

The social attitudes of unmarried young Jews in contemporary Britain

This new research is based on a sub-sample of unmarried respondents, aged between 22 and 39, taken from the comprehensive JPR Survey of the Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews. Two key findings emerge:

- Young unmarried Jews in Britain today form a very diverse group socio-economically, politically, attitudinally and in religious outlook.
- Gender is not predictive of behaviour, attitude or religious outlook, but friendship networks are.

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The **Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR)**, an independent think-tank, informs and influences policy, opinion and decision-making on issues affecting Jewish life worldwide by conducting and commissioning research, developing and disseminating policy proposals and promoting public debate.

JIA/Jewish Continuity—a nation-wide organization—mobilizes the British Jewish community's support for the rescue of Jews from countries of oppression, for humanitarian and welfare programmes in Israel and for education and youth activities in the United Kingdom.

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Summary of key points

Demographic profile of the sub-sample

- This report is based on a sample of 193 young unmarried adults, between 22-39 years of age, extracted from 2,194 respondents to a self-completed questionnaire obtained during a postal survey of British Jews between July and October 1995.
- The demographic profile of the respondents revealed an uneven proportion of males (55 per cent) to females (45 per cent) with 10 omitting information about their gender. There was also a slight bias towards older respondents.
- Sixty-eight per cent of the sample lived in Inner or Outer London.
- The sample was highly educated: 55 per cent had an undergraduate degree.
- Eighty per cent were in paid employment.
- Religious outlook: 34 per cent of the sample regarded themselves as 'Non-practising (secular) Jews', 27 per cent were 'Just Jewish', 9 per cent were Progressive, 24 per cent were Traditional and 6 per cent were 'Strictly Orthodox'.
- Based on the findings of qualitative research carried out on behalf of Jewish Continuity, the sample was divided into three 'types' of Jewish young adults, a typology known as 'Jewish social network': *close*, *halfway* and *distant*. The *close* group included individuals whose close friends were mostly or all Jewish. About half of the *halfway* group's close friends were Jewish, and few or none of the *distant* group's close friends were Jewish. There was a strong correlation between the Jewish social network groups and religious outlook.

General attitudes

- There was an overall consensus on the importance of increasing the allocation of tax revenue for the National Health Service and education, and the relative unimportance of funding the military (on the latter, the *distant* and *halfway* groups were noticeably more negative than the *close* group). Preference was also shown for the funding of programmes to protect the environment over culture and the arts.
- About one-third of the sample felt that, generally speaking, there is more racial prejudice in Britain now than there was five years ago, with only 24 per cent thinking that there is more antisemitism.

- Despite strong ideological views, the sample did not appear to be overly enthusiastic about party politics. Although 72 per cent stated that they were closer to one party than another, 30 per cent of the sample declined to name the party.
- A breakdown of the sample's television viewing patterns showed that the vast majority watched both national and international news indicating a high level of interest in current affairs.
- Choice of daily newspaper was well distributed across the spectrum of broadsheets. The general distaste for the tabloids reflects the educational and social profile of the sample. Sixty-one per cent of respondents read the Jewish press regularly but this varied according to the Jewish social network group.

Jewish identity

- Religious upbringing during childhood was found to be strongly related to an individual's adult Jewish social network group.
- Eighty-six per cent of the sample received some form of formal Jewish education. Participation in Jewish education and attendance at Jewish youth clubs were both significantly related to Jewish social network groups with *close* respondents being more likely to attend than *distant* respondents. It is likely that Jewish education is more indicative of parental attitudes and Jewish identity while Jewish youth club attendance demonstrates an individual's expression of their own identity and social preferences.
- Religious outlook, Jewish identity, Jewish social network group and awareness of being Jewish are closely related social variables. Patterns of agreement and disagreement across the whole range of Jewish beliefs and experiences were revealed; the majority agreed that it was important that the Jews survive as a people and that an unbreakable bond unites Jews all over the world.
- There were significant links between social network groups and both synagogue membership and attendance: 29 per cent of the *halfways*, 60 per cent of the *distants* and even 10 per cent of the *close* respondents did not attend synagogue at all over the past year; and only one-third of the *close* group attended once a month or more. This suggests that there is little religious content to the Jewish identity of even the *close* group; the majority of all the respondents were uncertain whether or not they could feel at ease expressing their spirituality in a synagogue. While only a minority was currently a member of a synagogue, attendance was more common.

- The *close* and *halfway* groups felt that the Jewish beliefs, experiences and rituals outlined in the questionnaire were more important to them than they were to the *distant* group. Thus *distant* respondents were more likely to celebrate Christmas than the other groups.
- The men and women in the sample were found to differ over what constituted the salient aspects of Jewish life, with involvement in Jewish home life and a loyalty to Jewish heritage emerging as more important for women than men.
- The majority of the sample (76 per cent) had visited Israel in the past ten years, with significantly more females than males having done so. Among the three social network groups, the *close* group was the most likely to have visited Israel several times, to have friends and relatives there and to exhibit a strong attachment to the Jewish state.

Attitudes to marriage and interpersonal relationships

- The majority of the sample (65 per cent) did not think that marriage is an outdated institution. Interestingly, all three groups rated adultery as 'more wrong' than homosexual sex.
- There was consensus among men and women in all three social network groups on attitudes to marriage and divorce.
- Gender was not found to be a source of division in attitudes to gender roles at home and at work, and a wide range of opinions were represented.
- Twenty-three per cent of the sample were actively seeking a partner at the time of completing the questionnaire.
- Just over one-third of the sample appeared to approve of intermarriage in theory while 40 per cent disapproved of it. In fact 68 per cent of the sample had previously been in a relationship with a non-Jewish person. This was differentiated across the social network groups with the *close* group members being less likely to have had an inter-faith relationship. Nevertheless half of the *close* group respondents had been in a relationship with a non-Jew as compared with 78 per cent of the *halfway* and 81 per cent of the *distant* groups. *Close* group members were more likely to believe that it was important for their partner to be Jewish than either of the other groups, although half of the overall sample believed that it was difficult to find a suitable Jewish partner.
- Over half of the sample agreed that rabbis

should be more helpful in welcoming non-Jewish partners into the community.

- The question of inter-faith relationships was found to have significance for the respondents in and of itself, and not only when there was a question of having children.
- The three social network groups were quite distinct when it came to the religious outlook of people with whom they felt most comfortable. The *close* group were more likely to say they felt most comfortable with other Jews, and these Jews tended to be either Orthodox or Traditional in their outlook. In contrast, none of the *distant* group felt comfortable with Orthodox Jews.
- The majority of respondents believed that an emphasis on the family was more common amongst Jews than in the population at large, as were the traits of ambition and ostentatiousness.

The association of unmarried people with the community

- Only one in six respondents considered the Jewish community more welcoming to single people than society in general.
- The Jewish social network typology works well for predicting ties to the community. For example, when choosing the most important charitable cause from a list containing general British charities, charities providing overseas aid for the poor, Jewish charities in Britain and Israeli charities, the choice of British Jewish charities decreased uniformly from the *close* to the *distant* groups as did, to a lesser extent, the choice of Israeli charities. On the other hand, support for overseas aid for the poor and general British charities increased from the *close* to the *distant* groups.

Discussion

- The life choices of unmarried young adults are crucial to the future of the British Jewish community. The population described in this report is a highly diverse group of people in terms of their tastes, lifestyles and attitudes. There can be no single provision that will satisfy all members of the group.
- A useful theoretical and practical approach, consistent with the categorization by the three social network groups, is the 'stage theory'. Accordingly, individuals within the *close*, *halfway* and *distant* groups are perceived as existing on a dynamic continuum along which they may move 'forwards' as well as

'backwards'. Generalized interventions are therefore inappropriate, and the needs and attitudes related to each segment along the continuum need to be taken into consideration separately. This requires, however, a change in attitude in the community and its leaders: the goal is not the total involvement of individuals in communal life but rather the step-by-step movement of individuals along the continuum towards the 'more involved' end of the spectrum.

- Respondents enjoyed taking part in the survey and in Jewish Continuity's qualitative research because it offered them a chance to reflect on and discuss the way they lived their lives and what it meant to be Jewish. 'Reflexivity'

encourages the belief that life can be different than it is, that habits and attitudes are open to revision. The Jewish community needs to make it clear that the label 'Jewish' encompasses a range of practices, beliefs and indeed cultures.

- The qualitative research suggested that all three social network groups found out about events and social activities mainly by word of mouth.
- The social network group typology not only identifies different types of Jews, but it can also identify the means by which they can be reached. Effective communication specifically targeted to different audiences is an important first step for community outreach to the unmarried population.

Introduction

The period between the completion of education and the settling down into married life was regarded by earlier generations as the 'single years'. The length and timing of this period in people's lives have varied this century as the number of years spent in education has lengthened and the age of marriage has fluctuated. For the poor immigrant majority of British Jews and their children in about 1900, education was usually completed at 12 years of age and marriage was often already entered into by the age of 18 or 20. The teenage years were then the 'single years' and they were frequently spent in gruelling work six days a week and in residence at the parental home. Today most British Jews are privileged members of the middle classes and attend institutions of higher education until about the age of 22. They are less likely than earlier generations to marry, and if they do it is generally at a later age, often in their thirties. Alternative lifestyles, including cohabitation and same-sex relationships, are also much more common nowadays. For most contemporary British Jews the 'single years' are the late twenties or early thirties; by the age of 40 the majority are married. These new patterns require new responses.

Decisions about whether or not to marry, or whether or not to marry somebody Jewish, affect the overall demographic structure and composition of the Jewish population. Moreover, since the next generation is for the most part composed of the offspring of permanent heterosexual unions, 'Jewish continuity'—in both the biological and social sense—is totally dependent on the aggregate of the individual decisions taken by young adults. In order to plan for the collective Jewish future, it is therefore of crucial importance to know and to understand the attitudes and opinions of this section of the population.

As a person brought up in a traditional Jewish home, it is now up to me to carry this on for when I settle down and have children. I feel that Jewish life is dwindling and I cannot find the happy medium in myself in keeping my Judaism and traditions going. This questionnaire has made me realize that it is left in the hands of our generation to keep the importance of Judaism alive (thirty-five-year-old male living in Outer London).

This report aims to inform community leaders and organizations about the views and behaviours of unmarried young Jewish adults so that policies and strategies can be designed and implemented

effectively. The assumption that 'young Jewish singles' constitute a homogeneous group is no longer tenable. And the term 'single' itself has now a number of different meanings for young adults, including unmarried, currently unattached, engaged to be married as well as separated, divorced and widowed.

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About the survey and the sub-sample

In 1995—in an attempt to fill some of the important gaps in Anglo-Jewry's understanding of itself—JPR carried out the first survey of the social and political attitudes of British Jews. A summary of the initial findings (published as JPR Report no. 1) made it clear that the Anglo-Jewish population is heterogeneous in terms of religiosity and geographical location, as well as gender, age group and marital status.

Those findings were based on 2,194 self-completed questionnaires obtained through a postal survey of British Jews between July and October 1995. The methodology for the original survey was designed to generate a random sample of self-identifying Jews using three sampling strategies. The first strategy was implemented in areas of high Jewish population density—where the Jewish population constitutes more than 15 per cent of the general population—and involved sending questionnaires to approximately every thirtieth household, anticipating that a given proportion would reach Jewish households. In areas of low Jewish population density—less than 15 per cent of the general population—households were randomly targeted based on a selection of distinctive Jewish names on the electoral register. The third strategy was designed to compensate for the fact that the second strategy would tend to overlook intermarried Jewish women: a snowball sample—wherein respondents found by adverts in newspapers are invited to pass the questionnaire along to others—was implemented in the low Jewish population density areas and aimed at intermarried Jewish women. The overall response rate was approximately 60 per cent which compares well with other questionnaire-based surveys.

In January 1996, Jewish Continuity commissioned two organizations to conduct qualitative research into the lifestyles and attitudes of single Jewish young adults. This study produced a number of

interesting insights and hypotheses which could, in turn, be tested out by quantitative research on the unmarried sub-sample which is the subject of this report. This sub-sample of unmarried young Jewish adults was isolated out of those responding to the postal survey. The defining criteria for inclusion were that the respondents were unmarried (including those who had never married or were divorced, separated or widowed) and that they were aged between 22-39 years of age. Those aged between 18 and 21 were excluded as they were very likely to be full-time students and thus living in a unique social environment. Those aged 40 and above were also excluded on generational grounds since the report concentrates on 'young' adults.

Unless otherwise stated, the analyses which follow are all based on a sub-sample of 193 unmarried young Jewish respondents. Comparisons are sometimes made between these research findings and those of other surveys, in particular the British Social Attitudes Survey (cited as BSA in the text and in the tables) conducted by Social and Community Planning Research. A number of the 193 respondents made use of the opportunity to express their concerns in a space for comments provided at the end of the questionnaire. A selection of quotations from these comments is cited throughout the report.

Two important ways in which the findings are limited should be noted at the outset. Unmarried adults who are living independently are likely to be over-represented as a sub-group in comparison to those living in groups or with their parents. The reason for this skewing, observable in the results (see Table 1), is that all households received only one questionnaire. In multi-person households, the self-appointed head of household would generally have completed the questionnaire; in the case of a young adult living with parents, the respondent was unlikely to have been the son or the daughter. Consequently, certain psychological and social

types of individuals are likely to be either under- or over-represented.

The sub-sample is also skewed by gender with 100 males (55 per cent) and 83 (45 per cent) females. Indeed the fact that 10 respondents provided no information about their gender simply underlines the fact that, in questionnaires that are voluntarily completed, respondents are able to control their responses. This limitation resulted in no gender information being available for 5 per cent of the sample.

Demographic profile of the sub-sample

Although the 193 unmarried young Jewish respondents to the questionnaire should not be taken to be fully representative of the unmarried young Jewish population in Britain as a whole, these findings constitute the only survey data concerning this group of individuals currently available. Furthermore the sample was found to have internal consistency, and the statistical findings and relationships are therefore very reliable.

Gender

As Table 2 shows, there were more males than females which is unlikely to be representative of the population for the reasons already mentioned. Care should accordingly be taken when interpreting the data in light of gender differences.

Table 2: Gender distribution of the sub-sample

Gender	Frequency n=183	Valid percentage
Male	100	55
Female	83	45
Not given	10	—

Age group

Table 3 shows that there were fewer respondents aged between 22 and 29 than between 30 and 39. The bias towards older subjects again probably reflects the research design of the study.

Table 1: Number of respondents by household type

Type of household	Number	Percentage
Single occupancy (1 person household)	83	43
Group quarters (multi-person household)	46	24
Parental home	46	24
Single-parent family	14	7
Not given	4	2
Total	193	100

Table 3: Age distribution of the sub-sample

Age group	Frequency n=193	Percentage
22-29	82	43
30-39	111	57

Household type by age group

There were statistically significant age differences in the four household groupings shown in Table 1, indicating that those who lived on their own (averaging 32.6 years of age) or as a single parent family (33.4 years) were older than those who either lived in group quarters (28 years) or with their parents at home (26 years). These findings are not unexpected and further support both the household category typology and the two age-span categories in later analyses.

Table 4: Regional distribution of the sub-sample

Region	Frequency n=183	Valid percentage
Inner London	86	47
Outer London	38	21
Rest of South and South-east	15	8
South-west and Wales	7	4
North-west including Manchester	13	7
East and West Ridings	3	2
Midlands and East Anglia	16	9
Scotland	5	3
Total	183	100

Region

Participants were asked to provide their postal district and, from this data, nine regional groupings were defined. Table 4 shows the regional distribution of the respondents. Due to the small sizes of most of the regional groupings, these categories have not been used in the analyses.

Educational qualifications and employment status

The educational achievements of the sub-sample were high compared with the overall sample and the general British population (BSA 13th Report,

Table 5: Educational qualifications (percentages of respondents)

	Young Jewish adults (n=193)	Overall JPR sample (n=1981)	BSA general UK population
No school-based qualifications	6	23	44
Undergraduate degree	55	37	5

1996) as shown in Table 5. The differences between the sub-sample and the overall JPR sample are not unexpected, reflecting the increase in educational opportunities that has taken place over the past twenty years.

In terms of employment, 155 (80 per cent) were in paid employment while 38 (20 per cent) were not. Of those who were in paid employment, 91 per cent worked full time and only 9 per cent were part time. Furthermore, of those who were in paid employment, two-thirds were paid employees, while one-third were self-employed. Of the 38 who reported that they were currently unpaid, the majority were students (18) and most of the others were seeking work (15).

Religious outlook

The questionnaire asked the respondents to choose one of five statements that best represented their religious outlook. Table 6 compares how responses were distributed amongst the five available choices between the sub-sample and the weighted overall sample.

Table 6: Comparison of sample distributions across religious outlook categories

Religious outlook	Unmarried sample percentage (frequency)		Overall sample percentage (frequency)	
Non-practising (secular) Jew	34	(64)	23	(470)
Just Jewish	27	(52)	19	(408)
Progressive (e.g. Liberal, Reform)	9	(18)	15	(306)
Traditional (not strictly Orthodox)	24	(45)	32	(649)
Strictly Orthodox (e.g. will not turn lights on on the Sabbath)	6	(12)	10	(214)
Total	100	191	100	2047

As expected the unmarried sub-sample was more secular than the overall weighted sample as a result of both the sampling strategies used (as discussed above) and the fact that the Orthodox members of the community are more likely to be married.

Social network groups

If religious outlook were used as a typology in a relatively small sample, like this one, the numbers in each category would be too small to allow the correct application of certain statistical analyses. Therefore another typology was developed based on the findings of the qualitative research carried out on behalf of Jewish Continuity, namely social network groups. Our sub-sample was divided into three 'types' of Jewish young adults: the *close*, *halfway* and *distant*. In the 'Jewish attitudes, practice and belief' section of the survey the respondents were asked what proportion of their close friends were Jewish. *Close* was defined as individuals who replied that 'all', 'nearly all' or

'more than half' of their close friends were Jewish. *Halfway* included those who said that 'about half' or 'less than half' of their close friends were Jewish, while *distant* comprised those who replied that 'none or very few' friends were Jewish. In one of the investigations commissioned by Jewish Continuity that used this typology, it proved an effective way of differentiating between different types of Jews. *Close*, *distant* and *halfway* Jews did not simply differ in the number of Jewish friends they had, but also in other ways such as their degree of religious observance and their attitude to the community. A major hypothesis to be tested in the research was whether these findings had any wider statistical validity. Table 7 shows the fairly even distribution of the sample across these three categories.

Table 7: Distribution of the sample across social network categories

Social network category	Frequency	Percentage
Close	73	38
Halfway	59	31
Distant	61	32

The use of this typology in analyses of the sub-sample is further supported by the cross-tabulation of religious outlook with social network groups shown in Table 8. As indicated there was a strongly significant linear relationship ($p < 0.0001$, see 'Statistical tests' below) between the two factors.

Statistical tests

Various techniques have been used to analyse the data in this study in order to determine their

Table 8: Cross-tabulation of Jewish religious outlook with Jewish social network group (percentages in parentheses)

	Secular	Just Jewish	Progressive	Traditional	Strictly Orthodox
Close	9 (14)	17 (33)	8 (44)	27 (60)	12 (100)
Halfway	17 (27)	22 (42)	5 (28)	14 (31)	—
Distant	38 (59)	13 (25)	5 (28)	4 (9)	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100

statistical significance. If a finding is statistically significant then it is unlikely that it is a chance occurrence. In other words, as the statistical significance of a finding rises, it becomes more improbable that it is due to chance. For example, if a finding that suggests a discrepancy between the attitudes of men and women on a particular issue has a 'p' value of 0.05, then there is only a 5 per cent (or 5 in 100) likelihood that it is a chance occurrence. If the 'p' value is 0.0001, the likelihood of it being a chance occurrence is 0.01 per cent (or 1 in 10,000). Such a finding has a very high statistical significance. Another indication of statistical significance is an F value. As the F value rises, so does its statistical significance.

The following symbols have been used in this report to indicate the degree of statistical significance of findings: $p < 0.05$ (*), $p < 0.01$ (**), $p < 0.001$ (***). It is worth noting that many of the findings have a very high statistical significance and the discussion that follows will concentrate on those most striking results. Further details of the techniques employed to analyse the data are available on request.¹

1 The techniques used include Chi-square analyses (χ^2), Analyses of Variance (ANOVA) and Multivariate Analyses of Variance (MANOVA). The report will generally indicate the outcome of such analyses without referring to the specific methods used. One final technique used is the post hoc Scheffe analysis which is helpful for discovering the relative statistical differences between different subsets of data or, in this case, groups of people. It is used, for example, to find out whether *halfway* Jews are more similar in their attitudes on particular issues to *close* or to *distant* Jews.

1 General attitudes

The general attitudes of this population and its outlook on life are of intrinsic interest to anyone who wants to understand what motivates and concerns the younger generation. An overview of general social attitudes can also help us place respondents' specific Jewish concerns and attitudes to communal life in perspective. It is also useful to know if this is a homogeneous or diverse population in terms of general interests and outlook. This section focuses on the sub-sample's opinions on a variety of social issues—including government spending on services, racism and antisemitism, politics and voting—and examines the respondents' television viewing patterns and their preferences for secular and Jewish newspapers in order to determine which forms of communication reach and influence this population.

Ideological issues

The sub-sample was evenly split when considering the benefits of capitalism versus socialism, with 36 per cent preferring capitalism, 34 per cent being unsure and 30 per cent favouring socialism. The *close* group, which is more involved in the life of the Jewish community, were more likely to favour the tenets of capitalism over those of socialism than either the *halfway* or *distant* groups who tended towards support for socialism. Additionally only 6 per cent of the sample believed that left-wing views were more common among Jews while 32 per cent felt they were more common in the rest of society; a majority of 62 per cent believed that there was no difference on the issue of support for left-wing views.

A further philosophical issue concerning the 'meaning of life' was also addressed. The 'meaning of life' was sometimes or often contemplated by 85 per cent of the sample, although 41 per cent felt that to a certain extent life was meaningless, with only 22 per cent saying that it was never so. The sample was clearly divided over a more practical moral question, the issue of capital punishment being the most appropriate sentence for some crimes, with 42 per cent agreeing and 49 per cent disagreeing with its use. The respondents were more equivocal when it came to recommending stiffer sentences for those who break the law; although 47 per cent agreed, a large proportion (38 per cent) were unsure.

Attitudes to government spending and preferences for the allocation of taxpayers' money can be controversial and divisive issues in the wider population. The respondents were given the

option of spending more, the same or less money on different services with the understanding that there would probably be an increase in taxes to bear any additional costs. Table 9 shows the patterns of government spending on a variety of services advocated by the sub-sample.

Table 9: Preferred government spending patterns (percentages)

	Spend more	Spend the same	Spend less
NHS	91	8	1
Education	89	11	0
Environment	65	30	5
Pensions	62	33	5
Police	45	50	5
Culture / the arts	29	42	9
Unemployment benefit	26	53	21
Military	5	35	60

Table 9 reveals an overall consensus on the importance of increasing the allocation of tax revenue for the National Health Service and education, and the relative unimportance of funding the military; as for the latter, the *distant* and *halfway* groups were noticeably more negative than the *close* group. The preference for an increase in the public funding of programmes to protect the environment rather than to support the arts is also clear.

Regarding the issue of Europe the sub-sample was generally favourable towards the European Union (EU), with 72 per cent stating that Britain should continue its involvement and 53 per cent stating that they were quite or very interested in this issue. There was a marginal gender difference here with men being slightly more interested in the European issue than women.

Bearing in mind the high educational achievements of this sub-sample it was interesting to find that 52 per cent disagreed with the statement, 'Formal exams are the best way of judging the ability of pupils in schools', reflecting the move towards continuous assessment in higher education in this country in recent years. The *distant* group was more likely to disagree with this statement than the *close* group.

Racism and antisemitism

About one-third of the sample felt that, generally speaking, there is more racial prejudice in Britain now than there was five years ago, and 24 per cent felt that there is more antisemitism now than in the past. In fact 53 per cent of respondents had been called a 'Jew' in a derogatory way and 14 per cent felt that they had been victimized at work in some way for being Jewish.

It worried me that he [a potential employer] could discriminate against the employment of Jewish people (female respondent on a comment made by a 'professional educated person').

On the other hand, half of the sample admitted that they were 'a little prejudiced' on race themselves but an overwhelming majority of 90 per cent supported the idea of a law against the incitement of racial hatred.

How do these views about racism and intolerance fare when considering who the respondents would *not* like to have as neighbours? Table 10 represents negative attitudes to groups of people with various lifestyles when considering their desirability as next door neighbours.

Table 10: Negative attitudes to groups of people with different lifestyles

Different groups of people	Percentage who would <i>not</i> like them as neighbours
Right-wing extremists	86
Left-wing extremists	57
Emotionally unstable people	50
Members of minority cults	48
People with criminal records	44
Large families	22
Students	13
Single mothers	4
People of different race	3

Table 10 shows that the sub-sample would be particularly unhappy with an influx of right-wing extremists in the neighbourhood, possibly seeing them as a personal threat. Left-wing extremists, emotionally unstable people, members of minority cults and those with criminal records did not fare well either although the respondents appeared to be fairly liberal where family and race were concerned.

Politics and voting

Earlier in this century Jews, and particularly young Jews, were noted for their political radicalism and above average interest and involvement in politics. This situation no longer seems to exist. Table 11 reiterates what has already been discovered, that this is not a homogeneous population in terms of political preference. Nor, despite strong views about ideological issues, does it appear to be overly enthusiastic about party politics. Analyses of the sub-sample's attitudes to politics and voting revealed no significant variation according to gender, age or

social network group. Although 72 per cent stated that they were closer to one political party than another, 30 per cent declined to indicate which party it was. Table 11 shows the interesting discrepancy revealed between the political party the respondents claimed that they were closest to and the party they would vote for if the election was tomorrow.

Table 11: Patterns of political party support and voting intentions (percentages in parentheses)

	Cons	Lib-Dem	Labour	Green	Other	Missing
Closest political party	55 (29)	14 (7)	60 (31)	6 (3)	1 (0)	57 (30)
Party if voting tomorrow (1995)	15 (8)	13 (7)	25 (13)	6 (3)	7 (4)	127 (66)

Table 11 indicates that Liberal-Democrat and Green Party supporters would show their support for their preferred political party by voting for them tomorrow should the occasion arise. However Conservative and Labour supporters were more ambivalent and possibly more unsure of their party's policies.

The media

It is important to look at the sub-sample's preferences with regard to the media as these are a principal source of information and opinion. First, the general issue of censorship was addressed by asking how much the respondents agreed or disagreed with the statement, 'Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards'. Opinion was fairly evenly divided with 45 per cent agreeing and 42 per cent disagreeing (13 per cent were unsure).

In contrast to national preferences, television viewing patterns were distributed fairly evenly across the four terrestrial channels available at the time, with about 25 per cent of the sub-sample also watching satellite or cable television. The median (most frequently cited) number of hours of television watched every weekday was approximately two hours, with the figure for radio being closer to one hour per day. In order to gauge what interests and engages this young adult population its viewing preferences are represented in Table 12, beginning with programmes that were of the greatest interest. Table 12 shows that both national and international news were watched by the vast majority of this population, indicating a high level of interest in current affairs both at home and abroad.

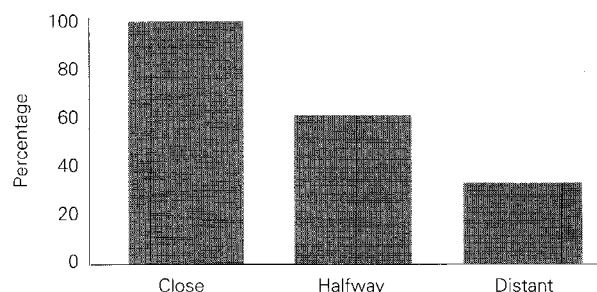
Table 12: Interest in different kinds of television programmes

Type of television programme	Percentage interested
National news	95
International news	92
Plays and drama series	77
Nature and wildlife	60
Science	54
Soap operas	54
Politics	52
Sports	44
Religion	28
Variety shows	17

The choice of daily newspaper both reflects and influences political outlook in Britain. As we might now expect, the choice was well distributed across the spectrum of broadsheets. The most popular secular daily newspapers read on a regular basis included *The Times* (17 per cent), *Guardian* (17 per cent), *Independent* (14 per cent), *Daily Mail* (10 per cent), *Telegraph* (9 per cent) and the London-based *Evening Standard* (9 per cent) with respondents often reading several daily newspapers. As nearly one-third of the sub-sample (31 per cent) did not regularly read any daily newspaper it would appear that the only source of information about national and international current affairs for those respondents came from the television or radio. A similar pattern was observed in terms of the most popular Sunday newspapers: *Sunday Times* (32 per cent), *Mail on Sunday* (16 per cent), *Observer* (16 per cent) and the *Independent on Sunday* (15 per cent), with 24 per cent reading none. The general distaste for the tabloids reflects the educational and social profile of this population.

With regard to the Jewish media, the majority of respondents (61 per cent) read at least one Jewish publication regularly, the most popular of which were the *Jewish Chronicle* (35 per cent of all respondents) and *New Moon* (8 per cent). The

Figure 1: Percentage of social network groups who read Jewish press



reading of the Jewish press was statistically significant according to Jewish social network group as shown in Figure 1.

These statistics on the reading of the Jewish press are relevant in terms of communication within the community since the majority of the *close* and over half of the *halfway* group regularly read a Jewish newspaper. This issue is more pertinent because three-quarters of the sample live away from the family home, suggesting that they themselves might be buying the publications.

2 Jewish identity

Religious upbringing

This section is concerned with the respondent's family upbringing, the strength of Jewish identity within the household and Jewish education. Table 13 shows the respondents' perceptions of their parents' levels of observance and Jewish identity for which there were no gender or social network group differences. In fact 13 of the respondents (7 per cent) had a non-Jewish mother or father.

Table 13: Parental Jewish identity, observance and level of faith (n=168) (percentages)

	Stronger in father	Stronger in mother	Little difference
Strength of Jewish identity	23	16	61
Level of observance	25	23	52
Level of faith	15	21	64

The type of religious upbringing received by respondents was also of interest. This is represented in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Religious upbringing

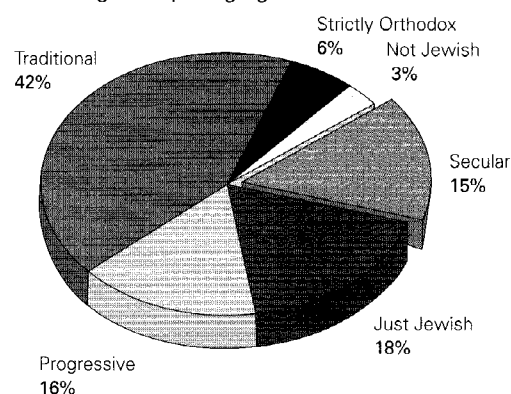


Table 14 shows a cross-tabulation of the religious upbringing of respondents with their adult social network groups; there was a statistically significant relationship between them (***) . In

other words, a religious upbringing is strongly linked to the likelihood that in adulthood an individual will have more Jewish friends (and vice versa). The level of religious upbringing in the family would probably be closely related to the social environment and Jewish identity of the family, all of which, in turn, would influence the socialization of the children. These factors are undoubtedly inter-related—each one having an impact on the others—and almost certainly continue to influence children throughout their lives.

Table 14: Cross-tabulation of religious upbringing of respondents with their adult social network group (percentages)

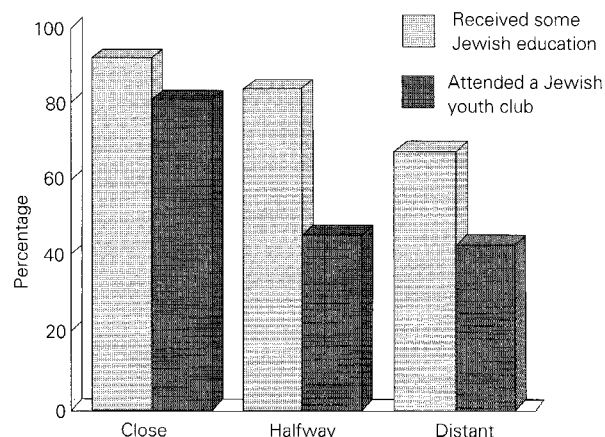
Religious upbringing	Close	Halfway	Distant	Total
Not Jewish	0	20	80	100
Secular	17	28	55	100
Just Jewish	18	41	41	100
Progressive	33	30	37	100
Traditional	51	29	20	100
Strictly Orthodox	83	17	0	100

Jewish education

Was there a discernible pattern of formal and informal Jewish education? Eighty-six per cent of the sub-sample had in fact received some kind of formal Jewish education. This education took a wide variety of forms: cheder, informal learning with relatives, Jewish primary and secondary schools, teenage centres and yeshiva. Figure 3 shows the levels of Jewish education and youth club attendance by the *close*, *halfway* and *distant* social network groups (***) , and indicates that participation in Jewish education of some form decreases uniformly across the three groups in the expected direction. However, when considering Jewish youth club attendance, the pattern was bipolar, the main difference being between the *close* group and the other two groups put together.

It is important to call attention to a number of relevant issues at this point. Formal Jewish education is likely to end at age thirteen for a large number of children while attendance at Jewish youth clubs is predominantly a teenage activity. Furthermore there is a distinction to be drawn between Jewish education, which is likely to be a choice made by parents for their children, and attendance at a Jewish youth club which is more likely to be the teenager's choice. Accordingly Jewish education is perhaps more indicative of parental attitudes and Jewish identity while Jewish youth club attendance is more indicative of the individual's own identity and social choices.

Figure 3: Formal Jewish education and youth clubs by social network group



Feeling Jewish

'Feeling Jewish' is intrinsically important in terms of an individual's Jewish identity. But what does it mean?

The most interesting questions [in the questionnaire] so far as I am concerned were those on Jewish identity. To be Jewish is simply to be Jewish, nothing more and nothing less than that. I do not wish to demean Judaism and its plethora of followers and believers in the slightest. To put it more clearly, I feel as much on a par with [how], say, a Roman Catholic or a Protestant might feel on a day to day basis existing within a multi-layered melting pot society, but then that is merely an assumption of them I might feel. I believe that my feeling of Judaism is as distinctive as a Catholic's feeling of being a Catholic, i.e. a tribal warmth or affinity, where the only difference is the name and the customs of the respective religions. Yes I do feel a warmth among Jewish people, but how do I know whether that is any different than that felt among people of other religions? (twenty-six-year-old male respondent.)

Although there is no agreement on the constituent parts of 'feeling Jewish' it is clearly important to ask respondents how Jewish they feel. The strength of these young adults' Jewish feeling will almost certainly have significant implications for the roles they will play in the community and their choice of marriage partners.

Awareness of being Jewish

Jewish awareness is not strictly concerned with levels of observance although, for many, the two cannot be separated. Of the sub-sample, 3 per cent said that, although they were born Jewish, they did not think of themselves as Jewish in any

way. A further 24 per cent were aware of their Jewishness but did not think about it very often. A majority of 48 per cent felt quite strongly Jewish but were equally conscious of other areas in their lives, while 22 per cent felt extremely conscious of being Jewish and felt that it was very important to them. The remaining 4 per cent felt that none of these categories applied to them. The *close* respondents were significantly more aware of being Jewish than both the *halfway* and *distant* respondents, although there was no difference between the latter groups.

As already reported, in terms of religious outlook 34 per cent of the sub-sample defined themselves as 'Non-practising (secular)', 27 per cent as 'Just Jewish', 9 per cent as 'Progressive', 24 per cent as 'Traditional' and 6 per cent as 'Strictly Orthodox'. Another crucial subject to be considered is the British versus Jewish identity issue. How does this Anglo-Jewish young adult sub-sample define itself? When asked how they saw themselves in these terms, a range of opinions again emerged: 26 per cent felt more British than Jewish, 39 per cent were equally balanced between both identities, 31 per cent felt more Jewish, while 4 per cent were unsure or felt some other thing. When these categories were used as independent variables—that is, as entities that are held fixed by the analyst—and the Jewish social network groups were treated as a continuum, there was a strongly significant correlation (***)). Analyses indicated that those who felt more British than Jewish had significantly fewer close Jewish friends than both those who felt equally Jewish and British and those who felt more Jewish. Although these analyses do not imply causality, it is clear that religious outlook, Jewish identity, Jewish social network group and awareness of being Jewish are closely related social variables.

Jewish beliefs, experiences and religious observance

I am interested in the separation in Judaism between following conventions (synagogue attendance, bar mitzvahs, dietary, festivals etc.) and belief in God or faith. It is my opinion that in Judaism more than any other religion the two have grown so far apart so that 'faith' isn't even an issue to the vast majority of Jews. Belief in God is relegated to a footnote at best in Jewish families in the main. I . . . say that without faith, the paraphernalia of religion (customs, church attendance, marrying within, social occasions etc.) are irrelevant and unfair on the children (twenty-nine-year-old male respondent).

Table 15 shows the how strongly the respondents agreed or disagreed with various statements. The lower the mean score (that is, the average of all the responses), the more the respondents agreed with the statement.

Table 15 reveals patterns of polarization and consensus—agreement and disagreement—regarding Jewish beliefs and experiences. The majority of the sample agreed that it was important that the Jews survive as a people (mean score 1.7) and that an unbreakable bond unites Jews all over the world (mean score 2.3). At the same time they tended to disagree as to whether or not Jews in a crisis can only depend on other Jews (mean score 3.7), and they were unsure about the expression of their spirituality in a synagogue (mean score 3.1).

Personally I am a thoroughgoing materialist and have no time for any form of traditional religion. However I have a sense of the 'spiritual'—this is not, nor should it be, the

Table 15: Mean scores and percentages of Jewish beliefs and experiences

	Mean score	Strongly agree 1	Agree 2	Unsure 3	Disagree 4	Strongly disagree 5
Important that Jews survive as a people	1.7	50	36	11	2	—
Unbreakable bond unites Jews all over world	2.3	19	46	19	12	4
Prayer can help overcome personal problems	2.8	11	33	37	12	8
Jews have special relationship with God	2.9	12	28	29	21	10
The universe was created (i.e. not by chance)*	3.0	15	18	37	18	13
At ease with expression of spirituality in synagogue*	3.1	7	16	44	24	8
Belief in God is central to being a good Jew*	3.2	12	12	24	38	15
In a crisis, Jews can only depend on Jews	3.7	6	10	16	43	25

*These statements have been reverse ordered.

exclusive domain of organized religion (male respondent in his thirties on the perceived gap between religion and spirituality).

The beliefs of the sub-sample concerning the creation of the universe, the role of prayer and the relationship of Jews with God were fairly uniformly distributed. Although care should be taken with regard to the limitations on the representativeness of the sub-sample, it is quite clear that the unmarried are a heterogeneous population in terms of Jewish beliefs.

Patterns of synagogue membership and attendance

Synagogue attendance by the sub-sample during the past year is represented in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Synagogue attendance over the past year (n=191)

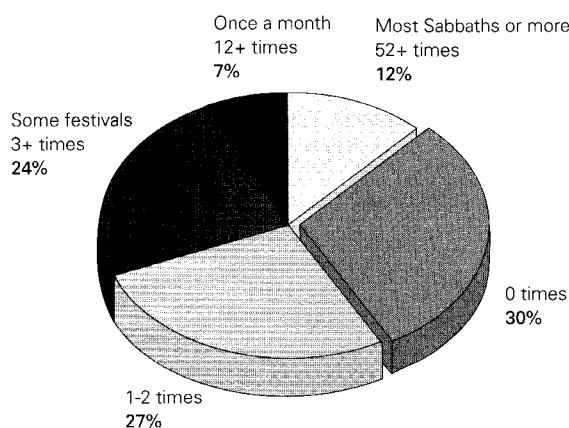


Table 16 shows the patterns of synagogue attendance by the sub-sample across the three social network groups during the past year. Most of the *distant* and about one-third of the *halfway* respondents did not attend synagogue at all.

Table 16: Synagogue attendance during the past year across the social network groups (percentages)

Annual attendance	Close n=73	Halfway n=58	Distant n=60
0 times	10	29	60
1-2 times	25	28	28
3+ times	31	29	8
12+ times	8	10	2
52+ times	26	4	2
Total	100	100	100

It was interesting to note that 10 per cent of the *close* respondents did not attend synagogue at all in the past year, and that only one-third of them

attended once a month or more. This suggests that there is little religious content to the Jewish identity of even the *close* group.

As expected, there were strongly significant links between social network groups and both synagogue belonging and attendance which are shown in Table 17 (***) . More respondents clearly attend synagogue than are actually members.

Table 17: Percentage of *close*, *distant* and *halfway* groups belonging and attending different types of synagogues

Type of synagogue	Close		Halfway		Distant	
	Belong	Attend	Belong	Attend	Belong	Attend
Orthodox	58	76	18	33	7	16
Progressive	12	13	18	22	13	18
None	30	11	64	45	80	66
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Belong statistics n=188; attend statistics n=159)

As Table 17 shows, 89 per cent of the *close* group, 55 per cent of the *halfway* group and 34 per cent of the *distant* group attend synagogue. There were some variations between patterns of current synagogue membership, type of synagogue actually attended and the synagogue affiliation of the respondents' parents; this is represented in Table 18.

Table 18: Distribution of respondents' synagogue membership and attendance, and parents' membership (percentages in parentheses)

	Orthodox	Sephardi	Masorti	Reform	Liberal	None
Synagogue membership (n=188)	48 (26)	7 (4)	2 (1)	17 (9)	9 (5)	105 (56)
Synagogue attendance (n=159)	68 (43)	5 (3)	2 (1)	18 (11)	8 (5)	58 (37)
Parents' synagogue membership (n=184)	109 (59)	9 (5)	3 (2)	29 (16)	12 (7)	22 (12)

Only a minority of the sub-sample were members of synagogues. Attendance was more common. Apparently about 15 per cent of respondents who actually attend Orthodox synagogues do not belong to them. There have also been substantial shifts at both ends of the religious spectrum between parental synagogue membership and the respondents' own adult membership.

However the community should take note of the fact that 68 per cent of respondents agreed with the statement: 'The people who run synagogues sometimes make others feel like outsiders.' Furthermore this agreement was expressed consistently across the three social network groups. A situation in which certain sections of the community feel that they are being excluded in some way should certainly be addressed.

Observance of rituals and festivals

The ritual of lighting candles on a Friday night was observed by 27 per cent of the sub-sample all of the time and by 25 per cent some of the time; yet 47 per cent never observed this ritual.

Interestingly there was no gender difference on this question even though the lighting of the candles is a female role. It is therefore assumed that the question was interpreted by most respondents as a household ritual: how often they were present when candles were lit rather than how often they personally lit the candles. Most of the sub-sample (69 per cent) attended a Passover seder every year (or most years), with 13 per cent attending sometimes and 17 per cent never taking part. The finding that 37 per cent of the respondents celebrate Christmas puts these results in perspective.

Further analyses were then carried out on these data to determine whether there were gender, age or social network group differences between the respondents' beliefs and experiences.

Analyses of the questionnaire items revealed a statistically significant link to Jewish social network group (***) . Follow-up analyses revealed that the *close* and *halfway* respondents felt that the Jewish beliefs outlined in Table 15—in addition to attending synagogue, lighting candles and attending a seder—were significantly more important to them than they were to the *distant* respondents.² Correspondingly, *distant* respondents were significantly more likely to celebrate Christmas than the other groups.

Differentiation between the *close*, *distant* and *halfway* Jews was particularly apparent both in the strength of agreement with the statements, 'When it comes to a crisis, Jews can only depend on Jews' and 'An unbreakable bond unites Jews all over the world', and in behaviours such as lighting candles, attending seder and synagogue, and celebrating Christmas. The only moment of consensus between the three social network groups was when respondents were asked if they could feel at ease expressing their spirituality in synagogue; the majority of all respondents were uncertain that they could (see Table 15). There

were however, not surprisingly, no significant links to age or gender.

Aspects of Jewish life

The questionnaire highlighted several different aspects of Jewish life and asked how important they were to the respondents. Table 19 represents the frequencies and percentages of responses for each item starting with the aspect of Jewish life rated as the most important one by the majority of the sub-sample, namely feeling Jewish 'inside'.

Table 19: Frequencies and percentages (in parentheses) of opinions as to the importance of aspects of Jewish life

	Very important	Quite important	Not important
Feeling Jewish 'inside'	95 (50)	62 (33)	34 (18)
Loyalty to my Jewish heritage	69 (36)	83 (44)	39 (20)
A feeling of closeness to other Jews	53 (28)	87 (45)	47 (25)
Involvement in Jewish home life (food, customs)	51 (27)	69 (36)	70 (37)
A sense of attachment to Israel	41 (22)	70 (37)	77 (41)
Participation in Jewish religious life	24 (13)	53 (28)	112 (59)
Interest in Jewish culture and the arts	21 (11)	92 (48)	77 (41)

Analyses by age, gender and Jewish social network group were performed to determine whether attitudes to the issues listed in Table 19 varied according to these factors. Age was not significant; that is, there was consensus among the respondents in both their twenties and their thirties on these issues. Although there was a significant overall effect for gender, follow-up analyses found gender differentiation on only two issues:³ 'involvement in Jewish home life' and 'loyalty to my Jewish heritage'. In both cases these aspects of Jewish life were more important to women than to men. While gender may not have been significant with regard to the individual aspects of Jewish life listed, there was a cumulative significance of gender with regard to all the items taken together: that is, women in the sub-sample placed a higher importance *generally* on aspects of Jewish life than men. This supports findings from other research. The salient aspects of Jewish life for men and women in this sub-sample therefore differed, with 'involvement in Jewish home life' and 'loyalty to the Jewish

2 These further analyses were univariate.

3 These further analyses were oneway ANOVA's.

heritage' emerging as more important for women than for men with regard to their feelings of Jewishness.

There was, more predictably, a significant link between Jewish social network groups and the importance of aspects of Jewish life. The follow-up analyses outlined in Table 20 are also of interest. There were significant differences between each of the three social network groups in terms of the importance of being loyal to the Jewish heritage, of feeling close to other Jews and of being involved in Jewish home life (the items signified by 'a' in the group order column). In other words these aspects of Jewish life were most important to the *close* group, less important to the *halfway* group and even less important to the *distant* group. However, in terms of feeling Jewish 'inside', attachment to Israel and participation in Jewish religious life (signified by 'b') the *close* group felt that these issues were significantly more important to them than was indicated by the other two groups put together. Therefore the former items (a) revealed more clearly the distinctions between each of the three social network groups than the latter items (b).

Table 20: The importance of different aspects of Jewish life to a feeling of Jewishness, according to Jewish social network group (univariate, oneway ANOVA's and post hoc analyses)

	Close n=73 Mean	Halfway n=58 Mean	Distant n=59 Mean	Signif- icance	Group order
Feeling Jewish 'inside'	1.38	1.72	2.0	***	b
Loyalty to my Jewish heritage	1.49	1.84	2.27	***	a
A feeling of closeness to other Jews	1.51	2.0	2.49	***	a
Involvement in Jewish home life (food, customs)	1.56	2.26	2.61	***	a
A sense of attachment to Israel	1.79	2.36	2.51	***	b
Participation in Jewish religious life	2.05	2.67	2.78	***	b
Interest in Jewish culture and the arts	2.21	2.28	2.42	Not significant	—

Key:

Scoring: 1=very important; 2=quite important; 3=not at all important (i.e. the lower the score the more important it is)

Significance: p<0.0001 ***

Group order: 'a' represents distant and halfway > close; distant > halfway; 'b' represents distant and halfway > close.

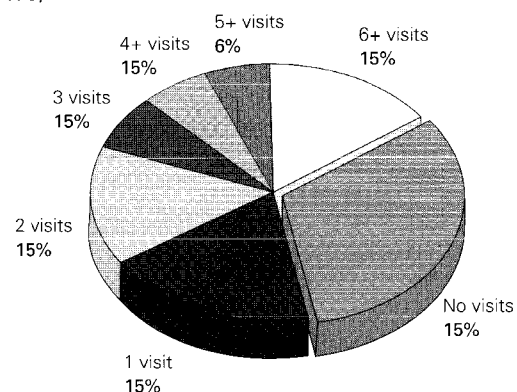
The only issue on which there was consensus among the three social network groups is that Jewish culture (art, music and literature etc.) is of relatively little importance to feelings of

Jewishness. Follow-up analyses revealed that all three groups felt that it was between 'quite important' and 'not at all important'.⁴ This might have implications for the promotion of Jewish cultural events targeted at this population since such activities do not seem to be viewed as an intrinsic part of being Jewish or as contributing to a feeling of Jewishness. There is a rich tradition of Jewish music and literature which has been viewed in the past as integral to Jewish culture and even identity; these findings however suggest that for this population this may be less true at present. This is particularly troubling since culture has often been seen as a site of consensus where differences in religious and political outlook between Jews could be broken down.

Israel

Attachment to and feelings about Israel were measured in a variety of ways. The majority of the sub-sample (76 per cent) had visited Israel at some point in their lives, with a significantly higher proportion of females (83 per cent) having done so than males (68 per cent). The number of times the respondents had visited Israel in the past ten years is represented in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Number of visits to Israel in the past ten years (n=173)



A moderate or strong attachment to Israel was expressed by 73 per cent of respondents, with 24 per cent being indifferent and 4 per cent having negative feelings.

I do not detest or dislike Israel, in fact its birth was necessary and I would very much like to visit there someday, but I do believe that Judaism and Israeli nationality are two different (if not entirely different) concepts . . . I feel no special affinity with the country itself. Perhaps this is because I am two generations

4 These further analyses were univariate.

too young and did not witness the horrors of the Holocaust or because I live in a democratic society and have not witnessed any real acts of antisemitism (male respondent in his twenties).

There was clear differentiation between the three social network groups, indicating that the strength of expressed emotional attachment to Israel clearly lessened as one moved along the continuum from *close* to *halfway* to *distant*. Furthermore this attachment to Israel was linked to the number of visits that had been made, and whether or not the respondents had friends or relatives in the Jewish state.

Personally I have a strong Jewish identity, mainly through my time spent in Habonim Dror and my feeling towards Israel will remain strong with the possibility of me making aliya within ten years (twenty-one-year-old male respondent).

Table 21 shows a cross-tabulation of the attachment to Israel with the existence of friends in Israel. This was a strongly significant finding. Also indicated in the table is the mean (average) number of visits to Israel in relation to the attachment expressed.

Table 21: Cross-tabulation of attachment to Israel with the existence of friends in Israel (column percentages in parentheses)

Friends or relatives in Israel	Strong attachment	Moderate attachment	No special attachment	Negative feeling	Total
Mean no. of visits	4.5	2	<1	<1	
Yes	58 (91)	55 (74)	17 (38)	3 (43)	133
No	6 (9)	19 (26)	28 (62)	4 (57)	57
Total	64	74	45	7	190

Significance: $p < 0.0001$ ***

Predictably, attachment to Israel was significantly related to the number of visits there. Further analysis indicated that those with a strong attachment had visited Israel significantly more times (mean visits=4.5) than those who expressed a weaker attachment. The *close* respondents had also visited Israel significantly more often than the *halfway* or *distant* groups.

In addition, interesting social network group variations are apparent on issues concerning the

peace process and attachment to Israel. Most of the sample (68 per cent) were in favour of Israel giving up land for peace. However, there were significant social network differences, with 52 per cent of the *close* group being in favour of this as compared with 83 per cent of the *halfway* group and 73 per cent of the *distant* group.

This section has demonstrated relationships between strength of feeling towards Israel, the number of visits paid over the years, the existence of friends or relatives in Israel as well as how many of the respondents' close friends are Jewish. Among the three social network groups, the *close* Jews were the most likely to have visited Israel several times, to have friends or relatives there and to exhibit a strong attachment to the Jewish state. However they were the least likely to support Israel giving up land for peace. It is clear that these relationships are two-way in that, if one has friends in Israel, one is more likely to express an attachment to it and to have visited it. Likewise if one has visited Israel, one is more likely to have made friends there which may, in turn, foster a greater emotional attachment to it. If individuals have many close Jewish friends this may also encourage, or be the result of, a strong Jewish identity which is likely to generate a stronger Zionist commitment and deeper feelings towards Israel.

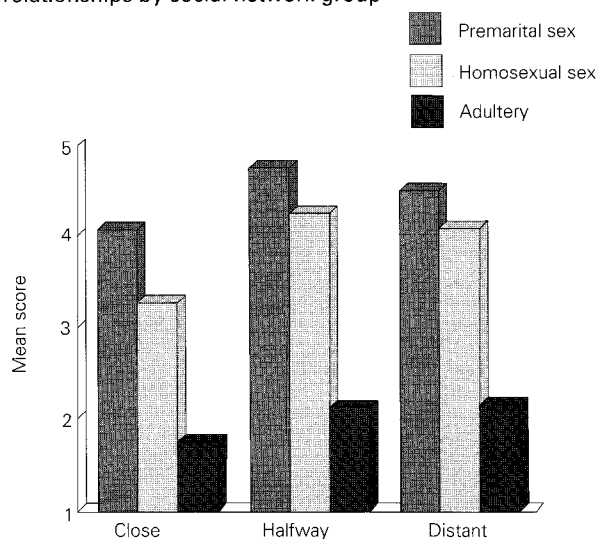
3 Attitudes to marriage and interpersonal relationships

This section will first consider the attitudes of the sub-sample to marriage, interpersonal relationships and sex roles in the home and at work, and, second, how this population perceives being unmarried within the community, and its attitudes to intermarriage and non-Jewish partners.

Marriage, divorce and relationships

The questionnaire investigated issues relating to the institution of marriage, the ease with which divorce can be obtained and attitudes to sexual relationships both within and outside of relationships. The majority of the sample (65 per cent) disagreed with the statement, 'Marriage is an outdated institution', with 26 per cent agreeing and 9 per cent being unsure. In relation to the current divorce laws, 59 per cent felt that things should remain as they are with the remainder evenly split between wanting to see it become both easier and more difficult to obtain a divorce (20 per cent for each). Consensus was reached on these two issues by male and female respondents in both age groups, and in all three social network groups.

Figure 6: Attitudes towards different types of sexual relationships by social network group



Attitudes to sexual relationships before marriage, outside of marriage and within a homosexual partnership were then addressed. Analyses were performed on the data revealing strongly significant findings (***) according to both religious outlook and social network group. The mean scores of all the social network groups in relation to these three types of sexual relationships are represented in Figure 6: a score of 1=always wrong, and a score of 5=not wrong at all. In each of the three cases, the *halfway* and *distant* groups were more liberal than the *close* group.

Liberal attitudes were predominantly expressed with regard to premarital sex, with 73 per cent stating that it was not wrong at all. Sexual relations between two adults of the same sex were viewed by 59 per cent of the sub-sample as rarely wrong or not wrong at all. However adultery was viewed unfavourably by most respondents with 79 per cent saying that it was always or mostly wrong, and an additional 17 per cent saying that it was sometimes wrong. The statistical analyses show, unsurprisingly, that *halfway* and *distant* unmarried Jewish adults are more liberal *vis-à-vis* these issues than *close* adults. This would probably in large part be due to the differences in religious beliefs associated with different types of sexual relationships. Although, interestingly, all three groups rated adultery as 'more wrong' than homosexual sex.

Sex roles at home and at work

It is important to examine the views of the unmarried sub-sample regarding sex roles at home and at work in order to determine whether

there are any major discrepancies between the genders, age groups and social network groups. It is perhaps of greatest importance that the views of men and women are compared within each social network group. One of the three versions of the questionnaire included a section concerned with sex roles at home and at work, and consequently this section of the report reflects the views of only seventy-eight members of the sub-sample. Both consensus and differentiation—agreement and disagreement—were observed regarding the contentious issues of sex roles, and the only basis for differentiation was that of either religious outlook or social network grouping which, as we have already shown, are closely correlated. Contemporary attitudes were for the most part represented on the subject of who should do the different tasks around the home. The majority of respondents had no preference when asked who should pay the bills, who should wash up and who should do the DIY, and there were no variations on the basis of gender, age or social network group. Although 87 per cent of the 76 respondents had no preference for who should do the shopping, a further analysis revealed a significant difference according to religious outlook.⁵ A similar significant difference by religious outlook was also found on the question of who should do the washing and ironing in the home. In both cases traditional attitudes were associated with the Orthodox.

The relevance of traditional male/female roles in the workplace was also investigated. When asked how much they agreed with the following statement, 'Most married women work only to earn money for extras rather than because they need the money', 84 per cent of respondents either disagreed or disagreed strongly and there was consensus between the genders, as well as across age and social network groups. The more controversial statement, 'A man's job is to earn the money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family', prompted 76 per cent of the 76 respondents to disagree with varying degrees of intensity. However there was once more a significant difference according to religious outlook. Further analysis suggested that the Traditional and Orthodox respondents tended to be more uncertain about this statement than the more secular who tended to disagree with the statement's premise.⁶ Responses to the following statement were much more unequivocal according to religiosity: 'A job is all right but what most women really want is a home and children.' The overall responses were fairly evenly spread across the options of agreeing (17 per cent), being

⁵ The further analysis was a oneway ANOVA.

⁶ The order effects however were not significant.

uncertain (22 per cent), disagreeing (39 per cent) and strongly disagreeing (23 per cent). These views varied significantly according to the respondents' social network groups. *Halfway* unmarried Jewish adults disagreed more strongly (mean score=4.0 'disagree') than the *close* respondents (mean score=3.2 'uncertain').

Finally, there was a general finding that 55 per cent of the whole sub-sample of 193 respondents agreed with the statement, 'I think women get a "raw deal" in Judaism', with only 12 per cent disagreeing. Female respondents were significantly more likely to agree with this statement than males, and interestingly there were also social network group differences. The *close* group was less likely to agree with the statement—thus representing a more traditional outlook—than the *halfway* and *distant* groups.

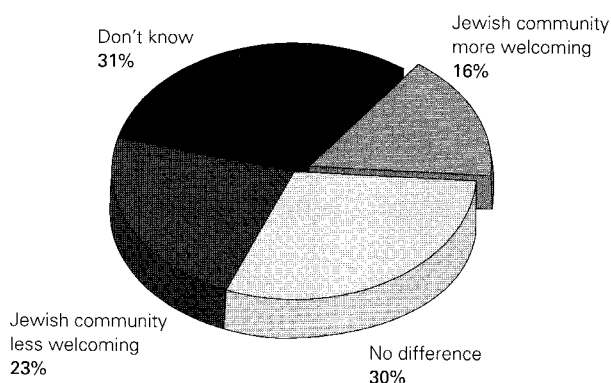
To summarize, gender is apparently not a source of division among the sub-sample, and a wide range of opinions about sex roles at home and at work were represented. On a positive note, this implies that there is a potentially compatible Jewish partner of the opposite sex for each individual across the whole range of opinions.

Being unmarried and the Jewish community

The sub-sample of young Jewish adults were all unmarried at the time of completing the questionnaire. We were interested in both their experience of being 'single' in the Jewish community as well as their attitudes to finding a partner. They were initially asked whether they thought the Jewish community was more or less welcoming to single people than society at large; the answers are represented in Figure 7. Only 1 in 6 respondents considered the Jewish community more welcoming than the wider society.

Encouragingly, when asked how strongly they agreed with the statement, 'The Jewish community has no place for single people', only 10 per cent agreed, with 34 per cent being uncertain and 57 per cent disagreeing. However there were age differences regarding this issue, with the respondents who were in their thirties tending to agree more than those in their twenties. There were also significant social network group differences,⁷ the *close* respondents were much more likely to have an opinion on the subject than the other two groups (38 per cent of the *halfway* group and 49 per cent of the *distant* group didn't know).

Figure 7: Perceptions of welcoming nature of Jewish community (n=192)



The belief that there is hostility towards unmarried people may be related to the perception that there is pressure to marry from the Jewish community. In fact just over two-thirds of the respondents agreed that single people are pressured to marry (25 per cent were uncertain and 10 per cent disagreed). When it came to the search for a partner, 28 per cent replied that they were presently with someone even though they had indicated elsewhere that they were 'single', highlighting the confusion between the different definitions of terms used. This finding probably indicates that these individuals were currently in a relationship but were not married or cohabiting. The majority were not looking for a partner at present but were open to the idea of meeting someone, while 9 per cent were not looking. The remaining 23 per cent were actively seeking a partner at the time of completing the questionnaire.

Attitudes to intermarriage

How important is the Jewishness of a partner in theory and in practice? In terms of the importance of marriage to a Jewish partner there was a wide range of opinion: 15 per cent strongly agreed that a Jew should marry a Jew, 25 per cent agreed, 24 per cent were unsure, 26 per cent disagreed and 10 per cent disagreed strongly. Thus over one-third appeared to favour intermarriage in theory while 40 per cent opposed the notion. What then of their personal experience? Just over two-thirds (68 per cent) of the sub-sample had previously been in a relationship with a non-Jewish person; and a further analysis indicated that this factor was significantly differentiated across the social network groups (***)⁸. The cross-tabulation in Table 22 illustrates the pattern of these

7 The statistics did not however indicate the ordering of the groups.

8 The further analysis was a Chi-square analysis.

responses. A statistically higher percentage of the *halfway* and *distant* respondents had been in a relationship with a non-Jew than the *close* group. This is consistent with the assumption that partners are chosen from the pool of people to which individuals have access.

Table 22: Cross-tabulation of Jewish social network group with non-Jewish relationships in the past (n=185) (percentages in parentheses)

Had non-Jewish relationship?	Close	Halfway	Distant	Total
Yes	34 (49)	45 (78)	46 (81)	125 (68)
No	36 (51)	13 (22)	11 (19)	60 (32)
Total	100	100	100	100

In terms of their own personal lives, and regardless of their dating patterns, over half of the sample (55 per cent) believed that it was important for their partners to be Jewish. Unsurprisingly this value was significantly differentiated across the social network groups (***) . Further analysis indicated that the *close* group members were more likely to consider it important than the *halfway* or *distant* groups, with no significant difference being observed between the beliefs of the latter two groups. Bearing in mind the importance of finding a Jewish partner in over half of the respondents' minds, 51 per cent believed that they were difficult to find, as opposed to 20 per cent who had experienced no problem finding one. The remaining 29 per cent believed the ease or difficulty of finding a Jewish partner to be of no importance to them.

I am nearly twenty-nine and though not in a hurry to marry do feel pressure (as much or more from myself than from my family) that I should marry someone Jewish. But it is very hard indeed to find that person. I love being Jewish but it can be something of a burden at times. . . . I feel very strongly Jewish and identify with Israel, but at the same time am not very religious. I hate the idea of my children not being Jewish, but realize that as part of the wider community that is a real risk (male respondent).

General attitudes to non-Jewish partners

With a large proportion of young unmarried people being prepared to consider intermarriage and having had relationships with non-Jews, questions of outreach become crucial. Overall, 56 per cent of the sub-sample agreed that rabbis should be more willing to welcome non-Jewish partners into

the community (30 per cent were uncertain and 14 per cent disagreed). Once again the sub-sample was further differentiated by Jewish social network groups, with the *close* young adults disagreeing more strongly than the *halfway* and *distant* groups. This not only indicates the importance to the members of this sub-group of having a Jewish partner, but it also suggests something about their attitudes to other individuals within the community who have inter-faith relationships.

So, is the question of an inter-faith relationship only of relevance when there is an intention to have children? As many as 69 per cent disagreed with this viewpoint, with consensus reached across not only gender and age groups, but also social network groups, indicating that intra-faith relationships are important for more reasons than simply in regard to having children. The questionnaire went further and asked to what extent respondents agreed with the statement: 'If my son or daughter wished to marry a non-Jew I would do everything possible to prevent it.' The majority of the sub-sample disagreed with this statement (63 per cent), while 17 per cent were unsure and 20 per cent agreed. As before, there were no age or gender differences, although there were significant social network differences, with the *close* individuals agreeing significantly more than the other two groups that they would go out of their way to prevent their child marrying out (***) .

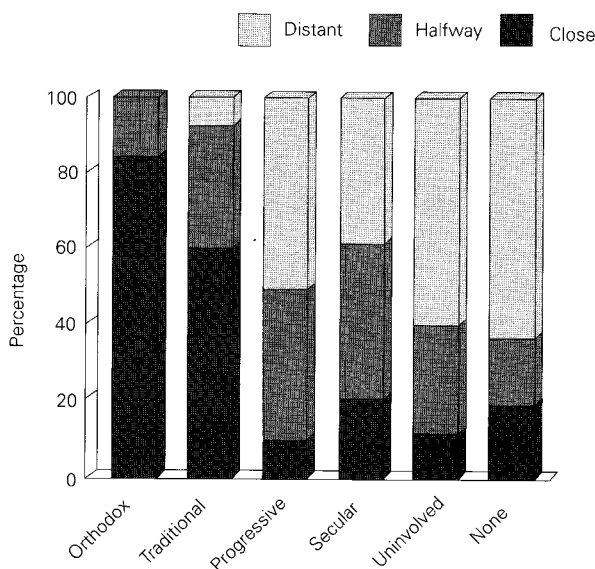
Comfort in the company of Jews and non-Jews

The comfort that respondents felt in the company of Jewish friends (with both the same and different religious outlooks) and non-Jewish friends and colleagues may partly explain the attitudes to non-Jewish relationships and intermarriage. It emerged that 29 per cent were more comfortable with Jews, 10 per cent were more comfortable with non-Jews and 61 per cent expressed no preference. Not surprisingly, further analysis showed that the three social network groups were differentiated, with 65 per cent of the *close* respondents feeling most comfortable with other Jews as compared to 15 per cent of the *halfway* group members and none of the *distant* group members. For respondents who expressed a greater comfort in mixing with other Jews, the most common explanations for this preference related to having a 'common background' (23 respondents), a 'mutual understanding' (7), 'non-Jews are sometimes latently antisemitic' (4), in addition to others comments citing similar senses of humour, attitudes, interests and practices. For those who felt more at ease with non-Jews the most

common reasons given were that they 'weren't religious' (5 respondents), 'Jews are too money conscious' (4) as well as additional reasons such as that non-Jews are less arrogant, they have compatible interests and opinions and they are less 'cliquey'.

Figure 8 represents the religious outlooks of the Jews (friends and colleagues) with whom respondents from each of the three social network groups felt most at ease. The majority of those who expressed the greatest comfort at being with Orthodox and Traditional Jews were clearly from the *close* group. In contrast, none of the *distant* group felt comfortable with Orthodox Jews.

Figure 8: Religious outlook of Jews with whom social network groups felt most comfortable



I feel they [the Orthodox community] have cut me off from something I am part of and they have made themselves more isolated and unapproachable (thirty-five-year-old *distant* female).

Halfway respondents seem prepared to accept all types of Jews. As expected these views and trends were reversed when respondents were asked about the religious outlook of Jews with whom they felt least at ease.

Views on general traits and attitudes of the Jewish community

In the same context the respondents were asked to compare the Jewish community to the rest of society in terms of a variety of traits and attitudes, as shown in Table 23. An emphasis on the family was believed to be more common among Jews

than the rest of society by the majority of respondents, as were the traits of ambition and ostentation.

Table 23: Views on traits and attitudes of the Jewish community (percentages)

	More common among Jews	The same	More common in the rest of society
Emphasis on the family	82	18	0
Ambition	69	31	0
Ostentation	55	42	3
Paranoia	43	53	4
Concern for elderly	39	60	1
Giving to charity	25	72	3

My own view is that Jews tend to be 'more' than many other people—'more' neurotic/intense; 'more' left-wing/right-wing; 'more' materialistic/intellectual. Thus they tend to be 'more' high profile in many aspects of society and are then prone to receive all types of labelling—none of which is appropriate to Jews at large, only to aspects of the community (thirty-five-year-old female in Inner London).

Bearing in mind the traits and attitudes that respondents felt were more common among Jews, how comfortable was this sample with the community in general? Only 6 per cent felt that Jewish organizations were 'open and welcoming' while 26 per cent felt they were 'cliquey and exclusive', with 46 per cent saying they were somewhere between the two (the remaining 22 per cent didn't know). Furthermore, 21 per cent believed that Jews behaved in a way that caused hostility towards them (with 79 per cent saying that this was not the case).

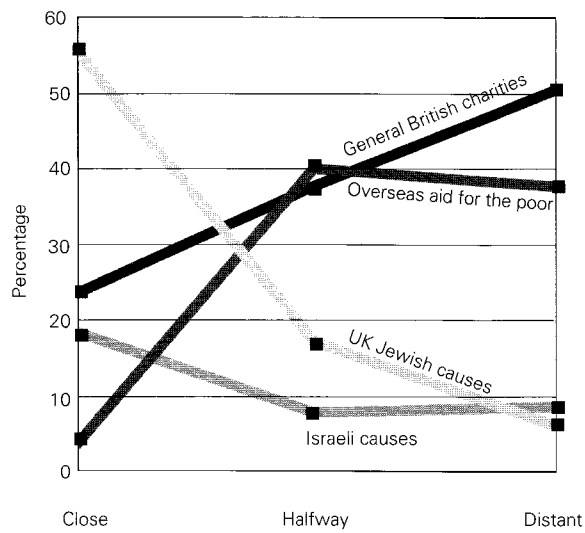
4 The association of unmarried people with the community

What have we learned about young Jewish unmarried adults? Their involvement in Jewish life is not differentiated in terms of age or gender but in terms of three distinct social network groups. The triadic typology we have presented is a very robust and consistent analytical framework. It works well for ideology, religiosity and social behaviour. It has real effects, and both tangible and intangible manifestations. Our findings have practical implications for Jewish communal organizations as the data on charitable giving in Figure 9 clearly demonstrate.

Charitable giving

What are the charitable causes deemed most important by this population? Figure 9 illustrates the significant differences (***) between the social network groups when asked to choose the most important item from a list containing general British charities, charities involving overseas aid for the poor, Jewish charities in Britain and Israeli charities. The choice of British Jewish charities decreased uniformly from the *close* to *distant* social network groups as did, to a lesser extent, the choice of Israeli charities. On the other hand, support for overseas aid for the poor and general British charities increases from the *close* to the *distant* groups.

Figure 9: Charitable cause with the highest priority by Jewish social network group



5 Discussion

By Keith Harris and Robert Rabinowitz,
JIA/Jewish Continuity

The crucial life-shaping decisions of British Jewry's unmarried young adults are of enormous consequence to the future of the community. At the moment there is no communal consensus about the sort of provisions to be made for unmarried young adults; beyond the very general but negative aspiration of preventing intermarriage, little thought has been given to why the community feels that this group represents a problem. The data analysed in this report, together with Jewish Continuity's qualitative research, presents a complex picture. It does, however, provide insights that will be crucial in helping the community to develop a positive and informed response to the needs of its unmarried young adults.

The most important point to stress is that Jewish unmarried young adults are a highly heterogeneous group of people in terms of their tastes, lifestyles and attitudes. This means that there can be no single form of provision that will satisfy all sections of the population.

Nevertheless, the categories of *close*, *halfway* and *distant* do provide theoretical and practical reasons for the division of individuals into broad but real groupings that will ease the formulation of policy. While we should not assume a causal relationship between the amount of Jewish friends that someone has and the strength of their connection to the community, it is clear that social life and friendship has to be at the heart of a response to the data presented in this report.

A theoretical and practical approach

In the past decade, some research into the psychology of behaviour and behavioural intention has adopted the 'transtheoretical model' or 'stage theory' to explain and predict behaviour and attitudinal changes. This seems to be a particularly useful way to approach the issue of Jewish identity. Stages of change, when applied to 'feeling Jewish', may best be conceptualized as a continuum.

At one extreme are individuals who either don't feel at all Jewish, deny that they have a Jewish identity or have negative feelings about Judaism and being Jewish. We would regard these people as being in a state of 'pre-contemplation': they have no intention of changing their attitudes towards Judaism, their Jewish identity or involvement in the community in the foreseeable future; for them, the pros of such a change are outweighed by the cons.

Next we have those in a state of 'contemplation': they intend to change their behaviour in the next few months but they keep putting it off; they mean to go along to a 'Jewish' event but other priorities keep getting in the way.

One stage along the continuum are those in 'preparation': they are intending to take action in the very near future and they may have taken small steps towards this already. In theoretical terms this is not a stable stage, and the individuals in it are more likely than those in the previous two stages to progress over the next few months. In theoretical and practical terms those in 'preparation' are very much like many of the *halfways* and are more amenable to suggestions for changes than those in the previous stages.

Next along the continuum are those in 'action': although they have changed their behaviours in the past six months these individuals are in a very unstable stage which is subject to a high risk of relapse. They have, for example, started to be more involved with the community, to attend Jewish events and, as a result, to increase their network of Jewish friends.

Finally there are those in 'maintenance': they have maintained their change of behaviour for over six months, and their new lifestyle is becoming more natural to them. The *close* group would largely be regarded as being in maintenance.

Although this is a very useful theoretical way to examine Jewish identity, Jewish social network groupings and involvement within the community, it also has important practical applications. Once it is possible to identify which stage an individual is in (i.e. *close*, *halfway* or *distant*) we are in a better position to devise appropriate ways forward. It becomes clear that blanket interventions or 'solutions to the problem' will not work given the heterogeneity of the sample, to say nothing of the community as a whole. Research has in fact shown that if the goal is behavioural change with associated attitudinal changes, interventions should target each sub-group separately using a language that they understand and a medium that is relevant to them. This is not only more effective but it is also a more efficient allocation of resources. Furthermore individuals can and do move 'backwards' as well as 'forwards' along this dynamic continuum, and interventions need also to address this negative progress.

An attitudinal shift in the community and its leaders is required for this 'segmentation' approach to be adopted. The desired result is not

that the *distant*s suddenly begin to keep kosher or to observe Shabbat (which even many of the *close* ignore) but that individuals be helped to move one step along the continuum, from a less involved to a more involved position. The community must learn to value each step along the continuum of Jewish awareness and identity.

Reflexivity

What is striking in many of the findings of this report is that many young Jewish unmarries feel very positive about Judaism in the most general terms; 86 per cent felt it was important that Jews survive as a people, 65 per cent felt there was an unbreakable bond uniting Jews all over the world and 83 per cent felt Jewish 'inside'. Yet, in specific terms, they were often very negative about Jewish institutions and did not seem willing to articulate what it meant to be Jewish. In fact, to many questions dealing with central aspects of Judaism there were a large number of 'uncertain' or 'don't know' responses—particularly in answer to questions dealing with prayer and spirituality. Although 44 per cent in general were uncertain as to whether it was difficult to express spirituality in a synagogue, the *distant* group were in fact twice as likely to be uncertain about the expression of their spirituality in synagogue (66 per cent) than either the *halfway* or *close* groups. Additionally, 37 per cent were unsure whether the universe came about by chance, and the same number was uncertain as to whether prayer could help overcome personal problems. These are of course complex questions but there is similar bewilderment over simpler, more 'secular' questions. For example, 31 per cent did not know whether the Jewish community was more or less welcoming to unmarried adults than other communities.

This uncertainty does not just apply to Jewish issues: 66 per cent did not (or could not) name the political party they would vote for if an election were to be held tomorrow, a phenomenon that might well be common to non-Jews of this generation as well. However, it is surely vital for the future health of the Jewish community that young Jews are able to think more deeply about what it means to be Jewish.

It is here that we may find the beginnings of a way to address the 'Jewish young adult problem'. One of the market research companies employed by Jewish Continuity (Dialog) reported that many of the participants in their group discussions mentioned how enjoyable it was talking and thinking together about Judaism. Many of them had not taken part in such discussions since they had been members of youth groups—and they missed them. For many of the *halfways* and

*distant*s, a creative engagement with Judaism seemed to finish, along with youth clubs, at 16-18 years of age. What is left is a set of practices that are barely reflected on and a set of similarly inchoate beliefs and prejudices. It seems that amongst young adults there may be a great need and desire to think through and engage creatively with Judaism. In terms of outreach, this is a more realistic goal for many of the *halfways* and *distant*s than an expectation that they will instantly take on a complex series of behaviours (kashrut, Shabbat etc.).

Participants enjoyed taking part in Jewish Continuity's research because it offered them a chance to think about and discuss the way they lived their lives and what it meant to be Jewish. The ability to monitor and reflect on practices and attitudes which have been accepted without question can be referred to as 'reflexivity'.⁹ What reflexivity enables is a sense that life can be different than it is, that practices and attitudes are open to revision. Perhaps the problem with many unmarried Jewish adults is their belief that the meaning of 'Jewishness' is so circumscribed, so parochial, that it cannot be made meaningful to them. The Jewish community may need to show that a range of practices, beliefs and indeed cultures resides under the sign of 'Jewish', the project, in other words, of nurturing a 'Jewish reflexivity'. Such a reflexivity, in treating everything as potentially open to change, is perhaps threatening to traditionalists. Yet organizations such as Habad and Aish HaTorah tacitly practice it already when they recognize that their audiences can go elsewhere and need to be convinced of the value of Judaism within a 'marketplace' of ideas and cultures. Reflexivity involves education, but it is not education in the usual sense since all that is conveyed is an attitude. Jewish reflexivity requires that the community have confidence in letting people make their own choices as well as an awareness that the only way to make a meaningful Jewish choice is to recognize the openness of the category.

Reaching out

No one, of course, can simply institute and publicize 'reflexivity'. There needs to be a carefully thought-through communications strategy. How does this research suggest ways in which young unmarried Jews might be 'reached' and communicated with? The research found that 61 per cent read one Jewish newspaper or magazine regularly, including over 20 per cent of the *distant* group. At first this seems to suggest easy solutions, for instance that advertising in the

⁹ For this use of the term, see the work by sociologist Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge 1990), 36-44.

Jewish press will reach people. There are several problems however. The question did not specify what 'reading' entailed, nor did it ask whether respondents purchased Jewish newspapers or magazines themselves. The qualitative research for Jewish Continuity suggested that many young people 'flicked through' the Jewish press (generally the *Jewish Chronicle*) at their parents' house—often on a Friday night. Whatever their motives in doing so, *close*, *halfways* and *distant*s overwhelmingly regarded events advertised in the Jewish press as events *not* to go to. This does not mean that any such advertising was ineffective amongst young people nor that it might not be effective for communicating other things. However it does suggest that, for many, the Jewish press is a medium of communication without prestige or cachet.

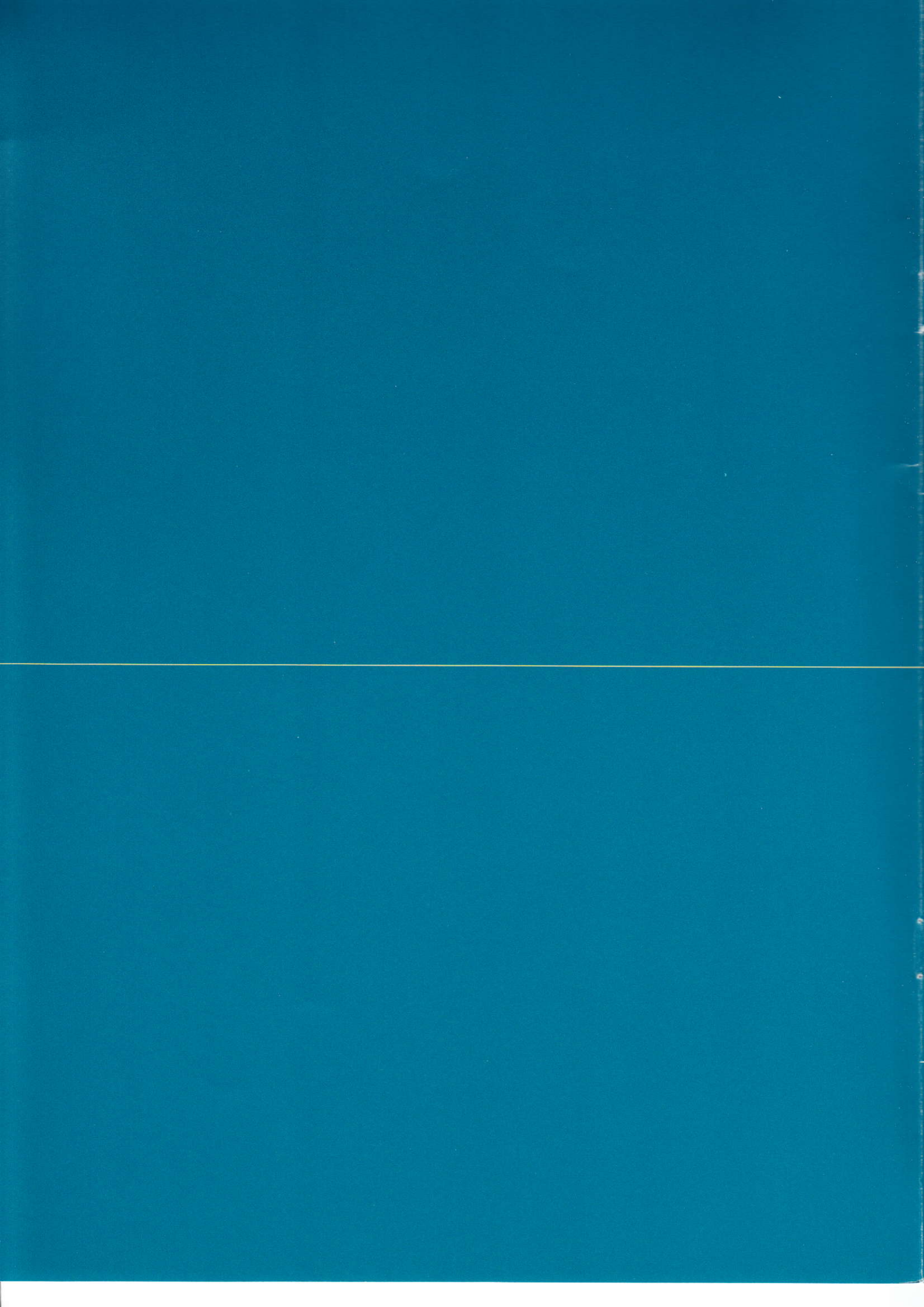
The qualitative research suggested that all three groups found out about events and social activities to a large extent through word of mouth. This finding is supported further by research carried out by Jewish Continuity at the Jewish Film Festival and Jewish Book Week in 1996. Younger, less Jewishly involved people were more likely to have heard about the events from friends or family connections. Older, more involved people were more likely to hear from the Jewish press.

Thus social network groups do not simply identify different types of Jews, they also identify the

means by which to reach them. Whilst we should be careful in not assuming causality, 'the social' is clearly an arena in which Jewish identity is forged, negotiated and articulated. To understand and work with unmarried young adults, the importance of friendship and socializing must be grasped. Any 'solution' to the 'problem' of unmarried Jewish young adults must intervene in that area of their lives. Effective communication and publicity should therefore not only be targeted at isolated individuals, but at the complex social webs within which they move. It is, however, unclear whether this would work in practice—particularly with the *distant* group.

Conclusion

This report has not made any concrete policy recommendations about how to address the issue of unmarried Jewish young adults, an issue that cannot be resolved by communal institutions initiating a few simple measures that fail to take account either of the diversity of this group or the need to empower Jewish reflexivity. While we have discussed the need for Jewish reflexivity, we have not stipulated the 'Jewish message' that should be conveyed, as both the message and the means of communicating it need to come from the young adults themselves. Communal institutions should be prepared to provide the tools and the support as well as to have the courage to stand back where necessary. The data in this report and their interpretations will hopefully be central in informing this process.



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