JEWS IN AN INNER LONDON BOROUGH

(Hackney)



A Study of the Jewish Population of the London Borough of Hackney based upon the 1971 census

By Barry A. Kosmin and Nigel Grizzard

RESEARCH UNIT THE BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF BRITISH JEWS

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The Board of Deputies of British Jews, founded in 1760, is the representative body of the Anglo-Jewish community. The Research Unit was established in 1965 following a conference on 'Jewish Life in Modern Britain' which the Board convened in 1962 in association with the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. The Unit compiles statistical data in various aspects of the community, and prepares interpretive studies of trends. It functions under a special Committee of the Board, comprising the Honorary Officers and lay members and academic advisers.

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Abbreviations Used in Text

DJN	Distinctive Jewish name
ED	Enumeration district
G.C.E.	General Certificate of Education
GLC	Greater London Council
H.M.S.O.	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
H.N.C.	Higher National Certificate
L.C.C.	London County Council
LQ	Location quotient
M.P.	Member of Parliament
NC	New Commonwealth
OPCS	Office of Population Censuses and Surveys
SAS	Small area statistics
SEG	Socio-economic group
U.K.	United Kingdom
U.S.A.	United States of America
U.S.S.R.	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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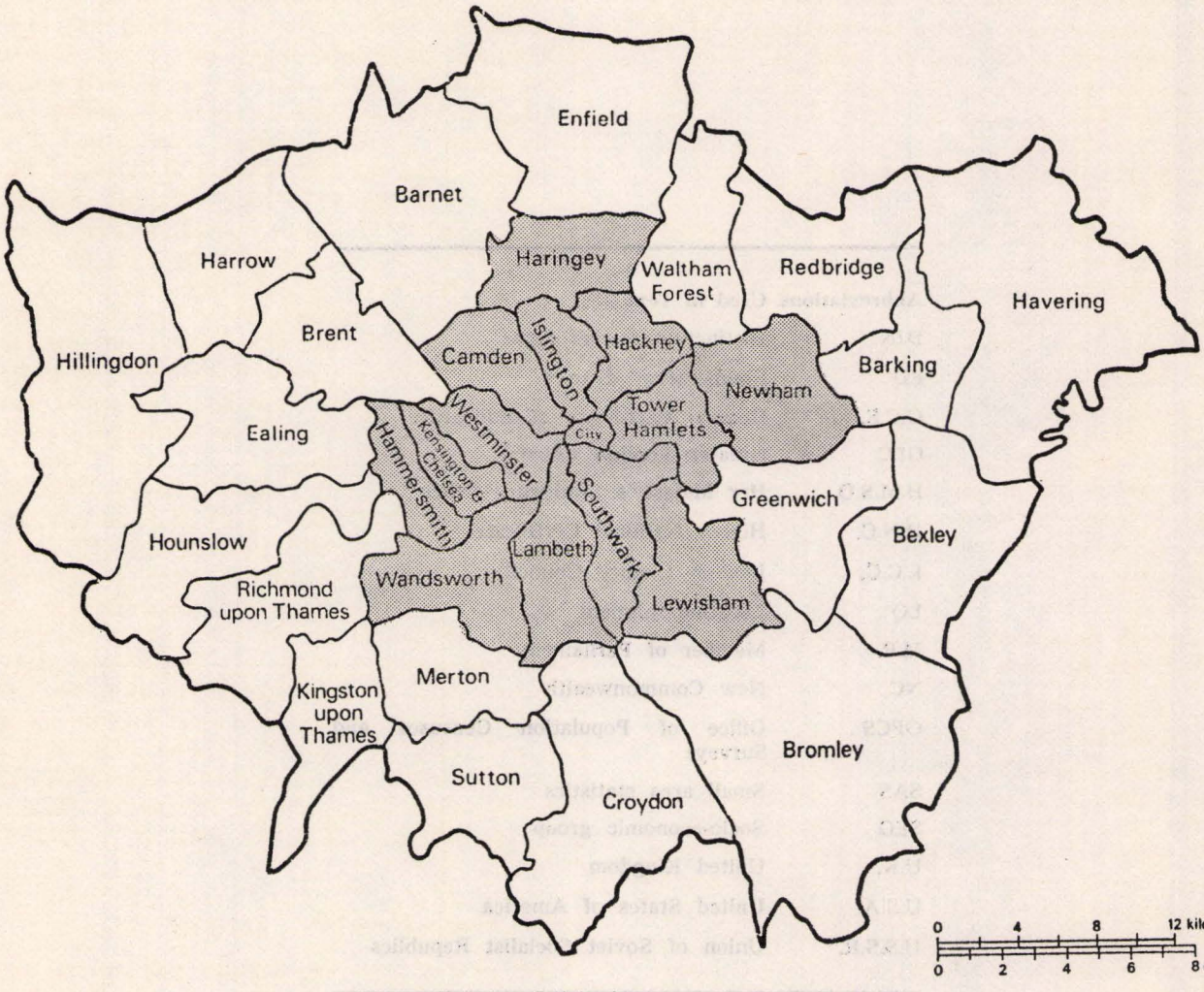
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OPCS for allowing the authors permission to reproduce the Census Print-Out Sheets and also to all the Hackney residents past and present who gave of their time.

THE LONDON BOROUGHS



Part One

METHODOLOGY

The Problem

The lack of an official religious or communal census, has meant that until the present time, the Jewish demographic studies that have been undertaken in Britain by this Unit were solely of a global nature, producing results of vital statistics, as well as gross totals of Jews, but only from unofficial sources or by indirect methods. Most of these studies relied for their information on Jewish sources such as synagogue statistics, which were often inaccurate and out of date.

The need for accurate statistics in order to plan amenities such as schools, youth clubs, old age homes, and other communal facilities is well known and appreciated, but no material has so far been produced that will shed any useful light on such problems. The difficulties of initiating a large-scale survey amongst the community are many and include among others, lack of time, finance, expertise, and resources. Another often underrated problem is that of obtaining co-operation from local leaders and those persons to be surveyed. Moreover because of the differences in the demographic make-up of the Jewish population in different areas, it is unlikely that gross totals would be of much use for the aforementioned tasks. It is thus necessary to put this type of study into a workable and coherent geographical framework.

Finding an Acceptable Methodological Concept for Solving the Problem

It was determined that at this stage it would be impossible to undertake our own survey of the Jewish population, either of the country or any large centre, so it was decided to concentrate our efforts on a compact and accessible geographical area with a large number of Jews. After some reflection, we directed our efforts towards finding some way of using official statistics from the 1971 Census, since this information was readily and cheaply available, accurate, and afforded general comparability. Census data has been used for Jewish demography before in 1905,[1] when the percentage of Russian and Polish aliens in Stepney together with the Jewish marriage rate, was used to calculate the Jewish population of London. This methodology was based on certain sociological assumptions, followed by census analysis, and mathematical projections using the collated data. It was decided that this was the methodological framework which should be aimed at in our projected study.

From the previous work of the Research Unit together with information from other Jewish communal sources it was possible to gain an impressionistic estimate, in the widest sense, of the distribution of London Jewry.[2]

Choosing a Suitable Geographical Area

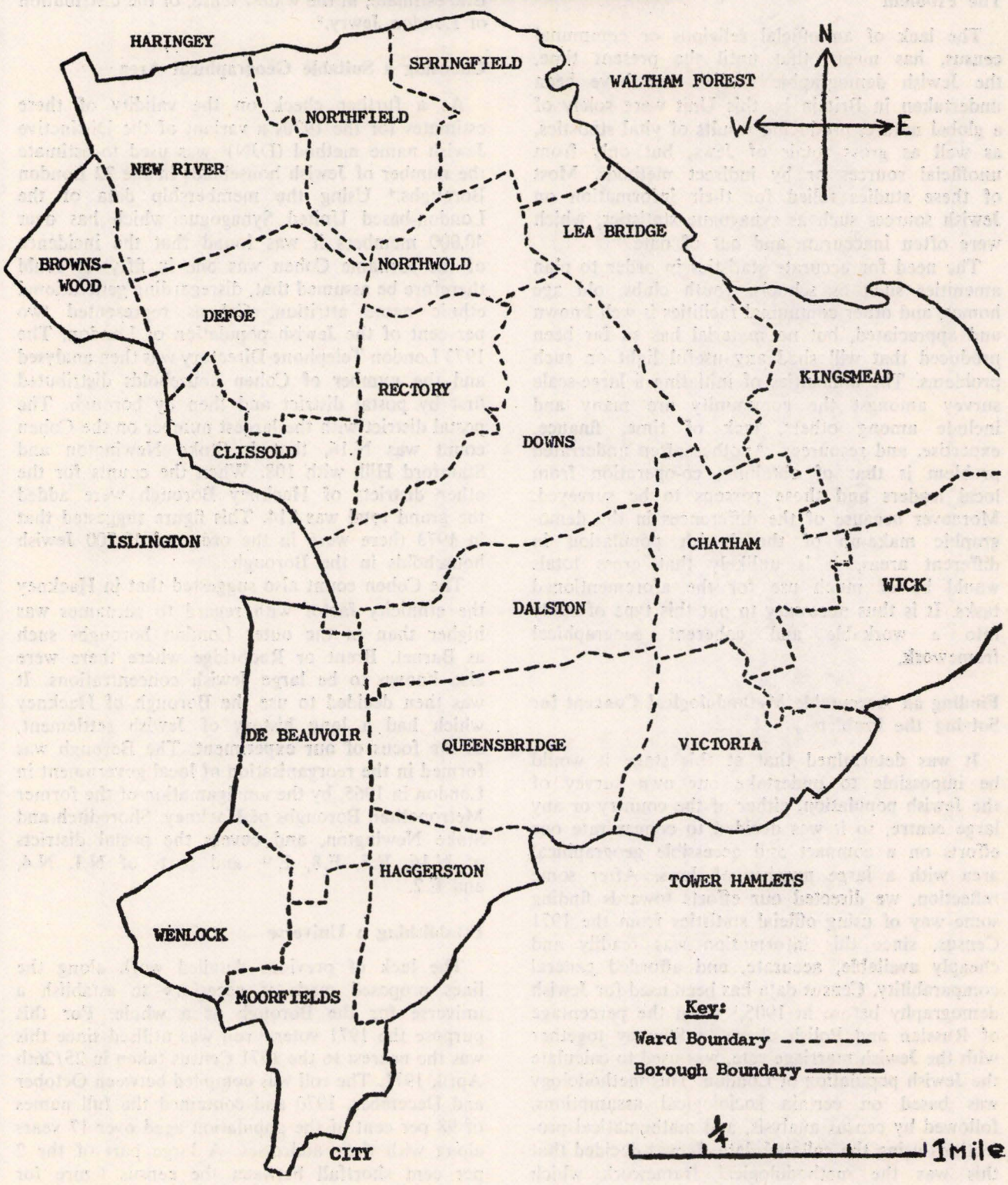
As a further check on the validity of these estimates for the 1970s a variant of the Distinctive Jewish name method (DJN)[3] was used to estimate the number of Jewish households in the 32 London Boroughs.[4] Using the membership data of the London-based United Synagogue which has over 40,000 members it was found that the incidence of the surname Cohen was one in fifty. It could therefore be assumed that, disregarding generational ethnic name attrition, Cohens represented two per cent of the Jewish population of London. The 1973 London Telephone Directory was then analysed and the number of Cohen households distributed first by postal district and then by borough. The postal district with the largest number on the Cohen count was N.16, that is Stoke Newington and Stamford Hill, with 108. When the counts for the other districts of Hackney Borough were added the grand total was 214. This figure suggested that in 1973 there were in the order of 10,700 Jewish households in the Borough.

The Cohen count also suggested that in Hackney the ethnicity factor with regard to surnames was higher than in the outer London boroughs such as Barnet, Brent or Redbridge where there were also known to be large Jewish concentrations. It was then decided to use the Borough of Hackney which had a long history of Jewish settlement, as the focus of our experiment. The Borough was formed in the reorganisation of local government in London in 1965, by the amalgamation of the former Metropolitan Boroughs of Hackney, Shoreditch and Stoke Newington, and covers the postal districts of N.16, E.5, E.8, E.9, and parts of N.1, N.4, and E.2.

Establishing a Universe

The lack of previous detailed work along the lines proposed made it necessary to establish a universe for the Borough as a whole. For this purpose the 1971 voters' roll was utilised since this was the nearest to the 1971 Census taken in 25/26th April, 1971. The roll was compiled between October and December, 1970 and contained the full names of 98 per cent of the population aged over 17 years along with their addresses. A large part of the 2 per cent shortfall between the census figure for those aged 17 plus and the number of voters appeared to be in the 17-18 age group who had only recently been enfranchised.[5] Practical experience and research showed that there was a financial

WARDS OF THE LONDON BOROUGH OF HACKNEY



incentive for voter enumerators to include as many persons on the roll as possible, so that the legal status and citizenship were never checked and thus approximately 160,000 of the Borough's 220,000 people were placed on the 1971 roll. A further check revealed that there were very few houses or flats in any road or estate which failed to supply voters. In addition it was known that there was comparatively little change of accommodation during the winter months so that the comparability of the census and these voter lists was of a very high order, and certainly better than for the role compiled October-December, 1971.

to be identified but each street and block of flats had to be separately analysed and the proportion of Jewish to total voters calculated. Note was also taken of the type of accommodation, though as all Council estates are listed at the beginning of the volume it was only necessary to distinguish between flats and houses.

Identification of Ethnic Names on the Voters' Roll

From census information it was known that 33,000 persons in Hackney had both parents born in the New Commonwealth (NC) which was defined as

Table 1

LONDON BOROUGH OF HACKNEY CENSUS AND VOTER STATISTICS

Hackney 1971 Census Population 220,280

1971 Voters Roll 160,088 = 73% of Population and 98% of Population 17+

Ward	*Total Population*	*Total Voters*	*% of Population that are Voters*	*Average Number of Voters/ Household*	*Jewish Voters*	*Jewish Voters as % of Total Voters*
Northfield	11,315	8,603	76	1.83	3,510	41
Springfield	11,460	8,435	74	2.03	3,318	39
Northwold	10,698	7,767	73	1.92	2,080	27
New River	12,180	9,255	76	2.12	2,470	27
Brownswood	7,490	5,146	69	1.61	441	9
Lea Bridge	10,110	7,537	75	2.03	1,501	20
Defoe	13,910	9,944	71	2.06	1,200	12
Rectory	8,950	6,615	74	2.00	1,053	16
Downs	16,470	11,702	71	1.92	2,708	23
Clissold	12,090	8,747	72	2.02	564	6
Dalston	9,300	7,245	78	2.03	974	13.5
Kingsmead	12,840	9,430	73	2.04	349	4
Chatham	11,650	8,445	72	2.09	588	7
Wick	11,150	7,767	70	2.08	464	6
De Beauvoir	10,010	7,098	71	2.01	183	3
Queensbridge	15,170	10,470	69	2.01	333	3
Victoria	11,950	8,907	75	2.04	1,356	15
Wenlock	10,190	6,988	69	1.89	128	2
Moorfields	6,420	4.853	76	2.03	111	2
Haggerston	6,890	5,134	75	2.17	119	2
Borough Total	220,280	160,088	73	2.01	23,450	14.65

The voters' roll contains the names of those in the 17-18 age group and the date of their enfranchisement. This data can be used to indicate the number of teenagers in each area. The roll follows a dwelling basis and so allows the possibility of assessing local ethnic concentrations at the lowest level. Thus if one could indentify people of Jewish ethnic origin it is possible to plot their concentration on a detailed map and gauge their age structure.

Despite the formidability of the task it was decided that it was necessary to undertake a detailed analysis of the complete Borough voters' roll for 1971 which was housed in the Hackney Central Reference Library. Not only had each individual

all the countries of the Commonwealth except Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Territories in the Mediterranean such as Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus thus fell into this category but South Africa and Eire were included under the Foreign-born entry. Of the NC total in Hackney, 56 per cent were from the West Indies, 11 per cent from Africa, 10 per cent from India, 3 per cent from Pakistan, 2 per cent from the Far East, and 17 per cent from Malta and Cyprus. There were also a considerable number of foreigners from Latin countries as well as 7,000 persons born in Eire.[6] All these people, except the West Indians, had distinctive surnames. The West Indians were identifiable through first

names as much as surnames while we also had information of where they were located at ward level. The remainder of the population which was approximately 70 per cent was either of Jewish or Cockney origin.

These ethnic factors which affected both surnames and choice of first names meant that there was an unusually high probability of identifying the Jewish population from the lists.[7] There were also other aids towards accuracy such as local Jewish concentrations in certain wards which were known from fieldwork and interviews with knowledgeable local persons. In addition certain types of accommodation and estates were known to attract Jews such as the Samuel Lewis Trust and Industrial Dwellings Society's flats in Downs Ward;[8] the privately rented courts, and the few streets of detached and semi-detached houses in the Stamford Hill area of the north of the Borough. Council housing policy also allowed the choice of neighbours and this led to local ethnic concentrations even where the overall density was low, such as in the heavily municipalised former Shoreditch areas of the south. The only two Jewish families would often be neighbours or one block on an estate would have a significantly higher proportion of Jews than the rest.

The identification of Jewish persons was done by two persons working alongside one another as a constant check. Both the examiners had a considerable knowledge of Jewish ethnic names and the settlement history of London Jewry. Thus they were able to identify Jewish names of Dutch origin, e.g., Monnickendam, van Praag: Sephardi origin, e.g., Da Costa, Mendoza: Oriental origin, e.g., Dwek, Ibrahimoff: German origin, e.g., Halberstadt, Guttentag: Cockney origin, e.g., Sunshine, Toff: and the vast majority with common East European names such as Rabbinovitch, Bernstein or Margolis. In addition the Unit has examined the Deed Poll Registers in the Public Record Office to assess the degree of anglicisation and bias towards choice of new names such as Conway, Gordon, Jackson and Gilbert.

Jewish first names particularly of the older generation and the Chassidic population (who form a growing proportion of Hackney Jewry) were easily identifiable. Apart from obvious biblical names such as Rachel, Sarah, Reuben and Jacob, there are also ethnic preferences of Yiddish origin such as Herschel, Hyman, Barnet, and Marks. An impression was gained of the trend in first Jewish names preferences in specific years at generational intervals throughout this century by an examination of the Registrar General's Registers of Births for some distinctive Jewish surnames. In cases of anglicisation of the surname first names aided ethnic identification and also the elimination of certain persons since there appeared to be avoidance of names such as Christopher, Bill, Patrick, Angus, Wilfred or Thomas.

The whole process of identification was aided by the fact that it was possible to classify as Jewish a household which contained only one readily identifiable person, e.g., Stanley and Susan Valley living with Hannah Valinsky. At the same time care was taken to exclude non-Jewish tenants in shared accommodation and rented dwellings.

Preparing a Sample

The Jewish voter data was tabulated for each of the twenty wards in the Borough as shown in Table I. This revealed that there were 23,450 Jewish voters and that ethnic densities varied from 2 per cent in the old Shoreditch wards to 41 per cent in the Stamford Hill area in the north of the Borough.

Ordnance Survey maps with a scale of 25 inches to the mile were obtained since these show in detail all buildings with their names or street number. The voter data was then transferred onto the maps using different colours for the different levels of Jewish density. Map 2 shows a simplified version of this method on a six inches to the mile map. The different enumeration districts the minimum area covered by the small area statistics (SAS), used in the 1971 Census were then traced on to the maps. An enumeration district (ED) is defined as 'the district assigned to one enumerator which consists of about 150 households in towns or about 50 households in the country'.[9] For example in the Springfield Ward there were 4,118 households which were divided among 25 EDs. For each ED the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS) issue tabulated computer print-outs for the

a) 100 per cent Population Census

b) 100 per cent Household Census

c) 10 per cent Sample Census on Employment.

Similar print-outs are available for wards, boroughs, and Parliamentary constituencies.

With the aid of the exact details of the dwellings which were covered by a specific ED and our own voter data it was possible to calculate the percentage of Jews in the ED. In choosing EDs for inclusion in the sample certain criteria were demanded. These were the necessity for an initial Jewish proportion of over 70 per cent of the voting population; homogeneity of housing type within the ED; comparability with similar housing types with lesser Jewish concentrations; and the exclusion of any institutions. The sample frame was refined by the ability to extract the NC data from the population sheet while the overall housing homogeneity meant that dwellings with roughly the same number of rooms and amenities would attract the same type of families so lessening the possible discrepancy between the demographic profiles of the Jewish majority and Gentile minority within the ED.

10 EDs of various sizes and housing types met the criteria and these are set out below:—

Table II

DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE EDs

	Ward	*OPC Ref. No.*	*Geographical Area*	*Predominant Housing Type*
1.	Springfield	3102/A01	Even nos Lingwood Road 33-7 Spring Hill 57-65 & 64-68 Craven Walk Even nos Castlewood Road North end Moundfield Road All Leadale Road The Bungalow and the Boathouse	Private houses
2.	Springfield	3102/A07	4-42 Craven Walk Odd nos Lingwood Road All Ashtead Road Even nos Overlea Road 9-31 Spring Hill 96-8 Clapton Common	Private houses
3.	Springfield	3102/A19	Even nos Jessam Avenue Even nos Moresby Road 202-214 Upper Clapton Road	Private houses
4.	Northfield	3101/A04	Cambridge Court, Amhurst Park 1-4 Holmdale Terrace	Private flats
5.	Northfield	3101/A17	1-16 Stamford Hill Mansions, Stamford Hill 1-64 Carlton Mansions, Holmleigh Road 66-136 & 65-173 Holmleigh Road 321-340 Guiness Trust	Private flats/Maisonettes
6.	Northfield	3101/A55	Arran House, Berwyn House, Stamford Hill Estate	Council Estate
7.	Northfield	3101/A57	Chiltern House, Cheviot House, Clent House, Pentland House, Wicklow House, Stamford Hill Estate	Council Estate
8.	Northwold	3108/A04	Cedra Court, Seymour Court, Cazenove Road	Private flats
9.	Downs	3107/A23	1-160 Evelyn Court, Amhurst Road	Industrial dwelling
10.	Downs	3107/A24	161-320 Evelyn Court	Industrial dwelling

Table III

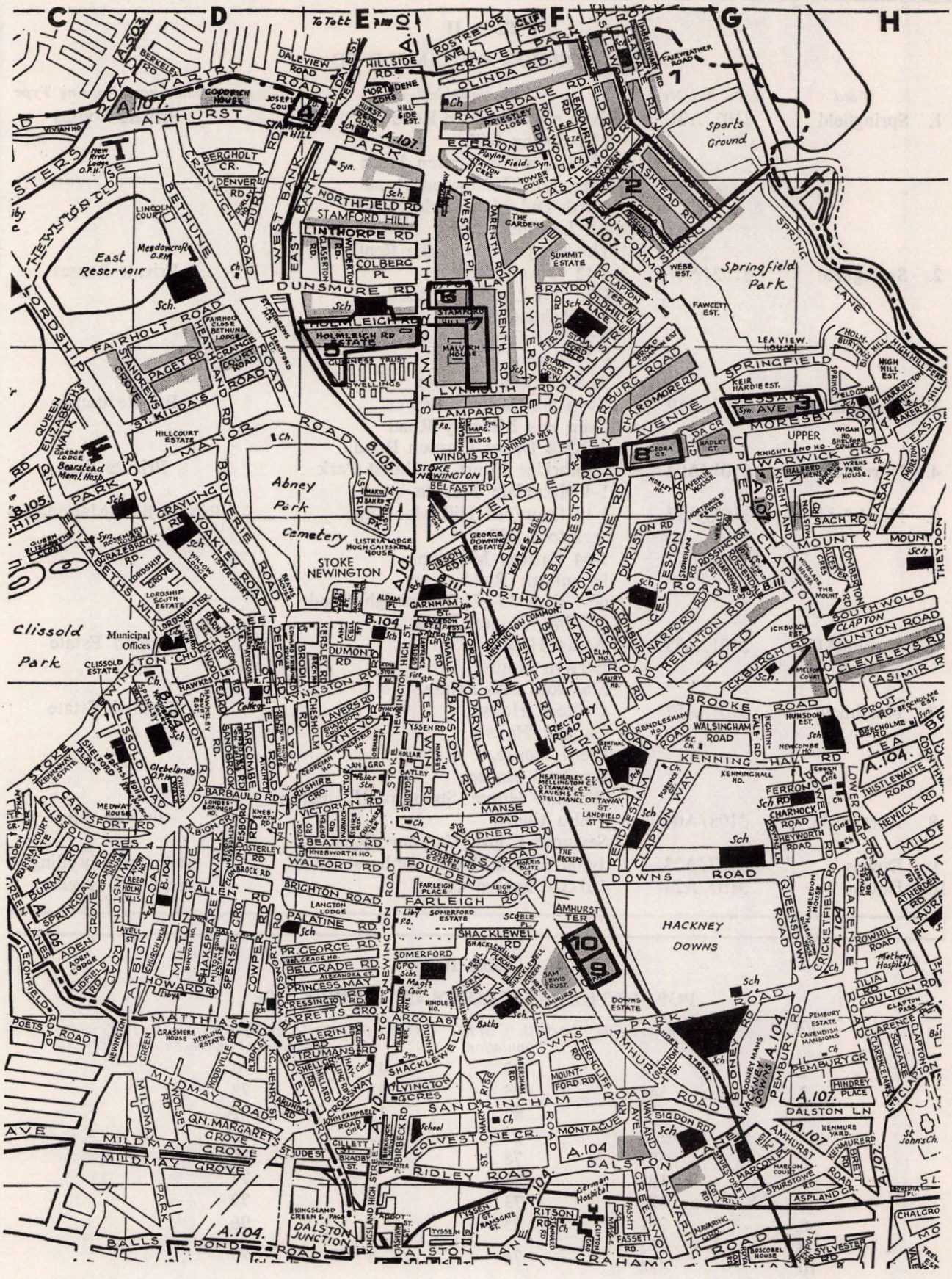
POPULATION STATISTICS OF SAMPLE EDs

ED	*Total Population*	*Jewish % of ED Population*	*NC Population*	*Jewish % of Remainder Population*
1.	611	70	45	76
2.	548	75	23	78
3.	262	82	15	87
4.	141	81	12	88
5.	583	78	5	79
6.	105	71	8	77
7.	376	73	29	79
8.	217	95	2	96
9.	382	74	8	75
10.	384			
Total	3,609	76	147	79

Total estimated Jewish population of EDs = 2,745.

NC population of EDs totalled 4% compared to a Borough average of 15%.

Jewish Residential Patterns in Hackney 1971



The ten EDs that were chosen for the sample were divided into four different categories according to housing type. These groups and their components were as follows:

a) Private houses

In the main these consisted of owner-occupied dwellings in purpose-built family accommodation units. A small percentage of houses had been divided into self-contained flats. The average number of rooms for this category of home was 5.32. In the most prosperous area, ED3, it was 5.8 rooms and in ED1 there was an average of 4.9 rooms. These three EDs appeared to contain a typical sample of house sizes and included a small number of detached, as well as semi-detached and terraced properties.

b) Private flats

The majority of these were let unfurnished and comprised new blocks of varying flat size. ED5 contained the 'mansion type' of block built in the period 1930-50. The private blocks had a very high Jewish concentration and were often owned by Jewish landlords. The average size of the flats was 3.57 rooms but there was considerable variation between the different EDs, in ED4 the average was 2.6, in ED5 3.9, and in ED8 3.4 rooms.

c) Council estate

Most of the flats in this category in Hackney, whether originally L.C.C. or borough-owned, are in small blocks and there are relatively few tower blocks. Council estates are found all over the Borough and 42.6 per cent of the total households lived in council-owned property. EDs 6 and 7 appeared to be fairly typical with an average size of 3.8 rooms with the variation between the EDs only 0.3 of a room.

d) Industrial dwellings

This category of accommodation is owned and subsidised by housing trusts such as the Guiness, Samuel Lewis, or Industrial Dwellings Society. Evelyn Court used in the sample is a fairly typical block of flats built in the 1930s. All the trust blocks except the Guiness have high Jewish concentrations and very few NC occupants. The average number of rooms in the flats was 3 52.

The sample EDs thus consisted of a 'white population' (i.e., less NC) divided between the four housing types in the following proportions:—

Private houses	39.4%
Private flats	26.1%
Council estate	13.3%
Industrial dwellings	21.2%

The original voter data provided details of the proportion of Jews present in each ward in the four major categories of housing type. The ward proportions varied quite considerably with regard to the distribution of types of accommodation, for instance private houses contained 73 per cent of the Jewish voting in Springfield Ward but only 15 per cent in the southern wards. The proportion in council accommodation also varied from 81 per cent in the south to under 10 per cent in Defoe and Dalston Wards. The industrial dwellings were concentrated in the Downs, Defoe and Dalston Wards, and in Downs they were the largest category with 38 per cent. The overall Borough Jewish proportions by housing types were 53 per cent for private houses, 9 per cent for private flats, 31 per cent in council estates, and 7 per cent in industrial dwellings. It was therefore possible to weight the ED sample in line with the known housing characteristics of our original universe and later when the total population was calculated, with that of the whole of Hackney Jewry.

This approach was based on the widely accepted sociological thesis that in Britain different housing types reflect different socio-economic groupings and different population profiles. This thesis was borne out by subsequent analysis of the data on age structures, household size and occupations for the four housing types. The sample frame consisted of a 'white' population of 3,462 of whom over 2,700 were identified as Jews, i.e., about 9 per cent of the estimated Jewish population of the Borough. The main assumptions of this method were that none of the NC population was Jewish—which was true for all the EDs except for two Indian Jewish families in Moresby Road. The other assumption was that the Gentile minority possessed no overwhelming characteristics which were in total opposition to those of the Jewish population and it was for this reason that all types of institutions were excluded from sample EDs.

The under-representation of council tenants in the sample frame was compensated for by the inclusion of a larger proportion of persons from the industrial dwellings in the centre of the Borough, who also lived in a form of public housing. Subsequent analysis showed that the home size, and demographic and social profiles of the industrial dwellings residents, were very similar to those of the council tenants which served to assure us of the representativeness of our council estate sample. Thus it can be seen that in the sample EDs 34.5 per cent of the population lived in some form of subsidised public housing compared to our estimate of 38 per cent for the total Jewish population of Hackney.

Fieldwork

The authors made numerous visits to Hackney between September, 1974 and March, 1975 in order to get to know the Borough on the ground and improve their knowledge of local conditions. Interviews were carried out and consisted of open-ended questions which sought facts and opinions from communal leaders, residents and former residents of the Borough. The Secretary of the Unit and another member of the Board's staff actually lived in one of the sample EDs. Over the months through professional and social contacts as many of the EDs' residents as possible were reached.

In addition use was made of the Hackney Reference Library The Borough Information Service, **The Jewish Chronicle, The Jewish Tribune, The Hackney Gazette,** and trade papers such as **The Steering Wheel** (journal of the taxi trade).

1 S. Rowson, 'The Jewish Population of London', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, LXVIII (1905), 526.

2 See S. J. Prais 'Synagogue Statistics and the Jewish Population of Great Britain, 1900-70', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, XIV (1972), 222.

3 F. Massarik, 'The American Jew', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, VIII (1966), 175-191. The method was used in studies of Los Angeles in 1942 and 1961.

4 The count varied from 314 in Barnet to 3 in Bexley.

5 There was a lack of detailed knowledge concerning the 2% of unenfranchised adults and it was not possible to assume that the Jewish population had the same shortfall, since much of the general shortfall may have been due to the presence of transients and student residents. Given the subjectivity of the ethnic identification process it was decided to ignore the unknown factor when preparing a universe and in subsequent calculations and estimates.

6 A. M. Field, K. Dugmore, C. Morrey, M. E. A. Rawson and J. Arnold, *1971 Census Data on London's Overseas-Born Population and their Children*, Research Memorandum 425, London, Greater London Council, 1974.

7 This method is only applicable in a few special cases and its use in suburban areas among more anglicised and dispersed Jewish populations is limited.

8 J. W. Carrier, 'A Jewish Proletariat', in M. Mindlin and C. Bermant, eds., *Explorations*, London, Barrie and Rockliff, 1967, pp. 120-140.

9 OPCS, *1971 Census Small Area Statistics (Ward Library) Explanatory Notes*, 1973, p. 1.

Part Two

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Estimating the Total Population

Although it had been established that 14.65 per cent of the electorate, i.e., those over 17 years were Jewish, it was realised that this proportion was not necessarily correct for the total population because of possible age structure abnormalities in the Jewish population. It was known that there was a variation in the proportion of voters to total population between the different wards which ranged from 69 per cent in Brownswood, Queensbridge, and Wenlock, i.e., these had younger than average populations—to 78 per cent in Dalston Ward which had an older population.

Using the sample EDs an age structure was calculated for each housing type. Table IV reveals that the population in the council dwellings had a large proportion of old age pensioners while at the other extreme younger families were concentrated in the private houses. Using these sample proportions and the housing weighting it was possible to calculate the overall proportions for the Borough of persons under 17 years by sex. This information revealed that 77 per cent of the Jewish population were aged over 17 years compared to a Borough average of 73 per cent. Using the known figures for voters it was then possible to calculate that there were 6,913 Jewish persons under 17 years of age, the equivalent of 23 per cent of the total Jewish population. This method produced an estimated Jewish population for Hackney in 1971 of 30,363 persons, who formed 13.8 per cent of the Borough's total population.

Household Size

The Jewish population was divided amongst the various housing types as shown in Tables V and VI. The proportion of the total population in each housing type was known from an amalgamation of the voter data with the population under 17. This was used to produce a new housing type ratio for the total population as specified on page 11. Rather than attempt to use the voter data on household numbers as the basis for calculating household size another method had to be found. This was necessitated by the fact that in the case of shared dwellings the voter lists were sometimes confusing so it was decided to calculate an average household size by obtaining a quotient from the sample EDs for each housing category. Once this quotient of persons per household was obtained it was used to divide the population to find the number of individual households in each category. The total estimate of 10,963 households obtained by this method compares favourably with the Cohen count telephone estimate for 1973 of 10,700 households, referred to on page 5. The average Jewish household size of 2.77 persons was found to be almost exactly the same as the Borough average which was 2.70 persons.

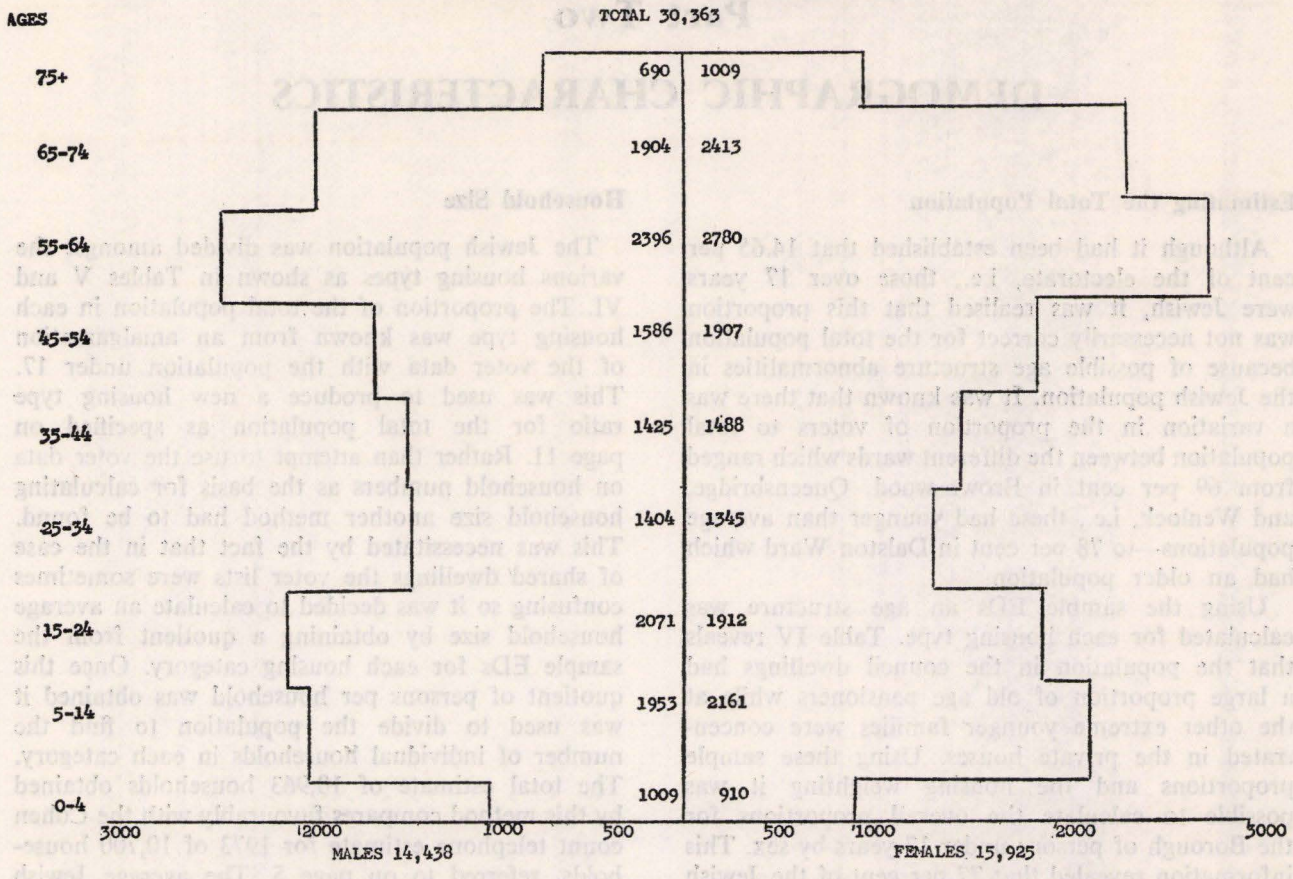
The larger number of children in the private houses resulted in the disparity between the average household size of this category and those in the flats. This factor also produced the disparity between the proportion of the total population and that of the number of households in the four housing types. From the data produced in the Household Census sheets it was possible to estimate that of the 10,963 Jewish households 20.5 per cent or 2,254 were one person households most of which were on the Council estates and contained elderly females.

Table IV

JEWISH POPULATION AGE COHORTS PER MILLE BY HOUSING TYPE

Age	*Private Houses*	*Private Flats*	*Council Estates*	*Industrial Dwellings*	*Borough*
0-4	92	51	22	45	63
5-14	173	88	90	119	136
15-24	153	125	104	98	131
25-34	98	92	83	66	91
35-44	99	81	97	92	96
45-54	98	136	133	140	115
55-64	157	236	173	173	170
65-74	88	124	221	216	142
75+	42	67	77	51	56

JEWISH POPULATION OF LONDON BOROUGH OF HACKNEY, 1971



HACKNEY BOROUGH POPULATION BY PERCENTAGE AND AGE COHORTS

COMPARISON OF GENERAL POPULATION AND ACCOMMODATION-WEIGHTED JEWISH POPULATION

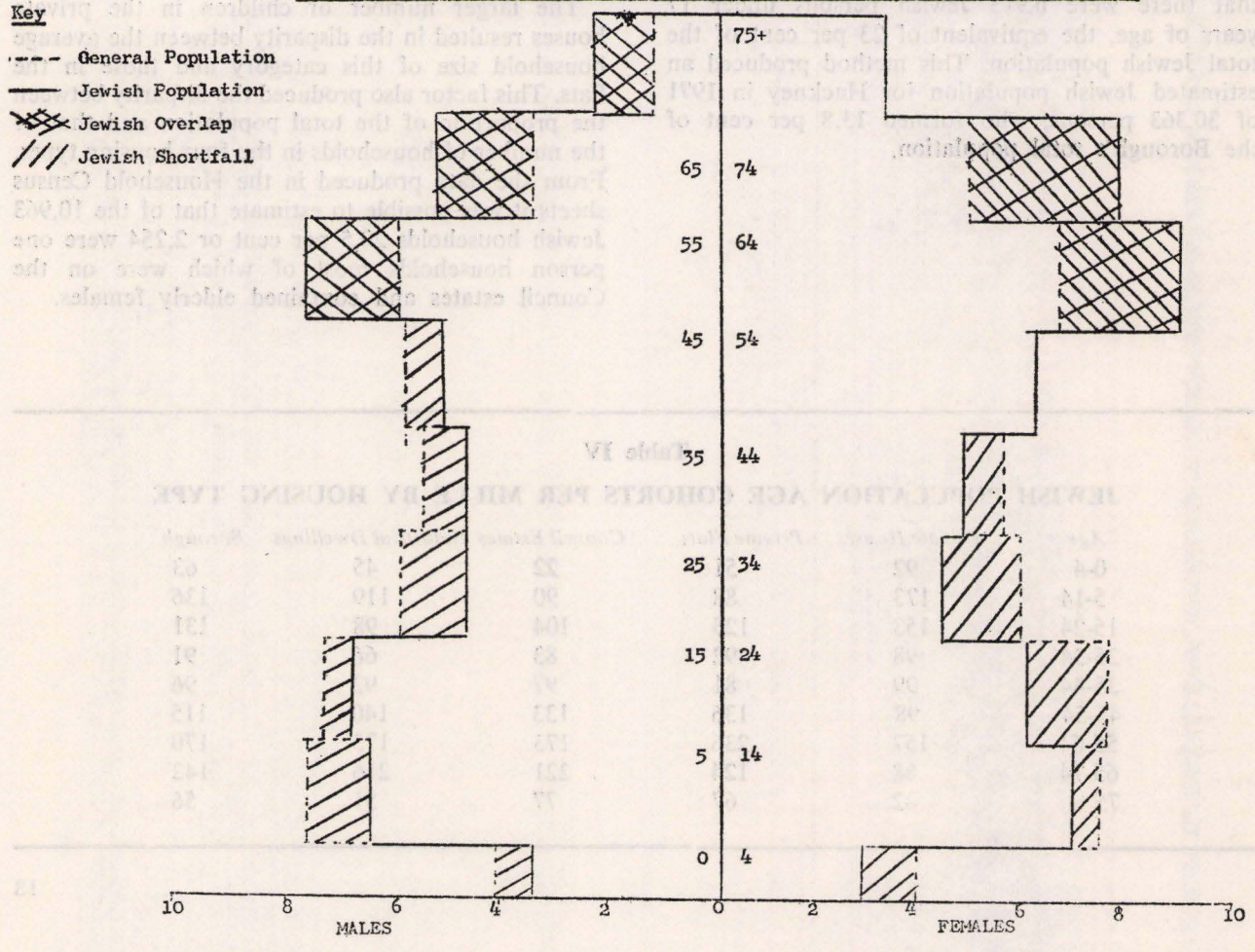


Table V

JEWISH POPULATION OF HACKNEY BY HOUSING TYPE

	Total	*Private Houses*	*Private Flats*	*Council Estates*	*Industrial Dwellings*	*Institutions*
Number	30,363	15,975	2,866	9,445	2,038	39
Percentage	100	53	9	31	7	—

Table VI

HACKNEY JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS BY HOUSING TYPE

	Total	*Private Houses*	*Private Flats*	*Council Estates*	*Industrial Dwellings*
Number	10,963	4,885	1,241	4,002	835
Percentage	100	45	11	36	8
Average Household Size	2.77	3.27	2.31	2.36	2.44

Age Structure

The basic data for the construction of an age pyramid was compiled in Table IV when estimating the total population. The age pyramid was in decennial intervals after age 4 because it was only at this level that the NC totals could be extracted. The age pyramid for the Jewish population graphically illustrates the deviation between the types of family structure represented in the housing types. In the private flats there was a large proportion of couples in later middle age, and in the public housing a large proportion of retirement pensioners.

The Jewish population pyramid reveals that few of the offspring of persons over the age of 54 remained in the Borough when they married, since there is marked under-representation of persons aged 25-54. This has produced an aged population. The median age for the Jewish population was 42 years which was 8 years older than that of the general Hackney population of 34 years. Because of this ageing the Jewish population has a female sex bias. There were 1,103 females for every 1,000 Jewish males compared to a Borough ratio of 1,083 and 1,058 for England and Wales.

The second age pyramid compares the Hackney Jewish population with the general population, which of course includes the Jewish component. This reveals that the Jewish population is proportionally under-represented in the younger age cohorts and over-represented after age 55. The largest shortfall is in the proportion of persons 25-34 years, the young marrieds, where it is 3 per cent, while the largest overlap is in the age cohort 65-74 which is 5.7 per cent above the general norm. These figures of course are proportional and do not necessarily reflect a lower birth rate as much as selective generational migration. In twenty years time when the bulge of persons 55 plus will have died, and assuming the younger population remained geographically stable, the Jewish proportions would be much more healthy and weighted towards the younger age cohorts.

Reproductive Rates

The census data provided the number of children by age and sex for each year to age 14 but the NC population could only be extracted at quinquennial intervals. To obtain a more representative sample and comparative basis it was decided to calculate an average birth rate for various populations for the five years 1966-71. This was done, as shown in Table VII, by using the 1971 population totals with the numbers of children averaged over five years. As was to be expected given the ageing of the Jewish population, their birth rate was lower than that of the other populations chosen. The sharpest contrast was with the Hackney NC population of recent immigrants, who have a completely different age structure which is heavily weighed towards the younger age cohorts, and had only 1 per cent of its numbers over the age of 65. When the NC population is deducted it is revealed that the characteristics of the 'white' population of Hackney were not so different from those of the Jewish population. The 'remainder' population is typical of the inner city areas with a bias towards the retirement age groups, young single persons, and a lower than average proportion of young married persons.

The age structure of the Hackney Jewish population revealed that it is not typical of London Jewry since so many born and bred there had obviously moved away. This means that a crude birth rate for the Borough's Jews is not very useful in gauging reproductive rates but merely emphasises the known agedness of the population. To gain a clearer idea of the rate of reproduction it is necessary to examine the fertility ratio which shows the average number of children produced by females of fertile age over the quinquennium.

The fertility ratio in Table VIII reveals that the

Table VII

CRUDE BIRTH RATE

Annual Average of Number of Children Aged 0-4 Divided by Total Population

	Children 0-4	*Total Population*	*Birth Rate Per Thousand*
Hackney Jews	1,919	30,363	12.64
Hackney New Commonwealth	4,480	33,102	27.10
Hackney Remainder	11,627	156,815	14.38
Hackney Borough	18,026	220,280	16.34
U.K. in '000s	4,508	55,708	16.18

Table VIII

FERTILITY RATIO

	Children 0-4		*Females 15-45*		*Fertility Ratio*
Hackney Jews	1,919	:	4,745	=	404
Hackney New Commonwealth	4,480	:	8,081	=	554
Hackney Remainder	11,627	:	28,410	=	409
Hackney Borough	18,026	:	41,236	=	437
U.K. in '000s	4,508	:	10,631	=	424

Jewish rate of reproduction in Hackney is not as low as the birth rate suggests. It is only marginally lower than for Hackney's white population or for the United Kingdom. The fertility ratio for women is only 20 per cent less than the NC ratio and not less than half the NC rate as Table VII would suggest.

Variations of the fertility ratio can show changes in the reproductive rates over the years and these are set out in Tables IX, X, and XI. Table IX provides comparison between cohorts of females and the actual numbers of children they produced over three quinquennia. Any figure larger than 1,000 shows a gain in numbers in that cohort compared to the previous cohort and any loss is also shown. There would appear to be slightly fewer females in the 25-50 age cohort compared with the 20-45 and 30-55 cohorts, but on the other hand they produced about 20 per cent more children than either the earlier or later cohorts.

Table IX

COMPARATIVE AGE RATIOS 1956-71 FOR HACKNEY JEWISH FEMALES AND CHILDREN

a) **1966-71 : 1961-65** b) **1961-65 : 1956-60**

Females 20-45 : 25-50	**Females 25-50 : 30-55**
3,986 : 3,737	3,737 : 3,964
= 1,067 : 1	= 0.943 : 1
Children 0-4 : 5-9	**Children 5-9 : 10-14**
1,919 : 2,281	2,281 : 1,833
= 0.841 : 1	= 1,244 : 1

Table X

COMPARATIVE FERTILITY RATES FOR JEWISH FEMALES OVER 25 YEARS PERIODS

	Females 20-45	*25-50*	*30-55*
Fertility Ratio	481	610	462

The data on age structure shows this bulge of children aged 5-9 and Table X confirms this phenomenon of higher fertility for women aged 25-50 for children born in the years 1961-66. Though the fertility rate fell between 1966 and 1971 it was still slightly above that for the years 1956-61. One explanation for this trend could be the large proportion of women in **Adath**-Orthodox[1] or Chassidic households who do not believe in family limitation. This factor, however, could also apply to the younger married women among whom Adath-Orthodoxy would appear to have the same hold. Yet there is one trend that is revealed in the census data and that might explain this, and that is the age of married persons. It is often assumed that since teenage marriage is advocated in the Talmud it is common among Adath-Orthodox Jews in the Stamford Hill area, but the census information negates this thesis. In the four most Chassidic wards of Northfield, Northwold, Springfield and New River there were only 23 males and 150 females under 20 years of age married. This was 0.2 per cent of the married men and 1.4 per cent of the married women in these wards. In sample EDs 2 and 3, which were found during fieldwork to have significant Chassidic populations, there were no teenage males married and only 8 teenage females. The reasons for this probably lie in

the greater emphasis this section of the community has placed on higher education, both religious and secular, in recent years and probably the harsher economic climate of the late-sixties. Whatever the reason later marriage for females would appear to be a possible answer to this problem of fertility decline in the period 1966-71.[2]

It is also possible to compare reproductive rates over longer periods than five year intervals since the census form asked married women to give details of the number of children ever born to them. The results are set out in Table XI below.

Table XI

Children ever born per 100 married women

	Age 16-29	*30-44*	*45-59*
Hackney Borough	117	214	177
Jewish sample	134	227	165
Number of females in Jewish sample	121	211	307

The Jewish sample is unweighted by housing type and merely consists of the combined gross totals of all sample EDs. The younger women who have not completed their families would appear likely to have the same average number of children as the earlier cohort and thus continue the trend for the population to reproduce itself.

The most interesting and significant data is for the women aged 45-59 who are a larger and sociologically more typical sample of Ashkenazi London Jewry. On average these women born in the years 1912-26 and who were mostly married between 1937 and 1951[3] did not produce enough children to maintain the population size. If we assume that these Hackney residents were typical of Anglo-Jewry in these years it would suggest that from an annual average of 2,910 Jewish marriages performed annually there were produced only 4,800 Jewish children.[4] This typicality is borne out by comparison with data from other wards in Greater London with high Jewish concentrations as shown in Table XII.

Table XII

Comparative data on children ever born per 100 married women in areas with high Jewish concentrations[5]

Borough	*Ward*	*Age 16-29*	*30-44*	*45-59*
Barnet	Golders Green	93	216	177
Barnet	Edgware	111	216	177
Harrow	Stanmore North	106	217	199
Brent	Kenton	89	199	169
Redbridge	Clayhall	93	184	149
Redbridge	Barkingside	89	183	158

All these wards show the same trends, a low reproduction rate for those 45-59 and an increased rate for women 30-44. However, there is some evidence, especially outside of Hackney, of a fall in fertility in recent years.

The Death Rate

Because of legal difficulties, it was not possible to obtain a list of persons in the Borough who died in the period 1968-72 and so carry out an ethnic name count in order to obtain an ethnic death rate as a direct comparison with our other data obtained by this method. It was also found to be too complex a task administratively to gather complete data of the deaths of Hackney residents from Jewish burial societies. It was therefore decided to apply the age specific death rate for England and Wales to the Hackney Jewish population. This was done by averaging the number of deaths in England and Wales for the quinquennium 1968-72 for each of the age cohorts used in the age pyramid on page 14. The number of deaths in each age group was then divided by the number of each age cohort in the 1971 census for England and Wales and multiplied by 1,000 to give a national average age specific death rate per mille. These rates were then applied to the Jewish population and produced the resulting estimates of deaths shown in Table XIII, which is the equivalent of 15.71 per mille.

Table XIII

Estimate of the number of deaths among the Hackney Jewish population in 1971 using a 5 year average of age specific deaths for England and Wales

Age Cohort	*Males*	*Females*
0-4	4.8	3.3
5-14	0.8	0.6
15-24	1.9	0.8
25-34	1.4	0.8
35-44	3.4	2.5
45-54	11.5	8.4
55-64	49.9	28.9
65-74	98.9	65.7
75+	93.3	100.1
Total	265.9	211.1
Grand total	477	

Population Projection

The death rate for Hackney Jews at 15.71 exceeded the birth rate of 12.64 per mille by 3.07 which was equivalent to a net loss of 93 persons a year. Table XIV shows comparative information on the Jewish and Borough populations. Though the Borough as a whole is gaining from natural increase; emigration from the area is causing a net decline. If we assume that the Jewish population has the same emigration rate as the general population of the Borough then in 1971 it would have lost 462

Table XIV

NATURAL CHANGE OF POPULATION

Jews	Crude birth rate:	=	12.64 per mille
	Death rate	=	15.71 „ „
	Population decrease:	=	3.07 per mille per annum
= natural decline of 93 persons per annum			
Hackney Borough	Crude birth rate:	=	16.34 per mille
	Death rate:	=	12.89 „ „
	Population increase:	=	3.45 per mille per annum
= natural increase of 760 persons per annum			

Average annual decline in population 1971-3
= emigration + natural increase (3,350 + 760) = 4,110 persons.[6]

persons through emigration and 93 through natural decrease a total of 555 persons or 1.8 per cent of the Jewish population. Assuming that this annual decrease of 1.8 per cent per annum continued for the following years by 1975 the Jewish population of Hackney would have fallen to 28,200.

1 This term is used in this study to identify the religious grouping often referred to as 'ultra' or 'right-wing' Orthodox.
Chassidim are a sub-group of the Adath-Orthodox. A fuller description of the various Jewish religious groupings is given in Part V.

2 A further interesting piece of evidence arose during conversations with local pharmacists. It was suggested that in recent years growing numbers of Adath-Orthodox women have been using birth control pills despite the religious opposition to such practice among this fundamentalist grouping.

3 S. J. Prais and Marlena Schmool 'Statistics of Jewish Marriages in Great Britain: 1901-1965', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, IX (1967), 170. In general terms an average of over two children per family have to be born to ensure replacement.

4 *Ibid.*, 166.

5 SAS, 1971 Census.

6 The estimated population of Hackney in June 1973, 26 months after the 1971 Census was 213,020. *Registrar General's Quarterly Return for England and Wales Quarter ended 31 March 1974*, London, HMSO, 1974, p. 39.

Part Three

SOCIAL PATTERNS

Spatial Distribution

The voter statistics, housing profiles, and total Jewish population of Hackney were now available and this information was utilised to estimate the Jewish population of each of the 20 wards in the Borough. It was found that in 9 wards the proportion of voters shown in Table I was higher than the proportion of the ward population shown in Table XV. This feature was a direct result of the Jewish population's agedness. Jews composed 14.65 per cent of Hackney's voters but 13.78 per cent of the total population.

To gain comparisons with the spatial distribution of other ethnic groups in Greater London and in the Borough, it was decided to use another comparative statistical technique the Location Quotient (LQ), a popular tool in urban and regional analyses. The LQ provides a means of assessing the degree of settlement concentration of a specific population group in a given area. In this case the technique was to divide a ward's proportion of a particular ethnic group by the ward's proportion of the total Hackney Borough population. If the Jewish population of a ward is average the LQ is 1; if it is below average it is less than 1; and if above average greater than 1. For the Jewish population of the Hackney wards the LQ is calculated as follows:—

W = ward population
Wj = ward Jewish population
H = Hackney total population
Hj = Hackney Jewish population

$$\text{LQ for ward W} = \frac{H}{Hj} \times \frac{Wj}{W}$$

The maximum possible LQ for any ward would occur when W = Wj, i.e., the ward was 100 per cent Jewish which would produce an LQ of 7.2 since $\frac{H}{Hj}$ is a constant for all wards. The minimum LQ is when Wj = O, i.e., there no Jews and the LQ = zero.

This method can be extended to compare wards with the universe of the whole of the Greater London Council area, i.e., $\frac{H}{Hj}$ is replaced by $\frac{T}{Tj}$ where T = total GLC population and Tj = total

Table XV

LONDON BOROUGH OF HACKNEY WARD POPULATION, 1971

Ward	*Total Population*	*Jewish Population*	*Jewish Population as % of Total*	*Jewish Location Quotient*
Northfield	11,315	4,585	41	2.94
Springfield	11,460	4,490	39	2.84
Northwold	10,698	2,775	26	1.88
New River	12,180	3,115	26	1.86
Brownswood	7,490	620	8	0.60
Lea Bridge	10,110	2,028	20	1.46
Defoe	13,919	1,608	12	0.84
Rectory	8,950	1,406	16	1.14
Downs	16,470	3,435	21	1.51
Clissold	12,090	678	6	0.41
Dalston	9,300	1,257	13.5	0.98
Kingsmead	12,840	420	3	0.24
Chatham	11,650	706	6	0.44
Wick	11,150	557	5	0.36
De Beauvoir	10,010	220	2	0.16
Queensbridge	15,170	400	3	0.19
Victoria	11,950	1,630	14	0.99
Wenlock	10,190	154	2	0.11
Moorfields	6,420	133	2	0.15
Haggerston	6,890	143	2	0.15
Grand Total	220,280	30,360	13.78%	1.00

London Jewish population. Similarly it is possible to compare Borough LQs with the total GLC population.

The GLC Intelligence Unit has calculated the 1971 concentrations for various ethnic groups in the Borough of Hackney and these are set out in Table XVI with the addition of our own figure for the Hackney Jewish population.[1]

Table XVI

COMPARATIVE ETHNIC CONCENTRATIONS IN HACKNEY

Ethnic Group	*Hackney LQ*
Irish Republic-born	1.0
Non Commonwealth European-born	1.0
Other Foreign & Not Stated	1.5
Old Commonwealth-born	0.2
West Indian-born	2.9
Indian-born	0.7
Pakistan & Bangla Desh-born	0.6
African-born	1.3
Cyprus, Malta-born	2.3
Total NC Ethnic Groups (includes U.K.-born)	1.8
Jews	3.8

From this data it is possible to see that the NC population in Hackney is nearly twice the London average but that the West Indian concentration is even greater and nearly three times the norm. The Cypriot concentration is part of this population's North London settlement bias whereby 38 per cent of the group resides in the Boroughs of Islington, Haringey, and Hackney. On the other hand Asian immigrants appear to avoid settlement in Hackney. The Jewish population shows an even greater proportionate settlement concentration in Hackney than the West Indian population. The Hackney Jewish population is nearly four times denser than the overall average for the estimated 270,000 Jews in the GLC area which had a total population of 7,450,000 in 1971.

The Jewish tendency towards high concentrations in localised areas was mentioned in the first section and verified by the ward LQs in Table XV. When the Hackney ward LQs are calculated in comparison with all 655 wards in London this Jewish concentration in the northern wards of Hackney is even more obvious. Then the Springfield and Northfield wards have LQs of approximately 11. It thus comes as no surprise to learn that the Borough of Hackney is one of the most important centres of Jewish settlement in Britain. In London in 1971, only the Borough of Barnet had a larger Jewish population or a higher proportion of Jews to total population. In the rest of the country outside London no other first tier local government unit had a larger Jewish population and among all the provincial communities only Greater Manchester, then comprising a number of local authorities, had a larger Jewish population than that in Hackney.

The ethnic concentrations in areas of London do not match the intensities of the 'ghettoes' of the large American cities but there appears to be a tendency towards greater congregation or solidification in certain primary areas. West Indians in Brixton, Asians in Southall, Jews in Stamford Hill, Cypriots in Hornsey, and Irish in Kilburn, are obvious examples of identifiable primary ethnic areas which show little signs of disintegrating in the near future. In fact the tendency is towards further ethnic solidification. This is in part a reflection of the current return to national or cultural roots which is found throughout much of the world and has become apparent politically in the outlying areas of the United Kingdom during the 1970s. Heightened ethnic settlement intensities were apparent from our fieldwork in Stamford Hill during 1974. There the Chassidim were making a noticeable effort to move their members into contiguous residential areas of private property and the impact of this movement was revealed when the 1971 and 1974 voters' rolls were compared. Many large houses which were previously in a bad state of repair were being renovated and converted into small synagogues, Yeshivot (religious seminaries), and communal premises. There would appear in such circles to be an attempt to create a London Version of New York's Williamsburg.[2]

Other similar local ethnic concentrations are evident within Hackney. The Irish were concentrated in the Brownswood Ward where they composed over 10 per cent of the population whereas in contrast in 16 other wards they formed less than 3 per cent of the total. The NC population formed over 20 per cent of the total in the Brownswood, Northwold, Defoe, Clissold, Rectory, and Downs Wards. In fact these 6 wards were among the top 44 wards in London in terms of NC densities. Yet in 5 other wards Wick, Haggerston, Wenlock, Moorfields, and New River, the NC proportion of the population was under 9 per cent. The former Shoreditch wards with their highly municipalised housing concentrations contain an overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon Cockney population (90 per cent) with few Jewish, Irish, Cypriot, or Coloured residents. This 'native' population has proved very resistant to the entry of such out-groups and reinforced the message in the October 1974 election when the Hackney South constituency gave the xenophobic National Front its highest percentage poll in the country.[3] As a direct contrast the northern and central wards are much more cosmopolitan. The 'White-Gentile' population in Northfield comprises only 44 per cent and in Springfield 47 per cent. In New River Ward the NC population was only 8 per cent because the ward includes the large Woodberry Down Council Estate which contained 62 per cent of the population. Few of the recent immigrants are eligible for council housing on established estates in Hackney where the Council

waiting list numbered about 14,000 persons in 1974.[4] The same tendency towards exclusion of the NC population, but not Jews, presumably again for reasons connected with residence qualifications is found in the Industrial Dwellings and Housing Trusts' property.

When each ward itself is examined another level of ethnic concentration can be discerned. The high Jewish densities in certain types of housing were mentioned in Part I. Though Springfield Ward has an overall Jewish average of 40 per cent it contained roads, and blocks of flats which were over 80 per cent Jewish. The NC Ward average was 14 per cent, yet 5 of the 25 EDs had NC densities of 20 per cent and over, and 5 others of 5 per cent and under. In one ED which was part of an estate of Council flats, the NC proportion was 40 per cent yet in the adjoining blocks it was only 5 per cent. One possible explanation for this concentration, apart from segregation by choice, is the fact that all the households in the first blocks had large family sizes and the type of accommodation there catered for them.

Birthplace

The census print-out provides data on the birthplace by country of enumerated persons. This

Table XVII

PERSONS WITH NEITHER PARENT U.K. OR NEW COMMONWEALTH-BORN

ED Housing Type

Age	*Houses*	*Flats*	*Council*	*Industrial*
0–4	54	8	2	6
5–14	99	20	0	16
15–24	71	31	2	7
25–34	62	13	1	6
35–44	57	23	5	19
45–54	62	55	14	36
55–64	141	119	38	73
65+	107	104	71	134
Total	653	373	133	297
Total White Population	1338	922	444	758
% Both Parents Born Abroad	49	40	30	39

Table XVIII

BIRTHPLACE BY ED HOUSING TYPES

	Houses	*Flats*	*Council*	*Industrial*
Other European	167	81	20	37
Other Foreign/Not Stated	156	67	11	46
Old Commonwealth	5	2	—	—
Irish Republic	16	30	5	26
Total	344	180	36	109
Foreign-Born Percentage of EDs White Population	26	20	8	14

Table XIX

IMMIGRANTS AND FIRST GENERATION BRITISH BY PERCENTAGE

	Houses	*Flats*	*Council*	*Industrial*
Persons Born Abroad	344	180	36	109
Persons Both Parents Born Abroad	653	373	133	297
UK-Born of Foreign Parents	309	193	97	188
UK-Born of Foreign Parents as % of all Persons with Both Parents Born Abroad	47	52	73	63

information is categorised into a restricted number of political or geographical groupings. These are all four countries of the United Kingdom, Irish Republic, Old Commonwealth, New Commonwealth (further subdivided into geographical areas), Other European, and Other Foreign and Not Stated. The category 'Other Foreign' includes persons born in countries such as the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Israel, South Africa, and Iran.

Information is also available for those persons who had both parents born outside of the U.K. and New Commonwealth. Over the country as a whole the majority of these people are first generation children of Irish immigrants. It was debatable if this data could be of any use for studies of the Jewish population since there was a tendency, even during the height of the East European Jewish immigration to Britain in the 1890s, for immigrant Jewish males to marry British-born females, with the result that the children of such a union would not qualify under this schedule.[5]

However, at the ED level this table in the print-out provided some idea of the number of first generation British citizens since it was possible to subtract the number of persons in the Other Foreign and other European-born categories from the total of persons who had both parents born abroad, as shown in Table XIX.

Table XVII shows the variation in the proportion of immigrants and first generation British-born persons by housing types. The older age structure of the Council and Industrial accommodated populations was not reflected in larger proportions of foreigners. In fact the situation was quite the contrary, the Jews in public housing were a much more anglicised group than the younger population to be found in private property. Table XIX suggests that those in public housing consist of a large proportion of U.K.-born persons whose parents were part of the great immigrant flood from Tsarist Russia.

It is revealed in Table XVIII that the private houses and flats contain a considerable proportion of immigrants of more recent origin. The census also provides details of persons who entered the country after 1960 and this schedule shows that whereas the public housing EDs contained only 14 foreign-born persons entering after 1960, or 1 per cent of the total, private houses contained 62 persons or 5 per cent, and the private flats 39 or 4 per cent, of persons in this category. The bias of immigrants towards privately owned accommodation and away from public housing has already been explained. Corroboration of the phenomenon of recent Jewish immigration from abroad can be found in recent increases in membership of the Eastern Jewish Synagogues composed of persons from Aden, Iran, Iraq, and North Africa. Further evidence of such movement can be found in the marriage patterns of the Adath-Orthodox congregations as revealed in the announcement columns of **The Jewish Tribune,** their own newspaper. Many of these are arranged marriages and involve couples where one partner comes from a similar Chassidic community in New York, Antwerp, Switzerland, or Israel.

No attempt has been made to project the birth-place findings in the sample EDs for the Borough as a whole but if they were typical it would suggest that in Hackney 81 per cent of the Jewish population are natural-born British subjects. Among Hackney's 'white population', foreign born persons compose 11 per cent of the total compared to around 19 per cent for Hackney Jews. For the general population only 38 per cent of those persons with both parents born abroad, were themselves born in Britain compared to approximately 54 per cent among Jews in this category. This evidence suggests that Jewish immigration was not as recent as for other foreigners and also that there was a considerable degree of endogamy among Jewish immigrants. The Hackney situation can be contrasted with that in the outer London suburbs where preliminary results suggest that among the Jewish population of the Barkingside Ward of Redbridge the proportion of British-born persons is around 95 per cent.

Household Characteristics

The average household size of each housing type was shown in Table VI, but neither these average figures, nor the average of 2.77 persons for the Borough's Jews, are of much sociological significance because they do not reveal the degree of variation among the estimated 10,963 Jewish households. The people of Eastern origin and the Chassidim retain

Table XX

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD SIZE BY HOUSING TYPE

Number of Persons	*Private Houses*	*Private Flats*	*Council Estates*	*Industrial Dwellings*	*Hackney Jews*	*Borough*
1	13	28	26.5	25	20.5	25
2	33	37	43	41	38	31
3	18	18	17	13	17	17
4	14	10	7	11	11	13
5	10	5	3	8	6.5	7
6	6	1	3	1	4	4
7+	6	1	0.5	1	3	3

elements of the extended family system while there are many one-person households of more acculturated elderly folk whose children live in the outer suburbs. In terms of basic household amenities such as indoor toilets, bathrooms, and kitchens, the Jewish population is well-served since there are few of them living in rented furnished accommodation which is the worst serviced accommodation sector. Despite the fact that Table XX shows Jews to have the same proportion of large households as the general population, overcrowding is not a significant problem for them since the large families are mainly confined to the private housing at the north end of the Borough which generally has good basic amenities and, as was mentioned on page 11, adequate numbers of rooms.

Once the housing weighting was calculated to give an overall Jewish profile there appeared to be very little difference between the profiles of the Jewish and general Borough populations in terms of household size variations. The only significant deviation was the smaller proportion of Jewish one-person households. This can be explained in terms of the larger proportion of Jewish men in the 75 years and over age cohort revealed in the age pyramid on page 14. This male longevity obviously increases the number of two-person elderly households. At the same time there are very few young Jews to be found in Hackney in the one-person households of the bedsitter type which are common in the Brownswood Ward.[6] The result is that whereas 55 per cent of the Borough's one-person households are pensionable, among Jews the equivalent figure is 73 per cent.

The Jewish Aged

The agedness of Hackney's Jewish population has been referred to frequently and it is estimated that in 1971 there were 6,019 Jewish persons over the age of 65 consisting of 2,594 males and 3,425 females, or nearly 20 per cent of the population. The percentage of single and widowed males aged 65-74 years was 14, while for females it was 51 per cent. In the older age cohort, those over 75 years, 34 per cent of the men and 75 per cent of the women were single or widowed.

The census enquired into the pensionable status of each household. From this information it is possible to project an estimate that in 1,653 of the 2,254 one-person households the occupant was an old-age pensioner, i.e., aged over 65 years for males and over 60 years for females. The number of two-person Jewish households where both occupants were in receipt of pensions was estimated at 1,543. Thus 29 per cent of Jewish households in Hackney consisted entirely of pensioners compared to a Borough average of 21 per cent. Moreover the data on age structure shows that the largest Jewish age cohort in 1971 was that aged 55-64, which suggests that each year since then approximately another 500 persons have reached retirement age.

However, the census data and fieldwork indicated that many of these people dwelt in the private flats and often remained in the area for business and employment reasons. Thus when they reach retirement, and have the means to do so, they leave Hackney for the coastal resorts of Westcliff, Hove, and Bournemouth, or other areas of London. The remaining pensioners are often of limited means and rely solely on government pensions. There is therefore a residentially stable but slowly declining population of elderly persons in the southern and central, as well as northern wards of the Borough which will continue to make calls on the community's welfare services for many years.

Communications

By London standards Hackney is poorly served by public transport. There are only two Underground stations actually sited in the Borough, Manor House on the Piccadilly Line at the north-west end, and Old Street on the Northern Line, at the extreme southern boundary near the City. The new Victoria Line at Finsbury Park has provided easy access to the West End in recent years for residents of the Brownswood and New River Wards. There are a number of British Rail stations allowing access from the northern wards on suburban services to Liverpool Street and Broad Street.

Hackney is reasonably well served by buses to both the East and West Ends. These provide frequent services for employment purposes and access to Jewish communal institutions. The number 73 route runs from Stoke Newington to Oxford Street and on into West London. The 253 route runs via Manor House, Stamford Hill, Clapton, Hackney, Bethnal Green, Whitechapel to Aldgate. This follows the route of the old 653 trolley bus which was known in certain quarters as the 'Polish Express' because of the ethnic make-up of its passengers. The area is also very well served by taxis because there are many cab garages in the Borough.

One important drawback from the Jewish resident's viewpoint is the poor communications with the outer suburbs where the majority of London Jewry resides. Hackney to North-west London, and Hackney to Redbridge are long, expensive and difficult journeys. The River Lea and the marshes impede communication with the east since there are only two road-river bridges in the Borough.

The ownership of private cars is a good indication of wealth and a most important element of geographical mobility. In Hackney as a whole 25 per cent of the households own one car and 2 per cent two or more. This low ratio of car ownership is typical of the poorer inner London boroughs and can be contrasted with the higher ratios in the outer boroughs. Car-owning households are 57 per cent of the total in Redbridge, 58 per cent in Barnet, and 63 per cent in Harrow. In Barnet 14 per cent of all households own two or more vehicles. The

Hackney Jewish data for the sample EDs was not projected for the Borough as a whole. However, in terms of housing categories a correlation between superior types of accommodation and higher car ownership ratios was found. Despite the fact that the owner-occupiers were a younger and more immigrant group they owned more cars than the other sections of the population. 52 per cent of the households in the private houses, 36 per cent in the private flats, 28 per cent in the industrial dwellings, and 24 per cent in the council estates, owned cars. Two car families were distributed among the housing types in roughly the same proportion; 7 per cent of the private houses, 6 per cent of the flats, 4 per cent of the industrials, and 2 per cent of the council estate households. It is not surprising that the population in subsidised public housing should possess fewer vehicles. Analysis of the car ownership data also showed that there was a higher proportion of car ownership among the larger households so that in fact a higher proportion of persons than of households have access to private transport.

For the elderly and poorer sections of Hackney's Jewish population the most important method of communication with family and friends, and even neighbours would appear to be the telephone. This was especially true for parents with children living outside the area. Our researches revealed that telephone ownership was remarkably universal among Jews. This corroborates earlier work by Carrier in 1967. During his research into the Jewish 'proletariat' of the Industrial Dwellings of Stepney and the Downs Ward of Hackney, Carrier found that these people placed a high value and much importance on possession of a telephone as a means of communication with the 'outside world'.[7]

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1 *1971 Census Data on London's Overseas-Born Population and their Children*, pp. 13-65.

2 See S. Poll, *The Hassidic Community of Williamsburg*, New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.

3 See B. Kosmin and N. Grizzard, 'The British National Front in the Two General Elections of 1974', *Patterns of Prejudice*, VIII (1974) 6, 18-22.

4 Personal communication from Hackney Council Officers.

5 Prais and Schmool, p. 157. Recent work by this Unit in Sheffield using detailed questionnaires has verified this trend.

6 The Brownswood Ward is regarded by Hackney Officials as the odd man out because its characteristics are usually at variance with the rest of the Borough. It has a high proportion of office workers and students, a generally younger population, a high rate of migration, overcrowding, and possesses 4.5 times the Borough average of furnished tenancies.

7 Carrier, p. 135.

Part Four

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS

The Dependency Ratio

The dependency ratio is an indicator of the relationship between the economically active members of the population and the dependent sector of that population, i.e., the earners and the non-earners. A general impression of the proportion of the population gainfully occupied may be obtained by calculating the potential working population as a percentage of the total population. The potential working population is that aged above the minimum school leaving age (15 years in 1971) and below pensionable retirement age (65 years for men and 60 years for women). Among the Jewish population it is estimated that the potential working population was 16,924 persons or 55.7 per cent of Hackney Jewry. Among the general population of Hackney the potential working population was 63.4 per cent of the total. This means that the potential Jewish work force was proportionally less than that of the Borough and that theoretically it could be expected there would be greater financial call on each individual economically active Jew than on the average earner in Hackney.

The actual dependency ratio relates the economically active population to the total population. The actual work force differs from the potential work force because of factors such as extended education for young persons, sickness, and child rearing by women, which all exclude persons from full-time economic activity. On the other hand, persons over retirement age may elect to continue working if they have a choice.

The dependency ratio for the Hackney Jewish population was calculated by collating the data on the 'white population' of each of the EDs and weighting this by housing type. This gave an estimated economically active Jewish population of 13,520 persons, 8,518 males and 5,002 females. This meant that the economically active population, including some elderly persons, was 79.9 per cent of the potential working population while for the Borough the economically active were 79.6 per cent of the potential work force. The dependency ratio for the Jewish population was .555 compared with a Borough general ratio of .495. In other words for every 445 Jewish earners there were 555 non-earners. However since the ratio of economically active to potentially active among the Jewish population was almost identical to the Borough norm it can be deduced that in 1971 Hackney Jews contributed their fair share to the labour force and that their higher dependency ratio was due mainly to their abnormal age structure.

The Economically Active Population

On average the Hackney Jewish working population was older and more male than the Borough one. Females formed 40.5 per cent of the total Hackney work force but only 37 per cent of the Jewish work force. Jewish females were less likely to be economically active than their Gentile counterparts since among females 15 years and over, 51 per cent of the Borough females were working as against 39 per cent of Jewish females. The discrepancy was widest among married females for whereas 51 per cent of Hackney's married women worked only 37 per cent of married Jewesses worked. Yet among elderly females the Jewish proportion was almost the same as for the general population, with 18 as against 19 per cent of females over age 60 still economically active.

Jewish entry into the work force was delayed by the traditional emphasis on education. The Jewish student population in Hackney in 1971 was estimated at 1,420. Students formed 36 per cent of Jewish persons aged 15-24, whereas the equivalent proportion for the same age group for Hackney as a whole was 20 per cent. Thus the Jewish population which comprised 13.8 per cent of the total Hackney population, provided 21 per cent of the Borough's students.

The Census data suggest that on average Jewish males were less likely to be unemployed, or be unable to work because of sickness, than the rest of the Borough's male population. This finding was borne out by their greater participation in the work force after age 65. 34 per cent, or 878 Jewish males over 65 years of age, were still economically active compared to 30 per cent of this age group among the total population of the Borough. This Jewish tendency towards extended participation in the economy or deferred retirement is even more striking when compared with the national figures for 1971 which show that only 19 per cent of men and only 12 per cent of women over retirement age continued to work.[1] The fact that Hackney's elderly people continue to work for longer than the national average can largely be explained by their financial need, since many were unlikely to have been engaged in occupations which provided large company pensions to supplement the state retirement pension, which was £5 a week for a single person in early 1971.

Local Employment

Hackney's industrial history is similar to that of many of the inner areas of North and East London. The 19th century saw a rapid growth of population, from 49,000 in 1801 to 389,000 in 1901, and a

concomitant spread of the built up area. The old industries of agriculture and brickmaking were replaced by small scale manufacture in workshops and homes. At the beginning of this century tailoring, boot and shoemaking, matches and furniture manufacture, and the tobacco processing industry were the main sources of local employment apart from domestic service. Many of the manufactures involved outwork in homes and were also traditional Jewish industries in London. By 1900 furniture making had become synonymous with the Shoreditch area and 76 of the 430 tobacco and snuff manufacturers in the country in 1888 were based in the Tower Hamlets and Hackney areas and nearly all of them were Jewish owned.[2] The clothing industry and its sweat shops were the archetypal sphere of Jewish employment during the period of large-scale immigration from Eastern Europe.

Enemy bombing, evacuation, slum clearance, and industrial zoning, all had the effect of reducing Hackney's industrial base after 1939. The larger furniture manufacturers have moved to the more spacious premises further north up the Lea Valley and many of the smaller workshops have been demolished. To retain employment opportunities the local authorities have attempted to congregate workshops in purpose built centres so that the area still has a manufacturing capacity in veneer, upholstery, brewing, machine making, office equipment, and all sectors of the clothing industry. Other sources of employment are wholesale warehouses, commercial printers, taxi garages, and the local authority itself. The traditional Jewish commercial and distributive trades have been less harshly affected by change than manufacturing. Hackney has retained seven street markets, including the well-known Kingsland Road, Ridley Road, and Well Street markets. There are also many small retail outlets especially in the line of shops on the main road artery from Stamford Hill, along Stoke Newington High Street, down to Kingsland Road and Haggerston.

The relative economic decline of Hackney since the 1920s, when most of the north and central areas of the Borough were regarded as a solid middle class haven has accelerated in recent years. There was a considerable loss of skilled manual workers between 1961 and 1971 as non-conforming industry was zoned out of the area and sources of employment were lost. Unlike some other areas of London there was no compensatory growth of office blocks and local white collar employment. By the 1970s the unemployment rate was nearly twice the regional average and the Borough became a net exporter of labour for the first time.[3] These factors have produced the continuing population decline in the Borough.

In 1971 55 per cent of Hackney's resident labour force worked outside the local authority area, the same proportion as in the outer suburban Borough of Barnet. The local Jews were slightly less affected by this tendency since they retained a traditional bias towards small-scale manufacturing and distributive trades, and only 50 per cent journeyed out to work. It is also known that commercial, manufacturing, and transport businesses in Hackney are importers of Jewish labour, much of it previously resident in the Borough, from other areas. The Hackney Jews who leave the Borough each day to work appear to travel south to Tower Hamlets, the City, and the West End, except for a small flow to the Lea Valley factories and Tottenham area. Some of this outflow is composed of the very orthodox element who provide many of the religious and dietary supervisors (shochetim, shomerim, etc.) required by the wider London religious Jewish community.

Industrial Classification of Employment

For census purposes the industry in which a person is engaged is determined without reference to his or her actual occupation but solely with reference to the business or economic activity in which the occupation is followed. A single business may employ persons in a wide variety of occupational categories in order to create a product or offer a particular service. Thus the industrial classification only has regard to the nature of the service or product to which the person's labour contributes. For example an accountant working for a haulage company would be classified as being in Transport and Utilities and if he moved to a furniture factory as being in Manufacturing.

The industrial and occupational census was based on a 10 per cent sample of the economically active population. The data for the Jewish population used in this section was based on a sample of 153 persons drawn from the 10 sample EDs which was then weighted in accordance with the proportions of the economically active population in each housing type. Because of the format of the census print-out it was impossible to exclude the NC population from those tables but the information is still based on a 76 per cent Jewish sample. Moreover the housing weighting which makes allowances for the unique income variations among the Jews is more likely to be significant than a purely ethnic affiliation-based sample. In Hackney in the 1970s it can be expected that neighbouring households in similar types of housing are more likely to exhibit corresponding occupational patterns and socio-economic profiles than individual households whose common denominator is genealogically linked ethnicity or a common religious affiliation.

As was to be expected there were only very few individuals in Hackney engaged in the agriculture or mining industries. The largest industrial classification shown in Table XXI was Distribution and Services, followed by Manufacturing. The Jewish industrial classification profile shown in Table XXII was also centred on these two sectors but with a greater commercial bias. The Jewish proportion in Construction and Transport was very similar to

that of Hackney as a whole, only in National and Local Government was there a significant Jewish under-representation.

Self-Employment

In part the Jewish under-representation in the government service can be explained by the Jewish tendency towards self-employment, which as Table XXIII shows was three times the general norm.

Jewish self-employment in Transport, presumably taxi drivers (SEG 12 in Transport in Table XXII) and in commercial work, presumably shop owners (SEG 2 in Distribution) and market traders (SEG 12 in Distribution) is particularly evident in Table XXIII. The reasons for the Jewish preference for self-employment are quite easy to discover. The orthodox element require the full observance of all the festivals and the Sabbath, which includes Friday afternoon during the winter months. Prior to the advent in recent years of the five day working week and more flexible working hours, only self-

Table XXI

HACKNEY BOROUGH ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION PER MILLE BY INDUSTRY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP

	Industry					
S.E.G.	*Manufacturing*	*Construction*	*Utilities & Transport*	*Distribution & Services*	*National & Local Government*	*Total*
1 2 (13)	16	3	4	36	2	61
3 4	2	1		10	1	14
5	5		3	39	3	50
6	44	3	30	137	26	240
8 9	147	29	40	33	8	257
7 10 (15)	116	6	31	74	6	233
11	24	7	13	37	10	91
12 (14)	7	9	6	23		45
16 17	4		1	2	2	9
Total	365	58	128	391	58	1000

Table XXII

HACKNEY JEWISH ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION PER MILLE BY INDUSTRY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP

	Industry					
S.E.G.	*Manufacturing*	*Construction*	*Utilities & Transport*	*Distribution & Services*	*National & Local Government*	*Total*
1 2 (13)	48		3	145		196
3 4				28		28
5	40		16	51		107
6			4	180	11	195
8 9	76	17	21	15	2	131
7 10 (15)	76		33	72		181
11		9		16		25
12 (14)	11	9	47	68		135
16 17					2	2
Total	251	35	124	575	15	1000

Table XXIII

SELF-EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY IN PERCENTILES

	Total	*Manufacturin*	*Construction*	*Utilities & Transport*	*Distribution & Services*	*National & Local Govt.*
Hackney Borough Population	7	3	19	5	10	0
Hackney Jewish Population	21	10	25	32	25	0

employment or a fellow orthodox Jewish employer would guarantee these requirements. There are also sociological and historical reasons for this bias which include status concerns, the desire to control one's own destiny and to avoid the potential discrimination regarding promotion which might be present in a hierarchy.

Socio-Economic Groups

The definitions of the Socio-economic groups (SEGs) are shown in Table XXIV. Table XXI and XXII show broad SEG groupings for all the economically active persons in the populations under discussion. The bracketed figures are for SEGs in the agricultural sector which do not occur in Hackney. The histogram on page 29 relates solely to the male earning population including most heads of households.

Table XXIV

BRIEF DEFINITIONS OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS

(OPCS, *CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS 1970*, HMSO, 1970, p. xi.)

(1) Employers and managers in central and local government, industry, commerce, etc.—large establishments

1.1 Employers in industry, commerce, etc. Persons who employ others in non-agricultural enterprises employing 25 or more persons.

1.2 Managers in central and local government, industry, commerce, etc. Persons who generally plan and supervise in non-agricultural enterprises employing 25 or more persons.

(2) Employers and managers in industry, commerce, etc.—small establishments

2.1 Employers in industry, commerce, etc.—small establishments. As in 1.1 but in establishments employing fewer than 25 persons.

2.2 Managers in industry, commerce, etc.—small establishments. As in 1.2 but in establishments employing fewer than 25 persons.

(3) Professional workers—self-employed
Self-employed persons engaged in work normally requiring qualifications of university degree standard.

(4) Professional workers—employees
Employees engaged in work normally requiring qualifications of university degree standard.

(5) Intermediate non-manual workers

5.1 Ancillary workers and artists. Employees engaged in non-manual occupations ancillary to the professions, not normally requiring qualifications of university degree standard; persons engaged in artistic work and not employing others thereat. Self-employed nurses, medical auxiliaries, teachers, work study engineers and technicians are included.

5.2 Foremen and supervisors non-manual. Employees (other than managers) engaged in occupations included in group 6, who formally and immediately supervise others engaged in such occupations.

(6) Junior non-manual workers
Employees, not exercising general planning or supervisory powers, engaged in clerical, sales and non-manual communications and security occupations, excluding those who have additional and formal supervisory functions (these are included in group 5.2).

(7) Personal service workers
Employees engaged in service occupations caring for food, drink, clothing and other personal needs.

(8) Foremen and supervisors—manual
Employees (other than managers) who formally and immediately supervise others engaged in manual occupations, whether or not themselves engaged in such occupations.

(9) Skilled manual workers
Employees engaged in manual occupations which require considerable and specific skills.

(10) Semi-skilled manual workers
Employees engaged in manual occupations which require slight but specific skills.

(11) Unskilled manual workers
Other employees engaged in manual occupations.

(12) Own account workers (other than professional)
Self-employed persons engaged in any trade, personal service or manual occupation not normally requiring training of university degree standard and having no employees other than family workers.

(13) Farmers—employers and managers
Persons who own, rent or manage farms, market gardens or forests, employing people other than family workers in the work of the enterprise.

(14) Farmers—own account
Persons who own or rent farms, market gardens or forests and having no employees other than family workers.

(15) Agricultural workers
Employees engaged in tending crops, animals, game or forests, or operating agricultural or forestry machinery.

(16) Members of armed forces

(17) Occupation inadequately described

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a) **All Economically Active Persons**

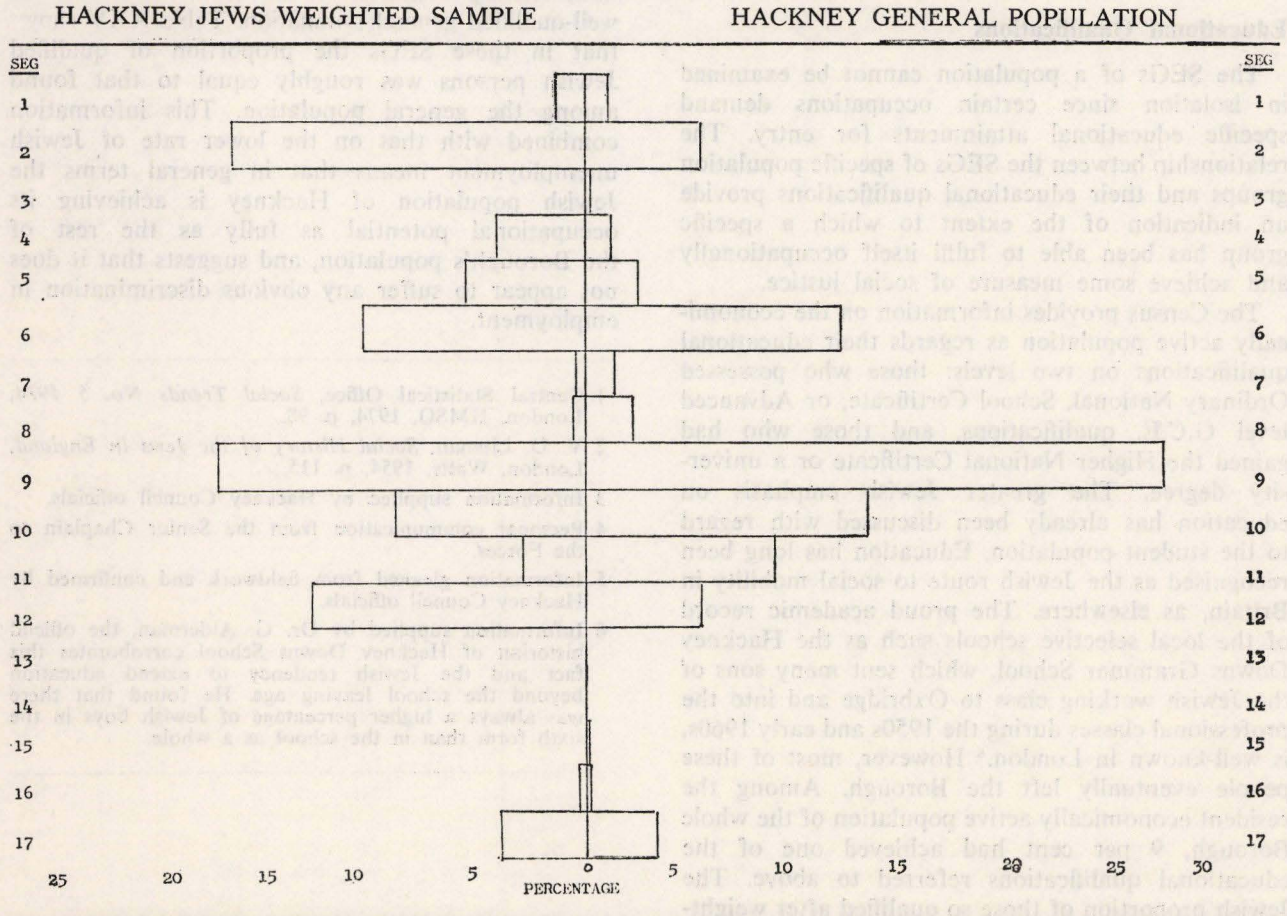
The vast majority of the total Hackney work force (72 per cent) fell into SEGs 6, 8 and 9, and 7 and 10, i.e., junior non-manual workers in Distribution, foremen and supervisors, and skilled manual workers in Manufacturing, and semi-skilled and personal service workers. The Jewish SEG profile shows greater diversification, and lesser intensities than the overall Hackney profile in SEGs 6 to 10. Jews demonstrated a greater proportional representation in SEGs 1 and 2, 5 and 12. The SEG 5 bias was caused by the greater involvement in intermediate non-manual work in Manufacturing, occupations such as warehouse foreman and dispatch managers. The Jewish over-representation in SEG12 is linked to the preference for self-employment since this category is composed of own account workers most of whom were involved in Transport and Services, the market traders and 'cab drivers' previously referred to.

b) **Male Earners**

The histogram on this page showing all 17 SEGs combined with the industrial breakdown in Tables XXI and XXII provides full details of the occupational situation of the economically active male population. For both the Jewish population, using a weighted sample of 115 men, and the general population, the largest occupational category was SEG 9, skilled manual workers with a heavy bias towards manufacturing. The only other categories accounting for more than 10 per cent of the general population were 6, 10 and 11. The Jewish SEG preferences were different from the norm. Table XXII had shown the largest grouping among all earners was SEGs 1 and 2. However more detailed analysis revealed that the overwhelming majority of these persons were in SEG 2; they were employers and managers of small businesses with under 25 employees. The Jewish proportion in large concerns, SEG 1, was almost exactly the Borough average. It is unlikely that someone in SEG 1, presumably in a high income bracket would reside in Hackney even if his work was there. As a comparison, in the prosperous outer suburban area of Barkingside 9 per cent of the males were in SEG 1 and 19 per cent in SEG 2.

The next highest SEG among the Jewish men in Hackney was number 12 and in this there was a much higher proportional bias towards Transport than in the general population. The overall impression one gains is that there was no major employment or occupational category that Jews completely avoided or from which they were excluded. The Jewish representation among the ranks of the professions, SEGs 3 and 4, is perhaps lower than one might expect but it does not reflect

The Socio-economic Groups of Economically Active Males



the real situation in the Borough since most of the Jewish professionals who work in Hackney live outside, as do most of the general gamut of such workers. The existence of one Jewish serviceman is not unusually disproportionate since there are around 400 Jews presently serving in the armed forces,[4] probably a ratio of 2 to 3 per mille of the Anglo-Jewish male working population.

c) **Female Earners**

The predominant female occupations among both the Jewish and the Hackney females were typists and clerks in Distribution; and semi-skilled work in Manufacturing and Distribution, that is in SEGs 6 and 10. The semi-skilled category in the case of Jewesses referred to fashion workers, sewing machinists, and assistants in family businesses. 10 per cent of Jewish women were own account workers and a further 10 per cent were managers or owners of small businesses. A higher proportion of Jewish women (10 per cent) than men fell into SEG 17, the unclassified occupations. There were no significant biases in the SEG profiles between married and unmarried women except in SEG 2. However, it is known that there were a significant number of women outworkers in the clothing industry who do not figure in official employment or census returns. In recent years their numbers have increased in proportion to the rate of closure of local clothing factories.[5]

Educational Qualifications

The SEGs of a population cannot be examined in isolation since certain occupations demand specific educational attainments for entry. The relationship between the SEGs of specific population groups and their educational qualifications provide an indication of the extent to which a specific group has been able to fulfil itself occupationally and achieve some measure of social justice.

The Census provides information on the economically active population as regards their educational qualifications on two levels: those who possessed Ordinary National, School Certificate, or Advanced level G.C.E. qualifications, and those who had gained the Higher National Certificate or a university degree. The greater Jewish emphasis on education has already been discussed with regard to the student population. Education has long been recognised as the Jewish route to social mobility in Britain, as elsewhere. The proud academic record of the local selective schools such as the Hackney Downs Grammar School, which sent many sons of the Jewish working class to Oxbridge and into the professional classes during the 1950s and early 1960s, is well-known in London.[6] However, most of these people eventually left the Borough. Among the resident economically active population of the whole Borough, 9 per cent had achieved one of the educational qualifications referred to above. The Jewish proportion of those so qualified after weighting was not much higher at 12 per cent. In terms of degrees and H.N.C.s, 5 per cent of the Jews and 3 per cent of the general population possessed these. These figures are much lower than those for the outer suburban Boroughs. In Barnet 31 per cent, and in Redbridge 21 per cent of the work force, had one or other of the higher educational qualifications. However, it must be remembered that the economically active Hackney Jews were a more immigrant and older population than either that of the whole Borough or the outer Boroughs referred to.

Table XXV

PERCENTAGE OF SEGs WITH HIGHER EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

SEG	*Hackney Jews*	*Total Population of Borough*
2	19	16
4	80	92
5	80	67
6	11	12
10	5	4
12	14	5

Jews with higher educational qualifications were found in SEGs 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, and 12. The census data revealed that educationally well-qualified Jews were mainly confined to the same SEGs as the well-qualified general population. Table XXV shows that in these SEGs the proportion of qualified Jewish persons was roughly equal to that found among the general population. This information combined with that on the lower rate of Jewish unemployment means that in general terms the Jewish population of Hackney is achieving its occupational potential as fully as the rest of the Borough's population, and suggests that it does not appear to suffer any obvious discrimination in employment.

1 Central Statistical Office, *Social Trends No. 5 1974*, London, HMSO, 1974, p. 98.

2 V. D. Lipman, *Social History of the Jews in England*, London, Watts, 1954, p. 115.

3 Information supplied by Hackney Council officials.

4 Personal communication from the Senior Chaplain to the Forces.

5 Information gleaned from fieldwork and confirmed by Hackney Council officials.

6 Information supplied by Dr. G. Alderman, the official historian of Hackney Downs School corroborates this fact and the Jewish tendency to extend education beyond the school leaving age. He found that there was always a higher percentage of Jewish boys in the sixth form than in the school as a whole.

Part Five

JEWISH COMMUNAL LIFE IN HACKNEY

A History of Jewish Settlement

The history of Jewish settlement in the Borough of Hackney stretches back into the 18th century, when the prosperous City merchants and financiers such as Benjamin Goldsmith, Abraham Lopes Pereira, and Jacob Fernandes Nunes, had their country houses at Stoke Newington and Stamford Hill. A local historian writing in 1842 mentions that:

> The village of Hackney was a place selected for retirement by many of that respectable class in society, the Jews, who located here many years ago; but at this time there are very few of that persuasion resident in the parish.
> The Jews belonging to the Hambro Synagogue have a burial ground in Grove Street, which was purchased and appropriated for that purpose about the year 1788. It was a copyhold of the Manor of Lordshold, and of some extent. The overseer of this synagogue at the time of the purchase, was a Mr. Solomons who then resided in Clapton House.[1]

Another early Jewish resident of the present Borough was Isaac Disraeli, the father of the 19th century Conservative Prime Minister. Isaac's house was in Church Street, Stoke Newington, and he died there in 1848.

The prosperous suburban nature of Jewish settlement was maintained throughout the 19th century. The area was largely settled as an overflow from the then growing community in Highbury and Canonbury. In 1874 the first synagogue was established at Birkbeck Road, Dalston at which time there were estimated to be about 700 Jewish families in the area.[2] General Booth of the Salvation Army in his London Survey of 1889 remarked that 'Dalston and Canonbury, are said to be among the first steps upward of the Whitechapel Jew'.[3] On his map of London Booth assigned these areas to the category of middle class 'well to do' and Zangwill in his writings referred to 'Dalston villadom'.[4]

It was obviously the more established and anglicised elements of the community who moved north into Hackney, and this was reflected in the religious sphere. In 1886 a Sephardi synagogue was established at Mildmay Park (it closed during the 1930s) and in the same year a **Beth Hamedrash** was opened in Newington Green Road which followed the Frankfurt **minhag** (ritual). 1886 also saw an Ashkenazi community established further north in Finsbury Park.

The South Hackney Synagogue had its origins in a small group which held services just off Mare Street (Dalston-Chatham ward boundary) in 1881. A synagogue was finally established in 1892 at Devonshire Road where it still stands. In 1897 this synagogue had 155 male members but by 1902 this figure had risen to 354, after which date the total remained static until 1913. Most of the members fell into Booth's lower-middle class category.

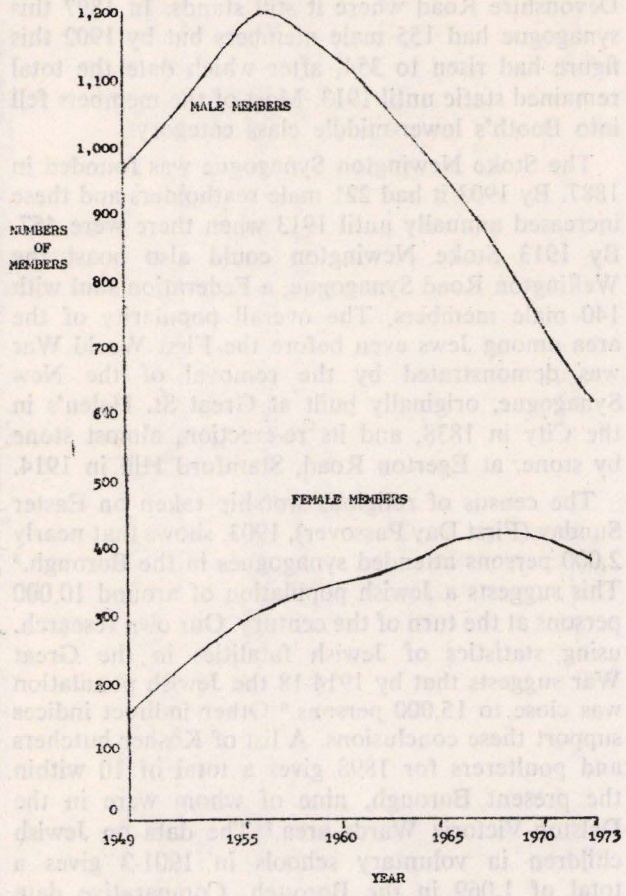
The Stoke Newington Synagogue was founded in 1887. By 1903 it had 221 male seatholders and these increased annually until 1913 when there were 457. By 1913 Stoke Newington could also boast the Wellington Road Synagogue, a Federation **shul** with 140 male members. The overall popularity of the area among Jews even before the First World War was demonstrated by the removal of the New Synagogue, originally built at Great St. Helen's in the City in 1838, and its re-erection, almost stone by stone, at Egerton Road, Stamford Hill in 1914.

The census of religious worship taken on Easter Sunday (First Day Passover), 1903, shows that nearly 2,000 persons attended synagogues in the Borough.[5] This suggests a Jewish population of around 10,000 persons at the turn of the century. Our own research, using statistics of Jewish fatalities in the Great War suggests that by 1914-18 the Jewish population was close to 15,000 persons.[6] Other indirect indices support these conclusions. A list of Kosher butchers and poulterers for 1898 gives a total of 10 within the present Borough, nine of whom were in the Dalston-Victoria Wards area.[7] The data on Jewish children in voluntary schools in 1901-2 gives a total of 1,069 in the Borough. Comparative data for 1909 shows a significant rise. For example the Sigdon Road Primary School which had the largest number of Jewish pupils, 286 in 1902, had increased its Jewish complement to 490 pupils by 1909.[8]

The overall population of the present-day London Borough of Hackney peaked in 1901 when it was 389,000. By 1939 the population had fallen by 15 per cent to 332,000, and by 1951 it was only 265,000. Yet throughout these years the Jewish population was rising while the general population was declining. The Jews moved into houses vacated by the earlier population and into new accommodation in flats in the private, trust, and council sectors. Research using local street directories and the 'Cohen count' method suggests that the Jewish population was around 20,000 in 1923. Cursory analysis of the 1939 voters' rolls indicates that the Jewish population was more evenly spread over the Borough before the War but it tended to avoid certain areas of Shoreditch. Many of the Jewish population then lived in the terraced housing in the central wards much of which was occupied in 1971 by the NC population.

More detailed analysis of the 1939 Jewish densities in the sample EDs reveals some interesting patterns.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE NEW SYNAGOGUE,
A CONSTITUENT MEMBER OF THE UNITED SYNAGOGUE,
1949-73.



In the private flats in ED 8, Cedra and Seymour Courts, the Jewish densities were similar to those in 1971, that is about 90 per cent.

The L.C.C.'s Stamford Hill Estate, built in 1931, part of which forms EDs 6 and 7, had a slightly higher density in 1939 than in 1971, i.e., about 72 per cent. In Evelyn Court, also erected in 1931, the Jewish density in 1939 was higher at 89 per cent. Oral evidence suggests that this may have been the high point of Jewish density in these blocks. However, it must be remembered that in Evelyn Court as in the other flat-type accommodation the population then consisted of younger persons and larger families than in 1971. Many of the families who went to Evelyn Court were children of persons living in the original industrial dwellings, Charlotte and Nathaniel de Rothschild Dwellings in Thrawl Street, Spitalfields. The Lewis Trust opposite Evelyn Court in Amhurst Road was about 50 per cent Jewish, as it was in 1971.

Between the wars the Federation of Synagogues began to penetrate the area as the immigrant population which supported the movement began to leave the East End and enter Hackney. During this period seven Federation synagogues acquired permanent premises within the Borough. Another new religious force in the area was the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, founded in 1926. This extremely observant Orthodox grouping, which had become such a visible force in the northern areas of the Borough by 1971, was originally mainly composed of Central European refugees who arrived after 1933. It was strengthened after 1945 by the arrival of East European survivors of the Holocaust who helped to form the basis of the Chassidic sub-group.

The Second World War and the Nazi bombing of the Docks, and their deliberate attacks on the civilian population of East London, led to a large-scale depopulation of the primary Jewish settlement area in the East End. Between 1939 and 1951 the population of the former Metropolitan Borough of Stepney fell by a half, from 197,000 to 99,000. The evacuation and the bombing accelerated the pace of Jewish emigration from the East End to Hackney, since returning servicemen and evacuees found their old homes destroyed. Thus in the post-war period Hackney readopted and enlarged its traditional role as a staging post for upwardly mobile Jews on their route to the outer suburbs and middle-class status.

In the early 1950s the Borough undoubtedly had the largest and densest Jewish population in Britain. An important element in this was the building of the Woodberry Down L.C.C. estate in the New River Ward 1948-51. This estate housed many of the homeless former East End residents. A political index of the Jewish movement into Hackney was that the postwar Fascist activity of Moseley's Union Movement was overwhelmingly centred in the Hackney area, especially around Ridley Road.

The male memberships of the five United Synagogues that served the Borough rose rapidly after the war along with the general trend for increased affiliation. It stood at 2,866 in 1949 and rose to a peak of 3,292 in 1958. After this it dropped rapidly to 1,905 in 1971 and 1,699 in 1973. Movement from the area during the 1960s led to the closing of the Dalston Synagogue in 1966.

The graph of the membership of the main US congregation, the New Synagogue, illustrates the aforementioned trend of movement into Hackney until the mid-1950s and the movement out during the 1960s. Similar trends are also discernible among the Federation's synagogues.

The synagogue affiliation statistics reflect the movement of the typical young Ashkenazi Anglo-Jew, the descendant of the 19th century Russian and Polish immigration, out of Hackney towards the Boroughs of Redbridge, Barnet and Enfield in the last two decades. The rise in the female membership shown in the graph is indicative of an ageing population since most female members are usually widows.

The wartime destruction in Tower Hamlets meant that the old primary immigrant reception

area to the east of the City which had served this function since the 17th century was no longer used by postwar immigrants, with the exception of the Bengalis. As a result, Hackney, which suffered a social and economic decline in the 1950s and 1960s, became a new primary settlement area for immigrants particularly West Indians, but also Cypriots, and some Eastern and Chassidic Jews. The Eastern Jews quickly followed the previous Ashkenazi migration pattern and in the late 1960s they began to move on towards North-west London, particularly Golders Green. The non-Chassidic Adath-Orthodox have also tended to move in the same direction in recent years. The result of all this is that by a process of attrition the Jewish population of Hackney has become increasingly composed of aged and poorer persons, or of the Chassidic sects. Economic factors concerned with house purchase slowed the pace of change during the 1970s. Whereas in the sixties the trend was for whole families to leave the area for the outer suburbs, in the last few years the tendency has been towards mainly young people leaving, and then, only when they marry and have to establish a new home.

Synagogues and Affiliation

There are many problems associated with analysis of synagogue membership statistics. Membership and the right to a seat in the synagogue and burial facilities always involves some payment. In Hackney multiple memberships and continued membership by persons who have left the Borough appear common. The reasons for this are varied and involve sentiment as well as apathy. The desire to be buried in consecrated ground is very strong among Anglo-Jews and this is often the reason for continued membership of a synagogue a person never attends. In this case there is an economic factor involved since membership of the Federation's synagogues in Hackney is cheaper than in the United Synagogue's congregations in the outer suburbs. In addition after a certain age transfer to another synagogal body involves heavy back payments for burial schemes. For similar reasons some Hackney residents still maintain membership of Synagogues in the East End.[9]

This feature of continued membership of an orthodox synagogue which one theoretically cannot attend without transgressing the Sabbath injunction against travel, except on foot, is most striking among the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue's members who are found all over London though one of their synagogues, Bevis Marks, is placed in the City.[10]

Within Hackney the potential synagogue member has a wide choice of synagogues and ideological groupings to choose from. The synagogue affiliation factor though difficult to estimate exactly is undoubtedly very high since ethnic sentiment and social pressure are known to be as great an inducement as any religious motivation. Carrier has stated that 'even the Communists were synagogue members because of pressure from their wives . . . only a minority of the very poor were not synagogue members and this was a source of worry to their wives'.[11]

The Jewish Year Book for 1971 lists 44 congregations within the Borough of Hackney. These were divided among the various religious groupings as follows:

United Synagogue	4
Federation of Synagogues	7
Independent Orthodox	1
Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations	28
Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues	1
Eastern Jewry	3

The United Synagogue, founded in 1870, is a highly structured and powerful organisation dominated by its lay leadership. It represents the Anglo-Jewish establishment and maintains the traditional Anglo-Jewish version of Orthodox Judaism. Its synagogues in Hackney are large, purpose built structures with big memberships. In 1971 the combined memberships of these four synagogues stood at 1,900 males and 1,150 females.

The Federation of Synagogues was formed in 1887 by a union of **Chevrot** (prayer groups) in the East End. These were overwhelmingly small East European immigrant establishments, whose members found the United Synagogue of that day too liberal and too anglicised in its approach to Judaism. One result of this is that in general the leadership of the Federation has been more working-class and more religious than its older rival. The typical Federation synagogue is the West Hackney in Amhurst Road, directly opposite Evelyn Court and adjacent to the Lewis Trust, with a catchment area population of 1,500-2,000 working-class Jews in these two estates alone in its heyday in the early 1950s. Similarly the Montague Road **Beth Hamedrash** (House of Learning) is situated by another of the Lewis Trust blocks and Navarino Mansions. The Federation's 'cathedral synagogue' built along United Synagogue lines is the **Sha'are Shomayim** (Gates of Heaven) in Lea Bridge Road. The Federation has a good system of religious education, the **Talmud Torah,** in the area, but its East End image resulted in an inability to penetrate among the anglicised and socially mobile younger population in the outer suburbs. In general its synagogues are smaller and the membership more elderly than that of the other religious bodies. In 1971 the Federation had about 2,000 male and 1,000 female members in its Hackney congregations.

The North London Progressive Synagogue, which stands on the extreme left of the Anglo-Jewish theological spectrum, claimed a membership of 600 families in 1971. However, its approach to the use of the mechanical transport on the Sabbath allows it to recruit persons to its services from a

wide catchment area which includes most of North London. This is the only synagogue in Hackney which allows men and women to sit alongside one another, and uses English in its services.

The Eastern Synagogues probably consisted of around 300 families in 1971. The Persian and Bokharan Synagogue, founded in 1948, is comprised of a small number of families from Northern Iran, the Meshedi, who have a unique history and prefer to maintain their separate identity. The main Eastern Jewry Synagogue, the **Gan Eden** (Garden of Eden), was founded in 1955, and has a membership of Indians and others originating from Near Eastern and North African States. A number of families from the Adeni community, who came to Britain after the British Government evacuated the Colony in 1967, have also founded their own small congregation.

The Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, the Adath grouping, founded in 1926 by Rabbi Victor Schonfeld, lies on the far right of the theological spectrum. The organisation's main strength is in Hackney where it has a large number of small congregations who all have in common a membership which is fully observant of all the complex religious laws and precepts of traditional Judaism. In 1971 the male membership stood at about 2,000 divided among the 28 separate congregations representing a total population of around 8,000 persons. Many of these **Stieblech** meet in homes and the members tend to have very little contact with the mainstream of Anglo-Jewish or secular life. In such groups lay leadership is minimal and the rabbi is dominant because of his learning and scholarship.

The differences in ritual and practice among these groups, are of interpretation and emphasis, more than substance. Most of the major subgroupings can be identified by national origin. There is the basic German model of the North London Beth Hamedrash, now the **Adath Yisroel** (Congregation of Israel). Another variant is the **Litvak mitnagdim** (Lithuanian) approach which is close to the original orthodoxy of the most observant of the immigrant generation.

The final Adath-Orthodox variant are the Chassidim, followers of a pietist movement which rose in the Ukraine in the 18th century. In Hackney in 1971 they probably accounted for around 800 households.[12] Their most enthusiastic members are distinguished by their traditional garb of **gartel** (waist band), **bekeshes** (caftan), and **streimel** (fur hat) along with a beard. There are six main Chassidic groups in Hackney the Belz, Bobov, Gur, Lubavitch, Satmar and Vishnitz. They are distinguished from each other by the **rebbe** (rabbi) whom they follow and the type of uniform they adopt on the Sabbath. These dynastic leaders, who live in New York or Israel, receive tremendous respect and adoration from their followers in Hackney to whom they pay occasional pastoral visits.

Ancillary Religious Facilities

Observant Jews require a complicated infrastructure of ancillary services to support their life-style and these are all readily available in Hackney. The dietary laws, or Kashrut, proscribe certain foods such as the pig and shell fish. They also require that certain types of foods should be prepared in specific ways, and that dairy and meat products should not come into contact. Butchers, poulterers, bakers, and grocers, who uphold these laws and practices and also adhere to Sabbath observance by closing, are licensed by religious authorities and given a **hechsher** (seal of approval) to say they are kosher. In Hackney in 1971 there were 21 kosher butchers out of a total of about 100 in all London. There were also 8 kosher poulterers and 9 kosher bakers. In addition the area was amply served by delicatessen. The bakeries and delicatessen draw on a clientele which is not necessarily religiously motivated. Such customers are interested in traditional ethnic foods such as black bread, bagels, cheese cake and olives, which have no religious connotation and are merely cultural forms. In much the same way the Jewish shops in Ridley Road now stand side-by-side with shops selling yams and green bananas to cater for a new and different clientele. On the other hand the kosher restaurants and hotels in Hackney draw their custom almost solely from the observant.

Other religious facilities which cater almost entirely for Orthodox persons are the **mikvaot** (women's ritual baths) and the Shaatnez Research Laboratory. The latter ensures that clothing does not transgress the Biblical injunction against wearing a mixture of wool and linen.

The facilities the fully observant Jews require necessitate them living in a geographically compact area in order to provide the necessary market. However, apart from the resident population, Jews who work in the area and others from outside areas without such facilities do make use of Hackney's services. One result is that Northern Hackney has the characteristics of a typical Jewish area since many of the retail outlets owned by the observant element are closed on Saturdays and Festivals. Under the 1950 Shops Act such establishments, once they have registered with the local authority, open on Sundays.

Social Welfare

Many of the Jewish welfare bodies have institutions and facilities in the Borough. These are used by local residents and persons from outside the local authority area who seek a formal Jewish environment.[13] Since 1945 and the establishment of the Welfare State, the Jewish communal welfare organisations have where possible been integrated into the national or local system; or work in close co-operation with them. One example of the former situation is the Bearsted Memorial Hospital, the Jewish maternity hospital, which started life in

the East End in 1895 as the Sick Room Help's Society, and opened as a new hospital at Stoke Newington in 1947. The following year it was integrated into the new National Health Service with special provisions, such as kosher food, to maintain its sectarian nature.

The Jewish Blind Society, established in 1819, has a day centre in Stamford Hill. The Jewish Deaf Association runs a club and advice centre in Cazenove Road and has a home, hospital, and residential centre for children, not far away in Tottenham. The elderly are catered for by the Jewish Welfare Board's day centres and homes. In 1971 the Board provided residential accommodation at the Joel Emanuel Almshouses and Julius and Annie Wix House.[14]

The Association of Jewish ex-Servicemen and Women (AJEX) opened Ajex House in 1971, to care for disabled war veterans.

The bedridden and elderly, who live in their own homes but cannot fend for themselves, are served by the volunteer helpers of the Victoria (Hackney) Kosher Meals on Wheels Service, which provides a daily hot meal.

A variety of formal social, cultural, and sporting organisations, such as the Jewish Lads' Brigade, Lubavitch House, Bnei Akiva, and the Federation of Zionist Youth, are available to local Jewish youth. Some of these are attached to synagogues and meet on their premises, others use members' homes, and their own premises. The inner London area has traditionally possessed a number of very successful Jewish youth clubs with their own premises and trained youth workers. These clubs were important acculturating agents in earlier years and placed much emphasis on sports teams playing in Sunday and Jewish leagues, and recreational facilities. The population decline caused the Stamford Hill Associated Clubs, founded in 1934 to close in 1971. However, the Victoria Boys and Girls Club, formed in 1901 for working youth, continued to operate in Stamford Hill. This club had moved from the East End to Hackney in the early 1950s and has its own centre. The Adath-Orthodox youth have very little social contact with the rest of the population since they insist on the separation of the sexes in all youth activities.

Educational Facilities

Most Jewish parents in Hackney desire some form of Jewish religious education for their children. The majority of Jewish schoolchildren in London attend the ordinary state schools and merely supplement this with evening or Sunday morning Hebrew and religion classes at the local synagogue which are known as **chederim.** In Hackney the proportion of children receiving full-time education in sectarian schools is comparatively high. In 1971, 450 children attended Jewish nursery schools. Among the Adath-Orthodox section at the primary level, almost 100 per cent attended the 9 private and 1 voluntary-aided Jewish day schools in Hackney which catered for them. These schools where half the time was spent on Jewish subjects had 1,172 pupils in 1971. There was also the Clapton Jewish Day School with 450 pupils which devoted more time to secular academic work in which it attained a high reputation. Many of its pupils came from outside the Borough.[15]

At the secondary level there were fewer Jewish schools. The two Yesodey Hatorah Schools each catering for a single sex, and the Lubavitch Girls School, had a total of 300 pupils in 1971.[16] Many Hackney Jewish children were among the 1,300 pupils at the J.F.S. Comprehensive in Camden Town. This modern, new school is the successor to the famous Jews' Free School at Spitalfields which was founded in 1817.

There are a number of small higher or further religious educational establishments in Hackney run by the Adath-Orthodox. Many of the students come from all over Britain and abroad to attend these **yeshivot** (talmudical colleges) and **kolelim** (higher rabbinical institutes) which are run on traditional lines by eminent rabbis. These are not vocational institutes for training rabbis but follow the time-honoured Jewish practice of learning **Torah** (religious law) for its own sake.

Public Life

Jews have actively participated and been prominent in all its aspects of civic life in Hackney. They have been members of local councils since the beginning of the century and have often provided mayors. Some of the outstanding incumbents of mayoral office in the former metropolitan boroughs and present London Borough have been Samuel Fisher now Lord Fisher of Camden, President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews since 1973, the coronation year and first Jewish Mayor of Stoke Newington; Mrs. Millie Miller also Mayor of Stoke Newington and M.P. for Redbridge, Ilford North since October, 1974; Mr. Stanley Clinton Davis Mayor of Hackney in 1968 and M.P. for Hackney Central since 1970. Hackney's Mayor for 1975 is Mr. Arthur Super, a prominent member of the Board of Deputies. Given the political complexion of the Borough's voters it is not perhaps surprising that all these persons are Labour Party members, but in 1968 when the Conservatives won control of Hackney in the great Tory swing in Inner London, Jews were also well represented. In 1971 when Labour reasserted its traditional dominance by winning all 60 council seats there were 11 Jewish councillors.

Hackney's other Jewish M.P. in 1971 was David Weitzman who has held Stoke Newington and Hackney North for Labour since 1945. Even half a century earlier there were Jewish M.P.s in Hackney but in those days they were all Liberals. In 1923 the member for Hackney Central was Sir Arthur Levy Lever and in 1924 it was Leonard Franklin, while Stoke Newington was won by Dr. G. E. Spero.

Postcript

The study has shown that the Jewish population of Hackney is a variegated and diverse group of people. However, most of them felt that they had some links or group identity in common, whether culturally or religiously-based, and they were certainly seen as a cohesive ethnic grouping by other Hackney residents. Many of the Adath-Orthodox are happy to remain distant from both the mainstream of Anglo-Jewish life and many facets of twentieth century urban civilisation, but the poor and aged, like many other inner city dwellers, have a feeling that they are a forgotten people living in physical insecurity in a high crime area.

It is hoped that this study will bring to the attention of the Jewish community and all our fellow British citizens, that there still exists, in the 1970s, a Jewish proletariat in the inner city whose needs must not be forgotten. With such knowledge we in Britain may learn from the mistakes of American society when dealing with the complex problems of poor multi-ethnic neighbourhoods.

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1 W. Robinson, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Hackney in the County of Middlesex*, London, Nichols, 1842, I, 210.

2 V. D. Lipman, 'The Rise of Jewish Suburbia', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, XXI (1968), 86.

3 C. Booth, *The Life and Labour of the People in London*, London, 1889, I, 153.

4 I. Zangwill, *Ghetto Tragedies*, London, Heinemann, 1907, p. 4.

5 R. Mudie Smith, ed., *The Religious Life of London*, London, 1904, pp. 265-6.

6 B. A. Kosmin and N. Grizzard, 'The Jewish dead in the Great War as an indicator for Anglo-Jewish demography and class stratification in 1914', Research Unit, Board of Deputies, 1974, unpublished paper.

7 *The Jewish Year Book 5659*, London, Greenberg, 1898, pp. 76-7.

8 *The Jewish Year Book 5663* (1903), p. 75; *The Jewish Year Book 5670* (1910), pp. 90-1.

9 Prof. Prais' research on synagogue membership in 1970-1 revealed that 21 per cent of the Congregation of Jacob's members lived in Hackney. This is a Federation Synagogue in Commercial Road, E.1. 7 per cent of the members of United Synagogue congregations in Tower Hamlets lived in Hackney.

10 4% of the current members of the Bevis Marks were found to live in the City and Tower Hamlets. The rest were spread over 25 of the London Boroughs, 8 of the regions, and 9 foreign countries.

11 Carrier, p. 140.

12 The actual number of households in 1975 is higher due to immigration into the area. However, a fair number of Chassidim live just over the Borough boundary in South Tottenham.

13 In many of the secular clubs and centres for the elderly there are Jewish social environments because of a Jewish majority among the users, e.g., The Hackney Association of Work Rooms for the Elderly Centre at Buccleuch House, Clapton Common.

14 By 1975 the Jewish Welfare Board was involved in building two major housing projects for 150 elderly persons.

15 This school is now State aided and known as the Simon Marks Jewish Primary School.

16 M. Davis, ed., *Let my People Know*, London, Office of the Chief Rabbi, 1971, pp. 32-4.

SMALL AREA STATISTICS (WARD LIBRARY) — 100% POPULATION — CENSUS 1971

1

Total population present
Visitors res. in L.A.
Visitors to L.A. res. in G.B.
Visitors to G.B.
Total pop. in private H/H
Res. at address of enum.
Total pop. not in private H/H
Res. in the estab.

2 NOT IN PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS

	All present		Resident staff		Other residents	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Hotels & B/Houses						
Children's homes						
Old people's homes						
Psychiatric hosps.						
Other hospitals						
Schools & colleges						
Other non-pvte H/H						
Total						

3 RESIDENTS WITH NEITHER PARENT BORN IN U.K.

AGE	BOTH PARENTS BORN IN NEW C. SWDM	MM	SWDF	MF	OTHERS SWDM	MM	SWDF	MF
0–4								
5–14								
15–24								
25–34								
35–44								
45–54								
55–64								
65+								
Total								
TotalE.A.								

4 AGES TO 21 YEARS

	Males	Females
0		
1		
2		
3		
4		
0–4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
5–9		
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
10–14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		

5 AGES OF ALL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE

	Males	FEMALES SWD	FEMALES Married
0–14			
15–			
20–			
25–			
30–			
35–			
40–			
45–			
50–			
55–			
60–			
65–			
70–			
75–			
Total			
Working			
Seek wk			
Sick			
Retired			
Other			

6 PERSONS NOT IN PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS

	MALES SWD	MALES Married	FEMALES SWD	FEMALES Married
0–14				
15–				
20–				
25–				
30–				
35–				
40–				
45–				
50–				
55–				
60–				
65–				
70–				
75–				
Total				
Working				
Seek wk				
Sick				
Retired				
Other				

7 PERSONS PRESENT IN PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS

	MALES SWD	MALES Married	FEMALES SWD	FEMALES Married	Children ever born to married women
0–14					
15–					
20–					
25–					
30–					
35–					
40–					
45–					
50–					
55–					
60–					
65–					
70–					
75–					
Total					
Working					
Seek wk					
Sick					
Retired					
Other					

8 BIRTHPLACES OF PRES RESIDENTS

	Males	Females
England		
Scotland		
Wales		
N.I. etc.		
Irish Rep.		
Old C.		
New C.		
Africa		
America		
Ceylon		
India		
Pakistan		
Far East Rem.		
Other Eur.		
O.F. & N.S.		

9 BIRTHPLACES OF THOSE ENTERING U.K. AFTER 1960

	Males	Females
Irish Rep.		
Old C.		
New C.		
Other Eur.		
O.F. & N.S.		

10 NUMBER E.A. PER 1000 OF:

Age 15 or over	Males age 15 or over	Females age 15 or over	Married Females private H/holds

11 NUMBER PER 1000 PERS PRES IN PRIVATE H/HOLDS

Aged 0–4	Aged 5–14	Stds 15 or over	Male 65 or over	Fem 60 or over	Married Females aged 16–29	30–44	45–59

12 CHILDREN EVER BORN PER 100 MARR FEM IN PVTE H/HOLDS AGED

16–29	30–44	45–59

13 NUMBER PER 1000 PRESENT RESIDENTS

Both parents born N.C.		One Parent N.C.	Person born in		
Born GB	Born NC	Born NC	G.B.	N Ireland	Irish Rep.

14 NUMBER OF VISITORS PER 1000 PERSONS PRESENT

Res GB	Others

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APPENDIX

Census Print-out Sheets

SMALL AREA STATISTICS (WARD LIBRARY) — 100% HOUSEHOLDS — CENSUS 1971

15	Present	Absent	With 1 car	2 or more cars
H'holds				
Persons				

16	Occupied	Vacant	No hot water	No bath	No inside W.C.	With 3 aments.
Dwellings						
Sh'd dwellings						

17	Vacant Dw'l'g	Absent h'hld	Hotels & boarding houses
Rooms			

18 NUMBER PER 1000 PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS-PRESENT

Owner Occ	Council	Unfurnished	Furnished	Not Stated	H'holds in sh'd dw'l'gs	All aments. excl.	Other all aments.	Share or lack hot w.	Share or lack bath	Share inside W.C.	No inside W.C.	Persons per room: Over 1	Over 1½ to 1½	Over ½ to 1	½-½	Less than ½	Rooms: 1-3	Rooms: 7+	One person H'holds: All h'holds	One person H'holds: Pens. pers.	Two person households: All h'holds	Two person households: One pension	Two person households: Two Pensions	No car

19 PRESENT PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS WITH FOLLOWING ROOMS

	1 or 2	3	4	5	6	7 or more	Total households	Total rooms
1 person								
2 persons								
3 "								
4 "								
5 "								
6 "								
7 or more								
Total H/holds								
Total persons								

20 HOUSEHOLD TYPE

Adults (Aged 16 or over) in Household	No child	Children aged 0-14 in household: One child 0-4	One child 5-14	Two or more children: All 0-4	All 5-14	Others	Persons	Persons E.A
One pensionable (male)								
" " (female)								
One other (male)								
" " (female)								
2+ all pensionable								
2+ none "								
2+ only one not pens.								
Others								
All adult type								

All in non-perm. bldgs.	H											
	P											
In perm. bldgs.												
Owner Occupier	H											
	P											
Council, New Town, SSHA	H											
	P											
Private unfurnished	H											
	P											
Private furnished	H											
	P											
Not stated	H											
	P											
All in sh'd dwellings	H											
	P											
do. without excl. stove and sink	H											
	P											

21

All aments. excl.	Other all aments.	Share or lack hot. water	Bath: Share	Bath: Lack	Inside W.C.: Share	Inside W.C.: Lack	Persons per room: Over 1½	Persons per room: Over 1 to 1½	No car

CROWN COPYRIGHT

Area name

Grid reference

CENSUS 1971

10% SAMPLE

22 ONE YEAR MIGRANTS WITHIN L.A.A. / ONE YEAR MIGRANTS INTO L.A.A.

Age	S.W.D. Males	Married Males	S.W.D. Females	Married Females	S.W.D. Males	Married Males	S.W.D. Females	Married Females
1-4								
5-14								
15-								
25-								
35-								
45-								
65 60								
Total								

Age	FIVE YEAR MIGRANTS WITHIN L.A.A.	FIVE YEAR MIGRANTS INTO L.A.A.
5-		
15-		
25-		
35-		
45-		
65 80		
Total		

24 HOURS OF WORK OF WOMEN IN EMPLOYMENT

WOMENS AGE	All women: Under 8hrs	All women: 8-30hrs	All women: Over 30hrs	Married women: Under 8hrs	Married women: 8-30hrs	Married women: Over 30hrs	Married women with children aged under 5: Under 8hrs	Married women with children aged under 5: 8-30hrs	Married women with children aged under 5: Over 30hrs
15-									
25-									
35-									
45-									
60-									
Working in LAA									
Working ex LAA									

S.E.G. of h'hold head	**27** HEAD 5 YEAR MIGRANT WITHIN L.A.A. Households	Persons	HEAD 5 YEAR MIGRANT INTO L.A.A. Households	Persons	TOTAL Cars & Vans	
1 2 13						
3 4						
5 6						
8 9 12 14						
7 10 15						
11						
16 17						
Total inc. N.C.						

S.E.G.	**23** ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE OR RETIRED: BY S.E.G. OF HEAD Households	Persons	S.E.G. OF Persons	ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE: Males	Females	Married Females	PERSONS IN EMPLOYMENT: With O.N. or school cert. or 'A' level	With H.N. or degree	Occupn change in year	Working outside LAA	PERSONS ACTIVE BUT NOT IN EMPLOYMENT	RETIRED MALES
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												
8												
9												
10												
11												
12												
13												
14												
15												
16												
17												
Total												
	NEVER ACTIVE			INACTIVE			NOT IN EMPLOYMENT					
Students												
Women < 60												
Others												
Total												

25

	NUMBER OF FAMILIES WITH NUMBER OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN: 0	1	2	3	4	5+
Lone parent						
Married couple						

GROUPED S.E.G.	**26** TRAVEL TO WORK BY: Car	Bus	Train	M.Cycle	P.Cycle	Foot & none	Other & not stated
1 2 13							
3 4							
5							
6							
8 9							
7 10 15							
11							
12 14							
16 17							
Working in LAA							
Working ex LAA							
Self employed							

27 INDUSTRY OF EMPLOYED PERSON: Agriculture	Mining	Manufacture	Construction	Utilities, Transport	Distribution Civ. Services	Nat. & Local Govt. & Def.

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