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The American Jewish Year Book

This Report derives from Chapter 6 of the 2012 *American Jewish Year Book*.

The *American Jewish Year Book* is "The Annual Record of Jewish Civilization." This volume is a very important and prestigious annual publication because it has acted as a major resource for academic researchers, researchers at Jewish institutions and organizations, practitioners at Jewish institutions and organizations, the media, both Jewish and secular, educated leaders and lay persons, and libraries, particularly University and Jewish libraries, for up-to-date information about the American and Canadian Jewish communities. For decades, the *American Jewish Year Book* has been the premier place for leading academics to publish long review chapters on topics of interest to the American Jewish community.

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WORLD JEWISH POPULATION, 2012

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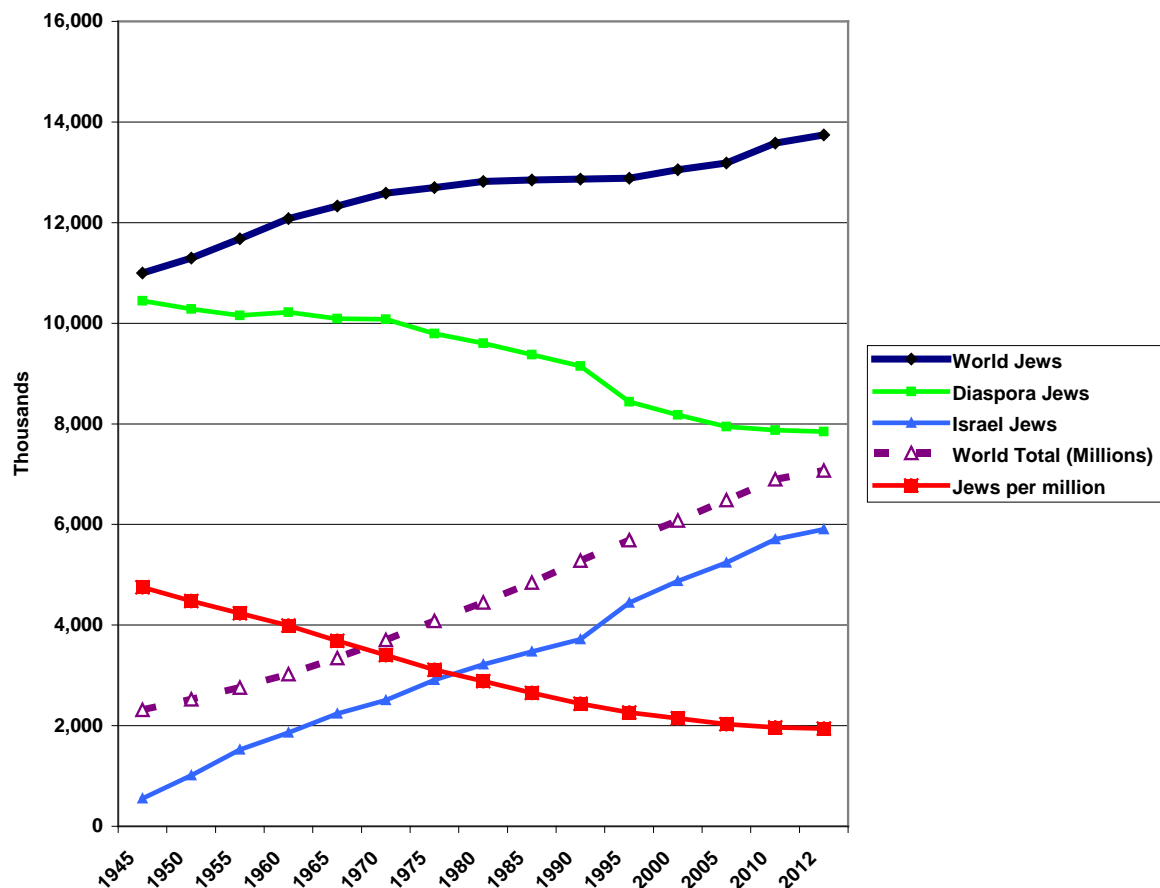
WORLD JEWISH POPULATION, 2012

Executive Summary

At the beginning of 2012, the world's Jewish population was estimated at 13,746,100—an increase of 88,300 (0.65%) over the 2011 revised estimate.¹ The world's total population increased by 1.26% in 2011.² World Jewry hence increased at about half the general population growth rate.

Figure 1 illustrates changes in the number of Jews worldwide, in Israel, and, in the aggregate, in the rest of the world—commonly referred to as the Diaspora—as well as changes in the world's total population between 1945 and 2012. The world's *core* Jewish population was estimated at 11 million in 1945. The *core* Jewish population concept assumes mutually exclusive sub-populations even though multiple cultural identities are an increasingly frequent feature in contemporary societies (see more on definitions below). While 13 years were needed to add one million Jews after the tragic human losses of World War II and the Shoah, 47 more years were needed to add another million.

Figure 1. World Total Population and Jewish Population Core Definition 1945-2012



Since 1970, world Jewry practically stagnated at *zero population growth*, with some recovery during the first decade of the 21st century. This was the result of the combination of two very different demographic trends in Israel and the Diaspora. Israel's Jewish population increased linearly from an initial one-half million in 1945 to 5.9 million in 2012. The Diaspora, from an initial 10.5 million in 1945, was quite stable until the early 1970s, when it started decreasing to the current 7.8 million. The world's total population increased nearly threefold from 2.315 billion in 1945 to 7.075 billion in 2012. Thus, the relative share of Jews among the world's total population steadily diminished from 4.75 per 1,000 in 1945 to 1.94 per 1,000 currently.

Figure 2 shows the largest *core* Jewish populations in 2012. Two countries, Israel and the US, account for over 82% of the total, another 16 countries, each with more than 18,000 Jews, accounted for another 16%, and another more than 75 countries, each with Jewish populations below 18,000, accounted for the remaining 2%.

Israel's Jewish population (*not* including over 325,000 immigrants admitted to the country within the framework of the *Law of Return* who were not recorded as Jews in the Population Register) surpassed 5.9 million in 2012, nearly 43% of world Jewry. This represented a population increase of 98,200 (1.7%) in 2011. In 2011, the Jewish population of the Diaspora decreased by about 10,000 (-0.13%). The *core* Jewish population in the US was assessed at 5,425,000 and was estimated to have slightly increased over the past 10 years, after probably reaching its peak after 1980 and several subsequent years of moderate decline.³

After critically reviewing all available evidence on Jewish demographic trends, it is plausible to claim that Israel now hosts the largest Jewish community worldwide, although some researchers disagree (see below). Demography has produced a transition of singular importance for Jewish history and destiny—the return of the Jews to a geographical distribution significantly rooted in their ancestral homeland. This has occurred through daily, minor, slow and diverse changes affecting human birth and death, geographical mobility, and the willingness of persons to identify with a Jewish collective concept—no matter how specified. At the same time, Israel's Jewish population faces a challenging demographic balance with its gradually diminishing majority status vis-à-vis the Palestinian Arab population that lives on the same territory.

Israel's current Jewish population growth—although slower than during the 1990s—reflects a continuing substantial natural increase generated by a combination of relatively high fertility (3.0 children per Jewish woman on average in 2010) and a young age composition (26% under age 15 and only 12% age 65 and over as of 2010). Neither of these two drivers of demographic growth—above-replacement fertility and a balanced age composition—exists among other Jewish populations worldwide, including the US. Other than a few cases of growth due to international migration (for example Canada, Australia, and until recently, Germany), the number of Jews in Diaspora countries has tended to diminish at varying rates. The causes for these decreases are low Jewish birth rates, an increasingly elderly age composition, and a dubious balance between persons who join Judaism (*accessions*) and those who drop or lose their Jewish identity (*secessions*).

All this holds true regarding the *core* Jewish population, *not* inclusive of non-Jewish members of Jewish households, persons of Jewish ancestry who profess another monotheistic religion, other non-Jews of Jewish ancestry, and other non-Jews

who may be interested in Jewish matters. If an *enlarged* Jewish population definition is considered, including non-Jews with Jewish ancestry and non-Jewish members of Jewish households, a global aggregate population of 17,936,100 can be designated. The US holds a significantly bigger enlarged Jewish population aggregate than Israel—8.3 million compared to 6.2 million, respectively (see the **Appendix** and further discussion of definitions below).

Fundamentals of Jewish Population Change

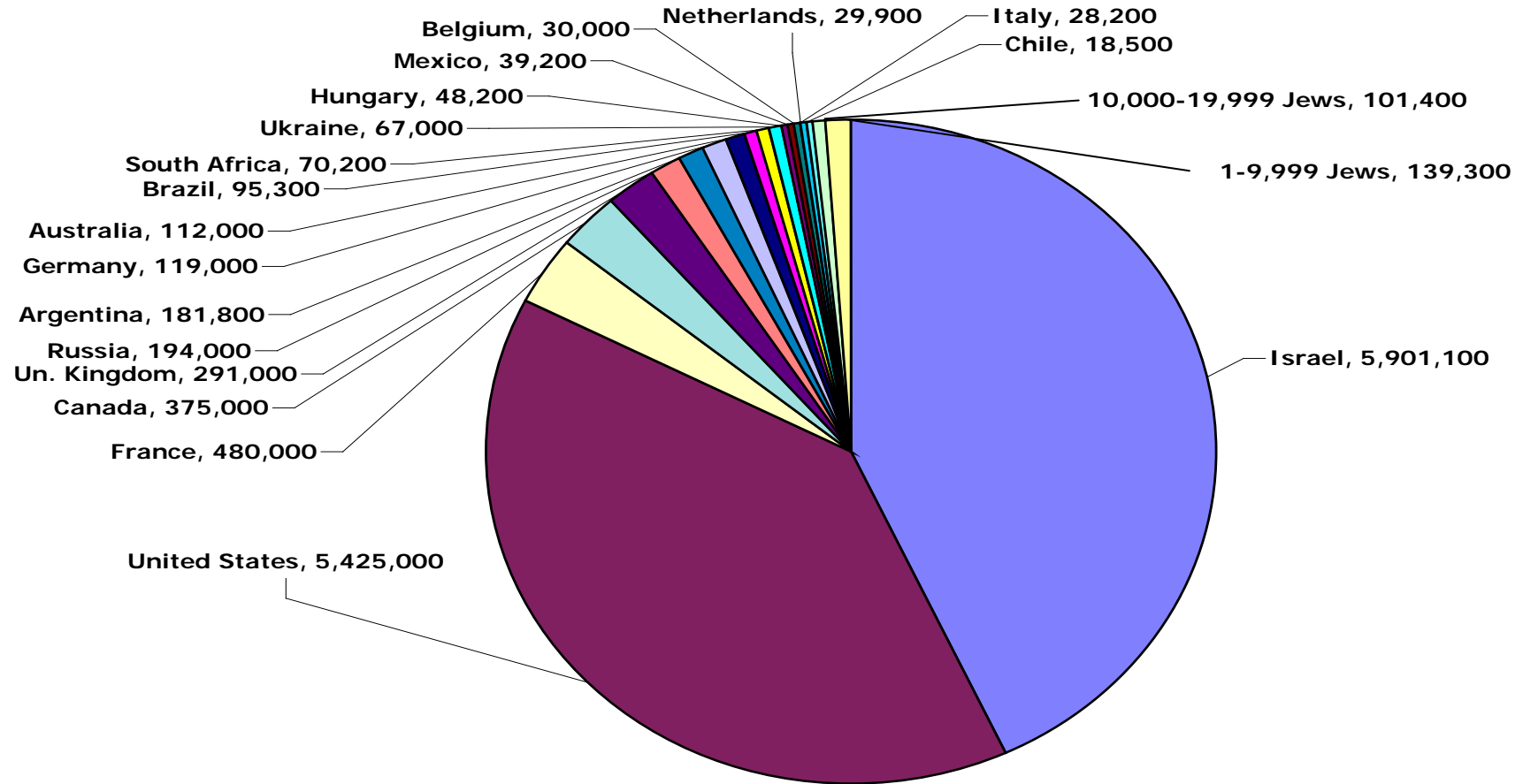
Jewish population size and composition reflect the continuous interplay of various factors that operate from both outside and inside the Jewish community.

Regarding **external factors**, since the end of the 1980s, major geopolitical and socioeconomic changes in the world significantly affected Jewish population trends. Leading factors included the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Germany's reunification, the US's gradual expansion to 27 states, South Africa's transition away from the apartheid regime, political and economic instability but also democratization and growth in several Central and South American countries, and a highly volatile situation in Israel and the Middle East. Large-scale emigration from the former Soviet Union (FSU) and also from Ethiopia, and rapid population growth in Israel were the most visible effects, accompanied by other significant Jewish population transfers, such as the movement of Jews from Central and South America to the US, particularly South Florida and Southern California. Shifts in group allegiances, reflecting broader trends in religious and national identities, also played a role in shaping Jewish population size and composition.⁴

Reflecting these global trends, more than 82% of world Jews currently live in two countries, the US and Israel, and over 95% are concentrated in the ten largest communities. In 2012, the G8 countries—the world's eight leading economies (the US, France, Canada, the United Kingdom, the Russian Federation, Germany, Italy, and Japan)—comprised over 88% of the total Diaspora Jewish population. Thus, the aggregate of just a few major Jewish population centers virtually determines the assessment of world Jewry's total size and trends. The continuing realignment of world Jewish geography toward the major centers of economic development and political power provides a robust yardstick for further explanation and prediction of Jewish demography.⁵

Regarding **internal factors**, of the three major determinants of population change, two are shared by all populations: (a) the balance of vital events (births and deaths); and (b) the balance of international migration (immigration and emigration). Both factors affect increases or decreases in the physical presence of persons in a given place. The third determinant consists of identification changes or *passages* (accessions and secessions), and applies only to populations—often referred to as sub-populations—that are defined by some cultural, symbolic, or other specific peculiarity, as is the case for Jews. Identification changes do not affect people's physical presence but rather their willingness or ability to identify with a particular religious, ethnic, or otherwise culturally-defined group. One cannot undervalue the quantitative impact of passages that occur in either direction regarding individual perceptions and emotional attachments to group identities. Some of these passages are sanctioned through a normative ceremony, and some are not.

Figure 2: Largest Core Jewish Populations, 2012



The Jewish population data for 2012 presented in this Report were updated from 2011 and previous years in accordance with known or estimated changes in vital events, migrations, and Jewish identification patterns. In the updating procedure, when data on intervening changes were available, empirically ascertained or assumed, directions of change were applied accordingly and consistently added to or subtracted from previous estimates. If the evidence was that intervening changes balanced one another, Jewish population size was not changed. This procedure has proven highly effective. Most often, when improved Jewish population estimates reflecting a new census or socio-demographic survey became available, our annually updated estimates proved to be on target.

The research findings reported here tend to confirm the estimates reported in previous years and, perhaps more importantly, a coherent interpretation of the trends now prevailing in world Jewish demography.⁶ Concisely stated, a positive balance of Jewish vital events (births and deaths) is seen in Israel and a negative balance in nearly all other countries; a positive migration balance is seen in Israel, the US, Canada, Australia, very marginally in Germany, and in a few other Western countries, while a negative migration balance prevails in Central and South America, South Africa, Eastern Europe, Muslim countries, and several countries in Western Europe; Israel sees a positive balance of accessions to Judaism over secessions, and an often negative, or, in any event, rather uncertain, balance prevails elsewhere.

While allowing for improvements and corrections, the 2012 population estimates highlight the increasing complexity of socio-demographic and identification factors underlying Jewish population patterns. This complexity is magnified at a time of pervasive internal and international migration and increasing transnationalism, sometimes implying bi-local residences and, thus, a double counting of people on the move or who permanently share their time between different places. Even more intriguing can be the position of persons who hold more than one cultural identity and may periodically shift from one to another. Available data sources only imperfectly allow documenting these complexities, hence estimates of Jewish population sizes are far from perfect. Some errors can be corrected at a later stage. Consequently, analysts should resign themselves to the paradox of the *permanently provisional* nature of Jewish population estimates.

Definitions

A major problem with Jewish population estimates produced by individual scholars or Jewish organizations is the lack of uniformity in definitional criteria—when the issue of defining the Jewish population is addressed at all. The problem is magnified when one tries to address the Jewish population globally, trying to provide a coherent and uniform definitional framework to Jews who live in very different institutional, cultural and socioeconomic environments. The study of a Jewish population (or of any other population subgroup) requires solving three main problems:

- 1) *defining* the target group on the basis of conceptual or normative criteria aimed at providing the best possible description of that group—which in the case of Jewry is no minor task in itself;
- 2) *identifying* the group thus defined based on tools that operationally allow for distinguishing and selecting the target group from the rest of the population—through membership lists, surnames, areas of residence, or other random or non-random procedures; and

- 3) *covering* the target group through appropriate field work—in person, by telephone, by Internet, or otherwise. Most often in the actual experience of social research, the definitional task is performed at the stage of identification; and the identificational task is performed at the stage of actual fieldwork.

It thus clearly appears that the quantitative study of Jewish populations relies only on *operational*, not *normative*, definitional criteria. Its conceptual aspects, far from pure theory, heavily depend on practical and logistical feasibility.

The ultimate empirical step—obtaining relevant data from relevant persons—crucially reflects the readiness of people to cooperate in the data collection effort. In recent years, as cooperation rates have decreased in social surveys, the amount, content, and validity of information gathered have been affected detrimentally. These declining cooperation rates reflect the identification outlook of the persons who are part of the target population—that outlook which is itself an integral part of the investigation. No method exists to break this vicious cycle. Therefore, research findings reflect, with varying degrees of sophistication, only that which is possible to uncover. Anything that cannot be uncovered directly can sometimes be estimated through various imperfect techniques. Beyond that, we enter the virtual world of myths, hopes, fears, and corporate interests. No way exists to demonstrate the actual nature of some of these claims—at least not within the limits of a non-fictional work such as this.

Keeping this in mind, four major definitional concepts should be considered to provide serious comparative foundations to the study of Jewish demography (**Figure 3**).

In most Diaspora countries, the concept of ***core Jewish population***⁷ includes all persons who, when asked in a socio-demographic survey, identify themselves as Jews; or who are identified as Jews by a respondent in the same household, and do not have another monotheistic religion. Such a definition of a person as a Jew, reflecting *subjective* perceptions, broadly overlaps but does not necessarily coincide with *Halakhah* (Jewish law) or other normatively binding definitions. Inclusion does *not* depend on any measure of that person's Jewish commitment or behavior in terms of religiosity, beliefs, knowledge, communal affiliation, or otherwise. The *core* Jewish population includes people who identify as Jews by religion, as well as others who are not interested in religion but see themselves as Jews by ethnicity or by other cultural criteria. Some others do not even recognize themselves as Jews when asked, but they descend from Jewish parents and do not hold another religious identity. All of these are considered to be part of the *core* Jewish population which also includes all converts to Judaism by any procedure, as well as other people who declare they are Jewish even without conversion. Persons of Jewish parentage who adopted another monotheistic religion are usually excluded, as are persons of Jewish origin who in censuses or socio-demographic surveys explicitly identify with a non-Jewish religious group without having formally converted out. The *core* concept offers an intentionally comprehensive and pragmatic approach reflecting the nature of many available demographic data sources.

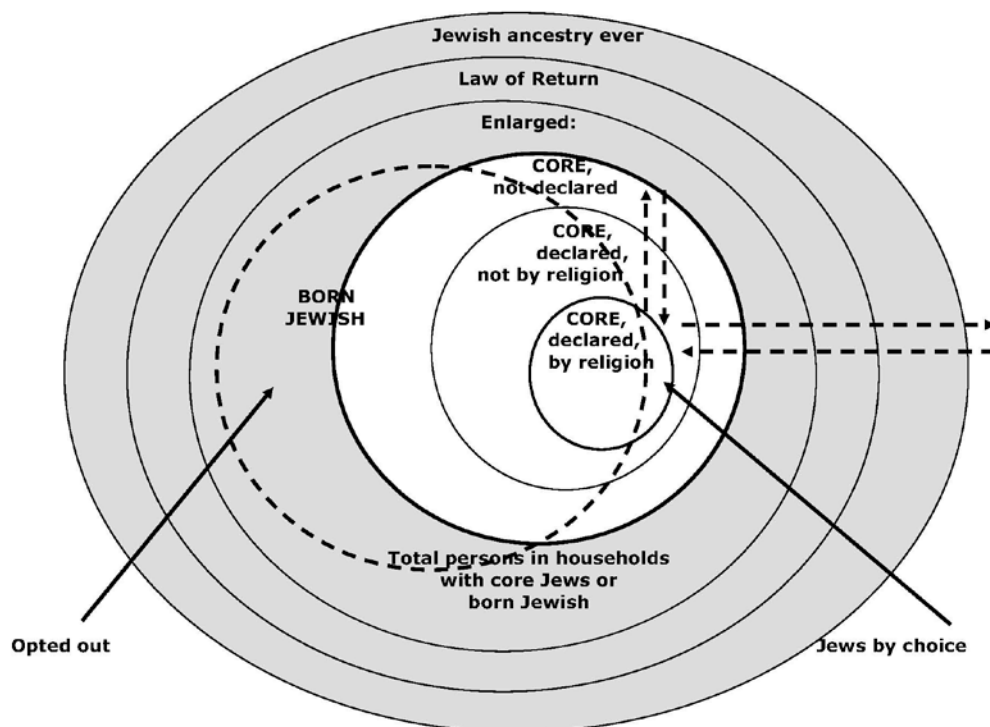
In the Diaspora, such data often derive from population censuses or socio-demographic surveys where interviewees have the option to decide how to answer relevant questions on religious or ethnic identities. In Israel, personal status is subject to the rulings of the Ministry of the Interior, which relies on criteria established by rabbinic authorities and by the Israeli Supreme Court.⁸ In Israel, therefore, the *core* Jewish population does not simply express subjective

identification but reflects definite legal rules. This entails matrilineal Jewish origin, or conversion to Judaism, *and* not holding another religion. Documentation to prove a person's Jewish status may include non-Jewish sources.

A major research issue is whether *core* Jewish identification can or should be mutually exclusive with other religious and/or ethnic identities. In a much debated study—the 2000–01 US National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS 2000-01)—the solution chosen was to allow for Jews with multiple religious identities to be included under certain circumstances in the standard *core* Jewish population definition. This resulted in a rather multi-layered and not mutually exclusive definition of the US Jewish population.⁹ A category of *Persons of Jewish Background* (PJBs) was introduced by NJPS 2000-01. Some PJBs were included in the Jewish population count and others were not, based on a more thorough evaluation of each individual ancestry and childhood.

The recent research experience indicates that numerous people tend to shift their identities over time across the different layers of the *core* Jewish definition. It is also not uncommon to see those shifts across the boundary between being Jewish and being something else, as illustrated in **Figure 3**.

Figure 3. Configuring Contemporary Jewish Populations



Following the same logic, persons with multiple ethnic identities, including a Jewish one, have been included in the total Jewish population count for Canada. The adoption of such increasingly extended criteria by the research community tends to stretch Jewish population definitions with an expansive effect on Jewish population size beyond usual practices in the past and beyond the limits of the typical *core*

definition. These procedures may respond to local needs and sensitivities but tend to limit the actual comparability of the same Jewish population over time and of different Jewish populations at one given time.

The concept of an **enlarged Jewish population**¹⁰ includes the sum of (a) the core Jewish population; (b) all other persons of Jewish parentage who—by core Jewish population criteria—are *not* currently Jewish (non-Jews with Jewish background); and (c) all respective non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.). Non-Jews with Jewish background, as far as they can be ascertained, include: (a) persons who have adopted another religion, or otherwise opted out, although they may claim to be *also* Jewish by ethnicity or in some other way—with the caveat just mentioned for recent US and Canadian data; and (b) other persons with Jewish parentage who disclaim being Jewish. As noted, most PJBs who are not part of the core Jewish population naturally pertain under the *enlarged* definition.¹¹

In this Report, for the first time we have made an effort to evaluate the possible extent of the *enlarged* Jewish population in each country of the world. The result is a tentative global total of 17,936,100, inclusive of 13,746,100 Jews and 4,190,000 self-described non-Jews, holders of a non-Jewish religion or sometimes a non-Jewish ethnicity, who live in the same households with at least *one* core Jew. Of these roughly estimated 4,190,000 non-Jews, 2,875,000 (69%) live in the US, 325,000 (8%) live in Israel, 272,700 (6%) live in the republics of the Former Soviet Union, and 717,300 (17%) live in other countries.

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*,¹² a Jew is any person born to a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism (regardless of denomination—Orthodox, Conservative, Reconstructionist, 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 Falash Mura—a group of Ethiopian non-Jews of Jewish ancestry—must undergo conversion to be eligible for the *Law of Return*. The law as such does not affect a person's Jewish status—which, as noted, is adjudicated by Israel's Ministry of Interior and rabbinic authorities—but only the specific benefits available under the *Law of Return*. This law extends its provisions to all current Jews, their children, and grandchildren, as well as to their respective Jewish or non-Jewish spouses. As a result of its three-generation and lateral extension, the *Law of Return* applies to a large population—the so called *aliyah* eligible—whose scope is significantly wider than the *core* and *enlarged* Jewish populations defined above.¹³ It is actually quite difficult to estimate the total size of the *Law of Return* population. These higher estimates are not discussed below systematically.

Some major Jewish organizations in Israel and the US—such as the Jewish Agency for Israel, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and the major Jewish Federations in the US—sponsor data collection and tend to influence the rules of research, rendering them more complex. Organizations are motivated by their mission toward their respective constituencies rather than by pure scientific criteria. In turn, the understandable interest of organizations to function and secure budgetary resources tends to influence them to cover Jewish populations increasingly similar to the *enlarged* and *Law of Return* definitions rather than to the *core* definition.

Some past socio-demographic surveys, by investigating people who were born or were raised or are currently Jewish, may have reached a population that *ever* was Jewish, regardless of its present identification. It is indeed customary in socio-demographic surveys to consider the religio-ethnic identification of parents. Some censuses, however, *do* ask about more distant ancestry. For both conceptual and practical reasons, the *enlarged* definition usually does not include other non-Jewish relatives who lack a Jewish background and live in exclusively non-Jewish households. Historians might wish to engage in the study of the number of Jews who ever lived and how many persons today are the descendants of those Jews—for example *Conversos* who lived in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. The early Jewish backgrounds of some population groups have been uncovered in recent studies of population genetics.¹⁴ These long-term issues and analyses are beyond the purpose of the present Report.

The estimates presented below of Jewish population distribution worldwide and in each continent, individual country, and major metropolitan area consistently aim at the concept of *core* Jewish population (**Tables 1-5** and the **Appendix**). The *core* definition is indeed the necessary starting point for any admittedly relevant elaboration about the *enlarged* definition, which as noted is also estimated in the **Appendix**, or even broader definitions such as the *Law of Return*.

Data Sources

Data on population size, characteristics, and trends are a primary tool in the evaluation of Jewish community needs and prospects at the local level, nationally, and internationally. The estimates for major regions and individual countries reported herein reflect a prolonged and continuing effort to study scientifically the demography of contemporary world Jewry. 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.¹⁵ It should be emphasized, however, that the elaboration of worldwide estimates for the Jewish populations of the various countries is beset with difficulties and uncertainties.¹⁶ The problem of data consistency is particularly acute, given the very different legal systems and organizational provisions under which Jewish communities operate in different countries. In spite of our keen efforts to create a unified analytic framework for Jewish population studies, users of Jewish population estimates should be aware of these difficulties and of the inherent limitations of our estimates.

The more recent data on Israel, the US, and the rest of world Jewry reflect updated information on Jewish population that became available following the major rounds of national censuses and Jewish socio-demographic surveys in countries with large Jewish populations from 1999–2011. This new evidence generally confirmed our previous estimates, but sometimes suggested upward or downward revisions.

Over the past decades, the data available for a critical assessment of the worldwide Jewish demographic picture have expanded significantly. Some of this ongoing research is part of a coordinated effort aimed at updating the profile of world Jewry.¹⁷ While the quantity and quality of documentation on Jewish population size and characteristics are still far from satisfactory, over the past twenty years important new data and estimates were released for several countries through official population censuses and Jewish-sponsored socio-demographic surveys.

Since 1991, one or more National censuses have yielded results on Jewish populations in European countries like Austria, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Ireland, Lithuania, Latvia, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, the Russian Federation, Serbia, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and Ukraine; countries in Asia like Azerbaijan, Georgia, India, Israel, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan; countries in Africa like South Africa; countries in the Americas like Canada, Brazil, and Mexico; and countries in Oceania like Australia and New Zealand. Further information will become available from several countries undertaking their national censuses in 2010, 2011, and 2012. Population censuses in the US do not provide information on religion, but have furnished relevant data on countries of birth, spoken languages, and ancestry. Permanent national population registers, including information on Jews as one of several documented religious, ethnic, or national groups, exist in several European countries (Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, and Switzerland) and in Israel.

In addition, independent socio-demographic studies have provided valuable information on Jewish demography and socioeconomic stratification, as well as on Jewish identification. Socio-demographic surveys were conducted over the past several years in South Africa (1991 and 1998); Mexico (1991, 2000 and 2006); Lithuania (1993); Chile and the United Kingdom (1995, 2001, and 2011); Venezuela (1998–99); Guatemala, Hungary, and the Netherlands (1999); Moldova and Sweden (2000); France and Turkey (2002); Argentina (2003, 2004, and 2005); and Israel (1990, 1999, and 2011, besides the yearly National Social Survey). In the US, important new insights were provided by several large surveys: the National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS 2000–01, following NJPS 1971 and NJPS 1990), the American Jewish Identity Survey (AJIS 2001 and 2008), and the Heritage, Ancestry, and Religious Identity Survey (HARI 2001-02). Smaller Jewish samples can be obtained from the General Social Survey and similar national studies. Two major national studies including fairly large Jewish samples are the American Religious Identification Survey (ARIS 2008) and the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life (2008). Moreover, numerous Jewish population studies were separately conducted in major cities in the US¹⁸ (notably in Chicago in 2001 and 2010, New York City in 2002 and 2011, Washington, DC in 2003, Miami in 2004, Palm Beach County (FL) in 2005, Boston in 2005—the fifth decennial study in that metropolitan area, and Philadelphia in 2009), as well as in other countries.

Additional evidence on Jewish population trends comes from the systematic monitoring of membership registers, vital statistics, and migration records available from Jewish communities and other Jewish organizations in many countries or cities, notably in Buenos Aires, Germany, Italy, São Paulo, and the United Kingdom. Detailed data on Jewish immigration routinely collected in Israel help to assess Jewish population changes in other countries.

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

Presentation and Quality of Data

Estimates in this Report refer to January 1 of the current year. Efforts to provide the most recent possible picture entail a short span of time for evaluation of available information, hence a somewhat greater margin of inaccuracy. Indeed, where appropriate, we revised our previous estimates in light of newly acquired information (**Tables 1-2**). Corrections were also applied retroactively to the 2010 and 2011 totals

for major geographical regions so as to ensure a better base for comparisons with the 2012 estimates. Corrections of the latest estimates, if needed, will be presented in the future.

We provide separate estimates for each country with approximately 100 or more resident *core* Jews. Estimates of Jews in smaller communities have been added to some of the continental totals. For each country, we provide in the **Appendix** an estimate of mid-year 2011 total (both Jewish and non-Jewish) country population,¹⁹ the estimated January 1, 2012 *core* Jewish population, the number of Jews per 1,000 total population, and a rating of the accuracy of the Jewish population estimate. The last column provides a rough estimate of the *enlarged* Jewish population. The quality of such *enlarged* estimates is usually lower than that of the respective *core* Jewish populations.

A wide variation exists in the quality of the Jewish population estimates for different countries. For many Diaspora countries, it might be best to indicate a range (minimum, maximum) rather than a definite estimate 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 estimates reported for most of the Diaspora communities should be understood as being the central value of the plausible range for the respective *core* Jewish populations. The relative magnitude of this range varies inversely with the accuracy of the estimate. One issue of growing significance is related to persons who hold multiple residences in different countries. Based on available evidence, we make efforts to avoid double counts. Wherever possible we strive to assign people to their country of permanent residence, ignoring the effect of part-time residents.

The three main elements that affect the accuracy of each estimate are: (a) the nature and quality of the base data, (b) how recent the base data are, and (c) the updating method. A simple code combines these elements to provide a general evaluation of the reliability of data reported in the detailed tables below. The code in the **Appendix** indicates different quality levels of the reported estimates:

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

In categories (A), (B), and (C), the year in which the country's base estimate or important partial updates were obtained is also stated. This is not the current estimate's date but the basis for its attainment. An X is appended to the accuracy rating for several countries, notably including the US, whose Jewish population estimate for 2012 was not only updated but also revised in light of improved information.

One additional tool for updating Jewish population estimates is provided by several sets of demographic projections developed by the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.²⁰ Such projections, based on available data on Jewish population composition by age and sex, extrapolate the most recently observed or expected Jewish population trends over the first decade of the 21st century. Even where reliable information on the dynamics of Jewish population change is not available, the powerful connection that generally exists between age composition, birth rates, death rates, and migration helps provide plausible scenarios for the developments bound to occur in the short term. Where better data were lacking, we used indications from these projections to refine the 2012 estimates against previous years. It should be acknowledged that projections are clearly shaped by a comparatively limited set of assumptions and need to be periodically updated in light of actual demographic developments.

World Jewish Population Size and Distribution

The size of world Jewry at the beginning of 2012 was assessed at 13,746,100. World Jewry constituted 1.94 per 1,000 of the world's total population of 7.075 billion. One in about 514 people in the world is a Jew (**Table 1**).

According to the revised estimates, between January 1, 2011 and January 1, 2012, the Jewish population increased by an estimated 88,300 persons, or about 0.65%. This compares with a total world population growth rate of 1.26% (0.1% in more developed countries, 1.5% in less developed countries). Despite the imperfections in Jewish population estimates, world Jewry continued to be close to zero population growth, with the increase in Israel (1.7%) overcoming the decrease in the Diaspora (–0.13%).

Table 1 offers an overall picture of the Jewish population at the beginning of 2012 as compared to 2010. For 2010, the originally published estimates are presented as are somewhat revised estimates that reflect retroactive corrections made in certain country estimates, given improved information. These corrections resulted in a net increase of 149,100 persons in the 2010 world Jewry estimate. Most of the correction concerns the US. Explanations are given below for these corrections.

The number of Jews in Israel increased from 5,703,700 in 2010 to 5,901,100 at the beginning of 2012, a bi-annual increase of 197,400, or 3.5%. In contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora *decreased* from 7,873,700 (according to the revised estimates) to 7,845,000—a bi-annual decrease of 28,700, or –0.4%. These changes reflect continuing Jewish emigration from the former Soviet Union and other countries to Israel, and the internal decrease typical of the aggregate of Diaspora Jewry. In 2011, out of a total growth of 98,100 core Jews, 86,700 reflected the balance of births and deaths, and 11,400 the estimated Israel-Diaspora net migration balance (immigration minus emigration, plus a relatively small balance of conversions.²¹ This estimate includes tourists who changed their status to immigrants and Israeli citizens born abroad who entered Israel for the first time. Therefore, internal demographic change produced nearly 90% of the recorded growth in Israel's Jewish population as well as most of the Diaspora's estimated decrease. Israel's population gained a further net migration balance of 3,300 non-Jews under the comprehensive provisions of the Israeli *Law of Return* and *Law of Entrance*.²²

Table 1
Estimated Core Jewish Population, by Continents
and Major Geographical Regions, 2010 And 2012^a

Region	2010			2012		Percentage Change 2010-2012	Jews per 1,000 Total Population in 2012
	Original	Revised ^b		Number	Percent ^c		
	Number	Number	Percent ^c				
World total	13,428,300	13,577,400	100.0	13,746,100	100.0	1.2	1.94
Diaspora	7,724,600	7,873,700	58.0	7,845,000	57.1	-0.4	1.12
Israel ^d	5,703,700	5,703,700	42.0	5,901,100	42.9	3.5	752.93
America, Total	6,039,600	6,187,100	45.6	6,183,200	45.0	-0.1	6.56
North ^e	5,650,000	5,800,000	42.7	5,800,000	42.2	0.0	16.75
Central, Caribbean	54,500	54,500	0.4	54,200	0.4	-0.6	0.27
South	335,100	332,600	2.4	329,000	2.4	-1.1	0.83
Europe, Total	1,455,900	1,453,100	10.7	1,426,900	10.4	-1.8	1.75
European Union ^f	1,118,000	1,118,400	8.2	1,109,400	8.1	-0.8	2.21
Former USSR ^g	297,100	293,900	2.2	276,900	2.0	-5.8	1.37
Other West	19,400	19,400	0.1	19,400	0.1	0.0	1.45
Balkans ^g	21,400	21,400	0.2	21,200	0.2	-0.9	0.22
Asia, Total	5,741,500	5,745,900	42.3	5,941,100	43.2	3.4	1.43
Israel ^d	5,703,700	5,703,700	42.0	5,901,100	42.9	3.5	752.93
Former USSR ^g	18,600	22,000	0.2	20,000	0.1	-9.1	0.25
Other	19,200	20,200	0.1	20,000	0.1	-1.0	0.00
Africa, Total	76,200	76,200	0.6	75,300	0.5	-1.2	0.00
Northern ^h	3,900	3,900	0.0	3,600	0.0	-7.7	0.01
Sub-Saharan ⁱ	72,300	72,300	0.5	71,700	0.5	-0.8	0.10
Oceania^j	115,100	115,100	0.8	119,600	0.9	3.9	3.23

a January 1.

b Based on updated or corrected information.

c Minor discrepancies due to rounding.

d Israel's Jewish population includes residents in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. The respective total population includes non-Jews in Israel, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, but does not include Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. The latter are included in Other Asia in the calculation of Jews per 1,000 Total Population in 2012.

e United States and Canada.

f Including Baltic republics.

g Asian regions of the FSU and Turkey included in Europe; excluding the Baltic republics.

h Including Ethiopia.

i Including South Africa, Zimbabwe.

j Including Australia, New Zealand.

By comparing the Israel-Diaspora net migration balance with the total estimated decrease in the Diaspora's *core* Jewish population, one obtains a nearly perfect balance of Jewish births and deaths, as well as of accessions and secessions in the total Diaspora. This is quite certainly underestimating the actually negative balance between these demographic factors, resulting in higher than real population estimates for the aggregate of Diaspora Jewry. Such an underestimate should be adjusted in future Jewish population reports.

Recently, more frequent instances of conversion, accession, or “return” to Judaism can be observed in connection with the absorption in Israel of immigrants from Eastern Europe, Ethiopia, and, to a lesser extent, countries such as Peru and India. The return or first-time accession to Judaism of such previously non-believing or unidentified persons contributed both to slowing the decrease in the relevant Diaspora Jewish populations and to some of the increase in the Jewish population in Israel.

As noted, we corrected previously published Jewish population estimates in light of new information. **Table 2** provides a synopsis of world Jewish population estimates for 1945–2012, as first published each year in the *American Jewish Year Book (AJYB)* and as corrected retroactively, incorporating all subsequent revisions.

Table 2
World Core Jewish Population Estimates: Original And Revised, 1945-2012

Year	World Jewish Population			World Population		Jews per 1,000 Total Population
	Original Estimate ^a	Revised Estimate ^b	Annual Percentage Change ^c	Total (‘000s) ^d	Annual Percentage 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	1.74	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	13,050,000	0.14	6,075	1.41	2.15
2005, Jan. 1	13,034,100	13,183,000	0.20	6,487	1.32	2.03
2010, Jan. 1	13,428,300	13,577,400	0.59	6,900	1.24	1.97
2011, Jan. 1	13,657,800		0.59	6,987	1.26	1.95
2012, Jan. 1	13,746,100		0.65	7,075	1.26	1.94

a *Core* definition. As published in *American Jewish Year Book*, various years. Some Jewish population estimates reported here as of January 1 were originally published as of December 31 of the previous year.

b Based on updated or corrected 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, excluding latest year.

d Mid-year total population, based on revised estimates.

These revised estimates depart, sometimes significantly, from the estimates 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 annually in the *AJYB* based on the information that was available on each date. It is likely that further retroactive revisions may become necessary reflecting ongoing and future research.

The time series in **Table 2** clearly portrays the decreasing rate of Jewish population growth globally from World War II until 2005. 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 increases of 506,000 in the 1960s, 234,000 in the 1970s, 49,000 in the 1980s, and 182,000 in the 1990s. While 13 years were necessary to add one million to world Jewry's postwar size, 47 years were needed to add another million. Since 2000, the slow rhythm of Jewish population growth has somewhat recovered, with an increase of 527,400 through 2010, reflecting the robust demographic trends in Israel and Israel's increasing share of the world total. **Table 2** also outlines the slower Jewish population growth rate compared to global growth, and the declining Jewish share of world population. In 2012, the share of Jews among world population (1.94 per 1,000) was less than half the 1945 estimate (4.75 per 1,000).

Major Regions and Countries

About 45% of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with over 42% in North America (**Table 1**). Over 43% live in Asia, mostly in Israel. Asia is defined as including the Asian republics of the FSU, but not the Asian parts of the Russian Federation and Turkey. Europe, including the Asian territories of the Russian Federation and Turkey, accounts for over 10% of the total. Fewer than 2% of the world's Jews live in Africa and Oceania.

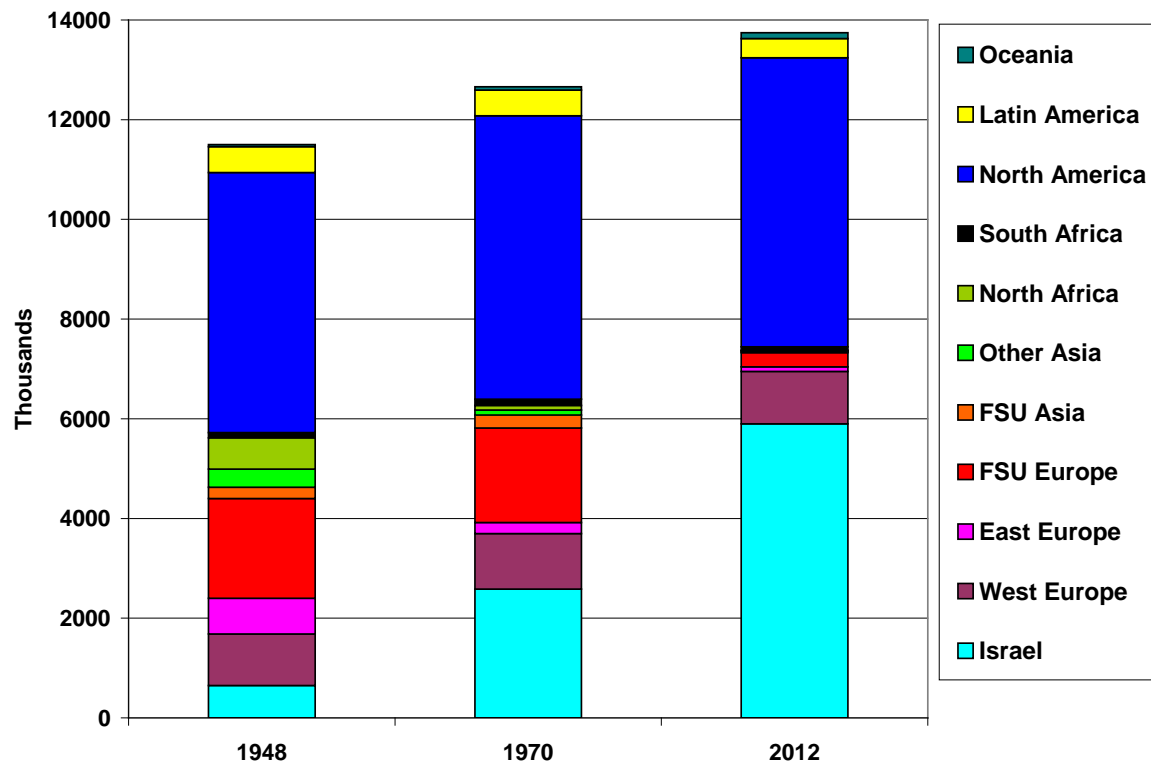
Very significant changes occurred in world Jewish population distribution by major regions between 1948 and 2012. **Figure 4** illustrates these changes, showing in particular the rapid growth of Israel's Jewish population, and on a much smaller scale, in Oceania; substantial stability in North America and Western Europe; significant declines in the Former Soviet Union areas in Europe and in Asia, in other Eastern European countries, in Muslim countries in North Africa and the Middle East, in Africa south of the Sahara, and in Latin America. All in all, comparing 1970 with 1948, and 2012 with 1970, the geographical map of world Jewish population dispersion tends to become much more concentrated over time.

Among the major geographical regions shown in **Table 1**, the number of Jews increased between 2010 and 2012 in Israel (and, consequently, in Asia as a whole) and in Oceania. We estimate the Jewish population to have remained stable in North America and in Western Europe, other than the US. Jewish population size decreased to variable extents in Central and South America, the US, the Balkans, the FSU (both in Europe and Asia), the rest of Asia, and in Africa. These regional changes reflect the trends apparent in the Jewish population in the major countries in each region. We now turn to a review of the largest Jewish populations.

Reflecting global Jewish population stagnation along with an increasing concentration in a few countries, 98.1% of world Jewry in 2012 lived in the largest 18 communities, and excluding Israel from the count, 96.9% of Diaspora Jewry lived in the 17 largest communities of the Diaspora, including 69.2% who lived in the US (**Table 3**). Besides the two major Jewish populations (Israel and the US), each comprising over five million persons, another seven countries each had more than

100,000 Jews each. Of these, three were in Western Europe (France, the United Kingdom, and Germany); one is in Eastern Europe (the Russian Federation); one in North America (Canada); one in South America (Argentina); and one in Oceania (Australia). The dominance of Western countries in global Jewish population distribution is a relatively recent phenomenon and reflects the West's relatively more hospitable socioeconomic and political circumstances *vis-à-vis* the Jewish presence.

Figure 4. Core Jewish Population by Major Regions , 1948-2012



The growth, or at least the slower decrease, of Jewish population in the more developed Western countries is accompanied by a higher share of Jews in a country's total population. Indeed, the share of Jews in a country's total population tends to be related to the country's level of development (**Table 4**). Regarding *core* Jewish populations in 2012, the share of Jews out of the total population was 743.2 per 1,000 in the State of Israel (including Jews in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights, but excluding Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza), which obviously is a special case, but also quite a developed country; 17.7 per 1,000 in the US; 3.9 per 1,000 on average in the other seven countries with over 100,000 Jews; 0.8 per 1,000 on average in the other nine countries with over 18,000 Jews; and virtually nil in the remaining countries which comprise the vast majority of world population.

To better illustrate the increasing convergence between the Jewish presence and the level of socioeconomic development of a country, **Table 4** also reports the Human Development Index (HDI) for each country. The HDI—a composite measure of a society's education, health, and income—provides a general sense of the context in which Jewish communities operate, although it does not necessarily reflect the actual characteristics of the members of those Jewish communities. The raw data of the HDI reported here are for 2011. Of the 18 countries listed, five (the US,

Table 3
Countries with Largest Core Jewish Populations, 1/1/2012

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	Percent of Total Jewish Population			
			In the World		In the Diaspora	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	Israel ^a	5,901,100	42.9	42.9	NA	NA
2	United States	5,425,000	39.5	82.4	69.2	69.2
3	France	480,000	3.5	85.9	6.1	75.3
4	Canada	375,000	2.7	88.6	4.8	80.1
5	United Kingdom	291,000	2.1	90.7	3.7	83.8
6	Russian Federation	194,000	1.4	92.1	2.5	86.2
7	Argentina	181,800	1.3	93.5	2.3	88.6
8	Germany	119,000	0.9	94.3	1.5	90.1
9	Australia	112,000	0.8	95.1	1.4	91.5
10	Brazil	95,300	0.7	95.8	1.2	92.7
11	Ukraine	70,200	0.5	96.8	0.9	94.5
12	South Africa	67,000	0.5	96.3	0.9	93.6
13	Hungary	48,200	0.4	97.2	0.6	95.1
14	Mexico	39,200	0.3	97.5	0.5	95.6
15	Belgium	30,000	0.2	97.7	0.4	96.0
16	Netherlands	29,900	0.2	97.9	0.4	96.3
17	Italy	28,200	0.2	98.1	0.4	96.7
18	Chile	20,500	0.2	98.1	0.2	96.9

a Includes Jewish residents in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights.

Canada, Germany, Australia, and the Netherlands) are included among the top ten HDIs among 189 countries ranked, another four (Israel, France, Belgium, and Italy) are ranked better than 25th, four (United Kingdom, Argentina, Hungary, Chile) are better than 50th, four (Russian Federation, Brazil, Ukraine, Mexico) are better than 100th, and one (South Africa) occupies a lower rank pointing to lesser development in the host society. But again, one should be aware that Jewish communities may display social and economic data significantly better than the average population of their respective countries.

The increasing overlap of a Jewish presence with higher levels of socioeconomic development in a country, and at the same time the diminution or gradual disappearance of a Jewish presence in less developed areas is a conspicuous feature of the 20th and early 21st centuries. The emerging geographical configuration carries advantages concerning the material and legal conditions of the life of Jews, but it also may generate a lack of recognition of, or estrangement toward, Jews on the part of societies in less developed countries that constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's total population.

Table 4
Largest Core Jewish Populations per 1,000 of Total Population,
by Human Development Index, 1/1/2012

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	Total Population	Jews per 1,000 Total Population	HDI ^a Rank
1	Israel ^b	5,901,100	7,837,500	743.2	17
2	United States	5,425,000	311,700,000	17.4	4
3	France	480,000	63,340,000	7.6	20
4	Canada	375,000	34,500,000	10.9	6
5	United Kingdom	291,000	62,920,000	4.6	28
6	Russian Federation	194,000	142,800,000	1.4	66
7	Argentina	181,800	40,500,000	4.5	45
8	Germany	119,000	81,800,000	1.5	9
9	Australia	112,000	22,700,000	4.9	2
Total Ranks 3-9		1,752,800	448,560,000	3.9	25.1 ^c
10	Brazil	95,300	196,700,000	0.5	84
11	South Africa	70,200	50,500,000	1.4	123
12	Ukraine	67,000	45,700,000	1.5	76
13	Hungary	48,200	10,000,000	4.8	38
14	Mexico	39,200	114,800,000	0.3	57
15	Belgium	30,000	11,000,000	2.7	18
16	Netherlands	29,900	16,700,000	1.8	3
17	Italy	28,200	60,800,000	0.5	24
18	Chile	18,500	17,300,000	1.1	44
Total Ranks 10-18		426,500	523,500,000	0.8	51.8 ^c
Rest of the world		240,700	5,694,804,500	0.0	ca. 100

^a HDI is the Human Development Index, a synthetic measure of health, education, and income (in terms of U.S. Dollar purchase power parity) among the country's total population. See: United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2011 – Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All* (New York, 2011).

^b Israel's Jewish population includes residents in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. The respective total population includes non-Jews in Israel, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, but does not include Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

^c Average of HDI ranks in group of countries.

Major Cities

Changes in the geographic distribution of Jews have affected their distribution not only among countries, but also within countries. The overwhelmingly urban concentration of Jewish populations globally is shown by the fact that in 2012 more than half (53.8%) of world Jewry lived in only five metropolitan areas.²³ These areas—including the main cities and vast urbanized territories around them—were Tel Aviv, New York, Jerusalem, Los Angeles, and Haifa (**Table 5**). Over two-thirds (67.5%) of world Jewry lived in the five previous areas plus the South Florida, Be'er Sheva, San Francisco, Washington/Baltimore, and Boston areas. The 15 largest metropolitan concentrations of Jewish population encompassed 76.1% of all Jews worldwide.²⁴

The Jewish population in the Tel Aviv urban conurbation, extending from Netanya to Ashdod and having surpassed 3 million Jews by the *core* definition, now exceeds by far that in the New York Combined Metropolitan Area, extending from southern New York State to parts of Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, with over 2 million Jews. Of the 15 largest metropolitan areas of Jewish residence, eight were located in the US, four in Israel, and one each in France, the United Kingdom, and Canada. Nearly all of the major areas of settlement of contemporary Jewish populations share distinct features, such as being a national or regional capital, having a high standard of living, having a highly developed infrastructure for higher education, and having transnational connections.

Unlike our estimates of Jewish populations in individual countries, the data reported here on urban Jewish populations do not fully adjust for possible double counting due to multiple residences. The differences in the US may be quite significant, in the range of tens of thousands, involving both major and minor metropolitan areas. Estimates of part-time residents for the two main receiving areas of South Florida and Southern California are reported in the footnotes to **Table 5**. The respective estimates of part-year residents were excluded from the estimates in the table. Part-year residency is related to both climate differences and economic and employment factors. Such multiple residences now also increasingly occur internationally. A person from New York or Paris may also hold a registered apartment in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv, or vice versa.

Table 5
15 Metropolitan Areas (CMSAs)
with Largest Core Jewish Populations, 1/1/2012

Rank	Metropolitan Area ^a	Country	Jewish Population	Share of World's Jews	
				%	Cumulative %
1	Tel Aviv ^b	Israel	3,070,800	22.2	22.2
2	New York ^c	U.S.	2,099,000	15.3	37.6
3	Jerusalem ^d	Israel	850,900	6.2	43.8
4	Los Angeles ^e	U.S.	688,600	5.0	48.8
5	Haifa ^f	Israel	686,300	5.0	53.8
6	South Florida ^g	U.S.	485,850	3.5	57.3
7	Be'er Sheva ^h	Israel	377,700	2.7	60.1
8	San Francisco ⁱ	U.S.	345,700	2.5	62.6
9	Washington/Baltimore ^j	U.S.	332,900	2.4	65.0
10	Boston ^k	U.S.	295,700	2.2	67.2
11	Chicago ^l	U.S.	294,700	2.1	69.3
12	Paris ^m	France	284,000	2.1	71.4
13	Philadelphia ⁿ	U.S.	280,000	2.0	73.4
14	London ^o	United Kingdom	195,000	1.4	74.8
15	Toronto ^p	Canada	180,000	1.3	76.1

a Most metropolitan areas include extended inhabited territory and several municipal authorities around the central city. Definitions vary by country. Some U.S. estimates may include non-core Jews.

b Includes Tel Aviv District, Central District, and Ashdod Subdistrict. Principal cities: Tel Aviv, Ramat Gan, Bene Beraq, Petach Tikwa, Bat Yam, Holon, Rishon LeZiyon, Rehovot, Netanya, and Ashdod, all with Jewish populations over 100,000.

c New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA Metropolitan Statistical Area. Principal Cities: New York, NY; White Plains, NY; Newark, NJ; Edison, NJ; Union, NJ; Wayne, NJ; and New Brunswick, NJ.

d Includes Jerusalem District and parts of Judea and Samaria District.

e Includes Los Angeles, Orange, Ventura, Riverside, and San Bernardino Counties. Not including 5,000 part-time residents.

f Includes Haifa District and parts of Northern District.

g Includes Miami-Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach Counties. Not including 69,275 part-time residents.

h Includes Be'er Sheva Subdistrict and other parts of Southern District.

i Our adjustment of original data. Includes the San Francisco area (San Francisco County, San Mateo County, Marin County, and Sonoma County), as well as Alameda County, Contra Costa County, and Silicon Valley. Assumes the San Francisco area currently comprises 60 percent of the total Bay area Jewish population, the same as in the 1986 demographic study of that area.

j Includes DC, Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties in Maryland, and Fairfax, Loudoun, and Prince William Counties in Virginia.

k Includes North Shore.

l Includes Clark County, DuPage County, and parts of Lake County.

m Departments 75, 77, 78, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95.

n Includes the Cherry Hill, NJ area.

o Greater London and contiguous postcode areas.

p Census Metropolitan Area.

Source: See footnote 23. Note that some of the metropolitan areas are defined differently than in the Sheskin-Dashefsky chapter in this volume.

Determinants and Consequences of Jewish Population Change

International Migration

Shifts in Jewish population size in the major regions of the world were primarily determined by large-scale international migration. Unfortunately, the international migration of Jews is only imperfectly documented. Currently, only Israel annually records Jewish immigrants by country of origin. Israeli data, compared over several successive years, may provide, under certain conditions, a sense of the intensity of parallel migration movements of Jews to other countries, although there also are differences in the timing, volume, direction, and characteristics of migrants.

Jewish international migration reached one of its highest peaks ever when the former Soviet Union (FSU) opened its doors at the end of 1989. **Table 6** shows a summary of the estimated total number of FSU migrants between 1989 and 2011 by main countries of destination.²⁵ The 1.653 million total migrants include non-Jewish household members. Over one million migrated to Israel, over 300,000 to the US, and over 225,000, to Germany. Israel's share of the total increased from 18% in 1989 to 83% in the peak years 1990-1991. It then decreased to 41% in 2002-2004 and increased again to 71% in 2010-2011. The decrease of the US as a destination for FSU migrants in the first decade of the 21st century is noticeable, as is the parallel decrease in the attractiveness of Germany in the second half of the same decade.

These significant increases and decreases reflect the changing incidence of push factors in the FSU during a time of rapid geopolitical and economic change and real or expected disruptions in the environment for Jewish life, namely the relationship between the larger society and Jews. They also reflect the different and significantly variable legal provisions and socioeconomic opportunities in the destination countries.

Table 7 shows the number of immigrants to Israel by country of origin in 2010 and 2011. The data reflect the *Law of Return*, not the *core* Jewish population, definition.

In recent years, Jewish international migration has tended to decrease due to the concentration of Jews in more developed countries. Historically, a negative relationship emerged between the quality of life in a country and the propensity of Jews to emigrate.²⁶ This logical connection helps to predict the continuation of rather low levels of migration, provided current conditions prevail for the foreseeable future. Despite this, in 2011 16,892 new immigrants arrived in Israel, compared to 16,633 in 2010, 14,567 in 2009, and 13,699 in 2008. This represents a reversal of the decreases that had prevailed for several years, although the general immigration level is quite low compared with other periods in Israel's migration history. Notable features in 2011 versus 2012 were increases of some 1,000 immigrants from Ethiopia and 500 from the FSU. Slight declines were noted from North America, the US, and Central and South America. Clearly, this migration decreases the Diaspora Jewish population and increases Jewish population size in Israel, at a time when the Israeli economy has been performing relatively better than in many Western countries, thus making Israel an attractive target for international migration.

Table 6
Migration of Jews (Enlarged Definition) ^a from The Former Soviet Union
to Other Countries, 1989-2011 (Thousands)

Year	Total Migration ^b	Thereof to:			Percent to Israel
		Israel ^c	US ^d	Germany ^e	
Total	1,653.0	1,011.8	300.2	225.2	61
1989	72.0	12.9	56.0	0.6	18
1990-1991	400.0	333.0	41.7	16.5	83
1992-1996	586.0	323.1	155.9	60.6	55
1997-2001	420.0	251.8	38.2	88.6	60
2002-2004	101.0	41.0	5.2	45.9	41
2005-2009	54.0	35.8	2.2	11.7	66
2010-2011	20.0	14.2	1.0	1.3	71

a Including non-Jewish members of Jewish households.

b Including migration of Jews to other countries not shown.

c Total number of immigrants under *Law of Return*.

d Under Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) auspices. Including non-Jewish members of Jewish households.

e Immigrants who were registered in Jewish communities and non-Jewish members of Jewish households.

On the other hand, Israel—in part because of the smallness of its market and the limits this imposes upon employment opportunities—is a source of Jewish emigration, mostly to the US and other Western countries.²⁷ In recent years, some Israelis have migrated to the FSU.²⁸ Good estimates of total emigration range from 5,000 to 15,000 annually, despite much higher numbers mentioned in the press. The level of emigration from Israel is consistent with expectations for a country at Israel's level of economic development. These findings are in contrast with the widespread assumption that the volume and timing of Israeli immigration and emigration are primarily motivated by ideological and security factors, and not by socioeconomic determinants.

Marriages, Births, and Deaths

Another major determinant of demographic change at the global level is family formation and childbearing and its consequence for age composition. When international migration stands at moderate levels, as in recent years, the most important determinant of long-term population change is the birth rate, which reflects both the average number of children born per women age 15-49 (the *fertility rate*) and the size of (potential) parental cohorts. In contemporary societies, the latter is, in turn, affected by the number of births in previous years, by international migration, and to some extent by the level of mortality. This circular process between childbearing and age composition is worthy of special attention and indeed plays an important role in the case of world Jewry. In addition, the question of the Jewish identity of the children of intermarriage now plays a significant role in the overall pattern of Jewish demographic development.²⁹

Table 7
New Immigrants to Israel ^a by Last Country of Residence, 2010-2011

Country	2010	2011	Country	2010	2011	Country	2010	2011
GRAND TOTAL ^b	16,633	16,892	Germany	119	97	Turkmenistan	15	10
America – Total ^b	4,007	3,468	Greece	6	8	Uzbekistan	314	270
North America	2,801	2,575	Hungary	87	128	Other Asia	132	126
Canada	271	212	Italy	97	94	Bahrain	-	1
USA	2,530	2,363	Malta	1	-	China	10	6
Central America	209	168	Netherlands	36	40	Hong Kong	3	5
Costa Rica	6	6	Poland	15	17	India	44	35
Cuba	36	54	Portugal	3	6	Iran	39	46
Dominican Republic	-	3	Romania	54	41	Iraq	5	-
El Salvador	5	1	Slovakia	1	2	Japan	3	1
Guadalupe	2	-	Spain	35	53	Korea	2	-
Guatemala	4	6	Sweden	28	22	Lebanon	-	2
Honduras	3	5	United Kingdom	632	485	Pakistan	4	6
Martinique	-	1	FSU in Europe	5,851	6,354	Philippines	-	3
Mexico	137	87	Belarus	334	304	Singapore	1	-
Nicaragua	2	-	Estonia	30	8	Syria	2	-
Panama	12	5	Latvia	76	67	Thailand	6	3
Porto Rico	2	-	Lithuania	15	21	Yemen	13	17
South America	997	725	Moldova	226	217	Vietnam	-	1
Argentina	337	220	Russia	3,404	3,678			
Bolivia	3	7	Ukraine	1,752	2,051	Africa – Total ^b	1,937	2,934
Brazil	244	157	FSU unspecified	14	8	Northern Africa	1,717	2,756
Chile	46	40	Other West Europe	115	64	Algeria	-	2
Colombia	47	90	Gibraltar	-	1	Egypt	11	2
Ecuador	5	6	Monaco	4	2	Ethiopia	1,655	2,666
Paraguay	3	-	Norway	1	2	Morocco	35	40
Peru	121	79	Switzerland	110	59	Tunisia	16	46
Suriname	-	1	Balkans	147	112	Sub Saharan Africa	220	178
Uruguay	90	48	Croatia	1	2	Angola	1	-
Venezuela	101	77	Serbia	11	6	Congo	1	-
			Turkey	131	104	Kenya	1	-
			Yugoslavia unspec.	4	-	Madagascar	-	1
Europe – Total ^b	9,140	9,291				Malawi	2	-
European Union ^c	3,027	2,761	Asia – Total ^b	1,196	906	Rwanda	1	-
Austria	18	19	Israel	1	-	South Africa	212	174
Belgium	185	175	FSU in Asia	1,063	780	Zimbabwe	2	3
Bulgaria	30	33	Armenia	31	46			
Cyprus	3	3	Azerbaijan	191	141	Oceania - Total	147	97
Czech Republic	9	5	Georgia	380	187	Australia	133	92
Denmark	8	3	Kazakhstan	155	153	French Polynesia	1	-
Finland	4	8	Kyrgyzstan	58	54	New Caledonia	2	-
France	1,775	1,619	Tajikistan	4	10	New Zealand	11	5

a Including non-Jewish members of Jewish households. Not including immigrant citizens.

b Including countries unknown.

c Not including Baltic republics, here included in FSU in Europe.

d Israel-born children of new immigrants who previously were tourists or foreign workers.

Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (2012).

Low birth rates and relatively high intermarriage rates have prevailed among some European Jewish communities since the beginning of the twentieth century. After World War II, the US and several Western European countries experienced a prolonged rise in fertility, which did not occur in Eastern Europe. These trends were matched by their respective Jewish communities, though at lower levels. Where the baby boom occurred, it generated large age cohorts born between 1945 and 1965, who in turn reached the age of procreation between the 1970s and the 1990s. An “echo effect” of more births might have been expected, but fertility rates, general and Jewish, have decreased sharply since the 1970s. Jews usually anticipated by several years these developments, resulting in lower birth rates across the board. Significant internal differentiation persisted according to religiosity and other social characteristics among Jewish populations, with Orthodox Jews generally maintaining higher fertility rates than other groups.

Table 8 provides examples of the balance between Jewish births and deaths in selected countries over the past two decades. The number of Jewish births was usually exceeded by the number of Jewish deaths according to direct vital registrations in the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, Germany, and according to indirect estimates, in the US. This gap was strikingly high in the Russian Federation and in other European republics of the FSU.³⁰ In the Russian Federation in 2000, there were only 600 recorded Jewish births compared to over 8,200 recorded Jewish deaths—a net loss of 7,600. Such striking deficit reflects extreme population aging (see below), in part the consequence of the intensive emigration of younger Jewish adults and nuclear families with the consequence that large numbers among the elderly were left behind.

In Western Europe, the negative gap was somewhat smaller, yet consistent. In the United Kingdom in 1991, the 3,200 Jewish births were exceeded by 4,500 Jewish deaths—a net loss of 1,300. The most recent United Kingdom data available from Jewish community sources indicate a reversal of this trend in 2005, showing an increase in the number of births and a decrease in the number of deaths.³¹ The decrease to fewer than 3,000 Jewish deaths in recent years seems to indicate a significantly reduced Jewish community, or a significant under-reporting of Jewish burials, or both.

In Germany, the Jewish community experienced a threefold population increase due to a significant inflow of FSU immigrants since 1989. However, while in 1990 there were 100 Jewish births and 400 Jewish deaths—a net loss of 300, in 2011, 200 Jewish births were recorded compared to 1,200 Jewish deaths—a net loss of nearly 1,000.³²

In the US there are no Jewish vital statistics directly available. However Jewish population projections based on the available age composition and cautious assumptions about the age-specific frequency of motherhood and deaths suggests that the core Jewish population generates annually about 50,000 births and 58,000 deaths. The likely deficit of about 8,000 is being compensated by a positive Jewish immigration balance.

Israel is the only exception to these recessive demographic trends. Steady immigration produced a doubling of Israel’s Jewish population between 1970 and 2004, which was reinforced by a significant Jewish natural increase. In 1990, 73,900 Jewish births and 25,800 Jewish deaths produced a natural increase of 48,100. In 2004, for the first time, more than 100,000 Jewish babies were born in Israel. In 2011, 121,700 Jewish births and 35,000 Jewish deaths produced a net increase of 86,700. Demand for children continues to be strong among both the religious and the

secular, rooted partly in Jewish communal identity and partly in a broader sense of economic optimism and life satisfaction, and sustains relatively high Jewish fertility rates in Israel.³³ This results in significantly larger families than among Jews in other countries.

Low Jewish birth rates and population aging in the Diaspora are further impacted by high and continually increasing rates of intermarriage (**Table 9**).

Table 8
Jewish Vital Statistics in Selected Countries, 1988-2011

Country and Year	Births	Deaths	Difference
Russian Federation			
1988	3,710 ^a	13,826	-10,116
2000	613 ^b	8,218	-7,605
United Kingdom			
1991	3,200	4,500	-1,300
2000	2,786	3,660	-874
2005	3,339	3,062	+277
2007	3,313	2,878	+435
2010	?	2,734	?
Germany			
1990	109	431	-322
2002	151	1,000	-849
2008	171	1,038	-867
2010	168	1,081	-913
2011	212	1,195	-983
United States^c			
2011	50,000	58,000	-8,000
Israel			
1990	73,851	25,759	+48,092
2000	91,936	33,421	+58,515
2008	112,803	34,075	+78,728
2010	120,763	33,948	+86,815
2011	121,684	34,951	+86,733

a Births to Jewish mothers, of which 2,148 are to non-Jewish fathers. Assuming as many births to Jewish fathers and non-Jewish mothers, the total births would be 5,858.

b Births to Jewish mothers, of which 444 are to non-Jewish fathers. Assuming as many births to Jewish fathers and non-Jewish mothers, the total births would be 1,057.

c Estimated from age composition and age-specific survivorship rates.

Source: Tolts (2002), Schmool (2005), Vulkan (2012), Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle (1991, 2009, 2012), Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (2012), and author's projections

Table 9
World Jewish Population Distribution by Frequency of Recent Intermarriages
2010

Current rate of Jews marrying non-Jews ^a	Country ^b	Jewish Population	
		Thousands	Percentage
	World	13,578	100.0
0-0.9%	West Bank ⁴	290	2.1
1-4.9%	Israel ¹ , Yemen ⁴	5,414	39.9
5-14.9%	Mexico ¹ , Gibraltar ⁴ , China ⁴ , Iran ⁴ , Syria ⁴ , Northern Africa ⁴	56	0.4
15-24.9%	Bahamas ⁴ , Costa Rica ⁴ , Guatemala ² , Panama ⁴ , Venezuela ¹ , India ³ , Japan ⁴ , Singapore ⁴ , South Africa ³	101	0.7
25-34.9%	Canada ¹ , Chile ² , Central and South America not elsewhere reported ⁴ , Turkey ² , Asia not elsewhere reported ⁴ , Africa not elsewhere reported ⁴ , Australia ¹ , New Zealand ³	540	4.0
35-44.9%	Argentina ³ , Brazil ² , Uruguay ² , France ¹ , United Kingdom ¹ , Western Europe not elsewhere reported ³	1,144	8.4
45-54.9%	United States ¹ , Italy ² , Netherlands ¹ , Switzerland ¹ , FSU in Asia ³	5,520	40.7
55-74.9%	Austria ¹ , Germany ¹ , Eastern Europe (excluding FSU) ³	216	1.6
75% +	FSU in Europe ² , Cuba ³	298	2.2
Average rate			
48.1%	Diaspora		
29.1%	World		

a Not Jewish at time of marriage. Intermarriage estimates are national or regional estimates and ignore geographic variations within countries. Demographers refer to this intermarriage rate as the "individual intermarriage rate." Rates are for marriages in the past 5-10 years.

b Data quality rated as follows: 1: Recent and reliable data; 2: Partial or less recent data of sufficient quality; 3: Rather outdated or incomplete data; 4: Conjectural.

Source: Adjusted from DellaPergola (2009), see endnote 36.

Overall, the rate of intermarriage has been increasing among Jews, but significant differences persist by country.³⁴

In recent years, in the Russian Federation, about 70% of recently married Jewish women and 80% of recently married Jewish men married non-Jews. In the US, and in several medium-size European Jewish communities, the intermarriage rate was over 50%; in France and the United Kingdom, it was over 40%; in Canada and Australia, over 25%; and in South Africa and Venezuela, over 15%. Of the major Jewish communities, probably only Mexico had an intermarriage rate lower than 15%. In Israel, the rate of intermarriage is less than 5%, reflecting the growing size of the non-Jewish population who immigrated under the *Law of Return*, particularly from the FSU. Many of these intermarriages are performed in Cyprus.³⁵ The absence of civil marriage in Israel raises the intriguing question of the inability of the

Israeli legal system to face the family formation needs of an increasing number of citizens whose religion is not Jewish. On average, based on the 2010 Jewish population distribution and recent intermarriage rates in different countries, about 29% of all recently married Jews worldwide, and 48% of all recently married Jews in the Diaspora, started a new family with a non-Jewish partner. Scattered data on cohabitation among young Jewish adults point to much higher rates of interfaith couples.

A further factor in Jewish population change is the Jewish identity of the children of intermarriages. The percentage of the children of intermarriage being raised as Jews during the early 1990s was about 20% in both the US³⁶ and the Russian Federation.³⁷ In 2001, this percentage had increased in the US to more than one-third,³⁸ but was still well shy of the 50% that would be required so as not to contribute to a decrease in the number of Jews. The non-identification with Judaism of many children of intermarriages, added to low levels of Jewish fertility, produces an even lower “effective Jewish birth rate.”

In addition, non-affiliation among young Jewish adults is a phenomenon comparatively more frequent among the intermarried. This may also be associated with a determination to have fewer children. This whole complex of family-related factors leading to Jewish population erosion is far less significant in Israel than elsewhere.

Conversions

Given the increasing number of Jewish households (defined as a household containing one or more self-identified Jews) some of whose members are not Jewish, the number of persons converting to Judaism is highly relevant to Jewish population change.

Data on converts through the Israel Conversion (*Giyur*) Courts from 1999 to 2009 cover passages to Judaism certified through both the civilian and military (Israel Defense Forces) conversion systems. Most civilian conversions were of new Ethiopian immigrants who, in recent years, almost exclusively included over 3,000 Falash Mura annually. Within the military conversion system, the demand for conversion prevailed among young adults mostly born in the FSU or Israel to non-Jewish immigrant mothers. About 500-800 young military were converted annually from 2005 to 2008. Only a small number of converts were civilians from countries other than Ethiopia who immigrated to Israel under the *Law of Return*. Only in 2005, and again in 2007 and 2008, did Conversion Courts certify somewhat higher numbers of converts. The 2009 estimate was much lower due to reduced immigration from Ethiopia and ongoing controversies within the Israeli Rabbinate about the general validity of conversion procedures. Some members of the Israeli Rabbinate have indeed requested that thousands of conversions performed in the framework of the Israeli Defense Forces be annulled. The matter was eventually settled, but controversy about conversion in Israel remains high.

Overall, from 1999 to 2009, 48,098 persons converted to Judaism through Israeli rabbinical channels. Given the opposition to conversion within some branches of the Israeli Rabbinate, the actual number of *gerim* (Jewish neophytes) was not low and contributed to Israel's Jewish population growth. However, the total number of “others,” i.e., *Law of Return* immigrants and their children not registered as Jews, increased from 171,600 in 1999 to 325,000 in 2011. In 2007 and 2008, for the first time, the number of converts to Judaism was greater than the annual increment in the “others” population.

Data on conversions to and from Judaism in Diaspora countries exist, but have not been compiled systematically. The consistent evidence from socio-demographic surveys is that more people were born Jewish than consider themselves currently Jewish, reflecting the net effect of accessions and secessions. The main evidence for this loss derives from Jewish population surveys undertaken in the US. One recent source, the 2007 survey of religion,³⁹ compares the percentages of those raised Jewish with those currently Jewish out of the US total population. At least in terms of Jews by religion, the lifetime balance is unequivocally negative—about 0.2% of the country's total population. Assuming the same effects among children as among adults, this would amount to a net lifetime loss of about 600,000 individuals, or well above 10% of a total Jewish population estimated by different authors at between 5 and 6.5 million (see below). It is true that some of these passages occur from/to the unknown/unreported/agnostic/atheist group, rather than from/to another specific religious group. But such data disprove the assumption of a significant ongoing passage from the peripheral toward the central areas of the Jewish identification typology outlined in **Figure 3**, which would otherwise fuel an increase in the US Jewish population.

Another, admittedly small, example illustrative of a more general trend comes from the 2001 Census of Scotland, the data from which are available separately and in greater detail than the data from other parts of the United Kingdom. In 2001, 8,233 persons in Scotland declared that either they were raised Jewish or their current religion was Jewish. Of these, 5,661 (69%) were both raised Jewish and Judaism was their current religion; 1,785 (22%) were raised Jewish but were not currently Jewish; and 787 (9%) were not raised Jewish but were currently Jewish. Thus, the total number with Jewish upbringing was 7,446, and the number currently Jewish was 6,448, a difference of 998—a net loss of 13%.⁴⁰

Age Composition

Age composition plays a crucial role in population change. **Table 11**, covering 1970-2011, exemplifies the extreme variations that can emerge in age composition following the transition from higher to lower birth rates and death rates. Jewish populations are classified into five demographic types: traditional, transitional, moderate aging, advanced aging, and terminal.

Traditional Jewish populations, characterized by very high percentages of children, have disappeared. Jews in Ethiopia, here portrayed just before their mass immigration to Israel in 1991, were the last example.

The **transitional** type occurs as fertility is controlled and mortality is lowered due to better health care. Such populations feature a relatively high percentage of children, an increasing share of adults, and a median age around 30 or under. Israel is today the only Jewish population where the percentages in each major age group tend to decrease regularly from the younger age groups to the older age groups.

In **moderately aging** communities, the center of gravity moves to age 45-64, but children under age 15 are still more numerous than adults age 65 and over. This type, whose median age is about 35, was still evident during the 1970s and through the 1990s in the US and later in some communities in Central and South America.

More recently, Jewish communities in the US—namely in New York⁴¹—and Canada, major Jewish communities in Western and Central European countries, Central and South American communities like Argentina and Brazil, as well as Australia and Turkey, joined the **advanced aging** type, where the elderly age 65 and over outnumber children under age 15, and median ages mostly range between 40

and 45 but also tend to approach 50. One exception may be Mexico, or even France which in 2002 still was in the moderately aging type with 19% age 65 and over, and possibly a similar percentage of children under age 15.⁴²

The **terminal** age composition type, typical of the Russian Federation, the other FSU republics, Germany, and several other Eastern European countries, comprises percentages of elders that are double or more the percentage of children, with a median age of 50 or higher, and eventually a median age tending toward 60.

Table 10
Selected Jewish Populations by Main Age Groups, 1970-2011

Country ^a	Year	Total	0-14	15-29	30-44	45-64	65+	Median Age ^b
Traditional type								
Ethiopia	1991	100	51	20	13	11	5	14.7
Transitional type								
Israel	1970	100	30	27	16	20	7	26.1
Iran	1976	100	30	28	19	17	6	25.7
Mexico	1991	100	24	27	20	22	7	29.3
Israel	2010	100	26	22	19	21	12	31.4
Moderate Aging								
United States	1970	100	22	24	17	26	11	35.5
Canada	1971	100	21	25	15	27	12	34.2
Greater Paris	1975	100	21	25	18	25	11	34.1
United States	1990	100	19	19	26	19	17	37.6
South Africa	1991	100	19	22	22	21	16	36.1
Venezuela	1998	100	24	19	21	24	12	36.0
Mexico	2000	100	20	24	25	24	7	33.6
Advanced Aging								
Russian Federation	1979	100	8	15	21	31	25	49.2
Switzerland	1980	100	18	18	19	22	23	41.1
Lithuania	1993	100	14	15	18	27	26	47.7
Hungary	1995	100	14	18	19	23	26	44.4
Brazil	2000	100	16	19	22	25	18	40.3
United States	2001	100	16	20	19	26	19	41.5
United Kingdom	2001	100	16	17	19	26	22	44.2
Canada	2001	100	18	19	18	27	18	40.7
Turkey	2002	100	10	16	22	34	18	47.2
Greater Buenos	2004	100	15	21	16	28	20	43.3
Australia	2006	100	17	18	18	28	19	42.6
Italy	2009	100	15	16	19	27	23	44.9
New York, 8 counties	2011	100	18	18	15	27	22	45.0
Terminal type								
Romania	1979	100	5	11	10	34	40	59.1
Ukraine	2001	100	6	10	14	35	35	56.4
Russian Federation	2002	100	5	11	14	33	37	57.5
Germany	2009	100	7	14	15	29	35	54.3

a Countries sorted by date within type. The largest age group in each population is in bold font.

b The median is the age in reference to which one-half of the population is younger and one-half is older. Some of the median ages were computed from more detailed age distributions than those shown here.

In the US, because of the lack of a national Jewish population survey in 2010, the ongoing aging process can be portrayed by comparing results of NJPS 1990, with NJPS 2000-01 corrected for under-reporting of young and middle-age adults,⁴³ and with projections of the same corrected figures for 2011 (**Table 11**). In these projections, death rates were based on Israeli Jews' detailed schedules—Israel being a country with high life expectancies of over 84 years for women and over 80 years for men in 2010. Birth rates reflect varying assumptions about the effective Jewish fertility rate—i.e., estimated average children born, discounted for the non-inclusion of variable shares of the children of intermarriages. The decline in the younger US Jewish cohorts under age 30 is evident (33.4% in 2011 versus 37.4% in 1990), as against an increase in the population aged 60 and over (26.4% in 2011 versus 22.4% in 1990). The whole gamut of Jewish community resources and needs is being significantly reshaped by these demographic changes.

Table 11
Age Composition of U.S. Core Jewish Population—Observed And Projected
1990-2011

	1990	2001	2011
Age	NJPS	NJPS, corrected	Projected from NJPS 2001, corrected
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-14	18.8	16.7	14.1
15-29	18.6	17.2	19.3
30-44	25.3	21.6	15.9
45-59	14.9	24.0	24.3
60-74	13.9	12.0	18.1
75+	8.5	8.5	8.3

Demographic Implications

The corollary of the advanced aging and terminal Jewish age composition types is that the annual number of deaths must outnumber the annual number of births. Such a skewed age composition also clearly reflects the non-incorporation within the Jewish collective of many children of intermarriages, which is bound to lead to a numerical decrease in Jewish population in future years, as in fact has been the case in the Diaspora over the past decades.

Jews in Israel are the notable exception. Their vital rates not only *do* generate Jewish population growth, but the size of the natural increase is high in comparison with other developed societies, and in fact very similar to that of the world's total population.⁴⁴ Contemporary Jewish demography is split between an Israeli component that features consistent increase and a Diaspora component which—though some internal variation exists—is bound to decrease.

JEWISH POPULATION BY COUNTRY

The Americas

The Jewish population in the Americas is predominantly concentrated in the US (5,425,000, or 88% of the continental total), followed by Canada (375,000, 6%), South America (329,000, 5%), and Central America (54,200, 1%) (**Appendix**).

The United States

To assess Jewish population size in the US is probably not the most important or exciting, but surely one of the most intriguing, debated, and at times antagonizing chores—not only in demographic studies but more generally in the social scientific study of Jewry. Competing narrative and empirical approaches have generated diverging estimates, with a significant high-low gap of about two million, and opposite interpretations of current and expected trends, ranging between rapid growth and slow decline.⁴⁵

The following review provides the necessary background when turning to compile and compare national Jewish population estimates in the US. Between 1945, when the total US Jewish population was realistically assessed at 4.4 million,⁴⁶ and 1990 all the main available estimates tended to agree on the general direction and speed of change, while allowing some high-low gaps. Relatively rapid growth until the late 1960s was followed by slower growth during the following 20 years, and stagnation or incipient decline soon after. As against this, the subsequent fifteen years between 1995 and 2010 were characterized by widely different population estimates and perceptions of the direction of change.

The whole set of available Jewish population sources relies on very different estimation approaches. National compilations of local Jewish communities historically gathered by the *American Jewish Year Book* and largely based on local Jewish community studies and informant reports regularly stood at the top of the range, through periodical downward corrections were made that mostly reflected new national studies that had become available. The independent critical reviews by the Institute of Contemporary Jewry (ICJ) investigators regularly provided somewhat lower estimates that also manifested smoother change over time.⁴⁷

A highly coherent time sequence was provided by several forward-backward projections that tried to find whether the various national surveys could be logically related to each other through a set of assumptions inferred from the findings of the same surveys on international migration, age composition, marriage, and fertility.⁴⁸ Thus, in the light of the then ongoing and expected demographic trends, the over 5 million Jews found in the 1957 Current Population Survey (CPS)⁴⁹ quite accurately predicted the 5,420,000 Jews found by the NJPS 1971,⁵⁰ which in turn predicted the 5,515,000 found by NJPS 1990.⁵¹ Both NJPS 1971 and NJPS 1990 predicted the Jewish population reduction that was found by two nearly simultaneous and competing studies in 2001.⁵² Indeed, both the NJPS⁵³ and the American Jewish Identity Survey (AJIS)⁵⁴ assessed American Jewry at 5.2-5.3 million.

Following claims of excessively low respondent rates, selective population undercounts, and other inappropriate procedures during and following the fieldwork, NJPS 2000-01 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 population subgroups, and loss of documentation—stood within the range of professionally acceptable research standards and biases.⁵⁵

The mentioned survey-to-survey projections were quite on target with reasonable margins of error not only for the total Jewish population but also for each birth cohort. Such projections were obtained through very detailed matrices compounding all changes occurring in each five year period, within each sex and five-year age group, for each of the relevant components of population change: incoming and outgoing international migration, fertility rates of women at relevant ages, death rates, and accession/secession rates.

The puzzle of the growing discrepancy between US Jewish population estimates during the more recent period since 1990 reflects several problems. First and foremost is the inconsistent Jewish population definitions adopted by different sources. For example, the 2001 HARI study⁵⁶ used a broader definition than NJPS and AJIS in the same year. AJIS used the same definition as NJPS 1990, but NJPS 2000-01 used a broader definition.

On the other hand, the demographic trend shown by most national surveys conducted by several independent bodies quite unequivocally pointed to Jewish population decline. The three American Religious Identity Surveys,⁵⁷ after one incorporates estimates of the child population and a proportional allocation out of the steadily growing share of those among the US total population with religion “none,” unknown, or not reported, provided comparatively lower Jewish population estimates, but the direction of change over time was the same than other national estimates, pointing to decline toward 2000.

Evidence of a decrease in Jewish population was also found in a survey for the American Jewish Committee on lifetime religious affiliation changes.⁵⁸ Examining shifts in religious preference in American society—comparatively more frequent than in other countries—Jews, Catholics and older established Protestant denominations tended to lose, while Evangelical denominations, Eastern cults, and especially the “religiously undefined” tended to gain. All in all, American Jewry neither was gaining nor losing large numbers due to conversions to and from other religions. However, the overall number of secessions from Judaism was double the number of accessions to Judaism.

Among the more recent general surveys, by far the one with the largest national sample was the 2007 Pew Survey (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2008).⁵⁹ After assessing weighting procedure, response rates, age and religious composition of the households, and a sampling error of: $\pm 4.5\%$, a Jewish population range obtained of: 5,240,000-5,734,000, with an average estimate of 5,487,000.

To help clarifying the obstacles met in the process of data evaluation, one should remember that much precision is required in projecting survey percentages to population estimates, whereas 1% of the US total population is 3.1 million individuals, 0.1% is 314,000 individuals, and every 0.01% is 31,000 individuals. Most rounded percentages of Jews out of total population produce quite rough estimates, when a difference of a few hundred thousands can be significant in the context of the analytic debate. For example, any figure in the range between 1.75% and 1.84% may be rounded as 1.8%, but the difference between the higher and the lower percent is nearly 300,000 individuals. More significantly, many quite crucial Jewish-non-Jewish demographic differentials are often neglected, like when data for a sample of adults are routinely projected for the population of all ages disregarding possible structural differences, namely the share of children, or when variation in personal religious identifications is ignored in household size estimates and projections, thus incorporating non-Jews in Jewish population estimates.

The Brandeis Steinhardt Social Research Institute meta-analysis⁶⁰ of a large set of general social surveys, each including a small subsample of Jewish respondents, provides a different time series, starting at the same level of NJPS 990, with an estimate higher than NJPS in 2000, and one definitely higher than most other estimates in 2010.⁶¹ Interestingly, the initial release of the SSRI meta-analysis provided results highly consistent with the majority of previous and contemporaneous national survey data. Based on a compilation of 74 general social surveys conducted in 1990-2005, the average Jewish population adjusted for non-response and no religion was 5,374,000, quite in line with the major Jewish national surveys.⁶² Later versions of the SSRI meta-analysis have suggested much higher Jewish population estimates.⁶³ The growth rates suggested by the SSRI-meta-analysis are clearly anomalous and contradict any empirically grounded Jewish demographic or identification process. That the latter increase is very implausible (at least under constant population definitions) is demonstrated by a comparison with the pace of growth of the US total population and of Israel's Jewish population. It does not stand to reason that between 2000 and 2010 American Jewry would be growing faster than the US total population and at a pace similar to that of Israel's Jews. To sharpen this point, the possible contention that more Jews are now "coming out of the closet" is disproven by empirical evidence.⁶⁴

There are strengths, but also several weaknesses, in the SSRI meta-analysis:

- 1) Narrowing the analysis to only some of the available surveys deemed to be the best seriously detracts from the randomness of the data. It is in fact the unbiased collection of as many sources as possible—each with its own strengths, weaknesses, and idiosyncrasies—that constitutes the main advantage of the original SSRI meta-analysis.
- 2) Surveys included in the SSRI approach asked a question about religion and not ethnicity. Therefore the meta-analysis can only consider persons explicitly identified by religion and then use conjecture to extrapolate the number of Jews by religion to a total estimate of American Jews.
- 3) General social surveys typically only cover adult respondents. Thus, they do not collect information about each individual in the household; in particular, no information is usually gathered for children under age 18. It is wrong to assume that the percentage of Jews among total *respondents* can be applied to the percentage of Jews among the total *population*.
- 4) While a generic respondent represents other generic members of the household, determining a certain multiplier, a *Jewish* respondent represents both other Jewish and non-Jewish household members, thus determining a lower multiplier.
- 5) Age cohort comparisons between the meta-analysis and NJPS 2000-01 are significantly consistent, which comes to the support and not to the detriment of NJPS, with the important exception of one or two baby boom age cohorts, discussed below.
- 6) On most accounts when an estimate provided by NJPS 2000-01 can be checked against a similar estimate from another source, the comparison usually holds—with the possible exception of Jewish Community Center (JCC) membership. Examples of such good matches are the estimated numbers of children enrolled in Jewish day school compared with actual school enrollment⁶⁵ and the estimated number of documented immigrants compared with actual institutional data.⁶⁶

7) General social surveys are usually based on individual respondents, and only a few such surveys collect information on a full roster of all household members. Religion is seldom the main focus of investigation of these surveys, and usually only one question on religion is asked. Thus, in most general social surveys not only is no direct knowledge of household size and composition available, but the lack of depth concerning Jewish identity measures also detracts from the possibility to determine the Jewish community's cultural boundaries, and its population size.

The SSRI suggestions that US Jewry might comprise 6.0-6.5 million, or perhaps even as many as 7.5 million persons, or that 70,000 Jewish babies are born annually, become plausible only if referring to the *enlarged* concept of total population in households and not the *core* concept of individually-identified Jews.⁶⁷

Here we will note again that Jewish national surveys, with their detailed information on individual identification characteristics, offer good opportunities to assess the grey zones around the more clearly declared Jewish core. In Jewish sponsored surveys, along with a generally lower response rate, significantly fewer than in general surveys do readily admit their Jewishness when defined in terms of religion. On the other hand, quite a few respondents who in the first place may not seem to belong with the core Jewish population can be recovered and incorporated through detailed reading of personal family and life histories. General social surveys, based on population classification by religion, do not offer the same maneuvering opportunity—hence resolution of the non-declared parts of the Jewish core becomes largely conjectural. A sure mistake would be to attribute in general surveys the same rate of non-response/unknown/agnostic as found in Jewish surveys.

Facing national sources, the most recent compilations of local Jewish community estimates pointed to an American Jewish population not only larger by one million than reported by the studies mentioned above, but also rapidly expanding—largely an artifact of the local data available.⁶⁸ There are at least six reasons why the use of local community compilations for national population estimates may be problematic:

- 1) The US Census Bureau has conducted a decennial national population count since 1790 and has never relied on summing estimates from local authorities or on population updates of older databases. The US Census is expensive, but essential to provide current information for planning. The same rationale should plausibly apply to Jewish population studies.
- 2) Over time, dozens of local Jewish community studies are completed by different researchers with different sponsors, different purposes and agendas, different Jewish population definitions, different data collection methods, and different contents. Lack of synchronization and consistency constitutes a significant flaw.
- 3) Some households may be counted in two local Jewish community studies because of the very high geographical mobility of American Jews—mainly from the Northeast and the Midwest to the South and the West. Recent studies of Jewish mobility show that one in six residents moved into their current community within the past five years, and another one in six moved there between five and nine years ago.⁶⁹
- 4) Several local studies partially rely on List Samples that tend to reflect the more Jewishly-connected portion of the population, who have a higher Jewish household size, which results in an overestimation of the Jewish

population. The Distinctive Jewish Name (DJN) sampling method is superior to List Sampling, but carries its own biases. The better sampling method is random digit dialing (RDD), but it is very expensive. In most studies, RDD sampling is combined with either List Sampling or DJN Sampling, but the methodology for merging and weighting DJN and List Samples with RDD Samples is not perfect.

- 5) Some local surveys do not adequately distinguish between the *core* and *enlarged* Jewish population concepts, thus providing inflated numbers reflecting the broader definition.
- 6) About 20% of the compiled national Jewish population estimate derived from summing the local studies, reflects estimates provided by local Jewish community informants, such as directors of Jewish Federations and rabbis. While a recent analysis showed that informant estimates may not be as inaccurate as often thought, this remains a significant shortcoming.⁷⁰

Without detracting from the importance of local Jewish community studies—still the most important tool for Jewish community planning—the methodology of summing the local studies to obtain a national estimate is problematic, as is recognized by Sheskin and Dashefsky.⁷¹ Because of the large and diverse database they use, both meta-analysis and local Jewish community summations are at risk of amassing significant amounts of errors and biases when it comes to national Jewish population estimates they were not designed to supply in the first place.

As already noted,⁷² there remains to be considered the significant issue of a possible undercounting in NJPS 2000-01 of many Jewish adults age 35-44 and age 45-54. In 2001 these adults were born, respectively, between 1957-1966 and 1947-1956. Indeed, a reduction in the number of Jews born in those specific years had already been noted when comparing NJPS 2000-01 with NJPS 1990, and perhaps more interestingly, also when comparing NJPS 1990 with NJPS 1971.⁷³

As mentioned above, the NJPS 1990 data could be projected ten years forward and compared with the findings of NJPS 2000-01. This cohort-wise comparison provided quite crucial evaluative information. The core Jewish population deducted and finally adjusted from NJPS 1990 was 5,515,000. For NJPS 2000-01, actual data processing brought about an estimate of 5,035,468. After imputation of people not actually covered in the survey, such as institutionalized persons in homes for the elderly or in prisons, the estimate finally circulated amounted to 5,200,000. Our independent projection from 1990 to 2000 based on the evaluation of current migration, fertility, mortality, accession, and secession frequencies, provided a higher estimate of 5,367,244.

It is important to stress that our projection produced results nearly identical to the actual NJPS 2000-01 regarding two cohorts, born in 1970-1990, and born in 1950 or before. The population actually covered fell short of the one projected by just 1% for those born in 1970-1990, age 0-19 in 1990 and age 10-29 in 2000, and by 1.7% for those born in 1950 or earlier, age 40 and over in 1990 and age 50 and over in 2000. Moreover, the projection estimate of the age group 0-9 in 2000—the births deriving from expected age-specific fertility rates during the inter-survey period—was 514,095 which turned to be nearly identical to the actual number of children of the same ages found in NJPS 2000-01, 515,146—a discrepancy of 0.2 percent. So far, then, the expected and actual data were extraordinarily consistent. However, the situation was different for the 1950-1970 birth cohort, aged 20-39 in 1990 and 30-49

in 2000. Here the NJPS 2000-01 found 1,338,527 individuals versus an expected figure of 1,624,543—a significant difference of -286,016 or -17.6 percent.

In other words, this seems to be a real shortcoming of NJPS 2000-01. Whether the significant under-coverage of this specific birth cohort group depended on insufficient efforts or skills at the stage of fieldwork, or on the elusive nature of Jewish identification among this particular generation of adults cannot be adjudicated with absolute certitude. But unquestionably, the data need to be corrected by adding overall a total of 331,776 core Jews to the original NJPS 2000-01 figure (not inclusive of those in institutions). The correction affects not only total Jewish population size, but also age composition with visible effects on the subsequent demographic dynamics of US Jewry. In fact, the addition of nearly 300,000 adults at ages typical for reproduction and family growth could help to generate some Jewish population increase over the decade 2000-2010. Projecting the corrected NJPS 2000-01 to 2010 indeed resulted in a total of 5,425,000 Jews – some 150,000 higher than we had inferred in previous estimates.⁷⁴

Summing up, combining the findings of the two major surveys, NJPS 2000-01 and AJIS 2001, we had originally suggested a *core* Jewish population in the 5.2-5.3 million range 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 based on the NJPS 1990 estimate of 5.515 million.⁷⁵ Indeed, during the 1990s there was an influx of at least 200,000 new Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Israel, Central and South America, South Africa, Iran, and Western Europe, which was expected to have increased the total US Jewish population. But the *core* Jewish population apparently decreased because Jewish fertility continued to be low, population continued to age, intermarriage rates continued to increase, and propensities to identify with Judaism among younger adults of intermarriages continued to remain low. The emerging population decrease was more likely the product of actual demographic trends than an artifact of insufficient data.⁷⁶

If there had been a NJPS 1980, it would probably have shown a peak-ever around 5.6 million Jews in the US, reflecting a first echo of the enhanced baby-boom cohorts. But the Jewish population was aging through the combined effect of postponed marriage, low fertility, more frequent intermarriage, and the non-attribution of Jewish identification to high percentages of the children of one non-Jewish parent. The unavoidable consequence was the stoppage of growth and incipient decline which became more visible between 1990 and 2000. The somewhat late and incomplete entrance of the children of baby-boomers in lifecycle's reproduction stage generated a weak second baby-boom's echo effect, visible in the corrected data of the 2000-2010 decade. Dutifully taking into account survey statistical errors, Jewish population in 2010 could be no less than 5.3 and no more than 5.6 million, with a central value at 5,425,000. However, the impact of such echo-effect was in no way comparable to that of the original baby-boom, and American Jewry was again expected to moderately shrink after 2010.⁷⁷

In the light of this abundant and intriguing evidence, the US Jewish population estimate of 5,425,000 presented in this Report reflects what seems to be a well documented pattern of recent Jewish population stagnation in the US. As noted, US Jewry is characterized by an aging population composition and low fertility rates well below generational replacement. In addition, a low percentage of children of intermarriage are being raised as Jews⁷⁸—a feature that might change in the future as suggested by the much higher percentages found by the 2005 Boston study⁷⁹ and by the Middlesex County, NJ study of 2008.⁸⁰

A reading of the current age composition of US Jewry and other current evidence suggests that about 50,000 Jewish births occur annually in the US versus about 58,000 Jewish deaths. The number of Jewish immigrants to the US has diminished significantly, especially from the former Soviet Union. Current permanent emigration from Israel to the US is limited to a few thousand annually. In 2010 and 2011, a total of 4,893 new immigrants moved from the US to Israel, while a growth in Israeli returning and immigrant citizens from the US was also recorded. We estimate an annual net migration into the US of 5,000 Jews or slightly more.

These evaluations provide evidence to support our assumption that the size of the US Jewish population has not changed much since 2001 and will probably not change dramatically for several more years. The assumption of significant growth in American Jewry over the first decade of the 21st century does not look tenable. Following these data and assumptions, our core Jewish population estimate is set at 5,425,000 for 2012.

While, by the *core* concept, the number of Jews in the US today plausibly is lower than the number in Israel, it is beyond dispute that the US has a far larger *enlarged* and *Law of Return* population. The former comprises at least 6.8 million persons who are Jewish or have direct Jewish ancestry. The *enlarged* population of current Jews, other persons who are not Jewish but have Jewish ancestry, and all other non-Jewish members of households with at least one core Jewish member can be evaluated at 8.3 million. We estimate that the rules of the *Law of Return*—which along with Jews also entitles their non-Jewish children, grandchildren, and the respective spouses to Israeli citizenship—would apply in the US to 10 to 12 million persons.

Canada

In **Canada**, the situation is significantly different than in the US concerning both available databases and substantive population trends. In 2011 a new population census was undertaken but its results were not yet publicly available at the time of this writing. The 2006 Census by Statistics Canada, which included a question on ethnic ancestry, provided important new data (**Table 12**).⁸¹ Estimates of Jewish ethnicity, released every five years, can be compared with estimates of religion, released every ten years. Both types of information can be used to provide an estimate of Canada's *core* Jewish population. Ethnic Jews, as defined by the Canadian Census, include persons who hold a non-Jewish religion, but these persons are *not* included in the *core* concept used herein. On the other hand, persons without religion may declare a Jewish ethnicity in the Canadian Census and are included in the *core*. The Jewish Federation of Canada defines this as the *Jewish Standard Definition*.

Data on religion and ancestry are collected through open-ended questions, with examples and instructions provided. Since 1981, Canadians can declare either a single or a multiple ethnic ancestry (up to four categories, one for each grandparent). Consequently, people can be ethnically Jewish only, or Jewish and something else, being the descendants of intermarriages or expressing multiple cultural identities.

Following Jewish ethnicity throughout the past decades provides interesting clues on Jewish population and identification in Canada. An initial estimate of 293,000 ethnic Jews in 1981 increased to a peak of 370,000 in 1991, and has since decreased to 349,000 in 2001 and 315,000 in 2006—a decrease of 9.6% in five years.

Table 12
Jewish Population in Canada by Different Definitions, 1981-2006

Year	Jewish Ethnicity			Jewish Religion	Core Jewish Population
	Total ^a	Single	Multiple		
1981	293,175	264,025	29,150	296,425	312,060
1986	343,505	245,855	97,650		
1991	369,565	245,850	123,725	318,070	356,315
1996	351,705	195,810	155,900		
2001	348,605	186,475	162,130	329,995	370,520
2006	315,120	134,045	181,070		

a Minor discrepancies due to rounding.
Source: Statistics Canada.

More striking changes affected the distribution of Canadians and of the Jews among them between single and multiple ethnicities. Among Canada's total population in 2006, 5.7 million (31%) of the 18.3 million who provided a single ethnic response declared themselves to be Canadian, and 4.3 million (33%) of the 12.9 million who provided a multiple response did so. All in all, 10 million of a total population of over 31 million reported a Canadian ethnicity—which in other epochs was thought to be a nonexistent construct.⁸² Most likely, the rapid growth of *Canadian* as a primary or additional ethnic category affects identification perceptions among Jews. In 1981, 90% of total ethnic Jews declared a single ethnicity, but this share had decreased to 66% in 1991, 53% in 2001, and 43% in 2006. The proportion of Jews (57%) with a multiple ethnicity is today much higher than among the total population (41%).⁸³

Thus, the sharp decrease from 1991 to 2006 in Jewish ethnic identification does not necessarily provide evidence of a decrease in total Jewish population size, although it clearly points to a powerful process of acculturation. Intermarriage is on the increase, but the share of children of intermarriage reported to be Jewish is also increasing. Significant gender differences emerged in this respect: The likelihood of a child of intermarriage being raised Jewish is four times higher with a Jewish mother than with a Jewish father.⁸⁴

The number of Canada's Jews according to religion increased from 296,000 in 1981 to 318,000 in 1991 (an increase of 7.3%) and to 330,000 in 2001 (an increase of 3.7%). As noted, an estimate according to religion is not available from the 2006 Census. It should be stressed, though, that between 1991 and 2001, 22,365 Jews immigrated to and were counted in Canada while the Jewish population increase according to religion was only 11,925. Consequently, the Jewish population according to religion would have decreased by 10,440 (a decrease of 3.3%) were it not for this immigration. Emigration from Canada is moderate, with 483 persons moving to Israel in 2010-2011, and an unknown number of others evidently having migrated to the US and possibly other countries.

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 312,000 for Canada's Jewish population in 1981, increasing to 356,000 in 1991 and 371,000 in 2001 seems reasonable.⁸⁵ Assuming continuing

immigration to Canada, but also some internal attrition, we estimate the Jewish population to have increased to 375,000 in 2012, the world's fourth largest Jewish community. This estimate is not strictly comparable with the concept of *core* Jewish population as it includes a fast increasing number of persons for whom Jewish is only one among multiple ethnic identities, and some of whom may not readily 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 over 450,000 would probably obtain.

Central and South America

In Central and South America, the Jewish population generally has been decreasing, reflecting recurring economic and security concerns.⁸⁶ However, outside the mainstream of the established Jewish community, an increased interest in Judaism appeared among real or putative descendants of *Conversos* whose ancestors left Judaism and converted to Christianity under the pressure of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal. Some of these *Converso* communities have been trying to create a permanent framework for their Jewish identity, in part manifested through formal conversion to Judaism and migration to Israel. In the long run, such a phenomenon might lead to some expansion in the size of some communities, especially smaller ones located in the peripheral areas of Brazil, Peru, Colombia, and other countries.

Argentina has the largest Jewish community in Central and South America. Nearly 6,000 Jews emigrated from Argentina to Israel in 2002—the highest number ever in a single year from that country—due to dire economic conditions in Argentina and to special incentives offered by Israel. In 2003, the Argentinean economic situation eased somewhat and Israel restricted its incentives, resulting in much lower levels of emigration. About 1,500 persons left Argentina for Israel in 2003, decreasing steadily to 337 in 2010 and 220 in 2011.⁸⁷ Based on the experience of previous years, approximately 20% of these migrants were non-Jewish household members. Partial evidence from different sources indicated that less than half of total Jewish emigration from Argentina was to Israel, with most others going to South Florida. Permanence in Israel of the new immigrants was high, at least during the first year after immigration, with an attrition of about 10% emigrating within 3 years.⁸⁸

In 2004 and 2005, two Jewish population surveys were undertaken in the Buenos Aires metropolitan area (AMBA). Initial claims of a Jewish population of 244,000⁸⁹ were based on significantly extended definitional criteria. Of the 244,000, 64,000 were Christians and about another 20,000 reported some Jewish ancestry, but did not consider themselves Jewish. Overall, 161,000 people in the AMBA considered themselves as totally or partly Jewish—consistent with our own previous estimate of 165,000. This estimate for the major urban concentration appeared consistent with our national *core* estimate. The 244,000 estimate would be a good estimate of the *enlarged* Jewish population (including non-Jewish members of Jewish households) in the Buenos Aires metropolitan area, while over 300,000 persons were identified in the same survey who were in some way of Jewish origin or attached to a person of Jewish origin. Another survey, limited to the City of Buenos Aires, suggested significant aging of the *core* Jewish population, reflecting the emigration of younger households in recent years.⁹⁰ The current situation implies an annual loss of about 500-1,000 persons through a negative balance of Jewish births and deaths and emigration. Argentina's Jewish population is assessed at 181,800 in 2012, the world's seventh largest Jewish community.

In **Brazil**, the second largest Central and South American Jewish community, the 2000 Census indicated a rather stable Jewish population of 86,828, up from 86,416 in 1991.⁹¹ Considering the possible omission of persons 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 (401 persons went to Israel in 2010-2011), at 95,300 in 2012—the world's tenth largest Jewish community. The Census data were consistent with systematic documentation efforts undertaken by the Jewish Federation of São Paulo that showed 47,286 Jews⁹² and an assumption that about one-half of Brazil's Jews live in that city. According to the Census data, the Jewish population in São Paulo decreased from 41,308 in 1980 to 37,500 in 2000.⁹³ Brazil's *enlarged* Jewish population (including non-Jewish members of Jewish households) was assessed at 132,191 in 1980 and 117,296 in 1991⁹⁴ and reached 119,430 in 2000.⁹⁵ It is assessed at 125,000 in 2012.

In **Mexico**, the third largest Jewish community in Central and South America, the 2000 Census reported a Jewish population of 45,260 age 5 and over.⁹⁶ Of these, 32,464 lived in the Mexico City metropolitan area, while a most unlikely 12,796 were reported in states other than the Federal District and Mexico State—consistent with erratic estimates 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 the Mexico City metropolitan area and 40,000 nationwide. A Jewish population survey undertaken in 2000 indeed provided a national estimate of 39,870 Jews, of whom 37,350 lived in Mexico City,⁹⁷ confirming the results of a previous 1991 survey.⁹⁸ A new survey in 2006 confirmed the previous results.⁹⁹ Mexican Jewry still displayed a relatively young age profile compared to other Jewish populations on the continent, but some aging was visible during the past decade. In 2012, allowing for some emigration to the US and Israel (224 persons moved to Israel in 2010-2011), we estimated the Jewish population at 39,200, the fourteenth largest Jewish community.

Chile has the fourth largest Jewish community in Central and South America.¹⁰⁰ This relatively stable Jewish population, reassessed at 18,500 in 2012, is now larger than **Uruguay**.¹⁰¹ The latter country and even more so **Venezuela**¹⁰² experienced significant Jewish emigration in recent years. In 2000, about 20% of the former students of Jewish schools in Uruguay, and over one-third of the adult children of Caracas Jews, lived in a different country. Based on recent evidence, including 138 migrants to Israel in 2010-2011, the Jewish population estimate for Uruguay was reduced to 17,300 in 2020. In Venezuela, where the Jewish community has been under pressure due to the demanding local political circumstances, the estimate was reduced to 9,500 Jews, reflecting significant emigration of 178 persons to Israel, and higher numbers to other countries, particularly South Florida, in 2010-2011.

In Central America, **Panama**'s Jewish population was estimated at 8,000 following some Jewish immigration from other Central and South American countries. **Costa Rica**, as well as **Colombia** (with 137 migrants to Israel in 2010-2011) and **Peru** (200 migrants, several of whom recently converted to Judaism), had Jewish populations below 3,000.

Europe

The Jewish population in Europe, estimated at 1,426,900 in 2012, is increasingly concentrated in the western part of the continent and within the European Union (EU) (**Appendix B**). The EU, comprising 27 countries, reached an estimated total of 1,109,400 Jews in 2012 (78% of the continent's total). The former Soviet republics in

Europe outside the EU comprised 276,900 Jews (19%). All other European countries combined comprised 40,600 Jews (3%).

The momentous European political transformations since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Soviet Union brought about significant changes in the structure of Jewish community organizations, with an expanded presence of Israeli and American bodies in Eastern European countries. The latter have played an important role in strengthening or even creating anew the possibilities of Eastern European Jewish life in the fields of religion, education, culture, social service, and support to the needy. The revitalization of Jewish community life may have some impact on demographic trends, primarily through the revival of submerged Jewish identities and the stimulus of greater social interaction with other Jews, possibly leading to Jewish marriages and children. Europe is much more politically fragmented than the US, making it more difficult to create a homogeneous database. Nevertheless several works have attempted to create and expand such analytic frames of reference.¹⁰³

The European Union (EU)

In 2004, the EU expanded from 15 to 25 countries, incorporating the three Baltic FSU republics (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 Eastern Europe sphere of influence of the Soviet Union, Romania and Bulgaria, were admitted to the EU. The EU's expanded format symbolized an important historical landmark: the virtual boundary between Western and Eastern Europe was erased. Croatia, Macedonia, and possibly Serbia are the next candidates for EU membership. Ongoing disagreements about the future membership of Islamic Turkey reflect a dilemma in the definition of Europe's own cultural and geopolitical boundaries.

The largest Jewish community in Europe is **France**, where a 2002 national survey suggested 500,000 *core* Jews plus an additional 75,000 non-Jewish members of Jewish households.¹⁰⁴ Jewish population is slowly decreasing, primarily due to emigration, mainly to Israel, but also to Canada, the US, and other countries. Migration to Israel, after surpassing 2,000 annually for several years, stood at 1,775 in 2010 and 1,619 in 2011. Jewish emigration levels reflected the continuing sense of uneasiness in the face of anti-Semitism, including physical violence as exemplified by the tragic murder of Jewish school children and an adult in Toulouse in 2012.

A survey of Jewish tourists to Israel from France in 2004 unveiled a remarkable estimate of 125,000 visitors, or more than 30% of all French Jews age 15 and over.¹⁰⁵ Much higher percentages have ever been to Israel. Of the 125,000, 23% (about 29,000) affirmed their intention to move to Israel in the near future. The US was a distant second candidate for possible emigration. Migration intentions are not a proxy for actual migration decisions, but in the past such intentions proved quite reliable in the case of French Jews.¹⁰⁶ The diminishing feeling of security among French Jewry and the actual movement of thousands of persons is undisputable. Our 2012 estimate for French Jewry, the third largest in the world, was therefore decreased to 480,000.

In the **United Kingdom**, a new census took place in 2001. Pending its results, the 2001 national population census included a voluntary question on religion for the first time since the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁷ The total Jewish population of 266,741 for England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland closely approximated our previous

273,500 estimate for 2002. One interesting census finding was that the Jewish population was dispersed over the whole national territory, including all Counties but one—the Isles of Scilly. The presence of Jews in areas lacking Jewish infrastructure suggests a lower degree of affiliation with the organized community than previously assumed.

British Jewry is aging, with 16% of persons being under age 15, compared to 22% age 65 and over. As already noted, more detailed data for Scotland (where some census questions were asked differently than in other areas of the United Kingdom) showed 6,448 people currently reporting Jewish religion as compared to a total of 7,446 who said they were raised as Jews—a net lifetime loss of 13%.¹⁰⁸

About 23% of the United Kingdom total population reported no religion and another 7% did not answer the question. Note that the organized Jewish community with the possible exception of the Haredi community publicly supported participation in completing the census optional religion question. Detailed 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 socio-demographic profile of British Jewry thus emerged, along with a better evaluation of the quality of Jewish population estimates.¹⁰⁹ Analyses of data for detailed geographical precincts allowed for estimates of non-response in areas with higher and lower Jewish shares of the total population. A significant correlation was found between the known Jewish religiosity (in terms of the local presence of very Orthodox Jews) of a ward, and non-response to the religion question. This might raise fears of substantial under-coverage of the Jewish population in those areas. On the other hand, post-census surveys of Jews in London and Leeds did not reveal high percentages declaring they had not answered "Jewish" to the question on religion.

Vital statistics routinely collected by the Board of Deputies of British Jews Community Research Unit on the annual number of Jewish births were quite consistent with the Census returns. Comparing the uncorrected Census returns for the age 0-9 group and the recorded number of Jewish births over the past ten years preceding the Census, the discrepancy was only 2.5%. This confirms some undercount, but not on a scale that would significantly impact Jewish population Census estimates. The same vital statistics indicated a continuing excess of Jewish burials over Jewish births until 2004,¹¹⁰ but since 2005 the trends apparently reversed (**Table 8**).¹¹¹ The steadily decreasing number of Jewish deaths is an obvious symptom of a shrinking population which loses several hundred people annually through a negative vital balance, and a growing use by Jews of non-Jewish burial societies.

Another indicator of the same trend is the declining synagogue membership in the United Kingdom. Household membership decreased by 17.8% between 1990 and 2000, and by 4.5% (about one% annually) between 2001 and 2005.¹¹² This declining membership trend, however, seems to have abated, as in 2010 household membership was 82,963 households, compared to 83,567 households in 2005.¹¹³ At the same time, the denominational balance has shifted toward strictly, often called right-wing, Orthodox (whose membership doubled between 1990 and 2010) and Masorti (tending to American Conservative, with an 85% membership increase), as against a reduction in the Central (mainstream) Orthodox (a 30% membership decrease).¹¹⁴ This may plausibly explain the apparent increase in the birth rate. But the decreasing number of recorded burials is most likely explained by an increasing number of families who do not choose Jewish burial societies.

We increased the United Kingdom Jewish population estimate from the Census count of 266,741 to 300,000 for 2001 (about 12%), 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 account for the negative balance of births and deaths, after correcting for under-reporting, as well as a moderate increase in emigration (632 persons went to Israel in 2010 and 485 in 2011). We estimated the United Kingdom's total Jewish population at 291,000 in 2012, the world's fifth largest Jewish community.

In **Germany**, Jewish immigration, mainly from the FSU, added over 200,000 Jews and non-Jewish household members between 1989 and 2005 (**Table 6**). This immigration has now significantly diminished. The German government, under pressure because of growing unemployment and a crumbling welfare system, limited Jewish immigration from the FSU in 2005. On January 1, 2005, the previous special quota immigration law (*Kontingentsflüchtlingsgesetz*) was replaced by new more restrictive rules (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*). Jews lost their privileged quota status. The new law elevated integration into German society and good economic prospects above other considerations and required Jews aspiring to immigrate to Germany to first prove that a community would accept them as members. Prior knowledge of the German language was required. Potential Jewish immigrants now also had to prove that they would not be dependent on welfare and were willing to enter the German labor market.¹¹⁵

In 2011, based on German Jewish community sources, 636 Jewish immigrants from the FSU were recorded as new members of German Jewish communities, as compared to 667 in 2010, 704 in 2009, 862 in 2008, 1,296 in 2007, 1,971 in 2006, 3,124 in 2005, 4,757 in 2004, 6,224 in 2003, and 6,597 in 2002.¹¹⁶ Admission criteria to the central Jewish community follow Jewish rabbinical rules. The total number of *core* Jews registered with the central Jewish community, after increasing consistently since 1989 to a peak of 107,794 in 2006, diminished to 107,330 in 2007, 106,435 in 2008, 104,241 in 2009, 104,024 in 2010, and 102,797 in 2011. Of the current total, only 5,000-6,000 were part of the original community of 28,081 members at the end of 1990. The remainder was mostly recent immigrants and their children. 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 number of FSU migrants to Israel, but Israel regained primacy as of 2005.

The age composition not only of the 5,000-6,000 long-time Jewish residents of Germany but also of the many more newcomers is extremely skewed toward the elderly. In 2011, 212 Jewish births and 1,195 Jewish deaths were recorded by the Jewish community in Germany, a loss of nearly 1,000 Jews. While 382 Jews joined the Jewish communities in 2011, 216 persons emigrated to Israel in 2010-2011 and 997 Jews withdrew membership from German Jewish communities. This explains why the recorded size of the central Jewish community decreased by over 2,000 in spite of immigration. Allowing for delays in joining the organized community on the part of new immigrants and a preference on the part of some Jews not to identify with its official institutions, we assessed Germany's *core* Jewish population at 119,000 in 2012, the world's eighth largest Jewish community. The *enlarged* Jewish population, inclusive of the non-Jewish relatives of immigrants, is closer to 250,000, and creates new opportunities for Jewish religious, social, and cultural life in Germany. It also suggests significant dependence on welfare and a significant need for elderly services.¹¹⁷

In **Hungary**, our *core* estimate of 48,200 Jews (the world's thirteenth largest Jewish community) reflects the negative balance of Jewish births and deaths in a country whose total population's vital balance has been negative for several years. A Jewish survey in 1999 reported a conspicuously larger *enlarged* Jewish population than expected.¹¹⁸ 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. The *enlarged* Jewish population in Hungary is assessed at about 85,000 in 2012. In the 2001 Hungarian Census, only 13,000 reported themselves Jewish by religion. In 2010-2011, 215 persons emigrated to Israel.

Belgium's Jewish population was estimated at 30,000, the world's fifteenth largest Jewish community. Quite stable numbers reflected the presence of a traditional Orthodox community in Antwerp and the growth of a large European administrative center in Brussels that has attracted Jews from other countries. However, in 2010-2011, 360 Jews emigrated to Israel, reflecting concerns similar to those of French Jewry. Local Jewish population estimates are quite obsolete in comparison with most other EU countries, but the reported order of magnitude is supported by indirect evidence such as the number of votes collected by Jewish candidates in the 2003 legislative elections.¹¹⁹

The next two largest Jewish communities in the EU, and globally, are in the Netherlands and Italy. In the **Netherlands**, a 1999 survey estimated a Halakhic Jewish population of 30,072 (which is the basis of our estimate of 30,000), of which perhaps as many as one-third were immigrants from Israel, and an *enlarged* Jewish population of 43,305.¹²⁰ In **Italy**, total Jewish community membership—which historically comprised the overwhelming majority of the country's Jewish population—decreased from 26,706 in 1995 to 25,143 in 2001 and 24,930 at the end of 2009.¹²¹ Our estimate of 28,200 adequately allocates for non-members, also considering a migration to Israel of 191 in 2010-2011.

Next in Jewish population size among EU countries are **Sweden**, estimated at 15,000,¹²² and **Spain**, estimated at 12,000.¹²³ No other Jewish community in the EU reaches 10,000 by the *core* definition. In some EU countries national censuses offered a rough baseline for Jewish population estimates. In **Austria**, the 2001 Census reported 8,140 Jews, of which 6,988 lived in Vienna.¹²⁴ We estimated the *core* community at 9,000. In **Romania**, the 2002 Census reported a Jewish population of 6,179, but we assessed the community at 9,500. In **Poland**, where the 2002 Census reported a Jewish population of 1,100, we estimated 3,200. For Austria, Romania, and Poland, available data on Jewish community membership helped improve the estimates.

The Former Soviet Union

In the Former Soviet Union, Jewish population decrease continued, reflecting an overwhelming excess of Jewish deaths over Jewish births, high rates of intermarriage, low rates of Jewish identification among the children of intermarriages, and significant, though decreasing, emigration. Our 2012 assessment of the total *core* Jewish population for the 15 republics of the FSU is 308,000, of whom 288,000 lived in Europe and 20,000 in Asia. Almost as many non-Jewish household members created an *enlarged* Jewish population nearly twice as large as the *core*.¹²⁵ A similar number of further eligible persons would probably lead to an estimated *Law of Return* population approaching one million. The ongoing process of demographic

decrease was alleviated to some extent by the revival of Jewish cultural and religious activities, including Jewish education,¹²⁶ but total migration to Israel from the FSU steadily continued with 6,914 in 2010 and 7,134 in 2011.

In the **Russian Federation**, the October 2002 Census reported 233,600 Jews, compared to our *core* Jewish population estimate of 252,000 for the beginning of 2003 (derived from a February 1994 Russian Microcensus estimate of 409,000 Jews).¹²⁷ After the compulsory item on ethnicity (*natsyonalnost*) on identification documents was canceled, and the Census ethnicity question was made optional for the first time. The October 14, 2010 census of Russia provided a core Jewish population estimated at 157,763, plus another 41,000 undeclared people who most likely pertained to the core Jewish population, for a total of 199,000 in 2010.¹²⁸ Considering the continuing emigration and negative balance of births and deaths, we evaluate the Russian Federation's Jewish population at 194,000 in 2012, the world's sixth largest Jewish community.

Jewish population size was clearly more stable in Russia than in the other republics of the FSU. This partly reflected Jewish migration among the various republics as well as lower emigration from Moscow and other important urban areas in the Russian Federation.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, the striking imbalance of Jewish births and deaths, and continuing emigration (3,404 persons to Israel in 2010 and 3,678 in 2011, including non-Jewish household members) implies continuing population decrease and an increasing elderly age composition. The number of births to couples with two Jewish parents decreased from 1,562 in 1988 to 169 in 2000. Births to couples with at least one Jewish parent were estimated at 5,858 in 1988 and 1,057 in 2000. Recorded Jewish deaths were 13,826 in 1988 and 8,218 in 2000. As a result the estimated negative balance of these vital events was -7,978 in 1988 and -7,161 in 2000.¹³⁰ These changes occur in the context of a general net population decrease being experienced by the Russian Federation, as well as by other European republics of the FSU.

In **Ukraine**, the December 5, 2001 Census yielded an estimate of 104,300 Jews, not significantly different from our estimate of 100,000 on January 1, 2002. Given that our baseline for the latter estimate was the 487,300 Jews counted in the Census of January 1989, the fit between the expected and actual was remarkable.¹³¹ Given the dramatic pace of emigration since 1989 and continuing emigration at the end of 2001, the Census fully confirmed our previous assessment of ongoing demographic trends. Adding continuing emigration (1,752 persons to Israel in 2010 and 2,051 in 2011) that, among other things, reflects the instability of Ukraine's politics, we assess the 2012 *core* Jewish population at 67,000, the world's eleventh largest Jewish community.

Of the other European republics of the FSU, the largest Jewish population is in **Belarus**. The Belarus Census of October 2009 found 12,926 Jews, with 2.4% of the population not reporting an ethnicity/nationality.¹³² Our estimate, also considering 668 migrants to Israel in 2010-2011, was adjusted to 12,000 in 2012. Following EU membership in 2004 by the three Baltic republics of **Latvia**, **Lithuania**, and **Estonia**, the Jewish population has been fairly stable. After some adjustments, partly reflecting revisions of the Latvian and Lithuanian national population registers, and accounting for 217 migrants to Israel in 2010-2011, we assessed a combined 11,100 for the three countries in 2012.¹³³

A survey in **Moldova** found an *enlarged* Jewish population of 9,240 in 2000.¹³⁴ The Moldova Census of October 2004 reported 3,628 Jews, although it did not cover the Russian controlled Moldovan territory east of the Dniester River.

According to unofficial results of a separate Census of November 2004, about 1,200 Jews lived east of the Dniester River. Considering 443 migrants to Israel in 2010-2011, we assess the *core* Jewish population of Moldova at 3,900 in 2012.

Other European Countries

As a result of Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, and Romania joining the EU, only 40,600 Jews lived in Europe outside of the EU and the FSU. Of these, 19,400 lived in Western Europe, primarily in **Switzerland** (17,500),¹³⁵ which in 2010-2011 sent 169 migrants to Israel, and 21,200 lived in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, primarily in **Turkey** and mostly in Istanbul's European neighborhoods. A 2002 survey in Istanbul suggested widespread aging in a community that has experienced significant emigration (235 persons migrated to Israel in 2010-2011). In Istanbul, 10% of the Jewish population was under age 15, compared to 18% age 65 and over.¹³⁶ *Enlarged* Jewish populations are significantly higher in Eastern Europe, reflecting the high levels of intermarriage among the dramatically reduced communities following the Shoah and massive emigration.

Asia

The Jewish population in Asia is mostly affected by trends in Israel (**Appendix**). Israel accounts for more than 99% of the total Jewish population in Asia. The former republics of the FSU in Asia and the aggregate of the other countries in Asia each account for less than one-half of one percent of the continental total.

Israel

After World War II, **Israel's** (then still Palestine) Jewish population was just over one-half million.¹³⁷ This population increased more than tenfold over the next 60 years due to mass immigration and a fairly high and uniquely stable natural increase. Israeli population data are regularly collected by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS).¹³⁸ Israel also has a permanent Population Register maintained by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Annual data derive from periodic censuses and detailed annual accountancy of intervening events (births, deaths, immigrants, emigrants, and converts). The most recent Census was in December 2008 and, as is usual, resulted in a correction to the current population estimates extrapolated from the previous 1995 Census. Thus, the original Jewish estimate of 5,569,200 for the end of 2008/beginning of 2009 was raised to 5,608,900—a 39,700 person increase. Two main reasons necessitated this update. The first is the normal discrepancy that may occur between repeated population counts. The second is possible delays in the reclassification of persons following conversion to (or from) Judaism.

At the beginning of 2012, Israel's *core* Jewish population reached 5,901,100, and, when combined with 325,200 non-Jewish members of Jewish households, formed an *enlarged* Jewish population of 6,226,300.¹³⁹ For the past several years, the main component of Jewish population growth in Israel has been the natural increase resulting from an excess of births over deaths. In 2004, for the first time, more than 100,000 Jews were born in Israel. In 2011, 121,684 Jewish births and 34,951 Jewish deaths produced a net Jewish natural increase of 86,733 persons. Israel's Jewish fertility rate increased slightly to nearly 3.0 children per woman, higher than in any other developed country and twice or more the effective Jewish fertility rate in most Diaspora Jewish communities. This reflected not only the large family size of the Jewish population's more religious component, but more significantly a diffused desire for children among the moderately traditional and

secular, especially remarkable among the upwardly mobile.¹⁴⁰

At the time of this writing the final data on the components of population growth for 2011 were not yet released. In 2011, 16,892 new immigrants, plus presumably 4-5,000 immigrant citizens, arrived in Israel, for a total of 21-22,000 immigrants, of whom 15-16,000 were Jewish.¹⁴¹ Current emigration (estimated at 5-6,000) reduced this to a net migration balance of 15-16,000, of whom about 10,000 were Jewish. In 2010, there were 16,633 new immigrants plus another 6,400 immigrant citizens (i.e. Israeli citizens born abroad who entered the country for the first time) and others in different programs of family reunion, for a total of 23,000, of which 16,100 were Jewish. The net international migration balance was 18,700, of whom 10,200 Jewish, from which a total net emigration estimate can be obtained of 6,900. The net emigration of Jews was 8,500, indicating that among non-Jews the propensity to emigrate was relatively lower. All in all, these data about Israel's international migration balance point to a relatively low level of immigration in comparison to other historical periods, but also to relatively low levels of emigration. The latter observation stands in sharp contrast with the highly spirited debate about an alleged increase of emigration from Israel.¹⁴²

The number of converts to Judaism remained only a tiny percentage of the non-Jewish members of Jewish households in Israel, especially among recent immigrants. However, evidence from Israel's Rabbinical Conversion Courts indicates some increase in the number of converts. Overall, between 1999 and 2009, over 48,000, some of whom are not permanent Israeli residents, were converted to Judaism by Rabbinical Conversion Courts. Most converts were new immigrants from the Ethiopian Falash Mura community, but their number has greatly diminished. Consequently, since 2009, the annual number of converts approached 1,500. In 2008, the total number of converts was 6,144, of whom 5,321 were civilians and 823 were processed through the Rabbinate of the Israeli Defense Forces. The respective grand totals were 7,881 in 2007, 4,291 in 2006, and 6,068 in 2005.¹⁴³

To clarify the intricacies of demographic data in Israel and the territories of the Palestinian Authority, **Table 13** reports numbers of Jews, Others (i.e., non-Jewish persons who are members of Jewish households and Israeli citizens by the provisions of the Law of Return), Arabs, and foreign workers and refugees. Each group's total is shown for different territorial divisions: the State of Israel within the pre-1967 borders, East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and Gaza. The percentage of Jews (by the *enlarged* definition) in each division is also shown.

Of the 5,901,100 *core* Jews in 2012, 5,582,000 lived within the State of Israel (as defined by Israel's legal system, without the West Bank). Of these, 5,362,000 lived inside the pre-1967 borders, 200,000 in East Jerusalem, and 20,000 in the Golan Heights. Another 319,000 lived in the West Bank. Of the 325,000 non-Jewish household members included in the *enlarged* Jewish population, 310,000 lived within the pre-1967 borders, 7,000 in East Jerusalem, 1,000 in the Golan Heights, and 7,000 in the West Bank.

Core Jews represented 75.3% of Israel's total population of 7,837,500, including East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, *and* the Israeli population in the West Bank, but not the Arab population in the West Bank and Gaza, nor foreign workers and refugees. Israel's *enlarged* Jewish population of 6,226,000 represented 79.4% of Israel's total population of 7,837,500.

As shown in **Table 13**, the enlarged Jewish population represented 78.0% of the total within pre-1967 borders, 41.6% in East Jerusalem, 47.7% in the Golan Heights, and 12.7% in the West Bank. If one also considers the Arab population of

Gaza, *core* Jews constituted 8.3% (8.5% based on the *enlarged*) of the total population of the West Bank and Gaza. Israel's Arab population, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, was 1,611,000, or 20.6% of the total population thus territorially defined.

Table 13
Core and Enlarged Jewish Population, Arab Population, Foreign Workers and Refugees In Israel and Palestinian Territory by Territorial Divisions, 1/1/2012 ^a

Area	Core Jews	Others	Jews and Others ^b	Arabs	Foreign workers and Refugees	Total	% Jews and Others ^b
Total	5,901,000	325,000	6,226,000	5,449,000	300,000	11,975,000	52.0
State of Israel ^d	5,582,000	318,000	5,900,000	1,611,000	300,000	7,811,000	75.5
<i>Thereof:</i>							
Pre-1967 borders	5,362,000	310,000	5,672,000	1,298,000	300,000	7,270,000	78.0
East Jerusalem	200,000	7,000	207,000	290,000	-	497,000	41.6
Golan Heights	20,000	1,000	21,000	23,000	-	44,000	47.7
West Bank	319,000	7,000	326,000	2,238,000	-	2,564,000	12.7
Gaza	-	-	-	1,600,000	-	1,600,000	0.0

a Rounded figures

b *Enlarged* Jewish population.

c All Foreign workers and refugees were allocated to Israel within pre-1967 borders.

d As defined by Israel's legal system.

Table 14 reports the percentage of Jews according to the *core* and *enlarged* definitions out of the total population of the whole territory between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River from which we gradually and cumulatively subtract from the initial maximum possible extent the Arab population of designated areas as well as the foreign workers and refugees. The result is a gradually growing Jewish share of the total population according to the different territorial and population configurations considered. This allows a better evaluation of the possible share of a Jewish population out of the total population that exists under alternative assumptions.

Considering the total combined Jewish and Arab population of 11,675,000 (excluding foreign workers) living in Israel and the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza in 2012, the *core* Jewish population represented 50.5% of the total between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. If the 325,000 non-Jewish members of Jewish households are added to the *core* Jewish population, the *enlarged* Jewish population of 6,226,000 represented 53.3% of the total population of Israel and the Palestinian territories.

If we also add to the permanent population some 240,000 non-Jewish foreign

workers who are not permanent residents, and an additional 60,000 refugees, for a total estimate of 300,000, the *core* and *enlarged* Jewish populations represented, respectively, 49.3% and 52.0% of the total population present in Israel and the Palestinian territories, estimated at 11,975,000 in 2012. The Jewish majority is constantly decreasing—if extant at all—over the whole territory between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, and more particularly within the State of Israel.¹⁴⁴

Table 14
Percent of Core and Enlarged Jewish Population in Israel
and Palestinian Territory, According to Different Territorial Definitions,
1/1/2012

Area	Percentage of Jews ^a by definition	
	Core	Enlarged
Grand Total of Israel and Palestinian Territory	49.3	52.0
Minus foreign workers and refugees	50.5	53.3
Minus Gaza	58.6	61.8
Minus Golan Heights	58.7	61.9
Minus West Bank	75.5	79.7
Minus East Jerusalem	78.4	82.7

a Total Jewish population of Israel including East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights.

These estimates reflect our own assessment of the total Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza. In 1997, the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) conducted a Census in the West Bank and Gaza and reported a combined population of 2,602,000, plus 210,000 in East Jerusalem. The PCBS subsequently released population projections based on fertility and migration assumptions, reaching an estimate of 4,081,000 for the end of 2007, inclusive of East Jerusalem.¹⁴⁵ Besides first deducting East Jerusalem because it was already accounted for in the Israeli data, we judged that PCBS projected estimate to be too high since it assumed a continuing immigration of Palestinians to the West Bank that did not materialize and was instead replaced by some out-migration (particularly of Christians). The same estimates were also debated by a group of American and Israeli writers who maintained that current population estimates from Palestinian sources were inflated by one and one-half million.¹⁴⁶

In November 2007, the PCBS undertook a new census which resulted in a total population of 3,542,000 in the West Bank and Gaza (plus 225,000 in East Jerusalem, clearly an undercount because of the PCBS's limited access in the city). The new census total not unexpectedly was more than 300,000 lower than the PCBS projected estimate. Our own independent assessment, after subtracting East Jerusalem (as noted, already allocated to the Israeli side), accounting for a negative net migration balance of Palestinians, and some further corrections, was about 3,500,000 toward the end of 2007, and 3,828,500 on January 1, 2012. Of these, 2,238,500 were in the West Bank and 1,600,000 in Gaza. Our adjustments for the beginning of 2012 mostly rely on the rate of population growth observed among Muslims in Israel whose demographic characteristics are quite similar to those in the

Palestinian Territories. We assume that the original PCBS figures had been overestimated by counting persons, students, and others who resided abroad for over one year.

By our estimates, the 1997-2009 yearly average Palestinian population increase in the aggregate of the West Bank (not including East Jerusalem) and Gaza would be 2.91%. This strictly matches a 2.91% yearly growth rate for Arabs in Israel over the same period.¹⁴⁷ The growth rate of Israel's Arab population was slowly declining and in 2011 was 2.36%, as against 1.7% for the Jewish population with immigration and 1.5% without immigration. The Palestinian population's growth rate in the aggregate of the West Bank and Gaza was probably decreasing as well to a level very similar to that of Israel's Arabs.

The Arab population of East Jerusalem, which we have included in Israel's population count, was assessed at 290,000 at the beginning of 2012, and constituted 36% of Jerusalem's total population of 803,000.¹⁴⁸ By adding East Jerusalem's Arabs to the 3,838,000 who live in the West Bank and Gaza, a total of 4,128,000 would obtain.¹⁴⁹ Adding the 1,611,000 Arab population of Israel, including East Jerusalem, and the 3,838,000 Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza, a total of 5,449,000 obtains for the whole territory between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River.

In sum, in 2012 Jews (by the *core* definition) constituted 49.3% of the total population present on the territory between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River, including foreign workers; 50.5% after subtracting foreign workers; 58.6% after subtracting Gaza; 58.7% after subtracting the Arab population of the Golan Heights; 75.5% after subtracting the Arab population of the West Bank; and 78.4% if also subtracting the Arab population of East Jerusalem. If the *enlarged* rather than the *core* Jewish population is considered, each of these percentages would increase by 3-4%.

Other Asian Countries

In the rest of Asia, the Jewish population consisted mainly of the rapidly decreasing communities in the eight Asian FSU republics, the largest of which were **Azerbaijan** (8,800 Jews in 2012), **Uzbekistan** (4,200), **Kazakhstan** (3,300), and **Georgia** (3,000).¹⁵⁰

The largest Jewish population in a single country in Asia besides Israel was Iran. Our estimate of 10,200 Jews in **Iran** reflects an effort to monitor intensive emigration to Israel, the US, and Europe since the 1979 Islamic Revolution. Large scale emigration, selectively inclusive of younger adults, typically engenders significant aging among the extant remaining communities.

Small Jewish populations, partly formed by temporary sojourners, exist in various South Asian and East Asian countries, namely in **China**. Rapid economic development and increasing relations with Israel render these countries receptive to a small but clearly increasing Jewish presence.

Africa

The Jewish population in Africa was mostly concentrated in **South Africa** (93% of the continental total, **Appendix**). According to the 2001 Census,¹⁵¹ the white Jewish population was 61,675. Factoring in the national white non-response rate of 14%, led to a corrected estimate of 72,000. Allowing for a certain proportion of actual Jews among the higher self-reported numbers 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 continuation of moderate emigration to Israel (386 persons in 2010-2011) and other countries, we estimate South Africa's Jewish population at 70,200 in 2012, the world's twelfth largest Jewish community.

Our revised estimates for Northern Africa acknowledge the ongoing reduction in the small Jewish communities remaining in **Morocco** and **Tunisia**, now assessed with a combined population of 3,400 (and 137 migrants to Israel in 2010-2011).

Virtually the entire Jewish population is estimated to have emigrated from **Ethiopia**. The question that remains open concerns the Falash Mura—a Christian community of Jewish ancestry. Upon migration to Israel, all Falash Mura undergo conversion. Their quest for family reunification creates a never-ending potential stream of often unskilled non-Jewish immigrants and is the subject of continuing public discussion. Since 3,589 Falash Mura went to Israel in 2007, the flow decreased to 1,582 in 2008 and only 239 in 2009. It increased again to 1,655 in 2010 and 2,666 in 2011. Several thousand members of the enlarged community, which we very tentatively assessed at 10,000, are still waiting in Ethiopia hoping to migrate to Israel.

Oceania

Continuing immigration produced some increase in Jewish population in Oceania. **Australia's** 2006 Census reported a Jewish population of 88,831, up about 5,000 from 2001.¹⁵² The new 2011 census reported 97,335 Jews, again an increase of 9.6% in five years.¹⁵³ Accounting for such factors as continuing immigration, moderate rates of intermarriage,¹⁵⁴ non-response to the Census question on religion, and the community's rather old age composition, we increased the *core* Jewish population estimate to 112,000 in 2012, an actual upward correction of our previous estimate of 107,500 for 2010. Australia has the world's ninth largest Jewish population. The 2006 Census of **New Zealand** suggested a Jewish population increase to 6,858.¹⁵⁵ We assessed the total at 7,500 in 2012. The 2011 population census was canceled after a severe earthquake damaged the city of Christchurch.

DISPERSION AND CONCENTRATION

In 2012, 93 countries had at least 100 Jews (**Table 15**). Two countries had Jewish populations of over 5 million each (Israel and the US), another seven had more than 100,000 Jews, three had 50,000 to 99,999, five had 25,000 to 49,999, eight had 10,000 to 24,999, nine had 5,000 to 9,999, 23 had 1,000 to 4,999, and 36 had less than 1,000. The 68 country communities each with less than 10,000 Jews together accounted for 1% of world Jewry.

In only five Diaspora countries did Jews constitute at least 5 per 1,000 (0.5%) of the total population. In descending order by the relative share (not size) of their Jewish population, they were Gibraltar (19.4 Jews per 1,000 inhabitants), the US (17.4), Canada (10.9), France (7.7), and Uruguay (5.1).

The case of Israel is evidently different, with a *core* Jewish population that represents 75.5% of the total population, and an *enlarged* Jewish population that represents 79.7% of the total population (**Table 14**). In both Israel and the Diaspora, the percentage of Jews out of the total population is decreasing.

By combining the two criteria of Jewish population size and percentage of Jews, we obtain the following taxonomy of the 25 countries with Jewish populations over 10,000 (excluding Israel). Three countries have over 100,000 Jews and at least 5 Jews per 1,000 total population: the US, France, and Canada. Five more countries

have over 100,000 Jews and at least 1 Jew per 1,000 total population: the United Kingdom, the Russian Federation, Argentina, Germany, and Australia. One country has 10,000 to 99,999 Jews and at least 5 Jews per 1,000 total population: Uruguay. Nine more countries have 10,000 to 99,999 Jews and at least 1 Jew per 1,000 total population: Ukraine, South Africa, Hungary, Belgium, the Netherlands, Chile, Switzerland, Belarus, and Sweden. Six countries have 10,000 to 99,999 Jews and less than 1 Jew per 1,000 total population: Brazil, Mexico, Italy, Turkey, Spain, and Iran.

OUTLOOK

Beyond the many and arguable problems related to Jewish population definitions, and beyond imperfect data availability and accuracy, it is important to recognize that powerful and consistent trends constantly shape and reshape the demographic profile of world Jewry. It is important that we read current data in historical and comparative context. The recent momentum of Jewish population change in the US and in most other countries of the world—at best tending to zero growth—contrasts with that of Israel—characterized by the continuation of significant natural increase. While the transition of Israel to the status of largest Jewish population in the world is grounded on solid empirical foundations, the US remains a very large, culturally and socioeconomically powerful, creative, resilient, and influential center of Jewish life. The aggregate weight of other Jewish communities globally—aside from their continuing cultural relevance—is gradually decreasing. In a Jewish world that has become demographically more bi-polar, but also more individualistic and transnational, the cultural and institutional projection and influence of the two major centers, Israel and the US, tends to become more significant in other geographical areas of Jewish presence.

Table 15
Distribution of World's Core Jewish Population by Number and Proportion per
1,000 Inhabitants in Each Country, 1/1/2012

Number of Jews in Country	Jews per 1,000 Population					
	Total	0.0-0.9	1.0-4.9	5.0-9.9	10.0-19.9	20.0+
Number of Countries						
Total ^a	93	64	23	2	3	1
100-999	36	33	2	-	1	-
1,000-4,999	23	21	2	-	-	-
5,000-9,999	9	4	5	-	-	-
10,000-24,999	8	3	4	1	-	-
25,000-49,999	5	2	3	-	-	-
50,000-99,999	3	1	2	-	-	-
100,000-999,999	7	-	5	1	1	-
1,000,000 or more	2	-	-	-	1	1
Jewish Population Distribution (Number of Core Jews)						
Total ^a	13,746,100	296,200	1,249,900	497,300	5,800,600	5,901,100
100-999	11,600	9,900	1,100	-	600	-
1,000-4,999	56,800	51,200	5,600	-	-	-
5,000-9,999	69,900	32,800	37,100	-	-	-
10,000-24,999	119,900	39,600	63,000	17,300	-	-
25,000-49,999	175,500	67,400	108,100	-	-	-
50,000-99,999	232,500	95,300	137,200	-	-	-
100,000-999,999	1,752,800	-	897,800	480,000	375,000	-
1,000,000 or more	11,326,100	-	-	-	5,425,000	5,901,100
Jewish Population Distribution (Percentage of World's Jews)						
Total ^a	100.0	2.2	9.1	3.6	42.2	42.9
100-999	0.1	0.1	0.0	-	0.0	-
1,000-4,999	0.4	0.4	0.0	-	-	-
5,000-9,999	0.5	0.2	0.3	-	-	-
10,000-24,999	0.9	0.3	0.5	0.1	-	-
25,000-49,999	1.3	0.5	0.8	-	-	-
50,000-99,999	1.7	0.7	1.0	-	-	-
100,000-999,999	12.8	-	6.5	3.5	2.7	-
1,000,000 or more	82.4	-	-	-	39.5	42.9

a Grand total includes countries with fewer than 100 Jews, for a total of 1,000 Jews worldwide. Minor discrepancies due to rounding. In Israel Jewish population includes residents in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. Total population includes East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, but not Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

APPENDIX: JEWISH POPULATION BY COUNTRY, 1 / 1 / 2012

Country or Region	Total Population ^a	Core Jewish Population ^b	Jews per Total 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating	Enlarged Jewish Population ^c
WORLD TOTAL	6,986,402,000	13,746,100	2.0		17,936,100
AMERICA TOTAL	942,331,000	6,183,200	6.6		9,307,000
Canada	34,500,000	375,000	10.9	B 2006	450,000
United States	311,700,000	5,425,000	17.4	B 2011 X	8,300,000
Total North America ^d	346,328,000	5,800,000	16.7		8,750,000
Bahamas	400,000	300	0.8	D 1995	400
Costa Rica	4,700,000	2,500	0.5	C 1993	3,000
Cuba	11,200,000	500	0.0	C 1990	1,000
Dominican Republic	10,000,000	100	0.0	D 2000	125
El Salvador	6,200,000	100	0.0	C 1993	125
Guatemala	14,700,000	900	0.1	B 1999	1,200
Jamaica	2,700,000	200	0.1	C 2010	300
Mexico	114,800,000	39,200	0.3	B 2006	42,000
Netherlands Antilles	310,000	200	0.6	C 1998	300
Panama	3,600,000	8,000	2.2	C 2010	9,000
Puerto Rico	3,700,000	1,500	0.4	C 2000	2,000
Virgin Islands	110,000	500	4.5	C 2006	700
Other Central America	27,580,000	200	0.0	D	
Total Central America	200,000,000	54,200	0.3		60,150
Argentina	40,500,000	181,800	4.5	B 2003	300,000
Bolivia	10,100,000	500	0.0	C 1999	800
Brazil	196,700,000	95,300	0.5	B 2001	125,000
Chile	17,300,000	18,500	1.1	C 1991 X	26,000
Colombia	46,900,000	2,500	0.1	C 1996	3,000
Ecuador	14,700,000	600	0.0	B 2011 X	900
Paraguay	6,600,000	900	0.1	B 1997	1,300
Peru	29,000,000	1,900	0.1	C 1993	3,000
Suriname	500,000	200	0.4	D 2000	350
Uruguay	3,400,000	17,300	5.1	B 2006	25,000
Venezuela	29,300,000	9,500	0.3	C 2010	11,500
Total South America ^d	396,003,000	329,000	0.8		496,850

Country or Region	Total Population ^a	Core Jewish Population ^b	Jews per Total 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating	Enlarged Jewish Population ^c
EUROPE TOTAL	815,171,000	1,426,900	1.8		2,112,600
Austria	8,400,000	9,000	1.1	B 2001	15,000
Belgium	11,000,000	30,000	2.8	C 2002	40,000
Bulgaria	7,500,000	2,000	0.3	C 2001	3,000
Czech Republic	10,500,000	3,900	0.4	C 2001	6,500
Denmark	5,600,000	6,400	1.2	C 2001	7,500
Estonia	1,300,000	1,700	1.3	B 2009	3,200
Finland	5,400,000	1,300	0.2	B 2010	1,800
France ^e	63,340,000	480,000	7.7	B 2002	580,000
Germany	81,800,000	119,000	1.5	B 2011	250,000
Greece	11,300,000	4,500	0.4	B 2000	6,000
Hungary	10,000,000	48,200	4.9	C 2001	85,000
Ireland	4,600,000	1,200	0.3	B 2001	1,500
Italy	60,800,000	28,200	0.5	B 2011	37,000
Latvia	2,200,000	6,200	3.0	B 2011	11,000
Lithuania	3,200,000	3,200	0.9	B 2010 X	6,000
Luxembourg	500,000	600	1.2	B 2000	800
Netherlands	16,700,000	29,900	1.8	B 2000	43,000
Poland	38,200,000	3,200	0.1	C 2001	6,000
Portugal	10,700,000	600	0.0	C 2001	800
Romania	21,400,000	9,500	0.5	B 2001	18,000
Slovakia	5,400,000	2,600	0.5	C 2001	4,500
Slovenia	2,100,000	100	0.0	C 2003	200
Spain	46,200,000	12,000	0.3	D 2007	15,000
Sweden	9,400,000	15,000	1.6	C 2007	25,000
United Kingdom ^f	62,920,000	291,000	4.7	B 2001	350,000
Other European Union ^g	1,510,000	100	0.1	D	200
Total European Union	501,970,000	1,109,400	2.2		1,517,000
Belarus	9,500,000	12,000	1.7	B 2009 X	23,000
Moldova	4,100,000	3,900	1.1	B 2004	7,500
Russian Federation ^h	142,800,000	194,000	1.5	C 2002	380,000
Ukraine	45,700,000	67,000	1.6	B 2001	130,000
Total FSU Republics	202,100,000	276,900	1.5		540,500
[Total FSU in Europe] ⁱ	205,798,000	288,000	1.5		560,700

Country or Region	Total Population ^a	Core Jewish Population ^b	Jews per Total 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating	Enlarged Jewish Population ^c
Gibraltar	31,000	600	19.4	B 2001	700
Norway	5,000,000	1,300	0.3	B 2010 X	2,000
Switzerland	7,900,000	17,500	2.2	B 2000	25,000
Total Other W Eur ^d	13,401,000	19,400	1.4		27,700
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3,800,000	500	0.1	C 2001	1,000
Croatia	4,400,000	1,700	0.4	C 2001	2,500
Macedonia	2,100,000	100	0.0	C 1996	200
Serbia	7,300,000	1,400	0.2	C 2001	2,500
Turkey ^h	74,000,000	17,400	0.2	B 2002	21,000
Other Balkans	6,100,000	100	0.0	D	200
Total Balkans	97,700,000	21,200	0.2		27,400
ASIA TOTAL	4,140,900,000	5,941,100	0.1		6,286,300
Israel ^j	7,511,300	5,582,100	743.2	A 2012 X	5,900,200
West Bank ^k	2,564,700	319,000	124.4	B 2012 X	326,200
Gaza	1,600,000	0	0.0	B 2012 X	0
Total Israel and Palestine	11,676,000	5,901,100	505.4		6,226,400
Azerbaijan	9,200,000	8,800	1.0	B 2009 X	12,000
Georgia	4,300,000	3,000	0.7	B 2002	6,000
Kazakhstan	16,600,000	3,300	0.2	B 2009 X	7,000
Kyrgyzstan	5,600,000	500	0.1	B 2009 X	1,000
Turkmenistan	5,100,000	200	0.8	D 1989	300
Uzbekistan	28,500,000	4,200	0.7	D 1989	8,000
Total FSU in Asia ^l	79,900,000	20,000	0.3		34,300
China ^m	1,353,600,000	2,500	0.0	D 2010 X	3,000
India	1,241,300,000	5,000	0.0	B 1996	7,000
Iran	77,900,000	10,200	0.1	D 1986	12,000
Japan	128,100,000	1,000	0.0	D 1993	1,500
Korea, South	49,000,000	100	0.0	C 1998	200
Philippines	95,700,000	100	0.0	D 2000	200
Singapore	5,200,000	300	0.1	C 1990	500
Syria	22,500,000	100	0.0	C 1995	200
Taiwan	23,200,000	100	0.0	D 2000	200
Thailand	69,500,000	200	0.0	D 1998	300
Yemen	23,800,000	200	0.0	C 1995	200
Other Asia	959,524,000	200	0.0	D	300
Total Other Asia	4,049,324,000	20,000	0.0		25,600

Country or Region	Total Population ^a	Core Jewish Population ^b	Jews per Total 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating	Enlarged Jewish Population ^c
AFRICA TOTAL	1,051,000,000	75,300	0.1		96,500
Egypt	82,600,000	100	0.0	C 2008	200
Ethiopia	84,976,000	100	0.0	C 2008	10,000
Morocco	32,300,000	2,500	0.1	C 2006	2,700
Tunisia	10,700,000	900	0.1	C 2008	1,000
Total Northern Africa ^d	298,076,000	3,600	0.0		13,900
Botswana	2,000,000		0.1	C 1993	200
Congo D.R.	67,800,000	100	0.0	C 1993	200
Kenya	41,600,000	400	0.0	C 1990	700
Namibia	2,300,000	100	0.0	C 1993	200
Nigeria	162,300,000	100	0.0	D 2000	200
South Africa	50,500,000	70,200	1.4	B 2001	80,000
Zimbabwe	12,100,000	400	0.0	B 2001	600
Other Sub-Saharan Africa	414,324,000	300	0.0	D	500
Total Sub-Saharan Africa ⁿ	752,924,000	71,700	0.1		82,600
OCEANIA TOTAL	37,000,000	119,600	3.2		133,700
Australia	22,700,000	112,000	4.9	B 2011 X	125,000
New Zealand	4,400,000	7,500	1.7	B 2006	8,500
Other Oceania	9,900,000	100	0.0	D	200

a Source, with minor adjustments: Population Reference Bureau, 2011, *World Population Data Sheet – The World at 7 Billion* (Washington, DC, 2011). Mid-year 2011 populations.

b Includes all persons who, when asked, identify themselves as Jews or who are identified as Jews by a respondent in the same household, and do not have another monotheistic religion. It also includes persons of Jewish parentage who claim no current religious or ethnic identity.

c Includes the sum of (a) the *core* Jewish population; (b) all other persons of Jewish parentage who are *not* Jewish at the date of reference; and (c) all respective non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.).

d Including countries not listed separately.

e Including Monaco.

f Including Channel Islands and Isle of Man.

g Cyprus and Malta.

h Including Asian regions.

i Including Baltic republics.

j Total legal population of Israel, including Jews and non-Jews in East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and Jews (enlarged definition) in the West Bank, but excluding the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza, 1/1/2012: 7,837,500.

k Total Palestinian population on 1/1/2012 in the West Bank (without East Jerusalem): 2,238,500; Gaza: 1,600,000; Total: 3,838,500 (our revised estimate).

l Including Armenia and Tajikistan with less than 100 Jews each. Not including Asian regions of the Russian Federation.

m Including Hong Kong and Macao.

n Sudan and Ethiopia included in Northern Africa.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Sergio DellaPergola, born in Italy, has lived in Israel since 1966. He holds a Ph.D. from The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and is former Chairman and Professor of Population Studies at The Hebrew University's Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, where he has directed the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics and holds the Shlomo Argov Chair in Israel-Diaspora Relations. An internationally known specialist on the demography of world Jewry, he has published numerous books and over one hundred papers on historical demography, the family, international migration, Jewish identification, and population projections in the Diaspora and in Israel. He has lectured at over 50 universities and research centers worldwide and served as senior policy consultant to the President of Israel, the Israeli Government, the Jerusalem Municipality, and many major national and international organizations. He served on the National Technical Advisory Committee for the 1990 and 2000-01 National Jewish Population Surveys. In 1999 he won the Marshall Sklare Award for distinguished achievement from the Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry (ASSJ). He was Visiting Professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) in 2009 and at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 2010.

NOTES

¹ Previous estimates, as of January 1, 2010, were published by this author in *World Jewish Population, 2010, Current Jewish Population Reports*, Report 2010-2 (Storrs, CT, The North American Jewish Data Bank, the Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry, and the Jewish Federations of North America, 2010). Previously, such estimates were published annually in the *American Jewish Year Book*, whose last volume (Vol. 108) in the series issued by the American Jewish Committee appeared in 2008. World Jewish population estimates as of January 1, 2009 as well as of January 1, 2011 were prepared for publication but not issued. The *AJYB* documented the Jewish world and gave significant attention to Jewish population issues. Since 1981, responsibility for the preparation of annual population estimates for world Jewry was the responsibility of the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The Division was founded by Roberto Bachi in 1959, headed by Uziel O. Schmelz until 1986, and by the present author until 2010. Prof. Uzi Rebhun became Division head in 2010. We express our appreciation to the editors of *AJYB* during the thirty years of a close collaboration: Morris Fine, Milton Himmelfarb, David Singer, Ruth Seldin, and Lawrence Grossman. The interested reader may consult *AJYB* volumes for further details on how the respective annual estimates were obtained. See also Sergio DellaPergola, Uzi Rebhun, and Mark Tolts, "Prospecting the Jewish Future: Population Projections 2000–2080," *American Jewish Year Book*, 100 (New York, American Jewish Committee, 2000), 103–146.

²Population Reference Bureau, *2010 World Population Data Sheet* (Washington, DC, 2010).

³Jewish population estimates in the US have been the subject of a lively debate. This author's findings are further elaborated later in this report. For a different approach,

and higher Jewish population estimates, see: Ira M. Sheskin and Arnold Dashefsky, *Jewish Population in the United States, 2012*, in in Current Jewish Population Reports, Number 6 - 2013 (Storrs, CT: Mandell Berman Institute, North American Jewish Data Bank, The Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry, and The Jewish Federations of North America.)

⁴See below the discussion on intermarriage and conversion.

⁵See Sergio DellaPergola, Uzi Rebhun, and Mark Tolts, "Contemporary Jewish Diaspora in Global Context: Human Development Correlates of Population Trends" *Israel Studies*, 11, 1, 2005, 61-95.

⁶For historical background, see Roberto Bachi, *Population Trends of World Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1976); U.O. Schmelz, "Jewish Survival: The Demographic Factors," *American Jewish Year Book*, 81 (New York, American Jewish Committee, 1981), 61–117; U.O. Schmelz, *Aging of World Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1984); Sergio DellaPergola, "Some Fundamentals of Jewish Demographic History," in Sergio DellaPergola and Judith Even (eds.), *Papers in Jewish Demography 1997* (Jerusalem, The Hebrew University, 2001), 11-33; 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), 13-43; Sergio DellaPergola, *World Jewry beyond 2000: Demographic Prospects* (Oxford, 1999).

⁷The term *core Jewish population* 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).

⁸Michael Corinaldi, *The Enigma of Jewish Identity: The Law of Return, Theory and Practice* (Srigim-Lion, 2001, in Hebrew).

⁹In the NJPS 2000-01 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). The issue of *Contemporary Jewry* (the scholarly journal of the Association for the Scientific Study of Jewry, edited by Samuel Heilman), 25, 2005, is devoted to critical essays and analyses of NJPS 2000-01 methods and findings.

¹⁰The 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), 60–97.

¹¹Kotler-Berkowitz et al., *National Jewish Population Survey 2000–01*, cit.

¹²Ruth Gavison, *60 Years to the Law of Return: History, Ideology, Justification* (Jerusalem, Metzilah Center for Zionist, Jewish, Liberal and Humanistic Thought, 2009).

¹³For 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," Chapter 2 in his *Jewish Identity: The Case of Ethiopian Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1998).

¹⁴Michael Hammer et al., "Jewish and Middle Eastern non-Jewish populations share a common pool of Y-chromosome biallelic haplotypes," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, June 6, 2000, 97, 12, 6769–6774; Doron M. Behar et al., "MtDNA evidence for a genetic bottleneck in the early history of the Ashkenazi Jewish population," *European Journal of Human Genetics*, 2004, 1–10; Doron M. Behar et al., "The genome-wide structure of the Jewish people," *Nature*, <http://www.nature.com/dofinder/10.1038/nature09103>, 1-6.

¹⁵Many of these global activities are executed 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.

¹⁶For overviews of subject matter and technical issues see Paul Ritterband, Barry A. Kosmin, and Jeffrey Scheckner, "Counting Jewish Populations: Methods and Problems," *American Jewish Year Book*, 88 (New York, American Jewish Committee, 1988), 204–21; Sergio DellaPergola, "Demography," in Martin Goodman (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* (Oxford, 2002), 797–823.

¹⁷Among initiatives aimed at strengthening Jewish population research, 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, facilitated data collection and analysis from 2003-2005. Between 2003 and 2009, the Jewish People Policy Planning Institute (JPPPI) provided a framework for Jewish population policy analysis and suggestions. See Sergio DellaPergola, *Jewish Demography: Facts, Outlook, Challenges*, JPPPI Alert Paper 2 (Jerusalem, 2003); *The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute Annual Assessment 2004-2005, 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); The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute, *Tomorrow* (Jerusalem, 2008); Sergio DellaPergola, *Jewish Population Policies: Demographic Trends and Options in Israel and in the Diaspora* (Jerusalem, forthcoming).

¹⁸See a synopsis of the main findings in Ira M. Sheskin, *How Jewish Communities Differ: Variations in the Findings of Local Jewish Demographic Studies* (New York, City University of New York, North American Jewish Data Bank, 2001) and Ira M. Sheskin **Error! Main Document Only.** *Comparisons of Jewish Communities: A Compendium of Tables and Bar Charts* (Storrs, CT: Mandell Berman Institute, North American Jewish Data Bank and the Jewish Federations of North America, 2012) at www.jewishdatabank.org.

¹⁹Country data and estimates derived from United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, *World Population Prospects: The 2008 Revision. Volume I: Comprehensive Tables* (New York, 2009).

²⁰See DellaPergola et al., "Prospecting the Jewish Future," cit., and unpublished tabulations. A new round of population projections undertaken in the light of the latest data helped in the current assessment.

²¹Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 61 (Jerusalem, 2010).

²²As noted, the *Law of Return* applies to Jews and their extended families. The Law of Entrance and Law of Citizenship apply to all other foreign arrivals, some of whom ask for Israeli citizenship.

²³For definitions of Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) in the US see: United States, Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, *OMB Bulletin No. 09-91, Update of Statistical Area Definitions and Guidance on Their Uses* (Washington, DC, 2008).

²⁴For Israel estimates, see Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, cit., table 2-16. For US estimates, see Ira M. Sheskin and Arnold Dashefsky, *Jewish Population in the United States, 2012*, cit. Some of the latter figures refer to different years and roughly compare with each other regarding definitions and methods.

²⁵Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, cit.; HIAS, *Annual Report* (New York, annual); Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWJD), *Mitgliederstatistik; Der Einzelnen Jüdischen Gemeinden und Landesverbände in Deutschland* (Frankfurt a. M., annual).

²⁶Sergio DellaPergola, "International Migration of Jews," in Eliezer Ben-Rafael and Yitzhak Sternberg (eds.), *Transnationalism: Diasporas and the advent of a new (dis)order* (Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2009), 213-236.

²⁷See Uzi Rebhun and Lilach Lev Ari, *American Israelis: Migration, Transnationalism, and Diasporic Identity* (Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2010).

²⁸Yinon Cohen, "Migration to and from Israel," *Contemporary Jewry*, 29, 2, 2009, 115-125; Mark Tolts, *Some Demographic and Socio-Economic Trends of the Jews in Russia and the FSU* (Jerusalem, The Hebrew University, The A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics, 2009).

²⁹Shulamit Reinharz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Jewish Inter-marriage around the World* (New Brunswick-London, Transaction, 2009).

³⁰Mark Tolts, "The Post-Soviet Jewish Population in Russia and the World," *Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe*, 1 (52), 2004, 37-63.

³¹David Graham and Daniel Vulkan, *Britain's Jewish Community Statistics* (London, Board of Deputies of British Jews, 2008).

³²Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWJD), *Mitgliederstatistik; Der Einzelnen Jüdischen Gemeinden und Landesverbände in Deutschland* (Frankfurt a. M., annual).

³³Sergio DellaPergola, "Actual, Intended, and Appropriate Family Size among Jews in Israel," *Contemporary Jewry*, 29, 2, 2009, 127-152.

³⁴Sergio DellaPergola, "Jewish Out-Marriage: A Global Perspective," in Shulamit Reinharz and Sergio DellaPergola (eds.), *Jewish Inter-marriage around the World*, cit., 13-39.

³⁵Nurit Dvorin, "Marriages of Israelis Abroad and the Role of Former Soviet Union Immigrants," *Megamot*, 44, 3, 2006, 477-506.

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