

World Jewish Population, 1995

THIS ARTICLE PRESENTS UPDATES, for the end of 1995, 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. Similarly, the former Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia broke apart and several successor states emerged. 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 USSR (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 13–13.1 million persons at the end of 1995. The country figures for 1995 were updated from those for 1994 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 1994 figures for major geographical regions (see table 1), so as to allow adequate comparison with the 1995 estimates.

¹The previous estimates, as of 1994, were published in *AJYB* 1996, vol. 96, pp. 434–63.

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 different countries who supplied information for this update is acknowledged with thanks. The author wishes to acknowledge his intellectual debt to Prof. Uziel O. Schmelz and Prof. Roberto Bachi, the two leading figures in Jewish demographic research, who passed away in 1995.

In recent years, new data and estimates have become available for the Jewish populations of several countries through official population censuses and Jewish-sponsored sociodemographic surveys. Official sources that have yielded results on Jewish populations include the population census of the Soviet Union held in 1989, the Swiss census of 1990, the 1991 censuses in Canada and Australia, the Romanian and Bulgarian censuses of 1992, and the sample census conducted in the Russian Republic in February 1994. 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 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 at the outset of the 1990s.³ Further recent sources include the 1995 population census in Israel and the 1996 censuses in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. The respective data will soon become available as a basis for revising current Jewish population estimates.

The more recent findings basically confirmed the estimates we had reported in previous AJYB volumes and, perhaps more importantly, our interpretation of the trends now prevailing in the demography of world Jewry.⁴ While allowing for improved population estimates for the year 1995 under review here, these new data highlighted 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. Users of Jewish population estimates should be aware of these difficulties and of the consequent limitations of our estimates.

Presentation of Data

DEFINITIONS

A major problem in Jewish population estimates periodically circulated by different scholarly or Jewish organizations across the world is a general lack of uni-

³Following the 1987 International Conference on Jewish population problems, sponsored by the major Jewish organizations worldwide, an International Scientific Advisory Committee (ISAC) was established. Cochaired initially by Dr. Roberto Bachi of the Hebrew University and Dr. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University, ISAC coordinated and monitored 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.

formity in the definition criteria followed. Often, the problem of defining the Jewish population is not even addressed. The following estimates of Jewish population distribution in each continent and country (tables 2–7 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 rather than *halakhic* (rabbinic) or other legal definitions. Our definition of a person as a Jew 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 who 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 recognize their Jewishness.

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 they 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 currently 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

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 in "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.

some 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 this 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 midyear 1996 total population,⁷ the estimated end-1995 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;

⁷United Nations, Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, Population Division, *World Population Prospects; The 1994 Revision* (New York, 1995).

updating according to demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends; (D) base figure essentially speculative; no reliable updating procedure. In categories (A), (B), and (C), the year in which the country's base figure or important partial updates were obtained are also stated. For countries whose Jewish population estimate of 1995 was not only updated but also revised in the light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

Distribution of World Jewish Population by Major Regions

Table 1 gives an overall picture of Jewish population for the end of 1995 as compared to 1994. For 1994 the originally published estimates are presented along with somewhat revised figures that take into account, retrospectively, the corrections made in certain country estimates, in the light of improved information. These corrections resulted in a net increase of the 1994 world Jewry's estimated size by 12,000. This change resulted from upward corrections for Chile (+6,000), Russia (+10,000), and Bulgaria (+1,600), and a downward correction for France (-4,000). Some explanations are given below for the countries whose estimates were revised.

The size of world Jewry at the end of 1995 is assessed at 13,059,000. According to the revised figures, between 1994 and 1995 there was an estimated gain of 43,700 people, or about +0.3 percent. Despite all the imperfections in the estimates, world Jewry continues to be close to "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 4,441,100 in 1994 to 4,549,500 at the end of 1995, an increase of 108,400 people, or 2.4 percent. In contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora declined from 8,574,200 (according to the revised figures) to 8,509,500—a decrease of 64,700 people, or 0.8 percent. These changes primarily reflect the continuing Jewish emigration from the former USSR. In 1995, the estimated Israel-Diaspora net migratory balance amounted to a gain of about 59,100 Jews for Israel.⁸ Internal demographic evolution produced further growth among the Jewish population in Israel and further losses 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 of such previously un- included 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.

⁸Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel 1996*, no. 47 (Jerusalem, 1996), p. 44.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 1994 AND 1995

Region	1994			1995		% Change 1994-1995
	Original Abs. N.	Revised		Abs. N.	Percent	
		Abs. N.	Percent			
World	13,001,700	13,015,300	100.0	13,059,000	100.0	0.3
Diaspora	8,560,600	8,574,200	65.9	8,509,500	65.2	-0.8
Israel	4,441,100	4,441,100	34.1	4,549,500	34.8	2.4
Americas, Total	6,465,400	6,471,400	49.7	6,486,200	49.7	0.2
North ^a	6,035,000	6,035,000	46.4	6,052,000	46.3	0.3
Central	53,200	53,200	0.4	53,200	0.4	0.0
South	377,200	383,200	2.9	381,000	2.9	-0.6
Europe, Total	1,796,700	1,804,300	13.9	1,741,300	13.3	-3.5
European Union	1,016,700	1,012,700	7.8	1,017,200	7.8	0.4
Other West	19,900	19,900	0.2	19,900	0.2	0.0
Former USSR ^b	657,000	667,000	5.1	600,900	4.6	-9.9
Other East and Balkans ^b	103,100	104,700	0.8	103,300	0.8	-1.3
Asia, Total	4,535,600	4,535,600	34.8	4,629,200	35.4	2.1
Israel	4,441,100	4,441,100	34.1	4,549,500	34.8	2.4
Former USSR ^b	72,000	72,000	0.6	59,100	0.5	-17.9
Other ^b	22,500	22,500	0.2	20,600	0.2	-8.4
Africa, Total	107,400	107,400	0.8	105,700	0.8	-1.6
North ^c	8,900	8,900	0.1	8,400	0.1	-5.6
South ^d	98,500	98,500	0.8	97,300	0.7	-1.2
Oceania	96,600	96,600	0.7	96,600	0.7	0.0

^aU.S.A. and Canada.

^bThe Asian regions of Russia and Turkey are included in Europe.

^cIncluding Ethiopia.

^dSouth Africa, Zimbabwe, and other sub-Saharan countries.

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 1995. Moderate Jewish population gains were also estimated for North America and the European Union (now including 15 member countries). South America, Eastern Europe, Asian countries other than Israel, and Africa sustained decreases in Jewish population size.

World Jewry constitutes about 2.25 per 1,000 of the world's total population in 1995. One in about 445 people in the world is a Jew.

Individual Countries

THE AMERICAS

In 1995 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 the largest Jewish communities (see table 2).

United States. The 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

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 Center 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.

time of survey. All together, these various groups formed an extended Jewish population of 6,840,000. NJPS also covered 1,350,000 non-Jewish-born members of eligible (Jewish or mixed) households. The study's enlarged Jewish population thus consisted of about 8,200,000 persons. The 1990 Jewish population estimates are within the range of a sampling error of plus or minus 3.5 percent.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, and 24,765 in 1995.¹¹ 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 United States was therefore somewhat smaller, yet 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. 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.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 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.

¹⁰See Kosmin et al., p. 39.

¹¹See HIAS, *Annual Report 1995* (New York, 1996). 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).

¹²See Goldstein, AJYB 1992; see also U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Basic Trends in U.S. Jewish Demography* (New York, American Jewish Committee, 1988); and Sergio DellaPergola, “New Data on Demography and Identification Among Jews in the U.S.: Trends, Inconsistencies and Disagreements,” *Contemporary Jewry* 12, 1991, pp. 67–97.

Taking this evidence into account, our estimate of U.S. Jewish population size at the end of 1995 starts from the NJPS benchmark core Jewish population of 5,515,000 and attempts to account for Jewish population changes that occurred since the latter part of 1990, after completion of NJPS, through 1995. 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. A further 40,000 were added for 1991, 45,000 for 1992, 30,000 for 1993, and 25,000 for 1994. In 1995, as noted, the number of Jewish immigrants from the FSU to the United States was significantly lower than in previous years. At the same time, Israeli statistics continue to show moderate increases in the numbers of immigrants from the United States. Between 1990 and 1995, a total of 10,000 American Jews emigrated to Israel, while steady 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 15,000 in 1995. 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 5,690,000 Jews in the United States at the end of 1995.

The research team of the North American Jewish Data Bank (NAJDB), 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.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 estimate was later updated as follows, as against our own Institute of Contemporary Jewry (ICJ) estimates (in thousands):

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

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

¹³*Statistical Abstract of Israel*, vol. 47, 1996, pp. 138, 141, 151.

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 1995 see Barry A. Kosmin and Jeffrey Scheckner, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1995," *AJYB* 1996, vol. 96, pp. 171–191. The 1996 update appears elsewhere in the present volume.

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 NJPS figure, in spite of sample-survey biases, provides a more reliable baseline for assessing national Jewish population than the sum of local estimates.¹⁵

Canada. Results of the 1991 Canadian census provided 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.¹⁶ The new census enumerated 318,070 Jews according to religion; of these, 281,680 also reported to be Jewish by ethnicity (as one of up to four options to the latter question), while 36,390 reported one or more other ethnic origins. Another 38,245 persons reported no religion and a Jewish ethnic origin, again as one of up to four options.¹⁷ 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 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

¹⁵While the NAJDB estimate for the total U.S. Jewry in 1995 exceeds ours by 210,000 (a difference of 3.7 percent), over the years 1991–1995 we have estimated a Jewish population increase of 115,000 as against 102,000 according to NAJDB.

¹⁶Jim L. Torczyner, Shari L. Brotman, Kathy Viragh, and Gustave J. Goldmann, *Demographic Challenges Facing Canadian Jewry: Initial Findings from the 1991 Census* (Montreal, 1993); Jim L. Torczyner and Shari L. Brotman, "The Jews of Canada: A Profile from the Census," AJYB 1995, vol. 95, pp. 227–260.

¹⁷Statistics 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).

in the size of both the core and the ethnically (or, in our terminology, extended) Jewish population of Canada.¹⁸

Most of the 1981–91 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 was the former USSR (6,230), followed by Israel (4,975), the United States (3,630), and South Africa (2,855).¹⁹ 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 one-third over the 1980s.²⁰ All this implies that the 1981–91 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, it is suggested that since the 1991 census the continuing migratory surplus may have generated a modest surplus over the probably negative balance of internal evolution. For the end of 1995 we updated the previous year's estimated figure of 360,000 to 362,000, making Canada the world's fourth-largest Jewish population.

Central America. A Jewish-sponsored population survey of the Jews in the Mexico City metropolitan area was completed in 1991.²¹ The results point 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 current 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 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 (aged five and over). As in the past, most of the problem derived from unacceptably high

¹⁸The 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).

¹⁹See Torczyner et al., *Demographic Challenges . . . , Appendices*, p. 22.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 20.

²¹Sergio DellaPergola, Susana Lerner, *La población judía de México: Perfil demográfico, social y cultural* (Mexico-Jerusalem, 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.

figures for peripheral states. The new census figures for the Mexico City metropolitan area (33,932 Jews, aged five and over, in the Federal District and State of Mexico) came quite close—in fact are slightly below—our survey's estimates. Taking into account a modest residual potential for natural increase, as shown by the 1991 survey, we estimated the Jewish population at 40,800 in 1995.

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

*South America.*²² 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. A number of local surveys conducted in the Buenos Aires area at the initiative of the Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA), as well as in some provincial cities, point to growing aging and intermarriage.²³ Since the early 1960s, when the Jewish population was estimated at 310,000, the pace of emigration and return migration was significantly affected by the variable nature of economic and political trends in the country, generating a negative balance of external migration. Between 1990 and 1995, nearly 5,000 persons migrated to Israel, while unknown numbers went to other countries. Accordingly, the estimate for Argentinean Jewry was reduced from 208,000 in 1994 to 206,000 in 1995.

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. This estimate was kept unchanged through 1995, assuming that the overall balance of Jewish vital events, identificational changes, 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.²⁴ As further evidence of a substantially stable Jewish population, a 1992 study in Porto Alegre and the state of Rio Grande do Sul—Brazil's third-largest community—unveiled an enlarged Jewish population of about 11,000.²⁵ Excluding the non-Jewish household members, the core Jewish population

²²For 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 *The Jewish Presence in Latin America*, ed. J. Laikin Elkin and G.W. Merks (Boston, 1987), pp. 85–133.

²³Rosa N. Geldstein, *Censo de la Población Judía de la ciudad de Salta, 1986; Informe final* (Buenos Aires, 1988); Yacov Rubel, *Los Judios de Villa Crespo y Almagro: Perfil Sociodemográfico* (Buenos Aires, 1989); Yacov Rubel and Mario Toer, *Censo de la Población Judía de Rosario, 1990* (Buenos Aires, 1992); Centro Union Israelita de Cordoba, *First Sociodemographic Study of Jewish Population: Cordoba 1993* (Cordoba, 1995).

²⁴Claudia Milnitzky, ed., *Apendice estatístico da comunidade judaica do estado de Sao Paulo* (Sao Paulo, 1980); Egon and Frieda Wolff, *Documentos V: Os recenseamentos demográficos oficiais do século XX* (Rio de Janeiro, 1993–94).

²⁵Anita Brumer, *Identidade em mudança: Pesquisa sociológica sobre os judeus do Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre, 1994).

can be estimated at about 9,000, very close to the corrected 1980 census figure.

A new sociodemographic survey conducted in the Santiago de Chile 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.²⁶ Assuming another 1,300 Jews living in smaller provincial communities, a new countrywide estimate of 21,000 Jews was obtained for Chile. Our previous estimate of 15,000 reflected the results of the 1970 population census, a 1982–83 community survey, and the estimated effects of international migration. The new survey portrays a rather stable community, with incipient signs of aging and assimilation.

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

EUROPE

Over 1.7 million Jews lived in Europe at the end of 1995; 60 percent lived in Western Europe and 40 percent in Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries—including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey (see table 3). In 1995 Europe lost 3.5 percent of its estimated Jewish population, mainly through the continuing emigration from the European republics of the FSU.

European Union. On January 1, 1995, Austria, Finland, and Sweden became member states of the European Union (EU), which thus expanded from 12 to 15 countries. In its new format, the EU had an estimated combined Jewish population of over one million. Overall, minor change was recorded as against the 1994 estimate, although different trends affected the Jewish populations in each member country.²⁷

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.²⁸ Monitoring the plausible trends of both the internal evolution and external migrations of Jews in France suggests 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.²⁹ The

²⁶Gabriel Berger et al., *Estudio Socio-Demográfico de la Comunidad Judía de Chile* (Santiago-Buenos Aires, 1995).

²⁷See Sergio DellaPergola, "Jews in the European Community: Sociodemographic Trends and Challenges," *AJYB* 1993, vol. 93, pp. 25–82.

²⁸Doris Bensimon and Sergio DellaPergola, *La population juive de France: socio-démographie et identité* (Jerusalem-Paris, 1984).

²⁹Erik H. Cohen, *L'Etude et l'éducation juive en France ou l'avenir d'une communauté* (Paris, 1991).

TABLE 2. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, END 1995

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Canada	29,784,000	362,000	12.2	A 1991
United States	265,765,000	5,690,000	21.4	B 1990
Total North America^a	295,677,000	6,052,000	20.5	
Bahamas	280,000	300	1.1	D
Costa Rica	3,500,000	2,500	0.7	C 1993
Cuba	11,118,000	700	0.1	C 1990
Dominican Republic	7,961,000	100	0.0	D
El Salvador	5,897,000	100	0.0	C 1993
Guatemala	10,928,000	1,000	0.1	B 1993
Jamaica	2,465,000	300	0.1	A 1995
Mexico	95,470,000	40,800	0.4	A 1991
Netherlands Antilles	271,000	300	1.1	A 1995
Panama	2,677,000	5,000	1.9	C 1990
Puerto Rico	3,703,000	1,500	0.4	C 1990
Virgin Islands	106,000	300	2.8	C 1986
Other	20,962,000	300	0.0	D
Total Central America	165,338,000	53,200	0.3	
Argentina	34,995,000	206,000	5.9	C 1990
Bolivia	7,593,000	700	0.1	B 1990
Brazil	164,424,000	100,000	0.6	C 1980
Chile	14,428,000	21,000	1.5	A 1995 X
Colombia	35,652,000	5,000	0.1	C 1993
Ecuador	11,699,000	900	0.1	C 1985
Paraguay	5,090,000	900	0.2	B 1995
Peru	24,233,000	2,900	0.1	C 1993
Suriname	428,000	200	0.5	B 1986
Uruguay	3,204,000	23,400	7.3	C 1993
Venezuela	22,311,000	20,000	0.9	C 1989
Total South America^a	325,106,000	381,000	1.2	
Total	786,121,000	6,486,200	8.3	

^aIncluding countries not listed separately.

French Jewish community continued to absorb a moderate inflow of Jews from North Africa, and its age composition was younger than in other European countries. However, migration to Israel amounted to 7,500 in 1980–89, and about 6,000 in 1990–95. 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 526,000 in 1994, and 525,000 at the end of 1995.

Periodic reestimations of the size of Jewish population in the United Kingdom are carried out by the Community Research Unit (CRU) of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. Based on an analysis of Jewish deaths during 1975–79, the population baseline for 1977 was set at a central value of 336,000.³⁰ The vital statistical records regularly compiled by the CRU showed an excess of deaths over births in the range of about 1,000–1,500 a year.³¹ Further attrition derived from emigration (over 7,000 emigrants to Israel in 1980–89, and over 3,000 in 1990–95). A study of Jewish synagogue membership indicated a decline of over 7 percent between 1983 and 1990.³² A new national estimate by CRU, mainly based on an evaluation of Jewish death records in 1984–88, suggested a central estimate of 308,000 for 1986.³³ Allowing for a further continuation of these well-established trends, we adopted an estimate of 300,000 for 1991, reducing it to 294,000 for 1994. 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.³⁴ Our revised Jewish population estimate for 1995 was 292,000 (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 about 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 44,000 settled in Germany since the end of 1989, including non-Jewish family members. Jewish community records reported 27,711 affiliated Jews at the end of 1989, 28,468 in 1990, 33,692 in 1991, 37,498 in 1992,

³⁰Steven 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.

³¹Marlena Schmool, *Report of Community Statistics 1994* (London, 1995).

³²Marlena Schmool and Frances Cohen, *British Synagogue Membership in 1990* (London, 1991).

³³Steven Haberman and Marlena Schmool, "Estimates of British Jewish Population 1984–88," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, ser. A, 158, pt. 3, 1995, pp. 547–62.

³⁴Stephen Miller, Marlena Schmool, and Antony Lerman, *Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey* (London, 1996).

40,823 in 1993, 45,559 in 1994, and 53,797 in 1995.³⁵ Allowing for some time lag between immigration and registering with the organized Jewish community, and taking into account some amount of permanent non-affiliation, our estimate for unified Germany was increased to 35,000 in 1989, 40,000 in 1990, 42,500 in 1991, 50,000 in 1992, 52,000 in 1993, 55,000 in 1994, and 62,000 at the end of 1995, including the unaffiliated. At the beginning of 1996, the number of applicants for Jewish migration to Germany from the FSU had surpassed 108,000.³⁶ 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 is impressive.

Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands each have Jewish populations ranging around 30,000. There is a tendency toward internal shrinkage of all these Jewish communities, 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, membership in Jewish communities has been voluntary since 1987, a change from the previous system of compulsory affiliation. Although most Jews reaffiliated, the new looser legal framework may facilitate the ongoing attrition of the Jewish population. Recent Jewish community records for Milan indicated an affiliated Jewish population of 6,500, 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. Exceptions may be Sweden and Spain, whose Jewish populations are very tentatively estimated at 15,000 and 12,000, respectively. Austria's permanent Jewish population was upwardly estimated at 8,500. While there is evidence of a negative balance of births and deaths connected with great aging and frequent outmarriage, immigration from the FSU tends to offset the internal losses. The small Jewish populations in other Scandinavian countries are, on the whole, numerically rather stable.

Other Western Europe. Few countries remain in Western Europe which have not joined the EU. In 1995 they accounted for a combined Jewish population of 19,900. The estimate of Switzerland's Jewish population was based on the results

³⁵Zentralwohlfahrtstelle der Juden in Deutschland, *Vierteljahresmeldung über den Mitgliederstand* (Frankfurt, 1996).

³⁶Pavel 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).

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE,
END 1995

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Austria	8,013,000	8,500	1.1	C 1995
Belgium	10,144,000	31,800	3.1	C 1987
Denmark	5,188,000	6,400	1.2	C 1990
Finland	5,129,000	1,300	0.3	B 1990
France ^a	58,243,000	525,000	9.0	C 1990 X
Germany	81,777,000	62,000	0.8	C 1995
Greece	10,483,000	4,500	0.4	B 1995
Ireland	3,565,000	1,300	0.4	B 1993
Italy	57,218,000	30,000	0.5	B 1995
Luxembourg	410,000	600	1.5	B 1990
Netherlands	15,603,000	26,500	1.7	C 1995
Portugal	9,818,000	300	0.0	C 1986
Spain	39,676,000	12,000	0.3	D
Sweden	8,822,000	15,000	1.7	C 1990
United Kingdom	58,648,000	292,000	5.0	B 1995
Total European Union	372,737,000	1,017,200	2.7	
Gibraltar	28,000	600	21.4	B 1991
Norway	4,356,000	1,200	0.3	B 1995
Switzerland	7,269,000	18,000	2.5	A 1990
Other	814,000	100	0.1	D
Total other West Europe	12,467,000	19,900	1.6	
Belarus	10,122,000	28,000	2.8	C 1995
Estonia	1,521,000	3,000	2.0	C 1995
Latvia	2,536,000	14,200	5.6	C 1995
Lithuania	3,696,000	6,200	1.7	C 1995
Moldova	4,446,000	9,500	2.1	C 1995
Russia ^b	146,677,000	360,000	2.5	B 1995 X
Ukraine	51,298,000	180,000	3.5	C 1995
Total FSU in Europe	220,296,000	600,900	2.7	

TABLE 3.—(Continued)

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3,524,000	200	0.1	D
Bulgaria	8,726,000	3,200	0.4	B 1992 X
Croatia	4,483,000	1,300	0.3	D
Czech Republic	10,302,000	2,200	0.2	C 1995
Hungary	10,073,000	54,000	5.4	D
Poland	38,448,000	3,500	0.1	D
Romania	22,770,000	14,000	0.6	C 1993
Slovakia	5,374,000	3,700	0.7	D
Slovenia	1,948,000	100	0.1	C 1993
Turkey ^b	63,120,000	19,200	0.3	C 1995
Yugoslavia ^c	10,872,000	1,800	0.2	C 1995
Other	5,655,000	100	0.0	D
Total other East Europe and Balkans	185,295,000	103,300	0.6	
Total	790,795,000	1,741,300	2.2	

^aIncluding Monaco.

^bIncluding Asian regions.

^cSerbia and Montenegro.

of the 1990 census. The official count indicated 17,577 Jews, as against 18,330 in 1980—a decline of 4 percent.³⁷ Allowing for undeclared Jews, we put the new estimate at 18,000.

Former USSR (European parts). Since 1989, the demographic situation of East European Jewry has been rapidly changing 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, throughout 1995. While mass emigration is 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 out-

³⁷Bundesamt für Statistik, *Wohnbevölkerung nach Konfession und Geschlecht, 1980 und 1990* (Bern, 1993).

marriage, and heavy aging. As a result, the shrinking of Jewish population must be comparatively rapid.³⁸

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.³⁹ The figure confirmed the declining trend already apparent since the previous three 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 quantified and should not be exaggerated. One should 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 FSU, 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 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.

Systematic analysis of previously inaccessible data about the demographic characteristics and trends of Jews in the FSU has produced important new insights into recent and current trends.⁴⁰ 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.

³⁸U.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).

³⁹Goskomstat SSSR, *Vestnik Statistiki* 10 (1990), pp. 69-71. This figure does not include about 30,000 Tats (Mountain Jews).

⁴⁰Mark Tolts, "Some Basic Trends in Soviet Jewish Demography," in *Papers in Jewish Demography 1989*, ed. U.O. Schmelz and S. DellaPergola (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 237-243; Viacheslav Konstantinov, "Jewish Population of the USSR on the Eve of the Great Exodus," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 3 (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).

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.⁴¹ Nor can any 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 have constituted a relatively small minority of all new immigrants from the FSU.⁴² It is obvious, though, that the 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 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 1995 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 1982–86 period. Since 1990, the following migration estimates

⁴¹Mark 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.

⁴²Israel'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.

(in thousands) can be compiled according to Soviet, Israeli, American, and other sources.⁴³

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

^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 many decades. In 1993–94, 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 1,000.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵

⁴³Estimates 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* 33, 1991.

⁴⁴Mark Tolts, "The Jewish Population of Russia: Emigration, Assimilation and Demographic Collapse," *Jews in Eastern Europe* 3 (31), 1996.

⁴⁵Age 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.

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 1992.⁴⁶ 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, 1994.⁴⁷ The data, based on a 5-percent sample, revealed a Jewish population of about 400,000 plus approximately 8,000 Tats. Allowing for sampling errors, we obtained a total of 408,000 and a range of variation between 401,000 and 415,000. Apportioning for Jewish population changes (decline) between December 31, 1993, the date of our estimates, 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 independent estimate obtained for the same date (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.

The 1994 and 1995 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, and 660,000 at the end of 1995. Of this total, 600,900 lived in the European republics and 59,100 in the Asian republics (see below). The pace of change of Jewish population in each republic was significantly different because of varying propensities to emigrate and different rates of assimilation and natural decrease. The largest Jewish population in the FSU European parts remained in Russia, now the fifth-largest in the world. Our end-1995 estimate for Russia was 360,000, reflecting an upward correction accounting for geographical redistribution from other republics. Jews in Ukraine, which in recent years has experienced large-scale emigration, were estimated at 180,000 (eighth-largest community worldwide). A further 28,000 Jews were estimated to remain in Belarus, 9,500 in the Republic of Moldova, and a

⁴⁶Dr. Mark Tolts of the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University actively contributed to the preparation of these estimates.

⁴⁷See V. Aleksandrova, "Mikroperepisis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi Federatsii," *Voprosy Statistiki*, 1994 (1), p. 37 (Moscow, 1994). See also Mark Tolts, "The Interrelationship Between Emigration and the Socio-Demographic Profile of Russian Jewry," in *Russian Jews on Three Continents*, ed. Noah Levin-Epstein, Paul Ritterband, and Yaakov Ro'i (London, 1996), pp. 147–76.

combined total of 23,400 in the three Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.⁴⁸

Inconsistencies between 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 new official sources of data on the part of persons who declared themselves of another nationality 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 Israel⁴⁹ 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 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 Eastern 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 allowed for greater autonomy of the organized Jewish communities and their registered membership. Although some Jews or persons of Jewish origin may have come out in the open after years of hiding their identity, the inevitable demographic decline of Jewish populations in Eastern Europe, also reflecting increased emigration, results in reduced estimates for 1995.

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 20–25,000. Our core Jewish population estimate of 54,000—as against much higher figures that are periodically circulated—attempts to reflect the declining trend that prevails in Hungary according to the

⁴⁸Lithuanian Department of Statistics, *Demographic Yearbook 1993* (Vilnius, 1994); "Par Latvijas Republikas cilvēkiem," *Latvijas Vestnesim*, 44 (Riga, 1995).

⁴⁹Council of Europe, *Recent Demographic Developments in Europe* (Strasbourg, 1996).

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 1995 was 14,000. The numbers of Jews in the Czech Republic and Slovakia were very tentatively estimated at 2,200 and 3,700, respectively, and the estimate for Poland was put at 3,500.

The crisis in the former Yugoslavia continued, intensifying Jewish population decline. The core Jewish population for the total of the five successor republics, reduced through emigration, was reassessed at about 3,500 at the end of 1995. Of these, roughly 2,000 lived in the new territorially shrunken Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and 1,300 in Croatia. In Bulgaria, the December 4, 1992 census reported 3,461 Jews;⁵⁰ our 1995 estimate was 3,200.

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

ASIA

Israel. Israel accounts for about 98 percent of all the 4.5 million Jews in Asia, including the Asian republics of the former USSR, but excluding the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey (see table 4). By the end of 1995, Israeli Jews constituted nearly 35 percent of total world Jewry. Israel's Jewish population grew in 1995 by over 108,000, or 2.4 percent.⁵¹ 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 1995 (76,400) was slightly less than in 1994 (79,800). About 55 percent of Jewish population growth in 1995 was due to the net migration balance; the remaining 45 percent of Jewish population growth reflected natural increase, as well as cases of immigrants from the former USSR and other countries who were previously listed as non-Jews being registered as Jews.

Former USSR (Asian parts). The total Jewish population in the Asian republics of the former USSR was estimated at about 59,000 at the end of 1995. The fear of Muslim fundamentalism in Central Asia and the various ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus area continued to cause concern and stimulated Jewish emigration.⁵² Internal identificational and demographic processes were less a factor

⁵⁰*Statistical Yearbook* (Sofia, 1992).

⁵¹Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel 1996* (Jerusalem, 1996). 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 1990's," 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.

⁵²Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigration to Israel 1995* (Jerusalem, 1996).

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, END 1995

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Israel	5,619,000	4,549,500	809.7	A 1995
Armenia	3,646,000	100	0.0	C 1995
Azerbaijan	7,642,000	12,000	1.6	C 1995
Georgia	5,466,000	10,000	1.8	C 1995
Kazakhstan	17,209,000	12,000	0.7	C 1995
Kyrgyzstan	4,823,000	2,700	0.6	C 1995
Tajikistan	6,721,000	1,800	0.3	C 1995
Turkmenistan	4,188,000	1,500	0.4	C 1995
Uzbekistan	23,342,000	19,000	0.8	C 1995
Total FSU in Asia	73,037,000	59,100	0.8	
Hong Kong	5,890,000	800	0.1	D
India	952,969,000	4,300	0.0	C 1991
Iran	68,738,000	13,000	0.2	C 1986
Iraq	21,035,000	100	0.0	D
Japan	125,382,000	1,000	0.0	C 1993
Korea, South	45,429,000	100	0.0	D
Philippines	68,976,000	100	0.0	C 1988
Singapore	2,874,000	300	0.1	B 1990
Syria	15,167,000	200	0.0	C 1995
Thailand	59,414,000	200	0.0	C 1988
Yemen	15,067,000	200	0.0	B 1995
Other	1,990,361,000	300	0.0	D
Total other Asia	3,371,302,000	20,600	0.0	
Total ^a	3,449,958,000	4,629,200	1.3	

^aNot including Turkey and Asian regions of Russian Republic. Total population of Israel: end 1995.

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 conditions were rapidly eroding this residual surplus.⁵³ Reflecting these trends, the largest community remained in Uzbekistan (19,000), followed by Azerbaijan (12,000), Kazakhstan (12,000), and Georgia (10,000).

Other countries. It is difficult to estimate the Jewish population of Iran, last counted in the 1986 national census.⁵⁴ Based on evidence of continuing decline, the 1995 estimate was reduced to 13,000. In other Asian countries with small veteran communities—such as India, or several Muslim countries—the Jewish population tends to decline. The recent reduction was more 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.

AFRICA

Fewer than 106,000 Jews were estimated to remain in Africa at the end of 1995. The Republic of South Africa accounted for 89 percent of total Jews in that continent (see table 5). In 1980, according to a national census, there were about 118,000 Jews among South Africa's white population.⁵⁵ Substantial Jewish emigration since then was partially compensated by Jewish immigration and return migration of former emigrants. An incipient negative balance of internal changes was producing 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 about 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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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 100,000.⁵⁸ The latter figure was also suggested as our estimate for the end of 1992. Taking

⁵³Tolts, "The Balance of Births and Deaths."

⁵⁴Data kindly provided by Dr. Mehdi Bozorghmehr, Von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California-UCLA, Los Angeles.

⁵⁵Sergio DellaPergola and Allie A. Dubb, "South African Jewry: A Sociodemographic Profile," *AJYB* 1988, vol. 88, pp. 59–140.

⁵⁶Allie A. Dubb, *The Jewish Population of South Africa: The 1991 Sociodemographic Survey* (Cape Town, 1994).

⁵⁷The study was directed by Dr. Allie A. Dubb and supported by the Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies, University of Cape Town.

⁵⁸Dubb, *The Jewish Population of South Africa*.

into account the pace of continuing emigration from South Africa to Israel and other Western countries (especially Australia), we project a decline since 1991, and suggest a new estimate of 95,000 for South African Jewry at the end of 1995.

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 one-day dramatic air-lift operation. Some of these migrants were non-Jewish members of mixed households. In connection with these events, it was assumed that only few Jews had remained in Ethiopia. However, in the subsequent years the small remaining core Jewish population has appeared to be somewhat larger than previously estimated. Over 3,600 immigrants from Ethiopia arrived in Israel in 1992, about 900 in 1993, about 1,200 in 1994, and 1,300 in 1995, including non-Jewish immigrants seeking reunification with their Jewish relatives. Keeping in mind the possibility that more Jews may appear requesting to emigrate to

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, END 1995

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	64,200,000	200	0.0	C 1993
Ethiopia	56,713,000	200	0.0	C 1995
Morocco	27,563,000	6,300	0.2	C 1995
Tunisia	9,057,000	1,600	0.2	C 1995
Other	66,936,000	100	0.0	
Total North Africa	224,469,000	8,400	0.0	
Botswana	1,531,000	100	0.1	B 1993
Kenya	29,137,000	400	0.0	B 1990
Namibia	1,580,000	100	0.1	B 1993
Nigeria	115,020,000	100	0.0	D
South Africa	42,388,000	95,000	2.2	B 1991
Zaire	45,281,000	300	0.0	B 1993
Zimbabwe	11,515,000	900	0.1	B 1993
Other	277,209,000	400	0.0	D
Total other Africa	523,661,000	97,300	0.2	
Total	748,130,000	105,700	0.1	

Israel, and Israeli immigration policies toward the Christian relatives of Ethiopian Jews (whose actual number is unknown), an estimate of 200 Jews is tentatively suggested for the end of 1995. Small Jewish populations remain in several African countries south of the Sahara.

The remnant of Moroccan and Tunisian Jewry tends to shrink slowly through emigration, mostly to France and Canada. The end-1995 estimate was 6,300 for Morocco and 1,600 for Tunisia.⁵⁹ It should be pointed out, though, that some Jews have a foothold both in Morocco or Tunisia and also in France or other Western countries, and their geographical 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 97,000 Jews live (see table 6). The April 1991 census of Australia, where the question on religion is optional, enumerated 74,386 declared Jews.⁶⁰ 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 1991 survey in Melbourne, where roughly one half of all Australia's Jews live, revealed that less than 7 percent of the Jewish respondents had not identified as Jews in the census.⁶¹ The Melbourne

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, END 1995

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	18,320,000	92,000	5.0	C 1991
New Zealand	3,616,000	4,500	1.2	C 1991
Other	7,037,000	100	0.0	D
Total	28,973,000	96,600	3.3	

⁵⁹See 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.

⁶⁰Bill Rubinstein, "Census Total for Jews Up by 7.7 Percent; Big Gains in Smaller States," unpublished report (Geelong, Victoria, 1993).

⁶¹John Goldlust, *The Jews of Melbourne; A Report of the Findings of the Jewish Community Survey, 1991* (Melbourne, 1993).

survey actually depicted a very stable community, even if one affected by growing acculturation. Australian Jewry has received migratory reinforcements during the last decade, especially from South Africa, the FSU, 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 kept our estimate for 1995 to a figure of 92,000—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 is estimated at 4,500.

Dispersion and Concentration

COUNTRY PATTERNS

Table 7 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 1995, 9 countries had a Jewish population of 100,000 or more; another 4 countries had 50,000 or more; another 26 had more than 5,000; and 55 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: United States (21.4 per 1,000), Gibraltar (21.4), Canada (12.2), France (9.0), Uruguay (7.3), Argentina (5.9), Latvia (5.6), Hungary (5.4), United Kingdom (5.0), and Australia (5.0). The other major Diaspora Jewries, having lower proportions of Jews per 1,000 of total population, were Russia (2.5 per 1,000), Ukraine (3.5), Brazil (0.6), and South Africa (2.2).

In the State of Israel, by contrast, the Jewish majority amounted to 810 per 1,000 (81 percent) in 1995 compared to 812 per 1,000 (81.2 percent) in 1994—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 8). In 1995, 95 percent of world Jewry lived in the 11 countries with the largest Jewish populations; and 78 percent lived in the two largest communities—the United States and Israel. Similarly, ten leading Diaspora countries together comprised nearly 96 percent of the Diaspora Jewish population; three countries (United States, France, and Canada) accounted for 76 percent, and the United States alone for nearly 67 percent of total Diaspora Jewry.

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN EACH COUNTRY, END 1995

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	33	28	4	—	1	—
1,000-4,900	22	20	2	—	—	—
5,000-9,900	7	2	5	—	—	—
10,000-49,900	19	9	8	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	13,057,600	407,000	841,900	1,206,600	6,052,600	4,549,500
100-900	11,000	8,900	1,500	—	600	—
1,000-4,900	52,300	44,800	7,500	—	—	—
5,000-9,900	46,900	11,300	35,600	—	—	—
10,000-49,900	379,900	180,000	162,300	37,600	—	—
50,000-99,900	303,000	62,000	95,000	146,000	—	—
100,000-999,900	2,025,000	100,000	540,000	1,023,000	362,000	—
1,000,000 or more	10,239,500	—	—	—	5,690,000	4,549,500
		<u>Jewish Population Distribution (Percent of World's Jews)</u>				
Total ^a	100.0	3.1	6.4	9.2	46.4	34.8
100-900	0.1	0.1	0.0	—	0.0	—
1,000-4,900	0.4	0.3	0.1	—	—	—
5,000-9,900	0.4	0.1	0.3	—	—	—
10,000-49,900	2.9	1.4	1.2	0.3	—	—
50,000-99,900	2.3	0.5	0.7	1.1	—	—
100,000-999,900	15.5	0.8	4.1	7.8	2.8	—
1,000,000 or more	78.4	—	—	—	43.6	34.8

^aExcluding countries with fewer than 100 Jews, with a total of 1,400 Jews. Minor discrepancies due to rounding.

TABLE 8. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, END 1995

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the World		In the Diaspora	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,690,000	43.6	43.6	66.9	66.9
2	Israel	4,549,500	34.8	78.4	—	—
3	France	525,000	4.0	82.4	6.2	73.0
4	Canada	362,000	2.8	85.2	2.8	75.8
5	Russia	360,000	2.8	88.0	7.9	83.7
6	United Kingdom	292,000	2.2	90.2	3.4	87.2
7	Argentina	206,000	1.6	91.8	1.6	88.7
8	Ukraine	180,000	1.4	93.2	4.0	92.7
9	Brazil	100,000	0.8	93.9	1.2	93.9
10	South Africa	95,000	0.7	94.6	1.1	95.0
11	Australia	92,000	0.7	95.3	1.1	96.1
12	Germany	62,000	0.5	95.8	0.7	96.8
13	Hungary	54,000	0.4	96.2	0.6	97.4
14	Mexico	40,800	0.3	96.5	0.5	97.9

CONCENTRATION IN MAJOR CITIES

Intensive international and internal migrations have led to the concentration of an overwhelming majority of the Jews in large urban areas. Table 9 provides an attempt to rank the cities where the largest Jewish populations were found in 1995.⁶² Twenty-two urban areas worldwide had estimated populations of 100,000 Jews or more. These 22 central places together comprised over 65 percent of the whole world Jewish population. Ten of these cities were in the United States, six in Israel, two in Canada, and one each in France, the United Kingdom, Russia, and Argentina. The ten metropolitan areas in the United States included over 76 percent of total U.S. Jewry, and the six major Israeli centers included over 70 percent of Israel's Jewish population.

The extraordinary urbanization of the Jews was evinced even more by the fact

⁶²Definitions of metropolitan statistical areas vary across countries. Estimates reported here reflect the criteria adopted in each place. For U.S. estimates, see Kosmin and Scheckner, *AJYB* 1996; for Israeli estimates, see Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population in Localities: Demographic Characteristics by Geographical Divisions, 1994* (Jerusalem, 1996); for Canadian estimates, see Torczyner and Brotman; for other estimates, A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry.

TABLE 9. METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, END 1995

Rank	Metro Area ^a	Country	Jewish Population
1	New York ^b	United States	1,917,000
2	Tel Aviv	Israel	1,878,000
3	Los Angeles ^c	United States	585,000
4	Jerusalem ^d	Israel	470,000
5	Haifa	Israel	432,000
6	Miami	United States	382,000
7	Philadelphia ^e	United States	314,000
8	Paris	France	310,000
9	Chicago	United States	261,000
10	Boston	United States	228,000
11	San Francisco	United States	210,000
12	London	United Kingdom	210,000
13	Buenos Aires	Argentina	178,000
14	Washington ^f	United States	165,000
15	Toronto	Canada	165,000
16	W. Palm Beach	United States	160,000
17	Moscow	Russia	145,000
18	Netanya ^g	Israel	143,000
19	Be'er Sheva ^g	Israel	142,000
20	Ashdod ^g	Israel	123,000
21	Baltimore ^h	United States	101,000
22	Montreal	Canada	100,000

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

^bIncluding areas in New Jersey and Connecticut.

^cIncluding Orange County, Pomona, Riverside, San Bernardino, Ventura County.

^dIncluding Ma'ale Adumim, Mevasseret Ziyon, Giv'at Ze'ev, Betar Illit, Efrata, Har Adar, Beit Zayit, Moza Illit.

^eIncluding areas in New Jersey and Delaware.

^fIncluding areas in Maryland and Virginia.

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

^hIncluding Howard County.

that over one-half of all world Jewry (6,777,000, or 51.9 percent) lived in only ten large metropolitan areas: New York (including Northern New Jersey), Los Angeles (including Orange and Riverside counties), Miami-Ft. Lauderdale, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston in the United States; Paris in France; and Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and Haifa in Israel.

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