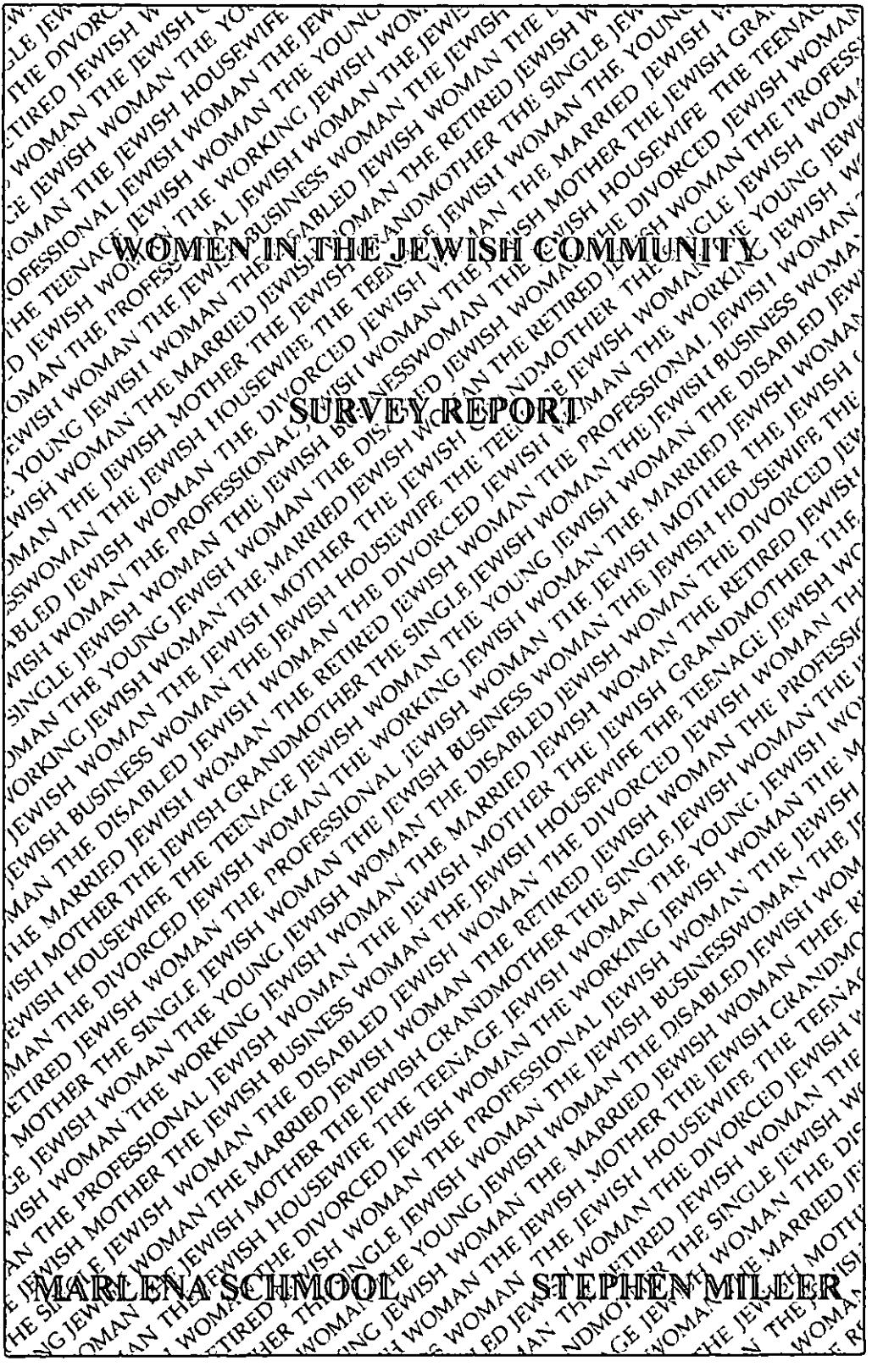

WOMEN IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

SURVEY REPORT

MARLENA SCHMOOL STEPHEN MILLER

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This first nation-wide statistical survey examining the position of women in the British Jewish community was made possible through the generosity and commitment of Everard and Mina Goodman and their Charitable Foundation.

This vital piece of research, enabling us to evaluate and strengthen Jewish family life and community services, provides a much-needed framework for further study and positive responses.

We gratefully acknowledge the far-sighted encouragement and support of our sponsors.

Rosalind Preston
Chairperson, "Women in the Community" Review.

PREFACE

A project of this scope could not have been carried through without a great deal of support and co-operation at many levels. We, as authors, therefore wish to thank the very many communal leaders, volunteers and professionals who participated in the preparation of the study. Especially we thank Rosalind Preston whose steadfastness and vision brought the study into being. Secondly, Task Force leaders and regional local convenors proved invaluable in setting up the survey. As the local point of entry to communities, they found students to carry through sampling, made telephone calls to arrange access to records, and organised advertisements in their localities when the data collection was in hand.

At an institutional level support came from many synagogues and organisations which granted the all-important access to membership lists - in some cases directly, in others by proxy - on which the affiliated sample is based. Finally, individual men and women provided names of (other) women who were not affiliated to synagogues; names which formed the basis of the unaffiliated snowball.

For the sake of confidentiality and anonymity of the sources we do not feel able to name all these individuals, nor can we name the very many women who gave of their time to answer questions which may have seemed personal and intrusive. Without their combined interest this report could not have been written.

This survey has been carried out with the industry and skills of a large research team, working throughout the country. We therefore record our thanks to the following students and researchers who worked so diligently through summer 1993: Nicola Aaron, Scott Aaron, Joel Blayberg, David Cohen, Frances Cohen, Abi Franses, Dani Haas, Kerrin Isaacs, Olivia Keen, Daniel Laufer, Yossi Miller, Gabrielle Moss, Zoe Ockrim, Ashley Sass, Osnat Schmool and Richard Stern. Particular thanks are due to Ann Franses, of the Community Research Unit, for typing the report, often from untidy manuscripts.

Finally, we wish to thank our sponsor, the Everard and Mina Goodman Charitable Foundation for so generously supporting this undertaking.

Marlena Schmool Stephen Miller
May 1994

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report outlines the findings of a postal survey of 1350 British Jewish women. It includes detailed analyses of their ***characteristics*** and their ***attitudes to communal issues.*** The main findings are summarised below.

A Jewish Belief, Practice and Identity

1. Jewish women vary significantly in the form and intensity of their religious *beliefs, practices and ethnic identity* (i.e. sense of peoplehood). The sample as a whole can be classified into four distinct religious 'types'. These are based on the respondents' self-classification of their Jewish lifestyle and cut across categories of synagogue membership.

2. The fourfold religious typology has been used throughout the study as the basis for examining communal attitudes and opinions. The characteristics of the four types are as follows:

   Traditional Jewish women comprise 40% of the sample. They are characterised by (i) a strong commitment to a selection of key, family practices which are observed by virtually all women in the group and (ii) a sense of attachment to the wider Orthodox community, although this does not extend to the full observance of Orthodox practices. Traditional women have very high levels of *ethnic identity* and moderate to low levels of religious *belief.*

   Non-Orthodox women comprise 43% of the sample. They see themselves as having a religious identity (as opposed to being purely secular Jews), but falling clearly outside the Orthodox domain. Women in this category observe fewer *practices* than Traditional Jews and tend to emphasise annual group ceremonies (e.g. Seder) rather than regular, individual rituals (e.g. Kashrut). Like Traditional women, they have a high level of *ethnic identity* but low scores on items related to religious *belief.*

   Secular women comprise 9% of the sample. These respondents define themselves as non-practising, although most of them engage in occasional religious ceremonies at various times in the year (most commonly Seder, Hannukah). Although both religious *practice* and *belief* are virtually absent, the strength of *ethnic identification* is almost as strong as in other groups.

Strictly Orthodox women comprise just under 9% of the sample. These women have consistently high scores on all three dimensions of identity. They are the only group in which a full commitment to Jewish *practice* appears to be driven as much by fundamental religious *beliefs* as by a desire to express their *ethnic identity*.

3. In the sample as a whole, there are remarkably high levels of ethnic identification and far weaker levels of religious faith. Thus over 90% of respondents have a strong desire for the Jewish people to survive; they wish to identify with other Jews and say that they 'feel Jewish inside'. However, less than one third agree with statements concerning the existence of God or the special relationship between God and the Jewish people; by comparison Israeli Jews are twice as likely to endorse such statements.

   The finding that British Jewish women are on average agnostic (and men more so) has implications for Jewish education, particularly in the context of attempts to harmonise educational and family values. It is suggested that the dissonance between the prevailing belief systems of the home and the school may prove more difficult to reconcile than differences in standards of religious practice.

4. In all groups other than the Strictly Orthodox, ethnic identity is found to be a better predictor of Jewish practice than is religious belief. In other words, the desire to belong and identify seems to have more influence on religious observance than fundamental aspects of faith and belief.

   From an educational point of view, this introduces a second form of dissonance, not between belief in the home and school, but between belief and practice *within* the home. For the majority of the women in this sample, ethnic identity and religious practice coexist with minimal levels of faith. This, too, raises questions concerning the transmission of religion based primarily on ethnicity and ritual.

B Social Demography

1. The social characteristics of the two sub-samples - synagogue affiliated and unaffiliated - are described in this chapter. The affiliated group is further sub-divided between **Orthodox** and **Progressive** synagogue members.

2. The majority of affiliated women were married and slightly less than half the unaffiliated were married or cohabiting. The vast majority had borne children of their own, but single parenthood (among those who had not married) was not a noticeable pattern. Nevertheless, 11% of the unaffiliated were divorcees bringing up children.

3. In line with the overall geographical distribution of British Jewry, the majority of respondents lived in the Greater London area. Synagogue members were aged 48 years on average and the unaffiliated had an average age of 39. Orthodox women were some 2 years older than their Progressive counterparts.

4. Over half the synagogue sample and three-quarters of the unaffiliated were in paid employment, with the synagogue members more likely to be working part-time. One quarter of synagogue members were retired.

5. Both samples show a strong bias towards the middle-class with high levels of education and with household salary levels above the national average. Among synagogue affiliated women, 26% had a university degree (more than twice the national average) and 42% of younger affiliated women (below 35) had a degree. However the most accomplished sub-group educationally were unaffiliated women: 74% of those under 35 had a university education.

6. The synagogue sample also brought to light 7% of households with a total income of less than £8000 per annum, mainly respondents aged over 60. The overall communal experience of low-income is understated in the sample since women over 70 were, as far as possible, excluded from the survey. Nonetheless, communally affiliated Jews and unaffiliated Jews living in Jewish areas are overwhelmingly middle-class. This may be why people who have politically radical values feel they have no place in the synagogue-focused community.

7. The four classes of religious identity - Secular, Non-Orthodox, Traditional and Strictly Orthodox - had different social characteristics. *Strictly Orthodox* women were younger, very likely to be married and secularly less well educated. *Traditional* women were older and, like the Strictly Orthodox, more likely to be married and with less secular education. *Secular* women were distinguished by their low marriage rates and very high levels of formal education. The *Non-Orthodox* were also well educated, but average with regard to age and marriage rates.

C Family and Social Issues

1 The majority of respondents had been married at some stage in their lives, usually in a synagogue, and saw their marriage as a life-long commitment. Only 7% of partnerships were outside this normative pattern. Similarly, the majority of women had borne children (85% synagogue women, 57% unaffiliated), and those who had not, generally wished to do so in the future. There was, however, no evidence that those women who do not currently have children feel pressured into having children.

2. Of those who had been married, about 10% of the synagogue sample and 32% of the unaffiliated sample had been divorced. In the 112 cases where a *get* was required (i.e. excluding mixed faith marriages), approximately 33% of the respondents (affiliated and unaffiliated together) did not have one. Put another way, where there has been a divorce of two Jews, the wife is likely to have received a *get* in two out of three cases.

3. Attitudes towards family roles and task-sharing were less traditional than were family structures. There was still the feeling that women are mainly responsible for general domestic jobs, but child-rearing practices were regarded as responsibilities to be shared between parents.

4. Those mothers who work reported some difficulty in reconciling the demands of work and motherhood, but these problems were not of a specifically Jewish nature. At a more general level, there was some evidence of difficulty accommodating Shabbat requirements to the demands of the workplace and, to a lesser extent, of antisemitism at work.

5. The proportion of respondents (6%) defining themselves as sole carers of a relative was below the national average, but this was augmented by the 24% of affiliated women who felt themselves responsible for a parent's welfare with someone else. Strikingly, all respondents felt they would be called upon to care in this way at some time in the future. However, they showed low levels of knowledge of the extent to which Jewish communal welfare provision would be of help to them.

6. Approximately half the respondents did voluntary work in some capacity, with affiliated women being more likely to help with a Jewish activity. Some volunteers would appreciate further training in their role.

D Being Single

1 For the most part, with the predictable exception of divorcees, respondents were content to be single. Affiliated singles felt that the community has a place for them, while just under half the non-affiliated expressed a level of disaffection that presumably keeps them from joining synagogues. These women were more likely to agree that the Jewish community is less welcoming to singles than is society at large.

2. The social characteristics of the unmarried highlighted two stages in a woman's life-cycle: younger persons waiting to be married and older women who had been married in the past and generally had no particular wish to meet a new partner.

3. Jewish singles groups and events are widely used as a means of meeting partners, but there is great dissatisfaction with the Jewish singles 'scene'.

4. While historically men have been inclined to marry outside the community, the data indicate that women are now also widening their search for partners, especially on re-marriage.

5. There is only a low incidence of single-parenthood in the samples. Where there has been a divorce, fathers do not seem to be involved in their children's Jewish upbringing.

6. The community, through its burial societies and synagogues, is generally found to be quite supportive at the time of bereavement. The older women who were naturally most likely to have had this experience denied feeling isolated from synagogal life.

7. There are suggestions of a residential/generational pattern with regard to singles' perceptions of the community; younger, London-based singles are more critical than older singles and those living in the provinces.

E Intermarriage

1. A substantial minority of respondents (30%) have a fatalistic attitude to intermarriage, believing nothing can be done to reduce it. This attitude varies dramatically with religious conviction - 53% of Secular Jews have this view, while at the other end of the continuum, only 4% of the Strictly Orthodox subscribe to it.

2. Most respondents find intermarriage ideologically unacceptable as signified by their disapproval of intermarriage even if the status of children was not involved; but only the Traditional and Strictly Orthodox would do 'everything possible' to prevent a son or daughter marrying a non-Jew.

3. Respondents seem uncertain as to what personal action they would take to prevent a child marrying a non-Jew. Most emphatically, cutting-off from the community is no longer an option, even for half of the Strictly Orthodox respondents. This explains the strong demand for a more relaxed view on orthodox conversion and a desire to welcome would-be affiliates. Those currently single and/or unaffiliated have the least definite viewpoint.

4. The sample includes a number of people with experience of inter-faith partnerships - either directly by partnership with a non-Jew or indirectly through a member of the family. Some respondents had themselves married-in. Overall, 10% of the affiliated and 39% of the unaffiliated had, at some time, been in an inter-faith relationship.

5. When extrapolated to give national patterns, the survey data suggest that 3.5% of women synagogue members aged 70 and under were raised in another faith.

6. There are demographic pressures tending to encourage intermarriage among Jewish women, over and above any general trends towards assimilation. These pressures arise from the current excess of women over men in the 20-29 year age bracket *and* the greater tendency for men to intermarry than women. These factors produce a proportionate deficit of Jewish males which must increase the likelihood of female intermarriage.

F Religious life

1. This section of the report is concerned with women's attitudes towards institutions and religious practices at the core of Jewish life. Topics include the Synagogue, the Rabbinate, the Beth Din, the Mikveh and the observance of Kashrut.

The Synagogue

2. The synagogue-affiliated community is simultaneously shrinking and polarising; synagogue membership has declined by about 25% in one generation and the concentration of membership in the Central Orthodox sector is shifting gradually to the Progressive, and to a lesser extent, the Strictly Orthodox wings.

3. Many Jewish women are dissatisfied with synagogue services and find them 'inappropriate to their needs'. Almost half the respondents (45%) said that they had *never* attended a synagogue which they found acceptable from the point of view of a woman. This percentage was much lower for members of Progressive synagogues (23%) and higher in the Central Orthodox sector (56%) and among the unaffiliated (69%).

4. Those attending United Synagogues and other Central Orthodox synagogues were not only less likely to have found a satisfactory synagogue, but even those who had found one, often found it in the Progressive sector; about 40% of 'satisfied' Orthodox members came into this category. In contrast, members of Progressive synagogues invariably found satisfaction within their own synagogal grouping.

5. An attempt was made to analyse the causes of dissatisfaction. Predictably, there was a high level of agreement with statements endorsing women's ***equal rights*** with regard to representation, visual access and 'ownership' of the synagogue. The content and strength of these preferences did not differ greatly between Traditional and Progressive women, although naturally Progressive women were less likely to have their preferences frustrated.

6. In general, concern over **equal rights** did not seem to discourage women from attending synagogue; ie frequent attenders were no less concerned about these matters than those who stayed away. The factors that were most closely associated with attendance or non-attendance related to the perceived ***ethos*** of the synagogue - its spirituality, openness to outsiders and willingness to provide explanations.

Rabbis and alternative services

7. Attitudes to Rabbis were generally positive as far as their treatment of women was concerned. Although Progressive Rabbis appear to be somewhat more approachable than their Orthodox counterparts, very few respondents reported serious problems in regard to communication with either group. However, other evidence suggests that Rabbis, at least in the Orthodox sector, are not very effective as agents of communal development; this may have implications for the way in which women's concerns about the ethos of the synagogue are addressed.

8. There were generally low levels of interest in women's prayer groups and other alternatives to the synagogue, but considerable interest in the development of new forms of prayer to be associated with important life events. With the exception of the Strictly Orthodox, there was particular support for the suggestion that women be permitted to say Kaddish on appropriate occasions.

9. The issue of the legitimacy or otherwise of women Rabbis split the respondents very clearly on denominational lines. Non-Orthodox respondents supported the idea vehemently on the basis of general principles - equal

opportunity and the right to personal fulfilment. Traditional women were almost universally opposed, but their opposition was largely emotional, rather than principled, and their attitudes were sometimes apologetic. It was suggested that Traditional attitudes are likely to be eroded in time because they lack a coherent, underlying value system.

Trends in synagogue attendance and membership

10. The frequency of synagogue attendance has increased in recent years, particularly among women. Overall, about 26% of men and 17% of women attend at least weekly - about twice the level to be found in the USA. Rates of attendance are higher among Orthodox than among Progressive respondents and the balance between male and female attendance differs; far more men than women attend Orthodox synagogues, while in the Progressive sector there are marginally more women than men. These differences are not entirely due to Sabbath restrictions which affect Orthodox women with young children.

11. Comparison of parents' and daughter's synagogue affiliation revealed a systematic shift away from traditional forms of Judaism over one generation. One third of the daughters of Orthodox synagogue members moved to Progressive synagogues and one third of the daughters of Reform members moved to Liberal or unaffiliated groupings. The data suggest that British Jews are leaving traditional Judaism at roughly the same rate as Jews in the USA and that the current increase in Reform numbers may be eroded as the next generation moves further to the religious left. There is a smaller flow from Central to Right Wing Orthodoxy, but this could not be measured accurately in the present survey.

The Beth Din

12. Ratings of various Batei Din by women who have dealt with them suggest that they are reasonably efficient, but sometimes lacking in courtesy and sensitivity to the needs of women. There is evidence that some of the criticisms levelled against the Beth Din may be coloured by dissatisfaction with the outcome or ruling, and that those with direct experience are less critical than those who are affected indirectly. The London Beth Din received poorer ratings than other Batei Din on measures of courtesy and sensitivity, but it was seen by some women as making an effort to improve the quality of its service and to address difficult problems in a sympathetic manner.

Kashrut and Mikveh

13. As Kashrut is a daily, personal ritual, variations in its level of observance provide a sensitive index of community changes in religious, as opposed to ethnic, identity. Most respondents make at least some gesture towards the observance of Kashrut - for example, 84% will not bring pork into their homes - but relatively few (less than 9% of affiliated women) observe Kashrut consistently inside and outside the home.

14. There is evidence of a significant decline in Kashrut observance among younger respondents; and many women who buy Kosher meat for the home, adopt quite different standards outside. Such inconsistency, which is located mainly in the Traditional sub-group, is associated with a lack of religious faith paired with a desire to maintain ethnic identification by means of home-based practices.

15. The 48% of respondents who do not eat Kosher meat at home, generally express a lack of belief in the Mitzvah, but those from the Traditional sub-group seem to be discouraged more by price than by religious doubts.

16. 10% of the women in the affiliated sample regularly attend a Mikveh or used to attend one. Many of these women belong to Right Wing Orthodox synagogues and are fully observant. However, 19 (one fifth) of the women who attend a Mikveh do not observe Kashrut and some other key practices. This suggests that unusual and unexpected patterns of personal religious choice are beginning to emerge in the UK, as has recently been found among Orthodox Jews in the USA. One interpretation of this phenomenon is that ritual practice is coming to be seen as a means of achieving personal satisfaction or psychological growth rather than as a response to divine authority.

G Jewish Education

1. Virtually all the women in our sample had some exposure to formal Jewish education, but of limited scope and intensity. Most respondents experienced a few years of part-time Jewish study prior to the age of Batmitzvah. Experience of full-time Jewish schooling was restricted to about 15% of the sample, although younger respondents and the Strictly Orthodox had higher rates of attendance.

2. Participation in Jewish education did not vary greatly between synagogue affiliated and unaffiliated respondents; in fact, unaffiliated women were *more* likely to have attended a Jewish school than members of Progressive or Central Orthodox synagogues. However, their children are substantially *less* well educated Jewishly.

3. In general, the respondents' children are being given a more extensive Jewish education than their mothers; almost 40% attend a Jewish school, and there has been a tenfold increase in the rate of attendance at (post-Bat Mitzvah) Teenage Centres. Whilst the absolute rate of attendance at Jewish secondary schools has increased, such schools remain less popular than Jewish primary schools, attracting half as many pupils in each year group.

4. Although parental attitudes to the importance of Jewish education are not gender biased, in practice there is a small but reliable difference in favour of the education of boys. This is restricted to the Central Orthodox and Progressive sectors.

5. There has been a dramatic increase in the popularity of Bat Mitzvah and Bat Chayil ceremonies over the past 30 years. More than 40% of respondents under 40 years took part in such a ceremony (compared with 9% of 50 year-olds) and 65% of respondents intend to have a Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil for their daughters. This growth in the popularity of the ceremony can be traced to changes in socio-ethnic rather than religious motivation.

6. Over the entire sample, the trend in the practice of Bat Mitzvah and Bat Chayil is from Secular (low) to Traditional/Strictly Orthodox (medium) to Progressive (high). However, in the younger age groups the practice is now almost equally popular among Traditional, Strictly Orthodox and Progressive families.

7. Jewish adult education formed a significant part of the Jewish learning experience of our respondents. Almost 60% had attended classes at some time and about a third had engaged in adult Jewish learning in the past three years. This proportion is considerably higher among Progressive women who also place a greater emphasis on conceptual subjects (eg Jewish ethics, history) than on more practical topics (eg Jewish cookery). The data suggest that Progressive Jewish women may have an intrinsically stronger interest in educational self-development than their Traditional counterparts.

8. A detailed analysis of the impact of various Jewish educational experiences showed that family influences account for about 10%-20% of the variation between respondents, in terms of their religious beliefs, practices and identity. Once home background is taken into account, the *additional impact* of Jewish education, Bat Mitzvah and attendance at Jewish youth clubs is virtually zero and is sometimes negative.

9. Insofar as these findings can be generalised to contemporary Jewish education, the implication is that individual social and psychological factors may be more potent determinants of Jewish continuity than simple exposure to intense levels of Jewish education. It is suggested that there is a need to decouple the concept of Jewish education as a means of enhancing the religious life of those who are Jewishly active, from the concept of Jewish education as an agent of demographic change.

GLOSSARY

Ashkenazi	Jews of German and East European descent
Ba'al(ei) teshuvah	Person (people) who repents, turns to Orthodox Judaism
Bar/Batmitzvah	Ceremony on **Shabbat** marking entry of boy/girl into the Jewish religious community. Traditionally age 13 for a boy and age 12 years for a girl
Bat Chayil	(Literally ,'daughter of worth'). Group ceremony, in Orthodox synagogues, for girls who have attained the age of 12/13. Usually held on a Sunday afternoon.
Beracha	Blessing of praise or thanks, also said before fulfilling a **mitzvah**
Beth/Batei Din	Jewish Court/s giving ruling according to **Halacha**
Cheder/chedarim	Jewish religion school
Chupah	Marriage ceremony/marriage canopy
Dayan/dayanim	Judge/s at a Rabbinical Court
Get/gittin	Religious writ(s) of divorce, given by a man to a woman
Halacha/halachic	Jewish law or a specific ruling within it
Hannukah	Festival of Rededication (of the Temple)
Haredi(ot)	Ultra-orthodox (women), (literally: tremblers)
Hassidic (*adj.*)	Ultra-orthodox movement founded in 18th century by Baal Shem Tov
Ivrit	Modern Hebrew
Kaddish	Memorial prayer for the dead
Kosher/kashrut	Food permitted to Jews; Jewish dietary laws
Leyning	Reading from the **Torah** during the Shabbat morning and other services
Mamzerut	State of illegitimacy under **halacha**. Illegitimate children and their off-spring are barred from ever marrying in an Orthodox synagogue

Masorti	(Literally - traditional) Conservative synagogue grouping within British Jewry
Mezuzah	Parchment scroll containing biblical verses, fixed to right-hand door post in Jewish homes
Mikveh	Ritual bath
Minhag-angliya	Customs of British Jews (colloquial)
Mishnah/mishnaic	Relating to Oral Law
Mitzva	Commandment, obligation
Rabbi/Rabbanim	Spiritual leader(s) of Jewish community
Rosh Chodesh	(Literally: head of the month). New Moon; beginning of the month.
Seder	Special meal and service in the home at Passover
Sephardi	Jews of Spanish & Portuguese descent. In London the community was established by Jews expelled from Spain who then settled in Holland.
Shabbat	Sabbath
Shadchan	Marriage-broker, matchmaker
Shema, Sh'ma	Jewish prayer affirming 'oneness' of God
Shiva	Seven day period of mourning after funeral
Shtetl	Small town, settlement, mostly in the East European Pale of Settlement
Siddur	Prayer book, order of service
Talmud	Collection of Jewish Law consisting of codification of Oral Jewish Law (**Mishnah**) and **Gemara** (commentary on Mishnah)
Torah	First five books of the Bible, five books of Moses. Also, the basis of Jewish law
Yom Kippur	Day of Atonement

TECHNICAL NOTE

All percentages in both the text and appendices have been rounded to the nearest whole number and may therefore sum to 99% or 101% in certain cases. Multicoded questions are noted and may sum to more than 100%.

For tables in the text where the base differs from one element to the next we have provided the average number of respondents for the table and annotated accordingly.

INTRODUCTION

The survey commissioned by the 'Review of Women in the Community' is a pioneering study. While there have been earlier studies of particular aspects of British Jewish women from both historical and sociological perspectives (e.g. Burman, 1990) this is the first, large-scale direct sample-survey undertaken to survey only women and focus on their experiences, attitudes and needs.

Furthermore, this research is an important landmark within the wider field of social research into British Jewry. While the bibliographical references to social surveys of American Jewry seem unending to the enquirer in Britain, when s/he looks for comparable work locally it is quickly apparent that the cannon is much smaller. In fact, since Jewish social scientists in Britain first became interested in examining their home community, there have been only three studies of any major size: the Edgware study (Krausz, 1962); the Redbridge Study (Kosmin et al 1978 - 1983) and the United Synagogue membership survey (Miller & Schmool 1992), each of which tackled different issues.

From this perspective it is clear that the work reported here, with a combined contacted sample of 2,654 women across the entire community, easily takes its place in this select company. It does so, not simply through its size, but also from the extensive nature of questions developed from the discussions of the Review Task Forces and the evidence submitted in writing by individual women to the Review (see Methodology and questionnaires). The links between the Review and the survey are underlined by the many cross-references in our analysis. The Review itself is described in 'Women in the Community - The Review' (Goodkin and Citron, 1994) which is the companion volume to this report.

The sense of being responsible for a totally innovative exercise generated particular excitement and commitment. We hope that, in planning and developing the survey, these currents were communicated to all those we approached and worked with. We feel, from feedback received in the course of the survey, that our enthusiasm was indeed transmitted and helped towards the success of the work.

Support was given by every section of the community, regardless of its religious tenor. Part of Mrs Preston's vision was to insist that, although the Review was commissioned by the Chief Rabbi, it had to cover British Jewish women as a whole, not simply those who were (nominally) Orthodox: we as researchers totally concurred with this view. Indeed to have undertaken a study of this importance on any other basis would have devalued its findings ab initio. Since

any dynamic process is by its very nature difficult to examine through social surveys, to have restricted the study to any particular group(s) of women would have made discussion of social dynamics (such as movement between synagogal groupings) almost impossible. Given the current conventional wisdom that British Jewry as a whole is in the throes of great change this restriction would be indefensible.

However, while promoters and researchers may deem things necessary, a community need not respond positively. The fact that women did respond suggests that, on the whole, the people and organisations contacted were convinced of the study's worth and appreciated that its value would be enhanced by the inclusion of their particular interest-group in the overall design. A ready positive response was forthcoming from so many people. In a number of cases, the fact that they carried out sampling and mailing exercises on a volunteer basis, so as to meet the demands of the Data Protection Act and/or their members' democratic requirement that membership lists be kept confidential, further testifies to the level of interest and goodwill towards the work. Such support was not related to one single position in the communal framework; but the level at which it was expressed varied from group to group. Thus, modern-orthodox and *hassidic* contacts were not exhorted by their mentors to disregard the enquiry: and unaffiliated women when approached for additional names for the 'snowball' (see Methodology) were gratified that their presence within community was being recognised.

This support did not however prevent questions as to why the survey was needed and fears that it would only promote special interests such as the then newly-established Stanmore Women's Prayer Group. These remarks echoed a sectional disenchantment or disbelief which was most often articulated by the words "the survey won't change anything". The simple response was, of course, "Yes, you are right. Surveys do not of themselves change things." On the other hand the recommendations which come out of surveys can effect change where there is a will for it. Indeed, since the survey was put in hand some eight months after the Review began its activities, it was already possible to point out that, as a result of the Review, a Jewish Women's Refuge was being set-up (years after the need for one had been recognised, and directly resulting from the efforts of the Social Issues Task Force); that the movement towards *get*-legislation had received a new impetus, and finally that the Review had done much to raise the Jewish consciousness of women.

The importance of this consciousness factor should be neither overlooked nor under-valued. Even before the 2600+ women were asked to complete the questionnaires the initiative had touched the lives of very many individuals

across the country, through meetings, discussion groups and local, small-scale enquiries into special topics. These women were discussing Jewish topics that had, perhaps, lain dormant for many years - if not for their whole (adult) lives. Discussions and reports made them look seriously at what they wanted from the community. This is the first step towards change.

More fundamentally, the survey was vital because the Task Forces had brought to the fore a whole range of 'problems' which needed substantiating or denying. It is predictable that any enquiry which solicits open-ended evidence will elicit a mainly negative response and highlight difficulties. A blanket request for details of personal experiences and points of view may be taken as an opportunity to complain or as licence to off-load a life-time's troubles. Rarely, it seems, is such an opening used to point up the good. While not denying the validity of the concerns and experiences brought forward in this type of qualitative evidence, their truth may be of a particular kind. It is conceivably more an essence of social pathology than a comprehensive picture of social reality. The issues worried over in the discussions, meetings and submissions are part of a larger whole.

It therefore became clear from an early stage of the Review that this quantitative study was needed to provide a frame in which the picture from the qualitative material could be set. Survey data would allow the Review teams to evaluate the level of social (as opposed to personal) importance of the often sad and bitter experiences manifested in the task-force process. The sum of personal issues would thus be set within a broad context and their relevance for women generally could be judged against a background pattern of daily lives and attitudes. This would not negate any single history, rather place it in perspective.

We pointed out earlier that however much researchers recognise the need for a survey, it can only be carried through if significant others are equally convinced of its value. In the case of postal survey research, individuals must be convinced in sufficient number either directly (through advertising, publicity etc.) or indirectly, (through the nature of the questions and their presentation in the questionnaire) to complete and return it. For this study, an overall return rate of 56% was achieved; details of the response rates and the questionnaire are discussed fully in Appendix A. However, these numbers do not tell the whole story. It is important here to record that unsolicited communications in the course of data collection showed that the sense of excitement about the work had indeed transmitted itself to the grassroots level. The Community Research Unit received a number of telephone calls with different types of questions. These included enquiries to ensure that there was time to send back questionnaires which had been awaiting the recipient's return from holiday,

requests for clarification of the meaning of particular questions, queries of "how did you get my name", and calls to confirm levels of confidentiality of the data. Additionally respondents sent in notes and letters expressing their satisfaction at having been chosen and, memorably, the research team received a New Year Card from one respondent. This was in addition to the more formal comments written at the end of the questionnaire.

Moreover, comments and remarks reported to us verbally indicated that those who received the questionnaire found the questions interesting and relevant. The remark most often reported was "It made me think". This reaction is confirmed by the (very often very lengthy) comments of the many who recorded their feelings in the space provided on the questionnaire and in the criticism of the few who almost rewrote sections of it.

At another level, certain respondents clearly took the questionnaire as a gateway to the organised community. Whether it was to ask for direction to work opportunities or to seek a link with a cultural group for an overseas visitor, the survey provided an address for the queries. In this way a fact-finding study acquired social-action dimensions.

Unsurprisingly, there was also negative reaction. 62 women returned their questionnaires unanswered or with a covering letter (some contacts did so on both the initial and follow-up requests). The most amusing of these was the husband who wrote on behalf of his wife who was on holiday saying "my wife is at present abroad - anyhow, I doubt, whether she would complete the questionnaire. Sorry." But in general refusals were because women did not agree with the survey or felt it infringed their privacy. Sixteen complaints were from women in the Right-Wing sample of North London (see Methodology) which was a very particular group. From the outset we were aware that certain questions could anger and upset some recipients in this group. We therefore took special care to have pre-survey publicity in The Jewish Tribune (the newspaper which serves their community) and were gratified that an editorial (dated 5th August 1993, just before the questionnaires were dispatched) on its Women's Page suggested each recipient should make up her own mind as to whether or not to respond.

This neutral state of affairs did not reign long as the newspaper received a complaint which led it to editorialise in a less supportive vein (19th August) and which was followed by a reader's letter suggesting that the offending questionnaires be torn up and returned to the researchers.

There are clear indications that this media exchange had a result. Until the second editorial, we received only two negative reactions from this group as

against over 30 completed questionnaires. We then had 14 torn up questionnaires and a further 8 completed ones. There were finally 49 positive replies from this group before fieldwork closed and 3 more later. Enquiries of key-contacts in the community indicate that this strong reaction was prompted (among this small proportion of North London orthodox women who keep themselves, as a sub-community, apart from all influences which do not underpin a totally Jewish way of life) by questions on sexuality, intermarriage and modern forms of partnerships. It counterbalances the strong interest in all these matters to which the survey response rate bears witness.

Summary

This study was only possible with widespread support and participation from both individuals and organisations. This co-operation was forthcoming from women and men in all sections of British Jewry. The return rate and the positive response rate indicated the high level of interest generated throughout the community. Even among those who declined to complete the questionnaire, women took time to give explanations for their non-participation. Comments from those who answered the questions showed how relevant the enquiry was to women's lives.

There was an anticipated low response rate from women in the *hassidic* communities, which was to an extent caused by adverse press comment. There were however enough replies to be able to look at this group separately when needed.

BRITISH JEWRY - POPULATION AND PERCEPTION

In 1993, British Jewry was estimated to number 300,000 persons (Haberman & Schmool, unpubd; Board of Deputies, Vital Statistics); of these 165,000 (55%) were women. The majority of the total population lived in the Greater London area (59%) with the remainder in communities spread through the Regions. Slightly fewer (57%) of the female, than of the total, population were found in the metropolitan area and the remaining 43% were regional. However, regional communities have a higher proportion of women than does British Jewry as a whole; 59% of the Regions' population are women compared with 53% of Greater London.

Population Trends

Populations are not static, and British Jewry is at present reaching the end of a demographic era which has its roots in the late 19th century immigration from Eastern and Central Europe. This natural outcome of historical processes is frequently presented as a population crisis. Viewed dispassionately the facts are as follows: between 1880 and 1914 the Jewish population of Great Britain grew from 60,000 to 300,000 as a result of large-scale immigration and the natural increase which almost always accompanies it. The immigrants, who were for the most part young, and the generation brought as infants to Britain showed high levels of fertility resulting in large families, even with infant mortality higher than nowadays. Immediately the next generation adapted to British, middle-class low fertility patterns so that families born to women marrying after about 1925 were almost half the size of the previous generation. The population has not replaced itself as this pattern of low fertility has, overall, continued until today (Board of Deputies, Annual Vital Statistics; Kosmin, 1979; Kosmin, Bauer & Grizzard, 1976).

The result of this process is that, notwithstanding small intermediate influxes, the pre-1925 generation currently account for the major part of the average 4458 deaths recorded each year (1988-92) by communal burial societies. The average number of births per year (1988-91) was 3400 with a consequent demographic loss of just over 1000 persons per annum to the community. This excess of deaths shows a decline from average levels over 1500 in the early 1980s (Board of Deputies, Vital Statistics) which if continued suggests that, all things being equal, a more stable community size may soon be reached.

This strict demographic decline has been accompanied by changes in social patterns (e.g. less synagogue affiliation, reduction in the incidence of marriage) which also result in a numeric loss to the community. This loss is more difficult to enumerate. It is a process of Jewish social erosion which may be seen as both the cause and result of some of the family and social issues we discuss later. It is enough here simply to note that not all these social processes are new - simply becoming more marked. Historically there has been a continuous process of assimilation but currently the effects are being noticed among younger Jews so strongly that demographic decline and social erosion together cause an age-structure where more than 25% of the measurable, effective, Jewish population is aged 65 and over, compared with 15% of the general population of England and Wales (Haberman and Schmool). Thus, because of its particular social history, British Jewry differs markedly from the host community in terms of demographic profile.

Synagogue Affiliation and Jewish Identity

Some two-thirds of the estimated total are affiliated to the 350+ synagogues which form the back-bone of the British Jewish institutional structure. The remaining third includes individuals who may have strong communal affiliation through organisational and/or family ties as well as those socially or geographically removed from any kind of formal Jewish commitment or activity. Responses such as "I think of myself as belonging to my parents' synagogue in ..." were fairly regular when the panel of unaffiliated respondents were being enrolled (see Methodology). Many will be numbered among the approximately 11,000 members of women's organisations which provide a non-synagogal avenue to community association. (Schmool, unpubd) Unaffiliated persons include those who have not yet made a decision to join a synagogue. There were replies which suggested that a catalyst, such as the death of a friend or relative, prompted unaffiliated women into considering synagogue membership.

Just over 100,000 families and individual women are affiliated to synagogues with approximately three-quarters attached to a wide-range of Orthodox synagogues. The other quarter is made up of *Masorti*, Reform and Liberal members (combined as "Progressives" for the remainder of this report). The pattern of affiliation differs between Greater London and the Regions: 80% of regional compared with 75% of London members belong to Orthodox synagogues. The variety of membership options in

the metropolis is wider than anywhere else in Britain - a reflection of both size and communal vitality. Only Greater London has synagogues in all the six groupings differentiated in communal statistics (Schmool & Cohen, 1991). Each of these six groups has been given a voice in the final results (see Methodology). Of the usable final returns, 1125 were synagogal affiliated (in absolute numbers 648 Orthodox and 477 Progressive) while the remaining 225 were not.

Membership of a particular type of synagogue is not an accurate guide to our respondents' religious practice or belief (see Chapter 2). With the exception of the Right Wing Orthodox synagogues, there is considerable overlap between the Jewish lifestyle of members of the main synagogal groupings; for example, some members of Orthodox synagogues do not observe *kashrut* in any form, while a significant number of Progressive synagogue members observe the basic requirements.

Our analysis shows that a more discriminating classification of religious practice can be achieved by allowing respondents to define their own religious lifestyle using these categories: *Strictly Orthodox, Traditional, Progressive, Just Jewish or Non-practising (secular)*. This classification (with the Progressive and Just Jewish groups combined as Non-Orthodox) has been used as a basis for analysing many of the attitudes and preferences described in later chapters.

However, religious practice is only one dimension of Jewish identity. Jews vary significantly in their consciousness of being Jewish and their levels of association with other Jews (ethnicity) and also in their acceptance of the basic tenets of Jewish faith (belief). These three elements of Jewish identity (practice, belief and ethnicity) are not associated with one another in any simple way. One may have, for example, a secular Jew who is intensely committed to her Jewishness or a ritually very observant Jew who lacks faith. Rather than confound the three components, we have measured them separately for each respondent and used them to explain both women's attitudes to the Jewish community and their role within it.

Jews in British Society

While 25% of the British Jewish population is over 65, only 15% of the national population is in this age-group. This relative agedness of the community is well-known to community workers, particularly those in social welfare agencies. However awareness of this difference has not filtered down to the synagogue women. When asked, only 14% of respondents in this study considered that large numbers of old people

were more prevalent in the Jewish community while only 20% of unaffiliated women were similarly aware of this imbalance.

As a background to help us understand how they perceived their own community in relation to the wider society, respondents were asked to suggest whether the Jewish community was more prone to certain trends and traits. The question did not require respondents to *know* whether the problems and qualities happened more among Jews, rather respondents were asked if they *thought* the Jewish community differed from the rest of society in certain ways. So it was that 86% of synagogue women (80% of unaffiliateds) see the Jewish community as being no more or less aged than society at large.

Abortion, violence against women, child abuse of any kind and divorce, each of particular relevance to women's lives, were all seen as more common in the rest of society. Drug abuse and alcohol abuse were also not perceived as Jewish problems. However, although a third of respondents thought Jews equally affected by drug abuse, the 81% considering alcoholism more common in the rest of society, seem to affirm an attitude which may be summed up as "non-Jews drink, Jews don't". Similarly, there would appear to be a feeling that Jews honour their parents while the rest of society do so less. Only 1% of synagogue women thought that it was more common in society generally for children to care for parents in old age: 61% thought this more common among Jews. However, the same proportion thought the more general "consideration for others" was found equally in both the community and wider society.

With regard to education, the Jewish community was perceived as taking advantage of higher education (47% thought young Jews went to university as much and 46% thought they went more, than young people generally); but in the main was viewed as society in general when it comes to proper support for children with special needs (62% of respondents thought Jewish and general society were the same in this respect). Cohabitation was not regarded as specifically Jewish. 54% thought people living together instead of marrying was equally common in general and Jewish society; no-one thought it more likely to occur in the Jewish community. Similarly, no-one felt Jews were suffering more from unemployment and redundancy and 63% indicated they felt that Jews are affected like everyone else. Finally, of those asked about homosexuality and AIDS, 59% thought homosexuality occurred equally among Jews and non-Jews with 40% considering it more common in the rest of society.

Table 1: Perceptions of British society and the Jewish community

	Synagogue members who think the matter is more common among Jews	the same for Jews and others	more common in society at large	N=
	%	%	%	
Divorce	2	61	37	367
Abortion	2	41	58	370
Violence against women	1	33	67	376
Child abuse of any kind	1	33	66	376
Drug abuse	1	32	67	361
Alcoholism	--	19	81	365
Large number of old people	14	81	5	714
Children caring for old parents	61	37	1	381
Consideration for others	37	61	3	378
Young people at university	46	47	7	364
Support for children with special needs	27	62	11	377
Unemployment and redundancy	--	63	37	350
Cohabitation	--	54	46	350
AIDS and HIV related problems	--	35	65	349
Homosexuality	1	59	40	345

AIDS and HIV-related problems are seen as more common in the rest of society: 65% of women felt that way, and 35% thought Jews and non-Jews were similarly affected.

Unaffiliated women were asked how the Jewish community compared with the rest of society on only six matters and in general their response patterns follow those of the synagogue members. This was the case for divorce, unemployment, and numbers of old people. However, the unaffiliated are less inclined to perceive the community as being more considerate for others (only 21% agreed this was so) and higher proportions of this group felt that living together is more common in general society (62%). The group was also asked about single-parent

families which were overwhelmingly (72%) felt to be more common in society at large.

This overall appreciation of British Jewry as part of a larger whole is the background against which our findings are set. It is pertinent that the respondents were most ready to equate with their neighbours on the issue of unemployment. This is an area where, in the media and general discourse, the focus has been on the commonalty of experience. The present recession is understood to have hit everyone - especially middle-classes in South East England, sectors into which a large proportion of the community falls both socially and geographically. On the other hand, the women whose responses we discuss in what follows to a large extent subscribe to stereotypes of Jewish/gentile differences, some of which may be mythological.

Socialisation and social attitudes

The survey is concerned with practices, beliefs and attitudes. Practices may be carried through from inertia and habit, or because people think about how they want to live their daily lives. Similarly, attitudes and beliefs do not spring up ready made; nor are they static. It must be remembered that this survey is a snapshot at one point in time and that, in reaching this point, respondents have drawn on many influences and experiences. We are not able to delineate the processes by which respondents arrived at their views nor do the data permit in-depth enquiries on how attitudes were formed. However in terms of any woman's life, the primary influence may be taken as her mother (or mother substitute): the person who acted as her predominant role model as she was growing up.

In order to suggest what respondents learn from their mothers, in effect how their mothers act as educators, one group of synagogue affiliated and all unaffiliated women were asked, for a series of matters, whether they followed their mother completely, partly or not at all. The responses are set out in the table below. This shows few women completely follow their mother's attitudes and practices. It is also clear that unaffiliated women were less likely than affiliated to follow their mothers - significantly less likely as regards their attitudes to sex, child-rearing and the two aspects given which relate to their Jewishness. Strikingly, while the majority of both groups partly follow their mothers in how they bring up their children

Table 2: Mothers' influence on respondents

	Respondents reporting they followed their mother					
	Completely		Partly		Not at all	
	Aff	Unaff	Aff	Unaff	Aff	Unaff
	%	%	%	%	%	%
In my views about social issues	12	7	55	62	32	30
In my attitudes to working mothers	24	19	40	47	37	34
In how I feel about my Jewishness	36	14	46	53	19	33
In my approach to housework	29	16	40	51	32	33
In my attitudes towards sex	15	7	38	35	47	59
In how I bring up children (where they have them)	22	9	53	59	25	32
In the Jewish character of my home	32	14	49	47	18	38

Number = 330 affiliated (Aff) 214 unaffiliated (Unaff)

(when they have them), and about half follow them with regards to their Jewish feelings and the Jewish character of their home, the highest level of rejection is shown for attitude towards sex. This reflects the age structure of the sample which, on average, reached sexual maturity after the contraceptive pill became available and widespread.

Similarly this is a generation which has inevitably been imbued with feminist ideology, and our samples were not immune. Over half the unaffiliated group and 18% of the affiliated would, in the broadest sense of the term, definitely call themselves feminists, while a further third of the unaffiliated and 52% of affiliated were somewhat feminist. As could be expected, there are more feminists among those women in both samples who are currently single. Of affiliated singles, 23% are 'definitely feminist' and 72% of unaffiliated singles so described themselves.

The women whose opinions and experiences are the basis of this report are therefore modern in their general outlook. They do not follow uncritically the example set by the generation that preceded them. Moreover they have been influenced by the social climate in which they

live and, their subjective assessments of their feminism suggest that they are aware they have been so influenced.

Summary

The findings in this report are written against a documented background of demographic decrease which is the working-out of historical processes. This decrease is augmented by sociological dynamics such as the disaffiliation of young adults from the organised community.

From the two-thirds of the measured community which affiliates to synagogues, a sample of 1125 respondents was obtained : 648 orthodox and 477 progressive. 225 women who were not known to be affiliated to a synagogue were included in a second sample.

On the whole affiliated and unaffiliated had similar images of the differences between the Jewish community and British society. Respondents were not widely aware that as a group British Jewry is older than the general population, but they did feel that Jews took more care of elderly parents. They expect the community to suffer less from alcoholism and drug abuse and to be better in its treatment of women and children.

In family matters, cohabitation was seen as affecting Jews and non-Jews equally but single-parenthood was seen as more prevalent in society at large. Jews were seen as taking better advantage of higher education opportunities but having less homosexuality and HIV related disease.

Both samples think of themselves as broadly feminist. They are, perhaps therefore, unlikely to follow their mothers' example completely - and least so in their attitudes towards sex. Unaffiliated women are less likely to take their mother as a mentor. Mothers are most often followed, particularly by the affiliated, in Jewish aspects of life and in child-rearing.

JEWISH BELIEF, PRACTICE AND IDENTITY

Research shows that women are generally more devout than men. They are, for example, more likely than men to believe in God and to pray regularly. This is true of the British population as a whole (Greely, 1992), and studies of Jewish populations also show higher levels of religious belief among women[1].

However, this does not mean that women are homogenous in their belief patterns. Our findings show that Jewish women vary greatly in the intensity of their religious beliefs, in their patterns of ritual observance and in their feelings of Jewish identity. These differences are interesting in themselves, but they are also closely related to the way in which women construe the community and how they think it should change. An examination of the Jewish characteristics of the women in our samples[2] is therefore an important preliminary to the analysis of their attitudes to communal practices and institutions.

In very general terms, the beliefs and practices of our respondents can be judged from their pattern of synagogue affiliation. This is approximately, though not exactly, representative of the country as a whole (see Methodology); about half the respondents are affiliated to an Orthodox synagogue, one third to a Progressive or Conservative (Masorti) synagogue and about one-sixth have no formal affiliation:-

Type of affiliation	Particular synagogues	Numbers	% of total sample
Orthodox	US and other Orthodox	648	48%
Non-Orthodox	Masorti, Reform, Liberal	477	35%
Unaffiliated	None	225	17%
		1350	100%

These broad categories are simply structural and do not capture the more subtle aspects of Jewish identity which cut across synagogue groupings. To get a clearer understanding of the Jewish characteristics of the respondents we have

[1] For example, this was found in our (1992) survey of United Synagogue members.
[2] In this section the affiliated and unaffiliated samples are considered together.

looked separately, and in some detail, at the three fundamental dimensions of Jewish identity - *belief, practice and ethnicity.*

A Religious Practice

Formal synagogue affiliation gives only an approximate guide to a person's level of religious observance. Some members of Orthodox synagogues, particularly those whose attachment is mainly emotional or historical rather than religious, may observe very few rituals, while some who belong to Masorti or Reform synagogues observe many of the key practices. There is, of course, a tendency for members of Orthodox synagogues to be more observant than others, but there is also very considerable overlap between the different groupings. Table 1 illustrates the overlap in relation to two basic rituals - Kashrut and Shabbat. As can be seen, almost 30% of Central Orthodox women do not buy Kosher meat for their homes, while about 20% of Progressive women buy only Kosher meat. Similarly, 31% of Central Orthodox members do not light Shabbat candles regularly, while 42% of the Progressives light them 'always'. The same pattern of overlap is found in the eight rituals that were examined, underlining the need for an alternative, more discriminating classification of religious observance.

Table 1: Observance of selected Mitzvot by synagogue affiliation

		Central Orthodox	Progressive/ Masorti	Unaffil-iated
		%	%	%
% lighting	Always	69	42	26
Shabbat	Sometimes	23	38	31
Candles	Never	8	20	43
% buying	Only Kosher	71	19	21
Kosher meat	Non-Kosher (no pork)	23	52	41
at home	Non-Kosher (with pork)	6	29	38

While synagogue affiliation is to an extent subjective, previous research has demonstrated that respondents are capable of giving very accurate self-assessments of their religious observance using the simple descriptive scale shown in Table 2. The relationship between the respondents' self-classifications

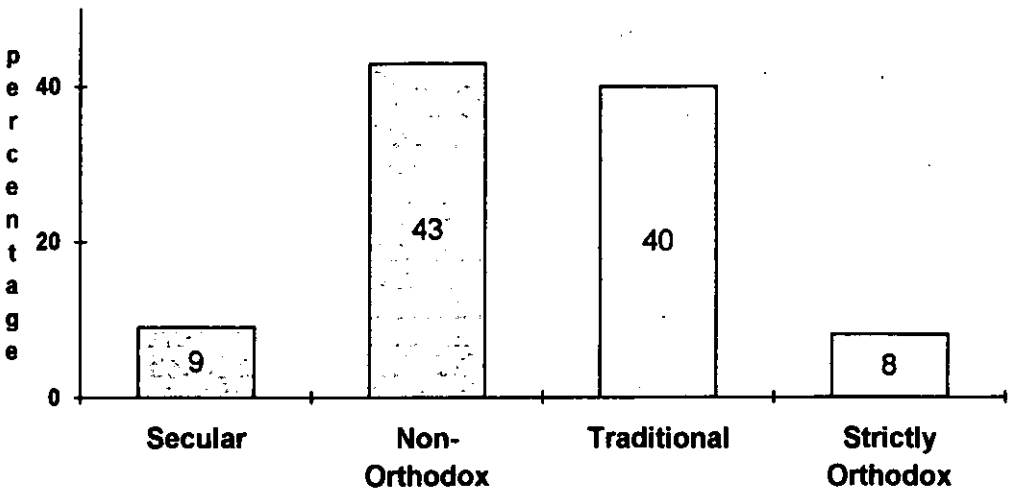
of religiosity and their synagogue affiliation is shown in the body of the table. As can be seen, only 9% of women belonging to Central Orthodox synagogues regard themselves as 'Strictly Orthodox' and a substantial minority (21%) do not even see themselves as 'Traditional', preferring the labels 'Progressive', 'just Jewish' or 'secular'. Conversely, a substantial minority of the women who are unaffiliated or belong to Progressive synagogues nonetheless regard themselves as 'traditional' Jews. This seems to correspond to the overlap in observance noted above and raises the possibility that this self-classification of Jewish lifestyle may provide a more accurate indicator of religious attitudes and practice than that based on synagogue affiliation.

Table 2: Self-classification of religious observance by synagogue affiliation

	Synagogue affiliation			
Self-assigned level of observance	No affil-iation	Progress ive	Central Orth.	RtWing Orth
	%	%	%	%
Non-practising (secular)	33	5	3	0
Just Jewish	24	15	14	0
Progressive	18	64	5	0
Traditional (not Strictly Orthodox)	23	16	69	2
Strictly Orthodox	2	0	9	98
Total N	224	477	599	49

To test this idea we analysed the level of observance of the women who had assigned themselves to each of the categories 'secular', 'just Jewish', 'Progressive', 'traditional', 'Strictly Orthodox', looking at a range of different practices including Kashrut, Shabbat, Yom Kippur, Mikveh, Seder etc. This analysis shows that, with the exception of the 'just Jewish'/'Progressive' distinction, each of the categories corresponds to a relatively consistent and distinct pattern of ritual observance and hence discriminates better than the classification based on formal synagogue affiliation. By combining the 'just Jewish' and 'Progressive' categories into a single grouping - 'Non-Orthodox' - we obtained a four point scale of religious observance with the distribution shown in Figure 1. These four self-classifications form the basis of the more detailed profiles which follow.

Figure 1: Percentage of respondents falling in each category of religious observance (based on self-classification)



Note: **Non-Orthodox = Progressive + Just Jewish**

1 Traditional Jewish Women

40% of the respondents assigned themselves to the category 'traditional, not strictly Orthodox' indicating a leaning towards Orthodoxy but without full observance. Most of these women belong to Central Orthodox synagogues and observe a familiar set of identifying practices (*minhag Angliya*). While there are consistently high levels of observance of the key rituals set out in Table 3, traditional women avoid the more demanding practices. Thus, only 13% refrain from driving or travelling on Shabbat and less than 2% regularly attend (or attended) a Mikveh.

As noted in the study of United Synagogue members (Kalms, 1992), the only significant variation among traditional Jews relates to synagogue attendance and willingness to eat in a non-Kosher restaurant. In both these cases about one third of our respondents follow the more observant practice (synagogue attendance at least once a month, avoidance of non-kosher restaurants) while the remainder adopt a less stringent standard.

Table 3: Levels of observance of basic rituals, Traditional and Non-Orthodox women

	Percentage observance	
	Traditional	Non-Orthodox
	%	%
Fast on Yom Kippur (or exempt on health grounds)	95	65
Attend a Seder every year	96	75
Prefer to stay home on Friday night	92	61
Refrain from work on Jewish New Year	98	77
Light candles every Friday evening	76	34
Have a mezuzah on all doors	76	25
Buy Kosher meat (excluding vegetarians)	77	16

2 Progressive and just Jewish (non-Orthodox)

Women who see themselves as 'Progressive' or 'just Jewish' form the largest sub-group in the sample (43%) and are probably the largest grouping in the community as a whole. The women in this category are drawn primarily from Progressive synagogues, but there are also substantial numbers of both unaffiliated women and members of Central Orthodox synagogues who characterise themselves in this way (see Table 2). The label 'Non-Orthodox' has been used for this combined group in order to locate it outside normative Orthodox practice - and in contrast to traditional Jews who, whilst not fully observant, feel themselves to be part of a wider 'Orthodox' community.

It is no surprise that Non-Orthodox women are far less likely than Traditional women to observe the key practices listed in Table 3. The percentage level of observance is, on average, about 30% lower among the Non-Orthodox, with some individual practices approaching extinction while others are relatively undiminished.

In common with the findings of American surveys (Cohen, 1983), Non-Orthodox Jews retain the publicly observable, annual rituals (Seder, New Year) rather than the more personal, regular practices (Kashrut, candles). Leibman and Cohen (1990) interpret this trend as evidence of a shift from a religiously-inspired Jewish identity requiring individual acts of commitment, to one based on *ethnicity* and social affiliation, maintained by group ceremonies. This may explain why synagogue attendance is still reasonably common among the Non-Orthodox, with 30% attending once a month or more often and only 9% failing to attend at all. This pattern of attendance, which is not very different from that

reported by the traditional group, is consistent with a social/ethnic explanation for the survival of certain practices and the demise of others.

Alternatively these trends might be seen as evidence of a re-evaluation of Jewish practice in which the emphasis on individual religious practice is replaced by a concern with more universal religious themes such as freedom (Seder) and renewal (New Year). In either case it is clear that a large proportion of British-Jewish women, whilst not defining themselves as secular Jews, engage in relatively little individual, regular religious practice.

3 Non-practising, secular Jews

Exactly 119 (9%) of the women in the sample classified themselves as 'non-practising (ie secular)' Jews. These are drawn mainly from the unaffiliated respondents, but a sizeable minority (46 women) belong to a Progressive or Orthodox synagogue. Despite the label, these respondents are not totally unobservant. Nearly all of them participate in at least one ritual each year, although the range of practices and percentage involvement in each one is very restricted (see Table 4). Whether these practices represent a means of identifying with the Jewish community or are merely vestigial forms of an earlier commitment to Jewish life will be discussed in later sections.

Table 4: Levels of observance of basic rituals, secular women

	% observance
Fast on Yom Kippur (or exempt on health grounds)	20
Attend a Seder every year	32
Prefer to stay home on Friday night	17
Refrain from work on Jewish New Year	29
Light candles every Friday evening	6
Have a mezuzah on all doors	9
Buy Kosher meat (excluding vegetarians)	6

4 Strictly Orthodox

The fourth group of respondents, comprising 8% of the sample, identified themselves as 'Strictly Orthodox (eg would not turn on a light on Sabbath)'. This group, which is drawn from Central Orthodox and Right Wing Orthodox synagogues, is certainly underrepresented in the sample (see Methodology). It is, however, very consistent in its patterns of religious observance and therefore its characteristics can be assessed from a relatively small sample.

All Strictly Orthodox women in the sample observe the key practices in Table 4 as well as the more demanding requirements associated with Shabbat and attendance at Mikveh. There are some variations in the deeper levels of observance (eg concerning the use of supervised or unsupervised milk products), but no attempt was made to discriminate between these levels of Orthodoxy.

B Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity is defined here as a sense of belonging to the Jewish people, incorporating feelings of closeness to other Jews, a consciousness of one's own Jewishness and a desire for group continuity. The strength of these feelings was measured by asking respondents the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statements listed in Table 5. In contrast to the dramatic variations in religious observance, these data show that respondents are far less divergent in their levels of ethnic identity and, generally speaking, they are very strongly identified:

Table 5: Levels of agreement with items measuring ethnic identity according to self-rated religiosity

	% of sub-group agreeing/strongly agreeing			
	Strictly Orthodox	Traditional	Non-Orthodox	Secular
It is important that Jews survive as a people	99	98	95	85
An unbreakable bond unites Jews all over the world	92	88	79	64
I feel "quite strongly Jewish" or "extremely conscious of being Jewish"	100	98	84	72
% rating "loyalty to my Jewish heritage" as "quite/very important"	98	98	92	91
% rating "feeling Jewish 'inside' " as "quite or very important"	97	96	90	83

To some extent the differences between the various religious groups have been obscured by combining positive and very positive responses into a single category. For example, larger differences between Strictly Orthodox and Secular

Jews emerge on the item "loyalty to my Jewish heritage" if the "very important" and "quite important" responses are listed separately:-

	Loyalty to my Jewish heritage	
	% rating very important	% rating important
Non-practising (Secular)	42	49
Strictly Orthodox	84	14

Despite these underlying variations, however, the findings show that Jewish women from all sectors of the community have overwhelmingly positive feelings of ethnic identity - ie the great majority are conscious of their Jewish identity, want to identify and want the Jewish people to survive.

Note, however, that these are specific feelings related to a desire to belong. They do not necessarily imply a positive evaluation of Jews or Jewishness, still less an endorsement of the way the British-Jewish community is organised. It is clear from the comments made to open-ended questions, and from the sections on communal services, that positive Jewish identification can, paradoxically, coexist with quite hostile attitudes to communal structures, to the Jewish religion and even to the characteristics of other Jews. Thus, one respondent comments, not atypically:

> "I feel strongly Jewish .....but agree that the seemingly loud, often aggressive behaviour of many Jewish women is very off-putting and does not make one feel proud of the clan"

It is also the case that the strong desire to identify with other Jews does not necessarily imply a generalised lack of faith in the wider community. Thus the item "When it comes to a crisis, Jews can only depend on other Jews" is supported by only one-third of respondents, largely older members of the Traditional and Strictly Orthodox sub-groups.

Similarly, a question put to some respondents on the experience of antisemitism at work, showed that this had been a problem for only a minority of respondents (18%) and there was no correlation between this experience and feelings of Jewish identity. As far as one can judge, therefore, the high level of ethnic identification in Jewish women is not maintained by the perception of hostility or bad faith in the wider community so much as by an internal attachment to Jewishness as a social and psychological state. Research on British Jewish teenagers (Miller, 1988) suggests that Jewish ethnicity, unlike religious belief or commitment to ritual observance, is transmitted to young people very effectively indeed.

C Religious Belief

The recent flow of community studies in the United States (NJPS, 1991; Horowitz, 1993) has examined a range of Jewish behaviour and practice and we have drawn on many of these items in our studies of the British Jewish community. However, the American work has largely ignored the area of religious faith and belief which, in principle, forms the basis for Jewish practice. Our view is that Jewish observance and ethnicity needs to be examined in the context of belief. We have carried this philosophy into the current study, asking respondents to indicate the extent to which they agree or otherwise with a number of statements encapsulating core elements of Jewish belief.

On analysis, we found moderate and extremely variable levels of religious belief which contrasted starkly with the consistently high levels of ethnic identity reported above. Four items were used as an index of religious belief as set out in the table below:-

Table 6: Levels of agreement with items measuring religious belief according to self-rated religiosity

	% of sub-group agreeing or strongly agreeing			
	Strict Orth	Traditional	Non-Orth	Secular
Praying to God can help overcome personal problems	91	45	35	12
The Jewish people have a special relationship with God	92	44	29	12
	% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing			
Belief in God is NOT central to being a good Jew	77	32	29	12
The universe came about by chance	92	35	26	16

These figures confirm earlier findings (Kalms, 1992) that only Strictly Orthodox women demonstrate high levels of faith in the existence of God and His role in human history. The remaining 90% of the sample have widely dispersed views. For example, the proportion of Non-Orthodox respondents who agree that the

universe came about by chance (24%) more-or-less matches the proportion who reject the idea (26%), with the remaining 50% responding "not certain". For this item, as for the others, the typical response is therefore very decidedly agnostic. For the sample as a whole, about one third of respondents express some degree of belief in the basic principles of the Jewish faith. This contrasts with a recent survey of Israeli beliefs and values which shows, for example, that about 60% of the Israeli Jewish population 'firmly believe in the existence of God or a Supreme Being that guides the world' (Levy et al, 1993; p 20).

In the context of the increasing emphasis on parental reinforcement of Jewish educational experiences, these findings pose a problem, or at least raise a question about the transmission of Judaism in a predominantly agnostic home environment. Whilst parents can be encouraged to increase their levels of observance at home to reduce the dissonance with standards set in Jewish schools and chedarim, the dissonance between belief systems is likely to prove more difficult to repair.

D The Relationship between Belief, Practice and Ethnicity

In the previous sections we have considered the three dimensions of Jewish identity in isolation from one another. However, it is also possible to examine the extent to which a person's position on one dimension, say religious belief, is related to their position on another dimension, say religious practice. Obviously, for Strictly Orthodox women, such an exercise is superfluous because virtually all the respondents are at the top of the scale - whether one is measuring belief, practice or ethnicity; i.e. these three elements are integrated into a coherent system of beliefs and practices. However, it is important to understand the relationship between the three components of Jewish identity for those who are not strictly observant.

In other religious groups (eg Catholics, Muslims) there is a strong association between belief and practice (Weiss Ozarak, 1989) and this was also found in the recent survey of Israeli Jews mentioned above. In these studies, those who have the most intense levels of faith tend also to be the most observant in the performance of religious ritual. However, for the Jewish women in our survey (excluding the Strictly Orthodox) the correlation between belief and practice is rather low ($r = 0.4$), implying that variations in belief account for only 16% of the variation in religious practice. The intriguing finding, which replicates the outcome of the earlier United Synagogue research, is that ethnicity is actually a better predictor of Jewish practice than is belief ($r = 0.53$). In other words, the

desire to belong and identify seems to have more to do with religious observance than fundamental aspects of faith and belief.

This, too, raises important questions concerning the transmission of Jewish identity. These questions concern a new form of dissonance, not between the home and Jewish school, but between faith and practice *within* the home. For some, including the majority of the women in this sample, ethnic identity and religious practice can happily coexist with minimal levels of faith. The question is how far, in an open society, ethnicity and ritual alone can sustain the Jewish commitment of future generations ?

E Summary

1. Jewish women vary significantly in the form and intensity of their religious beliefs, practices and ethnic identity. In relation to religious practice, a four point scale was developed based on the respondents' self-assessments of their Jewish lifestyle. This scale provides a more consistent and discriminating classification of religious observance than one derived from synagogue affiliation and it has been used throughout this report as a basis for analysing communal attitudes and opinions.

2 The four religious sub-groups are characterised as follows:-

Strictly Orthodox: Comprising about 9% of the sample, Strictly Orthodox women have consistently high scores on all three dimensions of identity. They are the only group in which a full commitment to Jewish practice appears to be driven as much by fundamental religious belief as by a desire to express their ethnic identity.

Traditional: Traditional Jewish women comprise 40% of the sample. They are characterised by (i) a strong commitment to a selection of key, family practices which are observed by virtually all women in the group and (ii) a sense of attachment to the wider Orthodox community, although this does not extend to the full observance of Orthodox practices (eg in relation to Shabbat). Traditional women are very highly identified ethnically and have moderate to low levels of religious belief.

Non-Orthodox: This is a more amorphous category combining the categories 'Progressive' and 'just Jewish'. Non-Orthodox women comprise 43% of the sample; they see themselves as having a religious identity (as

opposed to being purely secular Jews), but falling clearly outside of the Orthodox domain. Women in this category observe fewer rituals than traditional Jews and tend to emphasize annual group ceremonies (eg Seder) rather than regular, individual practices (eg Kashrut). Like Traditional women, they are strongly identified in an ethnic sense but have low scores on items related to religious belief.

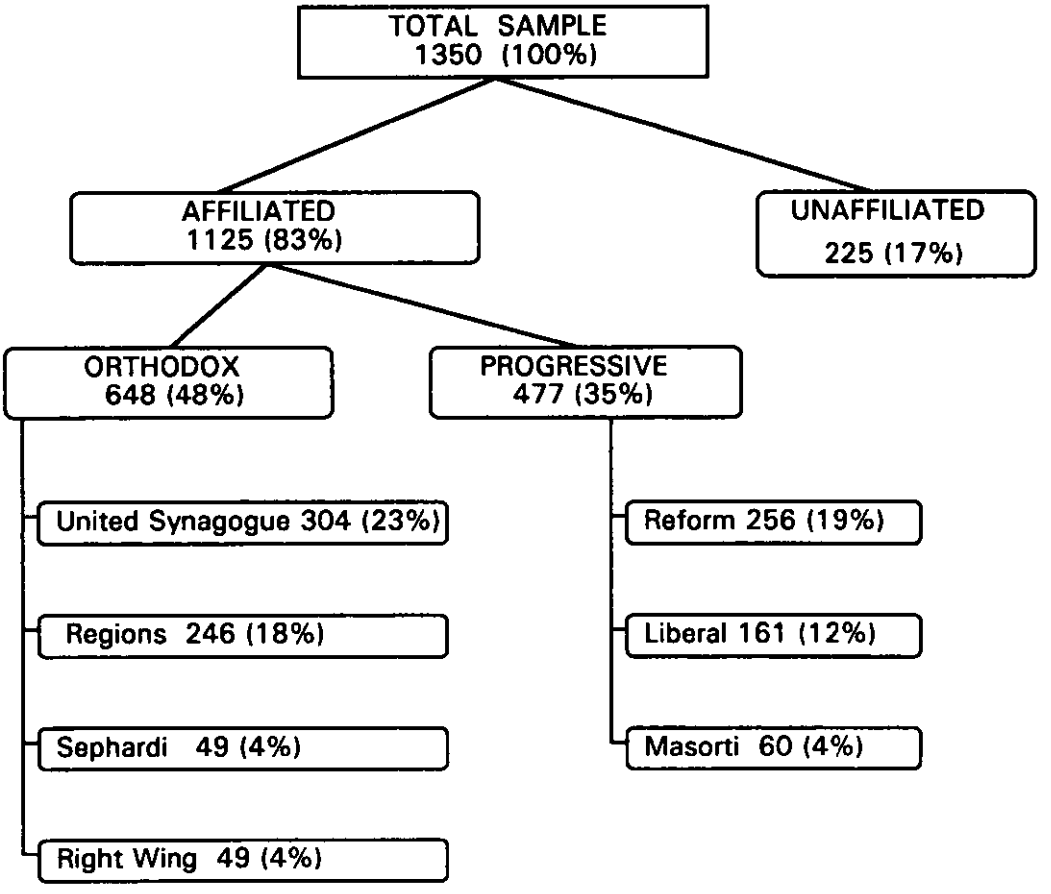
Secular: Comprising 9% of the sample, these respondents define themselves as non-practising, although most of them engage in an occasional religious practice at some time in the year (most commonly Seder). Although both religious practice and belief are virtually absent, the strength of ethnic identification is almost as strong as in other groups.

3. For the sample as a whole, there are remarkably high levels of ethnic identification and far weaker levels of religious faith, even in comparison with Jews in other countries. In all groups other than the Strictly Orthodox, levels of ethnicity are more closely related to religious observance than are levels of religious belief. This suggests that for many respondents ethnic identity drives religious practice, rather than beliefs and values. Whilst practice appears to coexist with minimal levels of faith in the adult community, the question arises whether this form of Jewish identity can be transmitted effectively to future generations.

WHO ARE THE WOMEN?
THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Questionnaires were sent to 2310 women affiliated to a synagogue and 344 women initially presumed not to be so affiliated. We were anxious to ensure that all sections of the community were represented in numbers sufficient to permit analysis of particular sub-groups. We therefore took relatively large samples of the numerically smaller Right-Wing and Progressive synagogal groups. The sample design is described in full in the Methodology. Our findings are based on replies from 1125 synagogue women and 225 unaffiliated as set out in the chart below.

Composition of the Sample



In the following discussion, answers from United Synagogue and other synagogue women have been combined to form a synagogue affiliated group for

comparison with the unaffiliated sub-sample. The synagogue group sub-divides naturally into Orthodox and Progressive on the basis of formal membership and in the course of analysis these two membership categories are differentiated where appropriate. As far as possible with available levels of information, when selecting cases the synagogue sample was biased towards younger Jewish women. This was because the opinions and attitudes of women under 70 are seen as more important in pointing to the future of the community. Data have not been weighted for age. As a starting point for the discussion, the basic social make-up of the two categories is given in the table below so that their overall similarity can be seen. Here, as throughout this chapter, the statistics are purely descriptive.

Table 1: Social Profile of Synagogue Respondents

	Orthodox	**Progressive**	**All**
	%	%	%
Marital Status			
Married	83	82	82
Co-habiting	1	3	2
Never married	6	5	6
Divorced	3	6	5
Widowed	7	4	6
Residence			
Greater London	60	52	58
Regions	40	48	42
Age-group			
17-30	8	8	8
31-40	18	26	22
41-50	26	33	29
51-60	25	17	21
61-70	17	14	16
Over 70	6	3	4
N=	641	475	1116

The separate unaffiliated group is not statistically representative of all who do not belong to a synagogue although, as is clear from the analysis of Jewish identity in chapter 3, in these matters it differs little from the main Jewish population. This group was drawn together to expand the social profile of the synagogue affiliated sample which was to an extent predictable from successive

studies of British Jewish groups over the past 30 years (Krausz 1969a, Kosmin 1979, Waterman 1989). These have highlighted the middle-class nature of the affiliated Jewish community but the numerical discrepancy between estimated population and measured synagogue affiliation (Haberman & Schmool, 1992) points to a large sector (of the order of one-third) of British Jewry which expresses its Jewishness in other ways. The findings for this small, selected band allow us to suggest how some formally non-affiliating women relate to the British Jewish community both structurally and psychologically.

The first point to make, however, is that a proportion of the 'unaffiliated' group turned out to be synagogue members due to the original interpretations of women who accepted the broadly cast invitation to write to the Review. Some said they were 'unaffiliated' because they affiliated to synagogues outside the United Synagogue. This only came to light when the questionnaires were analysed. More interestingly, a number of women contacted through the 'snowballing' method were also synagogue members. As all these contacts were developed by word of mouth it suggests that informants were not always sure of their friends' and acquaintances' commitment and assumed non-affiliation. It would appear that women do not discuss synagogue and communal affiliation with other women in social settings away from the community. In the event 51 of the 225 respondents to the questionnaire designed for unaffiliated women, had membership of a synagogue. They have been retained as unaffiliated at this stage in the discussion.

Affiliated and Unaffiliated Women

Where they live

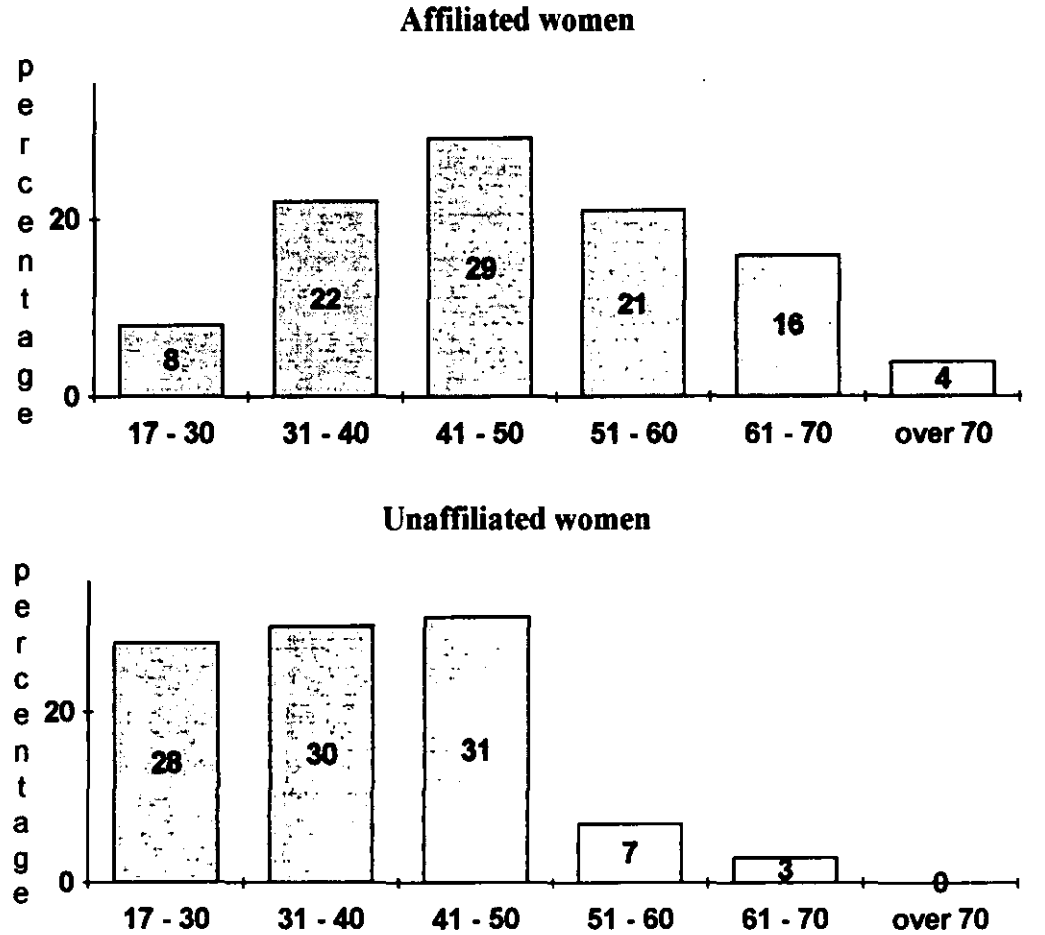
One major objective was to ensure that women from all over the country were given a voice in the survey. This was achieved; 58% had addresses with a London postcode, 19% were in the North including Scotland, 11% in the Midlands and Wales, and 12% in the South which includes the areas such as Surrey and Berkshire.

The synagogue respondents were, geographically, a fairly static group - over 40% had lived at their current address for over ten years, with an average residence overall of 12.2 years. They were also a group which lived within geographical confines showing what Waterman and Kosmin (1987) have described as the tendency to congregate. One quarter considered that they lived in a very Jewish area and a further 38% thought their area moderately Jewish. Just under a quarter felt that the area in which they lived was not at all Jewish.

The unaffiliated group for the most part lives in the London postal area with only 21% living elsewhere. This group was more geographically mobile than the synagogue-affiliated group with only 22% still residing where they had ten years ago and with an average period of residence of 7.5 years. 28% of the group had been in their present home either 1 or 2 years. Not unexpectedly, they are less likely to feel that they live in conspicuously Jewish areas; over half felt that the area in which they lived was not so Jewish or not at all Jewish .

Age

Figure 1: Distribution of Ages



The age distribution for all the respondents is set out in the figure above. Affiliated women were, on average, aged 47.7 years and their actual ages ranged from 17 to 94. As we were unable to screen for age of respondent before sampling, we had expected a number of replies from women who had already

passed their 70th birthday. In the event, 4% of affiliated respondents were in this age-group, the majority being women living outside the London area.

As the study focuses on women between 18 and 70, in the analysis that follows we have indicated when we feel the older, out of range, group affects the response pattern. The comparative youthfulness of the both affiliated and unaffiliated becomes clear when we consider that 12% of British Jewry as a whole are aged over 75. (Haberman & Schmool, 1992).

The average age of affiliated women in the Greater London and tangential areas was 46.5 years and those in the Regions were older with a mean age of 47.9 years. Women belonging to Orthodox synagogues were aged 49.5 on average and those affiliated to Progressive communities were slightly younger at 46.

As was anticipated from the way the unaffiliated group was built up, it was younger than the synagogue sample, with an average (mean) age of 38.7 and ages ranging from 18 to 80. This overall age structure is nearer to that of the Progressive than to the Orthodox affiliated sample and leads us to expect that unaffiliateds will resemble Progressives in attitude and experience more nearly than they would resemble the Orthodox.

Marital Status

As is to be expected of an institution geared to family memberships, most women in the synagogue sample were or had at some time been married. Figure 2a shows that 82% were currently married and a further 2% were cohabiting and only 6% of this synagogue sample had neither been married nor lived with a partner. While the majority of the single women were under 30 (57%) it is demographically interesting given high incidence of Jewish marriage in the past that 16% of them were aged over 50. (DellaPergola, 1989)

Orthodox and Progressive synagogue members were equally likely to be currently married; but of the unmarried, the Orthodox were more often widowed while Progressive members showed a higher proportion of divorced or separated women. The highest proportion of widows (11%) was amongst women living in the North, reflecting both the age of this group and the historical development of the northern industrial communities.

A very important aspect of the whole enquiry is the position of "singles" in the community. These naturally include women who are widowed or divorced but

of particular concern to the community are the issues of marriage and non-marriage. The small actual number (63) making up the never married group among synagogue members was divided 3:2 between Orthodox and Progressive. From the sample as a whole 6% of Orthodox and 5% of Progressive had not been married. On a geographical basis, we found 6% of the Greater London group compared with 5% of the Regional group had never married.

Figure 2a: Marital status - Affiliated women

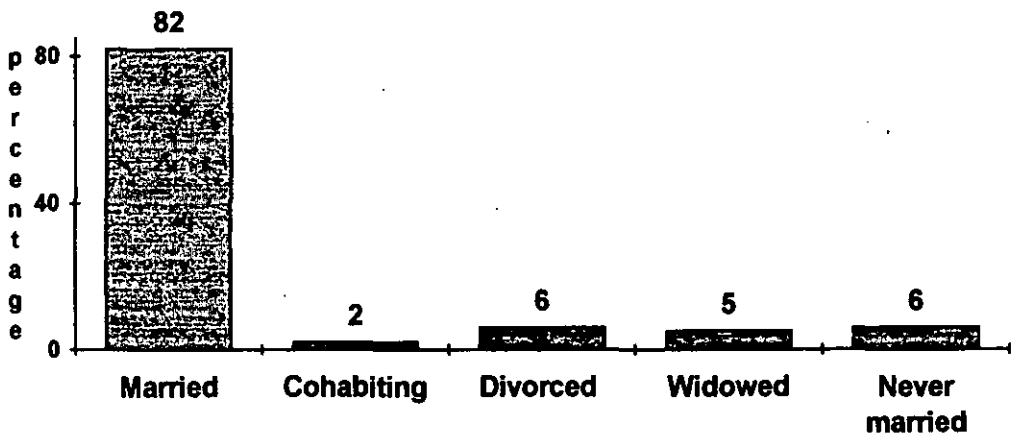
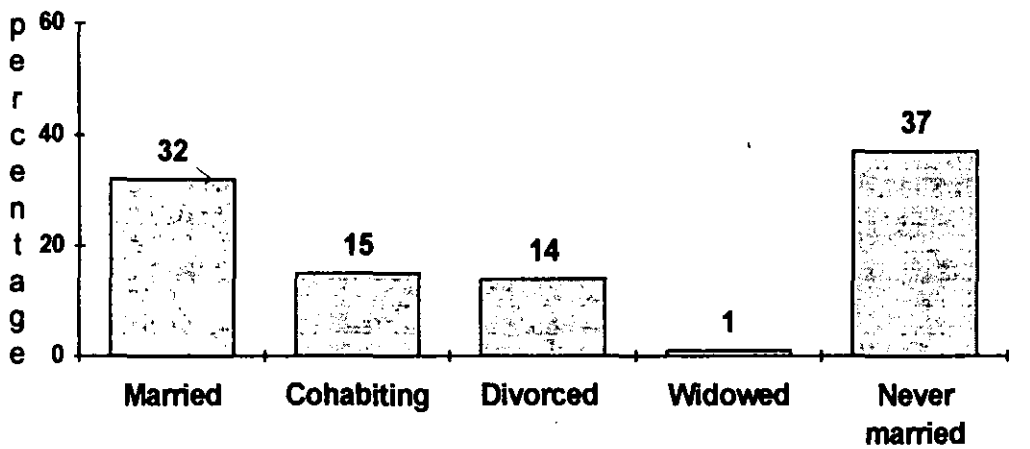


Figure 2b: Marital status - Unaffiliated women

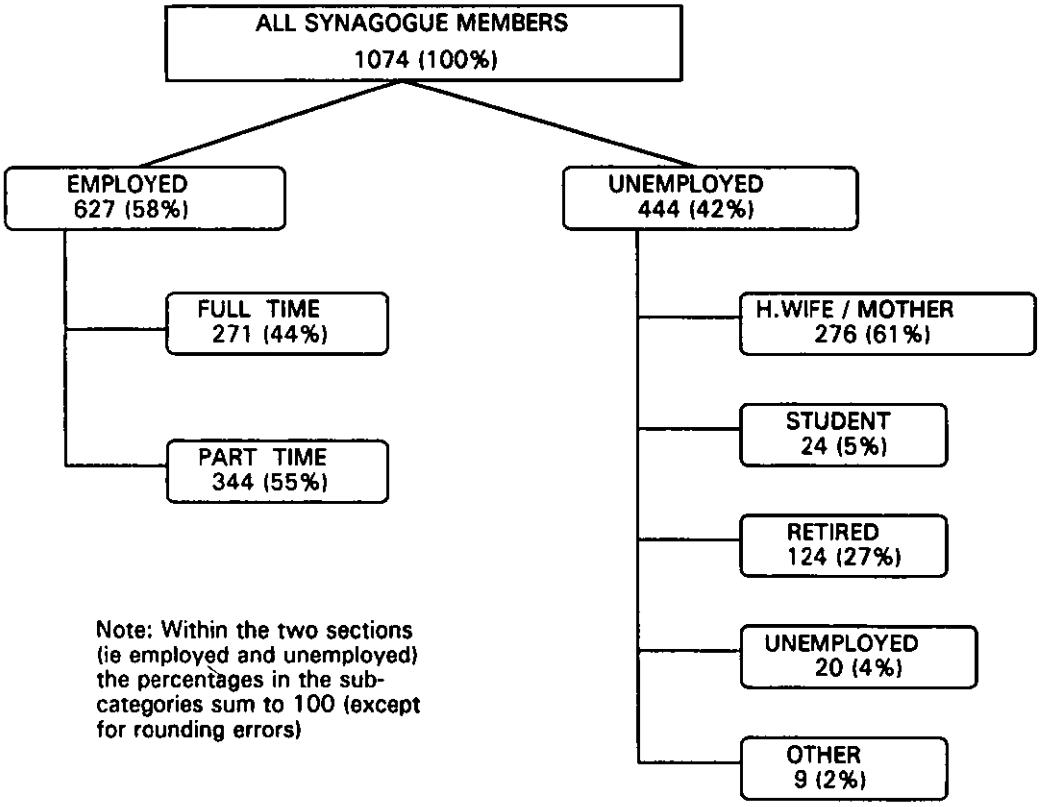


The pattern of marital status for the non-affiliateds (Figure 2b) differed greatly from the synagogue group, with a higher proportion 37%, single/never married and a lower level (47%) of marriage and cohabitation. This contrasts vividly with

the 82% of synagogue women currently married. The high level of singleness is significant: it throws into focus a cohort of younger women in the London area who, although they do not belong to a synagogue, network socially as Jews, as evidenced by the way in which the sample was built up.

Employment and Income

The overall patterns of employment are set out in the diagram below. As can be seen slightly more than half of the group (58%) reported that they were currently in paid employment. When these figures are considered in more detail we find that of those in work the majority (56%) worked part-time, and over two-thirds



were employees with the balance self-employed. For those who did not have paid work, 61% were full-time housewives and mothers, and 27% were retired. Only 20 out of the 1125 total sample reported being unemployed and seeking work, indicating a high level of employment among affiliated respondents. Husbands and partners of respondents were mainly in employment (79%) or retired (17%); only 3% were recorded as seeking work.

More than a third (38%) of the synagogue-affiliated women were in the professions, with 26% of the total sample working in the business sector and 22% in health services. A quarter of the 574 women giving information were employed in a managerial capacity and while only 4% described themselves as saleswomen, 15% worked in the retail sector.

Overall, the salary levels of working women were high; 46% of the affiliated reported personal annual gross incomes of over £10,000 per year. For women in full-time work, 84% earned above this level while for those with part-time jobs 30% earned between £5000 and £10,000 per annum. When the combined income of women and their partners is considered we find that 72% reported total household earnings above £20,000 each year, a figure which is itself 50% above the British national average.

Women in the unaffiliated group were more likely to be in work; 76% were in paid employment, with 71% of these working full rather than part-time, reversing the proportions noted in the synagogue group, but both groups had similar levels of self employment. Individual salaries were higher than among the synagogue women with 71% earning over £10,000 a year - reflecting the higher level of full-time working. Combined incomes of respondents and partners were similar to those for the synagogue group.

Of those few unaffiliated not in paid work (52), levels of full-time home-making and retirement are lower than among the first group; to balance this the proportions of students (23%) and unemployed (29%) were higher. In this much smaller unaffiliated grouping 14 individuals were seeking work, most of them had been looking for about 1 year. For the half who were married or living with a partner, 82% said their partner worked full time and only 6% of partners had retired.

When we look at those unaffiliated who are currently employed, we find over half (53%) were professionals in the traditional Jewish areas of medicine and law and the traditional female area of teaching. A further 26% held managerial jobs such as senior administrator or ran their own business. They worked in different types of organisations with 24% in the business sector, 23% in education, 16% in health. 7% worked free-lance or in the arts.

These figures suggest a strong representation of the higher earning, middle-classes among both affiliated and unaffiliated respondents when compared with national levels. If we contrast our samples' income patterns with those exhibited by the general sample of the British Social Attitudes 1992 study we find that, in

Britain generally, 42% of households have a combined income of over £20,000 per annum (Jowell et al, 1992: p275), some 30% less than our affiliated sample.

Table 2: Distribution of annual gross income of affiliated women

Individual	%	**Household**	%
Under £5000	32	Under £8000	7
£5001-10,000	22	£8001-20,000	21
£10,001-20,000	25	£20,001-50,000	42
£20,001-50,000	17	£50,001-80,000	17
Over £50,000	4	Over £80,000	13
N =	893		790

National employment patterns are broadly similar to those shown by the affiliated: 63% of the British population aged 16-59 were in employment in 1991 (census data) and 19% were of pensionable age. However, the synagogue group is more home-oriented than Britain generally with 26% looking after the home full-time as against 16% of the British Social Attitudes sample referred to earlier. The tendency to home-making is indicated in another fashion by patterns of help which synagogue members reported. Just over half (51%) had home help either for a few hours a week or daily, and a further 5% had living-in help. As approximately half of this type of help is for women in age-band 31-40 it probably indicates the presence of an au-pair or nanny.

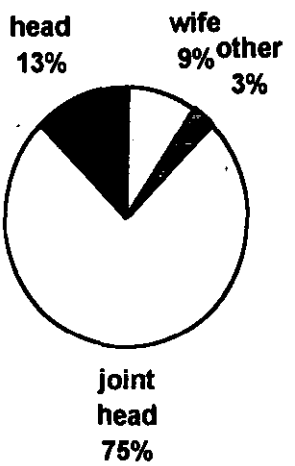
While the middle-class bias was perhaps inevitable in a sample from synagogue membership lists, it does not tell the whole story; and there is evidence that, for a substantial minority, the situation is less comfortable. Of the 892 synagogue members who gave information about earnings, 32% had personal incomes of under £5000 per annum and 7% had combined annual household incomes of under £8000.

These lower income groups are mainly confined to retired and older women. For synagogue members over 60, 63% lived on a combined household income of up to £8000 each year. Where the respondent and her husband were living as a retired couple, 62% reported an annual household income of £20,000 or less. However, not everyone on low salary is a pensioner. When we look at those 221 synagogue affiliated women with combined household salaries of under £20,000, we find 39% are under 50 years of age. Within this younger group of lower earners, 63% are in paid employment, with 25% working full- and 33% working part-time, (some respondents did not give this detail).

Households and families

The way in which respondents recorded their position in their households reveals a pattern of marriage as a partnership when family role is considered. As can be seen from Figure 3, three-quarters said they were the joint-head of the household in which they lived, and 13% were sole head.

Figure 3: Self-defined position in household of synagogue members



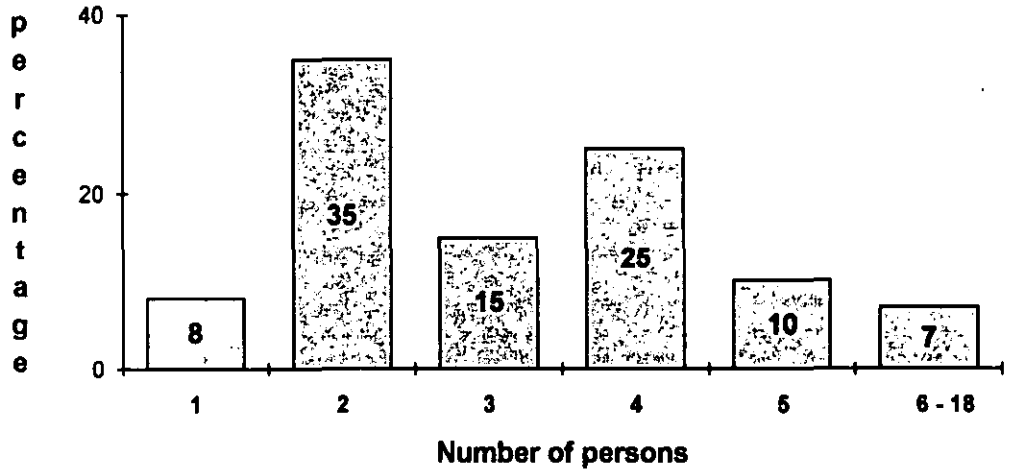
Of the remaining 12% (N = 172 people) most were the head's wife or partner and about a quarter were his/her daughter or daughter in law. When we look at heads of households, only 5% of the whole synagogue affiliated group are sole head because of widowhood, but 96% of widows describe themselves as sole head of household.

The households in which respondents live range from single person households (8%) to just under 3% containing 6 or more people (see figure 4). The average size of household was 3.2 people with 75% of all the sample living in 2, 3 or 4 people households. Older women are most likely to live alone. 23% of those over 60 did so while, only 5 per cent of women in the 18-30 group were in single person homes.

Single-person households were more long-standing than households overall. While the group as a whole had lived just over 12 years in their present home, these older singles had done so for 13 years. General observation suggests that the pattern for older women includes a movement away from family homes to retirement flats or sheltered housing, but for this sample it is counterbalanced by 23% of the total who have lived in their present home for 20 years and more.

In line with the incidence of full-time working and high salaries, 40% of the unaffiliated group were sole heads of households; in contrast some 6% lived in a parental home. Household size, at 2.5 persons each on average, was almost one person smaller than for the synagogue group, and unaffiliated women (27%) were more than three times as likely as synagogue affiliated (8%) to live in single person households.

Figure 4: Household Size - affiliated respondents



Children

The vast majority (85%) of affiliated respondents had borne children of their own and only 4% had adopted children. 90% of women with children were married or in a permanent relationship with a partner, and the other 10% were either divorced or widowed. Single parenthood by choice is not a noticeable pattern among these women, and, notwithstanding moves to the modern pattern of cohabitation, under 2% of parents in the sample were members of a cohabiting couple.

43% of the unaffiliated had children, just over half the proportion of the synagogue group. In all, 23% were married women with children, 7% were mothers living with their partner, and 11% were divorced women who had children.

Secular Education

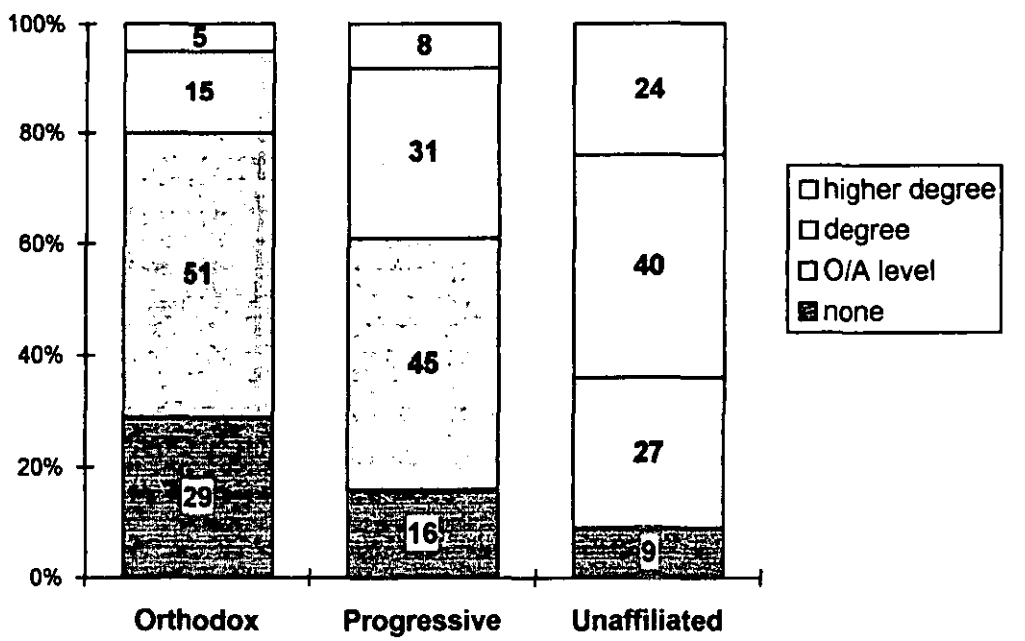
Figure 5 sets out the highest academic qualification reached by the three major categories in our analysis - Orthodox, Progressive and unaffiliated women. With a slightly broader brush we found, among those synagogue affiliated women who reported their educational attainment, 37% had '0' level or equivalent and 36% reached 'A' level; 1% had CSE and 26% had no academic qualification, and for the unaffiliated there were 66% with 'A' level.

There are marked differences between the three groups in their experience of university education; 80% of the Orthodox members had not progressed beyond A-level compared with 61% of Progressive members and 36% of the

unaffiliated. This is to say that 20% of Orthodox women, 39% of Progressive and 64% of unaffiliated held a university degree.

These attainments compare extremely favourably with Great Britain as a whole. At the 1991 Census, only 4.4% of women aged 18 and over had a first degree or equivalent and a further 5% held a higher degree. This pattern is more remarkable when it is considered that 7% (29% of those aged 60 and over) had finished school by 14 years of age. Of the total sample, 27% completed full-time education at age 16 and 36% at age 18, in line with current statutory school-leaving ages and echoing the patterns of 'O' and 'A' level attainment. Among synagogue women under 35, 42% had a degree, showing how this younger group has taken advantage of the expansion of higher education since the 1960s.

Figure 5: Highest academic qualification achieved - Orthodox, Progressive and Unaffiliated respondents compared



The higher levels of secular educational attainment of Progressive women may reflect their slightly younger age profile or may indicate that those secularly well-educated feel more comfortable in a progressive environment. In the unaffiliated group aged under 35, 74% had experienced university education. Nearly all this group (95%) had been in full-time school education until age 18.

In summary, the synagogue group is on average in middle-life, married with families, and likely to be living in London and the South of England. Its members are well-educated and (unless they have children at home) are also in paid employment.

The unaffiliated group is generally younger and secularly better educated than the synagogue affiliated group (and British womanhood) as a whole. These respondents were more likely to be professional women in full employment, and less likely to have children. It is a very particular group arising out of its method of recruitment and goes some way to offsetting the neat nuclear family pattern of the synagogue group.

Younger Women

The basic socio-demographic differences between affiliated and unaffiliated women are put in clearer perspective when we consider those women aged 50 and under in the two samples. The social characteristics of 194 unaffiliated women are compared below with those of 330 younger Orthodox and 314 younger Progressive synagogue members.

Tables 3a and 3b show the similar patterns of residence and employment of all three groups, with the London-centredness expected from national figures.

Table 3a: Marital status and Residence, Women 50 and under

	Orthodox	Progressive	Unaffiliated
	%	%	%
Marital Status			
N=	330	314	192
Married	84	82	29
Cohabiting	2	4	16
Never Married	10	6	41
Divorced	4	7	25
Widows	-	1	1
Residence			
N=	329	314	179
Greater London	62	55	61
Regions	38	45	39

Additionally, most members of these younger groups are employed with the highest levels of full-time employment among the unaffiliated. The Orthodox have the highest proportion of women who are full-time mothers while the Progressives have most students, pro rata.

Table 3b: Employment patterns, Women 50 and under

	Orthodox	Progressive	Unaffiliated
	%	%	%
Employment			
N=	322	313	193
Full-time	67	75	78
Part-time	33	25	22
If not in paid work:			
Mother/Housewife	81	73	35
Student	10	16	30
Unemployed	4	12	33
Retired	2	-	-
Other, unspecified	3	-	2

When we compare the educational experiences of the three groups we find that 40% of Orthodox and 48% of Progressive younger women had remained at school until age 18 compared with 52% of the unaffiliated. Although the bias among younger women is thus less marked than when the total samples are compared, it is still clear that the unaffiliated sample has the most prolonged basic education. The secular educational variation between the groups for these younger women is further underlined when we consider the higher education patterns: 21% of Orthodox, 36% of Progressive and 42% of unaffiliated have a first-degree and 7%, 8% and 24% respectively have higher qualifications.

The higher educational attainment of younger unaffiliated women carries through into salary scales with 36% of them having individual salaries of £20,000 and more per annum, while 19% of Orthodox and 28% of Progressive fell into this category. However, the pattern does not hold good for the combined household salaries of this younger group. On considering household incomes of £50,000

Table 4: Education and Salary, Women 50 and under

	Orthodox %	Progressive %	Unaffiliated %
Education			
N=	297	250	156
At school age 18	40	48	52
Have first degree	21	36	42
Have post-grad degree	7	8	24
Individual Salary			
N=	277	278	183
Under £5000	33	28	17
£5001-10,000	21	15	11
£10,001-20,000	27	30	36
£20,001-50,000	14	23	34
Over £50,000	5	5	2
Combined Salary			
N=	247	241	91
Under £8000	5	1	7
£8001-20,000	17	12	18
£20,001-50,001	44	44	53
£50,001-80,000	18	24	13
Over £80,000	16	18	10

and over, we see that 42% of the younger Progressive sample are in this salary range, and 34% of younger Orthodox compared with 23% of the unaffiliated. This lower proportion with total salaries in the top earning groups reflects the high level of unmarried/unpartnered women in the unaffiliated group.

Therefore it appears that, at younger ages, synagogue women in both major categories have a very similar social profile which differs from the unaffiliated women mainly as regards marital status and experience of secular education. It suggests that women under 50, and especially as we saw earlier those under 35, have taken the opportunities afforded to them initially by the 1944 Education Act and successively by the 1960s expansion of the universities.

Social Profile of Jewish Identity

In the previous chapter we examined the elements of Jewish identity and how they combined to give four major self-defining types: Secular, Non-Orthodox, Traditional and Strictly Orthodox. In that analysis the women from the unaffiliated and affiliated samples were considered as a single group because, when the correlates of the four different patterns of ethnicity were examined, there were no recognisable differences between the affiliated and unaffiliated samples. The distribution of the sample between the four categories is set out in the table below.

Table 5: Self-defined identity types

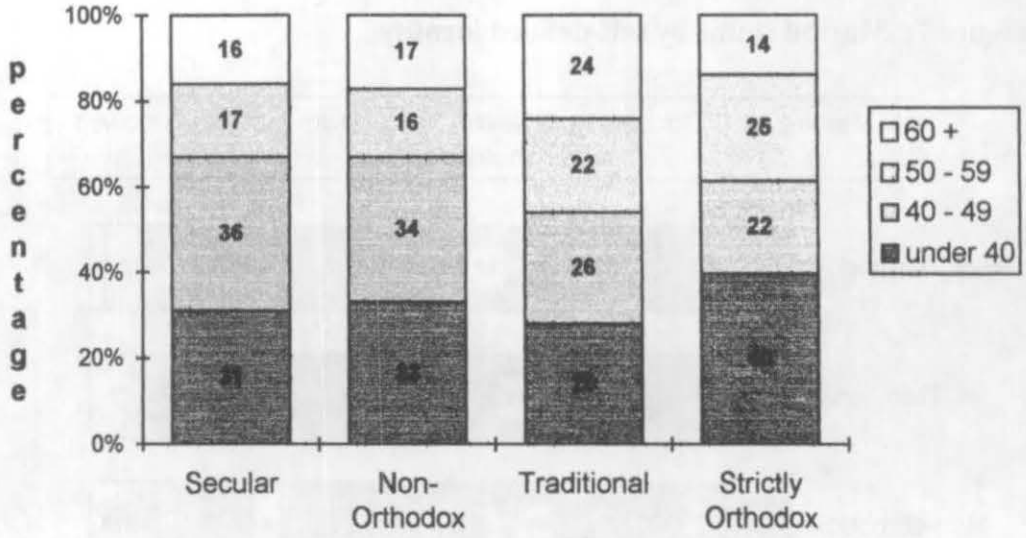
	Combined Sample	Affiliated Sample	Synagogue Population*
	%	%	%
Category			
Secular	9	4	4
Non-Orthodox	43	44	34
Traditional	40	43	50
Strictly Orthodox	8	9	12
N =	1350	1125	1125

* Affiliated sample weighted to provide communal estimate of under 70s (see Methodology)

From here it can be seen that within the sample as a whole the Non-Orthodox and Traditional categories are of almost equal size with small, again almost equal, groups of Secular and Strictly Orthodox women. For the synagogue sample the balance between Secular and Strictly Orthodox is tilted so that the latter group is twice the size of the former. When this affiliated sample is weighted to indicate the overall geographic and synagogal make-up of British Jewry, the self-defining Traditional group increases to take in half the total community and the Strictly Orthodox is seen to account for 12% of the synagogue-affiliated population.

The four groups have different basic social characteristics. Their age and marital status patterns are set out in the figures on pages 43 and 44.

Figure 6: Age distribution according to self-defined Jewish identity



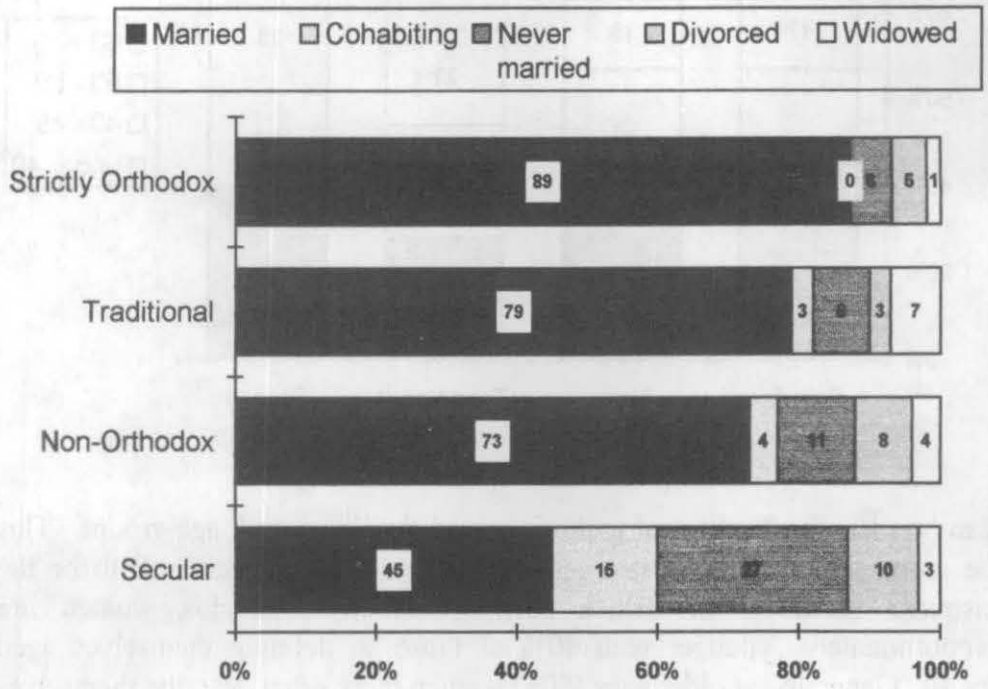
As can be seen, the Traditional group is spread evenly over all age-groups. This is the group which over the last century has been and appears still to be the mainstream backbone of British Jewry. Strictly Orthodox women are disproportionately younger with 40% of those so defining themselves aged under 40. Generally, at older ages (50+) women more often describe themselves as Traditional. Thus 45% of women aged 50-59 and 49% of those aged 60 and over classified their Jewishness in this way compared with 40% of the group as a whole.

When marital status is examined, not unexpectedly the Strictly Orthodox have the highest levels of women married. The 89% of this group which is married closely approximates the 82% of the synagogue affiliated sample which was found to be married. Conversely, the Secular group had the highest percentage of never-married. More strikingly, when the proportions cohabiting are added to those currently married we find that only 60% of those defining themselves as Secular are in long-term partnerships - one-third lower than the proportion of Strictly Orthodox who are married. If the composition is restricted to married women only, the proportion married among the Strictly Orthodox is then about double that of the Secular. This contrast is so much more marked than the differences between all other self-defining categories.

While, as we have seen, the Secular category is drawn mainly from the unaffiliated sample, this stark comparison poses questions as to the link between secular attitudes and Jewish marriages. For example, are secular Jewish women

less likely to be married because potential like-minded partners are more prepared to marry out? Educational experience is a contributing factor to both

Figure 7: Marital status by self-defined identity



acceptance of a secular way of life and propensity to marry. It is therefore interesting that when comparing the albeit-small groups of Secular and Strictly Orthodox women, we find that proportionately twice as many (38%) Secular women have a first degree as do Strictly Orthodox (19%) women. The difference between Non-Orthodox and Traditional women is marked but less striking: 27% of Non-Orthodox compared with 16% of Traditional have a first degree.

The earning patterns and work situation at the two poles of the identity continuum reflect their different educational experiences and, possibly, their choice of life-style. Three-quarters of Secular but less than half the Strictly Orthodox group are in paid employment. Of the small number of Strictly Orthodox who do work outside the home only one-third do so full-time. The proportions are reversed for Secular women - here two-thirds of those working have full-time employment. The two central groups of Non-Orthodox and Traditional display similar working and earning patterns. On this latter topic, the small group (76) of Strictly Orthodox giving information here suggest that this is

a relatively low-earning section of the community. Just over half these women reported household incomes of under £20,000 per annum compared with one-third of (the 66) Secular women who gave this information.

The centrist, Non-Orthodox and Traditional, groups are thus found to have very similar basic social characteristics. Unsurprisingly, we are able to delineate marked social differences between Strictly Orthodox and Secular women. These show the Orthodox to be slightly younger, almost all of them married and, as families, earning less than the Secular group. This latter category, following the profile of the unaffiliated, is highly secularly-educated and has high levels of income.

Summary

The social dimensions of two major groups - i.e. synagogue affiliated and unaffiliated - were compared; and the affiliated group was further sub-divided between Orthodox and Progressive synagogue members.

The majority of affiliated women were married and slightly less than half the unaffiliated were married or co-habiting. The vast majority had borne children of their own and single parenthood was not a noticeable pattern. Nevertheless, 11% of the unaffiliated were divorcees bringing up children.

In line with the overall geographical distribution of British Jewry, the majority of respondents lived in the Greater London area. Synagogue members were aged 48 years on average and the unaffiliated had an average age of 39. Orthodox women were some 2 years older than their Progressive counterparts.

Over half the synagogue sample and three-quarters of the unaffiliated were in paid employment, with the synagogue members more likely to be working part-time. One quarter of synagogue members were retired. Both samples show a strong bias towards the middle-class with high levels of education and household salary levels above the national average.

The synagogue sample also brought to light 7% of households with a total income of less than £8000 per annum mainly for respondents aged over 60. The overall communal experience of low-income is thus understated as the sample specifically excluded women over 70, many of whom may be expected to live on state and/or occupational pensions.

For women aged 50 and under, synagogue members are markedly more likely to be married but only slightly less often to be in full-time employment. There is a link between affiliation and secular educational attainment such that the Orthodox are the least, and the unaffiliated the most, likely to have university and higher qualifications.

The four self-defined types of Jewishness - Secular, Non-Orthodox, Traditional and Strictly Orthodox - have different social characteristics. Strictly Orthodox women were younger than the group as a whole and older women most often describe themselves as 'Traditional'. The pattern of association between age and educational attainment is echoed in the contrasted marriage and educational experiences of Secular and Strictly Orthodox women with the Secular being most formally educated and the Strictly Orthodox most married. Within this continuum, Non-Orthodox and Traditional women exhibit similar social profiles.

FAMILY AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Zborowski & Herzog, (1962: 291) describing life in the *shtetl*, wrote "A person is part of a family. There is no fulfilment of one's duties or one's pleasures as an isolated individual .... The woman of the house is mother of the whole family including the father". Although British Jewry is for the most part more than a century away from the face-to-face rural community which "Life is with People" both celebrates and idealises, the image drawn there forms the basis of the role which until recently most British Jewish women anticipated they would fulfil. The ideal-type is strong and one which the "community", even perhaps unwittingly, appears to demand that its womenfolk continue to follow. However, at the same time the family throughout the world is changing, providing a range of acceptable and feasible options of family formation (Scott, Braun & Alwin, 1993: 23). In the 1991 Census of England & Wales only 20% of all households consisted of the ideal-type of adult male, adult female and one or more dependent children. This change is accompanied by a shift in the relationship between work and family-life. There has been a dramatic rise in mothers' employment which challenges the picture of the traditional father/breadwinner and mother/housewife dichotomy. (Kiernan, 1989: p89ff).

This chapter looks at the lives of women today within the context of their families. It also covers the social concerns and problems which confront some, if not all, women as homemakers and workers at some time in their lives. They have been brought together here in an attempt to give a comprehensive, integrated view.

Making a family

As we have reported, the majority of women in the study were currently married or in a stable partnership. More specifically most of those women who were now, or had in the past been, married reported having only one such relationship (89% of synagogue and 63% of unaffiliateds). The details are set out in Table 1 overleaf.

First partnerships for synagogue women were almost totally marriages (96%) but again unaffiliated women were more likely to cohabit on this first relationship (65% married). A similar balance is maintained for place of marriage with 88% of synagogue women marrying in a synagogue as against 62% of unaffiliateds.

Those few in each group who had a second marriage were less likely to celebrate it religiously. 58% of the synagogue group but only 23% of unaffiliateds solemnised second marriages in synagogue. Some of this difference is because one-fifth of second marriages are with non-Jews; but when we consider only re-marriages within the faith, 67% are solemnised in a synagogue.

Table 1: Marriage Patterns according to type of synagogue affiliation

	Orthodox	**Progressive**	**Unaffiliated**
	%	%	%
Currently married	83	82	32
First relationship was			
N=	642	475	220
Marriage	97	94	65
Only one marriage/ stable relationship	92	84	63
Married in synagogue	94	80	62
If more than one relationship			
N =	46	72	61
Second marriage in synagogue	66	53	23
Ever divorced	6	13	19

Approximately 10% of the synagogue sample had been divorced; half of these divorcees had received a *get* and, for a quarter, the divorce was from a non-Jewish spouse. For the numerically smaller group of unaffiliated, 19% had been divorced and again a quarter of these divorces were from non-Jews. Those synagogue women who had been divorced were mostly in the age-group 30-50 (60%) and lived equally in London and the Regions. Unaffiliated divorcees were also mainly aged 30-50 (69%) but this understates the extent of breakdown of *relationships* (as opposed to marriages), because the end of a cohabitation-partnership is not formalised by divorce.

Most of the synagogue women (85%) had borne children and 92% of this group said they had children i.e. a further 7% had adopted- or step-children. Among the unaffiliated, 57% had children but only 43% had borne their own, i.e. 14% cared for children they had not borne. There was a desire amongst those few who had not had children, to have them later (65% of synagogue and 71% of

unaffiliated without children said they wanted them), though in neither group did a majority report feeling under pressure to reproduce. Only 14 (out of a sub-sample of 362) synagogue members gave reasons for not having children and so no analysis was possible. In comparison 54 of the unaffiliated group answered this question indicating that their main reason for not yet having a family was that these women were not married to their partner. This reflects national trends where cohabitation and family formation are separated. (Kiernan, 1989)

Families generally were not enlarged through adoption and fostering, nor by stepchildren in spite of the widespread publicity given to new family formations following a divorce or re-marriage. However, the higher proportion saying they were mothers, rather than reporting children of their own, suggests a move to these patterns. For the sub-sample of synagogue women questioned on this topic only 27 of the 362 respondents had these newer types of families and only 10 of the 225 unaffiliated women also had adopted or step-children.

The family pattern displayed by both these samples is therefore traditional. It is possible to interpret the lack of children among the cohabiting, unmarried, unaffiliated group as upholding an ingrained value that equates children with marriage, not just with partners. The evidence of marital breakdown shows it to be most prevalent among women under 50, which indicates an increase from earlier generations. Additionally, unaffiliated women were more often unmarried without children suggesting their move away from communal norms and values. However, the basic structural pattern, especially among synagogue members, is of stability.

Family Roles

While the structure of the family remains formal, the processes and attitudes which underlie it are more fluid. Just under two-thirds of the 354-strong sub-sample giving detailed information on family issues disagreed that "it is a man's job to earn money while the woman stays at home", and only one third felt that "family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job". The pattern does not change when the older women aged over 70 are excluded but on the whole women over 50 subscribe more often to the traditional view, as do members of Orthodox synagogues.

In line with more modern attitudes, the synagogue women of all ages report a high level of sharing for the various tasks and responsibilities involved in running a household. Table 2 looks at two specific areas of responsibility and shows remnants of the old formulae; 73% of respondents felt themselves mainly

responsible for general domestic jobs while only 23% reported that they were in charge of paying household bills. On both of these measures there was a strong correlation with self-defined Jewish identity confirming the expected link between religious and family lifestyles: the more religiously traditional women were more likely to report traditional household roles. On the other hand, where 'executive' decisions are concerned (e.g. deciding how to spend household money) the predominant arrangement is for equal sharing between spouses; 67% of respondents reported this.

Table 2: Household roles according to category of Jewish identity

	Respondents who are mainly responsible for	
	Domestic jobs/cleaning	Paying bills
	%	%
Secular	61	32
Non-Orthodox	66	23
Traditional	83	21
Strictly Orthodox	88	19
N =	327	326

The pattern of sharing is carried through to ways in which women feel child-rearing tasks *should be* shared. Only in shopping for children's clothes (70%) and showing children how to keep kosher (54%) did the majority of women support the idea of the mother being responsible. Other tasks such as teaching children to swim, looking after sick children and taking boys and girls to synagogue regularly were perceived as shared responsibilities, re-inforcing a wish for partnership in marriage, at least when children are involved.

Attitudes towards women working are similarly sharply formed. As Table 3 opposite and Figure 2 on page 52 show, it appears to be in order to work full-time if there are no children of school age at home, and to work part-time when the youngest has started school. There is also some support among synagogue-affiliated for working part-time when there are children under school age (42% of all synagogue members). As might be expected with higher proportions of divorcees and other singles, unaffiliated women are readier to accept the idea that mothers with young children can work full-time. The difference may reflect in combination the lower experience of motherhood among the unaffiliated and the higher proportion of divorcees, who may have at some time had no choice but to work, regardless of their children's ages.

Table 3: Agreement that it is in order to work

	Respondents agreeing it is in order to work		
	Orthodox	Progressive	Unaffiliated
	%	%	%
After marrying but before there are children			
Full-time	91	99	96
Part-time	9	1	2
Not at all	-	-	1
After the children leave home			
Full-time	87	96	97
Part-time	12	4	2
Not at all	1	-	-
N=	192	151	215

The table and the figures also show the variations in attitude of Orthodox and Progressive synagogue members which are discussed below, but the over-riding feeling is of a similarity in attitude across the groups.

Among all synagogue women the age-related pattern found for role preference is maintained as regards attitudes to working-mothers. All women under 40 agreed

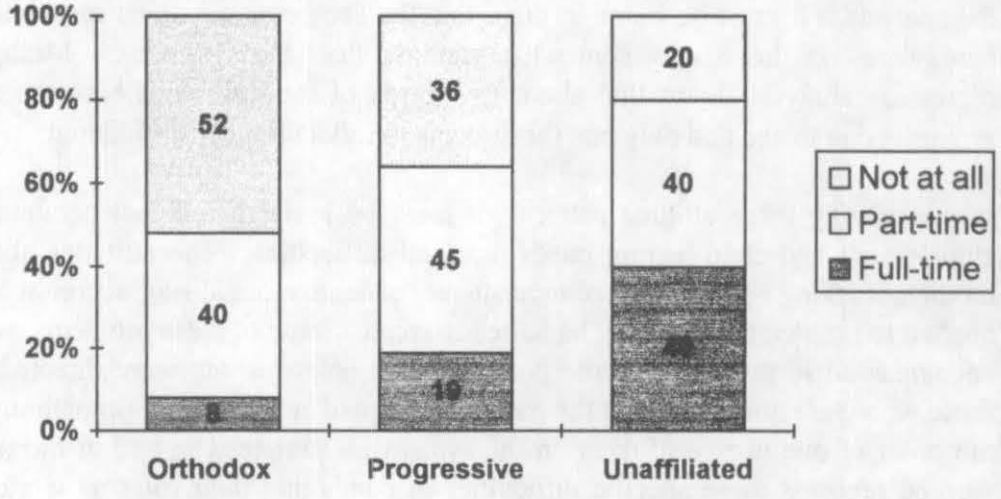


Figure 1: Agreement that it is in order to work when there is a child under school age

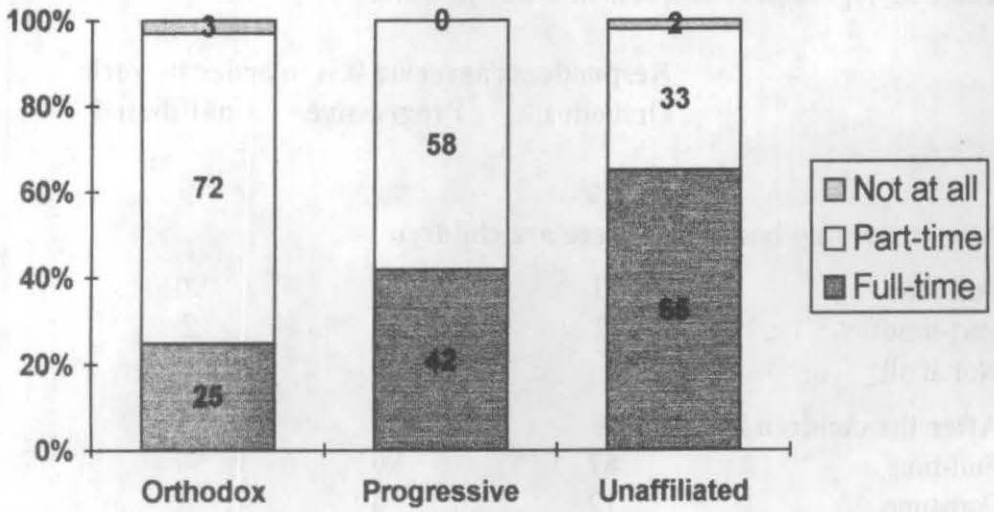


Figure 2: Attitudes to mother working after the youngest child starts school

that women should work before having children and more than 95% agreed it was generally a good idea for them to work full-time once the children had left home, as opposed to only 85% of over 50s who felt this way. Progressive women as a group were readier to accept the idea of full-time work when there were children at home. 19% (as against 8% of Orthodox) would work full-time when there was a child under school age and 42% (compared with 25% Orthodox) accepted full-time working after the youngest child starts school. These comparisons hold even when Strictly Orthodox women are excluded from the analysis. It must be borne in mind that the Progressive women responding here were, on the whole, somewhat younger than the Orthodox. Multiple regression analysis shows that about two-thirds of the difference between the groups is due to age and only one third seems to reflect religious affiliation.

In considering these attitude patterns, it must be remembered that combining employment and child-rearing raises practical difficulties. The attitudes about mothers working could therefore indicate respondents rationalising action in fact applied to problems which they had already faced. Some of these problems were encompassed in the four specific points set out below which were directed at those who were now, or had in the past been, in paid employment. Something in the order of one in five of those in the synagogue sample who had in the past worked reported these specific difficulties in combining their roles as workers and mothers. Among those currently with a job this proportion increased to almost one in four. Geffen Monson (1987:16) addresses this issue among Jewish women on the way up in the United States and delineates 'staggering'

(leaving jobs and returning later) or 'juggling' (making use of child-minders to work part- full-time) as ways in which women cope with being a working mother. She suggests that synagogues and community centres have a role to

Table 4: Employment problems experienced by affiliated respondents who have ever worked

	Synagogue women at present	
	Without a job	With a job
	%	%
Arranging affordable child-care	12	22
Getting children to after-school activities	7	24
Finding a job which fits in with school hours	18	23
Making school holiday plans which fit in with work	13	25
N=	105	197

play in meeting this need, e.g. in the provision of child-care. While our data indicate relatively low levels of difficulty this may be because, for example, our respondents restricted themselves in their employment (by either mechanism suggested above) so that they do not confront the issues.

The only other significant problem affecting synagogue affiliates related to finding a job which used their qualifications: 22% had this difficulty, while 18% complained about lack of promotion. These complaints and those associated with child-care are not specific to Jewish women, nor indeed to women only. Our data suggest that, for those who had ever worked, Jewish issues were not very important in the work situation: only 29% said that antisemitism had been a problem for them. However, for 49% finishing early for Shabbat/festivals was a difficulty. This figure may, of course, underestimate the problem because women did not ask for this accommodation from employers.

Women as Carers

It is chiefly women who look after sick or incapacitated family members; be it their children or their parents. The difference nationally between the

proportions of men and women who are carers is not very marked. However, since there are more women than men in the British population, the *number* of women carers is considerably larger and this pattern can be expected to hold for the British Jewish community. (OPCS, 1992)

The generation of women now in middle-life are, as a group, the first to be confronted with caring for both young and old, perhaps simultaneously, over a protracted time period. Nationally, 27% of married women aged 45-64 are carers. (OPCS, 1992). They are also likely to be mothers. This dual role comes as government social welfare policies are being directed towards Care in the Community, itself increasingly recognised as care by women in the community. Illness and the need to care, either as a sole- or joint- carer, affect family life. As an indication of the extent to which the average Jewish women has to cope with both these situations, respondents were first asked whether they had experienced, either themselves or in their family, a series of ailments or disabilities to which they had had to adapt. These are listed below. It can be

Table 5: Experience of illness among affiliated women

	Respondents with	
	Personal experience	**Family experience**
	%	%
Stroke	3	20
Psychiatric Illness	4	15
Alzheimer's	2	12
Disabled child	2	4
Cancer	8	35
Depression	17	22
Eating disorder	3	4
N =	1125	1125

seen here that over one-third of the synagogue women have had a family member suffer from cancer and approximately one-fifth have experienced stroke or depressive illness in their family. Furthermore, 17% have themselves suffered from depression. Secondly, on questioning, 6% of the sample (compared with 17% of the total British female population) defined themselves as having to care for someone: given the high proportions of the elderly in British Jewry it might have been expected to be higher. While the numbers are too small to do other

than hint at a pattern, it seems that in the main carers were responsible for someone in their home or nearby, and they usually looked after one person who was most often over 78 years old. There are only two cases of younger people or children requiring carers. Most of this very small group of carers had practical support such as home-help or recourse to a day centre.

The degree of caring which synagogue members may be called upon to provide in the future is indicated by looking at their sense of responsibility to their parents. 30% of synagogue members noted that, either alone (6%) or with others (24%), they were responsible in some way for the care or welfare of parents. Presumably those who share caring with someone else did not define themselves as carers in response to the more general question.

The majority of the remaining 70% expected to become responsible in this way as their parents become older. This could involve some reorganisation of their or their parents' lives as one-third of respondents lived in a different town, and one-tenth a different country, from their parents. The number of the unaffiliated group who were carers was too small to permit viable analysis but, from the little there is, similar patterns seem possible.

Being a Volunteer

Table 6. Volunteer activity according to synagogue affiliation

	Affiliated	**Unaffiliated**
	%	%
Respondent who works in:		
Jewish organisation	74	33
Non-Jewish organisation	26	40
Both	-	26
N =	181	98

Caring for elderly parents is a *mitzvah*, and a long-established value in the community. Volunteering is, perhaps, its communal equivalent and, in its widely-defined forms from visiting the house-bound to organising the school Parent-Teacher Assocation, is a way of caring for or about others who may not be related to you. For the sub-sample asked (N= 362) exactly half the synagogue members and 46% of the (214) unaffiliateds do some type of

volunteer work. Involvement in this work is not significantly related to age, income or level of Jewish education, each of which might be expected to affect 'activity'. There were 279 volunteers; and as can be seen from the table opposite among synagogue members, three-quarters worked for Jewish causes and the remainder for non-Jewish organisations. One third of the unaffiliated were active in a Jewish cause or organisation and 40% in a non-Jewish. One quarter were active in both.

While for synagogue members the proportions of those under 30 volunteering are low, at all ages above this at least half the women said they acted as volunteers in some way, and two-thirds of those aged 51-60 did so. Moreover, among women in employment 46% volunteered and most noteworthy, 40% of those in full-time work did so. For the unaffiliated, higher proportions of those under 40 volunteered but the percentage of working women who did so was lower, reflecting the fact that most of this group worked full-time rather than part-time.

Of those not currently working outside the home, 53% of housewives and 65% of those retired said they volunteered. As a reflection of both the older average age of women in the Regions and as evidence of a strong communal concern among that group, 58% were found to be volunteers compared with 44% of women living in the Greater London area; Orthodox and Progressive women were equally likely to volunteer.

Volunteers can give a little time or a great deal of time to causes and organisations. The amount of time each person gave to being a volunteer ranged from one hour to 80 hours a month. However, both affiliated and unaffiliated spent on average about 12 hours a month volunteering. Synagogue members were asked if they had been offered training as a volunteer and 29% confirmed that they had. There appears to be some demand for such training as 38% of these synagogue-affiliated volunteers said they would welcome training, or extra training if they had already been trained.

Sources of help

In addition to requiring support as providers of care, women need help in a variety of day-to-day situations. For most of these, the community has a support system but this is not always (well-) known to women and therefore they do not always make use of Jewish organisations. In order to assess the extent to which Jewish and general organisations were used, one set of respondents was asked if they had approached any organisation for help in the past two years. Only 15%

of the 372 sub-sample had done so. This topic was examined in greater depth with a sub-sample of affiliated women and with all the unaffiliateds. They were asked if they had sought help for a number of problems in the past 12 months and, if so, whether that help was requested from a Jewish or more general body. The areas for which help was sought are given in the table below. Synagogue members more often looked for help in personal counselling and for problems relating to the old. In comparison, in addition to counselling issues, unaffiliated sought help with money and work. (Numbers are too small to permit analysis of sub-groups).

It can be seen from the figures below that for all except drug/alcohol related problems and those to do with caring for old people, less of the affiliated sought help than did the unaffiliated. This is particularly so in respect of personal and family problems, finance and employment. While the difference in working profile can account for the discrepancy for the two latter issues, the differences in proportions seeking help for a personal/family problem is less easily explained. However some link with marital status is indicated in both groups, and differences in marital status account for half the variation between affiliated and unaffiliated respondents. It is also interesting that the unaffiliated women

Table 7: Respondents seeking help for specified problems

	Affiliated	**Unaffiliated**
	%	%
Problem		
Financial	6	18
Drug/Alcohol	1	1
Employment	6	17
Adoption		1
Personal/family counselling	12	34
Children/teenagers	5	9
Old person	9	8
Educational special needs	4	5
N =	373	225

seek help more frequently. This could be an effect of the way in which the group was drawn up, e.g. the higher level of business and professional women in that group may have been particularly affected by the recession and the problems attendant on it. Conversely, it may suggest that women with problems feel that the community has no place for them or cannot afford the fees and so do not join synagogues.

The numbers seeking help for each specified problem were, overall, too small to permit analysis of where help was sought or whether particular sub-groups sought help. However, for the women seeking counselling (actual numbers: 44 affiliated and 76 unaffiliated) about one quarter in each group went solely to Jewish organisations, and one-fifth to both Jewish and non-Jewish resources.

Health

In the course of the Review, the Family Issues Task Force became aware that some women felt ill-informed about certain basic health matters. However, there were no hard health data for the community nor statistics on what Jewish women know about basic health matters and how they attempt to deal with these issues. Furthermore, anecdotal evidence suggested that women in the community needed information both for life-cycle related events and with respect to general issues which might be faced in the course of raising a family or planning one's own life.

Health is also particularly a woman's concern because there are certain illness which affect women more than men. This in turn affects family life. One specific area of concern is depressive illness to which women are more susceptible. While direct national medical data on incidence of such illness is not readily available, indirect light is given by admission rates to hospitals. Here we find that women are more than twice as likely to be admitted to hospital with depressive psychosis than are men. Similarly women seem to suffer more from disorders associated with low self-esteem, such as anorexia.

In an effort to provide some basic facts, synagogue affiliated respondents were asked if they had ever felt the need for certain types of information and, if so, whether they had contacted someone for it. A shortened list of the matters of concern was given to the unaffiliated women and, as can be seen from the table opposite, the order of need for advice on these issues (as judged by the proportion wanting information) is similar for the two groups and there are, for the most part, no significant differences in these proportions. The exception is that more of the younger, unaffiliated group (47% as against 26% of the affiliated) had wanted information about Pre-Menstrual Tension and diet. Moreover, although abortion, HIV/AIDS and sexual orientation ranked low on each group's list, more unaffiliateds had wanted information on these topics. This mirrors the younger, less-married make-up of the group. The numbers answering these questions did not permit comparison across all four Jewish identity groups but it is possible to compare the Non-Orthodox and

Table 8: Respondents wanting information on specified health-related topics

	Affiliated %	Unaffiliated %
Contraception/birth control	74	*
Healthy Diet	49⊗	67
Menopause	48	43
Menstruation	38	*
Pre-menstrual Tension	26	47
Infertility	20	29
Abortion	18	27
Sex education	10	*
HIV/AIDS	9	19
Sexual orientation	4	13
* = not asked		
N =	362	225
except ⊗ N = 752		

Traditional categories. Overall the order shown in the table above is maintained except that Non-Orthodox women ranked the need for advice on abortion above the need for information about infertility.

Furthermore, 30% of the Non-Orthodox compared with 42% of Traditional women had wanted information on menstruation. As this particular option was not presented to the unaffiliated women we are observing a difference in social behaviour between different identity groups *within* the synagogue affiliated community.

The desire for information need not, of course, give rise to an attempt to obtain that information. However, in both the affiliated and non-affiliated groups almost everyone who wanted information, on whatever subject, contacted someone for it, and on the whole found the information obtained to be broadly useful. It would appear that both synagogue and unaffiliated women, and co-terminously women across all identity categories, know how to obtain information when they need it. This is particularly the case on topics relating to control of their own bodies as shown by the high-ranking given to birth-control and maintaining a healthy diet. There is no picture of very widespread difficulty in seeking, obtaining and using information about health care among our samples. The data indicate that both synagogue and formally unaffiliated women are in charge of those areas of their lives about which they were asked.

Summary

The majority of respondents were currently or had been married. The marriages had taken place in a synagogue and were life-long commitments. Only 7% were outside this traditional pattern and the norm was re-inforced by both attitudes to children and experience of childbirth. Even those women who had not yet borne children expressed the desire to have them in the future, but did not feel pressure into having children.

Attitudes towards family roles and task-sharing were less stereotyped although there is still the feeling that women are mainly responsible for general domestic jobs. Child-rearing practices are regarded as responsibilities to be shared between parents.

Those mothers who work reported some difficulty in reconciling the demands of work and motherhood but these problems were not of a specifically Jewish nature.

The proportion of respondents (6%) defining themselves as sole carers of a relative was below the national average, but was augmented by the 24% of affiliated women who felt themselves responsible with some-one else for a parent's welfare. Strikingly, all respondents felt they would be called upon to care in this way at some time in the future but show low levels of knowledge of the extent of Jewish communal welfare provision which would be of help to them.

Approximately half the respondents did voluntary work in some capacity, with affiliated women being more likely to help with a Jewish activity. Some volunteers would appreciate further training in their role.

ASPECTS OF SINGLENESS

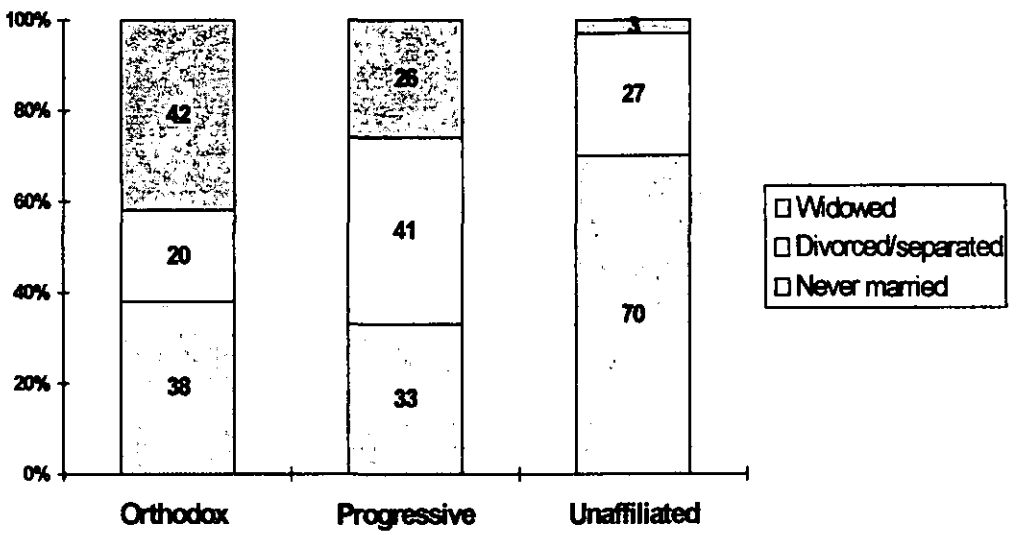
British Society, in common with western urban civilisations as a whole, is experiencing remarkable changes in patterns of marriage. For example, 80% of women born in 1940 were married by the time they reached their 25th birthday, while for women born in 1967 only 44% were married at age 25 (Haskey, 1990: p27). These trends are especially challenging to Jewish communities because historically they have experienced a higher incidence of marriage and lower levels of divorce than the populations among which they found themselves (DellaPergola, 1989). As part of this international Jewish pattern, the British Jewish community has placed a high value on marriage, and concomitantly reproduction. It is therefore unsurprising that women who remain unmarried at ages when they would heretofore have been mothers, together with women who find themselves single again following divorce or early widowhood, often feel that the established Jewish community has no place for them. This feeling of alienation came through strongly from those who participated in the Chief Rabbi's Review, and was articulated particularly intelligently by young professional women. As a group they recognised from the outset that their own experiences were selective but felt that they were not atypical.

The discussion that follows sets out the attitudes of a group combining many different types of "singles". It covers views on their own situation and their perceptions of how the community reacts to them. It is important in this context to note that many synagogue and unaffiliated women who are currently single reported that they are contented with this state. Over half the synagogue group and 39% of the unaffiliated agreed that "I am single because I want to be" but, unsurprisingly, divorcees were most likely to disagree (47% of affiliated divorcees disagreed with the statement).

Who are the singles

In the earlier description of marital status it was noted that 84% of synagogue respondents were currently married or living with a partner and that the remaining 16% of women were divided almost equally between those who had never married, were divorced, separated or widowed. In total this combined group of those not currently married or in a stable relationship numbered 176 persons, 103 Orthodox and 73 Progressive. For the unaffiliated, just under half were at present married or cohabiting with 36% never married. In total the number of unaffiliateds at present single was 110.

Figure 1: Marital status of those currently single, percentages



The most striking element in the figure above is the very high proportion of unaffiliateds who, to date, have not married. This can partly be accounted for by the way in which the group was enrolled [see Methodology]. It also to an extent reflects the age difference in the two samples as the affiliated singles are on average 12 years older than the unaffiliated; but regression analysis shows that age only accounts for about 10% of this difference in marital status. The lower marriage incidence may also be symptomatic of the unaffiliateds' rejection of, or sense of being rejected by, the synagogue-linked core of British Jewry.

The distinction between these groups of singles is maintained when their employment patterns are compared: 54% of affiliated as against 76% of unaffiliated have jobs. And for those in work 65% of affiliated compared with 84% of unaffiliated work full-time. Furthermore, the unaffiliated group is London-based, while the affiliated contains 48% from the Regions. The affiliated group has 59% mainstream Orthodox women and 42% Progressive; with the Orthodox women more frequently being widows (41% as against 20% for all affiliated singles). However, in terms of identity this sub-group of single synagogue members is for the most part centrist in its commitment: 47% were Non-Orthodox and 39% Traditional with only 8% Secular and 6% Strictly Orthodox.

The unaffiliated singles are overall more Secular with 30% so defining themselves and 44% being Non-Orthodox, with 24% and 2% in the Traditional and Strictly Orthodox categories respectively. The separate samples therefore on balance represent two stages of a communal life-cycle. The first stage is shown by a young unaffiliated group who may yet become part of the formalised community, and the second by the older more Orthodox group which now relates to community as 'newly-single' following widowhood or perhaps divorce.

The wish to marry

The difference in life cycle position is reflected in the proportions of each group who are looking for partners. Of the younger, unaffiliated group, 96% were looking for a partner compared with 68% of the older affiliated. Among those looking for a partner, 28% of the unaffiliateds but 45% of affiliated thought it very important that their partner was Jewish. Respondents clearly had problems with meeting partners. Just under two-thirds of affiliated singles reported difficulties in meeting suitable Jewish partners. They particularly dislike singles' clubs, and complain of social and geographical isolation from the community and "having to socialise in a very small world."

To the more general question "Do you have difficulty in meeting suitable partners", 85% of unaffiliated singles answered affirmatively. That these difficulties included problems of meeting suitable *Jewish* partners is indicated by unprompted, written-in comments such as "Jewish activities .... assume that single people of all ages enjoy discos". Nevertheless, the Jewishness of their partner was completely unimportant for only 7% of affiliated and 2% of unaffiliated.

These problems can lead those wishing to meet partners to turn to the world in which they live their daily working-lives. Thus, despite the importance both groups place on having a Jewish partner (73% of each group felt it was important), 20% of unaffiliated and, strikingly, 41% of affiliated singles *who wanted* a partner had at some time looked for somebody non-Jewish. In the event, unaffiliated singles were much more likely actually to have had an interfaith relationship; 71% of them compared with 44% of affiliateds had done so. Where relationships with non-Jews had ended, they were for broadly similar reasons, which were not dependent on the synagogue status of the woman, and related mainly to personality and other questions of compatibility. For unaffiliated women, the comments they give suggest that issues relating to child-rearing caused them to rethink interfaith relationships while for the affiliated, parental pressure was mentioned as a factor. However, despite these

considerations, women appear prepared nowadays to look more widely for a partner.

For those who are actively seeking a partner or "feel it would be OK if they met someone", there are a wide range of Jewish and general organisations, events and processes of which they can make use. These range from the traditional *shadchan* to its modern equivalent, the computer-dating agency. No respondent had consulted a *shadchan* nor did any person report an introduction as having been effected by a Rabbi. The number of affiliated singles availing themselves of introduction services or facilities in the past 12 months was too low to permit analysis, but the replies from the 62 unaffiliated women show that Jewish singles groups and events are used widely. However comments on the questionnaires such as "Jewish singles activities are on the whole aimed at rather brash people" suggest this usage is with reservations. General interest groups such as sports and hobby groups are the second most popular means for meeting potential partners. Commercial agencies, both Jewish and general, were used by one-quarter of those giving an answer and slightly more than this have placed adverts in the introduction columns of the Jewish press.

As we stressed in the discussion on Family and Social Issues, patterns of marriage and family formation are changing rapidly in Britain. However, the indications are that young people are postponing rather than rejecting marriage (Kiernan, 1989: p33). The responses of single women in our study confirm this view. It would appear also that for most young Jewish singles, the desire to be married is strong but if suitable Jewish partners do not present themselves women do not restrict their search for a partner to within the community.

Being Single Again

Differences in the life-expectancy of men and women are such that most married/partnered women are likely to face life alone at the end of their years. Within British Jewry, 16% of men compared with 22% of women are aged 70 and over. In absolute round numbers in 1993 there were some 21,000 Jewish men over 70 as against 33,000 Jewish women. Furthermore, the incidence of divorce in middle-life leaves additional numbers of women alone because men are more likely than women to remarry after divorce, and at that stage to marry younger women. The older a women is on divorce the less likely she is to remarry (Ermisch, 1989; p 51). For Jewish women this difficulty is compounded because on remarriage Jewish men are more likely than are Jewish women to take non-Jewish partners (see chapter on Intermarriage).

From those women in our sample who have married more than once, there are suggestions that women are now also turning to the outside world. While 90% of the total synagogue-affiliated had married a Jew at first marriage, only 74% of those who had remarried had done so to a Jew. Numbers are too small to permit a discussion of differences between Orthodox and Progressive women or between the different identity groups. Unaffiliateds, who were more likely in the first instance to have taken a non-Jewish partner (here only 60% had married a Jew on first marriage) also showed this trend; of those who remarried only 46% did so within the faith.

Becoming single again is a time of trauma. However, while there are no recognised *rites de passage* for divorcees, the community through *Shiva* and accompanying services in the home has historically-recognised mechanisms for helping people on bereavement, in this case on widowhood. The group of affiliated singles included 62 widows; 51 of them gave details about all types of help they had received from the community at the time of their loss. This is a time when a synagogue member, if not every Jew, should be able to turn to the community for assistance and support. Thus, while all 51 were supported by their families, additionally half reported help from their synagogue and 48% from a burial society which, the data suggest, interchanged with the synagogue as port-of-call at this time. At a personal, rather than an institutional level, 34% had been helped by a Rabbi and 28% by a doctor. There was little recourse to either Jewish or general welfare and counselling services.

This link with synagogues is confirmed by the majority of all widows (affiliated and unaffiliated together) denying the idea that being single in some way excludes people from the synagogue. While a quarter of them personally felt strangers in the synagogue, when asked about who synagogues serve, only 22% agreed or agreed strongly that "synagogues are mainly for families: unmarried people feel excluded". There is some overlap between those who feel strangers and those who feel excluded, but numbers are too small to confirm a significant correlation. It would appear therefore that the present generation of widows, who were brought up traditionally do not feel isolated from synagogue life - whether or not they formally affiliate.

Divorce and Single Parenthood

As we suggested above, divorcees are not afforded a formal opportunity to mourn the end of a (perhaps long-lasting) marriage. Also they may have to support children at a time of emotional crisis and readjustment, which will add to their stress. The sample of synagogue members contained 51 women at present

divorced or separated. Of these, 88% had been divorced once, 7% more than once and 5% were separated. Of those who had been divorced, 37% had received a *get* and 35% had not, but the numbers involved are too small to do other than suggest ratios. For the remainder, *get* was not needed as the husband had not been Jewish.

The numbers of divorcees, and particularly of divorced parents, in each group are too small to analyse in depth and raw data are used here only to draw a general picture. 47 affiliated and 19 unaffiliated were raising a child by themselves, as were another 13 women, either because of widowhood or not having married. They did so with the emergency back-up of parents and friends or relations but only very infrequently with the help of their children's father. Where there had been a divorce in which a custody order was involved[1], custody was almost always given to the woman with just a few cases of joint custody. Consequently children lived with their mother except where they were now older and had their own homes.

Contact with the ex-partner was more regular for affiliateds than for the very small group of unaffiliateds. Fathers were not generally helpful in any practical aspects of child rearing, even though, for the affiliated group, there seems to have been some financial support. From the Jewish perspective, it is disturbing that fewer fathers helped on Jewish matters such as *Bar/Bat Mitzvah* than were concerned about general education. This could, be because there were financial considerations with general education or because, for the unaffiliateds, the ex-husband was not Jewish.

The very few (under 2%) affiliated and unaffiliated divorcees reporting their financial situation fall into two groups - those for whom finance has never been a serious problem and others for whom it has been a long-standing difficulty. Difficulties do not seem to have started within the past year as a result of the recession. There is, however, a slight indication that financial considerations mean 'mother holds back'. She may restrict personal expenditure and forego what for others are modern "necessities". The highest reported "difficulty (which) has existed for years" was in affording subscriptions to a personal organisation or interest group. Where there is financial difficulty it affects Jewish and general expenditures equally.

These patterns are very tentative for two reasons. Firstly, the numbers involved are tiny and, secondly, to permit interpretation the question asked respondents "to allow for any financial help" they may have had. We have no way of

[1] i.e. before the Children's Act 1992 came into force

knowing what help respondents obtained, except to suggest that it was not widely from fathers. On the other hand even within this largely middle-class group there are indications of hardship even when financial help is allowed for. However, without the proviso, we could not have known if respondents themselves made the allowance and would not have been able to evaluate the responses even to the small degree that is here possible.

Single Women in the Community

The accusation "The community has no place for me as a single woman" was frequently heard in the course of the Review and is often repeated in different aspects of communal activity. It is a stark starting point for discussion of single women's attitudes towards the community.

First, we examine to what extent our sample of women agree with this statement. At the same time, since so often "the community" is confounded with "the synagogue" we look at the responses from all singles together to the question of whether the synagogue is for families.

The figures overleaf show the very strong differences between our two groups of singles. On the whole affiliated singles (as one might expect) consider they have a place in the community and are comfortable in the synagogue. Nevertheless, 20% are unhappy and a further 20% are "not sure". The non-affiliateds support the opinions and concerns expressed by the Review.

The pattern for each group holds good when their age structure and marital status is considered. It is further maintained when the religious affiliation is taken into account but there are differences between those in the London area and in the Regions.

Women outside London are less likely to feel the community has no place for them (66% disagreed with the statement). This may be because Regional communities are smaller and more willing to find a place for anyone who wishes to be involved. London communities are often larger and more self-sufficient so newcomers are expected to push themselves. It may also explain why, when empanelling unaffiliated women for the study, some indicated they felt part of the (often Regional) family community to which they returned for the festivals, particularly High Holydays - and so had not joined a London synagogue. Affiliated London singles, feel less at home in the synagogue than the affiliated as a whole. Their responses suggest their attitudes lie between those of the total affiliated and the non-affiliated who, as we have seen are mainly London-based.

Figure 2a: Percentage agreement and disagreement with the statement "The Jewish community has no place for me as a single woman", broken down by synagogue affiliation

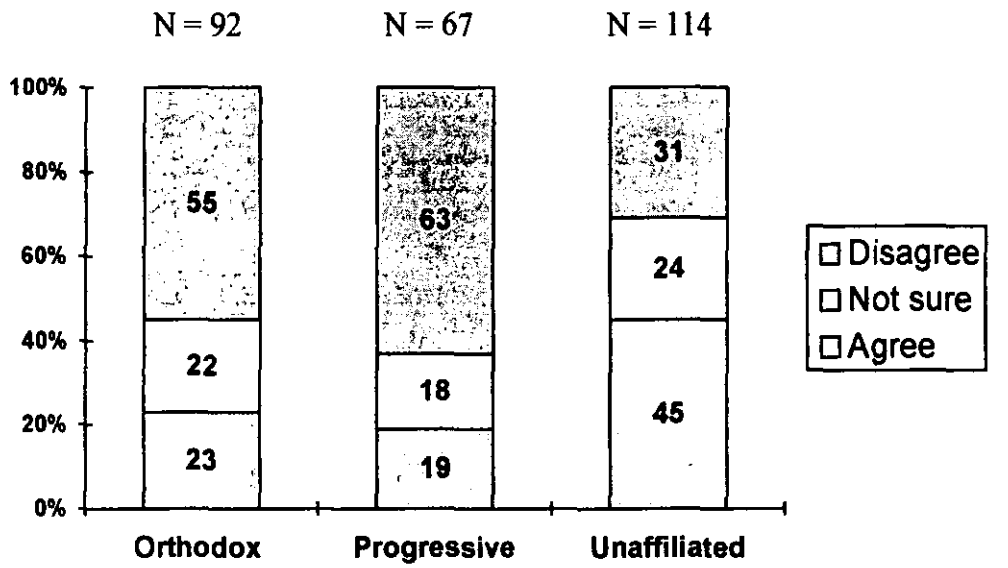
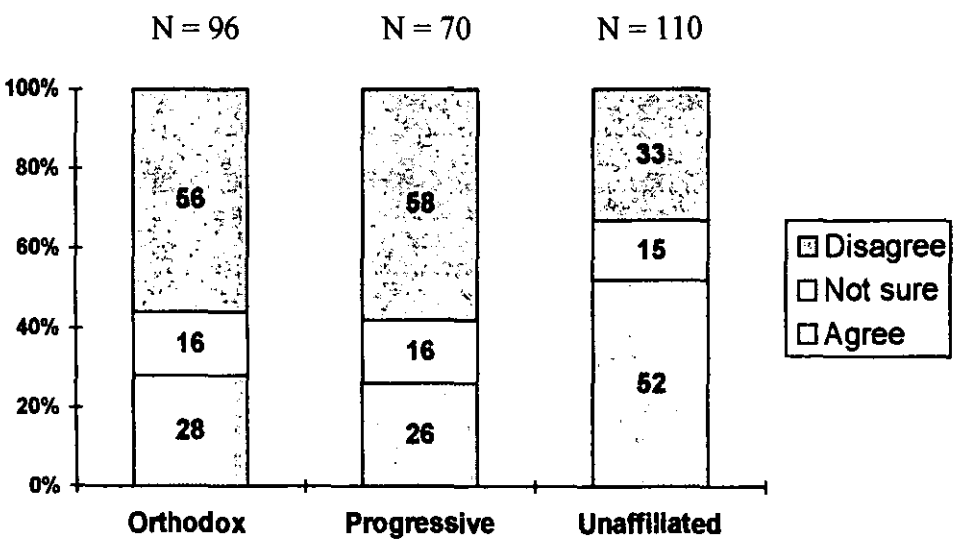


Figure 2b: Percentage agreement and disagreement with the statement "Synagogues are mainly for families; unmarried people feel excluded", broken down by synagogue affiliation



There are similar differences in perceptions of the place of singles in the synagogue. One third of London affiliated singles feel that synagogues are mainly for families while only one-fifth of Regional singles feel that way. In a situation where London synagogues account for more than two-thirds of national membership and where in recent years the search for education and/or employment has brought young people to London, it appears that both the collection of congregations which forms the London community - and each individual who is part of it - need to re-appraise behaviour towards strangers. This adjustment appears to be urgently required since both affiliateds and non-affiliateds consider that society at large is more welcoming to singles than is the Jewish community: 49% of the currently-single affiliateds and 66% of unaffiliateds feel that way.

When the singles groups are enlarged to take in the additional women who were single over a period of years in the past, the picture is yet more marked: 54% of affiliated and 69% of unaffiliated women who are now or have been single found the Jewish community less welcoming than society at large. Again, women in the Regions have more positive views of community. In a time when the first move away from home coincides with entry into adulthood and independence for very many young Jews, the strength of this perception must be taken as a stern warning.

The socio-demographic analysis shows that the affiliated regional sample was older than the London affiliated and this holds good for the affiliated singles. If we link this age difference to the attitudinal pattern we may be delineating a generation effect with regard to these perceptions of community with the younger, London-based singles being more jaundiced in their views. This becomes a very strong possibility when the question of community continuity is considered. Single respondents were asked whether they agreed that "People who do not marry by the time they are 30 are seen as a threat to the future of the community.": 12% of the affiliated singles agreed or strongly agreed, while significantly 39%, more than three times as many, unaffiliated singles did so. If we accept that agreement or otherwise with an opinion is based on experience, this striking difference seems to reflect the different worlds of the older affiliateds who are no longer pressured about marriage and the younger unaffiliateds who are. Furthermore, 48% of affiliated singles and 68% of the unaffiliated agreed that "In the Jewish community single people are pressured into marriage", and here again affiliated singles in the London area are between the two extremes.

When 39% of unaffiliated singles and 51% of the older, affiliated singles agree that "I am single because I want to be" such perceptions of pressure (whether or

not correctly perceived) can indeed only serve to alienate singles and turn them away from a community which appears to criticise their lifestyle to the more welcoming world "out there". It is tempting to hypothesise that the charge that some singles direct against the community projects their own rejection of it.

Summary

The chapter described the social profile of respondents not currently married. It examined their attitudes towards their own singleness and their perceptions of the Jewish community's reaction to the non-married.

While being single was, for the most part, a state with which these respondents reported being content, predictably, divorcees were unhappy at not being married.

Affiliated singles feel that the community has a place for them while the non-affiliateds' attitudes reflect the disaffection which keeps them from joining synagogues. These women generally feel that the Jewish community is less welcoming to singles than is society at large.

The social characteristics of the unmarried suggested two stages in a life-cycle : younger persons not yet married and older women who had been married in the past. These two positions are reflected in the attitudes of the groups and in their wish (or otherwise) to meet partners. Jewish singles groups and events are widely used as a means of meeting partners but there is great dissatisfaction with the Jewish singles 'scene'.

While historically men have been inclined to marry outside the community, the data indicate that women are now also widening their search for partners, especially on re-marriage. Where there has been a divorce of two Jews, the wife is as likely as not to have received a *get*. Although there is no indication of a widespread incidence of single-parenthood, where there has been a divorce fathers do not seem to be involved in their children's Jewish upbringing.

The community, through its burial societies and synagogues, appears to be totally supportive at the time of bereavement. For the older women who have had this experience, their reliance on these traditional institutions is confirmed by their denial of feeling isolated from synagogal life.

There are suggestions of a residential/generational pattern with regard to singles' perceptions whereby younger, London-based singles are more critical of the community.

INTERMARRIAGE

Marriage between two Jews, under the *chupah*, is more than simply the joining of two persons, or two families. It is an affirmation of belonging to the community, to the Jewish polity.[1] In contrast, intermarriage - strictly the marriage between a Jew and a non-Jew who has not converted to Judaism - has been perceived historically as a rejection of community, of Judaism. Such inter-faith marriages occur more frequently as a community becomes more settled in a country (NJPS, 1991), and particularly where the host society presents no barriers to social integration (Goldscheider & Zuckerman, 1984). These changes in practice suggest an accompanying shift in the attitudes of the average Jew.

In the absence of direct studies of intermarriage in Britain, as a starting point we must look at the existing data on synagogue marriage patterns and at the indirect light these throw on the issue. In the 1960s approximately two out of every three bachelors and spinsters of marriageable age came to be married in a synagogue (Prais & Schmool, 1968) but by the late 1980s only one in the three had a synagogue wedding (Schmool, 1991). This means a decline over 30 years of just under 50% in the proportion of those eligible who actually marry in a synagogue. While part of this decline comes from Jews participating in the changing marriage and family-formation patterns of western society, such as the increasingly later age of marriage, there is for the community the effect of the added factor of marriages and partnerships with non-Jews. American research has shown the levels which this can reach. Whereas before 1965 only 9% of the married population in America had non-Jewish partners, the National Jewish Population Study there in 1990 showed that for those marrying between 1985-90 57% had married a non-Jew (Goldstein, 1993: p.126). This has been widely taken to suggest that similar levels exist in Britain and has consequently raised fears for the strong continuity of the home community.

Communal patterns of marriage are built up from the individual decisions of men and women; decisions taken as a result of opportunity and attitude. From the point of view of opportunity, women in late 20th century Britain, whether Jewish or gentile, are not generally confined to the home nor are they guarded sexually to the extent they were in the past. In this process of social change, as we have seen in the chapter on Family and Social Issues, society at large is coming to

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[1] 'Life is with People' stresses, the entry "into marriage" as entry into community. See pp 206 ff.

terms with a shift in mores which is sometimes characterised as a breakdown in family cohesion. Within our samples, a very large proportion of young women have experienced higher education and most have been in paid employment outside the home at some time in their lives. Furthermore, women are making households for themselves away from their parental home whether or not they marry. Thus, of single synagogue members under 35, 17% were in single person households and 7% were living with other single adults. Even within that section of the community which has its marriages authorised by the Chief Rabbi's office, there are indications of premarital cohabitation (Schindler, 1993) a result of the increased independence afforded to young people and an outcome of the postponement of marriage. Wider horizons provide an opportunity to meet (non-Jewish) men who are suitable partners in every way except religion. Qualitative data from the Review pointed eloquently to values shared outside religion, which is a point frequently made by interfaith couples at seminars and outreach meetings.

The shift in marriage patterns implies a parallel change in climate of opinion and in personal attitudes. This change has to some extent been brought about by the decline in family size and by extended socialisation processes. In these circumstances, parents with two or three as opposed to six or seven children are able to devote more time, thought and energy to understanding each child and to making that child feel valued for her/himself. This combines with prolonged formal secular education to defer attainment of full independent adulthood until the mid-20s. Since such young adults cannot be treated as "children", there is an extended opportunity for parents to be in contact with and affected by their adult-children's world views.

The change in personal attitudes is discussed below: and here the life experiences of the two samples, particularly as regards their partnerships, are important. The samples are not uniformly "born-Jewish"; 63 (6%) of the 1125 affiliated women (1% Orthodox and 11% of Progressive) and 4 of the 225 unaffiliated said they were raised in another religion and have therefore chosen to be Jewish; they have converted and married-in. These figures suggest that 3.5% of the female, synagogue-affiliated community under age 70 was raised in another religion. Conversely, 114 (10%) of the affiliated and 87 (39%) of the unaffiliated had, if not currently then at some time in their lives, had a non-Jewish partner. Attitudes towards intermarriage in the samples are therefore not based solely on normative expectations but also grow, in these cases, from experience. Where women (and men) are in, or have had, interfaith partnerships, their attitudes to community and their views on the acceptability of intermarriage will be coloured

by how they are treated. The formal institutions and their custodians (rabbis, lay-leaders and professionals) may be understanding or forbidding; family and friends may be accepting, neutral or disapproving. However, it would seem that although parents may initially be only marginally supportive of a non-Jewish daughter/son-in-law, they gradually accept him/her. 40% of participants replying to a questionnaire for Interfaith Couples' seminars held by the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain since 1990[2] reported that parents had originally been supportive, but by the time of the seminars 66% of parents had come to support their child's choice. Where those who intermarry have had to overcome objections, these were especially from older family members. We are delineating here the generational divide noticed in assessing communal attitudes to singles.

Reactions to intermarriage

One response to the growing incidence of intermarriage is fatalism: to take no action; to accept it as an inevitable historical process. And there is a minority of women in the samples who feel this way as can be seen from the table overleaf. In total 28% of all the affiliated group and just over one-quarter of those under age 50 feel this way. On the other hand approximately half the synagogue affiliated and one third of the unaffiliated are not fatalistic - "something can be done".

There is a strong difference in attitude between the two samples and marked variations within the affiliated group. Members of Progressive synagogues (37%) believe more than do members of the Orthodox (20%) that nothing can be done to reduce intermarriage. These proportions are increased by one percent each when those women who were not brought up as Jews are excluded. 25% of London-based women as opposed to 30% of Regional women are of this opinion and, unexpectedly, 25% of those under 50 feel that way compared with 32% of those between 51 and 70.

Belief that something can be done to prevent intermarriage is open to a variety of interpretations. The hypothesis supported by our data is that respondents have in mind personal intervention - "I would do everything possible to prevent my son or daughter marrying a non-Jew". This item has the highest negative correlation with the belief that nothing can be done about intermarriage. Once this item is allowed for the difference between Orthodox and Progressive attitudes

[2] Special calculations, Board of Deputies' Community Research Unit

disappears. However, the attitude will in the first place be affected by communal position.

Table 1: Nothing can be done to reduce the rate of intermarriage

		Respondents who		
		Agree	Are not sure	Disagree
		%	%	%
Synagogue Grouping				
Orthodox	N=631	20	19	60
Progressive	N=467	37	28	36
Unaffiliated	N=220	33	31	35
Identity				
Secular	N=116	53	31	15
Non-Orthodox	N=565	39	28	32
Traditional	N=518	18	20	62
Strictly Orthodox	N=104	4	50	46

When the attitude of the synagogue affiliated is looked at in relation to their levels of Jewish identity, we see that, as the level of observance increases, the level of fatalism (as expressed by agreement with the statement) decreases. Nevertheless, it is important to note that 50% of the Strictly Orthodox have doubts as to whether anything can be done and that the Traditional group are the most hopeful, most often disagreeing with the statement.

Fatalism does not appear to extend to respondents' accounts of their own behaviours. 84% of currently married synagogue members, (and 83% of those at some time married) denied that it was purely by chance that they married a Jew. While there are no regional or age variations for this attitude, there is again a marked difference between Orthodox and Progressive women: 90% of Orthodox compared with 75% of Progressive respondents felt their Jewish marriage had come about by design, and 66% of Non-Orthodox compared with 91% of the Traditional group hold this view.

Removal of converts and those in interfaith relationships from the analysis does not substantially affect this finding. Of this small group of "married-in", 45% agreed that nothing can be done to reduce the rate of intermarriage and their

opinion about their own marriage is consistent with what they feel about the rate of intermarriage. This would, presumably, mirror their personal experiences but the data are not sufficient to do more than hypothesise.

Amongst those singles who had at some time had a non-Jewish partner, this fatalistic (or experientially realistic) assessment is less prevalent. While 39% of

Table 2: If my son or daughter wished to marry a non-Jew I would do everything possible to prevent it

		Agree	Not sure	Disagree
		%	%	%
Synagogue grouping				
Orthodox	N=627	63	19	17
Progressive	N=469	16	22	62
Unaffiliated	N=217	19	18	63
Identity				
Secular	N=117	11	15	74
Non-Orthodox	N=563	27	6	66
Traditional	N=514	63	20	17
Strictly Orthodox	N=103	88	8	4

all singles agreed intermarriage rates cannot be reduced the level of agreement comes down to 25% for those currently single who had been in an interfaith relationship; this is the level for the affiliated sample as a whole.

Preventing Intermarriage

The division of opinion about stemming the tide of intermarriage carries through when we look at whether or not the respondents would themselves act to prevent offspring marrying a non-Jew. Here again the boldest contrast is between affiliated and unaffiliated (70 years old and under) and within the affiliated, between Orthodox and Progressive women. As can be seen from Table 2 above, the more orthodox the group, whether in terms of synagogue affiliation or more particularly identity category, the more they would try to prevent intermarriage within their personal nuclear family. It is unexpected, therefore, that even 4% of the Strictly Orthodox feel that they would *not* take all possible action to stop such an alliance.

Clearly while members of Orthodox synagogues would try hardest to prevent a child's intermarriage, at the other end of the spectrum those few affiliated women raised in another religion had the smallest percentage (8%) agreeing that they would do everything possible to prevent their offspring intermarrying. They were also the most ambivalent as to whether or not they would in fact act: 32% were not sure that they would try to stop a child's intermarriage. Affiliated women who themselves had at some time had a non-Jewish partner have opinions very like those of Progressive women; 14% would take preventative action while only 22% were undecided.

When women who are not currently married are considered as a separate group, it is found that one-third of the affiliated compared with one-fifth of the unaffiliated would try to prevent a child's intermarriage, reflecting the difference noted between the ages of the group and again giving unaffiliateds a profile not dissimilar to that of the Progressive affiliated.

However, the most problematic finding to emerge from this question is that, for every separate group examined except Orthodox synagogue women, over 50% of respondents were either "not sure about" or "disagreed" with a statement which enjoins individual action to prevent intermarriage. When responses to this statement are considered in conjunction with those for the general feeling that nothing can be done to reduce the rate of intermarriage, there seems no doubt that little will be done to ameliorate the situation by means of family-based sanction while individuals are unsure about or against taking action themselves. Of course, this does not mean that communal strategies in other areas will have no effect.

The one sanction women would resoundingly not resort to is that of exclusion from the community. Only among the Orthodox, did more than 3% agree that "a Jew who marries a non-Jew should be cut off from the community" and here the pattern is strongly affected by the responses of strictly observant women from the Stamford Hill, *hassidic* community. Even when this totally observant Orthodox group are included, 85% of Orthodox women disagreed with this type of action and, overall, 90% of affiliated and 96% of unaffiliated were against it. Within the identity groups, 50% of the Strictly Orthodox disagreed with this excommunication, as did 90% of the Traditional group. Solutions other than threats and shunning are clearly required to cater for the sensibilities of respondents; and any fundamentalist reaction would be counterproductive in the light of attitudes towards conversion which are discussed in the next section.

Community Action

At an institutional communal level, intermarriage is an issue because it contributes to the schisms and fragmentation of a community, the bulk of whose members are beginning to define themselves more on ethnic practices and cultural memories than on belief. This poses problems for religious authorities and nowhere do the issues fall more into relief than over conversion, where the different approaches to *halacha* are paramount.

From the community's demographic perspective, conversion may not of itself seem an issue more particular to women. After all, provided a Jewish women keeps (now through generations) documentary proof of her *halachic* status, children of a first marriage or partnership with another Jew will themselves be Jews under *halacha*. For second and consequent marriages/partnerships questions of *get* and *mamzerut* complicate the problem. Nevertheless, although the status of the children of intermarried men creates headlines, as Goldstein has pointed out (1993, p107) conversion is a female issue. It is so because "intermarriages resulting in conversion of the non-Jewish spouse more often involved a Jewish born male whose wife chose Judaism than a Jewish born female whose husband made such a choice". Thus on the one hand a class of women is confronted, on its entry into Judaism, by a major point of conflict in the communal rubric. On the other hand, the number of potential born-Jewish husbands is reduced which means Jewish women are being pushed into two positions: either to stay unpartnered/unmarried or to look for a non-Jewish partner. Each of these is, from a community if not from a personal point of view, less than ideal. In such a situation of demographic imbalance and a choice between Scylla and Charibdys one may expect attitudes towards proselytisation to become more relaxed.

While the majority of synagogue-affiliated Jews in Britain hold to a nominal orthodoxy, there are recent indications (see Chapter on Religious Life) of younger Jews moving towards the Reform and Masorti movements; indications which are supported by the younger age profile of the Progressives in our samples. In addition, the growth in numbers of unaffiliated at younger ages (Haberman & Schmool) may be interpreted as part of this drift away from established *minhag-angliya.*

Although some of the drift is counterbalanced by the *ba'alei teshuvah* movement, the numerical data in Table 3 below suggest an overall disaffection with orthodox standards. There is some request for a lowering of barriers and for the

community (in its broadest sense) to welcome-in those who wish to affiliate to it. We look now at how widespread these demands may be by addressing two issues: should conversion to Orthodox Judaism be made much easier and should Rabbis be more helpful in welcoming non-Jewish partners into the community.

There is no doubt that the majority of women in our study, with the exception of the *harediot*, agree that "Conversion to Orthodox Judaism should be made easier." At least half of every major sub-group distinguished in this report - Regional women, single women, mainstream Orthodox women - agree with this statement. The one group which was not so positive were the *currently single* unaffiliated women, where 49% agree and 32% are not sure about easier conversion to Orthodox Judaism.

Table 3a: Conversion to Orthodox Judaism should be made much easier

		Respondents who		
		Agree	**Are not Sure**	**Disagree**
		%	%	%
Synagogue Grouping				
Orthodox	N = 630	50	15	35
Progressive	N = 462	60	20	20
Unaffiliated	N = 217	50	31	18
Identity				
Secular	N = 114	63	29	9
Non-orthodox	N = 558	58	19	23
Traditional	N = 522	56	17	27
Strictly Orthodox	N = 100	20	8	72

This is the largest degree of indecision in any sub-group. At the other end of the scale, the unaffiliated are less likely to disagree with this point of view than are synagogue members (18% compared with 30%). As can be seen from the table above, the relationships between this attitude to conversion and formal affiliation are underlined by the link between the attitude and level of measured Jewish identity: after excluding the small Secular category, the less Orthodox the group the more accepting of easier conversion.

Table 3b: Rabbis should be helpful in welcoming non-Jewish partners into the community

		Respondents who Agree	Are not Sure	Disagree
		%	%	%
Synagogue Grouping				
Orthodox	N = 636	45	19	36
Progressive	N = 468	81	13	6
Identity				
Secular	N = 45	49	38	13
Non-orthodox	N = 476	79	14	6
Traditional	N = 469	50	21	30
Strictly Orthodox	N = 100	10	9	81

Synagogue women have a similar pattern of feeling about how rabbis should act; but there is a marked difference here between Orthodox and Progressive synagogue members. Taking the synagogue members as a whole, 57% felt rabbis should be more helpful in welcoming non-Jewish partners into the community. However, only 45% of Orthodox members compared with 81% of Progressives felt this way. Those currently single were more inclined than the group as a whole to this view (70%) and while Progressive synagogue members held it most strongly, those with Secular identity patterns were only as likely as Traditional women to feel this way (49% and 50% respectively). Just under one-fifth of the total were undecided on the issue and the remainder (23%) disagreed.

Orthodox may differ from Progressive members because the older Orthodox group holds more to traditional values and expects the rabbi to discourage interfaith partnerships. Perhaps they see the rabbi's disapproval as part of the action to hold back a rising tide. Alternatively, once there has been an *orthodox* conversion, orthodox rabbis may welcome the newcomers and so the problem of non-acceptance does not arise. On the other hand conversion occurred more among the Progressive group and so these women can be expected to have greater direct or indirect experience of how a rabbi acts towards (would-be) congregants. If the rabbi's manner has been unsatisfactory, attitudes will be formed round this perceived lack of welcome.

If we take response levels to the two statements together, we see that affiliated women fall neatly into two groups: the majority who would welcome a more relaxed approach both to conversion and in the authoritative response to partnership with non-Jews; and a substantial minority who would not. Unaffiliated women show slightly less well-defined views but incline towards leniency. The large undecided sector in this second sample and in the Secular group of affiliated women could reflect the fact that both these groups of women do not know what is required under Orthodox (or any other) conversion and hence were reluctant to express an opinion.

The desire for *halachic* accommodation portrayed in these responses is echoed in the opinions as to whether or not it is better to cohabit with a non-Jew rather than marry him. The reaction here, including that of mainstream Orthodox women, is more pronounced than that we found for conversion. Three-quarters of both affiliated and unaffiliated samples disagreed with the statement "If a Jew falls in love with a non-Jew, they should live together rather than get married". Only one in every eight of the samples (12%) agreed with this statement and a similar proportion were undecided. However, there is some ambiguity in the meaning of the responses. An Orthodox respondent disagreeing with the statement may be objecting to both marriage and cohabitation.

Orthodox and Progressive women are at different ends of a continuum in their responses but only 17% of the Orthodox, compared with 6% of Progressive, opted for living together. This indicates firm support (among a group which has overwhelmingly itself married) for marriage as opposed to cohabitation, regardless of religious viewpoint. It is consistent with both historical marriage levels and Jewish belief in marriage as an institution. When viewed in the light of the appeal for less stringent Orthodox conversion, it may be interpreted as a communal wish for cohesion: a nominally orthodox, tradition-oriented community wishes to maintain this type of religious involvement and to bring converts into customs with which they are familiar. However, it must be remembered that, for the most part, these are the views of already-married women, mainly over 40 years of age. Younger women whose attitudes are in the formation stage and who are currently having to make the choices may feel differently; but within our sample, 84% of affiliated women aged 35 and under (whether or not married) preferred marriage with a non-Jew over cohabitation with him.

We proposed above that conversion was a female issue because more women than men go through the process. Research through the 1980s in the United States showed that 77% of converts in Jewish households were women (Lerer &

Mayer, 1993: p176). We suggested also that it is an issue for Jewish-born women because by taking partners of another (or no) faith their potential Jewish spouses remove themselves from the already small marriage pool. A recent article in The Independent on Sunday (10th October 1993) highlighted the national excess of women aged 20-29, i.e. of marriageable age, and suggested this will result in higher levels of singleness for women. Unless Jewish men can be persuaded to look only to the community for partners, the effect will be compounded for Jewish women. If they are only to marry- (or partner-) in, their levels of non-marriage can be expected to be higher than for the population generally.

Since marriage, rather than no marriage, appears to be the aim of most of the women sampled, in such circumstances Jewish women will look outside the community however much they may wish to marry someone Jewish. It is important here to note that three-quarters of the younger, more professional, unaffiliated singles stated a preference for marriage with a non-Jew rather than cohabitation with him; and 49% of that group wish for more relaxed approaches to conversion. This endorsement of marriage appears to be at variance with opinions in the general community. Data for women aged 33 in the National Child Development Study (Ferri, 1993: p26) indicate that 69% of women in this age-cohort feel "it is alright for people to have children without being married". However, in an age which accepts relationships and child-birth outside marriage, younger Jewish women in our study, on the whole, wish to be married and, if attitudes to conversion are an index, wish their families to be in the community.

Continuity

Both partnerships and marriages mean children, the fulfilment of the commandment to be fruitful. This commandment aims to ensure the numerical continuity of the Jewish people. But if you already have children may you be assumed to have made your demographic contribution to the community? And does it then matter if a subsequent spouse is/not Jewish? The question is not facetious and is important at this time of rising divorce rates and serial monogamy. It is morally crucial because, if a mother or father of Jewish children remarries with a non-Jew, s/he is setting a precedent for the Jewish children.

It is therefore significant that when affiliated women were asked how they felt about this situation, just over two-thirds (68%) disagreed with remarriage to a non-Jew once someone has children, 18% were undecided about the issue and only 14% thought it was permissible: the majority see marriage to another Jew as important regardless of whether the issue of having children is involved. As can

be seen in the table overleaf, members of Progressive synagogues are a little more likely to agree with the statement than are Orthodox members. Within the identity categories, while the Secular are predictably most permissive, a marked break comes between the levels of agreement of Non-Orthodox and Traditional women. Non-Orthodox here parallel Progressive synagogue members.

Table 4: Once someone already has children, it doesn't matter if s/he remarries a non-Jew later on

		Respondents who		
		Agree	**Not Sure**	**Disagree**
		%	%	%
Synagogue Grouping				
Orthodox	N = 633	11	16	73
Progressive	N = 448	18	21	62
Identity				
Secular	N = 42	46	17	38
Non-Orthodox	N = 459	19	22	59
Traditional	N = 468	8	17	76
Strictly Orthodox	N = 100	2	4	94

Currently-single affiliated women were slightly less opposed to the concept: 55% disagreed with the idea and 21% of them supported marriage outside the community once child-rearing was excluded. Unaffiliated women were not questioned on this point. The overall unwillingness to countenance remarriage outside the community accords with the majority opinion of particularly the Orthodox and Traditional affiliated that they would do everything possible to prevent a son or daughter marrying out.

Thus whether or not marriage is expected to produce children it should, for synagogue women, be to another Jew. This view is endorsed by the affiliated group through their responses to the statement "Having a Jewish partner is only important if you intend to have children". 86% of this sample disagreed with this opinion and only 9% agreed. There were no differences between the Orthodox and Progressive. However, currently single affiliateds, especially those divorced and separated, were significantly more likely to agree; 18% of the currently divorced did so. For all unaffiliateds the level of acceptance was a little higher

(11%) than for all affiliateds but nevertheless, three-quarters of the group disagreed with the statement.[3]

It would appear, therefore, that for either a first or a subsequent marriage and regardless of whether that marriage will produce offspring, the women in both our samples think that the Jewishness of their partner is important.

Identity and Attitudes to Intermarriage

One would expect opposition to intermarriage to be associated with the basic dimensions of Jewish identity and the educational history of the respondents. Regression analysis showed that four factors - ethnicity, belief, observance and level of Jewish education - are all positively related to opposition to mixed-faith marriages.

An interesting feature of the findings is the relative importance of these factors. For the sample as a whole, and for the Traditional and Non-Orthodox sub-groups, ethnicity is the most powerful predictor of opposition to intermarriage, followed in sequence by observance, belief and Jewish education. This is further evidence for the conclusions reached elsewhere (see Chapter 2) that cognitions and beliefs are less relevant to the maintenance of Jewish identity than are ethnicity and Jewish practice.

Finally, it is therefore worth noting that women have been the standard bearers of ethnicity (Kosmin & Levy, 1983). However, where once the usual pattern of intermarriage was between a Jewish man and a gentile woman (and meant the man was normally cast out of the community) as we have seen that is now not so completely the case: women are intermarrying more than previously. The shift in some attitudes, particularly as regards conversion, reflects this change in practice. Parents today are not ready to terminate relationships with their children (and by implication grandchildren) because the children choose non-Jewish partners. The emotions invested in rearing only one or two children for periods of up to, or in excess of, 20 years render parents unwilling to take such a step. Moreover, in the past the institutional community was prepared to accept the numerical loss of these individuals (and their subsequent families), but it no longer views this course of action with equanimity.

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[3] Considerations of space did not allow us to ask unaffiliated women their view on marriage if there were already children but, from the overall patterns of their views, it is suggested that they would have accepted the premise more than the affiliated group.

Summary

Attitudes towards intermarriage are viewed in the framework of both a firm background of decline in synagogue marriage and the changing patterns of marriage and family formation in western society.

Most respondents find intermarriage generally unacceptable as signified by their disagreeing to it even if the status of children was not involved; but only the Orthodox would do everything possible to prevent a son or daughter marrying a non-Jew.

Respondents seem uncertain as to what personal action they would take to prevent a child marrying a non-Jew. Cutting-off from the community is no longer an option, even for half of Strictly Orthodox respondents. This links with a demand for a more relaxed view to Orthodox conversion and a desire to welcome-in would-be affiliates. Those currently single and/or unaffiliated have the least definite viewpoint.

The data indicate experience of inter-faith partnerships either because respondents had at some time had a non-Jewish partner, or through family, or because they had themselves married-in. When extrapolated to give national patterns, the survey data suggest that 3.5% of women synagogue members aged 70 and under were raised in another faith. This range of interfaith contact affects attitudes.

As interfaith relationships become more widespread, communal attitudes become more permissive, particularly among Progressive and Secular women.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Jewish identity encompasses more than religious identity. The great majority of the women in our sample, whether they are strictly observant, non-practising or even anti-religious, feel strongly Jewish 'inside' and express a desire for the Jewish people to survive (see chapter 1). About three-quarters of all our respondents see Jewish art, music or literature as being part of the totality of their Jewishness, and they see Israel as a key element in their identity. But however broadly we define Jewish identity, religious rituals and institutions remain at the core of Jewish life - even if, for some, Jewishness is defined only in terms of an historical link with, or an active rejection of, that religious core.

In this chapter, we consider women's attitudes towards some key elements of traditional religious life - the Synagogue, the Rabbinate, the Beth Din, the Mikveh and the practice of Kashrut. As one might expect, these institutions and practices elicit sharply varied reactions from different sectors of the community; wherever this is the case, separate tabulations have been provided for the different religious and synagogal sub-groups.

The Synagogue

Just over 100,000 families - some 67% of the estimated Jewish population - are currently affiliated to a synagogue. This *proportion* has remained fairly constant over the past 30 years (Schmool and Cohen, 1991), but since the total size of the community has contracted, so too has the *absolute number* of affiliated households. Compared to a generation ago, the number of affiliated households has declined by about 25% and at the same time there has been a gradual redistribution of synagogue membership: contraction in central Orthodox numbers combined with growth in Progressive, and to a lesser extent, right-wing Orthodox numbers.

Our earlier study, reported in the United Synagogue Review (Miller & Schmool, 1992), gave a fine-grain analysis of the attitudes of United Synagogue members to the synagogue and of the factors which were associated with decisions to leave. We consider here some of the issues specific to women and also extend our previous analysis to plot levels of dissatisfaction across different synagogal groups; the section also includes an analysis of changes in membership patterns between generations, variations in the frequency of synagogue attendance and a brief consideration of women's attitudes to alternative forms of religious service.

Satisfaction with the synagogue

As an initial measure of satisfaction, respondents were asked whether they had ever attended a synagogue which they felt met their 'needs as a woman'. This might have been their present synagogue or any synagogue with which they were familiar. The question was answered by almost 1200 women, which is itself indicative of the level of interest in the issue.

Overall about half the respondents (55%) said that they had found such a synagogue, although this figure varied significantly with religious affiliation (Table 1). In general, satisfaction was greatest among respondents who saw themselves as practising Jews (whether Strictly Orthodox, Traditional or Progressive) rather than as 'just Jewish' or as 'secular' Jews. And within the three religious denominations, Progressive women were more likely than any other group to report satisfaction with a synagogue, followed closely by the Strictly Orthodox.

Table 1: Satisfaction with a synagogue by religious affiliation

Self-defined religiosity	**% who have found a synagogue that meets their needs as a woman**	**N**
Strictly Orthodox	73%	88
Traditional	51%	466
Progressive	77%	343
Just Jewish	33%	180
Secular	22%	99

A similar conclusion is reached if the groups are divided on the basis of their synagogue membership rather than their self-defined religious affiliation. Among members of Central Orthodox synagogues, 40% - 50% of respondents say they have found a satisfactory synagogue while, in the Non-Orthodox sector, the proportion increases to 70% - 80% (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Percentage who have found a satisfactory synagogue by type of synagogue attended

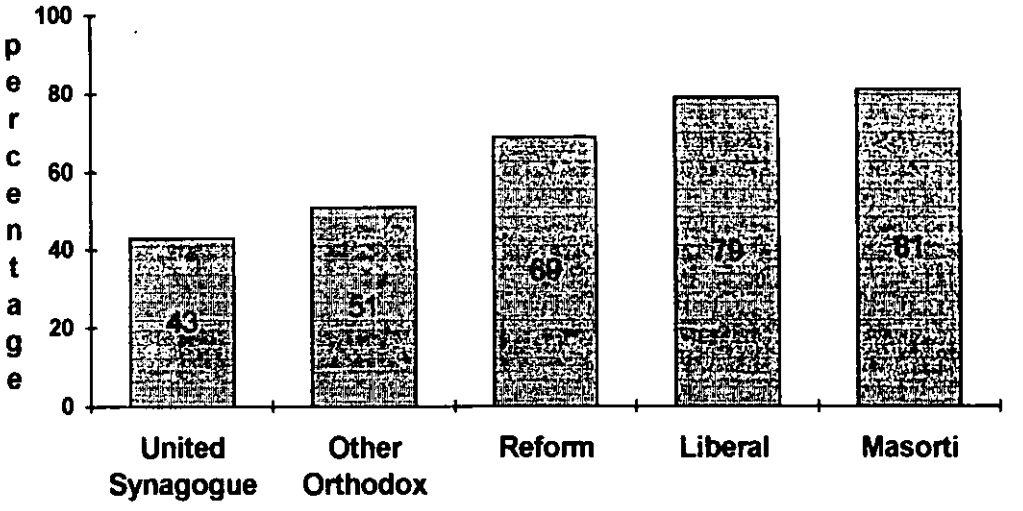


Table 2: Type of synagogue found acceptable (*satisfied respondents only*)

Synagogue attended	Synagogue found to be acceptable (%)				
	US	Other Orth	Reform	Liberal	Masorti
United Synagogue	***33***	23	26	11	7
Other Orthodox	15	***56***	14	7	8
Reform	-	-	***91***	8	1
Liberal	-	-	11	***88***	1
Masorti	-	6	7	5	***82***

For those who *had* found a satisfactory synagogue, it is of interest to know whether or not that synagogue fell within their own affiliational group. Table 2 shows that Reform, Liberal and Masorti members invariably select their own synagogal bodies as providing a suitable synagogue environment - see the bold percentages in the diagonal line of the table. However a substantial proportion of US members (44%) and Other Orthodox members (29%) identify a Progressive synagogue as the type that best meets their needs.

The data from Figure 1 and Table 2 combined lead to the conclusion that about 70% of the members of Central Orthodox synagogues have *not* found an *Orthodox* synagogue that meets their needs, while only about 35% of Progressive members are dissatisfied with the synagogues in their sectors. The mismatch

between synagogues and their members' perceived needs is thus particularly high for the Orthodox, but other groups also exhibit significant levels of dissatisfaction, particularly when one considers that the question allowed for satisfaction with *any synagogue* that the respondent may have attended at *any time*.

Areas of dissatisfaction

A series of attitude statements were included in the questionnaire to try to identify common views about the synagogue and possible causes of dissatisfaction. Of the total of 17 items, the following six statements produced the highest levels of consensus among all categories of respondent:-

Attitude[1]	**% holding the majority view**
Synagogues should be mainly for men; women can express their Jewishness in other ways	88% - disagree
Women should have equal representation with men on all synagogue committees	85% - agree
I am against the use of a mehitzah to separate the men's section from the women's section	80% - agree
I am opposed to women being seated in a block behind men	70% - agree
The people who run synagogues sometimes make others feel like outsiders	66% - agree
I am in favour of completely mixed seating (men and women together)	66% - agree

The main issues here are not subtle. They relate to practical questions: equal representation, equal visual access, equal rights and a greater degree of involvement in the synagogue. Items relating to more subtle feelings (eg 'feeling a stranger in the synagogue', 'difficulty expressing myself spiritually') did not generate similar levels of consensus among the respondents.

Whilst the statements expressing concern over women's representation and rights were almost universally accepted, it does not necessarily follow that these issues are the main causes of disaffection. To help identify the critical issues, we looked separately at the views of women who have, and have not, found a synagogue that 'meets their needs'. The idea here is to discover which attitude statements discriminate most effectively between women who are satisfied with a synagogue and those who are not. As can be seen in Table 3, the items which

[1] The statements used in the questionnaire were not all phrased in exacty the form given here.

Table 3: Attitudes that discriminate between satisfied and dissatisfied congregants

	% agreement of respondents who are satisfied	dissatisfied
I find it very difficult to express myself spiritually in a synagogue	25%	58%
I feel myself to be a stranger in the synagogue	14%	43%
I wish there could be more explanation during the service	53%	74%
The people who run synagogues sometimes make others feel like outsiders	61%	76%

really discriminate are *not* primarily to do with access and representation (even though many women agree on these issues), but rather to do with the atmosphere, spirituality and psychological ethos of the synagogue.

This idea is supported by the data in Table 4 which show the strength of the relationship (correlation) between the attitudes considered so far and frequency of attendance at synagogue. The items expressing concern about the religious and psychological ethos of the synagogue are significantly related to attendance; ie the more strongly a respondent feels about these matters, the less frequently

Table 4: The relationship between attitudes to the synagogue and frequency of attendance (combined sample, N ≅ 1300)

Attitude statement	Correlation with synagogue attendance[1]	
I feel myself a stranger in the synagogue	-0.53	($p<0.001$)
I find it very difficult to express myself spiritually in a synagogue	-0.38	($p<0.001$)
I wish there could be more explanation during the service	-0.27	($p<0.001$)
The people who run synagogues sometimes make others feel like outsiders	-0.21	($p<0.001$)
Women should have equal representation with men on all synagogue committees	-0.02	($p>0.3$)
Men should be asked to prepare food for synagogue occasions as often as women	-0.02	($p>0.5$)
Synagogues should be mainly for men, women can express their Jewishness in other ways	0.02	($p>0.4$)

[1] The correlation coefficient expresses the strength of a relationship on a scale from 0 (no relationship) to 1 (a perfect relationship). A minus sign indicates a negative relationship. The p value gives the probability that the correlation occured by chance - a low p implies that the findings are statistically reliable.

she will attend synagogue. On the other hand, the items relating to the lack of representation have no connection with attendance[1] ; those who agree are no less likely to attend than those who disagree.

In evaluating the first item (feeling a stranger) it is possible that the statement was interpreted literally, in which case it is hardly surprising that it is correlated with non-attendance. However, there is no reason to assume that the other attitudes are the result of infrequent attendance rather than the cause of it.

A statistical analysis of the pattern of relationships between all the attitude items (known as *factor analysis*) confirms the existence of two underlying dimensions - one related to **'atmosphere'** and combining items on spirituality, the need for explanation, feeling a stranger/outsider, and one related to **'equal rights'** combining items on representation, roles (eg in relation to food preparation), visual access and 'ownership' of the synagogue for self-expression. Concerns about **atmosphere** tend to keep women away from synagogues; concerns about **equal rights** are expressed just as frequently from within as without, and do not seem to dissuade women from actually attending. This is not to say, of course, that equal rights issues are not legitimate areas of concern.

These two dimensions are also reflected in the responses to an open-ended question asking why "this particular synagogue met your needs as a women". The wording of the question leads naturally to a consideration of **equal rights**:-

> "men and women are treated equally in every way - each person is as important and valuable as the next"
>
> "it recognises women as individuals, not just wives and mothers"
>
> "the level of participation of women is just right - I do not want to participate in running the services, just have an equal say on the Council"

But a number of respondents also mentioned aspects of the religious and social **atmosphere** of the synagogue:-

> "I would like to have more encouragement and devotion to prayer. We need more participation and re-organisation of the women's section .."
>
> "The most important thing is the meaning of worship and the feeling of warmth and unity"
>
> "It is so important that one is made to feel welcome and at home, and not given the feeling of being judged"

---

[1] This is partly, but not entirely due to the high level of consensus on some items. This restricts the possibility of obtaining a correlation with other measures

Differences in attitudes between synagogal groups

It has been noted (see Table 1) that Traditional Jewish women are less likely to have found a satisfactory synagogue than women in other groups. However, with one or two predictable exceptions, the particular attitudes and concerns of our respondents do not vary greatly with religious affiliation. Thus traditional respondents express somewhat stronger support for explanatory services than others (75% vs 61%) and weaker support for the view that men should prepare food in the synagogue 'just as often as women' (46% vs 54%). But on all other measures the Traditional and Non-Orthodox respondents have similar preferences; the difference lies in the frequency with which their synagogues satisfy these preferences. In contrast, Strictly Orthodox respondents have very low or zero levels of concern about all of the issues related to **equal rights** and to **atmosphere** in the synagogue.

Attitudes towards the Rabbi

Items relating to the communal Rabbi brought forward rather positive responses. Overall, 46% of the 400 women who felt able to comment, rated their Rabbi as "very approachable" and a further 40% said he was "OK". Similarly 69% said that their Rabbi spoke readily to *all* of his women congregants and a further 23% said he spoke readily to *some* of them. If these opinions are sub-divided between Progressive and Central Orthodox members (other groups are too small to analyse), significant differences emerge in favour of Rabbis in the Progressive sector (Figures 2a and b).

Figure 2a: Ratings of Rabbis by Progressive and Central Orthodox synagogue members (percent of respondents)

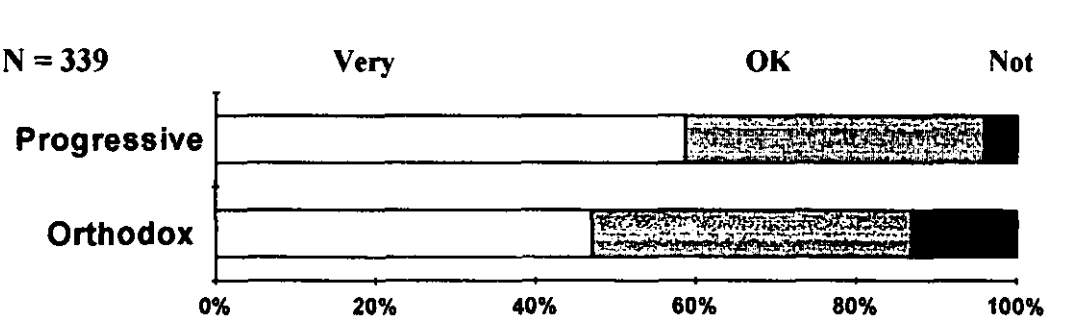
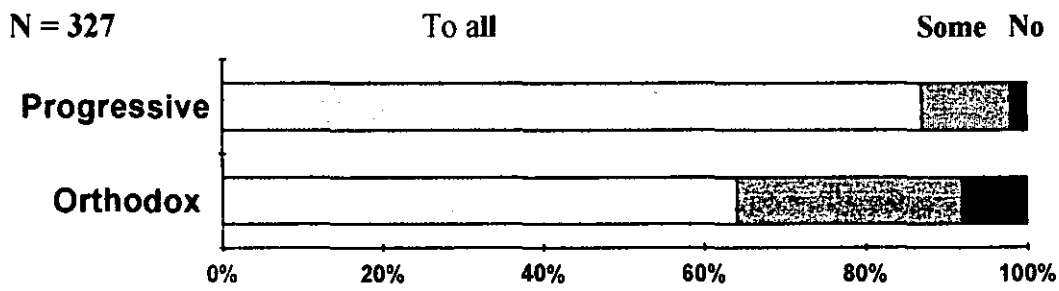


Figure 2b: Ratings of Rabbis by Progressive and Central Orthodox synagogue members (percent of respondents)



These differences might, in principle, arise from the impact of female Rabbis on the Progressive ratings. As it turns out, 26% of the Progressive respondents had female Rabbis, and these Rabbis did evoke more favourable ratings than male Rabbis. However, the effect is relatively small and the above percentages do not change significantly if the ratings of women Rabbis are removed from the analysis.

Despite the tendency for Progressive Rabbis to be judged somewhat more approachable and accessible, the overall figures do not suggest that women have a major problem of communication with their Rabbis, whether they are Progressive or Orthodox. This is not to say, however, that Rabbis are likely to promote the changes women want. The skill of being "receptive to new ideas" was rated as almost the weakest feature of communal Rabbis by respondents in the survey of United Synagogue members (Miller & Schmool, 1992). That survey showed, at least in the case of United Synagogue Rabbis, that their strengths were thought to be in the performance of functional tasks (officiating, *leyning* etc) rather than in developmental roles such as 'creating a strong sense of community', 'bringing the less involved into the community' and responding to innovation. Unfortunately we do not have corresponding data on Progressive Rabbis.

In the case of the United Synagogue however, based on these two studies, communal Rabbis appear to be a neutral factor as far as women's issues are concerned. They are generally seen as responsive to individual women members, but not very likely to initiate or press for changes of the kind desired. Of course, in some cases the changes are halachically questionable, but this does not apply

to concerns about ethos, spirituality and inclusiveness; these are issues on which Rabbis and concerned women could be expected to work together.

Alternatives

A number of questions sought to assess reactions to new arrangements for women to engage in prayer or other religious activity. These questions elicited very low response rates. Only 46 (4%) of respondents had attended a women's prayer group and they were evenly divided between positive and negative reactions to its atmosphere and inspirational quality. However, there appears to be some demand for these facilities among those who have *not* attended - some 17% of the sample said they would like to attend such a group and a further 22% were unsure. Rosh Chodesh groups appear to be better known (16% of the respondents had heard of them), but only 25 women (1.9%) had actually attended.

There was considerably more enthusiasm for new forms of prayer than for new contexts in which to pray. Thus 35% of affiliated women felt they would like to say special blessings to mark important events in their lives and, in this general form, the idea was supported with equal enthusiasm across the religious spectrum. The most frequently cited reasons for wanting to say a personal *Beracha*, which included some events already marked by a *Beracha*, were:-

Kaddish at funeral/Shiva
Childbirth / Health of children when grown up
Personal or relative's recovery from illness
Barmitzvah of son
Marriage of children
Escape from danger
Anniversaries

The suggestion that Jewish women should be able to say *Kaddish* at a funeral, Shiva or during the year of mourning received particularly strong support. It was endorsed by about two-thirds of Jewish women in all synagogue groups, but with substantially reduced enthusiasm among the Strictly Orthodox (less than 10%).

Attitudes to Female Rabbis

A question seeking respondents' views on women Rabbis was included to assess the extent to which progressive religious concepts had influenced Jewish popular opinion. There could have been no better means of discriminating between the

two main sectors of the sample. Of those who expressed an opinion, Traditional women were almost universally opposed to the idea of women Rabbis (about 90% objected), while Non-Orthodox respondents were equally convinced of their value and legitimacy (more than 90% support). In the Non-Orthodox group, arguments were couched in terms of general principles - equal opportunities, meritocracy, freedom to fulfill oneself - and expressed in strident terms. The Traditional view, though equally consensual, was somewhat more apologetic; only a few respondents cited religious principle as a basis for their views while the vast majority appealed, sometimes ambiguously, to feelings and personal conditioning:-

'It seems strange to see a woman in the conventional male Rabbi role'

'The tradition of Rabbis being men seems fine and women wearing Tallit and Kippa really winds me up'

' The fact that I have no great respect for any of the Rabbis I have met drives me to think that perhaps the women would make a better job of it! However, theoretically I don't think I would like to have a woman Rabbi, this may be purely my upbringing.....'

'I don't feel comfortable with a woman Rabbi, can't seem to accept this'

In the context of contemporary social trends it is difficult to imagine that these emotionally-based preferences will survive more than a generation or two unless, that is, they are underpinned by appropriate religious principles and commitment. Hence the Strictly Orthodox respondents have no difficulty rejecting the notion of women Rabbis on the basis of an integrated value system incorporating religiously prescribed gender roles.

Frequency of Synagogue Attendance

Research conducted for the United Synagogue Review (Miller & Schmool, 1992) showed that synagogue attendance is one area of religious practice that is becoming more popular. Almost 30% of United Synagogue members were found to attend synagogue regularly (once a week or more often), whereas earlier studies in Redbridge and Edgware found that only 10% - 13% of Orthodox synagogue members attended that often (Kosmin and Levy, 1983; Krausz, 1969). The US survey also showed that the increased attendance was located primarily among younger members and female members suggesting that the trend might be expected to continue.

The present survey allows us to extend these findings to male[1] and female members of other synagogal groups (see Table 5). Our findings confirm the relatively high rate of weekly attendance among of the Central Orthodox (27% in this sample); the results also show a clear trend in the frequency of attendance from the Unaffiliated (6%), through Progressive (15%) and Central Orthodox (27%), to the Right Wing (69%). If these percentages are weighted to reflect the composition of the British Jewish community as a whole, the overall percentage attending synagogue weekly (or more often) is 21%, about equivalent to the Israeli figure (S Levy et al, 1993) and approximately twice that found in identified Jews in the United States (NJPS, 1990).

Table 5: Frequency of synagogue attendance by synagogue affiliation, men and women combined

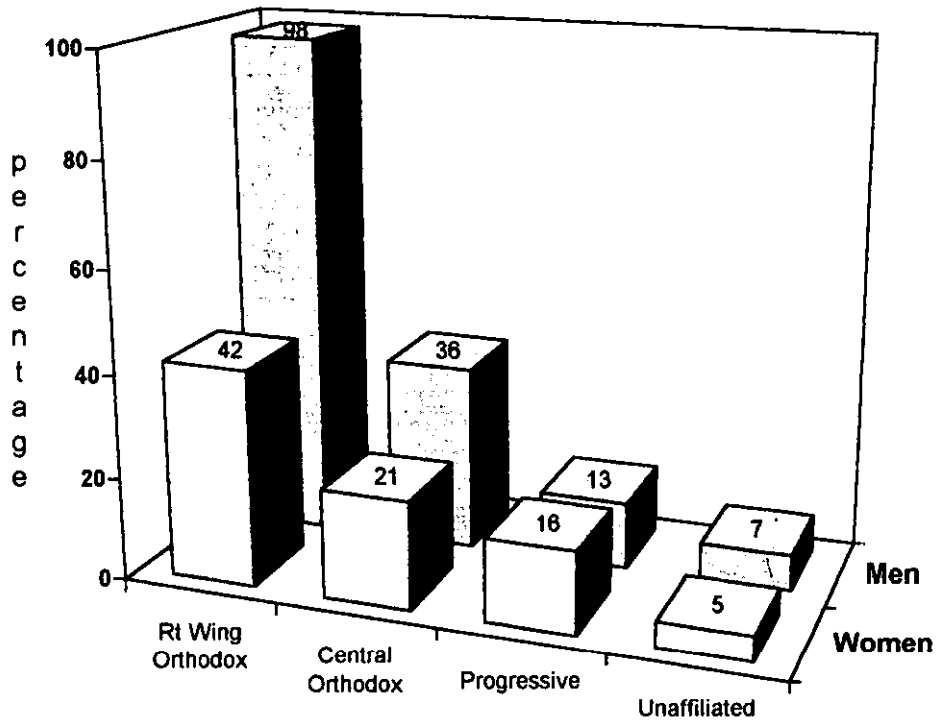
Frequency of attendance in past year	Rt Wing Orthodox	Central Orthodox	Progres-sive	Unaffil-iated
	%	%	%	%
Not at all	0	6	10	35
A few times	21	53	53	56
About once a month	10	13	22	4
Most Sabbaths or more often	69	27	15	6

Of particular interest are the differences between male and female congregants. Overall, 17% of women and 26% of their husbands attend synagogue at least once a week, but the balance is quite different for different synagogues. Figure 3 shows that women who belong to Orthodox synagogues are far *less* likely to attend regularly than their husbands, while those in the Progressive community are marginally *more* likely to do so.

It might be thought that this difference is due entirely to the restrictions on carrying and travel, which particularly affect Orthodox women with young children. However, if such women are excluded from the analysis, the pattern remains very similar; only in the Right Wing Orthodox community does the women's frequency of attendance increase to any extent, and then only from 42% to 55%. The explanation for the gender differences, at least in the Central

[1] Respondents were asked to report the frequency of attendance of their husbands or partners. The estimates are biased due to the non-inclusion of single men/widowers.

Figure 3: Percentage of women and their husbands who attend synagogue weekly (or more often) according to synagogue affiliation



Orthodox grouping, is therefore probably to do with women's lower levels of satisfaction with the synagogue and/or their more traditional attitudes to synagogue attendance. As shown in Table 2, women belonging to Central Orthodox synagogues felt significantly more dissatisfied than those in the Progressive community.

Intergenerational shifts in synagogue affiliation

Recent research in the United States (NJPS, 1990) has fuelled interest in the question of shifts in Jewish affiliation between generations. The issue here is whether synagogue movements can retain their children and whether the shifts that do occur tend towards less traditional groupings. The present data permit an analysis of this question based on respondents' reports of their current synagogue affiliation and that of their parents. However, it should be noted that this can

give only a partial impression of the pattern of change; to get an accurate picture of intergenerational shifts one would need to start with a random sample of the parents, whereas we have a non-random sample of the children. Nonetheless the data do provide some clues as to what is happening in the UK.

Table 6: Percentage of daughters from a given denomination affiliated to Orthodox, Reform and Liberal synagogues

	Parents' synagogue affiliation		
	Orthodox	**Reform/Masorti**	**Liberal**
	N=973	N=118	N=43
Daughter's denomination	%	%	%
Orthodox	**61**	9	19
Reform/Masorti	19	**56**	19
Liberal	7	12	**53**
No affiliation	13	23	9
	100	100	100

In keeping with the American experience, Table 6 shows considerable drift from parental affiliation, usually in the direction of less observant denominations. Thus a third of the daughters of Orthodox synagogue members move to Progressive communities or are unaffiliated, and a third of the daughters of Reform members move to Liberal or unaffiliated groupings. There is very little flow in the opposite direction; just 1% of the Orthodox daughters joined a Right Wing Orthodox community (included in the Orthodox category) and 9% of Reform daughters joined an Orthodox synagogue. The shift back to more traditional synagogues on the part of the (small sample) of respondents raised in Liberal homes is intriguing. To some extent it is predictable given the possibility that Liberal women may marry Reform or Orthodox men, but the extent of the shift - if it was found to be reliable in a larger group - could not be explained purely on the basis of marriage patterns.

This picture is very similar, in general form, to the pattern obtained in the NJPS study (Lazerwitz, 1993). If the British Orthodox sample is regarded as roughly equivalent to the Conservative grouping in the USA, the percentage outflow to Progressive and non-affiliated categories is more-or-less identical. However, the present data almost certainly under-estimate the movement from Central Orthodox to Right Wing communities because the latter were not sampled in sufficient numbers. On the other hand, the unaffiliated sample probably under-

represents the sizable number who have completely assimilated and no longer belong to any synagogue. Overall therefore, these data are very approximate. They suggest that the British Jewish community is moving away from the more traditional forms of Judaism at roughly the same rate as Jews in the USA and that neither the Central Orthodox nor the Progressive movements retain the loyalty of more than about 60% of the women raised in their denominations. These data also imply that the current growth in the Reform 'share' of the market arises from the generational shift from Orthodox to Reform; but, on present trends, this will itself be eroded as children raised in Reform homes move into Liberal or unaffiliated categories in the next generation.

Dealngs with the *Beth Din*

In this section we present a brief analysis of respondents' attitudes to the Beth Din based largely on experience of routine interactions with Progressive and Orthodox Batei Din. These impressions are important because, with increasing rates of divorce and intermarriage, the Beth Din is an extremely influential factor at the crisis points in the lives of Jewish women. The style and quality of the service it provides, over and above the substantive outcome, may have a major influence on the religious decisions of those involved in conversion, intermarriage and remarriage after divorce.

In evidence presented to the Review, dissatisfaction was expressed concerning the way in which *Dayanim* relate to women seeking the assistance of the Beth Din. This is an area in which self-initiated reports may well be jaundiced and therefore an attempt was made to obtain a more broadly based picture.

Some 352 women (26%) reported contact with the Beth Din at some stage in their lives. In most cases this was the London Beth Din (231), but some respondents had dealt with another Orthodox Beth Din (53) or with the Reform Beth Din (62). The matters on which consultation had taken place were largely marriage (111), divorce (92) and conversion (79), with a small number of adoptions, disputes and other issues.

Respondents were asked to rate the quality of service provided by the Beth Din on the scale 'good', 'satisfactory', 'poor'. The results (see Table 7) indicate a reasonable performance, although the efficiency of the service is rated significantly higher than the more human aspects. If these ratings are subdivided by type of Beth Din, relatively small numbers are obtained for all but the London Beth Din. Nonetheless it is clear that the Reform Beth Din is regarded as considerably more courteous and sensitive than its Orthodox counterparts. For

Table 7: Ratings of the quality of service provided by the Beth Din

	% of respondents with an opinion (n=280)		
	Good	Satisfactory	Poor
Efficiency	37%	40%	23%
Courtesy	35%	31%	34%
Sensitivity to women's needs	26%	26%	48%

example, the proportion of 'poor' ratings on the dimension 'sensitivity to women's needs' is 6% for the Reform Beth Din (based on 48 responses) and 61% for the London Beth Din (based on 145 respones).

Despite the rather negative views on 'sensitivity', only a few respondents answered an open-ended question inviting more detailed comments on the Beth Din's performance. Of those who did comment, about half raised objections to matters of *halacha* (mainly with regard to conversions) and half commented on style and approach; these comments were about equally divided between extreme condemnation ('like the Spanish Inquisition') and faint praise ('learned and sincere body trying to do their best'). Several respondents judged that the London Beth Din was now making a determined effort to address contemporary problems in a sympathetic way.

Respondents who had indirect experience of the Beth Din (eg via a family member) were also asked to rate the quality of service. These assessments were similar, but *more negative* than those provided by women with direct experience, suggesting that some of the 'bad press' attaching to the Beth Din arises from inference and rumour. It should also be noted that these findings cover a long time span and may not represent the perceptions of women currently dealing with a Beth Din.

A more detailed survey would be needed to obtain a precise evaluation of the current performance of the Beth Din. Naturally some criticisms of the standards of courtesy/sensitivity are coloured by dissatisfaction with a particular ruling or outcome. Others reflect hearsay or unfounded rumour. If these elements are stripped out, the data suggest that the London Beth Din has an improving image, but that there are very probably some cases which have been handled in such a way as to create a sense of frustration, intimidation or humiliation. How often this occurs, and how it might come about, are not matters that can be determined from the survey data alone.

The observance of Kashrut

In chapter 2 a distinction was drawn between personal religious practices (eg *Kashrut, Mikveh*) and publicly observable, annual ceremonies (eg *Seder, Hannukah*) which are both social and religious events. In the United States, as Jewish communities have become more secular, and their attachment to Judaism more a matter of *ethnicity* than *religion*, the observance of individual practices has declined rapidly, while group ceremonies, such as the *Seder*, continue almost undiminished. These ceremonies provide a means of social affiliation and identification with other Jews even though the precise ritual requirements are rarely observed (Liebman and Cohen, 1990).

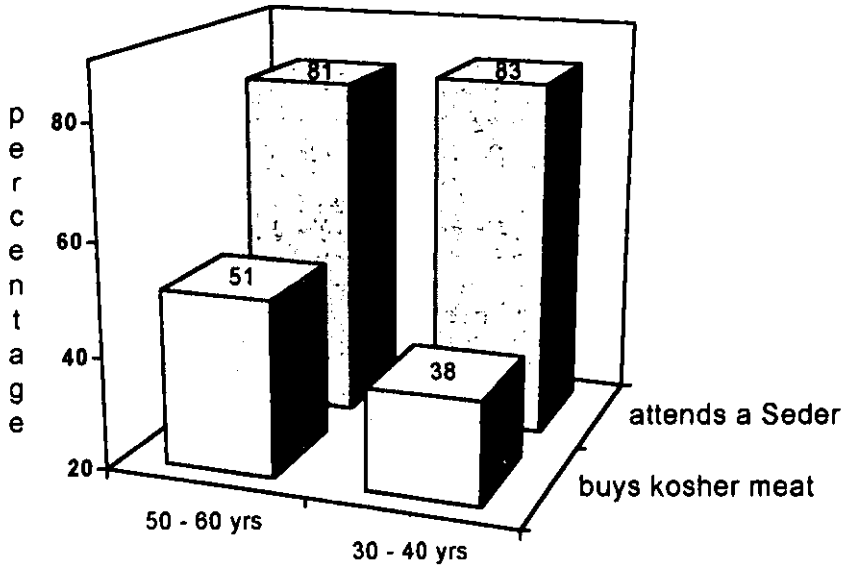
In this process of transition from individual ritual to group ceremony, the observance of *Kashrut* is a particularly sensitive index of how the community is changing. In a population which is gradually assimilating, a daily ritual like Kashrut is likely to be one of the 'first to go'. In the USA about a third of the Jewish population still buy Kosher meat for their homes, but this overall figure obscures quite dramatic differences between successive generations; over 50% of first generation American Jews buy Kosher meat compared with just over 10% of the third generation (S Cohen, 1983). Of course, first generation American Jews are significantly older on average than the third generation, but even when age is controlled statistically the generational trends persist.

In this British sample, the percentage of women who buy Kosher meat for their homes is 43% (see Table 8). This is about 10% higher than in the USA, but - as in the States - there is a marked decline in observance across successive generations. Using age as an approximate index of generation, Figue 4 shows that the percentage buying Kosher meat is 13% lower among 30-40 year olds (primarily 3rd generation British Jews) than among 50-60 year olds (primarily 2nd generation); meanwhile, following the American pattern, the percentage of women who observe the *Seder* does not vary at all with age. In other words, the decline in personal ritual practice paired with the maintenance of group ceremony is a feature of both American and British Jewry.

Table 8: The purchase of Kosher meat for the home

	Percentage of women	N
Only buys meat from a Kosher butcher	43%	578
Buys meat from a Non-Kosher butcher, but not pork or bacon	32%	426
Buys meat from a Non-Kosher butcher, including pork & bacon	16%	219
Is a vegetarian	9%	113

Figure 4: Percentage of Women observing Seder and buying Kosher meat as a function of age



Of the 43% of women who do buy Kosher meat, the great majority (87% of them) also make an effort to separate milk from meat. For these respondents the purchase of Kosher meat seems to reflect some degree of religious commitment rather than being primarily a form of ethnic identification; otherwise it is difficult to explain the high degree of self-discipline associated with the separation of milk and meat.

Reasons for not buying Kosher meat

Our sample includes some 646 respondents (48% of the total) who buy their meat from non-Kosher butchers. The majority of these women (528 of them) classify themselves as Progressive, Just Jewish or Secular and, predictably, most of these respondents see no point in buying Kosher meat as they 'do not believe in it' (see Table 9). In some cases the price of Kosher meat is also a consideration, and one or both of these reasons are cited by almost 90% of the Non-Orthodox and Secular respondents.

There are, in addition, 118 Traditional women (22% of all traditional respondents) who buy non-Kosher meat. Their main reason is price (59%

mention this), but 33% say that they 'do not believe in it' - usually combining this reason with one of the others (access, taste, cleanliness and price).

Intuitively one might *not* have expected many of the women who buy non-Kosher meat to classify themselves as 'Traditional' rather than, say, 'Progressive', 'Just Jewish', or 'Secular'. We tried to obtain a profile of these women by comparing them to the rest of the Traditional respondents; ie those who *do* buy Kosher meat. Of the eight variables investigated - age, academic qualifications, Jewish education, salary level, parental religiosity, area of residence, marital status and family composition - only the final three factors were associated with the practice of buying Kosher meat; those who bought Kosher were more likely to

Table 9: Reasons for not buying Kosher meat by religious affiliation

Reason ticked (more than one possible)	Percent agreeing with each reason		
	Traditional	Non-Orthodox	Secular
	%	%	%
There's no point as I don't believe in it	33	65	86
Kosher meat is too expensive	59	36	26
I object to paying extra for someone to check whether everything is Kosher	35	27	16
Cleanliness in Kosher butchers is below the standard I would like	20	18	14
Kosher meat doesn't taste as good as other meat	21	18	13
I can't get to shops selling Kosher meat	17	23	15
N =	146	492	110

be married, to have children and to live in a Jewish area. In other words, among women who define themselves as Traditional, current social circumstances have more to do with the decision to buy Kosher than background characteristics such as Jewish education or parental religiosity. But even these current circumstances are not very predictive - they explain less than 10% of the variation in the practice of Kashrut. Surprisingly, income was not a significant predictor, even though the main reason given by respondents for non-observance was the price of

Kosher meat. It may be that income does not adequately reflect financial hardship, or perhaps price is a convenient rationalisation for other motives which Traditional women are reluctant to make explicit.

Kashrut outside the home (based on affiliated respondents only)

It has long been recognised that some Jews are more particular about Kashrut within their own home than they are outside it. To examine this we asked the affiliated respondents to say where and what they would be willing to eat when they were not at home (see Figure 5) - and we compared this with their home practices. Whilst only 14% of respondents would buy pork or bacon for home consumption, almost half of them would eat 'anything on the menu' in a non-Kosher restaurant and a further 32% would eat anything bar meat; 11% would restrict themselves to eating in a fish restaurant and less than 9% would eat only in a Kosher (supervised) restaurant.

Figure 5: Percentage of women willing to eat in various types of restaurant (affiliated respondents)

On the scale of *divergence* between practice inside and outside the home, theoretically the most extreme case is one in which a respondent keeps Kosher at home (including the separation of milk and meat), and yet will eat anything when she is out. Approximately 20% of those who observe Kashrut at home come into this category - and this proportion is the same for members of Progressive and Central Orthodox synagogues.

The logical implication of such behaviour is that, for these respondents, Kashrut is a means of ethnic identification which can be varied to suit the circumstances, rather than a fixed expression of religious commitment; and this leads us to question whether such arbitrary practices can be transmitted effectively to young people (Miller, 1994). Given the importance of this question, we examined the factors in the history and current circumstances of our respondents that might be associated with inconsistency in the practice of Kashrut at home and outside[1]. The following variables were considered:-

Self-defined religious affiliation	-	Secular, non-Orthodox, Traditional
Jewish primary school attendance	-	Yes/No
Jewish secondary school attendance	-	Yes/No
Parental religiosity	-	Secular, Just Jewish, Progressive, Traditional, Strictly Orthodox
Strength of ethnic identity	-	derived scale
Strength of religious belief	-	derived scale

Of these, the only variables that gave statistically significant predictions of inconsistency were 'religious belief' and 'parental religiosity'; ie inconsistent observers had less observant parents and *lower* levels of religious faith, but they were just as strongly identified ethnically as consistent observers. This provides empirical support for the argument above, that inconsistent observance of a given practice signifies a non-religious (ie ethnic) motivation. Interestingly, neither Jewish education, nor current religious affiliation seem to be associated with consistency in the practice of Kashrut - but then we have already observed that these factors seem to have limited influence on fundamental attitudes and beliefs outside of the Right Wing Orthodox community (see chapter 2).

Overall, these data reflect a complex situation. Most respondents make at least some gesture towards the observance of Kashrut - for example, 84% will not bring pork into their homes - but relatively few (less than 9% of the affiliated sub-sample) observe Kashrut consistently at home and outside, eating only in supervised or vegetarian restaurants. There is evidence here both of a decline in the observance of Kashrut and - among the 43% who still eat Kosher meat at home - a tendency to adopt quite different standards outside the home. Such 'convenience' Kashrut appears to be an expression of Jewish identity rather than a commitment to religious practice. The 48% of respondents who do not eat Kosher meat, even at home, generally express a lack of belief in this Mitzvah, but

[1] For this purpose *inconsistency* was defined as the observance of a high level of Kashrut at home paired with a low level outside. The converse did not occur.

but those from the Traditional sub-group seem to be discouraged more by price than by religious doubts.

These statistics are, of course, applicable only to the present sample. In generalising to the Jewish population at large one has to allow for bias in sample selection (eg the under-representation of women over 70), but more important than this are the substantial gender differences to be found in the practice of Kashrut. For example, our recent survey of United Synagogue members (Miller & Schmool, 1992) showed that 62% of men eat non-Kosher meat outside the home compared with only 38% of women. Such dramatic differences between men and women mean that the picture of Kashrut observance given above cannot be taken to reflect community-wide practice, though it is approximately representative of the female Jewish population.

Mikveh

Compared with the observance of *Kashrut*, attendance at a *Mikveh* is a less frequently observed *mitzvah*, even though it is funda mental to Orthodox Jewish life. In a recent survey of Israeli religious practice (Levy et al, 1993) 16% of Jewish women were found to go to the Mikveh regularly, whereas only 10% of the ever-married women in our affiliated sample did so (either now or in the past). This overall percentage, which represents some 99 women, incorporates predictable variations in observance between the main syngogal groups:-

Synagogue group	**Ever-married Sample size**	**% regularly attending a Mikveh (now or in past)**
Progressive	437	2%
Central Orthodox	547	8%
Right Wing Orthodox	46	100%

Generally speaking, women who attend a Mikveh observe all other Mitvoth (Kashrut, Shabbat etc) in strict accordance with the *Halacha*. There were, however, a small subset of women (10 Progressive and 9 Central Orthodox) who did not do so; for example, all 19 of these women would eat in a non-Kosher restaurant and ten of them (not all Progressive) did not buy meat from a Kosher butcher. Although these are very small numbers, the sub-group does represent a fifth of all the respondents who attend a Mikveh.

One interpretation of such findings is that women are now more selective in their religious behaviour, choosing those practices which appeal to them spiritually or

psychologically, rather than those which are consistent with a particular position on a scale of religiosity. This, too, is in keeping with American trends towards more personalised Jewish practice; even among strictly Orthodox Sabbath observers - ie those who will not turn on a light on Sabbath - some key practices (eg husbands praying on Sabbath afternoon, wives attending a Mikveh) are not universally observed (Heilman and Cohen, 1989). Liebman and Cohen (1990) regard this 'voluntarism' in the performance of Mitzvot as the consequence of endowing personal choice with 'spiritual sanctity', so that ritual becomes subservient to psychological benefit rather than service to divine authority.

Summary

1. These findings support the commonly held belief that many Jewish women are dissatisfied with their synagogues and find them inappropriate to their needs. Almost half the respondents (45%) said that they had *never* attended a synagogue which they found acceptable from the point of view of a woman.

2. Disaffection with the synagogue was *not* uniformly spread throughout the community. Those attending United Synagogues and other Central Orthodox synagogues were far more likely to express dissatisfaction; and even among those Orthodox members who had found an acceptable synagogue, there was almost a 50% chance that this was in the Progressive sector. In contrast, most members of Progressive synagogues had found a satisfactory synagogue within their own grouping.

3. Although there was a high level of agreement with statements endorsing ***equal rights*** for female members - for example, with regard to representation, visual access and seating, involvement in decision making - these concerns did not seem to discourage women from attending synagogue. The factors that were most closely associated with attendance or non-attendance related to the ethos or ***atmosphere*** of the synagogue - its spirituality, openness to outsiders, willingness to provide explanations.

4. Attitudes to Rabbis were generally positive as far as their treatment of women was concerned. While Progressive Rabbis appear to be somewhat more approachable than their Orthodox counterparts, very few respondents reported serious problems regarding communication with their Rabbis. However, other evidence suggests that, at least in the Orthodox sector, Rabbis are generally not very effective as agents of change; this may have implications for the way in which women's concerns about the ethos of the synagogue can be addressed.

5. There were generally low levels of interest in new forms of worship (eg women's prayer groups) but considerable interest in the development of new forms of prayer to be associated with important life events. With the exception of the Strictly Orthodox, there was particular support for the suggestion that women be encouraged to say Kaddish on appropriate occasions.

6. The issue of the legitimacy or otherwise of women Rabbis split the respondents very clearly on religious lines. Non-Orthodox respondents supported the idea vehemently on the basis of general principles - equal opportunity and the right to personal fulfillment. Traditional women were almost universally opposed, but their opposition was largely emotional, rather than principled, and their attitudes were sometimes apologetic. It is possible that Traditional attitudes are likely to be eroded in time because they lack a coherent, underlying value system of the kind that exists in strictly Orthodox circles.

7. The frequency of synagogue attendance has increased in recent years, particularly among women. Overall, about 26% of men and 17% of women attend at least weekly - about twice the level to be found in the USA. Rates of attendance are higher among Orthodox than among Progressive respondents and the balance between male and female attendance differs; far more men than women attend Orthodox synagogues, while in the Progressive sector there are marginally more women than men. These differences are not entirely due to Sabbath restrictions which affect Orthodox women with young children.

8. Analysis of parents' and daughters' synagogue affiliations revealed a systematic shift away from traditional forms of Judaism over one generation. One third of the daughters of Orthodox synagogue members moved to Progressive synagogues and one third of the daughters of Reform parents moved to Liberal or unaffiliated groupings. The data suggest that the British Jewish community is leaving more traditional forms of Judaism at roughly the same rate as Jews in the USA and that the current increase in Reform numbers may be eroded as the next generation moves further to the religious left. There is a smaller flow from Central to Right Wing Orthodoxy, but this could not be measured accurately in the present survey.

9. Ratings of various Batei Din by women who have had dealings with them suggest that they are reasonably efficient, but sometimes lacking in courtesy and sensitivity to the needs of women. There is evidence that some of the criticisms levelled against the Beth Din may be coloured by dissatisfaction with the outcome or ruling, and that those with direct experience are less critical than those who are affected indirectly. The London Beth Din received poorer ratings

than other Batei Din on measures of courtesy and sensitivity, but it was seen by some women as making an effort to improve the quality of its service and to address difficult problems in a sympathetic manner.

10. As Kashrut is a daily, personal ritual, variations in its level of observance provides a sensitive index of community changes in religious, as opposed to ethnic, identity. Most respondents make at least some gesture towards the observance of Kashrut - for example, 84% will not bring pork into their homes - but relatively few (less than 9% of affiliated women) observe Kashrut consistently inside and outside the home. There is evidence of a significant decline in Kashrut observance among younger respondents; and among the 43% of women who still buy Kosher meat for the home, the majority adopt quite different standards outside the home. Such inconsistency is associated with a lack of religious faith paired with a desire to maintain ethnic identification by means of home-based practices. The 48% of respondents who do not eat Kosher meat, even at home, generally express a lack of belief in the Mitzvah, but those from the Traditional sub-group seem to be discouraged more by price than by religious doubts.

11. 10% of the women in the affiliated sample regularly attend, or used to attend, a Mikveh. Many of these women belong to Right Wing Orthodox synagogues and are fully observant. However, one fifth (19) of the women who attend a Mikveh are not fully observant - for example not keeping Kashrut. This suggests that very unusual patterns of personal religious choice are beginning to emerge in the UK, as has recently been found among apparently Orthodox Jews in the USA.

JEWISH EDUCATION

The *Shema* contains the fundamental exhortation - " *v' shinantam l'vaneha* " - to teach our children diligently the principles and practices of Jewish life. In British terms, from the 1656 re-admission of the Jews to the present day, the community has put in place systems for the religious education of its children. There is general recognition that Jewish education, at least in principle, is the key to Jewish continuity; the problem has been to devote sufficient resources, both intellectual and material, to create an educational system that will deliver a long-term, vibrant commitment to Jewish belief and practice. The critical issues are examined in the recent JEDT report "Securing our future" (1992).

In this chapter we provide a detailed analysis of the Jewish educational experience of our respondents and try to assess the impact of this experience on their adult beliefs, practices and Jewish identity.

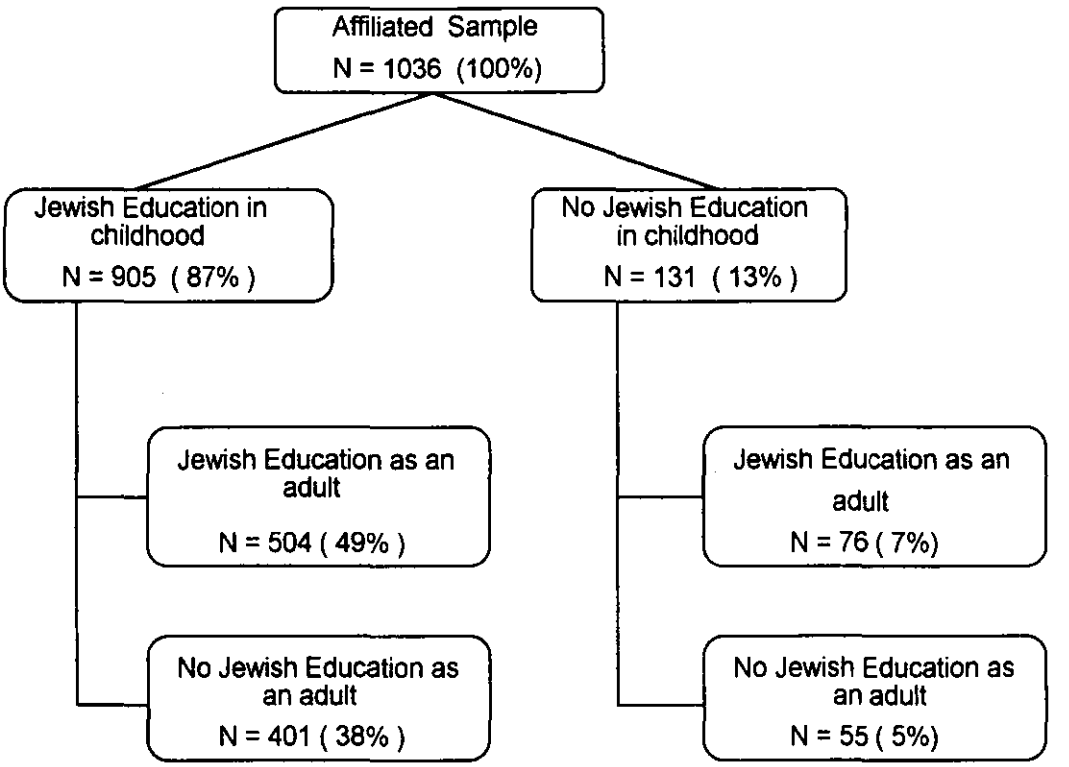
1. Exposure to Jewish Education

In keeping with the findings of the Worms Report (1992), our survey data confirm that a high proportion of Jewish women (87%) receive some form of Jewish education during their childhood. Younger women (under 40) are marginally more likely to have been Jewishly educated (91%) than older women (85%), but there is no significant variation between affiliated and unaffiliated women, nor between members of Progressive and Central Orthodox synagogues.

Those women who have no Jewish education in childhood compensate to some extent by engaging in Jewish learning as adults. Looking specifically at affiliated women who were Jewish at birth (N = 1023), some 131 respondents (13%) reported having no Jewish education *as children;* of these, almost 60% studied some aspects of Judaism as adults. This 'corrective action' means that only a very small proportion of affiliated respondents (5%) are left without any experience of Jewish education *at any stage in their lives.* The overall pattern is shown in Figure 1.

For unaffiliated women, the data do not permit such detailed analysis. However, as noted above, the unaffiliated are just as likely as others to have received some Jewish education during childhood (87%). Further, data on courses attended in

Figure 1: Participation in Jewish Education - Affiliated sample



the past three years (section 7) suggest that a further 5% experience Jewish education as adults. Overall, therefore, affiliated and unaffiliated women do not differ very much in their rates of participation in Jewish education. This suggests that patterns of adult Jewish lifestyle are not related in any simple way to the presence or absence of formal Jewish education.

2 The content of Jewish Education

The bald level of participation in Jewish education does not give any indication of its quality or scope. We therefore asked respondents to give some details of the types of Jewish education they had experienced "when growing up". Table 1 shows the proportion of women who reported each type of education and the average number of years spent in each setting.

Although these data cover a wider sample of the community than has been examined in earlier research, even then they do not provide a fully representative

Table 1: Type and duration of Jewish Education, all respondents (N=1350)

Type of education	% of women participating[1]	Median years
Cheder	64	5
Lessons from parents	10	5
Private lessons (eg from Rabbi)	15	2
Jewish primary school	13	6
Teenage Centre	3	3
Jewish secondary school	7	5
Seminary	3	1
Degree in Jewish subject	0.2	2
Some Jewish studies at University	4	1

profile of the educational background of British-Jewish women. In particular, the learning experiences of those who have completely assimilated is, by definition, excluded. However, the data give a reasonably accurate picture of the educational history of women who are either part of the affiliated Jewish community or at least self-identify as Jews.

The findings demonstrate the very limited experience of Jewish learning among most Jewish women. Less than one in six has attended a Jewish day school, whether primary or secondary, and less than one in twenty has attended both (not shown in table). For the great majority of women, Jewish education consists of *Cheder* classes or nothing at all; 72% of the sample fall into one of these categories. Compared to our respondents' levels of secular education - almost one third have a University degree - Jewish education is clearly not seen as a priority. And insofar as our respondents have been exposed to Jewish learning, this has been targeted at the early stages of their development :-

Age	% participation in any form of Jewish education
Upto 12 years	85%
13 yrs to 18 yrs	21%
Within the last three yrs (ie as adults)	28%

[1] Percentages sum to more than 100 as some respondents participated in more than one type of education.

This dramatic fall-off in participation in formal education is consistent with the trends described in the Worms report, but it is ameliorated to some extent by involvement in Jewish youth activities ; over 70% of those *not* receiving Jewish education in their teens attended a Jewish youth club or similar group for an average period of 3 years. Some will also have been involved in study trips to Israel, a wide range of synagogue-based activities and informal Jewish social groups. Unfortunately, little is known about the impact of these different forms of educational and developmental experience.

3 Attendance at Jewish day school

The data reported earlier showed that the rate of participation in Jewish education as a whole did not vary significantly with age or affiliation. However, if we consider the intensity of Jewish education and not just its presence or absence, there are clear variations. Table 2 lists, for each *age* group and for each *synagogal* group, the proportion of women who attended a Jewish primary or secondary school when young. It can be seen that attendance at Jewish day schools is far more common among younger women which must, to an extent,

Table 2: Participation in Jewish Schooling by age and religious affiliation. N = 1350

Age	% in Jewish schools	Affiliation	% in Jewish schools
<40 yrs	23	None	17
40 - 49	13	Progressive	11
50 - 59	12	Orthodox	16
60 +	12	Right wing Orth	58

reflect the availability of this type of schooling. The increased participation of the under 40s (from 13% to 23%) corresponds very closely to the trends in day school education analysed in the Worms Report and suggests that our sample is fairly representative of the community as a whole with regard to its educational profile. However, the variation in Jewish schooling across synagogue groups is more surprising, particularly the relatively high rate of Jewish schooling among the unaffiliated respondents. Although this sub-group is not large (N = 225), the proportion of day school graduates within it provides the first suggestion that day schools may not have the unambiguously positive impact that is sometimes assumed. This question is sharpened if one examines the synagogue affiliation

of women who attended Jewish day schools compared to the synagogue affiliation of their parents (Table 3). This shows that the majority of day school pupils came from Central Orthodox homes, but as adults these women are

Table 3: Synagogue affiliation of women who attended Jewish schools and of their parents, percentages N=210

Synagogue affiliation of women who attended Jewish schools	% of women	% of parents
None	18	3
Progressive	24	4
Orthodox	45	87
Right Wing Orthodox	13	6

spread far more evenly through the range of synagogal bodies. Although we have to allow for natural shifts in religious affiliation from one generation to the next, it is clear that Jewish schooling has not prevented a substantial shift away from Central Orthodoxy - mainly to the left, but with some movement also to the right. The details of this dynamic were discussed more fully in chapter 7.

4 The effects of Jewish education on Jewish identity

While Jewish education is an important vehicle for the transmission of basic Jewish knowledge, the critical question is the extent to which Jewish education can enhance the identity and commitment of Jewish young people, and thereby reduce rates of assimilation and intermarriage. Ideally this question should be answered by conducting a longitudinal study of individual Jews. This would monitor changes in their religious and ethnic behaviour at regular intervals of time and relate the changes to the conditions affecting each person at earlier points in time. This would be an expensive long-term exercise ; the present study offers an alternative, if somewhat less precise, way of examining the same relationships. In essence, the procedure measures the respondents' current levels of religious and ethnic identity and links these to their educational history and family background.

An important qualification is that the findings reported here are, by definition, historical. They relate to the impact of educational and family events that occured when our respondents were children - on average about 35 years ago.

Our conclusions apply, therefore, to the effects of British Jewish education of the 50s, 60s and 70s - not of the 90s; still less do they apply to Jewish education as it is yet to be. Nonetheless, taken together with other evidence, these findings at least raise questions about what can conceivably be expected of Jewish education in an open society.

A simplistic approach to the measurement of educational impact is to compare the Jewish characteristics of people who have experienced a thorough Jewish education with those who have not. This method generally leads to the conclusion that Jewish education has a positive effect on Jewish identity; those who have attended Jewish schools are more likely than others to marry Jews, practice Judaism and raise Jewish children. Table 4 compares women with differing levels of Jewish education on various criteria of Jewishness. The levels of education represented in the table are (a) no Jewish education during childhood, (b) some Jewish education (usually *cheder*) and (c) full-time Jewish education (either primary or secondary or both).

Almost without exception this table shows a systematic increase in Jewish identity with increasing levels of Jewish education. The relationship between education and each of the measures of Jewish commitment is positive and statistically significant. Nonetheless, the evidence is unconvincing because it does not take account of other crucial factors.

Children who are sent to Jewish schools are not only exposed to a more thorough Jewish education. They are also more likely to come from a Strictly Orthodox or Traditional home, to have more observant family and friends and to be more closely involved in synagogue life and religious youth groups. It is entirely plausible that any one of these factors, individually or in combination, is the real cause of the trends revealed in Table 4. In other words, when comparing the Jewishly well-educated with the rest, we are not comparing like with like. If the effect of home background could be removed, then the impact of Jewish education, acting by itself, might prove to be very different.

To test this idea we need to separate out different sub-groups of respondents - ie those from Strictly Orthodox homes, those from Traditional homes, those from Non-Orthodox homes etc - and then to analyse the effects of Jewish education ***within each group.*** In this way we can assess the effects of Jewish education over and above the impact of the child's home background and the other factors associated with it. When this is done, the *additional* contribution of Jewish education is found to be greatly reduced; sometimes even negative.

Table 4: · Jewish education and Jewish identity of (born) Jewish women

	Level of Jewish education		
	None N~218 %	Part-time N~880 %	Some full-time N~209 %
% who attend synagogue at least once per month	23	34	36
% who would do everything possible to prevent a child marrying a non Jew	31	39	58
% who classify themselves as traditional or strictly Orthodox	35	49	64
% who say they are "extremely conscious of being Jewish"	24	33	55
% who have *never* had a stable relationship with a non-Jew	77	85	87
Mean level of observance (arbitrary scale)	25.1	27.1	28.7
Mean level of religious belief (arbitrary scale)	12.1	12.0	13.4
Mean level of ethnic identity (arbitrary scale)	28.9	29.5	30.8

To illustrate this point, the measures listed in Table 4 have been re-calculated for the largest sub-group - the 690 women who characterise their home background as "Traditional, not Strictly Orthodox" (Table 5 overleaf). It is immediately apparent that once the analysis is restricted to a group with a uniform religious background, the evidence for the effectiveness of Jewish education disappears. Disregarding the 'no Jewish education' group (a very small sample), the difference between the Jewish characteristics of those receiving full- and part-time education is not at all consistent ; for some measures, full-time education produces a *negative* effect (synagogue attendance, choice of Jewish partners, ritual observance); for some the effect is *neutral* (belief, ethnic identity); and for only three of the eight measures is it mildly *positive* (Jewish consciousness, opposition to intermarriage and Orthodox affiliation). In fact, only one of these effects is statistically reliable and that is the negative relationship between Jewish education and synagogue attendance. Overall, therefore, these data show that the impact of Jewish education is more-or-less neutral.

Table 5: Jewish education and Jewish characteristics of born-Jewish women from Traditional homes

	Level of Jewish education		
	None	Part-time	Some full-time
	N ~ 51	N~520	N~105
	%	%	%
% who attend synagogue at least once per month	24	38	27
% who would do everything possible to prevent a child marrying a non-Jew	38	46	49
% who classify themselves as traditional or strictly Orthodox	66	62	65
% who say they are "extremely conscious of being Jewish"	41	36	48
% who have *never* had a stable relationship with a non-Jew	87	88	83
Mean level of observance (arbitrary scale)	27.0	27.7	27.5
Mean level of religious belief (arbitrary scale)	12.4	12.0	12.0
Mean level of ethnic identity (arbitrary scale)	30.5	29.9	30.0

The above analysis relates only to women raised in traditional homes and is therefore illustrative. It has some importance in its own right, however, since the Central Orthodox group is the largest segment of British Jewry and particularly prone to shifts in religious affiliation at the present time (Schmool and Cohen 1991). The impact of Jewish education on women from traditional backgrounds will therefore have a critical impact on British-Jewish demography.

A more thorough technique has been used in the following section. This technique - Multiple Regression Analysis - allows us to test the impact of Jewish education, *across all groups of respondents after allowing for home background.* It can be used to assess the impact of each of the factors that might influence Jewish identity, while controlling for the influence of all the others. Using this more appropriate method we extended the analysis to measure the

impact of those experiences which, prima facie, would be presumed to affect identity levels. These were:

Jewish education - none, some part-time, substantial part-time, full-time
Parental religiosity - secular, Non-Orthodox, Traditional, Strictly Orthodox
Experience of a BatMitzvah/Bat Chayil - yes, no
Youth club involvement - years of attendance

All four of these variables were analysed to determine how well they predicted six critical aspects of Jewish identity. In keeping with earlier research, the most accurate predictor of the respondents' Jewish behaviour was their parents' level of observance. The effect of this factor is not overwhelming, but it is robust and extremely reliable statistically; parental religiosity is the only variable that consistently predicts Jewish outcome measures - whether the outcomes relate to religious belief, practice, ethnicity, synagogue attendance, choice of a Jewish partner or synagogue affiliation. Furthermore, once the influence of the home is allowed for, the other variables have a greatly reduced effect, no effect, or occasionally a negative effect as shown in Table 6.

Table 6: What accounts for variation in measures of Jewish belief, practice and identity: a comparison of four predictors

Outcome measure	Proportion of the variation accounted for by:			
	Parental Religiosity	Jewish Education	Youth Club Yrs	Bat-Mitzvah experience
Orthodox affiliation	21.5%	-[1]	0.3%	-
Religious observance	16.1%	0.3%	0.8%	-
Ethnic identity	10.1%	-	0.3%	1.7% (neg)
Religious belief	6.2%	-	-	-
Synagogue attendance	5.0%	0.6%	-	-
Jewish-only relationships	4.0%	-	-	-

In Table 6, the percentages represent the amount of *variation* in any measure that can be traced back to differences in, say, Jewish educational history or differences in home background. So, for example, 16% of the variation between women in terms of their religious observance can be explained by differences in their home background; by implication, a further 84% of the variation in religious observance must be due to the influence of other factors.

1 Dashes (-) represent cases where the predictor (eg education) has no relationship with the variable being predicted (eg Orthodox affiliation)

In the case of Jewish education there is evidence of a statistically reliable[1] , but inconsequential relationship with just two outcome measures - ritual observance and synagogue attendance; in both cases less than 1% of the variation is explained. Jewish education has no measurable influence on levels of religious belief, ethnicity, or affiliation with the Orthodox community. The relationship between Jewish education and choice of a Jewish partner is not statistically reliable, but in any case it is actually negative! The implication then is that Jewish education may have a very slight effect on behaviour and practice, but no measurable effect on adult beliefs and attitudes.

Similarly, the other factors included in the Multiple Regression Analysis explain very little of the variation in Jewish practice and identity. The negative relationship between Batmitzvah/Bat Chayil and ethnic identity is surprising, but it should be borne in mind that this is the relationship *after* controlling for home background. The result probably reflects the operation of an unmeasured variable, associated with the kinds of families who choose to have such a ceremony, but further research would be needed to explain this result.

Taken as a whole, these findings show that about 10% - 20% of the variation in our respondents' Jewish characteristics can be traced back to family influences. And once the religious complexion of the family is allowed for, the additional impact of Jewish education is virtually zero. In principle this might be due to the poor quality of the measures we have employed, but similar findings have been obtained independently in a number of different settings[2,3] and the general trends are clear.

As noted at the outset of this section, these findings relate to historical influences and events. We shall not be able to assess the effectiveness of contemporary Jewish education until well into the next century, but as one of us has argued elsewhere (Miller, 1990), it would be unrealistic to expect Jewish education alone to make significant inroads into current trends in assimilation. This is not because Jewish educators lack the ingenuity to devise radical and more effective

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1 A statistically reliable relationship is one that is very unlikely to have occured by chance.

2 A recent study based on NJPS data (Fishman and Goldstein, 1993) reports a strong positive relationship between Jewish education and adult Jewish behaviour. However, as the authors note, this study confounds Jewish education with "a constellation of family characteristics and individual experiences" such that they have "no way of deriving from the data the specific impact of quality of Jewish education received" (p3)

3 See also Kosmin and Levy (1983), Miller (1988), Dashefsky and Shapiro (1974)

learning programmes, but because Jewish commitment appears to be determined largely by other variables - by the home, perhaps by interactions between personality and family practices, by various idiosyncratic factors that we have not yet identified - but not simply by exposure to Jewish day school education. These findings suggest that there is a need to think more radically about communal strategies for survival and to question the assumption that the expansion of formal education will automatically ensure Jewish continuity. In our view, it is at least as important to study the social and psychological determinants of religious mobility, to try to understand the factors that cause young Jews from almost identical backgrounds to move in opposite directions, as it is to increase the market penetration of Jewish education in the hope that new approaches or additional resources can reverse existing trends.

This is not, of course, to suggest that the development of Jewish education is incidental to the needs of the Jewish community. It is obviously a major determinant of the quality of communal and personal religious life. But we may need to decouple the concept of Jewish education as a means of enhancing the religious life of those who are Jewishly committed, from the concept of Jewish education as an agent of demographic change; it is only in this second sense that it appears to be a rather blunt weapon.

5 Bat Mitzvah, Bat Chayil and Continuing Jewish education

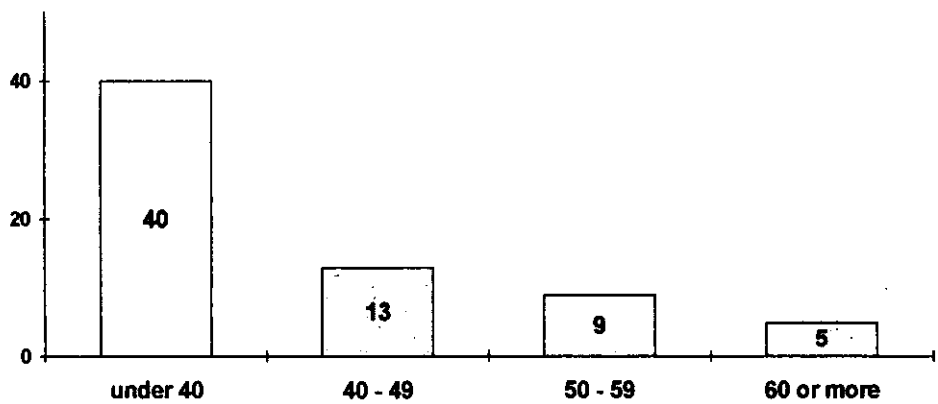
Outside of the formal setting of Jewish schooling, *Family Education* and *Continuing Education* are relatively under-developed elements of Jewish education that may have greater potential for the reinforcement of Jewish identity and commitment. Our survey provides some useful information on the extent to which Jewish women have experienced a range of Jewish educational opportunities at various stages of their lives beyond childhood.

The natural starting point for this analysis is the study of Bat Mitzvah and Bat Chayil statistics. Some 234 respondents (17% of the sample) reported that they had taken part in such a ceremony. In almost every case the ceremony took place inside a synagogue, usually on a Sunday (52%) or a *Shabbat* (36%) and typically involved a public performance of some kind. The main forms of educational preparation for a Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil, in order of frequency, were:

Learning about Jewish festivals/Sabbath
Preparing a reading from the Siddur
Learning how to run a Jewish home
Preparing a talk on points of Jewish law/Torah
Preparing a reading from the Torah
Doing a project of relevance to a Jewish woman

There are very marked variations in the frequency of Bat Mitzvah/Bat Chayil as a function of religious orientation and current age of the respondent. Women raised in Progressive homes are most likely to have had a Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil (38%), those raised in Traditional homes are far less likely (20%) and those from 'Secular' or 'just Jewish' groups are least likely (8%). The variation with age is even more dramatic; younger women are eight times more likely to have experienced the ceremony than women over 60 years (Figure 2).

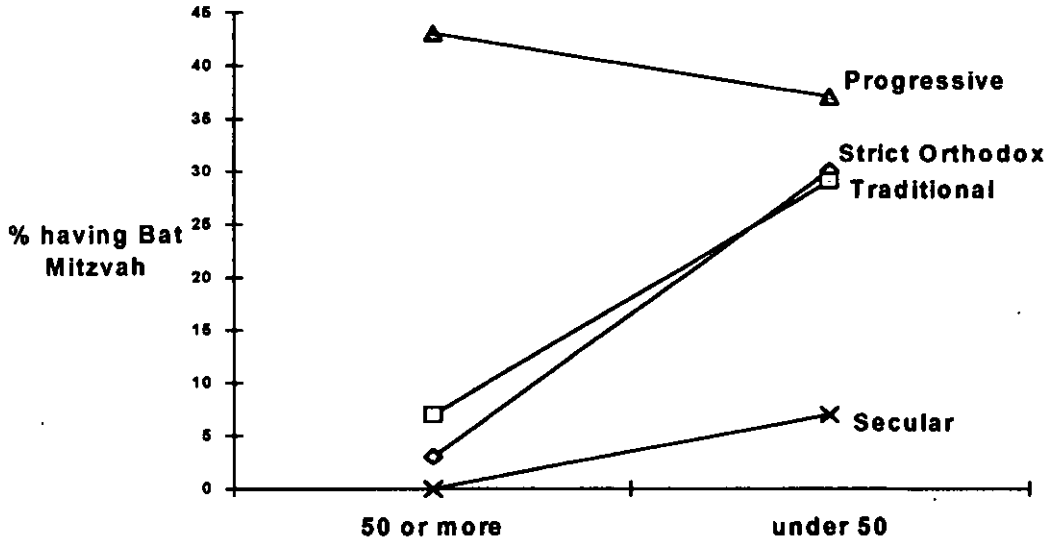
Figure 2: Experience of a Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil ceremony according to current age, percent of respondents



If we examine this age variation separately for different religious groups (Figure 3), it can be seen that the gap between Progressive and Orthodox participation has narrowed significantly in the youngest group; Traditional Jews and the Strictly Orthodox are now almost as enthusiastic about this ceremony as their Reform and Liberal counterparts.

This greatly increased popularity of the Bat Mitzvah ceremony may be seen as part of the transformation of Jewish practice that accompanies secularisation and adaptation to modernity (Cohen 1983). As discussed in the earlier analysis of identity patterns, this process is said to consist of a steady movement away from personal, religiously-inspired ritual and towards less frequent, socially and ethnically-inspired ceremonies - ie events which act as vehicles for affirming one's membership of the group rather than one's religious faith. Some support for this interpretation of the Bat Mitzvah/Chayil ceremony comes from the finding that, within the Traditional and Progressive groupings, the 65% of women who have arranged a ceremony for their daughters, or intend to do so, are no more religious than women who have not organised such a ceremony. They are, however, marginally more likely to classify themselves as feminists. All this

Figure 3: Experience of Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil as a function of the religious affiliation of parents and respondents' current age



suggest that an increasing emphasis on forms of ethnic identification, combined with some concern about equality in the treatment of boys and girls, are the main determinants of the increased practice of Bat Mitzvah and Bat Chayil.

Whatever the parental motivation for engaging in this ceremony, it may yet have a positive impact on the level of identification and religious commitment of the young people who experience it. To gain some insight into this, a sub-group of respondents were asked whether they felt that the experience of Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil had 'a positive or negative effect on [their] commitment to Judaism'. Very few women (3%) viewed the experience as having had a negative effect; the majority believed it had been positive (58%) or were unsure (39%). However, the objective effects of educational experiences must be distinguished from the respondents' subjective judgments of their impact. The data in Table 6 show that, once allowance has been made for home background and other variables, the experience of Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil as a single event in a young woman's development does not increase Jewish outcome measures.

6 Jewish Adult education

Over the past 15 years the community has experienced an explosion of adult educational programmes in all regions and religious sectors. These have taken many forms: eg the one-to-one learning experience of Project Seed in subjects

like Hebrew reading and Talmud; university-style classes in Jewish history and culture at the Spiro Institute, and many other varied courses in Jewish values, practices and beliefs in the majority of synagogues throughout the country.

There is anecdotal evidence that women have enrolled in such programmes in force. But there has been no consolidated effort to quantify the participation rates. In our sample, we found that a high proportion of respondents (57%) reported involvement in some form of adult learning either as young adults (18-25 yrs) or as adults (26+). Throughout the period of adult learning our respondents studied a wide range of topics, listed in order of frequency in Table 7.

Table 7: Topics studied by Jewish women in adult education programmes, in order of frequency

Topic	% of women studying topic
Jewish cookery	27
Laws and customs (eg Festivals, Kashrut)	26
Modern Hebrew	24
Jewish history, culture, art	22
Laws of family purity (mikveh etc)	21
Ethics of Judaism	21
The synagogue service	20
Learning to read Hebrew	20
Bible and commentaries	17
Translating Hebrew from Bible/Siddur	8

The most frequently studied topics vary with age (see Table 8) such that new topics come to replace some of the subjects studied by younger women. Thus, apart from the ubiquitous "Jewish laws and practices", for which there is an ongoing practical need, the topic choices in the adult years appear to reflect a shift from the functional to the more intellectual and ethical aspects of Judaism. However, if respondents are asked to identify three topics which are "particularly important in the education of Jewish women", the most pragmatic ones are selected - (i) *Jewish laws and practices (ii) Reading Hebrew and (iii) The Synagogue service* - rather than anything of a conceptual nature. Asked to identify the least important topics, they chose *(i) translation of the Bible, (ii) Modern Hebrew and (iii) laws of family purity.* This pattern closely resembles the priorities expressed by parents in the United Synagogue survey (1992); the primary concern was instrumental and pragmatic (*davening*, following the service) rather than conceptual or ethical.

Table 8: The most frequently studied topics in each age group, listed in order of frequency

As a child/teenager	As a young adult	As an adult
Reading Hebrew	Jewish cookery	Jewish laws/practs
Jewish laws/practs	Ivrit	Jewish history
Bible and commentaries	Jewish laws/practs	Ethics of Judaism
Synagogue service	Family purity	Jewish Cookery

7 Adult Education and Affiliation

The previous section described the overall practices and opinions of the entire sample. However, if we examine members of Progressive and Central Orthodox synagogues separately, a more distinctive pattern emerges:

i) First, there is a clear bias in the religious orientation of those who take up adult education; Progressive women are 1.6 times more likely to engage in learning than their Central Orthodox counterparts. To some extent this reflects the larger number of converts to Judaism in the Progressive sub-group; but even among born Jews, the proportion who engage in adult education is 1.2 times higher among Progressive women than among women belonging to Central Orthodox synagogues.

ii) Second, the profile of topics studied in adulthood also varies significantly; Progressive women include both practical and conceptual topics in the set of most commonly studied courses while Central Orthodox women give more emphasis to practical subjects (Table 9).

Table 9 Topics studied by members of Progressive and Central Orthodox synagogues, topics listed in order of frequency

Progressive women		Central Orthodox women	
Topic	**% of women studying topic**	**Topic**	**% of women studying topic**
Jewish history/art/culture	22	Jewish cookery	14
Synagogue service	20	Jewish laws and practices	14
Ethics of Judaism	19	Modern Hebrew	13
Jewish laws and practices	19	Jewish history/culture/art	11

The same trend is apparent in judgments of the *importance* of different educational topics. When we consider the groups according to their self-rated affiliation, 42% of Progressive women include the *Ethics of Judaism* in their list of three "particularly important (topics) in the education of Jewish women", while only 22% of Traditional women include this topic. Conversely, *Jewish Cookery* is listed by 32% of the Traditional women and only by 20% of Progressive women. Here, as in other areas, Progressive women tend towards a more intellectual approach to Judaism than their Traditional counterparts. On this issue Strictly Orthodox women fall between the two groups, citing *Jewish laws and customs,* and then *Laws of Family Purity* and *Learning to read Hebrew* as the most important topics for Jewish women.

8 Recent involvement in Jewish education as a function of affiliation & age

The rates of participation in adult education reported in the last two sections are based on respondents' memories of their learning experiences from childhood to the present time. In order to present a more contemporary picture, a random sub-sample of 350 women were asked whether they had attended a course on a Jewish topic in the past three years and whether they wished to extend their Jewish education in the future. Responses to these more precise questions (Figure 4) confirm the Progressive-Traditional bias; Progressive women show more commitment to learning on both measures than Traditional respondents.

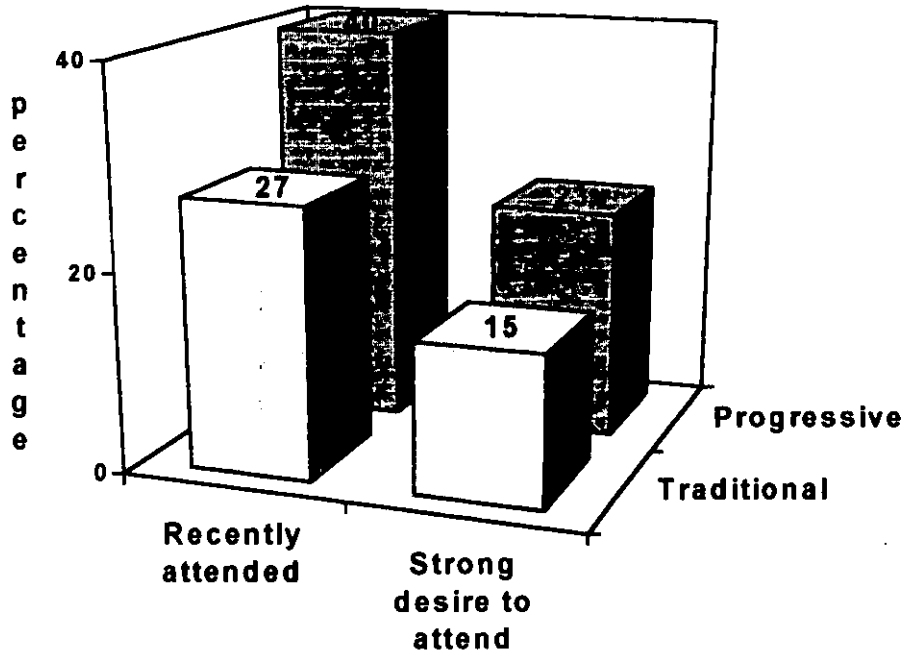
These differences are statistically reliable and have no obvious explanation. The possibilty that the relationship is mediated by age is not supported by the data; whilst it is true that Progressive respondents are, on average, slightly younger than Traditional respondents, there is no evidence in our sub-sample that younger women engage more readily in adult education:-

Table 10: Recent Participation in Adult Education by age

Age group	No of respondents	Percentage participation
under 40	119	26%
40 and under 50	97	41%
50 and over	128	28%

The explanation for the difference may therefore lie in the personal characteristics of those who are drawn to different denominational groups; Progressive women may simply be more concerned about educational self-development than Traditional women.

Figure 4 Current and future involvement in adult education by religious affiliation

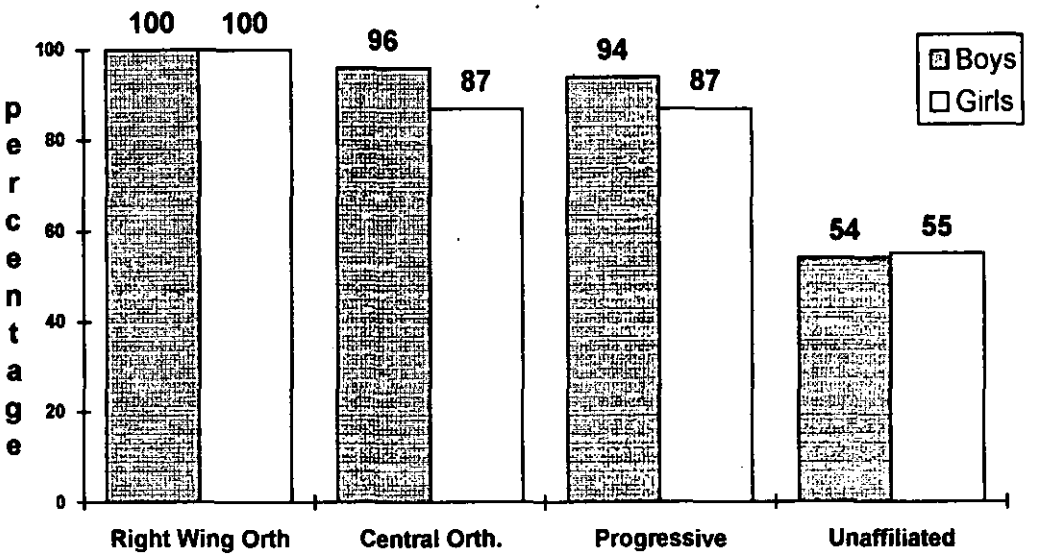


9 Children's education

More than 2500 children were born to women in the sample. Many of these children are now in their thirties and forties and so their educational history will be similar to that of the younger respondents discussed earlier. We therefore focused on the Jewish education of children who are currently between 6 and 25 years of age; within this group we obtained information on 1167 children - 613 males and 554 females.

In this sample, just over 88% of children had received (or were receiving) some form of Jewish education at the time of the survey. However some of the younger children have yet to join Jewish educational programmes, and when these are allowed for the eventual participation rate will be about 93% for the sample as a whole. For the female children, the final rate will be slightly lower at about 90%. This rate may be compared to that of the mothers of whom 87% were found to be Jewishly educated in childhood. Thus, within our samples, there has been a small increase (about 3%) in the proportion of girls who receive some form of Jewish education.

Figure 5: Percentage participation in Jewish education of children, according to gender and mother's synagogue affiliation



Looking separately at the different synagogal groups however, it is apparent that children from unaffiliated homes are far less likely than others to have been Jewishly educated (Figure 5). This contrasts with the educational background of their mothers (see sections 1-3) which is very similar to that of affiliated women; indeed unaffiliated women were somewhat *more* likely to have attended a Jewish day school than Progressive or Traditional women. However, the children of the unaffiliated, admittedly based on a rather small sample (N=96), are about half as likely to experience Jewish education as their mothers or their peers raised in affiliated homes.

The graph also shows that the gender bias in Jewish education reported in the 50s and 60s has almost disappeared; there remains, however, a small, but statistically reliable, preponderance of Jewishly educated boys over girls in the Central Orthodox and Progressive samples. For most families however, Jewish education is apparently seen as being equally important for boys and girls.

These trends are also reflected in the patterns of enrolment in particular types of Jewish education. Thus, for the sample as a whole, children are more likely than their mothers to be involved in each type of education, but females are marginally less well represented than males in all but Teenage Centre attendance (Table 11).

Table 11: Frequency of participation in different kinds of Jewish education, mothers, daughters and sons compared.

Type of education	% participation		
	mothers	children	
		m	f
	%	%	%
Cheder	64	70	66
Jewish primary school	13	36	29
Jewish secondary school	7	17	16
Teenage Centre	3	29	33

These differences in male-female participation are not reflected in the respondents' attitudes to the education of boys and girls; 96% said that 'having a thorough Jewish education' was equally important for both sexes and 97% said that 'attending a Jewish day school' was equally important for both - the remaining 3 or 4% were about equally divided. The only area whether mothers do discriminate, and very markedly so, is in relation to Bar- and Bat-Mitzvah; 57% rate these events equally important and the remaining 43% ascribe greater importance to the Bar Mitzvah of a boy than the Bat Mitzvah of a girl.

Table 11 also throws light on trends in the pattern of Jewish education. Although there has not been a dramatic increase in overall participation rate between the generations (93% v 87%) - largely because there was little room for improvement - Table 11 shows that the intensity of Jewish education has increased dramatically. The percentage of children attending a Jewish school, whether primary or secondary, has increased from 15% to 37% and the percentage attending *both* has risen from 4% to 13% (not shown in table).

Finally, the rapid expansion of Teenage Centre education in the past 15 years or so means that well over a third of Cheder graduates now continue with some Jewish studies after Bar/Bat Mitzvah, whereas only a handful used to do so. The negative aspect of these findings is that, despite the growth in the popularity of Jewish schooling, the gap between the appeal of primary and secondary schools has not diminished. As can be seen in Table 11, it is still the case that about half the Jewish day school population disappears at transfer from primary to secondary schooling. The reason for this outflow hinges on (i) parental perceptions of non-Jewish selective schools being academically superior and (ii) the view that children need to learn to mix in the wider community at secondary level (US Review, p258).

Summary

1. Virtually all the women in our sample had some exposure to formal Jewish education, but of limited scope and intensity. Most respondents experienced a few years of part-time Jewish study prior to the age of Batmitzvah. Experience of full-time Jewish schooling was restricted to about 15% of the sample, although younger respondents and the Strictly Orthodox had higher rates of attendance.

2. Participation in Jewish education did not vary greatly between synagogue affiliated and unaffiliated respondents; in fact, unaffiliated women were *more* likely to have attended a Jewish school than members of Progressive or Central Orthodox synagogues. However, their children are substantially *less* well educated Jewishly.

3. In general, the children of our respondents are being given a more extensive Jewish education than their mothers; almost 40% attend a Jewish school, and there has been a tenfold increase in the rate of attendance at (post-Bat Mitzvah) Teenage Centres. Whilst the absolute rate of attendance at Jewish secondary schools has increased, such schools remain less popular than Jewish primary schools, attracting half as many pupils in each year group.

4. Although parental attitudes to the importance of Jewish education are not gender biased, in practice there is a small but reliable difference in favour of the education of boys. This is restricted to the Central Orthodox and Progressive groupings.

5. There has been a dramatic increase in the popularity of Bat Mitzvah and Bat Chayil ceremonies over the past 30 years. More than 40% of respondents under 40 years took part in such a ceremony (compared with 9% of 50 year-olds) and 65% of respondents intend to have a Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil for their daughters. This growth in the popularity of the ceremony can be traced to changes in socio-ethnic rather than religious motivation.

6. Over the entire sample, the trend in the practice of Bat Mitzvah and Bat Chayil is from Secular (low) to Traditional/Strictly Orthodox (medium) to Progressive (high). However, in the younger age groups the practice is now almost equally popular among Traditional, Orthodox and Progressive families.

7. Jewish adult education formed a significant part of the Jewish learning experience of our respondents. Almost 60% had attended classes at some

time and about a third had engaged in adult Jewish learning in the past three years. This proportion is considerably higher among Progressive women who also place a greater emphasis on conceptual subjects (eg Jewish ethics, history) than on more practical topics (eg Jewish cookery). The data suggest that Progressive Jewish women may have an intrinsically stronger interest in educational self-development than their Traditional counterparts.

8. In depth analysis of the impact of various Jewish educational experiences showed that family influences account for about 10%-20% of the variation between respondents, in terms of their religious beliefs, practices and identity. Once home background is taken into account, the *additional impact* of Jewish education, Bat Mitzvah and attendance at Jewish youth clubs is virtually zero and is sometimes negative.

9. Insofar as these findings can be generalised to contemporary Jewish education, the implication is that individual social and psychological factors may be more potent determinants of Jewish continuity than simple exposure to intense levels of Jewish education. It is suggested that there is a need to decouple the concept of Jewish education as a means of enhancing the religious life of those who are Jewishly committed, from the concept of Jewish education as an agent of demographic change.

AFTERWORD

Stability and Change

Over the past twenty years British society, and consequently British Jewry, has experienced a range of changes notably in the economic sphere, marriage and the family, education, gender relations and religion. While the dynamic processes associated with these trends were recognised as working within British Jewish life, there was little communal attempt to understand them. A catalyst was required to begin to bring the forces into view and give them an overall focus. In a community which is for the most part structured around Orthodox institutions, this necessary condition was provided by the arrival of the new Chief Rabbi in September 1991, presenting an opportunity for communal stock-taking.

Immediately on taking office, Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks put in hand the United Synagogue Review (Kalms, 1992), setting in motion organisational changes within Britain's largest synagogal body; soon after, he established the Commission on 'Women in the Community'. The research for that Commission, which is reported here, has revealed elements of change, in both practice and attitude; but at the same time it has suggested an underlying stability in the many structural and psychological mechanisms which sustain Jewish ethnic and religious life.

By carefully defining the balance between stability and change, we believe it will be possible to identify the broad thrust of communal trends and, perhaps suggest ways in which they may to some extent be controlled. Such an exercise obviously lies well beyond the scope of this study, but a starting point may be provided by highlighting some of the basic trends revealed in our research. It is important at the outset, however, to say that we are fully aware that the future of the British Jewry lies equally in the hands of both men and women, and in the way they work together for shared communal goals. In the course of our analysis, we have at many points asked ourselves 'what do men think about this' as the answers would have rounded the perspective. This was especially the case when considering the very strong attitudes of those not married, nor in partnerships, towards marriage and the community. It is therefore interesting that women, rather than men (or men and women together), were deemed the appropriate subjects of a major survey. This explicit realisation that women's attitudes about, and approach to, their religion should be examined in their own right seems to us to be an initial element of change in a community where, hitherto, communal policy and priorities have been set by men.

In considering change in any sphere it is apposite to enquire from what basis we mark movement. In terms of British Jewish society, the benchmark is a 'tradition' based on religious practices and beliefs. These in turn are tuned to a particular annual calendar and distinct rites de passage, and are for some enhanced by a nostalgia for roots in a number of lands. It is on this basis that a high proportion of our respondents classify themselves religiously as 'Traditional'. And when we correlate their patterns of ritual practice with this self-definition we see that the classification is consistent. The validity of this benchmark is further evidenced by the many elements of tradition which are found in the large group of Non-Orthodox, although the element of stability is, naturally, stronger among those calling themselves 'Traditional'. It is worth stressing here that the factor which most clearly discriminates between the Traditional and Non-Orthodox women is their support or otherwise for the legitimacy of women Rabbis. Notwithstanding the underlying social similarity and shared communal history of the two groups, we find here two distinct attitude patterns: the Traditional emotional opposition and the Non-Orthodox principled support. Since the feeling is not founded on a coherent value system which accepts clear role differentiation, it seems likely that the Traditional attitude will be overtaken as women are increasingly accepted in what, historically, have been male roles.

There is a stable but weak pattern of belief among respondents, exhibited by women of all ages and most synagogal groupings. The traditional 'Jewishness' which is delineated here is not one of a strong faith. Nor have we found high levels of belief among older women which tail off among the younger respondents. Rather, Jewish ethnicity - the strong sense of peoplehood - is the mainstay of all ages and the inspiration for much that passes as ritual practice, but is more accurately ethnic ceremony. Furthermore, the socio-demographic profile of our sample links to this ethnic foundation. It is highly stable, almost stereotypical, building on the historical edifice of the Jewish family. The synagogue sample is one of mid-life, married women who are mothers, live in nuclear family units and anticipate caring for ageing parents. They are geographically stable, having lived in their present homes on average for some 12 years. Their support for Jewish ethnic separation is confirmed both by their disapproval of interfaith marriages and by their wish that the authorities were less resistant to the acceptance of non-Jewish partners. This attitude may be interpreted as the desire both to maintain a community of Jews and to ensure that their own grandchildren have a place within that community.

Comparisons of Jewish and general society suggest that respondents subscribe to some long-held stereotypes of Jewish family life. Abortion, violence against women, child abuse and drug abuse are seen as more prevalent in society at large as are homosexuality and AIDs-related problems. These perceptions underline a belief in a solid, stable family which has through centuries been a cornerstone of

Jewish society. This family has, traditionally, also been centred on a home where kashrut is maintained; however we also see erosion here. It would seem that tradition no longer involves a commitment to the precise observance of fundamental home-based rituals, out of habit or out of loyalty. Many do not observe the basic commandment of using ritually-slaughtered meat and almost one-third of Orthodox synagogue members do not regularly light candles on Friday night. These seem to us indicators of the way in which the importance given in general life to consumer choice and personal growth has contributed to a selective Judaism; a philosophy in which individuals feel it is permissible to choose which practices they maintain and which they neglect.

Thus we see the development of a pattern whereby Jews feel it acceptable simply to buy into both community structures and religious rituals as and when these are deemed necessary. This trend, combined with a decline in faith, has conspired to transform religious behaviour from a strong, value-based, organic whole into a series of arbitrary customs and mores which are directed towards identification with a group, the Jewish people. If we exclude those who retain genuine religious commitment, for most of our respondents the tradition, to which their daughters will refer in future life, now consists of personally acceptable practices. There is a critical issue here, as to whether a viable Jewish identity can be transmitted on the basis of ethnicity and ritual in the absence of faith.

The second, age-old, Jewish value evidenced by the research is the importance of education. The levels of attainment in secular education are extraordinary. While they are high as would be expected of any group with the social profile of our sample, they are nevertheless phenomenal when compared with national figures. Although at first glance such educational prowess is simply an expression of the Jewish tradition of valuing learning and, as such, is another example of communal stability, we also see here two important changes within community patterns. First, a religious exhortation has been transformed into secular practice; and secondly the practice whereby sons were educated has been progressively extended to daughters. The commandment to teach religious laws to sons has been recast so that education in its widest sense has become a positive good for all children.

However, this metamorphosis means that there is now a very marked difference in the levels of Jewish and general education experienced by Jewish women. This is not simply to state that there is competition in the time available or allowed for Jewish and general education. It also means an imbalance is created whereby women can view the general world as adults but, since their Jewish education for the most part ends at age 13, are equipped intellectually to understand the Jewish world only as children. This short-coming is recognised by women who have

continued their Jewish education through adult education classes and who recognise that both boys and girls require full Jewish and general education.[1] In keeping with their recorded feminist leanings, women in the study are no longer prepared to accept second-class educational status of any kind for themselves and their daughters.

If the quality of Jewish education and its ability to engage young women is not improved, there is the danger that perceptions about what being Jewish means will be based on relative ignorance, myth, and nostalgia. Poor Jewish education will result in Jewish knowledge being rudimentary, divorced from a full value system and based on rituals which, we have suggested, are chosen arbitrarily. Under these conditions the tradition to which the coming generation of women harks back will be attenuated, consisting mainly of ritual punctuations to the calendar which may perhaps be compared to a commercialised Christmas.

There is every reason to encourage excellence in Jewish education, both to improve the depth and quality of our religious life and to enhance the Jewish identity of those whose commitment to Judaism may be at risk. But our findings question the efficacy of Jewish education in this second role and suggest that it is not (or at least has not been) a sufficient response to the problem. This is sadly illustrated by the educational history of our unaffiliated respondents. They have higher levels of secular education than any group; they are better educated Jewishly than all but the Strictly Orthodox and yet they are the least committed, and do least to ensure the Jewish education of their own children. It is difficult to imagine a more unfortunate, negative spiral in the transmission of Jewish belief and practice.

The high educational attainment of women also contains a demographic implication, especially if it is not accompanied by a change in male expectations. While Jewish men continue to expect Jewish women to conform to traditional roles, however much the highly educated women may prefer to marry within the community, they may look outside for more understanding partners. Even if men do adapt to the shift in women's expectations, the high levels of attainment of Jewish women and the increasingly wide variation in fields of specialised study may, nevertheless, render their search for a suitable Jewish partner fruitless, simply because there are not enough similarly qualified men. In this context, it is important to note that the educationally most accomplished groups are the unaffiliated and the Secular - both categories to an extent divorced from the

[1] Over 90% of the 390 respondents asked thought both university and thorough Jewish education were equally important for boys and for girls.

mainstream Traditional and Non-Orthodox groups - and, if educational attainment increases, these groups will become numerically more important.

The synagogue

Structurally, the fundamental institution of the community since *mishnaic* times has been the synagogue. In British Jewish terms since 1656 this has usually meant an Orthodox synagogue of a range of denominations: *Sephardi*, Right-Wing or Central *Ashkenazi*. Until the mid-1970s the community was predominantly organised through Central Orthodox synagogues whose members recognise the authority of the Chief Rabbi. In recent years statistical research has shown that the proportion of all synagogue members which is affiliated to Central Orthodox synagogues has declined (Schmool and Cohen, 1991). Thus, while the centrality of synagogue is maintained, it is in relation to type of synagogue membership that the most important development for the community is manifested. There is a generational shift in membership patterns. This is most often a 'movement to the left' which has affected all synagogal organisations. Institutional analysis has indicated the overall trends which show the Central Orthodox are losing proportionately to both wings. This survey presents the pattern of movement as related to individuals and indicates that, over a generation daughters drift away from their parental denomination, usually towards less observant groups. There is, however, a suggestion that the macro-changes noted through the statistical analysis may partly be the demographic effect of high fertility among the Strictly Orthodox, since 40% of that group were aged under 40, rather than shifts in individual affiliation.

There is thus a two-stranded move in synagogue membership patterns. The first shows in the generational drift and the second in the rapid numerical growth of the Right-Wing. To these must be added the non-affiliated - those who are choosing not to join a synagogue. While our sample is not representative of *all* unaffiliated women, we feel that our non-synagogue respondents represent one aspect of change within the community. For the first time a study has examined the characteristics of people who do not have formal, synagogal affiliation. We have brought together an unaffiliated group which is socially different from the members. This group is younger, less-married/partnered, more geographically mobile, more metropolitan and spectacularly more (secularly) educated. It nevertheless exhibits patterns of ethnicity and practice indistinguishable from the synagogue members.

Our unaffiliated sample portrays a middle ground between synagogue membership and complete non-identification with community, which may or may not encompass membership in a Jewish organisation. This pattern may perhaps be characterised as *affective-involvement* rather than formal affiliation and is a warning that the Jewish community must not be defined in the constrained limits

of synagogue, as is often the case in Britain.[2] This group underlines a change in the timing of commitment to this restricted 'community' which comes with the postponement of marriage, and more particularly child-bearing, until the early 30s. Young adults are not taking out synagogue membership until their mid- to late-30s whereas previously they had done so mainly in their late-20s. Such a delay is an example of the selective buying-in to community which we mentioned before. This does not, however, mean that those aged 20 - 35 are lost to all communal activity and participation; the fact that we were able to contact so many is proof of their containment within loose communal boundaries. The responses on synagogal attitudes and singleness indicate that, while the women we have labelled unaffiliated wish to be part of the community, they are alienated.

Perhaps the visible social profile of synagogue members (who by definition form a self-selected population) creates an image of community which the non-joiners reject. While it may not be possible to change this image overnight, there is a danger that the community will be unnecessarily restricted if it continues to define itself mainly on a synagogue basis without putting in hand initiatives which will attract younger members. Alternatively, new community institutions could be put in place and/or the normal definition of community could be extended to include affiliation in and involvement with a far wider range of organisations.

We are middle-class

When drawing-up the sample, because we were looking to the future and considered this lay more in the attitudes of the (relatively) young, we specifically omitted synagogue members aged over 70 insofar as we were able to pinpoint them. This took out 19% of the overall population from the study. In doing so it removed many who would be in the lower socio-economic classes, because they are pensioners or living on other low incomes. On the other hand, in drawing up the unaffiliated sample we took special care to seek respondents via contacts with access to different social milieux. The final sample is still, overwhelmingly, middle-class - a fact which has been presented to us as somehow misrepresenting the nature of the community.

This interpretation of the nature of the sample is misguided. Certainly there are Jews who are not middle class; but overwhelmingly *communally affiliated* Jews

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[2] It is interesting that a number of our unaffiliated women were employed by communal organisations.

and/or Jews who choose to live in Jewish areas *are* middle-class. For more than 30 years, every study of the affiliated community has supported this fact; and has done so using a range of techniques and sources. Moreover research in many other countries shows this to be a common characteristic of urban, industrial Diaspora communities. Therefore our statistical picture of Jewish women confirms what we see about us; affirming Jewishness (particularly through synagogue membership) and being middle-class are to a great extent synonymous. This may be why people who have politically radical values feel they have no place in the our synagogue-focused community. If, as is likely, such people are also young we can understand why these younger women are missing from our affiliated sample.

What was missed

In reviewing the results of the study we recognise there are whole areas which we were not able to examine, areas which will of themselves indicate realms of change. The omissions were mainly for two reasons. First, many issues do not lend themselves to quantitative survey research. To say this is not to apologise, simply to point out that not everything is measurable - or may only be measured with a larger sample, an even longer questionnaire or using different, perhaps long-term, techniques.

So, for example, we did not feel able to look at fertility patterns or ask about geographical movement. Both these topics are central to our community's development. Two of the most marked facts of British Jewish life over the past 50 to 60 years have been the decline in fertility and the suburbanisation of Jewish communities, whether in London or the Regions. Each of these issues merits a study on its own. Thus we have only hinted above at the potential link between fertility and the changing balance of synagogue membership and have merely suggested that younger metropolitan women reject the suburban mother image of the affiliated women.

Similarly, some of the most interesting questions put to us at the time we were designing the survey were not included in the questionnaire. One very important topic related to the incidence of *get* and dealings with *Batei Din*. We were aware that this issue was central to much of the work of the Review; it would have been supportive to be able to provide more than the simple statistics which we have reported. However, we knew from the annual data compiled for *gittin* that only small numbers of women who have had a *get* would be expected to appear, even in a sample of 2000. In such circumstances it would not have been possible to carry through meaningful analysis of the resultant data.

Secondly, there are limitations to the overall coverage. These arise out of the way the sample was put together. It was designed to give the maximum voice to

the two-thirds of Jewish women who are affiliated to community through a synagogue, either personally or in a family membership. We proceeded in this way because, in spite of the views about redefining community which we expressed earlier, synagogues currently remain the central membership institutions of British Jewry. We were however aware of the in-built bias towards married women and mothers at the expense of their adult daughters.

We therefore adopted the coloured questionnaire technique described later (see Methodology). In spite of this we received questionnaires from relatively low numbers of women under 30. Thus, while the sample reflects the make-up of the synagogue membership it does not extend fully to the *families* (i.e. the total population) associated with the members. We see this as a shortcoming particularly because we are unable to delineate changes in attitudes and experiences over finely-drawn age ranges. Had we been able to do so perhaps the rather stable picture we began with would be filled out with the views of younger, synagogue-linked women. Perhaps also their views would have echoed those of the unaffiliated we did manage to reach and so underline the existence of a middle ground that we have called affective-involvement.

In the questionnaires, answers about children and their ages suggest that when an adult daughter was living at home, her (synagogue member) mother passed the schedule to her to answer. This leaves us to hypothesise that young Jewish women are not remaining in the parental home on attaining their majority - whether or not they marry. The responses obtained in recruiting the unaffiliated sample give some support to this supposition which of itself suggests a major change from, at least recent, tradition.

Social profiles and social attitudes

The past two years have seen landmarks in social research into British Jewry. This present 'Women in the Community" survey and the United Synagogue Review each took account of the fact that a community and its institutions are there to serve its members. These initiatives also recognised that it is not enough simply to know who the members are. It is also important to understand what they think and believe. This is critical for our community whose essential roots are in a religious faith which is meeting the challenge of modernity. A significant element in that challenge is the movement towards a society which gives equality to women and in the process leads to a questioning of the woman's traditional roles under *halacha*.

In this research we have defined the different ways in which Jewish women relate to the community with respect to their beliefs, practices and sense of

peoplehood. We have seen how personal Jewish identity, defined subjectively and measured objectively, affects attitudes to community. We have examined the issue of staying Jewish at a time when the outside world seems increasingly attractive for so many young Jews and have examined how far the mechanisms of formal education and home background are able to counteract these influences. In so doing more questions are raised - that is the nature of knowledge.

The main lesson we have learned is that the transmission of Jewish identity is far more complex and unpredictable than anyone might have thought. Jewish education, the home, youth groups are blunt weapons in the battle to understand and predict the religious choices of our children, and yet there must be an explanation for the wide range of outcomes we have observed. It seems clear that the transmission of Jewish identity is determined by very complex, long-term, social and psychological interactions occurring within families; our findings suggest that these factors outweigh the more indirect effects of formal and informal educational programmes and group experiences. The next step must be to investigate, at the micro-level, the dynamics of individual Jewish families, the psychological characteristics of their members and the effects on the developing identity of their children.

We welcomed the opportunity to carry through this research as a path-finding study for British Jewry. It presented a number of challenges and raised many questions. Some of these we feel we have met and answered - others remain. It is certain, however, that the findings we have presented here are only a beginning. The database developed in the course of the survey is wide and deep. It presents a resource which, when mined further, will provide a range of insights into the lives of British Jewish women in the mid-1990s. Such knowledge can only help develop our understanding of communal dynamics and processes at a time of change. However, we do not claim that we, or other researchers who may use the database, will be able to answer all the questions which may arise.

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APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGY

In designing this study we held in mind the need to ensure that the views and experiences examined were not restricted to particular groups or confined to paid-up members of synagogues. This objective had high priority in the design echoing the aim of the Review of Women in the Community to give a voice to all British Jewish women - regardless of their level of religious observance, communal activism or formal affiliation.

A degree of creativity therefore was required in developing a sample-frame which would overcome problems arising from the fragmented nature of communal records, the lack of any comprehensive database of Jews in Britain and the fact that there is no general source/listing which can readily be tapped to provide a random sample of Jewish women.

Previous community studies here and in the United States have used two approaches to overcome these difficulties. Either resources have been committed to developing a community master list which co-ordinates the names of all families in a confined geographical location such as St Louis or Redbridge; or a random sample of households with telephones has been taken using a method called Random Digit Dialling (NJPS, 1991).

Experience in Britain has shown that there is much local resistance to the master list approach. Furthermore, while there are indications that Random Digit Dialling would yield results (Schmool 1989) the cost of developing a large national Jewish group (say 2000) is prohibitive given the small size and wide geographical dispersion of British Jewry.

The sample

We therefore decided to view the target population as three distinct divisions and sample each differently. In doing so we drew on our knowledge of the nature of the community and our experience of the degree to which co-operation might be expected from different sectors. The geographical division followed that in the 1990 census of synagogue membership (Schmool and Cohen, 1991).

The divisions were :-

(1) Orthodox Synagogue members in London

Three types were sampled from this group: United Synagogue women; those from the '*haredi*' (Right Wing) community in Stamford Hill and Sephardi women. The United Synagogue group was assumed to represent all Central (mainstream Ashkenazi) Orthodox women in London because, in the main, they have the same origins and social history as members of the other orthodox (Federation and Independent) synagogues.

The Sephardi sample was taken from the West London based Spanish & Portuguese Jews' Congregation, which covers this community throughout London.

The sample from Stamford Hill was considered to represent the strictly observant communities which are found additionally in North West London, North Manchester and Gateshead. While we recognised that there are differences between these geographical groups, we felt that they would be outweighed by the similarities between linked sub-sets of this *haredi* community. The area also includes some strictly Orthodox Sephardim but their numbers are such that they were unlikely to be included in the sample. For all three categories direct random samples were drawn from community lists.

(2) Progressive synagogue members in London, and all synagogue members outside London.

A different approach was adopted here. As already indicated, experience and research tests suggested we would not be able to co-ordinate membership lists in order to draw a direct sample. Nor was it deemed efficient to ask each of 200 synagogues to draw a small number from its list - even if every synagogue would agree to help in this way. In these circumstances a purposeful sample seemed the most appropriate way of proceeding.

We therefore approached a number of synagogues which were selected to ensure (a) balanced representation of geographical areas, synagogue groups, older and newer communities and (b) enough respondents in each group for analysis purposes. The details are given in Table 1.

Synagogues were asked to provide, or allow a research assistant to come and view, their membership lists so that a sample could be drawn. In most cases this was possible but in cases where considerations of Data Protection or confidentiality of lists came into play, synagogue officers were given exact instructions for drawing the sample themselves. While this was not an ideal solution, synagogue secretaries carefully discussed with us the routine to be followed and, given that the task was carried through by administrators who are practised in similar tasks, we believe that our instructions were strictly followed, especially in those four cases where synagogue secretaries were also, coincidentally, market researchers.

(3) Women not affiliated, either through their own or through a partner's/spouse's membership, to a synagogue.

This group ranged from women who had been or were about to be members, to those who were in interfaith marriages, and/or geographically distant from centres of Jewish population. Special attempts were made to contact women through community agencies and institutions other than synagogues so that the experiences of involved but formally unaffiliated women could be included.

Table 1: Synagogue Sample, absolute numbers of contacts and respondents

	Contacts	Respondents
Right Wing		
London	251	49
Orthodox		
London	527	304
Regions	470	246
Masorti		
London	110	60
Reform		
London	222	119
Regions	255	137
Liberal		
London	150	79
Regions	173	82
Sephardi		
London	152	49

A third strategy was used to reach the unaffiliated in which a 'snowball' of names was developed. This was done by asking people known to be, or to be in contact with, non-synagogue women to provide appropriate names and addresses. Some of the names and addresses of those unaffiliated women who had written to the Review were also used as starting points for the snowball. In all 344 women were contacted in this way.

The very method by which this group evolved means that it is not a representative sample. It is nevertheless large enough broadly to indicate some characteristics and attitudes of non-synagogue women. In certain ways it is heterogeneous including as it

does both women who are very involved communally (perhaps even employed in community work) and those who while identifying as Jews are in all ways removed from active "Jewishness". However, it has a bias towards middle-class, educated women - though strong efforts were made to ensure that the snowball was not solely of this nature.

The imbalance reflects the way in which the group was developed. Through asking individuals to give names of their friends and acquaintances there is always a strong possibility that they will suggest similar people. This factor is mitigated slightly by ensuring that the women taken as starting points were of different ages and from different sources but many were in their 30s. The logic which created the age-bias equally leads to a bias in the social class of the persons approached, in this case towards a better educated professional group.

Data Collection

Names which synagogues provided directly to us were entered on a database and questionnaires were sent out by the research team from the Community Research Unit office. Where synagogue personnel carried through the sampling and wished to dispatch the questionnaires, these were provided to the synagogue in numbered envelopes with an accompanying list of numbers. These numbers were entered in the research database without names and with the synagogue postcode for later area-referencing, and the synagogue was asked to keep the name of the respondent so that follow-up contact could be made if necessary.

Between 6th - 31st August 1993, 2289 questionnaires were sent to synagogue members and 344 to synagogally unaffiliated women. Between 24th August and 6th September, 811 synagogue members and 195 non-members were sent reminders. This was a 38% follow-up which varied between synagogues depending on the response already attained and the nature of the group. All non-respondents in the United Synagogue sample were re-contacted (as they are the Chief Rabbi's major constituent) while only half the Right-Wing group, which had initially been greatly over-sampled in the hope of obtaining 50 responses, received follow-ups. Reform, Masorti and Liberal communities showed good response rates from the outset and, excepting two large, London Progressive communities which initially had sluggish response, were not recontacted.

In order to promote a good response rate, notices about the study were displayed in Jewish shops and public places when questionnaires were dispatched, All Jewish newspapers reported the commencement of data collection, asking women to support the venture.

We were aware that carrying out the survey over the summer holiday period entailed dangers of low response. However, the final response level suggests that rates were not affected by the timing - as does the fact that a number of women rang in to enquire

if they were "too late" to participate or wrote on the questionnaire that they hoped they were in time. Furthermore, questionnaires dispatched in early August were still being returned in mid-September and a number were received well after the field-work period was called to a close at that date.

Questionnaire

The questions grew out of issues put forward by the Task Forces of the Review and formed four separate questionnaires. Each questionnaire contained a constant core covering social demography (age, marital status, place of birth and residence, employment) Jewish practices, beliefs and attitudes, and general social attitudes. These last included feminism and political preference; patterns of family task-sharing were examined so more traditional household orientations could be distinguished from modern, equality-based arrangements. These basic questions provided the context for analysis of the issues growing out of the Review's exploratory discussions.

The questions on Jewish practices and belief followed those used in earlier studies both in Britain and abroad (Kalms, 1992; NJPS, 1991). The normal range of questions was extended to examine the purchase and use of kosher meat and attendance at the *mikveh.*

The second core element of the questionnaire incorporated questions about the synagogue, the respondent's own personal and her children's Jewish educational experience, and the particular experiences of women who were not at the time of the fieldwork either married or living with a partner.

In addition to the two core elements, three versions of the questionnaire, specifically for synagogue-affiliated women, looked at certain topics in more detail. Version 1 took in employment patterns, use of community service agencies and Jewish adult education. The second variant covered family-care issues and some fertility questions. while the third version looked in depth at volunteerism and caring.

The fourth questionnaire was addressed to women who were not at present affiliated to a synagogue. It surveyed broadly on all topics at the expense of some in-depth questions on the synagogue and children's education.

Each questionnaire had approximately 90 questions, not all of which applied to every respondent. It took some 35 minutes to complete.

In order to direct the questionnaire to younger women in family residences and thus provide a wider age-range of respondents than would have resulted from addressing questionnaires solely to female joint/heads of households, each type of questionnaire was printed in equal numbers on white and green paper. Addressees were instructed themselves to fill in white questionnaires but to pass a green one to the youngest woman in the household provided she was over 18 years of age.

This resulted in 6 versions of the synagogue-members' questionnaire and 2 versions of the unaffiliated. Each was dispatched, respectively and randomly, to one-sixth and one-half of the two groups.

Response

Fieldwork was closed on 16th September 1993. By that date 56% of synagogue members and 65% of unaffiliated women had replied. This resulted in 1125 usable questions from the former group. These included 366 of version 1, 362 of version 2, and 390 of version 3. There were 225 usable unaffiliated questionnaires.

Reliability of data and error range

All trends and differences reported in the survey are statistically reliable; i.e. the probability that they could have arisen by chance is always less that 5% and generally less than 1%. Occasionally, non-significant differences are described, but in these cases reference has been made to the unreliability of the data or to the small size of the dataset.

The scales used in some of our comparisons (level of belief, ethnic identity, etc.) have reliability coefficients in the range 0.75 - 0.95. Work is in progress on the development of these scales and more detailed analyses of their statistical properties will be available from the authors.

We have not quoted confidence intervals so as to avoid complicating the presentation. However, in most cases these may be calculated directly from the data since the N values and percentages are reported.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

This section sets out the number of respondents who answered each question (the 'N' value) and the percentage of these respondents who gave each particular answer.

For example, if 200 respondents answered a question, 50 saying 'yes', 100 saying 'no' and 50 saying 'don't know', the information will be recorded as follows:

N = 200 Yes 25 No 50 Don't Know 25

The percentage sign is not shown, but all the response frequencies are given in percentages unless otherwise stated.

The answers to open-ended questions are not reported here. The original questionnaires contained more space for these answers than is shown in the versions which follow.

Note that *four* different versions of the questionnaire were employed - three for affiliated respondents and one for unaffiliated respondents.

The three versions of the 'affiliated' questionnaires have been combined into a single document in order to show the pattern of responses in a convenient form. The questionnaires that were used in the field were, of course, shorter than the one which follows and the ordering of items was not exactly as shown.

The 'unaffiliated' questionnaire is reproduced in its original form except for the removal of the sections for open-ended comments.

SURVEY OF ATTITUDES OF JEWISH WOMEN

Thank you very much for helping with this research. This questionnaire asks for your views on the Jewish Community in Great Britain and on the situation of women within it. The findings will be used to help develop community services in a way that recognises the particular needs and interests of Jewish women. The results will also help us to understand how the community is changing and to identify some of the challenges that lie ahead.

How long does the questionnaire take ?	**Most of the questions can be answered simply by ticking one box. Even though it may look long, you should be able to complete the questionnaire in about half an hour.**
Is it confidential ?	**Yes. Your answers will be entirely anonymous. Once your questionnaire reaches the research team it is identified only by a code number so the information cannot be linked to any individual or family.**
Who should answer ?	**If this questionnaire is WHITE would you please complete it yourself. If it is GREEN you should also complete it yourself *unless* there is a younger woman in your home (over 18) who is able to do so. This will ensure that the survey covers a wide range of age groups.**

SECTION A - ATTITUDES AND JEWISH IDENTITY

1 Some people think the Jewish community differs from the rest of society in certain ways. In your opinion, which of the following are more likely to occur in the Jewish community and which are more common in society at large?

	N	more common among Jews %	the same %	more common in rest of society %
Divorce	367	2	61	37
Young people going to university	364	46	47	11
Drug abuse	361	1	32	67
Large number of old people in the community	714	14	81	5
Alcoholism	365	0	19	81
Unemployment and redundancy	350	0	63	37
AIDS and HIV-related problems	349	0	35	65
People living together instead of marrying	350	0	54	46
Homosexuality	345	1	59	40
Proper support for children with special needs	377	27	62	11
Abortion	370	2	41	58
Children caring for their parents in old age	381	61	37	1
Violence against women	376	0	33	67
Consideration for others	378	37	61	3
Child abuse - of any kind	376	1	33	66

2 Some types of education and experience are viewed as more important for girls than for boys, and vice versa. Do you think any of the following are more important for one sex than the other?

		More important for girls %	Equally important for both %	More important for boys %
Going to synagogue regularly	N = 1087	0	78	22
Having a barmitzvah or batmitzvah	N = 1101	0	55	45
Having a well-paid job	N = 1096	1	80	19
Marrying a Jew	N = 1082	3	92	5
Having a thorough Jewish education	N = 1061	0	96	4
Going to University	N = 1068	1	94	5
Attending a Jewish day school	N = 935	1	97	2

3 The statements below represent a wide range of opinions about intermarriage and partnership with non-Jews. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each one.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	%	%	%	%	%
Rabbis should be more helpful in welcoming non-Jewish partners into the community N = 1104	23	37	17	14	9
Nothing can be done to reduce the rate of intermarriage N = 1098	4	24	23	38	12
If my son or daughter wished to marry a non-Jew I would do everything possible to prevent it N = 1096	25	19	20	25	11
It is purely by chance that I married a Jew (if applicable) N = 870	4	11	4	32	48
Having a Jewish partner is only important if you intend to have children N = 1095	2	7	5	47	39
If a Jew falls in love with a non-Jew they should live together rather than get married N = 1085	2	10	13	48	27
Conversion to Orthodox Judaism should be made much easier N = 1092	17	37	17	19	10
A Jew who marries a non-Jew should be cut off from the community N = 1104	4	2	4	24	65
Once someone already has children, it doesn't matter if s/he remarries a non-Jew later on N = 1081	2	11	18	45	24

4 Some people are far more conscious of being Jewish than others. Which of the following best describes your feelings ? (This question is NOT concerned with your level of observance)

N = 1111

Although I was born Jewish, I do not think of myself now as being Jewish in any way	0	**Tick**
I am aware of my Jewishness, but I do not think about it very often	9	**one**
I feel quite strongly Jewish, but I am equally conscious of other aspects of my life	54	**box**
I feel extremely conscious of being Jewish and it is very important to me	36	

5 If your feelings of Jewishness have changed much in recent years (eg you have become less (or more) aware of your Jewish background), can you explain how this came about ?

6 Being Jewish means different things to different people. Looking at the following aspects of Jewish life, please say how important each one is to your personal sense of Jewishness:-

		Importance to my feeling of Jewishness			
	N	Very Important	Quite Important	Not at all Important	
A feeling of closeness to other Jews	1107	46	49	6	**Tick**
Involvement in Jewish home life (food, customs, etc)	1107	49	40	11	**one**
Participation in Jewish religious life, Synagogue, observances etc	1110	29	49	22	**box**
A sense of attachment to Israel	1102	34	45	21	**in**
Interest in Jewish culture (art, music, literature etc)	1093	15	51	36	**each**
Loyalty to my Jewish heritage	1098	57	38	5	**row**
Feeling Jewish 'inside' (ie personality, way of thinking behaving)	1101	61	32	7	

If there are other factors that play a part in your feeling of Jewishness, please describe them:

_____

_____

7 In terms of Jewish religious practice, which of the following best describes your position?

N = 1109

Non-practising (ie secular) Jew	4	
Just Jewish	14	**Please tick**
Progressive Jew (eg Liberal, Reform)	30	**one box**
"Traditional" (not strictly orthodox)	43	
Strictly orthodox (eg would *not* turn on a light on Sabbath)	9	

8 To help us understand better what this means, please say whether you observe any of the following practices and rituals. Do you :

Light candles in your home on Friday night ? Always **59** Sometimes **29** Never **12**
N = 1114

Have a Mezuzah ? Yes, on all doors **55** Yes, on front door **36** No **9**
N = 1110

At Passover, do you attend a Seder Meal at home or elsewhere ? **N = 1115**

Every year	Most years	Some years	Never
86	**7**	**6**	**2**

At Christmas-time do you take part in any seasonal activities such as hanging up stockings or having seasonal decorations ? Yes **22** No **78**
N = 1110

9 Thinking of your close friends, what proportion would you say are Jewish ? **N = 1111**

All or nearly all **51** More than half **19** About half **16** Less than half **11** None **2**

10 And would you say the area where you live is: N = 1113

Very **25** Jewish	Moderately **38** Jewish	Not so **14** Jewish	Not at all **22** Jewish

11 Below are listed some personal religious practices. Please indicate whether you do any of the following:

	N	Yes	No	Not Applicable
Fast on Yom Kippur	1110	76	15	9 (Health)
Prefer to stay home on Friday night	1102	79	21	
Refrain from work on the Jewish New Year	1110	88	12	
Refrain from driving or travelling on Sabbath	1097	15	85	

12 The statements below are often used to express how people feel about issues of Jewish interest. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each one ?

	Agree strongly	Agree	Not certain	Disagree	Disagree strongly
When it comes to a crisis, Jews can only depend on other Jews N = 1095	12	24	15	39	10
A Jew should marry someone who is also Jewish N = 1103	32	42	11	12	3
Praying to God can help overcome personal problems N = 1098	14	31	34	16	5
It is important that Jews survive as a people N = 1106	72	25	3	1	0
Belief in God is NOT central to being a good Jew N = 1096	13	36	15	22	14
An unbreakable bond unites Jews all over the world N = 1107	32	53	9	5	1
The universe came about by chance N = 1086	6	14	45	20	15
The Jewish people have a special relationship with God N = 1096	14	28	26	26	7

13 Have you ever attended a mikveh ? Yes **27** No **73**
N = 1104

If YES: Regularly, or did you just attend once before you got married (or converted)
N = 306

Regularly **32** **(9% of 1104)**

Once, before marriage/conversion **68** **(19% of 1104)**

14 In the past year how often have you attended a synagogue service ?

N = 1106

Not at all **6**	Once or twice **19** (eg Yom Kippur)	On a few occasions **38** (eg festivals, Yahrzeit)	About once **19** a month	Most Sabbaths **20** or more often

If you go to synagogue fairly often (monthly or more frequently), what motivates you to go ?

_____

If you do not attend synagogue very often, is there a particular reason ?

_____

15 If you have a husband or partner, how often has he attended synagogue in the past year?

N = 951

Not at all **10**	Once or twice **16** (eg Yom Kippur)	On a few occasions **30** (eg festivals, Yahrzeit)	About once **15** a month	Most Sabbaths **29** or more often

16 In the broadest sense of the term, would you call yourself a feminist

N = 1095

Definitely **18** Somewhat **52** Not at all **30**

16a To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the role of men and women in a partnership:

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
A man's job is to earn the money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family	N = 334	7	19	8	37	29
All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job	N = 334	8	23	16	30	23

17 Many people participate in the life of the Jewish Community through organisations of various kinds (eg a Jewish sports group, charitable body, cultural or Zionist groups). Please list below ANY Jewish groups that you have had any connection with, however slight, in the past year.

_____

_____

18 Please place an asterisk (*) next to the groups (above) that you take part in regularly - ie at least once every 3 months.

SECTION B - WORK, FAMILY AND PERSONAL RELATIONS

19 Are you currently in paid employment? N=1074 Yes **58** No **42** ----> go to Q20

If YES: **Do you work** N=615 Full-time **44** Part-time **56**

Are you N=581 An employee **70** Self-employed **30**

Please say what your job is and what type of organisation you work in

_____

_____(go to Q22)

20 If you are NOT in paid employment, are you: **N=454, 41% of total**

A full-time housewife/mother	**60** --->Q22	A student	**5** ---> Q22
Unemployed and seeking work	**4**	Retired	**27** ---> Q22

Other (please specify) _____ **2**_____

21 If you are seeking work, how long have you been doing so: _____ years _____ months

Mean = 3.6 years

22 If you are married or have a partner, does he work **N = 945**

Full-time **72** Part-time **7** Is seeking work **3** Is retired **18** Is a student **1**

23 This question is for anyone who is now, or has in the past been in paid employment, whether full- or part- time. (If you have never worked please go to Q24)

Here is a list of difficulties which working women may encounter. Please indicate whether or not you have experienced these problems ?

	N	Yes, this is/has been a problem	No, this has not been a problem	Doesn't apply to me
Finding a job which uses your qualifications/skills	319	22	62	16
Lack of promotion	315	18	50	33
Sexual harassment at work	319	8	67	25
Finishing early for Sabbath/festivals	319	8	51	41
Anti-Semitism	314	13	71	16
Arranging affordable child-care	310	18	29	52
Getting children to after-school activities	310	18	33	50
Finding a job which fits in with school hours	312	22	32	46
Making school holiday plans which fit in with work	311	21	30	49

FAMILY ISSUES

24 Do you come from a large or small family ? Please say how many brothers and sisters there were in your family including yourself ?

_____ brothers _____ sisters

N = 1039 Mean no. of brothers = 1.00 Mean no. of sisters = 1.34

25 Are your parents still alive ?

N=1111 Yes, both **34** Mother only **23** Father only **5** Neither **38** -->Q27

If one or both are alive, where do they live ?

	N	In the same area as me	In the same town as me	In another town	Abroad
Mother	266	35	21	33	10
Father	145	31	22	35	12

26 Are you at all responsible for their care / welfare ?

N = 247 Yes, solely **6** Yes, with others **24** No **70**

If NO, do you expect to be responsible for their care as they become older?

N = 186 Yes, solely **13** Yes, with others **71** No **16**

26a To what extent would you say you follow your mother's example in your attitudes to life and different areas of your behaviour ? Please answer for each of the following:

(If you were brought up by someone other than your mother, please tick here ☐ and go to)

	N	Followed mother completely	partly	not at all
1 In my views about social issues	327	12	55	32
2 In my attitudes to working mothers	328	24	40	47
3 In how I feel about my Jewishness	333	35	46	19
4 In my approach to housework	336	29	40	32
5 In my attitudes towards sex	312	15	38	47
6 In how I bring up my children (if applicable)	297	22	53	25
7 In the Jewish character of my home	332	32	49	18

Are there any areas (listed above) in which you feel your father has been more influential than your mother ? Please say which

_____ (give numbers)

27 Listed below are some difficulties and illnesses which may have affected your family. Please say whether you have experienced any of these - either personally or in connection with a member of your immediate family.

N = 1125

	Experienced personally		Dealt with this for a member of my family
Stroke	3	Please tick	20
Psychiatric illness	4	both boxes	15
Alzheimer's (senile dementia)	2	if this has	12
A disabled child	2	been both a	4
Cancer	8	personal AND	35
Depression	17	a family	22
Eating disorder (e.g.anorexia nervosa or bulimia)	3	issue	4

28 Please say whether you have sought help for any of the following problems, either for yourself or for someone else, in the past 12 months. If you have sought help, was this from a Jewish or Non-Jewish organisation ?

N = 1125	Sought help ? (Tick if yes)	If YES, from Jewish or non-Jewish body or both? (% of those saying YES)		
	YES%	JEWISH	NON-JEWISH	BOTH
For a financial problem	2	35	35	30
For a drug/alcohol problem	0.4	20	80	0
In finding or choosing a job	2	17	67	17
In adopting a child	0.1	100	0	0
Counselling for a personal/family problem	4	27	52	21
Problems with children or teenagers	1.6	22	61	17
For practical help as a carer for old person	3.1	23	31	46
Educational help for a child with special needs	1.3	20	27	53

29 If you have sought help, please list the agencies or types of person (eg doctor) you went to; and say how you felt about the help you were given.

29a Have you ever felt the need for information on any of the following matters? If so, could you say whether you actually contacted anyone for information and whether the information was helpful ?

	Wanted information ?		Contacted someone for information?		Obtained useful information?	
	N	%YES	N	%YES	N	%YES
Contraception / birth control	227	74	219	76	219	76
Menstruation (periods)	184	38	170	38	165	37
Healthy diet	362	49	289	56	284	58
The menopause (the change)	187	48	175	47	168	45
Abortion	170	18	153	20	151	20
Sexual orientation (homosexuality)	159	4	139	3	136	1
Infertility	154	28	97	29	95	28
HIV / AIDS	142	9	82	13	79	14
Sex education	142	10	84	12	78	14
Pre-menstrual tension	151	26	102	36	96	33

29b There are many organisations, both within the Jewish community and outside it, that offer information and support to people affected by disability, unemployment, marital and family problems, bereavement, legal disputes and so on. Can you please say whether you have consulted any organisations for help in these areas in the past two years ?

N = 372 Yes 15 No 85

If YES, please say which organisation/s you contacted and indicate the general nature of the help required.

_____

Were you satisfied with the support or advice you received ?

_____

30 Turning now to you personally, which of the following best describes your CURRENT situation?

N = 1117

Married	82	) Please go to
Living with a partner	2	) question 32
Single - never married	6	
Single - divorced or separated	5	
Single - widowed	6	

31 If you are <u>currently single,</u> have you ever been married or lived in a stable relationship as part of a couple ?

N = 163 Yes 60 (9% of 1117) No 40 ----> Please skip the rest of this section, go to Q38

If YES, how long ago was that ? _____ years

Was your most recent relationship with

N = 86

a husband	77	Tick
a male partner	21	one
a lesbian partner	2	box

32 Please answer this question if you are now, or have ever been married or in a partnership. How many times have you been married or in a stable relationship with a partner ?

N = 1040 Once 89 Twice 10 Three times 1 Four or more times 0

On each occasion was your partner Jewish or non-Jewish ?

	N		
First Husband/Partner	1031	Jewish 90	Non-Jewish 10
Second Husband/Partner (if any)	1117	Jewish 74	Non-Jewish 26
Third Husband/Partner (if any)	16	Jewish 88	Non-Jewish 12
Fourth Husband/Partner (if any)	1	Jewish 100	Non-Jewish 0

33 For each partner, please say whether or not you were married, and if you were married, where the ceremony took place ?

	Married ?			married in a synagogue	married in a registry office	married elsewhere
	N	%YES	N	%	%	%
First partner	1019	96	988	88	7	5
Second partner	114	83	93	58	33	9
Third partner	18	83	14	64	29	7
Fourth partner	2	100	2	0	50	50

33a In your home, how are the various tasks and responsibilities divided between yourself and your partner ? (If you do not have a partner at present, please answer for your previous marriage or partnership)

	N	Mainly myself	Shared equally	Mainly husband/ partner	Neither
General domestic jobs such as cleaning	327	73	16	2	9
Getting household equipment repaired	327	32	25	39	4
Deciding how to spend household money	330	27	67	6	1
Actually paying the bills	326	19	27	54	0
Disciplining the children (if applicable)	262	28	68	3	1
Taking children to cheder / synagogue classes (if applicable)	216	25	51	20	5

33b Below are listed various stages in the development of a family. At each stage, please say whether you think it is generally a good idea for a woman to go to work outside the home.

	N	OK to work full-time	OK to work part-time	Should not work
After marrying, but before there are children	352	95	5	0
When there is a child under school age	343	13	42	45
After the youngest child starts school	343	32	66	2
After the children leave home	346	91	8	1

34 Do you have any children ? N = 1047 Yes 92 No 8

If NO, do you wish to have children at some time in your life? N = 72 Yes 65 No 35

Have you ever felt under pressure to have children ? N = 110 Yes 30 No 70

34a What are the reasons for your not having children at present ?

	N = 14	ACTUAL RESPONSES	
No particular reason		5	
Your health makes having children unwise		1	Please
You are not married to your partner		3	tick
Your partner is not Jewish		1	all
You or your partner has fertility problems		4	the
You have a civil divorce from a previous marriage but not a *Get* (Jewish divorce)		0	reasons
You do not have a partner at present		2	which
You can't afford to bring up children		2	apply

Other _____

35 Have you ever been divorced? **N = 475**

Yes divorced once	**21**	Yes, divorced more than once	**2**	Never divorced	**77** --->go to Q37

36 If you have been divorced, did you have a religious divorce in which you received a Get (Jewish divorce document)? If divorced more than once, please answer for your first divorce

N = 112

Divorced with a Get	**49**	Divorced without Get	**25**	Not applicable, first partner not Jewish	**26**

37 Please answer this question if you are a widow, or have been widowed in the past. At the time when your partner died, did you have help from any of the following ? (Tick all those that apply)

N = 62

your synagogue	**51**	a non-Jewish advisory group	**10**			a burial society	**25**
family members	**86**	a Jewish welfare organisation	**2**			a communal official	**5**
MIYAD	**5**	a rabbi	**27**	a doctor	**28**	a counsellor	**5**

Did you observe the week of mourning (sit Shiva) ? **N = 60** Yes **77** No **23**

SECTION C - Please answer this section if *EITHER* you are now single, separated, divorced or widowed *OR* you have been in one of these groups for some years in the past. (Otherwise go to Section D)

38 The list below gives various opinions about the way the Jewish community reacts to women on their own. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the statements

	N	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The Jewish community is more welcoming to singles than society at large	228	2	10	35	39	16
In the Jewish community single people are pressured into marriage	224	12	40	22	22	4
I am single because I want to be	187	14	35	13	27	11
The Jewish community has no place for me as a single women	209	9	14	24	43	10
People who do not marry by the time they are about 30 are seen as a threat to the future of the community	220	7	11	26	43	13

39 Some single people wish to marry or find a partner, while others do not. Which of the following applies to you ?

N = 209

Not looking for a partner	25	---->go to Q42
At present with a partner	29	--->go to Q41
Actively looking for a partner	6	
Not really looking for a partner, but would feel OK if you met someone	40	

40 If you are interested in finding a partner, how important is it to you that your partner is Jewish?

N = 111

Very **44** important	Important **30**	Of minor **18** importance	Completely **7** unimportant ---> go to Q42

41 Do / did you have difficulty in meeting suitable Jewish partners ?

N=169 Yes **63** No **36** -->go to Q42

If YES, what are those difficulties ?

In trying to find a suitable partner, have you ever looked for someone who is non-Jewish ?

N = 135 Yes **39** No **61**

42 Have you ever had a steady relationship with a non-Jew ? **N = 219** Yes **46** No **54**
If that relationship has ended, can you summarise the reasons ?

---

43 In the past 12 months have you made use of any of the following as a way of meeting eligible partners (Place a tick next to all those you have used)

N = 21 **ACTUAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES GIVEN**

Jewish dating agency	3	General dating agency (including TV/computer dating)	3		
Shadchan (matchmaker)	0	Charity committee	2	Wine bars and discos	7
Jewish singles group/events	4	Visit to Israel	3	Sports/hobby/study groups	6
Communal Friday night or Shabbat meal for singles	4	Personal adverts in the Jewish press	1	Personal adverts in the non-Jewish press	1

44 In the past 12 months, have you been specifically introduced to prospective Jewish partners by any of the following ? (Tick all those that apply)

N = 10 **ACTUAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES GIVEN**

Your parents	2	People you work with	1	members of your synagogue	3
Your friends	8	A rabbi	0	members of your family	4

45 Are you raising a child or children by yourself ?	No	**67**	---> go to Q53
	Yes, as a widow	**6**	---> go to Q50
	Yes, never married	**1**	
N = 180	Yes, due to divorce/separation	**26**	

46 <u>If you are divorced</u>, has a custody order been made regarding your children ?
(If divorced more than once, please answer for the most recent divorce involving children)

N = 54 Yes **82** No **18**

If Yes: To whom was custody granted ? N = 44 You **68** Your ex-husband/partner **0** Joint **32**

47 Who does your child (or children) live with ? (If they are in different places, please tick all those that apply)

N = 18 ACTUAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES GIVEN

With you **15** With your ex-husband/partner **3** Older children live in their own homes **5** A relative **1**

48 Have you had children by more than one partner? N = 25 No **76** Yes **24**

49 Are you in contact with the father of your child/ren ? (if more than one father, answer for the father of your youngest child)	**N = 67**	Yes, regularly	**48**
		Yes; only rarely	**24**
		No, not at all	**28**

If YES: does he help, or has he helped, with any of the following aspects of child care ?

Day to day involvement	**N = 57**	Helps now **7**	Helped **12** in past	Both now **14** & in past	Never **67** helped
Finance	**N = 60**	Helps now **17**	Helped **28** in past	Both now **25** & in past	Never **30** helped
Decisions about general education	**N = 58**	Helps now **9**	Helped **17** in past	Both now **19** & in past	Never **55** helped
Holidays/ caring for children at school breaks	**N = 59**	Helps now **12**	Helped **14** in past	Both now **17** & in past	Never **58** helped
Decisions on Jewish matters such as Bar/Batmitzvah	**N = 57**	Helps now **9**	Helped **11** in past	Both now **16** & in past	Never **65** helped

50 Allowing for any financial help you may have had, could you please say whether you have still had difficulty affording any of the following:

	N	No serious difficulty	Difficulty started in past year	Difficulty has existed for years
Fees for general schooling	19	68	0	32
Fees for Jewish education, synagogue classes, cheder	20	65	0	35
Mortgage repayment	20	70	10	20
Synagogue membership	24	63	0	37
Child's membership of a Jewish club or organisation	18	72	11	17
Nursery school/childminder fees	15	53	7	40
Subscriptions to your own organisation /interest group	17	59	0	41
Burial expenses	16	63	6	31

Other (please specify) _____

51 Have you had any financial help with any of the above (eg from a relative, state benefit, grant)? If so, please say what that help was for and where it came from

_____

52 Is there someone in any of the following groups you can reliably call on in an emergency ?

N = 31 ACTUAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES GIVEN

Husband/partner **15** Parents **10** Grandparents **0** Other relations **9**
Friends/Neighbours **19** Other (write in) ____**2**_____ No-one **1**

SECTION D - SYNAGOGUES AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

53 Jewish women have a wide range of views about the type of synagogue they would like to attend. Have you ever been to a synagogue which you feel meets your needs as a woman?

N = 991

No **45** Yes **55** **If YES, what type of synagogue was/is this ?___N = 563**_____

US **12**	Sephardi **2**	Hassidic **2**	Other Orth **16**
Reform **40**	Liberal **18**	Masorti **9**	Prayer/Oth **2**

Why do you feel this particular synagogue met your needs?_____

_____

54 The following statements express various views about the synagogue and the role of women within it. You may agree with some statements and disagree with others. Please indicate your view by ticking the appropriate box.

	N	Agree strongly	Agree	Not certain	Disagree	Disagree strongly
I wish there could be more explanation during the service	1070	19	43	10	25	4
Synagogues should be mainly for men; women can express their Jewishness in other ways	1090	2	5	5	41	48
I feel myself to be a stranger in the synagogue	1090	7	15	8	45	25
There is no need to change the way synagogues are organised; as a women I am happy with the present arrangements	1083	7	30	17	30	17
The people who run synagogues sometimes make others feel like outsiders	1091	20	45	10	20	5
The idea of 'all women' prayer groups is out of step with Jewish values	1083	14	27	29	21	9
Men should be asked to prepare food for synagogue social occasions just as often as women	1096	16	38	14	26	5
I find it very difficult to express myself spiritually in a synagogue	1085	9	30	15	41	9
Women should have equal representation with men on all synagogue committees	1091	37	48	6	5	4
I don't feel comfortable going to synagogue because I don't really have the right clothes	1087	1	3	3	47	46
Synagogues are mainly for families; unmarried people feel excluded	1081	3	11	19	42	24

55 The list below gives some different types of seating arrangement for men and women in the synagogue. Please say how you feel about each one:-

	N	In favour	Uncertain	Opposed
Women seated on same level, **in a block behind the men**	947	18	12	70
Women seated on same level, **in a block alongside the men**	937	32	15	53
Completely mixed seating (men and women together)	1052	66	10	23
Women seated in a balcony	963	27	11	62

56 Are you in favour of using a curtain (mehitzah) to separate the men's section from the women's section of the synagogue ?

N = 1125 For **8** No strong view **12** Against **80**

57 Have you ever attended a Jewish women's prayer group ? N = 1099 Yes **4** No **96**

If YES, compared with a conventional synagogue service, did you feel ?

N = 42	a)	Less at home **21**	About the same **36**	More at home **43**
N = 47	b)	Less inspired **30**	About the same **34**	More inspired **36**

58 Whether or not you have attended one in the past, would you like to go to a women's prayer group if you had the opportunity ?

N = 1093 Yes 17 No 61 Unsure 22

59 Have you ever heard of Rosh Chodesh groups ? N = 360 Yes 37 No 63
If YES, have you ever attended one ? N = 187 Yes 8 No 92

59a If you attend synagogue from time to time, please answer the following questions otherwise go to question 59b)

On the whole, do you find your Rabbi approachable ? N = 355

Very approachable 46 OK 34 Not approachable 8 Not applicable 13 (don't come into contact)

Does your Rabbi speak readily to women congregants ? N = 342

Yes, to all 64 Yes, to some 18 No 4 Don't know 15

Does your synagogue have a woman rabbi? N = 351 Yes 10 No 90

If NO, have you had any contact with a woman Rabbi ? N = 303 Yes 25 No 75

59b Do you have any views on the role of women as rabbis?_____

_____

60 Some women feel they would like to say special blessings (berachot) to mark important events in their lives or in their everyday experience as women. Have you ever felt this way ?

N = 1073 Yes 33 No 67

If YES, under what circumstances have you felt this ?_____

61 In the event of a family bereavement, do you think you would wish to say Kaddish (personal memorial prayer) in any of the following settings:-

At the funeral ?	N = 1028	Yes 60	No 40
At the Shiva (week of mourning) in the home	N = 1023	Yes 64	No 36
At synagogue services during the year of mourning ?	N = 995	Yes 54	No 46

62 Have you ever had any dealings with a Beth Din (religious court), for example in connection with marriage, divorce, adoption or conversion ? N = 1066 Yes 29 No71 go to Q 63

If YES, what matter/s were dealt with ? _____

Which Beth Din was involved? (if TWO were involved, please tick TWO boxes) N = 298 London Beth Din (Woburn House) 67 Other Orthodox Beth Din 13 Reform Beth Din 19

63 Based on your own OR your family's experience, are you able to assess the quality of service provided by the Beth Din ? (If more than one, answer for the first Beth Din approached)

	N	Good	Satisfactory	Poor	No opinion
Efficiency	595	18	24	15	44
Courtesy	600	17	20	21	43
Sensitivity to women's needs	592	11	14	26	50

Do you have any other comments ? _____

SECTION E1 - VOLUNTEERS AND CARING

63a The community depends on volunteers in many capacities. During the past 12 months have you done any volunteer work (i.e. worked in some way to help others for no monetary pay) either on your own or as part of a group ?

N = 362 Yes 50 No 50 ---> go to Q63c

If Yes, was this for a Jewish or non-Jewish organisation or cause?

N = 180 Jewish 74 non-Jewish 26

On average, over the past 12 months, how many hours a month have you spent in these volunteer activities

__12.5_____ hours per month
(mean)

63b Have you been offered training as a volunteer ? **N = 190 Yes 29 No 71**

Would you welcome training (or extra training) for any volunteer activity?

N = 168 Yes 38 No 62

If yes, for which activities ?_____

63c The following question is about being a 'carer'. By this we mean a person whose life is governed by the need to look after someone who is mentally or physically handicapped or infirm. This commitment may keep a carer housebound, or may be financial, or restrict employment or leisure activities. Does this definition apply to you in any way.

N = 335 Yes 9 No 91 **--->go to Q64**

If Yes: Do you care for someone who lives	With you in your home	**37**	**Tick**
	In the same area as you	**30**	**one**
N = 30	In another area of the same town	**23**	**box**
	In another town	**10**	

How many people do you care for ? _____ **N = 27** **1 person -- 25 respondents**
2 people -- 2 respondents

If you care for more than one person, please answer the following questions in relation to the person you spend most time caring for.

63d How old is the person you care for ?_____74.0_____ years N.= 24
(mean)

What is his/her relationship to you ? _____

Does anyone beside those in your household share this caring with you ?

N = 25 Yes 44 No 56

63e Do you have any of the following types of help in your work as a carer ?

	N = 18 ACTUAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES GIVEN	
Assistance with cooking, cleaning or personal care	15	
Financial help from an organisation	2	Please
Special transportation for the elderly/disabled	5	tick
Activities for the elderly/disabled at a day centre	7	all
Medical services at home (other than just a doctor)	4	that
Home tuition	1	apply
Access to respite care	4	

In the list above please mark with an asterisk (*) those types of help which you would like

---

SECTION E2 - KOSHER FOOD

The use of kosher food varies widely from one person to another. Some people eat only Kosher food, some eat all kinds of foods, and others eat some non-Kosher foods while avoiding others. Please describe your own practice by answering the following questions:

64 Thinking specifically about Kosher meat (including poultry) which of the following applies to you at home?

N = 1116

AT HOME	I only buy meat from a Kosher butcher	48
	I buy meat from an ordinary (non-Kosher) butcher, but not pork or bacon	32
	I buy meat from an ordinary (non-Kosher) butcher including pork & bacon	14
	I am vegetarian	7

If you have only Kosher meat at home, do you separate it from milk products? N = 631

Yes 77 No 22

If YES, how long have you been doing this ? All my life **OR** ____years

65 If you do NOT buy kosher meat for your home, are there any particular reasons ?

N = 504 (more than one response possible)

There is no point as I don't believe in it	**63**	**Please**
Kosher meat is too expensive	**42**	**tick**
Cleanliness in kosher butchers is below the standard I would like	**21**	**all**
Kosher meat doesn't taste as good as other meat	**21**	**boxes**
I object to paying extra for someone to check whether everything is Kosher	**32**	**that**
I can't get to shops selling Kosher meat	**23**	**apply**

Other (please specify) _____

66 When eating out, how many of the following types of restaurant would be acceptable ?

N = 1125 (more than one response possible)

A vegetarian restaurant	**78**	**Please**
A Kosher (supervised) restaurant	**78**	**tick**
A fish restaurant (unsupervised)	**75**	**ALL**
Any kind of restaurant, but I would not eat meat there	**38**	**that**
Any kind of restaurant, eating anything on the menu	**47**	**apply**

SECTION F - YOUR JEWISH EDUCATION

67 Thinking back to when you were growing up, did you receive any kind of Jewish Education ?

N = 1094 Yes **82** No **18** ---->goto Q70

If YES, please tick ALL those forms you have experienced and give your age at the time:-

N = 1125	**Experienced ?**	**Age at start**	**Age at end**
	% YES	**(Mean time shown)**	
Part-time classes in synagogue (Cheder)	60	**If yes:** ___yrs **5.9**	___yrs
Jewish lessons from parent / relative	7	**If yes:** ___yrs **9.3**	___yrs
Private Jewish lessons (eg from Rabbi or tutor)	13	**If yes:** ___yrs **3.6**	___yrs
Jewish primary school	13	**If yes:** ___yrs **5.2**	___yrs
Teenage Centre (for Jewish studies)	3	**If yes:** ___yrs **3.4**	___yrs
Jewish secondary school	6	**If yes:** ___yrs **4.6**	___yrs
Jewish seminary (for girls of 16+)	3	**If yes:** ___yrs **2.2**	___yrs
Degree in Jewish studies at University/College	0.5	**If yes:** ___yrs **2.0**	___yrs
Some Jewish courses at University (eg Jewish history, project on Jewish theme)	3	**If yes:** ___yrs **1.8**	___yrs

68 Jewish girls sometimes have a Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil ceremony to mark the time when they become responsible for their own religious observance. In your own case:

Did you have a Bat Mitzvah ceremony on your own ? **N = 965** Yes **7** No **93**

Did you participate in a Bat Chayil ceremony with other girls ? **N = 953** Yes **12** No **88**

69 If you had a BatMitzvah or took part in a Bat Chayil, can you remember where and when the *religious* ceremony took place ?

Where ? **N = 176**	Inside the **84** synagogue itself	In a hall within the **3** synagogue building	Elsewhere **11**	Not sure **3**
When ? **N = 176**	On Sunday **52**	On Sabbath **36**	Weekday **4**	Not sure **7**

How old were you at the time ? _____ years

69a Which of the following were included in your preparation for your Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil ? (Tick those you remember doing)

N = 62 **(more than one response possible)**

Preparing a talk on points of Jewish law/Torah	**34**	Learning about Jewish Festivals/Sabbath	**81**
Reading a section from the Prayer Book (Siddur)	**55**	Learning how to pray (daven)	**23**
Doing a project on a general Jewish topic	**31**	Learning how to run a Jewish home	**56**
Doing a project of relevance to a Jewish woman	**11**	Reading from Torah	**23**

Do you feel the experience of having a Bat Mitzvah/Bat Chayil had a negative or positive effect on your commitment to Judaism ?

N = 168 Positive effect **58** Negative effect **3** Not sure **39**

70 Thinking now of the whole period of your Jewish education from childhood upto the present time, please say which of the following subjects you have studied and at what age or ages?

N = 1125	**EVER STUDIED?** (tick if YES)		**WHEN ?** As a child or teenager (upto 18yrs)	As a young adult (18-25yrs)	As an adult (26+)	
	% ever studying topic		**(% of total sample studying topic at each age)**			
1 Bible and commentaries (Chumash)	**48**	**If yes:**	**38**	**8**	**13**	**Tick more**
2 Learning to read Hebrew (eg from a Siddur)	**79**	**If yes:**	**67**	**8**	**14**	**than one**
3 Translating Hebrew from Bible or Siddur	**40**	**If yes:**	**34**	**5**	**7**	**box if**
4 The Synagogue service	**47**	**If yes:**	**32**	**8**	**16**	**you**

N = 1125	EVER STUDIED? (tick if YES)		WHEN ? As a child or teenager (upto 18yrs)	As a young adult (18-25yrs)	As an adult (26+)	
	% ever studying topic		(% of total sample studying topic at each age)			
5 Laws of family purity (Mikveh etc)	34	If yes:	16	13	11	studied
6 Jewish laws and practices (eg Festivals, Kashrut)	60	If yes:	46	14	19	a topic
7 Jewish cookery	40	If yes:	20	18	17	at several
8 The Ethics of Judaism (eg not speaking ill of others)	34	If yes:	20	10	17	stages
9 Jewish History/Culture/Art	39	If yes:	25	9	17	of your
10 Learning to speak and understand Modern Hebrew	34	If yes:	17	14	14	life

71 Whether or not you actually studied them, please give the numbers of upto THREE topics from the list above which you feel are particularly important in the education of Jewish women: N = 962 — __6__ (75 %) __2__ (51%) __4__ (38%)

Now list up to THREE topics you feel are least important: N = 850 — __3__ (52%) __5__ (42%) __1__ (38%)

72 Are there any topics NOT included in the list in question 70 that you think are important for Jewish women to be able to study ?

_____

73 When you were a teenager, did you ever attend a Jewish youth club or movement (eg Habonim, FZY) ? N = 1071 Yes 72 No 29

If YES, please give the names of any you attended regularly for a period of one year or longer

_____

Overall, for how many years between 10 and 18 did you regularly attend youth group? _4.7_years (mean)

74 Within the past three years have you attended a course or courses on a Jewish topic ? (eg Modern Hebrew, Jewish history, regular lectures or shiurim in your synagogue etc)

N = 349 Yes 31 No 69

If YES, please list the courses attended and the name of the body organising the course

Courses attended in past three years	Organised by (eg Synagogue, Bnai Brith,Spiro etc)
_____	_____

75 Are you currently interested in extending your Jewish education by further study ? N = 351

No **33**	Yes, a mild interest **47**	Yes, a strong interest **16**	Yes, I am already attending a course/s on Jewish topics **4**

If you have an interest in further Jewish study, please say what area/s you would like to study: (if you are already studying, list only NEW courses you would like to take in the future, if any)

_____

What would be the most convenient way for you to study ? N = 232

Full-time **0**	Part-time evening **65**	Part-time day **35**

SECTION G - YOUR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

(if you have no children under 25 years, please go to section H)

76 If you have any children under the age of 25 years, please fill in the chart below to show their age and sex. (If you have more than four children, please answer for the youngest four)

		Child 1 N = 612	Child 2 N = 479	Child 3 N = 179	Child 4 N = 61
Sex of child		54:46 M : F	48:52 M : F	54:46 M : F	56:43 M : F
Age in years	**(Mean shown)**	14.5 years	12.2 years	9.9 years	6.6 years

77 Upto now what form of Jewish education have your children received ? Please complete the following chart for each child.

(If NONE of your children have received any Jewish education, tick here ☐ and then go to question 79).

N = 1125	**(Please tick ONLY if child has had this type of education)** Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4
Attended Part-time classes upto Bar/BatMitzvah ?	36	26	8	1
Attended teenage centre/cheder after Bar/BatMitzvah ?	13	7	2	1
Private Jewish lessons from Rabbi or tutor	15	9	3	1
Jewish lessons from parent or relative	8	7	3	2
Attended Jewish Primary school	16	12	7	1
Attended Jewish Secondary school	6	3	2	0
Attended withdrawal classes (Jewish lessons at non-Jewish secondary school)	4	3	1	0
Attended Yeshiva or Seminary	3	1	0	0
Attended degree course in Jewish studies	1	0	0	0

78 If you have a daughter did she, or will she, have a Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil (if more than one daughter, please answer for your youngest)

N = **424** Yes, she will/has had one **67** No, she will not / has not had one **33**

78a In many families the responsibility for educating and bringing up children is divided in some way between the mother and the father. In your opinion how should the responsibilities for each of the following be shared :

		Responsibility should be		
	N	Mainly mother	Shared	Mainly father
Getting the best possible general education for a child	358	1	98	1
Welcoming children's friends to your home	358	30	70	0
Taking boys and girls to synagogue regularly	350	1	81	18
Getting children to extra-school activities	353	34	64	2
Ensuring that children have a Jewish education	351	4	93	3
Teaching children to swim	353	14	77	8
Teaching children to say the Shema (prayer) at night	327	14	74	12
Making Friday night and Shabbat special for the family	351	30	69	1
Looking after sick children	356	43	57	0
Shopping for children's clothes	357	70	30	0
Showing children how to keep kosher	331	54	46	0

SECTION H - BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY

79 Please give your age last birthday _**48.3**_ years **(mean)**

80 Please give the TOWN in which you were born and, if you were born abroad, your COUNTRY of birth

_____ Town _____ Country

81 Do you belong to a synagogue, whether individually or through your husband/family ?

N = **1117** Yes, I belong to a synagogue **98** No, I do not belong **2**

If YES, what type of synagogue do you belong to?

N = 1091 (more than one response possible)

United Synagogue **42** Sephardi **4** Chassidic/Lubavitch **3**

Other Orthodox synagogue **14** Reform **23** Liberal **12** Masorti **6**

Other (please specify) _____

82 Whether or not you belong to a synagogue, which type do you *attend* if you ever go ? (Obviously this could be different from the one you belong to)

N = 1057 (more than one response possible)

United Synagogue **40** Sephardi **5** Chassidic/Lubavitch **2**

Other Orthodox synagogue **14** Reform **25** Liberal **12** Masorti **6**

Other (please specify) ___**1**_____

83 What type of synagogue did your parents belong to when you were growing up ?

N = 1100 (more than one response possible)

United Synagogue **51** Sephardi **5** Chassidic/Lubavitch **2**

Other Orthodox synagogue **20** Reform **8** Liberal **12** Masorti **0**

Other (please specify) __**3**_____ Did not belong **10**

84 Which of the following groups, covers <u>your personal</u> annual gross income from all sources before deduction of tax and national insurance

N = 893

Under £5000 **32** £5001 -10,000 **22** £10,001-20,000 **25** £20,001-50,000 **17** Over £50,000 **4**

85 If you are married or living with a partner, which category covers <u>your combined household</u> income from all sources before taxes

N = 790

Under £8000 **7** £8001-20,000 **21** £20,001-50,000 **42** £50,001-80,000 **17** Over £80,000 **13**

86 Including yourself, how many people live at your address as regular members of your household?

N = 1093 ___**3.2**____ people
(mean)

87 And how long have you lived in your present home? __**12.1**__yrs **N = 1106**
(mean)

88 Are you, either the head or joint head of the household ? N = 1086

Yes, head of household **13** Yes, Joint-head **75** No **12**

If NO: what is your relationship to the head of household N = 172

Daughter/daughter-in-law **27** Wife or partner **72**

Other relative (specify) _1_____ Unrelated (specify: eg flatmate, tenant) _____

89 Have you had any children of your own, not counting adoptions.

N = 1080 Yes **85** No **15**-----> Go to Q89a

IF YES, please give the following details about the children you have had

N = 885

Number of **_1.38_** boys **_1.23_** girls **How many are still living ?** All or ____ (number)
(mean) (mean)

How many are aged over 18 _2.23_(number) **N = 868**
(mean)

How many are married ? None **47%** or **_1.84_** (number) **N = 859**
(mean)

If any are married, how many are married to Jews ? _1.71_ (number) **N = 421**
(mean)

39a Now please say whether you have any children who are N = 362

(Figurers show %age of respondents who reported 1 or more children in each category)

Adopted **_3.6__** Stepchildren **_2.8_** Fostered **_0.3_** **(write in the number who live with you)**

90 Do you hold any academic qualifications ? Please tick all that apply

N = 950 (highest qualification recorded)

None **26** Alevel/HNC **36** Olevel/School Cert/GCSE **37** CSE **1**

N = 299 First degree in _____**76**____ Postgraduate degree in ____**24**_____

Professional qualification in_____**N = 283**_____ Other qualification in____**N = 359**_____

91 How old were you when you left school ? ___16.9___ years N = 1098
(mean)

92 Do you have paid help at home at the present time? **N = 1103**

No, not at all **38** Only occasionally **6** Few hours a week **46** Daily **5** Living in **5**

93 Finally, thinking back to your childhood, please describe your Jewish upbringing. Was this

N = 1105

Non-practising Jewish (ie secular)	5	
Just Jewish	17	**Please tick**
Progressive (eg Liberal, Reform)	9	
"Traditional" (not strictly orthodox)	52	**one box**
Strictly orthodox (eg would not turn on a light on Sabbath)	10	
Raised in another religion	6	

Your own comments

Obviously no questionnaire can cover all the issues that affect Jewish women. To keep the questionnaire down to a reasonable size, some topics have been rotated - ie they appear in one version but not in others. However, we would be very interested in any comments you may wish to make on Jewish women, whether or not the particular issue has been covered in this questionnaire.

Also, if you would like to expand on your answer to any particular question and/or comment on the questionnaire itself, please use the space below giving the question number if appropriate.

(Please continue overleaf)

We hope you have enjoyed completing this questionnaire and thank you very much for your help. Please return the questionnaire to the Community Research Unit in the envelope provided within two weeks, or sooner if possible.

UNAFFILIATED QUESTIONNAIRE

(RUBRIC AS FOR AFFILIATED QUESTIONNAIRE)

SECTION A - ATTITUDES AND JEWISH IDENTITY

1 Some people think the Jewish community differs from the rest of society in certain ways. In your opinion, which of the following are more likely to occur in the Jewish community and which are more common in society at large?

		more common among Jews	the same	more common in rest of society
	N	%	%	%
Divorce	220	0	66	34
Consideration for other people's feelings	217	21	71	9
Living-together instead of marrying	219	0	38	62
Unemployment and redundancy	218	0	56	44
Single parent families	219	0	28	72
Large numbers of old people in the community	219	20	75	5

2 The statements below are often used to express how people feel about issues of Jewish interest. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each one ?

	Agree strongly	Agree	Not certain	Disagree	Disagree strongly
When it comes to a crisis, Jews can only depend on other Jews N = 222	9	18	17	38	19
A Jew should marry someone who is also Jewish N = 223	14	28	23	28	7
Praying to God can help overcome personal problems N = 224	6	20	31	25	17
It is important that Jews survive as a people N = 224	60	32	7	1	0
Belief in God is NOT central to being a good Jew N = 218	31	37	13	10	8
An unbreakable bond unites Jews all over the world N = 223	21	49	15	12	3
The universe came about by chance N = 219	11	15	47	16	11
The Jewish people have a special relationship with God N = 222	6	17	25	30	22

3 Some people are far more conscious of being Jewish than others. Which of the following best describes your feelings ? (This question is NOT concerned with your level of observance)

N = 222

Although I was born Jewish, I do not think of myself now as being Jewish in any way	0.5	**Tick**
I am aware of my Jewishness, but I do not think about it very often	12	**one**
I feel quite strongly Jewish, but I am equally conscious of other aspects of my life	62	**box**
I feel extremely conscious of being Jewish and it is very important to me	26	

4 If your feelings of Jewishness have changed much in recent years (eg you have become less (or more) aware of your Jewish background), can you explain how this came about ?

---

5 Being Jewish means different things to different people. Looking at the following aspects of Jewish life, please say how important each one is to your personal sense of Jewishness:-

		Importance to my feeling of Jewishness			
	N	Very Important	Quite Important	Not at all Important	
A feeling of closeness to other Jews	222	30	56	14	**Tick**
Involvement in Jewish home life (food, customs,etc)	222	22	51	27	**one**
Participation in Jewish religious life, Synagogue, observances etc	221	6	37	57	**box**
A sense of attachment to Israel	222	30	38	32	**in**
Interest in Jewish culture (art, music, literature etc)	221	25	53	22	**each**
Loyalty to my Jewish heritage	220	49	45	6	**row**
Feeling Jewish 'inside' (ie personality, way of thinking, behaving)	220	55	34	9	

If there are other factors that play a part in your feeling of Jewishness, please describe them:

---

6 Do you see yourself as being part of the *organised* Jewish community (eg by membership of a synagogue or other Jewish group such as WIZO, Bnai Brith, a Jewish charitable body etc)?

N = 219 No **70** Yes **30 ---->go to Q8**

If No, are there any particular reasons why you are not involved in the Jewish community ?

---

7 What would encourage you to become more involved in Jewish communal activities ? This might be a change in your personal circumstances OR in the way the Jewish community functions. Please be as open as you like.

---

8 Please list below ANY Jewish groups or organisations that you have had any connection with, however slight, in the past year. This might include a Jewish sports group, charitable body, cultural or Zionist group and so on.

_____

9 In terms of Jewish religious practice, which of the following best describes your position?

N = 220

Non-practising (ie secular) Jew	33	
Just Jewish	24	**Please tick**
Progressive Jew (eg Liberal, Reform)	19	**one box**
"Traditional" (not strictly orthodox)	23	
Strictly orthodox (eg would *not* turn on a light on Sabbath)	2	

10 To help us understand better what this means, please say whether you observe any of the following practices and rituals. Do you :

Light candles in your home on Friday night ? Always **26** Sometimes **31** Never **44**
N = 215

Have a Mezuzah ? Yes, on all doors **23** Yes, on front door **43** No **34**
N = 214

At Passover, do you attend a Seder Meal at home or elsewhere ? N = 222 Every **64** year; Most years **13**; Some years **16**; Never **7**

At Christmas-time do you take part in any seasonal activities such as hanging up stockings or having seasonal decorations ? Yes **31** No **69**
N = 223

11 Thinking of your close friends, what proportion would you say are Jewish ? N = 221

All or nearly all **23** More than half **21** About half **27** Less than half **27** None **3**

12 And would you say the area where you live is: N = 222

Very Jewish **17** Moderately Jewish **27** Not so Jewish **23** Not at all Jewish **32**

13 Below are listed some personal religious practices. Please indicate whether you do any of the following:

	N	Yes	No	Not Applicable
Fast on Yom Kippur	222	55	45	5 (Health)
Prefer to stay home on Friday night	221	43	57	
Refrain from work on the Jewish New Year	222	60	40	
Refrain from driving or travelling on Sabbath	220	6	94	

14 The statements below represent a wide range of opinions about intermarriage and partnership with non-Jews. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each one.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	%	%	%	%	%
Nothing can be done to reduce the rate of intermarriage N = 220	9	25	31	27	8
If my son or daughter wished to marry a non-Jew I would do everything possible to prevent it N = 217	6	13	19	32	30
Having a Jewish partner is only important if you intend to have children N = 216	3	8	14	50	25
If a Jew falls in love with a non-Jew they should live together rather than get married N = 214	2	9	12	48	29
Conversion to Orthodox Judaism should be made much easier N = 217	16	35	31	12	7
A Jew who marries a non-Jew should be cut off from the community N = 222	1	0	3	18	78

15 Whether or not you are actively involved in the Jewish community at present, would you wish to mark any of the following in a Jewish manner, if applicable to you ?

	N			
The marriage of a child	**201**	Jewish **71**	Not Jewish **4**	Not applicable **25**
Circumcision of a child	**206**	Jewish 71	Not Jewish **4**	Not applicable **25**
Burial arrangements for a parent	**213**	Jewish **90**	Not Jewish **5**	Not applicable **5**

Do you, yourself, wish to have a Jewish burial ? **N = 207** Yes **81** No **19**

16 In the past year how often have you attended a synagogue service ?

N = 221

Not at all **29**	Once or twice **39** (eg Yom Kippur)	On a few occasions **23** (eg festivals, Yahrzeit)	About once **5** a month	Most Sabbaths **5** or more often

17 If you have a husband or partner, how often has he attended synagogue in the past year?

N = 118

Not at all **46**	Once or twice **25** (eg Yom Kippur)	On a few occasions **21** (eg festivals, Yahrzeit)	About once **2** a month	Most Sabbaths **7** or more often

18 Thinking of your more general opinions:

Which political party do you feel closest to ? N = 215 Don't favour any party **17**

Conservative **20** Labour **38** Liberal Democrat/SLD **22** Other **3**_____

In the broadest sense of the term, would you call yourself a feminist

N = 218 Definitely **52** Somewhat **36** Not at all **12**

SECTION B - WORK, FAMILY AND PERSONAL RELATIONS

19 Are you currently in paid employment? N=220 Yes **76** No **24**----> go to Q21
If YES: Do you work N=161 Full-time **71** Part-time **29**
Are you N=150 An employee **67** Self-employed **33**

20 Please say what your job is and what type of organisation you work in

_____(go to Q22)

21 If you are NOT in paid employment, are you: N=49

A full-time housewife/mother	**35**	A student	**25**
Unemployed and seeking work	**29**	Retired	**8**

Other (please specify) _____ **4**_____

If you are seeking work, how long have you been doing so: _____ years _____ months
N = 12 Mean = 1.6 years

22 If you are married or have a partner, does he work N = 109

Full-time **82** Part-time **0** Is seeking work **6** Is retired **6** Is a student **5**

23 Below are listed various stages in the development of a family. At each stage, please say whether you think it is generally a good idea for a woman to go to work outside the home.

	N	OK to work full-time	OK to work part-time	Should not work
After marrying, but before there are children	217	96	2	1
When there is a child under school age	215	40	40	21
After the youngest child starts school	216	65	33	2
After the children leave home	212	97	2	1

24 This question is for anyone who is now, or has in the past been in paid employment, whether full- or part- time. (If you have never worked please go to Q25)

Here is a list of difficulties which working women may encounter. Please indicate whether or not you have experienced these problems ?

	N	Yes, this is/has been a problem	No, this has not been a problem	Doesn't apply to me
Finding a job which uses your qualifications/skills	212	37	57	6
Lack of promotion	206	35	46	20
Sexual harassment at work	209	23	68	9
Finishing early for Sabbath/festivals	211	11	41	48
Anti-Semitism	211	25	69	6
Arranging affordable child-care	207	20	15	65
Getting children to after-school activities	205	15	16	69
Finding a job which fits in with school hours	205	17	13	70
Making school holiday plans which fit in with work	207	18	13	69

FAMILY ISSUES

25 Do you come from a large or small family ? Please say how many brothers and sisters there were in your family including yourself ?

_____ brothers _____ sisters

N = 219 **Mean no. of brothers = 0.82** **Mean no. of sisters = 1.03**

26 Are your parents still alive ?

N=221 Yes, both **57** Mother only **24** Father only **7** Neither **12** -->Q28

27 Are you at all responsible for their care / welfare ?

N = 193 Yes, solely **3** Yes, with others **17** No **81**

If NO, do you expect to be responsible for their care as they become older?

N = 169 Yes, solely **3** Yes, with others **72** No **21**

28 To what extent would you say you follow your mother's example in your attitudes to life and different areas of your behaviour ? Please answer for each of the following:

(If you were brought up by someone other than your mother, please tick here ☐ and go to Q29)

	N	Followed mother completely	partly	not at all
1 In my views about social issues	217	7	62	30
2 In my attitudes to working mothers	214	19	47	34
3 In how I feel about my Jewishness	219	14	53	33
4 In my approach to housework	217	16	51	33
5 In my attitudes towards sex	211	7	35	59
6 In how I bring up my children (if applicable)	133	9	59	32
7 In the Jewish character of my home	215	14	47	38

Are there any areas (listed above) in which you feel your father has been more influential than your mother ? Please say which

_____ (give numbers)

29 Listed below are some difficulties and illnesses which may have affected your family. Please say whether you have experienced any of these - either personally or in connection with a member of your immediate family.

N = 225

	Experienced personally		**Dealt with this for a member of my family**
Stroke	**3**	**Please tick**	**19**
Psychiatric illness	**8**	**both boxes**	**13**
Alzheimer's (senile dementia)	**1**	**if this has**	**9**
A disabled child	**3**	**been both a**	**4**
Cancer	**7**	**personal AND**	**32**
Depression	**29**	**a family**	**26**
Eating disorder (e.g.anorexia nervosa or bulimia)	**8**	**issue**	**7**

30 Turning now to you personally, which of the following best describes your CURRENT situation?

N = 220

		)
Married	32	) **Please go to**
Living with a partner	15	) **question 32**
Single - never married	37	
Single - divorced or separated	14	
Single - widowed	1	

31 If you are <u>currently single,</u> have you ever been married or lived in a stable relationship as part of a couple ?

N = 114 Yes **53** No **47** ----> Please skip the rest of this section, **go to Q40**

If YES, how long ago was that ? _____ years

Was your most recent relationship with

N = 58

a husband	**21**	**Tick**
a male partner	**78**	**one**
a lesbian partner	**2**	**box**

32 Please answer this question if you are now, or have ever been married or in a partnership. How many times have you been married or in a stable relationship with a partner ?

N = 163 Once **63** Twice **26** Three times **8** Four or more times **4**

On each occasion was your partner Jewish or non-Jewish ?

	N		
First Husband/Partner	163	Jewish 60	Non-Jewish 40
Second Husband/Partner (if any)	61	Jewish 46	Non-Jewish 54
Third Husband/Partner (if any)	20	Jewish 30	Non-Jewish 70
Fourth Husband/Partner (if any)	6	Jewish 17	Non-Jewish 83

33 For each partner, please say whether or not you were married, and if you were married, where the ceremony took place ?

	Married ?			married in a synagogue	married in a registry office	married elsewhere
	N	%YES	N	%	%	%
First partner	158	65	101	62	29	9
Second partner	58	38	22	23	60	18
Third partner	17	12	3	33	67	0
Fourth partner	5	20	0	0	0	0

34 In your home, how are the various tasks and responsibilities divided between yourself and your partner ? (If you do not have a partner at present, please answer for your previous marriage or partnership)

	N	Mainly myself	Shared equally	Mainly husband/ partner	Neither
General domestic jobs such as cleaning	157	50	36	5	10
Getting household equipment repaired	159	31	35	31	3
Deciding how to spend household money	159	25	68	4	3
Actually paying the bills	159	33	42	25	0

35 Do you have any children ? N = 168 Yes 57 No 43

If NO, do you wish to have children at some time in your life? N = 69 Yes 71 No 29

Have you ever felt under pressure to have children ? N = 82 Yes 45 No 55

36 What are the reasons for your not having children at present ?

	N = 54	%	
No particular reason		20	
Your health makes having children unwise		2	**Please**
You are not married to your partner		31	**tick**
Your partner is not Jewish		7	**all**
You or your partner has fertility problems		13	**the**
You have a civil divorce from a previous marriage but not a *Get* (Jewish divorce)		0	**reasons**
You do not have a partner at present		30	**which**
You can't afford to bring up children		13	**apply**

Other _____

37 Have you ever been divorced? N = 140

Yes divorced once **24** Yes, divorced more than once **6** Never divorced **70** --->go to Q39

38 If you have been divorced, did you have a religious divorce in which you received a Get (Jewish divorce document)? If divorced more than once, please answer for your first divorce

N = 41

Divorced with a Get	**51**	Divorced without Get	**24**	Not applicable, first partner not Jewish	**24**

39 Please answer this question if you are a widow, or have been widowed in the past. At the time when your partner died, did you have help from any of the following ? (Tick all those that apply)

N = 2 ACTUAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES

your synagogue		a non-Jewish advisory group		a burial society	
family members	**2**	a Jewish welfare organisation	**1**	a communal official	
MIYAD		a rabbi	a doctor	a counsellor	**1**

Did you observe the week of mourning (sit Shiva) ? N = 5 Yes 80 No 20

SECTION C - Please answer this section if *EITHER* you are now single, separated, divorced or widowed *OR* you have been in one of these groups for some years in the past. (Otherwise go to Section D)

40 The list below gives various opinions about the way the Jewish community reacts to women on their own. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the statements

	N	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The Jewish community is more welcoming to singles than society at large	148	1	5	25	39	30
In the Jewish community single people are pressured into marriage	148	19	53	17	10	1
I am single because I want to be	141	14	26	20	32	9
The Jewish community has no place for me as a single women	147	18	27	26	25	2
People who do not marry by the time they are about 30 are seen as a threat to the future of the community	146	16	29	28	22	6

41 Some single people wish to marry or find a partner, while others do not. Which of the following applies to you ?

N = 145

Not looking for a partner	**3**	---->go to Q46
At present with a partner	**28**	--->go to Q45
Actively looking for a partner	**21**	
Not really looking for a partner, but would feel OK if you met someone	**47**	

42 In the past 12 months have you made use of any of the following as a way of meeting eligible partners (Place a tick next to all those you have used)

N = 68 **(More than one response possible)**

Jewish dating agency	**24**	General dating agency (including TV/computer dating)			**20**
Shadchan (matchmaker)	**0**	Charity committee	**15**	Wine bars and discos	**16**
Jewish singles group/events	**41**	Visit to Israel	**16**	Sports/hobby/study groups	**32**
Communal Friday night or Shabbat meal for singles	**13**	Personal adverts in the Jewish press	**28**	Personal adverts in the non-Jewish press	**18**

43 Do you have difficulty in meeting suitable partners ? **N = 101** Yes **83** No **17** **-->go to Q44**
If YES, what are those difficulties ?

_____

44 How important is it to you that a potential partner is Jewish? **N = 110**

Very important **31**	Important **40**	Of minor importance **26**	Completely unimportant **3**

45 In trying to find a partner, have you ever actively looked for someone who is non-Jewish ?

N = 135 Yes **19** No **81**

46 Have you ever had a steady relationship with a non-Jew ? **N = 138** Yes **73** No **27**
If that relationship has ended, can you summarise the reasons ?

_____

47 Are you raising a child or children by yourself ?	No	**79**	---> go to Q53
	Yes, as a widow	**1**	---> go to Q52
	Yes, never married	**2**	
N = 128	Yes, due to divorce/separation	**19**	

48 <u>If you are divorced</u>, has a custody order been made regarding your children ?
(If divorced more than once, please answer for the most recent divorce involving children)

N = 26 Yes **81** No **19**

If YES: To whom was custody granted ? **N = 20** You **95** Your ex-husband/partner **0** Joint **5**

49 Who does your child (or children) live with ? (If they are in different places, please tick all those that apply)

N = 22 **ACTUAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES GIVEN**

With you **22**	With your ex-husband/partner **4**	Older children live in their own homes **1**	A relative **0**

50 Have you had children by more than one partner? **N = 28** No **93** Yes **7**

51 Are you in contact with the father of your child/ren ? **N = 29**
(if more than one father, answer for the father of your youngest child)

Yes, regularly	**41**
Yes, only rarely	**28**
No, not at all	**31**

If YES: does he help, or has he helped, with any of the following aspects of child care ?

Day to day involvement	**N = 25**	Helps now **0**	Helped **16** in past	Both now **16** & in past	Never **68** helped
Finance	**N = 25**	Helps now **12**	Helped **24** in past	Both now **16** & in past	Never **48** helped
Decisions about general education	**N = 24**	Helps now **17**	Helped **25** in past	Both now **13** & in past	Never **46** helped
Holidays/ caring for children at school breaks	**N = 24**	Helps now **13**	Helped **17** in past	Both now **17** & in past	Never **54** helped
Decisions on Jewish matters such as Bar/Batmitzvah	**N = 23**	Helps now **4**	Helped **13** in past	Both now **9** & in past	Never **74** helped

52 Allowing for any financial help you may have had, could you please say whether you have still had difficulty affording any of the following:

	N	No serious difficulty	Difficulty started in past year	Difficulty has existed for years
Fees for general schooling	19	32	5	63
Fees for Jewish education, synagogue classes, cheder	17	24	6	71
Mortgage repayment	17	47	12	41
Child's membership of a Jewish club or organisation	15	47	13	40
Nursery school/childminder fees	19	47	5	47
Subscriptions to your own organisation /interest group	18	28	6	67
Burial expenses	12	8	17	75

Other (please specify) _____

53 Is there someone in any of the following groups you can reliably call on in an emergency ?

N = 145 (More than one response possible)

Husband/partner **32**	Parents **68**	Grandparents **7**	Other relations **52**
Friends/Neighbours **79**	Other (write in) ____**5**_____		No-one **4**

SECTION D - SYNAGOGUES AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

54 Jewish women have a wide range of views about the type of synagogue they would like to attend. Have you ever been to a synagogue which you feel meets your needs as a woman?

N = 197

No **69** Yes **31** **If YES, what type of synagogue was/is this ?**_____

Why do you feel this particular synagogue met your needs?_____

55 The following statements express various views about the synagogue and the role of women within it. You may agree with some statements and disagree with others. Please indicate your view by ticking the appropriate box.

	N	Agree strongly	Agree	Not certain	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Synagogues should be mainly for men; women can express their Jewishness in other ways	218	3	4	5	25	63
I feel myself to be a stranger in the synagogue	218	21	32	14	27	6
The people who run synagogues sometimes make others feel like outsiders	216	28	46	16	9	0
The idea of 'all women' prayer groups is out of step with Jewish values	217	7	14	27	25	27
I find it very difficult to express myself spiritually in a synagogue	213	20	32	21	23	5
I don't feel comfortable going to synagogue because I don't really have the right clothes	206	6	15	8	40	31
Synagogues are mainly for families; unmarried people feel excluded	206	15	28	22	25	9

56 If you attend synagogue from time to time, please answer the following questions otherwise go to question 57)

On the whole, do you find your Rabbi approachable ? **N = 136**

Very approachable **18** OK **32** Not approachable **19** Not applicable **32** (don't come into contact)

Does your Rabbi speak readily to women congregants ? **N = 125**

Yes, to all **37** Yes, to some **22** No **10** Don't know **32**

Does your synagogue have a woman rabbi? **N = 125** Yes **12** No **88**

If NO, have you had any contact with a woman Rabbi ? **N = 121** Yes **40** No **60**

57 ***Do you have any views on the role of women as rabbis?***_____

58 Have you ever heard of Rosh Chodesh groups ? N = 220 Yes 39 No 61
If YES, have you ever attended one ? N = 85 Yes 13 No 87

59 In the event of a family bereavement, do you think you would wish to say Kaddish (personal memorial prayer) in any of the following settings:-

At the funeral ?	N = 200	Yes 79	No 21
At the Shiva (week of mourning) in the home	N = 190	Yes 74	No 26
At synagogue services during the year of mourning ?	N = 170	Yes 48	No 52

60 Have you ever had any dealings with a Beth Din (religious court), for example in connection with marriage, divorce, adoption or conversion ? N = 214 Yes 23 No77 go to Q 61

If YES, what matter/s were dealt with ? _____

Which Beth Din was involved? N = 49 (if TWO were involved, please tick TWO boxes)	London Beth Din 63 (Woburn House)	Other Orthodox 27 Beth Din	Reform 10 Beth Din

61 Based on your own OR your family's experience, are you able to assess the quality of service provided by the Beth Din ? (If more than one, answer for the first Beth Din approached)

	N	Good	Satisfactory	Poor	No opinion
Efficiency	130	16	14	11	59
Courtesy	128	14	9	17	60
Sensitivity to women's needs	128	9	9	22	60

Do you have any other comments ? _____

SECTION E - HELP AND WELFARE

62 Please say whether you have sought help for any of the following problems, either for yourself or for someone else, in the past 12 months. If you have sought help, was this from a Jewish or Non-Jewish organisation ?

	Sought help ? (Tick if yes)	**If YES,** from Jewish or non-Jewish body or both?		
	N = 225	**(% of those saying YES)**		
	YES%	JEWISH	NON-JEWISH	BOTH
For a financial problem	18	29	50	21
For a drug/alcohol problem	1	0	50	50
In finding or choosing a job	17	11	78	11
In adopting a child	1	0	100	0
Counselling for a personal/family problem	34	26	57	17
Problems with children or teenagers	9	35	45	20
For practical help as a carer for old person	8	18	41	41
Educational help for a child with special needs	5	25	50	25

63 Have you ever felt the need for information on any of the following matters? If so, could you say whether you actually contacted anyone for information and whether the information was helpful ?

	Wanted information ?		Contacted someone for information?		Obtained useful information?	
	N	%YES	N	%YES	N	%YES
Healthy diet	107	67	106	62	105	59
The menopause (the change)	88	43	88	39	87	39
Abortion	79	27	79	25	79	23
Sexual orientation (homosexuality)	74	14	73	14	72	13
Infertility	76	29	75	28	75	27
HIV / AIDS	75	19	74	16	73	14
Pre-menstrual tension	97	55	95	47	93	37

64 The community depends on volunteers in many capacities. During the past 12 months have you done any volunteer work (i.e. worked in some way to help others for no monetary pay) either on your own or as part of a group ?

N = 214 Yes **46** No 54 **----> go to Q65**

If Yes, was this for a Jewish or non-Jewish organisation or cause?

N = 99 Jewish **33** non-Jewish **40** Both types **26**

On average, over the past 12 months, how many hours a month have you spent in these volunteer activities

_____ hours per month

65 The following question is about being a 'carer'. By this we mean a person whose life is governed by the need to look after someone who is mentally or physically handicapped or infirm. This commitment may keep a carer housebound, or may be financial, or restrict employment or leisure activities. Does this definition apply to you in any way.

N = 207 Yes **6** No **94** **--->go to Q67**

If Yes: Do you care for someone who lives	With you in your home	**33**	**Tick**
	In the same area as you	**17**	**one**
N = 12	In another area of the same town	**33**	**box**
	In another town	**17**	

How many people do you care for ? _____

If you care for more than one person, please answer the following questions in relation to the person you spend most time caring for.

66 How old is the person you care for ? _____ **years** **N = 24**

What is his/her relationship to you ? _____

Does anyone beside those in your household share this caring with you ?

N = 12 Yes **42** No **58**

SECTION F - KOSHER FOOD

The use of kosher food varies widely from one person to another. Some people eat only Kosher food, some eat all kinds of foods, and others eat some non-Kosher foods while avoiding others. Please describe your own practice by answering the following questions:

67 Thinking specifically about Kosher meat (including poultry) which of the following applies to you at home?

N = 220

AT HOME	I only buy meat from a Kosher butcher	**17**
	I buy meat from an ordinary (non-Kosher) butcher, but not pork or bacon	**34**
	I buy meat from an ordinary (non-Kosher) butcher including pork & bacon	**31**
	I am vegetarian	**18**

If you have only Kosher meat at home, do you separate it from milk products? N = 75

Yes **48** No **52**

If YES, how long have you been doing this ? All my life **OR** ____years

68 If you do NOT buy kosher meat for your home, are there any particular reasons ?

N = 142 **(more than one response possible)**

There is no point as I don't believe in it	**68**	**Please**
Kosher meat is too expensive	**36**	**tick**
Cleanliness in kosher butchers is below the standard I would like	**11**	**all**
Kosher meat doesn't taste as good as other meat	**11**	**boxes**
I object to paying extra for someone to check whether everything is Kosher	**17**	**that**
I can't get to shops selling Kosher meat	**17**	**apply**

Other (please specify) _____

SECTION G - YOUR JEWISH EDUCATION

69 Thinking back to when you were growing up, did you receive any kind of Jewish Education ?

N = 222 Yes **84** No **16** ---->goto Q70

If YES, please tick ALL those forms you have experienced and give your age at the time:-

	Experienced ? N = 224 % YES	Age at start	Age at end
Part-time classes in synagogue (Cheder)	64	If yes: ___yrs	___yrs
Jewish lessons from parent / relative	18	If yes: ___yrs	___yrs
Jewish primary school	14	If yes: ___yrs	___yrs
Teenage Centre (for Jewish studies)	7	If yes: ___yrs	___yrs
Jewish secondary school	10	If yes: ___yrs	___yrs
Jewish seminary (for girls of 16+)	3	If yes: ___yrs	___yrs
Degree in Jewish studies at University/College	0	If yes: ___yrs	___yrs
Some Jewish courses at University (eg Jewish history, project on Jewish theme)	9	If yes: ___yrs	___yrs

70 Jewish girls sometimes have a Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil ceremony to mark the time when they become responsible for their own religious observance. In your own case:

Did you have a Bat Mitzvah ceremony on your own ? **N = 222** Yes **7** No **93**

Did you participate in a Bat Chayil ceremony with other girls ? **N = 221** Yes **18** No **82**

71 When you were a teenager, did you ever attend a Jewish youth club or movement (eg Habonim, FZY) ? **N = 223** Yes **72** No **28**

If YES, please give the names of any you attended regularly for a period of one year or longer

_____

Overall, for how many years between 10 and 18 did you regularly attend youth group? _____years

72 Within the past three years have you attended a course or courses on a Jewish topic ? (eg Modern Hebrew, Jewish history, regular lectures or shiurim in your synagogue etc)

N = 216 Yes **28** No **72**

If YES, please list the courses attended and the name of the body organising the course

Courses attended in past three years	Organised by (eg Synagogue, Bnai Brith,Spiro etc)
_____	_____

73 In many families the responsibility for educating and bringing up children is divided in some way between the mother and the father. In your opinion how should the responsibilities for each of the following be shared :

	N	Responsibility should be: Mainly mother	Shared	Mainly father
Getting the best possible general education for a child	219	1	98	1
Getting children to extra-school activities	218	17	82	1
Ensuring that children have a Jewish education	210	9	90	1
Teaching children to swim	218	5	92	4
Making Friday night and Shabbat special for the family	200	15	84	2
Shopping for children's clothes	217	38	61	1
Disciplining children	216	2	97	1

74 The list below contain various forms of education and experience relevant to young people. some items in the list can be seen as being more important for girls than for boys, and vice versa. Which, if any, do you think are more important for one sex than the other?

		More important for girls %	Equally important for both %	More important for boys %
Going to synagogue regularly	N = 180	1	86	13
Having a barmitzvah or batmitzvah	N = 194	0	70	30
Having a well-paid job	N = 210	1	94	6
Marrying a Jew	N = 175	2	93	5
Having a thorough Jewish education	N = 184	0	99	1
Going to University	N = 213	1	98	2
Attending a Jewish day school	N = 142	0	99	1

SECTION H - YOUR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

(if you have no children under 25 years, please go to section H)

75 If you have any children under the age of 25 years, please fill in the chart below to show their age and sex. (If you have more than four children, please answer for the youngest four)

	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4
	N = 77	N = 52	N = 14	N = 2
Sex of child	47:53 M : F	52:46 M : F	71:29 M : F	100:0 M : F
Age in years	years	years	years	years

76 Upto now what form of Jewish education have your children received ? Please complete the following chart for each child.

(If NONE of your children have received any Jewish education, tick here ☐ and then go to question 78).

	N = 77	N = 52	N = 14	N = 2
	(Please tick ONLY if child has had this type of education)			
	Child 1 %	**Child 2** %	**Child 3** %	**Child 4** %
Attended Part-time classes upto Bar/BatMitzvah ?	26	33	57	0
Attended teenage centre/cheder after Bar/BatMitzvah ?	9	6	14	0
Attended Jewish Primary school	21	22	21	50
Attended Jewish Secondary school	10	6	0	0

(Percentages do not sum to 100 as some children have not participated in Jewish education, figures include multiple responses)

77 If you have a daughter did she, or will she, have a Bat Mitzvah or Bat Chayil (if more than one daughter, please answer for your youngest)

N = **45** Yes, she will/has had one **51** No, she will not / has not had one **49**

SECTION I - BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY

78 Please give your age last birthday _____ years

79 Please give the TOWN in which you were born and, if you were born abroad, your COUNTRY of birth

_____ Town _____Country

80 Do you belong to a synagogue, whether individually or through your husband/family ?

N = **222** Yes, I belong to a synagogue **23** No, I do not belong **77**

If YES, what type of synagogue do you belong to?

N = 61 (more than one response possible)

United Synagogue **44** Sephardi **3** Chassidic/Lubavitch **0**

Other Orthodox synagogue **7** Reform **38** Liberal **7** Masorti **3**

Other (please specify) __3_____

81 Whether or not you belong to a synagogue, which type do you *attend* if you ever go ? (Obviously this could be different from the one you belong to)

N = 215 (more than one response possible)

United Synagogue **35** Sephardi **7** Chassidic/Lubavitch **1**

Other Orthodox synagogue **8** Reform **27** Liberal **6** Masorti **2**

Other (please specify) **3**

82 What type of synagogue did your parents belong to when you were growing up ?

N = 217 (more than one response possible)

United Synagogue **53** Sephardi **5** Chassidic/Lubavitch **1**

Other Orthodox synagogue **13** Reform **15** Liberal **4** Masorti **1**

Other (please specify) **2** Did not belong **12**

83 Which of the following groups, covers your personal annual gross income from all sources before deduction of tax and national insurance

N = 209

Under £5000 **17** £5001 -10,000 **12** £10,001-20,000 **37** £20,001-50,000 **33** Over £50,000 **1**

84 If you are married or living with a partner, which category covers your combined household income from all sources before taxes

N = 107

Under £8000 **6** £8001-20,000 **21** £20,001-50,000 **51** £50,001-80,000 **14** Over £80,000 **8**

85 Including yourself, how many people live at your address as regular members of your household?

_____ people

86 And how long have you lived in your present home? _____yrs

87 Are you, either the head or joint head of the household ? N = 211

Yes, head of household **40** Yes, Joint-head **46** No **13**

If NO: what is your relationship to the head of household N = 30

Daughter/daughter-in-law **43** Wife or partner **33**

Other relative (specify) _____ Unrelated (specify: eg flatmate, tenant) **23**

88 Have you had any children of your own, not counting adoptions.

N = 211 Yes **43** No **57**-----> Go to Q89

IF YES, please give the following details about the children you have had

N = 91 (families with children)

Number of _**1.08**_ boys (**Mean**) _**1.03**__ girls (**Mean**) **How many are still living ?** All or ____ (number)

How many are aged over 18 ____(number)

How many are married ? None or **18** (actual number)

If any are married, how many are married to Jews ? __**13**__ (number) **(total number)**

89 Now please say whether you have any children who are

Adopted ___ Stepchildren __ Fostered __ **(write in the number who live with you)**

90 Do you hold any academic qualifications ? Please tick all that apply

N = 179 (highest qualification recorded)

None **11** Alevel/HNC **66** Olevel/School Cert/GCSE **21** CSE **2**

N = 140 First degree in _____**63**____ Postgraduate degree in ____**37**_____

Professional qualification in_____**N = 136**_____ Other qualification in____**N = 90**_____

91 How old were you when you left school ? ___**17.4**___ years **(mean)** **N = 219**

92 Finally, thinking back to your childhood, please describe your Jewish upbringing. Was this

N = 221

Non-practising Jewish (ie secular)	**15**	
Just Jewish	**21**	**Please tick**
Progressive (eg Liberal, Reform)	**9**	
"Traditional" (not strictly orthodox)	**51**	**one box**
Strictly orthodox (eg would not turn on a light on Sabbath)	**2**	
Raised in another religion	**2**	

Your own comments

Obviously no questionnaire can cover all the issues that affect Jewish women. To keep the questionnaire down to a reasonable size, some topics have been rotated - ie they appear in one version but not in others. However, we would be very interested in any comments you may wish to make on Jewish women, whether or not the particular issue has been covered in this questionnaire.

Also, if you would like to expand on your answer to any particular question and/or comment on the questionnaire itself, please use the space below giving the question number if appropriate.

(Please continue overleaf)

We hope you have enjoyed completing this questionnaire and thank you very much for your help. Please return the questionnaire to the Community Research Unit in the envelope provided within two weeks, or sooner if possible.

APPENDIX C

TABLES

Appendix C

1. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

	Synagogal Affiliation					
	Unaffiliated		Orthodox		Progressive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
AGE						
Upto 30 yrs	62	28	56	9	38	8
31 - 40 yrs	64	29	113	18	124	26
41 - 50 yrs	68	31	163	26	154	32
51 - 60 yrs	17	8	156	25	79	17
61 - 70 yrs	7	3	108	17	67	14
71 yrs and over	4	2	35	6	12	3
Group Total	222	100	631	100	474	100
BORN IN						
London	120	54	287	45	242	52
Rest of UK	75	34	248	39	146	31
Rest of the World	26	12	101	16	81	17
Group Total	221	100	636	100	469	100
RESIDES IN:						
Greater London	153	74	368	58	273	58
Regions	54	26	270	42	201	42
Group Total	207	100	638	100	474	100
MARITAL STATUS						
Married	71	32	531	83	388	82
Cohabiting	33	15	8	1	14	3
Never Married	82	37	39	6	24	5
Divorced	31	14	21	3	30	6
Widowed	3	1	43	7	19	4
Group Total	220	100	642	100	475	100

(continued)

Appendix C

1. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

	Synagogal Affiliation					
	Unaffiliated		Orthodox		Progressive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
SYNAGOGAL GROUP AND AREA						
Unaffiliated	225	100				
United Synagogue London			304	47		
Orthodox Provinces			246	38		
Masorti London					60	13
Reform London					119	25
Reform Provinces					137	29
Sephardi London			49	8		
Right Wing London			49	8		
Liberal Provinces					82	17
Liberal London					79	17
Group Total	225	100	648	100	477	100
RELIGIOUS UPBRINGING						
Secular/Non-practising	33	15	20	3	37	8
Just Jewish	47	21	103	16	89	19
Progressive	20	9	14	2	87	19
Traditional	112	51	384	60	194	42
Strictly Orthodox	5	2	109	17	5	1
Other religion	4	2	8	1	55	12
Group Total	221	100	638	100	467	100

2. HOW STRONGLY DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THESE STATEMENTS ABOUT INTERMARRIAGE AND PARTNERSHIPS WITH NON-JEWS

ALL

	Synagogal Affiliation					
	Unaffiliated		Orthodox		Progressive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
NOTHING CAN BE DONE TO REDUCE THE RATE OF INTERMARRIAGE						
Strongly agree	19	9	13	2	26	6
Agree	55	25	116	18	145	31
Not sure	69	31	121	19	129	28
Disagree	60	27	268	42	148	32
Strongly disagree	17	8	113	18	19	4
Group Total	220	100	631	100	467	100
IF MY SON OR DAUGHTER WISHED TO MARRY A NON-JEW I WOULD EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PREVENT IT						
Strongly agree	12	6	240	38	28	6
Agree	29	13	163	26	48	10
Not sure	41	19	116	19	102	22
Disagree	70	32	78	12	197	42
Strongly disagree	65	30	30	5	94	20
Group Total	217	100	627	100	469	100
HAVING A JEWISH PARTNER IS ONLY IMPORTANT IF YOU INTEND TO HAVE CHILDREN						
Strongly agree	7	3	15	2	8	2
Agree	18	8	44	7	32	7
Not sure	31	14	21	3	31	7
Disagree	107	50	248	39	266	58
Strongly disagree	53	25	306	48	125	27
Group Total	216	100	633	100	462	100

(continued)

2. HOW STRONGLY DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THESE STATEMENTS ABOUT INTERMARRIAGE AND PARTNERSHIPS WITH NON-JEWS

ALL

	Synagogal Affiliation					
	Unaffiliated		Orthodox		Progressive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
IF A JEW FALLS IN LOVE WITH A NON-JEW THEY SHOULD LIVE TOGETHER RATHER THAN GET MARRIED						
Agree strongly	4	2	14	2	4	1
Agree	20	9	91	15	22	5
Not sure	25	12	107	17	34	7
Disagree	102	48	256	41	263	57
Strongly disagree	63	29	152	25	142	31
Group Total	214	100	620	100	465	100
CONVERSION TO ORTHODOX JUDAISM SHOULD BE MADE MUCH EASIER						
Strongly agree	34	16	102	16	87	19
Agree	75	35	213	34	189	41
Not sure	68	31	96	15	93	20
Disagree	25	12	124	20	81	18
Strongly disagree	15	7	95	15	12	3
Group Total	217	100	630	100	462	100
A JEW WHO MARRIES A NON-JEW SHOULD BE CUT OFF FROM THE COMMUNITY						
Strongly agree	2	1	39	6	10	2
Agree			14	2	3	1
Not sure	6	3	47	7	1	0
Disagree	40	18	212	33	57	12
Strongly disagree	174	78	321	51	400	85
Group Total	222	100	633	100	471	100

(continued)

2. HOW STRONGLY DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THESE STATEMENTS ABOUT INTERMARRIAGE AND PARTNERSHIPS WITH NON-JEWS

AFFILIATED

	Synagogal affiliation				Group Total	
	Orthodox		Progressive		No	%
	No	%	No	%		
RABBIS SHOULD BE MORE HELPFUL IN WELCOMING NON-JEWISH PARTNERS INTO THE COMMUNITY						
Strongly agree	97	15	161	34	258	23
Agree	190	30	218	47	408	37
Not sure	122	19	62	13	184	17
Disagree	129	20	25	5	154	14
Strongly disagree	98	15	2	0	100	9
Group Total	636	100	468	100	1104	100
IT IS PURELY BY CHANCE THAT I MARRIED A JEW						
Strongly agree	18	4	20	6	38	4
Agree	29	6	69	19	98	11
Not sure	14	3	21	6	35	4
Disagree	136	27	143	40	279	32
Strongly disagree	313	61	107	29	420	48
Group Total	510	100	360	100	870	100
ONCE SOMEONE ALREADY HAS CHILDREN, IT DOESN'T MATTER IF S/HE REMARRIES A NON-JEW LATER ON						
Strongly agree	11	2	15	3	26	2
Agree	55	9	65	15	120	11
Not sure	102	16	92	21	194	18
Disagree	281	44	201	45	482	45
Strongly disagree	184	29	75	17	259	24
Group Total	633	100	448	100	1081	100

3. THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS EXPRESS VARIOUS VIEWS ABOUT THE SYNAGOGUE AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN WITHIN IT. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH EACH
ALL

	Synagogal Affiliation					
	Unaffiliated		Orthodox		Progressive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
SYNAGOGUES ARE MAINLY FOR MEN; WOMEN EXPRESS JEWISHNESS IN OTHER WAYS						
Agree strongly	6	3	19	3	2	0
Agree	9	4	47	8	8	2
Not certain	10	5	43	7	9	2
Disagree	55	25	301	48	141	30
Disagree strongly	138	63	212	34	308	66
Group Total	218	100	622	100	468	100
I FEEL MYSELF TO BE A STRANGER IN THE SYNAGOGUE						
Agree strongly	45	21	49	8	22	5
Agree	70	32	107	17	54	12
Not certain	30	14	54	9	37	8
Disagree	59	27	281	45	214	46
Disagree strongly	14	6	133	21	139	30
Group Total	218	100	624	100	466	100
PEOPLE WHO RUN SYNAGOGUES SOMETIMES MAKE OTHERS FEEL LIKE OUTSIDERS						
Agree strongly	61	28	138	22	75	16
Agree	100	46	270	43	224	48
Not certain	35	16	64	10	50	11
Disagree	20	9	121	19	96	21
Disagree strongly			33	5	20	4
Group Total	216	100	626	100	465	100

(continued)

3. THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS EXPRESS VARIOUS VIEWS ABOUT THE SYNAGOGUE AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN WITHIN IT. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH EACH
ALL

	Synagogal Affiliation					
	Unaffiliated		Orthodox		Progressive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
THE IDEA OF 'ALL WOMEN' PRAYER GROUPS IS OUT OF STEP WITH JEWISH VALUES						
Agree strongly	15	7	112	18	41	9
Agree	30	14	176	28	121	26
Not certain	59	27	182	29	127	27
Disagree	55	25	109	18	120	26
Disagree strongly	58	27	39	6	56	12
Group Total	217	100	618	100	465	100
I FIND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO EXPRESS MYSELF SPIRITUALLY IN A SYNAGOGUE						
Agree strongly	42	20	60	10	42	9
Agree	69	32	172	28	109	23
Not certain	44	21	93	15	67	14
Disagree	48	23	233	38	207	44
Disagree strongly	10	5	58	9	44	9
Group Total	213	100	616	100	469	100
I DON'T FEEL COMFORTABLE GOING TO SYNAGOGUE BECAUSE I DON'T REALLY HAVE THE RIGHT CLOTHES						
Agree strongly	12	6	9	1	2	0
Agree	31	15	19	3	14	3
Not certain	17	8	26	4	7	2
Disagree	82	40	306	49	208	45
Disagree strongly	64	31	262	42	234	50
Group Total	206	100	622	100	465	100

(continued)

3. THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS EXPRESS VARIOUS VIEWS ABOUT THE SYNAGOGUE AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN WITHIN IT. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH EACH
ALL

	Synagogal Affiliation					
	Unaffiliated		Orthodox		Progressive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
SYNAGOGUES ARE MAINLY FOR FAMILIES; UNMARRIED PEOPLE FEEL EXCLUDED						
Agree strongly	31	15	23	4	12	3
Agree	58	28	62	10	59	13
Not certain	45	22	105	17	102	22
Disagree	52	25	269	43	187	41
Disagree strongly	19	9	162	26	100	22
Group Total	205	100	621	100	460	100

AFFILIATED

	Synagogal affiliation				Group Total	
	Orthodox		Progressive		No	%
	No	%	No	%		
I WISH THERE COULD BE MORE EXPLANATION DURING THE SERVICE						
Agree strongly	158	25	44	10	202	19
Agree	279	45	182	41	461	43
Not certain	47	8	57	13	104	10
Disagree	113	18	152	34	265	25
Disagree strongly	24	4	14	3	38	4
Group Total	621	100	449	100	1070	100

(continued)

3. THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS EXPRESS VARIOUS VIEWS ABOUT THE SYNAGOGUE AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN WITHIN IT. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH EACH
AFFILIATED

	Synagogal affiliation				Group Total	
	Orthodox		Progressive		No	%
	No	%	No	%		
THERE IS NO NEED TO CHANGE THE WAY SYNAGOGUES ARE ORGANISED; AS A WOMAN I AM HAPPY WITH THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS						
Agree strongly	58	9	17	4	75	7
Agree	175	28	146	32	321	30
Not certain	99	16	81	18	180	17
Disagree	192	31	131	29	323	30
Disagree strongly	102	16	82	18	184	17
Group Total	626	100	457	100	1083	100
MEN SHOULD BE ASKED TO PREPARE FOOD FOR SYNAGOGUE SOCIAL OCCASIONS JUST AS OFTEN AS WOMEN						
Agree strongly	77	12	99	21	176	16
Agree	211	33	209	45	420	38
Not certain	98	16	57	12	155	14
Disagree	195	31	94	20	289	26
Disagree strongly	49	8	7	2	56	5
Group Total	630	100	466	100	1096	100
WOMEN SHOULD HAVE EQUAL REPRESENTATION WITH MEN ON ALL SYNAGOGUE COMMITTEES						
Agree strongly	191	31	214	46	405	37
Agree	298	48	223	48	521	48
Not certain	48	8	20	4	68	6
Disagree	45	7	11	2	56	5
Disagree strongly	42	6	1	0	43	4
Group Total	623	100	469	100	1092	100

4. PLEASE INDICATE HOW STRONGLY YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE ABOUT THE WAY THE JEWISH COMMUNITY REACTS TO WOMEN ON THEIR OWN

ALL SINGLES

	Synagogal Affiliation					
	Unaffiliated		Orthodox		Progressive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IS MORE WELCOMING TO SINGLES THAN SOCIETY AT LARGE						
Strongly agree	2	1	2	2	2	2
Agree	7	5	10	8	12	11
Not sure	37	25	44	37	35	32
Disagree	57	39	42	36	46	42
Strongly disagree	45	30	20	17	15	14
Group Total	148	100	118	100	110	100
IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY SINGLE PEOPLE ARE PRESSURED INTO MARRIAGE						
Strongly agree	28	19	17	15	9	8
Agree	78	53	48	42	42	39
Not Certain	25	17	24	21	26	24
Disagree	15	10	22	19	28	26
Strongly disagree	2	1	4	3	4	4
Group Total	148	100	115	100	109	100
I AM SINGLE BECAUSE I WANT TO BE						
Strongly agree	20	14	16	16	11	13
Agree	36	26	37	36	29	34
Not certain	28	20	13	13	11	13
Disagree	45	32	24	24	26	31
Strongly disagree	12	9	12	12	8	9
Group Total	141	100	102	100	85	100

(continued)

4. PLEASE INDICATE HOW STRONGLY YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE ABOUT THE WAY THE JEWISH COMMUNITY REACTS TO WOMEN ON THEIR OWN

ALL SINGLES

	Synagogal Affiliation					
	Unaffiliated		Orthodox		Progressive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
THE JEWISH COMMUNITY HAS NO PLACE FOR ME AS A SINGLE WOMAN						
Strongly agree	27	18	10	9	9	9
Agree	42	29	16	14	14	14
Not certain	38	26	30	27	20	21
Disagree	37	25	43	38	47	48
Strongly disagree	3	2	13	12	7	7
Group Total	147	100	112	100	97	100
PEOPLE WHO ARE UNMARRIED AT ABOUT 30 ARE SEEN AS A THREAT TO THE FUTURE OF THE COMMUNITY						
Strongly agree	23	16	10	9	5	5
Agree	42	29	12	10	12	12
Not certain	41	28	31	27	27	26
Disagree	32	22	49	42	45	43
Strongly disagree	8	5	14	12	15	14
Group Total	146	100	116	100	104	100

5. BEING JEWISH MEANS DIFFERENT THINGS TO DIFFERENT PEOPLE HOW IMPORTANT IS EACH OF THE FOLLOWING TO YOUR PERSONAL SENSE OF JEWISHNESS

ALL

	Synagogal Affiliation					
	Unaffiliated		Orthodox		Progressive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
CLOSENESS TO OTHER JEWS						
Very important	67	30	329	52	174	37
Quite important	125	56	273	43	262	56
Not at all important	30	14	30	5	32	7
Group Total	222	100	632	100	468	100
INVOLVEMENT IN JEWISH HOME LIFE						
Very important	48	22	381	60	161	34
Quite important	114	51	218	34	225	48
Not at all important	60	27	39	6	83	18
Group Total	222	100	638	100	469	100
PARTICIPATION IN JEWISH RELIGIOUS LIFE						
Very important	14	6	212	33	110	24
Quite important	82	37	306	48	228	49
Not at all important	125	57	119	19	125	27
Group Total	221	100	637	100	463	100

(continued)

5. BEING JEWISH MEANS DIFFERENT THINGS TO DIFFERENT PEOPLE HOW IMPORTANT IS EACH OF THE FOLLOWING TO YOUR PERSONAL SENSE OF JEWISHNESS

ALL

	Synagogal Affiliation					
	Unaffiliated		Orthodox		Progressive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
ATTACHMENT TO ISRAEL						
Very important	67	30	255	40	123	26
Quite important	84	38	272	43	222	47
Not at all important	71	32	106	17	124	26
Group Total	222	100	633	100	469	100
INTEREST IN JEWISH CULTURE						
Very important	56	25	99	16	64	14
Quite important	117	53	312	50	241	52
Not at all important	48	22	219	35	158	34
Group Total	221	100	630	100	463	100
LOYALTY TO JEWISH HERITAGE						
Very important	107	49	407	64	220	47
Quite important	99	45	208	33	211	45
Not at all important	14	6	18	3	34	7
Group Total	220	100	633	100	465	100
FEELING JEWISH INSIDE						
Very important	120	55	415	65	257	55
Quite important	74	34	184	29	163	35
Not at all important	26	12	35	5	47	10
Group Total	220	100	634	100	467	100

Appendix C

6 SOME PEOPLE ARE FAR MORE CONSCIOUS OF BEING JEWISH THAN OTHERS. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST DESCRIBES YOUR FEELINGS

ALL

	Synagogal Affiliation					
	Unaffiliated		Orthodox		Progressive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Although born Jewish, I do not now think myself Jewish						
	1	0	1	0	2	0
I am aware of my Jewishness but do not often think about it						
	27	12	36	6	63	13
Jewishly aware but equally conscious of aspects of life						
	137	62	291	45	313	67
Extremely conscious and Jewishness very important						
	57	26	313	49	92	20
Group Total	222	100	641	100	470	100

In September 1992, the Chief Rabbi's Review of Women in the Community commissioned this pioneering survey: an important landmark in social research into British Jewry.

This wide-ranging study examines the lifestyles and social attitudes of British Jewish women of all shades of religious outlook, including secular women. The authors discuss family and community structure, Jewish education, welfare needs and religious faith and practice, concentrating on the link between these and other topics and dimensions of identity.

Marlena Schmool is Executive Director, Community Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. In that capacity she organises and co-ordinates research into the social life of contemporary British Jewry, and advises on research within the community. She has written widely on British Jewish demography and has a special interest in the historical demography of late 19th century Jewry.

Stephen Miller is Dean of the School of Social Sciences at City University. His research interests include the study of Jewish identity, particularly the impact of social, psychological and educational factors on the transmission of identity. His publications include a number of textbooks on social research methods, papers on visual perception and articles on Jewish belief and practice.

The authors recently worked together analysing of the Jewish beliefs, attitudes and practices of United Synagogue members.

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WOMEN IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

SURVEY REPORT

SCHMOOL & MILLER