

### 3 Socio-economic profile of the survey and Census populations

#### Demographic characteristics

##### **Gender**

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

##### **Age**

The age profile of all the respondents—including all household members—and of the Leeds Jewish population as recorded in the 2001 Census is shown in Table 7.<sup>18</sup> Over 28 per cent of the survey respondents were aged 75 or over and a further 20 per cent were aged between 65 and 74. Thus almost half of those completing the questionnaire were over 65 years old, and the median age of the respondents was 62. In terms of *all* the people

living in the sample households, i.e. the respondents themselves and those sharing their households, the proportion of people aged 65 or over dropped to 32 per cent. These figures are generally corroborated by the Census, which found that 27.3 per cent of all Jews in Leeds were aged 65 or over and that the median age was 42, compared with a median age for England and Wales of 32. However, the Census figure included the full-time students in Leeds, most of whom were not reached by the survey. In whichever way these figures were examined, they showed that older people were found in remarkably high proportions among Leeds Jews; whereas, among the population of England and Wales as a whole, only 15.6 per cent were aged 65 or over.

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

Table 7: Age profile of Leeds Jews

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Marital status**

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

Table 8: Marital status of Leeds Jews

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

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

### **Nationality and language**

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

### **General education**

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

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

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

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

In general, men were better educated than women. Almost half the male respondents had been to university, compared with less than 30 per cent of the females. Educational differences by age were also evident. Generally speaking, the 45–54 age cohort—

those born in the decade following the Second World War—constituted the best-educated group; over half (53 per cent) of this group had a university qualification. Those in their mid-50s to mid-60s were also well educated and, significantly, these two groups also contained a higher than average proportion with doctorates (see Tables 9 and 10).

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

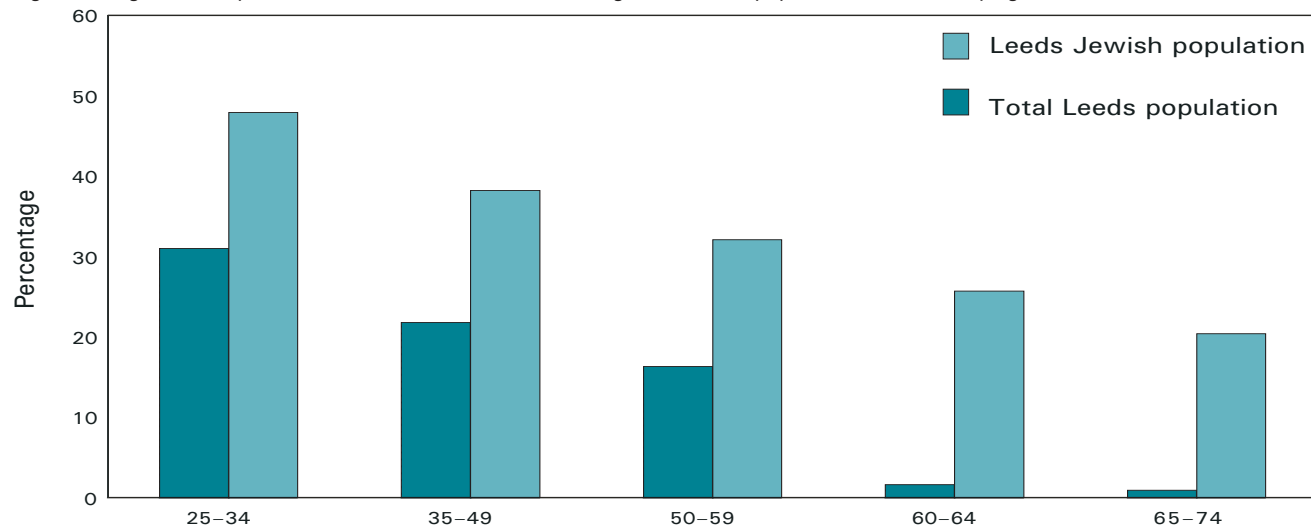
Table 10: Educational level reached by Leeds Jews (survey), by gender

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

### Employment

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

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



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

remarkably similar to that found by the Census. Of the Jewish adult population aged 25 and over recorded by the Census in Leeds, 1 per cent were students, 20 per cent were retired, 5.3 per cent were permanently sick or disabled, and another 6.7 per

cent were mainly engaged in looking after the home or family (see Table 11).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Housing, neighbourhood and residential mobility

#### Household size

Leeds Jewish households tended to be small in size, and older households predominated. Both the survey and the Census reported that over one-third of Jewish households were composed of one person living alone. In the survey, 35 per cent of all

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

#### Housing

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

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

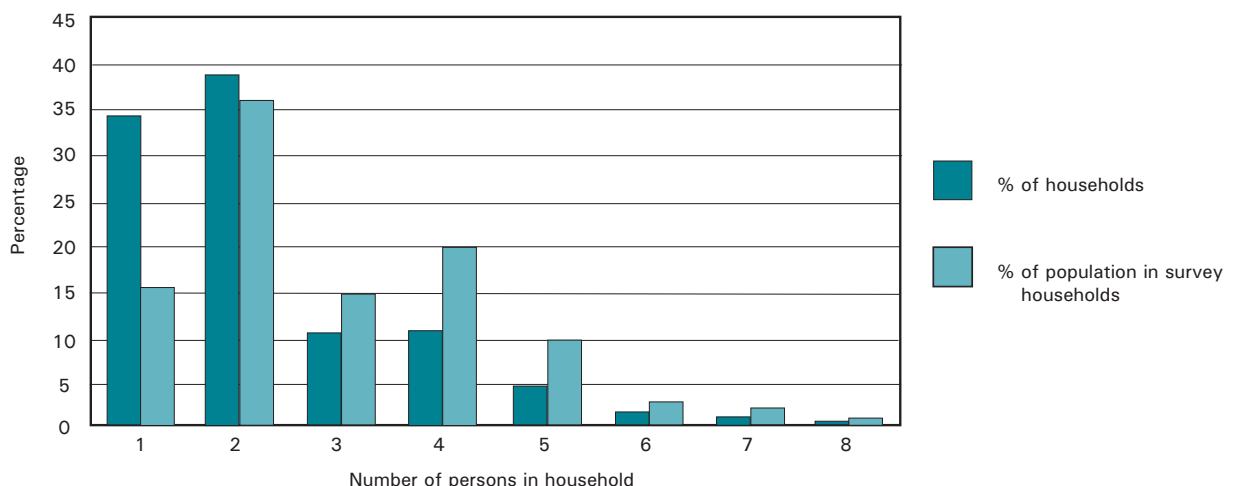


Table 13: Household size among the Leeds Jewish population,\* according to Household Reference Person (HRP) (Census)

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

\* Total households = 3,820

\*\* Of these, 35.5 per cent had no children.

\*\*\* Of these, 68.9 per cent had no children.

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

Forty-one per cent of flat-dwellers lived in a ground-floor flat and 34 per cent on the first floor, with fewer than 5 per cent living above the third floor. This propensity for living on lower floors may reflect the fact that the population was an

older one and that two-thirds of all flat-dwellers lived in buildings without a lift. With regard to the distribution of living space, 29 per cent of respondents lived in dwellings in which the living space was on a single floor; 55 per cent were in dwelling units on two floors and a further 8 per cent lived in houses that had living space on more than two floors.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Neighbourhood and neighbours**

In selecting a sample for the survey, we estimated that about 80 per cent of Leeds Jews lived in the LS17 postal district. To a large extent, this was confirmed by the Census. Just under half (47.5 per cent) of all the Jews recorded by the Census in Leeds were located in North ward, with a further 18.7 per cent in Moortown and 9.3 per cent in Roundhay (see Figure 1, page 4). However, it is worth noting that, even with this high concentration, in North ward the Jews comprised only 17.7 per cent of the total population, in Moortown just 7.2 per cent, and in Roundhay just 3.2 per cent. The comparable concentrations at ward level for other religious groups were: 25.2 per

cent of all Muslims in Leeds lived in Harehills ward, 15.6 per cent of all Sikhs in Moortown ward, and 10.2 per cent of all Hindus also in Moortown. That the Jews were highly concentrated but nevertheless lived in close proximity to non-Jewish neighbours was shown by the fact that only in six Output Areas—the smallest geographic subdivision for which Census statistics were available, with approximately 125 households—did the Jewish population exceed 45 per cent of the total population. This resembles the findings of a study of three London boroughs almost twenty years ago.<sup>22</sup>

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

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

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

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