World Jewish Population, 1992

THIS ARTICLE PRESENTS UPDATES, for the end of 1992, of the Jewish population estimates for the various countries of the world.[1] The estimates 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 worldwide 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. The Jewish population has been sensitive to these changes, large-scale emigration from the former USSR being the most visible effect. In the present article, each republic of the former USSR is included as a separate country and listed in Europe or Asia, as appropriate. Similarly, new estimates appear for the several successor states of the former Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

In spite of the increased fragmentation of the global system of nations, about 94 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 12.9 million persons at the end of 1992. The country figures for 1992 were updated from those for 1991 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 1991 figures, which appear below in revised summary (see table 1), so as to allow adequate comparison with the 1992 estimates.

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[1]The previous estimates, as of 1991, were published in AJYB 1993, vol. 93, pp. 423–45.

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

In recent years, new data and estimates have become available for the Jewish populations of several countries. Some of this ongoing research is part of a coordinated effort to update the profile of world Jewry that began at the outset of the 1990s.[3] Two important sources that have yielded results on major Jewish populations are the official population census of the Soviet Union held in 1989 and the National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) in the United States completed in 1990. The respective results basically confirmed the estimates we had reported in previous AJYB volumes and, perhaps more importantly, our interpretation of the trends now prevailing in the demography of world Jewry.[4] More recently, results of national censuses were released for Canada and Australia, and Jewish sociodemographic surveys were completed in South Africa and Mexico. While allowing for improved population estimates for the year 1992 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.

A full review of the major conceptual problems appeared in the 1992 volume of AJYB and will only be briefly summarized here. Users of population estimates should be aware of these difficulties and of the consequent limitations of the estimates.

Presentation of Data

The detailed estimates of Jewish population distribution in each continent and country (tables 2–7 below) aim at the concept of "core" Jewish population. We define the core Jewish population as the aggregate of all those who, when asked, identify themselves as such; or, if the respondent is a different person in the same household, are identified by him/her as Jews. The core Jewish population includes all those who converted to Judaism or joined the Jewish group informally. It excludes those of Jewish descent who formally adopted another religion, as well as other Jewish individuals who did not convert out but currently disclaim being Jewish. The so-called extended or enlarged Jewish populations—including Jews, ex-Jews, non-Jews of Jewish parentage, and the respective non-Jewish household members—may result in significantly higher estimates (not reported below).

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[3]Following the 1987 international conference on Jewish population problems, sponsored by the major Jewish organizations worldwide, an International Scientific Advisory Committee (ISAC) was established. Cochaired by Dr. Roberto Bachi of the Hebrew University and Dr. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University, ISAC coordinates and monitors Jewish population data collection internationally. See Sergio DellaPergola and Leah Cohen, eds., *World Jewish Population: Trends and Policies* (Jerusalem, 1992).

[4]See 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, "Israel and World Jewish Population: A Core-Periphery Perspective," in *Population and Social Change in Israel*, ed. C. Goldscheider (Boulder, 1992), pp. 39–63.

We provide separate figures for each country with at least 100 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 midyear 1993 total population,[5] the estimated end-1992 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. Yet, 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.

ACCURACY RATING

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; updating according to demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends; (D) base figure essentially conjectural; no reliable updating procedure. In categories (A), (B), and (C), the years in which the base figures or important partial updates were obtained are also stated. For countries whose Jewish population estimate of 1992 was not only updated but also revised in the light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

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[5]See United Nations, Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, *World Population Prospects; The 1992 Revision* (New York, 1993). Estimated total populations for the new successor states of the former USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were obtained from Michel Louis Levy, "Tous les pays du monde," *Population et Sociétés*, no. 282 (Paris, 1993).

Distribution of World Jewish Population by Major Regions

Table 1 gives an overall picture of Jewish population for the end of 1992 as compared to 1991. For 1991 the originally published estimates are presented along with somewhat revised figures that take into account, retrospectively, the corrections made in 1992 in certain country estimates, in the light of improved information. These corrections resulted in a net increase in world Jewry's 1991 estimated size by 65,500. This change resulted from upward corrections for Canada (+46,000), Mexico (+2,000), Russia (+19,000), Azerbaijan (+10,000), and Ethiopia (+3,000); and downward corrections for Iran (−1,000) and South Africa (−13,500). Some explanations are given below for the countries whose estimates were revised. The geographic breakdown in table 1 is slightly different from that in previous AJYB volumes, the main change being the division of the former USSR into its European and Asian components. In addition, due to the nearly complete emigration of Jews from Ethiopia, we withdrew the previous "Central Africa" category and incorporated the tiny residual in North Africa. The 1991 data, too, are presented here in the new format.

The size of world Jewry at the end of 1992 is assessed at 12,922,000. According to the revised figures, between 1991 and 1992 there was an estimated gain of 7,000 people, or about +0.1 percent. Despite all the imperfections in the estimates, it is clear that world Jewry has reached "zero population growth," with the natural increase in Israel barely compensating for the demographic decline in the Diaspora.

The number of Jews in Israel rose from a figure of 4,144, 600 in 1991 to 4,242,500 at the end of 1992, an increase of 97,900 people, or 2.4 percent. In contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora declined from 8,770,400 (according to the revised figures) to 8,679,500—a decrease of 90,900 people, or 1.1 percent. These changes primarily reflect the continuing Jewish emigration from the former USSR. In 1992, the Israel-Diaspora estimated net migratory balance amounted to a gain of about 49,500 Jews for Israel.[6] Internal demographic evolution produced further growth among the Jewish population in Israel and further decline 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 (*Hok Hashvut*). The Law of Return grants immigrant rights 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. The return or first-time accession to Judaism of some of such previously unincluded or unidentified individuals appears to have contributed to a moderate slowing down in the pace of decline of the relevant Diaspora Jewish populations, and some further gains to the Jewish population in Israel.

Just about half of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with over 46 percent

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[6]Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel 1993*, no. 44 (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 44.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 1991 AND 1992

Region	1991			1992		% Change 1991–1992
	Original	Revised				
	Abs. N.	Abs. N.	Percent	Abs. N.	Percent	
World	12,849,500	12,915,000	100.0	12,922,000	100.0	+0.1
Diaspora	8,704,900	8,770,400	67.9	8,679,500	67.2	−1.1
Israel	4,144,600	4,144,600	32.1	4,242,500	32.8	+2.4
America, Total	6,319,000	6,367,000	49.3	6,409,700	49.6	+0.6
North[a]	5,885,000	5,931,000	45.9	5,976,000	46.2	+0.7
Central	49,700	51,700	0.4	51,700	0.4	—
South	384,300	384,300	3.0	382,000	3.0	−0.6
Europe, Total	2,009,800	2,028,800	15.8	1,924,800	14.9	−5.1
EC	986,900	986,900	7.6	992,300	7.7	+0.5
Other West	44,000	44,000	0.3	44,000	0.4	—
Former USSR[b]	868,100	887,100	6.9	780,400	6.0	−12.1
Other East and Balkans[b]	110,800	110,800	0.9	108,100	0.8	−2.4
Asia, Total	4,298,100	4,307,100	33.3	4,378,600	33.9	+1.7
Israel	4,144,600	4,144,600	32.1	4,242,500	32.8	+2.4
Former USSR[b]	121,900	131,900	1.0	109,600	0.9	−16.9
Other[b]	31,600	30,600	0.2	26,500	0.2	−13.4
Africa, Total	129,000	118,500	0.9	114,300	0.9	−3.5
North[c]	11,900	14,900	0.1	11,200	0.1	−24.8
South[d]	117,100	103,600	0.8	103,100	0.8	−0.5
Oceania	93,600	93,600	0.7	94,600	0.7	+1.1

a U.S.A. and Canada.
b The Asian regions of Russia and Turkey are included in Europe.
c Including Ethiopia.
d South Africa, Zimbabwe, and other sub-Saharan countries.

in North America. One-third live in Asia—including the Asian republics of the former USSR (but not the Asian parts of the Russian Republic and Turkey)—most of them in Israel. Europe, including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey, accounts for about 15 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 1992. Moderate Jewish population gains were also estimated for North America, the European Community, and Oceania. South America, Eastern Europe, Asian countries out of Israel, and Africa sustained decreases in Jewish population size.

World Jewry constitutes about 2.3 per 1,000 of the world's total population. One in about 435 people in the world is a Jew.

Individual Countries

THE AMERICAS

In 1992 the total number of Jews in the American continents was estimated at over 6.4 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 the largest Jewish communities (see table 2).

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.[7] 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 had converted to 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 the survey. All together, these various groups formed an extended Jewish population of 6,840,000. NJPS also covered 1,350,000 non-Jewish-born members of eligible (Jewish or mixed) households. The study's enlarged Jewish population thus consisted of about 8,200,000 persons. The 1990 Jewish population estimates are within

[7]The 1989–1990 National Jewish Population Survey was conducted under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Federations with the supervision of a National Technical Advisory Committee chaired by Dr. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University. Dr. Barry Kosmin of the North American Jewish Data Bank and City University of New York Graduate Center directed the study. See Barry A. Kosmin, Sidney Goldstein, Joseph Waksberg, Nava Lerer, Ariella Keysar, and Jeffrey Scheckner, *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey* (New York, 1991); and Sidney Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry: Insights from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey," AJYB 1992, vol. 92, pp. 77–173.

TABLE 2. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, END 1992

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Canada	27,755,000	356,000	12.8	A 1991
United States	257,840,000	5,620,000	21.8	A 1990
Total North America	285,721,000[a]	5,976,000	20.9	
Bahamas	268,000	300	1.1	D
Costa Rica	3,270,000	2,000	0.6	C 1986
Cuba	10,907,000	700	0.1	C 1990
Dominican Republic	7,621,000	100	0.0	D
Guatemala	10,029,000	800	0.1	C 1983
Jamaica	2,495,000	300	0.1	B 1988
Mexico	89,998,000	40,000	0.4	A 1991 X
Netherlands Antilles	175,000	400	2.3	D
Panama	2,563,000	5,000	2.0	C 1990
Puerto Rico	3,626,000	1,500	0.4	C 1990
Virgin Islands	107,000	300	2.8	C 1986
Other	25,330,000	300	0.0	D
Total Central America	156,389,000	51,700	0.3	
Argentina	33,487,000	211,000	6.4	C 1990
Bolivia	7,705,000	700	0.1	B 1990
Brazil	156,578,000	100,000	0.6	C 1980
Chile	13,813,000	15,000	1.1	C 1988
Colombia	33,985,000	6,500	0.2	C 1986
Ecuador	11,310,000	900	0.1	C 1985
Paraguay	4,643,000	900	0.2	B 1990
Peru	22,913,000	3,000	0.1	B 1988
Suriname	446,000	200	0.5	B 1986
Uruguay	3,149,000	23,800	7.7	C 1990
Venezuela	20,618,000	20,000	1.0	C 1989
Total South America	309,574,000[a]	382,000	1.3	
Total	751,684,000	6,409,700	8.5	

a Including countries not listed separately.

the range of a sampling error of plus or minus 3.5 percent.[8] 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 in Jewish population size. According to HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), the main agency involved in assisting Jewish migration from the former USSR to the United States, the number of assisted migrants was 32,714 in 1990, 35,568 in 1991, and 46,083 in 1992.[9] These figures include a small number of individuals who settled in Canada, and, more significantly, are based on the "enlarged" Jewish population concept, incorporating non-Jewish members of mixed households. The actual number of former Soviet Jews resettling in the United States was thus somewhat smaller, though still quite substantial.

In retrospect, it can be seen that 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. First detailed analyses of the new 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.[10] A temporary increase in the Jewish birthrate occurred during the late 1980s, because the large cohorts born during the "baby boom" of the 1950s and early 1960s were in the main procreative ages; however, this echo effect is about to fade away, as the much smaller cohorts born since the late 1960s reach the stage of parenthood.

Taking this evidence into account, our estimate of U.S. Jewish population size at the end of 1992 starts from the NJPS benchmark core Jewish population of 5,515,000, and attempts to account for Jewish population changes that occurred in the latter part of 1990—after completion of NJPS—in 1991, and in 1992. 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 final months of that year.

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[8]See Kosmin et al., p. 39.

[9]See HIAS, *Annual Report 1992* (New York, 1993). 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).

[10]See Goldstein, AJYB 1992; see also U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Basic Trends in U.S. Jewish Demography* (American Jewish Committee, New York, 1988); and Sergio DellaPergola, "New Data on Demography and Identification Among Jews in the U.S.: Trends, Inconsistencies and Disagreements," *Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 12, 1992, pp. 67–97.

A further 40,000 were added for 1991, and 45,000 for 1992, to account for immigration net of emigration, as well as some further attrition based on current marriage, fertility, and age-composition trends in the U.S. core Jewish population. We thus suggest an estimate of 5,620,000 Jews in the United States at the end of 1992. This estimate is still conditional on further detailed scrutiny and interpretation of the NJPS findings.

The research team of the North American Jewish Data Bank, which was responsible for the primary handling of NJPS data files, has also continued its yearly compilation of local Jewish population estimates. These are reported elsewhere in this volume.[11] NAJDB estimated the U.S. Jewish population in 1986 at 5,814,000, including "under 2 percent" non-Jewish household members. This was very close to our own pre-NJPS estimate of 5,700,000. The NAJDB estimate was updated as follows: 1987—5,943,700; 1988—5,935,000; 1989—5,944,000; 1990—5,981,000; 1991—5,798,000. These changes in the main do not reflect actual sudden growth or decline, but rather corrections and adaptations made in the figures for several local communities—some of them in the light of NJPS regional results, others based on 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. In our view, the new NJPS figure, in spite of sample-survey biases, provides a more reliable national Jewish population baseline.

Canada. Results of the 1991 Canadian census were released, providing a new baseline for the estimate of the local Jewish population. As customary in Canada, the census included questions on both religion and ethnic origin, besides information on year of immigration of the foreign-born and languages. An intensive special processing of the data concerning Jews was produced 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, directed by Prof. Jim Torczyner.[12] The new 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. 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

[11]The first in a new series of yearly compilations of local U.S. Jewish population estimates appeared in Barry A. Kosmin, Paul Ritterband, and Jeffrey Scheckner, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1986," AJYB 1987, vol. 87, pp. 164–91. The 1993 update appears elsewhere in the present volume.

[12]Jim L. Torczyner, Shari L. Brotman, Kathy Viragh, Gustave J. Goldmann, *Demographic Challenges Facing Canadian Jewry: Initial Findings from the 1991 Census* (Montreal, 1993).

further 49,640 Canadians who reported being Jewish by ethnic origin but identified with another religion (such as Catholic, Anglican, etc.) were not included in the 1991 core estimate. Including them would produce an extended Jewish population of 405,955.

In 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 may have influenced these variations in the size of both the core and the ethnically (or, in our terminology, extended) Jewish population of Canada.[13]

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) appear to have arrived in Canada since 1981. The principal country of origin is the former USSR (6,230), followed by Israel (4,975), the United States (3,630), and South Africa (2,855).[14] 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 is only one among several others. The latter are quite certainly children of intermarriages, whose frequency indeed increased in Canada by about 33 percent over the 1980s.[15] All this implies that the 1981–1991 demographic balance of the Jewish population living in Canada in 1981 was close to zero or slightly negative. Taking into account as well the increasingly aged Jewish population structure, it is suggested that since the 1991 census, the continuing migratory surplus may have roughly offset the probably negative balance of internal evolution. Thus, for the end of 1992, we adopted an estimated round figure of 356,000—sufficient to make Canada the world's fifth largest Jewish population.

Central America. A Jewish-sponsored population survey of the Jews in the Mexico City metropolitan area was completed in 1991.[16] The results point to a community definitely less affected than others in the Diaspora by the common trends of

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

[14]See Torczyner et al., *Demographic Challenges. . ., Appendices*, p. 22.

[15]See Torczyner et al., *Demographic Challenges. . .*, p. 20.

[16]Sergio DellaPergola and Susana Lerner, *Perfil demografico, social y cultural de la poblacion judia de Mexico, 1991; Resultados segun comunidades de muestreo, Informe sumario* (Jerusalem-Mexico, 1993). The project, conducted cooperatively by the Centro de Estudios Urbanos y de Desarrollo Urbano (CEDDU), El Colegio de Mexico, and the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics of the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University, was sponsored by the Asociacion Mexicana de Amigos de la Universisad Hebrea de Jerusalen.

low fertility, intermarriage, and aging. Some comparatively more traditional sectors in the Jewish community still contribute a current surplus of births over deaths, and overall—thanks also to some immigration—the Jewish population has been quite stable or even moderately increasing. The new Jewish population estimate was put at 37,500 in the Mexico City metropolitan area and at 40,000 nationally. This amounts to an upward revision of 2,000 compared with our last estimate. Official Mexican censuses over the years have 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 Jews (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) are quite close—in fact are slightly below—our survey's estimates. Panama's Jewish population—the second largest in Central America—is estimated at about 5,000.

South America.[17] The Jewish population of Argentina, the largest in that geographical region, is marked by a negative balance of internal evolution. A number of local surveys conducted at the initiative of the Asociacion Mutual Israelita Argentina—AMIA, the central Jewish community organization—consistently point to growing aging.[18] Since the 1960s, while the pace of emigration and return migration was significantly affected by the nature of economic and political trends in the country, the balance of external migrations was generally negative. Accordingly, the estimate for Argentinian Jewry was reduced from 213,000 in 1991 to 211,000 in 1992.

In Brazil, the official population census of 1980 showed a figure of 91,795 Jews. Since it is possible that some otherwise identifying Jews failed to declare themselves as such in the census, a corrected estimate of 100,000 was adopted for 1980 and has been kept unchanged through 1992, assuming that the overall balance of Jewish vital events and external migrations was close to zero. The national figure of approximately 100,000 fits the admittedly rough estimates that are available for the size of local Jewish communities in Brazil.

On the strength of fragmentary information available, the estimates for Uruguay and Peru were slightly reduced, while those for Venezuela, Chile, and Colombia were not changed.

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

[18]Rosa N. Geldstein, *Censo de la Poblacion Judia de la ciudad de Salta, 1986; Informe final* (Buenos Aires, 1988); Yacov Rubel, *Los Judios de Villa Crespo y Almagro: Perfil Sociodemografico* (Buenos Aires, 1989); Yacov Rubel and Mario Toer, *Censo de la Poblacion Judia de Rosario, 1990* (Buenos Aires, 1992).

EUROPE

Of the approximately two million Jews estimated to be in Europe at the end of 1992, 54 percent lived in Western Europe and 46 percent in Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries—including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey (see table 3). In 1992 Europe lost 5.1 percent of its estimated Jewish population, mainly through the continuing emigration from the former USSR. As a consequence, for the first time, literally, in many centuries, there are now more Jews in Western than in Eastern Europe.

European Community. At the end of 1992, the 12 countries that form the European Community (EC) had an estimated combined Jewish population of about one million. Overall, only very minor change was recorded as against the 1991 estimate, although different trends affected the Jewish population in each member country.[19]

The estimated size of French Jewry has been assessed for several years at 530,000. Since the breakup of the USSR, France has had the third largest Jewish population in the world, after the United States and Israel. Monitoring the plausible trends of both the internal evolution and external migrations of Jews in France suggests little net change in Jewish population size since the major survey that was taken in the 1970s.[20] A study conducted in 1988 at the initiative of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU) confirmed the basic demographic stability of French Jewry.[21]

Periodic reestimations of the size of British Jewry are carried out by the Community Research Unit (CRU) of the Board of Deputies. Based on an analysis of Jewish deaths during 1975–1979, the population baseline for 1977 was set at 336,000 with a margin of error of plus or minus 34,000.[22] 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. Further attrition derives from emigration and some assimilatory losses. Indeed, a study of Jewish synagogue membership indicated a decline of over 7 percent between 1983 and 1990.[23] A new national estimate, mainly based on an evaluation of Jewish death records in the period 1984–1988, was recently completed by the CRU, suggesting an estimate of 308,000 for 1986.[24] Allowing for a further continuation of these well-established trends, we adopted a provisional revised

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

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

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

[22]Steven Haberman, Barry A. Kosmin, and Caren Levy, "Mortality Patterns of British Jews 1975–79: Insights and Applications for the Size and Structure of British Jewry," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, ser. A, 146, pt. 3, 1983, pp. 294–310.

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

[24]Steven Haberman and Marlena Schmool, *Estimates of British Jewish Population 1984–88* (London, 1993).

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE, END 1992

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Belgium	10,010,000	31,800	3.2	C 1987
Denmark	5,169,000	6,400	1.2	C 1990
France[a]	57,379,000	530,000	9.2	C 1990
Germany	80,606,000	50,000	0.6	C 1990
Greece	10,208,000	4,800	0.5	B 1990
Ireland	3,481,000	1,800	0.5	B 1990
Italy	57,826,000	31,000	0.5	B 1990
Luxembourg	380,000	600	1.6	B 1990
Netherlands	15,270,000	25,600	1.7	C 1990
Portugal	9,870,000	300	0.0	B 1986
Spain	39,153,000	12,000	0.3	D
United Kingdom	58,039,000	298,000	5.1	B 1991
Total European Community	347,391,000	992,300	2.9	
Austria	7,805,000	7,000	0.9	C 1990
Finland	5,020,000	1,300	0.3	B 1990
Gibraltar	31,000	600	19.4	C 1981
Norway	4,310,000	1,000	0.2	B 1987
Sweden	8,692,000	15,000	1.7	C 1990
Switzerland	6,862,000	19,000	2.8	C 1980
Other	771,000	100	0.1	D
Total other West Europe	33,491,000	44,000	1.3	
Belarus	10,300,000	46,600	4.5	B 1992
Estonia	1,600,000	3,400	2.1	A 1992
Latvia	2,600,000	13,500	5.2	B 1992
Lithuania	3,800,000	6,500	1.7	B 1992
Moldova	4,400,000	19,400	4.4	B 1992
Russia[b]	149,000,000	415,000	2.8	B 1992 X
Ukraine	51,900,000	276,000	5.3	B 1992
Total former USSR in Europe	223,600,000	780,400	3.5	

TABLE 3.—*(Continued)*

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Bosnia-Herzegovina	4,000,000	300	0.1	D X
Bulgaria	8,926,000	1,900	0.2	C 1990
Croatia	4,400,000	1,400	0.3	D X
Czech Republic	10,300,000	3,800	0.4	D X
Hungary	10,493,000	56,000	5.3	D
Poland	38,518,000	3,600	0.1	C 1990
Romania	23,377,000	16,000	0.7	B 1988
Slovakia	5,300,000	3,800	0.7	D X
Slovenia	2,000,000	100	0.0	D X
Turkey[b]	59,577,000	19,500	0.3	C 1990
Yugoslavia[c]	9,800,000	1,700	0.2	C 1988 X
Total other East Europe and Balkans	181,991,000[d]	108,100	0.6	
Total	786,473,000	1,924,800	2.4	

a Including Monaco.
b Including Asian regions.
c Serbia and Montenegro.
d Including countries not listed separately.

estimate of 300,000 for 1991 and revised it downward to 298,000 for 1992.

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 for 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 immigrants from the former USSR, according to some reports as many as 20,000 have settled in unified Germany since the end of 1989. Jewish community records reported 27,711 affiliated Jews at the end of 1989, 28,468 in 1990, 33,692 in 1991, and 37,498 in 1992.[25] Allowing for some time lag between immigration and registering with the organized Jewish community, our estimate for unified Germany was 35,000 in 1989, 40,000 in 1990, 42,500 in 1991, and is now increased to 50,000 at the end of 1992, including the unaffiliated.

[25]Zentralwohlfartsstelle der Juden in Deutschland, *Vierteljahresmeldung über den Mitgliederstand* (Frankfurt, 1993).

Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands each have Jewish populations ranging around 30,000. There is a tendency toward internal shrinkage of all these Jewries, but in some instances this is offset by immigration. In Belgium, the size of Jewish population is probably quite stable, owing to the comparatively strong Orthodox section in that community. In Italy, until 1984, Jews were legally bound to affiliate with the local Jewish communities, but then membership in these communities became voluntary. Although most Jews reaffiliated, the new looser legal framework may facilitate the ongoing attrition of the Jewish population.

Other EC member countries have smaller and, overall, slowly declining Jewish populations. An exception may be Spain, whose Jewish population is very tentatively estimated at 12,000.

Other Western Europe. Countries that are not EC members together account for a Jewish population of 44,000. Switzerland's Jews are estimated at below 20,000. Austria's permanent Jewish population is estimated at 7,000. While there is evidence of a negative balance of births and deaths, connected with great aging and frequent outmarriage, immigration may have offset the internal losses. The Jewish populations in Scandinavian countries are, on the whole, numerically rather stable.

Former USSR (European parts). Since 1989, the demographic situation of East European Jewry has been changing rapidly as a consequence of the dramatic geopolitical changes in the region. 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, in 1991 and 1992. While mass emigration is an obvious factor in population decrease, the demography of East European 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 Jewish population in that region must be comparatively rapid.

Data on nationalities (ethnic groups) from the Soviet Union's last official population census, carried out in January 1989, revealed a total of 1,450,500 Jews.[26] The figure confirmed the declining trend already apparent since the previous three censuses: 2,267,800 Jews 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 quantified and should not be exaggerated. One should cautiously keep in mind the possible conflicting effects on census declarations of the prolonged existence of a totalitarian regime: on the one hand, stimulating a preference for other than Jewish nationalities in the various parts of the Soviet Union, especially in connection with mixed marriages; on the other hand, preserving 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

[26]Goskomstat SSSR, *Vestnik Statistiki* 10 (1990), pp. 69–71. This figure omits the Tats (Mountain Jews); see below.

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 appear to be remarkably consistent with one another and with the known patterns of emigration and internal demographic evolution of the Jewish population in recent decades.[27]

A substantial amount of unpublished data was known to exist about the demographic characteristics and trends of Jews in the former USSR, but it was inaccessible. Systematic analysis of such material has now become possible and is producing important new insights into recent and current trends.[28] 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.

The respective figures for the enlarged Jewish population—including all current Jews as well as any other persons of Jewish parentage and their non-Jewish household members—must be substantially higher in a societal context like that of the USSR, which has been characterized by high intermarriage rates for a considerable time. It is not yet possible to provide an actual estimate of this enlarged Jewish population for lack of appropriate data. Nor can any information about the ratio of Jews to non-Jews in an enlarged Jewish population in the USSR be derived from the statistics of immigrants to Israel. Due to the highly self-selective character of *aliyah*, non-Jews have constituted a relatively small minority of all new immigrants from the USSR.[29] It is obvious, though, that the broad provisions of Israel's Law

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[27]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).

[28]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" (Moscow, 1991); Mark Tolts, "Trends in Soviet Jewish Demography Since the Second World War" (paper presented at conference, "From Revolution to Revolution: The Soviet Jews Under the Soviet Regime," Jerusalem, 1992); Mark Kupovetsky, "From Village Settlers to Urban Integration: Jews in the Soviet Union Between the Two World Wars," ibid.

[29]Israel's Ministry of Interior records the religion-nationality of each person, including new immigrants. Such attribution is made on the basis of documentary evidence supplied by the immigrants themselves and checked by competent authorities in Israel. According to data available from the Interior Ministry's Central Population Register, 90.3 percent of all new immigrants from the USSR during the period October 1989-August 1992 were recorded as Jewish. The annual trends clearly point to a growing proportion of non-Jews among the immigrants. See 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.

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 are based on demographic reasoning, do not relate to the core but to various measures of an enlarged Jewish population. The evidence also suggests that in the USSR 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, have 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 USSR, as well as to world Jewry.

With regard to updating the January 1989 census figure to the end of 1992 for each of the republics of the former USSR, Jewish emigration has 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. In 1990, according to Soviet, Israeli, American, and other sources, an estimated 205,000 emigrated from the USSR, including 179,000 declared Jews, the balance being composed of non-Jewish family members. In 1991, 148,000 immigrants from the former USSR arrived in Israel, another 35,000 went to the United States, and possibly 12,000 went to other countries. We estimate that of these total 195,000 migrants, about 159,000 were Jewish. In 1992, 65,000 immigrated to Israel, another 45,000 went to the United States, and possibly up to 20,000 settled elsewhere. Of these 130,000, an estimated 96,000 were Jewish.[30] These apparently declining emigration figures should not be misconstrued: when compared with the similarly declining Jewish population figures for the former USSR, 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 many decades. Aging in the communities of origin was exacerbated by the significantly younger age composition of the emigrants.[31]

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[30]The figures reported here have been revised from our estimates in previous volumes of AJYB. See Sidney Heitman, "Soviet Emigration in 1990," *Berichte des Bundesinstitut für Ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien*, vol. 33, 1991.

[31]Age structures of the Jewish population in the Russian Federal Republic in 1970 and 1979 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 Abstract*, vol. 30, no. 4 (New York, 1990), and unpublished data kindly communicated to the authors; Israel Central Bureau

On the strength of these considerations, our estimate of the core Jewish population in the USSR 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, to 1,157,000 at the end of 1990, and to 990,000 at the end of 1991.[32] The current update, beside taking into account changes during 1992, also corrects for the past omission of Tats, also known as Mountain Jews—a group mostly concentrated in the Caucasus area that enjoys full Jewish status and all the prerogatives granted by Israel's Law of Return. According to the 1989 census, there were 30,669 Tats in the USSR—thereof 19,420 in the Russian republic and 10,239 in Azerbaijan. These numbers, only slightly reduced in consideration of the demographic dynamics in the intervening years, have been integrated in our current estimates.

The Jewish population for the total of the former USSR was estimated at 890,000 at the end of 1992. Of these, 780,400 lived in the European republics and 109,600 in the Asian parts of the former USSR (see below). The pace of change of Jewish population in the different former republics has been significantly different because of variable propensities to emigrate, different rates of assimilation and natural decrease (or, in rare instances, increase), and some geographic redistribution across the different republics. The largest Jewish population in the former USSR's European parts remains in Russia (415,000, including a 19,000 upward revision to take into account the Tats). The Jewish population in Russia, though declining, is currently the fourth largest in the world. Jews in Ukraine, which in recent years has experienced large-scale emigration, are estimated at 276,000. A further 46,000 Jews are estimated to live in Belarus, 19,400 in the Moldovan Republic, and a combined total of 23,400 in the three Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

Other East Europe and Balkans. The Jewish populations in Hungary and Romania and the small remnants in Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak republics, Poland, 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 permitted greater autonomy of the organized Jewish communities and their registered membership, including the freedom to emigrate. Although some Jews or persons of Jewish origin have come out in the open after years of hiding their identity, the inevitable numerical decline of Jewish populations in Eastern Europe is reflected in reduced estimates for 1992.

The size of Hungarian Jewry—the largest in Eastern Europe outside the former USSR—is quite insufficiently known. Our estimate of 56,000 only attempts to reflect the declining trend that prevails there, too, according to the available indicators.

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of Statistics, *Immigration to Israel 1991*, Special Series, no. 944 (Jerusalem, 1993); and Yoel Florsheim, "Immigration to Israel from the Soviet Union in 1990," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 2 (15), 1991, pp. 5–14.

[32]We greatly appreciate the collaboration of Dr. Mark Tolts, of the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University, in preparing these estimates. See Mark Tolts, "Recent Trends in the Jewish Population of the Former USSR (from the 1989 Census to the End of 1992)," unpublished report (Jerusalem, 1993).

Jewish emigration continued to flow from Romania. The January 1992 census of Romania indicated a Jewish population of 9,100. However, based on the detailed Jewish community records available there, our estimate for the end of 1992 was 16,000. Yugoslavia, torn apart by a devastating civil war and economic crisis, finally split into five separate republics. The overall core Jewish population, reduced through emigration—especially from Bosnia-Herzegovina—was estimated at 3,500 at the end of 1992. Of these, roughly 2,000 lived in the now reduced territory of Yugoslavia (Serbia with Montenegro), 1,400 in Croatia, and less than 100 each in Slovenia, Bosnia, and Macedonia. Czechoslovakia, too, split into two new states, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The number of Jews in each was tentatively estimated at 3,800.

The Jewish population of Turkey, where a surplus of deaths over births has been reported for several years, is estimated at about 20,000.

ASIA

Israel. Israel accounts for 97 percent of all the nearly 4.4 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 4). By the end of 1992, Israeli Jews constituted nearly 33 percent of total world Jewry. Israel's Jewish population grew in 1992 by about 98,000, or 2.4 percent. This compared with growth rates of 6.2 percent in 1990 and 5 percent in 1991. Although the number of new immigrants declined from 199,500 in 1990 and 176,100 in 1991 to 77,100 in 1992, it was still the seventh highest immigration year in Israel's history. About 51 percent of Jewish population growth in 1992 was due to the net migration balance. The remaining 49 percent of Jewish population growth reflected natural increase, including some cases of immigrants from the former USSR who were previously listed as non-Jews being reregistered as Jews.[33]

Former USSR (Asian parts). The total Jewish population in the Asian republics of the former USSR was estimated at about 109,600 at the end of 1992. The fear of Muslim fundamentalism in Central Asia and the various ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus area caused concern and stimulated high emigration rates. 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 former USSR. At the beginning of the 1990s, minimal rates of natural increase still existed among the more traditional sections of these Jewish communities, but the conditions were rapidly eroding this residual surplus.[34] Reflecting these trends, the largest commu-

[33]Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel 1993* (Jerusalem, 1993). 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.

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

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, END 1992[a]

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Israel	5,195,900[b]	4,242,500	816.5	A 1992
Armenia	3,500,000	300	0.1	B 1992
Azerbaijan	7,200,000	21,000	2.9	B 1992 X
Georgia	5,500,000	18,000	3.3	B 1992
Kazakhstan	17,200,000	14,500	0.8	B 1992
Kyrgyzstan	4,600,000	3,700	0.8	B 1992
Tajikistan	5,700,000	5,000	0.9	B 1992
Turkmenistan	4,000,000	1,900	0.5	B 1992
Uzbekistan	21,600,000	45,200	2.1	B 1992
Total former USSR in Asia[a]	69,300,000	109,600	1.8	
Hong Kong	5,845,000	1,000	0.2	D
India	896,567,000	4,500	0.0	C 1981
Iran	63,180,000	16,000	0.3	C 1986 X
Iraq	19,918,000	200	0.0	D
Japan	124,959,000	1,000	0.0	C 1988
Korea, South	44,508,000	100	0.0	D
Philippines	66,543,000	100	0.0	C 1988
Singapore	2,798,000	300	0.1	B 1990
Syria	13,762,000	1,200	0.1	C 1992
Thailand	56,868,000	200	0.0	C 1988
Yemen	12,977,000	1,600	0.1	B 1990
Other	1,918,506,100	300	0.0	D
Total other Asia	3,226,431,100	26,500	0.0	
Total	3,300,927,000	4,378,600	1.3	

a Not including Asian regions of Russia and Turkey.
b End 1992.

nity remained in Uzbekistan (45,200), followed by Azerbaijan (21,000)—revised upward by 10,000 to take into account the Tat Mountain Jews who had been omitted from previous estimates—Georgia (18,000), and Kazakhstan (14,500).

Other countries. It is difficult to estimate the Jewish population of Iran for any

given date, but it continues to dwindle. Based on partial available estimates from the 1986 population census,[35] the estimate for 1992 was reduced to 16,000. In other Asian countries with small veteran communities—such as India, or several Muslim countries—the Jewish population tends to decline. The reduction was more notable in Syria, where for the first time in many years Jews were officially allowed to emigrate. Very small Jewish communities, partially of a transient character, exist in several countries of Southeast Asia.

AFRICA

Fewer than 115,000 Jews were estimated to remain in Africa at the end of 1992. The Republic of South Africa accounts for 87 percent of total Jews in that continent (see table 5). The last official population census, carried out in March 1991, did not provide a reliable new national figure of Jewish population size. The question on religion was not mandatory, and only about 66,000 people declared themselves as Jewish. In 1980, according to the previous official census, there were about 118,000 Jews among South Africa's white population.[36] Substantial Jewish emigration since then was only partially compensated for by Jewish immigration and return migration of former emigrants. An incipient negative balance of internal changes was producing some further attrition. The results of a Jewish-sponsored survey of the Jewish population in the five major South African urban centers, completed in 1991, confirm the ongoing demographic decline.[37] Based on the new evidence, the estimate for the end of 1992 has been revised to 100,000, substantially below our previous estimate of 114,000.

In recent years, the Jewish community of Ethiopia has been at the center of an international rescue effort. In the course of 1991, the overwhelming majority of Ethiopian Jews—about 20,000 people—were brought to Israel, most of them in a dramatic one-day airlift operation. (A few of these migrants were non-Jewish members of mixed households.) In connection with these events, it was assumed that the size of Ethiopian Jewry could be evaluated on a more accurate basis than previously, and the core Jewish population was estimated at 1,500 at the end of 1991. However, 3,650 immigrants from Ethiopia arrived in Israel in 1992, demonstrating that once again the number of Jews there had been underestimated. Based on the possibility that more Jews may appear requesting to emigrate to Israel, and the as yet unresolved status (and unknown numbers) of the Christian relatives of Ethiopian Jews, an estimate of 1,500 Jews is tentatively suggested for the end of 1992.

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[35]Kindly provided by Dr. Mehdi Bozorghmehr, Von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Los Angeles.

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

[37]The study was directed by Dr. Allie A. Dubb and supported by the Kaplan Centre for Judaic Studies, University of Cape Town.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, END 1992

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	56,060,000	200	0.0	C 1988
Ethiopia	54,628,000	1,500	0.0	C 1992 X
Kenya	26,090,000	400	0.0	B 1990
Morocco	26,954,000	7,500	0.3	D
South Africa	40,774,000	100,000	2.5	C 1991 X
Tunisia	8,579,000	2,000	0.2	D
Zaire	41,166,000	400	0.0	C 1990
Zambia	8,885,000	300	0.0	C 1990
Zimbabwe	10,898,000	1,000	0.1	B 1990
Other	427,990,000	1,000	0.0	D
Total	702,024,000	114,300	0.2	

The remnants of Moroccan and Tunisian Jewry tend to shrink slowly through emigration, mostly to France and Canada. It should be pointed out, though, that some Jews have a foothold in Morocco or Tunisia and also in France or other Western countries, and their geographic attribution is therefore uncertain.

OCEANIA

The major country of Jewish residence in Oceania (Australasia) is Australia, where 95 percent of the estimated total of nearly 94,000 Jews live (see table 6). The April 1991 census of Australia, in which the question on religion is optional, enumerated 74,386 declared Jews.[38] This represented an increase of 5,303 (7.7 percent) over the figure reported in the 1986 census. 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. However, a survey in Melbourne, Australia's largest Jewish community, revealed that less than 7 percent of the Jewish respondents had not identified as Jews in the census.[39] The Melbourne survey actually depicted a very

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

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

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, END 1992

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	17,843,000	90,000	5.0	B 1991
New Zealand	3,487,000	4,500	1.3	C 1988
Other	6,617,000	100	0.0	D
Total	27,947,000	94,600	3.4	

stable community, even if one affected by growing acculturation. Australian Jewry has received migratory reinforcements during the last decade, especially from South Africa, the former USSR, and Israel. At the same time, there are demographic patterns with negative effects on Jewish population size, such as strong aging. Taking into account these various factors, we revised our estimate for 1992 to a figure of 90,000—substantially more than the official census returns, but less than would be obtained by adding the full proportion of those who did not report any religion in the census. The Jewish community in New Zealand is estimated at 4,500.

Dispersion and Concentration

Table 7 demonstrates the magnitude of Jewish dispersion. The 91 individual countries listed above as each having at least 100 Jews are scattered over all the continents. In 1992, more than half (57 out of 90 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 11 countries had more than 5 Jews per 1,000 (0.5 percent) of population. The respective 11 countries were, in descending order of the proportion, but regardless of the absolute number of their Jews: United States (21.8 per 1,000), Gibraltar (19.4), Canada (12.8), France (9.2), Uruguay (7.7), Argentina (6.4), Ukraine (5.3), Hungary (5.3), Latvia (5.2), United Kingdom (5.1), and Australia (5.0). The other major Diaspora Jewries, having lower proportions of Jews per 1,000 of total population, were Russia (2.8 per 1,000), South Africa (2.5), and Brazil (0.6).

In the State of Israel, by contrast, the Jewish majority amounted to 817 per 1,000 (81.7 percent) in 1992, compared to 819 per 1,000 (81.9 percent) in 1991—not including the Arab population of the administered areas.

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN EACH COUNTRY, END 1992

Number of Jews in Country	Jews per 1,000 Population					
	Total	0.0–0.9	1.0–4.9	5.0–9.9	10.0–24.9	25.0+
	Number of Countries					
Total	91[a]	57	22	8	3	1
100–900	26	21	4	—	1	—
1,000–4,900	25	23	2	—	—	—
5,000–9,900	7	4	3	—	—	—
10,000–49,900	20	7	11	2	—	—
50,000–99,900	3	1	—	2	—	—
100,000–999,900	8	1	2	4	1	—
1,000,000 or more	2	—	—	—	1	1
	Jewish Population Distribution (Absolute Numbers)					
Total	12,922,000[b]	383,800	819,000	1,498,300	5,976,600	4,242,500
100–900	10,000	7,800	1,600	—	600	—
1,000–4,900	58,900	51,000	7,900	—	—	—
5,000–9,900	43,900	26,000	17,900	—	—	—
10,000–49,900	462,900	149,000	276,600	37,300	—	—
50,000–99,900	196,000	50,000	—	146,000	—	—
100,000–999,900	2,286,000	100,000	515,000	1,315,000	356,000	—
1,000,000 or more	9,862,500	—	—	—	5,620,000	4,242,500
	Jewish Population Distribution (Percent of World's Jews)[c]					
Total	100.0[b]	3.0	6.3	11.6	46.3	32.8
100–900	0.1	0.1	0.0	—	0.0	—
1,000–4,900	0.5	0.4	0.1	—	—	—
5,000–9,900	0.3	0.2	0.1	—	—	—
10,000–49,900	3.6	1.2	2.1	0.3	—	—
50,000–99,900	1.5	0.4	—	1.1	—	—
100,000–999,900	17.7	0.8	4.0	10.2	2.8	—
1,000,000 or more	76.3	—	—	—	43.5	32.8

[a]Excluding countries with fewer than 100 Jews.
[b]Including countries with fewer than 100 Jews.
[c]Minor discrepancies due to rounding.

TABLE 8. ELEVEN COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, END 1992

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the World		In the Diaspora	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,620,000	43.5	43.5	64.8	64.8
2	Israel	4,242,500	32.8	76.3	—	—
3	France	530,000	4.1	80.4	6.1	70.9
4	Russia	415,000	3.2	83.6	4.8	75.3
5	Canada	356,000	2.8	86.4	4.1	79.4
6	United Kingdom	298,000	2.3	88.7	3.4	82.8
7	Ukraine	276,000	2.1	90.8	3.2	86.0
8	Argentina	211,000	1.6	92.4	2.4	88.4
9	Brazil	100,000	0.8	93.2	1.2	89.6
10	South Africa	100,000	0.8	94.0	1.2	90.8
11	Australia	90,000	0.7	94.7	1.0	91.8

While Jews are widely dispersed, they are also concentrated to some extent (see table 8). In 1992, 94 percent of world Jewry lived in the ten countries with the largest Jewish populations; and over 76 percent lived in the two largest communities—the United States and Israel. Similarly, ten leading Diaspora countries together comprised about 92 percent of the Diaspora Jewish population; three countries (United States, France, and Russia) accounted for 75 percent, and the United States alone for about 65 percent of total Diaspora Jewry.

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