

2 Survey findings

The first three questions on the questionnaire were general ones. Two of these were designed to emphasize, at the outset, the fact that the survey was principally concerned with respondents' Jewishness and knowledge of Jewish services.

First, we asked respondents whether they had answered 'Jewish' to the voluntary question on religion in the April 2001 Census. In addition to providing information on the Jewishness of respondents, this was a test of the potential reliability of what had been perceived to be a controversial census question.

The second of these opening questions concerned what respondents knew about the standard of services provided by Jewish communal organizations. This information was revealing, less for what respondents actually knew about Jewish services and more for the extent of their lack of knowledge. At least two-thirds of the respondents knew nothing about the Jewish services provided in Leeds for Holocaust survivors, children with special educational needs, divorced people, drug addicts,

gays and lesbians, AIDS sufferers and victims of domestic violence. In contrast, almost all the respondents thought that older people received adequate or good services, and two-thirds thought that primary school children did. What this indicated was the community's concern with caring for older members and with schooling, concerns that were persistently reiterated (see Figure 2).

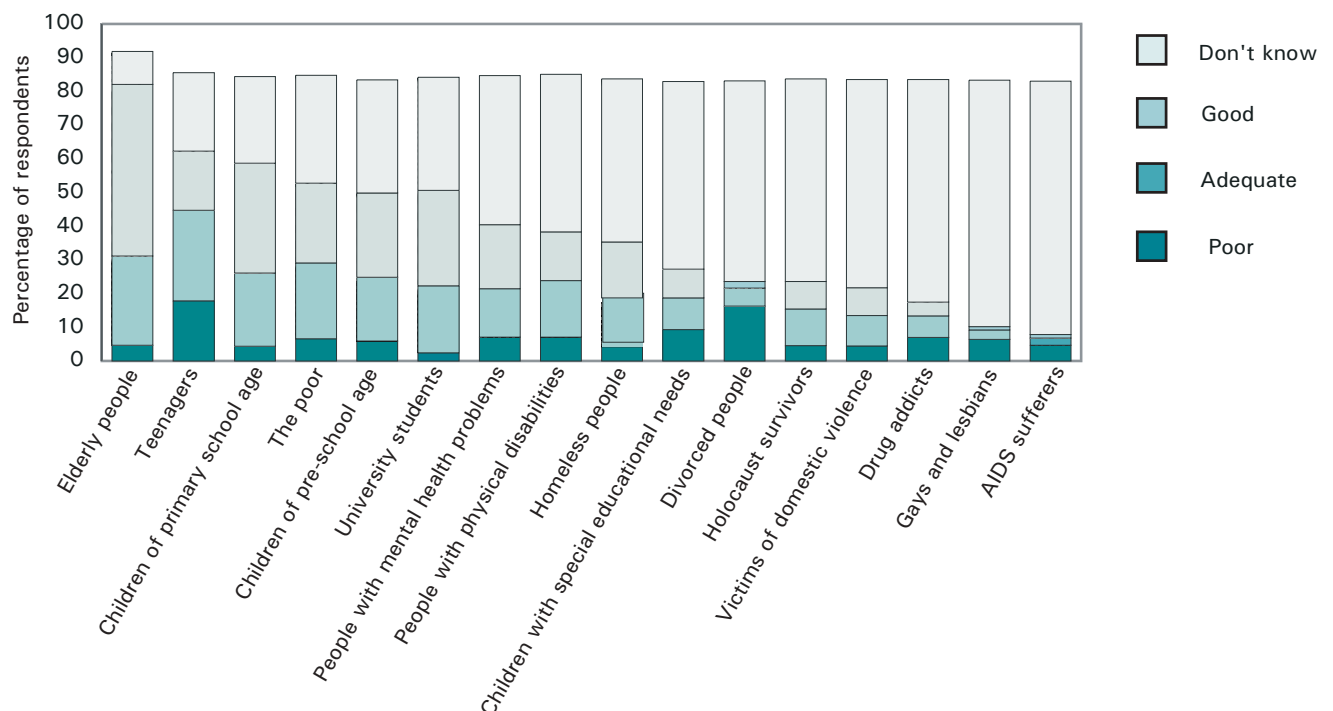
Jewishness

This section analysed those questions in the survey that had a direct connection to the Jewishness of the respondents. Although difficult to measure in quantitative terms, the extent to which people identify as Jews and associate with one another as Jews is related to a host of sociological factors and, in turn, relates to their attitudes to community and communal institutions.

Jewish education

Most respondents to the Leeds survey had received some Jewish education as well as a secular education. Though most received their primary

Figure 2: Respondents' knowledge of the standard of Jewish community services in Leeds for various groups



Jewish education at a *cheder* (daily Hebrew class attended after school hours) or through a synagogue, 12 per cent reported that their Jewish education had been provided at home by a member of the family. Only 12 per cent of all the respondents had been educated in a Jewish primary school.⁹ Moreover, for 3 out of every 5 respondents, their formal Jewish education had ceased after their barmitzvah/batmitzvah (age 12–13). Only 1 person in 5 had continued their basic part-time Jewish education at *chedarim* or at synagogue beyond this point, and a further 6 per cent said that they had continued to receive instruction privately from a relative. Of the remainder, 9 per cent reported having had some post-barmitzvah Jewish education at Jewish youth clubs, 4 per cent had attended a Jewish secondary school and 3 per cent had been to a *yeshiva* (Jewish religious seminary).

In terms of Jewish education, the picture projected was one of a Jewish population in which most members had little more than a rudimentary formal Jewish education.

Religious practice

Despite this lack of formal Jewish education, the majority of respondents described themselves as ‘Traditional’ Jews. The imprecise nature of this label was underscored by the fact that, while 57 per cent saw themselves as Traditional, fewer than 1 person in 10 observed the injunction to refrain from travel on the Sabbath.¹⁰ The ambiguous nature of the descriptor ‘Traditional’ was further indicated by the fact that, whereas 63 per cent of the sample bought meat from a kosher butcher, 78 per cent nevertheless reported that they ate non-kosher food outside the home occasionally or frequently. Nonetheless, more than three-quarters of the respondents stated that they attended a Passover seder every year and more than 5 in every 6 lived in a household in which candles were lit on Friday nights. This is a typically Anglo-Jewish situation in which many people maintain certain Jewish religious customs and, at the same time, are lax in regard to many others.

9 Though this ostensibly compares well with the sample in Greater London, where 12 per cent of respondents had attended a Jewish primary school, 11 per cent of the London sample said that they had been to a Jewish secondary school, three times the proportion of Leeds respondents. No Jewish secondary schooling is available in Leeds.

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

Upbringing and current Jewish practice

A person's early years often provide some clue to the practices of later life, so the survey asked about Jewish upbringing. Respondents described the type of Jewish upbringing they had by choosing from among several descriptors. Though 1 person in 9 (11 per cent) stated that they were brought up in an Orthodox Jewish household (where ‘Orthodox’ was defined as not turning on a light on the Sabbath), the vast majority, two-thirds, described their upbringing as ‘Traditional’. Slightly less than a quarter (22 per cent) reported that they were raised in a household described as ‘just Jewish’ or ‘secular’. As Progressive Jewish religious institutions are rare in Leeds and were rarer still in the past, only a tiny minority (2 per cent) of respondents were raised in households affiliated with Reform or Progressive Judaism.

When descriptors of current practice were compared with those of upbringing, there was evidence of a gradual distancing from childhood environments with the passage of time. In 2001 only 6 per cent of the survey respondents described themselves as Orthodox, and a further 57 per cent as Traditional. The slack was taken up by people placing themselves in the ‘just Jewish’ (23 per cent), secular (7 per cent) and Reform (6 per cent) categories.

Synagogue affiliation

These cultural practices and descriptors of Jewishness were not accurately reflected by current synagogue affiliations. More than 4 in every 5 respondents belonged to an Orthodox synagogue, while 10 per cent were members of a Reform or Masorti congregation; a further 11 per cent were not members of any synagogue. This apparent paradox—widespread membership in Orthodox congregations, relatively low non-affiliation, observance of major Jewish festivals and rites—pointed again to a ‘traditionally English’ community, unwilling to become too far removed from its roots. However, synagogue membership in and of itself did not reflect religious practices. A quarter of the respondents reported that they attended synagogue on most Sabbaths or more frequently. On the other hand, a third attended services only on the High Holy Days (Jewish New Year and the Day of Atonement), and 18 per cent reported that they never went to synagogue at all. This suggested that many people belonged to a synagogue for reasons only indirectly connected to

Table 3: Religious practice, by outlook

Outlook	Religious practice (%)						Percentage of sample
	Non-practising (i.e. secular/cultural)	Just Jewish	Reform/ Progressive	Traditional (not strictly Orthodox)	Orthodox (i.e. would not turn on a light on the Sabbath)	None of these	
Secular	82.3	30.5	17.1	10.0	2.4	55.0	20.1
Somewhat secular	15.6	42.7	38.2	23.7	0.0	30.0	26.8
Somewhat religious	2.1	24.8	38.2	60.7	18.1	10.0	44.3
Religious	0.0	2.0	6.6	5.6	79.5	5.0	8.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	96	302	76	806	83	20	1,383

prayer, such as ensuring themselves of a Jewish burial or as a result of social peer pressure and family tradition, with membership often having little to do with current personal beliefs or practice.

Outlook

Outlook (whether people see themselves essentially as religious or secular individuals) is a different concept, distinct from religious practice or synagogue affiliation. Almost half (47 per cent) described themselves as 'secular' or 'somewhat secular', whereas 53 per cent described themselves as 'religious' or 'somewhat religious' (see Table 3). Although there was a relationship between outlook and religious practice, it was neither linear nor even.¹² As an example, a third of people who regarded their religious practice as Traditional reported their outlook to be secular, and a quarter of those whose practice was 'just Jewish' nevertheless regarded their outlook as religious.

Most people were consistently and acutely aware of being Jewish. Just under a third of the respondents said that they were extremely conscious of their Jewishness and that it was important to them at all times. A further 55 per cent said that, while they felt strongly Jewish, they also were conscious of other aspects of their lives, and 1 person in 8 mentioned that, while they recognized their Jewishness, they did not really think of it very often.

Two-thirds of those who had left school with an elementary education said that they had a religious or somewhat religious outlook, whereas 55 per cent of those who left school with the equivalent of A-Levels said they were secular. However, of those whose highest level of educational attainment was a first degree, a higher degree or a professional diploma, the distribution was very similar to that of the sample as a whole.

Jewish friends

Whatever the extent to which Jews in Leeds saw themselves as secular or religious, more than 6 respondents in 10 (62 per cent) said that either *all or nearly all* of their close friends were Jewish; a further 20 per cent reported that *most* of their close friends were Jewish. Even for those people with a secular outlook, two-thirds responded that more than half their friends were Jewish. A situation such as this, in which most Jews mixed with other Jews, indicated a very closely bonded group of people, and one that was perhaps much more highly interactive than either their religious practices or their outlooks suggested (see Table 4). To a large degree, it pointed to a closely knit ethnic group.¹²

Associations

In addition to high levels of synagogue affiliation, close Jewish friendship bonds, a traditional Jewish upbringing and some Jewish education, there was also evidence of high levels of informal socialization

11 The outlook index is a useful analytic tool. It is the subject of a JPR report based on an analysis of data from JPR's survey of London and the South-east of 2002; see Graham, *Secular or Religious?*

12 Schlesinger.

Table 4: Proportion of Jewish friends, by outlook

Outlook	Proportion of close friends who are Jewish					Total (%)	Base
	All or nearly all	More than half	About half	Less than half	None or very few		
Secular	46.4	18.8	11.6	10.5	12.7	100	276
Somewhat secular	48.3	29.0	12.6	5.4	4.8	100	373
Somewhat religious	72.6	15.3	7.3	3.4	1.5	100	616
Religious	81.7	14.3	0.2	0.8	--	100	126
Total	61.7	19.6	9.2	15.1	44.5	100	1,391

among the Leeds respondents.¹³ All told, 86 per cent had belonged to a Jewish club or organization in their youth, and a third had been members of a Zionist youth movement. This contrasted with the low proportion of the sample (12 per cent) who had belonged as children to a non-Jewish club or organization. In addition, 29 per cent had been to a summer school/camp run by a Jewish organization, 21 per cent had been members of a Jewish sports club, 10 per cent had been in a Jewish student society, and 13 per cent had been to Israel before their seventeenth birthday.

Intermarriage

We asked older respondents (aged 75 or over) whether they had a child who had married a non-Jew. More than a quarter (27 per cent) of the sample answered 'Yes' to this question. Unsurprisingly, when cross-tabulated against outlook, the numbers were higher for people whose outlook was secular than for those who were religious, and the numbers decreased uniformly across the outlook continuum. The percentage of respondents who had at least one child married to a non-Jewish spouse was 37 per cent for those with a secular outlook, 30 per cent for people whose outlook was somewhat secular, 24 per cent among those who were somewhat religious, and even 7 per cent for those with a religious outlook.

Jewish media

Despite the secular or somewhat secular outlook of nearly half the Leeds Jewish population, the strong

Jewish bonding seemed to contribute to high levels of local loyalties and even to parochialism, underscoring further the introspective and conservative nature of the Jews in Leeds. Almost every respondent said that they read the local Jewish weekly newspaper (the Leeds edition of the *Jewish Telegraph*) on a fairly regular basis; 82 per cent said they read it frequently and another 17 per cent occasionally. The figures for the London-based *Jewish Chronicle* were 51 per cent and 37 per cent, respectively. Just half of the respondents (49 per cent) read a synagogue magazine. In contrast, the figures for those that read the *Jerusalem Report*, *Jerusalem Post* and *Ha'aretz* were 6 per cent, 7 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively. These percentages were considerably lower than those resulting from the same question in the London and the South-east survey.¹⁴

The high readership figures for the local Jewish newspaper were suggestive of a community in which local matters were of great interest and significance. The data on Leeds contrasted sharply with the figures from the 2002 survey conducted in London and the South-east, which showed higher readership figures for the national Jewish newspaper (*Jewish Chronicle*) and, more significantly, for other Jewish publications. However, the fact that local matters were of interest to most Jewish people in Leeds need not be interpreted negatively, for it undoubtedly contributes to the accumulation of 'social capital' and to the strength of local communal organizations and structures such as the

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Becher *et al.*, 38 (Table 6.4).

Leeds Jewish Welfare Board and the Leeds Jewish Housing Association.

Antisemitism

Although the survey was carried out prior to the events of 11 September 2001 and the rise of a public debate over the link between anti-Israel sentiment and antisemitism, respondents were aware of antisemitism. However, among Leeds Jews, the most commonly reported antisemitic experience was that of hearing someone make derogatory remarks about Jews. This form of generalized verbal antisemitism was in fact reported by 7 of every 8 of the respondents. A more personal form of verbal antisemitism, in which the respondent reported having been called a Jew in a derogatory way, had been experienced by a quarter of all respondents. In contrast, other antisemitic acts, including physical harassment, loss of business or the refusal of admission to clubs or schools, were also in evidence, but at much lower levels. These figures tallied with those from the London and South-east survey, which was carried out after 11 September 2001 (see Table 5).¹⁵

Table 5: Types of antisemitism experienced in Leeds in the previous five years

Type of antisemitic incident	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Heard a derogatory remark about Jews	86.5	13.5	100
Called a Jew in an insulting way	25.5	74.5	100
Refused a college/school place	8.9	91.1	100
Harassed or victimized at work	5.9	94.1	100
Refused employment	2.4	97.6	100
Refused membership of a club	2.1	97.9	100
Business contracts cancelled	1.2	98.8	100

15 The Leeds question on antisemitism referred to the five years prior to the survey whereas the London question referred to the previous twelve months. See Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds), *The New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain* (London: Profile Books 2003).

Jewish cultural activities

Participation in cultural activities involving specifically Jewish elements correlate with patterns of Jewish identification and religious lifestyles. We were curious about the extent to which people accessed material of Jewish interest in their leisure time and how this related to their Jewishness. Some of the Jewish cultural activities that respondents were asked about could be engaged in at home, others involved family or friends or could be carried out in the neighbourhood; other activities, however, involved leaving the home. The most commonly reported Jewish cultural activities were also the most passive. Over 90 per cent of respondents had watched a television programme on a Jewish topic during the previous year, 58 per cent had listened to a radio programme with Jewish content, and just over half (53 per cent) had read a book on a Jewish topic.

Smaller numbers of people had been more proactive in the pursuit of Jewish culture by purchasing an item with some Jewish content. A third of all respondents had bought a book on a Jewish topic, and 27 per cent had bought a Jewish ritual object. Even more proactively, a third of respondents had attended a 'Jewish' lecture, 15 per cent had participated in a synagogue-based adult education programme, 10 per cent had attended a more general Jewish adult education course, and 2.5 per cent had been to a residential event such as Limmud.

Attending Jewish film and theatre events is a popular way of expressing an affinity with Jewish culture. More than a quarter of the respondents had been to a Jewish theatre or film event in the previous twelve months; 11 per cent had been to a Jewish museum in the United Kingdom and 10 per cent to a Jewish Book Week event. Over 20 per cent of respondents said that they had been to a Jewish museum outside the United Kingdom, a figure repeated among the London and South-east sample.

We were also interested in finding out how our respondents used technology such as computers and mobile phones. Just under two-thirds of them used a mobile phone. (By comparison, in the United Kingdom as a whole, 66 per cent of the top 20-percentile by income owned a mobile phone in 2001.) A slightly lower proportion (57 per cent) had access to a computer and, of these, 87 per cent

had direct access at home, with half also having access at work. The most common uses to which computers were put were word-processing, Internet access and e-mailing. The respondents put their Internet access to practical use, with 44 per cent making ticket purchases at least once a month, 37 per cent purchasing books and music online, and around 1 in 10 reporting online supermarket purchases.

Half of all those with a computer used it to access news at least once a month. Slightly fewer used it to access sites of 'general Jewish interest'; a quarter used it for accessing sites of 'Jewish religious interest', a similar proportion (23 per cent) for sites of 'Jewish educational interest' and 35 per cent for information about Israel.

Volunteering and charitable giving

Voluntary work

Voluntary work—work without obligation and without financial reward—is an important part of the workings of any community. This is particularly the case among Jews for whom it has always been an essential part of community life: British Jews have almost 2,000 self-governing independent and voluntary organizations. Voluntary work can take many forms, such as aiding and caring for older or infirm people, being actively involved in a synagogue or school in some capacity, or raising funds for charities. The intensity of voluntary activity is influenced by several factors, including outlook, age, occupation and location.

Possessing accurate and up-to-date information on volunteering within the community matters. Voluntary work is set to become even more important than it already has been, as more social services are targeted at people within their own homes, funding for institutional care becomes more difficult to obtain, and people both live longer and prefer to stay in their homes for as long as possible. We were interested not just in knowing how people volunteered but also how much time they devoted to voluntary work and how such activity could be increased and optimized.

Almost half of the respondents said that they had performed some kind of voluntary work outside their homes during the previous year, 1 in 7 stating that their involvement was as a trustee, governor or board member. Of those doing voluntary work for a Jewish organization more than once a month, 34

per cent had worked for a synagogue, 28 per cent had participated in some fundraising activity, 23 per cent had volunteered for work within the framework of a school or cultural organization, 22 per cent in a nursing home or old age facility, 20 per cent at a community centre, 14 per cent with youth groups and 11 per cent in lobbying. Others had worked in a hospital, as care workers in a private home, in transport, and in the provision of meals-on-wheels. One in every 3 respondents claimed to have done further, unspecified, forms of voluntary work.

The voluntary work of members of the Leeds Jewish community was not restricted to Jewish organizations and institutions, and extended into the community at large. A major factor when comparing participation rates in the general community with those in the Jewish community is the fact that synagogue activity, which accounted for so much of the voluntary work in the Jewish sector, had no counterpart in the general community. Even so, 10 per cent of respondents said they worked as a volunteer in a care home in the general community. Nonetheless, the participation rates for voluntary care work in the general community were considerably lower, at 2.5 per cent, than for parallel work in the Jewish community, as were the rates for work in community centres (9 per cent) and schools (16 per cent). For many people engaged in volunteering, they did so once a month or less often. Many people appeared to do voluntary work almost on an occasional basis. However, in apparent contradiction to what appeared to be the widespread engagement in voluntary work, more than half of the respondents did no voluntary work whatsoever.

Unsurprisingly, in terms of time and effort, most of the volunteers (62 per cent) thought that their contribution was just about right; very few considered that they were doing too much work. In other words, hardly any thought that they were being exploited. However, it is worth noting that approximately a third of those currently volunteering felt that they were *not doing sufficient work* or, put another way, that their services were being under-utilized. Significantly, and even though the absolute numbers were not large, the perception of resource under-utilization was felt most strongly among respondents aged between 45 and 59, who described themselves as 'secular', 'cultural' or 'just Jewish'.

In general terms, respondents with a secular outlook were less likely to be involved in voluntary work; there was a greater proportion of people with a religious outlook among trustees of voluntary organizations. In addition, the higher the proportion of Jews to be found in a person's friendship network, the more likely that person was to be engaged in voluntary work. However, it is noteworthy that Reform Jews volunteered more than people who called themselves 'Traditional'. This is related to the fact that many members of Reform congregations described their outlook as 'somewhat religious'. This hints at the perils of using labels essentially based on association to predict levels of communal involvement.

In addition to revealing that many respondents were *not* actively engaged in the volunteer labour force, the findings also provided some clues as to why this was so. Respondents were offered several reasons for their inactivity. As expected of a population with a high proportion of older people, 26 per cent gave health problems as their reason. Almost a third stated lack of time as a major contributing factor and just under a quarter (23 per cent) said that they were too busy with home and family. Neither money (less than 4 per cent) nor inaccessibility were major factors, although 9 per cent said that lack of adequate transportation was a reason for not volunteering. Around 1 in 8 said that they did not volunteer because they were uninterested in doing so, and approximately the same proportion said that it was because they had never been asked or that the idea had never occurred to them. Around 5 per cent said that they did not volunteer because they did not know what voluntary work there was for them to do.

Charitable giving

Not only did Leeds Jews give of their time in a voluntary capacity, they were also regular donors to a wide variety of charities. Some 61 per cent of the Leeds respondents indicated that UK Jewish charities should have the highest priority for charitable donations, compared with only 12.5 per cent each for those who so valued both Israeli and general UK charities. However, when asked about their second highest priority, a third of all respondents nominated Israeli charitable organizations. One donor in 10 had no clear view about which type of charity should receive priority, and 1 in 10 of the respondents also stated that they

had made no charitable donations to either Jewish or general UK charities in the previous year. The principal recipients of donations made by Jews in Leeds are shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Charities supported by Leeds survey respondents (%)

Leeds Jewish Welfare Board (LJWB)	57
JNF	48
WIZO	45
UJIA	43
Jewish Blind and Physically Handicapped Society	32
Jewish Care	20
Norwood-Ravenswood	12
Other Jewish charities	34

Cancer research charities*	73
NSPCC	24
Age Concern	23
RNIB	13
RSPCA	12
Scope	12
Salvation Army	11
Oxfam	9
Barnardos	6
Amnesty International	3
Other general charities	31

*Although the category 'Cancer research charities' is not strictly comparable with the others, which are all single organizations, it is nevertheless useful for putting charitable donations into perspective.

In response to a question that asked respondents to gauge the proportion of their donations that went to Jewish charities, over 50 per cent of those responding estimated that more than half, but not all, of their donations went to Jewish organizations. One in 9 gave only to Jewish charities, and 1 in 6 calculated that less than 10 per cent of their charitable giving was destined for Jewish organizations.

Though these figures represented the propensity to support certain charities, they did not indicate the actual amounts donated, so it is possible that the average donations to UJIA or LJWB were much

larger than those to cancer research charities or vice versa. In general terms, donations were small to moderate, with almost half estimating that they had given under £100 and another third up to £500. One in 7 appraised their annual charitable donations at between £500 and £2,000 and just over 5 per cent had given more than £2,000 to charities in the previous twelve months. This underscores what was already known about charitable giving in general and among Jews in the United Kingdom. In particular, whereas almost everyone contributes something, the bulk of total charitable donations comes from a small number of wealthy individuals.

Educational choice

Although there are no Jewish secondary schools in Leeds, there is one Jewish primary school with an associated kindergarten, and some of the synagogues have associated playgroups.¹⁶ Moreover, as we have already noted, only a small proportion of the respondents themselves had attended Jewish day schools. Nevertheless, this did not prevent respondents from expressing opinions on the importance of receiving educational services through a Jewish provider and the general desirability of a Jewish education. The education and schooling section of the survey was directed at respondents who had children aged sixteen and under and who were thus considered to be in the schools market. This sub-sample of 252 households represented 17 per cent of Leeds Jewish households.

The first point of interest concerns the importance to parents of Jewish identity and of their children mixing with other Jewish children. A very large majority (88 per cent) of parents with children of school age were prepared to send (or already had sent) their secondary-school-age children on a trip to Israel. This indicated a very strong commitment, bearing in mind that the survey was conducted during a particularly tense period in the Middle East. An even higher proportion (91 per cent) believed that it was important for their children to mix in Jewish social groups, although a somewhat smaller proportion (80 per cent) had actually taken steps to encourage their children to join a Jewish club or youth group. Nevertheless, these

proportions were very high and were almost identical to the figures in the London and South-east survey carried out several months later, which they reinforced.¹⁷

We asked parents with children of school age who were attending or who had attended Jewish primary schools questions about Jewish primary school, soliciting their level of agreement or disagreement with a series of statements. Three statements elicited strong agreement. These can be summarized as *continuity* (that it was a logical follow-on from a Jewish nursery school: 34 per cent), *Jewish content* (that there would not have been sufficient Jewish education at a general school: 31 per cent) and *convenience* (that there was a Jewish school located close by: 28 per cent). Lower proportions strongly agreed with statements that related to the Jewish day school as a protective environment, and that posited that there were no practical or philosophical alternatives to a Jewish day school. When looked at from the viewpoint of overall agreement rather than just strong agreement, *continuity* was still the most important factor, though *convenience* ranked slightly higher than *Jewish content*. However, a third of respondents also agreed with the statement that educational standards at Jewish schools were higher than at non-Jewish schools.

Decisions about secondary education in Leeds involves a different set of factors, as there is no Jewish secondary school; therefore, the question of sending one's children to a Jewish secondary school only existed if the parents were contemplating a move out of Leeds. Nevertheless, we did ask questions about whether the numbers and the proportions of Jewish children among a student body had influenced their choice of secondary school. By far the most important factors influencing parental decisions were the quality of teaching, the 'ethos' of a school, the information about specific schools contained in OFSTED reports, and information from friends. Although the proportion and numbers of Jewish children at a school and schools league tables were also important, they were considerably less so. One of the implications of these findings is that any attempt to establish a Jewish secondary school in Leeds (ignoring the issue of financial viability)

¹⁶ Information supplied by the Jewish Community Information database of the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

¹⁷ Becher *et al.*, ch. 9.

would probably be doomed to failure unless its academic standards were extremely high. Given that the profile of Jews in Leeds is an elderly one, with

relatively few young families, the possibility of establishing a Jewish secondary school seems highly unlikely.

