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Jews in Britain:
a snapshot from the 2001 Census

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The **Institute for Jewish Policy Research** (JPR) is an independent think tank working for an inclusive Europe, where difference is cherished and common values prevail.

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Director's foreword

In 2001, for the first time in the history of the decennial Census of England and Wales and the parallel Census in Scotland, a voluntary question on religion was included. The responses of those who identified themselves as 'Jewish' provided a unique body of information. Subjected to close analysis by social and demographic researchers, these data have yielded a new and fascinating picture of the Jewish population.

The Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) and the Board of Deputies of British Jews decided at an early stage to collaborate on an analysis of the data on the Jewish population. From the moment that data began to become available, JPR and Board researchers put it to good use in their work on community research. Some of the data that had been released early were important in the studies produced by JPR in the framework of its project on Long-term Planning for British Jewry. But once all the requisite tabulations had been produced by the Office for National Statistics (ONS), it was always intended that JPR, in collaboration with Marlena Schmool and the Community Research Unit of the Board of Deputies, would produce an overall report providing a snapshot of the Jewish population in Britain at the time of the 2001 Census.

This report is therefore a result of the joint effort of Professor Stanley Waterman, David Graham and Marlena Schmool. The work began while Stanley Waterman and David Graham were Director of Research and Fellow in European Jewish Demography, respectively, at JPR, and Marlena Schmool was Director of Community Issues at the Board. It was completed after all three had left these posts. JPR is enormously grateful to them for producing this extremely important and valuable piece of work, and to the Board of Deputies for its significant contribution.

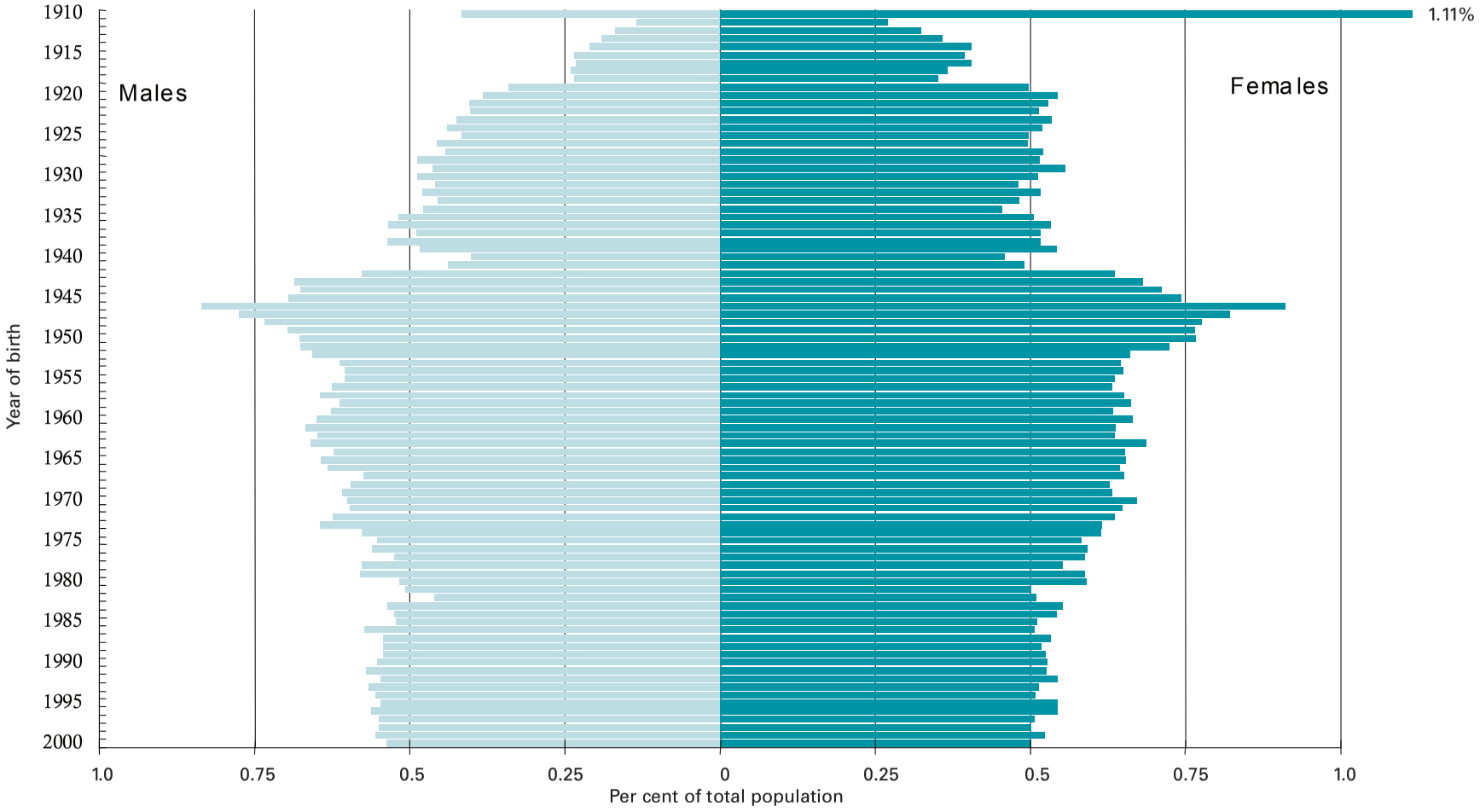
No population stands still. There have undoubtedly been important demographic changes in British Jewry in the last six years. Nevertheless, there is much new data and analysis in this report that is of great value for those planning the future of the wide array of services now available to Jews in Britain, as well as providing considerable material of a more general interest.

We already know that there will be a question on religion in the 2011 censuses and it is vital that full preparations be made to analyse those data. Another immensely useful body of information will become available to help facilitate community planning. The opportunity to assess changes in the character of the Jewish population over the ten years since 2001 will be of special interest. For all who are working to maintain the distinctiveness of Jews in the United Kingdom, a tremendous opportunity will be lost if adequate facilities for analysing those data are not put in place so that the information contained in them can be employed as effectively as possible.

Antony Lerman
Executive Director
JPR

Population pyramid for Jews in England and Wales (N=259,927)

The 2001 Census has allowed us, for the first time, to look at the entire Jewish population in unprecedented detail. Here, for example, we can see the age structure of the population (in England and Wales) by gender year on year. The postwar 'baby boom' is clear to see as is the relatively small number of people born in more recent years.



Source: ONS Table M277

Executive summary

The Census in 2001 included a question on religion for the first time. This report presents the key findings of this unique dataset relating to the Jewish population in the United Kingdom.

Enumerated population size

The Jewish population in the 2001 Census was published as 266,740 people. However, this figure did not include Jews who identified 'by ethnicity only' in England and Wales or Scottish Jews who identified as Jewish by upbringing but held no current religion. These broader definitions brought the total number of Jews enumerated in the United Kingdom in the 2001 Census to 270,499.

Geography

The residential distribution for Jews across the United Kingdom, though concentrated in a few areas, was far from showing any signs of segregation. On the contrary, Jews were dispersed throughout the British population at large.

- 96.7 per cent of British Jews lived in England, 2.5 per cent lived in Scotland, 0.8 per cent lived in Wales, 65.6 per cent lived in Greater London.
- Jews lived in all but one of the 408 districts in the United Kingdom, but their distribution was uneven countrywide. Almost a quarter (23.1 per cent) lived in just two places, the London boroughs of Barnet and Redbridge. Over half (52 per cent) lived in a further eight: Harrow, Camden, Hackney, Hertsmere, Bury, Leeds, Westminster and Brent.
- In Barnet, one person in seven (14.8 per cent) of the total population was recorded as Jewish.
- Hertsmere in Southern Hertfordshire had grown to become one of the most important areas of Jewish settlement in Britain outside Barnet.
- In Greater Manchester, approximately two-thirds of the Jewish population (14,215 people) lived in ten contiguous wards straddling the boundaries of the three districts of Bury, Salford and Manchester.
- At the neighbourhood level, Jews did not approach 100 per cent of the population in even one of the 218,040 Output Areas in the United Kingdom. They exceeded 75 per cent in just two of these, in one of which there was a large Jewish residential care facility.
- Jews comprised a majority—over 50 per cent—of the population in only 108, or 0.05 per cent, of all Output Areas in the United Kingdom.

Age and gender structure

The average age of Jews was older than that of the general British population.

- The median age of females in the general population of England and Wales was 38.1 years, but for Jewish females it was 44.3 years. The gap for males was slightly smaller but still large; for all males in the general population the median age was 36.1 years but for Jewish males it was 41.2 years. The median age of Scottish Jews was older, at 47.5 years.

- For Jews of all ages over 14, there were more women than men in each cohort.
- The district of Salford in Greater Manchester and the London Borough of Hackney highlight the different demographic shape of the strictly Orthodox population. Both exhibited very large proportions of children aged 14 and under: 35.4 per cent in Salford and 34.4 per cent in Hackney (compared with 16.1 per cent for Jews nationally). This young population has concomitant growth potential, in stark contrast to the majority of the national Jewish population.

Households

High proportions of Jews lived alone both at younger and older ages. In England and Wales:

- The Census reported that there were 116,330 Jewish-headed households.
- However, there were actually 89,371 households in which all members were Jewish by religion, almost half (47 per cent) of which were single-person households.
- In addition, there were 56,089 households in which at least one person, but not all, household members were reported as Jewish (by religion or by ethnicity). Thus, a total of 145,460 households were enumerated in which at least one person was Jewish.
- 31 per cent of Jewish households contained either a single pensioner or a pensioner couple, compared with 23 per cent in the general population.
- There were 42,046 Jewish single-person households (36.1 per cent of all Jewish-headed households compared with 30 per cent in the general population).
- Jews were less likely to be lone parents.
- The average size of households headed by Jews was slightly smaller than the national mean (2.3 compared with 2.4).

Partnerships

The Census provided a picture of the 'partnership-market' in England and Wales. It did not yield rates, such as intermarriage or divorces rates, only 'snapshot' proportions.

- 27.7 per cent of Jewish people aged between 45 and 59 had separated, divorced or remarried.
- There were 111,697 married Jewish individuals.
- 75.4 per cent of married Jewish men and 77.5 per cent of married Jewish women had a Jewish spouse, although 6.2 per cent of married Jewish men and 8.5 per cent of married Jewish women had a spouse who reported 'no religion' or did not report a religion.
- Approximately one in six (18.4 per cent) of all married Jewish men, and 13.9 per cent of all married Jewish women, had spouses of another faith, the majority being Christian.
- There were 5,618 Jewish men and an identical number of Jewish women living in cohabiting unions.

- 49.4 per cent of cohabiting Jewish men and 41.7 per cent of cohabiting Jewish women had a partner of a different faith, mostly Christian.
- 23.7 per cent of Jewish cohabiting men and 31.4 per cent of Jewish cohabiting women had a partner who reported 'no religion' or did not report a religion.
- In total there were 23,183 couples (married or cohabiting) in which one partner was Jewish and the other was of a different faith; there were a further 11,356 couples in which the partner of a Jew did not report a religion (that is, the partner reported 'no religion' or did not report a religion).

Ethnicity

- 96.8 per cent of Jews recorded their ethnicity as 'White'.
- 32,164 Jews recorded their ethnicity as 'White Other'.
- 13,544 people used the write-in option to describe their ethnicity as 'Jewish'; of these 10,950 also gave their religion as 'Jewish'. Therefore, 2,594 individuals appeared in the Census as Jewish by ethnicity only. Compared with 'Jews by religion only', ethnic Jews were more likely to be male, relatively young, more economically active and better educated.

Country of birth

- The Jewish population of England and Wales in 2001 was mainly indigenous with 83.2 per cent born in the United Kindom.
- The three largest groups of foreign-born Jews recorded by the Census were the 7,066 born in Israel, the 5,991 born in the United States and the 5,688 born in South Africa.
- Almost half (46.7 per cent) of the Jews in Kensington and Chelsea were born outside the United Kingdom. By contrast, 95 per cent of Redbridge's Jewish population were born in the UK or the Republic of Ireland.

Living standards/social inequality

Overall the Jewish population experienced high living standards. However, this was not the picture across the board and the Census highlighted social inequality within the group. In England and Wales:

- 76.7 per cent of Jewish households owned their own homes compared with 68.9 per cent of the general population.
- Jews were also far less likely to be living in social rented accommodation (9 per cent compared with 19.2 per cent).
- In the London Borough of Hackney, 34.5 per cent of Jewish-headed households were recorded as living in social rented accommodation, proportionally 3.5 times more than in Salford and 25 times more than in Hertsmere.
- Jews were more likely to rent their homes within the private sector than the public sector. Private renting was high in Hackney (31.7 per cent), Salford (17.4 per cent) and Camden (16 per cent).
- Overcrowding within households, which is related to location, was less prevalent among Jews compared with the general population. Nevertheless, 15.7 per cent of Jews in Inner London lived in

overcrowded accommodation, more than three times the proportion for Jews in Outer London or in Manchester. The most overcrowded Jewish population was in Hackney (25.1 per cent overcrowded).

- In England and Wales, Jews were more likely than the general population to have access to two or more cars (35.6 per cent compared with 29.4 per cent).
- But 68.3 per cent of Jews in Tower Hamlets and over half the Jewish-headed households in both Hackney and Newham had no access to a car.

Health

Given the older age structure of the population, health was of a generally high level. In England and Wales:

- More than two-thirds of the Jewish population (69.4 per cent) considered they had been in 'good health' in the year prior to the Census.
- Jews in Inner London reported the highest levels of good health and those in Leeds the lowest, reflecting the different age structures of the two populations.
- 29,240 Jewish people aged 65 and over reported suffering from a limiting long-term illness.
- Over 27,000 Jewish people provided care at home and the provision of care was generally related to the provider's age.

Educational achievement

Overall Britain's Jews exhibited extremely high levels of educational achievement, though pockets of under-achievement were observed.

- Compared with the general population, Jews were 40 per cent less likely to be classified as having 'no qualifications' and 80 per cent more likely to have achieved degree-level (or equivalent) qualifications.
- 55.7 per cent of Jews aged 25 to 34 had degree-level (or equivalent) qualifications compared with 25.6 per cent of Jews aged 65 to 74.
- In Hackney, 43.5 per cent of Jews aged under 25 had 'no qualifications' compared with 7.8 per cent for Jews of that age in the rest of London.
- Jewish males educationally outperformed their females counterparts at every age above 24, but the gap became ever smaller, to the extent that females outperformed males in the 16 to 24 age cohort.

Work and employment

British Jews were found to be high achievers in the workplace and Jewish women in particular exhibited very high levels of success.

- Almost a third (30.5 per cent) of economically active Jews were self-employed, more than double the proportion in the general population (14.2 per cent).
- Jewish men were more likely to be economically active than women (79.9 per cent compared with 59.7 per cent) and much more likely to be working full-time than part-time (83.6 per cent compared to 52.4 per cent).

- In Islington, over 80 per cent of Jews were economically active; by contrast, in Hackney, 47 per cent were economically inactive, many of whom were looking after the family/home.
- 54.2 per cent of Jews worked in just three industries: real estate and business activities; the wholesale/retail trade; and health and social work. This compared with 40.6 per cent of the general population.
- Jewish women were much more likely than men to work in health and social work (15.7 per cent compared to 6.5 per cent) and education (14.5 per cent compared to 5.3 per cent).
- Occupationally, 25.1 per cent of Jews were managers and senior officials compared with 15.1 per cent among the general population.
- A quarter (23.7 per cent) of Jewish women worked in administrative and secretarial occupations, compared with 5.7 per cent of men. However, Jewish women were equally as likely to be managers and almost twice as likely to be professionals as men in the general population.

Authors' foreword

This publication looks at those people in the United Kingdom who reported their religion as 'Jewish' in the Census conducted on the evening of 29 April 2001. The inclusion of a question on religion is part of a shift in focus by the census, away from not only recording the physical fabric of British society to also exploring its social makeup. It was the first time that such a question had been asked in a census in mainland Britain and, for this reason, its inclusion represents a unique landmark in the history of social surveys of British Jewry.

This report refers primarily to those people who identified themselves as 'Jewish' in response to the question in the 2001 Census of England and Wales, 'What is your religion?', and the parallel questions on the Scottish Census, 'What religion, religious denomination or body do you belong to?' and 'What religion, religious denomination or body were you brought up in?' This is therefore a self-defining group and the label must only be understood within this context. Furthermore, the question on religion was the only voluntary question on the 2001 Census form. Therefore this population consists of people who, regardless of the personal nature of the question, were willing to report their religion as 'Jewish' to the government. Crucially, this definition does not involve itself with legalistic or other issues. The 2001 Census reported that 267,340 people in the United Kingdom had identified themselves as Jewish by religion, and it is mainly this population that is the subject matter of this report.

But it is important to acknowledge that, in reality, it is impossible to obtain an *exact* number of Jews, even within the strict legal confines of a national census. There are many reasons why this is the case and we outline them in the course of this report. Suffice it to say here that the reasons are both technical and philosophical. There are technical issues that stem from the limitations of undertaking any census, and these are common to censuses throughout the world. Moreover, who is and who is not 'Jewish' is a highly contentious issue, and a matter of opinion.

That said, within the confines of this particular Census, there is a very strong case to suggest that some people, who would be regarded as Jews in most practical circumstances, were not enumerated as such. As a consequence, the Census figure is almost certainly an undercount.* However, whether this undercount was in the region of 10 or 15 per cent is far less significant than the fact that, thanks to the Census, there is now a dataset, unparalleled in its detail and complexity, on Europe's second largest Jewish population. Although there is practical significance for service planners and providers in knowing whether the number is closer to 267,000 or 330,000, they can only take note of what the Census revealed.

The Census thus provides us with the largest and most informative set of data about Jewish people ever assembled in the United Kingdom. What the Census tells us about these self-identifying Jews is more significant than whether or not the number that it reveals is strictly accurate. It is imperative that this point is understood and accepted at the outset and that we move forward from this qualification.

Prior to the Census, all other social surveys concerning British Jews were based on relatively small samples of Jewish households, the largest of these being the sample of 2,965 households in the survey of Greater London and the South-east carried out by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research and the National Centre for Social Research in 2001. Although this sample yielded valuable information on a wide variety of issues, its size pales in comparison with the Census, an exercise designed to reach every household in the country. Whatever its shortcomings, the socio-economic data on Jews that the Census provides has no equal in the history of research on British Jews.

It is the quantity and quality of these data that are of prime significance. They yield information on the geography and demography of British Jews that was not previously available. The amount and level of detail they provide on subjects, such as the education, employment and occupation of Jews, are incomparable in scope to anything that came before. Furthermore, each Census variable can be cross-tabulated and analysed with all other variables—age, gender, geography, country of birth and a host of others—in a way that has not previously been possible.

* This issue has been dealt with elsewhere; see D. Graham and S. Waterman, 'Underenumeration of the Jewish population in the UK 2001 Census', *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 11, 2005, 89–102.

The analysis of these Census data might move in several directions. Therefore it is important to specify what this report does and does not do, what can and what cannot be achieved, and why some topics have been covered and others have not.

We have elected to concentrate on the Jews as a small but important component of British society, focusing on the Jewish population itself. We do this despite the considerable temptation to engage in comparisons with other groups in British society, particularly other religious and ethnic groups. Also attractive is the idea of putting the data from the Census alongside data from previous surveys of British Jewry, and writing a more general essay on this population. But to follow either of these two routes—both valid and each interesting—would be to produce something different; the former would deal with religious and ethnic groups in British society rather than specifically with Jews while the latter, though providing perhaps a more detailed narrative on the current state of the British Jewish population, would detract from what we strongly feel should be the principal function of the report: *to present the key findings of the 2001 Census pertaining to Jews*. This is not to say that comparative references to other groups or other work on British Jews will not be taken into account where appropriate, but these will emphatically not be at the heart of this report.

At the same time, we need to bear in mind two further points. The first concerns the utility of Census data in both communal policy formulation and service planning. British Jewish communal institutions, including schools, synagogues, charities, care homes and so on require reliable data if they are to plan effectively for the future provision of social services. In this sense, use of the data on Jews as revealed by the Census simply echoes the most general aim of the national census, that it be a tool to permit policy planners and decision-makers to allocate resources justly and economically in accord with priorities set by the government.

The second point to bear in mind is that Jewish identity is a complex sociological notion. The 2001 Census chose to define 'Jewish' in strictly religious terms. However, Jewish demographic scholarship, nationally and internationally, has generally acknowledged that for many people being Jewish also has an ethnic dimension. Indeed, for some people the ethnic dimension is the only one and, for many contemporary British Jews, belonging to a cultural or ethnic group is a more appropriate way of identifying as a Jew than expressing an adherence to a set of religious beliefs or practices.

1 Introduction

This report on the 2001 Census results pertaining to British Jews is the culmination of work that the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) undertook between 1997 and 2003 under the rubric of a project entitled Long-term Planning for British Jewry. Regrettably, but unavoidably, that project was completed before full use could be made of the Census materials.

At the same time, this report should also be seen as an update of two publications by the Board of Deputies of British Jews over the past two decades: *British Jewry in the Eighties* (1986) and *A Profile of British Jewry: Patterns and Trends at the Turn of a Century* (1998).[1] Like these two earlier publications, this current one sheds light on the demographic, social and geographic condition of Britain's Jews. However, unlike the two earlier publications, the picture it paints is based on a single dataset and covers a broader group in greater detail and with greater accuracy. Consequently, it adds considerably to our knowledge of the social and economic conditions of Britain's Jewish population.

The bulk of the statistical material on which this report is based consists of several million pieces of data, all made readily available to the public by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and the General Register Office for Scotland (GROS). We hope to highlight the important trends discerned in this archive, and present them in an accessible manner. In most instances, and especially for the smaller geographical areas, considerable technical skill and extensive interpretative knowledge are required to analyse and interpret the findings of the Census correctly.

Some of the data presented here make extensive use of tabulations commissioned from ONS jointly by JPR and the Board of Deputies. This report is the first effort to bring together, on a countrywide scale, the standard data output from the Census agencies alongside some of the specially commissioned material and to present them in a single publication.

1 S. Waterman and B. A. Kosmin, *British Jewry in the Eighties: A Statistical and Geographical Guide* (London: Board of Deputies of British Jews 1986); M. Schmool and F. Cohen, *A Profile of British Jewry: Patterns and Trends at the Turn of a Century* (London: Board of Deputies of British Jews 1998).

Jews in the United Kingdom

Jews have been present in Britain continuously since the Resettlement in 1656 during the Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell. Early in the nineteenth century, the number of Jews in the United Kingdom was probably about 20,000, of whom about three-quarters lived in London.[2] Through the century, the population increased gradually to around 60,000 by 1881, at which time large-scale immigration from Eastern Europe got under way. The number of British Jews reached its zenith around the middle of the twentieth century with one estimate as high as 450,000.[3] What is generally agreed is that, during this whole period, approximately two-thirds were in London and surrounding areas.

The main reason for the debate over the size of the total British Jewish population is that, curiously, none of the various and widely quoted population figures has ever been truly verifiable. All such figures have been simply estimates inferred from a variety of data sources, some of which have been more reliable than others. Until the publication of the Census data, estimates relating to the size of the British Jewish population relied on statistics such as data on circumcisions, Jewish school enrolment, synagogue membership, synagogue marriages, Jewish burials and cremations and so on. All or some of these have facilitated partial interpretations of demographic parameters and trends, but each has had its own intrinsic limitations.

In addition, all socio-economic data on Jews have until now been generated by relatively small sample surveys, all of which have faced similar fundamental difficulties when drawing a Jewish sample from the general population.[4] Moreover, such surveys work within confined parameters and

2 V. D. Lipman, *Social History of the Jews in England 1850–1950* (London: Watts and Co. 1954), 6.

3 Other sources doubt that the number could ever have been so large. See S. J. Prais and M. Schmool, 'The size and structure of the Anglo-Jewish population, 1960–65', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 10, 1968, 5–34.

4 Most such surveys attempt to draw a representative sample of the Jewish population, a difficult task when the total population is not known. In addition to being complicated to design, surveys are expensive to conduct and most of them have been driven by the interests of individual researchers or by specific time-bound community issues. As a consequence, they have been carried out at irregular intervals.

definitions, as a consequence of which they will miss many people who consider themselves to be Jewish. They are inherently biased towards reaching those Jews who have institutional connections such as membership of a Jewish institution such as a synagogue, club or charitable organization, or who live in the more densely Jewish parts of the country; they have been less effective at reaching Jews who do not formally affiliate to the community or who have minimal contacts with the 'mainstream'. In other words, the surveys have been restricted in their geographic scope and less than optimally inclusive. For these reasons alone, the 2001 Census question on religion, given the broad coverage of the Census, marked a substantial improvement.

Nevertheless, despite the obvious deficiencies of the statistical data collected in the several sample surveys of Jewish populations that have been conducted in Britain since the 1960s, a great deal is known about British Jews and our knowledge of Britain's Jews is surprisingly sophisticated.[5]

Who is Jewish?

The issue of where to draw the line dividing Jew from non-Jew is as old as the Jewish people itself. In the context of this report, this is mainly a methodological problem in which the central issue is how to reach all people who are potentially part of the Jewish population. The Orthodox definition, based on Jewish legal precedent (*halakhah*), defines a Jew as a person whose mother is Jewish or who has *formally* converted to Judaism under the auspices of an Orthodox court of Jewish law (*beth din*). But, even within this seemingly straightforward definition, the claims to *authentic* orthodoxy are often disputed. Non-Orthodox Judaism takes a less rigid view of who is and is not Jewish. Its more flexible approach allows those who regard themselves as Jews to affiliate or belong.

By the second half of the twentieth century, the definition of who is Jewish had become further complicated by the issue of Jews defining themselves not in terms of belonging to a religion, but according to cultural and ethnic criteria. Such individuals saw their Jewish identity as more than religious (if religious at all) and including features of peoplehood, *ethnie* or nation. Ultimately, the definition of who is 'Jewish' depends on who is posing the question and why it is being asked, as well as the cultural and social milieux in which Jews live; in other words, it is *contextual*, it will depend on which religious, sociological and national factors are held to be important by the people asking the question.

This notwithstanding, it should be noted that Judaism does differ from proselytizing monotheistic religions such as Islam or Christianity, as individuals cannot be Jewish simply by declaring themselves to be. Thus on a purely practical level there are clearly some rules as to who is 'in' and who is 'out'.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries modernity increasingly gave individual Jews the power to choose what kind of Jew they wished to be, if indeed they wanted to be one at all. This concept of conscious *choice* is very much a facet of modern times and has important implications for Jews who, historically, have rarely had much say regarding who they were. Complex hyphenated identities now allow us to be 'British-Jews' or 'Jewish-Germans of Russian extraction', to mention just two possibilities. Equally, individuals may be British and 'secular Jewish' or 'culturally Jewish' or 'just Jewish'. Many see their Jewish affiliation in ethnic rather than in religious terms; then, history, perception of a shared past and experiences, peoplehood and nationhood all come into play in addition to religion.

Many people who think of themselves as Jews in today's secular Britain will increasingly be counted as such because most general surveys, including the Census, require only self-identification. In a

5 See, for example, E. Krausz, 'The Edgware survey: demographic results', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1968, 83–100; E. Krausz, 'The Edgware survey: occupation and social class', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 11, June 1969, 75–95; B. A. Kosmin, M. Bauer and N. Grizzard, *Steel City Jews: A Study of Ethnicity and Social Mobility in the Jewish Population of the City of Sheffield, South Yorkshire* (London: Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews 1975); B. A. Kosmin, C. Levy and P. Wigodsky, *The Social Demography of Redbridge Jewry* (London: Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews 1979); S. M. Miller, M. Schmool and A. Lerman, *Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 1996); H. Becher, S. Waterman, B. Kosmin and K. Thomson, *A Portrait of Jews in London and the South-east: A Community Study* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2002); S. Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds in 2001: Portrait of a Community* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2003); and M. Schmool and S. Miller, *Women in the Jewish Community: Survey Report* (London: Women in the Community, Office of the Chief Rabbi 1994). See also Appendix 1.

nutshell, being Jewish is a subjective matter. Once again, it depends on who is doing the asking and who is doing the defining, and why.

Consequently—and this cannot be repeated often enough—*there is no such thing as a 'true' number when it comes to counting Jews*. Given this discussion, it should be clear that the number 266,740 for people in the United Kingdom recorded as Jews by the Census in April 2001 must always be put in context so that the figure is not misunderstood, misinterpreted or misquoted.

2 The 2001 Census

A necessary assessment

The Census data afford us an excellent opportunity to reassess the social and economic status of British Jews. This is both necessary and timely, given the processes of actual and relative change that Jews have undergone over the past half-century in the United Kingdom. All in all, members of the Jewish population have been successful and have integrated well into general society, even in cases in which the individuals have elected to maintain a marked Jewish identity as an important constituent of their British one.

Nevertheless, in this context there are two important background events to consider, which occurred in the second half of the twentieth century and which have altered the position of British Jews within the wider British society. At mid-century, the Jews were the largest ethnic minority in the United Kingdom after the Irish-born; but, five decades later, this status had changed out of all recognition. As Britain became the recipient of large-scale immigration, first from the Caribbean, then from the Indian subcontinent and, more recently, from parts of Africa and elsewhere, the 'minority' landscape in Britain dramatically changed, especially in urban areas, where most Jews live. Today, the 300,000 or so British Jews find that they have been relegated to playing a minor role in Britain's highly competitive ethnic politics. Whereas individual Jews may have reached the top echelons in politics and government, in business and the professions, in academia and the media, this has never been translated adequately into an effective Jewish voice.

Second, it is not just that the position of Jews *vis-à-vis* other minority voices has been affected adversely by large-scale immigration from the developing world, but it is also the case that the immigration of Jews into Britain since the Second World War has been limited. Today five out of every six Jews in England and Wales were born in the United Kingdom and the country has not benefitted from the immigration of Jews, from North Africa and the Near East (including Israel) or from the former Soviet Union, in the same way that emigrants from those countries have augmented Jewish communities in France, the United States, Canada, Australia and Israel as well as almost completely resurrecting the Jewish community of Germany.

A census question on religion?

The religion question did not easily find its place on the 2001 Census form because the number of questions that can be reasonably asked is limited; space is at a premium. Notwithstanding the debate on whether to include a census question on religion and the complexity of the issues involved, the decision to include just such a question in the 2001 Census was a welcome one. In terms of its religious makeup, British society has been in flux since the 1960s; by the end of the 1990s, ethnicity and religion had become important political priorities in the work environment and in the provision of social services.

A natural 'next step' was to gather these data within the boundaries of a census. Despite sensitive moral and political issues raised by asking individuals to state their religion, the decision was generally both long-awaited and supported from a Jewish standpoint. This is because it would create an anonymized Jewish dataset that would allow assessments of the state of the Jews in the United Kingdom at the beginning of the twenty-first century at the national level and in localities of various sizes. Moreover, the magnitude of the Jewish sample would mean that issues of self-definition and self-selection would be less problematic than in sample surveys of Jewish populations; the sheer number of Jews responding to the Census would nullify the effect of those who failed to record themselves as 'Jewish'.

Yet, although it appeared that logic was victorious in the end, it was preceded by a vigorous and, at times, passionate and rancorous debate over whether or not to include a question on religion in the 2001 Census in the years leading up to it.

Reasons against a question on religion[6]

There were several reasons why the inclusion of a question on religion in the national Census was resisted. There was concern that the response would not accurately reflect the religious composition of society. It was argued by some that it would only capture 'affiliation' or 'membership' data already held by religious bodies. Others thought that, 'for want of literacy and proper

6 This section and the one following are based on Graham and Waterman, 'Underenumeration of the Jewish population'.

understanding',[7] some religious minorities would be underenumerated.

Yet others suggested that there were legal issues involved with asking about religion, considering religion to be so personal that a census religion question might contravene European human rights laws.[8] Philosophical arguments were also made claiming that, as it was a private matter of conscience, neither the state nor any institution or person should be able to oblige individuals to reveal their religion. For example, Graham Zellick, then Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, urged both Jews and the wider UK population to refuse to answer the question since it was '. . . wholly inconsistent with our traditions of freedom and personal privacy to ask a question about a person's religious beliefs'.[9]

Some Hindus protested at a breach of civil rights and confidentiality while some Buddhists used Orwellian 'Big Brother' imagery.[10] Various Muslim organizations noted 'a fear of victimization, particularly among Muslims who may be branded as fundamentalists',[11] and some Jews expressed concerns related to Jewish experiences in Nazi-occupied Europe, where comprehensive population registers had contributed to the annihilation of Jews in the Holocaust.

Reasons in favour of a question on religion

Clearly, the arguments in favour of inclusion won out as the question ultimately appeared on the Census form. These related primarily to economics and, of course, politics. Practical arguments, such as the fact that religion data have routinely been collected for many years in the United Kingdom with no obvious ill effects—in prisons, the armed forces and NHS hospitals—were of little importance.

The case was made that such a question would render 'visible' certain 'hidden' groups concealed within all-encompassing social categories in the Census. For example, it was suggested that these data would supplement data obtained from the existing ethnicity question by identifying groups such as the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians within the 'Indian subcontinent' category. Jews would also benefit because, until 2001, their only opportunity to distinguish themselves, if they so desired, from the very broad category of 'White British' was to include themselves as 'White Other'.

In terms of health, by highlighting the size and residential location of minorities, it was hoped that the task of resource allocation by local and health authorities could be made more efficient.[12] A key reason why the Jewish community supported the call for a religion question was its own need for firm statistics on which to plan provision of social welfare, related to the age and the state of health of the community.[13]

There were also 'technical' reasons supporting its inclusion. For example, demographic researchers on minority groups in the United Kingdom have suffered from a serious paucity of data, effectively inhibiting communal strategic planning and the formation of policy by community leaders and agencies.[14] In fact, this is the main reason why the Board of Deputies shifted its position on the question during the 1990s to one of support.[15] Improved data would mean an improved understanding of key issues affecting contemporary British Jews, such as exogamy (out-

7 P. Weller and A. Andrews, 'Counting religion: religion, statistics and the 2001 Census', *World Faiths Encounter*, no. 21, November 1998, 23–34, available online at www.multifaithnet.org/images/content/seminarpapers/CountingReligionReligion,Statisticsandthe2001Census.htm (viewed 27 February 2007).

8 P. Aspinall, 'Should a question on "religion" be asked in the 2001 British Census? A public policy case in favour', *Social Policy and Administration*, vol. 34, no. 5, 2000, 584–600.

9 G. Zellick, Letter to the Editor, *The Times*, 16 October 1998. As demonstrated below, the question emphatically did not ask about beliefs.

10 Weller and Andrews, 'Counting religion'.

11 Ibid.

12 J. Comenetz, 'Stand up and be counted in national Census', *Forward*, 7 November 2003, available online at www.forward.com/authors/joshua-comenetz (viewed 27 February 2007).

13 M. Schmool, 'British Jewry in 2001: first impressions from the censuses', in S. W. Massil (ed.), *The Jewish Year Book 2004* (London: Vallentine Mitchell 2004), xx–xxxi (xxviii).

14 B. Kosmin, 'A religious question in the British Census?', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 32, no. 2, 1998, 39–46; Aspinall, 'Should a question on "religion" be asked in the 2001 British Census?'.

15 M. Schmool, 'The ethnic question on the British Census: a Jewish perspective', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 32, no. 2, 1998, 65–71.

marriage, intermarriage), which suffers from unreliable indicators.[16]

Perhaps the most persuasive general argument for asking a question on religion was that it would augment government baselines used to measure social disadvantage and exclusion. It would aid the government in monitoring how well its equal opportunities programmes were succeeding in reducing social inequalities.[17] As Jews were organizationally well-structured and articulate, and the matter was important to them, they made a convincing case for social service provision being a factor, influencing the decision to include the question on religion and presenting a 'communal voice' in the discussions about the Census questions.

Finally, by asking a religion question in the Census, Britain would only be doing what several other countries, including Australia, Canada and India, had been doing for many years; none of these had removed the question because of perceived problems with its inclusion.

In conclusion, despite the persuasiveness of many of the arguments against including a question on religion in the 2001 Census, they were outweighed by the reasons in favour. As a consequence, the question was included. Uniquely, however, in light of the various concerns, it was made voluntary.

The question on religion

From a Jewish perspective, the Census question on religion was an innovation that had the potential to release an enormous quantity of new data. However, though these data are of unparalleled interest to Jewish communal planners, users should bear in mind the precise conditions under which they were obtained before drawing conclusions from the findings.

Figure 2.1: The question on religion in the Census of England and Wales, 2001

First and foremost, the question was a voluntary one; it was the only one in the 2001 Census that allowed the respondent to choose to answer or not. This reflected the sensitive nature of its inclusion and clearly enhanced the potential for undercount. Second, the question itself was worded simplistically; there was nothing to suggest to the respondents whether this was a matter of 'belonging', 'belief' or 'practice' (see Figure 2.1). Thus, 'What is your religion?' could have been and indeed was interpreted in a variety of ways. Finally, in many cases, a 'household head' (or Household Reference Person) would have filled out the Census form on behalf of all the other members of the household, a factor that again may have had unforeseen effects on the nature of the data collected.[18]

16 The Board of Deputies of British Jews voted overwhelmingly to support the inclusion of the question and, although it was to be a voluntary question, the community was pressed to 'tick the Jewish box' both in newspaper and synagogue magazine articles and at local meetings throughout the country in order to obtain the most comprehensive demographic picture ever of British Jewry. The exhortation was aimed not at getting the largest possible number of Jews but so that the widest possible range of data could eventually be made available by relating answers of thirty-five questions one to another in analysis. See Schmool, 'The ethnic question on the British Census', 65.

17 K. Sillitoe and P. H. White, 'Ethnic group and the British Census: the search for a question', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series A: Statistics in Society*, vol. 155, no. 1, 1992, 141–63.

18 A detailed summary of caveats to bear in mind when assessing the Census data is presented in Appendix 2.

The voluntary nature of the religion question made the risk of non-response greater than for any other question. Although we have no firm data on non-respondents, we can surmise from our knowledge of previous social research and census response rates that Jewish non-respondents were most likely to include single men aged 18 to 30, people recently arrived from abroad and those whose religious affiliation and outlook were at the extremities of the secular/religious spectrum, namely, the most religious and the most secular.

Non-response for the question on religion on the Census as a whole was 7.6 per cent; by comparison, non-response for the question on ethnic group was 2.9 per cent and for the one on age only 0.5 per cent.[19] We do not know the precise characteristics of those people who chose not to respond to the optional question on religion, nor is there any reliable means of knowing how many Jews were among them. However, data from the JPR surveys of Greater London and the South-east and of Leeds do hint at the way some Jews dealt with the Census question.[20] In the former, it was noted that 16 per cent of that sample either had not answered or could not remember whether they had answered 'Jewish' on the Census; in the latter, the figure was 13 per cent (see Table 2.1).

A note on data from Scotland and Northern Ireland

The Census in the United Kingdom is actually carried out by three parallel agencies: the Office for National Statistics in England and Wales (ONS), the General Register Office for Scotland (GROS) and the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA). Only in Northern Ireland has a question on religion been asked consistently over the previous decades. However, as the Jewish population in Northern Ireland comprised just 365 persons, it is marginal to this study.[21]

In contrast to the religion question in England and Wales, the question in Scotland (and Northern Ireland) contained two separate parts: 'What religion, religious denomination or body do you belong to?' and 'What religion, religious denomination or body were you brought up in?' These questions incorporated the idea of 'belonging' and recognized the notion that a person's identity was not fixed throughout the course of their life. This was a particularly apt approach to adopt at the outset of the twenty-first century, following several decades during which there had been a marked tendency towards secularization and having no religion. However, it also means, *inter alia*, that the data from Scotland

Table 2.1: Response rates to the Census question on religion among respondents to sample surveys in Leeds (2001) and Greater London (2002)

In the national Census of 29 April 2001, there was a voluntary question on religion. Did you answer 'Jewish' to this question?	London survey (%) (N=2,936)	Leeds survey (%) (N=1,417)
Yes (I chose Jewish)	83.7	86.6
No, I chose not to answer that question	5.3	6.4
No, I gave a different answer	1.1	n/a
No, I did not fill in a Census form	2.5	2.2
I cannot remember	7.3	4.9
Total	100.0*	100.0*

* Columns do not add up to 100 due to rounding.
Sources: Becher *et al., A Portrait of Jews in London and the South-east*; Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*; JPR's 2001 survey dataset of Jews in London and the South-east (col. 2); JPR's 2001 survey dataset of Jews in Leeds (col. 3)

19 See 'Item non-response rates', available on the ONS website at www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/downloads/ItemnonrespLAD.xls (viewed 17 April 2007).

20 Becher *et al.*, *A Portrait of Jews in London and the South-east*; Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*.

21 Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, *Northern Ireland Census of Population 2001*, Table S308, available online at www.nisranew.nisra.gov.uk/Census/Excel/Standardtables/s308.xls (viewed 27 February 2007).

cannot be readily combined with those from England and Wales.[22]

The religion questions used in Scotland elicited different kinds of results to those in England and Wales. A quarter of people in Scotland who reported that they had had a Jewish upbringing did *not* report that their *current* religion was Jewish in 2001.[23] The Scottish data on religion are therefore different to the data for England and Wales in that they provide some rudimentary information on the extent to which people join and leave the Jewish fold.

Nevertheless, the Scottish data intimate that, had people been presented with a similar option in England and Wales, some of those who were left with no option but to report their current religion as 'Jewish' (if they were to be enumerated as Jews at all) might otherwise have only reported their upbringing as 'Jewish'. This cannot be considered inconsequential but, apart from the indication of the Scottish data, we have no way of knowing how a similar set of questions would have been answered in England and Wales.[24]

Interpreting census results

Despite all these issues, some 267,340 people in the United Kingdom—the overwhelming majority (over 97 per cent) of whom lived in England and Wales—answered 'Jewish' in response to the question on religion[25]. This figure must be accepted for what it is, a reflection of sentiment in terms of 'religion as Jewish' at a particular point in time. Any question asking about a person's identity can only be as accurate as the respondent cares to make it, and the extent to which these data are an accurate reflection of reality can be debated *ad nauseam*. The reality is that *no* set of data that attempts to measure identity can be indisputable, since researchers, planners and other people construct social categories. The debate, already noted, regarding the definition of 'Jewish' is at this point rendered irrelevant since the Census relies on self-identification. These data must therefore be taken for no more and no less than what they are: that is, the Census results for those reporting themselves as 'Jewish' in the United Kingdom. Any other discussion of their *accuracy* or *validity* is superfluous. Even so, the Census count of Jews in the United Kingdom in April 2001 was most likely an 'undercount', not least because of its voluntary nature.[26]

Despite the natural—but unanswerable—desire to discover the 'true' number of Jews in the population, the provision of such a definitive number cannot be the prime objective of social research on British Jews. What the 2001 Census achieves, and what it has done better than all previous surveys of British Jews, is an extremely detailed set of data on the social, demographic and economic characteristics of those people in the United Kingdom who identified themselves as Jews on 29 April 2001. In other words, even if we know it to be highly probable that there were more Jewish people in the United Kingdom than the number given in the Census, we are now in a position to describe in great detail where Jews live, in what circumstances and under which conditions, their demographic profile, their levels of education, their occupations and the branches of industry in which they work, who they are married to and who they live with. At the same time, they can be compared with many other groups in the country.

Ethnicity in the 2001 Census[27]

Although most of the information that the Census provides on Jews comes from the question on religion, the 2001 Census of England and Wales offers some supplementary information on Jews from the question on ethnic groups.

The ethnicity question that appeared on the 2001 Census form (Figure 2.2) asked: 'What is your ethnic group?' Unlike the religion question, it was not optional. There were five ethnic categories offered, and each was augmented with a write-in possibility.

22 Even so, Census data relating to Jews in Scotland have been amalgamated into this report wherever possible. In addition, Appendix 3 explains the results of the split religion question diagrammatically. For detailed analysis of the Census results on religion in Scotland in general (but including Jews), see Office of the Chief Statistician, *Analysis of Religion in the 2001 Census: Summary Report*, Scottish Executive National Statistics Publication (Edinburgh: Scottish Executive 2005).

23 D. Graham, 'So how many Jews are there in the UK? The 2001 UK Census and the size of the Jewish population', *JPR News*, Spring 2003, available online at www.jpr.org.uk/Newsletter/index%20spring%202003.htm (viewed 27 February 2007).

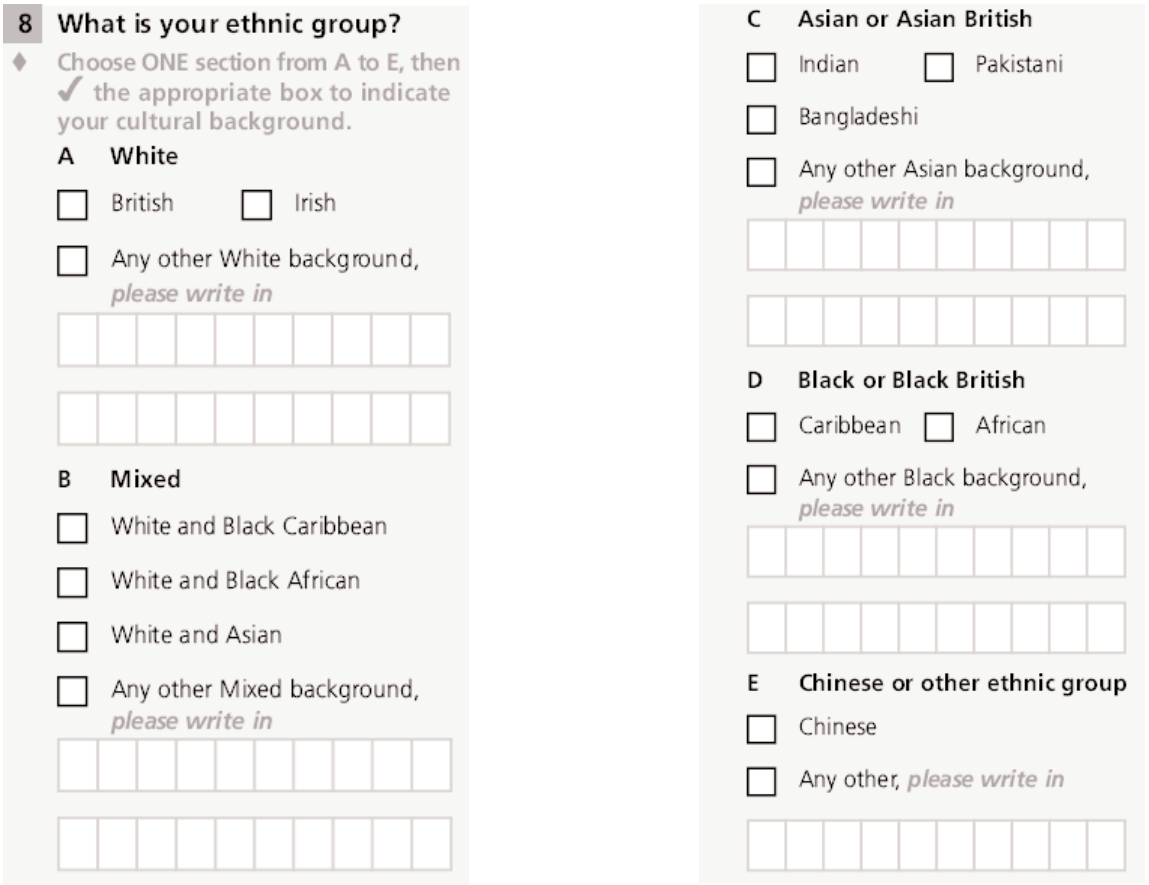
24 The Scottish data could, of course, be highly skewed given the large Jewish exodus from Scotland over the past forty years.

25 However, see also Appendix 4.

26 See Graham and Waterman, 'Underenumeration of the Jewish population', for a technical discussion of the ways in which this may have occurred and an assessment of its likely impact.

27 In Chapters 6 and 7 ethnicity is examined in the context of social and economic indicators.

Figure 2.2: The question on ethnicity in the 2001 Census of England and Wales



An overwhelming proportion, (97 per cent) of Jews by religion in the 2001 Census described their ethnicity as 'White' (251,635 Jews in England and Wales and 6,202 in Scotland), a greater proportion than any of the other religious groups.

The Census ostensibly afforded Jews who wished to do so the opportunity both to self-report as 'Jews by religion' and also to record their Jewishness through the question on ethnicity. However, because of the built-in 'colour' and nationality bias of the ethnic categories offered on the Census form, it might not have occurred to most Jewish people that writing in 'Jewish' was an appropriate answer to this question.[28]

Despite this, of the 259,927 people in England and Wales who reported 'Jewish' as their religion, 10,950 (4.2 per cent) also wrote in 'Jewish' as their ethnic group. A further 2,594 (equivalent to 1 per cent of the number of Jews by religion) wrote in 'Jewish' for their ethnic group while offering 'no religion' or leaving the religion question blank on the Census form (see Table 2.2).[29]

Table 2.2: Summary of Jewish counts, by religion and ethnicity, England and Wales

Jewish by	Counts
Religion only	248,977
Religion and ethnicity	10,950
Ethnicity only	2,594
No religion	*1,749*
Religion not stated	*845*
Total	262,521

Source: ONS Table C0476 (a–c)

28 At the time of the Census, the Board of Deputies' Community Research Unit had calls from the Jewish public asking if it was in order to write in 'Jewish' in the ethnic question.

29 There were 547 people who wrote in 'Jewish' on the ethnicity question but reported a religion other than Jewish on the religion question. These people have not been included in the analysis.

A total of 13,544 people used the write-in option to describe their ethnicity as 'Jewish'; of these 10,950 also gave their religion as 'Jewish'. That is, 2,594 individuals appeared in the Census as Jewish by ethnicity only. This implies that 19.2 per cent of Jews whose Jewish identity was other than religious only (a total of 13,544 people) claimed only an ethnic dimension. These people were omitted from the data analysis of Jews in the 2001 Census by ONS (see Appendix 1). The act of writing in Jewish as a response to the ethnicity question, however, was a deliberate act, and these Jews can justifiably be included in our population. Nonetheless, it is important to bear in mind that the data presented here *do not* represent a complete picture of Jewish ethnic identity in England and Wales,[30] and refer only to those who wrote in 'Jewish' in answer to a question that was inherently biased towards skin colour and nationality.

Uncovering two types of 'ethnic Jew', those who declared their religion to be Jewish and those who did not (in addition to Jews by religion only), raises several interesting questions. One of these questions concerns whether more people would have chosen Jewish ethnicity in preference to or as a complement to their Jewish religious identity *had the Census included a Jewish category, thus prompting them to do so*. Would this have affected the numbers of people who gave their *religion* as Jewish because they did not see any other way of stating that they were Jewish? Would 'missing' secular Jews have been better enumerated?

Another intriguing and important question has to do with differences observed among the three groups: 'Jews by religion only', 'Jews by ethnicity only' and those who reported both Jewish religion *and* ethnicity. One assumption would be, for example, that those in the 'Jewish by ethnicity only' group would be more 'secular' than the 'Jewish by religion' group but this is not something that can be confirmed or refuted by the Census data. However, other differences among these three groups *can* be checked and some results are presented elsewhere in the report.

The Canadian Census, in which the concept of being 'Jewish by ethnicity' *is* recognized, provides a useful reference point. The Canadian ethnicity question (based on a concept of 'ancestral origin'[31]) is explicit: 'Jewish' is one of several possible options (including mixed ethnicity). Thus the 2001 Canadian Census reported 329,995 'Jews by religion' but 348,605 'Jews by ethnicity', most identifying as both, but some only as one or the other.[32]

The very fact that at least 13,544 people were sufficiently alert or aware of the possibility of writing in 'Jewish' on the ethnicity question suggests that the inclusion of a Jewish category in that question would change the nature of the Jewish response to the Census.

30 Equivalent data for Scotland are unavailable.

31 Statistics Canada, *Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait*: *The Changing Mosaic*, 2001 Census: Analysis Series, Cat. No. 96F0030XIE2001008 (Ottawa: Ministry of Industry 2003), 38.

32 Statistics Canada, 2001 Census, 'Selected ethnic origins, for Canada, provinces and territories—20% sample data', 2003, available online at www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/highlight/ETO/Table1.cfm?Lang=E&T=501&GV=1&GID=0 (viewed 27 February 2007); Statistics Canada, 'Population by religion, by province and territory (2001 Census)', 25 January 2005, available online at www40.statcan.ca/l01/cst01/demo30a.htm (viewed 27 February 2007); B. A. Kosmin, 'The Jewish market in North America', in M. Brown and B. Lightman (eds), *Creating the Jewish Future* (London: Sage 1999), 219–33.

3 Geography

The importance of geography

'Where do Britain's Jews live?' is frequently the question that follows 'How many?', and is as fundamental to any research on Britain's Jews. Like 'How many?', this apparently simple and straightforward question can be interpreted in several ways. In one sense, it can mean: 'In what part of the country or conurbation do Jews tend to congregate?' However, it can also mean: 'Are there readily identifiable Jewish neighbourhoods?' Or: 'Are there specific neighbourhoods or streets in which Jews prefer to live?'

The 2001 Census data offer a picture of the distribution of Jews across Britain in unprecedented detail. The challenge is to decide how best to describe the patterns revealed by the data. Jews tend to concentrate in certain areas, especially urban ones; focusing on these clusters reveals that, even at the local level, Jews are still not evenly distributed, clustering into a small number of wards. This pattern of Jewish spatial clustering is found again at even finer resolutions, and data from sources other than the Census indicate there is clustering right down to street level.[33]

People living in predominantly 'Jewish areas' might be surprised to learn that Jews virtually never form a majority, that is, more than 50 per cent, of the local population. As an example, under 30 per cent of all people enumerated in Golders Green ward in the London Borough of Barnet, often regarded as a quintessentially Jewish area, reported their religion as 'Jewish' in the 2001 Census.

Where people live affects employment and educational opportunities and the quality of health and care provision, and sets the parameters for social intercourse. If a specific group is widely dispersed over a wide geographical area, maintaining a community spirit is rendered that much more difficult than when a population of similar size is clustered in a more closely bounded geographical space. Although the late twentieth century witnessed the development of virtual or network communities in which people may never meet one another face to face, institutions of Jewish community such as synagogues, schools, old-age homes and voluntary workplaces require geographical proximity in order to function efficiently. Propinquity is an important element in the preservation of Jewish 'community'. A better appreciation of the geography of British Jews and of how this might be changing provides valuable information on how the community works.

33 S. Waterman and B. A. Kosmin, 'Residential patterns and processes: a study of Jews in three London boroughs', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. NS13, 1988, 75-91; O. Valins, 'Stubborn identities and the construction of socio-spatial boundaries: ultra-orthodox Jews living in contemporary Britain', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. NS28, 2003, 158-75.

A geographic background to British Jews

The Census provides us with a plethora of geographic information down to the smallest and most detailed of spatial units; these data are not projected on to a *tabula rasa*. Quite a lot is known and has been known for a long time about the geography of British Jews; although some of this is anecdotal much of it is based on empirical evidence. While this information was never perfect, for a long time it was the best that existed. The Census, however, provides us with a source of information on the geographical distribution of British Jews that is superior to anything that has existed before.

It has long been known that between 60 per cent and two-thirds of Jews in the United Kingdom live in and around London. This has been the case for well over a century. This approximate 2:1 ratio between London and the rest of the country is known from a wide variety of sources. In addition to London, the main regional centres of British Jewish life have been Manchester, Glasgow and Leeds, with smaller communities in, for example, Liverpool, Birmingham, Brighton and Bournemouth.

Most of these regional communities have seen their populations contract over the past fifty years, along with falls in births and marriages, and a decline in enrolments in Jewish schools. In some cases, where a community was never large, it has virtually disappeared. In addition, there is also movement between these regional communities, and between them and London.

Scales

The data from the 2001 Census provide information on the residential locations of the

population in contrast to earlier datasets that relied, for the most part, on institutional lists. The Census data are published at various scales, the largest of which are government-designated regions and the smallest of which approximate to groups of individual streets.

The scales are:

- *National*: England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- *Regional*: There are nine regions in England and Wales, eight in Scotland. Examples of regions are London and the North-west.
- *County*: These are units such as Surrey or Lancashire. There are 110 in England and Wales, and 32 in Scotland.
- *Local Authority Districts (LADs)*: These are boroughs and unitary authorities such as the London Borough of Barnet, the City of Bristol or Hertsmere (in Hertfordshire). There are 376 LADs in England and Wales, and 32 in Scotland.
- *Wards*: Wards are subdivisions of LADs. Edgware and Golders Green in the London Borough of Barnet or Kersal in Salford are examples of wards. All in all, there are 10,521 wards in the United Kingdom, which include 1,255 in Scotland.
- *Output Areas (OA)*: An Output Area is the smallest geographical unit for which ONS provides data. Output Areas are roughly equivalent in size and population to postcode blocks although they are not coterminous with them. There are 218,040 OAs in the United Kingdom, including 42,604 in Scotland. On average, there are slightly fewer than 500 OAs per LAD though this varies quite widely: Barnet, for instance, has 1,015 and Hertsmere 306. On average, Output Areas contain about 300 people even though in some instances there may be more than 1,000. Unlike the larger-scale geographical units, OAs are Census subdivisions *per se*, statistical units *par excellence* and are not administrative jurisdictions.

The geographical levels outlined above are all pertinent to the analysis of Britain's Jewish population contained in this report.

The arbitrariness of boundaries

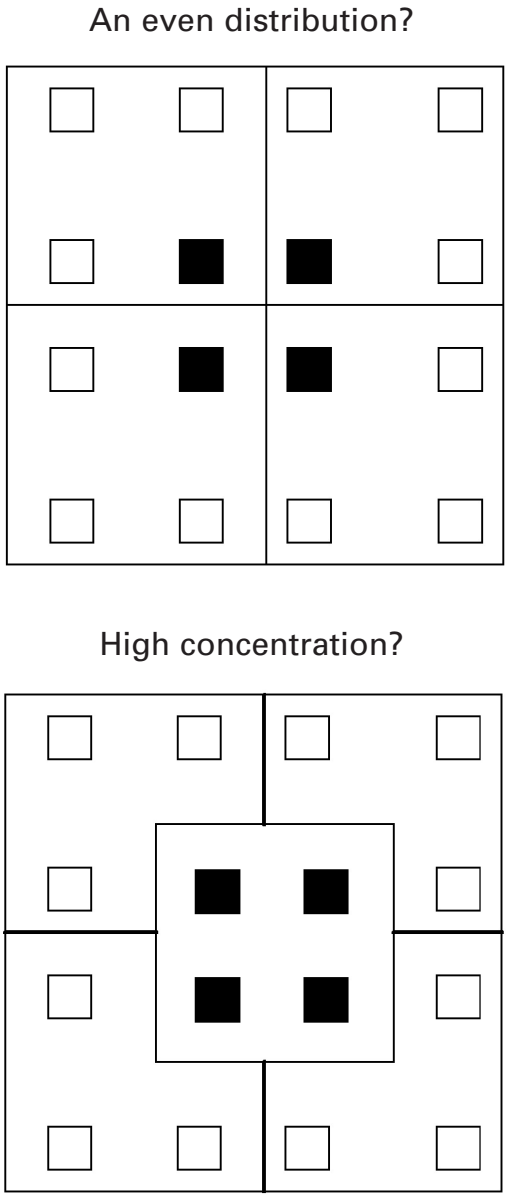
It is important to bear in mind that all statistical boundaries are arbitrary. All spatial units used in the analysis of Census statistics other than the Output Areas derive from either planning or local government units and these units are not necessarily best suited to describing and analysing the distribution of Jews in the United Kingdom. It is often frustrating to discover that the distribution of the population may not (and, invariably, does not) coincide with the geographical units for which ONS publishes its statistics. This is true for all populations and particularly so for the Jews. Simply put, at the levels of the LADs and wards, the Jewish population straddles the administrative/statistical boundaries in several areas. This may occur as a result of a Jewish residential nucleus having been arbitrarily established, so that, if growth spreads in several directions from that initial core that was close to an existing administrative boundary, the effect will be to 'dilute' the Jewish presence in each of the geographical units for which data are presented (see Figure 3.1). There are several examples of this problem in the analyses that follow, in which the group is located around the boundary between two or more statistical units rather than neatly within it. Examples include an area straddling parts of Bury, Salford and Manchester in Greater Manchester, or the boundary between Barnet and Harrow or between Barnet and Hertsmere in North-west London.

The national Jewish population distribution

Data on Jews from the 2001 Census, published by ONS in the spring of 2003, showed that Jews lived in every Local Authority District in the United Kingdom except one, namely, the Isles of Scilly.[34] Even so, their distribution is far from even; of the 376 Local Authority Districts in England and Wales almost a quarter of all British Jews live in just two of them, the London boroughs of Barnet and Redbridge. The addition of the next seven LADs (Harrow, Camden, Hackney, Hertsmere, Bury, Leeds and Westminster) brings the figure to just over half of the total, and that of the following 31 accounts for three-quarters of all Jews in the country. In fact, 90 per cent of all Jews live in just 26 per cent of the LADs (see Figure 3.2).

34 ONS Table KS07 (for a summary of all ONS tables, see Appendix 7). The Census recorded only 2,152 people in the Isles of Scilly. As well as Jews, there were also no Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs recorded in this LAD.

Figure 3.1: 'Diluted' and 'concentrated' distribution



There are two ways to get a general picture of the distribution of Jews in England and Wales by LAD. The first is to rank LADs by the size of their Jewish population and the second is to rank them by the the ratio of Jews to the total population.

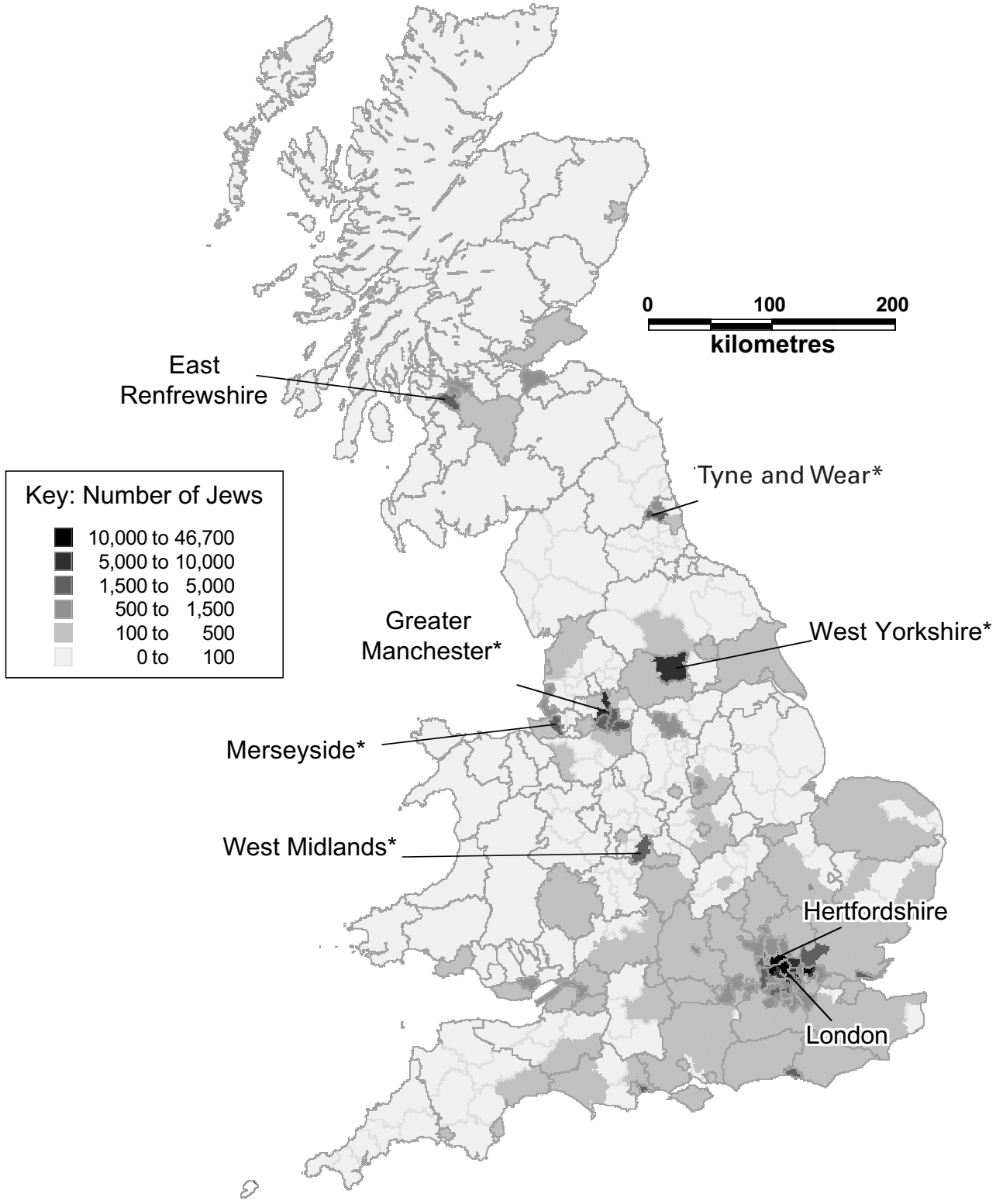
The London borough of Barnet, the LAD with the largest Jewish population is also ranked highest on proportion of Jews, meaning that the ratio of Jews to the total population is highest in this LAD (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2). In Barnet, one person in seven (14.8 per cent) of the total population was recorded as Jewish. In the Hertsmere LAD in South Hertfordshire, abutting Barnet just beyond the Green Belt and the GLA boundary, one person in nine was Jewish (see Figure 3.3). Jews comprised over 5 per cent of the general population in only four other LADs (Harrow 6 per cent, Redbridge 6 per cent, Camden 6 per cent and Hackney 5 per cent). Bury, in Greater Manchester, where Jews were slightly under 5 per cent of the population, was the only district outside the London region to approach these proportions (see Table 3.2). This is an extremely uneven countrywide distribution.

Table 3.1: Largest 25 Jewish populations in the UK by LAD

LAD	Jewish population	% of total UK Jewish Population
Barnet	46,686	17.52
Redbridge	14,796	5.55
Harrow	13,112	4.92
Camden	11,153	4.19
Hackney	10,732	4.03
Hertsmere	10,712	4.02
Bury	8,924	3.35
Leeds	8,267	3.10
Westminster	7,732	2.90
Brent	6,464	2.43
Haringey	5,724	2.15
Enfield	5,336	2.00
Salford	5,179	1.94
Epping Forest	3,715	1.39
Kensington and Chelsea	3,550	1.33
Brighton and Hove UA	3,358	1.26
East Renfrewshire	3,126	1.17
Manchester	3,076	1.15
Southend-on-Sea UA	2,721	1.02
Liverpool	2,698	1.01
Birmingham	2,343	0.88
Trafford	2,314	0.87
Hillingdon	1,977	0.74
Islington	1,846	0.69
Tower Hamlets	1,831	0.69

Source: ONS Table KS07 and GROS Table KS07
UA=Unitary Authority

Figure 3.2: Distribution of Jews in Great Britain, by population of LAD population Jewish



Source: ONS Table KS07 and GROS Table KS07
*Metropolitan County

Other data showed that the City of London, with a Jewish population of just 226 people, comprised a minuscule proportion of the British Jewish population and was ranked 110th in terms of size. However, Jews comprised 3.1 per cent of the City of London's total population and the City was ranked ninth in terms of Jewish density. Similarly, although less markedly, some districts in South Hertfordshire, on the outer fringes of North London, were ranked relatively high on the Jewish density scale, although their proportion of the total Jewish population of England and Wales was small. Similarly, the university towns of Cambridge and Oxford, with substantial Jewish student populations, also moved up in rank.[35]

Table 3.2: Top 30 LADs, by percentage of total population Jewish, in England and Wales

LAD	% of LAD Jewish
Barnet	14.8
Hertsmere (S. Herts)	11.3
Harrow	6.3
Redbridge	6.2
Camden	5.6
Hackney	5.3
Bury (Greater Manchester)	4.9
Westminster	4.3
City of London	3.1
Epping Forest (SW Essex)	3.1
Haringey	2.6
Brent	2.5
Salford (Greater Manchester)	2.4
Kensington and Chelsea	2.2
Three Rivers (S. Herts)	2.1
Enfield	2.0
Southend-on-Sea UA	1.7
Brighton and Hove UA	1.4
Leeds	1.2
Watford (S. Herts)	1.1
Trafford (Greater Manchester)	1.1
Islington	1.1
Bournemouth UA	1.0
Tower Hamlets	0.9
St Albans (S. Herts)	0.9
Richmond upon Thames	0.9
Gateshead	0.8
Hillingdon	0.8
Oxford	0.8
Hammersmith and Fulham	0.8

Source: ONS Table KS07
UA=Unitary Authority

In contrast to these examples, the 8,267 Jews enumerated in Leeds, giving that city a ranking of 8th in terms of numbers, represented only 1.2 per cent of the general population of Leeds and the city dropped 11 places in the rankings. Other large centres outside London were similar to Leeds. Manchester and Liverpool dropped in the rankings 14 and 19 places, respectively, although the largest difference between size and proportion rank was that of Birmingham, where the 2,343 Jews recorded in the Census (many of them students) mean that the city was ranked 20th in terms of Jewish numbers but only 86th in terms of Jewish density, a difference of 66 ranking places.

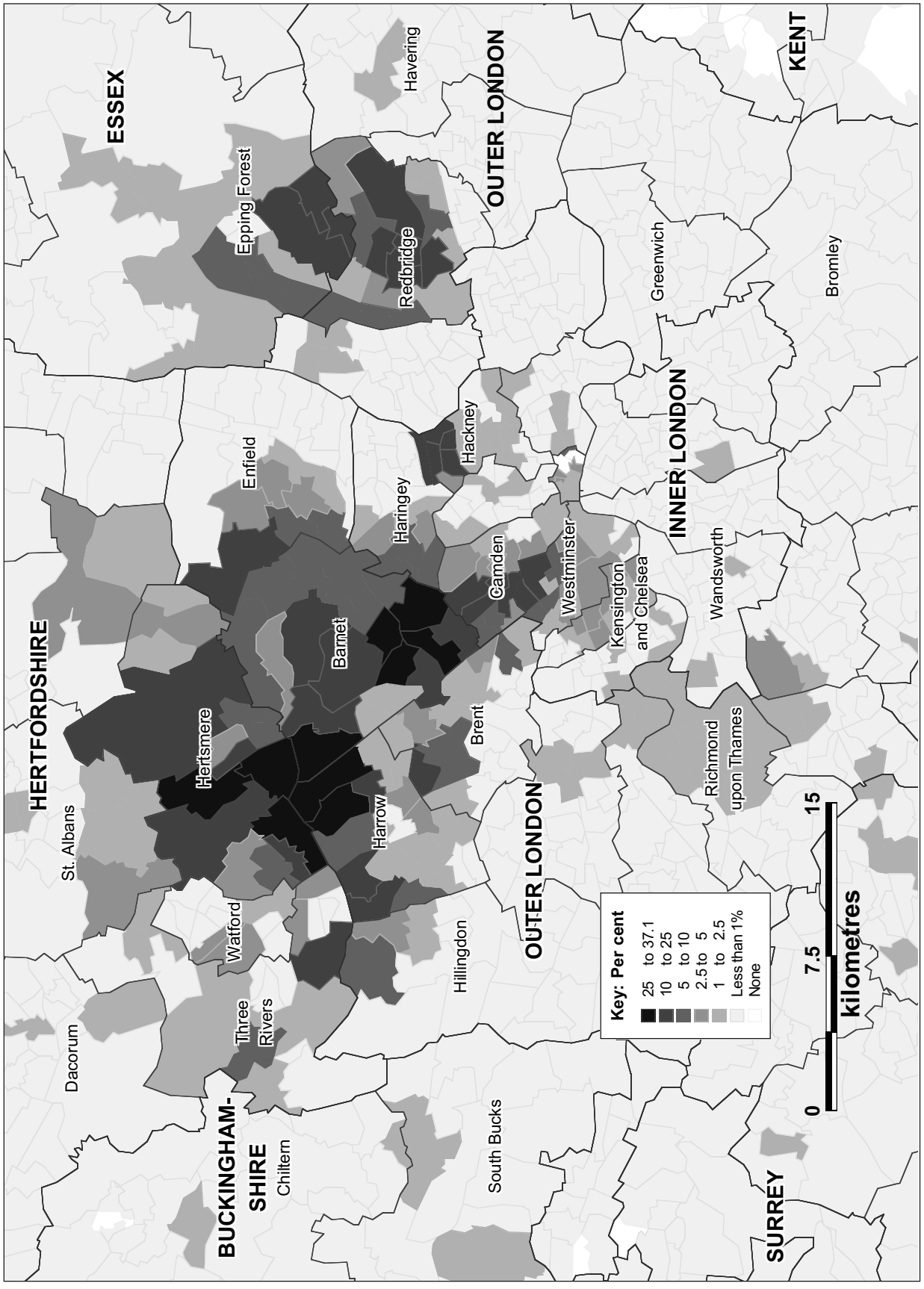
However, as a caveat to drawing too many conclusions too quickly about the significance of Jewish concentrations, it is worth noting that one of the most surprising features revealed by the 2001 Census is the geographical spread of Jews throughout the country. Jews lived in every county and regional area in Great Britain. Indeed, there were many areas where Jews lived but where there were no formal community facilities, such as a synagogue. For example, Somerset, Suffolk, Cornwall, Derbyshire and Warwickshire all had around 500 Jews but no formally recognized synagogue. The identification of around 20,000 Jews in areas that have generally been regarded as containing very few is an issue that policymakers will need to take seriously.

The metropolitan scale: the wards

At the LAD level, Jewish concentration was understated. Like all social or ethnic groups, Jews did not live neatly within institutionally created administrative boundaries. Not only did Jewish concentrations sit astride administrative boundaries; several thousand Jews lived beyond them, while remaining functionally part of the same community. For example, beyond the Greater London administrative boundary lay

35 The Census counted students at their term-time residence and not at their parental 'homes'.

Figure 3.3: Distribution of Jews in North London and surrounds, by population of ward population Jewish



Source: ONS Table CAS103

contiguous locales such as Hertsmere in South Hertfordshire and Epping Forest in Essex (see Figure 3.3). This is important in community terms, the social meaning of community currently being reinforced by schools, synagogue outreach and the like. A similar and even more marked situation can be observed in Greater Manchester, where 14,215 people, approximately two-thirds of Greater Manchester's Jewish population, lived in ten contiguous wards sitting astride the boundaries of the three LADs of Bury, Salford and Manchester (see Figure 3.6).

The tendency of the Jewish population to be concentrated in a small number of areas is seen more clearly in the distribution of population by wards. Since there were relatively few Jews in Britain and the mean population size of a LAD nationwide was approximately 140,000, using smaller units of analysis makes more sense. Wards form the next scale down from the LAD, with an average population size of 5,000; however, in metropolitan areas, their average size is larger. The upshot of this is that the unevenness of distribution of the Jewish population observed in the LADs can be examined to see if it is still apparent at ward level, that is, within individual districts.

Half of all the Jews in England and Wales were living in just 79 of more than 8,800 wards. Of these, 41 were located in Outer London and 16 in Inner London; six more were in South Hertfordshire and one in South-west Essex, both adjacent to Outer London. All told, only 10 of these wards were located in Greater Manchester; a further three were in Leeds, and Tyne and Wear and Southend-on-Sea had one each, completing the list. This is an extraordinary level of concentration. Even more telling is that the first quartile of the Jewish population was found in just 20 wards, of which all but three were in Greater London.

London geography

The Census enumerated 165,945 Jews in the London region, which includes the Greater London Authority,[36] the three South Hertfordshire LADs of Hertsmere, Three Rivers and Watford, and Epping Forest in South-west Essex. These represented 64 per cent of the Jewish population of England and Wales, and 2.2 per cent of the total population in these areas. Only four of the 663 wards in the Greater London area contained no Jewish people at all. A quarter of all the Jews in the London region were contained within just 11 wards, with a further 26 containing the next quarter. All of these 37 wards contained more than 1,000 Jews.

The proportion of the total population that was Jewish within these wards ranged from over a third in Garden Suburb and Edgware wards in Barnet, Canons ward in Harrow, and Elstree in Hertsmere, to 8.3 per cent in East Finchley in Barnet. With the exception of the Canons and Stanmore Park wards in Harrow and Springfield ward in Hackney, all the other wards that encompass the top quartile were in Barnet. In fact 13 of the 37 wards in which half of London's Jewish population lived were in Barnet, five were in Redbridge, four each in Camden and Hackney, three each in Harrow and Hertsmere, two in Westminster and one each in Brent, Enfield, and Haringey.

Geography beyond London

The Census reported 21,733 Jewish people in Greater Manchester, some 8.4 per cent of the Jewish population of England and Wales but less than 1 per cent of Greater Manchester's total population. The distribution of the Jewish population throughout the ten LADs that comprise the Greater Manchester Metropolitan County was concentrated on a north/south axis, passing through the centre (see Figure 3.6). Two out of every five Jews enumerated by the Census in Greater Manchester lived in Bury and all but 3 per cent (586 people) resided in just five LADs: Bury, Salford, Manchester, Trafford and Stockport. However concentrated Greater Manchester's Jewish population appeared to be, it is sobering to realize that the 8,924 Jews recorded in Bury—the largest number in Greater Manchester—did not constitute even 5 per cent of Bury's total population.

At ward level, just 16 of the 214 wards in the Greater Manchester Metropolitan County (7.5 per cent) recorded no Jews at all in the 2001 Census: nine of these were in Wigan, three in Tameside, two in Oldham and one each in Bolton and Rochdale. At the same time, only 24 of the 198 wards in which Jewish people were recorded (12 per cent) contained 100 or more Jews. Thus the

36 The Greater London Authority (GLA) has produced a detailed report on the Census data about Jews in London. See G. Piggott and R. Lewis, *2001 Census Profile: The Jewish Population of London*, Data Management and Analysis Group, Briefing 2006/27 (London: Greater London Authority 2006).

Figure 3.4: Distribution of Jews in North-west London (Barnet), by proportion of OA population Jewish

Source: ONS Table UV15

pattern observed at the scale of the LADs was repeated in the wards, but was even more extreme, as was the case in London.

Over half Greater Manchester's Jewish population (53 per cent) lived in only *five* out of 214 wards (Kersal, Sedgley, Pilkington Park, St Mary's and Crumpsall), each with a Jewish population of more than 1,000 people; 76 per cent of all Jews lived in only 13 wards.

As in London, there was not a single ward in Greater Manchester in which the Jewish population approached a majority. Only in Kersal ward in Salford, with over 4,000 Jews, were they recorded as comprising even one-third of the total ward population; and only in three other wards (Sedgley, Pilkington Park and St Mary's) did they exceed 10 per cent.

In Bury, 95 per cent of Jews lived in just seven of its 16 wards, all in the south, almost three-quarters in Sedgley, St Mary's and Pilkington Park. In adjacent Salford, the geographical bias was even more pronounced; 78 per cent of Salford's Jews lived in Kersal ward alone, which incorporated Broughton Park, the major strictly Orthodox area, and, along with neighbouring Broughton ward, these two accounted for 91 per cent of Salford's Jewish population. Manchester, a central LAD of the Greater Manchester conurbation, was unusual in that it was the only district where Jews were somewhat dispersed. Even so, a third of all Jews here lived in Crumpsall ward. Manchester also incorporates the university district and over a third (1,024) of its Jews lived in wards adjacent to the university.

However, a better way of sharpening the image of Greater Manchester's quintessentially clustered Jews is to say that two-thirds of its population (14,215 people) lived in the 10 contiguous wards straddling the junction of Bury, Salford and Manchester (see Figure 3.6). The significance of this situation is to illustrate that Jewish residential clustering on the ground and the metropolitan administrative/political boundaries had little in common.

The situation in Leeds is even more extreme. There, 47.5 per cent of Jews lived in North ward, with another 27 per cent in the neighbouring wards of Moortown and Roundhay.

Scotland's Jews were also concentrated with almost half (48.3 per cent) living in just one, East Renfrewshire near Glasgow, out of a total of 32 districts (Council Areas) (GROS Table KS07). A further 17 per cent lived in Glasgow City and 11 per cent in the City of Edinburgh. In other words, over three-quarters of all the Jews in Scotland lived in just three districts.

At the ward level in Scotland, Broom and Kirkhill wards in East Renfrewshire were 14.7 per cent and 11.4 per cent Jewish, respectively, with no other ward over 10 per cent Jewish. In only 12 other Scottish wards did Jews form more than 1 per cent of the total population.[37]

Geography at the local level

The Output Area is the smallest geographical unit for which ONS published Census data. Unlike wards and boroughs, which contained relatively large agglomerations of people, OAs are small. They can be regarded as surrogates for neighbourhoods and streets and it is only at this smallest scale that we begin to see Jewish majorities appearing in some areas.

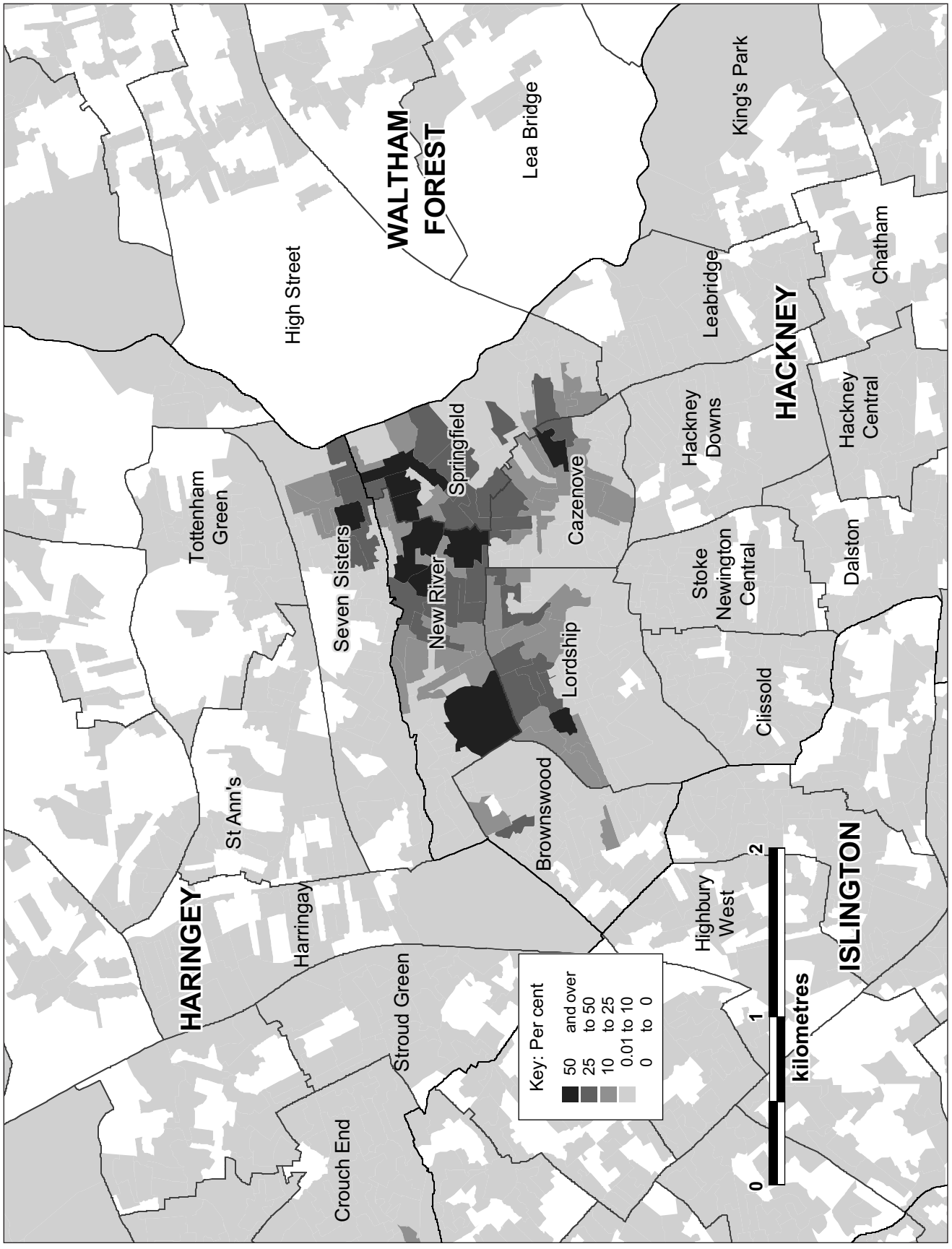
As already noted, there were no Jewish majorities anywhere in the country at the level of LAD or ward; in only five wards did Jews form even one-third of the population (Garden Suburb 37 per cent, Edgware 36.7 per cent, Canons 35.9 per cent, Elstree 34.8 per cent, and Kersal 33.7 per cent). It has also been noted that Jews tended to straddle borough and ward boundaries rather than fitting neatly inside them so that this 'diluted' the Jewish concentration. Even so, this happened in only a few places.

Previous research has suggested that streets form an important residential backdrop and that important social processes are at work at this level.[38] Being able to see one's neighbours, physically to acknowledge them, just knowing that they are there, adds to feelings of security, familiarity and belonging, and enhances, for many

37 These were Giffnock North, Giffnock South, Crookfur, Merrylea Park, Greenfarm, Thornliebank, Mearns, Busby and Netherlee, all in East Renfrewshire, and Maxwell Park, Langside and Newlands, all in Glasgow City.

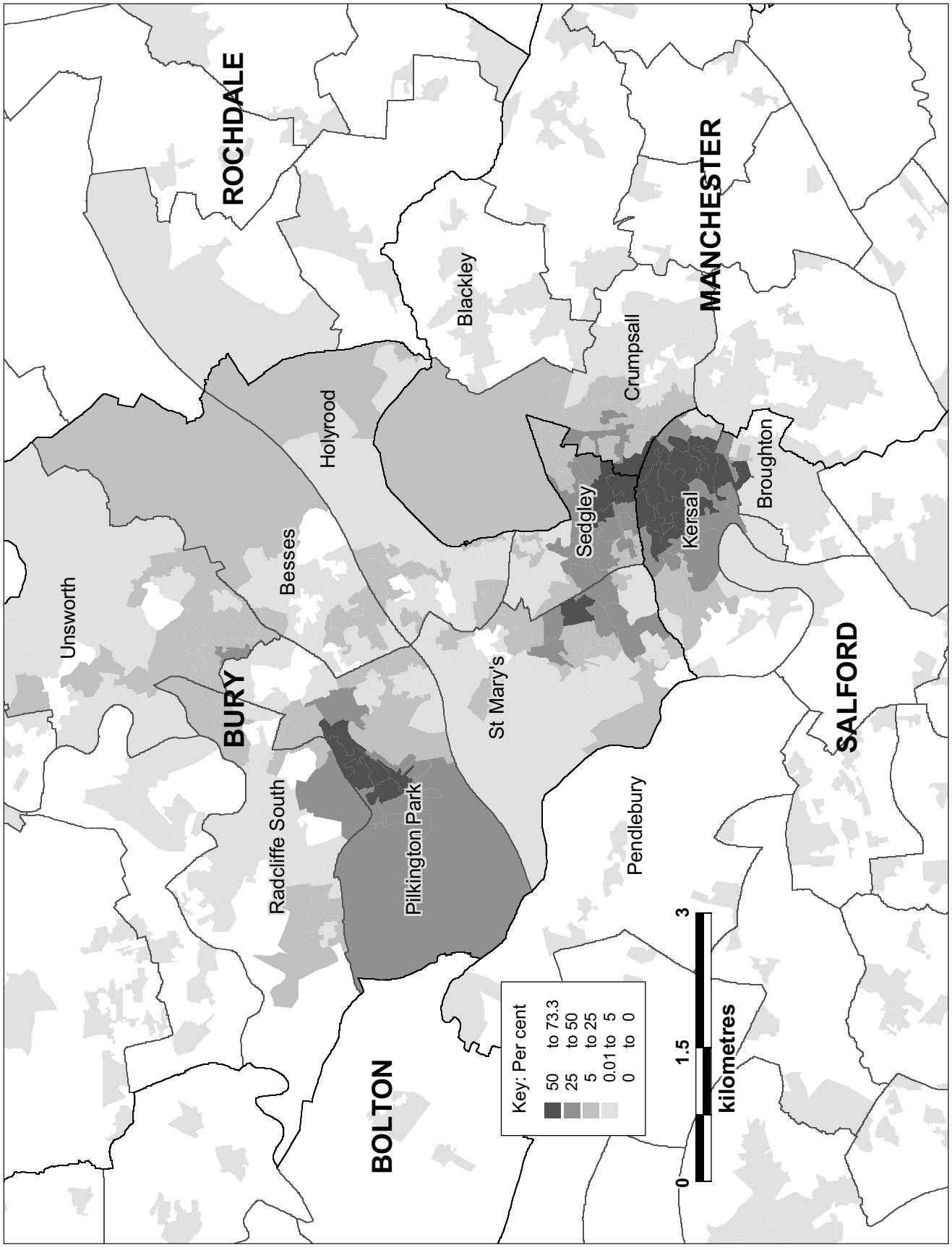
38 S. Waterman and B. A. Kosmin, 'Residential change in a middle-class suburban ethnic population: a comment', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. NS12, 1987, 111-17; S. Waterman and B. A. Kosmin, 'Residential patterns and processes: a study of Jews in three London boroughs', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. NS13, 1988, 75-91.

Figure 3.5: Distribution of Jews in North London (Hackney), by proportion of OA population Jewish



Source: ONS Table UV15

Figure 3.6: Distribution of Jews in Greater Manchester, by proportion of OA population Jewish



Source: ONS Table UV15

people, the desire to live in particular streets or neighbourhoods. As a consequence, some streets in Jewish neighbourhoods have mainly Jewish residents while others close by have very few. This is reflected in the figures for OAs, which are as close as the Census comes to presenting data at street level.

There were 218,040 OAs in the United Kingdom in 2001; Jews were recorded in 32,255 (or 14.8 per cent) of them.[39] It is worth noting that, even at this small scale of analysis, where there were on average only 270 people per OA, not a single one even approached 100 per cent Jewish (see Table 3.3). Such high proportions are only found at even smaller scales such as individual streets or even blocks of flats comprising just a few dwelling units. But the Census did not report data at this level.

The Output Area in the United Kingdom with the highest proportion of Jews was Nightingale ward in the London Borough of Wandsworth; this was because a large Jewish residential care facility was located there. Only one other OA was more than three-quarters Jewish (again this was out of 218,040 OAs). Jews comprised a majority, that is, over 50 per cent, of the OA population in only 108, or 0.05 per cent, of all OAs in the United Kingdom.

In addition, in only 549 OAs was a quarter of the population Jewish and, in 1,630, Jews were at least 10 per cent of the whole (ONS Table KS07). This last figure amounts to 0.75 per cent of all UK OAs. This statistic, perhaps more than any other, exemplifies just how 'rare' Jews are in Britain. In London, Jews were present in less than half (47.5 per cent) of the 24,140 OAs, and formed a majority (that is, more than 50 per cent) in only 69 of them (0.03 per cent). Similarly, in Greater Manchester, of the 8,358 OAs Jews were present in only 18 per cent of them and in only 26 did they form a majority, the highest concentration being 73.3 per cent in a single OA in Salford. Although half of the Jews in Greater Manchester lived in less than 1 per cent of all its OAs, not a single OA was even three-quarters Jewish.

Thus, the pattern of patchy distribution (congregation) and low concentration evident at higher levels of geography (wards and LADs) was repeated at the OA level. On the one hand, there were a small number of areas of relatively high concentrations: after all, there were no Jews at all in more than half of the OAs in London, let alone the rest of the United Kingdom. On the other hand, the majority of Jews, though significantly not all, lived in close geographic proximity, and surveys of Jews have shown that this produces the illusion of predominant presence. Though there were a few areas of high concentration, the residential pattern for Jews across the United Kingdom was far from approaching anything that could be construed as segregated. On the contrary, Jews were dispersed throughout the British population at large. These circumstances reflect a real-life situation of positive congregation rather than negative segregation.

Table 3.3: Most 'Jewish' OAs in England and Wales (the top table is by proportion of Jews and the bottom one is by total Jewish population)

LAD	Ward	OA code	Per cent Jewish
Wandsworth	Nightingale	41	83.1
Barnet	Golders Green	36	75.2
Salford	Kersal	36	73.3
Leeds	North	11	72.6
Salford	Kersal	09	70.7
Salford	Kersal	29	70.4
Salford	Kersal	16	70.3
Bury	Pilkington Park	25	69.7
Harrow	Canons	30	67.9
Barnet	Edgware	11	65.9

LAD	Ward	OA code	Total Jewish
Salford	Kersal	16	472
Salford	Broughton	27	370
Gateshead	Bensham	12	367
Barnet	Garden Suburb	04	364
Salford	Kersal	18	342
Salford	Kersal	10	336
Hackney	New River	19	332
Hackney	Springfield	10	332
Gateshead	Bensham	04	313
Hackney	Lordship	33	297

Source: ONS Table KS07

39 Because the minimum count for disclosure purposes is three people per unit/OA these data may not be exact but rather approximations of the counts on the ground.

Migration patterns

Although the Census provides us with a snapshot of the population on a given date, in this case 29 April 2001, this does not mean that it only contains static information. The distribution of the population changes continuously as people migrate, emigrate and immigrate. The Census provides data on these patterns of movement.

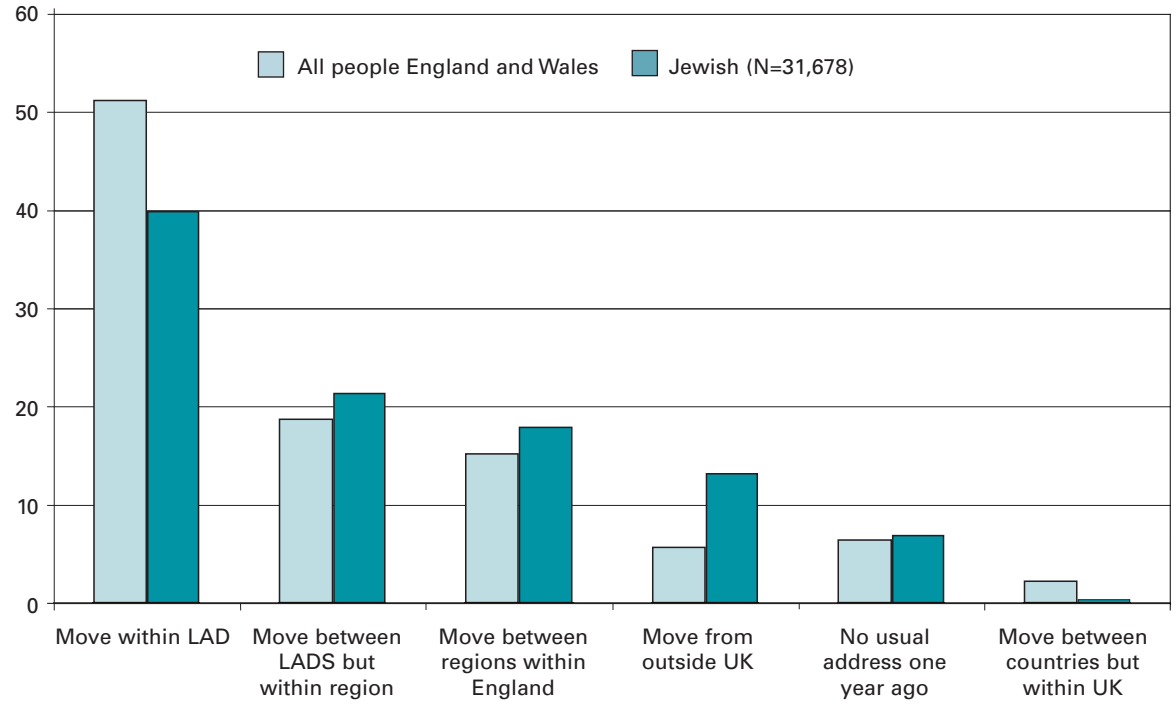
A person was counted as a migrant if the address at which they were living on Census night differed from their address a year earlier. These Census data allow us for the first time to look in detail at Jewish migration patterns and establish the main migration flows. The data show that 88 per cent of Jews in England and Wales had the same address in 2001 as they did the year before; this was the same proportion as the general population (ONS Table C0648). Of the remaining 12 per cent, i.e. 31,687 Jewish movers, 40 per cent had moved within the same LAD, that is, locally. Figure 3.7 shows the types of movement of these people and compares Jewish moves with those of the general population.

A relatively high proportion of the Jewish people who had moved in the year prior to the Census had come from outside the United Kingdom; there were 3,921 international Jewish in-migrants, 12.4 per cent of all movers. Compared with just 0.7 per cent for the general population, this is a relatively high proportion. This can be explained by a number of factors such as the attraction of London as a financial centre, and the international movement of strictly Orthodox Jews. Of the people living abroad a year earlier, 13.6 per cent went to Barnet, with Camden, Westminster, Kensington and Chelsea, and Oxford, respectively, being the next largest recipients.

A total of 5.6 per cent of households did not specify an earlier address. It is not possible to know whether or not these people were migrants; however, this compares with only 0.8 per cent for the population of England and Wales as a whole. It is not clear why more Jews did not choose to divulge this information.

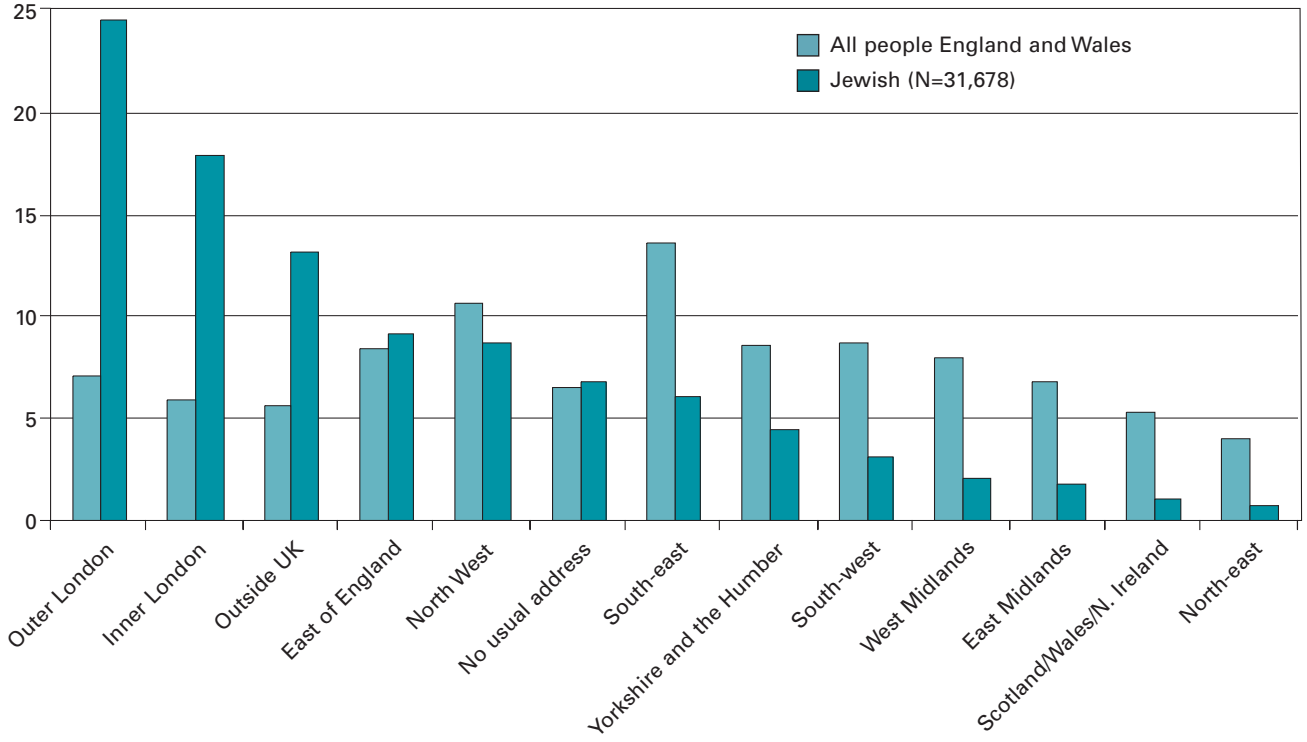
Figure 3.8 summarizes the former place of residence of movers and compares Jewish migration with that of the general population. The absolute size of movement is related to the total Jewish population living in an area. Consequently, Barnet saw the largest number of Jewish people moving: there were 2,369 in-migrants, 1,618 out-migrants and 2,169 internal migrants. These data

Figure 3.7: Type of migration (%)



Source: ONS SARs data

Figure 3.8: Place of residence of movers one year prior to the Census



Source: ONS SARs data

are shown in Table 3.4, which also shows net migration change. In the case of Barnet, 751 more people moved in than moved out; in other words, there was a positive migration in-flow.

The data can be summarized as follows: places that experienced high positive net migration were university towns (such as Bristol, Oxford, Manchester and Leeds), as well as Salford (likely to be from the in-flow of strictly Orthodox Jews from London) and parts of Inner London that gained from international migration (such as Westminster, and Kensington and Chelsea). However, a negative net migration was experienced in outer suburban areas such as Brent, Redbridge and Harrow in London, as well as Liverpool. However, it should be noted that these net changes involved relatively few people and so did not substantially affect the size of the population in each area (see Table 3.4).

In general, the movement was from the North into London and Hertfordshire. However, as is the case with the population at large, the majority of Jewish moves were over relatively short distances. For instance, of the 4,538 Jews in Barnet who had a different address a year prior to the Census, almost half (48 per cent) had moved within the borough itself, with a further 12 per cent involving moves from or to the adjacent boroughs of Camden, Harrow and Brent. One per cent of Barnet's in-migrants had come from the Borough of Redbridge in North-east London.

Other Jewish moves within Greater London at ward level involving 250 people or more occurred within Camden and Redbridge (over 500 people each) and within Hertsmere, Harrow and Hackney (between 250 and 500 each). Between 100 and 250 people moved within the boroughs of Brent, Enfield, Kensington, Haringey and Epping Forest. Between boroughs there was migration from Brent, Camden and Harrow into Barnet; from Barnet into Haringey, Harrow and Hillingdon; and from Camden into Westminster.

Table 3.4: Jewish migration flows for places with the largest number of movers

Location	Out-migrants	In-migrants	Internal movers	Net change
Barnet	1,618	2,369	2,169	751
Camden	787	1,397	566	610
Westminster	466	884	332	418
Leeds	281	545	772	264
Hertsmere	412	660	469	248
Manchester	232	454	374	222
Kensington and Chelsea	230	435	153	205
Salford	156	315	211	159
Haringey	352	501	178	149
Birmingham	180	318	347	138
Oxford	134	267	140	133
Bristol UA	53	160	128	107
Brighton and Hove UA	138	231	295	93
Cambridge	104	194	112	90
Hackney	258	341	452	83
Nottingham UA	69	126	127	57
Bury	295	344	394	49
Epping Forest	179	213	122	34
Enfield	221	237	139	16
Southend-on-Sea UA	75	83	112	8
Trafford	105	113	105	8
Liverpool	121	97	203	-24
Brent	417	352	164	-65
Redbridge	483	405	609	-78
Harrow	735	535	264	-200

Source: ONS Table C0648
UA=Unitary Authority

4 Demography

Introduction

Over the past forty years several studies of British Jewry have provided a basic appreciation of its size, as well as its age and gender structure, with the Community Research Unit of the Board of Deputies providing a major input in this regard. For the most part, this understanding of the demography of the Jewish population has been achieved by estimates derived indirectly, based mostly on mortality records.[40] Sample surveys have amplified the knowledge obtained from these indirect findings.[41] These derived estimates have always been open to challenge and, indeed, their value has been questioned.[42] The researchers themselves have recognized that such studies have tended to be biased towards the 'actively' Jewish population and have always struggled to enumerate every self-identifying Jew. Nevertheless, given the lack of alternative data sources, they have been the major informational tools in community planning.

A substantial drawback to the indirect means of estimating demographic parameters relates to the method, and to the fact that there is a minimum number of deaths that needs to have been recorded in order to ensure to ensure a statistically robust estimate. The data on deaths have permitted differentiation only between males and females in Greater London,[43] and males and females in the regions. It has never been possible to provide demographic estimates for smaller areas such as individual cities and boroughs.

40 H. Neustatter, 'Demographic and other statistical aspects of Anglo-Jewry', in Maurice Freedman (ed.), *A Minority in Britain* (London: Vallentine Mitchell 1955); 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. Series A*, vol. 146, no. 3, 1983, 294–310; S. Haberman and M. Schmool, 'Estimates of the British Jewish population 1984–88', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A*, vol. 158, no. 3, 1995, 547–62.

41 See, for example, B. A. Kosmin and N. Grizzard, *Jews in an Inner London Borough (Hackney): A Study of the Jewish Population of the London Borough of Hackney Based upon the 1971 Census* (London: Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews 1975).

42 Haberman and Schmool, 'Estimates of the British Jewish population 1984–88'.

43 In this case a notional, not geographic, Greater London based on the place where deaths were recorded.

Thus, the most crucial demographic implication of the religion question on the Census is that it has now become possible to achieve a more detailed analysis that includes many Jews missed out in the past. As a bonus we are also now able to appreciate far more accurately the age and gender structure of the Jewish population, and at different geographical scales. This is important because these demographic pictures encapsulate historical developments in a population that has been highly mobile socially and geographically over the past seventy years. They also hint at future demographic trends for British Jews.

Age and gender structures

Of the 259,927 people in the 2001 Census of England and Wales identifying as Jewish by religion, 48 per cent were men and 52 per cent women. (A similar gender ratio was found in Scotland.) The data also provide detailed information about the age structure of the Jewish population. A popular method for assessing age structures is to calculate the *median age*. This is the age at which exactly half the population is older and half is younger when all the ages are placed in ascending order. This calculation shows that the Jewish population had a much older age structure than the general population. For example, the median age of females in the general population of England and Wales was 38.1 years but for Jewish females it was 44.3 years, a difference of over six years. The gap for males was slightly smaller but still very large: for all males in the general population the median age was 36.1 years but for Jewish males it was 41.2 years, a difference of just over five years (ONS Table M277). The median age of Scottish Jews was 47.5 years (GROS Table T25). The figure was higher in Scotland due to net emigration over the past four decades or so.

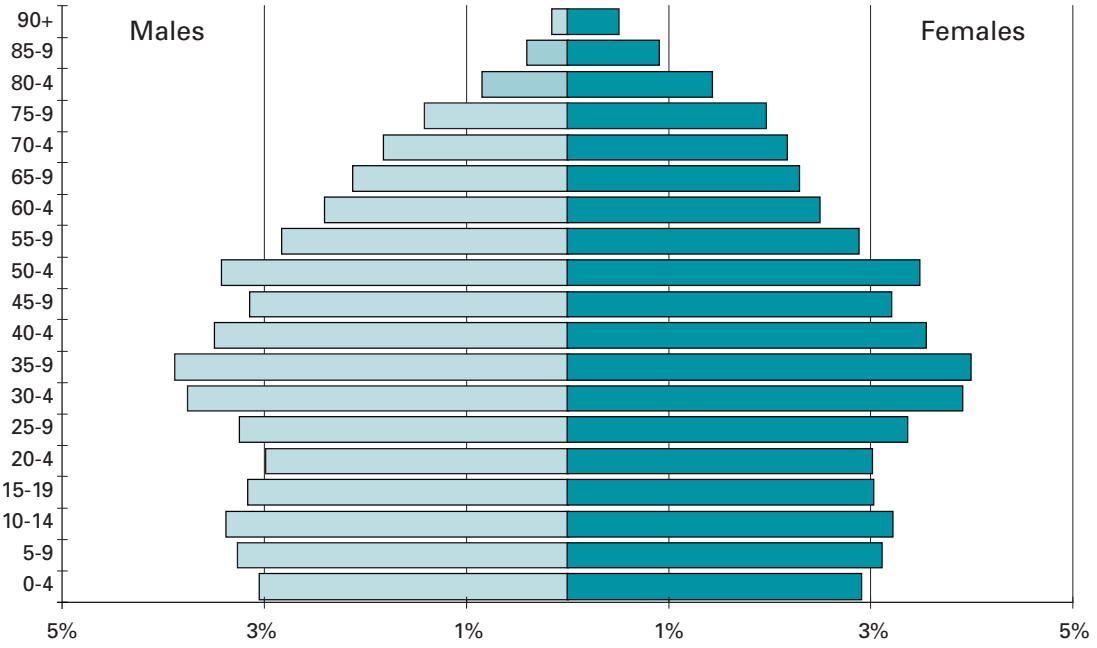
Figures 4.1 and 4.2 compare the national and Jewish age structures of men and women. These age-gender pyramids demonstrate how British

Table 4.1: Median age (years) by gender, Jews and general population, England and Wales*

Median age	All people	Males	Females
Jewish population	43	41	44
General population	37	36	38

Source: ONS Table M277
*Rounded to the nearest year

Figure 4.1: Age and gender structures of total population of England and Wales (N=52,041,916)



Source: ONS Table S149

Jews differed demographically from the total population.[44] The shape of the pyramid for the total population of the England and Wales shows that, above the 35–9 age cohort, the proportions of each of the age groups decline in fairly regular steps, except for the 50–4 age cohort. The younger (under 30) age cohorts are of approximately equal sizes for both males and females.

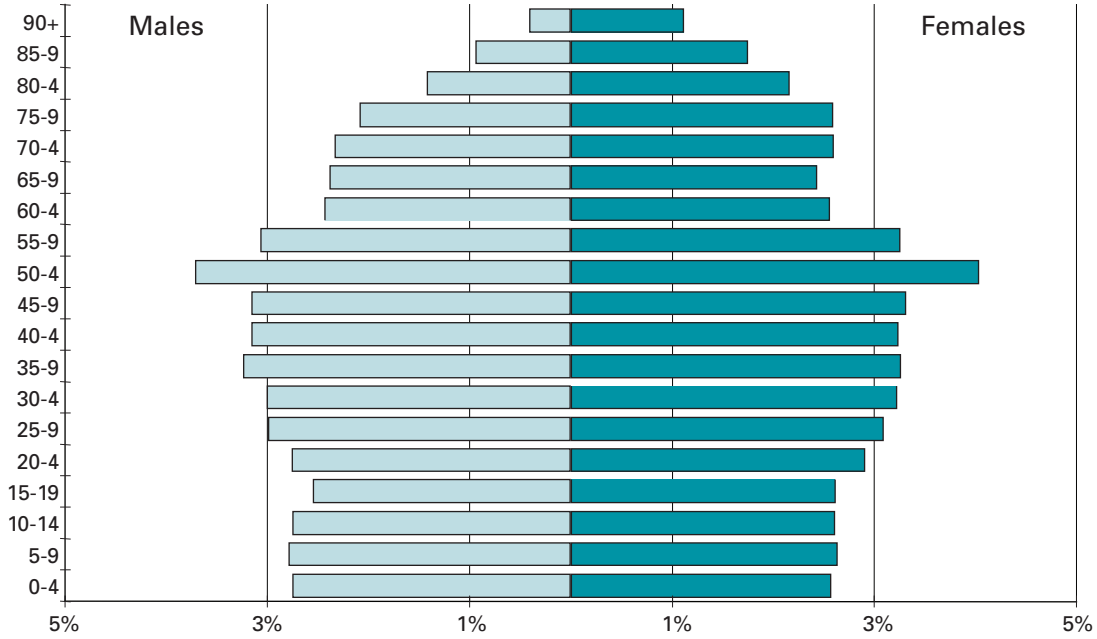
In contrast, the Jewish population profile appears block-like, again with the exception of those born between 1947 and 1951 (those aged 50 to 54 in 2001), the so-called 'baby boomers'. The members of this age cohort alone accounted together for just under one in twelve of all Jews. The agedness of the Jewish population noted above is also shown in the large proportion (12.4 per cent) of all Jews aged 75 and over, compared with 7.5 per cent in the population at large. For Jews of all ages over 14, there were more women than men but the major differences in the balance of the sexes occur among the over-80s. Here there were more than twice as many Jewish women as men due mostly to greater female longevity but also to the greater likelihood of men choosing not to identify as Jews.

However, the total age-gender profile of Jews in the United Kingdom varied from place to place with the local pattern depending on various factors, such as how long Jews have lived in the area, the location's migration history and its religious development. The following section presents a selection of population pyramids that highlight these variations.

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 compare two LADs north-west of London: Barnet and Hertsmere. The Jewish population of the London Borough of Barnet originated in the early twentieth century when the Northern Line reached Golders Green in 1907, followed by its extension to Edgware in 1926. This opened the area to socially mobile Jews from the inner-city areas of East and North London. Golders Green, Hampstead Garden Suburb, Hendon and Edgware became prime centres of Anglo-Jewish life. From the 1970s onward the offspring of residents of these areas moved from Edgware west into the London Borough of Harrow and north to Borehamwood, Bushey and Elstree in Hertfordshire. This migration was prompted by lower housing costs and 'greener' environments, aided by good transport links to central London; more recently, these areas have attracted young families by the provision of state-aided Jewish day schools. They have also grown through migration from regional communities. At the same time, some of the Barnet growth has come from the in-migration of strictly Orthodox families from Hackney, as suitable housing there has become scarce.

44 While Jewish data were included in the national data, the Jewish numbers were not large enough to affect the overall shape of the pyramid in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.2: Age and gender structures of the Jewish population of England and Wales (N=259,927)



Source: ONS Table S149

In Figure 4.3, the longer history of Jewish settlement in Barnet is indicated by the 11.7 per cent of the population aged 75 and over and the female 52 per cent of the population. The more recent additions to the population underscore the 20 per cent of the Jewish population of Barnet less than 15 years old. In contrast with Barnet, only some 6 per cent of Jews in Hertsmere were aged 75 and over. The largest age cohorts here were those between 30 and 44, with an 'echo-effect' in the 0 to 14 age cohort. Taken together, these two elements denote families with children of school age and younger. The small number of those aged 20–4 is accounted for by students who were away from family homes on Census night and who are found, for example, in the statistics for university towns, such as Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham and other regional communities.

The recent growth of Hertsmere as one of the most important areas of Jewish settlement in Britain outside southern Barnet is due to the migration of Jews not only from London but also the regions. Figures 4.5 and 4.6 show how this attraction to London and its adjacent areas affected regional communities.

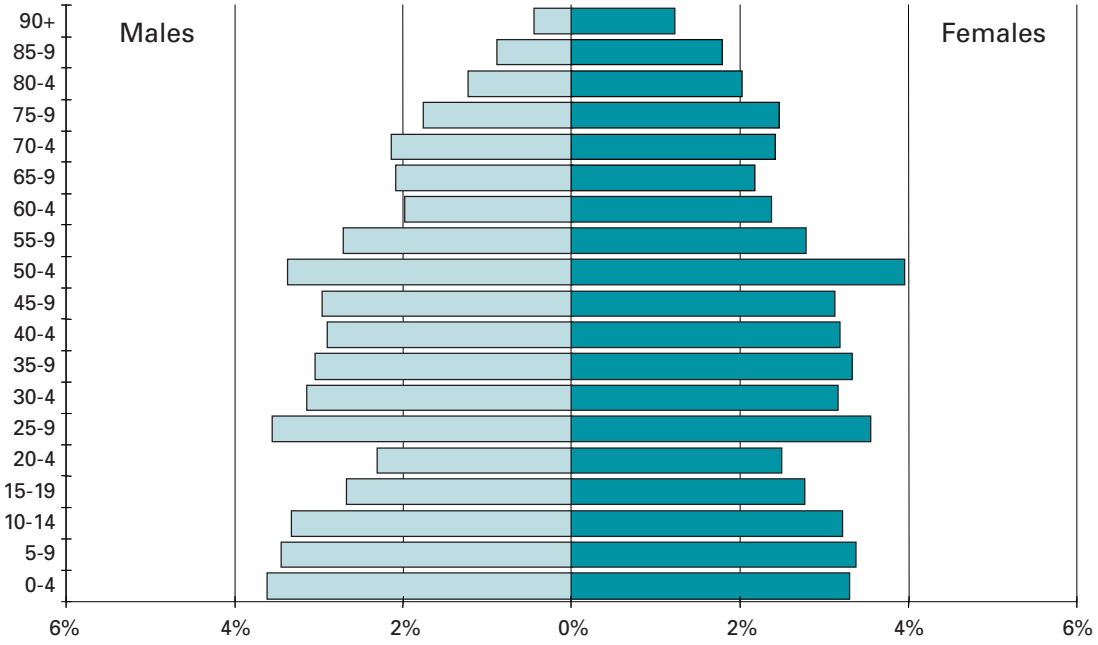
A second example of differing population structures can be seen in Manchester and Leeds. These communities date from the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century, respectively. Both cities experienced rapid Jewish population growth with the mass immigration from Eastern Europe between 1880 and 1914. Alongside Glasgow, Liverpool, Newcastle and Hull, these Jewish centres flourished because of the local demand for labour and enterprise. After the 1960s, changes in British industrial and occupational structures led many to leave their home towns to study or, following university, in search of work and/or a wider range of choice of Jewish lifestyles. With the regeneration of these northern towns since the 1990s, some young Jews have been attracted back but only Greater Manchester has the broad Jewish educational and social facilities to retain younger local strictly Orthodox people and attract others from outside. With high fertility rates, the strictly Orthodox ensure local Jewish population growth.

The population pyramid of Greater Manchester (Figure 4.5) recalls that of Barnet in that all age cohorts are well represented and 11.6 per cent of the population are aged 75 and over; at the same time 22 per cent are aged 14 and younger, indicating the strictly Orthodox input. On the other hand, Leeds, with a very small strictly Orthodox population and no Jewish secondary school, is a community that has not benefitted from any noticeable demographic input in recent decades (see Figure 4.6). The 16 per cent of the Leeds Jewish population aged 75 and over was markedly greater than the countrywide Jewish proportion of 12.4 per cent and, conversely, the 12.2 per cent that were 14 years old and under was

four percentage points below the national figure of 16.1. The high proportion in the 20–4 age group is accounted for by the large number of Jewish students studying in Leeds at the time of the Census. If this, and the slightly smaller 15–19 age cohort, are 'smoothed' out, the age profile for Leeds Jewry under the age of 50 almost becomes an inverted pyramid, which indicates a population in demographic decline.

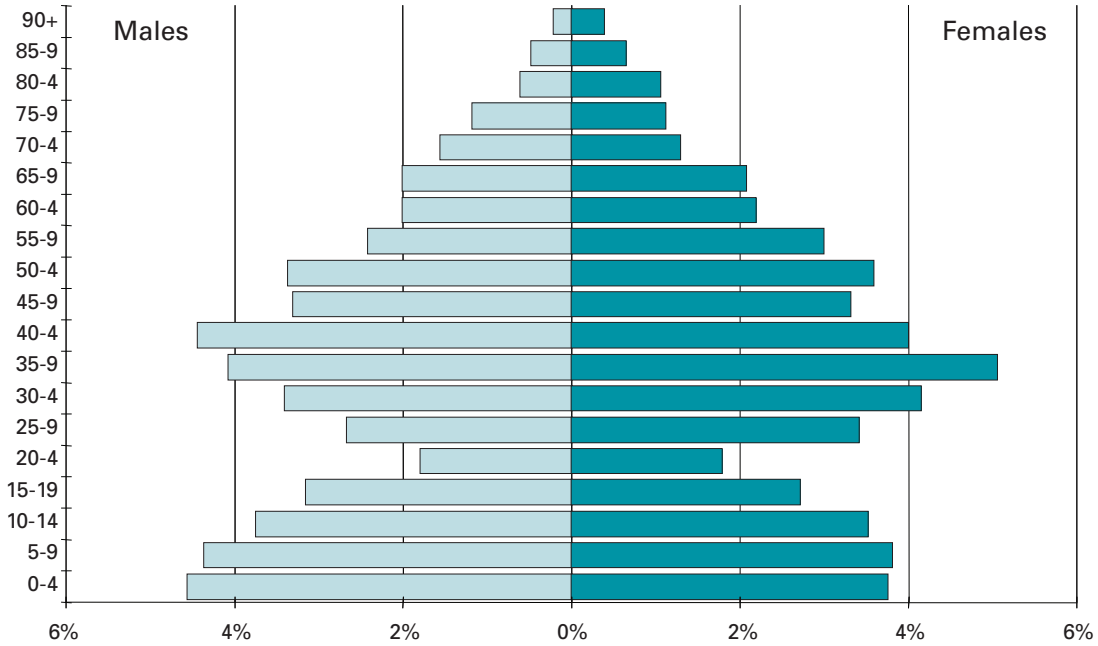
The demographic impact of the strictly Orthodox population in Greater Manchester can be gleaned by reviewing the population structure of the district of Salford, which is south of the main

Figure 4.3: Age and gender structures of the Jewish population of the London Borough of Barnet (N=46,686)



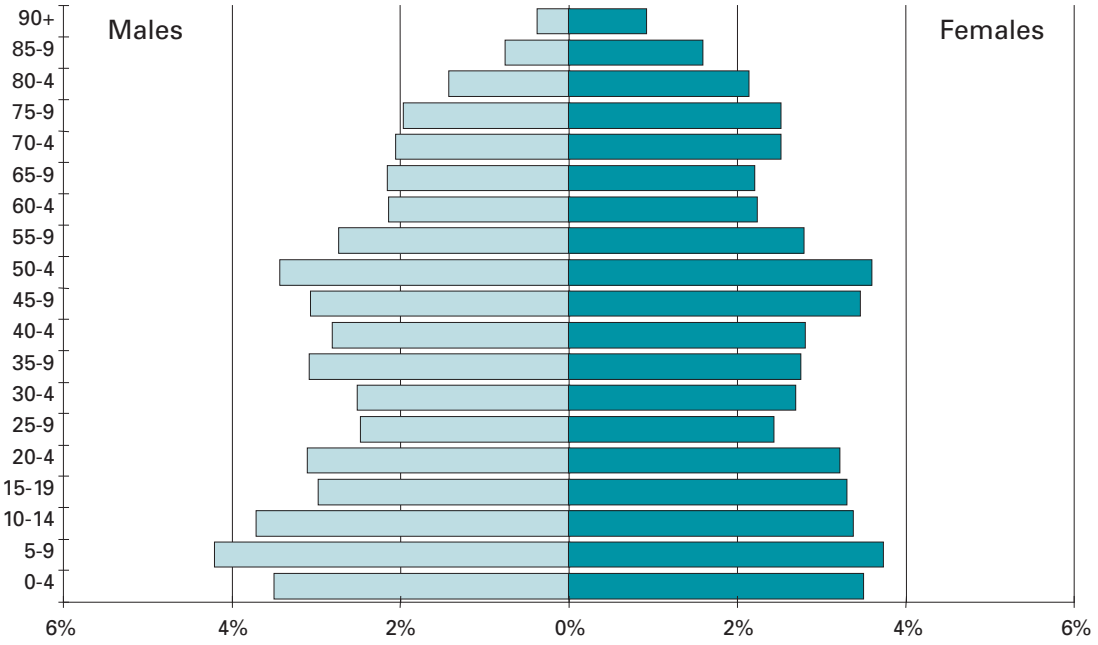
Source: ONS Table S149

Figure 4.4: Age and gender structures of the Jewish population of the Local Authority District of Hertsmere in South-west Hertfordshire (N=10,712)



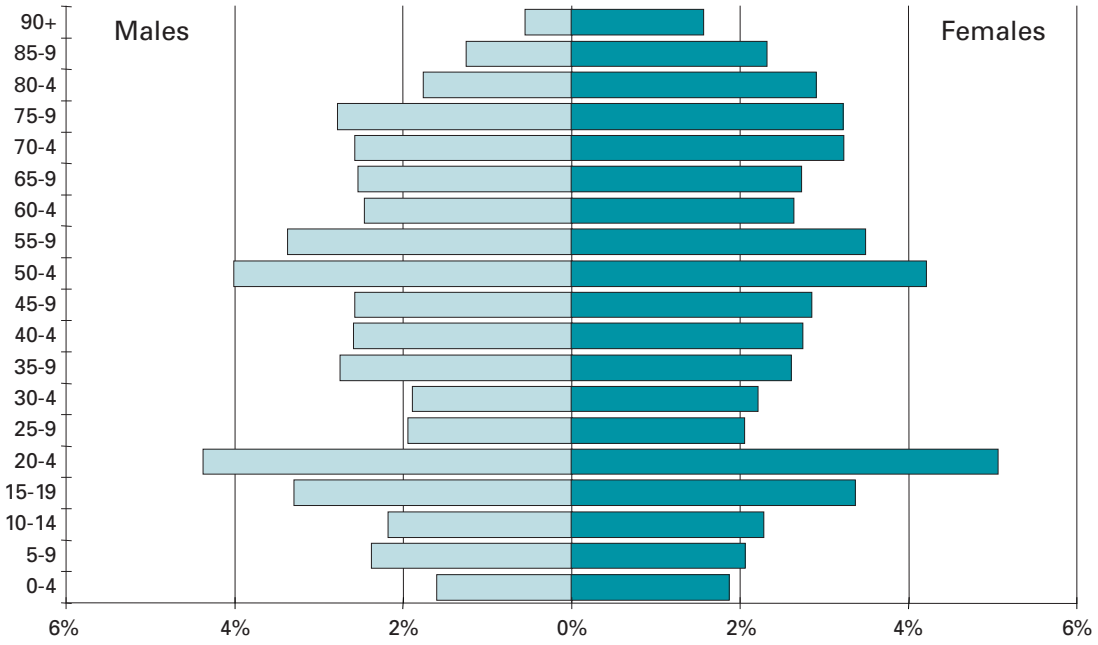
Source: ONS Table S149

Figure 4.5: Age and gender structure of the Jewish population of Greater Manchester (N=21,728)



Source: ONS Table S149

Figure 4.6: Age and gender structure of the Jewish population of Leeds (N=8,273)



Source: ONS Table S149

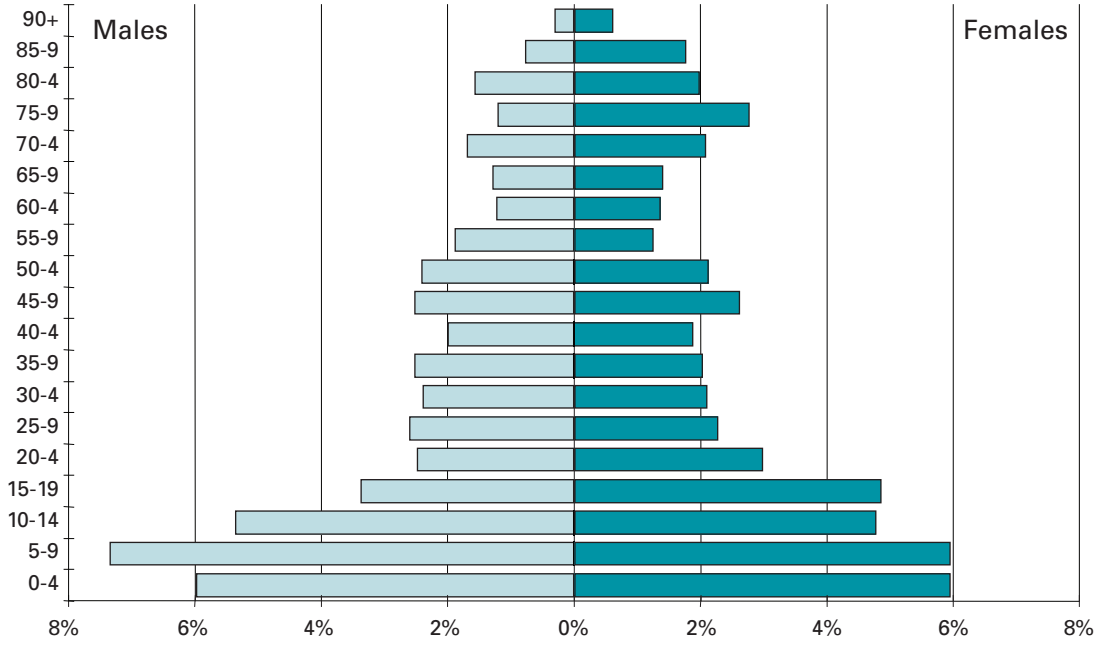
Jewish centres (see Figure 3.6), as well as the strictly Orthodox population in the London Borough of Hackney. Figures 4.7 and 4.8 show the demographic similarity between these two LADs: both had a large strictly Orthodox population and a small residual group from earlier, less religious settlement. This is indicated by the very large proportions of those aged 14 and under—35.4 per cent in Salford and 34.4 per cent in Hackney (compared with 16.1 per cent for Jews nationally)—and the fact that older people accounted for just around 10 per cent of the total local Jewish population in each place. Even without these older cohorts in each area, the

population under 65 years of age shows a marked pyramidal shape with a large base of children and smaller age cohorts above. This young population has concomitant growth potential, in stark contrast to the majority of the national population or, more especially, to Leeds.

Age and gender structure of 'Jews by ethnicity'

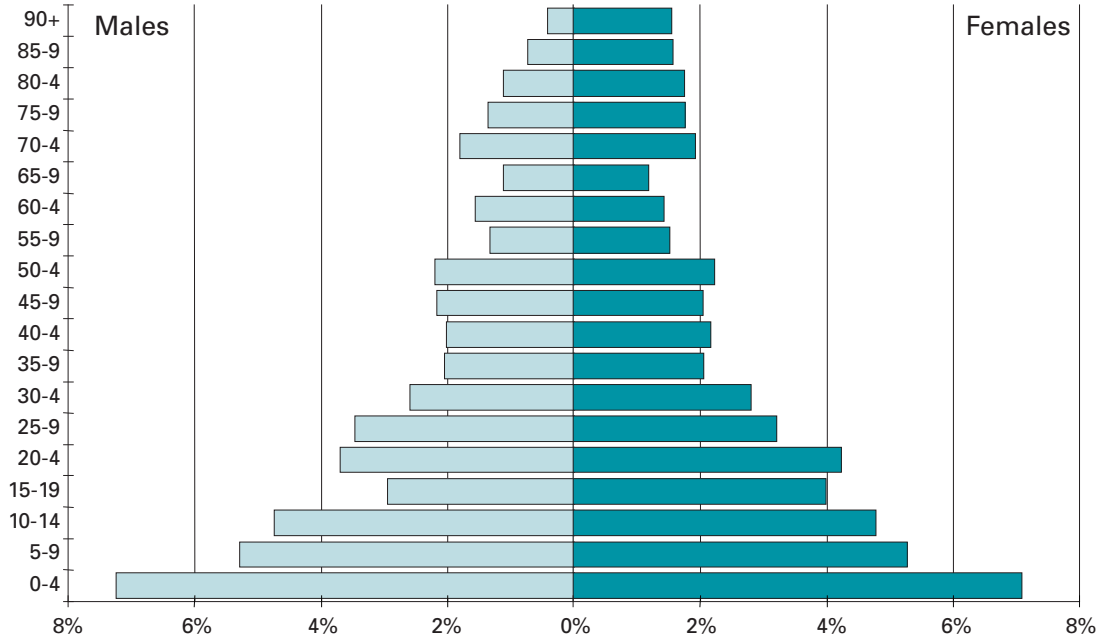
As discussed in Chapter 2, 13,544 people described their ethnicity as 'Jewish'. Table 4.2 shows that there was a greater tendency for males to use the write-in option to express Jewish ethnicity. In the

Figure 4.7: Age and gender structure of the Jewish population of Salford (N=5,179)



Source: ONS Table S149

Figure 4.8: Age and gender structure of the Jewish population of Hackney (N=10,732)



Source: ONS Table S149

Table 4.2: Gender and age of 'Jews by religion' and 'Jews by ethnicity', England and Wales

	Religion only (counts)	Religion and ethnicity (counts)	Ethnicity only (counts)	Religion only (%)	Religion and ethnicity (%)	Ethnicity only (%)
Totals	248,977	10,950	2,594	248,977	10,950	2,594
Gender						
Males	119,261	5,508	1,380	47.9	50.3	53.2
Females	129,716	5,442	1,214	52.1	49.7	46.8
Age						
0–24	65,804	4,265	563	26.4	38.9	21.7
25–64	126,496	5,511	1,752	50.8	50.3	67.5
65+	56,679	1,181	279	22.8	10.8	10.8

Source: ONS Table C0476 (a–c)

'Jewish by religion only' group, there were more females than males (52 per cent against 48 per cent male) whereas in the 'Jewish by ethnicity only' group this picture completely reverses, so that 53 per cent were male and only 47 per cent were female, rising to 54.5 per cent among those respondents who stated that they had no religion.

Ethnic Jews also tended to be younger. The data show that 23 per cent of 'Jews by religion only' were aged 65 and over, but only 11 per cent of those using the ethnic description were in this age group. This suggests that the understanding of the concept of ethnicity differed from generation to generation. It is also clear that young (under 25 years of age) 'Jews by religion only' became 'ethnic Jews' when their parents chose 'ethnic'.

For the 2,594 people who considered themselves to be Jewish by ethnicity alone, only 5.3 per cent were aged 75 and over, and ethnic-only Jews were noticeably over-represented in the 25–64 age group (68 per cent compared with 51 per cent for religion-only Jews). Also 39 per cent of those identifying both religiously and ethnically, or having the designation chosen for them, were aged 24 or under.

Implications of the age and gender structure

Age and gender structures help explain demands made on the communal fabric, particularly with regard to the provision of social services. All services are received and must be paid for, often by others. As a consequence, we distinguish between those who contribute economically to national—or communal—coffers and those who will in some way be dependent. The three predominant factors that may result in dependent individuals are (1) childhood (clearly a child does not have economic independence), (2) long-term illness that limits an individual's capacity to work, and (3) old age, which is not finitely circumscribed in today's world but which is for most people accompanied by some reduction in energy and less will or need to work full-time. A number of different analyses of the Census data throw light on these aspects of the Jewish population and thus on the facilities that the Jewish communal institutions may have to provide.

Dependent children

The Census defines a dependent child as 'a person aged 0 to 15 living in a household (whether or not in a family) or aged 16 to 18 in full-time education and living in a family with his or her parent(s)'. A total of 50,646 Jewish dependent children were recorded in 2001, of whom 51 per cent were male (ONS Table T52). There were 44,315 children aged 0–15 and a further 6,331 aged 16–18 in the Jewish population. In addition, there were 2,101 Jewish children aged 18 and under who were recorded as not living in households and were therefore non-dependent as far as the Census was concerned.

Summary data relating to these 50,646 Jewish dependent children can be found in Appendix 6. But in the following analysis we examine data on dependent children based on the Jewish homogeneity of *households*, i.e. the extent to which all members of a household are, or are not, Jewish. (In Chapter 5 on households, a further examination of dependent children based on Household Reference Person (HRP) data is presented; Table 5.3 in that chapter shows the type of families in which Jewish dependent children lived).

Table 4.3: Households by Jewish homogeneity and number of dependent children, England and Wales

	All people in household JxR* N=17,385	At least 1 but not all in household JxR* N=21,792	At least 1 but not all in household JxE* N=766
One dependent child	35.7	39.1	42.2
Two dependent children	39.5	39.5	36.7
Three or more dependent children	24.8	21.4	21.1

Source: ONS Table C0478 (a-c)
* JxR=Jewish by religion; JxE=Jewish by ethnicity

A total of 39,943 households in which at least one person was Jewish (either by religion or by ethnicity) contained dependent children (see Table 4.3), which is 27 per cent of all Jewish households.[45] In 43.5 per cent of households with dependent children, all members were Jewish by religion, that is, were homogeneously Jewish.[46] Considering all households with at least one Jewish adult *and* dependent children, 41 per cent had one dependent child, 49 per cent had two dependent children and 10 per cent had three or more. Table 4.3 shows that homogeneously Jewish households were more likely to have two or more dependent children than either type of non-homogeneous household. Similarly, Table 4.4 indicates that homogeneously Jewish 'couple households' were more likely to contain dependent children than were less Jewishly homogeneous households. Together these data suggest that the more Jewishly homogeneous the household, the larger the number of dependent children living in them.

These data show that the 39,943 households in England and Wales in which at least one person was Jewish and in which at least one dependent child was living contained at least 73,970 dependent children.[47] It is not known what proportion of these children were Jewish. Figure 4.9 sets out how these dependent children were apportioned between homogeneously Jewish households and non-homogeneously Jewish households.

The 73,970 dependent children in Jewishly homogeneous and non-homogeneous households can be set against the 50,646 dependent children aged 18 and under identified as Jewish (ONS Table T52). This suggests that 23,324 children (aged 18 and below) lived in households with at least one Jewish member but whose religion cannot be determined by the data. This amounts to 46 per cent of the total number of Jewish dependent children about whom we have no more information. For the majority their religion will have been given on their behalf by a parent or guardian. Some of these 23,324 will have been non-respondents, others will have been recorded as 'no religion' and yet others will have been of a non-Jewish religion. Clearly some, but not all, of these young people will have been the children of mixed-faith partnerships.

Location of dependent children

The variation between areas is set out in Figure 4.10. While data are not available for boroughs or smaller areas, the influence of the character of the local communities is clear. Thus the religious makeup of Hackney in Inner London and of Salford in Greater Manchester is shown by the very high proportions of households with three or more dependent children in those areas. In comparison, South-west Hertfordshire—which includes Hertsmere and Broxbourne—had the highest proportion of households with two dependent children, reflecting the attraction of this area to 'mainstream' families. All these places have seen the establishment or expansion of Jewish day schools in recent years.

45 The issue of what is and what is not a Jewish household is discussed in Chapter 5.

46 We would stress however that this does not necessarily mean that the remaining 56.5 per cent of households were all mixed-faith since they included many people who did not respond to the question on religion as well as people of 'no religion' who might have been Jewish. Furthermore, some of the remainder may have been homogeneously Jewish families with a non-Jewish au pair or carer. ONS was not able to separate out such households.

47 It is not possible to be more accurate than this since the data combine all households with three or more dependent children into a single group.

Table 4.4: Households by Jewish homogeneity and family type, England and Wales

	All people in household JxR* N=17,385	At least 1 but not all in household JxR* N=21,792	At least 1 but not all in household JxE* N=766
One family and no others: couple households with dependent children	82.5	77.9	73.2
One family and no others: lone parent households	13.8	8.6	12.4
Other households	3.7	13.5	14.4

Source: ONS Table C0478 (a-c)
* JxR=Jewish by religion; JxE=Jewish by ethnicity

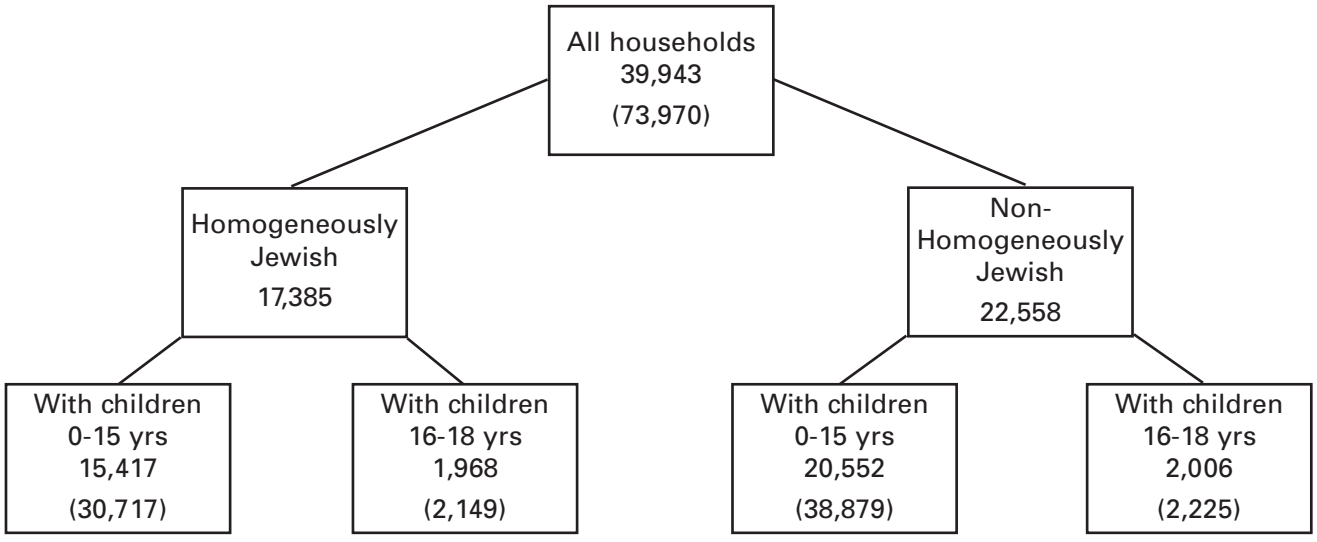
Old age and retirement

In a period of increasing life expectancy, old age is a dynamic concept. For most people retirement is concomitant with ageing, but the age at which people retire is more flexible than in the past. While, by statute, retirement age is different for men and women, currently some opt for 'early retirement' while others continue to work beyond the late twentieth century's customary retirement ages of 65 for men and 60 for women. One outcome of longer life and extended working is that there is now an analytical distinction between 'young-old' and 'old-old'. This is particularly pertinent for the Jewish population, of which 12.4 per cent were aged 75 and over compared with 7.5 per cent of the national population of England and Wales.

Nationally 58,198 Jews (25,110 men and 33,088 women) were aged 65 and over; 19.9 per cent of all Jewish men were of this age cohort compared with 24.3 per cent of all Jewish women (see Table 4.5). Moreover, whereas the male to female ratio was 1:1.1 in the Jewish population as a whole, it rose to 1:1.3 among the over-65s, varying from 1:1.0 for the 65–9 cohort to 1:2.7 for those aged 90 years and over. This reflects the longer life expectancy of women, and brings into focus the fact that women are more likely to have to remake their lives following the death of a partner. While many men are widowed, living alone in old age is more likely to be a female than a male experience.

These proportions were not geographically even. Table 4.6 shows how selected areas were affected by general ageing and the more specific histories of areas discussed above. The proportion of Jewish people aged 65 and over in Barnet, Bury and Leeds resembled the national average, whereas that in Hackney, with its very youthful population of the strictly Orthodox, was well below the national average. Hackney also contains some remnants of

Figure 4.9: Households in which at least one person Jewish, by age of dependent children, England and Wales (numbers in parentheses are the estimated number of children)



Source: ONS Table C0478 (a-c)

an older population rooted in pre-1914 immigration, which was shown emphatically by the 2.17 and 3.84 women, respectively, for every man in the 85–9 and 90+ age groups. A similar pattern prevailed in Salford where only 18 per cent of the population was aged 65 and over and the gender ratio, at 1:1.04, was below the national average. There is an interesting contrast between Liverpool, in which the proportions were only slightly above the national average, and the retirement resorts of the Bournemouth area (Bournemouth and Poole Unitary Authority (UA) counties together) and Brighton (see Figure 4.11). The specific nature of these two resort areas was clear in the very high proportions in the 70–4 and 75–9 cohorts.

Figure 4.12 considers another aspect of ageing and looks at pensioner households with at least one Jew. There were 37,894 households with Jewish pensioners; these accounted for 26 per cent of all households with at least one Jewish person. Of this total, 11,415 were Jewish pensioner couples and a further 4,031 were Jews in a pensioner-couple household with a person not reported as Jewish on the Census. There were 22,488 households consisting of pensioners living alone, a figure that demonstrates the high level of older people who live alone (ONS Table C0478).

Table 4.5: Gender ratio of Jews aged 65 and over, England and Wales

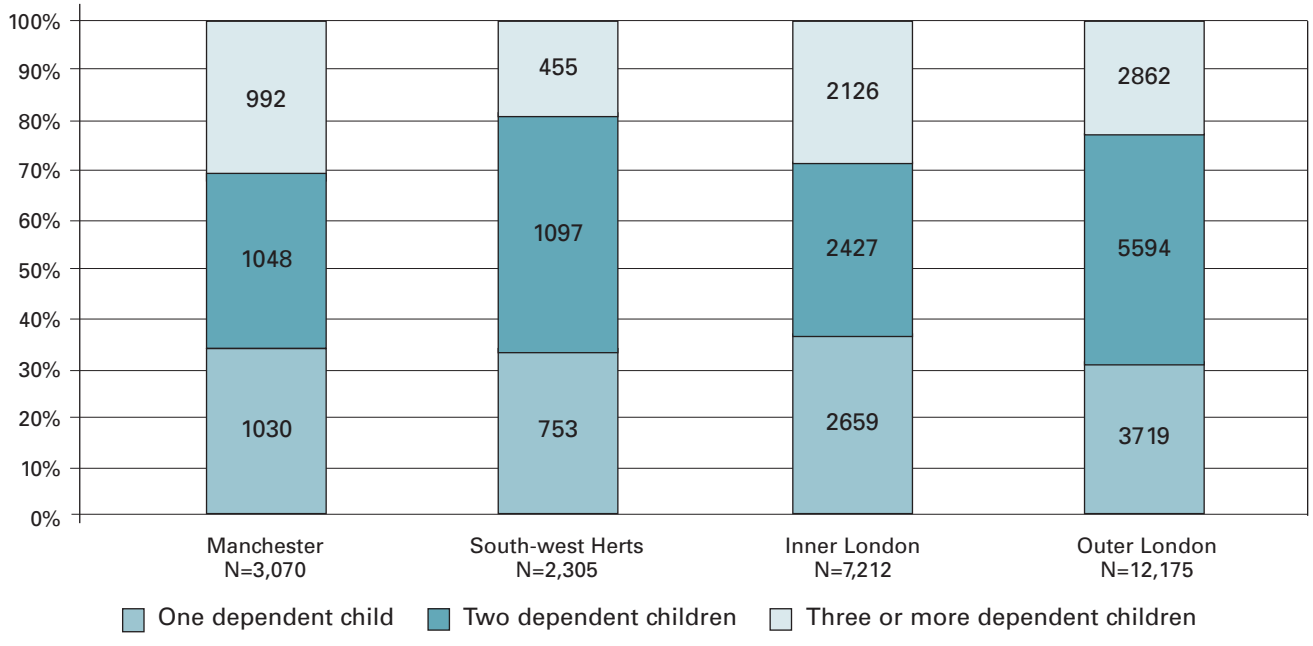
Age cohort	Males (%) N=124,769	Females (%) N=135,158	Ratio males:females
65–9	5.0	4.7	1:1.0
70–4	4.9	5.0	1:1.1
75–9	4.3	5.0	1:1.3
80–4	3.0	4.1	1:1.5
85–9	2.0	3.4	1:1.9
90+	0.9	2.1	1:2.7

Source: ONS Tables S149 and C0474 (c)

Some information about retirement may be gained from the Census analysis of economic activity.[48] There were 184,981 Jews aged between 16 and 74, i.e. working age. Of these 25,375 were aged 65 to 74 and therefore of an age at which, heretofore, most people would be expected to have retired or reduced their working hours.

Although many people continue working after 65, it is reasonable to assume that in 2001 most would have retired by age 75, and that between ages 65 and 74 people would have been moving from a full working life to retirement. Some light is shed on the extent of this movement by estimating the

Figure 4.10: Jewish households with dependent children, by area, England and Wales



Source: ONS Table C0478 (a-c)

48 This is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Table 4.6: Percentage of Jewish population aged 65 and over, selected areas

Age cohort	England and Wales N=259,927	Leeds N=8,273	Bury N=8,924	Barnet N=46,686	Hackney N=10,732	Liverpool N=2,698	Bournemouth N=2,107	Brighton area N=3,358
65–9	4.8	5.4	5.2	4.3	2.3	5.7	7.4	6.8
70–4	4.9	5.5	4.6	4.5	3.7	6.3	8.9	6.6
75–9	4.7	5.9	4.1	4.2	3.1	5.7	10.6	7.5
80–4	3.6	3.8	3.0	3.2	2.9	5.1	8.2	5.8
85–9	2.7	2.7	2.1	2.7	2.3	4.4	6.9	5.2
90+	1.5	1.2	1.4	1.7	1.9	1.8	3.2	3.6

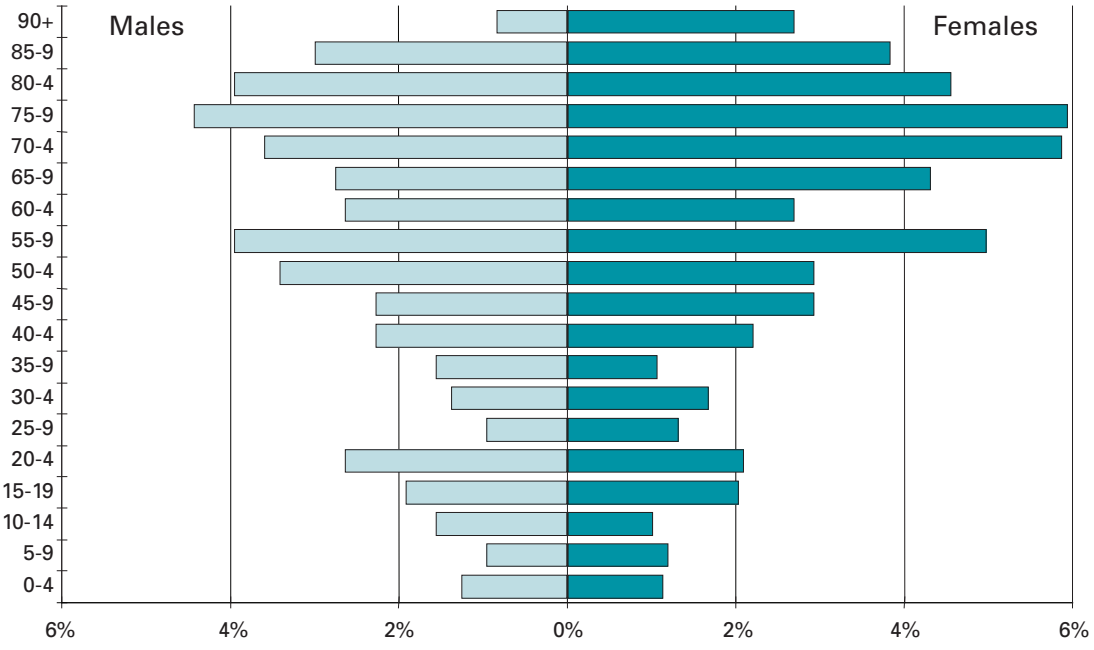
Source: ONS Table S149

proportion of those aged 65 to 74 who were retired by assuming that the numbers of retired people recorded by the Census in the 16 to 74 age band were all over 65 years old and calculating their proportion among all 65 to 74 year olds. The results are set out in Table 4.7.

Overall, in 2001, some 87 per cent of Jews aged 65 to 74 had retired. Furthermore, there were marked regional variations, which may be related to local attitudes, levels of health and opportunities for prolonging a working life as well as financial considerations. The highest retirement ratios were in Leeds, Wales and the Rest of England. Both Leeds and Wales have lost Jewish population through internal migration as well as through natural decrease over the past forty years. They, and places such as Liverpool and Hull, which are included in the Rest of England, are areas where Jews worked in, or gave professional support to, industries that have declined in recent decades; this could have contributed to the age at which people retired. Additionally, the Rest of England includes southern coastal towns that have been growing through retirement-age immigration and would therefore be expected to have high proportions of retired people.

Table 4.7 also illustrates the differences between Inner and Outer London; it shows that Jews in

Figure 4.11: Age and gender structures of Jewish population of Bournemouth (N=1,667)



Source: ONS Table S149

Table 4.7: Number of Jewish retirees, aged 65 to 74, by area

	England and Wales	Greater Manchester	Leeds	Inner London	Outer London	Rest of England	Wales
Aged 65–74	25,524	1,941	913	4,145	10,718	6,589	279
Aged 65–74 assumed to be retired (%)	86.9	81.8	98.3	76.6	83.5	98.0	90.7

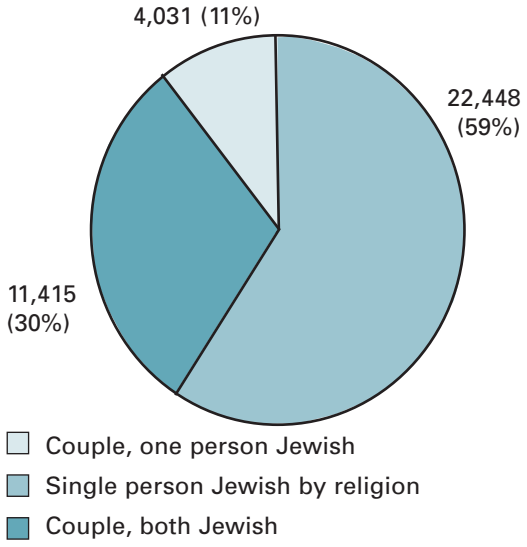
Sources: ONS Tables S149 and T53

Inner London were more likely to continue working after age 64. However, there were variations from borough to borough. Kensington and Chelsea (67.7 per cent), Westminster (72.9 per cent) and Camden (78 per cent) had the lowest levels of retired persons among those aged 65 to 74, while Tower Hamlets (89.2 per cent) had a high ratio. In Outer London, the proportions of retired persons ranged from 90.1 per cent for Redbridge to 76.1 per cent for Barnet. This suggests that people in more prosperous areas are more likely to work beyond the 'official' retirement age.

In summary, three groups may be identified: those aged 65–74 years old, who may still be working; those aged 75–84, who comprise the 'young-old'; and those aged 85 and over, who are the 'old-old'. The nomenclature for these last two subsets is broadly recognized by community welfare agencies caring for the elderly.

There were 4,860 people aged 65 and over who were neither lone pensioners nor living in a pensioner couple household; of these, 801 men and 2,763 women were in medical and care establishments (see Table 4.8). Between ages 65 and 74, the numbers of men (130) and women (300) in care were relatively close but after age 75 there was a great difference, with 671 men and 2,463 women. The London-centric patterns of population and community provision are very noticeable here with 76.6 per cent of those aged 75 and over in residential or medical care homes in the London area. The importance of community services is made clear because less than 10 per cent of the younger 65–74 group and 25 per cent of the 75 and over group were in local authority or NHS establishments, which suggests that they are in either community-run or private homes.

Figure 4.12: Pensioner households with at least one Jew



Source: ONS Table M210

Table 4.8: Type of care facility, by age and gender (%)

	Aged 65–74		Aged 75+	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
N=	*130*	*300*	*671*	*2,463*
Hospital	20.0	54.7	2.4	1.6
Local authority home	5.4	1.0	3.6	2.4
Nursing home	33.1	20.7	50.0	44.0
Residential care home	41.5	23.6	44.1	52.0

Source: ONS Table M296

5 Households

Household composition

The size of the average British household has been diminishing as the population ages and birth rates decline.[49] British Jews have generally been more likely than most other groups to live in 'nuclear' households comprising two parents and children,[50] this also being the main unit of a synagogue community. As far as the Census is concerned, a household 'comprises one person living alone, or a group of people (not necessarily related) living at the same address with common housekeeping—that is, sharing either a living room or sitting room or at least one meal a day'.[51] A 'group of people' may include 'one family and no other' or families sharing or individuals sharing. Household data (unlike data for individuals) are based on the concept of a Household Reference Person (HRP).[52]

The 2001 Census allows us for the first time to examine closely the structures of Jewish households in England and Wales, and compare them with the British population at large. But even the question 'How many *Jewish households* are there?' is not simple to answer. The Census reported that there were 116,330 households in England and Wales in which the HRP was Jewish (ONS Table S151). However, if the religions of members other than the HRP are taken into account, we find that the concept of a *Jewish household*, and hence finding a total number, is more complex. Table 5.1 shows that there were 89,371 households in which *all* members were Jewish by religion, almost half of which (47 per cent) were single-person households (ONS Table C0478). Even including single-person households, this only represents three-quarters of the number of 'Jewish households' as measured by HRP. Additionally, there were 53,700 households in which 'at least one, but not all, household members were Jewish by religion', as well as 2,398 households in which 'at least one but not all household members were Jewish by ethnicity'. Thus, there were 145,469 households in which at least one person was Jewish: these could all be termed 'Jewish households'. Within this group 102,803 were multi-person households of which less than half (46 per cent) were homogeneously (entirely) Jewish.

Jewish household structure based on the HRP

Table 5.2 provides data for household structures of various types based on the HRP definition. Generally, the most common form of household is 'one family and no other', usually consisting of a married couple, with or without children. Jews were *less* likely than the general population to live in single-family households (56.9 per cent compared with 63.3 per cent in general), due to the large number of single-person households discussed below. But a 'single-family' may take many forms and the table highlights several sub-types.

For example a couple may or (increasingly) may not be married. Jews were seven times more likely to live in married-couple households than in cohabiting-couple households (in the general population, this was only four times as likely). Superficially therefore it appears the traditional Jewish married-couple family is still the common structure. But on closer inspection a different picture emerges. Although Jews were indeed more likely to live in married-couple households the proportionate difference was small (61.2 per cent

49 'In 2004 there were 2.6 million more families in Great Britain than in 1961, but there were 7.8 million more households. The growing trend in people living alone accounted for much of the increase in the number of households. As a result the average household size has declined from 3.1 to 2.4 over the same period'; ONS, 'Households: more people were living alone in 2004', 7 July 2005, available online at www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=1162 (viewed 1 March 2007).

50 E. Krausz, *Leeds Jewry: Its History and Social Structure* (Cambridge: Jewish Historical Society of England 1964); Kosmin and Grizzard, *Jews in an Inner London Borough (Hackney)*; Waterman and Kosmin, *British Jewry in the Eighties*.

51 'Glossary', in ONS, GRO and NISRA, *Census 2001: Definitions*, SE/2004/106 (London: The Stationery Office 2004), 34, available online at www.statistics.gov.uk/statbase/product.asp?vlnk=12951 (viewed 5 March 2007).

52 The concept of Household Reference Person (HRP) is new in the 2001 data. It replaces Head of Household, which was used in 1991. If a person lives alone, it follows that this person is the HRP. If the household contains only one family (with or without ungrouped individuals) the HRP is the same as the Family Reference Person (FRP). If there is more than one family in the household, the HRP is chosen from among the FRPs using the same criteria used for choosing the FRP (economic activity, then age, then order on the form). If there is no family, the HRP is chosen from the individuals using the same criteria. In 1991 the Head of Household was taken as the first person on the form unless that person was aged under 16 or was not usually resident in the household.

Table 5.1: Makeup of 'Jewish households' by religion of household members, England and Wales

	Total number of households	One-person households	Two or more person households
All household members Jewish by religion	89,371	42,046	47,335
At least one but not all household members Jewish by religion	53,700	n/a	53,698
At least one but not all household members Jewish by ethnicity	2,398	631	1,770

Source: ONS Table C0478 (a–c)

Table 5.2: Household composition for Jews and the general population, England and Wales (%)

Household	Total population	Jewish population
N=	21,660,475	116,330
One person	30.0	36.1
Pensioner	*48.1*	*53.0*
Other	*51.9*	*47.0*
One family and no other	63.3	56.9
All pensioners	14.2	20.4
Married-couple households	57.7	61.7
No children	*35.6*	*32.5*
One dependent child	*17.3*	*17.3*
Two or more dependent children	*30.7*	*35.6*
All children non-dependent	*16.4*	*14.6*
Cohabiting-couple households	13.1	8.2
No children	*57.0*	*70.8*
One dependent child	*19.1*	*12.6*
Two or more dependent children	*19.9*	*12.1*
All children non-dependent	*3.9*	*4.4*
Lone-parent households	15.0	9.7
One dependent child	*35.4*	*31.8*
Two or more dependent children	*32.4*	*23.6*
All children non-dependent	*32.2*	*44.6*
Other households	6.7	6.9
One dependent child	*16.0*	*11.1*
Two or more dependent children	*17.6*	*16.3*
All student	*5.8*	*8.1*
All pensioners	*6.2*	*7.6*
Other	*54.4*	*56.9*

Source: ONS Table S151

compared with 57.7 per cent in general). Of major significance, however, was the far greater likelihood that these households consisted of married pensioner-couples (20.4 per cent compared with 14.2 per cent in the population at large). A total of 13,500 households headed by a Jewish person were of this type (see Table 5.2). This, then, is the main reason for the demise of the Jewish nuclear family.

There were 5,400 households consisting of cohabiting couples with a Jewish HRP. Though proportionally fewer in number than in the general population, 8.2 per cent compared with 13.1 per cent, this type of household structure is a relatively new and important phenomenon among British Jews, who have traditionally shunned cohabitation either as a prelude to, or a substitute for, marriage. It should also be stressed that 8.2 per cent is probably an underestimate of the proportion of Jewish-headed cohabiting-couple households. This is because Jews who cohabit are more likely to do so with people who did not report their religion as Jewish; for example, a HRP not reporting any religion and cohabiting with a Jewish person is not included in these data. (Couples in exogamous partnerships are discussed below.)

Living alone

Possibly the most important category in Table 5.2 is 'one-person' households. There were 42,046 such households (by definition 'headed' by a Jew) in England and Wales in 2001 (36.1 per cent of all Jewish-headed households); this is a larger proportion than for the general population (30 per cent). This high level of living alone among Jews is partly explained by the large proportion of older people in the population (single-pensioner households). However, nearly half of all single-person households (47 per cent) consisted of a single person below pensionable age, a total of 19,750 people. This, along with the rise of Jewish cohabitation, highlights how Jewish household formation is following the very same patterns seen in British society at large and represents emerging trends in Jewish household structures.

Households with children[53]

Children in households headed by a Jew were far more likely to be living in a married-couple household than any other type of household: 84.5 per cent of dependent children lived in such households compared with 65.1 per cent in general (see Table 5.3). Not only were Jews more likely than the general population to have children within marital unions but the data also showed that children in a married-couple household were more likely to belong to both members of the couple in Jewish households compared with the general population (based on SARs output). Furthermore, Jews were less likely to be lone parents: there were 6,450 Jewish-headed households of this type in 2001. Compared with the general population the children in such households were much less likely to be dependent and, when this was the case, there tended to be fewer of them. That said, nearly 5,700 children lived in households headed by a lone Jewish parent, and it was seven times more likely that the parent was female rather than male. A further 1,835 dependent children lived in (Jewish-headed) cohabiting-couple households.

Table 5.3: Family type for dependent children,* England and Wales

Family type	All dependent children	Jewish dependent children
N=	11,665,266	50,646
Married couple family	65.1	84.5
Non-step-family	*58.8*	*80.8*
Step-family	*6.2*	*3.7*
Lone-parent family	22.9	11.2
Male parent	*2.0*	*1.4*
Female parent	*20.9*	*9.8*
Cohabiting-couple family	11.0	3.6
Non-step-family	*6.2*	*2.0*
Step-family	*4.8*	*1.7*
Not in a family	1.1	0.6

Source: ONS Table T52
*A dependent child is a person in a household aged 0–15 (whether or not in a family) or a person aged 16–18 who is a full-time student in a family with his/her parent(s).

Households by area

The structure of households is far from uniform across the Jewish population not least because the availability of certain types of housing stock varies from place to place. Table 5.6 shows household structures for a number of selected areas, highlighting these differences. For example, single-person households comprised over two-thirds

53 Dependent children were examined in Chapter 4.

Table 5.4: Areas with the highest porportion of Jewish single-pensioner households (min. 50 households)

	Single-pensioner households	Single-pensioner households (%)
Tower Hamlets	493	39.8
Sefton	135	36.0
Bournemouth UA	267	30.9
Manchester (LAD)	449	30.2
Brighton and Hove UA	552	30.0
Brent	972	29.2
Southend-on-Sea UA	382	28.6
Westminster	1,197	26.9
Merseyside (Metropolitan County)	500	26.9
Newcastle upon Tyne	105	25.7

Source: ONS Table S151
UA = Unitary Authority

Table 5.5: Areas with the highest porportion of Jewish single-person (non-pensioner) households (min. 50 households)

	Other single-person households	Other single-person households (%)
Islington	382	37.9
Hammersmith and Fulham	224	31.2
Newham	80	31.0
Southwark	141	29.6
Lewisham	113	29.3
Kensington and Chelsea	527	28.2
Greenwich	67	27.9
Lambeth	185	27.4
Camden	1,565	27.1
Tower Hamlets	336	27.1

Source: ONS Table S151

(66.9 per cent) of all Jewish-headed households in Tower Hamlets but less than a fifth (19.8 per cent) in Hertsmere. Whereas in Tower Hamlets many of the single-person homes were occupied by a pensioner, in Islington, where almost half of households are single-person, the majority of occupants were younger people, that is, below pensionable age.

The highest concentrations of single-pensioner households in England and Wales are shown in Table 5.4. There were particularly high proportions in the Inner London Borough of Tower Hamlets, where nearly two out of five households were of this type, but also in coastal areas such as Sefton (near Liverpool) and Bournemouth. By contrast, non-pensioner single-person households dominated in inner-city areas such as Islington and Hammersmith in London (Table 5.5).

Areas with low proportions of single-person households tended to have high levels of 'single-family' households: over three-quarters (75.6 per cent) of all households in Hertsmere were of this type. In Surrey, over two-thirds (67.8 per cent) of Jewish-headed households consisted of (non-pensioner) married couples with children. High proportions of single-person households also seemed to run alongside high proportions of cohabiting-couple households. For example, in Islington and Tower Hamlets, a quarter (25.7 per cent) and a fifth (18.3 per cent), respectively, of all households consisted of cohabiting couples. In

Table 5.6: Composition of households with a Jewish HRP, by location (%)

Household type	Barnet	Camden	Hertsmere	Islington	Manchester (LAD)	Surrey	Tower Hamlets
N=	18,925	5,774	3,979	1,009	1,486	1,412	1,240
One person	32.6	44.6	19.8	49.3	52.1	26.5	66.9
Pensioner	*54.6*	*39.3*	*47.6*	*23.1*	*58.0*	*46.5*	*59.5*
Other	*45.4*	*60.7*	*52.4*	*76.9*	*42.0*	*53.5*	*40.5*
One family and no other	60.3	42.5	75.6	37.9	36.1	67.6	22.5
All pensioners	*20.0*	*19.9*	*13.9*	*7.3*	*27.9*	*16.6*	*22.2*
Married-couple household	*67.5*	*55.3*	*71.8*	*49.2*	*44.5*	*68.0*	*37.3*
No children	*25.8*	*38.7*	*29.3*	*39.4*	*34.3*	*35.0*	*51.9*
Cohabiting-couple household	4.3	15.8	5.2	25.7	11.0	8.8	18.3
No children	*69.7*	*84.5*	*71.3*	*77.6*	*67.8*	*73.8*	*78.4*
Lone-parent household	8.2	9.0	9.1	17.8	16.6	6.6	22.2
All children non-dependent	*50.4*	*50.9*	*34.1*	*44.1*	*56.2*	*34.9*	*67.7*
Other households	7.1	12.9	4.6	12.9	11.8	5.9	10.6
All student	*1.3*	*4.2*	*n/a*	*6.2*	*44.0*	*7.2*	*3.0*
Other	*58.1*	*73.3*	*35.5*	*73.8*	*34.9*	*42.2*	*68.2*

Source: ONS Table S151

Camden, 15.8 per cent of households headed by Jews were cohabiting-couple households; however, few of these contained children.

In the LAD of Manchester, 16.6 per cent of households were lone-parent families. High proportions were also recorded in other inner-city areas (Islington and Tower Hamlets). Regarding other types of households, Manchester (LAD) had a high proportion of Jewish student households.

Table 5.7: Married-couple households with a Jewish HRP, by location (min. 50 households)

	Married-couple households	Married-couple households (%)
Gateshead	165	66.0
Three Rivers (Herts)	388	59.2
Uttlesford (Stansted)	60	57.7
Elmbridge (Surrey)	217	54.5
Hertsmere	2,159	54.3
South Bucks	79	54.1
Braintree	58	52.7
St Albans	261	52.3
Epping Forest	775	52.2
Horsham	53	52.0

Source: ONS Table S151

Table 5.8: Cohabiting-couple households with a Jewish HRP, by location (min. 25 households)

	Cohabiting -couple households	Cohabiting -couple households (%)
Watford	44	11.6
Wandsworth	81	11.0
Greenwich	26	10.8
Southwark	50	10.5
Islington	98	9.7
Barking and Dagenham	27	9.4
Lambeth	60	8.9
Hammersmith and Fulham	62	8.6
Hounslow	31	8.4
Lewisham	32	8.3

Source: ONS Table S151

Table 5.9: All-student households with a Jewish HRP, by location (min. 10 households)

	All-student households	All-student households (%)
Cherwell (Oxford)	15	15.2
Nottingham UA	29	11.8
Southampton UA	14	11.7
Birmingham	82	8.4
Bristol (City of) UA	22	7.1
West Midlands (Metropolitan County)	86	6.0
Oxford	21	5.5
Manchester	77	5.2
Bristol/Bath area	26	4.5
Sheffield	11	3.2
Newcastle upon Tyne	10	2.4
Liverpool	26	2.0
Leeds	76	2.0
Brighton and Hove UA	21	1.1
Camden	31	0.5
Westminster	21	0.5

Source: ONS Table S151
UA = Unitary Authority

Places with high concentrations of couple households are shown in Table 5.7 and Table 5.8 but married couples were concentrated in different areas to cohabiting couples. In Gateshead, two-thirds (66 per cent) of households consisted of married couples. In Watford, 11.6 per cent of households consisted of cohabiting couples.

Student households

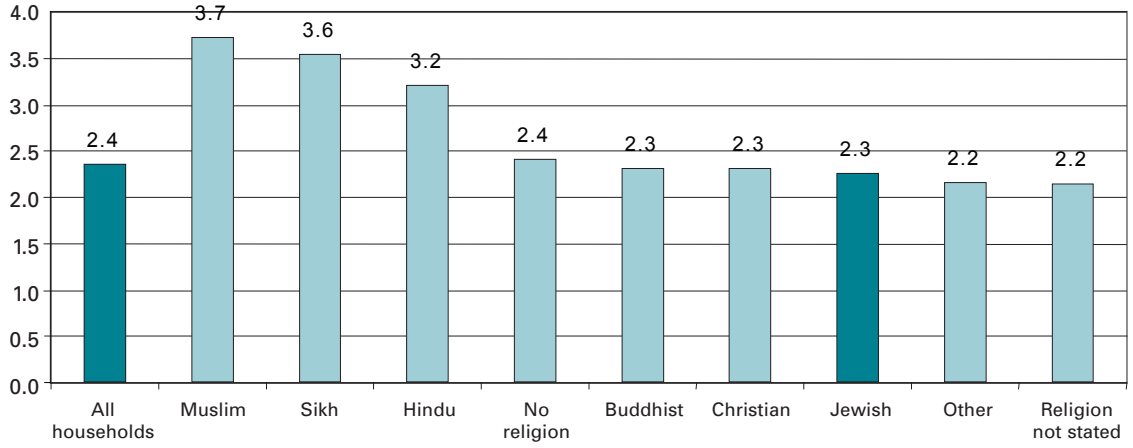
The final form of household structure reported by the Census is 'other households', that is, those that were neither single-person households nor single-family households. There were similar proportions of 'other' for both the Jewish and general populations. Of a total of 8,067 households with a Jewish HRP in this category, 654 were all-student households. Well over half (56.9 per cent) of the remaining 'other' households were 'other other', that is, neither students sharing nor people in communal establishments. These were therefore most likely to be unrelated (and probably young) people sharing, of which there were 4,590 such Jewish-headed households.

Average household size

The average size of households headed by Jews was slightly smaller than the national mean (2.3 compared with 2.4). Jewish household sizes were comparable to those for Christian and Buddhist headed households but were considerably smaller than Muslim, Sikh and Hindu headed households (see Figure 5.1).

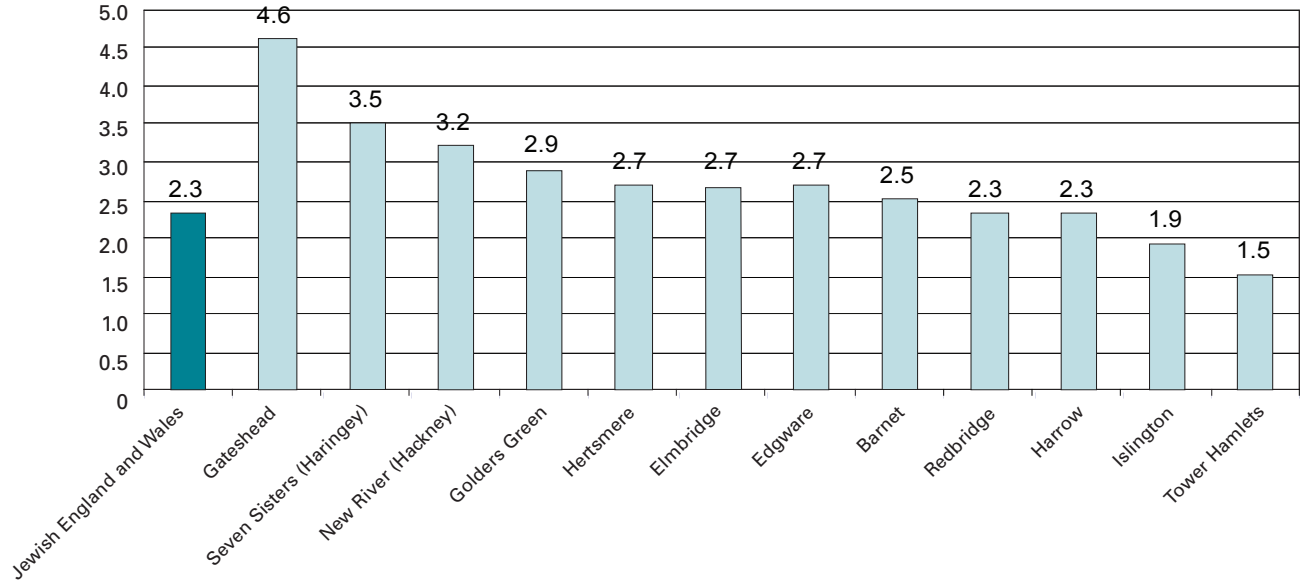
However, average household size was also sensitive to geography, and areas in which a large proportion of the Jewish population was strictly Orthodox exhibited very different mean

Figure 5.1: Average household size by religion of HRP, England and Wales



Source: ONS Table C0645

Figure 5.2: Average size of household with Jewish HRP, by area



Source: ONS Table C0645

household sizes to other areas. Figure 5.2 shows a selection of areas. In Seven Sisters ward in the London Borough of Haringey, to the north of Stamford Hill, mean household size was 3.5, almost twice that of Islington a relatively short distance away (1.9). In Gateshead, where Jews were almost entirely strictly Orthodox, mean household size was 4.6 persons.

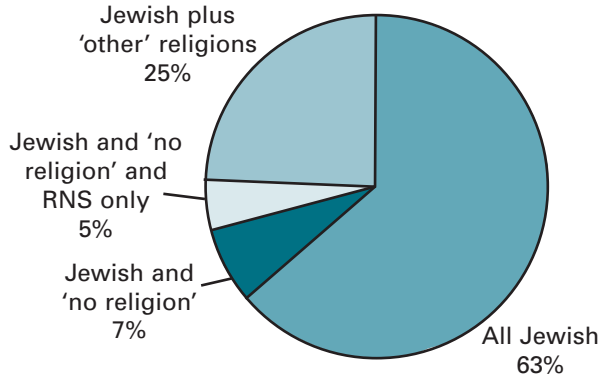
Religious makeup of 'Jewish households'

As already noted, the Census used the notion of the Household Reference Person (HRP). While the religious makeup of single-person households was clear, there remains some ambiguity as to the religious identities of the remaining household members who were not HRPs. Establishing the religious identities of these individuals allows us to understand better the extent to which households with a Jewish HRP were (or were not) Jewishly homogeneous. Figure 5.3 provides an indication of this, that is, the extent to which households were found to be 'homogeneously Jewish'. The chart excludes all 42,046 single-person Jewish households. Of the remaining households, almost two-thirds (63.7 per cent) were homogeneously Jewish, that is, all members reported themselves to be Jewish.

Additionally, 11.8 per cent consisted of household members who were Jewish together with others who reported 'no religion' or did not respond to the question, that is 'religion not stated' (RNS). It is not possible to tell from these data how many of these individuals not reporting Jewish were 'actually' Jewish but chose not to report it. Finally, over a quarter (24.5 per cent) of multiple-person households headed by a Jewish individual contained people of different faiths. Of these 18,225 households some members' religion was something other than Jewish (including 'no religion').

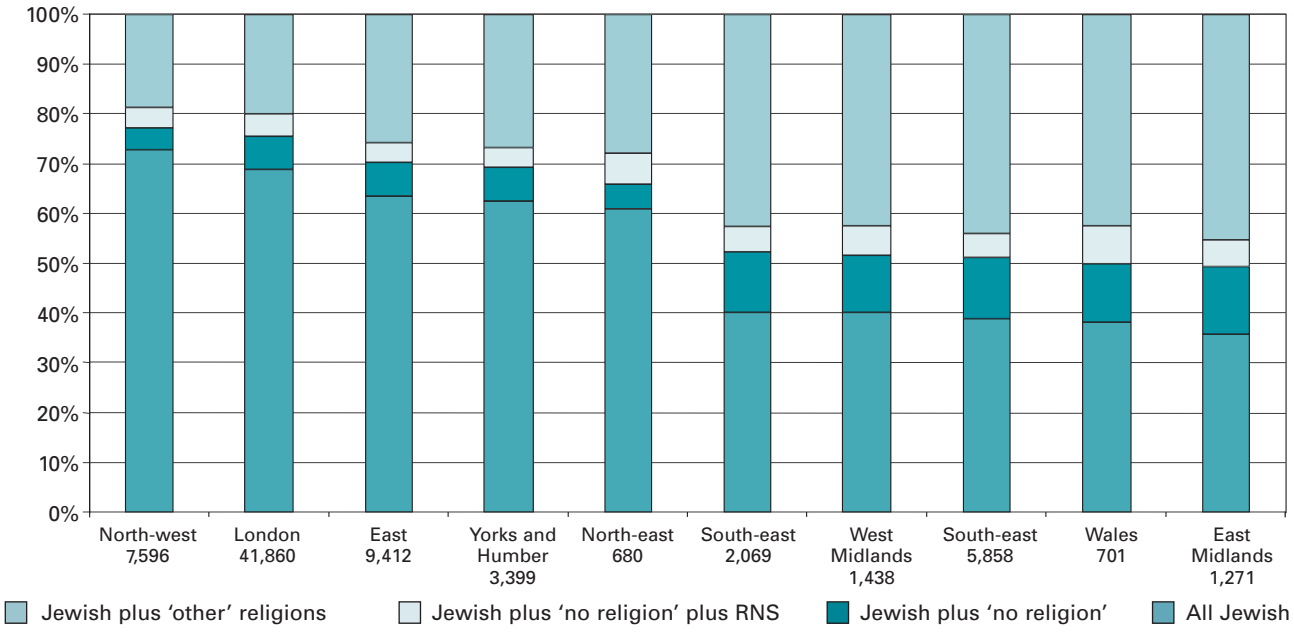
However, there is a caveat here, for there is yet another group for which data are not available. These are households that contain Jews but in which the HRPs did not report themselves to be Jewish. For example, if the HRP was male and did

Figure 5.3: Religious homogeneity of households, by HRP (excluding single-person households) (N=74,284)



Source: ONS Table C0403

Figure 5.4: Household homogeneity, by region



Source: ONS Table C0403

not respond to the question, then even if all members were Jewish (including the male HRP) no household data will have been reported in the Census.

Figure 5.4 illustrates differences in the homogeneity of households by region. The region in which households were most likely to be wholly Jewish was the North-west of England where, in 72.9 per cent of households headed by a Jew, all members were Jewish. This contrasts with the East Midlands in which only 36 per cent of households were homogeneously Jewish, and 45 per cent, though having a Jewish HRP, had other members with a religion other than Jewish.

Partnerships[54]

In the following sections we examine the nature of Jewish partnerships as revealed by the Census. Historically, most Jews follow a life-cycle that involves marriage: few Jews never marry. Figure 5.5 shows how patterns of marital status changed with age. By their 30s, a majority of Jews were married, a situation that did not change until people reached their 70s. By this age widowhood begins to dominate the picture. Other trends are also highlighted here, such as separation, divorce and remarriage, which were most prevalent for Jews in their 40s, 50s and 60s. Indeed, whereas divorce and remarriage are often neglected aspects of British Jewish demography, 27.7 per cent of people aged between 45 and 59 were separated, divorced or remarried. The following section looks specifically at partner choice in this population.

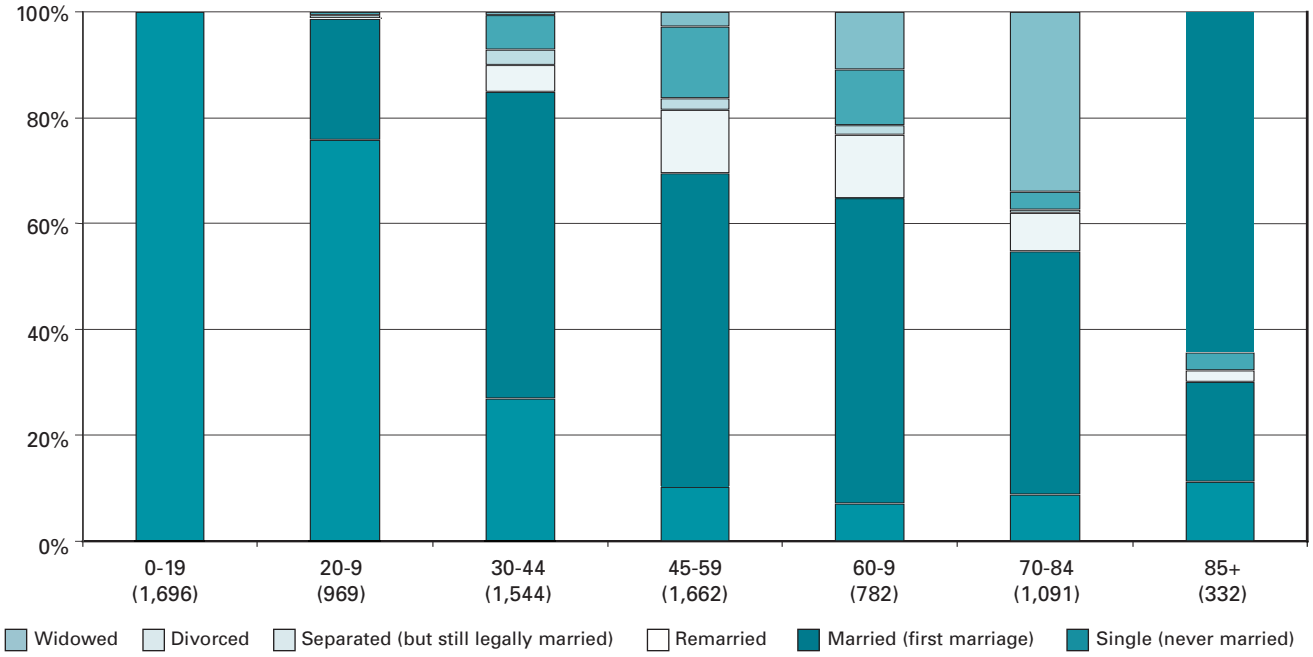
Exogamous relationships

The 2001 Census provided a unique opportunity to examine the nature of British Jewish marriage trends. 'Intermarriage'—something that attracts attention because of its purported steep rise in recent years—is a hugely emotive issue. But marriage of Jews to non-Jews is not something that has just recently appeared. It is a subject that often draws considerable rhetoric, to a far greater extent than facts might support, and, until now, accurate analysis of the situation had been greatly hampered by a lack of reliable data. In addition the notion of an 'intermarriage rate' is complex and much depends on how the calculation is produced. Consequently, given the lacunae in the data, such a statistic receives far more attention than it warrants.

The only data available in the past relating to Jews and marriage concerned marriages solemnized in and recorded by synagogues. Synagogue marriage data, by their very nature, can say nothing directly about out-marriage. Most of the evidence for

54 This section only looks at data relating to mixed-sex unions. Although some data were revealed by the Census relating to same-sex unions, they represented a very small proportion of all relationships involving Jews recorded by the Census.

Figure 5.5: Jews in England and Wales: changes in marital status with age



Source: SARs data

increasing levels of Jewish out-marriage, therefore, has been inferred from other sources, such as surveys of the Jewish community.[55]

The frequently noted and much lamented decline in synagogue marriages has been explained in various ways, including as the outcome of more people deciding to defer marriage to a later age, opting for a civil marriage rather than participating in a religious ceremony, or entering into cohabitational relationships in preference to marrying at all. Other reasons offered to explain the drop in synagogue marriages in Britain are that Jews may be choosing to marry other Jews but outside the United Kingdom or that there is an increasing tendency to emigrate before finding a marriage partner. While all of these factors and others may be valid explanations for at least part of the observed drop in synagogue marriages, until the 2001 Census there were very few data available to examine the magnitude and nature of marriage trends in general.

Mixed-faith marriage

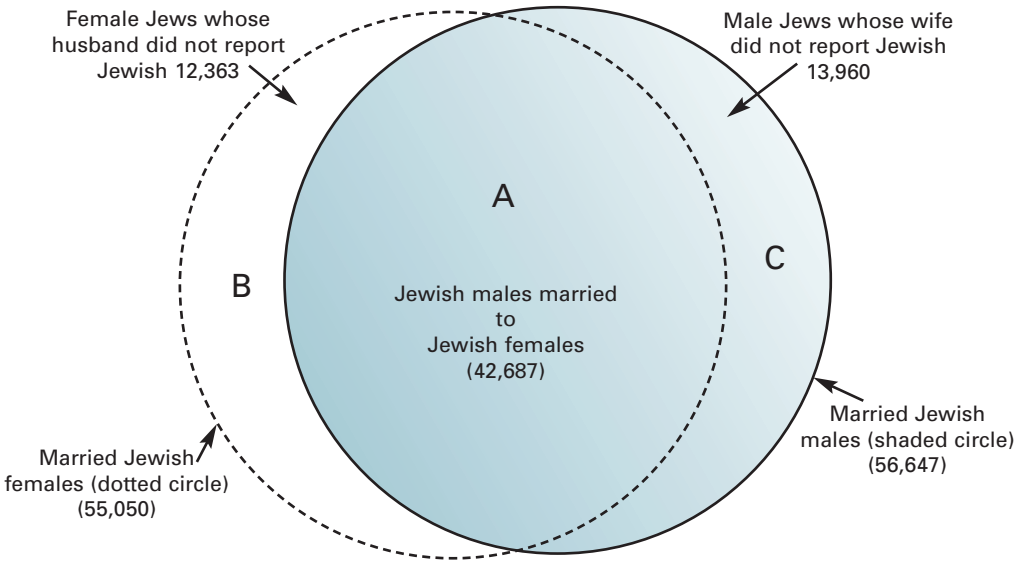
The 2001 Census of England and Wales provides data indicating the religious identity of both partners of a married couple. One way of understanding these data is by means of a diagram (see Figure 5.6) in which area 'A' represents all Jews married to Jews (endogamy) and areas 'B' and 'C' represent Jews whose partners did not report themselves to be Jewish. Ostensibly, the latter was exogamy but this was not what the data showed. Furthermore, it is important to note that these figures, whatever 'gut feelings' they engender, do *not* indicate *trends*; they are a snapshot of the situation as it was in April 2001.

Mixed-faith marriages can be measured in two ways, either by focusing on Jewish *individuals* who are married, or by focusing on married *couples* in which at least one partner is Jewish.

The data show that in April 2001 there were 111,697 *individuals* who gave their religion as Jewish *and* who were married. Of these, 49 per cent were male and 51 per cent female. Table 5.10 shows that the majority of married Jewish men and women were in fact married to other Jews; in all, 75.4 per cent of men who were both married and Jewish by religion were married to a woman who was also Jewish by religion. Conversely, 77.5 per cent of married Jewish women had a Jewish husband. For the pool of couples measured in 2001, it seems there was only a small difference in the levels of endogamy based on gender. But again this is misleading.

55 See, for example, S. Miller, M. Schmool and A. Lerman, *Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 1996).

Figure 5.6: Jewish individuals in married couples (not to scale)



Source: ONS Table C0400

Intuitively, the obverse of these statistics would be that approximately one Jewish married person in four is married to *someone who did not report Jewish* as his or her religion. Yet, this does not necessarily mean that that person was not Jewish, and there is no doubt that some people who reported 'no religion' or did not state a religion (RNS) in response to the voluntary question were actually Jewish. As a consequence, these figures do *not* show that almost one in four married Jews had in fact 'married out'.

So what do they show? The Census found that, in general, men were more likely to report 'no religion' than women,[56] and it must be assumed that this applies equally to Jews, though measuring this is not possible here. It follows therefore that Jewish women were more likely to have husbands who stated 'no religion' than were Jewish men to have wives who stated 'no religion' (see Table 5.10). By contrast, the propensity to not report any religion (RNS) was similar for men and for women. Once more, it must be noted that some of the people in these 'no religion' and RNS categories were, indeed, Jewish but it is not possible to quantify this. Jewish men were more likely to have a spouse with a *religion other than Jewish* (that is, to have 'married out') than were Jewish women. Approximately one in six (18.4 per cent) of all married Jewish men was married to a woman whose religion was *other than Jewish*; these were mostly Christians, as befits a country in which the majority of people profess to Christianity. For Jewish women, 13.9 per cent had 'married out', again mostly to Christian men. This is the evidence for greater exogamy among Jewish married men.

Compared with other groups, only the small population of Buddhists exhibited greater levels of exogamy than Jews. In all, 76 per cent of married Jews were in endogamous relationships, whereas the figures for Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were all

56 In the national population 22.4 per cent of men aged 20 to 49 (i.e. the most common marriageable ages) reported 'no religion' compared with 16.7 per cent of women in that age group.

Table 5.10: Response of spouse for married couples in which at least one partner was Jewish, England and Wales

Response	Married couples			
	Jewish females: response of husband		Jewish males: response of wife	
N=	55,050		56,647	
Jewish	77.5		75.4	
RNS		2.2		2.6
No religion		6.3		3.6
Other religion		13.9		18.4
Subtotal	22.5		24.6	
Total	100.0		100.0	

Source: ONS Table C0400

Table 5.11: Response of partner for couples in which at least one member was Jewish, England and Wales (mixed-sex couples)

Response	Cohabiting couples			
	Jewish females: response of (male) partner		Jewish males: response of (female) partner	
N=	5,618		5,618	
Jewish	26.9		26.9	
RNS		5.6		5.0
No religion		25.8		18.7
Other religion		41.7		49.4
Subtotal	73.1		73.1	
Total	100.0		100.0	

Source: ONS Table C0629

above 90 per cent. There are several possible explanations for this but clearly an important one relates to Jews: unlike the adherents of other religions, Jews have on the whole been settled in Britain longer. Merely not being first- or second-generation immigrants means they have had more opportunities to meet potential non-Jewish partners.

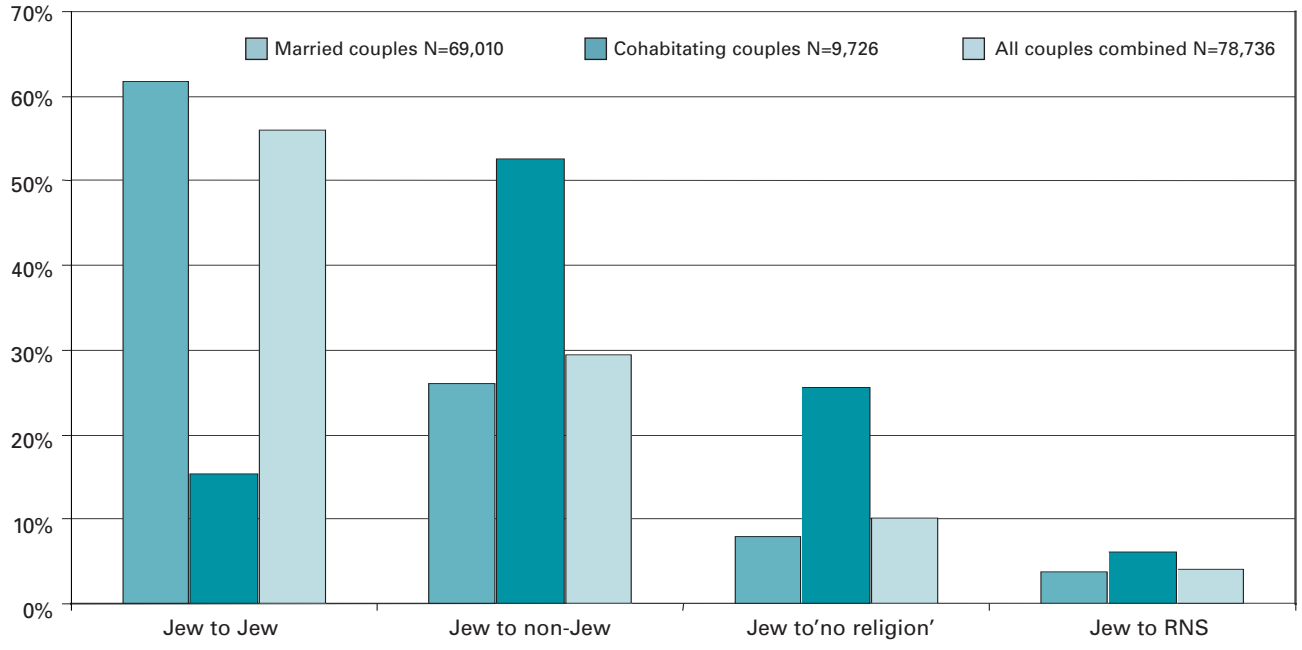
Mixed-faith cohabitation

As already noted, cohabitation now accounts for a substantial proportion of all Jewish partnerships, something that has barely been discussed or acknowledged in the past. Whether cohabitation is being treated by people as a prelude to marriage rather than a substitute for it is unknown but a very important pattern is revealed by these data relating to Jews who cohabit. That is, they are far more likely to do so with non-Jews than people who marry.

Table 5.11 shows the data relating to the religion of partners of cohabiting (mixed-sex) couples in which at least one partner was Jewish.[57] By coincidence, there were 5,618 Jewish men and the same number of Jewish women living in cohabiting unions. This number was approximately a tenth of the number of married Jewish persons; it was around double the equivalent proportion for Muslims, and three times that of Sikhs and Hindus.

The picture provided by the data for cohabiting couples shows a similar pattern to those seen for married couples but in a much more exaggerated way. For both Jewish men and Jewish women who were in a cohabiting union, just over one in four (26.9 per cent) were cohabiting with another

Figure 5.7: All couples in which at least one partner was Jewish, England and Wales



Source: ONS Tables C0400 and C0629

57 All figures in this section relate to opposite-sex couples only.

Jewish person; but as with married couples this *does not* mean that nearly three-quarters of cohabiting Jews were in exogamous cohabiting unions ('inter-cohabitation'). Rather, it shows that 73.1 per cent of cohabiting Jews were living with a person who *did not report Jewish*. As with married Jews, the male partners of Jewish women were more likely to report 'no religion' than the female partners of Jewish men (25.8 per cent compared with 18.7 per cent). But the highly revealing and important statistics among these data relate to partners with 'other religions'; for cohabiting Jewish females 41.7 per cent had a non-Jewish partner and for cohabiting Jewish males the proportion was even higher at 49.4 per cent.

These data on married and cohabiting couples are contrasted and summarized in Figure 5.7. The stark difference in patterns between Jews who married and those who cohabited is clear. Compared with the spouses of married Jews, the partners of Jews who cohabit were far more likely to have been non-Jewish, or to have reported 'no religion' or not responded to the question on religion at all. If all mixed-sex unions involving at least one Jew are combined together, 56.1 per cent were endogamous, 29.4 per cent were exogamous and, in 14.4 per cent of couples, the partner either reported 'no religion' or RNS (how many of these couples were endogamous or exogamous cannot be assessed).

'Intermarriage' (exogamy) has been a major source of concern for many British Jews because it is often assumed that such relationships are a precursor to assimilation and the decline of the Jewish population. Traditionally, Jewish families have been formed through the marriage of two Jewish people. The evidence here suggests that in 2001 there were 23,183 couples in which the partner of a Jew was a non-Jew, and a further 11,356 in which they might have been (i.e. the partner had 'no religion' or RNS). Very little is known about these couples and, indeed, until the Census there were almost no data at all on cohabitation. In 2001 cohabitees comprised over 12 per cent of all those couples in which at least one partner was Jewish. Such unions were less likely to produce children than married couples, and far more likely to be mixed-faith. Cohabitation was once shunned even in the British population at large; today it seems that the likely occurrence of cohabitation among Jews will only rise in the future. It is now an increasingly prominent aspect of British Jewish demography and will inevitably have an important impact not only on the future of that demography but also on what constitutes a Jewish household and how Jewish family formation is understood.

6 Social indicators

Ethnicity[58]

For the most part, British Jews regard themselves as just that: British. In England and Wales, 96.8 per cent of Jews recorded their ethnicity as 'White' and, of these, 87 per cent also recorded their ethnicity as 'British'. The remainder of the 'Whites' (32,000 people) reported themselves as 'Other White' (12 per cent). Thus nearly 42,000 Jews in the England and Wales did not classify their ethnicity as 'White British'. In Scotland, 96.3 per cent of the Jews gave their ethnicity as 'White' (see Table 6.1).

With regard to answering the ethnicity question, there were noticeable differences between the 83 per cent of the Jews of England and Wales born in the United Kingdom and the remainder born outside. Whereas almost 94 per cent of the former group stated that they had 'White British' ethnicity and only a further 4 per cent described themselves as 'Other White', 53 per cent of the latter group saw themselves as 'Other White' and only 36 per cent reported 'White British' ethnicity. These two categories accounted for 89 per cent of Jews in England and Wales born outside the United Kingdom; the remaining 11 per cent (altogether 4,813 people) opted for other categories, including 'Irish' and various 'Asian' ethnicities, suggesting that some may have misinterpreted the ethnicity question, regarding it as asking for country or region of origin.

Location of Jews by ethnicity

Table 6.2 indicates the geographical distribution of Jews in England and Wales by religion and ethnicity. When the three groups are combined we find that 19 per cent lived in Inner London, 39 per cent in Outer London and 42 per cent were 'regional'. In comparison, the data show that ethnic-only Jews were almost twice as likely to live in Inner London than religion-only Jews and, as a corollary, only half as likely to live in Outer London. People Jewish by both religion and ethnicity were also more likely to live in Inner London than religion-only Jews but were more likely to live in Outer London than were the ethnic-only group. This suggests that many younger and better-educated Jews live in locations outside the well-established Jewish areas.

It should be stressed again that these patchy data are only able to suggest the characteristics of people with an ethnic component to their Jewish identity. Even so, they clearly point to patterns that distinguish ethnically identifying Jews from the majority who identified by religion only.

Country of birth

The Jewish population of England and Wales in 2001 was essentially an indigenous group with 83.2 per cent born in the United Kingdom (ONS Table S150). This reflects the fact that, unlike large Jewish communities in other parts of the world

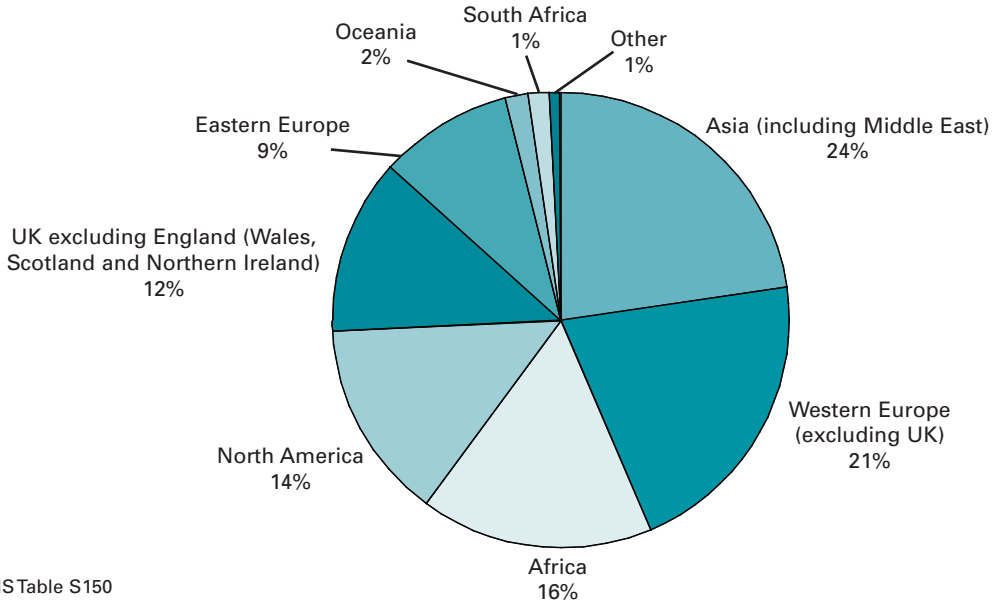
Table 6.1: Jews by ethnicity, by Census categorization

	England and Wales all (counts)	England and Wales Jewish (counts)	Scotland Jewish (counts)	England and Wales all (%)	England and Wales Jewish (%)	Scotland Jewish (%)
N=	52,041,916	259,927	6,448	52,041,916	259,927	6,448
White	47,520,866	251,635	6,202	91.3	96.8	96.2
British	*45,533,741*	*218,324*	*n/a*	*95.8*	*86.8*	*n/a*
Irish	*641,804*	*1,147*	*n/a*	*1.4*	*0.5*	*n/a*
Other White	*1,345,321*	*32,164*	*n/a*	*2.8*	*12.8*	*n/a*
Mixed	661,034	3,105	n/a	1.3	1.2	n/a
Asian	2,273,737	1,880	32	4.4	0.7	0.5
Black or Black British	1,139,577	905	n/a	2.2	0.3	n/a
Other ethnic group	446,702	2,402	214	0.9	0.9	3.3

Source: ONS Table S104

58 Ethnicity in the Jewish context is discussed in Chapter 2.

Figure 6.1: Country of birth of Jews in England and Wales (N=49,719)



Source: ONS Table S150

such as Israel, France, the United States, Canada and a recently resurgent Germany, British Jewry has not had a major wave of immigration since the influx of refugees from Central Europe associated with the Second World War. The 16.8 per cent of Jews in England and Wales who were not born in the British Isles hailed from almost every other region in the world (see Figure 6.1). The three largest groups of foreign-born Jews were the 7,066 born in Israel, the 5,991 born in the United States and the 5,688 born in South Africa.[59] The figure for the Israeli-born was surprisingly low as the 1991 Census had recorded 12,195 born in Israel, though not all of them were Jewish.[60]

Country of birth and gender

Gender is often an important aspect of migration in general because historically men have been more likely to migrate. Data based on country of birth reveal that gender was significant among Jews in Britain who had been born abroad. For example, Figure 6.2 shows that people born in 'EU countries' were more frequently female, reflecting a combination of both historical and contemporary migratory patterns: the gender imbalance reflects the longevity of female refugees from the 1930s and 1940s. In addition, the EU group is augmented by contemporary economic migration. Only three areas of origin of Jews living in England and Wales was represented by more men than women: the Middle East (including Israel), South Africa and India.

Location and country of birth

The geographical distribution of foreign-born Jews varied from region to region within England and Wales. With its long experience of immigrant arrivals and absorption, Greater London had a higher proportion of Jews born outside the British Isles than the country as a whole. However, within

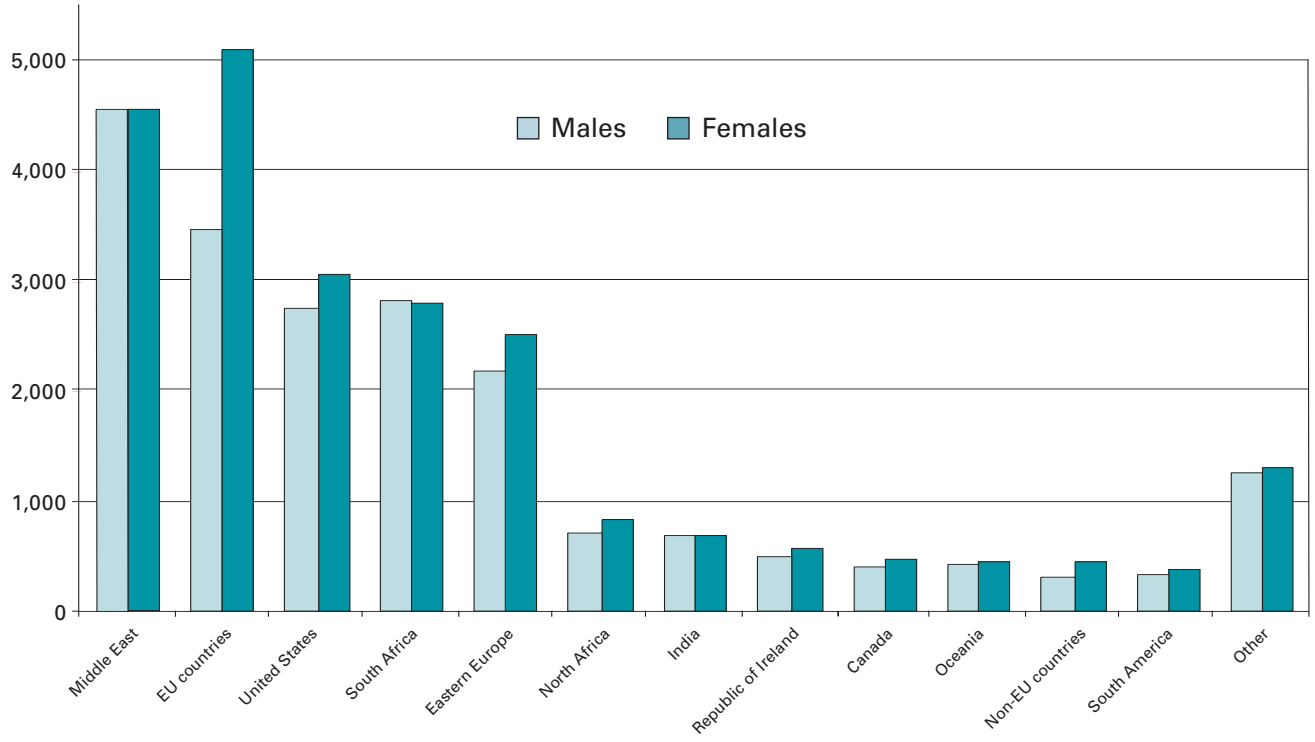
Table 6.2: Geographical location for Jews by religion and Jews by ethnicity, England and Wales

	Religion only	Religion and ethnicity	Ethnicity only
N=	248,977	10,950	2,594
Inner London	45,321	3,878	1,005
Outer London	97,355	3,235	532
Regional*	106,301	3,837	1,057
Inner London (%)	18.2	35.4	38.7
Outer London (%)	39.1	29.5	20.5
Regional* (%)	42.7	35.0	40.7

Source: ONS Table C0476 (a–c)
*The category 'Regional' is the total for England and Wales less the combined total for Inner and Outer London.

59 These data include individuals who identified as 'Jewish by ethnicity only' as well as Jewish by religion (ONS Table C0484).
60 Schmool and Cohen, *A Profile of British Jewry*.

Figure 6.2: Foreign-born Jews by gender, England and Wales



Source: ONS Table S150

the metropolis, there was a clear difference between the numbers of foreign-born Jews in the Inner London boroughs and those in Outer London. Whereas the proportions of foreign-born Jews living in Outer London were similar to the national figures, the data for Inner London reveal a much higher proportion of residents born outside the United Kingdom (27 per cent compared with 16 per cent). However the data also show that there was a North/South split, with high proportions of Jews in boroughs and districts south of the River Thames.

Within London, almost half (46.7 per cent) of the Jews in Kensington and Chelsea were born outside the country. In this borough, the relatively small proportion of British-born Jews was offset by Jews born in North America, present in a proportion that was more than seven times the national figure, and from South-west Asia and Western Europe (each present at between three and four times their share of the national Jewish population). There were higher than average proportions of South Africans in Camden, Westminster, Hammersmith and Wandsworth. In contrast, the proportions of British-born Jews in Inner London were highest in the boroughs of Tower Hamlets and Newham, declining centres of Jewish residence where older Jewish people still live.

In Outer London the Borough of Redbridge stands out as having the highest proportion of Jews born in the British Isles; fully 95 per cent of Redbridge's Jewish population were born in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, reinforcing the difference between this declining Jewish area, originally settled by formerly working-class Jews from the East End, and the Jewish areas in North-west London. The London boroughs of Havering, Enfield, Waltham Forest and Harrow also had higher than average proportions of British-born Jews. In contrast, lower than average percentages of UK-born Jews were found in the boroughs of Merton, Richmond and Croydon in South London and Hounslow in West London, all with small Jewish populations.

Table 6.3 indicates very high proportions of foreign-born Jews in the university and research towns of Oxford and Cambridge. In contrast, another notable variation from the national figures was Yorkshire (in other words, Leeds), where the proportion of the Jewish population born in the British Isles was 92 per cent; this reflects the region's longstanding lack of attractiveness for recent Jewish immigrants. There were also higher proportions of Jews born in Israel and Western Europe in North-east England (Gateshead) and in Inner London. This is possibly related to the

Table 6.3: Areas with highest proportions of Jews born outside the UK (min. 100 people)

	Counts	Percentages
Kensington and Chelsea	1,661	46.7
Oxford	413	37.9
Cambridge	314	36.6
Hammersmith and Fulham	428	32.7
Westminster	2,440	31.6
Camden	3,269	29.3
Southwark	293	28.8
Merton	245	28.0
Richmond upon Thames	442	27.9
Elmbridge	258	27.7

Source: ONS Table S150

location of strictly Orthodox Jews and religious seminaries in parts of these regions, and of North American- and South African-born Jews in both Inner London and the South-east.

Immigration subgroups from Israel, South Africa and the United States

The time when most British Jews were immigrants is long since past. Nevertheless, the Census recorded 18,745 Jews born in Israel, the United States and South Africa (ONS Table C0484).[61] Together this group formed an interesting case study of contemporary 'foreign-born' Jews in Britain. However, being born abroad is not necessarily synonymous with being 'foreign'. For example, a person born in South Africa might well have arrived in Britain as a child. Moreover, many Israelis who were born outside of Israel will not show up among the 'Israeli-born'. Table 6.4 shows that there were approximately equal proportions of men and women from each of the three countries of birth. Unfortunately, the data tell us nothing about these Jewish persons born abroad that would allow us to infer their age or marital status at the time of their arrival in the United Kingdom or how long they had lived in Britain.

Comparing data on these three larger foreign-born groups provides information on the differences among them in terms of age and marital status. Figure 6.3 indicates that, among the under-40s, the

Table 6.4: South African-, Israeli- and US-born Jews in England and Wales, by gender*

	South Africa	Israel	United States
Males	50.3	49.6	47.3
Females	49.7	50.4	52.7
N=	5,688	7,066	5,991

Source: ONS Table C0484
*Including Jewish by ethnicity and/or by religion.

Israeli-born greatly outnumbered those born in South Africa or the United States. In the case of those aged 0–19, the vast majority were children born in Israel. The 20–39 age-cohort included a student population and other young people who had come to the United Kingdom for economic reasons. In contrast, the South African-born Jews outnumbered the Israelis among the over-40s, which may indicate arrival in this country at a different period.

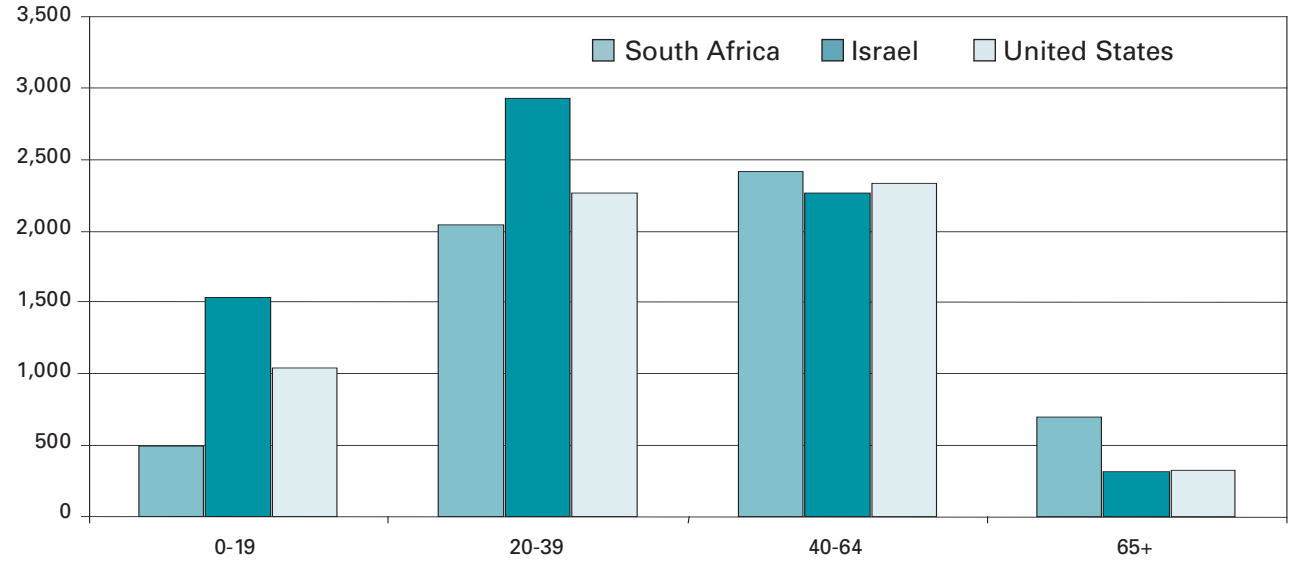
A difference in family status is shown by the almost twice as many single (never-married) Israeli-born Jews than South African- and American-born Jews. That the Israelis were a younger population than the South Africans is highlighted by the fact that there were almost twice as many married Israeli-born in the 20–39 age-cohort than there were South African-born; those born in the United States fell somewhere in between.

The Census recorded 8,273 married Jews who were born in South Africa, Israel or the United States. South Africans were the most likely to be married and the Israelis the most likely to be single but the differences were not substantial (see Figure 6.4). When married (ONS Table C0483), almost 40 per cent of South African-born Jews were married to a person born in Africa (presumably South Africa or Zimbabwe), and 45.7 per cent were married to a person born in the United Kingdom, with 14 per cent married to someone born elsewhere. In contrast, among the Israelis, 61.7 per cent were married to British-born Jews; only 20 per cent of the Israeli-born were married to a person born in an Asian country (presumably Israel).[62] Like the Israelis, just over 60 per cent of

61 All told, there were 30,386 people living in households (in England and Wales) in which at least one member was Jewish and born in Israel, the United States or South Africa (ONS Table C0478 (a–c)).

62 Given the ONS country classification scheme, this presumably means to another Israeli but the data do not permit us to make this statement with certainty.

Figure 6.3: Age structure, by country of birth (%) (N=18,745)*



Source: ONS Table C0484
*Including Jewish by ethnicity and/or by religion

the American-born were married to British-born people, with a further 25 per cent married to other Americans.[63]

Overall, the marriage partners of the South Africans and the Israelis were predominantly Jewish, with 71.2 per cent of both groups in endogamous marriages, though this figure was lower than for the British Jews taken as a whole (see Table 6.5). In comparison, less than half of the American-born Jews were married to a Jewish spouse.

One in every six of the Jews born in South Africa was married to a Christian; for Israelis it was one in seven. However, this figure rose to one in three for Jews born in the United States and, of this particular subgroup, half of the spouses were British-born (see Figure 6.5). Interestingly, marriage to a Christian spouse for all three foreign-born groups of Jews was more prevalent outside London; 38 per cent of the American-born Jews living outside Greater London were married to a Christian spouse, as were more than a quarter of the Israeli-born and the South African-born. In contrast, the intermarriage ratios for those living in Outer London were the lowest of all. This suggests greater conformity where there are large numbers of Jews, and that, if the marriage partner was also Jewish, there was a greater tendency to live where other Jews lived and to be part of a community.

In summary, even though British Jewry has long since ceased to be regarded as an immigrant population, it includes many Jews who were born outside the country. Many South African Jews were married to other South Africans, and they were also more likely to live outside London. On the other hand, the Israeli-born were more likely than either the South Africans or the Americans to have a spouse born in the United Kingdom and to live in London; contrary to common perception, they most closely resembled the British-born Jewish population. These data force us to appreciate the cosmopolitan make up of British Jewry today.

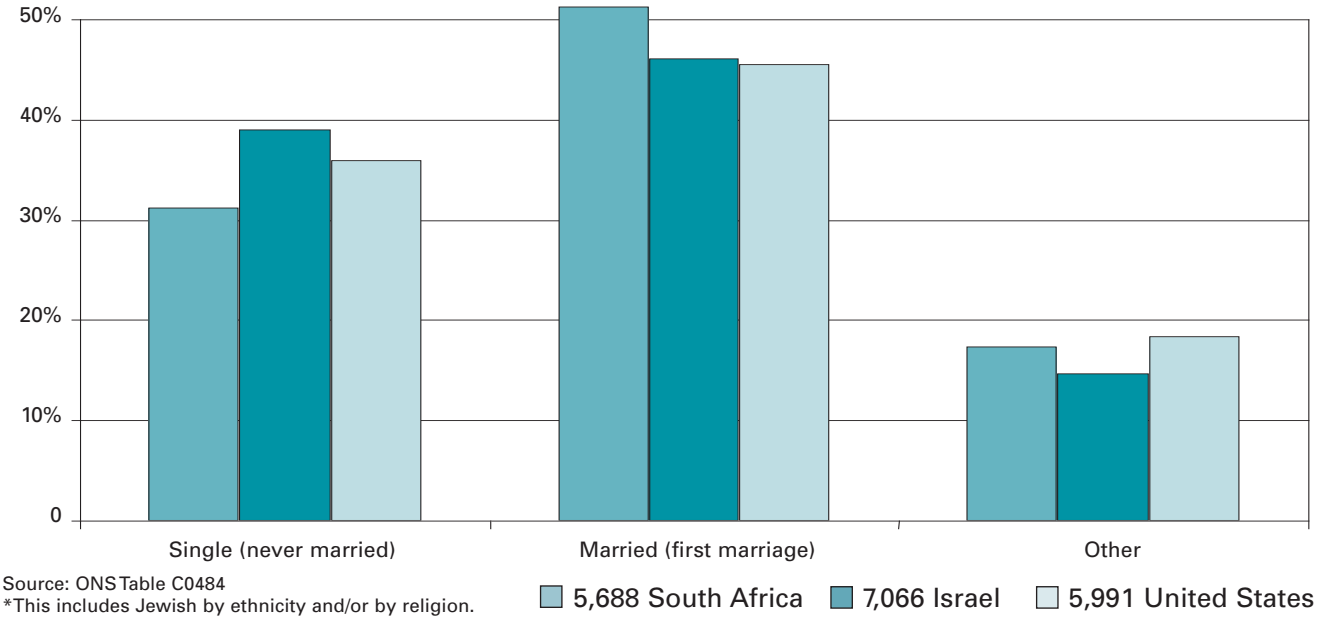
Social inequality indicators

Assessing social inequality as measured by standard of living is one of the key motivations for conducting a census in the United Kingdom. Beyond general health, the well-being of many individuals is closely linked to their financial situation. Although levels of income and wealth have a direct impact on living standards, such questions are considered too controversial for inclusion and have not been asked in the British Census.[64] While the Census does report 'NS-SeC' (National Statistics Socio-economic Classification), this has more to do with occupational than financial status. In fact nothing in the Census addresses the issue of affluence directly, although it

63 People in the category of 'Other', that is, not British, European, African or Asian, and thus presumably Americans.

64 The 2007 Test Census included a question on income. This text will be used to inform the contents of the 2011 Census

Figure 6.4: Marital status, by country of birth*



Source: ONS Table C0484
*This includes Jewish by ethnicity and/or by religion.

Table 6.5: Religion of spouse, by country of birth (%)

	South Africa	Israel	United States
Christian	17.4	14.4	31.0
Jewish	71.2	71.2	46.6
Other (including 'no religion' and 'religion not stated')	11.4	14.4	22.4
N=	2,472	2,995	2,806

Source: ONS Table C0483

is possible to examine some variables that are indicative of living standards, if not of income and wealth. The measures, which we present here, are *housing tenure, household overcrowding* and *access to vehicles*.

Housing tenure

Even though the ownership or non-ownership of a home closely corresponds with wealth and poverty, this oversimplifies the situation; for, in addition to wealth and income, tenure is also a function of culture and lifestyle. For example, some younger people, who are single, mobile and have above-average earnings, may consider the bonds of home ownership too restrictive. Furthermore, older people are more likely to own a home than younger people, simply by having had more time to accumulate capital; and people living in inner-city areas are more likely to rent because there is far more rentable property available than in suburban or rural locations. Simply put, the nature of tenure is not straightforward.

Figure 6.5: Religion of spouse for married Jews born in South Africa, Israel and the United States*

Source: ONS Table C0483
*Including Jewish by ethnicity and/or by religion

Table 6.6: Household tenure, percentages by location (by household)

	England and Wales all	England and Wales Jewish	Bury Jewish	Camden Jewish	Hackney Jewish	Hertsmere Jewish	Salford Jewish
N=	21,660,475	116,330	3,500	5,776	3,666	3,982	1,653
Owned	68.9	76.7	87.5	68.5	37.9	93.2	68.4
Social rented	19.2	9.0	5.1	7.5	34.5	1.4	9.8
Private rented	9.9	12.7	6.5	21.9	26.5	4.5	19.3
Living rent free	2.1	1.6	0.9	2.0	1.2	0.9	2.5
Total	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*

Source: ONS Table S156
*Columns may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Table 6.7: Household tenure (detailed categories): percentages by location (by household)

	England and Wales all	England and Wales Jewish	Bury Jewish	Camden Jewish	Hackney Jewish	Hertsmere Jewish	Salford Jewish
N=	21,660,475	116,330	3,500	5,776	3,666	3,982	1,653
Owned outright	29.5	39.6	43.5	36.6	18.1	36.4	38.0
Owned with mortgage or loan	38.8	36.6	43.8	31.6	18.8	56.6	29.7
Shared ownership	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.4	1.0	0.2	0.7
Rented from council	13.2	4.4	1.9	4.5	14.8	0.1	3.4
Other social rented	5.9	4.6	3.2	3.0	19.6	1.3	6.4
Rented from private landlord or agency	8.7	11.5	5.5	20.1	25.2	3.9	17.4
Rented from employer	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2	n/a	0.1	n/a
Rented from a relative or friend	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.1	1.0	0.5	1.9
Other private rental	0.3	0.3	n/a	0.6	0.3	0.1	n/a
Living rent free	2.1	1.6	0.9	2.0	1.2	0.9	2.5
Total	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*

Source: ONS Table S156
*Columns may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

While the Census data on tenure inform us about whether householders owned or rented their property, there is no information about the value of those properties or whether such households owned or used more than one property.

Table 6.6 shows that, compared with the general population of England and Wales, Jews were more likely to own their own home (either outright or with a mortgage). Of the 116,330 households with a Jewish HRP,[65] over three-quarters (76.7 per cent) owned their own homes; this compared with a national figure of 68.9 per cent. Relatively speaking, Jews were far less likely to be living in so-called 'social rented' accommodation (9 per cent compared with 19.2 per cent),[66] and more likely than the population as a whole to be living in private rented accommodation. This enhanced tendency to own property combined with low levels of public sector renting suggests that British Jews were generally more affluent than the population at large. The statistics on private renting may also reflect the large proportion of people below pensionable age who are single within the Jewish population.

65 Note that in the 2001 Census a Jewish household is denoted by the religion of the HRP (Household Reference Person) and does not necessarily mean all persons in the household were Jewish. Equally, other households, for example, with a male HRP of 'no religion' with a Jewish female spouse and children, will have been missed.

66 'Social rented' accommodation generally refers to council-owned housing; the category 'other social rented' includes property rented from a registered social landlord, housing association, housing cooperative or charitable trust.

Table 6.8: Housing tenure for Jews by religion and Jews by ethnicity, England and Wales

	Religion only (counts)	Religion and ethnicity (counts)	Ethnicity only (counts)	Religion only (%)	Religion and ethnicity (%)	Ethnicity only (%)
N=	248,977	10,950	2,594	248,977	10.950	2,594
Owned outright	85,882	2,700	739	34.5	24.7	28.5
Owned with a mortgage or loan	106,904	4,389	1,089	42.9	40.1	42.0
Rented privately	29,257	2,277	407	11.8	20.8	15.7

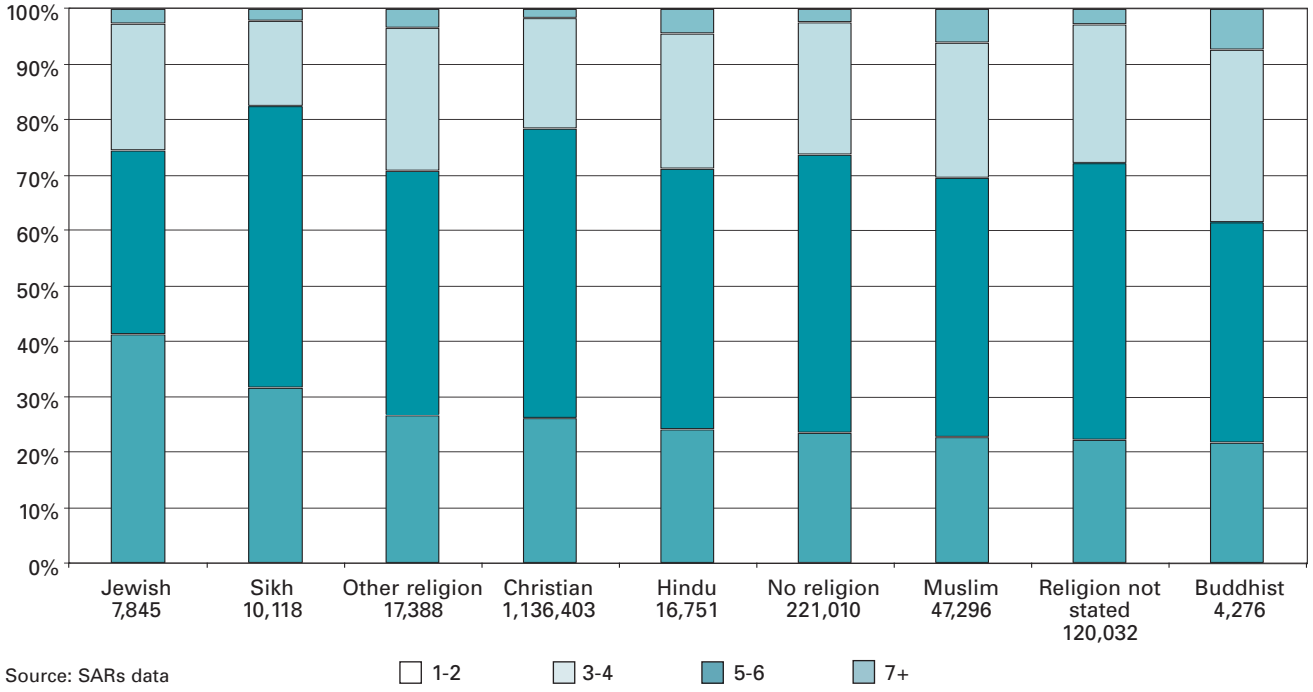
Source: ONS Table C0476 (a–c)

Table 6.6 also shows that there was considerable geographical variation *within* the Jewish population, and five LADs are presented to demonstrate this. Home ownership was indeed most prominent among Jews living in suburban areas where property was more affordable and more plentiful than it was in more crowded inner-city areas. For example, 93 per cent of all households with a Jewish HRP in Hertsmere owned their own home, whereas in Camden (Inner London), only 68.5 per cent of households headed by a Jewish person owned their homes; these are relatively affluent areas.

In inner-city areas such as Camden and Salford the proportions of Jewish people living in private rented accommodation were relatively high. However, the clearest indicator of low levels of affluence by geographical area is illustrated by the category 'social rented'. In the London Borough of Hackney (Inner London), 34.5 per cent of Jewish-headed households were recorded as living in social rented accommodation, proportionally 3.5 times more than in Salford and 25 times more than in Hertsmere. Such differences are indicative of considerable wealth and income disparities within the relatively small Jewish population in Britain.

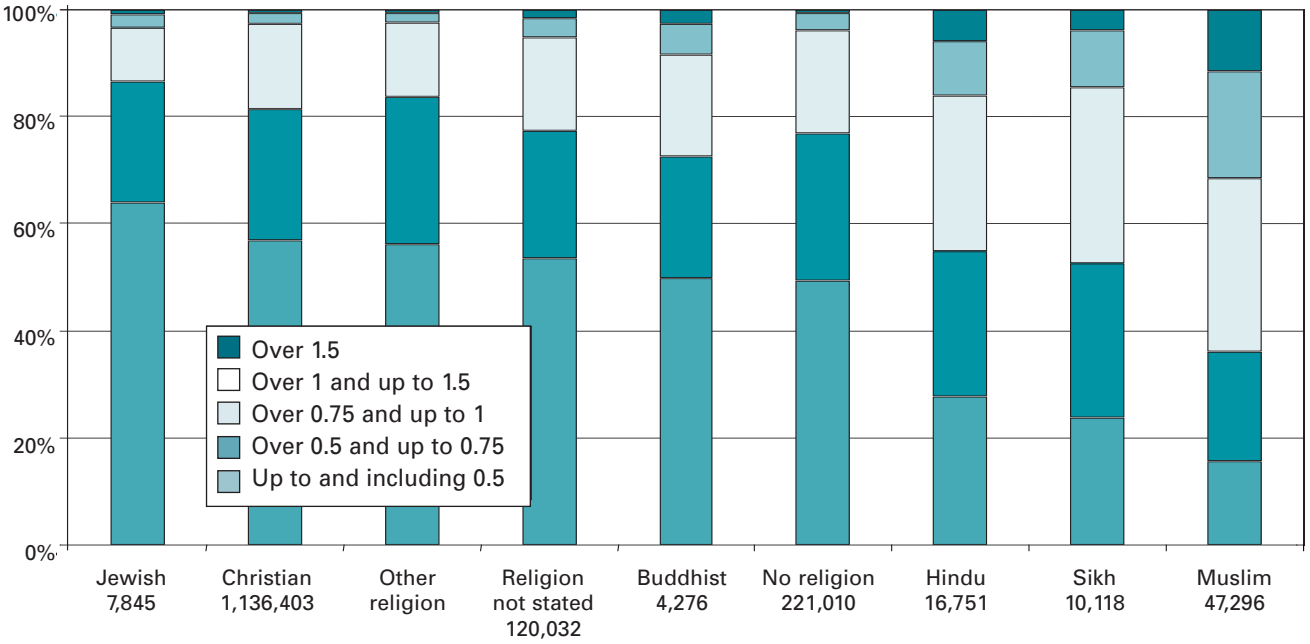
A more detailed look at tenure (Table 6.7) shows the dominant type of ownership/rental. A total of 46,054 households (39.6 per cent of Jewish-headed households in England and Wales) owned their homes outright compared with 29.5 per cent of the general population. Though this suggests that the Jews are relatively wealthy, it is also indicative of its older age structure.

Figure 6.6: Number of occupied rooms in household by religion, England and Wales



Source: SARs data

Figure 6.7: People per room per household by religion, England and Wales



Source: SARs data

Table 6.7 also shows that, compared with the general population, when Jews did rent their homes they were much more likely to do so within the private sector than the public one. These patterns were very clearly shown in the inner-city areas of Hackney (25.2 per cent), Camden (20.1 per cent) and Salford (17.4 per cent). In the category 'Rented from private landlord or agency', it should be noted that the nature of tenure varied depending on location. For example, in Hackney and Salford, Jews tended to rent from private housing agencies such as the Agudas Israel Housing Association,[67] whereas in areas such as Camden private rental was more likely to be in the form of young single people sharing and renting from a private landlord.

There were also differences in housing tenure patterns between Jews by religion and Jews by ethnicity, with rentals more prominent among the latter, who also had lower levels of home ownership (see Table 6.8).

The final table in this tenure section presents the locations in which unusually high proportions of each tenure category were recorded, highlighting in greater detail the influence of geography on tenure (see Table 6.9). In terms of outright home ownership, coastal districts exhibited the highest proportions. These are places to which older people retire, perhaps having sold a family home to finance the outright purchase of a smaller retirement property. Indeed, for Jews in the LAD of Arun on the Sussex coast (which includes Worthing) 63 per cent of all Jewish-headed households owned their property outright. There was also a clear geographical pattern in terms of homes owned with a mortgage: the Census data suggest that, in particular, people living in outer suburban localities such as Watford (in Hertfordshire) were likely to be buying their home with the aid of a mortgage. In Thurrock (east of London), 64.2 per cent of households with Jewish HRPs had mortgages on their homes.

Once more, there was a clear geographical pattern with regard to rented property, and this may suggest inequalities. There were relatively high proportions of rented accommodation in inner-city areas, at least partly due to the greater availability of this type of tenure. In less affluent areas, such as Tower Hamlets (57.4 per cent) and Hackney (34.5 per cent), social rented accommodation represented very high proportions of overall housing tenure, whereas in wealthier areas such as Westminster and Kensington the private rental sector was large. The City of London, where there was a rather high proportion of households in the social rented

67 C. Holman and N. Holman, *Torah Worship and Acts of Loving Kindness: Baseline Indicators for the Charedi Community in Stamford Hill* (Leicester: De Montfort University 2002), 37.

sector, and Gateshead, which had a similarly high proportion of households in the private rented sector, distort this neat picture somewhat but, in both cases, absolute numbers were low.

Overcrowding

The Census also hints at inequalities in living standards through its data on overcrowding within individual households. Figure 6.6 shows the number of rooms in (occupied) households and Figure 6.7 the number of residents per room. Jews were more likely to have seven or more rooms than other religious subgroups but, because of the high numbers of Jews living alone, they also had an average number of smaller households with four rooms or fewer. Figure 6.7 gives some indication of over/undercrowding in households, and suggests that, overall, Jews had the lowest household 'density' of any religious subgroup, with 63.9 per cent having more than two rooms per person.

Table 6.9: Housing tenure for Jewish households by HRP, by LAD (min. 50 households)

Location	Number of households	% of households in area
Owned outright		
Arun	92	63.0
Poole UA	139	57.9
Fylde	115	56.9
Bournemouth UA	482	55.6
Owned with mortgage or loan		
Thurrock UA	79	64.2
Broxbourne	91	62.8
Chelmsford	87	57.2
Watford	219	57.2
Social rented		
Tower Hamlets	711	57.4
City of London	76	47.2
Hackney	1263	34.5
Newham	74	28.2
Other social rented		
Hackney	719	19.6
Tower Hamlets	182	14.7
Private rented		
Westminster	1314	29.5
Oxford	112	29.2
Kensington and Chelsea	540	28.9
Gateshead	69	27.5

Source: ONS Table S156
UA=Unitary Authority

Another way overcrowding can be assessed is by a measure known as the Occupancy Rating. On this scale, the higher the rating, the more rooms are available to live in at the property. An Occupancy Rating of -1 indicates that there is overcrowding.[68] There is no indication as to the actual size of the rooms in the dwelling but this instrument, albeit imperfect, provides an indication of quality of life. As with tenure, overcrowding is related to location. In general, people in rural locations tend to live in less cramped conditions than those in urban areas. This suggests that a predominantly urban population like the Jews would be more likely to show greater overcrowding in comparison with the general population. However, the data showed that, if anything, the bias was in the opposite direction.

Table 6.10 shows that, despite being predominantly urban, Jews were less likely as individuals to live in overcrowded accommodation than the population of England and Wales at large. For example, almost three Jews in every five (58.1 per cent) were living in households in which there were at least two common rooms (not including bathrooms) compared with less than half (47.3 per cent) of the general population. Nevertheless, there were still 17,129 Jews in England and Wales (6.8 per cent of the Jewish population) in overcrowded accommodation.

Jewish people in Inner London were far more likely than those in suburban areas to be living in overcrowded conditions. For example, 15.7 per cent of Jews in Inner London had an Occupancy Rating of -1 (overcrowded), more than three times higher than Jews in Outer London or in Manchester. However, as the following tables show, this does not necessarily indicate lower

68 The Occupancy Rating provides a measure of under-occupancy and overcrowding. The Occupancy Rating assumes that every household, including one-person households, requires a minimum of two common rooms (excluding bathrooms). For example, a value of -1 implies that there is one room too few and that there is overcrowding in the household.

standards of living and, by inference, a relative lack of wealth.

Table 6.11 shows us that, within Inner London itself, overcrowding was indeed high but also varied considerably by location. The most overcrowded Jewish population was in Hackney where over a quarter (25.1 per cent) had insufficient space. Other similarly overcrowded Jewish populations were located in Newham (19.7 per cent) and in Tower Hamlets (16.5 per cent). Although this suggests high levels of internal Jewish social inequality in these areas, overcrowding *per se* cannot be assumed to indicate poverty. For example, a relatively high proportion of Jews in Kensington and Chelsea, and Westminster were also technically 'overcrowded' (see Table 6.12).

The figures for Jewish dependent children in overcrowded accommodation form another indicator of living standards and lack of affluence in parts of the population. Table 6.13 shows that, in England and Wales, the proportion of households with dependent children that were overcrowded was substantially smaller for Jews (7.6 per cent compared with 12.3 per cent).

Table 6.14 shows that, compared with Jews in England and Wales, Scottish Jews were more likely

Table 6.10: Overcrowding by individual and household

Occupancy Rating	Individuals England and Wales		Households England and Wales		Jewish individuals		
	All people	Jewish	All people	Jewish	Inner London	Outer London	Greater Manchester
N=	51,009,395	251,533	21,592,961	115,890	47,847	98,803	20,944
In an unshared dwelling (N)	47,334,465	244,241	19,776,800	111,084	45,838	97,024	20,482
+2 or more (%)	47.3	58.1	49.7	53.3	41.4	59.5	65.1
1 (%)	25.0	20.6	25.6	23.3	20.4	21.9	19.2
0 (%)	19.0	14.5	18.0	16.6	22.5	13.7	11.2
-1 or less (%)	8.6	6.8	6.8	6.8	15.7	4.9	4.4
	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*
In a shared dwelling (N)	98,244	549	67,512	440	247	70	17
-1 or less (%)	71.3	70.1	73.5	73.2	62.3	70.0	100.0

Source: ONS Tables S159 and S160
A household's accommodation is normally defined as an 'unshared dwelling' if all the rooms are behind a door that only that household can use.
*Columns may not add uo to 100 due to rounding.

Table 6.11: Occupancy Ratings for various areas, Jews by religion

Occupancy Rating	Hertsmere	Hackney	Westminster	Barnet	Redbridge	Bury	Leeds
N=	10,635	10,531	7,620	45,706	14,550	8,615	7,843
In an unshared dwelling (N)	10,564	10,038	7,270	45,192	14,234	8,457	7,379
+2 or more (%)	71.8	29.2	46.4	62.4	52.5	72.3	60.4
1 (%)	18.1	19.4	20.2	20.3	26.3	17.7	21.1
0 (%)	8.3	26.3	20.6	12.6	16.3	7.8	13.4
-1 or less (%)	1.8	25.1	12.8	4.7	4.9	2.2	5.1
	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*
In a shared dwelling (N)	n/a	87	27	29	4	3	97
-1 or less (%)	n/a	54.0	63.0	69.0	100.0	0.0	91.8

Source: ONS Table S159
*Columns may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Table 6.12: The most overcrowded locations with substantial Jewish populations, by LAD (min. 50 people)

	All Jewish People	Occupancy Rating -1 or less (%)
Hackney	10,618	23.6
Newham	468	19.7
City of London	223	18.8
Tower Hamlets	1,786	16.5
Southwark	918	15.5
Kensington and Chelsea	3,505	13.4
Durham	53	13.2

Source: ONS Table S159

Table 6.13: Overcrowding for dependent children in unshared dwellings (by individual)*

Occupancy Rating	England and Wales all	England and Wales Jews
N=	11,665,266	50,646
+2 or more	38.0	63.3
1	25.3	17.0
0	24.4	12.1
-1 or less	12.3	7.6

Source: ONS Table T52
* A dependent child is a person in a household aged 0 to 15 (whether or not in a family) or a person aged 16 to 18 who is a full-time student in a family with parent(s).

to live in a flat than a house. This might reflect the general housing situation in Scotland or the fact that older people move into flats. They were also more likely to be in a care establishment, though this was to be expected, given the older age structure of the Scottish population.

Access to vehicles

The third indirect measure that the Census offers indicating standards of living is access to motor vehicles. Once more, this statistic is closely correlated with location since people in urban, and especially inner urban, areas are less likely to have or to need cars. In such places, not only is there a relative scarcity of space for parking, but there is also a greater variety of alternatives to hand, such as public transport. Nevertheless, vehicle access (here used as a proxy for vehicle ownership) indicates mobility and asset accumulation and is an indirect indicator of wealth inequality.

The data in Table 6.15 are presented by tenure type, which is a useful predictor for car access. In England and Wales Jews were less likely than the general population to have no access to cars (22.8 per cent of Jews did not have access compared with 26.8 per cent in the population at large), but were more likely to have access to two or more cars (35.6 per cent compared with 29.4 per cent, respectively). People who owned their home were more likely to own two or more cars whereas people who rented (especially in the public sector) were more likely to have no car access. People living in private rental accommodation lay midway between these two extremes.

Consequently, more than two out of five (42.9 per cent) Jewish owner-households had access to two or more vehicles whereas less than one in five (16.4 per cent) of Jewish households in the private rental sector did. For Jewish households in social rented accommodation just 4.5 per cent had access to two or more cars.

Table 6.16 shows that 68.3 per cent of Jews in Tower Hamlets and over half the Jewish-headed households in both Hackney and Newham had no access to cars. This compares with more prosperous outer suburban and exurban areas, such as Bromsgrove, south of Birmingham, and

Table 6.14: Accommodation type for Jews in Scotland, and in England and Wales

	Scotland (%)	England and Wales (%)
Household in unshared house or bungalow	59.8	70.5
Household in unshared flat, maisonette or apartment	36.1	26.2
Shared accommodation/other	0.2	0.3
Medical and care establishment	2.5	1.7
Other type of communal establishment	1.5	1.3

Source: GROS Table T25; ONS Table T53

Table 6.15: Access to vehicles, by tenure type

	England and Wales all	England and Wales Jews	Hertsmere	Hackney	Camden	Bury	Salford
N=	21,660,475	116,330	3,982	3,666	5,776	3,500	1,653
No cars (%)	26.8	22.8	5.5	55.7	27.0	15.5	33.8
2 or more cars (%)	29.4	35.6	63.2	6.1	23.5	46.6	22.3
Owned accommodation (N)	14,916,465	89,240	3,710	1,389	3,959	3,064	1,130
No cars (%)	14.9	14.3	3.9	34.3	16.5	12.0	23.4
2 or more cars (%)	38.0	42.9	65.6	11.4	29.8	51.1	30.0
Social rented (N)	4,157,251	10,471	56	1,263	433	178	162
No cars (%)	59.9	67.1	50.0	74.3	69.3	63.5	72.2
2 or more cars (%)	6.6	4.5	12.5	2.6	3.0	5.6	0.0
Private rented (N)	2,141,322	14,735	181	971	1,267	228	319
No cars (%)	39.4	39.5	18.2	61.6	43.9	21.1	47.6
2 or more cars (%)	17.2	16.4	38.7	2.8	12.3	22.4	8.2
Living rent free (N)	445,437	1,884	35	43	117	30	42
No cars (%)	55.0	49.7	37.1	65.1	39.3	50.0	59.5
2 or more cars (%)	12.1	10.6	20.0	7.0	10.3	10.0	7.1

Source: ONS Table S156

Three Rivers in South Hertfordshire, in which over two-thirds of Jewish households had access to two or more vehicles.

Summary

By means of three measures, *tenure*, *overcrowding* and *access to vehicles*, an indirect picture of the overall standards of living and internal social inequality of the Jewish population has been acquired. Based on accommodation data, the figures suggest that overall, compared with the general population, Jews were a prosperous group with high levels of home ownership. In some areas, these levels were very high indeed.

However, the data also point to considerable variation within the population, depending on the location, age and family structure of the households. In Hackney, an inner-city location with a youthful population profile, levels of home ownership were low and overcrowding was high. Statistics for vehicle access show that Jews on the whole had high levels of mobility and asset ownership compared with the general population. Once more, however, there was extensive variation within the Jewish population. Whereas nearly two-thirds of the 4,000 Jewish-headed households in Hertsmere each had access to two or more cars, over half of the 3,700 Jewish-headed households in Hackney did not have access to a vehicle at all.

General health and long-term illness

Repeated studies of differential mortality have pointed out the relationship between social class and good health.[69] With its high socio-economic profile, the Jewish population might therefore be expected to show above-average patterns of good health. On the other hand, overall health declines with age and the relative agedness of the Jewish population may counteract the positive effects of affluence.

This section examines the health data from the self- (or HRP's) assessments of general health during the year prior the Census. These assessments were subjective. This means that, with the same objective health experience, one person might feel in fairly good health while another might feel that their health is generally not good.

In response to the question, 'Over the last 12 months, would you say your health has been: Good, Fairly Good or Not Good?', more than two-thirds of both the Jewish population (69.4 per cent) and the population at large (68.6 per cent) considered they had been in good health in the year immediately prior to the Census (Figure 6.8).

69 *Inequalities in Health: Report of a Research Working Group* (London: Department of Health and Social Security 1980), usually called 'The Black Report'.

Table 6.16: Access to vehicles by Jewish-headed households, by area (min. 50 households)

LAD	Number of Jewish households	Percentage with no access to car	LAD	Number of Jewish households	Percentage with access to two or more cars
Tower Hamlets	1,239	68.3	Bromsgrove	50	76.0
Hackney	3,666	55.7	Hart	55	72.7
Newham	262	52.3	Uttlesford	103	68.0
Lambeth	671	46.1	Three Rivers	659	67.4
Islington	1,012	39.7	South Bucks	144	67.4
Hastings	63	39.7	Chiltern	223	66.8
Manchester	1,491	37.8	Surrey Heath	65	66.2
Waltham Forest	762	37.7	Sevenoaks	67	65.7
Kensington and Chelsea	349	37.1	Stratford-on-Avon	85	63.5
Westminster	865	36.9	Hertsmere	3,982	63.2

Source: ONS Table S156

Jews in Inner London reported the highest levels of good health and those in Leeds the lowest, reflecting the relative age structures of the two populations. Leeds had a higher proportion of old people than the national Jewish population whereas Inner London was younger. The reported levels of health in Outer London, which encompasses most British Jews, followed the pattern for the whole Jewish population. The relationship between general good health and age was also demonstrated by the 79.2 per cent in Hertsmere, 75.7 per cent in Hackney and 78.2 per cent in Salford who reported good health; all were populations with younger age profiles.

In addition to general health, the Census also looked at long-term illness. It asked: 'Do you have any Long-term Illness, health problem or disability, which limits your daily activities or work you can do?' This includes problems due to old age. Responses to this question are highlighted in Figure 6.9, which shows the clear relationship between health and age. Nearly 29,240 Jewish people aged 65 and over reported suffering from a limiting long-term illness (LLTI). More women than men reported LLTIs simply because they have longer life expectancies.

The effect of age on assessment of general health is further demonstrated in Figure 6.10, which combines information about LLTIs with the health self-assessments of those who did not have such an illness. Thus the incidence of LLTI can be expected to rise with age, although a subjective element will remain as perceptions of what is limiting vary among people. These limitations more than doubled when the 50–64 group is compared with those aged 65 and over.

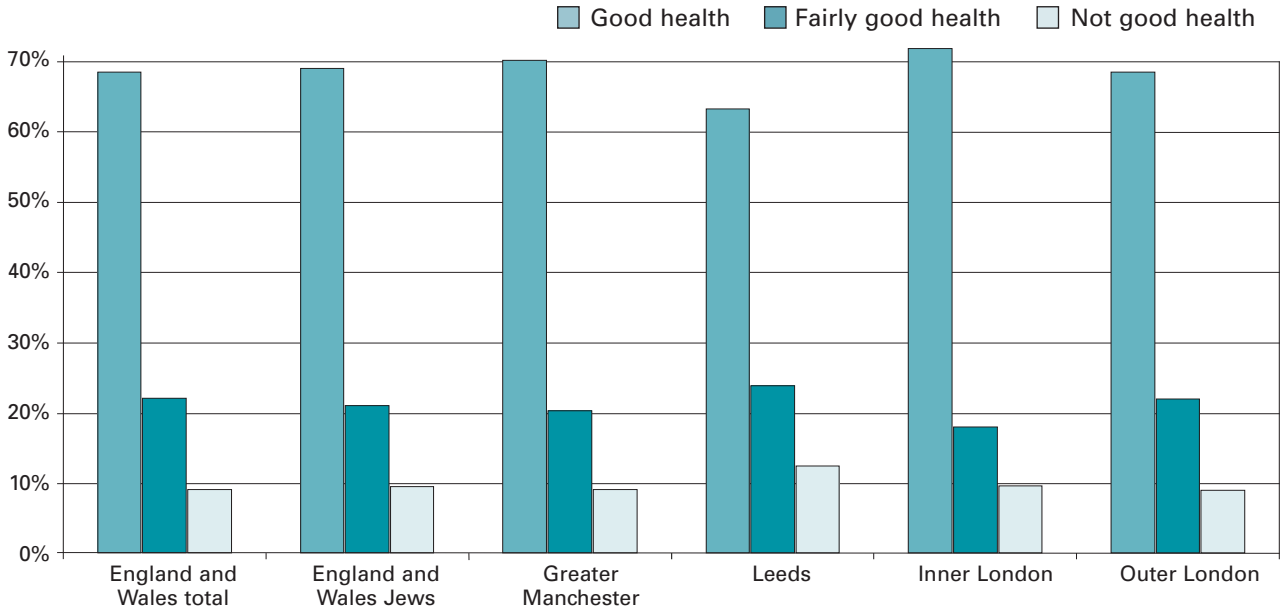
The overall picture is confirmed when households rather than individuals are examined. In 68.9 per cent of the 143,071 households containing at least one Jew, nobody had a LLTI; this proportion was generally maintained for Greater Manchester (65.8 per cent) and Outer London (62.5 per cent). However, in Inner London (72.5 per cent) and the three South Hertfordshire LADs (78.3 per cent), a higher proportion of households did not contain a person with a LLTI. In comparison, for both lone pensioners and pensioner-couple households, the proportion with someone with a LLTI was higher than the proportion without. This was particularly marked in Greater Manchester (52.9 per cent single-person and 62.1 per cent couple households with LLTI) and Outer London (52.7 per cent and 55.1 per cent).

Jews in Scotland were slightly more likely than the general population to have a LLTI (23.7 per cent compared with 20.3 per cent in general) (GROS Table T25). Once more, this is to be expected given the older age structure of the population. Scottish Jews were also much more likely to report poor general health (36.4 per cent compared with 10.2 per cent in general).

Provision of unpaid care for persons in households

The Census asked people to record whether they were looking after, or giving any help or support to, family members, friends, neighbours or others

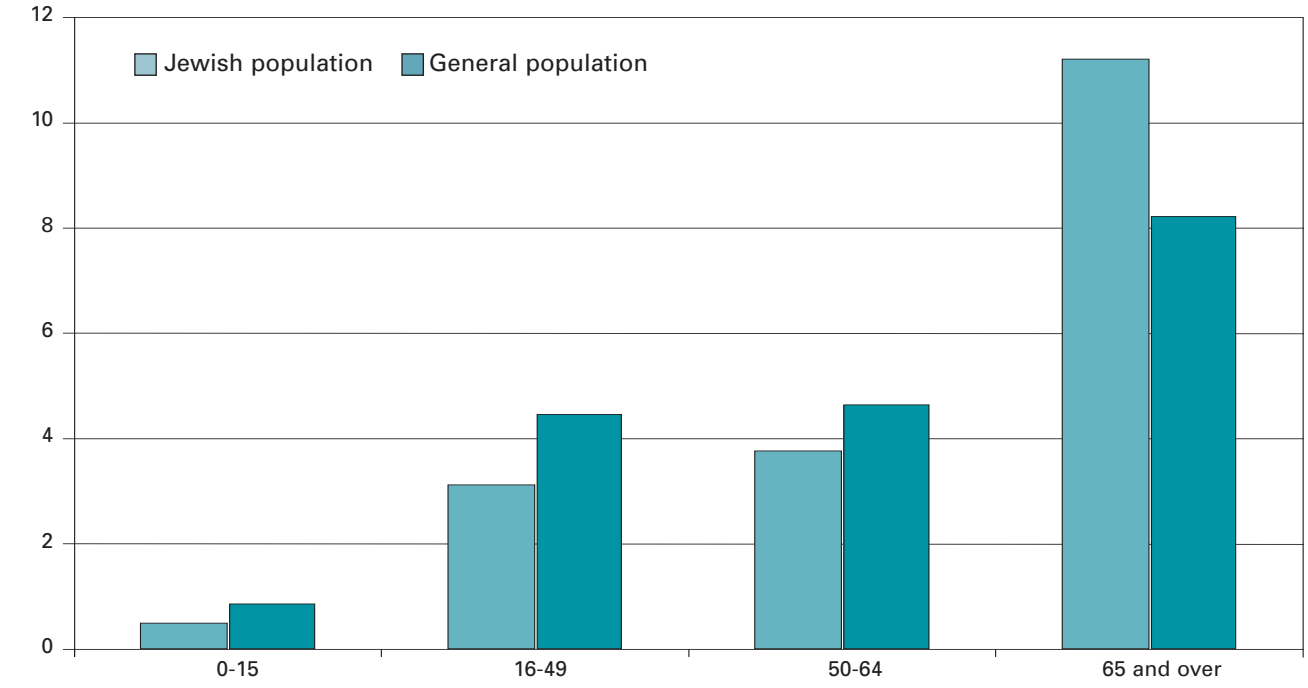
Figure 6.8: Self-assessment of general health, general and Jewish populations



Source: ONS Table C0476 (a–c)

in ill health. It also asked people to record how much time they spent doing this.[70] The data showed that over 27,000 Jewish people provided care in such circumstances and that the provision of care was related to the provider's age. Care was most likely to be provided by people aged 55 to 64 (20.6 per cent provided at least some care) and least likely to be provided by young people under 35 years old (3.4 per cent provided such care). However, the older a person was, the greater the number of hours they were likely to invest in care provision. Figure 6.11 shows that nearly half the 4,185 people aged 75 and over who provided care provided over twenty hours of care each week.

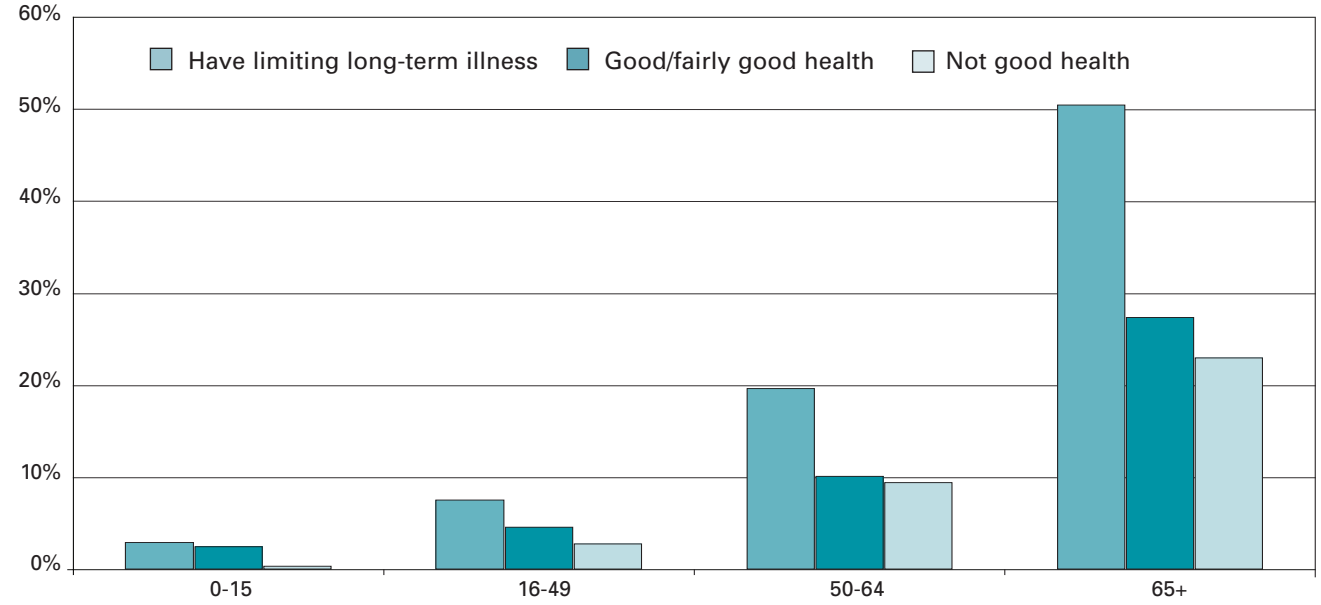
Figure 6.9: Limiting long-term illness by age, Jewish and general population (%)



Source: ONS Table S152

70 Data regarding the receipt of care provision at home were not available.

Figure 6.10: Self-assessment of health according to age, Jewish population

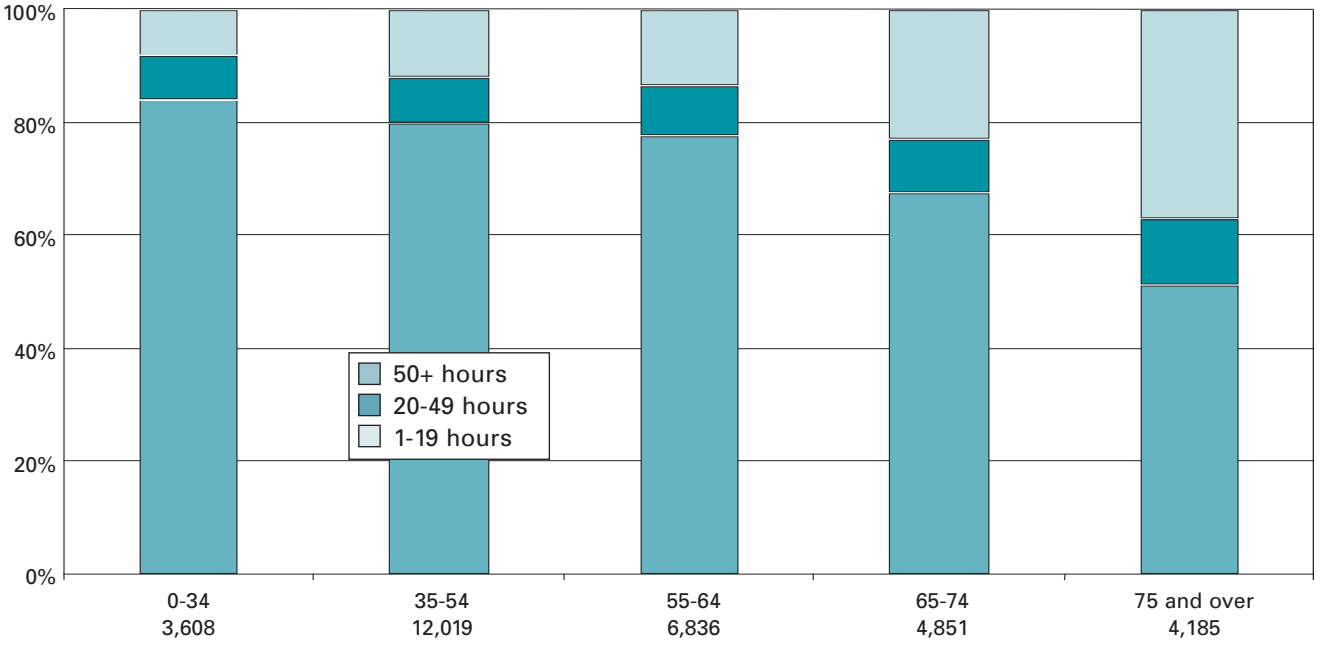


Source: ONS Table S152

While, at the simplest level, this may mean shopping or cleaning on behalf of a partner or close relative, it is clear that unpaid care provision was the lot for many thousands of Jewish people, many of whom were looking after a spouse in old age.

In sum, this analysis of social indicators has illustrated a striking heterogeneity within the Jewish population. The diverse set of variables analysed here, including ethnicity and country of birth, housing and mobility, health and illness, show that, although on average the Jewish population was a broadly affluent one, there were clear and striking differences within it. The quality of these Census data in terms of their detail and breadth of coverage have done away with any remaining illusions of Jewish uniformity. This is a socially diverse group.

Figure 6.11: Hours of care provided per week by age, Jewish population, England and Wales



Source: ONS Table M314

7 Economic indicators

Educational achievement

Surveys have shown there is one specific marker that frequently appears among Jews in many different countries. This is the tendency to outperform their compatriots in educational achievement, one that has been observed in places as varied as Moldova, Hungary and the United States. Identifying as Jewish does appear to correlate to educational achievement. This section presents the 2001 Census data on the topic of educational achievement.

The Census classifies educational qualifications based on a system of levels ranging from 1 (low) to 5 (high). This classification is reproduced in Table 7.1. Note that Levels 4 and 5 are combined by ONS into a single category and are therefore also combined below.

The relationship between age and educational achievement is clearly seen in Figure 7.1. This presents Census data for all Jews in England and Wales divided into six separate (and uneven) age cohorts.[71] Several patterns emerge from the data, the most obvious being the relationship between age and number of qualifications achieved: older people tended to have fewer qualifications than younger people. The only exception to this was the youngest age cohort (16–24), an anomaly explained by their not being old enough to have gained as many qualifications as older people. So, with this single exception, older individuals were more likely to have 'no qualifications' and less likely to have higher level (4/5) qualifications. Well over half (55.7 per cent) of Jews aged 25–34 had higher level qualifications compared with a quarter (25.6 per cent) of those aged 65–74. The proportion of each cohort with intermediate level qualifications (1–3) was fairly consistent for all people aged 25–64, at around 38 per cent.

The link between age and educational attainment may be explained by successive generations having experienced different educational environments. First, in general, opportunities to advance educationally have been growing steadily since the 1960s as higher proportions of school leavers continue into higher education. Second, this expansion set in place a positive feedback mechanism in which the children of better educated parents tend to be more successful educationally than children whose parents did not achieve such high levels. Third, in an increasingly competitive economic environment, the advantages of gaining a greater number of qualifications are clear in terms of earnings potential. A fourth possible factor explaining an increasingly better qualified Jewish population is the well-documented rise in women's educational achievement.

How did Jewish educational achievements compare with those of the general population? The data presented in Figures 7.2 and 7.3 indicate that they compared very well. The pattern relating to age differentials was as clear in the general

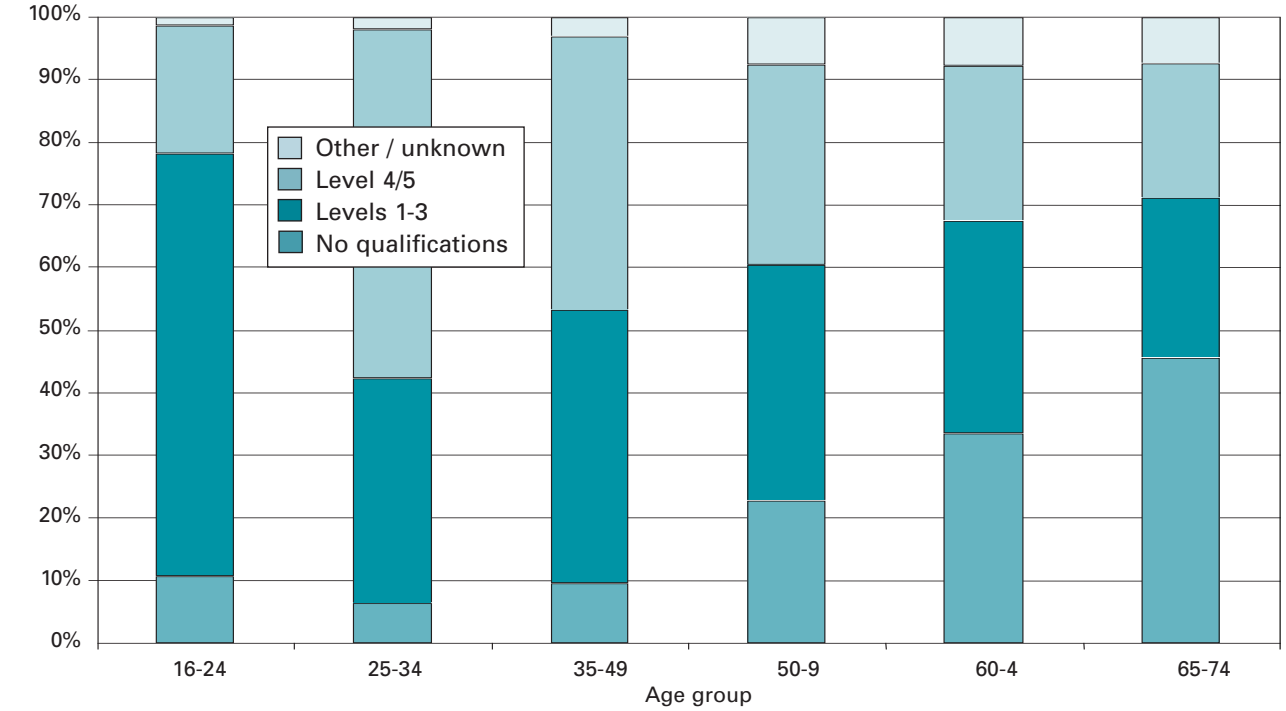
Table 7.1: Census coding of educational qualifications

Level	Educational qualifications
None	No academic, vocational or professional qualifications
Level 1	1 or more O levels/CSE/GCSE (any grade); NVQ level 1; Foundation GNVQ
Level 2	5 or more O levels; 5+ CSEs (grade 1); 5+ GCSEs (grade *A–C); School Certificate; 1+ A levels/ AS levels; NVQ level 2; Intermediate GNVQ or equivalents
Level 3	Two or more A levels; 4+ AS levels; Higher School Certificate; NVQ level 3; Advanced GNVQ
Level 4/5	First degree; higher degree; NVQ levels 4–5; HND; HNC; Qualified Teacher Status; Qualified Medical Doctor; Qualified Dentist; Qualified Nurse; Midwife; Health Visitor
Other qualifications/ level unknown	Other qualifications (e.g. City and Guilds; RSA/OCR; BTEC/Edexcel); other professional qualifications

Source: 'Glossary', in ONS, GRO and NISRA, *Census 2001: Definitions*, 33–4, available online at www.statistics.gov.uk/statbase/product.asp?vlnk=12951 (viewed 10 March 2007)

71 The uneven division of the age cohorts is the result of decisions taken by ONS. For example, the categories have cut-offs for male and female official retirement ages, and there are various cut-offs related to national school tests such as GCSEs.

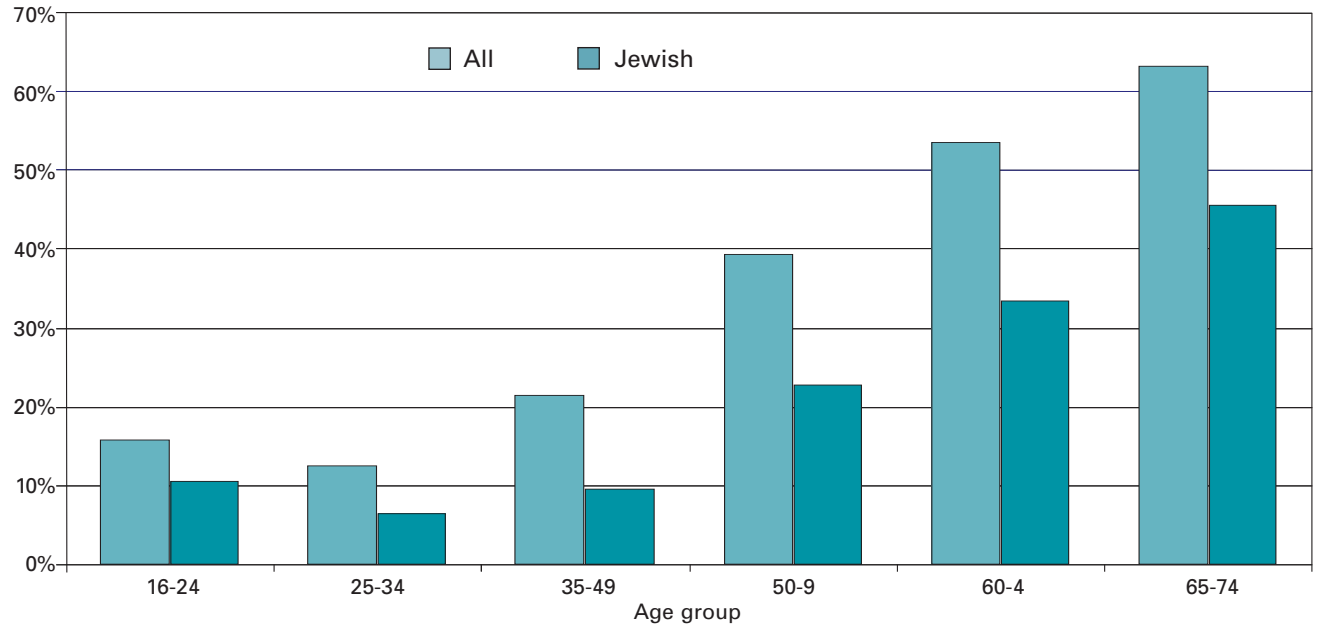
Figure 7.1: Jewish educational achievement by age group, all people aged 16–74, England and Wales



Source: ONS Table S158

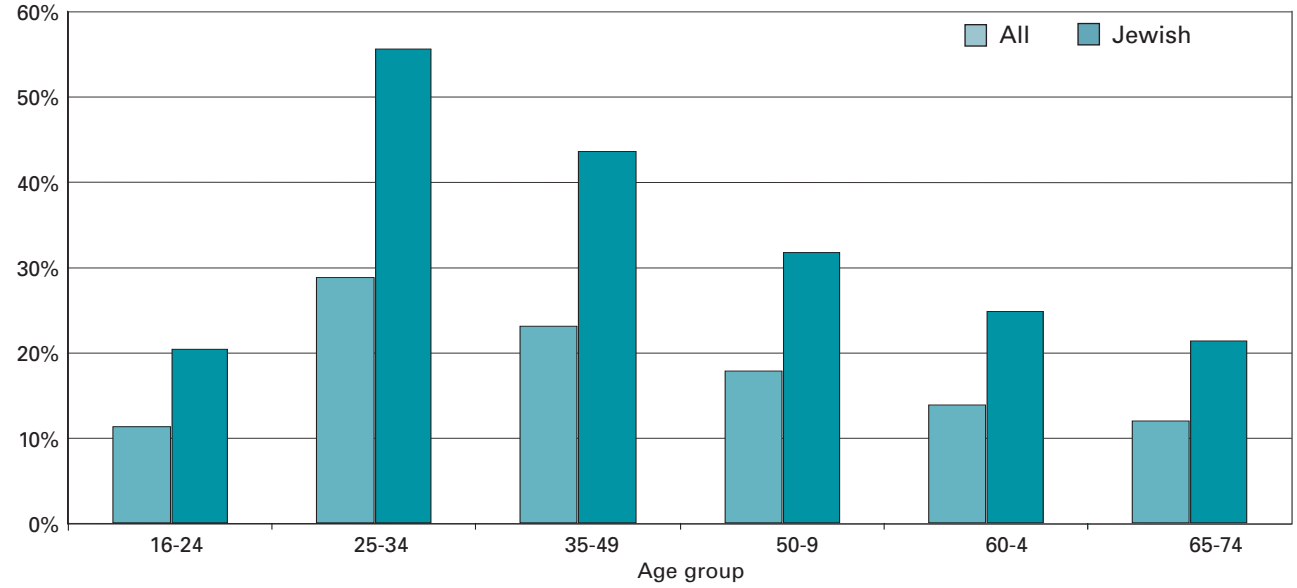
population as it was in the Jewish population. However, in every cohort there were substantial differences between the two groups. On average, compared with the general population, Jews, regardless of age, were 40 per cent *less* likely to be classified as having 'no qualifications'. This differential is even more strongly apparent at the opposite end of the educational spectrum: Jews were on average 80 per cent *more* likely to have higher level qualifications than the population at large. In the 25–34 age cohort the proportional difference was even greater. In 2001 it was this age group that had had the greatest opportunity to achieve educational success and, once again, Jews outperformed the general populace: almost twice as many Jews gained the highest levels recorded by

Figure 7.2: Percentage with no educational qualifications, Jews and the general population, England and Wales



Source: ONS Table S158

Figure 7.3: Percentage with higher level (Level 4/5) educational qualifications, Jews and the general population, England and Wales



Source: ONS Table S158

the Census (Level 4/5) as the population at large (55.7 per cent for Jews compared with 28.9 per cent). These patterns were also seen when Jews were compared with the other religious groups.

However, some Jews in Britain were not as successful as the majority in achieving higher level educational qualifications, and there was wide variation among Jews in different localities. Although this was partially due to differing age structures, there were nonetheless important disparities, as highlighted in Table 7.2. The cohort that had the greatest to gain from the expansion of higher education, those aged 25–34, offer a case in point: on average, 55.7 per cent achieved higher level qualifications. But, in Salford, only 17.9 per cent of all people had done so, compared with Camden where the relevant figure for Jews was 83.8 per cent. This might relate to the migration of young people to London. The data show that only a relatively small proportion (18.3 per cent) of the Salford population was aged 25–34, whereas in Camden the parallel figure was 31.7 per cent. One possible explanation might be that younger and better educated Jews from Salford had opted to move to London where job opportunities were greater.

A tale of five LADs

To emphasize the plural complexity of the British Jewish population, it is instructive to compare data on the educational attainments of Jews in different parts of the country. To do this, we have chosen the London boroughs of Harrow, Redbridge and Hackney and the Greater Manchester local authorities of Bury and Salford (see Table 7.2).

When Harrow (in North-west London) is compared with Redbridge (in North-east London), the differences are readily observable. Though the sizes and age structures of the populations were broadly similar (as a group, the Redbridge Jews were marginally older than those in Harrow), their educational achievements were rather different. In the 65–74 age cohort, 66.8 per cent of Redbridge Jews had 'no qualifications' whereas the parallel figure in Harrow was 46.5 per cent. In the younger cohorts, 26.1 per cent of those aged 25–34 in Redbridge had achieved higher level qualifications while, in Harrow, it was almost double that proportion, at 51.8 per cent.

Another comparison involves the Jewish populations in two local authorities in Greater Manchester: Bury and Salford. Again, clear differences are exposed. Here, the population structures were different; Salford had a more youthful age profile whereas there were more than twice as many Jews living in Bury. It is interesting to note that there appeared to be a generational divide rather than a geographical one. Jewish people aged 60 and over in Salford were more likely to have achieved higher level qualifications than people of a similar age in Bury. This contrasts starkly with the figures for younger Jews whereby those in Bury were more likely to have higher level qualifications than those in Salford. For example,

Table 7.2: Educational achievement of Jews aged 16–74 for various localities*

	England and Wales	London	Bury	Camden	Hackney	Harrow	Hertsmere	Leeds	Redbridge	Salford
N=	182,870	103,854	6,026	8,320	5,762	9,169	7,394	5,806	10,637	2,654
16 to 24 years (N)	25,489	13,063	719	887	1,398	1,158	839	1,230	1,402	593
No qualifications (%)	10.7	11.7	8.8	5.5	43.5	8.7	10.3	4.9	8.3	26.5
Level 4/5 (%)	20.5	25.9	16.8	43.6	11.0	22.9	19.7	11.5	16.5	9.8
25 to 34 years (N)	32,023	20,813	996	2,637	1,291	1,150	1,458	668	1,512	486
No qualifications (%)	6.5	6.0	8.8	0.9	43.2	4.0	4.4	7.6	7.7	24.5
Level 4/5 (%)	55.7	61.4	37.8	83.8	23.2	51.8	45.7	47.9	26.1	17.9
35 to 49 years (N)	50,362	27,907	1,787	1,975	1,336	2,425	2,588	1,329	2,625	706
No qualifications (%)	9.6	9.5	12.1	3.5	37.9	7.1	6.8	10.2	16.8	15.3
Level 4/5 (%)	43.8	46.0	34.7	69.6	26.9	37.0	33.7	38.2	15.7	36.7
50 to 59 years (N)	36,617	20,092	1,234	1,352	776	2,187	1,321	1,245	2,327	398
No qualifications (%)	22.9	22.4	33.1	11.5	45.5	20.5	25.4	25.1	39.8	26.9
Level 4/5 (%)	31.8	32.4	20.7	52.4	19.6	25.1	22.9	32.1	10.4	31.2
60 to 64 years (N)	13,004	7,199	420	512	318	745	448	421	858	135
No qualifications (%)	33.5	32.3	48.1	15.8	52.5	30.7	39.5	34.4	50.3	48.1
Level 4/5 (%)	24.9	25.5	16.0	44.9	11.6	20.8	13.2	25.7	8.7	23.0
65 to 74 years (N)	25,375	14,780	870	957	643	1,504	740	913	1,913	336
No qualifications (%)	45.6	45.4	58.3	28.2	66.3	46.5	47.4	48.6	66.8	56.5
Level 4/5 (%)	21.5	21.7	14.0	36.8	8.2	16.5	13.5	20.4	9.1	18.5

Source: ONS Table S158
*Age cohorts are not equal in size.

26.5 per cent of those aged 16–24 in Salford had 'no qualifications' compared with only 8.8 per cent in Bury. This can be explained partly by the fact that Salford contains the strictly Orthodox population of Broughton Park, where there is a younger age profile and where religious education takes priority over secular educational qualifications.

Linked to this is the educational profile of Jews in the London Borough of Hackney. The data for this young and strictly Orthodox population show that, in each of the age cohorts, more people had 'no qualifications' and fewer had higher level qualifications than Jews in the rest of London and throughout the country. Even compared with the general population of Hackney as a whole, Jews under 35 were more than twice as likely to have 'no qualifications', although, for older people, this pattern reversed, though not dramatically. In addition, there was not a single age cohort of Hackney's Jews that had attained more higher level qualifications than other Hackney residents. Given that educational qualifications are highly correlated with earnings potential, this population may well be facing financial difficulties.

Education by area

How did Jews compare with the general population at the level of LADs throughout the country? For the 25–34 age cohort who achieved Level 4/5, Jews outperformed the general population in relative terms in 362 of the 376 LADs throughout England and Wales. In other words, in terms of educational achievement, Jews outperformed their neighbours in almost all cases even when they had similar socio-economic backgrounds. Tables 7.3 and 7.4 show those areas in which the highest proportions of Jews with the highest levels of qualifications were located.

Education and gender

The Census also provides data on the differences between the genders regarding educational achievement. Figure 7.4 compares, by age group, Jewish males and females in England and Wales whose highest qualification was A levels or a

Table 7.3: Highest proportions aged 25–34 achieving Level 4/5, by LAD (min. 100 Jews)

	Number Jewish	Total population (%)	Jewish population (%)
Cambridge	106	65.8	89.8
Oxford	142	61.0	88.8
Kensington and Chelsea	564	70.4	86.0
Camden	2,210	65.9	83.8
Wandsworth	278	67.4	82.2
Islington	409	58.5	81.5
Westminster	953	67.7	80.8
Lambeth	222	59.4	78.2
Hammersmith and Fulham	254	65.1	78.2
Richmond upon Thames	133	63.3	77.3
Trafford	141	37.4	69.8

Source: ONS Table S158

Table 7.4: Highest proportions aged 60–74 achieving Level 4/5, by LAD (min. 50 Jews)

	Number Jewish	Total population (%)	Jewish population (%)
Oxford	61	24.0	76.3
Cambridge	43	26.4	75.4
Kensington and Chelsea	233	33.1	45.9
Richmond upon Thames	117	26.5	45.0
Greenwich	25	12.7	40.3
South Oxfordshire	20	20.6	40.0
Camden	582	28.5	39.6
Stockport	93	15.9	39.2
Haringey	216	18.3	37.2

Source: ONS Table S158

university degree. Although males outperformed females in every age cohort above 16–24, the gap had become so much smaller over time that females outperformed males in the 16–24 cohort. This suggests the continuation of a trend whereby Jewish females have steadily closed the educational gap between themselves and Jewish males. An additional point to note is the situation in areas in which strictly Orthodox Jews live. Here, Jewish females were seen to be outperforming Jewish males, in terms of secular education, at *all* ages.

For example, in Hackney 15.5 per cent of Jewish males aged 16–74 achieved higher level qualifications compared with 21.2 per cent of Jewish females (ONS Table C0475 (a, b)). This gap was even more pronounced at younger ages.

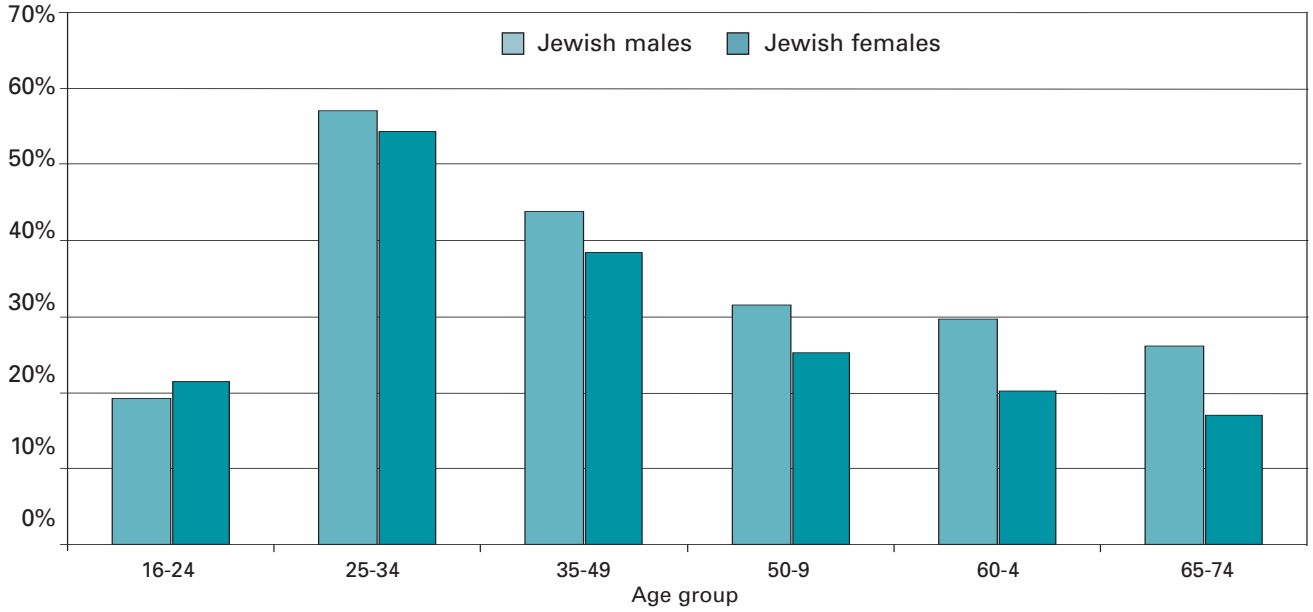
The differences between Jewish males and females can also be measured against the general population of England and Wales (see Figure 7.5). Compared with all British women, Jewish women were steadily gaining ground, as they were catching up with Jewish males. In the 65–74 age cohort Jewish females were almost 50 per cent more likely to have a degree than women in the general population, whereas Jewish women aged 25–34 were almost twice as likely to have obtained a degree. The pattern for Jewish males compared with all males was different. Though twice as likely in most cohorts to have higher level qualifications, they were not extending the gap between themselves and their male counterparts in the younger age cohorts. Finally, though they still lagged behind their Jewish male counterparts in terms of educational attainment, Jewish females outperformed males in the general population. In other words, Jewish women were higher achievers than the average British man.

Education and economic activity

What was the relationship between qualifications, economic activity and job prospects? Interestingly, for people who were self-employed (and this included a relatively large proportion of Jews), the data in Table 7.5 suggest that the level of qualifications achieved was independent of job status: academic qualifications were not a prerequisite for self-employment. However, qualifications did seem to make a difference in terms of being employed by someone else, since people with higher level qualifications were more likely to be employees than those without. Why Jews would simultaneously tend towards self-employment and high educational achievement is therefore unclear.

Table 7.5 also shows a close relationship between unemployment and qualifications. This strongly suggests that qualifications had a clear and positive bearing on a person's earning potential. A similar pattern was discernible with regard to people who were 'sick or disabled'; such people were far less likely to have higher level qualifications and more likely to have 'no qualifications'. Being sick or disabled appeared to rule a person out of gaining an education and, consequently, to lower their earning potential.

Figure 7.4: Comparison of educational qualifications of Jews* by gender, England and Wales



Source: ONS Table M298
*Including those who achieved first degree, higher degree, NVQ levels 4–5, HNC, HND, or professional qualifications
Age cohorts are not equal in size.

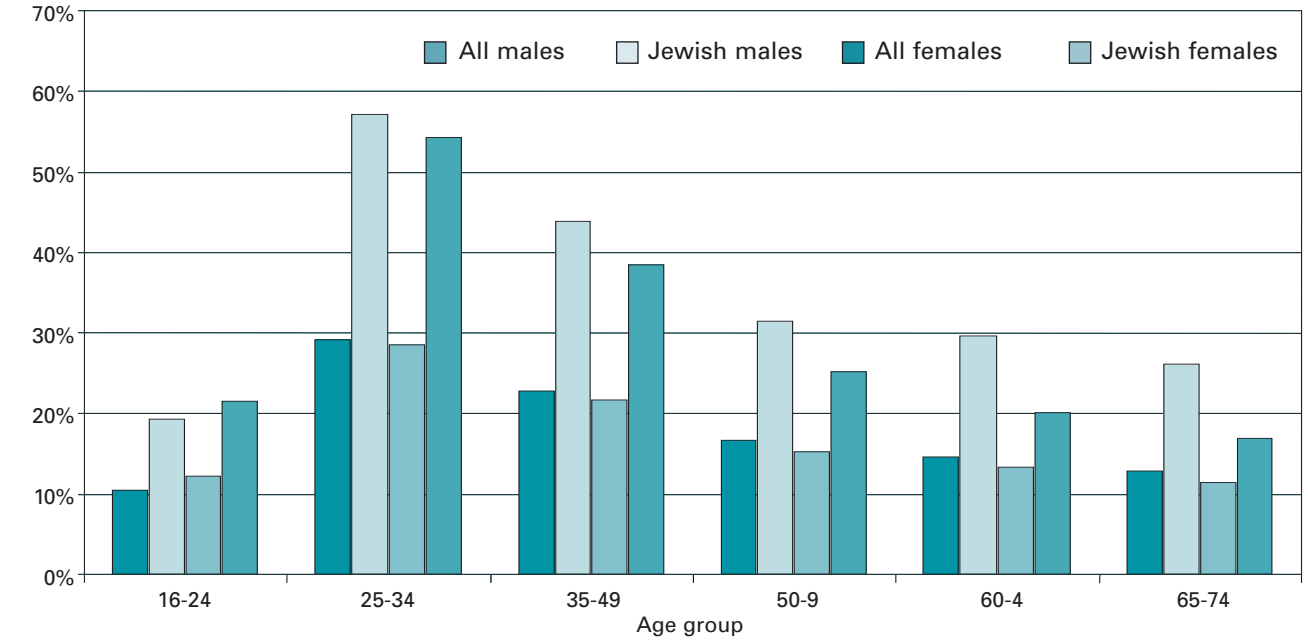
Education in Scotland

The qualifications data for Scotland are shown in Table 7.6. Unfortunately, it is not possible to compare these data with England and Wales because of differing examination systems used. Nevertheless, it can be seen that, as with Jews in England and Wales, Scottish Jews were more likely to have achieved higher level qualifications and less likely to have had 'no qualifications'. Unlike England and Wales, these data were not available by age groups.

Summary

The data on the educational achievement of British Jews confirm the importance that this population invests in secular education. This is perhaps not a

Figure 7.5: Jewish educational achievement* compared with the general population, by gender, England and Wales



Source: ONS Table M298
*Including those who achieved first degree, higher degree, NVQ levels 4–5, HNC, HND, or professional qualifications
Age cohorts are not equal in size.

Table 7.5: Educational qualifications and economic activity of Jews aged 20–64, England and Wales*

	N=	No qualifications or level unknown (%)	Lower level qualifications (%)	Higher level qualifications (%)
Economically active (N)	106,614	14.7	40.4	45.0
Employee	71,917	12.8	39.9	47.3
Self-employed	28,892	18.7	40.1	41.2
Unemployed	4,072	22.6	42.9	34.5
Full-time student	1,733	5.6	60.7	33.7
Economically inactive (N)	33,757	30.1	44.8	25.1
Retired	5,588	40.4	35.3	24.3
Student	6,434	8.3	62.7	29.1
Looking after home/family	11,359	24.6	48.7	26.7
Permanently sick or disabled	5,702	52.3	32.7	15.0
Other	4,674	34.1	37.0	28.9

Source: ONS Table C0475a
*Including Jews by religion only

Table 7.6: Level of educational qualification, Jews and the general population aged 16–74, Scotland

Level*	Jewish	General population
N=	4,593	3,731,079
No qualifications	23.1	33.2
Group 1	14.9	24.7
Group 2	20.3	15.7
Group 3	5.0	7.0
Group 4	36.7	19.5

Source: GROS Tables T25 and T24
*Group 1: 'O' Grade, Standard Grade, Intermediate 1, Intermediate 2, City and Guilds Craft, SVQ Level 1 or 2 or equivalent
Group 2: Higher Grade, CSYS, ONC, OND, City and Guilds Advanced Craft, RSA Advanced Diploma, SVQ Level 3 or equivalent
Group 3: HND, HNC, RSA Higher Diploma, SVQ Level 4 or 5 or equivalent
Group 4: first degree, higher degree, professional qualification

major revelation but two important points did arise out of these data. First, not all Jews were alike and some groups, especially in Hackney and Salford, noticeably lagged behind the rest. Second, Jewish females showed that, in terms of education at least, gender was not an obstacle to success.

Students

Students are a notoriously difficult group for the Census to enumerate both because they are highly mobile and because young people in general are less likely to self-complete Census forms. In addition, the way in which the Census defines students is complicated, as it may include anyone in full- or part-time education who may also be economically active and who is over the age of 16; in other words, the category may include schoolchildren.

Table 7.7 indicates that there were 17,896 Jewish 'students' in England and Wales in 2001, but this is a misleading figure as it includes many teenagers studying for A levels or equivalent qualifications, as well as others in *yeshivot* (Jewish religious seminaries) or similar institutions. Though such people are clearly students, for communal planning purposes it would be useful to understand their proportions within the student body as a whole. We estimate that about 5,040 were Jewish schoolchildren and 1,000 were in *yeshivot*.[72] Consequently, a better informed figure

72 Data were not available concerning the size of these two subgroups, so figures were estmated as follows: first, there were 5,600 Jewish teenagers aged 16 and 17 in 2001 in England and Wales (ONS Table S149), the majority of whom will have been in full-time education. An (arbitrary) assumption of 90 per cent of this figure suggests that about 5,040 of them were therefore in school. Second, accounting for the number in *yeshivot*, geographic data for Hackney, Haringey, Salford and Gateshead show that there were 1,699 students in these predominantly strictly Orthodox areas. Many of them will have been teenagers in school and therefore already accounted for (in the group of 5,040) but the remainder will not have been in the mainstream educational sector. We have therefore assumed there were about 1,000 students in *yeshivot*.

Table 7.7: Jewish students*, England and Wales

	%	Counts	% Male	% Female
Aged 16-24 years				
Economically active full-time student	16.6	2,975	15.5	17.7
Economically inactive student	69.7	12,482	71.4	68.1
Aged 25+				
Economically active full-time student	3.9	705	4.1	3.8
Economically inactive student	9.7	1,734	9.0	10.3
N=		17,896	8,878	9,018

Source: ONS Table S153
*Including those aged 16 and 17 who were most likely school children

for the total number of Jewish students in England and Wales in 2001 would be around 11,850.[73]

The Census also recorded students based on the NS-SeC (National Statistics Socio-economic Classification) categorization, which showed that there were 17,268 full-time Jewish students aged 16 to 74.[74] This is a slightly smaller figure than the 17,896 total noted above. However, the same problems also apply to this total.

Table 7.8 gives an indication of where most students were living on Census night. The way in which the Census recorded students was problematic since the data related to their term-time addresses (such as student halls of residence).[75] Furthermore, if a student was not present at their parental home address (the 'vacation address') on 29 April 2001, only limited data were collected about them.

The Census recorded 654 all-student households in England and Wales in which the HRP was Jewish (ONS Table S151). However, it was possible neither to estimate the proportion of these households that were homogeneously Jewish nor to calculate the average household size for this group. In addition, the Census recorded 2,489 Jewish students in England and Wales living in 'education establishments (including halls of residence)'. Of these, 7.8 per cent were aged under 16, and 6.7 per cent were over 24. This leaves 2,126 students aged 16–24 (ONS Table M296). Once again, the proportion of these who were aged 16 and 17 cannot be accurately determined.

Student ethnicity

As discussed in Chapter 2, almost 14,000 people in the Census reported their ethnicity as Jewish. Students were slightly more likely to have done also than other Jews. In England and Wales, 206 students reported that they were 'Jewish by ethnicity only' and a further 1,205 reported that they were Jewish by ethnicity *and* by religion. In addition, male students were more likely to have reported a Jewish ethnic identity than female ones (ONS Table C0476).

Country of birth of students

The Census gives an indication of how many foreign-born Jewish students there were in England and Wales in 2001. However, the data are restricted to the three largest 'supplier' countries.[76] All told, there were 2,117 foreign-born Jewish students aged 16–74 in England and Wales, nearly half of whom (48.1 per cent) were Israeli, 37.1 per cent American and 14.8 per cent South African (ONS Table C0486). It was not possible to determine the number of students who had come from countries other than these three, but based on general country-of-birth data it appears that this figure could be nearly half as high again (that is, about 3,000 foreign-born students) if other countries were added (ONS Table S150). However, it should be noted that visiting foreign

73 It should also be noted that no account has been taken here of undercount.

74 Strictly speaking, students were not classified by this measure; however, 'all full-time students are recorded in the "full-time students" category regardless of if they are economically active or not [*sic*]' (ONS Table S157).

75 The ONS defines a 'household resident' as 'any person who usually lives at the address, or who has no other usual address. . . . Students and schoolchildren studying away from the family home are treated as resident at their term-time address'; see 'Glossary', in ONS, GRO and NISRA, *Census 2001: Definitions*, 34–5, available online at www.statistics.gov.uk/statbase/product.asp?vlnk=12951 (viewed 10 March 2007).

76 The same data problems for students already outlined apply to these data as well.

Table 7.8: Location of students aged 16–24, England and Wales*

Location	Number of students	Percentage
Outer London	4,516†	29.2†
Inner London	2,274†	14.7†
Hackney	701	4.5
Greater Manchester	1,598†	10.3†
Leeds	979	6.3
Manchester (LAD)	673	4.4
Birmingham	625	4.0
Gateshead	452	2.9
Oxford	324	2.1
Cambridge	303	2.0
Liverpool	257	1.7
Bristol UA	242	1.6
Brighton and Hove UA	237	1.5
Nottingham UA	211	1.4
Sheffield	111	0.7
Other	1,954	12.6
Total	15,457	100.0

Source: ONS Table S153
*These totals take no account of whether or not the student was economically active or inactive. Furthermore, and as discussed, these data inevitably included teenagers in school; hence the total of 15,457 was larger than the estimate of 11,856 students in England and Wales.
†These figures in particular will have been inflated by school students aged 16 and 17.
UA=Unitary Authority

students in the United Kingdom were, as migrants, even harder to count than students in general. Thus, on the face of it, the data suggest that at least 17.9 per cent of all Jewish students in England and Wales were 'foreign'. This could be a false conclusion, not only because Census data on students are rather weak but also because being born abroad does not make a person 'foreign'; indeed, many will have been British passport holders who had lived most of their lives in the United Kingdom.

Work and employment

The 2001 Census provides the most detailed information about the work activities of British Jews yet obtained, including the Jewish inclination towards certain occupations (particularly the professions) and self-employment. The continued upward mobility of Jews and their entry into the highest employment echelons of the British work environment is clear to see. Now, for the first time, we can compare the Jewish population directly with the general population and also appreciate nuances in the internal differences within this group. The data also show that, while many Jews were extremely successful, there were those who fell far short of the average mark of success. In this section we present indicators of economic activity, the industries worked in, and the occupations of Jews as recorded by the Census in April 2001.

Economic activity

People are considered economically active if they are in work or looking for work; otherwise, they are considered economically inactive and this includes people looking after their home. Table 7.9 compares levels of economic activity of Jews with those of the general population in England and Wales. With regard to those people in their early working lives (aged 16–24), Jews were economically less active than the general population (45.1 per cent compared with 65 per cent) and more likely to be studying. Of the 13,992 economically inactive Jews in this age group, almost all (89.2 per cent) were 'students' (either in school, college/university or *yeshiva*), compared to 76.2 per cent of the general population.

With regard to people aged 25 years and older, Jews were slightly more likely to be economically active (69.5 per cent) than the rest of the population (66.8 per cent). The clear difference between these two economically active groups was the high propensity for Jews to be self-employed, a characteristic that had also been noted in the 1980s.[77] Almost a third (30.5 per cent) of economically active Jews were self-employed, more than double the figure of 14.2 per cent for the general population. Jews were twice as likely to be self-employed on a full-time basis and three times as likely to be self-employed on a part-time basis. Conversely, they were much less likely to be 'employees' (either full-time or part-time).[78]

Of those who were economically inactive in this age group (47,975 Jewish individuals), 45.9 per cent were retired, a slightly smaller proportion than in the general population. Jews were also less likely to be 'permanently sick or disabled'. Interestingly, for a population that is often considered to be family oriented, there was little

77 Waterman and Kosmin, *British Jewry in the Eighties*, 44.
78 That is, working for another person or organization.

Table 7.9: Economic activity, Jewish and general population, England and Wales*

	Aged 16-24		Aged 25+	
	All people	Jewish	All people	Jewish
N=	5,677,802	25,489	31,929,636	157,381
Economically active	65.0	45.1	66.8	69.5
Employee (part-time)	*9.4*	*9.2*	*19.1*	*16.7*
Employee (full-time)	*56.9*	*54.1*	*61.6*	*48.6*
Self-employed (part-time)	*0.5*	*1.3*	*3.3*	*9.2*
Self-employed (full-time)	*2.0*	*3.1*	*10.8*	*21.3*
Unemployed	*8.9*	*6.5*	*4.4*	*3.5*
Full-time student	*22.3*	*25.9*	*0.7*	*0.6*
Economically inactive	35.0	54.9	33.2	30.5
Retired	*0.2*	*0.2*	*48.3*	*45.9*
Student	*76.2*	*89.2*	*2.4*	*3.6*
Looking after home/family	*10.7*	*3.1*	*21.1*	*25.5*
Permantely sick or disabled	*3.1*	*1.2*	*19.0*	*14.5*
Other	*9.8*	*6.3*	*9.3*	*10.5*

Source: ONS Table S153
*The Census defines 'part-time' as working 30 or less hours a week; 'full-time' is defined as working 31 or more hours a week.

proportional difference between Jews and the general population with regard to those classified as 'looking after home/family' (25.5 per cent for Jews and 21.1 per cent for the general population). However, this was almost certainly a reflection of the older age structure of the Jewish population.

The Census also contains data regarding the workplace itself. These show that, as might be expected from a group with a self-employment bias, Jews tended to work in smaller companies than the population at large (see Table 7.10). They were also more likely than any other religious group to work more than 49 hours per week (21.7 per cent, N=3,603) (SARs data).

Economic activity by gender

Table 7.11 shows that, for Jewish people aged 16–24, there were very few noteworthy differences in economic activity between the sexes, a sign of how gender equality is an increasingly important facet of British Jewry. However, for Jews aged 25 years and over, some differences were evident in the economic activities of men and women. For example, men were much more likely to be economically active than women (79.9 per cent compared with 59.7 per cent). They were also more likely to be working full-time than part-time (83.6 per cent compared with 52.4 per cent for women).[79] Thirty-eight per cent of men were self-employed, nearly twice the proportion of women (20.6 per cent).

Within the economically inactive group the clearest gender difference related to people 'looking after home/family': women were twelve times more likely to be doing this than men (although over 500 Jewish men were in this category). Jewish men were more than twice as likely as Jewish women to be 'permanently sick or disabled', and also more likely to be retired (57.1 per cent compared with 40.6 per cent).

Economic activity by location

Table 7.12 shows that, among those aged 16–24, relatively high proportions of people in Redbridge and Epping Forest were economically active (66.3 per cent and 59.3 per cent, respectively). In Birmingham high proportions of young Jewish people were economically inactive, the vast majority of these (90.2 per cent) being students. Comparing this with Hackney, where economic inactivity was also high, fewer people were students

79 Similar patterns were reported in 1998 in Schmool and Cohen, *A Profile of British Jewry*: 44 per cent were economically active of which 60 per cent were retired, 15 per cent students and 19 per cent looking after the home.

Table 7.10: Company size, England and Wales*

Size of company	General population	Jewish
N=	25,889,035	118,401
1–9	27.5	42.6
10–24	14.9	13.3
25–499	38.7	28.9
500 or more	18.8	15.2

Source: ONS Table C0397
*People aged 16–74 in employment the week before the Census

(71.8 per cent) but there was a high proportion of young people looking after the home.

For the older group (those aged 25 and over), there were high rates of economic activity in the London boroughs of Camden and Haringey, and in Three Rivers (in Hertfordshire). Of the groups highlighted in Table 7.12, people in Birmingham were most likely to be 'employees' (69.8 per cent) whereas self-employed status was highest (35.7 per cent) in Epping Forest. Conversely, unemployment was highest in Hackney although, in general, unemployment levels tended to be under 5 per cent. Table 7.12 also shows that, in Hackney, there was a high proportion of Jewish people (47 per cent) who were not economically active.

Figure 7.6 is unusual in that it allows a comparison between the Jewish population in Scotland and that in England and Wales. The key difference between these two populations in terms of economic activity was that Scottish Jews were far more likely than Jews in England and Wales to work full-time rather than part-time. That said, they were still less likely than the Scottish population at large to work full-time and, like Jews in England and Wales, there was a clear bias towards self-employment.

Tables 7.13 to 7.17 highlight the highest proportions of economic activity for Jews across England and Wales. The place with the highest proportion of economically active Jews was Warwick (81.3 per cent), although the figure for Islington, with a far larger Jewish population, was also over 80 per cent (see Table 7.13). By contrast, levels of economic inactivity were highest in Arun (in West Sussex) (52.3 per cent); and, as already noted, in Hackney, with a very large strictly Orthodox population, 47 per cent were economically inactive (see Table 7.14).

Unemployment was highest in Hammersmith and Fulham, but at 5 per cent it was still fairly low (see Table 7.15). In Gateshead, Hackney and Salford, each with large strictly Orthodox populations,

Table 7.11: Economic activity by gender, Jews, England and Wales*

	Aged 16-24		Aged 25+	
Jewish	Males	Females	Males	Females
N=	12,451	13,038	76,717	80,664
Economically active	44.4	45.8	79.9	59.7
Employee (part-time)	*5.9*	*12.3*	*5.0*	*31.5*
Employee (full-time)	*56.0*	*52.3*	*52.5*	*43.6*
Self-employed (part-time)	*1.1*	*1.4*	*7.2*	*11.8*
Self-employed (full-time)	*4.4*	*1.9*	*31.1*	*8.8*
Unemployed	*7.6*	*5.4*	*3.6*	*3.5*
Full-time student	*24.9*	*26.7*	*0.6*	*0.7*
Economically inactive	55.6	54.2	20.1	40.3
Retired	*0.2*	*0.3*	*57.1*	*40.6*
Student	*91.5*	*87.0*	*5.2*	*2.9*
Looking after home/family	*0.5*	*5.6*	*3.0*	*36.2*
Permantely sick or disabled	*1.4*	*0.9*	*22.9*	*10.5*
Other	*6.4*	*6.2*	*11.8*	*9.9*

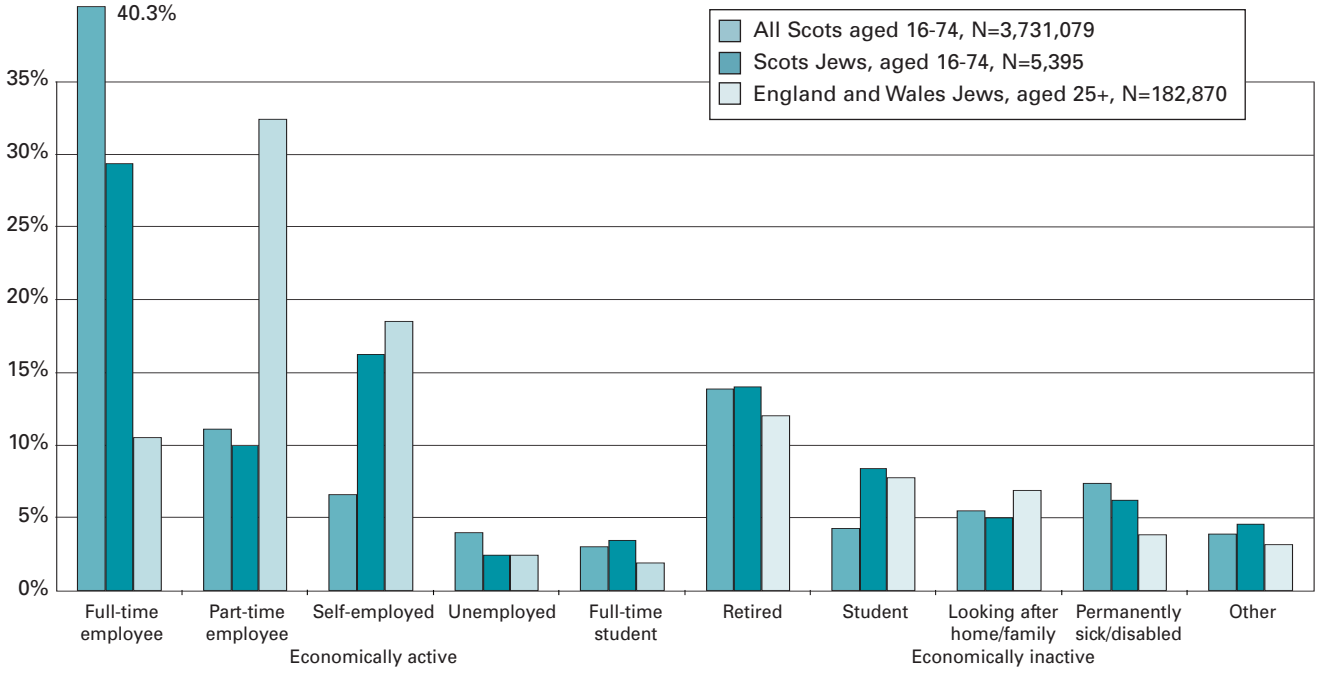
Source: ONS Table S153
*The Census defines 'part-time' as working 30 or less hours a week; 'full-time' is defined as working 31 or more hours a week.

Table 7.12: Economic activity in the Jewish population by LAD, England and Wales

	England and Wales	Salford	Birmingham	Epping Forest	Three Rivers	Barnet	Haringey	Hackney	Camden	Redbridge
N=	182,870	2,656	1,765	2,854	1,281	31,192	3,889	5,760	8,320	10,637
Aged 16 to 24 years (N)	25,489	593	686	376	169	4,204	352	1,396	887	1,402
Economically active	45.1	36.3	20.1	59.3	55.0	46.7	43.8	35.7	44.1	66.3
Economically inactive	54.9	63.7	79.9	40.7	45.0	53.3	56.3	64.3	55.9	33.7
Student	*89.2*	*83.3*	*98.4*	*90.2*	*84.2*	*89.2*	*86.4*	*71.8*	*87.5*	*82.7*
Looking after home/family	*3.1*	*7.7*	*0.5*	*3.3*	*n/a*	*3.2*	*4.5*	*18.6*	*1.4*	*3.0*
Aged 25 years and over (N)	157,381	2,063	1,079	2,478	1,112	26,988	3,537	4,364	7,433	9,235
Economically active	69.5	62.3	66.6	69.6	75.2	72.4	75.6	53.0	76.4	65.8
Employee (part-time)	*16.7*	*34.2*	*16.6*	*19.0*	*17.0*	*16.7*	*14.1*	*28.6*	*8.5*	*21.0*
Employee (full-time)	*48.6*	*31.6*	*53.3*	*43.0*	*44.7*	*46.6*	*50.2*	*36.5*	*53.5*	*45.9*
Self-employed (part-time)	*9.2*	*8.4*	*6.4*	*9.2*	*11.8*	*10.3*	*11.1*	*9.3*	*11.4*	*7.6*
Self-employed (full-time)	*21.3*	*20.9*	*18.1*	*26.4*	*24.0*	*23.1*	*19.6*	*15.8*	*22.1*	*22.3*
Unemployed	*3.5*	*3.8*	*4.9*	*2.2*	*2.4*	*2.8*	*4.2*	*8.6*	*3.3*	*2.9*
Economically inactive	30.5	37.7	33.4	30.4	24.8	27.6	24.4	47.0	23.6	34.2
Retired	*45.9*	*32.1*	*57.5*	*49.7*	*42.8*	*42.0*	*32.3*	*25.7*	*41.1*	*54.6*
Student	*3.6*	*7.1*	*4.7*	*1.6*	*1.1*	*3.3*	*5.8*	*7.0*	*8.1*	*1.3*
Looking after home/family	*25.5*	*36.2*	*13.9*	*33.7*	*38.8*	*35.0*	*33.3*	*33.6*	*28.1*	*21.1*
Permanently sick or disabled	*14.5*	*14.5*	*15.8*	*6.9*	*6.5*	*9.2*	*14.2*	*17.4*	*8.2*	*13.6*
Other	*10.5*	*10.0*	*8.1*	*8.1*	*10.9*	*10.5*	*14.5*	*16.4*	*14.6*	*9.4*

Source: ONS Table S153

Figure 7.6: Economic activity of Jews in Scotland and in England and Wales



Source: GROS Scotland Table 20; ONS Table S153

there were high proportions of people 'looking after the home/family' (see Table 7.16).

The large Jewish retired population in Arun explains its high level of economic inactivity (32.2 per cent). Given its large size, Leeds should also be noted here, with one in five Jewish residents retired (see Table 7.17).

Industry

Using seventeen broad categories, the Census provides data on the types of industry in which Jews worked. Three of these categories accounted for over half (54.2 per cent) of the total population (40.6 per cent for the general population) (see Figure 7.7). Compared with the population at large, proportionately twice as many Jews worked in 'Real estate, renting and business activities' (26.5 per cent as against 13 per cent). Jews were also more likely to work in education (9.4 per cent compared with 7.8 per cent) and 'financial intermediation' (6.7 per cent compared with 4.7 per cent). In most other sectors there were relatively fewer Jews, especially in the heavier 'blue collar' industries.

The bias towards certain types of industry was peculiar to Jews. Specifically, the following industries (broken down by detailed categories) accounted for 50 per cent of Jewish work: retail trade (not including sales of motor vehicles and motorcycles, or repair of personal and household goods), 11.1 per cent; health and social work, 10.9 per cent; education, 9.7 per cent; wholesale trade and commission trade (again, not including motor vehicles and motorcycles), 5.4 per cent; recreational, cultural and sporting activities, 4.7 per cent; real estate activities, 3.8 per cent (nearly three times the rate of the general population); financial intermediation (except insurance and pension funding), 3.6 per cent; and hotels and restaurants 3.4 per cent (ONS Table M306).

Jewish men and women differed in the types of industry in which they worked. Table 7.18 shows that Jewish women were much more likely than men to work in 'health and social work' (15.7 per cent compared with 6.5 per cent) and education (14.5 per cent compared with 5.3 per cent). Conversely, men were twice as likely to be involved in 'financial intermediation'.

Occupations

The second way in which the Census explored the types of jobs Jewish people did was to classify them by occupation type; for this, it used nine broad groups. Figure 7.8 shows the comparison between the occupations of Jews and those of the general population. It is clear that whereas, in the general population, occupation types were fairly evenly distributed across the nine categories, Jews exhibited a bias towards certain occupations, what are usually termed 'white collar' jobs. For example, a quarter of all Jewish people (25.1 per cent) were 'managers and senior officials' compared with only 15.1 per cent of the general population. Within this occupational category, Jews were nearly three times as likely to be 'corporate managers' than 'managers and proprietors in services'. Additionally, one out of five Jews worked in 'professional occupations' (22.9 per cent), twice the proportion in the

Table 7.13: Economically active Jewish population, by LAD (min. 100 persons)

	Count	Percentage
Warwick	104	81.3
Islington	1,079	80.9
Mid Bedfordshire	105	80.2
St Albans	634	79.5
Watford	451	79.3
Uttlesford	116	78.4
Colchester	130	78.3
Cherwell	107	78.1
S. Cambridgeshire	149	78.0
Wandsworth	755	77.7

Source: ONS Table S153

Table 7.14: Economically inactive Jewish population, by LAD (min. 50 persons)

	Count	Percentage
Arun	91	52.3
Tendring	66	51.6
Thanet	87	47.3
Hackney	2,053	47.0
Tower Hamlets	526	46.1
Fylde	110	44.9
Eastbourne	64	43.0
Sefton	166	41.6
New Forest	61	40.7
Castle Point	62	39.5

Source: ONS Table S153

Table 7.15: Unemployed Jewish population, by LAD (min. 25 persons)

	Count	Percentage
Hammersmith and Fulham	48	5.0
Tower Hamlets	54	4.7
Hackney	199	4.6
Lambeth	35	4.2
Kensington and Chelsea	100	4.1
Islington	50	3.7
Southwark	25	3.7
Waltham Forest	36	3.6
Liverpool	55	3.5
Wandsworth	32	3.3

Source: ONS Table S153

Table 7.16: Economically inactive Jews looking after the home/family, by LAD (min. 20 persons)

	Count	Percentage
Gateshead	72	18.8
Hackney	689	15.8
Salford	282	13.7
Elmbridge	84	13.6
South Bucks	25	10.9
Barking and Dagenham	41	10.7
Kensington and Chelsea	250	10.4
Chelmsford	24	10.3
Epping Forest	254	10.3
Trafford	146	10.0

Source: ONS Table S153

Table 7.17: Economically inactive Jews retired, by LAD (min. 50 persons)

	Count	Percentage
Arun	56	32.2
Fylde	66	26.9
Solihull	63	24.3
Sefton	95	23.8
Tower Hamlets	255	22.3
Newcastle upon Tyne	95	20.7
Leeds	896	19.6
Hillingdon	257	19.3
Birmingham	207	19.2
Sheffield	85	18.8

Source: ONS Table S153

country at large (11.2 per cent). Only in the category 'administrative and secretarial occupations' were the two groups similar. Jews were substantially under-represented in manual jobs: whereas a fifth of all jobs (20.4 per cent) among the general population were classified as 'manual', only 6.6 per cent of Jews worked in such occupations.

Occupation by gender

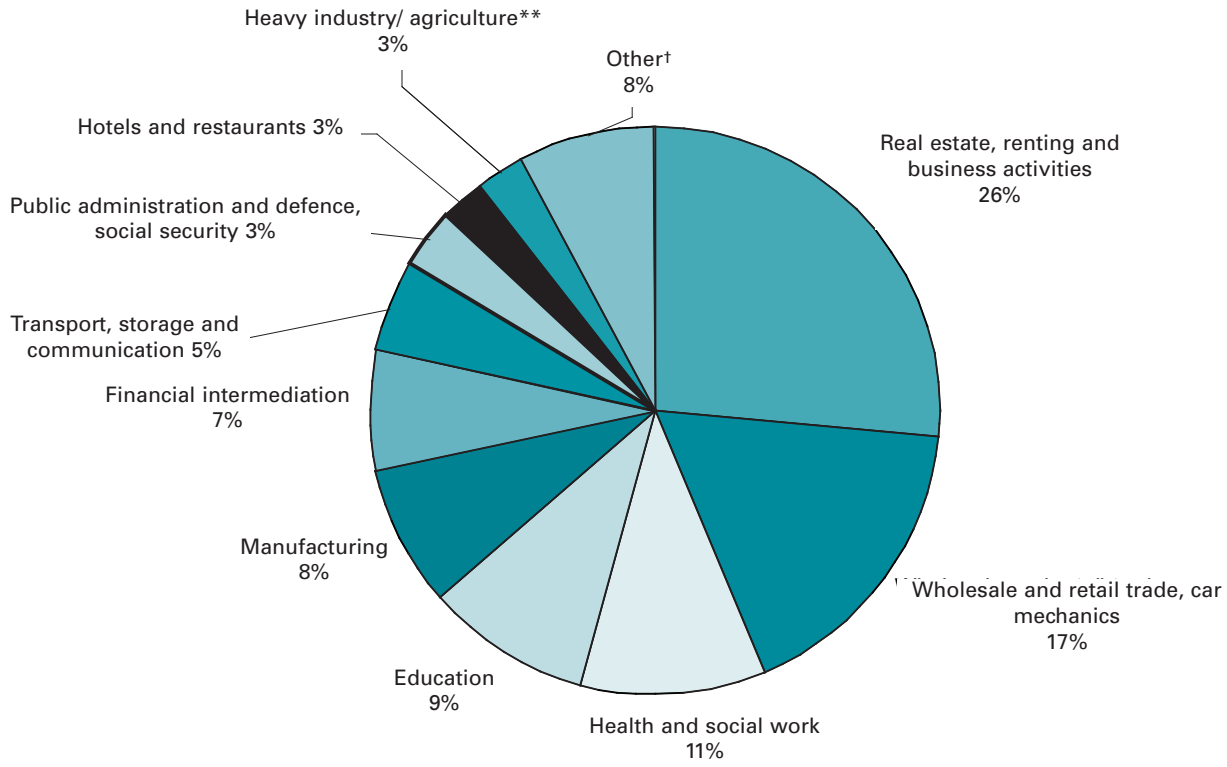
A person's gender also impacted on their occupation. Figure 7.9 shows that, for British Jews, only in two categories—'associate professional and technical occupations' and 'elementary occupations'—were men just as likely as women to be employed. Within the former category, however, Jewish women were far more likely than Jewish men to be 'health and social welfare associate professionals' (25.7 per cent compared with 6.6 per cent). Men were twice as likely as women to be 'managers and senior officials', which accounted for 31.6 per cent of Jewish male jobs. By contrast, women were more likely to be in 'administrative and secretarial occupations', which accounted for 23.7 per cent of all Jewish female jobs compared with 5.7 per cent for men. With regard to 'professional occupations' women were more likely to be 'teaching and research professionals', and men were more likely to be 'business and public service professionals'.

The extraordinary economic success of Jews in Britain at the end of the twentieth century is highlighted when the achievements of Jewish women in the workplace are compared with those of men in the British population at large. Table 7.19 shows most starkly that, in the top occupational categories, Jewish women matched, and in most cases proportionally out-represented, men in the general population. Indeed, Jewish women were equally as likely to be 'managers and senior officials' and almost twice as likely to be working in professional occupations, especially teaching and research, as males in the population at large.

Occupation by location

There were also substantial internal differences and inequalities among the Jewish population across different locations. Table 7.20 shows that, for Jews living in Westminster, nearly two in five (37.7 per cent) were classified as 'managers and senior officials'. In Camden and Leeds, Jews were just as likely to be in this category as they were in 'professional occupations'. In Redbridge over a

Figure 7.7: Industry, Jewish population, England and Wales (N=115,717)*



Source: ONS Table S155
The industry categorization is based on the UK Standard Industrial Classifications of Economic Activities 1992 (SIC92).
*Including people aged 16 to 74 in employment the week before the Census
**Including construction, 'agriculture, hunting, forestry', 'electricity, gas and water supply', 'mining and quarrying' and 'fishing'
†Including other community activities, social personal services, employment in private households and activities of extra-territorial or international organizations and bodies

Table 7.18: Industry by gender, Jewish population, England and Wales

Jewish	Males	Females
N=	63,908	51,809
Real estate, renting and business activities	29.4	22.9
Wholesale and retail trade, car mechanics	18.4	15.7
Manufacturing	9.2	6.2
Financial intermediation	8.1	4.9
Transport, storage and communicatio	6.9	3.6
Health and social work	6.5	15.7
Education	5.3	14.5
Construction	3.1	1.0
Public administration and defence, social security	2.8	3.5
Hotels and restaurants	2.6	2.6
Heavy industry/agricultural*	0.7	0.5
O, P, and Q other**	7.0	8.8

Source: ONS Table S155
Including people aged 16 to 74 in employment the week before the Census
*Includes 'agriculture, hunting, forestry', 'electricity, gas and water supply', 'mining and quarrying' and 'fishing'
**O=Other community, social and personal service activities; P=Private households with employed persons; Q=Extra-territorial organizations and bodies

fifth (22.5 per cent) of the Jewish population worked in 'administrative and secretarial occupations'; Hackney, Hertsmere (16.2 per cent) and Leeds (15.5 per cent) also had high proportions of people working in this category (16.8 per cent). Redbridge stands out as having only 10.5 per cent of Jews in 'professional occupations', less than half the London Jewish average (23.3 per cent), but also 10.6 per cent of people who were 'process, plant and machine operatives', a figure that was even higher than the general population nationally (at 8.5 per cent).

Socio-economic indicators for Jews by ethnicity

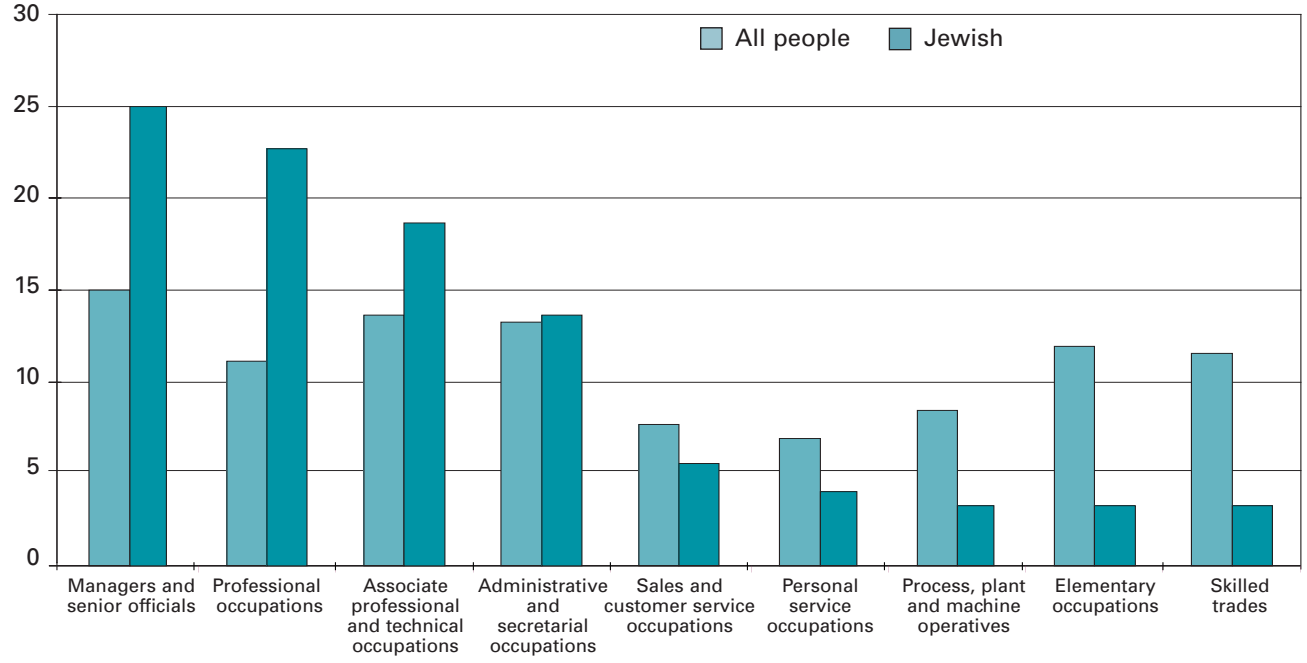
Among those who wrote in 'Jewish' on the ethnicity question, 2,594 were 'Jews by ethnicity only'. Sixty-two per cent of this group were economically active compared with 47 per cent of 'Jews by religion only' (see Table 7.21). Students were more likely to state that they were 'Jewish by ethnicity', especially in combination with 'Jewish by religion'. While this may be no more than a reflection of greater awareness of the ethnic option on the part of students, it may also indicate a greater willingness to choose it.

'Jews by ethnicity only' were much more likely to have achieved higher level qualifications than both other groups. This is linked to their younger age profile (younger people have had greater educational opportunities) and results in higher rates of economic activity. Whereas a quarter (25 per cent) of 'Jews by religion only' had higher level qualifications, 57 per cent of 'Jews by ethnicity only' had them. This trend was also seen for the religious and ethnic combined group though it was less marked.

Once again, and probably influenced by the unusual age profile of 'Jews by ethnicity', these trends were repeated in other areas. For 'Jews by religion only', 12 per cent were in higher managerial and professional occupations, compared with 22 per cent of 'Jews by ethnicity only'. Furthermore, the proportion of persons employed in education was between three and four times higher for the 'ethnic Jews' than for the 'religious Jews' and, with regard to persons employed in health and social work, more than twice as high.

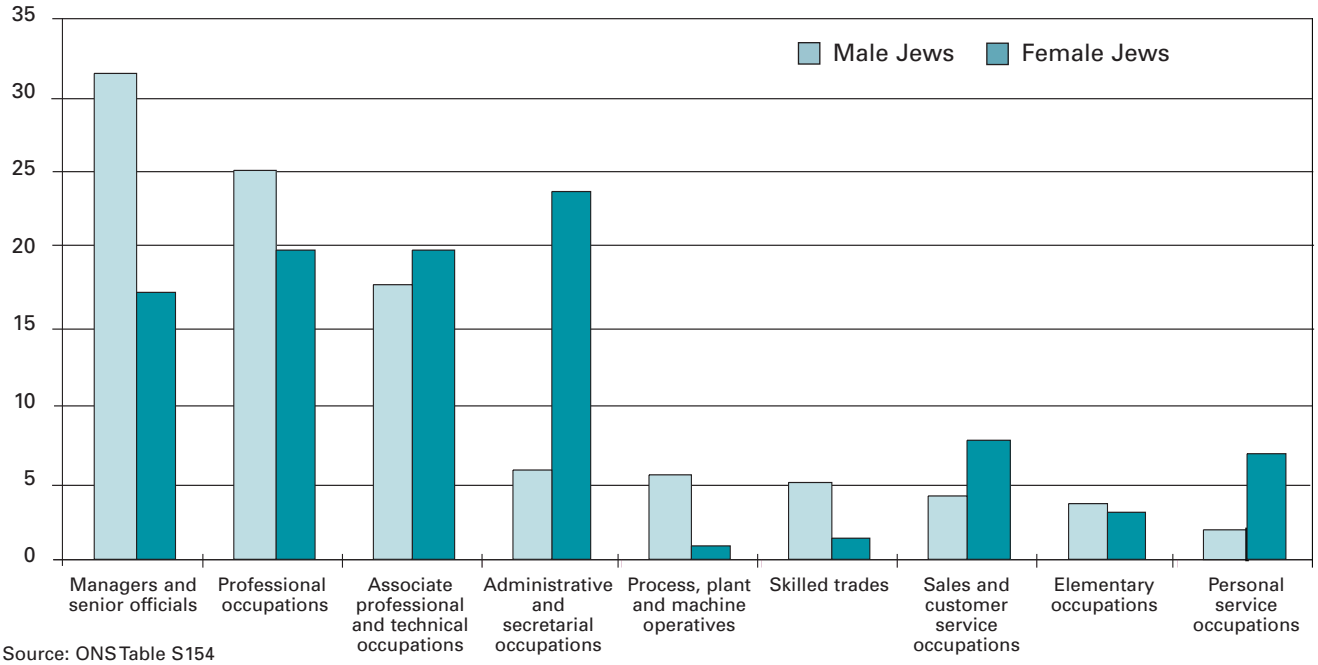
Figure 7.10 also shows something about the relationship between Jewish identity and occupation. Jews identifying by 'ethnicity only' were more than twice as likely to work in 'professional occupations' as Jews who identified by religion only (26.4 per cent compared with 11.7

Figure 7.8: Occupations of Jews and the general population, England and Wales (%)*



Source: ONS Table S154
The occupation classification is based on the SOC2000 (Standard Occupation Classification).
*Including those aged 16 to 74 in employment the week before the Census

Figure 7.9: Occupations of the Jewish population aged 16–74, by gender, England and Wales (%)



Source: ONS Table S154

Table 7.19: Occupations of Jewish females and all males, England and Wales

Occupations	All males (%)		Jewish females (%)	
Managers and senior officials	18.5		17.1	
Corporate managers		76.9		72.8
Managers and proprietors in services		23.1		27.2
Professional occupations	12.2		20.0	
Teaching and research professionals		24.6		56.0
Associate professional and technical occupations	13.5		19.9	

Source: ONS Table S154

Table 7.20: Occupations of Jews, by location*

	England and Wales	London	Camden	Hackney	Redbridge	Westminster	Hertsmere	Manchester (LAD)	Leeds
N=	115,715	67,549	5,848	2,540	6,739	3,545	5,390	1,016	3,209
Managers and senior officials	25.1	25.4	30.2	19.3	17.8	37.8	26.8	17.8	22.7
Professional occupations	22.9	23.2	30.1	25.6	10.5	23.0	18.6	24.9	21.8
Associate professional and technical occupations	18.8	20.1	26.7	14.2	15.4	23.2	20.0	17.9	16.9
Administrative and secretarial occupations	13.8	14.1	6.8	16.8	22.5	7.6	16.2	13.3	15.5
Skilled trades	3.2	2.7	1.2	4.8	3.8	1.5	3.1	2.6	2.8
Personal service occupations	4.1	3.7	1.7	5.0	5.7	2.1	4.3	5.8	4.8
Sales and customer service occupations	5.6	4.9	2.0	5.1	9.8	2.5	5.8	7.5	8.6
Process, plant and machine operatives	3.3	3.3	0.4	4.2	10.6	0.6	3.1	3.1	2.9
Elementary occupations	3.3	2.5	0.9	5.0	4.1	1.7	2.0	7.2	4.1

Source: ONS Table S154
*Including people aged 16 to 74 in employment the week before the Census

Table 7.21: Comparing economic indicators for the three categories of Jews, England and Wales

	Religion only (counts)	Religion and ethnicity (counts)	Ethnicity only (counts)	Religion only (%)	Religion and ethnicity (%)	Ethnicity only (%)
N=	248,977	10,950	2,594			
Economic activity (age 16–74)						
Economically active	116,023	4,874	1,614	46.6	44.5	62.2
Economically inactive	59,357	2,622	490	23.8	23.9	18.9
Retired	*21,651*	*390*	*142*	*36.5*	*14.9*	*29.0*
Student	*13,149*	*1,067*	*158*	*22.2*	*40.7*	*32.2*
Educational qualifications (aged 16–74)						
None/level unknown	40,657	1,455	143	16.3	13.3	5.5
Lower level qualifications	72,818	2,469	478	29.2	22.5	18.4
Higher level qualifications	61,906	3,564	1,480	24.9	32.5	57.1
Employment level (aged 16–74)						
Higher managerial and professional	29,810	1,524	560	12.0	13.9	21.6
Lower managerial and professional	44,544	2,060	749	17.9	18.8	28.9
Intermediate occupations	15,250	526	95	6.1	4.8	3.7
Small employers and own account workers	18,427	580	156	7.4	5.3	6.0
Occupation (aged 16–74)						
Managers and senior officials	28,098	961	269	11.3	8.8	10.4
Professional	24,774	1,672	596	10.0	15.3	23.0
Associate professional and technical	20,810	925	421	8.4	8.4	16.2
Not currently working	64,296	2,859	591	25.8	26.1	22.8

Source: ONS Table C0476 (a–c)
Percentages refer to subtotals.

per cent). This was also the case for Jews in 'associate professional and technical occupations', suggesting a greater tendency among Jewish professionals not to define their Jewishness by religion and opt for another form of Jewish identification.

Foreign-born groups

There were clear differences between Jewish foreign-born and the UK-born as well as differences among the immigrants themselves (see Table 7.22). For example, 16 per cent of the economically active UK-born (Jewish) population were 'employees' on a full-time basis whereas, among the three major 'foreign' subgroups, 56.1 per cent of the US-born and 54.4 per cent of the South African-born were full-time employees. Israelis and Americans were twice as likely as South Africans or the general Jewish population to be students. The 'foreigners' were far more likely to live in private rented accommodation than the native population; the Israelis and Americans were less likely to own their homes outright but the South African-born Jews resembled the British-born in this regard.

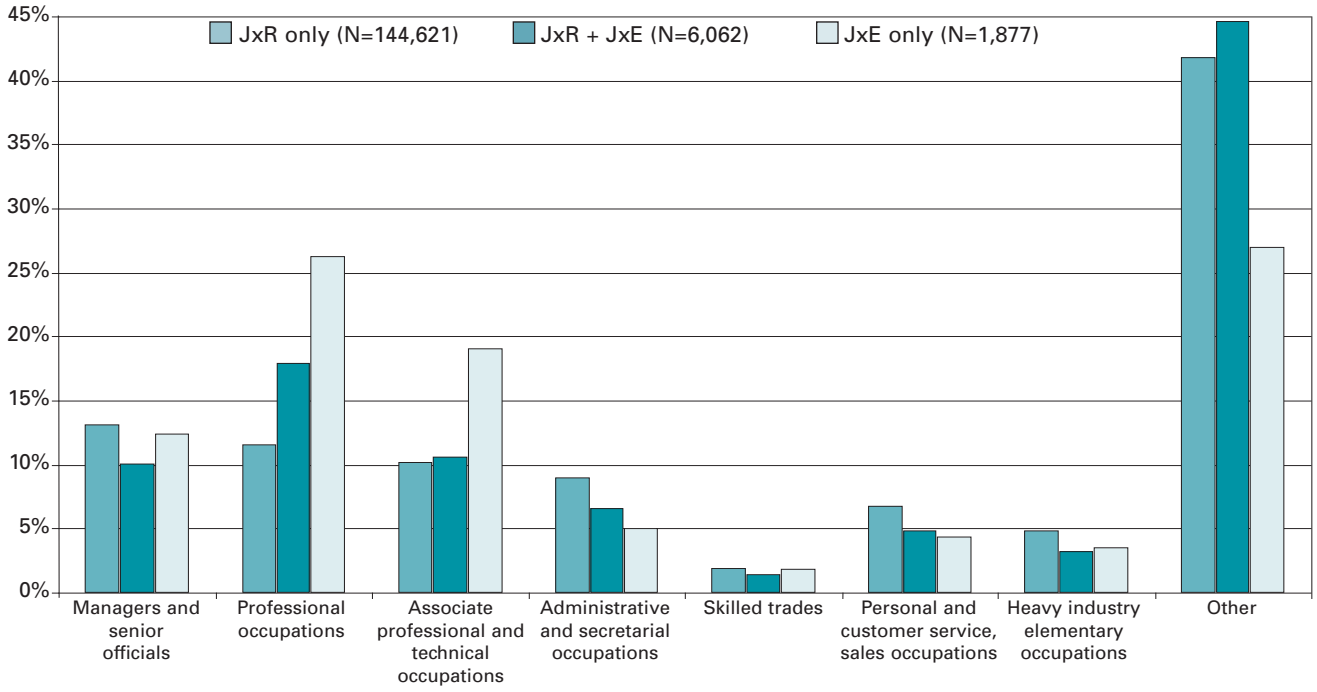
The immigrants were extremely well qualified even compared with the already highly qualified native group. Almost three-quarters (73.4 per cent) of American-born and two-thirds of the South African-born Jews had higher level qualifications. Finally, Israeli-born Jews showed similar patterns

to the native group in terms of occupations but the Americans and South Africans were more likely to be managers and professionals.

Summary

We have now obtained one of the most detailed pictures of the types of work and the economic positions of Jewish people in Britain, as well as details of the main differences within the group. Familiar trends towards self-employment and a clear bias towards 'white collar' professions and roles have been confirmed. The outstanding success of Jewish women in the workplace is evident, especially when they are compared with men in the general population. The data also show that Jews in certain locations 'specialized' in particular work activity. The students in university towns and retirees living in coastal districts provide examples of this. However, there are also clear indications of inequality. Very high levels of economic *inactivity* were recorded among Jews in Hackney where women are less likely to have obtained the economic status of other women in the Jewish population.

Figure 7.10: Occupation, by Jewish identity



Source: ONS Table C0472 (a–c)
JxR=Jewish by religion, JxE=Jewish by ethnicity

Table 7.22: Socio-economic indicators, by country of birth, England and Wales*

	South Africa	Israel	United States	England and Wales Jews
Economic activity (N)	5,683	7,041	5,991	259,927
Economically active (%)	68.3	53.6	56.1	46.5
Employee/Full-time (%)	54.4	49.5	56.1	16.0
Economically inactive (%)	21.0	28.6	28.1	23.8
Student (%)	19.5	40.8	42.8	22.9
Looking after home/family (%)	30.3	27.9	30.4	20.5
Tenure (N)	5,688	7,047	5,990	259,927
Owned outright (%)	28.5	18.6	18.6	34.1
Private rented (%)	23.4	30.6	37.6	12.1
Qualifications (N)	5,082	5,792	5,045	182,870
Higher level qualifications (%)	67.0	44.6	73.4	35.8
Occupation (N)	5,080	5,789	5,039	182,870
Managers and senior officials (%)	18.0	14.8	19.0	15.9
Professional (%)	27.0	14.9	21.1	14.5

Source: ONS Table C0486
*Israeli-, South African- and US-born Jewish by religion and/or by ethnicity; the total population is Jewish by religion only.

8 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is necessary both to sum up what has been achieved by the addition of a question on religion to the three individual censuses that comprised the United Kingdom 2001 Census and to note future challenges.

The data have proven a remarkable boon to all those interested in Britain's Jewish population: researchers, planners and decision-makers. They have plainly provided us with information that we did not have before and, as such, allow us to evaluate situations of which we might not have been fully aware in a new light. We have a clearer picture of where Jews are living and who else lives with them. We also have a much improved understanding of the present extent and potential future trends of exogamy. If we were not exactly ignorant of such matters in the past, we did have difficulty in backing up our intuitions and perceptions with concrete numbers.

In presenting this report, we are adding to a body of work on British Jews to which many people have contributed over decades. But this dataset does much more than just add information, as it is the widest ranging quantitative demographic study ever undertaken on Jews in Britain. Its scope and detail have revolutionized our analytical understanding of the population, an understanding that relied previously on more restrictive surveys. As a consequence, it is now one of the best-analysed large Jewish communities in the world outside Israel.

Speculation as to whether the Census was an under- or overcount may be dismissed on statistical grounds simply because this dataset is almost forty times larger than anything that preceded it. Whether there were actually several thousand more Jews or fewer Jews than the Census revealed is far less relevant than the wealth of information set out in the patterns described in this report.

We make no apologies for the fact that some of the analyses here have, inevitably, been dry and quantitative. This is because many of the results have been truly fascinating and mould-breaking, and ultimately they set a benchmark for future research. This report is just the tip of the iceberg and only begins the exploration of the Census dataset. The analysis lays bare the complexity of the Jewish population, and puts to rest several popular myths.

Though Jewish people were found to be living right across the United Kingdom, they are still predominantly urban. Yet, in not a single place, right down to the neighbourhood level, did they even approach being a majority among the local population. On the whole, British Jews are an ageing group, older than the national population and all other religious and ethnic subgroups. At the same time, there was clear evidence that not all Jews are alike and the data point to a young, rapidly growing cohort of (strictly Orthodox) Jews who are bucking the demographic trend in a remarkable way. There can be little doubt that these data alone show that the demographic makeup of British Jewry, and probably also its religious structure, will be very different in just a generation or so.

Jews, more than any other section of the national population, live in single-person households. In part this is due to the age structure of the population but, in addition, a high proportion of younger Jews live alone rather than in families. Couples live together without children and outside marriage. Cohabitation data from the Census show the extent to which Jewish people have incorporated living together without marriage into common patterns of family formation. The data analysis also quantified the extent of exogamous relationships in unprecedented detail, highlighting the complex nature of Jewish partnerships. They also showed us that to the term 'intermarriage' we should add 'inter-cohabitation'. Cohabitation is increasingly used as a prelude to marriage and in some instances may replace it altogether. Divorce and remarriage further confuse the traditional notion of the 'Jewish family', fundamentally changing the constitution of 'Jewish households'. The evidence is that in a large number of 'Jewish households' not all members are actually Jewish, and not all the families are conventionally nuclear ones. As a result, such families are not only a modern fact of British Jewish demography but also a sizeable section of the 'Jewish community'. The meaning of all this for British Jewry is far from obvious but these statistics on family and household structure clearly show that the traditional concept of a Jewish family or household is becoming increasingly less applicable.

It is now two generations since Jews in Britain could sensibly be considered a mostly 'immigrant group' but, even in 2001, many Jews in Britain were not British-born. In the past Jewish migrants

came to Britain either fleeing persecution or in search of a better life; now they come out of choice to work in specialist fields or to study. Some do not settle but others do. The Census has allowed us to compare how groups of Jews from different countries of origin differ from one another. For example, it makes it possible to show that Israeli-born Jews are more likely than Jews born in South Africa to have a British-born spouse, or that Jews born in the United States are better educated than British-born Jews and also more likely to have a non-Jewish spouse.

Much previous research has indicated distinctive Jewish biases in education and employment, and the Census allowed a nuanced and highly detailed look at these indicators for the first time. As a group, Jews showed high levels of educational attainment far outranking the national population and all other subgroups. But within the Jewish population there were groups who had not achieved anything like the average Jewish levels of secular educational attainment. This was especially so in areas known to have large strictly Orthodox populations. By emphasizing the merits of religious education over and above secular education, the strictly Orthodox ensure their future cultural and religious well-being. Their future economic security, on the other hand, is far less certain, especially given rapid population growth, an issue that also has implications for the wider Jewish community.

In the workplace the Jewish population as a whole has reached the level its high educational achievements would imply. The Census highlighted known tendencies towards self-employment (and presumably entrepreneurship) as well as a very considerable bias towards a white-collar working environment, especially at the senior and professional levels. This was clear prior to the Census but the data also confirmed earlier survey findings that Jewish women were not only outperforming women in the general population at the highest levels but that they were also outperforming men nationally. This is perhaps one of the most dramatic findings of the analysis and is a tribute to the remarkable success of Jewish women in the workplace.

Time and again the London Borough of Hackney, where Britain's largest concentration of strictly Orthodox Jews lives, has been singled out as a special case. The Census shows that this population was more likely to have no educational qualifications, to be economically inactive, to live in overcrowded conditions and in social rented accommodation, and less likely to have access to a car. Thus, regardless of whatever social or economic indicator is selected, the strictly Orthodox were materially disadvantaged in comparison with other Jews. This wide gap between the haves and the have-nots within the 'Jewish community' cannot, and should not, be ignored. On the other hand, it is clear that the very young population structure of strictly Orthodox groups points to a demographic future that is far more secure than is the case for other Jewish populations.

On a different plane, the Census allows some very broad analysis of the nature of Jewish identity. Many thousands of people chose to describe their *ethnicity* as Jewish, despite a Census approach to ethnicity based on skin colour and nationality. Thousands more felt that 'White-British' was simply an insufficient description of their ethnic identity but, for lack of alternatives, differentiated themselves by choosing 'White Other'. Some of the data also suggested that a sizeable number of people preferred to describe their background or 'upbringing', rather than their current religion, as Jewish. All these responses touch on a broad and longstanding debate about what people actually mean when they label themselves 'Jewish'. Importantly, it also highlights the fact that many Jews in Britain see themselves in ethnic—or perhaps cultural—terms.

Yet, the Census data present a paradox. While on the one hand they allow us to look at the entire Jewish population as a single group, they reveal that no single group actually exists; rather, it is a collection of multiple subgroups defined in myriad ways. The Census delineates the extent of the variation within this population. Whether one looks at location, age, nationality or any other marker, there is no single 'Jewish community' but a complex array of overlapping tiers. Such fragmentation is in itself hardly news but the detail and contextual frame in which it can now be shown is highly revealing. These data ultimately challenge certain facts and myths that many have cherished: that of the Jewish nuclear family, the homogeneous Jewish household, the Jewish housewife, the married Jewish couple or the universally successful and prosperous Jewish citizen.

But the data are also of interest for some of the things that they show less clearly. They hint that there is a tendency for some Jews to express their

Jewish identity by using the write-in option in the Census ethnicity question. The data showed a difference between 'Jews by religion' and/or 'Jews by ethnicity': the latter group was younger, more highly qualified and had a greater tendency to be male than the former. However, 'ethnicity' in 2001 was confusing for Jewish respondents and relatively few felt it was appropriate to write in 'Jewish' given the question wording. We must conclude therefore that many people went unenumerated as *ethnic Jews*, which makes a strong case for 'Jewish' to be included as an ethnic category in the next Census in 2011.

Because of the success of its inclusion in 2001, the question on religion will be repeated in 2011. The findings that will emerge from that Census will allow us to examine trends; as the question in the 2001 Census was a pioneering effort, this is something that it did not permit. For example, after 2011 we will be able to study the outcomes of new partnerships, mixed households and ethnic identities. From a Jewish point of view, the Census is a neutral exercise in data collection. It is therefore imperative that, in the wake of the 2011 Census, the Jewish community is prepared for the project of data analysis that it will necessitate, as well as being in a position to make use of such analyses. This is the way to extract the maximum benefit from the 2011 Census. That analysis will unquestionably reveal many issues that impact directly on the Jewish community and there will be a need to address it properly through well-considered policy formulations and decisive implementation. We hope this report has paved the way.

Glossary and abbreviations

CoB / Country of birth	There were five tick-box responses to the country of birth question: one each for the four parts of the United Kingdom and one for the Republic of Ireland. Where there was no applicable tick-box, people were asked to write in the present name of their country of birth. The written responses were coded using the ONS Geography Classification of Countries. Countries were classified in output according to geographical position rather than politics. For example, the Canary Islands were classified as North Africa rather than Western Europe even though they belong to Spain.
DC / Dependent children	A dependent child is a person aged 0 to 15 in a household (whether or not in a family) or aged 16 to 18 in full-time education and living in a family with his or her parent(s).
GLA / Greater London Authority	The governmental body responsible for London; the administrative boundary of London including all 32 London boroughs and the City of London.
Greater Manchester (Metropolitan County)	The 10 LADs of Bolton, Bury, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, Salford, Stockport, Tameside, Trafford and Wigan, combined.
GROS	General Register Office for Scotland (GROS), the statistics agency of Scotland
Halakhah	Jewish law
HRP / Household Reference Person	The concept of a Household Reference Person replaced the Head of Household used in the 1991 Census. For a person living alone, it follows that this person was the HRP. If the household contained only one family (with or without ungrouped individuals) the HRP was the same as the Family Reference Person (FRP). If there were more than one family in the household, the HRP was chosen from among the FRPs using the same criteria as for choosing the FRP (economic activity, then age, then order on the form). If there was no family, the HRP was chosen from the individuals using the same criteria.
Inner London	The 14 LADs of Camden, City of London, Hackney, Hammersmith and Fulham, Haringey, Islington, Kensington and Chelsea, Lambeth, Lewisham, Newham, Southwark, Tower Hamlets, Wandsworth, Westminster.
LAD / Local Authority District	The upper and lower tiers of local government in parts of England. The 34 'shire' counties, together with a lower tier of 239 local authority districts, administer local government outside Greater London, the metropolitan counties, and Unitary Authorities in England.
LLTI / Limiting Long-term Illness	A subjective self-assessment of whether a person has a long-term illness, health problem or disability that would limit their daily activities or work. This included problems related to old age.
NISRA	Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, the statistics agency of Northern Ireland
NS-SeC	The National Statistics Socio-economic Classification was introduced by the government to replace Social Class based on Occupation (also known as the Registrar General's Social Class) and Socio-Economic Groups (SEG).

OA / Output Area	The smallest area for which detailed 2001 Census results are available. Output Areas were created specifically for statistical purposes and are based on data from the 2001 Census in order to zone small areas with similar characteristics systematically and objectively.
ONS / Office for National Statistics	The statistics agency for England and Wales that collects and publishes official data on the population and the economy.
OR / Occupancy Rating	This provides a measure for under-occupancy and overcrowding. It relates the actual number of rooms to the number of rooms 'required' by the members of the household (based on a relationship between them and their ages). The room requirement depends on the type and size of household resident in a property.
Outer London	The 19 LADs of Barking and Dagenham, Barnet, Bexley, Brent, Bromley, Croydon, Ealing, Enfield, Greenwich, Harrow, Havering, Hillingdon, Hounslow, Kingston upon Thames, Merton, Redbridge, Richmond upon Thames, Sutton and Waltham Forest.
RNS	Religion Not Stated (i.e. non-response to the Census religion question)
SARs	These are Samples of Anonymized Records that have been extracted from Census records. They are designed to enable researchers to carry out detailed analyses of the Census data.
UA / Unitary Authority	An authority providing a single tier of local government administration in parts of England outside Greater London and the metropolitan counties, and throughout Wales.
Ward	The key building blocks of UK administrative geography, being the spatial units used to elect local government councillors in metropolitan and non-metropolitan districts, Unitary Authorities and the London boroughs.
Yeshiva	Jewish religious school or college for boys.

Appendix 1 Censuses and social surveys

As an instrument of measurement, a census is a restrictive tool compared with the flexibility and adaptability of social surveys. This is because the rationale for holding a national census is very different from the rationale behind custom-made surveys. A census is above all a practical tool of the state. Britain has legal authority to conduct a census through the Census Act of 1920 and the Census Amendment Act of 2000. It is a national survey conducted by the government and, in 2001, had been conducted regularly at ten-year intervals for 200 years.[80] Its questions are primarily designed to help government decision-makers allocate the state's resources fairly and efficiently in accordance with priorities set by the administration of the day. That non-governmental institutions and individuals can use the data censuses procure, though a highly welcome outcome, is somewhat incidental to the *raison d'être* of a census. Therefore, shortcomings observed in a census from the point of view of specific subgroups ought to be seen in the light of the census as a national exercise by the state and for the state. For example, with regard to religion, the 2001 Census was extremely limited in scope, especially compared with social surveys. It ignored topics such as religious behaviours and practices, communal belonging and affiliations, as well as beliefs and outlooks.

In contrast to national censuses, social surveys are targeted, often commissioned by interest groups, generally on an *ad hoc* basis, to answer specific social questions. The case of the Jews of the United Kingdom provides a good example of how the two instruments complement each other rather than render one or the other redundant. Unlike social surveys the 2001 Census enables us to present universal as well as highly detailed group analyses as well as comparisons with other groups using broad but straightforward indicators. Yet it cannot inform us about the religious beliefs or practices, opinions or attitudes of Jewish people. Far from making social surveys obsolete or unnecessary, censuses and social surveys are both tools of the social scientist. As such, they are complementary and not mutually interchangeable.

80 Except for 1941 when the Census was cancelled during the Second World War.

Appendix 2 Caveats regarding the 2001 Census data on Jews

It is important to bear in mind certain limitations and dilemmas associated with the 2001 Census data, whether looking at them in raw form or through this and other reports.

Coverage

Though the Census is theoretically a universal survey, in reality it is not, generally failing to reach about 2 per cent of the population. Invariably, there are a variety of reasons why some people are missed out, but we do know that certain groups are more *at risk* of non-inclusion than others. These include immigrants, people living in tower blocks, the homeless and people who are highly mobile. Census figures are imputed to account for these known problems; however, the data on Jews should be assessed as reflecting the *enumerated* population only. It might also be pointed out that non-completion, inaccurate completion, falsification and non-return of the Census form would have the same effect though these are illegal acts in the United Kingdom.

The 'general population'

When comparing Jews with the 'general population' or the 'population at large', it should be noted that 'general population' includes *all* people; in other words, unless stated otherwise, the Jews are included in the general population *as well*. In most cases, the statistical impact of this will be negligible owing to the small size of Jewish population, which comprised approximately 0.5 per cent of the UK total. Even in Greater London Jews comprised only 2 per cent of all people. But this becomes pertinent as data approach the local level. In some cases, Jews constituted significantly larger proportions of the whole population and in such cases we have tried always to compare Jews with 'the rest of the population'.

Confidentiality

The Office for National Statistics (ONS) does not release data if they consider that an individual could be personally identified. This means that when counts become very small—an exaggerated example might be the number of Jews living in a particular ward in Cumbria aged under 25 and in full-time education—the smallest counts that are published by ONS are not below three. In addition, since all published tables must nest correctly (that is, relate to each other, the so-called 'One Number Census'), the very small counts are often imputed and therefore each dataset comes with a proviso: *Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data*. In other words, they may have been statistically 'made-up' where very small counts are concerned. Nevertheless, this will not have been relevant to the vast majority of analyses presented in this report.

Meaning

The Census conspicuously failed to define 'Jewish'. It was left entirely to the respondents' discretion to decide if they considered themselves 'Jewish' and indeed what that actually meant. We cannot know what individuals had in mind when responding to the question 'What is your religion?' To take a hypothetical example, a person who had a Jewish mother and a non-Jewish father and who had never actively participated in Jewish communal life may not have ticked 'Jewish'. Alternatively, a person born Christian

but who married a Jew and converted through liberal authorities may have ticked 'Jewish'. Neither the Census nor this report attempts to discriminate in any case with regard to what 'religion = Jewish' actually means.

Jewishness

The Census did not provide any indication of *Jewishness* in terms of beliefs, belongings and behaviours; such issues remain the preserve of local social surveys. Examples include patterns of charitable giving by Jewish people, their attitudes towards volunteering or Jewish education, or how religious or secular they perceive themselves to be. Similarly, the Census was mostly silent on Jewish denomination, current practices, cultural and leisure activities, friendship networks or the political issues that concern people.

Time dimension

Since the 2001 Census was the only occasion in the past century in which a religion question had been asked, it offered only a 'snapshot' of the Jewish population of the United Kingdom as it appeared on 29 April 2001. It tells us nothing about temporal trends in the population, how it has changed, rates of change and so on.

Geography

Though we do incorporate 2001 Census data on Scotland, most of the analysis in this report relates exclusively to data from the Census of England and Wales. However, we do make reference to 'British Jews' and the 'Jewish population of the United Kingdom'. Given that 97 per cent of British Jewry was recorded as residing in England and Wales, these terms are therefore statistically acceptable. Moreover, since the religion questions asked in Scotland and Northern Ireland were structured and worded differently to those used in England and Wales, it is debatable how legitimate it would be to combine these separate datasets.

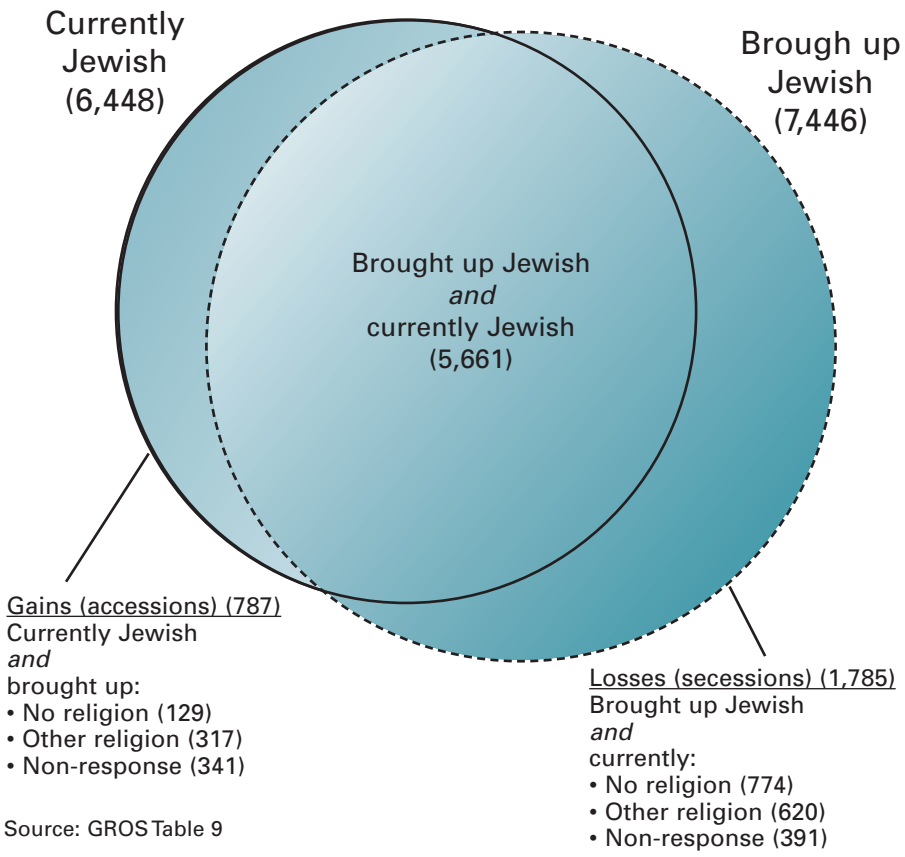
Appendix 3 Jews in Scotland

In 2001 there were 6,448 people in Scotland who stated that they were 'currently Jewish by religion'. However, because there were two questions on religion on the Scottish Census, 7,446 people were recorded as being 'brought up Jewish by religion'. The way these two groups do and do not overlap is complex—which reflects a more differentiated reality—and is explained initially by means of Figure A1.

Not everyone 'brought up Jewish' was 'currently Jewish'; equally not everyone 'currently Jewish' had a Jewish upbringing. The data show that 1,785 people recorded that they were brought up Jewish but were not currently identifying as Jews, and that 787, though currently Jewish, had not been brought up that way.

Of the 6,448 current Jews, 88 per cent had *also* been brought up as Jews; 12 per cent had not. These currently Jewish people who did not have a Jewish upbringing are gains to the group, that is, 'accessionist', most of whom would be considered converts.[81] On the other hand, the 1,785 people who had had a Jewish upbringing but did not identify as currently Jewish are losses to the group, that is, 'secessionist', and most of these might be cautiously labelled 'assimilated'. These 1,785 people were equivalent in size to 28 per cent of all 'currently Jewish' people in Scotland.

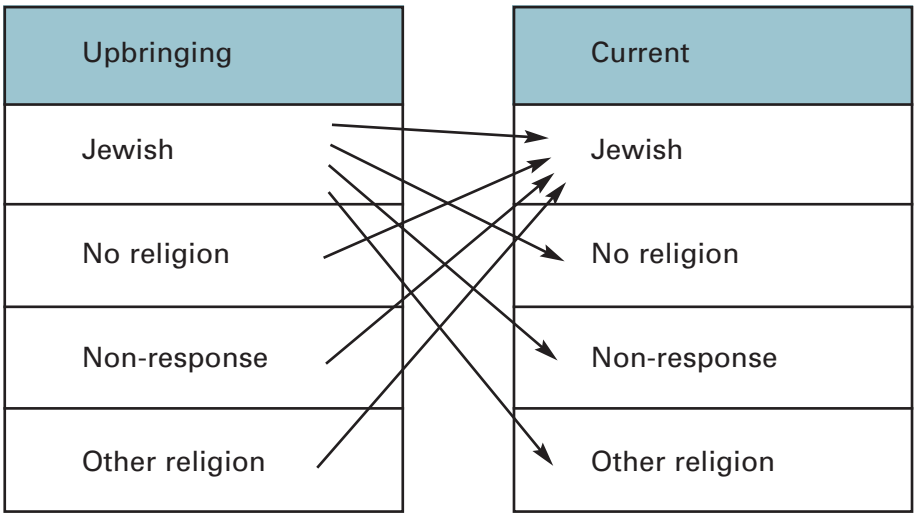
Figure A1: Comparison of 'currently Jewish' population with the 'brought up Jewish' population, Scotland 2001



Source: GROS Table 9

81 'Most' because several individuals chose not to respond to this voluntary question.

Figure A2: Types of possible Jewish identity for Jews in Scotland



It is important to note that the 'currently Jewish' and 'brought up Jewish' groups do not form three discrete populations; the situation is more complex. Rather, as Figure A2 illustrates, they actually form seven groups: the *currently Jewish* whose upbringing was Jewish *or* 'no religion' *or* 'non-response' *or* 'other religion'; and those with a *Jewish upbringing* who are currently 'no religion' *or* 'non-response' *or* 'other religion'. This identity complexity becomes even thornier when the label 'Jewish by ethnicity' is added to this mix. A further complicating factor—though there is no easy way to know by what degree—is the implicit assumption that people had remained resident in Scotland throughout their lives. Those responding to the question on their religion of upbringing may not have been brought up in Scotland at all, and many of those brought up in Scotland may have emigrated.

There are several other difficulties with this question and its data. First, there is no recognized point at which 'upbringing' ends or what it purports to mean. Different people will have different interpretations of the duration of upbringing. (For example, is it the point at which one leaves school, enters university, leaves home or marries?) For most children the Census form will have been completed on their behalf so the judgement was a parental one. Second, it assumes no interstitial identities between a person's religion of upbringing and their current religion. Third, there is an awkward muddling in the case of people who considered their upbringing to be over and those, such as children, whose upbringing was continuing. In other words, like is not being compared with like.

All of these points, some admittedly trivial but others rather important, suggest that great care should be taken when drawing conclusions about the data relating to Jews in Scotland.

Appendix 4 Alternative Census counts of the Jewish population 2001

The following shows a few of the possible Jewish population totals of the 2001 Census.

England and Wales

	Subtotal	Total
Jewish by religion (published) (England and Wales Total A)		259,927[d]
Jewish by religion only	248,977[a]	
Jewish by religion and Jewish by ethnicity	10,950[b]	
Jewish by ethnicity only	2,594[c]	
Jewish (by all definitions) (England and Wales Total B)		262,521

Great Britain (Jews by religion)

	Subtotal	Total
England an Wales (Total A)	259,927	
Scotland: Jews by upbringing	7,446[e]	
Jewish (published) (GB Total)		267,373[g]

United Kingdom

Jews by religion	Subtotal	Total
England and Wales: Jewish by religion	259,927[d]	
Scotland: Current religion Jewish	6,448[e]	
Northern Ireland: Current religion Jewish	365[f]	
Jewish (published) (UK Total A)		266,740
Jews by religion and ethnicity		
England and Wales: Jewish by religion and/or ethnicity	262,521[h]	
Scotland: Current religion Jewish	6,448[e]	
Northern Ireland: Current religion Jewish	365[f]	
Jewish (calculated) (UK Total B)		269,334
Scotland: Upbringing Jewish and currently no religion	774[e]	
Scotland: Upbringing Jewish and currently religion not stated	391[e]	
Jewish (calculated) (UK Total C)		270,499

Sources:
a ONS Table C0476a
b ONS Table C0476b
c ONS Table C0476c
d ONS Table KS07
e GROS Table 9: Current religion Jewish, upbringing Jewish
f NISRA Table KS07
g ONS Focus on Religion, Table 1
h 'England and Wales Total B' as calculated

Appendix 5 Alternative household counts of the Jewish population: 2001 Census data

England and Wales only	Subtotal	Total	Per cent single person
Household Reference Person is Jewish by religion		116,330[a]	36.1
All household members Jewish by religion	89,371[b]		47.0
At least one household member Jewish by religion	53,700[c]		n/a
At least one household member Jewish by ethnicity	2,398[d]		26.3
Total households with at least one Jewish person		145,469	

Sources:
a ONS Table S151
b ONS Table C0478a
c ONS Table C0478b
d ONS Table C0478c

Appendix 6 Summary Census data for dependent children

	England and Wales		Hackney
	All dependent children*	Jewish dependent children	Jewish dependent children
N=	11,665,266	50,646	4,230
% Male	51.0	51.2	49.3
Aged 0 to 2	15.5	16.2	22.6
Accommodation: house or bungalow	91.9	90.7	70.1
Accommodation: flat, maisonette or apartment	8.0	9.3	29.9
Occupancy rating: -1 or less	12.3	7.6	30.3
No cars or vans in household	16.5	9.2	39.7
Two or more cars or vans in household	41.6	58.3	5.4
Home rented from council	15.6	2.2	3.9
Home 'other social rented'	7.3	2.8	16.5
Home privately rented	8.1	11.9	36.9
Living in a lone-parent family	22.9	11.2	7.2
Living in a married couple family	65.1	84.5	89.0
Cohabiting couple family	11.0	3.6	2.6
Born outside the UK	3.7	7.7	7.4
Has a limiting long-term illness	4.3	3.0	2.4
No adults in household in employment	17.6	8.5	21.3
One adult in household in employment	32.6	39.4	55.4
Two or more adults in household in employment	49.8	52.0	23.3

Source: ONS Table T52
* A dependent child is a person in a household aged 0 to 15 (whether or not in a family) or a person aged 16 to 18 who is a full-time student in a family with parent(s).

Appendix 7 References to 2001 Census tables

England and Wales

Standard tables

Table A1: Codes and titles for ONS standard tables

Table code	Table title
KS07	Religion
S103	Sex and age by religion
S104	Ethnic group by religion
S149	Sex and age by religion
S150	Sex and country of birth by religion
S151	Household composition by religion of Household Reference Person
S152	Sex and age and limiting long-term illness and general health by religion
S153	Sex and age and economic activity by religion
S154	Sex and occupation by religion
S155	Sex and industry by religion
S156	Tenure and number of cars or vans by religion of Household Reference Person
S157	Sex and NS-SeC by religion
S158	Age and highest level of qualification by religion
S159	Shared/unshared dwelling and central heating and occupancy rating by religion
S160	Shared/unshared dwelling and central heating and occupancy rating by religion of Household Reference Person
S161	Sex and type of communal establishment by resident type and religion
T52	Theme table on religion of all dependent children in households
T53	Theme table on religion
UV15	Religion

Sources

ONS, Census 2001: *CD Supplement to the National Report for England and Wales and Key Statistics for Local Authorities in England and Wales* (London: ONS 2003): all data relating to 'S', 'T' and 'UV' tables at the LAD *level* in England and Wales

ONS, *Census 2001: Standard Tables for Wards in England and Wales* (London: ONS 2004): all data relating to 'S', 'T' and 'UV' tables at the *ward level* in England and Wales

ONS, *Census 2001: Key Statistics for Output Areas* (London: ONS 2003): all 'KS' tables and data at the *Output Area level* in England and Wales

Commissioned tables

All data relating to 'C' and 'M' tables are commissioned and only available on direct request to ONS.

Table A2: Codes and titles for ONS commissioned tables

Table code	Table title
CAS103	Sex and age by religion (CAS=Census Area Statistics)
C0397	Sex by ethnic group, country of birth, religion, language needs indicator and migration by size of company, employment status and approximated social grade
C0400	Religion of married couples
C0403	Multiple religious identifier by religion of HRP
C0472 (a–c)	Occupation (SOC 2 digit) by sex
C0474 (c)	Age (5-year age groups 0–80+) by sex and religion
C0475 (a–c)	Sex and age (5-year age groups) and qualifications by economic activity (based on S032)
C0476 (a–c)	Theme table on religion (based on T53)
C0477 a(i–iii), b(i–iii)	Household structure (Sex of P1and HH composition and relationship to P2 by sex of P2)
C0478 (a–c)	Theme table on households (based on T08)
C0479	Sex and Age (5 year groups) by religion of partner (6 categories)
C0480 (a–b)	Theme table couples (married and cohabiting) by religion (based on T53)
C0481 (a–c)	Age of HRP by sex, marital status (based on S003)
C0482	Area by age and sex by CoB (South Africa, Israel, United States)
C0483	CoB (South Africa, Israel, United States) and religion of partner
C0484	Sex, marital status and age by CoB (South Africa, Israel, United States)
C0485	Sex, marital status and age by CoB (South Africa, Israel, United States)
C0486	Theme table on religion by CoB (South Africa, Israel, United States) (based on table T53)
C0487 a–c	CoB (South Africa, Israel, United States) by age and sex
C0629	Religion of cohabiting opposite-sex couples
C0645	Household size by religion of HRP
C0648	Address one year ago by religion
M210	Sex, age and limiting long-term illness by religion
M277	Detailed age group by religion
M296	Sex, age and communal establishment type by religion (residents)
M298	Sex, age and highest level of qualification by religion
M306	Sex and industry by religion
M314	Sex, age and provision of unpaid care by religion

Scotland

All data for Scotland are taken from the following CDs:

GROS, *Standard Tables for Wards, Sectors and Selected Higher Areas*, SCROL CD5, vol. 1, version 2 (Edinburgh: GROS 2004)
GROS, *Standard Tables for Wards, Sectors and Selected Higher Areas*, SCROL CD5, vol. 2, version 2 (Edinburgh: GROS 2004)

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