

DEMOGRAPHY OF THE SYDNEY JEWISH COMMUNITY: 2001

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BACKGROUND

This is the fifth of a series of reports for the Jewish Communal Appeal on the demography of the Sydney Jewish community. All of these reports have extracted data collected in the national census of Population and Housing. Since 1961 the census has been conducted at five yearly intervals by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Communal statistics, where available, have been used to support or modify census findings. Earlier reports by this author studied community demography following the 1981, 1986 and 1996 censuses. Encel & Moss¹ reported findings from the 1991 census.

The Australian Jewish population is concentrated in Victoria (46%) and New South Wales (41%). More than 96% of the Jewish community of NSW lives in Sydney compared to 63% of the general population. This report begins with a general overview of the State Jewish population but detailed statistics on demographic trends, education and the aged relate only to the Jews of Sydney. Since communal statistics are confined to Sydney, it would be inappropriate to compare communal data with census information pertaining to all of NSW, except for the section on intermarriage. Some data about Jews living in rural parts of NSW outside the Sydney metropolitan district has also been extracted and a short summary appears near the end of this report. Finally, some information on Jews living elsewhere in Australia is provided mainly to examine flows between Sydney and other parts of Australia. Population estimates are used only as a comparative indicator.

The Sydney Statistical Division is itself divided by the ABS into 14 statistical subdistricts. Because of the geographic concentration

*. This study was commissioned by the Jewish Communal Appeal (JCA) whose important contribution to this research is acknowledged.

of the Jewish community, it is not useful to report details by each of these subdistricts. Most Jews live in the Eastern Suburbs subdistrict (the Local Government Areas of Randwick, Waverley and Woollahra) followed by a smaller but still well serviced community in the Central Northern Sydney subdistrict (nearly all in the municipality of Kuringai). Both these districts offer Jewish residents a variety of synagogues together with educational, welfare, social and sporting organisations. Other Jewish pockets of population are found in the Lower Northern Sydney, Inner Sydney and St. George Sutherland subdistricts but communal services in these areas consist of a single small synagogue (excepting the Great Synagogue in the centre of the city) and activities directly associated with that synagogue. The other nine subdistricts comprising about 75% of the Sydney population contain only 7% of the Jewish community. Table 1 shows the Jewish population of Sydney as reported in the census by statistical subdistrict.

Table 1: Raw Census Count of Jewish Population by Subdistrict

	Jewish Population	Total Population	% Jewish
Eastern Suburbs	19719	233069	8.4
Central Northern Sydney	4459	386718	1.2
Lower Northern Sydney	3127	280983	1.1
Inner Sydney	2676	311233	0.9
St George Sutherland	687	412594	0.2
Northern Beaches	625	219231	0.3
Gosford Wyong	369	285508	0.1
Inner Western Sydney	357	157505	0.2
Outer Western Sydney	251	307787	0.0
Central Western Sydney	186	286629	0.0
Canterbury Bankstown	169	296552	0.0
Blacktown	130	256364	0.0
Outer South Western	113	226928	0.0
Fairfield Liverpool	73	336223	0.0
TOTAL SYDNEY	32941	3997324	0.8

For the purposes of this report, 18 local areas were delineated based on postcode boundaries first defined in the 1996 report. Previous reports used Local Government Areas (LGA) or combinations of postcode and LGA. The current approach groups into more divisions and is believed to be more sensitive to spatial variation in the community than previous boundaries. The appendix shows geographic information by these areas. For simpler reporting in the main text of this document, these 18 areas have been aggregated into 6 major divisions: North Eastern, South Eastern, Lower North Shore, Upper North Shore, Waterloo and the rest of Sydney. The Waterloo division is the only non-aggregated local area because the characteristics of the Jewish community living there are so differ-

ent from anywhere else. The appendix shows the boundaries of the major divisions and the local areas.

General Demography

Underenumeration

The definition of Jewish for these reports is based on self-identification. This approach is consistent with that used by the Australian Statistician and most other central statistical agencies throughout the world. Rabbinical authorities would define Jewish according to *halacha* and a larger population would be the probable result. Some social researchers prefer a definition based on Jewish origins and the numbers under that definition would be very much larger. These reports are written to assist in the planning of Jewish services through the JCA. It is considered prudent to restrict the potential client base to people who regard themselves as Jewish.

An estimate of 20% was used as a constant underenumeration factor in previous reports. Its derivation from communal statistics of funerals and Barmitzva'hs is fully discussed in the 1986 and 1991 census findings. For the 1996 census, statistics were also gathered from schools and the Board of Jewish Education. It was then found that underenumeration was considerably higher for younger age children (classes K-2) than those with longer experience at school. This finding is consistent with the unusual age distribution observable on a population pyramid of Jewish children. It appears that some younger parents, who continued to remain outside Judaism while their children were of preschool age, are prepared to renominate in later years. This seems to be especially true of those who decide to enroll their children at a Jewish day school.

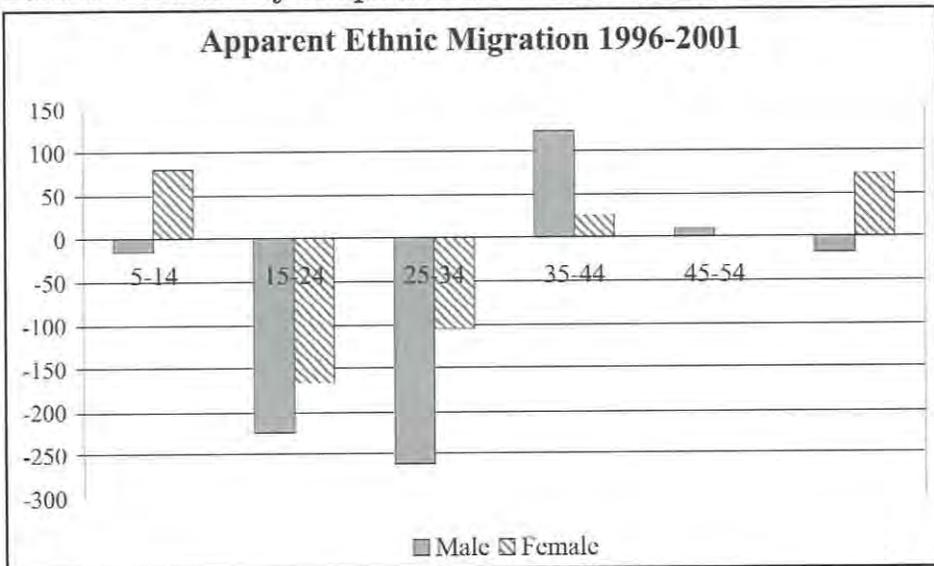
This new evidence convinced us to increase the underenumeration to 30% for persons aged less than 10 and again between the ages of 20 and 34. The 2001 census statistics were again compared to school enrolments including careful evaluation of Jewish students at certain private schools known to have significant numbers of Jewish students. Accurate statistics were obtained for students at Jewish day schools and government run schools through the Board of Jewish education. A new private school with large numbers of Jewish students kindly supplied full details of their Jewish students on our request.

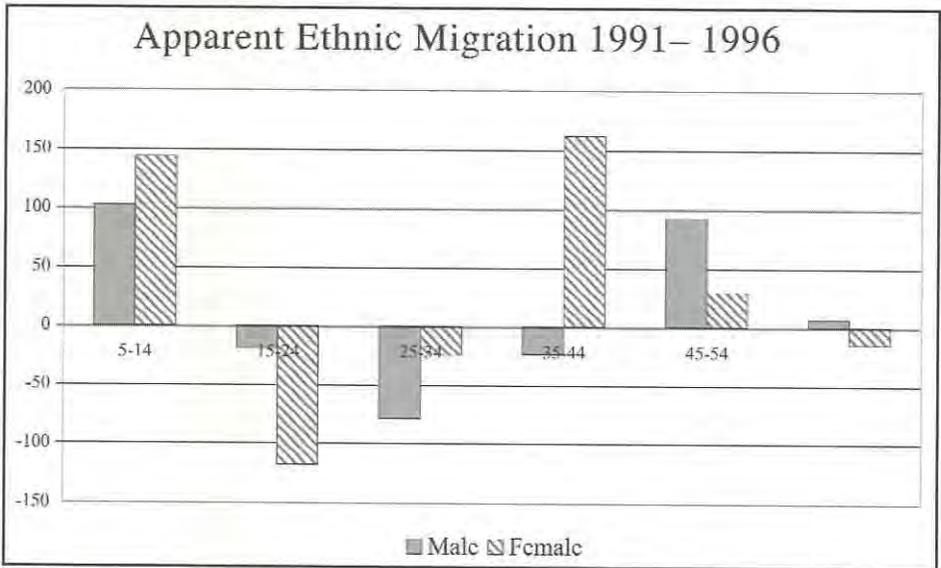
We again found an under-enumeration factor of about 30% in primary schools but the apparent secondary underenumeration had fallen to just over 10%. It has also become apparent that older people are less likely to omit reference to their Jewish heritage as time passes since the events of the Holocaust. We have therefore returned

to the view that average underenumeration is 20%. However, we have also retained the higher (30%) underenumeration for younger adults and their young children requiring a reduction to 16% for the remainder of the population.

Some Jews consistently decide to omit reference to Judaism on their census return. There may be a number of reasons for reluctance to disclose their Jewish religious denomination. These may include fear of antisemitism, distrust of government agencies, unwillingness to divulge personal details and knowledge that religion is an optional question in any event. Furthermore, there are members of the community who regard themselves as Jewish without any adherence to Judaism as a religion. These people may take the census question ('What is your religious affiliation') to imply observance of Jewish religious practices.

Other Jews may have altered their response from one census to the next. Demographers refer to this trend as 'ethnic migration' and reasons for such action have been widely explored in the case of the Aboriginal community. Again the rabbinical approach would hold that a person is Jewish or not Jewish; you cannot change your mind about it. One could speculate that circumstances and beliefs alter over time and people feel that they have left or returned to the fold. The 2001 census was compared to the 1996 census according to the age and sex of the respondent in 1996. Migrants who came to Australia during this period were omitted and allowances were made for death, emigration and movement between the States. Figures 2a and 2b show the apparent ethnic migration pattern from 1996 to 2001 and by comparison from 1991 to 1996.





The two charts indicate a major change has occurred during the last five years. We continue to observe a significant shift away from Judaism among young adults although the numbers are increasing. Of greater importance is that the return to Judaism, so clearly apparent among women of around 40, is no longer discernible. There are small gains for men aged 35-44 and women aged 55-64. In total, the community has been reduced by about 600 people (1.5%) who reported as Jewish in 1996 but not in 2001.

It is possible, indeed likely, that certain sections of the community underenumerate to a greater degree than other sections. However, it is difficult to determine the identity of these groups. Prevailing wisdom inferred that older people, and especially Holocaust survivors, were more likely to underenumerate. The evidence suggests the opposite. Communities immigrating from South Africa may also have higher levels of underenumeration if census results are compared to communal information sources. However, firm statistics would be needed before we could support the use of different underenumeration factors for subgroups within the community. We have, therefore, refrained from imposing variations in underenumeration for characteristics other than age.

Growth from 1981 to 2001

Growth of the Sydney Jewish community since World War II can be divided into three phases. Immediately following that war, there was large scale immigration by survivors of the Holocaust. There followed a period of consolidation with a considerable level of fami-

ly formation continuing until about 1960. Between 1960 and 1980, there was little growth as migration fell away and most of the family formation had been completed. Since that time a more complex pattern has emerged. Ageing of the original migrants has led to a decrease in natural growth (births less deaths) but new migrant streams have emerged especially from South Africa and for a period from the former USSR.

In June 1981 the Jewish population of NSW was estimated at 30755. It rose strongly to 34171 in 1986 followed by a more modest increase to 35932 in June 1991. Another strong rise fuelled entirely by immigration lifted the estimated population to 39,301 in June 1996². The overall growth rate during the 15 years from 1981 to 1996 was 1.65% pa, considerably higher than that of the general population. Immigration especially from South Africa accounted for nearly all of this growth.

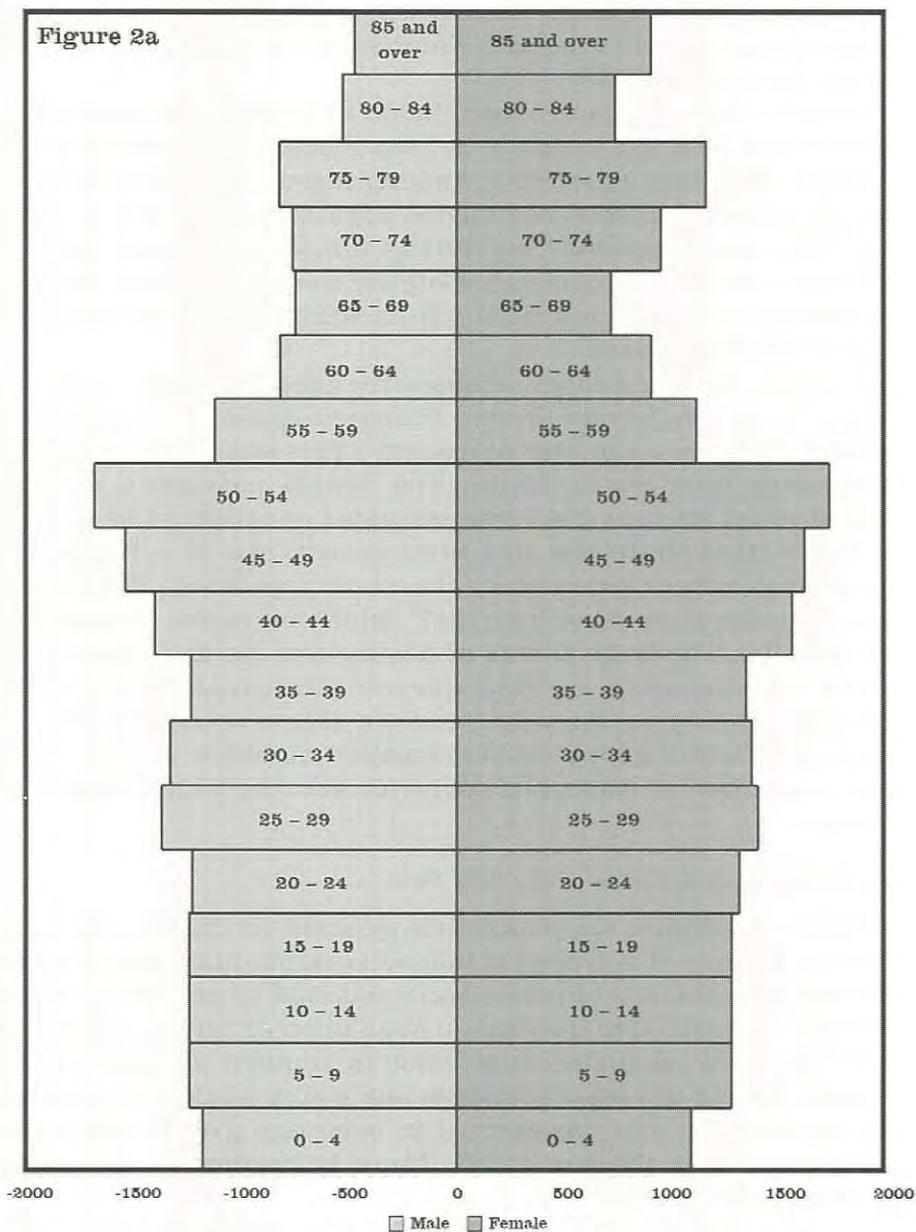
Between 1996 and 2001, community growth slowed as immigration from the former Soviet Union disappeared and deaths exceeded births by a substantial margin³. This was offset by higher immigration from South Africa. The Jewish population of New South Wales at 30 June 2001 was estimated at 41560 while Sydney was 40025. It is equivalent to a State growth rate of 1.1% pa, the same growth rate experienced by the whole population. The contribution of natural increase was -847⁴ while migration contributed 3586 persons. The large excess of deaths over births is caused by the loss of many from the first wave of immigrants who arrived immediately following the war. The main source country for immigrants was South Africa (2574). Smaller numbers arrived from Israel, a number of European countries and the United States of America.

Population Distribution - Age and Sex

Figure 2A depicts the population pyramid for the Jewish community of Sydney. It is typical of migrant communities with periods of substantial numbers of new arrivals followed by periods of lesser movement. Compared to the general population of Sydney, shown as Figure 2B, Jews are under-represented in younger age groups but especially among pre school children and young adults. Conversely, the community is over-represented in older age groups especially among those over the age of 70. There is another smaller peak among persons aged between 50 and 54.

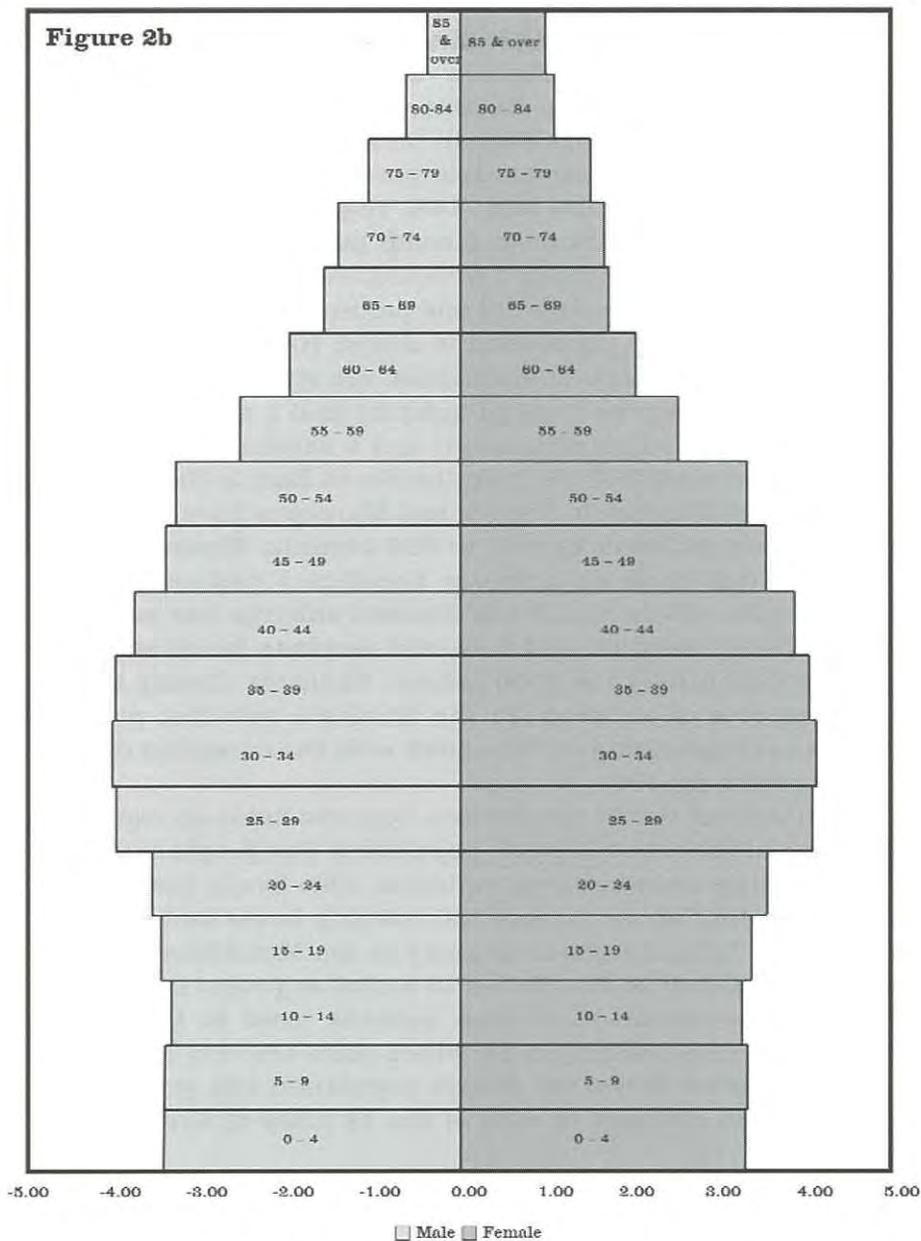
The sex distribution is unusual in that females greatly outnumber males in the 30-44 age groups. This is not a result of sex differentials by birth or immigration. The most plausible explanation is that males are more disposed to repudiate their Jewish iden-

Jewish Population of Sydney 2001



General Population of Sydney 2001 (%)

Figure 2b



tity (at least for the census). Further discussion on this aspect of Jewish demography can be found in the section dealing with assimilation.

Population Distribution – Geographic Dispersion

It has been mentioned that the Sydney Jewish community is concentrated within the Eastern and, to a lesser extent, the Northern suburbs of Sydney. In 2001, 63% of the population lived in the Eastern suburbs (also 63% in 1996) and 20% (22%) in the Northern suburbs. The comparable percentage distribution in the general population is 6% and 14% respectively. Elsewhere the Jewish community varies from a small percentage to almost complete absence. For example in Fairfield-Liverpool, the census found 73 Jews, or about one quarter of one percent of the Jewish community, in an area whose population is almost 10% that of Sydney and where many other ethnic communities⁵ are strongly represented.

We have divided the Eastern suburbs into a northern tier with 51% of Sydney's Jewish population and a southern tier with 12%. There has been a shift of 2% from the North East to the South East. The suburbs of Randwick, Coogee and Maroubra have all increased their Jewish population by 200 to 300 persons. Meanwhile, Bondi and Potts Point have experienced significant decline. The major suburban gain within the North Eastern suburbs has occurred in Vacluse/Dover Heights, which should overtake Bondi as the leading Jewish suburb by the 2006 census. Vacluse already holds the largest number of children. In the Northern suburbs, population numbers are little changed from 1996 with the exception of St. Ives that has grown by 300.

The northern tier of the Eastern Suburbs holds an even higher proportion of the elderly Jewish population. For people over the age of 75 excluding nursing home residents, 58% live in these suburbs. A little over half of the almost 700 nursing home and hostel residents live in Ryde, the great majority in the Montefiore Home. The number of children is distributed in a similar proportion to that of the whole population other than suburbs close to the centre of Sydney (Waterloo, Darlinghurst) where there are very few children.

The appendix shows the Jewish population and proportions of the elderly and children in each of the 18 areas of Sydney used in this report.

Movement between Suburbs

The changes occurring to population by suburban precinct primarily reflects immigration trends but we also consider movement

of the existing population. In previous reports, this movement was inferred but on this occasion, data on place of residence in 2001 was directly compared with the same respondent's place of residence in 1996.

During the period between 1996 and 2001, there was a pronounced shift of population from the Northern to the Eastern Suburbs amounting to approximately 2% of population. Within the Eastern suburbs, the South Eastern tier gained slightly from the North Eastern although this inter-Eastern suburbs movement was considerably less important than immigration. The balance of Sydney suburbs also gained from both Northern and Eastern precincts reversing the movement between 1991 and 1996. This appears to be associated with younger people moving to less expensive housing although there is also movement of older people from family homes to retirement and nursing home accommodation especially from the Northern suburbs.

Country of Origin

The Jewish community remains an immigrant society. The proportion of population born in Australia is still a minority although 50 years have passed since the mass post war migrations. More than 27% of the population arrived in this country since 1981 and almost 10% during the five years between 1996 and 2001. Meanwhile the number of persons who arrived in the 1940s and 1950s is quickly reducing. The familiar profile of the Jewish family with parents born in Europe while children and grandchildren were born in Australia is coming to an end. Persons born in South Africa now account for a larger share of the overseas born than for all of Europe excluding the USSR. A steady stream of about 500 arrivals per annum from South Africa has given new vitality to the community and this migration continues unabated. Migration from Russia seems to have halted but the Sydney community has welcomed more than 2000 migrants from that source over the last 15 years. Mention should also be made of the smaller but steady migration from Israel estimated at about 60 persons per annum. However, unlike Russia and South Africa, migration movement with Israel also moves in significant numbers in the reverse direction.

There are some concentrations of different places of origin in geographic location. Table 3 indicates the country of birth by major geographic division. Persons born in Australia are over represented in the suburbs outside the main concentrations and there is a larger than expected number of European origin on the Lower North Shore. For other more recent immigrant groups, the concentration originally strongly focussed on one location, is experiencing

change. The percentage of South African migrants (RSA) on the Upper North Shore is now 32% compared to 39% in 1996. We found that 21% of immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU) live in Waterloo compared to 3% for Jews as a whole. The Israeli born have the highest proportion living in the North Eastern tier.

Table 3: Country of Birth by Geographic Location in Sydney

Location	Aust	Europe	FSU	Israel	RSA	Other,NS	Total
North Eastern	8918	3775	1115	911	3335	2334	20388
South Eastern	2026	640	677	210	61	582	4751
Lower N Shore	1288	708	47	74	438	318	2873
Upper N Shore	1750	511	58	137	2302	342	5099
Waterloo	212	62	582	32	40	173	1102
Balance Sydney	2736	1241	252	252	451	881	5813
Total	16930	6937	2730	1616	7182	4630	40025

Births and Deaths

As the Jewish community holds no register of vital statistics, the number of births and deaths must be inferred from the census. This causes some loss in demographic precision since specific ages at death or ages of mothers at birth are not known. However, estimation techniques allow for some reasonable measures of estimation.

The number of children born in Australia during the period 1996-2001 is taken as the number of Australian born persons aged 0-4 at the 2001 census plus an adjustment of 30% for underenumeration. It was further assumed that 90% of persons aged 0-4 whose country of birth was not stated, were also born in Australia. The number of deaths before the age of 5 (about 0.7%) has also been included but it has a negligible influence in comparison with the broad measure of underenumeration.

By this approach, we find that 2,068 children were born corresponding to a crude birth rate of 5.1 births per 1000 population. This compares to a rate of 13.3 births per thousand in NSW as a whole. Because there are less women in reproductive ages within the Jewish community, we prefer to use the more refined measure of children aged 0-4 compared to women aged 15-44 sometimes called the child-woman ratio. This ratio is 0.27 for Jews and 0.31 for the whole State. Consequently, while the birth rate for Jews is lower than for the general population, the main reason for the very low number of births is simply due to the relatively few women in reproductive ages.

By contrasts, deaths in the Jewish community are higher than for the overall State. We have estimated that the community was reduced by 600 persons between 1996 and 2001 through ethnic migration. The remaining reduction in population for those living

in Australia in 1996 and for those of the same age cohort reporting in 2001 has been taken as due to mortality. At younger ages, emigration from Australia to other countries also impacts upon the statistics.

The number of deaths between 1996 and 2001 can then be estimated at 3,702 equivalent to a crude death rate of 8.9 per thousand population as compared to 7.2 per thousand in the general population. Standardisation for age shows that mortality within the Jewish community is actually lower than State averages and corresponds closely with mortality among other Australians living in the low mortality suburbs of Eastern and Northern Sydney.

Education

Education has always been a subject of great concern to the community. There has been a remarkable growth in Jewish community schools over the last 20 years with the majority of children now attending a Jewish day school. At the same time, the Board of Jewish Education has increased its services to children attending Government schools.

The census elicits responses on whether children attend government or non-government schools and the level of education currently being undertaken (pre-school, primary, secondary or tertiary). Within the non-government sector, children might be attending a Jewish Day School (schools run by the Jewish community primarily for Jewish students) or a private school administered by a non-Jewish organization. While most private schools with Jewish students have loose affiliation to a Christian religious ethos, some popular schools (e.g. Sydney Grammar and now Reddam College) are non denominational.

There has been a general drift away from government schools to the private sector especially over the last decade. In 1996, the census indicated that the non government sector educated 64.0% of Sydney Jewish students at primary level and 59.9% at secondary. The respective percentages in 2001 were 65.1% and 73.2%. It will be observed that most of the increased percentage has been at the secondary level. This movement is not restricted to Jewish students and is noticeable across all sectors of the community. Some retention at government schools was formerly attributed to the existence of selective secondary schools. These schools have restricted entry usually determined by academic merit. In all other respects, selective schools are no different to other government run schools. Sydney Boys and Sydney Girls High Schools are selective schools where the traditional high numbers of Jewish students has substantially decreased in the last decade. Government comprehensive schools educate more than 75% of children in the State. These are

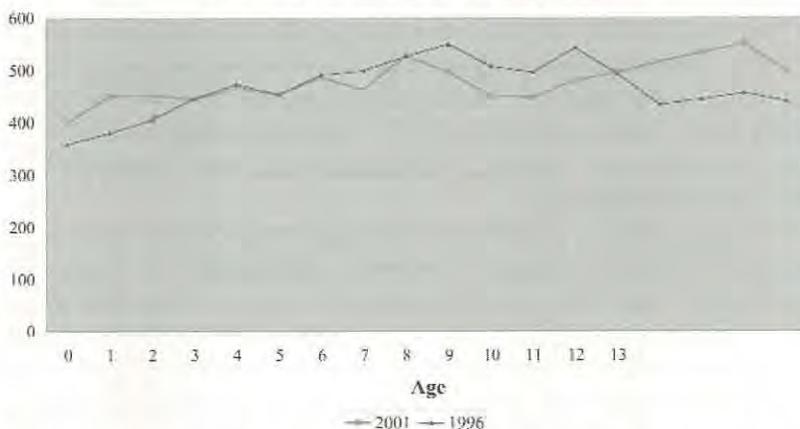
local high schools with unrestricted entry to children living in the school catchment area but reasonable opportunities for other students to attend. Vacluse and Killara High Schools continue to attract moderate numbers from the Jewish community and now offer Hebrew as a school subject.

The reasons for parents to educate their children at the various types of school discussed above will vary from home to home. Finance and access are likely to be important considerations but personal experiences, educational philosophy and family history will also play a role. It is probable that even if the community could afford to educate every child at a Jewish day school free of charge, a significant proportion of parents would still choose another category of school. At present, the JCA considers it unlikely that Jewish day schools could expect an enrolment of more than 80% of all potential students.

The Population of Jewish Children

The number of children aged 0-17 in the Jewish community at 30 June 2001 is estimated at 8616 compared to 8396 in 1996. The age distribution of these children is shown as Figure 4.

Jewish Children 1996 and 2001



It will be observed that the age distribution of children is somewhat smoother than in 1996 especially at younger ages. The relatively larger cohort, who were in upper primary years in 1996 are now coming to the end of their school years. During the next 5 years the number of new entrants to school will be substantially below the number of school leavers although thereafter we can expect steady patterns assuming migration trends remain similar.

Two effects are responsible for the age pattern disclosed by the chart. The first has been declining fertility in the Jewish communi-

ty as indeed is occurring in Australian society as a whole. Fertility in the Jewish community is slightly lower than for the general population of Sydney and demographers anticipate further reduction in fertility with smaller families, postponement of births and greater numbers choosing to remain childless. The second reason for an increasing number of children with increasing age is the effect of immigration. The actual age at migration by religious denomination is not available from the official statistics. However, the effect of immigration measured at the 2001 census increased the child population by 156 in the 0-4 age group, by 358 in the 5-9 age range and by 246 in the 10-14 group. South Africa was the main source of child migrants contributing more children than all other sources put together. This selective migration around the age when school commences tends to offset the reduction in numbers driven by lower fertility.

Type of School from Census Returns

The census disclosed 5108 Jewish children attended a Sydney school in 2001. After taking account of underenumeration, we estimate a total of 6289 school age children in that year⁶. This represents an increase of about 300 children compared to 1996. There were 1957 (31.2%) in the government sector and 4333 (68.8%) in the non government sector as shown in Table 5. The overall movement from government to non-government education is 6.6% of school children.

Table 5: Type of School and Geographic Division of Children

<i>Primary Schools</i>	<i>Government</i>		<i>Non Government</i>		<i>% Non Government</i>
<i>Place</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	
North Eastern	179	146	671	716	81.02
South Eastern	74	73	150	161	67.90
Upper North Shore	152	165	188	179	53.70
Lower North Shore	42	44	25	30	38.89
Waterloo	4	12	0	4	20.00
Other	144	142	46	30	20.86
Total	595	581	1079	1121	65.15
<i>Secondary Schools</i>	<i>Government</i>		<i>Non Government</i>		
<i>Place</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	
North Eastern	72	90	699	641	89.20
South Eastern	51	44	108	96	68.22
Upper North Shore	135	118	206	225	63.05
Lower North Shore	24	24	36	38	60.38
Waterloo	3	7		0	25.00
Other	116	96	41	36	26.51
Total	401	380	1094	1037	73.16
Grand Total	996	961	2175	2158	68.86

It will be observed that non-government schools were the overwhelming choice of parents in the North Eastern suburbs, the home of most Jewish children. The South Eastern suburbs also show a high non-government percentage for all schools, a substantial increase in the non-government sector compared to 1996. On the Upper North Shore there has been a noticeable increased percentage at government schools especially in the primary years while the Lower North Shore shows a large variation between primary and secondary education. Elsewhere in Sydney, the great majority of children attend government schools.

Type of School from Communal Statistics

The Jewish community holds accurate statistics on children attending Jewish day schools and fair data on Jewish children in government schools through BJE scripture classes. Information on Jewish children in private schools requires rough estimation from anecdotal sources.

Data were obtained from the five primary schools and four high schools affiliated with various sectors of the Jewish community. These showed a total of 3457 children were being educated at the Jewish day schools leaving 876 (20%) in other private schools. The respective percentages at primary and secondary level were 14% and 27%. The percentage in non-Jewish secondary schools has increased since 1996 largely due to a new private school that has attracted a high proportion of Jewish students.

In the government sector, the Board of Jewish Education (BJE) holds lists that include nearly all students of primary age. However, the secondary numbers are much smaller and less than half secondary age students are included in the BJE statistics.

Influence of Income, Country of Birth and Type of Family

There are important differences in preferred type of school by subgroups within the community. Immigrants from South Africa are more likely to choose a non government school while immigrants from the former Soviet Union are more likely to choose a government school. This, to some extent, reflects income gradients, social norms in their country of origin and expectations among different immigrant groups. Income does play a significant role in determining the type of school although not as great as some might expect. Private schooling is common even among very low income groups. Clearly many children require subsidies in order to attend a Jewish day school. Single parent families are less common in the Jewish community than elsewhere. The number of school children in sin-

gle parent families was 770 or 13% of all children. They were more likely to attend government schools consistent with the lower income of these families. Table 6 shows the type of school according to country of birth, income and family type characteristics.

People whose income was 'not stated', a larger group in the Jewish community than elsewhere, appear to have a high income based on their suburb of residence and strong attachment to private schooling. This issue is discussed further in the section on wealth and poverty. It was deemed prudent to incorporate 'not stated' income with the highest income category throughout this report.

Pre School and Other Education

Table 6: Country of Birth and Family Type Characteristics of Non Government School Children as a Percentage of all Children

Characteristic	% Non Government
Born in Australia	67
Born in former USSR	53
Born in South Africa	77
Born Elsewhere	60
Income less than \$15600	43
Income \$15600-\$36400	53
Income \$36400-\$62400	52
Income \$62400-\$104000	62
Income more than \$104000	73
Income Not Stated	75
Single Parent Family	54

There were 840 children attending pre-school centres, all of whom were aged between 3 and 5. Within the same age groups, 294 children had started school and 235 did not participate in formal education.

At the upper end of the school education years (15-17) nearly all Jewish children are at school. There were 55 students at other educational centres (presumably TAFE) and a few had commenced university studies. Remarkably, only 22 persons were no longer participating in education.

The Elderly

It has been mentioned that older people form a larger segment of the Jewish community than in the general population. After adjustment for underenumeration, the census indicates that there were 8928 people over the age of 60 representing about 22% of the Sydney Jewish community compared to 17% in the population of

Sydney as a whole. There has been a reduction among the elderly, who comprised 9174 people and 25% of the population in 1996, due to a higher loss through death than through ageing of persons aged 55-59 in 1996. A high proportion (mainly women) lived on their own but relatively few with their children. Table 7 indicates the distribution of elderly people by age and living arrangements. Note that while at some ages, there are more males than females living with partners, the total male/female proportion progressively lessens.

The original migrants who came from Europe immediately before and after the Second World War still dominate the elderly population although their numbers are diminishing. While the overall percentage of the population born in Europe is only 15%, the percentage in the elderly is considerably higher. For those aged 60-64, it is estimated at 20% and this rises continuously reaching 52% in the population aged 85 and over. There are clear implications for language support among those providing aged care services that are even more important as recent migrants from the former Soviet Union move into older age groups. The peak age for these migrants is now 60-64 where they form 13% of the Jewish population. South African migrants are younger with only 11% currently aged 60 or more. A discussion on income levels among the elderly is included in the section on Wealth and Poverty.

Table 7: Living Arrangements by Age/Sex Groups

	Alone	Partner	Children	Care ⁷	Other ⁸	Total
Males 60-64	77	708	3	3	14	720
Females 60-64	124	629	7	2	10	767
Males 65-69	89	594	0	4	2	726
Females 65-69	173	519	25	7	4	894
Males 70-74	88	589	14	10	10	923
Females 70-74	309	505	35	9	11	1228
Males 75-79	111	603	10	16	9	663
Females 75-79	454	542	34	65	7	826
Males 80-84	128	367	11	40	7	518
Females 80-84	339	204	24	75	14	762
Males 85+	77	224	14	82	8	387
Females 85+	362	121	66	324	13	759
Total	2330	5603	244	640	111	9174

The demand for places in nursing homes and hostels will increase substantially over the next few years as the large cohort aged between 75 and 84 reach ages requiring greater levels of care. The two Montefiore Homes satisfy about half the current demand and there is a considerable waiting list for the 400 available places. The introduction of geriatric assessment has led to a more rapid

turnover of residents but less than 100 places become vacant each year. Former Eastern Suburbs residents are under-represented at Montefiore perhaps due to the perceived distance between the main centre at Hunters Hill and the circle of friends and relatives at home. Most other hostels and nursing homes with substantial numbers of Jewish residents are located in the Eastern Suburbs.

Elderly Jews, and especially the very old, are even more concentrated in the North Eastern Suburbs than is the community as a whole. Table 8 shows the numbers of elderly Jews excluding those in residential care by location of residence for the age groups of 60-74 and 75+. While the proportion of the total population living in the north eastern tier is 51% the proportion aged 60-74 is 52% and the proportion aged more than 75 rises to 59%.

Table 8: Location of Community Residence for Elderly Jews

	Aged 60-74	75 and over
North Eastern	2318	2211
South Eastern	498	368
Lower North Shore	415	321
Upper North Shore	421	261
Waterloo	293	184
Other	593	404
Sydney Total	4538	3749

Intermarriage

Intermarriage has long been a concern in most countries where Jewish residents freely mix with people of other religions. It is probably the major cause of ethnic out-migration, the discontinuance of Jewish identification. In some countries like the United States, intermarriage is reportedly more common than marriage to a Jewish partner.

Census results indicate that there is an apparent increase in the proportion of marriages where one partner is Jewish but the other responds with another religion or does not answer the question. It is difficult to make assumptions about underenumeration in circumstances of mixed marriage. Since it is likely that the partners complete the form jointly, one could argue that a mixed response indicates genuine differences in religion. However, it is also possible that both partners are Jewish but one feels more strongly about their religious affiliation than does the other. We have chosen to report data on intermarriage without making adjustments for underenumeration and we also include country locations in this section of the report.

Intermarriage rates may be calculated in two ways; by the number of couples and by the number of individuals involved. The pro-

portion intermarried will be different depending on which approach we are using. For instance, the number of mixed marriages in the 25-29 age group was reported at close to 50%. Half the marriages involving a Jewish respondent were to non Jewish partners. However, since both parties in the all Jewish marriage are counted within the Jewish community, the number of people with a non Jewish partner is not one half but one third. The discussion below is primarily reported in terms of marriages.

There were 7774 couples aged from 20-59 (the data includes people living in *de facto* relationships) with at least one partner being Jewish. Of these, 4737 (61%) reported both partners as Jewish compared to 64% in 1996. The remaining couples included 1499 (19%) reported only the female partner as Jewish and 1538 (20%) only the male partner as Jewish. In the younger age groups the proportion of marriages with both partners Jewish were 50% aged 20-24 and 54% aged 25-29. In the age groups from 40 and over, more than 65% of married couples consisted of both partners Jewish.

The proportion of mixed marriages increases with increasing distance from the main centres of the community. In the North Eastern tier suburbs, only 20% of couples have mixed marriages while in the South Eastern tier and the Northern Suburbs, the proportion is 35%. In the remainder of Sydney and in country areas, more than 70% of married couples included a non Jewish partner.

The incidence of *de facto* relationships is lower in the Jewish community than in the general population. Only 12% of couples were living in a *de facto* relationship. However, most of these (76%) were of mixed religion and the couple lived outside of the main community centres. There were also 709 marriages reported where neither husband nor wife was Jewish but one or both parties reported their ancestry as Jewish. While some of these individuals may be Jewish under the laws of *halacha*, we have not regarded them as mixed marriages for the purposes of this report.

The number of dependent children were higher among the couples with both partners Jewish, probably reflecting the more complete childbearing stage of the life cycle. The dependent children of mixed marriages is estimated at 2981 compared to 6240 where both parents are Jewish indicating that 68% of dependent children were being raised in families with both partners Jewish compared to 71% in 1996.

For the children of mixed marriages, it was found that 1095 (37%) were regarded as Jewish. There were 843 children with a Jewish mother and 252 with a Jewish father. This indicates that 57% of Jewish mothers with a non Jewish partner regarded their

children as Jewish while 17% of Jewish fathers with a non Jewish partner regarded their children as Jewish.

Table 9 shows the frequency of dependent children by broad geographic location. There is a clear inverse relationship between the proportions of dependent children from mixed marriages with the major centres of the core community. One explanation for that effect is that couples in mixed marriages loosen their ties to communal activity and move away. Another reason might be that Jewish children living outside the main communal centres mix mainly with non-Jews.

Table 9: Dependent Children by Type of Marriage and Geographic Location

	Mixed Marriage	Jewish Marriage	All Marriages	% Mixed
North Eastern	633	3398	4031	15.7
South Eastern	312	787	1099	28.4
North Shore	598	1562	2160	27.7
Other Sydney	1150	450	1600	71.9
Country	288	43	331	87.0
NSW Total	6240	2981	10020	32.3

Wealth and Poverty

The relative affluence of the Jewish community in comparison with the general population of Sydney cannot be disputed. However, average statistics are able to mask significant pockets of disadvantage. The census shows that some of Sydney's Jews not only fail to share in the high living standard enjoyed by the majority but also are living in circumstances that can only be described as deprived.

Income is collected at the level of the individual and also for the whole household. Other census data tells us about the nature of occupancy (whether the family home is owned, rented or falls under some other arrangement) and the stage of the life cycle in which the occupants can be placed. An elderly woman living alone, a newly married couple and a family with young children have different needs and their social circumstances will reflect their ability to meet those needs. For example, a family with children at a prestigious private school must meet not just high tuition fees but the social pressures placed on their children by school peers.

Reporting for this section uses the household income as a measure of affluence. Income is by no means a perfect criterion but information about assets or family support cannot be derived from a census. The Jewish community has an unusually large proportion (13%) of people who do not indicate their income on the census form. It is noticeable that these 'not stated' respondents are concentrated in the suburbs of Vaucluse, St. Ives and Bellevue Hill, the

most affluent suburbs of those that did respond. Furthermore, the 'not stated' income group has the highest proportion of children at private schools. It is probable that most members of this group are wealthy and we have placed them with the higher income groups for reporting.

Our previous report indicated that the two main pockets of disadvantage are encountered with families and with the elderly. We have concentrated on these two groups in the preparation of this section of the report.

Table 10: Proportion of Income Levels for Families by Geographic Location

	<\$62,000	\$62-\$104	\$104,000+	Not Stated
North Eastern	19.19	22.99	39.43	18.39
South Eastern	31.35	27.42	28.01	13.21
Lower North Shore	14.86	24.42	48.20	12.53
Upper North Shore	13.01	22.44	43.76	20.80
Waterloo	62.73	17.27	11.82	8.18
Other Sydney	36.18	27.74	27.93	8.15
Grand Total	21.79	23.99	37.60	16.62

The most immediate observation from this table is the major geographic distinction between the Jewish community in Waterloo and that found in all other parts of Sydney. Recent migrants from the former USSR comprise the largest component of the Jewish population in that area. About 40% of families in Waterloo are in the lowest income group with a take home pay for the entire household of less than \$500 a week before tax. It is extremely difficult to house, clothe, feed and educate children with so little discretionary income. Elsewhere the proportion of very low income households is below 20%. The Upper and Lower North Shore together with the North Eastern tier contain about 40% of families on the highest income level (\$2,000 a week) and we can be fairly confident that the real figure is above 50% after inclusion of most of the 'not stated' category.

The largest demographic group in financial difficulties is the elderly. Many appear to be wholly dependent on the pension although some may be receiving informal support. Altogether there are an estimated 4,230 elderly Jews with income below \$400 per week close to the official poverty line. The poor elderly are scattered throughout Sydney but the largest numbers are found in Bondi. In Waterloo, over half the elderly population lives below the poverty line.

About 19% of the older Jewish population lives in rented accommodation and, not unnaturally, renters have lower incomes than owner/occupiers. In Waterloo, 75% of the elderly pay rent and there are also above average proportions in Coogee and Maroubra.

However, the percentage of elderly renters is less than 10% in the affluent precincts of Vaucluse, Rose Bay, Lindfield and St. George.

The Jewish Community of Country New South Wales

The preceding analysis other than for intermarriage was concerned with the Jewish community of Sydney. The census disclosed that another 1279 people⁹ living elsewhere in the State reported their religion as Jewish. This is an increase of just over 100 compared to the 1996 census. Jews are found throughout New South Wales with small concentrations in Newcastle, Wollongong and a number of other urban communities. Most Jews who reside outside the Sydney Statistical Division live along the coastal fringe especially between Port Macquarie and the Queensland border. This is a popular area for retirees.

These communities share certain characteristics with the Jews of Sydney in terms of the older age distribution and higher average income. In other ways, country Jews are very different. The proportion of mixed marriages at 84% is higher than for any locality within Sydney. Children do not have access to Jewish schools and are mainly educated in the government sector at primary level. In secondary school, there is a substantial drift to non government schools almost certainly non Jewish. Similarly, care for elderly Jews is presumably delivered by general service providers rather than Jewish Care.

We have no way of testing whether the underenumeration factor applicable to metropolitan Jews should also be applied to persons living in rural settings. Because there is such a high proportion of mixed marriages, underenumeration may well be greater than in the city. However, as there are no community statistics to test against, it would be prudent to apply the same underenumeration assumption as for the metropolitan area. The State estimate of 41,560 Jews is calculated on that assumption.

Flows Within The Jewish Community of Australia

This series of reports for the Jewish Communal Appeal have until now been limited to the Jews of New South Wales and specifically Sydney. We have been asked to estimate the number of Jews in Australia if the underenumeration assumptions used for Sydney were valid for the rest of the country. There has also been interest in movement between the States.

If an average 20% underenumeration existed across the country, there would be just over 101,000 Jews resident in Australia compared to the census count of 83,991. The population of the

States and Territories would be as shown in Table 11. It will be noticed the NSW and Victoria together account for 87% of the Australian Jewish population.

Table 11: Raw and Estimated Jewish Populations of States and Territories

States	Enumerated Population	Adjusted Population
Victoria	38374	46049
NSW	34345	41560
Western Australia	5072	6086
Queensland	4271	5125
South Australia	1072	1286
ACT	528	634
Tasmania	180	216
NT	149	179
AUSTRALIA	83991	101135

We can also examine movement between the States using the same underenumeration factor. Because the population is so dominated by Sydney and Melbourne, the movement can be simply described for those two cities and the rest of the country. Persons under 5 years of age and immigrants since 1996 are omitted from the 2001 populations.

Table 12: Movement of Jewish Population 1996 to 2001

Residence 1996	Sydney 2001	Melbourne 2001	Other Australia 2001
Sydney	32736	369	602
Melbourne	233	39463	400
Other Australia	665	770	10711

It will be observed that movement has been fairly small compared to the overall population. The flow from Sydney to Melbourne is a little larger than from Melbourne to Sydney but only by 136 people. The flow between Sydney and the rest of Australia is reasonably balanced, however Melbourne attracts more people from other parts of the country than those who flow out from that city. As a result, Melbourne has gained both from Sydney and the rest of the country although the numbers are quite small. In total, Melbourne gained 500 people from interstate flow, equivalent to 1% of its population.

NOTES

1. Encel S & Moss N (1995) *Sydney Jewish Community Demographic Profile* NSW Jewish Communal Appeal
2. After adjusting for our revised view of underenumeration
3. Ethnic migration might also contribute to the recorded growth.
4. Natural increase is births less deaths. Between 1996 and 2001 there were more deaths than births.

5. The Vietnamese and Yugoslav communities are among those concentrated in this part of Sydney
6. The main difference between this number and the total population aged 0-17 (8396) are pre schoolers as most Jewish children complete secondary school.
7. Residential Care including hostels and nursing homes
8. Includes retirement villages, hospitals and other non private dwellings
9. This increases to 1535 if we use the same underenumeration factor as for the Sydney population
10. In this table children refer to the population aged 0-14 [Appendix]
11. The population over 60 including residents of the Montefiore Home [Appendix]

Appendix Populations and Geographic Boundaries

Major Division	Local Division	Postcodes	Children ¹⁰	Elderly	Total
North Eastern (Population 20500)	Bondi	2026	1007	1170	5312
	Bellevue Hill	2023	503	543	2501
	Waverley	2022,2024	376	577	2125
	Edgecliffe	2025, 2027, 2028	212	872	2233
	Rose Bay	2029	582	559	2753
	Vaucluse	2030	1005	782	4606
	Paddington	2000, 2011, 2021	82	188	858
South Eastern (Population 4050)	Randwick	2031	326	283	1498
	Kingsford	2018, 2032, 2033, 2034	363	304	1703
	Maroubra	2035, 2036	324	310	1550
Waterloo	Waterloo	2010, 2016, 2017	44	485	1102
Lower Nth Shore	Lower Nth Shore	2060-2068, 2088-2096	354	754	2873
Upper Nth Shore (Population 5000)	Lindfield	2069, 2070	152	204	870
	St Ives	2075	701	210	2543
	Gordon	2071-2074, 2076-2077	337	282	1686
Other Sydney (Population 5900)	Ryde ¹¹	2110-2122	131	551	1188
	St George	2205-2234	109	246	936
	Balance Sydney	All other Sydney postcodes	487	608	3689
Country NSW	Country NSW	All other NSW postcodes	210	306	1535
TOTAL			7303	9234	41560

Note: All populations in this table are adjusted for underenumeration