



A PROFILE OF BRITISH JEWRY

Patterns and trends at the turn of a century

MARLENA SCHMOOL AND FRANCES COHEN

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STATISTICAL NOTE

Many statistics used here come from the study of the Social Attitudes of British Jews undertaken by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR). These statistics have all been weighted to take account of the age and sex profile of the adult Jewish population of Great Britain which is available from the population estimates. The data provided from this source therefore describe the adult population, not simply the sample examined in the study. All JPR data apply to the year 1995.

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PREFACE

In 1986 the Board of Deputies' Statistical and Demographic Research Unit published *British Jewry in the Eighties* by Stanley Waterman and Barry Kosmin. This present booklet draws on that earlier format and approach, updating much of the information covered there. I thank both Professors for their support and continuing interest in the work of what is now the Community Research Unit and I acknowledge my debt to them.

On its publication it was clear that *British Jewry in the Eighties* would eventually require a successor. It has been a source widely used but, in the course of time, its contents by their very nature have become historical not contemporary. The intervening twelve years have seen important changes in British Jewry's approach to community research. Where there was reluctance to undertake studies, there is now constructive interest from many communal institutions including welfare organisations, schools and synagogues. This attitudinal change was spurred on by three major surveys undertaken between 1992 and 1995: the United Synagogue Membership Review, Women in the Community and the Social Attitudes of British Jews. More practically, organisations have come to recognise that research need not be large scale or expensive. Rather they appreciate that they can gain important insights to their programming and planning needs by exploring their own databases and other resources. This is research at its most basic.

Nevertheless, there are still gaps in our knowledge and no doubt readers will themselves supply topics which they would like to have seen examined here. The areas which are covered take account of the Unit's day-to-day experience. Enquiries reach us from students, the media, community professionals, and the Jewish and general public. This compendium attempts to answer those questions which are regularly and repeatedly put to us. Other details are included to give context to the basic information. The material presented here draws on many sources which are acknowledged in the text. I wish, however, formally to thank the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, Women in the Community and the United Synagogue for allowing unfettered use of their databases.

No publication reaches the bookstalls without the input of many. I thank my current and former staff, especially my co-author Frances Cohen, for their diligence and efforts in producing this booklet and all Community Research Committee members, past and present, for their comments on earlier drafts and their patience over slow patches. While they have all been encouraging and supportive I wish especially to mention Robert Owen and Dr Stephen Miller for their extremely constructive help. The booklet's deficiencies are mine.

Marlena Schmool
June 1998

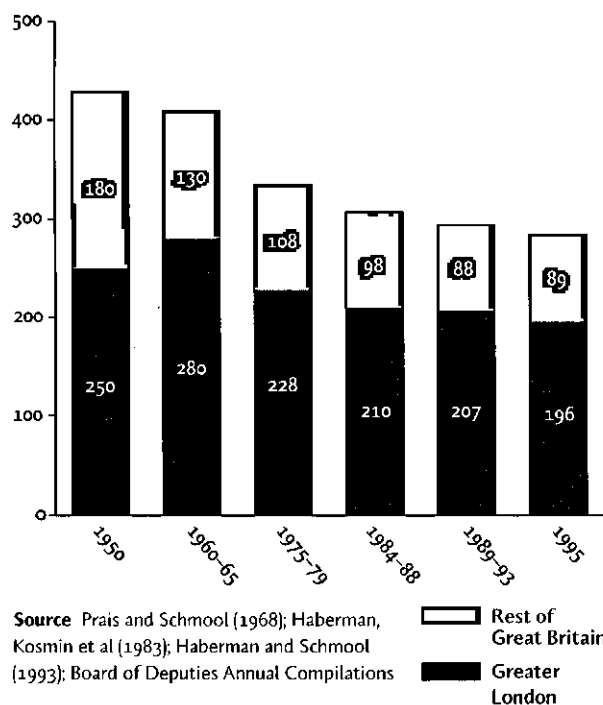
1 POPULATION

United Kingdom censuses, except in Northern Ireland, have never included a question about religion or ethnicity in its widest sense so there are no official data on the size of the Jewish population of Britain.

Furthermore, there has not yet been a demographically-oriented sample survey of British Jewry from which to estimate population size. In the absence of these approaches, indirect methods have been used.

The method consistently adopted has involved extrapolating population size from the number of deaths recorded within the Jewish community. This assumes that anyone who lives as a Jew will wish their death to be recognised by some Jewish ritual and avoids any definition of Jewishness based on activity or membership within the community. It does not necessarily include all who, if asked, would self-identify as Jewish. *

Figure 1 Changing Jewish population 1950–95, (000s)



This estimated population has become known as the **effective or core Jewish population**, namely that for which the organised community has to provide services, of which burial is one. The consistency of method allows direct comparisons of population size for the past 30 years. Figure 1 sets out population change over time.

- For 1989–93 (midpoint 1991) Figure 1 shows that the effective population was estimated at 295,500. Later data collection suggests that in 1996 the estimate was 283,000.

- Numerically British Jewry reached its peak immediately after the Second World War, although subsequent research has indicated that this estimate was too high.

- Since the 1950s there has been a steady decrease in numbers so that by the 1990s British Jewry was approximately one-third smaller than it had been in 1950.

- Over the same period, the core population has slowly consolidated in Greater London and its environs. In 1985, 70% of British Jewry were living in the London area; in 1995, the proportion was 72%. This slight centralisation partly appears because earlier regional estimates were markedly too high.

- The change in geographical balance reflects migration to the southeast of England and Greater London areas, which has been a feature of general British life in recent years, rather than differential population growth.

- 55% of the estimated Jewish population is female compared with 51% of the general population of England and Wales.

Vital indicators

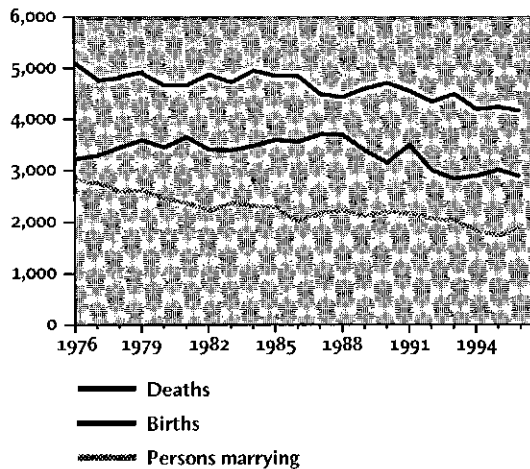
The trends of vital events: birth, marriages and deaths, over the past two decades are set out in Figure 2. The tables in Appendix A detail the information on which this graph is based. Births and deaths indicate natural flows in and out of the community while persons marrying in synagogue suggest the extent to which successive age-cohorts affirm formal communal links.

- Numbers of births and deaths have both fallen over the past 20 years; the difference between them reveals natural decrease.

- This picture of demographic change is incomplete because there are no current sources to measure the net effect of recent immigration and emigration.

• The later sections on Israeli-born in Britain and of *Aliyyah* throw some light on migration but for the most part British Jewry has not been subject to large inflows since the mid-1970s.

Figure 2 Vital indicator trends, 1976–96



Source Board of Deputies Annual Compilations

Births

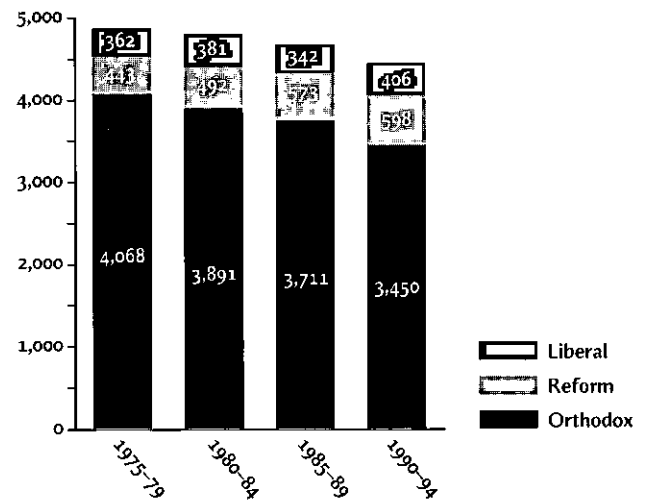
Births data are arrived at by totalling the number of male births from (both Orthodox and Progressive) circumcisions recorded within the community. This male total is weighted by the British ratio of male:female births to estimate total births.

- From 1976 to 1996 the annual number of births in the community fluctuated between 2,800 and 3,700.
- The annual average, at some 3,500, was constant until the 1990s but has since fallen to the 3,000 level. This reflects the national fall in births over the period.

Deaths

Deaths data, which include cremations, are compiled annually from the records of all Jewish burial societies and synagogues. While deaths in total have fallen in the past 20 years, there is a difference in the experience of the main religious groupings. Descriptions of these groupings are given in Chapter 5, Synagogue life.

Figure 3 Deaths according to synagogue group, 1975–94, five yearly average



Source Board of Deputies Annual Compilations

- Between 1975–79 and 1990–94, deaths recorded in the Orthodox community fell by 15% while the Liberal increased by 12% and the Reform by 35%.

Age at death

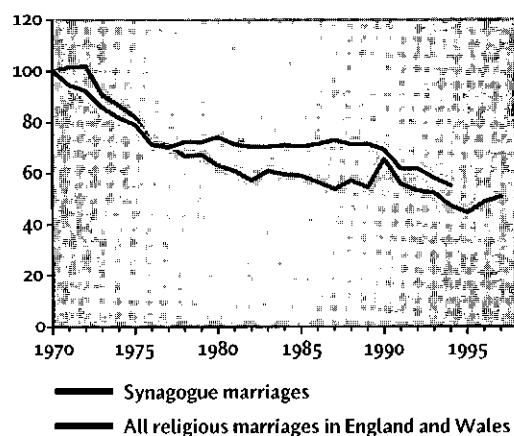
In 1989–93 the average (median) age at death for Jewish men was 79 while for women it was 82. For England and Wales the comparable medians were 73.6 and 79.6. Thus Jewish men live 5.4 years longer than the national average and women 2.4 years longer.

- Between 1975–79 and 1989–93, the average age at death within the effective British Jewish population rose by 7.8 years for men and by 6 years for women.
- The difference in longevity between Jews and the general population is related to general socio-economic factors.
- The majority of contemporary British Jewry resides in the south of England which benefits from longer life expectancy.

2 MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Information on marriages for the Jewish community is restricted to those celebrated under synagogue auspices in Great Britain. Numbers have been falling steadily since the 1950s and the fall has become more marked with the years. However, these crude data do not take into account the community age-structure which affects the numbers available for marriage. Additionally, community marriage patterns are affected by changes in general marriage conventions such as increases in cohabitation.

Figure 4 Religious marriage trends 1970–97, annual number of marriages indexed to 1970



Source Board of Deputies Annual Compilations; Office of National Statistics (ONS) FM Series

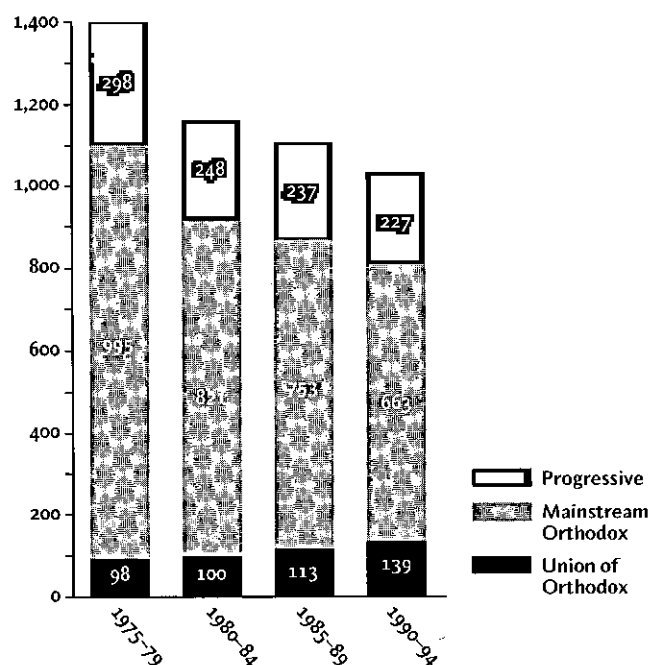
- On average, between 1975–79 and 1990–94 there was a 25% decrease (numerical average fall 353 marriages) in the number of synagogue marriages celebrated in Great Britain. England and Wales saw a similar decrease in the number of marriages solemnised with a religious ceremony.
- When related to the 1970 level, the numbers of synagogue marriages can be seen to have decreased more sharply than religious marriages as a whole (Figure 4). Some of this extra decrease is a result of the relative agedness of British Jewry but at least half appears attributable to marriage and cohabitation outside the community, neither of which are recognised by a synagogue ceremony.
- In the early 1990s, for every three persons reaching marriageable age, only one married in a synagogue.

- In 1981, 8.5% of grooms and 8.7% of brides who married in a synagogue were marrying for the second time; by 1994 the proportions had risen to 13% and 12% respectively.
- Levels of inter-faith marriage change with age. Data for men most recently married suggest that approximately 40% of married/partnered men aged under 40 have non-Jewish partners. Data for women of the same age group (at about 30%) are less firm but there is no doubt that younger women take non-Jewish partners more frequently than their elders did.

Synagogal variation

Marriage trends vary according to the synagogue group authorising the marriage; the extent of these differences is shown in Figure 5 (full data are given in Appendix Table A4). Mainstream Orthodox marriages of the *Ashkenazi* and *Sephardi* communities together constitute the majority of marriage totals, reflecting

Figure 5 Marriages by synagogue sector, annual averages 1975–94



Source Board of Deputies Annual Compilations

the synagogal structure of the community. The predominance of these Orthodox marriages is such that they determine the overall trend within community marriage. Between the years 1975–79 and 1990–94 the marriage numbers for this combined centrist group fell by a third.

- Central Orthodox *Ashkenazi* numbers fell by 45% over the 20 years. This number includes the small Masorti (Conservative) grouping whose numbers are not large enough to affect the overall pattern. *Sephardi* marriages were maintained at a constant level.

- The annual average of Reform and Liberal marriages together (shown as Progressive in Figure 5) fell by 24% over the two decades.

- In the same period the annual average of marriages among the Union of Orthodox increased by 42%. This group practices early marriage, has consistently high birth-rates and pregnancy very often follows immediately on marriage. These factors have combined to provide growing numbers of marriages for a group which almost always marries within its own sub-community.

- In 1996, Union of Orthodox marriages were 21% of all synagogue marriages compared with 7% in 1974.

Divorce

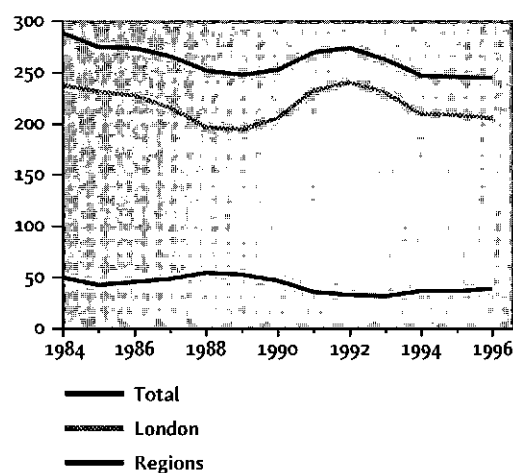
Divorce is not encouraged among Jews but Jewish law recognises that marriages do break down. In terms of religious teaching, no shame attaches to this and, indeed, there are situations under which *halakha* enjoins divorce upon a couple. Nevertheless, religion is not recorded when a *decree nisi* or *absolute* is granted by a British court and there are therefore no data on the overall incidence of divorce among British Jews.

Some indication of the prevalence of divorce within British Jewry is given by the number of *gittim* (bills of divorcement) issued by the *Batte Din* (Jewish religious courts).

- Numbers of religious divorces fell throughout the 1980s, rose in the early 1990s and after a slight fall stabilised in the mid-decade.

- In the mid-1990s the London *Beth Din* administered religious divorce proceedings for Regions, other than Manchester, where previously the local *Beth Din* had done so.

Figure 6 *Gittim* (religious divorces) 1984–96, three-year running averages

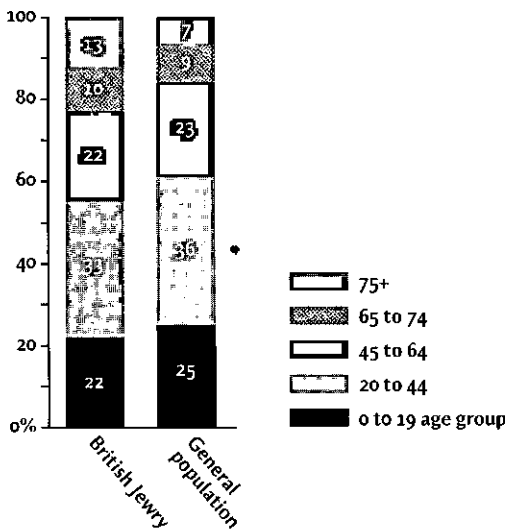


Source Board of Deputies Annual Compilations

3 AGEING AND FUTURE POPULATION

As geographic information provides a picture of the spatial dispersion of the community, so analysis by age and projections of future size provide a sense of its dispersion over time. These data are needed for planning community services and in order to judge the size and structure of the community which will use those services.

Figure 7 Age distributions for British Jewry and the general population of England and Wales, 1995



Source Board of Deputies Compilations; ONS

- The Jewish community is relatively more aged than the population generally. Some 23% of British Jewry are aged 65 and over compared with 16% of the total population. This reflects the historical development of the community. Earlier generations had high levels of fertility but since the 1930s British Jewish women on the whole have had small families.
- Any short-term British Jewish population growth since the 1930s has been the result of immigration, not natural increase.
- 41% of Jews are aged under 35 compared with 48% of the overall population of England and Wales.

Projections

Assessment of the future size of any population is not an exact science because population development depends on many factors which may or may not hold good over time. The further forward a projection, the more likelihood of change in one or more factors and, consequently, the less reliable the projection.

In order to indicate the potential outcomes of different situations, a set of projections has been prepared. Each series in the set draws on different assumptions about the fertility, mortality and migration experience of British Jewry. While the precise levels of change used for the 'High' and 'Low' scenarios are to an extent arbitrary, they have been chosen so that each takes account of parallel demographic trends noted within the community. Full details of the calculations, with the assumptions employed, appear in Appendix B1 to B3.

Numbers in Table 1 below are rounded to the nearest hundred to show that they are estimates rather than measured data.

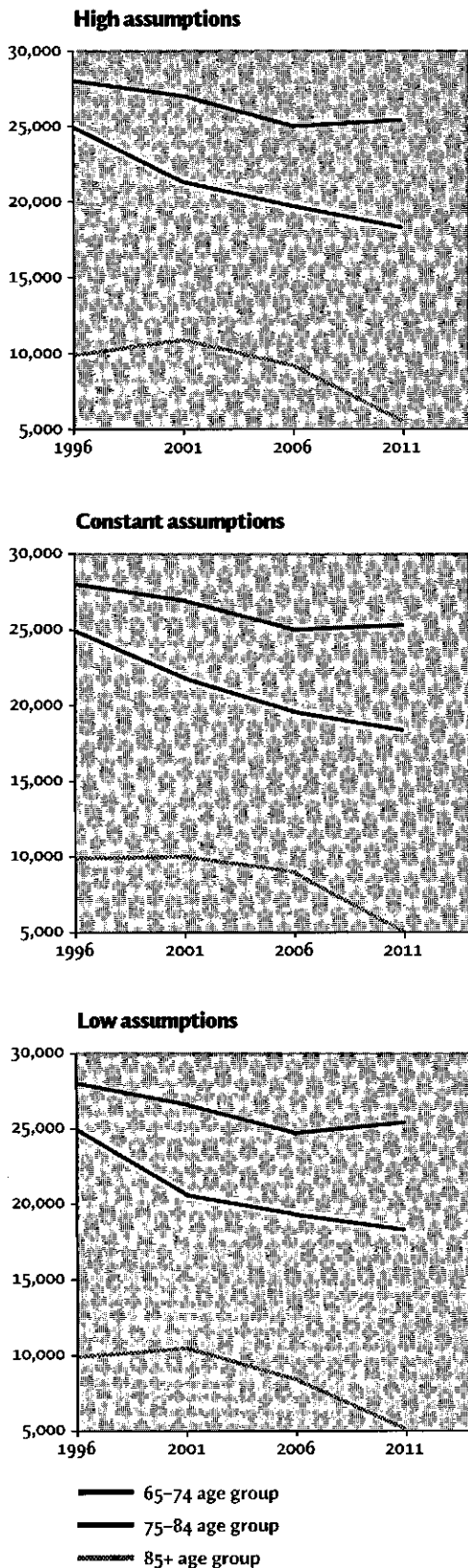
- Under the 'Constant' assumptions, by the turn of the century the British Jewish population will be 5% smaller than it was in 1996. This fall will continue so that over 20 years the population will have fallen by 17%.
- In absolute numbers the fall over 20 years is 48,000 – a loss of 2,400 each year. Under the more optimistic 'High' assumptions the fall over 20 years will be 37,100 (13%) and with the pessimistic 'Low' assumptions the loss would be 53,400 (19%).

Table 1 Projections for the British Jewish population to 2016

Year	Assumptions employed		
	High	Constant	Low
1996	282,500	282,500	282,500
2001	272,500	269,700	268,200
2006	263,100	257,400	254,500
2011	254,100	245,700	241,400
2016	245,400	234,500	229,100

Source Board of Deputies Compilations

Figure 8 Projections for numbers of Jewish aged, 1996–2011



Source Board of Deputies Annual Compilations

Figure 8 displays projections for numbers of those over age 65 under the three sets of assumptions (full data are given in Appendix B4 to B6). The starting point is 1996 when 23% of British Jews were in this age group. These projections are extended only until 2011 because to carry them further would be unacceptably imprecise.

- Under the ‘Constant’ assumptions, by the end of the first decade of the 21st century the number of Jewish people in Britain aged 65 and over will fall from 62,800 to 48,700, i.e. by 22.5%. They will then constitute 20.8% of the Jewish population.
- Taking the ‘High’ assumptions, by 2011 those over 65 will number 49,300 and account for 20.1% of British Jewry. But if we assume ‘Low’ population trends, the 65 and over age group, at 48,800, will be 21.3% of the population.
- The ‘High’ scenario takes into account higher birth rates which are found mainly in the Strictly Orthodox sectors of the community. While not quantifiable with present data, it is clear that, with the present community structure and norms, this group will account for an increasing proportion of the core community.
- This is an outcome of later marriage and increasing intermarriage within the community generally combined with the earlier marriage and larger families of the Strictly Orthodox.

4 GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

As individuals, Jews are found in all areas of Britain from Aberdeen to Cornwall and from Belfast to Norwich. However, historically they have congregated in particular areas because they wish to make use of facilities and have the sense of support and well-being that comes from living in a communal framework. Among the most well-known areas in the past were the east end of London, Cheetham Hill in Manchester and Chapeltown in Leeds. As communities became more settled, they spread to the suburbs and beyond. More recently, changes in educational and employment patterns have involved migration away from northern communities – mainly towards London and its environs.

Table 2 sets out estimates of population for the main centres of Jewish population in 1995 comparing them with the 1985 statistics. In reaching these estimates, note has been taken of local studies (where available), synagogue membership statistics and survey data. The 1985 data have been revised from earlier estimates where later research suggested adjustments were needed.

- The main centre of Jewish population is Greater London and the contiguous counties, which comprises 72% of British Jewry.
- Echoing the overall reduction in core Jewish population, numbers have fallen everywhere apart from those southeastern areas outside Greater London.
- The total population for all areas outside Greater London and the Home Counties fell by 14% in the decade.
- The population of Greater London fell by 7.5%. That of the contiguous post-code areas and the Home Counties slightly beyond increased by 21%.

Table 2 Population estimates for Great Britain according to area, 1985 and 1995 (in centres with populations of 900 and over in 1995)

Area	1985	1995
Greater London	197,400	182,700
Contiguous postcode areas	13,100	13,650
Rest of Home Counties	5,000	8,300
Greater Manchester	30,000	26,000
Adjacent areas		1,800
Leeds	12,000	10,000
Glasgow	7,500	5,600
Brighton and Hove	6,500	5,300
Birmingham	5,000	4,000
Liverpool	4,500	3,800
Southend	4,500	3,400
Bournemouth	3,000	3,000
Cardiff	2,000	1,500
Luton	1,100	1,300
Gateshead		1,100
Southport	2,000	1,100
Hull	1,500	1,100
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	1,500	1,100
Nottingham	1,000	1,000
Edinburgh	1,000	900
Rest of Great Britain	9,400	8,350
	308,000	285,000

* Not available

Greater Manchester and its adjacent areas, which take in just under 10% of the British Jewish population, have previously been considered as a whole. It is now possible to separate out the main concentration of the Greater Manchester population from the more dispersed surrounding areas.

- Approximately one-third of Manchester Jewry live in the North Manchester districts of Whitefield and Prestwich and a further one-fifth in Salford.
- Some 7% of the Manchester Jewish population live beyond the Greater Manchester boundaries.

Table 3 provides estimates of the number of Jews in London boroughs and the proportions that Jews make up in each borough. These statistics are derived from post-code and census household data. Results for each borough were again appraised in accordance with synagogue and survey data.

- Jews account for approximately 3% of the total Greater London population.
- Approximately 17% (one in six) of all Barnet residents are Jewish.
- Barnet has the largest Jewish population: more than one in four of all London Jews live in that borough.
- In Hackney, 10% of the borough's population are Jewish; 10% of London Jewry live in Hackney.
- Redbridge, in east London, has 9% of London's Jews, and Harrow in the northwest has a further 8%.
- The northwest London boroughs of Camden, Barnet, Brent and Harrow together make up just under half the London Jewish population and slightly less than one-third of all Britain's Jews.

Table 3 Population estimates for the London area, 1995

Area	Jewish households estimate 1995	Jewish population estimate 1995	Total population 1991	Jews as a % of the total population
GREATER LONDON	77,880	182,700	6,679,699	2.7
INNER LONDON	28,560	64,200	2,504,451	2.6
Camden	5,690	10,700	170,444	6.3
City of London	90	200	4,142	4.8
Hackney	6,430	17,900	181,248	9.9
Hammersmith	750	1,500	148,502	1.0
Haringey	2,600	5,700	202,204	2.8
Islington	780	2,100	164,686	1.3
Kensington/Chelsea	2,100	4,400	138,394	3.2
Lambeth	670	1,400	244,834	0.6
Lewisham	570	1,300	230,983	0.6
Newham	650	1,600	212,170	0.8
Southwark	520	1,200	218,541	0.5
Tower Hamlets	2,500	6,000	161,064	3.7
Wandsworth	1,020	2,300	252,425	0.9
City of Westminster	4,190	7,900	174,814	4.5
OUTER LONDON	49,320	118,500	4,175,248	2.8
Barking	330	800	143,681	0.6
Barnet	21,250	50,000	293,564	17.0
Bexley	310	800	215,615	0.4
Brent	4,130	10,100	243,025	4.2
Bromley	590	1,400	290,609	0.5
Croydon	820	2,000	313,510	0.6
Ealing	740	1,800	275,257	0.7
Enfield	3,080	7,800	257,417	3.0
Greenwich	450	1,100	207,650	0.5
Harrow	5,880	14,100	200,100	7.0
Havering	670	1,700	229,492	0.7
Hillingdon	840	2,200	231,602	0.9
Hounslow	450	1,100	204,397	0.5
Kingston	480	1,100	132,996	0.8
Merton	430	1,000	168,470	0.6
Redbridge	6,550	16,000	226,218	7.1
Richmond	740	1,700	160,732	1.1
Sutton	480	1,100	168,880	0.7
Waltham Forest	1,100	2,700	212,033	1.3
HOME COUNTIES	5,740	13,650		
Southwest Essex	1,280	3,200		
South Hertfordshire	3,180	8,000		
North Kent	300	750		
North Surrey	680	1,700		
LONDON AREA TOTAL	83,320	196,350		

* Postal areas contiguous to Greater London

5 SYNAGOGUE LIFE

The synagogue is the central institution of British Jewish life: over two-thirds of the effective core population are formally linked to a synagogue, either through personal or family membership. Although other organisational affiliations are available, in the context of British Jewry to say one 'belongs' in effect means being a synagogue member.

The formation of a congregation does not require either a dedicated building or a minister; it simply involves the regular, recognised coming together of ten men (a *minyán* under *halakha*) or families. Thus it is a voluntary act which, for the most part, includes payment of fees.

Locations

In 1996 there were 365 congregations in Great Britain. In line with the population distribution of British Jewry, over half the synagogues (193) are situated in the Greater London area.

- There are 44 congregations in the London Borough of Barnet with a membership of some 17,000 households; 57 congregations and 7,500 households in Hackney and 11 congregations and 5,300 households in Redbridge.
- The northwest London concentration of Camden, Barnet, Brent and Harrow together has 65 congregations and 27,000 members.
- The other major concentration of congregations is Greater Manchester, particularly the north Manchester area. Greater Manchester as a whole has 41 congregations in the conurbation with almost 8000 households affiliated to synagogues.

Synagogue groupings

Six synagogue groupings may be distinguished in Great Britain.

- **Liberal** comprises congregations of the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues and, for historical reasons, the now-independent Belsize Square Synagogue.

- **Mainstream Orthodox** covers the London-based United Synagogue and Federation of Synagogues, those regional synagogues which recognise the authority of the Chief Rabbi, and a further small number of London and regional independent *Ashkenazi* orthodox congregations.

- **Masorti** (Conservative) congregations are found mainly in Greater London. Their theological position is between Orthodox and Reform.

- **Reform** includes constituents of the umbrella-organisation Reform Synagogues of Great Britain and the independent Westminster Synagogue.

- **Sephardi** synagogues are those of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation, the longest settled section of British Jewry, found in London and Manchester.

- **Union of Orthodox** takes in those congregations, *Hasidic* and others, which expect strict adherence to *halakha* from all their members. They are mostly under the umbrella of the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, established in 1926.

The number of Mainstream (*Ashkenazi*) Orthodox congregations fell from 202 in 1990 to 191 in 1996. This was due to declining population and migration, either out of Regional communities or within Greater London, which resulted in closures and amalgamations. At the same time there was an increase from 69 to 84 Union of Orthodox houses of prayer which came from population growth and some inter-borough migration. New congregations were established in Manchester and the London Boroughs of Barnet and Hackney.

Between 1983 and 1990, four new Masorti congregations were established and three new Progressive synagogues between 1983 and 1996.

Membership

Definitions of membership vary according to community sector. Historically, the *pater familias* held membership to cover his wife, children under the age of majority and unmarried daughters over that age. Sons who were of age were expected to have membership in their own right. The main elements of this pattern still hold for most Orthodox synagogues, although sons and daughters are now treated equally. When a male head of household dies the membership is usually continued by his widow.

Reform, Masorti and Liberal synagogues have systems of membership where either:

- husband and wife are each considered as individual members, or
- the family has membership as a unit.

Table 4 Congregations and membership by standard geographical region, 1996

Region	Congregations	Membership
Greater London	193	61,505
Rest of Southeast	50	9,610
Southwest	9	1,437
East Anglia	6	334
East Midlands	5	701
West Midlands	10	1,517
Greater Manchester	41	7,609
Rest of Northwest	12	2,246
Yorkshire/Humberside	14	4,157
North	7	1,111
Scotland	10	2,341
Wales	5	653
Northern Ireland	1	129
Jersey	1	75
Isle of Man	1	22
UNITED KINGDOM	365	93,447

Source British Synagogue Membership, 1996

Table 5 Congregations and membership by synagogue group, 1996

Synagogue Group	Congregations	Membership
Mainstream Orthodox	191	56,895
Union of Orthodox	84	6,622
Reform	41	17,377
Liberal	28	7,971
Sephardi	15	3,169
Masorti (Conservative)	6	1,413
ALL GROUPS	365	93,447

Source British Synagogue Membership, 1996

Membership data in Tables 4 and 5 were so collected as to allow direct comparisons of membership which is here calculated as households. Membership of the six synagogal categories shown in Table 5 indicate overall sectional strength.

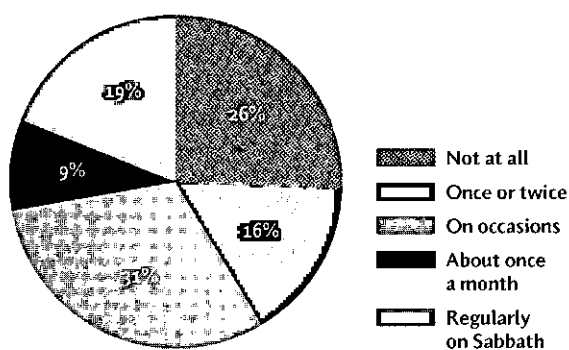
- Approximately 30% of British Jewish adults *do not* have synagogue membership. Some are not of an age at which they would be expected to join and may in any case consider themselves affiliated to their parents' synagogue. Others are older and may never have held synagogue membership.
- The average membership of a Liberal or a Mainstream Orthodox congregation is just under 300 while that of a Reform congregation is approximately 430. Union of Orthodox *minyanim* are much smaller with an average size of about 80.
- Between 1990 and 1996 Mainstream Orthodox numbers fell from 67,500 to 56,900 (i.e. by 16%). Reform, Liberal and *Sephardi* sectors, which all draw on ageing sectors of the community, also decreased.
- Over this period Union of Orthodox and Masorti memberships increased from relatively small starting points, the Union by 14% and Masorti by 17%.

6 JEWISH IDENTITY

Attendance

For Jews, as for any other religious group, being affiliated to a place of worship does not necessarily involve regular attendance at services. Figure 9 gives attendance frequencies. It shows that just over a quarter of British Jewish adults, *whether or not they are formally synagogue members*, attend synagogue monthly or more often, and about one person in five goes regularly each Sabbath. This compares with 10% weekly attendance for Christians.

Figure 9 Levels of synagogue attendance



Source Jewish data – JPR; National data – Marc Europe

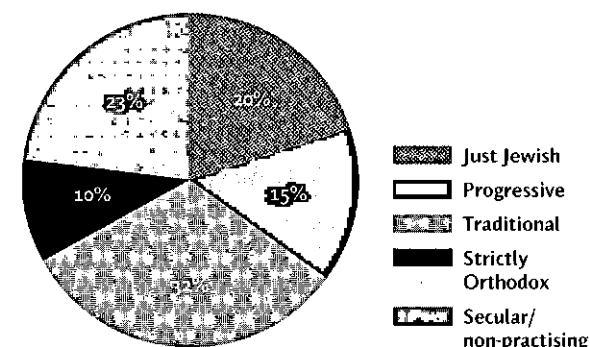
- Attendance levels are naturally higher for synagogue members. Overall 40% of synagogue members attend at least once a month.
- Just over one-quarter of Jewish adults did not attend a synagogue service at all in 1995. This group mainly overlaps with the quarter who do not have synagogue membership but 7% of synagogue members also fall into this group.
- Men and women have different patterns of attendance. Men are more likely never to attend (31% compared with 21% of women), while women will attend more often on those ‘few occasions’ which include ceremonials such as weddings (38% compared with 24% of men).
- Among Union of Orthodox affiliates, the weekly attendance rate is 85%

Identity is a psychological construct which shows itself in behaviour and attitudes. It is not a fixed entity but develops over time and with life experiences. Over the past 40 years, as *Diaspora* communities have increasingly absorbed the majority culture of the societies in which they live, social scientists have attempted to define and quantify Jewish identity. They have used a range of items, for the main part drawn from age-old religious practices and beliefs, to develop a consistent measure that has gradually evolved into a yardstick for assessing adherence to community and religion.

Objectively, social surveys distinguish **belief, practice and ethnicity** as elements of Jewish identity. These are examined respectively by questions covering: belief in God and the divinity of *Torah*, ritual observance, and attitudes towards Jewish peoplehood.

Subjectively, the Jewish population of Great Britain (and other western-type urban countries) has been categorised as **Secular** (non-practising), **Just Jewish**, **Progressive**, **Traditional** and **Strictly Orthodox** as shown in Figure 10.

Figure 10 Self-defined religious practice



Source JPR

There is a strong relationship between the objective and subjective approaches highlighting the fact that levels of subjective identity form a continuum. As one moves from the Secular to the Strictly Orthodox we find steadily greater adherence to the objectively-measured elements, especially as regards ritual observance and belief. However, intrinsically for most British Jews, religious observance is a way of identifying with community rather than an expression of faith.

Therefore the relationship between the extent of religious practice and the degree of (ethnic) attachment to the Jewish people is stronger than the parallel relationship between practice and belief.

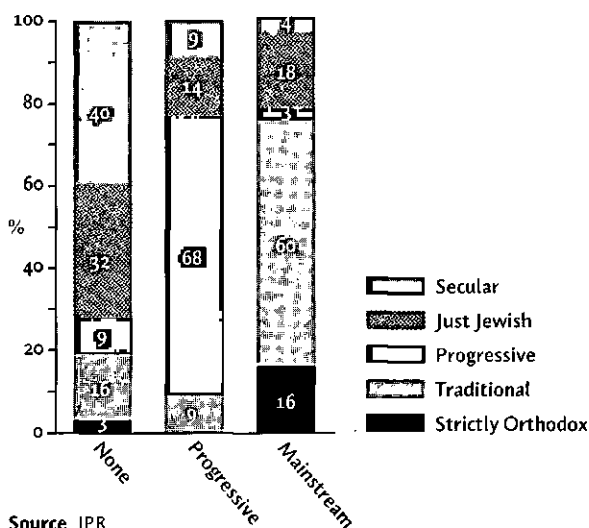
- 70% of Traditional Jews light Sabbath candles each Friday night compared with 21% of Just Jewish.
- After excluding vegetarians, 76% of Traditional Jews buy meat only from a *kosher* butcher compared with 15% of Progressive.
- 21% of the Traditional compared with only 4% of Secular do not travel or drive a car on the Sabbath.
- A small minority (3%) of Progressive consider that the *Torah* is the actual word of God compared with the vast majority (83%) of the Strictly Orthodox.
- Once the Strictly Orthodox are excluded, just under 25% of all British Jews consider that belief in God is central to being a good Jew. Among the Strictly Orthodox 81% hold to this view.
- Generally, 46% believe in the power of prayer to overcome personal problems. Of the Progressives, 44% have this belief compared with 52% of the Traditional.

Subjective identity and synagogue affiliation

By definition, the type of synagogue that a person joins suggests a religious viewpoint. However, membership also reflects family history, personal habit, (lack of) choice of a synagogue and, possibly, the wish to send children to a particular school. Allotting oneself to a particular subjective category is less affected by these factors so that synagogue affiliation does not coincide completely with self-identification. The latter is therefore more effective than type of synagogue membership in distinguishing religious viewpoint.

Figure 11 shows the relationships between self-identification and synagogue membership for three major synagogue-related categories: Mainstream Orthodox, Progressive and Non-members. There is clearly a range of subjective identities within each group and the inter-group variation is clearly illustrated by the proportions in the bars.

Figure 11 Jewish identity and synagogue membership



Source JPR

The distribution of identity types of Mainstream Orthodox synagogue membership illustrates the broad nature of that grouping. This type of synagogue is for many the only local option and therefore may be less likely to reflect the ideological preference of members.

- Three out of every five (60%) of Mainstream members consider themselves Traditional; 16% identify as Strictly Orthodox while 18% are Just Jewish and 4% are Secular.
- Of those not affiliated to a synagogue, two-fifths (40%) consider themselves Secular Jews and 32% feel Just Jewish.
- Slightly more than two-thirds (68%) of Progressive synagogue members self-identify as Progressive and a further 14% are Just Jewish.
- Among members of Strictly Orthodox synagogues (not shown in Figure 11), slightly fewer than one in ten considers him/herself 'Traditional' not 'Strictly Orthodox'.

Age, gender and identity

Since identity develops throughout life, self-classification patterns may be expected to shift as people get older, particularly because ageing is often accompanied by growing conservatism. As was shown

in Figure 10, approximately one in every three of British Jewish adults think of themselves as Traditional Jews. However, this proportion varies across age groups. Particular demographic and social trends within the community are underlined by the proportions of Strictly Orthodox at different ages. These data indicate that this more *halakhically* observant group accounts for higher proportions of younger age cohorts. This reflects the mainly recent natural increase recorded by this section of the community.

- 25% of British Jews aged under 30 consider themselves Traditional whereas 34% of those aged 50 to 69 define themselves in this way.
- Of the younger age group 12% are Progressive compared with 17% of those aged 50 to 69.
- Strictly Orthodox make up 18% of the 19 to 30 age group, 11% of the 30 to 49 and 9% of those 50 to 69.

Throughout history, Judaism has had different expectations of men and of women: broadly men functioned in the public arena of synagogue and communal affairs, women maintained the Jewishness of the home. Furthermore, for the most part women were not educated Jewishly beyond learning what they needed to run a *kosher* home, and they were kept closer to the family hearth. To a large extent these distinctions were firmly maintained until very recently and are reflected

in the overall Traditionalism of identity. However, the gender-related differences are not significant when specific *older* age groups are considered.

- Overall 31% of men compared with 17% of women consider themselves Secular. But among those aged under 30 years, 24% of men compared with 17% of women define themselves in this way.
- A more marked Traditionalism in women is underlined by the 35% of all women (as opposed to 28% of all men) who indeed define themselves as Traditional. The difference is most marked in the under 30 age cohort where 30% of women compared with 20% of men select this identity.

Identity and attitude

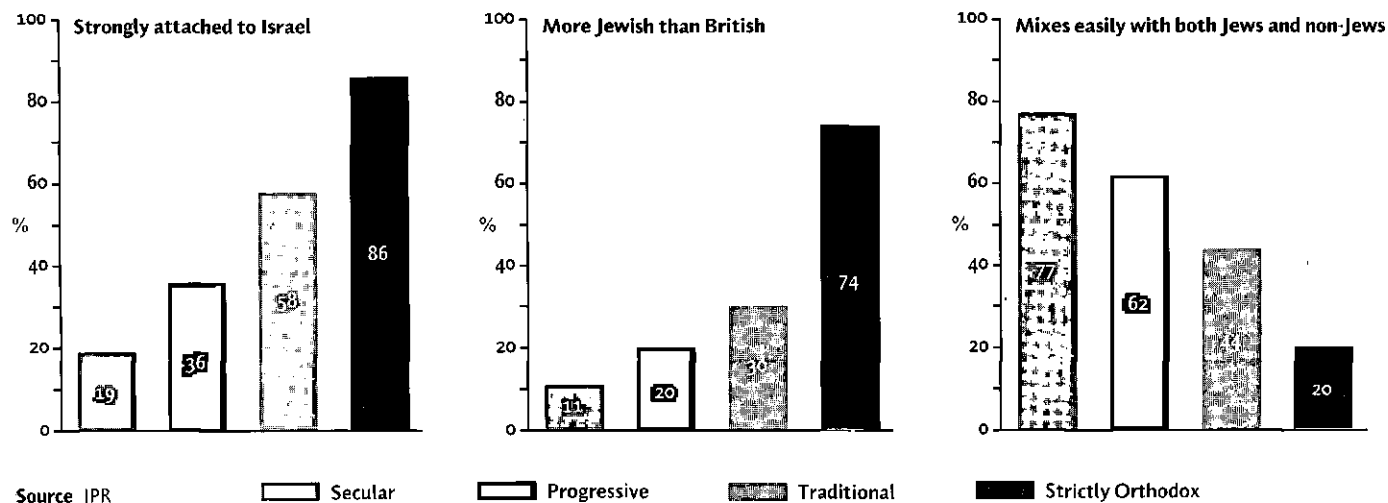
Religious orientation particularly affects attitudes towards the wider community and to Israel.

Figure 12 selects three specific perspectives to illustrate this effect. It looks at the relationships between self-identification and:

- strong attachment to Israel
- feelings about Jewish identity, and
- ease of mixing with non-Jews.

The three graphs below depict the attitudinal pattern of four identity groups.

Figure 12 Group attitudes towards Israel and Britishness



7 RELIGIOUS CHANGE

Overall, British Jews accept dual identities: 53% say that they feel equally British and Jewish. Identity groups vary in the balance of Jewish and British elements: only 25% of the Strictly Orthodox feel equally British and Jewish while Progressive and Traditional Jews mainly (66% each) consider themselves this way.

At the other end of the continuum 47% of the Secular group feel more British than Jewish. The general impression is of a community that has accommodated well to British society over the century.

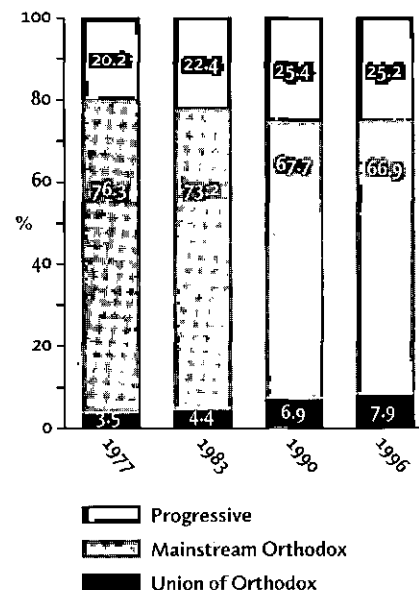
- 86% of Strictly Orthodox compared with only 19% of the Secular feel strongly attached to Israel. Progressive and Traditional Jews take intermediate positions. (See also Chapter 12)
- Taking the adult community as a whole, under one in five (18%) state that they feel more British than Jewish. The Strictly Orthodox (74%) predominantly opt for a single, Jewish, identity.
- Generally speaking, 56% of British Jews feel equally comfortable when mixing with Jews and non-Jews. This statistic again covers a range of variations such that 49% of Secular Jews are more comfortable with non-Jews while 55% of the Traditional are more comfortable with Jews.

Institutional change

Over the past two decades, British Jewry has seen changes in the balance of membership between one synagogue grouping and another. Overall, this is the combined result of changes in membership choices and variations in birth rates across the community. Because historically membership has been vested in men, the clearest way to summarise these changes is to compare across years the proportion of men found in each synagogue group.

Figure 13 indicates that in the two decades between 1977 and 1996 the proportion of male synagogue members who belonged to Mainstream Orthodox (*Ashkenazi* and *Sephardi*) synagogues (including the 1% who belong to Masorti) fell from 76% to 67%. Over the same period the proportion of all members affiliating to Union of Orthodox synagogues more than doubled (from 3.5% to 8%) and Progressive (Reform and Liberal) proportions rose from 20% to 25%. Over this period the total numbers of affiliated men fell from some 83,000 to 79,200. The graph shows how the Mainstream group has been steadily squeezed by the Union of Orthodox and the Progressive sectors.

Figure 13 Changes in male synagogue group membership, 1977–96

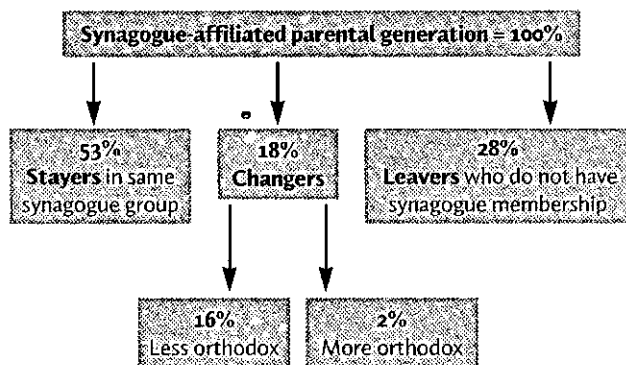


Source Board of Deputies Compilations

Shifts in synagogue affiliation

Synagogue membership is fluid over generations. Some people are raised in one Jewish denomination and, on adulthood, choose to affiliate differently or not at all. Movement is mainly from a synagogue demanding more to one demanding less rigorous *ritual practice*. This is not to imply that *religious belief, values* or *commitment* necessarily fall off with what is commonly termed 'a move to the left' – that is a separate issue. The dynamic is ongoing and varies with time.

Figure 14 Movement between synagogue groups: the individual dynamic



Source JPR

Figure 14 depicts the outcomes of synagogue movements for adults in the mid-1990s. It indicates the extent of generational movement from one synagogal group to another. This composite chart covers a very wide time-span encompassing individuals aged from under 20 to over 80. It does not include the 9% of an earlier generation who were not affiliated to synagogues as the current generation was growing up. Three categories can be distinguished:

- 1 53% who affiliate to the type of synagogue in which they were brought up
- 2 18% who move to a different type of synagogue, whether of more or less rigorous practice
- 3 28% who do not affiliate, either temporarily or permanently.

Movement to a different type of synagogue may involve those raised in Orthodox homes changing to Progressive synagogues while younger people may reject formal membership, even if only temporarily. Patterns of movement vary with a person's upbringing. Figure 16 shows the changes for those who were raised as Mainstream Orthodox, a group which accounts for 74% of the adult Jewish population and is therefore large enough to colour the pattern for British Jewry as a whole.

- 59% of those Jewish adults brought up with a Mainstream Orthodox background remain members of such synagogues.
- There is no evidence of a strong return to strict orthodox membership: only 1% of Mainstream Orthodox members are in a more orthodox category than that in which they were raised.
- The most common movement is from membership to non-membership: just over one in four of those brought up in Mainstream Orthodox synagogues do not currently affiliate anywhere.
- Inter-synagogue movement for the Mainstream Orthodox is mainly to Reform (12%).

Of those brought up in Progressive synagogues (not illustrated), 10% have moved to an orthodox synagogue of some kind and 55% do not affiliate to any synagogue.

Amongst the section of the community whose parents were not synagogue members while they were growing up, 23% are now affiliated to a synagogue. This blanket proportion hides certain age variations. Within this group, of those aged under 30, only 9% are now synagogue affiliated, but 31% of those aged 55 and over have membership.

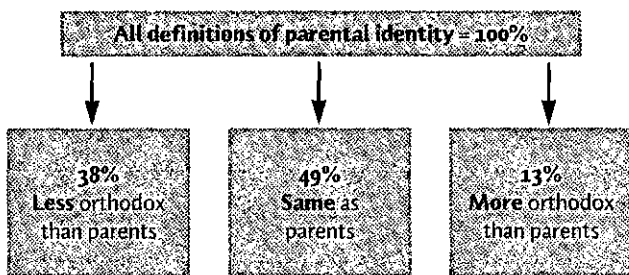
Generational shifts in identity

Chapter 6 discusses the variation in identity throughout life and shows some basic differences in age and identity. More particularly, identity and Jewish awareness can intensify with the stage of life

that an individual has reached as when families join synagogues to ensure a child's Jewish education or in preparation for *Bar/Bat Mitzvah*. This dynamic may involve a person's identity changing relative to his/her family background.

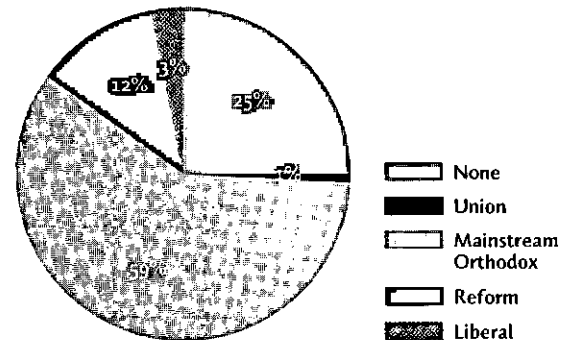
As there are inter-generational moves in synagogue membership, so there are parallel moves in self-identification. The overall pattern is shown in Figure 15 where it can be seen that just under half the adult population consider that they have the same type of Jewish identity as that of their parents. As with synagogue change, most identity shift across generations is from a more to a less demanding religious stance. However, the evidence of movement in the opposite direction is stronger for identity than for synagogue affiliation. Nevertheless, the predominant direction of movement was predictable, and should be read in the context of general social and philosophical trends in Britain over the past 35 years.

Figure 15 Inter-generational moves in Jewish identity



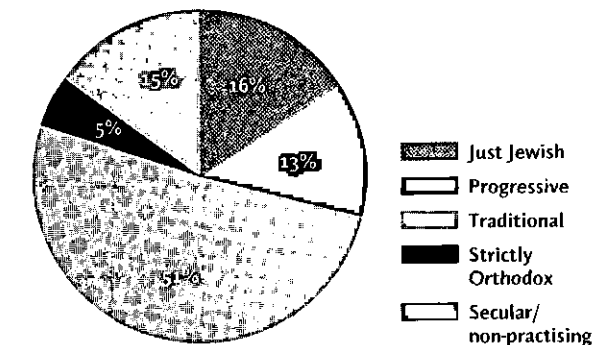
Just as changes in affiliation of the Mainstream Orthodox illustrate the evolution of membership, so a comparison of personal and (reported) parental identity indicates movement in communal identity patterns. Approximately half of British Jewish adults (47%) consider they had a Traditional Jewish background and this group has the highest levels of cross-generational movement. They are therefore taken as exemplars of inter-category identity shifts (Figure 17).

Figure 16 Affiliation of those raised in Mainstream Orthodox synagogues



Source JPR

Figure 17 Identity of those raised in Traditional homes



Source JPR

A simple comparison by eye of Figures 16 and 17 confirms that the generational shift in identity (for this core of British Jewry) is more balanced than the shift in synagogue membership. The overall identity shift is less markedly a movement away from self-identifying than the total 28% without synagogue membership would suggest.

- For those with Traditional parents, 51% continue to define themselves as Traditional, 13% are Progressive, 16% Just Jewish and 15% Secular.
- In comparison, of those with a Secular background (not illustrated) 71% remain Secular, 14% are Just Jewish and 11% Progressive.
- The strongest identity maintenance is found where parental identity was Strictly Orthodox (not illustrated), 56% place themselves in the same group and 26% call themselves Traditional but only 8% take the Secular identity.

8 JEWISH EDUCATION

Provision

In 1996/7 there were 257 Jewish educational establishments in Great Britain including pre-schools and kindergartens. Of these 57% were supplementary schools, i.e. a *cheder* or part-time school attached to a synagogue. These were more prevalent in the Regions, where more than two out of three Jewish schools (69%) were of this type. In the Greater London area slightly over half (53%) of all Jewish educational provision was in day schools.

Table 6 Jewish schools in Great Britain, 1996/7

	Greater London	Regions	All areas
Day school			
Pre-school	34	12	46
Primary and secondary	42	23	65
Supplementary	67	79	146
All schools	143	114	257

Source Board of Deputies Compilations

- Provision of places changed greatly over 20 years with a rise in the total number of day-school places and a parallel reduction in supplementary provision.
- In 1975 for every child in a Jewish day school there were just under 1.5 children in a supplementary school. By the school year 1996/7, the pattern had completely reversed and for each child in a supplementary school, there were 1.7 children in a day school.
- Availability of Jewish school places varies from area to area with north London and north Manchester providing the widest choice and age-coverage.
- Only Greater London, Manchester, Liverpool and Gateshead have both Jewish primary and secondary day schools.
- In January 1998, planning permission was granted for two new primary day schools in south Hertfordshire – one Reform and one Mainstream Orthodox.

- In the Regions over the same period three day schools closed.

As day school provision has increased in the London area, supplementary schools there have merged to become Regional Centres as with Golders Green and Hampstead Synagogue classes.

- In Greater London the average size of supplementary schools, including Regional Centres, is 102.
- Elsewhere, the average size (41) is very small. This situation is likely to persist as mergers of classes are not feasible between one town and another.

The Orthodox nature of full-time Jewish education is very marked. There are only nine Reform day-schools (of which eight are pre-school establishments), seven are *Zionist*, 24 are Strictly Orthodox and the remaining 70 are Mainstream Orthodox.

- In contrast, 32% of supplementary schools (46 of 146) were non-Orthodox.

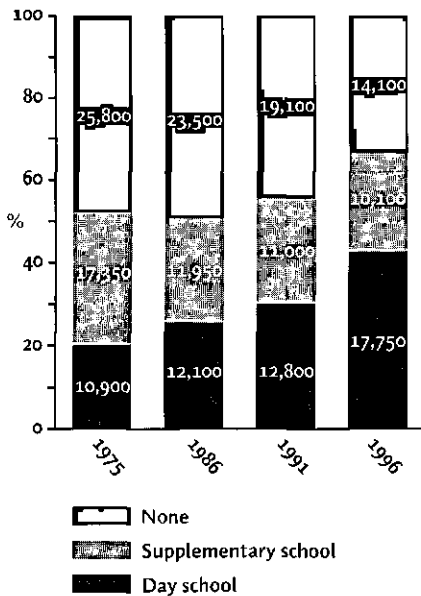
Enrolment

Figure 18 (on the next page) shows the changes in numbers of children participating in the Jewish educational system for the years 1975 to 1996. In the school year 1996/7 some 27,850 children, i.e. approximately two-thirds of all Jewish children aged 5 to 17, were receiving some form of Jewish education. This proportion indicates the steady increase in demand over 20 years which was met by an increase in school places. The total numbers are slight undercounts as there are some Strictly Orthodox youths aged 15 and over who study in *yeshivot* that are not covered in these statistics.

- In school year 1996/97 there were additionally some 2,700 children in Jewish nurseries and kindergartens for the under-fives.
- Major Jewish centres such as Leeds, Birmingham and Glasgow have only primary schools.

9 SECULAR EDUCATION

Figure 18 Participation of children aged 5 to 17 in Jewish education, by type of school, 1975-96 (to nearest 50)



Source Worms Report; Board of Deputies Compilations

For most children, Jewish education still ceases at *Bar/Bat Mitzvah* age as there is less day-school provision at secondary school level than at primary. Nationally there are 39 primary compared with 26 secondary schools.

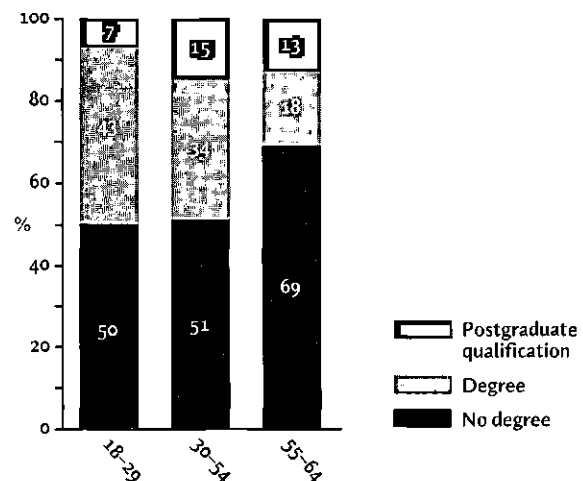
- Three schools, two primary and one secondary Mainstream Orthodox, were opened in the Greater London area between 1982 and 1994, together with six establishments serving the Union of Orthodox community.
- Of Jewish children aged 5 to 17 in 1987/8, 52% were enrolled in some form of Jewish education. Thus, over the ten academic years 1987/8 to 1996/7, 14% more Jewish children were taking the opportunity of Jewish education.

Education *per se* has been highly valued in Jewish communities throughout history although until recent centuries 'education' was defined specifically as religious learning coupled with training for a trade. Since the late 18th century Enlightenment period, especially in Western Europe, the United States and similar cultures, Jews have gradually come to embrace broader definitions of education particularly where professional training and development are involved. Education and work have therefore been strongly linked within the Jewish tradition for a long time.

Age differences

Over the past 50 years in Britain, Jews have grasped the peculiar opportunities afforded with the expansion first of secondary and then of tertiary education. The outcome of this process is shown in Figure 19 which sets out the highest educational qualification attained by three groups that are delineated according to the different educational opportunities available while they were growing up. Those aged under 30 benefited from the expansion of higher (university) education which began in the 1960s; those in the 30 to 54 age group had the opportunities for free grammar school education afforded by the 1944 Education Act. Prior to, this full day-time education beyond official school-leaving age was restricted to those whose parents were able and/or willing to afford it.

Figure 19 Higher educational attainment of Jews aged 18 to 64, by age



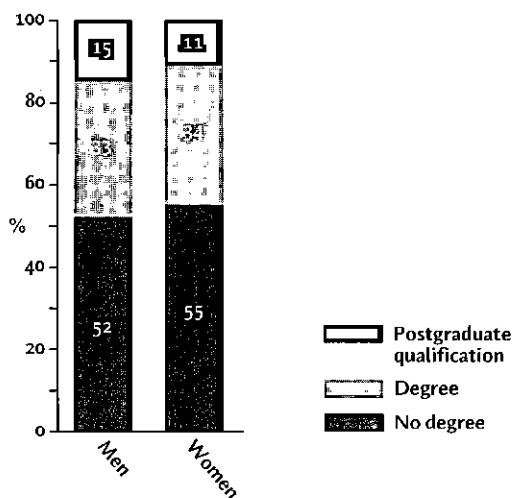
Source JPR

- The highest levels reached by those aged 18 to 64 were: 40% university experience, 20% 'A' level or equivalent and 25% GCSE level or equivalent, e.g. 'O' level.
- 50% of Jews aged 18 to 29 had been to university as had 49% of those in the 30 to 54 age group. For those aged 55 to 64, the proportion fell to 31%.

Gender differences

Figure 20 illustrates the differences in educational qualifications of Jewish men and women aged between 18 and 64. Although on a simple historical interpretation a difference might be anticipated, there is no overall significant difference between the reported attainment of men and women at these ages. We are probably here seeing the impact of feminism on women's educational take up since the 1970s: women aged over 35 who did not have higher education immediately upon leaving school have noticeably gone back to studying, for example at the Open University, when their family responsibilities permitted.

Figure 20 Higher educational attainment of Jews aged 18 to 64, by sex



Source JPR

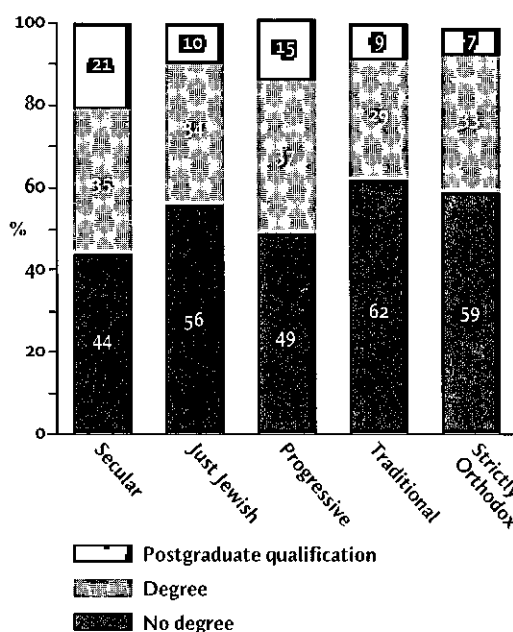
- Taking undergraduate and postgraduate experience together, only slightly more Jewish men (48%) than women (43%) had higher education

- The particularity of Jewish educational experience is brought out by a comparison with data for Great Britain where, in 1991 for people aged 18 to 64, 17% of men and 14% of women had qualifications above GCE 'A' level standard.
- Only in the 30 to 54 age group does the higher educational experience of Jewish men (54%) markedly exceed that of women (43%). This difference is probably accounted for by the higher incidence of professional qualification among men at these ages.
- For the oldest and youngest age groups, women's higher secular learning experience exceeds that of men: among those under 30 years of age, 46% of men and 54% of women have a first or second degree; for those aged 55 to 64 the proportions are 29% and 34% respectively.

Jewish identity and secular education

Parental identity may be expected to affect educational choices both in the schools to which parents send their children and in the type of studies into which, other things being equal, they will direct them. In parallel

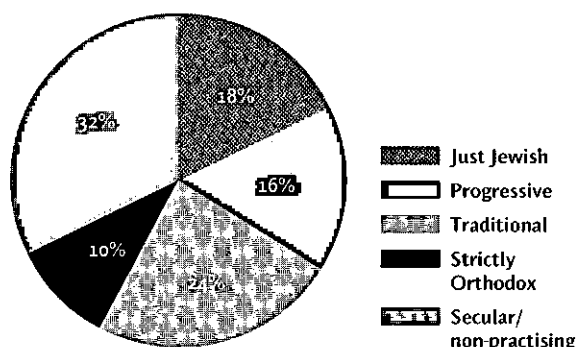
Figure 21 Higher educational attainment of Jews aged 18 to 64, by identity



Source JPR

with this, experience of more advanced general education can affect Jewish identity first because higher education usually involves absence from a family (and often a community) environment and secondly because higher studies often prompt searching questions which basic Jewish education has not heretofore equipped students to answer. However, in view of the significant correlation between the Jewish identity of parent and child, it is sufficient simply to examine the effect of personal self-identity as a Jew.

Figure 22 Identity of Jews aged 18 to 64 who have had university education



Source JPR

- 56% of those who consider themselves Secular, compared with 38% of the Traditional and 40% of the Strictly Orthodox, have reached graduate or post-graduate level.
- The high proportion of Strictly Orthodox who have higher education is accounted for by the younger average age of this group. They are on average ten years younger than the Traditional group where 62% never attended university.
- Although those over retirement age are excluded from the analysis, most of the measurable difference in educational experience is accounted for by age. While increased numbers of the Strictly Orthodox may not affect levels of university attendance for the younger age groups there may, of course, be differences in the subjects studied by the various identity groups.

Among those aged 18 to 64 who attended university, 32% define themselves as Secular whereas this group makes up only 23% of the whole population. This over-representation is mirrored by the 24% with higher education who call themselves Traditional Jews compared with the 32% Traditional in the whole Jewish population. If we consider those who have only a first degree, the distribution does not change significantly when the youngest age group is taken by itself. The main difference is that 17% of those aged under 30 with only a first degree call themselves Strictly Orthodox, compared with 12% of all those aged 18 to 64.

10 EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION

Employment

Until the Enlightenment, historical experience and opportunity confined Jews to a limited range of occupations. As societies modernised, the restrictions gradually disappeared but British Jews have nevertheless maintained distinctive patterns of employment. These originally related to their immigrant status but have also drawn on a Jewish inclination towards the professions and self-employment.

Choice of employment at any time obviously depends not only on a person's talents and education but also on the actual employment opportunities available throughout a working life. At its starkest this is shown in the disruption suffered by single industry communities, e.g. with the closing of steel mills or coal mines. Historically employment opportunities for the bulk of the Jewish community were largely confined to clothing, small-scale furniture- and cabinet-making and so forth. They were further affected by traditional values which, for many, involved seeking work that afforded opportunities for Sabbath observance and kept women working near home until marriage.

The employment patterns of British Jewry have developed in line with those of British society at large, particularly in respect of women's employment. Additionally, the current age structure of the core Jewish population means a substantial proportion will be of retirement age, although not all in this group will have retired.

Figure 23 looks at the whole adult Jewish population, regardless of age, in order to indicate the overall picture of employment status; later analyses are restricted to ages 18 to 64 for both men and women even though the statutory retirement age for women is 60 years.

Figure 23 Employment structure of total adult Jewish population

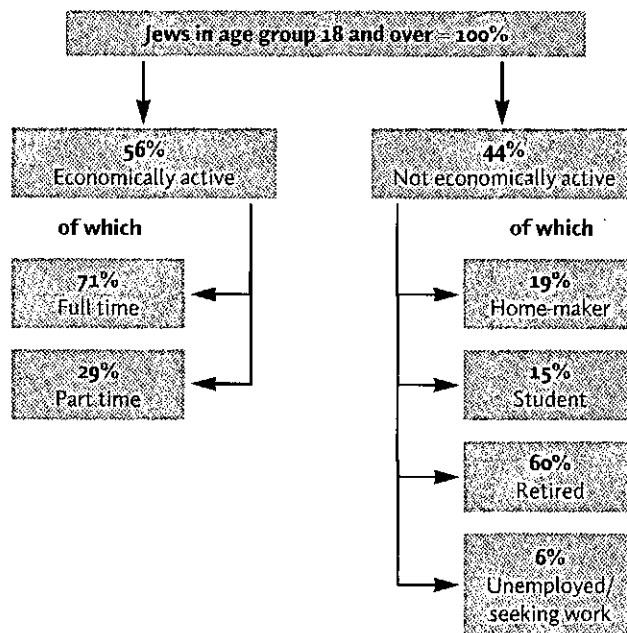
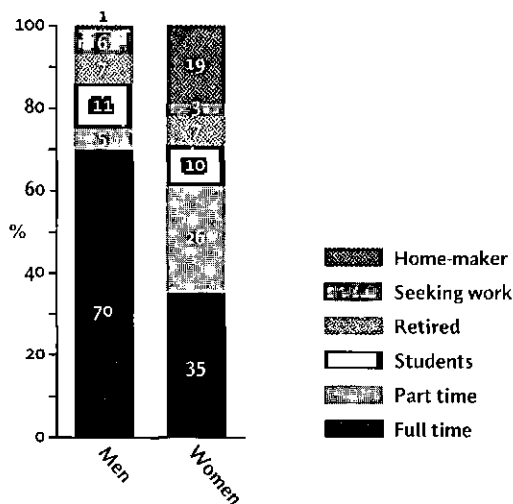


Figure 24 Employment profile of Jews aged 18 to 64, by sex



Source JPR

- The population estimates indicate some 221,000 Jews aged 18 and over in Great Britain. 67% of those aged 18 to 64 are economically active. A further 14% of those aged 65 and over are also in work.
- Post-retirement work patterns vary between men and women. 20% of these older men carry on working while for women the proportion falls to 10%.

- Overall, 75% of men compared with 51% of women in the age group 18 to 64 have jobs.
- 74% of all those aged 18 to 64 who are in employment work full time.
- As is shown in Figure 24, 19% of women aged 18 to 64 are homemakers, compared with the one per cent of men who describe themselves this way.
- For women aged 30 to 44, 23% are homemakers and 50% are in part-time employment.
- The relationship between education and employment in modern life is underlined by the 52% of those aged 18 to 24 who are students. For men of these ages the proportion is 57% while for women it is lower at 47%.
- There is little difference in the employment status patterns of the different Jewish identity categories except at the ends of the spectrum. Among the Strictly Orthodox 67% have employment but 43% do not while for the Secular 85% have a job.
- The Strictly Orthodox pattern is influenced mainly by the 36% of women aged 18 to 64 who are housewives.

Occupations

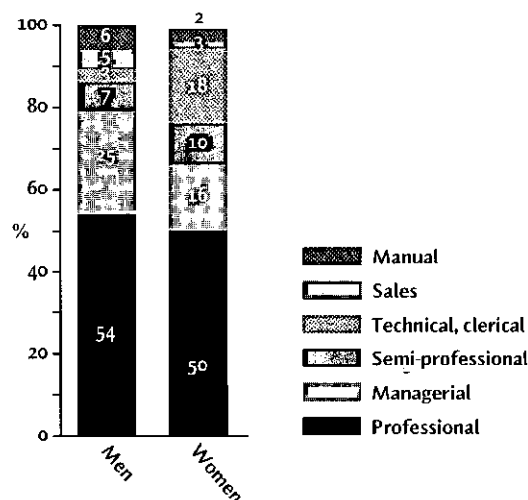
Within the British Jewish community, movement away from the inner city areas in which the immigrant generations lived has been accompanied by a widening of occupational experience. Nevertheless there is still a concentration in particular fields such as law, medicine and accountancy and, for the younger age groups, in more modern, often creative, activities. Not infrequently, these occupations demand higher educational training and can provide an opportunity for self-employment.

Figure 25 sets out the occupational profile of British Jews. It compares the occupations of men and women aged 18 to 64 who are in paid employment, whether full- or part-time.

- Six main occupational categories of the economically active may be noticed in the community.
- 54% of working men and 50% of working women are in professional occupations. This compares with the approximately 10% of men and 8% of women in the general population who have such work.
- Among those Jews aged 18 to 64 who were economically active a further 25% of men and 16% of women are in managerial posts.

Much of the imbalance is due to the highly metropolitan nature of British Jewry which mean that they are almost totally absent from heavy industrial, agricultural and horticultural activities.

Figure 25 Occupations of Jews aged 18 to 64, by sex



Source JPR

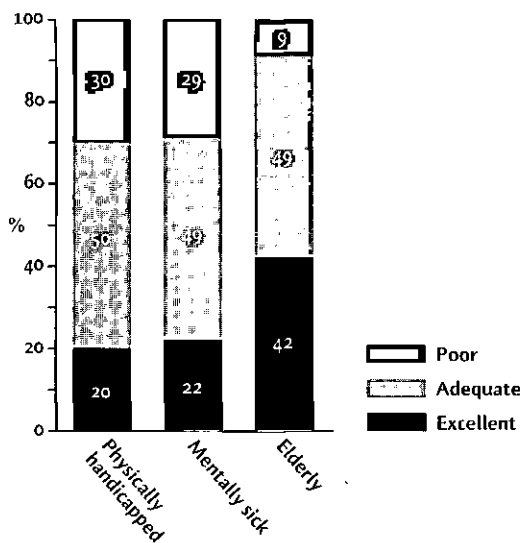
- Some 16% of the British Jewish working population are employed in education and 10% are in the medical field.
- 24% of women compared with 10% of men are in education while 13% of women have medical jobs compared with 9% of men.

11 SOCIAL SERVICES

Charitable deeds are a fundamental element of Jewish life and a cornerstone of communal activity. Within the British state system, Jewish service organisations act both to channel local welfare provision – adding a particular Jewish dimension – and to supplement provisions which are insufficient for communal needs. The organisations cover the old and the young, the disabled and those with learning difficulties, people in families or living alone. Survey findings indicate that this community provision mainly meets with the approval of those who know about it. Furthermore, approximately half the adult Jewish population consider Jews are more likely than others to give to charity and 45% of those who declare a priority in their charitable giving favour Jewish causes in Britain.

Figure 26 shows how British Jewry evaluates its various communal services for care of the elderly, mentally sick and physically handicapped. It is in the nature of things that, given the peculiar age structure of British Jewry, very many Jews will have at least a nodding acquaintance with the facilities provided by the community for old people.

Figure 26 Evaluation of selected Jewish social services



Source JPR

- In general, British Jews feel that the community provides adequately for all three groups.
- 57% of the community feel that Jews are more concerned than society at large about their elderly.

- The high appreciation of services for elderly people echoes this widespread perception that Jews care more for their old, and reveals broad commitment to the Jewish value of honouring parents.

Agencies and services

Over 80 welfare agencies and organisations offer services from a Greater London base. Just under half of these serve the community nationally while slightly more than one-third look only to their local area. The ability of these central agencies to assist those further afield is made possible by the use of freephone and local call help lines. Recent mergers, such as Norwood (child care) with Ravenswood (mentally handicapped young people and adults) and the Association for Jewish Youth, mean that the requirements of many client groups are now dealt with by a single, umbrella organisation.

There are almost 40 regional agencies concerned mainly with general welfare services, housing, and care for the elderly; those in the larger Jewish centres also serve smaller communities nearby. There has been some local and regional rationalisation such as the merger of the Manchester Jewish Federation and the Regional Jewish Welfare Federation (in the north of England). Smaller communities support welfare committees and old persons residential homes.

Table 7 Geographical location and coverage of welfare agencies, 1998

Location	Coverage		
	Local area	Local and adjacent	Nationwide needs
London	29	18	34
Regions	19	13	5

Source Directory of Jewish Social Services

- Agencies vary in size from the largest, Jewish Care, to those as small as Beth Hayaed (which can provide short-term respite care for four Orthodox young persons under age 20 and day care for another four).

- Organisations offering financial aid, advice, telephone support and counselling services are most likely to operate nationally. Others are limited geographically by the nature of their work.
- Homes for the elderly often welcome applications from persons in all areas even though take-up is mostly from locals.
- Meals-on-wheels, community centres and clubs naturally function more locally.
- Agencies such as the Industrial Dwellings Society (1885) Ltd self-evidently have long histories, others (e.g. the Jewish AIDS Trust) have been established to meet contemporary needs.

The historical change from agencies like the Jews Temporary Shelter (which originally provided help to Eastern European immigrants at the end of the nineteenth century) to Jewish Women's Aid (which maintains a refuge for abused wives and children) charts a move from long-recognised physical towards recently-acknowledged additional psychological need. It also shows a community less reluctant to admit that it suffers from the same ills as the surrounding society.

Table 8 Nature of services provided by Jewish welfare organisations, 1998

Type of service	Agencies	
	London	Regions
Advice and information	40	16
(of which specialist)	26	3
Homes and hostels	24	16
Day care services/centres	26	7
Counselling/conciliation/mediation	27	3
Housing	17	11
Rehabilitation	15	5
Social clubs	28	2
Assessment	11	2

Source: Directory of Jewish Social Services

The services available range from assessment for many different conditions and problems to day centres and housing. The major service categories and the number

of organisations active in each are listed in Table 8. The major agencies provide a wide range of both general and specialist services while the smaller institutions deal more specifically with, for example, care for local frail elderly persons. Special services provided by only one or two agencies on very specific needs are not categorised here.

- The most wide-ranging set of services is for the elderly: 53 agencies cite caring for old people or the infirm as one of their functions. This may be taken to reflect both the value structure of the community and the practical needs of a community where almost one quarter are aged over 65.
- Most of the homes and hostels and of the housing services noted in Table 8 involve the aged.
- The remainder cover those of all ages with mental health problems or young people with special needs or family problems.
- Counselling and conciliation services cover bereavement, mental health problems, physical illness and disability and, specifically, the problems of Holocaust survivors and other refugees.
- 36 agencies state that they deal with debt and other financial problems either by giving cash-grants, by helping with employment problems or by providing advice.

12 ISRAEL AND BRITAIN

British Jewry's links with Israel

There are strong historical, emotional and personal links between the community and Israel. These are succinctly expressed by the recent findings that 43% of British Jews admit to strong feelings of attachment towards Israel while a further 38% declare a moderate attachment. These emotional links are bolstered both by the numbers of Israelis living in Great Britain (who may or may not come into contact with the British Jewish community) and by the numbers of British Jews (and their descendants) living in Israel. Such factors promote a constant interaction between the two populations which is manifested in part through visiting Israel and in supporting charitable causes related to Israel.

- 69% of British Jews have relatives or close friends living in Israel
- 78% have visited Israel at some time in their lives
- 28% have visited four or more times in the past ten years
- More than a quarter of British Jews donate to Israel-related charities
- 12% say they give priority to such causes over all others

Source JPR

Israeli-born people living in Britain

The British Jewish community incorporates a substantial number of Israelis. Israeli history is such that they may or may not have been born in Israel although this is more likely for younger people. Conversely, not all Israelis resident here will be Jewish: 3% of the population of Israel is Christian and 15% is Moslem.

Every ten years British censuses seek details of birth-place. Numbers of those recorded as born in Israel on the last three censuses are given in Table 9. Special tabulations from the 1991 census provide a profile of the Israeli-born people living in Britain at that time.

Table 9 Israeli-born totals in British censuses, 1971-91

Year	Israeli-born	Actual increase	% increase
1971	5,170		
1981	7,106	1,936	37.5
1991	12,195	5,089	71.6

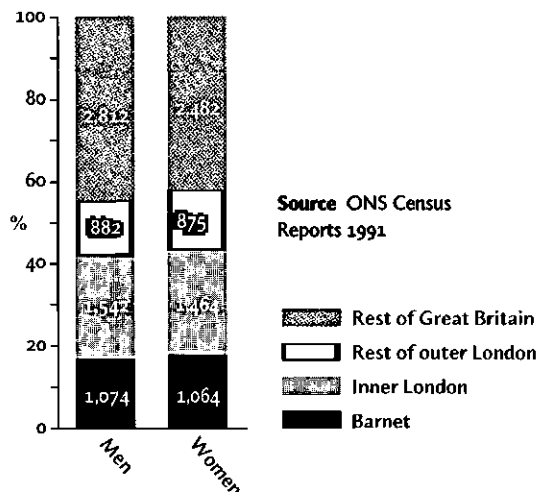
Sources ONS Census Reports

- In 1991 the census recorded 13,217 persons born in Israel.
- 12,195 were resident in Great Britain and 1022 were visiting at the time. This number of residents was almost 2.5 times greater than it had been in 1971.
- Of Israeli-born residents, 51% were men and 49% women.
- The rate of increase in numbers of Israeli-born residents almost doubled between 1981-91 and the previous decade.
- The data do not show how long an individual was resident but it is reasonable to suppose that a proportion will have been in Britain for the whole 20 years.

Demographic profile

Figure 27 sets out where Israeli-born residents live. Four areas are given: the London Borough of Barnet, inner London, outer London (excluding Barnet) and the rest of Great Britain.

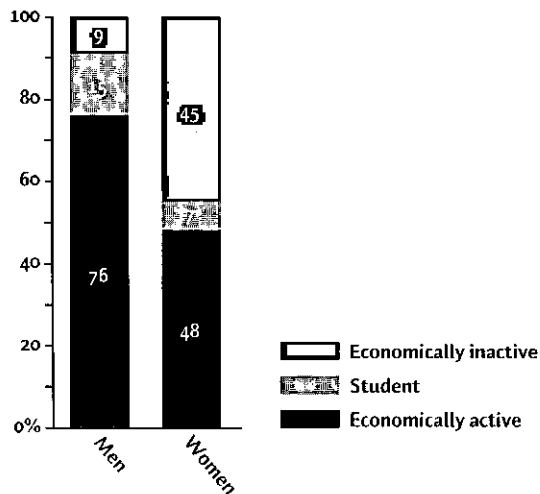
Figure 27 Geographical distribution of Israeli-born people in Britain, 1991



- 57% of Israeli-born live in the Greater London area with the largest local grouping (17%) being in the London Borough of Barnet.
- 16% reside throughout southeast England, mainly Essex, Sussex and Surrey
- 26% were aged under 16 but only 2% are over 65. This age distribution is markedly different from that of British Jewry generally where approximately 17% are under 16 and 23% are aged 65 or more.
- More than half of both men and women were married although, of course, not necessarily to other Israelis.

Levels of economic activity, (employment), for Israeli-born residents are shown in Figure 28 which distinguishes the employment patterns of men and women.

Figure 28 Economic activity of Israeli-born people aged 16 and over in Britain, 1991



Source: Special tabulations, ONS Census 1991, One in Ten Sample

- 62% were economically active: 76% of men and 48% of women
- To the economically inactive must be added the separate category of students who account for 11% of the total. Proportionately twice as many men (15%) as women (7%) were students.

- The Israeli-born form a skilled professional workforce: 56% of those working were in professional, management or technical occupations.

- 13% of the men were professionals and 44% were in managerial or technical jobs. Of women, 8% were professional and 46% managerial.

- A further 11% of men and 24% of women were in skilled non-manual employment.

How many 'Israelis' ?

Israeli-born do not include everyone who has Israeli nationality or would popularly be considered 'Israeli'. On the other hand they do include some who, although born in Israel, do not hold Israeli nationality or may never have lived for any length of time in Israel.

- It is axiomatic that some Israeli-born are not Jewish: they will nevertheless be included in the data.

There is no foolproof way in which the numbers of Israeli-born can be used to give indisputable estimates of Jewish 'Israelis' in Great Britain. However, an estimate may be suggested using evidence from the United States.

- The 1990 National Jewish Population Study (NJPS) estimated 65,000 Israeli-born Jews. At the same time, 144,000 people on the 1990 USA Census said they 'used Hebrew as a language in the home'. The ratio of these two groups is 1:2.2.

- If we assume that the number using Hebrew in the home covers all who are 'Israeli' regardless of where they were born and further assume that all Israeli-born are Jewish, then we can apply this ratio as a raising factor to the British Census data. Accordingly the 12,195 Israeli-born would indicate some 26,800 'Israelis'.

Source: National Jewish Population Study, 1990

Immigration and emigration

Data on visits to Israel, on family ties between Israel and Britain and on Israeli-born residents together indicate regular population movement between the two countries. The exchange of population represented by British emigration to Israel (*Aliyyah*) and confirmed immigration of Israelis to Britain is set out in Table 10.

Table 10 Emigration to Israel (*Aliyyah*) and immigration from Israel, 1979–93

Years	Emigration of British Jews to Israel*	Immigration of Israelis to Britain**
1979–83	7,468	314
1984–88	3,036	302
1989–93	2,516	330

Source * Israel Central Bureau of Statistics

** Control of Immigration: Statistics UK 1993

- The outward flow from Britain between 1979 and 1993 was approximately ten times the *formalised* inward movement.
- *Aliyyah* numbers have fallen steadily over the 15-year period while formal immigration of Israelis to Britain has been static.
- Data on immigration do not include Israelis who settle here yet do not (need to) take out British nationality. Comparison of these settlement statistics with the increase shown by census data indicate just how far immigration records understate the actual inflow of Israelis.

APPENDIX A VITAL STATISTICS

Table A1 Estimates of the Jewish population of Great Britain, in thousands, 1940–95

Year	London ^a	Regions	Total
1940	220	130	350
1950	250	180	430
1960–65	280	130	410
1975–79	228	108	336
1984–88	210	98	308
1989–93	207	88	295
1995	196	89	285

Sources Waterman and Kosmin, 1986; Haberman, Kosmin and Levy, 1983; Haberman and Schmol 1995; Board of Deputies Compilations

Table A2 Summary of communal vital statistics, 1980–97

Year	Births	Marriages	Deaths
1980	3,451	1,222	4,656
1981	3,651	1,180	4,659
1982	3,410	1,110	4,846
1983	3,396	1,180	4,715
1984	3,478	1,153	4,945
1985	3,600	1,144	4,844
1986	3,559	1,097	4,838
1987	3,708	1,049	4,486
1988	3,700	1,107	4,427
1989	3,392	1,057	4,594
1990	3,152	1,148	4,704
1991	3,502	1,082	4,548
1992	3,003	1,031	4,338
1993	2,840	1,015	4,488
1994	2,897	914	4,192
1995	3,013	866	4,233
1996	2,897	947	4,167
1997	**	986	4,070

* The geographical boundaries of 'London' were adjusted over the 1940–95 period, but the concept of London Jewry as contrasted with Regional Jewry persists

** Not available

‡ Circumcision (*milah*) details cover Orthodox and Reform births. They refer only to births where there is no question about the *halachic* status of the child.

§ British data generally suggest that there are 946 female births for every 1,000 male births. This ratio has been used to provide these estimates of female births.

¶ Central Orthodox/Union of Orthodox/Sephardi/Reform/Liberal

Table A3 Circumcision / female birth estimates, 1980–96

Year	Circumcisions [‡]	Female births [§]	Total
1980	1,757	1,694	3,451
1981	1,859	1,792	3,651
1982	1,736	1,674	3,410
1983	1,729	1,667	3,396
1984	1,771	1,707	3,478
1985	1,833	1,767	3,600
1986	1,812	1,747	3,559
1987	1,888	1,820	3,708
1988	1,884	1,816	3,700
1989	1,727	1,665	3,392
1990	1,605	1,547	3,152
1991	1,783	1,719	3,502
1992	1,529	1,474	3,003
1993	1,446	1,394	2,840
1994	1,475	1,422	2,897
1995	1,534	1,479	3,013
1996	1,475	1,422	2,897

Table A4 Numbers of synagogue marriages according to synagogal group, 1980–97[¶]

Year	Gen. Orth	Union	Seph.	Ref.	Lib.	Total
1980	839	91	34	187	71	1,222
1981	818	97	24	185	56	1,180
1982	750	100	30	175	55	1,110
1983	772	104	45	188	71	1,180
1984	743	110	49	179	72	1,153
1985	736	101	54	169	84	1,144
1986	699	122	46	160	70	1,097
1987	659	101	43	184	62	1,049
1988	702	121	56	182	46	1,107
1989	679	118	47	170	43	1,057
1990	772	103	48	167	58	1,148
1991	679	126	26	190	61	1,082
1992	602	166	47	161	55	1,031
1993	583	158	50	174	50	1,015
1994	510	140	49	151	64	914
1995	489	150	55	136	36	866
1996	560	195	49	110	33	947
1997	581	186	43	128	48	986

APPENDIX B POPULATION PROJECTIONS

Table A5 Numbers of burials and cremations according to synagogal group

Year	Orthodox	Reform	Liberal	Total
1980	3,882	403	371	4,656
1981	3,799	488	372	4,659
1982	4,028	469	349	4,846
1983	3,876	522	317	4,715
1984	3,869	580	496	4,945
1985	3,905	551	388	4,844
1986	3,906	580	352	4,838
1987	3,605	579	302	4,486
1988	3,545	526	356	4,427
1989	3,593	628	373	4,594
1990	3,697	557	450	4,704
1991	3,501	627	420	4,548
1992	3,417	544	377	4,338
1993	3,395	675	418	4,488
1994	3,238	588	366	4,192
1995	3,234	599	400	4,233
1996	3,187	612	369	4,164
1997	3,159	548	363	4,070

Tables B1, B2, B3 Population projections for British Jewry 1996–2016 (to nearest hundred)

B1 High assumptions

Year	Population	Births	Deaths	Other
1996	282,500	15,300	20,400	4,900
2001	272,500	15,000	19,600	4,800
2006	263,100	14,500	18,900	4,600
2011	254,100	14,000	18,200	4,500
2016	245,400			

B2 Constant assumptions

Year	Population	Births	Deaths	Other
1977	336,000	31,309	43,216	16,100
1986	308,000	17,511	23,049	6,900
1991	295,500	12,242	17,566	5,300
1995	285,000	3,013	4,233	1,300
1996	282,500	14,500	20,900	6,400
2001	269,700	13,800	20,000	6,100
2006	257,400	13,200	19,100	5,800
2011	245,700	12,600	18,200	5,500
2016	234,600			

B3 Low assumptions

Year	Population	Births	Deaths	Other
1996	282,500	13,900	21,100	7,100
2001	268,200	13,100	20,100	6,700
2006	254,500	12,400	19,100	6,400
2011	241,400	11,800	18,100	6,000
2016	229,100			

Notes to Tables B1, B2 and B3

1 'Other' is to account for changes due to net international migration and general social movement away from the community.

2 Numbers for births, deaths and other refer to **totals** from one given year to the next. Thus, for example, the 14,500 births for 1996 in B2 is the equivalent of 2,900 births per annum.

Numbers in bold have been published previously. The 'other' data for 1977 and 1986 were calculated from population estimates.

High assumptions (per 1,000)

Crude birth rate = 11 Crude death rate = 14.35 Crude 'other' rate = 3.5
This allows for the Strictly Orthodox being a larger, younger section of the community with consequent higher birth rates and lower death and 'other' rates.

Constant assumptions (per 1,000)

Crude birth rate = 10.25 Crude death rate = 14.85 Crude 'other' rate = 4.5

Low assumptions (per 1,000)

Crude birth rate = 9.75 Crude death rate = 15 Crude 'other' rate = 5
This assumes an ageing population with accompanying lower birth and higher death rates and higher levels of social erosion.

APPENDIX C SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP

Tables B4, B5, B6 Projections of Jewish aged, 1996–2011

B4 High assumptions

Year	65-74	75-84	85+
2001	27,000	21,300	10,900
2006	25,000	19,700	9,200
2011	25,400	18,300	5,600

B5 Constant assumptions

Year	65-74	75-84	85+
1996	28,000	24,900	9,900
2001	26,900	21,800	10,000
2006	25,000	19,600	9,000
2011	25,300	18,400	5,000

B6 Low assumptions

Year	65-74	75-84	85+
2001	26,600	20,600	10,500
2006	24,700	19,300	8,400
2011	25,400	18,300	5,100

Table c1 Affiliated households by region (1996) and proportional change in membership since 1990 (%)

Region	Households	Change (%)
Greater London	61,505	-10.3
Rest of Southeast	9,610	4.1
Southwest	1,437	-19.2
East Anglia	334	49.1
East Midlands	701	-8.0
West Midlands	1,517	-10.1
Greater Manchester	7,609	2.2
Rest of Northwest	2,246	-13.9
Yorkshire/Humberside	4,157	-17.1
North	1,111	1.7
Scotland	2,341	-6.0
Wales	653	-8.8
Northern Ireland	129	-41.7
Jersey	75	-14.8
Isle of Man	22	-21.4
UNITED KINGDOM	93,447	-8.3

Table c2 Affiliated households by synagogue group (1996) and proportional change in membership since 1990 (%)

Region	Households	Change (%)
Mainstream Orthodox	56,895	-15.1
Masorti	1,413	
Union of Orthodox	6,622	14.1
Liberal	7,971	9.8
Reform	17,377	1.2
Sephardi	3,169	-1.2
ALL GROUPS	93,447	-8.3

Table c3 Affiliated households with male head of household, 1977–1996

Synagogue Group	1977	1983	1990	1996
Mainstream Orthodox	61,087	55,624	51,523	50,223
Reform	10,873	11,993	13,496	14,100
Liberal	5,893	5,681	6,669	5,862
Union of Orthodox	2,905	3,472	5,478	6,259
Sephardi	2,241	2,130	2,223	2,773
ALL GROUPS	82,999	78,900	79,389	79,217

GLOSSARY

This listing explains the meaning of non-English words that appear in the text. It also incorporates common Jewish terms which may be encountered in general use. Spellings are according to *The New Standard Jewish Encyclopedia* but readers should note that variations are often found in transliteration.

Aliyah Immigration of Jews to Israel (lit: ascent)

Ashkenazi Jews of German and East European origin

Bar Mitzvah (m) / Bat Mitzvah (f) Ceremony in the synagogue on *Shabbat* marking entry of boy/girl into the Jewish religious community. Traditionally age 13 for a boy and age 12 for a girl.

Beth Din (pl. Batte Din) Court/s of Jewish law

Diaspora Jews who live outside Israel (lit: dispersion)

Get (pl. Gittim) Religious Writ/s of divorce, given by a man to a woman

Halakha Jewish law or a specific ruling within it

Halakhically Carried out according to *halakha*

Hanukkah Eight-day celebration in December. Commemorates the Rededication of the Temple in Jerusalem in the second century BCE.

Hasid (pl. Hasidim) Member/s of strictly orthodox movement. Originally founded in 18th century Poland by Rabbi Israel ben Eliezer (the *Baal Shem Tov*)

Hasidic Appertaining to *Hasidim*

Haredi Strictly orthodox Jews who may or may not be *Hasidim*

Heder (pl. hedarim) School teaching Jewish religion and history. Usually held on Sunday morning at a synagogue

Hupah Jewish marriage ceremony; marriage canopy

Ivrit Modern Hebrew

Kaddish Memorial prayer for the dead

Kashrut Jewish dietary laws

Kosher Food permitted to Jews under Jewish dietary laws

Mezuzah Parchment scroll containing biblical verses, fixed to right-hand doorpost in Jewish homes

Mikveh Ritual bath

Milah Circumcision where the ceremony is performed according to *halakha*

Minyan (pl. Minyanim) Quorum for prayer of (at least) ten Jewish men

Mitzvah Commandment, obligation

Pesah Passover. Eight-day festival in early spring celebrating the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt

Pater familias Father or head of the family or household

Rosh Hodesh New Moon; beginning of the month (lit: head of the month)

Rosh Ha-Shanah Jewish New Year. Two-day festival (lit: head of the year)

Seder Special meal and service in the home on the first evening of Passover

Sephardi Jews of Spanish and Portuguese descent

Shabbat Sabbath, Saturday

Shavuot Pentecost. Festival seven weeks after Passover. Celebrates the Giving of the *Torah* at Mount Sinai

Shiva Seven-day period of mourning after a funeral

Siddur Prayer book, order of service

Sukkot Eight-day festival of Tabernacles, celebrated four days after *Yom Kippur*. Commemorates the booths in which the Israelites lived in the desert

Talmud Collection of Jewish Law; codification of *Mishnah* (Oral Jewish Law) and *Gemara* (commentary on *Mishnah*) (lit: teaching)

Tallit Prayer shawl; used by men at morning services

Torah First five books of the bible: *The Five Books of Moses*. Also, the basis of Jewish Law

Yeshivah (pl. Yeshivot) School/college for men; devoted primarily to the study of the *Talmud* and rabbinic literature

Yom Kippur Day of Atonement. A Fast Day observed ten days after *Rosh Ha-Shanah*

Yom Atzma'ut Israel's Independence Day

Yom Ha-Shoah Memorial day for the victims of the Holocaust

Zionism Originally the movement to secure the return of the Jews to the Land of Israel.

Zionist Supporter of the State of Israel

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DATABASES

This bibliography provides a selection of the material that has informed this publication. Further sources and book lists are available from the Community Research Unit on request. Readers are particularly recommended to consult the bibliography in *British Jewry in the Eighties* (Waterman and Kosmin, 1986) which covers earlier, particularly methodological, publications.

Our current bibliography ends with a note about the major databases available within the community.

Over the past 30 years, the Unit has also published a series of *Registers of Research into the Jewish Community*. The most recent update is being completed at time of writing and will be available both as a printed report and on disc. Current and past Registers list research undertaken in academia and by community organisations. They also provide details of private studies that do not always appear on computerised library searches.

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Databases

There are four databases worthy of note which are available for further analysis. Each provides a snapshot picture of (part of) the community at the time when fieldwork was carried out.

Redbridge Community Study (1978) which is lodged with the Economic and Social Research Data archive at the University of Essex. The fieldwork was conducted by face-to-face interviews and the database covers a random sample of approximately 500 households drawn from community records expanded by the Electoral Register in the London Borough of Redbridge. The areas examined include: demography and household structure, Jewish identity, education and occupation, attitudes towards Israel, volunteer activity and teenage activities.

United Synagogue Membership Survey (1992) undertaken as part of the United Synagogue Review. The database is available for examination on request to the Community Research Unit or to Dr Stephen Miller, School of Social and Human Sciences, City University, London EC2. Fieldwork was carried out by postal questionnaire and incorporates some 800 questionnaires – 54% of those sent out – from a random sample of United Synagogue members upto age 70. The survey examined: reasons for joining a synagogue in general and for the members' present synagogues in particular, expectations of synagogue services, attitudes towards the rabbi and towards head office service. For background information it covered demographic and identity issues.

Women in the Jewish Community (1993) was commissioned by the Review on Women in the Community to provide a benchmark to qualitative information gathered by the Review. There are over 1,100 cases from a purposeful sample of women synagogue members (from all types of synagogue) and a further 220+ women who do not have formal affiliation to the synagogue. In addition to core demographic and identity questions, the survey

covered attitudes to the synagogue and the community in general, problems of meeting Jewish partners, intermarriage, social welfare and women's health. The database is available on request from the Community Research Unit.

Social Attitudes of British Jews (1995) was commissioned by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research. This random sample postal survey of British Jewry is the most comprehensive ever conducted by and of British Jewry. It looked at a range of social attitudes covered annually by the British Social Attitudes Study together with Jewish communal and identity issues. The objective was to compare the attitudes of British Jewry with those of the general population on topics such as racism, feminism, social welfare and charity and at the same time to compare the different groups within British Jewry on these topics. The database, of over 2,000 cases, is lodged with the Institute for Jewish Policy Research.