

Jews in the United Kingdom in 2013: Preliminary findings from the National Jewish Community Survey

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The **Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR)** is a London-based independent research organisation, consultancy and think-tank. It aims to advance the prospects of Jewish communities in Britain and across Europe by conducting research and developing policy in partnership with those best placed to influence Jewish life.

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Table of Contents

Survey highlights	3
1. Introduction	5
A unique opportunity	5
Just scratching the surface	5
Acknowledgements	6
2. Jewish behaviour	7
Jewish religious life and engagement	7
<i>Kashrut (dietary laws)</i>	7
<i>Shabbat (the Sabbath)</i>	7
<i>Synagogue attendance</i>	7
<i>Festivals</i>	8
Age and Jewish practice	9
3. Jewish beliefs	12
A sense of Jewish identity	12
Age and Jewish beliefs	12
4. Jewish belonging	15
Shifting identities	15
<i>Retention and leakage</i>	16
5. Exploring the Jewish religiosity age gradient	18
6. Inter-marriage	19
Prevalence	19
Prevalence by year of marriage	19
Inter-marriage and Jewish identity	20
7. Jewish education	22
Prevalence of Jewish school attendance	22
General attitudes towards Jewish schools	22
Parents' views	24
Informal Jewish education	25

8. Charitable giving	28
Amount given	28
Charitable priorities and the determinants of giving	28
9. Health and welfare	32
State of health	32
Care preferences	33
Social isolation	34
Care provision	35
Children’s welfare	37
10. First reflections on the findings	38
Are young people becoming more religious?	38
What is happening to the traditional middle-ground?	38
Are secular and cultural forms of Judaism on the rise?	38
Has the challenge of intermarriage been solved?	38
Is non-Orthodox Jewish school penetration reaching its peak?	39
Will charity begin at home, or end at home?	39
Jewish care homes, or care homes for Jews?	39
Will Jewish community organisations make active use of the data treasure trove now available?	39
Appendix 1: Methodology	41
Sampling strategy	41
<i>Questionnaire and sample design</i>	41
<i>Measures of quality control</i>	41
<i>How representative is the sample of the Jewish population?</i>	41
<i>Ipsos MORI panel</i>	42
<i>Methodological conclusion</i>	42
Appendix 2: NJCS Main file compared with the Panel file	44
Appendix 3: Project steering group and consultations	45
Steering Group	45
The consultation process	45

Survey highlights

NJCS is a national survey of the UK Jewish community conducted in June and July 2013. It contains data on 3,736 Jewish people and their households.

Jewish behaviour and beliefs

- 57% of respondents attend a Friday night meal most weeks; half (49%) frequently light candles at home on Friday night; just under one in five (18%) refrains from turning on lights on Shabbat (the Sabbath).
- Respondents prioritise ethical and ethno-cultural aspects of Jewishness (e.g. 'Feeling part of the Jewish People') above religious belief and practice (e.g. 'Believing in God').
- More respondents observe kashrut (Jewish dietary laws) inside their home (52%) than outside their home (36%).
- In almost all aspects of Jewish religious behaviour, younger respondents are more observant than older respondents.

Jewish belonging

- A quarter (26%) of respondents describe themselves as being 'Traditional'; a similar proportion (24%) as 'Secular/Cultural'; and a minority (16%) as 'Orthodox' or 'Haredi'. 18% describe themselves as 'Reform/Progressive'.
- Compared with type of upbringing, the Traditional group has seen a net loss of a third (34%), whereas the Secular/Cultural group has seen a net gain of 63%.
- Most of those who switched away from Traditional moved to progressive or cultural positions; a minority moved to Orthodox or Haredi positions.
- Overall, switching from the centre towards Orthodoxy was far outweighed by switching from the centre towards secularism.

Intermarriage

- In general, intermarriage is more common among those who married more recently, but the steep rise in intermarriage which occurred prior to the 1990s has slowed, and the trend is now essentially 'flat'.
- One in four (26%) respondents in a partnership has a non-Jewish partner.
- Of those in marriages which are currently intact, 23% are intermarried; of those who cohabit but are not married, 61% have a non-Jewish partner.
- 10% of those raised Orthodox, 12% of those raised Traditional, and 39% of those raised Reform/Progressive, are intermarried.
- 62% of those who describe their current Jewish position as Secular/Cultural are intermarried.
- 76% of the in-married attend a Friday night meal most weeks, compared with 18% of the intermarried.

Education

- The rate of increase of Jewish school penetration among those who were not raised in Orthodox/Haredi homes has been slowing down, only marginally increasing in recent years.

- 51% of respondents aged in their twenties attended a Jewish school. Among those who were not raised in Orthodox/Haredi homes, the equivalent proportion is 38%.
- Over three-quarters (77%) of respondents believe Jewish schools strengthen pupils' Jewish identity; 61% believe that Jewish schools increase pupils' chances of Jewish in-marriage.
- With the exception of Orthodox and Haredi parents, Jewish schools are most popular among middle-income families, but as household income rises above £110,000 per annum, Jewish schools are increasingly less likely to be chosen.

Charitable giving

- 93% of respondents reported donating money to a charity (Jewish or otherwise) in the year before the survey. Of these, 38% gave less than £100; 33% gave between £100 and £500; and 29% gave over £500.
- A higher proportion (45%) of respondents prioritises non-Jewish charities than Jewish charities (37%).
- In the year before the survey, 62% of those with personal incomes below £20,000 gave less than £100 to charity; almost half (48%) of those with incomes above £110,000 gave £2,000 or more. Those who give the largest donations tend to prioritise Jewish charities.

Health, care and welfare

- When asked about their future care preferences, 62% of respondents aged 65 and above express no particular preference for 'care in a Jewish environment with kosher facilities'; by contrast, 97% of Orthodox respondents and 75% of 'Traditional' respondents in this age group would prefer a kosher care home.
- However, 38% of all respondents aged 65 and above would prefer to be cared for in a 'Jewish environment with kosher facilities', and a further 32% would prefer an 'environment with a Jewish ethos, but not necessarily with kosher facilities'.
- Over half (53%) of respondents aged in their nineties are 'limited a lot' in their daily activities due to a health condition or disability.
- Almost one in five (18%) respondents looks after a close relative with long-term ill-health or a disability. Of these, 58% do so for up to five hours per week; 18% do so for more than 20 hours per week.
- 8% of respondents have a child with a learning and/or a physical disability.
- 15% of respondents with children of school age have a child with special educational needs (SEN); 62% of these have 'Cognition and learning difficulties' (such as dyslexia). Half (51%) of children with SEN have an official SEN statement.

1 Introduction

Having access to high quality data on the Jewish population of the United Kingdom is a basic, but essential need of all Jewish organisations. It enables them to better understand their market in terms of Jewish practices and attitudes, and to assess empirically the effectiveness of their programmes and services. Indeed, without such data, policy planning inevitably suffers – Jewish community leaders and policy-makers are compelled to make decisions on the basis of anecdote or supposition, which can result in poorly-considered investments, and an inability to support Jewish life with adequate capacity or resource.

JPR exists to deliver such data, and is committed to helping community leaders and policy-makers utilise them to inform their thinking. It is essential that the financial resources of the community are invested as wisely as possible, and JPR's research is consistently designed with this goal in mind. Whilst research findings are not meant to compel Jewish leaders to act in particular ways, they can help to ensure that leaders are fully appraised of existing trends and developments, which should constitute a key input into strategic thinking and planning. JPR achieves this by engaging in an ongoing process of accessing, creating and analysing data, which it actively shares in order to enhance Jewish life.

A unique opportunity

Several years prior to 2011, JPR foresaw a remarkable and unprecedented opportunity for the UK Jewish community, because of the census planned for that year. The previous census, in 2001, was the first to include a question on religion, and it had generated the largest, most detailed and accurate dataset that had ever existed on Jews in Britain. JPR took full advantage of this, and published an extensive and ground-breaking report on it.¹ As expected, the 2011 Census has not only provided a similarly valuable dataset in and of itself, but it has also generated data that can be directly compared with 2001, thereby enabling researchers to accurately track Jewish population change over time.

As a community, we are extremely fortunate to have access to such data, given their exceptional breadth and depth. They give us highly detailed information about the geography of the Jewish population and its age profile, as well as health, education, economic and social data. Indeed, since the first release of the 2011 Census data in December 2012, JPR has utilised them to support the planning work of over one hundred Jewish charities and foundations in the UK, as well as to generate multiple reports for general consumption.

However, even census data have their limitations. Whilst they tell us a great deal about the UK Jewish population, they are not designed to investigate the intricacies of British Jewish life. To achieve that, a specific survey of Jews is required, and so, in order to add Jewish depth to the Census findings, JPR actively promoted the idea of running a national Jewish survey alongside the 2011 Census. We knew that this, combined with the census data, would create a dataset of enormous value to Britain's Jewish community.

The 2013 National Jewish Community Survey (NJCS) serves that purpose, and it was planned meticulously to generate figures that are complementary to census data, and can be used alongside them. Together, these two sources constitute the most comprehensive, reliable and up-to-date information pool about contemporary Jewish life in the UK that has ever existed, and provide a unique resource to all those concerned with supporting the future of the British Jewish community.

Just scratching the surface

From the genesis of the project, JPR has worked in close cooperation with senior representatives of many of Britain's major Jewish charities to ensure that the data gathered relate directly to those organisations' main areas of concern. As a result, the survey covers several themes, notably Jewish practice, belief and belonging, intermarriage, Jewish education, charitable giving, and care and welfare. All of these topics, and many more, can be investigated in depth using NJCS data, and provide community organisations with a wealth of information to support their work. This first

1 Graham, D., Schmool, M. and Waterman, S. (2007). "Jews in Britain: a snapshot from the 2001 Census." London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

report contains our initial findings, and it should provide all Jewish organisations with some new data and food for thought.

However, it only scratches the surface of what is now available. Over the coming months and years, we expect to produce a series of considerably more detailed follow-up reports on several of the issues examined in the survey, some of which will be for general consumption, and others of which will be based on bespoke analysis to meet different organisations' particular needs.

The findings are based on an online self-completion questionnaire obtained from a survey of 3,736 Jewish households across the United Kingdom conducted in June and July 2013. Accounting for all the members of the households sampled, a total of 9,895 people are included in this survey. To be eligible, respondents had to self-identify as Jewish, live permanently in the UK, and be aged 16 or above. Published data in this report have been weighted against 2011 UK Census data and 2010 synagogue membership data. A detailed methodological summary can be found in Appendix 1.

Acknowledgements

We are extremely grateful to the many individuals and organisations who provided us with their backing and help throughout the research process. In particular, we are indebted to Trevor Pears and Amy Braier at Pears Foundation – without their extremely generous financial support and unerring dedication to this project, not to mention data-led policy making in general, this survey simply would not have been possible. We also want to thank the leadership of Jewish Care, UJIA, Nightingale Hammerson and Norwood, who invested their time and money in the endeavour, and, in so doing, ensured that we stayed steadfastly focused on the major concerns of the community. The Board of Deputies of British Jews similarly invested in the project, as did several of the synagogue movements: Liberal Judaism, Masorti Judaism, the Movement for Reform Judaism and the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation. We also received generous financial support from the Haskel Foundation, the Family Foundations Trust, the Gavron Foundation, the

Atkin Foundation, the Maurice Hatter Foundation and Sir Harry Djanogly.

Many other individuals provided us with the benefit of their support, knowledge, advice and expertise, including representatives of the Department for Communities and Local Government, the All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism, the Community Security Trust, the Interlink Foundation, JW3, Jewish Genetic Disorders UK, the Jewish Leadership Council, the Jewish Volunteering Network, the Judith Trust, the Ministry of Justice, Prism, the Samuel Sebba Charitable Trust and the United Synagogue. A full list of the Steering Group members can be found in Appendix 3.

As ever, I want to acknowledge my co-authors – Dr David Graham and Dr Laura Staetsky – with whom I am privileged to work, and who challenge, inspire and teach me every day. I am grateful too for the advice and wise counsel of Professor Stephen H. Miller OBE, a trustee of JPR and leading expert in the social scientific study of Jews in Britain, whose input at different stages of the project has been invaluable. The rest of the professional team at JPR has also been continually engaged in supporting this project behind the scenes, and I am particularly indebted to Judith Russell, Richard Goldstein and Catriona Sinclair for their valuable advice, assistance and guidance.

Finally, I want to acknowledge the extraordinary vision, generosity and wisdom of the JPR Board, led by Chairman Harold Paisner, President Lord Haskel, Vice-President Peter Levy OBE, Vice-Chairman Stephen Moss CBE and Treasurer Brian Smouha. When this project was in doubt due to insufficient funds, they insisted we undertake it, even if doing so would result in the Institute having to cut back its capacity in the long-term. Recognising the significant research opportunity that existed, they were determined to see the project through, and went to great lengths to ensure it took place. The Jewish community owes them a huge debt of gratitude.

Dr Jonathan Boyd
Executive Director, JPR

2 Jewish behaviour

Jewish religious life and engagement

Jewish practice is one of the clearest ways in which Jews define themselves and express their Jewishness. Therefore, to better understand Jewish practice, this section explores Jewishness by examining some of the most prevalent Jewish ritual practices: observance of *kashrut* (Jewish dietary laws), *Shabbat* (the Sabbath), Jewish festivals (notably *Pesach* and *Yom Kippur*) and synagogue attendance.

Kashrut (dietary laws)

In Figure 1, three aspects of Jewish dietary laws are explored. It shows that just over half (52%) of all respondents separate milk and meat utensils at home, and a similar proportion (48%) only buys kosher meat for their home. However, it also shows that over a quarter (27%) of respondents purchase pork products for their homes.

Comparing the proportion of respondents who only purchase kosher meat for their homes with the proportion who only eat kosher meat outside their homes, we see that there is a clear difference: observing kashrut at home is more prevalent than doing so outside the home (48% compared with 36% respectively) (Figure 1). The survey did not reveal why this is the case, but we can

hypothesise that many respondents are choosing to differentiate between the home and the outside world. In other words, they may be consciously choosing to create a ‘Jewish space’ at home, in order to accommodate the Jewish practices of all household members and/or extended family. Hence we would observe an apparent contradiction between the respondents’ practices inside and outside the home.

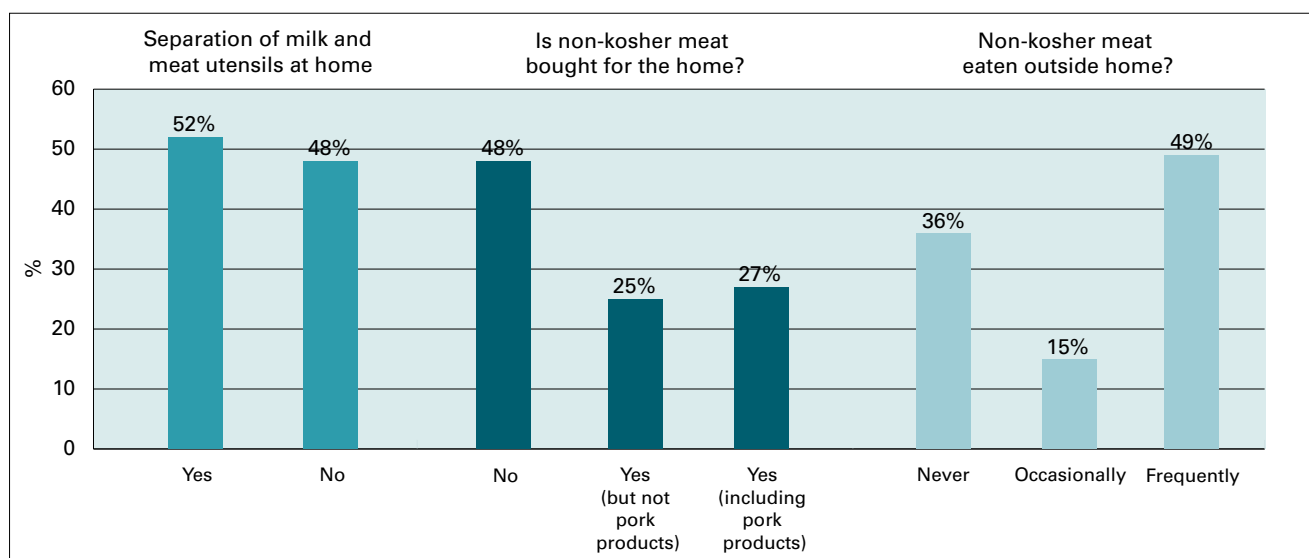
Shabbat (the Sabbath)

Regarding observance of Shabbat, it is clear that the cultural aspects of observance are more commonly adhered to than the more stringent religious rituals. For example, over half (57%) of respondents attend a Friday night meal most weeks, and almost half (49%) say that candles are frequently lit in their homes on Friday night (Figure 2). On the other hand, when it comes to more restrictive practices, only one in five (20%) respondents refrains from travel on Shabbat, and a similar proportion (18%) refrains from turning on lights on Shabbat.

Synagogue attendance

In terms of synagogue attendance, over three-quarters (76%) of respondents attend synagogue at least once a year on the High Holy Days (i.e. Rosh Hashanah (Jewish New Year) and Yom Kippur

Figure 1: Observance of Jewish dietary laws*



* Percentages are based on the total numbers of cases excluding vegans and vegetarians (N=3,075 for separation of milk and meat utensils at home; N=3,385 for type of meat bought for home, and N=3,212 for type of meat eaten outside home).

Figure 2: Observance of Shabbat (N=3,736 per item)

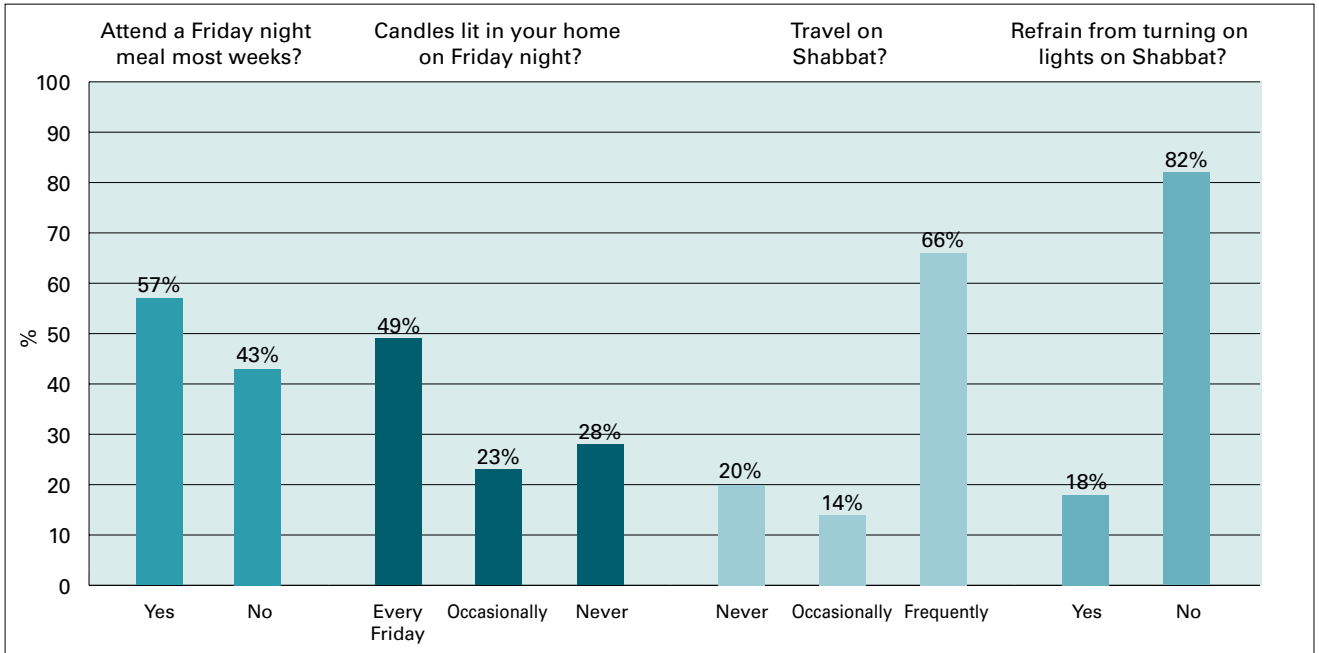
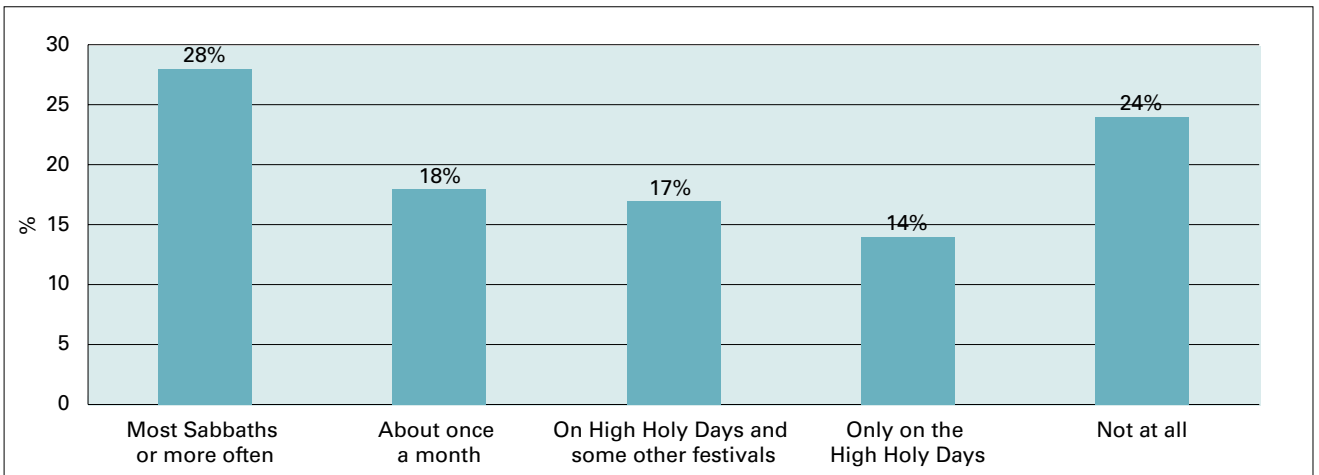


Figure 3: Frequency of synagogue attendance in the past 12 months (N=3,736)



(Day of Atonement)) (Figure 3). Just over a quarter (28%) attend synagogue at least weekly, and just under a quarter (24%) do not attend at all.

Unsurprisingly, synagogue attendance is associated with type of affiliation, among other variables (such as gender, geography and so on). For example, over half (53%) of respondents who self-identify as ‘Orthodox’² attend synagogue

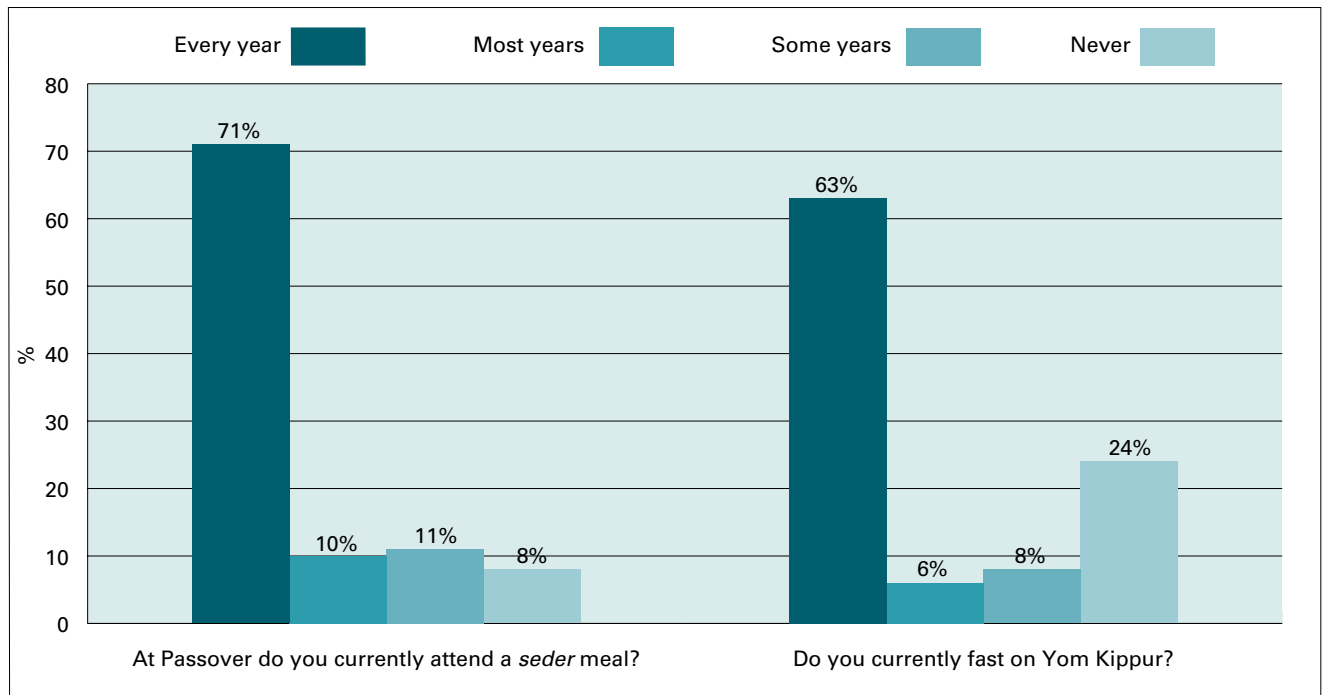
weekly, compared with a third (32%) of those who identify as ‘Traditional’ and just one in ten (11%) of those who are ‘Secular/Cultural’ Jews. Similarly, men are more likely to attend synagogue services weekly or more often than women.

Festivals

Historically, the most commonly observed Jewish practice is the annual *Pesach* (Passover) *seder*, and this survey found that a majority (71%) of respondents attend a seder meal every year (Figure 4). While the survey did not investigate why this particular ritual is so commonly observed, the fact

2 That is, respondents who self-defined as: ‘Orthodox (e.g. would not turn on light on Shabbat)’. This definition of ‘Orthodox’ is used throughout this report.

Figure 4: Observance of festivals*



* For attending a *seder* meal (N=3,736); for fasting on Yom Kippur percentages are based on the total numbers of cases excluding those who do not fast 'for health reasons' (10% of the total sample) (N=3,298).

that it generally takes place in the home, involves a family meal and is as much a cultural familial experience as it is a religious one, almost certainly contributes to its popularity.

Fasting on Yom Kippur is also a very commonly observed practice, with almost two out of three (63%) respondents doing so every year. Again, the survey data do not explain why, although in this instance, the weighty themes of repentance and individual/collective improvement may resonate for many, in addition to the fact that it also involves family coming together (for example, to break the fast).

Age and Jewish practice

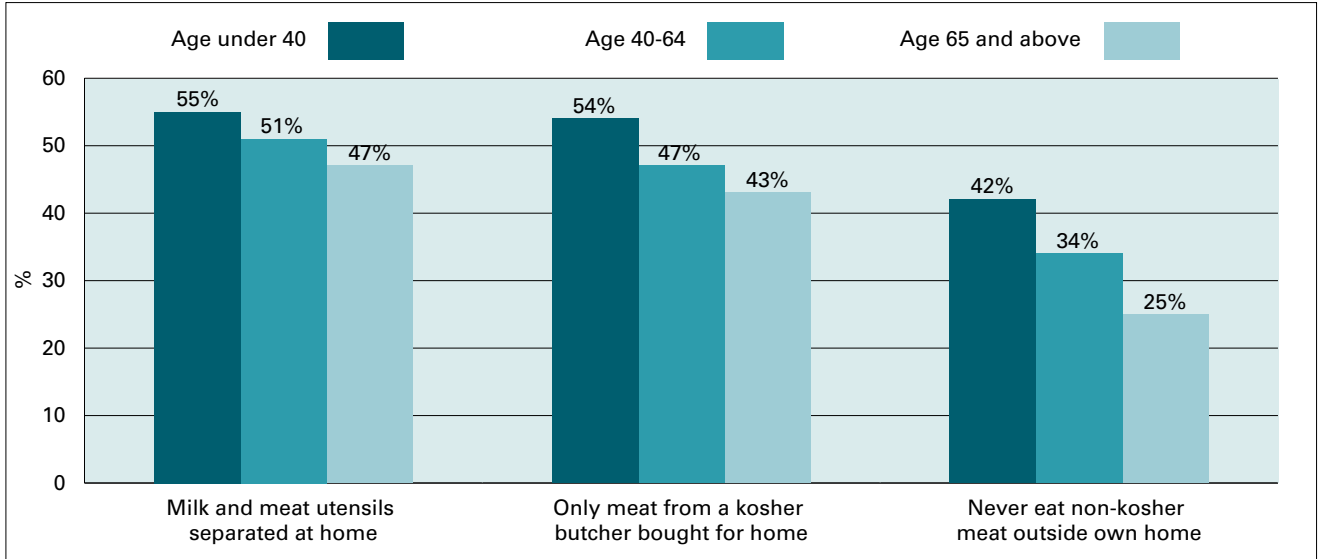
Jewish identity is not static, and cross-sectional surveys, such as NJCS, provide a means of assessing generational change. One of the most striking aspects of the NJCS data are the clear differences we observe between older and younger respondents in terms of religiosity. For example, concerning the separation of milk and meat utensils at home, there is a clear age gradient between the youngest and oldest respondents. Further, this goes in the opposite direction to the one commonly believed to be the case: over half (55%) of those aged under 40 separate milk and meat, slightly

more than those aged 40-64 (51%) who, in turn, are more likely to do so than those aged 65 and above (47%) (Figure 5). A similar pattern is revealed in terms of eating kosher meat at home and avoiding non-kosher meat outside the home.

Further, we observe the same gradient with respect to most aspects of Shabbat observance. For example, two out of three (65%) respondents aged under 40 attend a weekly Friday night meal, compared with 57% of those aged 40-64, and less than half (45%) of those aged 65 and above (Figure 6). This pattern is repeated with respect to avoiding travel on Shabbat and refraining from turning on lights on Shabbat. One exception to this pattern relates to the lighting of candles on Friday nights (Shabbat eve), where age does not seem to be a factor.

Finally, observing Jewish festivals also reveals greater engagement among the young than the old. Eight out of ten (79%) respondents aged under 40 attend a Passover seder every year, compared with seven out of ten (70%) of 40-64 year olds and six out of ten (61%) of those aged 65 and above (Figure 7). Possible reasons for this religiosity age gradient are explored later in this report.

Figure 5: Observance of Jewish dietary laws by age group*



* Percentages are based on the total number of cases excluding vegans and vegetarians (N=3,075 for separation of milk and meat and N=3,385 for type of meat bought for home. For type of meat eaten outside the home (N=3,365) vegans and vegetarians captured in the previous question on type of meat at home were excluded.

Figure 6: Observance of Shabbat by age (N=3,736)

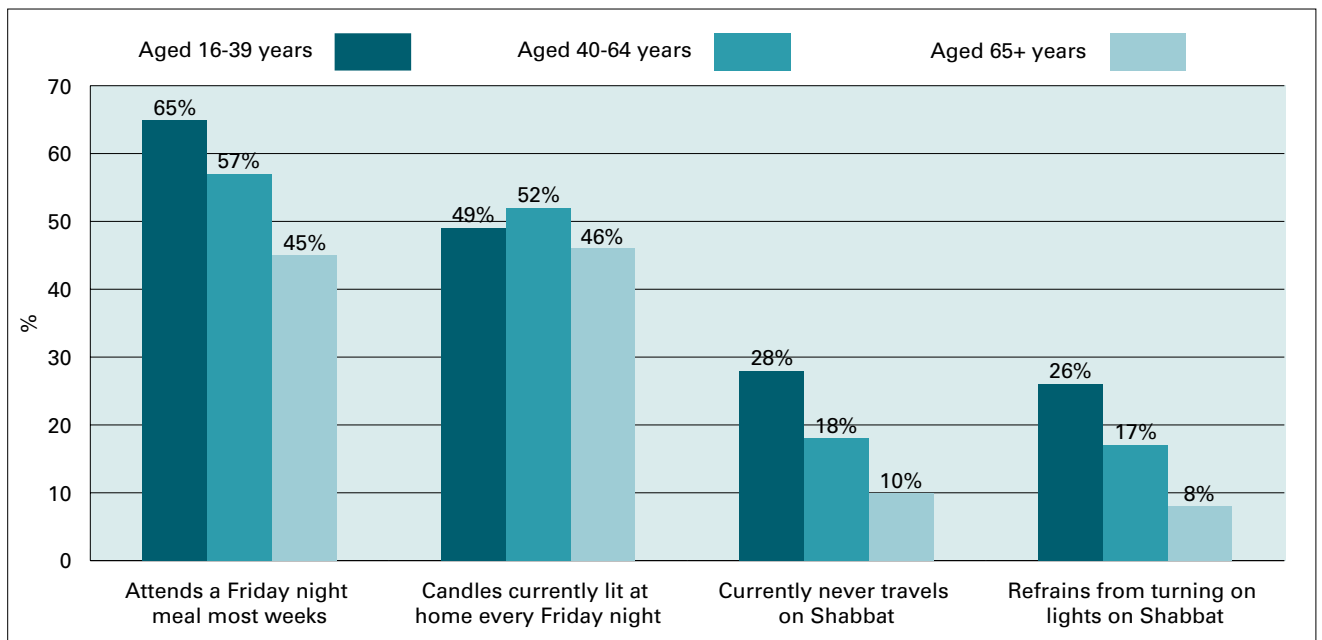
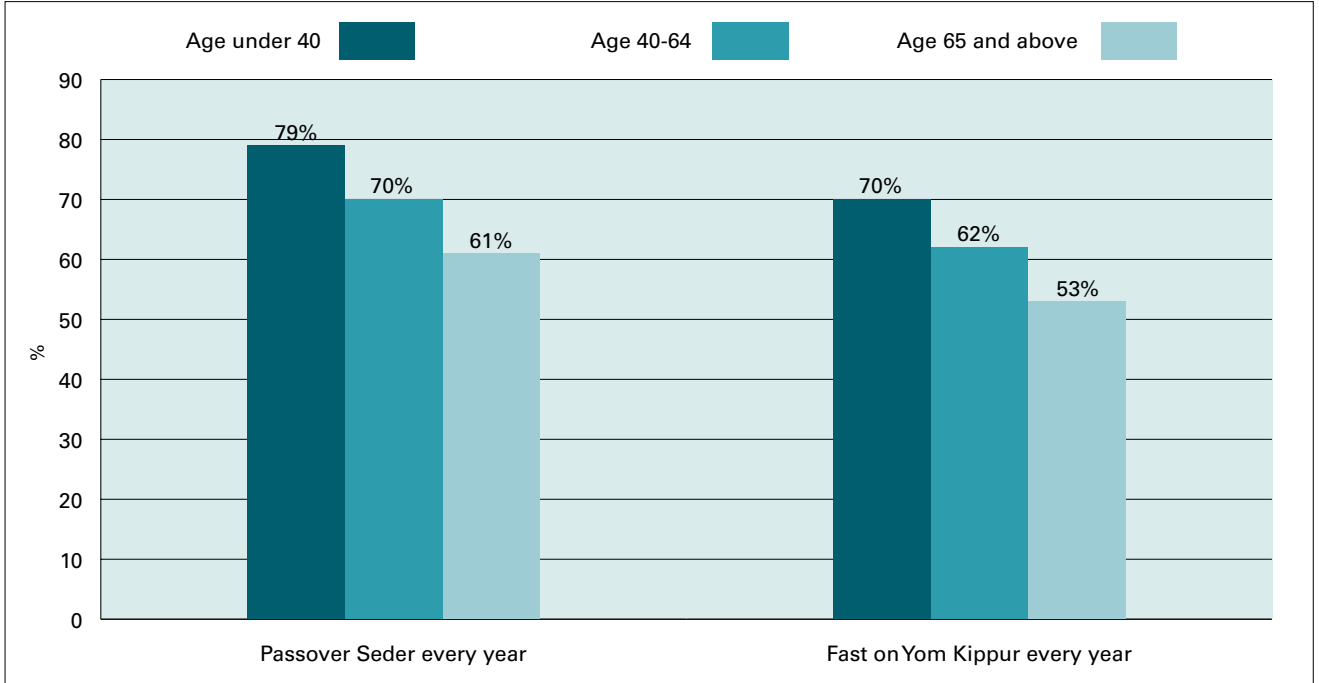


Figure 7. Observance of Jewish festivals by age group*



* N=3,736 (for attending a seder meal); for fasting on Yom Kippur percentages are based on the total numbers of cases excluding those who do not fast for health reasons (N=3,298).

3 Jewish beliefs

A sense of Jewish identity

Beyond religious practice, another means of investigating respondents' Jewishness is to explore their attitudes towards key Jewish religious, historical, national, cultural and ethical matters; in other words, their beliefs. Respondents were asked how important, or otherwise, they felt twenty different items were to their own sense of Jewish identity. The results can be seen in Figure 8, which shows the proportion of respondents who identified an item as being either 'Very' or 'Fairly' important.

The most important beliefs are those associated with ethical and ethno-cultural themes. For example, the idea that 'Strong moral and ethical behaviour' is important to being Jewish is near universal (92%) and is the top item in this list. Three out of the top five items are distinctly ethno-cultural: 'Remembering the Holocaust', 'Feeling part of the Jewish People', and 'Combating antisemitism'.

By contrast, *religious* beliefs are clearly of secondary importance to the respondents, with four out of the bottom five items being religiously oriented. Thus, only about half or fewer respondents feel that 'Believing in God,' 'Keeping kosher,' 'Prayer' and 'Studying Jewish religious texts' are important in terms of their own sense of Jewishness.

The somewhat modest position of 'Supporting Israel' (11th out of 20) is also striking (Figure 8). Some might find this surprising given the centrality of Israel in much of Jewish private and public discourse and findings from previous research.³ That said, a considerable majority

3 JPR's 2010 survey of the attitudes of Jews in Britain towards Israel did not invite respondents to situate the importance they gave to supporting Israel in the wider context of other expressions of Jewish identity. However, while not directly comparable with the finding here, 82% maintained that Israel was a 'Central' or an 'Important' part of their Jewish identity in that study, rather higher than the 69% suggested by the NJCS data. See: Graham, D. and Boyd, J. (2010). "Committed, concerned and conciliatory: The attitudes of Jews in Britain towards Israel. Initial findings from the 2010 Israel Survey." London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

(69%) does consider Israel to be important to its Jewish identity.

'Marrying another Jew' is also of relatively low importance (13th out of 20) to respondents. However, it should also be noted that many respondents (46%) regarded this as 'Very important'; indeed, measured by this criteria alone, it is the sixth most important item.

Age and Jewish beliefs

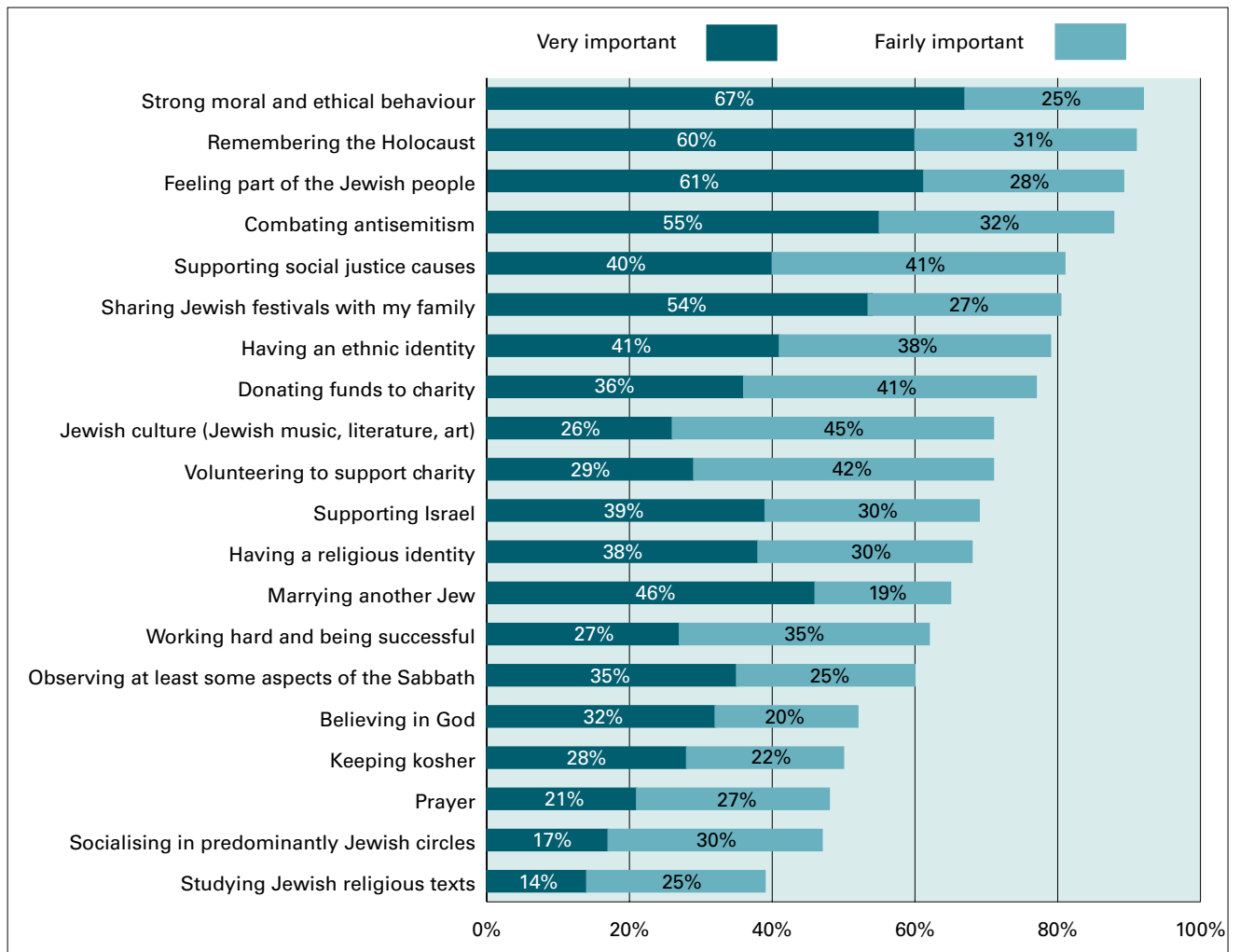
A brief examination of the relationship between generational differences in attitude (based on 'Very important' responses only) again reveals some notable differences by age. Indeed, on a majority of items (14 out of the 20), clear generational differences in attitude are evident. For example, older respondents are more inclined to feel that 'Supporting Israel' is a very important aspect of their personal Jewish identity than younger respondents (Figure 9).⁴ Older respondents are also more likely to feel that 'Combating antisemitism' and 'Volunteering to support charity' are more important than they are for younger respondents (not shown graphically). On the other hand, younger respondents are more likely than older respondents to feel that 'Sharing Jewish festivals with my family' and 'Keeping kosher' are 'Very important'.

In general, it was observed that for items relating to ethnocentric and ethical aspects of Jewish identity (e.g. Combating antisemitism, Remembering the Holocaust, and Donating funds to charity), older respondents are more inclined to rate them as very important than younger respondents. By contrast, for items related to religious practice, younger respondents are more inclined to rate them as 'Very important' than older respondents.

Finally, six items exhibit no clear generational differences in terms of sense of importance to one's Jewish identity, suggesting there is some

4 Note, however, that this relationship was not evident in JPR's 2010 Israel Survey data (*ibid.*).

Figure 8: "How important or unimportant are each of the following to your own sense of Jewish identity?" (N=3,736)*



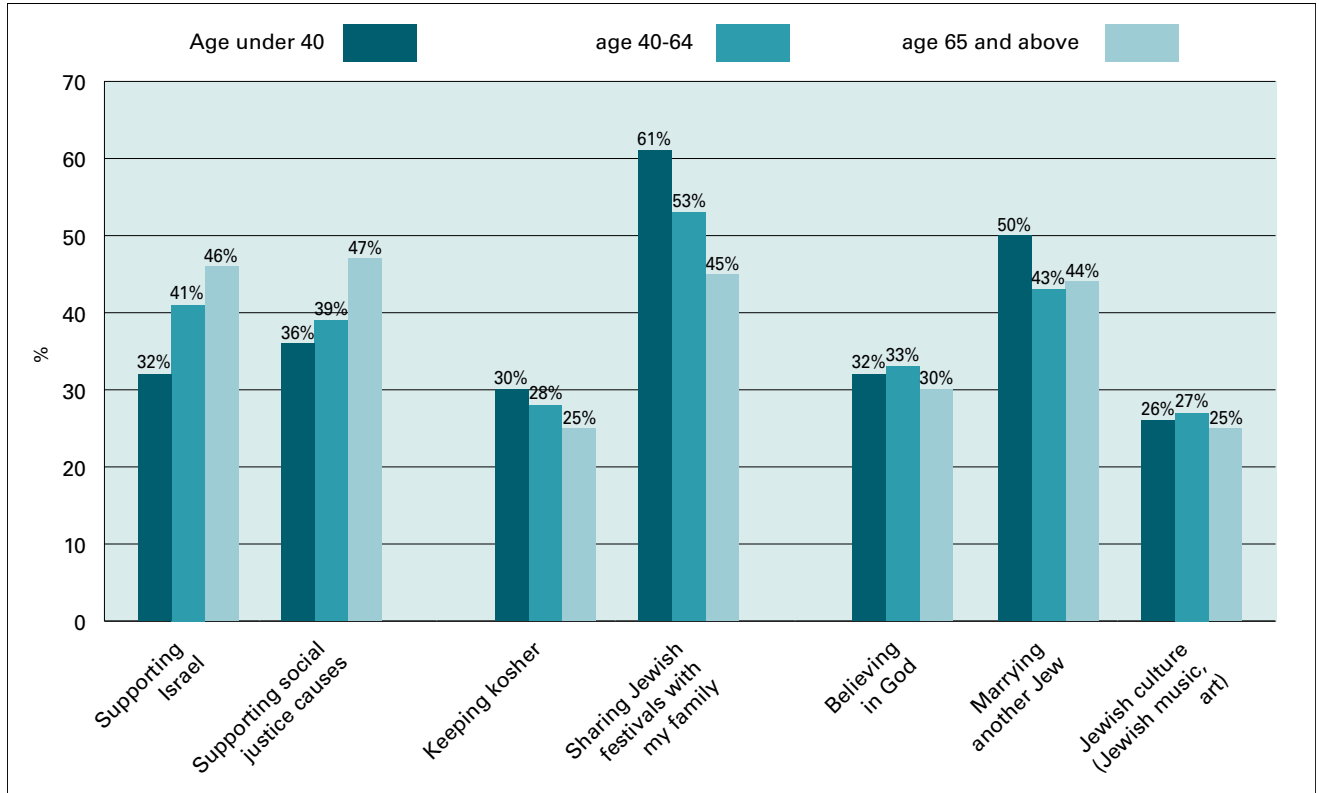
* The full range of answer options were: Very important, Fairly important, Fairly unimportant, Very unimportant, Don't know. The twenty items were automatically randomised for each respondent.

inter-generational consensus on these matters.⁵ These are more disparate than the two previous sets, but include 'Belief in God,' 'Marrying another Jew' and 'Jewish culture' (music, art, etc.) (Figure 9). It is not obvious why these items do not discriminate between the generations, although there is no inherent reason why any

of the twenty items should do so. Interestingly, although 'Belief in God' is an overtly religious item, it is not necessarily related to Jewish practice, which may explain why, at least for this item, an age relationship is not evident. Possible reasons for this religiosity age gradient are explored later in this report.

5 These items were: Marrying another Jew; Jewish culture (Jewish music, literature, art); Having an ethnic identity; Having a religious identity; Working hard and being successful; and Believing in God.

Figure 9. Importance of different aspects of Jewishness to respondents' 'own sense of Jewish identity' by age (N=3,736)*



* Percent answering 'Very important' to each item for selected variables.

4 Jewish belonging

Shifting identities

Jewish identity is also concerned with affiliation, not only in the formal sense of synagogue membership, but in terms of general alignment with one particular form of Judaism or another, or where one feels one ‘belongs’ within the Jewish community. Historically, social researchers in Britain have focused on a set of categories relating to ‘religious lifestyle’ which, through self-classification, tend to discriminate between respondents more meaningfully than synagogue membership alone.⁶

NJCS found that just over a quarter (26%) of respondents currently consider themselves to be ‘Traditional’, almost as many who consider themselves to be ‘Secular/Cultural’ (24%). A minority (16%) described themselves as ‘Orthodox’ or ‘Haredi’⁷ (Figure 10).

The survey also asked respondents to describe their *upbringing* using the same categories of self-identification. This provides another measure of change, although unlike the generational change examined above, it is used as a proxy for measuring change over time.⁸

Examination of these data reveals a considerable amount of dynamism or ‘switching’. For example, whilst a quarter (26%) of the sample is currently Traditional, two out of five (40%) said they were raised that way, indicating considerable movement *away* from Traditional (Figure 10). The net loss amounts to over a third (34%) of the ‘Traditional by upbringing’ group (Table 1). To some extent, this is the continuation of a pre-existing trend: JPR data from over a decade ago showed that while 37% of respondents were currently Traditional (in 2001/2002), over half (53%) said they had been brought up that way.⁹

In contrast to the Traditional group, the category which has gained the most ‘newcomers’ in the present survey is Secular/Cultural: the proportion that is currently Secular/Cultural (a quarter (24%) of the sample) represents an increase of well over half (63%) relative to the proportion with a Secular/Cultural upbringing (Table 1).

Table 1. Percentage difference between upbringing count and current count for each identity category (N=3,736)

Self-defined Jewish identity	Percentage change from upbringing to current position
Secular/Cultural	+63%
Just Jewish	+4%
Reform/Progressive	+30%
Traditional	-34%
Orthodox	+12%
Haredi (strictly Orthodox)	+38%

The loss of one in three formerly ‘Traditional’ adherents has broader significance than the

6 Miller S.M. (1998). “The Structure and Determinants of Jewish Identity in the United Kingdom” in Krausz, E. and Tulea, G. (eds.) *Jewish Survival: the identity problem at the close of the twentieth century*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, chapter 14. p.3; Schmool, M. and Miller, S, (1994). “Women in the Jewish community: Survey Report.” London: The Da Costa Print and Finishing Company.

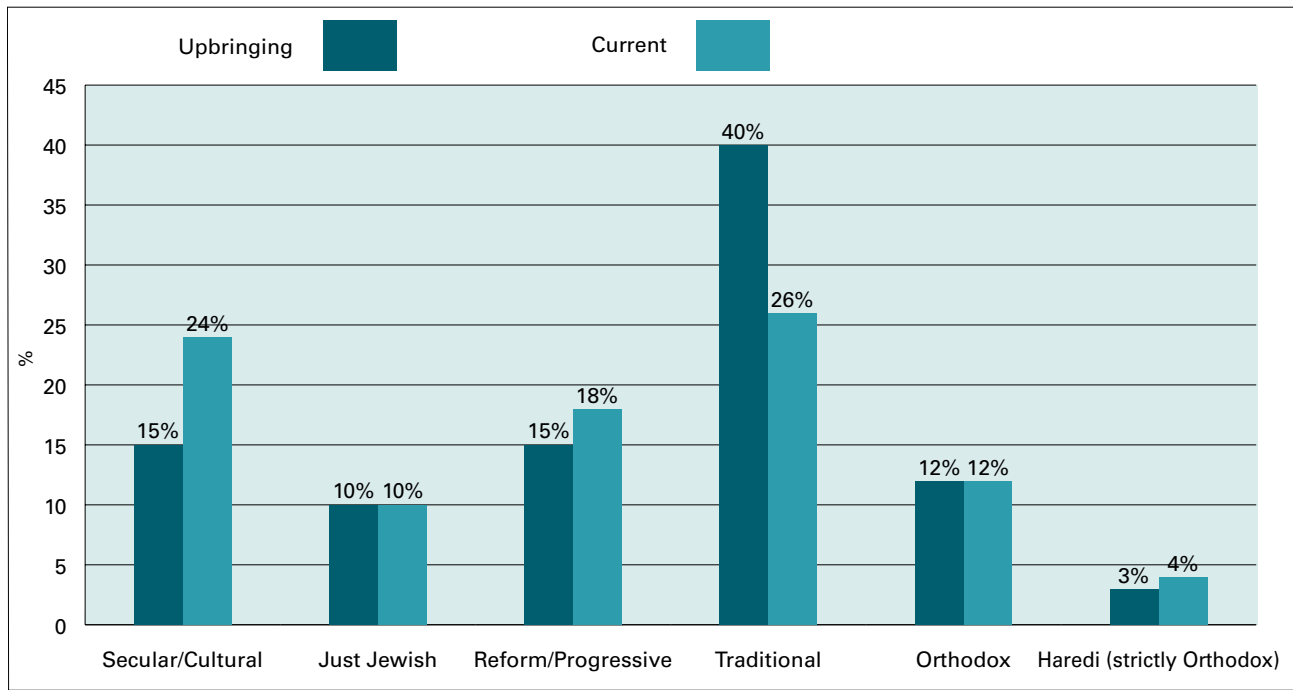
7 The size of the ‘Haredi (strictly Orthodox, Hasidic)’ group in the sample is not fully reflected in the ‘current practice’ figures. This is because the term ‘Haredi’ is not necessarily used by all those who might otherwise be considered Haredi by others. Another indicator in the sample is membership of the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations (‘Union’), a ‘Haredi’ synagogal organisation. Whilst some respondents describe themselves as Haredi and belong to the Union, not all do, and others are members of the Union but do not use the term ‘Haredi’ to describe their Jewish practice. Taking such differences into account, we find that 13% of the sample can be considered ‘Haredi’.

8 Strictly speaking, this type of change is preferably measured by either running cross-sectional surveys over two or more time periods, or a longitudinal study which tracks the same group of individuals over time. Longitudinal studies are very expensive to run, and

cross-sectional surveys need to use comparable survey methodologies and question wording.

9 The data are from two JPR surveys, one in London and the South-east and one in Leeds (N=4,474). For the published reports on these surveys, see: Becher, H., Waterman, S., Kosmin, B. and Thomson K. (2002). “A portrait of Jews in London and the South-east: a community study. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research; and Waterman, S. (2003). “The Jews of Leeds in 2001: Portrait of a community.” London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

Figure 10: Type of Jewish upbringing and current Jewish religious practice (N=3,736)



withering of the formerly dominant category. In absolute terms, its loss is equivalent to 15% of the entire sample, but perhaps of greater significance, Traditional is the only category exhibiting any kind of upbringing-to-current decline. In other words, this switch away from Traditional is suggestive of a shakeout of the middle ground within the British Jewish community, since the category Traditional has customarily been seen as the placeholder for centrist or ‘middle-of-the-road’ Orthodox Judaism.¹⁰

Retention and leakage

Examining this further, it is important to consider not only where individuals have switched from, but also where they are switching to. No group retained 100% of its upbringing cohort; the highest level of retention was among the ‘Haredi’ group at 76%. Thus all groups have each experienced net ‘leakage’ of adherents to other strands. For example, 47% of those raised Traditional switched away; some (13%) moved to the religious ‘right’ (Orthodox or Haredi), but the majority (33%) moved in the opposite direction—to more progressive or cultural positions (Figure

11). A similar picture is painted by those raised Orthodox—of those who switch away, a minority moved to the ‘right’ in religious terms, but most moved ‘left’.

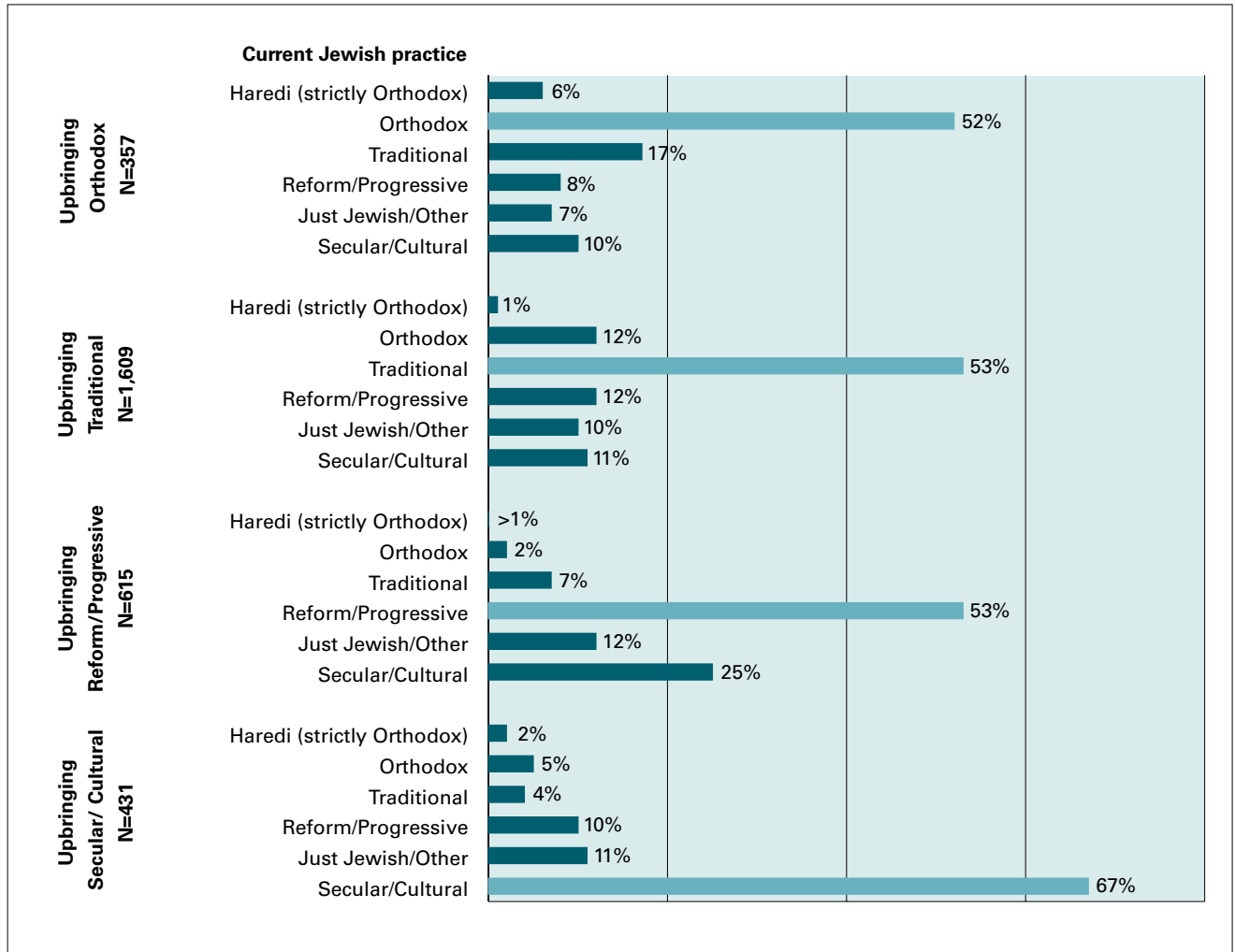
Reform/Progressive also exhibits this pattern of retention and leakage. Just over half (53%) of respondents who were raised Reform/Progressive are still Reform/Progressive today. However, as with Traditional, 47% have moved away from this category; some (10%) switched to the ‘right’ (mainly to Traditional), but over a third (37%) moved ‘left’ to more secular and cultural positions.

The main beneficiary of all this switching, in both absolute and relative terms, has been Secular/Cultural. It has also maintained a high level of retention¹¹ and gained ‘adherents’ from every type of denomination.

¹⁰ It is arguable that a similar trend is occurring in the United States. See for example: Lugo, L, Cooperman, A., et. al. (2013). *A Portrait of Jewish Americans*. Washington DC: Pew Research Center.

¹¹ Since the survey was only eligible to people who currently define themselves as Jewish, those who were raised Jewish (by whichever denomination) but who have subsequently left Judaism altogether, cannot be accounted for in this analysis. Thus, the only position for Secular/Cultural Jews to switch to other than ‘right’ in this categorisation of Jewish identity is to not identify as Jewish at all. Such a movement is not captured in this survey due to the considerable barriers to sampling.

Figure 11: Denominational switching: from position of upbringing to current position (N=3,736)*



* Percentages for each group may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Overall, although there was some movement from the centre towards Orthodoxy, the majority of the movement has been to the ‘left’, with substantial shifts away from the centre and towards more

liberal and secular expressions of Jewish identity in Britain. This is what we are describing as the shakeout of the middle ground.

5 Exploring the Jewish religiosity age gradient

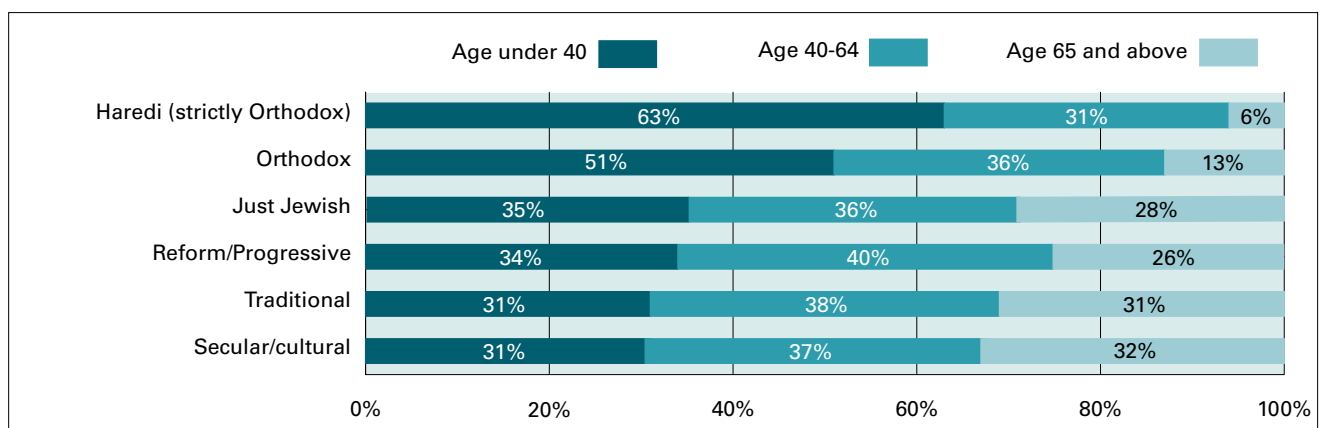
The observed religiosity age gradient in this survey—i.e. the greater prevalence of various Jewish practices and behaviours among younger respondents than older respondents—is significant, not least because it runs counter to a commonly accepted narrative that young Jews in Britain are less religiously engaged than older Jews. While this certainly warrants further study, we can proffer a potential hypothesis at this stage about why this is being seen in these data, and why it is not something that has been identified in previous studies.

At least part of the explanation may lie in the significant and well documented demographic growth (i.e. births outnumbering deaths) among Haredi and Orthodox Jews in Britain since the early 1990s.¹² These groups have relatively large numbers of children, and therefore exhibit disproportionately young age profiles: this is reflected in Figure 12, which shows that over half (51%) of Orthodox and 63% of Haredi respondents are under 40 years old, compared with about a third among other strands. In addition, Orthodox and Haredi respondents also make up

a disproportionately large part of the younger cohorts in this survey—24% of under 40s are Orthodox/Haredi, compared with 15% of the 40-64 age group and just 7% of the 65+ age group.

On the other hand, there has been a marked increase in the rejection of organised religion in Britain’s wider society. This is reflected, for example, in a significant rise in the number of people reporting ‘No Religion’ in the UK Census, which increased by 74% between 2001 and 2011. Indeed, today, one in four people in the UK has no religion. Since Jews, on average, are not immune from social trends in the world around them, a Jewish shift in this direction may well be occurring; indeed, this is what NJCS seems to be indicating (see Figure 10). What is interesting about this however, is that this ‘secularisation’ appears to be happening among older respondents to a greater extent than among younger respondents. However, it is distinctly possible that this is simply because younger groups are being demographically ‘replenished’ by high birth rates among the most Orthodox – i.e. that it is a side effect of this demographic change.

Figure 12: Current Jewish alignment by age group (N=3,736)



12 See: Graham, D. (2013). “2011 Census Result (England and Wales): A Tale of Two Jewish Populations.” London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research; Vulkan, D. and Graham, D. (2008). “Population Trends among Britain’s Strictly Orthodox Jews.” Report of the Community Policy Research Group. London: Board of Deputies of British Jews.

6 Intermarriage

Table 2. Prevalence of intermarriage by various measures

Respondent's status	Partner Jewish	Partner not Jewish	Total	N
All currently in a partnership	74%	26%	100%	2,672
Married and living with spouse	77%	23%	100%	2,440
Cohabiting with partner	39%	61%	100%	174
Male (currently in a partnership)	75%	25%	100%	1,328
Female (currently in a partnership)	72%	28%	100%	1,344

Prevalence

For some time now, a key communal concern has been the potentially negative impact of intermarriage on Jewish life and the size of the community in Britain.¹³ Although there is much debate about whether intermarriage should be viewed in solely negative terms,¹⁴ here the focus is on the overall prevalence of intermarriage, which, among all currently partnered respondents in this sample, is 26%. That is to say, one in four respondents in a partnership has a non-Jewish partner (Table 2).

However, prevalence of intermarriage varies by many criteria. For example, among all married respondents with intact marriages, 23% have non-Jewish spouses. By contrast, among cohabiting respondents, the level is far higher—61% have a non-Jewish partner.

Gender is also a discriminating factor in intermarriage. Jewish women in the sample demonstrate a slightly higher propensity towards intermarriage than Jewish men (28% versus 25% respectively). However, the data show that,

13 See, for examples: Gidley, B. and Kahn-Harris, K. (2010). *Turbulent Times: The British Jewish Community Today*. London: Continuum; Sacks, J. (1994). *Will We Have Jewish Grandchildren? Jewish Continuity and How to Achieve it*. London: Vallentine Mitchell.

14 Some have argued intermarriage can have positive expansionary implications (such as potentially broadening the number of people involved in Jewish family and communal life). For example, if three out of ten Jews intermarry, then, in theory, three more people are potentially involved in a community.

among married respondents, there are many more female converts than male converts. This suggests that Jewish-born men are more likely to partner non-Jewish women who subsequently convert to Judaism, than Jewish-born women are likely to partner non-Jewish men who subsequently convert. This contradictory finding is probably a result of the Jewish custom of matrilineal descent: whereas children of intermarried Jewish women will be accepted as being Jewish, this is generally not the case for the children of intermarried Jewish men.

One of the most discriminatory variables for assessing propensities towards intermarriage is Jewish identity. The survey shows that intermarriage among currently married respondents who experienced a Haredi upbringing, is essentially non-existent in this sample. Among those raised Orthodox it is 10%, but for those who are currently Orthodox it is also essentially nil. Among those raised 'Traditional' it is 12%, but just 5% among currently 'Traditional' respondents. Among other groups, the prevalence of intermarriage is much higher. Indeed, it is as high as 62% among married respondents who are currently Secular/Cultural.

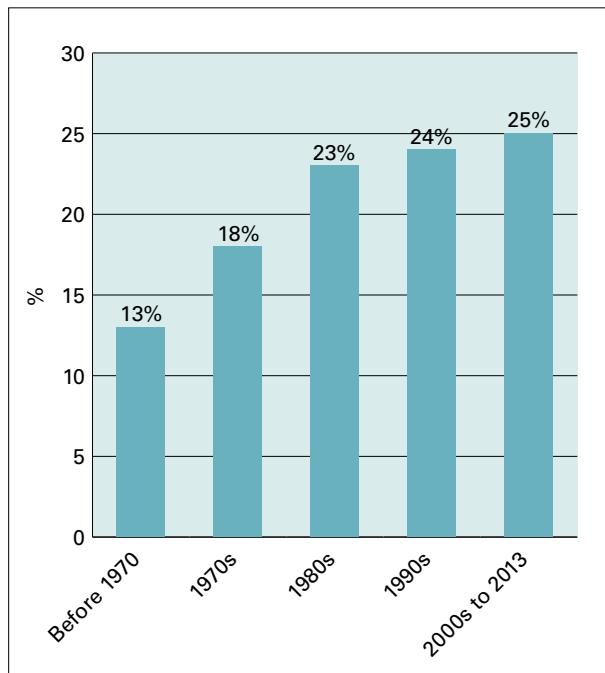
Prevalence by year of marriage

Intermarriage is less common among married people whose marriage took place in the 1970s or earlier, than among those who married more recently. Less than one in five (18%) respondents who got married in the 1970s has a non-Jewish spouse, compared with a quarter (25%) of those who got married from 2000 onwards (Figure 13).

Table 3. Prevalence of intermarriage by type of Jewish upbringing and current Jewish practice for all currently married respondents living with their spouse

		Jewish spouse	Non-Jewish spouse	Total
Type of Jewish upbringing (N=2,298)	Haredi (strictly Orthodox)	100%	0%	100%
	Orthodox	90%	10%	100%
	Traditional	88%	12%	100%
	Just Jewish	69%	31%	100%
	Reform/Progressive	61%	39%	100%
	Secular/Cultural	52%	48%	100%
Current Jewish practice (N=2,355)	Haredi (strictly Orthodox)	99%	1%	100%
	Orthodox	99%	1%	100%
	Traditional	95%	5%	100%
	Reform/Progressive	76%	24%	100%
	Just Jewish	66%	34%	100%
	Secular/Cultural	38%	62%	100%

Figure 13: Prevalence of intermarriage for all currently married respondents living with their spouse by year marriage took place (N=2,391)



However, the steep rise in the prevalence of intermarriage which took place prior to the 1980s has slowed considerably, and is now an almost ‘flat’ level. Additional analysis indicates that this levelling off also occurs when the combined group of Reform/Progressive, Just Jewish and Secular/Cultural respondents are analysed separately,

showing 51% intermarrying in the 1990s and 49% since the year 2000.

This levelling off of intermarriage in recent years is an interesting finding that will require further investigation in future studies. However, it is worth noting at this stage that not only has this also been observed in the United States,¹⁵ but it appears to have begun well before the expansion of Jewish educational programming in Britain in the 1990s.

Intermarriage and Jewish identity

One of the main reasons that communal concern has been expressed about intermarriage is because intermarried couples tend to be far less Jewishly engaged than in-married couples. This is also borne out by our data, although there are examples of where this is not quite so clear-cut.

In terms of Jewish religious behaviour, stark differences exist between intermarried and in-married respondents, with all indicators pointing

15 See: Kosmin, B.A. et. al. (1991). “Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey.” New York: Council of Jewish Federations, chart 14, p.14; Kotler-Berkowitz, L., Cohen, S. M. et. al. (2003). “The National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01. Strength, challenge and diversity in the American Jewish population.” New York: United Jewish Communities, table 14, p.16; and Lugo, Cooperman, et. al., p.35, op. cit., p.15.

Table 4. Levels of observance of selected Jewish practices, in-married compared with intermarried*

	In-married (N=2,064)	Intermarried (N=608)
Attend a Passover (Pesach) seder meal 'Every year/Most years'	93%	48%
Fast on Yom Kippur 'Every year/Most years'	84%	33%
Attend a Friday night meal most weeks	76%	18%
Light candles at home 'Every' Friday night	70%	14%
Only buy meat for home from a kosher butcher	68%	4%
Not been to a synagogue service in the past 12 months	10%	58%

* All respondents currently in partnerships

towards the same conclusion: respondents with non-Jewish partners are considerably less observant than those with Jewish partners. For example, whereas attending a seder meal at Pesach (Passover) is almost universal (93%) among the in-married, this is the case for less than half (48%) of intermarried respondents (Table 4).

In terms of Jewish beliefs, the differences between in-married and intermarried are also stark in many instances. For example, the vast majority (84%) of in-married respondents maintain that supporting Israel is an important part of their Jewish identity, compared with just two in five (42%) intermarried respondents. The intermarried are also less likely

Table 5. Importance of beliefs (selected measures), in-married compared with intermarried*

	In-married (N=2,064)	Intermarried (N=608)
Supporting Israel	84%	42%
Volunteering to support charity	80%	53%
Sharing Jewish festivals with my family	93%	54%
Donating funds to charity	85%	60%
Jewish culture (Jewish music, art)	73%	70%
Supporting social justice causes	82%	77%
Combating antisemitism	89%	86%
Remembering the Holocaust	93%	87%

* Proportion believing item is 'Very important' or 'Fairly important'

to consider volunteering and charitable giving to be important aspects of being Jewish (Table 5).

On the other hand, a number of cultural indicators suggest that the differences between the in-married and intermarried groups are minimal. For example, 73% of in-married respondents and 70% of intermarried respondents feel that Jewish culture (the arts etc) is an important aspect of being Jewish. Other items which unite married and intermarried Jews include supporting social justice causes, combating antisemitism and remembering the Holocaust (Table 5).

7 Jewish education

Prevalence of Jewish school attendance

Overall, almost one in three (30%) respondents has attended a Jewish school for at least part of their education, and this is the case for almost a quarter (23%) of respondents who were not raised in Orthodox or Haredi homes (Table 6).¹⁶

Jewish school attendance is more common among younger than older respondents, reflecting a significant change in attitudes towards Jewish schooling that has occurred in the Jewish community in the last generation.¹⁷ Over half (51%) of respondents in their twenties attended a Jewish school at some stage, compared with less than a quarter of those in their fifties (23%) (Figure 14). (For respondents with school-age children, over half (54%) currently have at least one child in a Jewish school, which is in line with these findings.)¹⁸

Further analysis of the data indicates that among those who were *not* raised in Orthodox or Haredi homes, the rate of increase in the

Table 6. Proportion of respondents who have attended a Jewish school (N=3,736)

	All	Non-Orthodox*
Any Jewish schooling (any stage)	30%	23%
At primary level only	12%	10%
At secondary level only	5%	5%
At both primary and secondary level	13%	8%

* Includes all those who were not raised in an 'Orthodox' or 'Haredi' home

16 Haredi children are universally educated in Jewish schools, as are the vast majority of Orthodox children.

17 See: Valins, O. (2003). "The Jewish Day School Marketplace: The attitudes of Jewish parents in Greater London and the South-east towards formal education." London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

18 Currently 37% of those with school age children have all their children in Jewish schools, and 17% have some of their children in Jewish schools (N=785).

proportion of each cohort attending Jewish schools ('penetration') has been declining for at least twenty years (Figure 14). In other words, although more and more people are sending their children to Jewish schools, on average this rate of increase is shrinking year on year. For example, Jewish school penetration among non-Orthodox respondents in their forties is ten percentage points higher than for those in their fifties, but it is just three percentage points higher when comparing the most recent cohorts (i.e. respondents in their twenties with those in their thirties).

General attitudes towards Jewish schools

The question about what motivates parents to choose a Jewish school for their children has been explored in previous JPR research.¹⁹ The present study provides some more up-to-date insights into the attitudes of respondents to Jewish schools.

Over three-quarters (77%) of respondents believe that Jewish schools strengthen pupils' Jewish identity. Further, a clear majority (61%) also believes that Jewish schools increase the chances of Jewish in-marriage (Figure 15).

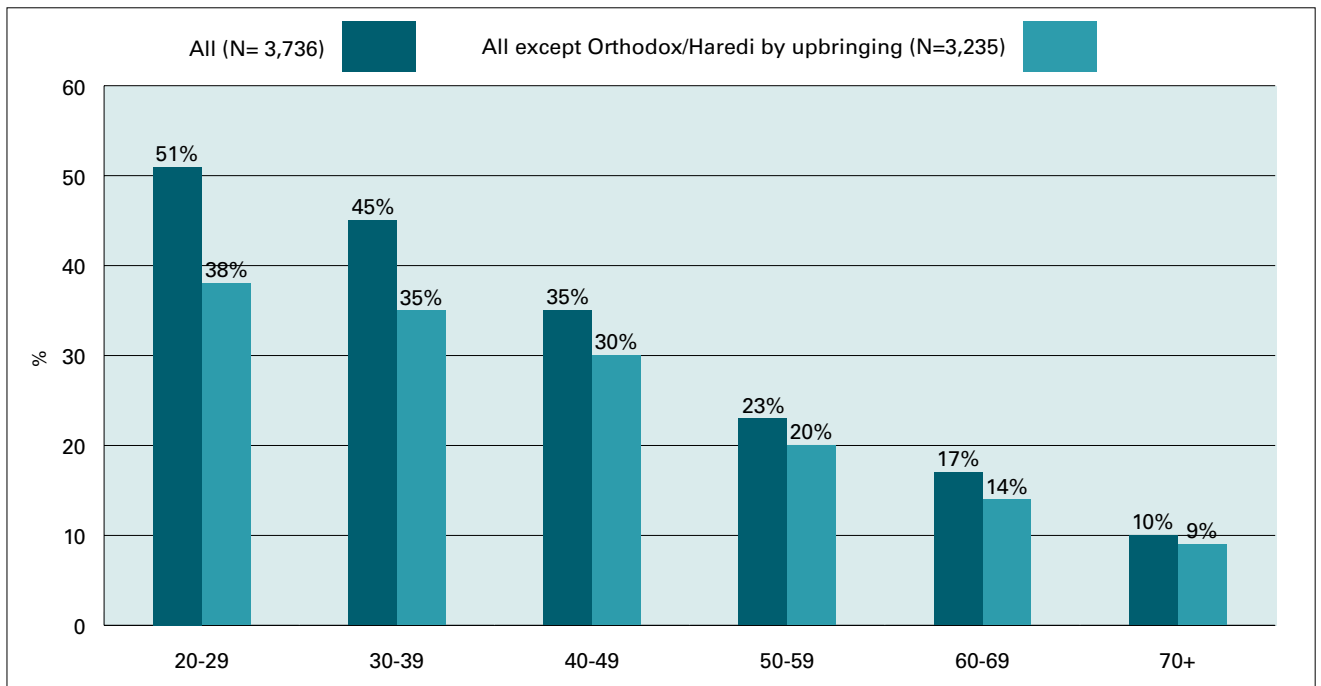
On other matters, opinions are more divided. A large minority (42%) believes that when it comes to preparing children for contemporary British society, non-Jewish schools are better than Jewish schools, although it is striking to note that over a third (35%) of respondents is unsure either way. Furthermore, opinion is also divided as to whether Jewish schools are better than non-Jewish schools at imparting positive moral values to children (32% agree, 31% disagree).

Respondents were also asked their views about whether Jewish schools should be publicly funded, given that they are religiously and ethnically selective.²⁰ Almost half (47%) expressed the opinion that public funding for Jewish schools was indeed appropriate, although a quarter (26%) feels it is inappropriate (Figure 15).

19 See: Valins, O. (2003). "The Jewish Day School Marketplace", op. cit. p.22.

20 Unlike most other countries, such as the United States and Australia, 'faith schools' in the UK receive significant public funding.

Figure 14: Attendance of a Jewish school, by age and Jewish identity*



* Attendance refers to any primary and/or secondary Jewish schooling. Percentages are proportion of each age cohort.

Figure 15: Attitudes towards the role of Jewish schools (N=3,736)

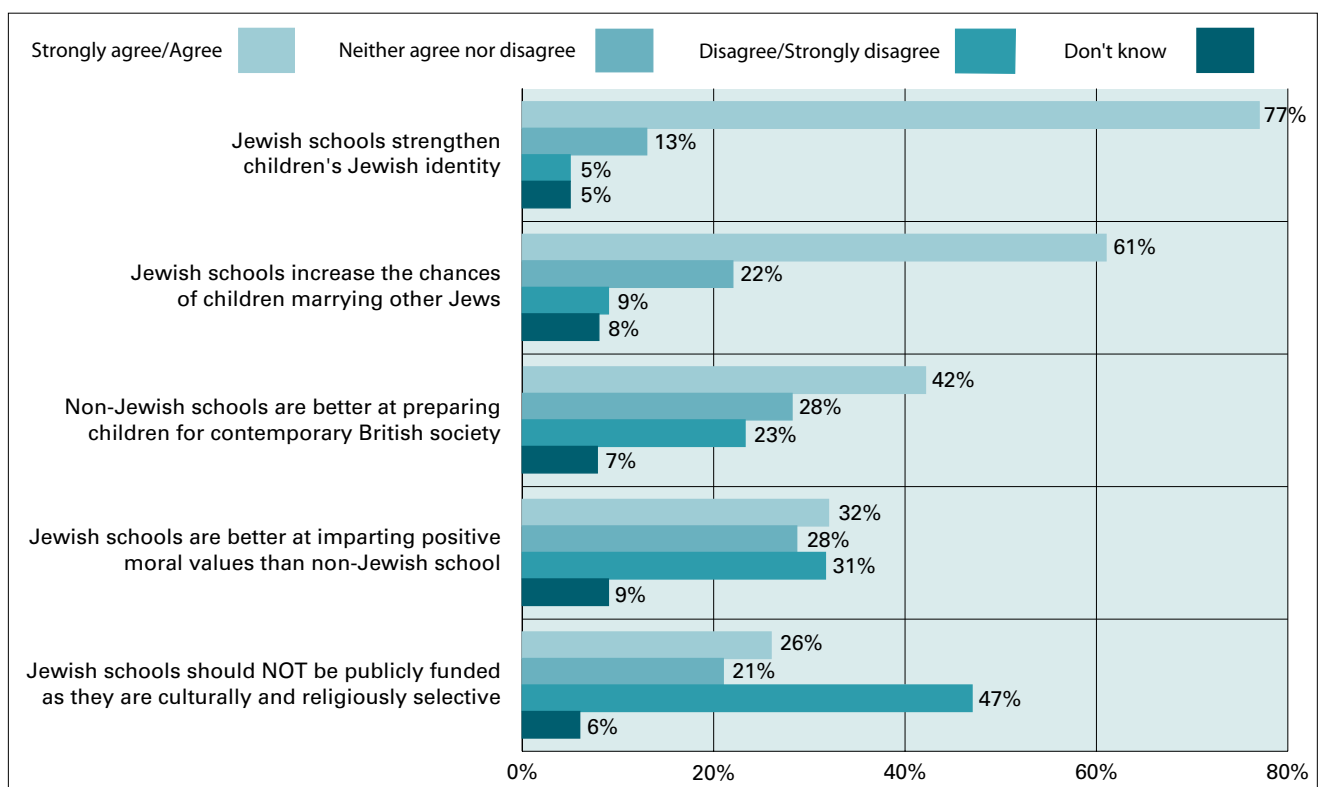


Table 7. Attitudes of respondents with school-aged children towards Jewish schools by type of school currently chosen

Statement	Proportion of respondents agreeing* with statement who:	
	have children in Jewish schools	have children in non-Jewish schools
Jewish schools strengthen children's Jewish identity	95%	75%
Jewish schools increase the chances of children eventually marrying other Jews	74%	55%
Non-Jewish schools are better at preparing children for contemporary British society than Jewish schools	18%	47%
Jewish schools are better at imparting positive moral values than non-Jewish schools	56%	21%
Jewish schools should NOT be publicly funded as they are culturally and religiously selective	2%	33%

* Percent who Strongly agree or Agree. Minimum N=783.

Parents' views

Whilst the proportion of Jewish children in Jewish schools has grown steadily over the past few decades, it is important to consider the likely limits to this growth, since 100% take-up is unrealistic, especially among the non-Orthodox community (as indicated in the findings shown in Figure 14). One of the ways to explore this is to contrast the views of parents who currently have children in Jewish schools with those who do not.²¹

While it is unsurprising that parents with children currently in Jewish schools hold more favourable opinions towards Jewish schools than other parents, the differences between the two groups are instructive, not least for providing some insight into the mindset of parents who have not chosen Jewish schools.

For example, even among those who do not send their children to a Jewish school, three-quarters (75%) nevertheless believe that Jewish schools strengthen children's Jewish identity. However,

21 It should be noted that the choice of a Jewish school is not black and white. Some parents may choose a Jewish school for one child and a non-Jewish school for another. Further, some parents may prefer a Jewish school at one stage (say primary) but a non-Jewish school at a later stage. In other words, some parents who do not currently have a child in a Jewish school may nevertheless be inclined to choose a Jewish school in the future, and vice versa.

this group is less convinced that Jewish schools increase the chances of in-marriage: just over half (55%) agrees that they do, compared with three-quarters (74%) of those who have children in Jewish schools.

Interestingly, only about half (47%) of those parents who have *not* chosen Jewish schools for their children believes that non-Jewish schools are better than Jewish schools at preparing children for wider British society. And only one in three (33%) of this group feels that Jewish schools should *not* be publicly funded (see footnote 21).

No doubt, preconceived opinions about Jewish schooling in general affect parental decisions about whether or not to choose this path for their children. But what factors may operate to influence those opinions in the first place? Among the many potential factors are Jewish identity and income. For example, among Orthodox and Haredi respondents, the choice of a Jewish school is almost universal (93% and 95% respectively) (Table 8). Furthermore, two-thirds (65%) of Traditional parents now choose Jewish schools for their children. However, this is the case for far lower proportions of more progressive or secular respondents.

Income is also related to the choices parents make about schools. When 'Orthodox' and 'Haredi' respondents are removed from

Table 8. Current Jewish identity of respondents with school aged children by type of school chosen (N=748)

	Children in Jewish schools	No children in Jewish schools	Total
Secular/Cultural	10%	90%	100%
Just Jewish	39%	61%	100%
Reform/Progressive	27%	73%	100%
Traditional	65%	35%	100%
Orthodox	93%	7%	100%
Haredi (strictly Orthodox)	95%	5%	100%

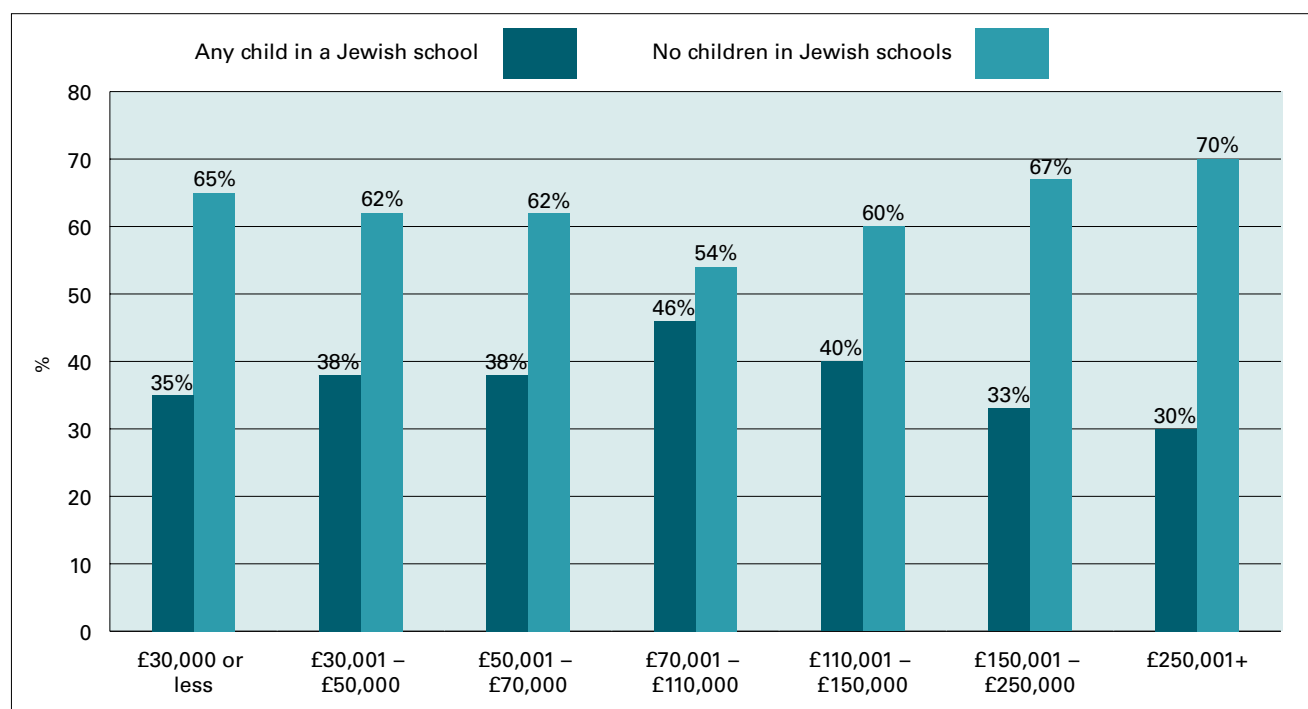
the analysis (since Jewish schooling is near universal for these two groups), we find that non-Jewish schools are more popular than Jewish schools at every level of income (Figure 16). This analysis also reveals an interesting pattern whereby Jewish schools are most popular among middle-income families, but as household incomes rise (above £110,000 per year) Jewish schools are increasingly less likely to be chosen. Further investigation is required to confirm why this occurs, but it strongly suggests that Jewish parents are

choosing non-Jewish private schools when they can afford to do so. If this is the case, it may imply that many parents outside the Orthodox or Haredi groups who have the financial means to choose, prefer non-Jewish private schools over Jewish schools.²²

Informal Jewish education

In addition to formal Jewish schooling, the survey also explored involvement in informal Jewish education—or Jewish education outside the school system. Of the various types explored

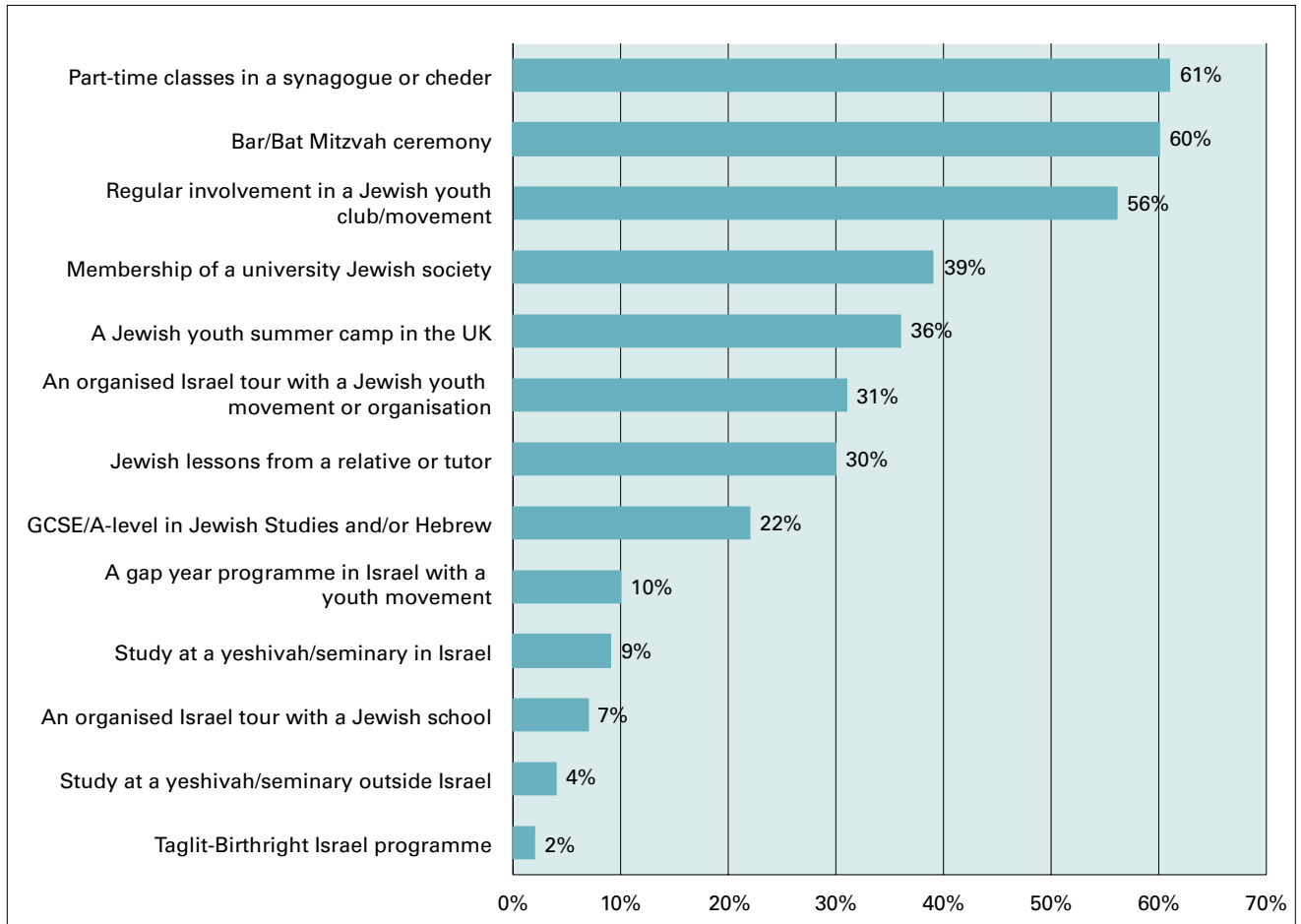
Figure 16: Household income of respondents with school aged children by type of school chosen (excluding Orthodox/Haredi respondents)* (N=615)



* Note uneven income brackets.

22 It should be noted that some Jewish schools are private, especially in the Haredi sector, although this is an entirely separate educational marketplace.

Figure 17: Involvement in informal Jewish education, % (N=3,736)



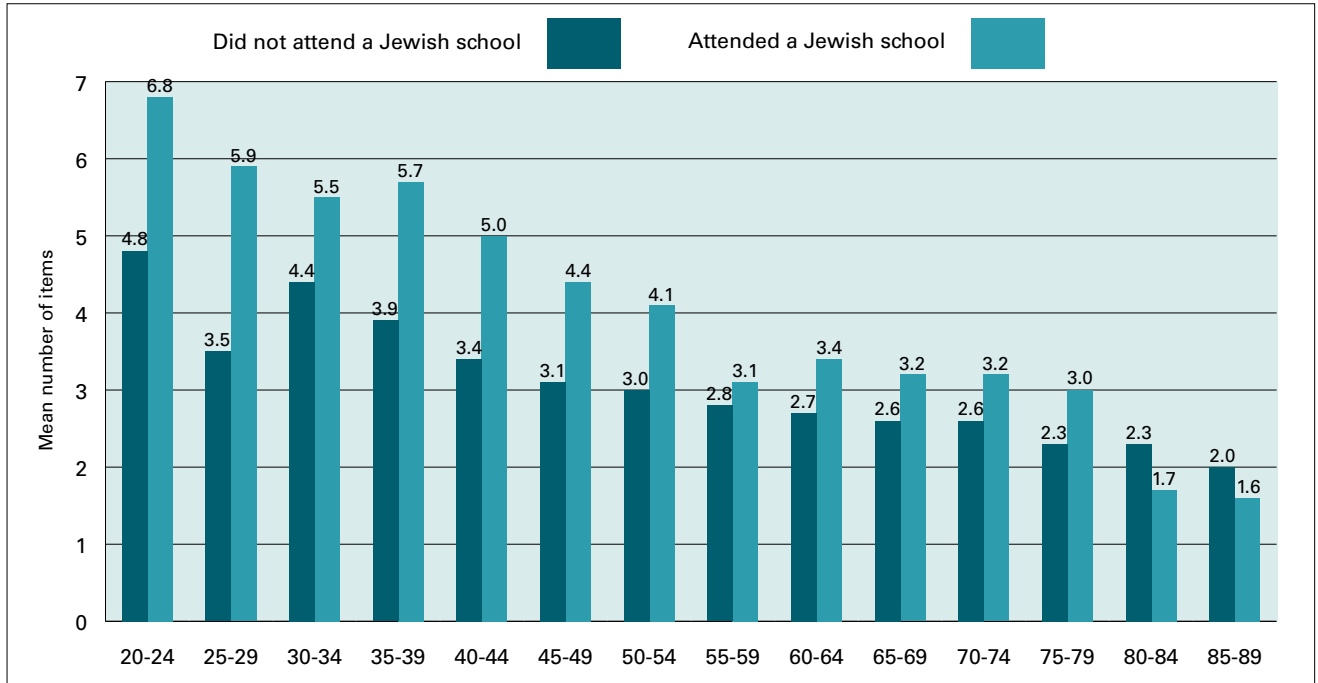
in the survey, the most common form of Jewish education was cheder (part-time classes through a synagogue) and/or a Bar/Bat Mitzvah ceremony (61% and 60%²³ respectively). Over half the sample (56%) reported having been regularly involved with a Jewish youth club or youth movement. Almost one in three (31%) visited Israel as part of an organised Israel tour. About one in five (22%) respondents has a GCSE/A-level qualification in Jewish studies and/or in Hebrew. One in ten (10%) participated in a gap year programme in Israel.

Most respondents (88%) have experienced at least one of these thirteen activities, and on average, respondents reported doing between three and four of them.

With an increasingly large number of Jewish children entering Jewish schools, we also examined whether there was any evidence to suggest that this growth is undermining involvement in informal types of Jewish education. However, an initial assessment of the data suggests this is not the case: there does not appear to be a substitution of formal (i.e. schooling) for informal Jewish education. Indeed, at every age band, respondents who attended a Jewish school have done *more* of the informal activities listed than those who did not (Figure 18). Further, there is no clear indication of a slackening off of the trend for younger respondents who went to a Jewish school.

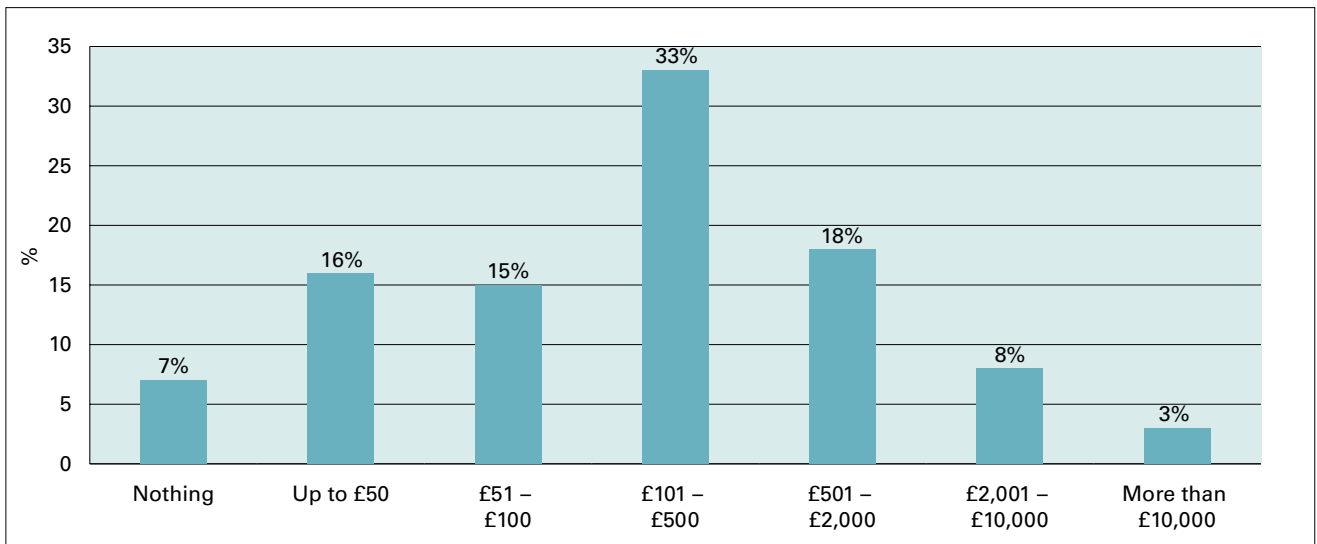
²³ Among male respondents this is 84%, and among female respondents it is 38%.

Figure 18: Mean number of informal Jewish educational activities experienced by respondents by age group (N=3,736)



8 Charitable giving

Figure 19: Charitable giving (Jewish or otherwise) in the year prior to the survey*



* N=3,399. Percentages are calculated after exclusion of respondents who answered 'Prefer not to say'.

Amount given

One of the key tenets of Judaism is to help less advantaged people, and the proliferation of Jewish charities in the community is testament to the importance of this principle.²⁴ Indeed, the future functioning of the community is, to a large extent, dependent on the generosity of its members. It is therefore important to understand who gives, and how much they give.

Of those who responded, 93% donated money to a charity (Jewish or otherwise), in the year before the survey (Figure 19).²⁵ The most common amount given was between £100 and £500. Almost two out of five respondents (38%) gave less than £100 over the year, and a similar proportion gave between £100 and £500. Although 29% gave over £500, large

charitable donations were infrequent: 3% of the respondents donated more than £10,000.

Charitable priorities and the determinants of giving

Respondents were asked how they had prioritised their charitable giving. A greater proportion prioritises non-Jewish charities (45%) than Jewish charities (37%) (Figure 20). This includes a quarter (25%) who donated exclusively to non-Jewish charities and just under one in ten (8%) who donated exclusively to Jewish charities.

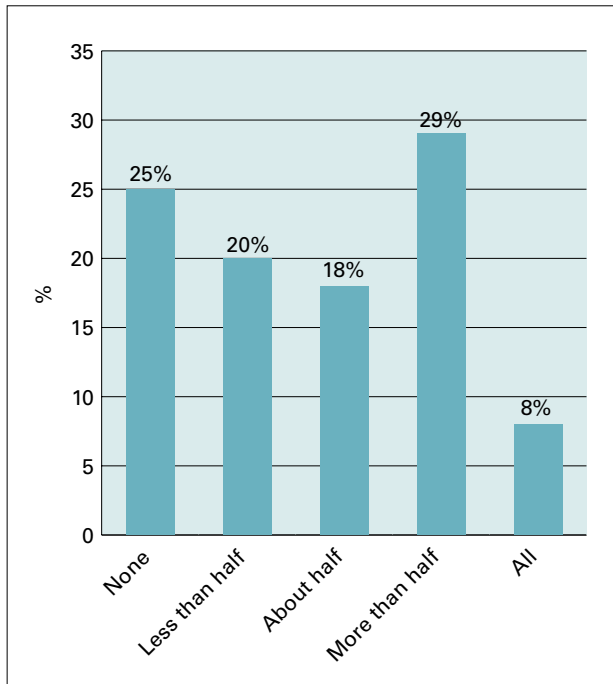
The survey also enquired about priorities in terms of respondents' preferred charitable causes. As Figure 21 shows, no single cause dominates, but rather, priorities are wide ranging. Just over one in three (34%) respondents prioritise Jewish charities in the UK, whereas 29% prioritise General UK charities. Just over one in ten (12%) prioritise aid for the poor outside the UK, and just under one in ten prioritise their giving to Israel charities.

Respondents' Jewish identity is closely related to their giving priorities. For example, almost all (95%) Haredi respondents prioritise Jewish or Israel charities (Table 9). Similarly, 82% of Orthodox respondents also prioritise these

24 See: Goldberg, J. and Kosmin, B. (1998). "Patterns of charitable giving among British Jews." London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research; and Halfpenny, P. and Reid, M. (2000). "The financial resources of the UK Jewish voluntary sector." London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research. The Halfpenny and Reid report found that the UK Jewish voluntary sector at that time comprised just under 2,000 financially independent organisations.

25 9% of respondents chose not to answer this question, and the figures in this section are exclusive of these non-respondents.

Figure 20: Estimated proportion of total charitable giving specifically donated to Jewish charities*



* (N=3,175) includes only respondents who disclosed they gave some money to charity in the past 12 months as well as the approximate amount given.

Figure 21: Charitable giving priorities (N=3,736)

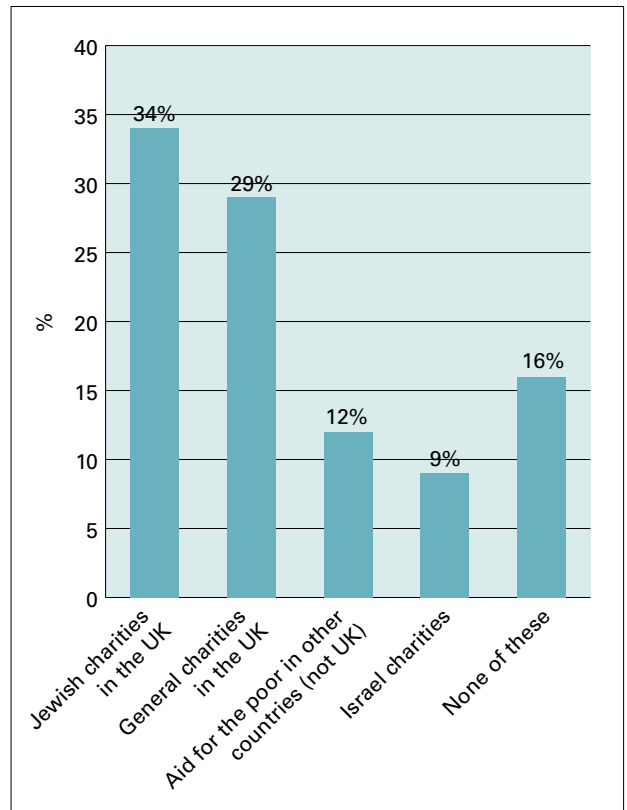


Table 9: Charitable giving priorities by current Jewish identity*

	Jewish charities in the UK	General charities in the UK	Aid for the poor in other countries (outside the UK)	Israel charities	None of these	Total	N
Secular/Cultural	7%	44%	26%	3%	20%	100%	857
Just Jewish	25%	37%	10%	8%	20%	100%	387
Reform/Progressive	20%	41%	14%	7%	18%	100%	709
Traditional	52%	20%	4%	13%	11%	100%	984
Orthodox	67%	6%	4%	15%	9%	100%	476
Haredi (strictly Orthodox)	87%	0%	0%	8%	5%	100%	138

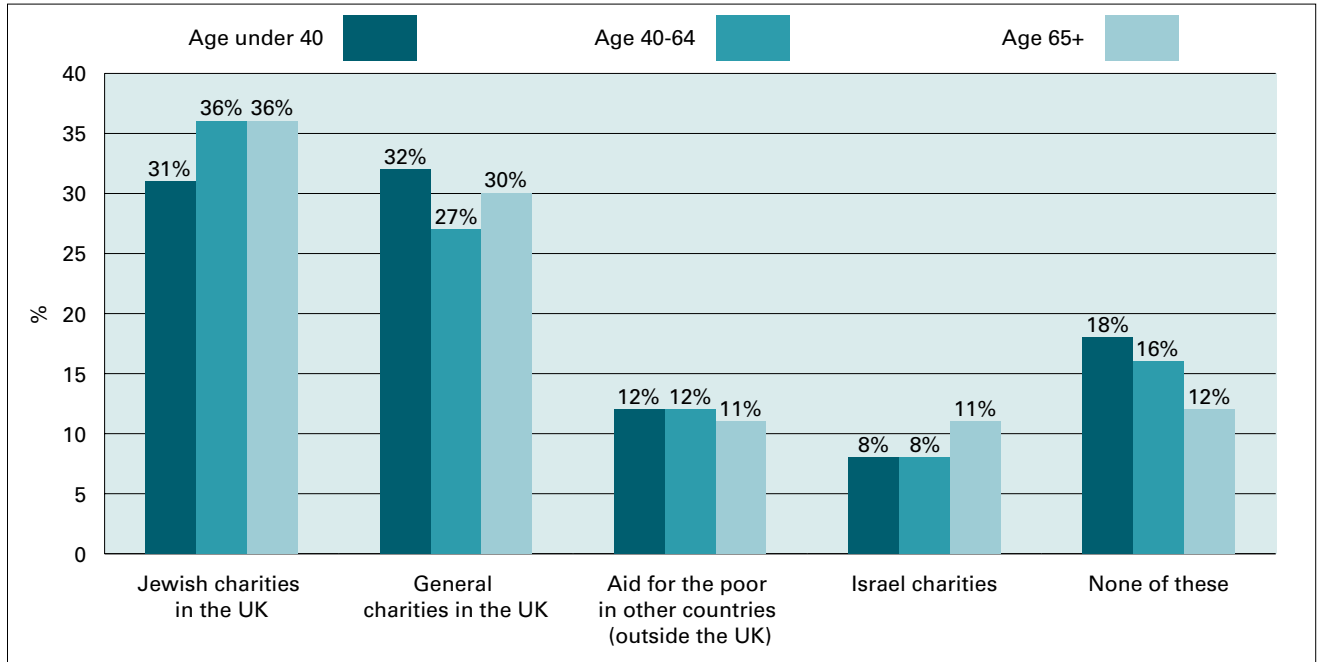
* Rows may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

charities. By contrast, just 10% of Secular/Cultural respondents do so; their priorities are general (non-Jewish) UK charities (44%) and overseas aid (26%).

Age is also related to prioritisation of giving. Younger people tend to give less money to charities than older people (because income

generally increases with age). However, comparing the charitable *priorities* of the different generations, we see little difference between younger and older respondents (Figure 22). The one exception is Israel charities, which are more likely to be supported by older than younger respondents. (The category ‘None of these’ is also age sensitive, but it may simply indicate that

Figure 22: Charitable giving priorities by age group (N=3,736)



younger people are less likely to have strong preferences compared with older people, e.g. they are more likely to give in equal measure to various causes.)

The data also show that men and women have different priorities (Table 10). Most specifically, men are more likely to prioritise Jewish charities than women. Whereas four out of ten (39%) men prioritise Jewish charities in the UK, this is the case for only three out of ten (30%) women. The opposite trend is notable for general UK charities to which women are more likely to donate than men.

Unsurprisingly, income is also an important factor in charitable giving (Table 11). The larger the respondent’s income, the greater are their charitable donations in absolute terms.²⁶ Thus, 62% of those with personal incomes below £20,000 gave less than £100 to charity in the year before the survey, whereas almost half (48%) of those with incomes above £110,000 gave at least £2,000 in charitable donations.

Interestingly, income is not only related to the size of the donation, but also to the destination.

26 Note this is not the same as ‘generosity’, measured in terms of the proportion of a person’s income devoted to charitable donations.

Table 10. Charitable giving priorities by sex

	Male N=1,799	Female N=1,941
Jewish charities in the UK	39%	30%
General charities in the UK	25%	33%
Aid for the poor in other countries	12%	12%
Israel charities	9%	9%
None of these	15%	16%
	100%	100%

For example, respondents who are least likely to prioritise Jewish charities tend to give the smallest total charitable donations. By contrast, respondents who are most likely to prioritise Jewish charities, tend to give the largest charitable donations overall (Figure 23). In other words, the biggest donors prioritise Jewish charities.²⁷

Ultimately, multiple factors are involved in the likelihood of a person making a charitable donation and the size of that donation. Some of these factors even interact with each other, such as age and income (young people have lower incomes than those in middle age and older

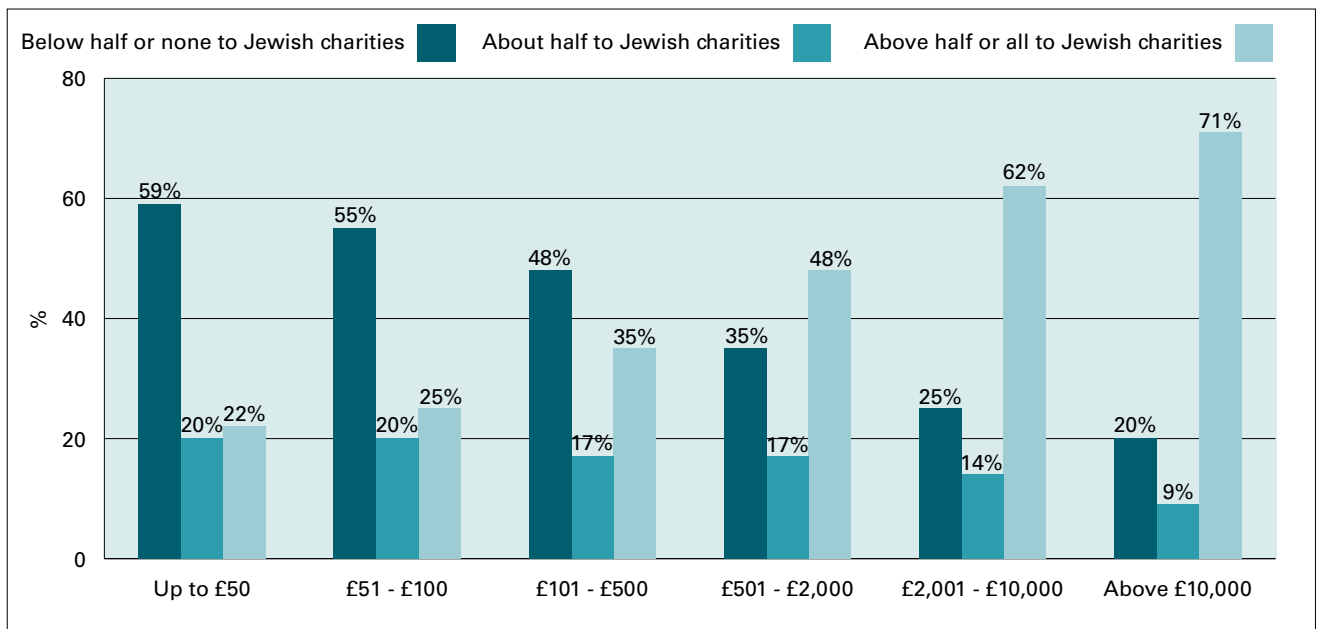
27 This was confirmed by assessing the full spectrum of charitable priorities.

Table 11. Total amount of charitable donations in the 12 months prior to the survey by personal income of respondent*

N	Personal income	Size of donation				Total
		Below £100	£101 - £500	£501 - £2,000	Above £2,000	
858	Under £20,000	62%	26%	8%	3%	100%
1,177	£20,000 - £50,000	35%	40%	18%	7%	100%
515	£50,001 - £110,000	17%	36%	29%	18%	100%
191	Above £110,000	9%	16%	27%	48%	100%

* Rows may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

Figure 23: Estimated proportion of total amount given that was donated to Jewish charities over the previous 12 months (N=3,736)



people have lower incomes due to retirement). Future work will determine which factors are the most important in determining the outcome

of Jewish charitable donations, and indeed, what is most likely to prompt a donation in the first place.

9 Health and welfare

The National Jewish Community Survey explored a wide range of issues of concern to Jewish charities operating across the community, and in this section we investigate some of the initial findings relating to health and welfare, especially in terms of the elderly and children with learning difficulties and disabilities. Despite the recent boom in Orthodox and Haredi births,²⁸ the Jewish population of the UK is ageing and has ongoing care needs, and in part because of the recent boom in Jewish births, children’s needs are likely to become a growing issue.²⁹ This section only scratches the surface of the NJCS data that have been gathered.

State of health

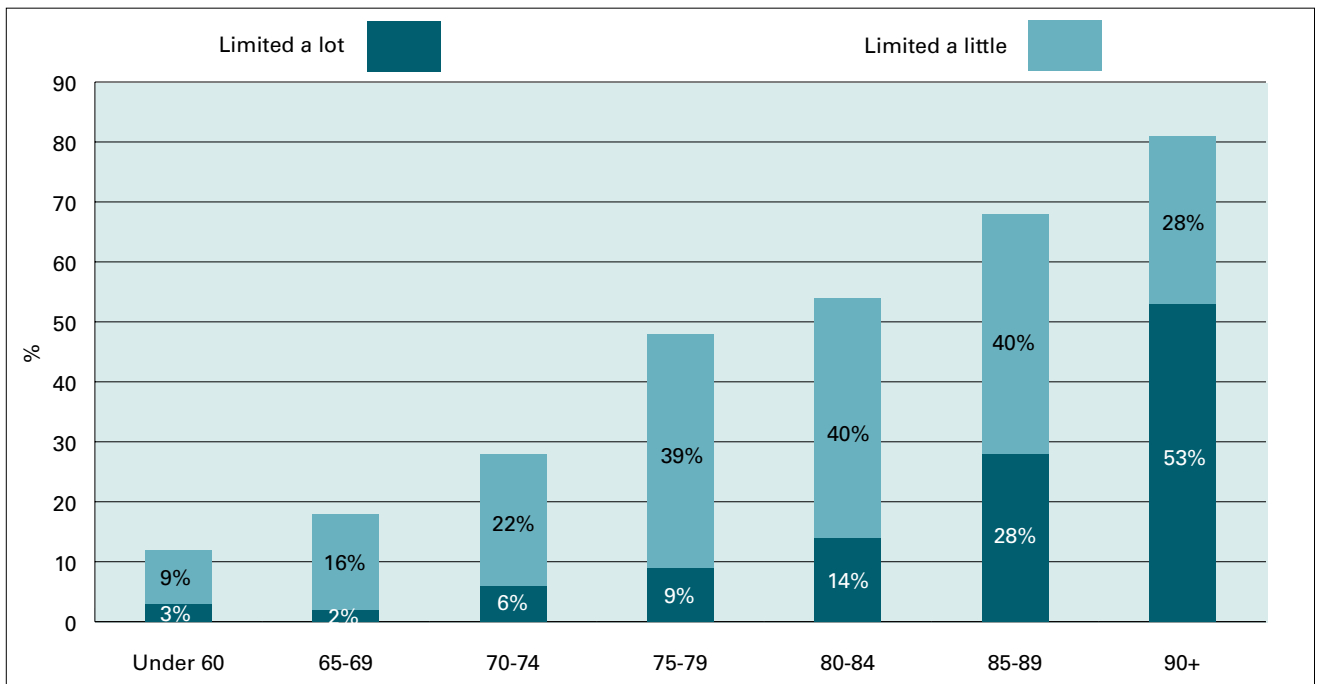
Clearly, the ability of people to carry out normal daily activities (such as washing and dressing) becomes limited as they get older. Half (48%) of all respondents report experiencing at least some limitation in carrying out such day-to-day activities by the time they reach their

mid-seventies (Figure 24). By their nineties, this proportion rises to four out of five (81%). Indeed, over half (53%) of people in their nineties report their day-to-day activities being ‘limited a lot’ due to ill health.

With respect to respondents’ current state of health, the most common health concern is the broad category of ‘pain and discomfort’. Over half (55%) of respondents aged 65 and above report suffering some level of pain and discomfort (Figure 25). In terms of more specific problems, almost two out of five (38%) respondents in this age group experienced difficulties with walking. Almost one in ten (9%) respondents aged 65 and above said that they had problems when it came to washing and dressing themselves.

Finally, although the UK’s National Health Service provides free healthcare for all, just under half (47%) of all respondents nevertheless report being covered by a private health insurance scheme.

Figure 24: Day-to-day activities limited because of a health condition or disability, by age (N=3,736)

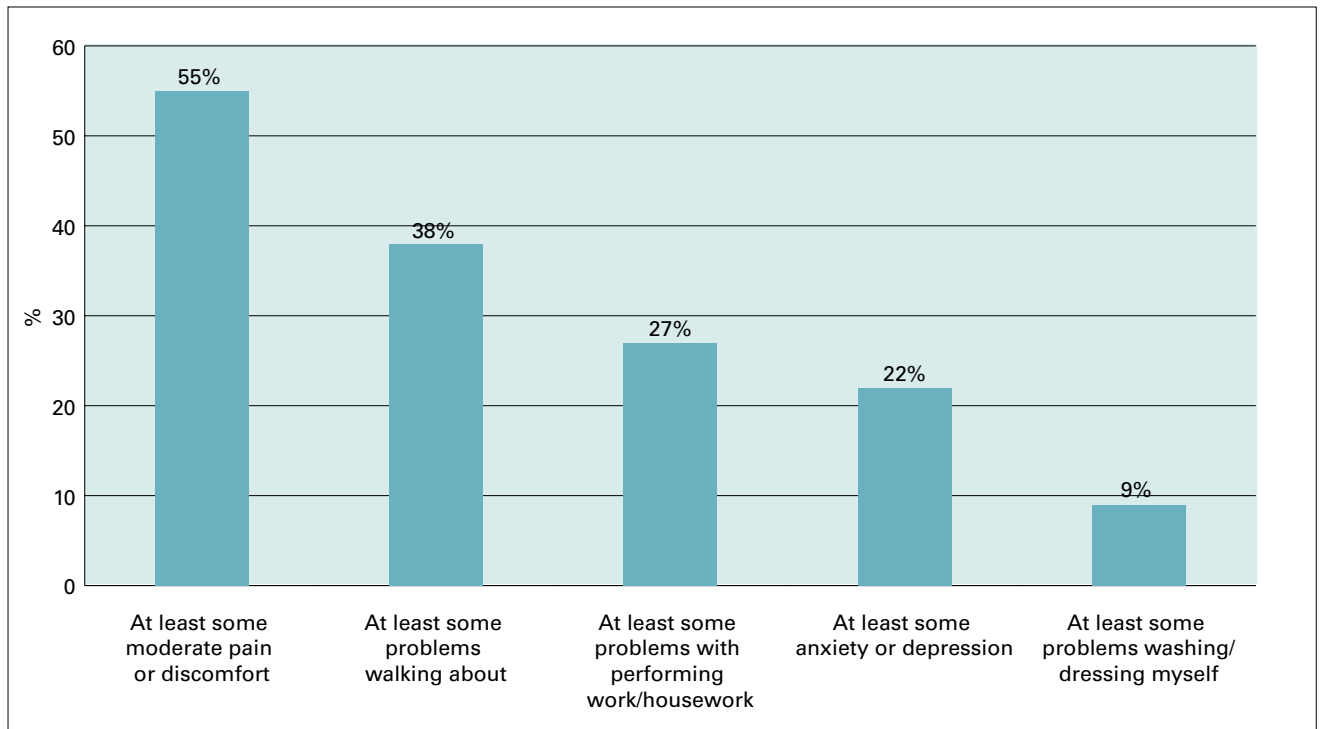


28 See: Graham (2013), op. cit. p.18; Vulkan and Graham (2008), op. cit. p.18.

29 See for example: Boyd, J. (2011). “Child poverty

and deprivation in the British Jewish community.” London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

Figure 25: Prevalence of specific health concerns, respondents aged 65 and above (N=970 per bar)

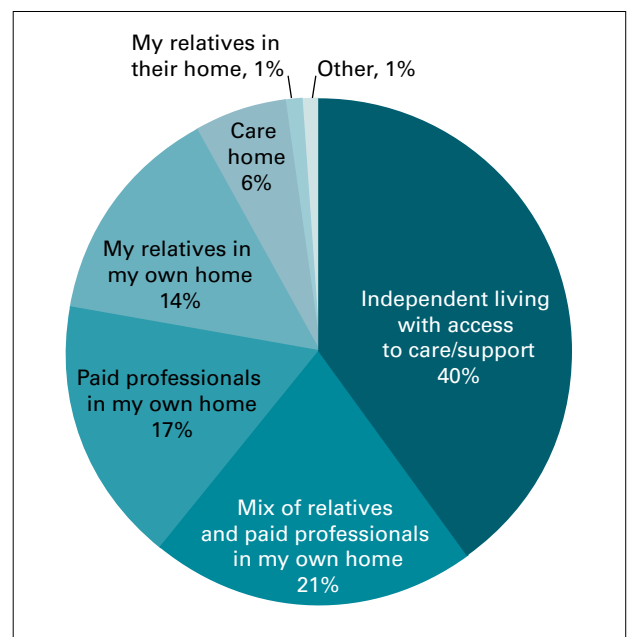


Care preferences

One of the major welfare services on which the community prides itself is care for the elderly. Therefore, the survey asked respondents how they might wish to be cared for when they are no longer able to care for themselves. A wide variety of preferences was expressed, but the most common desire—for two out of five (40%) respondents aged 65 and above—is ‘Independent living with access to care/support’ (Figure 26). One in five (21%) respondents would prefer a ‘Mix of relatives and paid professionals in my own home’, whilst almost one in five (17%) would prefer to be supported by ‘Paid professionals in my own home’. It is notable that just 6% of the sample aged 65 years and above expressed a preference for a care home, the traditional approach taken by the community for looking after its elderly and infirm members. Of course, desires may not necessarily correlate with need in the longer term. Despite the best of intentions, the desire for ‘Independent living’ or living at home may not ultimately be feasible for many.

Further analysis indicated that respondents’ desires did not significantly differ between those

Figure 26: Current desires for future care, respondents aged 65 years and above (N=1,241)*



* The question asked: “Imagine that at some time in the future, you could no longer manage on your own and needed help with daily tasks such as getting up, going to bed, feeding, washing or dressing, or going to the toilet. If you had a choice about how you could be cared for, how do you think you would want to be looked after?”

Table 12. Preference for a care home by type of facilities by current Jewish practice, respondents aged 65 and above (N=1,241)*

	Prefer care in a Jewish environment with kosher facilities	Prefer care in an environment with a Jewish ethos but not necessarily with kosher facilities	Prefer care in an environment that is not specifically Jewish	No preference	Total
Orthodox/Haredi	97%	2%	0%	2%	100%
Traditional	79%	17%	2%	2%	100%
Just Jewish	24%	50%	11%	15%	100%
Reform/Progressive	16%	62%	8%	14%	100%
Secular/Cultural	2%	31%	44%	23%	100%
Total (all 65+)	38%	32%	18%	12%	100%

* Rows may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

with limitations in their daily activities and those without limitations.

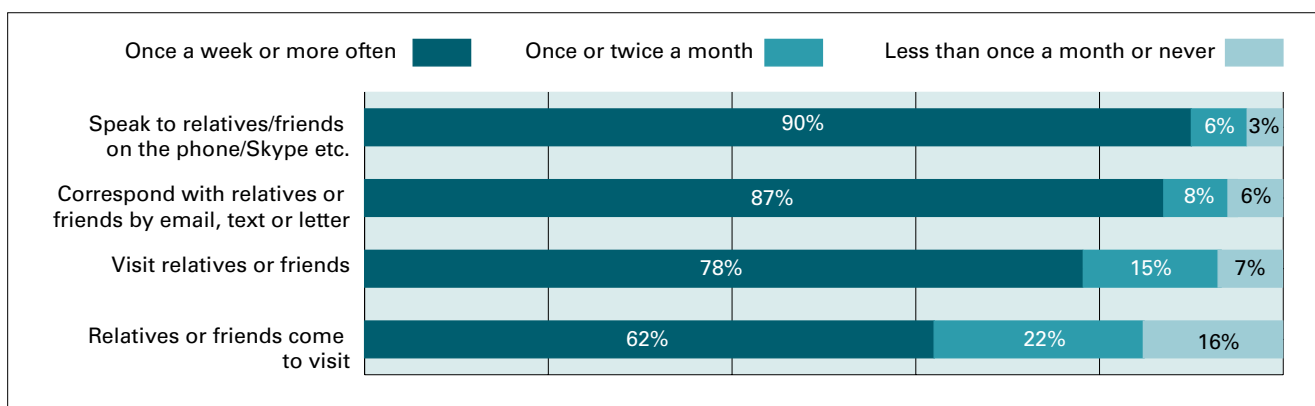
These respondents (aged 65 years and over) were also asked if, in the event that they ever needed to be looked after in a care home, it was important that that home had kosher food facilities. The analysis revealed that, overall, a large majority of respondents (62%) in this age group had no particular preference for ‘care in a Jewish environment with kosher facilities’. This is strongly related to respondents’ Jewish identity: we found that, among Orthodox respondents, the desire for a kosher care home is universal (97%), and among Traditional respondents it is also very strong (79%). But among all other respondents, the desire for kosher facilities in a care home is considerably weaker (e.g. 16% for Reform/Progressive respondents) (Table 12).

Social isolation

The survey also enquired into levels of social isolation based on the frequency of interaction with relatives and friends. Almost all respondents (90%) report speaking to relatives and friends weekly or more often (Figure 27). This is also the case in terms of written communication, including texting and email (87%). However, in terms of face-to-face visits, the levels of communication are less frequent: one in five (22%) respondents visits relatives and friends infrequently (i.e. once or twice a month or less), and almost two in five (38%) report receiving visits from relatives and friends similarly infrequently.

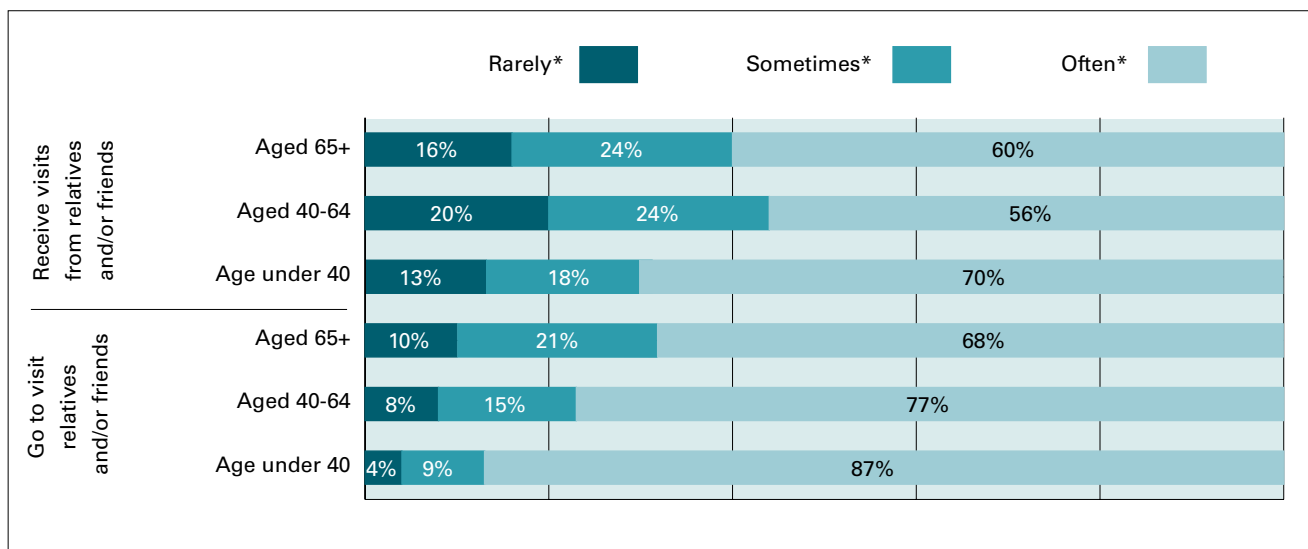
To some extent, age is related to the frequency of face-to-face contact with relatives and friends. It appears to be less of a factor in terms of receiving visits, but more of a factor

Figure 27: Frequency of communication with relatives and friends by type of contact (N=3,736 for each category)*



* Bars may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

Figure 28: Frequency of communication with relatives and friends by type of contact (N=3,736 for each category)*



* Rarely = Less than once a month or Never; Sometimes = Once or twice a month; Often = Weekly or more often. Bars may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

when it comes to going out to visit others, suggesting that mobility plays a role in social isolation. For example, almost a third (31%) of respondents aged 65 and over just ‘sometimes’ or ‘rarely’ go out to visit family and friends, compared with a quarter (23%) of people aged 40–64 and just 13% of people aged under 40 (Figure 28).

Given the ever-changing ways in which people communicate, and the very high penetration of online social networking found in JPR’s recent survey of Jewish students in the UK, we also asked about respondents’ use of social networking websites such as Facebook.³⁰ The data show respondents either use such facilities frequently (at least once a week) (55%) or rarely (40%). Age is a crucial factor in determining frequency of use. Eighty-five percent of respondents aged under 40 use social networking sites frequently; by contrast, 76% of respondents aged 65 and above do so rarely.

Care provision

For those respondents who regularly receive care support to carry out daily activities

(such as washing, dressing, and housework), support tends *not* to be provided by immediate family members or friends, or by paid carers, but rather by ‘Other paid help’ (68%), by which it is probable respondents are referring to informal paid help with activities such as shopping, cooking and so on. Of those who regularly receive care support, the vast majority (89%) feels that their carer spends the right amount of time with them, but some (8%) feel they need more help than they are currently receiving (N=222).

Almost one in five (18%) respondents report that they look after a close relative with a long-term health condition or disability (Table 13). One in ten (10%) looks after an elderly relative with ‘physical ill-health/disability’. The survey also found that 7% of respondents look after someone who is not elderly but nevertheless suffers from a long-term mental or physical disability and who is either their child or another (non-elderly) close family member (which could include adult children).

These respondents were asked to estimate how much time they spend looking after that close relative. For the majority (58%) it was up to five hours per week (Figure 30), but for many respondents, care provision takes up a greater amount of their time—18% of those who

30 See: Graham, D. and Boyd, J. (2011). “Home and away: Jewish journeys towards independence. Key findings from the 2011 National Jewish Student Survey”. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

Figure 29: Who provides care/support to help you with your daily activities? (N=222 per category)

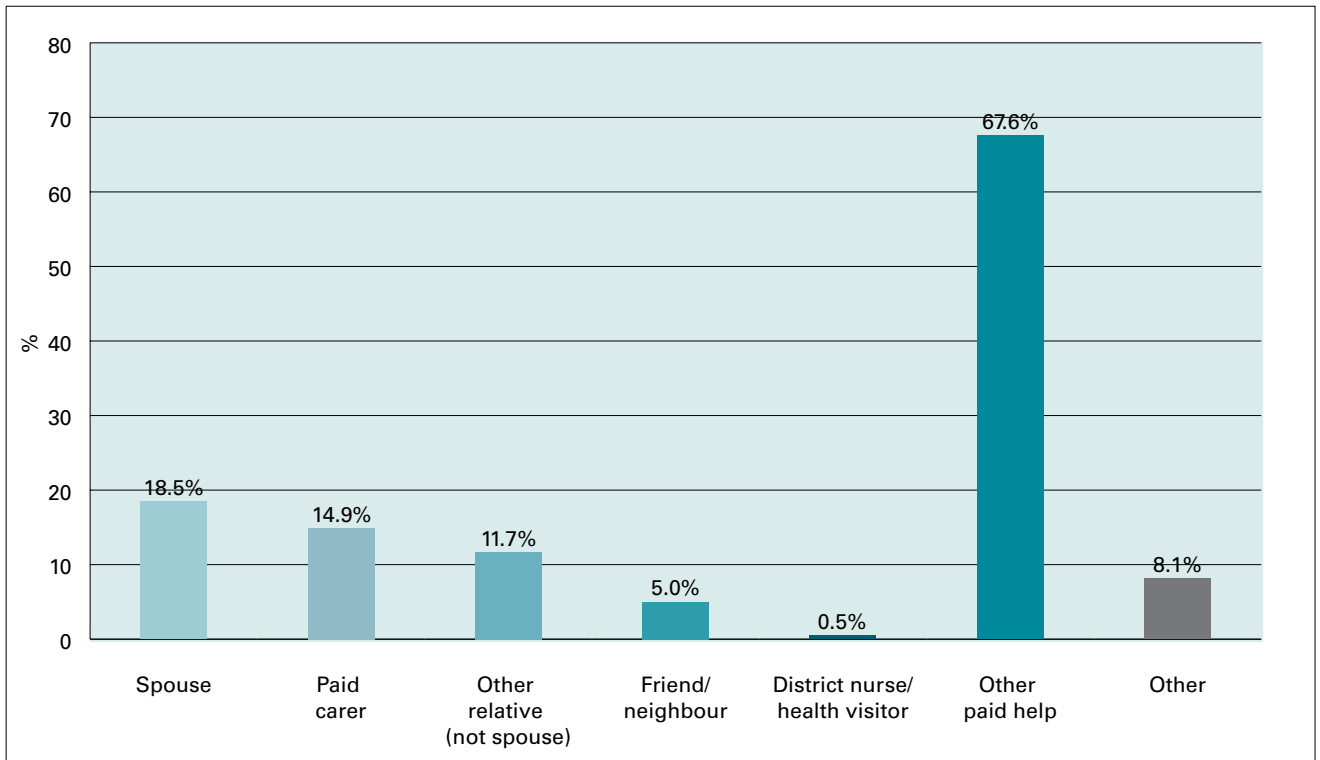


Table 13. Prevalence of care given to close relatives with long-term ill-health or disability* (N=3,736 for each item)

Yes	17.6%
An elderly family member with physical ill-health/disability	10.0%
An elderly family member with mental ill-health/disability	3.7%
A child under 18 in my family with physical ill-health/disability	0.7%
A child under 18 in my family with mental ill-health/disability	0.8%
Another close family member with physical ill-health/disability	3.5%
Another close family member with mental ill-health/disability	2.9%

* The full question asked was: "Do you look after, or give any regular help or support to, a close relative (parent, child, spouse, or sibling), either inside or outside your home, who is suffering from long-term ill-health or a long-term disability?" Respondents were directed not to count anything they did as part of their paid employment.

Figure 30: Estimated total number of hours per week spent giving help or support to a close relative with a physical or mental disability (see Table 14) (N=658)

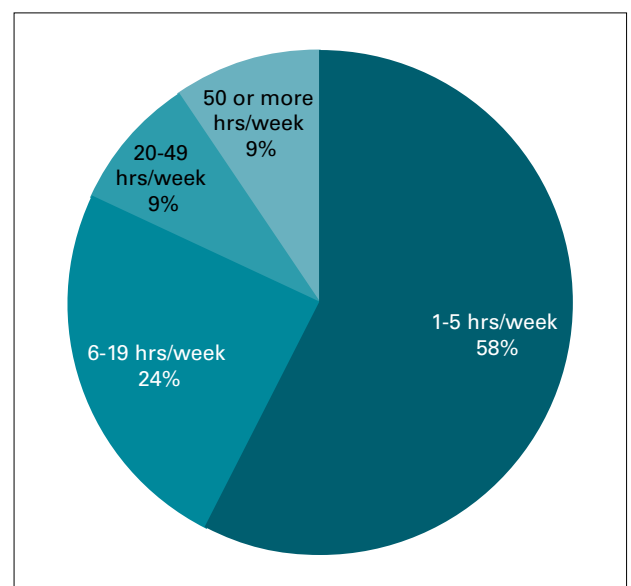
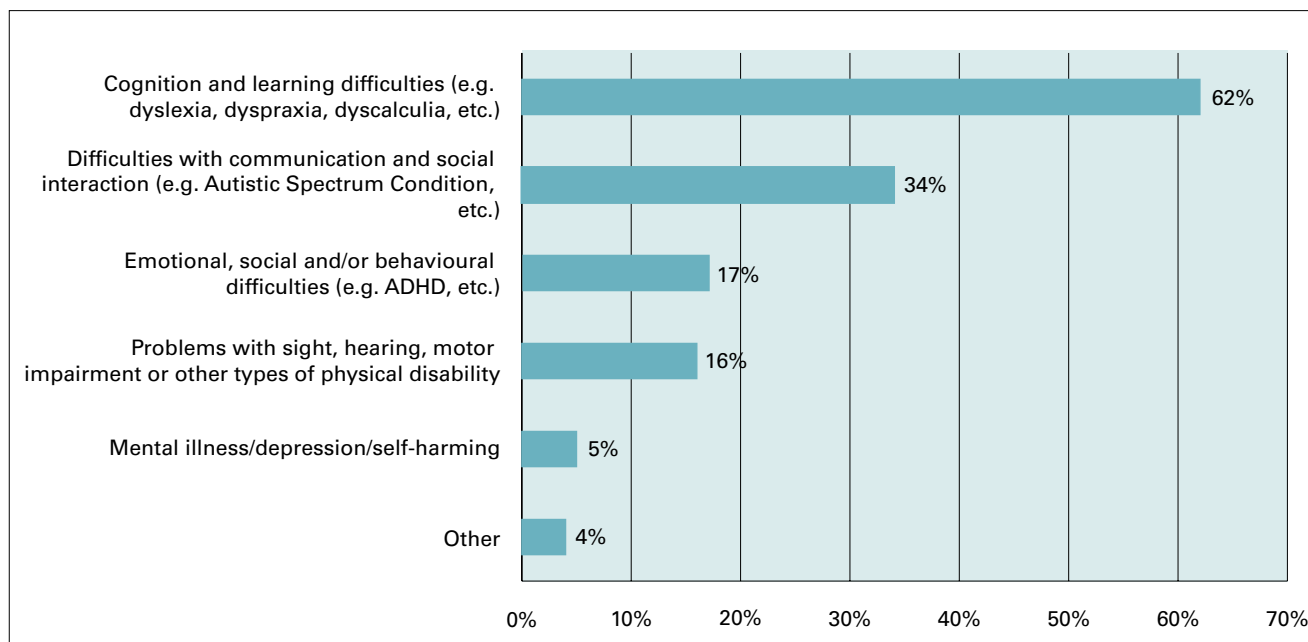


Figure 31: Type of special educational need (whether SEN stated or otherwise) (N=117 respondents per item)



provide unpaid care for close relatives do so for more than 20 hours per week.

Just under 8% of respondents report having close relatives (such as parents and spouses) currently living in a residential care facility.³¹ Of these respondents, a majority (61%) reports that their relative is living in a Jewish facility.

Children’s welfare

NJCS also explored other aspects of children’s wellbeing. Among the concerns of relevance to the Jewish community are special educational needs (SEN) and learning disabilities.

Approximately 15% of respondents with children of school age report that their child (and in a few cases, more than one child) has special educational needs. The survey noted that half (51%) of these respondents say their child has an official statement of special educational needs. The most common SEN condition is ‘Cognition and learning difficulties’ (such as dyslexia), applicable to well over half (62%) of all SEN cases in this sample (Figure 31).

31 Though it is unlikely double-counting actually occurred, it cannot be totally ruled out here (e.g. it is possible that two different respondents from different households were referring to the same parent in a care home).

Table 14. Respondents with children (of any age) who have learning or physical disabilities

Any disability (N=2,651)	5%
Type of disability (N=155):	
Learning disability only	42%
Physical disability only	38%
Learning and physical disability	20%
	100%

We also asked all respondents with children of any age (i.e. not just with school-age children), whether any of their children had a ‘learning disability’ or a ‘physical disability’.³² In total, 5% of parents report having a child with such a condition. Of these, one in five respondents reports that their child has both a learning and a physical disability (Table 14).

32 The questionnaire provided the following guidance on the term ‘learning disabilities’ to ensure that respondents did not confuse it with ‘learning difficulties’: “By ‘learning disability’, we mean what used to be known as a ‘mental handicap’ e.g. Down’s syndrome, Fragile X syndrome, cerebral palsy etc.” Concerning physical disabilities, it explained: “By ‘physical disability’ we mean problems with blindness or severe visual impairment, deafness or severe hearing impairment, motor impairment or other types of physical disability.”

10 First reflections on the findings

As a conclusion to this report, we raise eight issues that emerge out of the preliminary findings, and have policy implications for multiple aspects of communal service provision. Rather than provide policy recommendations or solutions, which is ultimately the responsibility of service providers, we present these issues in the form of questions with the intention of initiating debate.

Are young people becoming more religious?

For several decades, there has been a strong assumption, supported by social research findings, that with every generation that passes, Jews are becoming less religious and less engaged in Jewish community organisations and activities. Indeed, it was this narrative that informed an unprecedented degree of investment in the 1990s in Jewish education in the UK. Intriguingly, in this survey, on almost all variables relating to religious practice and behaviour, we see an age gradient indicating that younger respondents are *more* religious than older respondents. This is a surprising and important finding that begs the question: why is this happening? The data seem to suggest that it may be related predominantly to demography: high birth rates among the Orthodox and Haredi populations mean that an increasing proportion of Jews in the UK are being born into Orthodox and Haredi homes, and thus there is a concomitant increase in religiosity at the younger end of the age spectrum. From a policy perspective, community leaders ought to contemplate whether this age gradient is here to stay, and, if it is, what it might mean for the provision of services going forward. Furthermore, the indication that increased levels of religiosity are related significantly to demographic trends should also cause some reflection about two decades of investment in Jewish education: how effective has this investment been, and to what extent has it – or has it not – been a factor in the changing age gradient?

What is happening to the traditional middle-ground?

The category ‘Traditional’ in this survey has customarily been seen as the placeholder for centrist or ‘middle-of-the-road’ Orthodox Judaism in the UK, and very much the mainstream within the community. However, whilst

Traditional remains the largest category in these data, it only does so by one percentage point, and of all groups examined, it was the only one to demonstrate net shrinkage. Indeed, whereas 40% describe their upbringing as ‘Traditional’, just 26% describe their current position in that way. By contrast, there is clear growth at the most Orthodox end of the community, and, to an even greater extent, at the secular end. Beyond the obvious question of why this shrinkage is occurring, the change raises several important policy questions, not least what the implications of this change might be for Jewish religious life in the UK, and for community representation?

Are secular and cultural forms of Judaism on the rise?

These data show that the ‘Secular/Cultural’ group within the UK Jewish community has grown to a greater extent than any other over the course of the lifetimes of our respondents. 15% describe their upbringing as ‘Secular/Cultural’, but 24% describe their current position in this way. This is a striking finding that demands investigation. Some will argue that it provides evidence of assimilation: growth in this sector must be seen in light of the decline witnessed among the ‘Traditional’. Others will note that the Secular/Cultural appear to exhibit an older age profile than the most Orthodox, thereby suggesting that the growth may be somewhat temporary or illusory. However, one cannot ignore the finding itself – that the proportion of Jews who describe themselves as currently secular or cultural has grown significantly relative to the proportion brought up that way. This should prompt some key policy questions, not least this one: what role should secular and cultural Jewish initiatives, which have seen something of a resurgence in recent years, play in the wider context of British Jewish life?

Has the challenge of intermarriage been solved?

After several decades of communal concern about the rising prevalence of intermarriage, it is evident that intermarriage is slowing down. Indeed, there may even be a suggestion in the data that it has peaked. Part of the explanation for this is related to the changing denominational profile of the community: the Orthodox/Haredi sector is growing, it has a young age profile and

it exhibits a very low intermarriage rate, all of which are helping to drive down the prevalence of intermarriage in the Jewish population overall. Yet we also found clear evidence of a slowing down of intermarriage among non-Orthodox groups, which demands further investigation. Might it be a result of the growth of non-Orthodox Jewish schools? Might it be a response to multiculturalism in some way? Might it be due to the existence of a more open and welcoming attitude to non-Jewish partners in the non-Orthodox sectors? Whilst it would be erroneous to claim that intermarriage is no longer a significant phenomenon affecting Jewish life, these are important questions to consider if we want to understand the causes behind the change we observe, and develop effective policy going forward.

Is non-Orthodox Jewish school penetration reaching its peak?

The proportion of Jews who attended a Jewish school has steadily increased over time. Indeed, this is one of the most significant developments to have taken place in the past few decades in the British Jewish community: there were 12,500 Jewish children in Jewish schools in 1975; today there are almost 30,000. However, a large part of this growth has come from the Haredi sector; as that population has grown, it has created an increasing number of school places for its children. Nonetheless, an important aspect of the growth can also be traced elsewhere: the proportion of Jewish children from non-Orthodox homes attending Jewish schools has also increased over that period. However, we see clear signs in the data that, among this latter group, the rate of increase is slowing down considerably. This raises at least two critical questions for those involved in the development of Jewish schools in the UK: (i) is there a maximum take-up of Jewish school places among the non-Orthodox community, and, if so, what is that likely to be?; and (ii) how will this affect planning for Jewish school provision and filling of existing school places in the future?

Will charity begin at home, or end at home?

The question of the extent to which Jews feel they have a particular responsibility to give to other Jews, versus a more universal responsibility

to give to humanity in general, is one that has long been discussed in Jewish circles. The survey finds that respondents are slightly more likely to donate to non-Jewish charities than to Jewish ones, although significant denominational variations are apparent. Is this balance appropriate? Should Jews be encouraged to give more to Jewish charities, or should they be encouraged to invest more in non-Jewish charities? Further, the finding that over a third of respondents gives less than £100 per year in total to any charity – Jewish or non-Jewish – also raises questions. Whilst many of these will be in lower income brackets, should more be done to encourage higher levels of giving? On the other hand, the survey also shows that almost a third gives at least £500 per year. So is charitable giving among Jews as high as can be reasonably expected? Whilst the data help to raise all of these questions, they can also be used to consider more practical ones: e.g. how should Jewish charities sharpen and refine their fundraising strategies to maximise their effectiveness?

Jewish care homes, or care homes for Jews?

Caring for the elderly is a key part of Jewish communal provision, and with people living longer, the Jewish elderly care sector is likely to become even more important in the years ahead. Determining what type of care to provide, and in what measures, will be critical. This report shows that whilst the vast majority of Orthodox and Traditional Jews aged 65 and above would prefer to be cared for in a kosher care home, almost two out of three respondents expressed no particular preference for care homes with kosher facilities. Nonetheless, with the notable exception of a sizeable proportion of the Secular/Cultural, most Jews would prefer a care home with a Jewish ethos. So what types of care are Jews in Britain looking for, and how can their needs best be met?

Will Jewish community organisations make active use of the data treasure trove now available?

This report has taken the largest dataset ever gathered from a nationwide survey of Jews, and highlighted a small number of preliminary

findings. These findings are important in and of themselves, and should be used in multiple frameworks to inform community planning. However, they barely scratch the surface of what is now available. With the combined value of the NJCS and 2011 UK Census datasets, the British Jewish community is now more rich in data than it has ever been. We have access to an extraordinary amount of information that can be used in multiple ways to shed light on major policy issues, as well as to focus on the very

specific concerns of local charities, synagogues and schools. These data were not gathered primarily to produce reports of general interest about Jewish life in the UK (although they can be used for that purpose); rather, they were gathered to support organisational planning across the Jewish community. If you are interested in learning more about how they might benefit your organisation, or if you would like to find out how to commission a bespoke report, please contact JPR.

Appendix 1: Methodology

Sampling strategy

The National Jewish Community Survey is a population and household survey and was developed by JPR. The fieldwork was carried out online by Ipsos MORI on behalf of JPR. Data analysis and report-writing were carried out exclusively by JPR.

Questionnaire and sample design

The survey questionnaire was developed by considering past JPR surveys, questionnaires used in national surveys (such as the GP Patient Survey) and the views of key providers of care and educational services in the British Jewish community in a series of consultations, and through the Project Steering Group (see Appendix 3).

The sample was self-selecting, and respondents were required to self-identify as Jewish, and confirm that they lived in the United Kingdom and were aged 16 or over. They were contacted primarily through a large number of 'seed' organisations, representing a broad cross-section of the Jewish community. The email lists of more than 20 seed organisations were used, including media bodies, synagogal organisations, Jewish online networks, and key community representative organisations, among others.

The seed organisations were used to initiate a 'snowballing' process which, in effect, created a non-probability convenience sample. It was not possible to use a random probability sampling approach for this study because a suitable sampling frame for the Jewish population is not available in the United Kingdom.³³ The fieldwork was conducted between 6th June 2013 and 15th July 2013.

Up to 55,000 emails were sent out through the 'seed' organisations. The actual number of unique households contacted cannot be determined due to the likely overlap between different organisations' email lists. In addition, our experience shows

that the reported size of administrative databases tends to be over-estimated. Therefore, we cannot estimate the survey response rate. In total 4,072 individual responses were obtained. The average length of time spent completing the questionnaire was 31 minutes.

Measures of quality control

A key issue with an online household survey is to ensure households are not double counted. To avoid this and other abuses that might affect the survey's integrity, several measures were implemented.³⁴ These included carefully monitoring responses for unusual trends during the fieldwork phase, and assessing the completed dataset for the presence of extreme or unrealistic values (i.e. outlier diagnostics) and for the presence of unlikely combinations of values across variables (i.e. logical checks). Further, by capturing postcode and household structure information as well as other details about household members, it was possible to identify questionnaires from duplicate households. Finally, respondents were specifically instructed not to forward the survey onto others within their own household, and, if relevant, were asked to specify the source of any referrals. As a result, duplicate household responses were kept to a minimum and ultimately, removed from the sample. In total, 336 cases were removed from the original 4,072 completed questionnaires. Therefore, the final dataset contains 3,736 responses, unique at the individual and household levels. This represents a total of 9,895 people of all ages living in the households of respondents.

How representative is the sample of the Jewish population?

It should be noted that, with 3,736 individual responses, this is a large sample. It constitutes about 3.4% of the total number of Jewish households in the United Kingdom. It is certainly sufficiently large for us to be confident that the percentages quoted here are close to the true percentages in the Jewish population. However,

33 For example, the UK does not have a Population Register. An alternative method, Random Digit Dialling, is too costly to justify its use and it too has potential drawbacks.

34 An indication of the types of measures taken can be seen in: Graham, D. (2011). "Surveying minority groups online. An assessment of the methodological approach used in the 2010 Israel Survey." London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

due to the nature of the sampling process, we cannot conduct a formal test of representativeness. Given that the survey initially utilised seed lists held by Jewish community organisations for snowballing, it is reasonable to assume that the communally uninvolved may be under-represented, though the survey does include significant numbers of such respondents.

However, representativeness can also be assessed by comparing the distributions of selected socio-demographic variables in this sample with census data and community statistics. These sources were used for calibrating the sample.

- Geographically, NJCS matches the 2011 Census data reasonably well: about 70% of the NJCS respondents live in Greater London or the East and South East of England (76% in Census 2011).
- Gender is also representative: males constitute 46% of the NJCS sample. According to the 2011 Census, the expected proportion of males at ages 16 and over is 48%.
- In terms of age, NJCS under-represents young adults (persons aged 16-39) and the oldest age group (persons aged 80 and over), while it over-represents mature adults (persons aged 55-74).
- In terms of synagogue membership (data for which are held by the Board of Deputies of British Jews), there was an under-representation of Jews who are not affiliated to a synagogue and of strictly Orthodox Jews (Haredim). By contrast, progressive movements are overrepresented by NJCS.

These metrics allowed the survey team to weight the dataset to ensure it more closely resembled the British Jewish population. Thus, combined age-sex-synagogue affiliation weights were created and applied to the sample. Adjustment for age, sex and synagogue affiliation did not dramatically change the results of the survey. For all selected indicators, the difference between unadjusted and adjusted percentages is, at most, 9 percentage points. Nevertheless, all percentages presented in this report are based on weighted data, though all Ns are unweighted sample counts.

Ipsos MORI panel

Additionally, JPR ran a 'control survey' using Ipsos MORI's own panel. This was largely

experimental, but offered the potential to select a sample independent of Jewish seed organisations. This panel consisted of 552 persons in unique households who had self-identified as Jews in previous surveys conducted by Ipsos MORI. This sample was surveyed between 18 July 2013 and 2 August 2013, using the same NJCS survey instrument. The response rate for this additional survey was 48%, comparing well to national surveys. Panellists were also asked to refer the survey to other Jews, and 63 additional individuals were recruited in this way. The final dataset for analysis, after removal of outliers, logical checks and so on, consisted of 305 unique households.

Though small, and therefore unsuitable for forming the main sample for this survey, this panel sample should, in theory, be more representative of the Jewish population than surveys distributed through communal seed organisations such as NJCS. Comparing the panel data with the main NJCS dataset revealed that the prevalence of key types of Jewish religious behaviour (frequent synagogue attendance, keeping kosher, celebrating Shabbat and marking major Jewish holidays) was, on average, 8.6 percentage points lower in the panel than in the main NJCS dataset (See Appendix 2).

Methodological conclusion

All surveys have their shortcomings. Even surveys that are based on probability sampling are typically affected by high levels of non-response. Surveys of populations lacking sampling frames, such as this one, are particularly challenging, as is establishing their representativeness. Nevertheless, because we have extremely high quality baseline statistics available in Britain, it is possible to both accurately weight the data and make reasonable assumptions about where they may depart from the 'true' picture.

In general, the NJCS sample reflects the diverse character of Jewish households in Britain across a wide variety of social, religious and demographic variables. Where the sample does depart from baseline characteristics, weighting (for age, sex and synagogue membership) was applied. Finally, by means of an independent parallel survey, we can quantify the extent to which the sample likely underrepresents the least Jewishly engaged sections of the population. Therefore, we judge the picture which arises from the NJCS sample

as representative of those who either do, or are quite likely to, use Jewish communal facilities (e.g. synagogues, care and educational services). This

is entirely appropriate to the main purpose of this study, which is to support the planning needs of organisations providing such services.

Appendix 2: NJCS Main file compared with the Panel file

The following table provides a comparison of ten key NJCS variables from the Main survey and the Panel survey (discussed in Appendix 1). Because the Panel data were generated independently of Jewish community databases, we are confident that the frequencies they reveal are likely to be closer to the 'true' levels of prevalence of Jewish belonging and behaviour in the population than the Main dataset. Therefore, theoretically, it provides a quantifiable indication of the extent to which the Main survey is likely to underrepresent the less Jewishly engaged population.

It can be seen that, compared with the Panel data, the Main survey overstates Jewish religious engagement by between 2 and 8 percentage points on eight of the eleven items. Of the remaining three, which relate to lighting candles on Shabbat, attending a Friday night meal most weeks, and attending a Passover seder, the Main survey overstates Jewish religious engagement by between 16 and 18 percentage points.

Table 15. Comparison between the Main NJCS survey and the parallel Panel survey on a number of key metrics

Variable	Main survey (N=3,736)	Panel survey* (N=305)	Percentage point difference
% who do <i>not</i> switch on lights on the Sabbath	17.9%	13.0% (9.2 to 16.8)	4.9
% who separate milk and meat utensils at home	51.5%	47.2% (40.9 to 53.6)	4.3
% who attend a Friday night meal most weeks	56.7%	38.8% (33.3 to 44.3)	17.9
% who light candles at home every Friday	49.0%	33.0% (29.0 to 39.0)	16.0
% who never travel on Shabbat	20.0%	12.0% (8.0 to 16.0)	8.0
% who buy meat for home from kosher butcher only	48.0%	41.0% (35.0 to 47.0)	7.0
% who attend Seder meal at Passover every year or most years	81.0%	63.0% (57.0 to 68.0)	18.0
% who had a Bar/Bat Mitzvah	59.9%	57.2% (52.0 to 63.0)	2.7
% who were regularly involved in a Jewish youth movement	56.5%	49.9% (44.0 to 56.0)	6.6
% who went to a Jewish school	30.1%	27.8% (22.8 to 32.9)	2.3
% who would prefer to be cared for in a care home with kosher facilities	42.6%	35.5% (30.1 to 40.9)	7.1

* 95% confidence intervals in parentheses

Appendix 3: Project Steering Group and consultations

Steering Group

Each of the Jewish organisations that chose to contribute financially towards the National Jewish Community Survey was invited to send one or two representatives to sit on the project Steering Group. Their role was to serve as a liaison between the JPR research team and the stakeholders in the project, and to be a sounding board during the process of building the survey questionnaire. The members of the group were: Jon Benjamin (former Chief Executive, Board of Deputies of British Jews); Amy Braier (Director, Pears Foundation); Debbie Fox (Trustee, Jewish Care); Cydonie Garfield (Head of Strategy and Quality Assurance, Jewish Care); Karen Goodman (former Head of Children's Services, Norwood); David Harris (Director of Development, Norwood); Dr Michael Hymans (Trustee, Norwood); Dr David Janner-Klausner (former Programme and Planning Director, UJIA); Rabbi Daniella Kolodny (Director of Rabbinic Development, Masorti Judaism); Claudia Mendoza (Head of Policy and Research, Jewish Leadership Council); Dr Helena Miller (Director of Research and Evaluation, UJIA); Howard Miller (Chief Administrator, Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation); Rosalind Preston OBE (former Chairman, Nightingale House); Ben Rich

(former Chief Executive, Movement for Reform Judaism); Leon Smith (former Chief Executive, Nightingale Hammerson).

The consultation process

In addition to the work of the funding partners through the Steering Group, JPR also invited a wider group of organisations to a series of consultations to help inform the content of the questionnaire. We were eager to include as diverse a group as possible in the process of building this study to ensure that it would meet the needs and interests of the entire Jewish community, and we used the consultations as a key means of achieving that. The organisations that were able to send representatives to these consultations were: the All Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism; the Board of Deputies of British Jews; the Community Security Trust; the Department for Communities and Local Government; Jewish Care; the Jewish Leadership Council; the Jewish Volunteering Network; JW3; Masorti Judaism; the Ministry of Justice; the Movement for Reform Judaism; Nightingale Hammerson; Norwood; the Office of the Chief Rabbi; Pears Foundation; Prism; the Samuel Sebba Charitable Trust; the United Jewish Israel Appeal; and the United Synagogue.

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