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Planning for Jewish communities

Long-term planning for British Jewry: final report and recommendations

The **Institute for Jewish Policy Research** (JPR) is an independent think-tank that informs and influences policy, opinion and decision-making on social, political and cultural issues affecting Jewish life.

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Planning for Jewish communities includes surveys and research into the infrastructure of organized Jewish communities, helping them develop policy recommendations and strategies for change in the welfare, educational and social sectors.

A note on authorship

This report was written by a team of people associated with the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR), and it builds on the work of numerous other contributors to its Long-term Planning for British Jewry project. All the people involved have been either members of staff at JPR or were commissioned by JPR to contribute to the project.

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A two-volume *Interim Report*, which preceded this *Final Report*, was prepared by Oliver Valins (volume 1), and Margaret Harris and Romayne Hutchison (volume 2).

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This *Final Report* was written by a team comprising Melvyn Carlowe, Margaret Harris, Romayne Hutchison, Barry Kosmin, Oliver Valins and Stanley Waterman.



Introduction

Throughout its history, the Jewish voluntary sector (JVS) in the United Kingdom has played a vital role in maintaining and improving the health, education and social well-being of hundreds of thousands of Jews.¹ From the integration and acculturation of nineteenth-century Eastern European immigrants to the provision of services to contemporary Jews—including schools, sports and drama clubs, friendly societies and nursing homes—the community has invested hundreds of millions of pounds and countless hours of people's time. This commitment has been a central pillar of British Jewry. However, in recent years the JVS has changed massively. As part of much broader societal shifts relating to the balance between the public, private and voluntary sectors, the JVS has evolved, piecemeal, into an enormous but highly disparate and unco-ordinated network.

There are currently almost 2,000 financially independent JVS organizations. While many of these organizations remain small and local in their delivery of services, others have grown into multimillion-pound agencies with hundreds of paid staff and volunteers. In a climate of rapid transformations in which there are scarce resources but ever-increasing demands, it has become essential for individual Jewish voluntary organizations, and indeed the sector as a whole, to change. For the JVS to remain viable and vibrant in the twenty-first century, organizations need to be more responsive to the needs of their clients and to plan their activities using research-based evidence rather than (as has tended to be the case) instinct and supposition. Organizations that do not accept or adapt to the realities of the modern voluntary sector will either face financial ruin or will waste time and money providing services that are not

what the Jewish public really requires. The needs are too great and the funds too limited for services to be duplicated or badly planned.

Given the massive changes to the JVS it has become increasingly clear that the community needs a 'road map' to help individual organizations improve their planning and to provide the entire sector with a greater sense of coherence and consistency. It was because of this need that the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) instituted its Long-term Planning for British Jewry (LTP) project in 1997, and this *Final Report* marks that project's end. Over the last six years JPR has commissioned and published a series of reports on the inputs, outputs and processes that drive the JVS. For the first time, essential data needed for effective strategic planning have been provided. This has included how much money the JVS earns and spends, which services it prioritizes (and which it does not), the strengths and weaknesses of many of its vital sectors (especially formal education and the long-term care of older people) and a profile of the needs and characteristics of the Jewish public.

The aim of the *Final Report* is to draw together information collected by the various LTP projects. It places this information alongside key data from other community and general sources (especially early release data from the 2001 UK Census) and against the backdrop of the major trends and issues affecting the JVS and the United Kingdom voluntary sector more widely. This report is designed with two particular purposes in mind: first, to help individual JVS organizations that are considering the strategic planning of their future operations and, second, to improve the understanding of leaders, donors, professionals and individual members of the community with regard to where the JVS is positioned and the challenges that lie ahead.

The JVS in the United Kingdom comprises an interlocking network of formal and informal organizations run for (and mostly by) Jews. These organizations are not part of the governmental or commercial sectors of society. They were established voluntarily and they rely to some degree on voluntary contributions of human and/or financial resources.

As a consequence, the JVS was defined at the outset of the LTP project as including:

¹ We use the terms 'the Jewish community in the United Kingdom', 'British Jewry' and 'Anglo-Jewry' more or less interchangeably. Strictly speaking, the United Kingdom comprises four constituent parts—England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland—and, without Northern Ireland, the correct term is Great Britain. Statistics sometimes appear for the whole of the UK, sometimes for each of the constituent parts separately, and frequently for England and Wales as a single unit. According to the 2001 Census, 96.6 per cent of British Jews lived in England, 2.4 per cent in Scotland, 0.8 per cent in Wales and 0.1 per cent in Northern Ireland. The transposability of the terms is thus justified.

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- social welfare agencies that provide care services;
 - membership associations and clubs;
 - self-help and mutual-aid groups;
 - synagogues and confederations of synagogues;
 - fundraising charities;
 - grant-making trusts;
 - educational institutions including schools and museums;
 - housing associations;
 - pressure groups or 'advocacy' groups;
 - 'ad hoc' consultative or event-organizing groups;
 - umbrella, intermediary and representative bodies.²
- Which services are to be given priority and in what formats?
 - Is the current pattern of funding for the JVS sustainable?
 - How should human resources issues in the JVS be tackled?
 - Should Jewish voluntary organizations collaborate more with other voluntary agencies (both Jewish and non-Jewish)?
 - What further information and action is needed to facilitate planning for the future?
 - How can the JVS develop its role in promoting Jewish communal life?

This *Final Report* comprises three parts. Part 1 provides recommendations for the JVS drawn from the comments, ideas and advice of a consultative group of experts who work both inside and outside the UK Jewish community. These individuals are either authorities in particular voluntary sector fields, such as education or the care of older people, or else are highly knowledgeable about the entire sector and the opportunities and challenges that the community is likely to face. They were invited to read draft copies of Parts 2 and 3 of the *Final Report* and to give their responses. Furthermore, they were asked to consider in particular a series of questions about the future of the JVS, which are broadly represented by the following ten questions (given in no particular order):

- What do we want an explicitly 'Jewish' service or organization to achieve? What are the distinctive characteristics of such a service or organization?
- Which groupings within the Jewish population are to be encompassed within the long-term planning process?
- What values should underpin long-term planning choices?
- How much importance is to be attached to meeting the needs of Jews who live outside the main geographical concentrations of Jewish people?

2 M. Harris, *The Jewish Voluntary Sector in the United Kingdom: Its Role and Its Future* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 1997).

The responses to these questions were analysed by JPR in the light of the data that emerged and the experience gained during the LTP project as well as of the known needs of the community. Thus, while the recommendations have been guided by the comments provided by members of the consultative group, they were not decided in committee and they remain the measured proposals of JPR.

Part 2 provides a commentary on the major trends and issues facing the UK Jewish voluntary sector. It is based almost entirely on a report written for JPR by Margaret Harris and Romayne Hutchison of the Centre for Voluntary Action Research at Aston Business School. It discusses broader and long-term implications of the data and other material contained in the various LTP reports and in Part 3 of this *Final Report*. It positions the JVS in relation to wider societal changes and forces, and considers opportunities and challenges facing the community.

Part 3 is designed as a handbook of essential data on the Jewish community. It brings together important facts and figures on the JVS and the community that it serves, using several key data sources. The first source is the LTP research process itself, especially the questionnaire surveys of Leeds,³ and of London and the South-east,⁴ as well as

3 S. Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds in 2001: Portrait of a Community* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2003).

4 H. Becher, S. Waterman, B. Kosmin and K. Thomson, *A Portrait of Jews in London and the South-east: A Community Study* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2002).

information from the 1995 JPR survey on the social and political attitudes of British Jews.⁵ The second source is communal information on births, deaths, marriages and education collected by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.⁶ Finally, it uses initial data from the 2001 UK Census, which for the first time in 150 years included a question on religion. Part 3 includes data on what JVS services are currently provided, the human resources involved in maintaining them and a profile of the Jewish public using them.

Following Part 3, we provide a bibliography that details where further information on the British Jewish community and on issues relating to voluntary sector organizations more generally can be found.

This *Final Report* seeks to build on the objectives envisaged at the inception of the LTP project in 1997. These were to identify and enhance the community's distinctive strengths, to help the JVS develop a shared vision and sense of its own identity, and to develop a strong and cohesive sector as a prerequisite for planning for the future.

The LTP research programme began in 1997 with the publication of Margaret Harris's report, *The Jewish Voluntary Sector*.⁷ This paper considered challenges facing the JVS, including those that were community-specific and others that were generic to organizations run on a not-for-profit basis. Following on from this publication a seminar was arranged for leading Jewish charities and other voluntary organizations to enable them to discuss the implications of the issues raised. These research requirements formed the basis of the nine reports that followed Professor Harris's initial paper.

The ten constituent LTP reports are as follows:

- Margaret Harris, *The Jewish Voluntary Sector in the United Kingdom: Its Role and Its Future* (1997)
- Peter Halfpenny and Margaret Reid, *The Financial Resources of the UK Jewish Voluntary Sector* (2000)

5 S. Miller, M. Schmool and A. Lerman, *Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 1996).

6 See the annual *Compilations of Communal Vital Statistics* (London: Board of Deputies of British Jews).

7 Harris, *The Jewish Voluntary Sector*.

- Ernest Schlesinger, *Grant-making Trusts in the Jewish Voluntary Sector* (2000)
- Margaret Harris and Colin Rochester, *Governance in the Jewish Voluntary Sector* (2001)
- Oliver Valins, Barry Kosmin and Jacqueline Goldberg, *The Future of Jewish Schooling in the United Kingdom: A Strategic Assessment of a Faith-based Provision of Primary and Secondary School Education* (2001)
- Oliver Valins, *Facing the Future: The Provision of Long-term Care Facilities for Older Jewish People in the United Kingdom* (2002)
- Harriet Becher, Stanley Waterman, Barry Kosmin and Katarina Thomson, *A Portrait of Jews in London and the South-east: A Community Study* (2002)
- Oliver Valins and Barry Kosmin, *The Jewish Day School Marketplace: The Attitudes of Jewish Parents in Greater London and the South-east towards Formal Education* (2003)
- Ernest Schlesinger, *Creating Community and Accumulating Social Capital: Jews Associating with Other Jews in Manchester* (2003)
- Stanley Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds in 2001: Portrait of a Community* (2003)

These constituent reports—available from JPR either in hard copy or online (www.jpr.org.uk)—cover many of the key components of the UK Jewish voluntary sector, although inevitably they do not encompass all aspects of it, something that, with so many organizations, would be an impossible task. Nevertheless, they do provide vital insights into key planning issues from the micro to the macro levels. In particular, they have focused on the two areas of the JVS that consume the largest amount of community money, employ the most (paid and unpaid) personnel and that are the most frequently accessed by members of the community: education and care for older people.

However, the JVS is much broader than this. Organizations provide a host of different services, ranging from the care of individuals with mental health problems to theatre and drama groups, synagogue-based bereavement counselling to the representation of the community's needs to wider

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society.⁸ Some of these organizations have highly specialized services, catering for relatively few individuals, often in a particular locale. As LTP was designed to give a broad picture of the strengths and weaknesses of the JVS, inevitably it was unable to provide information on every single organization or every type of service provision. Nevertheless, the

themes and issues that emerge from this *Final Report* are relevant to organizations across the spectrum of the JVS; furthermore, the use of research-based evidence for forward planning is a requirement that all voluntary organizations, if they are to remain viable and relevant, will have to adopt.

⁸ Issues of representation were specifically addressed in the report by the Commission on Representation of the Interests of the British Jewish Community, *A Community of Communities: Report of the Commission* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2000). In particular, this report 'mapped' the various organizations that represent the interests of the Jewish community to the wider world.

Part 1

Recommendations for the UK Jewish voluntary sector

The following seven recommendations are drawn from comments on the material in Parts 2 and 3 provided by a consultative group of experts on the voluntary sector (from both within and beyond the UK Jewish community), together with evidence gleaned during the course of the Long-term Planning project (LTP). Although the emphasis in this report is on service provision, the scope of the recommendations and the issues to which they refer are far wider.

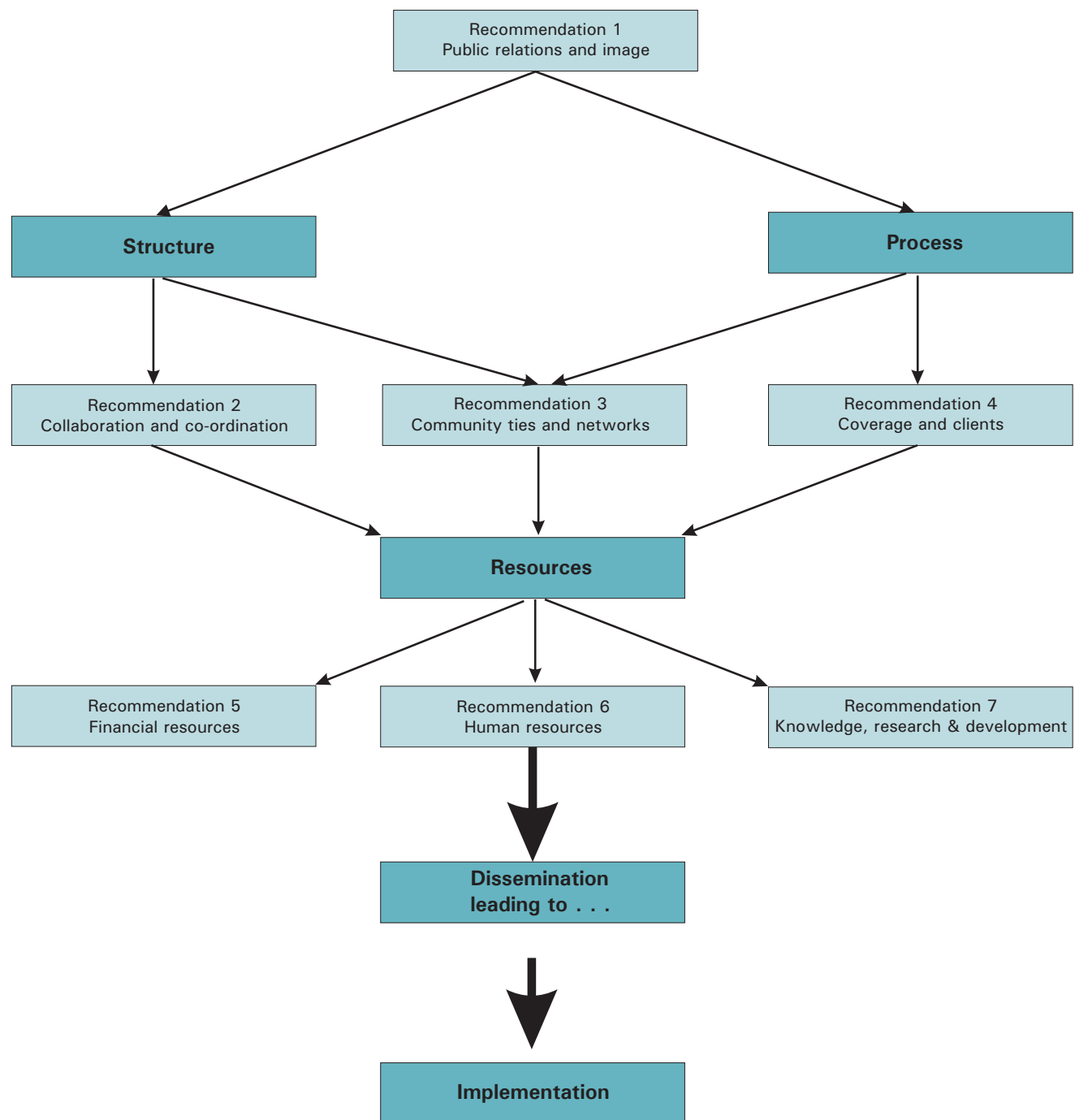
The recommendations are in the form of general principles rather than operational details. They are designed both to aid organizations as they come to make their future strategic and business plans, as well as to give broad policy guidelines for the entire Jewish voluntary sector (JVS) and the communities they serve. Yet, by definition, the implementation of these recommendations within the JVS cannot be enforced centrally. Putting them into effect requires that individual members of the community, clients of particular services, professionals and the governing boards of separate organizations all need to demand them. Organizations should be prepared to respond positively to them and individual donors should monitor the response to them.

The seven recommendations do not stand in isolation from one another and should not be regarded in this manner. On the contrary, they are closely related and interlocking, as is illustrated in Figure 1, which follows the recommendations.

While the data discussed in Part 3 of this *Final Report* (and in the individual constituent reports) are detailed and nuanced, some overriding themes emerge. These themes are reflected in the following seven recommendations. Each recommendation is accompanied by a short explanation as to how the recommendation was derived from the LTP research.

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Figure 1: Recommendation linkage



1 Public relations and image

The enormous amount of good work, communal spirit and excellent services of the JVS need to be more widely appreciated and effectively communicated as a foundation for future activity.

The LTP project demonstrates that the community should celebrate and take pride in the enormous amount of *tzedakah*—good work and charitable giving—that exists. The tradition of Jewish philanthropy is arguably the single greatest strength of the community, and its maintenance is central to communal well-being in the future. It is a tradition that is recognized both inside and outside the community, and needs to be more widely and effectively communicated so that it can be transmitted to the next generation of donors, trustees and volunteers. The JVS is, in many ways, a successful association of voluntary organizations. It is an example to other groups and to the wider society, but it cannot afford to be complacent. This means not just being defensive, but also encouraging members of the community to recognize the often very high standards of facilities and services. It means that the JVS should be proud to be at the heart of the voluntary sector in the United Kingdom as a whole, and participate fully in national forums and debates.

2 Collaboration and co-ordination

Jewish voluntary organizations should collaborate more closely and establish mechanisms for this purpose.

There is broad agreement with the concept of *klal Yisrael*, the common responsibility, destiny and kinship of all Jews. Each individual Jew and each individual organization in the Jewish community is a stakeholder in the JVS. A recurrent feature noted in the LTP reports has been the patchy nature of co-operation and collaboration between different Jewish organizations. Why is this the case? Some organizations are very reluctant to form relationships with other service providers or seem not even to have the time to meet with colleagues working in the same sector. This results in a failure to share best practice, in training schemes being duplicated and in individual members of the community losing out in the quality of the services they receive. Co-operation does not mean merger or take-over, although at times this may be necessary. It entails like-minded organizations working together, making time for collaborative strategic planning and recognizing that what matters most is the care that people actually receive rather than the particular organizations that provide it. It is about putting clients first, especially the most vulnerable ones. For the first time, thanks to the JPR surveys of almost 4,500 Jewish households in Greater London and Leeds, which allowed people to express their views and priorities on a wide range of issues, we have good information about the desires and real needs of the Jewish population. This information should help transform policies.

Given the almost 2,000 financially independent organizations in the JVS, there is an urgent need for formal structures to provide links between them. For example, an organization that could co-ordinate training schemes among the entire social care sector, reducing overall overheads and

improving quality, would be extremely valuable. However, the UK Jewish community has a long history of suspicion towards organizations that attempt to position themselves at the centre of the community. Individual organizations are often fiercely independent and there are high risks in creating an additional bureaucratic tier. An alternative approach would be to encourage existing organizations to take on this responsibility but this also involves risk and requires adequate—and sustained—funding. Debate is needed on this issue.

3 Community ties and networks

The Jewish community should maintain and nurture its stock of social associations.

Good Jewish social services are sustainable in a community that interacts in a variety of ways. Networks are absolutely crucial for making and strengthening community spirit. When people interact with one another in ways that reinforce their feeling of community, they can be thought of as adding to a stock of 'social capital'. A key finding of the LTP project has been the importance of social capital to the British Jewish community and of nurturing this.

Social capital is the invisible glue that binds the community together. Obviously, synagogues and synagogue-associated activities, providing resources of a non-service-oriented nature, have traditionally been important in providing that glue. However, other associational activities such as Jewish sports, drama and leisure clubs and societies also provide key mechanisms for binding the Jewish community together, despite generations of communal divisions and concerns about assimilation. These activities typically provide non-judgemental arenas in which members of the community with different outlooks can meet comfortably. By linking individuals with the overall community they also provide a clear client base for more traditional JVS service providers. It is far easier for organizations to identify existing supporters and participants than to try to find new ones.

Fostering a Jewish communal ethos is all-important but no ethos can continue to exist if it is not nurtured. It is within the various Jewish associations that future volunteers and leaders will be created and encouraged.

4 Coverage and clients

Organizations need to enter into a debate and provide clear statements concerning their mission, ethos, target clientele and geographical coverage, as well as how their services can be delivered.

The plethora of Jewish voluntary organizations and the rapidly changing environment of the voluntary sector means that individual organizations need to define their purpose and ethos clearly. How do 2,000 financially independent organizations plan on sustaining themselves over the next decade? While both purpose and ethos may change over time, this should be a result of clear managerial and board decisions rather than gradual 'mission

drift'. With money available from government, grant-making trusts and other sources, organizations need to be extremely careful that they remain true to their ideals. In particular, they need to decide what is 'Jewish' about what they do and how relevant, therefore, their services are to the Jewish community. Can the services they offer be provided more usefully by general agencies? Leaders are the key to maintaining a Jewish ethos, especially where there are large numbers of non-Jewish staff, as in care homes. Support should be given to organizations that train their leaders in understanding Jewish values and how they can be incorporated into everyday practice. In education, some extremely effective and innovative examples of such training schemes exist, and these should be extended to as many areas of the JVS as possible.

Clear decisions should also be taken about whether organizations are concerned with the Jewish community as a whole or with specific sub-groups. Such decisions are taken entirely at the discretion of individual agencies and communities, and this *Final Report* makes no value judgements on their outcomes. At the same time, organizations need to be mindful of the demographic trends (see Part 3) that affect their viability, and would be wise to make a virtue of necessity where this is appropriate. Service providers should recognize these realities and be ready to respond to the increasing heterogeneity of British Jews. This means that organizations need to be more flexible and less dogmatic about whom they serve and how they do so.

5 Financial resources

Financial support for the JVS has to be seen as a responsibility of the whole of the Jewish population and individuals should be expected to contribute in line with their means.

The reality of the modern JVS is such that expectations for services are increasing faster than the income available to fund them. The demand for excellence in services is an integral feature of modern living but the current pattern of funding is unsustainable. Charitable donations alone cannot maintain the current provision.

This reality means taking a hard-headed approach so that money is spent where, according to the evidence, there is the greatest need, irrespective of the interests of individual organizations. Donors should only fund organizations that are fully open in their practices, and offer transparency and accurate presentation of fundraising and administrative costs. This *Final Report* provides a means whereby funders may collaborate more effectively than ever before because it provides a 'shared text' of the community's greatest needs and the infrastructure already in place to service them.

For instance, demographic statistics indicate that the Jewish population has a higher proportion of older people than the national average. As older Jewish people mostly want services that are consistent with their religious and cultural background, this puts pressure on individuals and the community to fund appropriate facilities. This is even more pronounced given government limitations on funding social care services for older

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people. Donors should recognize this as a priority area. They should focus on those facilities that best empower individuals and their families.

Although the Jewish public can be justly proud of its philanthropy, the JVS requires increased funding in order to maintain and ultimately improve its quality. Without abandoning the charitable traditions that have sustained the community over the years, there is an economic need to supplement donations. Changing career structures means that women as well as men now need to be thought of as major donors.

Whether through charitable contributions or direct payment for services, all members of the community need to pay their 'fair share' where appropriate and not rely on others. Individual members of the community should recognize that they may need to pay more than they do at present for services. This may place an increased burden on families to pay for the needs of relatives. It also requires that young people should be encouraged to be financially responsible for their communities.

Generous donors to Jewish causes should meet to better co-ordinate their philanthropy. The funding of the community infrastructure, i.e. buildings, is sometimes absolutely necessary, but at other times this 'edifice complex' means that funds are spent on bricks-and-mortar when what is really needed is investment in human resources and in core costs to maintain the long-term viability of organizations.

6 Human resources

The stock of community volunteers and paid workers should be developed and nurtured, particularly among younger people, early retirees and those with professional skills. Initiatives such as a Jewish volunteer bureau should be implemented.

Human resources have been identified as a major area of concern. Due to objective constraints, this was the one major area that LTP did not manage to examine in sufficient detail and, in general, it is a neglected area. Considerable research needs to be undertaken into how to recruit, train and retain both professional and managerial staff, paid and voluntary.

There is a pool of volunteers supplying countless, unremunerated hours to the Jewish community. While volunteers do not constitute a free resource (and should never be viewed as such), they help organizations to reduce costs so that they can spend precious resources elsewhere. Moreover, volunteers are vital for maintaining the ethos of organizations, particularly in sectors such as the long-term care home industry in which almost all staff are not Jewish. For many years, Jewish organizations have reported difficulties in attracting new Jewish volunteers, particularly among younger people, early retirees and those with professional skills. The data collected by JPR show that many people are willing and able to do more but they are not sufficiently in touch with the services that need them. A way of resolving this problem is through a well-funded and efficient Jewish volunteer bureau, a central agency, which would register the details and interests provided by individuals wishing to volunteer and would then put them in touch with organizations that need them.

Investment should be made in raising the status of the JVS and putting in place appropriate career paths so that talented young people would be encouraged to work—and, crucially, remain—in Jewish organizations. A mechanism needs to be developed for encouraging young people to acquire professional training that would enhance their contribution to the JVS. This does not mean that they should spend their whole careers in the JVS or in a single organization within it. Young Jewish professionals should be encouraged to hone their skills outside the JVS, to move within organizations outside the JVS, to move between organizations, permitting cross-fertilization of ideas, and to return to the JVS.

7 Knowledge, research and development

Jewish voluntary organizations should plan their future strategies using research-based evidence. Research and data collection on the Jewish population and the JVS should be continually updated and refined.

With the availability of data from the 2001 UK Census, together with several major community studies—most importantly those carried out by JPR in 1995, 2001 and 2002—organizations now have much of the statistical and research information they need to make informed choices about how to develop their services. One of the major LTP findings has been that the Jewish public are highly sophisticated consumers of services; as individuals or families, they typically make choices that best suit their needs and wants. As a consequence, organizations need to ‘know their market’ more than ever before. Much of the information that organizations require is summarized in this *Final Report* and in the ten separate constituent LTP reports that appeared between 1997 and 2003. Nevertheless, this information should be used wisely and consultatively. These data now available are highly sophisticated and need to be used in an expert manner, for knowledge without context or understanding is valueless. For example, basic counts of Jews are of little value without knowing about their age and socio-demographic breakdown, or the likelihood of their using (and even paying for) particular services.

Collection of data is an ongoing process. For data to remain relevant, continuous research is needed. In contemporary society, planners and professionals need to think strategically about the future so that services remain both viable and relevant. Given the £500 million annual turnover of the JVS, resources are required for the research and development needed to take stock of the Jewish community as a whole. Innovative ways of conducting research, such as using e-mail and Internet-based surveys, or developing ‘citizen panels’ of representative individuals, should be explored. There is thus a need for repeatable large-scale surveys, but also for smaller—yet no less essential—research projects, monitoring and evaluation studies.

The potential value of detailed research and analysis for the formulation of policies has been demonstrated by the LTP project in its work on schools and care for older people. For instance, the increase in available Jewish day school places over the last twenty years cannot be sustained. Demography points to schools increasingly having to compete for pupils. While some geographical areas may be able to support one or two new schools the

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overall dynamic will be one of consolidation. Resources can therefore be moved away from capital expenditure to focus on maintaining the excellent standards of most Jewish schools and improving those that are struggling. The exception here is the strictly Orthodox community, which will need resources—from inside and outside the community—to fund an increasing school population.

There remain many ‘black holes’ in the community’s overall knowledge. These include: the numbers and types of children with special educational needs; the organizational structure of JVS agencies; differences in health outcomes between Jews and non-Jews (with regard to mental health issues in particular); inter-generational support issues (the likely level of support for older people by their relatives); and the nature and demand of the surprisingly large number of Jews identified in the Census who live outside of the major concentrations of British Jewry (see Part 3).

Filling these gaps requires the funding of research into the community *on an ongoing basis*.

Part 2

Trends and issues affecting the UK Jewish voluntary sector

Part 2 of this *Final Report* of the Long-term Planning for British Jewry (LTP) project looks at the longer-term implications of the findings of the ten constituent LTP research reports. It takes into account trends in British Jewry as well as trends in the British voluntary sector and British society. It provides background knowledge and understanding of how the Jewish voluntary sector (JVS) is positioned in relation to wider societal forces. It is intended to provide individual organizations with an understanding of the opportunities and challenges that lie ahead, an understanding based on the examination of a far broader context than just their own internal organizational operations and the particular sector in which they operate. It also provides the community as a whole with a picture of where the JVS is positioned and the key decisions that need to be taken.

This part of the report is organized into three chapters that build on and interlink with one another. Chapter 1 identifies key factors in British society that need to be taken into account in planning for the British JVS over the next fifteen to twenty years. This is achieved through a PEST analysis of the *political, economic, social* and *technological* factors of British society that are likely to affect the JVS.

Chapter 2 considers trends in the British voluntary sector as a whole. Since the JVS is part of the British voluntary sector, these trends must be taken into account in planning for the Jewish community. It considers sector-wide trends and issues, the funding environment, service provision, human resources and organizational structures and management challenges.

Chapter 3 examines opportunities and challenges for the British JVS in the light of contextual trends set out in the two opening chapters, and in the light of the ten constituent reports of the LTP. It concentrates on both the opportunities and challenges facing the JVS.



1 The national context for long-term planning for the British Jewish community

This chapter seeks to identify the key factors in Britain and in British society that should be taken into account in planning for the British JVS for the next fifteen to twenty years. Following a widely used schema for scanning organizational environments (the PEST analysis), it considers in turn key political, economic, social and technological factors.

It does not attempt a comprehensive overview of trends in British society but rather picks out those features that long-term planners of Jewish communal organizations should take into account.

Political factors

Diversity and pluralism

Politicians of all parties, civil servants and others involved in policy formulation have been concerned for several years with how best to address the issues and challenges posed by the growth of a multiracial, multi-faith, multicultural society. They have been called on to respond to racial, religious and ethnic tensions, particularly in inner-city areas, that have manifested themselves in general racial, ethnic and religious tension and discrimination in some localities, and in civic unrest and disaffection in, for example, Northern English towns during 2002.

Tensions in a diverse British society are likely to continue to occupy the attention of policymakers. Funding and consultation opportunities are likely to increase for minority groups able to engage in dialogue with both governmental agencies and other minorities. The drive by politicians to encourage 'community cohesion' can be expected to intensify.

Civic engagement and building civil society

Levels of 'civic engagement' also constitute an ongoing concern among politicians and policymakers, including declining levels of membership of political parties, low turn-out at elections (especially among younger people), and a general lack of engagement with the institutions of civil society (i.e. the non-governmental, non-market 'spaces' within society). There has been interest in the experience of the United States in

this respect,¹ and there has been a tendency to emphasize the view that citizens have not only 'rights' but also 'responsibilities'.

Recent initiatives to encourage deeper and more extensive civic engagement have included:

- programmes and governmental funding to encourage volunteering in both traditional and new forms, such as Time Bank, Millennium Volunteers, the Home Office Older Volunteers Initiative and the Experience Corps;
- area-based and sectionally focused governmental programmes such as Sure Start, New Deal for Communities, Employment Action Zones and Health Action Zones; and
- official expressions of concern about the perceived decline in 'associational' participation activities that can help to build social capital, ranging from leisure and sporting groups to mutual-aid and self-help groups.

Anxiety among politicians about a perceived decline in civic engagement and associational behaviour is likely to continue. More exhortations and earmarked funding can be expected in order to encourage volunteering, a growth in civic knowledge and self-help activities.

Delivery and organization of public services

Discussion about the quality of public services and appropriate means for their delivery has gained momentum over recent years. Successive governments have sought increasingly to shift responsibility for the delivery of public services from the statutory to the private and voluntary sectors, while retaining overall responsibility for strategic planning, regulation and quality control. Thus service-delivering voluntary organizations can expect to see increasing opportunities to enter into contract agreements to provide services as agents of governmental bodies. However, they can also expect pressure on them:

¹ See, for example, R. D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone* (New York: Simon and Schuster 2000).

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- to provide more services that specifically respond to governmental priorities;
- to contribute high proportions of the real costs of such services from voluntary income (to minimize the cost to the public purse);
- to conform with a range of external regulatory, accountability and monitoring procedures;
- to find their own ability to decide on needs and priorities restricted if they wish to accept governmental funding for 'public' services; and
- to adopt 'business-like' management practices.

As 'public service providers', voluntary organizations will also have to deal with continuing public expectations about:

- quality of services;
- equity of provision irrespective of geographical area; and
- 'customer care' and responsiveness.

Governance and accountability for service delivery

Current government policy is to encourage 'joined-up' policymaking and service delivery through consortia of a range of organizations in the business, public and voluntary sectors (current examples include Local Strategic Partnerships and English Regional Development Agencies). As responsibility for the actual delivery of public services moves across sectoral boundaries, and becomes increasingly the remit of complex partnerships and networks of organizations, management and governance arrangements are likely to become ever more complex.

As a result, accountability for quality of service delivery, for financial management and for issues of human and other resources will also become increasingly complex and opaque. Government concern with retaining some degree of control of public services, while not actually delivering them, is already increasing the amount of regulation and monitoring with which voluntary and private sector agencies are required to comply. Current examples include the requirements of the Charity Commission, Housing Corporation, regulatory bodies for residential and nursing care, and local authorities.

Voluntary associations and groupings that engage with the governmental public service agenda will increasingly be required to work collaboratively within the voluntary sector and across sectoral boundaries, both in contributing to policymaking and in delivering services. At the same time, their freedom to set their own agendas will be limited by their ability to raise independent funding from sources such as legacies, voluntary donations and trading companies.

Constitutional and political changes

While UK central government (Whitehall) still retains a strategic overview of public services, responsibility for financing and delivery is increasingly being devolved elsewhere. In particular, the following points should be noted:

- The Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly are growing in importance as funders of services and developers of public policy. The Northern Ireland Assembly may, if reconvened, follow a similar path.
- In England, the impact of regionalization grows apace. Regional Development Agencies already wield some power in development of regional business strategies. Regional level policymaking on other issues is likely to develop further if the concept of regional assemblies gains public support.
- Alongside such bodies, a range of other regional agencies may develop. Those most likely to be relevant to the JVS include the already established regional voluntary sector infrastructure bodies and (in some regions) regional faith forums.
- External ties to a (very much enlarged) European Union are likely to continue to grow in significance. The impact of EU legislation such as the Human Rights Act and the Working Time directive is already being felt. Further legislation on issues such as equality, diversity and human rights seems likely and will have financial and management implications for all voluntary organizations that deliver services to the public or employ staff.

Against the background of major constitutional change in the United Kingdom, the domestic political scene is currently marked not by change, conflict or confrontation but by a broad measure of consensus among the major political parties.

Barring significant political upheaval, this consensus looks set to continue, enabling voluntary sector service providers and advocacy groups to plan strategically with reasonable confidence about the prevailing political ideologies influencing public policy formulation in the United Kingdom.

Economic factors

The individual and the economy

Several recent trends have affected the position of individuals and their relationship with the economy, including the following:

- economic and technological shifts, and continuing moves towards a service economy rather than one based on industry;
- a growth in part-time and often low-paid, low-skilled jobs in the service sector;
- an increase in working hours for many people in paid jobs (as a result of job insecurities and/or managers' and colleagues' expectations rather than of formal contractual arrangements);
- changes in retirement ages and lack of sufficient pension provision, leading to higher numbers of people without an income adequate to support their needs in retirement; and
- moves from direct to indirect taxation.

The consequences of such trends include under-employment, hidden poverty, social exclusion and income-rich, time-poor households. Policy responses currently favoured include measures to encourage employment and personal saving and insurance. There seems little likelihood that social security benefits will regain favour as policy solutions to problems of unemployment, under-employment or poverty in the near future. Thus minority communities will be expected to alleviate problems of financial hardship by drawing on the resources of their own communities.

Funding of public services

We can assume that the bulk of funding for public services will continue to come from the institutions of government, whether central, regional, local or European. But we can also assume that alternative and additional funding for public services will continue to be sought in order to keep levels of direct taxation to a minimum. For example, we can expect:

- private finance initiatives to continue to be seen as a solution to problems of investment in the public sector;
- continuing increases in the number and range of requests for full and part payment from users of public services (e.g. in higher education, health care and recreational provision);
- the encouragement of individual and corporate philanthropy through tax incentives and donor schemes such as Gift Aid; and
- the rising expectation that voluntary sector providers would subsidize the services they provide under contract to governmental agencies out of their voluntary income.

Economic aspects of regionalization, devolution and the European Union

The regionalization and devolution agendas of the United Kingdom were initially driven by economic considerations, including regeneration issues. Although social issues have also been taken into account in regional and devolution policymaking in more recent years, it seems likely that the economic agenda will continue to be dominant in the years to come. For example, those hoping for funding from the new devolved and regional institutions will need to consider the economic drivers and concerns at local levels, and be able to show how they can contribute to geographically based regeneration initiatives.

Economic considerations are also likely to prevail over political and ideological questions in regard to relations between the United Kingdom and the European Union. Thus the UK's business and social ties with the rest of the EU will be strengthened and collaborations between similar institutions within different European countries are likely to be encouraged through European funding and programme initiatives (e.g. regeneration and education initiatives).

The widely noted 'globalization' trends facilitated by electronic communications will increase the impact—on individuals and on the economy—of multinational corporations that are not subject to the controls of any one national government or to alliances like the EU. Anxieties about the impact of their activities on the environment, and concern over their business ethics and the high salaries and other benefits paid to their executives, may grow

as a consequence and have implications for expected behaviour by individuals, voluntary organizations, governmental agencies and corporations at home.

Social factors

Demographic change

Census data and other studies of the UK population indicate several key changes in the demographic profile of the British population, including:

- increased longevity, with higher proportions of people over retirement age and lower proportions of young people (thus raising concerns about financial support and general care of older members of the population);
- higher proportions of older people living longer (which does not necessarily imply that more older people will require long-term care but it could mean that people will need to cope for longer with mild to moderate levels of disability);
- lower fertility rates, and the older age of first-time mothers;
- high and still rising proportions of births outside marriage;
- more single-parent households; and
- more single-person households.

More complicated family structures are developing as a result of serial relationships by adults, leading to children having a complex web of connections involving half- and step-siblings and other extended family members. Greater recognition of lesbian and gay partnerships and other non-traditional family structures is also apparent.

These demographic changes will necessitate social services providers reassessing the nature of social needs and perhaps changing their priorities and adapting provision, especially in relation to children, young people and older people.

Changing work patterns

Evidence suggests that work patterns have been altering significantly during the past two generations. Changes of particular note include:

- increasing proportions of young people entering higher education.

- more dual-career parents in households (with consequent increased needs for non-household childcare and rising expectations on grandparents when they live nearby);
- more flexible working and home-working, facilitated partly by the development of new technologies;
- more self-employment and more 'portfolio careers' in which people mix employment, self-employment and volunteering;
- reduced job security (the end of a 'job for life'); and
- changing retirement patterns, including early or partial retirement or moves to self-employment or a second career among the 'young elderly'.

Diversity and cohesion

Earlier, we referred to the racial, ethnic and faith diversity of British society from a political perspective. But diversity is also a social phenomenon with social implications, which are only now beginning to be strongly tackled by British policymakers. Over the next fifteen to twenty years we can expect major changes in social and public policies in response to the social diversity of the United Kingdom. However, it is difficult to predict what those policy responses might be because current policy trends reflect conflicting views about the desirability of *social diversity* as against *social cohesion* and integration.

While many celebrate Britain's social diversity and welcome the opportunities and advantages it brings, there is also clear evidence of underlying civil tensions that have surfaced in recent years in the form of inner-city disturbances, race-related crime and public harassment of individuals from minority groups. The last of these gives rise to major problems around the inclusion of new arrivals to the country and to particular local areas. This is reflected in the present government's concern with 'social cohesion' and in a range of well-funded initiatives designed to encourage 'regeneration'. There are also numerous governmentally supported initiatives to encourage co-operation and collaboration across different races and faith groups, especially at the local and regional levels.

On the one hand, then, the emphasis of government policies is on the promotion of

community cohesion, and on encouragement of culturally sensitive service delivery to black and minority ethnic users, especially older people, *within mainstream provision*.² Yet, on the other hand, the government is also providing substantial support for *separate and different* services, such as faith-based schools. Moreover, the government has recently taken measures that in fact emphasize the ‘difference’ of minorities and could even enhance their social exclusion and marginalization. Such measures are presented as a necessary response to international events and threats to national security but they can also be seen as a threat to civil liberties and human rights for minorities.

Problems of geography and life chances

Against this backdrop of a diverse society in which the profile of the population and its work patterns are undergoing profound changes, some sections of the population are experiencing a further range of problems associated with their geographical location and/or age-group. Particularly noteworthy are:

- congestion, pollution and transport problems in urban areas;
- isolation, poverty, and lack of access to transport and other facilities in rural areas; and
- alienation from the wider society and from the education system of some young people (as manifested in criminal or anti-social behaviour, drug use and other addictions).

Individualism

Finally, a range of trends is apparent in early twenty-first-century society that might be referred to in general terms as a ‘concern for the self’ (in contrast with a collectivist concern for the public good, the community or a membership grouping). These include:

- a decline in collectivist beliefs coupled with growing interest in alternative religions, philosophies and self-help programmes;
- a consumerist approach to public services;

² L. Yee and B. Mussenden, *From Lip Service to Real Service: The Report of the First Phase of a Project to Assist Councils with Social Services Responsibilities to Develop Services for Black Older People* (London: Department of Health Publications 2001).

- a climate that is risk-averse and litigious (i.e. that wishes to avoid risk wherever possible and that seeks to apportion blame and recompense individuals for injury and damage in the public realm); and
- a decline in trust between individuals generally, and decline in respect for professional expertise in particular.

These individualist tendencies exist alongside growing concerns over the quality of the built and natural environment and ethical business behaviour. Thus collectivist approaches to social issues have not disappeared but the emphasis has shifted and there has been a discernible rise in interest in personal self-fulfilment. This is linked to the perceived decline in associational behaviour already noted, and may have implications for the capacity of voluntary organizations to attract volunteers and paid staff in the future.

Technological factors

Access to technology

One of the most striking changes of the last twenty years has been the vastly increased access of British citizens to new technology. Initially found only in offices and other public buildings, computers are now an established feature of many homes. Mobile telephones are owned by a majority of the population. Young people now enter the workforce fully aware of the use and potential of ICT (information and communications technology). Use of, and access to, computers among retired people is also growing.

These changes open up new possibilities not only for the delivery of social welfare services but also for the associational activities of citizens.

Potential of ICT

Increased access to technology and growing ICT literacy raise a number of possibilities, yet to be fully realized, for changing the way in which service-providing organizations operate and relate to their users. These include the following:

- increased potential for providing services at a distance from the end user, especially when face-to-face interaction is not essential, e.g. advice-giving, monitoring;
- opportunities for staff to work away from an organization’s office or geographical base,

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increasing the possibilities for providing 'outreach services' to those currently poorly served; and

- increased potential for improving the quality, effectiveness and efficiency of service provision.

Technological advances, and the prevalence of private-sector providers of ICT services, may also contribute to the increasing dominance of business practices and values in running organizations in all sectors.

The impact of the mass media

There has been a proliferation of media outlets in the past two decades. Although the number of newspapers has remained reasonably static, there has been a major increase in channels on radio and on terrestrial, cable and digital television. Internet and e-mail use has increased dramatically in recent years and seems set to expand further. The impact of this profusion of information available through a variety of media outlets is as yet unclear. It seems likely that there has been, and will continue to be, increased fragmentation and personalization in media use.

The speed of electronic communication and competition among news outlets has also increased the speed at which information is circulated and consumed. The Internet, in providing quick access to information, may increasingly be a shaper of public opinion and individual perceptions of needs and wants. Thus it may impact heavily on expectations about provision of public services and expectations about the quality and range of provision.

Although the mass media have played a part in shaping the political agenda for the best part of two centuries, their capacity to set agendas, rather than simply respond to them, has grown dramatically in recent decades. While not new, the dynamic of 'moral panic',³ in which some individuals (e.g. adulterous politicians) or categories of people (e.g. asylum-seekers, child-abusers) are singled out for moralistic campaigns intended to remove them

from the polity, has become an ever more important stimulus to political action. Indeed, managing moral panic and the media has become an increasingly important task for groups seeking social change.⁴

Summary

With respect to the general British context, this chapter indicates the importance of political and economic factors in the UK environment. The implications of diversity and pluralism and of perceived decline in civic engagement and associational behaviour are proving to be of major concern to planners and policymakers. Attempts by government to address these issues through funding programmes and new initiatives are likely to affect Jewish voluntary organizations and other faith-based groupings in significant ways.

Likewise, continuing moves to shift responsibility for delivery of public services to the commercial and voluntary sectors will have major implications for all voluntary agencies and their service users. Jewish organizations, alongside other voluntary organizations (especially faith and minority ethnic organizations), will face rising expectations from both potential users and governmental agencies that they will meet a range of care and communal needs.

A range of demographic factors will also have a bearing on service-providing agencies, particularly increased longevity and a rise in single-parent and single-person households among the general population. (As Chapter 3 below will note, however, a high proportion of the Jewish adult population is currently married.) Taken together with a 'concern for the self', these social changes raise questions about the extent to which individuals will be willing in the future to play their part as volunteers, governors and paid staff in Jewish communal life. On the other hand, and more positively, new technologies are continuing to open up new ways of providing services, and new ways in which people can associate with each other.

³ S. Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers* (Oxford: Blackwell 1987).

⁴ A. McRobbie and S. Thornton, 'Rethinking "moral panic" for multi-mediated social worlds', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 46, no. 4, 1995, 559–74.

2 The British voluntary sector and long-term planning for the Jewish community

This chapter looks at trends in the British voluntary sector. Since the JVS is a part of the British voluntary sector, these trends are a key component of the environment that must be taken into account by those planning the future of Jewish communal organizations and services. It begins by looking broadly at trends in the British voluntary sector as a whole before moving on to examine the funding of the sector, trends in service provision and human resource matters (including issues concerning not only paid staff but also volunteers and board members). It concludes by drawing attention to key management issues currently facing voluntary organizations in the United Kingdom.

Sector-wide trends and issues

The role of the voluntary sector

The role of the voluntary sector in relation to the British state has undergone a major, albeit gradual, change over the last two decades. Whereas, during the post-Second World War era of the 'welfare state', charities and the voluntary sector generally were seen as complementing or supplementing the governmental sector in provision of welfare and other services, the voluntary sector moved during the 1980s and 1990s to become an integral part of the 'mixed economy of welfare'.⁵ We have now reached the point where the voluntary sector is looked to as a key provider of public services and as an important agent of government policy in tackling problems such as social exclusion, crime, youth disaffection and community deprivation.

In addition to the expanding expectations on the voluntary sector in relation to public services provision, there is a growing awareness among policymakers of the role that voluntary organizations can and do play in maintaining civil society and in the formation of social capital.⁶ Thus the sector is seen as an important vehicle for

reaching marginalized groups and for encouraging participation in democratic processes, informal grassroots activity and community development.⁷

The growing understanding of the potential of the voluntary sector as a public services provider and as a means to ensure community participation and development is linked with a third area in which the expectations on the sector are rising, namely, as a key component in policy consultation and formulation. Individual voluntary organizations and the 'infrastructure' or 'intermediary' organizations of the sector are increasingly being expected to play a full role in policy forums at the national, local and regional levels. They are coming to be seen as an essential part of the new 'governance' structures in which networks of actors and groups (rather than 'government') control policymaking and public service delivery.⁸

In this context of expanding expectations on the sector as a public services provider, as a facilitator of citizen participation and as a key component of governance, faith-based groups and minority ethnic groups are seen to have an especially valuable role. They are seen as offering 'local networks, leadership and management capacity, buildings with potential community use, and volunteers. They may contribute to the whole range of community participation, from membership of strategic bodies to project work at its most small scale, neighbourhood level.'⁹

The Jewish community responded to its social and economic problems by matching wider society provision with a Jewish alternative. The result is remarkably diverse welfare provision within a relatively small community. Nevertheless, in contemporary Britain, this creates difficulties,

5 M. Harris, C. Rochester and P. Halfpenny, 'Voluntary organisations and social policy: twenty years of change', in M. Harris and C. Rochester (eds), *Voluntary Organisations and Social Policy in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave 2001).

6 D. Halpern, *Social Capital: The New Golden Goose?* (London: Institute for Public Policy Research 1999); Putnam.

7 Her Majesty's Treasury, *The Role of the Voluntary and Community Sector in Service Delivery—A Cross Cutting Review* (London: HM Treasury 2002).

8 J. Newman, *Modernising Governance: New Labour, Policy and Society* (London: Sage Publications 2001).

9 Local Government Association, *Faith and Community. A Good Practice Guide for Local Authorities* (London: LGA Publications 2002), 7.

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especially concerning the issue of training and retaining sufficient workers and specialists to provide a Jewish service, and whether non-Jewish people can maintain it.

Finally, the broad array of services and roles undertaken by the British voluntary sector should be noted. Although the role of the sector in providing welfare and educational services is widely acknowledged, less attention is paid to the important activities of the sector in providing recreational, cultural, arts and other leisure activities.

Distinctive organizational features and sector boundaries

As voluntary organizations have moved into the public policy spotlight, it has become apparent to both academic commentators and to individual voluntary organizations that new questions are arising about, first, the distinctive features of voluntary organizations and, second, the boundaries of the voluntary 'sector'.

Research suggests that as voluntary organizations enter into 'partnerships' with powerful government agencies, they often experience pressures to adapt their decision-making, service provision, organizational structures and/or organizational cultures to accommodate the wishes and norms of those agencies. This raises questions for individual voluntary organizations and for the sector as a whole about what, if any, are the 'core' or 'essential' features of voluntary organizations that distinguish them from the governmental and business sectors and that enable them to remain 'independent'.¹⁰ Since so many of the arguments for expanding the role of the sector rest on assumptions about the distinctive features of voluntary organizations, the respect accorded to them is unlikely to be maintained if they allow those distinctive features to be obscured or modified.

Thus individual voluntary organizations need to beware of 'mission drift'. They need to consider their core values and purposes, and which of their features need to be maintained under all circumstances. Registered charities, for example,

10 M. Harris and D. Billis, 'Conclusion: emerging challenges for research and practice', in D. Billis and M. Harris (eds), *Voluntary Agencies: Challenges of Management and Organisation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1996).

need to consider carefully the pros and cons of charitable registration. Service-providing organizations need to consider the implications for their independence of becoming a 'public services' provider. And those participating in policy consultations need to consider the opportunity costs in terms of staff time and the ability to pursue an independent advocacy agenda.

More broadly, the voluntary sector as a whole is increasingly having to think about its own boundaries. The question of how independent an organization must be in order to be deemed a part of the voluntary sector is one that cannot be ignored. Similarly, the possible extension of privileges to organizations that have not hitherto been regarded as part of the voluntary sector (e.g. 'social enterprises') may also raise issues for the sector if it wishes to remain independent and distinct from governmental and business endeavours.¹¹

At the same time, the implications of the internal heterogeneity of the sector (however it is defined) have also to be considered. Smaller informal organizations and community organizations do not necessarily have common cause with the large and formal national voluntary organizations.¹² Public services providers do not necessarily have common cause with campaigning, fundraising or membership organizations. Membership associations and self-help groups may feel uncomfortable about being grouped with service-providing or formally structured organizations. Organizations started by social entrepreneurs as well as social enterprises with business-like characteristics may feel they have little in common with more traditional service-providing or campaigning voluntary organizations.¹³ Nevertheless, they can be important generators of new ideas and new ways of meeting old needs.

The challenge for the contemporary voluntary sector is to defend its independence and distinctiveness as a sector while also enjoying the benefits of internal heterogeneity and some

11 Strategy Unit, *Private Action, Public Benefit—A Review of Charities and the Wider Not-For-Profit Sector* (London: Cabinet Office 2002); Her Majesty's Treasury, *The Role of the Voluntary and Community Sector*.

12 M. Taylor, *Public Policy in the Community* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 2002).

13 R. Paton, *Managing and Measuring Social Enterprises* (London: Sage Publications 2002).

permeability of boundaries over time so that new and innovatory organizations can enter.

Legal and regulatory frameworks

There has been a noticeable increase in recent years in laws and regulations that affect the work of voluntary organizations. This trend is likely to continue.¹⁴ Some of the relevant UK laws and regulations are specifically aimed at charities and public services providers (for example, the requirements of the Charity Commission and Companies House), while others affect particular voluntary organizations because of the nature of the work they do (e.g. laws and regulations relating to residential care, food preparation and people who work with children). The recent report of the Strategy Unit prefigures major changes in the laws on charitable registration that are expected to enable many more 'public benefit' organizations to enjoy the privileges of charitable registration in Britain in the future.¹⁵

Increasingly, voluntary agencies of all kinds also have to take account of EU legislation and regulations. EU regulations on working hours, issues of equality and diversity, and human rights have already had an impact on many organizations. The influence of the EU on working practices is likely to increase in the future. A current potential example of an EU regulation that could impact on voluntary organizations providing services to minority ethnic groups, including Jews, is a directive intended to prevent racial discrimination. If fully implemented in the United Kingdom, it would prohibit the provision of a service exclusively to members of one ethnic group.¹⁶ However, there are indications that the religious needs of groups such as Sikhs and Jews, who are classified in law as both faith groups and ethnic groups, will be taken into account.¹⁷

The funding environment

Governmental funding for public services provision

As the role of the voluntary sector in providing public services expands, the potential to access new

forms of funding grows likewise. Increasing opportunities to benefit from government funding programmes are currently available to voluntary agencies if they:

- agree to take on provision of 'public services' in relation, for example, to education, care of older people, work with offenders or employment related work;
- participate in special programmes focused on particular geographical areas or issues, for example, New Deal for Communities, Sure Start, urban regeneration programmes;
- participate in 'networks of networks', such as Local Strategic Partnerships; and/or
- aim to address aspects of social exclusion or other current government priorities, such as street crime, community safety, neighbourhood renewal, addiction or youth disaffection.

There are some indications in recent policy documents that such funding for public services provision might in the future be provided by specialist government agencies. These would probably be similar to the Housing Corporation, which invests public money in housing associations (also known as Registered Social Landlords or RSLs).¹⁸ Such a move would facilitate funding bids but would also carry some threats to the independence of funded voluntary organizations.

Governmental funding and policy priorities

Government concern about the implications of Britain's multiracial, multicultural and multifaith society is such that more funding is becoming available for initiatives such as faith-based schools and services provided to minority communities of various kinds. This trend is likely to continue.

Although normally welcomed by minority communities, it has to be noted that provision of this kind of funding is usually based on the priorities and policy agendas of the funders and not those of the communities themselves. And, as noted above, there are apparent inconsistencies between government policy streams that support *separate services*, such as faith-based schools, and others that

14 C. Rochester, 'Regulation: the impact on local voluntary action', in Harris and Rochester (eds).

15 Strategy Unit, *Private Action, Public Benefit*.

16 S. Roker, 'EU rulings could harm charities', *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 February 2003.

17 S. Roker, 'Home Office reassurance on EU threat to charities', *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 February 2003.

18 C. Rochester and R. Hutchison, *Board Effectiveness in Transfer Organisations* (London: National Housing Federation 2002).

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encourage a more inclusive approach to service provision.

Government is also keen to encourage the wider involvement of 'excluded groups' in society, for example, through funding of social enterprises that create training and employment opportunities.¹⁹

The influence of the EU and devolution

Funding for voluntary organizations in the United Kingdom has traditionally been linked to their geographical locus of operations, with local authorities being a major source of finance. Growing integration within the EU combined with devolution and regionalization trends within Britain (see above) suggests that the funding sources available to voluntary organizations are set to expand.²⁰

However, funding for voluntary organizations from the Scottish Parliament, the Welsh Assembly and the English regions may be provided especially for infrastructure organizations and community networks, with the benefits for individual voluntary organizations being indirect or only drawn down against particular activities or participation in particular forums. Again, the benefits of EU funding are likely to be linked to participation in pan-European initiatives and cross-country collaborations, rather than to be available to individual organizations for pursuing their own agendas.

Accountability and funding

The voluntary sector's expanding role in the provision of governmentally funded services is linked to growing 'accountability' expectations. This trend also reflects the move towards tighter regulation described above as well as a general decline in public trust.²¹

The days of 'arms-length' grant-giving are over as far as governmental funders are concerned, and grants have largely been replaced by contracts and 'service level agreements' that carry tight specifications about quality and standards as well as detailed

monitoring and accountability requirements. Many charitable foundation funders have also moved towards tighter monitoring and accountability expectations on the organizations they fund.²²

Thus voluntary agencies in receipt of statutory funding are increasingly expected to account in detail for the ways in which that funding is spent. They are also required to demonstrate effectiveness and value for money in the same way as are their statutory funders. For example, voluntary organizations in receipt of local authority funding are currently required to conform with the same 'best value' principles as are their funders.²³ Similarly, evidence from infrastructure bodies and organizations concerned with quality issues suggests that funders are increasingly requiring the adoption of a recognized quality system as a condition of funding.²⁴ These trends can be expected to intensify as there is a general and discernible trend towards managerialism and regulation in all aspects of public life in the United Kingdom.

At the same time as there are growing accountability and quality demands from funders, especially governmental funders, there are some recent and positive indications that there is growing recognition among funders of the impact of these demands on voluntary organizations themselves. Consequently, there have been moves among some of the major grant-giving trusts and charitable foundations, as well as the various National Lottery donors, to streamline their application procedures and move towards greater consistency in the forms used for both applications and monitoring. Again, following lobbying from the Association of Chief Executives of Voluntary Organisations (ACEVO), there is growing recognition that voluntary organizations need 'core funding' to maintain their underpinning management structures, as well as short-term and project funding.

Other sources of funding

Despite the growing opportunities for securing governmental funding for public services provision,

19 Her Majesty's Treasury, *The Role of the Voluntary and Community Sector*.

20 National Council for Voluntary Organisations, *Understanding Devolution: The Strategic Challenge for Voluntary Organisations* (London: NCVO 2000).

21 F. Tonkiss, A. Passey and N. Fenton (eds), *Trust and Civil Society* (Basingstoke: Palgrave 2000).

22 Association of Charitable Foundations, *Good Grant-making Practice. A Quality Framework* (London: ACF 2002).

23 Improvement and Development Agency, *Partnerships for Best Value: Working with the Voluntary Sector* (London: Improvement and Development Agency 2001).

24 J. Barclay and M. Abdy, *Funders and Quality in the Voluntary Sector* (London: Quality Standards Task Group/National Council for Voluntary Organisations 2001).

there will be continuing pressure on most voluntary organizations to secure funds from non-governmental sources.

Non-governmental income will be needed to ensure independence. Many voluntary organizations continue, and will continue, to want funding to underpin advocacy and campaigning activities, to enable innovation and risk-taking, to ensure organizational continuity, and to provide services that are in line with their own priorities rather than those of external funders. This kind of activity is rarely funded by governmental sources, or rarely funded without 'strings attached'.

In any case, the growing opportunities to secure new funding are counter-balanced by the unwillingness of many local authorities to fund the full price of voluntary sector services, especially those for long-term care. This is a trend that leaves voluntary organizations to find the difference from their own reserves or from fundraising. Statutory bodies are influenced both by the need to conform to principles of best value and to respond to their own general financial shortages. In turn, this puts financial pressure on voluntary organizations, many of which are already experiencing declining levels of reserves due to an overall economic downturn and a depressed stock market. Thus the pressure to secure at least a proportion of total income from non-governmental sources will continue for most voluntary organizations.

Where is the non-governmental income of the sector to come from? Current data do not lead to optimism about the prospects for increasing levels of individual donations.²⁵ Securing legacy income is also likely to remain problematic as the state retreats from welfare provision and people increasingly use savings for their own care in their later years. The prospects for increases in the level of corporate philanthropy are closely related to national and global economic contexts and can therefore be expected to fluctuate, while remaining at a generally low level compared with, say, the United States, which has different traditions of corporate and individual philanthropy.²⁶

25 P. Jas, K. Wilding, S. Wainwright, A. Passey and L. Hems, *The UK Voluntary Sector Almanac 2002* (London: National Council for Voluntary Organisations 2002).

26 P. D. Hall (ed.), *Inventing the Nonprofit Sector and Other Essays on Philanthropy, Voluntarism and Nonprofit Organizations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1992).

In relation to all three possible sources of voluntary sector income—individual donations, legacies and corporate philanthropy—there is a link with the points made above about the role of the voluntary sector in relation to the state. Although the British state has retreated from welfare *provision* quite definitively over the last two decades, there has been no major commensurate change in public expectations about the *funding* of welfare services. Citizens now receive welfare services from voluntary organizations as well as governmental ones but they do not generally expect to have to fund those voluntary sector providers directly. They continue to assume that the funding for welfare services is provided through taxation and have shown no propensity to increase their charitable giving to reflect the new mixed economy of welfare.²⁷

These public expectations could change in the future, particularly if there is a concerted campaign to encourage a change in philanthropic norms. In the meantime, the voluntary sector will need to continue to diversify funding sources and the means of reaching them. Charging fees for services provided as well as sales of other kinds or social entrepreneurship are currently the most favoured method. At the same time, individual voluntary organizations may respond to the more competitive environment for funding by making more use of branding and niche marketing techniques to help distinguish them from other service providers in the public mind.²⁸ Successful branding requires consistency in conveying what the organization does and the values it represents, in communicating that message to a variety of audiences, in representing the brand image through visual means, and in conveying the organization's values in practice through, for example, the way in which staff interact with people outside the organization.

Service provision

Competition and continuity

Voluntary organizations have been encouraged in recent years to compete for contracts and service

27 Commission on the Future of the Voluntary Sector, *Meeting the Challenge of Change: Voluntary Action into the 21st Century* (London: CFVS/National Council for Voluntary Organisations 1996).

28 P. Hankinson, 'The impact of brand orientation on managerial practice: a quantitative study of the UK's top 500 fundraising managers', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2002, 30–44.

level agreements.²⁹ Even when there is an assumption that contracts will be renewed on expiry with the same voluntary sector provider, voluntary organizations generally find themselves in a climate of funding insecurity and uncertainty. In some fields of provision such as care for older people, legal services and services for children, there is increasing competition to secure contracts for service provision not only between voluntary organizations but also between voluntary organizations and for-profit companies and/or governmental agencies. In this climate, in which funding continuity can never be assumed, long-term planning of service provision becomes highly problematic.

Innovation is also discouraged in favour of providing standardized products that are known to be acceptable to key funders. Where innovatory projects *are* funded and are shown to be a success, problems then arise about continuity of provision after the expiry of the initial project funding; it can no longer be assumed that, once a new idea is shown to work, funding will become available for the longer term. There have been several well-publicized instances in recent years in which failure to continue successful projects has brought public opprobrium on to the providing voluntary organization rather than on the withdrawing funder; another disincentive for voluntary organizations to take risks or experiment with new ways of working.

Collaboration and joint working

At the same time as there are trends that encourage competition between voluntary organizations for funding and service provision, there is a contrary trend. Various government initiatives are also encouraging voluntary organizations to work together more closely—with each other as well as across the voluntary/statutory sector boundary—in consortia, in *ad hoc* groupings, in consultative forums, through intermediary bodies, in collaborative ventures and in large-scale initiatives such as those concerned with urban regeneration and neighbourhood renewal.³⁰

The publication of a national compact,³¹ and the more recent development of local compacts, sets

29 N. Deakin, 'Public policy, social policy and voluntary organisations', in Harris and Rochester (eds).

30 M. Harris, 'Voluntary organisations in a changing social policy environment', in Harris and Rochester (eds).

31 Home Office, *Compact on Relations between Government and the Voluntary and Community Sector in England*, Cmd 4100 (London: Home Office 1998).

the scene for a more collaborative approach by encouraging partnership and mutual understanding between voluntary and statutory bodies. The national compact accepts the importance of the voluntary sector's independence, and the legitimacy of campaigning and advocacy work by voluntary organizations, and sets new principles for funding procedures and voluntary sector involvement in policymaking.

Most recently, Local Strategic Partnerships have aimed to foster a spirit of collaboration and cross-sectoral strategic approaches to problem-solving and planning of local services. These are in addition to the various New Labour geographically and problem-based initiatives referred to earlier. All of these encourage voluntary organizations to co-operate with each other as well as with organizations in the governmental and business sectors.

Opportunities for co-operation between voluntary sector service providers are likely to increase in the future as technology develops further (see above). We can expect to see further collaborations in, for example, preparation of training materials and training delivery, provision of back-office services, sharing of information about volunteering, and multi-agency electronic discussion and support groups. Collaborations of this kind enable start-up and overhead costs to be shared and economies of scale to be achieved, even when organizations are working in different fields.

As ties with Europe strengthen and as technology develops further, opportunities for working in co-operation with voluntary organizations in other European Union countries are also likely to increase. This is already happening in the field of advocacy (e.g. for services for older people) and for some faith groups that have well-developed European networks. But in the future cross-Europe collaboration on service provision is also likely to develop.

New ways of delivering services

Not only do technological developments offer huge potential for inter-organizational collaboration, they also raise the possibility of new ways of delivering services to organizations' users and/or members. Many voluntary organizations are only just beginning to realize the potential of technology, but current examples of innovations in service delivery include:

- video and telephone conferencing offering new ways of consulting users and facilitating mutual aid;
- telephone systems that enable users' enquiries to be directed to any part of the country where resources are available, irrespective of where they themselves might be located;
- advice and information provision by websites and e-mail; and
- education and training offered via the Internet.

As yet, however, there is little evidence of electronic communities replacing communities of place, especially in those voluntary agencies in which personal contact is considered an important part of the organization's value base.³²

Concern with quality and impact of services

As already indicated, funders of voluntary organizations are increasingly concerned about quality and standards of service provision.

Ideas about what constitutes a 'quality service' and 'best practice' are constantly changing and, in so far as voluntary agencies are providing 'public' services, informal and formal pressures oblige them to keep abreast of these changing ideas.³³ Examples of such changes in ideas about quality and best practice in recent years include moves from institutional to small group home care for people with learning disabilities or mental health problems and moves towards more 'hotel' type accommodation for older people in residential care, with single rooms, en suite bathrooms and an improved recognition of the rights of residents to privacy and independence.

Concern among funders and the public generally about quality of service provision is also reflected in:

- tighter regulation and specification of services by funders;
- demand from funders that service providers demonstrate conformity with quality systems;

³² E. Burt and J. Taylor, 'When "virtual" meets values: insights from the voluntary sector', *Information, Communication and Society*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2001, 54–73.

³³ National Council for Voluntary Organisations, *Measuring Impact: A Guide to Resources* (London: NCVO 2002).

- increased monitoring and evaluation of aspects of service output; and
- monitoring not only of outputs but also of *outcomes* and *impact* of interventions on users.

Human resources

New ways of working

Recruitment, management and retention of human resources (paid staff, volunteers and trustees) are essential to the success of any voluntary organization's activities. Recent changes in society and in the role of the voluntary sector have given rise to a number of new challenges for voluntary organizations in this respect.

First, there seems to be an increasing tendency for paid staff to move frequently *between* voluntary organizations in order to further their careers and broaden their work experience. There is also an increasing tendency for staff to move across sectoral boundaries, so that ideas from the worlds of business and government are brought into voluntary sector work practice. Conversely, there is also the continuing threat to voluntary organizations that staff they have trained and developed will move to jobs in other sectors that can offer better conditions of employment, a problem exacerbated by the rising trends in project funding referred to above. The temporary and short-term contracts that are an inevitable feature of project funding mean that the continuity of employment of many voluntary sector staff is always under question.

Second, there seems to be a decrease in staff commitment to working in the voluntary sector for its own sake. Increasingly, it seems, paid staff are primarily concerned to find a job that they enjoy and that meets their career needs, and there seems to be less concern about working for a 'cause'. This trend reflects both the rise of individualism and the reduction in the independence and distinctiveness of voluntary sector organizations, both of which have been noted above.

Third, and more positively, new technologies have opened up opportunities for voluntary organizations to pioneer different and flexible ways of working, e.g. home-working, distance working and 'flexi' working.³⁴ This may enable voluntary

³⁴ National Council for Voluntary Organisations, *Flexible Working Solutions* (London: NCVO 2000).

organizations in the future to counter-balance the negative aspects of the first and second trends noted above.

Volunteering and governance

The involvement of volunteers has always been a defining characteristic of voluntary agencies, and volunteers are considered by many organizations to be an essential rather than optional ingredient of their service delivery as well as fundraising and other activities. In many organizations concerned with cultural, sporting, educational or other leisure activities, volunteers may constitute the *only* human resources involved. The governing bodies (boards, committees, councils and so on) of the voluntary sector are also totally dependent on voluntary contributions of time and expertise.

However there are indications from recent research that the supply of volunteers is slowly drying up, especially for governance activities but also for other forms of volunteering within the sector.³⁵ The decline in the propensity to volunteer seems to be linked to a number of factors, including the following:

- changing demography and patterns of work: fewer women are able to volunteer in their middle years; young volunteers appear to want to make only a short-term or short-time commitment;³⁶ older volunteers may be willing to make a longer term commitment but are often unwilling to be tied to regular commitments;³⁷
- increased demands on volunteers, especially trustees, as a result of the 'contract culture' and generally increased expectations on, and regulation of, the voluntary sector;³⁸ and
- increased 'professionalization' of volunteering, for example, use of job descriptions, training requirements, grievance and disciplinary

35 Harris and Rochester (eds), *Voluntary Organisations and Social Policy*.

36 J. Davis Smith, A. Ellis and S. Howlett, *UK-wide Evaluation of the Millennium Volunteers Programme*, Research Report 357 (Nottingham: Department for Education and Skills 2002).

37 C. Rochester, R. Hutchison, M. Harris and L. Keely, *A Review of the Home Office Older Volunteers Initiative*, Home Office Research Study 248 (London: Home Office 2002).

38 M. Harris, 'Instruments of government? Voluntary sector boards in a changing public policy environment', *Policy and Politics*, vol. 26, no. 2, 1998, 177–88.

procedures, appraisals and other measures reminiscent of paid work.³⁹

At the same time, new kinds of volunteering are being encouraged and may give rise to increases in the propensity to volunteer in the future.

- There are government schemes and funding programmes to encourage volunteering, such as Millennium Volunteers, Experience Corps, and Higher Education/Active Community Unit funding to involve students as volunteers.
- Young people and unemployed people are encouraged to see volunteering as a way of gaining experience and skills useful in paid work.
- There are also innovative quasi-volunteering schemes, such as Time Banks (whereby people gain 'credits' for various forms of community activity that can later be exchanged to obtain services that they need themselves).

Organizational structures and management challenges

New organizational arrangements

The various internal and external influences described in this part of the report have contributed to a climate in which voluntary organizations need continually to consider how to adapt to their environments and how to find the most appropriate organizational structure to frame their operations. They are also under pressure to adopt management ideas that have been favoured by the business and public sectors, to be more 'business-like', more 'responsive to customers' and more 'accountable' and 'transparent'. Recent examples of new organizational arrangements in response to these various pressures include:

- mergers between voluntary organizations;
- collaborations of various kinds between voluntary organizations;
- new organizational forms that bear characteristics of different sectors (hybrids), for example, voluntary organizations with trustees appointed by government bodies; and

39 L. Russell and D. Scott, *Very Active Citizens? The Impact of Contracts on Volunteers* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press 1997).

- new networks and partnerships across sectoral boundaries, such as Local Strategic Partnerships.

The pressure on voluntary organizations to be agile and adaptable is unlikely to diminish over the next few years. Managerialism remains a dominant force in both the voluntary and public sectors.⁴⁰

Management implications

The changes in the policy and regulatory environment described in this section of the report have wide-ranging organizational implications for trustees and managers of the voluntary sector.

One major implication is the need to develop new or different skills and to take on new kinds of work. The new 'governance', for example, demands from voluntary organizations a range of skills in terms of networking, environment scanning and participation in partnerships and consortia. The demands for responsiveness and agility raise issues about how to involve users. The various external demands from funders and policymakers raise issues about how to manage multiple internal and external stakeholders and multiple accountabilities.

Increasingly there are demands on the voluntary sector to speak to governmental agencies and partnerships with a single voice and this, in turn, raises expectations on the sector's intermediary bodies to consult with their constituencies and reflect their various views while at the same time providing realistic suggestions and advice to policy forums. It may be necessary in the future for the sector to sponsor more, perhaps specialist, intermediary groups that can help to provide training and information and also act as a spokesperson and thus save the time and resources of individual voluntary agencies.

Another implication of all the policy and environmental pressures, which is linked particularly to the definitional and boundary discussions above,

is the need for voluntary sector leaders and managers to develop their strategic capacities. This includes not only the ability to envision future scenarios but also to develop the distinctive features, and hence the credibility and legitimacy, of their agencies and their infrastructure organizations.

Recent reports suggest that central government is aware of the need to develop the organizational capacity of the voluntary sector so as to enable it to handle the new and rising expectations it faces.⁴¹ However, the extent to which this awareness will be followed by resources to support sector capacity-building is not clear. In any case, the major challenge for the sector will be to develop its management and organizational capacities in ways appropriate to its distinctive features and challenges. At the same time it will need to avoid being incorporated into the educational and training norms of the business and governmental sectors, unless these are clearly appropriate for the voluntary sector as well.

Summary

This chapter highlights the way in which the UK voluntary sector has taken on an increasingly central role as a provider of public services, and will be expected to do so in the future. Faith-based organizations have achieved greater prominence, and expectations concerning voluntary agencies have grown appreciably. There are also increased demands on the voluntary sector to demonstrate accountability, quality and impact of services.

Voluntary organizations are having to adapt rapidly to a changing funding environment that requires them both to collaborate and to compete with each other. New organizational relationships, and structures and partnerships across sectoral boundaries are increasingly significant features of the voluntary sector landscape. All of these general voluntary sector trends have a major bearing on the future of the JVS.

⁴⁰ J. Clarke and J. Newman, *The Managerial State* (London: Sage Publications 1997); Harris, 'Voluntary organisations in a changing social policy environment'.

⁴¹ Strategy Unit, *Private Action, Public Benefit*; Her Majesty's Treasury, *The Role of the Voluntary and Community Sector*.



3 Opportunities and challenges for British Jewry and the UK Jewish voluntary sector

Chapters 1 and 2 discussed key social trends in the United Kingdom as well as trends in the British voluntary sector specifically. Taken together, these provide the essential backdrop for the task of planning for the future of British Jewry and the JVS.

This chapter reflects further on the implications for the JVS of the various factors and trends outlined above. It does so on the basis of a careful analysis of the ten research reports constituting the Long-term Planning project. It notes the opportunities and challenges that, in the light of these studies and the contextual analysis in the preceding chapters, require most attention by Jewish communal planners and policymakers.

Opportunities and challenges are addressed separately (even though there is overlap) as this brings out most clearly those issues requiring attention in any long-term planning for the Jewish community. Much of the analysis concerns matters that will be of special importance in planning provision of services. However, factors that need to be taken into account in generally sustaining Jewish communal life in the United Kingdom are also considered.

Future opportunities for the UK Jewish voluntary sector

The funding environment

Consideration of the funding environment for Jewish communal services needs to take into account both the current funding situation of Jewish voluntary organizations (see Part 3) and the funding climate in the wider voluntary sector. In both respects, the JVS appears to be relatively well placed and seems to enjoy a range of opportunities for further development.

Peter Halfpenny and Margaret Reid calculated the income (from all sources) of the JVS to be just over £500 million in 1997, against expenditure of nearly £400 million.⁴² They estimated that income,

expenditure and funds of the JVS were each about 3 per cent of the income, expenditure and funds of the whole UK voluntary sector, about six times more than might be expected given the size of the UK Jewish community compared with the population as a whole.

The number and range of funding bodies is also impressive, with organizations that include finance or resourcing functions (such as grant-making or fundraising) making up 48 per cent of the JVS.⁴³ Information obtained from the Charity Commission identified 596 organizations as grant-makers to Jewish causes.⁴⁴

Around half the JVS's income from known sources comes from individuals (donors and purchasers of services). Jewish people are very likely to make charitable donations, both to UK Jewish and general organizations and to Israeli 'causes', but are most likely to give to Jewish charities in Britain.⁴⁵ (It should be noted, however, that, while most people give *some* money, the bulk of donations comes from a small number of wealthy individuals.)

Given this background of comparatively high individual generosity and a large number of Jewish funding bodies, the relatively low dependence of Jewish charities on statutory sources of funds (compared with the wider voluntary sector) means that they will have more scope than those heavily dependent on government sources to set their own agendas and priorities (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of the implications for the voluntary sector of high dependence on governmental funding sources).

While the JVS is relatively well placed to maintain its independence, governmental funding programmes are likely to continue to offer interesting opportunities for Jewish organizations wishing to take on an increased role in provision of

42 P. Halfpenny and M. Reid, *The Financial Resources of the UK Jewish Voluntary Sector* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2000).

43 Ibid.

44 E. Schlesinger, *Grant-making Trusts in the Jewish Voluntary Sector* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2000).

45 Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson.

services such as education, long-term care or social welfare generally. Likewise, funding programmes linked to the growth of regionalization and devolution within the United Kingdom may be of interest, given the geographical concentration of much of Britain's Jewish population. Closer links with the European Union may also open up new funding opportunities.

Further opportunities for funding may occur because of the age structure of the Jewish population. Its longevity and high average age relative to the UK population suggests that the community is a 'demographic pioneer' in British terms; it is experiencing problems of an ageing population ahead of the country generally. Thus it has the opportunity to develop innovative responses to the needs of an ageing population, and possibly to receive governmental funding to support such work.

Finally it should be noted that British Jews in general are relatively well off in terms of income and resources, although, as the London and the South-east and Leeds studies show,⁴⁶ this is not always the case among older people, especially older women. There may be scope for further fundraising within the community to increase the size and number of individual donations. There may also be scope for charging for services and amenities that previously have been provided free of charge.

Human resources

The future of the JVS will be dependent not only on securing adequate finance, but also on the ability of individual organizations to recruit the appropriate resources of paid staff, volunteers and trustees (board members).

We discuss below the challenge of recruiting Jewish staff, volunteers and trustees for the JVS, as well as the related challenge of maintaining a 'Jewish ethos' in the activities of Jewish voluntary organizations. Here we note that there also appear to be some important opportunities in relation to the human resources of the JVS.

The LTP study on governance noted the strong commitment among trustees (board members) to the Jewish community as a whole, and to the particular causes with which they were

⁴⁶ Ibid.; Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*.

involved.⁴⁷ Not only did their strong sense of identification with their organization and their sense of Jewish identity motivate them to become involved in the first place, but their sense of contributing to a cause and performing a worthwhile role helped them remain involved, often for many years. They also encouraged their family and friends to become involved. Similarly, the LTP locality studies (in Leeds, Manchester, and London and the South-east) note that a high proportion of the Jewish community is involved in some form of volunteering and/or other associational activity (see Part 3).

This strong desire to associate with other Jews is clearly a major resource available to the community. It is evident that Jews want to stay 'in touch' with each other, and with their religious, ethnic and cultural roots. This is particularly apparent in the growing interest in cultural activities and informal forms of adult education such as Limmud, and in other leisure time activities, such as reading Jewish newspapers and purchasing Jewish books or ritual objects. Identifying as Jewish occurs in several different ways and is not confined to attending religious events and being involved in welfare provision.

Earlier research on volunteering among the general UK population indicates that the main route by which people become volunteers is through friends and family, and that the main reason why people do *not* volunteer is because they are not asked.⁴⁸ Taken together with the LTP findings, this suggests that the JVS has scope to capitalize on the strong sense of Jewish identity. In the London and the South-east study,⁴⁹ for example, almost a quarter of those not currently volunteering, or who felt they did too little voluntary work, expressed a willingness to do more if asked. If invited specifically and with sensitivity, Jewish people may well be willing to get involved in voluntary activity, or more voluntary activity.

Service provision

The LTP constituent reports suggest several specific opportunities in relation to the areas of education

⁴⁷ M. Harris and C. Rochester, *Governance in the Jewish Voluntary Sector* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2001).

⁴⁸ J. Davis Smith, *The 1997 National Survey of Volunteering* (London: Institute for Volunteering Research 1998).

⁴⁹ Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson.

and long-term care of older people. They, and some of the points made in Chapter 1 and 2, highlight some more general opportunities in relation to service provision.

Education

The government's interest in, and support for, the further development of faith-based schools suggests that there could be scope for expanding Jewish educational provision within the voluntary sector and/or the private sector. Against this, the LTP constituent reports suggest that declining population levels combined with a changing market for child education mean that the demand for Jewish schools among Jewish parents (with the exception of the strictly Orthodox sector) may well now have reached a plateau.⁵⁰ Thus there remain opportunities for growth and improvement in the educational field but they are of a qualitative rather than a quantitative nature.

Long-term care for older people

The age structure of the Jewish population (a quarter is over 65) and its relative longevity suggests that the need for various forms of support for the older population will continue to grow. Low birth-rates among all but the strictly Orthodox communities further suggest that fewer younger family members will be able to provide care for their older relatives, possibly prompting further increased demand for organized services. The fact that people are living longer with moderate levels of illness or disability (as shown in the Leeds, and the London and the South-east studies) suggests that there may be a growing demand for domiciliary and other community-based services.

These demographic changes pose obvious challenges discussed later in this section, but they also open up the possibility, as in faith-based education (noted above), of benefitting from a complementarity between the needs of the Jewish community and the trends in government policies with respect to faith-based communities, minority ethnic groups and an ageing population. Thus, for example, the inclusion of Jews in the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 requires local authorities to provide culturally appropriate care.

⁵⁰ O. Valins, B. Kosmin and J. Goldberg, *The Future of Jewish Schooling in the United Kingdom: A Strategic Assessment of a Faith-based Provision of Primary and Secondary School Education* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2001).

This in turn is likely to create further opportunities for Jewish voluntary agencies to contract with statutory bodies to provide such services.

Geographical concentration of population

In all areas of service provision the fact that a large proportion of Jews live close to other Jews presents good opportunities for providing services tailored to their specific needs and wishes. As noted in Part 3, over half the UK Jewish population is in Greater London, with sizeable Jewish populations also in Greater Manchester, Hertfordshire, Essex and West Yorkshire but (as Part 3 also notes) Jewish people are also to be found in every local authority district but one in Great Britain. Geographic concentrations of population enable economies of scale to be achieved in service and information delivery, and resources to be shared between organizations working in similar or related fields. Such co-operation would tie in well with government interest in encouraging collaboration and partnerships. It might also help to alleviate some of the human resource challenges discussed below.

High quality services

The LTP constituent reports highlight the generally high educational levels of UK Jews as well as their propensity to be discerning when choosing services such as education and residential care. This suggests a number of opportunities in relation to provision of Jewish services in the future:

- that members of the Jewish community may be open to the idea of existing services being provided in new ways;
- that voluntary organizations, which have their services accredited according to a quality system such as Investors in People, could secure competitive advantage with potential users over agencies without such accreditation; and
- that those organizations that provide high quality services and demonstrate excellence will benefit both from demand for their services from the Jewish community and an advantage in competitive bids for governmental funding.

Use of ICT

The constituent reports indicate a high level of awareness and use of information and communications technology (ICT) media among the British Jewish population. The London and the

South-east study notes that 84 per cent of those surveyed had access to a computer;⁵¹ in the Leeds study, among a generally older population, 57 per cent had such access, with around 65 per cent using a mobile telephone.⁵² This opens up a range of possibilities in terms of service provision, including:

- provision of services that do not absolutely require face-to-face contact by other means, e.g. telephone mutual support groups, e-mail advice and information services;
- provision of some Jewish education via the Internet for those not attending Jewish day schools;
- provision of services to Jews who are currently excluded from receipt of Jewish services because they do not live in the main centres of Jewish population; and
- ability to respond more appropriately and flexibly to the needs of young people.

The opportunities presented by ICT for reducing isolation of geographically dispersed members of the Jewish community and for increasing and consolidating knowledge among all of its members emerge clearly from the analysis of the LTP constituent reports. Here, again, there appear to be opportunities for the Jewish community to act as pioneers for the wider population, and perhaps to obtain governmental funding for doing so.

Organizational structure and development

Government concerns with addressing the issues and challenges posed by the development of a multifaith, multiracial and multicultural society have been referred to throughout this report. It has been noted that governments are likely to continue to give high priority to supporting organizations working with particular faiths and minority groups. They are also likely to continue to encourage the voluntary sector to take on a more substantial role in the provision of public services and to participate in area-based collaborative initiatives between organizations in different sectors.

⁵¹ Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson.

⁵² Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*.

Taken together, these trends suggest several opportunities in the future for the Jewish voluntary sector in relation to organizational structure and development.

- Organizations providing services specifically to members of the Jewish community may be looked on more favourably by statutory funders than in the past and may have higher success in competitive bidding for governmental funding. (At the time of writing this report there are plans to implement an EU ruling that would prevent the provision of services to one *ethnic* group only; however, the needs of Jews and other groupings that are both religious *and* ethnic in character are likely to be taken into account.)
- Jewish organizations wishing to take on a more substantial role in provision of public services may likewise receive a positive response from statutory authorities.
- The trend towards partnerships and collaborations of various kinds may be encouraged in various ways by funders and this, in turn, may open up more possibilities for resource sharing, joint working and even full merger between Jewish organizations, as well as between Jewish organizations and other organizations working in similar fields.

Challenges facing the Jewish voluntary sector

The general voluntary sector climate and the particular circumstances of the Jewish community and the JVS can be seen in combination as offering a range of exciting opportunities to those Jewish voluntary organizations able to take advantage of them. However, they also present Jewish communal planners with a number of significant challenges that demand careful consideration and debate.

The funding environment

We have already noted that the funding environment of the JVS currently looks relatively healthy, on the surface at least. However, it cannot be assumed that this will remain the case. Many organizations are already experiencing serious problems with declining levels of reserves in the context of a gloomy external economic climate. The sector's current funding profile suggests some further challenges.

First, that the sector receives a large proportion of its funding from individual donors is, in the short term at least, positive as it reflects lower dependence on governmental and corporate funding. However, the constituent LTP reports raise questions as to whether the level of individual donations can be maintained as older donors die. The generations following will not necessarily retain the same level of commitment to exclusively Jewish philanthropic activity. Moreover it seems likely that legacies will decrease in number and amounts as older people are required to spend savings on their own care in later life.

Second, although grant-making trusts make up a substantial proportion of the whole JVS, they do not necessarily direct their funding to areas of greatest need, to 'mainstream' Jewish groupings or even exclusively to UK Jewish organizations. (Ernest Schlesinger's breakdown of grants made in 1997–8 includes £27 million to Israel-related causes; £18 million to strictly Orthodox causes and just under £4 million to welfare organizations.⁵³)

This suggests that there is need for more discussion and a broader communal overview about ways in which funding might best be directed in order to meet the needs of the UK Jewish community. This will require a degree of collaboration between key funders and the recipient Jewish voluntary organizations of a kind that has been inhibited up to now by the legitimate wishes of individual donors and trusts to support causes closest to their hearts, as well as by the factionalism of the organized Jewish community.

There will also be challenges concerning the receipt of governmental funding. As indicated earlier, funding opportunities are likely to increase for those organizations able to respond to the needs of faith and minority ethnic communities, and Jewish voluntary organizations will undoubtedly be able to benefit from these. At the same time, they will face a challenge to retain their independence, the freedom to appoint their own trustees, to decide for themselves which needs are most pressing and to determine how those needs can best be met. As indicated in Chapter 2, there is now clear evidence from the British voluntary sector that government funding and involvement in the provision of public

services can rapidly erode the autonomy of 'partner' voluntary organizations.

Finally, factors beyond the control of the British Jewish community could have a substantial impact on the future funding of Jewish voluntary organizations. Changes in the global, European and national economies will clearly impact on the British JVS. More specific factors emerge from the analysis in Chapters 1 and 2 and in the constituent reports. One is the situation in Israel. Welfare organizations in Israel will always represent funding competition to UK Jewish voluntary organizations, but the extent to which this is a major funding threat to the British Jewish community will vary according to the political situation in the Middle East. The other key factor largely beyond the control of the Jewish community is change in UK government welfare policy and change in ideas about best practice. However, the impact of these latter changes could be mitigated if Jewish voluntary organizations put more dedicated resources into involvement in policy consultation and advocacy work at a national, regional and local level within the United Kingdom.

Human resources

We have noted the opportunities posed by the commitment of many people to the JVS and the high numbers of people involved in volunteering. The importance of identifying as Jewish through attendance at cultural, educational and leisure events, and of associating with other Jews, has also been noted. While these are extremely positive features, the nature of the current volunteer workforce poses several challenges. As already discussed, organizations have found it increasingly difficult to recruit volunteers. Recruiting suitably qualified Jewish staff is also proving problematic in the fields of education and long-term care.

The age-profile of the community suggests that problems may lie ahead in maintaining and developing a sufficiently large group of volunteers able to take on governance, fundraising and service provision roles. The study by Margaret Harris and Colin Rochester notes that recruitment of trustees has been largely self-perpetuating, and that recruiting younger board members has been difficult.⁵⁴ Moreover, the weight of responsibility

⁵³ Schlesinger, *Grant-making Trusts in the Jewish Voluntary Sector*.

⁵⁴ Harris and Rochester, *Governance in the Jewish Voluntary Sector*.

felt by trustees as a result of changes in public policy is noted as a demotivating factor. People generally respond positively to being asked to become involved but unless steps are taken soon to recruit and engage the ongoing support of younger people, there may be difficulties ahead. The 'Jewish dimension' is undoubtedly an attraction for many. The challenge for the future is to capitalize on this and other positive aspects of trusteeship and volunteering to ensure the sustainability of the sector. There may also be a particular challenge for organizations providing welfare services to attract people (and especially younger members of the Jewish community) who may currently devote their available time and energy to Jewish arts, cultural and educational activities.

A rather different challenge presents itself in relation to paid staff. Several of the constituent reports note problems with staff recruitment: schools in London and the South-east have found it difficult to recruit Jewish studies and Hebrew teachers, in particular.⁵⁵ Moreover, competition for suitably experienced head teachers and other senior staff will increase if the number of Jewish schools increases. For strictly Orthodox schools there are even more complex challenges as gender segregation and the desire to cater for different 'sects' dissipates resources and leads to infrastructure problems of finance, staffing and sustainability. In some areas government inspectors have raised concerns about the quality of teaching of secular subjects in strictly Orthodox schools.⁵⁶ As the possibility of establishing additional Jewish schools is debated within the community, the question of recruiting high-quality teaching and support staff requires urgent attention.

Creating the 'Jewish ethos' valued by so many users of Jewish voluntary sector provision is a challenge not only for schools but also for providers of long-term care and other services such as day centres and sheltered housing. Oliver Valins notes that only 4 per cent of staff working in JVS care homes are Jewish.⁵⁷ This, coupled with the general staff recruitment and retention problems of the care sector, poses serious challenges to the continuing provision of high-quality services with a Jewish ethos.

⁵⁵ Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ O. Valins, *Facing the Future: The Provision of Long-term Care Facilities for Older Jewish People in the United Kingdom* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2002).

Service provision

There is a range of challenges in relation to the service-providing role of the JVS. Some of these are specific to particular fields of work; others are more general.

Education

The staffing issues relating to the provision of a system of Jewish education have been discussed earlier. Beyond these lie further challenges for Jewish communal planners. These include:

- meeting the high aspirations of parents, especially in relation to academic standards and quality of teaching;
- making Jewish schools more responsive to the needs and wants of parents;
- securing and retaining the commitment of parents who are prepared to 'shop around' for schools and are not necessarily committed to any particular sector;
- providing a choice of Jewish schools;
- meeting the needs of children who do not live in the main centres of Jewish population; and
- meeting the needs of children with special educational needs, particularly those with moderate learning difficulties, and especially in areas with only a small Jewish population.

In addition to these essentially internal challenges, there will be an ongoing external challenge of demonstrating the effectiveness and legitimacy of *Jewish* schools within the spectrum of faith-based schools and the wider educational sector.

Long-term care for older people

Those responsible for planning the long-term care of older Jewish people are faced with several uncertainties and quandaries, not least the difficulties of ascertaining people's future care preferences and the expectations of future generations for their personal care in later life.

The London and the South-east study paints a picture of an older population that includes many people with mobility problems who are very dependent on others,⁵⁸ although it is not known

⁵⁸ Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson.

how many of these may require additional help from outside the family in the future. Issues of sustainability of long-term care provision loom large if the UK Jewish population declines in size. This problem is complicated further by the difficulties posed by other demographic changes, such as the marriage of identifying Jews to non-Jews, the rise in rates of divorce and single parenthood and in people remaining single.

When these dilemmas are combined with the evidence of growing consumer sophistication and demand for 'choice', the challenges for the future are compounded, especially if attention is also to be paid to Jews living outside the main centres of Jewish population. A radical reconsideration of the way in which long-term care is provided for older Jews may now be needed. The proposed EU directive referred to above, which would require ethnically based organizations to provide services to other ethnic groups as well as their own, raises the possibility that Jewish organizations could be sustained in the future by opening up their services to non-Jews (as is already done in the North American Jewish non-profit sector as well as in some Jewish schools in the United Kingdom). On the other hand, this kind of solution could exacerbate the problems of retaining a Jewish ethos in service-providing organizations with few Jewish staff members.

Population dispersal

While provision of education and long-term care poses particular challenges to planners, issues arising from this also reflect strategic issues affecting service provision *across* the JVS. One of the most significant stems from population dispersal: how best to provide services to Jewish people living outside the major concentrations of Jews. As discussed in Part 3, the 2001 Census data reveal that Jews live throughout the United Kingdom. Just as consumers are increasingly demanding and discriminating, there are problems in some areas of providing Jewish services of any kind, let alone offering a *choice* of providers. However, the identification of Jews in areas formerly regarded as not having Jewish inhabitants requires further attention from policymakers.

The concurrent migration trend of Jews towards existing geographical concentrations of population as well as to areas remote from existing areas of Jewish population raises further questions about the

extent to which family members will be able to provide informal care for each other in times of crisis and when longer-term care is needed. The less informal care is available, the higher will be demands and expectations on the formal Jewish service providers.

Secularization and non-affiliation

Whereas in the UK population as a whole there is a high incidence of 'believing without belonging',⁵⁹ the Jewish community seems to exhibit a different pattern that can loosely be termed 'belonging without believing'. As the Leeds, and London and the South-east surveys show, many who identify as Jewish are not synagogue members. Conversely, many who belong to synagogues do not regard themselves as 'religious' in outlook. What kinds of organizations and services are appropriate for these Jews who identify culturally and/or ethnically with other Jews but who are at best indifferent to religious values and possibly antagonistic to them?⁶⁰

As illustrated by the LTP constituent reports, current service provision is heavily dominated by Jewish *religious* norms. This practice is challenged by the findings about the secular outlook of many affiliated Jews (see Part 3) as well as by findings about changing demographics, such as rising numbers of non-Jewish partners of Jews, rising numbers of children of mixed partnerships, and rising proportions of identifying Jews who are not affiliated to synagogues or any other formal Jewish organizations.

The difficulty of planning to provide for the needs of those Jews who are secular in outlook and/or outside the mainstream religious organizations is compounded by the difficulty of estimating future need, not just for long-term care but for other services too.

Involving users

Providers of Jewish services and those who lead Jewish organizations of all kinds can expect to face a continuing need to respond to the high expectations of a generally well-educated and discerning population used to receiving high-quality services. This suggests a need to consider

59 G. Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell 1994).

60 D. Graham, *Secular or Religious? The Outlook of London's Jews* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2003).

seriously how to involve users and consumers more deeply than at present in policymaking and planning, through consultations, advisory groups and market-research practices.

At the same time, planners will need to decide on the range of viewpoints to be sought prior to making planning decisions. Approaches that see Jewish communal services and activities as essentially a 'market' could mean that those without a powerful voice and/or money could be excluded from shaping Jewish services and, in effect, from the Jewish community. On the other hand, approaches that attempt to take into account the wide range of needs and opinions across the Jewish population could lead to decision paralysis.

Other ways of meeting need

Discussion in preceding sections of the challenges of providing both education and long-term care for older people has focused heavily on institutional responses, which by their nature involve heavy investments in buildings and staff. However, trends in the British welfare scene and some of the findings from the LTP studies suggest that other ways of meeting social and welfare needs for the Jewish community could now be considered more widely. Examples of these are community-based services and 'intermediate level' services such as respite care, sheltered accommodation and supplementary education. As already mentioned, new enterprises and organizations founded by social entrepreneurs are generating novel ways of meeting old needs. In addition, as already indicated, there appears to be potential for using ICT in innovative ways.

The challenge, then, for Jewish community planners is to begin to think innovatively about service provision, to try new ways of meeting old needs. Financial pressures can foster a disinclination to risk-taking in service provision but it can also be a spur to creativity and learning.

Organizational structure and development

The LTP constituent reports and the data reported upon in Part 3 indicate the fragmented nature of the British JVS. Separate, often quite small, organizations are run in the north and south of the United Kingdom, within the same conurbations and within overlapping fields of work. At the same time, the studies also suggest problems of recruitment, uncertainty about future funding from individual donors and difficulties in gauging the

extent and nature of future consumer demands and needs.

Taken together, these findings indicate a further substantial challenge for the JVS: finding ways to achieve greater co-operation, resource pooling, collaboration and information sharing between individual voluntary organizations. Such collaborations do *not* necessarily imply merger. Mergers have become fashionable recently in both the Jewish and general voluntary sectors but they are not necessarily the best, or most appropriate, response to problems of fragmentation or funding.⁶¹

The challenge for the JVS is to consider a range of organizational responses suited to the field of activity, the geographical area and the extent of need and demand within the Jewish community. Such possibilities include collaborations between Jewish and non-Jewish voluntary organizations engaged in similar areas of activity, collaborations between voluntary and for-profit organizations, and voluntary and governmental organizations meeting similar needs, and the establishment of Jewish 'network' or 'infrastructure' organizations to share information, achieve economies in bulk purchasing and/or lobby governmental agencies. Collaborations of this kind would be in line with current governmental policies and funding trends, as has been noted.

Sector-wide issues

Most of the challenges mentioned so far are challenges for particular sub-sectors of the JVS or particular types of organization. But trends described in Chapter 2 suggest that there are also wider challenges that need to be addressed by the JVS as a whole. Perhaps the most significant of these challenges is how to retain independence of decision-making and priority-setting (wholly or partially) in the face of government pressure to take an expanded role in encouraging and directing provision of particular types of services to the public in specific areas, putting pressure on the voluntary sector to take an enlarged role. Such expansion might well come at the expense of an ability to identify new needs, to meet needs in

⁶¹ M. Harris, J. Harris, R. Hutchison and C. Rochester, 'Merger in the British voluntary sector: the example of HIV/AIDS agencies', *Social Policy and Administration*, vol. 36, no. 3, 2002, 291–305.

particular ways, to provide services exclusively for Jewish consumers and/or to provide services according to traditional Jewish practices.

Another challenge for the JVS as a whole emerges from a recent document called *Torah, Worship and Acts of Loving Kindness* that was not itself a product of the LTP project but which has clear implications for future planning in the JVS.⁶² This study of the strictly Orthodox (Haredi) community of Stamford Hill suggests strongly that that community is, in effect, a self-contained community within the larger Jewish community. Its members make virtually no use of mainstream Jewish social services nor are they inclined to join Jewish organizations that include non-Haredim. Conversely, they appear to make no contributions to organizations other than those set up and run by their own community. One possible response might be to ignore such self-contained communities of strictly Orthodox Jews for community planning purposes; since they neither give nor receive services from outside of their own groupings and do not appear to wish to do so. However, this is a deceptively simple response because the Stamford Hill study also indicates that there are already very high levels of poverty and under-employment in the community and high birth-rates mean that problems of poverty and overcrowding are likely to worsen in coming years. The challenge of finding an appropriate relationship between 'self-contained' strictly Orthodox communities and the rest of the Jewish community cannot be avoided by long-term planners.

A third challenge for the JVS in the United Kingdom emerges from the process of conducting the studies for the LTP project. This is the incomplete knowledge base about the Jewish community and its future needs and wishes. This partial knowledge is the consequence of a number of factors:

- the 'hidden' nature of parts of the Jewish community outside the main population centres and the difficulty of making contact with isolated individuals;
- a degree of reticence among some people in divulging personal information; and

62 C. Holman and N. Holman, *Torah, Worship and Acts of Loving Kindness: Baseline Indicators for the Charedi Community in Stamford Hill* (London: The Interlink Foundation 2002).

- a real lack of certainty among many people about their own future needs and wishes.

More fundamentally, the lack of current knowledge is due to a lack of will in the past to invest resources in collecting, monitoring and updating information about the community and analysing it on an ongoing basis. In addition to basic statistical and attitudinal data, there is an ongoing need among policymakers and planners for evidence about 'what works' and what does not work as a means of responding to the needs and wishes of contemporary Jewry. Evaluation and impact studies are now commonplace throughout the public and voluntary sectors. Over time they build into an accumulated knowledge base that provides invaluable data for planners and decision-makers.

Jewish communal issues

Much of what has been said so far in this section of the report is primarily of interest to those planning services. But the LTP studies indicate a range of challenges that are faced by all who are concerned with the sustainability of Jewish communal life in the United Kingdom. A sustainable community requires appropriate organizational and social infrastructure. Two particular issues affecting the community as a whole are worth highlighting at this point.

The first is how to sustain and nurture 'associational' ties among Jews, not only between Jews who are 'like-minded' on religious and other issues but also between Jews who might not otherwise feel that they have common cause. The constituent LTP studies indicate that there is a very promising base on which to build. The individualism affecting British society as a whole is less evident in the studies of the Jewish population. Indeed, the Manchester study highlights a very high level of engagement in Jewish formal and informal recreational activities, a strong desire to associate with other Jews and a feeling of responsibility towards other Jews.⁶³ As noted earlier, the London and the South-east study also refers to a high level of attendance at cultural and educational events and significant interest in purchasing Jewish materials of various kinds.⁶⁴ Many parents

63 E. Schlesinger, *Creating Community and Accumulating Social Capital: Jews Associating with Other Jews in Manchester* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2003).

64 Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson.

expressed a strong desire for their children to be involved with the Jewish community, for example, through clubs or youth groups. In Leeds, too, the picture is of a very closely bonded group with ties stretching back over many years.⁶⁵

Yet there are also numerous and continuing pressures in the environment that threaten to erode these inclinations to associational activity and to identify with the needs of other Jews. There are also internal pressures within the Jewish community that discourage social mixing between Jews of differing religious persuasions and contacts with those who live outside the main areas of Jewish residence.

The challenge, then, is to build on the inclination of Jews to associate with each other and to minimize the impacts of factionalism fostered by some Jewish leaders in the past. The LTP studies show that associational activity is driven by various motivations—religious, cultural, social, ethnic and a concern for continuity—all of which reinforce each other and cement bonds of friendship over many years. This presents a real opportunity for Jewish communal planners to consider how best to continue to create an environment conducive to associational activity, in which the positive features of Jewish society can be built upon to benefit present and future generations.

This dilemma requires concerted efforts from all kinds of Jewish organizations. Service-providing organizations will need to consider ways of involving their consumers and users in decision-making and planning,⁶⁶ and of becoming more closely involved with networks of Jewish organizations. Membership, representative and advocacy organizations will also have to reconsider how to work in new ways that maximize participation and promote the building of social capital.⁶⁷

A further and related problem is how to find ways of engaging the interest of ‘unaffiliated’ Jews, both those outside the main centres of Jewish population

and those at the most secular end of the religious spectrum.⁶⁸ The capacity within the community to take on increased amounts of voluntary commitments and members’ ability to involve friends and family in their existing activities could be built on here. The potential for developing civic engagement in new ways through use of ICT might also be borne in mind, given the high levels of use within the community.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed a number of significant opportunities and challenges for British Jewry and the JVS, each of which raises a further series of choices to be made by planners and policymakers.

It has noted that the funding environment at first sight looks relatively healthy; the sector as a whole is not overly dependent on statutory funding, and benefits from the generosity of individual donors who at present favour UK Jewish causes over Israeli causes and other UK charities. If Jewish voluntary agencies choose to take a larger role in providing public services, the availability of government funding for this work and government support for faith-based organizations will offer opportunities for substantial development. This applies both to education and to a range of social welfare provision. Yet at the same time there are uncertainties as to whether the current level of individual donations will continue and whether government funding priorities might change. Moreover, many organizations are already experiencing major difficulties with declining reserves and the effects of an uncertain external financial climate.

More broadly, there is the question of whether Jewish voluntary organizations will be able to retain their organizational independence in the face of evident desire from governmental agencies to use the voluntary sector as a means of providing more public services.

In the area of human resources, the commitment of trustees and volunteers to the sector, their desire to associate with other Jews and the willingness of some to take on more work is a positive sign. Yet the age-profile of the current group of volunteers, and the need to recruit more and younger people, presents a serious challenge to the sustainability of

⁶⁵ Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*.

⁶⁶ P. Robson, M. Locke and J. Dawson, *Consumerism or Democracy? User Involvement in the Control of Voluntary Organizations* (Bristol: Policy Press 1997).

⁶⁷ Halpern; P. Hirst, ‘Renewing democracy through associations’, *Political Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 4, 2002, 409–21.

⁶⁸ Graham, *Secular or Religious?*

the sector. So far as paid staff are concerned, the difficulty of recruiting Jewish staff for some roles presents a huge challenge to the maintenance of the 'Jewish ethos' valued by many users of Jewish voluntary sector services, especially in the areas of education and long-term care for older people.

The desire to provide user choice is shown to be a difficulty in both of the above fields, especially in geographical areas of low Jewish population. In areas of both high and low population concentration, there are opportunities to provide quality services to a discerning user group, and to consider meeting old needs in new ways through, for example, the enhanced use of ICT.

Many of the above points have implications for organizational structure and development, raising in particular the question of the need to consider partnerships and collaboration with other organizations, both within the JVS and across

sectoral, faith and ethnic boundaries. The need to consider the relationship between self-contained strictly Orthodox communities and the rest of the Jewish community has also been noted.

This chapter has also highlighted a number of uncertainties: over individuals' future care and other welfare preferences, parents' educational choices for their children, donors' choices, the wishes of 'unaffiliated' Jews, and so on. Developing an increased knowledge base about the Jewish community and its likely future actions is therefore a continuing challenge.

Finally, the need to consider not only the service provision, but also the 'associational' role, of the JVS has been highlighted. The major part that the sector plays in sustaining Jewish communal life has been noted. The challenge will be to support and develop this role in the face of demographic change, increased secularization and population dispersal.



Part 3

Essential data for the UK Jewish voluntary sector

Part 3 of this *Final Report* is designed as a handbook of key data on the Jewish community. It brings together important facts and figures on the Jewish voluntary sector (JVS) and the community that it serves, and is designed as a reference tool for organizational and community planners. Given the enormous quantity of data available on British Jewry and on the JVS, this part of the *Final Report* cannot be comprehensive in its coverage, and for more detailed enquiries the original source material (especially the constituent LTP reports) should be consulted. Nevertheless, it provides a strong foundation for making strategic planning decisions on the basis of research-based evidence.

Information is provided in four chapters. The first details the demography of the community, using information from the UK Census and annual statistics on births, deaths and marriages collected by the Board of Deputies of British Jews. The second chapter provides a profile of the needs and characteristics of British Jews using data from the JPR surveys of Leeds, London and the South-east, and from the United Kingdom as a whole. Chapter 3 maps out the current provision of services provided by the JVS, and the final chapter provides data on human resources.



1 The demography of British Jewry

Providing a demographic profile of British Jewry is notoriously difficult. All estimates depend on who is to be defined as Jewish (and who is not), and then adopting a method whereby these individuals can be found and counted. Until the 2001 UK Census, demographers relied principally on communal records and, in particular, registered Jewish deaths. This mortality-based method assumes that anyone who lives as a Jew will want to be buried according to Jewish rites; it works on the principle that, however unaffiliated a Jewish person may be during their lifetime, the 'last thing to go' is their wish to have a Jewish burial. From these figures it is possible to construct an age/gender-profile of the community. While this method is imperfect it currently provides the only way of measuring changes in the size of British Jewry over time.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews has been collecting such data for over 150 years. In 1995, the last year for which these data are available, the British Jewish population was estimated to be

285,000. Thus, roughly 1 in every 200 people in the United Kingdom were thought to be Jewish. Since 1951 the UK population has grown by 17.1 per cent to its current level of 58.8 million. Most of this growth took place in the 1950s and 1960s, and was due to natural changes in birth- and death-rates. During the same period, the British Jewish population is estimated to have decreased by at least 25 per cent. This is due to factors such as low birth-rates, emigration (especially to North America and Israel) and assimilation (see Figure 2).

The Board of Deputies also collects figures on births and marriages, which, along with deaths, have declined steadily in number in recent years. Births fell from over 3,300 in 1990 to around 2,500 in 1999, a decline of 24 per cent. Burials and cremations under Jewish auspices have fallen from an average of 4,900 in 1975–9 to 3,800 in 2000, a decline of 22 per cent. Marriages have also declined in recent years, so that in 2000 there were 907 synagogue marriages, 4 per cent less than the average of 947 for 1995–9. This decline parallels

Figure 2: The changing population of British Jewry, 1850–2000



Source: S. Waterman and B. Kosmin, *British Jewry in the Eighties: A Statistical and Geographical Study* (London: Board of Deputies of British Jews 1986); M. Schmol and F. Cohen, *A Profile of British Jewry: Patterns and Trends at the Turn of a Century* (London: Board of Deputies of British Jews 1998).

the wider situation in the United Kingdom in which the number of marriages has consistently decreased since the 1970s. The exception to this pattern in the Jewish community is found among strictly Orthodox Jews: the average age for first marriages in Union of Orthodox synagogues is 6–7 years younger than in Central Orthodox synagogues. The only vital statistic to show an increase in recent years is *gittin* (religious divorces), of which there were 269 in 2000.

The 2001 Census of England and Wales gives us for the first time an accurate picture of the age/gender structure of the Jewish population, and allows us to make direct comparisons with the national population. Table 1 provides some key comparative indicators.

The Jewish population has a greater proportion of females than the national population (52 per cent against 51.3 per cent, respectively); in every age cohort above the age of 15, there are more Jewish females than males.

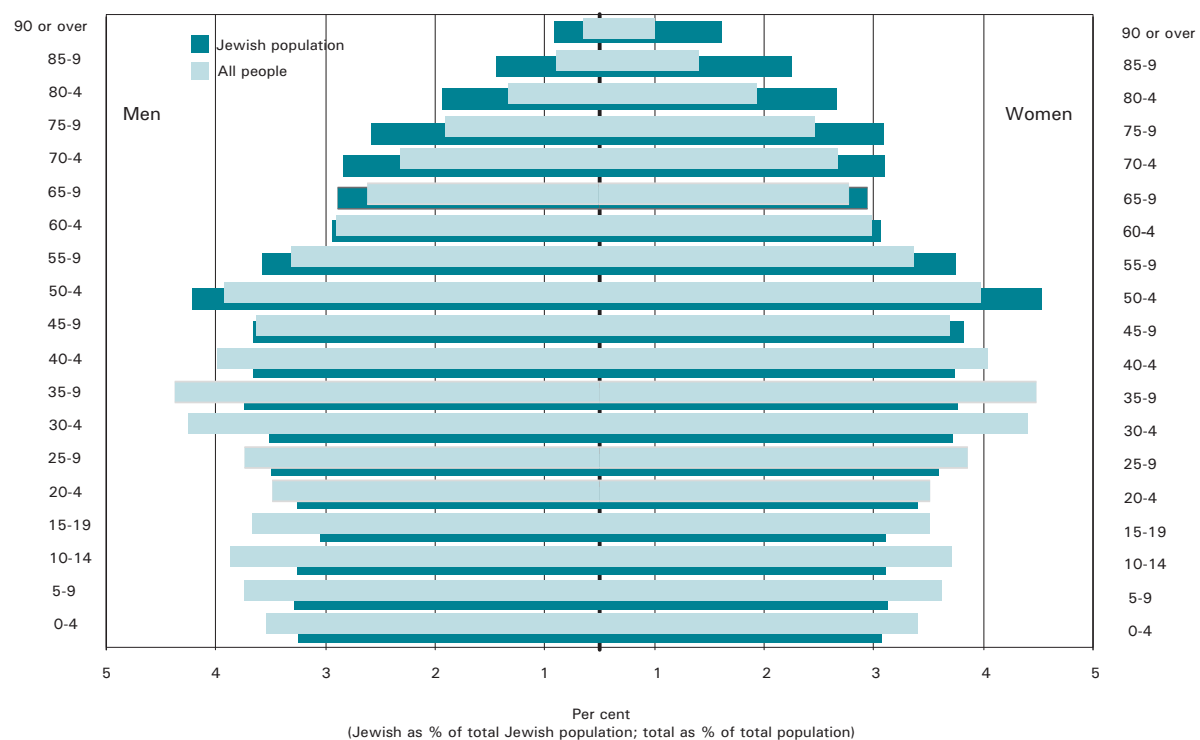
The profile of the Jewish population is a much older one than that of the national population, with a median age of 43 compared with 39 for England

Table 1: Comparative demography (2001 Census)

Age/gender indicators	Total population	Jewish population
Per cent female	51.3	52.0
Median age (years)	39.0	43.0
Per cent aged 65 or over	16.0	22.3
Per cent aged 75 or over	7.6	12.5
Per cent aged under 15	18.9	16.1

and Wales as a whole. The proportion of Jews aged 75 or over is almost twice that in the national population (12.5 per cent against 7.6 per cent, respectively). In the youngest age cohort, those aged 0–14, the Jewish population has proportionately fewer people than does the national population (16.1 per cent against 18.9 per cent, respectively). From the age of 45 upwards, the proportion of Jews per age cohort is greater than that for the national population (see Figure 3). Given that the UK's national age structure is old by international standards, it is clear that the Jewish population is particularly old.

Figure 3: Population pyramid for England and Wales 2001 (Jewish population compared with total population)



In 1989–93 the average (median) age of death was 79 for Jewish men and 82 for Jewish women, compared to 73.6 and 79.6 respectively in England and Wales as a whole.¹ This points to an increasingly aged profile of the community. Again, the big exceptions to this are the strictly Orthodox communities. In 1995 it was estimated that strictly Orthodox Jews accounted for around 10 per cent of the Jewish population; however, with much higher fertility rates—average family size in Stamford Hill has been calculated at 5.9—their share is expected to increase. Indeed, the number of children in strictly Orthodox schools and nurseries has almost doubled over the last ten years, accounting for 43 per cent of the total number of Jews attending Jewish day schools.²

The figures from the Board of Deputies depend on communal records and thus include those people who are deemed to be Jewish by any of the major synagogue bodies. Of course, not all these individuals will be *halakhically* Jewish, that is, individuals whose mothers are Jewish or else who converted under Orthodox auspices. Thus, not all members of the Jewish community will consider all these individuals to be ‘authentic’ Jews. Moreover, this method excludes individuals who are *halakhically* Jewish, yet who choose not join a synagogue or not to participate in Jewish life-cycle events.

UK Census data

A second method of estimating the number of British Jews is to include all individuals who *identify themselves* as being Jewish (for example, by religion and/or ethnicity). This is the basis of the method adopted by the 2001 UK Census, which, for the first time in England and Wales, since 1851, included a question on religion.³ However, this was a *voluntary* question—it asked ‘What is your religion?’—and, as such, the data arising from it are

problematic.⁴ Many Jews see themselves more as an ethnic than a religious group, and may not have given ‘Jewish’ as their answer to the question on religion.⁵ Additionally, some Jews may have chosen not to give an answer either because they believed it was an intrusion by the state into their private beliefs and issues of conscience, or because they feared identifying themselves to government sources (despite some very strict laws in place to protect the confidentiality of respondents).

In 2002 JPR carried out a survey of Jews living in London and the South-east (see the following chapter). Included in this survey was a question relating to how respondents answered the religion question in the Census: 84 per cent of respondents stated that they answered ‘Yes’; 6.4 per cent stated that they chose not to answer the question or else gave a different answer; and the remainder (9.6 per cent) said they did not fill in a Census form or could not remember whether they did or not. In the JPR survey of Jews in Leeds carried out in the summer of 2001 (four months after the Census), 8.5 per cent of the sample stated that they either did not complete this question or else gave a different answer. These figures demonstrate that the Census will *at the very least* undercount the number of Jews by between 6 and 9 per cent: this is similar to the national picture in which 7.5 per cent of individuals declined to answer the Census religion question. However, it is reasonable to assume that many people who did not want to identify themselves as Jewish on the Census would also not want to identify themselves in mail surveys, such as that carried out by JPR. Thus, the ‘true’ Jewish refusal rate could well be higher, especially among older people and migrants from Europe who may be suspicious for historical reasons of any official attempt to count Jews.

The ‘raw’ data from the Census stated that there were 267,000 Jews living throughout the United

1 M. Schmool and F. Cohen, *A Profile of British Jewry: Patterns and Trends at the Turn of a Century* (London: Board of Deputies of British Jews 1998); Valins, *Facing the Future*.
2 R. Hart, M. Schmool and F. Cohen, *Jewish Education at the Crossroads* (London: Board of Deputies of British Jews 2001); Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg; Holman and Holman, *Torah, Worship and Acts of Loving Kindness*.
3 Along with the population Census of 1851 was a separate survey on Accommodation and Attendance at Worship (generally known as the Religious Census). This was concerned with attendance at Christian places of worship and was never repeated. A question on religion was first included in the Irish Census in 1834.

4 In Scotland the 2001 Census had two questions on religion: ‘What religion, religious denomination or body do you belong to?’ and ‘What religion, religious denomination or body were you brought up in?’
5 In contrast to the United Kingdom, the Canadian national Census allows respondents to tick boxes marked ‘Jewish’ in response to questions on both ethnicity *and* religion. Interestingly, in the 1991 Census only 79 per cent stated that both their religion and ethnicity were Jewish; see B. Kosmin, ‘The demographics and economics of the Jewish market in North America’, in M. Brown and B. Lightman (eds), *Creating the Jewish Future* (Walnut Creek, CA, London and New Delhi: AltaMira Press 1999), 216–33.

Kingdom. However, extrapolating from this undercount produces more realistic figures of between 295,000 and 345,000 ethno-religious Jews.⁶ It is important to stress that these figures do *not* indicate changes from the 1995 Board of Deputies data, but rather show how different population figures are produced depending on the particular methodology adopted.

Table 2 provides a breakdown according to the Census of where Jews live in the United Kingdom. The first column lists the 'raw' data from the 2001 Census. The second column provides the *minimally* adjusted population figure. Thus, the figures are increased by 6.4 per cent for Jews living in Greater London, and by 8.5 per cent for the rest of the United Kingdom (using the figures from the Leeds survey as representative of the rest of the country). In addition, the figure for the London borough of Hackney has been increased by 90 per cent. This is because the UK Census figures do not tally with previous demographic surveys, and reflect the very low willingness of strictly Orthodox Jews to identify themselves (as Jews) due to the advice of certain rabbinical leaders.⁷ The third column provides the *maximally* adjusted figure, calculated on the assumption that Jews behave like the rest of the population when asked to define their *religion*, rather than their *ethnic or social* group. In Greater London as a whole, 24.9 per cent stated that they had no religion or chose not to answer the question; in the rest of the England and Wales this figure was 22.0 per cent, and in Scotland it was 33.0 per cent. In addition, Hackney's Jewish population is increased by 100 per cent to reflect higher assumptions about the strictly Orthodox population there.⁸

6 D. Graham, 'So how many Jews are there in the UK? The 2001 Census and the size of the Jewish population', *JPR News*, spring 2003.

7 Holman and Holman, *Torah, Worship and Acts of Loving Kindness*.

8 The different way that the Scotland 2001 Census asked about religion provides an insight into the difference in size between an 'effective' and an 'expanded' Jewish population. In Scotland, 6,448 individuals described their *current* religion as 'Jewish' compared with 7,446 who stated their *upbringing* was 'Jewish'; 5,661 individuals described both their upbringing and current religion as 'Jewish'. Thus, there were 787 'joiners' and 1,785 'leavers', making the total 'ever Jewish' population 8,233. However, 5.5 per cent of Scots refused to answer the current religion question, thus giving an 'adjusted' figure of 8,687 Jews. Sixteen per cent reported that currently and by upbringing they had no religion. If there is the same proportion of Jews by ethnicity (rather than Jews by religion)

The data shown in Table 2 reveal the proportion of British Jews living in the counties and various regions of Great Britain. Greater London dominates the picture with 56 per cent of all Jews in the United Kingdom living within the capital's boundaries. Greater Manchester contains the second largest Jewish population, although the numbers here—and in neighbouring Cheshire—are lower than previous estimates by the Board of Deputies. It seems that Jews in Manchester and the surrounding areas were less willing to identify themselves to the Census than were Jews in many other parts of the country, such as in Leeds. This has a serious impact on strategic planning as it is very difficult to organize educational, welfare and other voluntary sector services unless people are willing to identify themselves and to state their particular needs. The third most popular area for Jews was Hertfordshire with 18,000–21,000 persons, and fourth was Essex with 10,000–11,500 Jews.⁹

One of the most surprising features revealed by the 2001 Census is the geographical spread of Jews (see Figure 4). Jews live in every county and regional area in Great Britain. Indeed, there are many areas where Jews live but where there are no formal community facilities, such as a synagogue. For example, Somerset, Suffolk, Cornwall, Derbyshire and Warwickshire all have around 500 Jews but no (formally recognized) synagogue. The identification of so many Jews in areas that were thought to contain none is an issue that policymakers and voluntary sector organizations will need to take seriously as they plan their future services.

Table 3 shows the distribution of Jews within and around Greater London. The borough of Barnet contains the highest number of Jews (50,000–60,000), with between one-third and one-quarter

then this leads to an 'expanded' ethno-religious Scottish Jewish population of around 10,000 persons. This latter figure might best represent the population most at risk from antisemitism. Finally, if the number of Jews for the whole of the United Kingdom is calculated according to this 'adjusted' method (i.e. that suggesting there are 8,687 Jews in Scotland), it gives a total UK figure of around 345,000 Jews. This is remarkably similar to the figure shown in the third column of Table 1, and reinforces the validity of using this as a robust estimation of the total ethno-religious Jewish population.

9 Data are also available from the UK Census at the local authority level, although there are too many of these to reproduce here.

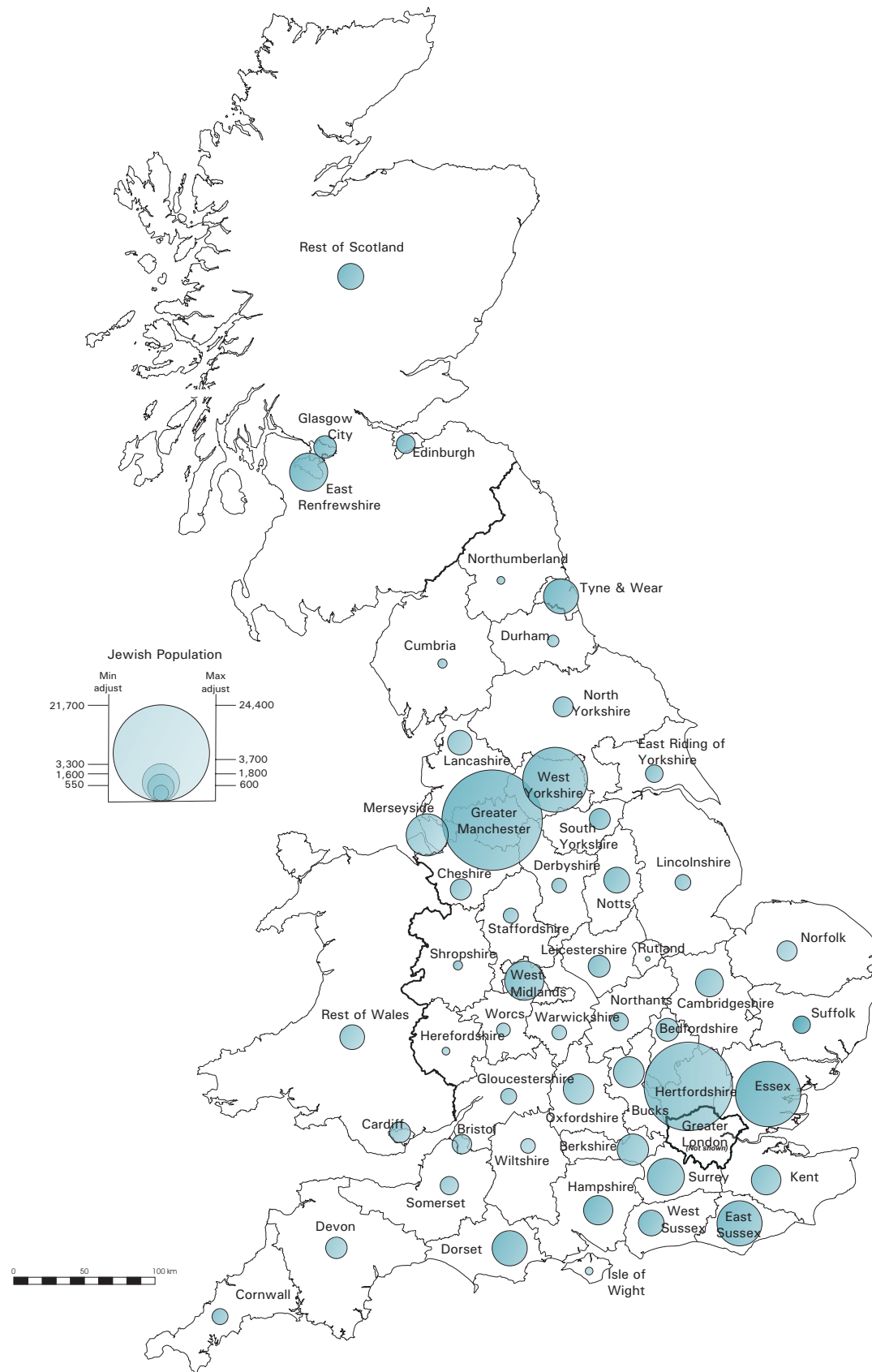
Table 2: UK Jewish population, according to the 2001 Census

County or region	2001 Census total	Min. adjustment	Max. adjustment
England	257,672	286,240	329,408
Greater London	149,789	169,139 *	197,833 *
Greater Manchester	21,733	23,589	26,506
Hertfordshire	16,880	18,322	20,587
Essex	9,179	9,963	11,195
West Yorkshire	9,052	9,825	11,040
East Sussex	4,379	4,753	5,341
Merseyside	3,803	4,128	4,638
West Midlands	3,310	3,593	4,037
Surrey	3,229	3,505	3,938
Dorset	2,665	2,893	3,250
Tyne and Wear	2,636	2,861	3,215
Berkshire	2,124	2,305	2,590
Buckinghamshire	2,037	2,211	2,484
Oxfordshire	1,990	2,160	2,427
Kent	1,884	2,045	2,298
Hampshire	1,844	2,001	2,249
Cambridgeshire	1,659	1,801	2,023
Nottinghamshire	1,435	1,558	1,750
West Sussex	1,423	1,545	1,735
Lancashire	1,297	1,408	1,582
Bedfordshire	1,130	1,227	1,378
Leicestershire	1,031	1,119	1,257
Devon	992	1,077	1,210
Cheshire	958	1,040	1,168
South Yorkshire	933	1,013	1,138
Norfolk	865	939	1,055
North Yorkshire	864	938	1,054
Bristol	823	893	1,004
Somerset	716	777	873

*adjusted for estimated Hackney undercount

County or region	2001 Census total	Min. adjustment	Max. adjustment
England			
Northamptonshire	698	758	851
East Riding of Yorkshire	668	725	815
Suffolk	654	710	798
Cornwall and Scilly	548	595	668
Gloucestershire	543	589	662
Lincolnshire	535	581	652
Staffordshire	490	532	598
Derbyshire	463	503	565
Warwickshire	461	500	562
Wiltshire	460	499	561
Worcestershire	405	440	494
Durham	289	314	352
Cumbria	183	199	223
Shropshire	181	196	221
Herefordshire	130	141	159
Northumberland	130	141	159
Isle of Wight	127	138	155
Rutland	47	51	57
Wales	2,256	2,448	2,752
Cardiff	941	1,021	1,148
Rest of Wales	1,315	1,427	1,604
Scotland	6,448	6,999	8,579
East Renfrewshire	3,126	3,393	4,159
Glasgow City	1,098	1,192	1,461
Edinburgh	763	828	1,015
Rest of Scotland	1,461	1,586	1,944
Northern Ireland	364	395	444
Total	266,740	296,082	341,183

Figure 4: 'Adjusted' Jewish population of Great Britain, excluding Greater London, according to the 2001 Census



Map source: Ordnance Survey
 Boundaries revised to April 2001
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Table 3: Jewish population in Greater London and contiguous local authorities, according to the 2001 Census

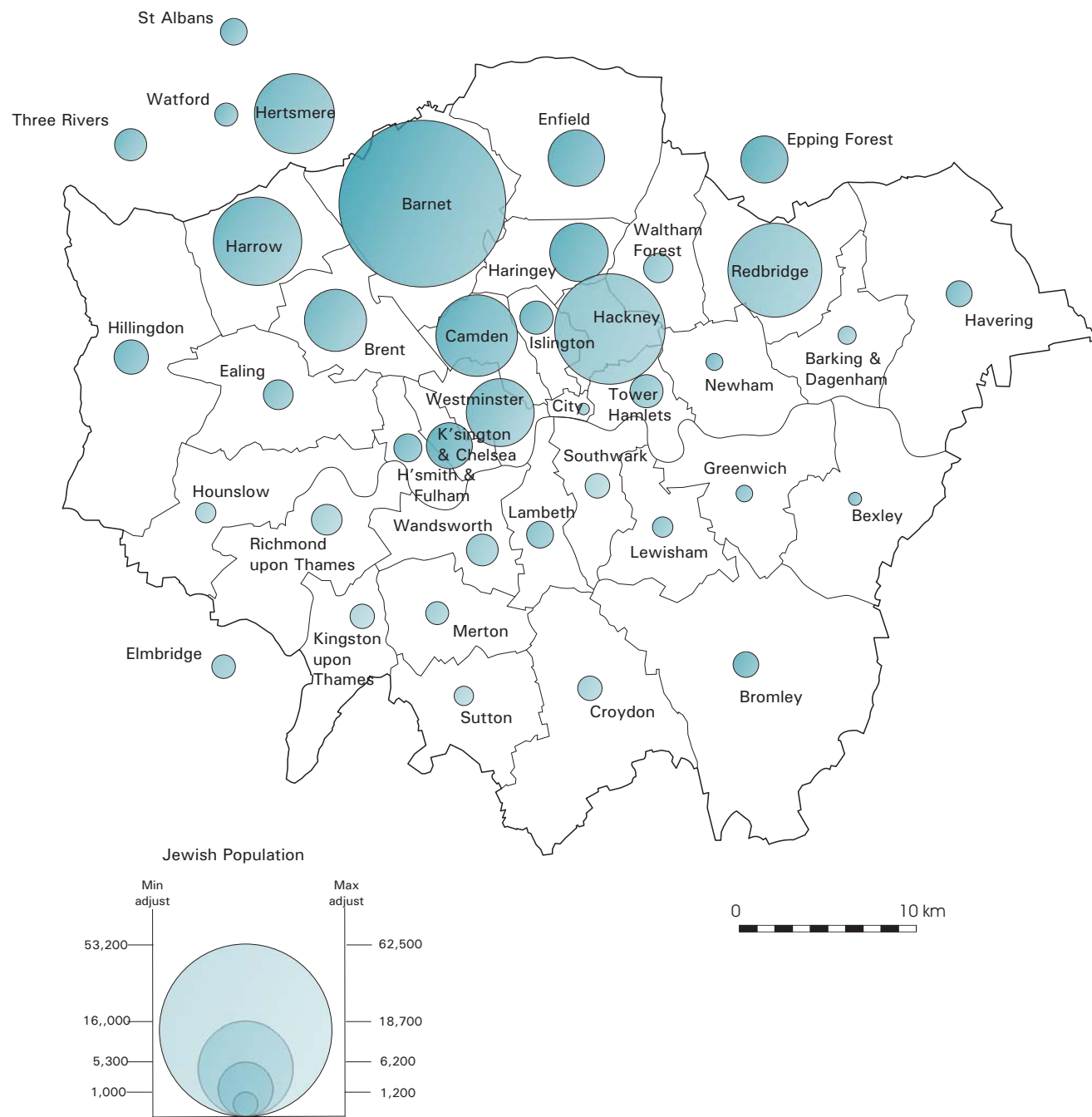
Local authority	2001 Census total	Min. adjustment	Max. adjustment	% of Jews in total population**
London boroughs	149,789	169,137	197,834	—
Barnet	46,686	49,707	58,315	15.8
Redbridge	14,796	15,753	18,482	6.6
Harrow	13,112	13,960	16,378	6.8
Camden	11,153	11,875	13,931	6.0
Hackney	10,732	*21,085	*24,137	10.4
Westminster	7,732	8,232	9,658	4.5
Brent	6,464	6,882	8,074	2.6
Haringey	5,724	6,094	7,150	2.8
Enfield	5,336	5,681	6,665	2.1
Kensington and Chelsea	3,550	3,780	4,434	2.4
Hillingdon	1,977	2,105	2,469	0.9
Islington	1,846	1,965	2,306	1.1
Tower Hamlets	1,831	1,949	2,287	1.0
Wandsworth	1,691	1,800	2,112	0.7
Richmond upon Thames	1,576	1,678	1,969	1.0
Ealing	1,488	1,584	1,859	0.5
Waltham Forest	1,441	1,534	1,800	0.7
Hammersmith and Fulham	1,312	1,397	1,639	0.9
Lambeth	1,211	1,289	1,513	0.5
Havering	1,123	1,196	1,403	0.5
Bromley	1,098	1,169	1,372	0.4
Southwark	1,011	1,076	1,263	0.4
Kingston upon Thames	999	1,064	1,248	0.7
Croydon	999	1,064	1,248	0.3
Merton	882	939	1,102	0.5
Lewisham	699	744	873	0.3
Hounslow	684	728	854	0.3
Sutton	630	671	787	0.4
Barking and Dagenham	547	582	683	0.4
Newham	481	512	601	0.2
Greenwich	464	494	580	0.2
Bexley	288	307	360	0.1
City of London	226	241	282	3.4
Contiguous authorities	19,168	20,409	23,942	—
Hertsmere, Hertfordshire	10,712	11,405	13,380	12.1
Epping Forest, Essex	3,715	3,955	4,640	3.3
Three Rivers, Hertfordshire	1,726	1,838	2,156	2.2
St Albans, Hertfordshire	1,187	1,264	1,483	1.0
Elmbridge, Surrey	936	997	1,169	0.8
Watford, Hertfordshire	892	950	1,114	1.2
Total	168,957	189,546	221,776	—

*Adjusted for Hackney undercount

** Minimum adjustment

54 Planning for Jewish communities

Figure 5: 'Adjusted' Jewish population of London, according to the 2001 Census



Map source: Ordnancy Survey
Boundaries revised to April 2001
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of all the capital's Jews living there. Hackney is probably the borough with the second highest number of Jews, although the very low response rates there mean that there is greater uncertainty about this. However, many Jews live beyond the official boundary of Greater London. Another surprising feature revealed by the Census is the extent to which Jews have moved into local authorities beyond the Greater London boundary, with between 11,000 and 13,500 Jews living in Hertsmere, up to 5,000 in Epping Forest and around 2,000 in Three Rivers.

A picture of the geographical distribution of London's Jews is given in Figure 5. The pattern is similar to that revealed using figures from the Board of Deputies from the 1980s and 1990s.¹⁰ It highlights how Jews predominantly live in the north-west sector of the city, centred on Barnet, but with sizeable populations also in Harrow, Camden, Brent and Westminster. There is also a significant spread to the north-east, especially in Hackney (the heart of London's strictly Orthodox population) and in Redbridge. Significant numbers of Jews live south of the Thames, although they make up less than 8 per cent of London's Jews. Moreover, these Jews are far more geographically dispersed than in the north of the city.

Summary

All Jewish demographic figures—whether from government or Jewish communal sources—must be treated with some caution. They depend on the particular definition one uses as to who is Jewish, as

well as broader methodological issues such as how many people volunteer to identify themselves when asked a question such as 'what is your religion?'. This chapter has provided demographic data from both the Board of Deputies calculations and the 2001 UK Census. These figures are not directly comparable in terms of changes over time, but they confirm that there is presently an 'effective' core population numbering 296,000 Jews, *at the very least*. Indeed, if we assume that Jews behaved like the rest of the population in terms of either stating that they had no religion or else refusing to answer the question, then this population is more likely to be in the order of 345,000.

For community planning purposes the choice of figure will depend on the particular service being supplied, that is, whether services are 'rationing' or 'recruiting'. Organizations that depend on a minimum threshold to make particular services viable (for example, building an expensive care home) would probably want to take a more conservative approach than those considering how many people might be threatened by antisemitism. Either way, the 2001 Census reveals that there is a surprisingly large number of Jews in the United Kingdom, of which a significant proportion live in areas where there is no formal Jewish community infrastructure. With the notable exception of strictly Orthodox communities, Jews are also likely to be considerably older than the national average, which has important implications for the way that voluntary sector services need to position themselves over the coming decades.

¹⁰ See S. Waterman and B. Kosmin, *British Jewry in the Eighties: A Statistical and Geographical Study* (London: Board of Deputies of British Jews 1986).



2 A profile of British Jews

The survey data sources

In any long-term planning—whether for individual organizations or for the JVS as a whole—there is a need to know far more about British Jews than just their basic geography and demography. Knowing how many Jews there are is of limited value without understanding their attachments, practices, socio-economic make-up and opinions, and whether or not services currently on offer match their profile. Consequently, the first part of this chapter examines the Jewish profile of British Jewry. The key data used in the LTP project are drawn from JPR's three large-scale surveys.

- *London and the South-east.* The findings of this survey are based on completed questionnaires—mailed out in the spring of 2002—from 2,965 households. The survey was not designed to be representative of the whole of Jewry in Greater London and surrounding areas, but rather focused on 'middle-of-the-road' Jews, the population most likely to make use of core JVS services.¹¹
- *Leeds.* This survey was carried out in the summer of 2001, with completed responses from 1,496 households. These data provide a good indicator of the characteristics of middle-to large-size regional Jewish communities. As with most regional communities, the age-profile is older than that in London.¹²
- *United Kingdom.* These data come from the 1995 survey of social and political attitudes, with 2,180 completed questionnaires. The survey was designed to be representative of the whole of British Jewry, although by implication it is not sensitive to differences based on geographical location.¹³ While the samples of

11 The survey under-represented both the strictly Orthodox and unaffiliated sections of the community; it did not, for instance, include Jews from Stamford Hill because of a separate survey being conducted at the same time (for that survey, see Holman and Holman, *Torah, Worship and Acts of Loving Kindness*). It also over-represented middle-aged, middle-class Jews and, consequently, has a smaller proportion of the young, the unmarried and the poor. For the full report of this survey and its methodological details, see Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson.

12 See Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*.

13 The data from the survey have been weighted to take account of the age and gender structure of the adult British Jewish

Jews identified in the London and the South-east and Leeds surveys probably correspond to the 295,000 total Jewish population-level shown in Table 1, the 1995 survey sample probably corresponds more closely with the figure of 345,000 Jews. The 1995 survey included a greater proportion of single, unaffiliated and inter-married Jews than either of the two later surveys.

In addition to these three main surveys—and the records kept by the Board of Deputies on birth, death, marriages and education—there are several other data sources for British Jewry. The *Redbridge Community Study* of 1978 was based on face-to-face interviews with more than 500 households living within that borough.¹⁴ The *United Synagogue Membership Survey* (1992) incorporated attitudes towards synagogues of some 800 synagogue members.¹⁵ The *Women in the Jewish Community* survey of 1993 analysed responses from more than 1,300 women, from a range of synagogue backgrounds, including some 220 who were unaffiliated.¹⁶ Finally, two recent surveys of the strictly Orthodox community in Stamford Hill in North London have been carried out. The first attempted to determine the size of the Haredi population in this area and its needs for suitable accommodation locally.¹⁷ The second sought to provide baseline indicators of the Stamford Hill Haredi population with regard to education, employment and training, poverty, crime and

population; see: S. Miller, M. Schmool and A. Lerman, *Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 1996).

14 The database of the *Redbridge Community Study* is lodged at the Economic and Social Research Data archive at the University of Essex. See B. Kosmin, C. Levy and P. Wigodsky, *The Social Demography of Redbridge Jewry* (London: Board of Deputies of British Jews).

15 See S. Miller and M. Schmool, 'Survey of synagogue members', in *A Time for Change: The United Synagogue Review* (London: The Stanley Kalms Foundation 1992), 240–56.

16 The database of the *Women in the Jewish Community* survey is available from the Community Research Unit of the Board of Deputies. See M. Schmool and S. Miller, *Women in the Jewish Community: Survey Report* (London: Women in the Community).

17 C. Holman with N. Holman, *Orthodox Jewish Housing Need in Stamford Hill* (London: Agudas Israel Housing Association 2001).

health.¹⁸ In addition to these main databases and the reports that have been written about them, there are, of course, many other academic and policy studies on British Jewry. A bibliography of key reports appears at the end of this report.

The first part of this chapter concentrates on the *Jewish* characteristics of Jews in Britain, while the second part details *general* features, such as housing, health and charitable giving.

Jewish characteristics

Over recent years a set of questions on the opinions, practices and attachments of Jews in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in the world has been designed and refined. Analysis of these questions provides policymakers and academics with a highly effective way of judging the nature of individuals' and communities' sense of being Jewish. This is important because people's particular 'Jewish' characteristics are key determinants of what type of community services they are likely to want and make use of in the future.

Table 4 provides some indication of the backgrounds of Jews in Britain. These data show that, while Jews are not homogeneous, most have had 'traditional' backgrounds. They are highly likely to take part regularly in Jewish activities such as attending a Passover seder or fasting on Yom

Kippur, but are not overly committed to more exacting religious practices, such as always eating kosher food or never driving on the Sabbath.

When compared with the relative homogeneity of their upbringing, the current practice of Jews in Britain is markedly heterogeneous. Results from the 1995 JPR survey suggest that, across the whole of the United Kingdom, the proportion describing their current practice as 'Traditional' had declined by around one-third; in the 'middle-of-the-road' population in London and the South-east the decline was one-quarter, but in Leeds the fall was only one-tenth (see Table 5). The relative lack of change in Leeds is to a large extent due to the demographic profile of this community. Regional Jewish communities have a higher proportion of older people, who are more likely to follow 'Traditional' practices than those who are younger. According to JPR's 1995 survey, the decline in the proportion who consider themselves 'Traditional' has been accounted for by an increase in those who consider themselves 'secular', and a lesser increase in those who describe their current practice as 'Reform/Progressive'. It is worth noting that none of the surveys demonstrated an overall increase in the number or proportion describing themselves as 'Orthodox'. This partly reflects the decline in Orthodoxy among older Jews who were brought up in households that were more Orthodox than those they have made themselves as adults. The decline in

Table 4: Types of Jewish upbringing reported in the three key surveys (%)

Jewish upbringing	London and the South-east 2002	Leeds 2001	UK 1995
Non-practising (i.e. secular/cultural)	8	3	9
Just Jewish	19	18	20
Reform/Progressive	9	2	9
Traditional (not strictly Orthodox)	55	64	47
Orthodox (e.g. would not turn on a light on the Sabbath)	7	11	13
Not raised in a Jewish family	1	2	2
Total	100*	100	100

*Percentages in most tables have been rounded to the nearest whole number for ease of comprehension. As a result, percentage totals may in some cases add up to '99' or '101'. Nonetheless, all totals are given as '100'.

Source: Unpublished JPR 1995 survey data; Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson, 15; Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*

¹⁸ Holman and Holman, *Torah, Worship and Acts of Loving Kindness*.

Table 5: Types of current Jewish practice reported in the three key surveys (%)

Current practice	London and the South-east 2002	Leeds 2001	UK 1995
Non-practising (i.e. secular/cultural)	11	7	23
Just Jewish	22	23	20
Reform/Progressive	16	5	15
Traditional (not strictly Orthodox)	41	57	32
Orthodox (e.g. would not turn on a light on the Sabbath)	7	6	10
None of these	1	2	*
Total	100	100	100

*Option not provided in the 1995 JPR survey

Source: Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson, 16; Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*; unpublished JPR 1995 survey data

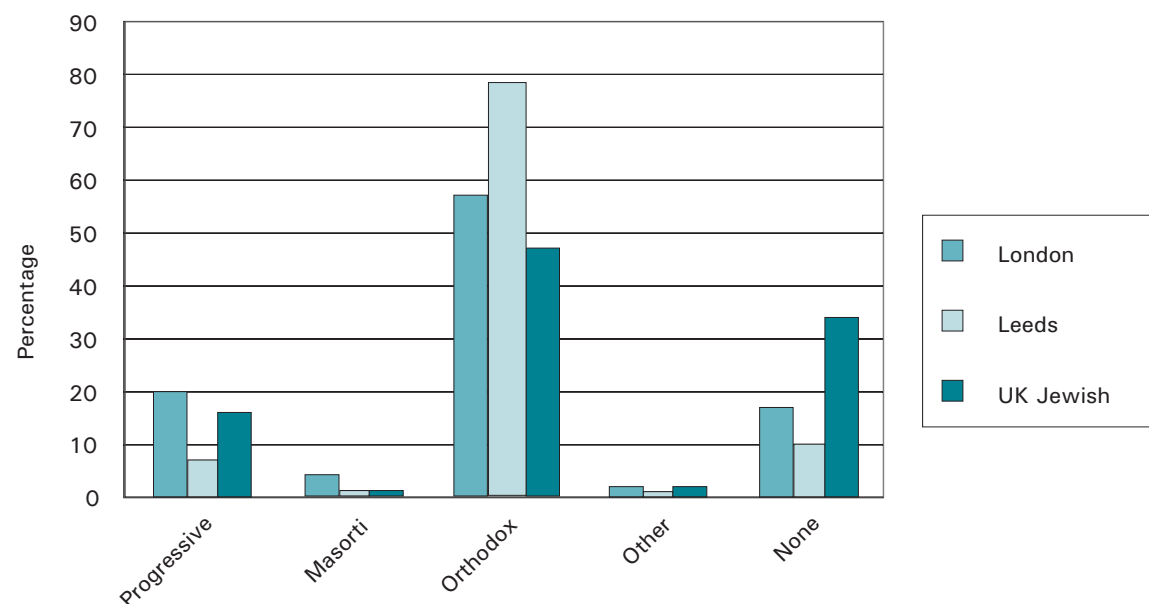
Orthodoxy among older Jews has only been offset in a small way by an increased interest on the part of some younger Jews in being religiously observant. (It should be noted, however, that the London and the South-east survey did not include a sample of the Stamford Hill community, which contains the highest number of strictly Orthodox Jews in the country.)

Self-description of Jewish upbringing and current practice is, of course, only one way to gauge the nature of British Jews. Another important indicator is synagogue membership. Analysis of the data gives

a sense of whether or not Jews are formally affiliated with the religious infrastructure of the community, which has, after all, been a mainstay of Judaism over the last two millennia. Here again the pattern shown in Tables 4 and 5 is repeated. Leeds Jews are the most likely to be synagogue members, and the synagogues are almost all Orthodox. Jews in London are also likely to belong to Orthodox synagogues, although a quarter are members of Liberal, Reform or Masorti institutions (see Figure 6).

Synagogue membership is relatively high among British Jews—although 34 per cent across the

Figure 6: Synagogue membership reported in the three key surveys



Source: Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson, 17; Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*

whole of the United Kingdom are unaffiliated—reflecting in part the relatively aged nature of the community and, closely related to this fact, the desire to belong to burial societies to ensure burial according to Jewish rites. Nevertheless, recent figures from the Board of Deputies highlight the continuing decline in synagogue membership among British Jews. Table 6 shows the synagogue membership according to different regional areas of the United Kingdom, and highlights the notable decline in only a five-year period. Table 7 highlights how the biggest ‘losers’ in this decline have been mainstream Orthodox synagogues, with the biggest ‘gainers’ being Union of Orthodox (strictly Orthodox) synagogues.

Another way of understanding the specifically Jewish characteristics of British Jewry is by asking a question on outlook. This question has proved to be a highly effective way of predicting how

likely Jews are to practise their Judaism, to feel attached to the community and to respond to attitudinal questions about the type of society and communal services they would like to see (see Figure 7).¹⁹

Finally, one of the most controversial but important ‘Jewish’ statistics refers to levels of inter-marriage. This has been the focus of considerable community concern and has provided the backdrop to initiatives ranging from the ‘decade of continuity’ launched in the 1990s by Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks to the rapid increase in the number of Jewish day schools.²⁰ These initiatives were (and are) designed to fight the process of assimilation, and were initially prompted by figures from the United States suggesting that 52 per cent of *individual* Jews who had married *during the previous five years* had wed non-Jewish partners: that is, around two-thirds of

Table 6: Synagogue membership and rate of change in the United Kingdom, by geographical location, 2001

Region	Membership	Total UK membership (%)	Net membership change 1996–2001 (%)
Greater London	57,835	65.9	-5.9
Rest of the South-east	9,440	10.8	-4.4
The South-west	1,498	1.7	+4.2
East Anglia	344	0.4	+3.0
East Midlands	701	0.8	n/a
West Midlands	1,230	1.4	-18.9
Greater Manchester	7,256	8.3	-7.5
Rest of the North-west	2,028	2.3	-9.7
Yorkshire and Humberside	4,007	4.6	-3.6
The North	810	0.9	-27.1
Scotland	1,952	2.2	-16.6
Wales	561	0.6	-14.1
Northern Ireland	128	0.1	n/a
United Kingdom	87,790	100	-6.3

Source: M. Schmool and F. Cohen, *British Synagogue Membership in 2001* (London: Board of Deputies of British Jews 2002)

¹⁹ For a detailed analysis of the use of a question on the outlook of the Jews in London, see Graham, *Secular or Religious?*

²⁰ J. Sacks, *Will We Have Jewish Grandchildren? Jewish Continuity and How to Achieve It* (London: Vallentine Mitchell 1994).

Table 7: Synagogue membership in the United Kingdom and its rate of change, by synagogue type, 2001

Synagogue type	Membership 2001	Percentage of total UK membership, 2001	Membership change 1996–2001 (%)
Mainstream Orthodox*	50,043	57.0	-12.0
Reform	17,745	20.2	+0.7
Liberal	7,941	9.0	-0.4
Union of Orthodox (Haredi)	7,509	8.6	+13.4
Sephardi	3,096	3.5	-2.3
Masorti	1,456	1.7	+3.0
Total	87,790	100	-6.3

*Mainstream Orthodox includes Federation synagogues
 Source: Schmool and Cohen, *British Synagogue Membership in 2001*

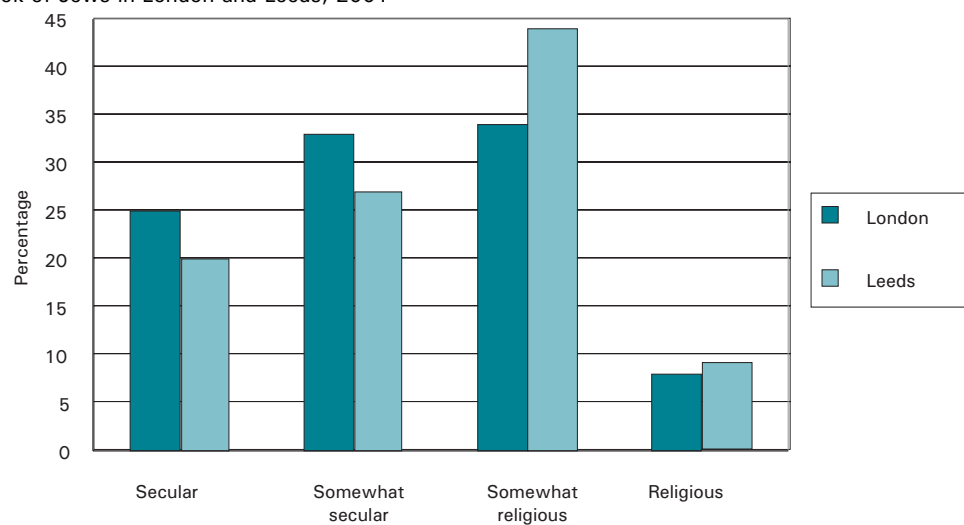
marriages involving a Jewish person were between Jews and non-Jews.²¹

In the United Kingdom, there are no exact comparisons with the US data on mixed-faith marriages. However, the 1995 JPR survey showed that approximately 38 per cent of male respondents who were married or in stable relationships had

non-Jewish partners. The data did not allow easy analysis of women's relationships, although it was estimated that 20–25 per cent had non-Jewish partners.²²

The 1995 JPR survey was designed to reach Jews from across the Jewish spectrum. In contrast, the London and the South-east survey sought to

Figure 7: Outlook of Jews in London and Leeds, 2001



Source: Unpublished JPR 1995 survey data; Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson; Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*

21 B. Kosmin, S. Goldstein, J. Waksberg, N. Lerer, A. Keysar and J. Sheckner, *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey* (New York: Council of Jewish Federations 1991). If there are 100 Jews and 50 of them marry non-Jews and the remaining 50 marry each other then there are a total of 75 marriages: 25 marriages (one-third) are between two Jews and 50 (two-thirds) are between Jews and non-Jews.

22 Miller, Schmool and Lerman. Note that the United Kingdom surveys only show *current* Jewish status and thus provide no data on how many couples consist of individuals who have converted.

Table 8: Proportion of mixed-faith couples in London and the South-east and Leeds, 2001 (%)

Region	18–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65–74	75+	Mean average
London and the South-east	14	11	9	8	6	8	9
Leeds	15	10	9	7	5	5	8

Source: Unpublished JPR 1995 survey data; Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson; Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*

identify those Jews located in the centre or middle-ground of community life. Here, the proportion of individuals currently married or in stable relationships with non-Jews was far lower than that reported in the 1995 survey: less than 1 in 10 couples consisted of Jews and non-Jews. The group most likely to be married (or cohabiting) with non-Jews was that aged 18–34, although even here only 14 per cent of couples were of mixed religion. As in the 1995 survey, men were more likely to be part of mixed-faith couples than women (10 per cent versus 7 per cent). Nevertheless, the very high proportion of Jews living in South London who had non-Jewish spouses distorts these figures: just under three-fifths (59 per cent) of couples here consisted of Jews and non-Jews. In contrast, areas such as Outer North-west London and South Hertfordshire reported only 2–3 per cent being mixed-faith couples. These figures were replicated in Leeds, where the overall proportion of mixed-faith couples was only 8 per cent. Here, once again, younger Jews were most likely to be in mixed relationships. Table 8 highlights how those living in ‘core’ geographical areas of the London and Leeds Jewish communities were very likely to be married to, or be in stable relationships with, other Jews. Conversely, those who had non-Jewish partners were extremely likely to be living in areas of low Jewish density, such as South London. This clearly has ramifications for the Jewish community. It suggests that many people who inter-marry may not feel part of, or may feel excluded from, the mainstream of Jewish life. This aspect of Jewish ‘continuity’ requires further research.

General characteristics

In addition to a wealth of information on the belief, behaviour and belonging of Jews in Britain, the recent JPR surveys have provided a mass of data on the general characteristics of this population. For example, the survey of London and the South-east had sections on housing, health and illness, communication and leisure, participation in Jewish

cultural activities, charitable giving, voluntary work, education and schooling, and the care of older people and the infirm. This section highlights some of the key data in relation to a few of these characteristics.

Education and work

Overall, Jews in Britain are educationally and vocationally successful. For example, in the London and the South-east survey over half the respondents had gained at least a first degree from a university. Despite the skewed age-profile of the population, many older Jews had gained qualifications before the rapid expansion of higher education beginning in the 1960s. The 2001 Census figures showed that, compared with the general population aged 16 or over, among which 20 per cent had at least a first degree from a university, the figure for Jews was 36 per cent. For those aged 25–34, the Jewish percentage was almost exactly twice as high: 56 per cent for Jews compared with 30 per cent for the general population.

Six in 10 of the London and the South-east respondents were currently working and, of these, 67 per cent were professionals, managers or employers in large organizations. Data from the 2001 Census showed the same general pattern: 58 per cent of employed Jews were managers or professionals, and 12 per cent were in more routine occupations. These data compared with 36 and 37 per cent, respectively, for the population at large. However, this picture contrasts sharply with the strictly Orthodox Jews living in Stamford Hill. In the survey by Christine Holman and Naomi Holman, only 4 per cent of respondents said they had a first degree. There, 47 per cent of men stated that they had undertaken paid work in the previous week (although only 73 per cent of respondents completed this section), compared with 23 per cent of women (only 36 per cent completed this section). Of those individuals who did work, men were most likely to work for a private firm, whereas

Table 9: Marital status of Jews and the UK population (%)

Marital status	Jews in London and the South-east, 2002	Jews in Leeds, 2001	Jews in the UK, 1995	General population, 2001 Census*
Married (or living with a partner)	77	64	62	52.6
Divorced/separated	5	5	6	10.9
Single (never married)	7	9	20	27.9
Widowed	11	22	12	8.6
Total	100	100	100	100

*All respondents aged 18 or over

Source: Unpublished JPR 1995 survey data; Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson; Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*; 2001 UK Census

women were most likely to be employed in an Orthodox school.²³

Marital status

With regard to marital status, Jews are likely to be married, with only around 1 in 20 currently divorced or separated (see Table 9). This figure is half that of the population aged 18 or over in England and Wales, where just under 11 per cent are divorced or separated. Jews in Britain are thus highly likely to be in long-term stable relationships.²⁴ Note that the differences in the figures reported by the three Jewish surveys reflect the relatively aged nature of the Leeds community (hence the higher proportion of widows), and the fact that the 1995 survey reached a greater proportion of singles than did the London and the South-east survey.

Housing

The relatively stable lives of British Jews is revealed in several other ways. In the London and the South-east survey, people were asked a variety of questions about their current housing. Almost two-thirds (64 per cent) of respondents owned their own home outright, with most others (30 per cent) owning with the help of a mortgage or loan. However, data from the 2001 Census for London indicate lower proportions of Jewish home owners (40 per cent outright and 35 per cent with a mortgage or loan), reflecting the age bias in the survey sample. According to the Census, the overall

ownership statistics for Jews were almost 20 percentage points higher than the general population. In particular, those in older age-groups were especially likely to own their home outright: 93 per cent of the 65–74 age-group and 88 per cent of those 75 or over. In contrast, 54 per cent of strictly Orthodox Jewish households in Stamford Hill rent their homes.²⁵ Some 23 per cent of Jewish Census households rented their accommodation, just under 10 per cent in rented social housing.

Jewish households in the capital also exhibit stability in their choice of homes and their plans to move: only 4 per cent had lived at their current address for less than a year, although for those aged 18–34, this figure rose to 19 per cent. When asked about their future plans, only 1 in 20 expected to move within a year, although a fifth more thought they might move within 2–5 years. Nevertheless, a large proportion of respondents stated that they did not know what the future held, a view especially prevalent among older people. For those aged 75 or over, three-quarters stated that they did not know whether they would move in the future, reflecting uncertainties as to their long-term health and their ability to look after themselves.

Drinking and smoking

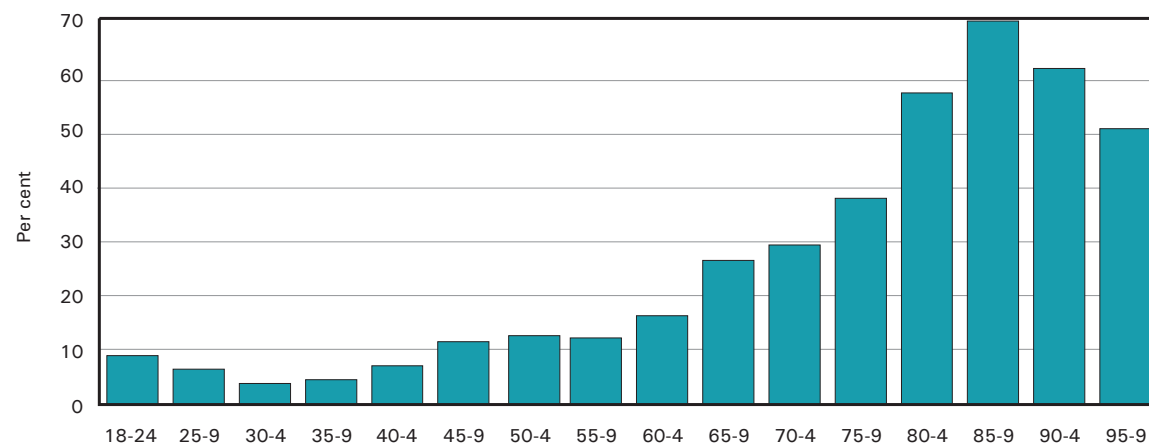
Jews tend not to consume alcohol or smoke cigarettes. Only 15 per cent of Jews in London and the South-east stated that they drank ‘regularly’ (and, for most, this meant less than two glasses of wine a day) and only 1 in 10 smoked (with virtually no one smoking more than forty cigarettes a day).

²³ Holman and Holman, *Torah, Worship and Acts of Loving Kindness*.

²⁴ This ties in to broader questions about ‘social capital’ and the ties that bind communities together, something specifically addressed in the JPR report: Schlesinger, *Creating Community and Accumulating Social Capital*.

²⁵ Holman and Holman, *Torah, Worship and Acts of Loving Kindness*.

Figure 8: Proportion of total population by age with limiting illness or disability in London and the South-east, by age



Source: Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson, 29

Exercise, health and illness

In terms of exercise, just under half of respondents in London and the South-east exercised regularly, while a further 3 in 10 exercised once in a while. In Leeds, 42 per cent exercised regularly and a further 32 per cent exercised once in a while. When asked about any long-term illnesses or disabilities that may have limited their activities in some way, 20 per cent of those in London and the South-east (including Jews living in Stamford Hill) stated that they had such a condition, compared with 30 per cent in Leeds. These figures once again reflect the older age-profile of respondents in Leeds compared to the capital. Issues such as health and mobility are strongly correlated with age, with older people far more likely to require medical or social assistance than younger adults (see Figure 8). In Leeds, 70 per cent of respondents aged 75 or over reported a long-standing illness or disability; in London and the South-east this figure was 50 per cent, while among the general older UK population the comparable figure is 66 per cent.²⁶

The 2001 Census shows that the general health of the older Jewish population is similar to that of the general population. Whereas 52 per cent of the general population aged 65 or over had a limiting long-term illness, the parallel figure for the Jewish population was 51 per cent, with a slightly higher proportion reporting that they enjoyed good health.

²⁶ See Valins, *Facing the Future*.

The London and the South-east, and Leeds surveys also contain a large amount of data on specific health conditions suffered by respondents. As Table 10 shows, a relatively high proportion of respondents reported some health conditions such as high blood pressure, asthma, heart disease or diabetes. This table also demonstrates how older people are more likely to suffer from ill health than younger people. Whether Jews are more likely to suffer from specific health conditions than the general United Kingdom population is difficult to establish given the lack of comparative data. According to the 1998 General Household Survey, 5 per cent of women and 4 per cent of men aged 75 or over reported having asthma, compared with 12 per cent of older Leeds Jews and 7 per cent of older London Jews. In the Health Survey for England, 9 per cent of men and 7 per cent of women aged 75 or over stated that they had diabetes, whereas 9 per cent of older Leeds Jews and 10 per cent of older Jews in London and the South-east reported this condition. The reported diabetes figure for the entire adult UK population was 3 per cent for men and 3 per cent for women, compared with 5 per cent for Jews under 75 in both Leeds, and London and the South-east.

The comparative figures on health and illness suggest important distinctions between the characteristics of Jews and the general population. These differences may be accounted for in several ways; they may perhaps reflect differences in class, age, diet or genetics. It is also important to draw distinctions between the *reporting* of conditions and

Table 10: Percentage of respondents in London and the South-east, and Leeds reporting current health conditions, 2001

Health condition	London and the South-east		Leeds	
	Under 75	75+	Under 75	75+
High blood pressure	16	39	22	46
Asthma	7	7	13	12
Heart disease	5	23	8	20
Diabetes	5	10	5	9
Cancer	2	5	3	4
(Clinical) depression*	2	3	8	6
Drug dependence	<1	2	<1	1.5
Auto-immune disease (e.g. MS, Lupus)	<1	<1	1.3	1
Crohn's disease	<1	<1	1.8	1.3
Tay-Sachs carrier	<1	0	n/a	n/a
Eating disorder	<1	<1	1	<1
Parkinson's disease	<1	2	<1	1.8
Alzheimer's disease/dementia	<1	1	<1	1.3
HIV/AIDS	<1	0	<1	0

*The London and the South-east survey asked about 'clinical depression'; the Leeds survey only asked whether respondents suffered from 'depression'. Source: unpublished JPR 1995 survey data; Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson; Waterman, *The Jews of Leeds*

actual *prevalence* rates. For example, there is known to be an under-reporting of diabetes with perhaps as many as one million people in the United Kingdom unaware that they have the condition. The higher rates of diabetes and asthma reported by the Leeds Jewish community may reflect a higher incidence of these (and other) conditions, or simply a greater awareness. What this indicates is that there is clearly a need for research to investigate these issues.

Technology and culture

While many Jews suffer from specific health conditions or have long-term disabilities—unsurprising given the preponderance of older people—it is also important to recognize how remarkably technologically sophisticated and culturally active British Jews are. Eighty-four per cent of Jews in London and the South-east had access to a computer, although in Leeds this figure was lower at 57 per cent. Two-thirds of Jews in Leeds and London also owned a mobile phone.

Outside of the strictly Orthodox sector, 95 per cent of Jews in London and the South-east reported engaging in leisure activities (such as visiting a

museum, going to the cinema or attending a sports event) in the previous year. Jews were also highly likely to participate in Jewish cultural activities, with around 3 in 5 having attended at least one such event in the previous year, and 1 in 3 attending multiple events (see Figure 9).

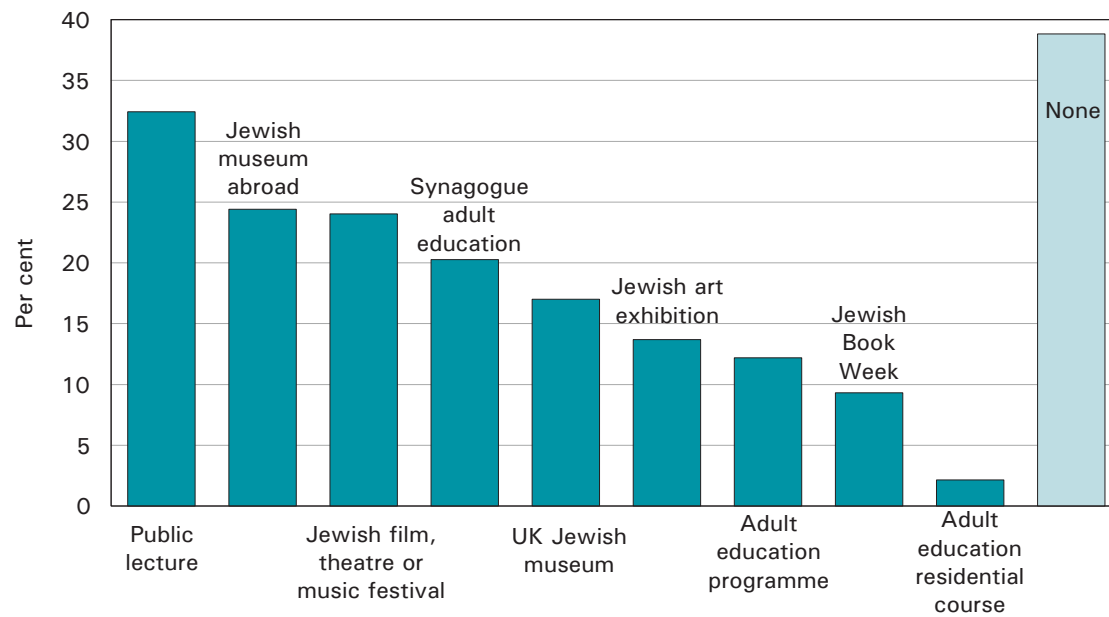
In contrast, 56 per cent of respondents in Stamford Hill stated that they could not afford two or more 'essential' items (such as having a damp-free house, having home contents insurance or having a holiday away from home once a year).

Charitable giving

One final area to consider—which relates both to 'Jewish' and 'general' characteristics—is charitable giving. Giving to charities is one of the central tenets of Judaism and is the lifeblood of the Jewish voluntary sector. Patterns of charitable giving were specifically examined in a report published by JPR in 1998.²⁷ This report found that the mean annual

27 J. Goldberg and B. Kosmin, *Patterns of Charitable Giving among British Jews* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 1998).

Figure 9: Jewish cultural and leisure activities in the previous twelve months in London and the South-east



Source: Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson, 36

amount donated to charity was £565, with a median (the value of the mid-point when donations are arranged in numerical order) of £100. This indicates that, whereas most people in that survey gave some money, it was in small amounts: 80 per cent of the total amount was given by just 9 per cent of the respondents. Sixteen per cent of the 1995 sample had not made a donation to any charity. Whereas a plurality (44 per cent) supported both Jewish and general charities, 15 per cent supported only Jewish causes and 25 per cent only general charities. Jewish charities were the first preference of 42 per cent of the donors in 1995, general British charities of 31 per cent, and overseas aid for the poor and Israel of 15 per cent. On average, donors who gave only to Jewish charities gave more than the rest of the sample, the mean donation being three times as high. Married people gave more than singles and divorcees; middle-aged people gave more than people in their 20s and 30s. Religious people also gave more than the secular, with a strongly significant relationship between outlook and perceived responsibility to support charities.²⁸

In the main, the 1995 results were confirmed by the two most recent JPR surveys. For example, in London and the South-east, donating to Jewish

charities was the most popular option (46 per cent), although a further 11 per cent gave equal weight to both UK Jewish and Israeli causes. Twenty per cent believed that general UK charities should have the highest priority and 14 per cent thought Israeli causes were the most important. Nevertheless, as with the 1995 survey, charitable giving by Jews was not uniform, with different groups having different priorities. Older Jews were more likely to favour Israeli causes than the average; secular Jews preferred general UK charities, as did Jews from South London (who were the most likely to describe themselves as non-practising, i.e. secular or cultural Jews), while religious Jews prioritized Jewish charities in the United Kingdom (see Table 11). Note that Leeds Jews were more likely to favour UK Jewish charities than were Jews in London and the South-east. In Leeds, 61 per cent stated that these charities should have the highest priority. This result is surprising given the generally older age profile of Leeds compared to London, and probably reflects the closer overall community ties in that city, and the strength of support for well-known charities, such as the Leeds Jewish Welfare Board.

Wills and legacies

Finally, it is worth noting the propensity of individual Jews to leave gifts or legacies to charities in their wills. This has traditionally been a major source of income for charities, although one that,

²⁸ Graham, *Secular or Religious?*.

Table 11: Highest priority for charitable giving, among the Jews in London and the South-east, 2001 (%)

Charities	Aged 75+	Secular	Religious	South London	Mean average
Jewish charities in the UK	36	27	65	19	46
General UK charities	17	34	3	40	20
Israeli causes	18	12	13	8	14
Equal ranking for Jewish UK and Israeli causes*	19	6	17	3	11
Aid for the poor outside the UK	1	8	0	16	4
Equal ranking for general UK charities and aid for the poor outside the UK*	1	1	0	1	1
None of these	7	13	1	12	6
Base	377	630	231	192	2,641

* Respondents were asked to tick one box only; however, some ticked two boxes, indicating that they rated two causes equally highly
 Source: Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson, 40

by its very nature, is hard to predict. In London and the South-east the majority of respondents (78 per cent) had made a will. Of these, around 1 in 4 (24 per cent) said that they had included gifts or legacies to charities in their will. This figure increased with age (from 19 per cent of those under 44 to 32 per cent of those over 75) and income (from 11 per cent of those with an annual personal income of less than £5,000 to 35 per cent of those with an income over £200,000).

Summary

This chapter has ‘cherry-picked’ some of the key data on British Jewry from three recent JPR surveys and various other sources to give an indication of the characteristics of this population. The results reveal both convergence and divergence. Overall, middle-ground United Synagogue-style Judaism has declined in recent decades, while there has been

a complementary increase in those who consider themselves non-practising (i.e. secular or cultural Jews) and Reform/Progressive. Nevertheless, the centre ground holds the largest component of British Jewry, with such Jews typically (although not uniformly) middle class, middle-aged, well educated and with a strong sense of ethnic Judaism rather than a commitment to following more exacting religious practices (such as only eating kosher food or not driving on the Sabbath). Jews are an ageing population and the proportion of older Jews compared to younger Jews is likely to increase in the face of increased longevity and declining birth-rates. The most prominent exceptions to this pattern are the strictly Orthodox (or Haredi) Jews. This group has a very young age-profile, extremely high birth-rates and, in Stamford Hill, low employment rates, low levels of general qualifications and high rates of poverty.



3 Services provided to the Jewish community

While the previous chapter sketched out a profile of the characteristics of British Jews, the next stage is to consider what types of services are currently provided for these individuals and communities and, indeed, how well they are matched. At the outset of the Long-term Planning project, JPR established a database of the organized Jewish community.²⁹ This was drawn from the Jewish Community Information database held by the Board of Deputies, records from the Charity Commission and various directories of social services. From this, it emerged that, in 1997, the JVS in the United Kingdom consisted of just under 2,000 financially independent organizations (or 3,700 if subsidiaries—such as branch offices—were included). Thus, there was approximately one organization for every 150 members of the community. A few of these organizations dated back to the Victorian era (4 per cent had been founded before 1900), but the vast majority (76 per cent) had been established in the previous thirty years. Their regional distribution approximately matched the geographic distribution of the community: 76 per cent were located in London and the South-east with another 13 per cent in

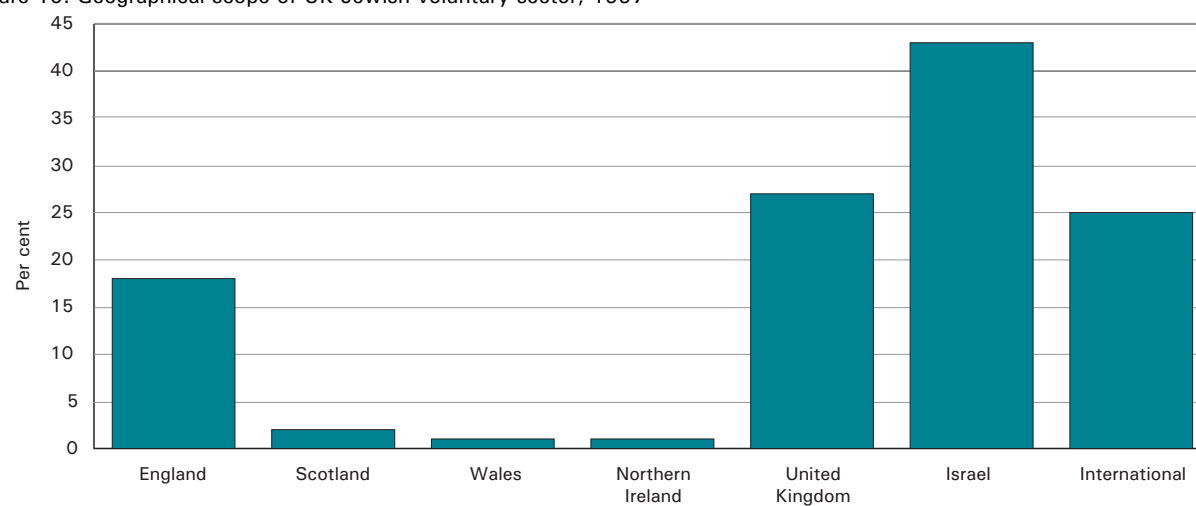
North-west England. In terms of the geographical scope covered by these organizations and their activities, Israel was by far the most frequently cited location (see Figure 10).³⁰

JVS organizations were also assessed as to their 'field of operation'. In terms of the sheer number of organizations, the largest areas were 'education' and 'religion'. When analysed by income this order changed, with the highest earners being 'education' and 'social care' (see Figure 11).

Income and expenditure

In 1997 it was estimated that the JVS had an overall income of almost £500 million. The bulk of this income was concentrated in a small number of large organizations: the top 4 per cent of organizations generated 70 per cent of the total income. The mean average income in the sector was £250,000, but this was skewed by these few but large organizations. A more useful indicator is the median income, which was just £10,000 per year. Total expenditure in 1997 was just under £400 million. With regard to assets, their value was estimated at £900 million, although this may be a substantial underestimate given the

Figure 10: Geographical scope of UK Jewish voluntary sector, 1997



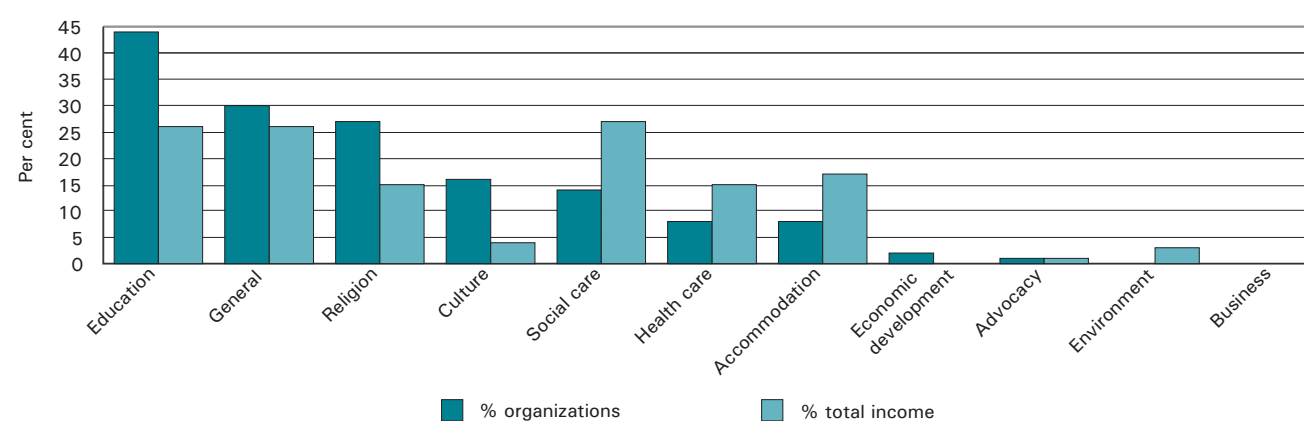
Source: Halfpenny and Reid, 7

²⁹ See Halfpenny and Reid.

³⁰ In the figures that follow percentages do not always add up to 100 because organizations can operate in multiple areas at the same time.

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Figure 11: Field of operation and total income of UK Jewish voluntary sector, 1997



Source: Halfpenny and Reid, 11

difficulties in identifying the market value of property owned by the organizations.

The per capita income and expenditure of the JVS was, in 1997, six to eight times higher than expected, compared with the general population. This is largely due to the all-encompassing nature of the JVS and the very strong tradition of support, especially among a relatively small number of

wealthy donors. When compared with the United Kingdom voluntary sector as a whole, the Jewish system received proportionately more from individual philanthropy and less from government and the public purse. With regard to spending, the two sectors were remarkably similar, although the Jewish sector spent more on staffing (43 per cent), reflecting the service-oriented nature of many Jewish organizations (see Tables 12 and 13).

Table 12: The income of the Jewish and UK voluntary sectors, 1997

Income	Jewish UK voluntary sector (%)	Whole UK voluntary sector (%)
Income streams		
<i>Voluntary income</i>	46	45
<i>Earned income</i>	35	34
<i>Investment income</i>	13	18
<i>Realized gains</i>	5	3
Income sources		
<i>Individuals</i>	51	35
<i>Government</i>	20	28
<i>Charities and voluntary organizations</i>	7	10
<i>Business</i>	3	4
<i>Internally generated</i>	20	22
Total income	\$504 million	£13,075 million

Source: Halfpenny and Reid, 20

Table 13: The expenditure of the Jewish and the UK voluntary sectors, 1997

Current expenditure stream	Jewish UK voluntary sector (%)	Whole UK voluntary sector (%)
Staff cost	43	36
Fundraising and publicity	2	3
Grants and donations	19	25
Other goods and services	33	33
Interest payments	1	--
Depreciation	3	3
Total income	£386 million	£12,462 million

Source: Halfpenny and Reid, 21

Grant-making trusts

When the database of JVS organizations was further analysed, one of the surprising findings was the very high proportion of grant-making trusts (GMTs).³¹ Around 1 in 3 organizations (596) were GMTs, whereas the Charities Aid Foundation calculated that only 1 in 20 national charities defined their remit this way. Collecting information on 'Jewish' GMTs proved to be extremely difficult with many

organizations failing in their legal requirements to file their accounts and detail their grant-making activities properly. Nevertheless, information was available on 239 GMTs. Analysis of their activities showed how, among specifically 'Jewish' projects, the top three recipients of grants were those that were 'Israel-related', 'strictly Orthodox' and then, somewhat behind, 'educational'. Although the analysis only covered one financial year (1997–8), it

Table 14: Grants given by 239 GMTs in 1997–9

Category	Grants made (£000s)	Number of grants	Mean (£000s)	Median (£000s)
Total Jewish sector	69,917			
Israel-related	27,413	138	198.6	21.2
Strictly Orthodox	18,658	117	33.7	13
Education	10,654	113	165.1	32
Welfare	3,953	100	105.4	6.5
Jewish other	3,813	87	43.3	11.4
Culture	2,351	66	35.6	4.9
Law, advocacy and politics	1,593	58	10.7	2.3
International	838	43	19	5
Religious mainstream	644	41	37.9	5
Non-Jewish sector	41,897	109	384.3	39.7
Total	111,814			

Source: Schlesinger, *Grant-making Trusts in the Jewish Sector*, 4

³¹ GMTs provide funds for other charities and individuals to carry out specific projects that fall within the parameters of the GMT's particular concerns. The grants are usually generated from funds set aside in perpetuity. The distribution of grants is usually driven by the wishes of the original trust founders, typically laid down in the organization's 'articles of association': see Schlesinger, *Grant-making Trusts in the Jewish Sector*.

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was particularly noticeable how little 'welfare' received, especially given the demographic profile of the community and the preponderance of older people in the Jewish population (see Table 14).

Education

JPR's report, *The Financial Resources of the UK Jewish Voluntary Sector*,³² stated that Jewish organizations spent £95 million on education in 1997. This figure comprised the spending of all charitable and non-profit-making organizations with an educational purpose, including independent schools. State-

maintained, voluntary-aided schools were beyond the remit of this study, with the exception of the income streams directly related to the Judaic content in the curricula of these schools. If the overall income from these schools had been included then the huge significance of education to the community would have been even more pronounced. As such, it is unsurprising that education has been the most widely researched area of the UK Jewish community. Such research has covered the spectrum of educational services from informal youth activities and Jewish schools

Table 15: Jewish formal and informal education in London and the South-east, by religious outlook (%)

Type of Jewish education received	Secular	Somewhat secular	Somewhat religious	Religious	Mean average
Before age 12–13					
Jewish primary school	10	14	15	25	15
Part-time classes in synagogue, religious school or <i>cheder</i>	66	73	77	76	73
Jewish lessons from parent/relative	8	10	15	30	13
<i>Base</i>	686	903	929	240	2,758
After age 12–13					
Part-time classes in synagogue, religious school or <i>cheder</i>	15	19	30	40	24
Jewish lessons from parent/relative	4	4	9	21	7
Jewish secondary school	8	11	10	20	11
<i>Base</i>	681	895	925	238	2,739
Groups attended age 5–18					
Jewish club or organization	61	76	77	74	72
Zionist youth movement	17	23	29	47	26
<i>Base</i>	702	913	954	236	2,805
Other educational experiences					
Barmitzvah/batmitzvah	51	55	61	67	57
Summer school/summer camp	32	41	45	55	41
Israel 'experience' tour	11	19	19	23	17
Membership of Jewish sports club	14	18	20	15	17
Membership of Jewish student society (e.g. Hillel)	6	9	13	23	11
<i>Base</i>	699	913	950	235	2,797

Source: Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson, Table 9.2

32 Halfpenny and Reid.

to universities. For example, the *Talkback Survey* in 1998 highlighted how the various Jewish youth organizations catered for over 14,000 young people on a regular basis, and employed (on a paid or volunteer basis) more than 2,000 leaders.³³ Overall, as Table 15 shows, the vast majority of Jews have had some experience of Jewish education, although this strongly correlates with individuals' outlook. More than 9 in every 10 Jewish men in the London and South-east survey had celebrated their barmitzvah (while 2 in 10 women had had a batmitzvah), and almost three-quarters had attended part-time classes in a synagogue, religion school or *cheder*.

Jewish schooling

Arguably the most dramatic recent change in British Jewry (and indeed among Jews throughout the world) has been the phenomenal growth of attendance at Jewish day schools. While the overall British Jewish population has declined in recent decades, attendance at Jewish schools has increased by 500 per cent. More than half of all Jewish children now attend Jewish day schools (see Table 16).

Table 16: Growth in attendance at Jewish day schools, 1950–99³⁴

Year	Full-time pupils at Jewish day schools
1950	4,000
1966	10,000
1975	12,800
1991	16,000
1999	22,640

Source: Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg, 3

A corollary of the increasing take-up of full-time Jewish day school education, which combines a general and Judaic curriculum, is the concomitant decline in the take-up of part-time or supplementary

33 S. Miller, *The Talkback Survey of the Jewish Youth Service* (London: Jewish Youth Service Partners Group 1998).

34 Figures based on J. Braude, 'Jewish education in Britain today', in S. Lipman and V. Lipman (eds), *Jewish Life in Britain 1962–1977* (New York: K. G. Saur 1981); Jewish Educational Development Trust, *Securing Our Future (The Worms Report)* (London: Jewish Educational Development Trust 1992); and Hart, Schmool and Cohen.

cheder education, which is solely devoted to the teaching of religious Judaism. In 1975 there was a ratio of just less than 1.5 children in a supplementary *cheder* to each child in a Jewish day school; by 1996–7 the pattern had completely reversed, so that for each child in a supplementary *cheder*, there were 1.7 children in a Jewish day school.³⁵

According to the most recent figures from the Community Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, 22,640 pupils attended UK Jewish day schools (encompassing nursery, primary and secondary schools) in 1999. Table 17 shows the distribution of these pupils.

The rapid growth in the number and proportion of Jewish children attending Jewish day schools has been driven by a variety of factors. These include the demand for increased provision from community religious leaders in reaction to rising assimilation rates, the support of wealthy philanthropists, the expectations of academic excellence in Jewish schools as compared with general state provision and a reaction against the perceived poor standards of synagogue-based Jewish education classes. In academic results pupils at Jewish day schools generally achieve well above the national average. In 2000, for example, 77 per cent of pupils at Jewish schools achieved five or more GCSE or GNVQ grades A*–C, compared with only 49 per cent nationally, although the figure for general private schools (those belonging to the Independent Schools Council) was 94 per cent.³⁶

However, despite the many positive aspects of Jewish day school education, there are also many challenges.

- Government inspectors have raised concerns about the teaching of secular subjects and the suitability of accommodation in some strictly Orthodox independent schools. While some strictly Orthodox schools are achieving excellent academic results—often despite severe funding limitations—others have been identified as failing to deliver adequate services.
- In the rest of the Jewish day school system, it is proving hard to recruit and retain well-qualified

35 Schmool and Cohen, *A Profile of British Jewry*.

36 Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg. GCSEs (General Certificate of Secondary Education) and GNVQs (General National Vocational Qualifications) are public examinations taken at the end of secondary education, usually at age 16.

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Table 17: Attendance at Jewish day schools, 1999

School characteristic	Number of pupils	Number of schools
Type of school		
<i>Nursery</i>	1,660	43
<i>Primary</i>	11,740	46 ³⁷
<i>Secondary</i>	9,090	42 ³⁸
<i>Special educational needs</i>	150	4
Geographical location		
<i>Greater London</i>	16,230	86
<i>Rest of UK</i>	6,410	49
Religious affiliation		
<i>Progressive</i>	520	10
<i>Central Orthodox</i>	12,030	62
<i>Strictly Orthodox</i>	10,090	63
Funding basis		
<i>Voluntary-aided (state)</i>	11,760	34
<i>Independent (private, fee-paying)</i>	10,880	101
Total	22,640	135

Source: Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg, 5

Judaic subject teachers, with Jewish Studies and modern and biblical Hebrew often regarded as the 'weakest links' in terms of academic performance.

- There are challenges in providing adequate services for children with special educational needs (SEN), despite the fact that 1 in 5 children in Jewish primary schools are identified as having SEN, and 1 in 10 at secondary level. In particular, there are problems in catering for children with moderate learning difficulties. Moreover, the provision of adequate services to children with SEN is severely hampered by an almost complete absence of data. There is an urgent need to collect information on the type and numbers of children with specific special needs. Without

this information strategic planning will continue to rely on guesswork.

- The record of Jewish schools on the teaching of multiculturalism is patchy. While some schools are treating multiculturalism seriously and providing models of good practice, others consider it as low on their list of priorities.³⁹
- There are major demographic fears about the sustainability of the current network of Jewish day schools. Outside the strictly Orthodox community (which has much higher birth-rates than the rest of British Jewry), there has been a decline in family size. Indeed, projections by the Board of Deputies of British Jews suggest that by 2015 in Greater London there will be an equal number of (non-strictly Orthodox) Jewish

³⁷ Includes five schools that are both primary and nursery schools.

³⁸ Includes twenty schools that are both primary and secondary schools.

³⁹ G. Short, *Responding to Diversity? An Initial Investigation into Multicultural Education in Jewish Schools in the United Kingdom* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2002).

children and actual places for them in Jewish day schools. In other words, these London Jewish schools will remain full with Jewish pupils only if every single Jewish child (outside the strictly Orthodox community) in the capital chooses to attend one of them.⁴⁰

- Finally, there are challenges in making Jewish schools more responsive to the needs and wants of parents. The growth in Jewish schools in recent years has largely been dictated in a 'top-down' manner according to the vision and ideology of community leaders. To gain a 'bottom-up' view of the education system, JPR published a report that dealt specifically with the attitudes of Jewish parents towards Jewish schooling. This was based on an analysis of 840 households in London and the South-east who had school-age children.⁴¹ Such an analysis is particularly important given the demographic challenges facing Jewish schools. The next few years are likely to witness a shift from a 'seller's' to a 'buyer's' market, with schools having to compete ever harder to attract Jewish children. Being responsive to the needs and wants of parents will thus become increasingly important if schools are to survive and continue to thrive.

Some of the key points to emerge from the London and South-east survey are the following.

- Jewish parents are pragmatic, sophisticated consumers when choosing Jewish schools for their children. They reject the 'one size fits all' approach of some educational planners, choosing different schools depending on their individual children's needs and abilities.
- Eighty-seven per cent of parents want their children to have some formal Jewish education, while 92 per cent think it important that their children mix in Jewish social groups.
- At primary level, parents are currently opting for: first, general (non-Jewish) independent schools; second, Jewish state-sector schools; and, third, general (non-Jewish) state-sector schools.

⁴⁰ Hart, Schmool and Cohen.

⁴¹ O. Valins and B. Kosmin, *The Jewish Day School Marketplace: The Attitudes of Jewish Parents in Greater London and the South-East towards Formal Education* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2003).

Around 1 in 6 send their children to a combination of schools.

- At secondary level, almost half the parents opt to send their children to a combination of schools.
- Parents sending their children to Jewish primary schools report three main reasons for their choices: first, a lack of Jewish education at general schools; second, the perception that Jewish primary schools are a natural follow-on from Jewish nurseries; and, third, the assessment that Jewish day schools provide a protective environment.
- At secondary level, those who are currently choosing Jewish day schools most value, in order: school ethos, having a number of other Jewish children at the same school, and the quality of teaching and academic standards. By contrast, parents not currently opting for Jewish day schools rank their priorities as follows: first, the quality of teaching and academic standards; second, school ethos; and, third, the views of friends.

Jewish education today exists in a highly competitive environment in which ideology often takes a back seat to pragmatism. For many parents, regarding secondary-school education, ideological questions concerning private versus state or Jewish versus non-Jewish are of less importance than finding the particular school that will best meet the needs and aspirations of their children.

Care for older people

After education, it is that part of the JVS that is concerned with the care of older people that attracts the most income. Nonetheless, while Jewish education had been the focus of a great deal of research in recent years, the care of older people had been virtually ignored prior to the LTP project. To rectify this omission, JPR produced and published a specialist book, *Facing the Future*.⁴² This dealt with a range of issues including demography, the current system of care for older Jews, the potential market for services (according to an analysis of data collected in the survey of the Leeds Jewish community) and the strengths and weaknesses of institutional residential and nursing

⁴² Valins, *Facing the Future*.

home care. Currently the JVS provides a range of care services for older people, from domiciliary (home-based) services to institutional care.

Domiciliary services and day centres

Across the United Kingdom there are twenty-one formal Jewish day centres for older people, which cater for approximately 3,000 Jewish people each week. They are open for different periods of time, ranging from only one day a week to six days a week. Some are independent, while others are run by larger community organizations such as Jewish Care (Britain's largest Jewish social service agency), the League of Jewish Women and the Association of Jewish Refugees.

Alongside ordinary day centres, there are also several facilities especially designed to cater for older people suffering from confusion, including dementia (such as Alzheimer's disease). These centres are similar to ordinary day centres, and typically provide transportation, personal care (such as bathing and chiropody), kosher meals, and leisure and cultural activities.

Furthermore, the Jewish community offers a range of services that can be provided in people's own homes. These include kosher meals-on-wheels services, with meals cooked and distributed by a range of different agencies, including day centres, local charities and organizations such as Jewish Care and the League of Jewish Women. Local authorities pay for some of these services, while others are made available voluntarily by Jewish charities. Somewhere in the region of 1,700–3,000 meals are distributed each week by Jewish organizations, although the precise figure is difficult to determine given that many organizations are uncertain as to how many they deliver and that often they are in partnership with other agencies (which would result in double counting).

Cities with a sizeable Jewish population also have dedicated Jewish social service agencies that are able to provide or organize domiciliary services. There are teams of social workers who assess and can arrange for the social care needs of older people (and other members of the community). Social workers may help people with a range of activities from moving home (for example, to sheltered accommodation or a care home) to organizing kosher meals-on-wheels.

Sheltered housing

Twenty-four Jewish organizations are members of the National Network for Jewish Social Housing, the majority of which provide dedicated housing for older people. These organizations have a total stock of around 4,000 flats and houses, just under three-quarters of which are based in the Greater London area. Jews currently occupy around 2,700 of these units. The largest single provider is the Industrial Dwelling Society with over 1,200 units, although Jews occupy only one-fifth of these. Bnai Brith JBG is the largest provider of specifically Jewish social housing, with over 95 per cent of its total stock of more than 650 units occupied by Jews. Other major providers include Jewish Blind and Disabled, the strictly Orthodox Agudas Israel Housing Association and, outside London, the Leeds Jewish Housing Association, Liverpool Jewish Housing Association and Glasgow Jewish Housing Association. Around half of the stock is designated for older people, while the rest is mixed social housing.

Institutional care

Residential and nursing homes account for the lion's share of government and communal social care funding of services for older people. There are 21 separate Jewish organizations providing care for older people in 36 homes (see Table 18). There are more organizations in the regions providing care than there are in London and the South-east, although the capital has, by far, the largest number of facilities. This reflects the dominance of Jewish Care in the South-east. As a single organization, Jewish Care provides almost two-thirds of JVS bed spaces in the capital. In Manchester there are four separate organizations providing care facilities, while Birmingham, Bournemouth, Cardiff, Glasgow (with two homes), Leeds, Liverpool, Newcastle, Nottingham and Southport each have one.

In terms of the overall distribution of registered places, there are currently almost 2,500 bed spaces

Table 18: Provision of residential and nursing care in the UK Jewish voluntary sector, 2001

Area	Number of organizations	Number of homes
London and South-east	8	22
Regions	13	14
Total	21	36

Source: Valins, *Facing the Future*, 81.

available in Jewish residential and nursing voluntary sector care homes (see Table 19). Thus, around 1 in 25 Jews aged 65 or over are in long-term JVS care homes, with many others in private facilities. Approximately two-thirds of the registered bed places in the UK Jewish voluntary sector are classed as residential, with regional communities having more bed spaces per person than in London and the South-east: around 75 per cent of all UK Jews live in London and the South-east, but only 62 per cent of registered places are located there. Much of this imbalance is due to numbers of nursing home places, with the regions having a much higher proportion of nursing beds relative to residential beds than London and the South-east.

Table 19: Residential and nursing homes in the UK Jewish voluntary sector, 2000

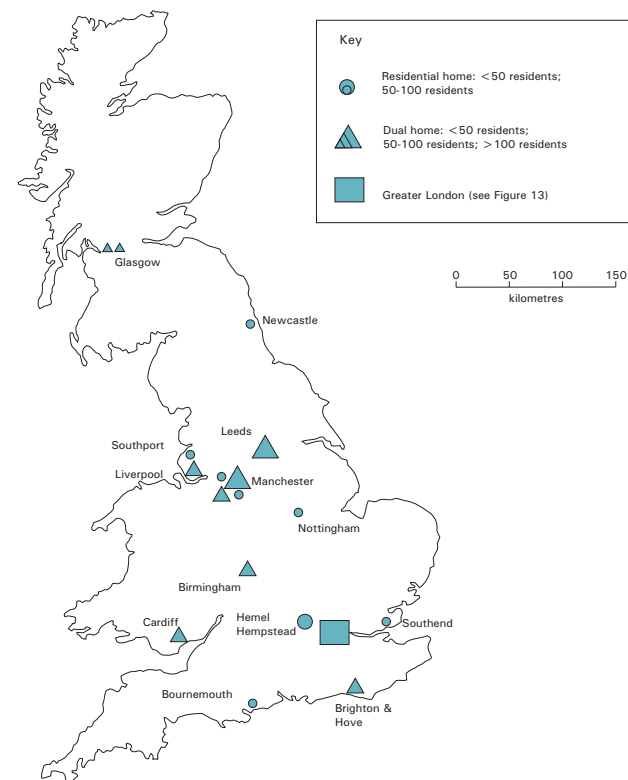
Area	Residential places	Nursing places	Total registered places
London and the South-east	1,050	485	1,535
Regions	540	420	960
Total	1,590	905	2,495

Source: Valins, *Facing the Future*, 82

Figure 12 shows the distribution of care homes in Great Britain according to the size of individual institutions and whether they provide residential, nursing or dual forms of care. The two largest homes in the regions are Heathlands in Manchester, which has places for more than 250 residents, and Donisthorpe Hall in Leeds with over 180. Cardiff, Newcastle, Nottingham and Southport, which all have Jewish populations of less than 1,500, still manage to support a care home. The survival of these institutions in what were once cities with much larger Jewish populations reflects the fact that, in regional towns and cities, older Jews are more likely to remain than younger Jewish people. The population is thus weighted in terms of older people and hence the market for long-term care remains (at least in the short term). These homes are also likely to draw in residents from surrounding areas, although some are also now taking in non-Jewish residents for the first time.

Figure 13 shows the distribution of voluntary sector care homes in Greater London. This map

Figure 12: Jewish voluntary sector care homes in Britain, 2001

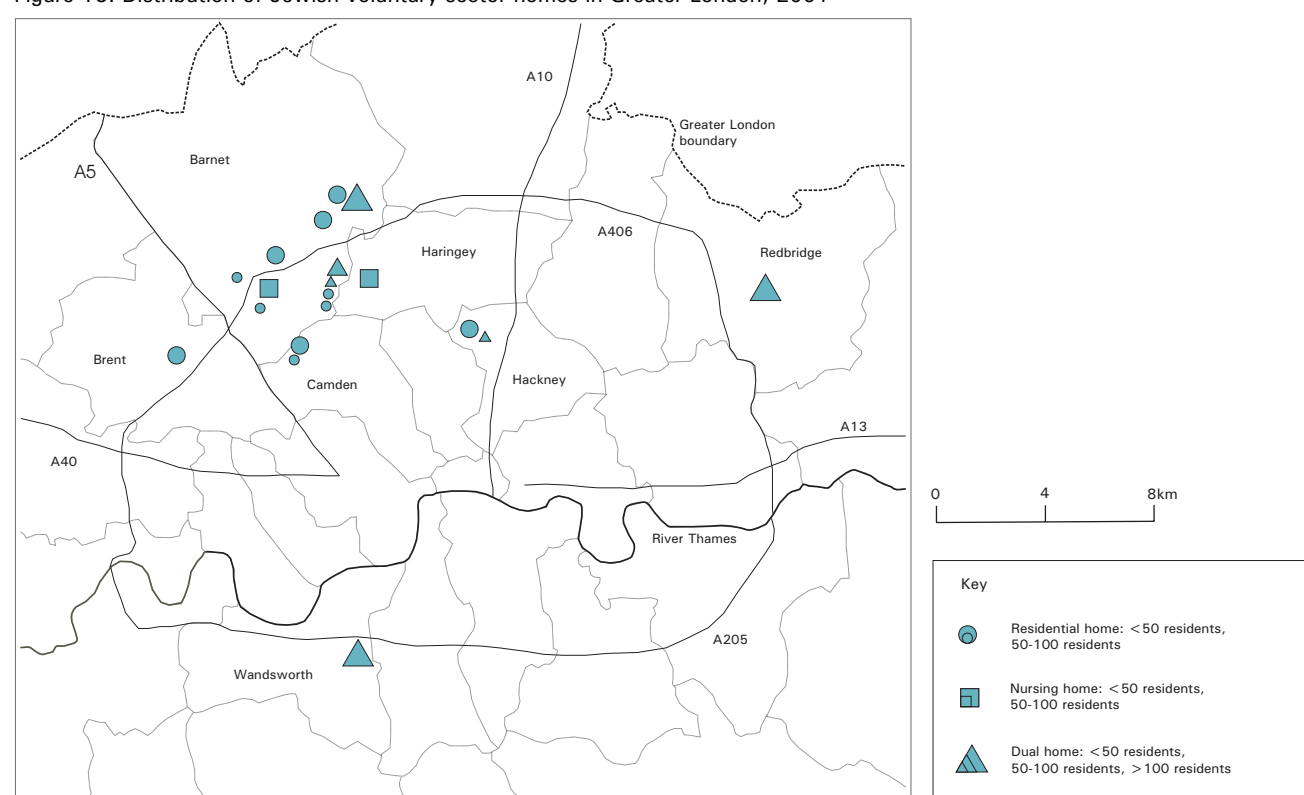


Source: Valins, *Facing the Future*, 83

demonstrates the remarkable concentration of homes in North-west London, with 14 of the 19 London homes within 8 kilometres of each other, mostly in the southern part of Barnet. There are two further homes in Hackney, one in Redbridge and one in Brent. The only home south of the Thames is the very large Nightingale House, which has more than 300 residents.

Also of interest are the average ages of clients in JVS care homes. The mean age nationally is 88 years, rising to almost 90 in the London area. In England as a whole, 75 per cent of all residents are aged 80 or over, and this is a large increase in age compared to a generation ago. In the 1960s and 1970s service providers in JVS homes noted that the average age of residents was closer to 70; indeed, some residents used to drive their own cars. This change reflects new government funding regulations for long-term care and different attitudes towards care among the public, as well as the fact that the functional abilities of older people are being maintained longer through improved medical and domiciliary services. To gain local authority funding for long-

Figure 13: Distribution of Jewish voluntary sector homes in Greater London, 2001



Source: Valins, *Facing the Future*, 85

term care, residents have to be shown to have ever greater levels of need; thus clients tend to be older, frailer and have higher levels of disability or long-standing illness. The Department of Health estimates that just over 50 per cent of older people in care homes have cognitive functioning problems (for example, Alzheimer's disease or other forms of dementia), compared with only 1 per cent of the older population generally.⁴³ Unsurprisingly, care homes have many more female residents than male, with an overall average of 28 per cent males and 72 per cent females in Jewish voluntary facilities. This is similar to England as a whole, where 76 per cent of those aged 65 or over in care homes are female.

In the surveys of Leeds and London and the South-east, respondents were asked a variety of questions specifically relating to institutional care. In London and the South-east around 1 in 5 respondents (19

⁴³ However, professionals working in Jewish residential and nursing homes believe the figure of 50 per cent to be an under-estimate with the true picture being closer to 75 per cent.

per cent) had a relative (usually a parent or parent-in-law) who was in care outside the home, i.e. in residential care. Of these respondents, 68 per cent indicated that the care facility was Jewish. Where the respondent had a relative in residential care in a non-Jewish facility, the following were the most common reasons (or combination of reasons) given, although 27 per cent said that none of these reasons applied:

- there were no suitable Jewish facilities in the area (28 per cent);
- there were no places available in a Jewish facility (28 per cent);
- the standards at the Jewish facilities did not match those of the non-Jewish ones (15 per cent);
- a Jewish facility cost too much (14 per cent).

Respondents were asked to imagine a hypothetical time in the future when they could no longer manage on their own and needed help with daily tasks such as getting up, going to bed, feeding, washing or dressing, or going to the toilet. They were asked how they would most like to be cared

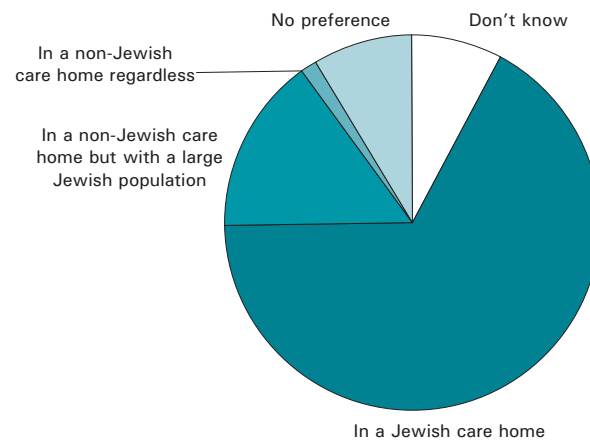
for in these circumstances, and the most popular responses were:

- by paid professionals in their own home (28 per cent): more women (33 per cent) chose this option than men (24 per cent);
- by a mixture of relatives and paid professionals in their own home (28 per cent): again, chosen by more women (32 per cent) than men (25 per cent); and
- by their own relatives in their own home (24 per cent): more popular among religious respondents (33 per cent) and among men (31 per cent compared to 17 per cent of women), perhaps reflecting gender differences in who provides care.

Overall it was clear that respondents had a strong preference for staying in their own homes, with only 8 per cent stating they would like to be looked after in a residential or nursing home (although a further 24 per cent named this as their second choice).

Respondents were also asked which type of care provider (Jewish or non-Jewish) they would prefer if they did need to be looked after in a nursing or residential home. Most (67 per cent) said they would prefer a Jewish care provider. Religious respondents were by far the most likely (96 per cent), and secular respondents the least likely (36 per cent), to voice a preference for a Jewish care provider, as Figure 14 and Table 20 show.

Figure 14: Preference for future care, London and the South-east



Source: Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson, 59

Other services

Although, when referring to the JVS, emphasis is usually placed on schools and care for the elderly, as indeed it is in this report, it must also be noted that there are other kinds of services. For instance, Norwood operates forty homes for adults with learning disabilities in South-east England. In addition, there are homes for children and for adolescents, as well as regional day centres for children and families. Although absolute numbers of clients may be small, each service user in childcare or learning disability facilities is likely to require vast, even life-long, resources to meet their needs. As many specialists are employed in these services, they are expensive to provide.

Table 19: Preference for Jewish or non-Jewish care provider for own future residential care in London and the South-east, by outlook

Types of care provider	Secular (%)	Somewhat secular (%)	Somewhat religious (%)	Religious (%)	Mean average (%)
In a Jewish care home	39	64	83	96	67
In a non-Jewish care home with a large proportion of other Jewish residents	23	21	8	1	15
In a non-Jewish care home regardless	4	1	0	1	1
No preference	23	7	3	1	9
Don't know	11	8	6	1	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Base</i>	<i>694</i>	<i>912</i>	<i>950</i>	<i>239</i>	<i>2,795</i>

Source: Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson, 60

Summary

The UK Jewish voluntary sector consists of a very large number of organizations, most of which were founded in the last thirty years (although a few date from the nineteenth century) and have a low annual income (the median income being £10,000). This parallels the United Kingdom voluntary sector, with some 186,000 charities registered in England and Wales. Despite the preponderance of small charities—many of which are grant-making trusts—the sector is dominated by a few very large organizations, including Jewish Care (social care services), the United Jewish Israel Appeal (UJIA) (education), Norwood (child and family services) and the United Synagogue. In terms of income, the JVS spends most on education and social care, but the entire sector covers a very broad range of concerns. There are very few areas not covered by the JVS, the main exception being hospital care,

with the original Victorian Jewish hospitals having mostly been incorporated into the National Health Service in the late 1940s. Jews are also less likely to have specific charities for animals and the environment, as these are generally not considered to be specifically 'Jewish' issues. Thus in some ways the JVS operates as a 'shadow' system to the United Kingdom national voluntary sector, although in terms of its income streams and its structuring by government legislation it is also highly integrated. It survives on a combination of contributions from individuals (in particular, a relatively small number of wealthy philanthropists), government and earned income. As was discussed in Part 2, this income is under threat from changes in funding patterns and increased expenditure, although it also faces challenges relating to the recruitment and retention of paid and unpaid (volunteer) staff. This latter issue is examined in the next chapter.

4 Human resources

The previous sections have outlined the nature and characteristics of the Jewish public and the voluntary sector organizations that serve them. Nevertheless, strategic planning also requires an understanding of how services are actually delivered, in particular the strengths and weaknesses of individual organizations' human resource (HR) policies and overarching matters relating to the recruitment and retention of suitably qualified paid and volunteer staff. At a broader conceptual level these issues are dealt with in Part 2, while this chapter details available community data on staffing. Because of a traditional community disregard for issues relating to staffing and the enormous difficulties of trying to create an overarching HR policy for the JVS these data are extremely limited and require further detailed research. This chapter provides information relating to (a) paid staff, (b) matters regarding governance and (c) volunteering.

Paid staff

The number of paid staff working for the around 2,000 financially independent Jewish voluntary organizations is likely to be considerable. The staff costs for 1997 are estimated at over £165 million (see Table 13). Exact data are not available for the size of the work force but, given the size of the major Jewish organizations in the fields of education and care for older people (see below), the figure is in the order of 10,000 individuals, although not all are full-time employees. With

regard to education, there are known to be around 200 full- and part-time individuals working for Jewish youth groups, although the biggest employers in this field are schools and, to a smaller extent, *chedarim*.⁴⁴ As part of its annual census of schools and *chedarim*, the Board of Deputies of British Jews collects data on numbers of teachers. As Table 21 shows, schools reported employing more than 2,100 teachers, three-quarters of whom work in London. However, only 87 per cent of Jewish day schools and nurseries supplied information and, as the figures do not include non-teaching members of staff (such as administrators and caretakers), the total number of school employees will be somewhat higher.

Issues of recruitment and retention have long been on the communal agenda, with head teachers and governors acknowledging the difficulties in obtaining suitable staff.⁴⁵ In particular, there have been long-running difficulties in finding suitably qualified Jewish studies teachers, with these individuals traditionally remunerated on a different salary scale to teachers of general subjects. Moreover, Jewish studies teachers have often had no professional qualifications, while Hebrew teachers have typically been Israelis with no qualifications for teaching Hebrew as a foreign language. To try and rectify these problems several agencies have introduced teacher-training schemes. For example, the United Synagogue's Agency for Jewish Education and the UJIA have formed the Jewish

Table 21: Number of teachers reported by 126 Jewish schools and nurseries, 2001

Area	National curriculum teachers	Jewish studies teachers	Staff teaching Jewish studies and national curriculum	Total
NW London	525	229	159	913
NE London	253	128	109	490
Manchester	214	181	60	455
Other	150	85	17	252
Total	1,142	623	345	2,108

Source: Unpublished data from the Community Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews

⁴⁴ Miller, *Talkback Survey*.

⁴⁵ See Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg.

Teacher Training Partnership (JTTP) to enable Jewish teachers to gain formal qualifications. The JTTP offers a Graduate Teacher Programme that leads to Qualified Teacher Status (QTS), the Registered Teacher Programme that leads to a degree and QTS, and the School Centred Initial Teacher Training Programme designed for graduates wanting to complete a one-year Postgraduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) course for primary level. The effectiveness or otherwise of these training schemes with regard to recruitment and retention of staff is difficult to gauge. The annual questionnaire sent to schools by the Board of Deputies does ask a question about whether schools currently have any staff vacancies. Less than 3 in 5 schools answered this question and, of those that did, only 45 stated they had vacancies. The questionnaire did not ask for how long these posts had been vacant and, thus, these data are of limited value, once again suggesting a need for further research to ascertain the effectiveness of the considerable communal investment in teacher training.

The Board of Deputies also collects figures on staffing levels in *chedarim*, although these data are also limited by very patchy response rates. Out of the 190 *chedarim*, only 124 supplied any sort of indication, and the survey yielded a figure of just under 1,000 staff (see Table 22). The vast majority of staff in these facilities are probably part-time. However, the high number of employees indicates the continued importance of this type of education despite the shift to Jewish day school education over the last few decades.

Table 22: Number of teachers reported by 124 *chedarim*, 2001

Area	Total number of teachers	With formal teaching qualifications* (%)	With Jewish studies qualifications** (%)
London	725	22	25
Regions	270	16	21

Source: Unpublished data from the Community Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews

* Only 42 per cent of *chedarim* answered this question.

** Only 44 per cent of *chedarim* answered this question.

The only other sector for which any data on staffing levels have been collected—and again there is only very basic information on overall numbers, with no data on issues such as pay or hours worked—is that providing long-term care for older people. As part of the JPR's *Facing the Future* report,⁴⁶ managers of residential and nursing homes were asked how many staff they employed. These managers reported a workforce of 2,600 people, of whom 1,465 worked in care homes in London and the South-east. This very large number reflects the round-the-clock nature of institutional care and also explains the very high weekly charges of these organizations: average weekly fees for Jewish residential homes in 2001 were £445, and £533 for nursing homes. Nevertheless, when managers were asked how many of these staff were Jewish, the responses revealed that only about 100 individuals (less than 5 per cent) were, and the vast majority of those were in administrative or managerial positions. This lack of Jewish staff obviously has major implications for the creation of a Jewish ethos, which is, after all, the *raison d'être* of such institutions. It also means that organizations have to work hard to provide appropriate high-quality Judaic training schemes (see Part 2).

Volunteering

With the increasing professionalization of JVS organizations over the last twenty or thirty years, the importance of volunteers may appear to have declined. Organizations that were once run by a handful of volunteers who believed in a particular cause have evolved into highly professional agencies with fully qualified paid staff. The government estimates that volunteering is worth £12 billion to the United Kingdom. This shift has by no means been uniform but, with increasing levels of government legislation and ever higher expectations from the public, the trend is clear. Nevertheless, volunteers remain key to the JVS: they are essential for reducing costs to organizations (although volunteers are not a free resource, and involve various costs such as training and providing expenses) and, more importantly, for creating a Jewish ethos and linking JVS services with local communities.

Organizations have found it increasingly difficult to recruit volunteers. This is because they have traditionally depended on middle-age women who

⁴⁶ Valins, *Facing the Future*.

no longer have dependent children. With changing labour market practices, more women are in full- or part-time employment and thus have less time to volunteer in their working years. From an institutional perspective there are almost no data on volunteering, but it certainly involves thousands of members of the community. For example, the League of Jewish Women (which provides a range of services for both Jews and non-Jews) has some 3,500 members on its books, while Jewish Care has 2,500 (although many of these also work under the auspices of the League). Nonetheless, the recent JPR surveys of Leeds and London and the South-east have provided information on volunteering from the perspective of the Jewish public.

In London and the South-east, 57 per cent of respondents stated that they had done some voluntary work in the twelve months preceding the survey, while in Leeds this figure was 45 per cent. This is somewhat surprising, given that Leeds Jews are generally assumed to be more communally minded than Jews living in the capital. Moreover, when compared to the national picture—where only 23 per cent of men and 28 per cent of women stated they had volunteered in the previous year—the voluntary work of British Jews, and its contribution to ‘social capital’, is considerable. Direct comparisons between the types of volunteering undertaken by Jews in the two survey areas are not possible (given differences in the wording and style of the two questionnaires), although the data in London and the South-east reveal a preference for fundraising and synagogues (see Table 23). Moreover, Table 23 reveals how Jews in the capital are also strongly committed to volunteering for the general as well as the Jewish community.

Those respondents who said that they did not do any voluntary work (48 per cent of the total) were asked to indicate their reason or reasons. These are summarized below.

- Forty-four per cent said it was because they did not have the time.
- Thirty-four per cent said they were too busy with home and family. Younger respondents were more likely to say this (57 per cent of those aged 18–44 compared with 11 per cent of those over 75).
- Around 1 in 5 (19 per cent) cited health problems, more among those over 75 (48 per

Table 23: Percentage of respondents in London and the South-east doing voluntary work (%)

Voluntary work	For Jewish people (%)	For the wider community (%)
Any of these	51	33
Fundraising	29	17
Synagogue	28	n/a
School/cultural organization	12	10
Youth group	7	3
Nursing home/old-age home	6	2
Community centre	6	2
Lobbying	5	4
Transport	5	2
Hospital	3	3
Care work in private home	3	1
Meals on wheels	3	1
Other	15	15

Source: *A Portrait of Jews in London and the South-east*, 48

- cent) and religious respondents (37 per cent).
- Fourteen per cent said they had not been asked or it had not occurred to them (11 per cent of women and 17 per cent of men).
- One in 10 said they were not interested (17 per cent of secular respondents versus only 3 per cent of religious respondents).
- One in 10 also said they did not know what was available (17 per cent of the 18–44 age-group).
- Six per cent did not have enough money.
- Five per cent cited lack of transport.
- One per cent said that everything that interested them was inaccessible.
- For around 1 person in 9 (11 per cent), none of these reasons applied.

When asked whether they would be willing to do more voluntary work, 17 per cent of those who currently did none stated they would be willing to be involved. Among those respondents who already

did some voluntary work, around half believed that they did too little, with these individuals most likely to be aged 35–54 and to be religious. Thirty-six per cent of these individuals stated that, if asked, they would be willing to do more; 61 per cent replied ‘not at the moment’.

Governance

One form of volunteering that has been of particular concern to the UK Jewish community has been governance. The existence of so many JVS organizations means that thousands of individuals are needed to fill unpaid leadership posts on boards of trustees, to take on the burden of financial office, and to accept legal and moral responsibility for the running of each organization. Issues surrounding governance were specifically addressed in the JPR report, *Governance in the Jewish Voluntary Sector*.⁴⁷ Thirty-six organizations were selected for the study and these were chosen to reflect the range and diversity of the JVS. While they may not necessarily have been representative of the entire sector, an analysis of the characteristics of the chairs of these organizations is worth highlighting. Two-thirds of the participants were male and the vast majority were middle-aged or older (see Table 24). A fifth had been chair of their particular organizations for over ten years (Table 25), and, in addition, around

Table 24: Age of study participants

Age	Number	Percentage
29 or under	1	3
30-39	2	6
40-49	8	22
50-59	12	33
60-69	5	14
70 or over	8	22

Source: Harris and Rochester, *Governance in the Jewish Voluntary Sector*, 34

1 in 10 had been involved as a board member for thirty years or more.

Finally, respondents in the Leeds and London and South-east surveys were asked whether or not they had been a governor, trustee or board member of a Jewish organization, and around 1 in 7 stated that they had been (14 per cent in Leeds and 13 per cent in London and the South-east). Respondents were most likely to be involved this way if they were men, educated to a higher level or, especially, if their outlook was religious.

Table 25: Length of service as chairs of study participants

Years of service	Number	Percentage
0-2	13	36
3-4	10	28
5-9	5	14
10 or more	8	22

Source: Harris and Rochester, *Governance in the Jewish Voluntary Sector*, 34

Summary

Paid and unpaid staff are key components of the JVS, although they have traditionally been underpaid and under-researched. There has long been criticism from Jewish charities that donors and members of the community are more concerned with buildings than people: the so-called ‘edifice complex’. The limited data available show that many thousands of people are involved in the JVS. A very large number of the individuals who work on a paid basis are not Jewish, and this clearly has implications for the creation and maintenance of a Jewish ethos and the type of training schemes needed. With regard to volunteers, many thousands of Jews are involved in one way or another, and more would be willing to take part, or increase their contribution, if they were asked.

⁴⁷ Harris and Rochester, *Governance in the Jewish Voluntary Sector*.

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Voluntary sector websites

<http://www.acevo.org.uk> (Association of Chief Executives of Voluntary Organisations website): includes information about joining ACEVO, a list of publications, details of training and events, and a members-only area

<http://www.ces-vol.org.uk> (Charities Evaluation Services website): contains, as well as information on CES services, a wealth of information on quality systems used in the voluntary sector

<http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk> (Charity Commission website): includes information on charity registration, publications on charitable status, guidelines on aspects of running a charity, facts and figures on charitable income etc.

<http://www.cvar.org.uk> (Centre for Voluntary Action Research, Aston Business School, website): includes information on CVAR's services, projects, study days, research findings, news and events

<http://www.dsc.org.uk> (Directory of Social Change website): the website of this national organization promoting better management of charities includes details of publications, training courses and link to website for fundraisers

<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/acu/acu.htm> (Home Office Active Community Unit website): includes information on grants and funding policy, press releases, reports and publications on a range of issues to do with voluntary action and community involvement, meeting minutes, and links to other websites

<http://www.ncvo-vol.org.uk> (National Council for Voluntary Organisations website): includes voluntary sector news, publications list, catalogue of events, press releases and media briefings

<http://www.strategy.gov.uk> (Strategy Unit website): includes specific voluntary sector pages and links to a wide range of issues and policy and consultation documents relevant to the voluntary sector

<http://www.volunteering.org.uk> (National Centre for Volunteering website): includes extensive range of information sheets on aspects of volunteer management, information on volunteering opportunities, and training course information



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