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LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

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Independent Geographical Project

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Why Radlett?

A study of the factors influencing migration patterns of London's Jewish community

I, David Graham, hereby state that this project is my own work and that all sources are made explicit in the text.

Signed

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Abstract

The Jewish community of Radlett has undergone strong growth over the past ten years. This paper examines, via the results of a mail-back survey, how economic, social, religious and other factors have interacted to create distinctive settlement patterns. Comparisons with similar findings for other Jewish communities are made. It concludes that the most important factor influencing residential location is access to a place of work but that the combined effects of community and materialism will ultimately determine the development pattern of any individual community.

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CHAPTER 1 - Introduction to the study

1.1 - The 'problem' and the aims

The majority of Britain's Jewish population live in urban regions of whom 67 per cent (101,000 people) live in or near to London (Schmool & Cohen, 1990). This population is residentially dynamic and mobile; for over 100 years it has been moving from the east to the west of the capital. The most recent growth has been in the Home Counties and between 1977 and 1990 these grew by 21.8 per cent (Schmool & Cohen, 1990). One settlement that has experienced much of this growth is Radlett, a small town in south Hertfordshire (see map 1).

These developments elicit a number of interesting questions:

i Why has the migration been in this (east to west) direction?

ii What settlement patterns have emerged as this migration has progressed?

iii Why are the Home Counties now experiencing Jewish population growth?

iv Can future movements be predicted?

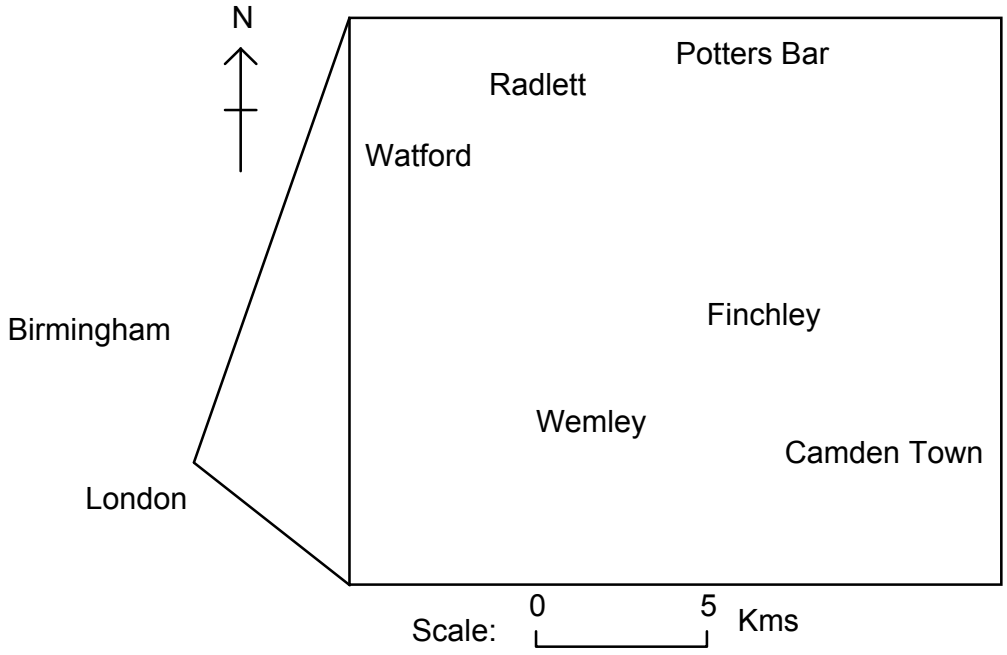
An attempt at answering *Question i* was put forward by Lipman (1968). He said that East End Jews of the 1870s were attracted away from the City of London because of a growth in affordable public transport and housing. Redevelopment in the central areas caused a loss of accommodation and since the main axis of transport communications, and hence newer housing development, ran westwards from the City, Jewish settlement spread in this direction.

Traditional views have tended to describe the general pattern of Jewish settlement in terms of urban residential segregation. However, in answering *Question ii*, Waterman (1989) showed that in the London Borough of Barnet, it was very uncommon for Jews to form a majority even at Enumeration District level. In 1984, 17 per cent of the Borough's population were Jewish; over half of these lived in only six out of 20 wards yet they failed to form a majority in any. Of the 101 Polling Districts in Barnet, Jews form a majority in only four. Indeed, most wards in Barnet had very few Jews but crucially, where Jews did locate, they tended to live in clusters within the same roads and blocks, i.e. they congregated but did not segregate.

Schmool & Cohen (1990) attribute the rise of the Jewish population in the South East to the continuing out-flow of young families to communities contiguous with Greater London. The Home Counties happen to lie on this migration axis and thus, *Question iii* can be explained by 'communal saturation' in communities such as Elstree and Borehamwood (Chippeck, Board of Deputies, pers. comm. 1995). This population growth has forced up house prices and physically removed people

further and further out, away from synagogues, making movement to the nearest similar settlement inevitable.

Map 1 Location of Radlett and the Home Counties
Source: Ordnance Survey (1990)



The final question, regarding the future, is perhaps the most difficult one to answer. It requires a thorough understanding of the present influences on movement and how these are likely to change in the future. *This paper is an attempt to establish exactly what these main influences, or driving forces, are and hence what future trends might be likely to emerge*.

This concept can be reduced to three further questions:

i What are the main influences on Jewish residential location given that house purchase is, for most people, the largest, single financial undertaking of their lives? Is it therefore justifiable to assume that religious and social factors are as important as economic factors in the choice of residential location?

ii To what extent is segregation, at the urban scale, a process reflecting a conscious decision by Jews to live near other Jews and maintain cultural and religious identities?

iii If Jews *do* want to live with other Jews, how can the existence of new communities be explained? (Someone had to leave a community in the first place in order to originate a second one.)

1.2 - Scope and structure of the paper

This paper is within the realm of urban social geography. Its scope has been determined by Jones' recommendation (1960, in Waterman & Kosmin, 1986b) that a study requiring social data, should be carried out at a small scale, such as ward or even street level. This enables more meaningful statements regarding complex, observed residential patterns and processes to be made. The study will concentrate on the Jewish community and more specifically, members of the United Synagogue for reasons explained in 4.1..

The layout of the paper begins with an assessment of the nature and relevance of the study with respect to geography (Chapter 2) and goes on to look at previous works carried out within the realm of this subject area (Chapter 3). In Chapter 4, a methodological breakdown is presented, followed by an analysis and discussion of the results, in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2 - Justification for the study

2.1 - Relevance to geography

The inextricable connection between space and society has important impacts on the urban fabric. In an attempt to explain segregation, social organisation and physical movement, Park suggests that

> "as ties of race, of language, and of culture are weakened, successful [and ambitious] individuals move out and eventually find their places in business and in the professions ... The point is that the change of occupation, personal success or failure - changes of economic and social status, in short - tend to be registered in changes in location."
> (Park, 1926, in Kantrowitz, 1984:47)

2.2 - An area of limited research

Of the many reasons why this study area lacks investigative evidence, the most influential is probably due to the National Census containing no questions that refer specifically to religion or culture (Gay, 1971). Clearly, this represents a major data anomaly and stumbling block for researchers who, in the past, have had little alternative but to practise complicated methods of guess work (see for example; Waterman & Kosmin, 1986a; 1987 on Distinctive Jewish Names and Electoral Registers). Moreover, Shortridge (1976, in Park, 1994) and Park (1994) establish that 'the geography of religion' is in its infancy and that in the past two decades, very little study has been done in this sphere.

Research on Anglo-Jewry is consequently very limited (Schmool, Board of Deputies, pers. comm. 1995), although studies on residential location and change, in general, do exist (see for example Putman, 1978; Backler, 1974). However, little is known about the basic mechanisms of residential change and communal dynamics among Jewish population, i.e. people changing neighbourhoods (Driedger and Church, 1982; Goldschneider, 1986; Waterman and Kosmin, 1987). Hence, much is still not understood about this community and it's continuing distinctiveness (Schmool, Board of Deputies, pers. comm. 1995). Most studies of Jewish mobility and residential behaviour, have tended to be based on quantitative rather than qualitative data or were carried out on much larger scale than intra-London migration[1].

2.3 - Benefits to the community

[1]See for example, Reisman, 1995 on the location factors of the Jews of Alaska; Goldstein, 1990 on the migration patterns of the Jews of Rhode Island, New York.

A greater understanding of what makes a community *tick* (i.e. the main factors affecting its dynamism, successes and failures) would be very useful for communal planners looking to provide effective and efficient welfare and institutional services. They require knowledge of where potential clients are likely to be located in the future and, as a result, what infrastructural investments are necessary. Gay (1971) notes that an absolute decline in population combined with geographical spread of a community reduces the possibility for providing effective communal institutions and services.

CHAPTER 3 - Review of previous relevant works

3.1 - The surveys

There have been only a few surveys of the British Jewish community, most of which were concerned with the analysis of membership figures or quantitative mail-back questionnaires. As mentioned, a considerable amount of research on other communities does exist but it is often very difficult and tenuous to make direct comparisons between religious, ethnic, and cultural community traits (see 3.2 on Christian and Chinese communities).

The largest Jewish surveys have involved communities in Edgware, Redbridge and Barnet as well as national sample surveys such as the Kalms Review carried out by the United Synagogue in 1992. Krausz's 1968 study of the Edgware community was the first of its kind to formulate a socio-economic set of data on a specific community. At the time, Edgware was a small and growing community in north-west London; much the same as Radlett is today. Krausz used Census data to compare statistics already know about Edgware Jewry (based on membership records) with similar statistics on the UK and other Jewish surveys. A picture was formed of a young, upwardly and spatially mobile community.

A similar, though more in-depth, survey of the London Borough of Redbridge by Levy *et al* (1979) made use of local resources such as synagogue membership records and a local building society survey. They created a socio-demographic profile of the community representing 8.2 per cent of British Jewry. Distinctive in its north-east London location, Redbridge's population was 'extremely concentrated' in the central wards of the Borough (see map 2)[2]. It was found that the Jewish population concentration was more extreme

Map 2 Geographical distribution of the Jewish population of Redbridge 1978
Source: Levy et al (1979)

[2]The figures are absolute values and can therefore give misleading indications of density however Location Quotient calculations by Levy *et al* proved central densities of Jews to be higher than average.

than other ethnic groups and that a pattern of 'age zoning', with bias towards specific age groups as well as a social class, had developed.

The data used in Waterman's 1989 study of the London Borough of Barnet was based on Small Area Statistics at an Enumeration District (ED) level (a unit of less than 150 households). He identified 58 'Jewish EDs'[3] out of 227 using the Distinctive Jewish Names method on the Electoral Register. Using quantitative, socio-economic data, comparisons were then made between 'Jewish EDs' and 'Gentile EDs'. This proved to be an effective way of quantifying and describing a concept as abstract as the *Jewishness* of an area and avoided difficulties usually associated with a widespread questionnaire survey (such as targeting questions, the choice of questions, cost, sample nature and so on).

Although revealing, the above surveys lack a qualitative insight into community migration for example, ignoring the effects of prestige and social cohesion which it will be shown can be highly influential in shaping settlement patterns.

In an attempt to understand the qualitative forces acting on communities, Western (1992) carried out a study of the Barbadian community in London by comparing the views on home, identity, culture and place of the immigrants with those of their British-born offspring. Based on interviews with five families the main point to arise was that assimilation had led to reduced feelings of connection with Barbados and confusion as to exactly where 'home' was. Very few similar studies have been carried out on the Jewish community and so here Western provides inspirational material for analysing peoples' feelings, perceptions, and other issues of residential location not borne out in most data.

[3]A 'Jewish ED' represents an a district whose estimated Jewish population is 50 per cent or more of the total population.

3.2 - Community and space

On a broader picture, spatial analysis of ethnic groups provides the best forum with which to compare different communities and here are presented some studies regarding Christian communities.

In his analysis of territoriality in the Roman Catholic Church, Sack (1986) ventures that 'area' is used to control people. Places were set apart by boundaries, within which authority is exerted. Access to such places is controlled via a hierarchy of parishes, dioceses, and archdioceses (with equivalent leaders i.e. priests, bishops, and archbishops). Religion, according to Sack was not the only interest of the church; territory was intimately connected with the definition of authority. Since the middle ages a parish was often a political-administrative and economic unit as well as a religious one.

Although no equivalent unit exists for Jewish territoriality, the boundary of many (orthodox) communities might be well defined by a zone which is within walking distance of a synagogue (see 5.2.2). However, this is only strictly applied to a minority of communities but, may nevertheless be influential to many others. (See for example, Gay 1971).

In his study of communities in the larger towns of Northern Ireland, Boal (1969) suggests three ways in which residential segregation (or spatial separation) has arisen between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Apart from 'inter-group tension', 'voluntary segregation' is reflected in people choosing a house in an area that is predominantly of their own religious persuasion. 'Administered segregation' was reflected in a segregated education system. This accentuated family preferences operating towards sending children to the *right* kind of schools; proximity to school is an important factor in house selection and aspects of voluntary and administered segregation can be seen acting in London's Jewish community (see 5.1.2).

Jaret (1979, in Rose, 1984) recognised 'voluntary segregation' in Chicago where he discovered that Jewish 'movers' tended to settle on blocks that were more intensively Jewish than the block from which they came. The desire to live among other group members was strong, even at street level. Cohen's (1988) analysis of the distribution of Jews in major cities shows that the inner-city tends to be home to the more orthodox whereas the suburbs are home to younger, more assimilated Jews who are inclined to be more communally active than religiously observant. In this case, Jews are not only looking for Jews but also the right *type* of Jews.

Again at street level, Poole and Boal (1973, in Park, 1994) carried out an extensive survey of residential segregation in Belfast. They showed that streets exhibited very distinctive patterns, tending to be either very Catholic or very Protestant. Predominantly Catholic streets formed six clusters or ghettos with one large one containing 70 per cent of all Catholics in the city (see map 3). But,

Belfast is not directly comparable with Jewish patterns since it has arisen out of ethnic tensions and hence a reduced freedom of choice.

Map 3 Sectarian residential segregation in part of Belfast in 1958
Source: After Boal (1969)

In a study aimed at establishing reasons for the location of churches, Homan and Rowley (1979) showed that many nineteenth century churches were situated in industrial cities; threshold populations dictated where and when churches were built. Traditionally, settlement evolution was heavily influenced by the growth of monastic orders (see for example Donkin, 1967 on the Cistercians) and strategic locations may have been chosen in an attempt to colonise and settle largely undeveloped lands. (See for example Nitz, 1983 on Germany's Odenwald region.) According to Park (1994), religious considerations play a much smaller part in the selection of locations for Christian churches than they do for synagogues which are inevitably only built in settlements with Jewish communities.

Comparisons between Jews and the Chinese (who have both been identified in terms of commercial success and social mobility, see for example Aldrich, Cater, Jones & McEvoy, 1984) and Quakers, (who also exhibit distinctive spatial distributions in urban regions, see for example Kantrowitz, 1984) have also been made. But most comparisons are generally limited to common socio-economic factors rather than the 'ethno-specific' factors (i.e. nearness to places of prayer, skin colour, ethnic services and so on). Certainly, the Jewish case cannot be directly compared with the black community (Aldrich, Cater, Jones & McEvoy, 1984) but Ward and Simms (1984) suggest that Asians might have a 'Jewish' future in Britain (although Aldrich, Cater, Jones & McEvoy, (1984) contest this point) whilst West Indians face an 'Irish' future.

However, (Gay, 1971) has suggested that as socio-economic status changes, 'profound effects' can be experienced on the geographical pattern of settlement by Jews and the Irish. Gay (1971) suggests that increased socio-economic status amongst Irish immigrants in British conurbations and the Jewish residents will inevitably produce geographical mobility in the form of movement out from 'ghetto areas' and some form of assimilation and disappearance into 'the prevailing

national culture'. It will be shown, for Jews at least, this conclusion very much underestimates the power of community.

3.3 - Definitional problems

When analysing any ethnic community, it is necessary to define exactly **what** it is, being analysed. Many researchers in this field have encountered considerable difficulty with some definitions which, at a glance, appear to be unblurred. For example, Raitz (1978, in Park 1994) notes how difficult it is to define *ethnicity* but this study is mainly concerned with the definition of *Jewish* and *community*, yet even here there are problems.

Jewish law defines a Jew as one whose mother is Jewish or who has converted within orthodox criteria but, this definition often becomes distorted with mixed marriages, unrecognised conversions and modern emancipation (Gay, 1971). Also, not all maternally Jewish people choose to identify themselves as being Jewish and can, therefore, be completely missed in records and surveys. Reform congregations take a more lenient view than the Orthodox who do not recognise converts to Reform Judaism as being Jewish.

Schmool & Cohen (1990) identify ten types of denomination to various affiliations ranging from right-wing Orthodox to left-wing Liberals. Within its membership, the United Synagogue has a wide spectrum of orthodoxy, from the irreligious 'burial Jew' (i.e. membership is for the sole reason of gaining a Jewish burial) to the strictly religious 'da'ti' Jew who only eats strictly Kosher food and observes the work prohibitions of the Sabbath rigidly. Clearly, no single definition will suffice.

Defining *community* is also, according to Caplan (1993), notoriously difficult. Goode (1969, in Caplan, 1993) describes community as 'a set of functionally oriented shared interests' rather than a geographical entity per se and Hillery (1955, in Caplan, 1993), laid out 94 separate definitions of the term! In the Catholic Church, territoriality is used as well as faith, to define community, i.e. here the definition of community was geographically focused (Sack, 1986). This acceptance of non-religious issues (such as organisation, hierarchy and bureaucracy) was because, like all groups, 'Catholics need internal discipline to continue to exist' (Sack, 1986: 40).

It should be noted further that *community* is **not** synonymous with *neighbourhood*. A neighbourhood is at one and the same time a sociological and geographical phenomenon (Waterman & Kosmin, 1986a; 1986b; 1987). Glass (1948) describes neighbourhood as a territorial group which is distinctive through the

specific physical characteristics (a spatial dimension) and social characteristics of its inhabitants.

3.4 - Problems with using membership data

It is estimated that all synagogue membership data accounts for 75-80 per cent of the total Jewish population whilst some estimate it to be as high as 90 per cent (Haberman *et al*, 1983, in Miller, 1994). However, Kosmin and Levy (in Schmool & Cohen, 1990) cite several problems associated with reliance on synagogue membership figures for research purposes. Due to the different definitions of 'who is a member', (i.e. membership is often based on the male head of household) figures do not equal population counts and dual membership often inflates figures. For example, when a member, as a unit or an individual, belongs to more than one synagogue or when more than one person at a single address has individual membership and so on.

Kalms *et al*, (1992) note further that most men in orthodox synagogues, under 25 years old, do not become members of the synagogue which was previously under their father's name (the sole reason for belonging can commonly be to ensure a recognised marriage and / or burial)[4]. However, although unsatisfactory, synagogue membership figures do indicate trends (Newman, 1987) and given the limitations of this study the use of such data does lend itself to being a convenient and consistent source of information.

[4]Cohen (1988), attempts to overcome this membership problem in his *typology of Jewish involvement*. He has shown that dividing Jews into 'affiliated and unaffiliated' or 'committed and uncommitted' groups was a gross simplification and so focused upon the complexities of Jewish communal participation. Thus, weakness of membership figures for defining the size of a community were accounted for.

CHAPTER 4 - Methodology and procedure

4.1 - Choosing the United Synagogue

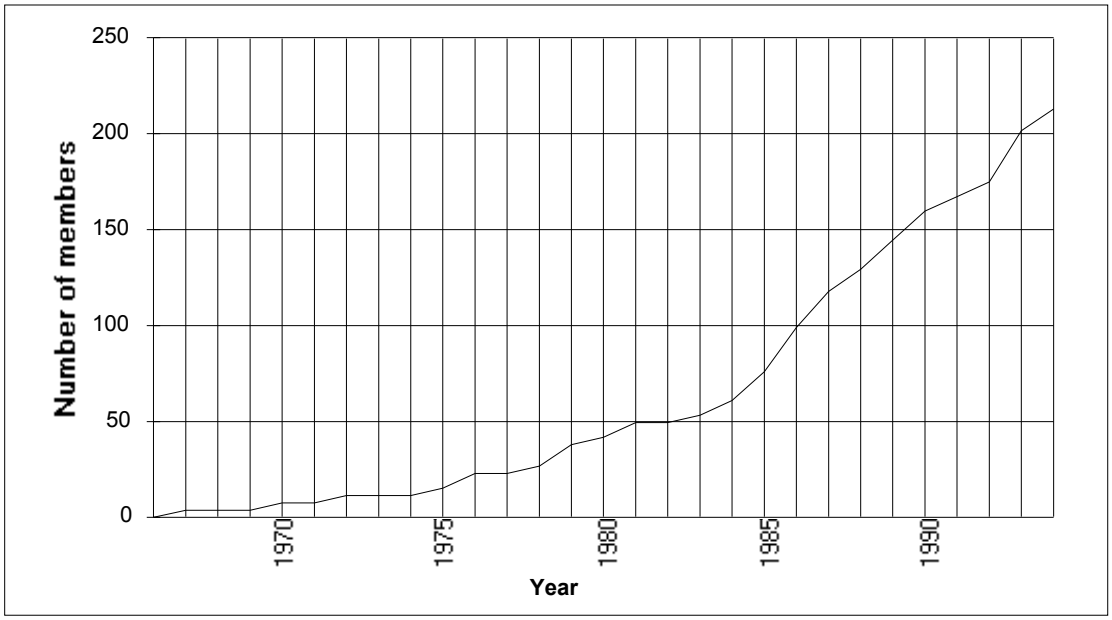
Although the size of Orthodox Jewry declined between 1970 and 1990 it still accounted for 73.6 per cent of all affiliated British Jewry in 1990, of which, 52 per cent belonged to the United Synagogue. This well documented organisation dates from 1870 and was recently described as 'the most versatile and remarkable Jewish organisation in the Jewish world' (Jewish Chronicle, 15 / 9 / 1995); it represents over 50 per cent of British Jews nationally although its membership is concentrated in London. This study will therefore concentrate on these members rather than the Reform Synagogue of Great Britain which represents a smaller number of Jews. Importantly, its members do not exhibit the geographical influences of religious travel restriction on the Sabbath to the extent of the more orthodox communities.

4.2 - Choosing Radlett

Of the communities that are growing, Radlett is the fastest as well as one of the newest (United Synagogue, 1995). Radlett's Jewish population (based on membership figures) is approximately 1000 and 80 per cent of these are members of the United Synagogue (see Appendix B). Membership data shows that the community has been growing for twenty years (see graph 1) to the extent that in the summer of 1995 it became a community in its own right (rather than a rural branch of Elstree & Borehamwood Synagogue).

Located in Hertsmere (whose 1991 population was 87,590), the southern-most district of Hertfordshire (see map 1), local literature describes Radlett as 'a large village rather than a town'. It has good access to the M25, the A1(M) the M1 and the A5 via the Roman road, Watling Street (see

Map 4 Connections to Radlett (Hertsmere District, Hertfordshire)
Source: Hertsmere Civic Centre (1990)



Graph 1 Number of United Synagogue members residing in Radlett 1966 - 1994
Source: United Synagogue membership (1995)

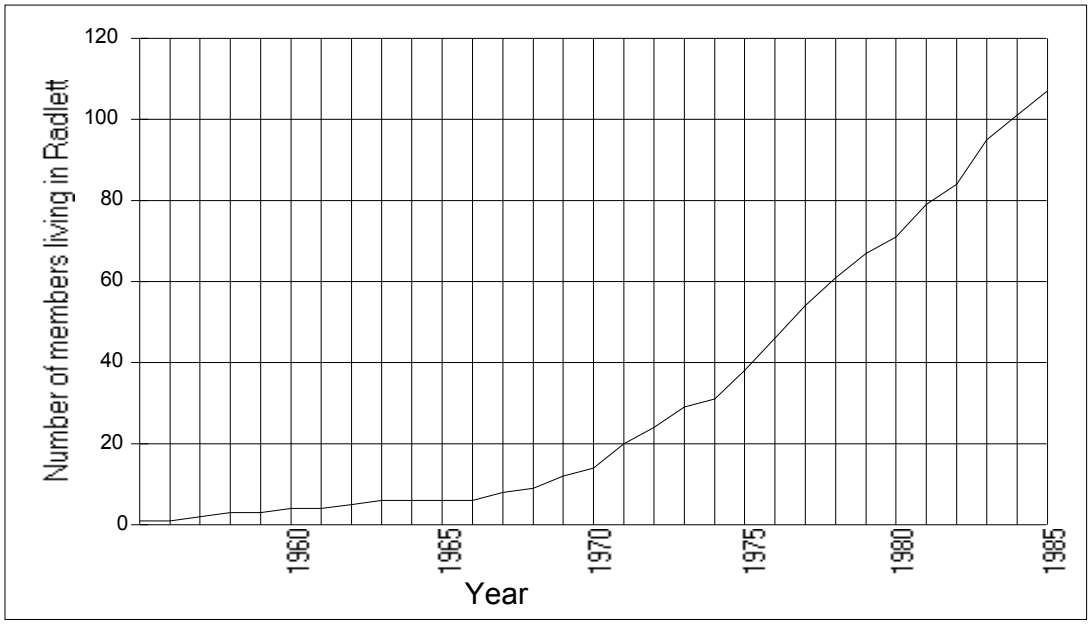
map 4). Essentially, Radlett is a dormitory settlement and recently the Network South East Thames Link service has provided direct access to the City in less than 45 minutes.

Properties are large and attractive giving Radlett a very pleasant, semi-rural atmosphere. Being situated in London's Green Belt, planning restrictions have given Radlett sharpened boundaries; for purposes of research Radlett therefore avoids the problems associated with studying many communities in the London suburbs whose boundaries are ill defined, tending to merge into each other. Although development is strictly controlled, it is occurring at Batlers Green along Common Lane as well as a road improvement scheme in the central shopping area.

4.3 - Interviews and archives

Apart from synagogue membership records, the Jewish Yearbook and community mailing lists, data sources for Jewish populations are very limited (Gay, 1971). Therefore, interviews were carried out to establish facts about the local community (see end of bibliography) in order to develop a targeted survey questionnaire.

The historical records held by the United Synagogue provided a unique, yet limited, insight into the very earliest Jewish residents of Radlett. Graph 2 shows the growth of members of Elstree, Borehamwood & Radlett Synagogue who lived in Radlett. This data was also used to identify whether a significant number of today's members had been members over 20 years ago.



Graph 2 Early growth of Radlett 1955 to 1985.
Source: The United Synagogue

4.4 - Census records

Radlett is conveniently split into two wards; East Aldenham (4459 people in 1991) and West Aldenham (4284 people in 1991) (see map 4). Although the Census does not include 'Jewish questions' per se, ward level data, issued by the Office for Population Censuses and Surveys can be utilised in combination with pre-existing knowledge of Jewish populations. This enables conclusions about mobility, household size and socio-economic status to be drawn.

4.5 - Membership lists

All members of the United Synagogue (membership generally being held by the male head of household on behalf of the rest of the household) are logged on computerised records which date from 1985 onwards. These figures can be used to obtain information regarding addresses, family size, patterns of location and the rate of change in membership levels. Using the address data, a dot density map was created to show whether the distribution of Radlett's United Synagogue members had any distinctive patterns (see map 5). Clearly, areas of clustering can be seen especially around the station and along specific roads and cul-de-sacs.

Map 5. Dot density map of Radlett 1995
Source: The United Synagogue

4.6 - The survey questionnaire

As discussed in 2.2, data regarding the Jews is scarce especially qualitative data; therefore, in order to understand what factors have caused Jews to move to Radlett a mail-back questionnaire survey was conducted. (The questionnaire can be seen in Appendix A). Designed to reveal both quantitative and qualitative information regarding the main reasons Jews had chosen to live in Radlett, its contents were inspired by Western's (1992) study of the Barbadian community, Kalms' *et al* (1992) study of the United Synagogue (which itself contained important qualitative data on the Jewish community), the survey of Redbridge (Levy *et al*, 1979) and Reisman's survey of Alaskan Jewry (1995).

4.7 - Failings of the questionnaire

Targeting questions so as to obtain precise information is notoriously difficult (Bell, 1993) not least because people will often answer in a way that they think the questionnaire designer wants them to do. Alternatively, they might simply misinterpret the question. For these reasons, questions were kept as simple as possible. Nevertheless, some criticisms were made by respondents. For example, questions requiring a *Yes* or *No* answer were criticised for dealing "with complex set of factors ... [which were] difficult to answer definitively" (R35) (Q35)[5]. There was also criticism of the questionnaire's scope in that it missed some relevant points. For example, some felt it should have covered leadership issues noting that a new rabbi was soon to join the community and that "political rabbis are a **definite** turn off" (R42)[6]. One returnee pointed out that a major issue when choosing their home had been safety for children playing outside and safety of the area generally for a growing child and that this was not mentioned in the questionnaire (R41).

Also, question 19, referring to social networks, was criticised as being too generalised, and offence seemed to be taken by the emphasis on *family* in questions 32 and 34 (R44). Question 30 regarding income was answered by most respondents however it was clear by the distribution of results that more categories should have been available above £60,000 (see Appendix B).

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[5]Bracketed numbers containing an *R* prefix refer to a particular respondent; bracketed numbers containing a *Q* prefix refer to a specific question on the questionnaire. Results of questions requiring nominal, discrete and ordinal data can be seen in Appendix B.

[6]At the time of writing Radlett's new Rabbi had yet to join the community - consequently, this comment is in no way a reflection of his views. This absence also explains why there has been no input to this paper from the Rabbi of Radlett.

The most important question was number 13 which listed some 23 factors affecting the choice of a new home (see Appendix A). Unfortunately, some factors could have been interpreted in two ways, i.e. the scale of influence from *1 (Very influential)* to *5 (Not at all influential)* only distinguishes between extent of influence and not whether this influence had a positive or negative effect. For example, 'Kosher restaurants' might have been given a 1 rating because the lack of Kosher restaurants was a good thing (it reflected a less religious community) or a bad thing (Kosher food was considered to be important for a Jewish community). Both answers are influential but for different reasons.

CHAPTER 5 - Results, analysis and discussion

The results of the survey have been placed into four sub-sections; economic, religious, sociological and other factors; each is analysed below. For clarity, a simple index is presented[7] indicating the most important factors (in order) considered by respondents, when choosing their current home:

1st. *It was near good access to work* (63%) + *Good access to London* (36%) = 99

2nd. *It was near countryside* (53%) + *Like the area* (26%) = 79

3rd. *A growing Jewish community* (53%) + *Jewish community* (25%) = 78

4th. [The house] *had a special style / design* (46%) + *House specific* (20%) = 66

5.1 - Economic factors

5.1.1 - Work

In their survey of Redbridge, Levy *et al* (1979) concluded that employment and related factors were 'very **in**significant' in the migration decision process of their sample due to the high availability of jobs in the East London area. Although their conclusion reflects job availability the Radlett sample showed that access to work was placed as the most important reason (64 per cent giving a high 1 or 2 rating in Q13, and 48 per cent in Q14) for choosing to live there, citing especially good access to the M25, the M1 and City trains. Most commuted by car (71 per cent, Q34) with less than 25 per cent regularly using the Thames Link service.

The relationship between residence, linear migration and work access is a very important one and has been recognised in several studies (see for example Goldstein, 1990; Levy et al, 1979). New transport links have often provided migration axis such as the extension of the Northern Line (Gay, 1971), i.e. Jews go to where the (new) houses are located, not the jobs, hence movement to the north of London and not the south.

> "Residence south of the river would have provided good access to Westminster and Whitehall; but these were not the areas in which many Jews earned their living before 1914. Because of this linear tendency of Jewish settlement, ... further settlement tends to be a projection along this line, rather than striking out substantially in a new direction." (Lipman, 1968: 91)

A process of *linear migration* is occurring; starting from an origin (i.e. a place of work), incentives to move out are provided by a combination of increased wealth, new housing and most importantly new transport routes (Gay, 1971). Goldstein

[7] The index was created by summing the top results of questions 13 and 14 where a 'top result' in Q13 refers to the category achieving the most 1 or 2 (out of 5) ratings and a 'top result' in Q14 implies the most frequently quoted reasons (Also see Appendix A).

(1990) notes that ease of access to the City and East London, where the great majority of Jews had their businesses (such as money lending and the clothing industries), was probably the key to the patterns seen in London.

When comparing the ten newest with the ten oldest respondents, in terms of their length of residence in Radlett, it was found that the new-comers to Radlett valued 'good access to work' more highly than the longer established residents. This is reflective of the recently improved transport links and adds weight to the above conclusions. In Radlett, 37 per cent of the breadwinners are managers or directors of companies and 33 per cent are professionals (accountants, doctors, lawyers and bankers) (Q32). The majority of these jobs are in the City to which Radlett has superb access. Goldstein (1990) showed higher levels of migration were positively correlated with white-collar employment, among other factors, and therefore it would be expected that this community exhibits higher than average migration rates (see 5.1.3).

5.1.2 - Schools

Caplan (1993), notes how competitive, Jewish societies with high expectations, have raised the importance of education and has given them upward mobility; 'high levels of geographical mobility are characteristic of a population which reflects upward mobility'. In Radlett, the location of a particular school was regarded as being important (40 per cent giving a 1 or 2 rating, Q13). In total, the children attended 27 different schools (although it was not possible to determine what percentage of respondents currently had children in education). Both nursery and primary schools in Radlett are perceived to be better than those in Elstree & Borehamwood (Pommerance, Radlett Synagogue, pers. comm., 1995). The most popular secondary schools were Haberdashers Aske's School, Watford Grammar School, St Albans School, and North London Collegiate School (in that order) (Q25). These schools all scored highly on government league tables (November, 1995) and are easily accessible from Radlett.

Although waiting lists for Jewish day schools in north London have increased recently (Kalms *et al,* 1992; Lew, United Synagogue, pers. comm. 1995). Kalms, *et al* (1992) found 41 per cent supported Jewish primary schooling and 26 per cent supported Jewish secondary schooling. Both were big increases on the Redbridge survey (Levy *et al*, 1979). However this was not reflected in the Radlett sample and only six schools mentioned were Jewish schools, accounting for 7 per cent of the places (Q25). Nevertheless, a large number of children currently attend Jewish nurseries and it is possible that an increasing number of these will go to Jewish schools (Pommerance, Radlett Synagogue, pers.comm. 1995).

5.1.3 - Income and mobility

The Radlett community is very wealthy. Over 60 per cent of the sample had a combined gross annual income in excess of £60,000 (Q30) (reflecting the nature of the jobs members do, see 5.1.2). To put this wealth into context, respondents own two and a half times as many cars as the Hertsmere average (see 5.4.1). Evidence from Goldstein (1990) showed that higher socio-economic achievement is associated with considerably higher mobility rates among Jews and again it can be hypothesised, based on high income, that Radlett's Jews are highly mobile.

Unfortunately, high mobility does not imply high migration levels, however some indicators suggest that Radlett's Jews migrate at the urban level. Considering membership of Radlett Synagogue has been growing at 10 per cent per year since the early 1990s (see 5.2.2) and that 10.7 per cent of Aldenham's residents are migrants (Census, 1991)[8] compared with 9.7 per cent for both Hertsmere and Great Britain, it can be concluded that Radlett has slightly higher than average migration levels. This is vindicated by the average length of residence which in Radlett was 8.72 years (Q3), shorter than in Redbridge (Levy, *et al* 1979) where

[8]The 1991 Census defines a migrant head of household a one who held a different usual address one year before the Census.

average length of residence was 12.3 years. Also, in Edgware it was found that 52 per cent had lived there for less than 10 years (Krausz, 1968) whereas in Radlett the equivalent figure was 66 per cent (Q3).

5.2 - Religious factors

Radlett clearly offers very good access to the City which explains why those who have City jobs have chosen to live there, but it does not explain why so many of these people are Jewish. Since there are other settlements that offer such access, religion must surely be influential.

5.2.1 - The synagogue and attendance

Traditionally, synagogues have been the most important bodies for maintaining the religious and cultural cohesion of a community (Newman, 1976), but the synagogue is more than just a house of prayer and culture. Kalms *et al*, (1992) suggest that the synagogue is a place that 'creates and sustains identity' through social and educational events and acts as a centre for life cycle events such as birth, marriage and death. Generally, Jews show no sign of shifting their synagogal affiliation (Cohen, 1983, in Miller, 1994). In fact, the synagogue as an institution is undergoing a transformation from being a religious centre to one with a greater emphasis on the expression of ethnic identification (Miller, 1994).

This extra-religious perspective has also been recognised in the Catholic Church where Baltzell (1984, in Park, 1994) suggests that church-goers in the United States, who had migrated to new communities, were motivated to attend church services more frequently in these new communities because of a desire to establish 'new stable social ties' within that community. Such attachments are also important for synagogal attendance which seems to be fairing well in Radlett even though religious affiliation is low (see 5.2.2). 47 per cent of respondents attend synagogue services several times a month (Q22). A very stark contrast exists between the ten longest residents and the ten newest with the latter attending far more often than the former[9]. Although this reflects increasing levels of observance it is probably due more to a good community spirit than religious piety (see 5.2.3) as noted in Baltzell's example.

An important caveat should be borne in mind regarding these figures. They were produced by a survey population of 71 per cent male whose average age was 44 - people under 25 years old do not attend so often and men tend to go far more often than women (Kalms *et al,* 1992). Importantly, Waterman and Kosmin (1986b) note that only about 10 per cent of the Central Orthodox synagogue population comprise regular weekly attendees, thus conclude that this casts doubt on the contention that the synagogue is a major factor in the location of a majority of Jews.

[9]Of the 10 newest respondents, 6 attended 'several times a month' whereas, of the 10 longest *Radlettites*, 9 attended only 'once a month' or less.

5.2.2 - The walking threshold

Jewish work prohibitions on the Sabbath offer a very important - and possibly unique - locational and delineating affect for community thresholds. Any travel, other than that by foot, is prohibited and therefore the walking distance to a synagogue for orthodox Jews is very important (Gay, 1991).
The boundary of a community could, theoretically be quantified by a walking zone with a radius of approximately 30 minutes around a synagogue. Recent examples of this in London are the 'spin-off' communities of Northwood, Clayhall, and Radlett, from Pinner, Redbridge, and Borehamwood respectively (Chippeck, Board of Deputies, pers.comm. 1995; Annual Report of the United Synagogue, 1994). In Radlett, the location of 'an orthodox synagogue within walking distance' was given a low (4 or 5) ranking by 45 per cent (Q13) reflecting the communities relaxed and flexible attitude towards religious observance and casting doubt on the importance of walking thresholds in the development of new communities.

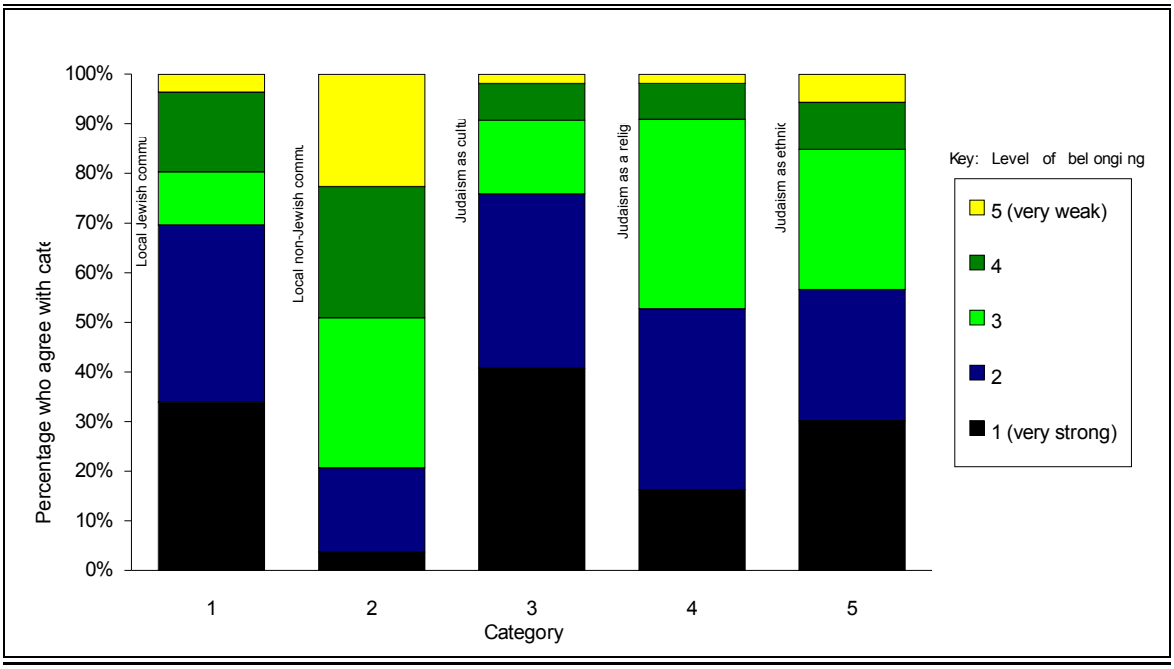
5.2.3 - Religion and culture

Kalms, *et al* (1992) categorised 10 per cent of the United Synagogue's members as 'strictly orthodox', 67 per cent as 'traditional', and 16 per cent as 'just Jewish'. Of the 90 or so per cent of United Synagogue members who are not strictly orthodox, belief and observance were found to be virtually independent of each other thus, Miller (1994) concludes that

> ".... a feeling of belonging, rather than divine belief, is the driving force behind synagogal attendance and other forms of involvement in synagogue life."
> (Miller, 1994:200)

This suggestion, that Judaism is shifting from religious observance towards more institutional forms of identification (Cohen, 1983; in Miller, 1994), is applicable to Radlett. Only half of the respondents felt a 'religious' belonging to Judaism (50 per cent giving 1 and 2 rating) compared with 75 per cent stressing a 'cultural' belonging (Q1) (see graph 3). The importance of 'the existence of a religious community' was supported by a mere 6 per cent (giving a high 1 or 2 rating) whereas 57 per cent gave it a low 4 or 5 rating (see graph 3) (Q13). The relaxed "live and let live philosophy" (R30) (Q15) noted in 5.2.2 was a highly attractive feature of the community specifically mentioned by a third of all respondents. Thus, new residents are attracted by a lack of religious dogmatism yet ironically attend the synagogue more often (see 5.2.1)[10].

[10]Of those who were strongly influenced by the relaxed religious nature, 87 per cent were new residents (Q13) who also attend services eight times more frequently (Q22).



Graph 3 Sense of belonging in terms of five categories

5.3 - Sociological factors

5.3.1 - Community

The problems with defining community were discussed in 3.3, however it was clear that all respondents had some form of opinion as to the definition of community when they were asked to describe different aspects of it. Such perceptions of community could have been influenced by individual circumstances such as belief, sociability, interests, background and so on. When asked to indicate the extent to which they felt they 'belonged to the local Jewish community' 69 per cent gave this a high 1 or 2 rating (Q1) (see graph 3). This was in stark contrast to the sense of belonging felt towards the local non-Jewish community which scored only 20 per cent in the top ratings perhaps reflecting a sign of togetherness and group cohesion in Radlett's Jewish community.

Institutional and service provision within the community was very poor but generally, not missed. For example, the availability of kosher food, Jewish institutions and Jewish services (such as book shops and social workers) all received very low ratings (Q13). The importance of such services was recognised by Gay (1971) who comments that 'the structure [of the community] is liable to crumble without them' (pp 208). Radlett may therefore not necessarily be directly comparable with other, longer established, Jewish communities.

5.3.2 - Social networks and clustering

Kalms *et al,* (1992) found that 84 per cent of United Synagogue respondents said all, or more than half, of their close friends were Jewish. The same result was produced in Radlett with 85 per cent preferring 'Many' or 'All' of their local friends to be Jewish (Q18). Waterman (1983) analysed this in a different way in his survey of Dublin due to the difficulties of defining 'local' and 'close friends'. He found just under one third of those interviewed had had 'social interactions with their Jewish neighbours' in the week prior to the survey and 65 per cent had done so three months prior to the survey.

To establish the importance of social networks in Radlett a series of open ended questions were included in the survey. It was seen that socialising was even more specific than the desire for friends to be Jewish. In Radlett they seemed to be especially choosy. Not only did people desire a Jewish community but also one which was young, new, growing (53 per cent, Q13), informal, inclusivist and vibrant. 75 per cent referred specifically to being attracted to the town by combinations of the following factors: 'Jewish community', 'youthfulness', 'developing community', 'friends and or family nearby', and 'familiarity with the [Jewish] area' (Q14).

An interesting comparison between desires of the ten longest residents compared with the ten newest were once again visible. "Nice, developing Jewish community for kids / families" (R41) (Q13 and Q14), typified answers for the newer residents (i.e. the attraction was centred around the existence of a '*community*' and that this '*community*' was young and growing) whereas the longer established residents preferred more materialistic attractions such as the countryside and modern houses (Q13 and Q14). The young community of Edgware also expressed a desire to live near other young families (Krausz, 1968) and this seems to be a highly influential attraction for those who can afford Radlett.

One 'community enthusiast' said,

> "The Jewish community atmosphere is wonderful - it is like a *shteitel*[11]" (R34)

but there were, of course, descending opinions of 'the community' such as,

> "I left a London Ghetto, only to find that it caught up with me." (R8)

Waterman (1989) described the residential patterns in Barnet as *'congregation* rather than *segregation'* - meaning that Jews were gathering together rather than setting themselves apart - but he concluded that the results produced more questions about what caused this distinctive pattern than they answered. An explanation was sought in the desire of many Jews to live as a '*community*' in areas which offered a wide variety of housing types to suit the needs of a

[11]A *shteitel* was the name given to small Jewish communes of Eastern Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries.

variegated group, but Radlett does not fit into this theory since its community is much smaller and more homogenous than Barnet's.

5.3.3 - Demographics

Graphs 1 and 2 in 4.2 showed the dramatic increase in the numbers of United Synagogue members who live in Radlett. A mini population explosion has occurred, especially when this is compared with the overall demographic trends of the district. Between 1971 and 1991 the population of Hertsmere **fell** by 5.2 per cent. The population of the parish of Aldenham (which consists mainly of Radlett, see map 4) fell by 1.6 per cent implying that the Jewish population is increasing absolutely and relatively, mainly by in-migration[12].

5.3.4 - Household size and family

The average household size for Jews in Edgware in 1967 was 3.4 (Krausz, 1968) and for Redbridge in 1979 the figure was 2.98, quite large by 1978 standards (Levy, *et al*). The difference can be explained by the relatively young age of the Edgware community. Household size in Hertsmere in 1991 was 2.58 which represents a decrease from 2.84 in 1981. In Radlett, between 1970 and 1985, the average size of households was 3.4 and this increased to 3.9 in the survey sample; large by Hertsmere standards but similar to Edgware's whose demographic profile was comparable.

It should be noted that not only is the Jewish presence increasing and family size growing but that these are relatively young families; the average age of the head of household (who it is assumed is the respondent) is 44.6 years (Q27). Therefore future growth may well be increasingly endogenous with family sizes growing rather than increased in-movement due the development restrictions of the Green Belt[13].

Most respondents decided to leave their previous home because of an increase in family size (Q9) (20 per cent gave only this reason out of 12 categories). In general, such push factors tended to relate to individual reasons rather than combinations of reasons seen for the pull factors. 59 per cent of respondents gave only one reason for deciding to leave mostly citing changes in work circumstances and changes in family circumstances (see graph 4).

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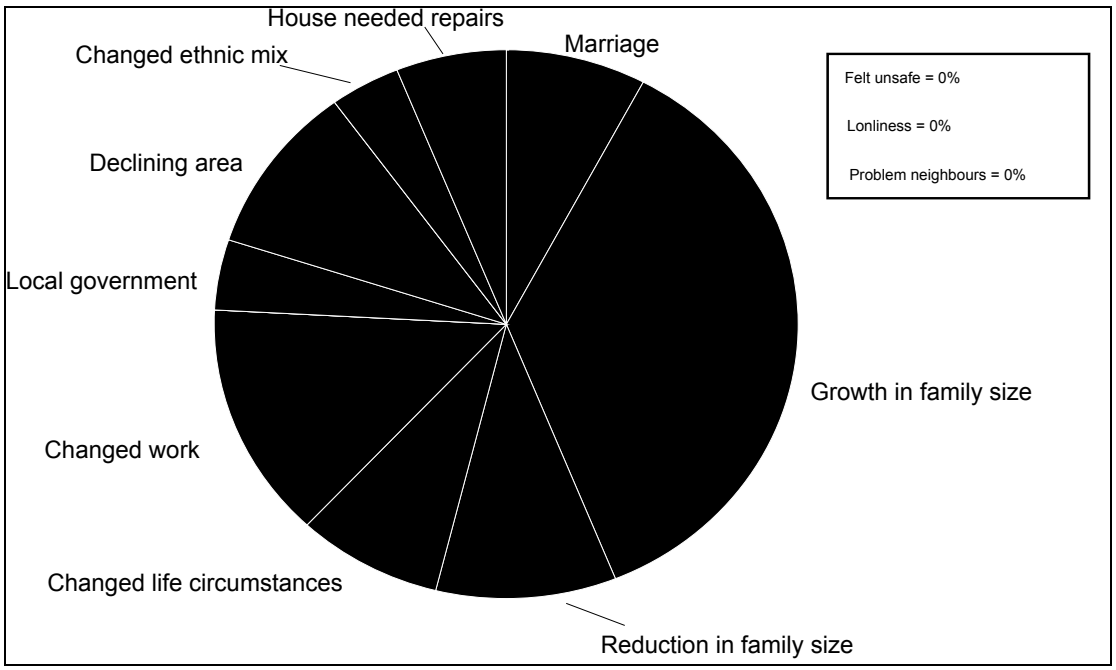
[12]Historical data from the United Synagogue for 1965 to 1985 showed that out of 50 members living in Radlett, 25 had arrived from different communities of which seven were from outside Greater London. The majority of these in-movers to Radlett came from the same communities namely; six came from Stanmore, five from Mill Hill, and four from both Finchley and Hampstead.

[13]Cheshire, (1995) argues that evidence suggests that many European urban areas are recentralising. Amenities and service type jobs in the centre are reducing the spread of cities. In terms of Radlett therefore growth may start to slow and rejuvenating communities such as Hampstead may lead future growth.

5.3.5 - Marriage

Marriage can have significant affects on the location of residence. For example, in Ireland, Boal and Buchanan (1969, in Park, 1994) noted how the existence of sanctions against mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants ensured that religious differences were strictly maintained, thus increasing segregation levels. For Jews, no such restrictions exist, however Kennedy (1944, in Peach, 1984) comments that Jewish marrying habits are particularly endogamous and marriage rates are very high. In Radlett, 93 per cent of respondents were married or widowed (Q31). (It should be noted that this very high rate may reflect the relationship between marrying and joining the United Synagogue and that the large size of Radlett's properties will attract larger families).

Goldstein (1990) found that the most mobile Jews in Rhode Island State were typically under 45, and or female who moved in order to get married. 18 per cent of the reasons stated for moving in the Dublin Jewish community, dealt with changes in marital status (Waterman, 1983). However, 29 per cent of respondents in the Radlett survey were female (Q26) but only but 4 per cent of respondents said that marriage was a deciding factor when choosing to leave their last home (Q9) which does not reflect the results of Goldstein and Waterman, i.e. couples who moved to Radlett were already married.



Graph 4 Push factors. The graph shows the factors receiving the most 1 and 2 ratings (see 5.3.4)

5.4 - Other significant factors

5.4.1 - Car ownership

A final major element in the choice of house location, which is possibly most peculiar to the Radlett community, is the influence of materialism which was important for many, but not all, of the respondents. It was established (in 5.1.3) that the Radlett community is very wealthy. The survey showed that 89 per cent of households ran two or more cars (Q33); the equivalent figure for the Hertsmere District in 1991 Census was 36 per cent (National Census, 1991) which also reflects the communities very high mobility.

5.4.2 - The house

The importance of the house when considering a move was recognised in Redbridge where,

> "the main reason [for moving] was found to be related to housing, that is, that present homes were unsatisfactory. They are either too big or too small. 53.1 per cent of those who were considering a move cited housing reasons. This high percentage can be expected in a family oriented population [i.e. Jewish] as housing needs change with size."
> (Levy *et al* 1979:27).

This was also seen in Dublin where 33 per cent specified the size of the house as being inappropriate to the size of the household (Waterman, 1983). In Redbridge, factors relating to socio-economic status and social mobility were important, with 93.5 per cent owning their own homes (Levy *et al*, 1979) compared with 98 per cent in Radlett (Q29). Brotz (1955 in Gay, 1971) concluded that much of the movement seen in London away from the East End was 'primarily a quest for prestige'. Houses in Radlett are chosen because of desire rather than necessity. Estate agents (Anscombe & Ringland and Palmer, Mandley & Sparrow) showed the average price of a house in Radlett, in September 1995, was £257,700 (with a range of £653,500 from £41,500 to £695,000) (see Appendix B); of course, some properties in Radlett will far exceed this range.

Gay (1971) recognised that the choice of a house was as simple as 'the most expensive is best':

> "The prestige sought is essentially prestige within a Jewish context ... [movement is] dependent on the existence of Jewish communities. A Jew who got a flat in Chelsea with no Jewish community, would be seen as opting out of Jewish society and so acquire little status among his co-religionists"
> (Gay, 1971: 210)

This thinking may be relevant to Radlett. Borehamwood's houses are smaller and less expensive thus attracting younger and older people such as newly-weds and widows (Chippeck, Board of Deputies, pers. comm. 1995). This price difference

may induce flows from Borehamwood to Radlett with socio-economic progression. The attraction of higher housing quality in Radlett was noted by respondents:

> "Housing expensive but likely to maintain value" (R39) (Q14).

From a list of 23 factors influencing the choice of current homes the fourth most popular was 'the style or design of the house' (46 per cent giving a high 1 or 2 rating) (Q13). In an open ended question 59 per cent stated a property-specific factor was important for choosing Radlett.

> "Liked the general ambience of the housing" (R14) (Q14)

> "Critical factor was style of house" (R35) (Q14)

Generally, newer residents were more concerned with aesthetics whereas people who had moved to Radlett over fifteen years ago were influenced far more by how modern the house was (Q13); many of the newest houses in Radlett are about 20 years old. Often, the type of road that the house was situated in was also an important factor with many preferring a private road or cul-de-sac (35 per cent specifically noting this).

5.4.3 - Area and environment

Radlett is a pleasant town comprising of high quality housing and surrounded by London's Green Belt; an attractive view with country air comes at a premium. When Edgware first started to expand a major pull factor was peoples desire for a more pleasant and healthier environment for their young children (Krausz, 1968) and this is important in Radlett today.

Nearness to the countryside was placed third out of 23 factors (53 per cent giving a high 1 or 2 rating, Q13) (Q14). However, Radlett's pleasant 'village' character was only influential to 23 per cent perhaps reflecting changes that were inevitable with the village's growth affecting not only the size but also the atmosphere of Radlett. 40 per cent of respondents said that the changes associated with expansion had been derogatory, pointing specifically to the loss of the 'village' atmosphere. For example:

> "'Enhancement scheme' has caused traffic chaos - we have bought the congestion from Mill Hill!" (R41) (Q11)

> "Sadly the 'yuppie' influx in the 1980s changed a charming large village into a suburb of London with a large number of status seeking people" (R8) (Q11)

It is ironic that the Jews of Radlett were attracted by certain factors associated with the pretty, old village which is now, sadly, a small town precisely because of the influx of people, especially Jews.

CHAPTER 6 - Conclusions

This paper has assessed the reasons for the rapid growth of Radlett's Jewish community over the last 20 years. It was established that no single factor dominated the decision of some United Synagogue members to move into Radlett, however, a picture does emerge of a complex trade-off between economic, social and materialistic factors. In order to understand why this growth has occurred and what this says about other communities, three questions were posed in the introduction. These will now be discussed.

Question 1

> What are the main influences on Jewish residential location?

The most influential location factor for the Radlett community was found to be economic and related to access; more specifically, access to places of work in central London (see 5.1). However, a combination of the second and third most important reasons (which were given virtually equal weighting) were far more important. Namely, the circumjacent attractiveness of Radlett **and** the presence of a Jewish community. It has therefore been shown that *religious* and *social* factors are **not** as important as *economic* factors.

Question 2

> To what extent is segregation, at the urban scale, a process reflecting a conscious decision by Jews to live near other Jews and maintain cultural and religious identities?

Although primarily influenced by economics, the Jews of Radlett were clearly motivated by the existence of a 'Jewish community'. The initial presence of Jews sets off a chain-reaction leading to high growth rates and expansion but for Radlett, this process is highly dependent on other variables (such as high quality schools and the Green Belt). Interestingly, religion (at least religious belief) was not one of them, highlighting the importance of extra-religious Jewish factors.

The desire to live amongst Jews was far more sociological than religious. Respondents were attracted by proximity to their own *type* of Jew, i.e. those who were in the same social and (importantly) economic class and who had similar interests and aspirations, namely, they were Jewish. Very little regard was held for the non-Jewish community and thus, for those who could afford it, a *conscious* decision by the Jews of Radlett to live near other Jews has indeed been highly influential.

Question 3

If Jews *do* want to live with other Jews, how can the existence of new communities be explained?

By comparing the views of members who had moved to Radlett in the early days, when the community hardly existed, with those in-movers of more recent times it was found that, economics permitting, if materialistic desires were greater than those of communal security then he or she is more likely to leave the sanctuary of a Jewish community, hence the original shift away to a non-Jewish area. Those who are now moving into Radlett today are quite clearly different 'types' of Jew to the more established residents, valuing the existence of a young and growing Jewish community and 'good access to work' more highly than the view.

The demise of Radlett's village aura was, interestingly, the most quoted polemic made of 'the community' rather than one associated with the clear lack of Jewish services and institutions. This conflict of interests between the desire for community and the green environment is an ironic result of Radlett's growth and development.

The future

Respondents were economically very successful and thus highly mobile; average lengths of residence were short, average ages were young and average household sizes were large. Many residents were attracted by the rurality of the town, desiring a more pleasant living environment. Radlett therefore compares favourably with the situation that existed in Edgware in the late 1960s. Today Edgware is one of the largest Jewish communities in Europe (Schmool, 1990) so is Edgware a model for Radlett? Probably not. Development restrictions will ultimately limit Radlett's size but the comparison does augur well for Radlett's future. Its success has been based primarily on demographics, with an influx of a particular *type* of young Jew attracted by particular (social and economic) features of this community. Perhaphs the question should be, 'where are the Jews of London going next?'.

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Appendix C - Interviews

Chippeck, S. (14 August 1995), Administrative Secretary, *Board of Deputies of British Jews.*
Lew, J. (28 June 1995), Chief Executive, *United Synagogue*.
Pommerance, A. (13 September 1995), Chairman of the Board, *Radlett Synagogue*.
Schmool, M. (08 August 1995), Research Unit, *Board of Deputies of British Jews*.
Write, Rabbi A. (24 October 1995), *Bushey and Radlett Reform Synagogue.*