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Community Research Unit

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Proportion of British Jewry aged 75 and over is 12.1%

Source: Forthcoming paper - Estimates of British Jewish
Population 1984-88

Haberman & Schmool

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BRITISH SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP IN 1990

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Community Research Unit Board of Deputies of British Jews

The Board of Deputies, founded in 1760, is the representative body of British Jewry. The Community Research Unit was established in 1965 following a conference on 'Jewish Life in Modern Britain' which the Board convened in 1962 in association with the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. The Unit compiles statistical data on various aspects of the community, prepares interpretive studies of social and demographic trends and acts as a resource centre for scholars, planners and communal organisations.

CONTENTS

Preface	2
Overview	3
Key to Abbreviations in Listings	5
 Section 1	
United Kingdom Membership	
Map 1 Standard Regions of the United Kingdom	6
Table 1.1 Aggregate Synagogue Membership by Standard Region	7
Table 1.2 Aggregate Household Membership by Synagogal Grouping	8
Listing 1 Individual Congregational Membership by Standard Region	9
 Section 2	
Greater London Membership	
Map 2 Greater London and environs	14
Table 2 Aggregate Synagogue Membership by London Borough	15
Listing 2 Individual Congregational Membership by London Borough	16
 Section 3	
Patterns in Synagogue Membership, 1970-90	21
Regional Change	
Male Membership	
Synagogal Groups	
 Appendix	27

PREFACE

This listing is the third prepared by the Community Research Unit of the Board of Deputies following compilations for 1977 and 1983. The figures presented relate to mid-1990. To the best of our knowledge all congregations in the United Kingdom are included: we would be pleased to be told of any unwittingly omitted. In order to compare data across synagogue groupings and between areas, our analytical base (which is described fully in the Appendix) is such that data presented here for individual synagogues may differ from membership figures published by synagogal bodies. This is particularly the case where synagogues count husbands and wives as two individual members: we have considered them as one household membership.

We are grateful to Steve Laitman of CSS for his invaluable help with layout and graphics and to Jane Pugh of the Department of Geography at the London School of Economics for drawing the maps.

Previous listings are B.A. Kosmin and D. de Lange, *Synagogue Affiliation in the United Kingdom 1977* and B.A. Kosmin and C. Levy, *Synagogue Membership in the United Kingdom 1983* both published by the Board of Deputies of British Jews. The source for 1970 figures quoted 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), pp 215-228.

OVERVIEW

This booklet provides details of synagogue membership in the United Kingdom in 1990. The data were collected directly from the records of major London synagogal organisations and by postal questionnaire from individual synagogues throughout the Provinces. Data collection was conducted over a period of a year in order to ensure all synagogues and congregations were recorded. Full details of the questions asked are included in the Appendix. Our report covers the whole religious spectrum of British Jewry each section of which has its own criterion for membership.

Historically, the pater familias held membership to cover his wife, any children under the age of majority and any daughters over that age. Sons who were of age were expected to have membership in their own right. Insofar as they have formal membership, this pattern still prevails for Orthodox synagogues. When a male head of household dies the membership is continued by his widow. On the other hand, many (mainly Progressive) synagogues have adopted a system of family membership where either husband and wife are each considered as individual members or the family is deemed to be one member.

In the tables that follow the numbers provided to us have been standardised as far as possible to ensure comparability between these different approaches. Full details of the method employed in calculating 'household membership' are given in the Appendix. Within the confines of the figures provided to us it is not possible to calculate the size of each household. Furthermore, given the level of record-keeping in many synagogues we doubt whether such data is to any great extent available. We can say that, for the most part, household membership covers at least (married) partners but in other cases it may represent a single-parent family with children.

A problem arises in categorising the community according to its religious nature. As in other religions in this country, Judaism displays a continuum from non-adherence (to any belief or ritual) to complete observance of Halachah. While it is distasteful to distinguish between degrees of observance within Orthodoxy, particularly when most mainstream Orthodox synagogues have a core of strictly observant members, in popular parlance synagogues where all members are halachically observant have become known in Britain as 'Right - Wing'. The remaining majority of Ashkenazi Orthodox synagogues are grouped as 'Central Orthodox'. This distinction is maintained in the tables which follow.

Congregations and Membership

In 1990 there were 356 congregations in the United Kingdom with a total membership of 101,239 analysed hereunder. A further 9150 married women were recorded as having membership in their own right in addition to their husband's (household) membership; they are not included in the analysis. This 356 is a net increase of 28 synagogues since 1983 due mainly to the number of small, Right Wing, congregations established in Manchester and North London and to Reform and Liberal communities set up in different areas. There

is also an (analytical) increase in Sephardi synagogues as the three making up the London Spanish & Portuguese Jews' Congregation have been named individually; previous compilations have combined them. In contrast there have been a number of closures and mergers related to population movement. While some two-thirds of the synagogally-affiliated community are found in London only slightly more than half the congregations (183 of them) are situated there. This gives an average size of congregation of 370 members in London and 194 members in the Provinces.

Congregations and Household Membership by Geographical Distribution

	1983				1990			
	Estimated Household Membersp	%	Number of Congs	%	Estimated Household Membersp	%	Number of Congs	%
Greater London	73479	67	162	49	67630	67	183	51
Provinces	35947	33	166	51	33609	33	173	49
UK	109426	100	328	100	101239	100	356	100

Of the 173 congregations outside Greater London, 87 are in major Jewish centres such as Manchester, Leeds and Brighton while 86 are in 68 communities, throughout the United Kingdom from Scotland to the South-Coast and including Northern Ireland, Jersey and the Isle of Man, which have a Jewish population of under 1500.

Greater London

The 183 synagogues in Greater London in 1990, with an average household membership of 370, compare with 162 congregations in 1983 each then with an average 454 household memberships. Between 1983 and 1990, eleven synagogues closed in Greater London and 32 opened. Notwithstanding the increased number of synagogues, the total household membership in Greater London has fallen by 8 percent, a greater rate of decline than during the period 1977-83. Between 1977 and 1990 the household membership of Greater London decreased by 9.9 percent. This fall is paralleled by an increase in membership in South-East England (reported below).

The movement westwards noted in 1983 has continued: the London Boroughs of Barnet, Harrow and Hillingdon together now account for 14 percent of London (and nine percent of national) synagogue household membership. With the exception of Hackney, which has a very particular synagogal make-up and alone accounts for almost 12 percent of synagogally-affiliated households in Greater London, it would seem that Inner London is changing in line with the northern provincial communities where older-aged communities result in reduced synagogue membership. The population shift to the areas of the South East adjacent to Greater London has attenuated replacement of membership in the more central synagogues.

Coverage

In presenting the 1983 figures, Kosmin and Levy put forward a number of caveats: these bear repeating. First, synagogue membership numbers do not equal population counts even though the majority of identifying British Jews belong to a synagogue. Secondly, total household numbers are a little inflated because of dual memberships. These occur when a household, as a unit or an individual, belongs to more than one synagogue, when more than one person at a single address has individual membership, or when husband and wife are each considered individual members. An illustrative analysis of major synagogues in Manchester in 1990 indicates dual membership there of 2.3 percent. Moreover some overstatement of households occurs because people in residential homes are included, via the single member counts, as households. Third, particularly in London boroughs, synagogue membership cannot be taken as a guide to the size of the local Jewish population. Some London boroughs have no synagogues, but this does not mean Jews are completely absent from those areas. At the same time other boroughs have synagogues - often established by earlier generations of residents - whose current members live outside the borough boundary. Other synagogues, e.g. in areas of sparse Jewish population or in the centre of large towns, often have members living in a wide catchment area.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS IN LISTINGS

AFFILIATION

Fed	Federation of Synagogues
Mas	Masorti
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, Orthodox synagogue
Ind Prog	Non-affiliated, Reform/Liberal synagogue
HC	Hebrew Congregation
JComm	Jewish Community

CATEGORIES

Analytical groups in the text tables relate to affiliation in the congregational tables as follows:

Right-Wing Orthodox: UO

Central Orthodox: Fed, US, Ind Orth, and provincial congregations not otherwise categorised

Reform: RSGB and Westminster Synagogue.

Liberal: ULPS and Belsize Square Synagogue.

SECTION 1 - UNITED KINGDOM MEMBERSHIP

Map 1 - Standard Regions of the United Kingdom

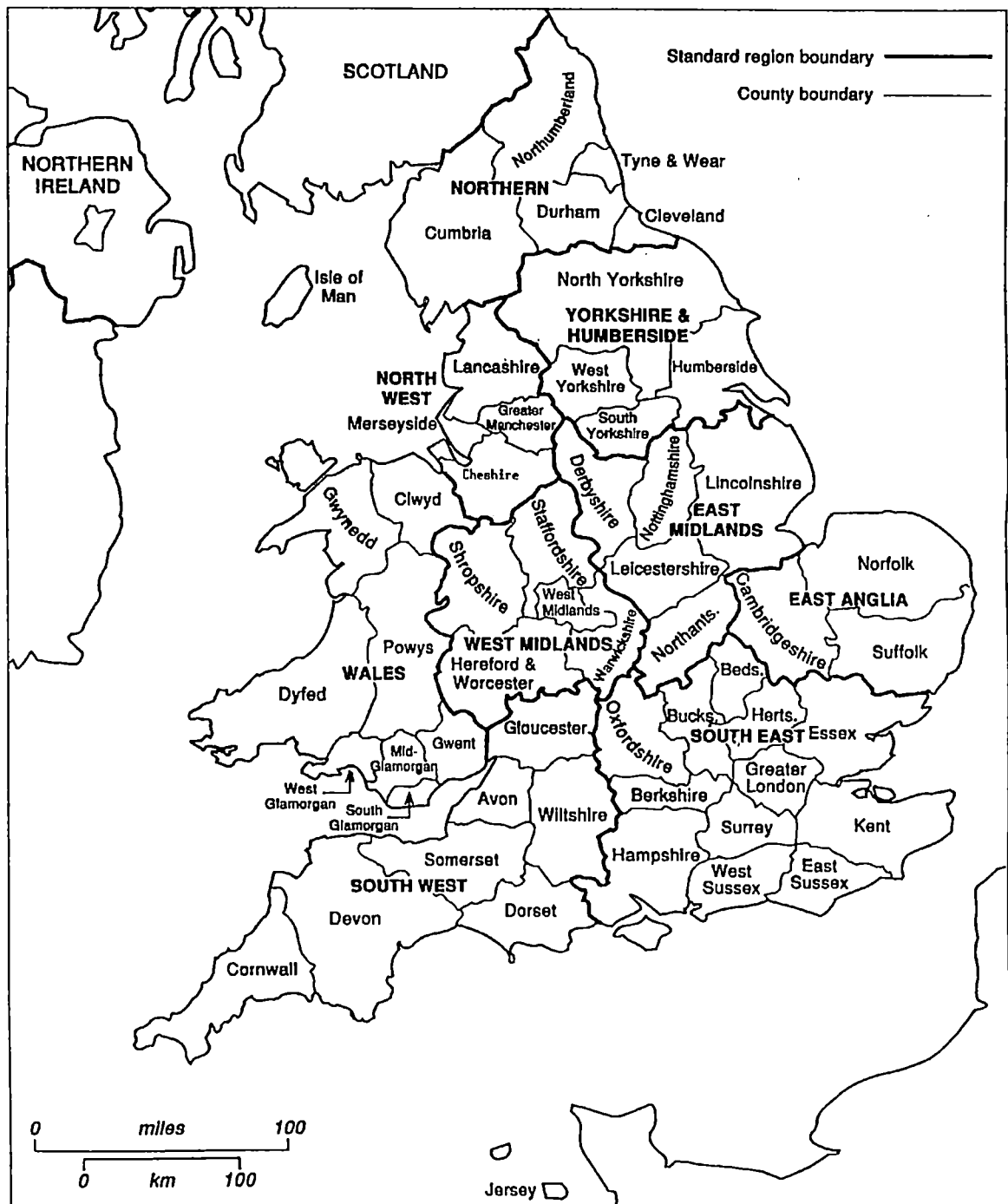


Table 1.1 Aggregate Synagogue Membership by Standard Region

		Households	Individual Males	Individual Females	Total H/hold & Individ
ENGLAND REGION	COUNTY				
SOUTH EAST	Bedfordshire	180	20	15	215
	Berkshire	366	133	196	695
	Buckinghamshire	128	3	11	142
	East Sussex	1674	151	174	1999
	Essex	2354	24	55	2433
	Greater London	60273	3093	4264	67630
	Hampshire	110	59	72	241
	Hertfordshire	2309	56	110	2475
	Kent	213	26	36	275
	Oxfordshire	150	21	46	217
	Surrey	378	52	58	488
	West Sussex	35	2	11	48
SOUTH WEST	Avon	67	48	34	149
	Devon	82	23	35	140
	Dorset	1165	71	165	1401
	Gloucestershire	29	16	15	60
	Wiltshire	20	5	4	29
EAST ANGLIA	Cambridgeshire	109	13	32	154
	Norfolk	47	4	19	70
EAST MIDLANDS	Leicestershire	182	34	50	266
	Northamptonshire	42	9	24	75
	Nottinghamshire	225	73	123	421
WEST MIDLANDS	Staffordshire	18	11	13	42
	West Midlands	1034	134	478	1646
NORTH WEST	Cheshire	28	3	3	34
	Greater Manchester	5610	854	1211	7675
	Lancashire	294	69	70	433
	Merseyside	1426	277	438	2141
YORKSHIRE & HUMBERSIDE	Humberside	293	48	146	487
	North Yorkshire	75	0	30	105
	South Yorkshire	356	5	12	373
	West Yorkshire	3128	410	510	4048
NORTH	Cleveland	27	11	12	50
	Durham	11	2	20	33
	Tyne & Wear	682	121	207	1010
SCOTLAND		1725	347	417	2489
WALES		444	79	193	716
NORTHERN IRELAND		221	0	0	221
ISLE OF MAN		18	2	5	25
JERSEY		59	8	21	88
TOTAL UK		85587	6317	9335	101239

Table 1.2 Aggregate Household Membership by Synagogal Grouping

	Congregations	No	Households	%
PROVINCES				
Right Wing Orthodox	18	1096		3.3
Central Orthodox	113	25171		74.9
Sephardi	3	477		1.4
Reform	26	5437		16.2
Liberal	13	1428		4.2
Total	173	33609		100.0
GREATER LONDON				
Right Wing Orthodox	51	4709		7.0
Central Orthodox	94	43533		64.4
Sephardi	10	2731		4.0
Reform	15	11732		17.3
Liberal	13	4925		7.4
Total	183	67630		100.0
UNITED KINGDOM				
Right Wing Orthodox	69	5805		5.7
Central Orthodox	207	68704		67.9
Sephardi	13	3208		3.2
Reform	41	17169		16.9
Liberal	26	6353		6.3
Total	356	101239		100.0

Listing 1 Individual Congregational Membership by Standard Region

Congregation		Affiliation	House Holds	Individual Males	Individual Females	Indiv & H/holds
SOUTHEAST REGION						
BEDFORDSHIRE						
Luton	Chiltern Progressive Luton & Dunstable	ULPS	55 125	0 20	0 15	55 160
BERKSHIRE						
Maidenhead	Synagogue	RSGB	227	100	145	472
Reading	Synagogue	ULPS	104	29	46	179
	Thames Valley Progressive	ULPS	35	4	5	44
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE						
Chesham	South Bucks JComm	ULPS	25	1	3	29
High Wycombe	Hebrew Congregation	US	39	0	1	40
Milton Keynes	Reform Synagogue	RSGB	64	2	7	73
EAST SUSSEX						
Bexhill	Hastings and District Jewish Society		24	4	8	36
Brighton and Hove	Brighton Hebrew Cong Brighton and Hove Prog Hove Hebrew Cong New Synagogue	ULPS RSGB	700 175 143 612	0 71 76 0	0 70 86 0	700 316 305 612
Eastbourne	Hebrew Congregation		20	0	10	30
ESSEX						
Basildon	Hebrew Congregation		10	1	3	14
Chelmsford	Chelmsford JComm		54	4	0	58
Chigwell	Chigwall and Hainault Buckhurst Hill (formerly Epping Forest)	US RSGB	470 108	10 0	4 0	484 108
Colchester	Colchester and Dist JComm		53	1	16	70
Harlow	Harlow Jewish Community	RSGB	55	8	13	76
Loughton	Loughton, Chigwell and Dist	Fed	221	0	19	240
Southend	Southend and District Reform Southend and Westcliff HC	RSGB	183 1200	0 0	0 0	183 1200
HAMPSHIRE						
Portsmouth	Synagogue		61	42	51	154
Southampton	Synagogue		22	9	11	42
	South Hampshire Reform	RSGB	27	8	10	45
HERTFORDSHIRE						
Borehamwood	Borehamwood and Elstree Syn	US	781	11	2	794
Bushey	Bushey Synagogue	US	714	5	9	728
Elstree	Hertsmeire Progressive	ULPS	220	0	0	220
Hemel Hempstead	Hemel Hempstead & Dist HC	US	0	38	67	105
Potters Bar	Potters Bar and Brookmans Park District Synagogue	US	79	0	0	79
Radlett	Radlett and Bushey Reform Syn	RSGB	235	0	0	235
St.Albans	Hebrew Congregation	US	74	0	1	75
	Masorti	Mas	16	0	2	18
Watford	Synagogue	US	113	1	0	114
Welwyn Gdn City	Synagogue	US	77	1	29	107
KENT						
Chatham	Magnus Memorial Synagogue		49	7	7	63
Margate	Synagogue		30	19	29	78
Ramsgate	Spanish and Portuguese Syn	Sephardi		used only for special services		
Canterbury	Thanet & District Reform Jewish Community	RSGB	69 65	0 0	0 0	69 65
OXFORDSHIRE						
Oxford	Jewish Congregation		150	21	46	217

	Congregation	Affiliation	House Holds	Individual Males	Individual Females	Indiv & H/holds
SURREY						
Epsom	Epsom and District Synagogue	US	12	0	8	20
Guildford	Guildford and District JComm		46	0	0	46
Staines	Staines and District Synagogue	US	146	2	0	148
Weybridge	North West Surrey Synagogue	RSGB	174	50	50	274
WEST SUSSEX						
Bognor Regis	Jewish Community	ULPS	12	2	2	16
Crawley	Jewish Community		10	0	7	17
East Grinstead	Jewish Community		13	0	2	15
SOUTHWEST REGION						
AVON						
Bristol	Synagogue	ULPS	44	23	15	82
	Bristol and West Progressive		23	25	19	67
DEVON						
Exeter	Hebrew Congregation		40	0	0	40
Plymouth	Hebrew Congregation		31	20	29	80
Torbay	Torquay & Paignton Synagogue		11	3	6	20
DORSET						
Bournemouth	Hebrew Congregation	RSGB	675	0	0	675
	Reform Synagogue		490	71	165	726
GLOUCESTERSHIRE						
Cheltenham	Hebrew Congregation		29	16	15	60
WILTSHIRE						
Swindon	Mid-Wiltshire Jewish Community	RSGB	20	5	4	29
EAST ANGLIA REGION						
CAMBRIDGESHIRE						
Cambridge	Beth Shalom Reform Synagogue	Ind.Ref	45	12	20	77
	Traditional Jewish Community		35	0	0	35
Peterborough	Hebrew Congregation	US	17	0	10	27
	Liberal Jewish Community	ULPS	12	1	2	15
NORFOLK						
Norwich	Hebrew Congregation		47	4	19	70
WEST MIDLANDS REGION						
STAFFORDSHIRE						
Stoke on Trent	Hebrew Congregation		18	11	13	42
WEST MIDLANDS						
Birmingham	Central Synagogue		330	0	0	330
	Hebrew Congregation		400	50	250	700
	New Synagogue		39	22	42	103
	Progressive Synagogue	ULPS	110	49	125	284
Coventry	Synagogue		36	6	14	56
Leamington	Jewish Group	ULPS	15	3	35	53
Solihull	Hebrew Congregation		80	1	5	86
Wolverhampton	Synagogue		24	3	7	34
EAST MIDLANDS REGION						
LEICESTERSHIRE						
Leicester	Hebrew Congregation	ULPS	160	20	30	210
	Progressive Jewish Cong		22	14	20	56

Congregation	Affiliation	House Holds	Individual Males	Individual Females	Indiv & H/holds
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE					
Northampton	Hebrew Congregation	42	9	24	75
NOTTINGHAM					
Nottingham	Progressive Jewish Cong Synagogue	68 157	23 50	23 100	114 307
NORTHWEST REGION					
CHESHIRE					
Chester	Hebrew Congregation	28	3	3	34
GREATER MANCHESTER					
	Adass Yeshurun Synagogue	UO	60	0	60 *
	Adath Israel Synagogue	UO	22	0	22 *
	Belz	UO	43	0	43 *
	Beis Yisroel	UO	30	0	30 *
	Bury Hebrew Congregation		233	36	310
	Central and North Manchester		200	54	329
	Cheetham Hebrew Cong		22	30	62
	Cheshire Reform (Menorah) Congregation	RSGB	250	60	402
	Damesek Eliezer	UO	66	0	66 *
	Great and New Synagogue		205	35	270
	Hale & District HC		177	0	221
	Heaton Park Synagogue		350	63	527
	Higher Crumpsall & Higher Broughton		153	52	302
	Higher Prestwich HC		230	30	280
	Hillock Hebrew Congregation		65	10	82
	Holy Law South Broughton		348	100	606
	Kahal Chassidim	UO	50	15	68 *
	Machzikei Hadass Communities	UO	220	0	220
	Manchester Kollel	UO	40	0	40 *
	Manchester Yeshiva Kollel	UO	25	0	25 *
	Nefusot Yehuda Synagogue	UO	20	0	20 *
	Manchester Reform Synagogue	RSGB	296	93	487
	Ohel Torah Synagogue	UO	70	0	70 *
	Pinto Kollel	UO	10	0	10 *
	Prestwich Beth Hamedrash	UO	45	1	48
	Prestwich Hebrew Congregation		280	0	280
	Roumanian Vine Street		73	0	73 *
	Satmar	UO	45	0	45 *
	Sale & District Hebrew Cong.		160	0	160
	Sedgley Park Synagogue		52	6	64
	Sha'arei Shalom	RSGB	140	22	195
	Sha'are Sedek Synagogue	Sephardi	144	0	144
	Sha'are Torah Kollel	UO	35	0	35 *
	Shomrei Hadass	UO	65	0	65 *
	South Manchester		276	64	479
	Spanish & Portuguese Cong	Sephardi	46	13	81
	United Synagogue		163	27	190
	Whitefield Synagogue		409	27	499
	Withington Spanish & Port.	Sephardi	140	48	252
	Yeshurun Hebrew Congregation		260	68	421
	Zerei Agudas Yisroel	UO	66	0	66 *
	Zichron Yechezkel	UO	26	0	26 *
LANCASHIRE					
Blackpool	Reform Synagogue	RSGB	33	40	113
	United Hebrew Congregation		66	29	125
St. Annes	Hebrew Congregation		195	0	195

* See Appendix for explanation

	Congregation	Affiliation	House Holds	Individual Males	Individual Females	Indiv & H/holds
MERSEYSIDE						
Liverpool	Allerton Hebrew Congregation		171	51	59	281
	Childwall Synagogue		480	0	0	480
	Greenbank Drive Synagogue		202	74	135	411
	Old Hebrew Congregation		208	0	0	208
	Progressive Synagogue	ULPS	88	35	35	158
	Ullet Road Synagogue		21	11	8	40
Southport	Southport Synagogue		165	63	146	374
	New Synagogue	RSGB	81	43	55	179
Wallasey	Wallasey Hebrew Congregation		10	0	0	10 *
YORKSHIRE AND HUMBERSIDE REGION						
HUMBERSIDE						
Grimsby Hull	Sir Moses Montefiore Synagogue		18	7	11	36
	Reform Synagogue	RSGB	45	6	10	61
	Western/Old Hebrew Cong		230	35	125	390
NORTH YORKSHIRE						
Harrogate York	Hebrew Congregation		65	0	30	95
	Hebrew Congregation		10	0	0	10
SOUTH YORKSHIRE						
Sheffield	United Hebrew Congregation		345	0	0	345
	Reform	RSGB	11	5	7	23
WEST YORKSHIRE						
Bradford	Synagogue	RSGB	19	10	21	50
	Hebrew Congregation		35	21	30	86
Leeds	Beth Hamedrash Hagodal		927	0	0	927
	Chassidische Synagogue		31	40	40	111 *
	New Central Vilna		540	250	250	1040 *
	Sinai Synagogue	RSGB	261	59	93	413
	United Hebrew Congregation		1200	0	0	1200
	Queenshill Synagogue		115	30	76	221
NORTH REGION						
CLEVELAND						
Middlesborough	Synagogue		27	11	12	50
DURHAM						
Darlington	Hebrew Congregation	RSGB	11	2	20	33
TYNE AND WEAR						
Gateshead Newcastle	HC (with Kolel Syn)	UO	221	1	15	237
	Reform Synagogue	RSGB	140	0	0	140
	United Hebrew Congregation		233	64	159	456
South Shields	Hebrew Congregation		6	3	1	10
Sunderland	Hebrew Congregation		64	53	32	149
Whitley Bay	Hebrew Congregation		18	0	0	18

* See Appendix for explanation

	Congregation	Affiliation	House Holds	Individual Males	Individual Females	Indiv & H/holds
SCOTLAND						
Aberdeen	Hebrew Congregation		13	2	1	16
Dundee	Hebrew Congregation		9	0	0	9
Edinburgh	Hebrew Congregation		87	54	71	212
Glasgow	Garnethill Synagogue		228	0	0	228
	Giffnock & Newlands HC		665	0	0	665
	Glasgow New Synagogue	RSGB	91	38	43	172
	Langside Hebrew Congregation		142	48	84	274
	Netherlee & Clarkston HC		154	45	46	245
	Newton Mearns & Dist HC		126	43	28	197
	Queens Park Synagogue		210	117	144	471
WALES						
Cardiff	New Synagogue	RSGB	190	0	0	190
	United Synagogue		191	46	130	367
Llandudno	Llandudno & Colwyn Bay HC		6	7	4	17
Newport	Hebrew Congregation		21	8	15	44
Swansea	Hebrew Congregation		36	18	44	98
ISLE-OF-MAN						
Douglas	Hebrew Congregation		18	2	5	25
JERSEY						
St. Helier	Hebrew Congregation		59	8	21	88
NORTHERN IRELAND						
Belfast	Hebrew Congregation		221	0	0	221

SECTION 2 - GREATER LONDON MEMBERSHIP

Map 2 - Greater London and environs



Table 2 Aggregate Synagogue Membership by London Borough

BOROUGH	Synagogues	Households	Individual Males	Individual Females	Tot H/hold & Individis
Barnet	38	15647	449	1209	17305
Brent	11	4094	127	253	4474
Bromley	1	140	48	72	260
Camden	6	1692	318	269	2279
City of London	1	included in Westminster			
Croydon	1	125	0	0	125
Ealing	3	408	53	93	554
Enfield	5	3010	349	102	3461
Greenwich	1	159	0	0	159
Hackney	50	7609	149	234	7992
Hammersmith	2	326	3	16	345
Haringey	5	1209	11	11	1231
Harrow	4	3778	127	69	3974
Havering	3	297	1	1	299
Hillingdon	3	820	15	24	859
Hounslow	1	85	1	0	86
Kensington & Chelsea	3	411	55	119	585
Kingston upon Thames	2	447	39	48	534
Lambeth	2	677	68	146	891
Lewisham	1	406	11	0	417
Merton	3	614	5	8	627
Newham	1	324	2	45	371
Redbridge	10	5473	286	383	6142
Richmond upon Thames	1	226	5	2	233
Sutton	1	301	1	1	303
Tower Hamlets	8	3564	76	225	3865
Waltham Forest	4	805	143	125	1073
Wandsworth	1	116	0	8	124
Westminster	11	7501	751	801	9053
TOTAL	183	60273	3093	4264	67630

Listing 2 Individual Congregational Membership by London Borough

		Affiliation	House Holds	Individual Males	Individual Females	Indiv & H/holds
BARNET						
x	Barnet	US	382	16	0	398
	Beth Abraham Synagogue	UO	50	0	0	50*
	Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Gur	UO	25	0	0	25*
	Beth Hamedrash Divrei Chaim	UO	100	0	0	100*
	Beth Hamedrash Hendon	UO	20	0	0	20*
	Beth Shmuel	UO	97	0	0	97*
	Beth Yisochor Beth Hamedrash	UO	100	0	0	100
	Bridge Lane Beth Hamedrash	UO	150	0	0	150
x	Edgware	US	1563	30	55	1648
x	Edgware Adath Yisroel	UO	108	5	10	123
x	Edgware Masorti	Mas	126	0	0	126
x	Edgware & District Reform	RSGB	1420	40	607	2067
x	Finchley Reform	RSGB	387	53	88	528
	Finchley	US	1469	28	6	1503
50%	x Finchley Central	Fed	151	0	0	151
	Finchley Progressive	ULPS	358	0	0	358
	Finchley Road	Fed/UO	75	0	0	75*
	Garden Suburb Beth Hamedrash	UO	25	0	0	25*
	Golders Green	US	754	11	48	813
	Golders Green	Fed	6	0	0	6
	Golders Green Beth Hamedrash	UO	370	0	0	370
x	Hampstead Adath Yisroel	UO	20	0	0	20
	Hampstead Garden Suburb	US	1042	11	14	1067
	Hendon Reform	RSGB	588	155	247	990
	Hendon	US	1425	21	38	1484
	Hendon	Fed	7	0	0	7
	Hendon Adath Yisroel	UO	381	20	59	460
	Machzikel Hadath	Fed	16	0	0	16*
x	Mill Hill	US	599	8	1	608
x	Mill Hill Reform	RSGB	64	9	5	78
	Ner Yisroel	UO	56	0	0	56
✓	x New North London	Mas	275	14	5	294
✓	North Hendon Adath	UO	122	8	11	141
✓	North Western Reform	RSGB	1450	0	0	1450
✓	Ohel David	Sephardi	350	0	0	350
50%	✓ Sinai	Fed	140	0	0	140
x	Woodside Park	US	945	20	15	980
x	Yeshurun	Fed	431	0	0	431
BRENT						
	Ahavat Shalom (Neasden)	Fed	173	0	0	173
	Cricklewood	US	290	1	36	327
	David Ishag, Kenton	Sephardi	90	0	0	90
	Dollis Hill	US	310	4	14	328
	Kenton	US	1170	38	5	1213
	Kingsbury	US	457	14	6	477
	Ohel Shem, Willesden	Fed	56	0	0	56
	Wembley Sephardi	Membership figures included in Lauderdale Rd				
	Wembley	US	838	3	15	856
	Wembley Liberal	ULPS	338	63	143	544
	Willesden & Brondesbury	US	372	4	34	410
BROMLEY						
	Bromley Reform	RSGB	140	48	72	260
CAMDEN						
	Belsize Square	Ind Prog	304	300	256	860
	Hampstead	US	754	11	11	776
	Hampstead Reform	RSGB	100	0	0	100
	Shomrei Hadath	Fed	28	0	0	28
	South Hampstead	US	360	7	2	369
	West Central Liberal	ULPS	146	0	0	146
CITY OF LONDON						
	Bevis Marks	Membership figures included in Lauderdale Rd				

* See Appendix for explanation

	Affiliation	House Holds	Individual Males	Individual Females	Indiv & H/holds
CROYDON					
Croydon	Fed	125	0	0	125
EALING					
Ealing Liberal	ULPS	74	50	88	212
Ealing & Acton	US	266	3	5	274
Greenford	Fed	68	0	0	68
ENFIELD					
Cockfosters & North Southgate	US	1336	16	29	1381
Enfield & Winchmore Hill	US	130	2	0	132
Palmers Green & Southgate	US	657	17	13	687
Southgate & District Reform	RSGB	521	0	0	521
Southgate Progressive	ULPS	366	314	60	740
GREENWICH					
Woolwich & District	Fed	159	0	0	159
HACKNEY					
Adath Yisroel	UO	163	0	0	163
Adath Yisroel Tottenham	UO	80	0	0	80
Aden Jews Congregation	Sephardi	200	0	0	200
Ahavat Israel Vishnitz	UO	65	0	0*	65*
Beth Chodesh	UO	26	0	0*	26*
Beth Hamedrash Agudah Youth Movement	UO	110	0	0*	110*
Beth Hamedrash Belz	UO	165	0	0*	165*
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Gur	UO	100	0	0*	100*
Beth Hamedrash D'Chasidey Ryzin	UO	30	0	0*	30*
Beth Hamedrash Imrey Chaim	UO	30	0	0*	30*
Beth Hamedrash Ohel Naphtoli	UO	80	0	0*	80*
Beth Hamedrash Ohel Shmuel Sholem	UO	40	2	3	45
Beth Hamedrash Yetiv Lev N16	UO	34	0	0*	34*
Beth Hamedrash Yetiv Lev E5	UO	450	0	0*	450*
Beth Hamedrash Yetiv N16	UO	50	0	0*	50*
Beth Hamedrash Sanz Klausenburg	UO	30	0	0	30
Beth Hamedrash Torah Chaim Liege	UO	15	0	0*	15*
Beth Hamedrash Torah U'Tfillah	UO	20	0	0*	20*
Beth Talmud Centre	UO	25	0	0*	25*
Beth Hamedrash Torah Etz Chaim	UO	125	5	0	130
Beth Hamedrash Ponevezh	UO	30	0	0*	30*
Beth Israel (Trisker)	UO	30	5	5	40
Frumkins Beth Hamedrash	UO	10	0	0	10
Jacob Benjamin Elias (Gan Eden)	Sephardi	469	0	0	469
Mesifita Synagogue	UO	200	0	0*	200*
Beth Hamedrash Z Shlomo	UO	30	5	0	35
Beth Shalom	UO	36	5	3	44
Birkath Yehuda (Halaser)	UO	23	3	3	29
Finsbury Park	US	306	3	20	329
Hackney	US	626	3	15	644
Knightland Road	UO	36	0	0*	36*
Kehal Chassidim	UO	90	0	0*	90*
Lubavitch	UO	153	0	0*	153*
New	US	478	2	29	509
North London Progressive	ULPS	500	96	111	707
Northwold Road	UO	136	0	0*	136*
Persian Hebrew Congregation	Sephardi	167	20	45	232
Sha-are Shomayim (Clapton)	Fed	377	0	0	377
Springfield	Fed	239	0	0	239
Square Beth Hamedrash	UO	40	0	0*	40*
Stamford Hill Beth Hamedrash	Fed	138	0	0	138
Stanislaw Beth Hamedrash	UO	60	0	0*	60*
Walford Road	Ind Orth	300	0	0	300
West Hackney	Fed	370	0	0	370
Yavneh	Fed	567	0	0	567
Yeshuath Chaim	UO	100	0	0	100
Yesodey Hatorah	UO	24	0	0*	24*
Yemenite Synagogue	UO	30	0	0*	30*
Yeshiva Horomah Beth Hamedrash	UO	35	0	0*	35*
Constituent UO Congregations	UO	171	0	0*	171*

* See Appendix for explanation

	Affiliation	House Holds	Individual Males	Individual Females	Indiv & H/holds
HAMMERSMITH					
Hammersmith & West Kensington	US	235	3	16	254
Shepherds Bush, Fulham & District	Fed	91	0	0	91
HARINGEY					
Edmonton & Tottenham	US	78	1	7	86
Highgate	US	268	1	1	270
Muswell Hill	US	421	5	3	429
South Tottenham	US	280	4	0	284
Tottenham Hebrew Congregation	Fed	162	0	0	162
HARROW					
Belmont	US	605	5	3	613
Middlesex New	RSGB	822	0	0	822
Pinner	US	894	12	5	911
Stanmore & Canons Park	US	1457	110	61	1628
HAVERING					
Elm Park	US	62	1	1	64
Harold Hill	US	83	0	0	83
Romford	US	152	0	0	152
HILLINGDON					
Kol Chai	RSGB	122	10	9	141
Northwood & Pinner	ULPS	503	0	0	503
Ruislip	US	195	5	15	215
HOUNSLOW					
Hounslow	US	85	1	0	86
KENSINGTON & CHELSEA					
Chelsea	US	131	1	4	136
Holland Park	Sephardi	191	54	115	360
Notting Hill	Fed	89	0	0	89
KINGSTON UPON THAMES					
Kingston & Surbiton	US	336	7	2	345
Kingston Liberal	ULPS	111	32	46	189
LAMBETH					
South London Liberal	ULPS	203	67	120	390
South London	US	474	1	26	501
LEWISHAM					
Catford & Bromley	US	406	11	0	417
MERTON					
New Wimbledon & Putney District	Fed	35	0	0	35
South West London Masorti	Mas	29	5	8	42
Wimbledon & District	RSGB	550	0	0	550
NEWHAM					
West Ham & Upton Park	US	324	2	45	371
REDBRIDGE					
Barking and Becontree	US	121	5	66	192
Barkingside Progressive	ULPS	200	0	0	200
Ilford Federation	Fed	920	0	0	920
Ilford	US	2104	43	63	2210
Ohel David	Sephardi				
New Essex Masorti	Mas	26	6	0	32
Newbury Park	US	540	59	2	601
South West Essex Reform	RSGB	674	125	236	1035
Wanstead & Woodford	US	673	6	3	682
Woodford & District Liberal	ULPS	215	42	13	270

Membership included in Eastern Jewry

	Affiliation	House Holds	Individual Males	Individual Females	Indiv & H/holds
RICHMOND-UPON-THAMES					
Richmond	US	226	5	2	233
SUTTON					
Sutton	US	301	1	1	303
TOWER HAMLETS					
Bethnal Green Great	Fed	102	0	0	102
Congregation of Jacob	Fed	107	0	0	107
East London	US	481	1	29	511
East London Central	Fed	909	0	0	909
Fieldgate Street Synagogue	Fed	605	0	0	605
Great Garden Street	Fed	450	0	0	450
St. Georges Settlement	RSGB/ULPS	135	75	171	381
Sandys Row	Ind Orth	295	0	25	320
Remaining members of now defunct Congs	Fed	480	0	0	480
WALTHAM FOREST					
Highams Park & Chingford	US	304	3	0	307
Leytonstone & Wanstead	Fed	89	0	0	89
Waltham Forest	Fed	42	0	0	42
Waltham Forest Heb Cong	Ind Orth	370	140	125	635
WANDSWORTH					
South West London	US	116	0	8	124
WESTMINSTER					
Central	US	634	28	8	670
Liberal Jewish	ULPS	746	0	0	746
Marble Arch #	US	516	3	6	525
New London	Mas	410	115	189	714
New West End	US	370	6	7	383
Spanish & Portuguese Cong (Lauderdale Road)	Sephardi	580	0	450	1030
St. Johns Wood	US	964	12	9	985
West End Great	Ind Orth	792	64	44	900
West London	RSGB	2022	423	0	2445
Western #	Ind Orth	300	0	0	300
Westminster	Ind Ref	176	100	88	364
# Merged in 1991					
TOTAL		60273	3093	4264	67630

SECTION 3 - PATTERNS IN SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP 1970-1990

Regional Change

Table 3.1 shows the change in numbers of Jewish households in each region between 1983 and 1990. The overall decrease of 8187 households (7.5 percent) shown is probably a slight exaggeration because the 1983 total household membership included an unspecified number of women who had membership in addition to, or alongside their husband. The present method of compilation allows us to omit this group from the totals. Individual females account for 9.2 percent of all 1990 household membership but this underestimates female membership as many family/households had a female head but not all congregations were able to say whether a household was headed by a man or a woman.

Table 3.1 Regional Change 1983-1990

Region	Household Membership		Net Change 1983-1990
	1983	1990	
Greater London	73479	67630	-5849
Rest of South East	7932	9228	+1296
South West	1420	1779	+359
East Anglia	193	224	+31
East Midlands	822	762	-60
West Midlands	2163	1688	-475
Greater Manchester	8086	7675	-411
Rest of North West	3377	2608	-769
Yorkshire & Humberside	5243	5013	-230
North	1244	1093	-151
Scotland	4206	2489	-1717
Wales	837	716	-121
Northern Ireland	312	221	-91
Jersey	82	88	+6
Isle of Man	30	25	-5
UK	109426	101239	-8187

Most regions declined, with slight increases only in those which experienced general population growth. Growth in membership noted in South-East England, South-West England and East Anglia at the beginning of the decade has been sustained from 1983 to 1990. Greater Manchester, which showed an increase in the earlier period, has now decreased. The most marked decline has been in Scotland, where membership has decreased by 41 percent since 1983 with the communities in Dundee and Aberdeen virtually disappearing.

The rise in South-East England is due mainly to the continuing inflow of young families to communities contiguous with Greater London. These Home Counties communities increased by five percent from 1977 to 1983 and by a further 16 percent to 1990: between 1977 and 1990, they have grown by 21.8 percent. This trend is linked to the general move to the suburbs and also to the difficulty which younger families have in finding suitably-priced housing within Jewish areas of Greater London. The South-West area showed the largest proportionate increase in household membership (25 percent) reflecting both the economic growth of the area, with families following work opportunities, and a sustained local effort to involve Jewish households in communal activities.

Male Membership

Whereas this report sets out total memberships on a household basis, previous analyses concentrated on the number of men holding synagogue membership. In order to examine 20-year trends, male membership for 1990 has been calculated, from the raw data available to the Unit, as equal to individual males plus either male heads of household or family memberships and the results are reported in Tables 3.2 to 3.4.

Table 3.2 The Geographical Distribution of Male Synagogue Membership 1970-1990

	1970		1977		1983		1990	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
GLC	60066	67.9	55494	66.9	53359	67.6	50305	63.4
Provinces	28368	32.1	27504	33.1	25540	32.4	29083	36.6
UK Total	88438	100.0	82998	100.0	78899	100.0	79388	100.0

Table 3.2 sets out the levels of male membership, in London and the Provinces for the period 1970 to 1990. There was a decrease from 1970 to 1983 but the 1990 figure shows a slight rise due to an overall provincial increase. This, however, is not consistent throughout Great Britain: traditional Jewish centres in the industrial North and Midlands have continued to decline while, as discussed above, loss there is offset by certain communities in South Hertfordshire and South-West Essex which are growing rapidly.

The overall provincial increase has caused a shift in the London:Provinces ratio of male synagogue members. Since statistics were first compiled in 1970 at least 67 percent of all male synagogue members have been recorded as belonging to a London synagogue. The current compilation shows that this proportion is now 63 percent.

The difference in female membership between London and the Provinces recorded in 1983 has been sustained. Some 15 percent of all provincial memberships were individual lady members; the comparable proportion for London was 6.3 percent. This suggests a continuation of the relative agedness of members in the provincial communities, due to widows maintaining a household membership after their husband's death.

Synagogal Grouping

Past problems in defining female memberships prevent comparison of earlier household membership profiles with the current figures. Trends in patterns of religious grouping are therefore examined on the basis of male membership but Table 3.3 also sets out the household percentages for 1990. These may then both be compared with 1990 male membership ratios and be used as a benchmark for future household comparisons.

Table 3.3 Distribution of UK Synagogue Membership by Synagogue Grouping

	Males			H/holds
	1983	1990	Numerical Change 1983-1990	1990
	%	%		%
Right Wing Orthodox	4.4	6.9	+2015	5.7
Central Orthodox	70.5	64.9	-4148	67.9
Sephardi	2.7	2.8	+97	3.2
Reform	15.2	17.0	+1526	16.9
Liberal	7.2	8.4	+999	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0
Number	78899	79388	+489	101239

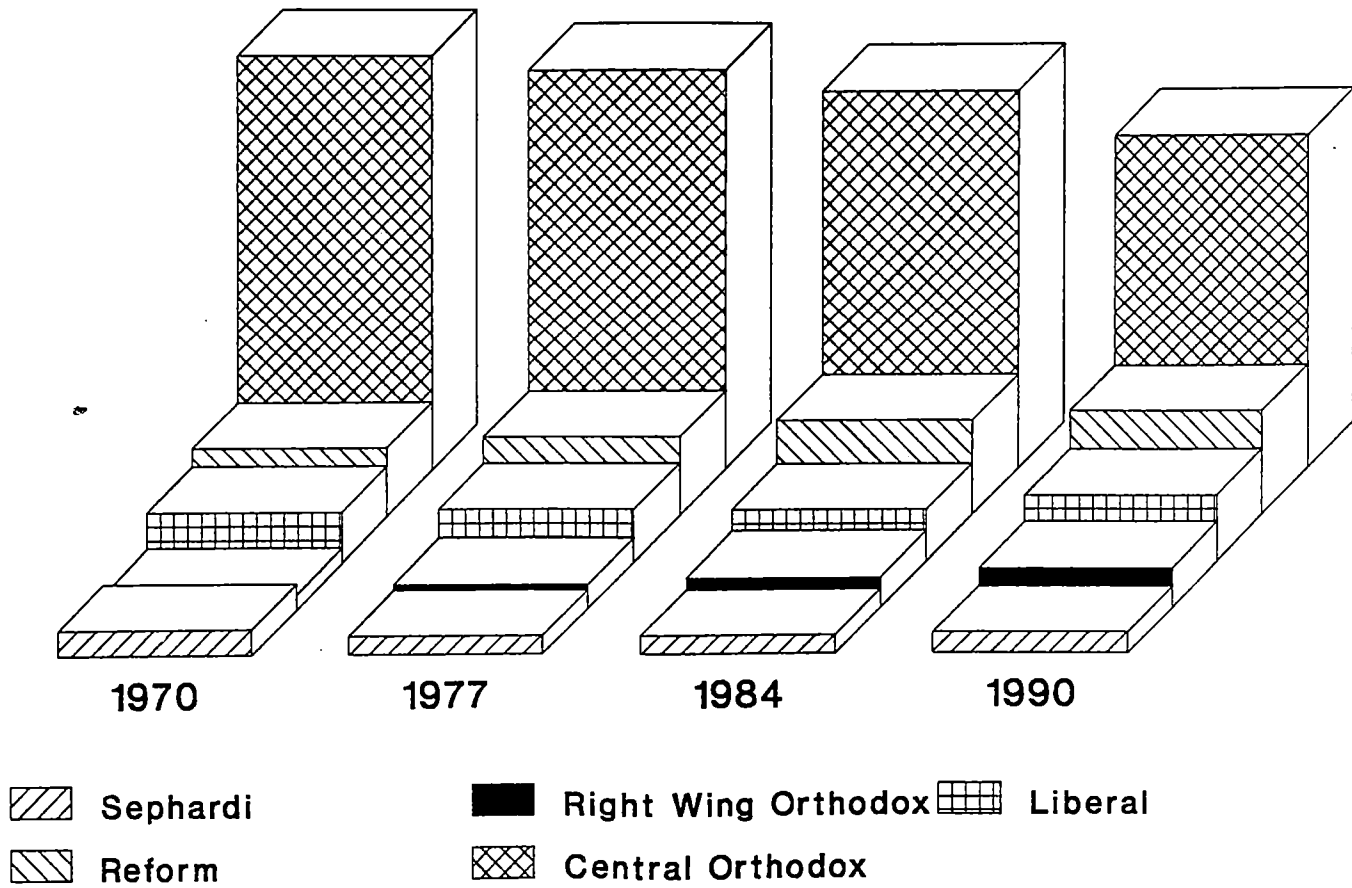
25%
not
in Syn
affiliated

A comparison of male with household membership distributions shows the bias towards male membership of Right Wing orthodox congregations. While 6.9 percent of male membership is found in this group, only 5.7 percent of household membership is similarly accounted for. Of the other groupings, solely the Liberal accounts for a smaller proportion of household than of male membership which, for them, is almost certainly overstated because female heads of households could not always be pinpointed and excluded from the male figures. This last factor accounts for an unspecifiable part of the increase in Liberal male membership from 1983 to 1990 and means also that the proportion of male membership of all other groups is (marginally) understated.

For the Reform group it was possible to adjust household figures to allow for those with female heads of household. Thus, while the Reform group accounts for 17 percent of both male and household membership in 1990, this represents some 13,500 male memberships but 17,110 household memberships. Both the Central Orthodox and the Sephardi groups account for a higher proportion of households than of male membership, indicating the effect of individual female memberships on the total of these groups. It specifically underlines the relative over-representation of female members in the provinces and Inner London where the majority of these synagogues are situated.

The strong concentration of Right Wing orthodox membership in the London area shows when trends in male membership for Greater London are examined. The Right Wing Orthodox male membership in London showed an increase of 56 percent from 1983. In 1990 8.8 percent of London total male membership belonged to this group of synagogues compared with 6.9 percent nationally but only seven percent of London households were Right Wing orthodox. In contradistinction, the female bias of the Central Orthodox group is indicated by the fact that 58.2 percent of males compared with 64.4 percent of households in London were Central Orthodox (nationally the ratios are 64.9 percent of males and 67.9 percent of households).

The Changing Pattern of Male Membership by Synagogue Grouping in Greater London, 1970-1990



Throughout the United Kingdom, decline in membership has been confined to the Central Orthodox group. Nationally, male membership for this group fell by 7.4 percent between 1983 and 1990. Within Greater London the fall, at 17 percent, has been more than double the national average.

Table 3.4 The Changing Pattern of Membership by Synagogue Grouping in Greater London, 1970-1990

	Males				H/holds	
	1970 %	1977 %	1983 %	1990 %	Numerical Change 1983-1990	%
Right Wing Orthodox	2.6	4.2	5.3	8.8	+1599	7.0
Central Orthodox	72.3	69.7	66.0	58.2	-5939	64.4
Sephardi	4.5	3.3	3.3	3.7	+100	4.0
Reform	11.9	13.7	16.5	18.0	+251	17.3
Liberal	8.7	9.1	8.9	11.3	+935	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
Number	60066	55494	53359	50305	-3054	67630

As set out in Table 3.4 over the wider timescale of 1970-1990, male membership analyses for Greater London show that Central Orthodox memberships are now at two-thirds the level of two decades ago. Of the other groups, only the Sephardi has declined over the period - falling by 32 percent. All other groups in Greater London have increased male membership numbers. The largest proportional increase has been amongst the Right Wing Orthodox whose synagogue numbers (albeit starting from a low level) are now at just under 3 times higher than their 1970 level. The Progressive groups have also grown over the period. Reform memberships have risen by almost 27 percent and Liberal by some 9 percent. However, this latter figure must be viewed with caution for reasons given earlier.

For the United Kingdom as a whole, trend data are only available for 1977-1990. Over this shorter period, Central Orthodox male memberships have fallen by 15.5 percent and Sephardi numbers have shown a very small (0.6 percent) decrease. The Right Wing increase has been 89 percent; Reform numbers have increased by 24.3 percent and Liberals by 13.4 percent (with the aforementioned caveat).

The 1990 figures show that the move away from the traditional mainstream Anglo-Jewish orthodoxy (as defined by membership of a London or Provincial Ashkenazi Central Orthodox synagogue) has continued. The nature of the present research does not allow us to say how much of this change in patterns of membership is due to natural increase within groups and how much results from movement either between synagogal groups or completely away from the synagogue-oriented community. However, it is clear that the progressive movements continue to increase - as do the more religiously observant sections of the orthodox grouping.

The old-established Central Orthodox communities of the provinces, and to an increasing extent Inner London, are ageing and reducing in size. Comparison of national household membership distributions with vital indicators (see Table 3.5) shows that the Orthodox grouping overall accounts for a disproportionate number of deaths. While the high proportion of orthodox deaths to some extent reflects the fact that in certain areas only orthodox burial facilities are available, it also highlights the high number of female

Orthodox memberships. When the widows who make up much of this group eventually disappear from the household counts the relative size of the Central Orthodox group will be reduced further. Within the Orthodox group as a whole, their numbers are being compensated for by the Right Wing Orthodox. The younger age structure of this group is indicated by their disproportionate share of synagogue marriages. For the Progressive movement, the younger membership of the Reform section is shown by their lower proportion of deaths than of marriages.

Table 3.5 Distribution of Synagogue Membership and National Vital Indicators by Synagogue Grouping

	Household Membership 1990 %	Marriages 1990 %	Deaths 1990 %
Right Wing	5.7	9.4	
Central	67.9	65.8	
Sephardi	3.2	4.3	
Orthodox	76.8	79.5	80.1
Reform	16.9	15.2	12.0
Liberal	6.3	5.3	7.9
Progressive	23.2	20.5	19.9

The movement of synagogue membership over the past 20 years has been away from the centre. Nevertheless, the Central Orthodox grouping predominates, accounting for just over two-thirds of all synagogally-affiliated households. Writing in 1983, Kosmin and Levy felt that this numerical domination would continue for the foreseeable future. The 1990 data suggest this conclusion still holds. However, it must be pointed out that between 1983 and 1990 male synagogue membership of the Central Orthodox declined by one percent per annum at a time when the Right-Wing Orthodox increased annually by 9.7 percent.

Thus, although Central Orthodoxy remains the major synagogal tendency within British Jewry as a whole, the balances within the Orthodox group are shifting quite rapidly. The Central Orthodox group is now 87 percent of total Orthodox male membership nationally and 82 percent in London whereas in 1970 in London its share was 91 percent, and in 1977 in the United Kingdom 92 percent, of Orthodox males. These falls have been matched by proportional rises for the Right Wing. Between 1970 and 1990 in London their proportion of Orthodox male membership rose from 3.2 percent to 12.4 percent and between 1977 and 1990 in the United Kingdom the comparable increase was from 4.4 percent to 9.2 percent. Trend data are not available for household memberships but, in 1990 the Right Wing accounted for 7.5 percent of Orthodox households in the United Kingdom and 9.3 percent in London.

While British Jewry continues to be predominantly Central Orthodox: British Orthodoxy is becoming increasingly Right Wing. The figures above provide the statistical dimensions of trends and changes observed and reported by communal commentators over the past decade.

APPENDIX

SOURCES, METHODS AND DEFINITIONS

Individual synagogues throughout the United Kingdom were approached directly for membership details. Where appropriate the details were obtained from central synagogal authorities and as far as possible Research Unit staff collected figures directly from their central records. Synagogues making returns were asked to distinguish between (a) male heads of households and (b) individual males; (c) female heads of households and (d) individual females; and (e) members' wives who also had separate individual membership in their own right. Where details were not available in that form, synagogues were asked for numbers of (a) family/household memberships; (b) other individual males; and (c) other individual females. These formulations were adopted both to overcome the difficulties in apportioning female membership and to take account of differing policies towards it.

Where male and female household data were given separately, the figures were combined to provide a number of households for each synagogue. Where household or family totals had already been given, these were used. In the full listings details are given of households, individual males and individual females. The numbers of male and female individual members include single persons, widows and widowers, divorcees, and adult children who live with their parents but have membership in their own name. Members' wives who have additional membership in their own right are not included in any tabulations. In those tables where analyses of male membership are presented, as in past studies household/family units are all assumed to have a male head.

The method of reporting adopted avoids excluding those households headed by females from composite analyses of membership patterns. Furthermore, analysing households without specifying the sex of the head of household is more appropriate to contemporary social realities which include increasing numbers of single-parent families (usually headed by a mother) and single-person households (many of which are widows living alone).

We were also anxious to ensure that, as far as possible, figures for synagogues affiliated to the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations and similar small, often Chassidic, congregations only included each member once, as individuals often attend more than one congregation in the course of a week. These communities are reticent about disclosing numbers and special care was taken to confirm returns with at least two informed respondents working in and associated with them. If they did not have records of membership in the standard format, congregations were asked for numbers of (a) married men who were heads of families; (b) other (single) men; (c) women who were heads of families; and (d) single women (not daughters of families) who attended regularly on Shabbat (Saturday) morning.

This formulation was adopted to prevent duplication of numbers. Most figures for this group were collected by telephone from either the synagogue/congregation secretary or from personal contacts within the community. Despite many requests for finer detail, some synagogues only gave total household figures which were then counterchecked as explained above. They are marked * in the listings.

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REPORT 4. ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY OF UNITED SYNAGOGUE MEMBERS

CONTENTS

1. The Jewish characteristics of United Synagogue members
2. Belonging to a synagogue
3. Expectations and evaluation of the synagogue
4. Attitudes to Jewish education
5. The United Synagogue as an organisation
6. Demographic characteristics of the sample

1 THE JEWISH CHARACTERISTICS OF UNITED SYNAGOGUE MEMBERS

This section examines the patterns of belief, practice and ethnicity of our respondents. These characteristics are reported at the outset because they provide an important key to understanding the respondents' attitudes towards more specific issues - synagogue membership, Jewish education and the United Synagogue - to be discussed in later sections.

The beliefs and practices of members are clearly of interest in their own right and have a bearing on the scope for change in the religious orientation or approach of the United Synagogue and its communities.

Religious observance

Three categories of observance

Respondents were asked to characterise their own level of religious observance by selecting one of five categories to represent 'the way you live in Jewish terms'. The percentage selecting each category was:

Non-religious (secular) Jew	4%
Just Jewish	16%
Progressive Jew (e.g. Reform)	3%
Traditional (not strictly Orthodox)	67%
Strictly Orthodox Jew (Shomrei Shabbat)	10%

As expected, the great majority of the respondents identified themselves as 'traditional' Jews. This represents the central block of nominally Orthodox members who, in their responses to open-ended questions, frequently describe themselves as 'middle of the road' Jews.

To their left religiously is a sizeable group of less observant respondents who identified themselves as 'just Jewish', 'progressive' or 'non-religious'. These three sub-groups cannot be distinguished from one another in terms of their responses to items concerned with religious practice and belief, and they have therefore been treated as a single group of 'weak observers'.

The remaining 10% of respondents identified themselves as strictly Orthodox giving an overall breakdown as follows:

Weak observers	23%
Traditional	67%
Strictly Orthodox	10%

Age and observance

The above percentages vary somewhat with age. Older respondents (61+ years) were more likely to be traditional (69%) or weak observers (25%) and less likely to be strictly Orthodox (5%). The corollary is that the middle-aged and younger respondents are more likely to be Orthodox (13%).

This trend may reflect an increasing tendency among younger Jews to select a synagogue that is seen as being consistent with a family's Jewish lifestyle. Non-observant Jews may now be more inclined to join a progressive synagogue than were their parents, and this would explain the higher proportion of strictly Orthodox members in the younger age group. Alternatively, the trend may be due to differential rates of response, to increased religiosity in the younger age groups or even to developmental changes in religious practice with age.

Patterns of observance: traditional Jews

The pattern of religious practice among the central group of traditional Jews is remarkably consistent. The great majority observe the following personal mitzvot and family rituals:

	%Observance
Fast on Yom Kippur (or exempt on health grounds)	97
Attend a seder every year	93
Prefer to stay at home on Friday night	92
Avoid work on Rosh Hashanah	92
Light candles every Friday evening	83
Have a mezuzah on all doors	75
Separate milk and meat dishes at home	69

Traditional respondents are equally consistent in their neglect of other 'more demanding' practices. Thus a high proportion:

Travel by car on the Sabbath	88%
Turn on lights on the Sabbath	95%

The only significant source of variation in this group relates to (i) the eating of non-kosher meat outside the home and (ii) attendance at synagogue. Willingness to eat non-kosher meat divides traditional Jews into two almost equal sub-groups (48% do, 52% do not). Similarly, attendance at synagogue is an occasional event for 59% of respondents, but a regular practice (once a month or more often) for the remaining 41%. These practices, together with the items listed above, form the basis of a scale of religious observance which is examined in later sections.

Weak observers

Respondents who classified themselves as either progressive, secular or just Jewish (the 'weak observers') had distinctly lower levels of ritual practice than traditional Jews. Like the traditional group, the weak observers fail to keep the more demanding rituals associated with Shabbat, but in addition, the percentage who keep the other key practices is 20-40% lower than in the traditional group. For example:

	% Observance
Attend a seder every year	69
Avoid work on Rosh Hashanah	69
Light candles every Friday evening	42
Have a mezuzah on all doors	47
Separate milk and meat dishes at home	23

Further, a weak observer may keep a more demanding ritual (e.g. separate dishes) while neglecting a more commonly observed one (e.g. staying home on Friday night). This is in contrast to the traditional respondents, whose practices tend to lie on a Guttman Scale, i.e. anybody accepting a demanding mitzvah will tend to observe all those less demanding (more frequently observed) mitzvot as well.

Hence the traditional respondents are relatively consistent and individually ordered in their patterns of ritual practice, while the weak observers are more variable and idiosyncratic.

The Orthodox

Members of the third, strictly Orthodox group, are by definition reliable and consistent in their religious observance. All the respondents who placed themselves in this category claimed to subscribe to the practices expected of religiously observant Jews (avoiding work on Shabbat, etc.) and therefore appear to have used the self-classification scale accurately. No attempt was made to distinguish degrees of Orthodoxy within this group.

Religious beliefs

Measuring religious beliefs

The questionnaire incorporated a number of items related to belief in God and other aspects of Jewish faith which have been used and validated in previous studies. In most cases respondents were asked to express their level of agreement or disagreement with a statement using a five-point Likert scale, the mid-point representing 'not certain'. The table below indicates the percentage agreeing (or strongly agreeing) with a positive item or the percentage disagreeing (or strongly disagreeing) with a negative item:

Attitude statement	% affirming Jewish view
The Jewish people have a special relationship with God	52
Praying to God can help to overcome personal problems	52
The Torah is the actual (or inspired) word of God	56
The universe came about by chance	42 (disag)
Belief in God is not central to being a good Jew	41 (disag)
Judaism has many laws and customs, but they do not help you to become a better person	33 (disag)

In common with previous studies, these responses reveal moderate levels of religious conviction. Broadly speaking, about 50% of the respondents appear to have some degree of faith in God, although the first three items might be seen as reflections of the way individuals respond subjectively to the concept of God, rather than judgements of a more existential kind. The fourth item, which calls directly for a view of God's role in human history, elicits weaker support, and the last two statements, linking Jewish belief and practice to morality, are still less commonly supported.

Relationship between belief and ritual observance

The levels of belief reported above represent aggregate figures for the entire sample. Given that the items reflect quite fundamental elements of Jewish faith, one might expect the more observant respondents to display substantially stronger levels of belief than the less observant. To some extent this is what happens, but there are some interesting deviations.

Comparing the strictly Orthodox with the rest of the sample, there is, as expected, a clear relationship between ritual observance and religious belief. Thus, while less than 40% of traditional and weak observers see belief in God as 'central to being a good Jew', more than 70% of the strictly Orthodox see a connection. Similarly, only 38% of the non-Orthodox reject the idea that 'the universe came about by chance', but among the strictly Orthodox 84% reject it.

However, if the 10% who are strictly Orthodox are excluded from the analysis, the relationship between belief and practice becomes very much weaker, even though there is still a very substantial variation in ritual practice. The range extends from the most observant wing of the traditional group (strict kashrut, partial observance of Shabbat and frequent attendance at synagogue) through to the minimal practices of some weak observers (occasional seder attendance, a mezuzah on the front door and festive decorations at Christmas time - the latter reported by 22% of weak observers).

But despite this wide variation, the correlation coefficient between observance and belief among the non-Orthodox is 0.34 - i.e. differences in religious belief explain only about 11% of the variation in peoples' ritual observance. In other words, the large gulf between the practising, traditional Jew and the non-observant, secular Jew is not clearly related to fundamental differences in belief. This is in contrast to other religious groups, such as Catholics and Moslems, where variations in observance seem to be driven to a large extent by differences in faith or belief. For our respondents, outside of the Orthodox fringe, belief and observance seem to be decoupled.

Ethnic identity

Indicators of ethnicity

In contrast to their moderate levels of religious belief, the respondents express very strong feelings of identity with fellow Jews. This encompasses a sense of personal Jewish identity, of belonging to a people, and a desire for group continuity. The key indicators produce uniformly high levels of agreement:

	% agree or strongly agree
An unbreakable bond unites Jews all over the world	88
A Jew should marry someone who is also Jewish	94
It is important that Jews survive as a people	98

Jewish friendship patterns also reflect high levels of in-group preference with 84% of respondents having 'all' or 'more than half' their close friends Jewish. And even when Jewishness is pitted against Englishness - as in 'I think of myself more as English than as Jewish' - only 19% give precedence to nationality over ethnicity. Only when there is a hint of distrust of non-Jews does the solid support for Jewish fellowship break down; thus only 43% of the sample subscribe to the view that 'when it comes to a crisis, Jews can only depend on other Jews'.

Relationships between ethnicity, belief and practice

With response rates to most of the identity items approaching 100%, there is a limited opportunity, statistically speaking, to examine variations in ethnic identity. Nonetheless, there is some evidence of a (predictable) relationship between level of observance and strength of identity. For example, the statement that 'a Jew should marry someone who is also Jewish' elicits 96% support among traditional Jews, but only 83% among the weak observers. Similarly, 68% of traditional Jews reject the notion that they are more English than Jewish, while only 48% of the weak observers follow suit.

The interesting finding is not so much that there should be a relationship between ethnicity and religious observance, as that it should be stronger than the correlation between belief and observance (0.4 v 0.34) - even though the measures of ethnicity are relatively insensitive. This shows that variations in religious observance have more to do with the intensity of a person's Jewish identity than with his/her beliefs - at least this is so among the non-Orthodox. It is also consistent with the findings of the qualitative research that a feeling of belonging, rather than belief in God, is the driving force behind synagogue attendance and other forms of involvement.

Summary

Main features of Jewishness

In addition to the specific items relating to Jewish practice and belief, respondents were asked to make a forced choice of 'the two most important aspects of being Jewish' from the following list:

Sense of attachment to Israel
Jewish home life (food, customs, etc.)
Links with fellow Jews, Jewish friends
Jewish culture (art, music, etc.)
Jewish practices and religion
Loyalty to your Jewish heritage

The responses to this question can be used to summarise the simple typology of Jewishness described above:

The **strictly Orthodox** have consistent and high ratings on all three dimensions - belief, practice and ethnicity. The pattern of responses suggests that fundamental beliefs drive religious practice, rather than their sense of Jewish identity. If forced to select the two most important features of their Jewishness, Orthodox respondents select, predictably, 'Jewish practices and religion' (77%) followed by 'Jewish home life' (46%). The social, cultural and Israel-oriented dimensions feature less prominently.

The **traditional** group are very strongly identified in an ethnic sense, observe a common set of key, family-oriented practices (with little variation), but have moderate to low levels of religious belief. In their case it is the sense of identity, the desire to belong and to support Jewish family life, that seems to influence religious practice. Hence, for traditional Jews, the two most important aspects of being Jewish are 'Jewish home life' (selected by 61%) and 'Loyalty to the Jewish heritage' (55%). 'Links with fellow Jews' comes third, with religious, Israel-oriented and cultural aspects being less salient.

The **weak observers** resemble traditional Jews in having relatively low levels of belief and in being strongly identified in an ethnic sense - though not quite as strongly as the traditional group. They are, however, far less observant and far more individualistic in their religious practices. For weak observers, as for traditional Jews, observance is more closely related to strength of identity than to belief, but that identity is less family-oriented and more global in nature. Hence weak observers cite the more diffuse category 'Loyalty to the Jewish heritage' as the prime aspect of their Jewishness (70%) and 'Links with fellow Jews' as the second most salient feature (55%). 'Jewish home life', which is the most important factor for traditional Jews, receives only 31% support, equal to that accorded to a 'sense of attachment to Israel'.

Weak observers are a substantial sub-group (23%) of the United Synagogue membership, who define themselves as non-Orthodox, or even as secular, but still choose to belong to an Orthodox synagogue and to observe selected mitzvot. In terms of their membership of the United Synagogue, they are perhaps the most interesting and certainly the least satisfied of the membership (see chapter 3).