JDC International Centre for
Community Development

American Jewish
Joint Distribution
Committee

Third Survey of European Jewish Leaders and Opinion Formers, 2015

March 2016

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ISSSC
Institute for the Study of Secularism in Society and Culture

JDC International Centre for Community Development

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Foreword

The third Survey of European Jewish Leaders – conducted every three years by the American Jewish joint Distribution Committee's (JDC) International Center for Community Development (ICCD) – offers professionals, lay leaders, academics and practitioners the chance to explore how Europe's top Jewish community leaders relate to contextual and transactional trends, including anti-Semitism, security, economics, and intermarriage, and set their priorities and strategic directions accordingly.

The 2015 survey is the first one to be carried out following the tragic Charlie Hebdo and Hypercacher attacks. These events confirm a trend that makes leaders more sensitive to issues that relate to anti-Semitism, resilience, and security. As we are acutely aware, such events often change not just communities, but how they envision and plan. Indeed, since January 2015, new indicators, measures, and in certain places even new narratives, have emerged that are shaping the texture of European Jewish communities.

Additionally, this survey took place at a time when Europe is facing the greatest humanitarian crisis in years, with a massive flow of refugees and migrants coming mostly from Syria and Africa. This challenges Jewish communities to combine two legitimate values –one that relates to communal responsibility, embedded in the phrase "love the stranger because you were once strangers", and the other to ensure that our communities remain safe and secure.

This survey also explores aspects of leadership within Jewish communities, notably the trends in expectations and responsibilities. This is particularly relevant in a context of growing grassroots organizations, and the emergence of informal Jewish life from the fringes, which shape the dynamics of different stakeholders.

Among many uses, this new survey is most relevant in three ways:

1. As a tool to disseminate knowledge about Jewish leadership, and to understand their priorities, their concerns, and the opportunities that might arise from these.
2. As an invitation for leaders to reflect on how their thinking is reflected in the policies, programs, and strategies in their own communities.
3. For social researchers, it is a unique opportunity to look back to the past two surveys and compare how the perceptions of European leaders and key influential players have evolved in view of the major changes in Europe.

Lastly, I want to thank the respondents for their time and wisdom. As a research project, this survey can only achieve proper representation and validity by reaching a relevant critical mass. This was made possible through the generous involvement of more than 300 leaders who agreed to thoughtfully share their diverse opinions and views. I am very pleased to present this third JDC-ICCD Survey of European Jewish Leaders. I am confident that it will serve as a rich tool for readers to gain clarity on European Jewish communities, and guide us forward in strengthening Jewish life in Europe at a time when its very future, and the gains we have made in Jewish life, are more critical than ever before.

I hope you find it informative and meaningful.

Diego Ornique
JDC Regional Director for Europe

Executive Summary

Overview

Launched by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee's International Centre for Community Development (JDC-ICCD), and conducted by a research team at Trinity College (Hartford, Connecticut, USA) between June and August 2015, the Third Survey of European Jewish Leaders and Opinion Formers presents the results of an online survey administered to 314 respondents in 29 countries. The survey was conducted online in five languages: English, French, Spanish, German and Hungarian. The Survey of European Jewish Leaders and Opinion Formers is conducted every three or four years using the same format, in order to identify trends and their evolution. Findings of the 2015 edition were assessed and evaluated based on the results of previous surveys (2008 and 2011).

The survey posed Jewish leaders and opinion formers a range of questions about major challenges and issues that concern European Jewish communities in 2015, and about their expectations of how communities will evolve over the next 5-10 years. The 45 questions (see Appendix) dealt with topics that relate to internal community structures and their functions, as well as the external environment affecting communities. The questionnaire also included six open-ended questions in a choice of five languages. These answers form the basis of the qualitative analysis of the report. The questions were organized under the following headings:

- Vision & Change (6 questions)
- Decision-Making & Control (1 question)
- Lay Leadership (1 question)
- Professional Leadership (2 questions)
- Status Issues & Intermarriage (5 questions)
- Organizational Frameworks (2 questions)
- Community Causes (2 questions)
- Jewish Education (1 question)
- Funding (3 questions)
- Communal Tensions (3 questions)
- Anti-Semitism/Security (5 questions)
- Europe (1 question)
- Israel (1 question)
- Future (2 questions)
- Personal Profile (9 questions)

Respondents

For purposes of gathering a representative sample of respondents, the following were considered "leaders" and "opinion formers": executive directors and program coordinators as well as current and former board members of Jewish organizations; rabbis from the various religious denominations; principals of Jewish schools and professionals in education; directors or owners of newspapers and publications of communal content; intellectuals, academics and/or recognized thinkers in each country whose topics of study are oriented towards matters that affect the local, European and global Jewish communities; as well as significant donors to the communities. The initial list of potential respondents was provided by JDC-ICCD.

The Jewish leaders and opinion formers were drawn from a wide variety of socio-demographic backgrounds. This probably accounts for their emphasis on community pluralism and inclusion. The statistical analysis highlights the unpredictability of characteristics such as region, gender, age, denomination and education in regards to opinions on community priorities and organization. Synagogue denomination is predictive only regarding intermarriage and Jewish status issues and, to some extent, attitudes towards Israel. Role in the community is predictive of communal service priorities.

Several points should be considered regarding the survey results. Firstly, 82% of the respondents are active or connected to Jewish community life (51% current or former lay leaders, 25% community professionals, 6% rabbis). Secondly, the survey process was conducted in full transparency, and respondent attitudes and opinions were aired confidentially and without censorship. This applied particularly to the qualitative data, as the strength of respondent arguments does not depend on how many people agreed with them but rather on the internal logic and persuasiveness of the views conveyed.

Future Priorities for Jewish Communities

The priorities included in the survey focused on issues that are within the leadership's sphere of influence. The highest priorities, in order of importance, were: *strengthening Jewish education, including young leadership in decision-making bodies and supporting Jews in need*. The only significant change in this prioritization since 2011 was the uptick in rating for *combating anti-Semitism* and *strengthening interfaith relations*. Surprisingly, Western European leaders were more concerned *about the affordability of participating in Jewish life* than leaders from Eastern Europe.

Threats to the Future of Jewish Life

The main threats reported were all internal community problems. These were: *alienation of Jews from Jewish community life* (61%), *weakness of Jewish organizations* (55%), and *demographic decline* (54%). Mixed marriage is no longer regarded as the most serious threat to communities (in 2008 it ranked as the top major threat with 64% response, whereas it obtained 54% in 2011, and 44% in 2015.) The item that showed the largest uptick (14%) in terms of threat was *anti-Semitism* which now scores 40% on the serious threat index compared to 26% in 2011. The trend was for more people, across all socio-demographic groups, to assess it as an increased threat.

Status Issues & Intermarriage

Issues concerning Jewish status, non-Orthodox conversions and community membership were important concerns in all communities. The overall tendency was to be inclusive and accommodating rather than exclusive and strict. Opinions on these matters were mostly divided according to religious denomination and in some cases, were sources of community tensions as reported by respondents. Most respondents were pessimistic, with 47% expecting these issues to become *more problematic* in the future.

Community Financial Situations

The overall assessment of the current financial position of the communities varied considerably. A majority of respondents saw their communities' funding situation as *tight but currently manageable* (43%) and some described it as *tight and increasingly unmanageable* (26%). Whereas 18% saw their financial situation as *healthy*, 13% reported it as *critical*. With regard to the next 5 to 10 years, responses tended toward pessimism: 40% expected the general financial situation of the community to *deteriorate somewhat* or *significantly* and only 18% expected it to *improve somewhat* or *significantly*.

Security & Safety

Respondents were asked how safe they felt to live as Jews in their countries. Most European Jewish leaders felt secure, with 22% reporting that they felt *very safe*, and 63% reporting that they felt *rather safe*. Only 9% felt *rather unsafe* and a mere 5% *not safe at all*. There were no statistically significant differences between the socio-demographic or regional groups with regard to this issue. This lack of regional variation is noteworthy and of historical significance for Jews in Europe.

Anti-Semitism

Europe's Jewish leaders perceived anti-Semitism as increasing and as a major threat. They were particularly concerned by its increase on the Internet. When asked if they expected changes over the course of the next 5 to 10 years, respondents tended to be pessimistic, with 67% expecting the prejudice to *increase significantly or somewhat*. Western European respondents were more likely to consider anti-Semitism a threat than were Eastern Europeans, and to report deterioration in the situation compared to earlier surveys. Respondents felt their Jewish communities had few allies in civil society.

Europe

Both as a Jewish, and as a general political project, Europe was very popular among respondents. There was a desire to strengthen relationships between Jewish communities, and to belong to European Jewish organizations particularly in Eastern Europe. However, it was recognized that there is minimal real integration, and leaders have little direct knowledge of other Jewish communities in Europe. Jewish solidarity and a European Jewish identity were strongly supported, but there was a general pessimism with only 8% who *strongly agreed the future of European Jewry is vibrant and positive.*

Israel

The relationship with the state and people of Israel was regarded as of great importance to European Jewish communities, but with wide recognition that it has become more problematic and contentious as events in the Middle East have reverberated through Europe. It was perhaps in recognition of this fact that the greatest consensus (at 84% agreement) was that *Jewish communities should provide opportunities for members to share different opinions and points of view on Israel and its policies*. There was also a strong consensus (85%) affirming that *events in Israel sometimes lead to an increase of anti-Semitism in my country.*

Changes since 2008 (%)

The surveys from 2008, 2011 and 2015 provide a useful time sequence to measure changes and trends. The most significant feature of the data was the consistent patterns that emerged over time across most issues. The regularity of the data validated the reliability of earlier survey findings.

The financial state of communities has largely returned to pre-2008 levels, after reporting strain in 2011. Respondents from Eastern Europe were more likely to respond that their financial situation was healthy or stable than those in Western Europe. However, generosity of those who contribute through charitable giving (relative to their means) was reported not to have improved.

In regards to security, there has been a decrease in people who felt "*very safe*" in their city, and an increase in people across all socio-demographic groups who assessed anti-Semitism as a very serious threat. Respondents overall, felt more pessimistic at the prospect of anti-Semitism increasing (67% in 2015 vs 54% in 2008).

Orthodox opinion has become more accommodating on the issues of Jewish status. The percentage of Orthodox unwilling to recognize "non-halakhic Jews" as *members of the community* has declined from 60% to 44%.

Overall, in terms of current challenges, there was an increase in concern about demographic decline (54% in 2015 vs 41% in 2008) and weakness of Jewish organizations (55% in 2015 vs 33% in 2008). Alienation from the community was felt as more of a threat (61% in 2015 vs 50% in 2008). On the other hand, the increasing rate of mixed marriages was no longer regarded as the *most serious threat* to communities (44% in 2015 vs 64% in 2008). Poverty in the communities, though not considered to be a major threat, increased in perceived significance by 14% over the past seven years.

I. Respondent Profiles

Table1. Country of Residence

Countries	Responded 2015	Cumulative Percent 2015	Responded 2011	Cumulative Percent 2011	Responded 2008	Cumulative Percent 2008
France	34	10%	48	15%	33	13%
UK	32	20%	47	29%	25	23%
Germany	27	29%	24	36%	23	32%
Romania	20	35%	12	40%	7	35%
Hungary	19	41%	10	43%	18	42%
Spain	19	47%	12	47%	7	45%
Bulgaria	17	52%	4	48%	6	47%
Switzerland	14	56%	17	53%	7	50%
Italy	13	60%	21	59%	11	54%
Serbia	13	68%	4	60%	3	55%
Netherlands	11	72%	10	67%	10	62%
Belgium	9		14		17	
Czech Republic	9		12		10	
Slovakia	9		8		4	
Greece	7		6		3	
Turkey	7		18		10	
Sweden	7		12		11	
Austria	7		5		2	
Croatia	7		2		3	
Latvia	5		7		7	
Lithuania	3		9		8	
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3		2		3	
Finland	3		1		2	
Serbia	2		4		3	
Estonia	2		4		5	
Denmark	2		3		3	
Luxembourg	2		2		1	
Portugal	1		2		1	
Slovenia	1		1		1	
Norway	0		2		1	
(N) Total	314	100%	329	100%	250	100%

In terms of country of residence, respondent profiles, in all three surveys, have skewed towards the smaller communities and those where JDC operates in Eastern Europe. Table 1 shows that the countries with the highest numbers of participants were: France (34), United Kingdom (32) and Germany (27), but, the proportion of respondents from these countries, where the vast majority of European Jews live, was lower than in earlier surveys. These respondents comprised only 29% of all respondents. This is a smaller proportion than might be expected, and is due to both a lower response rate in the bigger

countries, and the nature of the survey sample design which focused on a finite number of "leaders" in each country. In 2015, nearly two-thirds (62%) of the participants were living in Western Europe and 38% resided in the former Soviet bloc of Eastern Europe, up from 26% in 2011. Interestingly, the highest response rates to the survey—at over 60%—tended to come from these smaller communities such as Bulgaria (17 respondents) and Slovakia (9 respondents).

Survey respondents were free to choose the questions they answered, and not everyone reported their synagogue and denominational affiliation (Table 2). In 2015, among the 258 individuals who did report, 31% identified as belonging to some type of Orthodoxy, 32% identified as another type of religious or traditional Judaism (Reform, Liberal, Masorti) and 37% identified as cultural or nonreligious Jews (secular and 'just Jewish'). Table 2 shows that the overall religious profile has undergone little change over the three surveys, but closer inspection reveals that 2015 results fit almost halfway between the results of the two earlier survey. However, the 2015 respondents appeared less religious and more secular-minded when asked how they regarded themselves in terms of their own personal "outlook" rather than just their membership or "belonging". This more psychological measure revealed the participants' "outlook" to be almost evenly divided between religious and secular: religious (14%), somewhat religious (33%), secular (30%), somewhat secular (23%).

Table 2. Distribution of Respondents by Synagogue Denomination 2015, 2011, 2008

Denomination	Responded 2015	Percentage 2015	Responded 2011	Percentage 2011	Responded 2008	Percentage 2008
Orthodox	**81**	**31%**	**101**	**36%**	**68**	**27%**
Charedi	1	0%	2	1%	N/A	N/A
Orthodox	29	11%	29	9%	13	5%
Modern Orthodox	51	20%	70	26%	55	22%
Traditional	**82**	**32%**	**84**	**29%**	**73**	**30%**
Conservative/Masorti	44	17%	40	14%	44	18%
Reform/Liberal	32	13%	38	14%	29	12%
Post/Multi-Denom.	6	2%	6	1%	N/A	N/A
Cultural	**95**	**37%**	**97**	**33%**	**104**	**42%**
Secular	29	11%	27	9%	38	15%
Just Jewish	59	23%	60	21%	57	23%
Other	7	3%	10	3%	9	4%
(N) Total	258	100%	286	100%	245	100%

In terms of community involvement, 82% of 2015 respondents can be described as coming from "within" the organized Jewish community. This suggests that the participants' views and assessments are well informed by their recent experience working in the various communities. The majority of participants (51%) were elected or appointed lay leaders in the Jewish community in their country, while 25% described themselves as working as community professionals and 6% as religious leaders. The opinion formers who did not hold formal positions in the community made up 18% of participants. They were mostly journalists, scientists, academics and lawyers. Overall, respondents were a remarkably well-educated population, with 94% having a university degree and 72% having a post-graduate degree or professional qualification.

As in 2011, the 2015 survey allows us to analyze the responses to questions with continuous ordinal categories (i.e. excluding statements and propositions) for subgroups within the sample. These subgroups are stratified on the basis of their background characteristics such as gender (men vs women), age or generation (young, middle-aged and older), region (Eastern vs Western Europe) and denomination (Orthodox, Traditional, Cultural). In addition, where relevant, analysis is provided according to the respondents' role in the community (lay leader, community professional, opinion-former). This process makes it possible to probe the pattern of responses between these subgroups, and to test and report where there are valid and reliable differences in terms of statistical significance[1].

Denomination

In order to investigate differences among those respondents who self-identified according to their religion or ideology, they were classified into 3 groups: Orthodox synagogue members (N=81), Traditional, i.e. non-Orthodox synagogue members (N=82) and Cultural Jews, i.e. religiously unaffiliated (N=95).

Gender

The differences between male leaders (N=209) and female leaders (N=105) were probed to see if there were substantial differences of approach to community life and issues.

Age

The participants who self-identified by age were categorized into three age groups: young—under 40 years of age (N=62), middle-aged—40-54 years of age (N=72) and older—over 55 years of age (N=133).

Region

The participants were divided into an Eastern European group (N=119) and a Western European group (N=195). The Eastern region comprises former Soviet bloc countries (excluding East Germany but including former Yugoslavia).

Given the histories of Western and Eastern Europe, regional differences persist and emerge in the profiles of the respondents from the two regions. In terms of gender, both regions had nearly the same proportion of one-third female respondents (33% in West; 34% in East). However, Eastern leaders were considerably younger, with 39% under age 40 compared to only 18% in Western communities. Correspondingly, Western leaders were older, with 58% over 55 years of age compared to only 36% among Eastern leaders. In terms of religious denomination, Western leaders were more Orthodox (39% vs 19%), more likely to be Traditional Jews (36% vs 24%) and much less likely to identify as Cultural Jews (25% vs 57%). The fact that the Western respondents were older and more religiously-oriented than Easterners should be factored into any conclusions where regional differences emerge in the analysis.

[1] All comparisons made in this report between subgroups of respondents or between the 2008, 2011 and 2015 findings are statistically valid. The mean averages of the responses to each question by each subgroup were measured using a T test of statistical significance. We report those at the $p>.05$ level where the probability of error is lower than 5%.

Differences between the 2008, 2011 and 2015 Survey Participants

Assessing the change in responses over time must take into consideration the differences between the participants in the three surveys. This includes the increased percentage of participants from smaller countries, and from Eastern Europe. However, on most socio-demographic characteristics the samples were quite similar. For example, the proportion of lay leader participants in 2015 was 51%, in 2011 it was 54% and in 2008 it was 45%. Orthodox respondents ranged from 27-36% across the three surveys. The samples have become older with each succeeding survey, with those over 55 years of age comprising 35% in 2008, 43% in 2011 and 50% in 2015.

II. Current Challenges facing Jewish Communities in Europe

One of the primary goals of the *Survey of European Jewish Leaders and Opinion Formers* is to identify the major priorities and challenges facing European Jewish communities today, as well as the perceptions leaders and opinion formers have about the most serious issues and threats to the future of Jewish life in their respective countries.

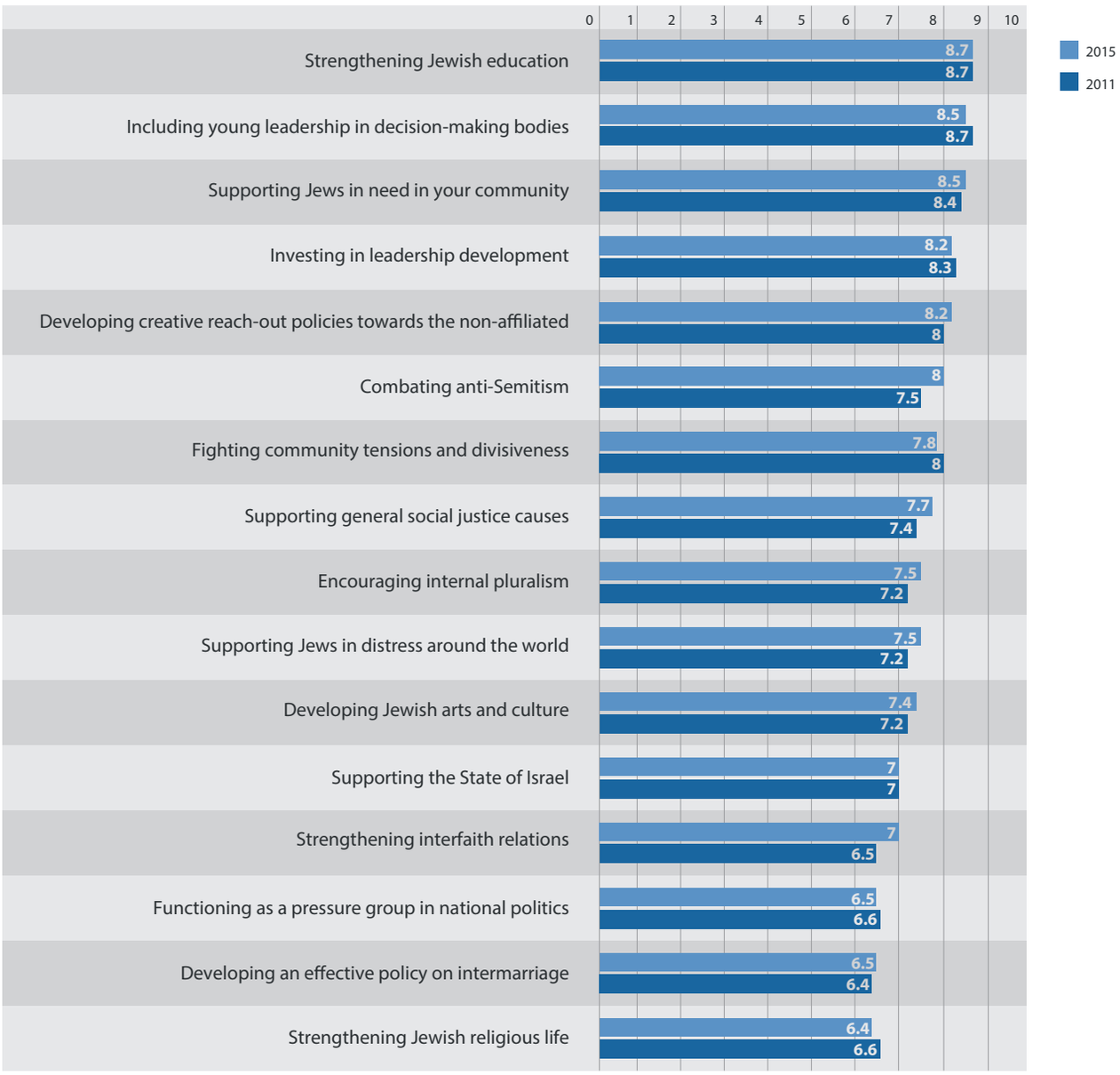
Future Priorities

Respondents were asked to prioritize for the next 5-10 years a list of 16 items (Figure 1) using a scale of 1-10 where 1 is not a priority and 10 is a pressing priority. The five highest priorities in 2015 (scoring 8 or more) were: *Strengthening Jewish education* (8.7), *including young leadership in decision-making bodies* (8.7), *supporting Jews in need in your community* (8.5), *investing in leadership development* (8.3), *developing creative reach-out policies towards the non-affiliated* (8.0) and *combating anti-Semitism* (8.0). The lowest priorities on the scale were: *Strengthening Jewish religious life* (6.4) and *developing an effective policy on intermarriage* (6.5).

Interestingly, the overall rank order of priorities has hardly changed since 2011. The only significant movement was the uptick in rating for *combating anti-Semitism* (7.5-8.0) and *strengthening interfaith relations* (6.5-7.0). This reflects the growing concern with community relations and security, particularly in Western Europe (see below).

In terms of future community priorities, there were no statistically measurable differences in the rank order of the priorities between the three age groups. Between men and women the major difference emerged over *encouraging internal pluralism* which 31% of women gave a top score of 10 versus 14% of men, and *including young leadership* (43% women vs 28% male).

Figure 1. "Please indicate the extent to which you think the following items should be prioritized in the next 5-10 years". 2015 vs 2011 responses on a scale of 1-10.



Regional differences emerged on the issue of *Supporting Jews in need* which was reported as significantly more of a priority by East European communities. As in 2011, Western Europeans were more likely to prioritize *developing an effective policy on intermarriage*. For Western leaders, *functioning as a pressure group in national politics* was significantly more of a priority than for Eastern leaders.

Major denominational differences emerged in prioritizing items that relate to denominational priorities. Orthodox Jews gave more priority to *strengthening Jewish religious life,* but were less likely to prioritize *strengthening interfaith relations, encouraging internal pluralism* or *developing Jewish arts and culture. Interfaith relations* and *social justice* were prioritized by Traditional Jews, while Cultural Jews prioritized *developing Jewish arts and culture.*

Financial costs of Jewish life

The financial costs of membership and participation in Jewish life -- the extra cost involved in Jewish living -- are often regarded as barriers and impediments to community cohesion. Table 3 shows, somewhat surprisingly, that Jews in more prosperous Western Europe were three times more likely to report that it's *very/somewhat expensive* to participate whereas those in Eastern Europe were nearly four times as likely to say it's *very affordable to participate in Jewish life*. Of course, these are not just perceptions but may involve different types of goods and services. There is also the factor of subsidies by agencies such as JDC. Nevertheless, this is a counter-intuitive finding that requires more investigation.

Table 3. Affordability of Participating in Jewish Communal Life

	Eastern Europe	Western Europe
Very expensive	2%	12%
Somewhat expensive	10%	25%
Manageable	32%	42%
Somewhat affordable	14%	10%
Very affordable	38%	10%
Don't know/No answer	4%	1%
Total	100%	100%

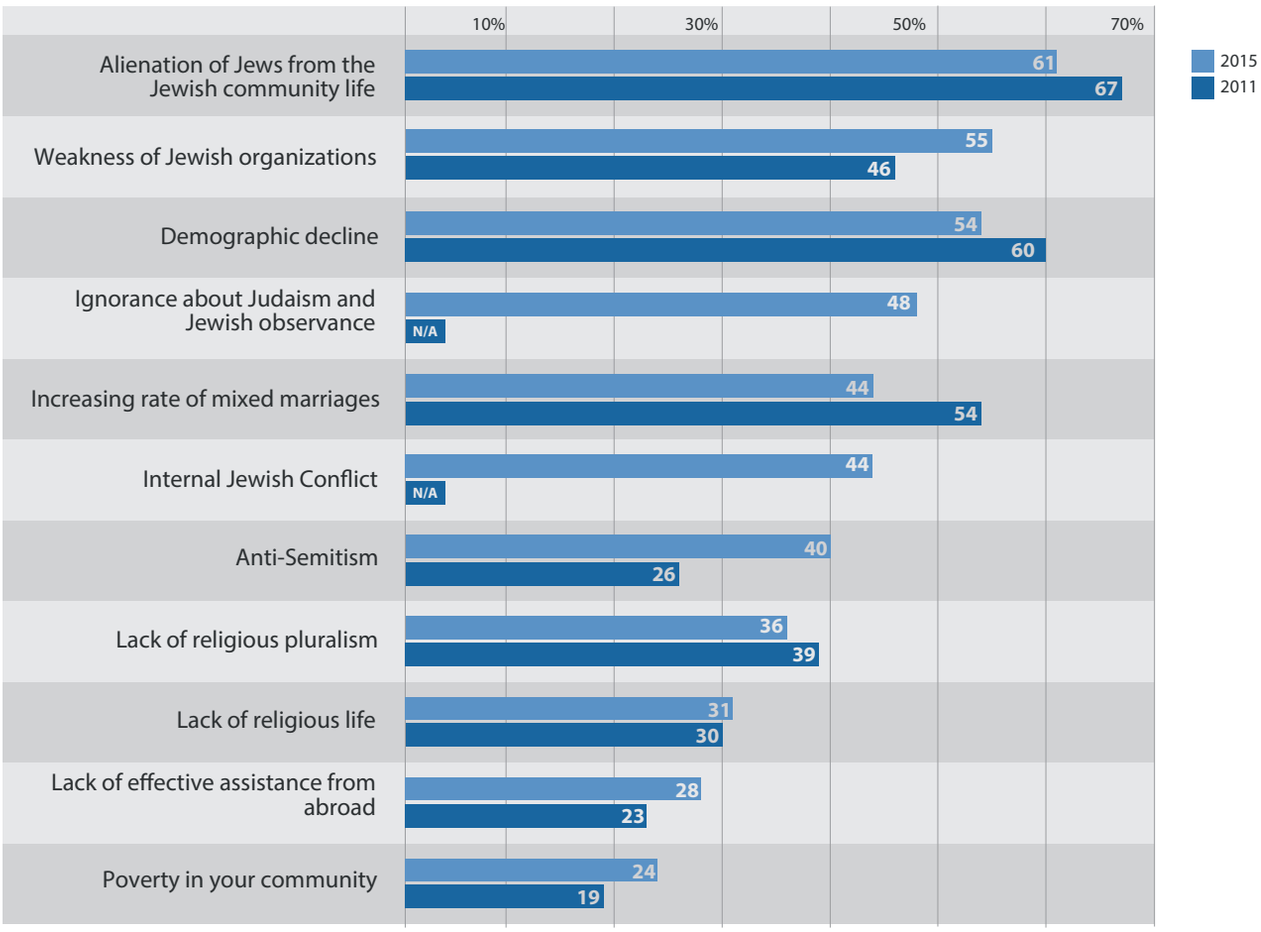
Threats to the Future of Jewish Life

The respondents were asked to rate 10 items on a 5-point scale to identify serious threats to the future of Jewish life in their country, both internal and external to the community. Figure 2 shows that the 3 issues that were rated as very serious threats by a majority of respondents in 2015 (a score of 4 or 5) were all internal community problems - *alienation of Jews from Jewish community life* (61%), *weakness of Jewish organizations* (55%) and *demographic decline* (54%).

The overall identification of threats was stable, but there were changes in how threats are assessed for the future. Concern about the *weakness of Jewish organizations* is up 9% since 2011, but down 10% for *the increasing rate of mixed marriage* and 6% regarding *demographic decline*. Mixed marriage is no longer regarded as the most serious threat to communities (ranked as the first major threat by 64% of respondents in 2008, 54% in 2011 and 44% in 2015). The item that showed the largest uptick was *anti-Semitism*, which now scored 40% on the serious threat index compared with 26% in 2011, with more people, across all socio-demographic groups assessing it as an increased threat.

For a few items, trends persisted over time. Concern about the internal situation of the organized communities continued to increase - *lack of renewal/weakness of Jewish organizations* (55% in 2015, 46% in 2011 and 33% in 2008). Rating the *lack of effective assistance from Jewish organizations abroad* as a threat to the future of the community also continued to trend upward (28% in 2015, 23% in 2011 vs 18% in 2008).

Figure 2. "Which of the following are the most serious threats to the future of Jewish life in your country?"*



**Only responses ranging from 4-5*

In general, there was consensus across sub-groups in evaluating most of the threats. In terms of region, Eastern Europeans were more likely to view *poverty* and *the lack of effective assistance from Jewish organizations abroad* as threats. Western Europeans, on the other hand, were more likely to consider *anti-Semitism* as a serious threat (score of 5) than were Eastern Europeans (24% vs 15%). Younger respondents and women were more likely to regard *lack of renewal of Jewish organizations as a threat*. Women were also more concerned about the threat from *internal Jewish conflict*.

Religious denominational differences were more marked when contemplating the future. The Orthodox differed from other respondents in considering that *increasing rates of mixed marriages are very serious* (Orthodox 31%, Traditionalists 13%, Cultural 14%). Yet, even Orthodox opinion has become less fearful of intermarriage, falling from 61% in 2008 to 44% in 2011 and to 31% in 2015.The *lack of religious life* was regarded as a serious threat by both Orthodox and Traditionalists but the *lack of religious pluralism* and *internal Jewish conflict* was more of a concern for Traditionalists.

III. Internal Community Issues

Internal community issues often focus on religious or ideological differences. In order to assess the context for these, we need to bear in mind the overall pattern of loyalties found among respondents. The respondents were roughly equally distributed: one-third with Orthodox

affiliation, one-third affiliated with Traditionalist synagogue groupings and one-third religiously unaffiliated. The population was also approximately equally divided between those who identified with a religious outlook and those who report a secular outlook.

Denominational Tensions

When asked, *to what extent do you feel that there are tensions between different streams within your community today*, most respondents reported that there were some problems, however, the overall assessment of tensions (Table 4) suggests stability or a slight decline since 2011. Some caution is necessary because the regional balance has shifted east since 2011, and a larger percentage of respondents did not answer in 2015 (17% vs 9%).

Table 4. To what extent do you feel there are tensions between different denominational streams within your community today? 2015 vs 2011

	2015	2011
No tension/minor tensions	30%	23%
Tensions are real but manageable	40%	47%
There are very serious tensions	13%	22%
Don't know/no answer	17%	9%
Total	100%	100%

No age or gender differences emerged with regard to denominational tensions. Western Europeans were more concerned by this issue than Eastern Europeans, and Traditionalists were also significantly more concerned than were Orthodox or Cultural Jews. For a qualitative analysis of the responses on communal tensions, see page 32.

Status Issues & Intermarriage

Respondents were asked to answer a battery of five questions and statements on issues regarding who is a Jew, communal policy on intermarriage and non-Orthodox conversions, and community policies on children of intermarriage. The answers reported below were the aggregate for the combined European communities and for no community in particular. Nevertheless, they provide an interesting overview of current sentiment on these contentious questions, as well as the trend in opinion on some issues since 2008 (See Figure 3).

Community Membership

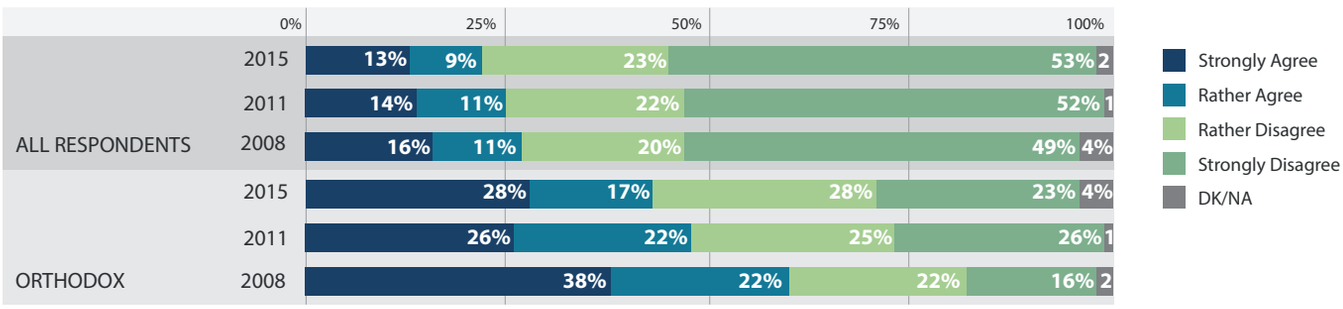
Five statements on the topic of who is a Jew which respondents were asked to agree or disagree with varied from a normative Halakhic (Jewish Law) definition to a sociological or self-certification approach. The scores for 2015 showed small changes since 2011, usually in a more inclusive, liberal direction. Given the contentious nature of the membership issue, only the *strongly agree* or *strongly disagree* response categories were considered for this report.

Anyone with a Jewish father should be allowed to be a member of the community gained strong agreement at 42% and strong disagreement at 12%. A policy of accepting *everyone with at least one Jewish grandparent* had strong agreement at 28% and strong disagreement at 19%. A policy of accepting *everyone who has undergone conversion*

under the supervision of a rabbi from any denomination received strong agreement at 45% and strong disagreement at 8%. Acceptance for *everyone who considers him/herself to be Jewish* got a strong agreement of 9% of respondents but a strong disagreement of 41% of respondents. The Halakhic approach: *only those born to a Jewish mother or who have undergone an Orthodox conversion* gained strong agreement of 12% but strong disagreement of a majority of 48%.

In order to find a majority opinion the *rather agree* responses need to be factored into the results. When these are added, the most popular criteria for community membership are *undergone conversion under the supervision of a rabbi from any denomination* (70%), *a Jewish father* (67%) and *one grandparent* (54%).

Figure 3. Comparison of 2015, 2011 & 2008 responses to the statement: "Only those born to a Jewish mother or who have undergone an Orthodox conversion should be allowed to become a member of the community."



Attitudes on community membership have become more inclusive since 2008 (Figure 3). Respondents in general tended to disagree slightly more in 2011 and 2015 (73-74%) with the statement: *only those who were born to a Jewish mother or who have undergone an Orthodox conversion should be allowed to become a member of the community*, than they did in 2008 (69%). Perhaps more importantly, the trend among Orthodox respondents of a decrease in agreement with the strict Halakhic position revealed in 2011 was maintained in 2015. Orthodox responses of *strong* and *rather disagree* were 60% in 2008 and 45% in 2015.

Communal Policy on Intermarriage and the Intermarried

Seven approaches to this issue were offered for agreement or disagreement. Again, there was little consensus for any one approach, even though 68% of respondents opposed the proposition that their community *remain neutral, i.e. that there should be no communal policy on intermarriage*. Respondents differentiated between the notion of community membership and religious rituals such as weddings and conversion. So 68% agreed and only 24% disagreed with the statement that *intermarried couples should be allowed to become members of your community*. The tendency to favor inclusion was confirmed when only 10% agreed with the statement *I strongly support to bar intermarried couples from community membership* and a large majority of 79% disagreed. Consequently, 74% agreed their *community should put in place suitable spaces or programs in order to better integrate intermarried families*. This is probably because 70% agreed with the statement *including intermarried families in Jewish community life is critical for the survival of our community.*

Regarding marriages per se, a majority of 51% disagreed with the statement: *Intermarried couples should be allowed to have a Jewish wedding ceremony in your community,* while 40% supported the idea. There was a slightly more even split on the proposition that *non-Jewish*

spouses should be actively encouraged to convert to Judaism, with 41% supporting the idea but 48% opposing it. For a qualitative analysis of the responses on intermarriage, see page 32.

Non-Orthodox Conversions

Respondents were offered five policy approaches to non-Orthodox conversions. The proposition to *only accept Orthodox conversions* had the support of 35% of respondents but a majority 57% disagreed (32% strongly). With regard to the idea to *tolerate non-Orthodox conversions but always encourage potential converts to pursue an Orthodox conversion and live an Orthodox Jewish lifestyle,* 59% were opposed and 32% were in favor. Given that 31% of respondents were Orthodox, the pattern of answers to the two statements was probably predictable. However, the non-Orthodox position was more likely to use the *strongly disagree* option than was the more Orthodox position to use the *strongly agree* option.

The more inclusive option to *actively encourage non-Orthodox conversions and* accept *those converts as full and equal members of the community* received agreement from 54% but was opposed by 39%. A strictly exclusivist policy received little support, with three quarters of respondents disagreeing with the statement: *actively discourage non-Orthodox conversions and bar those converts from membership in the community (75% strong/rather disagree).*

Interestingly, for three options that were also offered in 2011, scores were almost identical. This suggests that opinions have been quite fixed on this issue. Given the strong feelings in their communities on this divisive question, it is no surprise that a majority of 62% disagreed with the statement to *remain neutral, i.e. the community should have no policy on non-Orthodox conversions.*

Future Expectations on Jewish Status Issues

Respondents were asked whether they thought Jewish status issues in their communities would become more or less problematic over the next 5-10 years. Most were pessimistic, with 47% expecting them to become more problematic. Though pessimism has declined since 2011 when it stood at 56%, there was little optimism, with only 9% believing these issues would become less problematic (10% in 2011). The remaining one-third of respondents to both surveys expected little change from the present.

Jewish Education

The survey questionnaire offered 11 statements regarding Jewish education. These varied from philosophical approaches, to policy issues, to observation of facts. For certain items, the level of response varied widely as many respondents have no contact with schools. For instance, 30% of respondents did not offer an opinion on the statement *in our community, Jewish education also serves Jewish children with disabilities*. In addition, there was much diversity of opinion on many issues. For example, 44% agreed and 44% disagreed with the statement that *we have enough institutions for Jewish education in our community*. The statement that *the level of Jewish education on offer in our schools is high* received 44% agreement and 33% disagreement, with the remainder (23%) not knowing or not answering. There was general enthusiasm and support for "Jewish education" as a concept, with a large majority of 69% disagreeing (41% strongly) with the negative statement that *Jewish education is not so important for Jewish survival, rather to develop a strong Jewish social life and Jewish network.*

A majority of 55% agreed with the statement that *Jewish schools do a good job integrating Jewish and general knowledge*. A similar majority (54%) disagreed with the idea that *Jewish education does not help our youth connect to global, non-Jewish issues they care about.*

Figure 4. Opinions onJewish education

Whereas age and gender differences were insubstantial with regard to Jewish education, there were significant regional and denominational divides. There was a consistent 20% agreement gap between Western and Eastern respondents on many items, but they were not always in the same direction. Westerners were significantly more in agreement that the level of Jewish education was high (53% vs 32% *strongly/rather agree*) and that schools were *doing a good job in integrating Jewish and general knowledge* (63% vs 44%). On the question of whether pay for Jewish educators was adequate, Westerners were more likely to agree that it was a problem but also paradoxically complained about the high cost of Jewish education. The Easterners were more favorable to *integrated schools to serve Jewish and non-Jewish populations*, and they also felt that there was insufficient choice of schooling.

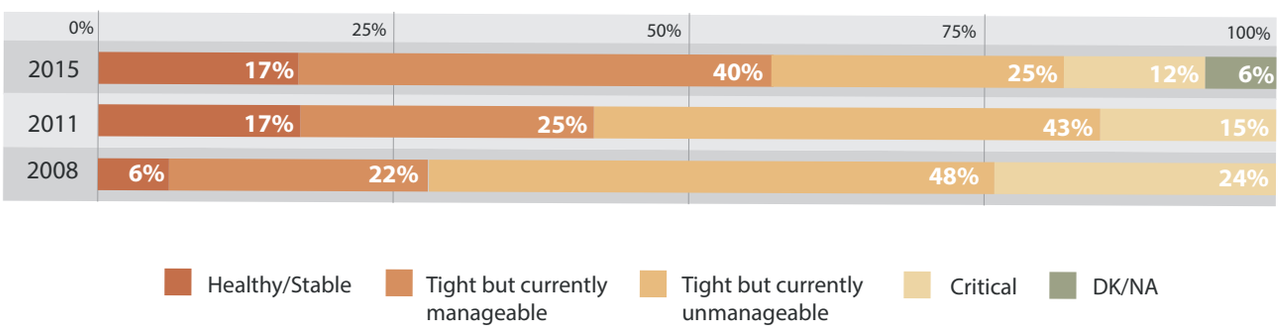
Since day school education is mostly under Orthodox religious sponsorship, it is not surprising that significant denominational differences regarding Jewish education were revealed. In general, the Orthodox group was happier with current offerings and less critical of gaps in provision. The Traditional respondents were the most critical about *the level of*

Jewish education and *connection to global issues*. Traditional and Cultural respondents felt there was insufficient provision for *children with disabilities* and they exhibited a 20 point agreement gap with the Orthodox on the issue of *integrated schools* (23% Orthodox vs Traditional 54% and Cultural 52%).

IV. Financial Situation and Funding

The communities' overall assessment of their current financial situation varied considerably, but the general pattern has changed very little since 2011 (Figure 5). Though there has been a slight improvement since 2011, the situation has not returned to that prior to the economic recession of 2008-10. Most respondents in 2015 saw their community's funding situation as *tight but currently manageable* (43%) and some reported it as *tight and increasingly unmanageable* (26%). Whereas 18% saw their financial situation as *healthy*, 13% reported it as *critical*. Respondents from Eastern Europe were more likely to respond that their financial situation is healthy or stable than those in Western Europe.

Figure 5. Comparison of 2015, 2011 & 2008 responses: "How would you characterize your community's overall financial situation at present?"



Regarding the next 5-10 years, the tendency was to be pessimistic: 40% expected the situation to *deteriorate somewhat or significantly* and only 18% expected it to *improve somewhat or significantly*. Interestingly, there were no regional differences on expectations.

Part of the reason for this pessimism was revealed by a question on charitable giving in terms of *generosity relative to means*. On a scale of 1-5, with 1 being *very low* and 5 *very high*, the overall assessment was 10% for *very low* and only 5% for *very high*. Given the history of socialism and poverty in the East, there is little tradition of private philanthropy. Thus, there was a significant point gap between East and West for the *very low* score on all the charitable giving items, e.g. *generosity relative to means* (45% in East vs 13% in West).

V. Security & Safety

The last 5 years were marked by a series of terrorist attacks on Jewish communities in Western Europe, including the attack on the Jewish school in Toulouse, France in 2012, the Jewish Museum in Brussels, Belgium in 2014, a kosher supermarket in Paris, France and a synagogue in Copenhagen, Denmark in 2015. Respondents were asked *to what extent do you feel it is safe to live and practice as a Jew in your community today?* Surprisingly, there was minimal change in the overall assessment of the safety situation since 2011 and most European Jewish leaders felt secure today with 22% reporting feeling *very safe* and 63% reporting feeling *rather safe*. Only 9% felt *rather unsafe* and 5% *not safe at all*. Since 2008, however there has been an 11% decrease in people who feel *very safe* in their city, although the response for *rather safe* has remained constant. Presumably, the majority's confidence in their safety reflects their confidence in the additional security measures put in place by the national authorities.

The concern is widespread as there were no statistically significant differences between or within the socio-demographic groups with regard to responses to the question. No sub-group differences emerged with regard to the safety issue in terms of age, gender, denomination or region. The lack of regional variation is of historical significance for Jews in Europe where in the past the West was regarded as safer and more welcoming than the East.

Recent Change in Expressions of Anti-Semitism

Respondents were asked about their *perceptions of change in specific expressions of anti-Semitism* in the past 5 years. As Table 5 shows, the scores for *increased a lot* exceeded the score for *decreased a lot*, suggesting a change in the way anti-Semitism manifests itself across Europe.

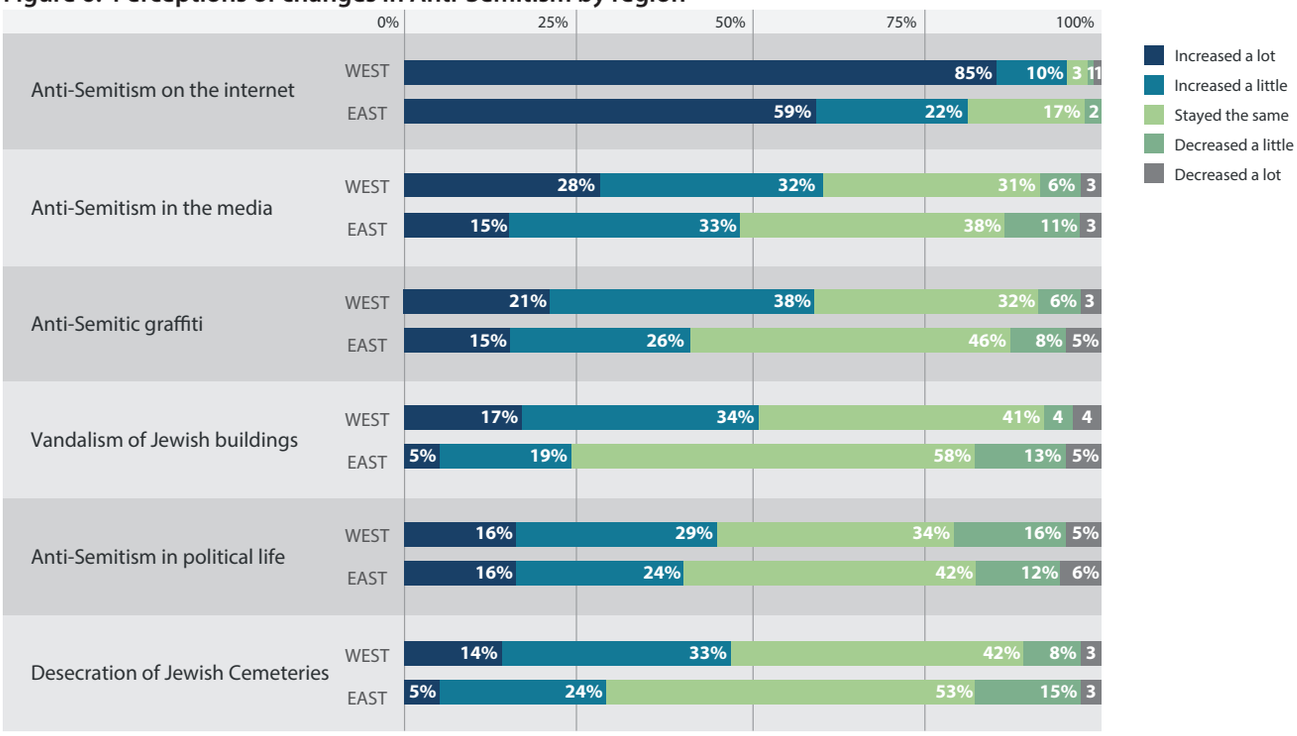
Table 5. Respondents' Perceptions of Change in Specific Expressions of Anti-Semitism

	Increased a lot	Decreased a lot
On the internet	75%	1%
In the media	24%	4%
In political life	17%	6%
Vandalism of Jewish buildings	12%	5%
Desecration of Jewish cemeteries	10%	4%

Although the traditional outbreaks of vandalism and desecration on average do not seem to have increased much, nor has political life seen a big change, there is a sense that the media is a growing problem and that the internet has become prominent in spreading anti-Semitism.

Figure 6 illustrates the regional differences in perceptions, with Westerners reporting a greater increase of *hate on the internet*, and an increase in *vandalism of Jewish buildings* than Easterners.

Figure 6. Perceptions of changes in Anti-Semitism by region



Allies and Threats

Two-thirds of respondents felt considerably more pessimistic about anti-Semitism increasing than they did in the previous surveys (67% in 2015 vs 49% in 2011 and 54% in 2008), reflecting a consensus across different types of European Jews.

As to which elements in society they regarded as their strongest allies in the struggle against anti-Semitism *always/most of the time*, a majority of respondents picked the *current national government* (54%) and *Jewish organizations abroad* (49%). Jewish leaders were slightly more confident in 2015 that they could rely on their national governments than they were in 2011 (46%).

Interestingly, the political parties which make up these governments were consistently viewed as less supportive allies *always/most of the time*. The centrist political parties were seen as reliable as the *Christian religious leadership* (29%), but more reliable than *local/national human and civil rights groups* (15%), *international human rights organizations* (15%), *intellectuals/academics* (13%) and the *mainstream media* (10%). Overall, the low scores suggest that the Jewish leadership does not believe that they have firm and dependable allies in European civil society.

Significant age group differences were found regarding this issue. The overall pattern was for an age slope, with older respondents feeling more supported than younger respondents. The over-55 age group were twice as likely to have confidence in the *current national government* than those under the age of 40 (63% vs 33%). The young also had less confidence in *Conservative/Christian parties* and the *mainstream media*. Orthodox respondents exhibited more confidence in *Christian leaders* but less confidence than others in *international human rights organizations* and *intellectuals*.

Regarding threatening groups, 40% viewed *right-wing nationalist parties* as major threats *always/most of the time* - a slight decrease from 2008. In contrast, *Marxist left-wing parties* were regarded as a major threat by 21% of respondents in 2015. Reporting *Muslim religious leadership* as major threat *always/most of the time* decreased from 23% to 12% in 2015. This

may be due to the shift in the regional balance between Western European respondents and those from former Eastern bloc countries. Westerners identified more sources of threat than Easterners, both from the left and the right (*always/sometimes* a threat, right-wing nationalist 67% vs 47%; *Marxist leftist parties* 60% vs 37%; *non-mainstream media* 68% vs 48%; *Muslim religious leaders* 48% vs 14%), however, Easterners were less likely to dismiss the threat from *Conservative/Christian parties* (*never a threat* 28% vs 56%). Another significant variation concerned age, with the older generation fearing the threat from *leftist parties* and *Muslim religious leadership* more than the younger generation.

Future Expectations of Anti-Semitism

An overall assessment of the findings regarding the security and safety of Jews in Europe leads to the conclusion that though the European Jewish leaders do not regard the current situation as an immediate crisis, they believe the situation is deteriorating.

When asked if they expected changes in the frequency of problems stemming from anti-Semitism over the next 5-10 years, the tendency was to be pessimistic, with 23% expecting the prejudice to *increase significantly*, 44% expecting it to *increase somewhat*, and only 27% expecting it to *remain constant*. Only a tiny minority of 3% expects it to *decrease somewhat/ significantly*. A significant regional difference emerged on this issue with Westerners appearing more pessimistic (67%) than Easterners (53%).

VI. Europe

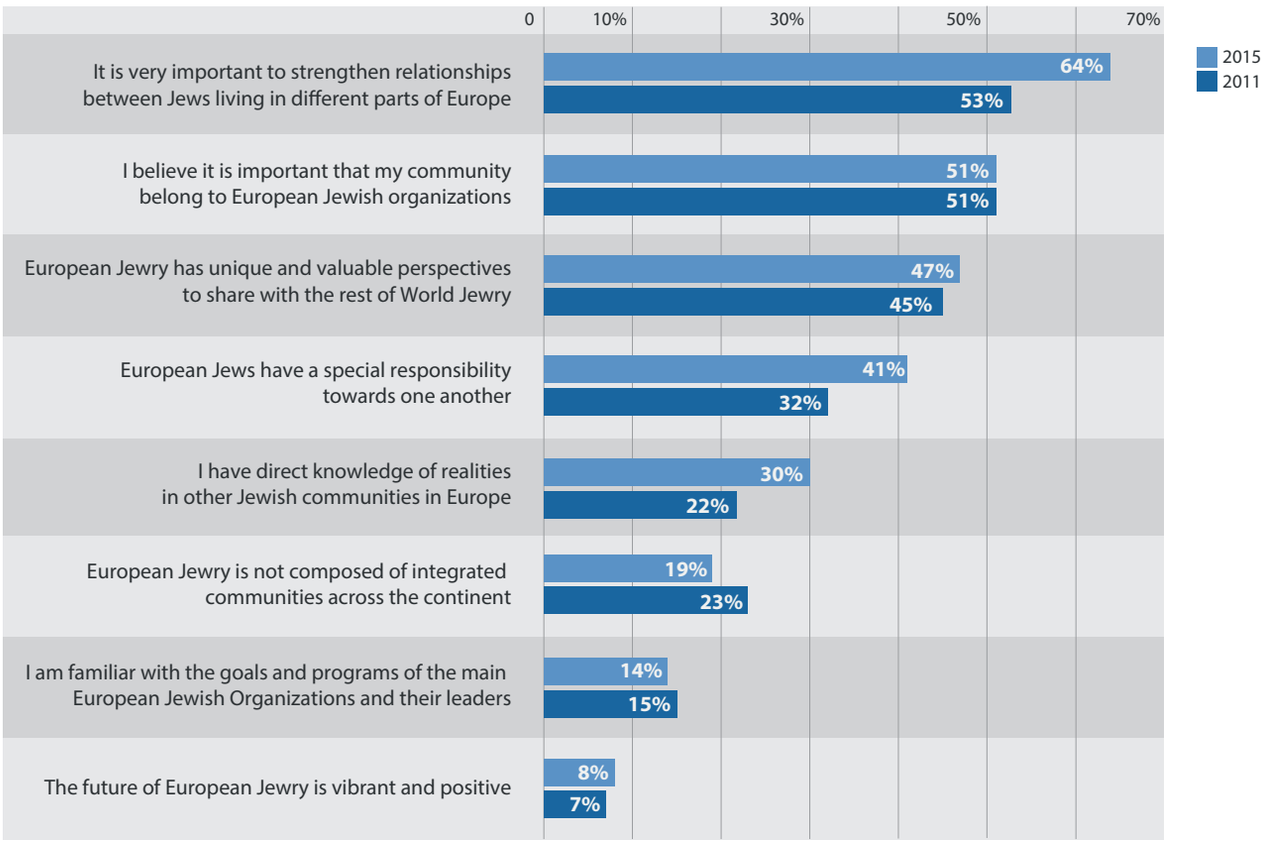
In 2011 and 2015, the respondents were offered eight statements concerning attitudes towards Europe, and the place of Jewish communities in Europe. The rank order of strong agreement with the statements was very similar for both surveys, as shown in Figure 7.

Europe is very popular, both as a Jewish and as a general political project. All the statements received majority support with a tendency to concentrate in the *rather agree* option. Consequently, in order to obtain a more differentiated analysis, the *strongly agree* category should be our focus.

In 2015, the statement that gained a majority and an increased level of strongly agree responses was related to Jewish unity: *It is very important to strengthen relationships between Jews living in different parts of Europe* (64%). This was followed by *I believe it is important that my community belong to European Jewish organizations* (51%).

Jewish solidarity and European Jewish identity were also strongly supported: *European Jewry has unique and valuable perspectives to share with the rest of World Jewry* (47% *strongly agree*). There was an increase in the sentiment that *European Jews have a special responsibility towards one another* (41% *strongly agree*). Yet there was an acknowledgement that there is little real substance to these hopes as 69% agreed with the negative statement that *European Jewry is not composed of integrated communities across the continent* (19% *strongly agree*). Pessimism was widespread, with the only statement to obtain minimal strong agreement (8%) *was the future of European Jewry is vibrant and positive*. The younger respondents were slightly less pessimistic than the older cohorts.

Figure 7. Statements on European Jewry expressed in strongly agree (%), 2015 vs 2011



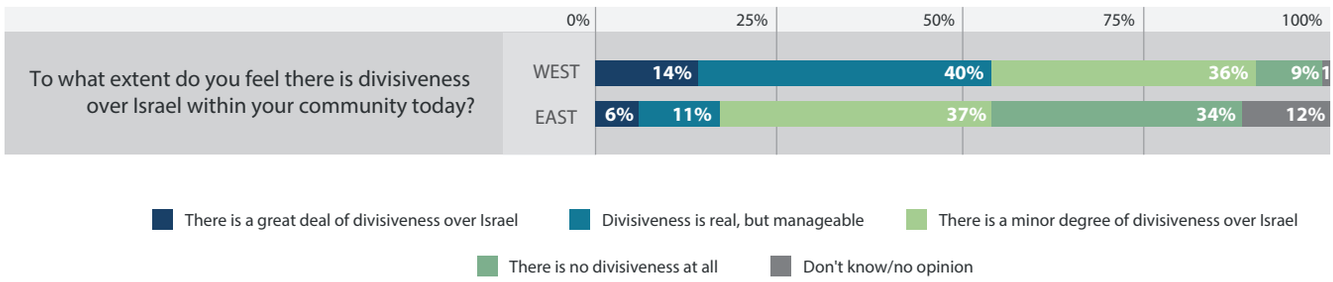
Most leaders admitted that their familiarity with, or direct knowledge of Jewish communities in other countries and organizations was weak but it has increased since 2011: *I have direct knowledge of realities in other Jewish communities in Europe* (30% vs 22% *strongly agree*). Yet, few believed they were *familiar with the goals and programs of the main European Jewish organizations and their leaders* (14% *strongly agree*).

VII. Israel

The relationship with the State and people of Israel is of great importance to European Jewish communities. However, this relationship has become more problematic and contentious in recent years, as events in the Middle East have reverberated through Europe. The policies of the Israeli government on Jewish religious issues, as well as peace and security issues have been controversial. Some have claimed Israel is polarizing Jewish communities as well as events in Israel lead to an increase of anti-Semitism impacting communities.

In order to gauge the situation, respondents were asked: *To what extent do you feel there is divisiveness over Israel within your community today?* There was a slight tendency for women to see more divisiveness than men, but the most significant differences were regional. Western Europeans reported community divisiveness (Figure 8) as more of a problem than Eastern Europeans (12% v 5%) stating *there was a great degree of divisiveness over Israel*. Conversely, 30% of Easterners reported *no divisiveness at all* compared to only 8% of Westerners.

Figure 8. To what extent do you feel there is divisiveness over Israel within your community, East vs West



Among respondents, there was a strong consensus over the need to provide space for open political debate about Israel within communities. The survey replicated the 2011 finding of 84% agreement (45% *strongly* and 40% *rather agree*) that *Jewish communities should provide opportunities for members to share different opinions and points of view on Israel and its policies*. There was also a strong consensus of 85% that *events in Israel sometimes lead to an increase of anti-Semitism in my country* (41% *strong* and 44% *rather agree*). This observation may be linked to the 70% agreement with the statement: *The media in my country regularly portrays Israel in a bad light* (see also opinion on media role in anti-Semitism, above).

The three surveys allow for monitoring trends among European Jewry on five attitudes towards Israel, as shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9. Comparison of 2015, 2011 & 2008 responses on Israel items: "To what extent do you personally agree or disagree with the following statements about Israel?"

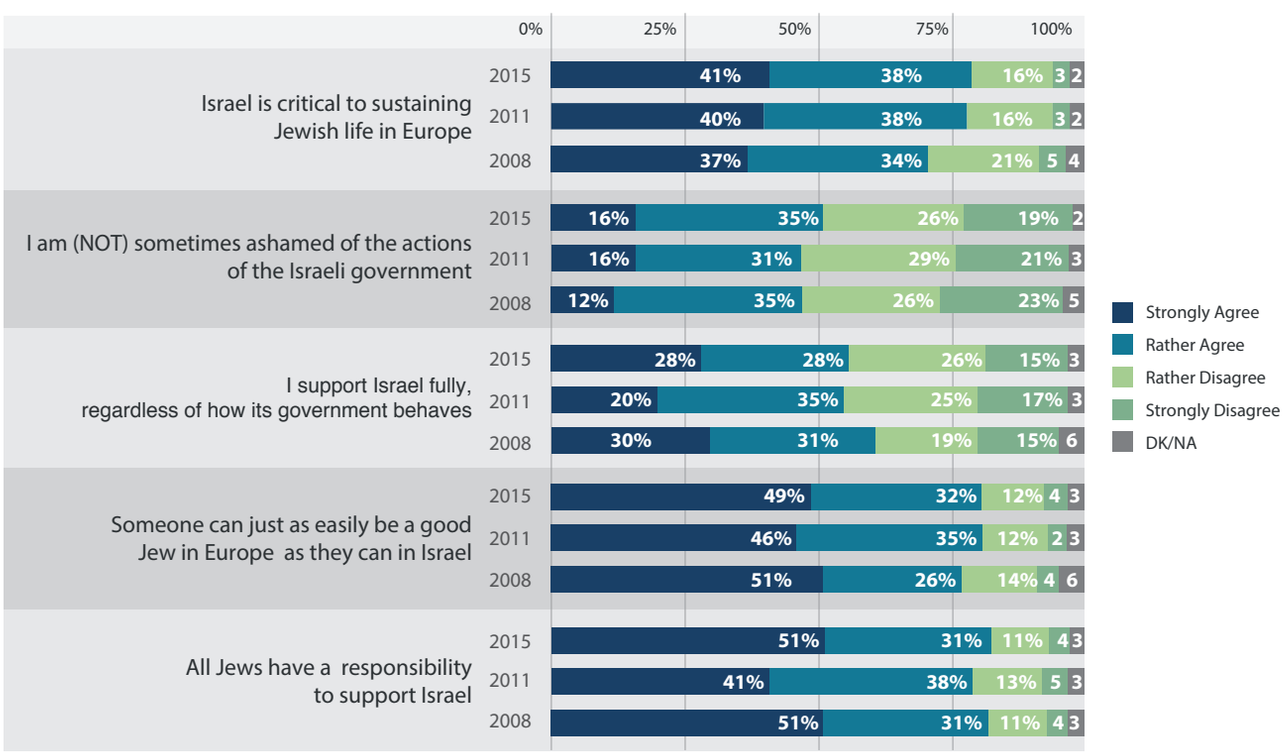


Figure 9 shows that views regarding Israel are stable and that there has been minimal change in the pattern of responses between 2008 and 2015. A consistently strongly-held opinion is that *Someone can just as easily be a good Jew in Europe as they can in Israel* (49% *strongly agree* and 32% *rather agree*). Paradoxically, there was also a strong agreement with the statement that *Israel is critical to sustaining Jewish life in Europe* (41% *strongly* and 38% *rather agree*).

The overall tenor of opinion produced a sympathetic pro-Israel majority but levels of support varied considerably according to the context and wording offered. While 77% agreed that *All Jews have a responsibility to support Israel*, the proportion of *strongly agree* fell from 49% in 2008 to 34%. There continues to be considerable division over the statement: *I support Israel fully, regardless of how its government behaves* (*strongly agree* 28%; *rather agree* 28%; *rather disagree* 26%; *strongly disagree* 15%). The widest division of opinion related to the provocative statement: *I am sometimes ashamed of the actions of the Israeli government*. In the interests of consistency, this statement was reversed in Figure 9, and showed 51% of respondents disagreed with the statement (16% *strongly disagree*). On the other hand, 46% took a critical stance and agreed (16% *strongly agree*). Yet even on this issue, there was stability in the balance of opinions between 2008 and 2015.

Regarding the respondents' personal characteristics, statistical analysis showed that age and gender generally failed to predict differences in reactions towards Israel. The largest and most significant differences were regional, with Eastern Europeans voicing a greater intensity of support and loyalty, and Western Europeans being more critical of Israel. Westerners were more likely to *somewhat/strongly agree* (54% vs 44%) that they are *sometimes ashamed of the actions of the Israeli government* – a response that is possibly related to the impact of the media and the events in Israel.

By contrast, the amount of hostility in the media and Israel related to anti-Semitism were rated lower by Easterners. The item: *The media in my country regularly portrays Israel in a bad light*, obtained a much higher score in the West (85% vs 50%). The gap was particularly wide on the highest rating (*strongly agree*) for the statement: *Events in Israel sometimes lead to an increase in anti-Semitism in my country* (62% West vs 27% East).

Figure 10. Support for Israel by East region, 2015 vs 2011

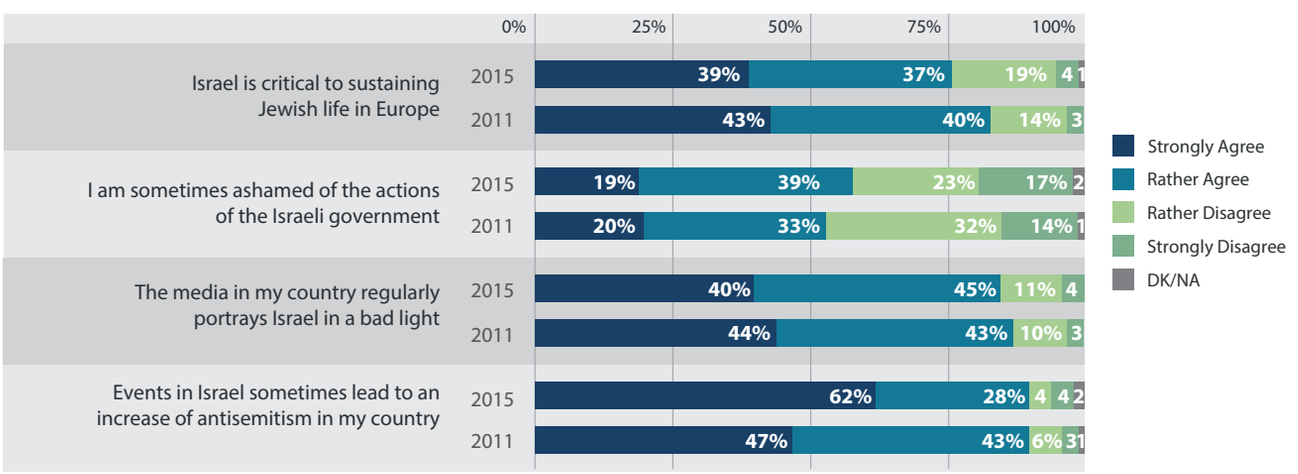
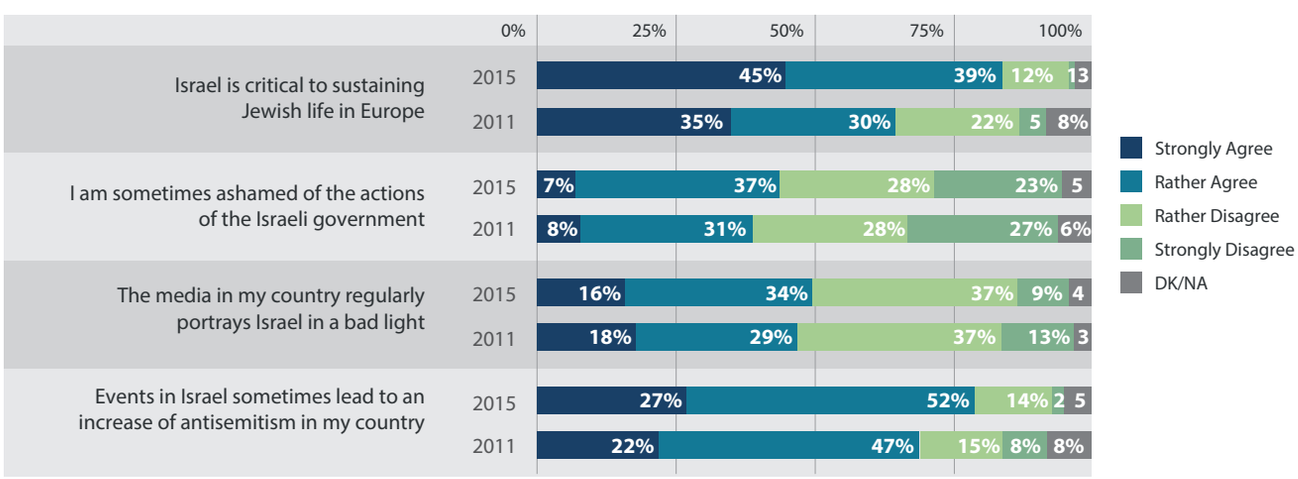
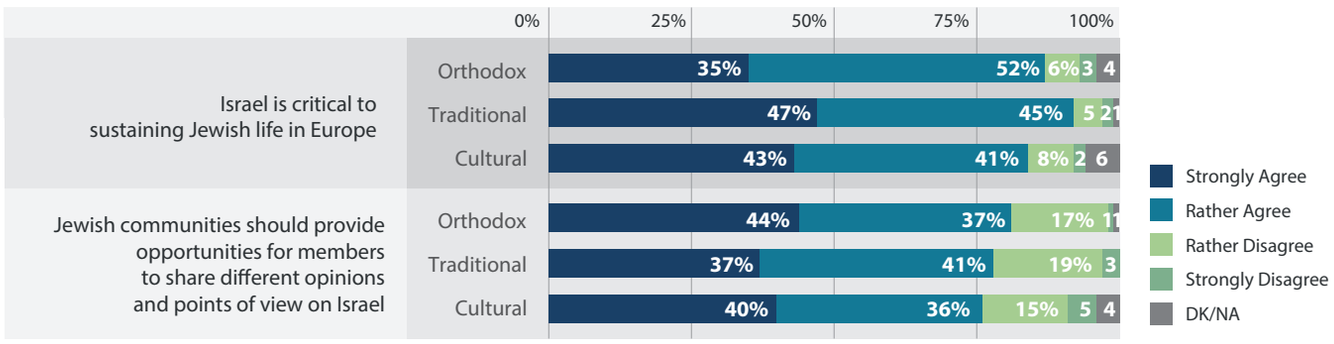


Figure 11. Support for Israel by West region, 2015 vs 2011



Support for Israel by denomination, depicted in Figure 12, showed a strong positive consensus on the need to support the Jewish state. There was a slight tendency for the Orthodox to be firmer in their support, less critical and less likely to be ashamed of Israel than the Traditional Jews.

Figure 12. Support for Israel by denomination, 2015

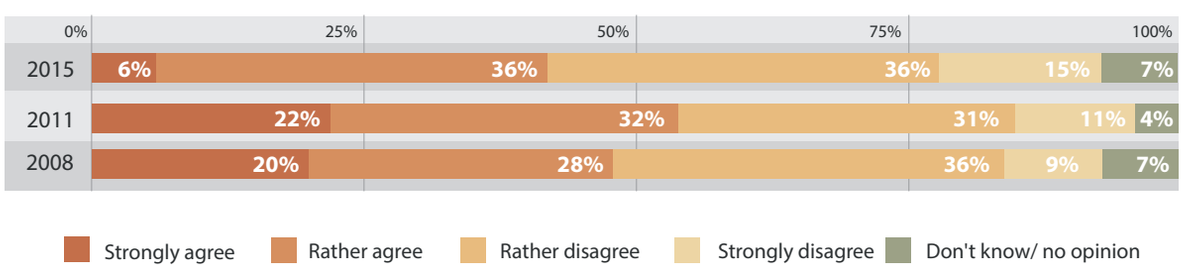


VIII. Assessment of Communal Organization: Decision-Making, Leadership and Change

Decision-Making Processes & Accountability

This issue varied according to each community but a macro-view is indicative and useful. When asked to assess five aspects of the operation and management of their community, responses were roughly divided in half. The range of positive scores (*agree* and *somewhat agree*) for each category was similar, with 58% agreeing it was *well-informed*, 54% agreeing that the decision-making was *democratic*, and 47% rating it as *efficient*. *Transparent and consultative* received the lowest scores, both at 42%. Figure 13 shows that since 2008 there has been an increase in the proportion of European leaders who believe that the decision-making process is not consultative, with a decrease from 20% to 6% of those who *strongly agree that* it is consultative.

Figure 13. Consultation process in the communities, 2015 vs 2011 vs. 2008.
To what extent do you agree or disagree that the decision-making processes in your community today are consultative?



In terms of personal characteristics, religious outlook was not a factor, and the only regional difference was concerning transparency of the processes, with surprisingly more Westerners disagreeing (59%) than Easterners (40%). The middle-aged (60%) were more likely to disagree about how *democratic* the community was. The major divide was based on gender. Women were significantly more critical than men on every item, especially in disagreeing on how *well-informed* (53% women vs 30% men) or *consultative* (59% women vs 46% of men) the processes is.

Drivers of Change

Respondents were asked to select two choices of drivers of change in their communities. The top choices were *lay leadership* (46%), followed by *individuals creating non-institutional programs and initiatives* (37%) and *young people* (36%). Interestingly, *young people* was the most popular overall second choice. *Rabbis* were only chosen by 18% and *educators/ teachers* by only 16%.

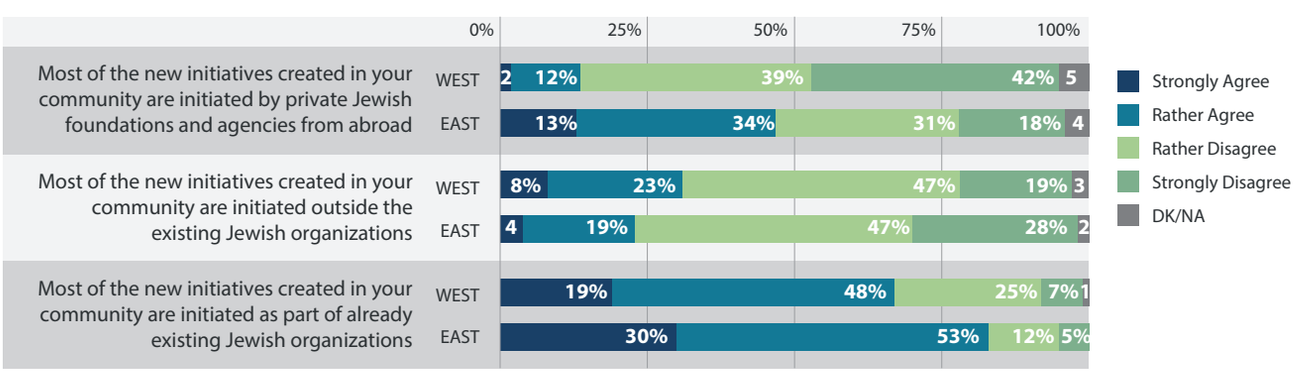
Table 6. Who are the most likely drivers of change in your community? Select a first and second choice

	First choice	Second choice
Lay leadership	28%	18%
Individuals creating non-institutional programs or initiatives	22%	15%
Young people	17%	21%
Professional leadership	14%	18%
Rabbis	7%	11%
Educators/Teachers	6%	10%
Other	3%	2%
Don't know/No opinion	3%	5%
Total	100%	100%

Responses were analyzed according to the roles performed by respondents in their community. Interestingly, community professionals assessed their role as drivers of change higher (33% *first choice*) than that of lay leaders (9% *first choice*) or others (4%).

Community Initiatives

Figure 14. New Community Initiatives by Region



Survey respondents were offered three choices regarding the source or sponsors of *new initiatives created in your community: already existing Jewish organizations; outside the existing Jewish organizations; private foundations and agencies from abroad*. This data was analyzed by region (Figure 13). The differences that emerged reflect the much greater reliance of Eastern European communities on external support (47%

vs 14% *agree*) as opposed to Western European communities who are more self-sufficient and institutionally robust. Interestingly in regards to initiatives from outside *the existing Jewish organizations*, responses were roughly similar for both regions.

Quality of Professional & Lay Leadership in European Jewish Communities

Respondents were asked to assess themselves or their colleagues on 9 items on a scale of 1-5. The lay leadership was seen as the strongest in terms of *professionals in their private activities* (59%), *regularly participate in community meetings* (58%), *knowledgeable about general issues* (57%). Interestingly, Easterners rated their lay leaders as less successful in their *private activities* (47% of 4/5) than Westerners (64%), and judged the *financial skills of their lay leaders* (37%) lower than Westerners (54%).

The overall weakest scores came in relation to having *a compelling vision of how the world should look* (30%) and having *a clear picture of how the Jewish community should look in the future* (31%). Somewhat surprisingly, professionals tended to rate the lay leadership higher on some items than did the opinion formers or even the lay leaders themselves.

The professional leadership was assessed on 8 items, 4 of which were identical in wording to those of lay leaders. The professionals received slightly lower scores. Professional leadership was rated higher in terms of *general knowledge* (50% of 4/5) but weaker on the other items, aside from *Judaic knowledge*, where both lay and professional leaders received similar scores (39 % and 40%). The weakest scores for the professionals were on *political skills* (30%) and on having *a clear picture of how the Jewish community should look in the future* (32%).

Age, gender, denomination and region were not relevant in these assessments, however, major differences emerged when the scores were analyzed in terms of respondents' communal role. The professional leadership provided much higher scores than did the lay leaders or the opinion formers who had particularly low opinions of the professionals. The statistical gaps amounted to up to 20 or 30 percentage points on some items. For instance, on *general knowledge*, 68% the professionals gave themselves 4/5 scores versus 48% of the lay leaders and 28% of the opinion formers. Professionals also rated whether they *could have professional success in the non-Jewish world*, much higher (64% of 4/5) than the lay leaders (48%) or the opinion formers (24%). The gaps were a little narrower on more practical items such as *management skills* (professionals 52%, lay leaders 37%, opinion formers 32%) and *financial skills* (professionals 42%, lay leaders 35%, opinion formers 28%).

Given the underlying tensions and quality of personnel that this assessment suggests, remuneration could be a factor. Respondents were asked: *When compared to other professionals undertaking similar responsibilities in the general (non-Jewish) society, are professionals in your community properly paid?* The overall pattern of responses was 40% *Yes*, 33% *No* and 27% *No Reply* and *Don't Know*. Surprisingly, in this case, role in the community did not predict answers, with 43% of lay leaders, 37% of professionals and 34% of opinion formers saying Yes. Orthodox respondents (53%) were more likely to agree than Traditional Jews (42%) or Cultural Jews (31%) that professionals were underpaid. Westerners (47% *Yes*) were twice as likely to agree as Easterners (24% *Yes*).

IX. Community Priorities

Respondents were presented with a list of 13 educational, welfare and cultural organizational frameworks serving various age and demographic groups and asked to assess them according to community priorities in the next 5-10 years, on a scale of 1-10. As shown in Table 6, the higher priorities favored activities and institutions involved in the socialization and education of children and youth, rather than the elderly or very young children. The highest priority in terms of percentage score of 9/10 was given to *Jewish youth clubs and movements* (56%). Nevertheless, it is interesting that *Jewish educational organizations*, which imply a broader inclusivity outscored *Jewish day schools* (49%). *Jewish nurseries* (22%) and *Jewish sports organizations* (21%).

Table 7. Rank Order of Organizational Framework Priorities: Percentage of High Scores (9/10)

	First choice
Jewish youth clubs and movements	56%
Jewish educational organizations	54%
Jewish day schools (primary & secondary)	49%
Jewish camps	49%
Jewish community centers	47%
Jewish old people's homes	44%
Jewish cultural organizations	42%
Jewish kindergartens	41%
Jewish media	39%
Synagogues	37%
Non-institutional/entrepreneurial initiatives	29%
Jewish nurseries	22%
Jewish sports organizations	21%

Overall, there was a general consensus of responses across demographic sub-groups and communities. The main differences were that Easterners scored *Jewish old people's homes* (45% vs 37%) and *Jewish nurseries* (29% vs 15%) higher than Westerners – reflecting the weaker infrastructure of former Soviet bloc communities. Women favored JCCs more than men did (50% vs 40%), and Cultural Jews favored *Jewish camps* (60% vs 38-42%), *JCCs* (60% vs 38-42%), and *non-institutional/entrepreneurial activities* (40% vs 22-24%).

This exercise however revealed an important cleavage on the direction of future policy decisions. Respondents' communal roles reflected major differences across a battery of items. The general tendency was for professionals to prioritize services more than lay leaders or opinion formers. The widest and most significant margins were with regard to *Jewish youth clubs and movements* (72% vs 54-41%), *Jewish day schools* (64% vs 48-35%) and JCCs (59% vs 41%). Alternatively, opinion formers scored *old people's* homes (52% vs 42-40%) and *non-institutional initiatives* (37% vs 32-25%) higher than did professional and lay leadership. Regarding old age homes, the professionals and lay leaders were probably more aware of the high cost of such services. At the other end of the age spectrum, opinion formers gave much lower priority to Jewish kindergartens than did the two leadership

groups (29% vs 48-40%). The only item that lay leaders prioritized higher than the other two groups was *synagogues* (42% vs 32-24%).

X. Overview of the Quantitative Findings

What stands out from the statistical analysis of the survey results is the high consensus among respondents on the present situation and on the challenges facing their communities. There is wide agreement on which issues are problematic or divisive. The quantitative analysis reflects how few opinions can be predicted on the basis of respondents' personal background characteristics such as region, gender, age and denomination, and as a result, a surprisingly small number of questions revealed valid statistical divisions of opinion on that basis. Additionally, there appears to be a growing consensus on many issues. For instance, there is little evidence of generational splits on most communal issues, and most gender differences related to community services, where women tended towards higher ratings on social needs.

In terms of region, religious denomination and role in the community, some subgroup differences can be observed. Regional differences persist in terms of community organization and internal community priorities, but they are narrowing with each new survey. On matters of external relations, such as anti-Semitism and Israel, regional differences are actually widening due to greater political pressures in Western Europe.

As might be expected, differences between the denominational groups were most common in matters of religious practice and authority (*Halakhah*), particularly regarding Jewish status and intermarriage and, to a lesser extent, in regards to Israel.

In some policy areas, such as communal priorities, there were significant differences between the professional leadership of the communities and the lay leaders and opinion formers.

Regarding differences between the 2015 survey and the 2008 and 2011 surveys, the most striking observation is the consistency of data as regards the actual range of the scores, their overall pattern and the direction of trends. This situation is particularly striking given the differences between the participants in terms of country of residence and denomination. The stable patterns and clear trends also suggest that the socio-demographic characteristics of the three samples, which are similar across the time series, override other factors and underpin the stability of the findings.

The consistency of the patterns and trends regarding priorities and opinions of European Jewish leaders over the past seven years revealed by the three surveys also validates the quality of the research exercise and particularly the seriousness and care with which the respondents approached the survey.

Analysis of the Qualitative Data Collected

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As in previous years, the 3rd Survey of European Jewish Leaders 2015 invited participants to supplement their numerical answers with written responses to help us better understand the major trends and concerns of the Jewish European leadership. Six questions were chosen for more comprehensive analysis: #6, #13, #19, #24, #34, and #35 (see full questionnaire in the Appendix), and a compilation of the answers is presented in this section.

The following narrative portrays the opinions gathered through the survey into a coherent object of thought, while recognizing the inherent difficulties in such an endeavor. Researchers that deal with qualitative data recognize the limitations of measuring human responses, particularly through static questions with numeric answers. Furthermore, they understand the limitations of interpreting data given that language is not an exact formula, and that interpretation is dependent on the readers' understanding and biases. Yet, as Primo Levi argued, "without a profound effort for simplification, the world around us would be an infinite, undefined tangle that would defy our ability to orient ourselves and decide upon our actions"[1]. The following section synthesizes the qualitative answers collected per question and topic. It is worth noting that although the results of the JDC-ICCD European Jewish Leaders' Survey is the outcome of serious reflection and analysis, it is still based on a small body of data. Yet, the answers do provide an opportunity to amplify other more constrained numerical ones. Additionally, in order to preserve anonymity, respondents are not identified in direct quotations. Finally, as a professional who deals with Jewish issues, I took the liberty to comment on the outcomes in an effort to stimulate reflection on issues that pertain to Jewish life in Europe today.

Threats

Question #6: Which of the following are the most serious threats to the future of Jewish life in your country? Use a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means "not a threat at all" and 5 means "a very serious threat". Please expand on those you have marked 5.

Almost all of the items proposed in question #6 appear in the responses we collected. 'Lack of assistance from Jewish organizations from abroad' and 'poverty in your community' are the least expanded upon. Poverty is mentioned in some post-communist countries such as Croatia, Serbia and Bulgaria, but also in Spain and France. The other eight (ignorance, mixed marriages, lack of observance, alienation from community, anti-Semitism, internal Jewish conflicts, lack of pluralism, and demographic decline) appear interwoven into responses in one way or another. The decline in the number of Jews is of central importance, but is not considered a 'real' or 'alarming' threat by Jewish communities. Respondents from countries such as Hungary, Greece, France, Germany, and Austria acknowledge anti-Semitism as a threat but clearly differentiate it from far-right Nazi anti-Semitism.

[1] Levi, P. *The Drowned and the Saved*. London, 1988, p. 35.

Today's anti-Semitism is tamer, found within economic, cultural, and social spheres, and is exacerbated by mainstream European criticism of the State of Israel. Growing anti-Semitism is working against open affiliation to organized Jewish life.

> … Families stay away from the synagogue because of fear of anti-Semitism. They do not want to be seen coming in…

> …Internal fights, demographic decline and anti-Semitism exacerbate alienation from Jewish life and total assimilation.

The central obstacles to Jewish continuity are reported as being: lack of education, lack of renewal in Jewish leadership and lack of openness to a complex and changing Jewish community. The traditional leadership is often referred to as a main stumbling block to communal strengthening and renewal – either due to their attachment to Orthodox values and norms (even when they are not religious) or to their narcissistic struggle to retain their positions (some for over 20 years). This system benefits insiders and keeps out new voices and creative initiatives.

> …We have a ruling elite who take all the privileges for themselves. They have been in power for 25 years and do not share information or benefits with anyone else. So selected young leaders become the favorites of the older ones and have access to privileges, money, travel etc., while no one else in the community even knows what is available.

These internal problems are reinforced by the fact that local and national authorities recognize the old Jewish establishment, even when it does not represent the majority of the Jewish community. Jewish governing bodies from around the world (including those in Israel) usually offer recognition to the old establishment while disregarding the potential of emerging younger organizations and leaders.

> When JDC and others come to visit, they only speak to the selected few -- again the favorites of the ruling clan -- and the rest of the community suffers…

Respondents underline the fact that small communities cannot afford division and must bow to the power of the old establishment. They say that Jews as individuals are indeed creative, but as a community, they seem to lose their creativity. They highlight emigration, Aliyah and low birth rates, particularly among the non-orthodox population, as preventing the rejuvenation of debilitated communities.

> … Jews are far more brilliant individually than when they act collectively. Then they become conventional, conformist and conservative. It is always the same topics with very little engagement with the outside world…

> …Demographic decline -- there is little Jewish immigration... More educated, less observant Jewish families have very low birthrates. The Orthodox have a high birth rate and in time may become the dominant group. Intermarriage causes decline when the children leave the community. Also, when the men choose to marry out or not commit, this leaves many Jewish women unable to find mates. Anti-Semitism – it is rising all across Europe. While it is not yet causing Jewish emigration at a high level, I believe this is the beginning of the end of vibrant European Jewish communities (hopefully not for a century or two).

Policies on intermarriage

Question #13: Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements: (e.g. Intermarried couples should be allowed to have a Jewish wedding ceremony in your community; I strongly support to bar intermarried couples from community membership; Remain neutral, i.e. there should be no communal policy on intermarriage; etc.) – participants were asked to expand on those for which they gave a 5 level answer.

Answers to question #13 demonstrate that most respondents are in favor of inclusion of intermarried couples and their families into present communal Jewish structures however they disagree on what inclusion means and to whom it applies. Inclusion is seen as an antidote to low demographic growth.

> “ …If the Jewish community wants to guarantee its long-term survival, it needs to be more open to those who want to be part of it. It is essential demographically…

But it needs to depart from its traditional religious path.

> “ …I think European Jewry can only survive if we can move beyond the religious narrative. Most of the active members are not religious at all. There are those unaffiliated who would never take part in anything religious, but might take part in something cultural, creative and cool. We have to embrace the various avenues to Jewish identity.

From the responses, it is unclear if intermarried couples include couples with a Jewish father/husband or just couples with a Jewish mother/wife. It also doesn't clarify whether it is meant to include the parents and their siblings, or just the siblings of the parent recognized as Jewish. It isn't clear whether respondents only support the inclusion of those in the 'mixed' family who will undergo conversion, or also those not undergoing it, and if a traditional orthodox conversion is expected. Similarly, responses don't address the issue of whether inclusion means full membership in the community including voting rights or not. Throughout the responses, a wide range of views on the different levels of inclusion can be found. Some respondents clearly differentiate between spouses who are considered "fully" Jewish and those who are not, suggesting that despite the level of inclusion accorded to the non-Jewish spouse, the Jewish spouse is to be fully accepted into the community.

> “ …Regarding intermarriage, the father should be a member and the children should convert (if the parents wants to raise them as Jews). We can have some kind of associate membership for the non-Jewish partner or children who didn't convert...

Respondents seem to adopt a pragmatic approach; parents should be included in order to get their children to fully join the community after “proper” conversion. Very few support developing new forms of belonging to the community. A few claim that giving up traditional laws of conversion would seriously prejudice Jewish continuity; while others emphasize the need to develop new non-religious definitions of what it means to become Jewish.

> “ …I strongly agree that both partners should be accepted within the wider Jewish community. But they can't be accepted unless they undergo conversion in an Orthodox synagogue or community…

> “ …today, following the [Orthodox interpretation of the] Halacha means death to Jewish communities. Being Jewish today should

> mean being committed to the development and perpetuation of Jewish culture. Therefore Jewishness should distance itself from Judaism and its regulations…

It is important to distinguish between countries with centralized communal institutions and those where the communal structure is decentralized. Eastern European communities are more inclined to accept mixed marriages as a reality, while older and larger western communities allow for less maneuvering when looking for creative solutions. At times, the centralized systems are seen as an obstacle to adopting new norms for belonging. Smaller communities feel more pressured to find creative ways to include members of "mixed families" who they view as one of the only ways to sustain the community into the future. That being said, we see that respondents are inclined to want more traditional conversions, and to adopt a more 'traditional' Jewish perspective rather than a 'progressive' one.

Priorities

Question #19: For each cause, please indicate the extent to which you think it should be prioritized in the next 5 to 10 years. Use a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means "not a priority" and 10 means "a top priority ((e.g. Strengthening Jewish religious life; Strengthening Jewish education; Supporting general social justice causes; etc. – participants were asked to expand on those for which they gave a 5 level answer).

Question #19 expands on many of the items included in question #6. It offers respondents another opportunity to reflect on their concerns, but this time through the lens of setting priorities for the future. The three items prioritized by respondents are

- The need to develop and support Jewish education
- The need to support social justice (care for the needy and elderly in the Jewish community and outside of it)
- The need to fight anti-Semitism

These priorities are followed by the need to support youth for 'they are the most important asset of Jewish communities', the need to develop new leadership, support religious tolerance and diversity in the community, and the need to strengthen communities' support for Israel. Though less mentioned, respondents note the need to become better integrated into the wider society and develop secular/cultural Jewish options for the many – affiliated and non-affiliated – who do not identify with the traditional Jewish religious approach.

> "…We should not be an island in a living organism such as society or city, but should take part in the activities and projects of other faiths which benefit the entire population. This would make others regard the Jewish population with more respect and trust…

> "…It is very important to sustain religious life: prayers, synagogue, kosher food. We need a core of the community to be committed in order to survive as Jews. Also cultural life is very important because it's a less threatening way to engage, educate and attract people...

> "…Jews in my secular Jewish community lack Jewish knowledge. Many are not members of the synagogue but identify as "cultural Jews" and are very interested in Jewish culture. To strengthen Jewish education, to reach out to the non-affiliated and to do that by encouraging and offering more Jewish culture is therefore necessary to keep Jewish life alive…

> ...We must develop strategic plans that strengthen community leadership … and attract Jewish communities not only in the religious aspect but also regarding social justice, equality, rights, non-discrimination and a strong cultural identity, especially among young adults and mixed couples with small children…

Denominational tensions

Question #25: To what extent do you feel there are tensions between different denominational streams within your community today? Could you briefly describe the main issues?

Question #25 addresses the main tensions that exist between the different denominational streams. In general, the main tensions reported relate to the Orthodox-Liberal divide. Respondents explain the strength of the Orthodox sector as being based on their long-standing traditional leadership position (one which is usually recognized by local authorities). Orthodox in-group tensions are also underlined, such as when reference is made to Orthodox (old local establishment) and Chabad (rather new) tensions.

Another tension raised was the one between those who participate in community life for the sake of accumulating political power and those who are driven by their need for Jewish belonging. Additionally, tensions surrounding budgetary issues and financial distribution (aligned along the Orthodox-Liberal, old establishment-new establishment divide) are mentioned. Some respondents argue that Reform Judaism is not represented in the distribution of resources by central councils, or even recognized as a legitimate stream, such as in France and Switzerland. A few responses mention the Orthodox establishment's refusal to recognize liberal communities. Within some contexts, inter-ethnic issues also seem to produce tensions, such as in Spain where local Moroccan (Orthodox, Sephardic) Jewry is mentioned as clashing with the incoming South American (more liberal, Ashkenazi) Jewry. Tension surrounding the community's support or criticism of Israeli policies, which seems to align with the old/new establishment frictions, is also mentioned.

> …Orthodox versus progressive, Haredi versus everyone else and Hassidic versus Litvish and Yekkes! Israel creates tension between the very liberal left and the majority of the community...

The participation or inclusion of women in community leadership and ritual, and the inclusion of non-halachic Jews in the community are also mentioned as central issues that create tension between denominational streams.

> …The first subject of tension is women's place in religious and community life in the Orthodox sector (called Orthodox or Modern Orthodox) that is under pressure from the Ultra-Orthodox. Tensions come from women's aspirations for equality and active participation…

> …The most serious tensions come from the [community's] lack of openness. It remains a rigid institution that ignores today's problems: women's rights, intermarriage, getting a get (Jewish divorce)…

When reading the respondents' reactions to question #25, two main issues stand out. The first is the baffling need of the representatives of the liberal Jewish communities to be recognized by the Orthodox establishment. The need for recognition, when no legal issues are at stake as they are in Israel, needs to be explained. The second issue is the fact that Chabad, a relative newcomer to European communities, has been very successful in

challenging the old (usually religious) establishment. Chabad has achieved what many of our respondents wish for - a change in leadership. Yet, other than complaints against the old establishment and declarations of the need for change, no concrete plans on how to achieve these changes are presented by the respondents. It is certainly worth considering how Chabad has successfully challenged the old establishment and even, in some places, taken its place. How are Chabad's efforts different from attempts made by other groups?

Lay and Professional Leadership

Question #34: Let us know what you think is needed to improve the quality of future professional and lay leadership. Please be as specific as possible.

Question #34 explores ways to improve the quality of professional and lay leadership. Here again, respondents restated the major problem as being the feudal character of the present lay leadership.

The differentiation between lay and professional leadership is not clear, suggesting that both are in need of improvement. Still, respondents from older, well-established communities (France, Germany, etc.) emphasize the need to democratize leadership, limit their term in office, and become more open and responsive towards Jewish diversity and the larger non-Jewish society.

> "…Openness to pluralism. Willingness to engage in intellectual discussions and not just window dressing. Ability to interact positively with other groups in society, with respect to common ideals and not just coalition-building...

Smaller communities lack a lay leadership tradition and are at risk of allowing unsuitable individuals to take on leadership roles by default.
Some of the suggestions made by the respondents are the following:

- The need to strengthen leadership skills and Jewish knowledge through education
- The need to foster links between different Jewish leaders as a way to strengthen European Jewish unity
- The need to include women and the younger generation in present leadership positions
- The need for professional and lay leaders to undergo training in non-Jewish organizations
- The need for more tolerance and inclusion by the present leadership
- The need for leadership to be critical and not only supportive of Israeli policies
- The need for leadership to be more democratic in policy development and to open up to the wider, non-Jewish community
- The need to increase the salaries of professional leaders and consider some remuneration for lay leaders since not all lay leaders are financially well-off
- The need to share successful practices among European leadership

Vision of the future

Question #35: Please describe your personal vision for your community's future, including values and goals.

Question #35 requested respondents to elaborate on their personal vision of their community's future. Respondents used this question to reiterate the main themes of leadership, education, inclusion, anti-Semitism, etc. already mentioned above. This is useful in that it allows readers to sense the commonalities that exist between respondents from various European communities, as well as the importance of these concerns.

Some outstanding issues mentioned were the following:

> “ The need to encourage the Jewish community to become more integrated into wider society. This includes making community contributions (ex: programs, projects) available not only to Jews, but to the general public. It also implies adapting the communal agenda from a more insular one to one that is more open and welcoming.

> “ I want my community to be open, inclusive, cultivated, tolerant and able to open its windows to the outside world. Despite the presence of anti-Semitism, non-Jews will be interested if the Jewish community does positive and creative things. Otherwise, the world feels battle fatigue from communities that are only involved with supporting Israel and combating anti-Semitism.

Other respondents disagreed with this position and underlined their need for assistance in becoming more cohesive.

> “ …Given our community’s lack of "critical mass" it is very difficult (if not impossible) to revitalize based on volunteer work. It is necessary that communities with means show solidarity with smaller, less wealthy, communities and help them not only materially but with human resources such as teachers, professors, lecturers, political support, etc. This will help them become more integrated and distance themselves from assimilation…

- The need to increase the role of women in leadership roles the Jewish community

> “ …Besides, we need to anticipate the ageing population and feminize management in the Jewish world …

- The need to address the growing number of Jews in need of social services.

Some reflections to conclude

The analyzed data provides clarity about the main concerns of today's European Jewish leaders, along with some possible solutions. Given the nature of the survey, however, we lack sufficient detail to develop these ideas. The responses lack a fleshing out of the main ideas presented by the respondents. From the data, we can get a sense of the main perceived problems, tensions, etc. We can even get an idea of general directions of possible solutions, but we cannot outline in any detail how these ideas are to be developed.

Jewish community leaders and other Jewish policy-makers are tasked with seeking more explicit solutions to move forward with these issues, especially when a large portion of respondents emphasize the need to replace the current traditional, religious Jewish paradigm with a more secular, cultural one, or highlight the need to integrate into wider society without reducing from community affiliation.

Paradoxically, present leaders point to the success of Orthodoxy, while at the same time realizing that Orthodoxy is not an option for their liberal populations. Lacking in the responses is a clear plan of action. Generic statements regarding the need for renewal, education and transparency do not offer an alternative to present existing structures.

Some issues to consider are:

- Working to convince national institutions to recognize alternatives to the old established Jewish communities
- Encouraging increased birth rates in the Jewish community
- Replacing present religious perspectives with a secular cultural Jewish paradigm

In regards to the issue of including intermarried couples and their offspring in Jewish community life, the question of traditional vs. non-traditional options of “belonging” are raised once again. Can non-traditional options be articulated? Options which can range from Ruth's short historical assertion of belonging to a more complex set of Jewish “citizenship” laws need to be explored. Policies for their implementation and ways to engage wide communal support should also be seriously considered.

European Jews will need to learn how to conjugate opposing factors in their internal politics. This should include continuity and change, integrated community and diversity, belonging and exclusion, etc. Only when this is achieved, will the Jews of Europe be strong enough to face a bright and vibrant future despite external threats such as anti-Semitism.

APPENDIX: Questionnaire

Third Survey of European Jewish Leaders and Opinion Formers 2015

Dear Participant,

Thank you for participating in this JDC-ICCD research project, which is designed to explore the perceptions of decision makers and opinion leaders in the European Jewish communities.

The information gathered in this study will be kept confidential, of course. The data will be reported only in the aggregate. You will not be identified in any way in any reports.

Feel free to skip any questions you do not want to answer. Naturally, we would prefer that you answer all questions. This year, we decided to offer more space for personal thoughts and opinions. Therefore, after some of the questions you would be encouraged to explain and/or expand your responses. Of course, as with the rest of the questionnaire, these fields remain optional. Also, like always, toward the end of the questionnaire you can write in details about your personal vision for your community's future.

Your cooperation in the study is very important to the JDC endeavour to document the priorities and challenges facing European Jewish communities today.

If you have any questions or concerns, please e-mail ISSSC@trincoll.edu

The term "community" is used throughout this questionnaire. Unless otherwise stated, please note that "your community" should be understood as referring to all the Jews living in your country. If you are a foreign national living in Europe, "your country" should be understood as the European state in which you are a resident.

Once again, thank you for your participation and insights!

Vision and Change

1. Assess the following components of Jewish life in your community as they are **now**. Use a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means "very low" and 5 means "very high."

	Very low				Very high	Don't know/ No opinion
Current level of Jewish religious practise and observance	1	2	3	4	5	
Current level of creativity and entrepreneurship in the community	1	2	3	4	5	
Current level of commitment to social justice causes	1	2	3	4	5	
Current level of Judaic knowledge	1	2	3	4	5	
Current level of attachment to Jews around the world	1	2	3	4	5	
Current level of cultural and artistic organizations	1	2	3	4	5	

2. Assess the following components of Jewish life in your community as you would **ideally like them to be**. Use a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means "very low" and 5 means "very high."

	Very low				Very high	Don't know/ No opinion
Ideal level of Jewish religious practise and observance	1	2	3	4	5	
Ideal level of creativity and entrepreneurship in the community	1	2	3	4	5	
Ideal level of commitment to social justice causes	1	2	3	4	5	
Ideal level of Judaic knowledge	1	2	3	4	5	
Ideal level of attachment to Jews around the world	1	2	3	4	5	
Ideal level of cultural and artistic organizations	1	2	3	4	5	

3. Who are the most likely drivers of change in your community? Select a first and second choice.

	First choice	Second choice
Lay leadership		
Professional leadership		
Rabbis		
Educators/teachers		
Young people		
Individuals creating non-institutional programmes or initiatives		
Other: [SPECIFY]		
[Don't know/No opinion]		

4. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/ No opinion
Most of the new initiatives created in your community are initiated as part of already existing Jewish organization					
Most of the new initiatives created in your community are initiated outside the existing Jewish organizations					
Most of the new initiatives created in your community are initiated by private Jewish foundations and agencies from abroad					

5. Which of the following are the most serious threats to the future of Jewish life in your country? Use a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means "not a threat at all" and 5 means "a very serious threat".

	Not a threat at all				Very serious threat	Don't know/ No opinion
Poverty in your community	1	2	3	4	5	
Declining knowledge about Judaism and Jewish practise	1	2	3	4	5	
Increasing rate of mixed marriages	1	2	3	4	5	
Lack of religious life	1	2	3	4	5	
Alienation of Jews from the Jewish community life	1	2	3	4	5	
Anti-Semitism	1	2	3	4	5	
Weakness of Jewish organizations	1	2	3	4	5	
Lack of effective assistance from Jewish organizations abroad	1	2	3	4	5	
Lack of religious pluralism inside the Jewish community	1	2	3	4	5	
Demographic decline	1	2	3	4	5	

6. Please expand on those for which you have given a 5 level answer.

Decision-Making and Control

7. To what extent do you agree or disagree that the decision-making processes in your community **today** are:

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/ No opinion
Well-informed					
Efficient					
Consultative					
Transparent					
Democratic					

Lay Leadership

8. Please assess the overall quality of your community's lay leadership by evaluating the following items on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means "very weak" and 5 means "very strong".

	Very weak				Very strong	Don't know/ No opinion
Are knowledgeable about Judaic issues	1	2	3	4	5	
Regularly participate in community meetings	1	2	3	4	5	
Have a compelling Jewish vision of how the world should look	1	2	3	4	5	
Have a clear picture of how the Jewish community should look in the future	1	2	3	4	5	
Are successful professionals in their private activities	1	2	3	4	5	
Are knowledgeable about general issues	1	2	3	4	5	
Have political skills	1	2	3	4	5	
Have management skills	1	2	3	4	5	
Have financial skills	1	2	3	4	5	

Professional Leadership

9. Please assess the overall quality of your community's professional leadership by evaluating the following items on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means "very weak" and 5 means "very strong".

	Very weak				Very strong	Don't know/ No opinion
Have an understanding of community needs	1	2	3	4	5	
Are knowledgeable about Judaic issues	1	2	3	4	5	
Have a clear picture of how the Jewish community should look in the future	1	2	3	4	5	
Could have professional success in the non-Jewish world	1	2	3	4	5	
Have general knowledge	1	2	3	4	5	
Have political skills	1	2	3	4	5	
Have management skills	1	2	3	4	5	
Have financial skills	1	2	3	4	5	

10. When compared to other professionals undertaking similar responsibilities in the general society (non-Jewish) are professionals in your community properly paid?

- Yes
- No
- I don't know

Status Issues & Intermarriage

11. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/ No opinion
Only those who fulfill the Halachic criteria (born to a Jewish mother or converted under Orthodox supervision) should be allowed to become a member of the community					
Anyone with a Jewish father should be allowed to become a member of the community					
Anyone with at least one Jewish grandparent should be allowed to become a member of the community					
Anyone who has undergone conversion under the supervision of a rabbi from any denomination should be allowed to become a member of the community					
Anyone who considers him/herself to be Jewish should be allowed to become a member of the community					

12. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements on communal policy on intermarriages:

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/ No opinion
Intermarried couples should be allowed to have a Jewish wedding ceremony in your community					
Intermarried couples should be allowed to become members of your community					
Non-Jewish spouses should be actively encouraged to convert to Judaism in your community					
I strongly support to bar intermarried couples from community membership					
Including intermarried families in Jewish community life is a critical factor for the survival of our community					
Your community should put in place suitable spaces or programs in order to better integrate intermarried families					
Remain neutral, i.e. there should be no communal policy on intermarriage					

13. Could you expand on those statements where you agreed or strongly agreed?

14. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. Communal policy on conversions should be to.

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/ No opinion
Actively encourage non-Orthodox conversions, and accept those converts as full and equal members of the community					
Only accept Orthodox conversions					
Tolerate non-Orthodox conversions, but always encourage potential converts to pursue an Orthodox conversion and live in an Orthodox Jewish lifestyle					
Actively discourage non-Orthodox conversions, and bar those converts from membership of the community					
Remain neutral, i.e. the community should have no policy on non-Orthodox conversions					

15. Over the course of the next 5 to 10 years, do you expect issues concerning Jewish status tin your community to become:

- More problematic
- Remain about the same
- Less problematic
- Don't know/ No opinion

Organizational Frameworks

16. For each organizational framework, please indicate the extent to which you think it should be prioritized in the next 5 to 10 years. Use a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means "not a priority at all" and 10 means "a top priority".

	Not a priority at all									Top priority	Don't know/ No opinion
Jewish nurseries	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jewish kindergartens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jewish day schools (primary and secondary)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jewish youth clubs and movements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jewish camps	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jewish sports organizations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Synagogues	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jewish cultural organizations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jewish educational organizations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jewish community centres	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jewish old people's homes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jewish media/websites	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Non-institutional/entrepreneurial initiatives	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

17. Participating in Jewish community life is:

- Very expensive
- Somewhat expensive
- Manageable
- Somewhat affordable
- Very affordable
- Don't know/ No opinion

Community Causes

18. For each cause, please indicate the extent to which you think it should be prioritized in the next 5 to 10 years. Use a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means "not a priority" and 10 means "a top priority".

	Not a priority at all									Top priority	Don't know/ No opinion
Strengthening Jewish religious life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Supporting the State of Israel	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Combating anti-Semitism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Strengthening interfaith relations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Supporting Jews in distress around the world	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Supporting Jews in need in your community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Strengthening Jewish education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Supporting general social justice causes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Developing Jewish arts and culture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Fighting community tensions and divisiveness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Investing in leadership development	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Functioning as a pressure group in national politics	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Developing an effective policy on intermarriage	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Encouraging internal pluralism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Developing creative reach-out policies towards the non-affiliated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Including young-leadership in decision-making bodies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

19. Please expand on those for which you have given a 9 or 10 score.

Jewish Education

20. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/ No opinion
The level of Jewish education our schools offer is high					
Jewish schools do a good job of integrating Jewish and general knowledge					
Jewish schools do a good job in facilitating the transition of our youth between Jewish and non-Jewish settings					
We have enough institutions for Jewish education in our community					
Jewish education is not so important for Jewish survival rather to develop a strong Jewish social life and Jewish network					
The professionals working in Jewish schools (teachers, directives) are well paid					
Jewish education does not help our youth to connect to global, non-Jewish issues they care about					
Jewish communities should create integrated schools to serve Jewish and non-Jewish populations					
The main problem of Jewish education is its high cost					
Our educational institutions serve all ages/groups needed to be served					
In our community Jewish education serves also Jewish children with disabilities					

Funding

21. How would you characterize your community's overall financial situation at present?

- Healthy/Stable
- Tight but currently manageable
- Tight and increasingly unmanageable
- Critical
- Don't know/ no opinion

22. Over the course of the next 5 to 10 years, do you expect that your community's general financial situation will:

- Improve significantly
- Improve somewhat
- Remain the same
- Deteriorate somewhat
- Deteriorate significantly
- Don't know/ no opinion

23. Please describe patterns of charitable giving in your community. Use a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means "very low" and 5 means "very high", in order to assess:

	Very low				Very high	Don't know/ No opinion
The proportion of members who contribute	1	2	3	4	5	
The commitment of those who contribute	1	2	3	4	5	
The generosity (relative to their means) of those who contribute	1	2	3	4	5	

Communal Tensions

24. To what extent do you feel there are tensions between different denominational streams within your community today?

- There are very serious tensions
- The tensions are real, but manageable
- There are minor tensions
- There is no tension
- Don't know/ No opinion

25. Could you describe briefly the main specific issue around which these tensions exist?

26. To what extent do you feel there is divisiveness over Israel within your community today?

- There is a great degree of divisiveness over Israel
- Divisiveness is real, but manageable
- There is a minor degree of divisiveness over Israel
- There is no divisiveness at all
- Don't know/ No opinion

Anti-Semitism/ Security

27. To what extent do you feel today it is safe to live and practice as a Jew in the city where you reside?

- Very Safe
- Rather safe
- Rather unsafe
- Not safe at all
- Don't know/ No opinion

28. Over the course of the next 5 to 10 years, do you expect problems with anti-Semitism will:

- Increase significantly
- Increase somewhat
- Remain constant
- Decrease somewhat
- Decrease significantly
- Don't know/ No opinion

29. Perceptions of change in specific expressions of anti-Semitism in the past five years:

	Increased a lot	Increased a little	Stayed the same	Decreased a little	Decreased a lot
Anti-Semitism on the Internet					
Anti-Semitic graffiti					
Anti-Semitism in the media					
Anti-Semitism in political life					
Vandalism of Jewish buildings					
Desecration of Jewish cemeteries					

30. To what extent do you consider the following to be allies in the struggle against anti-Semitism?

	Always/most of the time	Sometimes	Occasionally	Never	Don't know/ No opinion
The current national government					
Right-wing nationalist parties					
Socialist/social-democratic parties					
Conservative/Christian parties					
Right-wing nationalist parties					
Leftist parties					
Christian religious leadership					
Muslim religious leadership					
The mainstream media					
Local/ national human and civil rights groups					
International human rights organizations					
Jewish organizations abroad					
Intellectuals/academics					

31. To what extent do you consider the following to be threats in the struggle against anti-Semitism?

	Always/most of the time	Sometimes	Occasionally	Never	Don't know/ No opinion
The current national government					
Socialist/social-democratic parties					
Conservative/Christian parties					
Right-wing nationalist parties					
Leftist parties					
Christian religious leadership					
Muslim religious leadership					
The mainstream media					
Non- mainstream (Alternative) media (including blogs, social media etc.)					
Local/ national human and civil rights groups					
International human rights organizations					
Intellectuals/ academics					

Europe

32. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/ No opinion
I have direct knowledge of realities in other Jewish communities in Europe					
European Jews have a special responsibility towards one another					
It is very important to strengthen relationships between Jews living in different parts of Europe					
I am familiar with the goals and programs of the main European Jewish Organizations and their leaders					
European Jewry is not composed of integrated communities across the continent					
The future of European Jewry is vibrant and positive					
I believe it is important that my community belong to European Jewish organizations					
European Jewry has unique and valuable perspectives to share with the rest of world Jewry					

Israel

33. To what extent do you personally agree or disagree with the following statements about Israel?

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/ No opinion
Israel is critical to sustaining Jewish life in Europe					
I am sometimes ashamed of the actions of the Israeli government					
The media in my country regularly portrays Israel in a bad light					

	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/ No opinion
I support Israel fully, regardless of how its government behaves					
Someone can just as easily be a good Jew in Europe as they can in Israel					
All Jews have a responsibility to support Israel					
Jewish communities should provide opportunities for members to share different opinions and points of view on Israel and its policies.					
Events in Israel sometimes lead to an increase of anti-Semitism in my country					

Conclusion

34. Let us know what you think is needed to improve the quality of future professional and lay leadership. Please be as specific as possible.

35. Please a few minutes to describe your personal vision for your community's future, including some of the values and goals which you would like to see fulfilled

Personal Profile

36. Country of residence:

37. Country of birth:

38. Gender:

39. Age:

40. Education - please indicate which of the following most closely describes your highest level of educational achievement:

- Doctorate
- Master's degree
- Bachelor's degree
- High school diploma or equivalent
- No diploma
- Don't know/ Refused

41. Profession/ job:

42. Role in your community:

- Elected/ appointed lay leader - current
- Elected/ appointed lay leader - former
- Community professional (full-time or majority time)
- Community professional (part-time)
- Religious leader
- Other (Specify) _____

43. Denominational affiliation:

- Charedi
- Orthodox
- Modern Orthodox
- Conservative/ Masorti
- Reform/ Liberal/ Progressive
- Post/ Multi-Denominational
- Secular
- Just Jewish
- Other
- Don't know/ Refused

44. When it comes to your outlook do you regard yourself as:

- Secular
- Somewhat Secular
- Somewhat Religious
- Religious

JDC-ICCD thanks you for your time and participation in this important survey.

The JDC International Centre for Community Development (JDC-ICCD) was founded in 2005.

It aims to identify, understand and analyze ongoing changes and transformations taking place in Europe that impact particularly Jewish communities on the continent.

www.jdc-iccd.org

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