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Institute for Jewish Policy Research

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Jewish families and Jewish households

Census insights about how we live

David Graham with Maria Luisa Caputo

The **Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR)** is a London-based independent research organisation, consultancy and think-tank. It aims to advance the prospects of Jewish communities in Britain and across Europe by conducting research and developing policy in partnership with those best placed to influence Jewish life.

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Contents

Summary

Unless otherwise stated, all data in this summary relate to the Census of England and Wales in 2011.

Household size and change

- There were 113,635 Jewish households in Great Britain in 2011, the vast majority of which (97%) were in England and Wales.
- Between 2001 and 2011 the number of Jewish households in England and Wales declined by 5% to 110,726. By contrast, the number of households in the general population increased by 8%.
- Between 2001 and 2011 the average size of Jewish households increased from 2.17 to 2.31. Jewish households remain smaller than those in the general population (2.36) but the gap is closing.
- In areas with predominantly haredi (strictly Orthodox) populations, Jewish household sizes average 5.00 or more. Areas with large student populations also exhibit large Jewish households, reaching over 4.50 in parts of Nottingham.

Structure of Jewish households

- 97% of Jews live in households; the remainder live in communal establishments such as care homes.
- 20% of Jews in households with two or more people live with at least one non-Jewish person. A further 9% live with at least one person reporting No Religion.
- 59% of Jewish households in England and Wales consist of couples or families, 33% are Jews living alone, and about one in ten (8%) are 'other' household types.
- Between 2001 and 2011 the number of Jews living alone fell by 13%, whereas it increased by 9% in the general population. Despite this swing, Jews are still more likely to live alone than is generally the case.
- Compared with the general population, Jews are more likely to live as married couples (38% versus 33%), and less likely to cohabit (5% versus 10%) or to be lone parents (6% versus 11%).
- 35% of Jewish households contain children, compared with 39% of households in general.
- 7,183 Jews lived in communal establishments in the UK in 2011, or 2.7% of the population. Most live in student accommodation or elderly care facilities.

The household lifecycle

Students

- 34% of Jewish students live in private all-student households and 21% live in halls of residence. 25% live at home with their parents.
- Between 2001 and 2011 the number of shared all-student Jewish households increased by 10% to 720. The largest concentration is in Nottingham.
- 3,211 Jewish students in England and Wales live in university or yeshiva accommodation. This sector grew by 30% between 2001 and 2011. Gateshead accounts for almost a quarter (24%) of this group; Oxford and Cambridge combined account for a further 16%.

Young adults

- Throughout most of their twenties, Jewish men are more likely to live with their parents than Jewish women.
- The number of young adult Jews (under age 44) living alone declined by 23% between 2001 and 2011.
- By their mid to late twenties, half of all Jews have formed permanent partnerships. The remainder are fairly evenly split between those living with their parents or living alone or sharing.

Families with children

- 88% of Jewish children (under 16) live in married couple families, compared with 58% of children in England and Wales generally. 3% are in cohabiting couple families, compared with 15% generally, and 9% are in lone parent households, compared with 25% generally.
- The most common type of Jewish household is a married couple with children (20% of the total). This type of household remains

strong among Jews despite the erosion of this structure in the general population.

- Jews who cohabit are half as likely to have children in such households as the general population (26% versus 41% generally).
- There are 3,437 Jewish lone parent households with dependent children. About 4,600 Jewish children aged under 16 live in lone parent households.

Living arrangements for older people

- 27% of Jewish households consist solely of people aged 65 and above.
- Women make up a disproportionately large part of the senior Jewish one person household sector.
- Between 2001 and 2011 the number of senior Jewish one person households overall declined by 15%, compared with a rise of 2% in the general population.
- 70% of people aged 65-74 are living as married couples; this is the case for just 44% for those aged 75 and above.
- 3,271 Jews lived in medical and care establishments in 2011; 34% were in a care home with nursing and 56% were in a care home without nursing. Women outnumber men by two to one. This sector contracted by 22% between 2001 and 2011.

Comparison of living arrangements with other groups

- Compared to other religious and ethnic groups in the UK, Jewish household structure most closely resembles Christian households. Both groups share older than average age structures and therefore have large proportions of all-senior households (27% each), a striking contrast to the 3% found in both Muslim and Arab households, for example.
- Although Jews are more likely than average to live in married couple households (38% versus 33% average), they are markedly less likely to do so than Hindus (53%).
- Compared to the national average, Jews are half as likely to cohabit (5% versus 10% average), and much less likely to do so than 'No Religion' households, where the rate is 17%.
- Jews and Hindus exhibit the lowest levels of lone parent households (6%); these are highest among Black (24%), Mixed (19%), and Muslim households (13%).

Living conditions

- Jews are more likely to own their homes than the general population (73% versus 64%).
- Between 2001 and 2011 Jewish home ownership declined by 9% (8,078 households) and renting increased by 9% (2,474 households).
- Between 2001 and 2011, the number of Jewish households owned outright fell by 6%, and those rented from the council fell by 39% to 3,143 households. By contrast, private renting increased by 36% to 4,836 households.
- 14,873 Jews live in accommodation rented from the council (8,384 Jewish households).
- Between 2001 and 2011, the number of Jewish households in detached homes declined by 5%; the number in terraced homes increased by 7%.
- 8% (i.e. 8,850) of Jewish households are overcrowded (based on available rooms), which is similar to the general population (9%). The number of overcrowded Jewish homes increased by 8% between 2001 and 2011. Measured in terms of available bedrooms, 3,744 Jewish households were overcrowded.

Background

In 2001, the national census produced the largest dataset ever compiled on Jews in Britain. In 2011, it produced an even larger dataset, rendered all the more valuable because of the comparisons that can be drawn with the 2001 data.

This publication forms part of JPR's effort to draw attention to, and provide understanding of, this crucial information. It forms part of a series of reports JPR has produced on the 2011 Census as new data are gradually released by the Office for National Statistics (ONS).[1]

These data can inform communal planning at all levels—national, regional and local—and in a host of different sectors. Equivalent data remain unavailable to a number of other large Jewish communities around the world (notably the United States and France), so it is all the more important that leaders in the UK are made aware of this unique and valuable resource.

The full set of census data will continue to be released by ONS in stages throughout 2014 and into 2015. JPR will continue to spearhead the data analysis and dissemination process. JPR's research team is available to produce commissioned bespoke reports for charities and organisations interested in examining how census data can help them develop policy and plan for the future.

Technical notes

The 2011 Census was conducted by ONS on 27th March 2011. The Census included an optional question on religion for only the second time, the first occasion being in 2001.

Religion data were first released by ONS in December 2012, and data on households began to be released in October 2013. Unless otherwise stated, all data in this report relate to England and Wales; only limited data for Scotland are currently available.[2] All census data are Crown Copyright.

Between 2001 and 2011 the definition of certain households was changed by ONS. This has implications for comparative purposes and, where possible, adjustments have been made to 2001 data. This is noted in the report wherever it occurs. The main impact of this change is on age data relating to one person households.[3]

A glossary can be found at the end of this report.

1 See www.jpr.org.uk.

2 Data for Northern Ireland were unavailable. Note, however, that 335 Jews were enumerated in the 2011 Census of Northern Ireland and therefore this omission will not impact the overall findings. (Source: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA) Table: QS218NI Religion, Full Detail).

3 In 2001 the older category was labelled 'lone pensioners' which for males included those aged 65 years and over but for females included those aged 60 years and over. In 2011 this differentiation was removed and relabelled 'One person household: Aged 65 and over' (ONS 2004 Census 2001 Definitions: Chapter 6 Part 2 p105; ONS Jan 2014 2011 Census Variable and Classification Information: Part 4 p36). Assuming that the 2011 definition will be used going forward, 2001 figures have been adjusted to align with the 2011 definitions. To do so we estimated the number of women aged 60-64 living alone in 2001, i.e. the total number to be removed from the older group and added to the younger group in 2001. Data from the 2001 SAR and ONS Table S151 indicated that about 22.7% (out of 6,662 enumerated Jewish women aged 60-64) lived alone in 2001. Therefore we estimated 1,516 Jewish women needed to be removed from the 'lone pensioner' group and added to the 'non-pensioner' 2001 group to make comparisons with 2011 meaningful. A similar adjustment was made to the general population.

What is a Jewish household?

Alongside the individual, the household is one of the most important units of society. Since most people spend most of their lives living communally, and all people spend their childhood communally, the household is a central measure for understanding *how we live*. Although this unit incorporates other important concepts such as home, family and dwelling place, to analyse it we need to define what a household constitutes. The 2011 Census defined a household as:

"*… one person living alone, or a group of people (not necessarily related) living at the same address who share cooking facilities and share a living room or sitting room or dining area.*"[4]

The household unit is central to understanding how we live.

What then is a *Jewish* household? While this may not sound like a difficult question, it is far from straightforward and, arguably, is even more challenging than the perennial issue of defining 'who is a Jew?' A report on Jewish households not only requires that question to be meaningfully answered, but also begs a further question about how Jewish a household needs to be to be labelled as such. For example, is it necessary for all household members to be Jewish, or is it sufficient for just part of the household to be Jewish? Should there be some outward sign of Jewish practice being observed such as a *mezuzah* on doorframes? Indeed, can a household, an abstract concept, even possess a Jewish identity?

From an analytical and certainly from a planning point of view, it is necessary to delimit the boundaries of a Jewish household. The census provides a number of alternatives, but in general, a household's religion is allocated based on the religion of the Household Reference Person (HRP) whose religion, if any, is used as a proxy for all other household members (see Glossary for how the HRP is identified). It follows, therefore, that *a 'Jewish household' is any household in which the HRP is Jewish.* Unless otherwise stated, this is the definition on which the majority of data in this report is based since it constitutes the majority of available census data.

Even so, it is immediately clear that the HRP approach has its limitations. What about Jews living in households where the HRP did not report Jewish in the census? What happens if other household members report a different religion to the Jewish HRP? Moreover, since the HRP is far more likely to be male than female and men are more likely to report No Religion,[5] the HRP approach tends to underestimate the total number of households in which Jews dwell. Alternative approaches to defining 'Jewish households' are discussed in Appendix I (page 39).

4 ONS Jan 2014 '2011 Census Glossary of Terms' p20; note this is a slightly different definition from that used in 2001 (though we do not consider that this impacts the comparative findings presented here).

5 62% of Jewish HRPs are male, and this rises to 73% when one person households are excluded (ONS 2011 SAR). Further, 55% of people who report No Religion are male despite men making up 49% of the population (ONS Table DC2107).

Household dynamics

Total number and average size of Jewish households

A total of 113,635 Jewish households[6] were enumerated in the UK in 2011[7] with the vast majority of these (97%) being in England and Wales. Between 2001 and 2011 the number of Jewish households in England and Wales decreased by 5,600 to 110,726 households (Table 1). This represents a fall of 5% in the decade, despite the total Jewish population *within* those households (the 'Jewish household population') *increasing* by 2%.[8] By contrast, the number of households in general in England and Wales increased by 8%, suggesting that rather different household dynamics are operating among Jews compared with the general population.

There were 5,600 fewer Jewish households in 2011 than in 2001, despite a rise in the number of Jews living in households.

This difference can also be seen in data on average household size. Between 2001 and 2011, the average Jewish household size in England and Wales increased by 7%, from 2.17 persons per household (pph) to 2.31pph (Table 1). By contrast, in the general population, it decreased, albeit slightly, from 2.37 to 2.36pph. The Jewish household increase should also be seen in the context of a century of diminishing household size generally, and a notable flattening since the 1990s (Figure 2).

To summarise, Jewish households are again seen to be bucking the national trend; not only is the overall number of Jewish households declining whilst the number of general households is increasing, but also (and not unrelated), average Jewish household size is increasing as average household size generally is decreasing. Thus, although Jewish households in 2011 were smaller than average (not least due to the older age profile of the Jewish population), the substantial gap that existed in 2001 is evidently shrinking and may, by now, have already disappeared.

Jewish households are getting bigger as households generally are getting smaller.

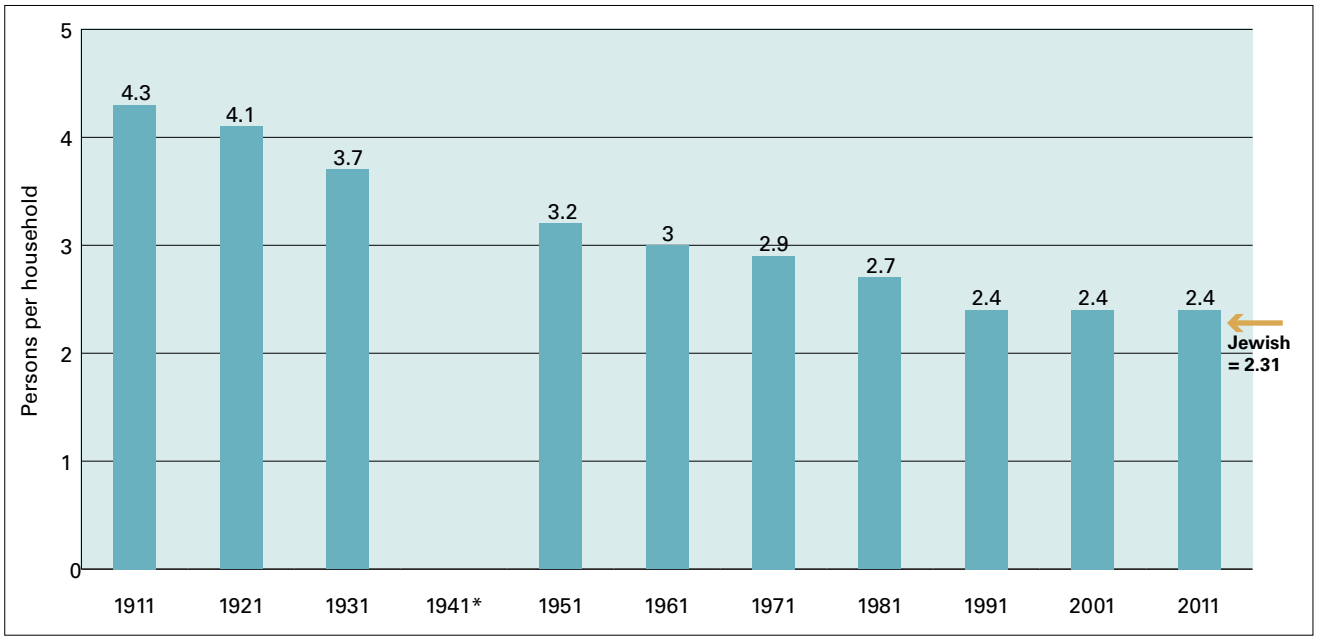
Table 1. Total household population and average household size, Jews versus general population,* England and Wales, 2001 to 2011

			Household population	Total households	Average household size (pph)
2001 Jewish		All	51,359,721	21,660,475	2.37
		252,082	116,330	2.17	
2011 Jewish		All	55,071,113	23,366,044	2.36
		256,037	110,726	2.31	
Change 2001 to 2011	Total	All	+3,711,392	+1,705,569	-0.01
		Jewish	+3,955	-5,604	+0.15
	Percent	All	+7.2%	+7.9%	-0.6%
		Jewish	+1.6%	-4.8%	+6.7%

* The calculations exclude people in communal establishments; pph = persons per household.
Source: ONS 2011 Tables LC4417, LC4202; ONS 2001 Tables S159, S151).

6 As discussed in the previous section, this is based on the HRP definition.
7 Not including Northern Ireland. 2,909 Jewish households were enumerated in Scotland in 2011 or 2.6% of the total (Source: NRS Table AT052). Equivalent data for 2001 were unavailable.
8 See Graham, D, Boyd, J. and Vulkan, D. (2012). 2011 *Census results (England and Wales): Initial insights about the UK Jewish population.* London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

Figure 2. Average household size in the general population, 1911 to 2011, England and Wales



* There was no census in 1941 due to the Second World War.
Source: ONS 2012 Statistical Bulletin: 2011 Census – Population and Household Estimates for England and Wales, March 2011, p.33.

Jewish household dynamics at the local level

As is often the case, a more revealing picture emerges at the local level. Out of 349 Local Authorities in England and Wales, Barnet has by far the largest concentration of Jewish households with 18% of the total. The second largest concentration can now be found in Hertsmere, which in 2001 was ranked sixth, reflecting the significant growth (35%) of Jewish households in this area (Table 2). By contrast, Redbridge, now ranked third, experienced a 25% decline in the number of Jewish households in the decade. This is also redolent of the changes in the Jewish

Table 2. Areas with the most Jewish households and change from 2001 to 2011*

Rank		Area	Total households		Household change 2001 to 2011	
2011	2001		2001	2011	Total	Percent
1	1	Barnet	18,925	20,212	+1,287	+7%
2	6	Hertsmere	3,979	5,369	+1,390	+35%
3	2	Redbridge	6,486	4,833	-1,653	-25%
4	4	Harrow	5,729	4,815	-914	-16%
5	3	Camden	5,774	4,758	-1,016	-18%
6	8	Hackney	3,666	4,150	+484	13%
7	5	Westminster	4,449	3,928	-521	-12%
8	9	Bury	3,498	3,819	+321	+9%
9	7	Leeds	3,820	3,269	-551	-14%
10	12	Haringey	2,478	2,458	-20	-1%
England & Wales			116,330	110,726	-5,604	-5%

* Based on the Jewish household population i.e. excluding Jews living in communal establishments.
Source: ONS Tables DC1202 and S151

Table 3. Areas with the largest Jewish households, LA and ward level, 2011*

Rank	10 largest areas based on local authority		10 largest areas based on ward		
	Area	Persons per household	LA	Ward*	Persons per household
1	Hackney	3.71	Gateshead	Bridges	7.01
2	Salford	3.44	Gateshead	Saltwell	5.80
3	Haringey	3.10	Salford	Broughton	5.13
4	Hertsmere	2.64	Haringey	Seven Sisters	4.98
5	Barnet	2.64	Birmingham	Selly Oak	4.72
6	Bury	2.63	Nottingham	Dunkirk and Lenton	4.63
7	St Albans	2.49	Hackney	Cazenove	4.55
8	Three Rivers	2.44	Nottingham	Radford and Park	4.51
9	Epping Forest	2.44	Hackney	Springfield	4.31
10	Birmingham	2.33	Hackney	New River	3.94

* For all Local Authorities with a minimum of 500 Jewish households and all wards with a minimum of 25 Jewish households. Calculations exclude Jews living in communal establishments.
Source: ONS 2011 Tables LC4417, LC4204, S159 and S151.

population itself,[9] and highlights the new central position Hertsmere now holds for Britain's Jewish population.

As revealing as this is about concentration at the neighbourhood level, the more important indicator is arguably Jewish household size, i.e. concentration at the household level. Nationally, we saw that the average Jewish household size is 2.31 persons per household (Table 1). Areas with the largest Jewish households tend to have majority haredi (Strictly Orthodox) populations. In fact, this is the case for the top three local authorities with large concentrations of Jewish households: Hackney (3.71), Salford (3.44), and Haringey (3.10) (Table 3).

Average Jewish household size is greatest when examined at the level of the ward. For example, it is 7.01 in Bridges ward in Gateshead and over 5.0 in Saltwell (Gateshead) and Broughton (Salford) (Table 3). While seven of these ten wards are in haredi areas, three (Selly Oak, Dunkirk and Lenton, and Radford and Park) are in university towns and most likely consist of (non-haredi)

9 See: Graham, D. (2013). *Thinning and Thickening. Geographical change in the UK's Jewish population, 2001-2011.* London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

The average household size in strictly Orthodox areas is 3.5 compared with 2.2 in the remainder of the Jewish population.

Jewish students sharing with other students (Jewish or otherwise).

Further, by separating out areas which are predominately or significantly haredi,[10] we find that nationally, average Jewish household size is just 2.16, compared with 3.54 in the haredi areas.[11] In Scotland, average Jewish household size was even smaller at 1.94.[12] Indeed, it is striking how small non-haredi Jewish households are, and the difference the haredi population makes to this facet of the national Jewish demographic profile (see Appendix IV).

Jewish household change and communal evolution

Two fundamental types of change in a neighbourhood can now be identified in the

10 These are the local authorities of Hackney, Haringey, and Gateshead, and the wards of Broughton and Kersal in Salford, Sedgley in Bury and Golders Green in Barnet.
11 Average Jewish household size across the UK is 2.31, i.e. the same as for England and Wales.
12 Source: NRS Table AT051 and AT052

Table 4. Jewish household and Jewish population change in the ten largest Jewish communities, 2001 to 2011*

Rank	Area	Household change	Population change
1	Barnet	+7%	+17%
2	Hertsmere	+35%	+33%
3	Redbridge	-25%	-31%
4	Harrow	-16%	-20%
5	Camden	-18%	-11%
6	Hackney	+13%	+45%
7	Westminster	-12%	-6%
8	Bury	+9%	+17%
9	Leeds	-14%	-16%
10	Haringey	-1%	+35%
England & Wales		-5%	+1.3%

* Based on the largest Jewish household populations, excluding Jews living in communal establishments.
Source: ONS Tables DC4417, DC4204, S159, S151

census data. On the one hand, we see changes in the total number of Jewish households in an area; on the other hand, there are changes in the size of the Jewish population in an area. Often these two trends diverge, and in doing so, they illuminate the multiple ways in which different Jewish communities are evolving.

In Table 4 we compare the magnitude of Jewish household change with the size of Jewish population change for the ten areas in the UK that have the largest number of Jewish households. In most places, a rise in one metric is accompanied by a rise in the other, and vice versa. However, none of these examples match exactly, and only in Hertsmere and Leeds are the changes very similar. In all other places the figures diverge. For example, in Hertsmere, strong growth in Jewish households (+35%) and the Jewish population (+33%) were recorded in tandem, whereas in Barnet the household change (+7%) was fairly modest compared with the population change (+17%). In Haringey the difference is stark: the Jewish household population marginally contracted (-1%), yet the total Jewish population soared (+35%). What is all this telling us?

These divergent socio-demographic processes reveal vital information about Jewish population dynamics. In other words, they tell us not just the direction of change, but also how these communities are changing. This is demonstrated by Figure 3, where the magnitude of Jewish household change (yellow columns) has been plotted against Jewish population change (blue markers) for all places with at least 1,000 Jewish households. The ratio of the two indicates change in average household size (red markers, right hand axis) which enables us to hypothesise about change at the local level, and identify different types of growth and decline.

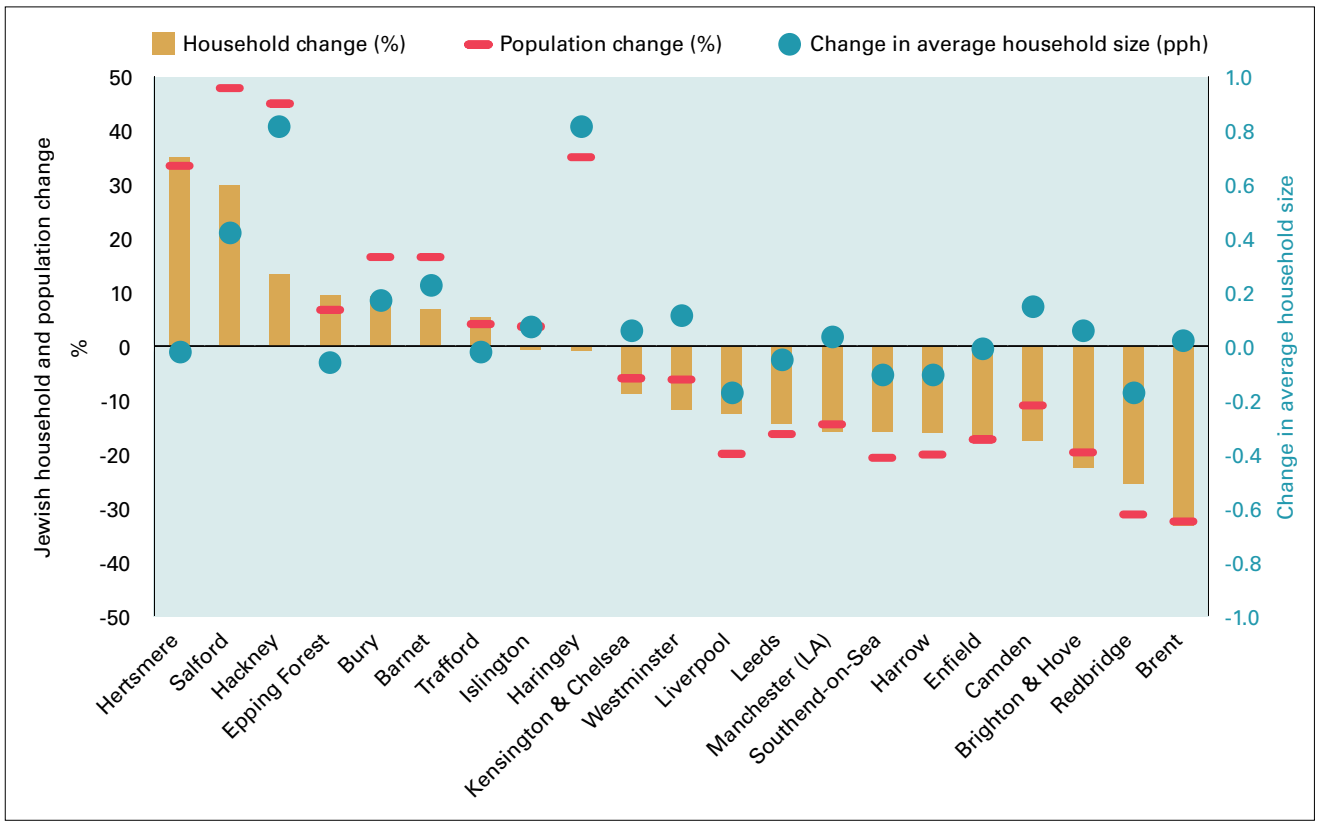
More than growth and decline, household change reveals *how* Jewish communities are changing.

Growth

- In Hertsmere, the Jewish community has clearly expanded both in terms of households and population, but average household size has remained stable. Thus, this expansion must be the result of *household migration*. More Jewish families are moving into this area than are leaving it,[13] and further, they have a similar household composition to the existing Jewish population. In other words Hertsmere is experiencing *equivalent migration*.
- In **Barnet**, **Salford** and **Hackney**, whilst the number of additional Jewish households increased, this growth was significantly outpaced by increases in the Jewish population in each of these areas. As a result, average household size increased. Whilst the change is proportionally greater in Hackney than in Barnet, the processes are similar. These areas have experienced positive net migration, possibly of families that are larger than those in the existing populations. But there has also been 'organic' growth, a result of high Jewish birth rates in these areas, which has led to increased average household size.
- Haringey presents an extreme example of this trend: virtually no net change in the number of households, but a very large increase in population and therefore in average household

13 Indeed the proportion of all households in Hertsmere that are Jewish rose from 10.5% in 2001 to 13.5% in 2011.

Figure 3. Change in number of Jewish households and Jewish population compared with change in average household size by area, 2001 to 2011*



* For all LAs with 1,000 or more Jewish households in 2011; pph = persons per household.
Source: ONS Tables DC4417, DC4204, S159, S151.

size. Here growth is entirely organic—very high fertility levels are causing the community to grow.

Decline

- Brent, Enfield and Manchester (LA)[14] have essentially experienced the opposite process described for Hertsmere: i.e. in each of these places there was equivalent negative net migration. Household size has remained stable but there have been substantial declines in both the household and person population. Thus we can conclude that Jewish families are leaving these areas.
- In Harrow, Liverpool and Redbridge, Jewish population decline has outpaced declines in Jewish households. Thus in both areas, average household size has declined. One explanation for this is that the Jewish families that are leaving are relatively larger (and therefore younger) than those that remain. However, a more likely scenario is that young adults are 'flying the nest', leaving behind parents, and new families are not moving in to fill the gaps. Both changes can be labelled *differential migration*.
- In **Camden**, the number of Jewish households declined to a greater extent than the decrease in the Jewish population. However, here, average household size *increased*. Camden therefore presents a slightly more complex picture. Analysis of age data indicates that the number of young adults (age 20-34) declined by 21% in the decade and the number of people over 70 years declined by 28% whilst the family population remained flat.[15] This scenario may suggest migration away (as well as decline of in-migration) of young adults, as well as the passing away of the older generation, many of whom will have been living alone.

14 Greater Manchester is comprised of ten Local Authorities, one of which is 'Manchester'.

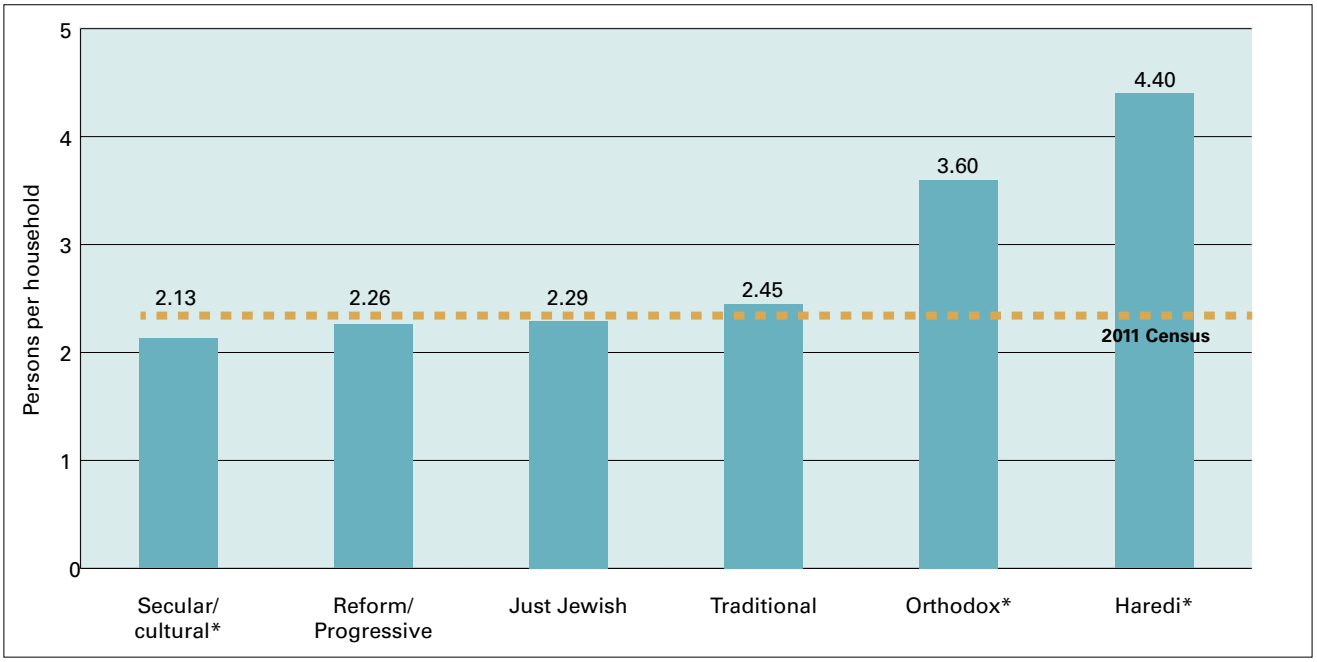
15 ONS Tables S149 and DC2107. 'Family' refers to all people aged under 20 years and 35-69 years.

In summary, the extent to which an area's Jewish population changes tends not to correlate with the changes that occur to the number of Jewish households in that area. Rather, this is driven by a complex set of demographic processes which includes the migration (in and out) of whole households, the migration (in and out) of Jewish individuals and population change driven by mortality and fertility. Any particular area can be impacted by one or more of these processes.

Household size and religiosity

Although a relationship between household size and religiosity has already been demonstrated here (areas with the largest households tend to be predominantly haredi), the precise relationship between religiosity and household size cannot be explored using census data alone. However, JPR's 2013 National Jewish Community Survey (NJCS) provides some insight into this relationship.[16] Average household size in Secular/cultural households is 2.13pph, or just below the national level of 2.31pph (yellow dotted line). Traditional households are slightly larger than the average (2.45pph) and Orthodox households are considerably larger at 3.60pph. As we have seen, by far the largest in the survey are haredi households at 4.40pph[17] (Figure 4). Thus, the more secular respondents are, the smaller their households, and the more religious they are, the larger their households.

Figure 4. Average household size by self-defined Jewish religious practice, UK*



* Data are previously unpublished weighted NJCS Panel data N=305. Secular/cultural = Non-practising (i.e. Secular/cultural); Mixed = 'Mixed (both Jewish and another religion)'; Orthodox = 'Orthodox (e.g. would not turn on light on Shabbat)'; Haredi = 'Haredi (strictly Orthodox, Hasidic)'. These findings assume that the respondent's religiosity is a proxy for the whole household.

16 NJCS Panel data (used here) represent the more engaged sections of the Jewish community. They also undersample Jewish one person households, hence average household sizes are somewhat higher than the census indicates they ought to be.

17 Due to small counts, these figures should only be seen as indicative of the differences.

Jewish household composition – an overview

The vast majority (97%) of the UK's Jewish population lives in a household, with the remaining 3% living in communal establishments such as care homes and university accommodation. Focusing on the former group, broadly speaking, we can identify three types of household:

- people living alone (one person households);
- families (usually a couple with or without children);
- other households (often unrelated people sharing, or more than one family, or multiple generations living at the same address).

In 2011 in England and Wales, the majority (59%) of Jews lived in family households and a further 33% lived alone (Table 5).[18] Compared with the general population, Jews are more likely to live alone and less likely to live in family households, a result of Jews being older than average.

One in three Jewish households consists of one person living alone.

Between 2001 and 2011 there was a slight shift away from Jews living alone (down from 36% to 33%), and towards familial and more complex (or 'other') household arrangements (Table 5). This view, however, disguises considerable dynamism, particularly in terms of the number of Jews living alone (Table 6). Indeed, there were 5,509 fewer Jewish one person households in 2011 than in 2001, *a fall of 13% in the decade*, whereas the overall number of Jewish households fell by less than half this amount (down 5%) (Table 7). Furthermore, the decrease in Jewish one person households occurred whilst the equivalent number in the general population increased by 9%, yet another example of Jewish households bucking national trends.

Table 5. Change in household composition by type, Jewish versus general population, England and Wales, 2001 and 2011

	2001		2011	
	Jewish	General population	Jewish	General population
One person	36%	30%	33%	30%
One family	57%	63%	59%	62%
Other	7%	7%	8%	8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	116,330	21,660,475	110,726	23,366,044

Source: ONS Tables DC1202, S151

Table 6. Total Jewish household change by type, 2001 to 2011, England and Wales

	2001		2011	
	Count	%	Count	%
One person household	42,046	36%	36,537	33%
One family only	66,217	57%	65,859	59%
Other household types	8,067	7%	8,330	8%
Total	116,330	100%	110,726	100%

Source: ONS Tables DC1202EW, S151

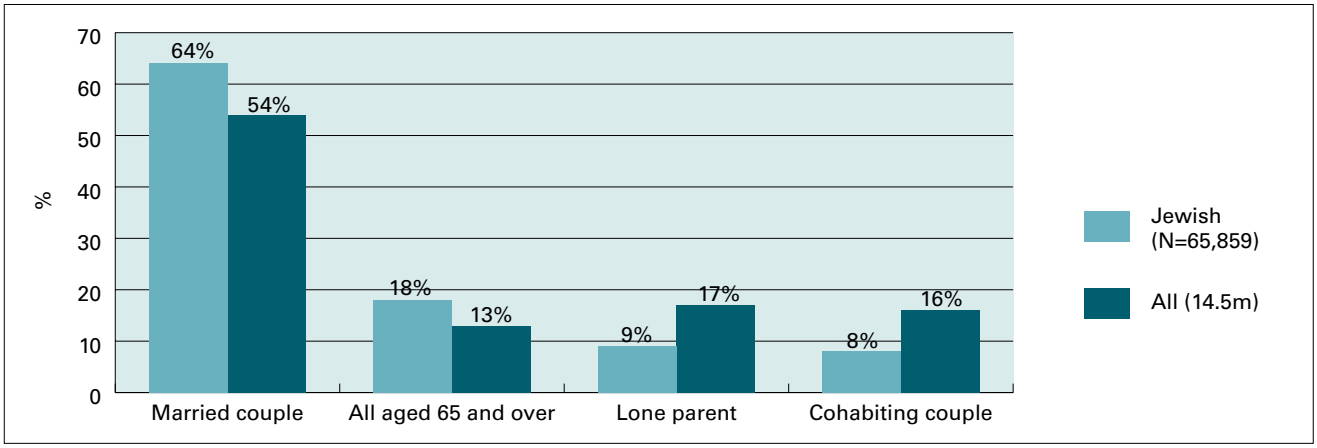
The striking decline in the number of Jewish one person households partly explains why average Jewish household size increased over the 2001 to 2011 period and, presumably, why there are 5% fewer Jewish households overall, despite a slight increase (up 2%) in the size of the Jewish population living in households (Table 1, p.7). Further, it seems likely that the gap between Jews and the general population living alone will

18 Removing haredi areas from the equation makes very little difference to these figures: One person (34%), One family (58%) and Other (8%). In Scotland, a higher proportion of Jewish households consists of people living alone (40%).

Table 7. Change in household composition, Jewish and general population, 2001 to 2011, England and Wales

	Jewish		All	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
One person household	-5,509	-13%	+564,649	+9%
One family only	-358	-1%	+732,657	+5%
Other household types	+263	+3%	+408,263	+28%
Total	-5,604	-5%	+1,705,569	+8%

Figure 5. Family households, Jews versus general population 2011, England and Wales



Source: ONS Tables DC1202 and S151

continue to close. Although Jews remain more likely to live alone overall, (and concomitantly less likely to live in families), this gap has been steadily closing with a six percentage point difference in 2001 compared with a three percentage point difference in 2011 (Table 5).

It is also important to note that the makeup of Jewish family households varies quite substantially from the general pattern. Jewish families are more likely to consist of married couples (64% versus 54% generally) and of households where all members are aged 65 and over (all seniors), but they are less likely to be cohabitees or lone parents (Figure 5).

Whilst the higher number of Jewish all senior households is mainly due to the older age structure of the Jewish population, the other differences are most likely a reflection of more traditional attitudes towards family formation among Jews than is generally the case.

As with one person households, the changing trends in Jewish family households over the 2001 to 2011 period are rather different from the general trend.[19] In the general population, there has been a relative movement away from married couple households and towards cohabitating couple (up 28%) and lone parent households (up 21%) (Table 8). By contrast, Jewish family households have changed little in relative terms, although the total number of all senior Jewish households and Jewish lone parent households has decreased (by 7% and 4% respectively).

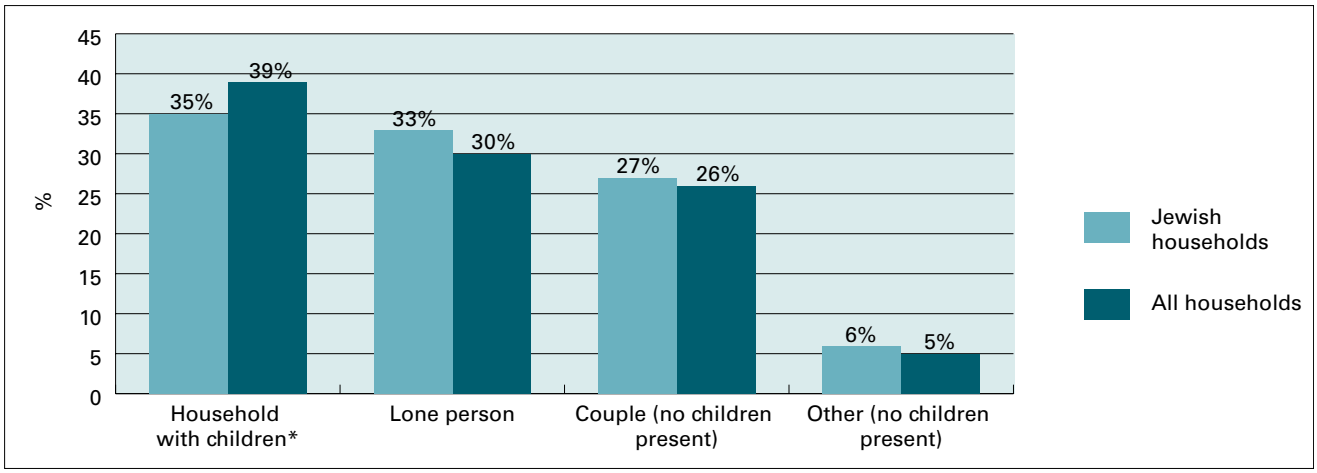
19 Between 2001 and 2011, we are again presented with a problem of definitional change relating to the age of older women (see footnotes 3 and 23). Therefore, to examine change in family households, an adjustment has been made to the 2001 data. But there are further difficulties since the 2001 'Pensioners only' category provides no clear indication of the relationship between the people in these households; married, cohabiting, siblings etc. (See Graham, D. (2008). "The socio-spatial boundaries of an 'invisible' minority: a quantitative (re)appraisal of Britain's Jewish population." DPhil thesis, Oxford University, p.339.) Although an adjustment has been made to the 2001 data in order to expedite comparisons, it must be accepted that the resulting figures remain imperfect.

Table 8. Family households, 2001 and 2011, England and Wales*

	2001		2011		Change 2001 to 2011	
	All N=13.7m	Jewish N=66,217	All N=14.5m	Jewish N=65,859	All	Jewish
Married couple§	58%*	63%*	54%	64%	-3%	+1%
Cohabiting couple	13%	8%	16%	8%	+28%	+3%
Lone parent	15%	10%	17%	9%	+21%	-4%
All aged 65 and over	13%*	19%*	13%	18%	+4%	-7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	+5%	-1%

§ Married couples include a relatively small number of people in same-sex civil partnerships
* 2001 data have been adjusted to facilitate comparisons between 2001 and 201122
Source: ONS Tables DC1202 and S151

Figure 6. Household structure for Jews and the general population, England and Wales, 2011‡



‡ excluding people in communal establishments
* denotes dependent and non-dependent children
Source: ONS Table 1202

To summarise the overall picture of Jewish households in 2011, 35% contain children (including adult children), which is slightly less

Jewish household change is driven by both demography and Jewish cultural attitudes.

than the case generally, and a third (33%) consists of Jews living alone (Figure 6). In other words, *no children are present in almost two out of three (65%) Jewish households, of which 36,500 consist of Jews living alone and a further 35,800 are Jews in couples and others who share.*

On the other hand, Jews are less likely to cohabit, less likely to be single parents and more likely to live in married couple households with children (Table 9).

One other form of living arrangement is recorded in the census: communal establishments. These are independent of households and defined as places "providing managed residential accommodation".[20] A total of 7,183 Jews lived in communal establishments in the UK in 2011, or 2.7% of the population. This group exhibits a very particular age profile, and data for England and Wales show that eight out of ten (79%) are aged either 16 to 24 or 75 and over. This reflects the fact that most Jews in such institutions are either in

20 ONS 2014 Glossary pp.10-11; Since communal establishments are not households, residents of these places are not included in household calculations.

Table 9. Household structure for Jews and the general population, England and Wales, 2011‡

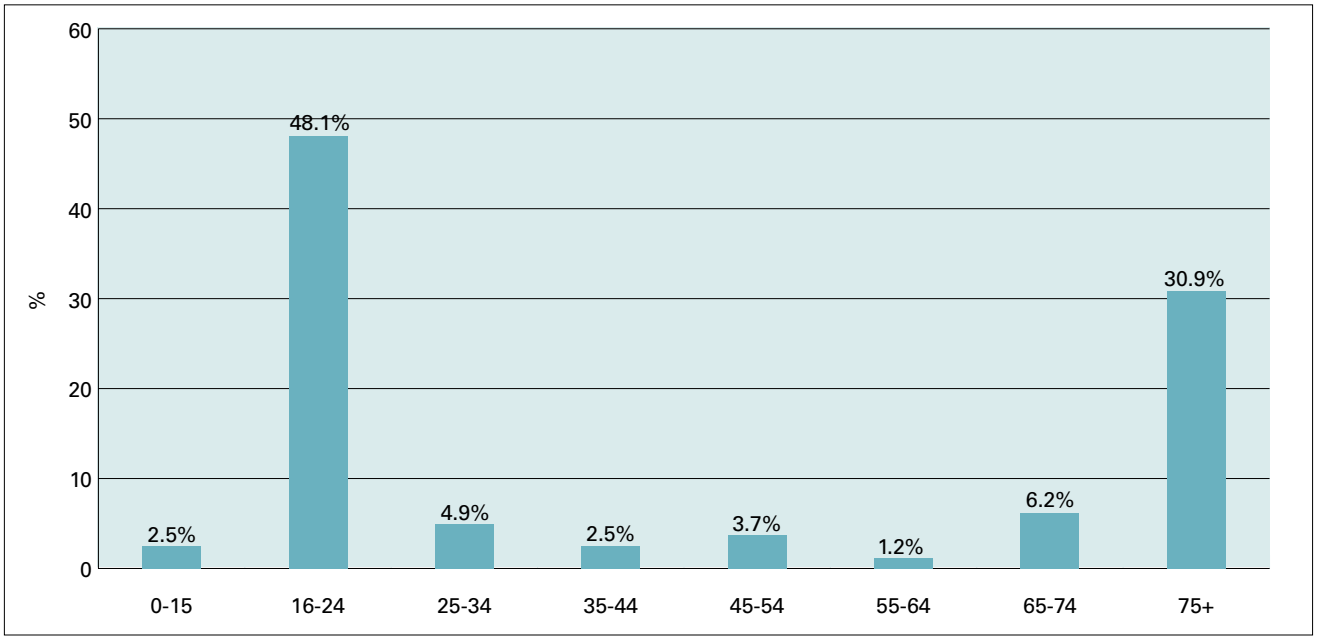
Household structure	Jewish		All households N=23.4m
	Total households	Percent	Percent
Married couple with children*	28,224	25%	21%
One person (aged under 65)	18,903	17%	18%
One person (aged 65 and over)	17,634	16%	12%
Married couple with no children	13,999	13%	12%
One family all aged 65 and over	11,873	11%	8%
Lone parent	6,205	6%	11%
Other household with no children	6,095	6%	5%
Cohabiting couple with no children	3,845	3%	5%
Other household with children*	2,235	2%	3%
Cohabiting couple with children*	1,713	2%	5%
Total	110,726	100%	100%

‡ excluding people in communal establishments
* denotes dependent and non-dependent (adult) children
Source: ONS Table 1202

student accommodation or elderly care facilities including hospitals (Figure 7) (see also Table 20, p.26). Other types of communal establishment include defence facilities, prisons, hotels and guest houses, accounting for less than 500 Jews in total.

There are no children present in two out of three Jewish households.

Figure 7. Age distribution of Jews in communal establishments, 2011, England and Wales



Source: 2011 SAR

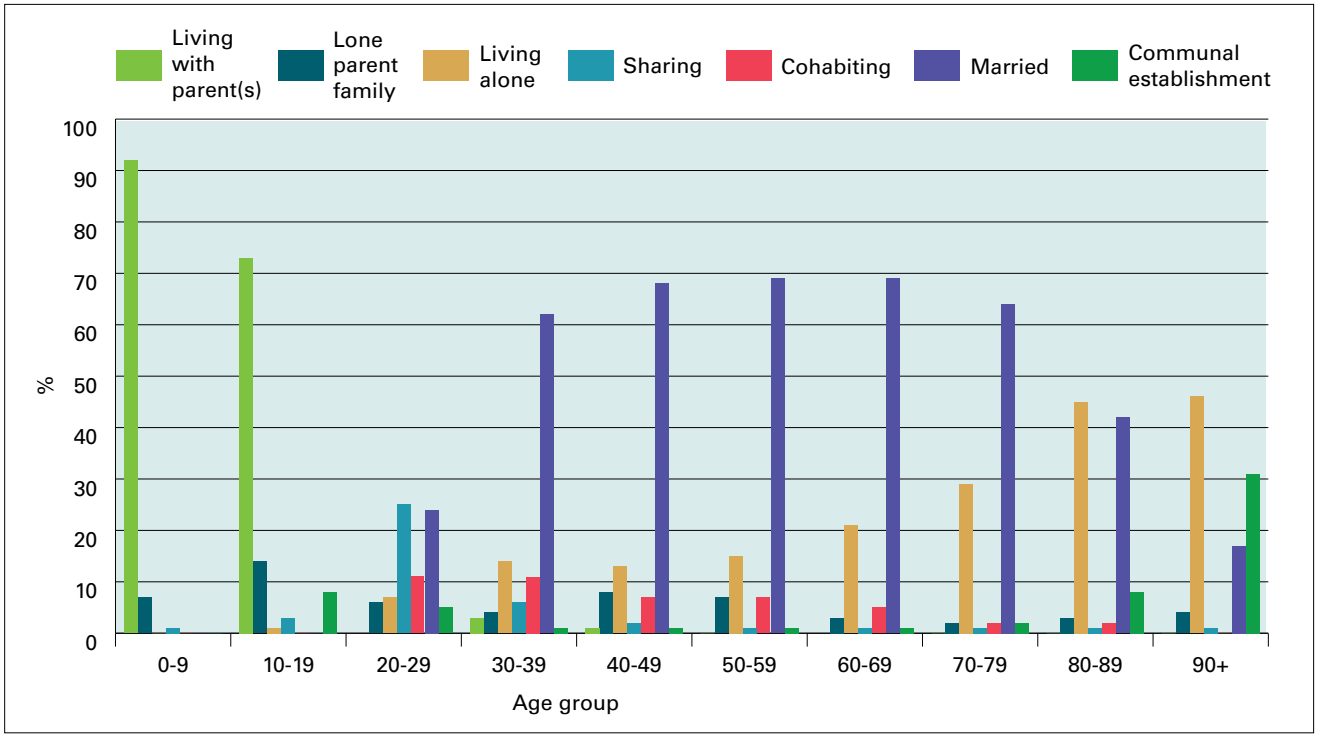
The family lifecycle

The way we live is generally related to the stage we find ourselves within the family lifecycle. Everyone experiences several different types of living arrangement throughout their lives, which is a function of demography (family size), economics (income), health (care homes) and so on. Lifestyle choices and cultural preferences are also important factors and, in general, there has been a "growing diversity in living arrangements" in Britain where "conventional" or nuclear households have given way to new and more complex arrangements. It has been argued that more people and families are living together in one household for reasons relating to increased economic pressures such as higher property prices and living costs, and in some communities, cultural factors.[21] Whilst these general trends presumably impact Jews, the role Jewish cultural attitudes play with respect to living arrangements is significant.

Life-stage dictates the type of household we live in. Most Jewish children live in married couple households, whereas almost half of Jews aged 75 or older live alone, and most of these are women.

The family lifecycle of Jews is summarised in Figure 8. It shows that the vast majority of Jewish children (92%) live with two parents. As they grow older they are more likely to live in a lone parent family and in their late teens many leave the family home to study and live in communal establishments such as university halls of residence. The most varied and unstable period for most people is during their twenties. Some still remain at home (22%) but 25% share with other unrelated people and 36% have begun to form permanent partnerships. By their thirties, life settles down considerably and 73% are married or cohabiting. Family formation and parenting begins and although some re-partnering takes place, it is not until people reach their seventies that the period of household stability begins to erode and considerable change occurs again.

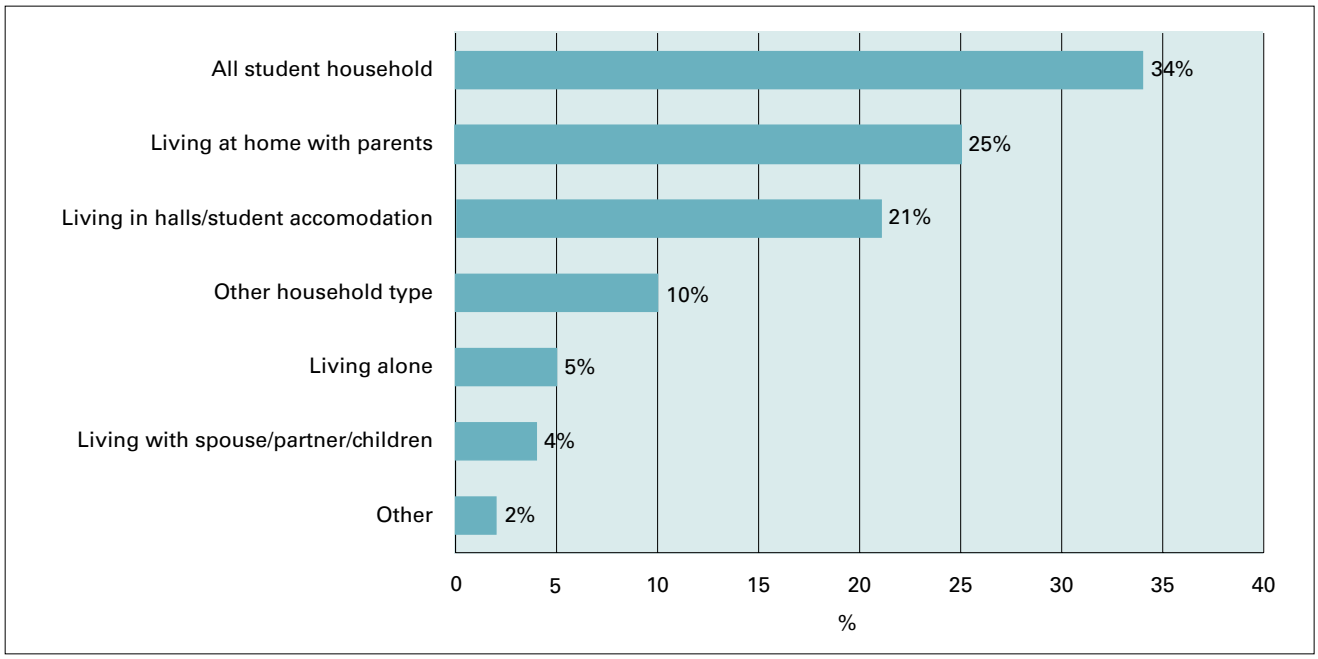
Figure 8. Jewish individuals by age and living arrangement, England and Wales, 2011



Source: ONS 2011 SAR (N=13,277)

21 ONS 2014 Households and Household Composition in England and Wales, 2001-11 p10

Figure 9 Living arrangements for Jewish students aged 19-24, England and Wales, 2011



Source: ONS 2011 SAR (N=432)

Driven mainly by mortality, the propensity to live alone increases considerably once Jews enter their sixties, and by their eighties more Jews live alone (45%) than are married (42%). A majority (77%) of those living alone are women. By their nineties, 46% of Jews live alone but by this time 31% are living in care facilities (Figure 8).

The remainder of this section broadly explores each of these stages in turn, from the first moments when people leave their childhood home and begin to create their own Jewish households, to the care they receive at the end of their lives.

Student households

The first time many Jews experience independent living is when they are students, especially if they attend universities in towns or cities away from where they were brought up. The census reveals that one in three Jewish students (34%) lives in a shared private house or flat, one in four (25%) lives at home with their parents, and one in five lives in university accommodation (21%) (Figure 9).

In England and Wales, the 2011 Census recorded 720 Jewish households in which all members were full-time students. However, not all of these households are homogenously Jewish (i.e. Jews living exclusively with other Jews) and survey data reveal that of students living in shared (private) accommodation, 45% live in homogenous Jewish households and 55% live in heterogeneous households where the Jewish respondent lives with at least one non-Jewish person.[22]

Over half of Jewish students in private households away from home live with non-Jews.

Between 2001 and 2011 the number of shared households with at least one Jewish student increased by 10% (up from 654 households). This was primarily a result of the fact that there were a larger number of student-aged Jews in 2011 than in 2001 (there were 6% more Jews aged 18-21 years),[23] but in relative terms, there was little increase (8.1% of 'Other' Jewish households were all-student in 2001 compared with 8.6% in 2011). By contrast, the number of all-student households in general increased by 57%, at least part of which is due to a higher proportion of people generally in full-time education.

Significant changes have also occurred to the location of Jewish student households. For

22 Source: JPR National Jewish Student Survey 2011, N=822.
23 Source: ONS Tables M277 and CT0291

Table 10. Jewish students in shared households*

2001 Rank	2011 Rank	Area	2001% (N=654)	2011% (N=720)
5	1	Nottingham	4.4%	12.9%
1	2	Birmingham	12.5%	11.3%
3	3	Leeds	11.6%	9.4%
2	4	Manchester (LA)	11.8%	8.2%
4	5	Camden	4.7%	3.9%
11	6	Barnet	2.8%	3.5%
10	7	Brighton and Hove	3.2%	3.5%
7	8	Bristol, City of	3.4%	2.6%
8	9	Oxford	3.2%	2.5%
9	10	Westminster	3.2%	2.2%
-	-	Remainder	39.1%	40.0%
Total			100.0%	100.0%

* **Not** including students in halls of residence or students living alone or at home with their families.
Source: ONS Table DC1202

example, in 2001, Birmingham had the largest all-student Jewish household population (outside London) followed by Manchester (LA). But ten years later, a shift away from Manchester LA and towards Nottingham occurred; indeed, in 2011, Nottingham had the largest concentration (13% compared with 4% in 2001) (Table 10). As a result of this growth, Nottingham also had the largest 'non-haredi' Jewish households (2.73pph) (see Table 3, p.9).

The census also recorded 3,211 Jewish students living in university and other educational establishments.[24] More detailed examination reveals significant geographical differences between these students and those who live in shared, private all-student households. For example, in Oxford and Cambridge, relatively high proportions of Jewish students live in university accommodation rather than private households (compare Table 10 with Table 11). These figures also confirm the substantial rise of Nottingham (quadrupling) as well as Birmingham (doubling) as Jewish student centres since at least 2001.

But of particular interest here is Gateshead which accounts for almost a quarter (24%) of all Jews living in educational establishments in England and Wales. Further, no Jewish students are recorded as living in shared all-student private accommodation in the area. This is because Gateshead hosts several Strictly Orthodox Torah study centres and the vast majority of the students who attend these institutions come from outside the town. These figures suggest that students account for at least a quarter of Gateshead's entire Jewish population.[25] It is also notable that the total number of students in Gateshead more than doubled between 2001 and 2011. (A similar,

24 ONS Table DC4409. This also includes a small number of Jewish children in boarding schools. There were a further 162 students in communal establishments in Scotland (NRS Table AT060).

25 We understand that Gateshead has two religious seminaries for girls aged 16-19 with about 600 students and seven yeshivas for boys aged 16-21 with about 1,000 students. Thus up to 1,600 Orthodox Jewish students may study there. This accords with a recent report on the community (Gateshead Council, June 2011, Gateshead Jewish Community Household Survey 2010: Summary of Key Findings) which states there is a permanent Jewish community of 3,000 as well as 1,500 Jewish students. However, the census recorded 2,247 Jews living in households in Gateshead (ONS Table LC4417) as well as 755 Jewish students in communal establishments, i.e. just over 3,000 Jews *in total*. The significant disparity between the census and this communal source warrants further investigation.

Table 11. Jews in student communal establishments, 2011 by LA, England and Wales

Rank 2011	LA	2011	Percent of total 2011	2001	Total change 2001 to 2011
1	Gateshead	755*	23.5%	348	+117%
2	Oxford	270	8.4%	172	+57%
3	Cambridge	258	8.0%	169	+53%
4	Birmingham	198	6.2%	97	+104%
5	Nottingham	192	6.0%	47	+309%
6	Salford	158	4.9%	102	+55%
7	Leeds	152	4.7%	103	+48%
8	Manchester	135	4.2%	142	-5%
9	Camden	49	1.5%	91	-46%
10	Bristol, City of	44	1.4%	94	-53%
	All others	1,000	31.1%	1,098	-9%
	Total	3,211	100.0%	2,463	+30%

* The accuracy of this figure is uncertain (see footnote 28).
Source: ONS Table DC4409

though less sizeable, scenario is exhibited by the data for Salford.)

The presence of large, but nevertheless, temporary Jewish student populations can have a rather distorting effect in some areas. For example, Nottingham's Jewish population grows by almost a half during term-time due to students living in the city, and Gateshead, Birmingham, Oxford and Cambridge are each inflated by up to a quarter (Table 12).

Gateshead's position as a centre of Orthodox Jewish study means that at least one quarter of its Jewish population is students living in yeshivas and seminaries.

Table 12. Impact of temporary (term-time) Jewish student populations on the size of local permanent Jewish communities (top ten increases)

Area	Size of community without students	Growth due to temporary student population	Percent increase in community size
Gateshead	2,279	725	24.1%
Nottingham	552	517	48.4%
Birmingham	1,693	512	23.2%
Manchester (LA)	2,312	301	11.5%
Oxford	800	272	25.4%
Leeds	6,603	244	3.6%
Cambridge	664	206	23.7%
Bristol, City of	643	134	17.2%
Liverpool	2,043	114	5.3%
Brighton and Hove	2,587	83	3.1%

Source: ONS Table OT210 and KS209EW

Young adults

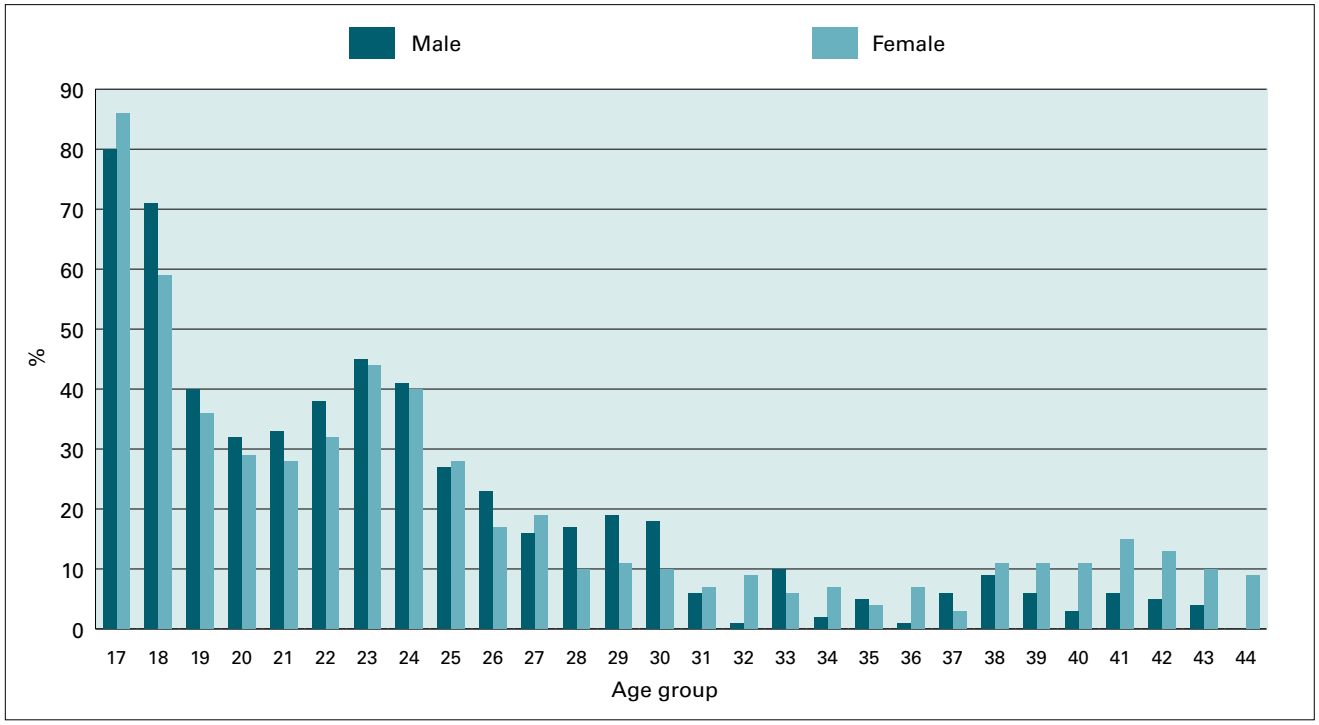
The living arrangements of young adults can be some of the most complicated and unsettled of our lives. In general, as people approach their thirties, they are increasingly less likely to live with their parents as they move out and find long-term partners. Survey data on the general population indicate that women leave home sooner than men at every age, not least because they tend to marry earlier than men.[26]

For Jews the picture is a little more complex. Most remain in full-time higher education following schooling,[27] and many who leave home for university return there in the immediate aftermath (the peak occurs at around age 23, as shown in Figure 10). But after age 24 the numbers living at home decline to just under 20% for men and 10% for women. By their thirties less than one in ten lives at home, though for women, a rise is apparent as they approach 40, presumably a result of family breakup. As with the general population, Jewish men are generally more likely to live with their parents than Jewish women, at least until their early thirties, after which point Jewish women are more likely to do so than Jewish men.

In recent years, a 20% increase in the number of 20 to 34 year olds living with their parents has been experienced in the general population, an increase which is both absolute and relative, possibly a result of rising costs of moving out.[28] Other data indicate a concomitant decline in the number of people aged under 44 who live alone.[29] The census data suggest that among Jews, there has been a significant decline (down 23%) in the numbers aged 20 to 44 who live alone (Table 13). And whilst some of this decline is structural (there were around 2,500 fewer younger Jews living alone in 2011 than in 2001), this reflects a significant change in living arrangements for this group.

There are many possible reasons for this change. One of these is likely to be affordability –

Figure 10. Percentage of young adult Jews aged 17 to 44 living with their parent(s) by age and sex, 2011, England and Wales



Source: ONS 2011 SAR (N=13,227)

26 Source: ONS 2012 Young Adults Living with Parents in the UK (Labour Force Survey data)

27 79% of 19 year old Jews and 72% of 20 year olds are in full time education (Source: ONS 2011 SAR (N=13,227) Strictly Orthodox Jews tend not to enter higher secular education.

28 ONS 2012 Young Adults Living With Parents in the UK, 2011, period relates to 1997-2011 (http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/familydemography/young-adults-living-with-parents/2011/young-adults-rpt.html).

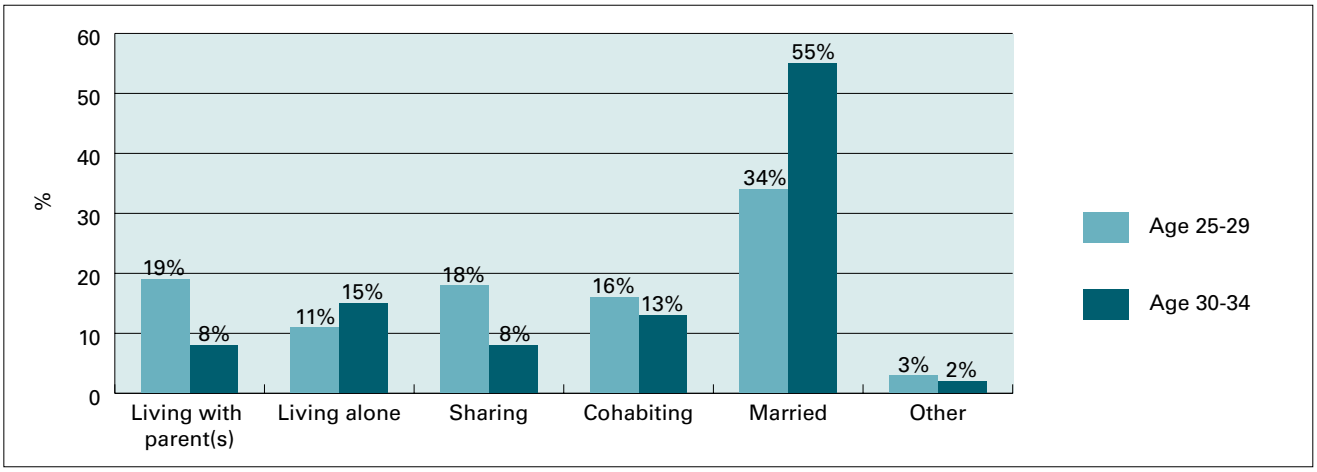
29 ONS 2013 Families and households, 2013 Figure 7.

Table 13. Number of people aged 20 to 44 living alone, 2001 and 2011, Jewish and general population, England and Wales

		2001	2011	Change 2001 to 2011	Total percentage change
Jewish	Number living alone (estimated)	10,893	8,424	-2,468	-22.7%
	Living alone as % of all people aged 20-44	14%	11%	-2.8%	x
General	Number living alone (estimated)	1.9m	1.9m	-34,918	-1.8%
	Living alone as % of all people aged 20-44	11%	10%	-0.7%	x

Source: ONS 2001 SAR (N=1.8m); ONS SAR 2011 (N=2.8m)

Figure 11. Living arrangements for Jews aged 25 to 34, 2011, England and Wales



Source: ONS 2011 SAR (N=13,277)

Between 2001 and 2011 the number of Jews aged 20-44 living alone declined by a quarter. This significant fall is due not least to the increasing unaffordability of independent living.

increased costs of living outside the parental home may be delaying young adults from moving out – and, when they do take this decision, they may be more likely to choose to live with friends or flatmates to help keep costs down, rather than to live alone. But it is also possible that Jewish demographic changes may be involved – a decline in the average age of Jews at the time of first marriage (the inevitable result of haredi growth) would decrease the proportions of younger people seeking to live alone.[30]

The census suggests that 18% of Jews in their late twenties share but by their early thirties more than half (55%) are married and a further 13% are cohabiting (Figure 11). By this age just 8% are still living at home and many of these may have returned following the termination of relationships.

Families with children

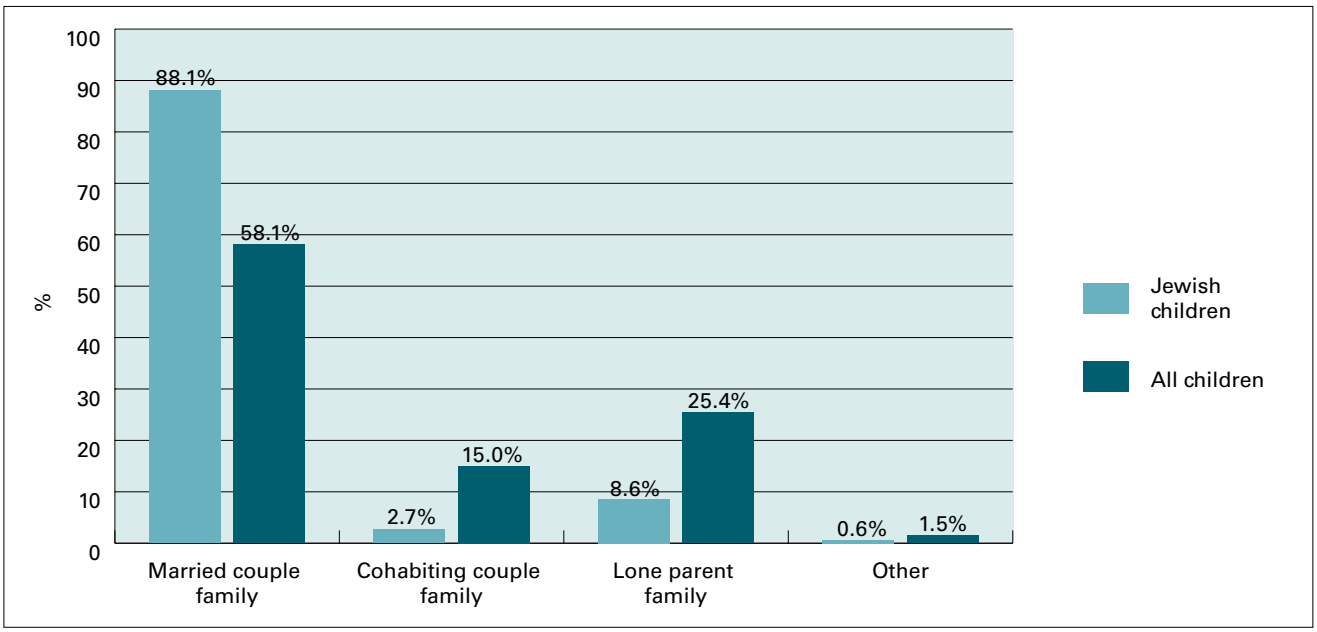
The most common type of Jewish household structure is a married couple with dependent children under age 16 (20% of all Jewish households) (see also Table 9, p.16). Overall, 27% of all Jewish households contain dependent children, similar to the national proportion (29%).[31] However, there are few other similarities

Nine out of ten Jewish children live in married couple households compared with six out of ten generally. That is because Jews are less likely to be single parents or to cohabit than the general population.

30 See further: Graham 2013 '2011 Census Results (England and Wales): a tale of two Jewish Populations', Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London.

31 Source: ONS 2011 Table DC1202

Figure 12. Family type for children under 16, Jewish versus All families, England and Wales, 2011



* 'Other' includes homes where grandparents or other relatives may be present. Totals may not sum to 100% due to rounding.
Source: ONS 2011 SAR

Table 14. Family type for children aged under 16, Jewish versus All families, 2001 and 2011, England and Wales

	2001		2011	
	Jewish children	All children	Jewish children	All children
Married couple family	86%	65%	88%	58%
Cohabiting couple family	3%	11%	3%	15%
Lone parent family	11%	23%	9%	25%
Other	x	x	>1%	2%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Columns may not sum due to rounding.
Source: ONS 2011 SAR and 2001 SAR

Table 15. Propensity for children to be present in married and cohabiting couple households, Jews versus general population, 2011, England and Wales

	All	Jewish
Married couple	46%	53%
Cohabiting couple	41%	26%

Source: ONS Table DC1202

between Jewish and general households with respect to the types of homes in which children are growing up. The great majority of Jewish children under age 16 (88%) are growing up in married couple households, compared with just 58% generally (Figure 12). This difference is due to the large number of children in lone parent households generally (25% compared with 9% among Jews) and the further 15% living in cohabiting couple households generally (compared with less than 3% among Jews).

Whilst in the general population there has been a movement away from children under 16 being raised in married couple homes (from 65% in 2001 down to 58% in 2011), there has been a slight increase among Jews (from 86% in 2001 up to 88% in 2011) (Table 14). This again reflects the more traditional attitudes of Jews even as the attitudes of the general population become more liberal. There were relatively fewer Jewish children in lone parent families in 2011 (down

Table 16. Makeup of lone parent households, 2001 and 2011 and change, Jewish versus general population, England and Wales

	2001		2011		Total change 2001 to 2011	
	All (N=2.1m)	Jewish (N=6,449)	All (N=2.5m)	Jewish (N=6,205)	All (N=2.5m)	Jewish (N=6,205)
With at least one dependent child	68%	55%	67%	55%	+19.4%	-3.8%
With non-dependent children only	32%	45%	33%	45%	+23.0%	-3.8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	+20.6%	-3.8%

Source: ONS Table DC1202 and S151

from 11% in 2001 to 9% in 2011), whereas this increased from 23% to 25% generally. An even larger swing occurred in terms of cohabitation, up from 11% to 15% of all children generally, compared with a slight decline among Jews from 3.3% to 2.7%.

Over 4,500 Jewish children live with a lone, usually female, parent.

Evidence of the preference among Jews to form nuclear families is also reflected in average household size. In the general population, the average size of households with children is 3.77 persons per household. Although relevant census data for Jews are not currently available, survey data indicate the Jewish equivalent is probably rather higher at 4.35.[32]

It also appears to be the case that the Jewish tendency towards more traditional household structures is a conscious and deliberate choice. For example, not only do we see that Jews are far less likely to form cohabiting partnerships (Table 8), but when they do so, they are almost half as likely as the general population to have children in such relationships (Table 15). Conversely, Jews in married couples are more likely to have children than is generally the case.

Lone parent households

Jewish lone parents are less likely to have dependent children living at home than is generally the case (55% of Jewish lone parents had dependent children compared with 67% generally) (Table 16).[33] Nevertheless, there were 3,437 Jewish lone parent households in England and Wales in 2011 with dependent children. Other data show there were about 4,562 Jewish children aged under 16 living in lone parent families.[34]

Proportionately, there was little change in the Jewish lone parent household population between 2001 and 2011, but the total number of Jewish lone parent households declined slightly (down 4%), whereas it increased by 21% in the general population—another indication not only of Jewish difference but also of divergence (Table 16).[35]

In 2001, the vast majority (82%) of Jewish lone parents were female, and this continues to be the case, with 80% recorded in 2011 compared with an average of 87% in the general population.[36] This suggests that Jewish men are slightly more likely to be lone parents than is generally the case.

32 ONS 2014 Households and Household Composition in England and Wales, 2001-11 p20; 2013 NJCS Panel data (weighted) N=305. Note the census figure is based on 'dependent children', whereas the NJCS figure is based on any child aged 18 or under.

33 It should be noted that age categories used by the census are not mutually exclusive—some lone parent households have both dependent and non-dependent children—survey data indicate that this is the case for 13% of all Jewish one parent households (NJCS 2013, N=98).

34 ONS 2011 SAR and ONS Table DC2107.

35 Unlike other family household change, this comparison can be made as the category is largely independent of the 65 and above grouping.

36 ONS 2001 SAR, ONS 2011 SAR

Table 17. Change in older one person households (age 65 and over), Jewish and general population, 2001 to 2011, England and Wales

	Jewish		General	
	Total	Percent of all households	Total	Percent of all households
2001	20,781	18%	2,847,862	13%
2011	17,634	16%	2,903,930	12%
Total change	-3,147	x	+56,068	x
Percent change	-15%	x	+2%	x

* due to the change in definition of age of one person households between 2001 and 2011, 2001 data have been adjusted to align with the 2011 definition
Source: ONS Table DC1202, S151, S149, 2001 SAR

Table 18. Highest proportions of older (65 and over) Jewish one person households by area, 2011, England and Wales

	Older (age 65 and above)	
	Area	% of all Jewish households in area
1	Bournemouth	28.3%
2	Southend-on-Sea	24.8%
3	Brent	24.8%
4	Redbridge	24.5%
5	Brighton and Hove	24.4%
6	Tower Hamlets	24.1%
7	Manchester (LA)	23.3%
8	Enfield	22.9%
9	Harrow	22.8%
10	Westminster	21.3%
	England and Wales	15.9%

* Limited to Local Authorities with a minimum of 500 Jewish households.
Source: DC1202

Table 19. Largest contraction of Jewish one person households age 65 and above by area, 2001 to 2011

Rank	LA	Absolute change	Relative change
1	Hackney	-461	-51%
2	Barnet	-447	-13%
3	Brent	-420	-43%
4	Camden	-410	-40%
5	Westminster	-359	-30%
6	Tower Hamlets	-311	-63%
7	Brighton and Hove	-205	-37%
8	Redbridge	-191	-14%
9	Manchester	-158	-35%
10	Leeds	-157	-18%

* Limited to areas with at least 100 Jewish one person households aged 65+.

Households with older people

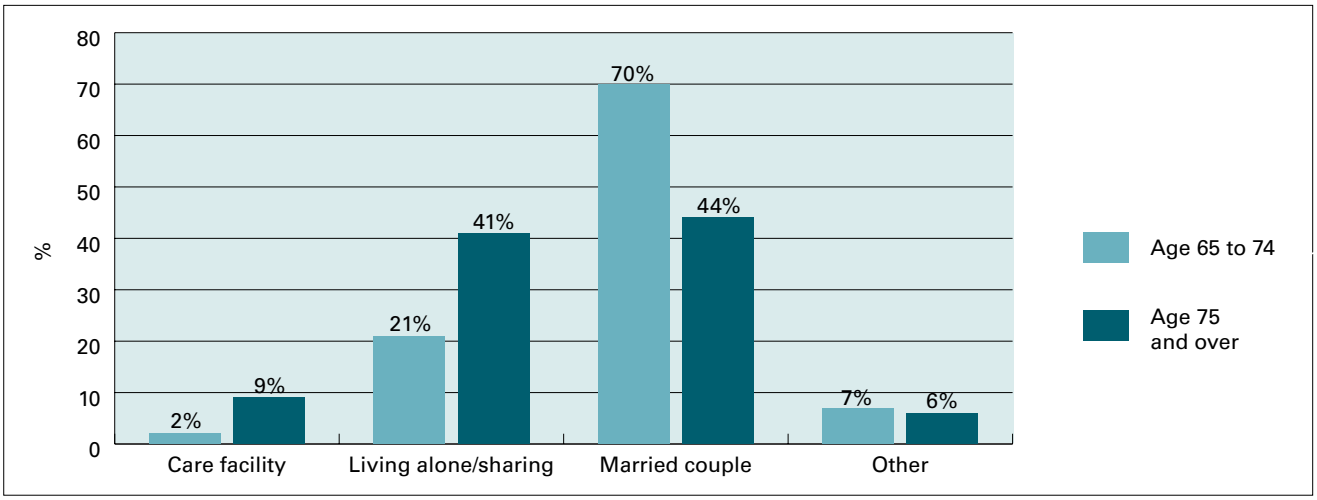
Although Jewish family households with children are the largest single category, Jewish households consisting solely of people aged 65 and above account for an even larger proportion overall (27%), although this is made up of both couple households and people who live alone.

As explained in Appendix III, older Jewish women make up a disproportionately large part of the Jewish one person household sector, and this is despite a 14% (or about 4,000 person) decline in the number of Jewish women aged 70 and above between 2001 and 2011.[37] At the same time there was a 10% increase in the number of Jewish men aged over 80 years. Together these structural changes explain at least some, if not most, of the decline in older Jewish one person households overall (down 15% between 2001 and 2011) (Table 17). This stands in contrast to the growth of 2%

Fewer older Jews are living alone. This is partly because there were fewer older Jewish women in 2011 than in 2001, and partly because Jewish men are living longer.

37 Source: ONS 2011 Table CT0291 and ONS 2001 Table M277

Figure 13. Family composition for Jews aged 65 and above, 2011, England and Wales



Source: 2011 SAR

Table 20. Jews in communal care establishments,* change 2001 to 2011, England and Wales

	2001	2011	Percent change
Care home with nursing	1,512	1,104	-27%
Care home without nursing	1,985	1,831	-8%
Medical other (not care home)	695	336	-52%
Total	4,192	3,271	-22%

* Note this relates to Jewish and non-Jewish facilities
Source: ONS Table S161 and DC4409

exhibited in this sector generally. As a result of this contraction, older Jewish one person households now account for a smaller proportion of all Jewish households (down from 18% to 16% in the decade).

Spatially we would expect to see an average of 16% of older one person Jewish households in any area, but in coastal retirement towns the proportions are far higher (Bournemouth 28%, Southend 25%, and Brighton 24%), as they are in Jewish demographically declining/ageing suburbs (Brent 25%, Redbridge 25%, and Harrow 23%) (Table 18).

The 15% contraction of the senior Jewish one person household sector overall (Table 17), can be contrasted with change at the local level. For example, Hackney experienced the largest absolute decline of this group (down 461 or 51%) and neighbouring Tower Hamlets experienced the largest proportionate decline (down 331 or 63%) (Table 19). Given the role that the older, especially female, Jewish population has played in the overall contraction in the number of Jewish one person households, it is tempting to surmise that the main driver behind these changes is due to mortality, i.e. the dying off of non-haredi Jews who belonged to communities predating the current local haredi populations.[38]

In addition to the one person households, there were 11,873 Jewish family households in which all members are aged 65 and above.[39] Due to mortality, these households become rapidly rarer with age. Whilst most (70%) people aged 65-74

38 Kosmin B. and Grizzard N. (1975). Jews in an Inner London Borough (Hackney): A Study of the Jewish Population. London: Board of Deputies of British Jews. This study noted the far more diverse religious nature of the Jewish community in this area in the early 1970s.

39 ONS Table DC1202

are living as married couples, this is the case for just 44% for those aged 75 and above (Figure 13). Meanwhile, the numbers living alone and living in care facilities rise substantially.

Jews living in medical and care facilities

Of the 3,271 Jews in medical and care establishments, 34% are in a 'Care home with nursing' and 56% are in a 'Care home without nursing', the small remainder being in other types of care facility such as hospitals. There are twice as many Jewish women as Jewish men in these facilities due to greater female longevity.

Between 2001 and 2011 there was a 22% decline in the total number of Jews living in such establishments (Table 20). Nevertheless, the level of penetration or take-up (i.e. the proportion of the age cohort in such facilities) seems not to have changed, remaining at around 9% of those aged 75 and above.[40] Obviously the proportions are far higher at older ages.

40 2001 SAR data show that 9% of Jews aged 75 and over lived in a communal establishment (presumably care related) and 2011 SAR data show that 8.8% of Jews in this age bracket did so.

Living arrangements among other religious and ethnic groups

The census data enable us to directly compare the way Jews live with other religious and ethnic groups.

One of the significant advantages of the census is that it affords an opportunity to compare the Jewish situation directly with that of other groups. It offers a view of the diversity of household composition that exists among different sub-populations, each of which is influenced by different cultural and value systems, as well as varying demographic structures often resulting from unique migratory histories.

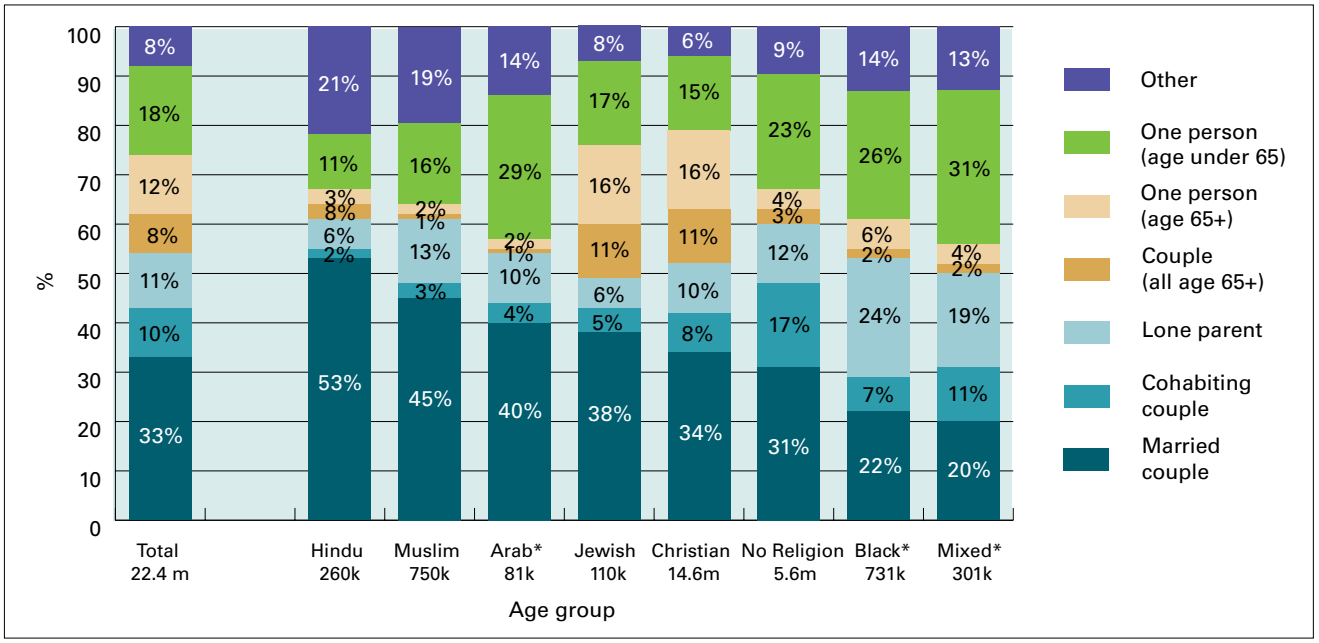
As discussed, Jewish households are more likely than average to consist of married couples (38%), but other, especially younger religious and ethnic groups, have considerably higher levels. For example, over half (53%) of Hindu households are married couples, a reflection of traditional attitudes to family formation. Note also that a quarter of the Hindu group falls under the 'Other' household category—most likely a reflection of multi-generational structures. Conversely, Jews are less likely to live in cohabiting couple households than most groups. Indeed, whilst this is the case for 5% of Jewish households, among Mixed ethnic households it is 11% and among No Religion households, 17% cohabit, indicating a relationship between the rejection of traditional religious labels and the rejection of traditional attitudes towards family formation (Figure 14).

The Jewish tendency towards more traditional structures is also evident in terms of lone parent households. This is the case for 6% of Jewish households, but among Muslim households it is 13% and among Mixed ethnic it is 19%. However, lone parenthood is largest among Black households: here fully one quarter (24%) are lone parents.

Having an older age structure exposes Jews to having large proportions of all senior and lone senior households (27% in total), a trait Jews share with the ageing Christian population. This is in stark contrast to the far younger Arab and Muslim groups, where just 3% of households fall into these categories.

Finally, the number of Jews aged under 65 who live alone is similar to the national average (17%), but among Arab and Mixed ethnic households these are much higher (29% and 31% respectively).

Figure 14. Household structure among other religious and ethnic groups, 2011, England and Wales



* Denotes a self-defined ethnic group
Source: ONS Table DC1202

Living conditions

Home ownership and renting

The census provides an opportunity to explore housing tenure, i.e. the ways in which we own, or pay for, our homes. Over the last century the proportion of people who owned, as opposed to rented, their home rose steadily, but it was not until the 1970s that the number of home owners formed a majority of all households. However, this steady upward trend has stalled dramatically, and, after peaking at 69% in 2001, home ownership began to decline for the first time in a century, with the ownership/rental pendulum swinging back towards renting in 2011. Possible reasons for this reversal, which has been driven by a reduction in the number of homes purchased with a mortgage, include high house prices, low wage growth and tighter lending requirements.[41]

by 8,078 households, whereas Jewish renting increased by 2,474 households.

More detailed analysis shows that two out of five (39%) Jewish households own their homes 'outright', a total decline of 6% over the decade (Table 22).[43] And although 3,143 Jewish householders rent from the local council, this is 39% fewer than in 2001. Furthermore, there are three times fewer Jewish households living in council homes than the general population.

Jewish home ownership fell between 2001 and 2011 whilst Jews renting increased, especially in the Jewish private sector which rose by over 4,800 households.

Table 21. Type of home ownership, Jews versus general population, England and Wales, 2001 and 2011

	2001		2011		Total change 2001 to 2011	
	All N=21.7m	Jewish N=116,330	All N=23.4m	Jewish N=110,726	All	Jewish
Owned	69%	77%	64%	73%	1%	-9%
Rented	31%	23%	36%	27%	24%	9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	8%	-5%

Source: ONS 2011 Table DC4204 and ONS 2001 Table S156

Nonetheless, compared with the general population, Jewish householders are more likely to own their own home (73% versus 64% generally) (Table 21). In part, this is due to the older Jewish age structure (older people have had more time to pay off mortgages etc.), but it also relates to the higher socio-economic circumstances most Jews enjoy.[42] Nevertheless, like the general population, the proportion of Jewish households that owns their home has declined (from 77% in 2001 to 73% in 2011). Indeed, Jewish home ownership declined

However, the most important change is highlighted in Figure 15. This shows that between 2001 and 2011, there was a decline in all forms of Jewish housing tenure except one: renting from a private landlord or letting agency. This increased by 4,836 units, or 36%, despite the total number of Jewish households declining by 5%. This increase is in line with the growth in this sector generally which almost doubled (up 89% – see Table 22), but the processes behind it are likely to be rather different to the ones operating in the wider population. Evidence for this is explored below.

41 Office for National Statistics (2013). "A Century of Home Ownership and Renting in England and Wales (full story)." Downloaded from: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census-analysis/a-century-of-home-ownership-and-renting-in-england-and-wales/short-story-on-housing.html

42 See Graham, et. al. (2007) and JPR census report on socio-economics (forthcoming).

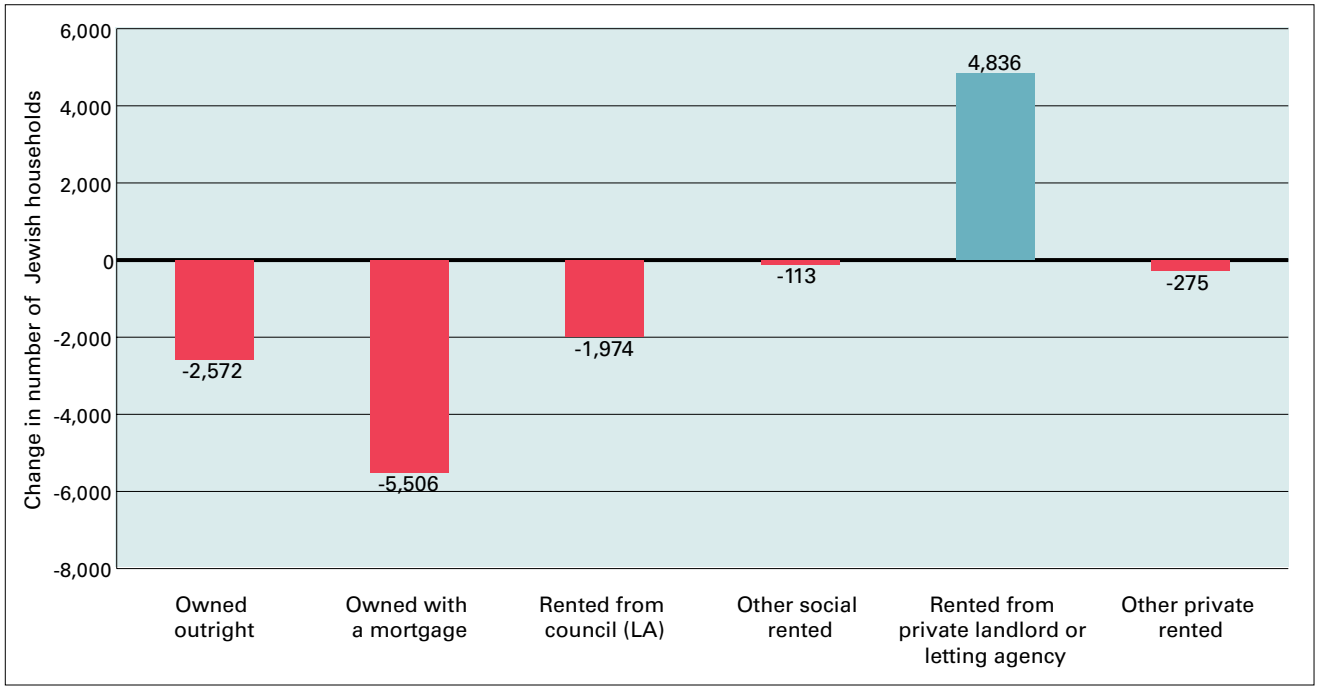
43 In terms of Jewish individuals, this proportion is lower (33%) due to older people being more likely to own property outright but also to exhibit smaller average household sizes. (ONS Table LC4417)

Table 22. Detailed tenure type, Jews versus general population, England and Wales, 2011 and change

	2011 total households		2011 percent of total households		Total change 2001 to 2011	
	All	Jewish	All	Jewish	All	Jewish
Owned outright	7,206,954	43,482	31%	39%	+13%	-6%
Owned with a mortgage*	7,824,960	37,680	33%	34%	-8%	-13%
Rented from council	2,208,080	3,143	9%	3%	-23%	-39%
Other social rented	1,910,381	5,241	8%	5%	+48%	-2%
Private landlord or letting agency	3,566,467	18,265	15%	16%	+89%	+36%
Other	649,202	2,915	3%	3%	-7%	-9%
Total	**23,366,044**	**110,726**	**100%**	**100%**	**+8%**	**-5%**

* Including loans and shared ownership.
Source: ONS Table DC4204

Figure 15. Change in Jewish home ownership 2001 to 2011, England and Wales



Source: ONS Table DC4204

Home ownership by location

The type of tenure arrangements people enter into is dictated by multiple factors including wealth, income, life stage, cultural norms and lifestyle preferences. It will also be influenced by the availability of particular types of housing stock in particular areas. But economics and demography are also important factors, since older people are more likely to own their homes outright, and Jews are, on average, older than the general population. Indeed, given that Jews are geographically concentrated in London, and, in general, households in London are more likely to be rented than anywhere else in the country,[44] the tendency of Jews to own their own homes is all the more striking.

However, as noted, 27% of the properties containing Jewish households are rented. This equates to 29,564 Jewish households (and, though

44 In the general population of London, 20% of households rent but only 15% of the population lives there (ONS Tables LC4204 and KS209)

Table 23. Jewish households by tenure type by area (ten greatest concentrations), 2011*

	Private renting or living rent free			Social renting		
	LA	Ward name	Percent of ward	LA	Ward name	Percent of ward
1	Hackney	Cazenove	60%	Hackney	Brownswood	54%
2	Kensington and Chelsea	Queen's Gate	55%	Tower Hamlets	Whitechapel	42%
3	Kensington and Chelsea	Brompton	54%	Leeds	Moortown	40%
4	Hackney	New River	54%	Liverpool	Greenbank	39%
5	Haringey	Seven Sisters	51%	Barnet	Burnt Oak	37%
6	Kensington and Chelsea	Courtfield	50%	Barnet	Fryent	27%
7	Kensington and Chelsea	Hans Town	47%	Hackney	Lordship	25%
8	Hackney	Lordship	47%	Manchester	Crumpsall	23%
9	Salford	Broughton	46%	Barnet	Colindale	20%
10	Westminster	West End	46%	Salford	Broughton	20%
	England and Wales average		18%	England and Wales average		6%

* Minimum of 100 Jewish households per ward.

not perfectly overlapping, 68,584 Jewish people living in rented accommodation).[45] Given the preference among Jews for home ownership compared to the general population, it is important to ask which Jews rent and why?

The census provides geographically detailed information about private and social renting. As regards the private rental sector, two very distinct Jewish sub-groups emerge. On the one hand are four adjacent, predominantly haredi areas in Hackney, plus one other in Salford. Whilst we would expect about 18% of Jewish households in any one ward to be privately rented, this is the case for 60% of Jewish households in Cazenove ward in Hackney, and around 50% in other haredi wards (Table 23). In these areas, organisations such as the Agudas Israel Housing Association operate to help financially impoverished Orthodox families.[46] On the other hand, there are five wards in the Mayfair area of central London, (four of which are adjacent) and one in nearby Westminster which are some of the wealthiest areas in the country and where renting is common but where rental prices are very high.

In contrast to private renting, which attracts a socially and economically diverse group, social renting is almost always an indicator of some level of economic hardship. There are 14,873 Jews who live in council accommodation (8,384 Jewish households). The places with the highest levels of Jewish social renting share few common factors other than being in poorer parts of inner urban areas. Thus, although we would expect, on average, about 6% of Jewish households in any ward to be socially renting, we find that in Brownswood in Hackney no less than 54% of households are socially rented (in contrast to adjacent wards where private renting dominates). Three out of the top ten wards are in predominantly haredi areas (Brownswood, Lordship and Broughton) but seven are not. Of these, Whitechapel, Moortown, Greenbank and Fryent have relatively large Jewish populations aged 75 and above. But in Colindale, Burnt Oak, and Crumpsall, the relatively high levels of social renting appear simply to correlate with social deprivation of these areas.

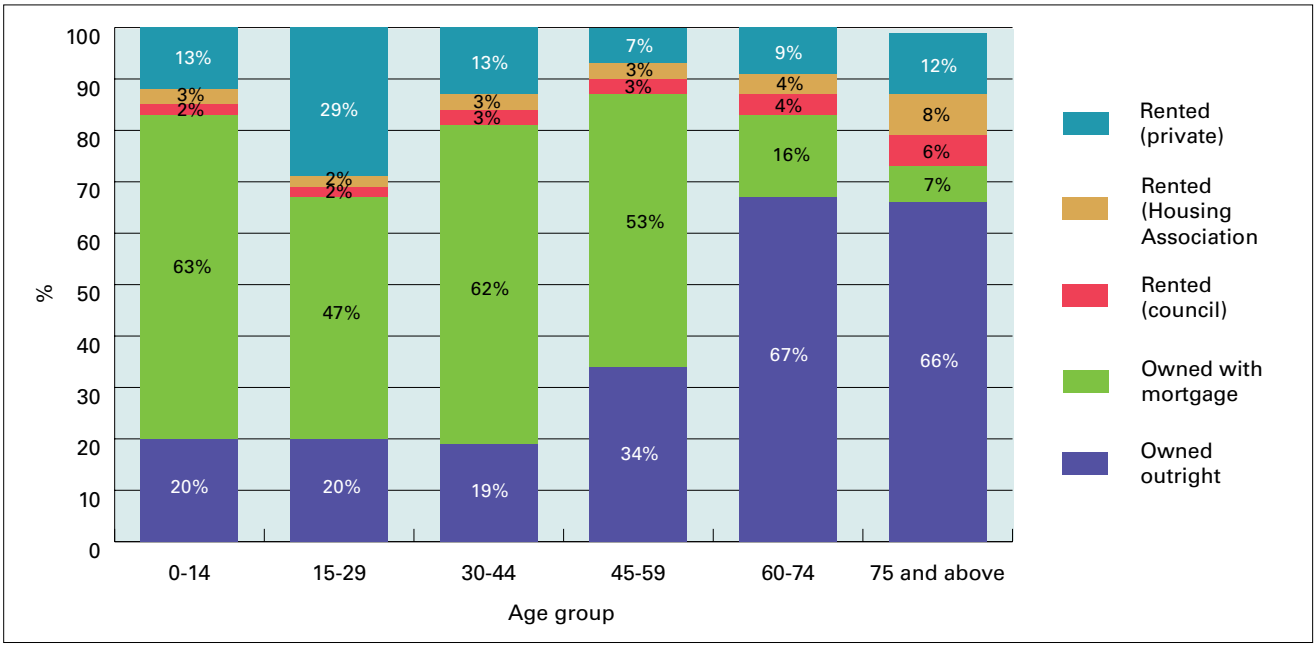
Home ownership by age

Data for 2001 reveal a clear relationship between the type of tenure and age. The propensity to rent peaks for people in their twenties—about a third of this age group rents, the majority privately (Figure 16). Renting declines as people form families and achieve more senior employment positions (with higher incomes) and, possibly, inherit money.

45 ONS Table LC4417

46 Boyd, J. (2011). *Child poverty & deprivation in the British Jewish community*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

Figure 16 Jewish home ownership by age, 2001, England and Wales



Source: ONS 2001 SAR

There has been a marked shift among Jews towards living in smaller, more compact types of property such as terraces and flats.

Thus, outright home ownership increases with age, peaking at 67% among people aged 60-74. This is matched by a concomitant decrease in the number of people with mortgages.

But it is notable that renting increases again as people reach their 60s and beyond, presumably related to reduced financial means as bread winners retire and die. It is also clear that alongside this increase is a significant shift away from private renting into renting from housing associations and councils, especially for those aged 75 and above, which again indicates a reduction in financial means for these people. (Data for 2011 are currently unavailable.)

Accommodation type

Compared with the general population, Jews are more likely to live in flats but less likely to live in semi-detached and terraced homes (Table 24). A quarter of Jews live in detached houses, the same proportion found in the general population.

In relative terms, there has been little change in accommodation type for Jews, but in absolute

Table 24. Accommodation type by persons in households, Jewish versus general population*, England and Wales

	2001		2011		Change 2001 to 2011	
	All N=51m	Jewish N=251,537	All N=55.1m	Jewish N=256,037	All	Jewish
Detached house	25%	27%	25%	25%	+5%	-5%
Semi-detached house	35%	28%	34%	28%	+5%	+4%
Terraced house	27%	18%	26%	19%	+4%	+7%
Flat/maisonette	13%	27%	16%	27%	+30%	+2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	+8%	+2%

* For people in unshared dwellings.
Source: ONS 2011 Table LC2120; ONS 2001 Table C0301

Table 25. Overcrowding based on room availability, Jews versus general population 2001 versus 2011, England and Wales*

		2001		2011		Total change 2001 to 2011	
		All N=23.4m	Jewish N=116,330	All N=21.7m	Jewish N=110,726	All	Jewish
Occupancy rating* (rooms)	Surplus rooms	75%	76%	73%	76%	+5%	-6%
	Neither spare space nor overcrowded	18%	17%	18%	16%	+10%	-7%
	Overcrowded	7%	7%	9%	8%	+32%	+8%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	+8%	-5%

* See Glossary
Source: ONS 2011 Table DC4207; ONS 2001 Table S160

terms, there has been a marked shift towards more compact property types. For example, the number of Jews living in detached houses declined by 5% between 2001 and 2011, whilst the number living in terraced houses increased by 7%.

The movement towards smaller properties also occurred in the general population, although in a rather different way. In particular, there was a substantial rise in the number of people living in flats (up 30% compared with 2% for Jews) (Table 24).

Like tenure, accommodation type is largely a product of location, life stage and wealth. In Gateshead, where the Jewish population is young and urban, 83% of those who live in households live in terraced houses. In inner urban areas such as Tower Hamlets, where the population tends to be elderly and of moderate wealth, 81% live in flats. This is also the case in inner urban Westminster, where the proportion living in flats is 71%, but here the Jewish population is largely wealthy. In wealthier outer suburban areas, Jews commonly live in detached homes, for example in Stockport south of Manchester (61% of the Jewish population), and in Three Rivers in Hertfordshire (60%).

Household overcrowding

The most important indicator of living conditions which the census offers us today is 'occupancy rating' or the level of overcrowding. This is based on a measurement of the number of household occupants and the number of rooms available to them. In general, most Jewish households are not overcrowded using this definition. However, 9% are overcrowded,

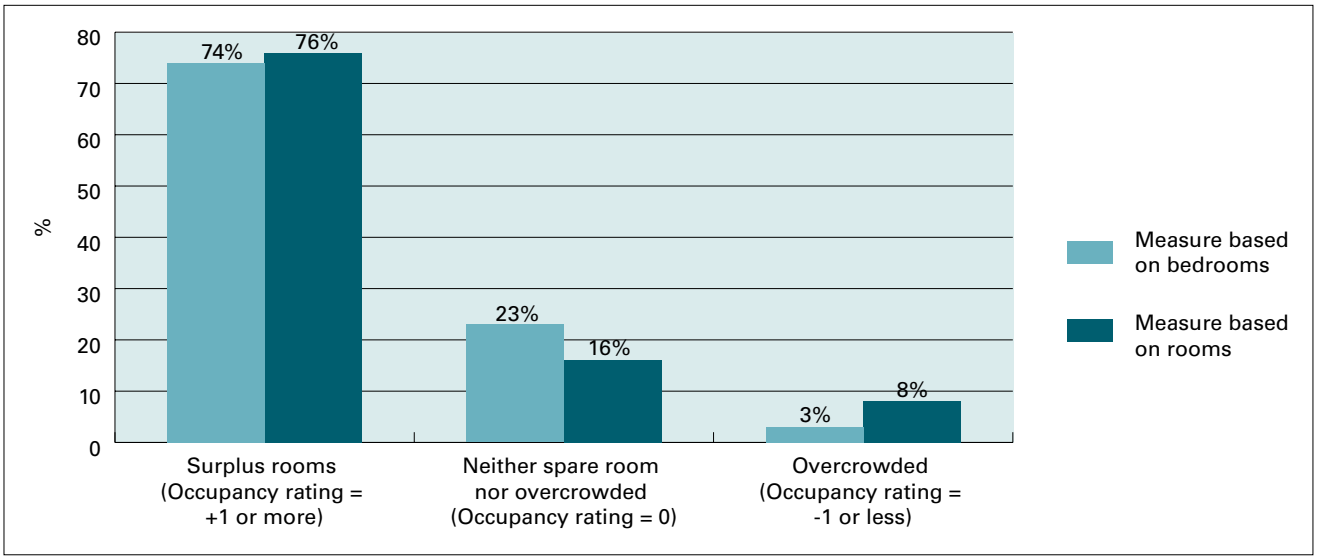
Increases in Jewish overcrowding suggest that overall, Jewish living conditions have declined since 2001.

amounting to 8,850 Jewish households (Table 25). Overall, Jews are almost as likely to live in overcrowded conditions as people generally (8% versus 9% generally) but this is somewhat distorted by the fact that Jews are far more urban than average. For example, in Greater London where two out of three Jewish households are located, 9% are overcrowded, compared with 19% generally.

Both Jews and the general population experienced increased overcrowding between 2001 and 2011. Among Jews there were 8% more overcrowded households and a 6% decline in the number of Jewish households with sufficient or spare space (Table 25). Although this is less than the 32% increase in overcrowding recorded generally (reflective of the significant increase in the number of people living in flats (Table 24)), it still suggests that overall, Jewish living conditions have declined over the decade. It is likely that this is mainly, though not exclusively, a result of the growth of the haredi population (see below).

Overcrowding is sensitive to household type. Data from 2001 indicate that Jewish households with six or more residents were almost 2.5 times more likely than average to be overcrowded (see Appendix IV). Similarly, Jewish lone parent households and 'unconventional' couple households were also more likely to be overcrowded than average.

Figure 17. Overcrowding in Jewish households based on available 'rooms' and 'bedrooms', 2011 England and Wales



Source: ONS 2011 Table DC4207 and DC4208

Table 26. Overcrowding in Jewish households, by LA, measured by rooms and bedrooms, 2011

	Rooms measure			Bedrooms measure		
	Area	Number of households	% Over-crowded*	Area	Number of households	% Over-crowded*
1	Hackney	931	22.4%	Hackney	634	15.3%
2	Nottingham	67	22.0%	Gateshead	43	10.3%
3	Southwark	103	21.6%	Southwark	43	9.0%
4	Islington	193	19.3%	Waltham Forest	57	9.0%
5	Tower Hamlets	145	19.2%	Haringey	201	8.2%
6	Bristol, City of	54	16.9%	Salford	154	7.2%
7	Waltham Forest	101	15.9%	Nottingham	21	6.9%
8	Hammersmith & Fulham	96	15.9%	Croydon	23	6.2%
9	Kensington & Chelsea	270	15.8%	Tower Hamlets	44	5.8%
10	Lambeth	91	15.8%	Lambeth	31	5.4%
	England and Wales average	8,850	8.0%	England and Wales average	3,744	3.4%

* Occupancy rating = -1 or less; areas with at least 250 Jewish households
Source: ONS 2011 Table DC4207 and DC4208

It should be noted that two definitions of overcrowding are available from the 2011 Census: one based on rooms in the household (shown above and used in 2001) and one based on the number of bedrooms in a household, a new measure introduced in 2011. Measured in terms of bedrooms, the apparent extent of overcrowding is lessened (in total 3% or 3,744 overcrowded Jewish households compared with 8% or 8,850 based on 'rooms') (Figure 17). (The relative value of the two different measures is explored in more detail below.)

Overcrowding by location

Looking at overcrowding by area, a slightly different picture emerges depending on the type of measure used (i.e. rooms or bedrooms). For example, whilst Jewish household overcrowding

Table 27. Overcrowding in Jewish households, by ward, measured by bedrooms, 2011

LA	Ward	Number of overcrowded Jewish households	% overcrowded (England and Wales = 3.2%)	Persons per household	Estimated number of people
Birmingham	Selly Oak	16	19.5%	4.72	76
Haringey	Seven Sisters	110	19.0%	4.98	548
Hackney	Cazenove	114	18.1%	4.55	519
Hackney	Lordship	138	17.4%	3.94	544
Hackney	Springfield	143	17.1%	4.31	616
Hackney	New River	152	16.7%	3.94	599
Salford	Broughton	60	15.9%	5.13	308
Hackney	Brownswood	16	14.8%	2.69	43
Westminster	Westbourne	8	14.8%	2.07	17
Gateshead	Bridges	11	14.7%	7.01	77

* Areas with at least 50 Jewish households.
Source: ONS Table DC4208, LC4417

is greatest in Hackney regardless of the measure used, only five locations are in the top ten of both measures (Table 26). It is apparent that the broader 'rooms' measure identifies overcrowding in places where Jewish students (Nottingham, Bristol) and young adults (Islington, Hammersmith and Fulham, Kensington and Chelsea) are living and which are missing in the 'bedrooms' measure. This is because students and young adults are more likely to share accommodation yet still have private bedrooms. Thus, in terms of measuring deprivation, it seems that the more restrictive bedrooms definition is more revealing (sharing accommodation, in and of itself, is not necessarily an indication of deprivation and could rather be reflective of life stage/lifestyle).

Over 3,300 Jews live in homes which do not have enough bedrooms for all their occupants. The majority of these people live in strictly Orthodox areas.

Thus, based on the bedrooms measure of overcrowding, we see that Gateshead, Haringey and Salford enter the top ten list alongside Hackney—all areas with large haredi populations. Indeed, these four areas account for over a quarter (26%) of all overcrowded Jewish households in the country but only 8% Jewish households in total. In other words, Jews in these areas are over three times more likely to live in overcrowded conditions than expected (see Appendix IV).

Overcrowding (measured by bedrooms) is even greater when the data are examined at ward level (Table 27). Eight of the top ten overcrowded wards are in predominantly haredi areas, reaching almost one in five households in some places. Applying average Jewish household sizes to these figures reveals over 3,300 people in these wards who are living in overcrowded conditions, or in houses where there are an insufficient number of bedrooms for all occupants. Almost all of these people are in haredi areas.

Policy implications

Acknowledge the diversity of Jewish living arrangements – there is no such thing as a 'typical' Jewish household

Jewish household data offer us a lens through which to examine the way Jews live, and, in many respects, the household or family is a more familiar unit of Jewish community than the individual. Such data tell us with whom Jews live, the nature of their family set-up and their socio-economic circumstances. And, time and again, the data show how the Jewish family does not conform to stereotypes, how it cannot be described simplistically, and how it diverges from trends in the general population.

Jews live within a wide variety of different types of household types—some with a traditional set-up of parents with children, some live alone, others in empty nester couples, still others in communal establishments of various forms. Viewing the Jewish community from the perspective of the household compels one not only to acknowledge this diversity, but also alerts community leaders and policy makers to the need to carefully consider this reality when developing programmes and initiatives. It prompts us to ask about the extent to which Jewish organisations are conscious of the variety of household structures that exist within the Jewish community, and, whether, when they seek to provide for the community, they are conceiving of it as it actually is, rather than how they imagine it to be.

Think beyond the traditional nuclear family – two-thirds of Jewish households have no children living in them

In communal discourse and policy thinking, the most common view of the Jewish household is the stereotypical nuclear set-up with a mum, dad and kids. In reality, however, this is the exception rather than the rule. In 2011, two out of three Jewish households had no children present, and overall, Jews are less likely to have children of any age living at home than is generally the case. Whilst it is essential that community organisations continue to focus their attention on families with children, this finding highlights the importance of raising the profile of other types of Jewish household, and ensuring that all groups are catered for in an appropriate fashion.

Focus on the older generation – 17,600 Jews aged 65 and above live alone

If we were to knock on the front doors of three Jewish households selected at random, we would find that in one of those, someone would be living alone. A little under half of this group consists of people aged 65 and over, a disproportionate number of whom is female. The household data show us the scale of this phenomenon, and call for further enquiry into the extent to which these older and more vulnerable parts of the Jewish population are being supported, as well as the size and nature of issues such as social isolation. This is becoming increasingly important given that the baby boomer generation is now beginning to retire, and there will soon be an increased demand for leisure and care services for the elderly. The time may well be right to undertake a review of the future needs of the elderly Jewish population, and the capacity required to support them.

There is a sizeable generation of working age people living alone – focus on its needs and interests

Almost 19,000 Jews aged under 65 live alone, and whilst for many of them this is a deliberate lifestyle choice, for others it is involuntary, the result, perhaps, of separation, divorce, or simply being unable to find a suitable partner. Whilst this can be a temporary situation, for many it can become enduring and unwelcome. Given that much of Jewish life and practice rests on the principle of communality, this finding prompts us to ask whether Jewish community organisations are sufficiently aware of the numbers of Jews living in such circumstances, whether they are being appropriately catered for, and whether those living in families are actively looking to include those living alone in their Jewish lives and activities.

Quantify and address the challenges facing the haredi community – overcrowding is an indicator of economic stress

Jewish household size in places like Stamford Hill in Hackney and Broughton Park in Manchester, which was already large in 2001, was even larger

in 2011. Although the demographic trends operating in this soaring haredi population are entirely different to those operating in the majority Jewish group, haredim still represent a relatively small proportion of the total Jewish population (around 15%), thus the overall impact on the Jewish community's household statistics is limited. Nonetheless, the challenging dynamics within haredi areas become apparent through the lens of the household data. Population growth rates significantly outpaced household growth rates in these places, so whilst the household density increased within these areas, so too did the overcrowding within individual homes. The data only serve to stress two major policy issues in relation to the haredi sector: the increasingly problematic issue of overcrowding and the allied need to systematically address the economic deprivation of which it is a symptom; and the constant requirement for more low-cost local housing to accommodate the burgeoning haredi population.

Average level of wealth in the community in decline? Review and analyse the economics of the Jewish population

The data on Jewish households give the overall impression of a community getting poorer. Whilst it would be wholly inaccurate to suggest that Jews in general are living in poverty, the data suggest that not only does Jewish deprivation exist but it may be becoming more widespread. Over the decade, the number of Jewish homes owned outright declined, the numbers of Jews renting in a private capacity increased, the numbers of Jews living in terraced homes grew, and the numbers living in detached homes decreased. Meanwhile, average Jewish household size increased. Although these changes can be largely linked to the growth of the haredi population, they are also a result of demographic structural change (fewer older Jews) and economic factors, such as the 2008 global financial crisis.

All of these trends could infer a decline in the average level of wealth in the Jewish population, though they do not confirm it. Nonetheless, from a policy perspective, this inference strongly suggests that a thorough analysis of economic data from the census and JPR's National Jewish Community Survey is urgently required. Reduced wealth clearly has implications for a communal infrastructure dependent on voluntary donations.

Do Jews stand apart? Pay attention to Jewish cultural divergence from national patterns

Aside from demography, the other main drivers of Jewish household structure are Jewish culture and values. Compared with most other groups, Jewish family forming habits are more traditional. For example, Jews tend to avoid more liberal living arrangements such as cohabitation, and even when they do form cohabiting households, they are far less likely than the population in general to have children in such arrangements. In general, Jews are more likely to live as married couples, especially when taking into account the older Jewish age profile; indeed, the single most common Jewish household type remains a married couple with children. And linked to the pro-marital tradition, Jews under age 65 are less likely to live alone and there are considerably lower levels of single parenthood among Jewish households than other groups. Finally, compared with other single parents, Jewish single parents are more likely to be raising older children than young children. All of this is less a result of religious tendencies and more to do with Jewish cultural norms and values.

How are these traditional patterns of family formation likely to change in the future and what impact could this have on the community? Whilst it is impossible to predict whether Jewish attitudes to family formation will change, demographic data show that the proportion of Jews with more traditional attitudes (especially haredim) is increasing, so one might expect to see a parallel increase in the proportion of such households over time. Thus, given that wider societal trends run contrary to Jewish trends, Jewish households are likely to become increasingly at variance from the average household in contemporary British society. Whether this is a good or a bad situation is moot.

However, with the haredi and non-haredi Jewish communities moving along two very different demographic trajectories, communal policy will need to be fine-tuned to meet the needs of both groups. On the one hand, there are issues of how best to cater for a community of ageing baby boomers and significant numbers of people living alone; on the other, there are issues of sustainability, social integration and inter-ethnic relations. Either way, the future will be shaped mainly by the demographic structure of the

community over and above people's social choices, and the majority of communal planning decisions will need to factor this in going forward.

Pay close attention to demography – these data reveal key dynamics within Jewish life

Demography is, without doubt, the most important shaper of change in Jewish, and indeed all other, households. The demographic structure of the Jewish population, meaning the relative size of each generation, largely determines the current and future picture of the makeup of Jewish households. Whilst demography does not equal destiny—cultural norms, values and identification also influence the choices Jews make about living arrangements—it remains the single best indicator of destiny that we have. But in the policy discussion and debates that take place in the boardrooms of Jewish charities and communal organisations across the country, demographic research often plays second fiddle to social research, and even to anecdote, despite the wealth of demographic data now available from both the 2001 and 2011 censuses which is pointing the way forward. For anyone concerned with planning the future of the Jewish community, paying close attention to these data is essential for making sound decisions about key issues affecting Jews of all types and at all stages of life. This will ensure that communal bodies and players remain one step ahead, able to cater for Jewish families and households, wherever and however they live.

Appendices

I. Alternative approaches to defining 'Jewish households'

In the majority of this report, we have applied the 'HRP' approach to defining 'Jewish households' (see page 6). This focuses on the unit of the household itself, but other methods, based on individuals in households, can also be used to provide alternative perspectives on the makeup of Jewish households. One important approach is based on the religious makeup or 'religious homogeneity' of the household. By distinguishing between households in which all members are Jewish (homogeneous households) and households in which this is not the case (heterogeneous households) a more complex picture arises. In general, four main groupings can be identified:

A. *Homogeneous* Jewish households with

   i. one Jewish person living alone, or;

   ii. more than one person where all household members are Jewish.

B. *Heterogeneous* households with at least one Jewish person and

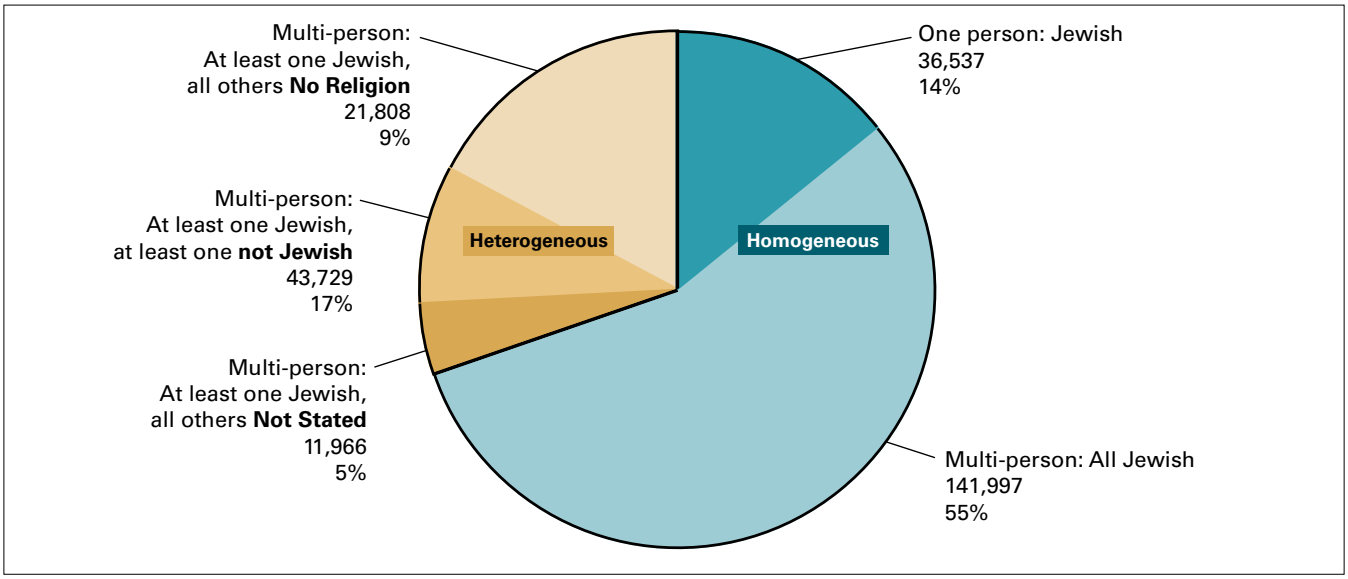
   i. at least one person with No Religion and/or Not stated religion, or;

   ii. at least one other person with a non-Jewish religion.

The HRP approach indicates that 25% of Jewish households in England and Wales are heterogeneous. It also shows that in 15% (or about 16,250 households) Jews are living with non-Jews.[47] However, this household-based approach tends to provide a conservative estimate of the number of heterogeneous Jewish households. Based on individuals, we find that 30% of Jews live in heterogeneous households and 17% (or 43,729 individuals) live with non-Jews (Figure 18). Excluding Jews who live alone and those living in communal establishments (such as care homes), we find that one in five Jews (20%) live with non-Jews and a further 15% live with people who did not report a religion.[48]

Of the 220,000 Jews who live in a household with more than one person, one in five (20%) lives with a non-Jew.

Figure 18. Religious composition of Jewish households, England and Wales, 2011 (N=256,037 Jewish individuals)

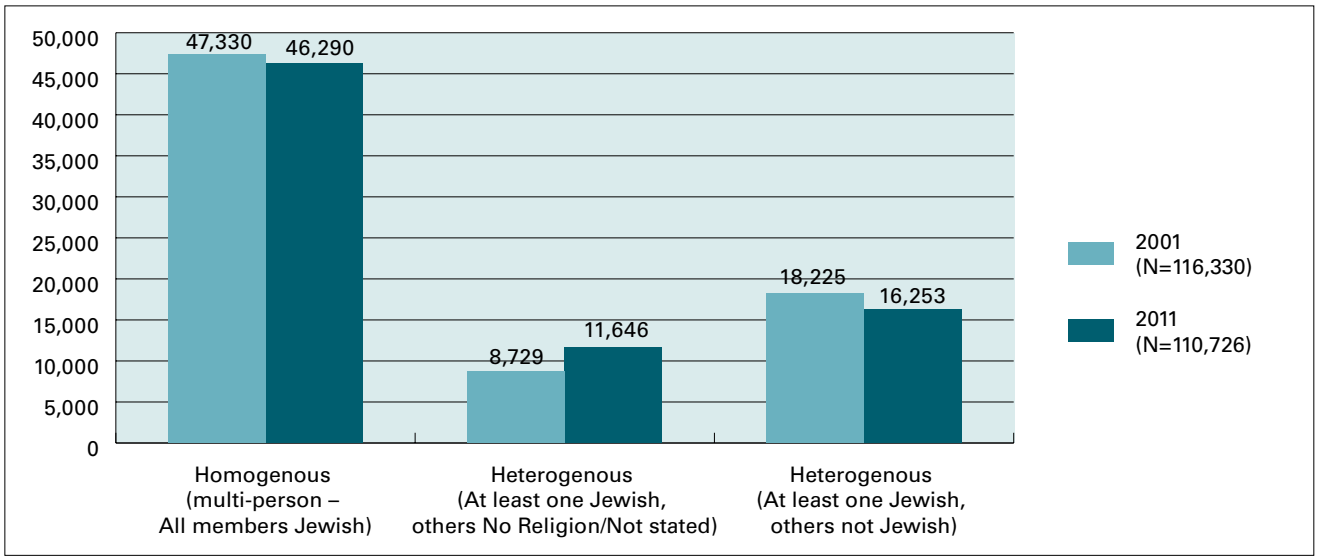


Source: ONS 2011 Table CT0309

47 Source: ONS 2011 SAR (N=13,277) and ONS Table DC1202.

48 I.e. people who may, or may not, be Jewish in other contexts.

Figure 19. Change in Jewish household homogeneity based on households with a Jewish HRP, 2001 and 2011, England and Wales



Source: ONS 2001 Table C0403; ONS 2011 SAR (N=13,277) and ONS 2011 Table DC1202

It was shown above (Table 7, page 14) that between 2001 and 2011, the number of Jews living alone declined by 13%. By comparison, and based on the HRP approach, the number of homogeneous, multi-person, households with a Jewish HRP declined by 2%. And this occurred alongside an 11% decline in the number of heterogeneous households in which Jews live with non-Jews. However, there was a 33% rise in the number of heterogeneous households consisting of Jews living with persons of No Religion or who did not state a religion (Figure 19).

Finally, one other approach to enumerating Jewish households should be considered. This is an alternative to the HRP approach, but it is also based on the household unit and measures the number of households containing at least one Jewish person. In 2001, there were 143,071 such households in England and Wales. Importantly, this is 23% more households than was enumerated using the HRP approach (116,330 households).[49] Although equivalent data for 2011 have not been obtained directly, we can nevertheless make a reasonable estimate based on the figures already available. The calculations suggest there may have been about 138,400 households in England and Wales in 2011 with at least one Jewish person. That implies about 28,000 (or 25%) more 'Jewish households' in England and Wales than the HRP method indicates.

In sum, the concept of the 'Jewish household' is complex, and any single definition is ultimately a compromise. This complexity translates onto the Jewish community itself given the fact that significant numbers of people with No Religion or non-Jewish religions live with Jews in Jewish households.

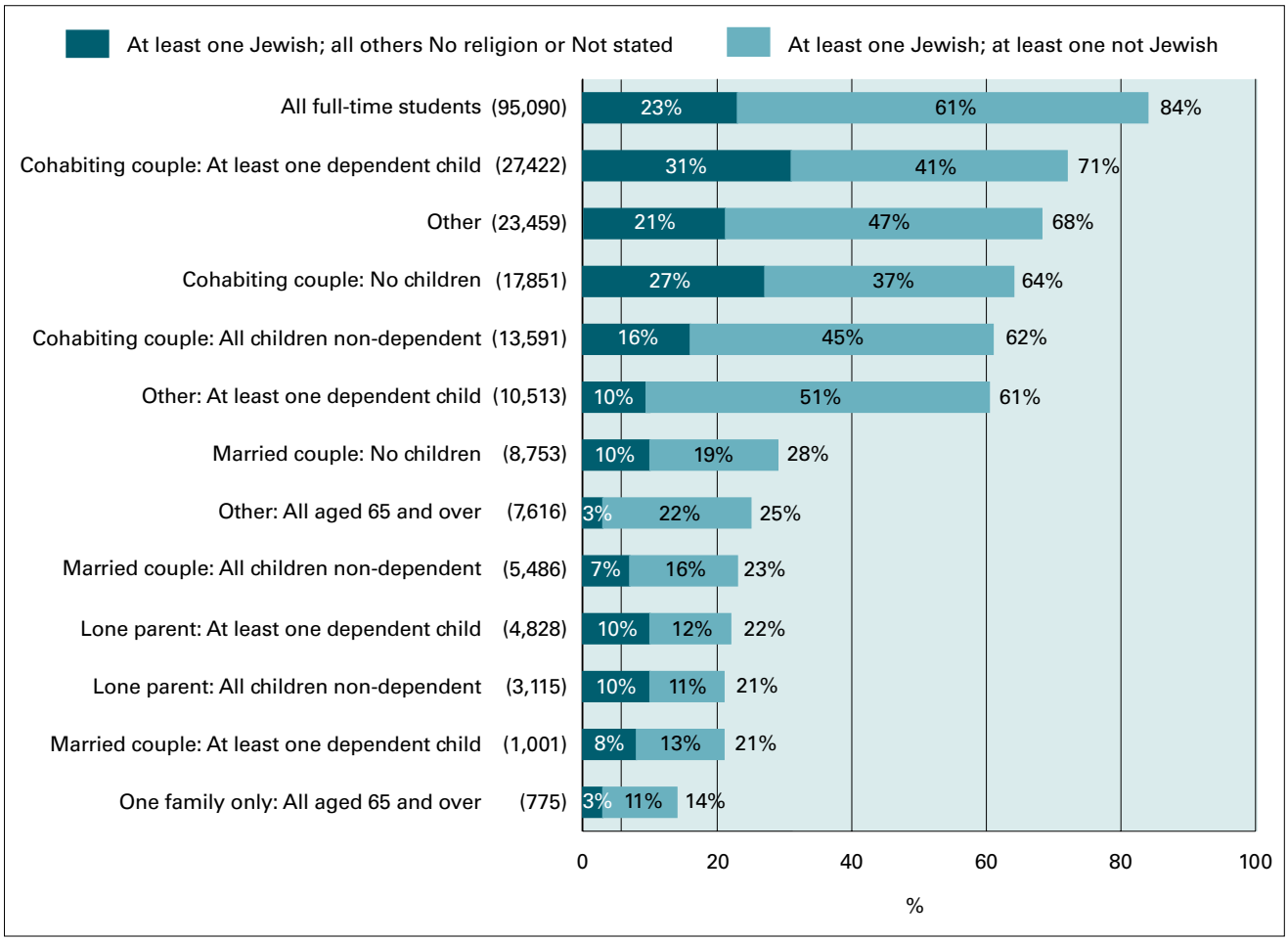
49 ONS 2001 Census Table C0478 and Table S151.

II. Living arrangements for Jewish households by religious makeup

A detailed analysis of 2011 Census data reveals significant differences between the religious homogeneity of Jewish households based on type of living arrangement. Heterogeneity is highest among Jewish students living in all-student households where 61% live with at least one non-Jewish person and a further 23% live with someone reporting No Religion (Figure 20).

Heterogeneity is also high among cohabiting Jews. For example, among cohabiting Jews with adult children, 41% live with a non-Jewish person and a further 31% live with someone reporting No Religion.[50] Among married couples—where the numbers of Jews involved are much larger—the levels of heterogeneity are far lower; one in five (19%) Jews in a married couple with no children at home has a non-Jewish spouse and this falls to 13% when dependent children are present.

Figure 20. Religious heterogeneity of Jewish households by type of living arrangement, England and Wales, 2011*



*The data are based on Jewish individuals. Bars may not sum due to rounding.
Source: ONS 2011 Table CT0309

50 The data do not permit us to conclude if this relates to the partner's religion.

III. Age and sex of Jewish one person householders

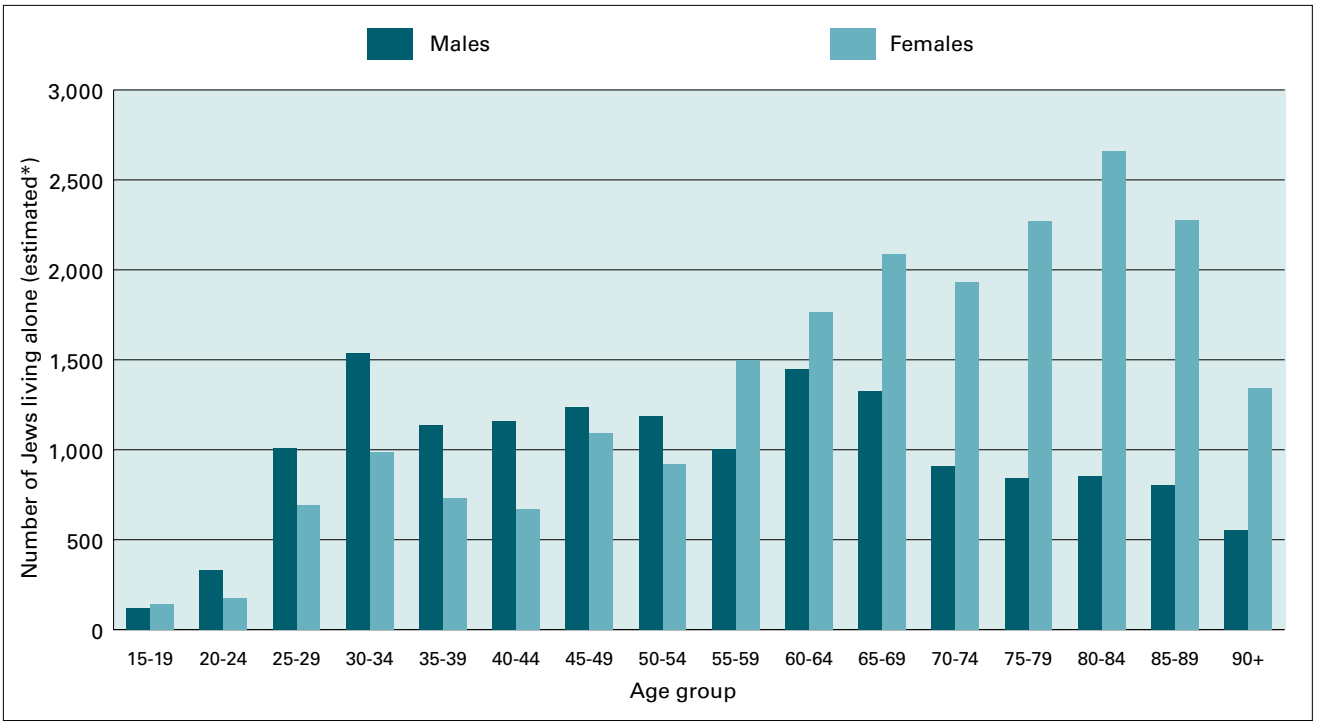
A full understanding of one person households requires an analysis of the interplay between age and sex in this seemingly simple living arrangement. Overall, Jewish women are more likely to live alone than Jewish men—59% of all Jews who live alone are female. However, living alone can be roughly split into two distinct life stages. In the younger stage (up to age 54) men are actually more likely to live alone than women (57% of Jews living alone are male), but after this age the pendulum swings and women are far more likely to live alone than men (68% of Jews over 54 years and living alone are female). Indeed, women age 75 and above make up 12% of the Jewish population but 24% of Jews who live alone. These differences are shown in Figure 21.

There are several reasons for these differences. In the younger life stage, living alone is more likely to be a matter of choice than at the older life stage. When this is combined with the realities of demography and social norms, the result is that older Jewish women constitute a disproportionately large segment of all Jewish people who live alone. For example, at younger ages, women tend to marry older men and vice versa, hence men are more likely to live alone; while at older ages, women tend to outlive their husbands, and men who do outlive their wives are more likely to remarry younger women.[51]

Women aged 75 and above make up 12% of the Jewish population but 24% of Jews who live alone

The likelihood of living alone also varies over the course of a person's life and, again, age and sex are important factors. The chances of living alone are less than one in five for most of our lives, but for women this increases substantially at older ages. More than half of all Jewish women in their eighties live alone (Figure 22). As Jewish women enter their nineties, the proportion living alone declines, probably due

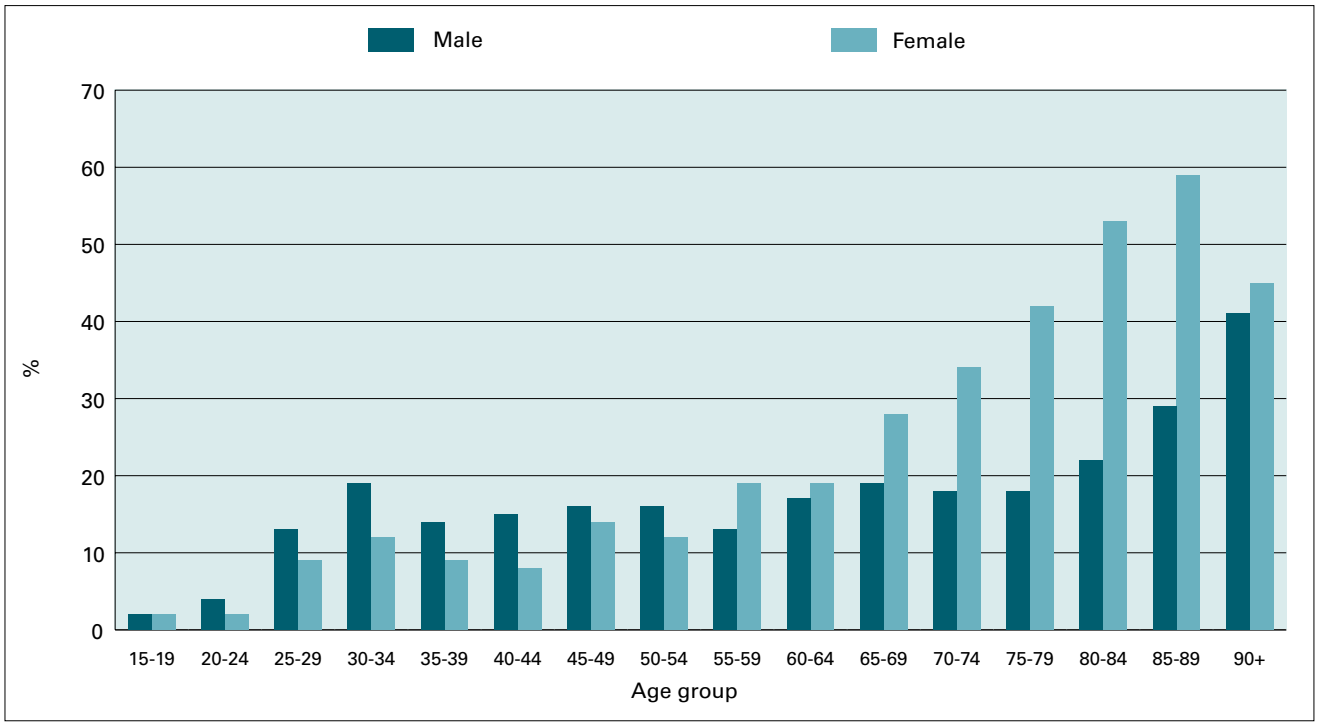
Figure 21. Jews who live alone by age and sex, 2011, England and Wales



* Data have been inferred using a combination of census sample data and enumerated data.
Source: ONS 2011 SAR (N=13,277) and ONS table CT0291

51 See further: ONS 2013 Families and Households, 2013 p12, op. cit.

Figure 22. Proportion of each cohort that lives alone by age and sex, Jewish population, 2011, England and Wales



Source: ONS 2011 SAR (N=13,277)

to the necessity, for some, of carers moving in, for others, of moving to live with other relatives, and for still others, of moving into a residential care facility. Although the likelihood for men of living alone increases at older ages, it never approaches the female levels.

IV Separating out data on haredi households from all other Jewish households

Strictly Orthodox Jews (haredim) practise very different family formation norms to Jews generally, particularly with early and near-universal marriage and very high birth rates. This results in quite different household structures to the rest of the Jewish population. Given the significant increase in the haredi population between 2001 and 2011,[52] we are minded to ask to what extent this may be impacting on the national Jewish household profile?

Using geographical data to identify areas with predominantly haredi populations (i.e. in the Local Authorities of Hackney, Haringey, and Gateshead and the wards of Broughton and Kersal in Salford, Sedgley in Bury and Golders Green in Barnet) we find that although the haredi profile is indeed very different to the national Jewish picture, because haredim are a minority Jewish sub-group—these areas account for 11% of all Jewish households—there is generally little impact on the national Jewish household profile (Table 28). The main influence is on average Jewish household size—which is inflated from 2.16 to 2.31 by the haredi presence—and overcrowding as measured by bedrooms—inflated from 2.6% to 3.4%. In terms of household composition, the impact is small: the largest difference relates to Jewish married couple households which constitute 38% of all Jewish households, and 36% after haredim have been removed from the data.

Table 28 Profile of Jewish households, with and without haredi areas included

Household type	All Jewish households	Jewish households excluding haredi areas	Jewish households in areas with predominantly haredi populations
N (households)	110,726	98,494	12,232
Average household size (pph)	2.31	2.16	3.54
One person (aged 65 and above)	15.9%	16.5%	11.1%
One person (aged under 65)	17.1%	17.6%	13.0%
One family all aged 65 and above	10.7%	11.3%	5.9%
Married couple	38.1%	36.1%	54.3%
Cohabiting couple	5.0%	5.2%	3.6%
Lone parent	5.6%	5.7%	4.7%
Other household	7.5%	7.5%	7.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Overcrowded* (rooms)	8.0%	7.3%	13.2%
Overcrowded* (bedrooms)	3.4%	2.6%	9.8%

* Occupancy rating of -1 or less
Source: ONS Table LC4417 and LC4204

52 Graham 2013 '2011 Census Results (England and Wales): a tale of two Jewish Populations, op. cit.

ONS Census table code identifier

2011 Census

LC and/or DC tables:

1202 Household composition by religion of Household Reference Person (HRP)

2107 Religion by sex by age

2120 Religion by accommodation type (LC only)

4204 Tenure by car or van availability by religion of Household Reference Person (HRP)

4207 Occupancy rating (rooms) by religion of Household Reference Person (HRP)

4208 Occupancy rating (bedrooms) by religion of Household Reference Person (HRP)

4409 Communal establishment management and type by religion by sex (DC only)

4417 Tenure by car or van availability by religion (LC only)

Other tables:

KS101 Usual resident population (Key Statistics)

KS209 Religion (Key Statistics)

OT210 Religion (Out of term-time population)

CT0291 Sex by age by religion

CT0309 Household composition by religion of persons in household

Additional Tables (National Records of Scotland (NRS)) (Scotland only):

AT051 Religion by household type

AT052 Religion of Household Reference Person (HRP) by household lifestage

AT060 Religion by communal establishment type

2001 Census

Standard (or 'S') tables:

149 Sex and age by religion

151 Household composition by religion of household reference person (HRP)

156 Tenure and number of cars or vans by religion of household reference person (HRP)

159 Shared/unshared dwelling and central heating and occupancy rating by religion

160 Shared/unshared dwelling and central heating and occupancy rating by religion of HRP

161 Sex and type of communal establishment by resident type and religion

Key Statistics (KS) tables:

07 Religion

Commissioned (C) tables:

0302 Dwelling type and accommodation type by tenure (households) and religion (persons)

0403 Multiple religious identifier by religion of HRP

0478 Theme table on households

M277 Age and sex by religion

Glossary

Average household size (pph)
The ratio of persons per household unit in particular area, in effect, the average number of people per household (pph).

Census Tables, DC, LC, KS, S, and C
ONS provide census data in table format. In 2011 they were available as detailed characteristics ('DC' tables—providing a wide selection of variable subcategories but limited geographical breakdown), and local characteristics ('LC' tables—providing a detailed geographical breakdown but limited variable subcategories). In 2001 census tables were labelled Key Statistics (KS), Standard (S) and Commissioned (C).

Communal establishment
Any establishment providing managed residential accommodation. This includes: sheltered accommodation, care homes, small hotels, and student (term-time) accommodation. A person is considered a 'usual resident' of a communal establishment if they had been living, or were expecting to live, in that establishment for six months or more. (ONS 2014 Glossary p9-10)

Dependent child ('children')
A dependent child is any person aged 0 to 15 in a household or a person aged 16 to 18 in full-time education and living at home. It excludes anyone aged 16 to 18 who has a spouse or child in the same household. (ONS 2014 Glossary p12)

Family
The census distinguishes between households and families. Whilst household refers to a specific dwelling, a family is a group of related individuals who live in the same household. They may be: a married, same-sex civil partnership, or cohabiting couple, with or without child(ren); a lone parent with child(ren); any single person or couple with grandchild(ren) present but no other children present. Children in couple families need not belong to both members of the couple. (ONS 2014 Glossary p16)

FRP (Family Reference Person)
The FRP is the same as the HRP but is restricted to family households only.

Haredi (pl. haredim)
A denomination of Judaism relating to strictly Orthodox and/or Hasidic Jews

Heterogeneous Jewish household
A household in which at least one, but not all, household members are Jewish, i.e. mixed.

Homogeneous Jewish household
A household in which all members are exclusively Jewish.

Household (2001 census definition)
A household comprises one person living alone, or a group of people (not necessarily related) living at the same address with common housekeeping – that is, sharing either a living room or sitting room or at least one meal a day. (ONS 2004 Definitions p34)

Household (2011 census definition)
A household is defined as: one person living alone, or a group of people (not necessarily related) living at the same address who share cooking facilities and share a living room or sitting room or dining area. A household must contain at least one person whose place of usual residence is at the address. A group of short-term residents living together is not classified as a household, and neither is a group of people at an address where only visitors are staying. (ONS 2014 Glossary p19-20)

Household population
The household population refers to all individuals living in households. It should be distinguished from the total population which also includes all people living in communal establishments (q.v.)

HRP (Household Reference Person)
The concept of a Household Reference Person (HRP) was introduced in the 2001 Census to replace the traditional concept of the 'head of the household'. HRPs provide an individual person within a household to act as a reference point for producing further derived statistics

and for characterising a whole household. For a person living alone, it follows that this person is the HRP. Otherwise the HRP is selected on the basis of their economic activity, in the following order of priority: economically active, employed, full-time, non-student. Where this is the same as other people in the household, other criteria such as age are used. (ONS 2014 Glossary p22)

JPR
Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London

LA
Local Authority - in 2011 there were 348 local authorities in England and Wales

Married couple (Marital and civil partnership status)
This is the equivalent to the 2001 Census topic 'Marital status', but has undergone significant revision to take account of the Civil Partnership Act which came into force on 5 December 2005. Marital and civil partnership states include: married/in a registered same-sex civil partnership; separated (but still legally married/in a registered same-sex civil partnership); divorced/formerly in a registered same-sex civil partnership, or; widowed/surviving same-sex civil partner. (ONS 2014 Glossary p29)

NJCS
National Jewish Community Survey. UK-wide study carried out by JPR in 2013 N=3,736

NJSS
National Jewish Student Survey. UK-wide study carried out by JPR in 2011 N=925

NRS
National Records of Scotland (formerly the General Register Office for Scotland (GROS)), the body responsible for the Census in Scotland.

Nuclear family
An imprecise expression which generally refers to what many may now consider to be a 'traditional' family structure consisting of a married couple with children.

Occupancy rating
Occupancy rating provides a measure of whether a household's accommodation is overcrowded or under-occupied. There are two measures of occupancy rating, one based on the total number of rooms in a household's accommodation, and one based only on the number of bedrooms. The ages of the household members and their relationships to each other are used to derive the number of rooms/bedrooms they require, based on a standard formula. An occupancy rating of -1 implies that a household has one fewer room/bedroom than required, whereas +1 implies that they have one more room/bedroom than the standard requirement. (ONS 2014 Glossary p35)

ONS
The Office for National Statistics (ONS) is the body that carried out the census on 27th March 2011 and owns the data.

Pensioner household
In the 2001 census a pensioner was shorthand for 'person of pensionable age'. Pensionable age was 65 and over for males and 60 and over for females. (ONS 2001 Definitions p39) A pensioner household only contained pensioners. In 2011 this distinction was dropped and such households were designated 'people aged 65 and over', making time comparisons problematic.

SAR
A Sample of Anonymised Records (SAR) refers to a file of randomly selected and anonymised census records that can be analysed more extensively than enumerated census data. The 2011 'safeguarded' microdata relates to a 5% sample for England and Wales and contains 2,848,155 records. A smaller 1% 'Teaching file' has also been accessed for this report. A similar dataset from the 2001 census relates to a 3% sample (Individual Licensed SAR (2001 I-SAR)) and contains approximately 1.84 million records.

Traditional household
An imprecise expression referring to households consisting of married, as opposed to cohabiting, couples, and where both parents are present if there are any children in the

household. Also referred to as conventional households. The opposite is the equally imprecise expression 'unconventional'. See also nuclear family.

Usual resident

A person's place of usual residence is the address in the UK at which they spend the majority of time, their permanent or family home. This is the case even if they were away on holiday or staying at a second UK residence on census night. Students, and children at boarding school, are counted as usually resident at their term-time address and their permanent/family address (if different). Children who are 'shared' between parents living apart are counted as usually resident at the address at which the child spends the majority of their time. (ONS 2009 Final Population Definitions for the 2011 Census p6)

Ward

A sub region of a local authority. There are an average of 25 wards per LA and just over 8,800 wards in England and Wales.

jpr / report

Institute for Jewish Policy Research

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