

# World Jewish Population, 1986

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## *Updated Estimates*

**T**HIS ARTICLE PRESENTS updates, as of 1986, of the Jewish population estimates for the various countries of the world.<sup>1</sup> The estimates reflect some of the results of a prolonged and ongoing effort to study scientifically the demography of contemporary world Jewry.<sup>2</sup> Data collection and comparative research have benefited from the collaboration of scholars and institutions in many countries, including replies to direct inquiries regarding current estimates. It should be emphasized, however, that the elaboration of a worldwide set of estimates for the Jewish populations of the various countries is beset with difficulties and uncertainties. The reader has been given some information on the quality of the estimate for each country by an accuracy rating, using a simple scale explained below.

Over 95 percent of world Jewry is concentrated in nine countries, with approximately 100,000 or more Jews each. The aggregate of these nine major Jewish population centers virtually determines the assessment of the size of total world Jewry. The figures for 1986 have been updated from those for 1984 in accordance with the known or estimated changes in the interval—vital events (i.e., births and deaths), identificational changes (accessions and secessions), and migrations. In addition, some corrections have been introduced in the light of newly accrued information from Jewish sources. Where necessary, corrections have also been applied retrospectively to the 1984 figures, which appear below in revised summary (see table 1), so as to allow for comparison with the 1986 estimates.

## *Jewish Population Trends*

Diaspora Jews are highly dispersed. In most countries their number is now rather small and they constitute no more than a minute fraction of the entire population.

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<sup>1</sup>The previous estimates, as of 1984, were first published in *AJYB*, vol. 86, 1986, 350–64, and reprinted in a condensed version in *AJYB*, vol. 87, 1987, 331–38.

<sup>2</sup>Many of these activities have been carried out by, or in coordination with, the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Consequently, though Jews tend to cluster in large cities, they are greatly exposed to assimilation. While the assimilatory process leads to demographic losses for the Jewish population, there may also be gains through accession of persons who were born as non-Jews. It is the net balance of the identificational changes that matters demographically; in the longer run, the cohesion of a Diaspora population may be affected as well.<sup>3</sup>

The Jews in most countries of the Diaspora are demographically characterized by very low fertility, considerable outmarriage (which may involve losses of children to the Jewish population),<sup>4</sup> some other net assimilatory losses, and great aging. Since an increased proportion of elderly in the population usually implies not only many deceased but also a reduced proportion of persons of reproductive age—and therefore relatively fewer births—the aging of a population has the effect of reducing the birthrate and raising the death rate. There are differences in the levels of these demographic factors among the Jews in various regions and countries. In all major Diaspora populations the joint balance of the natural and identificational changes is now close to nil or outrightly negative, with the Jewish deceased frequently outnumbering newborn Jews. These negative tendencies have been taken into account in updating the estimates of Jews in many countries.

With regard to the balance of external migrations, there is no regularity among the various Diaspora populations or even in the same population over time. Where the migratory balance is positive—e.g., in North America—it counteracts or even outweighs any numerically negative influence of internal demographic developments. Where the migratory balance is negative, it may cause, or aggravate, the decrease of a Jewish population. In 1985–1986, the overall volume of international migrations of Jews was rather restricted, primarily because of the virtual cessation of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union.

In contrast, Jews in Israel incur virtually no outmarriages and direct assimilatory losses. Moreover, until the early 1980s they tended to have a positive migration balance. They have a younger age structure than Diaspora Jews and the general populations of the developed countries and exhibit a fairly high level of fertility. The previously substantial fertility differentials between Jews in-gathered in Israel from Asia-Africa and Europe-America are no longer in evidence. Remarkably, European Jews in Israel have not participated in the drastic fertility decline that has characterized the developed nations and Diaspora Jews during the last few decades, but have actually raised their fertility. In recent years, both major origin groups among Israel's Jews have displayed a fertility level surpassing not only the vast majority of Diaspora Jewry but also the general populations in the developed countries.

In the overall demographic balance of world Jewry, the natural increase of Israel has, so far, made up for losses in the Diaspora. But such compensation will not be

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<sup>3</sup>A fuller discussion of the subject can be found in U. O. Schmelz, "Jewish Survival: The Demographic Factors," *AJYB*, vol. 81, 1981, 61–117.

<sup>4</sup>If less than half of the children of the outmarried are themselves Jews.

possible for much longer. As a consequence of the intensifying demographic deficit in the Diaspora, a trend for some reduction in the total number of the world's Jews may soon be setting in.<sup>5</sup>

### *Difficulties in Estimating Jewish Population Size in the Diaspora*<sup>6</sup>

Some of the difficulties involved in estimating the size of Jewish Diaspora populations are common to all aspects of the study of Diaspora demography. They are mainly due to the great geographical scattering of Jews (a factor that makes multiple data collection mandatory but also hinders its feasibility); to their unusually strong demographic dynamics in many respects—migrations, social mobility, family formation patterns (including outmarriage), etc.; and to lacunae of available demographic information, which is deficient in both quantity and quality.

More specific difficulties in estimating the up-to-date size of Jewish populations are due to conceptual and measurement problems.

When mixed couples and households are not infrequent, it is necessary to distinguish between the “actually Jewish population” and the “enlarged Jewish population.” The latter comprises also the non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.) of the Jews. However socially significant the non-Jewish household members (and more distant non-Jewish relatives) of the Jews may be, they should not be included in a count of Jews. The paradoxical situation that exists is that growth of an enlarged Jewish population may be associated with contraction of the respective actually Jewish population.

Another vexing problem is identificational changes among Jews. Under present conditions, there are Jews who have not formally embraced another religion, yet are either very estranged (“marginal”) or have even become resolutely alienated from Judaism and the Jewish community and, if questioned, disclaim being Jews any longer. When a census or survey is taken which inquires into religion or ethnicity, these individuals have an opportunity to define their current status subjectively.<sup>7</sup> In general, the practice of self-determination is followed in all relevant censuses and surveys. This applies to marginal individuals, converts to Judaism (although some of the conversions may be contested between the various ideological trends—Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform), and to all other persons who claim to be Jews. In estimating the size of a Jewish population, it is usual to include, in principle, all marginal individuals who have not ceased to be Jews.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>*Aliyah* and *yeridah*—immigration to, and emigration from, Israel—obviously constitute only internal transfers within the global Jewish framework.

<sup>6</sup>Reliable figures are currently forthcoming for the Jews of Israel from official statistics.

<sup>7</sup>Misreporting of Jews in official censuses is a different issue; see below.

<sup>8</sup>Even persons who disclaim being Jews at some stage of life may change their minds later.

Not a few Jews (like other persons) have some residential status in more than one country.<sup>9</sup> This may be due to business requirements, professional assignments in foreign countries, climatic differences between countries, migrants staying temporarily in prolonged transit, etc. The danger of double-counting or omissions is inherent in such situations. As far as possible we have tried to account for such persons only once, giving precedence to the usual country of residence.

Figures on Jews from population censuses are unavailable for most Diaspora communities. Even where census statistics on Jews are forthcoming, they are usually scant, because the Jews are a small minority. There have been instances where detailed tabulations on Jews have been undertaken, through Jewish initiative, from official census material; examples are Canada, South Africa, and Argentina. In some countries serious problems exist, or are feared to exist, in the reporting of Jews as such: individuals may prefer not to describe themselves as Jews, or non-Jews may be erroneously included as Jews (as has happened in Latin American countries). These problems require statistical evaluation whose feasibility and conclusiveness depend on the relevant information available.

Surveys are the only way of obtaining comprehensive information on Jewish populations in the absence of official censuses. Jewish-sponsored surveys have the additional advantage of being able to inquire into matters of specifically Jewish interest, e.g., Jewish education, observances, and attitudes. However, since they address themselves to a small and scattered minority with identification problems, they are not easy to conduct competently and may encounter difficulties with regard to both coverage and response, especially with regard to marginal Jews. Again, these aspects require evaluation. Countrywide surveys have been undertaken in the United States, South Africa, France, Italy, Netherlands, etc. Local surveys have been carried out in many U.S. cities, in the United Kingdom, Latin America, Australia, etc. However, these local initiatives have so far been uncoordinated with regard to content and method.

In certain countries or localities, Jewish community registers include all or the largest part of the Jewish population. Often the same communities keep records of Jewish vital events—especially marriages performed with a Jewish ceremony and Jewish burials. However, communal registers tend to cover mixed households insufficiently. Also, although the amount and quality of updating vary from place to place, community registers generally lag behind the actual situation of the respective Jewish populations.

Many estimates of Jewish populations for which no solid data from censuses or surveys exist are regrettably of unspecified or dubious source and methodology.

Besides the conceptual and measurement difficulties affecting the figures for a

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<sup>9</sup>The problem is even more acute with regard to residential status in more than one locality of the same country, but in principle this does not affect the population estimates for entire countries.

Jewish population at any base date, similar problems recur with regard to the updating information which should account for all the various types of changes in the time elapsed since that base date. For vital events and identificational changes, age-sex-specific models can be of use; these may be applied after studying the evolution of the respective or similar Jewish populations. With regard to the migratory balance in any updating interval, concrete information must be gathered, because of the above-mentioned irregularity, over time, in the intensity of many migratory streams.

### *Presentation of Data*

The detailed estimates of Jewish population distribution in each continent (tables 2-6 below) refer to residents in countries with at least 100 Jews. A residual estimate of "other" Jews living in smaller communities, or staying temporarily in transit accommodations, supplements some of the continental totals. For each of the reported countries, the four columns in the table provide the United Nations estimate of mid-year 1986 total population,<sup>10</sup> the estimated end-1986 Jewish population, the proportion of Jews per 1,000 of total population, and a rating of the accuracy of the Jewish population estimates.

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

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

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<sup>10</sup>These were the latest official estimates available at the time of writing. See United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office, *Population and Vital Statistics Report: Data Available as of 1 July 1987*. Statistical Papers, ser. A, vol. 39, no. 3 (New York, 1987).

unsatisfactory or partial coverage of Jewish population in country; updating according to demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends; and (D) base figure essentially conjectural; no reliable updating procedure. In categories (A), (B), and (C), the years in which the base figures or important partial updates were obtained are also stated.

For countries whose Jewish population estimate of 1986 was not only updated but also revised in the light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

### *Distribution of World Jewish Population by Major Regions*

Table 1 gives an overall picture for 1986 as compared to 1984. For 1984 the originally published estimates are presented along with somewhat revised figures that take into account, retrospectively, the corrections made in 1986 in certain country estimates, in the light of improved information. These corrections resulted in a net reduction of world Jewry's estimated size by 9,300, or less than 0.1 percent. Some explanations are given below for the relevant countries.

The size of world Jewry is assessed at slightly below 13 million. According to the revised figures, the estimated growth between 1984 and 1986 was negligible—about three per 10,000 annually. Despite all the imperfections in the estimates, it is clear that world Jewry is in the state of "zero population growth," with the natural increase in Israel compensating for the demographic losses in the Diaspora.

The number of Jews in Israel rose from a figure of 3,471,700 in 1984 to 3,562,500 at the end of 1986, or by 1.3 percent annually. In contrast, Diaspora Jewry declined from 9,482,700 (according to the revised figures) to approximately 9,401,400, or by 0.5 percent annually. These changes were almost entirely due to internal demographic evolution, since the migratory balance between the Diaspora and Israel amounted to no more than 9,200 during these two years and was positive for the Diaspora (Israel lost migrants on balance). By the end of 1986, Israel's Jews constituted about 27.5 percent of total world Jewry.

About half of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with 46 percent in North America. Twenty-eight percent live in Asia (excluding the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey), nearly all of them in Israel. Europe (including the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey) accounts for 21 percent of the total. The proportions of the world's Jews who live in Africa and Oceania are very small.

Among the major geographical regions listed in table 1, the number of Jews in Israel—and, in consequence, in total Asia—increased by more than 2 percent in the two-year span 1984–1986. The total number of Jews estimated for North America virtually did not change. The total estimate for Oceania increased by over 2 percent. Most other regions sustained decreases in Jewish population size.

World Jewry constitutes about 2.6 per 1,000 of total world population. One in about 385 people in the world is a Jew.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 1984 AND 1986

Region	1984		% Change 1984-1986	1986		
	Original	Revised Abs. Nos. Percent		Abs. Nos.	Percent	
Diaspora	9,491,600	9,482,700 73.2	9,401,400	72.5	-0.9	
Israel	3,471,700	3,471,700 26.8	3,562,500	27.5	+2.6	
World	12,963,300	12,954,400 100.0	12,963,900	100.0	+0.1	
America,						
Total	6,469,000	6,461,100 49.9	6,454,700	49.8	-0.1	
North <sup>a</sup>	6,015,000	6,010,000 46.4	6,010,000	46.4	0.0	
Central	47,300	46,300 0.4	45,500	0.3	-1.7	
South	406,700	404,800 3.1	399,200	3.1	-1.4	
Europe, Total	2,758,600	2,755,800 21.3	2,685,900	20.7	-2.5	
West	1,048,900	1,048,600 8.1	1,043,300	8.0	-0.5	
East & Balkans <sup>b</sup>	1,709,700	1,707,200 13.2	1,642,600	12.7	-3.8	
Asia, Total	3,509,300	3,509,300 27.1	3,597,000	27.8	+2.5	
Israel	3,471,700	3,471,700 26.8	3,562,500	27.5	+2.6	
Rest <sup>b</sup>	37,600	37,600 0.3	34,500	0.3	-8.2	
Africa, Total	147,400	149,100 1.1	145,200	1.1	-2.6	
North	16,700	16,700 0.1	15,200	0.1	-9.0	
South	119,100	119,100 0.9	116,200	0.9	-2.4	
Rest <sup>c</sup>	11,600	13,300 0.1	13,800	0.1	+3.8	
Oceania	79,000	79,100 0.6	81,100	0.6	+2.5	

<sup>a</sup>U.S.A. and Canada.<sup>b</sup>The Asian territories of USSR and Turkey are included in "East Europe and Balkans."<sup>c</sup>Including Ethiopia.

## Individual Countries

### THE AMERICAS

In 1986 the total number of Jews in the American continents was somewhat less than six and a half million. The overwhelming majority (about 93 percent) reside in the United States and Canada, less than 1 percent live in Central America (including Mexico), and about 6 percent live in South America, where Argentina and Brazil have the largest Jewish communities (see table 2).

The balance of Jewish population changes in the United States as a whole must now be close to nil. Several local surveys taken in recent years provide evidence of very low birthrates and of increasing aging among the Jewish population. Thus, it is possible that the influence of internal evolution on the size of U.S. Jewry may be negative, though there is no consensus with regard to this assessment. Any negative internal balance in U.S. Jewry was more than offset several years ago by an undoubtedly positive balance of external migrations. This latter has been greatly reduced, however, by the virtual cessation of Soviet Jewish immigration.

Our 1986 estimate of 5,700,000 Jews in the United States essentially repeats the figures reported for the previous years, and is consistent with the new estimates prepared by the research team of the North American Jewish Data Bank which are reported elsewhere in this volume.<sup>11</sup> Actually, the new figure is 5,814,000 for 1986, but it includes an estimated "under 2 percent" of non-Jewish members of Jewish households. After deducting the latter from 5,814,000, one arrives at the round figure of approximately 5,700,000 Jews in the United States.

In Canada an official population census held in 1981 enumerated 296,425 Jews according to religion. If the persons are added who responded "Jewish" (as a *single* reply) to the census question on ethnic groups, while not indicating any religion (i.e., they were not Christians, etc.), the figure rises to 306,375. There were additional persons who did not indicate religion but mentioned "Jewish" as part of a *multiple* response to the question on ethnic groups. It is likely that some of them were merely thinking in terms of ancestry but did not actually consider themselves as Jews at the time of the census. By including a reasonable proportion of those who were identified in the census as Jews by multiple ethnicity only, a round total of 310,000 is arrived at for 1981. The figure of 310,000 was also adopted for 1986, as a

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<sup>11</sup>The new U.S. Jewish population estimates first appeared in B. Kosmin, P. Ritterband, and J. Scheckner, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1986," *AJYB*, vol. 87, 1987, 164-91. See also U. O. Schmelz, *World Jewish Population: Regional Estimates and Projections* (Jerusalem, 1981), 32-36; U. O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demographic Consequences of U.S. Jewish Population Trends," *AJYB*, vol. 83, 1983, 141-87; U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Basic Trends in U.S. Jewish Demography*, Jewish Sociology Papers, American Jewish Committee (New York, 1988).



TABLE 2. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, 1986

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Canada	25,612,000	310,000	12.1	A 1981
United States	241,596,000	5,700,000	23.6	B 1986 X
Total Northern America		6,010,000		
Bahamas	236,000	300	1.3	C 1973 X
Costa Rica	2,666,000	2,000	0.8	C 1986 X
Cuba	10,246,000	700	0.1	D
Dominican Republic	6,416,000	100	0.0	D
Guatemala	8,195,000	800	0.1	A 1983
Jamaica	2,372,000	300	0.1	B 1986
Mexico	79,563,000	35,000	0.4	C 1980
Netherlands Antilles	261,000	400	1.5	D X
Panama	2,227,000	3,800	1.7	C 1986
Puerto Rico	3,502,000	1,500	0.4	C 1986 X
Virgin Islands	107,000	300	2.8	C 1986 X
Other		300		D
Total Central America		45,500		
Argentina	31,030,000	224,000	7.2	C 1960-86
Bolivia	6,547,000	600	0.1	C 1986
Brazil	138,493,000	100,000	0.7	B 1980
Chile	12,327,000	17,000	1.4	C 1986
Colombia	29,188,000	6,500	0.2	C 1986
Ecuador	9,647,000	1,000	0.1	C 1982
Paraguay	3,807,000	900	0.2	C 1984
Peru	20,207,000	4,000	0.2	B 1985 X
Suriname	380,000	200	0.5	B 1986
Uruguay	2,983,000	25,000	8.4	D X
Venezuela	17,791,000	20,000	1.1	D
Total Southern America		399,200		
Total		6,454,700		

migratory surplus may have roughly offset the probably negative balance of internal evolution since the census.

The estimate for Mexico has been kept unchanged at 35,000. While the official Mexican censuses have given widely varying figures—17,574 in 1950; 100,750 in 1960; 49,277 in 1970; 61,790 in 1980—it is generally admitted that the last three censuses erroneously included many thousands of non-Jews among the Jews.

The Jewish population of Argentina is marked by a negative balance in internal evolution. In the past, the balance of external migrations was strongly negative, but since the present democratic regime came to power, emigration has diminished and there has been some return migration. Assuming a migratory balance close to nil, the estimate has been reduced from 228,000 in 1984 to 224,000 in 1986.

The official population census of Brazil in 1980 showed a figure of 91,795 Jews. Since it is possible that some Jews failed to declare themselves as such in the census, a corrected estimate of 100,000 was adopted for 1981 and has been kept unchanged for 1986, assuming that the overall balance of vital events and external migrations was close to zero.

On the strength of fragmentary information that is accumulating, the admittedly quite tentative estimate for Uruguay has been revised downward, while those for Chile and Venezuela have not been changed.<sup>12</sup>

## EUROPE

Of Europe's estimated 2,686,000 Jews, 39 percent live in Western Europe and 61 percent in Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries (including the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey).

France has the largest Jewish population in Western Europe, estimated at 530,000. Monitoring of the plausible trends in the internal evolution and the external migrations of Jews in France renders it likely that there has been little net change since the major survey that was taken in the 1970s.<sup>13</sup>

A reestimation of the size of British Jewry was carried out by the research unit of the Board of Deputies, based on an analysis of Jewish deaths during 1975–1979. The revised population figure for 1977 was 336,000 with a margin of error of +/– 34,000.<sup>14</sup> Allowing for an excess of deaths over births, some assimilatory losses, and emigration, the update for 1984, as elaborated by the board's research unit, came to 330,000. The update for 1986 is 326,000.

<sup>12</sup>For a more detailed discussion of the region's Jewish population trends, see U. O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demography of Latin American Jewry," *AJYB*, vol. 85, 1985, 51–102.

<sup>13</sup>Doris Bensimon and Sergio DellaPergola, *La population juive de France: socio-démographie et identité* (Jerusalem and Paris, 1984).

<sup>14</sup>S. Haberman, B. A. Kosmin, and C. Levy, "Mortality Patterns of British Jews 1975–79: Insights and Applications for the Size and Structure of British Jewry," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, ser. A., 146, pt. 3 (1983): 294–310.

West Germany, Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands each have Jewish populations ranging around 30,000. There is an internal tendency toward shrinkage of all these Jewries, but in some instances this is offset partly by immigration. Up to 1984 Jews in Italy were legally obliged to register with the local Jewish communities.

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE, 1986

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Austria	7,565,000	6,400	0.8	A 1986
Belgium	9,913,000	32,000	3.2	D
Bulgaria	8,959,000	3,200	0.4	D
Czechoslovakia	15,534,000	8,200	0.5	D
Denmark	5,121,000	6,600	1.3	C 1984
Finland	4,918,000	1,200	0.2	A 1986
France	55,392,000	530,000	9.6	C 1972-78
Germany, East	16,624,000	500	0.0	C 1986 X
Germany, West	61,048,000	32,700	0.5	B 1986
Gibraltar	29,000	600	20.7	A 1981
Great Britain	56,763,000	326,000	5.7	B 1986
Greece	9,966,000	5,000	0.5	B 1986
Hungary	10,627,000	60,000	5.6	D
Ireland	3,537,000	2,000	0.6	A 1986
Italy	57,221,000	31,800	0.6	B 1986
Luxembourg	363,000	700	1.9	C 1970
Netherlands	14,563,000	26,000	1.8	C 1986
Norway	4,169,000	1,000	0.2	A 1982
Poland	37,456,000	4,400	0.1	D
Portugal	10,291,000	300	0.0	B 1986 X
Rumania	23,174,000	21,500	0.9	B 1986 X
Spain	38,668,000	12,000	0.3	D
Sweden	8,370,000	15,000	1.8	C 1982
Switzerland	6,504,000	19,000	2.9	A 1980
Turkey <sup>a</sup>	50,301,000	20,000	0.4	C 1986
USSR <sup>a</sup>	280,144,000	1,515,000	5.4	C 1979
Yugoslavia	23,271,000	4,800	0.2	C 1986
Total		2,685,900		

<sup>a</sup>Including Asian regions.

Since then, membership in the community has become voluntary. Although most Jews did reaffirm their membership, the new community framework may have repercussions both on the degree of completeness of the communal registers and, in the long run, on the cohesion of the community.

Switzerland's Jews are estimated at below 20,000, on the strength of the 1980 census. While there is evidence of a negative balance of births and deaths (connected *inter alia* with great aging) and of frequent outmarriage, immigration may have offset the internal losses.

Eastern European Jewry is characterized by particularly low levels of effectively Jewish fertility, connected with a frequent and prolonged practice of outmarriage, and by heavy aging. Therefore the shrinking of the Jewish population there must be comparatively rapid.

By far the largest Jewish population in Eastern Europe is concentrated in the Soviet Union, including its Asian territory. Only about 2,000 Jews were permitted to emigrate during 1985–1986, but the heavy deficit of internal population dynamics must have continued and even intensified, due to the great aging that is known to have prevailed.<sup>15</sup> Under these circumstances the estimate has been reduced from 1,575,000 in 1984 to 1,515,000 in 1986.

The Jewish populations in Hungary and Rumania and the small remnants in Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, and Bulgaria are all reputed to be very overaged. Their inevitable numerical decline is reflected in reduced estimates. For Rumania, considerable emigration of Jews is taking place; in addition, a correction was made in the 1986 estimate, omitting non-Jewish members of Jewish households that had been previously included in the figures reported from that country.

The size of Hungarian Jewry—the largest in Eastern Europe outside the USSR—is insufficiently known. Our estimate only attempts to reflect the declining trend that prevails there too, according to the available indications.

The Jewish population of Turkey is estimated at about 20,000, and a deficit of births over deaths is reported.

#### ASIA

Israel accounts for 99 percent of all the Jews in Asia, excluding the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey. Israel's Jewish population grew over 1985–1986 by about 90,000. All this growth was due to natural increase, since the migration balance was negative (–9,200) in 1985–1986.

It is difficult to estimate the Jewish population of Iran for any given date, but it continues to dwindle.

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<sup>15</sup>U. O. Schmelz, "New Evidence on Basic Issues in the Demography of Soviet Jews," *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 16, no. 2 (1974): 209–23.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, 1986

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Hong Kong	5,533,000	1,000	0.2	C 1980
India	766,135,000	4,200	0.0	C 1971
Iran	45,914,000	22,000	0.5	D
Iraq	16,450,000	200	0.0	D
Israel <sup>a</sup>	4,333,100 <sup>a</sup>	3,562,500	822.2	A 1986
Japan	120,492,000	1,000	0.0	C 1986
Lebanon	2,707,000	100	0.0	D
Philippines	56,004,000	100	0.0	C 1982
Singapore	2,586,000	300	0.1	C 1984
Syria	10,612,000	4,000	0.4	D
Thailand	52,094,000	300	0.0	C 1980
Yemen	7,046,000	1,000	0.1	D
Other		300		D
Total		3,597,000		

<sup>a</sup>End 1986.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, 1986

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	49,609,000	200	0.0	D
Ethiopia	44,927,000	12,000	0.3	D X
Kenya	21,163,000	100	0.0	B 1986
Morocco	22,476,000	12,000	0.5	D
South Africa	33,221,000	115,000	3.5	B 1980
Tunisia	7,234,000	3,000	0.4	D
Zaire	80,850,000	400	0.0	D X
Zambia	6,896,000	300	0.0	D
Zimbabwe	8,406,000	1,200	0.1	B 1986
Other		1,000		D
Total		145,200		

## AFRICA

About 145,000 Jews are estimated to remain now in Africa. The Republic of South Africa accounts for 80 percent of total Jews in that continent.

According to the 1980 census of the Republic of South Africa, the final figure for Jews (by religion, among the white population) was 117,963. Since then, Jewish population size there has been reduced by a negative migratory balance.

According to recent reports, the number of Jews remaining in Ethiopia may be very roughly estimated at 12,000. The remnant of Moroccan Jewry continued to shrink through emigration. It should be pointed out, though, that not a few Jews have a foothold both in Morocco (or Tunisia) and in France, and their geographical attribution is uncertain.

## OCEANIA

The major country of Jewish residence in this geographical region is Australia, where 95 percent of the estimated total of somewhat over 80,000 Jews live. Australian Jewry is being reinforced by immigration.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, 1986

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	15,974,000	77,000	4.8	C 1981
New Zealand	3,248,000	4,000	1.2	B 1981
Other		100		D X
Total		81,100		

*Dispersion and Concentration*

Table 7 demonstrates the magnitude of Jewish dispersion. The individual countries listed above as each having at least 100 Jews are scattered over all the continents. More than half (43 out of 74 countries) have fewer than 5,000 Jews apiece.

In relative terms, too, the Jews are now thinly scattered nearly everywhere in the Diaspora. There is not a single Diaspora country where they amount even to 3 percent of the total population. In most countries they constitute a far smaller fraction. Only three Diaspora countries have 10–25 Jews per 1,000 of total population; and only nine countries have more than 5 Jews per 1,000 of population. The respective nine countries are, in descending order of the proportion—but regardless

of the absolute number—of their Jews: United States (23.6), Gibraltar (20.7), Canada (12.1), France (9.6), Uruguay (8.4), Argentina (7.2), Great Britain (5.7), Hungary (5.6), USSR (5.4). This list includes all the Diaspora countries with Jewries of 100,000 or more, except for South Africa and Brazil (in the latter's large population

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1986

Number of Jews in Country	Jews per 1,000 Population					25 and over
	Total	Below 1	1-5	5-10	10-25	
			<u>Number of Countries</u>			
Total	74 <sup>a</sup>	49	15	6	3	1
Below 1,000	23	18	4	—	1	—
1,000-5,000	19	17	2	—	—	—
5,000-10,000	5	4	1	—	—	—
10,000-50,000	16	9	6	1	—	—
50,000-100,000	2	—	1	1	—	—
100,000-1,000,000	6	1	1	3	1	—
1,000,000 and over	3	—	—	1	1	1
		<u>Jewish Population Distribution (Absolute Numbers)</u>				
Total	12,963,900	373,700	337,100	2,680,000	6,010,600	3,562,500
Below 1,000	10,400	8,100	1,700	—	600	—
1,000-5,000	48,300	40,500	7,800	—	—	—
5,000-10,000	32,700	26,100	6,600	—	—	—
10,000-50,000	353,000	199,000	129,000	25,000	—	—
50,000-100,000	137,000	—	77,000	60,000	—	—
100,000-1,000,000	1,605,000	100,000	115,000	1,080,000	310,000	—
1,000,000 and over	10,777,500	—	—	1,515,000	5,700,000	3,562,500
		<u>Jewish Population Distribution (Percent of World's Jews)</u>				
Total	100.0	2.9	2.6	20.7	46.3	27.5
Below 1,000	0.1	0.1	0.0	—	0.0	—
1,000-5,000	0.4	0.3	0.1	—	—	—
5,000-10,000	0.2	0.2	0.0	—	—	—
10,000-50,000	2.7	1.5	1.0	0.2	—	—
50,000-100,000	1.1	—	0.6	0.5	—	—
100,000-1,000,000	12.4	0.8	0.9	8.3	2.4	—
1,000,000 and over	83.1	—	—	11.7	43.9	27.5

<sup>a</sup>Excluding countries with fewer than 100 Jews.

TABLE 8. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS (100,000 JEWS AND ABOVE), 1986

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the Diaspora		In the World	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,700,000	60.6	60.6	43.9	43.9
2	Israel	3,562,500	—	—	27.5	71.4
3	Soviet Union	1,515,000	16.1	76.7	11.7	83.1
4	France	530,000	5.6	82.3	4.1	87.2
5	Great Britain	326,000	3.5	85.8	2.5	89.7
6	Canada	310,000	3.3	89.1	2.4	92.1
7	Argentina	224,000	2.4	91.5	1.7	93.8
8	South Africa	115,000	1.2	92.7	0.9	94.7
9	Brazil	100,000	1.1	93.8	0.8	95.5

the Jews form only 0.7 per 1,000). In the State of Israel, by contrast, the Jewish majority amounted to 82.2 percent in 1986.

While Jews are widely dispersed, they are also concentrated to some extent (table 8). In 1986 over 95 percent of world Jewry lived in the nine countries with the largest Jewish populations, each comprising about 100,000 Jews or more; 83 percent lived in the three countries that have at least a million Jews each (United States, Israel, Soviet Union). Similarly, the United States alone accounted for over 60 percent of total Diaspora Jewry; two countries (United States and Soviet Union) for 77 percent; and the eight Diaspora countries with 100,000 Jews or more together comprised 94 percent of the Diaspora Jewish population.

U. O. SCHMELZ  
SERGIO DELLA PERGOLA