BERMAN JEWISH DATABANK
Reprinted from the
American Jewish Year Book 2023

WORLD JEWISH POPULATION 2023

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Published by
Berman Jewish DataBank
In cooperation with
Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry

Berman Jewish DataBank

A project of The Jewish Federations of North America

In collaboration with

The Berman Jewish Policy Archive @ Stanford

The Center for Judaic Studies and Contemporary Jewish Life at the University of Connecticut

And

The Mandell and Madeleine Berman Foundation

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World Jewish Population, 2023

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Recommended Citation

Sergio DellaPergola. "World Jewish Population, 2023," in Arnold Dashefsky and Ira M. Sheskin. (Editors) *The American Jewish Year Book, 2023, Volume 123* (2024) (Cham, SUI: Springer) pp. 309-422.

The American Jewish Year Book 2023

The Annual Record of the North American Jewish Communities Since 1899

This Report derives from Chapter 8 of the *American Jewish Year Book, 2023*.

Since 1899, the *American Jewish Year Book* has documented the current status of North American Jewry: its demography, its institutions, and its accomplishments. It is the premier place for leading academics to publish in-depth review chapters on topics of interest to the North American Jewish communities. Cyrus Adler, Milton Himmelfarb, Henrietta Szold, and other prominent American Jews are among its former editors. In 2008, the *Year Book*, which had been published by the American Jewish Committee, ceased publication, a casualty of the 2008 economic recession.

From 2012 to the present, the *Year Book* has been published by Springer, a major worldwide scientific publisher. The editors of the *Year Book* are Arnold Dashefsky of the University of Connecticut and Ira Sheskin of the University of Miami, both accomplished social scientists of American Jewry. The *Year Book* is published in cooperation with the Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry (ASSJ) and the Berman Jewish DataBank. Current funding comes from the University of Miami and the University of Connecticut.

The *Year Book* consists of lengthy review chapters on topics of general interest, chapters reviewing important events in the North American Jewish communities, chapters on the US, Canadian, and world Jewish population, lists of Jewish organizations (both local and national), Jewish scholarly resources, major events in the Jewish community, Jewish honorees, and obituaries of notable Jewish individuals. This volume has been a significant and prestigious annual resource for academic researchers, practitioners at Jewish institutions and organizations, the media, and others for basic, up-to-date information about the North American Jewish communities.

Almost all books on the history of North American Jewry cite the *Year Book.* The *Year Book* helps to preserve the current record for future generations.

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AJYB 2023 was produced with the generous support of:

- The College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Connecticut (**Ofer Harel, Dean**)
- Center for Judaic Studies and Contemporary Jewish Life at the University of Connecticut (**Jessica Cooperman, Director**)
- The Sue and Leonard Miller Center for Contemporary Judaic Studies (**Haim Shaked, Director**) and its Jewish Demography Project (**Ira M. Sheskin, Director**); and The George Feldenkreis Program in Judaic Studies at the University of Miami (**Haim Shaked, Director**)
- The President's Office at the University of Miami (**Julio Frenk, President**) (**Joseph J. Echevarria**, Current President)
- The Fain Family Endowed Chair in Judaic Studies at the University of Miami (**Professor William Scott Green, former Senior Vice Provost and Dean of Undergraduate Education**)

We acknowledge the cooperation of:

Berman Jewish DataBank, a project of The Jewish Federations of North America (**Mandell Berman [z"l], Founding Chair; David Manchester, Director**)

The Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry (**Judit Bokser-Liwerant, President**)

We acknowledge the contributions of the men and women who edited the *American Jewish Year Book* from 1899 to 2008:

Cyrus Adler, Maurice Basseches, Herman Bernstein, Morris Fine, Herbert Friedenwald, H. G. Friedman, Lawrence Grossman, Milton Himmelfarb, Joseph Jacobs, Martha Jelenko, Julius B. Maller, Samson D. Oppenheim, Harry Schneiderman, Ruth R. Seldin, David Singer, Jacob Sloan, Maurice Spector, Henrietta Szold

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CHAPTER 8
WORLD JEWISH POPULATION, 2023

Sergio DellaPergola

On January 1, 2023, the world's Jewish population was estimated at 15,691,200—an increase of 100,800 (0.65%) above the revised estimate of 15,590,400 for 2022 (DellaPergola 2023). **This estimate reflects a review of Jewish populations in 104 countries and territories with at least 100 Jews.** The world's total population increased by 1.61% in 2022. The rate of increase of world Jewry hence amounted to about 40% of that of the world's total population. Nearly all world Jewish population increase derived from growth in the State of Israel, while in most other countries the number of Jews remained stable or slightly declined. The largest *core* Jewish population was in Israel with 7,101,400, followed by the US with 6,300,000. Other countries with *core* Jewish populations above 100,000 included France (440,000), Canada (398,000), the UK (312,000), Argentina (171,000), the Russian Federation (132,000), Germany (125,000) and Australia (117,000). These estimates reflect updates of the data published in the *AJYB* 2022 (DellaPergola 2023) in accordance with ongoing demographic trends. In addition, a major upward 300,000 adjustment was applied to our 2022 US Jewish population estimate following an in-depth secondary analysis we undertook of the 2020 Pew Survey of Jewish Americans (Pew Research Center 2021). Corrections were also introduced in previous estimates for other countries, reflecting a round of new national population census undertaken in 2020-2022 as well as other data released by local Jewish communities. Consequently, retroactive corrections for the US and world Jewry were introduced going several years back. This demonstrated once more the paradox of the *permanently provisional* nature of Jewish population estimates.

This report, as in previous years, examines the world Jewish population's size, geographical distribution, alternative definitions, changes over time, and selected determinants of such changes. Section 1 examines the main methodological issues in the study of Jewish populations globally, such as definitions and data sources. Section 2 presents a picture of Jewish population size and distribution by major areas of the world. Section 3 analyzes major patterns and trends in Jewish population distribution. Section 4 focuses on the largest Jewish populations—the State of Israel, the United States, and several others. Section 5 deals with major cities and metropolitan areas. Section 6 reviews some major determinants of demographic change like Jewish identity boundaries, international migration and the COVID-19 epidemics. An Appendix details the criteria and technical issues involved in estimating Jewish populations globally and in each country, stressing the need for comparable data based on a consistent methodology. Jewish population estimates are provided for each country as of January 1, 2023, according to four different definitions of the target constituency.

Section 1 Assessing Jewish Population

1.1 Main trends

The study of Jewish demography is part of a growing interest among scholars and practitioners concerning the interplay of qualitative characteristics, such as religious or ethnic identities, with the known determinants of population change (De Gasquet 2021). **Table 1** details the originally published and the revised estimates of the world Jewish population—as well as changes in the

world's total population between 1945 and 2023. The world's *core* Jewish population was estimated at 11.0M in 1945 and 15.7M in 2022, an overall increase of 4.7M, or 43%. The world's total population was 2.3B in 1945 and approached 8B by mid-2022, an increase of 5.6B, or 244%.

Table 1 World core Jewish population estimates: original and revised 1880-2023

Year	World Jewish Population			World Population		Jews per	% in Israel
	Original estimate[a]	Revised estimate[b]	Annual % change[c]	Total (millions)[d]	Annual % change	1000 total world population	of world Jewish population
1880		7,800,000		1,400		5.57	0.31
1900, Jan. 1	10,728,500	10,600,000	1.55	1,625	0.75	6.52	0.47
1922, Jan. 1	15,393,800	14,400,000	1.40	1,900	0.71	7.58	0.58
1939, Jan. 1	16,181,300	16,500,000	0.80	2,300	1.13	7.17	2.72
1945, May 1	11,000,000	11,000,000	-6.53	2,315	0.11	4.75	4.95
1950, Jan. 1	11,303,400	11,297,000	0.57	2,526	1.76	4.47	8.97
1960, Jan. 1	12,792,800	12,079,000	0.67	3,026	1.82	3.99	15.39
1970, Jan. 1	13,950,900	12,735,000	0.53	3,691	2.01	3.45	19.68
1980, Jan. 1	14,527,100	13,034,000	0.26	4,449	1.81	2.93	24.69
1990, Jan. 1	12,810,300	13,103,000	0.05	5,321	1.74	2.46	28.37
2000, Jan. 1	13,191,500	13,575,000	0.35	6,127	1.42	2.22	35.90
2005, Jan. 1	13,034,100	14,035,000	0.67	6,514	1.23	2.15	37.32
2010, Jan. 1	13,428,300	14,299,000	0.37	6,916	1.20	2.07	39.88
2015, Jan. 1	14,310,500	14,830,800	0.73	7,336	1.19	2.02	41.92
2020, Jan. 1	14,787,200	15,380,600	0.73	7,689	0.94	2.00	44.04
2022, Jan. 1	15,263,500	15,590,400	0.68	7,837	0.96	1.99	44.79
2023, Jan. 1	15,691,200		0.65	7,963	1.61	1.97	45.26

[a] As published in *American Jewish Year Book*, various years. Some estimates reported here as of Jan. 1 were originally published as of Dec. 31 of previous year The A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, [b] Based on updated or corrected information. Original estimates for 1990 and after, and all revised estimates: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

[c] Based on revised estimates, except latest year. Mid-year estimates.

Source: Population Reference Bureau (2022), United Nations (2023)

For the same period 1954-2023, **Fig. 1** shows the *core Jewish population* estimates for the world, for Israel, for the rest of world Jewry (the *Diaspora*), and for the US within it. The *core Jewish population* concept addresses a human collective whose identification is mutually exclusive with respect to other sub-populations. This is the main criterion employed in this report to define Jewish populations, but the number of people who carry multiple cultural and religious identities is admittedly increasing in contemporary societies (Josselson and Harway 2012). The adjudication of group identities (without double counts) becomes increasingly difficult as recent Jewish population studies in the US clearly demonstrated. One important issue in the current predicament is whether (Jewish) corporate identities can only be acquired or whether they can also be lost. From a socio-demographic perspective, unlike the situation in the past, a clear-cut binary division of the world population between Jews and non-Jews is no longer possible. Operational decisions must be made to reasonably estimate current Jewish population size (DellaPergola 2014b, 2015b).

After the tragic human losses of World War II and the *Shoah* (Holocaust), 15 years passed before the Jewish population increased by one million, from 11M to 12M (DellaPergola et al. 2000). Another 30 years were needed for an increase of another million from 12M to 13M. From the 1970s and for the next nearly 20 years, world Jewry stagnated with approximately *zero population growth*. Some demographic recovery occurred since the 1990s, mostly reflecting accelerating population growth in Israel. It took about 17 years to add another million from 13M to 14M, and about ten more years to add the next million, reaching 15M around 2017. From an historical perspective and based on comparable definitions, world Jewish population has not yet recovered its estimated size of 16.5M on the eve of World War II, and it may still take a few more decades before that milestone is attained.

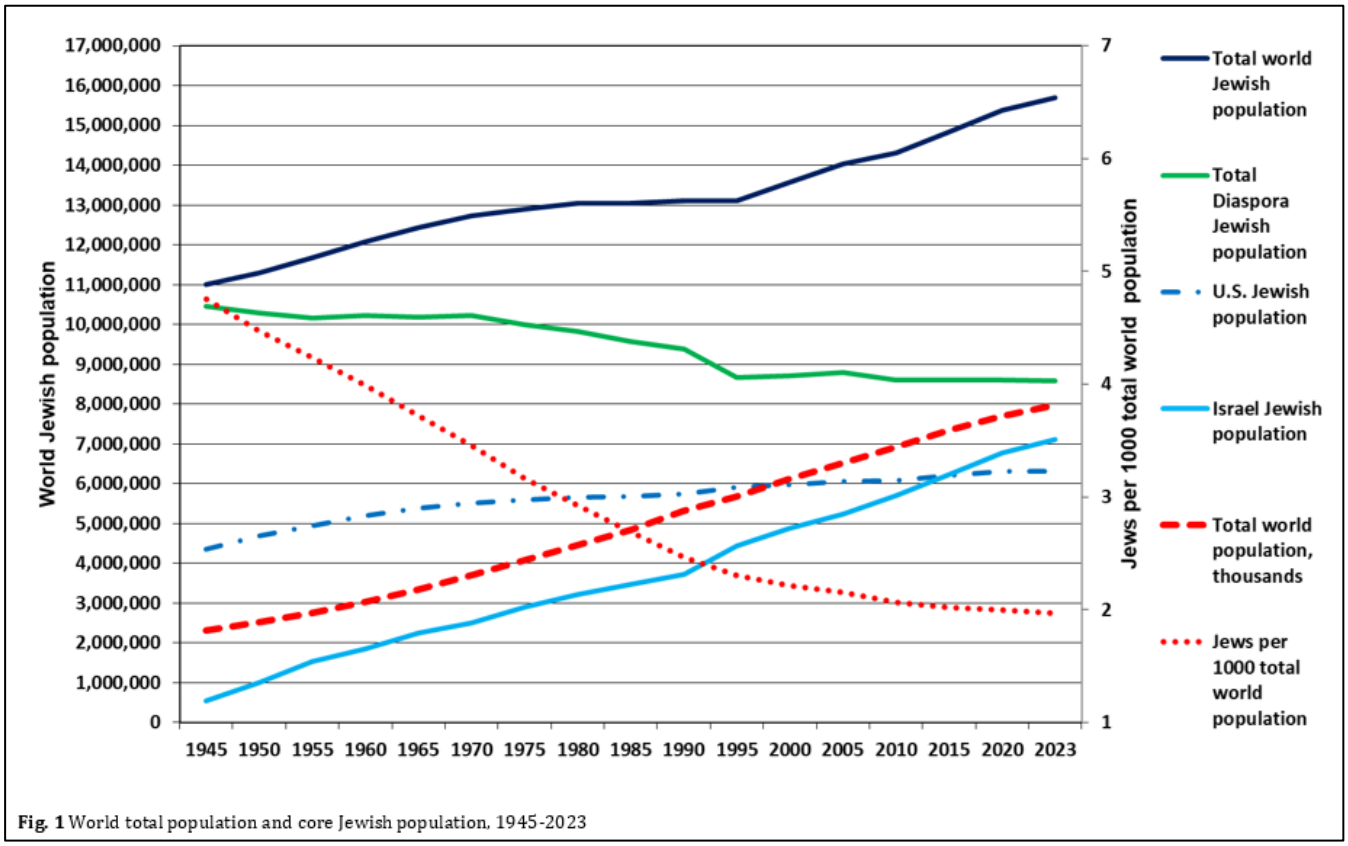


Fig. 1 World total population and core Jewish population, 1945-2023

World Jewish population size reflects a combination of two very different demographic trends in Israel and in the rest of the world—the Jewish Diaspora. Israel's Jewish population increased linearly over fourteen-fold, from an initial half million in 1945, and 630,000 in 1948, to 7.1M in 2023. The Jewish population of the Diaspora, from an initial 10.5M in 1945, was quite stable until the early 1970s, when it started decreasing. It reached about 8.5M around 2000 and subsequently remained relatively stable. Given the faster pace of growth of the world's total population, the share of Jews relative to the world's total steadily diminished from 4.75 per 1000 in 1945 to 1.97 per 1000 currently—or one per every 507 inhabitants in the world.

In 2023, two countries, Israel and the US, accounted for over 85% of the total Jewish population; 23 countries, each with 10,000 Jews or more, accounted for another 14%, and another 79 countries, each with Jewish populations below 10,000, accounted for the remaining 1%. **Fig. 2 shows the size of the 20 largest core Jewish populations in 2023.**

Israel's *core Jewish population* reached 7,101,400 in 2023, out of Israel's total legal population of 9,662,000 (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics monthly). This *core* Jewish population figure does *not* include 521,800 members of families admitted in Israel under the *Law of Return* who were not recorded as Jews in the Ministry of Interior's Population Register. The 7,101,400 corresponded to 45.3% of the revised world's *core* Jewish population and represented an increase of 118,800 (1.70%) in 2022. Israel's rate of population increase recovered after a slow-down in 2020-2021 due to the direct and indirect consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic (see below). In 2023, the total Jewish population of the Diaspora decreased by 18,000, from a revised estimate of 8,607,800 in 2022 to 8,589,800 in 2023 (-0.21%).

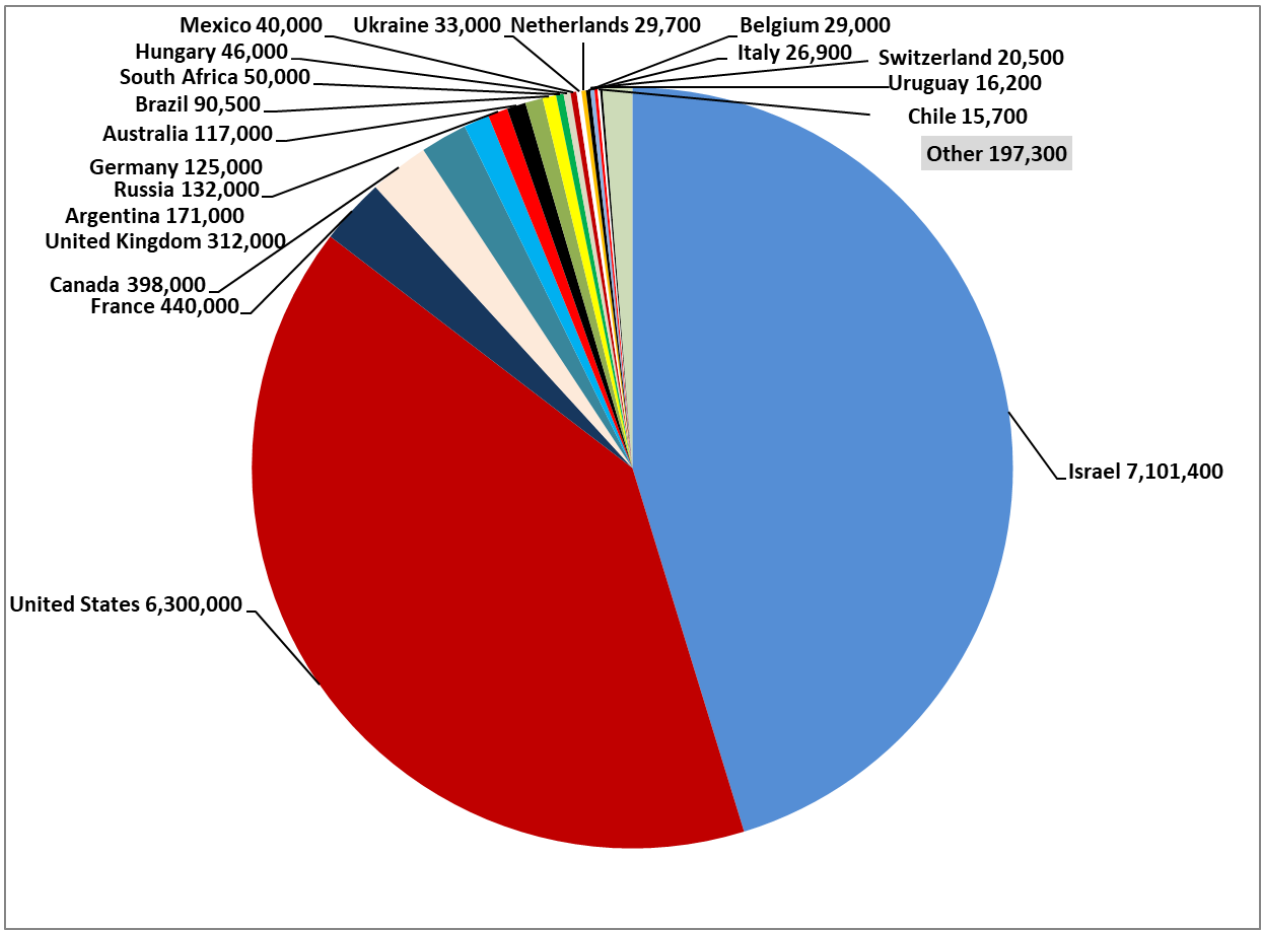
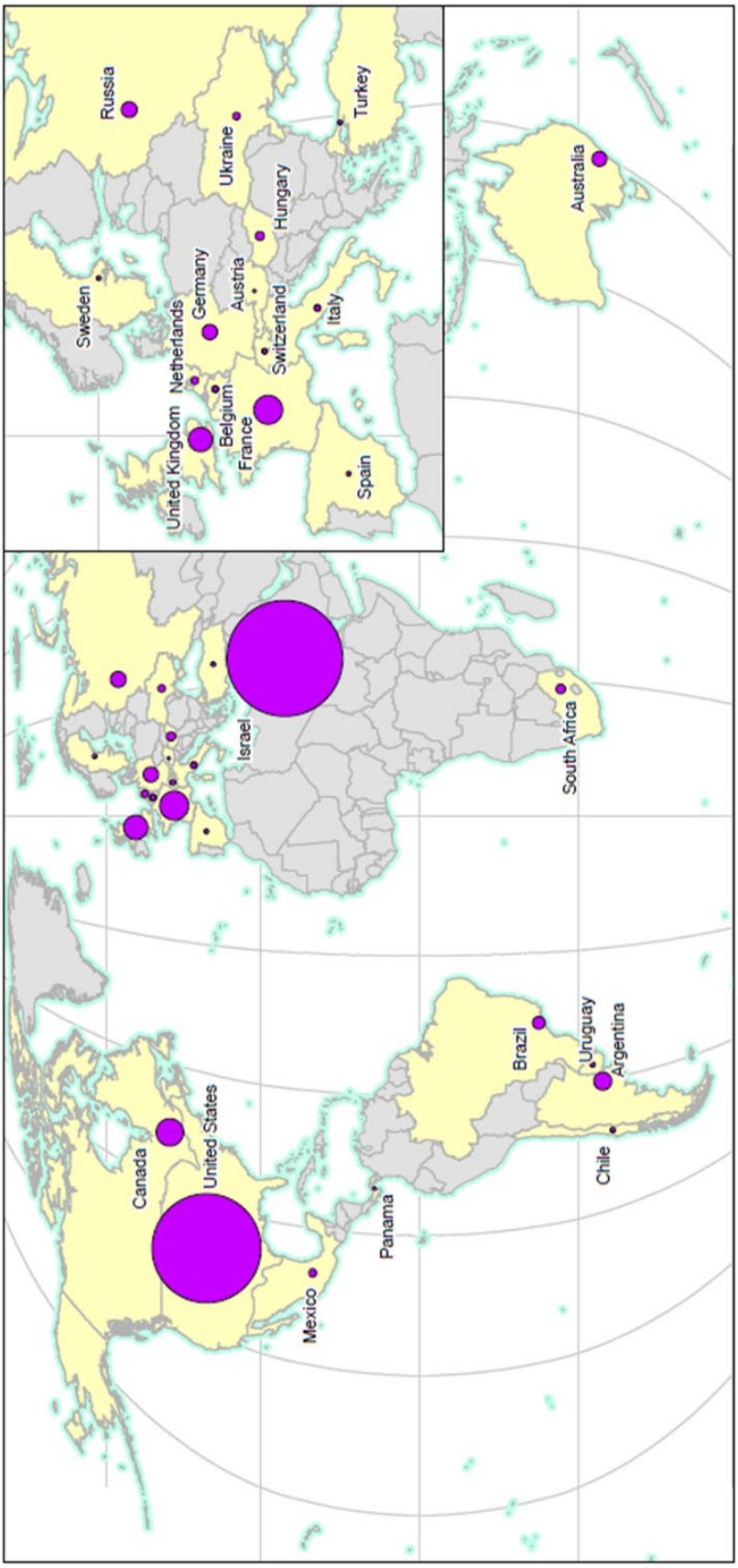


Fig. 2 Twenty largest core Jewish populations, 2023

Based on our interpretation of the 2020 Pew study (Pew Research Center 2021, DellaPergola 2022, 2023, 2023a, and further revisions), we reassessed the US *core* Jewish population at 6.3 million (versus a previous estimate of 6.0M and an earlier one of 5.7M) constituting 40.2% of world Jewry in 2023. An explanation of the rationale for US estimates is discussed below.

The Jewish population in the rest of the world—outside Israel and the US—was assessed at 2,289,800 in 2023 (14.6% of world Jewry), versus a revised estimate of 2,307,800 in 2022. The decline of 18,000 among Diaspora Jews outside the US amounted to an annual loss of -0.78% in the aggregate for those countries. With respect to the total world population, growth in 2022 was 1.2% in less developed countries, versus a decline of -0.2% in the more developed countries where most Jews live (Population Reference Bureau 2022).

Map 1 shows the geographical distribution of the 20 largest Jewish communities worldwide.



After critically reviewing all available evidence on Jewish demographic trends, it is plausible to claim that Israel hosts the largest *core* Jewish community worldwide. Other population estimates pointing to a larger Jewish population in the US (Saxe and Tighe 2013; Saxe et al. 2021; Pew Research Center 2021; Tighe et al. 2023; Sheskin and Dashefsky in this volume) are based on different definitions of the target population. Since Israel's independence in 1948, demography has produced a transition of singular importance to the Jewish historical experience—the return of the Jews to a geographical distribution significantly rooted in Israel, their ancestral homeland. This has occurred through daily, slow, and diverse changes reflecting births and deaths, geographical mobility, and the choices of millions of people to express or to deny a Jewish collective identification not subordinated to—or split with—other explicit religious or ethnic identifications. Concomitantly, Jewish majority status in Israel faces a significant demographic challenge given the growing Palestinian Arab population within the officially recognized boundaries of the state as well as in the West Bank and Gaza.

Jewish (like any other) population estimates are subject to the fundamental demographic equation which holds that population size at a given time reflects an uninterrupted chain of events that may change the size of that population from an earlier to a later date. Of the possible determinants of population increase or decrease, two are relevant to all populations:

1. The balance of vital events (births and deaths). In many countries low Jewish birth rates and an increasingly elderly population generate higher death rates and an overall deficit.

2. The balance of international migration (immigration and emigration) which can be highly variable over time and across countries.

3. A third determinant consists of group identification changes (accessions and secessions)—in this case *passages* to and from a Jewish identity—and applies to all sub-populations defined by some cultural, symbolic, or other specific characteristic, as is the case for Jews. Identification changes do not affect people's physical presence but rather their willingness or ability to identify with a particular religious, ethnic, or otherwise culturally-defined group.

Israel's current Jewish population growth—although slower than during the 1990s—reflects a continuing substantial natural increase generated by a combination of relatively high fertility and a relatively young age distribution which in turn boosts the birth rate. These two drivers of demographic growth do not simultaneously exist in any other Jewish population worldwide, namely in the US. Other than a few cases of growth due to international migration (for example Canada, Australia, the US and Germany), and possibly some local natural increase (plausibly in the UK and Mexico, and minimally in Austria and Belgium), the total number of Jews in Diaspora countries tends to diminish at varying rates.

All this holds true regarding the *core Jewish population*, which does *not* include non-Jewish members of Jewish households, Jews who also maintain another religious identification, people of Jewish ancestry who profess identification with another monotheistic religion, other non-Jews of Jewish ancestry, other non-Jews with family connections to Jews, and other non-Jews who may be interested in Jewish matters (see more below). The detailed mechanisms and supporting evidence of Jewish population change were discussed extensively in previous issues of the *American Jewish Year Book (AJYB)* to which interested readers are referred (see DellaPergola 2015a through 2023; for a detailed report on Jews in Europe, see DellaPergola and Staetsky 2020).

Jewish population size and composition reflect the day-to-day interplay of various factors that operate from within and beyond the Jewish community. The continuing realignment of world Jewish geography toward the major centers of economic development and political power provides a robust yardstick for further explanation and prediction of Jewish demography (DellaPergola et al. 2005; DellaPergola and Sheskin 2015; DellaPergola 2017a; DellaPergola and Staetsky 2020).

The 2023 Jewish population data reported here were updated from 2022 and previous years in accordance with known or estimated vital events, migrations, and Jewish identification shifts. The world and regional Jewish population estimates result from the sum of national estimates. While individual country estimates can be obtained from nationwide sources and sometimes also from the sum of local sources, in the case of the world's total, given the lack of a global population census, no alternative exists to the summation of individual country figures. In updating the country estimates, procedures were applied consistently, based on known changes in vital events and migration, where available. In some less documented instances, the new numbers involved making reasonable assumptions. If the evidence suggested that intervening changes balanced one another in a particular country, Jewish population size was not revised. This procedure has proven to be highly effective over the years of our monitoring of the world Jewish population. Most often, when improved Jewish population estimates reflecting a new census or socio-demographic survey became available, our annually updated estimates have been quite on target. Where needed, previous estimates were adjusted retrospectively based upon newer, more rigorous evidence.

Perhaps more importantly, the research findings reported here tend to confirm a coherent and conceptually robust interpretation of the trends prevailing in world Jewish demography (Bachi 1976; Schmelz 1981, 1984; DellaPergola 1995, 1999, 2001, 2011a). While allowing for improvements and corrections, the 2023 population estimates highlight the increasing complexity of socio-demographic and identification factors underlying Jewish population patterns. This complexity is magnified at a time of extensive internal and international migration as well as increasing transnationalism, sometimes involving bi-local residency and leading to double counting of people on the move or who permanently share their time between different cities, states, and countries. In this study, special attention was paid to avoiding double counts of nationally and internationally mobile bi-local persons. Estimates become even more complex when considering that some hold more than one religious, ethnic, or cultural identity and may periodically shift from one to the other. Available data sources only imperfectly allow for the documentation of these complexities; hence, Jewish population estimates are far from perfect. Thankfully, the quality of the estimates can always be corrected retrospectively, as demonstrated in this report.

1.2 Definitions

It is obvious that Jewish population definitions critically impact population estimates. A major problem with estimates produced by several individual scholars or Jewish organizations is a lack of uniformity in Jewish population definition criteria and data quality. This problem is magnified when attempts are made to estimate the Jewish population globally, providing a coherent and uniform definitional framework for Jews who live in very different institutional, cultural, and socioeconomic environments. For analytical purposes, it would *not* be acceptable to employ a different definitional standard for each country, although in the daily conduct of Jewish communal affairs such differences across countries may be the reality.

In such an open, fluid, and somewhat blurred environment, the very feasibility of undertaking a valid and meaningful study of the Jewish collective generates debates between different intellectual standpoints facing Jewish population studies—let alone the use of particular quantitative tools (DellaPergola 2014d). In particular, the study of a Jewish population (or of any other sub-population) requires addressing three main problems:

1. *Defining* the target group on the basis of conceptual or normative criteria aimed at providing the best possible ideal description of that group—which in the case of Jewry is no minor task in itself.

2. *Identifying* the target group thus defined based on tools that operationally allow for those who belong to it to be distinguished from all others. This is primarily achieved by the systematic canvassing of populations and directly ascertaining personal identifications—typically through

national censuses or representative sample surveys. Identification is also often performed by means of membership lists, consumer directories, distinctive Jewish names, areas of residence, or other random or non-random procedures.

3. *Covering* the target group through appropriate field work—through face-to-face interviews, by telephone, mail, internet, or the like. In the actual experience of social research, most often and contrary to ideal procedures, the task of defining is performed at the stage of identifying, and the task of identifying is performed at the stage of actual fieldwork.

It should be emphasized that the quantitative study of Jewish populations, as reflected in this report, relies predominantly on *operational* social scientific, not *prescriptive* rabbinical or legal, definitional criteria. The main conceptual aspects, besides being rooted in social theory, heavily depend on practical and logistical feasibility—not the least, available research budgets. The ultimate empirical step—obtaining relevant data from relevant people—crucially relies on the readiness of people to cooperate in the data collection effort. In recent years, response rates and cooperation rates have significantly decreased in social surveys—in particular, those undertaken through telephone interviews (Keeter et al. 2017). Consequently, the amount, content, and validity of information gathered have been affected detrimentally. New field work strategies must be continuously devised to avoid deterioration in the number and quality of responses. Response rates for Jewish surveys tend to compare fairly with those of general surveys, as Jews are possibly readier than others to respond to surveys, generally because of their higher socioeconomic status. Nevertheless, data quality constitutes a topic of growing concern in contemporary social research

No perfect method exists to counter decreases in response and cooperation rates, or self-selection biases in participation readiness. Research findings therefore reflect with varying degrees of sophistication only that which is possible to uncover—namely, respondents' degree of involvement with or indifference to feeling Jewish. Sometimes, things which cannot be uncovered directly can be indirectly estimated through various research techniques. However, there exist insurmountable limits to what research methodologies can deliver. Research methods should be finely tuned to research goals. Large representative samples and small qualitative studies are not interchangeable—rather they are complementary—regarding the answers they may provide to specific research questions. Beyond that, we enter the realm of narratives, beliefs, hopes and fears, myths, and corporate interests. No perfect methodology exists to demonstrate the actual nature of some of these biases—at least not within the limits of non-fiction and non-advocacy studies such as the present one. Keeping these limits in mind, four major definitional concepts are presented here to provide rigorous comparative foundations to the study of Jewish demography worldwide (**Fig. 3**):

1. the **core Jewish population (CJP):** the group that considers Judaism their mutually exclusive identification framework, includes both those who do and do not see religion as a relevant avenue for identification (in **Fig. 3**: *Circle 1:* Jewish only, religion; and *Circle 2*: Jewish only, no religion).

2. the **population with Jewish parent(s) (PJP):** includes those who say they are *partly Jewish* because their identity is split between two or more different identification frameworks (*Circle 3*), and those who say they are not Jewish but have at least one Jewish parent (*Circle 4*). Taken together Circles 3 and 4 may also be referred to as the *Jewish-connected* population.

3. the **enlarged Jewish population (EJP):** includes those who say they have Jewish background but not a Jewish parent (*Circle 5*), as well as all non-Jewish household members who live in households with Jews (*Circle 6*).

4. the **Law of Return population (LRP):** the State of Israel's legal instrument for determining eligibility for immigration, citizenship, and all related prerogatives includes Jews, their children, grandchildren and the respective spouses (*Circle 7*).

A further important conceptual term is the **net Jewish population (NJP)** introduced by the Pew Research Center to define their main target population in their 2013 and 2020 surveys about US Jews (Pew Research Center 2013, 2021). The **NJP** includes the core Jewish population as defined above plus those who defined themselves—or operationally were defined—as *partly Jewish* (circles 1, 2, and 3 in **Fig 8.3**). In 2020 the definition was extended to include persons with no religion identifying with Judaism as culture, ethnicity or family origin. In other words, the **NJP** defined a group which is conceptually and numerically intermediate between the **CJP** and the **PJP**. Further discussion about these definitions may be found in the **Appendix**.

Our four-fold typology is independent from other existing population definition approaches and delineates different analytic paths grounded in alternative social theories. It also provides backing to different possible Jewish institutional strategies aiming at variable catchment constituencies. The categories in **Fig. 3** are not static but in fact assume continuous passages across the different circles, from center to periphery and vice versa, and from the most external circle outwards and into it. Further definitional extensions (not shown in **Fig. 3**) may address those additional people who are not currently Jewish and feel some degree of **affinity with Judaism**, sometimes because their more distant ancestors were Jewish or because of other personal, cultural, or social connections with Jews. These forms of affinity have aroused growing interest in recent years in different regional contexts like Latin America (Torres 2017), Africa (Miles 2019), and Europe (Vincze 2020). This is the background to recent attempts made to establish organized communities in various parts of the world, who claim belonging to Judaism and ask to be recognized as such by various state, rabbinical or other institutional authorities in Israel or elsewhere.

Relatedly, some studies—possibly including the recent Pew surveys—may have reached people whose **ancestors were *ever* Jewish**, regardless of the respondents' present identification. Socio-demographic surveys sometimes ask about the religious-ethnic identification of parents. Some population surveys even ask about more distant ancestry. Historians may wish to engage in the study of the number of Jews who ever lived or of how many people today are descendants of those Jews—for example, *Conversos* who lived in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages, or the descendants of Jews who lived during the Roman Empire, or the Lost Tribes (Parfitt 2002; Parfitt and Fisher 2016; Israel Ministry of Diaspora Affairs 2018; Gross et al. 2019). The early Jewish backgrounds of some population groups have been uncovered in recent studies of population genetics (Hammer et al. 2000; Behar et al. 2004; Behar et al. 2010; Carmi et al. 2014; Tian et al. 2015). These long-term issues and analyses are beyond the scope of the present study.

The adoption of increasingly extended definitional criteria by individual researchers and by Jewish organizations tends to stretch Jewish population definitions with an expansive effect on population estimates beyond usual practices in the past as well as beyond the limits of the *core Jewish population* definition. These decisions may reflect local needs and sensitivities but tend to limit the comparability and efficacy of Jewish population research over time and in different locales at one given time. As noted, a more coherent comparative approach is followed here, historically and geographically. The estimates presented below of Jewish population distribution worldwide and in each continent and country—unless differently specified—are consistently anchored to the concept of *core Jewish population*. The *core* definition is indeed the necessary starting point for any broader definition such as the population *with Jewish parents*, the *enlarged* definition, or the *Law of Return* definition (see detail in the **Appendix**). All Jewish population estimates presented here refer to the total number of persons in a given geographical unit, *not* only the affiliated or those who are religiously observant.

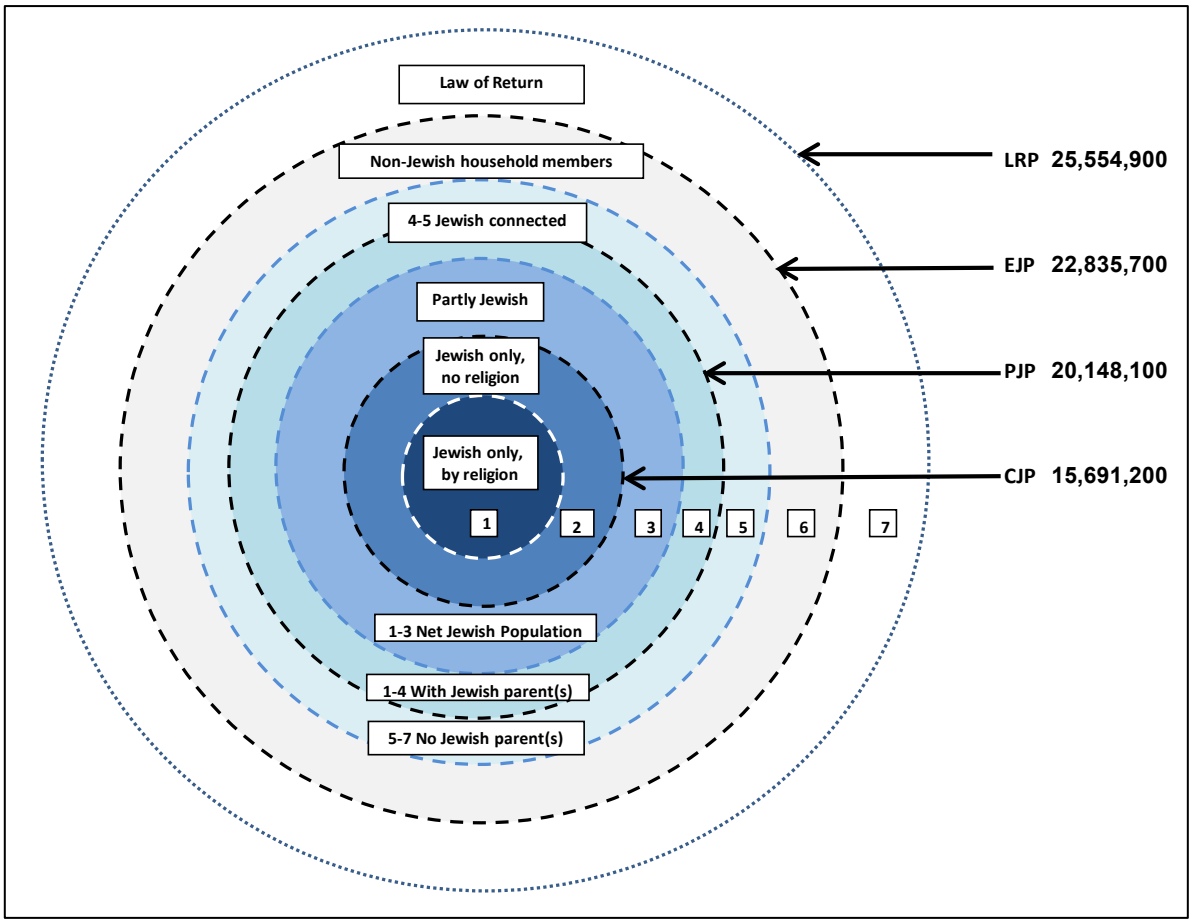


Fig. 3 Configuring and defining contemporary Jewish populations, 2023
1-2 = Core Jewish population (CJP)
1 to 4 = Population with Jewish parent(s) (PJP)
1 to 6 = Enlarged Jewish population (EJP)
1 to 7 = Law of Return population (LRP)
Note: Areas inside each concentric circle are not proportional to actual population sizes

1.3 Data sources

The estimates for major regions and individual countries reported below reflect an effort—uninterrupted since the early 1980s—to scientifically study the demography of contemporary world Jewry. Data collection and comparative research on current population estimates have benefited from the collaboration of scholars and institutions in many countries, including access to unpublished databases. It should be emphasized, however, that the development of worldwide estimates of the number of Jews in various countries is beset with difficulties and uncertainties (Schmelz 1981; Ritterband et al. 1988; DellaPergola 2014c, 2014d). The problem of data consistency is particularly acute, given the very different legal systems and organizational provisions under which Jewish communities operate in different countries. In spite of our keen efforts to create a unified analytic framework for Jewish population studies, data users should be aware of these difficulties and of the inherent limitations of Jewish population estimates.

Over the past decades, the data available for a critical assessment of the worldwide Jewish population have expanded significantly. This new evidence generally confirmed our previous estimates, but sometimes suggested upward or downward revisions. These data consist of national population censuses, national population registers, national and international public and privately sponsored surveys, and national or Jewish community records of vital statistics, migrations, and conversions. Our approach is empirical, stressing that data, if they exist, should be intensively

exploited. Every possible source of data deserves to be considered seriously. However, data must be critically read, evaluated and where needed, adjusted and corrected. It is not sufficient to simply report a number because it appeared somewhere. Before it can be accepted, each piece of information must be weighed in the light of accepted technical specifications and must be contextualized in a broader time and space framework. Some of this ongoing data compilation has been part of coordinated efforts aimed at strengthening Jewish population research by the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics at the Avraham Harman Research Institute of Contemporary Jewry of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Since 2022, Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics has been associated with the scientific study of Jewish populations worldwide.

Jewish population projections undertaken by the author and others in light of available data, also helped in the current assessment. It is quite evident that the cross-matching of more than one type of source about the same Jewish population, although not frequently feasible, can provide either mutual reinforcement of, or important critical insights into, the ongoing trends. Other existing estimates of total world Jewish population and of its geographical distribution (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life 2012; Johnson and Zurlo 2014; Pew Research Center 2015a) provide findings quite consistent with ours. Unlike our review of hundreds of local and international sources, some of these global comparisons often rely on percentages of Jews from general national studies. In the latter case, as Jews are usually an extremely small fraction of the total population, the resulting Jewish estimates may be affected by large sampling errors. Full detail about the types and quality of documentation upon which our Jewish population estimates are based appears in **Table 18** below.

Section 2 World Jewish Population Size and Distribution by Major Areas

2.1 Global trends

Between 2020 and 2022, several countries conducted national censuses, among them major Jewish population centers such as Israel, Canada, the United Kingdom, Russia, Australia, Brazil, and Mexico. While not all definitive information from these new sources was yet available at the time of this writing, our estimates for those countries drew important information from those sources. Further corrections will be introduced if needed, as more detailed census data become available. As noted, in our current estimates we corrected some previously published Jewish population data given new information. In 2021, a most significant correction was an addition of about 300,000 Jews in the US following the 2000 Pew Research Center's survey of Jewish Americans (Pew Research Center 2021). Further corrections are introduced in this report for the US and several other countries. These improvements generated retrospective revisions of the whole annual series of data for the US, the total Diaspora, and World Jewry since 1970.

Table 1 provides a synopsis of world Jewish population estimates for 1880 to 2023, as first published annually in the *AJYB,* and as now retroactively corrected in the light of augmented information. These revised estimates reflect an improved database and depart, sometimes significantly, from the estimates published by other authors until 1980 and in this report since 1981, also adjusting and superseding all revisions that already had been introduced in previous years. Indeed, these new revisions are not necessarily the same revised estimates that appeared annually in the *AJYB* in the past, based on the information that was available at each date. It is likely that further retroactive revisions may become necessary reflecting ongoing and future research.

The earlier part of **Table 1** illustrates the last stages of the significant Jewish population growth that occurred during the 19th century, and more particularly between the 1880s and the eve of World War II. World Jewish population doubled during the half-century between the 1880s and the 1930s, and its growth was most marked in Eastern Europe but also in the US as a consequence of large-scale intercontinental migration. As a consequence of higher than average natural increase,

the share of Jews out of the world's total population increased from 5.57 per 1000 in 1880 to 7.17 per 1000 in 1939. On the eve of the war, the world total was estimated at 16.5M. The *Shoah* caused an estimated loss of 6M Jews (Lestschinsky 1948; Fein 1979; DellaPergola 1996; Benz 2001), but this was partially compensated by the increase in areas that were not under Nazi occupation.

The time series for the more recent decades in **Table 1** incorporates the newly revised estimates. It portrays the decreasing rate of Jewish population growth globally since the 1960s and through contemporary days. Based on a post-*Shoah* world Jewish population estimate of 11,000,000, an increase of 1,079,000 occurred between 1945 and 1960, followed by increases of 556,000 in the 1960s, 284,000 in the 1970s, 99,000 in the 1980s, and 482,000 in the 1990s. Since 2000, the trend of Jewish population growth somewhat recovered, with an increase of 799,000 up to 2010, reflecting the robust demographic trends in Israel and Israel's increasing share of the world total. Between 2010 and 2020, world Jewry increased by 1,078,000. Between 2020 and 2023 the Jewish population further increased by 314,000, all of this more recent growth due to Jews in Israel. **Table 1** also demonstrates the slower world Jewish population growth rate compared to global population growth since World War II and the declining share of Jews among the world's total population. It also shows the rising share of Israel's (and formerly Palestine's) Jewish population out of total world Jewry, from less than half of one percent at the beginning of the 20th century to over 45% in 2023.

Table 2 offers an overall picture of the Jewish population by major geographical regions at the beginning of 2023, compared with 2022. Estimates from the 2022 *American Jewish Year Book* (DellaPergola 2023) were revised reflecting retroactive corrections due to improved data. These corrections resulted in a net increase of 326,900 people as against the 2022 world Jewry estimate. This reflected net increases of 300,000 for the US, 19,000 for the UK, 6,000 for Germany, 4,500 for Poland, 2,000 for Canada, and net decreases of -400 for Israel, -1,200 for Australia, and -3,000 for Russia.

Looking first at global trends, the number of Jews in Israel increased from 6,982,000 at the beginning of 2022 to 7,101,400 at the beginning of 2023, an increase of 118,800, or 1.70%. Of this increase, 89,500 derived from the balance of births in 2022 (132,800, about 3400 less than in 2021) and deaths (43,300, about 1500 more than in 2021) (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics annual). The decline of births came after a marked recovery following a reduction during the COVID-19 pandemic in Israel. The number of deaths increased somewhat too, partly due to the persistence of COVID-19 and partly due to population growth and aging. The total net Jewish population increase of 118,800 was comprised of 89,500 due to the balance of births and deaths, 30,000 due to the international migration balance, and a negative balance of several hundred due to passages to and from Judaism (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics annual). In 2022 as in previous years, therefore, internal demographic change produced most of total Jewish population growth in Israel. Total new immigrants to Israel and tourists who changed their status to immigrants nearly tripled, from 24,977 in 2021 to 74,267 in 2022, mostly from Russia and Ukraine (39% of which were Jewish). Israel's net migration balance was 81,200, of which 30,000 were Jews. This also factored-in the balance of Israeli residents who left the country and had not returned after one year of permanent residence abroad, minus returning Israelis and Israeli citizens born abroad who entered Israel for the first time.

Table 2 Estimated core Jewish population, by continents and major geographical regions, 2022 and 2023a

Region	2022 Revised[b]		2023		Difference 2022-2023		Jews per 1000 total population in 2023
	Estimate	Percent[c]	Estimate	Percent[c]	Number	Percent	
World total	**15,590,400**	**100.0**	**15,691,200**	**100.0**	**100,800**	**0.65**	**1.97**
Jewish Diaspora	8,607,800	55.2	8,589,800	54.7	-18,000	-0.21	1.08
US	6,300,000	40.4	6,300,000	40.1	0	0.00	18.93
Other	2,307,800	14.8	2,289,800	14.6	-18,000	-0.78	0.31
Israel[d]	6,982,600	44.8	7,101,400	45.3	118,800	1.70	734.98
America, total	**7,060,900**	**45.3**	**7,060,000**	**45.0**	**-900**	**-0.01**	**6.87**
North[e]	6,696,200	43.0	6,698,200	42.7	2,000	0.03	18.02
Central, Caribbean	57,500	0.4	57,500	0.4	0	0.00	0.26
South	307,200	2.0	304,300	1.9	-2,900	-0.94	0.70
Europe, total	**1,331,600**	**8.5**	**1,315,600**	**8.4**	**-16,000**	**-1.20**	**1.59**
European Union[f]	791,700	5.1	791,200	5.0	-500	-0.06	1.78
FSU[g]	190,600	1.2	172,500	1.1	-18,100	-9.50	0.87
Other West, Balkans[h]	349,300	2.2	351,900	2.2	2,600	0.74	1.90
Asia, total	**7,017,600**	**45.0**	**7,136,300**	**45.5**	**118,700**	**1.69**	**1.54**
Israel	6,982,600	44.8	7,101,400	45.3	118,800	1.70	734.98
FSU	14,100	0.1	13,500	0.1	-600	-4.26	0.14
Other	20,900	0.1	21,400	0.1	500	2.39	0.00
Africa, total	**55,600**	**0.4**	**54,600**	**0.3**	**-1,000**	**-1.80**	**0.04**
Northern[i]	3,400	0.0	3,400	0.0	0	0.00	0.01
Sub-Saharan[j]	52,200	0.3	51,200	0.3	-1,000	-1.92	0.05
Oceania[k]	**124,700**	**0.8**	**124,700**	**0.8**	**0**	**0.00**	**2.83**

[a] Jewish population: January 1. Total population: mid-year estimates, 2022. Source: Population Reference Bureau (2022), United Nations (2023)
[b] Compare with the original in DellaPergola (2023). The corrections reflect newly available data and concern: United States (+300,000), United Kingdom (+19,000), Germany (+6,000), Poland (+4,500), Canada (+2,000), Israel (-400), Australia (-1,200), Russia (-3,000)
[c] Minor discrepancies due to rounding
[d] Includes the Jewish residents in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights
[e] US and Canada
[f] EU including the Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania). Not including the UK
[g] FSU excluding the Baltic countries. Asian parts of Russia included in Europe
[h] Including the UK. Asian parts of Turkey included in Europe
[i] Including Ethiopia and Eritrea
[j] Including South Africa and Zimbabwe
[k] Including Australia and New Zealand

In contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora *decreased* from the revised estimate of 8,607,800 in 2022 to 8,589,800 in 2023—a decrease of 18,000, or -0.21%. These changes reflect continuing Jewish emigration from the former Soviet Union (FSU), and, to a lesser extent, from France, South Africa, the small remnants of Jewish communities in Muslim countries, and other countries, and internal decrease due to an excess of deaths over births, as is typical of the majority of Diaspora Jewry. These data predominantly reflect temporary or permanent exits from Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus as a result of the war in Ukraine.

Following these estimates, the Jewish Diaspora's estimated total decrease of 18,000 in 2022 versus a negative migration balance of 30,000 vis-à-vis Israel would imply a natural increase of 12,000. Such a positive estimate is most likely exaggerated and underestimates the persisting negative vital balance in most countries. It may be partly explained with a more inclusive approach to Jewish identity in some countries, namely the US. Nevertheless, Jewish population estimates for the total Diaspora might require future downward adjustments. The total Diaspora population decrease in 2022 did not involve the US, which was assumed to be stable, nor a few countries like

Canada, Germany and Poland where minor increases were estimated due to migration stemming from the Russia-Ukraine war.

In recent years, an increase was noted in the quest for conversion, accession, or "return" to Judaism among immigrants to Israel from Ethiopia, from the FSU, from Latin American countries like Brazil, Colombia and Peru, from India, and to a minor extent from Sub-Saharan Africa. To some extent this same phenomenon of returns or first-time accessions to Judaism appears throughout Diaspora communities, sometimes without a formal conversionary *rite of passage*. To the extent that such previously non-belonging or unidentified people are actually incorporated within the recognized Jewish population, they contribute both to the slowing of population decrease in some Diaspora Jewish communities, and to a minimal increase in Israel's Jewish population (Fisher 2015, 2019; DellaPergola 2017c; Nissim 2018).

2.2 Continental distribution

Looking at population distribution by continents, in descending order, 45.5% of world Jewry in 2023 lived in **Asia**, the overwhelming majority being in Israel (**Table 2** and **Table 18**). Asia is defined herein to include the Asian republics of the FSU, but not the Asiatic areas of the Russian Federation nor Turkey. The Jewish presence in Asia (Kovner 2021) is mostly affected by trends in Israel which accounts for more than 99% of the continental total. The former republics of the FSU in Asia and the aggregate of other countries in Asia accounted together for less than 0.2% of the world total. Rapid economic development in Asian countries like Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and especially China (namely in Hong Kong), is attracting Jewish professionals, businesspeople, and skilled technical workers. The numbers are still small, but they are increasing. As to Muslim countries, Turkey (followed by Iran and Azerbaijan) had the largest remaining Jewish community but was included here in Europe since most Jews live on the European side of the Turkish Straits (Tuval 2004).

The Americas were home to 45.0% of the world's Jews, of whom 42.7% lived in North America. The Jewish population in the Americas, estimated at 7,060,000 in 2023, was predominantly concentrated in the US (6,300,000, or 89% of the total Americas), followed by Canada (398,000, 6%), South America (304,300, less than 5%), and Central America and the Caribbean (57,500, 1%) (DellaPergola 2021c). Since the 1960s, the Jewish population generally decreased in South America, reflecting emigration motivated by recurring economic and security concerns (Schmelz and DellaPergola 1985; DellaPergola 1987, 2008a, 2011b). Central American countries such as Mexico and Panama were the exceptions, absorbing Jewish migrants from other countries in Latin America. In the Miami Jewish community alone, the number of members of households containing a Jewish adult from Latin American countries increased from roughly 18,000 households in 2004 to 24,500 households in 2014 (Sheskin 2015b). In neighboring Broward County, the same pattern was evident, with an increase from 5300 in 1997 to 26,500 in 2016 (Sheskin 2017). Between 2001 and 2022, over 35,000 immigrants from Latin America arrived in Israel (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics). This included many people highly educated and highly involved in Jewish life, as well as recently converted people (Bokser-Liwerant et al. 2015; Torres 2017). Outside the mainstream of established Jewish communities, stronger interest in Judaism appeared among real or alleged descendants of *Conversos,* whose ancestors left Judaism and converted to Christianity under pressure of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal in the 15th and 16th centuries. Some of these *Converso* communities strove to create permanent frameworks to express their Jewish identity, in part locally, and in part through formal conversion to Judaism and migration to Israel. This phenomenon may lead to some expansion of the Jewish population, especially in smaller communities in the peripheral areas of Brazil, Peru, and Colombia, as well as other countries (Israel Ministry of Diaspora Affairs 2018; Torres 2017).

Europe, including the Asian territories of the Russian Federation and Turkey, accounted for 8.4% of world Jewry (see also DellaPergola and Staetsky 2020 and 2021). The Jewish population in Europe, estimated at 1,315,600 in 2023, was increasingly concentrated in the western part of the continent, within the European Union (EU) and the UK. The EU, comprising 27 countries after the secession of the UK, had an estimated 791,200 Jews in 2023 (60% of the continent's total). The momentous political transformations since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 brought about a huge emigration wave out of the USSR and significant changes in the geographical distribution of Jewish communities in Europe. Revitalization of Jewish community life in western European countries occurred over the prior decades through immigration mainly from North Africa and the Middle East, as well as the FSU. More recently, however, economic recession and rising perceptions of antisemitism across the continent brought about growing Jewish dissatisfaction and emigration (DellaPergola 2017b; Staetsky 2017; Staetsky et al. 2013; European Union Fundamental Rights Agency-FRA 2013, 2018; DellaPergola 2020b). The conflict between Russia and Ukraine since March 2022 significantly impacted the respective Jewish populations by generating large scale emigration (both permanent and temporary) and internal displacement. Some of these population movements affected the size of neighboring Jewish communities such as Germany and Poland. Total emigration from Europe to Israel, including the FSU, was 119,708 in 2000-2004, 46,004 in 2005-2009, 58,004 in 2010-2014, 111,113 in 2015-2019, 30,879 in 2020-2021, and 66,221 in 2022. Excluding the FSU, the respective emigration data from Europe were: 16,205 in 2000-2004, 17,298 in 2004-2009, 22,603 in 2010-2014, 27,348 in 2015-2019, 8723 in 2020-2021, and 3605 in 2022. In other words, emigration was a sustained factor of Jewish population decrease all across Europe.

In spite of the unifying effect of the EU, Europe continues to be politically fragmented, making it more difficult to create a homogeneous Jewish population database. Nevertheless, several studies attempted to create such analytic frames of reference (Graham 2004; Kovacs and Barna 2010; DellaPergola 1993, 2010b; Staetsky et al. 2013; Staetsky and DellaPergola 2019; DellaPergola and Staetsky 2020 and 2021). The EU's initially expanding format symbolized an important historical landmark and a promising framework for the development of Jewish population. However, in recent years, the EU concept and ideal found itself under major stress, demonstrated by the secession of the UK (Brexit). Large Muslim population increases, following legal and illegal immigration in different European locales, generated disagreements about migration policies, and highlighted the long-standing dilemma of defining Europe's own cultural identity and geopolitical boundaries. Other non-EU and non-FSU European countries, including the UK (from 2020) and Turkey, had an estimated total of 351,900 core Jews (27% of the European total, of which 24% in the UK and 3% elsewhere).

The combined Jewish population of the four former Soviet republics in Europe (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova, but excluding the Baltics) was reduced to 172,500 (about 13% of the continental total). The FSU is the area where Jewish population diminished the most in absolute numbers since 1991 (Tolts 2008, 2014, 2015, 2018 and 2023; Konstantinov 2007). Jewish population decrease continued, reflecting enhanced emigration, a continuing excess of Jewish deaths over Jewish births, high intermarriage rates, and low rates of Jewish identification among the offspring of the intermarried. The ongoing process of demographic decrease was alleviated to some extent by the revival of Jewish educational, cultural, and religious activities supported by American and Israeli Jewish organizations (Gitelman 2003; Remennick 2007). Nevertheless, total migration to Israel from the FSU steadily continued: 14,471 in 2016, 16,122 in 2017, 18,887 in 2018, 24,146 in 2019, 10,976 in 2020, 12,629 in 2021, and 63,783 in 2022 following the war in Ukraine—representing 86% of all 74,267 new immigrants to Israel. Our 2023 assessment of the total *core Jewish population* for the 15 FSU republics in Europe and Asia was 194,300, of whom 180,800 in Europe (including 8,300 in the three Baltic republics already accounted for in the EU) and 13,500 in Asia. The many non-Jewish household members created an *enlarged* Jewish population nearly three times as large as the *core* (Tolts 2006, 2007, 2011, 2015, 2018, 2023).

Slightly more than 1% of the world's Jews lived in Africa and Oceania combined. The Jewish population in **Africa** was mostly concentrated in South Africa whose declining Jewish population constituted about 92% of the continental total, after a significant downward reassessment based upon a 2019 survey (Graham 2020). Some immigration continued to keep the Jewish population in **Oceania** stable, where Australia accounted for 94% of the total (Graham 2021).

Overall, in the course of 2022, the Jewish population size increased primarily in Israel, and to a minimal extent in North America, the UK (affecting the total of other European countries including the Balkans), and Southeast Asia. The Jewish population decreased to varying degrees in South America, the European Union, the FSU (both in Europe and Asia), and Africa. It was stable in the US, the Caribbean, North Africa, and Oceania.

2.3 Alternative Jewish population definitions

In **Table 3**, we evaluate the Jewish population's world and regional distribution according to several alternative definitions, as outlined in **Fig. 3**. Updated and revised *core Jewish population* estimates (CJP in **Table 3**) are presented, along with the total of those who *have Jewish parents* regardless of their current identity (PJP); the *enlarged Jewish population* including non-Jewish household members (EJP); and the population as defined by the *Law of Return* (LRP). Detailed country estimates are reported in **Table 18**. The main purpose of these alternative population boundary definitions is to promote and facilitate comparisons across countries. In light of the preceding discussion of definitions, it is clear that investigators and/or community leaders in different countries sometimes follow local definitional criteria that may differ from the criteria used in other countries. This may help explain why Jewish population size in the US or Canada is evaluated quite differently in this and in other reports in this series (United States and Canada). In other words, criteria that may be preferred in one country may not be meaningful or acceptable in another country. But in a global study such as this, maximum comparability can be ensured only if the same criteria are applied consistently for all countries. The prime choice should fall on a minimum common denominator. By showing the implications of different definitions for Jewish population evaluation, we offer readers additional ways to understand ongoing population trends in their countries.

Starting from the *core Jewish population* estimate of 15,691,200 (CJP) worldwide in 2023, by adding people who state they are partly Jewish and people who are currently not Jewish with one or two *Jewish parents*, we obtain a broader global population estimate of 20,148,100 (PJP). By adding non-Jewish members of Jewish households, we reach an *enlarged* estimate of 22,835,700 (EJP). Finally, under the comprehensive three-generation and spouse rules of Israel's *Law of Return*, we roughly estimate at 25,554,900 (LRP) the total Jewish and non-Jewish population eligible for *aliyah* (immigration to Israel). All these estimates include those who already live in Israel. In 2023, the US had a significantly larger *Jewish parents population* (PJP) than Israel—9,800,000 compared with Israel's 7,362,200.

Table 3 Jewish population by major regions, core definition and expanded definitions, 1/1/2023

Region	Core Jewish population[a] CJP	Population with Jewish parents[b] PJP	Enlarged Jewish population[c] EJP	Law of Return population[d] LRP	Difference LRP - CJP		Percent expansion LRP over CJP
					Number	Percent distribution[e]	
World total	**15,691,200**	**20,148,100**	**22,835,700**	**25,554,900**	**9,863,700**	**100.0**	**63**
Israel[f]	7,101,400	7,362,200	7,623,200	7,623,200	521,800	5.3	7
Diaspora, total	8,589,800	12,785,900	15,212,500	17,931,700	9,341,900	94.7	117
North America	6,698,200	10,250,350	12,050,500	14,100,650	7,402,450	75.0	111
Latin America	361,800	482,200	594,000	716,000	354,200	3.6	98
European Union[g]	791,200	1,048,000	1,287,700	1,531,900	740,700	7.5	94
FSU in Europe[g]	172,500	348,000	528,500	739,000	566,500	5.7	328
Rest of Europe[g]	351,900	396,650	444,100	491,050	139,150	1.4	40
FSU in Asia	13,500	24,600	35,200	45,300	31,800	0.3	236
Rest of Asia	21,400	26,800	32,100	37,300	15,900	0.2	74
Africa	54,600	69,900	84,300	97,700	43,100	0.4	79
Oceania	124,700	139,400	156,100	172,800	48,100	0.5	39

[a] Includes all persons 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; and do not have another religion. Also includes persons with a Jewish parent who claim no current religious or ethnic identity
[b] Sum of (a) core Jewish population; (b) persons reported as partly Jewish; and (c) all others not currently Jewish with a Jewish parent
[c] Sum of (a) core Jewish population; (b) persons reported as partly Jewish; (c) all others not currently Jewish with a Jewish parent; and (d) all other non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.).
[d] Sum of Jews, children of Jews, and grandchildren of Jews, and their respective spouses, regardless of Jewish identity
[e] Minor discrepancies due to rounding
[f] Includes the Jewish residents of East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights
[g] The UK is included in the Rest of Europe. The Former Soviet Union Baltic republics are included in the European Union

These results, although tentative, provide relevant indications about the total size and geographical distribution of populations that are more or less closely attached to the core Jewish population. The global total of those with *a Jewish parent* (PJP), regardless of their own identification, is 4,456,900 higher than the *core Jewish population*. The *total number of household members* who have at least one core Jew in the household (EJP) is larger by an additional 2,687,600 people. Finally, the total number eligible for *the Law of Return* (LRP) comprises an additional 2,719,200 people. The difference between the global Law of Return population (LRP) and core Jewish population (CJP) is estimated at 9,863,700. Of these nearly 10 million partly Jewish, somewhat Jewish-connected, or otherwise included non-Jewish members of Jewish households, 75% live in North America, 8% in the EU, 6% in the FSU Republics in Europe and Asia, 5% in Israel, 3% in Latin America, 1% in other European countries, and 1% in the Rest of Asia, Africa and Oceania.

The relative impact of these population definitions is quite different in the three main geographical divisions considered in the upper part of **Fig. 4**—Israel, the US, and the rest of Diaspora Jewry (Other). Since the frequency of intermarriage is much lower in Israel than elsewhere, the extensions beyond the core Jewish population in Israel are quite limited and primarily reflect immigration of intermarried households and, more recently, births in Israel from these households. With respect to Diaspora populations outside the US, the graphic portrays the significant population expansion beyond the CJP. Note that with the emigration of core Jews—mainly to Israel—the number of other people connected in some way to Judaism does not necessarily diminish across these other Diaspora Jewish communities. The propensity of non-core Jews to change their country of residence may be actually lower than among core Jews, but they often remain nonetheless as a submerged part of the global Jewish population. On the other hand, with the passing of time, as more Jews across all definitional categories die, the more distant circles may eventually lose awareness of their connection to the core, or their eligibility for Israel's Law of Return. The lower part of **Fig. 4** confirms the growing dominance of the US in the definitional extensions beyond the *core* Jewish population.

In sum, the recent research experience indicates that people may change their identities over time across the different circles of the *core* Jewish definition, and between different *core* and *non-core* Jewish identification statuses. It is not uncommon to see shifts across the virtual boundary between Jewish and 'something else' and vice versa in response to the particular context or moment when the question about identity is investigated. At any particular moment, then, there will be a countable Jewish population, which is not necessarily the same as at any prior or future point in time.

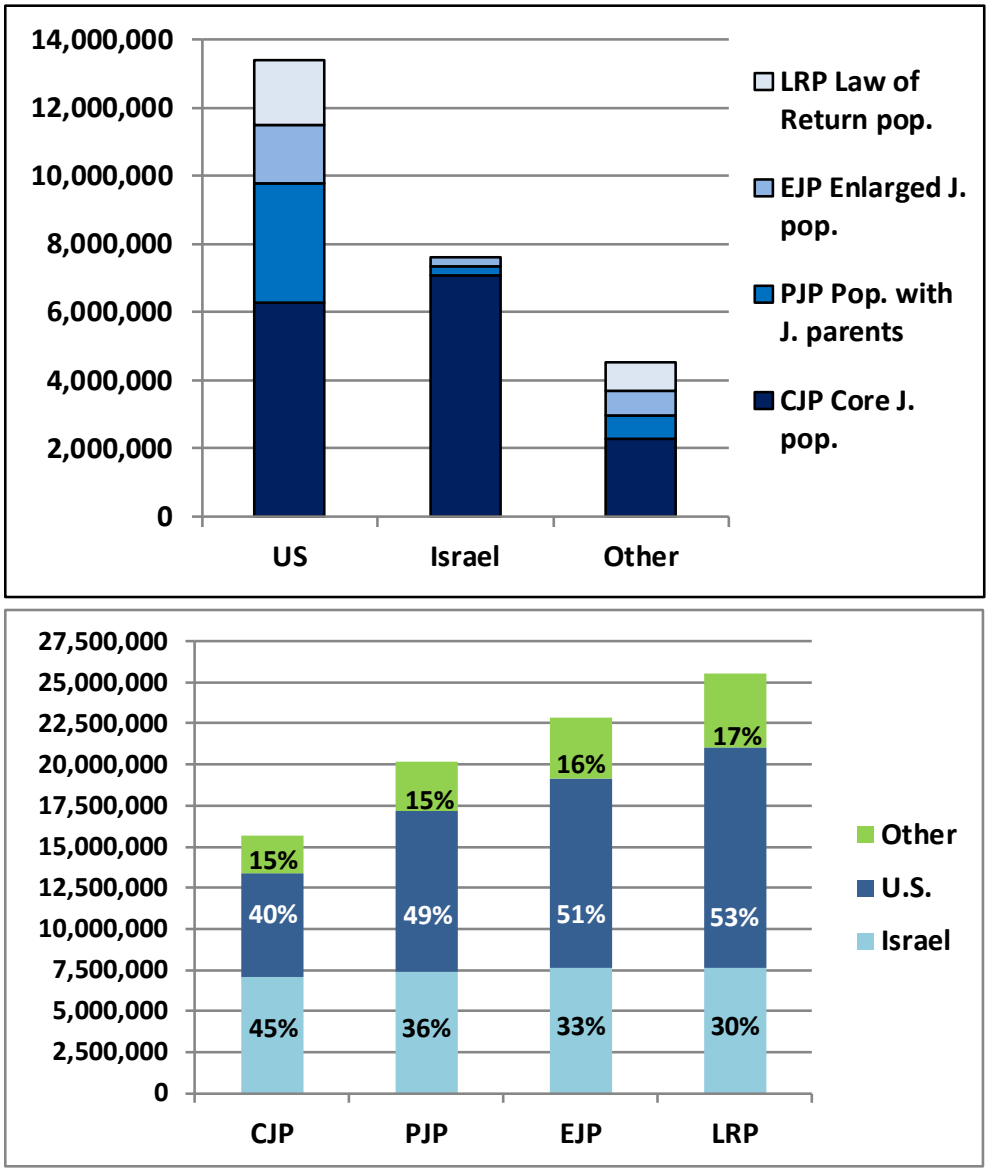


Fig. 4 Core and extended Jewish populations in the US, Israel, and other countries, number and percent, 2023

Section 3 Major Patterns and Trends in Jewish Population Distribution

In this section, we discuss the Jewish presence in relation to socioeconomic developments, time comparisons, and main patterns of dispersion and concentration.

3.1 Socioeconomic development and the Jewish presence

Reflecting moderate growth in the global Jewish population, accompanied by increasing concentration in a few countries, in 2023, 85.4% of world Jewry lived in Israel and the US, with 96.8% concentrated in the ten countries with the largest Jewish populations. Thus, the aggregate of just a few major Jewish population centers virtually determined the assessment of world Jewry's total size and trends. In 2023, 99.2% of world Jewry lived in the largest 25 communities, each with an estimated Jewish population of 10,000 or more. Excluding Israel, 98.5% of Diaspora Jewry lived in the 24 largest Diaspora communities, of which 73.4% lived in the US (**Table 4**). Besides the two major Jewish populations (Israel and the US), each comprising at least six million, another seven countries each had more than 100,000 Jews but less than 500,000. Of these, three were in Western Europe (France, the UK, and Germany); one in Eastern Europe (Russia); one in North America (Canada); one in South America (Argentina); and one in Oceania (Australia). The dominance of the West in global Jewish population is a relatively recent phenomenon and reflects relatively more hospitable socioeconomic and political circumstances toward their respective Jewish communities.

Table 4 25 countries with core Jewish population of 10,000 or more, 1/1/2023

Rank	Country	Core Jewish population	% of total Jewish Population			
			In the world		In the diaspora	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	Israel[a]	7,101,400	45.3	45.3	[b]	[b]
2	United States	6,300,000	40.2	85.4	73.4	73.4
3	France	440,000	2.8	88.2	5.1	78.5
4	Canada	398,000	2.5	90.8	4.6	83.1
5	United Kingdom	312,000	2.0	92.8	3.6	86.8
6	Argentina	171,000	1.1	93.9	2.0	88.8
7	Russia	132,000	0.8	94.7	1.5	90.3
8	Germany	125,000	0.8	95.5	1.5	91.8
9	Australia	117,000	0.7	96.2	1.4	93.1
10	Brazil	90,500	0.6	96.8	1.1	94.2
11	South Africa	50,000	0.3	97.1	0.6	94.8
12	Hungary	46,000	0.3	97.4	0.5	95.3
13	Mexico	40,000	0.3	97.7	0.5	96.1
14	Ukraine	33,000	0.2	97.9	0.4	95.8
15	Netherlands	29,700	0.2	98.1	0.3	96.5
16	Belgium	29,000	0.2	98.3	0.3	96.8
17	Italy	26,900	0.2	98.4	0.3	97.1
18	Switzerland	20,500	0.1	98.6	0.2	97.4
19	Uruguay	16,200	0.1	98.7	0.2	97.6
20	Chile	15,700	0.1	98.8	0.2	97.8
21	Sweden	14,900	0.1	98.9	0.2	97.9
22	Turkey	14,200	0.1	99.0	0.2	98.1
23	Spain	13,000	0.1	99.0	0.2	98.2
24	Austria	10,300	0.1	99.1	0.1	98.4
25	Panama	10,000	0.1	99.2	0.1	98.5

[a] Includes the Jewish residents of East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights
[b] Not applicable

The growth, or at least the slower decrease, of Jewish population in the more developed Western countries goes together with a persistently higher share of Jews among the total population. The share of Jews in a country's total population, albeit small, tends to be directly related to the country's level of socioeconomic development (**Table 5**). Regarding *core* Jewish populations in 2023, the share of Jews out of Israel's total population was 735.0 per 1000, including Jews in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights, but excluding Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Israel's high rate of Jewishness obviously reflects its special position in Jewish identity perceptions; but Israel also belongs to the group of more developed countries, and as such, may be attractive to prospective migrants. In the US, the *core* Jewish population represented 18.9 per 1000 of the total population. Jews comprised on average 3.5 per 1000 total population in the other seven countries with over 100,000 Jews; 0.6 per 1000 on average in the next 16 countries with 10,000 or more Jews; and virtually nil in the remaining countries which comprise the overwhelming majority of the world total population (80.9%).

Table 5 25 largest core Jewish populations per 1,000 country's total population and Human Development Indices, 1/1/2023

Rank	Country	Core Jewish population	Total population	Jews per 1,000 total population	HDI Rank[a] 2021-22
1	Israel[b]	7,101,400	9,662,000	735.0	22
2	United States	6,300,000	332,800,000	18.9	21
3	France	440,000	65,800,000	6.7	28
4	Canada	398,000	38,800,000	10.3	15
5	United Kingdom	312,000	67,600,000	4.6	18
6	Argentina	171,000	46,200,000	3.7	47
7	Russia	132,000	144,300,000	0.9	52
8	Germany	125,000	83,300,000	1.5	9
9	Australia	117,000	25,800,000	4.5	5
	Total countries 3-9[c]	1,578,000	446,000,000	3.5	24
10	Brazil	90,500	214,800,000	0.4	87
11	South Africa	50,000	60,600,000	0.8	109
12	Hungary	46,000	9,700,000	4.7	46
13	Mexico	40,000	127,500,000	0.3	86
14	Ukraine	33,000	41,000,000	0.8	77
15	Netherlands	29,700	17,700,000	1.7	10
16	Belgium	29,000	11,600,000	2.5	13
17	Italy	26,900	58,900,000	0.5	30
18	Switzerland	20,500	8,800,000	2.3	1
19	Uruguay	16,200	3,600,000	4.5	58
20	Chile	15,700	19,800,000	0.8	42
21	Sweden	14,900	10,500,000	1.4	7
22	Turkey	14,200	85,200,000	0.2	48
23	Spain	13,000	47,400,000	0.3	27
24	Austria	10,300	9,000,000	1.1	25
25	Panama	10,000	4,400,000	2.3	61
	Total countries 10-15[c]	459,900	730,500,000	0.6	45
	Rest of the world[c]	247,400	6,443,855,000	0.0	> 100

[a] HDI, The Human Development Index, is a synthetic measure of health, education and income (in terms of US dollar purchase power parity) for the country's total population. See: United Nations Development Programme (2023)

[b] Total Jewish population of Israel includes the Jewish residents of East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. Total population includes all residents of Israel, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, but only the Jewish residents and the non-Jewish members of Jewish households in the West Bank

[c] Average HDI rank for group of countries

To further illustrate the increasing convergence between the Jewish presence and a country's high level of socioeconomic development, **Table 5** reports the latest available Human Development Index (HDI) for the 25 countries with the largest Jewish populations in 2023 (United Nations Development Programme 2023). The HDI—a composite measure of a society's level of education, health, and income—provides a general sense of the context in which Jewish communities function, although it does not necessarily reflect the actual characteristics and proximate environments of the members of those Jewish communities. Of the 25 countries listed, five were included among the top ten among 191 countries ranked by HDI (Switzerland, Australia, Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands). Another six countries were ranked 11 to 25 (Belgium, Canada, the UK, the US, Israel, and Austria), seven more were between 26 and 50 (France, Spain, Italy, Chile, Hungary, Argentina, and Turkey), six were between 51 and 100 Russia, Uruguay, Panama, Ukraine, Mexico, and Brazil), and one (South Africa) was ranked 109, pointing to lesser development in the host society. All of the nine largest Jewish populations, comprising 96% of world Jewry, lived in countries with HDIs among the top 52. The average ranking of the seven countries with 100,000 to 500,000 Jews was 24, and the average of countries with 10,000 to 100,000 Jews was 45. Among countries with the largest Jewish populations, during the past year the HDI rank somewhat improved for three: Israel increased from 23 to 22, Argentina from 48 to 47 and Australia from 6 to 5. The HDI rank for all other main countries decreased: the US from 15 to 21, France from 26 to 28, Canada from 13 to 15, the UK from 16 to 18, Russia from 49 to 52, Germany from 4 to 9, and Brazil from 79 to 87.

Fig. 5 demonstrates the relationship between Jewish population size and the human development index (HDI). The horizontal axis shows the HDI value (ranging between 0 and 1) for the 98 countries with at least 100 Jews. The vertical axis indicates the Jewish share of each country's total population on a logarithmic scale to allow for better readability. The graph shows a strong positive relationship (R^2 = 44.6%) between the HDI and the proportion of Jews in the total population. The relationship also indicates that the strong Jewish presence in Israel, besides obviously drawing on deeper Jewish historical, cultural, and religious roots, and on Israel's active immigration policies, can also be significantly explained by the environmental circumstances of high socioeconomic and human development. If we omit Israel from the equation, the explanatory power of HDI for the Jewish Diaspora slightly increases to R^2 = 45.6%. As a caveat, it is worth noting that Jewish communities may display social and economic profiles significantly better than the average population of their respective countries. Nonetheless the general societal context does affect the individual's quality of life, Jews included. Changes in countries' quality of life foreshadow changes in Jewish population distribution worldwide, mostly through international migration. Changes in HDI, namely the significant HDI rank decline among some of the major countries, should be monitored carefully as they may critically affect future changes in world Jewish population distribution.

3.2 Time comparisons

The current Jewish population distribution worldwide has been shaped by dramatic changes in the geographic, socioeconomic, and cultural profile of world Jewry—particularly since the independence of Israel, but also since the Six-Day War in June 1967 and the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989. As an illustration of the accumulated changes, we report the world distribution of core Jewish population by major geographical regions at four points in time over 75 years: 1948, 1970, 2000, and 2023 (**Fig. 6**).

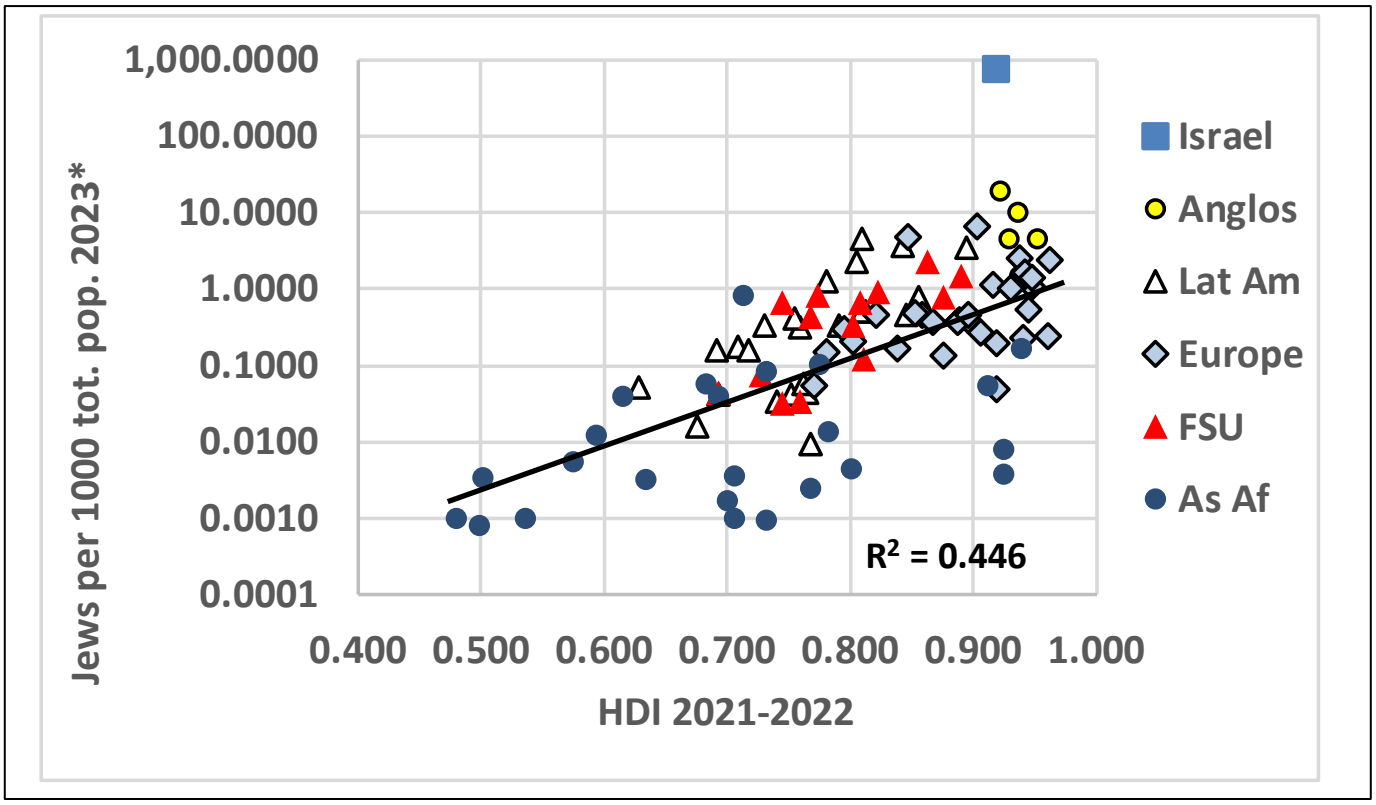


Fig. 5 Major country groups s by Human Development Index (HDI) and Jews per 1000 total core Jewish population, 2023* Logarithmic scale

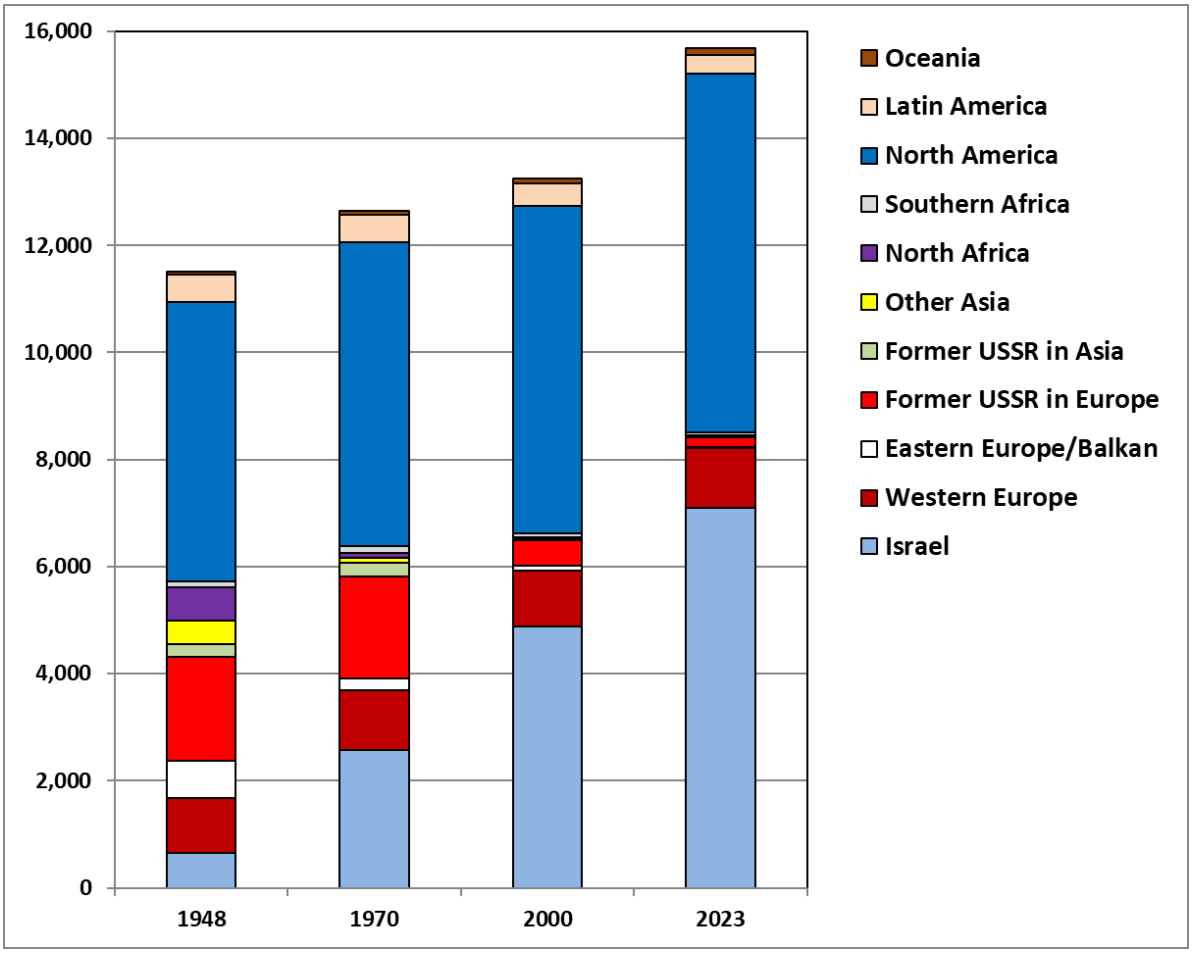


Fig. 6 Core Jewish populations by major regions, 1948, 1970, 2000, 2023, thousands

Two opposing trends emerge from this comparison: On the one hand, Israel's Jewish population increased from being a small community in 1948 to being the main home of the world's Jewish population in 2023; on the other hand, the major Jewish population centers in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, the FSU in Europe and in Asia, and the Islamic countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) declined, and in some cases, disappeared. Declines on a lesser scale occurred in Latin America and Southern Africa, and to a lesser extent in Western Europe, in the latter case through a significant turnaround of immigration and emigration streams. North America grew, with a pace of increase higher in Canada than in the US. The tendency over time was a much greater consolidation of world Jewry in the two major centers, North America (US and Canada in **Fig. 6**) and Israel, compared with a more dispersed Jewish population worldwide shortly after World War II.

A more detailed picture of the changes between 1970 and 2023 is reported in **Table 6**. Here, we compare the population size and ranks for the 33 countries which had a Jewish population of at least 20,000 in 1970—based on revised estimates and using the detailed country list following the dissolution of the Former Soviet Union (FSU), Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. Striking changes occurred in the size and global ranking of Jewish populations during the 53 years between 1970 and 2023. Eight countries had a larger Jewish population in 2023 than in 1970. Quantitatively, the most remarkable finding is that Israel's Jewish population more than doubled from 2,581,000 in 1970 to 7,101,400 in 2023 (+175.1%). The highest percentage growth occurred in Germany (+316.7%). Absolute population increases were also recorded in Australia (+80.0%), Canada (+39.2%), the US (+16.2%), Mexico (+14.3%), Switzerland (+2.5%) and Brazil (+0.6%). The next 25 countries witnessed Jewish population decreases, with nine countries losing more than 90% of their 1970 population (Ethiopia, Morocco, and the seven former Soviet republics of Moldova, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Belarus, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Lithuania). Five more countries lost 80% to 90% of their 1970 Jewish populations: Iran, Romania, and the FSU republics of Latvia, Azerbaijan, and Russia. Two countries lost more than 50% of their 1970 Jewish population: Turkey and South Africa. And nine countries lost between 1% and 49%: Uruguay, Chile, Argentina, Hungary, the UK, France, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands. An entirely different ranking of the major communities consequently emerged. The top five in 1970 were the US, Israel, Russia, Ukraine, and France; in 2023 they had become Israel, US, France, Canada, and the UK. Ethiopia lost 56 positions in the global ranking of Jewish populations, Moldova lost 40, Georgia lost 39. Germany gained 19 rank positions, Switzerland 15, and the Netherlands 13. Yet while Switzerland ranked 33 in 1970 with 20,000 Jews, in 2023, the countries tied for the same rank (Venezuela and India) had 4,500 Jews (which population figures do not appear in Table 6 because their initial ranks in 1970 were less than 20,000).

The geographical realignment of world Jewry reflects emigration from countries which feature political discrimination and persecution, lack of democracy, as well as inferior socioeconomic development and economic opportunities. The consequent mass migration from those countries generated large Jewish population declines, mostly in Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa. On the other hand, countries that offered greater freedom and a wider range of socioeconomic opportunities witnessed steady Jewish population growth or at least stability (DellaPergola 2020b).

3.3 Dispersion and concentration

In 2023, 104 countries had at least 100 Jews (**Table 7**). As already noted, two countries had Jewish populations of 6 million or more each (Israel and the US), another seven countries had more than 100,000 Jews (but less than 500,000), two had 50,000 to 99,999, six had 25,000 to 49,999, eight had 10,000 to 24,999, seven had 5000 to 9999, 28 had 1000 to 4999, and 44 had 100 to 999. The 79 countries each with less than 10,000 Jews together accounted for less than 1% of world Jewry.

Table 6 Countries with at least 20,000 Jews in 1970, and core Jewish population in 2023

Country	Core 1970	Rank	Core 2023	Rank	Difference 1970-2023		
					Absolute	Percent	Rank.
United States	5,520,000	1	6,300,000	2	780,000	**14.1%**	-1
Israel	2,581,000	2	7,101,400	1	4,520,400	**175.1%**	1
Russia	807,900	3	132,000	7	-675,900	-83.7%	-4
Ukraine	777,100	4	33,000	14	-744,100	-95.8%	-10
France	530,000	5	440,000	3	-90,000	-17.0%	2
United Kingdom	390,000	6	312,000	5	-78,000	-20.0%	1
Canada	286,000	7	398,000	4	112,000	**39.2%**	3
Argentina	282,000	8	171,000	6	-111,000	-39.4%	2
Belarus	148,000	9	6,000	32	-142,000	-95.9%	-23
South Africa	118,000	10	50,000	11	-68,000	-57.6%	-1
Uzbekistan	102,900	11	2,600	41	-100,300	-97.5%	-30
Moldova	98,100	12	1,500	52	-96,600	-98.5%	-40
Brazil	90,000	13	90,500	10	500	**0.6%**	3
Iran	72,000	14	9,100	27	-62,900	-87.4%	-13
Hungary	70,000	15	46,000	12	-24,000	-34.3%	3
Romania	70,000	16	8,700	28	-61,300	-87.6%	-12
Australia	65,000	17	117,000	9	52,000	**80.0%**	8
Georgia	55,400	18	1,200	57	-54,200	-97.8%	-39
Morocco	45,000	19	2,100	46	-42,900	-95.3%	-27
Azerbaijan	41,300	20	6,800	30	-34,500	-83.5%	-10
Turkey	39,000	21	14,200	22	-24,800	-63.6%	-1
Latvia	36,700	22	4,200	35	-32,500	-88.6%	-13
Mexico	35,000	23	40,000	13	5,000	**14.3%**	10
Belgium	32,500	24	29,000	15	-3,500	-10.8%	9
Uruguay	32,000	25	16,200	19	-15,800	-49.4%	6
Italy	32,000	26	26,900	16	-5,100	-15.9%	10
Germany	30,000	27	125,000	8	95,000	**316.7%**	19
Netherlands	30,000	28	29,700	15	-300	-1.0%	13
Chile	30,000	29	15,700	20	-14,300	-47.7%	9
Kazakhstan	27,700	30	2,300	44	-25,400	-91.7%	-14
Ethiopia	25,000	31	100	87	-24,900	-99.6%	-56
Lithuania	23,600	32	2,200	45	-21,400	-90.7%	-13
Switzerland	20,000	33	20,500	18	500	**2.5%**	15

[a] Ranked as of 1970. Jewish population in bold increased in absolute size. The following countries had Jewish populations among the 33 largest in 2023, but not in 1970: Sweden, Spain, Austria, Panama, Poland, New Zealand, Denmark, Venezuela, and India

In only five Diaspora countries and territories did Jews constitute at least 5 per 1000 (or 0.5%) of the total population. In descending order by the relative share (not size) of their Jewish population, they were Gibraltar (22.9 Jews per 1000 inhabitants), the US (18.9), Monaco (17.5), Canada (10.3), and France (6.7). The case of Israel is very different, with a *core* Jewish population representing 73.5% of the total legal population, and an *enlarged* Jewish population representing 78.9% of the total. In both Israel and the Diaspora, the percentage of Jews among the total population has been generally decreasing.

By combining the two criteria of Jewish population size and percentage of Jews out of the total population, we obtain the following taxonomy for the 24 countries with Jewish populations over 10,000 (not including Israel). Three countries had over 100,000 Jews and at least 5 Jews per 1000 total population: the US, Canada, and France. Four countries had over 100,000 Jews and at least 1 Jew per 1000 of the total population: Australia, the UK, Argentina, and Germany. One country, the Russian Federation had more than 100,000 Jews who constitute less than 1 per 1000 of the total population. Eight more countries had 10,000 to 99,999 Jews and at least 1 Jew per 1000 of the total

population: Hungary, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Uruguay, Sweden, Austria, and Panama. Eight countries had 10,000 to 99,999 Jews and less than 1 Jew per 1000 total population: South Africa, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Italy, Spain, Turkey, and Ukraine.

Over the past decades, the basic size-and-density typology of Jewish communities throughout the world did not change as much as the underlying changes witnessed by individual countries. **Table 8** shows the configuration of Jewish populations in 2023 as compared to 1984, the first year for which such tabulation is available (Schmelz and DellaPergola 1986). The 1984 data are reported here unrevised in the original format of the countries and territories that existed then.

Table 7 World core Jewish population distribution, by number and proportion per 1000 total population, 1/1/2023

Number of Jews in Country	Jews per 1,000 Population					
	Total	0.0-0.9	1.0-4.9	5.0-9.9	10.0-19.9	20.0+
Number of countries						
Total[a]	104	77	21	1	4	1
100-999	44	37	5	-	2	-
1,000-4,999	28	26	2	-	-	-
5,000-9,999	7	5	2	-	-	-
10,000-24,999	8	3	5	-	-	-
25,000-49,999	6	3	3	-	-	-
50,000-99,999	2	2	-	-	-	-
100,000-999,999	7	1	4	1	1	-
1,000,000 or more	2	-	-	-	1	1
Jewish population distribution (number of core Jews)						
Total[b]	15,691,200	521,200	923,400	440,000	6,699,500	7,101,400
100-999	12,900	10,000	1,400	-	1,500	-
1,000-4,999	66,800	60,300	6,500	-	-	-
5,000-9,999	54,000	40,100	13,900	-	-	-
10,000-24,999	114,800	42,900	71,900		-	-
25,000-49,999	204,600	99,900	104,700	-	-	-
50,000-99,999	140,500	140,500	-	-	-	-
100,000-999,999	1,695,000	132,000	725,000	440,000	398,000	-
1,000,000 or more	13,401,400	-	-	-	6,300,000	7,101,400
Jewish population distribution (percent of world core Jewish population)						
Total[b]	100.0	3.4	5.9	2.8	42.7	45.3
100-999	0.1	0.1	0.0	-	0.0	-
1,000-4,999	0.4	0.4	0.0	-	-	-
5,000-9,999	0.3	0.3	0.1	-	-	-
10,000-24,999	0.7	0.3	0.5	-	-	-
25,000-49,999	1.3	0.6	0.7	-	-	-
50,000-99,999	0.9	0.9	-	-	-	-
100,000-999,999	10.8	0.8	4.6	2.8	2.5	-
1,000,000 or more	85.4	-	-	-	40.2	45.3

[a] Not including countries with fewer than 100 core Jews

[b] Grand total includes countries with fewer than 100 Jews, for a total of 1200 Jews. Minor discrepancies due to rounding

Israel includes the Jewish residents of East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights.

Table 8 World core Jewish population distribution, by number and proportion per 1000 total population, 1984 and 2023

Number of Jews in country	Number of countries		Jewish population		Percent of world's Jews	
	1984	2023	1984	2023	1984	2023
Total	**74**	**104**	**12,963,300**	**15,691,200**	**100.0**	**100.0**
100-999	23	44	11,000	12,900	0.1	0.1
1,000-4,999	17	28	41,900	66,800	0.3	0.4
5,000-9,999	7	7	43,800	54,000	0.3	0.3
10,000-49,999	16	14	362,400	319,400	2.8	2.0
50,000-99,999	2	2	136,500	140,500	1.1	0.9
100,000-999,999	6	7	1,616,000	1,695,000	12.4	10.8
1,000,000-4,999,999	2	0	5,046,700	0	38.8	0.0
5,000,000 or more	1	2	5,705,000	13,401,400	43.9	85.4

[a] Number of countries not including countries with fewer than 100 core Jews. Population and percent figures including countries with fewer than 100 core Jews, for a total of 1200 Jews

Sources: Schmelz and DellaPergola (1986); Table 8.8 above

The number of countries and territories with at least 100 Jews increased from 74 to 104, following the dissolution of the USSR, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, while several more countries with very small Jewish communities reached the 100-person threshold. The greatest increase was in the number of countries with less than 1000 Jews, from 23 in 1984 to 44 in 2023. At the top of the distribution, two countries in 2022 had 6M Jews or more, while in 1984 one country, the US, had more than 5M, and two, Israel and the USSR, had between one and five million. In the meantime, Israel increased, and the USSR split into 15 states and lost most of its Jews through emigration.

Countries with between 100,000 and one million Jews comprised 12.4% of the total Jewish population in 1984 compared with 10.8% in 2023. Of the 15 FSU republics, only Russia had more than 100,000 Jews in 2023. Brazil and South Africa had more than 100,000 Jews in 1984, and fewer in 2023. Germany and Australia had less than 100,000 Jews in 1984 and more in 2023. France, Canada, the UK, and Argentina were included in the countries with more than 100,000 Jews at both dates, but the gap between Canada and Argentina more than trebled, from 65,000 in 1984 to 227,000 in 2023.

Communities with populations of between 10,000 and 100,000 Jews comprised 3.9% of the world Jewish population across 18 countries in 1984, compared with 2.9% across 16 countries in 2023. Among the smaller Jewish communities, those with less than 10,000 Jews comprised—both in 1984 and 2023—less than 1% of world Jewry; in 1984, however, they were distributed across 47 countries and in 2023 they were distributed across 79 countries. The apparent stability of the structure of world Jewish population distribution reflected a strong concentration of Jews in a few countries at the top and a wide dispersion throughout many countries with very small numbers at the bottom. The transition of concentration of Jews from one dominant and two secondary centers to a configuration featuring two main centers reflected the quite revolutionary changes experienced by world Jewry moving from the 20th to the 21st century.

Section 4 Jewish Population in Major Individual Countries

In this section, we provide short profiles of the demographic trends for some of the largest Jewish populations in individual countries or regional areas. In 2020, 2021, and 2022 several countries undertook a national census. In some cases, the census had to be postponed by one or two years because of the COVID-19 epidemic. Detailed results from some of these censuses were becoming available at the time of this writing. Pending possible updates, reasoned estimates will be reported here only for selected countries, without repeating the detailed descriptions of sources and patterns that appeared in previous volumes of the *AJYB*, especially since 2012 through 2022 (DellaPergola 2023).

4.1 Israel

4.1.1 General

Israel became the country with the largest core Jewish population worldwide during the second decade of the 21st century. In 2023, 7,101,400 *core* Jews represented 74.3% of Israel's total *legal* population of 9,662,000 inclusive of 2,038,800 Arabs and others (**Table 9**). These figures did not include 177,878 foreign workers, undocumented tourists, and asylum seekers (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, Monthly). On 1/1/2023, these 177,878 foreign workers had slightly decreased compared with the previous year, and comprised 104,017 legal foreign workers, 25,166 undocumented foreign workers, 23,700 tourists whose visas had expired, and 24,995 illegal entrants (Israel Population and Migration Authority 2023).

Israel's *Law of Return* Jewish population of 7,623,200 **(Table 9, Column 3)** in 2023 represented 78.9% of the state's total legal population of 9,662,000. If also included the foreign workers and refugees, the Law of Return population comprised 77.5% of the total. Israel's Arab population, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, comprised 21.1% of the total legal population.

Israel's Jewish population growth rate of 1.70% in 2022, while high in international comparison, was about half the average growth rate since independence in 1948. With a Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of 3.03 children currently born per Jewish woman in 2022, and a relatively young age composition (27.0% under age 15 vs.13.7% age 65 and over), Jews in Israel displayed the highest fertility among Jewish populations worldwide (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics annual). Fertility was above generational replacement (estimated at 2.1 children per woman) and stood behind a percentage of children about twice higher than that of the elderly among Israel's total Jewish population. The 2022 fertility rate among Israel's Jews was higher than among the total population of any other developed country (Population Reference Bureau 2022). It was also twice or more the current average of *Jewish* children born to women in most Diaspora Jewish communities (also called the *effective Jewish fertility rate*). Explanations include not only the large family size of the more religious Jewish population sectors, but also a persistent and widespread desire for children among the moderately traditional and secular, especially among the upwardly mobile (DellaPergola 2009c, 2009d, 2015b). A moderately positive international migration balance also contributed to Israel's Jewish population increase. Israel's population census in 2022 that did not include a question on religion, but religion was part of the official data regularly collected through the permanent Population Register kept by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Israel Population and Migration Authority 2023) and published by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS).

Table 9 Core and enlarged Jewish population, Arab population, foreign workers and refugees in Israel and Palestinian Territory by territorial divisions, 1/1/2023[a]

Area	Core Jewish Population CJP	Others	Law of Return population[b] LRP	Arab population and others	Foreign workers and refugees[c]	Total	Percent of Law of Return population[d]
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Grand Total	**7,101,400**	**521,800**	**7,623,200**	**6,889,000**	**178,000**	**14,690,200**	**51.9**
State of Israel, total[e]	***7,101,400***	***521,800***	***7,623,200***	***2,038,800***	***178,000***	***9,840,000***	***77.5***
Thereof:							
Pre-1967 borders	6,368,200	501,400	6,871,800	1,633,400	178,000	**8,683,200**	**79.1**
East Jerusalem[f]	239,100	8,000	244,900	378,200	-	**623,100**	**39.3**
Golan Heights	25,800	2,100	27,900	27,200	-	**55,100**	**50.6**
West Bank	468,300	10,300	478,600	[g]	-	**478,600**	**14.7**
Palestinian Territory (WBG)				***4,850,200***		***4,850,200***	-
West Bank	[i]	[i]	[i]	2,779,700	-	**2,779,700**	-
Gaza	0	0	0	2,070,500	-	**2,070,500**	**-**

[a] Revised and rounded figures
[b] Enlarged Jewish population
[c] All foreign workers and refugees were allocated to Israel within pre-1967 borders. Estimated from Israel Population and Migration Authority (2023)
[d] Column 3 divided by column 6
[e] As defined by Israel's legal system
[f] Estimated from Jerusalem Institute of Israel Studies (2023)
[g] Included under Palestinian Territory
[h] Percent of Jews and others out of total population in the West Bank under Israeli or Palestinian Authority jurisdiction
[i] Included under State of Israel
Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics; Israel Population and Migration Authority; PCBS Palestine Central Bureau of Statistics; and author's estimates

Annual data derive from constant updating of periodic censuses through detailed accounting of intervening events (births, deaths, arrivals to the country including new immigrants, departures from the country including emigrants, and changes of religion). In the case of Jews and Judaism, the defining concept is a combination of religion and ethnicity (in Hebrew: *le'om*) according to rabbinic law (*Halakhah*). At the beginning of 2023, Israel's *core* Jewish population reached 7,101,400, compared with 6,983,000 in 2022, excluding Israeli residents who had been absent from the country for one year or more. These figures refer to all Jews living within Israel's internationally recognized boundaries, plus those in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. The core population combined with 521,800 *Others*—non-Jewish members of households who immigrated under the Law of Return and their Israel-born children—formed a *Law of Return* Jewish population of 7,623,200 in 2023, of which these *Others* constituted 6.8% (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics annual). Assuming that about half of the members of Jewish households not recognized as Jewish by the Rabbinate had one Jewish parent, the *Jewish parental* population of Israel was estimated at 7,362,200 for 2023.

Since the early 1990s, the main component of Jewish population growth in Israel was the natural increase resulting from the surplus of births over deaths, which largely exceeded the surplus of immigrants over emigrants. In 2022, 132,753 Jewish births and 43,031 Jewish deaths produced a net natural increase of 89,722 Jews. This represented 75.5% of Israeli Jews' total growth in 2022. **Fig. 7** demonstrates the changes in birth rates and death rates for Jews and Muslims in Israel between 1955 and 2022—the largest non-Jewish population group. The two birth rate lines in a sense mirrored each other, with periodic increases and periodic decreases. A major adjustment toward lower natality, or birth rate, occurred among Israel's Muslims since the end of the 1990s, with a concomitant increase among Jews. Aside from different fertility levels, this largely reflected differences and changes in age compositions and age at first marriage in the respective populations (Staetsky 2019a). Death rates tended to be low and decreasing among both populations; but for most of the second half of the 20th century, they were lower among Muslims due to their younger age composition. For example, in 2022, the overall birthrate of Jews and others was 18.3 per 1000

population (18.9 for Jews only), versus 21.6 per 1000 for all Arab and other Muslims, Christians, and Druze (23.0 for Muslims only). The death rate was 6.0 per 1000 Jews and others (6.1 for Jews only), compared with 3.1 per 1000 for Arabs and others (2.9 for Muslims only). Such differences significantly affected the respective rates of natural increase: 13.3 per 1000 Jews and others (13.8 for Jews only) compared with 18.5 per 1000 Arabs and others (20.1 for Muslims only). The consequence was that in 2022, Israel's Arabs continued to grow at a rate of 5.3 per 1000 higher than Jews and others—meaning more than half percent higher, and Muslims grew at a rate 6.3 per 1000 faster than Jews—as demonstrated in **Fig. 7**.

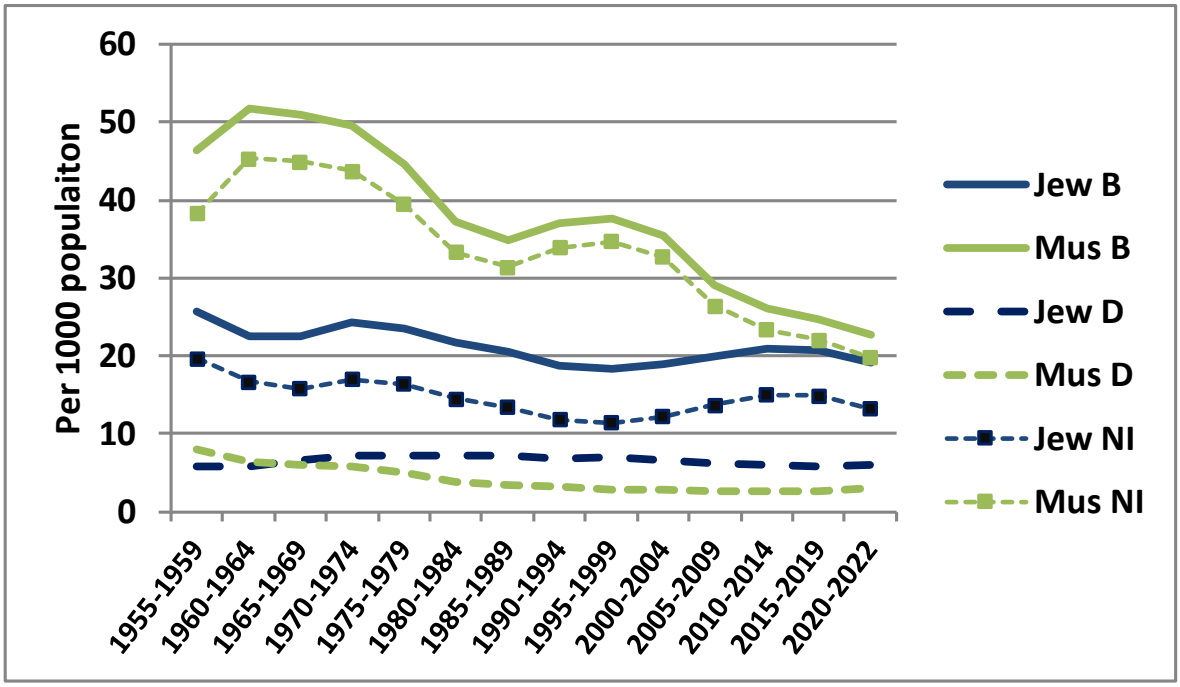


Fig. 7 Births and deaths per 1,000 population among Jews and Muslims in Israel, 1955-2022
B = births; D = deaths; NI = natural increase

Regarding the detail of components of population change, of the 76,400 new immigrants and immigrant citizens in 2022—including Israeli citizens born abroad who entered the country for the first time—32,000 were Jewish. This means that 44,400 (58%) were not recorded as Jewish. Most of the latter were from Russia and Ukraine. The net balance of Jewish migrants was 30,000 also comprising Jewish Israelis leaving the country and returning to the country after a prolonged period abroad. Therefore, an estimated 2,000 Jews (32,000 - 30,000) joined the pool of those who resided abroad for one year or more, including definitive emigrants. This quite low figure, among the lowest in Israel's history, still in part reflected the traveling restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic. Regarding the *Others* (not classified as Jewish by religion), in 2022, there were 44,000 immigrants; and their net migration balance was 46,800, implying a further gain of 2,800 in the balance of returning and leaving veteran Israeli residents recorded as *Others*. Israel's international migration balance pointed to a significant upsurge of immigration as against the immediately preceding years, but also to very low levels of emigration in historical perspective, and even a net balance of more returning residents than newly leaving residents. The total number of Israelis—Jews and non-Jews—permanently residing abroad was estimated at 572,000 to 612,000 at the end of 2018 (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 2020; Rebhun 2023). A recent revision of emigration computation methods implemented by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics points to a modest underestimation bias in the latter estimates (Cohen-Kastro 2023).

The number of converts to Judaism as recognized by Israeli law remained low and comprised only a tiny percentage of the non-Jewish members of Jewish households in Israel, especially among

recent immigrants (Fisher 2013, 2015, 2019; Waxman 2013). The number of *Others*—including a majority not classified by religion and a minority of persons with a non-Jewish religion eligible according to the Law of Return—increased from 472,200 in 2022 to 521,800 in 2023 (+10.5%, over six times higher than among the total Jewish population). Israel's Central Rabbinate pursued a rather rigid conversion policy and rejected several proposals and programs aimed at developing a unified conversion procedure that would satisfy all denominations (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1998-99; Nissim 2018). In 2022, the net balance of changes of registration of religion in the population register was actually negative for Judaism, -500 (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics annual). Muslims in Israel had a net shift balance of +900, Christian denominations had an even balance, and the group with no religious definition also lost 300 (minor discrepancies due to rounding). Some religious intermarriages probably underpinned these figures, although in Israel the levels of ethnoreligious marriage were overall quite low (DellaPergola 2017d). These data also comprise a trickle of people who choose to deregister from their Jewish identification.

4.1.2 Israel, West Bank, and Gaza

Turning now to the territorial aggregate of Israel, the West Bank and Gaza (WBG—the Palestinian Territories), **Table 9** reports the numbers of Jews, Others (as noted, non-Jewish members of Jewish households *and* Israeli citizens by the provisions of the Law of Return), Arabs, as well as foreign workers, undocumented tourists, and refugees. Each group's total is shown for different territorial divisions: the State of Israel within the pre-1967 borders, East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and Gaza. The percentage of Jews (by the *Law of Return* definition) in each division is also shown.

At the beginning of 2023 **(Table 9, Column 1)**, of a total 7,101,400 *core* Jews, 6,368,200 lived within Israel's pre-1967 borders; 239,100 lived in East Jerusalem neighborhoods that were incorporated into Israel after 1967 (Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research 2023); 25,800 on the Golan Heights; and 468,300 in the West Bank. Over the years, the pace of Jewish internal migration from Israel's pre-1967 area, including East Jerusalem, to the West Bank was significantly correlated with levels of unemployment and emigration from Israel (DellaPergola 2021b). In 2020, for the first time, and again in 2022, the Jewish internal migration balance between the West Bank and the main area of Israel was negative, i.e., more Jews left the West Bank for Israel than went there. There are today more Jews in the West Bank than in France.

As shown in **Table 9 (Column 7)**, the *Law of Return* Jewish population represented 79.1% (**Column 3** divided by **Column 6**) of total residents within the pre-1967 borders, including foreign workers and refugees; 39.3% in East Jerusalem; 50.6% in the Golan Heights; and 14.7% of the West Bank's total population. Since 2005, no Jewish population remained in Gaza.

Regarding the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza (WBG), in November 2017, the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) undertook a new census which enumerated 4,705,600 people, of whom 1,875,300 lived in Gaza and 2,830,300 in the West Bank—including 281,200 in East Jerusalem. The census results were about 250,000 lower than the population projection of 4,952,168 available from the PCBS' website (PCBS 2018). The PCBS Jerusalem's population estimate was a clear undercount because of the Palestinian census takers limited access to the city (PCBS 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2018). This would imply an annual growth rate of 1.84% since 2007 in the West Bank, not including East Jerusalem, and 2.84% in Gaza—as opposed to 2.40% for Muslims in Israel, including East Jerusalem, during the same period (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics annual). These growth rates were much lower than in the past and pointed to significant differentiation within the Arab/Palestinian population.

The Palestinian population's growth rate in WBG was decreasing also due to net emigration. According to Israel's IDF Civilian Administration in Judea and Samaria (the West Bank), the total of Palestinians recorded in the West Bank population register surpassed 3 million already in 2018, but this figure did not sufficiently discount Palestinian residents permanently living abroad. Keeping in

mind **Fig. 7** above, among the WBG Arab population both birth rates and death rates probably continued to be somewhat higher than among their Arab peers in Israel. A minor internal migration flow prevailed from Gaza to the West Bank, estimated at 2671 people as of mid-2019 (Hass 2019), as long as border closures allowed for it. In the process, most Christian Palestinians had left Gaza, and many had left the West Bank, because they felt persecuted (Casper 2020).

Our adjusted population estimates for the WBG at the beginning of 2023 was 4,850,200, of whom 2,779,700 were in the West Bank and 2,070,500 in Gaza. These figures, always excluding East Jerusalem, were lower than the Palestinian census and subsequent updates because they excluded people, students, and others, who actually resided abroad for more than one year. The Palestinian CBS displayed further contradictory figures. As of 2020, a population projection computed 5,101,100 persons living within the PCBS's definition of the Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, of which 3,053,100 were in the West Bank and 2,048,000 in Gaza. On the other hand, by combining absolute numbers of births and deaths with the PCBS reported birth and death rates per 1000 population, one would obtain a total of 4,331,500, of which 2,851,200 were in the West Bank and 1,480,300 in Gaza, for a total of 4,331,500. Some of the 800,000 gap could be due to under- or late reporting of vital events, but unquestionably some doubt remains about who is counted: the legal resident population (*de jure*) or those actually present (*de facto*). Our estimate (4,850,200) falls quite in the middle of this range. Other much lower estimates of the WBG population (e.g., Zimmerman et al. 2005a, 2005b; Feitelson 2013) reflected political narratives rather than ascertained demographic criteria (Miller 2015).

By adding the 2,038,800 Arab population of Israel, including East Jerusalem, and the 4,850,200 estimated Palestinians in WBG, a total of 6,889,000 Arabs/Palestinians obtained for the whole territory between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, compared with the total enlarged Jewish population of 7,623,200.

Table 10 reports the percentage of Jews according to the *core* and *Law of Return* definitions, out of the total population of the combined territory of Israel and WBG. Such percentages are conditional upon two factors: which criteria are applied in defining who is a Jew, and which territorial boundaries are chosen for assessment. Relative to this grand total, the table demonstrates the potential effect on the existence and size of a Jewish population majority when gradually and cumulatively subtracting from the total the Arab/Palestinian population of designated areas as well as the foreign workers and refugees. The result of this exercise is a gradually growing percent of Jews among the total resident population of a hypothetically diminishing territory.

Table 10 Percent of Core and Enlarged Jewish Population in Israel and Palestinian Territory, According to Different Territorial Definitions, 1/1/2023

Area	Percentage of Jews[a] by definition	
	Core	Law of Return
Grand Total of Israel and Palestinian Territory	**48.3**	**51.9**
Minus foreign workers and refugees	48.9	52.5
Minus Gaza	57.1	61.3
Minus Golan Heights	57.2	61.4
Minus West Bank	73.7	79.1
Minus East Jerusalem	76.7	82.4

Source: Table 8.9

[a] Total Jewish population of Israel including East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. In each row Arabs and others of mentioned area are deducted, and the percentages are recalculated accordingly.

A total combined Jewish, Arab, and Other population of 14,690,200 lived in Israel and the WBG at the beginning of 2023, including foreign workers, undocumented tourists, and refugees. The c*ore* Jewish population of 7,101,400 represented 48.3% of this total between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, of which the State of Israel is part and parcel. Thus, by the Orthodox

rabbinic definition of who is a Jew, there was not a Jewish majority among the broader aggregate of people over the whole territory between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea (DellaPergola 2003a, 2003b, 2007a, 2011a; Soffer and Bistrow 2004; Soffer 2015). If the 521,800 *Others* (non-Jewish members of Jewish households) were added to the *core* Jewish population, the *Law of Return* Jewish population of 7,623,200 represented 51.9% of the total population in Israel and the WBG—a narrow majority. If subtracting from the grand total the 178,000 foreign workers, undocumented tourists and asylum seekers, the *core* and *enlarged* Jewish populations would rise to 48.9% and 52.5% of the total population respectively—including those legally resident in Israel plus WBG. If further subtracting the population of Gaza, the percentages of Jews out of the total would rise to 57.1% (core) and 61.3% (Law of Return). If subtracting the Druze population of the Golan Heights, the Jewish percentages would rise to 57.2% and 61.4%, respectively. If further subtracting the Palestinian population of the West Bank, the Jewish percentages would rise to 73.7% and 79.1%, respectively; and if the Arab population of East Jerusalem were also subtracted, the percentages would rise to 76.7% and 82.4%. Regarding a claim advanced about much lower Palestinian population estimates, one may note that the alleged percentage of Jews (by the Law of Return) out of the total population of Israel and West Bank combined would be 65% (Ettinger 2019), as against our estimated 61.4% (including the Golan Heights). A spirited and aggressive debate occurred about a modest 3.6% difference. Under current demographic trends, the Jewish majority is annually eroded by about 0.1%. The same data are graphically presented in **Fig. 8**.

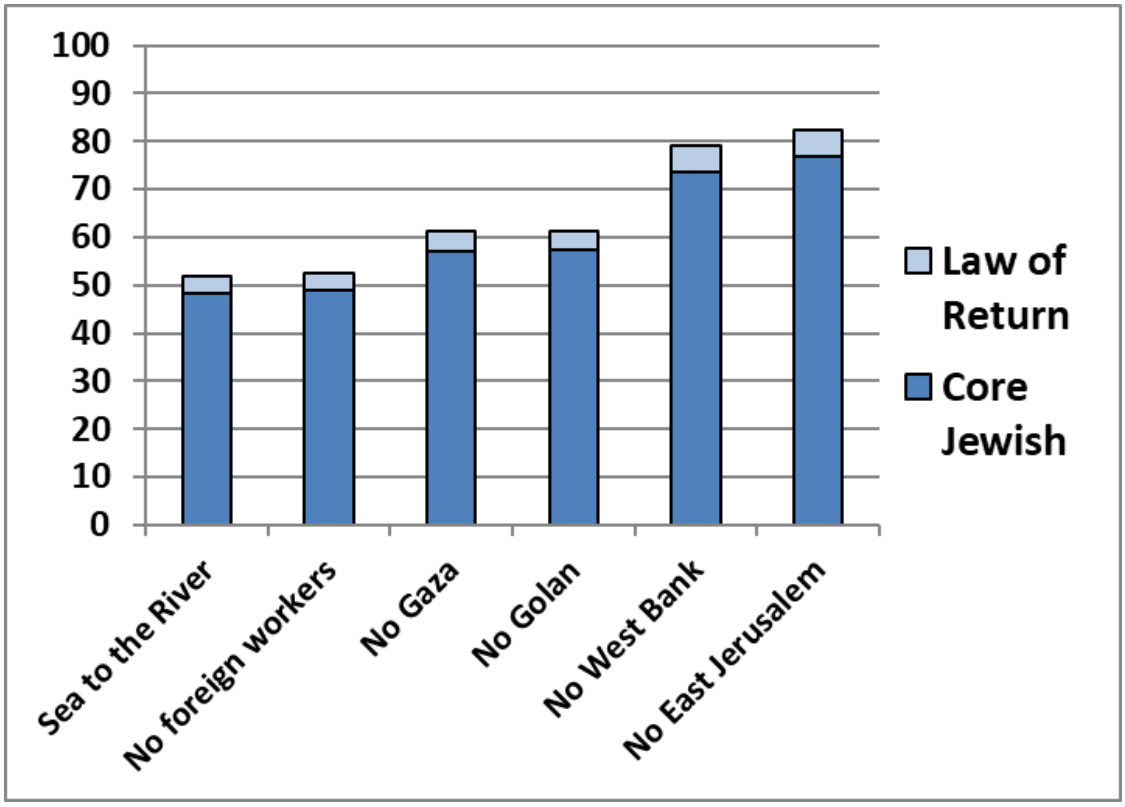


Fig 8 Percent Jewish out of total population of Israel and Palestine by different territorial and Jewish population definitions, 2023

4.2 The United States

4.2.1 Methodological issues

In the **US**, in the absence of official census documentation, Jewish population estimates must rely on alternative sources. These are quite abundant, though of very uneven quality (Goldstein 1981, 1989, 1992; Perlmann 2007; DellaPergola 2005 and 2013b; Sheskin and Dashefsky 2022; Rebhun 2023a). In 2013 and in 2020, the Pew Research Center undertook two studies of Jewish Americans (Pew Research Center 2013 and 2021). The former suggested a *net Jewish population* estimate of 6.7M, and the latter suggested 7.5M. In the previous volumes of the *American Jewish Year Book* I reviewed in detail the methodology and findings of the Pew studies and suggested ways to estimate a *core Jewish population* compatible with estimates for other countries (DellaPergola 2022, 2023 and 2023a). The reader is referred to those previous analyses for an in-depth appraisal of the Pew surveys, which represent a great contribution to Jewish demographic research in the US. In the following, I will only report on further in-depth secondary analyses of the Pew survey database which allow for a significantly improved estimate.

As a necessary preliminary observation, the quest for US national Jewish population estimates has relied on three major strategies:

1. *National sample surveys* sponsored by:
    a. the US Census Bureau [the 1957 Current Population Survey (US Census Bureau 1958 and 1968; Glick 1960; Goldstein 1969)];
    b. the predecessor organizations of the Jewish Federations of North America [National Jewish Population Studies of 1970 (Massarik 1974; Lazerwitz 1978), 1990 (Kosmin et al. 1991), and 2000-01 (Kotler-Berkowitz et al. 2003)];
    c. other organizations [the 1991 and 2008 American Religious Identity Surveys (ARIS) (Kosmin and Lachman 1993; Kosmin and Keysar 2009) and the 2001 American Jewish Identity Survey (AJIS) (Mayer et al. 2001), the Public Religion Research Institute's census of American religion (PRRI 2021), and the Pew 2013 and 2020 surveys of Jewish Americans (Pew Research Center 2013 and 2021; Hartman and Bankier-Karp 2023)].

2. *Compilations and summations of local estimates* obtained through a variety of sources, from representative Jewish population surveys to hearsay (*American Jewish Year Book* 1899; Linfield 1942; Robison 1943; Sheskin 2008; Sheskin and Dashefsky 2007, 2010, 2017, 2022 and in this volume; Hartman and Sheskin 2012 and 2017; Hartman et al. 2017), as well as from the US Censuses of Religious Bodies (Schwartz et al. 2002);

3. *Syntheses of many general social surveys* which comprise small subsamples of persons self-reporting as Jews, almost always in response to a question on religion. The leading project using this methodology is the American Jewish Population Project (AJPP) at Brandeis' Cohen Research Center (Saxe et al. 2006, 2006b and 2021; Tighe et al. 2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2019, 2021, 2022 and 2023). The AJPP uses data on religion to estimate a broader Jewish population which also includes those without religion (Magidin de Kramer et al. 2018; Hackett 2014). To do so, it uses estimates of the proportion of people with no religion taken from the Pew survey. As such, rather than being an independent source, the AJPP is a variant of the Pew survey.

Each of these three approaches has advantages and disadvantages. While they can all serve as the basis for studying the interrelations between different sociodemographic and attitudinal variables, only the first approach can properly be used to infer Jewish population size at the national level. The first method also has the advantage of internal consistency, although any methodological shortcoming or technical mistake may have far-reaching consequences for the overall results. The second method combines the advantage of local insight with the disadvantages of extremely

heterogeneous data due to a variety of differences, including definitions of the target population, data reliability, varying instruments, as well as different timing and multiple pollsters. When it comes to summing up several local surveys to get a national total, double counts are likely because of intervening internal migration. The third method has the advantage of a large database and the disadvantage that it usually covers only religion, potentially omitting Jews who do not declare a religion (about 27% of American Jews according to Pew 2020). Along with inconsistency of data quality, the coverage of topics related to Jewish identity is usually very limited, if existent at all. Whereas the first two approaches usually provide a full profile of the characteristics of all members of a household, the third mostly relies on answers by adult respondents with little or no information on other household members, namely the identity of children.

4.2.2 New US Jewish population estimates for 2020

Following the 2020 Pew survey of Jewish Americans, the survey's official report provided an estimated Net Jewish Population of 7.5M Jews, inclusive of adults and children. Of these, 5.3M were Jews by religion (JBR) (4.2M adults and 1.1M children) and 2.2M were Jews with no religion (JNR) (1.6M adults and 0.6M children). These Jewish population estimates, when compared with known estimates for previous years, implied a Jewish population increase of about 2M versus the estimates of the early 1990s, which rigorous demographic analysis deemed incompatible with known and verified notions about the factors of population change, namely birth rates and international migration (Cohen and Chamie 2021; Chamie 2022). The alleged increase could be explained by the adoption of a new set of Jewish population definitions, different from those adopted in previous Jewish population research. Actually, a similar problem existed for the 2013 Pew survey, which assessed a Net Jewish Population of 6.7M, including 5.1M Jews by religion and 1.6M Jews with no religion. Among the latter, 1M reported to be *partly Jewish* at the screening stage of the survey.

There is overall agreement among analysts and according to different sources about the number of Jews by religion. On the other hand, the reported number of Jews with no religion is a matter for disagreement among analysts. The sum of these two components provides the total Net Jewish Population estimate according to Pew. By all means, the Jewish population includes a component self-defining by religion, and a component self-defining according to other criteria. The challenge is how to combine these two components so as to reach a comprehensive common definition. Different definitions of the boundaries of the Jewish population aggregate are conducive to different numbers. The more restrictive definition of the US core Jewish population does not allow for multiple religious identities. This is in line with a Jewish population definition that should be comparable with the criteria adopted for other similar Jewish populations in all other countries worldwide, including Israel. By these criteria, we suggested a preliminary estimate of a total US Jewish population of 6.0M in 2020 (DellaPergola 2022). Following release of the public use file of the Pew 2020 survey, we[1] performed an intensive in-depth secondary analysis of the data, aiming at a firmer resolution of the definitional issue. Here are some of the results of our new analysis.

Jews by religion

All respondents who indicated they were Jewish by religion (“What is your present religion, if any?”) were originally included by Pew in this category (JBR). The weighted total, as noted, was 5.3M, of which 4.2M adults and 1.1M children.

Adults. Secondary analysis of the data revealed that the equivalent of 12,000 persons defined themselves denominationally of various Christian denominations. These 12,000 were not included by us in the core Jewish population, but they were in a more extended definition. The total of Jewish adults by religion included in our core Jewish population is, therefore, 4,188,000.

[1] Together with Maya Shorer Kaplan of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry.

Children. Among the children of Jews by religion, most were raised in households where all children were Jewish by religion or Jews of no religion. However, in some households all children were raised as non-Jews, for a total of 73,000 children. These 73,000 were not included by us in the core Jewish population but were included in a more extended Jewish population definition. The total of Jewish children by religion included in the core Jewish population is, therefore, 1,027,000.

Total. In total, therefore, in 2020 there were 5,215,000 Jews by religion included in the Core Jewish population, including 4,188,000 adults and 1,027,000 children. The sum of the 5,215,000 Jews by religion included in the Core Jewish population and the 85,000 who pertained to a more extended definition provided the 5.3M Jews by religion of the original Pew report. In sum, we have removed 85,000 persons from the Jews by religion category that Pew had included.

Jews of no religion

The Jews of no religion (JNR) category as defined by Pew 2020 is a conglomerate of different sub-populations all of whom had one characteristic in common: To the question, "What is your religion?" none indicated Judaism. They all affirmatively answered a further question about other possible modes of attachment to Judaism: "ASIDE from religion, do you consider yourself to be Jewish in any way (for example ethnically, culturally or because of your family's background)?". Such *family background* can be anything from having two Jewish parents to being the distant descendant of a Jew who was forcibly baptized during the Inquisition, before and after 1492.

Adults. All Jews of no religion indicated four possible statuses about their current religious identification: atheist, agnostic, nothing in particular, or Jewish *and* one of the previous three. Further data analysis about the religion in which respondents with no religion were raised when children, revealed the following distinction: 1. Jewish, 2. atheist, agnostic, or none, 3. another religion.

All Jews with no religion who reported being raised Jewish were included by us in the core Jewish population. All who reported having been raised in another religion were excluded from the core Jewish population and included in a more extended definition of Jewish population. Those who reported having been raised atheist/agnostic/none, were further checked to ascertain the religion of parents. Those with two Jewish parents were included by us in the core Jewish population. Those with one or no Jewish parents were excluded from the core and included in an extended definition. These atheists with one Jewish parent can be considered with equal degree of likelihood as Jewish or as non-Jewish *nones*, hence conceptually similar to the *partly Jewish* of the 2013 Pew survey. This explains their non-inclusion in the core.

In addition, a further set of questions was examined: Respondents were asked separately whether they considered themselves of another religion (in addition to considering themselves Jews of no religion). Those who answered affirmatively were excluded by us from the core and included in an extended definition. Here, it is important to note that the other religions suggested in the questionnaire included Catholic, Mormon, and Muslim, but not the most frequent religious group in the US—Protestant. This omission is hardly explainable or justifiable on methodological grounds. This obviously resulted in some overestimate of the number of Jews with no religion pertaining to the Core Jewish population, since those Jewish *and* Protestant would not be included.

In sum, of the 800,000 adults who were not included in the Core Jewish population:

- 370,000 declared they considered themselves as holders of another religion;
- 87,000 were raised in another religion, and considered themselves now atheist/agnostic/none; and
- 343,000 with one Jewish parent only, were raised atheist/agnostic/none and still considered themselves atheist/agnostic/none.

Overall, of the original (weighted) 1,600,000 adults who were placed by the Pew survey report in the Jews of no religion (JNR) category, 800,000 qualified for the Core Jewish population and 800,000 qualified for an extended definition.

Children. No immediate data exist in the Pew file for each child and the respective religious identity. The estimates for children were obtained by a cross-classification of the total number of children present in the household, and the mode of attribution of Jewish or other identity by the respective parents. All children in households where *all* children were raised Jewish (by religion or of no religion) were included by us in the Core Jewish population. All children in households where children were raised as *partly Jewish* or not at all Jewish were included in an extended definition.

Overall, of the original (weighted) 600,000 children who were placed by Pew in the Jews of no religion category, 262,000 qualified for the Core Jewish population, and 338,000 qualified for an extended definition. Of the latter 338,000, 9% (30,000) were in households where children were raised as *partly Jewish*, and 91% (308,000) were in households none of whose children were raised as Jewish.

Total. Our revised total estimate of the Jews of no religion was 1,062,000, of which 800,000 are adults and 262,000 are children. The sum of the 1,062,000 Jews of no religion included in the Core Jewish population and the 1,138,000 included in the extended definition provided the 2.2M originally included by the Pew survey in the Jewish population with no religion. In our previous provisional estimate (DellaPergola 2022), we had suggested a tentative estimate of 600,000 adults and 100,000 children for the Core Jewish population, for a total of 700,000. Our new estimate of 1,062,000 Jews of no religion is therefore 362,000 higher.

4.2.3 Total revised estimate of Jews in the US in 2020

Summing up the results of our secondary analysis, we provided a new estimate of the total of Jews by religion included in the Core Jewish Population of 5,215,000, of which 4,188,000 are adults and 1,027,000 are children. The new estimate of core Jews with no religion was 1,062,000, of which 800,000 are adults and 262,000 are children.

In total, we found 5,215,000 Jews by religion and 1,062,000 Jews with no religion, for a total core Jewish population of 6,277,000, of which 4,988,000 are adults and 1,289,000 are children. Not included in the Core Jewish population, but in an extended definition were a total of 800,000 adults and 338,000 children, for a total of 1,138,000. The new 6,277,000 estimate for 2020 was 277,000 higher than our provisional 6M estimate published in *AJYB* 2022. **Table 11** summarizes the various estimates and adjustments just described, keeping in mind that the discussion here only concerns Jewish population definitions and not beliefs or behaviors. Some of the people not included here in the Core Jewish population may actually be occasionally involved in religious or ethnic Jewish connections, but similar or higher numbers of Core Jews may not be (DellaPergola 2015b).

No population estimate may claim to be perfect. Estimates can be better upheld if they can be explained, and this is what we attempted to do here. Besides the imperative to use coherent definitions of relevant sub-populations over time and across space, it should be kept in mind that the Pew 2020 survey of Jewish Americans featured several other steps probably leading to inflated Jewish population estimates, namely reliance on the internet and on residential address lists (Link et al. 2008; de Leeuw and Hox 2010; Statista 2021). The problems with such features were discussed in detail elsewhere (DellaPergola 2022, 2023, 2023a).

Two notable factors of undercount in the 2020 Pew survey probably affected the Orthodox denominations, and those born abroad, namely in Israel and in the Former Soviet Union. Our current effort to adjust the data did not consider these factors. On the other hand, we already noted the unexplained and unjustifiable omission of the Protestant denominations in a questionnaire where Jews were invited to indicate their other religious orientations in addition to their Jewish one. This was a significant factor of overcount. All things considered, we may at least hypothesize that the amount of overestimation and underestimation cancelled out each other.

Table 11 Revised US Jewish population estimates, adults and children, by various definitional criteria, 2020 Pew survey

	Category	Adults	Children	Total
	Pew 2020 survey report			
(1)	Jews by religion	4,200,000	1,100,000	**5,300,000**
(2)	Jews of no religion	1,600,000	600,000	**2,200,000**
(3) = (1) + (2)	Pew Total Net Jewish population	5,800,000	1,700,000	**7,500,000**
	Our provisional estimates (2021)			
(4)	Jews by religion - Core	4,200,000	1,100,000	**5,300,000**
(5)	Jews of no religion - Core	600,000	100,000	**700,000**
(6) = (4) + (5)	Total Core Jewish population	4,800,000	1,200,000	**6,000,000**
(7)	Jews of no religion - Non-core	1,000,000	500,000	**1,500,000**
	Our revised estimates (2023)			
(8)	Jews by religion - Core	4,188,000	1,027,000	**5,215,000**
(9)	Jews of no religion - Core	800,000	262,000	**1,062,000**
(10) = (8) + (9)	Total Core Jewish population	4,988,000	1,289,000	**6,277,000**
(11)	Jews by religion - Non-core	12,000	73,000	**85,000**
(12)	Jews of no religion - Non-core	800,000	338,000	**1,138,000**
(13) = (11) + (12)	Total Non-core Jewish population	812,000	411,000	**1,223,000**
	Comparison of core and net Jewish population estimates			
(14)	Our Total Core Jewish population	4,988,000	1,289,000	**6,277,000**
(15)	Our Total Non-core Jewish population	812,000	411,000	**1,223,000**
(16) = (14) + (15)	Pew Total Net Jewish population	5,800,000	1,700,000	**7,500,000**

Sources: Pew Research Center (2021). Author's revised processing, by courtesy of Pew Research Center. For previous estimates see DellaPergola (2023).

4.2.4 Backward adjustment and estimate for 2023

Since population change is usually smooth and not subject to sudden sharp increases or decreases (except, perhaps in times of war or plague), the upwardly revised total Core Jewish population estimate must be raised accordingly, not only for 2020 and after, but also gradually allocating for higher estimates of the Jewish population in previous years. The initial point for such gradual retrospective correction was set in 1945. Such corrections were gradually allocated all along the time axis, implying some revisions in previously widely held and frequently quoted estimates based on major demographic research on American Jewry. For a different attempt, see Rebhun 2023a.

In a seminal reconstruction of Jewish population size and trends in the US since World War II, Ira Rosenwaike (1980) reviewed all the then existing evidence and suggested the definitive path of growth between 1945 and until NJPS 1970. The revised estimates presented here fully reconsider objections and suggestions that had been raised in the abundant literature concerning each of the major sources of documentation on the US Jewish population since NJPS 1970. For each date between 1945 and 2020, **Table 12** presents the suggested adjustments to the previous set of estimates, some of which already were the product of previous adjustments. This last adjustment is consistent with known or reasonably assessed developments regarding the expected balance between Jewish births and deaths, and the net balance between immigration and emigration. The variable pace of Jewish immigration to the US was carefully scrutinized in the light of previous studies (NJPS 1970, 1990 and 2000-01; DellaPergola 2005, 2013; Pew Research Center 2021). The picture drawn from these different studies was highly consistent. The frequently mentioned argument of rapid Jewish population growth since 2000 due to immigration, namely from the FSU, was largely disproven by our secondary analysis of the Pew data. In fact, about half of all the 750,000 Jews born in the FSU had immigrated to the US before 1990, so they could not have affected population growth between 1990 and 2020. No analyst had so far cross-tabulated birthplace by year of arrival. Doing so might have helped better to frame the current debates on Jewish population size and growth. Our new adjustment also significantly allowed for some softening of

Jewish population definitional criteria in consonance with the expansion of intermarriage and the consequent growth of the group of Jews of no religion.

Notable corrections affected several points in time vis-à-vis previous Jewish population estimates. Following Rosenwaike (1980), a revised estimate of 5,520,000 was preferred to the originally published 1970 NJPS lower 5,370,000 and higher 5,420,000 estimates (Massarik 1973 and 1974; Massarik and Chenkin 1973; Lazerwitz 1978). The revised rounded 5.6M estimate evidently also included non-Jewish household members. As to 1990, the original and generally accepted NJPS figure of 5,515,000 was raised by 235,000 to 5,750,000, thus incorporating the suggestion of some undercount among the elderly and other institutionalized Jews (Kosmin et al. 1991). The original NJPS estimate of 5,200,000 (Kotler Berkowitz et al. 2003) was corrected to an estimate of 5,700,000 and was further raised by another 275,000 to 5,975,000 (DellaPergola 2023). Regarding 2013, the year of the first Pew survey (Pew Research Center 2013), taking a mid-point between 2010 and 2015, our own previous estimate of 5,777,500 was raised to 6,145,000, as against the original Pew Net Jewish Population of 6.7M. And finally, as noted above, our previous provisional assessment of a Core Jewish Population of 6.0M in 2020 (DellaPergola 2022 and 2023) was raised to 6.3M, as opposed to the original Pew Net Jewish Population of 7.5M. The original and revised US Jewish population estimates, and the correction factors introduced between 1945 and 2020 are summarized in **Table 12**. This revised data series is suggested to the reader for future reference.

Table 12 Revised estimates of core US Jewish population, 1945-2023

Year	Previous	Revised	Difference
1945	4,360,000	4,360,000	0
1950	4,680,000	4,680,000	0
1955	4,950,000	4,950,000	0
1960	5,200,000	5,200,000	0
1965	5,280,000	5,380,000	100,000
1970	5,370,000	5,520,000	150,000
1975	5,385,000	5,585,000	200,000
1980	5,435,000	5,650,000	215,000
1985	5,485,000	5,675,000	190,000
1990	5,515,000	5,750,000	235,000
1995	5,675,000	5,900,000	225,000
2000	5,700,000	5,975,000	275,000
2005	5,730,000	6,050,000	320,000
2010	5,825,000	6,075,000	250,000
2015	5,940,000	6,215,000	275,000
2020	6,000,000	6,277,000	277,000
2023	-	6,300,000	300,000

Source: author's estimates. Until 1975 based on Rosenwaike (1980)

The 2020 Pew provides a Jewish population estimate for the current era. The Pew database allows us to examine likely changes in the Jewish population size of the US by examining the birth rate. The Pew survey investigated the age of women when their first child, if any, was born. This information can be compared by age cohorts (groups of years of birth of women). **Fig. 9** shows the number of women per 1000 women in each age cohort having their first child at different ages. The data were processed for *all* women included in the survey, i.e., beyond the limited core Jewish population. All in all, comprising all children ever born, in 2020 Jewish women aged 18 to 29 had 0.41 children on average, versus 1.75 among women 30-49, 1.79 among women 50-64, and 2.14 among women 65 and over. This does not mean necessarily that the final outcome for younger women will be so low because their child-bearing years were obviously incomplete in 2020. However, the evidence strongly indicates that during the ten years that preceded the Pew survey, a dramatic collapse occurred in the Jewish birth rate among the youngest age cohort. This would be

consistent with the recent lowering of fertility among the total US population to the historical minimum, below 1.8, only matched by the late 1970s and early 1980s. (Cohen and Chamie 2021).

Fig. 9 shows that very few Jewish women born between 1991 and 2002 (aged 18-29 in 2020) had had a first child by 2020. The numbers were significantly lower than among older cohorts of Jewish women, This could be simply taken as an indication of postponement, not of a desire to remain childless. Indeed, quite expectedly, a clear postponement of births appeared across older cohorts of women age 30-49, 50-64, and 65 and over in 2020. Among women born up to 1955, the reproductive peak relative to their first births occurred at age 20-24, women born between 1956 and 1990 experienced the same peak at age 30-34. The final number of children of the women age 50-64, as noted, was in any case well below two on average. Only women 65 and over had slightly more than two children. What is portrayed here below age 30 is not conclusive, nonetheless so strikingly lower than what older women had attained at the same age. No matter how obvious, to achieve the 2.1 children required for population stability, one must first achieve a first birth. The massive postponing of first births unavoidably generates a growing burden upon later stages of the lifecycle, and such burden may become unsustainable thinking of the increasing conflicts between motherhood and advanced studies, attaining a job, and career. To this, it must be added that not all children of the women surveyed by Pew were or will be Jewish by their parents' or by their own choice, thus further reducing the effective Jewish fertility rate. The target of two children among Jewish women below 30 therefore appears like a very remote possibility. Added to the elderly age composition of US Jews, this is a sure recipe for future population decline.

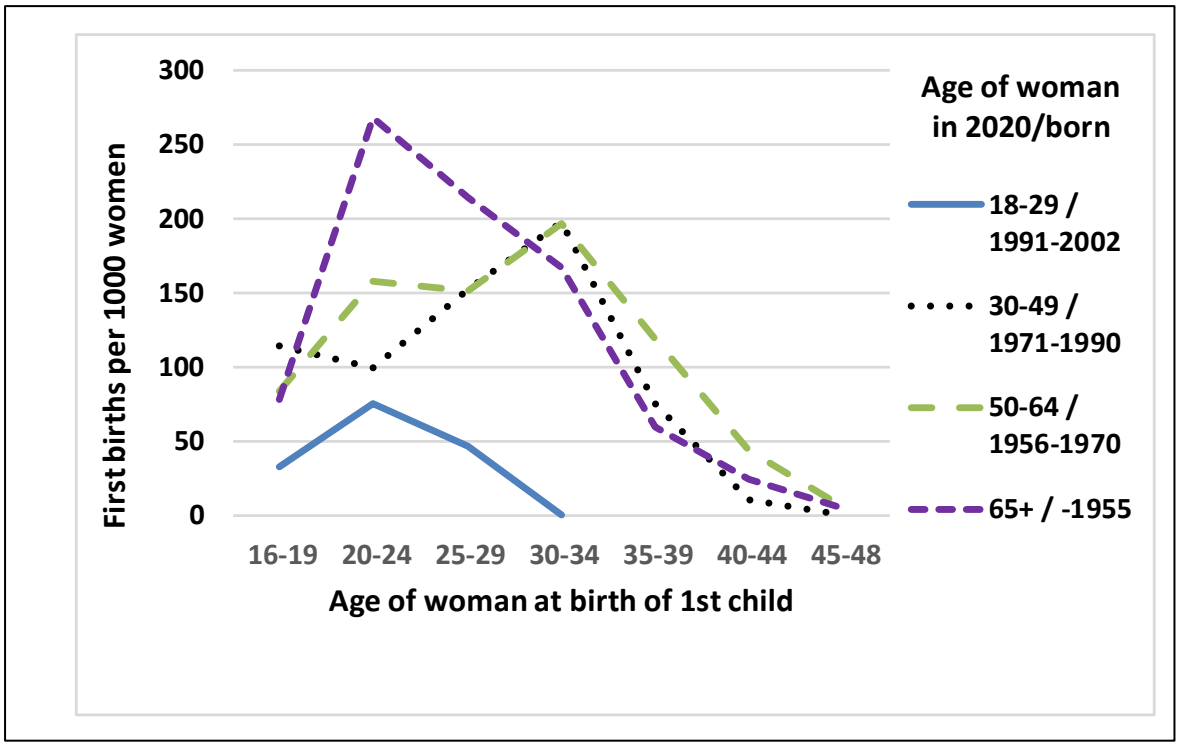


Fig. 9 First births per 1000 women**,** by age of woman at birth of first child, Enlarged Jewish population. US 2020 Pew survey, public use file, author's processing.

The conclusion is that US Jewry clearly exhausted its current potential for demographic growth, besides the possible effects of future immigration. We calculate the end of Jewish population growth with a marginal increase between the 6,277,000 in 2020 to 6.3M in 2022, as noted, an upward 300,000 correction as against 6M in our previous estimate (DellaPergola 2023). Our 6.3M *core* estimate for 2023 implies zero population growth in 2022. This view coincides with a projection of the current stock of American Jewry into the next decades based on the 2013 Pew survey (Pinker 2021). This projection suggested that the inflection point between the end of growth and the beginning of moderate decline was expected in 2023.

4.2.5 Extended Jewish population definitions

Beyond the core Jewish population, the more extended definitional circles significantly expand the catchment area of American Jewry. **Fig. 10** portrays the respective sizes of the Core Jewish population (CJP), the Population of Jewish Background (PJB), and a proxy for the Law of Return Population (LRP), respectively according to corrected NJPS data for 1970 and 1990, and according to our revised Pew estimates for 2013 and 2020. The evolutionary process is clearly described, combining a moderately increasing CJP, from 5.5M in 1970 to 6.3M in 2020, along with much more substantial increases of the PJB and the LRP. The PJB addition involved 435,000 people in 1970, 2,686,000 in 1990, 4,455,000 in 2013, and 5,400,000 in 2020. Further accounting for other Law of Return eligibles (actually persons with Jewish affinity) would add another 1.4M in 2013, and 1.7M in 2020. Once more it will be reiterated here that the Pew's Net Jewish Population concept is intermediate between the Core Jewish and the Jewish Background definitions.

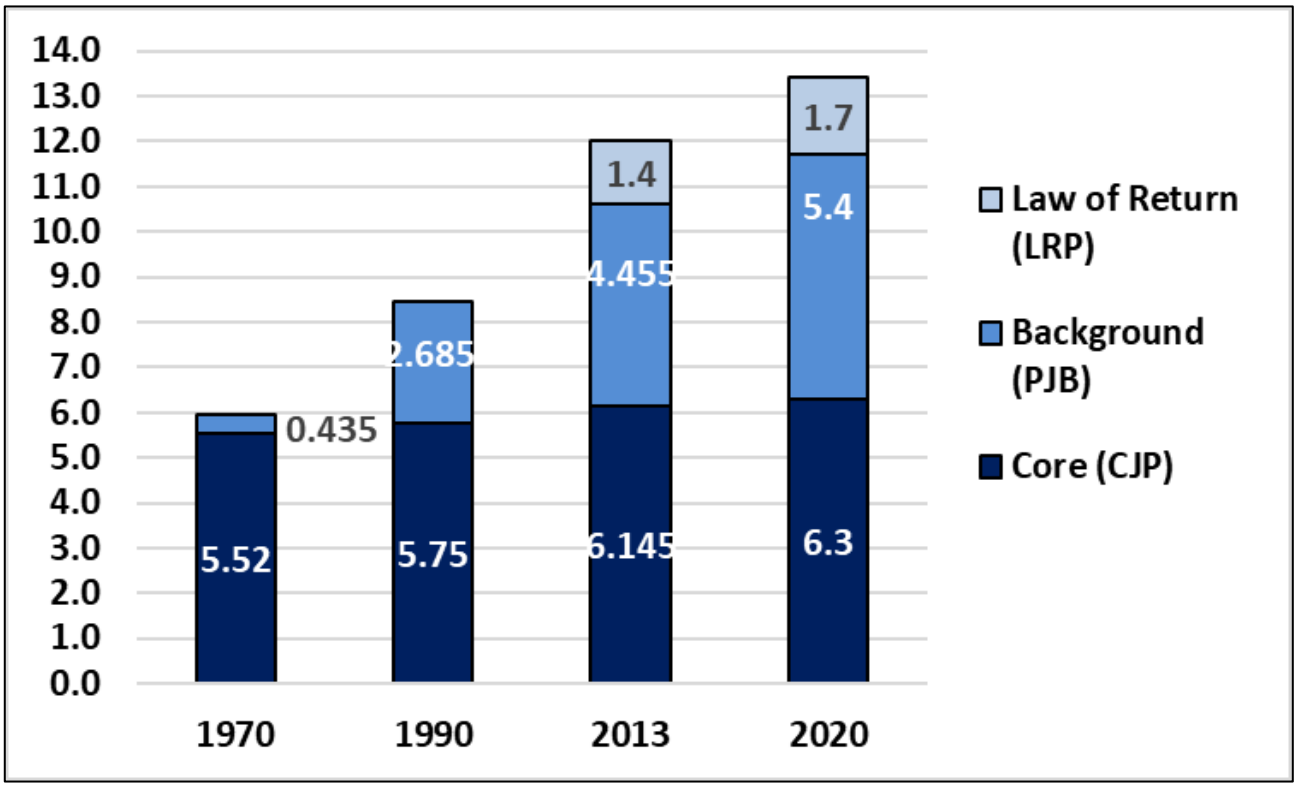


Fig 10 US Jewish population configuration by alternative definitions, 1970-2020, millions
Sources: NJPS 1970, NJPS 1990, Pew Research Center 2013 and 2020. All figures are author's revised estimates

4.3 France

France has the largest Jewish community in Europe and the third largest in the world. The first national Jewish population survey of Jews in France undertaken in the 1970s revealed a total of 530,000 Jews (Bensimon and DellaPergola 1984). A 2002 national survey suggested 500,000 core Jews, plus an additional 75,000 non-Jewish members of Jewish households (Cohen with Ifergan 2003). Several follow-ups (Cohen 2005, 2007, 2013b) indicated a decreasing Jewish population, primarily due to emigration, mainly to Israel, but also to Canada, the US, and other countries. A more recent survey (Ifop 2015) addressed an enlarged definition of the Jewish population in France but did not provide conclusive information about the size of the Jewish community. Important insights emerged about past and prospective migration. In retrospect, 39% reported relatives living in Israel compared to 31% who had relatives in another country (especially the US, Canada, and the UK). This would correspond to a migrant ratio of 56% to Israel compared to 44% to other countries.

Regarding possible future migration, 13% reported they were seriously considering moving to Israel and another 30% had thought about it. The corresponding percentages for migrating to other countries were 13% and 33%, respectively. A survey of French Jewish adults age 18 to 40 about their expected country of residence in five years found that 33% expected to be living in France, 26% in Israel, 14% in another country, and 27% were not sure (Cohen 2013a). In 2018 the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) survey on perceptions of antisemitism in EU countries found that 44% of French Jews had considered emigrating, versus 46% in 2012 (European Union Fundamental Rights Agency-FRA 2013 and 2018). Migration to Israel, after surpassing 2,000 annually for several years, increased to a historical peak of 6,627 in 2015, lowered to 2,394 in 2020, increased again to 3,556 in 2021, and declined to 2,189 in 2022. Over 60,000 new immigrants arrived from France to Israel between 2000 and 2022. Jews also emigrated to other western countries reflecting growing uneasiness facing antisemitism, Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism against Jewish and other targets, but also in response to periodic difficulties in the French economy (DellaPergola 2020b). Assuming Israel attracted half to two-thirds of the total who departed France, between 90,000 and 120,000 Jews and family members should have emigrated from France since 2000. Some of these returned to France in the meantime, thus reducing the impact of net migration. Our 2023 core estimate for French Jewry decreased to 440,000.

4.4 Canada

Jewish population trends in **Canada** are reviewed by Brym (in this volume). According to the 2021 census, there were 335,295 Jews by religion, up from 329,000 in 2011, and 282,000 Jews by ancestry/ethnicity, down from 309,650 in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2022). Canada releases decennial data on Jewish religion every year ending with the digit 1, and quinquennial data on Jewish ethnicity in years ending with a 1 or 6 (Yam 1974; Torczyner et al. 1993; Statistics Canada 2003a, 2003b, 2019; Weinfeld and Schnoor 2014; Shahar 2015, 2016, 2017; Brym in this volume). Data from the 2021 census indicated a continuing increase in the Canadian Jewish population though this increase was less than might be expected given continuing immigration to the country. In past censuses, information on religion and ancestry/ethnicity was customarily collected through open-ended questions, where *Jewish* was one of the examples provided as a possible response. The 2016 Census broke with this tradition and did not provide *Jewish* as an example. Probably as a consequence, the number reporting a Jewish ethnicity temporarily collapsed to a misleading 143,665 in 2016. The 2021 Census returned to normalcy, but clearly Jewish ethnicity underwent continuous erosion, in part substituted by an emerging *Canadian* ethnicity. Since 1981, Canadians can declare either a single ethnic ancestry or multiple (as many as six) ethnic ancestries. Persons without religion who declare a Jewish ethnicity (single or part of a multiple choice) are included in the *core* (Torczyner et al. 1993; Shahar 2004); ethnic Jews who hold a non-Jewish religion are *not* included.

A *Revised Jewish Standard Definition* was suggested including a) persons with no religious affiliation who are Israeli by ethnicity; b) persons with no religious affiliation with knowledge of Hebrew or Yiddish as a “non-official” language; and c) persons with no religious affiliation who were born in Israel (Weinfeld et al. 2012; Weinfeld and Schnoor 2014; Shahar 2014, 2015 and 2016). This definition provided an estimate of 391,665 in 2011. In 2021, adding the 335,295 Jews by religion with another 68,270 Jews by ethnicity with no religion, a total would obtain of 404,015 (Brym in this volume). The latter figure is not strictly comparable with the *core* Jewish population as it includes a fast-increasing number of persons for whom Jewish is only one among multiple ethnic identities, some of whom would better be included among the *Jewish parents* or *Jewish background* population. In 2011 among the 55,850 who defined themselves without religion and reported a Jewish ethnicity, 9,790 stated Jewish as their single ethnicity, 11,040 ranked Jewish as first of their multiple ethnicities, 17,150 ranked Jewish second, 9,710 ranked Jewish third, and 8,160 ranked

Jewish as fourth to sixth (Brym and Hou 2023). Of those without religion, then, 85% reported Jewish as their sole ethnicity or among the top three out of six possible choices. The mentioning of Jewish as the fourth, fifth or sixth option looks rather similar to the *partly Jewish* discussed above regarding US Jewry. In 2021, the census instructions read: "Specify as many ethnic or cultural origins as applicable," thus expanding even more significantly the definitional scope. Among the 80,240 who defined themselves without religion and reported a Jewish ethnicity or culture (a 43.7% increase over 2011); 11,515 stated Jewish as their single ethnicity; 26,940 ranked Jewish as first of their multiple ethnicities; 20,265 ranked Jewish second; 13,055 ranked Jewish third; and 8,465 ranked Jewish as fourth to sixth (Brym 2024). Summing those with no religion who declared a Jewish ethnicity or culture alone or as one of the first (admittedly more restrictive) now provided only *two* options so 58,720 persons would be included in the Core Jewish Population. Adding these to the 335,295 Jews by religion would provide a 394,015 estimate for 2021.

A large independent representative survey of Canadian Jews undertaken in 2018 (Brym, Neuman and Lenton 2019), revealed that indicators of Jewish religious identification were much more resilient than indicators of Jewish ethnicity and community participation (Goldman 2009; Brym, Slavina, and Lenton 2019; Smith and McLeish 2019). Compared to the US, Jews in Canada featured significantly lower rates of intermarriage along with higher rates of Jewish school enrollment, Jewish community participation, and interest toward Israel. Between 2011 and 2021, 16,685 Jews by religion immigrated into Canada (as against 21,445 in 2001-2011), mostly from the FSU, Israel, and the US (Brym 2023). The Jewish population by religion increased by 5,795 over that decade, but it would have decreased by 3.3% were it not for immigration. Besides minor emigration, a negative balance evidently prevailed between Jewish births and Jewish deaths; between passing from Jewish religion to no religion or vice versa; and between listing a Jewish ancestry/ethnicity and dropping it or vice versa. An estimate of the core Jewish population in 2023, two years after the 2021 census, should compound the effects of continuing net immigration to Canada, estimated at over 1500 per year. By 2022, the total would have increased to 396,000 (as against our previous estimate of 394,000, or a 2000 correction). Assuming some additional arrivals from Ukraine and Russia in the wake of the war, the core Jewish population was estimated to have increased to 398,000 in 2023—the world's fourth largest Jewish community.

4.5 United Kingdom

In the **United Kingdom**, the 2021 national Census provided a first estimate of Jews by religion in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland at 271,766 (United Kingdom Office for National Statistics 2023) although the data were not yet available for Scotland (Graham and Boyd 2022). Previous censuses, including Scotland, suggested some Jewish population increase, from 266,740 in 2001 to 271,259 in 2011 (+1.69%) (United Kingdom Office for National Statistics 2002 and 2012; United Kingdom National Records of Scotland NRS 2011; Miller et al. 1996; Kosmin and Waterman 2002; Graham et al. 2007; Graham and Waterman 2005 and 2007; Voas 2007; Graham and Vulkan 2007; Graham 2013a and 2013b; Boyd and Staetsky 2013; Graham and Caputo 2015; Staetsky and Boyd 2015). In 2011, there were 5,887 Jews in Scotland, versus 6,448 in 2001. Factoring in a provisional estimate of 5,000 Jews for Scotland, the UK census total in 2021 would approach 277,000. Those who did not report a religion nationally rose from 23% in 2001, to 32% in 2011, and 43% in 2021 (6% religion not stated, and 37% no religion). One important issue concerned the ascertained or inferred under-coverage of the fast-growing Haredim (Staetsky 2023 and 2023a), who initially were reluctant to participate in the census. Jewish population increase was due to the high birth rate and younger age composition of the Haredi communities, but also to rising Haredi participation in successive censuses (Graham 2011, Graham et al. 2012, Graham and Boyd 2022, Staetsky 2022). In view of the organized Jewish community's encouragement to participate in the Census, the Jewish—namely Haredi—population was probably less affected by the increase in *no religion* and

not reported. The 2021 census also asked a question about ethnic group, and 68,198 people in England and Wales reported their ethnic group as *Jewish* (United Kingdom Office for National Statistics 2023a). Of these, 52,167 were also Jewish by religion, therefore already accounted for; 10,791 had no religion; 3,068 did not report a religion; and 2,172 had a non-Jewish religion. The 2021 figure was double the number (33,770) who wrote-in Jewish ethnicity in 2011, and over five times as many (12,235) as in 2001. In addition, 4,517 reported an Israeli ethnicity in 2021, of whom 3,047 were Jewish by religion, 840 had no religion, 390 did not state a religion, and 250 had another religion. Adding Jews by religion and ethnic Jews without religions, allocation of non-respondents to the census religion question, and further investigation of the underreporting of Haredim suggested a 310,000 Jewish population estimate for 2021—an upward 18,000 correction. Another 1000 were added to account for growth in 2021, for a total of 19,000 correction versus our previous estimate for 2022.

Mainstream British Jewry is aging, but the growing share of Haredim caused a rejuvenated age composition, with an absolute increase of 3% in the percentage under age 15 and a 1% decrease in the percentage age 65 and over. Vital statistics routinely collected by the Board of Deputies of British Jews Community Research Unit on the annual number of Jewish births revealed over the last years a reversal from a prolonged negative balance to a positive balance of Jewish births and deaths (The Board of Deputies of British Jews, Community Research Unit 2005; Vulkan 2012; Casale Mashiah 2018). Intermarriage was at moderate levels compared with most other European and Western countries, from 11% of couples in 1965-69 to 26% in 2010-13 (Graham 2016 and 2018). The 2018 Fundamental Rights Agency survey found that intermarriage decreased among Jews under age 50 compared to Jews age 50 and over (DellaPergola and Staetsky 2020). Jewish education was growing, confirming the increasing impact of the Haredi sector on the Jewish birth rate (Graham, Staetsky and Boyd 2014; Staetsky and Boyd 2016).

The original census data allow for a comparison of changes in the geographical distribution and density of the Jewish population within the UK between 2001 and 2021 (**Table 13**). Greater London remained the dominant concentration but declined from 58.1% of the total in 2001 to 52.5% in 2021. The northwestern suburban areas of Hertfordshire were the main recipients of London's population dispersal. The Greater Manchester area increased from 10.5% to 12.0%. A majority of other areas with smaller Jewish populations witnessed some decrease over time (Shapiro 2023). Provisionally and bound to upward correction, we assessed the UK's core Jewish population at 312,000 in 2023—the fifth largest Jewish community in the world.

4.6 Argentina

Argentina has the largest Jewish community in Central and South America. Nearly 6,000 Jews emigrated from Argentina to Israel in 2002—the highest number ever in a single year from that country—following the bankruptcy of the country's Central Bank, dire economic conditions, and special incentives offered by Israel. Subsequently, the Argentinean economic situation underwent periodic ups and down, and Jewish emigration fluctuated accordingly, approaching 17,000 between 2000 and 2022 to Israel only (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics annual; Krupnik 2023). In the US, in the Miami Jewish community alone, the number of members of households containing a Jewish adult from Argentina increased from roughly 3,000 in 2004 to 4,400 in 2014 (Sheskin 2015b). A 2004 Jewish population survey in the Buenos Aires metropolitan area (AMBA) (Jmelnizky and Erdei 2005) found 161,000 people in the AMBA who considered themselves as totally or partly Jewish. They were part of an *enlarged* Jewish population of 244,000. Over 300,000 identified in some way as of Jewish origin or living with a person of Jewish origin. Of these, 64,000 were Christians and another 20,000 reported some Jewish ancestry but did not consider themselves Jewish. Significant aging of the *core* Jewish population reflected the emigration of younger households in recent years (Rubel 2005) and the growing incidence of intermarriage (Erdei 2014). A significant downward correction was introduced in 2021 for Argentina (-4,000) in light of a new evaluation of Jewish burials

for the past several years based on records kept by the main AMIA Jewish community organization, by several minor ones in the capital (Buenos Aires), by communities in provincial cities, and also allowing for burials in non-Jewish cemeteries. Argentina's Jewish population was assessed at 171,000 in 2023—the world's sixth largest Jewish community.

Table 13 Jewish population in the UK, 2001-2021[a] censuses, by religion - Thousands

Region	Jewish population			Percent change		Total population	Jews per 1000
	2001	2011	2021	2001-2011	2011-2021	2021	2021
Total United Kingdom	**266.7**	**269.6**	**277.3**	**1.1**	**2.9**	**66,982**	**4.14**
England (London)	***257.7***	***261.3***	***269.3***	***1.4***	***3.1***	***56,535***	***4.76***
North East (Gateshead)	3.2	4.5	4.4	42.9	-2.5	2,647	1.66
North West (Manchester)	28.0	30.4	33.3	8.7	9.4	7,422	4.48
Yorkshire and the Humber (Leeds)	11.6	9.9	9.4	-14.1	-5.8	5,481	1.71
East Midlands (Nottingham)	4.1	4.3	4.3	4.4	1.4	4,880	0.88
West Midlands (Birmingham)	5.0	4.6	4.4	-7.2	-4.9	5,953	0.74
East (Hertfordshire)	30.4	34.8	42.0	14.7	20.6	6,348	6.62
London (Barnet)	149.8	148.6	145.5	-0.8	-2.1	8,797	16.54
South East (Surrey)	19.0	17.8	18.7	-6.7	5.2	9,294	2.01
South West (Bournemouth)	6.7	6.4	7.4	-5.7	16.1	5,713	1.29
Wales (Cardiff)	***2.3***	***2.1***	***2.0***	***-8.5***	***-1.0***	***3,105***	***0.66***
Northern Ireland (Belfast)	***0.4***	***0.3***	***0.4***	***-7.9***	***31.0***	***1,905***	***0.23***
Scotland (Glasgow)	***6.4***	***5.9***	***5.5***	***-10.5***	***-6.6***	***5,437***	***1.01***

Sources: Office of National Statistics (2002, 2012, 2022). Cities or boroughs with largest Jewish population within each region are shown in parentheses
[a] Scotland: 2022. Author's provisional estimate

4.7 Russia

In the **Russian Federation**, the 2021 census provided an unexpectedly low estimate of 83,896 Jews (including Mountain Jews, Georgian Jews and other small groups), as against 161,300 in 2010, and 238,900 in 2002. The new census figure was manifestly below target, due to considerable non-reporting to the question on ethnicity (11.3% nationally) and cannot be taken as a serious measure of Jewish population size. It is certain that the Jewish population continued its downward course also reflecting a decline in the country's total population since 1990 because of emigration, aging, and a negative balance of births and deaths (DellaPergola, Tolts and Rebhun 1996; Tolts 2008, 2014, 2015, 2018, and 2023), yet the new Census results were not plausible. After the compulsory item of ethnicity *(natsyonalnost)* on identification documents was canceled, the ethnicity question became optional in the 2010 Census, thus leading to shakier population estimates. In 2010, the core Jewish population was evaluated at 157,763, plus another about 43,000 people with undeclared ethnicity who likely belonged to the core Jewish population, for a total of 200,600 (Tolts 2011). Nearly 200,000 Jews and family members migrated to Israel between 2000 and 2022. Based on official vital statistics, the negative balance of Jewish births and deaths was evaluated at an annual deficit of about 2%. The selective effects of Jewish emigration generated an extremely elderly age composition and continuing population decrease, only partially compensated by migration from other FSU republics and a moderate number of returns of previous migrants to Israel (Tolts 2003, 2009, 2015, 2018 and 2023; Cohen 2009; Khanin 2023). In 2022, we estimated Russia's Jewish population at 145,000, based on a systematic assessment of known or projected birth rates and death rates, as well as international migration. In 2022, the war in Ukraine caused a sharp revival of Jewish emigration from Russia, much more so than from Ukraine, with 45,472 new immigrants to Israel, of which 12,500 were Jewish. However, a significant share of new immigrants of the past years from Russia, appeared to have left Israel within a year after arrival (Israel Population and Migration Authority 2022). A downward revision of -3,000 was introduced to let the time series remain coherent

with the latest developments. In 2023, following these various corrections and updates, we estimated the Jewish population of the Russian Federation at 132,000—a hefty 57% higher than the census report, and the world's seventh largest Jewish community. In spite of the serious shortcomings of the 2021 census, the data throw some light on the changing internal Jewish geography in the Russian Federation. Notably, decline—true or exaggerated—appeared all across the country, whose Jewish population appeared to be quite dispersed (**Table 14**). On the face of the data, the two major metropolitan areas of Moscow and St. Petersburg/Leningrad (central city plus suburban district) comprised 51.5% of the total in 2021 versus 54.6% in 2002. The largest provincial Jewish communities were in the districts of Sverdlovsk (Yekaterinburg) and Samara (Kuybyshev).

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Table 14 Jewish population in the Russian Federation, 2002-2021 censuses, by ethnicity - Thousands

Province or autonomous republic[a]	Jewish population			Percent change		Total population	Jews per 1000
	2002	2010	2021	2002-2010	2010-2021	2021	2021
Total Russian Federation[b]	**238.9**	**161.3**	**84.1**	**-32.5**	**-47.9**	**147,182**	**0.57**
Moscow City	80.4	53.3	28.1	-33.7	-47.3	13,010	2.16
Moscow Oblast	10.1	7.2	5.1	-28.7	-29.2	8,525	0.60
St. Petersburg (Leningrad) City	38.4	25.4	9.2	-33.9	-63.8	5,602	1.64
Leningrad Oblast	1.7	1.2	0.9	-29.4	-25.0	2,001	0.45
Sverdlovsk (Yekaterinburg)	6.9	5.5	2.4	-19.9	-56.4	4,269	0.56
Samara (Kuybyshev)	6.4	4.4	2.3	-31.3	-47.7	3,173	0.72
Tataria	3.5	2.6	1.8	-25.3	-30.8	4,005	0.45
Krym[c]	5.5	3.5	1.7	-36.4	-51.4	1,935	0.88
Krasnodar	3.3	2.3	1.7	-29.9	-26.1	5,839	0.29
Cheliabinsk	4.9	3.4	1.7	-31.1	-50.0	3,431	0.50
Rostov	5.0	3.2	1.7	-36.5	-46.9	4,201	0.40
Stavropol	3.1	2.4	1.6	-21.6	-33.3	2,908	0.55
Nizhniy Novgorod (Gor'ki)	5.3	3.8	1.5	-28.7	-60.5	3,119	0.48
Bashkiria	2.4	1.9	1.3	-19.9	-31.6	4,091	0.32
Novosibirsk	3.3	2.2	1.2	-33.9	-45.5	2,797	0.43
Saratov	3.4	2.3	1.2	-33.2	-47.8	2,442	0.49
Perm	2.6	1.9	0.9	-28.2	-52.6	2,532	0.36
Dagestan	2.5	1.9	0.9	-25.3	-52.6	3,182	0.28
Jewish Autonomous Oblast	2.3	1.6	0.8	-31.3	-50.0	150	5.33
Irkutsk	2.5	1.6	0.8	-35.7	-50.0	2,370	0.34
Omsk	2.4	1.7	0.8	-29.1	-52.9	1,859	0.43
Kabardino-Balkaria	1.3	1.0	0.7	-22.3	-30.0	904	0.77
Kaliningrad	1.6	1.1	0.7	-31.3	-36.4	1,030	0.68
Other	39.9	25.9	16.1	-35.2	-37.8	63,807	0.25

Sources: Cities with largest Jewish population within each region are shown in parentheses.
[a] Areas with at least 700 Jews, ranked by Jewish population size according to 2021 census
[b] Note that we assess the current Jewish population of the Russian Federation at 132,000, not the 84,100 reported by the 2021 census shown above
[c] Krym until 2014 was part of Ukraine

4.8 Germany

In **Germany**, the Jewish population registered with officially recognized Jewish communities, after increasing consistently from 29,089 in 1990 to a peak of 107,794 at the beginning of 2007, diminished gradually to 102,797 in 2013, and 90,885 in 2023 (ZWST 2023). These figures only include core Jews, therefore excluding the high share of non-Jewish members of Jewish households. The main reason for membership decline was aging and a continuing negative balance of vital events (births and deaths). Between 2000 and 2022, there were a total of 4,476 recorded Jewish births and 29,582 Jewish deaths, with a net natural deficit of -25,106. Births may be underreported because of non-membership; but family size is actually very small, and intermarriage is frequent (DellaPergola and Staetsky 2021). During the same period, 52,586 immigrants, mostly

from the FSU, registered with a Jewish community, versus 4,528 emigrants, with a surplus of 48,058. The Jewish population that had previously relied on scant numbers of *Shoah* survivors and several thousand immigrants mostly from Eastern Europe and Israel, received a powerful boost since 1990 and until 2005. After 2005, immigration from the FSU diminished to a few hundred annually after the German government reduced benefits to Jewish immigrants (Cohen and Kogan 2005; Dietz et al. 2002; Erlanger 2006). Further numerical changes reflected joining and leaving the organized communities. Opportunities for religious, social and cultural life, as well as welfare and services for the elderly represented incentives to join (Schoeps et al. 1999; Ben Rafael et al. 2011; Glöckner and Fireberg 2015). However, between 2000 and 2022, there were 10,115 membership withdrawals versus 1,553 new joiners, with a negative balance of 8,562. Our estimates for previous years erroneously discounted these withdrawals from the total estimate, while allowing for continuing immigration of non-members. Former members should have been kept inside the population count (besides those who might have moved out of Germany without informing the Jewish community). In 2023, the omission was corrected, and former members were accounted for, with the corrective of estimated deaths in this strongly aging population group. An upward correction of 6,000 was applied to the 2022 estimate. In 2022, German Jewish communities absorbed 1,693 new immigrants. According to official sources, about 6,500 people were supported by the central Jewish organization ZWST, of which about 2,550 people were in longer-term case management (Bundesministerium des Innern und für Heimat 2023). The number of people advised increased by about 60% compared to 2021, with the largest share of about 3,300 people being advice seekers from Ukraine.

The Jewish community database, although increasingly incomplete, allows for some insights on the changing Jewish population geographical distribution in Germany (**Table 15**). The reported national total declined, whereas in reality there was constant increase. Unlike countries like France and the UK, Jews were not concentrated in the capital city, where nevertheless the Jewish share of total population was slightly higher. This reflected the Federal policies of immigrants' dispersal throughout the Republic. The largest number of Jews was in the industrial Nordrhein-Westfalen region (primarily Dusseldorf) followed by Bavaria (Munich). In Berlin, the community-registered Jewish population diminished from 11,278 in 2003 to 8,286 in 2023, despite reports of a large increase. In 2018, 52% of the total Jewish adult population of Germany were foreign-born (DellaPergola and Staetsky 2020). Among these, the Israeli-born constituted about 9% of Germany's total Jewish population (see also Rebhun et al. 2022). At the beginning of 2021, the number of officially recorded Israeli citizens in Berlin was 5,472, as against 3,065 in 2012 (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg 2012, 2015, 2019, 2020; Harpaz 2013; *Times of Israel* 2017). Considering new immigrants and declining affiliation rates, we estimated Germany's *core* Jewish population at 125,000 in 2023—the world's eighth largest Jewish community.

4.9 Australia

In **Australia**, 99,956 persons identified as Jewish by religion in the 2021 Census, which accounted for about 0.4% of the Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2022). This was a 9.8% increase over the 2016 Census which had estimated 91,022 Jews—which was a surprising decline of 6.5% compared to 2011. The 2011 Census had reported a Jewish population of 97,336, compared to 88,831 in 2006 and 83,993 in 2001 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017; Eckstein 2003; Graham 2012, 2014a, 2014b; Graham and Narunski 2019). The 2021 returns indicated a 2.7% increase in Jews by religion compared to the more reliable 2011. The explanation for these fluctuations stands in two changes in the Census form. In 2016, *No religion* was moved from the bottom of the list to the top of the list of printed options, and Judaism did not appear as a printed option in the questionnaire but only as a write-in option. The result was a dramatic increase by 45.5% in the number of all Australians reporting no religion between 2011 and 2016. The percentage not reporting a religion further increased from 30% in 2016 to 39% in 2021. The 2021 census also asked about ancestry, referring to ethnic or cultural origins of parents/grandparents. Of

the 29,112 who wrote-in a Jewish ancestry, 16,718 did so for the first of two options, and 12,394 did so for the second. Of the total, 12,789 people did not also identify as Jewish by religion (8,715 were of no religion or not stated, and 4,074 stated another religion). Adding the 8,715 persons of Jewish ancestry and no religion to the 99,956 of Jewish religion, one obtains a census total of 108,671. The revised census estimate for 2021, allocating for non-response, was 117,000 Jews in 2021 (Graham 2023).

The community's aging composition generated a fairly high death rate (Eckstein 2009; Markus et al. 2009; Markus et al. 2011; Forrest and Sheskin 2014, Graham 2018), but based on evaluations of the *GEN17 Australian Jewish Community Survey* (Graham and Markus 2018, Porat 2020), we presumed continuation of minimal growth. Still around 2016, there was a small positive difference between an estimated 1,200 Jewish births and about 900 Jewish funerals, with continuing immigration from South Africa, the FSU, and Israel, and intermarriage rates moderate although rising (Graham 2018; Graham and Narunski 2019). Closer examination of the data indicated that Jewish population had stabilized around 2021 (Graham 2023). We applied a 1,200 downward correction to our previous estimate, keeping Australia's Jewish population at 117,000 in 2023—the world's ninth largest.

Table 15 Jewish community members in Germany, 2003-2023 - Thousands

Region	Jewish population			% Change		Total population	Jews per 1000
	2003	2013	2023	2003-2013	2013-2023	2023	2023
Total	**98,335**	**102,797**	**90,885**	**4.5**	**-11.6**	**84,359**	**1.08**
Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart)	7,306	8,235	7,686	12.7	-6.7	11,280	0.68
Bayern (Munchen)	17,298	18,437	17,560	6.6	-4.8	13,369	1.31
Berlin	11,278	10,214	8,286	-9.4	-18.9	3,755	2.21
Brandenburg (Potsdam)	989	1,384	1,691	39.9	22.2	2,573	0.66
Bremen	1,159	995	739	-14.2	-25.7	685	1.08
Hamburg	4,865	2,609	2,301	-46.4	-11.8	1,892	1.22
Hessen (Frankfurt)	11,727	11,778	10,553	0.4	-10.4	6,391	1.65
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Schwerin)	1,304	1,585	1,111	21.5	-29.9	1,628	0.68
Niedersachsen (Hannover)	7,899	8,238	7,463	4.3	-9.4	8,140	0.92
Nordrhein-Westfalen (Dusseldorf)	26,905	27,995	25,033	4.1	-10.6	18,139	1.38
Rheinland-Pfalz (Mainz)	2,617	3,311	1,979	26.5	-40.2	4,159	0.48
Saarland (Saarbrucken)	1,070	1,019	748	-4.8	-26.6	992	0.75
Sachsen (Leipzig)	1,830	2,663	2,289	45.5	-14.0	4,086	0.56
Sachsen-Anhalt (Halle)	1,546	1,504	1,175	-2.7	-21.9	2,189	0.54
Schleswig-Holstein (Kiel)	-	1,951	1,614	-	-17.3	2,953	0.55
Thüringen (Erfurt)	542	839	657	54.8	-21.7	2,127	0.31

Sources: ZWST (2002, 2012, 2022). Cities with largest Jewish population within each region are shown in parentheses

4.10 Brazil

In **Brazil**, the 2020 census was postponed to 2022. So, at the time of this writing new Jewish population data were not yet available. The 2010 Census reported a national total of 107,329 Jews, of whom 105,432 lived in urban localities and 1,987 in rural localities (Instituto Brasilero de Geografia e Estadistica IBGE 2010). What cannot be attributed to demography and likely reflects new emerging Jewish identifications or misclassifications is a decennial increase of over 8,000 people as against the 2000 census (+125%) in the Northeastern, Northern, and Central-Western states. These growing numbers in the least developed and more peripheral regions of Brazil, but to some extent also in São Paulo, pointed to inclusion as Jews in the Census population of many thousands of persons who in all probability belonged to Evangelical sects and Jehovah's Witnesses, besides

possible cases of *Converso* Jewish ancestry. The surge of interest in Judaism among local populations was notable in Brazil and several other countries in Latin America (Torres 2017). At the same time, Jewish emigration to Israel increased significantly and amounted to over 7,500 in 2000-2022. Allowing for emigration, still not including potential emerging communities, and waiting for the final census counts, our assessment of Brazil's core Jewish population was 90,500 in 2023—the world's tenth largest Jewish community.

4.11 South Africa

The 2022 South African Census results by religion were not yet available at the time of this writing. A national survey undertaken in 2019 in **South Africa** led to a significant downward reduction in local Jewish population estimates suggesting an estimate of 53,200 (Graham 2020). According to the 2001 Census, the white Jewish population of South Africa was 61,675, out of a reported total of 75,555 including nonwhites. Some of these nonwhites identified with Jewish ancestry, but more likely were members of Christian messianic denominations. Factoring in an evaluation of the national white non-response rate (14%) and additional factors led then to a revised estimate of 72,000 (Saks 2003). The Jewish population in South Africa was relatively stable after the major emigration wave just before the 1994 transfer of power from the apartheid regime to a democratic government, (Dubb 1994; Kosmin et al. 1999; Bruk 2006; Raijman 2016). However, due to continuing emigration to Australia, Israel, and other countries, and also because of a negative balance of births and deaths, the Jewish population steadily declined. Between 2000 and 2022 about 5,000 Jews migrated to Israel. Among the Jewish population surveyed in 2019, 15% said they would leave South Africa, of whom 51% said they would go to Israel (Graham 2020). But, regarding the actual distribution of immediate family members who had left South Africa, 26% lived in Israel, 21% in the US, 20% in Australia, 20% in the UK, 6% in Canada, and 7% in another country. Our estimate for 2023 was 50,000—the world's eleventh largest Jewish community.

4.12 Hungary

In **Hungary**, the third largest Jewish population in the European Union, there were 7,635 Jews according to the 2022 Census, as against 10,965 in 2011 and 12,781 in 2001. The declining Jewish population plausibly portrayed the negative balance of Jewish births and deaths in a country whose total population has been declining for several years (Stark 1995 and 1997; Swiss Fund for Needy Victims of the Holocaust/Shoa 2002; Kovács 2013a; Population Reference Bureau 2019; Hungarian Central Statistical Office 2003, 2013, 2023). A similar estimate of the number of Jews could be derived by looking at the percentage Jewish out of the total Hungarian population in the European Social Survey (European Social Survey annual). These numbers should be interpreted cautiously, since a majority of the Hungarian population reported no religion. A 2017 Jewish survey suggested a minimum-maximum range of 58,936-110,679 Jews, portraying substantial discrepancies about Jewish population size according to different sources and, especially, definitions (Kovács and Barna 2018). Migration to Israel between 2000 and 2022 was about 1,600 (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics annual). During the same period, 5,512 Israelis immigrated to Hungary, most of them probably Jews, many of them temporarily for study or other purposes; 1,467 Israelis emigrated from Hungary—a net balance of 4,045 (Hungary Central Statistical Office 2022). The number of Israelis receiving Hungarian citizenship was very small, but migration apparently mitigated the inherent decline of Hungary's Jewish population. Our core population estimate for 2023 was 46,000—the world's twelfth largest Jewish community, pending downward corrections.

4.13 Mexico

In **Mexico**, the third largest Jewish community in Latin America, the 2020 Census reported 58,876 Jews, as against 59,161 in the 2010 Census which also reported another 8,315 *Neo Israelitas* (New Jews), for a total of 67,476 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía e Informatica 2012, 2022). Earlier Mexican censuses provided highly erratic figures, hinting at problematic and variable interpretations of Jewish population definitions. In-depth analysis of the 1970 Census (DellaPergola and Schmelz 1978) had unveiled among those defined as Jews a significant presence of adherents to other religious denominations, mostly located in distant rural states or peripheral urban areas, with very low levels of educational attainment, exclusive knowledge of local indigenous idioms, and reportedly shoeless (*descalzos*). The inclusion of a category of *Neo Israelitas* in 2010 left open the question of the Jewish identity of a population possibly comprising followers of Evangelical sects or Jehovah's Witnesses, as well as descendants of *Conversos*. For the Federal Capital's metropolitan area, the Census Jewish population produced rather stable estimates similar to Jewish surveys of the same area (DellaPergola and Lerner 1995; Comité Central Israelita de México 2000, 2006, 2015, 2023; Bokser Liwerant 2013). Some international migration operated both ways. The total of immigrants to Israel between 2000 and 2022 approached 2,000. More migrants preferred the US. The most recent check of membership lists of all Jewish community organizations in Mexico provided a total of 44,400. However, people who leave Mexico often do not withdraw their membership in the community of origin, which therefore is quite inflated. Our 2023 Jewish population estimate was kept stable at 40,000—the world's thirteenth largest.

4.14 Ukraine

In **Ukraine,** the last Census held in December 2001 yielded an estimate of 104,300 Jews (Ukrainian Ministry of Statistics 2002; Tolts 2002, 2018, 2023). Subsequently, censuses could not be implemented. Instability, internal cleavage, and war in Ukraine resulted in continuing Jewish emigration and population decline. About 123,000 total immigrants, of which 47,000 Jews arrived in Israel between 2000 and 2022. Continuing emigration to other countries, namely to the Russian Federation, low fertility, intermarriage, ageing, and the consequent low birth rates and high death rates, caused greater population declines than in the Russian Federation. We assessed the 2022 *core* Jewish population at 40,000. In 2022, the war in Ukraine caused serious dislocations and massive emigration. Israel received 14,656 new immigrants, of which 5,813 were Jews, and many more relocated at least temporarily in Poland, Germany, other European countries, and North America. All considered, we estimated the Jewish population in Ukraine in 2023 at 33,000—the world's fourteenth largest.

4.15 Other countries

Ony a few countries for whom new and meaningful information was obtained will be mentioned here. Updates for all other countries relied upon the previous year's estimates to which the reader is referred (DellaPergola 2023), plus minor changes reflecting the balance of births and deaths and international migration.

In **Austria**, a thorough analysis of updated Jewish community records and state vital statistics (Statistik Austria 2019; Staetsky and DellaPergola 2020) suggested an upward revision to 10,300 in 2022. Between 2001 and 2022, 450 emigrated to Israel. In 2023, the estimate was kept stable.

In **Belgium**, a thorough review of all available Jewish community and public sources made it possible to reach an estimate more reliable than the rather impressionistic evaluations of the past (Staetsky and DellaPergola 2022). The findings confirmed quite stable numbers generated by

growth among the highly traditional Orthodox community in Antwerp, versus demographic stagnation in Brussels, despite the attractiveness of the EU capital for Jews from other countries (Cohn 2003; Ben Rafael 2013). Emigration to Israel of 2,800 between 2001 and 2022 reflected growing concerns about Islamization, terrorism, and antisemitism. The Jewish population was updated to 29,000 in 2023.

In **Italy**, total Jewish community membership—which historically comprised the overwhelming majority of the country's Jewish population—decreased from 26,706 in 1995 to 21,982 in 2022 (Unione delle Comunità Ebraiche Italiane 2002, 2010, 2018, 2022; Lattes 2005; Campelli 2013 and 2016). Our estimate of 26,900 for 2023 considered increasing non-membership, more conversions to Judaism, and continuing emigration—including 2,200 to Israel between 2001 and 2022.

In **Poland**, the reported Jewish population consistently increased due to recovery of lost Jewish identity memories and some immigration (DellaPergola and Staetsky 2020). Jewish community membership was 1,860 in 2018. In the 2021 Census, 17,156 respondents mentioned a Jewish ethnicity (GUS 2022). The 2002 Census had found 1,055 self-declared Jews, which in the 2011 census grew to 7,353. Of the latter, 1,636 mentioned only a Jewish ethnicity, and 851 declared Jewish as the first of two ethnicities, for a total of 2,488. Another 5,020 declared Jewish as second ethnicity, mostly following Polish. Further 7,811 non-Jewish persons lived in households with at least one Jewish person (GUS 2012). Those with a Jewish ethnicity and a non-Jewish religion were not included in the core Jewish population estimated at 4,500 in 2011. Pending further data analysis of the 2021 census, we assumed that roughly half of all ethnic Jews would fall within the *core* Jewish population definition. This implied a 4,500 upward correction, besides a 500 person increase due to permanent immigration from Ukraine. Our core Jewish population estimate for 2023 was 9,500.

In **Portugal**, the 2021 Census reported 2,910 Jews aged 15 and over (Statistics Portugal 2022, which would roughly correspond to 3,400 persons, as against our 3,500 estimate for 2022. Allowing for some continuing immigration following the encouraging Portuguese citizenship laws (BBC 2015), the Jewish population was updated to 3,800 in 2023.

In **Switzerland**, according to census data and current updates, there were 17,478 Jews age 15 and over at the end of 2021, which would roughly correspond to a total of 20,500 (Statistik Schweiz 2005, 2012, 2019, 2022). In the light of census and emigration data—including 1,750 to Israel between 2001 and 2022—the estimate was updated to 20,500 in 2023.

In **Belarus,** the 2019 census indicated a total population diminution of 600,000 over the past 20 years (Belsat 2020). The census counted a total of 13,705 Jews, of whom 10,269 were males and 3,436 were females. Such sex imbalance being totally unrealistic, we ignored this source pending further clarification. In view of emigration to Israel of some 18,300 between 2000 and 2022, of which 7,300 were Jews, and a steady negative balance of births and deaths, our 2023 estimate was 6,000.

Section 5 Major Cities and Metropolitan Areas

Changes in the geographic distribution of Jews affected their distribution not only among countries, but also significantly within countries. Jews showed a clear preference to live in major metropolitan areas. Within metropolitan areas, too, Jews often manifested unique propensities to settle or resettle in specific neighborhoods that were more compatible with their socioeconomic status, and/or more attractive because of their propinquity to employment or Jewish community facilities (DellaPergola and Sheskin 2015). Definitions of urban areas vary by country. The US urban areas reported on **Table 16** are Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs). Changes in the definition of Metropolitan areas periodically affected some of the data for Israel.

Table 16 Metropolitan areas with populations with Jewish parents (PJP) above 100,000, 1/1/2023[a]

Rank	Metropolitan Area	Country	Jewish population (PJP)[b]	% Jews out of total population	% of world Jewish population (PJP)[b]	
					%	Cumulative %
1	Tel Aviv[c]	Israel	4,009,700	94.8	19.9	19.9
2	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	US	2,188,100	11.1	10.9	30.8
3	Jerusalem[d]	Israel	1,039,000	72.3	5.2	35.9
4	Haifa[e]	Israel	739,700	73.0	3.7	39.6
5	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	US	670,200	5.2	3.3	42.9
6	Miami-Ft. Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	US	535,500	8.8	2.7	45.6
7	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	US	419,150	6.8	2.1	47.7
8	Paris[f]	France	335,000	2.9	1.7	49.3
9	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	US	322,080	3.4	1.6	50.9
10	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	US	297,290	4.7	1.5	52.4
11	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	US	257,460	5.3	1.3	53.7
12	Be'er Sheva[g]	Israel	252,800	59.1	1.3	55.0
13	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	US	247,500	5.4	1.2	56.2
14	London[h]	UK	235,000	2.4	1.1	57.3
15	Buenos Aires[i]	Argentina	230,000	1.4	1.1	58.5
16	Toronto[j]	Canada	225,000	4.5	1.1	59.6
17	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA	US	132,100	2.2	0.7	60.2
18	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	US	119,300	4.2	0.6	60.8
19	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	US	100,700	3.0	0.5	61.3

[a] Most metropolitan areas include extended inhabited territory and several municipal authorities around the central city. Definitions vary by country. Israel metropolitan areas are defined by the Central Bureau of Statistics. The US metropolitan areas are Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) as defined by the US Office of Management and Budget. See www.census.gov/geographies/reference-files/time-series/demo/metro-micro/delineationfiles.html. The data for metropolitan areas in the US are taken from the chapter by Sheskin and Dashefsky on United States Jewish Population in this volume

[b] Several the US estimates refer to Population with Jewish Parents (PJP). All Israel Jewish Populations are Enlarged Jewish Populations (EJP). Data for other countries refer to Population with Jewish Parents (PJP)

[c] Includes Tel Aviv District, Central District, Ashdod Subdistrict in the Southern District, and sections of Judea and Samaria District. Principal cities: Tel Aviv, Ramat Gan, Bene Beraq, Petach Tikwa, Bat Yam, Holon, Rishon LeZiyon, Rehovot, Netanya, and Ashdod, all with Jewish populations 100,000 and over

[d] Includes Jerusalem District and parts of the Judea and Samaria District. Includes Bet Shemesh with over 100,000 Jews

[e] Includes Haifa District and parts of Northern District

[f] Includes about 55,000 part-year residents

[g] Departments 75, 77, 78, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95

[h] Includes Beersheba Subdistrict and other parts of Southern District

[i] Greater London and contiguous postcode areas

[j] Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area AMBA

[k] Census Metropolitan Area

It is not easy to create a truly standardized picture of Jewish populations in major cities, as some available figures refer to different years and are only roughly comparable regarding Jewish population definitions and data collection methods. Regarding the US Metropolitan Statistical areas (MSAs), we use here the data reported in the US Jewish Population report in this series, which rely mostly on estimates resulting from definitions used by local Jewish federations. This often resulted in extended aggregates of people currently Jewish, born or raised Jewish—in other words a population with Jewish parents (PJP) or even the total population in Jewish households (EJP). Sheskin and Dashefsky's estimates, along with those for other locales not reported here, suggested a total US Jewish population of 7,460,600 in 2023, as against our *core Jewish population* estimate of 6.3M and a *net Jewish population* of 7.5M according to the Pew 2020 definition. To create a more comparable database, we adopted an extended definition here—substantially similar to the Pew *net Jewish population*—of Jews residing in metropolitan areas out of the US as well. For metropolitan areas in Israel, the data refer to an enlarged Jewish population (EJP) including non-Jewish household members. Broader Jewish population definitions increase the number and percent of Jews out of the total local population, but at the same time lower the proportion in the selected

metropolitan areas out of the total world enlarged Jewish population. This has to be kept in mind when comparing the 2023 estimates with those for earlier years.

Moreover, unlike our estimates of Jewish populations in individual countries, the data reported here on major urban Jewish populations did not fully adjust for possible double counting due to multiple residences (with the exception of Florida where the estimates were adjusted, see Sheskin and Dashefsky in this volume). In the US, the differences may be quite significant, in the range of several tens, if not hundreds of thousands, involving both major and minor metropolitan areas. The respective estimates of part-year residents were partly accounted for in the estimates in **Table 16**. Part-year residency is related to both climate differences and economic and employment factors. Such multiple residences now also increasingly occur internationally. A person from New York or Paris may also own or rent an apartment in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv, and some may even commute monthly or weekly (Pupko 2013). The case of Israelis regularly commuting abroad for work has also become more frequent.

Jewish populations globally are overwhelmingly concentrated in large urban areas. In 2023, more than half (50.9%) of world Jewry (as defined above) lived in only nine metropolitan areas (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics; the US Jewish Population report in this series). These ten areas—including the main cities and vast urbanized territories around them—were Tel Aviv, New York-Newark-Jersey City, Jerusalem, Haifa, Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, Miami-Ft. Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, Paris, and Chicago-Naperville-Elgin. Over 61% of an admittedly rough estimate of enlarged world Jewry lived in the nine previously mentioned largest areas plus another ten with at least 100,000 Jews (including in some cases non-Jewish members of Jewish households): Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, Boston-Cambridge-Newton, Be'er Sheva, San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, London, Buenos Aires, Toronto, Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, and San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad.

The Jewish population in the Tel Aviv conurbation, extending from Netanya to Ashdod and surpassing 4M Jews by the *enlarged* definition, largely exceeded that in the New York MSA, extending from southern New York State to parts of Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, with nearly 2.2M Jews. Of the 19 largest metropolitan areas of Jewish residence, eleven were located in the US, four in Israel, and one each in France, the UK, Canada, and Argentina. Nearly all the major areas of settlement of contemporary Jewish populations share distinct features, such as being national or regional capitals, enjoying higher standards of living, with highly developed infrastructures for higher education and hi-tech, and widespread transnational connections. The Tel Aviv metropolitan area also featured the highest percent of Jews (by the enlarged definition) among the total population (94.8%), followed at a distance by Haifa (73.0%), Jerusalem (72.3%), and Beersheba (59.1%), the balance mostly being Israeli Arabs. In the rest of the world, the highest percentage of Jews in a metropolitan area was in New York (11.2%), followed by Miami-Fort Lauderdale (8.7%), Philadelphia (6.7%), San Francisco (5.4%), Boston (5.3%), Los Angeles (5.1%), Washington (4.7%), Toronto (4.5%), and Baltimore (4.2%).

Section 6 Major Determinants of Demographic Change

The changes in the size and composition of Jewish populations outlined above reflect a chain of interrelated factors, each of which in turn depends on a complex array of explanatory determinants. We briefly review here only three of these factors—changes in personal Jewish identification, Jewish international migration, and some possible effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on Jewish deaths and births. These factors operated differently in each country.

6.1 Identificational changes

One of the important engines of Jewish population change is the readiness of individuals to identify themselves as Jews. Such identification can be full and mutually exclusive regarding other possible identities, or partial and shared with other identities, or a matter of distant connections with Jewish ancestors. The choice of spouse within or outside the Jewish group strongly determines whether the descendants only have Jewish ancestry or multiple ancestries including a Jewish ancestor. The identification of individuals among the several options available is a matter of choice, mediated by the cluster of personal characteristics and life opportunities people are allocated or exposed to. Growing rates of intermarriage in nearly every country have contributed to the expanding nature of personal Jewish and/or other identifications, from clearly defined and mutually exclusive, into a weaker and sometimes uncertain or even forgotten residual (Reinharz and DellaPergola 2009; DellaPergola 2009b; Phillips 2018). Intermarriage is one of the main determinants of a household's religious composition and a prime factor in affecting the identities of the descendants and the overall ethnoreligious composition of the enlarged population of Jews and their family members.

Figure 8.11 provides an overview of the respective weights of different population groups defined by gradually more extensive identification criteria, beginning with the *core* Jewish definition and up to the broader limits of the *Law of Return* definition. The data cover Israel and each of the 20 largest Jewish populations worldwide, ranked from highest to lowest by share of core Jewish compared to Law of Return population. The case of Israel stands out as remarkably different, with a low rate of intermarriage, either imported from abroad or generated locally, hence the extensions of the core Jewish population are relatively small. In the rest of the world, countries where the core Jewish population constitutes a larger share relative to the Law of Return population include Australia, the UK, Switzerland, Belgium, and Mexico. Countries where the core Jewish population constitutes a lower share of the Law of Return definition include Ukraine, Russia, Hungary, Germany, the US, and the Netherlands.

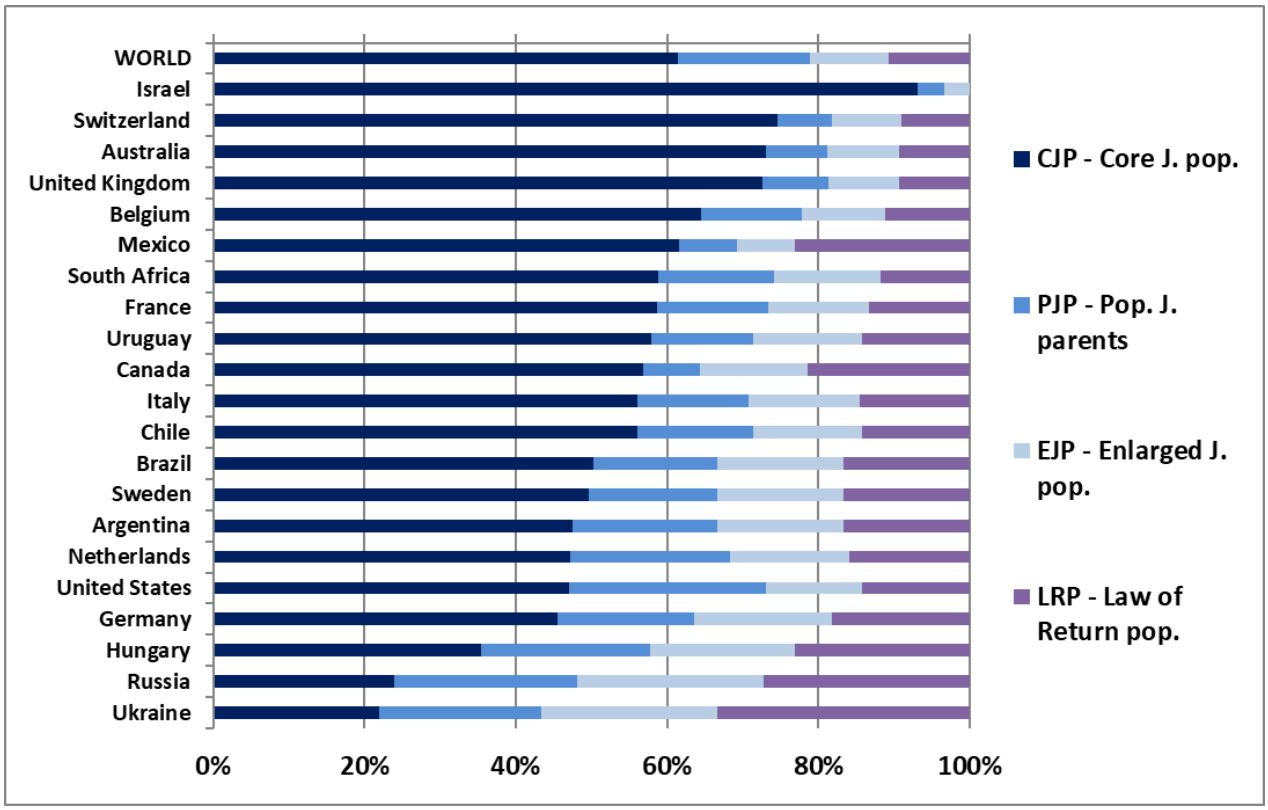

Fig. 11 World, Israel, and 20 largest Diaspora Core, Jewish Parentage, Enlarged, and Law of Return Jewish populations, percentage distributions, 2023
Source: Table 18

6.2 International migration

Over the past decades, shifts in Jewish population size in the major regions of the world were primarily determined by large-scale international migration. Unfortunately, international migration of Jews is imperfectly documented. Currently, only Israel records Jewish immigrants by their detailed countries of origin (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics annual and unpublished data). Israeli data, compared over several successive years, may provide a sense of the intensity of concomitant migration movements of Jews to other countries, although there are also differences in the timing, volume, direction, and characteristics of the respective migrants (DellaPergola 2009a; Amit et al. 2010; DellaPergola 2020b). Some countries do have records of the annual numbers of migrants from and sometimes also to Israel, although they usually do not distinguish between Jews and non-Jews (US Department of Homeland Security 2017; Eurostat 2015; DellaPergola and Staetsky 2020). Jewish organizations, like HIAS—formerly the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS 2013) in the US or the ZWST-Zentralwohlfhartsstelle (annual) in Germany, record Jewish immigrants on a yearly basis. The Canadian census records Jewish immigrants by country of birth (Brym 2023). However, the global picture of Jewish migration remains far from complete. What is clear is that there exists a strong negative relationship between the level of human development of a country and the propensity of Jews to emigrate from that country, namely to Israel (DellaPergola 2020b).

Beginning in 1948, Israel was the main recipient of Jewish international migration. It was the country of destination of 69% of all Jewish migration between 1948 and 1968, and about 60% between 1969 and 2015 (Amit and DellaPergola 2016). The international migration balance quite consistently produced a net surplus for Israel, reduced the population of the Diaspora and increased the Jewish population of Israel. Jewish international migration reached one of its highest peaks ever when the FSU opened its doors to emigration at the end of 1989. Of the estimated 1.9M FSU migrants between 1989 and 2021 including non-Jewish household members, about 1.2M migrated to Israel, over 350,000 to the US, and over 250,000 to Germany. In time, the proportion of Jews diminished, and the presence of non-Jewish relatives became more dominant. Following a worsening of legal provisions for the admission of new immigrants, and the active involvement of Israel's government to that effect, the US lost the primacy as a destination for FSU migrants it had gained during the 1980s. A cut in the benefits offered by Germany to FSU Jewish migrants occurred since 2005 (Dominitz 1997; Lazin 2005; Erlanger 2006; Gur-Gurevich 2014; Muallem 2016).

These remarkable political and administrative interventions affected increases and decreases in the number of Jewish migrants, and their chosen directions. Migration was also affected by the changing strength of push and hold factors in the FSU and in other regional realities, at a time of rapid geopolitical change and shifts in economic opportunities. Migration levels strongly reflected the differential and varying constraints and benefits related to the migrants' legal status and employment options in the main countries of origin and of destination (DellaPergola 2020b). Israeli immigration law (the Law of Return) allows for comparatively easier access and immediate citizenship to Jewish migrants and their families, especially after a new citizenship law of 2017, but the integration difficulties experienced in Israel by some immigrants created deterrents to successful absorption of further migrants from the same countries of origin. On the other hand, the Israeli economy has been one of the more stable in the developed world.

In recent years, the volume of Jewish migration was far from the peaks of the past (namely the late 1940s and early 1990s), due to the increasing concentration of Jews in more developed countries and the rapidly decreasing Jewish population in the less developed countries from which most Jewish emigration came. We already noted the lesser propensity to emigrate to countries with a higher quality of life. More recently, perceptions and experiences of mounting antisemitism or a violent and dangerous environment in some countries, particularly in France, Ukraine, Turkey, and Venezuela, stimulated Jewish emigration. The disruptions and dislocations in Ukraine and Russia that occurred since 2022 due to the Russian invastion of Ukraine brought about a large wave of emigrants and displaced persons.

Table 17 shows the number of immigrants to Israel by country of origin in 2021 and 2022. The data reflect the *Law of Return*, not the *core Jewish population*, definition (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics annual, and unpublished data).

Table 17 New immigrants to Israel[a], by last country of residence, 2021-2022

Country	2021	2022	% difference	Country	2021	2022	% difference
GRAND TOTAL[b]	**24,977**	**74,267**	**197.3**	Moldova	97	147	**51.5**
Americas - Total[b]	**5,800**	**5,283**	**-8.9**	Russian Federation	7,574	45,428	**499.8**
North America	**3,720**	**3,316**	**-10.9**	Ukraine	3,044	14,577	**378.9**
Canada	271	396	**46.1**	FSU unspecified	7	26	**271.4**
United States	3,449	2,920	**-15.3**	**Other Europe**	**881**	**744**	**-15.6**
Central America	**395**	**282**	**-28.6**	Andorra	0	2	**-**
Barbados	0	4	**-**	Gibraltar	3	2	**-33.3**
Costa Rica	16	20	**25.0**	Monaco	3	0	**-**
Cuba	31	82	**164.5**	Montenegro	0	4	**-**
Dominican Rep.	2	1	**-50.0**	North Macedonia	1	0	**-**
El Salvador	5	6	**20.0**	Norway	2	7	**250.0**
Guadaloupe	1	0	**-**	Serbia	11	6	**-45.5**
Guatemala	14	5	**-64.3**	Switzerland	104	86	**-17.3**
Honduras	6	1	**-83.3**	Turkey	121	79	**-34.7**
Jamaica	1	0	**-**	United Kingdom	636	558	**-12.3**
Martinique	1	0	**-**	**Asia - Total[b]**	**974**	**1,298**	**33.3**
Mexico	290	136	**-53.1**	**FSU in Asia**	**822**	**1,167**	**42.0**
Panama	28	27	**-3.6**	Armenia	9	37	**311.1**
South America	**1,685**	**1,685**	**0.0**	Azerbaijan	143	164	**14.7**
Argentina	826	947	**14.6**	Georgia	143	381	**166.4**
Bolivia	2	5	**150.0**	Kazakhstan	212	239	**12.7**
Brazil	501	345	**-31.1**	Kyrgyzstan	19	30	**57.9**
Chile	93	100	**7.5**	Tajikistan	7	19	**171.4**
Colombia	79	72	**-8.9**	Turkmenistan	0	1	**-**
Ecuador	7	11	**57.1**	Uzbekistan	289	296	**2.4**
Paraguay	13	13	**0.0**	**Other Asia**	**152**	**131**	**-13.8**
Peru	49	82	**67.3**	China	10	3	**-70.0**
Uruguay	51	55	**7.8**	Hong Kong	0	2	**-**
Venezuela	64	55	**-14.1**	India	43	42	**-2.3**
Europe - Total[b]	**17,037**	**66,319**	**289.3**	Indonesia	1	0	**-**
European Union[c]	**4,353**	**2,959**	**-32.0**	Iraq	2	1	**-50.0**
Austria	40	33	**-17.5**	Iran	78	45	**-42.3**
Belgium	159	102	**-35.8**	Japan	2	5	**150.0**
Bulgaria	16	7	**-56.3**	Mongolia	1	0	**-100.0**
Croatia	0	3	**-**	Nepal	0	1	**-**
Cyprus	4	19	**375.0**	Philippines	1	1	**0.0**
Czechia	6	47	**683.3**	Singapore	5	7	**40.0**
Denmark	21	7	**-66.7**	Taiwan	0	2	**-**
Finland	7	7	**0.0**	Thailand	5	10	**100.0**
France	3,556	2,189	**-38.4**	United Arab Emir.	0	12	**-**
Germany	148	193	**30.4**	Yemen	4	0	**-**
Greece	6	8	**33.3**	**Africa - Total[b]**	**558**	**532**	**-4.7**
Hungary	35	28	**-20.0**	**Northern Africa**	**117**	**81**	**-30.8**
Ireland	1	3	**200.0**	Algeria	1	0	**-**
Italy	127	88	**-30.7**	Ethiopia	65	14	**-78.5**
Luxembourg	1	2	**100.0**	Morocco	41	43	**4.9**
Malta	0	5	**-**	Tunisia	10	24	**140.0**
Netherlands	67	37	**-44.8**	**Sub Saharan Africa**	**441**	**451**	**2.3**
Poland	33	30	**-9.1**	Cameroun	0	2	**-**
Portugal	4	5	**25.0**	Chad	1	0	**-**
Romania	8	23	**187.5**	Ghana	0	3	**-**

Country	2021	2022	% difference	Country	2021	2022	% difference
Slovakia	2	3	**50.0**	Nigeria	2	0	**-**
Slovenia	1	15	**1400.0**	Rwanda	0	8	**-**
Spain	87	89	**2.3**	South Africa	438	416	**-5.0**
Sweden	24	16	**-33.3**	Sudan	0	21	**-**
FSU in Europe	**11,803**	**62,616**	**430.5**	Togo	0	1	**-**
Belarus	1,013	2,206	**117.8**	**Oceania - Total**	**101**	**144**	**42.6**
Estonia	4	33	**725.0**	Australia	97	131	**35.1**
Latvia	64	146	**128.1**	French Polynesia	3	2	**-33.3**
Lithuania	4	53	**1225.0**	New Zealand	1	11	**1000.0**

[a] New immigrants and tourists changing their status to immigrant, not including temporary residents, returning Israelis, and immigrant citizens
[b] Including country unknown
[c] Not including Baltics
Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics

In 2022, 74,267 new immigrants arrived or changed their status from tourist to permanent resident in Israel—a 197% increase compared with 2021. This increase clearly reflected the Russia-Ukraine war. The nearly 75,000 immigrants to Israel in 2022 came from 95 countries and territories, compared with 24,977 in 2021; 19,696 in 2020; 33,096 in 2019; 28,118 in 2018; 26,333 in 2017; and 25,010 in 2016.The 2022 immigration performance was the highest since 1999 when 76,766 arrived.

The Russian Federation was by far the main country of origin of *aliyah* in 2022 with 45,428 immigrants, over six times more than in 2021. Immigration from Ukraine, reached 14,577, nearly five times higher than the previous year. Such increases reflected the war emergency in Ukraine, which also generated thousands of refugees in several bordering European countries. However, the fact that attracts more attention is the remarkable *aliyah* upsurge from Russia—the aggressor country. There are some doubts about the permanency of stay of new immigrants from Russia in Israel. The evidence is that several thousand new immigrants received Israeli citizenship, received the new passport, and left shortly afterwards (Israel Population and Immigration Authority 2022).

Immigration from the US, handled by Nefesh B'Nefesh, diminished from 3,449 in 2021 to 2,920 in 2022 (-15%) (see also Dashefsky and Woodrow-Lafield 2020). Immigration from France, after an all-time peak in 2015 (6,627), diminished from 3,556 in 2021 to 2,189 in 2022 (-38%). The other country with more than 1000 migrants to Israel was Belarus with an increase from 1,013 in 2021 to 2,206 in 2022 (+117%). Among other countries with more than 100 immigrants, absolute increases occurred from Canada, Germany, Latvia, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Australia. Decreases occurred from Mexico, Brazil, Belgium, and South Africa.

To these figures, one should add 2,100 immigrant citizens (Israeli citizens, generally children, born abroad and entering the country for the first time) in 2022, versus 1,820 in 2021. Many more former Israeli adult citizens returned to the country after a prolonged stay abroad, at a time when the Israeli economy was performing comparatively better than many Western countries.

In sum, in 2022 immigration to Israel increased from the FSU in Europe and in Asia, from Oceania, and minimally from Africa south of the Sahara. Immigration diminished from North America, the EU end the rest of Europe, North and Central America, North Africa and the rest of Asia. It remained stable in South America (see **Fig. 12**).

Jewish migration to countries other than Israel did not necessarily follow the same patterns of change but was probably not very significant. In the US, arrivals from the FSU, after peaking during the 1980s and 1990s, declined to very small numbers; but some immigration continued at moderate levels from other countries in Western Europe, Latin America, other countries in the Middle East and South Africa. Israel—in part because of its small market and the limits this imposes upon employment opportunities—is today probably the main single supplier of Jewish emigration, mostly to the US and to other Western countries (Rebhun and Lev Ari 2010; Rebhun et al. 2022; Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 2020).

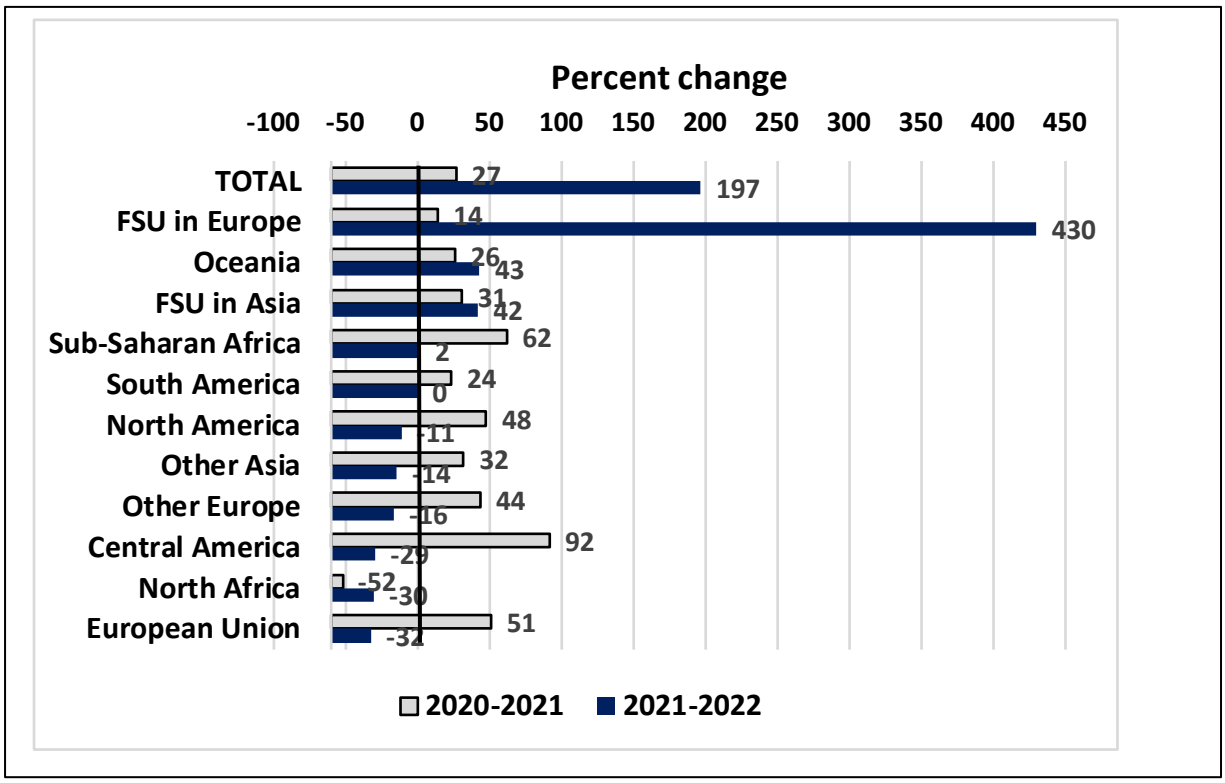

Fig. 12 Percent change in number of immigrants to Israel from major areas of origin, 2020-2021 and 2021-2022
Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, author s processing

Evidence for Israelis in the US shows a significant reduction in the influx, largely balanced by returns to Israel (Gold and Phillips 1996; Gold 2002; Cohen 2009; Rebhun and Lev Ari 2010; Rebhun 2014; Israel Central Bureau of Statistics). The number of Israeli residents who were allowed lawful permanent resident status in the US was 4,324 in 2015, 4,652 in 2016, 4,227 in 2017, 4,009 in 2018, 4,702 in 2019, and 3,989 in 2020 (US Department of Homeland Security 2017, 2019, 2022). The total number naturalized since 1948 throughout 2022 was about 250,000, some of which evidently since died or re-migrated. The number of Israel-born persons who were naturalized in the US was 3,709 in 2022 versus 3,454 in 2021, 2,391 in 2020, and 3,303 in 2019 (US Department of Homeland Security 2022). Accounting for other Jewish migration to the US, and discounting for the about 2,000-3,000 yearly emigrants to Israel, an annual net migration into the US can be estimated at around 5,000 Jews. In the European Union, Israelis appeared to constitute a non-negligible share of all resident Jews in a systematic survey undertaken around 2020 (DellaPergola and Staetsky 2020). Between 2011 and 2021, 4,710 individuals born in Israel emigrated to Canada, more emigrants than to any other country. In 2021, 17,295 Canadian Jews were born in Israel, making Israeli Jews Canada's largest Jewish immigrant group with 19% of the total (Brym 2023).

Levels of emigration from Israel were overall quite low, consistent with expectations for a country at Israel's level of human development (DellaPergola 2011c). The primary factors at work were the levels of employment and similar indicators of economic development. The effects of ideological, security, and fear-related factors such as antisemitism, terrorism and internal cleavages are weaker determinants of the volume and timing of Jewish immigration and emigration—to and from Israel (DellaPergola 2020b). Nevertheless, traumatic political and military events such as those incurred by Israeli society in the course of 2023 (the events of October 7) may potentially stimulate higher levels of emigration.

6.3 Some effects of the COVID-19 pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic had visible effects on increasing death rates worldwide and, indirectly, also on reducing birth rates as well as international migration. Research on Jewish populations in several countries revealed significant differences in the incidence of mortality among Jews in different environments (Staetsky and Paltiel 2020; Staetsky 2021). Jewish populations worldwide did not respond uniformly to COVID-19 but were highly affected by factors that operated locally. This involved the efficiency and diffusion of vaccinations, and the availability and efficiency of health care. It could also be related to vaccine compliance or hesitancy of both Jews and the non-Jews among whom they live. More closely knit Jewish religious communities were more affected than other sectors of the Jewish population. This impacted highly Orthodox areas, particularly in places like Israel, the UK, and the New York City area. It also appeared that the negative economic impact of the pandemic was much more sharply suffered by the lower socioeconomic strata among the Jewish population (Boyd et al. 2020).

More detailed data for Israel's total population, inclusive of Jews and Arabs together (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics monthly) for 2020, 2021, and 2022 show the peaks and troughs of the pandemic as a factor of increased mortality, but also as a possible cause of the postponement and timing of births (**Fig. 13**). The percentages shown on the left scale represent the difference between each given month and the corresponding month in 2019. The numbers next to the deaths' line refer to the several recognized waves of the epidemics until the end of 2022.

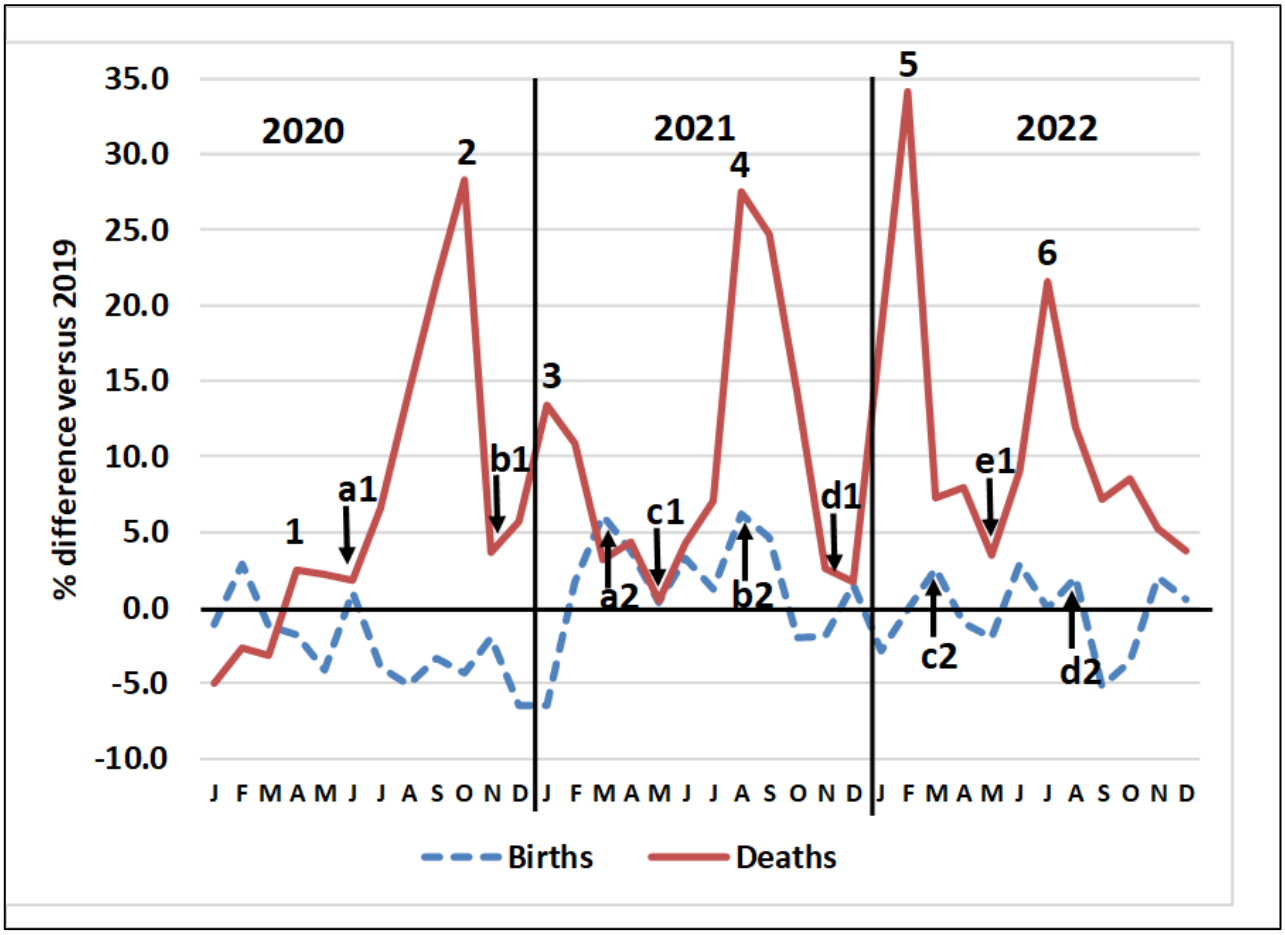

Fig. 13 Effects of the COVID-19 epidemics on births and deaths – Israel, monthly absolute numbers, 2019-2022
Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, author s processing

In Israel, the first wave of the pandemic (March-May 2020, 1 on the figure) did not cause a major increase in the monthly number of **deaths**, unlike its disastrous effects in some other countries. The second wave (2 on the figure) peaked in October 2020, followed by a third wave (3) peaking in January 2021, a fourth wave (4) peaking in August 2021, a fifth wave (5) peaking in February 2022, and a sixth wave (6) peaking in July 2022.

As for the **birth rate**, contrary to some speculation that it would increase as a consequence of the forced home isolation of millions of adults, it actually diminished markedly in 2020. Decline was visible nearly all through 2020, reflecting pregnancies initiated between the end of 2019 and the beginning of 2020 when the health, economic, and psychological effects of the pandemic were actually still to come. The diminished numbers of births continued through February 2021. The following months witnessed a recovery. Then, from October 2021 through the end of 2022, the birth rate fluctuated around the 2019 average. Interestingly, some relationship could be detected between the timing of decline of a mortality wave, and the timing of the beginnings of numerous new pregnancies. Thus, the perceived end of the first COVID-19 wave in June 2020 (point a1 in figure 8.13) was followed by a natality peak nine months later in March 2021 (point a2 in the figure). Similarly, the end of the second COVID-19 wave in November 2020 (point b1) was followed by a birth peak nine months later in August 2021 (point b2). This hints at a certain amount of rational decision-making in fertility control and family growth. Similar trough/peak effects, although far less evident than in 2021 can be detected by comparing point c1 with c2, and d1 with d2 in 2022.

Overall, the COVID-19 pandemic caused large increases in the number of deaths, decreases, at least temporary, in the number of births, and a temporary reduction in the natural increase of Israel's population. Along with diminished immigration, the pandemic slowed the pace of Israel's population growth in 2020, and it presumably also did among most Jewish communities globally. In 2021, Israel recovered the previous fertility and birth rate levels, stabilizing in 2022 and recovering a robust population growth. It will be hard to prove that such recovery also occurred in other Jewish communities worldwide.

Appendix

Mechanisms of population change

Jewish population change is determined by a known set of demographic factors which can increase or decrease the number of Jews in the world or in any given country over time. Formally, the fundamental demographic equation reads:

$$P(t) = P(t-1) + (B-D) + (I-E) + (A-S)$$

where: **P(t)** is the population size at any point in time, called **t**, and **P(t-1)** is the population size at a preceding point in time; **B** and **D** stand for the number of births and deaths, respectively, during the same period of time; **I** and **E** stand for immigration into and emigration from a given area by the given population; **A** and **S** stand for the numbers of accessions and secessions, i.e., conversions or other modes of identificational change, into and out of the Jewish community, respectively.

Unfortunately, the demographic data currently available on Jews in most countries of the world are not sufficient to translate this equation into accurate figures. However there exist abundant and significant indications about the size and characteristics of the major demographic factors involved, and the respective directions of change.

Definitions

In most Diaspora countries, the ***core Jewish population*** (***CJP***—a concept initially suggested by Kosmin et al. 1991) includes all people who, when asked in a socio-demographic survey, identify themselves as Jews, *or* who are identified as Jews by a respondent in the same household, *and* do not profess another monotheistic religion. Such a definition of a person as a Jew, reflecting *subjective* perceptions, broadly overlaps, but does *not* necessarily coincide, with *Halakhah* (Jewish law) or other normatively binding definitions. Inclusion does *not* depend on any measure of that person's Jewish commitment or behavior in terms of religiosity, observance, beliefs, knowledge, communal affiliation, participation or otherwise. The *core* Jewish population includes all people who identify as Jews by religion, as well as others who do not identify by religion but assess themselves as Jews by ethnicity or other cultural criteria (Jewish only, no religion).

Some do not identify themselves as Jews when first asked, but if they descend from Jewish parents and do not hold another religious identity they are included. The *core* Jewish population (CJP) also includes all converts to Judaism by any procedure, as well as other people who declare they are Jewish even without formal conversion and do not hold another identity. People of Jewish parentage who adopted another monotheistic religion are excluded, as are people who state being partly Jewish along with another identity, and those of Jewish origin who in censuses or socio-demographic surveys explicitly identify with a non-Jewish religious group without having formally converted. The *core* population concept offers an intentionally comprehensive and pragmatic, mutually exclusive approach compatible with the analytic options offered by many available demographic data sources.

In the Diaspora, such data often derive from population censuses or socio-demographic surveys where interviewees have the option to decide how to answer relevant questions on religious or ethnic identities. In Israel, personal status vis-à-vis religion/national pertinence (in Hebrew: *le'om*) is subject to Ministry of the Interior rulings, which rely on criteria established by rabbinic authorities, and eventually by Israel's Central Rabbinate, and by the Israeli Supreme Court (Corinaldi 2001). In Israel, therefore, the *core* Jewish population does not simply express subjective identification but reflects definite legal rules. This entails matrilineal Jewish origin, or conversion to Judaism, *and* not holding another religion. Documentation to prove a person's Jewish status may include non-Jewish sources

A major research issue of growing impact is whether *core* Jewish identification can or should be mutually exclusive with other religious and/or ethnic identities. In a much-debated study, the 2000-01 US National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS 2000-01) (Kotler-Berkowitz et al. 2003), the solution chosen was to allow for Jews with multiple religious identities to be included in the *core* Jewish population definition under the condition that the other identity was not a monotheistic religion. This resulted in a rather multi-layered and not mutually exclusive definition of the US Jewish population. A further category of *Persons of Jewish Background* (PJBs) was introduced by NJPS 2000-01. Some PJBs were included in the final Jewish population count; and others were not, based on a more thorough evaluation of each individual ancestry and childhood. (See further comprehensive discussions of the demography of US Jews in Heilman 2005 and 2013, and Hartman and Bankier-Karp 2023).

The 2013 Pew Research *Center's A Portrait of Jewish Americans* (Pew Research Center 2013), introduced a new concept, the ***net Jewish population (NJP)***. The Pew survey included in the NJP not only those who responded to the **CJP** definition, but also the previously not empirically tested category of *partly Jewish*—people who stated they had no religion, and who by their own preference qualified their Jewish identity as part of a broader composite cluster of two or more sub-identities. The new and previously untested concept of the *partly Jewish* helped clarifying the socio-demographic picture; but also made the debate about definitions more complicated, and the comparison of results between different surveys more difficult. One intriguing issue concerned the status of the *partly Jewish* as a standard component of the Jewish collective, as different analysts would have it differently. The 2013 Pew report included the **partly Jewish** in the ***net Jewish population***. *Partly Jewish* children of *partly Jewish* parents were also included. Following a similar logic, people with multiple ethnic identities, one being Jewish, were included in some total Jewish population counts for Canada. As against this, in the present report, we did not include them in the ***core Jewish population***. This writer suggested that the *partly Jewish* stand conceptually closer to the other Pew survey categories of *Non-Jews with Jewish background*, or *Non-Jews feeling some Jewish affinity*. This latter assumption was fully supported by detailed data on the behaviors and attitudes of the partly Jewish compared with the other categories of the broadly enlarged Jewish population (EJP) aggregate (DellaPergola 2015b). In the 2020 Pew survey, the category of partly Jewish was abandoned, and instead the broader criterion for inclusion in the **net Jewish population** (NJP) was identifying as Jewish because one feels Jewish in any way – for example, ethnically, culturally, or because of *family background*.

Emerging from these more recent research developments, the concept of ***total population with at least one Jewish parent*** (***PJP***) includes the core Jewish population plus anyone currently not identifying as exclusively Jewish but with one or two Jewish parents. In the Pew 2013 survey, the total population with Jewish parents besides the core comprised two sub-groups: (a) people who reported no religion, and declared they are *partly Jewish*, and (b) people who reported not being Jewish and declared a Jewish background because they had a Jewish parent (Pew Research Center 2013). In the Pew 2020 survey (Pew Research Center 2021), no distinction was allowed among people with no religion and reporting themselves *Jewish* or *partly Jewish*. All persons not reporting themselves as currently Jewish and who had at least one Jewish parent or were raised Jewish were included in the category of persons of *Jewish background*.

The ***enlarged Jewish population*** (***EJP***—a concept initially suggested by DellaPergola 1975) further expands by including the sum of: (a) the *core* Jewish population; (b) people reporting they are *partly Jewish*; (c) all others of Jewish parentage who—by *core* Jewish population criteria—are *not* currently Jewish; (d) all other non-Jews with Jewish background more distant than a Jewish parent; and (e) all respective non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.). Non-Jews with Jewish background, as far as they can be ascertained, include: (a) people who have adopted another religion, or otherwise opted out, although they may also claim to be Jewish by ethnicity or in some other way—with the previously mentioned caveat for recent US and Canadian data; and (b) other people with Jewish parentage who disclaim being Jewish. It logically follows that the *enlarged* definition should include most Jews who were identified in the 2013 Pew survey as *partly Jewish* or as *PJBs* who are not part of the US *core* Jewish population, as well as many Canadians identifying Jewish as one of *multiple ethnicities*. For both conceptual and practical reasons, the *enlarged* definition usually does not include other non-Jewish relatives who lack a Jewish background and live in

exclusively non-Jewish households.

The ***Law of Return population*** ***(LRP)*** reflects Israel's distinctive legal framework for the acceptance and absorption of new immigrants. Articles 1 and 4A(a) of this law (amended in 1970) extend its provisions to *all current Jews, their children, and grandchildren,* as well as to *their respective Jewish or non-Jewish spouses*. As a result of its three-generation and lateral extension, the *Law of Return* applies to a large population—the so-called *aliyah* eligible—whose scope is significantly wider than the *core* and *enlarged* Jewish populations defined above (Corinaldi 1998 and 2018). The Law of Return awards Jewish new immigrants immediate citizenship and other civil rights. The Law of Entrance and the Law of Citizenship apply to all other foreign arrivals, some of whom may apply for Israeli citizenship. According to the current, amended version of the *Law of Return* (Gavison 2009), a Jew is any person born to a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism (regardless of denomination—Orthodox, Conservative, Reconstructionist, or Reform, provided conversion was performed in a recognized community or congregation) who does not have another religious identity. According to the ruling of Israel's Supreme Court, conversion from Judaism, as in the case of some ethnic Jews who currently identify with another religion, entails loss of eligibility under the *Law of Return* purposes. Thus, all the Falash Mura—a group of Ethiopian non-Jews with Jewish ancestry—must undergo conversion to be eligible for the *Law of Return*. The law itself does not affect a person's Jewish status but only for the specific immigration and citizenship benefits granted under the *Law of Return*. Jewish status for other purposes, as noted, is adjudicated by Israel's Ministry of Interior which relies, in turn, on Israel's rabbinic authorities. It is actually quite difficult to estimate the total size of the *Law of Return* population. Rough estimates of these higher figures are tentatively suggested below.

Some major Jewish organizations in Israel and the US—such as the Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI), the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), and the major Jewish Federations in the US—sponsor data collection and tend to influence population targets, rendering them increasingly complex and flexible. Organizations enact their mission toward their respective constituencies based on perceived interests rather than scientific criteria. The understandable interest of organizations to function and secure budgetary resources may prompt them to expand their reach strategies to Jewish populations increasingly closer to the *enlarged* (EJP) and *Law of Return* (LRP) definitions than to the *core* definition.

Presentation and quality of data

Jewish population estimates in this report refer to January 1, 2023. Efforts to provide the most recent possible picture entail a short span of time for evaluation of available information, hence some margin of inaccuracy. Corrections also were applied retroactively to the 2022 totals for major geographical regions so as to ensure a better base for comparisons with the 2023 estimates. Corrections of the 2023 estimates, if needed, will be presented in the future.

We provide separate estimates for each country with approximately 100 or more permanently resident core Jews. Estimates of Jews in smaller communities have been added to some of the continental totals. For each country, we provide in **Table 18** an estimate of:

1. mid-year 2022 Total Population (including both Jews and non-Jews) (Population Reference Bureau 2021);
2. the estimated January 1, 2023 core Jewish population (CJP);
3. the number of Jews per 1000 in the total population;
4. an indicator of the type of source used to derive the Jewish population;
5. a rating of the accuracy of the Jewish population estimate;
6. a rough estimate of the population with Jewish parents (PJP);
7. a rough estimate of the enlarged Jewish population inclusive of non-Jewish household members (EJP);
8. a rough estimate of the Law of Return population (LRP); and
9. the core Jewish population (CJP) size world rank.

The rough estimates were derived from available information and assessments on the recent extent and generational depth of cultural assimilation and intermarriage in the different countries. The quality of such broader estimates of the aggregate of Jews and non-Jews who often share daily life is much lower than that of the respective core Jewish populations, and the data should be taken as indicative only.

Wide variation exists in the quality of the Jewish population estimates for different countries. For many Diaspora countries, it might be better to indicate a range for the number of Jews (minimum, maximum) rather than a definite estimate. 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 estimates reported for most of the Diaspora communities should be understood as being the central value of the plausible range for the respective core Jewish populations. The relative magnitude of this range varies inversely with the accuracy of the estimate. One issue of growing significance is related to people who hold multiple residences in different countries. Based on available evidence, we make efforts to avoid double counting. Wherever possible, we strive to assign people to their country of permanent residence, ignoring the effect of part-year residents. (This is similar to the part-year resident, or "snowbird" issue in estimating the US Jewish population in the US Jewish Population report in this series.)

Jewish population data come from a large array of different sources, each with inherent advantages and disadvantages. We report both the main type, and the evaluated accuracy of the sources used in this study. In **Table**

18, the main types of sources are indicated as follows:

(C) National population census: This in theory would be the best source, but undercounts and over counts do occur in several countries.
(P) National population register: Some countries, besides the periodic census, also keep a permanent population register which is constantly updated through detailed accountancy of individual demographic events.
(S) Survey of the Jewish population, national or inclusive of the main localities, undertaken most often by a Jewish community organization, and sometimes by a public organization.
(J) Jewish community register maintained by a central Jewish community organization.
(E) Estimate otherwise obtained by a Jewish organization.

Our estimates reflect these sources, but the figures reported below do not necessarily correspond exactly with those indicated in each given source. When necessary, additional information is brought to bear in deriving our estimates. The three main elements that affect the accuracy of each country's Jewish population estimate are: (a) the nature and quality of the base data, (b) how recently the base data were gathered, and (c) the updating method. A simple code combines these elements to provide a general evaluation of the reliability of data reported in **Table 18**, as follows:

(A) Base estimate derived from a national census or reliable Jewish population survey; updated on the basis of full or partial information on Jewish population change in the respective country during the intervening period.
(B) Base estimate derived from less accurate but recent national Jewish population data; updated on the basis of partial information on Jewish population change during the intervening period.
(C) Base estimate derived from less recent sources and/or unsatisfactory or partial coverage of a country's Jewish population; updated on the basis of demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends.
(D) Base estimate essentially speculative, such as communication from informants, with no reliable updating procedure.

The year in which a country's base estimate or important partial updates were initially obtained is also stated as part of the accuracy rating. This is not the current estimate's date but the initial basis for its attainment. An X is appended to the accuracy rating for several countries whose Jewish population estimate for 2023 was not only updated but also revised in light of improved information.

One additional tool for updating Jewish population estimates is provided by several sets of demographic projections developed by the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (DellaPergola et al. 2000b; and author's updated estimates). Such projections, based on available data on Jewish population composition by age and sex, extrapolate the most recently observed or expected Jewish population trends over the first two decades of the twenty-first century. Even where reliable information on the dynamics of Jewish population change is not available, the powerful connection that generally exists between age composition, birth rates, death rates, and migration helps provide plausible scenarios for the developments that occur in the short term. Where better data were lacking, we used findings from these projections to refine the 2023 estimates. It should be acknowledged that projections are shaped by a comparatively limited set of assumptions and need to be constantly updated in light of actual demographic data.

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Acknowledgments

Since inception, the *AJYB* has documented the Jewish world and has given significant attention to Jewish population issues. Since 1981, responsibility for preparing annual population estimates for world Jewry was assumed by the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics of the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The Division was founded by Roberto Bachi in 1959, was headed by Uziel O. Schmelz until 1986, by the present author until 2010, and by Uzi Rebhun since 2010. Jewish population estimates appeared in the *AJYB*, then under the aegis of the American Jewish Committee (AJC), until 2008. Since 2010, our world Jewish population estimates appeared in the framework of the North American Jewish Data Bank (now the Berman Jewish Data Bank), and since 2012 within the renewed *AJYB*. World Jewish population estimates as of January 1, 2009 and January 1, 2011 were prepared for publication but not released in print. Since 2022, the world Jewish population estimates project is conducted in cooperation between the Avraham Harman Research Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, under the responsibility of Sergio DellaPergola and Uzi Rebhun, and the Division of Demography and Census at Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), headed by Ahmad Hleihel and Liat Rehavi Italiano. The goal of the project is to place and upgrade under the CBS aegis the vast world database developed at the Hebrew University, toward continuing data collection and analysis. The interested reader may consult past *AJYB* volumes for further details on how the respective annual estimates were obtained (especially Schmelz 1981 and DellaPergola 2015a).

The author expresses warm appreciation to the editors of *AJYB* during more than thirty years of a close collaboration: Morris Fine, Milton Himmelfarb, David Singer, Ruth Seldin, Lawrence Grossman, and currently Arnold Dashefsky and Ira M. Sheskin. The author also gratefully acknowledges the collaboration of many institutions and persons in various countries who supplied information or otherwise helped in the preparation of this study. Special thanks are due to my colleagues at The Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at The Hebrew University of

Jerusalem, Uzi Rebhun and Mark Tolts. I am also indebted to those who over the years provided relevant information and advice at different stages of the present study (in alphabetical order of the respective cities): Chris Kooyman (Amsterdam), the late Ralph Weill (Basel), Jim Schwartz (Bergen County, NJ), Olaf Glöckner (Berlin), Shmuel Frankel (Bnei Brak), Marcos Peckel (Bogota), Simon Cohn and Claude Kandiyoti (Brussels), András Kovács (Budapest), Victor Bukofser, Ezequiel Erdei, and Yaacov Rubel (Buenos Aires), Tally Frankental (Cape Town), Salomon Benzaquen and Tony Beker de Weinraub (Caracas), Cathleen Falsani and Tom W. Smith (Chicago), the late Frank Mott (Columbus, OH), Heike von Bassewitz, and Ellen Rubinstein (Frankfurt a. M.), Frans van Poppel and Hanna van Solinge (The Hague), Rotem Kovner (Haifa), Ariela Keysar and Barry Kosmin (Hartford, CT), Maritza Corrales Capestrany (Havana), Lina Filiba (Istanbul), Steven Adler, Benjamin Anderman, Alaa Atrash, Adina Bankier-Karp, Margalit Bejarano, Maya Choshen, Eilat Cohen-Kastro, Susanne Cohen-Weisz, Oren Cytto, Nurit Dovrin, Judith Even, Netanel Fisher, Ahmad Hleihel, Shlomit Levy, Limor Loui, Israel Pupko, Uzi Rebhun, Liat Rehavi Italiano, Dalia Sagi, Marina Sheps, Gustavo Shipris, Maya Shorer Kaplan, Mark Tolts, Eduardo Torres, Emma Trahtenberg, Chaim I. Waxman and the late Norma Gurovich (Jerusalem), David Saks (Johannesburg), Roy van Keulen (Leiden), Jonathan Boyd, Richard Goldstein, Marlena Schmool and Daniel Staetsky (London), Pini Herman and Bruce Phillips (Los Angeles), Pinhas Punturello (Madrid), John Goldlust, Andrew Markus and Ran Porat (Melbourne), Judit Bokser Liwerant, Susana Lerner, Mauricio Lulka and Yael Siman (Mexico City), Ira M. Sheskin (Miami), Alfonso Sassun (Milano), Rafael Porzecanski (Montevideo), Evgueni Andreev and Eugeni Soroko (Moscow), David Bass (Neveh Daniel), the late Vivian Z. Klaff (Newark, DE), Steven M. Cohen, Laurence Kotler-Berkowitz, Lucette Lagnado and Sarah Markowitz (New York), David M. Mizrachi (Panama City), the late Doris Bensimon-Donat, Marcelo Dimentstein and Alberto Senderey (Paris), Allen Glicksman (Philadelphia), Zbyněk Tarant (Pilsen), Yochanan Moran (Porto), Alice Goldstein and the late Sidney Goldstein (Providence, RI), Narciso Attía (Quito), Mustafa Khawaja (Ramallah), Orly C. Meron, Carlos Tapiero and the late Erik H. Cohen (Ramat Gan), Gloria Arbib, Emanuele Di Porto, Alberto Levy and Uriel Perugia (Rome), Lars Dencik (Roskilde), David Saltiel (Saloniki), the late René Decol, Alberto Milkewitz and Simon Schwartzman (São Paulo), Mordechai Abergel (Singapore), Arnold Dashefsky (Storrs, CT), Gary Eckstein and David Graham (Sydney), Allie A. Dubb (Tel Aviv), Robert Brym, Gustave Goldman and Randal Schnoor (Toronto), Jeffrey Scheckner (Union, NJ), Thomas Buettner and Hania Zlotnik (United Nations, NY), Raimund Fastenbauer (Vienna), Sylvia Barack Fishman, the late Charles Kadushin, Benjamin Phillips, Leonard Saxe and Elizabeth Tighe (Waltham, MA), Becka Alper, Jacob Ausubel, Barry R. Chiswick, Carmel U. Chiswick, Alan Cooperman, Conrad Hackett, Neha Sagal and Greg Smith (Washington, DC), Melita Svob (Zagreb).

An anonymous reviewer provided useful suggestions to the text and tables. Responsibility for the contents of this article is the author's only.

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Table 18. Jewish population by country, core definition and expanded definitions, 1/1/2023

Country	Total population[a]	Core Jewish population[b] CJP	Jews per total 1000 population	Source Type[c]	Accuracy rating[d]		Population with Jewish parents[e] PJP	Enlarged Jewish population[f] EJP	Law of Return population[g] LRP	Core Jewish population world rank[h]
WORLD	**7,962,817,000**	**15,691,200**	**1.97**				**20,148,100**	**22,835,700**	**25,554,900**	
Rest of the world	7,953,155,000	8,589,800	1.08				12,785,900	15,212,500	17,931,700	
Israel[i]	9,662,000	7,101,400	734.98				7,362,200	7,623,200	7,623,200	
AMERICA TOTAL	**1,027,630,000**	**7,060,000**	**6.87**				**10,732,550**	**12,644,500**	**14,816,650**	
Bermuda	70,000	100	1.43	C	C 2016		200	300	400	**87-104**
Canada	38,800,000	398,000	10.26	C	B 2021	X	450,000	550,000	700,000	**4**
United States	332,800,000	6,300,000	18.93	S	B 2020	X	9,800,000	11,500,000	13,400,000	**2**
Rest of North America[j]	60,000	100	1.67	E	D 2022		150	200	250	
Total North America	**371,730,000**	**6,698,200**	**18.02**				**10,250,350**	**12,050,500**	**14,100,650**	
Bahamas	400,000	200	0.50	C	B 2010		400	600	800	**81-86**
Barbados	300,000	100	0.33	C	B 2010		200	300	400	**87-104**
Costa Rica	5,200,000	2,600	0.50	J	C 2020		2,900	3,200	3,500	**41-43**
Cuba	11,100,000	500	0.05	S	C 2013		1,000	1,500	2,000	**67-73**
Dominican Republic	11,200,000	100	0.01	E	D 2000		200	300	400	**87-104**
El Salvador	6,300,000	100	0.02	E	D 2000		200	300	400	**87-104**
Guatemala	17,800,000	900	0.05	S	B 1999		1,200	1,500	1,800	**61-62**
Jamaica	2,800,000	500	0.18	C,J	C 2010		800	1,100	1,400	**67-73**
Mexico	127,500,000	40,000	0.31	C,S	B 2010		45,000	50,000	65,000	**13**
Netherlands Antilles[k]	315,000	400	1.27	C	C 2016		600	800	1,000	**74-75**
Panama	4,400,000	10,000	2.27	S	C 2012		11,000	12,000	13,000	**25**
Puerto Rico	3,200,000	1,500	0.47	J	C 2000		2,000	2,500	3,000	**52-53**
Virgin Islands	117,000	400	3.42	E	D 2016		600	800	1,000	**74-75**
Rest of Central America, Caribbean[j]	31,368,000	200	0.01	E	D 2020		400	600	800	
Total Central America, Caribbean	**222,000,000**	**57,500**	**0.26**				**66,500**	**75,500**	**94,500**	
Argentina	46,200,000	171,000	3.70	S	B 2022		240,000	300,000	360,000	**6**
Bolivia	12,200,000	500	0.04	J	C 2000		700	900	1,100	**67-73**
Brazil	214,800,000	90,500	0.42	C	B 2010		120,000	150,000	180,000	**10**
Chile	19,800,000	15,700	0.79	C,S	B 2020		20,000	24,000	28,000	**20**
Colombia	49,100,000	2,000	0.04	S	C 2016		2,800	3,600	4,500	**47-48**
Ecuador	18,000,000	600	0.03	J	B 2011		800	1,000	1,200	**66**

Country	Total population[a]	Core Jewish population[b] CJP	Jews per total 1000 population	Source Type[c]	Accuracy rating[d]		Population with Jewish parents[e] PJP	Enlarged Jewish population[f] EJP	Law of Return population[g] LRP	Core Jewish population world rank[h]
Paraguay	6,800,000	1,100	0.16	C	B 2002		1,400	1,700	2,000	**58**
Peru	33,400,000	1,900	0.06	S	C 2000		2,400	2,900	3,500	**49-50**
Suriname	600,000	200	0.33	J	D 2000		400	600	800	**81-86**
Uruguay	3,600,000	16,200	4.50	S	C 2013		20,000	24,000	28,000	**19**
Venezuela	28,300,000	4,500	0.16	S	C 2020		7,000	9,500	12,000	**33-34**
Rest of South America[j]	1,100,000	100	0.09	E	D 2022		200	300	400	
Total South America	**433,900,000**	**304,300**	**0.70**				**415,700**	**518,500**	**621,500**	
EUROPE TOTAL	**828,575,000**	**1,315,600**	**1.59**				**1,792,650**	**2,260,300**	**2,761,950**	
Austria	9,000,000	10,300	1.14	C,S,J	B 2019		14,000	18,000	22,000	**24**
Belgium	11,600,000	29,000	2.50	S,J	C 2018		35,000	40,000	45,000	**16**
Bulgaria	6,800,000	2,000	0.29	C,J	C 2011		4,000	6,000	8,000	**47-48**
Croatia	3,800,000	1,700	0.45	C,J	C 2011		2,400	3,100	3,800	**51**
Cyprus	1,300,000	500	0.38	C,E	C 2012		800	1,100	1,400	**67-73**
Czechia	10,500,000	4,000	0.38	C,J	C 2011		6,000	8,000	10,000	**36-37**
Denmark	5,900,000	6,400	1.08	S,J	C 2018		7,600	8,800	10,000	**31**
Estonia	1,300,000	1,900	1.46	C,P	A 2021		2,700	3,500	4,500	**49-50**
Finland	5,600,000	1,300	0.23	P	B 2015		1,600	1,900	2,200	**55-56**
France	65,800,000	440,000	6.69	S	B 2018		550,000	650,000	750,000	**3**
Germany	83,300,000	125,000	1.50	S,J	B 2021	X	175,000	225,000	275,000	**8**
Greece	10,600,000	4,000	0.38	J	B 2010		5,200	6,400	7,500	**36-37**
Hungary	9,700,000	46,000	4.74	C,S	C 2018		75,000	100,000	130,000	**12**
Ireland	5,100,000	2,700	0.53	C	B 2016		3,600	4,500	5,400	**40**
Italy	58,900,000	26,900	0.46	S,J	B 2022		34,000	41,000	48,000	**17**
Latvia	1,900,000	4,200	2.21	C,P	A 2021		8,000	12,000	16,000	**35**
Lithuania	2,800,000	2,200	0.79	C,P	B 2019		4,600	6,900	9,200	**45**
Luxembourg	700,000	700	1.00	J	B 2010		1,000	1,300	1,600	**64-65**
Malta	500,000	100	0.20	E	D 2012		200	300	400	**87-104**
Netherlands	17,700,000	29,700	1.68	S	B 2018		43,000	53,000	63,000	**15**
Poland	38,000,000	9,500	0.25	C,S,J	B 2021	X	17,000	25,000	32,500	**26**
Portugal	10,300,000	3,800	0.37	C	B 2011		5,000	6,500	7,500	**38**
Romania	19,000,000	8,700	0.46	C,J	B 2011		12,500	16,500	20,500	**28**
Slovakia	5,400,000	2,600	0.48	C	C 2011		3,600	4,600	6,000	**41-43**

Country	Total population[a]	Core Jewish population[b] CJP	Jews per total 1000 population	Source Type[c]	Accuracy rating[d]		Population with Jewish parents[e] PJP	Enlarged Jewish population[f] EJP	Law of Return population[g] LRP	Core Jewish population world rank[h]
Slovenia	2,100,000	100	0.05	C	C 2019		200	300	400	**87-104**
Spain	47,400,000	13,000	0.27	S,J	C 2020		16,000	19,000	22,000	**23**
Sweden	10,500,000	14,900	1.42	S	C 2018		20,000	25,000	30,000	**21**
Total European Union 27	**445,500,000**	**791,200**	**1.78**				**1,048,000**	**1,287,700**	**1,531,900**	
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3,400,000	500	0.15	C	C 2001		800	1,100	1,400	**67-73**
Channel Islands	200,000	200	1.00	S	C 2015		250	300	350	**81-86**
Gibraltar	35,000	800	22.86	C	B 2019		900	1,000	1,100	**63**
Monaco	40,000	700	17.50	S	B 2012		900	1,100	1,300	**64-65**
North Macedonia	1,800,000	100	0.06	C	C 1996		200	300	400	**87-104**
Norway	5,400,000	1,300	0.24	P	B 2010		1,600	1,900	2,200	**55-56**
Serbia	6,800,000	1,400	0.21	C	C 2011		2,100	2,800	3,500	**54**
Switzerland	8,800,000	20,500	2.33	C	B 2021		22,500	25,000	27,500	**18**
Turkey[l]	85,200,000	14,200	0.17	S,J	B 2016		17,000	20,000	22,500	**22**
United Kingdom[m]	67,600,000	312,000	4.62	C,S	B 2019	X	350,000	390,000	430,000	**5**
Rest of other Europe[j]	5,800,000	200	0.03	E	D 2020		400	600	800	
Total other Europe	**185,075,000**	**351,900**	**1.90**				**396,650**	**444,100**	**491,050**	
Belarus	9,200,000	6,000	0.65	C	B 2019		14,000	22,000	30,000	**32**
Moldova	3,500,000	1,500	0.43	C	B 2014		4,000	6,500	9,000	**52-53**
Russia[l]	144,300,000	132,000	0.91	C	C 2010	X	265,000	400,000	550,000	**7**
Ukraine	41,000,000	33,000	0.80	C	D 2001		65,000	100,000	150,000	**14**
Total FSU Republics	**198,000,000**	**172,500**	**0.87**				**348,000**	**528,500**	**739,000**	
[Total FSU in Europe][n]	**204,000,000**	**180,800**	**0.89**				**363,300**	**550,900**	**768,700**	
ASIA TOTAL	**4,643,612,000**	**7,136,300**	**1.54**				**7,413,600**	**7,690,500**	**7,705,800**	
Israel[o]	9,183,700	6,633,100	722.27	C,P	A 2022		6,888,750	7,144,600	7,144,600	
West Bank[p]	3,258,300	468,300	143.73	C,P	A 2022		473,450	478,600	478,600	
Gaza[p]	2,070,000	0	0.00	C,P	A 2022		0	0	0	
Total Israel and Palestine[q]	**14,512,000**	**7,101,400**	**489.35**				**7,362,200**	**7,623,200**	**7,623,200**	
[Total State of Israel][i]	**9,662,000**	**7,101,400**	**734.98**		A 2023	X	**7,362,200**	**7,623,200**	**7,623,200**	**1**
Armenia	3,000,000	100	0.03	C	B 2011		300	500	700	**87-104**
Azerbaijan	10,200,000	6,800	0.67	C	B 2009		10,000	13,500	17,000	**30**

Country	Total population[a]	Core Jewish population[b] CJP	Jews per total 1000 population	Source Type[c]	Accuracy rating[d]		Population with Jewish parents[e] PJP	Enlarged Jewish population[f] EJP	Law of Return population[g] LRP	Core Jewish population world rank[h]
Georgia	3,700,000	1,200	0.32	C	B 2014		3,000	4,500	6,000	**57**
Kazakhstan	19,200,000	2,300	0.12	C	B 2009		4,800	7,200	9,600	**44**
Kyrgyzstan	6,800,000	300	0.04	C	B 2009		600	900	1,200	**76-80**
Turkmenistan	6,400,000	200	0.03	C	D 1995		400	600	800	**81-86**
Uzbekistan	35,600,000	2,600	0.07	C	D 1989		5,500	8,000	10,000	**41-43**
Total former USSR in Asia[r]	**94,900,000**	**13,500**	**0.14**				**24,600**	**35,200**	**45,300**	
China[s]	1,444,700,000	3,500	0.00	E	D 2021		4,000	4,500	5,000	**39**
India	1,417,200,000	4,500	0.00	C	C 2021		6,000	7,500	9,000	**33-34**
Indonesia	275,500,000	100	0.00	E	D 2021		200	300	400	**87-104**
Iran	88,600,000	9,100	0.10	C	B 2016		10,500	11,800	13,000	**27**
Japan	124,900,000	1,000	0.01	E	D 2021		1,200	1,400	1,600	**59-60**
Philippines	115,600,000	200	0.00	E	D 2021		400	600	800	**81-86**
Singapore	5,500,000	900	0.16	J	C 2021		1,100	1,300	1,500	**61-62**
South Korea	51,600,000	200	0.00	J	C 2021		400	600	800	**81-86**
Sri Lanka	22,400,000	300	0.01	E	D 2021		500	700	900	**76-80**
Syria and Lebanon	27,600,000	100	0.00	E	D 2015		200	300	400	**87-104**
Taiwan	23,200,000	500	0.02	E	D 2021		700	900	1,100	**67-73**
Thailand	66,800,000	300	0.00	E	D 2021		500	700	900	**76-80**
United Arab Emirates	9,400,000	500	0.05	E	D 2021		700	900	1,100	**62-73**
Rest of other Asia[j]	861,200,000	200	0.00	E	D 2021		400	600	800	
Total other Asia	**4,534,200,000**	**21,400**	**0.00**				**26,800**	**32,100**	**37,300**	
AFRICA TOTAL	**1,419,000,000**	**54,600**	**0.04**				**69,900**	**84,300**	**97,700**	
Egypt	103,500,000	100	0.00	J	C 2015		200	300	400	**87-104**
Ethiopia	123,400,000	100	0.00	S	C 2015		500	1,000	2,500	**87-104**
Morocco	36,700,000	2,100	0.06	J	C 2015		2,500	2,900	3,300	**46**
Tunisia	11,800,000	1,000	0.08	J	C 2015		1,200	1,400	1,600	**59-60**
Rest of Northern Africa[j]	102,900,000	100	0.00	E	D 2022		200	300	400	
Total Northern Africa	**378,300,000**	**3,400**	**0.01**				**4,600**	**5,900**	**8,200**	
Botswana	2,600,000	100	0.04	E	C 2000		200	300	400	**87-104**
Congo D.R.	99,000,000	100	0.00	E	C 2000		200	300	400	**87-104**
Kenya	54,000,000	300	0.01	J	C 2000		500	700	900	**76-80**
Madagascar	29,600,000	100	0.00	J	D 2016		200	300	400	**87-104**

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Namibia	2,600,000	100	0.04	C	C 2000		200	300	400	**88-104**
Nigeria	218,500,000	100	0.00	E	D 2000		200	300	400	**87-104**
South Africa	60,600,000	50,000	0.83	C,S	B 2019		63,000	75,000	85,000	**11**
Zimbabwe	16,300,000	200	0.01	C	B 2001		400	600	800	**81-86**
Rest of Sub-Saharan Africa	557,500,000	200	0.00	E	D 2020		400	600	800	
Total Sub-Saharan Africa[i,t]	**1,040,700,000**	**51,200**	**0.05**				**65,300**	**78,400**	**89,500**	
OCEANIA TOTAL	**44,000,000**	**124,700**	**2.83**				**139,400**	**156,100**	**172,800**	
Australia	25,800,000	117,000	4.53	C	B 2021	X	130,000	145,000	160,000	**9**
Guam	200,000	100	0.50	E	D 2022		200	300	400	**87-104**
New Zealand	5,100,000	7,500	1.47	C	B 2018		9,000	10,500	12,000	**29**
Rest of Oceania[j]	12,900,000	100	0.01	E	D 2020		200	300	400	

[a] Source, with minor adjustments: Population Reference Bureau (2023), mid-year 2022 estimates. See also United Nations Population Division (2022).
[b] Includes all persons 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; and do not have another religion. Also includes persons with a Jewish parent who claim no current religious or ethnic identity
[c] (C) National population census. (P) National population register. (S) Survey of Jewish population. (J) Jewish community register. (E) Estimate
[d] (A) Base estimate derived from national census or 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 estimate derived from less accurate but recent national Jewish population data; updated on the basis of partial information on Jewish population movements during the intervening period. (C) Base estimate derived from less recent sources and/or less reliable or partial coverage of country's Jewish population; updated on the basis of demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends. (D) Base estimate essentially speculative; no reliable updating procedure. The year in which the country's base estimate or important partial updates were obtained is also stated. This is not the current estimate's date but the basis for its attainment. An X is appended to the accuracy rating for several countries, whose Jewish population estimate for 2022 was not only updated but also revised in light of improved information
[e] Sum of (a) core Jewish population; (b) persons reported as partly Jewish; and (c) all others not currently Jewish with a Jewish parent
[f] Sum of (a) core Jewish population; (b) persons reported as partly Jewish; (c) all others not currently Jewish with a Jewish parent; and (d) all other non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.)
[g] Sum of Jews, children of Jews, grandchildren of Jews, and all respective spouses, regardless of Jewish identification
[h] Ranges indicate more than one core Jewish population with the same size
[i] Israel's total permanent (de jure) population as defined by Israel's legal system, not including foreign workers and asylum seekers
[j] Including countries and territories not listed because fewer than 100 core Jews live in each of those countries and in all of those countries combined
[k] Including Aruba
[l] Including regions in Asia
[m] Including the Isle of Man
[n] Including the Baltic countries which are already included above in the EU
[o] Israel includes East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, but not the West Bank
[p] Author's revised estimates of total Palestinian population on 1/1/2023: West Bank (without East Jerusalem): 2,779,700; Gaza: 2,070,500; Total: 4,850,200. The West Bank also includes 468,300 Jews and 10,300 non-Jewish members of Jewish households, for a total of 478,600 Jews and others. The reported West Bank total of 3,258,300 includes Palestinian, Jewish, and other residents
[q] Not including foreign workers and asylum seekers
[r] Not including Russia's regions in Asia. Including Tajikistan
[s] Including Hong Kong and Macao
[t] Excluding Sudan and Ethiopia which are included in Northern Africa