jpr /
Institute for Jewish Policy Research
No. 4 2003
Planning for Jewish communities

The Jews of Leeds in 2001: portrait of a community

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JPR Reports are indexed in **Index of Articles on Jewish Studies** (Jerusalem), **Kiryat Sefer** (Jerusalem) and in **Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory** (New York) and are listed online by **Bowker International Serials Database** (New York).

Subscription: £30 / $50 (per annum); single copy £7.50 / $12.00

ISSN 1363-1306 Typeset in house Printed by Chandlers Printers Ltd

Published by Institute for Jewish Policy Research 79 Wimpole Street London W1G 9RY UK
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Registered Charity No.252626

The **Institute for Jewish Policy Research** (JPR) is an independent think-tank that informs and influences policy, opinion and decision-making on social, political and cultural issues affecting Jewish life.

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Planning for Jewish communities includes surveys and research into the infrastructure of organized Jewish communities, helping them develop policy recommendations and strategies for change in the welfare, educational and social sectors.

Introduction

In 1997 the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) embarked on a major and innovative research project concerning the Jewish voluntary sector (JVS). This project, Long-term Planning for British Jewry (LTP), is now drawing to a close and the present report, on the Leeds Jewish population, is the last publication in a series that has dealt with a wide variety of issues of concern to the Jewish community. These have included studies on how the JVS is financed and governed, on the problems facing an increasingly ageing community, on issues concerning Jewish schooling, and on voluntary associations within the community.

During the years 2001–2, JPR undertook two major household surveys so that the issues facing the JVS could be placed within an empirical framework. Whereas earlier research publications had mainly been based on statistics collected from institutions and on interviews with service providers and their current clients, the household surveys set out to elicit information from the potential clientele of the voluntary sector, namely, adult Jews. They were designed to examine the needs, the perceived needs and the expectations of the Jewish population for a basket of social services. The data for this report on Jews in Leeds were collected in a survey of nearly 1,500 households, conducted in the Leeds metropolitan area during July and August 2001. This survey, and the one that followed in Greater London and the South-east between February and April 2002, thus conclude the active research on aspects of Jewish life in the United Kingdom related to LTP. The Long-term Planning project will culminate in the publication of a document later in 2003 that will bring together the conclusions of the individual research reports and contain recommendations for the better long-term planning of the future of the JVS in the United Kingdom.

From the outset, the survey of a large sample drawn from the Jewish community in the city of Leeds was regarded as part of a larger study of the market for Jewish voluntary services in Britain. Although the 2001 Census showed that around two-thirds of British Jews lived in Greater London and the South-east, the remainder lived in communities throughout the country. These ranged in size from perhaps 25,000 in Greater Manchester, to medium-sized communities numbering 9,000 in Leeds and several thousand in Glasgow, Brighton, Birmingham and Liverpool, to much smaller communities, many with less than 100 individuals.[1]

Research obligations were such that, although the Leeds survey preceded the one conducted in London and the South-east by several months, the report of the work in London preceded the publication of this one on Leeds.[2] Although the Leeds survey was regarded as part of a national picture, as a precursor to the one undertaken in the London region, there was much that we learned in conducting the work in Leeds that we were able to apply nine months later in Greater London.

The 2001 Census of England and Wales afforded us a unique opportunity to enhance the value of this JPR study. First, we were able to ask our local Jewish respondents whether they had answered the religion question on the Census three or four months previously. Analysis of the responses to this question permitted us to make a more informed estimate of the size of the Jewish population in Leeds.

Second, and of greater interest, was the opportunity to compare Census data (other than a straight count of numbers) with the Leeds survey data, allowing us to construct tables comparing the survey results with the distributions of a range of socio-economic statistics. The innovative use of these previously unavailable statistics permitted us to compare the results from some questions that we asked in our survey with responses to similar questions in the Census, which had been conducted three months previously. Although this is not quite a verification procedure, close approximation between comparative data from the Census and from the Jewish community survey would strongly suggest that the survey results were representative of the Jewish population of Leeds, either as a whole or of specific parts of it. And, as our Leeds survey asked more detailed questions than did the Census, we could then state with greater assurance that our results were accurate, reliable and representative.

1 See David 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, 4–6.

2 Harriet Becher, Stanley Waterman, Barry Kosmin and Katarina Thomson, *A Portrait of Jews in London and the South-east: A Community Study* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2002).

1 Why choose Leeds?

Leeds exemplifies those more substantial Jewish communities in the United Kingdom outside Greater London. There have been Jews living in Leeds since at least the middle of the eighteenth century, and by 1825 the community had its own *shochet* (ritual animal slaughterer), an indication that it had achieved a size threshold sufficient to support this service. The first Jewish cemetery in Leeds opened in 1840 and the first Jewish marriage in the city was recorded in 1842.[3]

Like Jewish communities throughout the United Kingdom, the Jewish population of Leeds increased throughout the nineteenth century as Jews fled Eastern Europe. Though many emigrants hoped to reach the United States, regarding British cities like Leeds, Manchester or Liverpool as mere staging posts, many remained, lacking funds to proceed further. In 1881 the Jewish population of Leeds had grown to comprise 561 families. Twenty years later, there were 2,496 families comprising 13,858 people.[4] By the time the community had probably attained its maximum size, in the 1950s, it was estimated to be between 18,000 and 20,000 strong.[5]

The Leeds Jewish community, then, is predominantly of Eastern European provenance. Its prosperity was based on the textile and clothing industries. Though many of the Jewish immigrants to Leeds were either self-employed or employers, others embodied a substantial supply of cheap labour, both for the multiple tailoring enterprises and the sweatshops. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, conditions in the sweatshops led to a series of general strikes by Jewish clothing workers in Leeds, and it is these events that entered the collective memory and have coloured social attitudes among Leeds Jews up to the present.[6]

Throughout the twentieth century there was a steady rise in the overall economic status of the Leeds community. Many children of the immigrants and later generations entered the professions, and there was a continual move from inner-city areas, such as Leylands and Chapeltown, further out to Roundhay and later to the suburbs of Moortown, Alwoodley and Shadwell, which are among the wealthier parts of the city. According to the 2001 Census just under three-quarters of all the Jews in Leeds lived in the North, Moortown and Roundhay wards; slightly over 10 per cent are in Headingley, University and Chapel Allerton wards (see Figure 1). In selecting the sample prior to the publication of the Census results, it had been estimated that four-fifths of Leeds Jews lived within the LS17 postal district (see Table 1 and Appendix).

Since the decade immediately following the Second World War, the Leeds Jewish community—in common with other communities outside London and Manchester—has declined sharply in numbers. Moreover, the ageing process has accompanied this overall numerical decline, as younger people have left Leeds for London and other places that have been perceived as offering better opportunities. Consequently, with this dual pattern of ageing and out-migration, the burden of providing services is heavier than it once was and, moreover, falls on a relatively smaller number of individuals in their productive years. Even though there has been some in-migration to Leeds from other centres, as the population has aged and people have continued to leave the city, there is nothing to suggest that others are filling their place.[7]

Despite the long-term and persistent drop in numbers, the Leeds Jewish community is still robust and active. Community facilities include eight synagogues (seven Orthodox and one Reform), a voluntary-aided primary school and nursery, a range of youth, educational, sporting, cultural and Zionist groups, and a representative council. It also has a residential and nursing

3 Ernest Krausz, *Leeds Jewry: Its History and Social Structure* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons 1964).

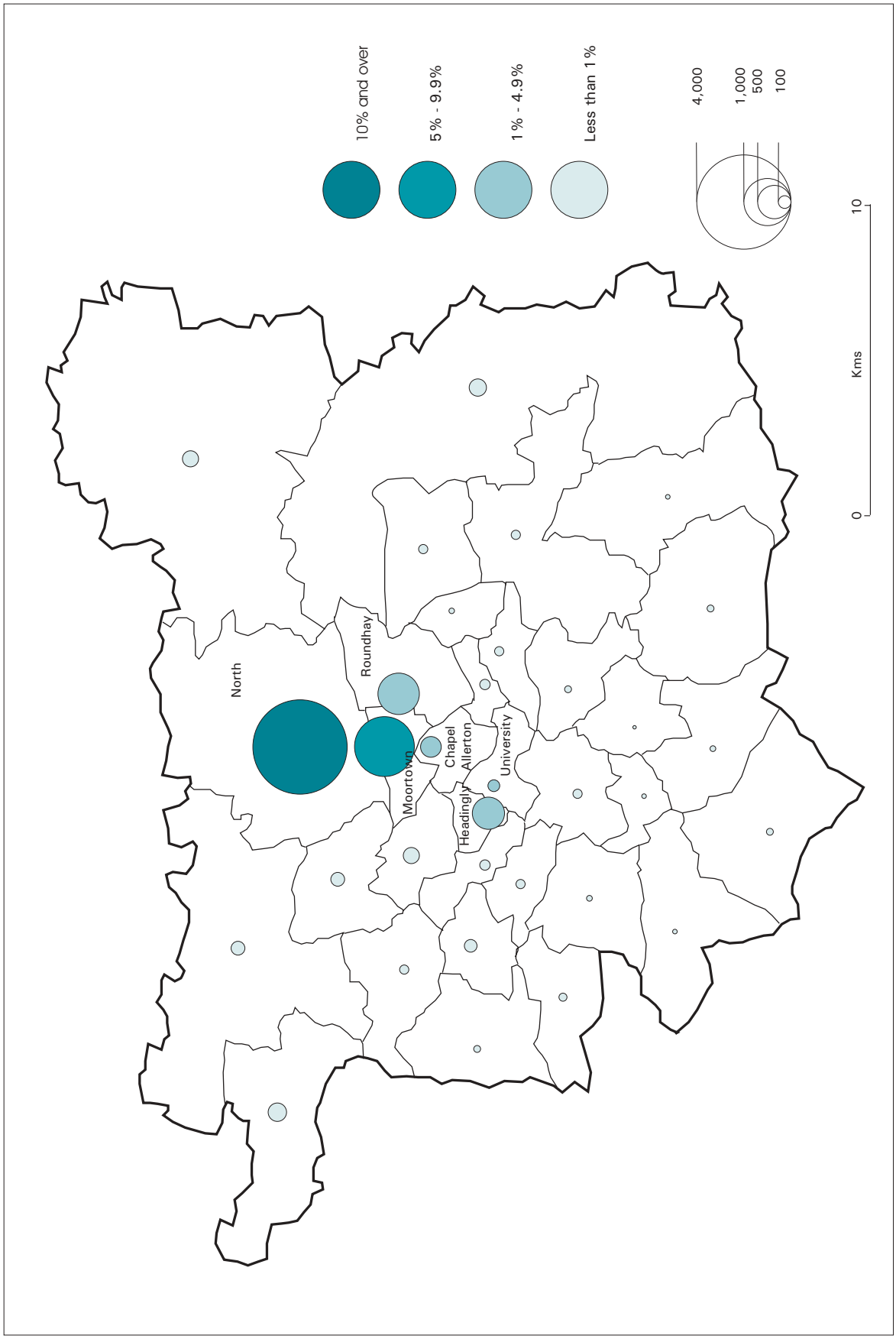
4 Murray Freedman, *Leeds Jews in the 1901 Census: A Demographic Portrait of an Immigrant Community* (Leeds 2002).

5 Murray Freedman, *Leeds Jewry: A Demographic and Sociological Profile* (Leeds 1988).

6 See Anne Kershen, *Uniting the Tailors* (London: Frank Cass 1995).

7 There is a considerable Jewish student population in Leeds that numbers several hundred. Most of these students come from outside Leeds and few stay in the city after graduation. Nevertheless, and despite the constant turnover of individual students, the 'student body' remains an important and vibrant feature of the Leeds Jewish scene.

Figure 1: Leeds Jewish population, by ward (Census)



Postal district/sector	LJWB list (%)	Survey sample (%)	Difference
LS1	0.03	0.43	0.40
LS2	0.06	0.76	0.70
LS3	0.03	0.14	0.11
LS4	0.00	0.12	0.12
LS5	0.00	0.18	0.18
LS6	0.38	2.28	1.90
LS7	1.51	1.83	0.32
LS8	9.06	7.43	-1.63
LS9	0.12	0.43	0.31
LS10	0.00	0.08	0.08
LS11	0.06	0.19	0.14
LS12	0.09	0.27	0.19
LS13	0.12	0.31	0.20
LS14	2.03	1.36	-0.67
LS15	0.12	0.62	0.51
LS16	1.05	1.28	0.24
LS17/1	0.15	1.01	0.87
LS17/2	0.12	0.06	-0.06
LS17/3	0.06	0.02	-0.04
LS17/4	0.00	0.02	0.02
LS17/5	2.50	4.26	1.76
LS17/6	17.72	25.02	7.30
LS17/7	31.75	25.53	-6.23
LS17/8	29.46	22.53	-6.93
LS17/9	2.35	1.85	-0.51
LS17 (unspecified)	0.17	0.14	-0.04
LS18	0.09	0.18	0.09
LS19	0.09	0.27	0.19
LS20	0.00	0.06	0.06
LS21	0.17	0.12	-0.06
LS22	0.35	0.27	-0.08
LS23	0.12	0.10	-0.02
LS25	0.00	0.29	0.29
LS26	0.00	0.12	0.12
LS27	0.09	0.18	0.09
LS28	0.12	0.12	0.00
LS29	0.06	0.18	0.12
Total	**100**	**100**	**0**

Table 1: Postal districts of addresses on the Leeds Jewish Welfare Board (LJWB) list and the survey sample[8]

home, Donisthorpe Hall, and a day centre that caters for 100 people per day and delivers 200 kosher meals-on-wheels each week. The Leeds Jewish Housing Association (LJHA), employing over thirty people, has over 400 residential units and is currently expanding. The Leeds Jewish Welfare Board, employing 120 people and with an income close to £3 million, has on its staff social workers trained to assess people's care needs and care staff to provide domiciliary services. It is the centre of all Jewish social services in the city, and offers a range of facilities, especially for older people, children and those with mental health needs. In addition to these long-established institutions, the Leeds community comprises myriad voluntary associational activities, all of which contribute to the accumulation of social capital within the Jewish community.[9]

The Leeds survey

In order to examine attitudes and perceived needs for a variety of social services in the Leeds Jewish community, a survey of 1,496 households in Leeds was carried out in July and August 2001. The methodologies used in this survey are summarized in the Appendix.

The questionnaire used was designed in a modular format with three sections. Section A was a general section that everyone was asked to complete. In addition to personal questions, this section included questions on household composition, general health, caring, education, attitudes, residence, housing, employment, volunteering, leisure and cultural interests/activities, income and philanthropy. Section B was for older and infirm people: we asked respondents who were seventy-five and over or who had a serious physical infirmity to

8 A note on tables. Percentages have throughout been rounded to the nearest whole number (or, in the case of Table 1, to two decimal places) for ease of comprehension. As a result, percentage totals may in some cases add up to '99' or '101'. Nonetheless, all totals are given as '100'. In the case of the 'Difference' column in Table 1, the 'errors' in subtraction reflect the rounding of percentages.

9 For an appreciation of the concept of social capital in a Jewish context, see Stanley Waterman, 'Introduction', in Ernest Schlesinger, *Creating Community and Accumulating Social Capital: Jews Associating with Other Jews in Manchester* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2003), 1–5.

complete this section. Section C was for those respondents with children of school age. In its final format, there were 117 separate questions in Section A, 26 in Section B and 8 in Section C (see Table 2).

Table 2: Structure of the Leeds questionnaire

Section	Topic	Number of questions
A1	General	3
A2	Personal	9
A3	General health	10
A4	Caring and health	12
A5	Jewish education	6
A6	Attitudes	18
A7	Neighbourhood	7
A8	Accommodation and housing	24
A9	Household composition	1
A10	Employment	6
A11	Voluntary work	6
A12	Leisure and cultural activities	8
A13	Philanthropy	5
A14	Income	2
B	Older and infirm people	26
C	School-age children	8
Total		**151**

2 Survey findings

The first three questions on the questionnaire were general ones. Two of these were designed to emphasize, at the outset, the fact that the survey was principally concerned with respondents' Jewishness and knowledge of Jewish services.

First, we asked respondents whether they had answered 'Jewish' to the voluntary question on religion in the April 2001 Census. In addition to providing information on the Jewishness of respondents, this was a test of the potential reliability of what had been perceived to be a controversial census question.

The second of these opening questions concerned what respondents knew about the standard of services provided by Jewish communal organizations. This information was revealing, less for what respondents actually knew about Jewish services and more for the extent of their lack of knowledge. At least two-thirds of the respondents knew nothing about the Jewish services provided in Leeds for Holocaust survivors, children with special educational needs, divorced people, drug addicts, gays and lesbians, AIDS sufferers and victims of domestic violence. In contrast, almost all the respondents thought that older people received adequate or good services, and two-thirds thought that primary school children did. What this indicated was the community's concern with caring for older members and with schooling, concerns that were persistently reiterated (see Figure 2).

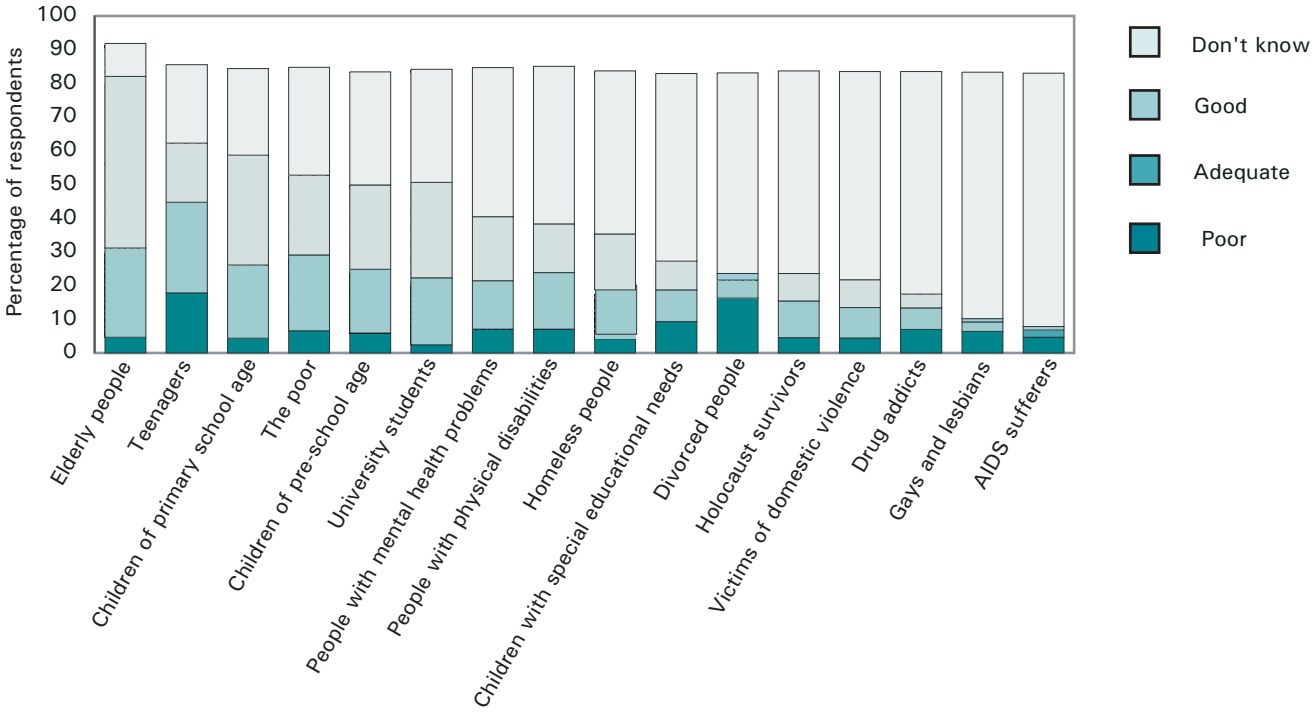
Jewishness

This section analysed those questions in the survey that had a direct connection to the Jewishness of the respondents. Although difficult to measure in quantitative terms, the extent to which people identify as Jews and associate with one another as Jews is related to a host of sociological factors and, in turn, relates to their attitudes to community and communal institutions.

Jewish education

Most respondents to the Leeds survey had received some Jewish education as well as a secular education. Though most received their primary

Figure 2: Respondents' knowledge of the standard of Jewish community services in Leeds for various groups



Jewish education at a *cheder* (daily Hebrew class attended after school hours) or through a synagogue, 12 per cent reported that their Jewish education had been provided at home by a member of the family. Only 12 per cent of all the respondents had been educated in a Jewish primary school.[9] Moreover, for 3 out of every 5 respondents, their formal Jewish education had ceased after their barmitzvah/batmitzvah (age 12–13). Only 1 person in 5 had continued their basic part-time Jewish education at *chedarim* or at synagogue beyond this point, and a further 6 per cent said that they had continued to receive instruction privately from a relative. Of the remainder, 9 per cent reported having had some post-barmitzvah Jewish education at Jewish youth clubs, 4 per cent had attended a Jewish secondary school and 3 per cent had been to a *yeshiva* (Jewish religious seminary).

In terms of Jewish education, the picture projected was one of a Jewish population in which most members had little more than a rudimentary formal Jewish education.

Religious practice

Despite this lack of formal Jewish education, the majority of respondents described themselves as 'Traditional' Jews. The imprecise nature of this label was underscored by the fact that, while 57 per cent saw themselves as Traditional, fewer than 1 person in 10 observed the injunction to refrain from travel on the Sabbath.[10] The ambiguous nature of the descriptor 'Traditional' was further indicated by the fact that, whereas 63 per cent of the sample bought meat from a kosher butcher, 78 per cent nevertheless reported that they ate non-kosher food outside the home occasionally or frequently. Nonetheless, more than three-quarters of the respondents stated that they attended a Passover seder every year and more than 5 in every 6 lived in a household in which candles were lit on Friday nights. This is a typically Anglo-Jewish situation in which many people maintain certain Jewish religious customs and, at the same time, are lax in regard to many others.

9 Though this ostensibly compares well with the sample in Greater London, where 12 per cent of respondents had attended a Jewish primary school, 11 per cent of the London sample said that they had been to a Jewish secondary school, three times the proportion of Leeds respondents. No Jewish secondary schooling is available in Leeds.

10 See David Graham, *Secular or Religious? The Outlook of London's Jews* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2003).

Upbringing and current Jewish practice

A person's early years often provide some clue to the practices of later life, so the survey asked about Jewish upbringing. Respondents described the type of Jewish upbringing they had by choosing from among several descriptors. Though 1 person in 9 (11 per cent) stated that they were brought up in an Orthodox Jewish household (where 'Orthodox' was defined as not turning on a light on the Sabbath), the vast majority, two-thirds, described their upbringing as 'Traditional'. Slightly less than a quarter (22 per cent) reported that they were raised in a household described as 'just Jewish' or 'secular'. As Progressive Jewish religious institutions are rare in Leeds and were rarer still in the past, only a tiny minority (2 per cent) of respondents were raised in households affiliated with Reform or Progressive Judaism.

When descriptors of current practice were compared with those of upbringing, there was evidence of a gradual distancing from childhood environments with the passage of time. In 2001 only 6 per cent of the survey respondents described themselves as Orthodox, and a further 57 per cent as Traditional. The slack was taken up by people placing themselves in the 'just Jewish' (23 per cent), secular (7 per cent) and Reform (6 per cent) categories.

Synagogue affiliation

These cultural practices and descriptors of Jewishness were not accurately reflected by current synagogue affiliations. More than 4 in every 5 respondents belonged to an Orthodox synagogue, while 10 per cent were members of a Reform or Masorti congregation; a further 11 per cent were not members of any synagogue. This apparent paradox—widespread membership in Orthodox congregations, relatively low non-affiliation, observance of major Jewish festivals and rites—pointed again to a 'traditionally English' community, unwilling to become too far removed from its roots. However, synagogue membership in and of itself did not reflect religious practices. A quarter of the respondents reported that they attended synagogue on most Sabbaths or more frequently. On the other hand, a third attended services only on the High Holy Days (Jewish New Year and the Day of Atonement), and 18 per cent reported that they never went to synagogue at all. This suggested that many people belonged to a synagogue for reasons only indirectly connected to

Table 3: Religious practice, by outlook

Outlook	Religious practice (%)						Percentage of sample
	Non-practising (i.e. secular/cultural)	Just Jewish	Reform/ Progressive	Traditional (not strictly Orthodox)	Orthodox (i.e. would not turn on a light on the Sabbath)	None of these	
Secular	82.3	30.5	17.1	10.0	2.4	55.0	20.1
Somewhat secular	15.6	42.7	38.2	23.7	0.0	30.0	26.8
Somewhat religious	2.1	24.8	38.2	60.7	18.1	10.0	44.3
Religious	0.0	2.0	6.6	5.6	79.5	5.0	8.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*96*	*302*	*76*	*806*	*83*	*20*	*1,383*

prayer, such as ensuring themselves of a Jewish burial or as a result of social peer pressure and family tradition, with membership often having little to do with current personal beliefs or practice.

Outlook

Outlook (whether people see themselves essentially as religious or secular individuals) is a different concept, distinct from religious practice or synagogue affiliation. Almost half (47 per cent) described themselves as 'secular' or 'somewhat secular', whereas 53 per cent described themselves as 'religious' or 'somewhat religious' (see Table 3). Although there was a relationship between outlook and religious practice, it was neither linear nor even.[12] As an example, a third of people who regarded their religious practice as Traditional reported their outlook to be secular, and a quarter of those whose practice was 'just Jewish' nevertheless regarded their outlook as religious.

Most people were consistently and acutely aware of being Jewish. Just under a third of the respondents said that they were extremely conscious of their Jewishness and that it was important to them at all times. A further 55 per cent said that, while they felt strongly Jewish, they also were conscious of other aspects of their lives, and 1 person in 8 mentioned that, while they recognized their Jewishness, they did not really think of it very often.

11 The outlook index is a useful analytic tool. It is the subject of a JPR report based on an analysis of data from JPR's survey of London and the South-east of 2002; see Graham, *Secular or Religious?*.

Two-thirds of those who had left school with an elementary education said that they had a religious or somewhat religious outlook, whereas 55 per cent of those who left school with the equivalent of A-Levels said they were secular. However, of those whose highest level of educational attainment was a first degree, a higher degree or a professional diploma, the distribution was very similar to that of the sample as a whole.

Jewish friends

Whatever the extent to which Jews in Leeds saw themselves as secular or religious, more than 6 respondents in 10 (62 per cent) said that either *all or nearly all* of their close friends were Jewish; a further 20 per cent reported that *most* of their close friends were Jewish. Even for those people with a secular outlook, two-thirds responded that more than half their friends were Jewish. A situation such as this, in which most Jews mixed with other Jews, indicated a very closely bonded group of people, and one that was perhaps much more highly interactive than either their religious practices or their outlooks suggested (see Table 4). To a large degree, it pointed to a closely knit ethnic group.[12]

Associations

In addition to high levels of synagogue affiliation, close Jewish friendship bonds, a traditional Jewish upbringing and some Jewish education, there was also evidence of high levels of informal socialization

12 Schlesinger.

Table 4: Proportion of Jewish friends, by outlook

Outlook	Proportion of close friends who are Jewish					Total (%)	Base
	All or nearly all	More than half	About half	Less than half	None or very few		
Secular	46.4	18.8	11.6	10.5	12.7	100	*276*
Somewhat secular	48.3	29.0	12.6	5.4	4.8	100	*373*
Somewhat religious	72.6	15.3	7.3	3.4	1.5	100	*616*
Religious	81.7	14.3	0.2	0.8	--	100	*126*
Total	61.7	19.6	9.2	15.1	44.5	100	*1,391*

among the Leeds respondents.[13] All told, 86 per cent had belonged to a Jewish club or organization in their youth, and a third had been members of a Zionist youth movement. This contrasted with the low proportion of the sample (12 per cent) who had belonged as children to a non-Jewish club or organization. In addition, 29 per cent had been to a summer school/camp run by a Jewish organization, 21 per cent had been members of a Jewish sports club, 10 per cent had been in a Jewish student society, and 13 per cent had been to Israel before their seventeenth birthday.

Intermarriage

We asked older respondents (aged 75 or over) whether they had a child who had married a non-Jew. More than a quarter (27 per cent) of the sample answered 'Yes' to this question. Unsurprisingly, when cross-tabulated against outlook, the numbers were higher for people whose outlook was secular than for those who were religious, and the numbers decreased uniformly across the outlook continuum. The percentage of respondents who had at least one child married to a non-Jewish spouse was 37 per cent for those with a secular outlook, 30 per cent for people whose outlook was somewhat secular, 24 per cent among those who were somewhat religious, and even 7 per cent for those with a religious outlook.

Jewish media

Despite the secular or somewhat secular outlook of nearly half the Leeds Jewish population, the strong Jewish bonding seemed to contribute to high levels of local loyalties and even to parochialism, underscoring further the introspective and conservative nature of the Jews in Leeds. Almost every respondent said that they read the local Jewish weekly newspaper (the Leeds edition of the *Jewish Telegraph*) on a fairly regular basis; 82 per cent said they read it frequently and another 17 per cent occasionally. The figures for the London-based *Jewish Chronicle* were 51 per cent and 37 per cent, respectively. Just half of the respondents (49 per cent) read a synagogue magazine. In contrast, the figures for those that read the *Jerusalem Report*, *Jerusalem Post* and *Ha'aretz* were 6 per cent, 7 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively. These percentages were considerably lower than those resulting from the same question in the London and the South-east survey.[14]

The high readership figures for the local Jewish newspaper were suggestive of a community in which local matters were of great interest and significance. The data on Leeds contrasted sharply with the figures from the 2002 survey conducted in London and the South-east, which showed higher readership figures for the national Jewish newspaper (*Jewish Chronicle*) and, more significantly, for other Jewish publications. However, the fact that local matters were of interest to most Jewish people in Leeds need not be interpreted negatively, for it undoubtedly contributes to the accumulation of 'social capital' and to the strength of local communal organizations and structures such as the

13 Ibid.

14 Becher *et al.*, 38 (Table 6.4).

Leeds Jewish Welfare Board and the Leeds Jewish Housing Association.

Antisemitism

Although the survey was carried out prior to the events of 11 September 2001 and the rise of a public debate over the link between anti-Israel sentiment and antisemitism, respondents were aware of antisemitism. However, among Leeds Jews, the most commonly reported antisemitic experience was that of hearing someone make derogatory remarks about Jews. This form of generalized verbal antisemitism was in fact reported by 7 of every 8 of the respondents. A more personal form of verbal antisemitism, in which the respondent reported having been called a Jew in a derogatory way, had been experienced by a quarter of all respondents. In contrast, other antisemitic acts, including physical harassment, loss of business or the refusal of admission to clubs or schools, were also in evidence, but at much lower levels. These figures tallied with those from the London and South-east survey, which was carried out after 11 September 2001 (see Table 5).[15]

Table 5: Types of antisemitism experienced in Leeds in the previous five years

Type of antisemitic incident	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Heard a derogatory remark about Jews	86.5	13.5	100
Called a Jew in an insulting way	25.5	74.5	100
Refused a college/school place	8.9	91.1	100
Harassed or victimized at work	5.9	94.1	100
Refused employment	2.4	97.6	100
Refused membership of a club	2.1	97.9	100
Business contracts cancelled	1.2	98.8	100

15 The Leeds question on antisemitism referred to the five years prior to the survey whereas the London question referred to the previous twelve months. See Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds), *The New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain* (London: Profile Books 2003).

Jewish cultural activities

Participation in cultural activities involving specifically Jewish elements correlate with patterns of Jewish identification and religious lifestyles. We were curious about the extent to which people accessed material of Jewish interest in their leisure time and how this related to their Jewishness. Some of the Jewish cultural activities that respondents were asked about could be engaged in at home, others involved family or friends or could be carried out in the neighbourhood; other activities, however, involved leaving the home. The most commonly reported Jewish cultural activities were also the most passive. Over 90 per cent of respondents had watched a television programme on a Jewish topic during the previous year, 58 per cent had listened to a radio programme with Jewish content, and just over half (53 per cent) had read a book on a Jewish topic.

Smaller numbers of people had been more proactive in the pursuit of Jewish culture by purchasing an item with some Jewish content. A third of all respondents had bought a book on a Jewish topic, and 27 per cent had bought a Jewish ritual object. Even more proactively, a third of respondents had attended a 'Jewish' lecture, 15 per cent had participated in a synagogue-based adult education programme, 10 per cent had attended a more general Jewish adult education course, and 2.5 per cent had been to a residential event such as Limmud.

Attending Jewish film and theatre events is a popular way of expressing an affinity with Jewish culture. More than a quarter of the respondents had been to a Jewish theatre or film event in the previous twelve months; 11 per cent had been to a Jewish museum in the United Kingdom and 10 per cent to a Jewish Book Week event. Over 20 per cent of respondents said that they had been to a Jewish museum outside the United Kingdom, a figure repeated among the London and South-east sample.

We were also interested in finding out how our respondents used technology such as computers and mobile phones. Just under two-thirds of them used a mobile phone. (By comparison, in the United Kingdom as a whole, 66 per cent of the top 20-percentile by income owned a mobile phone in 2001.) A slightly lower proportion (57 per cent) had access to a computer and, of these, 87 per cent

had direct access at home, with half also having access at work. The most common uses to which computers were put were word-processing, Internet access and e-mailing. The respondents put their Internet access to practical use, with 44 per cent making ticket purchases at least once a month, 37 per cent purchasing books and music online, and around 1 in 10 reporting online supermarket purchases.

Half of all those with a computer used it to access news at least once a month. Slightly fewer used it to access sites of 'general Jewish interest'; a quarter used it for accessing sites of 'Jewish religious interest', a similar proportion (23 per cent) for sites of 'Jewish educational interest' and 35 per cent for information about Israel.

Volunteering and charitable giving

Voluntary work

Voluntary work—work without obligation and without financial reward—is an important part of the workings of any community. This is particularly the case among Jews for whom it has always been an essential part of community life: British Jews have almost 2,000 self-governing independent and voluntary organizations. Voluntary work can take many forms, such as aiding and caring for older or infirm people, being actively involved in a synagogue or school in some capacity, or raising funds for charities. The intensity of voluntary activity is influenced by several factors, including outlook, age, occupation and location.

Possessing accurate and up-to-date information on volunteering within the community matters. Voluntary work is set to become even more important than it already has been, as more social services are targeted at people within their own homes, funding for institutional care becomes more difficult to obtain, and people both live longer and prefer to stay in their homes for as long as possible. We were interested not just in knowing how people volunteered but also how much time they devoted to voluntary work and how such activity could be increased and optimized.

Almost half of the respondents said that they had performed some kind of voluntary work outside their homes during the previous year, 1 in 7 stating that their involvement was as a trustee, governor or board member. Of those doing voluntary work for a Jewish organization more than once a month, 34 per cent had worked for a synagogue, 28 per cent had participated in some fundraising activity, 23 per cent had volunteered for work within the framework of a school or cultural organization, 22 per cent in a nursing home or old age facility, 20 per cent at a community centre, 14 per cent with youth groups and 11 per cent in lobbying. Others had worked in a hospital, as care workers in a private home, in transport, and in the provision of meals-on-wheels. One in every 3 respondents claimed to have done further, unspecified, forms of voluntary work.

The voluntary work of members of the Leeds Jewish community was not restricted to Jewish organizations and institutions, and extended into the community at large. A major factor when comparing participation rates in the general community with those in the Jewish community is the fact that synagogue activity, which accounted for so much of the voluntary work in the Jewish sector, had no counterpart in the general community. Even so, 10 per cent of respondents said they worked as a volunteer in a care home in the general community. Nonetheless, the participation rates for voluntary care work in the general community were considerably lower, at 2.5 per cent, than for parallel work in the Jewish community, as were the rates for work in community centres (9 per cent) and schools (16 per cent). For many people engaged in volunteering, they did so once a month or less often. Many people appeared to do voluntary work almost on an occasional basis. However, in apparent contradiction to what appeared to be the widespread engagement in voluntary work, more than half of the respondents did no voluntary work whatsoever.

Unsurprisingly, in terms of time and effort, most of the volunteers (62 per cent) thought that their contribution was just about right; very few considered that they were doing too much work. In other words, hardly any thought that they were being exploited. However, it is worth noting that approximately a third of those currently volunteering felt that they were *not doing sufficient work* or, put another way, that their services were being under-utilized. Significantly, and even though the absolute numbers were not large, the perception of resource under-utilization was felt most strongly among respondents aged between 45 and 59, who described themselves as 'secular', 'cultural' or 'just Jewish'.

In general terms, respondents with a secular outlook were less likely to be involved in voluntary work; there was a greater proportion of people with a religious outlook among trustees of voluntary organizations. In addition, the higher the proportion of Jews to be found in a person's friendship network, the more likely that person was to be engaged in voluntary work. However, it is noteworthy that Reform Jews volunteered more than people who called themselves 'Traditional'. This is related to the fact that many members of Reform congregations described their outlook as 'somewhat religious'. This hints at the perils of using labels essentially based on association to predict levels of communal involvement.

In addition to revealing that many respondents were *not* actively engaged in the volunteer labour force, the findings also provided some clues as to why this was so. Respondents were offered several reasons for their inactivity. As expected of a population with a high proportion of older people, 26 per cent gave health problems as their reason. Almost a third stated lack of time as a major contributing factor and just under a quarter (23 per cent) said that they were too busy with home and family. Neither money (less than 4 per cent) nor inaccessibility were major factors, although 9 per cent said that lack of adequate transportation was a reason for not volunteering. Around 1 in 8 said that they did not volunteer because they were uninterested in doing so, and approximately the same proportion said that it was because they had never been asked or that the idea had never occurred to them. Around 5 per cent said that they did not volunteer because they did not know what voluntary work there was for them to do.

Charitable giving

Not only did Leeds Jews give of their time in a voluntary capacity, they were also regular donors to a wide variety of charities. Some 61 per cent of the Leeds respondents indicated that UK Jewish charities should have the highest priority for charitable donations, compared with only 12.5 per cent each for those who so valued both Israeli and general UK charities. However, when asked about their second highest priority, a third of all respondents nominated Israeli charitable organizations. One donor in 10 had no clear view about which type of charity should receive priority, and 1 in 10 of the respondents also stated that they had made no charitable donations to either Jewish or general UK charities in the previous year. The principal recipients of donations made by Jews in Leeds are shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Charities supported by Leeds survey respondents (%)

Leeds Jewish Welfare Board (LJWB)	57
JNF	48
WIZO	45
UJIA	43
Jewish Blind and Physically Handicapped Society	32
Jewish Care	20
Norwood-Ravenswood	12
Other Jewish charities	34
Cancer research charities*	73
NSPCC	24
Age Concern	23
RNIB	13
RSPCA	12
Scope	12
Salvation Army	11
Oxfam	9
Barnardos	6
Amnesty International	3
Other general charities	31

*Although the category 'Cancer research charities' is not strictly comparable with the others, which are all single organizations, it is nevertheless useful for putting charitable donations into perspective.

In response to a question that asked respondents to gauge the proportion of their donations that went to Jewish charities, over 50 per cent of those responding estimated that more than half, but not all, of their donations went to Jewish organizations. One in 9 gave only to Jewish charities, and 1 in 6 calculated that less than 10 per cent of their charitable giving was destined for Jewish organizations.

Though these figures represented the propensity to support certain charities, they did not indicate the actual amounts donated, so it is possible that the average donations to UJIA or LJWB were much

larger than those to cancer research charities or vice versa. In general terms, donations were small to moderate, with almost half estimating that they had given under £100 and another third up to £500. One in 7 appraised their annual charitable donations at between £500 and £2,000 and just over 5 per cent had given more than £2,000 to charities in the previous twelve months. This underscores what was already known about charitable giving in general and among Jews in the United Kingdom. In particular, whereas almost everyone contributes something, the bulk of total charitable donations comes from a small number of wealthy individuals.

Educational choice

Although there are no Jewish secondary schools in Leeds, there is one Jewish primary school with an associated kindergarten, and some of the synagogues have associated playgroups.[16] Moreover, as we have already noted, only a small proportion of the respondents themselves had attended Jewish day schools. Nevertheless, this did not prevent respondents from expressing opinions on the importance of receiving educational services through a Jewish provider and the general desirability of a Jewish education. The education and schooling section of the survey was directed at respondents who had children aged sixteen and under and who were thus considered to be in the schools market. This sub-sample of 252 households represented 17 per cent of Leeds Jewish households.

The first point of interest concerns the importance to parents of Jewish identity and of their children mixing with other Jewish children. A very large majority (88 per cent) of parents with children of school age were prepared to send (or already had sent) their secondary-school-age children on a trip to Israel. This indicated a very strong commitment, bearing in mind that the survey was conducted during a particularly tense period in the Middle East. An even higher proportion (91 per cent) believed that it was important for their children to mix in Jewish social groups, although a somewhat smaller proportion (80 per cent) had actually taken steps to encourage their children to join a Jewish club or youth group. Nevertheless, these proportions were very high and were almost identical to the figures in the London and South-east survey carried out several months later, which they reinforced.[17]

We asked parents with children of school age who were attending or who had attended Jewish primary schools questions about Jewish primary school, soliciting their level of agreement or disagreement with a series of statements. Three statements elicited strong agreement. These can be summarized as *continuity* (that it was a logical follow-on from a Jewish nursery school: 34 per cent), *Jewish content* (that there would not have been sufficient Jewish education at a general school: 31 per cent) and *convenience* (that there was a Jewish school located close by: 28 per cent). Lower proportions strongly agreed with statements that related to the Jewish day school as a protective environment, and that posited that there were no practical or philosophical alternatives to a Jewish day school. When looked at from the viewpoint of overall agreement rather than just strong agreement, *continuity* was still the most important factor, though *convenience* ranked slightly higher than *Jewish content*. However, a third of respondents also agreed with the statement that educational standards at Jewish schools were higher than at non-Jewish schools.

Decisions about secondary education in Leeds involves a different set of factors, as there is no Jewish secondary school; therefore, the question of sending one's children to a Jewish secondary school only existed if the parents were contemplating a move out of Leeds. Nevertheless, we did ask questions about whether the numbers and the proportions of Jewish children among a student body had influenced their choice of secondary school. By far the most important factors influencing parental decisions were the quality of teaching, the 'ethos' of a school, the information about specific schools contained in OFSTED reports, and information from friends. Although the proportion and numbers of Jewish children at a school and schools league tables were also important, they were considerably less so. One of the implications of these findings is that any attempt to establish a Jewish secondary school in Leeds (ignoring the issue of financial viability)

16 Information supplied by the Jewish Community Information database of the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

17 Becher *et al.*, ch. 9.

would probably be doomed to failure unless its academic standards were extremely high. Given that the profile of Jews in Leeds is an elderly one, with relatively few young families, the possibility of establishing a Jewish secondary school seems highly unlikely.

3 Socio-economic profile of the survey and Census populations

Demographic characteristics

Gender

There were 711 male and 721 female respondents to the survey questionnaire, representing a male to female ratio of 49.7:50.3 (the information was missing on 4 per cent of questionnaires). The ratio of males to females in the survey was high since the ratio of all Jewish males to all Jewish females in Leeds recorded in the 2001 Census was 46.7:53.3, and 46.1:53.9 for people aged 18 and over. The difference can be explained by the greater likelihood of the male partner completing the questionnaire in married households, and also by the fact that the sample did not include care homes, in which the majority of residents were female.

Age

The age profile of all the respondents—including all household members—and of the Leeds Jewish population as recorded in the 2001 Census is shown in Table 7.[18] Over 28 per cent of the survey respondents were aged 75 or over and a further 20 per cent were aged between 65 and 74. Thus almost half of those completing the questionnaire were over 65 years old, and the median age of the respondents was 62. In terms of *all* the people living in the sample households, i.e. the respondents themselves and those sharing their households, the proportion of people aged 65 or over dropped to 32 per cent. These figures are generally corroborated by the Census, which found that 27.3 per cent of all Jews in Leeds were aged 65 or over and that the median age was 42, compared with a median age for England and Wales of 32. However, the Census figure included the full-time students in Leeds, most of whom were not reached by the survey. In whichever way these figures were examined, they showed that older people were found in remarkably high proportions among Leeds Jews; whereas, among the population of England and Wales as a whole, only 15.6 per cent were aged 65 or over.

The Census reported the proportion of Leeds Jews aged 18–24 to be 13 per cent, almost double the proportion (7.1 per cent) of that age cohort among the sample households and many times higher than the proportion among the sample respondents (1 per cent). This discrepancy can be explained by the limitations of the survey's research methodology (see Appendix). However, just over 1,000 full-time Jewish students were enumerated by the Census in Leeds. Although the vast majority of these students

Table 7: Age profile of Leeds Jews

Age cohort	Survey respondents only (%)	Total population of survey households (%)	Leeds Jews, Census (%)	Jews in England and Wales, Census (%)
75 +	28.8	17.1	16.3	7.1
65–74	19.5	15.0	11.0	8.5
55–64	18.3	15.7	11.9	10.8
45–54	16.8	14.5	13.6	13.4
35–44	10.2	9.3	10.7	15.1
25–34	5.3	5.5	8.0	14.3
18–24	1.0	7.1	13.0	8.0
Under 18	1.1	15.9	15.3	22.9
Total	100	100	100	100

18 It should be borne in mind that the survey data referred specifically to households and not to persons living in institutions, such as care homes for older people.

came from outside the Leeds metropolitan area, the student *body*, comprising around 12 per cent of all the Jews in Leeds enumerated in the Census, is a permanent feature and an important factor in the Jewish life of the city.[19]

The survey (14.4 per cent) and the Census (18.7 per cent) both showed that a relatively low proportion of the population was aged between 25 and 34. Whether this reflected a real absence of people of this age in the Leeds Jewish population, or whether they existed but were not reached by the survey is a moot point. Their transience—not having permanent addresses or not (yet) being on community mailing lists—explains why the survey did not reach them in adequate numbers; their low proportion in the Census, however, may be due to a greater tendency towards secularization and non-responsiveness. The low proportion of persons in this cohort among the survey households suggests that there has been a migration of younger Jewish people from Leeds, since the 25–34 age cohort was much more highly represented in the survey of Greater London,[20] in which the proportions of the immediately adjacent age cohorts (18–24 and 35–44) also reflected the Census figure more accurately (see Table 7).

The high proportion of older people among the Leeds Jewish population in the survey figure might be somewhat exaggerated. As noted above, compared to younger people, older people are, in general, more highly motivated to complete questionnaires. This could be due to a greater concern with issues relating to older people than with those relating to younger households. It may also derive in part from a higher awareness of the survey, as readership rates for the *Jewish Telegraph* (in which notices of the survey were published) among older people were higher. Nevertheless, the survey and Census data were roughly comparable and, if the out-of-town student body were to be removed from the data, the proportion of older people among the remainder would rise.

19 Table S153 of the Census found 179 economically active Jewish students and 800 economically inactive full-time Jewish students in Leeds aged between 16 and 24. There were a further 46 (18 economically active and 28 economically inactive) aged 25 and over. Table S151 in the Census also indicated that there were 76 households recorded in which all the members were Jewish students.

20 See Becher *et al*., 13 (Table 2.3).

Marital status

Table 8 shows that 62 per cent of the respondents were married, and a further 2 per cent were not married but living with a partner. A total of 22 per cent were widowed, with a further 5 per cent either divorced or separated; 9 per cent were single (i.e. had never married and were not living with a partner). Of those married or who had been married, 89 per cent reported that their last marriage (which, in the vast majority of cases, was their only one) had been a Jewish religious marriage; this rises to 92 per cent if the 3 per cent also married in a Registry Office are counted.

Table 8: Marital status of Leeds Jews

Marital status	Survey respondents (%)	Census population (%)
Married	61.9	50.8*
Cohabiting	2.1	
Divorced/separated	4.9	10.5
Single, never married	9.3	30.2
Widowed	21.8	8.4
Total	100	100
Base	*1,448*	––

* There were 151 cases recorded in the Census in which the Household Reference Person (HRP) had indicated that she/he was Jewish and a member of a 'Cohabiting Couple Household'; in 104 of these cases there were no children.

Nationality and language

In terms of citizenship, the sample presented a picture of homogeneity. The Census data for Leeds Jews indicated that 93 per cent were born in the United Kingdom and another 1.3 per cent in the European Union (EU). All but a tiny minority of the respondents were citizens of the United Kingdom or another country of the EU; slightly less than 3 per cent held non-EU citizenship. Almost all (98.3 per cent) of the survey respondents gave English as their first language.

General education

Overall, the survey respondents were well educated. Thirty-nine per cent reported holding at least a diploma from a university, and almost half of those

Table 9: Educational level reached by Leeds Jews (survey), by age

Age cohort	O-Levels or equivalent (%)	A-Levels or equivalent (%)	University diploma or degree (%)	Post-graduate or professional (%)	Base
75 +	9.8	12.5	10.1	11.0	*337*
70–74	15.7	15.7	10.0	12.9	*140*
65–69	19.5	17.7	22.1	10.6	*113*
60–64	28.3	7.9	22.0	16.5	*127*
55–59	26.8	8.0	24.6	18.1	*138*
45–54	19.9	16.9	30.3	21.6	*231*
35–44	23.6	21.4	25.0	27.1	*140*
25–34	16.0	13.3	44.0	22.7	*75*

had a postgraduate qualification or degree. At the other end of the spectrum, 11 per cent had completed formal education to primary school level and a further 18 per cent had received some secondary school education but had not obtained a school-leaving certificate.

In general, men were better educated than women. Almost half the male respondents had been to university, compared with less than 30 per cent of the females. Educational differences by age were also evident. Generally speaking, the 45–54 age cohort—those born in the decade following the Second World War—constituted the best-educated group; over half (53 per cent) of this group had a university qualification. Those in their mid-50s to mid-60s were also well educated and, significantly, these two groups also contained a higher than average proportion with doctorates (see Tables 9 and 10).

Table 10: Educational level reached by Leeds Jews (survey), by gender

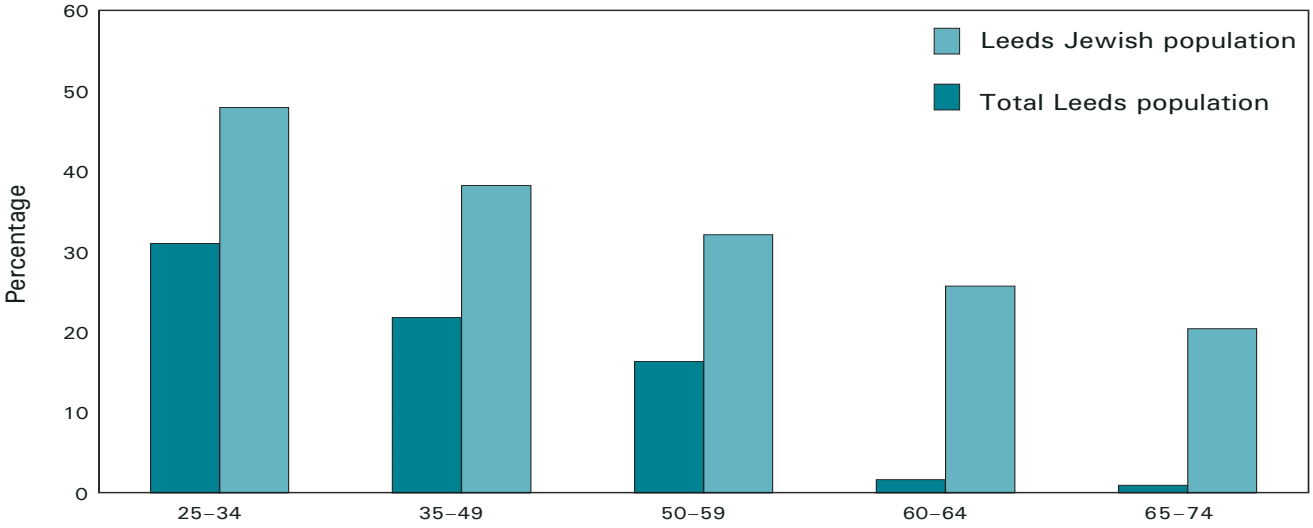
Educational level	Male (%)	Female (%)	All (%)
Primary school	8.2	12.8	10.5
Secondary school	14.2	21.1	17.6
O-Levels or equivalent	13.5	23.8	18.7
A-Levels or equivalent	15.1	13.9	14.3
University diploma or degree	22.7	19.2	21.1
Postgraduate or professional	23.8	8.7	16.3
Doctorate	2.5	0.5	1.5
Total	100	100	100
Base	*682*	*646*	*1,328*

These data were by and large supported by the Census statistics for Jews in Leeds, which reiterated the finding that Jews were high educational achievers: 48 per cent of the Jewish population aged 25–34 had at least a first degree or equivalent (compared with 31 per cent in the Leeds population as a whole). In all age cohorts, the proportion of Jews with high-level qualifications ran at just slightly less than twice the level for the population as a whole (see Figure 3). The educational gap between the Jewish and the general population, with the proportion of Jews with higher level qualifications being twenty times higher for the over-60s, narrowed in the younger age cohorts.

Employment

The employment patterns indicated by the survey (which examined heads of households) and the Census (which looked at the whole population) were remarkably similar. The Census showed that, for the Leeds adult Jewish population, slightly under two-thirds were economically active. Of these, 44 per cent were full-time employees, 21 per cent part-time employees and just under a third self-employed; only 1.8 per cent were unemployed. The survey found that less than half the respondents were in paid employment; of those in work, just over a third were self-employed, a figure

Figure 3: Higher level qualifications* of Leeds Jews and the general Leeds population (Census), by age cohort



*This refers to Census Level 4/5: first degree, higher degree, NVQ levels 4–5, HNC, HND, Qualified Teacher Status, Qualified Medical Doctor, Qualified Dentist, Qualified Nurse, Midwife, Health Visitor or equivalents

remarkably similar to that found by the Census. Of the Jewish adult population aged 25 and over recorded by the Census in Leeds, 1 per cent were students, 20 per cent were retired, 5.3 per cent were permanently sick or disabled, and another 6.7 per cent were mainly engaged in looking after the home or family (see Table 11).

Table 11: Employment patterns of Leeds Jews aged 25 or over (Census)

Employment type	Numbers	Percentage
Economically active	2,956	64.6
Employee part-time	615	13.4
Employee full-time	1,299	28.4
Self-employed part-time	289	6.3
Self-employed full-time	652	14.2
Unemployed	83	1.8
Full-time student	18	0.4
Economically inactive	1,620	35.4
Retired	896	19.6
Student	28	0.6
Looking after home/family	305	6.7
Permanently sick/disabled	243	5.3
Other	148	3.2
Total	4,576	100

Of the survey respondents, more than 60 per cent were employed in the private sector and just over 35 per cent in the public sector, with the remainder in the voluntary sector. They were involved in a wide variety of occupations, although the high proportions in managerial and professional occupations were indicative of the overall middle-class nature of the sample. On the whole, the survey exaggerated the high status of the Leeds Jewish population, as its sample was older than that examined by the Census; the bias in the survey sample towards an older population, with more male respondents, created skewed results in terms of social status. Nevertheless, the almost complete absence of manual workers and of unskilled and semi-skilled occupations in the sample—and even in the Census, in which they accounted for less than 7 per cent of the Leeds Jewish population as a whole—indicated the extent to which the Jews of Leeds had moved away from their working-class backgrounds (see Table 12).[21] Although there were

21 See Krausz. Historically, the Leeds Jewish community contained a large group of working-class people. During the transformation that occurred within British society as a whole after the Second World War, many of these people, and particularly their children, joined the middle class. However, although this applied to the majority, it did not apply to everyone, and many remained working-class in spirit. Surviving members of this group are among the survey's older people, i.e. aged 75 or over.

Table 12: Occupations of employed persons among Leeds Jews (Census and survey)

Occupational group	Census population (%)	Survey respondents (%)
Managers and senior officials	22.7	27.4
Professional occupations	21.8	28.8
Associate professional and technical occupations	16.8	5.7
Administrative, secretarial, sales and customer services	24.1	25.4
Skilled trades, personal services	7.6	––
Plant and machine operatives, unskilled occupations	6.9	––
Other	––	12.7
Total	100	100

still some unskilled and semi-skilled workers among the Leeds Jewish population, people who had been employed in such occupations were more likely to be found among the retired. Having said that, there is probably a higher proportion of people in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations than the findings show, as people in manual occupations are less likely to complete survey questionnaires than members of the middle classes.

Housing, neighbourhood and residential mobility

Household size

Leeds Jewish households tended to be small in size, and older households predominated. Both the survey and the Census reported that over one-third of Jewish households were composed of one person living alone. In the survey, 35 per cent of all households comprised a single person, and another 39 per cent contained just two people (see Figure 4). The Census indicated that 36.9 per cent of all Jewish households in Leeds were either pensioners living alone (22.3 per cent) or with another pensioner (14.6 per cent) (see Table 13). This household size pattern reflected the older median age of the respondents, although some of these small households were also young singles and married couples. Only a quarter of the respondents lived in households with three, four or five members, and only a tiny proportion in households of six members or more.

Housing

Almost 3 in 5 (59 per cent) of the respondents lived in a single-family house or bungalow, with 31 per cent in flats, maisonettes and bed-sits. Fifty-seven

Figure 4: Household size among Leeds Jewish population (survey)

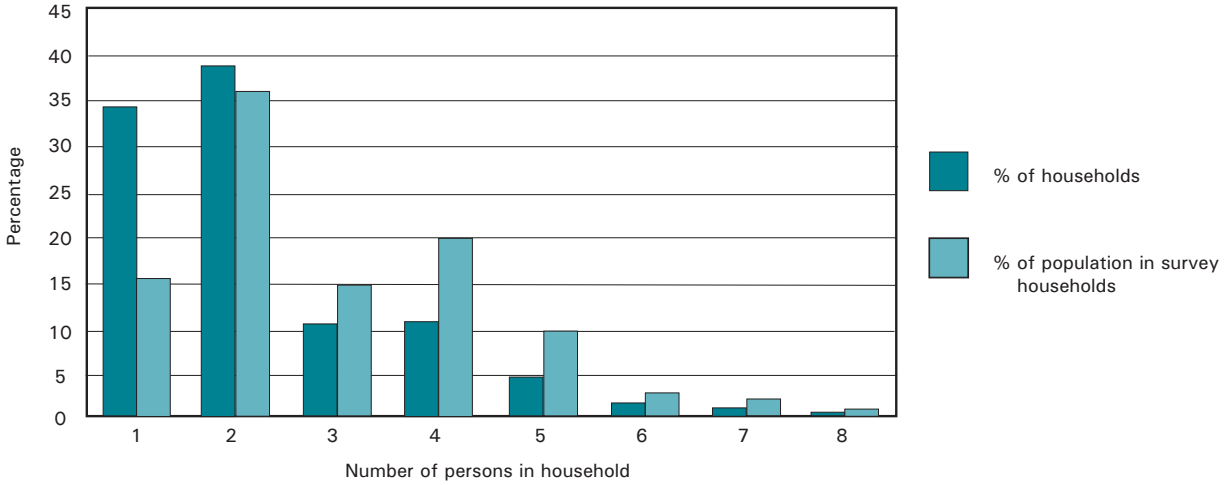


Table 13: Household size among the Leeds Jewish population,* according to Household Reference Person (HRP) (Census)

Household size	Percentage
One person	38.1
Pensioner	22.3
Other	15.9
One family and no others	56.4
All pensioners	14.6
Married couple households**	33.0
Cohabiting couple households***	4.0
Lone parent households	4.8
Other households	5.5

*Total households = 3,820
** Of these, 35.5 per cent had no children.
*** Of these, 68.9 per cent had no children.

per cent of those in houses lived in a detached house, 38 per cent in a semi-detached and 5 per cent in a terraced house. Almost all flat-dwellers lived in a purpose-built block, with only 2 per cent occupying a flat in a converted house (see Table 14).

Forty-one per cent of flat-dwellers lived in a ground-floor flat and 34 per cent on the first floor, with fewer than 5 per cent living above the third floor. This propensity for living on lower floors may reflect the fact that the population was an older one and that two-thirds of all flat-dwellers lived in buildings without a lift. With regard to the distribution of living space, 29 per cent of respondents lived in dwellings in which the living space was on a single floor; 55 per cent were in dwelling units on two floors and a further 8 per cent lived in houses that had living space on more than two floors.

In terms of size, over half of the respondents lived in three- or four-bedroom dwellings, and a third with either one or two bedrooms. At the other end of the scale, 10 per cent of all dwellings had five bedrooms or more. Slightly under half the homes had a single bathroom and a fifth had more than two. Five out of 6 of the residences were centrally heated while just 1 per cent had coal fires.

In an owner-occupier culture such as that in the United Kingdom, most respondents reported that they owned their own home. Reflecting both age and relative affluence, over half the survey respondents owned their homes outright and a quarter were paying off a mortgage, figures that were only slightly lower than those recorded in JPR's survey of London and the South-east. Only 1 household in 9 were tenants. Of this small minority, 9 per cent were renting privately, 19 per cent rented directly from a local authority and 62 per cent were tenants of a housing association or a co-operative charitable trust. Only 19 per cent of those who did not own their homes outright were receiving housing benefit or mortgage assistance from the government.

Table 14: Type of dwelling unit, by age of respondent (survey)

Age cohort	Detached (%)	Semi-detached (%)	Terrace (%)	Purpose-built (%)	Other (%)	Houses (%)	Flats (%)
75 +	18.9	17.4	2.8	57.7	3.2	39.1	60.9
70–74	29.3	20.7	2.1	45.0	2.8	52.1	47.9
65–69	35.8	26.6	0.9	33.9	2.8	63.3	36.7
60–64	47.2	26.4	2.4	24.0	0.0	76.0	24.0
55–59	51.9	21.8	3.0	21.1	2.3	76.7	23.3
45–54	56.6	31.1	2.6	7.8	1.8	90.4	9.7
35–44	48.2	36.7	5.0	9.4	0.7	89.9	10.1
25–34	36.4	32.5	9.1	18.2	3.9	77.9	22.1
18–24	37.5	25.0	12.5	18.8	6.3	75.0	25.0

Compared with the Census, the survey findings showed a bias towards home ownership, due to the methodological limitations already noted. The proportion of renters in the Census figures, though still low in national terms, was almost twice as high as that found by the survey, a reflection of the failure of the survey to pick up students and people in social housing (see Table 15).

Table 15: Tenure of Jewish households in Leeds (survey and Census)

Tenure	Survey (%)	Census (%)
Own outright	55.7	41.2
Other ownership	30.3	32.2
Living rent-free	1.5	2.2
Living with relatives	0.5	0.6
Renting	12.1	23.8
Total	100	100

In terms of household contents, we assumed that ownership of appliances such as a cooker, refrigerator and washing machine was universal. Over 99 per cent of those who answered this question had a telephone (though almost 10 per cent of the sample did not answer this question). This was expected, as welfare agencies have made great efforts over the past two decades to ensure that all households have a phone. There were similarly high ownership rates for home freezers (97 per cent) and television sets (more than 98 per cent), with lower rates for microwave ovens (88 per cent) and satellite or cable television (49 per cent).

Neighbourhood and neighbours

In selecting a sample for the survey, we estimated that about 80 per cent of Leeds Jews lived in the LS17 postal district. To a large extent, this was confirmed by the Census. Just under half (47.5 per cent) of all the Jews recorded by the Census in Leeds were located in North ward, with a further 18.7 per cent in Moortown and 9.3 per cent in Roundhay (see Figure 1, page 4). However, it is worth noting that, even with this high concentration, in North ward the Jews comprised only 17.7 per cent of the total population, in Moortown just 7.2 per cent, and in Roundhay just 3.2 per cent. The comparable concentrations at ward level for other religious groups were: 25.2 per cent of all Muslims in Leeds lived in Harehills ward, 15.6 per cent of all Sikhs in Moortown ward, and 10.2 per cent of all Hindus also in Moortown. That the Jews were highly concentrated but nevertheless lived in close proximity to non-Jewish neighbours was shown by the fact that only in six Output Areas —the smallest geographic subdivision for which Census statistics were available, with approximately 125 households —did the Jewish population exceed 45 per cent of the total population. This resembles the findings of a study of three London boroughs almost twenty years ago.[22]

Nonetheless, it is still remarkable that so many Jews in the survey reported that they lived close to one another. The extent of this clustering is illustrated by the fact that 59 per cent of the respondents reported that they had a Jewish next-door neighbour (or, if they lived in a flat, a Jewish neighbour living on the same floor). This figure rose to 74 per cent when respondents were asked about Jewish neighbours living no more than three doors away or on an adjacent floor, and to 87 per cent when asked if other Jews lived on the same street. A further indicator of the spirit of community was the small proportion of respondents (less than 5 per cent) who reported that they did not know if they had Jewish neighbours.

Although there was this strongly marked propensity to congregate, about half the respondents stated that they did not have specific preferences for next-door neighbours. Nonetheless, when asked whom they would feel most happy to have living next door from a wide variety of types of persons, they tended to choose the Jewish categories that ranged along a broad spectrum from Orthodox Jews to 'cultural Jews'. Almost 60 per cent of respondents said they would be happy or very happy to have neighbours of these kinds. As the majority of the sample actually consisted of these categories of people, such stated preferences did little more than reflect the situation on the ground.

Looked at another way, less than 1 in 20 said that they would not be happy with Traditional or 'mainstream' Orthodox Jews as next-door

22 Stanley Waterman and Barry A. Kosmin, 'Residential patterns and processes: a study of Jews in three London boroughs', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, NS 13, 1988, 75–91.

neighbours, and less than 1 per cent would be unhappy having a Reform or secular Jew living next door. This expressed a feeling of security in living in what was perceived to be a Jewish neighbourhood as well as a widespread desire to live with other Jews.

However, more than a quarter of all respondents (27 per cent) said they would be unhappy living next door to Haredi (strictly Orthodox) Jewish neighbours. This suggested that many Leeds Jews wished to maintain a secular Jewish lifestyle with a low profile. This, in turn, suggested a preference for a Jewish ethnic identity over a religious one.

Neighbourhood stability

We were also concerned with residential and neighbourhood stability. The decline in the size of the Leeds Jewish population since the end of the Second World War suggests that there has been a steady migration of Jews out of Leeds over the years. However, the extent of this is difficult to assess because surveys are usually conducted at the source of the out-migration and thus only encounter stayers, i.e. those remaining. Uncovering emigrants requires a different approach, and is always more difficult than finding people *in situ*. Given this caveat, the Leeds community appeared to be residentially stable with more than 3 of every 5 respondents having lived at their current address for more than a decade. In contrast, only 22 per cent had moved to their current address during the previous five years and just 3 per cent had moved in the year prior to the survey. These figures were roughly similar to the findings in the older suburbs of Greater London.[23]

A similar picture emerged regarding possible future moves. Whereas 18 per cent of respondents expected to remain at their present address for at least another ten years, more than half said that they did not know where they would be living a decade hence, which strongly suggested that they were not contemplating an imminent move. In response to a separate question and reflecting this general picture, 59 per cent asserted that they were not currently considering a move; only a small proportion (6 per cent) expected that they would not be living at their current address two years hence.

23 Becher *et al.*, 20 (Table 3.2).

Fifteen per cent of respondents stated that they thought their next change of address might involve a move to sheltered housing or residential care. The 218 sample households responding to this question might well have represented perhaps between 400 and 500 actual Jewish households throughout Leeds. This figure suggested that a considerable demand on the resources of the LJHA can be expected in the short and medium terms.

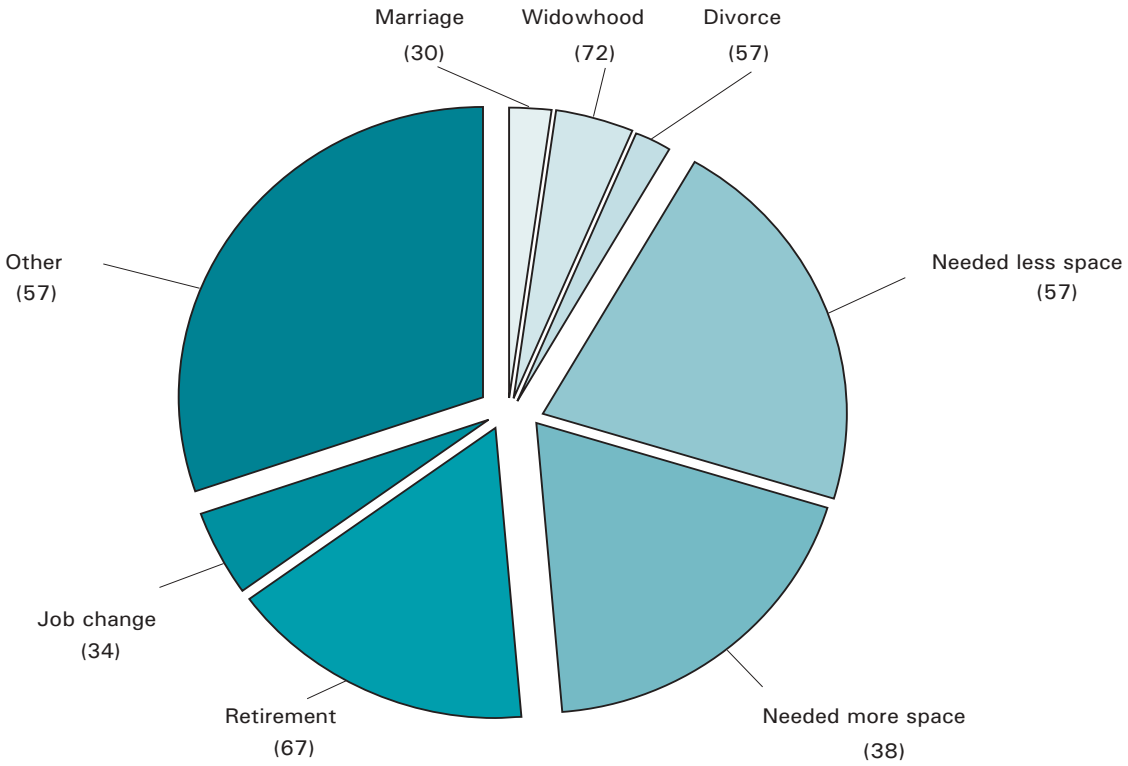
Considering the possibility of moving is largely hypothetical, except when a move is likely to occur in the near future. Actually doing something about moving is different altogether. Three-quarters of the almost 300 respondents who stated that they were currently *considering* a move had *not yet taken any action* in this regard; just 1 in 6 were currently searching for alternative accommodation. Only 3 per cent had actually made an offer on a new home and another 3 per cent had signed a contract to purchase one. Of those who had made an actual decision to move and who knew the location of their intended abode, three-quarters gave an address somewhere else in the LS17 postal district. Of the remaining quarter of this already small sample, one household was moving to the London area, and three to another place in the United Kingdom, figures replicated among those actively searching. In this regard, 83 per cent were looking in LS17, 4 per cent in Harrogate, 6 per cent in Greater Manchester, 6 per cent in Greater London, 8 per cent elsewhere in the United Kingdom and a single household was emigrating to Israel.

Reasons for wishing to move varied. For many, it was a matter of the size of the accommodation, some needing less space and others more; some respondents wanted to move because they had just retired. Other reasons for moving included marriage, widowhood, divorce, education, job changes and so on. In general, younger households expressed a need for more space, whereas the opposite was true for older people. The principal reason mentioned by respondents in the 45–64 age bracket was a demand for smaller dwelling units, whereas people aged 65 and over were more likely to give retirement as the reason for moving, as the journey to work was eliminated from their daily routine (see Figure 5).

Car ownership

Three-quarters of all respondents had access to an automobile; more than half of those had access to

Figure 5: Reasons for moving, with median ages of respondents (survey)



more than one car, and 7 per cent had access to more than two. However, these figures can also present a wholly different picture, in that a quarter of all respondents depended either on public transport or the good will of others for getting about. Two-thirds of all those without access to a car were aged 75 or over. Coupled with difficulties that many older people have with using public transport, this is a major issue for social planners. In contrast to the older people, the 45–59 age group were the most mobile; although they numbered just over a quarter of all respondents, they comprised more than a third of all two-car households, and two-thirds of all those with access to more than two cars (see Table 16). These data were corroborated by the Census findings.

Table 16: Access to vehicles among Leeds Jews (survey and Census*)

Number of vehicles	Number of respondents	Percentage (survey)**	Percentage (Census)
0	374	25.0	24.0
1	506	33.8	38.2
2 or more	616	41.2	37.8
Total	1,122	100	100

*Households with Jewish HRP (Household Reference Person)
**25 per cent of survey respondents (374 individuals) did not answer this question, and it was assumed that a large proportion of these did not have access to a vehicle.

Health and infirmity

The general state of health of a community is of significance for its own sake but takes on added importance in an ageing community in which ill health and infirmity not only restrict an individual's ability to function but also drain the financial resources of the community's social services.

Alcohol consumption

Over two-thirds of the respondents described themselves as occasional drinkers, while a fifth did

Table 17: Physical exercise among Leeds Jews, by age cohort (survey)

Amount of exercise	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–59	60–64	65–69	70–74	75+
I don't exercise and I don't intend to	7.6	5.0	11.3	10.1	17.2	12.5	21.5	39.8
I don't exercise but I'm thinking about doing so	9.8	8.6	10.4	11.6	6.3	4.2	7.6	2.2
I do exercise once in a while but not regularly	28.3	35.7	30.7	27.5	36.7	32.5	31.3	30.5
I exercise regularly but only started recently	8.7	8.6	5.6	5.8	3.9	5.0	3.5	1.1
I exercise regularly and have done for some time	45.7	42.1	42.0	44.9	35.9	45.8	36.1	26.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*92*	*140*	*231*	*138*	*128*	*120*	*144*	*357*

not drink at all. Only 9 per cent regularly drank the equivalent of up to a pint of beer a day and only 3 per cent more than that, figures that contrast starkly with general drinking patterns in the United Kingdom.[24] Those aged 75 or over were the most temperate among Leeds Jews and, somewhat surprisingly, the 65–69 age cohort were those most likely to drink.

Smoking

The sobriety of Leeds Jews was matched by their smoking habits. More than 9 out of 10 respondents (91 per cent) did not smoke at all, and half of those who did smoke consumed less than ten cigarettes a day.[25] The survey found that the heaviest smokers were aged between 25 and 44, but even among these, smoking rates were just about half the national average. In general, women smoked more than men, about twice as much for light smokers (10 or less a day).

Physical exercise

In response to a question concerning exercise, a large proportion (42 per cent) of the respondents stated that they exercised regularly. Moreover, the vast majority among these said that they had been doing so for some time. Another 32 per cent said that, although they did exercise, they did not do so regularly. Just over a quarter of the sample reported taking no exercise. This proportion rose to over 40 per cent among the older respondents (75 or over) and was lowest among those aged under 45. These relatively high proportions of the population exercising indicated a population that was conscious of health issues (see Table 17).

Income and medical provision for older people

The statistics relating to smoking, drinking and exercising applied to the sample as a whole. Although health issues are of vital significance for everyone, they are particularly relevant for a group with such a high proportion of older people as the Jewish community in Leeds. As people age, they are more likely to develop specific medical conditions. As older people tend to live alone and to have lower incomes than the population at large, these are added issues that demand the attention of community planners and welfare providers.[26]

24 In England in 1998, 38 per cent of men had drunk more than 4 units of alcohol on at least one day in the previous week, about a fifth of women (20 per cent) had drunk more than 3 units of alcohol on at least one day in the previous week; 20 per cent of men had drunk more than 8 units of alcohol on at least one day in the previous week, and 8 per cent of women had drunk more than 6 units. In 1998 mean weekly alcohol consumption in England was 16.4 units for men and 6.4 units for women. See Becher *et al.*, 26.

25 The comparable figures for England were: 27 per cent of all adults aged 16 or over smoked cigarettes (28 per cent of men and 26 per cent of women). Cigarette smoking among adults has dropped substantially—from 40 per cent—in the last two decades. See Becher *et al.*, 27.

26 This section on older people borrows from Oliver Valins, *Facing the Future: The Provision of Long-term Care Facilities for Older Jewish People in the United Kingdom* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2002), ch. 5.

Fifty-five per cent of the respondents aged 75 or over were female, 54 per cent were widowed and more than 60 per cent were living alone. This latter figure compared unfavourably with the 21 per cent of respondents to the survey questionnaire who were aged under 75 and lived alone, as well as with the British figure of 48 per cent for those over 75 who lived alone and were widowed. These older Leeds respondents also had relatively low annual incomes. Approximately a third reported gross household incomes of under £5,000 per annum, whereas less than a quarter (23 per cent) had incomes of more than £20,000 per year (the comparable figure for those under 75 was 71 per cent). Given that most people in this group were retired, this income distribution was not surprising. However, reinforcing our understanding of the burden that older people place on community social services, 56 per cent stated that they had no arrangements for retirement income other than the national pension scheme, thus challenging the stereotype of Jews as universally well off and able to 'look after their own'. Women (74 per cent) were almost twice as likely as men (38 per cent) to have no private or occupational pension scheme. While most of those with supplementary pension schemes thought that such schemes would permit them, on retirement, to maintain the lifestyle to which they had become accustomed, a fifth did not. In this respect, men were more concerned than women.

The health of older Leeds Jews

For community planning purposes, it is important to determine the extent of specific medical conditions, especially among older people. Over 70 per cent of older Jews in Leeds had some longstanding illness, disability or infirmity; for the vast majority (82 per cent of this sub-sample), this limited their activities. Thus, more than half of those over 75 were restricted in the extent and type of activities in which they could participate. These rates were slightly higher than for the British population as a whole, of which 66 per cent of those aged 75 or over reported a longstanding illness, disability or infirmity.

Table 18 shows the proportions of older Leeds Jews compared with those under 75 who stated that they had a range of specific medical conditions. The most common disorder was high blood pressure; almost half of those aged 75 or over reported this condition compared with less than half that rate for those under 75. One in 5 older respondents also reported heart disease, compared to less than 1 in 12 persons under 75. Depression and anxiety rates were relatively high among older Jews, another point of concern for communal planners.

Table 18: Medical conditions of Leeds Jews

Condition	75+ with condition (%)	Under 75 with condition (%)
High blood pressure	46	22
Heart disease	20	8
Asthma	12	13
Anxiety	10	7
Diabetes	9	5
Depression	6	8
Cancer	4	3
Parkinson's disease	1.8	< 1.0
Drug dependency	1.5	< 1.0
Crohn's disease	1.3	1.8
Alzheimer's disease/dementia	1.3	< 1.0
Autoimmune disease (e.g. MS, lupus)	1.0	1.3
Eating disorder	< 1.0	1.0

Table 19 shows data from the Census for people aged 65 or over. It indicates that the general pattern of health for the Jewish population in Leeds was similar to that of the population of England and Wales as a whole but that, in general, the

Table 19: Limiting long-term illness and general health of people aged 65 or over (Census)

General health	Leeds Jews (%)	England & Wales (%)
With limiting long-term illness		
Good or fairly good health	27.4	29.4
Not good health	29.0	22.2
With no limiting long-term illness		
Good or fairly good health	41.2	46.9
Not good health	2.4	1.6

proportion of Jews not in good health was higher than for the whole population, probably because there were more 'old-old' in the Jewish population. Comparing the Leeds Jewish figures with the United Kingdom as a whole (where equivalent data exist), older Leeds Jews had higher self-reported rates of at least some medical conditions. According to the 1998 General Household Survey, 5 per cent of women and 4.3 per cent of men aged 75 or over reported having asthma, compared with 12 per cent of older Leeds Jews. In the Health Survey for England, 8.7 per cent of men and 6.6 per cent of women aged 75 or over reported diabetes, whereas in Leeds 9 per cent of older Jews reported this condition.[27]

Eighty-five per cent of older Leeds Jews had visited their local doctor in the three months prior to the survey, with a quarter having done so more than three times. For the older population in the United Kingdom as a whole, 61 per cent visited their doctor in the three months before the Census. More than half (52 per cent) the older respondents in Leeds had visited a specialist during the same period and 15 per cent were on a waiting list for a surgical procedure; almost 4 per cent had been waiting for more than a year.

Mobility

Another key set of data needed by communal planners concerns the extent to which people are physically mobile and able to carry out essential tasks within their own homes. This is important for ascertaining their level of independence and thus for estimating the demand for domiciliary services. It is also an indicator of future demand for long-term care facilities (see Table 20).

Older Jewish respondents in Leeds were able to complete most household tasks on their own, though with varying degrees of difficulty, and managed better on their own than the general British population aged 75 or over: 27 per cent in Leeds could not go shopping on their own, compared with 31 per cent generally; 9 per cent in Leeds could not climb up and down stairs on their own, compared with 14 per cent nationally; 3 per cent in Leeds needed help dressing and undressing, whereas 8 per cent in Britain required such assistance; less than 1 per cent of Leeds Jews needed assistance to get in and out of bed, while the figure for the general population was 3 per cent; and less than 1 per cent in Leeds could not manage to get to the toilet on their own, compared with 2 per cent generally. Ten per cent needed help with bathing or showering. The exception to this pattern was that 16 per cent of older Leeds Jews were unable to make a hot meal on their own compared with 11 per cent for the population as a whole. What this showed was that, whereas most older Leeds Jews could cope with a variety of household tasks, many still required help and even more had difficulties with completing activities outside the home. Many had mobility problems, with over a quarter of the respondents (26 per cent) unable to use public transport at all.

In terms of domiciliary support, 14 per cent of older Leeds Jews received help with everyday household tasks from social services, compared with 17 per cent of older people nationally. Slightly less than 30 per cent of older Leeds Jews stated that people—including relatives and friends who were unpaid—came to help them with everyday tasks. Of those requiring assistance, over two-thirds had just a single helper, 14 per cent had two helpers and 17 per cent had three or more. Around 5 per cent of older Jews in Leeds received meals-on-wheels at least twice or three times a month (the same figure as for Britain generally) and 8 per cent had visited a day centre for older people (compared with 5 per cent for the population as a whole).

The ease with which family and friends are able to visit these older people is also important in terms of the informal support systems available. Jews have a long history of strong family ties and, particularly in Leeds, they live in neighbourhoods with high Jewish concentrations. When we asked how long it would take for the friend or family member living closest to reach them in case of emergency, 96 per cent responded that that person could reach them in less than an hour. As most older Jews lived in

27 The reported diabetes figure for the entire adult British population was 3.3 per cent for men and 2.5 per cent for women, compared with 5 per cent for Leeds Jews under 75. However, it is important to draw distinctions between the *reporting* of conditions and actual *prevalence* rates. For example, there is known to be an under-reporting of diabetes with perhaps as many as one million people unaware that they have the condition. The higher rates of diabetes and asthma reported by the Leeds Jewish community may reflect higher numbers of Jews having these (and other) conditions; on the other hand, it may be that they are simply more aware of their health than the general population, reflecting their higher educational level.

Jewish neighbourhoods, two-thirds had Jewish next-door neighbours and 86 per cent stated that they knew of other Jews living on the same street. Yet, despite this, 13 per cent said that friends and relatives visited them less than once a month (compared with 10 per cent generally), and 2.5 per cent reported never receiving any visitors (the same as for the country as a whole).

Table 20: Ease with which Leeds Jews aged 75 or over can carry out essential tasks

Tasks	On my own very easily (%)	On my own fairly easily (%)	On my own with difficulty (%)	Only with help (%)	Not at all (%)
Getting to the toilet	65	23	11	< 1	0
Dressing and undressing	63	27	7	3	0
Getting in and out of bed	60	30	9	< 1	0
Bathing or showering	55	23	12	10	0
Making hot meals	51	23	10	5	11
Going shopping	41	21	11	16	11
Using public transport	41	18	11	4	26
Getting up and down stairs	39	30	22	5	4

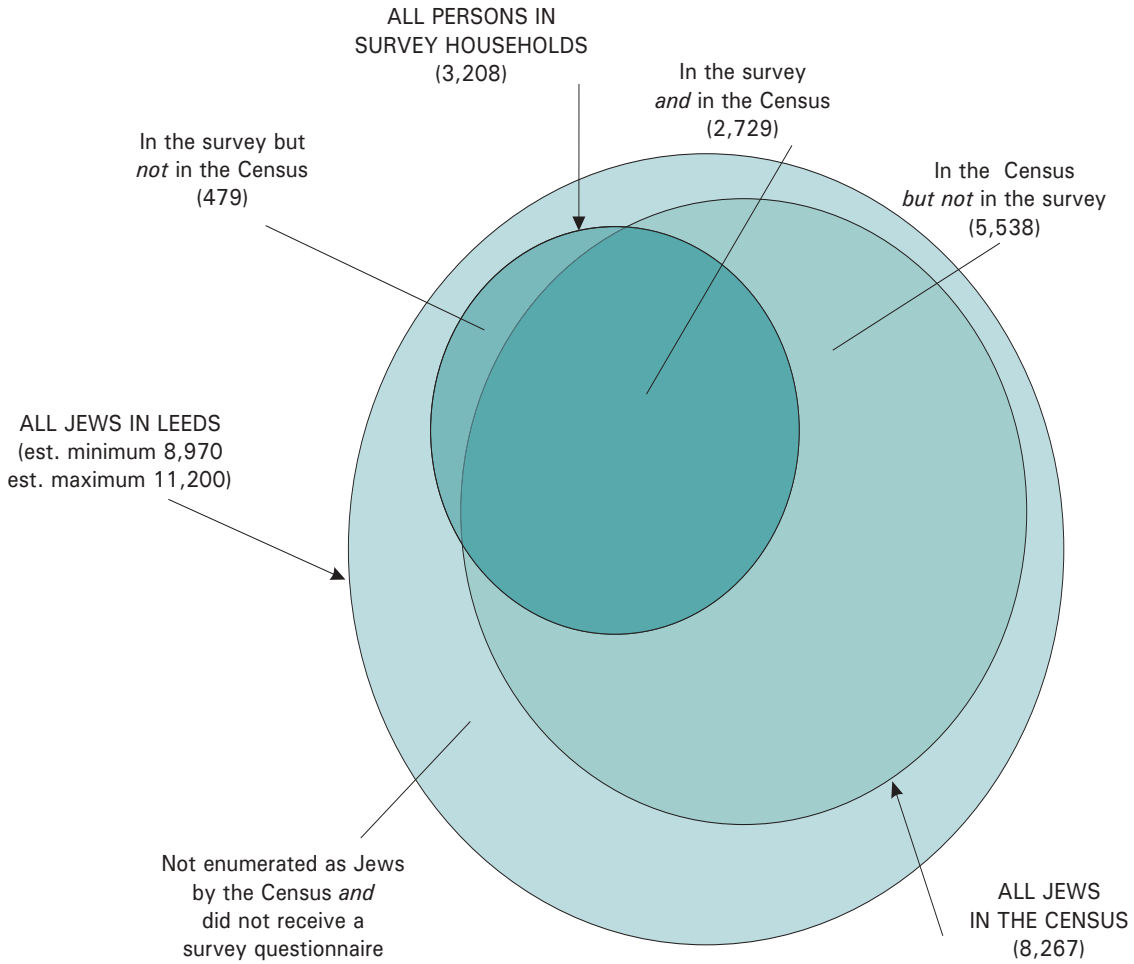
4 Conclusions

This short study based on the Leeds Jewish community survey has provided the opportunity for an invaluable exercise in comparative social research. At the time that the survey was being planned and prepared early in 2001, Census data were almost a decade old and of limited use in contributing to the drawing of a sample. By the time the survey had been completed and we were ready to prepare this report, results from the 2001 Census were becoming available, and for the first time we have been able to place survey results in the context of timely and detailed Census data.

This allowed us to compare the data collected as part of our survey of Jews in Leeds with data extracted from the Census relating to Jews in Leeds. This comparison allowed us to flesh out our findings. The Census provided social data for the whole population of England and Wales whereas the JPR survey provided some social data alongside unique material relating to the Jewish survey sample. The comparison was validated by the fact that the Census was conducted in April 2001 and and the survey was carried out approximately three months later. This was tantamount to their being simultaneous. Thus we were able to compare much of the social findings of the survey and, in the process, confirm much of the specifically Jewish data. Consequently, the exercise has been an opportune piece of social research.

Figure 6 illustrates four different types of Jewish populations that both the JPR survey and the Census attempted to reach. The first two of these groups can be quantified and, for the third, some quantifiable data can be provided. The fourth

Figure 6: Leeds Jews targeted by the survey (July–August 2001) and the Census (April 2001)



group contains an unknown number. The vast majority (82 per cent) of the survey sample reported that they had stated in the Census that they were Jews by religion. The remaining 18 per cent of the sample comprised respondents who did not report their religion as 'Jewish' (i.e. they stated that they had no religion or entered another religion), who refused to answer the voluntary religion question or did not complete a Census form, who could not remember or who failed to answer the question posed by the survey. In addition, an unspecified number of people enumerated by the Census as Jews did not participate in the JPR survey—they refused, did not receive a questionnaire, forgot to return the questionnaire etc.—and, similarly, there was an equally unspecifiable number of Jews who were neither included in the JPR sample nor enumerated as Jews by religion in the Census.[28] All in all, 2,729 Jewish persons living in 1,227 Leeds households were enumerated both by the Census and the JPR survey three months later. This degree of correspondence, in which JPR gathered information on 33 per cent of Jews enumerated in the Census, validates and legitimates our survey results. It is worth noting that the propensity among survey respondents not to have stated 'Jewish by religion' in the Census rose sharply among those whose outlook was secular. This has considerable implications when estimating Jewish population undercounts in the Census and overall size.[29] All this strongly suggests that the Census figure of 8,267 Jews by religion in Leeds is an underestimate, and that a more reasonable figure would be possibly as high as 10,000.

This study describes the situation in which many medium-sized and smaller Anglo-Jewish communities find themselves at the beginning of the twenty-first century, one marked by a great effort to maintain overall support structures in the face of declining numbers and the increasing agedness of its constituent population. Although other smaller regional communities can learn from the state of affairs in Leeds, from the commonality that they share with Leeds, we should also be aware of the unique features of a Leeds community that ties fourth-generation Jewish Yorkshire-born individuals to communal structures that they have created and maintained over the past century or longer.

Compared with the Jewish population in London, surveyed just over half a year later, Jews in Leeds appeared to be more homogeneous, closely knit, residentially concentrated, older, less well off and less well educated, more 'traditional' and more 'communal', and less able to send their children to Jewish schools. On the other hand, there were several features that were held in common to a considerable extent by the Leeds and London Jewish respondents: there was a high propensity towards being married or widowed; they were not young; they were highly educated and tended to professional occupations; they prioritized Jewish charities; they were non-smokers and non-drinkers. There was also a clear under-utilization of people willing to undertake voluntary work or to do more than they were currently doing.

That the Leeds Jewish community might be straining does not mean that it is unable to cope. Perhaps because of the significance of the working-class dimension of its history and the need to create solutions for those less well off than others, Leeds is utilizing its resources admirably, probably better than other Jewish centres of similar size. The level of its provision of welfare services and social housing is good, and those services are well managed. Nevertheless, declining numbers and increasing proportions of older people in the population, alongside a changing environment for the voluntary sector in the United Kingdom, do not make the task ahead any easier.

In Leeds, the effects are making themselves plainly felt. There are smaller numbers and lower proportions of younger people to support the elderly, a shortfall that is quite conspicuous in the case of those in their twenties. Even among the middle-aged, many have emigrated from the community so that there is a substantial number of older people whose immediate family no longer lives in Leeds. The close geographical proximity of most of the Leeds Jews who remain—and their number, around 10,000, is still substantial—suggests that neighbours may take up some of the slack

28 It should be noted that the JPR survey under-sampled renters (including the poor, people in social housing, young singles and couples), an outcome that was almost inevitable. It also did not reach the large Jewish student population of Leeds, numbering 1,014.

29 Evidence from London and Manchester, where there are substantial numbers of strictly Orthodox Jews, shows very high levels of non-response to the Census religion question. Only very small numbers of strictly Orthodox (ultra-Orthodox or Haredi Jews) were found in Leeds.

created by the increasing absence of immediate family. The responses to the question on emergency reaction time indicated that most older people could be reached very quickly in a crisis.

In the coming years, there will be an increasing need for volunteers in the community. Voluntary work is widely undertaken in Leeds, though there is room for improvement. There are indications of a sizeable group of people, who appear to be mostly middle-aged and who describe themselves as secular, who have stated a willingness to do more voluntary work than they currently do. There are others who currently do no voluntary work at all but who are prepared to do so. These groups, with time to spare and the willingness to volunteer, need to be actively sought out and recruited. Therefore, not only is it necessary to make more efficient use of those who already give of their time but also to identify and bring in others. It is up to social service providers to locate these individuals (this report only identifies them as a group) and tap into this valuable human resource, matching it with organizations and individuals in need. Ways will need to be worked out to increase awareness in this regard. The student body in Leeds is also of considerable interest. Although as individuals the vast majority of students are only resident in the city for three years, this large body of Jewish students is a permanent fixture, and should be regarded as an ongoing resource for the community.

Since many older Jews in Leeds have working-class backgrounds, they lack any pension provision other than the state pension. This fact clearly has significant implications for the capacity of these individuals to pay for social care services. A consequence of this is that the Jewish voluntary sector will continue to have a major role to play in the future. Moreover, the relatively large proportion of older respondents who indicated a preference for sheltered housing—and who said that their next move would most likely be to sheltered housing—will place a further burden on the community and its financial and physical resources. This situation is unlikely to improve, and the community's economic burden in the coming years can only become heavier.

Thus, the principal conclusion here is that there will be a greater responsibility than before on planners, decision-makers, major contributors to charities and, indeed, ordinary people to become aware of these issues, and to take and support decisions based on dispassionate analyses of relevant social, economic and financial data. An important policy implication of the analysis of charitable donations is that strategic planning in the areas of fundraising and priority-setting will involve influencing the small number of people who provide most of the money. That there is an apparent under-exploitation of volunteers and that there is still an untapped reservoir of people willing to volunteer means that this increasingly important resource can yet be utilized more efficiently. Moreover, Leeds has a large, young, dynamic and politically active Jewish student body in its midst that can and should be regarded as a valuable asset. This, coupled with the fact that the Leeds Jewish community still maintains many traditional Jewish values, bodes well for the future.

Appendix: The JPR Leeds survey sample

After several decades of residential relocation within Leeds, the Jewish community is still spatially compact. It is highly clustered within the wards of North, Moortown and Roundhay, approximating to the LS17 postal district and immediately adjacent areas. This compactness implies that, in the search for a representative sample of Leeds Jewry, it would be relatively easy to locate areas with a high probability of containing Jewish households. A corollary of this concentration is that, at a practical level, it might be expected to aid in raising awareness of the survey among the population we wished to examine, both by conventional means such as newspapers and local radio and by word-of-mouth and neighbourhood networks, including synagogues.

Issues of sample selection were confronted very early in the preparation of the survey. Though we had no preconceived working definition of who is a Jew, a prerequisite in drawing a sample of Jewish households for the purposes of this survey was that the household should contain at least one Jewish adult (a person aged 18 or over). Because the main purpose of the study was to understand better the demand for Jewish voluntary services in the next decade, a strict definition on the basis of *halachah*, or Jewish legal precedent, was considered to be too narrow. With this practical aim in mind, it was clear that a definition based on functionality would be more appropriate than a legalistic one. Because of a desire not to influence or prejudice the designation 'Jewish', potential respondents in those households that received questionnaires were left to consider their own Jewishness and their differing approaches to being Jewish.[30]

30 The *halachic* definition of a Jew is unequivocal: a person whose mother is Jewish or who converts to Judaism under the auspices of a proper rabbinical authority (in our age, this means an Orthodox rabbinical court) is Jewish; all others are not Jewish. Although this definition might satisfy Orthodox legal requirements, it is altogether unsatisfactory as a functional definition when in the business of planning services. To give just two examples of questions that arise: Should a man born Jewish, married to a Gentile and whose children have not been raised as Jews, be considered as a member of the Jewish community? Or, should a person who does not meet the *halachic* requirements (e.g. a woman born non-Jewish but converted to Judaism by a non-Orthodox rabbi and married to a *halachically* defined Jew) and who fully identifies and functions as a Jew be considered Jewish? And how should their children be considered?

There is no central population register in the United Kingdom, nor are people required to have an identity number, let alone carry an identity card; consequently, there is no arbitrary bureaucratic classification of the population into groups. Moreover, beyond peer pressure demands and certain external characteristics, an individual can adopt almost any identity she or he desires, within some broad parameters. It is considerably more difficult to pigeon-hole a person by any identity, other than the one adopted and expressed by the individual than it was even as recently as twenty years ago.

In a Jewish context, this means that preconceived notions of who is Jewish and who is not Jewish need to be modified. Clearly, although the core of the Leeds Jewish population comprises *halachic* Jews, there are anomalies at both ends of the spectrum. In other words, there are people who function as Jews but who are, by using a strictly legal Jewish definition, non-Jews. There are also persons of Jewish origin, even people born and raised as Jews, whose self-definition contains nothing that is Jewish and whose affiliation with the organized Jewish community is non-existent.

Sample selection

The starting point for drawing a sample was to produce a list of Distinctive Jewish Names (DJNs) for the study area. DJNs have been used in research for many years and their use is simply a variant of a more widespread use of ethnic names as aids in locating specific populations.[31] Using ethnic names is problematic. At the least, they need to be used with considerable caution. Although many names are distinctively Jewish (in that almost all of the holders of such names or their forebears were Jews), what marks out a *distinctive* Jewish name from a *common* Jewish name is subjective and undoubtedly inexact. DJNs are names that are generally thought to be borne by Jews *and not by others*, and are thus distinguished from common Jewish names, names held by many Jews in

31 See F. W. Boal, 'Territoriality on the Shankill–Falls divide, Belfast', *Irish Geography*, vol. 6, 1969, 30–50 for a similar means of distinguishing between Catholics and Protestants in Belfast.

common with other people.[32] The DJNs used in this study were adapted from the list devised and used in the 1995 study of British Jewish social and political attitudes.[33] DJNs vary from place to place, and they also change over time. Therefore, even 'distinctive' Jewish names do not always identify a Jew or even someone of verifiable Jewish origins. If the DJN method is regarded as no more than a crude way of uncovering areas in which there are Jewish concentrations, it can be useful, especially given the dearth of viable alternatives for extracting a Jewish sample in the British context. Thus, though it is not accurate for fine-tuning sample selection, it is useful as a starting point.[34]

The DJNs used in this Leeds study were extracted from the CD-ROM database *UK-Info* produced and marketed commercially by 192.com. This database yielded 1,198 names and addresses that formed the core around which were added additional names and addresses furnished by means of other lists. Following the extraction of the DJNs, the LS17 and LS8 postal districts were then searched in *UK-Info*, street by street, for further households that, on the basis of both the surnames and given names, appeared to have a 'Jewish ring'. Other Leeds postal districts were examined but in less detail; streets on which DJNs had been located were searched, as well as adjacent streets. In addition, three lists were received from the Leeds Jewish Welfare Board (LJWB), each comprising addresses and postcodes. Later, Leeds addresses from a major national Jewish charity and a separate list of addresses of young Jews in Leeds were added. When the amalgamation stage of the process had been completed, the master list contained over 18,000 separate entries. This master list was then sorted by postcode and street names to remove duplicates. Several sorts were needed to produce a list of 5,040 names and addresses. Questionnaires were mailed to each of these addresses, half randomly addressed to 'The Occupant', and the other half to 'The Resident'.[35]

For reasons of economy, we wanted the questionnaires to be posted into as high a proportion of 'Jewish' letterboxes as possible. However, we also knew that many would reach households in which there was no Jewish adult. Moreover, we were also aware that several households containing at least one Jewish adult would probably not receive a questionnaire. The reasons for the latter varied: some people were too recently arrived in the city to appear on a list; others had a name that was *distinctly non-Jewish*; and still others lived in areas in which few other Jews lived and which, by virtue of the time and budgetary constraints of the study, were not fully searched.[36] The final distribution of households compared with the distribution taken from the LJWB lists is shown in Table 1.

The survey methodology

The choice of survey methodology involved three options: face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews or a direct mail survey. The *face-to-face* interview is the most desirable, allowing direct communication between interviewer and respondent. However, its main negative feature is the expense and time needed to arrange and complete each interview. Though using volunteers could cut costs, most of these would require prior training, which itself involves time and money; furthermore, as volunteers have no obligations as such, they constitute a risk. In contrast, *telephone* interviews need to be short; people are less willing to devote time to a telephone interview than they

32 Of course, this does not *need* to be a subjective procedure at all. Theoretically, if the universe of Jews was known and was then compared with the universe of all names, it would be possible to identify all those names that were held only by Jews. If the 'universe' were calculated state by state (and this exercise is feasible in several countries), then it is quite possible that those names that are distinctively Jewish would vary from country to country.

33 Steve Miller, Marlena Schmool and Antony Lerman, *Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 1996).

34 There *are* other methods available to the social researcher but whether these would work in the case of the population at hand is debatable. Random digit dialling, a method popular in North America, is based on a sampling procedure that uses computers to select statistically random samples of telephone numbers, dial and keep track of them, and tabulate the responses to the calls. Generally, a small number of key questions are asked and, from the responses, people are either eliminated as unsuitable to be part of the sample or retained. It is doubtful whether in the British context many people would be willing to answer a question that asked them their religion or ethnicity, especially if they were Jewish.

35 Names were not used so as to protect privacy.

36 This was confirmed by several phone calls to the help line: some Jewish people enquired as to why they had not received a questionnaire when a friend had, and some non-Jews asked why they *had* received a questionnaire. There is no way of knowing whether or how such people differed from the survey respondents in the areas searched. Analysis of Census data *may* throw up some information about differences on some social and economic variables.

are to a face-to-face interview. Questions need to be very direct, leaving little to chance or misunderstanding. Telephone-based surveys are popular in North America where people are less averse to answering market surveys than they are in the United Kingdom, where many people are particularly sensitive to answering questions put by someone they cannot see. *Direct mail surveys* are relatively cheap, the main expense being in mailing out and returning questionnaires. (Costs of printing, coding and keying/scanning in the responses are identical to those incurred by face-to-face surveys.) However, even with an awareness-raising campaign, response rates are likely to be low as the first actual contact with potential respondents is on receipt of the questionnaire itself. Although it is possible to prepare a more detailed questionnaire than in a telephone survey, several factors inhibit the success of a postal survey: questionnaires might be discarded before the envelope has been opened and, without the presence of a professional interviewer, there is a greater likelihood that the questionnaire will not be completed.

After piloting several prototypes of the questionnaire, refining and eliminating questions, the final rendering contained 151 separate questions, and could be completed within an estimated time limit of 45–60 minutes.

Response rates

Despite known drawbacks, we chose the direct mail option, and sent out 5,040 questionnaires. The questionnaires were printed and mailed by NOP early in July 2001, with reminders mailed at the end of the month to all addresses from which responses had not been received. All told, 1,496 valid responses were returned, giving a 29.7 per cent minimum response rate.[37] If the 1995 population estimate of 10,000 Leeds Jews by the Board of Deputies of British Jews is close to the correct figure, and the mean household size of 2.18 is also correct, then the response rate rises to 32.6 per cent. If the Jewish population of Leeds is as low as 7,200,[38] then the response rate rises yet again, this time to 45.3 per cent. The 2001 Census of England and Wales, the first national census to include a religion question—albeit an optional one—gave the Jewish population of Leeds as 8,267. In addition, 16.8 per cent of the general Leeds population stated in the Census that they had no religion and a further 8.1 per cent refused to answer the religion question. This strongly suggests that the true number of Jews in Leeds may be as high as 10,000.[39]

One of the reasons for the relatively high response rate was the awareness-raising exercise conducted by JPR in the month prior to the survey. This included two articles in the *Jewish Telegraph* (the survey itself indicated that over 90 per cent of respondents read this paper regularly), a notice in the *Jewish Chronicle*, local radio announcements, as well as letters to the president of the Leeds Jewish Representative Council and local rabbis. In addition, there was close co-operation with the Leeds Jewish Welfare Board from the outset.

As we had no control over which recipients of the questionnaire chose to respond and which did not, with people defining their own sense of Jewishness, and, furthermore, because we did not know how respondents differed from non-respondents, we cannot generalize about the entire 'Leeds Jewish community', let alone about other regional communities.[40] As a consequence, all our statements must necessarily refer to the sample or to those who responded to the voluntary question on religion in the 2001 Census, and we emphasize internal variations and trends within the sample.

37 As we had asked all households with no Jewish member to disregard the questionnaire, there is no accurate response rate. We estimate that non-Jewish recipients probably numbered between 1,000 and 1,500, so that the actual response rate was considerably higher.

38 Veteran local commentator Murray Freedman has calculated this to be the 'true' figure.

39 See Graham, 'So how many Jews *are* there in the UK?'.

40 A rider such as this commonly attracts comment, with criticism aimed not only at the specific work in question but at survey work in general. It is not simply reserved for sample surveys but is often directed at compulsory surveys of the whole population, such as the Census, in which there is a legal obligation to complete and return a form, and failing to respond or giving false information may incur a fine.