British Jewry in the Eighties

A Statistical and Geographical Guide

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Preface

Since its inception in 1965, the Statistical and Demographic Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews has devoted itself to collecting and analyzing statistical data and monitoring trends among the Jewish population of Great Britain. With the limited resources at its disposal and its reliance primarily on administrative data from communal bodies, the Unit has been able to study primarily only demographic trends. These have been supplemented by several local studies in Sheffield, Leeds, Hackney, and Redbridge which allow wider perspectives on socio-economic and sociological issues.

Despite the patchy nature of the data available and the deficiencies due to methodological and definitional problems, we believe that there is now sufficient material available to justify a publication which attempts to bring together our knowledge of the contemporary Anglo-Jewish scene. The Research Unit's experience of the constant demand for up-to-date information about the size, structure and composition of contemporary British Jewry, from the media, academia, students, community workers, and the general Jewish public shows that there is a need and a market for this type of data.

The maps and graphs for this publication were drawn at the London School of Economics and Political Science. We thank Professor Derek Diamond for permitting one of us wide use of the facilities of the Department of Geography at LSE during an extended stay in that department between 1984 and 1986. Thanks to Jane Pugh, Alison Aspden and Gary Llewellyn, who drew the maps and graphs as well as several others that did not make it into this publication. A special thanks to Gary for putting up with all the minor changes of mind near the end.

We trust that this publication will not only prove of practical help and interest, but will stimulate further research activities in order to fill the many gaps which still exist in our understanding of contemporary British Jewry.

S. W. and B.A.K.
May 1986

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POPULATION SIZE

One of the difficulties in understanding the structure of British Jewry is the lack of exact statistics. As the census does not ask a question on religious affiliation, except in Northern Ireland, any figure given for a Jewish population must be regarded as an estimate. The difficulty in arriving at reasonable estimates has been compounded by problems in determining who is a Jew. While in the past the community was relatively homogeneous and concentrated, today it is more pluralistic and there is an increasing trend towards alienation and outmarriage from the community. The *halachic* (Orthodox Jewish legal) definition, based on the maternal line and Orthodox conversion procedures, increasingly fails to encompass all the effective Jewish population.

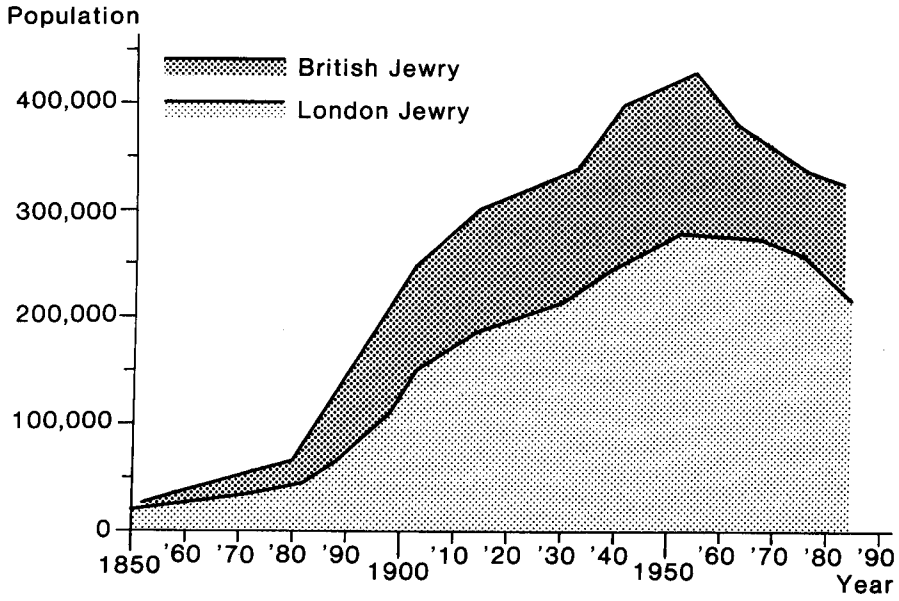


Figure 1. The changing population of British Jewry, 1850-1985

Nonetheless, several attempts have been made to estimate the Jewish population in the past. These estimates show that the growth of British Jewry has been the result of several waves of immigration, the largest of which occurred between 1881 and 1905. It is the descendants of this influx of immigrants who form the majority of British Jewry today.

The graph shows a rapid increase in the Jewish population of the U.K. from 1881 until the outbreak of the Great War, and again in the decade prior to the Second World War. The zenith of the Jewish population was reached in the early 1950s, when the figure was estimated at 430,000, although later research suggests that this estimate was too high. Either way, the population has been in decline since then and it currently stands at around 330,000. If the 1951 figures were correct, this would indicate a decline of almost 25 per cent in just over 30 years.

The graph also shows that the ratio of Jews in London to those in the provinces has ranged between 65 and 70 per cent. The decline of London Jewry has been somewhat less rapid than for the country as a whole, but that is probably because the generally accepted countrywide estimate for the early 1960s is too high and because London has gained population at the expense of the provincial centres.

References: 11, 21

BIRTHS AND DEATHS

The most widely used method for estimating the Jewish population of the United Kingdom is based on mortality. Using such a method, the figure was estimated for 1975/79 at 336,000, with a margin of error of 30,000 on either side. In the absence of an official census, the traditional method for estimating the Jewish population in Britain has been to apply an age-and sex-specific mortality rate per thousand persons to the annual number of deaths of the given population. To this end, the Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews collects statistics on the numbers of persons who are buried or cremated under the auspices of the various synagogal bodies in the United Kingdom (Table 1). The Research Unit also collects annual data on synagogue marriages and occasional data on circumcisions. The data on circumcisions allow calculation of the total number of births and birth rates. In addition, synagogue marriage statistics provide an indication of the number of Jewish households remaining in the population.

Table 2 indicates that the Jewish population is ageing. The death rate is high. The difference between the number of births and deaths is in the order of 1,300 persons per year. This is explained partly by the low rate of synagogue marriage which is about half of that expected if every Jew married another Jew in a synagogue. Local studies show that the average number of live births to a woman married in a synagogue is 2.1. Nevertheless, the ratio between births and marriages suggests an intake into the effective Jewish population of children born to parents not married in a synagogue, a reflection of the fact that *milah* (circumcision) is possible where religious marriage rites have not been performed. We estimate that about a quarter of all Jewish births are in this category.

References: 20 - 35

TABLE 1

BURIALS AND CREMATIONS UNDER JEWISH RELIGIOUS AUSPICES

	5-year average 1980-1984 Total	1982 Total	1983 Total	1984 Total	1985 Total
Orthodox	3890 *(81.7%)*	4028 *(83.1%)*	3876 *(82.2%)*	3869 *(78.3%)*	3905 *(80.6%)*
Reform	492 *(10.3%)*	469 *(9.7%)*	522 *(11.1%)*	580 *(11.7%)*	551 *(11.4%)*
Liberal	381 *(8.0%)*	349 *(7.2%)*	317 *(6.7%)*	496 *(10.0%)*	388 *(8.0%)*
TOTAL	4763	4846	4715	4945	4844

Source: Research Unit statistics, 1980-1985

TABLE 2

VITAL STATISTICS OF BRITISH JEWS 1980-1983

Jewish population estimate*	330,000
Average number of births	3,432
Births per mille	10.4
Average number of deaths	4,761
Deaths per mille	14.4
Average number of synagogue marriages	1,204
Persons marrying in synagogues per mille	7.3
Ratio of births to marriages	2.9

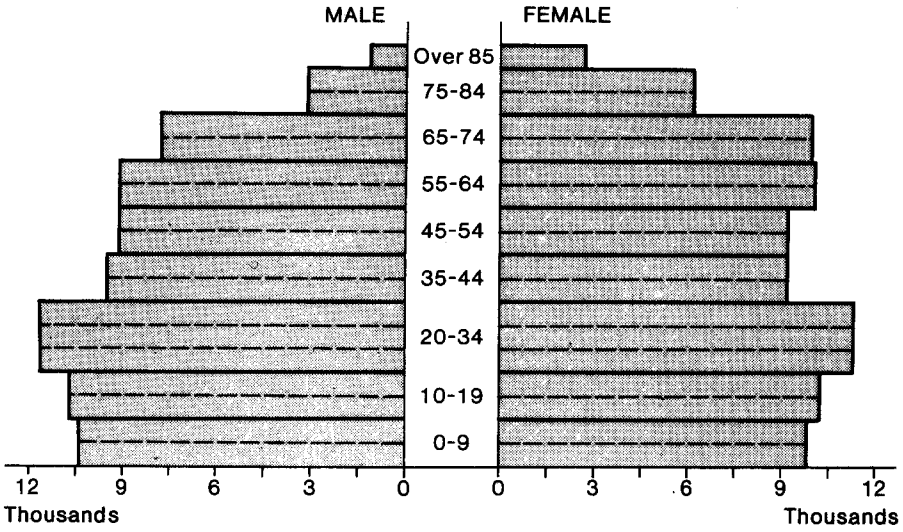
Source: Research Unit statistics, 1980-1983.
*Based on Reference 21

AGE-SEX RATIOS

Figure 2 displays the proportion of males to females by age group for the period 1975-1979. This provides the background to the data revealed in Table 3, and shows a top-heavy, ageing population. Moreover, the sex ratio is unbalanced, possibly as a result of migration factors. The narrowing base of the pyramid indicates the declining nature of this population. The relatively large numbers in the cohorts aged 55 and over point to the much larger gross numbers earlier in the century, especially when allowing for factors concerned with survival.

Table 3 compares the age ratios of the estimated Jewish population with those of the general population for the same period. The Jewish population shows an excess for all the cohorts over 55 and a deficit for all those born after 1920.

Reference: 77



NOTE The figures were estimated for 10 year cohorts, except for the age group 20-34 which were for 15 year cohorts.

Figure 2. British Jewry by age and sex, 1975-1979

TABLE 3

COMPARATIVE AGE STRUCTURES

Age Group	Estimated British Jewish Population 1975-79 %	England and Wales Population 1975-79 %	Difference
0 - 9	12.7	14.0	-1.3
10 - 19	14.5	15.8	-1.3
20 - 34	20.8	21.1	-0.3
35 - 44	10.7	11.5	-0.8
45 - 54	11.4	11.8	-0.4
55 - 64	11.8	11.3	0.5
65 - 74	11.1	9.2	1.9
75 - 84	5.8	4.3	1.5
85 and over	1.2	1.0	0.2

MARRIAGES

Marriage remains the basis of family formation amongst Jews and historically has been the major mechanism for recruitment into organized Anglo-Jewry. We have already noted a serious deficit in the Jewish marriage rate in that only half of those Jews born in the later 1950s and early 1960s who would statistically have been expected to marry in synagogues in the early 1980s actually did so. Figure 3 shows that a sharp decline in synagogue marriages occurred in the period 1972-1982. The graph shows that during this period, the decline in synagogue marriages was sharper than for other types of marriage. By the 1980s, the overall number of synagogue marriages was low, at just over 1,100 annually.

Figure 4 shows that this decline was felt across the spectrum of synagogue groupings. The most serious decline was among the mainstream Central Orthodox congregrations; part of their decline is a direct result of the increase in Right-Wing (ultra-Orthodox) marriages over the same period.

Table 4 illustrates the relative stability between the two main synagogue groupings, the Orthodox and the Progressive (Reform and Liberal). In the 1980s, the Progressive wing accounted consistently for 21-22 per cent of all synagogue ceremonies whereas the Central Orthodox figure has fallen by 2-3 per cent.

The causes of the gap between the expected and actual numbers of Jewish marriages remain unclear. Possible factors are emigration of young people, civil marriage among Jews, non-marriage, new alternatives to conventional marriage, or outmarriage with a gentile partner. Until adequate research has been undertaken on this topic, no intermarriage or exogamy rate can be calculated.

Reference: 30

TABLE 4

SYNAGOGUE MARRIAGES BY SYNAGOGUE GROUPING

	5-year average 1980-1984	1982	1983	1984	1985
	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total
Right-Wing Orthodox	100 *(8.6%)*	100 *(9.0%)*	104 *(8.8%)*	110 *(9.5%)*	101 *(8.8%)*
Central Orthodox	785 *(67.2%)*	750 *(67.6%)*	772 *(65.4%)*	743 *(64.4%)*	736 *(64.3%)*
Sephardim	36 *(3.1%)*	30 *(2.7%)*	45 *(3.8%)*	49 *(4.3%)*	54 *(4.7%)*
Reform	183 *(15.7%)*	175 *(15.8%)*	188 *(15.9%)*	179 *(15.5%)*	169 *(14.8%)*
Liberal	65 *(5.6%)*	55 *(5.0%)*	71 *(6.0%)*	72 *(6.2%)*	84 *(7.3%)*
TOTAL	1,169	1,110	1,180	1,153	1,144

Source: Research Unit statistics, 1980-1985

Figure 3. British marriage trends, 1961-1984

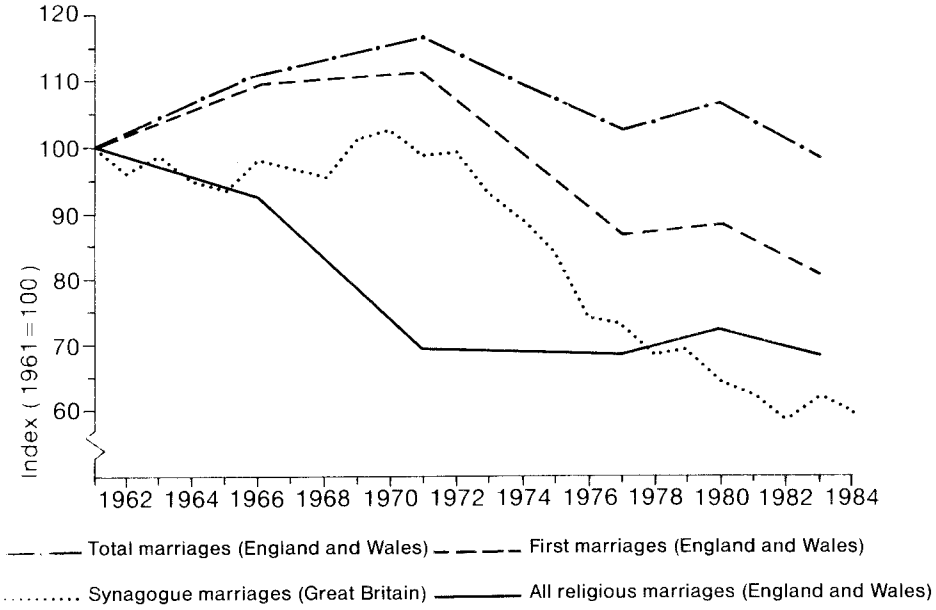
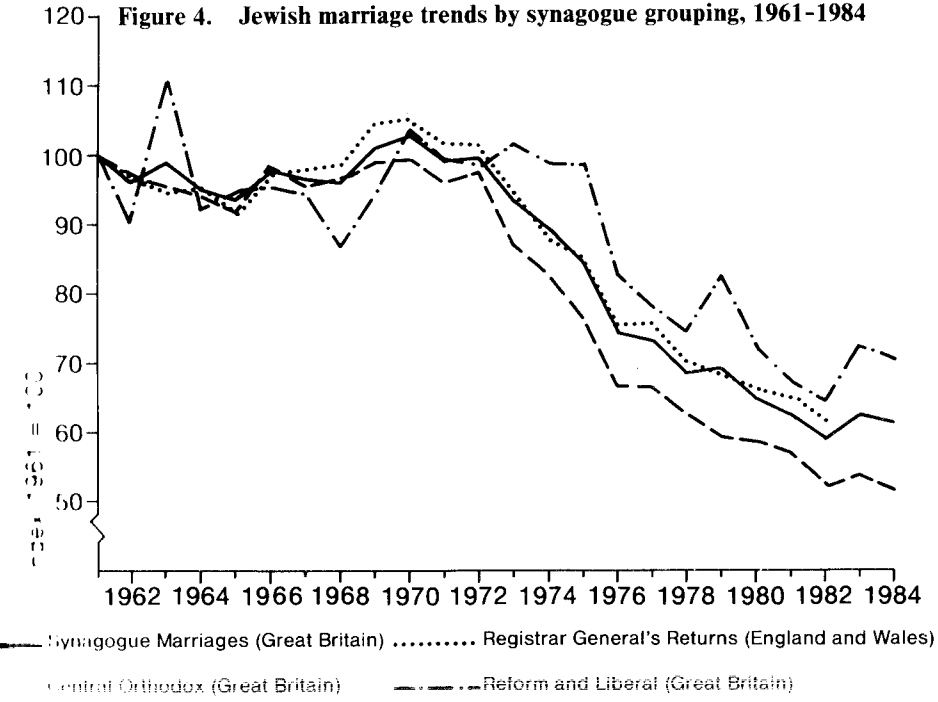


Figure 4. Jewish marriage trends by synagogue grouping, 1961-1984



DIVORCE

The sharp fall in the absolute number of synagogue marriage ceremonies and in the rate of synagogue marriages among the Jewish population has been accompanied by a rise in the number of divorces.

Figure 5 shows that the rate of divorce among Jews has risen steadily over the past three decades. The rise has not been as dramatic as that for divorce among the general population when there was a sharp upward surge in the divorce rate following the reforms in the Divorce Law after 1970. The Jewish divorce rate in 1980 was more than double that of 15 years earlier. No real difference can be observed in the divorce figures across the spectrum of synagogue groupings among the Jewish population.

Several recent studies have shown that only half of those Jewish couples who marry in a synagogue and subsequently divorce obtain a *get* (Bill of Divorce) from a *Beth Din* (rabbinic court). On this basis, it is estimated that in the mid-1980s, about 400 Jewish couples were divorcing annually and that some 450 children were likely to be affected by family break-up each year. Extrapolation from these figures suggests that one Anglo-Jewish child in six will have experienced family break-up before the age of 16.

References: 25, 26

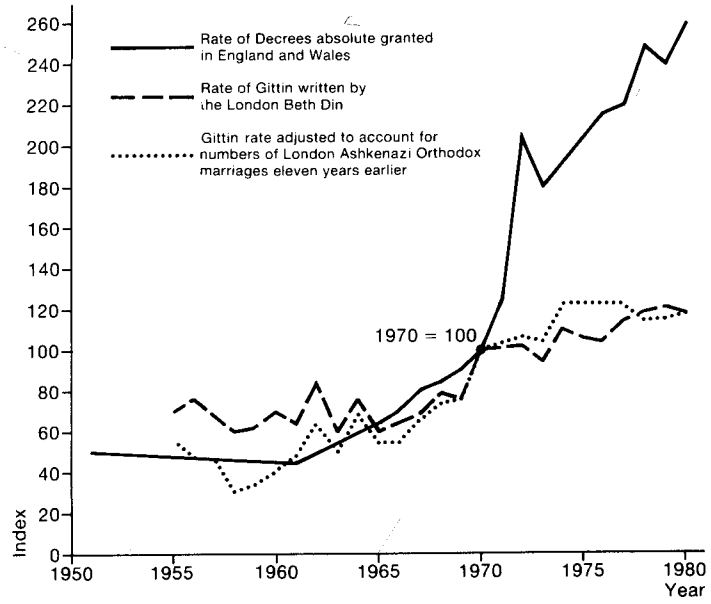


Figure 5. The impact of Divorce Law Reform

THE ELDERLY

The fluctuating size of the Jewish age-cohorts means that the size and structure of the elderly population will change over the next 20 years. It is for the elderly population that we have the most demographic information. Given the current age-sex mortality rates for the Jewish population, which have decreased significantly, especially for Jewish males (at one time above average) population projections have been produced (Table 5). These figures make no allowance for migration.

The data show the problem of catering to the needs of a shifting balance even in the elderly population, between the old and the very old. Given the declining size of the population, the proportion of the elderly will rise. At the same time, the proportion of the population aged 20-65 (the economically active) is expected to decline from 56 per cent to 49 per cent. Should the rate of emigration rise, the economically active group can be expected to shrink further whereas national projections indicate a stable economically active population around 57 per cent over the next two decades.

Reference: 57

TABLE 5

POPULATION PROJECTION FOR THE ELDERLY 1985-2005

	1985	1995	2005
65 - 74	36,000	33,750	30,750
75 - 84	18,750	24,750	23,250
85 and over	4,000	3,500	4,750
TOTAL	58,750	62,500	58,750

Source: Reference 57

MIGRATION

The 1983 Israeli population census revealed that the British-born population in Israel more than doubled between 1972 and 1983, as it had previously done between the census of 1961 and that of 1972 (Table 6A). This is due to a continuation of the high rate of migration *(Aliyah)* from the mid-1960s and the relatively high rate of successful absorption from Britain (Retention Rate) as compared with other Western countries (Table 6B).

The Crude Retention Rate has consistently been around 50 per cent or over. The relatively low retention of pre-State migrants results from the fact that a larger proportion of these immigrants would have already died by 1983. On the other hand, the very high rate for 1975-1983 is exaggerated because of the short time which has elapsed since their migration. It should also be noted that whereas the figures for immigrants to Israel in 1983 refer to Jews born in Britain, the *Aliyah* figures refer to people emigrating from Britain as their last place of permanent residence. Thus the actual rates of retention are likely to be somewhat higher, particularly for the early periods when some migrants from the United Kingdom may actually have been born in Central or Eastern Europe and may have only been short term residents in Britain.

Table 6C illustrates the effect of this emigration on British Jewry, for their loss to the British Jewish community is not simply that of British-born Jews alone but also of their offspring. The table shows the relative importance of young families in the make-up of the population of British descent in Israel, which now numbers over 18,000.

The youthfulness of the migrants is reiterated in Table 6D, which shows the small proportion of elderly and middle-aged persons and the large number of children and young persons amongst Israelis of British descent. The figures also suggest the higher birth rate of British-born Israelis as compared with British Jewry, which reflects the general Israeli pattern. A rise in the fertility rate has been generally observed over the years when Jews from Western countries emigrate to Israel.

Reference: 29

TABLE 6

BRITISH JEWS IN ISRAEL

A. Israeli Census

	British Born	Increase over previous census
1961	2,790	
1972	5,558	+2,768
1983	13,352	+7,794

B. Immigrants in 1983 by Period of Aliyah

Date of Aliyah	British Born	Aliyah Figure	Retention Rate
-1947	583	1,574	37%
1948-54	1,124	2,344	48%
1955-64	1,400	2,271	62%
1965-74	3,839	7,528	51%
1975-83	6,406	7,468	86%

C. British Descent

Census	Total	British-Born	Father British-Born in Israel
1972	8,076	5,558	2,518
1983	18,297	13,352	4,945

D. Comparative Age Structures

	British Jewry 1975-79	British Descent in Israel 1983
	336,000	18,297
0-14	20.0%	31.8%
15-24	14.3%	16.2%
25-44	25.4%	31.3%
45-64	23.2%	14.0%
65+	18.1%	6.7%

The figures presented in Table 7 reinforce the statement made in our commentary on the age pyramid and population size, that emigration has been a more important factor in the net annual decline of Anglo-Jewry than has been thought in the past. Despite the partial nature of the data and using very conservative figures for the United States, the number of British Jews living abroad around 1970 amounted to more than 12 per cent of the resident Anglo-Jewish population. While such figures must be regarded with caution because of differences in migration patterns in these various countries since 1900, it must be emphasized that around 1970, 44,000 British-born persons identified themselves as Jews in the official censuses of their adopted countries. These people and their descendants are thus a direct loss to the effective Jewish population of Britain.

Reference: 27

TABLE 7

CENSUS STATISTICS ON BRITISH-BORN JEWS ABROAD

	British-born Jews	Difference between Censuses
AUSTRALIA		
1961	5,193	
1971	5,663	+ 470
1981	5,006	- 657
CANADA		
1961	6,539	
1971	8,005	+1,466
1981	12,140	+4,135
ISRAEL		
1961	2,7[illegible]	
1972	5,558	+2,768
1983	13,352	+7,794
RHODESIA		
1969	433	
SOUTH AFRICA		
1970	5,109	
U.S.A. (Mother-tongue Yiddish)		
1970	19,457	

Little is known about Jewish immigration into the United Kingdom during the same period, as statistics are not collected on an ethnic or religious basis. The only statistics which can be assumed to relate to Jews are those on Israeli-born persons resident in the United Kingdom at the time of the 1971 and 1981 censuses. Even these statistics are suspect because they do not refer to all Israelis, only to those persons born in Israel. These data are shown in Table 8.

Although there is no hard evidence, it appears that the overall balance of migration resembles that of the migration flow between Britain and Israel. The options open to the potential Jewish emigrant from Britain can be contrasted with the constricted nature of potential sources for Jewish immigrants, a feature compounded by British immigration law.

Reference: 29

TABLE 8

ISRAELI-BORN IN BRITISH CENSUSES 1971-1981

	Israeli-born in Britain	Increase over previous census
1971	5,170	
1981	7,106	1,936 *(37.5%)*

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION

The Jews in Britain are predominantly an urban group. Even more than that, they are distinctly metropolitan. Figure 1 showed that the ratio between Jews living in Greater London to those in the provinces is approximately 2:1. This is confirmed by communal returns which show that London accounts for 66 per cent of the burials, 68 per cent of synagogue membership and 72 per cent of synagogue weddings.

The geographical distribution of the Jewish population estimates given in Table 9 has been calculated mainly from mortality statistics. The most reliable estimates for 1918 are based upon the military fatalities in World War I. The modern distribution utilizes additional sources of spatial data including other demographic indicators, local surveys, organizational memberships and ethnic name counts.

The overall statistics relating to the residential distribution of British Jewry in this century can be seen in Table 9. The London area has maintained its dominance and its two-thirds share of the population. The provincial bias towards the old manufacturing centres and coalfields has lessened in recent years. The main beneficiaries of the shift in the distributional patterns of the Jewish population have been the coastal resorts. Outside London, only Manchester has maintained a size sufficient to offer a wide communal infrastructure.

The real change in Jewish settlement patterns this century has not been large scale regional migration, but rather the local migration, from inner city areas of first settlement towards the suburban periphery of the major cities, or movement to larger centres within a region.

References: 8, 11, 48

TABLE 9

JEWISH POPULATION ESTIMATES, UNITED KINGDOM, 1918 & 1985
(in centres with populations of 1,000 and over in 1985)

	1918	1985
Greater London	186,500	201,000
Contiguous Home Counties	6,000	18,000
Greater Manchester	29,500	30,000
Leeds	15,600	14,000
Glasgow	7,500	11,000
Brighton	2,500	10,000
Birmingham	6,600	6,000
Liverpool	11,500	5,000
Southend	750	4,500
Bournemouth	-	3,000
Southport	-	2,000
Cardiff	900	2,000
Hull	2,700	1,500
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	2,800	1,500
Nottingham	900	1,000
Sheffield	2,300	1,000
Edinburgh	2,800	1,000
Reading	-	1,000
Luton	-	1,000
Blackpool	-	1,000
Rest of U.K.	21,150	14,500
U.K. TOTAL	**300,000**	**330,000**

JEWS IN LONDON

London constitutes by far the largest concentration of Jews in the United Kingdom. As the major port of entry into the country during the waves of immigration around the turn of the century and later, and as capital city and international metropolis, London was and continues to be a magnet for Jews.

Table 10 and Figures 6 and 7 (Page 24) portray the distribution of Jews within Greater London and the immediately adjacent sections of the Home Counties. The estimates are for 1985 and were calculated using an ethnic name method which has proved useful and accurate in the past. The 1985 Jewish population estimates are compared with data from the 1981 Census of Population. The table and the maps present the data at the scale of the 32 Boroughs and the City of London.

The distribution of the Jews is heavily biased towards northwest London. The Borough with the largest number of Jews is Barnet with approximately 48,000. As with the City of London, Jews constitute almost 17 per cent of the total population. The northwestern sector is fleshed out in the Boroughs abutting Barnet - Brent, Harrow, Camden and the City of Westminster, which together add another 45,000. The Hertfordshire population also constitutes part of this sector. This makes the total Jewish population of northwest London over 100,000.

In addition to northwest London, there are two further sectors in which Jews are well represented. In north London, Jews constitute approximately 11 per cent of the population in Hackney. With the addition of the Boroughs of Haringey and Enfield there are around 30,000 Jews in north London. The third sector is centred on the Borough of Redbridge in the northeast and is the smallest of the three sectors, all north of the Thames. There is an overflow from Redbridge into southwest Essex.

The traditional Jewish concentration in the East End, centred on the Borough of Tower Hamlets has declined to under 10,000 and today comprises only approximately 5 per cent of the total population in the Borough.

Some 34 per cent of the Jewish population of Greater London is located in Inner London Boroughs, 60 per cent in Outer London Boroughs and about 6 per cent in immediately adjoining areas of the Home Counties, in northwest Kent, north Surrey, southwest Essex and southern Hertfordshire. Just over 10 per cent of the London Jewish population is in areas south of the river.

References: 47, 49, 85, 93

TABLE 10

JEWISH POPULATION IN THE LONDON AREA (Private Households)

BOROUGH	Jewish Households Estimate (1984)	Jewish Population Estimate (1984)	Total Population (1981)	Jews as a Percentage of the Total Population
GLC-TOTAL	**74,845**	**197,400**	**6,608,598**	**3.0**
Inner London	**29,225**	**72,000**	**2,425,630**	**3.0**
City of London	385	800	4,701	17.0
Camden	4,865	11,200	161,098	7.0
Hackney	7,020	19,700	179,529	11.0
Hammersmith & Fulham	850	2,000	144,616	1.4
Haringey	2,170	5,700	202,650	2.8
Islington	1,075	2,600	157,522	1.7
Kensington & Chelsea	2,150	4,700	125,892	3.7
Lambeth	500	1,300	244,143	0.5
Lewisham	525	1,400	230,488	0.6
Newham	650	1,600	209,128	0.8
Southwark	435	1,100	209,735	0.5
Tower Hamlets	3,140	7,500	139,996	5.4
Wandsworth	1,095	2,800	252,240	1.1
City of Westminster	4,365	9,600	163,892	5.9
Outer London	**45,620**	**125,400**	**4,182,968**	**3.0**
Barking	650	1,800	148,979	1.2
Barnet	17,850	48,200	290,197	16.6
Bexley	350	1,000	214,355	0.5
Brent	5,125	14,400	215,238	5.7
Bromley	550	1,500	294,526	0.5
Croydon	850	2,400	316,306	0.8
Ealing	750	2,100	278,677	0.8
Enfield	1,940	5,300	257,154	2.1
Greenwich	450	1,200	209,873	0.6
Harrow	3,665	10,300	196,159	5.3
Havering	650	1,800	239,788	0.8
Hillingdon	940	2,600	226,263	1.1
Hounslow	700	1,900	198,938	1.0
Kingston-upon-Thames	750	2,000	131,236	1.5
Merton	650	1,600	165,102	1.0
Redbridge	6,700	19,400	224,731	8.6
Richmond-upon-Thames	1,150	2,900	157,304	1.8
Sutton	700	1,800	167,547	1.1
Waltham Forest	1,200	3,200	214,595	1.5
North Kent	100	300		
North Surrey	900	2,600		
Southwest Essex	1,050	3,000		
Southern Herts	2,500	7,200		
ADJACENT AREAS OF HOME COUNTIES	**4,550**	**13,100**		
LONDON AREA TOTAL	**79,395**	**210,500**		

In Boroughs south of the Thames there are 21,000 Jews representing 10.6 per cent of the total Jewish population

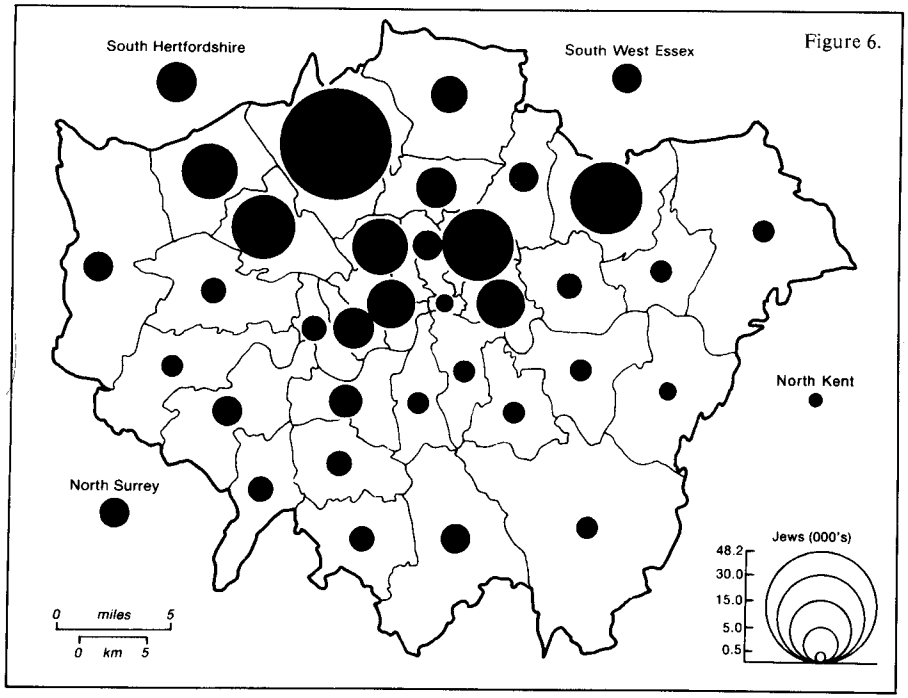


Figure 6.

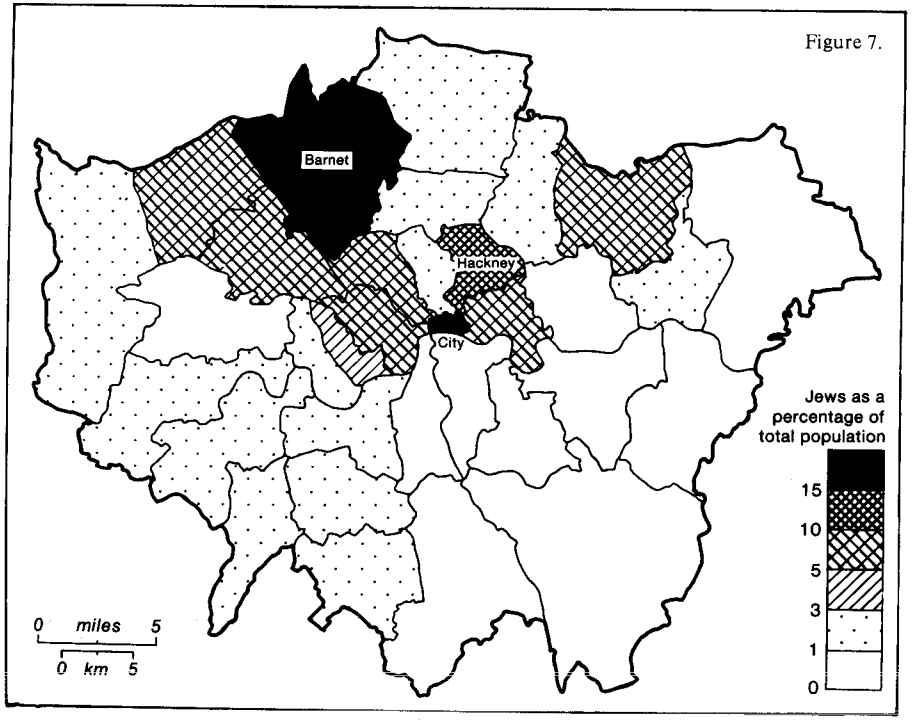


Figure 7.

The three maps in Figure 8 (Page 26) illustrate data collected for three London Boroughs with substantial Jewish populations - Hackney, Redbridge and Barnet. The data for Hackney relate to 1971 when the Jewish population comprised almost 14 per cent of the total population of the Borough. The data for Redbridge were collected as part of the work for the Redbridge Community Survey and relate to 1978. The Barnet data are for 1984.

The three maps indicate that when the scale of the investigation is magnified to the Ward level within each Borough, the concentration of the Jewish population is even more marked than appeared on the map of Greater London. Thus in Hackney, Jews were concentrated heavily in the north of the Borough where in two wards, Springfield and Northfield, Jews comprised around 40 per cent of the total population. In Redbridge, there was a similar situation where, in the two central wards of Barkingside and Clayhall, the proportions of Jews in the total population were approximately one third.

In Barnet, a slightly different situation is in evidence. Two centres emerge in this Borough. One consists of the Hendon - Golders Green - Finchley complex in the south, where in six wards - Garden Suburb, Golders Green, Hendon, Finchley, Childs Hill and West Hendon - the proportion of Jews in the total population varies between two in five to one in five in that order. The second concentration is centred upon Edgware ward, where the proportion of Jews in the total population rises to over 44 per cent.

At this scale, although large residential concentrations are evident, attention should be drawn to the fact that in no political unit in Greater London or anywhere in the United Kingdom are Jews in a numerical majority. The vast majority of their neighbours are thus non-Jewish.

Reference: 48

Figure 6. Jewish population distribution in the London area, 1984

Figure 7. Jews as a percentage of total population, by London Borough, 1984

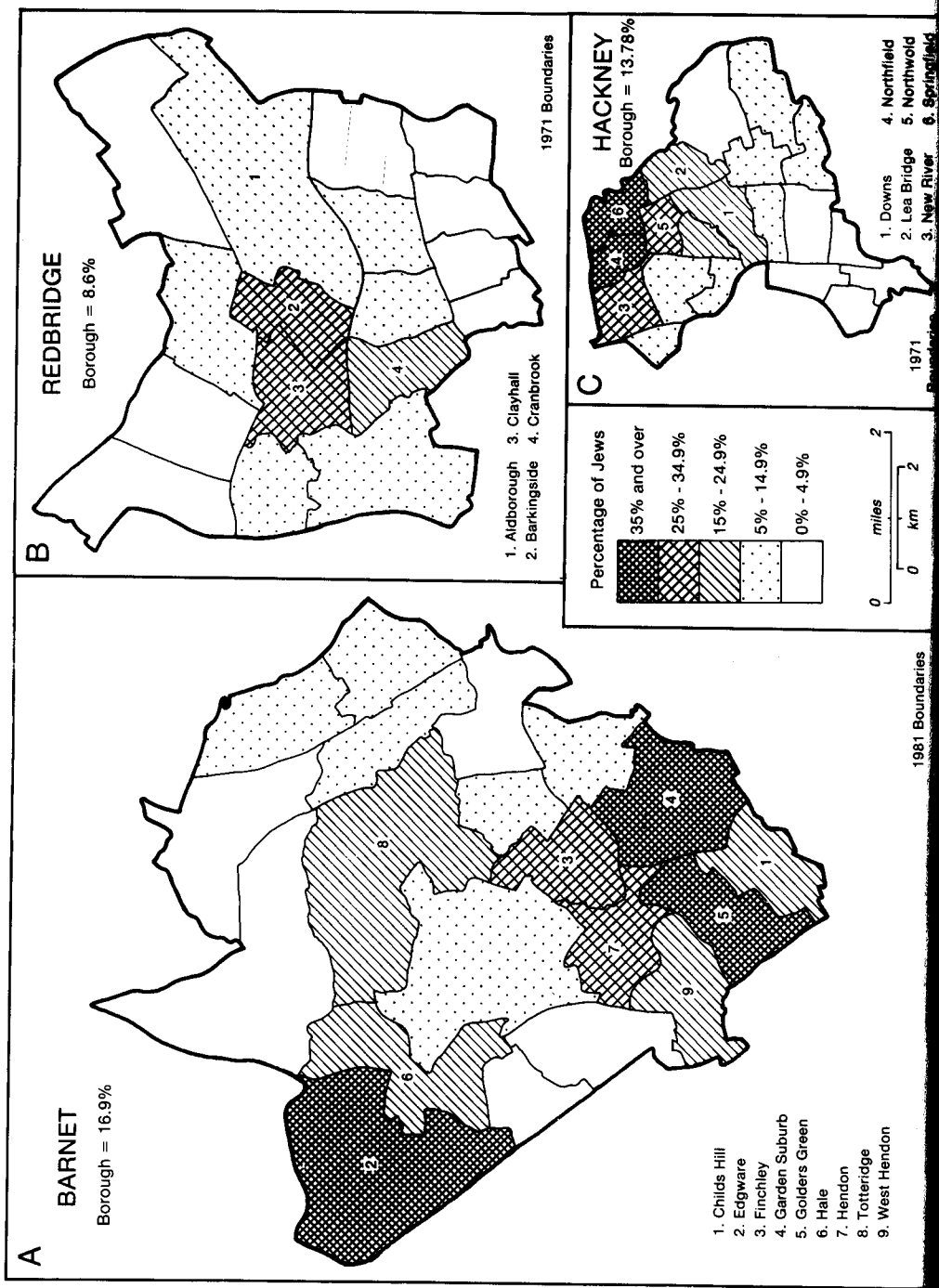


Figure 8. Jews as a percentage of total population, by Ward for the London Boroughs of Hackney (1971), Redbridge (1978) and Barnet (1984)

JEWS IN MANCHESTER

Figure 9 portrays the distribution of Jews in the largest centre outside London. The map of Greater Manchester is presented mainly to serve as a comparison with the previous maps of Greater London. The highest proportion of Jews to total population is in Bury, where Jews constitute approximately 8 per cent of the population. The administrative division of Greater Manchester masks the Jewish settlement pattern. The concentration centred on Prestwich - Whitefield is located in the southern section of the Metropolitan District of Bury, whereas the Jews of Salford are located in the northeast of Salford Metropolitan District. Similarly, the distinct communities of south Manchester are spread out across the southern parts of the Metropolitan County and in adjoining areas of Cheshire.

Nevertheless what stands out in comparison with London is the relatively small size of the Jewish population reflected in the low proportions overall in the Metropolitan Districts.

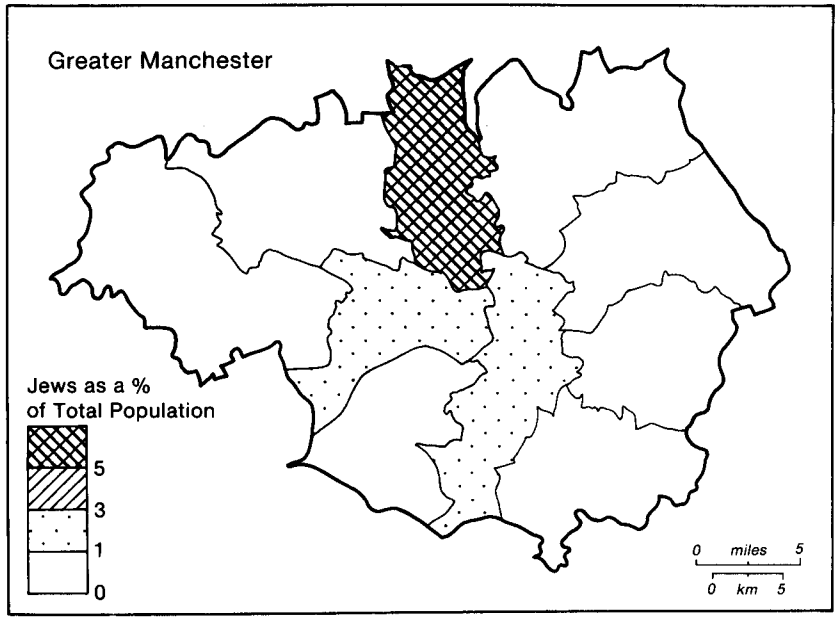


Figure 9. Jews as a percentage of total population in Greater Manchester, by Metropolitan District, 1981

SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP

Membership of a synagogue is the most prevalent symbol of identity for British Jews. All contemporary studies in this country have shown that synagogue membership covers the vast majority of identifying Jews. The formation of a synagogue or congregation does not necessitate a building or even a minister. Membership is a voluntary act and requires payment of membership dues.

In 1983, there were 328 congregations in 295 synagogue buildings with a total male membership of 78,899 and an independent female membership of 30,527.

Reform and Liberal synagogue membership is based largely on a system of family memberships. This produces definitional complications for intergroup comparisons. In the face of the imprecise nature of the female membership figures (not all the independent female members represent separate households, and some households headed by females might not be counted at all) male membership is a more reliable indicator. Furthermore, most independent female membership is among the Orthodox grouping. Eighty-eight per cent nationally and 90 per cent in London of independent female membership is Central Orthodox. This also suggests that the age structure of the various synagogue groupings is different since independent female membership is still largely made up of widows. Male membership therefore covers a wider age spectrum and its demographic characteristics are more representative of the affiliated population.

Recent figures suggest a more synagogue-oriented population as the size of Anglo-Jewry declines. This trend may be reinforced by the rise in female membership, since one of the most outstanding findings of the Redbridge study was the higher religiosity and commitment of Jewish women as against Jewish men.

References: 52, 53, 79

TABLE 11

MALE SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP BY RELIGIOUS GROUPING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM 1983

Grouping	Congregations	Male membership	Percentage
Right-Wing Orthodox	35	3,482	4.4
Central Orthodox	221	55,606	70.5
Sephardi	13	2,120	2.7
Reform	36	12,030	15.3
Liberal	23	5,661	7.2
TOTAL	**328**	**78,899**	**100.0**

Source: 52, 53

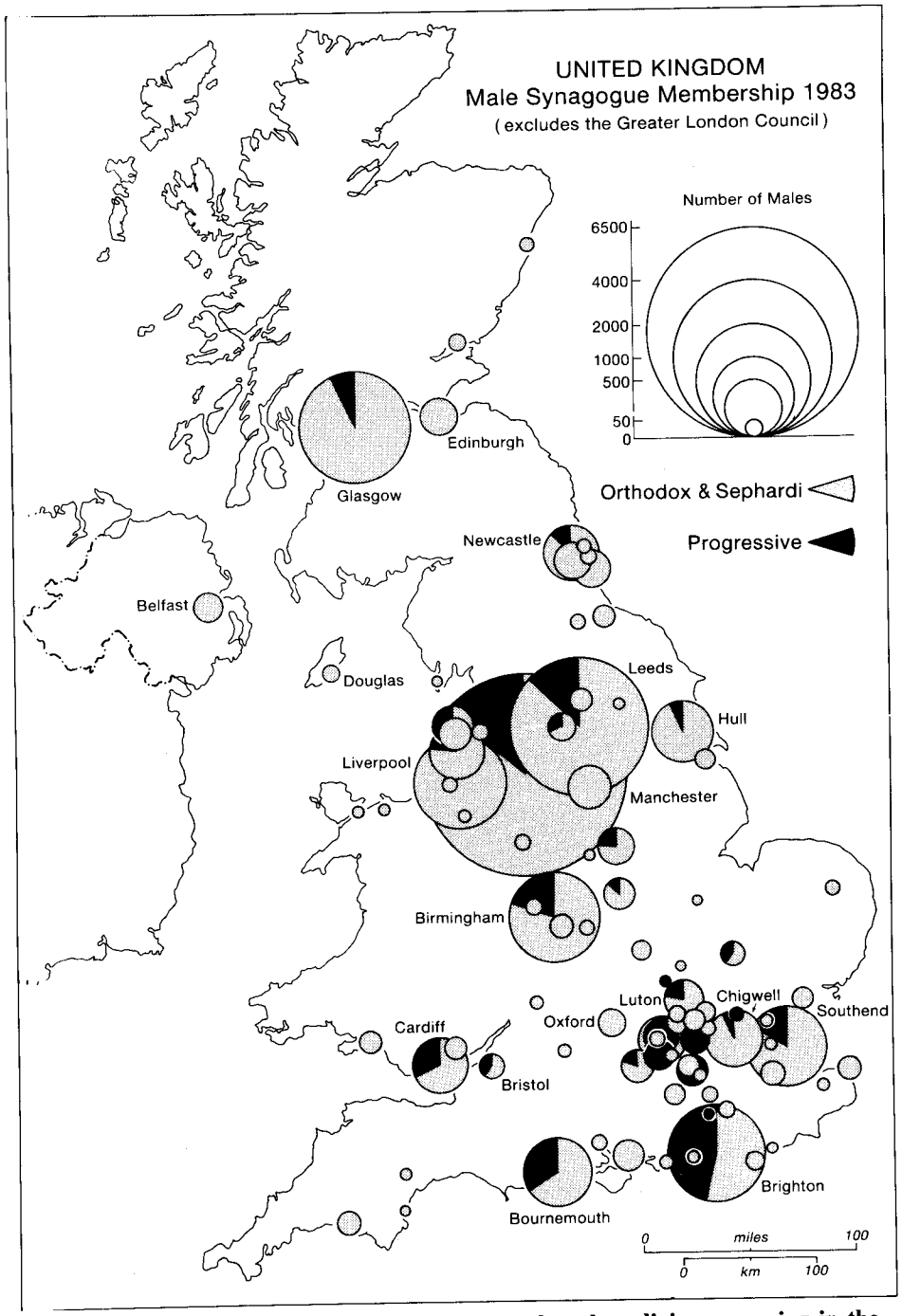


Figure 10. Distribution of male synagogue members by religious grouping in the United Kingdom (except Greater London) 1983

Provinces

As in the case of the residential population, synagogue membership is divided between London and the provincial centres in an approximate 2:1 ratio. In the provincial communities, the small size of the local Jewish populations tends to limit the choice of synagogue. Only Greater Manchester can compare with London in the range of synagogue groupings available locally. The average size of synagogues in the provinces (154 male members) is less than half the average for London (329 male members). The Central Orthodox grouping which represents the historical Anglo-Jewish tradition tends to dominate the provinces with 80 per cent of the male membership.

Figure 10 (Page 29) portrays the 'Orthodox' and 'Progressive' distributions in the United Kingdom outside London. Under the heading 'Orthodox' are all congregations that make up the United Synagogue and its affiliates, Independent Orthodox, Federation of Synagogues and Sephardi synagogues. The 'Progressives' comprise the various Reform and Liberal institutions.

The largest concentration of synagogue members outside London is in Manchester. Two other traditionally large communities, Leeds and Glasgow, also stand out. The next tier comprises those centres with approximately 2,000 male synagogue members and includes Liverpool, Birmingham, Brighton, and Southend. A third tier includes Bournemouth, Hull, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Cardiff.

An interesting feature is the almost complete absence of Progressive synagogues among the small communities of the North. Even in those communities in which there are Liberal or Reform synagogues, these rarely comprise more than 15 per cent of the synagogue-affiliated population. This is in contrast with the London area and the South of England. Brighton, for instance, has almost equal numbers of both streams and several of the smaller communities in the Outer Ring of the London Metropolitan Area are almost wholly Progressive. Ultra-Orthodox congregations are also rare outside London, existing only in Greater Manchester and Gateshead. Likewise, provincial Sephardi congregations are found only in Manchester, with a unique Sephardi synagogue in Ramsgate.

References: 47, 52

Greater London

The synagogue-affiliated male population for Greater London is shown in Figure 11. The bar-graph gives greater detail than was given for the provinces, showing six types of synagogue from the Right-Wing Orthodox to the Liberals. It should be pointed out that the statistics represented graphically are only as accurate as those collected. Though multiple membership is small (2 or 3 per cent), a rough estimate by the Membership Secretary of the United Synagogue suggested a 15-20 per cent overcount for that organization alone. As there is no standard means of collecting the data, nor of updating them, all the indications point to an overcount for all the groupings.

Nevertheless, it is in Greater London that there is a wide choice of type of synagogue, and so its distributional pattern is much more indicative of 'consumer taste'. Moreover, in London, figures are available over a long period. The trends identified for the national pattern are even more strongly featured in Figure 11. The Right-Wing Orthodox have doubled their proportion of the total since 1970, and the Reform have increased their proportion of the total by more than a third. Despite the general numerical decline in male synagogue membership in Greater London, both these groups have shown substantial gains in members. These London figures again show not only that the Central Orthodox losses outweigh total losses, but also that the Sephardi grouping has suffered considerably.

These indicators show that the Right-Wing Orthodox and the Reform groupings are increasing. The increases are occurring both among the Jewish population in general and within their own streams of Judaism, representing demographic increase and recruitment from other groups. Nevertheless, Central Orthodoxy maintains its commanding position. Despite the increasing challenges from 'left' and 'right', its numerical domination of Anglo-Jewry's synagogue scene will continue for the foreseeable future.

Reference: 52

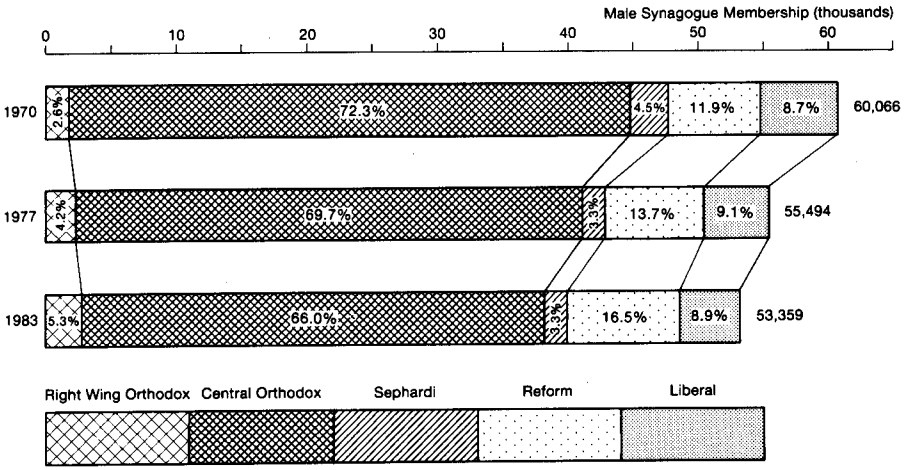


Figure 11. Male synagogue members by religious grouping in Greater London, 1970-1983

In terms of distribution of synagogue membership across London, the large number of synagogue-affiliated Jews in Barnet is the most outstanding feature, with more than twice as many persons as the next most numerous borough, the City of Westminster. Four other Boroughs - Hackney, Redbridge, Tower Hamlets and Brent - all have male synagogue-affiliated populations of over 4,000. At the other end of the scale, four Boroughs - Barking and Bexley in the east and Islington and Southwark in Inner London - have no synagogues and therefore do not appear on Figure 12 although all are known to have *residential* Jewish populations. The figures for Westminster and Tower Hamlets, in particular, are inflated by a continuation of membership in a specific synagogue long after migration out of the area. This occurs because of the burial society function of synagogues or because of traditional family attachments.

The United Synagogue, representing mainstream Orthodoxy, is the largest single synagogue organization but its distribution is by no means uniform throughout Greater London. In areas of older settlement, such as Tower Hamlets and Hackney, its membership comprises less than 25 per cent of all male synagogue members. In Tower Hamlets, the vast majority are members of the Federation of Synagogues, whereas in Hackney, it has fewer members than either the Federation or the small Ultra-Orthodox congregations. Where the United Synagogue appears strongest is in outer suburban Boroughs such as Harrow, Brent, Haringey, and Enfield, and in southern Hertfordshire, in all of which it comprises over three-quarters of the male synagogue population.

The Borough with the largest number of Jews, Barnet, also has the most heterogeneous synagogue population, with substantial numbers in all the synagogue groupings. Here, the main challenge to the United Synagogue comes from the Reform Synagogue movement. This pattern is repeated in the more affluent areas such as Westminster, and in Camden where the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues is strong.

It is interesting to note that the Ultra-Orthodox synagogues are confined to two Boroughs, Hackney and Barnet, and in fact, to small areas within each of these. Only for this synagogue grouping is there a high correlation between place of residence and place of worship.

References: 47, 48, 52

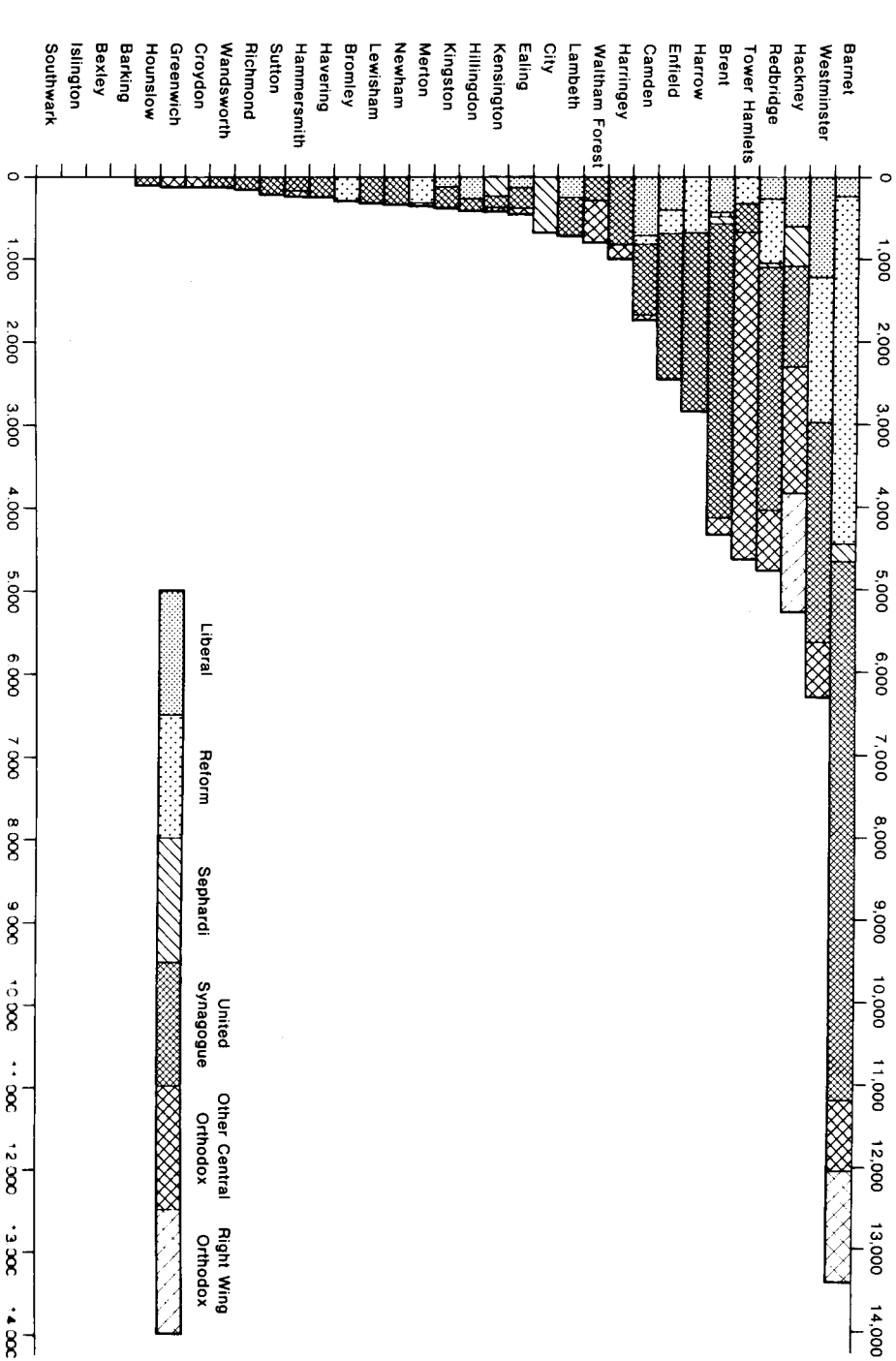


Figure 12. Distribution of male synagogue members by religious grouping in Greater London, 1983

SYNAGOGUES

The pattern of establishment of synagogues provides an overview of the development of Jewish communities in London. The accompanying set of maps (Figures 13 and 14, Pages 35 - 37) provides information on constituent synagogues of the United Synagogue in 1984. It is restricted to this single synagogue organization because it alone has data readily available in a useable form. Figure 13 shows the synagogues by size of current membership and period of maximum membership.

The set of four historical maps (Figure 14) provides information on the period of foundation of each of the individual synagogues. Prior to 1921 most of the synagogues founded were close to the centres in either the East or West End. The beginning of an outward suburban movement is evident as the community moved into St. John's Wood, Willesden, Tottenham, and towards the northeast. However, the most noticeable aspect of these data is the inability to identify a distinct sectoral bias.

In the two interwar decades, the northwesterly bias of the population becomes evident for the first time. Although a northerly movement towards Enfield and Southgate can be observed also, it is the strengthening of the communal fabric in Willesden, Golders Green, Hendon, Finchley, and Wembley that is most remarkable here, the movement continuing out as far as Edgware in the 1930s. The following two decades, 1941-1960, represent a period of infilling in the outer portion of the northwestern sector, with the establishment of synagogues in Stanmore, Kenton, Pinner, and Bushey in particular.

The most striking feature of the map covering the past 25 years is the almost total absence of newly-founded synagogues. During this period, only a total of six new synagogues were founded. More than anything, this illustrates the absolute numerical decline of the Jewish community in general, and of members of the United Synagogue in particular.

The figures for current membership and maximum membership underline the sectoral and zonal nature of the community's distribution. The decline in the inner areas is quite evident. The largest synagogues are all in the outer suburbs - Ilford, Stanmore, Edgware, Finchley, Hendon, Kenton, and Cockfosters - all with over 1,000 male members. Those in the inner suburbs of the northwestern sector number between 200 and 1,000 male members. Moreover, the small number of Jews in those sectors outside the three major sectors, northwest, north, and northeast, is highlighted by the size of the synagogue memberships, most of which are under 200.

The supremacy of the outer suburbs, particularly in the northwestern sector is further underlined by the decline in memberships. Almost all the synagogues, with the exception of the outermost, had achieved their maximum membership numbers before 1980 and were already in decline by that date.

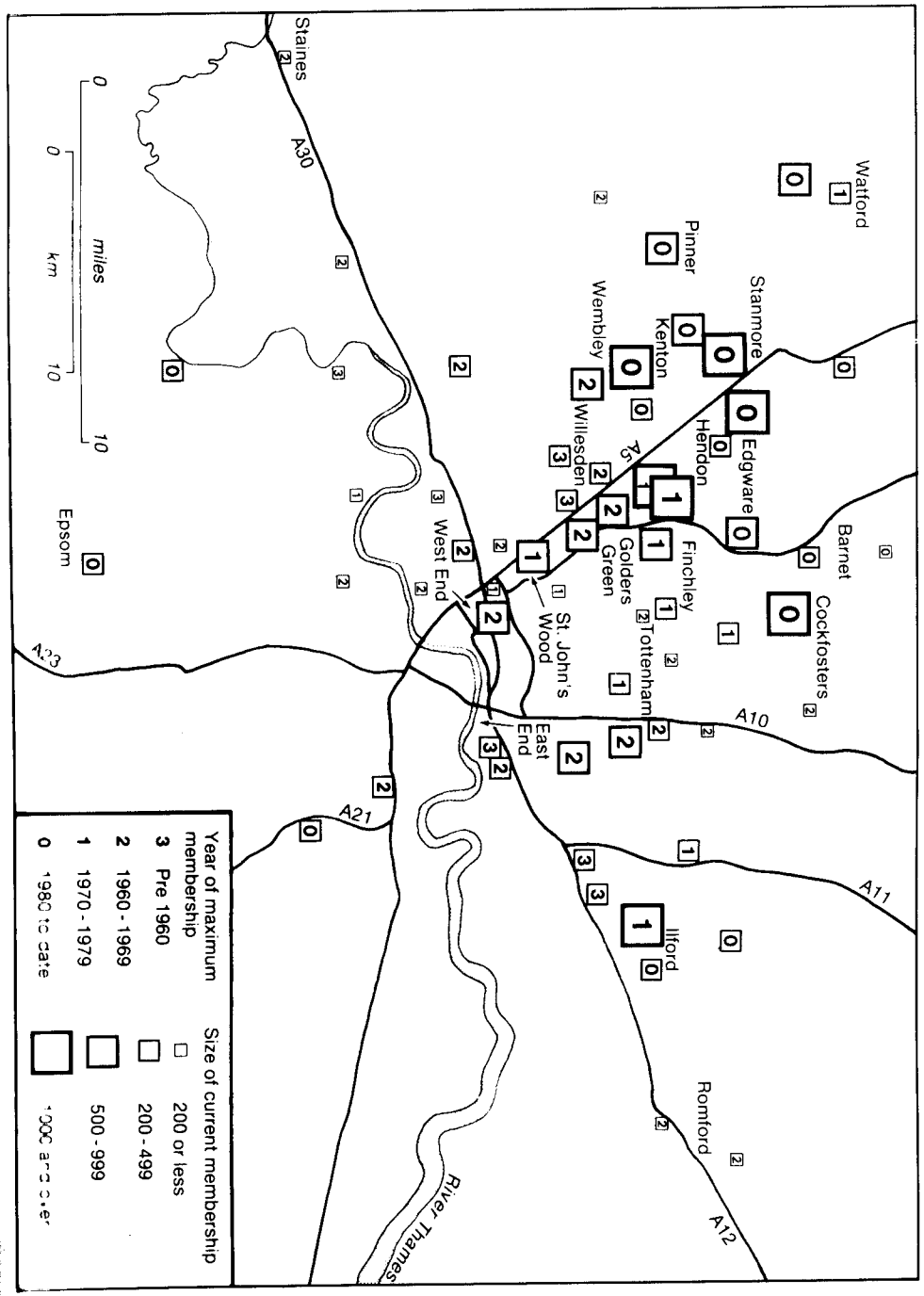
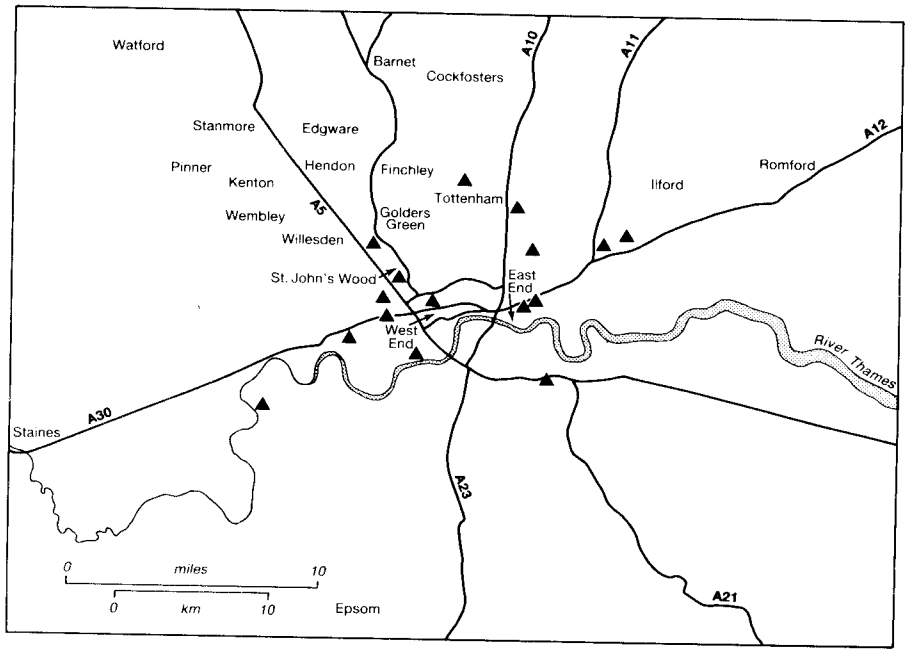


Figure 13. Current size and periods of maximum membership of the United Synagogue

Pre 1921



1921 - 1940

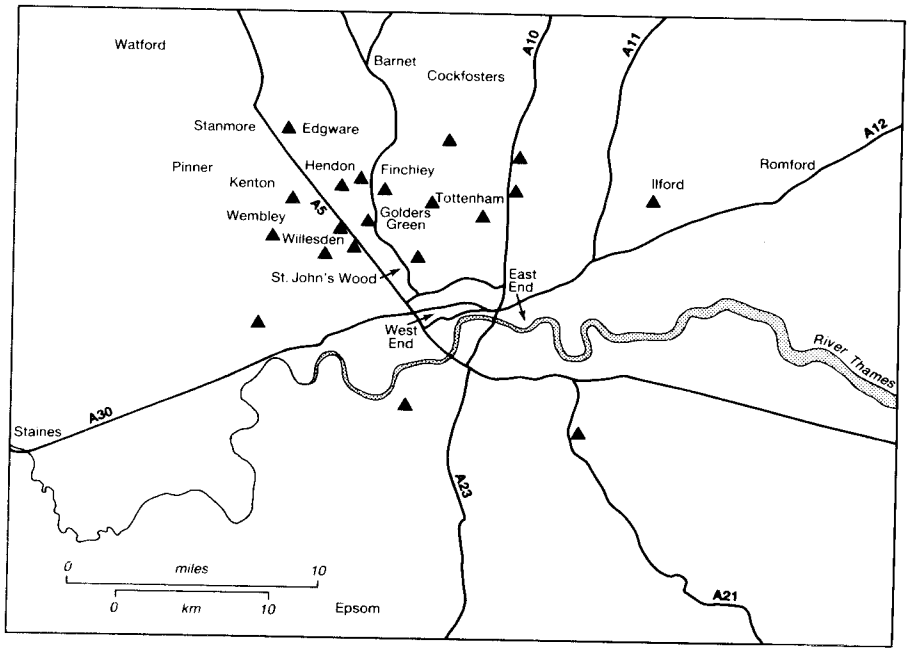
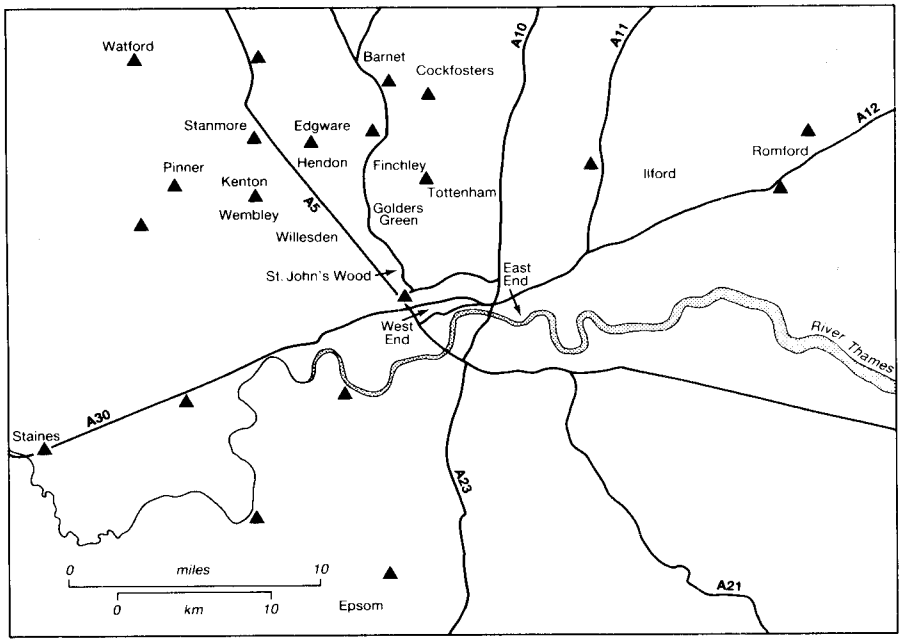
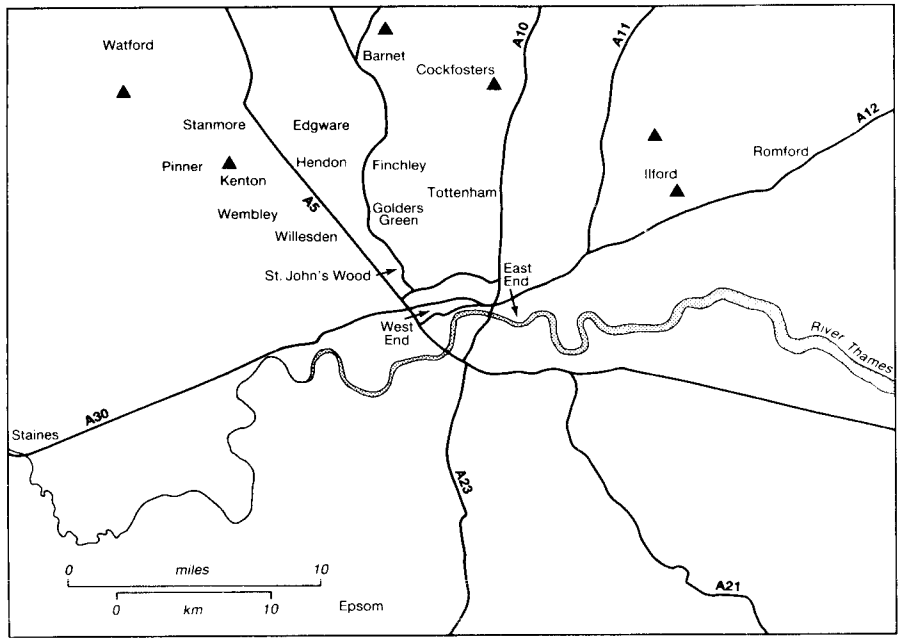


Figure 14. Geographical development of the United Synagogue

1941 - 1960



1961 to date



SYNAGOGUE ATTENDANCE

There is little hard sociological data available about synagogue life despite the overwhelming preponderance of synagogue membership as a form of Jewish affiliation and identification. Findings from the Redbridge Jewish Survey of 1978 suggest that the level of regular (weekly or more) synagogue attendance is very similar to that of regular church attendance in Outer London, at around 10 per cent of the population. However, the regular synagogue attenders show a unique age and sex bias. Jews who go to synagogue are heavily weighted towards older males and 'barmitzvah boy'. Of course, the minority synagogue groupings such as the ultra-Orthodox or the Progressives would have different profiles to that shown in Figure 15 because of their particular religious orientations and outlooks.

Reference: 79

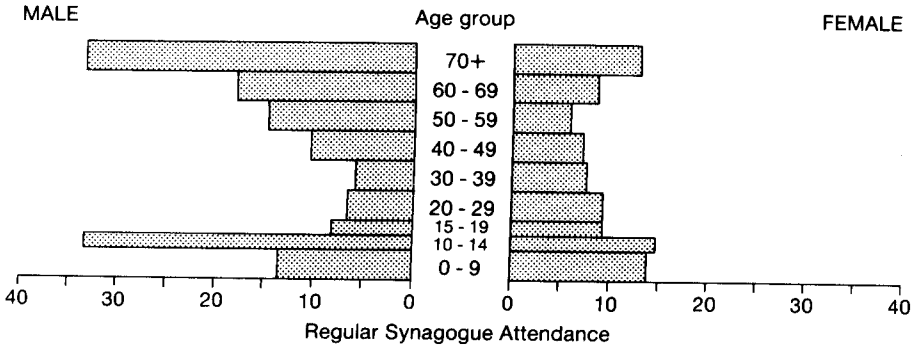


Figure 15. Regular synagogue attendance by age and sex, Redbridge 1978

Source for Table 12:S. Della Pergola and N. Genuth, (1983) *Jewish Education Attained in Diaspora Communities. Data for 1970s. Research Report Number 2.* (Jerusalem: Project for Jewish Education Statistics, Institute of Contemporary Jewry. The Hebrew University).

JEWISH SCHOOLS

A number of counts of schoolchildren in Jewish education have been attempted in recent years. The results obtained are subject to many qualifications because of the nature of the administrative systems upon which they rely. Nevertheless, a broad pattern of development can be observed. The rate of enrolment and exposure of Jewish education has probably risen in terms of the proportion of young Jews in the system at any time. This is because the number of pupils has fallen since 1967 by only 10 per cent, which is less than the estimated fall in the Jewish child population. The other side of this increase is the much larger school component in Jewish education.

Part-time supplementary education now accounts for only half the pupils whereas in 1967 it accounted for over two-thirds. This has been brought about by a push towards day schools by the Orthodox groups. As a result, 38 per cent of part-time *(Cheder)* education now takes place under the auspices of the Progressive movement.

The 81 per cent of pupils who receive their Jewish education under Orthodox auspices is close to the Orthodox-Progressive split in synagogue memberships and marriage ceremonies. However, it must be remembered that there are many children from Progressive and unaffiliated homes on the rolls of Jewish day schools, all of which, bar one, are nominally affiliated to Orthodox institutions.

The actual choice of provision available to Jewish children varies greatly according to where they live. In London, a smaller proportion of the children attend day schools, but this again varies widely by area. As is common in Diaspora communities, there is a greater proportion of pupils enrolled in all types of Jewish schools at the primary level than there is at the secondary or post-Barmitzvah level.

References: 54, 56

TABLE 12

ENROLMENT IN JEWISH EDUCATION 1967-1982

	Pre-School	Day School	Supplementary School	Total
1967	1,986 *(5.5%)*	9,015 *(25.2%)*	24,843 *(69.3%)*	35,844
1977		13,059	20,849	33,908
1982	1,158 *(3.8%)*	14,188 *(46.9%)*	14,982 *(49.3%)*	30,248

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL ENROLMENT BY SYNAGOGUE GROUPS 1982

Orthodox 24,295 *(81.0%)*

Progressive 5,753 *(19.0%)*

JEWISH EDUCATION AND PRACTICE

Figure 16 shows the type of Jewish education received by respondents in the Redbridge Jewish Survey by age group. The data only record exposure to certain types of institution and cannot provide any details on the quality or the intensity of the education received. Yet it highlights the fact that the whole history of Anglo-Jewish education this century has been marked by the differing quantity and quality available to different generations of Anglo-Jews. To these generational differences must be added the further complications of change in readiness of access due to geographical location of both schools and the Jewish populations. All these factors imply that the figures presented must be interpreted with care and with due allowance made for the influence of local factors.

Nevertheless, the data are valuable coming as they do from the largest-ever survey of the Jewish education of a representative Anglo-Jewish population, and covering 1,200 individuals of both sexes and all ages. It thus allows us to measure the changes in Jewish education over time as they have affected different generations in the population.

The outstanding feature which emerges is the consistent difference between the education of males and females. Large numbers of Jewesses in every age group have received no Jewish education whatsoever. Certain other features are also evident. The difference of educational experience between the generations in a population which is 93 per cent British-born is no longer very wide. Another prominent feature is the impact of World War II and the disruption caused to Jewish life and education. This is evident among the age group 40-49 years, i.e. those born in the years 1928-1937, where the proportion of the uneducated rises to its highest for both sexes.

Since the wartime years there has been a consistent improvement in the total coverage. The current level for those aged 5-9 suggests that the pattern of almost total male exposure to some form of Jewish education will continue as will the slow decrease in the number of uneducated females.

Reference: 79

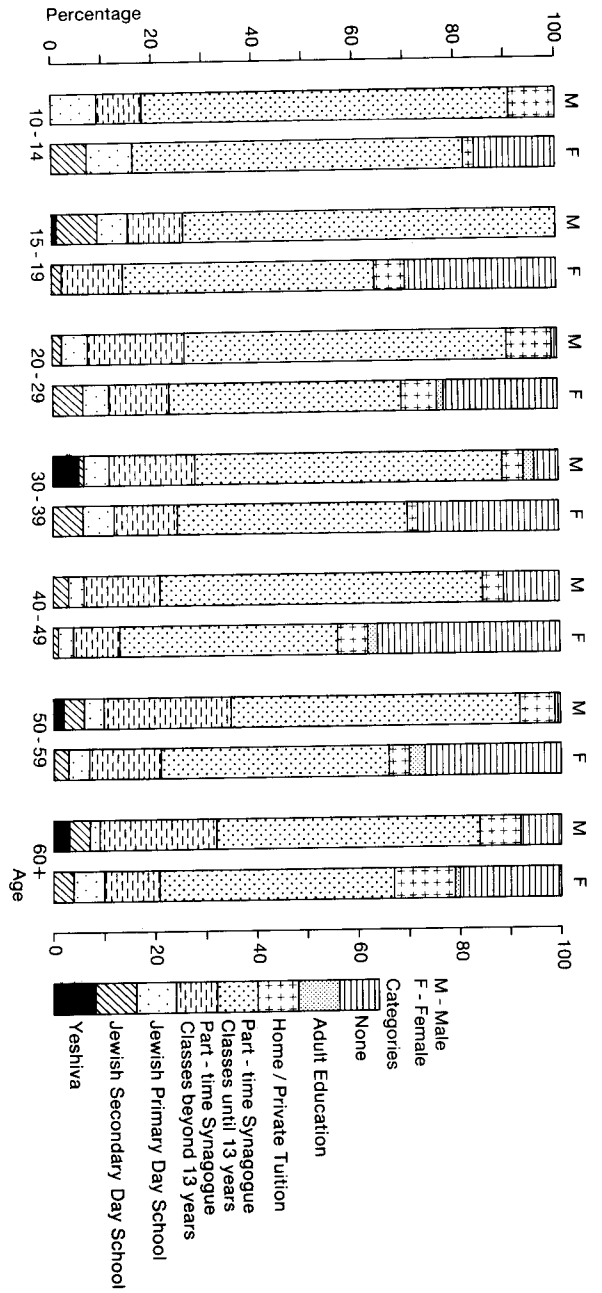


Figure 16. The Jewish educational experience of Redbridge Jewry, by age and sex

The Redbridge Jewish Survey provided a unique opportunity to ascertain the impact of education on religious practices and behaviour. Figure 17 attempts to measure the interrelationship between the type of Jewish education a person received and their pattern of synagogue attendance.

Each type of education was measured in relation to the proportion of regular attenders ('more than once a week' and 'on Festivals and most Sabbaths') and non-attenders ('not at all'). The overall impact of a certain type of education was the balance between the two extremes, i.e. between the observant element and the alienated. It can be seen that certain types of education have more impact, both positively and negatively, than others.

Of course, home background and numerous other forces come into play in such a situation but the results are nevertheless interesting for the patterns they present. The two extremes are quite clear. A *Yeshiva* (religious seminary) education has a very positive relationship with regular synagogue attendance, whereas no education at all has the most negative correlation.

It is not suggested that the Redbridge pattern is typical of the whole of Anglo-Jewry but one practical policy finding to emerge is the indication that teenage synagogue classes and adult education are at least as effective in their outcome as Jewish day schools. In fact, it is the Jewish secondary school which breaks the pattern of increased impact with education at higher ages. This result is particularly important because it contrasts with the Jewish primary school result which has an overall positive outcome. Considering that secondary education in a Jewish day school usually follows a primary day school education the results are disturbing, particularly considering the disproportionate per capita resources that are expended on this type of education compared to the other forms of religious education.

It will be interesting to monitor the effects of the current expansion of day school education revealed in Figure 16 in order to see if a similar pattern is observed among cohorts of recent students.

Reference: 79

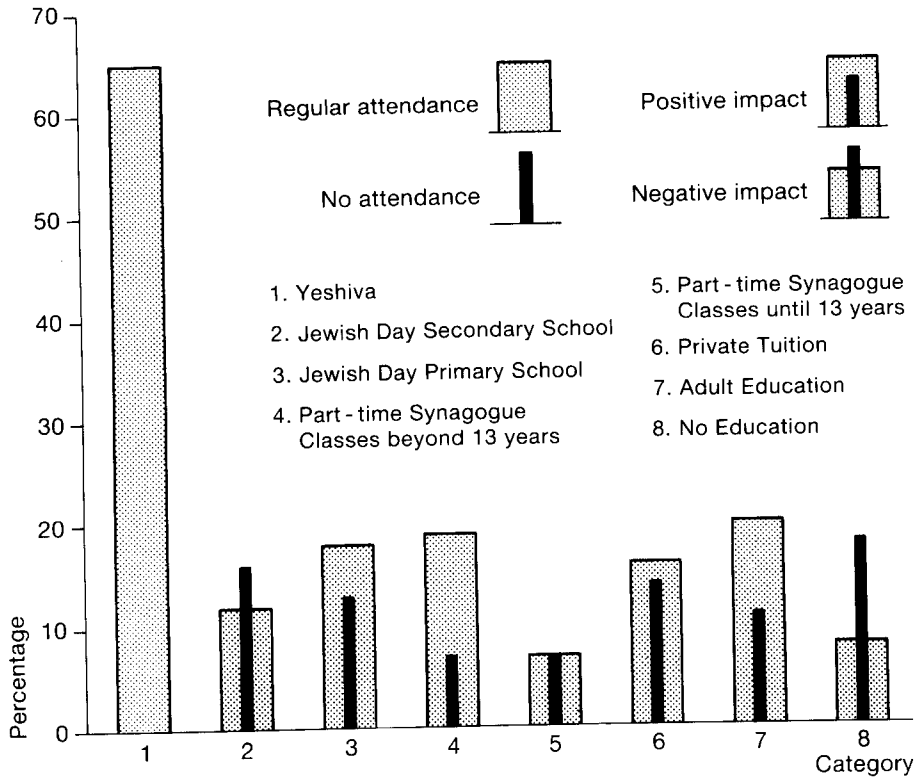


Figure 17. The impact of Jewish education on synagogue attendance in Redbridge

OCCUPATIONS

Surprisingly little is known about the socio-economic make-up of British Jewry apart from common assumptions about its 'middle class' nature and relative prosperity.

There is no official collection of socio-economic data on Jews. Indeed, in Britain, no income or direct expenditure statistics exist which relate to the whole of the general population. Local surveys have concentrated on the classification of the Jewish samples in terms of the official system, i.e. by employment, occupation, industry, and social class.

In terms of actual occupations the only information available relates to the number of ethnic name counts or local surveys. Of course, in spite of a dearth of accurate statistics we do know that the occupational structure of the Jewish community has changed rapidly in the past century as a result of its very fast upward mobility by British standards. The key to this mobility has been education which has transformed the sons of Jewish labourers into professionals and small businessmen, for it must be remembered that the main mass of Jewish immigrants came to Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as unskilled and skilled workers, and provided sweated labour, particularly in the clothing industry.

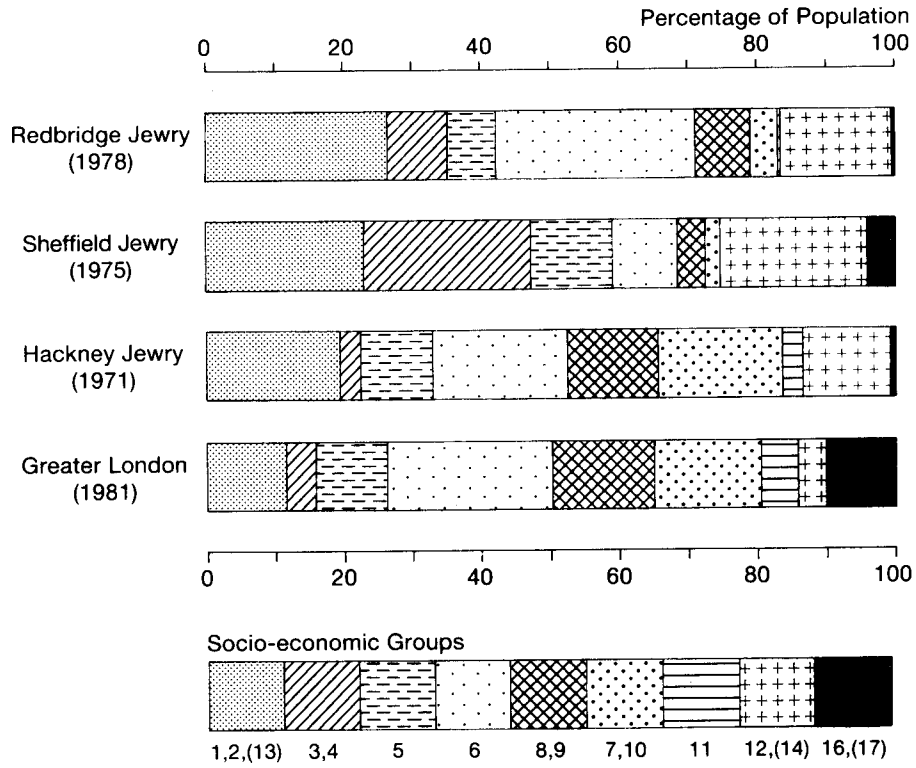
There are a few professions where, nationally, Jews are found far in excess of their expected numbers. Among these are medical practitioners, accountants and university teachers. Somewhat surprising, perhaps, is the fact that one of the most popular Jewish occupations is that of the London taxi driver. It is estimated that perhaps a third of London cabbies are Jews.

Other occupations which have above average Jewish representation are law, dentistry, pharmacy, clothing, estate agency and property generally. Jewish shopkeepers have declined in number over the last few decades with the demise of many small family businesses. On the other hand, there has been a movement by the younger generation into new areas of employment such as the expanding caring professions. Occupations with Jewish under-representation are unskilled and manual jobs (SEGs 8, 9, 7, 10, 11).

A major characteristic of Jewish employment is the tendency towards self-employment. Fifty-five per cent of males in Edgware (1963), 21 per cent in Hackney (1971), and 44 per cent in Sheffield (1978) were in this category. On the other hand there is a clear gender bias; in Redbridge there were ten times as many Jewish males as females who were self-employed.

One indicator of the improving socio-economic profile of British Jews can be found in Figure 18. This is the Jewish population of Hackney. As an ageing and declining Inner London Borough, it represents the roots of most suburban Jewish populations. In this regard, the marked similarity of Hackney Jewry's socio-economic distribution and that of the general population of Greater London illustrates the generally above-average socio-economic profile of the other Jewish populations illustrated.

Reference: 78



1, 2, (13)	Employers and Managers
3, 4	Professional workers
5	Intermediate non-manual workers
6	Junior non-manual workers
8, 9	Foremen, supervisors, and skilled manual workers
7, 10	Personal service workers and semi-skilled manual workers
11	Unskilled manual workers
12, (14)	Own account workers, (Farmers)
16, (17)	Members of armed forces, (Other)

Figure 18. The Socio-Economic Grouping of selected Jewish populations

SOCIAL CLASS

Social class is the means by which the Census classifies a population into broad categories so that each is "homogeneous in relation to the basic criterion of the general standing within the community concerned", in this case, the 'occupations concerned' being those of the heads of household. The only national data available on Jews relate to the social class structure distribution for 1961 which is based on an analysis of a sample of death certificates.

Figure 19 compares the social class distributions of four Jewish populations in different areas at different times, as well as two national samples for Jews constructed by Prais and Schmool. The latter samples represent Jews of a different generation, as the first is based on deaths registered in 1961, while the second was an estimated distribution of the live Jewish population in 1961. In a comparison of these two samples, three factors stand out. First, there are no unskilled persons making up Class V in either sample. Second, the younger population has less people in the skilled and partly skilled occupations in Classes III and IV. Finally, there are more people in the intermediate and professional occupations in the younger generation, with Class I more than doubling its proportion. Figure 19 shows that the 1961 younger national sample is more representative of all the local Jewish populations, except for Hackney, which is similar to the older national sample.

The upward social mobility of the younger suburban Jewish populations is largely a function of the increasing diversity of work opportunities in the liberal professions and the expansion of education and training since World War II in the United Kingdom. Approximately 40 per cent of Redbridge Jewry is representative of the true "middle class", with the rest mainly in skilled occupations. Few can now be found in the traditional manual working class occupations with which the immigrant East End Jews were associated at the beginning of the century. Since Redbridge is our only recent large suburban Jewish population data base, of greater consequence is the similarity between the social class make-up of Redbridge and the 1961 younger national sample. This suggests that Redbridge may be typical of contemporary British Jewry as a whole.

References: 74, 78

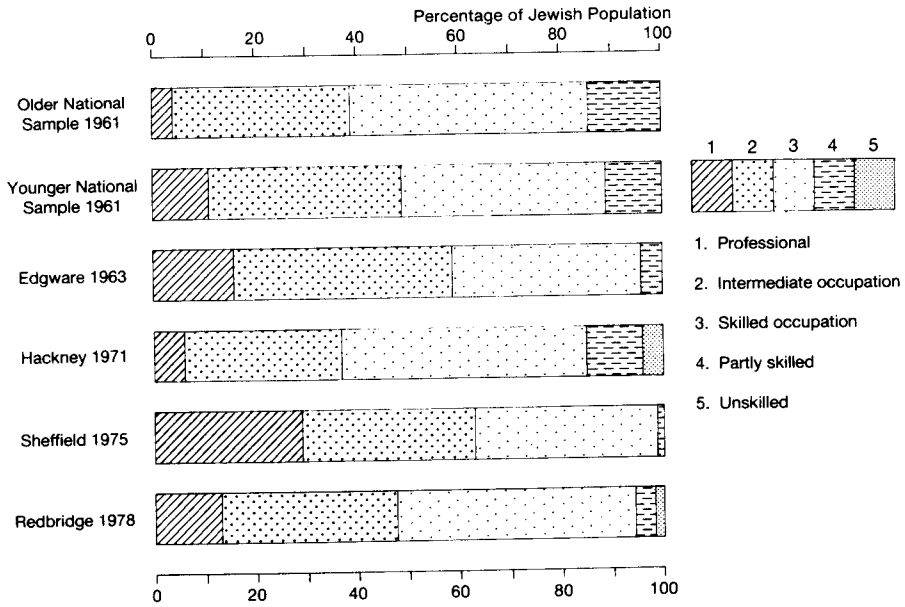


Figure 19. The Social Class composition of selected local Jewish populations

SOCIAL SERVICES

The socio-economic profile of British Jewry is of practical importance since the organized community relies for the funding of its religious, educational and social service infrastructure on the post-tax contributions of the Jewish public. The obligation to support the disadvantaged and the dependent in the community has been accepted since Cromwellian times when the resettlement of the Jews was made contingent on them not being "a charge to the parish" or the state. As a result, a large social service provision has grown up which has expanded even under the Welfare State.

By the 1980s, the Jewish social services in the London area had a combined budget of over £20 million and employed over 2,000 persons. Table 13 sets out the type of social service provision provided to sections of the Jewish public. Over 1,600 persons are housed by the social services and 800 by associated housing associations. Various services are also provided to several thousand elderly at centres or by domicilary services including social workers.

All these social services are heavily reliant on a volunteer input (Table 14). Again, there is an economic factor involved. These people need the free time and other resources in order to carry out their voluntary tasks. Were we to add to the 4,000 volunteers in social services, several thousands more who give of their services to youth organizations and religious bodies, we would have the picture of the vast amount of individual personal involvement that the organized Jewish community both requires and achieves and the very high proportion of adults who are involved in a volunteer capacity.

Reference: 57

TABLE 13

JEWISH SOCIAL SERVICE PROVISION IN THE LONDON AREA 1984

	Homes	Residents	
Homes for the elderly	23	1,218	long stay
		58	short stay
Homes for the mentally handicapped	6	270	long stay
		45	short stay
Other establishments	4	39	long stay
		44	short stay
RESIDENTIAL TOTAL	33	1,621	
Sheltered Housing		774	units
Group Homes	7	37	residents
Day Centres for the elderly	14	3,295	members
Kosher Meals on Wheels		4,650	meals per week

Source: 57

TABLE 14

FUNCTIONS OF VOLUNTEERS AND THEIR WORK

Functions	Volunteers
Fund raising	931
General Helpers	833
Drivers	515
Organizers/Administrators	377
House Committees	150
Trained Counsellors	108
All other functions	679
TOTAL	4,022
Settings	
Residential Homes/Hostels	731
Day Centres	549
Clubs	476
Offices	93
Non-specific	2,173
TOTAL	4,022

Source: 57

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Obviously, any bibliography in a work of this nature must be selective. We have tried to include only those works that have appeared in recent years in scholarly and serious literary journals and which are directly relevant to the material presented here. Some sections are stronger than others but that is in the nature of things. In addition, we have included some material in certain sections which deal primarily with Jews outside Britain. This is because the issues and problems dealt with in these items are similar to or have relevance for the study of Anglo-Jewry.

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Jewish scholarship and research has traditionally been strong on history. The works by Ruppin (1934) and Mendes-Flohr and Reinharz (1980) give some wider historical perspectives to the student of Jews in Britain. Lipman's (1954) work on the social history of Anglo-Jewry from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century has been recognized by scholars in many disciplines as a work full of insights and is, sadly, long out of print. The books by Alderman (1983), Pollins (1982), Gartner (1973), Newman (1976) and Wasserstein (1979), all deal with specific historical aspects of British Jewry with the emphasis on the last 150 years. There are several local histories extant, such as Olsover (1980) for the Northeast, E. Krausz (1964) on Leeds, A. Krausz (1980) on Sheffield, and Hyman (1972) on Ireland. The only work in this vein by a professional historian is that by Williams (1976) on Manchester Jewry, one of the results of which was an impetus for the establishment of the Manchester Jewish Museum.

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B. DEMOGRAPHY

More is probably known about demographic trends than any other aspect of modern Anglo-Jewry. The Research Unit of the Board of Deputies collects annual returns on Jewish deaths and marriages. These have been used, along with other indicators collected from various sources, to study Jewish population trends in the United Kingdom. Earlier studies were carried out by Trachtenberg (1933), Kantorowitsch (1936), and by Prais and Schmool (1968; 1973). Haberman, Kosmin and Levy (1983) used mortality statistics to indicate current population size; information gleaned from data on circumcisions as a surrogate for Jewish births (Prais and Schmool, 1970; Kosmin and Levy, 1985) throws further light on population trends, as do marriage statistics (Prais and Schmool, 1967; Kosmin and Waterman, 1986), and divorce figures (Kosmin, 1983; 1984). In addition, Kosmin (1982) has contributed a further study on nuptiality and fertility over the modern historical period.

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C. GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

The central question here is how best to describe the distributional pattern of Jewish households. Are Jews segregated from the general population, are they simply concentrated in certain areas or spatially integrated? How are the patterns changing?

Klaff (1983) has placed the issue in general perspective. Outside the U.K., the topic has been addressed by Driedger and Church (1974) in Canada, by Jaret (1979), Mesinger and Lamme (1985) and Varady and his associates (1981) in the United States. Goldstein's (1982) paper deals with Jewish migration within the U.S.A. in more general terms.

For the British Isles, Jackson's book contains small sections of Jewish interest. Newman (1985) attempts to analyze the problem of distribution for the U.K. and London but runs into difficulties with scale (see Waterman and Kosmin, 1986). Waterman's two studies (1981; 1983) are based upon field research in Dublin, while the series of articles by Waterman and Kosmin discuss the geographic distribution of the Jews in the United Kingdom in general and in London in particular.

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D. RELIGION AND EDUCATION

Little has been written about Jewish religious practices or Jewish education in the United Kingdom. The article by Prais (1974) is almost unique in being a survey of Jewish education in Britain. The 1981 chapters by Prais and Chief Rabbi Jakobovits both attempt to discuss some religious trends in the community. The studies by Prais (1972) and Kosmin and Levy (1983) represent two efforts to make use of synagogue statistics to reveal patterns of Anglo-Jewry.

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E. SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL WELFARE

The bibliography in this section is divided into four separate sections. The first section contains several works that have appeared on specific Anglo-Jewish populations. The book by Freedman (1955), and in particular the chapter in it by Neustatter, represented pioneering efforts to paint a picture of Anglo-Jewish society immediately after World War II, although later research has questioned some of the accuracy of the latter. An updated version has been provided by Kosmin (1982). The books edited by Gould and Esh (1964) and by Lipman and Lipman (1981) are both derived from conferences to discuss issues in Anglo-Jewish society. Krausz's work on Edgware dates from the early 1960s and was the earliest sociological examination of a British suburban Jewish population, while Cromer (1974) looked at the specific problem of inter-marriage in Wembley, Grizzard and Raisman (1980) examined the problem of residual elderly Jewish populations in Inner Leeds, and Kokosalakis (1982) studied cultural and religious change in Liverpool.

Kosmin (1981) has for long made a strong case for local studies. In support of this thesis, he carried out a study of Jews in Hackney based on Small Area Statistics from the 1971 Census (Kosmin and Grizzard, 1975). This was followed by a community survey of Sheffield (Kosmin, Bauer and Grizzard, 1976). This study was the precursor of a major study of Jews in the London Borough of Redbridge, the publications from which are listed separately. The paper by Kosmin and de Lange (1980) dealt with why London's Jews prefer living in the metropolis to medium-sized towns.

The four publications emanating from the Redbridge study are listed in chronological order. The Redbridge study is the only comprehensive community survey to have been carried out on an Anglo-Jewish population and we owe much of what we know about modern British Jewish society to this one study. The rationale and methodology are laid out in de Lange and Kosmin (1979). The results from the survey were divided into social demography (Kosmin, Levy and Wigodsky, 1981), work and employment (Kosmin and Levy, 1981), and finally, the volume on Jewish identity (Kosmin and Levy, 1983).

The statistical analysis of Jewish populations is hampered in countries such as the United Kingdom and United States by the failure of the census to enumerate the Jews as Jews. This necessitates the development of methods to estimate the size and location of the Jewish population instead - a problem which encompasses that of providing an adequate working definition of who is a Jew in modern British society.

Many of these methodological issues have also been dealt with in the U.S.A., in particular the use of ethnic names in Jewish social research (see, for example Massarik, 1966; Cohen, 1981; Himmelfarb, Loar and Mott, 1981; Varady and antel, 1981; Lazerwitz, 1985). The hazards of misusing such methods have been laid out in papers by Kosmin and Waterman (1986) and Abrahamson, (1985). The utility of an ethnic name method has been demonstrated in a study of London Jews in 1984 (Waterman and Kosmin, 1986).

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