World Jewish Population, 2006

THE WORLD'S JEWISH POPULATION was estimated at 13.090 million at the beginning of 2006—an increase of about 53,000 over the previous year's revised estimate.[1] While world total population grew by 1.3 percent in 2005, the world Jewish population grew by 0.4 percent. Israel's Jewish population grew by 1.5 percent and the rest of world Jewry diminished on aggregate by –0.3 percent.

Israel's Jewish population (not including more than 300,000 non-Jewish immigrants admitted in the framework of the Law of Return) surpassed 5.3 million in 2006, or 40.6 percent of world Jewry. This represented not only a population increase of more than 76,000 over 2005, but also a landmark watershed in Jewish population history. Indeed, after critically reviewing all available evidence on Jewish demographic trends, it is now plausible to claim that Israel has overcome the United States in hosting the largest Jewish community worldwide. Demography—through its daily, imperceptibly slow and multiform action—has produced a transition of singular symbolic relevance for Jewish history and destiny, at least with regard to the *core* Jewish population, not inclusive of non-Jewish members of Jewish households and other non-Jews of Jewish ancestry. For the first time since the first century C.E., a plurality of world Jewry may be claimed to reside in the historical homeland.

Israel's Jewish population growth—even if slower than during the 1990s—reflects the continuing substantial natural increase generated by a combination of relatively high fertility (2.7 children, on average, in 2004) and young age composition (over 25 percent below age 15). Neither of these two factors prevails in any other Jewish community worldwide, where instead, besides the possible impact of international migration, Jewish populations tend to decrease at variable rates.

This is also true in the United States, where two competing major surveys independently conducted in 2001—the National Jewish Population

[1]The previous estimates, as of January 1, 2005, were published in AJYB 2005, vol. 105, pp. 87–122. See also Sergio DellaPergola, Uzi Rebhun, and Mark Tolts, "Prospecting the Jewish Future: Population Projections 2000–2080," AJYB 2000, vol. 100, pp. 103–46; and previous AJYB volumes for further details on earlier estimates.

Survey (NJPS) and the American Jewish Identity Survey (AJIS), both discussed below—indicated a *core* Jewish population of 5,515,000 in 1990, and between 5,200,000 and 5,340,000, respectively, in 2001. Population projections had long predicted an eventual decrease in *core* Jewish population in the U.S., reflecting a slowing down of international immigration, postponed and infrequent Jewish marriages, growing frequencies of out-marriage (over 50 percent of Jews currently marrying), low Jewish fertility (less than two children per woman), attribution to the Jewish side of a minority of the children of intermarriages, and noticeable aging (nearly 20 percent of the Jewish population is above age 65).

Admittedly, the quality of U.S. Jewish population estimates cannot be compared with the more rigorous Israeli sources, hence rendering comparisons provisional in the absence of better data.[2] Even more significantly, the nature of Jewish identification tends to reflect the very different constraints and opportunities of a relatively closed society still surrounded by a hostile environment, as in Israel, versus the open environment of the United States where a multiplicity of overlapping identities can be legitimately held under the general identification of "American." Our estimate of 5,275,000 core Jews in the U.S. at the beginning of 2006—as against 5,313,800 in Israel—is a cautious compromise between the two major 2001 Jewish surveys, also accounting for the findings of many other general American social surveys as well as population extrapolations produced under different assumptions (see below).

Table 1 illustrates the very different courses of Jewish population change in the U.S. and in Israel between 1945 and 2005. After World War II, Israel (then Palestine) had a Jewish population of over half a million, which grew by nearly ten times in the subsequent 60 years thanks to mass immigration and fairly high and stable reproduction patterns. In the U.S., the initial Jewish population, approaching 4.5 million in 1945, grew by about one million until around 1990, but later developments point to a moderate downturn. One important caveat is that the *expanded* concept of Jewish population, as set forth in the Law of Return—which, along with Jews, grants Israeli citizenship also to their non-Jewish children, grandchildren, and the respective spouses—would cover, in the U.S., over 10 million individuals, as against 5.6 million in Israel.

But beyond definitions and data accuracy, it is important to recognize

[2]Sources and findings are reviewed in Sergio DellaPergola, "Was It the Demography? A Reassessment of U.S. Jewish Population Estimates, 1945–2001," *Contemporary Jewry* 25 (2005), pp. 85–131.

TABLE 1. CORE JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN ISRAEL, 1945–2006[a]

Year	United States	Israel
1945	4,359,000	565,000
1950	4,680,000	1,203,000
1955	4,941,000	1,591,000
1960	5,197,000	1,911,000
1965	5,300,000	2,299,000
1970	5,370,000	2,582,000
1975	5,387,000	2,959,000
1980	5,435,000	3,283,000
1985	5,500,000	3,517,000
1990	5,515,000	3,947,000
1995	5,450,000	4,522,000
2000	5,350,000	4,955,000
2006	5,275,000	5,313,800

[a]Sources: United States: adapted from Sergio DellaPergola, "Was It the Demography? A Reassessment of U.S. Jewish Population Estimates, 1945–2001," *Contemporary Jewry* 25, 2005, pp. 85–131. Relies on: Ira Rosenwaike, "A Synthetic Estimate of American Jewish Population Movement over the Last Three Decades," in U. O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1977* (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 83–102; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Survey, 1958*; NJPS 1970; NJPS 1990; NJPS 2001; AJIS 2001. Israel: Central Bureau of Statistics.

that in no way can the recent momentum of Jewish population change in the U.S. (at best tending to zero population growth) be compared with that of Israel. This makes the apparent transition of Israel into the largest Jewish community in the world increasingly grounded on empirical foundations. Projecting the ongoing demographic trends and assuming continuity in the major factors of Jewish population change—admittedly a heavy assumption—the future scenario of an absolute majority of world Jewry living in the State of Israel gains plausibility.

Whether components of population change will remain stable or evolve differently is, of course, a relevant subject for policy planning and interventions in Israel and throughout the global Jewish community. The purpose of such interventions may be to alter the course of social developments that are viewed as carrying unwanted implications. The future is therefore not entirely predictable, but several important lessons

from the past may help in formulating reasonable expectations for the foreseeable future.

Determinants of Jewish Population Change

Major geopolitical and socioeconomic changes have affected the world scene since the end of the 1980s, particularly the political breakup of the Soviet Union, Germany's reunion, the European Union's gradual expansion to 25 states with the addition of ten new members in 2004, South Africa's transition to a new democratic regime, political and economic instability in several Latin American countries, and the volatile situation in Israel and the Middle East—including the Oslo agreements, the second intifada, the withdrawal from Gaza, and hostilities on the northern border.

Jewish population trends were most sensitive to these developments. Large-scale emigration from the former Soviet Union (FSU) and rapid population growth in Israel were the most visible effects, accompanied by other significant Jewish population transfers. Reflecting geographical mobility and increased fragmentation but also new consolidation of the global system of nations, over 80 percent of world Jewry live in two countries, the United States and Israel, and 95 percent are concentrated in the ten largest country communities. Six of the G8 countries[3] (the United States, France, Canada, the United Kingdom, the Russian Republic, and Germany) comprise 87 percent of the total Jewish population outside of Israel. The aggregate of these major Jewish population centers virtually determines the assessment of world Jewry's total size and trends. The continuing realignment of world Jewish population geography toward the major centers of development provides a yardstick for explanation and prediction.[4]

One fundamental aspect of population in general and of Jewish population in particular is its perpetual change. Population size and composition reflect a continuous interplay of three major determinants. Two of these are shared by all populations: (a) the balance of vital events (births and deaths); and (b) the balance of international migration (immigration and emigration). Both of these factors affect increases or decreases in the

[3]The eight leading economies in the world, also comprising Japan and Italy.

[4]See Sergio DellaPergola, Uzi Rebhun, and Mark Tolts, "Contemporary Jewish Diaspora in Global Context: Human Development Correlates of Population Trends," *Israel Studies* 11, 1 (2005), pp. 61–95.

physical presence of individuals in a given place. The third determinant consists of identificational changes (accessions and secessions), and applies only to populations—usually referred to as subpopulations—that are defined by some cultural, symbolic or other specific peculiarity, as is the case with Jews. This type of passage from one state to another does not affect people's physical presence, but rather their willingness or ability to identify with a particular religious, ethnic or otherwise culturally defined group. Sometimes the change receives formal sanction through a religious ceremony of one sort or another. However, the emotional and quantitative significance of such passages as recorded in individual perceptions, quite apart from any ceremony, cannot be undervalued.

The country figures presented here for 2006 were updated from those for 2005 in accordance with the known or estimated changes in the interval—vital events, migrations, and identificational changes. In our updating procedure, whether or not exact data on intervening changes were available, we consistently applied the known or assumed direction of change, and accordingly added to or subtracted from previous Jewish population estimates. If there is evidence that intervening changes balanced each other off, Jewish population remained unchanged. This procedure proved highly efficient in the past, so that when improved Jewish population figures became available, reflecting a new census or survey, our annually updated estimates generally proved on target.

The more recent findings basically confirm the estimates we reported in previous AJYB volumes and, perhaps more importantly, our interpretation of the trends now prevailing in the demography of world Jewry.[5] Concisely stated, these involve a positive balance of vital events (Jewish births and deaths) in Israel and a negative one in nearly all other Jewish communities; a positive migration balance for Israel, the United States, Germany, Canada, Australia, and a few other Western countries, and a negative one in Latin America, South Africa, Eastern Europe, Muslim countries, and some Western European countries as well; a positive balance of accessions and secessions in Israel, and an uncertain, often negative balance elsewhere.

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[5]For historical background, see Roberto Bachi, *Population Trends of World Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1976); U.O. Schmelz, "Jewish Survival: The Demographic Factors," AJYB 1981, vol. 81, pp. 61–117; U.O. Schmelz, *Aging of World Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1984); Sergio DellaPergola, "Changing Cores and Peripheries: Fifty Years in Socio-demographic Perspective," in Robert S. Wistrich, ed., *Terms of Survival: The Jewish World since 1945* (London, 1995) pp. 13–43; Sergio DellaPergola, *World Jewry beyond 2000: Demographic Prospects* (Oxford, 1999).

While allowing for improvements and corrections, the 2006 population estimates highlight the increasing complexity of the sociodemographic and identificational processes underlying the definition of Jewish populations, and hence the estimates of their sizes. This complexity is magnified at a time of pervasive international migration, often implying multiple residences and double counts of people who are on the move or are permanently sharing their time between different places. Consequently, the analyst has to come to terms with the paradox of the *permanently provisional* nature of Jewish population estimates.

Sources of Data

Figures on population size, characteristics, and trends are primary tools in the evaluation of Jewish community needs and prospects at the local level and internationally. The estimates for major regions and individual countries reported in this overview reflect a prolonged and ongoing effort to study scientifically the demography of contemporary world Jewry.[6] Data collection and comparative research have benefited from the collaboration of scholars and institutions in many countries, including replies to direct inquiries regarding current estimates. It should be emphasized, however, that the elaboration of a worldwide set of estimates for the Jewish populations of the various countries is beset with difficul-

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[6]Many of these activities are carried out by, or in coordination with, the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics at the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry (ICJ), the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Thanks are due to our team members Benjamin Anderman, Judith Even, Uzi Rebhun, Dalia Sagi, and Mark Tolts. This article was completed in the 2006 spring semester while we were on leave at the Steinhardt Social Research Institute, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., for whose hospitality and support we are grateful. We also gratefully acknowledge the collaboration of many institutions and individuals in the different countries who supplied information or otherwise helped for this update. We thank in particular Ralph Weill (Basel), Simon Cohn and Claude Kandyoti (Brussels), András Kovacs (Budapest), Yaacov Rubel (Buenos Aires), Salomon Benzaquen and Tony Beker de Weinraub (Caracas), Frank Mott (Columbus, Ohio), Ellen Rubinstein (Frankfurt a. M.), Frans van Poppel (The Hague), Lina Filiba (Istanbul), Norma Gurovich, Israel Pupko, and Emma Trahtenberg (Jerusalem), David Saks (Johannesburg), Rona Hart and Marlena Schmool (London), Mauricio Lulka (Mexico City), Rafael Porzecanski (Montevideo), Evgueni Andreev and Eugeni Soroko (Moscow), Laurence Kotler-Berkowitz (New York), René Decol (São Paulo), Ira Sheskin (Miami), Erik H. Cohen (Ramat Gan), Gary Eckstein (Sydney), Leonard Saxe (Waltham, Mass.), and Hania Zlotnik (the UN). We sadly acknowledge the recent loss of three leading scholars who made significant contributions to the research community in methods development, data collection, and analysis: Egon Mayer of the City University of New York, Vivian Klaff of the University of Delaware, and Joe Waksberg of Westat.

ties and uncertainties.[7] Users of Jewish population estimates should be aware of these difficulties and of the inherent limitations of our estimates.

The new figures on Israel, the U.S., and the rest of world Jewry reflect updated information on Jewish population that became available following the major round of national censuses and Jewish population surveys in countries with large Jewish populations over the period 1999–2006. This new evidence generally confirmed our previous estimates, but sometimes suggested upward or downward revisions.

While over the last decade the database available for a critical assessment of the worldwide Jewish demographic picture has significantly expanded, in general, the amount and quality of documentation on Jewish population size and characteristics is still far from satisfactory. In recent years, however, important new data and estimates have been made available for several countries through official population censuses and Jewish-sponsored sociodemographic surveys. National censuses yielded results on Jewish populations in Ireland, the Czech Republic, and India (1991); Romania and Bulgaria (1992); the Russian Republic and Macedonia (1994); Israel (1995); Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand (1996 and 2001); Belarus, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan (1999); Brazil, Mexico, Switzerland, Estonia, Latvia, and Tajikistan (2000); the United Kingdom, Hungary, Croatia, Lithuania, and Ukraine (2001); the Russian Republic and Georgia (2002); and Moldova (2004). Permanent national population registers, including information on the Jewish religious, ethnic or national group, exist in several European countries—Switzerland, Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—and in Israel.

In addition, independent sociodemographic studies have provided valuable information on Jewish demography and socioeconomic stratification, as well as on Jewish identification. Surveys were conducted over the last several years in South Africa (1991 and 1998); Mexico (1991 and 2000); Lithuania (1993); the United Kingdom and Chile (1995); Venezuela (1998–99); Israel, Hungary, the Netherlands, and Guatemala (1999); Moldova and Sweden (2000); France and Turkey (2002); and Argentina (2003 and 2004). In the U.S., important new insights were provided by two large surveys, the National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS

[7]For overviews of subject matter and technical issues see Paul Ritterband, Barry A. Kosmin, and Jeffrey Scheckner, "Counting Jewish Populations: Methods and Problems," AJYB 1988, vol. 88, pp. 204–21; and Sergio DellaPergola, "Demography," in Martin Goodman, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 797–823.

2000–01) and the American Jewish Identity Survey (AJIS 2001), and the Heritage, Ancestry, and Religious Identity Survey (HARI 2003). Several further Jewish population studies were separately conducted in major U.S. cities (notably New York City in 2002, and Boston in 2005—the fifth decennial study in that metropolitan area) and in other countries. Additional evidence on Jewish population trends can be obtained from the systematic monitoring of membership registers, vital statistics, and migration records available from Jewish communities and other Jewish organizations in many countries or cities, notably in the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, Buenos Aires, and São Paulo. Detailed data on Jewish immigration routinely collected in Israel help in the assessment of changing Jewish population sizes in other countries. Some of this ongoing research is part of a coordinated effort aimed at updating the profile of world Jewry.[8]

Definitions

A major problem with Jewish population estimates periodically circulated by individual scholars or Jewish organizations is a lack of coherence and uniformity in the definitional criteria followed—when the issue of defining the Jewish population is addressed at all. Simply stated, the quantitative study of Jewish populations can rely only on operational, not normative, definitional criteria. Three major concepts must be considered in order to put the study of Jewish demography on serious comparative ground.

In most countries outside of Israel, the *core Jewish population*[9] in-

[8]Following an International Conference on Jewish Population Problems held in Jerusalem in 1987, initiated by the late Roberto Bachi of the Hebrew University and sponsored by major Jewish organizations worldwide, an International Scientific Advisory Committee (ISAC) was established under the chairmanship of Sidney Goldstein. See Sergio DellaPergola and Leah Cohen, eds., *World Jewish Population: Trends and Policies* (Jerusalem, 1992). An Initiative on Jewish Demography, sponsored by the Jewish Agency during the tenure of Chairman Sallai Meridor, led to an international conference held in Jerusalem in 2002 and to an effort of data collection and analysis implemented over the years 2003–05. Since 2003, the Jewish People Policy Planning Institute (JPPPI), founded by Yehezkel Dror and chaired by Ambassador Dennis Ross, has provided a framework for policy analyses and suggestions, including Jewish population issues. See Sergio DellaPergola, *Jewish Demography: Facts, Outlook, Challenges*, JPPPI Alert Paper 2 (Jerusalem, 2003); and *The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute Annual Assessment 2004–05, Between Thriving and Decline* (Jerusalem, 2005).

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

cludes all those who, when asked, identify themselves as Jews; or, if the respondent is a different person in the same household, are identified by him/her as Jews. This is an intentionally comprehensive and pragmatic approach reflecting the nature of most available sources of data on Jewish population. In countries other than Israel, such data often derive from population censuses or social surveys where interviewees have the option to decide how to answer relevant questions on religious or ethnic preferences.

Such a definition of a person as a Jew, reflecting *subjective* feelings, broadly overlaps but does not necessarily coincide with Halakhah (rabbinic 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, beliefs, knowledge, communal affiliation, or otherwise. The *core* Jewish population includes all converts to Judaism by any procedure, as well as other people who declare they are Jewish. Also included are persons of Jewish parentage who claim no current religious or ethnic identity. Persons of Jewish parentage who adopted another religion are usually excluded, as are other individuals who in censuses or surveys explicitly identify with a non-Jewish group without having converted out.

In the State of Israel, personal status is subject to the rulings of the Ministry of the Interior, which relies on criteria established by rabbinical authorities. In Israel, therefore, the *core* Jewish population does not simply express subjective identification but reflects definite legal rules, those of Halakhah. Documentation to prove a person's Jewish status may include non-Jewish sources.

The question whether Jewish identification according to this *core* definition can or should be mutually exclusive with other religious corporate identities emerged on a major scale in the course of the 2000–01 NJPS. The solution chosen—admittedly after much debate—was, under certain circumstances, to allow for Jews with multiple religious identities to be included in the standard definition of Jewish population.[10] A cate-

[10]In that survey, at least in the version initially processed and circulated by UJC, "a Jew is defined as a person whose religion is Judaism, OR whose religion is Jewish and something else, OR who has no religion and has at least one Jewish parent or a Jewish upbringing, OR who has a non-monotheistic religion and has at least one Jewish parent or a Jewish upbringing." See Laurence Kotler-Berkowitz, Steven M. Cohen, Jonathon Ament, Vivian Klaff, Frank Mott, and Danyelle Peckerman-Neuman, with Lorraine Blass, Debbie Bursztyn, and David Marker, *The National Jewish Population Survey 2000–01: Strength, Challenge, and Diversity in the American Jewish Population* (New York, 2003). See also

gory of Persons of Jewish Background (PJBs) was introduced: some of these were included in the Jewish population count and others were not. By the same token, Jews with multiple ethnic identities were included in the standard Jewish population count in Canada. The adoption of such extended criteria by the research community tends to stretch Jewish population definitions, with an expansive effect on Jewish population size beyond usual practices in the past and beyond the abovementioned typical *core* definition. These procedures tend to limit the comparability of the same Jewish population over time, and of different Jewish populations at the same time.

The *enlarged Jewish population*[11] includes the sum of (a) the *core* Jewish population; (b) all other persons of Jewish parentage who—by *core* Jewish population criteria—are *not* Jewish currently (or at the time of investigation); and (c) all of the respective further non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.). These non-Jews with Jewish background, as far as they can be ascertained, include: (a) persons who have themselves adopted another religion, even though they may claim to be also Jewish by ethnicity or religion—with the caveat just mentioned for recent U.S. and Canadian data; and (b) other persons with Jewish parentage who disclaim being Jews. As noted, some PJBs who do not pertain to the *core* Jewish population naturally belong under the *enlarged* definition.[12] It is customary in sociodemographic surveys to consider the religio-ethnic identification of parents. Some censuses, however, do ask about more distant ancestry. For both conceptual and practical reasons, the *enlarged* definition does not include other non-Jewish relatives who lack a Jewish background and live in exclusively non-Jewish households.

The *Law of Return,* Israel's distinctive legal framework for the acceptance and absorption of new immigrants, awards Jewish new immigrants immediate citizenship and other civil rights. According to the current, amended version of the Law of Return, a Jew is any person born to a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism (regardless of denomination—Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform), who does not have another religious

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Contemporary Jewry (the scholarly journal of the Association for the Scientific Study of Jewry, edited by Samuel Heilman), vol. 25 (2005), which is devoted to critical essays and analyses of NJPS method and findings.

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

[12]Kotler-Berkowitz et al., *National Jewish Population Survey 2000–01.*

identity. By ruling of Israel's Supreme Court, conversion from Judaism, as in the case of some ethnic Jews who currently identify with another religion, entails loss of eligibility for Law of Return purposes. The law as such does not affect a person's Jewish status—which, as noted, is adjudicated by Israel's Ministry of Interior and rabbinical authorities—but only the specific benefits available under the Law of Return. The law extends its provisions to all current Jews, their children, and grandchildren, as well as to the 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, one of significantly wider scope than *core* and *enlarged* Jewish populations defined above.[13] It is quite difficult to estimate what the total size of the *Law of Return* population could be. These higher estimates are not discussed below systematically, but some notion of their possible extent is given for the major countries.

The significant involvement of major Jewish organizations in Israel and in the U.S.—such as the Jewish Agency, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, or UJC—in sponsoring data collection tends to complicate research issues. Organizations are motivated by their mission toward their constituencies rather than by unequivocal analytic criteria. In turn, the understandable interest of organizations to continue functioning and securing budgetary resources tends to bring them to focus on Jewish populations increasingly more similar to the *enlarged* than to the *core* definition.

The following estimates of Jewish population distribution in each continent (Table 2 below), country (Tables 3–10), and major metropolitan areas (Table 11) consistently aim at the concept of *core* Jewish population. The *core* is indeed the necessary starting point for any relevant elaboration about the *enlarged*.

Presentation and Quality of Data

Until 1999, Jewish population estimates presented in the *American Jewish Year Book* referred to December 31 of the year preceding by two the date of publication. Since 2000 our estimates refer to January 1 of the current year of publication. Efforts to provide the most recent possible

[13]For a concise review of the rules of attribution of Jewish personal status in rabbinic and Israeli law, including reference to Jewish sects, isolated communities, and apostates, see Michael Corinaldi, "Jewish Identity," chap. 2 of his *Jewish Identity: The Case of Ethiopian Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1998).

picture entail a short span of time for evaluation and correction of available information, hence a somewhat greater margin of inaccuracy. Indeed, where appropriate, we revised our previous estimates in the light of newly accrued information on Jewish populations (Tables 2 and 3). Corrections were also applied retrospectively to the 2005 figures for major geographical regions so as to ensure a better base for comparisons with the 2006 estimates. Corrections of the latest estimates, if needed, will be presented in future volumes of the AJYB.

We provide separate figures for each country with approximately 100 or more resident *core* Jews. Residual estimates of Jews living in other smaller communities supplement some of the continental totals. For each of the reported countries in each continent, the four columns in Tables 4–8 provide an estimate of midyear 2005 total population,[14] the estimated 1/1/2006 Jewish population, the proportion of Jews per 1,000 of total population, and a rating of the accuracy of the Jewish population particular estimate.

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

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

[14]Data and estimates are derived from Population Reference Bureau, *2005 World Population Data Sheet* (Washington, D.C., 2006).

population data; partial information on population movements in the intervening period. (C) Base figure derived from less recent sources, and/or unsatisfactory or partial coverage of a country's Jewish population; updated according to demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends. (D) Base figure essentially speculative; no reliable updating procedure. In categories (A), (B), and (C), the year in which the country's base figure or important partial updates were obtained is also stated. For countries whose Jewish population estimate for 2006 was not only updated but also revised in the light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

An additional tool for updating Jewish population estimates is provided by several sets of demographic projections developed at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.[15] Such projections, based on available data on Jewish population composition by age and sex, extrapolate the most likely observed or expected Jewish population trends over the first decades of the twenty-first century. Even where reliable information on the dynamics of Jewish population change is not immediately available, the powerful connection that generally exists between age composition of a population and the respective vital statistics and migration movements helps provide plausible scenarios of the developments bound to occur in the short term. Where better data were lacking, we used indications from these projections to refine the 2006 estimates as against previous years. On the other hand, projections are shaped by a comparatively limited set of assumptions, and need to be periodically updated in the light of actual demographic developments.

World Jewish Population Size

The size of world Jewry at the beginning of 2006 was assessed at 13,089,800. Jews constituted 2.02 per 1,000 of the world's total population of 6,477 million. One in about 495 people in the world is a Jew. According to the revised figures, between January 1, 2005 and January 1, 2006, the Jewish population grew by an estimated 52,900 people, or about 0.4 percent. This compares with a total world population growth rate of 1.3 percent (0.1 percent in more developed countries, 1.5 percent in less developed countries). Despite all the imperfections in the estimates, world

[15]DellaPergola, Rebhun, and Tolts, "Prospecting the Jewish Future," and unpublished tabulations. A new round of population projections currently undertaken in the light of the latest data helped in the current assessment.

Jewry continued to be close to zero population growth, with increase in Israel (1.5 percent) overcoming decline in the Diaspora (–0.3 percent).

Table 2 gives an overall picture of Jewish population for the beginning of 2006 as compared to 2005. For 2005 the originally published estimates are presented along with somewhat revised figures that take into account, retrospectively, the corrections made in certain country estimates in the light of improved information. These corrections resulted in a net reduction of the 2005 estimated size of world Jewry by 1,500. Explanations are given below of the reasons for these minor corrections.

The number of Jews in Israel rose from 5,237,600 in 2005 to 5,313,800 at the beginning of 2006, an increase of 76,200 people, or 1.5 percent. In contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora diminished from 7,795,000 (according to the revised figures) to 7,776,000—a decrease of 19,000 people, or –0.3 percent. These changes reflect the continuing Jewish emigration from the FSU and other countries, but also the internal decrease typical of the aggregate of Diaspora Jewry. In 2005, the estimated Israel-Diaspora net migratory balance (immigration minus emigration) amounted to a minimal gain of core Jews for Israel.[16] This calculation includes Israeli citizens born abroad who entered Israel for the first time. Therefore, internal demographic evolution (including vital events and conversions) produced nearly all of the growth among the Jewish population in Israel, and most of the decline in the Diaspora.

Recently, instances of accession or "return" to Judaism can be observed in connection with the absorption in Israel of immigrants from Eastern Europe, Ethiopia, and, to a minor extent, other countries such as Peru and India, under the comprehensive provisions of the Israeli Law of Return and Law of Entrance.[17] The return or first-time access to Judaism of some of such previously unincluded or unidentified individuals contributed to slowing down the pace of decline of the relevant Diaspora Jewish populations and some gains for the Jewish population in Israel.

As noted, corrections should be introduced in previously published Jewish population estimates in the light of new information that has become available. Table 3 provides a synopsis of the world Jewish population estimates relating to the period 1945–2006, as first published each year in the *American Jewish Year Book* and as corrected retroactively, incorporating

[16]Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* (Jerusalem, 2006).

[17]As noted, the Law of Return applies to Jews and their extended families. The Law of Entrance applies to all others.

TABLE 2. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 2005 AND 2006[a]

Region	2005			2006		Yearly % Change	Jews p. 1000 Total
	Original Abs. N.	Revised[b] Abs. N.	Percent[c]	Abs. N.	Percent[c]	2005–2006	Population
World	13,034,100	13,032,600	100.0	13,089,800	100.0	0.4	2.0
Diaspora	7,796,500	7,795,000	59.8	7,776,000	59.4	−0.3	1.2
Israel	5,237,600	5,237,600	40.2	5,313,800	40.6	1.5	760.1
America, Total	6,049,500	6,049,500	46.4	6,043,200	46.2	−0.1	6.8
North[d]	5,652,000	5,652,000	43.4	5,648,500	43.2	−0.1	17.2
Central	51,900	51,900	0.4	51,800	0.4	−0.2	0.3
South	345,000	344,600	2.6	342,900	2.6	−0.5	0.9
Europe, Total	1,519,600	1,519,600	11.7	1,505,500	11.5	−0.9	1.9
European Union[b]	1,121,000	1,121,000	8.6	1,121,300	8.6	0.0	2.5
Other West	19,700	19,700	0.2	19,700	0.2	0.0	1.6
Former USSR[e]	344,800	344,800	2.6	330,800	2.5	−4.1	1.6
Other East and Balkans[e]	34,100	34,100	0.3	33,700	0.3	−1.2	0.5
Asia, Total	5,277,100	5,277,100	40.5	5,353,300	40.9	1.4	1.4
Israel	5,237,600	5,237,600	40.2	5,313,800	40.6	1.5	760.1
Former USSR[e]	20,300	20,300	0.2	19,900	0.2	−2.0	0.3
Other	19,200	19,200	0.1	19,600	0.1	2.1	0.0
Africa, Total	78,800	78,300	0.6	77,700	0.6	−0.8	0.1
North[f]	4,800	4,300	0.0	4,200	0.0	−2.3	0.0
South[g]	74,000	74,000	0.6	73,500	0.6	−0.7	0.1
Oceania[h]	109,100	109,100	0.8	110,100	0.8	0.9	3.3

[a]January 1.
[b]Including European Union's ten new entries.
[c]Minor discrepancies due to rounding.
[d]U.S.A. and Canada.
[e]Asian regions of Russia and Turkey included in Europe. Baltic countries included in European Union.
[f]Including Ethiopia.
[g]South Africa, Zimbabwe, and other sub-Saharan countries.
[h]Australia, New Zealand.

all subsequent revisions. These revised data correct, sometimes significantly, the figures published until 1980 by other authors and since 1981 by ourselves. Thanks to the development over the years of an improved database, these new revisions are not necessarily the same revised estimates that we published year by year in the AJYB based on the information that was available at each date. It is likely that further retrospective revisions may become necessary reflecting ongoing and future research.

The revised figures in Table 3 clearly portray the slowing down of Jewish population growth globally since World War II. Based on a post-Shoah world Jewish population estimate of 11,000,000, a growth of 1,079,000 occurred between 1945 and 1960, followed by growths of 506,000 in the 1960s, 234,000 in the 1970s, 49,000 in the 1980s, and 32,000 in the 1990s. While it took 13 years to add one million to world Jewry's postwar size, over 46 years were needed to add another million. Since 2000, the slow rhythm of Jewish population growth has slightly recovered, mostly reflecting the growing share of Israel out of the world total. Table 3 also outlines the slow Jewish population growth rate as compared to total population growth globally, and the declining Jewish share of world population. In 2006, the Jewish share of world population (2.02 per 1,000) was less than half what it was in 1945 (4.75 per 1,000).

Population Distribution by Major Regions and Countries

Over 46 percent of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with over 43 percent in North America. About 41 percent live in Asia, including the Asian republics of the former USSR (but not the Asian parts of the Russian Republic and Turkey)—most of them in Israel. Europe, including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey, accounts for about 12 percent of the total. Fewer than 2 percent of the world's Jews live in Africa and Oceania. Among the major geographical regions listed in Table 1, the number of Jews in Israel—and, consequently, in total Asia—increased in 2006. Moderate Jewish population gains were also estimated in Oceania (Australia and New Zealand). We estimate that Jewish population size diminished to variable extents in North, Central, and South America, in the former Soviet republics in Europe and Asia, and in Africa. These regional changes reflect the trends apparent in the Jewish population in each of the major countries with some notable exceptions within regions, such as the growth of Germany within the EU. We now turn to a review of recent trends in the largest Jewish populations.

TABLE 3. WORLD JEWISH POPULATION, ORIGINAL AND CORRECTED ESTIMATES, AND TOTAL POPULATION, 1945–2006

Year	Jewish Population			World Population		Jews per 1000 of Total Pop.
	Original Estimate[a]	Corrected Estimate[b]	Yearly % Change[c]	Total (Millions)[d]	Yearly % Change	
1945, May 1	11,000,000	11,000,000		2,315		4.75
1950, Jan. 1	11,303,400	11,297,000	0.57	2,524	1.87	4.48
1960, Jan. 1	12,792,800	12,079,000	0.67	3,027	1.83	3.99
1970, Jan. 1	13,950,900	12,585,000	0.41	3,702	2.03	3.40
1980, Jan. 1	14,527,100	12,819,000	0.18	4,447	1.85	2.88
1990, Jan. 1	12,810,300	12,868,000	0.04	5,282	1.74	2.44
2000, Jan. 1	13,191,500	12,900,000	0.02	6,000	1.30	2.15
2005, Jan. 1	13,034,100	13,032,600	0.20	6,396	1.29	2.04
2006, Jan. 1	13,089,800		0.44	6,477	1.27	2.02

[a]As published in *American Jewish Year Book,* various years. Some of the estimates reported here as of Jan. 1 were originally published as of Dec. 31 of previous year.
[b]Based on updated, corrected, or otherwise improved information. Original estimates for 1990 and after, and all revised estimates: Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics, The A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
[c]Based on revised estimates, besides last year.
[d]Midyear estimate of preceding year. Source: Population Reference Bureau.

North America

In the United States (Table 4), two major studies were recently undertaken, the 2000–01 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS)[18] and the 2001 American Jewish Identity Survey (AJIS).[19] The NJPS was sponsored the United Jewish Communities (UJC), the coordinating body for the local Jewish federations in the U.S., and advised by a National Technical Advisory Committee chaired by the late Vivian Klaff and by Frank Mott. A national stratified random-digit-dialing (RDD) sample covered the whole U.S., subdivided into seven strata based on pre-survey estimates of Jewish population density, with sampling probabilities proportional to Jewish density in each stratum. Over 175,000 households were screened

[18]Kotler-Berkowitz et al., *National Jewish Population Survey, 2000–2001.*
[19]Egon Mayer, Barry Kosmin, and Ariela Keysar, *American Jewish Identity Survey 2001—AJIS Report—An Exploration in the Demography and Outlook of a People* (New York, 2002). See also Barry A. Kosmin, Egon Mayer, and Ariela Keysar, *American Religious Identification Survey 2001* (New York, 2001).

for possible inclusion based on four questions: (1) What is your religion (or that of other adults in the household), if any? (2) Do you or does any other adult in the household have a Jewish mother or a Jewish father? (3) Were you or any other adult in the household raised Jewish? (4) Do you, or does any other adult in the household, consider your/him/herself Jewish for any reasons? Answers to these questions included options other than yes or no, thus allowing for a nondichotomist resolution of Jewish population definition. From the beginning, such screening criteria were expected to produce results not strictly comparable with the 1990 NJPS.

The final unweighted sample included 4,220 Jewish respondents and 303 people of Jewish background (PJB), for a total of 4,523 Jewish households; 625 non-Jews of Jewish background; and 4,027 non-Jews, for a total of 9,175 respondent households. The 4,027 non-Jewish households were interviewed for a National Survey of Religion and Ethnicity (NSRE) to collect data necessary for weighting and thus estimating the size of the Jewish population, and to provide comparative data to Jews and PJBs on sociodemographic topics. The rate of response to the screening interview was 28 percent. Weights were directly or indirectly estimated and applied to adjust for the number of telephone lines in the household, and to match sample household and respondent data to the U.S. Census totals for sampling strata, age, gender, and region.[20]

Following claims of excessively low respondent rates, selective population undercounts, and other inappropriate procedures during and following fieldwork, the NJPS was submitted to independent professional scrutiny. It was concluded that the study—although handicapped by several methodological shortcomings such as low response rates, inconsistent survey coverage of relevant subpopulations, and loss of documentation—stood within the range of professionally acceptable research standards and biases.[21]

The total Jewish population was estimated at 5.2 million, including 4.3 million with clearly Jewish connections, 800,000 persons of Jewish background but whose Jewish identification was less clear, and over 100,000 persons in institutions (the actual NJPS number was below 5.1 million, but a round estimate of 5.2 million was arrived at by including persons

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[20]Kotler-Berkowitz et al., *National Jewish Population Survey 2000–01*. See also Charles Kadushin, Leonard Saxe, and Benjamin Phillips, "More Nevuchim (A Guide for the Perplexed) for NJPS 2000–01," *Contemporary Jewry* 25 (2005), pp. 1–32.

[21]Mark Schulman, "National Jewish Population Survey 2000–01: Study Review Memo," prepared for the United Jewish Communities, 2003.

in institutions and persons who did not report their age). Respondents from the first group, the 4.3 million, were administered a long-form questionnaire, while most respondents from the second, the 800,000, were administered a short-form questionnaire that covered a limited selection of the survey's variables—namely, those on Jewish identification. The total number of Jews plus non-Jews of Jewish background (including those with no Jewish connections) was estimated at 6.7 million. The total number of individuals in the 2.9 million households with at least one Jewish member was estimated at 8.7 million, significantly higher than in 1990.

Even as one major national Jewish population survey (the NJPS) was being undertaken, an alternative one (the 2001 AJIS) was being developed, testifying to substantive disagreements within the Jewish community and among its researchers about how to go about such a project. The privately sponsored AJIS, directed by the late Egon Mayer and by Barry Kosmin, was based on a national RDD sample. Out of all successful contacts, a total of 50,238 respondents agreed to be interviewed. After a series of screening questions quite similar to those of NJPS 1990, 1,668 respondents qualified to be included in a survey of American Jewish households. The response rate was 18 percent.[22] The estimated core Jewish population, including Jews with no religion and Jews by choice, as well as Jews in institutions, was 5,340,000. Of these, 3,460,000 were born Jews whose religion was Judaism, 170,000 were converts to Judaism/Jews by choice, and 1,710,000 were born Jews with no religion. The total of Jews and others of Jewish origin was 7,690,000. The total in all households surveyed, including those without any current "core" Jew, was 9,740,000, excluding persons in institutions. The AJIS data (and not those of the 2000–01 NJPS) conceptually match the 1990 NJPS figures.

Combined reading of these two major current surveys suggests a core Jewish population in the range of 5.20–5.35 million in 2001. Even accepting the higher figure, the revised 2001 estimate was about 300,000–400,000 short of the 5.7 million we had projected for 2002 based on the 5.515 million estimated for mid-1990 by the previous NJPS.[23] There had indeed been a Jewish influx during the 1990s of at least 200,000 new immigrants—from the former Soviet Union, Israel, Latin America, South Africa, Iran, and Western Europe. However, continuing low Jewish fertility rates, the consequent aging in population composition, and

[22]Mayer, Kosmin, and Keysar, *American Jewish Identity Survey*; and Barry A. Kosmin, personal communication to the author.

[23]See Kosmin et al., *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey*.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, 1/1/2006

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Canada	32,200,000	373,500	11.6	B 2001
United States	296,500,000	5,275,000	17.8	B 2001
Total North America[a]	328,827,000	5,648,500	17.2	
Bahamas	300,000	300	1.0	D
Costa Rica	4,300,000	2,500	0.6	C 1993
Cuba	11,300,000	500	0.1	C 1990
Dominican Republic	8,900,000	100	0.0	D
El Salvador	6,900,000	100	0.0	C 1993
Guatemala	12,700,000	900	0.1	A 1999
Jamaica	2,700,000	300	0.1	B 1995
Mexico	107,000,000	39,800	0.4	B 2001
Netherlands Antilles	215,000	200	0.9	B 1998
Panama	3,200,000	5,000	1.6	C 1990
Puerto Rico	3,900,000	1,500	0.4	C 1990
Virgin Islands	115,000	300	2.6	C 1986
Other	24,470,000	300	0.0	D
Total Central America	186,000,000	51,800	0.3	
Argentina	38,600,000	184,500	4.8	B 2003
Bolivia	8,900,000	500	0.1	C 1999
Brazil	184,200,000	96,500	0.5	B 2001
Chile	16,100,000	20,700	1.3	C 1991
Colombia	46,000,000	3,100	0.1	C 1996
Ecuador	13,000,000	900	0.1	C 1985
Paraguay	6,200,000	900	0.1	B 1997
Peru	27,900,000	2,200	0.1	C 1993
Suriname	400,000	200	0.5	C 1986
Uruguay	3,400,000	18,000	5.3	B 2006 X
Venezuela	26,700,000	15,400	0.6	B 1999
Total South America[a]	372,400,000	342,900	0.9	
Total	887,227,000	6,043,200	6.8	

[a]Including countries not listed separately.

comparatively weak propensities to identify with Judaism among younger adults of mixed Jewish and non-Jewish ancestry apparently led to a significantly lower total core population size. In the historical perspective of Jewish population research in the U.S. over the last 50 years, the new findings appeared quite consistent with figures and projections grounded on earlier sources, and more likely to be the product of actual demographic trends than an artifact of insufficient data.[24]

A further national study of American Jews was the Heritage and Religious Identification Survey (HARI), conducted in two phases in 2001–02 for the Institute for Jewish & Community Research.[25] A total of 10,204 individuals were interviewed using random-digit-dialing procedures at a response rate of 29 percent. Since this sample was considerably smaller than those in the two previously mentioned surveys, the corresponding statistical errors are much higher. The published estimate of the number of Jews, according to this study, is 6.0 million, defined as those who say Judaism is their religion or who had a Jewish background (parent or upbringing). Since this definition does not specify the current identificational status of adults, it is conceptually closer to the *enlarged* Jewish population that to the *core* Jewish population as defined above. Another 4.2 million individuals were defined as of "Jewish heritage," and 2.5 million more as "connected non-Jewish adults." The grand total of 12,735,000 tends to go not just in the conceptual direction of Israel's Law of Return, but even beyond it.

An important project now undertaken at the Steinhardt Social Research Institute (SSRI) at Brandeis University may provide, in due course, new clues regarding Jewish population size and characteristics in the U.S. A systematic compilation of major national social surveys was obtained, each including a Jewish subsample. The combination of many such relatively small subsamples will allow for a meta-analysis of a large Jewish subpopulation in the context of U.S. total population.[26]

On the basis of first returns, this innovative effort seems more to confirm than to contradict existing notions about Jewish population size.

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[24]DellaPergola, "Was It the Demography?"

[25]Gary Tobin and Sid Groeneman, *Surveying the Jewish Population in the United States—Part 1: Population Estimate; Part 2: Methodological Issues and Challenges* (San Francisco, 2003).

[26]The project is being directed by Leonard Saxe. See Elizabeth Tighe, Leonard Saxe, Darren Brown, Jennifer Dilinger, Aron Klein, and Ashley Hill, *Research Synthesis of National Survey Estimates of the U.S. Jewish Population; Project Summary, Method and Analysis Plan* (Waltham, Mass., 2005).

Based on a review of 74 studies conducted over the period 1990–2005, the median share of Jews among the respondents was 1.94 percent. Allowing for the observed lower share of Jews under age 20, the ratio of Jews to non-Jews aged 20 and above—the typical respondents to surveys—is 0.935. The percentage of Jews among total U.S. population, including adults and children, is thus downwardly corrected to 1.814 percent. The 2000 U.S. Census gave a total U.S. population of 281,421,906. A median of 1.814 percent Jews would correspond to 5,104,993 individuals. The average survey response rate on religion was 95 percent. Adjusting the Jewish population upward for nonresponse or no religion reported, the Jewish population estimate becomes 5,373,677. This estimate, besides being quite similar to the AJIS reported above, refers to a period of over 15 years whose midpoint would correspond to a date in the late 1990s. As noted, in 2001 both NJPS and AJIS indicated an ongoing Jewish population reduction. Projecting the SSRI data to 2006, we infer that the likely outcome would be somewhat lower than the original calculation.

As for evidence from the major local Jewish community studies, a 2002 study of the Jews in New York, the largest U.S. metropolitan community, pointed to a stable Jewish population of 1.4 million in the extended eight-borough area, but, for the first time in over three-quarters of a century, fewer than one million Jews lived in New York City's five boroughs.[27] This can be explained by geographical mobility to the West and to the South of the U.S. However a 2005 study of the Jewish community in the Boston metropolitan area found significantly fewer Jews than had been assumed based on reports of previous years, requiring a retrospective downward revision.[28]

In the light of this abundant and intriguing evidence, our national estimate for 2006 assumes that U.S. Jewry, continuing the pattern evident in the 2001 surveys, is characterized by a lack of growth—in fact, actual population decrease—despite continuing immigration. U.S. Jewry has an aging population composition, and its effectively Jewish fertility levels are significantly below what is necessary for generational replacement, due in part to the only very incomplete inclusion of the children of outmarriages. The number of immigrants has diminished, especially from the FSU. Under the present circumstances, we estimate an annual total of about 50,000 Jewish births, nearly 60,000 Jewish deaths, and 5,000 net immigrants in the U.S. We therefore suggest a reduction by 5,000 from our 2005 estimate of 5,280,000 million, to 5,275,000 in 2006.

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[27]See http://www.ujafedny.org/site/PageServer?pagename=jewishcommunitystudy.

[28]See Leonard Saxe, Charles Kadushin, and Graham Wright, *2005 Boston Jewish Community Study* (Waltham, Mass., 2006).

In Canada the situation is somewhat different. The 2001 population census[29] indicated a decrease in the number of Jews according to ethnicity (including those declaring a religion other than Judaism) from 369,565 in 1991 to 348,605 in 2001 (−20,960, or 5.7 percent). Of the ethnic Jews in 2001, 186,475 indicated that Jewish was their sole ethnicity, and the other 162,130 mentioned it as one of their several ethnic identities. The percentage with an exclusively Jewish ethnicity thus amounted to only 53 percent of all those reporting a Jewish ethnicity, as compared to 66 percent in 1991 and 90 percent in 1981. On the other hand, the number of Canada's Jews according to religion increased from 318,070 in 1991 to 329,995 in 2001 (+11,925, or 3.7 percent). It should be noted that 22,365 Jews entered the country during the ten-year interval between the two censuses, and consequently the Jewish population would have decreased by 10,440 (−3.3 percent) were it not for this immigration.

Keeping in mind that some ethnic Jews are not Jewish by religion and that an even greater number of Jews by religion do not declare a Jewish ethnicity, a combined estimate of 370,520 obtained for Canada's Jewish population, up 4 percent from 356,315 in 1991.[30] Assuming continuing immigration to Canada, we evaluate the 2006 Jewish population at 373,500, the world's fourth largest. This figure is not strictly congruent with the concept of *core* Jewish population, as it includes some individuals for whom Jewish was only one among multiple ethnic identities. Some of these would probably more accurately be included in the non-Jewish component of the *enlarged* Jewish population. Taking into account all ethnic Jews who profess a non-Jewish religion, and other non-Jewish household members, an enlarged Jewish population of above 450,000 would probably obtain.

Latin America

In Latin America, the Jewish population was generally in decline, reflecting recurring economic and local security concerns. In Argentina, nearly 6,000 Jews emigrated to Israel in 2002—the highest figure ever in a single year from that country—due to the dire economic conditions and special incentives offered on the Israeli side. In 2003 the economic situation eased somewhat and Israel suspended its incentives. About 1,500 Jews emigrated from Argentina to Israel in 2003, declining to 458 in 2004

[29]Detailed information on census returns is available online from Statistics Canada. See http://www.statcan.ca

[30]Charles Shahar, *The Jewish Community of Canada* (Toronto, 2004).

and to 397 in 2005.[31] Based on the experience of previous years, approximately 20 percent of these migrants were non-Jewish household members in the *enlarged* population. Partial evidence from different sources indicated that less than half of total Jewish emigration from Argentina went to Israel. Contrary to some rumors, the official data pointed to high permanence rates in Israel of the new immigrants, at least during the first year, and an expected attrition of about 10 percent leaving within the first three years.[32] We consequently assessed Argentina's Jewish population at 184,500 in 2006, the world's seventh largest.

In 2004 and 2005 two new Jewish population surveys were undertaken in the Buenos Aires metropolitan area (AMBA). Initial claims of a Jewish population of 244,000[33] appeared to be founded on significantly inconsistent definitional criteria. Of the 244,000, 64,000 reported to be of Christian religion, and about another 20,000 reported some Jewish ancestry but did not consider themselves Jewish. Overall, 161,000 people in the AMBA considered themselves totally or partly Jewish—consistent with our 2004 estimate of 165,000. This figure for the larger urban concentration appeared coherent with our 185,000 countrywide *core* estimate. The 244,000 figure would be a good estimate of the *enlarged* Jewish population in Greater Buenos Aires, while over 300,000 persons were identified, in the same survey, to be in some way of Jewish origin or attached to a person of Jewish origin. Another survey limited to the City of Buenos Aires pointed to a significantly aging composition of the core Jewish population, also reflecting the emigration of younger households over recent years.[34] The current situation implies a yearly loss of about 500–1,000 through a negative balance of Jewish births and deaths, and emigration.

The 2000 census of Brazil indicated a rather stable Jewish population of 86,828, up from 86,416 in 1991.[35] Considering the possible noninclusion of individuals who did not answer the census question on religion, we assessed Brazil's Jewish population at 97,000 in 2003. Allowing for moderate emigration (286 went to Israel in 2005), we estimate the Jewish

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[31]See Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, http://www.cbs.gov.il

[32]Shmuel Adler, *Emigration among Immigrants from Argentina that Arrived During the Period 1.1.89–31.12.02* (Jerusalem, 2004).

[33]Adrian Jmelnizky and Ezequiel Erdei, *Estudio de Población Judía en Ciudad de Buenos Aires y Gran Buenos Aires (AMBA)* (Buenos Aires, 2005).

[34]Yaacov Rubel, *La Población Judía de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Perfil Socio-Demográfico* (Buenos Aires, 2005).

[35]See http://www.ibge.br; René D. Decol, "Brazilian Jews: a Demographic Profile," unpublished paper delivered at the International Conference on Jewish Demography, Jerusalem, 2002.

population at 96,500 in 2006—the world's tenth largest. This appeared consistent with a systematic documentation effort undertaken by the Jewish Federation of São Paulo that found a total of 47,286 Jews,[36] and an assumption that about one half of Brazil's Jews live in that city. Brazil's enlarged Jewish population (including non-Jewish members of Jewish households) was assessed at 132,191 in 1980 and 117,296 in 1991,[37] and presumably exceeded 120,000 in 2000.

In Mexico, the 2000 census indicated a Jewish population of 45,260 aged 5 and over.[38] Of these, 32,464 lived in the metropolitan area of the capital, Mexico City, while a most unlikely 12,796 were reported in states other than the Federal District and Mexico State—consistent with erratic figures in past censuses. Allocation of the 0–4 age group based on a 2000 Jewish survey determined a corrected estimate of about 35,000 Jews in Greater Mexico City, and 40,000 nationwide. A Jewish population survey undertaken in 2000 provided a countrywide estimate of 39,870 Jews, of which 37,350 were in Mexico City.[39] This confirmed the results of a previous 1991 survey.[40] In 2006, allowing for minor emigration, we estimated the Jewish population at 39,800, the world's 14th largest.

The fourth largest Jewish community in Latin America is located in Chile,[41] whose relatively stable Jewish population is now larger than those of Uruguay[42] and Venezuela.[43] Both of the latter countries experienced

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[36]FISESP (Federação Israelita do Estado de São Paulo), *Recadastramento comunitário 2000–01* (São Paulo, 2002).

[37]René Decol, *Imigraçoes urbanas para o Brasil: o caso dos Judeus*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade Estadual, 1999.

[38]See Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, Geografia e Informatica, *XII Censo General de Poblacion y Vivienda 2000* (Mexico City, 2002).

[39]Comunidad Judía de México, *Estudio socio-demográfico 2000* (Mexico City, unpublished tables, 2000).

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

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

[42]Nicole Berenstein and Rafael Porzecanski, *Perfil de los egresados de la Red Formal de Educación Judía Urguaya* (Montevideo, 2001).

[43]Sergio DellaPergola, Salomon Benzaquen, and Tony Beker de Weinraub, *Perfil sociodemográfico y cultural de la comunidad judía de Caracas* (Caracas, 2000). The survey was sponsored by the Asociación Israelita de Venezuela, the Union Israelita de Caracas, and the Asociación de Amigos de la Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalén.

significant Jewish emigration in recent years. Around 2000, about 20 percent of the former pupils of Jewish schools in Uruguay and over one-third of the adult children of Caracas Jews lived in a different country. Based on the recent evidence, the Jewish population estimate for Uruguay was downwardly revised to 18,000.

European Union

Jewish population in Europe (Table 5) tended to be increasingly concentrated in the western part of the continent, and within the European Union. On May 1, 2004, the EU expanded from 15 to 25 countries, incorporating the three Baltic nations that had been part of the Soviet Union (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), another five that had been Soviet satellites (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia), and two southern European insular countries (Cyprus and Malta). The EU thus encompassed an estimated 1,121,300 Jews in 2006, comprising 74 percent of the continent's total Jewish population. The other former Soviet republics in Europe outside the EU comprised 330,800 Jews, or 22 percent of European Jewry. All other European countries comprised 53,400 Jews, less than 4 percent of the Jews of Europe. The EU's expanded format symbolized an important historical landmark: the virtual boundary between Western and Eastern Europe was erased, while further Eastern European countries, such as Romania, Bulgaria, and Croatia, were bound for incorporation within the EU in the near future. Ongoing disagreements about the possible incorporation of Turkey in a longer term revealed the fundamental dilemma of Europe's cultural and geopolitical boundaries facing an Islamic country.

The largest Jewish community in Europe was in France, where a new countrywide survey undertaken at the beginning of 2002 suggested a downward revision to 500,000 *core* Jews plus an additional 75,000 non-Jewish members of Jewish households.[44] Before the survey, our Jewish population estimate stood at 519,000. The difference, cumulated over several years, was primarily due to a growing pace of Jewish emigration not only to Israel but also to Canada and other countries. Aliyah to Israel amounted to 2,545 in 2005—an increase of more than 25 percent over 2004. Jewish emigration tended to respond to increasing anti-Jewish manifestations, including physical violence. A survey of Jewish tourists

[44]See Erik H. Cohen with Maurice Ifergan, *Les Juifs de France: Valeurs et identité* (Paris, 2002).

from France to Israel revealed that about 125,000 people, more than 30 percent of all French Jews aged 15 and over, had visited Israel.[45] Of these, 23 percent (about 29,000) affirmed their intention to move to Israel in the near future. A distant second candidate for possible emigration was the U.S. Of course migration intentions are not a proxy for actual migration decisions, but they indicate a growing feeling of insecurity within French Jewry. Our 2006 estimate for the Jewish community of France therefore shrinks to 491,500, the third largest in the world.

In the United Kingdom, the 2001 national population census provided detailed data about religion for the first time since the nineteenth century.[46] The total Jewish population of 266,741 for England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland closely approximated our 273,500 estimate for 2002. However, considering that 22.8 percent of the UK population indicated that they had no religion and that another 7.3 percent did not answer the question—at a time when much of the organized Jewish community publicly supported participation in the census—we suggested raising the estimate to 300,000 for 2001. More detailed data from the same census for Scotland (some of its questions were different from those asked in the rest of the UK) indicated 6,448 people currently reporting Jewish religion, as compared to a total of 7,446 who said they were raised as Jews—a net lifetime loss of 13 percent.[47] Vital statistics routinely collected by the Board of Deputies Community Research Unit for Jews of the UK as a whole show a continuing excess of Jewish deaths (3,670 in 2002, 3,592 in 2003, and 3,257 in 2004) over Jewish births (2,665 in 2002, and the same in 2003).[48] The diminishing number of deaths is an obvious symptom of a shrinking population that loses about 1,000 people yearly through a negative vital balance. Shrinking synagogue membership is another indicator. Household membership declined by 17.8 percent over the period 1990–2005, and by 4.5 percent (nearly 1 percent per year) between 2001 and 2005.[49] Taking into account some minor emigration as

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[45]Erik H. Cohen, *Les touristes de France en Israël 2004* (Jerusalem, 2005).

[46]The census is available at http://www.ons.uk. See also Barry Kosmin and Stanley Waterman, *Commentary on Census Religion Question* (London, 2002), a publication of the JPR (Institute for Jewish Policy Research).

[47]Also see *JPR/News*, Spring 2003, p. 6.

[48]The Board of Deputies of British Jews, Community Research Unit, *Report on Community Vital Statistics 2004* (London, 2005). See also Stephen Miller, Marlena Schmool, and Antony Lerman, *Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey* (London, 1996).

[49]Rona Hart and Edward Kafka, *Trends in British Synagogue Membership, 1990–2005/6* (London, 2006).

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE, 1/1/2006

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Austria	8,200,000	9,000	1.1	B 2001
Belgium	10,500,000	31,200	3.0	C 2002
Denmark	5,400,000	6,400	1.2	C 2001
Finland	5,200,000	1,100	0.2	B 1999
France[a]	60,700,000	491,500	8.1	B 2002
Germany	82,500,000	118,000	1.4	B 2004
Greece	11,100,000	4,500	0.4	B 1995
Ireland	4,100,000	1,200	0.3	B 2001
Italy	58,700,000	28,600	0.5	B 2002
Luxembourg	500,000	600	1.2	B 2000
Netherlands	16,300,000	30,000	1.8	B 2000
Portugal	10,500,000	500	0.0	C 1999
Spain	42,500,000	12,000	0.3	D
Sweden	9,000,000	15,000	1.7	C 1999
United Kingdom	60,300,000	297,000	4.9	B 2001
[Total European Union 15]	385,600,000	1,046,600	2.7	
Estonia	1,300,000	1,900	1.5	B 2005 X
Latvia	2,300,000	9,800	4.3	B 2005 X
Lithuania	3,400,000	3,200	0.9	B 2001
Czech Republic	10,200,000	4,000	0.4	C 2001
Hungary	10,100,000	49,700	4.9	C 2001
Poland	38,200,000	3,200	0.1	C 2001
Slovakia	5,400,000	2,700	0.5	C 2001
Slovenia	2,000,000	100	0.1	C 1996
Other[b]	1,400,000	100	0.1	D
Total European Union 25	459,900,000	1,121,300	2.4	
Gibraltar	25,000	600	24.0	B 1991
Norway	4,600,000	1,200	0.3	B 1995
Switzerland	7,400,000	17,900	2.4	A 2000
Total other West Europe[c]	12,495,000	19,700	1.6	

TABLE 5.—*(Continued)*

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Belarus	9,800,000	18,200	1.9	B 2003 X
Moldova	4,200,000	4,600	1.1	C 2000
Russia[d]	143,000,000	228,000	1.6	B 2002
Ukraine	47,100,000	80,000	1.7	B 2001
Total FSU Republics	204,100,000	330,800	1.6	
[Total FSU in Europe][e]	211,100,000	345,700	1.6	
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3,800,000	500	0.1	C 2001
Bulgaria	7,700,000	2,000	0.3	C 2001
Croatia	4,400,000	1,700	0.4	C 2001
Macedonia (FYR)	2,000,000	100	0.1	C 1996
Romania	21,600,000	10,100	0.5	B 2001
Serbia-Montenegro	10,700,000	1,500	0.1	C 2001
Turkey[d]	72,900,000	17,800	0.2	B 2002
Total other East Europe and Balkans[e]	126,300,000	33,700	0.5	
Total	802,795,000	1,505,500	1.9	

[a]Including Monaco.
[b]Cyprus and Malta.
[c]Including countries not listed separately.
[d]Including Asian regions.
[e]Including Baltic countries.

well, we estimated the UK's total Jewish population at 297,000 in 2006, the world's fifth largest.

In Germany, Jewish immigration, which had brought into the country about 190,000 Jews and non-Jewish family members between 1989 and 2004, significantly diminished. The German government, under pressure because of high unemployment and a crumbling welfare system, limited Jewish immigration from the FSU in 2005. On January 1, 2005, the previous special immigration law *(Kontingentsflüchtlingsgesetz)* was replaced by a new immigration law *(Zuwanderungsgesetz)* intended to regulate and limit all migration into Germany. Jews were to be included, and thus lose

their privileged status as *Kontingentflüchtlinge*. Under the new law, integration into German society and good economic prospects ranked well before any other consideration, and required Jews aspiring to immigrate to Germany to first prove that a community would accept them as members. Prior knowledge of the German language was required, and potential Jewish immigrants now also had to prove that they would not be dependent on welfare and that they were willing to integrate into the German labor market.[50]

In 2005, 3,124 immigrants from the former Soviet Union were recorded as new members of German Jewish communities, as compared to 4,757 in 2004, 6,224 in 2003 and 6,597 in 2002.[51] Admission criteria in the community follow Jewish rabbinical rules. The total number of *core* Jews registered with the central Jewish community grew to 107,677 at the beginning of 2006, as compared to 105,733 in 2005 and 102,472 in 2004. Of the current total, fewer than 10,000 were part of the initial pool of 28,081 members that existed at the end of 1990, and the rest were recent immigrants. Between 2002 and 2004, the enlarged total of Jews and non-Jewish family members who came to Germany from the FSU was larger than the respective number of FSU migrants to Israel, but that was no longer the case in 2005 (see above, p. 000).

The age composition of the Jewish old-timers—and even more so of the newcomers—was extremely skewed to the elderly. In 2005 there were 128 Jewish births and 1,178 Jewish deaths recorded by the Jewish community in Germany, as well as 61 conversions to Judaism and 308 conversions from Judaism. This explains why the growth of the Jewish community is significantly less than the total number of new immigrants. Allowing for delays in joining the organized community and a preference on the part of some members of a minority not to identify officially with its institutions, we assess Germany's *core* Jewish population at 118,000, the world's eighth largest. The *enlarged* Jewish population, inclusive of the non-Jewish relatives of immigrants, must be approaching 200,000, and creates an entirely new framework for Jewish social and cultural life in Germany, but also significant dependence on welfare services.[52]

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[50] Jewish People Policy Planning Institute, *Annual Assessment 2006, Deltas Creating Opportunities and Threats*, Executive Report 3 (Jerusalem, 2006).

[51] Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWJD), *Mitgliederstatistik; Der Einzelnen Jüdischen Gemeinden und Landesverbände in Deutschland* (Frankfurt a.M., 2006).

[52] Julius H. Schoeps, Willy Jasper, and Bernard Vogt, eds., *Ein neues Judentum in Deutschland. Fremd und Eigenbilder der russisch-jüdischen Einwanderer* (Potsdam, 1999).

In Hungary, our core estimate of just below 50,000 (the world's 13th largest) reflects the unavoidably negative balance of Jewish births and deaths in a country where the total population's vital balance has been negative for several years in a row. Indeed, a Jewish survey in 1999 indicated a conspicuously larger *enlarged* Jewish population.[53] However, a demographic extrapolation based on the usually accepted number of post-Holocaust core Jewish survivors and accounting for the known or estimated numbers of births, deaths, and emigrants since 1945 closely matches our assessment. It should be noted that in the 2001 Hungarian census a scant 13,000 people reported themselves Jewish by religion.

Belgium's Jewish population was estimated above 30,000, the 15th largest worldwide. Stable numbers reflected the presence of a traditional Orthodox community in Antwerp and the growth of a large European administrative center in Brussels. Local Jewish population estimates were quite obsolete in comparison with those of most other EU countries, but the reported order of magnitude was supported by indirect evidence, such as the number of votes collected by Jewish candidates during the 2003 legislative elections.

The next two largest Jewish communities, both in the EU and globally, were those in the Netherlands and Italy. In the Netherlands, a survey in 2000 estimated a Halakhic Jewish population of 30,072, of which perhaps as many as a third were immigrants from Israel, and an enlarged Jewish population of 43,305.[54] In Italy, total Jewish community membership—which historically comprised the overwhelming majority of the country's Jewish population—declined from 26,706 in 1995 to 25,143 in 2001.[55] Our estimate, slightly below 29,000, adequately allocates for nonmembers.

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[53]András Kovács, *Zsidók és Zsidóság a Mai Magyarországon: Egy szociológiai kutatás eredményei* [Jews and Jewry in Contemporary Hungary: Results of a Sociological Survey] (Budapest, 2002).

[54]Hanna van Solinge and Marlene de Vries, eds., *De Joden in Nederland Anno 2000: Demografisch profiel en binding aan het joodendom* (Amsterdam, 2001). The survey was undertaken as a collaborative effort between the Stichting Joods Maatschappelijk Werk and NIDI (Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute). See also C. Kooyman and J. Almagor, *Israelis in Holland: A Sociodemographic Study of Israelis and Former Israelis in Holland* (Amsterdam, 1996).

[55]Unione delle comunità ebraiche italiane, *IV Congresso, relazione del consiglio* (Roma, 2002); and Yaakov Andrea Lattes, *Sull'assimilazione in Italia e i metodi per affrontarla* (Ramat Gan, Israel, 2005).

Former Soviet Union

In the former Soviet Union, rapid Jewish population decrease continued, reflecting an overwhelming surplus of Jewish deaths over births, high rates of outmarriage and low rates of Jewish identification of the children, and conspicuous though diminishing emigration. Our 2006 assessment of the total *core* Jewish population in the aggregate of the 15 former Soviet republics was 365,600, of which 345,700 lived in Europe and 19,900 in Asia. At least as many non-Jewish family members were part of the respective *enlarged* households. The ongoing process of demographic decline was compensated to some extent by the revival of Jewish cultural and religious activities, including Jewish education.[56]

In the Russian Republic, the October 2002 census indicated 233,600 Jews, as against our *core* Jewish population estimate of 252,000 for the beginning of 2003 (derived from the February 1994 Russian Microcensus estimate of 409,000 Jews).[57] Allowing for some census undercounts after the compulsory item on ethnicity *(natsyonalnost)* on identification documents was canceled and not stating an ethnicity was allowed for the first time, we estimate the Jewish population at 228,000 in 2006, the sixth largest in the world.

Russian Jewry was clearly more demographically stable and resilient than was the case in the other former Soviet republics. This was partly a consequence of Jewish migrations between the various republics and also the lower emigration propensities from Moscow and some of the other main urban areas.[58] Nevertheless, the striking imbalance of Jewish births and deaths, and continuing emigration meant ongoing population decline and an elderly age composition. The decline in the number of births to at least one Jewish parent could be estimated at 8,006 in 1988 and 2,177 in 1998. Recorded Jewish deaths were 13,826 in 1988 and 9,103 in 1998. As a result, the estimated negative balance of these vital events was –5,820

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[56]Zvi Gitelman, "Becoming Jewish in Russia and Ukraine," in Zvi Gitelman, Barry Kosmin, and András Kovács, eds., *New Jewish Identities: Contemporary Europe and Beyond* (Budapest/New York, 2003), pp. 105–37.

[57]Mark Tolts, "Demographic Trends among the Jews of the Former Soviet Union," paper presented at the International Conference in Honor of Professor Mordechai Altshuler on Soviet and Post-Soviet Jewry, Jerusalem, 2003, published in German translation in *Menora: Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geshichte 2004*, 15 (Berlin/Wien, 2005) pp. 15–44; Mark Tolts, "The Post-Soviet Jewish Population in Russia and the World," *Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe* 1 (52), Summer 2004, pp. 37–63.

[58]Mark Tolts, "Mass *Aliyah* and Jewish Emigration from Russia: Dynamics and Factors," *East European Jewish Affairs* 33, Winter 2003, pp. 71–96.

in 1988 and –6,926 in 1998.[59] These changes occur in the context of the net population decrease being experienced by the Russian Republic in general, as well as by other European republics of the FSU.

In the Ukraine, the population census undertaken on December 5, 2001, yielded 104,600 Jews, whereas we had expected 100,000 on January 1, 2002. Considering that our baseline for the latter estimate were the 487,300 Jews counted in the previous census of January 1989, the fit between expected and actual results was quite remarkable.[60] Taking into account the dramatic pace of emigration since 1989, the other major intervening changes among Ukraine's Jews, and the continuing emigration at the end of 2001, the census fully confirmed our previous assessment of ongoing demographic trends. Adding continuing emigration, we assess the 2006 core Jewish population at 80,000, the 11th largest in the world.

Of the other former Soviet republics in Europe, the main Jewish population was in Belarus, now downwardly revised to 18,200. After the accession to the European Union of the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, Jewish population has been fairly stable, assessed overall in 2006 at 14,900, after minor revisions for the two first. Pending a new census, a survey in Moldova found an *enlarged* Jewish population of 9,240 in 2000.[61] We assess the *core* Jewish population at 4,600 in 2006.

Rest of Europe

After Hungary joined the EU together with Poland (whose latest census indicated a Jewish population of 1,100), the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Slovenia, only 53,400 Jews remained in Europe outside the EU or the FSU. Of these 19,700 lived in Western Europe, primarily in Switzerland (17,900)[62] and 33,700 lived in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, primarily in Turkey. A survey in Istanbul pointed to widespread aging in a community that has experienced significant past emigration. In Istanbul,

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[59]Mark Tolts, "Demographic Trends Among the Jews in the Three Post-Soviet Slavic Republics," paper presented at the 14th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, July 2005.

[60]Ukrainian Ministry of Statistics, *Population Census 2001* (Kiyev, 2002); Mark Tolts, *Main Demographic Trends of the Jews in Russia and the FSU* (Jerusalem, 2002).

[61]Malka Korazim and Esther Katz, "Patterns of Jewish Identity in Moldova: The Behavioral Dimension," in Gitelman, Kosmin, and Kovács, eds., *New Jewish Identities*, pp. 159–70.

[62]Bundesamt für Statistik, Wohnbevölkerung nach Religion 2000 (Neuchatel, 2005).

14 percent of the Jewish population was under age 18, as compared to 18 percent above age 65.[63]

Asia

Jewish population in Asia is mostly affected by the trends in Israel (Table 6). At the beginning of 2006, Israel's core Jewish population reached 5,313,800, forming an enlarged Jewish population of 5,613,600 when combined with 299,800 non-Jewish members of Jewish households.[64] There was a modest increase in the number of converts to Judaism (about 1,900 in 2005, as compared to 1,730 in 2004, 919 in 2003, and 3,533 in 2002). The majority were new immigrants from Ethiopia, while a few hundreds were immigrants from the FSU.[65] In 2005, 25,300 new immigrants arrived in Israel, of whom 15,700 were Jewish.[66] Current emigration reduced this to a net Jewish migration balance of 7,200.[67]

Israel's Jewish fertility rate continued to be stable at 2.6–2.7 children per woman, higher than that of every other developed country and probably twice or more the effective Jewish fertility level across Diaspora Jewish communities. In 2004, for the first time ever, more than 100,000 Jewish babies were born in Israel, helping to determnine a net natural increase of 67,300. In 2005, 101,200 Jewish births and 34,100 deaths produced a net balance of 67,200.

Of the 5,313,800 core Jews in 2006, 5,073,800 lived within the pre-1967 borders plus East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, where they formed 75.2 percent of the total legally permanent population, and about 240,000 lived in the West Bank, forming over 10 percent of the total population. If the Gaza area is added, Jews formed 6.6 percent of the combined West Bank and Gaza population. In August 2005, about 8,000 Jewish Israelis had to leave their residences in the Gaza Strip and in northern Samaria in the framework of the Israeli government's disengagement plan. They

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[63]Data provided through the courtesy of the Jewish Community Council.

[64]Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 57 (Jerusalem, 2006). See also http://www.cbs.gov.il

[65]Raly Sa'ar, "Family members of converts not allowed to immigrate with them to Israel," *Ha'aretz*, June 3, 2004.

[66]These data include over 4,000 returning Israelis and immigrant citizens, plus the foreign-born children of Israelis on their first-time entrance into the country. Not included are foreign workers and illegal residents.

[67]Israel's total international migration balance in 2005 was 16,300, also including a net total of 4,400 non-Jewish immigrants under the Law of Return, and a net total of 4,700 (about half of them Muslims) under the family-reunion provisions.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, 1/1/2006

Country	Total Population	Jews	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Israel[a]	6,750,700	5,073,800	751.6	A 2006
West Bank and Gaza[b]	3,640,000	240,000	65.9	A 2006
Total Israel and Palestine	10,320,700	5,313,800	514.9	
Azerbaijan	8,400,000	6,800	0.8	C 1999
Georgia	4,500,000	3,500	0.8	B 2002
Kazakhstan	15,100,000	3,700	0.2	B 1999
Kyrgyzstan	5,200,000	800	0.2	B 1999
Turkmenistan	5,200,000	300	0.1	C 2000
Uzbekistan	26,400,000	4,800	0.2	C 2000
Total former USSR in Asia[c]	74,600,000	19,900	0.3	
China[d]	1,303,700,000	1,500	0.0	D
India	1,103,600,000	5,000	0.0	B 1996
Iran	69,500,000	10,800	0.2	C 1986
Japan	127,700,000	1,000	0.0	C 1993
Korea, South	48,300,000	100	0.0	C 1998
Philippines	84,800,000	100	0.0	D
Singapore	4,300,000	300	0.1	C 1990
Syria	18,400,000	100	0.0	C 1995
Taiwan	22,700,000	100	0.0	D
Thailand	65,000,000	200	0.0	C 1998
Yemen	20,700,000	200	0.0	C 1995
Other	893,411,400	200	0.0	D
Total other Asia	3,762,111,400	19,600	0.0	
Total	3,847,032,100	5,349,000	1.4	

[a]Total population of Israel, including Jews in West Bank and Gaza, 1/1/2006: 6,990,700.
[b]Total Palestinian population in West Bank and Gaza: 1/1/2006: 3,330,000 (our revised estimate).
[c]Including Armenia and Tajikistan. Not including Asian regions of Russian Republic.
[d]Including Hong Kong and Macao.

were mostly relocated in temporary or permanent housing within Israel's "Green Line," with a minority resettling in the West Bank and the Golan Heights.

Jews represented 76.0 percent of a total population of 6,990,700 in the State of Israel, including East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, and the Jewish but not the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza. Considering the total Jewish and Palestinian legal population resident in the State of Israel and under the Palestinian Authority, evaluated at 10,320,700, Jews represented 51.5 percent, or slightly more than half. All of the preceding figures relate to the *core* Jewish population. If the 299,800 non-Jewish members of Jewish households are added to the Jewish side, the *enlarged* Jewish population of 5,613,600 thus obtained represented 80.3 percent of Israel's population (as defined above), and 54.4 percent of the total population of Israel and the Palestinian territories. With the further addition of about 180,000 non-Jewish foreign workers residing in Israel, the figures for *core* and *enlarged* Jewish population represented, respectively, 50.6 and 53.5 percent of the total population present in Israel and the Palestinian territories, estimated at 10,500,700 in 2006.

These estimates depend, of course, on the assessment of the total Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza, a matter that became the subject of a high-profile debate in the media following the assertion by a group of American and Israeli investigators that current population estimates from Palestinian sources were inflated.[68] The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, after a downward revision of over 100,000 to account for expected immigration that did not materialize, estimated the population in the Palestinian territories at 3,762,005 by July 1, 2006, including East Jerusalem.[69] Our own independent assessment, after allocating 240,000 East Jerusalem Arabs to the Israeli side and taking into account an actually negative migration balance of Palestinians, and further corrections, was 3,330,000 on January 1, 2006.[70] The faster pace of population growth among Arabs was supported by fertility rates still close

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[68]Bennett Zimmerman, Roberta Seid, Michael Wise, Yoram Ettinger, David Shahaf, Ezra Sohar, David Passig, and Avraham Shvout, *Arab Population In the West Bank & Gaza: The Million-and-a-Half Person Gap* (Washington, 2005); Bennett Zimmerman, Roberta Seid, and Michael L. Wise, *The Million-Persons Gap: The Arab Population in the West Bank and Gaza,* Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Mideast Security and Policy Studies no. 65 (Ramat Gan, 2005).

[69]See www.pcbs.org

[70]Sergio DellaPergola, "Battle of numbers: Jewish minority by 2020," *Jerusalem Post*, May 17, 2005.

to five children per woman, resulting in about a 3-percent annual increase in the West Bank and Gaza and 2.8 percent within Israel. This positively generated a gradual attrition in the extant Jewish majority over the whole territory between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, and within the State of Israel itself.[71]

In the rest of Asia, the Jewish population consisted mainly of the rapidly declining communities in the FSU's eight Asian republics, the largest of which was Azerbaijan with 6,800 Jews, followed by Uzbekistan (4,800), Kazakhstan (3,700), and Georgia (3,500).[72] The largest Jewish population in a single country in Asia besides Israel was in Iran. Our estimate there reflects an effort to monitor widespread emigration since the Islamic revolution of the late 1970s. Small Jewish populations, partly of temporary sojourners, exist in various South and East Asian countries. Rapid economic development and growing relations with Israel render these countries more receptive to a Jewish presence, which—while still very small—is growing.

Africa

Jewish population in Africa was mostly concentrated in South Africa (Table 7). According to the 2001 census,[73] the white Jewish population amounted to 61,675. After factoring in the national nonresponse rate of 14 percent, a corrected estimate of 72,000 obtained. Allowing for the Jews reported among South Africa's nonwhites (11,979 blacks, 1,287 coloreds, and 615 Indians, many of whom practice other religions) we assessed the total size of the Jewish community at 75,000 in 2001. Taking into account a moderate continuation of emigration, we estimate South Africa's Jewish population at 72,000 in 2006, the world's 12th largest.

Our revised estimates for North Africa acknowledge the ongoing reduction in the small Jewish populations remaining in Morocco and Tunisia, now assessed at 4,000 overall.

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[71]For an extensive discussion of the background, thrust, and implications of past and current population changes see Sergio DellaPergola, "Demographic Trends in Israel and Palestine: Prospects and Policy Implications," AJYB 2003, vol. 103, pp. 3–68. See also Arnon Sofer and Yevguenia Bistrow, *Israel Demography 2004–20 in the Light of Disengagement* (Haifa, 2004; in Hebrew).

[72]Tolts, "Demographic Trends among the Jews of the Former Soviet Union."

[73]See David Saks, "Community Stable, Ageing—Census," *South African Jewish Report* (Johannesburg, 2003). See also Barry A. Kosmin, Jaqueline Goldberg, Milton Shain, and Shirley Bruk, *Jews of the New South Africa: Highlights of the 1998 National Survey of South African Jews* (London, 1999).

TABLE 7. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, 1/1/2006

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	74,000,000	100	0.0	C 1998
Ethiopia	77,400,000	100	0.0	C 1998
Morocco	30,700,000	3,000	0.1	C 2006 X
Tunisia	10,000,000	1,100	0.1	C 2003
Total North Africa[a]	271,200,000	4,200	0.0	
Botswana	1,600,000	100	0.1	C 1993
Congo D.R.	60,800,000	100	0.0	C 1993
Kenya	33,800,000	400	0.0	C 1990
Namibia	2,000,000	100	0.1	C 1993
Nigeria	131,500,000	100	0.0	D
South Africa	46,900,000	72,000	1.5	B 2001
Zimbabwe	13,000,000	400	0.0	B 2001
Other	345,200,000	300	0.0	D
Total other Africa	634,800,000	73,500	0.1	
Total	906,000,000	77,700	0.1	

[a]Including countries not listed separately.

Oceania

Continuing immigration produced some increase in the size of Jewish populations in Oceania (Table 8). Australia's 2001 census indicated a Jewish population of 83,500, up about 4,000 from 1996.[74] Taking into account nonresponse but also the community's rather old age composition, we estimate the core Jewish population at 103,000 in 2006, the ninth largest in the world. The 2001 census also pointed to some Jewish population increase in New Zealand, assessed at a total of 7,000.

[74]Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Population Census 2001* (Canberra, 2002). See also Gary Eckstein, *Demography of the Sydney Jewish Community 2001* (Sydney, 2003).

Dispersion and Concentration

Reflecting global Jewish population stagnation along with growing concentration in a few countries, 97.4 percent of world Jewry live in the largest 15 communities, and, excluding Israel from the count, 96.1 percent live in the 14 largest communities of the Diaspora, of which 68.3 percent in the United States (Table 9).

In 2006, there were at least 100 Jews in 94 different countries (Table 10). Two countries had Jewish populations above 5 million each (Israel and the U.S.), another seven had more than 100,000 Jews, three had 50,000–100,000, five had 25,000–50,000, ten had 10,000–25,000, and 67 countries had less than 10,000. These 67 communities overall accounted for 1 percent of world Jewry. In only six communities outside of Israel did Jews constitute at least about 5 per 1,000 (0.5 percent) of their country's total population. In descending order by the relative weight (not size) of their Jewish population they were Gibraltar (24.0 Jews per 1,000 inhabitants), the U.S. (17.8), Canada (11.6), France (8.1), Uruguay (5.3), and Australia (5.0).

By combining the two criteria of Jewish population size and density, we obtain the following taxonomy of the 26 Jewish communities with populations over 10,000 (excluding Israel). There are four countries with over 100,000 Jews and at least 5 Jews per 1,000 of total population: the U.S., France, Canada, and Australia; another four countries with over 100,000 Jews and at least 1 per 1,000 of total population: the UK, Argentina, Russia, and Germany; one country with 10,000–100,000 Jews and at least 5 per 1,000 of total population: Uruguay; nine more

TABLE 8 ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, 1/1/2006

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	20,400,000	103,000	5.0	B 2001
New Zealand	4,100,000	7,000	1.7	A 2001
Other	8,500,000	100	0.0	D
Total	33,000,000	110,100	3.3	

TABLE 9. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST CORE JEWISH POPULATIONS, 1/1/2006

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the World		In the Diaspora	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	Israel	5,313,800	40.6	40.6	=	=
2	United States	5,275,000	40.3	80.9	68.3	68.3
3	France	491,500	3.8	84.6	6.3	74.6
4	Canada	373,500	2.9	87.5	4.8	79.4
5	United Kingdom	297,000	2.3	89.8	3.8	83.2
6	Russia	228,000	1.7	91.5	2.9	86.2
7	Argentina	184,500	1.4	92.9	2.4	88.5
8	Germany	118,000	0.9	93.8	1.5	90.0
9	Australia	103,000	0.8	94.6	1.3	91.4
10	Brazil	96,500	0.7	95.3	1.2	92.6
11	Ukraine	80,000	0.6	96.0	1.0	93.6
12	South Africa	72,000	0.6	96.5	0.9	94.6
13	Hungary	49,700	0.4	96.9	0.6	95.2
14	Mexico	39,800	0.3	97.2	0.5	95.7
15	Belgium	31,200	0.2	97.4	0.4	96.1

countries with 10,000–100,000 Jews and at least 1 per 1,000 of total population: Ukraine, South Africa, Hungary, Belgium, the Netherlands, Chile, Belarus, Switzerland, and Sweden; and eight countries with 10,000–100,000 Jews and less than 1 per 1,000 of total population: Brazil, Mexico, Italy, Turkey, Venezuela, Spain, Iran, and Romania.

The overwhelmingly urban concentration of Jewish populations globally is evinced by the fact that in 2006 more than half (51.9 percent) of world Jewry lives in only five metropolitan areas—Tel Aviv, New York, Jerusalem, Los Angeles, and Haifa. Two-thirds of world Jewry (66.6 percent) lives in those five areas plus Southeast Florida, Be'er Sheva, Philadelphia, Paris, Chicago, and Boston. The largest 22 Jewish population concentrations encompass 78 percent of all Jews worldwide (Table 11).[75] The Jewish population in the Tel Aviv urban conurbation

[75]For Israel estimates see Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel* 57 (Jerusalem, 2006), Table 2-15. For U.S. estimates see Ira M. Sheskin and Arnold Dashefsky, "U.S. Jewish Population, 2006," above, pp. 133–93.

TABLE 10. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER, AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN EACH COUNTRY, 1/1/2006

Number of Jews in Country	Jews per 1,000 Population					
	Total	0.0-0.9	1.0-4.9	5.0-9.9	10.0-24.9	25.0+
	Number of Countries					
Total[a]	94	63	24	3	3	1
100–900	36	32	3	-	1	-
1,000–4,900	24	21	3	-	-	-
5,000–9,900	7	2	5	-	-	-
10,000–24,900	10	5	4	1	-	-
25,000–49,900	5	2	3	-	-	-
50,000–99,900	3	1	2	-	-	-
100,000–999,900	7	-	4	2	1	-
1,000,000 or more	2	-	-	-	1	1
	Jewish Population Distribution (Absolute Numbers)					
Total[a]	13,089,800	303,100	1,210,300	612,500	5,649,100	5,313,800
100–900	11,200	9,400	1,200	-	600	-
1,000–4,900	60,600	50,900	9,700	-	-	-
5,000–9,900	49,000	11,800	37,200	-	-	-
10,000–24,900	155,900	66,100	71,800	18,000	-	-
25,000–49,900	179,300	68,400	110,900	-	-	-
50,000–99,900	248,500	96,500	152,000	-	-	-
100,000–999,900	1,795,500	-	827,500	594,500	373,500	-
1,000,000 or more	10,588,800	-	-	-	5,275,000	5,313,800
	Jewish Population Distribution (Percent of World's Jews)					
Total[a]	100.0	2.3	9.2	4.7	43.2	40.6
100–900	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1,000–4,900	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
5,000–9,900	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
10,000–24,900	1.2	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0
25,000–49,900	1.4	0.5	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
50,000–99,900	1.9	0.7	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
100,000–999,900	13.7	0.0	6.3	4.5	2.9	0.0
1,000,000 or more	80.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.3	40.6

[a]Grand total includes countries with fewer than 100 Jews, for a total of 1,100 Jews. Minor discrepancies due to rounding. Israel includes West Bank and Gaza.

TABLE 11. METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH LARGEST CORE JEWISH POPULATIONS, 1/1/2006

Rank	Metro Area[a]	Country	Jewish Population	Share of World's Jews	
				%	Cumulative %
1	Tel Aviv[b,c]	Israel	2,751,600	21.0	21.0
2	New York[d]	U.S.	2,051,000	15.7	36.7
3	Jerusalem[e]	Israel	670,000	5.1	41.8
4	Los Angeles[d]	U.S.	668,000	5.1	46.9
5	Haifa[b]	Israel	657,000	5.0	51.9
6	Southeast Florida[d,f]	U.S.	498,000	3.8	55.7
7	Be'er Sheva[b]	Israel	349,000	2.7	58.4
8	Philadelphia[d]	U.S.	285,000	2.2	60.6
9	Paris[g]	France	284,000	2.2	62.7
10	Chicago[d]	U.S.	265,000	2.0	64.8
11	Boston[d]	U.S.	235,000	1.8	66.6
12	San Francisco[d]	U.S.	218,000	1.7	68.2
13	London[h]	United Kingdom	195,000	1.5	69.7
14	Toronto[i]	Canada	180,000	1.4	71.1
15	Washington[j]	U.S.	166,000	1.3	72.4
16	Buenos Aires[k]	Argentina	165,000	1.3	73.6
17	Baltimore[j]	U.S.	106,000	0.8	74.4
18	Detroit[d]	U.S.	103,000	0.8	75.2
19	Moscow[l]	Russia	95,000	0.7	75.9
20	Montreal[i]	Canada	93,000	0.7	76.7
21	Cleveland[d]	U.S.	86,000	0.7	77.3
22	Atlanta[j]	U.S.	86,000	0.7	78.0

[a]Most metropolitan areas include extended inhabited territory and several municipal authorities around central city. Definitions vary by country. Some of the estimates may include non-core Jews.
[b]As newly defined in the 1995 Israeli Census.
[c]Includes Ramat Gan, Bene Beraq, Petach Tikvah, Bat Yam, Holon, Rishon Lezion, Netanya, and Ashdod, each with a Jewish population above 100,000.
[d]Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA).
[e]Includes the whole Jerusalem District and parts of Judea and Samaria District.
[f]Miami-Ft. Lauderdale and West Palm Beach-Boca Raton CMSA.
[g]Departments 75, 77, 78, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95.
[h]Greater London and contiguous postcode areas.
[i]Census Metropolitan Area.
[j]Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA).
[k]Capital Federal and Gran Buenos Aires Partidos (AMBA).
[l]Territory administered by city council.

extending from Netanya to Ashdod now exceeds by far that in the New York Standard Metropolitan Area extending from south New York State to parts of Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Of the 22 largest metropolitan areas of Jewish residence, 12 are located in the U.S., four in Israel, two in Canada, and one each in France, the UK, Argentina, and Russia.

SERGIO DELLAPERGOLA