



Institute for Jewish Policy Research

2011 CENSUS RESULTS (ENGLAND AND WALES) INITIAL INSIGHTS INTO JEWISH NEIGHBOURHOODS

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Introduction

The 2011 Census was held on 27th March 2011 and included a question on religion for only the second time in its history. It affords us a unique opportunity to chart detailed demographic change in the Jewish community over the decade from 2001, which was the first occasion religion was included in the census.

The Office for National Statistics (ONS) has just published a second set of data about religion in England & Wales. This release focuses on statistics relating to local neighbourhoods and tells us much about the population dynamics of Jewish communities over the last decade.

Background

In 2001, the national Census produced by far and away the largest dataset ever compiled on Jews in Britain. In 2011, it produced an even larger dataset, rendered all the more valuable because of the comparisons that can now be drawn with the 2001 data. Indeed, it is difficult to underestimate the potential value of these data to the Jewish community. They can inform planning at all levels—national, regional and local—and in a host of different sectors. Unfortunately, they have been distinctly under-utilised in the Jewish community in the past, and whilst awareness of their importance appears to be growing among community leaders, there is still some way to go. Given that such data were only recently available to us, and equivalent data are still unavailable to a number of other Jewish communities around the world (notably the United States and France), it is all the more important that leaders exploit this planning opportunity to its fullest extent.

The full set of census data will continue to be released in stages throughout 2013 and into 2014. JPR will spearhead the data analysis and dissemination process, and produce a number of focused reports for various sectors in the community. JPR's research team will also be available to produce commissioned bespoke reports for charities and organisations interested in examining how census data can help them develop policy and plan for the future.

In addition, JPR is running the National Jewish Community Study (NJCS) in early 2013, which is being sponsored and supported by many of the Jewish community's major organisations. This will provide additional data on a range of communal issues not addressed by the Census. Together, the Census and NJCS will place the community in an extremely strong,

data-rich position with huge potential to contribute towards planning and policy decision-making at all communal levels over the coming years.

2011 Census Results

Britain's Jewish population is spread unevenly across the country, concentrated in a few small localised areas and neighbourhoods. This concentration into relatively few places often gives rise to the perception that there is a greater Jewish presence in Britain than is actually the case. Nationally, Jews comprise just 0.5% of the national population, but at the local level that proportion rises to as much as 40% in some places.

This latest Census release provides us with a statistical microscope to 'drill down' into the finer details of the Census data. For example, England and Wales are split into nine regions, one of which is London where 56.9% of all Jews live. The capital itself is divided into 33 boroughs and, as reported in [our first 2011 Census release](#), the borough with the largest Jewish population is Barnet—in fact, one in five Jews in the whole of England and Wales (20.5%) lives here. However, Barnet is itself subdivided into 21 neighbourhoods (or wards) of which the most Jewishly populous is Golders Green; indeed with 7,661 Jews, Golders Green is the most Jewishly populous neighbourhood in the country.¹

The ten largest Jewish neighbourhoods in 2011 are presented in Table 1. Six of these contain 5,000 or more Jews. Although the Census does not report on Jewish denomination, other data sources tell us that in four wards—Kersal and Sedgley (in Greater Manchester), and Springfield and New River (in Hackney)—the Jewish population is predominantly *haredi* (strictly Orthodox). This is a reflection of the choice religious Jews often make to live in close geographical proximity to each other. All the remaining top ten Jewish neighbourhoods are located in the London Borough of Barnet.

¹ All figures in this report, including those for the 2001 Census, have been adjusted as follows. The voluntary nature of the Census question on religion tends to produce a higher level of non-response compared with the other, compulsory, questions in the Census. In general, non-response to the religion question in 2011 was 7.2% across England and Wales. However, since Jews tend to be clustered in a small number of places, it is more accurate to take account of non-response levels in the neighbourhoods in which most Jews live. In many of these places, non-response levels are slightly higher than average (e.g. the average non-response in the 397 wards (or local neighbourhoods) in which 75% of all Jews in England and Wales live was 9.3%). Further, since there is no empirical reason to assume that Jews are any more or less likely to respond to the religion question than other people, non-response data can be used to adjust the enumerated Jewish count and produce a Jewish population estimate that is likely to be more accurate. This approach also facilitates a more meaningful comparison of data between the 2001 and 2011 Censuses, since it effectively controls for any changes in non-response that may have occurred in any particular ward.

Note further that the adjustment is calculated on the basis that any given proportion of non-response relates to an *unknown* number of Jews in any given area, so it is necessary to apply simple algebra to the adjustment calculation. For example, in Golders Green, 6,975 Jewish people were enumerated in 2011, but 9.0% of all people in Golders Green ward did not respond to the Census, and presumably 9.0% of these people are Jewish but had chosen not to answer the religion question. So it can be assumed that there were actually 7,661 Jewish people in Golders Green (i.e. $6,975 / (1 - 0.09)$).

Readers should also note that many ward boundaries changed between 2001 and 2011, making direct comparison complex. Therefore, it has also been necessary to manually recalculate ward population figures for 2001 by aggregating populations at the lower level 'output area' geography (boundaries of which remained fairly static between the two Censuses) to create retrospective ward population figures for 2001 which are more readily comparable with 2011 ward data. However, although these retrospective 2001 ward figures are mostly similar to the original 2001 ward data, they are not *directly* comparable, and will in some instances, differ from the original 2001 data (adjusted or otherwise).

Table 1. The ten wards with the largest Jewish populations, by rank, 2001-2011

Location		2011		2001		% Change since 2001	Average annual growth rate
Ward	LA	Number	Rank	Number	Rank		
Golders Green	Barnet	7,661	1	5,691	3	+34.6%	3.0%
Garden Suburb	Barnet	6,858	2	6,170	1	+11.2%	1.1%
Hendon	Barnet	6,363	3	5,485	4	+16.0%	1.5%
Edgware	Barnet	5,924	4	6,155	2	-3.8%	-0.4%
Kersal	Salford	5,741	5	5,367	5	+7.0%	0.7%
Finchley Church End	Barnet	5,392	6	4,390	7	+22.8%	2.1%
Sedgley	Bury	4,748	7	3,354	11	+41.5%	3.5%
Springfield	Hackney	4,116	8	3,411	10	+20.7%	1.9%
New River	Hackney	4,093	9	3,026	13	+35.3%	3.1%
Mill Hill	Barnet	3,814	10	2,988	14	+27.6%	2.5%

There are over 8,500 wards in England and Wales but 90% of all Jews live in less than 20% of these places. To emphasise how concentrated the Jewish population is, consider further that 50% of all Jews live in just 66 out of more than 8,500 wards—i.e. less than 1% of the total number of wards. Even so, there is not a single ward in which Jews constitute a majority of the population. The closest Jews come to forming a majority is in Kersal in Salford, where 41.0% of people are Jewish. Further, there are only six wards (including Kersal) in which a third or more of the population is Jewish: Garden Suburb, Golders Green, Elstree, Bushey Heath and Sedgley.

Neighbourhood change

The Census data also provide an indication of Jewish population change over time at the local level. It can be seen that although Golders Green was ranked in the top spot in 2011, it was only the third largest ward in 2001 (Table 1). The top position was previously occupied by Garden Suburb ward in Barnet. One of the reasons why these key wards changed places was that between 2001 and 2011, Golders Green’s Jewish population increased by over a third (34.6%), impressive by any standards, whereas Garden Suburb’s Jewish population increased by a much more modest 11.2%. Here, we have the first real indication of significant Jewish neighbourhood change and this level of detail is only available from a census.

However, even Golders Green’s very impressive growth performance is small in comparison to some of the changes which have taken place at the neighbourhood level over the past decade. Two types of growth can be identified in the data. First, are the rapidly growing communities which are consolidating their positions as important centres of Jewish life. These ‘consolidator communities’ include *haredi* neighbourhoods such as Seven Sisters in Haringey, Cazenove in Hackney and Broughton in Salford, each of which has actually or almost *doubled* in size since 2001, as well as Borehamwood Brookmeadow, Aldenham East and Shenley, which are all in Hertsmere, south Hertfordshire, and each of which has grown by 40-50% since 2001.

The second and most dramatic type of growth at the neighbourhood level comes from small communities which only had marginal Jewish populations in 2001. These ‘new emergent communities’ include the ward of Radcliffe West in the west of Bury, Greater Manchester,

and Lobley Hill and Bensham in Gateshead; both of these wards have grown by almost 150% since 2001 and now have over 550 Jewish people each. Other ‘new emergent communities’ can be found in Nottingham (i.e. Radford & Park and Dunkirk & Lenton) and parts of central Hertfordshire such as London Colney and Park Street in St Albans. The fastest growing Jewish neighbourhoods in the country are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Fastest growing Jewish neighbourhoods in England and Wales, 2001-2011*

Ward name	LA [§] name	Jewish population 2001	Jewish population 2011	Population change	Percentage change	Average annual growth rate
Radcliffe West	Bury	217	536	319	+147.0%	9.5%
Lobley Hill and Bensham	Gateshead	237	582	345	+145.8%	9.4%
Radford and Park	Nottingham [§]	137	301	164	+120.1%	8.2%
Borehamwood Hillside	Hertsmere	681	1,410	729	+107.1%	7.5%
Seven Sisters	Haringey	1,558	3,162	1,604	+103.0%	7.3%
London Colney	St Albans	121	242	120	+98.9%	7.1%
Cazenove	Hackney	1,643	3,209	1,565	+95.3%	6.9%
Broughton	Salford	1,171	2,139	968	+82.7%	6.2%
Park Street	St Albans	181	328	148	+81.5%	6.1%
Dunkirk and Lenton	Nottingham [§]	77	139	62	+80.0%	6.1%

* Inclusion was limited to wards with a minimum Jewish population of 50 people in 2001.

§ LA = Local Authority. Nottingham is a Unitary Authority.

Neighbourhood decline

The other side of the coin of population growth is, of course, population decline. As we reported in our initial release, some important Jewish population centres have evidently experienced contraction over the last decade. With the publication of neighbourhood statistics it is now possible to focus in on precisely where that demographic decline has taken place and begin to address the reasons why this might have happened. Of the ten largest Jewish wards in 2011 (Table 1), only one failed to grow between 2001 and 2011—Edgware ward in Barnet. Yet despite contracting by 3.8%, it is still a very important centre of Jewish presence, with almost 6,000 Jews living there. However, there are two wards missing from the 2011 ‘top ten’ which were at the top of the 2001 list. Both of these experienced considerable Jewish population decline between 2001 and 2011. The first, Canons in Harrow (formerly 6th), contracted by 25.5% to 3,339, and the second, Alwoodley in Leeds (formerly 8th), contracted by 17.9% to 3,513.²

However, other formerly large Jewish neighbourhoods have experienced even greater levels of contraction over the decade. Four wards in Redbridge saw their Jewish population contract by over 40% (Table 3). In Clayhall, where 2,599 Jews were living in 2001, the Jewish population contracted by one half to 1,299 in 2011. It is too early to report the precise reasons for this decline, but it was most likely to be the result of Jewish outmigration, with the remainder due to deaths outnumbering births as well as assimilation³. Similar pictures

² A third ward missing from the 2011 top ten is Childs Hill in Barnet, formerly 9th, actually grew by 3.7% between the Censuses but this was insufficient for it to remain inside the 2011 top ten.

³ We await future Census data releases to confirm this theory.

are drawn in Leeds with Moortown ward losing 30% of its Jewish population, and in Harrow where the wards of Hatch End, Belmont, Canons and Pinner (placed 13th just off Table 3) have also been significant losers. The demographic processes operating in all these places are likely to be very similar: outmigration, alongside natural decrease (more deaths than births) and assimilation.

Table 3. Biggest losers – Jewish population contraction by ward 2001-2011*

Ward name	LA name	Jewish population 2001	Jewish population 2011	Population change	Percentage change
Cranbrook	Redbridge	1,439	653	-786	-54.6%
Clayhall	Redbridge	2,599	1,299	-1,300	-50.0%
Kenton	Brent	1,389	710	-679	-48.9%
Barkingside	Redbridge	2,619	1,421	-1,198	-45.8%
Aldborough	Redbridge	1,643	929	-714	-43.4%
Crumpsall	Manchester	1,089	642	-446	-41.0%
Moortown	Leeds	1,592	1,122	-470	-29.5%
Hatch End	Harrow	1,238	878	-361	-29.1%
Belmont	Harrow	1,378	986	-393	-28.5%
Canons	Harrow	4,485	3,339	-1,146	-25.5%

* Inclusion limited to wards with a minimum Jewish population of 1000 people in 2001

It should be noted that a certain amount of the change (both growth and decline) described here is likely to be ‘zero-sum’ on the macro scale. In other words, population increases experienced at one location are at the cost of declines elsewhere. A clear example is the decline of Fallowfield in Manchester, which contracted by 66.7% from a Jewish population of 331 in 2001, compared with the 120% growth in Radford and Park in Nottingham, to a population of 301. It is likely that this is evidence of a shift in [Jewish student preferences](#) away from the University of Manchester and towards the University of Nottingham. More importantly, it is also likely that the Jewish neighbourhood decline noted in Redbridge, Harrow and Brent, and the concomitant neighbourhood growth in Hertfordshire and Barnet, are, to a certain extent, a result of internal migration from the former to the latter.⁴

Engines of growth and decline

The rapid expansion and decline of Jewish neighbourhoods has occurred for a diverse set of demographic reasons and it is only at the neighbourhood level that a clear understanding of the social processes impacting Britain’s Jewish population becomes apparent. Two principal *engines of growth and decline* are evident in Table 2.

- Engine 1: Natural increase — Four out of the top ten fastest growing wards contain high proportions of *haredi* Jews, and much of this growth is likely to be due to very high birth rates (and low death rates) among this population.⁵ For example, the

⁴ We await future Census data releases to confirm this theory.

⁵ Note the growth in Lobley Hill & Bensham in Gateshead may also be the result of temporary international migration – particularly increased numbers of foreign students attending Gateshead seminary – although we must await further Census data releases to clarify this.

Jewish population in Seven Sisters ward in Haringey has grown by 7.3% every year for the last 10 years.

- Engine 2: Migration — Two types of migration are of particular relevance to the Jewish community:
 - A) *Push-pull migration*: as nineteenth century Jewish immigrants became ever more integrated into British life, they migrated, generation by generation, from poorer city areas around ports of disembarkation to the more desirable suburbs. To this day, Jews are leaving the crowded and congested confines of London and moving deeper and deeper into the greener, more spacious surroundings of southern and central Herefordshire. Three of the top ten fastest growing wards are located here.
 - B) *Circular migration*: The growth in the popularity of the University of Nottingham among Jewish students in recent years means that two of the top ten fastest growing wards in the country are located in this city alone.⁶

Summary

With the release of 2011 Census statistics at the level of the neighbourhood, a highly detailed picture of change in Britain's Jewish community between 2001 and 2011 can be drawn. Indeed, it is the most detailed picture of Jewish neighbourhood change the community has ever had and the data reveal a complex landscape of neighbourhood growth and decline. Most notably:

- The population distribution of Jews is highly concentrated. Half (50%) of the whole Jewish population lives in just 66 out of 8,500 neighbourhoods (called wards in the Census)—i.e. less than 1% of the total. Even so, not a single ward contained a Jewish majority.
- Between 2001 and 2011, Golders Green's Jewish population increased by 34.6%, a very rapid increase indeed. As a result, Golders Green is now the largest Jewish neighbourhood in the country, a position formally held by Garden Suburb ward, also in Barnet.
- A number of 'new emergent communities' can be identified, such as London Colney and Park Street in St Albans, but also in the university city of Nottingham, where two wards have doubled their Jewish populations since 2001.
- A number of 'consolidator communities' can also be identified, where previously dominant Jewish neighbourhoods have continued to exhibit considerable growth. In particular, the *haredi* ward of Sedgley in Bury grew by almost 42% from 2001 to 2011. Meanwhile, the *haredi* ward of Seven Sisters in Haringey doubled its size, growing by an astonishing 7.3% per year on average since 2001.
- By contrast, significant decline was noted in formerly dominant communities. The Jewish population of Clayhall in Redbridge contracted by 50% between 2001 and 2011, as did other parts of Redbridge such as Cranbrook and Barkingside. In Harrow, the wards of Hatch End, Belmont and Canons also saw substantial declines of about 25% over the decade.

⁶ See: Graham, D. and Boyd, J. (2011). *Home and away: Jewish journeys towards independence. Key findings from the 2011 National Jewish Student Survey*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.