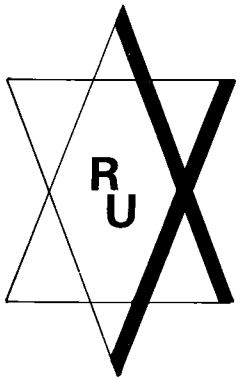
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED KINGDOM 1983



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1983

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	INTRODUCTION	page 1
SECTION 1	SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED KINGDOM	
Map 1	The United Kingdom with the Standard Regions and Counties of England and Wales	page 3
Table 1:1	Aggregate Synagogue Membership by Administrative Area	page 4
Table 1:2	Male Synagogue Membership by Religious Grouping	page 6
Table 1:3	Synagogue Membership by Geographical Distribution	page 7
Table 1:4	Synagogue Membership by Administrative Area: congregational data	page 8
SECTION 2	SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP IN GREATER LONDON	
Map 2	The London Boroughs	page 24
Table 2:1	Aggregate Synagogue Membership by London Borough	page 25
Table 2:2	Synagogue Membership by London Borough: congregational data	page 26
SECTION 3	TRENDS IN SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP 1970-83	
Table 3:1	The Geographical Distribution of Male Synagogue Membership 1970-83	page 31
Map 3	Regional Changes in Household Membership 1977-83	page 32
Table 3:2	Regional Change 1977-83	page 34
Map 4	Changes in Household Membership in Greater London 1977-83	page 35
Table 3:3	Distribution of U.K. Male Synagogue Membership by Synagogue Grouping	page 37
Table 3:4	The Changing Pattern of Male Membership by Synagogue Grouping in Greater London, 1970-83	page 38
Table 3:5	The Percentage Distribution of Synagogue Membership and National Vital Indicators by Synagogue Grouping	page 39

INTRODUCTION

Membership of a synagogue is the most widely held point 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. The figures which follow therefore relate to fee paying members as at the latter part of 1982 and early 1983.

This publication follows the method, format and definitions of earlier studies on synagogue membership undertaken by the Research Unit. It can only give a rough guide to population figures. Firstly, it includes only the synagogue affiliated Jewish population. Secondly, there is a small amount of over enumeration because of the possibility of dual membership by individuals and/or households. Detailed research on 5,500 households in Redbridge suggests multiple membership is less than 2 per cent. Thirdly, in some of the London boroughs affiliation is unrealistic with regard to residence. Notably, in Tower Hamlets there is a generation lag as many former residents of the borough retain membership for sentimental reasons, and in Westminster social prestige rather than convenient access is often the motivation for membership of the many large, fashionable synagogues. The lack of synagogues in Barking, Bexley, Islington and Southwark reflects the small number of Jews living in these boroughs, not their total absence. This is particularly evident in the case of Barking, where the nearest synagogue(Barking & Becontree) is just outside the borough of Redbridge, yet as its name suggests, it draws its membership largely from Barking. Outside London similar patterns occur. In areas of sparse Jewish population a synagogue in a particular town often draws its membership from a wide area and there can be overlapping 'catchments' between synagogues. The most important caveat, however, relates to female membership which is dealt with in the note below.

In 1983 there were 328 congregations with a total male membership of 78,899 and an independent female membership of 30,527. These totals suggest that there were 109,426 household memberships. There were 295 synagogue buildings. The distribution of membership among the various religious groupings shows a greater preponderance of the Central Orthodox outside London. The capital offers a variety of types of synagogue in its large population. Only Greater Manchester shares this heterogeneity.

A detailed analysis of the changes in synagogue membership patterns since 1970, and particularly since our last Research Unit report in 1977 are dealt with in the concluding section of this publication.

NOTE ON FEMALE SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP

Certain adjustments have had to be made in respect of female membership because of the different policies towards women. In Orthodox synagogues married women are not counted as members unless they themselves join and pay an individual subscription, whereas in progressive Synagogues (Reform and Liberal) women and men have equal membership and total membership therefore often includes two adults per household. In order to produce uniform statistics, the following categories have been used in estimating female membership:-

a) In some cases synagogues made returns giving a gender breakdown of their membership in which female numbers exceeded those of the males. Using the 1977 figures as a guide to the number of households, the excess figure is taken to account for individual female membership. In these cases only the difference between female and male membership is included in our statistics. These are identified in the text with the letter 'a' in Tables 1:4 and 2:2.

b) Where no breakdown by sex was available, the estimated numbers of females have been bracketed and excluded from the total female membership figure.

By this method, the totals of female membership recorded comprise single women, widows, divorcees and some married women who choose to hold membership in their own right. In most Orthodox synagogues this last group is a small minority of the female membership. Stanmore United Synagogue is an exception to this rule in that a local membership drive encouraged women to hold individual membership. These figures do not provide a conclusive breakdown of female and male headed households; their value is in estimating the approximate number of synagogue affiliated households. This constraint has necessitated the use of male membership figures as the most reliable indicator of distribution among synagogue groupings.

KEY TO AFFILIATION IN CONGREGATIONAL TABLES

Fed	-	Federation of Synagogues
RSGB	-	Reform Synagogues of Great Britain
ULPS	-	Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues
UO	-	Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations
US	-	United Synagogue
Ind. Orth	-	Non-affiliated congregation, Orthodox status
Ind. Ref	-	Non-affiliated congregation, Reform status

In Section 1 where no affiliation is recorded, Orthodox status applies.

SECTION 1 SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Map 1 The United Kingdom with the Standard Regions and Counties of England and Wales

Table 1:1

AGGREGATE SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP BY ADMINISTRATIVE AREA

1. ENGLAND	COUNTY	MALES	INDEPENDENT FEMALES	TOTAL AFFILIATED HOUSEHOLDS
SOUTH EAST REGION	Bedfordshire	214	64	278
	Berkshire	331	89	420
	Buckinghamshire	61	12	73
	East Sussex	1,422	731	2,153
	Essex	1,724	535	2,259
	Greater London	53,359	20,120	73,479
	Hampshire	189	116	305
	Hertfordshire	1,325	233	1,558
	Isle-of-Wight	0	0	0
	Kent	137	58	195
	Oxfordshire	117	58	175
	Surrey	322	90	412
	West Sussex	76	28	104
SOUTH WEST REGION				
	Avon	83	27	110
	Cornwall	0	0	0
	Devon	86	71	157
	Dorset	717	338	1,055
	Gloucestershire	24	14	38
	Somerset	0	0	0
	Wiltshire	30	30	60
EAST ANGLIA REGION				
	Cambridgeshire	79	66	145
	Norfolk	39	9	48
	Suffolk	0	0	0
EAST MIDLANDS REGION				
	Derbyshire	22	12	34
	Leicestershire	183	65	248
	Lincolnshire	0	0	0
	Northamptonshire	64	73	137
	Nottinghamshire	304	99	403

	COUNTY	MALES	INDEPENDENT FEMALES	TOTAL AFFILIATED HOUSEHOLDS
WEST MIDLANDS REGION	Hereford & Worcestershire	0	0	0
	Shropshire	0	0	0
	Staffordshire	42	18	60
	Warwickshire	0	0	0
	West Midlands	1,297	806	2,103
NORTH WEST REGION	Cheshire	25	20	45
	Greater Manchester	6,383	1,703	8,086
	Lancashire	370	182	552
	Merseyside	1,915	865	2,780
YORKSHIRE & HUMBERSIDE REGION	Humberside	488	133	621
	North Yorkshire	71	34	105
	South Yorkshire	289	145	434
	West Yorkshire	2,967	1,116	4,083
NORTH REGION	Cleveland	74	30	104
	Cumbria	3	0	3
	Durham	34	14	48
	Northumberland	0	0	0
	Tyne & Wear	818	271	1,089
II. SCOTLAND		2,343	1,863	4.206
III. WALES		621	216	837
IV. NORTHERN IRELAND		163	149	312
V. ISLE of MAN		30	0	30
VI. JERSEY		58	24	82
TOTAL U.K.		78,899	30,527	109,426

Table 1:2 MALE SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP BY RELIGIOUS GROUPING.

Provinces

	Congregations	Members	%
Right-wing Orthodox	6	645	2.5
Central Orthodox	124	20,378	79.8
Sephardi	5	368	1.4
Reform	21	3,236	12.7
Liberal	10	913	3.6
Total	166	25,540	100.0

Greater London

	Congregations	Members	%
Right-wing Orthodox	29	2,837	5.3
Central Orthodox	97	35,228	66.0
Sephardi	8	1,752	3.3
Reform	15	8,794	16.5
Liberal	13	4,748	8.9
Total	162	53,359	100.0

United Kingdom

	Congregations	Members	%
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	15.2
Liberal	23	5,661	7.2
Total	328	78,899	100.0

Table 1:3

SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP
BY GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

	Male Members	%	Estimated Household Memberships	%	Number of Congregations	%
Greater London	53,359	67.6	73,479	67.1	162	49.4
Provinces	25,540	32.4	35,947	32.9	166	50.6
U.K.	78,899		109,426		328	

Table 1:4

SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP BY ADMINISTRATIVE AREA: CONGREGATIONAL DATA

SOUTHEAST REGION		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	MEMBERSHIP FEMALE
BEDFORDSHIRE	Bedford	Hebrew Congregation		10	1
	Luton	Chiltern Progressive Jewish Congregation	ULPS	44	40
		Luton & Dunstable & District Synagogue		160	23[a]
BERKSHIRE	Maidenhead	Synagogue	RSGB	145	51
	Reading	Synagogue		131	32[a]
		Thames Valley Progressive Jewish Community	ULPS	35	(35)
	Slough	Slough & Windsor Affiliated Synagogue	US	20	6
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	High Wycombe	Hebrew Congregation	US	36	12
	Milton Keynes	Reform Synagogue	RSGB	25	(25)
EAST SUSSEX	Bexhill	Hastings & District Jewish Society		20	35
	Brighton & Hove	Brighton Hebrew Congregation		476	278
		Brighton & Hove Progressive Synagogue	ULPS	217	300
		Hove Hebrew Congregation		265	115
		New Synagogue	Ind. Ref	410	625
	Eastbourne	Hebrew Congregation		34	15

SOUTHEAST REGION		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	FEMALE
ESSEX	Basildon	Hebrew Congregation		16	5
	Chelmsford	Chelmsford Jewish Community		32	39
	Chigwell	Chigwell & Hainault Affiliated Synagogue	US	317	61
		Epping Forest & District Reform Synagogue	RSGB	36	(36)
	Colchester	Colchester & District Jewish Community Synagogue		60	15
	Harlow	Harlow Jewish Community	RSGB	41	(41)
	Loughton	Loughton, Chigwell & District Synagogue	Federation	140	15
	Southend	Southend & District Reform Synagogue	RSGB	182	(182)
		Southend & Westcliff Hebrew Congregation		900	400
HAMPSHIRE	Portsmouth	Synagogue		141	71
	Southampton	Synagogue		48	45
HERTFORDSHIRE	Borehamwood	Borehamwood & Elstree Synagogue	US	445	44
	Bushey	Bushey Synagogue	US	308	44
	Elstree	Hertsmere Progressive	ULPS	135	17[a]
	Hemel Hempstead	Hemel Hempstead & District Hebrew Congregation	US	40	68
	Potters Bar	Potters Bar & Brookmans Park District Synagogue	US	46	6

SOUTHEAST REGION		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	FEMALE
HERTFORDSHIRE (continued)	Radlett	Radlett & Bushey Reform Synagogue	RSGB	137	(135)
	St. Albans	Hebrew Congregation	US	66	10
	Watford	Synagogue	US	99	24
	Welwyn Garden City	Synagogue	US	49	20
ISLE-of-WIGHT	Nil				
KENT	Chatham	Magnus Memorial		51	20
	Margate	Synagogue		69	31
	Ramsgate	Spanish & Portuguese Synagogue	Sephardi	6	0
	Canterbury	Jewish Community		11	7
OXFORDSHIRE	Oxford	Jewish Congregation		117	58
SURREY	Epsom	Epsom & District Synagogue	US	17	3
	Guildford	Guildford & District Jewish Community		60	10
	Reigate	Reigate & District Jewish Community		15	8
	Staines	Staines & District Synagogue	US	87	32
	Weybridge	North West Surrey Synagogue	RSGB	143	37

SOUTHEAST REGION		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	MEMBERSHIP FEMALE
WEST SUSSEX	Bognor Regis	Hebrew Congregation		12	7
	Crawley	Jewish Community	ULPS	18	(18)
	East Grinstead	Jewish Community		30	5
	Worthing	Hebrew Congregation		16	16

SOUTHWEST REGION		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	MEMBERSHIP FEMALE
AVON	Bristol	Synagogue		49	27
		Bristol & West Progressive	ULPS	34	(34)
CORNWALL	Nil				
DEVON	Exeter	Hebrew Congregation		10	3
	Plymouth	Hebrew Congregation		61	65
	Torbay	Torquay & Paignton		15	3
DORSET	Bournemouth	Hebrew Congregation		471	276
	Bournemouth	Reform Synagogue	RSGB	246	62[a]
GLOUCESTERSHIRE	Cheltenham	Hebrew Congregation		24	14
SOMERSET	Nil				
WILTSHIRE	Swindon	Mid-Wiltshire Jewish Community		30	30

EAST ANGLIA REGION

		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	MEMBERSHIP FEMALE
CAMBRIDGESHIRE	Cambridge	Beth Shalom Reform Synagogue	Ind.Ref.	24	27
		Traditional Jewish Community		35	34
	Peterborough	Hebrew Congregation	US	20	5
NORFOLK	Norwich	Hebrew Congregation		39	9
SUFFOLK	Nil				

WEST MIDLANDS REGION

		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	MEMBERSHIP FEMALE
HEREFORD & WORCESTER	Nil				
SHROPSHIRE	Nil				
STAFFORDSHIRE	Stoke-on-Trent	Hebrew Congregation		42	18
WARWICKSHIRE	Nil				
WEST MIDLANDS	Birmingham	Central Synagogue		310	84
		Hebrew Congregation		518	633
		New Synagogue		87	58
		Progressive Synagogue	ULPS	225	(225)
	Coventry	Synagogue		39	17
	Solihull	Hebrew Congregation		90	2
	Wolverhampton	Synagogue		28	12

EAST MIDLANDS REGION		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	FEMALE
DERBYSHIRE	Derby	Hebrew Congregation		22	12
LEICESTERSHIRE	Leicester	Hebrew Congregation		160	65
		Progressive Jewish Congregation	ULPS	23	(22)
LINCOLNSHIRE	Nil				
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	Northampton	Hebrew Congregation		64	73
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	Nottingham	Progressive Jewish Congregation	ULPS	74	16
		Synagogue		230	83

NORTHWEST REGION		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	FEMALE
CHESHIRE	Chester	Hebrew Congregation		25	20
GREATER MANCHESTER		Adass Yeshurun Synagogue		35	28
		Adath Israel Synagogue		35	0
		Bury Hebrew Congregation		230	38
		Central & North Manchester		328	89
		Cheetham Hill Hebrew Congregation		90	5
		Cheshire Reform (Menorah) Congregation	RSGB	240	20[a]
		Congregation of Spanish & Portuguese Jews	Sephardi	35	36
		Great & New Synagogue		209	27
		Hale & District Hebrew Congregation		118	18
		Heaton Park Synagogue		407	31
		Higher Crumpsall & Higher Broughton		309	72
		Higher Prestwich Hebrew Congregation		250	30
		Hillock Hebrew Congregation		82	15

NORTHWEST REGION

	CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	FEMALE
GREATER MANCHESTER (continued)	Holy Law & South Broughton Congregation		650	150
	Kahal Chassidim		120	100
	Machzikei Hadass Communities		170	0
	Manchester Reform	RSGB	500	360
	Nefusot Yehuda Synagogue	Sephardi	18	0
	North Manchester Reform Congregation	RSGB	136	(136)
	North Salford Synagogue		108	8
	Ohel Torah Synagogue	UOHC	90	80
	Prestwich Hebrew Congregation		400	123
	Sale & District Hebrew Congregation		143	17
	Sedgley Park Synagogue		45	0
	Sha'are Sedek Synagogue	Sephardi	84	16

NORTHWEST REGION	CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	FEMALE
GREATER MANCHESTER (continued)	South Manchester		336	228[a]
	United Synagogue		220	38
	Whitefield Hebrew Congregation		480	22
	Withington Congregation of Spanish & Portuguese Jews	Sephardi	225	92
	Yeshurun Hebrew Congregation		290	60
LANCASHIRE				
Blackpool	Reform Synagogue	RSGB	65	11[a]
	United Hebrew Congregation		134	49
Preston	Synagogue		25	10
St. Annes-on-Sea	Hebrew Congregation		146	112

NORTHWEST REGION		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	FEMALE
MERSEYSIDE	Liverpool	Allerton Hebrew Congregation		250	85[a]
		Childwall Synagogue		380	65
		Greenbank Drive Synagogue		397	382
		Nusach Ari Congregation		40	25
		Old Hebrew Congregation		200	75[a]
		Progressive Synagogue	ULPS	108	(107)
		Ullet Road Synagogue		50	20
	Southport	Southport Synagogue		350	150
		New Synagogue	RSGB	113	53[a]
	Wallasey	Wallasey Hebrew Congregation		27	10

YORKSHIRE & HUMBERSIDE REGION		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	FEMALE
HUMBERSIDE	Grimsby	Sir Moses Montefiore Synagogue		56	23
	Hull	Old Hebrew Congregation		102	65
		Reform Synagogue	RSGB	30	(30)
		Western		300	45
NORTH YORKSHIRE	Harrogate	Hebrew Congregation		65	22
	York	Hebrew Congregation		6	12
SOUTH YORKSHIRE	Sheffield	United Hebrew Congregation		289	145[a]
WEST YORKSHIRE	Bradford	Synagogue	RSGB	41	50
		Hebrew Congregation		78	40
	Leeds	Beth Hamedrash Hagodal		950	550
		Chassidische Synagogue		170	24
		New Central Synagogues		523	102
		Sinai Synagogue	RSGB	375	(350)
		United Hebrew Congregation		830	350

NORTH REGION		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	FEMALE
CLEVELAND	Middlesborough	Synagogue		74	30
CUMBRIA	Barrow-in-Furness	Synagogue		3	0
DURHAM	Darlington	Hebrew Congregation		34	14
NORTHUMBERLAND	Nil				
TYNE & WEAR	Gateshead	Hebrew Congregation (including Kolel Synagogue)		168	13
	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Reform Synagogue	RSGB	52	23[a]
		United Hebrew Congregation		360	180
	South Shields	Hebrew Congregation		8	0
	Sunderland	Beth Hamedrash (including Yeshivah Synagogue)		62	0
		Hebrew Congregation		153	40
	Whitley Bay	Hebrew Congregation		15	15

		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	FEMALE
SCOTLAND	Aberdeen	Hebrew Congregation		14	2
	Dundee	Hebrew Congregation		25	32
	Edinburgh	Hebrew Congregation		200	200
	Glasgow	Crosshill Hebrew Congregation		159	58
		Garnethill Synagogue		127	145
		Giffnock & Newlands Hebrew Congregation		600	500
		Glasgow New Synagogue	RSGB	143	120
		Langside Hebrew Congregation		230	185
		Netherlee & Clarkston Hebrew Congregation		174	178
		Newton Mearns & District Hebrew Congregation		191	19
		Pollokshields Chevra Kadisha Synagogue		100	42
		Queen's Park Synagogue		380	382

		CONGREGATION	AFFILIATION	MEMBERSHIP MALE	FEMALE
WALES	Bangor	Hebrew Congregation		3	6
	Cardiff	New Synagogue	RSGB	152	8[a]
		United Synagogue		330	144
	Llandudno	Llandudno & Colwyn Bay Hebrew Congregation		10	3
	Newport	Hebrew Congregation		50	7
	Swansea	Hebrew Congregation		76	48
ISLE-of-MAN	Douglas	Hebrew Congregation		30	(30)
JERSEY	St. Helier	Hebrew Congregation		58	24
NORTHERN IRELAND	Belfast	Hebrew Congregation		163	149

SECTION 2 SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP IN GREATER LONDON

Map 2 The London Boroughs

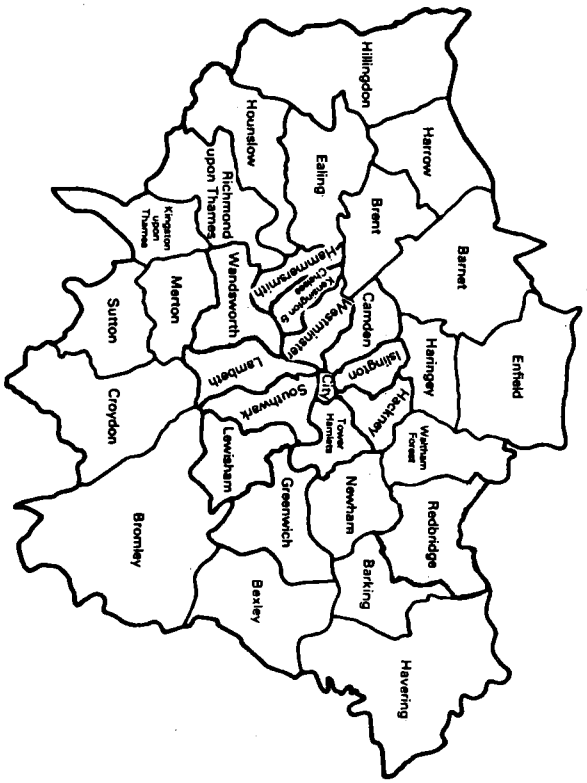


Table 2:1

AGGREGATE
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP BY LONDON BOROUGH 1983

BOROUGH	MALE	FEMALE	HOUSEHOLDS
Barking	0	0	0
Barnet	13,384	3,264	16,648
Bexley	0	0	0
Brent	4,344	1,870	6,214
Bromley	315	63	378
Camden	1,734	717	2,451
Croydon	113	30	143
Ealing	455	187	642
Enfield	2,448	585	3,033
Greenwich	112	39	151
Hackney	5,291	2,015	7,306
Hammersmith	249	202	451
Haringey	992	503	1,495
Harrow	2,820	1,359	4,179
Havering	294	68	362
Hillingdon	429	100	529
Hounslow	85	15	100
Islington	0	0	0
Kensington & Chelsea	434	209	643
Kingston upon Thames	399	77	476
Lambeth	717	443	1,160
Lewisham	326	143	469
Merton	384	105	489
Newham	359	229	588
Redbridge	4,762	1,342	6,104
Richmond upon Thames	155	72	227
Southwark	0	0	0
Sutton	240	50	290
Tower Hamlets	4,624	3,124	7,748
Waltham Forest	791	333	1,124
Wandsworth	123	62	185
Westminster	6,980	2,914	9,894
TOTAL	53,359	20,120	73,479

Table 2:2

SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP BY LONDON BOROUGH: CONGREGATIONAL DATA

	Synagogue	Affiliation	Males	Females
BARNET	Barnet	US	305	55
	Beth Shmuel	UO	150	0
	Beth Yisochor Beth Hamedrash	UO	100	0
	Bridge Lane Beth Hamedrash	UO	178	12
	Edgware	US	1331	400
	Edgware Adath Yisroel	UO	109	11
	Edgware & District Reform	RSGB	1624	(1623)
	Finchley Reform	RSGB	350	71
	Finchley	US	1050	600
	Finchley Central	Fed	130	62
	Finchley Progressive	ULPS	270	59[a]
	Finchley Road	FED/UO	60	0
	Garden Suburb Beth Hamedrash	UO	50	0
	Golders Green	US	650	270
	Golders Green Beth Hamedrash	Ind.Orth	328	82
	Hampstead Garden Suburb	US	765	283
	Hendon Reform	RSGB	1071	(1071)
	Hendon	US	1202	825
	Hendon Adath Yisroel	UO	355	62
	Lincoln Institute	Sephardi	220	(200)
	Machzikei Hadath	Fed	47	5
	Mill Hill	US	468	106
	Mill Hill Reform	RSGB	23	(22)
	New North London	Ind. Orth	146	(141)
	North Hendon Adath	UO	80	0
	North Western Reform	RSGB	1105	(1104)
	Sinai	Fed	110	70
	Woodside Park	US	778	212
	Yeshurun, Edgware	Fed	329	79
BRENT	Ahavat Shalom (Neasden)	Fed	139	71
	Cricklewood	US	337	280
	David Ishag, Kenton	Sephardi	80	10
	Dollis Hill	US	278	220

	Synagogue	Affiliation	Males	Females
BRENT (continued)	Kenton	US	1183	270
	Kesser Torah	Ind.Fed	20	0
	Kingsbury	US	443	216
	Ohel Shem, Willesden	Fed	53	33
	Wembley Reform	RSGB	49	(49)
	Wembley	US	948	341
	Wembley Liberal	ULPS	439	150[a]
	Willesden & Brondesbury	US	375	279
BROMLEY	Bromley Reform	RSGB	315	63
CAMDEN	Belsize Square	ULPS	684	(683)
	Hampstead	US	660	528
	Hampstead Reform	RSGB	54	(54)
	Shomrei Hadath	Fed	62	12
	South Hampstead	US	198	82
	West Central Liberal	ULPS	76	95[a]
CROYDON	Croydon	Fed	113	30
EALING	Ealing Liberal	ULPS	140	(140)
	Ealing & Acton	US	245	172
	Greenford	Fed	70	15
ENFIELD	Cockfosters & New Southgate	US	1113	251
	Enfield & Winchmore Hill	US	98	28
	Palmers Green & Southgate	US	555	210
	Southgate & District Reform	RSGB	292	59
	Southgate Progressive	ULPS	390	37[a]
GREENWICH	Woolwich & District	Fed	112	39
HACKNEY	Adath Yisroel	UO	150	0
	Adath Yisroel Tottenham Beth Hamedrash	UO	70	0
	Aden Jews Congregation	Sephardi	150	0
	Ahavat Israel Synagogue D'Chasidey Vishnitz	UO	150	0
	Beth Chodesh	UO	35	0
	Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Belz	UO	90	0
	Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Gur	UO	65	0
	Beth Hamedrash Ohel Naphtoli	UO	55	0
	Beth Hamedrash Ohel Shmuel Sholem	UO	40	0
	Beth Hamedrash Yetiv Lev	UO	200	0
	Beth Hamedrash Torath Chaim	UO	80	0

	Synagogue	Affiliation	Male	Females
HACKNEY (continued)	Beth Israel (Trisker)	UO	15	0
	Beth Sholom	UO	25	20
	Birkath Yehuda (Halaser) Beth Hamedrash	UO	20	0
	Finsbury Park	US	230	174
	Gan Eden (Eastern Jewry)	Sephardi	150	0
	Hackney	US	425	363
	Kehal Chassidim	UO	25	0
	Lubavitch	UO	200	0
	New	US	387	395
	North London Progressive	ULPS	603	(602)
	Northwold Road	UO	100	0
	Persian Hebrew Congregation	Sephardi	168	33
	Sha'are Shomayim (Clapton)	Fed	334	165
	Springfield	Fed	340	112
	Square Beth Hamedrash	UO	30	0
	Stamford Hill Beth Hamedrash	Fed	150	100
	Stanislowa Beth Hamedrash	UO	50	0
	Tchechenover	UO	12	0
	Walford Road	Ind.Orth.	182	151
	West Hackney	Fed	370	250
	Yavneh	Fed	345	252
	Yeshuath Chain	UO	45	0
HAMMERSMITH	Hammersmith & West Kensington	US	175	141
	Shepherds Bush, Fulham & District	Fed	74	61
HARRINGEY	Edmonton & Tottenham	US	90	45
	Highgate	US	145	100
	Hornsey & Wood Green	US	74	41
	Muswell Hill	US	314	113
	South Tottenham	US	207	110
	Tottenham Hebrew Congregation	Fed	162	94
HARROW	Belmont	US	464	65
	Middlesex New	RSGB	685	119
	Pinner	US	508	68
	Stanmore & Canons Park	US	1163	1107

	Synagogue	Affiliation	Males	Females
HAVERING	Elm Park	US	66	16
	Harold Hill	US	62	22
	Romford	US	166	30
HILLINGDON	Northwood & Pinner	ULPS	286	21[a]
	Ruislip	US	143	79
HOUNSLOW	Hounslow	US	85	15
KENSINGTON & CHELSEA	Chelsea	US	94	35
	Holland Park	Sephardi	281	114
	Notting Hill	Fed	59	60
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	Kingston & Surbiton	US	279	71
	Kingston Liberal	ULPS	120	6[a]
LAMBETH	South London Liberal	ULPS	250	125[a]
	South London	US	467	318
LEWISHAM	Catford & Bromley	US	258	77
	South-East London	US	68	66
MERTON	New Wimbledon & Putney District	Fed	41	5
	Wimbledon & District	RSGB	343	100[a]
NEWHAM	East Ham & Manor Park	US	110	80
	West Ham & Upton Park	US	249	149
REDBRIDGE	Barking & Becontree	US	167	61
	Barkingside Progressive	ULPS	60	(60)
	Ilford Federation	Fed	671	147
	Ilford	US	1872	663
	Newbury Park	US	450	70
	Ohel David	Sephardi	25	15
	Ohel Jacob Beth Hamedrash	Fed	53	33
	South-West Essex Reform	RSGB	779	61[a]
	Wanstead & Woodford	US	480	112
	Woodford & District Liberal	ULPS	205	80[a]

	Synagogue	Affiliation	Males	Females
RICHMOND-upon-THAMES	Richmond	US	155	72
SUTTON	Sutton	US	240	50
TOWER HAMLETS	Bethnal Green Great	Fed	286	131
	Commercial Road Talmud Torah	Fed	1156	749
	Congregation of Jacob	Fed	175	131
	East London	US	337	348
	East London Central	Fed	831	645
	Fieldgate Street Great	Fed	550	520
	Great Garden Street	Fed	562	266
	St. George's Settlement	RSGB/ULPS	335	82[a]
	Sandys Row	Ind.Orth	276	163
	United Workmans & Wlodowa	Ind. Orth	116	89
WALTHAM FOREST	Highams Park & Chingford	US	290	99
	Leytonstone & Wanstead	Fed	81	28
	Waltham Forest Hebrew Congregation	Ind. Orth	420	206
WANDSWORTH	Putney & Wimbledon	US	31	23
	South-West London	US	92	39
WESTMINSTER	Bayswater & Maida Vale	US	177	173
	Central	US	500	225
	Emet Va'Shalom (Maida Vale B.H.)	Fed	47	27
	Liberal Jewish	ULPS	1225	(1225)
	Marble Arch	US	338	222
	New London	Ind.Orth	508	142[a]
	New West End	US	270	153
	Spanish & Portuguese Jews Congregation (Lauderdale Road, Bevis Marks & Wembley)	Sephardi	678	426
	St. John's Wood	US	882	427
	West End Great	Fed	376	327
	West London	RSGB	1617	396[a]
	Western	Ind.Orth	210	248
	Westminster	Ind.Ref	152	148

Section 3
TRENDS IN SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP 1970-1983

The National Picture

In 1983 there was a total of 328 religious congregations in the U.K. This was a decline from 351 in 1977 and 368 in 1970.* The proportionate fall in the number of congregations is much greater than the fall in membership during the same period. This is mainly due to the closure of synagogues in areas of declining Jewish population in the inner cities of the large metropolitan centres, and depressed regions such as South Wales and the North-East of England. Another feature of recent years has been the merger of congregations in the interests of financial viability. The increased running costs which have resulted in the closure and amalgamation of synagogues have also led to a decline in the number of synagogue buildings from 345 in 1970, to 315 in 1977, and 295 in 1983.

In the period 1970 to 1977 male synagogue membership declined at an annual average rate of 0.9%. Between 1977 and 1983, the annual average decline was 0.8%. In the latter part of the period the actual numerical loss slowed as shown in Table 3.1. The overall predominance of synagogue membership within the Greater London Council area has hardly changed at 67.9% in 1970 and 67.6% in 1983. However, in the early period up to 1977, the loss of male members in Greater London was nearly three times that in provincial congregations. Yet since 1977 the position has reversed with the provinces now showing an annual average decline of 1.2% compared with 0.6% in Greater London. This recent loss of male members outside London is surprising in the light of the rise of new and larger congregations in the Home Counties which are included in the provincial totals.

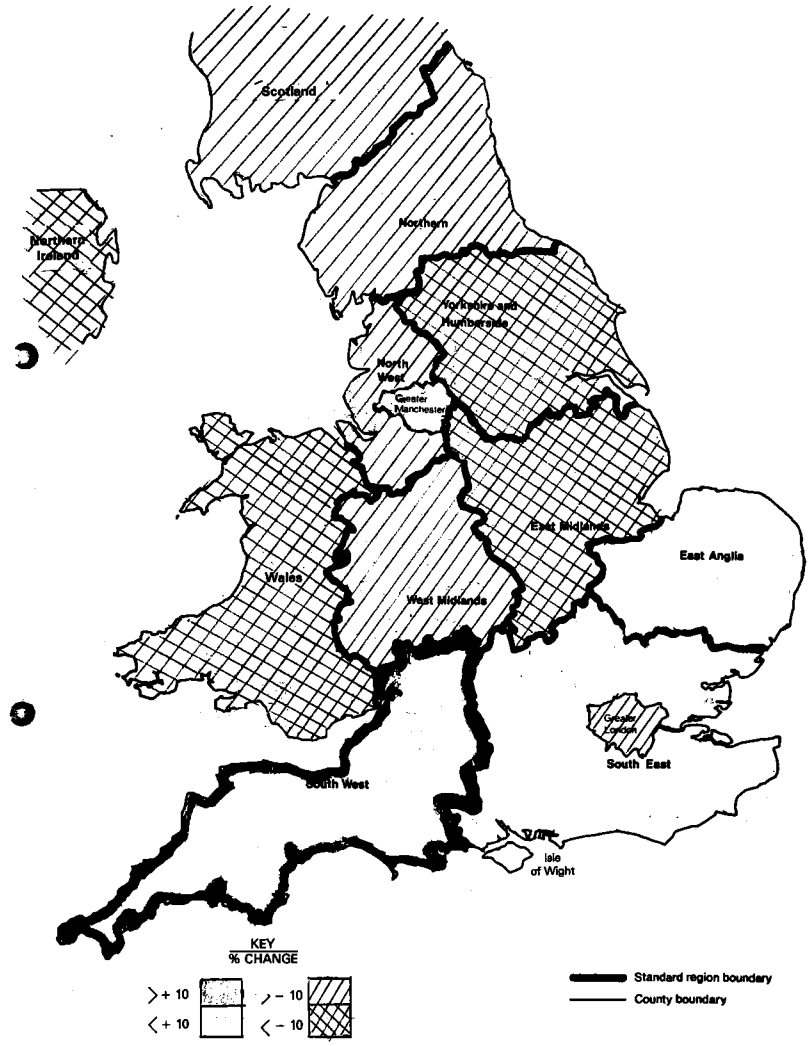
Table 3:1 THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MALE SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP 1970-83

	1970		1977		1983	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
GLC	60,066	67.9	55,494	66.9	53,359	67.6
Provinces	28,368	32.1	27,504	33.1	25,540	32.4
U.K.	88,438		82,998		78,899	

* The source for all 1970 figures in the text is S.J. Prais, 'Synagogue Statistics and the Jewish Population of Great Britain 1900-1970', The Jewish Journal of Sociology, XIV (1972) 215-228.

For all 1977 figures the source is B.A. Kosmin and D. de Lange, Synagogue Affiliation in the United Kingdom 1977, London, Research Unit, Board of Deputies. 1978.

Map 3 Regional Changes in Household Membership, 1977-83



However, whereas male synagogue membership has declined 4.9% since 1977, the total number of household memberships has only declined by 1.8%. The concept of family membership of synagogues and the failure to differentiate between the sexes as regards membership has been a noticeable feature of returns from synagogues in recent years even among Orthodox congregations. This possibly reflects the growing trend towards increasing female membership in all synagogue groups. Social and demographic changes in the Jewish communities have led to a growing number of independent female memberships in line with the general growth in the numbers of widows, single parents, spinsters, and women who have married-out but wish to maintain their ties with Judaism. The increasing number of female-headed households also suggests a trend towards a smaller average household size among British Jews, which is in keeping with trends in the general population in the U.K.

Total household synagogue membership which includes data on females who hold membership of synagogues independently or in their own right, has only been collected nationally since 1977. The last 6 years has seen a rise in the number of female synagogue members by 2066 or 7.3%. In 1983 independent females comprised 27.9% of total household memberships nationally as compared with 25.5% in 1977. Females in the provinces hold 29% of household memberships and their net gain of 8.2% since 1977 is above the national average. This trend reflects the increasing agedness of many provincial communities, a major outcome of which is the decline of male members in the provinces, with widows replacing their husbands as the household synagogue member.

Regional Change

As Table 3.2 shows between 1977 and 1983 male synagogue membership exhibited a decline in every region of the country, except the South-east outside of Greater London with a modest increase of 2.5%. The areas of greatest decline were the East Midlands (35%), Northern Ireland (34%), Wales (19%), East Anglia (16%) and Yorkshire and Humberside region (14%).

However, male membership is no longer an accurate reflection of shifts in population as it exaggerates trends. Household membership declined at a slower rate as a result of the increasing female membership. As can be seen from Map 3, four areas recorded net gains between 1977 and 1983. The South-west (in effect Bournemouth) grew by 12%, East Anglia by 5%, the South-east, excluding Greater London, by 5%, and Greater Manchester by 4%. The largest proportionate losses were suffered by Northern Ireland (25%), the East Midlands (22%), Wales (15%), and Yorkshire and Humberside region (11%).

Table 3:2 REGIONAL CHANGE 1977-83

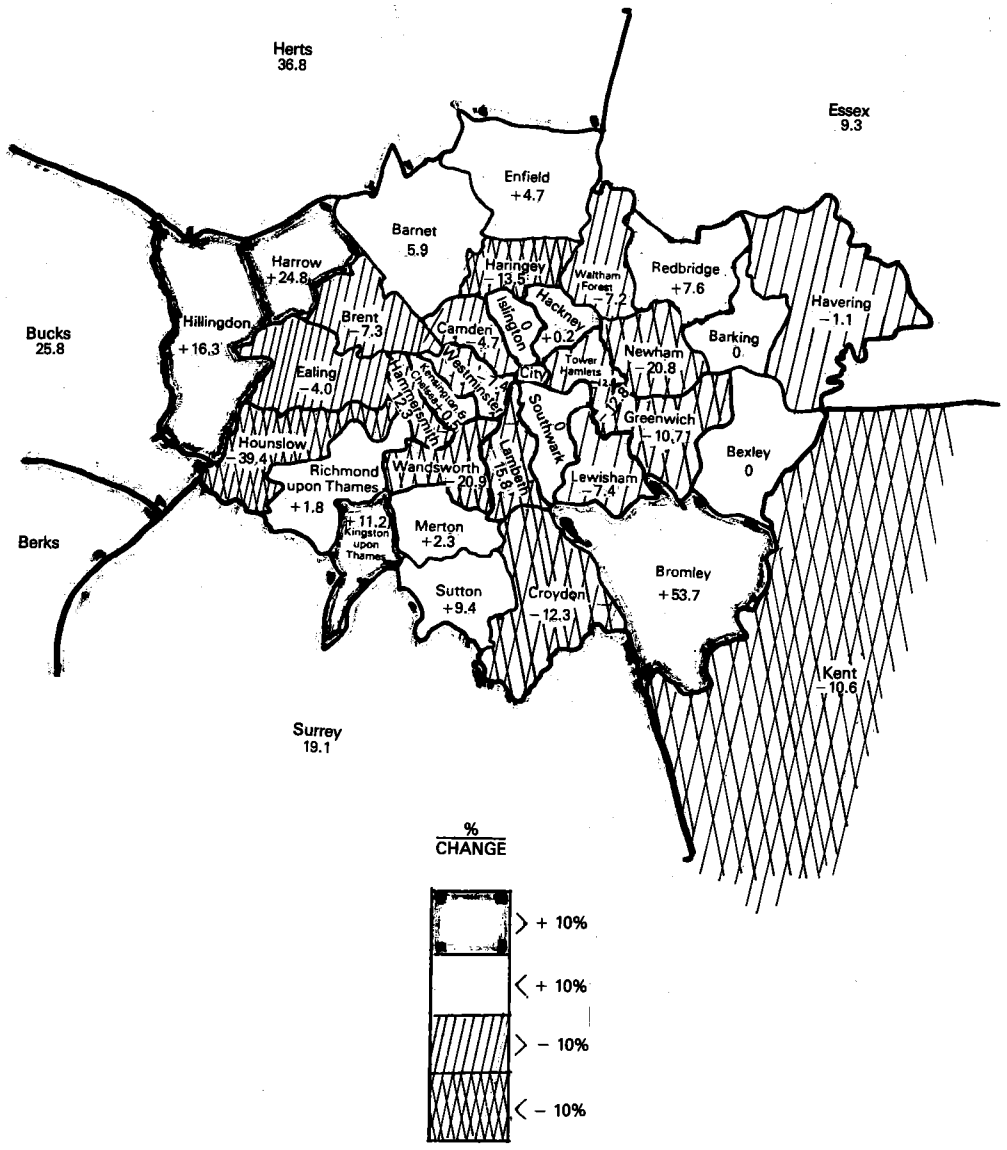
	Male Membership		Household Membership	
	Total	Net Change	Total	Net Change
	1983	1977-83	1983	1977-83
Greater London	53,359	-2135	73,479	- 850
Rest South East	5,918	+ 147	7,932	+ 355
South West	940	- 113	1,420	+ 356
East Anglia	118	- 22	193	+ 9
East Midlands	573	- 310	822	- 238
West Midlands	1,339	- 160	2,163	- 224
Greater Manchester	6,383	- 142	8,086	+ 218
Rest North West	2,310	- 207	3,377	- 187
Yorkshire & Humberside	3,815	- 616	5,243	- 648
North	929	- 116	1,244	- 110
Scotland	2,343	- 236	4,206	- 324
Wales	621	- 156	937	- 148
Northern Ireland	163	- 83	312	- 141
Jersey	58	+ 10	82	+ 11
Isle of Man	30	+ 30	30	+ 30
U.K.	78,899	-4,099	109,426	- 2,033

This type of data raises the question of the application of the male-female ratio as an indicator of demographic change. Areas with a high male-female ratio, such as Hertfordshire with 5.7 are undoubtedly areas where the Jewish population has a young average age. On the other hand where the ratio is below 2, such as Scotlsnd (1.3), the West Midlands (1.6) and East Sussex (really Brighton & Hove at 1.9) it suggests ageing and declining Jewish populations. Overall, the U.K. ratio is 2.6. However, given the varying sizes of the synagogue memberships by region and their different compositions as regards synagogue groupings, these ratios are only of limited use except in extreme cases.

Geographic Changes in Greater London

The figures for Greater London refer exclusively to the area of the Greater London Council and the 33 London boroughs. However, an understanding of the recent changes in London must include an assessment of the situation in the adjacent Home Counties. Although household membership in Greater London has fallen by 1.2% in the last 6 years, it has grown by 4.7% in the Home Counties. For example, in Hertfordshire, synagogues gained over 400 households, approximately half the loss for Greater London as a whole. Map 4 shows that in overall terms, the synagogues in the central areas have declined at the expense of those on the

Map 4 Changes in Household Membership in Greater London, 1977-83



periphery. In addition there is a general trend towards growth in the west at the expense of the east with the exceptions of Redbridge and Bromley. For example, large proportionate gains are shown in the counties of Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Berkshire, and the London Boroughs of Harrow and Hillingdon. The old dominance of synagogues in Westminster and Tower Hamlets is rapidly declining so that in 1983 Barnet's memberships alone almost equalled total membership of synagogues in both the West and East Ends.

The male female ratio varies from low ratios in inner London eg. Hammersmith 1.2 to 1, Tower Hamlets 1.5, Lambeth & Newham 1.6, to high ratios in the outer boroughs eg. Hounslow 5.7, Kingston 5.2, Sutton 4.8, Havering and Hillingdon 4.3. As a general principle it appears possible in London to use the sex ratio to differentiate population loss because of movement of people eg. in Hounslow and Havering, from loss by mortality, eg. in Hammersmith and Newham.

As a general rule in Britain, the establishment of new synagogues tends to follow the geographical movement of the Jewish population rather than precede it. Such migration in turn is based on changes in the social class composition, occupational profile and outlook of the Jewish population. Unfortunately information on the interplay between these social indicators and membership of synagogue groupings is not available. However, certain features do stand out. An obvious one, which relates to the geography of London Jewry is that all the Right-Wing Orthodox synagogues are to be found in two boroughs (Barnet and Hackney) and moreover are concentrated in particular areas of those boroughs. The fact that the members of such synagogues are geographically constrained by their Sabbath observance means that only in this instance can residential patterns be closely related to the location of synagogues. In the case of other synagogue groups, however, it is not possible to identify such a clear-cut relationship between residential patterns and synagogue location.

Changes in the Membership among Synagogue Groupings

Reform and Liberal synagogue membership is largely based on a system of family memberships. The definitional complications for inter-group comparisons this produces was referred to in the Introduction. In the face of the imprecise nature of the female membership figures discussed above, male membership is the most reliable indicator of change in this sphere. Moreover, female membership is more dominated than male membership by the Central Orthodox grouping. 88% nationally and 90% in London of female membership is Central Orthodox. This also suggests that the age-structure of the various synagogue groupings is different since the 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.

Table 3.3 shows the changes in the general distribution in the U.K. between 1977 and 1983. The most striking feature is that the decline in the membership of the Central Orthodox grouping was greater than the total national decline. The Sephardi and Liberal groupings which also showed net declines in membership, maintained their proportion of the national total, since their numerical loss was in line with the national average. The Right-Wing Orthodox and Reform both grew substantially in this period. Indeed the figures suggest that there has been a movement from the Central Orthodox towards these two groups.

Table 3:3 DISTRIBUTION OF UK MALE SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP BY SYNAGOGUE GROUPING

	1977 %	1983 %	Numerical change 1977-1983
Right-wing Orthodox	3.5	4.4	+ 599
Central Orthodox	73.6	70.5	- 5530
Sephardi	2.7	2.7	- 108
Reform	13.1	15.2	+ 1167
Liberal	7.1	7.2	- 224
Total	100.0	100.0	- 4099

In the provincial communities, the small size of the local Jewish populations tends to limit the viability of new types of synagogue. Table 1.2 shows that synagogues in the provinces are less than half the size on average (154 male members) than those in London (329 male members). As a result the Central Orthodox grouping which is the historical Anglo-Jewish tradition tends to dominate in the provinces with 80% of the male membership.

It is in Greater London that there is a real choice of type of synagogue, and so its distribution pattern is much more indicative of 'consumer taste'. Moreover, in London figures are available over a longer period. The trends identified for the national pattern are even more strongly featured in Table 3.4. 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 of members. These London figures again not only show that the Central Orthodox losses outweigh total losses, but also that the Sephardi grouping has also suffered considerably.

Table 3:4 THE CHANGING PATTERN OF MALE MEMBERSHIP BY SYNAGOGUE GROUPING IN GREATER LONDON, 1970-83

	Percentage Distribution			Numerical Change
	1970	1977	1983	1970-1983
Right-Wing Orthodox	2.6	4.2	5.3	+ 1275
Central Orthodox	72.3	69.7	66.0	- 8199
Sephardi	4.5	3.3	3.3	- 951
Reform	11.9	13.7	16.5	+ 1646
Liberal	8.7	9.1	8.9	- 478
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	- 6707

Demographic Insights

All the demographic studies in recent years have shown a greater decline in the size of Anglo-Jewry than these synagogue figures suggest. For instance, it is estimated on the basis of mortality statistics that Anglo-Jewry numbered 354,000 in 1977 and had declined to 337,000 by 1983.[1] On the other hand, synagogue membership figures suggest that on the basis of a general U.K. average of 2.7 persons per household[2], the number of affiliated households declined by only 2,000, from 111,000 to 109,000 in the same period. This suggests that the affiliated proportion of Anglo-Jewry has in fact risen, from 85% in 1977 to 88% in 1983. Whereas Anglo-Jewry as a whole has declined by 17,000 it is estimated that the total population living in households affiliated to synagogues has only declined by 4,250, from 299,700 to 295,450. Although these figures are only estimates, they do suggest a trend to a more synagogue oriented population as the size of Anglo-Jewry declines. This trend should be reinforced by the rise in female membership, since one of the most outstanding features of the study Jewish Identity in an Anglo-Jewish Community,[3] was the higher religiosity and commitment of Jewish women as against Jewish men.

A comparison of the 1983 membership figures and recent vital statistics shows that the general dynamic between the two main streams of Anglo-Jewry, the orthodox and progressive movements, is beginning to develop an established pattern among the younger generation. This is apparent from Table 3.5 which shows that the marriage pattern is more similar to the distribution of synagogue membership than the mortality pattern, which largely relates to a population over the age of 70 years.

Table 3:5 THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP AND NATIONAL VITAL INDICATORS BY SYNAGOGUE GROUPING

	Male Membership 1983	Marriages 1977-81	Marriages 1982	Deaths 1977-81
Right-Wing	4.4	7.7	9.0	
Central	70.5	68.3	67.5	
Sephardi	2.7	3.0	2.7	
ORTHODOX	77.6	79.0	79.2	82.8
Reform	15.2	14.6	15.8	9.6
Liberal	7.2	6.4	5.0	7.6
PROGRESSIVE	22.4	21.0	20.8	17.2

Once again these indicators show that the Right-Wing Orthodox and the Reform groupings are increasing proportionately both generally and within their own streams of Judaism. Nevertheless, Central Orthodoxy maintains its commanding position, and despite the increasing challenges from 'left' and 'right' its numerical domination of Anglo-Jewry's synagogue scene will continue for the foreseeable future.

1. S. Haberman, B.A. Kosmin and C. Levy, 'Mortality Patterns of British Jews 1975-9: insights and applications for the size and structure of British Jewry', Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, CXLV1 (1983), Part 4.

2. Local Studies of Jewish populations in recent years in Hackney (1971), Sheffield (1975), and Redbridge (1978) have clustered around a current general U.K. average.

3. B.A. Kosmin and C. Levy, Jewish Identity in an Anglo-Jewish Community, London, Board of Deputies, 1983.