

**REPORT OF THE
COMMUNITY POLICY RESEARCH GROUP**

BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF BRITISH JEWS

Population Trends among Britain's Strictly Orthodox Jews

Daniel Vulkan and David Graham

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Executive Summary

- Births** We estimate that 1,056 Jewish babies were born in Stamford Hill (London) and Broughton Park (Manchester) during 2007. In addition, between 250 and 350 other babies were born to strictly Orthodox Jews elsewhere.
- Marriages** Since 1990 the total number of strictly Orthodox marriages in Britain has been increasing at an annual average rate of 4.0%. Of the 283 couples whose engagements were announced in Stamford Hill in 2007, 69% involved one non-British partner.
- Population size** We estimate the size of Britain's strictly Orthodox population to be between 22,800 and 36,400 people (mid-point 29,600). This is out of about 300,000 Jews in Britain. Strictly Orthodox Jews comprise one third (33%) of all Jewish children (under 18) in this country.
- Annual growth rate** The average annual growth of Britain's strictly Orthodox population from the early 1990s to the present (2007) has been at about 4% per annum.

Introduction

This report presents demographic and community statistics relating to Britain's strictly Orthodox Jewish population and is the first time such data have been compiled into a single report. It should **not** be read as a definitive statement on the demography of this group, but rather a summary of what is currently known statistically about *haredim* in Britain.

Since there is no formal definition of '*haredi*' or 'strictly Orthodox', terms which we use interchangeably, we have where possible relied on self-definition and therefore only include individuals and households appearing in published datasets claiming to represent this group (outlined in Appendix A). We stress that there is no '*haredi* community' as such; rather this is an umbrella term to describe Jews who emphasise a strict adherence to Orthodox Judaism. In addition, the boundaries between this group and the rest of the Jewish population are far from clear cut; however we estimate that they represent between 8% and 12% of the 300,000 or so Jews in Britain. At younger age cohorts, however, the proportion is higher; we estimate that about a third (33%) of British Jews under the age of 18 are strictly Orthodox.

The *haredi* population tends not to be concentrated in the same Jewish clusters as the rest of the Jewish population although there is some overlap especially in North-west London. The largest concentrations are in:

- Stamford Hill in North London – which for the purposes of this report is defined as the five wards of Brownswood, Cazenove, Lordship, New River and Springfield in the London Borough of Hackney, plus the ward of Seven Sisters in the London Borough of Haringey.
- Broughton Park in North Manchester incorporating the wards of Broughton and Kersal in Salford, and Sedgley in the Borough of Bury.
- There are also *haredim* in the Borough of Gateshead in Tyne and Wear, and in the wards of Golders Green, Hendon and Edgware in the London Borough of Barnet.

Strictly Orthodox Births

Circumcision data are collected annually by the Board of Deputies and used to estimate the size of Jewish birth cohorts. However, as noted in our report *Community Statistics 2006* (Graham and Vulkan, 2007), these data do not distinguish between denominations. They do not therefore provide a means of determining the number of babies born in the strictly Orthodox community, making it necessary to turn to other sources. One method is to record the number of *shalom zachar* (שלום זכר) ceremonies in the community. This is a celebration which takes place on the first Friday night after the birth of a male child, and is observed customarily by Orthodox Jews of Ashkenazi origin. Notices of such celebrations in Stamford Hill are published in *Kol Mevasser* (see Appendix A).

For various reasons (such as birth timings or religious holidays) not all male births are recorded as *shalom zachars*; however residual births are published in a separate section of *Kol Mevasser*.

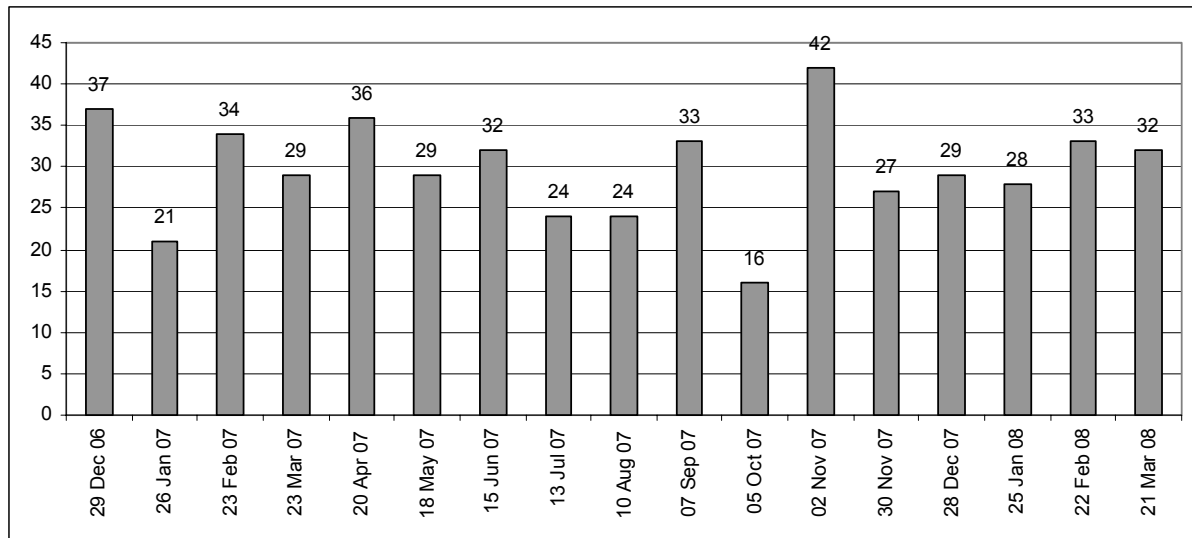
Stamford Hill – Births

Graph 1 shows the total number of *shalom zachar* ceremonies and other male births aggregated into 4-weekly cohorts for the period December 2006 (when data started being collected by the Board) to March 2008. Using these data as a proxy for strictly Orthodox **male** births, the average number of births per week during this 16 month period was 7.4; the total number of births for 2007 (January to December) was 376.

Kol Mevasser also includes announcements of some female births. However, since the number of these is significantly lower than the number of male birth announcements, it is clear that the records are incomplete. Therefore the total number of female births must be estimated by imputation. Assuming that the male to female birth ratio is the same for the *haredim* as that of the national population of England and Wales,¹ we obtain a total estimate of 14.5 births per week in Stamford Hill, and 735 for the period from January 2007 to December 2007.

¹ Using the most recent ratio available (1.955 in 2006). Source: ONS, 2007 FM1

Graph 1: *Shalom zachar* ceremonies in Stamford Hill, 4-weekly totals,* December 2006 to March 2008



Source: *Kol Mevaser*, various dates

* Bars show total births in the four week period up to the date shown

It can be seen in Graph 1 that the number of announcements rather varies throughout the year. The dip in October 2007 we attribute to the High Holidays interrupting the publication cycle. Given that the strictly Orthodox population is growing, it is perhaps surprising that the data in Graph 1 show little evidence of growth over the period. One possible explanation for this is suggested by the marriage data summarised in Graph 3 on page 10. These show a decline in marriages in the most recent period, which will have had a knock-on effect for births. However it is also possible that this is simply a result of the *shalom zachar* data covering a relatively short period; records over the longer term would be required to draw more concrete conclusions about trends.

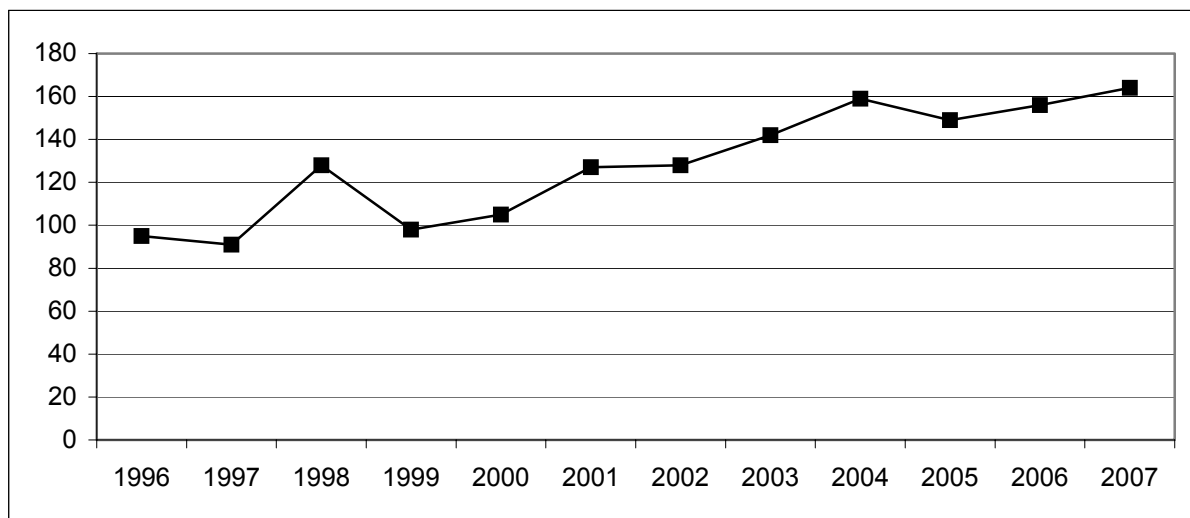
It should also be noted that not all male births are necessarily announced in *Kol Mevaser*. For example, it is thought that a number of members of the Lubavitch community choose not to do so. In addition, the *shalom zachar* ceremony is traditionally an Ashkenazi celebration (and *Kol Mevaser* is published in Yiddish) which suggests that it does not include the Sephardi and Mizrahi communities. It is not known exactly how many male births go unannounced but it is unlikely to be a substantial number given the smaller size of these other communities.

Broughton Park, Manchester – Births

Shalom zachars are also reported in Broughton Park in their *Moidoos* (מודעות) announcement list. However, this is a relatively new publication (first produced in July 2006), and its coverage is not thought to be as comprehensive as *Kol Mevasser*.

We therefore use a secondary source of *shalom zachar* data for Manchester, which covers a period of over a decade, namely figures that have been collated by Martin Stern². These data are understood to cover the majority of the strictly Orthodox population in North Manchester, and are summarised in Graph 2.

Graph 2: *Shalom zachar* announcements for Broughton Park, 1996 to 2007



Source: Martin Stern

Over this period, the number of *shalom zachar* announcements recorded has been increasing at an average of 5.5% pa. The most recent figure of 164 *shalom zachar* announcements would lead us to impute a total of 321 strictly Orthodox births in Manchester between January 2007 and December 2007.

² We are grateful to Mr Stern for permitting us to publish these figures.

Total Number of Strictly Orthodox Births in Britain

In total these data sources suggest that at least 1,056 *haredi* babies were born during 2007 of which 30.4% were born in Broughton Park. This does not include any babies born to *haredi* Jews in North-west London or Gateshead; however, based on the ratio of the number of strictly Orthodox Jews in these two areas to the national strictly Orthodox population, we estimate that between 250 and 350 babies may be added to this total.

Haredi Schoolchildren

Jewish school enrolment data offer a useful indication of the size of the school-age population which in turn can be used to estimate the size of subsequent birth cohorts. Strictly Orthodox children tend to be educated in Jewish schools catering specifically to their religious needs. We assume that any child attending what we have termed a '*haredi* school' (see Appendix B) is from a strictly Orthodox family.

Stamford Hill

Some children attending strictly Orthodox schools in Stamford Hill may not actually live there; they may commute in from other parts of London. Equally, it is not the case that every *haredi* child in Stamford Hill attends these schools since some will attend schools outside the area.

In 2007 there were 18 Jewish day schools in Stamford Hill catering solely for strictly Orthodox children. Table 1 shows the number of pupils enrolled in these 18 schools for the 2006/07 academic year, as recorded in the school census as at January 2007, carried out by what was then the Government's Department for Education and Skills (DfES).

Table 1: Enrolment in strictly Orthodox schools in Stamford Hill, 2006/07*

Year Group	Age at Start of Year	Boys	Girls	Total
Reception	4	272	294	566
Year 1	5	262	235	497
Year 2	6	272	287	559
Year 3	7	253	271	524
Year 4	8	226	247	473
Year 5	9	255	238	493
Year 6	10	213	224	437
Year 7	11	213	239	452
Year 8	12	119	226	345
Year 9	13	20	198	218
Year 10	14	10	199	209
Year 11	15	1	197	198

Source: EduBase, DfES

* See Appendix B for a list of the schools we include.

The table shows an average of 500 children in each year from Reception (age four) through to Year 7 (age 11) inclusive. Although there are fluctuations from year to year, the trend suggests a growth rate of 3.3% p.a. with each successive cohort, an indication of rising numbers of births in the last decade.

Extrapolating from these figures, we obtain estimates ranging between 600 and 700 for the number of children born in the period from September 2006 to August 2007. This compares to our imputed figure for 2007 of 735 based on *shalom zachar* announcements (see above).

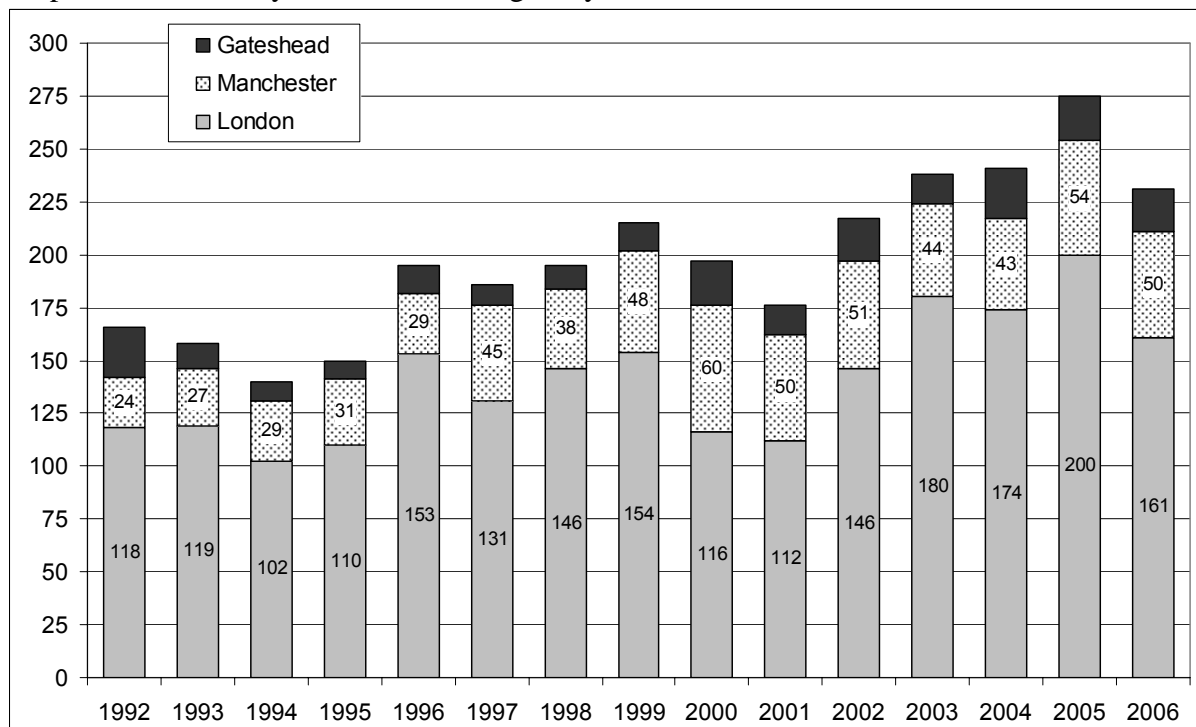
According to the 2001 Census, the total number of Jewish children aged 0-2 in the six wards comprising Stamford Hill was 968 (ONS Table T52), implying an annual birth cohort of around 323. In the academic year 2006/07, these children would have been variously in school years 1 through 4. Table 1 shows a significantly higher number of pupils in each of these years; the difference in this case is almost certainly evidence of underenumeration of the strictly Orthodox population in the 2001 Census (see Graham and Waterman, 2005).

It can also be observed from Table 1 that the attendance figures for boys from Years 8 through 11 show a dramatic fall-off to almost zero. This is due to boys leaving these schools around the age of *bar mitzvah* in order to attend *yeshivot* (seminaries for young, unmarried men).

Strictly Orthodox Marriages

The Board of Deputies collects data each year on the number of marriages which have taken place in synagogues in Britain. Graph 3 shows the total number of marriages taking place in strictly Orthodox synagogues by geographical area, for the 15-year period 1992 to 2006. The data show irregular growth over the period and also suggest that there has been a slight shift of the population away from London towards Manchester.³

Graph 3: Total strictly Orthodox marriages, by area, 1992-2006

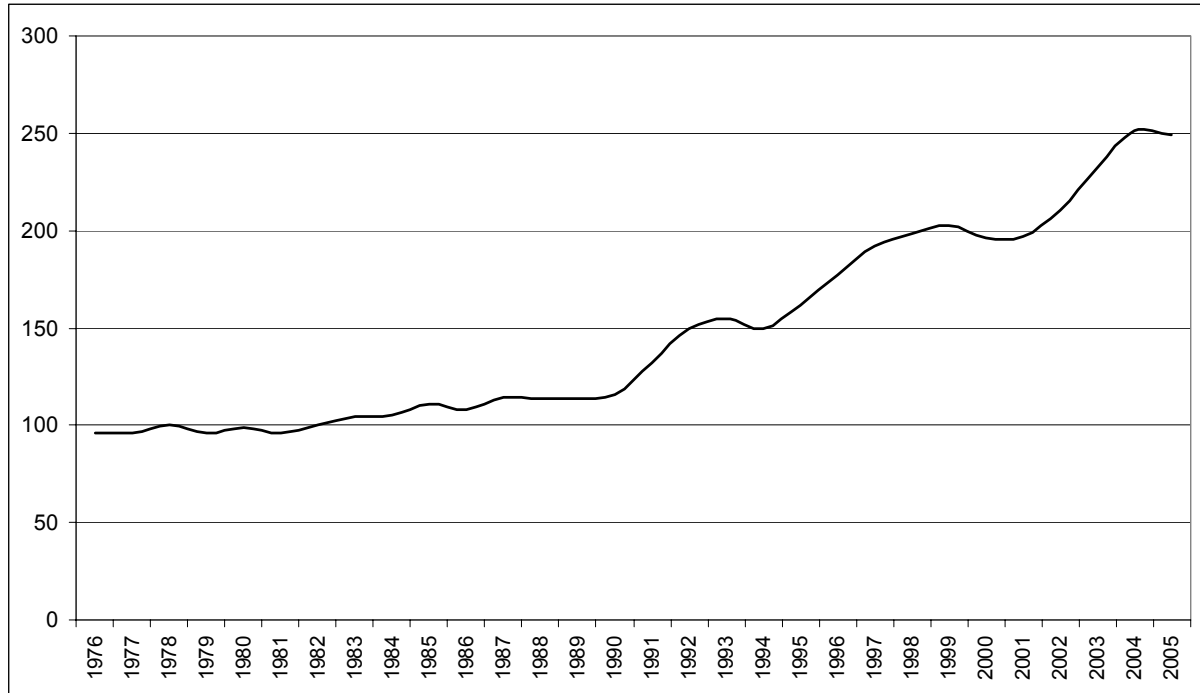


Source: Board of Deputies of British Jews, various years

³ It should be noted that marriage-related data are also published in *Kol Mevaser*; however they are incomplete, and therefore have not been reproduced here.

Graph 4 shows the long term trend for strictly Orthodox marriages. It is clear that the number of marriages in the community was fairly static in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. But from 1990 onwards considerable growth was experienced in what appear to be five-yearly cycles. Since 1990 the absolute number of strictly Orthodox marriages has been increasing at an annual average rate of 4.0%. The data suggest strong population growth in the longer term as those marrying raise their own families.

Graph 4: Long term trend in strictly Orthodox marriages, 3-year average trend line, Britain



Source: Board of Deputies of British Jews, various years

Migration

There is anecdotal evidence that the *haredi* population experiences relatively high levels of internal and international migration. However establishing the numbers of people involved in permanent moves is far from straightforward.

Data from the 2001 Census suggest that all areas with strictly Orthodox population clusters experienced net migratory gains in the year prior to the Census, especially in Salford (see Table 2). But these data do not include details of Jews who permanently left Britain, nor do they relate exclusively to the *haredi* population. Therefore we do not consider these data to be reliable indicators.

Table 2: Total migratory movement for **all** Jews in Salford, Hackney and Gateshead, total number of individuals

Location	Total in-migration (including international in-movements)	Of which from outside Britain	Total out-migration (not including international out-movements)	Net change (excluding international out-movements)
Salford	315	119	156	159
Hackney	341	91	258	83
Gateshead	147	26	34	113

Source: ONS, 2001 Census Table C0648

There are nevertheless other indicators suggesting high levels of migration in the *haredi* population. In particular migration appears to be closely associated with marriage, as noted by Holman and Holman (2002:29). Their survey found that 55% of respondents' children's spouses were born outside Britain.

In addition, the *shidduchim* (engagement) announcements in *Kol Mevasser* indicate substantial migration among those marrying (typically in their late teens and early 20s).

Table 3 summarises the locations from which brides and grooms originated for the 283 engaged couples announced in *Kol Mevasser* in 2007. This shows that in 69.3% of all engagements announced, one partner was from outside Britain. This equates to 196 foreign individuals.

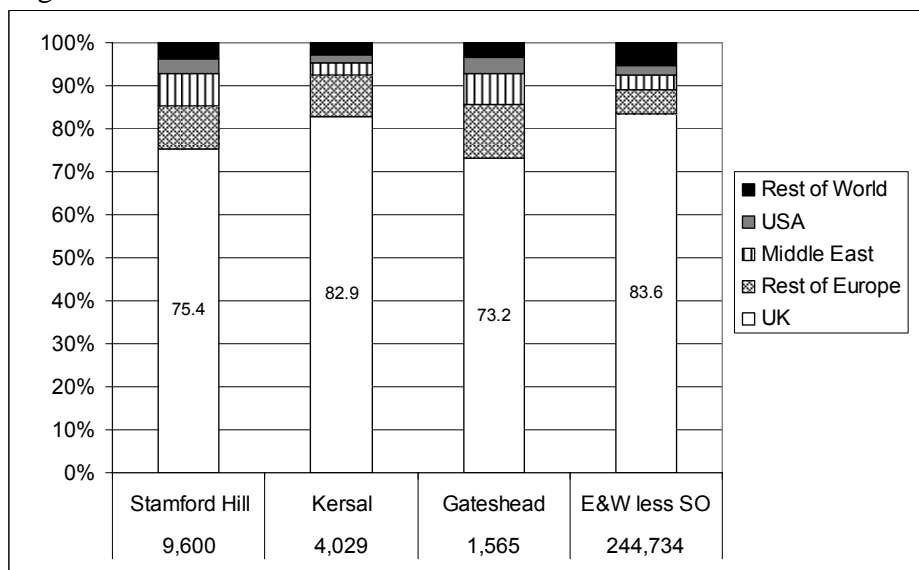
Table 3: Stamford Hill *shidduchim*, 2007

Groom from:	Bride from:	Number of engagements	%
UK	UK	87	30.7%
UK	Non-UK	84	29.7%
Non-UK	UK	112	39.6%
Total		283	100.0%

Source: *Kol Mevasser*, January to December 2007

The 2001 Census provides data about country of birth. Graph 5 shows that only around three quarters (75.4%) of Jews in Stamford Hill were born in the UK compared with 83.6% for the 'Rest of England and Wales'. The figure shown in Graph 5 for Gateshead (73.2% born in Britain) disguises a significant difference between males and females. Whilst 80.4% of Jewish males in Gateshead were born here, this was the case for only 68.1% of females. Females also comprised a significant majority (58.9%) of the total Jewish population of Gateshead, and around 40% were aged between 15 and 19 (derived from ONS table S149). These statistics are explained by the presence of two seminaries in Gateshead, which attract female students from around the world.

Graph 5: Country of Birth of Jews in Stamford Hill, Kersal, Gateshead, and the rest of England and Wales



Source: Calculations based on ONS, 2001 Census Table S150

Population Size and Growth

It is possible to estimate the overall size of the strictly Orthodox population, and provide indicators of longer term changes, using data from the directories published by each community. These are the *Shomer Shabbos Telephone Directory* (SSTD - Stamford Hill), *North West Connection* (North-west London) and *North Manchester Connections* (Broughton Park). As with other datasets these sources also have their limitations. For example, they are each published irregularly, they only contain details of those families who have chosen to be included, and in some cases may include families who would not necessarily describe themselves as strictly Orthodox/*haredi*. However in the absence of contrary data we believe these sources offer a fairly robust estimate of the population size (see Table 4).

We are not aware of a similar publication in Gateshead and therefore have relied on the data from the 2001 Census for this area.

Table 4: Estimated size of strictly Orthodox population in Britain

Area	Year	Total number of households	Average Household Size		Estimated Population	
			Low	High	Low	High
Stamford Hill ^a	2007	3,174	3.4 ^d	5.9 ^e	10,792	18,727
North-west London ^b	2006	1,631	2.46 ^d	4.15 ^f	4,012	6,769
Broughton Park ^c	2006	1,550	4.15 ^f	6.0 ^e	6,433	9,300
Gateshead ^d	2001	-	-	-	1,564	1,564
Total Estimated Population Size					22,801	36,360

Sources: a - Stamford Hill, *Shomer Shabbos Telephone Directory* (SSTD); b - North-west London, *North West Connection*; c - Broughton Park, *North Manchester Connections*; d - derived from the 2001 Census; e - Holman and Holman, 2002; f - derived from JPR's 2001 Survey dataset for London and the South-east.

Table 4 sets out our low and high estimates of the size of the strictly Orthodox population in Britain. Our lowest estimate is 22,800 people and our highest estimate is 36,400 people. The mid-point therefore is 29,600 strictly Orthodox Jews in Britain in 2007.

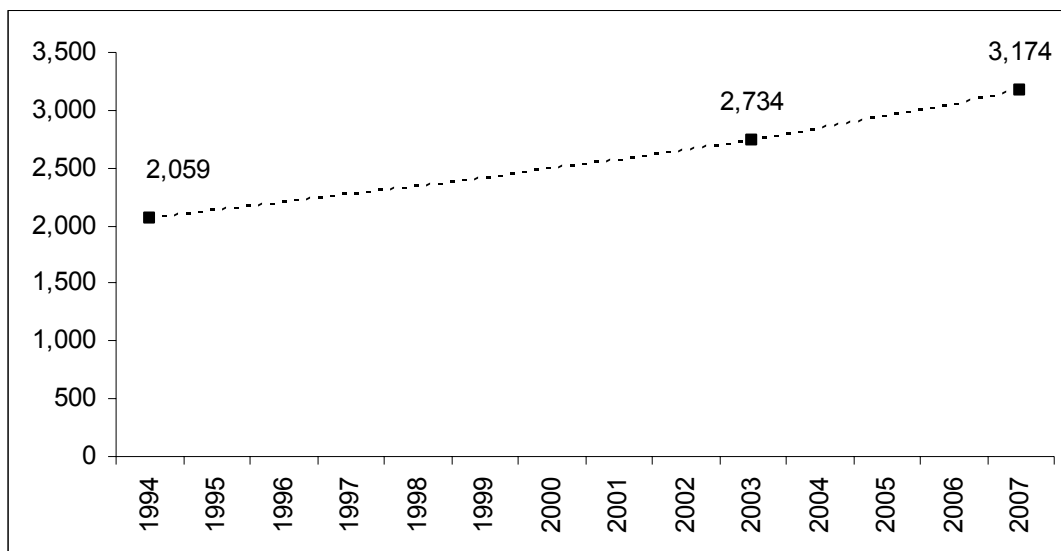
Children

Using the school enrolment data published by the DfES we estimate that about two-thirds of the strictly Orthodox population (19,400 children) is under the age of 18 years. Strictly Orthodox children therefore comprise one third of the estimated total of 60,000 Jewish children in Britain.

Long Term Growth

The increase in the number of households listed in the *Shomer Shabbos Telephone Directory* provides an indication of the growth of the community in Stamford Hill. This is illustrated in Graph 6 below. Over the period from 1994 to 2007, the number of households increased at an average of 3.4% pa.

Graph 6: Total number of households listed in *Shomer Shabbos Telephone Directories* (Stamford Hill), 1994, 2003 and 2007



In Table 5 we have summarised the various growth indicators noted throughout this report. These suggest that since the 1990s to the most recently available data (2007), the strictly Orthodox Jewish population has experienced an annual growth of 4% p.a., slightly lower in London and slightly higher in Manchester.

Table 5: Summary of growth rates noted in this report

Growth rate % pa	Period	Area	Source
3.4	1994-2007	Stamford Hill	SSTD (Graph 6)
4.0	1990-2005	Britain	Marriage data (Graph 4)
3.3	1994-2002	Stamford Hill	Schools data (Table 1)
5.5	1996-2007	Broughton Park	<i>Shalom zachar</i> (Graph 2)

Strictly Orthodox Denominations

The strictly Orthodox community is not homogeneous. Amongst the Ashkenazim, who account for the majority of strictly Orthodox Jews in Britain, the main distinction is between the *hasidim* and the non-*hasidim*. The *hasidim* comprise a number of distinct sects. Amongst the non-*hasidim*, a distinction is often made between “German” and “Lithuanian” customs. The Sephardim are distinguished primarily by their country of origin.

Estimates of the proportions of strictly Orthodox Jews belonging to these various sub-groups can be gleaned from data on strictly Orthodox schools in Stamford Hill (see Appendix B). Table 6 summarises the enrolment data for boys in Years 1 to 7 (not including the “Side by Side” special needs school) by denomination.

Table 6: Enrolment of boys in strictly Orthodox schools in Stamford Hill, 2006/2007

Denomination	School(s)	Pupils (Year 1 to Year 7)	Percentage of Total
Satmar	Talmud Torah Yetev Lev	450	26.8%
Belz	Talmud Torah Machzikei Hadass Talmud Torah Beis Aharon	383	22.8%
Bobov	Talmud Torah Bnei Tzion	181	10.8%
Vizhnitz	Talmud Torah Chaim Meirim	169	10.0%
Skver	Talmud Torah Toldos Yaakov Yosef	137	8.2%
Lubavitch	Lubavitch House School	111	6.6%
Non-Hasidic	Getters Talmud Torah Yesodey Hatorah School	249	14.8%
Total		1,680	100.0%

Source: DfES, EduBase

A second source of data which provides an indication of the size of the Satmar movement within Stamford Hill is a Satmar-only version of the *Shomer Shabbos* directory which, in 2000, listed 657 households in Stamford Hill. By comparison, we can interpolate Graph 6 to obtain an estimate of the total number of strictly Orthodox households in Stamford Hill at that time of around 2,500.

In Manchester, fewer schools are clearly identifiable with particular denominations, and it is not therefore possible to use school enrolment data to estimate the relative sizes of the different denominations.

Appendix A — Sources and Bibliography

Sources

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- ONS 2001 Census Table S150 *Standard Table on Sex and Country of Birth by Religion*, England and Wales
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Appendix B — Schools in Stamford Hill

Strictly Orthodox primary / secondary schools, Stamford Hill

Name of School	Funding	Age Group	Gender	Enrolment 2006/07 ¹
Beis Chinuch Lebonos Girls School	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Girls	395
Beis Malka Girls' School	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Girls	308
Beis Rochel d'Satmar Girls' School	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Girls	760
Beis Trana Girls' School	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Girls	139
Bnois Jerusalem School	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Girls	420
Getters Talmud Torah	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Boys	162
Lubavitch Boys Primary School	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Boys	130
Lubavitch (Ruth Lunzer) Girls Primary School	Voluntary Aided	Primary	Girls	130
Lubavitch Girls Senior School	Independent	Secondary	Girls	85
Side By Side Kids School	Ind Special	Primary / Secondary	Mixed	28
Talmud Torah Beis Aharon	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Boys	220
Talmud Torah Bobov Primary School	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Boys	239
Talmud Torah Chaim Meirim	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Boys	204
Talmud Torah Machzikei Hadass	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Boys	271
Talmud Torah Toldos Yaacov Yosef	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Boys	155
Talmud Torah Yetev Lev D'Satmar	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Boys	528
Yesodey Hatorah School	Independent	Primary / Secondary	Mixed	569
Yesodey Hatorah Senior Girls School	Voluntary Aided	Secondary	Girls	228

¹ Reception to Year 11

Source: EduBase, DfES