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Understanding the Current Geographic Disposition of the Jewish Population of England and Wales: Growth and Contraction

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Abstract
The release in March/April 2023 of England and Wales 2021 Census complete data on "usual residents" by the Office for National Statistics provides an opportunity to analyze, understand and comment on the current geographic disposition of Anglo–Jewry. The analysis presented in this paper incorporates data from the 2001 and 2011 censuses, and makes use of a geodemographic assessment of Jewish communities developed from the 2011 census, setting the scene for changes which have taken place, particularly in the last 10 years. Estimates of the scale of births, deaths and net migration in the 2011–2021 period have been developed to explain why the changes in population have taken place. The potential impact of the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic on the census results is also considered. A total of 26 sub-communities in the London and Manchester areas, together with 34 free-standing communities, each with more than 200 Jewish residents, have been analyzed in detail. Unexpected changes in Stamford Hill, Gateshead and Bristol are investigated. A total of 42 smaller communities (60–200 members) are also identified. The paper shows that an understanding of the socio-economic characteristic of each of the communities explains their changes in population since 2011, particularly when factors such as "meta-suburbanisation" in the London fringe area, the impact of student numbers in university towns, and special factors affecting Haredi areas are also taken into account. The picture presented is one of a stable (indeed slightly growing) overall population, but with a large variation in fortunes of the many communities which make up Anglo–Jewry.

Keywords Population · Census · England and Wales

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Introduction

This paper sets out an analysis and commentary on the current geographic disposition of residents of England and Wales who have identified themselves as Jewish in the England and Wales censuses. The term "Anglo–Jewry" is used in this paper to represent these residents, noting that fewer than 0.8% of this population is found in Wales. It takes advantage of the full release of all "usual residents" [1] data for the 2021 census by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) in March and April 2023 (ONS 2022a). Tabulations used are listed in the Acknowledgments section at the end of this paper. An effectively identical question on religion has been newly included in the censuses of 2001, 2011 and 2021.[2] Combining information from all three censuses provides some background to, and explanation for, the changes in locational distribution of the Jewish population since the start of the current century. Separate, but broadly similar, censuses are carried out in the other parts of the United Kingdom (UK). The 2021 Northern Ireland census recorded 439 Jewish individuals[3] – no geographic or demographic breakdown of this figure is being released: Jews are included within a combined "other religions" category in published tables. The Scotland census was delayed until 2022, and no outputs are available yet.

In all analyses of Jews, the question of who is being counted often arises (DellaPergola 2012; Graham et al. 2007). No guidance was provided as to how the voluntary religion question in the three censuses should be interpreted, so the census tabulations merely present the raw responses to the question (ONS 2021). As the question was voluntary, the census outputs include an additional category of "no response/not stated" as, unlike compulsory questions, ONS did not impute responses where none was given (ONS 2022b). Thus, the ONS tabulations provide us with information regarding the number of people who self-identified as Jewish at the date of each census. Not everyone who considers themselves to be Jewish will have ticked the Jewish box in the religion question. There will have been individuals who were reluctant to answer the question and there will also be those who regard themselves as Jewish but in a secular or traditional/ethnic sense rather than in a religious sense (Graham and Waterman 2005). Indeed, more than 65,000 individuals wrote in "Jewish" as their response to the ethnic group question in the 2021 census, but ONS has not yet released a cross-tabulation which shows how many of these individuals did not also tick the Jewish option for the religion question, and who could thus form part of a larger Jewish population estimate. Thus, for the avoidance of doubt, all figures quoted in this paper relate directly to the numbers of respondents who

[1] The Office for National Statistics defines "usual residents" as "anyone who, on 21 March 2021, is in the UK and has stayed, or intends to stay, in the UK for 12 months or more or has a permanent UK address and is outside the UK and intends to be outside the UK for less than 12 months."

[2] At all three censuses the voluntary question asked was "What is your religion?" Respondents could tick one of a number of response boxes. At the 2001 census, the first tick box was marked 'none'; in 2011 and 2021 this box was annotated 'no religion'. That apart, the question and response options were identical in the three censuses.

[3] Northern Ireland 2021 census table MS-B21 Religion [full detail] released 31 May 2023 from https://www.nisra.gov.uk/publications/census-2021-main-statistics-religion-tables.

Table 1 Distribution comparison of minority groups (of up to about 1 million population)

Group	2021 usual residents	Persons per MSOA		Minimum number of MSOAs accommodating	
		Mean	Median	50% of residents	20% of residents
Jewish	271,000	37	7	94	15
Bangladeshi	645,000	89	15	180	36
Sikh	524,000	72	14	235	46
Hindu	1,033,000	142	40	481	82
Black Caribbean	623,000	86	20	489	119
Arab	332,000	46	20	548	99
Chinese	446,000	61	32	904	160
Irish	507,000	70	49	1514	392
Buddhist	273,000	38	27	1527	347

Table is ordered by number of MSOAs accommodating 50% of group population

ticked the Jewish box in the religion question without any additional manipulation[4] (except for rounding to the nearest 10 or 100).

Methodology

For the presentation of outputs from the last three censuses, ONS developed a system based on output areas. These areas include on average around 300 individuals living in a consistent type of housing. The output areas were combined into lower level super output areas (LSOAs) and lower level super output areas combined into middle level super output areas (MSOAs) (average population 7500) (ONS 2016). For the 2021 census, England and Wales was split into 7264 MSOAs. As the number of Jews recorded at the 2021 census was 271,000 (ONS 2022a) this meant that on average each MSOA included 37 Jews. However, the Jewish population is so unevenly distributed that the median value for MSOAs is only seven. Indeed, half of all Anglo–Jewry live in just 94 MSOAs, and 20% of Jewish residents can be found in just 15 MSOAs (in 2021).

Table 1 presents how the distribution of Jewish persons compares with that of other minority groups with fewer than about 1 million residents in 2021. It should be noted that because the groups' overall size varies, the parameters in this table are not a strict measure of unevenness, though they provide a qualitative guide. Nevertheless, more objective demographic measures confirm that Jews are the most unevenly distributed minority group in England and Wales (Simpson 2012).

[4] On 26 February 2015, ONS confirmed that an error had been made in processing the religion question in the 2011 census, resulting in an undercount of the named religions in the census outputs for three London boroughs (see https://www.ons.gov.uk/census/2011census/2011censusdata/censusproductsissuesandcorrections). ONS provided correction factors for those boroughs; the tabulations in this report allow for those correction factors.

This study required data to be pooled from all three twenty-first century censuses. Of the 7264 MSOAs used in presenting outputs from the 2021 census, 6925 are unchanged from the 2001 and 2011 censuses. Virtually all of the remainder are based on simple merging of 2001 and/or 2011 MSOAs, or splitting those earlier MSOAs using their LSOAs. It has thus been possible to re-base the result from the 2001 and 2011 censuses to present their data in terms of the 2021 MSOAs. The number of Jews recorded for each 2021 MSOA at the 2001, 2011 and 2021 censuses has thus been assessed.

The intention of collating these data was to identify and quantify Jewish communities across England and Wales, bearing in mind the overall uneven distribution. Rather than present information in terms of local authorities (that is, the 331 local government units into which England and Wales is divided), in this paper the concept of communities has been used. This approach recognizes that the focal point and extent of the various Jewish communities across England and Wales does not necessarily reflect local authority boundaries. Using the highest number recorded at any of the three censuses, the MSOAs were ranked by the number of Jewish residents as a proportion of all residents, and also by the number of Jewish residents per hectare of land area. The two rankings were assessed, as the term "community" implies some connection or interaction between individuals and households, and this is more likely to be present not only due to a higher density per head, but also due to areal proximity to other Jewish households (Madara 2019; DeWall et al. 2011). These two rankings were simply combined and it was found that the highest-ranked 2860 MSOAs included 90% of the Anglo–Jewish population. These MSOAs formed the initial focus for the study, and the data were inspected to locate contiguous groups of MSOAs that could be considered to be distinct communities. The Jewish population has a strong London focus, with an area of contiguous highly ranked MSOAs forming an extended area covering not only the Greater London area, but also an extensive "fringe" beyond the boundary, particularly in the county of Hertfordshire to the north-west of London. In total, 36 communities which recorded at least 200 Jewish residents at any of the three censuses have been identified, together with a further 42 smaller groupings with at least 60 Jewish residents. The 36 larger communities are listed in rank order of 2021 population in Table 2 and their locations are shown in Fig. 1. The 42 smaller communities are listed by region in Table 3, with localities in physical proximity to each other listed close together in the table. In each table, an asterisk next to the locality name indicates that (in 2021) students made up more than 25% of the Jewish population of the community. In part this is a result of the apparent preference for certain cities for study amongst Jewish students; in other cases it simply reflects the small size of the permanent Jewish presence in a town. A preliminary assessment indicates that the most popular cities for study by Anglo–Jewry in 2021 were—Inner London, Nottingham, Birmingham, Leeds, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester/Salford. Nottingham, Birmingham and Manchester/Salford have reduced in popularity since 2011, with Leeds, and particularly Bristol, gaining in attractiveness.

The tables also present the overall growth (a negative figure indicates contraction) in the Jewish population of the area since 2001. A deeper understanding of these changes, which, for the Table 2 localities, range from an almost 70% contraction

Table 2 Population and growth: larger Jewish communities

Rank	Community location	Region	Jewish resident population in			Proportion of	Growth between
			2001	2011	2021	2021 Anglo–Jewry (%)	2001 and 2021 (%)
1	London Area	LD	178,000	180,400	181,200	66.8	2
2	Manchester area	NW	22,400	24,900	27,900	10.3	24
3	Leeds area	YH	8700	7040	6390	2.4	−27
4	Gateshead	NE	1550	2930	2810	1.0	82
5	Brighton with Shoreham and Seaford	SE	3640	3010	2780	1.0	−24
6	Southend, Hadleigh and Rayleigh	EE	3370	2750	2730	1.0	−19
7	Liverpool	NW	2700	2150	1820	0.7	−32
8	Bournemouth, Poole and Christchurch	SW	2420	2040	1790	0.7	−26
9	Birmingham and Solihull*	WM	2400	2070	1530	0.6	−36
10	Cambridge and environs	EE	1130	1180	1470	0.5	30
11	Oxford with Botley and Abingdon*	SE	1270	1190	1280	0.5	1
12	Nottingham and West Bridgford*	EM	1090	1510	1260	0.5	16
13	Bristol*	SW	920	790	1250	0.5	36
14	Reading and Wokingham	SE	1140	990	880	0.3	−23
15	Cardiff	WL	940	790	670	0.2	−29
16	Newcastle upon Tyne	NE	860	610	540	0.2	−38
17	Worthing and Littlehampton	SE	430	460	510	0.2	17
18	Sheffield	YH	700	660	510	0.2	−28
19	Blackpool and St Annes	NW	720	580	490	0.2	−31
20	Canvey Island	EE	60	60	480	0.2	692
21	Norwich	EE	300	280	390	0.1	31
22	Leicester, Oadby and Wigston	EM	530	380	350	0.1	−34
23	Milton Keynes	SE	490	400	340	0.1	−31
24	Chelmsford	EE	240	230	300	0.1	28

Table 2 (continued)

Rank	Community location	Region	Jewish resident population in			Proportion of	Growth between
			2001	2011	2021	2021 Anglo–Jewry (%)	2001 and 2021 (%)
25	Hastings and Bexhill	SE	200	230	280	0.1	41
26	Thanet	SE	310	270	260	0.1	−14
27	Canterbury and Whitstable	SE	190	220	250	0.1	33
28	Luton	EE	570	330	250	0.1	−57
29	Eastbourne	SE	300	250	250	0.1	−18
30	Southampton*	SE	280	230	240	0.1	−13
31	Colchester	EE	190	200	240	0.1	24
32	Bath*	SW	160	180	210	0.1	36
33	Southport	NW	600	370	210	0.1	−65
34	Northampton	EM	300	250	200	0.1	−35
35	Portsmouth	SE	240	230	190	0.1	−18
36	Hull and western villages	YH	500	280	160	0.1	−69
	Other communities with size over 60		4050	4080	4660	1.7	15
	Rest of England and Wales		16,000	20,600	24,300	8.9	51
	England and Wales total		259,900	265,100	271,300	100	4

Region Codes: *EE* East of England, *EM* East Midlands, *LD* London, *NE* North-East, *NW* North-West, *SE* South-East, *SW* South-West, *WL* Wales, *WM* West Midlands, *YH* Yorkshire and Humber (see Fig. 1)

*Indicates that students made up more than 25% of the Jewish population in 2021

Fig. 1 English regions, Wales and 36 larger communities

to an almost 700% expansion, is necessary if the communities are to plan for the future. The demographic characteristics of a population at the start of a period of interest must have a major impact on the actual changes found to have taken place in that period. Given that examining the changes that have taken place between 2011 and 2021 is of most relevance, the starting point should be the characteristics of the Jewish communities in 2011. The 2011 situation forms the input to the process of change; the 2021 data provide the output from which the changes can be quantified. A geodemographic analysis of England and Wales Jewry using data from the 2011 census has been used as a starting point for the present study (Sapiro 2016a).

Table 3 Population and growth: small communities

Region	Community location	Jewish resident population in			Growth between
		2001	2011	2021	2001 and 2021 (%)
NE	Sunderland	70	30	10	−86
	Durham*	60	90	120	111
YH	Bradford	150	80	60	−58
	York*	140	150	190	38
NW	Crosby	70	70	70	5
	Heswall, West Kirby and West Wirral	90	80	60	−33
	Lancaster	40	60	70	48
WM	Sutton Coldfield	120	200	180	49
	Coventry*	140	120	160	19
	Warwick and Leamington*	120	190	180	47
EM	Derby	60	40	70	11
EE	Grays, Chafford and Stifford	160	140	120	−27
	Clacton and Frinton	100	110	130	26
	Braintree and Dunmow	100	140	180	73
	Saffron Walden	30	40	70	121
	Ipswich	60	50	50	−22
	Great Yarmouth	40	70	30	−33
	Peterborough	80	90	100	23
	Bedford	130	110	150	18
	Leighton Buzzard and Linslade	60	70	90	44
	Bishop's Stortford	90	70	120	38
SE	Folkestone	70	50	90	20
	Rochester and Chatham	120	140	120	2
	Sevenoaks and Borough Green	130	150	170	27
	Tunbridge Wells and Tonbridge	150	180	180	22
	Lewes	100	130	130	39
	East Grinstead	90	110	110	30
	Burgess Hill	60	80	100	67
	Crawley	120	110	130	7
	Horsham	40	20	70	76
	Bognor Regis	130	90	130	−4
	Chichester	80	70	110	34
	Havant and Horndean	110	80	90	−11
	Winchester	90	80	110	21
	Basingstoke	90	90	100	9
	Newbury and Thatcham	100	70	70	−30
	Didcot	20	30	70	313
SW	Cheltenham	130	160	190	49
	Plymouth	120	120	100	−19
	Torbay	160	110	120	−21
	Exeter*	140	150	190	31
WL	Swansea	90	80	80	−12

For regional codes, see Table 2

*Indicates that students made up more than 25% of the Jewish population in 2021

In many fields, such as biological, medical and social sciences, there is a need to find ways to group together observations to make the data more comprehensible, and many techniques have been developed (Lorr 1983). One such technique is geodemographic analysis; it is an approach that allows for a large range of demographic and socio-economic parameters to be assessed to produce an overarching geographic categorization of elements of a population (Everitt et al. 2011; Sleight 2004; Singleton and Spielman 2014). The geographical/spatial/visual element to the process makes it especially suited to analyzing population data. Indeed, geodemographics can be seen as "the analysis of socio-economic and behavioral data about people, to investigate the geographical patterns that structure and are structured by the forms and functions of settlements" (Harris 2003, 225). Geodemographic analysis has been widely used to present census data (see, for example, Singleton et al. 2016; Burns et al. 2018; Hincks et al. 2018; McLachlan and Norman 2021).

The 2011 England and Wales Jewry geodemographic assessment was groundbreaking in that it looked at only a small sub-population, which meant that a mixture of geographic levels needed to be used; parts of the study area were completely excluded (as they contained few Jewish people); and various techniques were combined to improve the clustering process. In total, more than 400 analysis groups (generally with a population of at least 300 Jews) were identified; each consisted of either a single MSOA, a group of MSOAs, or individual LSOAs. For each of these groups the average values of 17 demographic or socio-economic parameters (see Sapiro 2016a, 40 for details) for the Jewish residents were identified from a range of 2011 census outputs. Applying geodemographic analysis allowed for each of the analysis groups to be allocated to categories or classes, such that each group in the class shared broadly similar values of the 17 parameters. The analysis concluded that a system of seven classes provided the best overall fit to the data (as that number produced stable categories and the clearest spatial picture; see Sapiro 2016a, 40): two classes covering primarily inner urban areas; three based principally in suburban, commuter belt and coastal towns; and two representing Orthodox enclaves. Each class was given a short name, encapsulating its particular characteristics as set out in Table 4. For example, one has been annotated "home grown elders" because these localities have a much higher than average proportion born in the UK (hence "home-grown") and a very high proportion of people aged 65 years or older (hence "elders"). The table notes which of the various parameters differed for that class from the Anglo–Jewish average.

The comments regarding fertility levels and proportion of 0–15 year olds in the table already give an indication of which classes can be expected to grow or shrink through natural change. A second, earlier study provides some quantification of the changes by class over the previous decade by applying the same geodemographic model to equivalent data from the 2001 census (Sapiro 2018).

Thus, armed with the background information provided by the earlier studies, we are able to analyze the 2021 information in context. Whilst the "communities" of the current study were developed using a different methodology to the 2011 geodemographic study, there is a strong correlation between the areas covered. Indeed, of the 36 larger communities identified here, only one was not included in the 2011 study. This is to be found on Canvey Island in Essex (East of England region). The island is covered by

five MSOAs, and in 2011 had a Jewish population of fewer than 60, but by the time of the 2021 census, this had grown to more than 480. This locality is considered in more detail later.

The focus of the remainder of this paper is the 36 larger communities. It is not realistic to reach meaningful conclusions for the smaller communities, as a move of a handful of families is sufficient to produce large percentage growth or shrinkage figures.

Table 2 presents the majority of Anglo–Jewry as living in the London area, with the Manchester area forming the next largest, but much smaller, contribution. To make full use of the geodemographic assessments, these two areas have been sub-divided (London into 22 sub-communities, see Fig. 2, and Manchester into four, as shown in Fig. 3). Each of these 26 sub-areas, and the other 34 larger communities, have been categorized by their 2011 geodemographic classes and then grouped by their dominant class for analysis/interpretation purposes. These grouped communities are listed in Tables 5 onwards, by 2021 population. Where appropriate, which part of the London area (inner, outer, or fringe) the community falls within is shown; sub-divisions of the Manchester area are annotated "Manchester area."

Analysis and Interpretation

Introduction

Whilst examining broad changes in population numbers can provide an indication of why the changes have taken place, the aim of this paper is to examine and explain the changes in more detail. Changes in population of an area are the aggregate of births, deaths and in- and out-migration. Standard census outputs do not provide a direct measure of fertility or mortality, and migration information is limited. However, comparing the age profile of an area at consecutive censuses can give a very good indication of the relative importance of each of these change mechanisms (Ballard 2004; Simpson et al. 2008; Finney and Simpson 2009).

The approach adopted for this study is as follows:

Births

The number of individuals aged 0–9 years in the 2021 census has been used as a proxy for births since the 2011 census. However, some of those counted may have moved in to the area since their births. For communities where the number of 10–14 year olds in 2021 exceeds the number of 0–4 year olds in 2011 (that is, there has been a net in-migration of children), the births estimate has been adjusted accordingly.

Deaths

The number of persons in a community at the 2011 census aged 70 or older has been compared with the number aged 80 or older at the 2021 census to provide an

Table 4 Summary of geodemographic classes

Classes found principally in inner urban areas	Footloose cosmopolitan professionals Very low: fertility; proportion UK born Low: proportion of 0–15 year olds; home ownership Very high: single-person households; cohabitation; degree holders; professional/technical employment; higher- and middle-management positions
	Blue-collar and student urbanites Low: proportion of 0–15 year olds; home ownership; car ownership Below average: levels of self-employment; Above average: room overcrowding High: single-person households; ratio of 30 year olds to 60 year olds (in-migration of young adults), lone-parent families
Classes found mainly in suburban, commuter belt and coastal towns	Comfortable educated suburbanites Above average: degree holders; home ownership; two-car availability High: higher and middle managers
	Affluent home-grown commuters Very low: room overcrowding Below average: single-person households High: two-car availability; home ownership Very high: proportion UK born
	Comfortable home-grown elders Very low: proportion of 0–15 year olds; fertility levels Slightly below average: professional/technical occupations Slightly above average: home ownership High: proportion UK born; single-person households (mainly aged 65 plus) Very high: proportion aged 65 plus
Classes found solely in orthodox enclaves	Very young deprived traditionalists Very low: proportion aged 65 plus; home ownership; car ownership; secular educational qualifications High: room overcrowding; Very high: fertility; proportion of 0–15 year olds; adults looking after home or family; education employment
	Young fairly comfortable conservatives Slightly below average: professional/technical employment; degree holders; room overcrowding; home ownership; car ownership Above average: proportion of 0–15 year olds; education employment High: fertility

assessment of deaths. Clearly this will omit the small numbers of deaths of people aged under 70, and any in- or out- migration beyond the age of 70 years will cause some distortion of this estimate of deaths. More deaths would be included with a

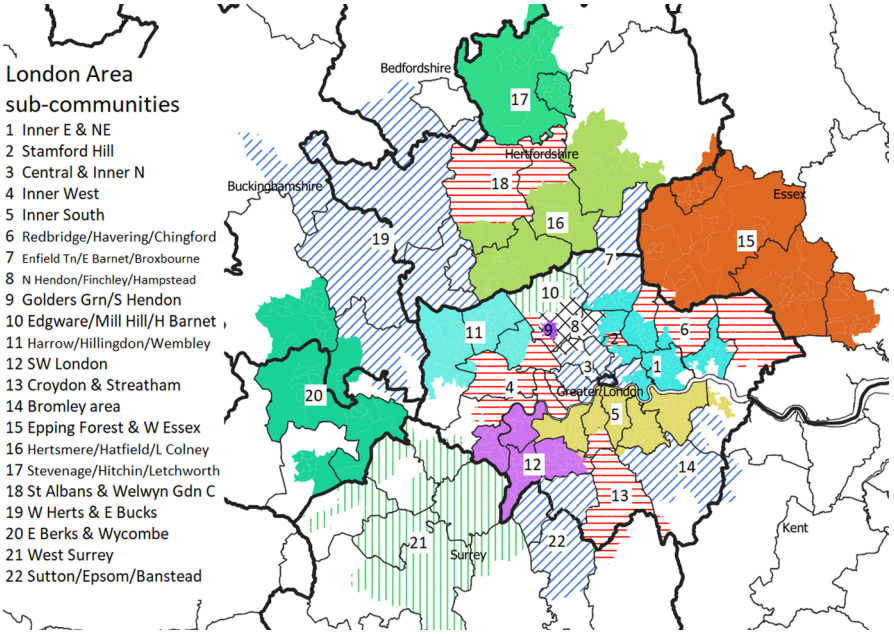

Fig. 2 London area sub-communities (showing borough/district and county boundaries). (Color figure online)

starting age of 65 in 2011. However, there is evidence of migration of people at or soon after retirement (but largely before age 70 years) to live close to their children (MJRC 2022). It is anticipated that the migratory flows for 65–70 year olds will outnumber the number of deaths in this age group (but will be much smaller for older age groups), hence the selection of 70 years as the start age for the deaths assessment.

Migration

Subject to any inaccuracies in the assessment of births and deaths, all other changes should represent net migration (that is, the difference between in- and out- migration, which cannot be assessed separately). As only a sub-population is being examined, "net migration" will include those entering or leaving the group through a change in religion a person may have recorded between the 2011 and 2021 censuses, such as ticking the "Jewish" box at one census and a different box (or no box) at the other; other evidence indicates that this "religion drift" aspect is small for the Jewish community (Sapiro 2020). However, there are two specific elements of migration for which the census outputs allow further consideration. These are the identification of students and the impact of international immigration (persons arriving in the UK since 2011). This is an appropriate point to discuss the timing of the 2021 census and the potential impact of the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic on the results, as it may have impacted on these two elements.

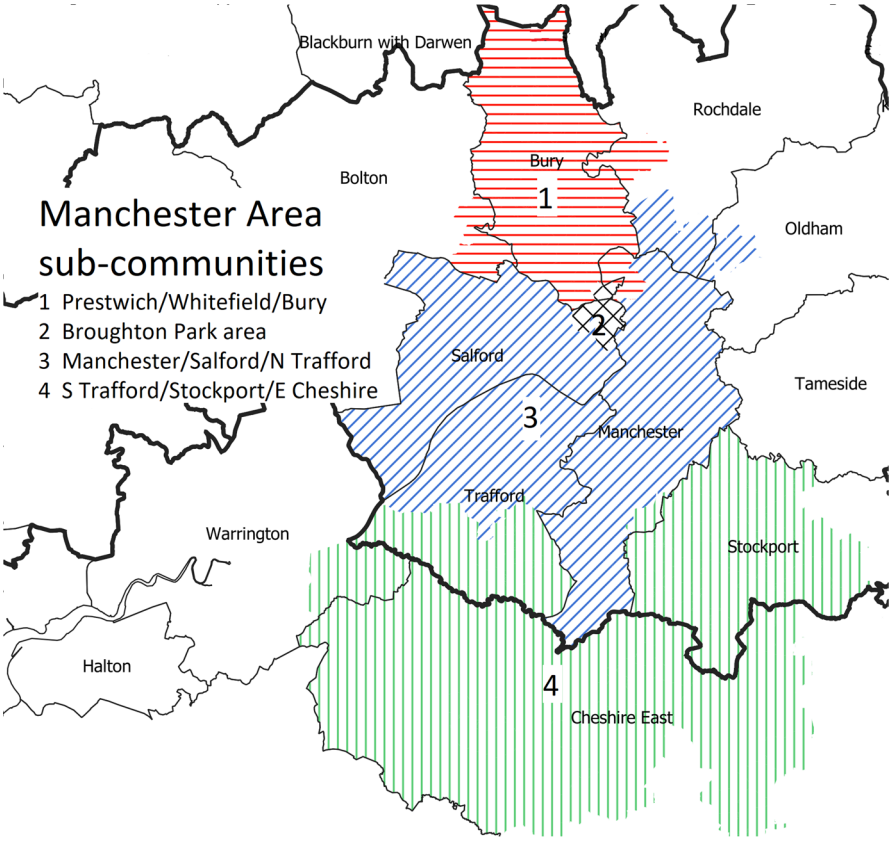

Fig. 3 Manchester area sub-communities (showing borough and county boundaries). (Color figure online)

The pandemic

The 2021 England and Wales census was undertaken on 21 March 2021 during the COVID-19 pandemic. By census day, the level of deaths had fallen to 100 per day (UK Health Security Agency 2023); however, only about 1.5 million people had received two doses of the vaccine, and many COVID restrictions were still in place (Cabinet Office 2021). Schools were fully open and most higher education establishments were offering a blend of face-to-face and online learning, though the balance between these varied considerably from institution to institution and type of course (Department for Education 2021). Non-essential retail and hospitality sectors were still closed, and people were still advised to work from home where possible. Thus, unlike at the 2011 census (when all students would have been recorded at their term-time address), on-line students may well have been recorded at their family home address at the 2021 census.

Travel was still highly restricted, so anyone working from home would still be found at their place of usual residence (unless they had spent the entirety of

Table 5 Group (i): Areas with a presence of "footloose cosmopolitan professionals"

Community	2021 population					Change 2011 to 2021		Breakdown of change				Change as proportion of 2011 population	
	Total	Proportion age < 16	Proportion age 65+	Proportion students	Proportion 'new arrivals'	People	As proportion of 2011 population	"Births"	"Deaths"	Students	Net other migration	Natural change	Net migration
Central and inner north London	17,990	0.14	0.21	< 0.07	0.19	−1270	−0.07	1740	−1730	−80	−1190	0.00	−0.07
Inner west London	9210	0.18	0.20	< 0.07	0.15	−470	−0.05	1030	−750	−40	−710	0.03	−0.08
Inner south London	5460	0.11	0.16	< 0.07	0.20	860	0.19	410	−310	*	750	0.02	0.17
Cambridge and environs	1460	0.18	0.15	0.22	0.27	280	0.24	130	−40	*	190	0.07	0.16
Oxford with Botley and Abingdon	1260	0.13	0.19	0.27	0.25	70	0.06	100	−30	−40	40	0.06	0.00
Bath	220	0.09	0.13	0.33	0.25	30	0.18	*	*	30	*	−0.05	0.24
Group (i) sub-35,600 total		*0.15*	*0.20*	*0.07*	*0.19*	*− 500*	*− 0.01*	*3400*	*− 2870*	*− 120*	*− 910*	*0.01*	*− 0.03*

Italicised final lines in this table simply differentiate the subtotals from the individual entries above

*Indicates a minimal change or contribution (fewer than 20)

lockdown in a second home), as would families with school-age children. Retired individuals would also be residents at their main home (unless they had a second home, and had chosen to spend lockdown there). Insofar as the census outputs are concerned, the main impact would be on the location of students. Additionally, international students may have remained overseas on census day if their courses where operating wholly on-line, or travel restrictions in their home country prevented them from returning to the UK.

However, the census form (ONS 2021) asks for information on: another address that the responder stays at for more than 30 days per year; whether this is a student term time or home address, a parent or holiday home; and for full-time students, details of the address normally used in term time. ONS was thus armed with information to "correct" the impact of the pandemic on "usual residence," for people in the UK on census day. Clearly, the issue of foreign-based individuals who would have been in the UK had it not been for pandemic restrictions cannot be fully rectified. However, through personal correspondence with key staff at ONS, it can be confirmed that ONS has indeed made use of the additional address information and external data to determine the numbers and usual (term time) address of students; and that the impact of staying at second homes is minimal.

The issue of the impact on students and non-UK-born people arriving in the UK can be examined further. The census outputs identify non-UK-born persons who have arrived in the UK since the 2011 census, and 20,900 Jewish individuals fall into this "new arrivals" category across England and Wales as a whole (8% of Anglo–Jewry). However, as the only communities where "new arrivals" make up more than 13% of the total are those with a strong "footloose cosmopolitan professionals" presence, the impact of "new arrivals" is discussed in the later section that deals with changes in those communities.

For the purpose of this paper, students are defined as persons in full-time education aged 18 years or older. The census reveals that there were 13,600 Jewish students in 2011 and only 12,100 in 2021, a 12% reduction. Some of this difference may reflect missing foreign students in 2021. At a community level, the changes in student numbers fall within a −100 to +40 range, with just eight exceptions. At the extremes, Bristol reports 200 more students in 2021 than 2011, and Gateshead 490 fewer; both these "outliers" are discussed further in a later section. The other localities showing losses of 100–180 students are: Nottingham, Birmingham and Manchester/Salford – these cities all have major universities, so the reduction may reflect a combination of a reduction in international students and reduced attractiveness of those cities/universities to Jewish students compared with Bristol; Redbridge/Havering and Harrow/Hillingdon – where the reduction reflects the major decline in overall Jewish population and particularly younger person population between 2011 and 2021; and Hendon North/Finchley – where the Jewish population is so high that the size of reduction in student numbers (110) is only a 12% reduction, mimicking that seen across the country as a whole. Thus, apart from the two outliers discussed later, there is nothing to suggest that the pandemic has distorted the locations of UK-based students in the census outputs.

In the next sections the changes that have taken place in each community between 2011 and 2021 are discussed in more detail. The communities are grouped primarily

by their dominant 2011 geodemographic class, and each section is accompanied by a table. For each community, the tables present the 2021 population and the proportion of that population falling into the under 16 and over 65 age bands (to give a flavour of the overall age profile of the community). Where appropriate, the proportion of the 2021 population consisting of students or post-2011 "new arrivals" into the UK are also listed. Also shown are the absolute and proportional changes in population since 2011, and the constituent parts of the changes are tabulated; where an influence is small (fewer than a change of 20) an asterisk is shown. Finally, the impact of natural change (excess of births over deaths) and of net migration is shown, so that the element having greater influence can be readily understood.

Group (i): Areas with a presence of footloose cosmopolitan professionals: See Table 5

As mentioned earlier, each of the communities in this group includes 15–27% "new arrivals" who have settled in the UK since the 2011 census. However, there are two quite distinct sub-groupings here. In three localities with internationally known universities (Cambridge, Oxford and Bath) only a small proportion of the "new arrivals" are students. However, more than 40% of "new arrivals" in employment are working in education (in Oxford it is more than 47%) – probably as university academics or researchers, and around 20% in professional services; these proportions are slightly higher than for employed Jews in those communities as a whole. Conversely, in the other three localities (all in Inner London), students, though forming only a minor element, form a much larger proportion of the new arrivals than they do in the permanent population; however, by far the largest group are those employed in the professional, financial and information sectors; education forms only a very small element. The proportions of new arrivals in financial services and to a lesser extent information/communications is materially higher than for the communities as a whole.

Natural change (that is, the difference between births and deaths) has caused up to a 7% change in the population of all these communities. This is likely to be primarily driven by permanent residents of the areas. Changes due to migration vary rather more between the communities, and is likely to be driven by international moves. If we look back a decade, a comparison of the 2011 and 2021 census outputs shows that almost half of the 2001–2010 arrivals enumerated across England and Wales at the 2011 census had departed by the time of the 2021 census. There is thus a significant turnover in non-UK-born Jewish people in England and Wales, and duration of stay can be expected to vary between employment sectors – this class thus lives up to its moniker of footloose cosmopolitan professionals.

Table 6 Group (ii): Areas with a strong student presence

Community	2021 population				Change 2011 to 2021		Breakdown of change				Change as proportion of 2011 population	
	Total	Proportion age < 16	Proportion age 65+	Proportion students	People	As proportion of 2011 population	"Births"	"Deaths"	Students	Net other migration	Natural change	Net migration
Birmingham and Solihull	1530	0.07	0.22	0.38	−540	−0.26	60	−240	−140	−220	−0.09	−0.17
Nottingham and West Bridgford	1260	0.07	0.15	0.50	−260	−0.17	50	−80	−100	−130	−0.02	−0.15
Bristol	1240	0.11	0.09	0.34	450	0.57	80	−40	200	210	0.05	0.52
Cardiff	670	0.10	0.30	0.16	−120	−0.16	40	−120	40	−80	−0.10	−0.05
Newcastle upon Tyne	540	0.12	0.33	0.17	−70	−0.11	30	−80	*	−30	−0.09	−0.02
Sheffield	500	0.10	0.24	0.19	−160	−0.24	30	−60	−40	−80	−0.05	−0.19
Norwich	390	0.12	0.16	0.20	110	0.40	20	*	30	80	0.03	0.38
Canterbury and Whitstable	250	0.11	0.29	0.19	30	0.11	*	*	*	40	−0.05	0.16
Southampton	240	0.09	0.18	0.27	10	0.06	*	*	*	*	0.06	0.00
Group (ii) sub-total	*6600*	*0.09*	*0.20*	*0.32*	*− 540*	*− 0.08*	*320*	*−640*	*−20*	*−200*	*−0.04*	*−0.03*

Italicised final lines in this table simply differentiate the subtotals from the individual entries above

*Indicates a minimal change or contribution (fewer than 20)

Group (ii) and (iii) communities (blue-collar and student urbanites): See Tables 6 and 7

The 2011 geodemographic assessment showed that these communities shared a number of characteristics, such as low levels of self-employment, high levels of single-person households, and low levels of home and car ownership, when compared with average values for Anglo–Jewry. However, a number of the identified communities include a high proportion of students, due to the major universities located there – potentially sufficiently large to mask some of the characteristics of the permanent (non-student) community. These are the Group (ii) *Areas with a strong student presence* presented in Table 6, indeed (in combination with Cambridge, Oxford and Bath as previously discussed) these are the only localities with more than 15% students, rising to half the community in the case of Nottingham. (Note that Birmingham has been included in this group due to its high student proportion, but its non-student population shares many of the "comfortable home-grown elders" characteristics and is mentioned again in that section.)

There is a generally consistent picture presented by the communities in Table 6. The proportion of the population aged under 16 years is very much exceeded by that for those older than 65 years, and deaths exceed births (natural change is negative). Although the change in student numbers in Nottingham and Birmingham are relatively large, at more than 100 students, given the size of the total student population in these cities, the reduction is (as discussed earlier) not out of line with a small year-on-year reduction in popularity. Some of the smaller communities in this group show positive net migration, but the absolute numbers of individuals concerned are low.

The one community which is a clear outlier in this group is Bristol. Not only has the number of students increased over the 2011–2021 period by a material number (200), but there has been a similar level of non-student net migration, adding up to an overall growth of the community by more than 50% in the decade, far greater than any other community in England and Wales (except for Canvey Island – see a later section). Clearly this warrants a more detailed examination.

The increase in non-student population is principally associated with those aged 15–34 years in 2011 (and thus 25–44 years in 2021), where there has been a net increase of 165 persons. As these adults are of child-bearing age, the change is also mirrored in the number of children enumerated. In 2011, there were 90 persons aged 17 years or younger, and in 2021 this had increased to 130; this is reflected in the excess of births over deaths for this community. Around two-thirds of employed 25–44 year olds (in 2021) in the Bristol community work in four fields: education; professional/technical professions; health; and information/communications. The proportions working in health (16.5%) and information/communications (13%) are 50% higher than the average for that age band for Anglo–Jewry as a whole. Referring again to the same age group, in Bristol, 13% were born in the Americas – twice the proportion found across Anglo–Jewry. Overall, half of the non-student increase in community population is focussed in just five MSOAs, where the number of Jewish residents has grown by more than 140% between 2011 and 2021 (the student increases are found in MSOAs already popular with students).

Table 7 Group (iii): Low self-employment urbanites

Community	2021 population			Change 2011 to 2021		Breakdown of change			Change as proportion of 2011 population	
	Total	Proportion age < 16	Proportion age 65+	People	As proportion of 2011 population	"Births"	"Deaths"	Net migration	Natural change	Net migration
Inner East and NE London	5480	0.18	0.16	420	0.08	710	−560	280	0.03	0.06
Manchester, Salford and Trafford North	3080	0.21	0.17	150	0.05	400	−320	60	0.03	0.02
Croydon and Streatham (Outer London)	1060	0.13	0.24	−100	−0.09	60	−130	−30	−0.06	−0.02
Stevenage, Hitchin and Letchworth (London Fringe)	490	0.15	0.24	130	0.36	40	−30	120	0.04	0.32
Milton Keynes	340	0.07	0.32	−50	−0.14	*	−30	−40	−0.03	−0.11
Hastings and Bexhill	280	0.09	0.39	50	0.21	*	−40	90	−0.16	0.37
Colchester	240	0.10	0.25	40	0.20	*	*	40	0.02	0.19
Northampton	200	0.09	0.29	−50	−0.20	*	−30	−30	−0.09	−0.11
Group (iii) sub-total	*11,200*	*0.17*	*0.19*	*580*	*0.05*	*1240*	*− 1140*	*480*	*0.01*	*0.05*

Italicised final lines in this table simply differentiate the subtotals from the individual entries above

*Indicates a minimal change or contribution (fewer than 20)

Table 8 Group (iv): Areas where comfortable educated suburbanites dominate

Community	2021 population			Change 2011 to 2021		Breakdown of change			Change as proportion of 2011 population	
	Total	Proportion age < 16	Proportion age 65 +	People	As proportion of 2011 population	"Births"	"Deaths"	Net migration	Natural change	Net migration
Hendon North, Finchley, Muswell Hill and Hampstead (Outer London)	27,580	0.23	0.24	−270	−0.01	3470	−1930	−1810	0.06	−0.06
SW London (Outer London)	3080	0.14	0.31	−340	−0.10	280	−380	−240	−0.03	−0.07
West Surrey (London Fringe)	1840	0.13	0.28	−80	−0.04	130	−160	−40	−0.02	−0.02
St Albans and Welwyn Garden City (London Fringe)	1490	0.18	0.21	270	0.22	110	−50	210	0.05	0.17
East Berkshire and Wycombe (London Fringe)	1000	0.13	0.29	80	0.08	*	−60	130	−0.06	0.15
Reading and Wokingham	880	0.13	0.24	−120	−0.12	50	−50	−120	0.00	−0.12
Group (iv) sub-total	*35,900*	*0.21*	*0.25*	*− 450*	*− 0.01*	*4040*	*− 2630*	*− 1870*	*0.04*	*− 0.05*

Italicised final lines in this table simply differentiate the subtotals from the individual entries above

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Enquiries have been made of a number of community bodies in Bristol to see if they can shed any qualitative light on the increase in both student and non-student numbers in the city. The consensus view, as regards non-students, is that Bristol has drawn in a number of young families because house prices and the environment compare very favourably with London; Bristol provides all the facilities of a large city but is surrounded by attractive countryside; and it has good transport links to other major centres. Comment was also made regarding Israelis moving to the city to work in technology and defence. It should be noted, however, that although the 2021 census shows more than 120 persons (all religions) born in Israel living in Bristol, no more than about 70 ticked the "Jewish" box on the religion question (and thus only these 70 are included in this study's tables); this latter figure is an increase of fewer than 20 on the equivalent 2011 figure. The student increase may be a self-generating trend, whereby an increase in popularity of Bristol's places of study has led to expansion of organizations which provide support to Jewish students, which has led to a continuing increase in attractiveness. Certainly, the Bristol Jewish student society claims to be "the fastest developing JSoc [Jewish Society] in the world" (See https://www.facebook.com/bristol.jsoc/?locale=en_GB).

Group (iii) *Low self-employment urbanite* communities with a lower proportion of students (generally below 7%) are presented in Table 7. The student proportion in Manchester is higher than the other communities in this group, at 11%, and the number of students has fallen considerably in the 2011–2021 period; on the basis of 2011 data alone it would have featured in Table 6. The smaller communities in this group all have an excess of people aged 65 years compared with those under 16 years, and the number of deaths is greater than the number of births. The two largest communities in this group buck the trend. Both these communities have high numbers of 20–45 year olds, and provide this age group with easy access to the work and leisure opportunities in central London and central Manchester, respectively, but provide housing that is more affordable than in the adjoining suburban communities.

The increasing attractiveness of the London Fringe, compared with areas within Great London itself is discussed more in a later section, but it appears that the Stevenage area, at the edge of that fringe, is already benefitting from considerable net in-migration.

Group (iv): Communities where comfortable educated suburbanites dominate: See Table 8

All areas where the *Comfortable educated suburbanites* category dominates are to be found in London and the surrounding area. Most of the communities in this group have experienced a stable population size in the last decade (in the −10% to+10% range). However, the growth of the St Albans and Welwyn Garden City community was 22%. This area benefits from being at the leading edge of the London community's expansion into Hertfordshire. In part this is driven by the house price differential between the core area of the London community in the London Borough of Barnet and housing costs in central Hertfordshire (quantified in a later section of this paper), leading to a "meta-suburbanisation" northwards drift of the

community (that is, from the outer suburbs but not to the rural area beyond, but to previously free-standing small towns that, because of population drift, are becoming major urban centres/suburbs themselves). This factor has had a similar impact on the adjoining Hertsmere and Hatfield area considered in the next section. The price differential has also led families moving from some of the provincial "comfortable home-grown elders" areas in search of a more vibrant Jewish community to settle in Hertfordshire, rather than London itself.

Class (v): Affluent home-grown commuter communities: See Table 9

With the exception of the South Trafford and Stockport community in the Manchester area, all of the predominantly *Affluent home-grown commuter* communities are to be found in the London area. Most of the communities in this group have shown a small positive population change in the 2011–2021 period. The major exception is Hertsmere and Hatfield, with almost 30% growth, which, as mentioned above, benefits from the house price differential between London and Hertfordshire. The other exception in the South Trafford and Stockport community; although its socio-economic characteristics are similar to the other communities in this group, it has a higher proportion of more elderly persons, and its contraction since 2011 follows the pattern of the communities discussed in the next section.

Class (vi): Communities of comfortable home-grown elders: See Table 10

The number of communities with a material *Comfortable home-grown elders* element forms the largest grouping. Of the 21 areas in this group [plus Birmingham whose categorisation is borderline between student Group (ii) and Group (vi)], all but three show a reduction in population since 2011. This group demonstrates an age profile biased towards the older ages, few younger people and major excess of deaths over births, and many have noticeable levels of net out-migration. In total, their Jewish populations have fallen from 80,000 to 50,000 in just 20 years. The six worst

Table 9 Group (v): Areas where affluent home-grown commuters predominate

Community	2021 Population			Change 2011 to 2021		Breakdown of change			Change as proportion of 2011 population	
	Total	Proportion age < 16	Proportion age 65 +	People	As proportion of 2011 population	"Births"	"Deaths"	Net migration	Natural change	Net migration
Hertsmere, Hatfield and London Colney (London Fringe)	20,450	0.22	0.21	4570	0.29	2400	−450	2610	0.12	0.16
Edgware, Mill Hill and High Barnet (Outer London)	17,890	0.24	0.24	1310	0.08	2370	−980	−70	0.08	0.00
Epping Forest and West Essex (London Fringe)	4740	0.15	0.27	540	0.13	390	−180	330	0.05	0.08
West Herts and East Bucks (London Fringe)	4460	0.14	0.29	60	0.01	280	−290	80	0.00	0.02
Trafford South, Stockport and North-East Cheshire (Manchester area)	3690	0.16	0.34	−230	−0.06	270	−320	−180	−0.01	−0.05
Group (v) sub-total	*51,200*	*0.21*	*0.24*	*6260*	*0.14*	*5710*	*− 2230*	*2780*	*0.08*	*0.06*

Italicised final lines in this table simply differentiate the subtotals from the individual entries above

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affected communities (with 2011–2021 losses of 25–45%) – Luton, Birmingham, Redbridge,[5] Harrow, and in particular Southport and Hull – are in rapid decline; although the two outer London areas (Redbridge and Harrow) are still substantial communities, any significant recovery for any of these six areas seems unlikely.

Group (vii) Communities: Orthodox enclaves/"Haredi" Jews: See Table 11

Overall, the largest increases in population would be expected to be associated with communities that fall into this group (which combines the "very young deprived traditionalists" and the "young fairly comfortable conservatives" geodemographic classes), as the locations covered are known to be the home of Britain's "Haredi" Jewish communities (Graham and Vulkan 2008; Staetsky and Boyd 2015). The actual 2011–2021 population changes (as reported in the census outputs) are, however, more mixed. The increase in the Broughton Park area within the Manchester community is substantial (at 28%), though less than the 38% witnessed in the previous decade. Using the Broughton Park change as a benchmark, the changes in the other relevant areas – Stamford Hill and Golders Green/South Hendon in London, and in particular at Gateshead (where the census reports a small reduction) – are less positive than expected. As regards the London areas, property prices and limited availability of additional housing for very large families may be forcing some families to look elsewhere, and not just within the UK. As noted by Staetsky (2022, 8), "The haredi population is genuinely global. Significant migration streams connect all haredi populations to Israel and to each other. Much of the global migration among haredi Jews is driven by marriage, as well as by employment, business and study opportunities."

To illustrate the issue of housing costs, Table 12 sets out data extracted from the Land Registry website (HM Land Registry 2022), showing the average price of semi-detached houses in the London Borough of Barnet (location of Golders Green/Hendon South, and the most populous Borough for Jewish people in England and Wales), Hackney (the location of Stamford Hill), Castle Point (Canvey Island) and Hertfordshire (the most popular county in the London 'Fringe'). The prices are for June 2018 (the latest month available), and for June 2008 (10 years earlier).

Housing costs are certainly an issue for the Stamford Hill community. Indeed, one of the solutions that some families from the area have found is to develop a new community in Canvey Island, 50 km to the east. A targeted effort to find a place which would provide affordable housing, yet with relatively easy access back to London and Stamford Hill, explains the emergence of a new community of more than 400 individuals that did not exist in 2011 (Hawkins 2020; Flint Ashery 2020), hence the more than 700% growth there. Canvey Island was thus not identified in work associated with the 2011 census.

[5] Much has changed as regards the fortunes of the Redbridge community since Kosmin and Levy surveyed the community more than 40 years ago (Kosmin and Levy 1983).

Table 10 Group (vi): Areas where comfortable home-grown elders predominate

Community	2021 Population			Change 2011 to 2021		Breakdown of change			Change as proportion of 2011 population	
	Total	Proportion age < 16	Proportion age 65 +	People	As proportion of 2011 population	"Births"	"Deaths"	Net migration	Natural change	Net migration
Harrow, Hillingdon and Wembley (Outer London)	9820	0.08	0.50	−4510	−0.31	370	−2240	−2650	−0.13	−0.18
Redbridge, Havering and Chingford (Outer London)	8660	0.11	0.41	−3630	−0.30	530	−1720	−2430	−0.10	−0.20
Prestwich, Whitefield and Bury (Manchester area)	6610	0.19	0.31	−100	−0.01	730	−620	−200	0.02	−0.03
Leeds	6380	0.12	0.34	−660	−0.09	450	−790	−320	−0.05	−0.05
Enfield Town, East Barnet and Broxbourne (Outer London)	3620	0.13	0.37	−740	−0.17	280	−540	−480	−0.06	−0.11
Brighton with Shoreham and Seaford	2790	0.11	0.34	−230	−0.07	110	−440	100	−0.11	0.03
Southend, Hadleigh and Rayleigh	2730	0.12	0.43	−20	−0.01	150	−370	200	−0.08	0.07
Liverpool	1830	0.13	0.38	−320	−0.15	120	−310	−130	−0.09	−0.06
Bournemouth, Poole and Christchurch	1790	0.06	0.50	−250	−0.12	50	−400	100	−0.17	0.05
Bromley area (Outer London)	1020	0.11	0.32	−30	−0.02	80	−90	*	−0.01	−0.02
Worthing and Littlehampton	510	0.09	0.41	50	0.12	*	−70	100	−0.11	0.22
Sutton, Epsom and Banstead (London Fringe)	490	0.14	0.28	0	0.01	30	−50	30	−0.04	0.05
Blackpool and St Annes	480	0.04	0.46	−100	−0.18	*	−90	−20	−0.13	−0.04
Leicester, Oadby and Wigston	360	0.21	0.26	−20	−0.06	*	−50	20	−0.11	0.04
Chelmsford	300	0.11	0.24	60	0.27	*	*	70	−0.02	0.30
Thanet	270	0.06	0.41	−10	−0.03	*	−60	50	−0.20	0.17
Eastbourne	250	0.02	0.59	0	0.02	*	−40	40	−0.16	0.18

Table 10 (continued)

Community	2021 Population			Change 2011 to 2021		Breakdown of change			Change as proportion of 2011 population	
	Total	Proportion age < 16	Proportion age 65 +	People	As proportion of 2011 population	"Births"	"Deaths"	Net migration	Natural change	Net migration
Luton	250	0.04	0.33	−80	−0.25	*	−40	−50	−0.10	−0.15
Southport	220	0.05	0.52	−150	−0.41	*	−90	−70	−0.23	−0.18
Portsmouth	190	0.03	0.31	−30	−0.15	*	−20	*	−0.09	−0.06
Hull and western villages	160	0.11	0.37	−120	−0.43	*	−80	−50	−0.26	−0.17
Group (vi) sub-total	*48,700*	*11%*	*40%*	*− 10,870*	*− 0.18*	*2980*	*−8110*	*−5730*	*−0.09*	*−0.10*

Italicised final lines in this table simply differentiate the subtotals from the individual entries above

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Table 11 Group (vii): Orthodox enclaves

Community	2021 Population			Change 2011 to 2021		Breakdown of change			Change as proportion of 2011 population	
	Total	Proportion age < 16	Proportion age 65 +	People	As proportion of 2011 population	"Births"	"Deaths"	Net migration	Natural change	Net migration
Stamford Hill (Inner London)	18,990	0.47	0.05	2770	0.17	6100	−480	−2860	0.35	−0.18
Golders Green and Hendon South (Outer London)	16,210	0.35	0.14	1070	0.07	3660	−1060	−1530	0.17	−0.10
Broughton Park area (Manchester area)	14,570	0.46	0.09	3180	0.28	3550	−600	230	0.26	0.02
Gateshead	2810	0.50	0.04	−120	−0.04	900	−20	−990	0.30	−0.34
Canvey Island	480	0.58	0.06	420	7.15	40	*	400	0.41	6.75
Group (vii) sub-total	*53,100*	*0.44*	*0.09*	*7320*	*0.16*	*14,240*	*− 2170*	*− 4750*	*0.26*	*− 0.10*

Italicised final lines in this table simply differentiate the subtotals from the individual entries above

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Table 12 Land Registry semi-detached house average prices

Date	Barnet	Hertfordshire	Hackney	Castle Point
June 2008	£439,003	£291,557	£496,931	£194,765
June 2018	£711,950	£468,032	£916,969	£282,263

Census Undercount in Stamford Hill

Clearly, housing costs and a new community of fewer than 500 individuals may not explain the entirety of the low growth in Stamford Hill. It has been suggested that the lower than expected growth in Stamford Hill results from under-counting of Jews in the census. Clearly, if Jewish households do not tick the Jewish box on the census religion question (or do not complete the form at all), there will be an under-count. The former will be recorded in the census as religion question not answered; the latter should be included through ONS's imputation process and be allocated the religion as recorded for the donor household (ONS 2022b). To address this issue quantitatively, the LSOAs in Stamford Hill and the whole of the London Borough of Hackney have been sub-divided into three groups. There are 21 LSOAs which, at all three twenty-first century censuses, have recorded a Jewish proportion of their population in excess of 15% (and in some cases in excess of 50%); the second group are the 76 LSOAs which (at all three censuses) reported fewer than 2% Jewish residents. The remaining LSOAs with an intermediate proportion of Jewish respondents have not been made use of in the assessment. The proportion of respondents who failed to answer the religion question in the second group should reflect the behaviour of the wider (non-Jewish) local population. Given the high proportion of Jewish respondents in the first group, the proportion not answering the question can be assumed to be strongly influenced by the approach adopted by Stamford Hill Jewry.

The result of this analysis are summaries in Table 13. It shows that of the wider Hackney population, 10.9%, 9.0% and 7.4% did not respond to the religion question at the three censuses, respectively (this compares with 7.7%, 7.1%, and 6.0% across England and Wales as a whole, respectively) – that is, a gradual increase in the proportion answering the question. For the areas with a high proportion of Jews, the proportion was 19.0%, 12.7% and 15.0%, respectively, an improving level of response between 2001 and 2011, but a reduced level of responding between 2011 and 2021. The question arises as to how this information should be interpreted; one approach is set out below.

If it was argued that the difference in response rates between the "high Jewish" LSOAs and the "non-Jewish" areas of Hackney was solely as a result of a different behavior of Jewish individuals compared with the wider population, then a very large under-count would be exposed. Jews made up 27%, 39% and 42% of the population of the 21 LSOAs at each census, respectively. If it were to be assumed that the remaining 73%, 61%, and 58% had a non-response rate as found in the 76 LSOAs (10.9%, 9.0% and 7.4%), respectively, then to achieve the overall non-response rates of 19.0%, 12.7% and 15%, the Jewish non-response rate would have to have been 27.3%, 18.5%, and 25.5% in 2001, 2011, and 2021, respectively. If we were to

Table 13 Comparison of levels of no response to the religion question

Census	2001		2011		2021	
Response	Jewish	Not answered	Jewish	Not answered	Jewish	Not answered
Hackney/Stamford Hill area						
21 LSOAs each with 15–60% Jewish residents at all three censuses	27.3%	19.0%	38.8%	12.7%	42.1%	15.0%
76 LSOAs each with 0–2% Jewish residents at all three censuses	1.1%	10.9%	0.9%	9.0%	1.0%	7.4%

recalculate the Jewish population on these response rates, it would produce Stamford Hill community population figures of 11,560, 18,100 and 23,600[6] for 2001, 2011 and 2021, respectively (and intercensal growth rates of 56% and 30%, respectively). This approach assumes that the whole of the difference in response rates between the areas is solely attributable to the behaviour of the Jewish population, and thus provides one end of a spectrum of possible interpretations of the data, but does give some weight to the argument of under-recording of Jews in the strictly-orthodox communities.

Gateshead

However, out-migration or under-recording cannot explain the absence of reported growth in the Gateshead community, thus a different aspect has been considered here. Gateshead is the location of a number of well-respected centres (British English spelling) of Jewish learning, including the largest such institution in Europe (Flint Ashery 2020). If international migration is relevant to the Gateshead situation, it would relate more to a reduction in students coming from abroad rather than local residents emigrating in large numbers. Gateshead was expected to show a material increase in population between 2011 and 2021, particularly as a very steep rise (from 1540 to 2940) had been recorded between 2001 and 2011. However, the 2021 figure is only 2800, a slight fall on the 2011 figure. Given the disparity between the published figure and previous expectations, some further analysis is warranted.

Previous investigations have been carried out looking at the exceptionally large rise between 2001 and 2011 (Staetsky 2017; Sapiro 2016b, pp. 217–220). The first study focussed on the lack of space for entering more than five household members on the 2001 census form (an issue of less significance at the later censuses) and the latter on the omission (or recording as 'religion not stated' rather than Jewish) of some of the boarders at the learning institutions in 2001. As part of the current study, the issue of

[6] Note that to ensure these estimates remain on an equitable basis to other figures quoted in this paper, they have been "discounted" by the wider Hackney non-response rate.

if and how boarders at the institutions have been recorded on the three twenty-first century censuses has been re-visited to see if it sheds some light on the unexpected population reduction in the 2021 census. The analysis is summarized in Table 14.

The table lists all the major learning and teaching institutions together with the output areas in which they lie. It also presents the numbers of "educational institution" residents in 2001 and 2011 recorded as Jewish or religion not stated, and the equivalent numbers for the whole output areas (that is, in households as well as institutions/communal establishments). It is clear that, for 2001, only three of the seven institutions (totalling 347 residents) were recorded in the census as being Jewish. For 2011, four institutions (totalling 715 residents) were similarly recorded. For the 2021 census, ONS has only made outputs for communal establishments available down to MSOA level, and not split between types of communal establishment. However, this does not limit the assessment, as the 2021 outputs record only two Jews living in communal establishments in any part of Gateshead, and neither is in an MSOA where our institutions are located. Thus we can unambiguously conclude that no residents of the institutions have been recorded as Jewish in the 2021 census (it is possible that two are recorded as religion not stated, and one may actually have been recorded as having ticked the "no religion" box). Clearly, the overall number of Jews in Gateshead has been under-recorded in all 3 years. However, rather than try to estimate the missing numbers, a more useful comparison is achieved by deducting the known educational establishment residents recorded as Jewish (shown at the foot of the table – 347, 715 and 0, respectively) from the total Jewish residents recorded at each census (1550, 2930 and 2810, respectively – see Table 2), to produce figures for Jewish individuals living in households of 1200, 2210, and 2810 for 2001, 2011 and 2021, respectively. On this basis, the figures show an increase of 27% between 2011 and 2021, a rate consistent with that measured for Broughton Park.

Summary of analysis

Finally, Table 15 brings together and summarises the information set out in the previous tables. It includes the overall figures for each of the community groups previously discussed, enabling them to be compared more directly. For example, it highlights the high proportion of under 16 year olds in the Orthodox enclaves group and the high proportion of over 65 year olds in the comfortable home-grown elders group, and thus the contrasting impact of natural change for those groups. It also shows that the majority of change at a group level is focused on the last three groups under consideration; notwithstanding that the table is based on the published census data, so the various under-counting issues established for Orthodox enclaves are not reflected in the figures shown. Table 15 also presents the national situation, with some natural growth offset by a smaller net out-migration.

Table 14 Output area census data for Gateshead Jewish educational establishments

Institution and OA code	2001 census					2011 census					2021 census				
	In educational establishments		In households or any communal establishment		Conclusion	In educational establishments		In households or any communal establishment		Conclusion	In communal establishments		In households or any communal establishment		Conclusion
	Jewish	"No response"	Jewish	"No response"		Jewish	"No response"	Jewish	"No response"		Jewish	"No response"	Jewish	"No response"	
Gateshead Kolel E00166201 Jewish Boarding School E00166201	0	0	291	146	Not included	0	0	284	37	Not included	0	29	282	37	Not included
Gateshead Talmudical College (Yeshiva) E00166183/5	0	279	144	358	Included as "no response"	306	0	503	22	**Included as Jewish**	0		82	23	Not included
Sunderland Talmudical Collage E00041869	0	0	0	17	Not included (or no boarders)	0	0	1	12	Not included (or no boarders)	0	‡	21	15	**Perhaps included as "no response"**
Gateshead Jewish Academy for Girls E00041866	21	16	79	41	**Included as Jewish**	16	0	138	8	**Included as Jewish**	0	18	164	41	**Perhaps included as "no response"**
Mishkan Torah Yeshiva E00041780	21	3	21	21	**Included as Jewish**	0	0	0	15	Not included (or no boarders)	0	‡	0	13	Not included (or no boarders)

Table 14 (continued)

Institution and OA code	2001 census					2011 census					2021 census				
	In educational establishments		In households or any communal establishment		Conclusion	In educational establishments		In households or any communal establishment		Conclusion	In communal establishments		In households or any communal establishment		Conclusion
	Jewish	"No response"	Jewish	"No response"		Jewish	"No response"	Jewish	"No response"		Jewish	"No response"	Jewish	"No response"	
Gateshead Jewish Teachers Training College E00041395	305	13	313	46	**Included as Jewish**	274	35	275	43	**Included as Jewish**	0	227 (whole MSOA)	37	163	Possibly included as "no response" or "no religion"
Yeshiva Lezeirim Tiferes E00041364	0	0	39	38	Not included (or no boarders)	119	3	164	38	**Included as Jewish**	0	40	146	48	Not included
Included as Jewish	**347**					**715**					**0**				

Bold simply differentiates between those institutions which were recorded as Jewish in the censuses (and thus contribute to the totals shown in the final line of the continuation table) compared with those that do not

Discussion and Conclusions

So, has an understanding of the socio-economic characteristic of each of the communities "explained" their changes in population since 2011? Broadly speaking the answer is clearly "yes," particularly when the split between natural change and net migration is demonstrated, and factors such as "meta-suburbanisation" in the London Fringe area, the impact of student numbers in university towns and special factors affecting Haredi areas are also taken into account.

The London area remains the home of the overwhelming majority of Anglo–Jewry. Numbers in this area have remained almost constant over the last 20 years, but without breaking the area down further it would not have been possible to provide an understanding of the reasons underpinning this. Even a simple subdivision of the area into Inner London (growing by 5% in each of the last two decades), Outer London (falling by 6%) and London Fringe (growing by 19%) does not tell the whole story. However, subdividing the area into 22 sub-communities, on the basis of a geodemographic assessment, has provided a much clearer understanding of which parts of the area are growing and why this growth is taking place. Similarly, a breaking down of the second largest community (the Manchester area) shows that although the community as a whole has grown noticeably in the last 20 years, for almost the entire geographic area, the Jewish population has fallen by 10% in this period. The compact Broughton Park Haredi area has grown by more than 75%. In 2001, Jewish people living in that area made up 36% of the Manchester area population; now, that sub-area represents more than half of the community's Jewish population.

Across England and Wales as a whole, the areas where Haredi communities are to be found – Stamford Hill, Golders Green, Gateshead, Broughton Park and Canvey Island – have grown from 30,000 in 2001 (11% of the total) to 53,000 in 2021 (20% of the total), ignoring the issue of potential under-counting and missing education establishment residents. However, the analysis presented in this paper demonstrates that a conclusion that Haredi communities are growing and non-Haredi communities are shrinking, as hinted at by the title of Graham's (2013) paper, over-simplifies the situation. There are 11 free-standing communities (or sub-communities in the London area) which have grown, in combination, from 20,000 Jewish residents in 2001 to 31,000 in 2021 (each growing by 20–75% in that period). Conversely, six communities in severe decline have also been identified. This analysis has focused on areas with at least 200 Jewish residents in at least one of the last three censuses. Although more than 40 small communities, which each exceeded 60 Jews at one of the censuses, have also been identified, their small numbers have made more detailed analysis of those areas impractical. Some of these (for example, Chatham, Coventry, Plymouth and Swansea) have been more substantial communities in the relatively recent past (The Jewish Year Book 1896–2015); others are located in the areas just beyond the London Fringe – many of these are growing, as outward migration from London continues.

This paper has provided a snapshot of the geographical distribution of Anglo–Jewry in the first two decades of the twenty-first century. The picture

Table 15 Overall sub-group and national 2011 to 2021 population changes

Sub-group	2021 Population			Change 2011 to 2021		Breakdown of change			Change as proportion of 2011 population	
Communities with over 200 persons:	Total	Proportion age < 16	Proportion age 65+	People	As proportion of 2011 population	"Births"	"Deaths"	Net migration	Natural change	Net migration
(i) Footloose cosmopolitan professionals	*35,600*	*0.15*	*0.20*	*−500*	*−0.01*	*3400*	*−2870*	*−1030*	*0.01*	*−0.03*
(ii) Areas with a strong student presence	*6600*	*0.09*	*0.20*	*−540*	*−0.08*	*320*	*−640*	*−220*	*−0.04*	*−0.03*
(iii) Low self-employment urbanites	*11,200*	*0.17*	*0.19*	*580*	*0.05*	*1240*	*− 1140*	*480*	*0.01*	*0.05*
(iv) Comfortable educated suburbanites	*35,900*	*0.21*	*0.25*	*−450*	*−0.01*	*4040*	*−2630*	*−1870*	*0.04*	*−0.05*
(v) Affluent home-grown commuters	*51,200*	*0.21*	*0.24*	*6260*	*0.14*	*5710*	*−2230*	*2780*	*0.08*	*0.06*
(vi) Comfortable home-grown elders	*48,700*	*0.11*	*0.40*	*−10,870*	*−0.18*	*2980*	*−8110*	*−5730*	*−0.09*	*−0.10*
(vii) Orthodox enclaves	*53,100*	*0.44*	*0.09*	*7320*	*0.16*	*14,240*	*−2170*	*−4750*	*0.26*	*−0.10*
Sub-total (all communities over 200 persons)	242,200	0.23	0.23	1810	0.01	31,900	−19,800	−10,300	0.05	−0.04
Remainder of England and Wales	29,000	0.10	0.29	4330	0.17	3200	−1600	2740	0.06	0.11
England and Wales total	271,300	0.21	0.24	6140	0.02	35,100	−21,400	−7560	0.05	−0.03

presented is one of a stable (indeed slightly growing) overall population, but with a large variation in fortunes of the many communities that make up Anglo–Jewry.

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