,000 non-Jewish-born members of eligible (Jewish or mixed) households. The study's enlarged Jewish population thus consisted of about 8,200,000 persons. The 1990 Jewish population estimates are within the range of a sampling error of plus or minus 3.5 percent.¹⁰ This means a range between 5.3 and 5.7 million for the core Jewish population in 1990.

Since 1990, the international migration balance of U.S. Jewry should have generated an actual increase of Jewish population size. According to HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), the main agency involved in assisting Jewish migration from the FSU to the United States, the number of assisted migrants was 32,714 in 1990, 35,568 in 1991, 46,083 in 1992, 35,928 in 1993, 32,906 in 1994, 24,765 in 1995, and 20,169 in 1996.¹¹ These figures include a small number of individuals who settled in Canada, and, more significantly, refer to the *enlarged* Jewish population concept, therefore incorporating the non-Jewish members of mixed households. The actual number of FSU Jews resettling in the U.S. was therefore somewhat smaller, yet quite substantial. It should be noted, however, that since 1992 the number of Jewish immigrants from the FSU to the U.S. has been steadily declining.

In retrospect, the influence of international migration between 1971 and 1990 was less than might have been expected. The first National Jewish Population Study, conducted in 1970–71, estimated the U.S. Jewish population at 5.4 million; the 1990 NJPS estimated a core Jewish population of 5.5 million, a difference of 100,000. However, since Jewish immigration contributed 200,000–300,000 in this period, it is clear that the balance of other factors of core population change over that whole 20-year period must have been negative. Detailed analyses of the 1990 NJPS data actually provide evidence of a variety of contributing factors: low levels of Jewish fertility and the “effectively Jewish” birthrate, increasing aging of the Jewish population, increasing outmarriage rate, declining rate 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 rituals.¹²

A temporary increase in the Jewish birthrate occurred during the late 1980s, because the large cohorts born during the “baby boom” of the 1950s and early

¹⁰ See Kosmin et al., p. 39.

¹¹ See HIAS, *Annual Report 1996* (New York, 1997). See also Barry R. Chiswick, “Soviet Jews in the United States: An Analysis of Their Linguistic and Economic Adjustment,” *Economic Quarterly*, July 1991, no. 148, pp. 188–211 (Hebrew), and *International Migration Review*, 1993 (English).

¹² See Goldstein, AJYB 1992; see also U.O. Schmeltz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Basic Trends in U.S. Jewish Demography* (New York, American Jewish Committee, 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.

1960s were in the prime procreative ages; however, by the mid-1990s this echo effect had faded away, as the much smaller cohorts born since the late 1960s reached the stage of parenthood. A surplus of Jewish deaths over Jewish births again prevailed among U.S. Jewry.

Taking this evidence into account, our estimate of U.S. Jewish population size at the end of 1996 starts from the NJPS benchmark core Jewish population of 5,515,000, and attempts to account for Jewish population changes that occurred since the later part of 1990, after completion of NJPS, through 1996. Assuming a total net migration gain of about 60,000 Jews from the USSR, Israel, and other origins for the whole of 1990, we apportioned 20,000 to the later months of 1990. Further Jewish population growth was estimated at 40,000 for 1991, 45,000 for 1992, 30,000 for 1993, 25,000 for 1994, and 15,000 for 1995. In 1996, as noted, the number of Jewish immigrants from the FSU to the United States continued to decline. At the same time, Israeli statistics continue to show moderate but steady numbers of immigrants from the United States. Between 1990 and 1996 a total of over 13,000 American Jews emigrated to Israel, and larger numbers of Israelis left the United States after a prolonged stay and returned to Israel.¹³

We estimate the total Jewish population increase in the United States at about 10,000 in 1996. This figure accounts for immigration net of emigration and for some attrition based on current marriage, fertility, and age-composition trends in the U.S. core Jewish population. We thus suggest an estimate of 5,700,000 Jews in the United States at the end of 1996.

The research team of the North American Jewish Data Bank (NAJDB), which was responsible for the primary handling of NJPS data files, also continued its yearly compilation of local Jewish population estimates. These are reported elsewhere in this volume.¹⁴ NAJDB estimated the U.S. Jewish population in 1986 at 5,814,000, including "under 2 percent" non-Jewish household members. This closely matched our own pre-NJPS estimate of 5,700,000. The NAJDB estimates were later updated as follows, as against our own (ICJ) estimates (in thousands):

Source	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
NAJDB	5,981	5,798	5,828	5,840	5,880	5,900	5,900
ICJ	5,535	5,575	5,620	5,650	5,675	5,690	5,700

¹³*Statistical Abstract of Israel*, vol. 48, 1997, pp. 141, 150, 159.

¹⁴The 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 1996 see Jeffrey Scheckner, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1996," *AJYB* 1997, vol. 97, pp. 215–37. The 1997 update appears elsewhere in the present volume.

Changes in NAJDB estimates reflect corrections and adaptations made in the figures for several local communities—some of them in the light of NJPS regional results or new local community studies. It should be realized that compilations of local estimates, even if as painstaking as in the case of the NAJDB, are subject to a great many local biases and tend to fall behind the actual pace of national trends. This is especially true in a context of vigorous internal migrations, as in the United States.¹⁵ In our view, the NJPS figure, in spite of sample-survey biases, offered a more reliable baseline for assessing national Jewish population than the sum of local estimates.¹⁶

Canada. Results of the 1996 Canadian census provided new evidence for the estimate of the local Jewish population. As customary in Canada, this mid-decade census provided information on ethnic origins, whereas the 1991 census included questions on both religion and ethnic origin, besides information on year of immigration of the foreign-born, and languages. In 1996, 351,710 Canadians reported a Jewish ethnic origin, thereof 195,810 as a single response and 155,900 as one selection in a multiple response with up to four options.¹⁷ To interpret these data it is necessary to make reference to the previous census and to the special processing by a joint team of researchers from McGill University's Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning, Statistics Canada, and Council of Jewish Federations Canada, under the direction of Prof. Jim Torczyner.¹⁸

The 1991 census enumerated 318,070 Jews according to religion; of these, 281,680 also reported being 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.¹⁹ After due allowance is made for the latter group, a total core Jewish population of 356,315 was estimated for 1991—an increase of 44,255 (14.2 percent) over the corresponding estimate of 312,060 from the 1981 census. A further 49,640 Canadians, who reported being Jewish by ethnic origin but identified with another religion (such as Catholic, Anglican, etc.), were not in-

¹⁵See Uzi Rebhun, "Changing Patterns of Internal Migration 1970–1990: A Comparative Analysis of Jews and Whites in the United States," *Demography* 34: 2, 1997, pp. 212–213.

¹⁶While the NAJDB estimate for total U.S. Jewry in 1996 exceeds ours by 200,000 (a difference of 3.5 percent), over the years 1991–1995 we have estimated a Jewish population increase of 125,000 as against 102,000 according to NAJDB.

¹⁷The 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).

¹⁸Jim 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. 227–60.

¹⁹Statistics Canada, *Religions in Canada—1991 Census* (Ottawa, 1993). See also Leo Davids, "The Jewish Population of Canada, 1991" (paper presented at Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 1993).

cluded in the 1991 core estimate. Including them would produce an extended Jewish population of 405,955 in 1991.

In comparison with the 1981 census, the 1991 data revealed an increase of 21,645 (7.3 percent) in the number of Jews defined by religion. A more significant increase occurred among those reporting a Jewish ethnicity with no religious preference: 22,610 persons, or more than twice (+144.6 percent) as many as in 1981. The increase was comparatively even larger among those reporting a partially Jewish ethnic ancestry and among ethnic Jews with another religion. Besides actual demographic and identificational trends, changes in the wording of the relevant questions in the two censuses possibly influenced these variations in the size of both the core and the ethnically (or, in our terminology, extended) Jewish population of Canada.²⁰

Most of the 1981–1991 Jewish population increase was due to international migration—out of the total increase of 44,255 core Jews, 25,895 (59 percent) had arrived in Canada since 1981. The principal country of origin was the former USSR (6,230), followed by Israel (4,975), the United States (3,630), and South Africa (2,855).²¹ Practically all the rest of the Jewish population growth consists of ethnic Jews who did not report a religion, including many whose reported Jewish ethnicity was only one among several others. The latter are quite certainly children of intermarriages, whose frequency indeed increased in Canada by about one-third over the 1980s.²² All this implies that the 1981–1991 demographic balance of the Jewish population living in Canada was close to zero or slightly negative. Taking into account the increasingly aged Jewish population structure, we suggested 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 end of 1995 we updated the 1991 baseline of 356,300 to 362,000.

The 1991 census equivalent of the 1996 census figure of 351,710 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 similar criterion of ethnic origin, Canadian Jewry thus increased by 2,140 people over the 1991–1996 period. Though it should be stressed that the ethnic-origin definition is not consistent with our concept of a core Jewish population, the evidence of very slow Jewish population increase—notwithstanding continuing immigration—suggested keeping our 1995 estimate unchanged for 1996. The resulting figure of 362,000 makes the Canadian Jewish population the world's fourth-largest.

²⁰The results of preceding censuses can be found in Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada: Population: Ethnic Origin; Religion* (Ottawa, 1983, 1984); Statistics Canada, *Population by Ethnic Origin, 1986 Census: Canada, Provinces and Territories and Census Metropolitan Areas* (Ottawa, 1988).

²¹See Torczyner et al., *Demographic Challenges . . . , Appendices*, p. 22.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 20.

Central America. Results of the 1991 population survey of the Jews in the Mexico City metropolitan area²³ pointed to a community definitely 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 contribute a surplus of births over deaths, and overall—thanks also to some immigration—the Jewish population has been 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 to—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 40,700 in 1996.

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

*South America.*²⁴ The Jewish population of Argentina, the largest in Latin America and seventh largest in the world, is marked by a negative balance of internal evolution. Various surveys conducted in some central sections of Buenos Aires at the initiative of the Asociación Mutualista Israelita Argentina (AMIA), as well as in several provincial cities, point to growing aging and intermarriage.²⁵ Short of a major new survey in the Greater Buenos Aires area, the quality of the estimates remains quite inadequate. Since the early 1960s, when the Jewish population was estimated at 310,000, the pace of emigration and return migration has been significantly affected by the variable nature of economic and political

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

²⁴For 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 *The Jewish Presence in Latin America*, ed. J. Laikin Elkin and G.W. Merks (Boston, 1987), pp. 85–133.

²⁵Rosa N. Geldstein, *Censo de la Población Judía de la ciudad de Salta, 1986; Informe final* (Buenos Aires, 1988); Yacov Rubel, *Los Judíos 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 Córdoba, *First Sociodemographic Study of Jewish Population; Córdoba 1993* (Córdoba, 1995).

trends in the country, generating a negative balance of external migrations. Between 1990 and 1996, over 6,000 persons migrated to Israel, while unknown numbers went to other countries. Accordingly, the estimate for Argentinean Jewry was reduced from 206,000 in 1995 to 205,000 in 1996.

In Brazil, the newly released results of the population census of 1991 show a Jewish population of 86,816, thereof 42,871 in the state of São Paulo, 26,190 in the state of Rio de Janeiro, 8,091 in Rio Grande do Sul, and 9,264 in other states.²⁶ The previous 1980 census showed a countrywide figure of 91,795 Jews, of which 44,569 in São Paulo, 29,157 in Rio de Janeiro, 8,330 in Rio Grande do Sul, and 9,739 elsewhere. Since some otherwise identifying Jews might have failed to declare themselves as such in that census, we adopted a corrected estimate of 100,000 for 1980, and kept it unchanged through 1995, assuming that the overall balance of Jewish vital events, identificational changes, and external migrations was close to zero. The new census figures apparently pointed to a countrywide decline of approximately 5,000 since 1980, most of it in Rio de Janeiro, where Jewish population estimates were, indeed, decreasing since 1960. On the other hand, regarding Brazil's major Jewish community, São Paulo, all previous census returns since 1940 and various other, admittedly rough, Jewish survey and register data were consistent with the widely held perception of a growing community, but the 1991 census figure contradicted that assumption.²⁷ 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 11,000.²⁸ Excluding the non-Jewish household members, the core Jewish population could be estimated at about 9,000, some 10 percent above the 1991 census figure. In the light of this and other evidence of a substantially stable Jewish population, though one confronting high rates of intermarriage and a definite erosion in the younger age groups, we preferred keeping the 100,000 estimate for 1991, extending it to 1996. Brazil's was the ninth-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.²⁹ Assuming another 1,300 Jews living in smaller provin-

²⁶IBGE, *Censo demográfico do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1997); Daniel Sasson, *A comunidade judaica do Rio de Janeiro: Metodologia da pesquisa* (Rio de Janeiro, 1997).

²⁷Henrique Rattner, "Recenseamento e pesquisa sociológica da comunidade judaica de São Paulo, 1968", in *Nos caminhos da diáspora*, ed. Henrique Rattner (São Paulo, 1972); Claudia Milnitzky, ed., *Apendice estatístico da comunidade judaica do estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1980); Egon and Frieda Wolff, *Documentos V: Os recenseamentos demográficos oficiais do século XX* (Rio de Janeiro, 1993–1994).

²⁸Anita Brumer, *Identidade em mudança: Pesquisa sociológica sobre os judeus do Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre, 1994).

²⁹Gabriel Berger et al., *Estudio Socio-Demográfico de la Comunidad Judía de Chile* (Santiago-Buenos Aires, 1995).

cial communities, a new countrywide estimate of 21,000 Jews was obtained. Previous lower estimates reflected results of the 1970 population census and a 1982–83 community survey, but probably overestimated the net effects of Jewish emigration. The new survey portrays a rather stable community, with incipient signs of aging and assimilation.

In Venezuela, preparations were being made for a new sociodemographic survey.³⁰ Preliminary work devoted to preparing a comprehensive list of households for sampling, along with compilation of death records, suggested that the local Jewish population estimate should be revised downward to a provisional figure of 19,000.

On the strength of fragmentary information available, our estimate for Uruguay was slightly reduced, that for Colombia was reduced to 4,000, and that for Peru was not changed.

EUROPE

About 1.7 million Jews lived in Europe at the end of 1996; 62 percent lived in Western Europe and 38 percent in Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries—including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey (see table 4). In 1996 Europe lost 2.8 percent of its estimated Jewish population, mainly through the continuing emigration from the European republics of the FSU.

European Union. Incorporating 15 countries since the 1995 accession of Austria, Finland, and Sweden, the European Union (EU) had an estimated combined Jewish population of 1,023,500—an increase of 0.6 percent over the previous year. Different trends affected the Jewish populations in each member country.³¹

Since the breakup of the USSR, France has had the third-largest Jewish population in the world, after the United States and Israel. The estimated size of French Jewry has been assessed at 530,000 since the major survey that was taken in the 1970s.³² Monitoring the plausible trends of both the internal evolution and external migrations of Jews in France suggested little net change in Jewish population size. A study conducted in 1988 at the initiative of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU) confirmed the basic demographic stability of French Jewry.³³ The French Jewish community continued to absorb a moderate inflow of Jews from North Africa, and its age composition was younger than in other European coun-

³⁰Sponsored by the two main Jewish community organizations, the Asociación Israelita de Venezuela and the Union Israelita de Caracas.

³¹See Sergio DellaPergola, "Jews in the European Community: Sociodemographic Trends and Challenges," *AJYB* 1993, vol. 93, pp. 25–82.

³²Doris Bensimon and Sergio DellaPergola, *La population juive de France: socio-démographie et identité* (Jerusalem-Paris, 1984).

³³Erik H. Cohen, *L'Etude et l'éducation juive en France ou l'avenir d'une communauté* (Paris, 1991).

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE,
END 1996

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Austria	8,106,000	9,000	1.1	C 1995
Belgium	10,159,000	31,700	3.1	C 1987
Denmark	5,237,000	6,400	1.2	C 1990
Finland	5,126,000	1,300	0.3	B 1990
France ^a	58,365,000	524,000	9.0	C 1990
Germany	81,922,000	70,000	0.9	C 1996
Greece	10,490,000	4,500	0.4	B 1995
Ireland	3,554,000	1,200	0.3	B 1996
Italy	57,226,000	30,000	0.5	B 1995
Luxembourg	412,000	600	1.5	B 1990
Netherlands	15,575,000	26,500	1.7	C 1995
Portugal	9,808,000	300	0.0	C 1986
Spain	39,674,000	12,000	0.3	C 1991
Sweden	8,819,000	15,000	1.7	C 1990
United Kingdom	58,368,000	291,000	5.0	B 1996
Total European Union	372,841,000	1,023,500	2.7	
Gibraltar	28,000	600	21.4	B 1991
Norway	4,348,000	1,200	0.3	B 1995
Switzerland	7,224,000	18,000	2.5	A 1990
Other	815,000	100	0.1	D
Total other West Europe	12,415,000	19,900	1.6	
Belarus	10,348,000	23,000	2.2	C 1996
Estonia	1,471,000	2,600	1.8	B 1996 X
Latvia	2,504,000	12,800	5.1	B 1996 X
Lithuania	3,728,000	5,200	1.4	B 1996 X
Moldova	4,444,000	8,000	1.8	C 1996
Russia ^b	148,126,000	340,000	2.3	B 1996
Ukraine	51,608,000	155,000	3.0	C 1996
Total FSU in Europe	222,229,000	546,600	2.5	

TABLE 4.—(Continued)

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3,628,000	300	0.1	C 1996
Bulgaria	8,468,000	3,100	0.4	B 1992
Croatia	4,501,000	1,300	0.3	C 1996
Czech Republic	10,251,000	2,400	0.2	C 1995
Hungary	10,049,000	53,500	5.3	D
Poland	38,601,000	3,500	0.1	D
Romania	22,655,000	13,000	0.6	C 1993
Slovakia	5,347,000	3,500	0.7	D
Slovenia	1,924,000	100	0.1	C 1996
TFYR Macedonia	2,174,000	100	0.0	C 1996
Turkey ^b	61,797,000	19,000	0.3	C 1995
Yugoslavia ^c	10,294,000	1,900	0.2	C 1996
Total other East Europe and Balkans ^d	179,689,000	101,700	0.6	
Total	787,184,000	1,691,700	2.1	

^aIncluding Monaco.^bIncluding Asian regions.^cSerbia and Montenegro.^dIncluding other countries.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, END 1996

tries. However, migration to Israel amounted to 7,500 in 1980–1989, and about 9,500 in 1990–1996. Since 1990, aging tended to determine a moderate surplus of deaths over births. In view of these trends, our French Jewish population estimate was revised to 525,000 in 1995, and 524,000 at the end of 1996.

Periodic reestimations of the size of Jewish population in the United Kingdom were carried out by the Community Research Unit (CRU) of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. Based on an analysis of Jewish deaths during 1975–1979, the population baseline for 1977 was set at a central value of 336,000.³⁴ A second national estimate by CRU, based mainly on an evaluation of Jewish death records

³⁴Steven 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 Royal Statistical Society*, ser. A, 146, pt. 3, 1983, pp. 294–310.

in 1984–1988, suggested a central estimate of 308,000 for 1986.³⁵ A study of Jewish synagogue membership indicated a decline of over 7 percent between 1983 and 1990.³⁶ The vital statistical records regularly compiled by the CRU show an excess of deaths over births in the range of about 1,000–1,500 a year.³⁷ Further attrition derives from emigration (over 7,000 emigrants to Israel in 1980–1989, and nearly 4,000 in 1990–1996). Allowing for a continuation of these well-established trends, we adopted an estimate of 300,000 for 1991, reducing it to 292,000 for 1995. A new 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.³⁸ Our revised Jewish population estimate for 1996 was 291,000 (sixth-largest worldwide).

In 1990, Germany was politically reunited. In the former (West) German Federal Republic, the 1987 population census reported 32,319 Jews. Immigration used to compensate 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 ranged between 500 and 2,000. While there is a lack of certainty about the number of recent Jewish immigrants from the FSU, according to available reports, over 60,000 settled in Germany since the end of 1989, including non-Jewish family members.³⁹ The following estimates for unified Germany include figures of Jews affiliated with the Zentralwohlfahrtstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZJD),⁴⁰ and our own estimates (ICJ), which (a) allow for some time lag between immigration and registration with the organized Jewish community, (b) take into account a certain amount of permanent nonaffiliation, and (c) assume there are enough incentives for most newcomers to be willing to affiliate with the Jewish community:

Source	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
ZJD	27,711	28,468	33,692	37,498	40,823	45,559	53,797	61,203
ICJ	35,000	40,000	52,500	50,000	52,000	55,000	62,000	70,000

³⁵Steven Haberman and Marlena Schmool, "Estimates of British Jewish Population 1984–88," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, ser. A, 1158, pt. 3, 1995, pp. 547–62.

³⁶Marlena Schmool and Frances Cohen, *British Synagogue Membership in 1990* (London, 1991).

³⁷Marlena Schmool, *Report of Community Statistics* (London, yearly publication).

³⁸Stephen Miller, Marlena Schmool, and Antony Lerman, *Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey* (London, 1996).

³⁹See 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* 21:1, 1998, pp. 116–37.

⁴⁰Zentralwohlfahrtstelle der Juden in Deutschland, *Vierteljahresmeldung über den Mitgliederstand* (Frankfurt, 1997).

At the beginning of 1996, the number of applicants for Jewish migration to Germany from the FSU had surpassed 108,000.⁴¹ While most of these applications were already approved, the actual number of immigrants was lower, as some of the applicants preferred to move to Israel or the United States, or to remain in their present places of residence. Nevertheless, the potential for growth of the Jewish population in Germany continues to be significant. Moreover, the comparatively younger age composition of immigrants could have some rejuvenating effects on the long-established deficit in the local balance of Jewish births and deaths.

Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands each had Jewish populations ranging around 30,000. There was a tendency toward internal shrinkage of all these Jewishries, but in some instances this was offset by immigration. In Belgium, the size of the Jewish population was probably quite stable, owing to the comparatively strong Orthodox section in that community. In Italy, membership in Jewish communities has been voluntary since 1987, a change from the previous, long-standing system of compulsory affiliation. Although most Jews reaffiliated, the new looser legal framework facilitated the ongoing attrition of the Jewish population. Recent Jewish community records for Milan indicated an affiliated Jewish population of 6,500, as against over 8,000 in the 1960s, despite substantial immigration from other countries in the intervening period. This evidence prompted a reduction in our national estimate for Italy to 30,000. In the Netherlands, a recent study indicated a growing number of residents of Israeli origin. This may have offset the declining trends among veteran Jews. The Jewish population was estimated at 26,500.

Other EU member countries have smaller and, overall, slowly declining Jewish populations. Possible exceptions are Sweden and Spain, whose Jewish populations are tentatively estimated at 15,000 and 12,000, respectively. Austria's permanent Jewish population was upwardly 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 has tended to offset the internal losses. The small Jewish populations in other Scandinavian countries are, on the whole, numerically rather stable.

Other West Europe. Few countries remain in Western Europe that have not joined the EU. In 1996 they accounted for a combined Jewish population of 19,900. The estimate of Switzerland's Jewish population is 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.⁴² Allowing for undeclared Jews, we put the estimate at 18,000.

⁴¹Pavel Polian and Klaus Teschemacher, "Jewish Emigration from the Community of Independent States to Germany" (paper presented at 3rd European Population Conference, Milan, 1995); Jewish Agency, Department of Immigration Absorption, internal report (Jerusalem, 1996).

⁴²Bundesamt für Statistik, *Wohnbevölkerung nach Konfession und Geschlecht, 1980 und 1990* (Bern, 1993).

Former USSR (European parts). Since 1989, the demographic situation of East European Jewry has been radically transformed as a consequence of the dramatic geopolitical changes in the region.⁴³ The economic and political crisis that culminated in the disintegration of the Soviet Union as a state in 1991 generated an upsurge in Jewish emigration. After rapidly reaching a peak in 1990, emigration continued, slightly attenuated, throughout 1996. While mass emigration was an obvious factor in population decrease, the demography of FSU Jewry has been characterized for years by very low levels of "effectively Jewish" fertility, frequent outmarriage, and heavy aging. As a result, the shrinking of the Jewish population has been comparatively rapid.

Official government sources provide the fundamental basis of information on the number of Jews in the FSU. The Soviet Union's census and subsequent data distinguish the Jews as one in a recognized list of "nationalities" (ethnic groups). In a societal context that, until recently, did not recognize religious identification, the ethnic definition criterion could be considered comprehensive and valid. Data from the last official population census, carried out in January 1989, revealed a total of 1,450,500 Jews.⁴⁴ The figure confirmed the declining trend already apparent since the previous three Soviet censuses: 2,267,800 in 1959, 2,150,700 in 1970, and 1,810,900 in 1979.

Our reservation about USSR Jewish population figures in previous AJYB volumes bears repeating: some underreporting is not impossible, but it cannot be easily quantified and should not be exaggerated. The prolonged existence of a totalitarian regime produced conflicting effects on census declarations: on the one hand, it stimulated a preference for other than Jewish nationalities in the various parts of the FSU, especially in connection with mixed marriages; on the other hand, it preserved a formal Jewish identification by coercion, through the mandatory registration of nationality on official documents such as 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.

Systematic analysis of previously inaccessible data about the demographic characteristics and trends of Jews in the FSU has produced important new in-

⁴³For the historical demographic background, see U.O. Schmelz, "New Evidence on Basic Issues in the Demography of Soviet Jews," *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 16, no. 2, 1974, pp. 209-23; Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry Since the Second World War: Population and Social Structure* (Westport, 1987).

⁴⁴Goskomstat SSSR, *Vestnik Statistiki*, 10 (1990), pp. 69-71. This figure does not include about 30,000 Tats (Mountain Jews).

sights into recent and current trends.⁴⁵ The new data confirm the prevalence of very low fertility and birthrates, high frequencies of outmarriage, a preference for non-Jewish nationalities among the children of outmarriages, aging, and a clear surplus of Jewish deaths over Jewish births. These trends are especially visible in the Slavic republics, which hold a large share of the total Jewish population.⁴⁶

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—must be substantially higher in a societal context like that of the FSU, which has been characterized by high intermarriage rates for a considerable time. While a definitive estimate for the total USSR cannot be provided for lack of appropriate data, evidence for the Russian Republic indicates a high ratio of non-Jews to Jews in the enlarged Jewish population.⁴⁷ Nor can definitive information about the ratio between Jews and non-Jews in an enlarged Jewish population in the FSU be derived from the statistics of immigrants to Israel. Due to the highly self-selective character of *aliyah*, non-Jews constitute a relatively smaller minority of all new immigrants from the FSU than their share among the Jewish population in the countries of origin.⁴⁸ It is obvious, though, that the

⁴⁵Mark Tolts, "Some Basic Trends in Soviet Jewish Demography," in *Papers in Jewish Demography* 1989, ed. U.O. Schmeltz and S. DellaPergola (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 237–43; 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 (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 (18), 1992, pp. 13–26; Leonid E. Darsky, "Fertility in the USSR: Basic Trends" (paper presented at European Population Conference, Paris, 1991); Mark Tolts, "Jewish Marriages in the USSR: A Demographic Analysis," *East European Jewish Affairs* 22 (2) (London, 1992); Sidney Goldstein and Alice Goldstein, *Lithuanian Jewry 1993: A Demographic and Sociocultural Profile* (Jerusalem, 1997).

⁴⁶Mark Tolts, "Demographic Trends of the Jews in the Three Slavic Republics of the Former USSR: A Comparative Analysis," in *Papers in Jewish Demography* 1993, ed. S. DellaPergola and J. Even (Jerusalem, 1997), pp. 147–75; Mark Tolts, "The Interrelationship Between Emigration and the Sociodemographic Trends of Russian Jewry," in *Russian Jews on Three Continents*, ed. N. Levin Epstein, Y. Ro'i, and P. Ritterband (London, 1997), pp. 147–76.

⁴⁷Mark Tolts, "Jews in the Russian Republic Since the Second World War: The Dynamics of Demographic Erosion," in International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, *International Population Conference* (Montreal, 1993), vol. 3, pp. 99–111; Evgeni Andreev, "Jews in the Households in Russia," in *Papers in Jewish Demography* 1997, ed. S. DellaPergola and J. Even (Jerusalem, forthcoming).

⁴⁸Israel'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 October 1989–August 1992 were recorded as Jewish. In 1994 the percent had declined to 71.6. See Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigration to Israel* 1995 (Jerusalem, 1996). See also Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demographic Context of the Soviet Aliya," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, 3 (16), 1991, pp. 41–56.

wide provisions of Israel's Law of Return (see above) 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 of the total enlarged Jewish population than in some Western countries, such as the United States.

Just as the number of declared Jews evolved consistently between censuses, the number of persons of Jewish descent who preferred not to be identified as Jews was rather consistent too, at least until 1989. However, the recent political developments, and especially the current emigration urge, probably led to greater readiness to declare a Jewish self-identification by persons who did not describe themselves as such in the 1989 census. In terms of demographic accounting, these "returnees" imply an actual net increment to the core Jewish population of the FSU, as well as to world Jewry.

With regard to updating the January 1989 census figure to the end of 1996 for each of the republics of the FSU, Jewish emigration played the major role among the intervening changes. An estimated 71,000, thereof about 62,000 declared Jews, left in 1989, as against 19,300 in 1988, 8,100 in 1987 and only 7,000 during the whole 1982–1986 period. The following migration estimates since 1990 have been compiled from Soviet, Israeli, American, and other sources:⁴⁹

Immigrants to: (thousands)	1990	1991 ^a	1992 ^a	1993 ^a	1994 ^a	1995 ^a	1996 ^a
Israel	185.2	147.8	65.1	66.1	68.1	64.8	58.9
United States	32.7	35.6	46.1	35.9	32.9	24.8	22.0
Elsewhere	10.0	12.0	20.0	14.0	9.0	20.0	24.0
Total	227.9	195.4	131.2	116.0	110.0	109.6	104.9
Of which Jews	200.0	159.0	96.0	80.0	75.0	70.0	60.0

^aYear of arrival.

These apparently declining emigration figures should not be misconstrued: when compared to the similarly declining Jewish population figures for the FSU, they actually demonstrate a remarkably stable desire to emigrate.

At the same time, the heavy deficit of internal population dynamics continued and even intensified, due to the great aging that is known to have prevailed for

⁴⁹Estimates based on Israel Central Bureau of Statistics and HIAS reports. See also Sidney Heitman, "Soviet Emigration in 1990," *Berichte des Bundesinstitut für Ostwissenschaftliche und internationale studien*, vol. 33, 1991; Tress, "Welfare State Type, Labour Markets and Refugees. . . ."

many decades. 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 1,000.⁵⁰ These figures imply yearly losses of many thousands to the respective Jewish populations. Aging in the countries of origin was exacerbated by the significantly younger age composition of Jewish emigrants.⁵¹

On the strength of these considerations, our estimate of the core Jewish population in the USSR (including the Asian regions) was reduced from the census figure of 1,450,500 at the end of 1988/beginning of 1989 to 1,370,000 at the end of 1989, 1,157,500 at the end of 1990, 990,000 at the end of 1991, and 890,000 at the end of 1992.⁵² The 1992 estimate, besides considering the intervening changes, also corrected for the past omission of the Tats, also known as 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.

An important new piece of evidence, basically confirming the known trends, became available with the publication of the results of the national microcensus of the Russian republic conducted February 14–23, 1994.⁵³ The data, based on a 5-percent sample, revealed a Jewish population of about 400,000 plus approximately 8,000 Tats. We thus obtained a total of 408,000, with a range of variation between 401,000 and 415,000, allowing for sampling errors. Apportioning in retrospect for Jewish population changes (decline) between December 31, 1993, the date of our estimate, and February 23, 1994, the date of the microcensus, the central estimate rose to 410,000 at the end of 1993. This figure was only 6 percent higher than the estimate we had independently obtained for the same date

⁵⁰Mark Tolts, "Russia's Jewish Population: Emigration, Assimilation and Demographic Collapse," *Jews in Eastern Europe* 3 (31), 1996.

⁵¹Age structures of the Jewish population in the Russian Federal Republic were reported in Goskomstat SSSR, *Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1970 goda*, vol. 4, table 33 (Moscow, 1973); Goskomstat SSSR, *Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1979 goda*, vol. 4, part 2, table 2 (Moscow, 1989); Goskomstat SSSR, *Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1989 goda* (Moscow, 1991). Age structures of recent Jewish migrants from the USSR to the United States and to Israel appear, respectively, in HIAS, *Statistical Report* (New York, yearly publication) and unpublished annual data kindly communicated to the author; Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigration to Israel*, Special Series (Jerusalem, yearly publication); Yoel Florsheim, "Immigration to Israel and the United States from the Former Soviet Union, 1992," *Jews in Eastern Europe* 3 (22), 1993, pp. 31–39; Mark Tolts, "Trends in Soviet Jewish Demography Since the Second World War," in *Jews and Jewish Life in Russia and the Soviet Union*, ed. Ya'acov Ro'i (London, 1995), pp. 365–82.

⁵²Dr. Mark Tolts of the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University actively contributed to the preparation of FSU Jewish population estimates throughout the present article.

⁵³See V. Aleksandrova, "Mikroperepisi' naseleniia Rossiiskoi Federatsii," *Voprosy Statistiki*, 1994 (1), p. 37 (Moscow, 1994). See also Mark Tolts, "The Interrelationship Between Emigration and the Socio-Demographic Profile of Russian Jewry," in *Russian Jews on Three Continents*, ed. Noah Levin-Epstein, Paul Ritterband, and Yaakov Ro'i (London, 1996), pp. 147–76.

(385,000), based on our projection of the 1989 census figure of 551,000. After correcting our Russian estimate upward, we obtained a 1993 estimate of 817,000 for the total of the FSU.

Our 1994, 1995, and 1996 estimates were prepared as usual by taking into account for each republic separately all available data and estimates concerning Jewish emigration, births, deaths, and geographical mobility between republics. The total Jewish population for the FSU was estimated at 729,000 in 1994, 660,000 in 1995, and 595,000 at the end of 1996. Of this total, 546,600 lived in the European republics and 48,400 in the Asian republics (see below). The pace of change of Jewish population was significantly different in each republic because of variable propensities to emigrate and different rates of assimilation and natural decrease.

The largest Jewish population in the FSU European parts remained in Russia, currently the fifth-largest in the world. Our end-1996 estimate for Russia was 340,000 (as against census-based estimates of 551,000 for end-1988, and 410,000 for end-1993). Jews in the Ukraine, which in recent years experienced large-scale emigration, were estimated at 155,000, currently the eighth-largest community worldwide (487,300 in 1988). A further 23,000 Jews were estimated to remain in Belarus (112,000 in 1988), and 8,000 in the Republic of Moldova (65,800 in 1988). Based on updated figures from the local national population registers, a combined total of 20,600 were estimated for the three Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia (versus 39,900 in 1988).⁵⁴

Inconsistencies among recent estimates of the number of Jews in former USSR republics can be explained by any combination of the following five factors: (a) some migration of Jews between the various republics of the former USSR since 1991, especially to the Russian republic; (b) the presence of a proportion of non-Jews higher than previously assumed among the "enlarged" pool of Jewish emigrants from the former USSR, resulting in excessively lowered estimates of the number of Jews remaining there; (c) adoption of a Jewish identification in the most recent official sources of data on the part of persons who declared themselves as belonging to another national (ethnic) group in previous censuses; (d) counting in the Russian microcensus and in the population registers of other republics of some persons whose status is not yet that of émigrés, based on the legal criteria of the country of origin, but is such based on the criteria of the State of Israel or other countries of current residence; (e) some definitive returns to Russia (and other republics) from Israel⁵⁵ and other countries of migrants who for various reasons are still registered as residents of the latter. While it is impossible at this stage to establish the respective weight of each of these factors, their

⁵⁴Lithuanian Department of Statistics, *Demographic Yearbook 1993* (Vilnius, 1994); "Par Latvijas Republikas cilvēkiem," *Latvijas Vestnesis*, 44 (Riga, 1995); Anna Stroi, "Latvia v chelovecheskom izmerenii: etnicheskii aspekt," *Diena* (Riga, 1997); Goldstein and Goldstein, *Lithuanian Jewry 1993*.

⁵⁵Council of Europe, *Recent Demographic Developments in Europe* (Strasbourg, 1996).

impact is quite secondary in the context of overall Jewish population changes. Points (d) and (e) above also indicate the likelihood of some double counts of former-USSR Jews in their country of origin and in the countries they have emigrated to. Consequently, it is entirely possible that our statistical synopsis is overestimated by several thousands.

Other East Europe and Balkans. The Jewish populations in Hungary and Romania and the small remnants in Poland, Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak republics, and the former Yugoslavia are all reputed to be very overaged and to experience frequent outmarriage. In each of these countries, the recent political transformations have allowed for greater autonomy of the organized Jewish communities and their registered membership. Some Jews or persons of Jewish origin may have come out into the open after years of hiding their identity. But, while the gap between core and enlarged Jewish populations tends to be significant in this region, the general demographic pattern is one of inevitable decline.

The size of Hungarian Jewry—the largest in Eastern Europe outside the FSU—is quite insufficiently known. Overall membership in local Jewish organizations is estimated at about 20,000–25,000. Our core Jewish population estimate of 53,500—as against much higher figures that are periodically circulated—attempts to reflect the declining trend that prevails in Hungary, according to the available indications. The January 1992 census of Romania reported a Jewish population of 9,107. Based on the detailed Jewish community records available there, our estimate for the end of 1996 was 13,000. The numbers of Jews in the Czech Republic and Slovakia were very tentatively estimated at 2,400 and 3,500, respectively, and the estimate for Poland was put at 3,500. In Bulgaria, the December 4, 1992 census reported 3,461 Jews;⁵⁶ our 1996 estimate, also reflecting emigration, was 3,100.

The situation in the former Yugoslavia continued to be uneasy, contributing to Jewish population decline. The core Jewish population for the total of the five successor republics, reduced through emigration, was reassessed at about 3,700 at the end of 1996. Of these, roughly 2,000 lived in the territorially shrunken Yugoslavia (Serbia with Montenegro), and 1,300 in Croatia.

The Jewish population of Turkey, where a significant surplus of deaths over births has been reported for several years, was estimated at about 19,000.

ASIA

Israel. At the end of 1996, we estimated the Jewish population of Israel at 4,567,700. A major revision in Israel's figure was introduced following the November 4, 1995, population census. On census day, 4,459,696 Jews were enumerated, 69,700 fewer than the 4,549,500 that were expected according to the cur-

⁵⁶ *Statistical Yearbook* (Sofia, 1992).

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, END 1996

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Israel ^a	5,689,000	4,567,700	802.9	B 1996 X
Azerbaijan	7,594,000	9,500	1.3	C 1996
Georgia	5,442,000	8,600	1.6	C 1996
Kazakhstan	16,820,000	11,000	0.7	C 1996
Kyrgyzstan	4,469,000	2,500	0.6	C 1996
Tajikistan	5,935,000	1,600	0.3	C 1996
Turkmenistan	4,155,000	1,200	0.3	C 1996
Uzbekistan	23,209,000	14,000	0.6	C 1996
Total FSU in Asia ^b	71,262,000	48,400	0.7	
China ^c	1,238,274,000	1,000	0.0	D
India	944,580,000	4,200	0.0	C 1991
Iran	69,975,000	12,500	0.2	C 1986
Iraq	20,607,000	100	0.0	C 1997
Japan	125,351,000	1,000	0.0	C 1993
Korea, South	45,314,000	100	0.0	C 1988
Philippines	69,282,000	100	0.0	C 1988
Singapore	3,384,000	300	0.1	B 1990
Syria	14,574,000	200	0.0	C 1995
Thailand	58,793,000	200	0.0	C 1988
Yemen	15,678,000	200	0.0	B 1996
Other	743,557,000	300	0.0	D
Total other Asia	3,349,279,000	20,200	0.0	
Total ^a	3,426,230,000	4,636,300	1.4	

^aTotal population of Israel: end 1996.^bIncluding Armenia. Not including Turkey and Asian regions of Russian Republic.^cIncluding Hong Kong.

rent update of the Israeli Ministry of Interior's national population register, whose baseline was the previous census of June 4, 1983. Discrepancies between census and population register figures could be due to undercounts or double counts in either the previous or the latest census, and to errors accumulated over the years in the reporting of vital events, migration, and other personal changes to the registrar's office. A major factor in these differences resulted from Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics' (CBS) initial attribution (for the purpose of calculating current population estimates) of a Jewish identification to several thousands of immigrants from the FSU who were later identified as non-Jewish by the Ministry of Interior. The CBS provisional Jewish population estimate for end-1966 was 4,637,400, still based on the 1983 census; reducing that figure by 69,700, we obtained the figure of 4,567,700.⁵⁷

Israel accounts for over 98 percent of all the 4.6 million Jews in Asia, including the Asian republics of the former USSR, but excluding the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey (see table 5). By the end of 1996, Israeli Jews constituted 35 percent of total world Jewry. Israel's Jewish population grew in 1996 by 87,900, or 2 percent.⁵⁸ After reaching growth rates of 6.2 percent in 1990 and 5 percent in 1991, steady population increases of 2–2.5 percent were recorded since 1992. The number of new immigrants in 1996 (70,600) was slightly less than in 1995 (76,400). About 61 percent of Jewish population growth in 1996 was due to the net migration balance; the remaining 39 percent of Jewish population growth reflected natural increase. Moreover, several hundred immigrants from the former USSR and other countries who were previously listed as non-Jews were converted to Judaism and officially registered as Jews.⁵⁹

Former USSR (Asian parts). The total Jewish population in the Asian republics of the former USSR was estimated at 48,400 at the end of 1996. The various ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus area and the fear of Muslim fundamentalism in Central Asia continued to cause concern and stimulated Jewish emigration.⁶⁰ Internal identificational and demographic processes were less a factor of attrition among these Jewish populations than was the case in the European republics of the FSU. At the beginning of the 1990s, minimal rates of natural increase still existed among the more traditional sections of these Jewish

⁵⁷The official backward population correction was not yet available at the time of this writing, hence our unusual B accuracy rating for Israel in table 5.

⁵⁸Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel 1997* (Jerusalem, 1997). 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 *Israel's Social Services 1992–93*, ed. Y. Kop (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 57–115. We thank the staff of Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics for facilitating compilation of published and unpublished data.

⁵⁹Source for estimate: Israel's Ministry of Religious Affairs.

⁶⁰Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigration to Israel 1996* (Jerusalem, 1997).

communities, but conditions were rapidly eroding this residual surplus.⁶¹ Reflecting these trends, the largest community remained in Uzbekistan (14,000 in 1996, versus 94,900 at the end of 1988), followed by Kazakhstan (11,000, vs. 19,900 in 1988), Azerbaijan (9,500 vs. 30,800), Georgia (8,600 vs. 24,800), and the balance of the remaining four republics (5,300 vs. 24,000).

Other countries. It is difficult to estimate the Jewish population of Iran, last counted in the 1986 national census.⁶² Based on evidence of continuing decline, the 1996 estimate was reduced to 12,500. In other Asian countries with small veteran communities—such as India or several Muslim countries—the Jewish population has tended to decline. The recent reduction was most notable in Syria and Yemen, where Jews were officially allowed to emigrate. Very small Jewish communities, partially of a transient character, exist in several countries of Southeast Asia. With the reunion in 1997 of Hong Kong with mainland China, that separate listing ceased and China's permanent Jewish population was roughly estimated at 1,000, the same as Japan.

AFRICA

Fewer than 105,000 Jews were estimated to remain in Africa at the end of 1996. The Republic of South Africa accounted for 90 percent of total Jews in that continent (see table 6). In 1980, according to a national census, there were about 118,000 Jews among South Africa's white population.⁶³ 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 last official population census, carried out in March 1991, did not provide a reliable new national figure on Jewish population size. The question on religion was not mandatory, and only 65,406 white people declared themselves as Jewish. Assuming that the proportion of Jews who had not stated their religion was the same as that of other whites, an inflated census figure of 91,859 Jews was arrived at.⁶⁴ The results of a Jewish-sponsored survey of the Jewish population in the five major South African urban centers, completed—like the census—in 1991, confirmed the ongoing demographic decline.⁶⁵ Based on the new evidence, the most likely range of Jewish population size was estimated at 92,000 to 106,000 for 1991, with a central value of

⁶¹Tolts, "The Balance of Births and Deaths. . . ."

⁶²Data kindly provided by Dr. Mehdi Bozorgmehr, Von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Los Angeles.

⁶³Sergio DellaPergola and Allie A. Dubb, "South African Jewry: A Sociodemographic Profile," *AJYB* 1988, vol. 88, pp. 59–140.

⁶⁴Allie A. Dubb, *The Jewish Population of South Africa: The 1991 Sociodemographic Survey* (Cape Town, 1994).

⁶⁵The study was directed by Dr. Allie A. Dubb and supported by the Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies, University of Cape Town.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, END 1996

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	63,271,000	200	0.0	C 1993
Ethiopia	56,713,000	100	0.0	C 1995
Morocco	27,021,000	6,100	0.2	B 1995
Tunisia	9,156,000	1,600	0.2	B 1995
Other	61,924,000	100	0.0	D
Total North Africa	218,085,000	8,100	0.0	
Botswana	1,484,000	100	0.1	B 1993
Kenya	27,799,000	400	0.0	B 1990
Namibia	1,575,000	100	0.1	B 1993
Nigeria	115,020,000	100	0.0	D
South Africa	42,393,000	94,000	2.2	B 1991
Zaire	46,812,000	300	0.0	B 1993
Zimbabwe	11,439,000	900	0.1	B 1993
Other	274,123,000	400	0.0	D
Total other Africa	520,645,000	96,300	0.2	
Total	738,730,000	104,400	0.1	

100,000.⁶⁶ The latter figure was also suggested as our estimate for 1992. Taking into account the pace of continuing emigration from South Africa to Israel and other Western countries (especially Australia), we projected a decline since 1991 and obtained an estimate of 94,000 for South African Jewry at the end of 1996.

In recent years, the Jewish community of Ethiopia was at the center of an international effort of rescue. In the course of 1991, the overwhelming majority of Ethiopian Jews—about 20,000 people—were brought to Israel, most of them in a dramatic one-day airlift operation. Some of these migrants were non-Jewish members of mixed households. In connection with these events, it was assumed that only a few Jews remained in Ethiopia, but in the subsequent years the small remaining core Jewish population appeared to be larger than previously esti-

⁶⁶Dubb, *The Jewish Population of South Africa*.

mated. Over 3,600 immigrants from Ethiopia arrived in Israel in 1992, 900 in 1993, 1,200 in 1994, 1,300 in 1995, and 1,400 in 1996, including a growing share of non-Jewish immigrants seeking reunification with their Jewish relatives. Although it is possible that more Jews than we know of may appear, wanting to emigrate to Israel, and that more Christian relatives of Jews already in Israel will press for emigration before Israel terminates the family reunification program for such relatives, a conservative estimate of 100 Jews was tentatively suggested for the end of 1996. Small Jewish populations remained in various African countries south of Sahara.

The remnants of Moroccan and Tunisian Jewry tended to shrink slowly through emigration, mostly to France and Canada. The end-1996 estimate was 6,100 for Morocco and 1,600 for Tunisia.⁶⁷ As some Jews had a foothold both in Morocco or Tunisia and also in France or other Western countries, their geographical attribution was therefore uncertain.

OCEANIA

The major country of Jewish residence in Oceania (Australasia) is Australia, where 95 percent of the estimated total of nearly 100,000 Jews live (see table 7). In 1996 a total of 79,805 people in Australia described their religion as Jewish, according to the latest national census figures.⁶⁸ This represented an increase of 5,419 (7.3 percent) over the 1991 census figure of 74,386 declared Jews, which in turn was 5,303 (7.7 percent) more than the figure reported in the 1986 census.⁶⁹ 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 than other Australians. In a 1991 survey in Melbourne, where roughly one half of all Australia's Jews live, only less than 7 percent of the Jewish respondents stated they had not identified as Jews in the census.⁷⁰ The Melbourne survey actually depicted a very stable community, even if one affected by growing acculturation. Australian Jewry received migratory reinforcements during the last decade, especially from South Africa, the FSU, and Israel. At the same time, there were demographic pat-

⁶⁷See George E. Gruen, "Jews in the Middle East and North Africa," *AJYB* 1994, vol. 94, pp. 438-64; and confidential information obtained through Jewish organizations.

⁶⁸Bernard Freedman, "More Jews," *Australian Jewish News* (Melbourne, July 17, 1997). Thanks are due to Prof. Bill Rubinstein for bringing this article to our attention.

⁶⁹Bill Rubinstein, "Census Total for Jews Up by 7.7 Percent; Big Gains in Smaller States," unpublished report (Geelong, Victoria, 1993).

⁷⁰John Goldlust, *The Jews of Melbourne: A Report of the Findings of the Jewish Community Survey, 1991* (Melbourne, 1993).

TABLE 7. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, END 1996

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	18,057,000	95,000	5.3	B 1996 X
New Zealand	3,602,000	4,500	1.2	C 1991
Other	7,027,000	100	0.0	D
Total	28,686,000	99,600	3.5	

terns with negative effects on Jewish population size, such as strong aging. Taking into account these various factors, we updated our estimate for 1996 to 95,000—substantially more than the official census returns, but less than would obtain by adding the full proportion of those who did not report any religion in the census. The Jewish community in New Zealand was estimated at 4,500.

Dispersion and Concentration

COUNTRY PATTERNS

Table 8 demonstrates the magnitude of Jewish dispersion. The 94 individual countries listed above as each having at least 100 Jews are scattered over all the continents. In 1996, 9 countries had a Jewish population of 100,000 or more; another 4 countries had 50,000 or more; another 25 had more than 5,000; and 56 out of 94 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 they amounted even 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 only 10 countries had more than 5 Jews per 1,000 (0.5 percent) of population. The respective 10 countries were, in descending order of the proportion, but regardless of the absolute number of their Jews: Gibraltar (21.4 per 1,000), United States (21.2), Canada (12.2), France (9.0), Uruguay (7.3), Argentina (5.8), Hungary (5.4), Latvia (5.1), United Kingdom (5.0), and Australia (5.0). Other major Diaspora countries having lower proportions of Jews per 1,000 of total population were Russia (2.3 per 1,000), Ukraine (3.0), Brazil (0.6), South Africa (2.2), and Germany (0.9).

TABLE 8. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN EACH COUNTRY, END 1996

Number of Jews in Country	Jews per 1,000 Population					
	Total	0.0-0.9	1.0-4.9	5.0-9.9	10.0-24.9	25.0+
<u>Number of Countries</u>						
Total ^a	94	61	22	7	3	1
100-900	32	27	4	—	1	—
1,000-4,900	23	21	2	—	—	—
5,000-9,900	9	2	7	—	—	—
10,000-49,900	17	9	6	2	—	—
50,000-99,900	4	1	1	2	—	—
100,000-999,900	7	1	2	3	1	—
1,000,000 or more	2	—	—	—	1	1
<u>Jewish Population Distribution (Absolute Numbers)</u>						
Total ^a	13,023,700	404,300	784,500	1,204,600	6,062,600	4,567,700
100-900	10,200	8,100	1,500	—	600	—
1,000-4,900	56,000	48,900	7,100	—	—	—
5,000-9,900	57,800	6,100	51,700	—	—	—
10,000-49,900	342,500	171,200	135,200	36,100	—	—
50,000-99,900	312,500	70,000	94,000	148,500	—	—
100,000-999,900	1,977,000	100,000	495,000	1,020,000	362,000	—
1,000,000 or more	10,267,700	—	—	—	5,700,000	4,567,700
<u>Jewish Population Distribution (Percent of World's Jews)</u>						
Total ^a	100.0	3.1	6.0	9.2	46.6	35.1
100-900	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1,000-4,900	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
5,000-9,900	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
10,000-49,900	2.6	1.3	1.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
50,000-99,900	2.4	0.5	0.7	1.1	0.0	0.0
100,000-999,900	15.2	0.8	3.8	7.8	2.8	0.0
1,000,000 or more	78.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	43.8	35.1

^aExcluding countries with fewer than 100 Jews, with a total of 1,300 Jews. Minor discrepancies due to rounding.

In the State of Israel, by contrast, the Jewish majority amounted to 803 per 1,000 (80.3 percent) in 1996, compared to 810 per 1,000 (81 percent) in 1995—not including the Arab population of the administered areas.

While Jews are widely dispersed throughout the world, they are also concentrated to a large extent (see table 9). In 1996, 97 percent of world Jewry lived in

TABLE 9. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, END 1996

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the World		In the Diaspora	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,700,000	43.8	43.8	67.4	67.4
2	Israel	4,567,700	35.1	78.9	=	=
3	France	524,000	4.0	82.9	6.2	73.6
4	Canada	362,000	2.8	85.7	4.3	77.9
5	Russia	340,000	2.6	88.3	4.0	81.9
6	United Kingdom	291,000	2.2	90.5	3.4	85.3
7	Argentina	205,000	1.6	92.1	2.4	87.8
8	Ukraine	155,000	1.2	93.3	1.8	89.6
9	Brazil	100,000	0.8	94.1	1.2	90.8
10	South Africa	95,000	0.7	94.8	1.1	91.9
11	Australia	94,000	0.7	95.5	1.1	93.0
12	Germany	70,000	0.5	96.0	0.8	93.8
13	Hungary	53,500	0.4	96.4	0.6	94.5
14	Mexico	40,700	0.3	96.8	0.5	95.0
15	Belgium	31,700	0.2	97.0	0.4	95.3

the 15 countries with the largest Jewish populations, and 79 percent lived in the two largest communities—the United States and Israel. Similarly, ten leading Diaspora countries together comprised nearly 93 percent of the Diaspora Jewish population; three countries (United States, France, and Canada) accounted for 78 percent, and the United States alone for over 67 percent, of total Diaspora Jewry.

CONCENTRATION IN MAJOR CITIES

Intensive international and internal migrations led to the concentration of an overwhelming majority of the Jews in large urban areas. Table 10 provides a ranking of the cities where the largest Jewish populations were found in 1996.⁷¹

⁷¹Definitions of metropolitan statistical areas vary across countries. Estimates reported here reflect the criteria adopted in each place. For U.S. estimates, see Scheckner, *AJYB 1997*; for Israeli estimates, see Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population in Localities: Demographic Characteristics by Geographical Divisions, 1995* (Jerusalem, 1997); for Canadian estimates, see Torczyner and Brotman; for other estimates, see A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry.

TABLE 10. METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, END 1996

Rank	Metro Area ^a	Country	Jewish Population	% Share of World's Jews
1	Tel Aviv ^b	Israel	2,400,000	18.4
2	New York ^c	U.S.	1,937,000	14.9
3	Haifa ^b	Israel	650,000	5.0
4	Los Angeles ^d	U.S.	590,000	4.5
5	Jerusalem ^e	Israel	550,000	4.2
6	Miami-Ft. Lauderdale	U.S.	382,000	2.9
7	Paris	France	310,000	2.4
8	Philadelphia ^f	U.S.	280,000	2.1
9	Chicago	U.S.	263,000	2.0
10	Boston	U.S.	235,000	1.8
11	San Francisco	U.S.	216,000	1.7
12	London	United Kingdom	210,000	1.6
13	Buenos Aires	Argentina	178,000	1.4
14	Washington ^g	U.S.	166,000	1.3
15	Toronto	Canada	166,000	1.3
16	W. Palm Beach-Boca Raton	U.S.	151,000	1.2
17	Be'er Sheva ^h	Israel	143,000	1.1
18	Moscow ⁱ	Russia	120,000	0.9
19	Baltimore ^j	U.S.	105,000	0.8
20	Montreal	Canada	100,000	0.8

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

^bArea as newly defined in the 1995 Population Census. Including Netanya and Ashod, which previously appeared separately.

^cIncluding areas in New Jersey and Connecticut.

^dIncluding Orange County, Riverside, San Bernardino, Ventura County.

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

^fIncluding areas in New Jersey and Delaware.

^gIncluding areas in Maryland and Virginia.

^hCentral city only. Our estimate from total population data.

ⁱTerritory administered by City Council.

^jIncluding Howard County.

Twenty urban areas worldwide had an estimated population of 100,000 or more Jews. These 20 central places and their suburban and satellite areas together comprised 70 percent of the worldwide Jewish population. Ten of these cities were in the United States, four in Israel,⁷² two in Canada, and one each in France, the United Kingdom, Argentina, and Russia. The ten metropolitan areas in the United States included 76 percent of total U.S. Jewry, and the four Israeli major urban areas included 82 percent of Israel's Jewish population.

The extraordinary urbanization of the Jews was evinced even more by the fact that over one half of all world Jewry (7,597,000, or 58.3 percent) lived in only ten large metropolitan areas: New York (including Northern New Jersey), Los Angeles (including Orange, Riverside, and Ventura counties), Miami-Ft. Lauderdale, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston in the United States; Paris in France; and Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem in Israel.

SERGIO DELLA PERGOLA

⁷²Following the 1995 population census in Israel, major metropolitan urban areas were redefined. The two cities of Netanya and Ashdod, each with a Jewish population exceeding 100,000, were included in the outer ring of the expanded Greater Tel Aviv area.