World Jewish Population, 2007

THE WORLD'S JEWISH POPULATION was estimated at 13.155 million at the beginning of 2007—an increase of about 63,000 over the previous year's revised estimate.[1] While world total population grew by 1.2 percent in 2006,[2] the world Jewish population grew by 0.5 percent. Israel's Jewish population grew by 1.5 percent and the rest of world Jewry diminished on aggregate by –0.2 percent.

Israel's Jewish population (not including more than 300,000 non-Jewish immigrants admitted in the framework of the Law of Return) approached 5.4 million in 2007, or 41 percent of world Jewry. This represented not only a population increase of nearly 80,000 over 2006 but also a watershed in Jewish population history: after critically reviewing all available evidence on Jewish demographic trends, it is plausible to claim that Israel has overtaken the United States in hosting the largest Jewish community worldwide. Dissenting opinions on this issue will be reviewed later in this article.

In the light of available evidence, demography—through daily, imperceptibly slow and multiform changes affecting human birth and death, and the willingness of individuals to identify with a Jewish collective—has thus produced a transition of singular symbolic relevance for Jewish history and destiny. This holds true at least with regard to the *core* Jewish population, not inclusive of non-Jewish members of Jewish households, other non-Jews of Jewish ancestry, and still other non-Jews who may be conversant with or interested in Jewish matters.

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 (2.75 children, on average, in 2006) and young age composition (about 25 percent below age 15). Neither of these two factors prevails in any other Jewish community world-

[1]The previous estimates, as of January 1, 2006, were published in AJYB 2006, vol. 106, pp. 559–601. 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.

[2]Population Reference Bureau, *2007 World Population Data Sheet* (Washington, D.C., 2007).

wide, where instead, leaving aside the possible impact of international migration, Jewish populations tend to decrease at variable paces because of low Jewish birthrates, an increasingly elderly age composition, and a dubious balance between those joining Judaism and those leaving it.

Determinants of Jewish Population Change

Major geopolitical and socioeconomic changes that affected the world scene since the end of the 1980s significantly affected Jewish population trends. Of particularly heavy impact were the political breakup of the Soviet Union; Germany's reunion; the European Union's gradual expansion to 27 states with the addition of ten new members in 2004 and of Romania and Bulgaria in 2007; South Africa's transition to a new regime; political and economic instability in several Latin American countries; and the volatile situation in Israel and the Middle East set off by the Oslo agreements of the 1990s and the second intifada of the 2000s. 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 political fragmentation but also a new consolidation of the global system of nations, over 80 percent of world Jewry live today in two countries, the U.S. and Israel, and 95 percent are concentrated in the ten largest country communities. Six of the G8 countries[3] (the U.S., 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 demographic trends. The continuing realignment of world Jewish population geography toward the major centers of development provides a robust yardstick for explanation and prediction.[4]

A 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

[3]The eight leading world economies, 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.

and emigration). Both affect increases or decreases in the 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 last type of change 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. Some, though not all, of these passages between one identity and another receive formal sanction through ritual ceremonies of one sort or another, and therefore can be measured. The quantitative impact of passages that occur in individual perceptions of and emotional attachments to group identities without any ceremonial event to mark them are much harder to gauge but should not be undervalued.

The country figures presented here for 2007 were updated from those for 2006 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 empirically ascertained or assumed directions of change, and accordingly added to or subtracted from previous Jewish population estimates. If there was evidence that intervening changes balanced each other off, Jewish population remained unchanged. This procedure proved highly accurate in the past, and when improved Jewish population figures became available in the form of a new census or survey, our annually updated estimates generally proved on target.

Recent research 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 U.S., Germany, Canada, Australia, and a few other Western countries, and a negative one

[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).

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 often negative, or at best uncertain, balance elsewhere.

While allowing for refinements and corrections, the 2007 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 migration between and within countries, often implying bi-local residences and double counts of people on the move or permanently sharing their time between different places. Some of these errors can be corrected at a later stage. 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 a primary tool 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 em-

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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. We 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 Kovács (Budapest), Yaacov Rubel (Buenos Aires), Tally Frankental (Cape Town), Salomon Benzaquen and Tony Beker de Weinraub (Caracas), Frank Mott (Columbus, Ohio), Barry R. Chiswick and Carmel U. Chiswick (Chicago), 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), Allen Glicksman (Philadelphia), Erik H. Cohen (Ramat Gan), Arnold Dashefsky (Storrs, Ct.), Gary Eckstein (Sydney), Leonard Saxe, Charles Kadushin and Benjamin Phillips (Waltham, Mass.), and Hania Zlotnik (the UN).

phasized, however, that the elaboration of a worldwide set of estimates for the Jewish populations of the various countries is beset with difficulties and uncertainties.[7] Therefore users of Jewish population estimates should be aware 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.

Over the last decades the database available for a critical assessment of the worldwide Jewish demographic picture has significantly expanded. Some of this ongoing research is part of a coordinated effort aimed at updating the profile of world Jewry.[8] However, the amount and quality of documentation on Jewish population size and characteristics is still far from satisfactory.

In recent years important new data and estimates were released for several countries through official population censuses. 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,

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[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.

[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 data collection and analysis implemented over the years 2003–2005. 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 analysis and suggestions on Jewish population issues. See Sergio DellaPergola, *Jewish Demography: Facts, Outlook, Challenges*, JPPPI Alert Paper 2 (Jerusalem, 2003); *The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute Annual Assessment 2004–05, Between Thriving and Decline* (Jerusalem, 2005); The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute, *The Conference on the Future of the Jewish People 2007, Background Policy Documents* (Jerusalem, 2007).

and Ukraine (2001); the Russian Republic, Georgia, and Poland (2002); and Moldova (2004). While population censuses in the U.S. do not provide information on religion, they have furnished relevant data on countries of birth, spoken languages, and ancestry. 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, 2000–01) and the American Jewish Identity Survey (AJIS, 2001), as well as a smaller one, the Heritage, Ancestry, and Religious Identity Survey (HARI, 2003). Several other Jewish population studies were separately conducted in major U.S. cities (notably in New York City in 2002 and Boston in 2005—the fifth decennial study in that metropolitan area) and in other countries.

Evidence on Jewish population trends can also 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 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.

Finally, the cross-matching of more than one type of source about the same Jewish population, although not frequently feasible, can provide either mutual reinforcement or important critical insights into the available data.

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. The study of a Jew-

ish population (or of any other group that is part of a broader population) requires solving three main problems: (a) *defining* the target group on the basis of conceptual or normative criteria so as to provide the best possible description of that group—which, in the case of Jewry, is no minor task; (b) *identifying* the group thus defined based on tools that enable, in practical terms, distinguishing and selecting the target group from the rest of the population—through membership lists, types of names, areas of residence, or otherwise; and (c) *covering* the target group through appropriate field work—face to face, by telephone, or otherwise.

Most often in the actual experience of social research the definitional task is performed at the stage of identification, and identification is done at the stage of actual field work. Clearly, the quantitative study of Jewish populations relies only on operational, not normative, definitional criteria, while its conceptual aspects, far from pure theory, heavily depend on practical and logistical feasibility. Moreover, the ultimate technical step—collection of relevant data on the relevant persons—crucially reflects the readiness of people to collaborate in the data-collection effort: the amount, contents, and validity of information gathered depends on the readiness of subjects to participate. But since such readiness reflects the identification outlook of the individuals who are part of the target populations, which in turn is an integral part of what should be investigated, the researcher is caught in a vicious circle. Therefore research findings reflect, with varying degrees of sophistication, only what can be uncovered. Anything beyond that may exist, but only in a virtual world of myths, hopes, and fears, not in reality.

Keeping this in mind, three major definitional concepts provide serious comparative foundations to the study of Jewish demography. They are (a) *core Jewish population;* (b) *enlarged Jewish population;* and (c) *Law of Return Jewish population.*

In most countries out of Israel, the concept of *core Jewish population*[9] includes all persons who, when asked, identify themselves as Jews; or, if the respondent is a different person in the same household, are identified by him/her as Jews. 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 com-

[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).

mitment 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. It is also customary to include 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, *core* Jewish population does not simply express subjective identification but reflects definite legal rules, those of Halakhah, entailing a matrilineal Jewish origin or a conversion to Judaism. Documentation to prove a person's Jewish status may include non-Jewish sources.

The *core* concept offers 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.

The question of whether Jewish identification according to this *core* definition can or should exclude association with other religious corporate identities emerged as a major issue in the course of the 2000–01 NJPS. The solution chosen—admittedly after much debate—was to allow for Jews with multiple religious identities to be included under certain circumstances in the standard definition of Jewish population.[10] To accommodate them a category of Persons of Jewish Background (PJBs) was introduced: some of these were included in the Jewish population count and others were not, based on a more thorough evaluation of their

[10]In the latter 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 *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.

ancestry and childhood. In Canada, by the same token, persons with multiple ethnic identities including a Jewish one were included in the standard Jewish population count. The adoption of such extended criteria by researchers tends to stretch Jewish population definitions beyond usual practices in the past and beyond the abovementioned typical *core* definition. One effect of changing the criteria is 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 date of reference of investigation); and (c) all of the respective further non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.). 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 preference—with the caveat just mentioned for recent U.S. and Canadian data; and (b) other persons with Jewish parentage who disclaim being Jewish. As noted, most 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, also ask about more distant ancestry. For both conceptual and practical reasons, the *enlarged* definition usually does not include other non-Jewish relatives who lack a Jewish background and live in exclusively non-Jewish households.

The *Law of Return,* 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 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

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[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.*

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, whose provisions extend 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 the large population of all those eligible for aliyah, a category whose scope is significantly wider than the *core* and *enlarged* Jewish populations defined above.[13] It is actually quite difficult to estimate the total size of the *Law of Return* population. Such estimates are not discussed below systematically, but some notion of their possible extent is given for the major countries.

The significant involvement of major Israeli and American Jewish organizations—such as the Jewish Agency for Israel, the American Joint Distribution Committee, or United Jewish Communities (UJC)—in sponsoring data collection tends to complicate research issues. Organizations are motivated by their mission toward their constituencies rather than by unequivocally pure analytic criteria. In turn, the understandable interest of organizations in perpetuating themselves and securing budgetary resources inclines them to address Jewish populations increasingly more similar to the *enlarged* and *Law of Return* definitions than to the *core*.

The following estimates of Jewish population distribution in each continent (Table 1 below), country (Tables 2–9), and major metropolitan areas (Table 10) 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 picture entail a short span of time for evaluation and correction of available information, hence a somewhat greater margin of inaccuracy. Indeed,

[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 in his *Jewish Identity: The Case of Ethiopian Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1998).

where appropriate, we revised our previous estimates in the light of newly accrued information on Jewish populations (Tables 1 and 2). Corrections were also applied retrospectively to the 2006 figures for major geographical regions so as to ensure a better base for comparisons with the 2007 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 3–7 provide an estimate of midyear 2006 total population,[14] the estimated 1/1/2007 Jewish population, the proportion of Jews per 1,000 of total population, and a rating of the accuracy of the Jewish population estimate.

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

The three main elements that affect the accuracy of each estimate are the nature and quality of the base data, 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 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; up-

[14]Data and estimates derived from Population Reference Bureau, *2007 World Population Data Sheet*.

dated 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 2007 was not only updated but also revised in light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

One 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 groups, 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 frequencies of births and deaths 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 clearly 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 2007 was assessed at 13,155,200, constituting 1.99 per 1,000 of the world's total population of 6,625 million. One in about 503 people in the world is a Jew. According to the revised figures, the Jewish people grew between January 1, 2006 and January 1, 2007, by an estimated 65,400 people, or about 0.5 percent. This compares with a total world population growth rate of 1.2 percent (0.1 percent in more developed countries, 1.5 percent in less developed countries). Allowing for imperfections in the estimates, world Jewry continued to be close to zero population growth, with increase in Israel (1.5 percent) overcoming decline in the Diaspora (−0.2 percent).

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[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.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 2006 AND 2007[a]

Region	2006			2007		Yearly % Change	Jews/1000 Total
	Original Abs. N.	Revised[b] Abs. N.	Percent[c]	Abs. N.	Percent[c]	2006–2007	Population
World	13,089,800	13,092,000	100.0	13,155,200	100.0	0.5	2.0
Diaspora	7,776,000	7,778,200	59.4	7,761,800	59.0	−0.2	1.2
Israel	5,313,800	5,313,800	40.6	5,393,400	41.0	1.5	757.9
America, Total	6,043,200	6,043,200	46.2	6,041,300	45.9	0.0	6.7
North[d]	5,648,500	5,648,500	43.1	5,649,000	42.9	0.0	16.9
Central	51,800	51,800	0.4	51,600	0.4	−0.4	0.3
South	342,900	342,900	2.6	340,700	2.6	−0.6	0.9
Europe, Total	1,505,500	1,507,400	11.5	1,492,700	11.3	−1.0	1.9
European Union[b]	1,121,300	1,133,400[f]	0.0	1,129,800	8.6	−0.3	2.3
Other West	19,700	19,700	0.2	19,500	0.1	−1.0	1.6
Former USSR[e]	330,800	332,700	2.5	322,000	2.4	−3.2	1.6
Other East and Balkans[e]	33,700	21,600[f]	0.0	21,400	0.2	−0.9	0.2
Asia, Total	5,353,300	5,353,600	40.9	5,432,900	41.3	1.5	1.4
Israel	5,313,800	5,313,800	40.6	5,393,400	41.0	1.5	757.9
Former USSR[e]	19,900	20,200	0.2	20,000	0.2	−1.0	0.3
Other	19,600	19,600	0.1	19,500	0.1	−0.5	0.0
Africa, Total	77,700	77,700	0.6	77,200	0.6	−0.6	0.1
North[f]	4,200	4,200	0.0	4,200	0.0	0.0	0.0
South[g]	73,500	73,500	0.6	73,000	0.6	−0.7	0.1
Oceania[h]	110,100	110,100	0.8	111,100	0.8	0.9	3.2

[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.
[i]After including Bulgaria and Romania in the European Union.

Table 1 gives an overall picture of Jewish population for the beginning of 2007 as compared to 2006. For 2006 the originally published estimates are presented along with somewhat revised figures that take into account, retrospectively, the corrections made in certain country estimates in the light of improved information. These corrections resulted in a net increase of the 2006 estimated size of world Jewry by 2,200. Explanations are given below of the reasons for these minor corrections.

The number of Jews in Israel rose from 5,313,800 in 2006 to 5,393,400 at the beginning of 2007, an increase of 79,600 people, or 1.5 percent. In contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora diminished from 7,778,200 (according to the revised figures) to 7,761,800—a decrease of 16,400 people, or –0.2 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 2006, Israel's net migratory balance (immigration minus emigration) amounted to a minor gain of 7,900 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 90 percent of the recorded growth among the Jewish population in Israel and most of the estimated 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 2 provides a synopsis of the world Jewish population estimates relating to the period 1945–2007, as first published each year in the *American Jewish Year Book* and as corrected retroactively, in-

[16]Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel* (Jerusalem, 2007).

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

corporating 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 appeared 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 2 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.

TABLE 2. WORLD JEWISH POPULATION, ORIGINAL AND CORRECTED ESTIMATES, AND TOTAL POPULATION, 1945–2007

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	13,092,100	0.46	6,477	1.27	2.02
2007, Jan. 1	13,155,000		0.48	6,625[e]	1.14	1.99

[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.
[e]Midyear estimate of current year. Source: Population Reference Bureau.

mostly reflecting the growing share of Israel out of the world total. Table 2 also outlines the slower Jewish population growth rate versus global growth, and the declining Jewish share of world population. In 2007 the share of Jews within world population (1.99 per 1,000) was less than half of what it was in 1945 (4.75 per 1,000).

Distribution by Major Regions and Countries

About 46 percent of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with over 43 percent in North America. Over 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 11 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 Canada and Oceania (Australia and New Zealand). We estimate that Jewish population size diminished to variable extents in Central and South America, in Europe, in the former Soviet republics (both in Europe and Asia), and in Africa. We did not change our estimate of the number of Jews in the U.S. (see below). These regional changes reflect trends apparent in the Jewish population in each of the major countries with some notable exceptions within regions, such as the growth of the German Jewish population within the EU. We now turn to a review of recent trends in the largest Jewish populations.

THE AMERICAS

Jewish population in the Americas (Table 3) is predominantly concentrated in the U.S. (5,275,000, or 87 percent of the continental total), followed by Canada (374,000, 6 percent), South America (341,000, 6 percent), and Central America (52,000, 1 percent).

The United States

Jewish population in the U.S. approached 4.5 million in 1945 and according to available sources it grew by about one million until around

1990.[18] Two competing major surveys independently conducted in 2000-2001—the National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS)[19] and the American Jewish Identity Survey (AJIS)[20]—indicated a *core* Jewish population of 5,200,000 and 5,340,000, respectively, in 2001, as against 5,515,000 in 1990. Population projections had long predicted an eventual decrease in *core* Jewish population in the U.S.[21] reflecting a slowing down of international immigration, postponed Jewish marriages and growing singlehood, rising frequencies of out-marriage (over 50 percent of Jews currently marrying), low Jewish fertility (less than 2 children per woman), attribution to the Jewish side of a minority of the children of intermarriages (up to a third according to the highest projection), and noticeable aging (nearly 20 percent of the Jewish population above 65).

The NJPS was sponsored by United Jewish Communities (UJC), the coordinating body of Jewish federations in the U.S., and advised by a National Technical Advisory Committee (NTAC) chaired by the late Vivian Klaff and by Frank Mott. The NTAC included several leading experts on Jewish population studies and senior Jewish community planners. A national random-digit-dialing (RDD) sample covered the whole U.S. territory subdivided into seven geographical strata based on pre-survey estimates of Jewish population density. Sampling probabilities were proportional to Jewish density in each stratum. Over 175,000 households were screened 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 nondichotomous

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[18]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, 85–31. See also Ira Rosenwaike, "A Synthetic Estimate of American Jewish Population Movement over the Last Three Decades, in U.O. Schmelz and Sergio Della Pergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1977* (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 83–102;

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

[20]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).

[21]U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demographic Consequences of U.S. Jewish Population Trends," AJYB 1983, vol. 83, pp. 141–87; U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Basic Trends in American Jewish Demography* (New York, 1988).

resolution of Jewish population definition. Such screening criteria, designed to produce results reflecting UJC planning needs, were 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, interviewed for a National Survey of Religion and Ethnicity (NSRE), supplied data needed to weight and estimate Jewish population size, and to a provide comparative sociodemographic background. The response rate 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.[22] 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, which concluded that the study—while handicapped by 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.[23]

The total Jewish population was estimated at 5.2 million, including 4.3 million with a clearly Jewish identification, 800,000 persons of Jewish background with no religion and whose Jewish identification was less explicit, and over 100,000 persons either in institutions or 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 group, the 800,000, were administered a short-form questionnaire that covered a limited selection of the survey's variables, containing very little on Jewish identification. The total number of Jews plus non-Jews of Jewish background was estimated at 6.7 million. The 2.9 million households with at least one Jewish member were estimated to include 8.7 million individuals, including a significantly larger non-Jewish component than in 1990.

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[22]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" (Waltham, Mass., 2004).

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

The 2001 AJIS, directed by the late Egon Mayer, and by Barry Kosmin and Ariela Keysar, was privately sponsored, testifying to substantive disagreements within the Jewish community and among its researchers about the relationship between social scientific research and community planning. AJIS was based on a national RDD sample that replicated the methodology of the 1990 NJPS. Out of all successful contacts, a total of 50,238 respondents agreed to be interviewed. Through screening questions, 1,668 respondents qualified for a survey of American Jewish households, a response rate of 18 percent.[24] 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 household membership, including Jews and others of Jewish origin, was assessed at 7,690,000. The total of individuals in surveyed households, including those without any current core Jew but excluding persons in institutions, was 9,740,000. The AJIS data conceptually matched the 1990 NJPS figures.

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. As this sample was considerably smaller than those in the previously mentioned two surveys, the corresponding statistical errors were much larger. The HARI study yielded an estimate of 6.0 million Jews, defined as those saying that Judaism is their religion or that they had a Jewish background (through a parent or upbringing). Since this definition does not specify the current identificational status of adults and children, it is conceptually closer to an *enlarged* Jewish population than to a *core* Jewish population as defined above. Another 4.2 million individuals were defined as of "Jewish heritage," and 2.5 million more were "connected non-Jewish adults." The grand total of 12,735,000 tends toward and even beyond the extensive criteria of the *Law of Return.*

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[24]Mayer, Kosmin, and Keysar, *American Jewish Identity Survey;* and Barry A. Kosmin, personal communication.

[25]Gary Tobin and Sid Groenman, *Surveying the Jewish Population in the United States* (San Francisco, 2003). It was published in two parts, *Population Estimate* and *Methodological Issues and Challenges.*

Combined reading of the two major surveys, NJPS and AJIS, suggests a core Jewish population in the range of 5.20–5.35 million in 2001. Even accepting the higher estimate, the revised 2001 estimate was about 300,000–400,000 short of the 5.7 million we had projected for 2002 based on the estimate of 5.515 million in the 1990 NJPS.[26] During the 1990s there was an influx of at least 200,000 Jewish new immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Israel, Latin America, South Africa, Iran, and Western Europe. However, Jewish fertility continued to be low, population composition became significantly more aged, intermarriage rates continued to increase, and propensities to identify with Judaism among younger adults of mixed Jewish and non-Jewish ancestry remained low. These were sufficient reasons for a shrinking core population size. In the historical perspective of Jewish population research in the U.S. over the last 50 years, the new findings were consistent with figures and projections based on earlier sources, such as the 1957 Current Population Survey, the 1970 NJPS, and the 1990 NJPS. The apparent population decline was more likely the product of actual demographic trends than an artifact of insufficient data.[27]

As against these data and interpretations, two different schools of thought have suggested that the number of Jews in the U.S. has been underestimated and in fact may be one million higher than indicated by NJPS and AJIS.

One study, published in the 2006 AJYB, compiled many dozens of local Jewish community studies plus other local estimates to suggest a U.S. Jewish population of possibly 6.0 to 6.4 million.[28] As a first observation, it should be noted that since 1790 the U.S. Census Bureau has conducted a decennial national population count. Not relying on the sum of population statistics from local authorities or on population updates of older databases, every ten years the census assesses anew the current population stock. While costly, the operation is essential to provide fresh and independent information needed for planning. The same rationale should apply to Jewish population studies.

In this specific case, dozens of local Jewish community studies were carried out by different authors with different sponsors, different purposes, different Jewish population definitions, and different data-collection

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

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

[28]Ira M. Sheskin and Arnold Dashefsky, "Jewish Population in the United States, 2006," AJYB 2006, vol. 106, pp. 133–93.

methods over a span of more than two decades, a lack of consistency that constitutes a fatal flaw. Adding to the problem is the exceptionally high geographical mobility of American Jews[29]—mainly from the Northeast to the South and West—and the inherent diffusion of double residences with the risk of double counts.

Another critical weakness of most local studies is their partial but significant reliance on local community lists that tend to portray the more Jewishly identified portion of the population and to overestimate the total. In the several studies that combine Jewish lists and random sampling, the methodology for merging and weighting returns from the different sampling frameworks and achieve overall population estimates is not uniform. Moreover, several local surveys did not adequately distinguish between the *core* and *enlarged* Jewish populations, and thus provided inflated numbers. On top of this, about 20 percent of the national Jewish population estimate comes from places for which no studies exist but only unverifiable estimates provided by local informants. In no way can the results for the 80 percent of the Jewish population covered by local studies be considered representative of the remaining 20 percent. Without detracting from the importance of local studies, the combined product of summing up and inferring is highly problematic, and cannot seriously match national studies that are based on comprehensive and consistent survey criteria.

A different methodology has been implemented through an ambitious and innovative project undertaken at the Steinhardt Social Research Institute (SSRI) of Brandeis University. A large number of general social surveys were gathered, each including a Jewish subsample. The number of Jewish cases in such national surveys is usually small, but combining many of them together allows for a meta-analysis of a much larger Jewish sample in the context of the U.S. total population.[30]

At first sight, this new effort seemed to confirm existing notions about Jewish population size. Based on an initial review of 74 studies over the period 1990–2005, the median share of Jews among total respondents was 1.94 percent. Allowing for the observed lower share of Jews under

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[29]Uzi Rebhun and Sidney Goldstein, "Changes in the Geographical Dispersion and Mobility of American Jews, 1990–2001," *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 48, 1, 2006, pp. 5–33.

[30]The project is 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).

20, the ratio of Jews to non-Jews aged 20 and above who are the typical respondents to surveys was 0.935. The percentage of Jews among the total U.S. population, including adults and children, should thus be downwardly corrected to 1.814 percent. The 2000 U.S. Census gave a total 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 upwardly the Jewish population for non-response or no reporting of religion, the Jewish population estimate would become 5,373,677. This estimate—nearly identical to the already mentioned AJIS—referred 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, the likely outcome would thus be somewhat lower that the original calculation.

In a later report, the SSRI group suggested a much higher U.S. Jewish population estimate.[31] It did so by relying on 31 surveys selected out of a much broader pool, a comparison for a few cohorts of the estimates from the new merged database with data from the NJPS (the AJIS was ignored), and an evaluation of Jewish school enrollment according to various available sources. This approach has several strengths but also some serious weaknesses:

- The decision to narrow the analysis to a selection of a few surveys deemed by the researchers to be the fittest out of the many more that are available seriously detracts from the randomness of the data. One of the greatest advantages of the whole SSRI project was exactly the unbiased collection of as many sources as possible—each with its own strengths, weaknesses and idiosyncrasies.
- The SSRI review considers only those persons explicitly identified by religion, and then seeks to extrapolate the number of the religiously identified to the total of American Jews. One important SSRI finding is that the more broadly representative the agency conducting a survey (such as the U.S. government, as opposed to the patron of a narrowly defined special constituency), the higher the response rate; and the higher the response rate, the higher the share of Jews in the sample. Since NJPS and AJIS were sponsored by narrowly defined agencies (the Jewish community) and thus, expectedly, had low response rates, their

[31] Leonard Saxe, Elizabeth Tighe, and Benjamin Phillips, with Ariel Libhaber, Daniel Parmer, Jessica Simon, and Graham Wright, *Understanding Contemporary American Jewry* (Waltham, Mass., 2006).

ability to uncover the Jewish population was admittedly on the low side of the range. On the other hand, NJPS and AJIS investigators made special efforts to unveil hidden Jews among the total respondents, which they could do thanks to the very detailed range of questions on personal identity they had at their disposal. Following this effort the total Jewish population turned out to be significantly higher than the number of Jews initially identified by religion. Given this basic difference in survey penetration and administration, it would be quite inappropriate to apply the low NJPS/AJIS ratio of Jews by religion to total Jews in the case of other general surveys that had a much better response rate. But this seems to have been the step followed by the SSRI group to bridge between the original survey figures based on religion and their total Jewish population estimates, resulting in excessively high total estimates.

- Social surveys typically cover adult respondents and do not collect detailed information on each individual in the household, namely children under 18, which NJPS/AJIS did. The assumption that the percent of Jews among total respondents equals the percent of Jews among the total population is gravely fallacious. Indeed, each Jewish respondent brings in not only fewer children because of lower Jewish fertility, but also fewer other adults, because of the group's older age composition and the higher prevalence of smaller households, including many more people living alone. Moreover, while a generic respondent brings in other generic members of the household, determining a certain multiplier, a Jewish respondent brings in other members who are, in many cases, not Jewish, thus determining a lower multiplier. These differences should be weighted into population estimates, something that the SSRI researchers have not done.
- The main thrust of the age cohort comparisons between the meta-analysis and the NJPS is their significant consistency, which supports the basic reliability of NJPS. But two cohorts seem to be exceptions. The inconsistency concerns Jewish adults whose ages in 2001 were 35–44 (born 1957–66) and 45–54 (born 1957–66), hence all part of the so called baby-boomer generation. Indeed, apparent cohort erosion had already been noted in comparing NJPS 2001 with NJPS 1990, and even earlier among the same cohorts in comparisons between NJPS 1970 and NJPS 1990.[32] The crucial question seems to relate to the cultural-ideational patterns of American baby-boomers, and certainly part of

[32]DellaPergola, "Was it the Demography?"

the explanation derives from the steady transition among younger adults from a Jewish identification based on religion to one founded on ethnicity, culture, or being "just Jewish." Again, an analysis that relies primarily on the religion category, like the SSRI, is likely to miss the fact that people can feel Jewish through other cultural avenues.

- Whenever a figure provided by NJPS can be matched against a similar figure from another source, the match is usually good. Two such examples are the number of children enrolled in Jewish day schools, compared with school enrollment statistics,[33] and the number of documented immigrants, compared with other institutional data.[34] In the case of day-school education, the comparison of number of pupils with the total number of children gives an enrollment ratio of slightly over 25 percent. While that seems very high, it is absolutely compatible with the empirically demonstrated higher percentage of the Orthodox among younger cohorts of Jews in the U.S., which in turn reflects higher Orthodox birthrates and fewer losses to assimilation.
- General social surveys tend to be based on individual respondents and only a few make available a full roster of the characteristics of all members in a household. Furthermore, religion is seldom the main focus of investigation and is thus usually confined to one background question. Direct knowledge about household size and composition cannot go beyond certain limits, leaving its final determination to inference. The SSRI suggestions that U.S. Jewry might comprise 6.5 and perhaps even 7.5 million individuals, or that the yearly birth cohort might exceed 70,000 newborn become plausible only if the reference category is the *enlarged* concept of total population in households and not the *core* concept of individually identified Jewish population.

All of these considerations militate in favor of the general plausibility of NJPS/AJIS and of the population estimates that can be derived from them. In addition, the approaches that oppose and suggest alternatives to NJPS and AJIS share two critical weaknesses:

- The first is their inability to provide an integrated age composition of the U.S. Jewish population inclusive of Jewish adults and Jewish children. Age composition is a most basic analytic referent, both synthe-

[33]Marvin Schick, *A Census of Jewish Day Schools in the United States 2003–2004* (Jerusalem, 2005).

[34]HIAS, *Statistical Report* (New York, annual publication).

sizing past changes and functioning as an agent of future changes. Current age is an intermediary between the demography of two successive generations, in the absence of which discourse about population trends becomes nearly void of content.

- The second, even more crucial, shared weakness of the two critical approaches is their complete lack of historical perspective. If it is true that today there are more than 6 million Jews in the U.S., we expect to be told how many there were in 1990, and at previous dates back to the end of World War II. A population, as we have repeatedly argued, grows or shrinks as a consequence of a limited set of factors whose impact must be assessed along with the overall figure. A much higher figure in 2001 and later implies either that U.S. Jewry recently experienced a fast pace of growth—against all existing evidence—or that all previous estimates should be significantly raised, implying over 50 years of gross mistakes in Jewish population studies. The new higher estimates are suggesting, instead, that the current assessment of U.S. Jewry can be severed from its past. While it is surely legitimate to discuss contemporary U.S. Jewry as a cultural phenomenon not necessarily stemming from its own past or from other strands of Jewish history, this is not appropriate in the realm of population studies.

In the light of this abundant and intriguing evidence, our U.S. Jewish population estimate reflects the well-documented pattern of end of growth and incipient population decrease. As noted, U.S. Jewry is characterized by an aging population composition, and its effectively Jewish fertility levels are significantly below generational replacement due in part to a very incomplete inclusion of the children of out-marriage—admittedly a feature that might change in the future, as suggested by the 2005 Boston study.[35] The number of immigrants has diminished, especially from the FSU. A reading of the current age composition of U.S. Jewry and other current evidence suggests that about 50,000 Jewish births occur annually in the U.S. as compared to nearly 60,000 Jewish deaths, and 5,000 net immigrants. Following these assumptions the 2001 estimate was adjusted to 5,275,000 in 2006, and the same was retained for 2007.

Admittedly, the quality of U.S. Jewish population estimates cannot be compared to the more rigorous sources in Israel and a few other coun-

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

tries. In the absence of better data, comparisons remain speculative. Even more significantly, Jewish identification tends to reflect the very different constraints and opportunities of the relatively open environment of the U.S., where a multiplicity of overlapping identities can be legitimately held under the general American panoply, as against a closed society still surrounded by a hostile environment, as in Israel. Our estimate of 5,275,000 *core* Jews in the U.S. at the beginning of 2007 is a cautious compromise between the two major 2001 Jewish surveys, the NJPS and the AJIS, also taking into account the findings of many other American social surveys, other institutional data, and population extrapolations produced under different assumptions.

While by the *core* concept the number of Jews in the U.S. today probably falls behind that in Israel, it is beyond dispute that the U.S. has far larger *enlarged* and *Law of Return* populations. The former apparently comprises at least 6.7 million individuals with some recent Jewish ancestry, and 7.7–8.7 million individuals in households with at least one Jew. When the latter's non-Jewish children, grandchildren, and respective spouses are added in—all would be accepted in Israel under the *Law of Return*—we reach a virtual aggregate of 10 to 12 million individuals in the U.S., as against 5.7 million in Israel.

In the U.S., the debate about numbers has been invested with an importance and symbolic meaning that transcends by far the social scientific discipline. In the public debate, Jewish population size has become a proxy for honor, legitimacy, relative visibility in the Jewish world, and probably predominance in its politics and resource allocation. This is, in the end, the gist of the numerical competition between Jewish population figures for the U.S. and Israel. One way to escape from this conundrum would be a continuation of the routine of periodic data collection that UJC established with the 1970, 1990, and 2001 NJPS series. A new study would signal an attitude of respect to R&D in national community planning, and might allow for new comparisons, evaluations of changes in the observed trends, deepened insights, and improved projections for the future.

But in 2007, UJC decided not to sponsor another NJPS in 2010, but at the same time copyrighted the logo NJPS for itself. These momentous decisions raised significant questions about how the organized Jewish community viewed its own mandate, including the role of research as a basis for planning and allocation of resources, and the respective responsibilities of central Jewish institutions and private initiatives. One can only hope that research on U.S. Jewish population and community will

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, 1/1/2007

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Canada	32,900,000	374,000	11.4	B 2001
United States	302,200,000	5,275,000	17.5	B 2001
Total North America[a]	335,227,000	5,649,000	16.9	
Bahamas	300,000	300	1.0	D
Costa Rica	4,500,000	2,500	0.6	C 1993
Cuba	11,200,000	500	0.0	C 1990
Dominican Republic	9,400,000	100	0.0	D
El Salvador	6,900,000	100	0.0	C 1993
Guatemala	13,400,000	900	0.1	B 1999
Jamaica	2,700,000	300	0.1	B 1995
Mexico	106,500,000	39,600	0.4	B 2001
Netherlands Antilles	215,000	200	0.9	B 1998
Panama	3,300,000	5,000	1.5	C 1990
Puerto Rico	3,900,000	1,500	0.4	C 1990
Virgin Islands	115,000	300	2.6	C 1986
Other	25,570,000	300	0.0	D
Total Central America	188,000,000	51,600	0.3	
Argentina	39,400,000	184,000	4.7	B 2003
Bolivia	9,800,000	500	0.1	C 1999
Brazil	189,300,000	96,200	0.5	B 2001
Chile	16,600,000	20,600	1.2	C 1991
Colombia	46,200,000	2,900	0.1	C 1996
Ecuador	13,500,000	900	0.1	C 1985
Paraguay	6,100,000	900	0.1	B 1997
Peru	27,900,000	2,100	0.1	C 1993
Suriname	500,000	200	0.4	C 1986
Uruguay	3,300,000	17,900	5.4	B 2006
Venezuela	25,700,000	14,500	0.5	B 1999
Total South America[a]	381,100,000	340,700	0.9	
Total	904,327,000	6,041,300	6.7	

[a]Including countries not listed separately.

continue through other avenues. What is certain is that the dispute about Jewish population estimates in the U.S. is bound to continue.

Canada

The Canadian situation differs significantly both in regard to available databases and substantive population trends. Pending results from the 2006 population census, the 2001 census[36] 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 a solely Jewish ethnicity, and the other 162,130 mentioned Jewish as one of their several ethnic identities. The percentage with an exclusively Jewish ethnicity thus declined to 53 percent of all those reporting a Jewish ethnicity, down from 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 decade between the two censuses, and 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.[37] Assuming continuing immigration to Canada but also some internal attrition, we estimate that the Jewish population grew to 374,000 in 2007, the world's fourth largest. This figure is not strictly comparable with the concept of *core* Jewish population, as it includes some individuals for whom Jewish was only one among multiple ethnic identities, and who may not identify as Jewish if asked. Some of these would probably better be included among 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.

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[36]Detailed information on the 2001 census is available on line from Statistics Canada at . The 2006 census relates to the ethnicity variable only, and the relevant data will be released in 2008.

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

Latin America

In Latin America, the Jewish population was generally in decline, reflecting economic and local security concerns. Nearly 6,000 Jews emigrated from Argentina to Israel in 2002—the highest figure ever in a single year from that country—due to 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, 397 in 2005, and 293 in 2006.[38] 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 rumors, permanence rates in Israel of the new immigrants were high, at least during the first year after immigration, with an attrition of about 10 percent leaving within the first three years.[39] Argentina's Jewish population is assessed at 184,000 in 2007, 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[40] were founded on significantly inconsistent definitional criteria. Of the 244,000, 64,000 reported being of Christian religion, and another about 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 own estimate of 165,000. This figure for the major urban concentration appeared coherent with our countrywide *core* estimate. The 244,000 figure would be a good estimate of the *enlarged* Jewish population in Greater Buenos Aires, while, in the same survey, over 300,000 persons were identified as 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 significant aging of the core Jewish population, reflecting the emigration of younger households over recent years.[41] The current situation implies a

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

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

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

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

yearly loss of about 500–1,000 through a negative balance of Jewish births and deaths, and emigration.

In Brazil, the 2000 census indicated a rather stable Jewish population of 86,828, up from 86,416 in 1991.[42] Considering the possible omission of individuals who did not answer the census question on religion, we assessed Brazil's Jewish population at 97,000 in 2003 and, allowing for moderate emigration (286 went to Israel in 2005 and 232 in 2006), 96,200 in 2007—the world's tenth largest. The census data were consistent with a systematic documentation effort undertaken by the Jewish Federation of São Paulo that unveiled a total of 47,286 Jews,[43] 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,[44] and presumably exceeded 120,000 in 2000.

In Mexico, the 2000 census indicated a Jewish population of 45,260 aged five and over.[45] 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 suggested an 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 in Mexico City,[46] confirming the results of a previous 1991 survey.[47] In 2007, allowing for some emigration to the U.S. and Israel, we estimated the Jewish population at 39,600, the world's 14th largest.

The fourth largest Jewish community in Latin America is located in

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

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

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

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

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

[47]Sergio DellaPergola and Susana Lerner, *La población judía de México: Perfil demográfico, social y cultural* (México-Jerusalén, 1995). The project, conducted cooperatively between 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.

Chile,[48] whose relatively stable Jewish population is now larger than those of Uruguay[49] and Venezuela.[50] Both of the latter countries experienced 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 17,900 in 2007. The estimate for Venezuela was reduced to 14,500, reflecting ongoing concerns in that community.

EUROPE

Jewish population in Europe tended to be increasingly concentrated in the western part of the continent, and within the European Union (Table 4). The EU, after the addition of Bulgaria and Romania, reached an estimated total of 1,129,800 Jews in 2006 (76 percent of the continent's total Jewish population). The former Soviet republics in Europe outside the EU comprised 322,000 Jews (21 percent). All other European countries comprised 40,900 Jews (3 percent).

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 part of the Soviet area of influence in Eastern Europe (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia), and two southern European insular countries (Cyprus and Malta). In 2007 two more countries that had been part of the East European Soviet sphere of influence, Romania and Bulgaria, were admitted. The EU's expanded format symbolized an important historical landmark: the virtual boundary between Western and Eastern Europe was erased, with Croatia and Macedonia being the next

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[48]Gabriel Berger et al., *Estudio Socio-Demográfico de la Comunidad Jud{{igrave}}a de Chile* (Santiago-Buenos Aires, 1995).

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

[50]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.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE, 1/1/2007

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Austria	8,300,000	9,000	1.1	B 2001
Belgium	10,600,000	30,500	2.9	C 2002
Bulgaria	7,700,000	2,000	0.3	C 2001
Czech Republic	10,300,000	3,900	0.4	C 2001
Denmark	5,500,000	6,400	1.2	C 2001
Estonia	1,300,000	1,900	1.5	B 2006
Finland	5,300,000	1,100	0.2	B 1999
France[a]	61,700,000	490,000	7.9	B 2002
Germany	82,300,000	120,000	1.5	B 2004
Greece	11,200,000	4,500	0.4	B 1995
Hungary	10,100,000	49,000	4.9	C 2001
Ireland	4,400,000	1,200	0.3	B 2001
Italy	59,300,000	28,500	0.5	B 2002
Latvia	2,300,000	9,700	4.2	B 2005 X
Lithuania	3,400,000	3,100	0.9	B 2001
Luxembourg	500,000	600	1.2	B 2000
Netherlands	16,400,000	30,000	1.8	B 2000
Poland	38,100,000	3,200	0.1	C 2001
Portugal	10,700,000	500	0.0	C 1999
Romania	21,600,000	9,900	0.5	B 2001
Slovakia	5,400,000	2,600	0.5	C 2001
Slovenia	2,000,000	100	0.1	C 1996
Spain	45,300,000	12,000	0.3	D
Sweden	9,100,000	15,000	1.6	C 1999
United Kingdom	61,200,000	295,000	4.8	B 2001
Other[b]	1,400,000	100	0.1	D
Total European Union 27	495,400,000	1,129,800	2.3	
Gibraltar	25,000	600	24.0	B 1991
Norway	4,700,000	1,200	0.3	B 1995
Switzerland	7,500,000	17,700	2.4	B 2000
Total other West Europe[c]	12,695,000	19,500	1.5	

TABLE 4.—*(Continued)*

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Belarus	9,700,000	17,500	1.8	B 1999
Moldova	4,000,000	4,500	1.1	B 2004
Russia[d]	141,700,000	221,000	1.6	B 2002
Ukraine	46,500,000	79,000	1.7	B 2001 X
Total FSU Republics[c]	201,900,000	322,000	1.6	
[Total FSU in Europe][e]	208,900,000	336,700	1.6	
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3,800,000	500	0.1	C 2001
Croatia	4,400,000	1,700	0.4	C 2001
Macedonia (FYR)	2,000,000	100	0.1	C 1996
Serbia-Montenegro	10,100,000	1,400	0.1	C 2001
Turkey[d]	74,000,000	17,700	0.2	B 2002
Total other East Europe and Balkans[c]	94,300,000	21,400	0.2	
Total	804,295,000	1,492,700	1.9	

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

candidates for EU membership. Ongoing disagreements about the membership of Turkey, an Islamic country, revealed a dilemma in the definition of Europe's own cultural and geopolitical boundaries.

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.[51] Before the survey, our Jewish population estimate stood at 519,000. The difference, cumulated over

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

several years, was primarily due to the growing pace of Jewish emigration not only to Israel but also to Canada and other countries. Migration to Israel amounted to 2,545 in 2005 and 2,408 in 2006. Jewish emigration reflected a sense of uneasiness about acts of anti-Jewish intolerance, including physical violence. A 2004 survey of Jewish tourists from France to Israel produced a remarkable estimate of 125,000, or more than 30 percent of all French Jews aged 15 and over.[52] 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. While migration intentions are not a proxy for actual migration decisions, the erosion in feelings of security among French Jewry is undisputable. Our 2007 estimate for French Jewry therefore shrinks to 490,000, the third largest in the world.

In the United Kingdom, the 2001 national population census included a voluntary question on religion for the first time since the nineteenth century.[53] The total Jewish population of 266,741 for England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland closely approximated our 273,500 estimate for 2002. One interesting census finding concerned the spread of Jewish population, which is more diffused over the national territory than was previously believed. This would also indicate a lower degree of Jewish affiliation than previously assumed. At the same time, the community is aging, with 16 percent of Jews below age 15 versus 22 percent above age 65. More detailed data for Scotland (where some of census questions were asked differently than in the rest of the UK) indicated 6,448 people currently reporting Jewish religion as compared to 7,446 who said they were raised as Jews—a net lifetime loss of 13 percent.[54]

About 23 percent of the UK total population indicated that they had no religion while another 7 percent did not answer the question—at a time when much of the organized Jewish community publicly supported participation in the census. In the meantime, detailed census tabulations were obtained by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research and the Board of Deputies of British Jews from the Office for National Statistics. An in-depth profile of the sociodemographic profile of British Jewry thus emerged, along with a better evaluation of the quality of Jewish popu-

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

[53]See Barry Kosmin and Stanley Waterman, *Commentary on Census Religion Question* (London, 2002), a publication of the JPR (Institute for Jewish Policy Research). The census is available at .

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

lation estimates.[55] Analyses of detailed geographical precincts allowed for estimates of the amount of non-response in areas with higher or lower Jewish densities among the total population. There was a significant correlation between the known Jewish religiosity of a district and non-response to the religion question. On the other hand, post-census surveys of Jews in London and Leeds did not unveil high percentages declaring they had not answered "Jewish" to the question on religion.

Vital statistics routinely collected by the Board of Deputies Community Research Unit on the annual number of Jewish births appeared to be consistent with the census returns. Comparing the uncorrected census returns for the age group 0–9, and the recorded number of Jewish births over the ten years preceding the census, the discrepancy was only 2.5 percent. This confirms that there was an undercount, but one that could not have had a significant impact on Jewish population estimates. The same vital statistics 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 both 2002 and 2003).[56] The diminishing number of deaths is an obvious symptom of a shrinking population which loses about 1,000 people yearly through a negative vital balance. Shrinking synagogue membership is another indicator. Household membership declined by 17.8 percent between 1990 and 2005, and by 4.5 percent (nearly 1 percent per year) between 2001 and 2005.[57]

We had previously suggested raising the UK Jewish population estimate from the original census count of 266,741 to 300,000 for 2001, or about 12 percent above the original returns, assuming a lower rate of non-response among Jews than in the general population. All in all, this seems a fair resolution. The updating must take into account the negative balance of births and deaths, as well as a moderate increase in emigration

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[55]David Graham, Marlena Schmool, and Stanley Waterman, *Jews in Britain: A Snapshot from the 2001 Census*,(London, 2007); David Graham and Stanley Waterman, "Under-enumeration of the Jewish Population in the UK 2001 Census," *Population, Space and Place* 11, 2005, pp. 89–102; David Voas, "Estimating the Jewish Undercount in the 2001 Census: A Comment on Graham and Waterman (2005)," ibid. 13, 2007, pp. 401–07; David J. Graham, Stanley Waterman, "Locating Jews by Ethnicity: A Reply to David Voas (2007)," ibid. pp. 409–14.

[56]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).

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

(594 went to Israel in 2006). We estimated the UK's total Jewish population at 295,000 in 2007, the world's fifth largest.

In Germany, Jewish immigration that had brought into the country over 200,000 Jews and non-Jewish family members between 1989 and 2006 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 more restrictive law *(Zuwanderungsgesetz)*. Jews were to be included in it and thus lose their privileged status as *Kontingentflüchtlinge*. The new law put ability to integrate into German society and good economic prospects before other considerations, and required Jews aspiring to immigrate to Germany to first prove that a Jewish community would accept them as members. Prior knowledge of the German language was necessary, and potential Jewish immigrants also had to prove that they would not be dependent on welfare and that they were willing to integrate into the German labor market.[58]

In 2006, 1,971 immigrants from the former Soviet Union were recorded as new members of German Jewish communities, as compared to 3,124 in 2005, 4,757 in 2004, 6,224 in 2003 and 6,597 in 2002.[59] Admission criteria in the community follow Jewish rabbinical rules. The total number of *core* Jews registered with the central Jewish community grew minimally to 107,794 at the beginning of 2007, versus 107,677 in 2006, 105,733 in 2005 and 102,472 in 2004. Of the current total, only 8,123 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 this was no longer true in 2005 and 2006.

The age composition of Jewish old-timers—and even more so of newcomers—was extremely skewed toward older ages. In 2006 there were 205 Jewish births and 1,302 Jewish deaths recorded by the Jewish community in Germany. This explains why the growth of the Jewish community was significantly less than the total number of new immigrants. Allowing for delays in joining the organized community and a preference

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

[59]Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWJD), *Mitgliederstatistik; Der Einzelnen Jüdischen Gemeinden und Landesverb{{adieresis}}nde in Deutschland* (Frankfurt a.M., 2007).

on the part of some members of a minority not to identify officially with its institutions, we assess Germany's *core* Jewish population at 120,000 in 2007, the world's eighth largest. The *enlarged* Jewish population, inclusive of the non-Jewish relatives of immigrants, is above 206,000, and creates a new framework and new opportunities for Jewish religious, social, and cultural life in Germany, but also raises the degree of dependence on welfare services.[60]

In Hungary, our core estimate of just below 50,000 (the world's 13th largest Jewish community) 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 survey in 1999 indicated a conspicuously larger *enlarged* Jewish population.[61] 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 to Israel and other countries since 1945 closely matches our assessment. It should be noted that in the 2001 Hungarian census only 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. In 2006, however, 91 went to Israel, reflecting concerns not unlike those experienced in France. Local Jewish population estimates were quite obsolete in comparison with 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 at the 2003 legislative elections.

The next two largest Jewish communities 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.[62] In Italy, total Jewish community membership—which

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

[61]András Kovács, ed., *Jews and Jewry in Contemporary Hungary: Results of a Sociological survey* (London, 2004). The report significantly underestimates emigration over time.

[62]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).

historically comprised the overwhelming majority of the country's Jewish population—declined from 26,706 in 1995 to 25,143 in 2001.[63] Our estimate, slightly below 29,000, adequately allocates for non-members.

Former Soviet Union

In the FSU, rapid Jewish population decrease continued, reflecting an overwhelming surplus of Jewish deaths over births, high rates of outmarriage with low rates of Jewish identification of the children, and conspicuous though diminishing emigration. Our 2007 assessment of the total *core* Jewish population in the aggregate of the 15 former Soviet Republics, including the Baltics, was 356,700, of which 345,700 lived in Europe and 20,000 in Asia. At least as many non-Jewish family members were part of the respective households thus creating an *enlarged* Jewish population twice as large as the *core*.[64] The ongoing process of demographic decline was counteracted to some extent by the revival of Jewish cultural and religious activities, including Jewish education.[65]

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).[66] Allowing for some census undercounts after the compulsory item on ethnicity *(natsyonalnost)* on identification documents was canceled, the fact that the option not to state an ethnicity was allowed for the first time, and a slight upward revision versus our previous estimate, we evaluate the Jewish population at 221,000 in 2007, the sixth largest in the world.

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[63]Unione delle Comunità Ebraiche Italiane, *IV Congresso, Relazione del consiglio* (Roma, 2002); Yaakov Andrea Lattes, *Sull'assimilazione in Italia e i metodi per affrontarla* (Ramat Gan, 2005).

[64]Mark Tolts, "Contemporary Trends in Family Formation among the Jews in Russia," *Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe* 2 (57), 2006, pp. 5–23; Tolts, "Major Trends in Post-Soviet Jewish Demography, 1989–2004," forthcoming in Zvi Gitelman and Yaacov Ro'i, eds., *Revolution, Repression, and Revival: The Soviet Jewish Experience* (Lanham, Md., 2007).

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

[66]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. For a German translation see *Menora: Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geshichte 2004*, 15 (Berlin/Wien, 2005), pp. 15–44; Tolts, "The Post-Soviet Jewish Population in Russia and the World," *Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe*, 1 (52), 2004, pp. 37–63.

Jewish population size was clearly more stable and resilient in Russia than in the other former Soviet republics. This partly reflected Jewish migration between the various republics and also lower emigration propensities from Moscow and some of the other main urban areas.[67] Nevertheless, the striking imbalance of Jewish births and deaths, and ongoing emigration meant continuing population decline and an elderly age composition. The drop 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 in 1988 and –6,926 in 1998.[68] These changes occur in the context of steady net population decrease experienced by the Russian Republic in general, as well as by other European republics of the FSU.

In Ukraine, the population census undertaken on December 5, 2001, yielded 104,300 Jews, whereas we had projected 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.[69] Taking into account the dramatic pace of emigration since 1989, other major intervening changes among Ukraine's Jews, and continuing emigration at the end of 2001, the census fully confirmed our previous assessment of ongoing demographic trends. Taking into account ongoing emigration, we assess the 2007 *core* Jewish population at 79,000, the 11th largest in the world.

Of the other former Soviet republics in Europe, the largest Jewish population was in Belarus, now downwardly reassessed at 17,700. After the accession to the EU of the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, Jewish population has been fairly stable and is assessed in 2007 at 14,700. A survey in Moldova found an *enlarged* Jewish population of 9,240 in 2000.[70] According to the results of the Moldova census of October 2004, there were 3,628 Jews, not counting Moldovan territory east

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

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

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

[70]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.

of the Dniester River. According to the unofficial results of the separate census of November 2004, there were about 1,200 Jews there. We assess the core Jewish population at 4,500 in 2007.

Rest of Europe

After Hungary joined the EU together with Poland (where the 2002 census indicated a Jewish population of 1,100), the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, and Romania, only 40,900 Jews remained in Europe outside the EU and the FSU. Of these, 19,500 lived in Western Europe, primarily in Switzerland (17,700)[71] and 21,400 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, 14 percent of the Jewish population was under age 18, and 18 percent above age 65.[72]

ASIA

Israel

Jewish population in Asia is mostly affected by the trends in Israel (Table 5). After World War II, Israel (then Palestine) had a Jewish population of over half a million, which grew nearly tenfold over the subsequent 60 years thanks to mass immigration and fairly high and uniquely stable reproduction patterns. Israeli population data are regularly supplied by the Central Bureau of Statistics. Yearly data derive from periodic censuses and a detailed annual account of intervening events (births, deaths, immigrants, and emigrants). The last census was in 1995 and the next one is expected in 2008.

At the beginning of 2007, Israel's *core* Jewish population reached 5,393,400, forming an *enlarged* Jewish population of 5,703,400 when combined with 310,000 non-Jewish members of Jewish households.[73] The number of those who underwent conversion to Judaism remained quite

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

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

[73]Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel* 58 (Jerusalem, 2007). See also http://www.cbs.gov.il

modest (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 the FSU.[74] In addition, nearly all new immigrants from Ethiopia underwent conversion before their migration. In 2006, 23,700 new immigrants, including immigrant citizens, arrived in Israel, of whom 15,200 were Jewish.[75] Current emigration reduced this to a net migration balance of 16,600, of whom 7,900 were Jewish.

Israel's Jewish fertility rate rose slightly to 2.75 children per woman, higher than in any 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. In 2006, 104,500 Jewish births and 33,600 deaths produced a net Jewish natural increase of 70,900. Of the 5,393,400 *core* Jews in 2007, 5,137,800 lived within the pre-1967 borders plus East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and about 255,600 lived in the West Bank, where they formed over 10 percent of the total population.

Jews represented 76.0 percent of a total population of 7,116,700 in the State of Israel, including East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, and the Israeli but not the Palestinian population in the West Bank. Considering the total Jewish and Palestinian legal population of 10,541,700 in the State of Israel and under the Palestinian Authority, Jews represented 51.2 percent, or slightly more than half the total between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. All of the preceding figures relate to the *core* Jewish population. If the 310,000 non-Jewish members of Jewish households are added to the Jewish side, the *enlarged* Jewish population of 5,703,600 thus obtained represented 80.1 percent of Israel's population (as defined above), and 54.1 percent of the total population of Israel and the Palestinian territories. With the addition of about 180,000 non-Jewish foreign workers residing in Israel, *core* and *enlarged* Jews represented, respectively, 50.3 and 53.2 percent of the total population present in Israel and the Palestinian territories, estimated at 10,721,700 in 2007.

The assessment of the total Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza reflected here has been challenged by a group of American and

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

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

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, 1/1/2007

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating	
Israel[a]	6,855,200	5,137,800	749.5	A 2007	
West Bank and Gaza[b]	3,686,500	255,600	69.3	A 2007	
Total Israel and Palestine	10,541,700	5,393,400	511.6		
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	5,400,000	200	0.0	D 1989	X
Uzbekistan	26,500,000	5,000	0.2	D 1989	X
Total former USSR in Asia[c]	75,800,000	20,000	0.3		
China[d]	1,318,000,000	1,500	0.0	D	
India	1,131,900,000	5,000	0.0	B 1996	
Iran	71,200,000	10,700	0.2	C 1986	
Japan	127,700,000	1,000	0.0	C 1993	
Korea, South	48,500,000	100	0.0	C 1998	
Philippines	88,700,000	100	0.0	D	
Singapore	4,600,000	300	0.1	C 1990	
Syria	19,900,000	100	0.0	C 1995	
Taiwan	22,900,000	100	0.0	D	
Thailand	65,700,000	200	0.0	C 1998	
Yemen	22,400,000	200	0.0	C 1995	
Other	927,158,300	200	0.0	D	
Total other Asia	3,848,658,300	19,500	0.0		
Total	3,935,000,000	5,432,900	1.4		

[a]Total population of Israel, including Jews in West Bank and Gaza, 1/1/2006: 7,116,700.
[b]Total Palestinian population in West Bank and Gaza: 1/1/2006: 3,425,000 (our revised estimate).
[c]Including Armenia and Tajikistan. Not including Asian regions of Russian Republic.
[d]Including Hong Kong and Macao.

Israeli investigators who maintained that current population estimates from Palestinian sources were inflated.[76] 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.[77] Our own independent assessment, after allocating 240,000 East Jerusalem Arabs to the Israeli side, accounting for a negative migration balance of Palestinians, and further corrections, was 3,330,000 on January 1, 2006, excluding East Jerusalem,[78] and 3,425,000 for 2007 at a 2.85 percent growth rate (versus 2.6 percent among Israeli Arabs). The extant Jewish majority is declining over the whole territory between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, and within the State of Israel.[79]

Rest of Asia

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 (upwardly corrected to 5,000), Kazakhstan (3,700), and Georgia (3,500).[80] The largest Jewish population in a single country in Asia besides Israel was in Iran. Our estimate there reflects an effort to monitor intensive 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 receptive to a small but growing Jewish presence.

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[76]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, D.C., 2005); Bennett Zimmerman, Roberta Seid, and Michael L. Wise, *The Million-Persons Gap: The Arab Population in the West Bank and Gaza* (Ramat Gan, 2005).

[77]See www.pcbs.org

[78]Sergio DellaPergola, "Correspondence," in *Azure*, Winter 2007, pp. 3–23.

[79]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 2004–2020 in the Light of Disengagement* (Haifa, 2004; in Hebrew).

[80]Tolts, "Demographic Trends."

AFRICA

Jewish population in Africa was mostly concentrated in South Africa (Table 6). According to the 2001 census,[81] the white Jewish population amounted to 61,675. After factoring in the national non-response rate of 14 percent, a corrected estimate of 72,000 obtained. Allowing for a certain proportion of actual 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. Following a moderate continuation of emigration, we estimate South Africa's Jewish population at 71,500 in 2007, 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.

OCEANIA

Continuing immigration produced some increase in the size of Jewish populations in Oceania (Table 7). Australia's 2001 census indicated a Jewish population of 83,500, up about 4,000 from 1996.[82] Taking into account non-response but also the community's rather old age composition, we estimate the core Jewish population at 104,000 in 2007, the ninth largest in the world. The 2001 census also pointed to some Jewish population increase in New Zealand, assessed at 7,000.

DISPERSION AND CONCENTRATION

SIZE AND DENSITY

Reflecting global Jewish population stagnation along with growing concentration in a few countries, 97.5 percent of world Jewry live in the

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[81]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).

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

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, 1/1/2007

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	73,400,000	100	0.0	C 1998
Ethiopia	77,400,000	100	0.0	C 1998
Morocco	31,700,000	3,000	0.1	C 2006
Tunisia	10,200,000	1,000	0.1	C 2003
Total North Africa[a]	272,100,000	4,200	0.0	
Botswana	1,800,000	100	0.1	C 1993
Congo D.R.	62,600,000	100	0.0	C 1993
Kenya	36,900,000	400	0.0	C 1990
Namibia	2,100,000	100	0.1	C 1993
Nigeria	144,400,000	100	0.0	D
South Africa	47,900,000	71,500	1.5	B 2001
Zimbabwe	13,300,000	400	0.0	B 2001
Other	362,900,000	300	0.0	D
Total other Africa	671,900,000	73,000	0.1	
Total	944,000,000	77,200	0.1	

[a]Including countries not listed separately.

TABLE 7. ESTIMATED CORE JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, 1/1/2007

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	21,000,000	104,000	5.0	B 2001
New Zealand	4,200,000	7,000	1.7	A 2001
Other	9,800,000	100	0.0	D
Total	35,000,000	111,100	3.2	

largest 15 communities, and excluding Israel from the count, 97.2 percent live in the 14 largest communities of the Diaspora, 69.5 percent of them living in the U.S. (Table 8).

In 2007, there were at least 100 Jews in 93 different countries (Table 9). Two countries had Jewish populations above 5 million individuals 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, nine had 10,000–25,000, nine had 5,000–10,000, and 58 countries had less than 5,000. The 67 communities with fewer than 10,000 Jews 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. (17.5), Canada (11.4), France (7.9), Uruguay (5.4), and Australia (5.0).

By combining the two criteria of Jewish population size and density, we obtain the following taxonomy of the 25 Jewish communities with populations over 10,000 (excluding Israel). There are four countries with

TABLE 8. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST CORE JEWISH POPULATIONS, 1/1/2007

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the World		In the Diaspora	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	Israel	5,393,400	41.0	41.0	=	=
2	United States	5,275,000	40.1	81.1	69.5	69.5
3	France	490,000	3.7	84.8	6.3	75.8
4	Canada	374,000	2.8	87.7	4.8	80.6
5	United Kingdom	295,000	2.2	89.9	3.8	84.4
6	Russia	221,000	1.7	91.6	2.8	87.3
7	Argentina	184,000	1.4	93.0	2.4	89.6
8	Germany	120,000	0.9	93.9	1.5	91.2
9	Australia	104,000	0.8	94.7	1.3	92.5
10	Brazil	96,200	0.7	95.4	1.2	93.8
11	Ukraine	79,000	0.6	96.0	1.0	94.8
12	South Africa	71,500	0.5	96.6	0.9	95.7
13	Hungary	49,000	0.4	96.9	0.6	96.3
14	Mexico	39,600	0.3	97.2	0.5	96.8
15	Belgium	30,500	0.2	97.5	0.4	97.2

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 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 seven countries with 10,000–100,000 Jews and less than 1 per 1,000 of total population: Brazil, Mexico, Italy, Turkey, Venezuela, Spain, and Iran.

JEWS IN MAJOR CITIES

The overwhelmingly urban concentration of Jewish populations globally is evinced by the fact that in 2007 more than half (52.1 percent) of world Jewry live in only five metropolitan areas—Tel Aviv, New York, Jerusalem, Los Angeles, and Haifa. Two-thirds of the world's Jews (66.5 percent) live in those five places plus Southeast Florida, Be'er Sheva, Paris, Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco. The largest 20 Jewish population concentrations encompass 77 percent of all Jews worldwide (Table 10).[83] The Jewish population in the Tel Aviv urban conurbation 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 20 largest metropolitan areas of Jewish residence, ten are located in the U.S., four in Israel, two in Canada, and one each in France, the UK, Argentina, and Russia.

OUTLOOK

Beyond the many problems related to Jewish population definitions and data accuracy, it is important to recognize that powerful and consistent trends daily reshape the profile of world Jewry. Reading current data in historical and comparative context, the recent momentum of Jewish de-

[83]For Israel estimates see Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel* 57 (Jerusalem, 2006) Table 2-15. For U.S. estimates see Sheskin and Dashefsky, "Jewish Population in the United States, 2006." Some of the latter figures are somewhat outdated and inconsistent with each other regarding definitions and methods.

TABLE 9. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER, AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN EACH COUNTRY, 1/1/2007

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]	93	63	23	3	3	1
100–900	35	31	3	-	1	-
1,000–4,900	23	21	2	-	-	-
5,000–9,900	9	4	5	-	-	-
10,000–24,900	9	4	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]	13,155,200	303,800	1,195,500	611,900	5,649,600	5,393,400
100–900	11,100	9,300	1,200	-	600	-
1,000–4,900	55,000	48,600	6,400	-	-	-
5,000–9,900	63,800	26,700	37,100	-	-	-
10,000–24,900	143,600	54,900	70,800	17,900	-	-
25,000–49,900	177,600	68,100	109,500	-	-	-
50,000–99,900	246,700	96,200	150,500	-	-	-
100,000–999,900	1,788,000	-	820,000	594,000	374,000	-
1,000,000 or more	10,668,400	-	-	-	5,275,000	5,393,400
	Jewish Population Distribution—Percent of World's Jews					
Total[a]	100.0	2.3	9.1	4.7	42.9	41.0
100–900	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1,000–4,900	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
5,000–9,900	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
10,000–24,900	1.1	0.4	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	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
100,000–999,900	13.6	0.0	6.2	4.5	2.8	0.0
1,000,000 or more	81.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.1	41.0

[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.

TABLE 10. METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH LARGEST CORE JEWISH POPULATIONS, 1/1/2007

Rank	Metro Area[a]	Country	Jewish Population	Share of World's Jews	
				%	Cumulative %
1	Tel Aviv[b,c]	Israel	2,799,000	21.3	21.3
2	New York[d]	U.S.	2,051,000	15.6	36.9
3	Jerusalem[e]	Israel	675,000	5.1	42.0
4	Los Angeles[d]	U.S.	668,000	5.1	47.1
5	Haifa[b]	Israel	657,500	5.0	52.1
6	Southeast Florida[d,f]	U.S.	527,500	4.0	56.1
7	Be'er Sheva[b]	Israel	350,800	2.7	58.8
8	Paris[g]	France	284,000	2.2	60.9
9	Chicago[d]	U.S.	270,500	2.1	63.0
10	Boston[d]	U.S.	235,000	1.8	64.8
11	San Francisco[d]	U.S.	227,800	1.7	66.5
12	Washington[h]	U.S.	216,300	1.6	68.1
13	Philadelphia[d]	U.S.	206,100	1.6	69.7
14	London[i]	United Kingdom	195,000	1.5	71.2
15	Toronto[j]	Canada	180,000	1.4	72.5
16	Buenos Aires[k]	Argentina	165,000	1.3	73.8
17	Atlanta[h]	U.S.	119,800	0.9	74.7
18	Moscow[l]	Russia	95,000	0.7	75.4
19	Baltimore[h]	U.S.	91,400	0.7	76.1
20	Montreal[j]	Canada	93,000	0.7	76.8

[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]Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA).
[i]Greater London and contiguous postcode areas.
[j]Census Metropolitan Area.
[k]Capital Federal and Gran Buenos Aires Partidos (AMBA).
[l]Territory administered by city council.

mographic change in the U.S.—at best tending to zero population growth—contrasts sharply to that of Israel, where there is significant natural increase. This makes the apparent transition of Israel into the largest Jewish population in the world increasingly grounded on empirical foundations. The U.S. is, and will remain, a very large, powerful, and resilient center of Jewish socioeconomic and cultural life. The aggregate of other Diaspora communities is increasingly eroding and their Jewish weight fast diminishing.

Projecting current demographic trends into the future and assuming continuity in the major factors of Jewish population change—admittedly a heavy assumption—the scenario of a growing plurality of world Jewry living in the State of Israel gains plausibility. Whether components of population change related to the family and childbearing, geographical mobility, affiliation, and disaffiliation will remain stable or evolve differently is, of course, a relevant subject for policy planning and interventions in Israel and in Jewish communities around the globe. Such interventions may alter the course of social and demographic developments that carry what are viewed as unwanted implications. Some, related to demographic and cultural behaviors, might impact upon current trends, helping reorient the current Israel-Diaspora demographic balance. The future is not predictable, but important lessons from the past may help formulate plans and expectations.

SERGIO DELLAPERGOLA

Clarifications

The article "Jewish Communal Affairs," published in volume 104 (2004), recounted, on page 97, a physical altercation that took place on October 21, 2003, at UCLA between Rabbi Chaim Seidler-Feller, the Hillel rabbi, and journalist Rachel Neuwirth. On January 19, 2007, as part of a settlement of the case, Seidler-Feller issued a public letter of apology to Neuwirth accepting full responsibility for what occurred.

"Celebrating the 350th," which appeared in volume 106 (2006), mentioned, on page 123, the first women ordained as rabbis by the American Reform and Conservative movements. It omitted Rabbi Sandy Eisenberg Sasso, ordained by the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in 1974, the second female rabbi in the country.