

Synagogue membership in the United Kingdom in 2016

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Cover photograph courtesy of Bevis Marks Synagogue, Blake Ezra Photography

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Executive summary

- In 2016, 79,597 Jewish households across the United Kingdom held synagogue membership.
- There were 454 synagogues in operation across the United Kingdom in 2016, the highest number in recorded history.
- Household synagogue membership figures have declined by 20% since 1990, the equivalent of 20,166 households, and by 4% since 2010, the equivalent of 3,366 households.
- An estimated 56.3% of all households across the UK with at least one Jew living within them held synagogue membership in 2016, although the proportions in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland were significantly lower.
- The vast majority (96%) of synagogue members in the UK live in England, and Jews living in England are much more likely to belong to a synagogue than those living in other parts of the UK.
- The largest denominational group in 2016 was 'Central Orthodox' (comprising synagogues affiliated to the United Synagogue or the Federation of Synagogues, as well as independent modern Orthodox synagogues around the country), which held 53% of all household synagogue memberships.
- The remaining synagogue memberships are held by other denominations: Reform (19%); Strictly Orthodox (13%); Liberal (8%); Masorti (3%); and Sephardi (3%).
- The most significant changes in synagogue membership since 1990 can be seen in Central Orthodoxy, which has experienced a 37% decline over the period, and in Strict Orthodoxy, which has experienced a 139% increase.
- These trends have continued since the last synagogue membership report was published in 2010. The Central Orthodox share has declined by 8% over the past six years, whilst the Strictly Orthodox share has grown by 18%.
- Three quarters of all synagogues in the UK are situated in Greater London (64%) and the adjacent areas of South Hertfordshire and South-West Essex (10%). 11% of all synagogues in the UK are in Greater Manchester; 15% are located across other parts of the country.
- Half of all synagogue members in the UK belong to synagogues located in just five areas: Barnet, Westminster, Hertsmere, Redbridge and Stamford Hill.

Introduction

This report is the latest in a series of synagogue membership studies conducted in the United Kingdom since the 1960s. Throughout much of this history, this work was conducted by the Board of Deputies of British Jews, whose researchers developed the methods employed. The last report in this series, published in 2010, was jointly undertaken by the Board of Deputies and the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR). This new report is the first to be carried out exclusively by JPR following an agreement established between the two organisations in 2015. That agreement provides Board of Deputies funding for JPR to collect, analyse, and disseminate a number of key community statistics, including births and deaths, Jewish school enrolment and synagogue membership.

Synagogue membership statistics are amongst the most important data that exist about Jews in the United Kingdom. Unlike in some countries where individuals belong to an umbrella body representing the Jewish community as a whole (e.g. the *Einheitsgemeinde* model in Germany), or in others where synagogues are among several similarly important types of institutions to which individuals can belong (for example, in the United States), in the UK synagogues have long been the main and most common means by which Jews affiliate to the Jewish community. That is not to suggest that Jews cannot express their identity by affiliation to other types of Jewish organisations – indeed, many do – but synagogue membership figures remain by far and away the best measure of Jewish communal affiliation that we have. They provide the only consistent indicator of patterns of Jewish affiliation and belonging over time, and are thus of particular interest to community leaders and planners.

Critically, synagogues in the UK are not simply about Jewish religious engagement; whilst they certainly provide religious services, they tend to serve a much broader communal function. They are, in many respects, community centres – institutions to which Jews belong not just to perform religious rites and practices, but rather to maintain and develop their connections with other Jews and Jewish cultural life. Thus, when individuals decide to join a synagogue in the UK, they are, in effect, demonstrating a desire to be part of the Jewish community; when they decide not to join a synagogue, they are likely to be less engaged in, and less interested in Jewish communal life.

Moreover, examining the numbers and proportions of Jews who affiliate to different types of synagogues can tell us a great deal about how the Jewish community is changing over time. Increases or decreases in affiliation levels within particular denominations help to reveal signs of greater religious liberalism or conservatism across the community as a whole. The changes seen in this regard, particularly when used alongside other data sources, enable us to build up a picture of the evolving nature of Jewish life in the UK, and identify some of the central challenges facing the community.

Synagogue membership data also play an essential role in social research. There are often important parallels to draw between how Jews identify religiously and their socio-demographic characteristics, so data on how the Jewish population is divided along denominational lines are regularly used to assess and weight Jewish survey samples. Indeed, surveys of Jews in the UK that fail to do this may well generate flawed results and should be treated with caution.

With all of that said, synagogue membership is far more complicated to measure than it appears to be at first. Determining what it means to be a member of a synagogue and the exact nature of that association is becoming more and more complex, as is the definition of ‘synagogue’ itself. Many synagogues began their lives as somewhat informal groups of people meeting together to practise Judaism, often in someone’s home, with no formal means of membership. In cases where such groups exist today, it remains debatable whether these people should be formally included as ‘synagogue members.’ Similarly, individuals who may be regular attenders at an established synagogue, but who, nevertheless, do not hold formal membership, could be included in or excluded from the counts. Likewise, cases can be made for the inclusion or exclusion of individuals who allow their membership to lapse from time to time, for various reasons, even though they continue to associate with a synagogue. Further challenges exist too: how one accounts for those who hold two or more memberships of different synagogues simultaneously, without running the risk of double-counting, or those who associate with new, alternative or ‘pop-up’ synagogues, that operate on a pay for services model rather than a formal membership one. All of these dynamics pose challenging questions to synagogue data analysts.

Beyond these types of issues, when analysing synagogue membership data, it is also important to be aware of some of the broad demographic and sociological changes in society that have occurred in recent years, that may have affected synagogue membership trends. For example, the arrival of children is often the trigger for parents to join a synagogue; however, for certain sections of the community, the age at which people are choosing to have children is increasing and the number of children being born is declining. The overall effect of such trends may reduce the tendency of Jewish people to join synagogues. Inter-marriage also impacts on decisions about joining a synagogue, raising the question as to whether non-Jewish partners are welcomed by communities. Other factors also play their part: for example, the rise of more individualistic approaches to life and sceptical attitudes about the role of organised religion in society. Such shifts have led to Jewishness increasingly becoming a matter of choice rather than of birth, and making Jewish identity far more ‘fluid’ (i.e. changing and mutable) and ‘plural’ (i.e. multi-layered and complex).

In addition, the traditional model of synagogue membership, in the form of a ‘Jewish household’ belonging to a particular synagogue, is changing too. Synagogue membership figures have always been based on household counts rather than individual counts, because membership was typically taken out for the household as a whole rather than any sub-group of individuals within it. However, it is increasingly difficult to regard a household as a singular unit, as individuals within a household may belong to different synagogues from one another, if they consider themselves members of any synagogue at all, or they may hold multiple memberships. Furthermore, as already stated, the nature of those ‘memberships’ may be far less formal than the paying of annual fees, a trend that is particularly common among strictly Orthodox Jews, who, as this study shows, are becoming an increasingly sizeable proportion of the synagogue membership as a whole. These types of changes to the Jewish community make carrying out the synagogue membership survey an increasingly challenging exercise.

In the face of this complexity, for the purposes of this study we have opted to employ the simplest and most conservative understanding of synagogue membership. A synagogue member is defined here as someone who is currently

paying a membership fee to belong to an established synagogue. We use this definition both because it is the most clear and robust, and because it is the definition that has been used in previous reports, so it allows us to draw accurate comparisons across time. The exception to this approach relates to the most strictly Orthodox, or *haredi*, part of the community, where traditional patterns of synagogue affiliation tend not to apply, even though all adults in the *kehillah* (community) are, in effect, synagogue members. In these instances, we have opted for an alternative approach to determine equivalent 'membership' counts, as explained in the methodology section of this report.

This report has been produced with the assistance of a number of individuals who should be acknowledged here. In particular, our thanks go to Dr David Graham and Dr Daniel Staetsky at JPR, both of whom read through various drafts of the report and made countless helpful suggestions throughout the research process. In addition, we thank Professor Stephen H. Miller OBE and Professor Steven Haberman, both members of the project management team, whose academic insights, ideas and suggestions have been invaluable. Enormous thanks are due to the team at the Board of Deputies too, without whom this report simply would not exist. Sheila Gewolb and Phil Rosenberg have both been involved in the process, backed up by the vision, dedication and financial support of the organisation as a whole, led by Jonathan Arkush and Gillian Merron. Lastly, our thanks go to the authors of previous editions of this report, particularly Marlina Schmool and Daniel Vulkan, whose dedicated work in the past forms the very foundations of this study.

1 UK synagogue membership: key statistics

Synagogue membership figures over time

Since 1990, synagogue membership counts have been gathered based on household membership rather than individual membership. That is to say, in the figures shown below, each unit recorded represents a household as a whole, which can vary in size from single-person households to households containing large families. This is important to understand when examining the figures contained within this report, as, clearly, the total number of individuals who are members of a synagogue is inevitably higher than the household figures shown.

Figure 1 shows that 79,597 households belonged to a synagogue in the UK in 2016. This is the lowest count recorded for many years, and is consistent with the downward trend in synagogue affiliation observed since 1990 based on the current methodology, but is almost certainly a continuation of a trend dating back to the 1950s.¹ Over the past quarter of a century, synagogue membership has declined, on average, by 776 households per year.

However, the rate of decline has varied somewhat over the period shown. The largest drop occurred in the five years between 1990 and 1995 (-7%, or 7,110 households), but the decline appeared to slow down over the subsequent periods, dropping to just 1%, or 604 households, between 2005 and 2010. Based on this trend, one might have expected the 2016 count to have been very similar to 2010. However, this is not the case; between 2010 and 2016 the decline was 4%, equating to a loss of 3,366 households.

1 Synagogue membership figures for the UK date back much further than 1990, but prior to that, counts were gathered based largely on male memberships only (plus the widows of deceased males who formerly held synagogue membership), it being understood that, in most instances, the '*pater familias*' (male family head) held the membership for the household. This custom has changed over time, raising questions about the accuracy of long-term historical comparisons. For previous data on synagogue membership see Hart and Kafka (2006); Kosmin and Lange (1978); Kosmin and Levy (1983); Schmool and Cohen (1991; 1997; 2002); Prais (1972); Graham and Vulkan (2010).

Nevertheless, it is important to consider this decline in its proper context, and data on Jews from the UK Census provide important insights. Whilst the Jewish population in England and Wales grew by 2% between 2001 and 2011, the number of Jewish households is estimated to have *declined* over that period at a rate of 4.2%. Strikingly, the synagogue membership counts recorded for 2001 and 2010 declined as well over that period (-5.2%), suggesting that a considerable proportion of the attrition observed in recent years may be due to demographic forces, as well as to a drop in levels of synagogue engagement.

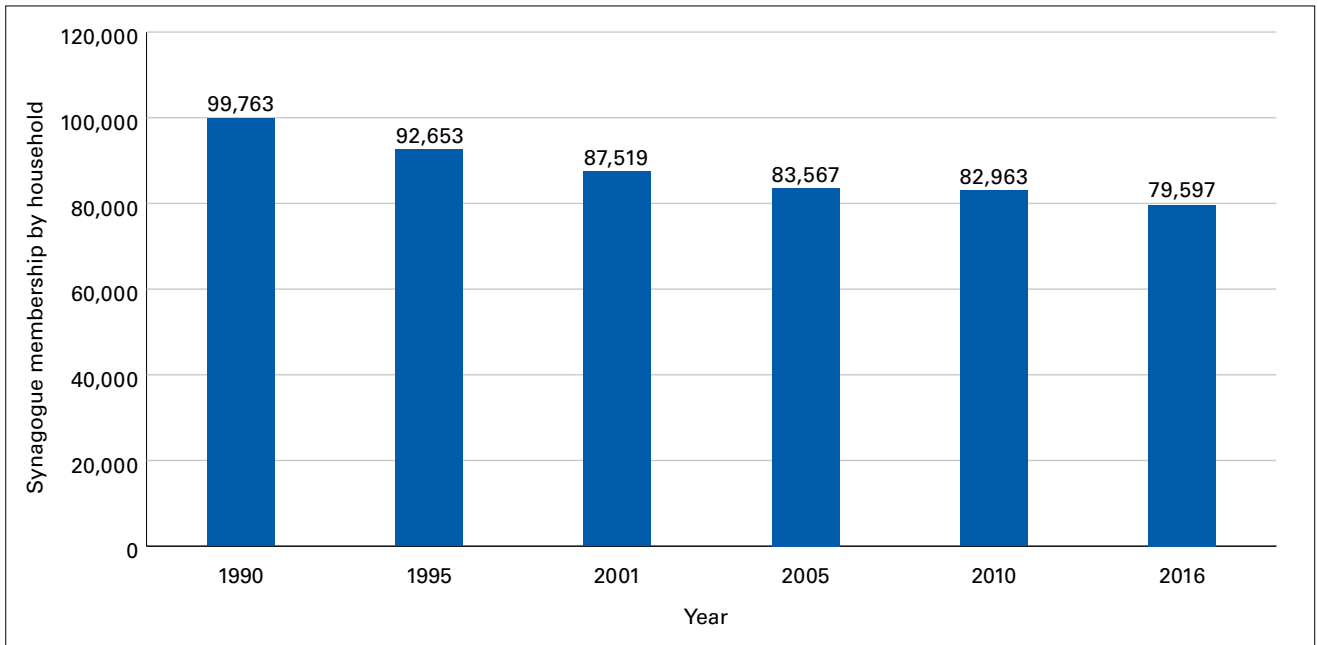
What proportion of UK Jews holds synagogue membership?

Assessing the proportion of Jewish households that belong to a synagogue is complex, partly because it depends on how one defines a Jewish household, but mainly because it involves working with two entirely separate datasets, gathered in different ways and at different times, to compute a figure. To make the calculation, one needs to divide the number of synagogue member households (derived from the synagogue membership survey) by the total number of Jewish households (derived from UK Census data). When we do this, we find that the most recent census (2011) shows us that there are 143,455 households in the UK in which at least one Jewish person lives, which renders the estimated proportion of Jewish households belonging to a synagogue at that time (i.e. in 2011) at 57.8%, down from 59.4% in 2001 (see Figure 2). As the most recent count we have for the number of Jewish households is from 2011, we can only estimate a proportional affiliation rate for 2016, but it is likely that it has declined further in the interim, and that it currently stands at 56.3%.²

However, those proportions rely on a particular definition of a Jewish household – namely, any household across the United Kingdom

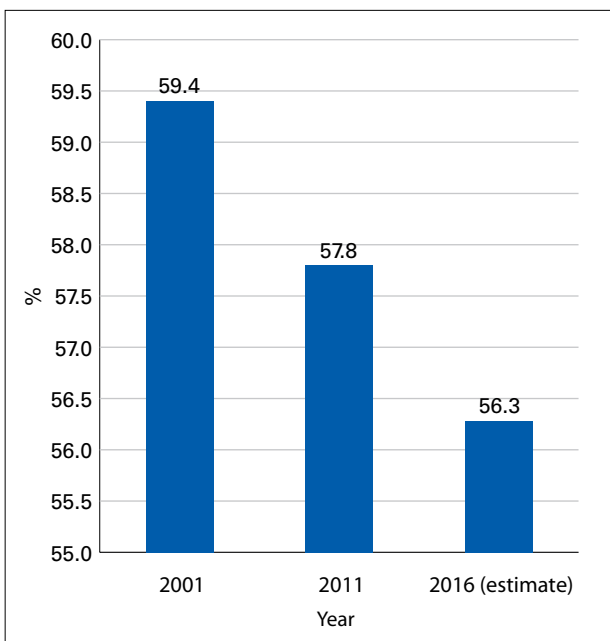
2 The number of households in England and Wales in which at least one Jewish person lives declined by 4.2% between 2001 and 2011. Assuming the same rate of decline across the UK as a whole for the period 2011 and 2016, generates an estimated total number of Jewish households for the UK in 2016 of 141,503.

Figure 1. Long-term trend in synagogue membership by household over four decades, 1990-2016



Note: Length of time between counts fluctuates slightly, between four and six years.

Figure 2. Proportions of Jewish households across the UK that hold synagogue membership



in which there is at least one Jewish person living. In addition to using this definition of a Jewish household, it is worth noting that the last synagogue membership report (2010) also applied an alternative, more narrow definition – namely, only those households in which the ‘Household Reference Person’ (HRP) (i.e. the

individual identified on the Census form as the key representative of the household) is Jewish.³ This definition includes all homogeneous Jewish households (i.e. those in which everybody living within them is Jewish), as well as the heterogeneous ones (i.e. mixed Jewish/non-Jewish households) in which the main breadwinner is Jewish. This approach removes close to 30,000 households from the census counts for both 2001 and 2011,⁴ thereby producing a considerably higher

3 The concept of a Household Reference Person (HRP) was introduced in the 2001 Census (in common with other government surveys in 2001/2) to replace the traditional concept of the head of the household. HRPs provide an individual person within a household to act as a reference point for producing further derived statistics and for characterising a whole household according to characteristics of the chosen reference person. The HRP is identified on the basis of their economic activity – the most economically active person in the household will typically be selected. For more details on the definition of HRP, see the Office for National Statistics’ 2011 Census Glossary of Terms pp. 18 and 23. For a detailed analysis on the implications of using the HRP definition to identify Jewish households, see: Graham and Caputo (2015), *Jewish families and households: Census insights about how we live*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 2015.

4 England and Wales only. The rationale for the removal of these households is that they are, by definition, multi-person mixed Jewish/non-Jewish

Table 1. Estimated proportions of Jewish households holding synagogue membership, using different methods

Year	No. of Jewish households, UK	Synagogue membership households, UK	Proportion of synagogue members households	No. of Jewish households using narrow HRP definition, UK	Proportion using narrow HRP definition
2001	147,349 ^a	87,519	59.4%	119,540 ^d	73.2%
2011	143,455 ^b	82,963	57.8%	114,527 ^e	72.4%
2016	141,503 ^c	79,597	56.3%	112,022 ^f	71.1%

(a) Estimated count for UK based on ONS Tables C0478a and C0478b; (b) ONS Table CT0698EW plus commissioned data from NRS (for Scotland) and NISRA (for Northern Ireland); (c) Estimated count for UK derived from ONS Tables C0478a, C0478b and CT0698, plus commissioned data from NRS and NISRA; (d) ONS 2001 Table S151 provides a count of 116,330 for England and Wales – assuming this represents 97.3% of the UK Jewish population (2011 proportion) gives an estimated total for the UK of 119,540; (e) ONS Table DC1202EW, NRS Table AT052 and NISRA Table QS218NI (note that England and Wales account for 97.3% of the total population of the UK); (f) Estimated count for UK derived from ONS Tables S151 and DC1202EW, plus NRS Table AT052 and NISRA Table QS218NI.

proportion of household memberships of 72.4% in 2011, down from 73.2% in 2001. Again, we can only estimate how many Jewish households exist in 2016 based on this definition, but our calculations would suggest that the rate has declined slightly since 2011, and now stands at approximately 71.1% (Table 1). However, it is our view that the former proportion for 2011 (57.8%) is technically the most accurate of all of these various counts for two reasons. First, it is the most up-to-date proportion we have that is based on two unadjusted figures gained at very similar points in time. Second, it is entirely conceivable that some of the synagogue members in the numerator at that time (82,963) would be missing from the smaller denominator based on the HRP definition, thereby resulting in an over-estimation of affiliate households. Thus the larger denominator is the technically more accurate one to apply.

Data from JPR's 2013 National Jewish Community Survey (NJCS) help to confirm this assessment. NJCS provides us with an alternative means of examining the proportion, and gives us the slightly higher membership rate of 60.7% for Jews in the UK aged 16 and above, albeit with quite large confidence intervals of 55% to 66%.⁵ The fact that the 57.8% figure falls within these

households in which the HRP is not Jewish, so whilst they could contain synagogue members, there is a strong likelihood that the Jewish members of these households are rather distant from Jewish communal life.

5 Unpublished 2013 National Jewish Community Survey data. See: Graham, D., Staetsky, L. D. and Boyd, J. (2014).

confidence intervals gives us a greater degree of certainty about the accuracy of this estimate.

Nevertheless, two important caveats should be taken into consideration. The National Jewish Community Survey involved the gathering of two distinct datasets, one of which is representative of all self-identifying Jews in the UK, and another which is representative of self-identifying Jews in the UK who are likely to be connected to Jewish communal life in some way. Examining this second dataset, we find that 80.7% of Jews hold synagogue membership. Whilst this is certainly an inaccurate figure to use from a technical point of view, it is reasonable to assume that this is a legitimate assessment of the extent to which synagogues collectively are currently reaching their potential market.

On the other hand, the National Jewish Community Survey also enabled us to determine the extent to which those holding dual or multi-memberships of different synagogues may have affected the overall synagogue membership counts. Because synagogue membership data are gathered directly from synagogues or synagogue movements, there is no way to ascertain whether any members accounted for in one synagogue's counts are also accounted for in another's. However, NJCS allowed us to assess this phenomenon, and revealed that 7.9% of all synagogue members in the UK hold memberships of two or more synagogues simultaneously. We have not accounted for this factor in any of the counts reported here (see methodology section), but suffice it to say, if we

did, it would reduce the 2016 count by several thousand, and correspondingly, the proportion of synagogue membership households in the UK.

Of course, all of these proportions relate to the United Kingdom as a whole, and interestingly, the proportions for different parts of the UK vary significantly. Given that 96% of all Jewish households in the UK are based in England, the proportions for England are very similar to those of the UK as a whole. However, the proportions for other countries in the UK differ substantially. Our estimates indicate that only about a third of all Jewish households in Scotland hold synagogue membership, and the proportion for Wales is lower still at about a quarter. The equivalent proportion for Northern Ireland is approximately one-eighth.

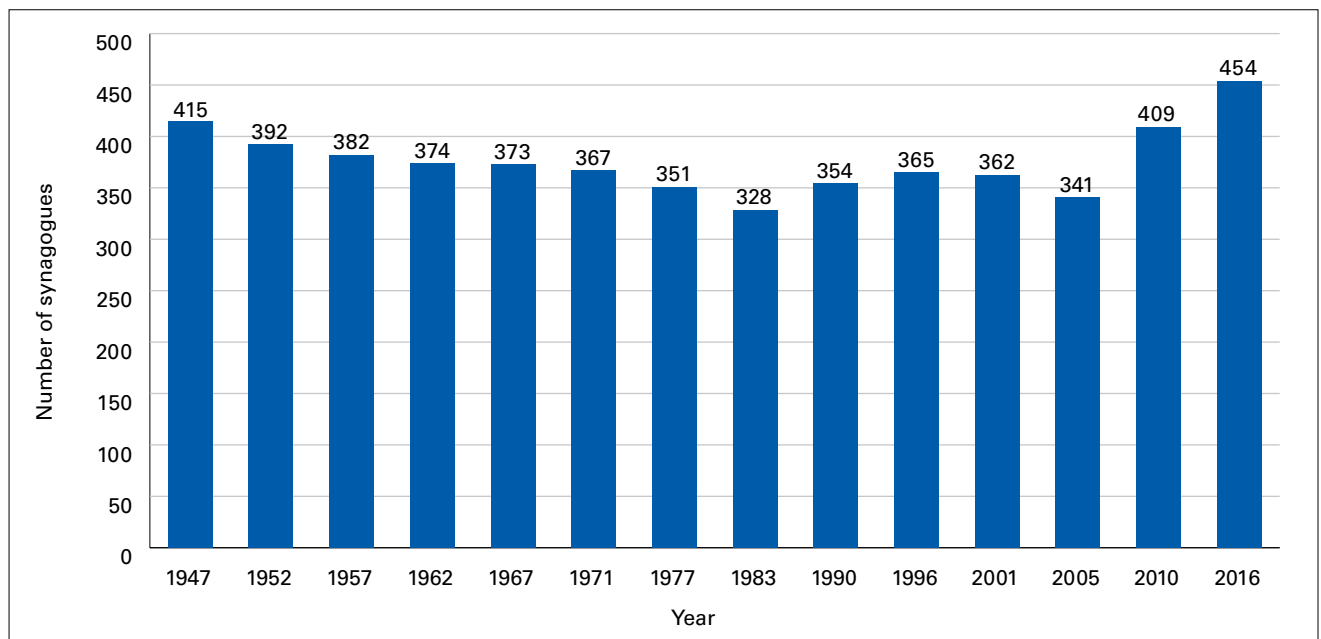
How many synagogues are in operation across the UK?

The number of active synagogues across the United Kingdom has fluctuated over time, declining during the second half of the twentieth century, before stabilising and then increasing (Figure 3). Strikingly, at 454, the number of synagogues in 2016 is the highest ever recorded,

surpassing, for the first time, the immediate post-war count of 415. Indeed, this is almost certainly the largest number there has ever been in Britain.

The figures indicate that there has been an 11% increase in the number of synagogues in the UK since 2010. However, the increase shown is somewhat misleading because the precise count for 2010 cannot be confirmed. First, 31 of the 'new' synagogues shown in the 2016 figures are strictly Orthodox ones based in the Stamford Hill area, Barnet, Manchester or Gateshead, that were not included in the 2010 counts. In most of these cases, they are, indeed, newly-established synagogues since 2010, but not in all cases. Information about those that opened prior to 2010 was simply not available to the authors of the 2010 report, and we have been unable to determine precisely to how many among this group this applies. Second, a further 27 mainstream (i.e. non-strictly Orthodox) synagogues can be found in the 2016 data that were not included in the 2010 report. Ten of these definitely opened post-2010, but fourteen of them, whilst not listed in the 2010 report, were in fact open at that time. The situation with the remaining three is unclear – the date of their establishment cannot be categorically confirmed

Figure 3. Long-term trend in number of synagogues, 1947-2016⁶

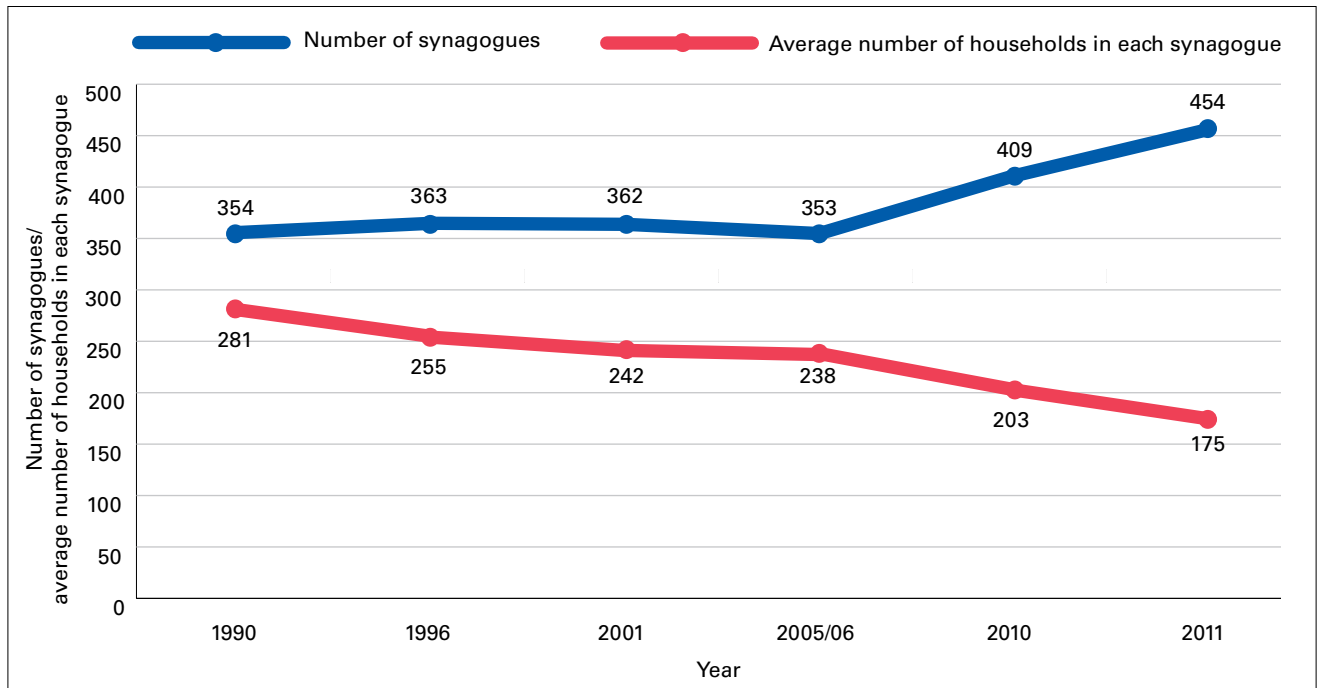


Note: the gaps in time between each year shown are not consistent, varying from between four and seven years.

6 Prais (1972), p.225 – counts recorded from selected Jewish Year Books, 1947-1971. For all other counts

see the respective synagogue membership reports as referenced in the bibliography section.

Figure 4. Average number of households in all synagogues across the United Kingdom



as either pre- or post-2010. Third, to complicate matters further, thirteen mainstream synagogues have ceased operations since 2010, and four of these merged into two ‘new’ communities, accounted for here among the newly established synagogues since 2010. Accounting for all these figures, the highest that the rate of increase in the number of synagogues between 2010 and 2016 can possibly be is 7%, and it is probable that it is somewhat lower.

That stated, looking in detail at the dataset that underlies this study, we can see that many of the synagogues that have been opened since 2010 are in the Strictly Orthodox sector. This is a rapidly expanding part of the Jewish population in the UK that has also seen a 28% increase in the number of Strictly Orthodox schools in operation over the past decade.⁷ Indeed, the sharp increase since 2005 in the number of synagogues that exist in the UK is primarily due to dynamics within the haredi population, the growth of which, as has

been reported elsewhere, is contributing to a major compositional change in the UK Jewish population as a whole.⁸

The influence of the growing haredi sector can also be surmised by looking at how the average number of members per synagogue has changed over time. In Figure 4, the blue line represents the increase in the number of synagogues in operation since 1990, whilst the red line shows the average membership size across this period. As can be seen, average membership has dropped quite sharply over the past decade, following a more gradual decline in the previous decade or so. This is most likely a result of a growing number of *shtiebl*-type synagogues entering the system – small institutions catering for small numbers of people, particularly in haredi areas. At the same time, it may also reflect other factors, such as the continued existence of synagogues in geographical areas that are experiencing significant Jewish population decline.

7 Staetsky, L. D. and Boyd, J. (2016). *The rise and rise of Jewish Schools in the United Kingdom: Numbers, trends and policy issues*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research with the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

8 Staetsky, L. D. and Boyd, J. (2014). *Strictly Orthodox rising: What the demography of British Jews tells us about the future of the community*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

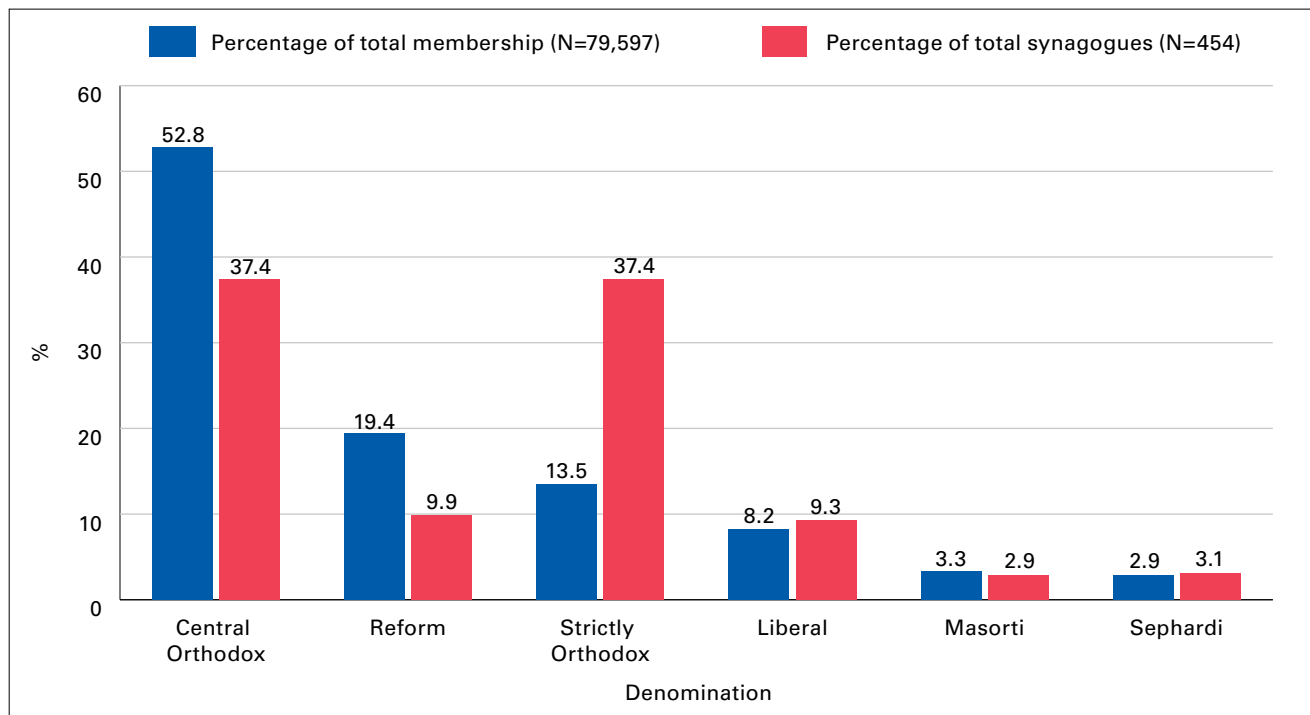
2 Denominational distinctions

Synagogue membership data have traditionally been broken down into key denominational categories. In this report, we relate to six distinct ‘strands’ that have historically been dominant in Britain, as follows: Central Orthodox (consisting of the United Synagogue, the Federation of Synagogues and independent modern Orthodox synagogues); Liberal (synagogues affiliated to Liberal Judaism, plus Belsize Square Synagogue); Masorti (synagogues affiliated to Masorti Judaism); Reform (synagogues affiliated to the Movement for Reform Judaism, plus Westminster Synagogue, Chaim v’Tikvah, and Hastings and District Jewish Society); Sephardi (synagogues affiliated with the Spanish and Portuguese Sephardi Community, plus synagogues that identify with the Spanish and Portuguese tradition); and Strictly Orthodox synagogues (synagogues aligned with the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations and others of a similar ethos).⁹

As Figure 5 shows, the largest denominational group in 2016 was Central Orthodox, with 52.8% of the total membership, followed by Reform with 19.4%, Strictly Orthodox with 13.5%, Liberal with 8.2%, Masorti with 3.3%, and Sephardi with 2.9%.

However, in terms of the relative number of synagogues associated with each denominational strand, Central Orthodox and Strictly Orthodox share the dominant position with an identical number, each accounting for 37.4% of the total 454 synagogues. Nevertheless, in assessing these figures it is important to bear in mind that the average congregational size in the Central Orthodox strand (247 members) is almost four times larger than in the strictly Orthodox strand (63 members). Reform synagogues have the highest mean congregational size, with an average of 344 members per synagogue (see Table 2).

Figure 5. Distribution of household membership and of numbers of synagogues by denomination in 2016 (% of totals)



9 In certain instances, particularly those relating to independent synagogues, denominational categorisation along these lines is not straightforward. The main area of difficulty lies around the boundary between the categories ‘Central Orthodoxy’ and ‘Strict

Orthodoxy,’ as some synagogues that fall in this grey zone sometimes defy simple categorisation. To understand within which category any particular synagogue has been placed, see the Appendices 3 and 4.

Table 2. Distribution of synagogue membership and total number of synagogues by denomination, 2016

Denominational strand	Numbers of members (by household)	Percentage of total membership (N=79,597)	Number of synagogues	Percentage of total synagogues (N=454)	Average number of members per synagogue
Central Orthodox	41,990	52.8%	170	37.4%	247
Reform	15,458	19.4%	45	9.9%	344
Strictly Orthodox	10,712	13.5%	170	37.4%	63
Liberal	6,514	8.2%	42	9.3%	155
Masorti	2,620	3.3%	13	2.9%	202
Sephardi	2,303	2.9%	14	3.1%	165
Total	79,597	100%	454	100%	196

Over time, the balance between the denominational strands has been changing. Table 3 shows the counts for each strand between 1990 and 2016. The most striking figures are for the Central Orthodox and Strictly Orthodox strands, albeit for contrasting reasons. Central Orthodox membership figures have declined by over a third (36.6%) in the past quarter of a century, from 66,201 in 1990 to 41,990 in 2016 – the equivalent of about 930 household memberships per annum. Indeed, the actual number of members of the Central Orthodox strand has contracted by 24,211 over that period, which is greater than the decline in total synagogue membership across all denominations over the same period (20,166).

By contrast, Strictly Orthodox membership figures have increased dramatically, by 139%, rising from a recorded count of 4,489 in 1990, to 10,712 in 2016, the equivalent of about 240 new households per annum. As is the case with UK Jewish population data in general, these dynamics in the haredi community, which are driven predominantly by demographic forces

(particularly high birth rates), are helping to offset the decline seen in other parts of the Jewish community.

The data also reveal contrasting fortunes for the various non-Orthodox strands. The counts recorded both for the Reform and the Liberal movements are at the lowest levels seen since 1990. Membership of Reform synagogues has declined by 8% since 1990 (a net loss of 1,366 members, or the equivalent of an average of about 53 per annum), whilst among the Liberal strand, the equivalent figure is 16% (an average loss of about 49 members per annum). However, unlike the Central Orthodox, the trajectory of both denominations over time has not been consistent. Increases in membership counts have been seen in some of the periods shown: between 1990 and 2001 in the case of Reform, and between 1990 and 1995, and again between 2005 and 2010 in the case of Liberal. In contrast, Masorti has grown consistently since 1990, from 1,226 members at that time to an all-time high of 2,620 in 2016. These are significantly

Table 3. Total synagogue household membership by denomination, 1990-2016

Denominational strand	1990	1995	2001	2005	2010	2016
Central Orthodox	66,201	57,040	50,538	47,442	45,393	41,990
Reform	16,824	17,123	17,783	16,719	16,125	15,458
Strictly Orthodox	4,489	5,609	6,631	7,664	9,049	10,712
Liberal	7,785	8,269	8,055	6,743	7,197	6,514
Masorti	1,226	1,413	1,456	1,977	2,269	2,620
Sephardi	3,238	3,199	3,056	3,022	2,930	2,303
Total	99,763	92,653	87,519	83,567	82,963	79,597

Table 4. Denominational change, 2010-16 and 1990-2016

Denominational strand	The last 6 years (2010-2016)		The last 26 years (1990-2016)	
	Total change	Percentage change	Total change	Percentage change
Central Orthodox	-3,403	-7.5%	-24,211	-36.6%
Reform	-667	-4.1%	-1,366	-8.1%
Liberal	-683	-9.5%	-1,271	-16.3%
Strictly Orthodox	+1,633	+18.4%	+6,223	+138.6%
Sephardi	-627	-21.4%	-935	-28.9%
Masorti	+351	+15.5%	+1,394	+113.7%
Total change	-3,366	-4.1%	-20,166	-20.2%

lower numbers than either of the other two non-Orthodox denominations, but an increase nonetheless of 114% (or the equivalent of about 54 members per annum). Indeed, in 2016, for the first time, Masorti membership counts exceeded Sephardi ones, rendering it no longer the smallest denominational strand.

The patterns observed during the most recent period (2010-2016) essentially mirror those seen between 1990 and 2016 (Table 4). The same denominational strands that have grown between 1990 and 2016 have also seen growth over the past few years, and the same ones that have declined over the longer period have similarly declined recently. Most importantly, the evidence of dramatic growth in the Strictly Orthodox sector and decline in the Central Orthodox sector are not simply short-term phenomena, but have clearly been going on for some time.

Since the overall number of households affiliated to a synagogue declined by 20% between 1990 and 2016, any denomination which has declined by *less than* 20% during this period will end up representing a larger proportion of total synagogue membership than it did in 1990. Conversely, a denomination which has declined by *more than* the overall rate of 20%, will end up representing a smaller proportion of the total. Figure 6 shows how the proportion represented by each denomination has changed over the period. Whereas two-thirds of all synagogue members in 1990 belonged to a Central Orthodox synagogue, that proportion was barely over a half (52.8%) by 2016, and whereas just 4.5% of all synagogue members in 1990 were affiliated with a Strictly

Orthodox synagogue, by 2016 that proportion had jumped to 13.5%. Yet, the fortunes of the non-Orthodox denominations are more positive when viewed in this light. In proportionate terms, both the Reform and Liberal denominations have seen their share of synagogue members grow slightly since 1990, rising from 17% to 19% in the case of Reform, and from 7.8% to 8.2% in the case of Liberal. Masorti, too, has increased its share, albeit from a lower base, rising from just over 1% of the whole in 1990, to over 3% in 2016.

An alternative way of casting these same data is by dividing synagogue members into three distinct groups: (i) 'Mainstream Orthodox' (defined here as 'Central Orthodox' plus Sephardi); (ii) Strictly Orthodox; and (iii) Non-Orthodox (defined here as Reform, Liberal and Masorti¹⁰). Whilst these distinctions are for illustrative purposes only, Figure 7 provides some important insights into the changing nature of the British Jewish community over the last generation. It shows that the non-Orthodox share of the total membership has grown slightly over time, rising from just over a quarter of the whole to just under a third, although it has been largely quite stable at around the 30% mark for the past twenty years. Of the remaining 69%, Mainstream Orthodox remains overwhelmingly dominant (56%), but Strictly Orthodox has become an increasingly larger part of that (13%). Importantly, Strictly Orthodox growth is happening independently of Mainstream

¹⁰ Some would argue that Masorti might be better positioned within the Central Orthodox category. However, recalculating these figures to adjust them in this way makes negligible difference to the overarching impression shown in Figure 7.

Figure 6. Synagogue membership by denomination 1990-2016 (% of totals)

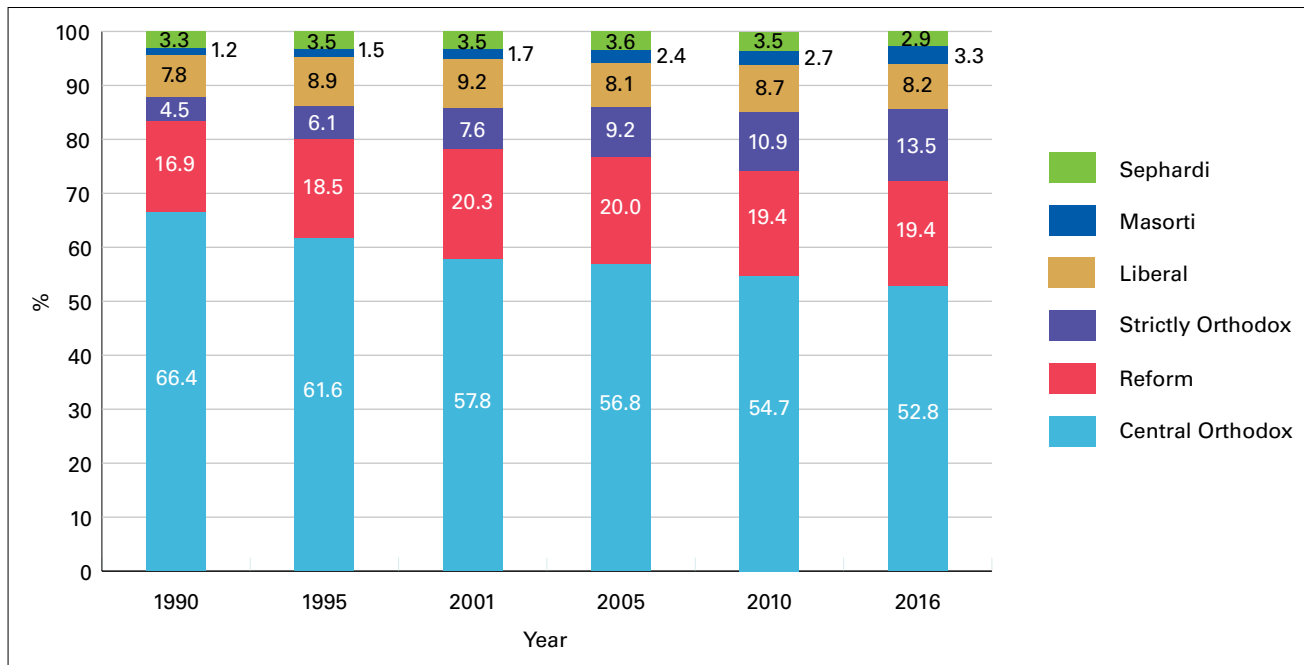
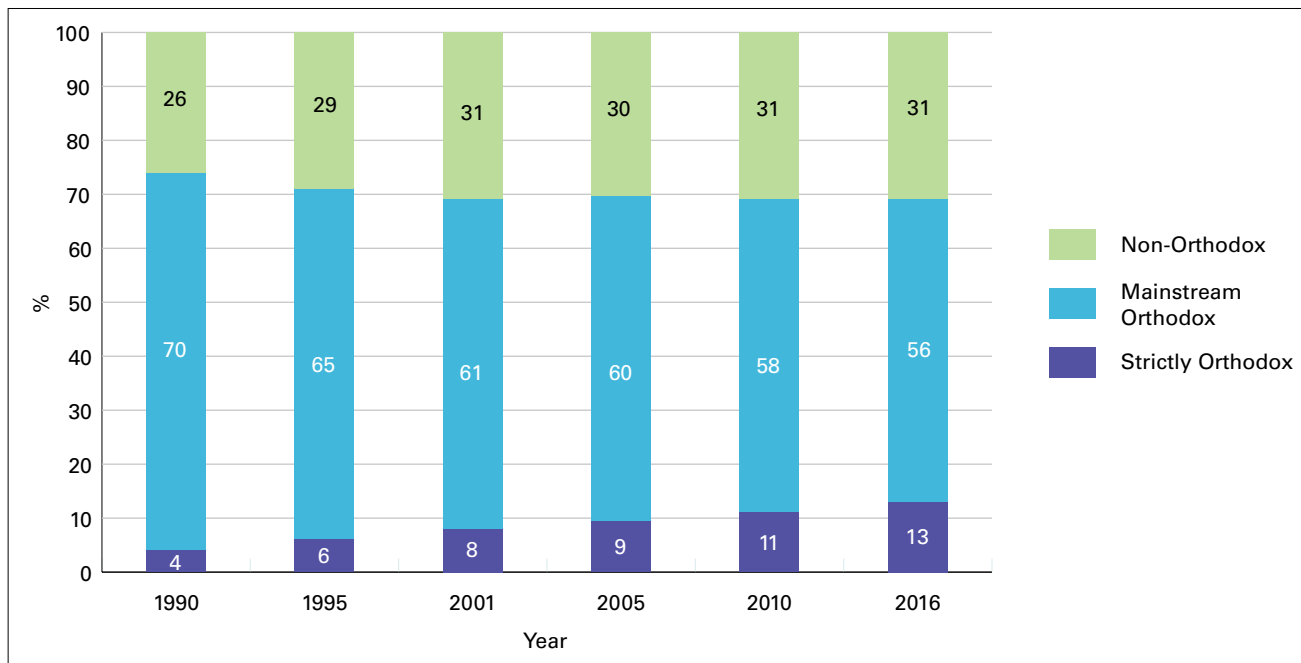


Figure 7. The changing landscape of UK synagogue membership by broad denominational category

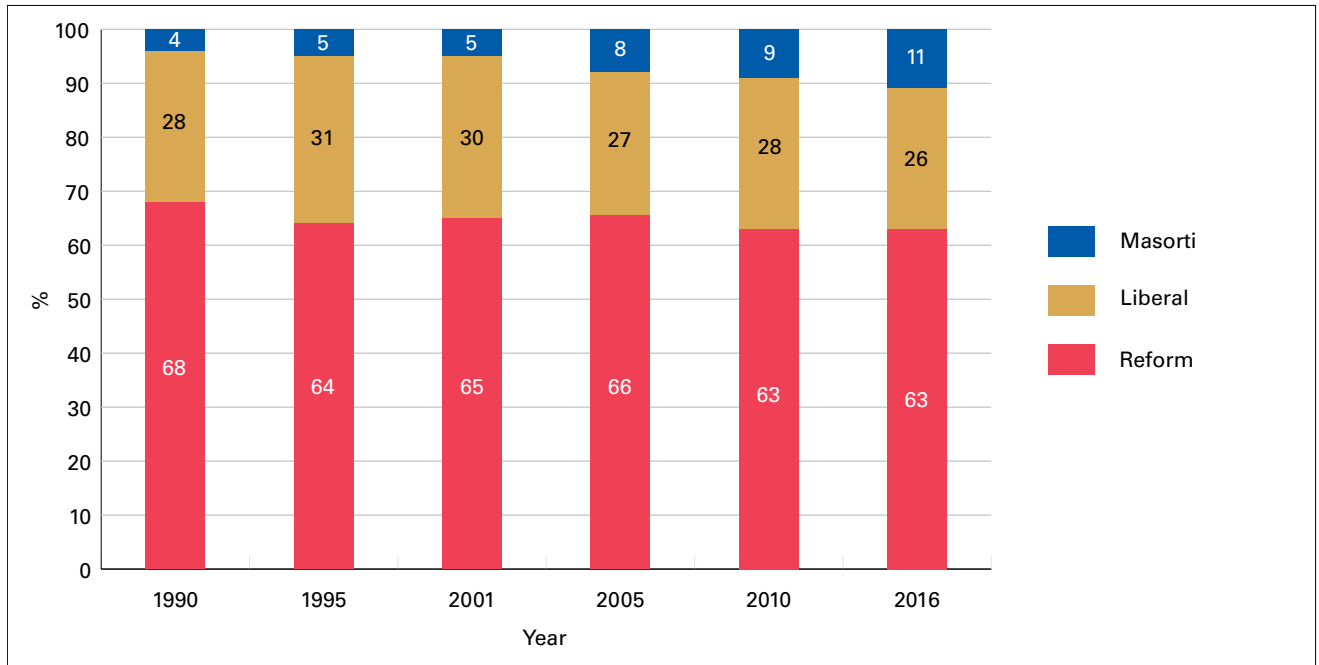


Note: Strict Orthodoxy = United Orthodox Hebrew Congregations and independent strictly Orthodox synagogues; Mainstream Orthodoxy = United Synagogue, Federation of Synagogues, independent Modern Orthodox synagogues and mainstream Sephardi synagogues; Non-Orthodox = Masorti, Reform and Liberal synagogues or independent synagogues with a religiously progressive ethos. Figures may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

Orthodox contraction; whereas Mainstream Orthodox contraction is due to a combination of shrinking membership caused by ageing and ‘leakage’ to Non-Orthodox denominations or non-affiliation, Strictly Orthodox growth

is predominantly driven by high fertility. The impression is one in which Mainstream Orthodoxy is being slowly ‘squeezed’ from both sides, albeit for different reasons, and more so by the Strictly Orthodox than the non-Orthodox.

Figure 8. Developments within the non-Orthodox streams, 1990-2016



What has caused the decline of mainstream Orthodoxy over the course of the past generation? Has any organisation or sub-group within this strand (i.e. the United Synagogue, the Federation of Synagogues, the Sephardim or, collectively, the independent synagogues) seen higher or lower levels of contraction over the period shown? Geographical analysis indicates that there is no such factor at play. On the contrary, all of these sub-groups within mainstream Orthodoxy have synagogues in decline and all have synagogues that are growing, largely in line with where Jewish populations are declining and growing. Across all four groups, about 50-60% of synagogues show evidence of decline since 1990, and about 10-20% show evidence of growth. The remainder are largely stable.

The most noticeable change between the three non-Orthodox movements is the increased share of Masorti, rising from below one in twenty of all non-Orthodox household memberships in 1990, to over one in ten today (Figure 8). However, at the same time, the balance in household memberships between Reform and Liberal has remained largely stable at between 2.1 and 2.4 Reform member households to every one Liberal one across the period shown. The ratio has fluctuated over time, but the 1990 and 2016 ratios are strikingly similar to one another.

Of course, with these various changes occurring, it is important to take into consideration movement between denominations – i.e. the decisions people take to change their affiliation over time. Whilst synagogue membership data capture ‘stocks’ in membership counts at particular points in time (i.e. how many households belong to particular types of synagogue at that moment), they can only be used to infer ‘flows’ (i.e. how people move between them). For this, it is informative to turn to data from JPR’s 2013 National Jewish Community Survey, which examined differences between how British Jews of all ages affiliated to synagogues during their upbringing, and how they affiliate now. These data indicate that a significantly higher number and proportion of mainstream Orthodox affiliated Jews have moved towards more non-Orthodox or progressive movements than the other way around. At the same time, very similar proportions of both mainstream Orthodox and non-Orthodox groups have moved religiously ‘leftwards’ – i.e. towards more progressive or secular positions. However, we have not found evidence of the same degree of movement from the Strictly Orthodox world into mainstream Orthodoxy. Thus, in essence, the apparent picture of stability over time seen within non-Orthodoxy may be somewhat deceptive: it appears to be losing members at a similar rate to mainstream Orthodoxy, but unlike mainstream

Orthodoxy, it has the benefit of gaining members from synagogues to its religious 'right,' who are helping in some way to offset that loss. In essence, looking across non-Orthodoxy as a whole, the

inflow of new members and the outflow of existing members appear to be more or less in balance, whereas in Mainstream Orthodoxy, the outflow significantly exceeds the inflow.

3 Geographical trends

Close to two-thirds of synagogue members (63.8%) belong to synagogues situated in Greater London, with a further 10.1% in the ‘East of England’ region (which includes South Hertfordshire and Essex) and 4.3% in the ‘South East’ region (which includes places such as Maidenhead and South Bucks). Thus, just over three-quarters of all synagogue members belong to synagogues that are situated in, or in close proximity to London. Of the remaining quarter, Greater Manchester stands out: of the 12.1% of synagogue member households situated in the

North West region of England, close to 90% of them live in Greater Manchester, comprising 10.6% of the total number of synagogue member households in the UK (Figure 9).

Viewed at this regional level, only one part of the United Kingdom has seen growth in synagogue membership since 1990: the ‘East of England’ region (Table 5). Critically, this includes parts of South Hertfordshire such as Bushey, Radlett, Elstree and Borehamwood, all of which have seen significant Jewish population

Figure 9. Regional distribution of synagogue membership in 2016, %

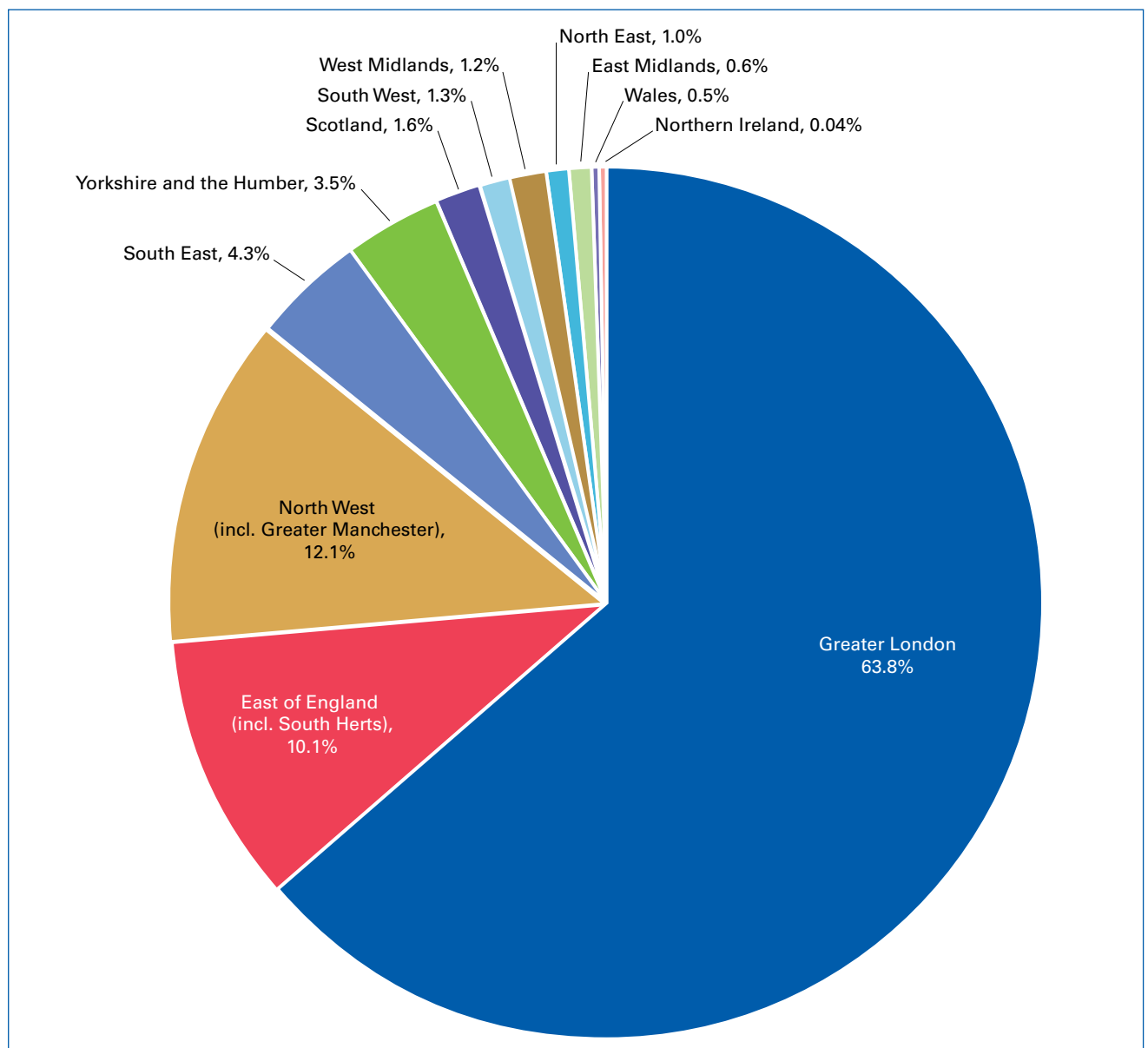


Table 5. Total synagogue household membership by region, 1990 and 2016

Region	1990	2016	Numerical growth/decline	Proportionate growth/decline
Greater London	66,221	50,813	-15,408	-23.3%
North West (incl. Greater Manchester)	10,201	9,649	-552	-5.4%
East of England (incl. South Hertfordshire)	5,347	8,072	+2,725	+51.0%
South East	4,294	3,401	-893	-20.8%
Yorkshire & The Humber	5,008	2,774	-2,234	-44.6%
Scotland	2,489	1,272	-1,217	-48.9%
South West	1,779	1,000	-779	-43.8%
West Midlands	1,688	962	-726	-43.0%
North East	1,037	765	-272	-26.2%
East Midlands	762	497	-265	-34.8%
Wales	716	360	-356	-49.7%
Northern Ireland	221	32	-189	-85.5%
Total	99,763	79,597	-20,166	-20.2%

growth in recent decades. Elsewhere, the decline varies in scale. In Greater London, the North West and North East, the overall decline is offset somewhat by the growth of the haredi population in each of these areas; in many other places where there is little or no haredi presence, synagogue membership has declined by about a half since 1990. The decline has been most acute in Northern Ireland, where now very little synagogue life remains at all.

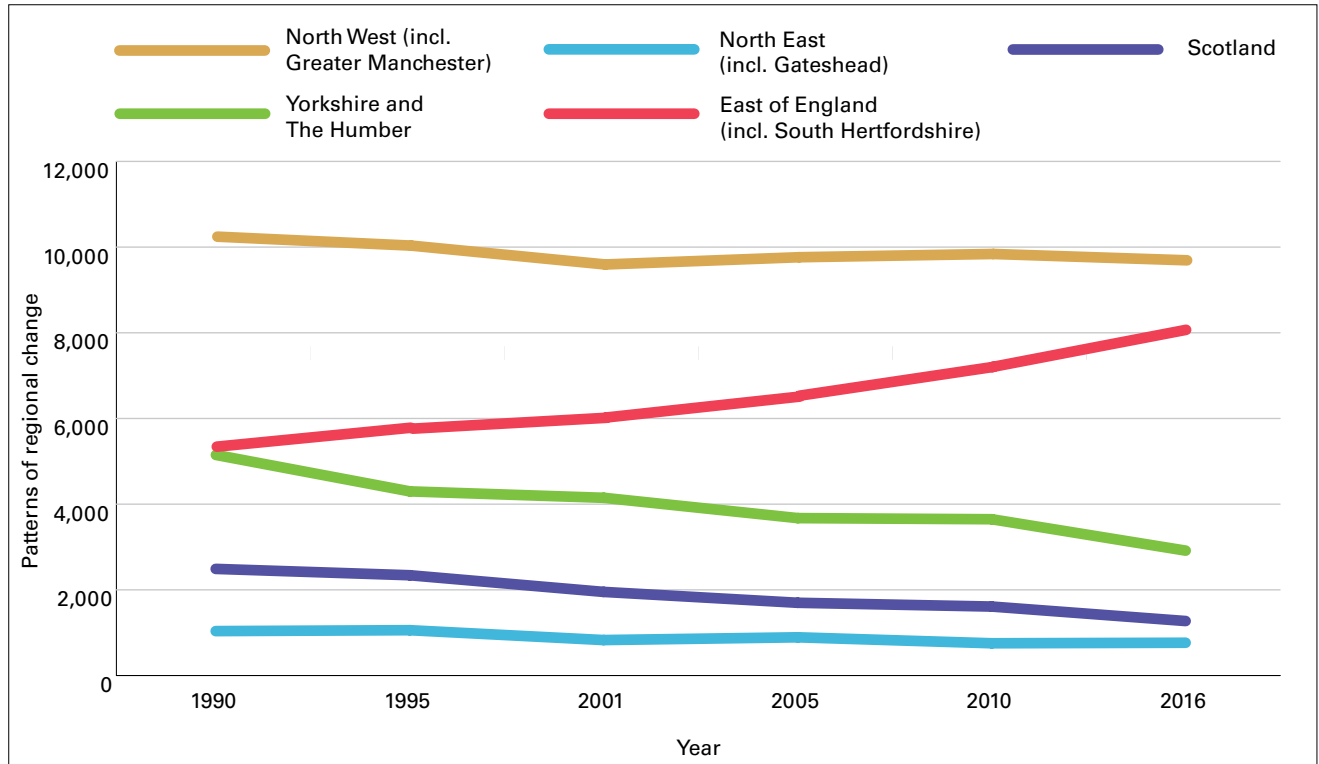
Figure 10 tracks the changes that have been seen in different regions since 1990, and reveals these three distinct patterns more clearly. The East of England pattern of growth (shown in red) is unique to that area – it is the only region of the United Kingdom that has seen sustained growth in synagogue membership, and it is important to recognise that most of this growth has come at the expense of contraction elsewhere, i.e. it is due to migration of Jews from other parts of the UK into South Hertfordshire. Four new synagogues have been established in the area since 1990, and almost all of those that existed at that time have seen significant growth in their membership over that period. Indeed, two of the largest ten synagogues in the country, and four of the largest twenty, are now situated in the Borough of Hertsmere. In 1990, none of the Hertsmere based synagogues fell into either of these two categories.

The second pattern can be seen in the North West (which includes Manchester and Liverpool), and the North East (which includes Newcastle and Gateshead). In both cases, the mainstream Jewish population has declined over the past twenty-five years, and this is reflected in the synagogue membership statistics – most of the mainstream synagogues in these places have experienced decline, although the picture in Manchester is noticeably better than elsewhere. However, the overall trend is largely flat, because increases in synagogue membership among the growing haredi populations in parts of Manchester and Gateshead are offsetting the decline elsewhere.

The third pattern is seen most clearly in Scotland (particularly Glasgow) and the Yorkshire and the Humber region, which includes Leeds. In these areas, whilst there are cases of individual mainstream synagogues increasing their numbers over time, the overall picture is one of declining membership, a result largely of declining Jewish populations in these places. In these instances, there is no significant growing haredi population to offset that decline, so the trend is downwards.

Looking at the geographical data in more detail (Table 6 on page 20) reveals that the largest pool of synagogue members is based in the London Borough of Barnet – indeed, one quarter of all synagogue members belong to synagogues in

Figure 10. Three key patterns of regional change, 1990 to 2016



that area. Barnet is home to one in five of all British Jews, and includes neighbourhoods such as Golders Green, Hendon, Hampstead Garden Suburb and Finchley, all of which have sizeable Jewish populations. Furthermore, half of all synagogue members belong to synagogues in just five areas: Barnet, Westminster, Hertsmere, Redbridge and Stamford Hill. The inclusion of Westminster as second on the list is somewhat surprising, because the Jewish population of the borough is both declining and considerably smaller than several other areas listed below it in Table 6 (e.g. Hertsmere, Redbridge and Harrow). However, Westminster is home to three of British Jewry's flagship synagogues which draw their memberships from both within and beyond the local area: St. John's Wood (Central Orthodox), West London (Reform) and the Liberal Jewish Synagogue, all of which have large memberships.

When one adds to these five areas the synagogues in the London Borough of Harrow, as well as the strictly Orthodox synagogues in Broughton Park, the mainstream synagogues in the boroughs of Bury and Manchester (all of which are in Greater Manchester), and the synagogues of Leeds, we reach two-thirds of the total. As has been seen in

previous JPR reports, whilst some form of Jewish communal life can be found in many parts of the United Kingdom, the Jewish population, and Jewish synagogue life, is heavily concentrated in a very small number of places.¹¹

The last synagogue membership report (2010) was the first to be published after the 2001 Census data had been released and analysed (though it pre-dated the 2011 Census), and thus it allowed the authors to compare the distribution of the Jewish population as a whole in 2001 with the distribution of the synagogue affiliated Jewish population at the same time. It noted that there is a reasonably close relationship between regional Jewish population sizes and synagogue membership sizes, although it highlighted Greater London as something of an exception, arguing that the high concentration of Jews in the city is conducive towards the creation of communal institutions such as synagogues. These sentiments are confirmed in Table 7, which updates the picture by adding the data from the 2011 Census alongside the 2010 synagogue membership figures.

11 See, for example, Graham, D. (2013).

Table 6. Synagogue membership at a local level, 2016

Rank	Area	Synagogue membership	Cumulative percent
1.	Barnet	25.4%	25.4%
2.	Westminster	8.3%	33.8%
3.	Hertsmere	6.2%	39.9%
4.	Redbridge	6.0%	45.9%
5.	Stamford Hill (Strictly Orthodox only)	5.2%	51.2%
6.	Harrow	4.3%	55.5%
7.	Bury (non-Strictly Orthodox only)	3.1%	58.6%
8.	Leeds	2.7%	61.3%
9.	Broughton Park (Strictly Orthodox only)	2.6%	63.8%
10.	Manchester	2.5%	66.4%
11.	Camden	2.5%	68.9%
12.	Enfield	2.0%	70.8%
13.	Brent	1.7%	72.5%
14.	Hackney (non-Strictly Orthodox only)	1.6%	74.1%
15.	Hillingdon	1.4%	75.6%
16.	Epping Forest	1.2%	76.8%
17.	Liverpool	1.2%	78.0%
18.	East Renfrewshire	1.1%	79.1%
19.	Brighton & Hove	1.1%	80.2%
20.	Trafford	1.1%	81.2%
21.	Windsor & Maidenhead	1.0%	82.3%
22.	Others	17.7%	100.0%

Numbers may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

However, some of the distinctions shown in Table 7 require further explanation. It is noteworthy, for example, that the proportion of synagogue members in the 'East of England' region in 2010 (8.7%) is significantly lower than the proportion of the Jewish population living there at the same time (12.8%). This is interesting, as it includes the growing Jewish population of Hertsmere. Does this suggest that Jews there are particularly likely to be unaffiliated? Whilst further work is required to understand this in more detail, the rather more likely reason is demographic. The Jewish population of Hertsmere has a higher than average household size, not least because it is comprised of many more young families than other areas where one is more likely to find older people living in smaller (1-2 person) households. Given that the synagogue membership figures are based on households and the Census figures are based on

individuals, one would expect to see the type of discrepancy shown. The picture in the North East is similar, although there, the large household sizes of the haredi community of Gateshead provide the explanation. The reverse is probably the case in Yorkshire and the Humber, where the higher proportion of synagogue members than individual Jews is likely explained by an ageing population in the area dispersed across an unusually high number of smaller than average households. However, the similar picture found in Greater London is probably only partially due to this factor, as it is at least somewhat offset by the large household sizes in haredi areas. At the same time, the high affiliation rate in the city may also be due to a 'domino effect' – as London remains the centre of British Jewish life and activity, the most Jewishly engaged individuals are likely to choose to live there.

Table 7. Synagogue membership in 2001 and 2010, compared with the 2001 and 2011 Census populations, by region, %

Region	2001 Census (N=266,740)	2001 synagogue membership (N=87,519)	2011 Census (N= 271,295)	2010 synagogue membership (N=82,963)
Greater London	56.2	65.2	55.4	63.8
East of England (incl. Hertfordshire)	11.4	6.9	12.8	8.7
North West (incl. Greater Manchester)	10.5	10.9	11.2	11.8
South East	7.1	4.5	6.5	4.4
Yorkshire and the Humber	4.3	4.6	3.7	4.2
South West	2.5	1.7	2.3	1.7
Scotland	2.4	2.2	2.2	1.9
West Midlands	1.9	1.4	1.7	1.2
East Midlands	1.5	0.8	1.6	0.8
North East	1.2	0.9	1.7	0.9
Wales	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.5
Northern Ireland	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.04
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Numbers may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Methodology

This synagogue membership survey was carried out between April and September 2016. It includes all synagogues in the United Kingdom that are known to the Institute for Jewish Policy Research and the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Definitions: Synagogues and synagogue membership

Determining precisely what constitutes a synagogue is not as straightforward as it may at first appear. Clearly, a Jewish community that is appropriately registered with the Charity Commission and/or Companies House, has its own building that is constituted as a synagogue and its own formal membership scheme should be included in this analysis. However, in some instances, two or more *minyanim* (prayer groups) may exist within such a structure, raising the question of whether these should be counted as a single body or separate ones. In other occasional cases, two or more established synagogues may be in the process of merging, and it is not immediately clear whether they should continue to be seen as distinct units, or combined together in the counts. Furthermore, informal independent minyanim exist, that do not currently have any of the trappings of established synagogues, yet do have active participants who feel as if they ‘belong’ to these communities. Some of these types of communities may well evolve into more established synagogues over time, but others may not, so the question of whether or not they should be included in an assessment of synagogue membership is not immediately obvious. In this study, we have opted for the most conservative definition of synagogue that has been used in all previous studies, in order to enable statistical comparisons to be made over time. A synagogue is a body formally constituted as such according to the relevant Jewish community directories listed in the bibliography; minyanim not recorded in these sources, or that operate under the auspices of one of these synagogues, are excluded from this analysis. Whilst this definition is arguably more conservative than it could be, it is consistent with the definition used in previous synagogue membership studies, thereby ensuring comparability over time.

Defining what is meant by a ‘synagogue member’ is also complex. The fundamental challenge

concerns whether to count members individually or by household. Traditionally, membership for the household as a whole was held by one person (typically the senior male adult), so membership figures have long been based on household counts rather than individual ones. In previous times when Jewish households were more homogeneous, when women commonly held secondary roles in society and children established their own households at younger ages than they do today, this made a great deal of sense. Today, however, it is far more common than it once was for Jews to be married to non-Jews, for adult children to continue to live with their parents, and, we assume, for members of the same households to hold different synagogue memberships from one another, if, indeed, they hold membership at all. Thus, the previously-held assumption that each household constitutes a single, independent, homogeneous unit, is becoming increasingly difficult to sustain. However, because synagogue membership figures have long been gathered by household, and in most cases continue to be so, this remains the most appropriate way to investigate this topic, both for practical reasons and to draw the best possible comparisons over time. Thus, in this report, we have continued to employ the household definition.

Beyond these issues, one also needs to identify appropriate criteria to determine who should be included or excluded. In certain instances, individuals may be regular attendees at a synagogue, but not pay membership fees. Others may have allowed their membership to lapse, for various reasons, whilst continuing to associate with their synagogue. Some synagogues, as well as offering full membership, may also offer other models, such as country membership or associate membership, particularly those outside of London. In this study, we have again maintained the definition employed in previous studies – a member household is one that is currently paying a standard membership fee. It is worth noting that data from JPR’s 2013 National Jewish Community Survey show that 7.9% of all individual synagogue members hold two or more memberships of different synagogues. We have not accounted for this factor in the counts reported here, not least because this is the only indication we have, and we would want to corroborate the finding with

other sources before applying it. Yet this is the first empirical indication we have ever had of it, and it clearly indicates that the numbers and proportions shown in this report (and presumably previous ones too) over-estimate the actual number of synagogue member households there are in the UK.

The important exception to the definition of synagogue member employed here relates to the haredi, or Strictly Orthodox community. The reason for this is because, in contrast to non-haredi (or 'mainstream') synagogues, most haredi synagogues do not have a formal system of membership. A particular group of Jews may regularly pray within one of these synagogues and thus associate with it, but income tends to be raised through donations rather than membership fees, rendering it impossible to determine how many 'members' these bodies have. Thus, in order to create comparability with the most recent synagogue membership report (Graham and Vulkan, 2010), the list of synagogues was split into two separate groups (see Appendices 3 and 4). The ways in which membership figures were enumerated differ for each group. Group 1, which includes 321 synagogues in total, incorporates directly collected membership data on synagogue membership in the UK. Group 2 (133 synagogues) incorporates indirect data available on synagogue membership among Strictly Orthodox Jews in Stamford Hill (suburban area including the London boroughs of Hackney and Haringey), Broughton Park (Salford), and Gateshead. Together, these two groups sum to the complete list of 454 synagogues known to be operating in the UK at the time of this report. As was the case in the 2010 report, Strictly Orthodox synagogue members in the London Borough of Barnet were enumerated in Group 1, and attempts to directly collect their membership figures were made in accordance with the methods used to enumerate the membership counts for other synagogues included in Group 1. More specific details of the methodological approaches used to enumerate the memberships of Groups 1 and 2 are outlined below.

Group 1

In order to create a comprehensive and updated list of all existing synagogues in UK at the time of this report and to be able to contact them, several sources of information were cross-referenced.

They include: the most updated version of the Jewish Yearbook¹² and the websites of religious organisations and individual synagogues and Jewish Regional Representative Councils. When no information proved to be available via these sources, attempts to collect data were made by contacting the main synagogue umbrella bodies directly: the United Synagogue, the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation, the Federation of Synagogues, the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, Masorti Judaism, the Movement for Reform Judaism and Liberal Judaism, as well as Jewish Representative Councils and the Office of the Chief Rabbi.

When contacting each synagogue in Group 1 individually, a questionnaire was sent out by email and/or by post at the beginning of June 2016 (see Appendix 1). The fieldwork was completed over a nine-week period and included email reminders sent out to all synagogues where no response had been received. All remaining synagogues that had still not delivered the data were then contacted by telephone; each non-responsive synagogue was telephoned at least three times. This work yielded data from 188 synagogues (59% of the total).

In the cases of the 133 non-responsive synagogues, we implemented alternative methods to enumerate their membership figures. For 81 of these synagogues (25% of the total group, and 61% of non-responsive synagogues) we utilised the most recent membership figures available from synagogue umbrella bodies and other relevant Jewish religious organisations – the United Synagogue, the Federation of Synagogues, Masorti Judaism, the Movement for Reform Judaism, Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation, and Liberal Judaism, as well as the Office of the Chief Rabbi and relevant Jewish Representative Councils. In 72 of these 81 cases, the most recent available data referred to 2015. In four of the remaining nine cases, two counts related to 2016, and two to 2014. In the remaining five cases the total household membership figure was inferred using data received about the number of individuals who were synagogue members in a particular community. In these instances the number of households was assumed to be two-thirds of the total number of adult members, this

12 Levy, E. D. and Taylor, D. (eds.) (2015). *The Jewish Yearbook*. London & Portland: Vallentine Mitchell.

being the estimated corresponding ratio amongst those synagogues for which both items of data were available.

In the remaining 52 cases (16% of all synagogues in Group 1, and 39% of non-responsive synagogues), we were unable to establish up-to-date membership totals, so had to estimate membership size. Collectively, these 52 synagogues have an average household membership size of 96 and account for 7% of the total number of synagogue member households in 2016. For 41 of these synagogues, we inferred a figure based on the observed trend of previously recorded totals. In 24 of these 41 cases, each synagogue was individually analysed according to its previously recorded synagogue membership counts, denominational affiliation and geographical location, and an updated figure was calculated based on the observed trends from the groups of synagogues presenting similar characteristics. In the remaining 17 of these 41 cases where no trend could be clearly identified (e.g. due to erratic membership counts over time or insufficient data points to be able to estimate a trend), we conservatively assumed that the 2016 membership counts remained identical to the figure recorded in 2010. The remaining 11 cases out of the original 52 in this category were all new synagogues established since 2010, so it was not possible to refer to any previously published membership figures. In these instances, we referred to the first recorded synagogue membership counts for 62 newly-established synagogues since 1990, and used the average size (37 household members) in each case.

Group 2

Group 2 consists of 133 synagogues, all of which are Strictly Orthodox. These synagogues tend to function rather differently from those found in Group 1, and many have no formal membership system. Strictly Orthodox Jews may pray regularly in several of these, rather than being exclusively affiliated to any one in particular.

As a result, alternative means need to be found to determine household membership counts in this part of the Jewish community. Fortunately, it is reasonable to assume that every household is effectively a 'synagogue member', as Strictly Orthodox Jews, by definition, regularly associate with one synagogue or more. Thus, in line with

the previous membership synagogue report (2010), we have assumed that all Strictly Orthodox households belong to at least one synagogue.

In order to determine membership counts for this group, we turned to directories of Jewish Strictly Orthodox households and businesses and extracted the number of recorded households directly, effectively using them as proxies for Strictly Orthodox synagogue membership counts. In particular, the sources of information used for our calculations were: the London Shomer Shabbos Telephone & Business Directory 2014, including Jewish households in Stamford Hill (Hackney/Haringey);¹³ the North Manchester Connections Residential & Business Telephone Directory 2013-14 including Jewish households in Broughton Park (Salford);¹⁴ and the most up-to-date Gateshead Kehilla Directory, the Jewish residential and business directory of Gateshead.¹⁵ It should be noted that this method may result in the possible inflation of membership figures in Hackney, Haringey and Salford, due to the fact that some households included in the aforementioned directories may actually be members of synagogues included in Group 1 – i.e. they may have been double counted. However, as household membership in these areas accounts for only 3% of the total membership recorded in Group 1, the influence on the total figures is minimal.

13 The Shomer Shabbos Telephone & Business Directory (2014) also includes information about Jewish households in the London Borough of Barnet, and particularly Golders Green and Edgware, accounting for a total of 1,653 Jewish households in Golders Green and 232 Jewish households in Edgware (total: 1,885 households). These data have *not* been included in the total figures for Group 2 since the synagogues located in Golders Green and Edgware were included in Group 1 and their membership figures were collected directly. The collection of data directly from synagogues in Golders Green and Edgware reduces the risk of double counting in these areas.

14 The North Manchester Connections residential & business telephone directory 2013-14: Manchester.

15 The Gateshead Kehilla Directory (2013 estimated year of publication).

Appendix 1. Synagogue membership questionnaire

The questionnaire below was sent out by email under the joint auspices of JPR and the Board of Deputies at the beginning of June 2016 using 'Survey Monkey,' an online data gathering tool. Where email addresses were unavailable the questionnaire was posted by regular mail (59 synagogues). In total 321 synagogues were contacted and data were received back from 188 synagogues or 59% of this group. Both the email and the correspondence sent to the synagogues included a cover letter explaining the purposes of the project and links to, or information about, other material related to the survey (see Appendix 2). A central component of this work was to ensure that informants understood that JPR was jointly carrying out the work previously managed by the Board of Deputies.

A. Introduction

Thank you for participating in this survey. Please complete the questionnaire to the best of your ability, answering all of the questions. To fill in the survey, you might need to access your synagogue records.

It should take you about five to ten minutes.

If you have any questions or concerns, feel free to refer to our 2016 Synagogue Membership Survey Guide [see Appendix 2], which should provide you with all the background information you need, or to contact the researcher responsible for this project, Dr Donatella Casale.

In order to move forwards or backwards through the survey, please click on the arrows at the bottom of each page in the survey. Once you have completed all of the questions, make sure to click on the 'Done' button at the end, or your answers will not be registered.

With thanks in advance for your time and cooperation.

The questions marked by an asterisk (*) are mandatory. In case you skip a mandatory question, you will not be able to progress to the next page. So please make sure to fill in all the required fields.

B. Synagogue information

- 1 *Full official name of synagogue/community
- 2 *Synagogue affiliation (tick all that apply)
 - Independent
 - Federation of Synagogues
 - Liberal Judaism
 - Masorti Judaism
 - Movement for Reform Judaism
 - Sephardi
 - United Synagogue
 - Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregation
 - None of the above (please specify)
- 3 *Which of the following terms best captures the type or types of religious practice found in your synagogue? (tick all that apply)
 - Strictly Orthodox
 - Modern Orthodox
 - Masorti
 - Progressive (e.g. Reform, Liberal)
 - Other (please specify)

C. Synagogue membership data

We kindly ask you to break down your membership data according to households and individuals.

Please answer the questions as fully as possible.

- 4 Please provide the requested data as of Tuesday, 7 June 2016. If this is not possible, please provide the most recent data available, and state this date below (day/month/year) (insert date)
- 5 Please provide the total number of households (including single person households) that are members of your synagogue (insert number)

- 6 Please tell us how you calculated this figure
- The synagogue has an accurate and up-to-date membership database/register/spreadsheet
 - I made an educated guess
 - I used an alternative source (please specify)

- 7 What are the total numbers of individuals included in these households who belong to your synagogue? (Please complete all the fields that you are able to)
- Total number of adults aged 18 and over (write in)
 - Males (write in)
 - Females (write in)
 - Total number of children/youth aged under 18 (write in)
 - Males (write in)
 - Females (write in)

- 8 Please tell us how you calculated these figures
- The synagogue has an accurate and up-to-date membership database/register/spreadsheet
 - I made an educated guess
 - I used an alternative source (please specify)

D. Contact information

- 9 *Postal address of synagogue (write in: building number and street/name of town or city/postcode)

- 10 Address where services take place (if different from the above) (write in: building number and street/name of town or city/postcode)

- 11 *Synagogue contact details (write in: main synagogue contact name; main synagogue contact position; main synagogue email address; main synagogue phone number; synagogue website)

- 12 *What is your position in the synagogue? (tick all that apply)
- Rabbi
 - Administrator
 - Executive Director
 - Chair
 - Trustee
 - Other (please specify)

- 13 *Please provide your contact details (write in: your first name and surname; your email; your telephone number.

E. Additional comments

- 14 If you have any further comments about your answers, or if you wish to give us any feedback about the survey, please use the box below.

F. Submit the survey

Please press "Done" below to submit your answers, which will complete the survey.

On behalf of the Board of Deputies and the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, thank you for your time and cooperation.

Appendix 2. Synagogue membership survey guide

The following “2016 Synagogue Membership Survey Guide” was sent out to accompany the questionnaire (Appendix 1) and to help informants complete it:

Why is this survey important?

The Synagogue Membership Survey has been running since the 1960s, and is one of the most important studies of British Jewish life. It provides essential information about how Jews are choosing to affiliate to the community, and is used by a wide range of Jewish community leaders to help plan for the future. Whilst synagogues and synagogue movements often have a good understanding of whether their membership numbers are growing, declining or stable, this survey is the only way for them to see those figures in context and make sense of them in light of the national picture. Data from this survey are also used to assess the representativeness of national surveys of the Jewish population; without synagogue membership figures, it becomes difficult to do any meaningful research about Jews in the UK at all.

Who is managing the survey?

For many years, the synagogue membership survey was conducted exclusively by the Board of Deputies of British Jews. However, the last one – in 2010 – was a joint initiative undertaken by the Board of Deputies in partnership with the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR). JPR is an independent research institute that specialises in studying Jewish life in the UK and across Europe, and regularly conducts work for a wide range of leading Jewish charities and foundations. In 2015, the Board of Deputies reached a formal agreement with JPR which gives JPR responsibility for managing all Board of Deputies work on community statistics going forward, including synagogue membership, Jewish school enrolment, births, marriages and deaths.

Who should complete the survey questionnaire?

In order for the survey to be a success, we need someone at every synagogue in the country to complete the questionnaire. It should be completed

by someone who is very familiar with your synagogue’s administration and has access to up-to-date membership information.

What do I need to know to complete the questionnaire?

The most important piece of information you need is an up-to-date count of your synagogue’s membership figures. Most synagogues maintain a membership database or list of some kind – you will need to have access to that, or be very familiar with it. If you don’t have access to it, or feel unable to provide an accurate membership count, please contact our lead researcher on this project, Dr Donatella Casale and she will advise you on next steps.

What should I do if I don’t feel qualified or able to complete the questionnaire?

We have contacted you on the assumption that you are the person best-placed within your synagogue to do so. If you do not feel qualified to complete it, or do not wish to, please contact our lead researcher on this project, Dr Donatella Casale. She can either take you through it, or help you to identify who in your synagogue might be a better qualified or more appropriate respondent.

What is the difference between a ‘household’ membership count, and an ‘individual’ membership count?

In the questionnaire, we ask you for two different membership counts: a **household** count and an **individual** count. A household may have several people living within it, all of whom, or some of whom, may be members of your synagogue. Yet collectively, they would be counted as **one** household membership – the number of people within the household is immaterial. However, in the case of an individual count, the *number of adults within each household* who are members of synagogue is what matters. So, if a couple living at the same address are both members of your synagogue, that would count as *two* individual members. Children under 18 should be handled separately, and there is space on the questionnaire to enumerate them. If you have any questions, feel

free to contact our lead researcher on this project, Dr Donatella Casale.

How will the data be handled and reported?

All data provided by you will be treated in the strictest confidence. JPR is registered at the Information Commissioner's office (ICO), and abides by all of the ICO's data management standards. In the Synagogue Membership Survey report, the data you provide for your synagogue will be aggregated

with data from other synagogues in order to build a national picture. Your synagogue's membership figures will not be published, but your synagogue will be listed in the report appendix alongside other synagogues of a similar size, with an indication of the membership band it is in (for example, a synagogue with a household membership of 150 will be listed along with other synagogues with household membership figures in the range of 100-199). For further clarity, please see the 2010 report, the format of which we will be replicating.

Appendix 3. List of all synagogues included in Group 1 by membership size

The following set of tables shows all the synagogues included in Group 1. To avoid disclosing individual synagogue's membership sizes we have amalgamated them into sub-groups and listed them alphabetically.

1,500 to 1,900 members by household		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Edgware & District Reform Synagogue	Reform	Barnet
West London Synagogue	Reform	Westminster
1,000 to 1,499 members by household		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Borehamwood and Elstree Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hertsmere
Bushey and District Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hertsmere
Edgware Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Finchley Synagogue (Kinloss)	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Hampstead Garden Suburb Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Mill Hill United Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Barnet
New North London Synagogue	Masorti	Barnet
North Western Reform Synagogue (Alyth)	Reform	Barnet
Redbridge United Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Redbridge
Stanmore & Canons Park Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Harrow
750 to 999 members by household		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Chigwell & Hainault Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Epping Forest
Finchley Reform Synagogue	Reform	Barnet
Hendon Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Maidenhead Synagogue	Reform	Windsor and Maidenhead
Radlett Reform Synagogue	Reform	Hertsmere
Radlett United Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hertsmere
South West Essex & Settlement Reform Synagogue	Reform	Redbridge
St John's Wood Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Westminster
The Liberal Jewish Synagogue	Liberal	Westminster
Woodford Forest United Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Redbridge
Woodside Park Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Barnet

500 to 749 members by household		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Barnet Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Belmont Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Harrow
Belsize Square Synagogue	Liberal	Camden
Beth Hamidrash Hagadol Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Leeds
Cockfosters & North Southgate Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Enfield
Heaton Park Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Manchester
Hendon Reform Synagogue	Reform	Barnet
Ilford United Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Redbridge
Lauderdale Road Synagogue	Sephardi	Westminster
Leeds United Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Leeds
Menorah Synagogue (Cheshire Reform Congregation)	Reform	Manchester
New London Synagogue	Masorti	Westminster
Northwood & Pinner Liberal Synagogue	Liberal	Hillingdon
Pinner Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Harrow
South Hampstead Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Camden
Southend and Westcliff Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Southend-on-Sea
Southgate Progressive Synagogue	Liberal	Enfield
Westminster Synagogue	Reform	Westminster
Whitefield Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Bury
400 to 499 members by household		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Central Synagogue London	Central Orthodox	Westminster
Giffnock and Newlands Synagogue	Central Orthodox	East Renfrewshire
Golders Green Beth Hamedrash	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Hampstead Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Camden
Holy Law South Broughton Congregation	Central Orthodox	Bury
Ilford Federation Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Redbridge
Muswell Hill Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Haringey
Prestwich Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Bury
Sha'arei Tsedek (North London Reform Synagogue)	Reform	Barnet
South Manchester Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Trafford
The Wimbledon Synagogue	Reform	Merton

300 to 399 members by household		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Birmingham Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Birmingham
Bournemouth Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Bournemouth
Brighton & Hove Reform Synagogue	Reform	Brighton & Hove
Brondesbury Park Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Brent
Bury Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Bury
Edgware Adath Yisroel Congregation	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Finchley Progressive Synagogue	Liberal	Barnet
Golders Green Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Hale and District Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Trafford
Hendon Adath Yisroel Congregation	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Kenton United Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Brent
Liberal Synagogue Elstree	Liberal	Hertsmere
Manchester Reform Synagogue	Reform	Manchester
Mosaic Reform Synagogue	Reform	Harrow
Ner Yisrael Community	Central Orthodox	Barnet
North West Surrey Synagogue	Reform	Elmbridge
Oxford Jewish Congregation	Central Orthodox	Oxford
Shaare Hayim Sephardi Congregation	Sephardi	Manchester
Sinai Synagogue Leeds	Reform	Leeds
West End Great Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Westminster
Western Marble Arch Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Westminster
Woodford Liberal Synagogue	Liberal	Redbridge
Yeshurun Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Stockport
Yeshurun Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Barnet
200 to 299 members by household		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Allerton Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Liverpool
Bet Tikvah Synagogue (Barkingside)	Liberal	Redbridge
Beth Shmuel Synagogue	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Beth Yisochor Dov Beth Hamedrash (North West Sephardish Synagogue)	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Birmingham Progressive Synagogue	Liberal	Birmingham
Bournemouth Reform Synagogue	Reform	Bournemouth
Bridge Lane Beth Hamedrash	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Brighton and Hove Progressive Synagogue	Liberal	Brighton & Hove
Bromley Reform Synagogue	Reform	Bromley
Catford and Bromley United Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Lewisham

200 to 299 members by household <i>continued</i>		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Childwall Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Liverpool
Edgware Masorti Synagogue	Masorti	Barnet
Etz Chaim Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Leeds
Hackney & East London Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hackney
Highgate Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Haringey
Holland Park Synagogue	Sephardi	Kensington and Chelsea
Jacob Benjamin Elias Synagogue	Sephardi	Hackney
Kingston Liberal Synagogue	Liberal	Elmbridge
Kingston, Surbiton & District Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Kingston
Kol Chai Hatch End Jewish Community	Reform	Harrow
Liverpool Reform Synagogue	Reform	Liverpool
Manchester, Great New and Central Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Salford
Mosaic Liberal Synagogue (Harrow)	Liberal	Harrow
New West End Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Westminster
Newton Mearns Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	East Renfrewshire
North Hendon Adath Yisroel Synagogue	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Northwood United Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hillingdon
Ohel David Eastern Synagogue (Lincoln Institute)	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Palmers Green & Southgate Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Enfield
Romford & District Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Havering
Sheffield Jewish Congregation & Centre (Kingfield)	Central Orthodox	Sheffield
Sukkat Shalom Reform Synagogue	Reform	Redbridge
Watford & District Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Watford
Wembley United Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Brent
100 to 199 members by household		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Aden Jews Congregation	Sephardi	Hackney
Alei Tzion	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Anshei Shalom	Central Orthodox	Westminster
Beis Hamedrash Beis Yisroel	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Beis Hamedrash Nishmas Yisroel	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Ryzhin-Sadigur Or Yisroel	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Beth Shalom Reform Synagogue	Reform	Cambridge
Bevis Marks Synagogue	Sephardi	City of London
Birmingham Central Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Birmingham
Brighton & Hove Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Brighton & Hove
Bristol and West Progressive Jewish Congregation	Liberal	Bristol

100 to 199 members by household <i>continued</i>		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Cardiff Reform Synagogue	Reform	Cardiff
Cardiff United Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Cardiff
Chassidishe Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Leeds
Clapton Federation Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hackney
Congregation of Jacob Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Tower Hamlets
David Ishag Synagogue	Sephardi	Brent
Ealing Liberal Synagogue	Liberal	Ealing
Ealing Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Ealing
East London Central Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Tower Hamlets
Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Edinburgh
Elstree and Borehamwood Masorti Community	Masorti	Hertsmere
Enfield & Winchmore Hill Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Enfield
Etz Chaim Yeshiva	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Garnethill Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Glasgow
Glasgow Reform Synagogue (Or Chadash)	Reform	East Renfrewshire
Hadley Wood Jewish Community	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Harlow Jewish Community	Reform	Harlow
Harrogate Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Harrogate
Highams Park & Chingford Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Waltham Forest
Higher Prestwich Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Bury
Hove Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Brighton & Hove
Kehillas Netzach Yisroel (Golders Green)	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Kingsbury Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Brent
Knesset Yehezkel Beth Hamedrash	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Liverpool Old Hebrew Congregation (Princes Road Synagogue)	Central Orthodox	Liverpool
Loughton Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Epping Forest
Meade Hill Shul	Central Orthodox	Manchester
Newcastle United Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Newcastle upon Tyne
North Salford Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Salford
Nottingham Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Nottingham
Nottingham Liberal Synagogue	Liberal	Nottingham
Od Yosef Hai Synagogue (Levy Kelaty Synagogue)	Sephardi	Barnet
Ohel Torah Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Salford
Ohr Yerushalayim Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Salford
Ohr Yisrael Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hertsmere
Reading Hebrew Congregation Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Reading
Richmond Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Richmond upon Thames

100 to 199 members by household <i>continued</i>		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Ruislip Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hillingdon
Saatchi Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Westminster
Sandys Row Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Tower Hamlets
Sha'arei Shalom Synagogue	Reform	Bury
Shenley United Jewish Community	Central Orthodox	Hertsmere
Sinai Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Barnet
South Bucks Jewish Community	Liberal	Chiltern
South London Liberal Synagogue	Liberal	Lambeth
South London Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Lambeth
Southend and District Reform Synagogue	Reform	Southend-on-Sea
St Albans Masorti Synagogue	Masorti	St Albans
St Albans United Synagogue	Central Orthodox	St Albans
Sutton and District Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Sutton
Welwyn Garden City Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Welwyn Hatfield
50 to 99 members by household		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Aish Community Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Beis Gavriel Lubavitch	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Beis Hamedrash Chovevei Torah (Congregation Chovevei Torah)	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Beis Hamedrash Ohr Chodosh	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Beit Klal Yisrael (Notting Hill-North Kensington)	Liberal	Kensington and Chelsea
Beth Abraham Synagogue	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Gur (Gur Beis Hachasidim)	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Beth Hamedrash Divrei Chaim	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Beth Hamedrash Hendon	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Beth Hamedrash Kehillas Yaacov	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Bristol Hebrew Congregation (Park Row Synagogue)	Central Orthodox	Bristol
Chelmsford Jewish Community	Central Orthodox	Chelmsford
Chelsea Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Kensington and Chelsea
Colchester and District Jewish Community	Central Orthodox	Colchester
Crouch End Chavurah	Liberal	Haringey
Damesek Eliezer Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Bury
Edgware Sephardi Congregation	Sephardi	Barnet
Edgware Torah Centre	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Edinburgh Liberal Jewish Community (Sukkat Shalom)	Liberal	Edinburgh
Exeter Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Exeter

50 to 99 members by household <i>continued</i>		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Finchley Federation (Finchley Central Synagogue)	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Finchley Road (Sassov)	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Finsbury Park Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hackney
Gloucestershire Liberal Jewish Community	Liberal	Gloucester
Hatch End Masorti Synagogue	Masorti	Harrow
Higher Crumpsall and Higher Broughton	Central Orthodox	Salford
Hillock Hebrew Congregation	Strictly Orthodox	Bury
Hull Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	East Riding of Yorkshire
Kehal Chassidim Beth Hamedrash	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Kehilla North London	Liberal	Hackney
Kehillas Netzach Yisroel	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Kehillas Ohel Moshe	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Kehillat Kernow (The Jewish Community of Cornwall)	Reform	Cornwall
Kingsley Way Beth Hamedrash	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Kol Nefesh Masorti Synagogue	Masorti	Barnet
Kol Yaacov Beth Hamedrash	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Leicester Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Leicester
Leicester Progressive Jewish Congregation	Liberal	Leicester
Lubavitch Synagogue of Edgware	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Luton United Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Luton
Machzikei Hadass Edgware Beth Hamedrash	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Milton Keynes & District Reform Synagogue	Reform	Milton Keynes
Netzach Israel Community Centre	Central Orthodox	Barnet
New Essex Masorti Synagogue (Buckhurst Hill)	Masorti	Redbridge
New Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hackney
Newcastle Reform Synagogue (Ner Tamid)	Reform	Newcastle upon Tyne
Northampton Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Northampton
Norwich Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Norwich
Portsmouth and Southsea Hebrew Congregation Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Portsmouth
Potters Bar & Brookmans Park Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hertsmere
Sale and District Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Trafford
Sedgley Park Synagogue (Shomrei Hadass)	Central Orthodox	Bury
K' K' Shaare Tefila Synagogue (Congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews)	Sephardi	Salford
Shaarei Shamayim Synagogue	Sephardi	Bury
Shir Hayim Reform Synagogue	Reform	Camden
Shomrei Hadath Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Camden
Solihull and District Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Solihull

50 to 99 members by household <i>continued</i>		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
South Tottenham Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Haringey
Southport & District Reform Synagogue	Reform	Sefton
Southport Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Sefton
Springfield Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hackney
Staines and District Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Spelthorne
Stamford Hill Beth Hamedrash	Central Orthodox	Hackney
Walford Road Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Hackney
Wembley Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue	Sephardi	Brent
Wessex Liberal Jewish Group (Bournemouth)	Liberal	Bournemouth
West Central Liberal Synagogue	Liberal	Camden
York Jewish Community	Central Orthodox	York
Under 50 members by household		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Aberdeen Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Aberdeen
Ahavas Yisrael	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Ateret Zvi	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Bedfordshire Progressive Synagogue (Luton)	Liberal	Luton
Beis Hamedrash Avreichim	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Belfast Jewish Community	Central Orthodox	Belfast
Blackpool Reform Jewish Congregation	Reform	Blackpool
Bognor Regis and District Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Arun
Bournemouth Masorti Community	Masorti	Bournemouth
Bradford Reform Synagogue	Reform	Bradford
Bristol Masorti Community	Masorti	Bristol
Cambridge Traditional Jewish Congregation	Central Orthodox	Cambridge
Chabad Lubavitch of Islington	Strictly Orthodox	Islington
Chaim v'Tikvah	Reform	Bury
Chatham Memorial Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Medway
Cheetham Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Manchester
Cheltenham Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Cheltenham
Chester Jewish Congregation	Central Orthodox	Chester
Coventry Reform Jewish Community	Reform	Coventry
Crawley Jewish Community	Liberal	Crawley
Croydon & District Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Croydon
Darlington Hebrew Congregation (Beit Shalom)	Reform	Darlington
East Grinstead and District Jewish Community	Central Orthodox	Wealden
Eastbourne Hebrew Congregation`	Central Orthodox	Eastbourne

Under 50 members by household <i>continued</i>		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Eastbourne Liberal Jewish Community	Liberal	Eastbourne
F.A.I.	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Grimsby Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	North East Lincolnshire
Guildford and District Jewish Community	Central Orthodox	Guildford
Hastings and District Jewish Society	Reform	Rother
Heichal Leah	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Heichal Menachem	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Hemel Hempstead Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Dacorum
Hendon Beis Hamedrash	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Herefordshire Jewish Community	Liberal	Herefordshire
Hull Reform Synagogue (Ne've Shalom)	Reform	East Riding of Yorkshire
Imrei Shefer	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Isle of Wight Jewish Society	Reform	Isle of Wight
Kehilla Kol Yaakov	Central Orthodox	Manchester
Kehillat Ohel Avraham	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Kent Liberal Jewish Community	Liberal	Maidstone
Lancashire and Cumbria Liberal Jewish Community	Liberal	Preston
Leeds Masorti Community	Masorti	Leeds
Leytonstone & Wanstead Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Waltham Forest
Lincolnshire Jewish Community	Liberal	Lincoln
Llandudno and Colwyn Bay Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Conwy
Machzike Hadath Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Magen Avot	Central Orthodox	Barnet
Manchester Liberal Jewish Community	Liberal	Manchester
Margate Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Thanet
New Stoke Newington Shul	Masorti	Hackney
New Whetstone Synagogue	Masorti	Barnet
Newport Hebrew Congregation (Monmouthshire)	Central Orthodox	Newport
Norwich Liberal Jewish Community	Liberal	Norwich
Peterborough Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Peterborough
Peterborough Liberal Jewish Community	Liberal	Peterborough
Plymouth Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Plymouth
Porat Yosef	Sephardi	Barnet
Queenshill Synagogue	Central Orthodox	Leeds
Rambam Sephardi Synagogue	Sephardi	Herefordshire
Reading Liberal Jewish Community	Liberal	Reading
Sarah Klausner Synagogue (Hampstead Shtiebel)	Central Orthodox	Camden
Shaarei Tefilla	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet

Under 50 members by household <i>continued</i>		
Name of synagogue	Denomination	Borough/District
Sheffield and District Reform Jewish Congregation	Reform	Sheffield
Shenfield, Brentwood & District Synagogue (Tikvah Chadasha)	Liberal	Brentwood
Shomrei Hadass Congregation	Central Orthodox	Leeds
Shul in the Park (Lubavitch)	Strictly Orthodox	Glasgow
South Hampshire Reform Jewish Community	Reform	Southampton
Southampton Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Southampton
St Anne's Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Fylde
Stevenage Liberal Synagogue	Liberal	Herefordshire
Stoke-on-Trent & North Staffordshire Hebrew Congregation	Central Orthodox	Newcastle-under-Lyme
Suffolk Liberal Jewish Community (Ipswich)	Liberal	Ipswich
Swindon Jewish Community	Liberal	Swindon
Synagogue Française de Londres	Central Orthodox	Hackney
Tayside and Fife Jewish Community	Central Orthodox	Dundee
Thanet & District Reform Synagogue	Reform	Thanet
Tiferet Eyal	Strictly Orthodox	Barnet
Totnes Reform Jewish Group	Reform	South Hams
Welshpool Jewish Group	Liberal	Powys
York Liberal Jewish Community	Liberal	York

Appendix 4. List of all synagogues included in Group 2 in alphabetical order

The following table shows the complete list of Strictly Orthodox synagogues in Group 2 with the exception of those in Barnet – see Methodology section¹⁶

Name of synagogue	Borough/district
Adass Yeshurun Synagogue	Salford
Adath Yisrael Synagogue	Salford
Adath Yisroel Synagogue	Hackney
Adath Yisroel Tottenham Beth Hamedrash	Hackney
Ahavas Yisroel	Gateshead
Ba'er Hatorah	Gateshead
Be'er Avrohom D'Chasidey Slonim	Hackney
Be'er Mordechai Strozhnitz	Hackney
Beis Chabad Beis Menachem	Hackney
Beis Hamedrash Avreichim	Salford
Beis Hamedrash Beis Mordechai	Bury
Beis Hamedrash Belz Machnovka	Salford
Beis Hamedrash Chanichei Hayeshivos	Bury
Beis Hamedrash D'Chasidey Belz	Salford
Beis Hamedrash D'Chasidey Bobov	Salford
Beis Hamedrash D'Chasidey Breslov	Salford
Beis Hamedrash D'Chasidey Chernobyl	Salford
Beis Hamedrash D'Chasidey Viznitz	Salford
Beis Hamedrash Eitz Chayim	Bury
Beis Hamedrash Hachodosh	Salford
Beis Hamedrash Maharitz Dushinsky	Hackney
Beis Hamedrash Noam Hatorah	Hackney
Beis Hamedrash Ohev Yisroel	Salford
Beis Hamedrash Oraysoh	Hackney
Beis Hamedrash Shaarei Mordechai	Bury
Beis Hamedrash Sharei Shulem Tchabe	Hackney
Beis Hamedrash Tehillois Yoel-Satmar	Hackney
Beis Hamedrash Vayoel Moshe D'Satmar	Salford
Beis Hamedrash Yetev Lev D'Satmar	Salford
Beis Hatalmud	Gateshead
Beis Kossov	Hackney

¹⁶ The following 2 synagogues were included in Group 2 in 2010 and have now been included in Group 1: Ohel Torah Synagogue (Federation), Stamford Hill Beth Hamedrash (Federation). For more detail see Methodology.

Name of synagogue	Borough/district
Beis Yisroel	Salford
Beis Yisroel	Gateshead
Beis Yitzchak Dovid, Avreichei Gur	Hackney
Beit Knesset Chida	Hackney
Beth Chodosh Synagogue	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Chatam Sofer	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Cheishev Hoeifod	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Chelkas Yehoshua (Biala)	Haringey
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidei Wiznitz	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Alexander Me'oron shel Yisroel	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Belz (Bethune Road)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Belz (Clapton Common, E5)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Belz (Clapton Common, N16)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Belz (Lampard Grove)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Belz (St. Kilda's Road)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Bobov	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Bobov D'Ohel Naphtoli	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Gur (Lampard Grove)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Ryzhin	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Sanz-Klausenburg	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Satmar Yetev Lev (Bethune Road)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Skver	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Wiznitz Ahavat Israel	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Wiznitz-Monsey - Imrei Chaim	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Divrey Shir (Rabinow)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Eidus Behosef Koson	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Ohel Moshe	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Ponevezh	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Satmar Kehal Yetev Lev (Cazenove Road)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Satmar Kehal Yetev Lev (Clapton Common)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Satmar Kehal Yetev Lev (Craven Walk)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Sharei Tzion	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Spinke	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Torah Etz Chayim	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Torah Utefillah	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Toras Moshe	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Torath Chaim (Lieger) (Craven Walk)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Torath Chaim (Lieger) (Upper Clapton Road)	Hackney
Beth Hamedrash Tosh (Tiferet Meshulam Fish)	Hackney

Name of synagogue	Borough/district
Beth Hamedrash V'Yoel Moshe (Heathland Road)	Hackney
Beth Israel (Trisker) Synagogue	Hackney
Beth Joseph Zvi	Hackney
Beth Sholom Synagogue (Beis Sholem D'Shotz)	Hackney
Beth Talmud Centre	Hackney
Birkas Zvi Biala	Hackney
Breslav	Hackney
Cheishev Sofer D'Pressburg Beth Hamedrash	Hackney
Chernobyl	Hackney
Chortkov Beis Hamedrash	Salford
Crowland Shul	Hackney/Haringey
Gateshead United Hebrew Congregation / Gateshead Kollel	Gateshead
Gur Beiss Hachasidim	Salford
Heichal Hatorah	Hackney
Kahal Chassidim	Hackney
Kahal Chassidim Lubavitch Synagogue	Salford
Kahal Chassidim Synagogue	Bury
Kehal Chareidim Beth Hamedrash	Hackney
Kehal Chasidim D'Munkatch Synagogue	Hackney
Knightland Road Synagogue (Yeshivat Torat Emet-Schneiders)	Hackney
Kol Rinoh Horodenka	Salford
Krechniff Avodat Zvi	Hackney
Lechu Vonim	Gateshead
Lower Broughton Shtiebl	Salford
Lubavitch Synagogue	Hackney
Machon Levi Yitschok	Manchester
Machzikei Hadass Synagogue	Salford
Manchester Kollel	Salford
Manchester Yeshiva	Manchester
Mesifita Synagogue	Hackney
Minyan Avreichim	Gateshead
Nachlei Emunah Chasidey Kretchnif	Hackney
Nadvorna Beth Hamedrash	Hackney
Ohel Sarah	Hackney
Ohel Torah Congregation	Salford
Ohel Yaakov Beiss Hamedrash (Pshevorsk)	Hackney
Ohr Yerushalayim	Salford
Perach Aharon	Gateshead
Satmar-Berech Moshe	Hackney

Name of synagogue	Borough/district
Satmar-Divrei Yoel	Hackney
Sdei Chemed D'Nitra Beth Hamedrash	Hackney
Sephardi Congregation Zichron Yitzchak	Salford
Springfield	Hackney
Stamford Hill Beth Hamedrash	Hackney
Stanislowa Beth Hamedrash	Hackney
Stolin Karlin	Hackney
Sunderland Kollel	Gateshead
Talmud Torah Chinuch N'orim Synagogue	Salford
The Minyan	Salford
Tiferes Amrom Beth Hamedrash	Hackney
Toldot Aharon	Hackney
Toras Chaim (shtiebl)	Gateshead
Yeshiva Horomoh Beth Hamedrash	Hackney
Yeshivas Ahavas Torah	Haringey
Yeshivas Toras Chesed	Hackney
Yeshuath Chaim Synagogue Pinters	Hackney
Yesodey Hatorah Beth Hamedrash	Hackney
Zeire Agudas Yisroel Synagogue	Salford
Zeire Agudath Yisroel Beth Hamedrash (Lordship Road)	Hackney
Zeire Agudath Yisroel Beth Hamedrash (Stamford Hill)	Hackney
Zichron Shaul	Gateshead
Zichron Shlomo Beth Hamedrash (Hevrat Shas)	Haringey
Zichron Yecheskel Synagogue	Salford

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