

PART 2

Developing models for understanding the outlook of Jews in London and the South-east



1 A model of outlook: the Jewish Market Framework

The distribution of outlook types

The distribution of respondents' outlook (see Figure 1, page 5) clearly highlights the skewed nature of the sample, with a distinct leaning towards a secular outlook. The difference between the percentage of respondents reporting Secular as against Somewhat Secular was very small compared with the number reporting Religious as against Somewhat Religious (7 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively). This dramatic drop-off between Somewhat Religious and Religious is very interesting since one might expect to see a normal (bell-shaped) distribution for such a continuum in which most responses cluster around the middle.

It seems that the Religious category has in some way *lost out* to the other three, suggesting that Secular, Somewhat Secular and Somewhat Religious outlooks have more in common with each other than with the Religious category. It appears that the outlook continuum might not be as free-flowing as one might have presumed. An element of friction was apparently at work preventing people from committing themselves to a Religious outlook, evidenced by the fact that Somewhat Religious was the largest group. Indeed this 'continuum' may not be a continuum at all but rather a set of discrete categories.

Dividing the sample simply into four groups based on the four-step outlook continuum—Secular, Somewhat Secular, Somewhat Religious and Religious—is therefore problematic. Although the typology is a definite improvement on the Traditional, Reform, Just Jewish etc. breakdown (used in the 1995 JPR survey),²⁴ the make-up of London's Jewish community is often sociologically too complex for such an approach. For example, just because a person adopts a particular practice or attitude it does not a priori mean that their outlook can necessarily be predicted.

However, we can make better use of the typology if the question 'Who is secular?' is addressed, not from the perspective of the particular practice or attitude but from the perspective of the outlook. In other words, instead of asking, 'Among those who

buy kosher meat, what is the predominant outlook?', we can ask, 'Among those with a Secular outlook, what variables (such as buying kosher meat) are likely to be most evident?' Since there is nothing peculiarly *secular* about the Secular outlook, there are perhaps activities in which the Secular, more than any other outlook group, tend or tend not to participate. At this level, outlook groups do indeed become distinctive. However, they do not constitute a neat four-way typology. We find that the Secular will stand alone on one particular issue as often as the Religious will on another issue.

Also, in much of the analysis thus far, the Secular and Somewhat Secular groups have been combined to create SSS, and the Somewhat Religious and Religious groups have been combined to create SRR. However, in many cases this dichotomy has proved to be misleading since the Somewhat Secular and the Somewhat Religious groups sometimes had more in common with each other than either of the two alternative categories, Secular or Religious.

A new analytical typology

By agglomerating outlook types based on the item measured, five sub-models of outlook have been identified that, together, encompass much of the data resulting from the London survey. These are Unity, Religious Unique, Middle Ground, Secular/Religious Split and Secular Unique (see Table 14).

Each of the five models represents a particular Jewish 'market', and data from the survey contribute to the specific flavour of each of them. Hence, the Jewish Market Framework.

Unity

This model encompasses those factors held in common by all the outlook types, i.e. there was no obvious bias based on outlook. The items that constitute the Unity model include:

- membership of a Jewish sports club;
- reading the *Jewish Chronicle* 'frequently' or 'occasionally';
- having previously visited Israel;

²⁴ Miller, Schmool and Lerman.

Table 14: The Jewish Market Framework

Model type	Outlook agglomerations		
Unity	Secular/ Somewhat Secular/ Somewhat Religious/ Religious		
Religious Unique	Secular/ Somewhat Secular/ Somewhat Religious		Religious
Middle Ground	Secular	Somewhat Secular/ Somewhat Religious	Religious
SSS/SRR Split	Secular/ Somewhat Secular		Somewhat Religious/ Religious
Secular Unique	Secular	Somewhat Secular/ Somewhat Religious/ Religious	

- at least half of all friends are Jewish;
- having recently read a book on a Jewish topic, listened to a radio programme on a Jewish topic, watched a television programme on a Jewish topic or visited a foreign Jewish museum;
- making financial donations to non-Jewish charities;
- attendance of part-time classes in synagogue or *cheder*.

Religious Unique

This model encompasses those factors that distinguish those with a Religious outlook from all the other outlooks. The key factors are:

- attendance of synagogue services weekly or more often;
- very high number of Jewish social, cultural and educational experiences;
- willingness to pay for a Jewish secondary school education whatever the cost;
- tendency to live in Outer NW London.

Middle Ground

This model encompasses those factors that unify the Somewhat Secular and the Somewhat Religious outlooks, distinguishing them from the two extreme outlooks (Secular and Religious). The key factors are:

- attendance of Jewish summer camps during teenage years;
- attendance of a Jewish club or organization during teenage years;
- ‘Traditional’ upbringing;
- tendency to live in South Hertfordshire, Outer North London and Redbridge.

SSS/SSR Split

This model was introduced at the beginning of the report, and much of the analysis is based on it. It is the binary distinction between secular (Secular and Somewhat Secular combined) and religious (Somewhat Religious and Religious combined). In the following list of items that produce this cleavage, the brackets indicate whether it is the secular (SSS) or the religious (SRR) that is being represented.

- only kosher meat eaten outside the home (SRR);
- having had post-bar mitzvah Jewish education (SRR);
- attendance of adult Jewish educational activities (SRR);
- reading a synagogue magazine (SRR);
- lighting candles ‘every Friday night’ (SRR);
- attendance of synagogue ‘most Sabbaths or more often’ (SRR);
- attendance of synagogue ‘not at all’ (SSS);
- fundraising for Jewish charities (SRR).

Secular Unique

This model is the converse of Religious Unique, and encompasses those factors that distinguish the Secular from all the other outlooks. The key factors are:

- marriage in registry office;
- 'never' lighting candles on Friday night;
- 'never' fasting on Yom Kippur;
- 'never' attending synagogue services;
- prioritizing UK charities over UK Jewish and Israeli charities;

- tendency to live in South London and Inner London.

Summary of the Jewish Market Framework

We have concluded that, by themselves, the four outlook types are not a sufficiently sophisticated model to explain the sociological make-up of the Jewish community. However, by grouping items measured in the survey and agglomerating the outlook types associated with them, a clearer picture of the community emerges.

