REPORT SERIES ON THE GEN08 SURVEY

JEWISH CONTINUITY

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Gen08

MONASH University
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REPORT 2

Dina and Ron
Goldschlager Family

MONASH University
Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation

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The main sections of this report were written by Andrew Markus. Dr John Goldlust contributed to data analysis and was responsible for the development of the identity scales which feature in this report. Nicky Jacobs took a key role in statistical analysis of survey data and contributed to the work of Dr Goldlust. Amanda Goodman and David Graham provided detailed comment on the various drafts of this report and made key suggestions for development of the analysis. Timnah Baker wrote much of the original draft of parts 1, 2 and 6 of this report. Tanya Munz (nee Aronov) has served as data analyst throughout the life of the project and word processed and designed this publication. Dr Melanie Landau provided comment on the various drafts of this report. The assistance of the many community members who participated in focus groups and consultations is gratefully acknowledged.

Overview

THE KEY ISSUE

Today Australia's Jewish communities, like other Diaspora communities, face significant mid-term risks to continuity. Jewish Australians have a proud record of achievement, both in their contribution to Australian society and in their ability to nurture a thriving and diverse communal life. However, the current balance in resource allocation – the mix of institutions and programs – is unlikely to be the most effective in meeting emerging challenges.

The trend of structural change within the Jewish community is at best neutral and at worst negative with regard to the prospects of Jewish continuity. There are also concerns with regard to attitudinal change. In this report the community is considered in terms of three segments: core, middle and periphery. Jewish value transmission from one generation to the next is strongest within the core. The core is an effectively functioning segment of the community, sure of its values, constant in its beliefs, resilient in its capacity to withstand challenges of the external environment. Within the middle segment, Jewish identity is challenged, but strong traditional beliefs and linkages remain, while on the periphery, linkages are weaker and Jewish teachings play little or no role. One immediate need in community planning is to provide additional resources and programs to the middle, to foster and strengthen integrated forms of Jewish life. To realise their potential, new initiatives require funding at the level of excellence which is currently found within the day schools.

When drafts of this report were discussed during the consultative process prior to its finalisation, a common reaction was that it contains little that is new, that it deals with problems long recognised. Such a reaction prompts two responses. First, if there are problems long recognised, what attempts have been made to deal with them over the last decade – and with what success? Second, contrary to assertion, it is likely that the scale of challenges facing the community are inadequately realised. This report's claim to 'newness' is based on its systematic examination of inter-connected variables. This leads to consideration of what may result from the cumulative impact of accelerating change. It is with this in mind that the conclusion regarding the current mix of institutions and programs is made. Problems are best dealt with from the position of strength that characterises today's communities.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate evidence bearing on future Jewish life in Australia, with particular reference to the Melbourne and Sydney communities. It is based on a close examination of Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) census data, the findings of the Gen08 survey that was completed in Australia by over 5,840 respondents (**one of the largest surveys conducted in the Diaspora**), focus group discussions conducted over three years and consultation with communal organisational leaders. The reliability of the sample was established by matching the respondent profile against 2006 census data and by comparing the pattern of response in Melbourne, Sydney and Perth. Reliability is indicated by the consistency of response.

The current balance in resource allocation – the mix of institutions and programs – is unlikely to be the most effective in meeting emerging challenges.

The project parallels studies undertaken in a number of countries, which aim to provide evidence-based and clearly thought-through analyses for planning at what is perceived by many to be a critical juncture in the history of the Jewish people. In the words of a recent American commentator, Manfred Gerstenfeld, 'The battle for the future of a vibrant … Jewry begins with understanding the present better and continues with assessing as best as possible what the future might bring.'

There is a range of possible definitions of Jewish continuity. Judaism today exists along a spectrum of beliefs and practices, so that understanding of issues related to continuity differs according to where one is located along the spectrum. This study explores the various meanings of Judaism along this spectrum and seeks to identify potential developments that will impact on Jewish continuity in Australia over the next ten to twenty years. Separate sections of the full report consider structural and attitudinal changes that are at the centre of these developments.

Today the Australian Jewish community is thriving, but like other Diaspora communities it faces significant risks to the continuity of Jewish life. This is against a background of changing economic and demographic trends and shifting attitudes. This report demonstrates that there are substantial challenges to the long-term transmission of strong Jewish values and identity for which there are no simple 'quick fixes'.

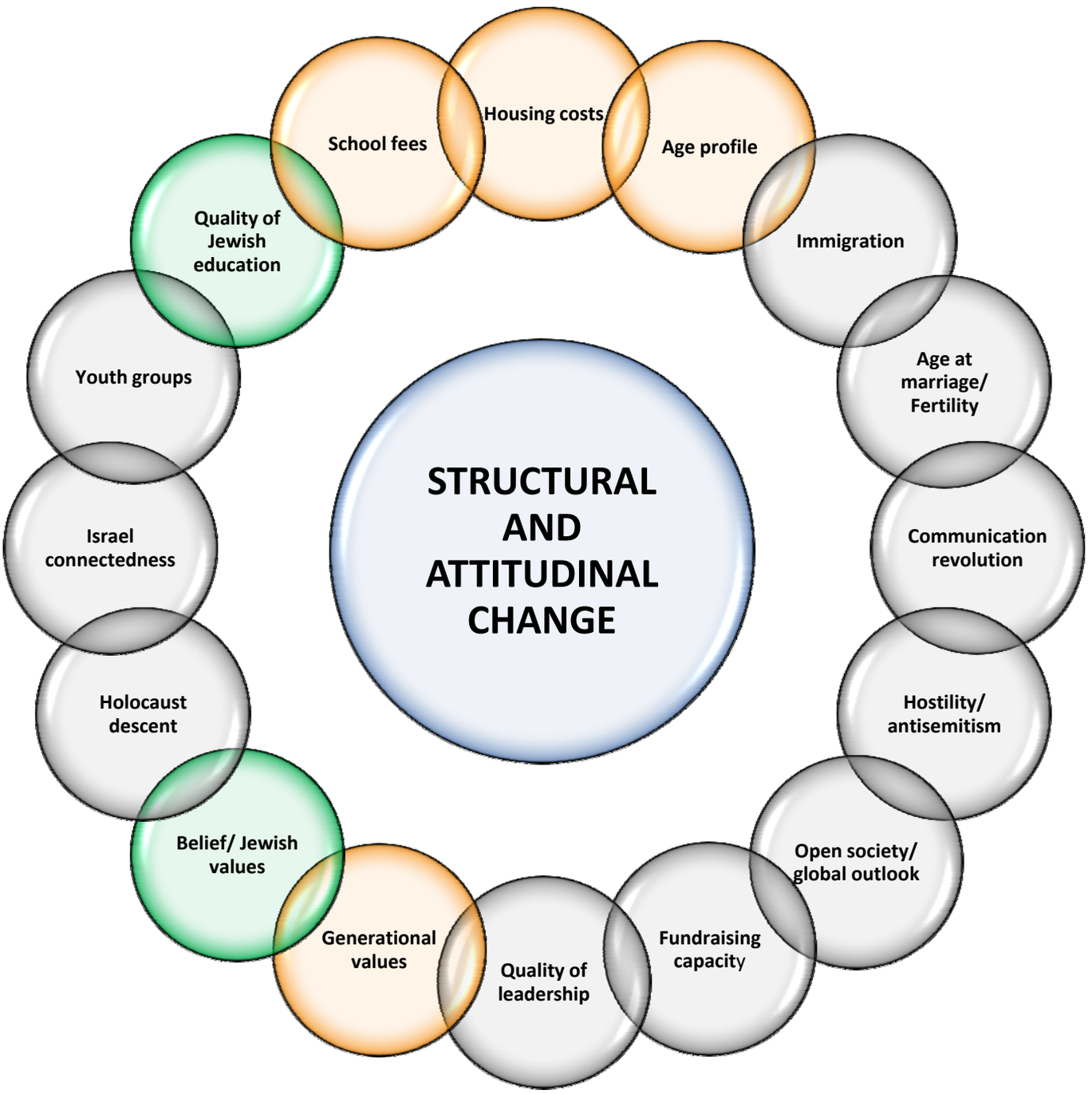
The findings show that when considered at a broad level, structural trends are at best neutral and at worst have a negative impact on Jewish continuity. When consideration of values is added, summarised in the following diagram (Figure 1), there is indication that:

- In at least four areas, the direction of change is negative (most clearly evident in housing costs, schools fees, an ageing population, and generational change);
- In others, it is neutral but tending to the negative (for example, effectiveness of secular youth groups, Israel connectedness);
- Positive change is significant but limited to two variables (adherence to Jewish beliefs and values, quality of Jewish (informal) education in some Melbourne day schools).

The consideration of values and identity in the attitudinal section of the report provides insight into the transmission of Jewish values across the generations, with particular reference to Jewish Australians aged 18–34. It seeks to provide understanding of the factors that most impact on Jewish identity.

Examination of survey data utilising a range of different methodologies establishes that **identity formation is best understood in terms of a number of inter-related factors.** The five key factors are: a young person's home environment; school attended; form of Judaism/ synagogue affiliation; youth group involvement; and experience of Israel. The findings show that **the more consistent and integrated these factors, the stronger one's Jewish identity.** In isolation, individual factors such as schooling or a visit to Israel will generally have limited impact. It is the extent of coherence or synergy between the five key factors that provides the strongest basis for Jewish continuity.

Figure O.1: Structural and attitudinal change impacting on the Jewish community: Direction of change positive (green), neutral (grey), and negative (orange)



It follows that when a person is socialised with coherent Jewish values, within a community of supportive and like-minded people, the outcome is likely to be a strong Jewish identity. Attending a Jewish day school and linked youth movement and synagogue, visiting Israel and being involved in Jewish causes and activities are all part and parcel of developing a strong Jewish identity. **The glue that appears to bind such experiences is the home.** This integration of Jewish life can take place in a religious or secular context, but currently is most evident in an Orthodox environment.

Multiple findings support this conclusion. While the following discussion uses two key survey questions for the purpose of illustration, this conclusion rests on data analysis undertaken over many months, which included the development of identity scales using the statistical procedure of factor analysis.

Questions in the Gen08 survey asked respondents about their sense of being a Jewish person. The first question asked: *'How important is being Jewish in your life today'* (question 25); of the response options, the strongest was *'very important'*. The second question asked: *'Which of the following best expresses your sense of being Jewish'* (question 83), with the strongest response '*it is a central element of my life'*. The second question proved to be more discriminating, in that a smaller proportion indicated the strongest level of agreement: 65% indicated that being Jewish was *'very important*' in their lives, but only 34% that it was '*a central element of my life'*.

As a first step, answers to the two questions were correlated with the 'religious attitudes in the home' in which the respondent was raised. In the attempt to understand current trends in the main centres of Jewish life, analysis was limited to respondents aged 18-34 and resident in Melbourne or Sydney.

Among those whose upbringing was Orthodox, more than 50% indicated that being Jewish was '*a central element*' in their lives, compared to 33% or less for the other forms of Jewish identification. The response to the question *'How important is being Jewish in your life today'* found division was between the Orthodox and Traditional on the one hand and Conservative, Progressive and secular on the other. (Table 1)

Table O.1: Religious upbringing cross-tabulated with Jewish identity. Respondents aged 18-34, Melbourne and Sydney

Question and response	How would you describe religious attitudes in the home in which you grew up?					
	Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular/ not religious	Total
What best expresses your sense of being Jewish? 'It is a central element of my life'	73%	53%	33%	19%	11%	34%
How important is being Jewish in your life today? 'Very important'	85%	80%	70%	45%	42%	65%
N (unweighted)	81	283	524	170	261	1319

II **The values of the home predict Jewish identity. They do so because they are the key to the presence or absence of a range of reinforcing values and associations which impact on identity: form of Judaism, schooling and youth group involvement, and Israel experience.** Coherence of Jewish values and associations is strongest among the Orthodox. Thus the highest proportion attending Jewish day schools are from Ultra-Orthodox or Strictly Orthodox homes, followed by Modern Orthodox and Traditional. Frequency of Israel visits follows a similar pattern. (Table O.2)

Table O.2: Religious upbringing cross-tabulated with day school attendance, youth group participation and Israel experience. Respondents aged 18-34, Melbourne and Sydney

Question and response	How would you describe religious attitudes in the home in which you grew up?				
	Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular/ Not religious
Number of years at Jewish day school: all/ most	80%	69%	54%	27%	32%
Jewish school attended – most common responses	Yeshivah Adass Israel Beth Rivkah	Liebler Yavneh Mount Scopus Beth Rivkah	Mount Scopus Bialik	Mount Scopus Bialik King David	Bialik King David Mount Scopus
	(Insufficient respondents)	Moriah Masada	Moriah Masada	(Insufficient respondents)	Moriah Masada
Youth group participation for three or more years	46%	59%	42%	44%	26%
Youth group attended – most common response	Chabad Youth	B'nei Akiva	Habonim	Netzer	Other
Visited Israel twice or more	77%	79%	69%	46%	35%
Participated in Israel program as part of an Israel trip – most common response	Religious study	Shnat	Did not attend; Shnat	Did not attend	Did not attend

III The impact of Jewish day school education is often discussed as a key influence on identity, differentiating those without Jewish day school experience. To explore this issue, the outlook and learning of graduates of two streams of Jewish education – Orthodox and mainstream Jewish – were compared with those who did not attend a Jewish school.

This comparison indicates that the impact of Jewish schools is most evident in areas of the curriculum where they offer specific teaching and the non-Jewish schools do not, or do not to the same extent. Thus those attending Jewish day schools indicate better knowledge of Hebrew and feel more connected to Israel**.** School is also significant in shaping social networks: those who attend Jewish schools are much more likely to have Jewish friends.

The values of the home predict Jewish identity. They do so because they are the key to the presence or absence of a range of reinforcing associations which impact on identity.

Those attending Jewish day schools are more likely to indicate that being Jewish is *'very important'* in their lives. But the more discriminating question *('being Jewish is a central element of my life'*) indicates that there is greater difference between the two streams of Jewish education than between those who attended a mainstream Jewish school and those who did not (compare [A]-[B] and [B]-[C] in Table O.3). Those attending a mainstream Jewish school are also much less concerned about intermarriage than those who receive an Orthodox education.

Table 0.3: School grouping cross-tabulated with religious identity. Respondents born in Australia or aged ten or under on arrival, aged 18–34, Melbourne and Sydney *(Sydney results indicated in brackets)*[1]

Question and response	Secondary school attended			Difference (% points)	
	[A] Attended Orthodox Jewish secondary school (3/+ years)	[B] Attended mainstream Jewish secondary school (3/+ years)	[C] Did not attend a Jewish secondary school	[A]–[B]	[B]–[C]
What best expresses your sense of being Jewish? 'It is a central element of my life'	74%	31% (34%)	16% (23%)	43% (40%)	15% (11%)
How important is being Jewish in your life today? 'Very important'	87%	60% (71%)	50% (54%)	27% (16%)	10% (17%)
When you hear of intermarriage in the community how do you feel? 'Feel some regret'/ 'very considerable regret'	85%	48% (63%)	28% (43%)	37% (22%)	20% (20%)
N (unweighted)	153	280 (226)	171 (164)		

This is no more than a broad indication of the association of attitudes and schooling. But this cross-tabulation reinforces the fundamental finding related to the functioning of a range of linked variables, starting with religion of the home, which influences choice of school (rarely the result of an arbitrary decision). **Identity is thus not to be understood simply in terms of whether one attends or does not attend a Jewish school.**

[IV] As a final illustration, the outlook of graduates of one stream of Jewish education – mainstream Jewish in Melbourne – was cross-tabulated with religion of the home. Two large groups of survey respondents, those who define themselves as Traditional and as secular, were considered. This comparison again yields a sharp differentiation. Although respondents had a similar Jewish education, 67% from a Traditional home indicated that being Jewish is 'very important' in their lives, compared with 32% of those from secular homes. (Table O.4)

[1] The Orthodox schools are Adass Israel, Yeshivah, Beth Rivkah and Yavneh; the Melbourne mainstream Jewish schools are Mt. Scopus, King David and Bialik. There is a clear demarcation in the data for the Melbourne Jewish school groupings: thus those indicating that being Jewish '*is a central element of my life'* for the four Orthodox schools were (in random order), 76%, 72%, 75%, 78%; for the three mainstream Jewish schools (in random order) 24%, 40%, 12%; those indicating '*regret' at* intermarriage were, Orthodox schools, 77%, 87%, 81%, 84%; for the three mainstream Jewish schools, 42%, 15%, 55%. The Sydney data is presented for two mainstream Orthodox schools, Moriah and Masada. There were insufficient respondents from the Orthodox Sydney schools to report findings. Please refer to section 4.3 for a full explanation. The Melbourne mainstream is a more diverse grouping than the Sydney Orthodox mainstream.

Table O.4: Religious upbringing cross-tabulated with selected questions on current Jewish identity. Respondents attended a mainstream Jewish secondary school for 3 or more years, born in Australia or aged ten or under on arrival, aged 18-34, Melbourne

Question and response	How would you describe religious attitudes in the home in which you grew up?	
	Traditional	Secular
What best expresses your sense of being Jewish? 'It is a central element of my life'	35%	10%
How important is being Jewish in your life today? 'Very important'	67%	32%
Average score for nine questions relating to Jewish identity, Shabbat observance, knowledge of Hebrew, Zionism and Israel, and attitude to Zionism	65%	37%
N (unweighted)	154	46

The transmission of values across generations is thus understood in terms of a combination of factors, with form of religious identification of the home being the variable shaping a range of experiences and choices. **Two differing conclusions (each with validity) may be drawn from these findings.**

[A] **First, it may be concluded that the key to Jewish continuity rests on degree of Orthodoxy, so solutions are to be found through wider adoption of an Orthodox life.** If it could be made to work, this approach would certainly provide one solution. There is, however, little evidence in the Gen08 survey of sustained movement to Orthodox Judaism. Further, focus group discussions indicate that Orthodox schooling for those from non-Orthodox homes can serve to alienate rather than attract. As Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz has observed, 'It is impossible to motivate a child to do things or study when the parents themselves do not do the same'.

Among Traditional Jews, many of whom are located in the middle segment, 22% of those aged 18-34 indicated that they were more religious than they had been 'a few years ago', but almost the same proportion, 21%, indicated that they were less religious. Among those who identified as Orthodox, there was indication of stronger religious identity, while among the secular there was a large proportion (35%) who had become less religious.

Table O.5: Religious identity today cross-tabulated with change in religious outlook. Respondents aged 18-34, Melbourne and Sydney

Are you more religious or less religious today than you were a few years ago …?	Religious identification today				
	Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular/ not religious
More religious	50%	34%	22%	26%	4%
About the same	45%	45%	57%	49%	52%
Less religious	6%	20%	21%	25%	35%
Don't know/ Decline	0%	1%	0%	1%	9%
N (unweighted)	94	304	390	171	344

A closely related approach considers religion of the home. Is there evidence that a significant number of those in the middle, who had been raised in Traditional homes, are now Orthodox? The findings point to a pattern whereby (with the exception of the Ultra and Strictly Orthodox) close to 60% of those aged 18-34 maintain the religious identification of the home, with movement among the remainder both towards and away from Orthodoxy. This movement is in almost equal proportions among the Traditional: 20% now identify as Orthodox, but the same proportion, 20%, now identify as secular.

For some, the path to an Orthodox life will be the answer to Jewish continuity, but not for others**. It is the need to enhance Jewish life within this latter group, who are not attracted to Orthodoxy and who are the majority, which poses particular challenges.**

Table O.6: Religious upbringing cross-tabulated with religious identity today. Respondents aged 18-34, Melbourne and Sydney

Religious identification today	How would you describe religious attitudes in the home in which you grew up?				
	Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular/ not religious
Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	74%	6%	3%	0%	3%
Modern Orthodox	11%	61%	17%	8%	5%
Traditional	7%	19%	56%	11%	15%
Conservative/ Progressive	3%	4%	5%	55%	10%
Secular/ Not religious	6%	11%	20%	26%	67%
N (unweighted)	76	280	512	167	252

[B] The second conclusion is based on the understanding that **a solution for the problem of Jewish continuity that prioritises adoption of Orthodoxy fails to deal realistically with the factors that influence a significant segment of Jewish youth. It also fails to recognise that there are multiple pathways to a strong Jewish identity.**

The difficulty of influencing the non-Orthodox among the younger generation (Gen Y) is substantial – it should not be minimised. There is a marked contrast in the outlook of the generations: for the grandparents and parents, the Holocaust, the establishment of Israel, and its wars of survival, were the formative experiences of their lives. For the great majority, the relationship with Israel has been one of total and unquestioning commitment. For many among Gen Y, lives have been defined by the open society of Australia, by its opportunities and material prosperity. They belong to a generation characterised by individualism (not community orientation). Gen Y is sceptical of authority and institutions, culturally creative, supportive of diversity, embarked on personal journeys of self-discovery. Some lack a strong understanding of Jewish history and do not value connection to Israel as the homeland of the Jewish people.

The difficulty of influencing the non-Orthodox among the younger generation is substantial.

For example, when asked for their reaction to international events which place Israel in danger, 77% of those aged 18-34 who define themselves as Traditional indicate a high level of concern, compared to 85% of those aged 55 and above. But of those who define themselves as secular, only 56% aged 18-34 indicate a high level of concern, compared to 69% aged 55 and above.

To varying degrees, depending on form of identification, the non-Orthodox lack the certainty of Jewish faith and deep knowledge of Jewish heritage, the values and knowledge which provide answers for the ever present question, 'why is it important to maintain a Jewish life?' The non-Orthodox world lacks the consistency provided (and enforced) by life in a community of like-minded individuals, with its networks and institutions. But there are initiatives which have potential to engage and sustain. **The challenge is to foster and strengthen patterns of consistency within non-Orthodox Judaism.**

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In this report the Australian Jewish community is considered in terms of three segments: **core, middle and periphery.**

Within the core there is a strong sense of Jewish identity and effective transmission of Jewish values across generations; decisions are informed by Jewish concepts and meanings and individuals experience life as part of a community. The core is an effectively functioning segment of the community sure of its values, constant in its beliefs, resilient in its capacity to withstand challenges of the external environment. It is highly motivated and successful in transmitting Jewish values to the next generation.

The greatest threat to Jewish continuity is within the middle and periphery. Within the middle the key variables that shape identity are not as consistently integrated and hence decision-making may occur in the context of conflicting values: for example, teenagers facing disharmony between home environment and school or between the values of school and post-school friendship circles. On the periphery, outlook may be shaped by a value system in which Jewish teachings play little or no role.

Within the middle, while Jewish identity is challenged, strong traditional beliefs and linkages still remain, in part a legacy of the post-war immigrants and their fierce determination to sustain Jewish life. In the major Australian communities (unlike many communities in the United States) young adults within the middle have had a range of sustained Jewish involvements: many have spent years in a Jewish day school, have direct knowledge of the Holocaust through their families, have attended a Jewish youth group and have visited Israel. But for a substantial number their experiences have not been such as to lead to a high level of Jewish identification. To succeed, programs directed at this young cohort face both conceptual and funding challenges.

There is no one-off, simple answer. Rather, impact requires many points of contact, a range of options and innovative approaches, to attract and foster coherence across diverse life experiences and at key stages of a person's life.

Additional funding provided within the core can serve to lessen the financial pressures faced by those encountering difficulty in sustaining a Jewish life – but will do little to strengthen Jewish identity, which is already strong. In contrast, additional funding provided within the middle is likely to have greatest impact on Jewish identity, serving to build Jewish pathways for those who may otherwise journey away from Judaism. It will be asked: how do we measure the success of programs designed to strengthen continuity? In terms of the approach adopted in this analysis, the key indicator is the proportion (hence increase) of participants indicating that being Jewish is 'very important' and of 'central importance' in their lives. A number of initiatives focused in the middle, starting with fostering understanding of the vital significance of the home, present the best prospect for success. This will require an approach informed by realistic expectations: success will necessarily be measured in small increments over a sustained period of time.

There is no one-off, simple answer. Rather, impact requires many points of contact, a range of options and innovative approaches, to attract and foster coherence across diverse life experiences.

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A leading Israeli think-tank, the Jewish People Policy Planning Institute (JPPPI), has developed a model that posits four possible scenarios for Jewish communities: **Thriving, Drifting, Defensive** and **Nightmare**. These scenarios are based on the impact of two variables: conditions that are internal to Jewish communities and the external environment. As applied to the communities of Melbourne and Sydney, **the current situation is most accurately described as 'thriving'**, in that the momentum of the Jewish communities is high and external conditions are positive. But there is substantial risk that in the mid-term (the next ten to twenty years) the core, while maintaining high Jewish momentum, will become increasingly defensive and isolated in response to a negative external environment while other segments of the community suffer a loss of momentum and drift. Such a development would be the likely result of four factors:

- The increasing isolation of Israel and those associated with Israel in the Diaspora;
- Disengagement from Jewish life by an increasing proportion of the younger generation;
- An ageing population and decrease in population growth;
- Diminished ability to raise funds to meet a range of community needs.

Additional funding provided within the middle is likely to have greatest impact on Jewish identity.

There is substantial risk that . . . the core, while maintaining high Jewish momentum, will become increasingly defensive and isolated in response to a negative external environment, while other segments of the community suffer a loss of momentum and drift.

The Jewish people have faced challenges throughout their history, threatening their very physical existence and religious freedom. Today the Australian Jewish community, like other communities of the Diaspora, face different but no less real challenges to the continuity of Jewish life. Australian Jewry is possibly in an advantageous position relative to other Jewish communities, in that the challenges are yet to make substantial impact, but the issues for the future are clearly defined.

If the analysis presented in this report is accepted then the time to act is now. Of central importance are the issues of informed planning and balance in the allocation of resources.

The first step is necessarily one of process. Who will provide planning leadership? Within the Jewish Communal Appeal structure, Sydney is well served by a community planning group with a brief to consider both short and long-term communal needs. The Sydney planning group has been a key partner in this project and has displayed ongoing and active interest in its findings. There is no equivalent body in Melbourne.

The conclusion may be drawn that as we face substantial and different challenges there is now the need for a different approach. Planning needs to be comprehensive and evidence-based, with resources to make a difference, and a brief to look beyond issues of immediate need to new initiatives which will focus on the future of the community over the next ten to twenty years.

Planning needs to . . . look beyond issues of immediate need to new initiatives which will focus on the future of the community over the next ten to twenty years.

Key points

STRUCTURAL CHANGES – TRENDS AND FORECASTS

Rises in the cost of living will increase geographic dispersal

- The high financial cost of Jewish affiliation (child care, school and synagogue fees, kosher food, etc.) must compete with the increasing cost of housing as a proportion of disposable household income.
- The high cost of living in 'Jewish areas' is likely to lead to communal dispersal as the younger (and less wealthy) find themselves less able to afford to live in 'Jewish areas'.

Jewish education is becoming less affordable for families

- 30% of parents with children under the age of 21 responding to the Gen08 survey in Melbourne and Sydney indicated that the cost of school fees has prevented them from sending one or more children to a Jewish day school.
- Over the past decade, the cost of education at the leading non-government schools has been increasing at twice the rate of increase in the cost of living (CPI). In 2011, the increase in fees at Jewish day schools averaged 5.5% in Sydney and 5% in Melbourne, compared to the latest CPI increase of 2.8%.
- There is a major challenge in Melbourne to fund and further develop quality supplementary education for those not able to attend a Jewish day school.

An ageing community will increase demand for care services

- In the next 10 years the proportion of the Jewish community aged 65 and above is predicted to increase by 28% or 5,300 individuals in Melbourne and Sydney combined. This is likely, by the decade of the 2020s, to considerably increase demand for aged care-related services, in competition for funding with a range of other community services.

Immigration can no longer be relied upon to bolster demographic growth

- 8,700 enumerated Jewish immigrants arrived in Victoria and New South Wales between 1996 and 2006, a 24% decrease on the previous decade for Victoria, a 2% increase for New South Wales. South Africa was the major source country.
- Immigration is unlikely to increase substantially in the future as key immigration areas are depleted of Jewish populations with a capacity and willingness to emigrate. Immigration from Israel is the unknown factor. There has been an upward trend of immigration from Israel in recent years.
- Slower population growth coupled with an ageing community poses issues for future institutional growth and a vibrant community.

Intermarriage is rising among specific cohorts

- Intermarriage has been steadily increasing in Australia since the early 1960s. For example, in 1961 there was only a 12% intermarriage rate (including de facto relationships) in Victoria, compared to 2006 where the proportion was 2½ times higher at 30%.
- Younger Jewish people are more likely to have non-Jewish partners. In 2006, in 45% of NSW marriages of those aged 25-29 and involving a Jewish person, the partner was not Jewish; this compared with 25% of those aged 40 and above.
- The less religious are more likely to have non-Jewish partners. It has been estimated that in marriages involving non-Orthodox persons aged 25-34, more than 50% of partners are not Jewish. This compares to less than 10% of non-Jewish partners in marriages involving an Orthodox person.

JEWISH IDENTITY AND CONTINUITY

Religious identification strongly predicts Jewish belonging

- The transmission of Jewish values from one generation to the next is strongest within the Orthodox segment of the community.
- The more Orthodox a person, the more likely he or she is to consider being Jewish to be '*very important*', to have mostly Jewish friends and to view intermarriage '*with regret*'.
- Respondents reporting a more religious Jewish outlook score higher on an identity scale measuring '*Jewish continuity and group connectedness*' than those reporting a more secular outlook. This suggests religious identification strongly predicts attachment and feelings of belonging to the Jewish community.

Attending a Jewish day school is only part of the solution for transmitting strong Jewish identity

- Those who attended a Jewish day school (JDS) have stronger Jewish identities than those who did not: close to 70% of the alumni of Jewish schools reported that being Jewish was 'very important' in their lives today. This compares with around 50% for those who did not attend a Jewish school. However, it is highly unlikely that Jewish schooling on its own is the key factor.
- Survey data indicates that the impact of Jewish education is greater for those from a religious home. For example, those from a Traditional background who attended a mainstream JDS in Melbourne scored an average of 65% on a series of questions relating to Jewish knowledge and outlook, compared with a score of 37% for a person from a secular home who also attended a mainstream JDS. .

While visiting Israel and other Jewish experiences are associated with heightened Jewish identity, their impact cannot be assessed in isolation

- Visiting Israel is associated with heightened levels of Jewish identity and connectivity. However, visiting Israel is only part of the explanation. For example, going on Taglit-Birthright Israel is more likely to occur among those who are already more communally involved and more Orthodox than those who do not visit Israel. The effect of a visit to Israel must be assessed in the context of an individual's background to more accurately measure impact on identity.

Home environment is key to the successful transmission of a strong Jewish identity

- Among young adults (aged 18–34), Jewish upbringing (home environment) strongly predicts levels of Jewish engagement and attitudes towards 'Jewish issues'. For example, an average of 70% of those brought up in Orthodox homes are likely to have mostly Jewish friends, to have been to Israel on two or more occasions, and to view intermarriage 'with regret'. By contrast, the average is 57% for those brought up in Traditional homes and 33% for those from secular homes.
- This is not, however, to suggest that religion is the only path to strong Jewish identification. The key issue is socialisation with coherent Jewish values and life experience within a community of supportive and like-minded people. Such socialisation may take place within a religious or secular environment – as, for example, in the Yiddish-speaking community of Melbourne in the 1950s – but in today's world is most likely to occur within a religious context.

Implications for action

Three basic findings provide the context and guiding principles for action:

1. **Change is occurring**. Attention only to maintenance of existing institutions and programs is unlikely to be effective in meeting emerging challenges.
2. **There is no one-off, single approach that is likely to be effective**. Identity is determined by a combination of factors, hence initiatives are required in more than one area.
3. Identity is most challenged not within the core, but within the middle and periphery. **The prospect for maximum impact of new initiatives is within the middle**.

Change is occurring. Attention only to maintenance of existing institutions and programs is unlikely to be effective in meeting emerging challenges.

Discussion of practical steps to enhance Jewish continuity is most often considered in terms of Jewish day school education. Relative to other options for enhancing continuity, Jewish day school education may well be the most effective, but it is also the most expensive. Its cost has negative ramifications that are often inadequately acknowledged: it leads some to limit the size of their families and the pressure of finding the means to pay fees, which in 2011 for two children typically amounts to more than $60,000 in pre-tax earnings, can have a markedly negative impact on family life. Further, as this report demonstrates, Jewish identity is not to be understood simply in terms of whether one attends or does not attend a Jewish school. Education is most effective when there is a partnership between school and home, evident when the pattern of Orthodox life is considered; Jewish upbringing cannot be simply outsourced to teachers and rabbis.

For a balanced understanding of the value of competing needs, consideration of 'opportunity cost' is required. 'Opportunity cost' is the cost of opportunity foregone; it refers to the loss of benefits that could have been gained from the next best option or set of options that are passed up. All choice necessarily involves an 'opportunity cost'. The point has been made more than once in the course of this research project that in terms of continuity a critical segment comprises those aged 18-40, young adults and young parents, but they receive disproportionately little in the allocation of community resources, even in Sydney where there has been a substantial increase in allocations to this sector as a result of planning research.

How is it possible to enhance the yield of Jewish schooling – beyond a one-off approach, such as fee subsidies? And what are the options, other than Jewish schooling, that have most promise for enhancing Jewish identity? Table O.7 is presented as a first step to answering such questions. It considers allocation of a notional $2 million of additional discretionary funding over two years by a planning body charged with fostering Jewish identity among children from non-Orthodox homes.

How is it possible to enhance the yield of Jewish schooling? . . . And what are the options, other than Jewish schooling, that have most promise for enhancing Jewish identity?

It is emphasised that these examples are chosen merely to explore possible options consistent with the logic of project findings – they are not designed to be definitive and a number of other examples could have been chosen for this purpose. They have not been costed or interrogated for viability or practical application. **Their purpose is to stimulate discussion of resource allocation**, not to prescribe specific programs for implementation.

The examples are informed by two guiding principles: coherent linked activities and selectivity. These inform the development of programs and the selection of the most engaged and committed from the first phase of the program for involvement in the second phase. A number of the programs considered will be recognised as already existing in one form or another, although without the linkages suggested. But they are typically inadequately funded. If a program requires $100,000 to reach its objectives and currently receives $10,000, there is little point in doubling its funding to $20,000.

To realise their potential, new initiatives require funding at a level of excellence which is currently found within the day schools, but not necessarily in a broad range of supplementary activities which may also be considered educational. The hypothetical exercise is premised on the assumption that the programs are professionally planned and executed in line with international best practice – and are provided with the funding necessary to achieve specified objectives.

These examples are chosen merely to explore possible options . . . Their purpose is to stimulate discussion.

Table O.7: Options that utilise additional funding of $2 million over two years to foster Jewish identity among non-Orthodox children, teenagers, young adults and parents. Hypothetical representation based on the logic of Gen08 survey findings

Option	Objective	Details	Program	Individuals directly impacted
1	Provide subsidised **pre-school and after-school** places and an environment in which parents are assisted to develop their understanding of the challenges facing Jewish parents.	Pre-school and after-school program for children aged 3-7, with places conditional on parental involvement in discussion groups and other activities. Weekend excursions in first year, two five day camps in second year.	1. Subsidised pre-school and after-school places. 2. Linked learning program for parents.	500 (children and parents).
2	Provide a range of subsidised educational opportunities for children in the **first years of secondary schooling**, linked to a program for parents to develop understanding of the partnership between school and home.	A Jewish day school subsidy of $6,000 per student, conditional on parental involvement in discussion groups and other activities. Salary for position of Parental Engagement Coordinator at participating schools. Required participation of students in fully subsidised youth group program. Selection of the most engaged to participate in Israel program.	1. Day school fee subsidies. 2. Linked youth group. 3. Linked Israel program. 4. Linked adult learning.	120 students, 60 in Israel program. Involvement of 200+ parents, larger group in the school engagement.
3	**Nurture young Jewish leaders** and foster the development of a peer-group Jewish learning environment for teenagers.	One year youth group program; highly motivated participants selected for two Israel trips; participants develop a range of outreach programs directed at their peer group. Parallel and linked programs in Melbourne and Sydney, fostering of contacts between participants.	1. Youth group and leadership program (years 9 and 10). 2. Two linked Israel trips. 3. Grants for participants to develop peer group learning.	400 in youth group; 200 selected for Israel trips and to develop outreach programs; 400 additional in peer-group learning.
4	Create a structure for the community to **engage with the ideas of the most creative and able young adults.**	Every seven years, up to five Community Fellowships, funded at $200k each, duration for one or two years. Open to applicants aged 21-27, with a two-stage selection process beginning with an expression of interest. Community Fellows design and implement pilot programs to enhance continuity and sustain Jewish life. Fellows work individually and/or collectively, may be attached to community organisations.	1. Five Community Fellowships. 2. Design and implementation of pilot programs.	Five Fellows, senior staff of community organisations, sectors of the community for which pilot programs are implemented.
5	Create **multiple opportunities for enriching Jewish life and learning** in the non-Orthodox community. (Context: many young adults do not relate well to formal structures and expectation of regular participation.)	Series of related programs which will employ professionally trained relationship managers and sustain a range of activities: for example, individual non-event based engagement, irregular small-group meetings, and large scale Jewish festivals. Short-term fellowships of up to $20k provided to young people in creative arts, support for staging of Jewish themed exhibitions and performances or support for web-based engagement initiatives. Funding for participation in Israel programs.	1. Programs primarily directed at young adults, with wider community engagement in some activities. 2. Fellowships. 3. Exhibitions/ performances. 4. Israel programs.	Significant number of young adults, broad involvement in exhibitions, performances, festivals.

PART 1

Introduction

This introduction serves two main purposes: first it considers the range of meanings attached to the idea of 'Jewish continuity' in the contemporary world and second, the factors that have been of major importance for Jewish continuity in recent history. Jewish continuity, the central focus of this research project, is today perceived to be facing new and daunting challenges in the Diaspora. Appraisals vary from the pessimistic to optimistic.

Those on the **pessimistic** side are concerned by the post-*halachic* and post-Zionist character of much of Jewish life, the impact evident in statistics that show increasing rates of intermarriage. They project that Jewish life in the Diaspora will become a shadow of its current, vibrant self – it will, so they predict, come to consist primarily of increasingly isolated segments comprising the Ultra Orthodox forms of Judaism.

Those on the **optimistic** side find reassurance in the capacity of Jewish communities to surmount seemingly impossible challenges through the ages, a perspective encapsulated in Simon Rawidowitz's observation that, 'A nation dying for thousands of years means a living nation.' Drawing on examples in contemporary Jewish life that point toward a Jewish Renaissance, the optimists see encoded in the problems of continuity an opportunity for renewal and rebirth.

Somewhere **in between** these two extremes are those who posit a polarised model that sees certain parts of Diaspora Jewry (and not just the Orthodox) deepening their Judaism while others pursue a path toward assimilation and Jewish minimalism.

[1.1] Jewish continuity through history

Until the twentieth century Jewish identity was, by definition, religiously based and *halachically* defined. The Jewish communities in the Middle Ages were essentially self-governing entities, with limited social, cultural or religious contact with the external world. The rabbis were the guardians of the religious norms and traditions, and they issued rulings on questions affecting individuals and the community as a whole.

Rabbi Jonathan Sacks, Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth, identifies two main determinants that united the dispersed Jewish communities: a common faith and a common fate. For centuries, in exile, scattered and dispersed, Jews saw themselves and were seen by others as a single nation. They shared a history, a memory, a faith and a hope. They rehearsed that identity through daily prayer, through the common texts they studied and through the commandments they performed.[2]

Hassidism, founded in the eighteenth century in eastern Europe, delivered the first major shock to the old system. It challenged the authority of the traditional interpretative system. A second, but vastly different challenge arose in the shape of the Haskalah (the Jewish Enlightenment of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries), a self-conscious Jewish offshoot of the European Enlightenment. Its devotees attacked and mocked what they saw as the superstition of the rabbis and advocated new ways of dealing with the ancient traditions, some of them religious, others cultural and nationalist, but in both variants usually deeply rooted in Jewish sources. The Haskalah movement also called for the replacement of traditional education by modern, Western-style schools.

[1.2] Contemporary approaches to continuity

The story of Judaism is in many ways about the art of interpretation. Given the emphasis it has always placed on interpretive powers – for every biblical *pasuk* (verse), we are told, there are 70 faces – it comes as little surprise that there have evolved so many varied interpretations of Judaism as a religion, a philosophy, and a way of life. The categories or movements within Judaism are inherently imbricate, with each form of Judaism overlapping with another.

Judaism today exists along a spectrum of beliefs and practices, and the question of continuity changes according to where one is located along the continuum.

Judaism today exists along a spectrum of beliefs and practices, and the question of continuity changes according to where one is located along the continuum. So diffuse are the definitions of Jewish life and the forms it takes that David Vital[3] has argued, 'There is now a sort of archipelago of discrete islands, comprised of rather shaky communities of all qualities, shapes and sizes.' At one end of the spectrum are the self-segregated Ultra Orthodox, at the other the completely assimilated Jews. Between these two extremes, Judaism takes may different forms, with each denomination and way of life straddling the old world and the new and trying to define and negotiate where it stands in relation to tradition and modernity and to Zionism and the State of Israel.

[2] Jonathan Sacks, Future tense: Jews, Judaism, and Israel in the Twenty-first century, Schocken Books, 2009.
[3] David Vital, *The Future of the Jews*, Harvard University Press, 1990, p. 147.

Orthodox Judaism

Within Jewish Orthodoxy there are two main streams: the Ultra Orthodox and the Modern Orthodox. Ultra Orthodoxy is made up of two main schools – Hassidism and Mitnagdim. What unites them is a desire to preserve the values and practices that prevailed in the late Medieval period, according to the dictum of the Chatam Sofer that there is 'nothing new in the Torah'. Their eyes are cast on the past as they consciously and actively cultivate tradition in the face of perceived threats from the forces of modernism.

Modern Orthodoxy

Modern Orthodoxy also fixes its gaze on traditional teachings, practices and texts, but does not try to sever itself from the modern world. Indeed, Modern Orthodox individuals generally feel that Judaism can be enriched by its intersection with modernity. It precariously situates itself somewhere between Orthodoxy and Reform and receives attack from both sides. Founded in Germany by Samson Raphael Hirsch, Modern Orthodoxy's main dictum was '*torah im derekh eretz*' – Torah and the way of the land or modernity. It was a kind of synthesis of tradition and modernity that embraced and moulded modernity.

Orthodoxy (both Ultra and Modern) stands firm against many feminist innovations, particularly the ordination of women as rabbis. It also does not accept non-Orthodox conversions because the non-Orthodox movements perform conversions in which the new convert does not undertake to observe *halacha* as understood by Orthodox Judaism. This has created deep controversies around the fundamental question of who is a Jew.

Conservative Judaism

Sometimes Modern Orthodoxy's left wing appears to align itself with the more traditional elements of Conservative Judaism. Also known as Masorti or Traditional Judaism, a name that probably more accurately denotes its traditional leanings, Conservative Judaism arose out of intellectual currents in Germany but firmly took root in the United States where it met the needs of eastern European migrants for a fusion of tradition with liberal modernity. Among the three main modernist movements Conservative Judaism occupies a centrist position, being more open to change than Orthodoxy and more wedded to tradition than Progressive or Reform Judaism. The aim of the founders was to embrace the liberalism and pluralism of the Progressive movement while safeguarding traditional practice. Solomon Schechter, the chief activist of the movement once it took its roots in America, declared that iconoclasm has always been a sacred mission of Judaism, and while he insisted that it was mistaken to say that Judaism has no dogmas, he felt that it had to be open to the demands of changing times.

Progressive Judaism

Conservative Judaism is often placed under the same reformist umbrella as Progressive Judaism, and while the two streams share things in common, they depart from each other in very important ways. Progressive Judaism is by far the most radical of the three main religious streams. Some of its attitudes have stirred controversy, for example in revising the definition of Jewish descent to include the child of a non-Jewish mother and a Jewish father. In general Progressive Judaism maintains that Judaism should be modernised and made compatible with the practices of the surrounding culture. Due to its origins in Enlightenment-era Germany, Progressive Judaism looks at Jewish laws and practices through the lens of liberal thought, such as modernity, liberty and universalism.

Jewish Renewal – the *Havurah* Movement

Another Jewish religious development that has gathered momentum in recent years is what might be termed 'Spiritual Judaism'. This label denotes a variety of groups, synagogues and communities that have moved away from large organisations in search of an authentic religious experience drawing on various strands within the Jewish tradition. Most of these *havurot* (fellowships) are deliberately small, and ascribe value to the individual person as a member of a group, rather than to the group as an organisation. They devise forms of spiritual togetherness with freedom and openness, generally with an emphasis on equality of the sexes and often drawing inspiration from Kabbalistic (Jewish mystical) and Hassidic sources. The *havurah* movement's aspiration, writes Dana Evan Kaplan, was to 'try to do things themselves rather than relying on a rabbi or cantor to "do" Judaism for them'.[4]

Secular Judaism

On the other side of the spectrum is secular or cultural Judaism, which is a 'state of being' rather than a defined ideology. Secular Judaism is devoted to Jewish learning and regards Judaism as an evolving civilisation, but does not necessarily entail belief in the supernatural. Secular Judaism focuses on Jewishness or *Yiddishkeit* (the state or quality of being Jewish) rather than Judaism. The concept means different things to different people, but according to its most profound thinker, Chaim Zhitlowsky, Jewish secularism's central tenet is its opposition to all form of religious coercion, insisting that both religion and anti-religion are private affairs. While not opposed in principle to the observance of Jewish practices – particularly the high holidays and life-cycle celebrations – such observances and rituals are voluntarily assumed rather than mandated. In practice, many secular Jews consider the battle for social justice the focal point of their Judaism. Their solution to the Jewish question of the twenty-first century is one of osmosis: Jonathan Sarna, Professor of American Jewish History at Brandeis University, writes, it is hoped that 'their own deep Jewish commitments and the Jewishness of their milieu [will] inspire their children to follow in their footsteps'. Cultural or secular Jews connect to their heritage not primarily through religious beliefs but through the languages, literature, art, dance, music, food and celebrations of the Jewish people. Within this approach, being Jewish is a matter of culture; it is a resource for a meaningful life rather than an ethical or moral imperative.[5]

[4] Dana Evan Kaplan, Contemporary American Judaism: Transformation and Renewal, Columbia University Press, 2009.
[5] Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History*, Yale University Press, 2004.

Shared ground

This brief attempt to conceptualise and describe the various Jewish denominations and Jewish ways of life breaks the Jewish religion into neat categories, whereas in reality there is a significant amount of overlap between them, particularly as attention shifts beyond Orthodox forms of Judaism. Common values include *tikkun olam* (repairing the world) and *klal Yisrael* (all of Israel), as well as a felt obligation to educate the next generation, or to 'fill the *yiddishe kop* (the Jewish mind)'. The similarities between each denomination, as well as their differences, are a product of the dynamic interactions between them, with each movement shaping itself and taking form in reaction to other streams of Judaism. Its various branches – despite differences in culture and worldview – remain intricately bound to each other.

[1.3] Drivers of continuity

Orthodoxy, faith

Orthodox Jews are in many ways the keepers of the Jewish tradition. Most Jewish thinkers, regardless of their personal attitudes, concede that if all Jews were Orthodox there would not likely be a crisis of continuity. Steven Bayme, director of Jewish communal affairs for the American Jewish Committee, stresses Orthodoxy's vital role in the continuity agenda. 'Orthodoxy,' he writes, 'has produced models of successful Jewish families; families that have strengthened themselves through intense commitment and sacrifice on behalf of Jewish tradition. Orthodoxy has modelled projects of Jewish learning at all ages …[It] has had experience with outreach … Orthodoxy has demonstrated the critical importance of personal sacrifices and commitment to leading a Jewish life.' Orthodoxy's weakness, in the view of critics, is its overall refusal to recognise fully the importance of plurality within Judaism; it presents itself as the only valid Jewish way of life and refuses to bend on the issue of conversion. Bayme writes that 'Jews require different avenues and different points of connectedness to their traditions. It is in the interest of Orthodoxy that there be strong Conservative and Reform movements.'

Jewish education

Jewish education is to varying degrees promoted by all of Judaism's various branches and denominations as an answer to Jewish continuity. Jewish educationalists revisit and rework the idea of 'the People of the Book'. Taking their cue from Ahad Ha'am, who in 1910 declared that the secret to Jewish survival is 'learning, learning, learning', Jewish educationalists argue that the most promising response to today's crisis of continuity is a revamping of the approach to Jewish education. Needed is an emphasis on 'learning for learning's sake', not only as a means toward religiosity. Alan Dershowitz, a professor at Harvard Law School and noted appellate lawyer, speaks of a kind of Judaism 'that depends on the power of Jewish ideas and sources to educate, influence and repair the world'. Dershowitz, along with many Jewish leaders and forward-thinking educators, recognises a collective failure in educating effectively the Jewish community and contends that Jewish learning must compete with other learning in the 'marketplace of ideas'. They argue that the Jewish world must harness its talents toward the single most important mechanism in assuring Jewish continuity: Jewish education in the broadest sense.

The Holocaust and Holocaust remembrance

In surveys of Jewish opinion around the world conducted in the 1980s, two themes consistently emerged as paramount: Holocaust remembrance and caring about Israel. As Jonathan Sarna explains, 'The themes of Israel and the Holocaust developed together in the consciousness of Diaspora Jews; they were, in many ways, fraternal twins.'

The Holocaust became central in Jewish life – and in Western thought – through reflection on man's limitless capacity for evil (or what Hannah Arendt calls 'the banality of evil'), a quest for understanding that produced tens of thousands of books, archives of testimony, museums, memorials, university courses and programs and annual commemorations. For many Jews, knowledge of the fate of their parents and grandparents – of their people – has resulted in Holocaust remembrance becoming a focal point of their Jewish identity.

Discussion and analysis, including the recording and viewing of personal testimony, did not gain widespread public attention until the 1960s. The Eichmann trial and the Six-Day War of 1967 marked a dramatic turning point, consolidated by the Yom Kippur War of 1973, signalling a deep new concern for Israel. Notwithstanding a genuine commitment to honouring the memory of the Holocaust, American Jewish leaders deployed the legacy of the Holocaust to bolster US support for Israel and to counter the growth of assimilation and intermarriage. As Esther Benbassa, author of *Suffering as Identity,* writes, the narrative of the Holocaust was a means for Diaspora Jews of constructing memory and 'strengthen[ing] their identity so as to [enable them] to continue being Jewish'.

The Holocaust and the emphasis placed on *zachor* has meant that many people identify in a negative way with being Jewish, rather than associating with positive traditions and practices.

The Holocaust and the emphasis placed on *zachor* (remembering) has meant that many people identify in a negative way (based on trauma and genocide) with being Jewish, rather than associating with positive traditions and practices. This trend, many argue, has seen the development of an unsustainable form of Jewish identification. Benbassa calls the Holocaust 'the new secular religion' and wonders whether there is room for another kind of Judaism that is not based on suffering and victimhood. Whereas the Holocaust and the history of suffering certainly served to 'forge a collective identity' at a time when Jewish ties were slackening, many today are issuing warnings that suffering as identity may not be the answer to a Jewish future.

Zionism, Israel

Israel also began to play a heightened role in Diaspora Jewish consciousness in the 1960s. Abraham Joshua Heschel spoke of the establishment of the State of Israel as 'the one gleam of light [in] the midst of that thick darkness'. Philanthropy, political activity, education, religious life and culture all became Israel-oriented – so much so, writes Dana Kaplan, 'that critics charged American Jews with using Israel for vicarious fulfilment of their Jewish identity'. As Dana Kaplan writes, for the Diaspora Jew, 'the Jewish State became the authoritative symbol of everything Jewish'.

Prior to the 1980s, Jewish criticism of Israel was almost taboo. With the first Lebanon war, the first and second Intifada, the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin and the election of Likud party leaders, voices of dissent and dissatisfaction became increasingly prevalent. More and more Diaspora Jews, especially in the United States, spoke critically of Israel's actions and policies. This critical perspective is said to be particularly evident among the younger generation. Recent studies reveal that many non-Orthodox younger Jews feel much less attached to Israel than their parents with many professing 'a near-total absence of positive feelings'. Peter Beinart gained much attention with his argument that many secular Diaspora Jews under 35 years of age have grown disillusioned with Israel as an occupying power and feel either deeply ambivalent or entirely alienated from Israel.

Some commentators have taken this a step further, arguing that many young secular Jews, because of the difficulty of reconciling progressive liberal values with the current policies of the State of Israel, now feel alienated from Judaism in all its forms. But it may also be the case that it is not the policies of Israel but the growing assimilative trend, particularly in evidence among young American Jews, that is fuelling the alienation from Zionism.

Antisemitism

Through much of Jewish history, antisemitism acted, among other factors, to prevent assimilation and ensure Jewish continuity. It necessitated the development of autonomous Jewish communities, with their own forms of governance. It necessitated maintenance of a separate identity, as Jews were denied a range of freedoms, including the freedom of association and occupational choice. To the extent that antisemitism required Jewish separatism, Jean-Paul Sartre's pithy refrain that 'it is the antisemite who makes the Jew' rings true and has prompted contemporary Jewish scholars to question the possibility of Jewish survival in a post persecution era. But is today a post persecution era?

While antisemitism lessened to a certain degree after 1945, in recent years there has been a shocking reappearance of antisemitism, especially in Europe. The twenty-first century has seen a resurgence of antisemitic attacks on synagogues, Jewish schools and cemeteries and on Jewish individuals on the street. Once typically confined to the right, antisemitism has become increasingly prevalent in left-wing circles. This 'new antisemitism' has come in the form of anti-Israel sentiment and opposition. Many scholars argue that the language of anti-Zionism – now coming simultaneously from the left, the right and radical Islam – is a cloaked attack on Jews generally.

One form of response, observes Jonathan Sacks, is to eliminate all semblance of differentiation: at the most basic level, the removal of all forms of outward identification in public places, through to assimilation, conversion or the reformulation of Judaism such that all that makes it distinctive is eliminated. Rabbi Jonathan Sacks meets this challenge to Jewish continuity by his argument that 'the only adequate response to the fear and hatred of difference is to honour the dignity of difference'.

Jewish spirituality

The late twentieth century has seen a renewal of spirituality across the spectrum of Jewish religious life. Many Jews today, observes/writes Jonathan Sack, seek to 'complement rationally oriented teachings that appeal to the mind with spiritual and emotive religious experiences, incorporating music, dance, mystical teachings and healing'. The writings of such scholars as Martin Buber, Abraham Jonathan Heschel and Gershom Scholem reacquainted and continue to reacquaint Jews with their spiritual past. Rabbi Shlomo Carlbach and Rabbi Zalman Schachter-Shalomi were also prime movers behind these new trends. Starting in the 1960s and gathering momentum ever since, these 'Jewish gurus' paved the way for a full-scale renewal of Jewish spirituality, focusing on the experiential elements within Judaism: prayer, meditation, feminism, sexuality and ecology.

Cultural Judaism – The 'New Jew'

In March 2010, Reboot, a Jewish think-tank and incubator based in New York, launched on Facebook a 'Sabbath Manifesto'. Its mission, described on its Facebook homepage, is for people of all denominations to take a time-out every week to slow down, reclaim time, and reconnect with friends, family, their communities and themselves. The Manifesto proposes ten principles that can serve as an antidote to our increasingly fast-paced way of living: 'Get Outside,' they tell us. 'Avoid Commerce', 'Find Silence' and 'Connect with Loved Ones'. This attempt at making Judaism relevant is characteristic of the new wave of young Jewish adults who are revisiting Judaism and forging a new Jewish identity. In 2003, *Time Out New York* in a cover story 'The New Super Jew'[6] described this new cultural scene in which young Jews were 'trailblazing and redefining what it means to be Jewish via 'an explosion' of self-confident, deinstitutionalized, culturally based organising'. Created by and for young Jews examining identity, community and meaning in their own terms, the young 'new Jew' is involved in all types of alternative organising – from record labels to new forms of synagogue, using festivals, books and films to build a vibrant Jewish life. Steven Cohen, a world-renowned sociologist, describes this new brand of Jewish renewal as 'the continuity of discontinuity'.

Today's younger secular Jews tend to resist categorisation and denominational labels, seeking instead a model of Jewish life that is self-designed.

Motivating the founders and supporters of this new trend are elements of dissatisfaction, frustration and discontent with prevailing options for their Jewish engagement. Today's younger secular Jews tend to resist categorisation and denominational labels, seeking instead a model of Jewish life that is self-designed. As Rabbi Leon Morris explains, they 'create Judaisms as diverse and individualistic as the Jews who practise them'. These young Jewish adults approach prevailing Jewish life – the culture and institutions of their childhood and adolescent years – with iconoclasm and irony. Steven Cohen proclaims that Jewish renewal represents a new wave of creativity that reflects new and emerging modes of Jewish identity and community. Far from the mere fad that commentators initially predicted when the *Time Out New York* article was first published, the Jewish renewal movement appears to have a lot of staying power and is paving the way for an alternative engagement with Judaism.

[6] Joanna Smith Rakoff, 'The New Super Jew', *Timeout New York*, Issue 427, 4-11 December 2003.

PART 2

The strengths of the Jewish communities of Melbourne and Sydney

"The hard bread of an immigrant in a strange faraway country, many thousands of miles distant from the pulsating Jewish life, severed from Jewish creativeness, had indeed a bitter taste."

– Pinchas Goldhar

Pinchas Goldhar's recollections could be joined with many others, for the immigrant's experience in the first half of the twentieth century had the same theme: Australia was a cultural wasteland. Today Jewish Australia is far from desolate: it is a thriving and vibrant community uniquely poised in the Diaspora. Its rich religious, educational and cultural life serves as a model for other Jewish communities around the world and for other ethnic and minority communities within Australia. Noel Pearson, an Aboriginal leader and land rights activist, writes that the Jews of Australia 'have maintained an identity and a sense of peoplehood, religion, tradition, culture and history while at the same time engaging at the cutting edge of whatever the world has to offer…This is a vision for an Aboriginal future in my part of the country.'[7]

The Melbourne and Sydney Jewish communities grew rapidly in the context of the Holocaust. The long-time community leader Isi Leibler commented that 'prior to World War II, Australian Jewry was a decaying Anglo-Jewish outpost. It was the flow of refugees and Holocaust survivors which enriched and transformed the community into what is today considered one of the most thriving and dynamic Jewish diasporas.'

'It was the flow of refugees and Holocaust survivors which enriched and transformed the community into what is today considered one of the most thriving and dynamic Jewish diasporas.' - Isi Leibler.

In 1933, the combined Jewish population of Victoria and New South Wales was 22,000; arrivals in the years leading up to the war and the immediate postwar years increased the population by 6,000, to a total of 28,000 in 1947, an increase of some 25%. But the main period of growth was between 1945 and 1954, which the historian W.D Rubinstein has described as 'the largest single increase in Australian Jewish numbers in the country's history'. By 1961 the population almost doubled to reach 53,000 in 1961.

These are the enumerated totals, comprising those who identified themselves as Jewish when completing the census form. Religion is an optional question in the census and not all provide an answer, hence the actual number of Jewish residents in Victoria and New South Wales was higher than the enumerated total, although by what proportion cannot be established with precision.

[7] Noel Pearson, 'Aborigines can learn from Jews how to preserve culture and prosper', *The Australian*, 15 February 2010.

There was a national pattern to Jewish immigration. Melbourne attracted a higher proportion of Jews from eastern Europe, drawn by the original eastern European settlers in a process known to researchers as 'chain-migration'. Immigrants followed family and kinsmen and kinswomen. Sydney attracted more immigrants from central and western Europe.

The immigrants from the Holocaust era transformed the communities, which had been largely drawn from, and led by, immigrants from the United Kingdom and their descendants. Thus in 1911, over 80% of Victorian Jews were born in Australia (64%) or the United Kingdom (16%). In marked contrast, by 1961 only 38% were born in Australia. Yet the transformation was larger than even these figures indicate. The vast majority of those under the age of 21, comprising some one-third of the Victorian Jewish population, were born in Australia – and very few of the adults. A 1967 Melbourne survey found that 16% of adults were born in Australia, another 7% in other English-speaking countries; the highest proportion, 39%, were born in Poland and another 6% in other eastern European countries, a total of 45% from the east.

The twenty years after 1961 saw a stabilisation of the population at an enumerated 30,000 in Victoria and 25,000 in New South Wales, but increasing immigration since 1981, as discussed below, has taken the enumerated total for the two main centres to 78,000 and an estimated total of around 100,000.

The postwar generation was highly motivated to establish a rich network of institutions to sustain Jewish life. As discussed below, the Melbourne and Sydney communities reached a size sufficient to sustain a range of institutions that not only provided a broad range of services but also viable options for the different streams of Jewish life.

[2.1] Geographic concentration

Part of Australian Jewry's success is a direct product of its geographic concentration: an overwhelmingly large percentage of the Jewish population live in a relatively small number of suburbs in Melbourne and Sydney, and over time the level of concentration has increased, to a larger degree in Melbourne than Sydney. In the two communities the majority of Jews, both secular and Orthodox, live in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of Jewish residents, in the vicinity of synagogues, kosher stores and restaurants, and Jewish day schools either located in the central Jewish areas or served by charter buses. The smaller communities, the largest of which is located in Perth, also provide religious, educational and communal institutions, but cannot provide breadth and diversity; hence some of the younger people are drawn to the larger centres, as are immigrants, the largest numbers in recent decades from the Former Soviet Union and South Africa.

[2.2] Institutional structure

The key to the development of strong Jewish communities in Melbourne and Sydney has been the ability and commitment of those who made it a priority to involve themselves in its organisations – and an astute group of individuals of outstanding talent who provided sound leadership. These individuals were responsible for establishing and sustaining organisations across a broad range of activities, including religious life; education at various levels; sport; provision of welfare, including special focus on the needs of the young, immigrants and the elderly members of the community; Israel support and connectedness; combating antisemitism; communication; advocacy; security; and cultural life, including museums, historical societies, theatre and music.

Links with the wider Australian society – and a measure of co-ordination between the activities of individual organisations – is furthered by roof bodies in each state, and by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry at the federal level. In 2010 the Victorian roof body, the Jewish Community Council of Victoria, had 56 affiliated member organisations; its sister organisation in New South Wales, the Jewish Board of Deputies, had 61. These central bodies contributed to the generally excellent relations that have existed between the Jewish communities and Australian governments at the federal and state levels.

[2.3] Religious life

Most Australian Jews who otherwise define themselves as Traditional belong to Orthodox synagogues. The historically important Orthodox synagogues in Australia are the Great Synagogue in Sydney and the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation in South Yarra, although they are no longer the focus for religious life. In more recent years, smaller and more spiritually directed congregations have taken root, including Shira Hadashah and HaMa'ayan in Melbourne. Still Orthodox in orientation, these congregations push the boundaries of *halacha* by providing more egalitarian services that revolve around song and social action. A sustained liberal congregation, Temple Beth Israel, was established in Melbourne in 1930. Subsequently another synagogue linked to the United States Reform Movement, Temple Emanuel, was established in Sydney.

While American Judaism is traditionally divided into Orthodox, Reform, Reconstructionist and Conservative Judaism, the latter two movements have found it difficult to establish a place in Australian Jewish life. There have been attempts in Melbourne and Sydney to establish Conservative congregations in recent times, with greater success than in the past. Reconstructionist Judaism, an American phenomenon, has not had any presence in Australia.

[2.4] Day school education

Perhaps the most notable and distinctive feature of Australian Jewish life is the system of Jewish private day schools which educate almost half Australian Jewish children of school age. In the major cities of the United States of America markedly fewer children attend Jewish schools, and the educational attainments rarely match those of Melbourne and Sydney, which are consistently at the very top of academic rankings.

Perhaps the most notable and distinctive feature of Australian Jewish life is the system of Jewish private day schools which educate almost half Australian Jewish children of school age.

Sydney's Moriah College was founded in 1942, Melbourne's Mount Scopus Memorial College in 1948. In the years since, close to twenty other Jewish day schools have been established in Australia. There are nine schools in Melbourne, five in Sydney and one in Perth. At the secondary level they include the Ultra Orthodox Adass Israel School to the schools established by the Progressive movement – the King David School in Melbourne and the Emanuel School in Sydney.

[2.5] Youth movements

Australia is home to a number of youth movements, including six which are Zionist: Betar Australia, Bnei Akiva Australia, Habonim Dror Australia, Hashomer Hatzair Australia, Hineni Youth and Welfare Australia and Netzer Australia.

Betar is a revisionist Zionist youth movement founded by Ze'ev Jabotinsky and traditionally linked to the Likud Israeli political party. Betar has branches in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane. The largest Betar Australia *snif* (local organisation) can be found in Sydney.

Bnei Akiva is a religious Zionist youth movement that promotes the ideology of *Torah ve'avodah* – Torah study. Bnei Avika is the largest Zionist youth movement in the world and one of the largest in Australia.

Habonim Dror is a Jewish Socialist–Zionist youth movement, whose main ideology is the concept of *tikkun olam* ('repairing the world'). Of Habonim Dror's five *kenim* (branches) around Australia, Melbourne is its largest.

Hashomer Hatzair is very similar to Habonim Dror in ideology but is more aggressively secular. Despite Hashomer Hatzair's somewhat more left-leaning orientation, the two movements often collaborate.

Hineni is the youngest of Australia's Zionist youth movements and is the only movement to exist exclusively in Australia. It defines itself as a Modern Orthodox, politically active and pluralist Zionist youth movement. Its relative newness notwithstanding, Hineni is a burgeoning and very active movement.

Netzer Olami values Progressive and Reform Judaism ('Netzer' is an acronym in Hebrew for Reform Zionist Youth), and like Habonim Dror its ideology centres around the principle of *tikkun olam*. Netzer Australia was founded in 1980 in Melbourne, where it continues to have its biggest base.

Chabad Youth was founded and assisted by the guidance of the Lubavitcher Rebbe, under The Yeshivah Centre. It is the largest youth organisation in the Southern Hemisphere and is based in Melbourne.

Skif (*Sotsyalistishe Kinder Farband*, 'Socialist Children's Union') was the youth organisation of the Jewish Labour Bund in pre-war Eastern Europe. It was established in Melbourne in 1950 and has maintained a continuous existence for over sixty years.

[2.6] Tertiary education

While the Jewish day school system is particularly and uniquely strong, tertiary education is relatively limited. In a number of countries of the Diaspora, students wanting to pursue Jewish studies at undergraduate and graduate levels have the option of studying in leading centres of Jewish learning; to name but a few, major Jewish studies programs are located in the United States at Columbia, NYU, UCLA Berkeley, Harvard and Brandeis universities; in the United Kingdom at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. As well as running strong Jewish studies programs, every major university in the US has a Hillel House to support Jewish life on the campus. There are some Jewish courses available at a number of Australia's universities, led by the relatively large programs at Monash and Sydney universities, and Jewish studies specialities at Melbourne University and the University of New South Wales, but not the depth of learning and research that characterises North America. There is an active student organisation, the Australian Union of Jewish Students, and Jewish colleges at the University of Sydney and UNSW, which can serve as a meeting place for Jewish students, but there is no equivalent physical presence in Melbourne. Hillel activities in Australia are much more limited and Jewish studies programs attract far fewer Jewish students.

[2.7] Israel visits and programs

There are a number of opportunities for young Australian Jews to visit and experience Israel. Mount Scopus offers an Ulpan program (intensive Hebrew study) in which Year 10 students travel to Israel for 6–13 weeks. Moriah War Memorial College and Bialik College also offer Israel study tours. The March of the Living is targeted at Year 11 Jewish students, who are taken on a three-week trip to key sites in Poland and Israel, respectively associated with the destruction of Jewish life during the Holocaust and new birth with the establishment of the State of Israel.

Most Australian Zionist youth movements organise one-year (*shnat sherut*) programs in Israel, which are directed toward youth movement-goers upon their graduation from high school. The hope is that participants in this program, after a year of personal and ideological development, will either remain in Israel or return to their Australian communities in a leadership capacity. Zionist youth movement year programs may include studying at a Jewish educational institution (such as a yeshiva), touring Israel, volunteering (on a kibbutz, in a development town, with charity organisations or with Magen David Adom), training with the IDF and historical tours of Poland.

Outside of Zionist movements there are other opportunities for high school graduates to visit Israel on organised programs. A range of Israel programs are offered through the Australasian Union of Jewish Students. The Australian Friends of Hebrew University offers a semester program spent at the Rothberg International School at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Students study such subjects as the Middle East and Jewish history. Another alternative, which is gaining popularity because of the flexibility and diversity it offers, is Israel By Choice (IBC). IBC is a five- or ten-month program, which consists of volunteering at a place or institution of the participant's choice, seminars, *tiyulim* and community leadership workshops. Other options include the Maccabi Israel Leadership Program and the Sydney Board of Jewish Education's Discover Israel program, targeted at those attending non-Jewish schools.

Taglit-Birthright Israel was established in 2000 and provides a gift (fully subsidised by Israel, philanthropists and the local Jewish communities) of a ten-day introductory trip to Israel for young adults (aged 18–26) without previous experience of Israel. AUJS used to run extended programs that incorporated the Taglit-Birthright introductory trip (e.g. Achshav/Academy) but in 2008 these programs were split: Taglit-Birthright split as their own, stand-alone program; AUJS Achshav, a mid-year two-week program targeted at university students; and AUJS Academy, a five-week program for school leavers to age 23. As the first ten days are no longer subsidised, participants need to fund their own participation in Achshav; Academy provides a number of means-tested scholarships.

[2.8] Educational attainment and financial security

Although there are significant segments of disadvantage within the Jewish population, Jewish Australians in 2010 are characterised by their relatively high levels of educational attainment and financial security.

At the 2006 census, 56.5% of the Victorian Jewish population over the age of 15 had a post-school qualification, compared with 40.3% in the total Victorian population.

Almost one in five of the Victorian Jewish workforce was in the occupation of manager (18.4%, compared with 13.7% in the total Victorian population) and two in five listed their occupation as professional (41%, compared with 21.2% for the total Victorian population). The unemployment rate in the Victorian Jewish workforce was 3.8% in 2006, compared with 5.4% in the total Victorian population.

While there are significant numbers of people who are struggling financially, in the aggregate, Jewish households represent a group with relatively high average income. 15.6% of Jewish households report gross weekly income in excess of $3000, compared to 5.2% of all Victorian households. Nearly two-thirds report gross weekly incomes in excess of $1,000, compared with 51.3% of Victorian households. 8% of Jewish households report income below $249 per week, a proportion similar to the total Victorian population.

Census findings for the Jewish population of New South Wales are almost identical. Thus 56% have a post-school qualification (the same proportion as for Victorian Jews), 3.4% (3.8%) are unemployed, 20% (18%) are in the occupation of manager and 41% (41%) are employed as professionals. 19% (16%) of households indicated weekly income in excess of $3,000.

Through hard work in a land of opportunity, large numbers of Jewish Australians (but by no means all) have realised and even exceeded the dreams of the generation of Holocaust survivors who transformed the Jewish communities of Melbourne and Sydney – and thrived in the freedoms of an open society to enrich many aspects of Australian life beyond their communities.

PART 3

Structural change: demographic and economic

The structural part of this report provides data on expected developments over the next ten to fifteen years. The finding is that when considered at a broad level, trends are at best neutral, at worst tending to the negative. The major structural challenges facing the community are a function of:

- Cost pressures;
- Ageing of the population;
- Slower population growth;
- Increasing intermarriage;
- Impact of the communication revolution.

When considered at a broad level, trends are at best neutral, at worst tending to the negative.

The following analysis relies on Australian census and Gen08 data. There is additional data of major importance for communal planning which is not discussed here because it is confidential and not available to the project, in some cases because it is simply not collected. This includes data on day school enrolments, current levels of funding and the financial viability of major institutions, long-run patterns of philanthropy, synagogue affiliation and youth group participation. For optimal community development, the full range of data needs to be collected and brought together for consideration by a centralised planning body. At present Sydney's Jewish Communal Appeal performs such a function but no similar body with full data access exists in Melbourne.

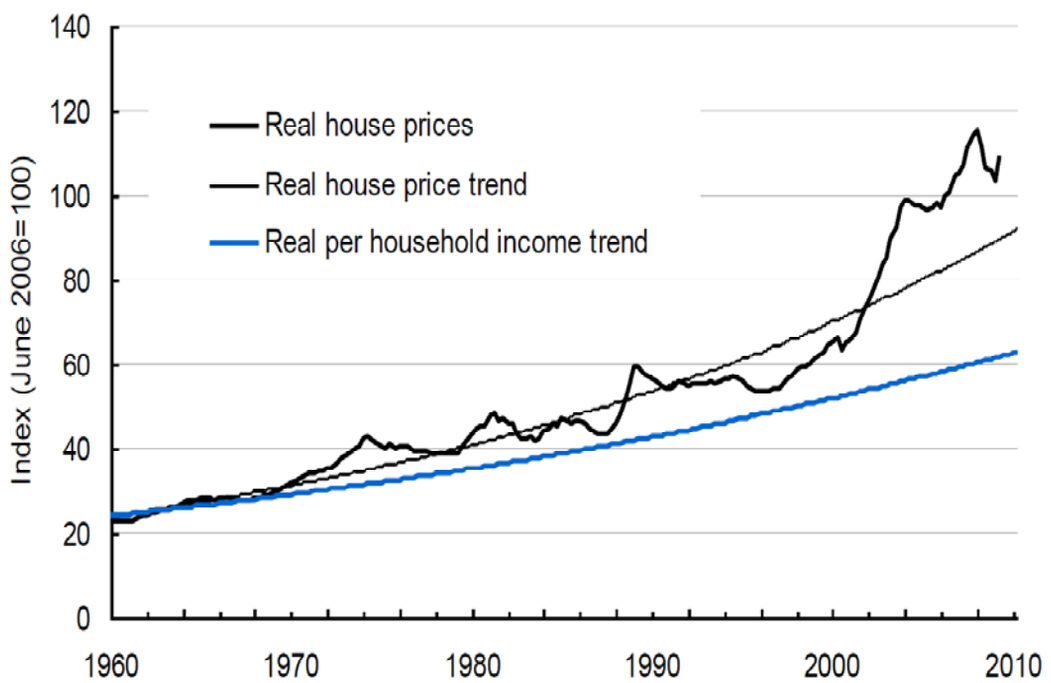
[3.1] Cost of living

Since the 1960s there has been a shift in household income, with a marked increase in the proportion of dual income families as women have joined the paid workforce. But this change has not impacted evenly across the community to ease pressures of Jewish life, with lower levels of skills and lower income-earning potential in segments of the community. Further, in recent years there have been increases considerably above the Consumer Price Index (CPI); that is, increases that occur at a faster rate than income adjustments for these increases. Of particular importance is the sharp rise in the cost of housing and education, discussed below. In a more general sense, there is the high cost of Jewish affiliation, with greatest relative cost on the budgets of the Orthodox. These costs include schooling, synagogue membership, membership of other organisations, youth groups, kosher food, life cycle celebrations (bar/ bat mitzvah, wedding), travel to Israel, and the cost of supporting a range of appeals for Israel and the local community.

Cost of housing: In the year to June 2010, the cost of an average Melbourne home rose by 24.3% ($98,000), a Sydney home by 21.4% ($104,000). In the twenty years to 2010, household debt to banks grew by a factor of 10, from $118 billion to $1224 billion. In this period, housing debt as a share of disposable income more than trebled, from 45% to 156%. In Melbourne, house prices trebled between 1997 and 2008.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data from 1995 to 2007 indicates that home ownership for those aged between 25 and 34 declined from 52% to 43%; for those aged 35–44, it declined from 73% to 65%. For those on middle incomes, the decline in home ownership in Melbourne for those aged 25–44 was from 68% to 57%, in Sydney from 60% to 45%. The widening gap between real household income and the trend of real house prices is indicated in the following graph.

Figure 3.1: House Prices and Incomes, 1960-2010



Source: National Shelter Inc, 2009, *Housing Australian Affordability*

There are two major impacts of increasing house prices for the future. First, the cost of housing will increasingly force young couples to establish homes beyond the desired Jewish residential areas. A dispersion of the population will mean further distance from the key institutions sustaining Jewish life, a change that is especially significant for the Orthodox who need to live within walking distance of their synagogue. New synagogues will be established once sufficient numbers are present in a new area, but greater dispersion will necessarily result. A trend that was evident at the time of the 2006 census, and an issue raised in focus group discussions, was the increasing number of Jewish people living beyond the central Jewish areas. In 2006 the number was relatively small; this is a development to be further considered when the results of the 2011 census become available.

Secondly, wherever a home is purchased, a greater proportion of income will be required to service housing loans, reducing disposable income and impacting on the ability of some families to maintain affiliation costs and keep a kosher home. The increased cost of housing also leads to a higher proportion of net wealth being tied up in real estate.

Rising school fees add to cost-of-living pressures, although not to the same extent as costs impacting on young married couples seeking to enter the housing market.

Data on Australian government school costs indicate that in the last five years the cost of primary education has grown 10% faster than CPI; the cost of secondary education has grown 7% faster than CPI. Over the last ten years, the cost of primary education has grown 29% faster than CPI; the cost of secondary education 23% faster than CPI.

The cost of housing will increasingly force young couples to establish homes beyond the desired Jewish residential areas.

Table 3.1: Annual increment, primary and secondary government school recurrent costs and annual change in the Consumer Price Index

Year	CPI – Percentage change per annum	Annual increment – Primary school costs (and variance from CPI)	Annual increment – Secondary school costs (and variance from CPI)
1995	5.0	2.4% (-2.6%)	3.5% (-1.5%)
1996	1.6	2.8% (+1.2%)	0% (-1.6%)
1997	-0.1	6.2% (+6.3%)	5.2% (+5.3%)
1998	1.6	5.1% (+3.5%)	5.2% (3.6%)
1999	1.8	7.3% (+5.5%)	4.0% (+2.2%)
1995-1999	9.9	33.8%	17.9%
2000	5.7	8.2% (+2.5%)	5.2% (-0.5%)
2001	3.1	6.4% (3.3%)	7.2% (4.1%)
2002	3.0	5.2% (+2.2%)	5.2% (+2.2%)
2003	2.4	7.1% (+4.7%)	7.4% (+5.0%)
2004	2.6	8.7% (+6.1%)	7.2% (+4.6%)
2000-2004	16.8	35.6%	32.2%
2005	2.7	3.2% (+0.5%)	4.6% (+1.9%)
2006	3.3	6.3% (+3.0%)	3.6% (+0.3%)
2007	2.9	5.5% (+2.6%)	4.4% (+1.5%)
2008	3.7	5.7% (+2.0%)	3.5% (-0.2%)
2009	2.1	4.2% (+2.1%)	5.8% (+3.7%)
2005-2009	14.7	24.9%	21.9%

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Australian Government Schools Recurrent Costs (AGSRC)

Data on private schools indicate that costs have risen at a faster rate than in government schools. Thus a January 2011 report found that over the period 2001–2011 fees at the top 10 Melbourne private schools increased by an average of 91% compared with increase in CPI of less than 40%.[8]

Long-run data is not readily available for Jewish schools, but are indicative of a pattern whereby **the increase in school fees is double the increase in the CPI.** For 2011, fees for Jewish schools increased by an average of 5.5% in Sydney and 5% in Melbourne, compared to the latest CPI indicator of 2.8%. At 2011 prices, attendance of one child at a Jewish school from Preparatory to Year 12 (without subsidy) can be expected to cost parents over $200,000.[9]

[8] Natalie Craig, 'Our richest schools raise fees by 91%', *The Sunday Age*, 16 January 2011.
[9] Naomi Levin and Joshua Levi, 'Jewish school fees increase for 2011', *Australian Jewish News*, 14 January 2011, Melbourne and Sydney editions.

Gen08 asked parents who have children under the age of 21 if the 'cost of school fees ever prevented you from sending one or more children to a Jewish day school?' Some 31% of respondents said yes. As to be expected, there is a link to income: only 3% of those who described themselves as 'prosperous' indicated that cost had ever prevented them from sending a child to a Jewish day school, compared to 13% who described themselves as 'living very comfortably', 36% 'living reasonably comfortably', 50% 'just getting along' and 83% 'nearly poor' and 'poor'.

But there is no simple correlation of income and choice of school. The highest proportion who indicated that they are 'just getting along' and 'nearly poor', at 28%, is among the Ultra Orthodox and Strictly Orthodox, compared to half this proportion among the Progressive (13%) and the secular (14%). Yet only 8% of the Ultra Orthodox and Strictly Orthodox indicated that cost of school fees had prevented them from sending a child to a Jewish day school, compared with the highest proportion among the secular (39%) and Progressive (32%).

School subsidies are a factor in enabling those who are struggling financially to send their children to a Jewish day school, but this is only a partial explanation. **The choice of school is not simply determined by cost; rather, by an interplay of factors in which cost, family priorities and form of Jewish identity (notably the importance placed on Jewish education) are key determinants.**

Table 3.2: 'Has the cost of school fees ever prevented you from sending one or more children to a Jewish day school?' Respondents in Victoria and New South Wales; parents with children under the age of 21

Response	Victoria	New South Wales	Total
Yes	31%	30%	31%
No	69%	70%	69%
Total	100%	100%	100%
N (unweighted)	889	651	1,540

Table 3.3: 'Has the cost of school fees ever prevented you from sending one or more children to a Jewish day school?' Cross-tabulated by self-declared religious identification. Respondents in Victoria and New South Wales; parents with children under the age of 21

Religious identification	Yes	No	Total	N (unweighted)
Ultra/Strictly Orthodox	8%	92%	100%	108
Modern Orthodox	22%	78%	100%	328
Traditional	36%	64%	100%	535
Conservative	30%	70%	100%	57
Progressive	32%	68%	100%	199
Secular	39%	61%	100%	264
Total	31%	69%	100%	
N (unweighted)	395	1,096		1,491

[3.2] The ageing of the population

Demographic modelling allows us to predict with a large degree of certainty that there will be a marked increase in the proportion of the Jewish population over the age of 65, which will entail additional community expenditure in the provision of housing and care. This issue will become particularly significant in the 2020s. By 2021 there will be a 30% increase in the proportion of the Jewish population of Melbourne and Sydney aged 65 and above, representing an estimated numerical increase of 3,171 persons in Melbourne and 2,127 in Sydney. This change in the age distribution of the population is the combined result of the increase in postwar immigration and the relatively high birth-rate among the new arrivals and the established population. This development between 1945 and the early 1960s produced what became known as the 'baby boomer' generation. Because of the multiplier effect of a period of sustained Jewish immigration in this period, the demographic impact of those born in these years is greater in the Jewish than in the wider population.

Table 3.4: Projected Jewish population aged 65+, Victoria

Age	2006	2011	2016	2021
65-69	2,391	2,860	4,875	4,191
70-74	2,043	2,232	2,664	4,540
75-79	2,374	1,811	1,975	2,351
80-84	2,458	1,905	1,451	1,580
85+	2,278	2,534	2,379	2,053
Total	11,544	11,342	13,344	14,715
Change from 2006		-202	+1,800	+3,171

Source: Projections using the 2006 census and Australian Bureau of Statistics data.
Based on the following assumptions: Net Overseas Migration of 500 per annum plus adjustment for internal migration; age-specific fertility rates; life expectancy tables for Victoria, 2006-08. Prepared by Dr Siew-Ean Khoo, Australian National University.

Table 3.5: Projected Jewish population aged 65+, New South Wales

Age	2006	2011	2016	2021
65-69	1,732	2,183	3,119	2,895
70-74	1,445	1,613	2,032	2,901
75-79	1,506	1,276	1,424	1,795
80-84	1,726	1,202	1,019	1,138
85+	1,590	1,775	1,594	1,397
Total	7,999	8,049	9,188	10,126
Change from 2006		+50	+1,189	+2,127

Source: projections using the 2006 census and Australian Bureau of Statistics data.
Based on the following assumptions: Net Overseas Migration of 500 pa plus adjustment for internal migration; age-specific fertility rates; life expectancy tables for New South Wales, 2006–08. Prepared by Dr Siew-Ean Khoo, Australian National University.

[3.3] Slower population growth through immigration

Unlike much of the Jewish Diaspora, the population of Australian Jewish communities has increased since the Second World War, providing the basis for institutional growth, bringing new ideas and augmenting leadership in all walks of life.

Population growth in the Australian Jewish communities has been sustained by immigration. An estimate based on census data indicates that in the decade 1996–2006 some two-thirds of the population growth in Melbourne and a higher proportion in Sydney was the result of overseas immigration.

Over recent years, immigration has been at a relatively low level compared to immigration in the immediate post-war years and at the high point of immigration from the Soviet Union (and Former Soviet Union) and South Africa.

Immigration to Sydney has been at a numerically higher level over the last decade than to Melbourne, despite the fact that it has a smaller Jewish population: over this period Sydney attracted 57% of the immigrants reaching the two cities, Melbourne 43%. The key reason for this relatively high rate of immigration is the preference for Sydney among South African arrivals, the largest immigrant stream over the last twenty years. Emigration from South Africa reached a peak in the years 1996–2001: of the numbers reaching the two cities, 69% of South Africans settled in Sydney. From the other two main immigrant streams over recent decades, Melbourne has attracted the majority: 56% of immigrants from Israel and 68% from the Former Soviet Union.

Emigration from the Former Soviet Union has now declined to a low level and it is likely that the South African stream, while continuing to be significant, is past its peak.

Over the last decade there has been increasing emigration from Israel. Although Israeli arrivals are few in number, they formed the largest single national group of arrivals to Melbourne from 2001–2006. During the years 2006–2009 there was an annual average of 450 permanent additions to the Australian population from Israel (possibly representing an increase of 50% from 2001–2006), plus 1800 arrivals in the year 2008–2009 on long-stay (subclass 457) business visas. This immigration, which has been increasing, presents challenges for the Australian Jewish community with regard to optimum integration of Israeli immigrants.

Table 3.6: Period of arrival of immigrants who identify as Jewish, 1986–2006, Victoria and New South Wales (enumerated)

Year	Victoria					New South Wales				
	Former Soviet Union	South Africa	Israel	Sub-total*	Total Immigr-ants	Former Soviet Union	South Africa	Israel	Sub-total*	Total Immigr-ants
1986-91	742	746	264	1,752	2,367	362	1,442	258	2,062	2,633
1991-96	1,413	330	182	1,925	2,599	627	913	139	1,679	2,223
1996-01	324	803	209	1,336	1,739	172	1,815	173	2,160	2,627
2001-06	97	561	630	1,288	2,015	44	1,259	457	1,760	2,341
Total	2,576	2,440	1,285	6,301	8,729	1,205	5,429	1,027	7,661	9,823
% of total (Vic+NSW)	68.1%	31.0%	55.6%	45.1%	47.1%	31.9%	69.0%	44.4%	54.9%	52.9%

*sub-total = the three countries specified

Source: ABS, 2006 census, customised tables

Table 3.7: Relative proportion of Jewish immigrants reaching Victoria and New South Wales, 1996-2006 (enumerated)

	VIC	NSW	Total
Number	3,754	4,968	8,722
Percent	43%	57%	100%

Source: ABS, CDATA Online, 2006 census

[3.4] Intermarriage

Intermarriage is one of the issues of central importance for this report; hence considerable effort has been devoted to obtaining the most reliable understanding of the extent of intermarriage in the community. The objective is to understand trends over time and within different sectors of the community.

There has been a consistent pattern of gradual increase in the rate of intermarriage since the 1950s. Intermarriage can be measured using two independent data sources: the broader measure relates to 'social marital status', which is an indication of a person's partner, whether in a registered or de facto marriage,[10] while the second is a narrower measure, restricted to registered marriages only. The 2006 census data indicates that among Jewish Australians the ratio of registered marriage to de facto relationship is 10:1, that is, for every ten persons in a registered marriage one person is in a de facto relationship. The proportion is higher among young adults. The following discussion considers marriages in which one or both partners are Jewish.

Census data for social marital status indicates that in Victoria in 1961, in 88% of marriages both partners were Jewish, in 2006 the proportion was 70%. Such statistics, which are often quoted, are for the total Jewish population. When data is broken down by age group, the level of intermarriage is shown to be markedly higher among young adults. Thus in New South Wales at the last census (2006), it is calculated that in 57% of marriages for those aged 30–34, both partners were Jewish, compared to 75% of marriages for those aged 40 above.

Table 3.8: Social marital status, both partners Jewish, census 1961–2006

Year	Both partners Jewish – VIC	Both partners Jewish – NSW (different method of calculation)
1961	88%	
1971	85%	
1986	81%	
1996	77%	(67%)
2006	70%	(65%)

Source: ABS, census

[10] The Australian Bureau of Statistics provides the following definition of 'social marital status': 'Social marital status is the relationship status of an individual in terms of whether she or he forms a couple relationship with another person living in the same usual residence, and the nature of that relationship. A marriage exists when two people live together as husband and wife, or partners, regardless of whether the marriage is formalised through registration. Individuals are, therefore, regarded as married if they are in a de facto marriage, or if they are living with the person to whom they are registered as married. (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census Dictionary, Product number 2901.0, 2006.)

Table 3.9: Social marital status, both partners Jewish, NSW, census 2006

Age	2006, both partners Jewish – NSW
25-29	55%
30-34	57%
35-39	61%
40+	75%

Source: Eckstein, *Demography of the Sydney Jewish Community 2006*, p.32

Intermarriage is not, however, impacting with equal force across the Jewish population. The rate of intermarriage is lower in the larger and more geographically concentrated communities of Melbourne and Sydney than in other regions of Australia. In part this finding also reflects the larger pool of Jewish marriage partners and the relative strength of Orthodox Judaism in Melbourne and Sydney.

Table 3.10: Social marital status, both partners Jewish by state of residence (excludes not stated/no matches), census 2006

Age groups	VIC	NSW	WA	QLD	SA
15-34	61%	53%	45%	15%	37%
35-44	69%	60%	53%	31%	18%
45-54	74%	67%	61%	36%	38%
55+	81%	74%	66%	43%	46%
N (enumerated)	8,237	6,832	950	435	124

Source: ABS, 2006 census, customised tables

Among the Orthodox (those who identify as Ultra Orthodox, Strictly Orthodox or Modern Orthodox) there are very low levels of intermarriage and where the partner is not born Jewish there is a high rate of conversion. There is a marked contrast among the non-Orthodox. There are indicators that that in over half the marriages (registered or de-facto) of non-Orthodox aged 25–34, there is a non-Jewish partner.

The increasing level of intermarriage is a function of a number of factors, including:

- The breakdown of barriers between members of ethno-religious groups, particularly in evidence in contemporary multicultural Australia and with greater impact on the non-Orthodox population.
- Later age of marriage among the non-Orthodox, which makes increasingly probable the choice of marriage partner ten or more years after completion of schooling; hence the choice of partner is less likely to be from a person's primary social network formed in the context of the extended family and its friendship circles, school and youth group, more likely to be from university contacts, post-school interest groups and workplace.

Social change has most impact in the sectors of the Jewish community where identity is primarily or largely based on ethnicity and culture, not religion.

Table 3.11: Average age at first registered marriage, Australian population

Year	Male	Female
1940	26.5	23.7
1970	23.3	20.9
1995	27.3	25.3
2005	30.0	28.0

Source: ABS, Australian Social Trends, product no. 4102

There is one additional factor of major importance to be considered in the context of intermarriage – the proportion who are married within a specific age group. When this variable is considered, a new perspective is provided on the level of intermarriage among young people. **While intermarriage reaches the level of 45% for those aged 18–34** (Table 3.9), **this statistic does not apply to all within the age group, but only to those who are married.** Data is available on registered marital status. In Victoria, according to the 2006 census, 51% of persons of the Jewish religion within the 25–34 year age group were in a registered marriage, a further 3% were divorced or separated, and 46% had never married; in New South Wales for the 25–34 age group, 47% were in a registered marriage. (Tables 3.12 and 3.13)

Social change has most impact in the sectors of the Jewish community where identity is primarily or largely based on ethnicity and culture, not religion.

Table 3.12: Registered marital status by age of persons in the Jewish population of Victoria (percentage in age group)

Registered marital status	Age group (in years)							Total
	15–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65–84	85+	
Married	3.5%	50.7%	75.9%	75.9%	76.3%	63.5%	31.7%	57.3%
Never married	96.4%	46.0%	14.3%	7.8%	4.2%	1.8%	2.5%	25.3%
Widowed	-	0.2%	0.3%	1.1%	3.4%	25.8%	62.7%	8.5%
Divorced	-	1.8%	6.7%	11.4%	13.4%	7.0%	2.7%	6.8%
Separated	0.1%	1.3%	2.8%	3.7%	2.7%	1.9%	0.4%	2.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N (enumerated)	5,031	5,112	4,688	5,922	5,683	6,428	1,568	34,432

Source: ABS, 2006 census, customised tables

Table 3.13: Registered marital status by age of persons in the Jewish population of New South Wales (percentage in age group)

Registered marital status	Age group (in years)							Total
	15–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65–84	85+	
Married	1.9%	47.1%	73.6%	74.7%	74.4%	62.9%	28.7%	56.0%
Never married	98.0%	50.0%	15.9%	8.9%	4.6%	2.7%	2.3%	26.4%
Widowed	-	0.1%	0.4%	1.1%	3.6%	24.3%	64.3%	8.1%
Divorced	-	1.7%	6.9%	11.7%	14.6%	8.3%	3.8%	7.3%
Separated	0.1%	1.1%	3.2%	3.6%	2.9%	1.7%	0.9%	2.1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N (enumerated)	4,281	4,584	4,694	5,394	4,875	5,552	1,374	30,754

Source: ABS, 2006 census, customised tables

The final part of the discussion attempts to put all of these factors together to arrive at an understanding of the rate of intermarriage not just within a specific age cohort, but among non-Orthodox young adults in the Melbourne and Sydney communities. It seeks to explore the implications of the census finding that for the age group 25–34, some 45% of partners in a social marriage are non-Jewish.

Information bearing on different segments of the community is not available in the census, which only includes a question on category of religion (e.g. 'Jewish'), not form of religious observance and identification.

The following model has been developed on the basis of census and Gen08 survey data. Consistent with the census, the definition is of social marital status.

The model rests on the following assumptions: 60% of the age cohort 25–34 is married (in a registered or de facto marriage); the total proportion of marriages where one partner is not Jewish is 45%; young adults of Orthodox identification constitute 25% of the age cohort, the non-Orthodox 75%; the proportion of Orthodox who have a non-Jewish partner is 5%.

The model produces the result that in 54% of marriages of non-Orthodox Jews aged 25-34, there is a non-Jewish partner. It needs to be kept in mind that this result is applicable only to a sub-group (non-Orthodox) of a sub-group (those who are married, whether registered or de facto), it is not a figure applicable to all young adults.

Table 3.14: Intermarriage model, young adults (aged 25–34) by religious identification, Victoria and New South Wales

Variable	Persons
Number	1,000
Married – number (60%)	600
Individuals in marriage where both partners are Jewish (55% of marriages)	426
Individuals in a marriage where one partner is not Jewish (45% of marriages)	174
Number of marriages ((426/2) + 174)	387
Orthodox who are married (25% of 600)	150
Non-Orthodox who are married (75% of 600)	450
Orthodox with non-Jewish partner (5% of 150)	5% = 8
Non-Orthodox with non-Jewish partner (166/450)	166 = 37%
Number of marriages of non-Orthodox where one partner is not Jewish[11]	54%

Supporting evidence for this model is provided by the Gen08 survey, although one qualification needs to be made. All surveys find it difficult to reach the less identified sections of a target population – the less identified have lower interest in participating in a survey that has primary reference to a group with which they perceive little common interest. Hence the survey undercounts the proportion with non-Jewish partners, which is indicated as 16% among survey respondents aged 18–34 who have a partner.

A survey such as Gen08 is of greatest value for obtaining an insight into the outlook of a sub-section of the community such as the least identified, and for providing understanding of patterns across the community. Gen08 asked respondents if they had a partner (not necessarily a marriage partner) and if so, whether the partner was Jewish by birth or conversion, or not Jewish. It yields a key finding which supports the modelling that has been undertaken: **those who identify as Conservative and Progressive are four times more likely to have a non-Jewish partner than the Orthodox; the secular are eight times more likely.** (Table 3.15)

[11] Total not-Orthodox who are married = 450; 166 marriages, one partner not Jewish; 284 marriages both partners Jewish = 142 marriages; total marriages (166+142) = 308; result (166/ 308) = 54%.

Table 3.15: Religious identification of respondent by religious background of partner. Victoria and New South Wales, aged 18–34

Religious identification of respondent	Religion of partner				
	Jewish by birth	Jewish by conversion	Not Jewish	Total	N (unweighted)
Orthodox (Ultra/Strictly)	95%	5%	0%	100%	54
Modern Orthodox	90%	3%	7%	100%	120
Traditional	85%	5%	10%	100%	203
Conservative/ Progressive	74%	4%	22%	100%	73
Secular	57%	5%	38%	100%	133
Total	79%	5%	16%	100%	583

Source: Gen08 survey

Increased intermarriage poses major challenges for the future of Jewish communities. One short-term impact is on the day schools, as children from mixed marriages are less likely to attend a Jewish school. American communities have for decades dealt with the challenge of intermarriage. One important issue for Australian Jewry today is the reception accorded to intermarried couples; the second is the raising of children; the third, the difficulties that are placed in the path of Jewish conversion.

Attitudes to intermarriage vary across the community. Among the Orthodox aged 18–34, 63% viewed it as the major problem facing the Jewish community, compared to 50% Traditional, 34% Conservative and Progressive, and 19% secular respondents. In other words, those most directly impacted are least concerned. Among the Conservative and Progressive the division between religious and secular Jews was accorded a relatively high ranking.

One important issue for Australian Jewry today is the reception accorded to intermarried couples.

Table 3.16: 'What are the major problems/challenges facing the community?' Victoria and New South Wales, respondents aged 18–34 by religious identification

Response	Religious identification today			
	Orthodox (Ultra/Strictly/ Modern)	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular
Intermarriage, assimilation	63%	50%	34%	19%
Division between religious and secular Jews	37%	44%	58%	38%
N (unweighted)	398	390	171	344

Source: Gen08 survey

The extent of intermarriage is not likely to be lessened; rather, the probability is of increase. This is due to a range of factors impacting across society.

First, as noted above, the injunction to marry within the faith becomes difficult to sustain given the changing social attitudes to endogamy and to practices that can be interpreted as promoting ideas which challenge the dominant ethic of Australia's multicultural society. It is demonstrated by the Gen08 survey that, except among the Orthodox, the attitudinal barriers against intermarriage have been greatly weakened. This is an issue further discussed in the third part of the report. Second, the later age at marriage contributes to the likelihood of the choice of a non-Jewish partner.

Table 3.17: Indicators of social distance, weakening of attitudinal barriers against intermarriage, Victoria and New South Wales, aged 18–34

Response	Religious identification today			
	Orthodox (Ultra/Strictly/ Modern)	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular
How important is being Jewish in your life today? 'Very Important'	90%	75%	57%	27%
More than half of close friends are Jewish	90%	83%	52%	51%
Regret intermarriage	80%	57%	38%	23%
N (unweighted)	398	390	171	344

Source: Geno8 survey

There is an additional factor relating not to intermarriage, but important for understanding marriage and social processes in contemporary Australia: this is the increasing likelihood of marriages ending in divorce. According to the census, between 1996 and 2006 the number of people reporting their marital status as 'separated' was little changed: in Victoria, an estimated 941 Jewish persons in 1996, 1016 in 2006. But over the same period the number of Jewish persons in Victoria reporting that they were divorced increased by over 50%, from an estimated 2,221 to 3,371.

Between 1996 and 2006 the number of Jewish persons in Victoria reporting that they were divorced increased by over 50%, from an estimated 2,221 to 3,371.

[3.5] The communication revolution

A further aspect of structural change, not included in the Gen08 survey, emerged from focus group and other discussions: the impact of access to new forms of communication.

In many respects the new technology is positive. Internet sites provide numerous additional sources of information about all aspects of Jewish life; online forums and blogs provide the means for exchange of views on an infinite range of subjects; ready access is provided to a range of Jewish publications, including newspapers, journals and academic articles, as well as Jewish radio stations; YouTube provides the means for sharing of video clips; social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter provide enhanced access to friendship networks and internet dating sites such as JDate connect Jewish singles worldwide; a range of smartphone applications provide convenient mobile access to Jewish content, including 'pocket iSiddur', 'Jewish Almanac', 'Itehillim', Jewish calendars, kosher cookbooks, news and more. The internet also provides the means for specific political activities through forums and Facebook groups, providing greater opportunities to share views and to defend or attack Jewish interests.

While in multiple ways the internet can serve to enhance Jewish identity, it is equally open to non-Jewish sources of information, non-Jewish social networking and dating. If there is indeed a tendency towards polarisation within Jewish communities – towards both heightened religiosity and assimilation – then the resources of the internet and mobile communication can serve to accelerate such development. If a young person is seeking access to the world beyond the Jewish community, the options for access to information and to personal contacts are being greatly augmented by the communication revolution currently underway.

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PART 4

Patterns of Jewish identification

The attitudinal part of the report provides insight into the transmission of Jewish values across the generations. Past studies of Jewish continuity, whether conducted in Australia or other centres of Jewish population, have often been overly simplistic in approach, confining attention to one dimension of continuity. For example, there is discussion in isolation of the impact of Jewish day schools, without consideration of the different sectors of the Jewish educational spectrum and the home environment of the student, or of the impact of an Israel experience (notably with regard to the Taglit-Birthright program, which has attracted so much attention in the United States[12]) without attention to the representative character of program participants. The current study seeks to provide understanding of a broad range of factors impacting on Jewish identity.

The analysis is based on one of the largest surveys undertaken in the Diaspora. The Gen08 survey was completed by almost 5,500 respondents in Melbourne, Sydney and Perth, some 7% of the eligible population, comprising those aged 18 and over. This compares with the largest recent American Jewish survey, which was completed by some 4,200 respondents from a population in excess of 5 million, or some 0.1% of the eligible population. The importance of a large representative sample such as Gen08 is that it makes possible in-depth analysis of sub-groups in a population. The reliability of the sample was established by matching the respondent profile against 2006 census data and by comparing the pattern of response obtained in Melbourne, Sydney and Perth, and within sub-groups. Reliability of data is indicated by the consistent patterns of response.[13]

The survey data has been analysed using a range of statistical techniques over a six-month period. In the following discussion, attention is almost entirely confined to specific survey questions, but this analysis is informed by multiple regression modelling and other forms of statistical analysis. In addition, focus groups were conducted in Melbourne and Sydney both before and after the survey, a number with young adults, to provide further insight into issues of relevance for the study.

[12] See, for example, Leonard Saxe et al., *Generation Birthright Israel: The Impact of an Israel Experience on Jewish Identity and Choices*, Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University, 2009.
[13] See the Appendix to this report, 'Note on sampling methodology', below.

[4.1] Definitions

The starting point for a study of Jewish continuity is necessarily definitional. As discussed in the first part of the report, there is no single definition of continuity on which broad agreement may be reached. Jewish continuity is differently understood along a continuum of beliefs and practices stemming from interpretations of Judaism as a religion, a philosophy and a way of life. Among the Strictly Orthodox, the issue is considered only in terms of halacha, Jewish law. The approach of Modern Orthodox, Traditional and Progressive Jews is in terms of continuity and change, adherence to some (or most) elements of Jewish law and some (or limited) modification or accommodation to the contemporary world. Secular or cultural Judaism gives little or no consideration to religion and bases its claims to Jewish identity on languages, literature, art, dance, music, food and an annual cycle of celebrations that connects adherents to shared traditions and history.

Jewish continuity is differently understood along a continuum of beliefs and practices stemming from interpretations of Judaism as a religion, a philosophy and a way of life.

[4.2] Patterns of Judaism

The report's findings provide insight into continuity in the context of different streams of Judaism. First, **the study establishes that for nearly all indicators, Jewish values are most strongly held within the Orthodox segment of the community.** Thus, being Jewish is 'very important' for 99% of Strictly Orthodox respondents, 85% of Modern Orthodox, 72% of those who describe themselves as Traditional, 58% of the Conservative/Progressive, and 31% of the secular. 91% of Strictly Orthodox and 51% of Modern Orthodox indicate that being Jewish is 'a central element' in their lives, compared with less than 25% for those who identify as Traditional and Conservative/Progressive, and 6% of the secular. There are similar patterns of differentiation in friendship circles, and sense of Jewishness and attitude to intermarriage are closely correlated (Table 4.1, Figure 4.1).

In keeping with these patterns, value transmission from one generation to the next is strongest within the Orthodox segment of the community. This is not to say that continuity does not occur within other streams of Judaism, including various secular forms; rather, a probability statement is being made about the passing of values and traditions from one generation to the next. The objective of the discussion is to explore patterns and probabilities.

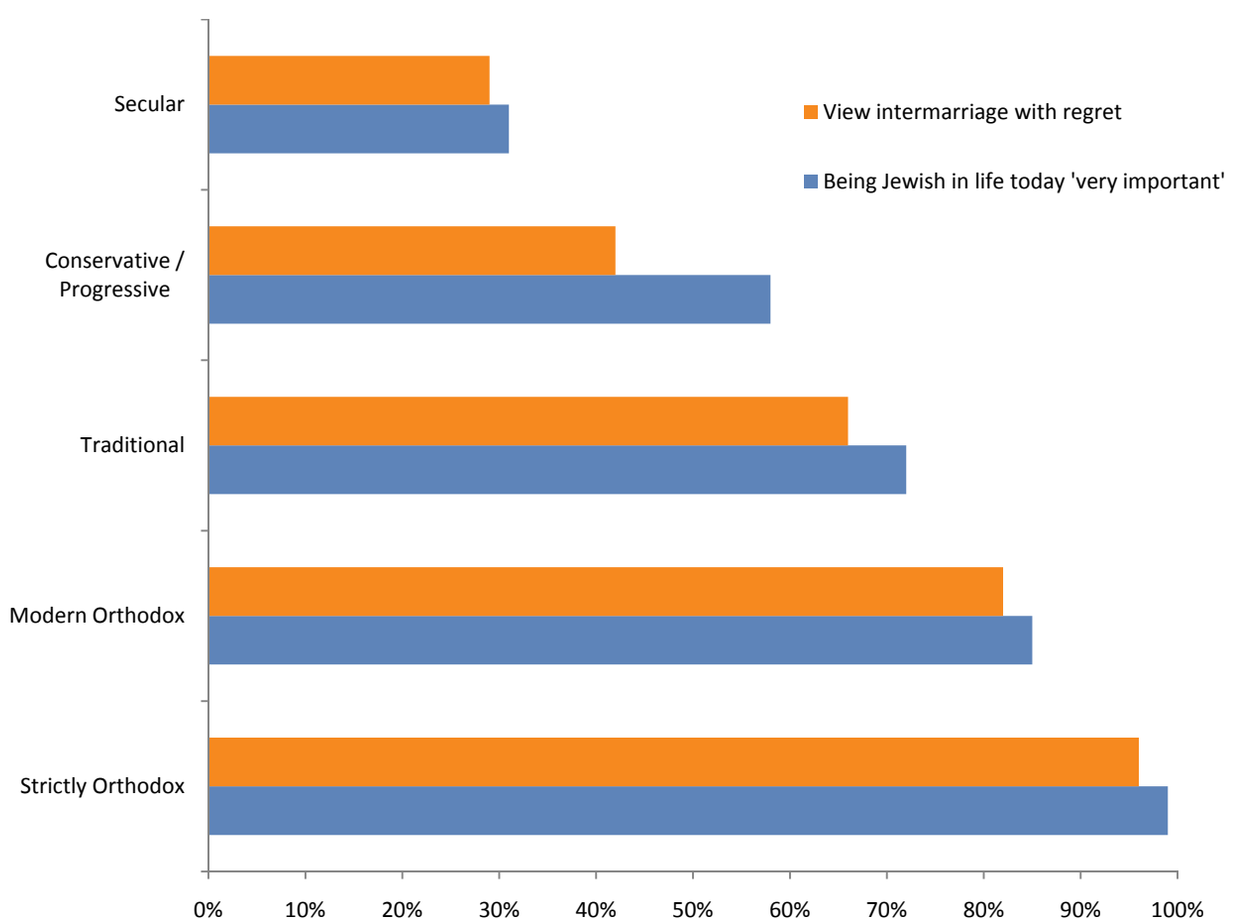
Value transmission from one generation to the next is strongest within the Orthodox segment of the community. This is a probability statement.

Table 4.1: Patterns of Judaism: Four selected questions by religious identification today, all Australian respondents

Response	Religious identification today				
	Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular
Being Jewish is a 'central element of my life'	91%	51%	23%	19%	6%
Being Jewish is 'very important'	99%	85%	72%	58%	31%
All or nearly all friends are Jewish	93%	72%	67%	38%	36%
View intermarriage with regret	96%	82%	65%	42%	29%
Is a Zionist	80%	93%	88%	78%	65%
Average	92%	76%	63%	47%	33%
N (unweighted)	253	1,087	1,875	1,091	1,390

Source: Geno8 survey

Figure 4.1: Correlation of importance of being Jewish and view of intermarriage, by religious identity today, all Australian respondents



Source: Gen08 survey

Patterns of Judaism were investigated by constructing identity scales, involving the combination of questions which were shown to be related by a statistical procedure known as factor analysis. This analysis was applied to all Australian survey respondents (numbering 5,840) and identified four themes of Jewish identification. Each theme can be expressed as a 'dimension' or scale of Jewish identity as follows:

1. **Jewish continuity and group connectedness** (eight questions – importance of grandchildren being Jewish; feelings about own children marrying out; importance of Jewish friends; if required to seek accommodation in a nursing home, preference for a Jewish home; proportion of friends who are Jewish; feelings about intermarriage; importance of being Jewish; frequency of spending Friday night Shabbat with family.)

2. **Religiosity** (five questions – observance of kosher dietary laws; nature of Shabbat observance; frequency of synagogue attendance; Yom Kippur observance; sense of being Jewish.)

3. **Community involvement** (four questions – sense of being able to have a say in the Jewish community; sense of connection to Jewish communal life; sense of acceptance by the Jewish community; donation to Jewish causes.)

4. **Attachment to Israel** (four questions – extent of interest in current events which involve Israel; desire to live in Israel; level of concern when international events endanger Israel; number of times visited Israel.)

The allocation of weighting was determined for each response within each question. To illustrate with regard to the first identity scale, 'Jewish continuity and group connectedness', in response to the question, 'Would you like, or have liked, your children to bring up their children as Jews?', a score of 5 was allocated to the response 'Desire it strongly', 0 to the response 'Prefer them not to bring up their children as Jews', with scores of 3 and 2 for the in-between responses. In response to the question, 'Thinking of your close friends, how many of them are Jewish?' a score of 5 was allocated to the response 'All', 0 to the response 'None', with scores in the range of 1 and 4 for the in-between responses.

To further increase reliability, respondents who did not provide answers to all eight questions within the identity scale were excluded.

In the next stage of analysis, respondent scores for each identity scale were tallied and then grouped, using three cut-off points. These were for scores in the top third of all totals (indicating the strongest level of Jewish identification and connectedness), in the middle and then the bottom third.

This data enabled cross-tabulation of scores with key variables for individual respondents, among which religious identification was found to be of major importance. Table 4.2 presents the proportion who scored in the top third for the 'Jewish continuity and group connectedness scale', cross-tabulated by religious identification. As before, a consistent pattern is evident: the Strictly Orthodox registered the highest proportion within the top third category (thus indicating strongest level of Jewish identification and connectedness), followed by the Modern Orthodox and then the Traditional, Conservative, Progressive and secular.

Table 4.2: 'Jewish continuity and group connectedness identity scale', scores within the top third level by religious identification, all Australian respondents

Identity scale	Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular	Total
Jewish continuity and group connectedness	88%	55%	34%	14%	6%	31%*
N (unweighted)	252	1,085	1,869	1,084	1,229	5,519

* The total does not equal 33% as a number of respondents recorded identical scores; the data was examined for natural breaks to determine cut-off points for the three segments.

Source: Gen08 survey

When the same methodology was applied to the other identity scales (proportion of top third responses cross-tabulated by religious identification), the highest level of differentiation was within the 'Religiosity identity scale' (from 99% to 3%); differentiation was at the lowest level for the 'attachment to Israel identity scale' (from 60% to 21%), reflecting the lower level of interest in current events in Israel among the Strictly Orthodox and the relative strength of attachment to Israel among the secular.

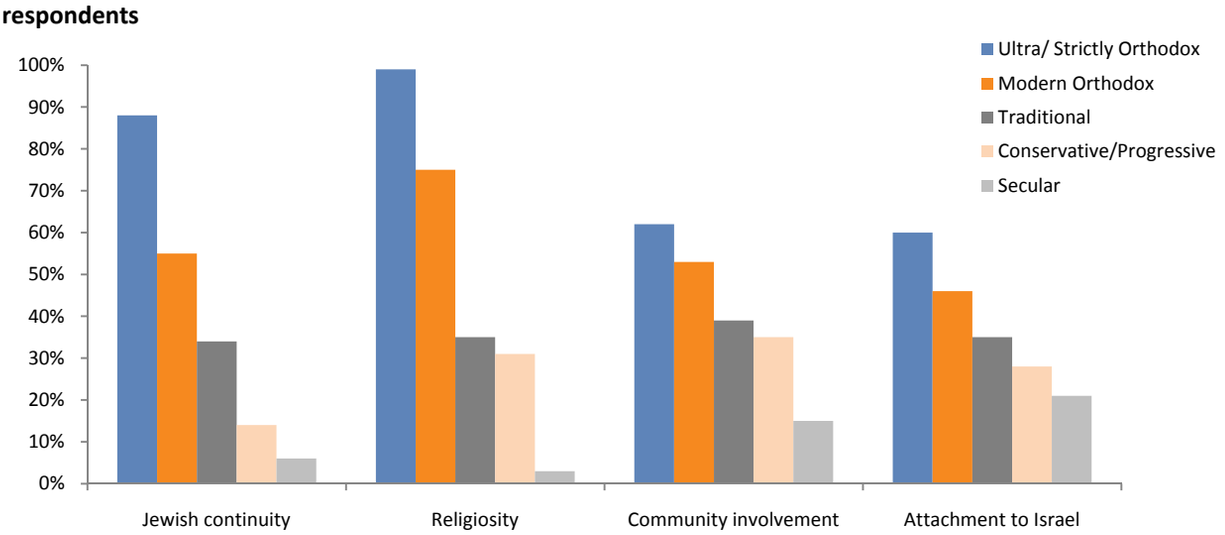
Table 4.3. 'Religiosity', 'community involvement' and 'attachment to Israel' identity scales, scores within the top third level, by religious identification, all Australian respondents

Identity scale	Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular	Total
Religiosity	99%	75%	35%	31%	3%	38%*
Community involvement	62%	53%	39%	35%	15%	37%*
Attachment to Israel	60%	46%	35%	28%	21%	34%*
N (unweighted)	252	1,083	1,864	1,077	1,211	5,487

* The total does not equal 33% as a number of respondents recorded identical scores; the data was examined for natural breaks to determine cut-off points for the three segments.

Source: Gen08 survey

Figure 4.2: Four identity scales, scores within the top third level, by religious identification, all Australian respondents



[4.3] Jewish education

Education is a key issue for Jewish continuity, the most important issue in the view of many. Education is, however, generally understood in simple terms of attendance at a Jewish or non-Jewish school. The Gen08 survey is of sufficient sample size to enable consideration of the impact of education at greater depth than this two-dimensional approach, which characterises not only public perception but much international research. It is possible to analyse four separate issues related to the impact of education:

- First, the impact of Jewish as distinct from non-Jewish schooling;
- Second, the impact of Orthodox as distinct from non-Orthodox Jewish schooling;
- Third, trend or change over time, through comparison of those aged 18–29 and 30–44;
- Fourth, correlation, with respect to home environment and schooling.

In the following analysis, attention is directed to respondents aged 18–34 who were either born and educated in Australia or arrived at the age of ten or under and completed three or more years at a Jewish secondary school.

With regard to the first issue, **there is a marked differentiation in the learning and outlook of those who attended a Jewish as distinct from a non-Jewish secondary school**. As with all dimensions considered, there is a broad consistency of the data obtained for Melbourne and Sydney, providing confidence in the reliability of the Gen08 survey.

With regard to nine key questions concerning knowledge of Hebrew, friendship patterns, dimensions of Jewish identification and attitude to Israel, the average score for those completing three or more years at a Jewish secondary school in Melbourne is 68%, in Sydney 63%; for non-Jewish schools, the average score is markedly lower: 37% in Melbourne and 39% in Sydney. The impact of Jewish schools is most evident in areas of the curriculum where they offer specific teaching and the non-Jewish schools do not, or do not to the same extent. Thus those attending Jewish day schools indicate better knowledge of Hebrew and feel more connected to Israel. School is also significant in shaping social networks and family life: those who attend Jewish schools are much more likely to have Jewish friends, to view intermarriage with regret, to spend Friday night Shabbat with family and put higher valuation on their Jewish identity. (Table 4.4)

Table 4.4: Selected questions by type of school attended – born in Australia or aged ten or under on arrival, aged 18–34, Melbourne and Sydney

Question and response	Attended Jewish secondary school for 3 or more years		Did not attend Jewish secondary school	
	Melbourne	Sydney	Melbourne	Sydney
How well can you read Hebrew? 'Very well' or 'well'	79%	72%	28%	26%
How well can you speak Hebrew? 'Very well' or 'well'	56%	39%	23%	15%
All or nearly all friends are Jewish	72%	68%	23%	28%
Is a Zionist	82%	85%	67%	66%
When international events put Israel in danger 'Feel special alarm…' or '…almost the same as if my own life is in danger'	78%	74%	62%	61%
Being Jewish is a 'central element of my life'	49%	33%	16%	23%
Being Jewish is 'very important'	72%	71%	50%	54%
Spend Friday night Shabbat with family every week	64%	62%	33%	34%
View intermarriage with regret	64%	59%	28%	43%
Average	**68%**	**63%**	**37%**	**39%**
N (unweighted)	454	281	171	164

Source: Gen08 survey

To further understanding of the impact of different streams of schooling, the Jewish day schools were divided into three groups. The groupings were determined by the values or philosophy of the schools, limitations of sample size and the requirement in a general study of this nature to maintain confidentiality of individual schools. In the case of Melbourne, the result is a grouping of three mainstream Jewish schools with different educational philosophies. It is emphasised that the purpose of this analysis is to explore general patterns; tables cannot be read as reliably indicating results for individual schools.

The first two groupings are of Melbourne and Sydney Orthodox schools. A third grouping comprises the mainstream Jewish secondary schools of Melbourne, differentiated from the Orthodox but with differing educational philosophies. The fourth and fifth groupings comprise the non-Jewish secondary schools (private and government) of Melbourne and Sydney.[14]

[14] There were insufficient respondents who were graduates of Yeshiva and Kesser Torah Colleges in Sydney to form a statistically reliable group, hence these schools are not included in the analysis; the relatively large number of graduates from Group 1 schools in Melbourne was the result of the prioritisation of surveying of the Orthodox segment of the community by the Melbourne project team. The Emanuel School in Sydney is not included as there are no non-Orthodox schools in Sydney with which its graduates can be aggregated and, as noted, the project is precluded from presenting data for individual schools.

The following analysis thus provides findings for secondary school graduates aged 18–44 within the following school groupings:

Group 1	Ultra/Strictly Orthodox Melbourne	Adass Israel, Yeshivah, Beth Rivkah, Yavneh	Attended 3 or more years in secondary school
Group2	Mainstream Orthodox Sydney	Moriah, Masada	Attended 3 or more years in secondary school
Group 3	Mainstream Jewish Melbourne	Mt Scopus, Bialik, King David	Attended 3 or more years in secondary school
Group 4	Non-Jewish Melbourne	No Jewish secondary day school attended	
Group 5	Non-Jewish Sydney	No Jewish secondary day school attended	

This (second) part of the analysis considers whether there is differentiation at a general level between the graduates of the different streams of Jewish education. This analysis has been undertaken using the 'Jewish continuity and connectedness identity scale', whose methodology was discussed above (see above, p. 45). **This analysis indicates a marked differentiation between Group 1 and the other two groupings of Jewish secondary schools.** The graduates of the Group 1 schools by large measure are concentrated in the top third of scores achieved on the continuity and connectedness scale, whereas the largest proportion of Group 2 and Group 3 graduates are located at the middle rank. The non-Jewish schools (Group 4 and Group 5) present the reverse pattern of distribution from the Group 1 schools, with a concentration of scores in the bottom third of the scale. (Table 4.5)

Table 4.5: Jewish continuity and connectedness scale by school grouping – born in Australia or aged ten or under on arrival, aged 18–34, Melbourne and Sydney

Secondary school	Low (bottom third)	Medium	High (top third)	Total	N (unweighted)
Group 1	5%	31%	64%	100%	151
Group 2	21%	57%	22%	100%	223
Group 3	30%	50%	19%	100%	227
Group 4	66%	28%	6%	100%	165
Group 5	51%	41%	7%	100%	159

Source: Gen08 survey

The above indicates the broad pattern for the streams of education.

To further understand the nature of differentiation, analysis was undertaken by considering responses to the nine key questions, as noted above. Amongst the Jewish schools, there was a step-wise differentiation between Group 1, Group 2 and Group 3 schools. The sharpest differentiation between the Jewish school groupings was in centrality of Judaism to life; 74% of graduates of Group 1 schools indicated that 'being Jewish is a central element of my life', compared with 34% and 31% of the graduates of other Jewish secondary schools.

This analysis indicates a marked differentiation between the Jewish school groupings. The sharpest differentiation was in the centrality of Judaism to life followed by attitude to intermarriage.

There was also marked differentiation in the attitude to intermarriage (85% of Group 1, 63% of Group 2 and 48% of Group 3 view intermarriage with regret). There was no statistically significant differentiation with regard to identification with Zionism, some differentiation of concern when Israel is in danger. (Table 4.6)

When the Group 2 and Group 3 Jewish schools are compared with non-Jewish schools, sharp differentiation is again in evidence. This is most evident in subject areas that are only within the core curriculum of Jewish day schools – illustrated by knowledge of Hebrew, possibly also indicated by identification with Zionism. Friendship patterns are also sharply differentiated. Those attending a non-Jewish day school are much less likely to indicate that all or nearly all of their friends are Jewish. (Table 4.6)

But in a finding that may cause surprise, **in response to the question concerning the centrality of Judaism in life, there was greater differentiation between the responses of those who attended Ultra and Strictly Orthodox schools and mainstream Jewish schools, than between mainstream and non-Jewish schools**. This pattern of differentiation is also evident for the three Melbourne streams in response to questions on the importance of Judaism and intermarriage (compare Groups 1, 3 and 4).

Table 4.6: Selected questions by school grouping – born in Australia or aged ten or under on arrival, aged 18–34, Melbourne and Sydney

Question and response	Secondary school				
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5
How well can you read Hebrew? 'Very well' or 'well'	94%	77%	68%	28%	26%
How well can you speak Hebrew? 'Very well' or 'well'	67%	41%	48%	23%	15%
All or nearly all friends are Jewish	85%	67%	64%	23%	28%
Is a Zionist	84%	83%	83%	67%	66%
When international events put Israel in danger 'Feel special alarm…' or '…almost the same as if my own life is in danger'	89%	77%	70%	62%	61%
Being Jewish is a 'central element of my life'	74%	34%	31%	16%	23%
Being Jewish is 'very important'	87%	71%	60%	50%	54%
Spend Friday night Shabbat with family every week	74%	63%	59%	33%	34%
View intermarriage with regret	85%	63%	48%	28%	43%
Average	**82%**	**64%**	**59%**	**37%**	**39%**
N (unweighted)	153	226	280	171	164

Source: Gen08 survey

Trend or change over time was next analysed, through comparison of the responses of those aged 18–29 with those aged 30–44. In recent years Jewish schools, particularly Group 2 and Group 3, have made significant changes in their Jewish studies and informal Jewish education programs, through better resourcing, attention to the skill level and efficacy of teachers and improvements in curriculum to ensure a better match with the background and knowledge level of students. It is thus important to establish if there is evidence of the impact of these changes in the Gen08 data. This analysis is however, best read as indicating direction of change, not a greater level of detail. Respondents aged, for example, 22, 28, 36 and 43 are at different stages in their lives and responses to questions cannot be linked only to school experience.

When the two age groups are compared, the following results are obtained: for Groups 1 and 3, there is indication of stronger Jewish identification among the 18–29 year group, with most change for the Group 1 schools; little change for Group 2 schools; marked weakening in the indicators of identity for the non-Jewish schools. This pattern is consistent for Melbourne and Sydney. The Melbourne graduates of non-Jewish schools (Group 4) aged 30–44 have an average score of 42%, those aged 18–29 average 31%, a difference of 11 percentage points; for Sydney the respective scores are 46% and 30%, a difference of 16 percentage points. (Table 4.7)

There was a marked weakening in indicators of identity among those aged 18-29 who attended a non-Jewish school.

Table 4.7: Selected questions by school grouping and age – born in Australia or aged ten or less on arrival, aged 18–44, Melbourne and Sydney

Question and response	Secondary school									
	Group 1 3/+ years at Orthodox secondary Melbourne		Group 2 3/+ years at mainstream Orthodox secondary Sydney		Group 3 3/+ years at mainstream Jewish secondary Melbourne		Group 4 No Jewish secondary day school Melbourne		Group 5 Non Jewish secondary day school Sydney	
	18-29	30-44	18-29	30-44	18-29	30-44	18-29	30-44	18-29	30-44
How well can you read Hebrew? 'Very well 'or 'well'	96%	82%	76%	69%	68%	60%	21%	31%	22%	30%
How well can you speak Hebrew? 'Very well' or 'well'	67%	49%	41%	37%	49%	37%	15%	20%	6%	14%
All or nearly all friends are Jewish	83%	78%	73%	51%	66%	65%	14%	41%	19%	41%
Is a Zionist	87%	74%	84%	85%	81%	84%	63%	67%	61%	74%
When international events put Israel in danger 'Feel special alarm…' or '…almost the same as if my own life is in danger'	93%	71%	75%	87%	71%	62%	55%	60%	49%	67%
What best expresses your sense of being Jewish? 'It is a central element of my life'	76%	60%	32%	38%	33%	20%	13%	23%	17%	29%
How important is being Jewish in your life today? 'Very important'	86%	91%	69%	76%	59%	53%	45%	55%	46%	55%
Spend Friday night Shabbat with family every week	72%	70%	60%	75%	59%	50%	26%	48%	24%	49%
View intermarriage with regret	87%	85%	63%	60%	45%	52%	28%	36%	26%	55%
Average	**83%**	**73%**	**64%**	**64%**	**59%**	**54%**	**31%**	**42%**	**30%**	**46%**
N (unweighted)	126	55	186	91	208	179	123	127	95	169

The final form of analysis considers home background, confining analysis (because of sample size[15]) to those who grew up in a traditional or secular home. It thus considers correlation of scores and school attended as in the analysis reported above, while controlling for home background.

This analysis demonstrates that of those who attended the same stream of Jewish schooling, those from a traditional home have markedly higher indicators of identity than those from a secular home – hence indicating the importance of the home environment in addition to schooling. As before, there is consistency of pattern for Melbourne and Sydney.

In terms of an average score for the nine key questions that have been used in this analysis, **a respondent from a traditional home who attended a Group 2 or Group 3 Jewish school had an average score which was considerably higher than a respondent from a secular home.** The average score for the graduate of a Group 2 (mainstream Orthodox Sydney) secondary school from a traditional home was 68%, from a secular home 48%; the respective scores for a Group 3 (mainstream Jewish Melbourne) secondary school are 65% and 37%. (Table 4.8)

Table 4.8: Selected questions by school grouping and religion growing up – born in Australia or aged ten or under on arrival, aged 18–34, Melbourne and Sydney

Religion growing up	Group 2	Group 3
Traditional – average score for 9 questions	68%	65%
N (unweighted)	101	154
Secular – average score for 9 questions	48%	37%
N (unweighted)	29	46

Source: Gen08 survey

[15] Few respondents from an Orthodox home attended a Group 2 or Group 3 school, while few respondents from a secular home attended an Orthodox (Group 1) school.

[4.4] Israel experience

The data establishes that direct experience of Israel is associated with stronger Jewish identification. The Jewish identification of those aged 18–34 across a range of indicators, comprising religiosity, friendship patterns, identification with Zionism, attitudes towards intermarriage and choice of a Jewish partner, is markedly lower for those who have never been to Israel than for those who participated in even the Israel program of shortest duration, Taglit-Birthright.[16] For these selected questions, **the difference between the average score for those who have not been to Israel and those who participated in the Taglit-Birthright program is 35 percentage points (30%, 65%).** Respondents who have not been to Israel and are in a relationship are at least twice as likely to have a non-Jewish partner as respondents in all the other categories of Israel experience. The strongest level of Jewish identification is for those who have been on a substantial program such as Shnat (a year-long educational and leadership program for school leavers) or religious study. (Table 4.9)

Table 4.9: Israel experience correlated with selected questions, Melbourne, Sydney and Perth, aged 18-34

Response	Never been to Israel	Taglit-Birthright (10 days)	AUJS Achshav (2 weeks)	AUJS Academy (5 weeks)	Shnat (1 year)	Religious Study
Being Jewish is a 'central element of my life'	13%	42%	27%	40%	60%	85%
Being Jewish is 'very important'	35%	69%	61%	69%	81%	94%
All or nearly all close friends are Jewish	28%	63%	57%	61%	76%	91%
Regret intermarriage	25%	62%	49%	63%	65%	89%
Is a Zionist	48%	87%	83%	91%	95%	88%
Average	**30%**	**65%**	**55%**	**65%**	**75%**	**90%**
Has a partner	51%	25%	25%	42%	38%	45%
Partner is not Jewish (by birth or conversion)	40%	19%	13%	4%	13%	0%
N (unweighted)	148	153	83	154	255	120

Source: Gen08 survey

The variance evident in Table 4.9 is, however, not simply explained in terms of a single visit to Israel. Rather, as the analysis of the Gen08 survey consistently establishes, Jewish identity is to be understood in terms of inter-related factors. Those who have not been to Israel are not in all or most other respects of similar background to their age cohort. **Those aged 18–34 who have not been to Israel are less likely to be Orthodox and more likely to have no religious identification; to have come from a less prosperous home; to have attended fewer years (or none) at a Jewish day school; and to have had markedly less youth group involvement.** (Table 4.10)

[16] For the purposes of this analysis of those aged 18–34, respondents in Western Australia have been added to those in Victoria and New South Wales, to increase the sample size.

Table 4.10: Respondents who have never been to Israel, compared with Taglit-Birthright, Shnat and religious study participants, Melbourne, Sydney and Perth, aged 18–34

Response	Never been to Israel	Taglit-Birthright	Shnat	Religious study
Religious attitudes growing up				
Orthodox	18%	38%	40%	62%
Not religious/secular	43%	18%	9%	13%
Financial circumstances growing up				
Prosperous and very comfortable	33%	41%	60%	55%
Poor or just getting along	30%	20%	10%	16%
Number of years at Jewish day school				
None	38%	17%	12%	17%
All or most primary and secondary	38%	53%	69%	73%
Youth group involvement				
None	48%	21%	2%	15%
Three or more years	18%	57%	95%	71%
N (unweighted)	148	153	255	120

Source: Gen08 survey

Another method to establish the significance of Israel experience is to consider those who are aged 18–34 and have had substantial experience of Israel – at least two visits – from the vantage point of religious identification, a variable shown in the survey to be consistently of major importance. If it is the experience of Israel that produces variation in identity and not secondary factors such as religious identity, then little or no variation in identity score would be produced, as indicated by the hypothetical representation below. (Table 4.11)

Table 4.11: Hypothetical representation: Israel experience correlated with selected questions and religious identification, aged 18–34.

Variable	Ultra/Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Progressive	Secular
Selected questions and visited Israel at least twice (hypothetical score)	70%	71%	70%	68%	70%
Selected questions and never been to Israel (hypothetical score)	30%	29%	30%	28%	30%

Contrary to this hypothesis, Gen08 data indicate that religious identification is correlated with significant variation among those who have visited Israel at least twice. For those with experience of Israel and who indicate that they are Modern Orthodox the average score for five key questions is over 84%, compared to just over half this score (42%) for those who identify as secular; the Progressive are close to the secular, while those who identify as Traditional occupy a mid-point. (Table 4.12)

Table 4.12: Israel experience correlated with selected questions and religious identification, Melbourne, Sydney and Perth, aged 18–34. Visited Israel at least twice.

Variable	Ultra/Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Progressive	Secular
Average score – selected questions	89%	84%	68%	46%	42%
N (unweighted)	76	234	255	69	127

Source: Gen08 survey

Analysis also sought to explore the impact of a single visit correlated with religious identification. This analysis was, however, limited by the reality that in Australia nearly all Jewish young people have experience of Israel, so it was difficult to obtain sub-groups of respondents who had not been to Israel. 93% of survey respondents aged 18–34 had visited Israel and only among the secular was there a significant minority of respondents (24%) who had not. While there was no statistically reliable sub-group of another religious identification to serve as a reference point, the 29 Traditional respondents who had not been to Israel provide indication of pattern of correlation.

As to be expected, for both secular and Traditional respondents increased frequency of contact is associated with a higher identity score. For secular respondents, the strongest indication is that just one visit has limited impact: there is an average difference of 8 percentage points (an increase from 17% to 25%) for those who have visited once, compared to a difference of 25 percentage points (an increase from 17% to 42%) for those who have visited two or more times (Table 4.13). This analysis provides a deeper understanding than that provided at the outset of the discussion (Table 4.9). **Impact is to be understood not simply in terms of participation in a program such as Taglit-Birthright, but rather in terms of a person's background and the extent to which there is motivation and opportunity to build on the first experience of Israel.**

Table 4.13: Israel experience correlated with selected questions, Melbourne, Sydney and Perth, aged 18–34

Response	Religious identification today					
	Traditional			Secular		
	Times visited Israel			Times visited Israel		
	Never	Once	Twice or more	Never	Once	Twice or more
Being Jewish is a 'central element of my life'	5%	24%	36%	4%	8%	12%
Being Jewish is 'very important'	60%	70%	80%	21%	17%	43%
All or nearly all close friends are Jewish	48%	57%	66%	22%	35%	46%
View intermarriage with regret	40%	53%	62%	12%	20%	30%
Is a Zionist	71%	80%	94%	27%	47%	80%
Average	**45%**	**57%**	**68%**	**17%**	**25%**	**42%**
N (unweighted)	29	101	255	63	70	127

Source: Gen08 survey

[4.5] Sports groups

Consideration of involvement in sports groups illustrates the same pattern as is evident in consideration of Israel experience. When Melbourne and Sydney respondents aged 18–34 are considered, those with three or more years of sports group involvement are more likely to indicate that over half of their friends are Jewish (80%, compared with 69% of those with less involvement), to view intermarriage with regret (61%, 45%), and to have visited Israel on two or more occasions (83%, 57%). But those with three or more years of sports group involvement are more likely to have come from a Modern Orthodox (38%) or Traditional home (30%) than from a secular home (19%). **This pattern again is one that points to the significance of the religious identity of the home and the complex rather than one-to-one relationship in the determination of identity.**

PART 5

Segments of the community

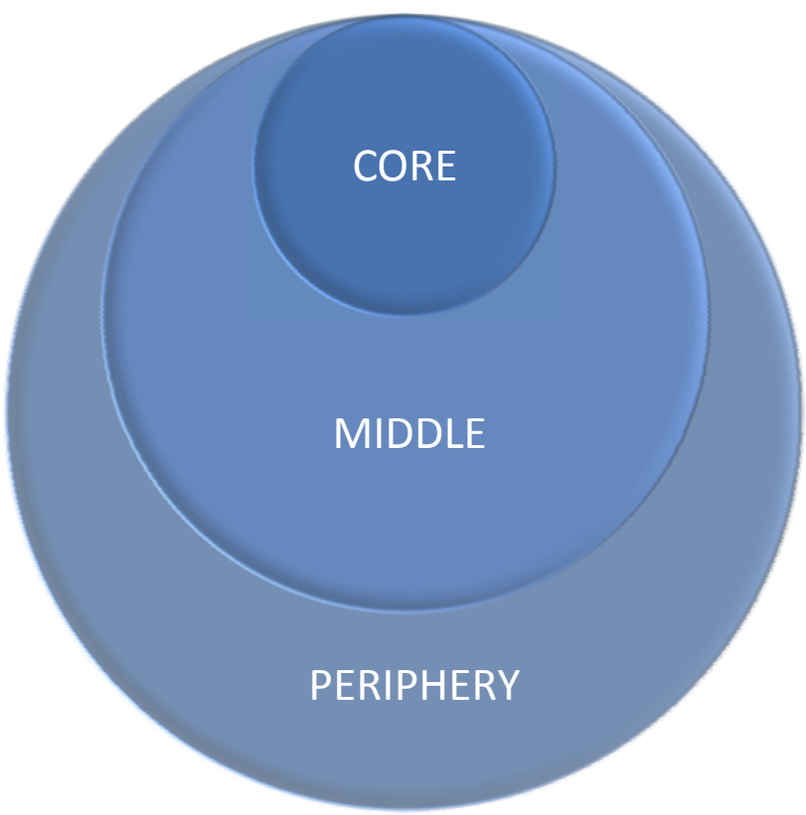
[5.1] Core/ Middle/ Periphery

The study leads to an understanding of the Jewish communities of Melbourne and Sydney in terms of three segments.

- **Core (25–30% of the community):** strong Jewish identity, unity and coherence in values and outlook, strong transmission of values across the generations.
- **Middle (around 40%):** challenged transmission of Jewish identity.
- **Periphery (over 30%):** minimal transmission of Jewish identity.

A strong sense of Jewish identity may be formed within each of these segments, but in the contemporary world the probability is that the highest proportion will develop a strong sense of themselves as Jewish persons within the core, and a higher proportion within the middle than the periphery.

Figure 5.1: Segments of the community



Within the core decisions are informed by Jewish concepts and meanings and individuals are part of a community, living a life in which the various elements are closely integrated. Meanings may be on the basis of religious or secular knowledge, but in the contemporary world they are much more likely to be religious. A secular Jewish value system and way of life can perform a similar function to the religious – and has done so at various points in recent Jewish history. To take but one example, the largely secular Yiddish-speaking community of Melbourne formed a cohesive community with a range of institutions developed to nurture and sustain a distinctive form of Jewish

identification and with a passionate commitment to transmit values to the next generation. In the 1950s, this secular community sustained the lives of thousands, but its influence today is greatly diminished. The level of cohesion and institutional development evident in early decades is largely missing from Jewish secular life today.

Within the middle, decision-making may occur in the context of values less strongly integrated or conflicting, for example teenagers facing discordant values between home and school or between the values of school attended and post-school identification and friendship circle.

On the periphery, decisions are as likely to be made on the basis of a non-Jewish as Jewish value system.

The Orthodox component of the core refers to a geographically concentrated community, for geographic concentration is necessary for maintenance of Orthodox religious observances. In contrast, the conceptualisation of middle and periphery does not entail geography; rather, it refers to a state of mind and lifestyle.

To illustrate the levels of coherence within the core based on Orthodox religious identity – and the lessening of coherence within other segments – Table 5.1 indicates the frequency of a range of experiential and attitudinal outcomes for young adults, contrasting those from Orthodox, Traditional and 'not religious' homes.

Over 70% of respondents aged 18–34 from Orthodox homes attended a Jewish day school for most or all of their school years, have visited Israel two or more times, indicate that all or nearly all of their close friends are Jewish and view intermarriage with regret; this compares with half this proportion, under 35%, of respondents from secular or not religious homes. Youth group involvement for three or more years is indicated by 55% of Orthodox and 26% of secular respondents. **Respondents from Traditional homes are consistently differentiated from the Orthodox, but occupy a position closer to the Orthodox than to the secular.**

Table 5.1: Religious identity of the home and selected indicators. Respondents aged 18-34, Victoria and New South Wales

Response	Religious identity growing up		
	Orthodox (Ultra/ Strictly/ Modern)	Traditional	Secular/ Not religious
Attended Jewish day school most or all years	72%	54%	32%
Attended youth group for 3 or more years	55%	42%	26%
Visited Israel 2 or more times	79%	69%	35%
All or nearly all close friends are Jewish	70%	62%	38%
View intermarriage with regret	71%	57%	33%
Average	**70%**	**57%**	**33%**
N (unweighted)	364	524	261

Source: Gen08 survey

Estimation of the size of the relative segments is derived from Gen08 data on the following basis. A key indicator for identifying the core is the question: 'Which of the following best expresses your sense of being Jewish?' 31% of respondents in Melbourne and 22% in Sydney indicated that 'it is a central element in my life'. When asked, 'How often do you attend Jewish functions (other than religious events), whether social, cultural, educational or other', 32% in Melbourne and 27% in Sydney indicated 'often' and 'very regularly'. A slightly smaller proportion (26% in Melbourne, 23% in Sydney) indicated that they felt connected to Jewish communal life 'to a great extent'. When asked concerning frequency of synagogue attendance, 25% in Melbourne and 22% in Sydney indicated that they attended more than once a month.

With regard to the periphery, when asked, 'Which of the following best expresses your sense of being Jewish?', 18% of respondents in Melbourne and 21% in Sydney indicated that it was 'limited to taking part in some communal or family activities such as a *Seder*' or that it was of 'little or no importance'. A similar proportion indicated that they felt connected to Jewish communal life 'not at all' or 'only slightly (Melbourne 19%, Sydney 22%), and a higher proportion, closer to 30%, that they 'never' or 'seldom' attended 'Jewish functions (other than religious events), whether social, cultural, educational or other' (Melbourne 27%, Sydney 31%).

The survey data thus indicates that the strongest level of Jewish identification and involvement (forming the core) is in the range 25–30% of the Jewish population (with marginally higher levels in Melbourne than Sydney).

Indications for the periphery are in the range 20–30%, but a community based survey such as Gen08 will always find it difficult to contact those who have become disconnected from communal life, hence will under-count their number. **The best estimate is that those on the periphery form more than 30% of the Jewish population.**

The middle group is established at around 40% by a process of subtraction, after estimation of the core and periphery.

[5.2] Understanding the periphery

To further the understanding of those on the periphery (with the lowest level of Jewish identification) two approaches were undertaken utilising the attitudinal scales that were constructed to enable more precise analysis of complex data sets, as has been explained above (see section 4.2). The objective was to explore the extent of distinctiveness in background and outlook of Jews on the periphery.

First, analysis focused on those who scored in the lowest third on all four Jewish identification scales. Numerically this sub-group constitutes a little over 8% of the total survey sample, 475 respondents from the total of over 5,840 respondents. Of these, 135 respondents in Victoria and NSW were aged 18-34 (10% of the sample of that age group). Second, analysis focused on a larger sub-group, comprising approximately one-third of all respondents, who scored in the lowest one-third on the Jewish continuity and connectedness scale. This group comprises 2,033 respondents. Of these, 441 respondents in Victoria and NSW were aged 18-34 (34% of the sample of that age group).

There are some notable similarities between the 'least connected' and 'all others', and the 'lowest third' and 'all others'. A similar proportion of both groups were 'Jewish by birth', completed a bar-mitzvah or bat-mitzvah, had some Jewish religious upbringing, had at least some Jewish day school education, had grandparents who survived concentration camps, and express similar attitudes to life in Australia. There is little differentiation by gender and a majority of the least connected had some youth group involvement. Both groups have similar educational attainment and in similar proportion have family in Israel.

Table 5.2: Comparing the least connected and all others. Respondents aged 18-34, Victoria and New South Wales

Response	All 4 Identity scales		Continuity scale	
	Lowest third on all four scales (10%)	All others (90%)	Lowest Third (34%)	All others (66%)
Demographic, socialisation				
Jewish by birth	99%	98%	98%	98%
Male	53%	50%	53%	49%
Female	47%	50%	47%	51%
Had a bar/bat-mitzvah	83%	85%	81%	89%
Upbringing – Traditional/Conservative/Progressive	52%	49%	49%	51%
Attended a Jewish day school for at least one year	59%	74%	58%	81%
Did not attend a youth group	36%	33%	36%	30%
Grandparents or parents were in concentration camps	49%	42%	41%	45%
Has family in Israel	75%	79%	73%	82%
Attitude to life in Australia				
Sense of belonging (strong/very strong)	80%	78%	77%	80%
Satisfaction with life (satisfied/very satisfied)	84%	88%	87%	91%
Standard of living (satisfied/very satisfied	80%	92%	90%	94%
Achievement in life (satisfied/very satisfied)	72%	78%	76%	81%
N (unweighted)	135	1,213	441	873

Source: Gen08 survey

Sharp differentiation, however, is more evident than commonality. Difference is particularly evident when the lowest 10% is considered, but on most indicators a marked differentiation is evident for the larger one-third sub-group analysed. For example, comparing the lowest 10% and all other respondents, 1% indicated that being Jewish was 'a central element' to their life (compared with 39% for all others), 15% always fast on Yom Kippur (70% all others), 16% view intermarriage with regret (59% all others), 40% have never been to Israel (7% all others), 23% had close friends in Israel (62% all others), 33% identified as a Zionist (82% all others), and 1% would live in Israel if not in Australia (50% all others).

Table 5.3: Comparing the least connected and all others, Victoria and New South Wales, aged 18–34

Response	All 4 Identity scales		Continuity scale	
	Lowest third on all four scales (10%)	All others (90%)	Lowest Third (34%)	All others (66%)
Level of Jewish identification				
Being Jewish is a 'central element of my life'	1%	39%	6%	50%
Being Jewish is 'very important'	12%	72%	28%	86%
Religious identification Orthodox (Ultra/Strictly/Modern)	8%	34%	10%	43%
Secular	70%	22%	52%	13%
Always fast on Yom Kippur	15%	70%	33%	83%
Spend Friday night Shabbat with family every or most weeks	48%	82%	56%	92%
Interaction with non-Jews				
Less than half of friends are Jewish	43%	11%	38%	2%
Partner is not Jewish	48%	12%	43%	2%
View intermarriage with regret	16%	59%	14%	75%
Involvement in Jewish community				
Attends Jewish functions rarely or never	96%	64%	83%	59%
Did not donate to Jewish causes or Israel in the last 12 months	75%	25%	53%	18%
Israel				
Has been to Israel two or more times	23%	69%	41%	76%
Never been to Israel	40%	7%	23%	5%
Has close friends in Israel	23%	62%	43%	66%
Is a Zionist	33%	82%	64%	87%
When Israel in danger feel 'Special alarm' or 'as if own life is in danger'	34%	79%	53%	85%
Would live in Israel if not Australia	1%	50%	26%	54%

Source: Gen08 survey

When the lowest third is compared with all others on the continuity and connectedness scale, the sharpest differentiation is in response to centrality of Jewish life (6%, compared to 50%), importance of being Jewish (28%, 86%), decision to always fast of Yom Kippur (33%, 83%), view intermarriage with regret (14%, 75%), lack of regular attendance at Jewish functions (83%, 59%) and no donation to Jewish causes (53%, 18%).

The significant finding of this analysis of the least connected is the low priority accorded to Jewish identity, lack of concern over intermarriage, relatively high rates of intermarriage, and lack of interest in attending Jewish functions. This data supports the view that prospects are weak for Jewish re-engagement with those on the periphery.

PART 6

Thinking about the future

[6.1] KEY THINKERS: Australia

Two leading Australian communal leaders, Isi Leibler and Sam Lipski, have recently written on the future of Australian Jewry. Both see much that is positive. There are, however, four issues of substance that raise concern:

- The attitudes of young people today – particularly their unwillingness to make personal sacrifices for the community;
- The failure to develop a strong leadership group from the younger generation, one that matches the passion and commitment for communal activities of their grandparents and parents;
- Increasing intermarriage;
- The shifting Australian political context.

Isi Leibler[17]

Isi Leibler was a leading community leader from the 1960s to the 1990s. Leibler served as President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry on four occasions between 1978 and 1995, as well as holding a range of other organisational positions, including President of the Jewish Community Council of Victoria.

He made *aliyah* in 1999 but continues to maintain an active interest in the local communities.

On a recent return visit he commented that there was much more that was positive than negative, and that the Australian Jewish communities were amongst the most successful in the Diaspora. But there were some negative trends.

[1] The younger generation, as evident the world over, lacked the commitment to the Jewish community that characterised the postwar generation, for whom the Holocaust and the struggle to establish Israel were the formative experiences of their lives.

[2] The lower commitment to Jewish day school education, in part a result of increasing cost of tuition and the lower priority for some parents to ensure a Jewish education for their children.

[3] The growing level of intermarriage.

[4] The shift in the political climate, with change evident within many trade unions, previously staunch supporters of Israel, as well as accelerating change in the churches and the universities.

Sam Lipski[18]

Sam Lipski is an astute commentator on contemporary Australia. A long-time journalist, who has held leading positions in the mainstream media in Australia and overseas and was editor of the *Australian Jewish News*, Lipski has since 1998 served as the Chief Executive of the Pratt Foundation and is a former president of the Board of the State Library of Victoria. In a December 2009 article he surveyed likely developments over the next decade and, like Leibler, saw much that was positive in the position of Australian Jewry. Amongst the negative, he focused particularly on the increasing rate of intermarriage, which he sees as having the potential for major impact in perhaps ten years. He saw this as an issue that if not addressed today could become too difficult at a later time. Lipski noted that in American Jewish communities, intermarriage rates moved within the space of one generation (from the early 1960s to the late 1980s) from 10% to 50%. Such change could be expected to have exponential impact on many aspects of Jewish life, from day school and synagogue attendance to the capacity to raise funds vital to the functioning of Jewish organisations.

[17] Isi Leibler, 'Jews in the Lucky Country', *Australian Jewish News, J-Wire,* 25 September 2010.
[18] Sam Lipski, 'Facing up to the future', *Australian Jewish News,* 25 December 2009.

[6.2] International

There is a wealth of analysis of future trends produced by leading international thinkers, particularly in the United States and Israel. Four key themes emerge from these writings.

First, commentators point to the change in the nature of Judaism, with new developments characterised as post-*halachic* – in which Judaism becomes a matter of choice, with one segment of the new generation taking upon themselves to decide which elements they will observe, which they will reject, and which new forms and amalgams they will forge. Taking this reality as the starting point, some analysts argue that it is necessary for Jewish communities in the Diaspora, if they are to survive, to accommodate themselves to these new forms of Judaism, for example not to reject and turn away but to make accommodations to the blended families that are the product of widespread intermarriage.

Second, and related to the first, contemporary change is understood not as a development exclusive to the Jewish community, but as change that reflects the wider society in a postmodern age. Not only within Judaism, but in other religions, there is less observance of Orthodoxy. Modern faith communities are increasingly communities of choice and diversity, not limited by internally and externally imposed boundaries and open to interaction with other faith groups and the secular world.

Third, as in Australia, a key point in overseas analyses is the focus on the changing attitudes to Israel. A recent commentator, Peter Beinart, has garnered much public attention by writing about the alienation in the United States of youth from Israel, which he sees as a function of Israeli government policy. This analysis has been much questioned, but it was preceded by earlier work which also pointed to alienation, although without a direct link to Israeli policy. Another form of explanation adopts a wider perspective grounded in understanding of the postmodern world; alienation of the younger generation is not simply from Israel, it is from the national state and from a narrow and unitary focus of identity.

The fourth issue identified in recent writing relates to the divided nature of Jewish communities and the potential for heightened and bitter polarisation of the Orthodox and secular. Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks has likened today's divisions among Jews to the last days of the Second Temple.

Steven Cohen[19]

The sociologist Steven Cohen holds the position of Research Professor of Jewish Social Policy at Hebrew Union College. He is the author of a number of important works including the co-authored *The Jew Within* (2000), in which he and Arnold Eisen argue that whereas in the past being Jewish was a matter of following certain obligations and norms, notably *halacha* (Jewish law), many Jews today define for themselves 'whether, when, where, and how they will express their Jewish identities, shifting from normative constructions of being Jewish to aesthetic understandings'. Many Jews today see Jewish engagement as an aesthetic preference – akin to liking art or music. The normative approach was characterised by an unambiguous understanding of what was good and right, the aesthetic is less judgmental and directive.

Manfred Gerstenfeld[20]

Manfred Gerstenfeld is a prolific author; Chairman of the Board of Fellows at the Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs, a Jerusalem-based think-tank; and director of the Institute for Global Jewish Affairs. One aspect of his writing serves to situate Jewish issues in a national and international context. The cynicism and disregard for tradition – and the desire to pursue new interests, to forge new paths – is characteristic of a generation, one that has been termed GenY. There is a widespread loss of faith in institutions, especially those of government. Postmodernism is characterised by pursuit of individual life.

Sylvia Barack Fishman[21]

Sylvia Barack Fishman directs the program in Contemporary Jewish Life in the Near Eastern and Judaic Studies Program at Brandeis University. In her most recent book*, Double or Nothing*, Fishman draws on 254 interviews, focus group discussions and survey data to examine the impact of mixed marriage for the future of Jewish life in the United States. Mindful of the cultural pressures that have produced high intermarriage rates, Fishman emphasises the role of education in creating Jews who are committed to Jewish life and continuity. She concludes that there are clear patterns associated with in-marriage and mixed marriage. Strong Jewish connections, including strong connections in intermarried households, are closely correlated with three factors:

(1) Intensive Jewish education in the teenage years;

(2) a Jewishly connected home;

(3) Jewish friendship circles.

She writes that 'each of these alone, and exponentially all three of these together, dramatically predisposes an individual to marry a Jew and to establish a Jewish family. In other words, the more Jewishly connected the parental home and the more Jewish education an individual receives, the more likely it is that the individual will establish a Jewishly connected home of his or her own'. Her findings indicate that the level of Jewish education undertaken by many Jewish converts means that conversionary households will often have deeper Jewish connections than in-married households. The choice to be part of the Jewish people takes place in diverse contexts: religious, political, cultural and social. 'Each of these groups,' Fishman writes, 'is profoundly affected by Jewish education.'

[19] See 'Changes goals and fragmentation of institutional in American Jewish Identities: From Normative Constructions to Aesthetic Understandings', interview with Steven M. Cohen, Institute for Global Jewish Affairs, 16 March 2008.
[20] Manfred Gerstenfeld and Steven Bayme (eds), 'American Jewry's Comfort Level: Present and Future', Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs, 2010.
[21] Sylvia Barack Fishman, *Double or Nothing. Jewish Families and Mixed Marriage*, Brandeis University Press, 2004, p. 159.

Alan Dershowitz[22]

Alan Dershowitz is the Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law at Harvard University, a noted appellate lawyer, a newspaper columnist and commentator on the Arab–Israeli conflict. In his book, *The Vanishing American Jew*, Dershowitz addresses the question of Jewish survival in the twenty-first century. He explains how the goals and values of the Jewish community need to be shifted in light of the crisis of continuity that now confronts it. In addition to the importance of Jewish education at all levels, including adult education, he argues for four important changes in American Jewish life.

First, Judaism must become less tribal and exclusive.

Second, and closely tied to the first point, Judaism must become more welcoming to the convert and to non-Jewish spouse. Refusal to permit intermarriage, Dershowitz argues, has failed as a deterrent mechanism. Judaism must learn to deal with the reality of intermarriage in the most constructive way possible.

Third, Judaism, especially the Orthodox Jewish world, must recognise the validity of secular Judaism. 'If God is important to Judaism,' Dershowitz reasons, 'so is skepticism, argumentation, disagreement, dissent and diversity.'

Fourth, a new Jewish leadership must emerge to supplement the traditional rabbinic and political leadership of the Jewish people. Judaism, he argues, needs a leadership of Jewish educators who can address, creatively and inspirationally, the issue of Jewish illiteracy and ignorance.

David Biale[23]

David Biale is the Emanuel Ringelblum Professor of Jewish History at the University of California. In an article about Jewish identity and multiculturalism in America, Biale argues that Jews today are a community of choice: Jews are free to choose for themselves a multiplicity of identities. Biale suggests that instead of bemoaning the indeterminacy and multiplicity of Jewish identities, the community should embrace them. He calls for a 'sea change' in Jewish consciousness, especially on the issue of intermarriage. 'Far from siphoning off the Jewish gene pool,' he writes, 'perhaps intermarriage needs to be seen instead as creating new forms of identity, including multiple identities, that will reshape what it means to be Jewish in ways we can only begin to imagine'. Whatever one's view of this new development in Jewish identity – whether one sees it as the end of the Jewish people or its continuation in some new guise – the point, Baile argues, is that the shift is palpably underway. 'The task for those concerned with the place of Jews in America,' he concludes, 'is not to condemn or condone but rather to respond creatively to what is now an inevitable social process.'

[22] Alan Dershowitz, *The Vanishing American Jew. In Search of Jewish Identity for the Next Century,* Simon & Schuster, 1997.
[23] David Biale, 'The melting pot and beyond. Jews and the politics of American identity', in David Biale, Michael Galchinsky, and Susannah Heschel (eds), *Insider/Outsider: American Jews and Multiculturalism,* University of California Press, 1998.

Jonathan Sarna[24]

Jonathan Sarna is a world-renowned historian, Professor of American Jewish History at Brandeis University and the director of the university's program in Jewish professional leadership. Sarna identifies four key developments in American society that have impacted on Jewish continuity.

The first is that people-hood or ethnicity is no longer a recognised or meaningful category in the United States. The emphasis today has shifted away from ethnicity and toward race. This trend, he writes, has contributed to the erosion of ethnic differentiation. Non-recognition of ethnic separateness poses an unprecedented challenge to the preservation of Jewish distinctiveness.

The second development is the growing number of religious options. From the position of 'third faith' in the United States, Jews today have been relegated to the position of one among many 'minority faiths.'

The third transformation is that endogamy (in-marriage) is on the decline in American society. Jewish leaders, Sarna writes, are increasingly alone in continuing to promote in-group marriage. Their calls against out-marriage have little effect on a generation that looks upon it as acceptable and normal.

Finally, identity patterns are undergoing significant change. Whereas identity was once based on descent, today it is increasingly based on choice and consent. Jewishness today, writes Sarna, is revocable and dispensable.

All of these challenges notwithstanding, Sarna maintains that Jewish history offers grounds for optimism. He turns to Judaism's past to bring examples of moments in history where threats to continuity have lead to revitalisation, and insists that today's external forces of discontinuity will promote an inner revival. Without prescribing specific solutions, Sarna insists that Jews will yet again find creative ways to turn a moment of crisis into an opportunity for renewal.

Chief Rabbi Lord Jonathan Sacks[25]

Lord Jonathan Sacks, Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth, warns about divisions within Jewish communities. He observes that, 'The Jewish people today [is] as divided as it was in the last days of the Second Temple.' Sacks calls upon the Jewish people to broker a balance between universalism and particularism: he believes that Jews who turn to universalism are in danger of losing their identity; Jews who turn to particularism stand to retreat 'into the ghetto of the mind'. For Sacks faith is the key to continuity: he urges the universalist to reverse his weakening attachment to Judaism by making faith the indispensable base of his Jewishness, while to the particularist he urges a turn outward by letting faith be a source of inspiration to others.

Sacks believes that the Jewish people's image of themselves as 'a people alone in the world, surrounded by enemies' is self-fulfilling and damaging. Needed, Sacks writes, is a return to Judaism's original sense of purpose: as a partner with God and with those of other faiths in the struggle for *tikkun olam*, reparation of the world.

[24] Jonathan D. Sarna, 'The Secret of Jewish Continuity', *Commentary,* 1994, vol. 98, no. 4, p. 55–58.
[25] Jonathan Sacks, *Future Tense: A Vision for Jews and Judaism in the Global Culture,* Hodder & Stoughton, 2009.

Esther Benbassa[26]

Esther Benbassa is Professor of Modern Jewish History at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Sorbonne) in Paris. She is the author of many books, including *The Jews and Their Future: A Conversation on Jewish Identities* and *Suffering as Identity: The Jewish Paradigm*. In her writing, Benbassa sounds a warning against what she sees as a growing tendency within Judaism to place suffering and Holocaust remembrance at the centre of Jewish identity. She traces through history the development of a 'lachrymose' Judaism that has become more significant since the Holocaust. Suffering as identity, Benbassa argues in a co-authored work, mitigates the move away from Jewish traditions as a consequence of the social integration and emancipation of the Jews. Whether an individual is or remains a Jew, she writes, 'has become much more a matter of choice than of destiny'. A shared narrative of suffering offers a substitute of identity for a Judaism that has lost touch with its religious core: She asks, 'Do we Jews have a tendency to frighten ourselves in order to recover our Jewishness?'

As well as cultivating a shared identity in the face of Jewish acculturation, the memory of the Holocaust and an 'over-awareness' of antisemitism is invoked by the Israeli government and by Jewish institutions in the Diaspora to 'neutralize threats to Israel's interests'. The result, she argues, is a Judaism that retreats into itself and is often blind to the world of destruction in which the Palestinians are forced to live. Without denying the importance of Holocaust remembrance or downplaying the threat of antisemitism, Benbassa calls for a return to Judaism as a celebratory and life-affirming religion: 'To cultivate the memory of the Holocaust is one thing. To base Jewish identity on it is another thing,' she argues. In place of a suffering Judaism and a monolithic Jewish community in danger from virulent antisemitism, she directs attention to recognition of 'the existence of a plural Jewish identity, diverse, dispersed, in no way united, constantly repositioned; now self-doubting, now boldly projecting itself into the future'.

Peter Beinart[27]

Peter Beinart is an American journalist who in 2010 stirred wide-ranging controversy with his views on the changing attitudes to Israel. In his interpretation many non-Orthodox younger Jews, especially in America, feel much less attached to Israel than their parents with many professing 'a near-total absence of positive feelings'. He argues that many secular Diaspora Jews under 35 have grown disillusioned with Israel as occupying power. He explains this phenomenon by arguing that while the older generation of Zionists were shaped by the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War – both of which helped make Israel central to Diaspora Jewish life – their children have grown up with an Israel in which the settler movement has become a major force, an Israel of two Lebanon wars and two intifadas. As a result, Beinart explains, 'they are more conscious than their parents of the degree to which Israeli behaviour violates liberal ideals, and less willing to grant Israel an exemption because its survival seems in peril'. For several decades, he concludes, the Jewish establishment has asked American Jews to 'check their liberalism at Zionism's door'. It seems that today many young Jews 'have checked their Zionism instead'. Some commentators have taken this a step further, arguing that many young secular Jews, because of the difficulty of reconciling progressive liberal values with the current policies of the State of Israel, now feel alienated from Judaism in all its forms.

[26] Esther Benbassa and Jean-Christophe Attias, *The Jews and their Future,* Zed Books, 2001, 2004 translation, pp. 16, 6, 17.
[27] Peter Beinart, 'The failure of the American Jewish Establishment', *New York Review of Books,* 10 June 2010.

Beinart quotes a 2006 survey by the American Jewish Committee (AJC) which found that among Orthodox Jews under forty years of age, 79% feel very close to Israel, among non-Orthodox Jews in the same age group only 16% feel 'very close'.

Analysis pointing to growing disengagement from Israel is evident in a number of studies. A 2010 publication by the Jewish People Policy Planning Institute[28] (JPPPI) based in Jerusalem argued that the overall trend in the relations between Jews in Israel and the Diaspora is for the younger generation both in Israel and the Diaspora to be less and less interested in the fate of their fellow Jews overseas. Relations between Israel and the Jewish people in the Diaspora are strong at present, but are likely to face decline. The younger generation in the Diaspora is distanced from the dramatic historical events that accompanied the establishment of the State of Israel. The younger generation is more likely to be exposed to negative views of Israel and its policies, and has almost no experience of identification with Israel as a source of pride. It is less concerned about Israel and its future and has less of an emotional attachment to the country.

[28] Rami Tal and Barry Geltman (eds), *2030: Alternative Futures for the Jewish People,* Jewish People Policy Planning Institute, 2010.

PART 7

Four scenarios

The findings of a major project to consider future scenarios for Jewish communities were published in January 2010 by the Jewish People Policy Planning Institute (JPPPI) in Jerusalem. The objective of the project was to:

> Provide insights into possible futures of the Jewish People and into the variables shaping them, with identification of policy instruments that can be used by Jewish People decision-makers to increase the probability of a thriving future for the Jewish People and decrease the probability of negative futures.[29]

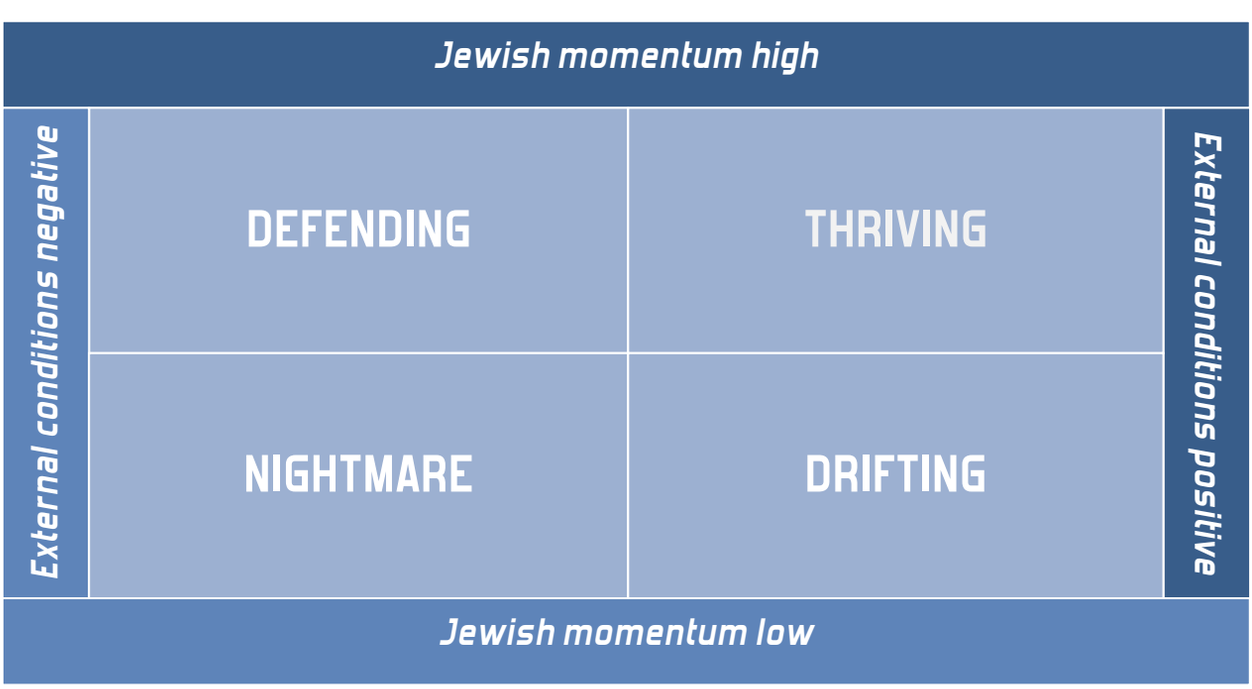
The project was based in large part on a series of consultations. Some 75 decision-makers and academics took part in brainstorming sessions and an additional 120 leading policy-shapers drawn from around the world participated in discussions hosted in Jerusalem.

On the basis of this extensive consultation and additional research, the report presents four possible scenarios, utilising two variables, one internal to Jewish communities, the other external. Valuing of the two variables as positive and negative yield four possible scenarios:

- **Thriving:** Jewish momentum high, external conditions positive
- **Drifting:** Jewish momentum low, external conditions positive
- **Defensive:** Jewish momentum high, external conditions negative
- **Nightmare:** Jewish momentum low, external conditions low

The report argues that all four scenarios have been evident in recent Jewish history and there have been times of rapid change, occurring within the course of a decade, from one scenario to another.

Figure 7.1: The Jewish People: Four Alternative Futures



[29] Tal and Geltman (2010): page 4.

[7.1] Australia: current situation and projection

The current situation in Australia is most accurately described, using the JPPPI categories, as Thriving.

As has been discussed, in the aggregate, Jewish Australians have high educational attainment – both in absolute terms and when compared to averages for the total Australian population – are financially secure, and are respected members of a democratic, pluralist and multicultural society.

There is a relatively low level of antisemitism in Australia as far as it concerns daily life (although there is much concern at the level of negative coverage of Israel in the mass media). The major communities have strong leadership and an institutional structure that provides a range of educational options, youth groups, welfare and provision for the elderly. Particularly in Melbourne and Sydney, it is possible to speak of strong and well-functioning communities. While Sydney is distinct in its centralised fundraising and planning capacity, Melbourne has a broader range of institutions and greater range of religious options.

This is not to say that things could not be improved, for there are disadvantaged segments and inadequate funding to meet all needs, but relative to other ethno-religious groups in Australian society, and a number of Jewish communities in the Diaspora, the Jewish communities in Australia have outstanding achievements.

Cross-national survey data supports these conclusions. Data is available to provide some degree of comparison between Jewish communities in Australia, South Africa, the United States and England. Comparison between the findings of different surveys is difficult as questions are worded differently and are asked in different contexts. Nevertheless, the picture that emerges is one of sharp differentiation between the United States and the three other countries of Jewish settlement for whom recent survey data is available. This differentiation is evident in level of Jewish identification, religious observance and Israel connectedness. A particular strength of the Melbourne and Sydney communities is the high participation in Jewish day schools and youth groups. These observations hold true only at the aggregate level, as a number of American cities have major centres of Jewish learning, a broad range of religious, educational and cultural institutions, and boast a rich Jewish life in all its forms.

Table 7.2: Comparative survey findings, Australia, South Africa, England, and United States

Response	Gen08 VIC & NSW	Gen08 Australia	South Africa 2005	Leeds 2001	London & South East 2002	UK National Israel survey 2010	USA (NJPS) 2000-2001	Boston 2005
N	4,796	5,840		1,496	2,965	4,081	+4,500	
Estimated Jewish population	110,000	125,000	88,000	10,000	200,000	295,000	+5.2m.	210,000
Attended Jewish day school some to all years	51%*	31%	70%	14%	19%	25%	11%	16%
Attended youth movement, a Jewish club or organisation	69%	59%		86%	72%	63%		
Membership of Jewish sports club	32%	32%		18%	17%			
Had a bar/bat mitzvah	65%	64%		54%	57%			
Attend synagogue once a month or more	31%	33%	48%	38%	36%	29%	19%	29%
Attend Passover *Seder* every or most years	91%	90%	95%	85%	83%	83%	77%	52%
Fast on Yom Kippur every or most years	69%	69%	90%	69%	64%	72%	32%	
Being Jewish very important in life	91%	90%		86%	87%	93%	50%	
All or nearly all friends are Jewish	61%	57%		61%	63%			
Half or more friends are Jewish	77%	72%		81%	81%		45%	
Is a Zionist	80%	80%				64%		
Has been to Israel	81%	80%	83%	81%	91%	93%	35%	38%
Have family in Israel	74%	74%	78%			54%	31%	37%

*Respondents born in Australia or arrived aged 10 or less.
Source: Shirley Bruck Research, *The Jews of South Africa 2005 – Report on a Research Study* (2006); analysis of British survey data (SPSS files) by Dr David Graham; NJPS, Report on the NJPS survey, Powerpoint presentation; *The 2005 Boston Community Survey: Preliminary Findings* (2006).

There is little evidence of major change having occurred within the Australian Jewish population over the last twenty years. The generational change which has been evident in the United States and which has impacted on identity and patterns of intermarriage is yet to have a substantial impact in Australia. The Australian communities have not had to deal with a decline in economic fortunes experienced in Argentina, the insecurities resulting from regime change experienced in South Africa, or a marked rise in the incidence of antisemitism, experienced in France.

The Australian Jewish communities in 2010 are not facing the challenge of adjusting to change that has occurred, either internally or in the external environment – rather, with changes whose impact may be felt in the next ten to twenty years.

The Australian Jewish communities in 2010 are not facing the challenge of adjusting to change which has occurred, either internally or in the external environment – rather, with changes whose impact may be felt in the next ten to twenty years.

The risk facing the Melbourne and Sydney communities is that in the mid-term the community could find itself, again in the JPPPI conceptualisation, moving from the Thriving category to both Drift and Defensiveness. There are three key issues that may lead to this change.

First, the ageing of the population, which will have a particular impact on community resources in the 2020s, may put at risk the capacity to maintain funding of a broad range of institutions, as funds will be needed for provision of the elderly.

Second, if criticism of Israel continues to increase and impact on government (to an extent that it has not done to the present), then the position of the Jewish Australian communities characterised by their close links to Israel may be compromised. Such a development could put at risk the sound working relationship with the various sectors of government and exacerbate divisions in the community.

Third, **an opting out of community life and increasing rates of intermarriage by the age cohort currently in their twenties and thirties may have major negative impact, for example on the number of children attending Jewish day schools, the capacity to recruit and train the next generation of communal leaders, and to raise the funds necessary for the maintenance of key institutions. There are present indications that the younger generation will be less willing (and less able, with lower levels of discretionary income) to donate to Jewish causes, and with an outlook that will lead to increasing donation to the wider community.**

Rabbi Jonathan Sacks identified two main determinants that united the dispersed Jewish communities: a common faith and a common fate. Increasingly, as has been discussed, amongst the non-Orthodox, Judaism is losing commonalities as young people determine for themselves their own path to a Jewish (and in many cases a non-Jewish) life. As the JPPPI report observes:

> The overall trend in Jewish identification is towards more diverse and pluralistic forms of Jewish identification less focused on a common set of basic values. There is a shift in identification from religious to secular, from ethnic to cultural, from community-oriented to individualistic and universal.[30]

[30] Tal and Geltman (2010): page 18.

PART 8

Issues for planning

The discussion of challenges facing Jewish communities – and the scope to develop optimal strategies – may well be over-determined: that is to say, they are made to appear more capable of precise and narrow analysis than they actually are. To take one example, Manfred Gerstenfeld has written:

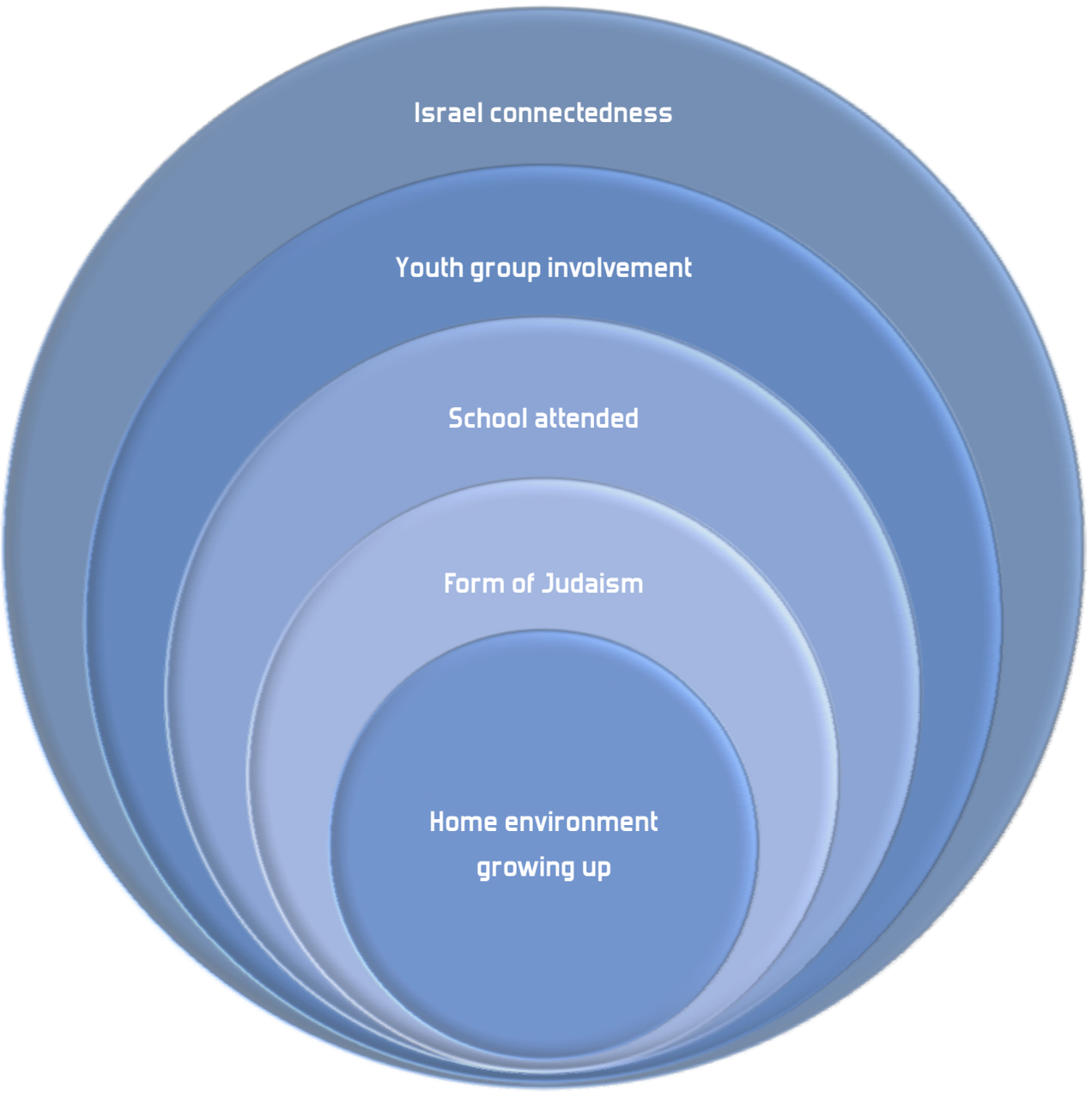
> The battle for the future of a vibrant American Jewry begins with understanding the present better and continues with assessing as best as possible what the future might bring. The need to develop tools to understand faster the changes occurring and their effects is perhaps the greatest challenge the American Jewish community has to confront.[31]

In contrast with this emphasis on the 'need to develop tools to understand faster', it is argued in this report that the nature of change and key challenges are already well understood – and these involve medium and long-term social change, not change that is immediate and has impact over a period of weeks or months, such that timing is crucial. **The task is to arrive at a clear understanding of change – and to convey this understanding to community leaders and planning bodies.**

From whatever angle the Australian survey data is examined, the conclusion points to the shaping of identity by a range of inter-connected and reinforcing variables. The five key variables are: home environment growing up; form of Judaism/ Jewish affiliation; schooling; youth group involvement; experience of Israel/ Israel connectedness.

[31] Manfred Gerstenfeld, 'American Jewry's Comfort Level: Present and Future', Institute for Global Jewish Affairs, No. 56, 16 May 2010.

Figure 8.1: Inter-connected variables shaping identity



These variables apply with different impact within the various segments of the Jewish community. The inter-connections are strongest within the core, producing strength of Jewish identity; conversely, they are weakest at the periphery.

At the core, whether in the context of religious or other forms of Jewish identity transmission, a person is socialised with a coherent and consistent set of values and life experiences, within a community of supportive and like-minded people. This being the case, the need for new initiatives and added funding to foster Jewish identity is limited. The core represents an effectively functioning environment, characterised by a high level of Jewish identification and strong value transmission across generations.

Whatever the external environment, this is a segment of the community sure of its values, constant in its beliefs, resilient in its capacity to withstand challenges of the external environment. It needs a level of support sufficient to ensure that existing practices can be maintained, but has limited need for new initiatives.

This is in marked contrast with the scope for initiatives in the middle: it is there that Jewish identity is more challenged, but where additional support and well thought-out innovation, consistently applied, has scope to produce marked change in the lives of individuals.

Jewish identity is under greatest challenge at the periphery, but in light of the evidence presented in this report, the scope to make an impact is low given the extent of divorce from key aspects of Jewish identity. Those on the periphery are firm in their indifference or rejection of traditional Jewish values and they are not looking to change.

The importance of funding to support core activities and organisations is not questioned, but from the point of view of impacting on Jewish continuity it is argued that the balance of community funding between core and middle needs more careful consideration than it has received to the present.

It is the middle that provides the potential for greatest impact on Jewish continuity, where large numbers, perhaps half of the Jewish population, may be impacted by measures optimally directed to foster Jewish continuity.

Two basic points are made with regard to the middle, based on historical knowledge, survey data and focus group discussions:

1. Despite the efforts of Chabad and other streams of Orthodox Judaism, it is most unlikely that a large proportion of those within the middle will adopt an Orthodox way of life.

2. Optimal programs will be based on a realistic assessment of the current Jewish and Australian environments.

Evidence for the first proposition is provided by considering change in the outlook of young adults who were brought up in homes which were Traditional, Progressive or secular. To what extent have individuals from such backgrounds been moved to adopt an Orthodox life? Among Traditional Jews, many of whom are located in the middle segment, 22% of those aged 18-34 indicated that they were more religious than they had been 'a few years ago', but almost the same proportion, 21%, indicated that they were less religious. Among those who identified as Orthodox, there was indication of stronger religious identity, while among the secular there was a large proportion (35%) who had become less religious. (Table 8.1)

It is the middle that provides the potential for greatest impact on Jewish continuity.

Table 8.1: Religious identity today cross-tabulated with change in religious outlook. Respondents aged 18-34, Melbourne and Sydney

Are you more religious or less religious today than you were a few years ago …?	Religious identification today				
	Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular/ not religious
More religious	50%	34%	22%	26%	4%
About the same	45%	45%	57%	49%	52%
Less religious	6%	20%	21%	25%	35%
Don't know/ Decline	0%	1%	0%	1%	9%
N (unweighted)	94	304	390	171	344

A closely related approach considers religion of the home. Is there evidence that a significant number of those in the middle, who had been raised in Traditional homes, are now Orthodox? The findings point to a pattern whereby (with the exception of the Ultra and Strictly Orthodox) close to 60% of those aged 18-34 maintain the religious identification of the home, with movement among the remainder both towards and away from Orthodoxy. This movement is in almost equal proportions among the Traditional: 20% now identify as Orthodox, but the same proportion, 20%, now identify as secular.

For some, the path to an Orthodox life will be the answer to Jewish continuity, but not for others**. It is the need to enhance Jewish life within this latter group, who are not attracted to Orthodoxy and who are the majority, which poses particular challenges.**

Table 8.2: Religious upbringing cross-tabulated with religious identity today. Respondents aged 18-34, Melbourne and Sydney

Religious identification today	How would you describe religious attitudes in the home in which you grew up?				
	Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular/ not religious
Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	74%	6%	3%	0%	3%
Modern Orthodox	11%	61%	17%	8%	5%
Traditional	7%	19%	56%	11%	15%
Conservative/ Progressive	3%	4%	5%	55%	10%
Secular/ Not religious	6%	11%	20%	26%	67%
N (unweighted)	76	280	512	167	252

In the major Australian communities (unlike many communities in the United States) many of the young adults within the middle have had a range of sustained Jewish involvements; many have spent years in a Jewish day school and have attended a Jewish youth group, but their experiences have not been such as to lead to a more sustained Jewish identification. These are nevertheless vital points of contact.

How is it possible to optimise impact on young people within the middle? Broad strategies may be more easily defined than the specifics of programs, but the broad strategies must be based on understanding of the challenges posed in a postmodern society. **Focus group discussions indicate that provision of a range of options rather than structured activity along one pathway is the most likely to succeed.**

As is well understood, the challenge is to impact on the young – those in their school years, young single adults and young parents, on individuals more open to new ideas and more amenable to change. The objective is to work with those who can be attracted to some form of Jewish engagement, without necessarily an immediate commitment to organisational or regular involvement.

The challenge is to impact on the young. . . The objective is to work with those who can be attracted to some form of Jewish engagement, without necessarily an immediate commitment to organisational or regular involvement.

[8.1] Achieving impact

Significant impact may be achieved by:

- **Fostering understanding among young parents of the necessary partnership between school and home**, of the importance of a robust Jewish upbringing and home environment in the formation of Jewish identity. This responsibility cannot be outsourced to rabbis, school teachers, youth group leaders or others. It must come from within the family home and form part of the fabric of daily life. Given the mutually reinforcing relationship between Jewish school and home environment, schools need to educate their parent bodies about the importance of the home in supporting the philosophy of the school to which they have chosen to send their children. A range of programs aimed at engaging young families, including those of mixed-faith, in Jewish life should be further explored.

- **Providing high quality supplementary Jewish education** (BJE/ UJEB and other providers) for those in the state school system. Supplementary Jewish education providers will continue to be responsible for providing formal Jewish education to a substantial proportion of school age children and should therefore be resourced appropriately to enable quality Jewish education outcomes. The financial circumstances and philosophical preferences of many Jewish families means that for most attending the state system there will not be the possibility of transfer to Jewish day schools. Ideally, more children will have the option of attendance at a Jewish day school – but if this is not a realistic prospect, then ensuring adequate allocation of funding to the supplementary stream is critical. As BJE and BPJE in NSW appear to be well-funded and performing strongly, more urgent attention is required to UJEB and other providers in Melbourne.

- **More attention in community planning to what the different Jewish day schools do well – and less well**, to the issue of quality Jewish educational outcomes and Jewish identity beyond the standard measures of academic results. There is, for example, a requirement for **additional attention in schools to the nature of challenges to be faced in post-school education**. Young people in many cases report leaving the supportive and insular environment of the school with little preparation for university life, both in terms of the educational requirements in an independent learning environment (an issue common to many graduates of the private education system) and the frequent hostility to Israel and those identified as supporters of Israel. Greater effort should be focused on equipping students with a more robust understanding of the world around them and experiences they may face in the broader community.

- **Increased support and funding of youth groups.** Youth groups have the potential for major impact on the lives of teenagers and Gen08 data points to sustained youth group involvement as a key factor in connection with Israel and formation of Jewish identity. They need sufficient funding to sustain weekly programs, camps and Israel experience. But there is as much a conceptual as funding issue: the challenge today is to make youth groups attractive to a new generation of youngsters.

- **Development of strategies and funding streams to encourage participation in Israel trips,** directed particularly to those with a record of youth group involvement**.** The combination of sustained youth group involvement and Israel experience is shown by Gen08 data to be an important factor in the shaping of Jewish identity.

- Greater attention to engagement with segments of the community experiencing or at risk of alienation and disengagement: of high priority are intermarried couples and recent immigrants, particularly the increasing number of arrivals from Israel. The trend to greater intermarriage is not likely to be reversed; **there is an urgent need for strategies that more effectively reach out to intermarried couples.**

- Specific programs to **augment the identification and nurturing of potential communal leaders,** including attention to the middle school years. Strong communal leadership does not emerge without concerted, organised efforts to identify potential leaders and provide them with the appropriate tools, resources and contacts necessary to ensure meaningful communal outcomes. One structural initiative suggested in focus group discussion is **a central forum for young activists, with a modest level of funding sufficient for the development and implementation of initiatives** devised by these activists. A second concerns **enhanced opportunities for the exercise of leadership beyond one year** so that initiatives can be developed to fruition. This entails provision of salary to support key office-holders.

- **Optimal use of internet communication pathways such as social media.** Simply developing a website and contact list is not a panacea for engaging young people: it is a necessary tool, but not sufficient in itself. In order to meaningfully engage younger generations, social media must recognise that its target audience is defined by its selectivity: it is culturally creative, pro-diversity, sceptical of authority, often anti-institutional, and looks for opportunities for personal exploration of identity, just one facet of which is Jewish identity.

- **A key issue to be faced is the extent of pluralism and diversity to be accommodated within the Jewish community:** focus group discussions indicate a feeling among some non-Orthodox young adults that there is little or no willingness to engage with their views. Greater recognition and accommodation of diversity needs to be encouraged across a range of issues, including one's religious identification, views on Israel and communal participation. Many young Jews do not identify with mainstream Jewish institutions and viewpoints and want to identify with Judaism in a different way from their parents and grandparents. **There is the need to recognise when these trends are alternate paths to expressions of Judaism as opposed to paths away from Judaism.**

The above suggestions, very general in nature and designed to spur discussion and the development of creative programs, rest on the key findings of the extensive analysis of Gen08 data and focus group discussions.

[8.2] Criteria for evaluating new initiatives

- The scope to make the greatest impact is within the middle.
- There is no one-off, simple solution to the challenges faced by the majority of Jewish youth within the middle – rather, the optimum policy requires many points of contact, starting with fostering understanding of the significance of the home environment, to attract and serve the function of developing coherence across a range of life experiences.
- Initiatives need to be based on a realistic assessment of the challenges of contemporary life, to deal with what are at times harsh realities. These include: the cost of Jewish education, which precludes a significant number from attending a Jewish school – hence necessitating a greater investment in supplementary Jewish education and youth groups; the cost of housing, which will produce greater geographic dispersion, with particular impact on young families; an increase in the number of immigrants from Israel, entailing distinct challenges for incorporation in community life; increasing rates of intermarriage, and difficulties faced by those seeking to convert; and the attractions of the open society and the impact of the communication revolution.

Appendix

NOTE ON SAMPLING METHODOLOGY

The sampling methodology of the Gen08 survey was distinctive. Its successful implementation was dependent on the active support of a broad range of community leaders and institutions and public acceptance of the goals and worth of the project.

Earlier Australian (and most overseas) studies have been undertaken with a relatively small number of respondents. For example, of the earlier Melbourne surveys, there were 640 respondents in 1991 and 504 in 1967. Both employed face to face interviews. While the number of respondents was small, such surveys have claims to be 'scientific'. If their sample targets are met they can provide an overview of a population with a high degree of reliability, at best plus or minus 2.5%. The inherent limitation of such work is that the high cost per completed survey limits the sample size, leaving little or no scope to examine sub-groups of interest. The 1991 Melbourne study, for example, included a total of 40 respondents who described themselves as Strictly Orthodox. Sub-groups of this size cannot be disaggregated for reliable analysis.

There is a second issue, independent of cost or sample size. A 'scientific' sample is only as reliable as the database from which the sample is drawn. Community databases will necessarily under-represent marginal groups. Further, acceptance of an invitation to participate in a survey differs across segments of the community, with the potential to compromise claims for 'scientific' validity.

If a random methodology is used to locate participants, as adopted in a number of American surveys which start without a database from which the sample may be drawn, then a very large number of contacts need to be initiated for each completed survey. The US 2000-2001 national survey took one year to administer and began with an initial sample of more than 1.2 million phone numbers. Some 180,000 people were contacted for 4500 completed interviews with Jewish adults, with a short version of the survey completed by an additional 650 individuals of Jewish background. On average each completed survey with a Jewish respondent required 1,500 calls for a total of 6.7 million dialings. Surveys of this nature are necessarily very expensive, with the cost of the US survey reaching more than US$6 million.

With such a low ratio of completed survey per potential respondent approached, even if pre-determined stratification targets are met there can be problems of reliability. With all of the resources at its disposal, the 2000-2001 American national survey did not succeed in meeting its targets in the first phase of surveying and in the second phase resorted to paying participants, introducing a further element of potential bias to the sample. A storm of controversy met the release of its findings.[32]

A further problem with random telephone surveying is that there is differential access to telephones across a population and increasingly segments of the population are unwilling to respond to surveys. Further, many people now only have mobile phones and a range of issues, including privacy laws and difficulty in establishing sample frames, limit systematic surveying over mobile connection.

The Gen08 survey achieved over 6,200 completed surveys in Australia and New Zealand – for a fraction of the cost of major overseas surveys. In place of payment to trained staff to administer and score the survey, the survey was self-administered and scored. With a total of 144 questions, a number of which included a range of sub-questions, the survey was long and at the limit of self-administration in a general population. In Melbourne and Sydney, 87.8% (or 4479) of the questionnaires were completed online, 12.2% (or 622) in print.

[32] See, for example, Leonard Saxe and Charles Kadushin, 'Population study: questioning the validity', *Jewish Week*, September 2003.

Gen08 clearly engaged the interest and commitment of Australian Jews, for some 89% of those who began the online survey completed it, despite fears expressed at the pilot stage that completion rates would be well below 50%. The surveys completed in the print version were entered in the database by four project employees who worked together to ensure consistency in coding.

The validation of the survey depended on two factors. First, detailed demographic data on Australian Jews derived from the census, a source not available in the United States where there is no religion question in the census. American surveys, by far the most extensive and well-funded in the Jewish world, expend much effort on establishing the basic demographic profile of the Jewish population. Such surveys are necessarily both demographic and attitudinal, and the survey itself contributes to establishing the basis for weights to be applied to the sample frame. In Australia demographic data is obtained independent of the survey. While census data is subject to interpretation, as only some 70% of the population indicated religion, an optional question, in the most recent (2006) census, most estimates for the Jewish population are within a narrow range and the relativities for gender, age profile, qualification, income, residential pattern, place of birth, and a number of other demographic variables can be established with a large measure of certainty.

Prior to the Gen08 survey detailed analysis of the 2006 census was undertaken in Melbourne and Sydney, utilising customised data purchased from the Australian Bureau of Statistics. In common with survey practice, this data provided the basis for weighting of the Gen08 survey accurately to reflect the total Jewish population, utilising three key variables: gender, age and educational attainment. Due to large variation in the size of weights, the weights were trimmed to reduce the mean squared error of key outcome estimates. Weights that were greater than the median weight plus six times the inter-quartile range of the weights were made equal to that limit. A total of 67 weights (1.1% of the total) did not meet that criteria and were trimmed.

As a second means of checking the reliability of the achieved sample, results were examined across three respondent categories: those who (1) responded to an invitation to participate in the survey; (2) requested to participate and completed the survey online; (3) requested to participate and completed the print version of the survey. Through a category code embedded in passwords used by respondents to access the survey it was possible to track categories of respondents. There was a fourth category employed, a random sample of invited participants, which yielded 805 completed surveys (15.8% of the total).

Over 25,000 invitations to participate were mailed or emailed to all identified households in Melbourne and Sydney using a database compiled for the survey in Melbourne and the database of the JCA (Jewish Communal Appeal) in Sydney.

In Melbourne, where there is currently no organisation with a comprehensive database of the Jewish population, three leading organisations (JCCV, UIA Victoria and Maccabi Victoria) provided access to their records on condition of strictest confidentiality, enabling a composite database of households to be compiled. These organisations were chosen because between them they provided the most comprehensive coverage available, with the Maccabi database most likely to include individuals who are relatively unaffiliated with the mainstream. This database was at no time removed from the offices of the organisations involved and once letters and labels were generated the database was destroyed. Likewise, all data from the JCA offices was used with strict confidentiality and no link could be made between individual identity and survey response.

Every available means was used, in addition to invitation by mail, to publicise the survey, including an advertising campaign conducted in the *Australian Jewish News* and the Hebrew-language *Eton,* Facebook, distribution of promotional cards with passwords at various functions and venues, and promotion through various email networks, both personal and organisational. The 21 JCA member organisations greatly assisted recruitment of participants amongst their membership. A special effort was made to ensure the participation of the marginalised and members of two immigrant groups whose involvement was known to present special challenges – those from the Former Soviet Union and Israel. Over 30 focus groups were held in Melbourne and Sydney prior to the commencement of surveying, in part to refine the survey instrument, but also to establish a broad range of contacts and build confidence in the project. A number of meetings were also held with key individuals. In Sydney, a letter from a rabbi was mailed to members of a large religious congregation with significant involvement by immigrants from the FSU and a significant effort was made to recruit FSU immigrants by Jewish Care.

In Melbourne several Russian-speaking people were engaged to assist participation using the print version of the survey. In addition, in Melbourne two Ph.D. students (Anita Frayman and Ran Porat) worked to increase participation by the elderly and by those born in Israel.

A final objective was to ensure greater participation by young people. In addition to publicity at various venues, during university Orientation Week in February 2009 in Melbourne and Sydney, in co-operation with the Australian Union of Jewish Students (AUJS) and Hillel, a small incentive payment (the payment of membership fees in the university student organisation, worth $10) was offered to encourage completion of the survey, either online or in the print version. A small incentive payment was made to AUJS and a Chabad group with contacts among youth across Australia. A number of prizes in raffles were offered; during the main period of surveying, those completing the survey online or in print were eligible to enter a draw to win one of three iPhones. In February 2009 university students completing the survey could enter a draw to win $50 shopping vouchers.

With the completion of the survey, what evidence is there that the achieved sample is representative of views of Jewish Australians, particularly in the two cities that provided the bulk of data for this report?

As a first step to interrogate the achieved sample, three respondent categories were disaggregated to enable comparison of respondent profiles and pattern of response. This examination, much of it too detailed to be included in this report, indicates that respondents in the invited group have marginally higher socio-economic status and there is marginally higher representation of some overseas-born groups; those who took the initiative to request a password to participate online are marginally younger, marginally more likely to be born in Australia and marginally more religiously identified. The main distinguishing factor across the three respondent frames relates, as to be expected, to age; those who requested to complete the survey in print form comprise an older age cohort, a difference that is diluted somewhat by young people completing the print version of the survey during Orientation Week at their universities in February 2009. Again in keeping with an older age profile, the print version includes respondents of lower educational attainment and lower socio-economic profile, but with only marginal differentiation by other demographic categories.

Table A1: Respondent profile by respondent frame, Melbourne and Sydney

Variable	N	%	Year of birth		Education		Socio-economic status	
			Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Invited	2,914	57.1%	1958.9	16.9	6.77	1.98	2.61	0.87
Requested – online	1,565	30.7%	1964.6	16.7	6.78	1.94	2.75	0.86
Requested – print	622	12.2%	1947.1	25.0	5.68	2.29	2.81	0.88
Total/Average	5,101	100%	1959.2	18.7	6.65	2.04	2.68	0.87

Variable	Country of birth		Identity: religious/secular		Gender	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Invited	3.93	3.74	5.23	1.83	1.53	.499
Requested – online	3.69	3.84	5.17	1.91	1.56	.496
Requested – print	3.89	3.04	5.21	1.91	1.57	.496
Total/Average	3.85	3.69	5.21	1.87	1.54	.498

Source: Gen08 survey

When responses to questions are disaggregated by respondent profile, the strongest finding is the similarity of response. There is limited variation between the two online respondent categories, more marked variation when comparison is made with print version respondents. Variation appears to be explained by the respondent demographics, notably the age and educational variables, which may account for the higher proportion of the 'Don't know/ Decline to answer' and which explains much of the variation. It was also possible to leave questions unanswered in the print version (but not online), which also adds to the 'Decline to answer' category.

Table A2: How important is being Jewish is your life today? Cross-tabulated by respondent frame

Response	Invited	Requested – online	Requested – print
Very important	64.4%	66.3%	59.8%
Somewhat important	28.1%	25.1%	22.0%
Not very important	4.4%	6.5%	7.9%
Not at all important	1.6%	1.2%	3.8%
Don't know/decline	1.5%	0.7%	6.4%

Source: Gen08 survey

Table A3: When you hear about intermarriage in the community, how do you feel? By respondent frame

Response	Invited	Requested – online	Requested – print
No view, not my business	9.8%	11.3%	14.8%
Very pleased	1.6%	2.4%	2.7%
Pleased with some reservations	2.1%	3.0%	2.5%
Accepting or neutral	24.6%	21.9%	18.3%
Feel some regret	32.5%	27.3%	26.2%
Feel very considerable regret	27.1%	32.1%	26.6%
Don't know/decline	2.3%	1.8%	8.8%

Source: Gen08 survey

The last part of this analysis of respondent profile considers the extent to which the aggregated respondent categories match demographic indicators available in the 2006 census and data on school enrolments.

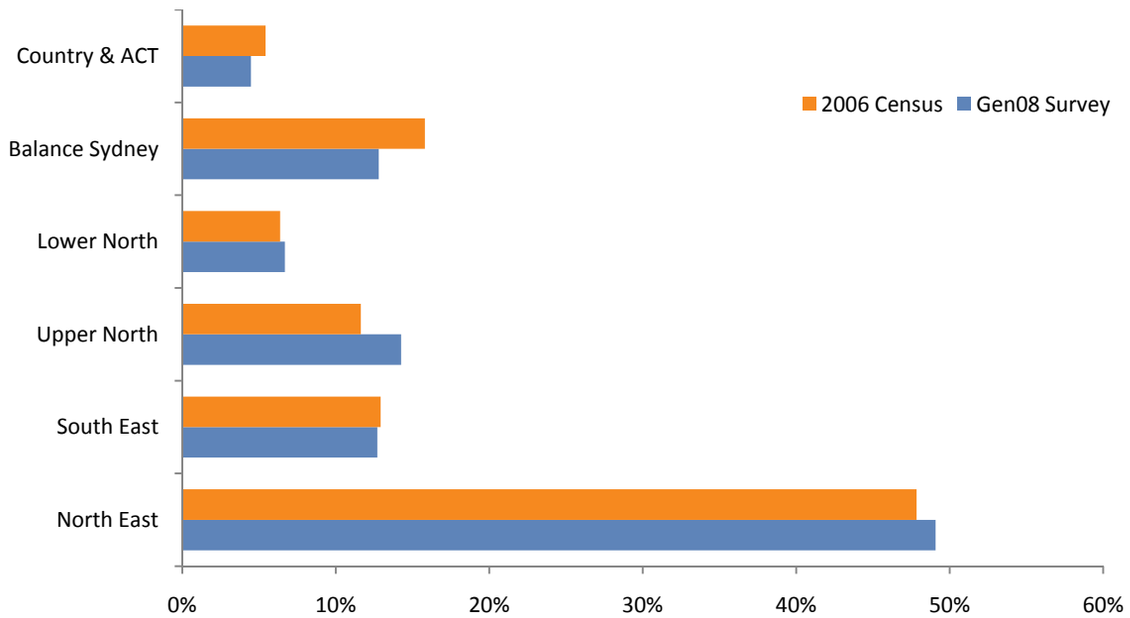
One important indicator is residential pattern. A failure to match the known residential pattern would indicate that the survey did not reach across the community; this failure to match the known distribution could be random, indicative of an unreliable sample, or concentrated in the regions of heavy Jewish concentration, indicating that the survey reached the core but not the periphery of the community. The following data (a table which plots distribution by postcode in Melbourne and a graph representing regional distribution in New South Wales) indicates that the survey succeeded in accurately representing the geographical distribution of the Jewish population.

Table A4: Respondent location by postcode, 2006 Census and Gen08 compared, Melbourne

Location	Estimated Jewish population 2006 Census	Proportion Jewish population 2006 Census	Gen08 Survey
Caulfield North 3161	8,841	16.1%	18.2%
Caulfield South 3162	8,716	15.9%	15.6%
St Kilda East/Balaclava 3183	5,291	9.6%	9.1%
Bentleigh 3204	3,040	5.5%	3.8%
Carnegie 3163	3,006	5.5%	4.8%
Bentleigh East 3165	2,883	5.2%	4.0%
Ripponlea 3185	2,580	4.7%	4.8%
Toorak 3142	2,219	4.0%	5.0%
Brighton East 3187	2,137	3.9%	3.5%
Brighton 3186	1,144	2.1%	2.4%
Malvern 3144	1,042	1.9%	2.6%
Caulfield East 3145	908	1.7%	2.3%
South Yarra 3141	903	1.6%	1.4%
Elwood 3184	893	1.6%	1.9%
Glen Iris 3146	773	1.4%	2.0%
Armadale 3143	727	1.3%	1.4%
Melbourne 3004	727	1.3%	1.4%
Auburn 3123	620	1.1%	1.3%
Kew 3101	577	1.1%	1.3%
Hampton 3188	478	0.9%	1.6%
Hawthorn 3122	401	0.7%	0.4%
Doncaster 3108	367	0.7%	0.5%
South Melbourne 3205	320	0.6%	0.5%
Balwyn North 3104	315	0.6%	0.3%
Camberwell 3124	284	0.5%	0.7%
Hughesdale 3166	268	0.5%	0.5%
Cheltenham 3192	264	0.5%	0.4%
Doncaster East 3109	254	0.5%	0.3%
Moorabbin 3189	229	0.4%	0.3%
Total	**50,207**	**91.4%**	**92.3%**

Source: ABS, 2006 Census, C-data; Gen08 survey

Figure A1: NSW Jewish population, residential location, 2006 Census and Gen08 compared



Source: ABS, 2006 Census, C-data; Gen08 survey

Four additional variables were considered:

- Male/female ratio: the survey respondent frame is within one per cent of the census for Melbourne, within three per cent for Sydney; for Melbourne, 46.5% of respondents were male (census 47.4%), female 53.4% (census 52.6%); for Sydney, 44.5% of respondents were male (census 47.4%), female 55.5% (census 52.6%).

- Age distribution: there is some over-representation for the age groups 18-24 and 55-64, under-representation of other groups, but the variance is within a relatively narrow range; thus combined Melbourne and Sydney, the age group 25-34 in the census was 16%, in the survey 15.1%; of those aged 35-44, the relative proportions were 15.5% (census) and 13.3% (survey); for 45-54, 18.7% and 16.9%.

- Birthplace: of the four major birthplace groups plus the UK-born, discussed in this report, the match is very close for three groups. Thus, for Melbourne there were exact matches for the UK and Israel-born, for South Africa-born the difference was 0.4%; for Sydney, the variance for UK and Israel-born was under 1%, for the large South African population there was a slight over-representation (21.0% in the census, 23.8% in the survey). There is an over-representation of the Australia-born and an under-representation of Former Soviet Union-born in the survey; the census indicated that 45% of the Melbourne and 37% of the Sydney population was born in Australia, for the survey the proportions were 55% and 44%; the under-representation of the FSU was around 3%.

One additional cross-check was undertaken – day school attendance. An over-representation of survey respondents with day school education would again indicate that the survey had failed to reach across the community. It is estimated that in the past decade in any specific year some 60% of the school age population attended day schools, with a slightly higher number attending at the primary than the secondary level. The proportion attending day schools was lower in earlier decades, at around 40% in the 1980s in Sydney, closer to 60% in Melbourne where the day schools were developed earlier and had wider acceptance.

It is difficult to exactly match these figures with the survey, as those who 'ever attended' a day school will be higher than those attending a day school in a specific year and the survey captured the former (or boosted) category.

For Melbourne, among the population aged 18-34, 69% of respondents attended a Jewish day school at primary level and 64% at secondary level. For Sydney, the proportion for those aged 18-34 was 57% at primary level and 57% at secondary level. Given that the data is not directly comparable, this finding indicates that the survey either very closely matches or marginally exceeds the expected level. Of all respondents aged 18-54, around 55% in Melbourne and 35% in Sydney had at least one year of day school attendance in Australia.

As has been remarked in the substantive part of this report, the survey findings for Melbourne and Sydney are either close to identical or vary within a narrow range, with a similar pattern of response in the two cities. This similarity is also evident in the demographic profile of respondents in the two cities. Thus the self-described economic status of respondents:

Table A5: Which of the following terms best describes your financial circumstances today?

Response	Melbourne	Sydney
Prosperous	7.0%	7.1%
Living very comfortably	33.3%	33.9%
Living reasonably comfortably	44.1%	42.6%
Just getting along	12.2%	12.4%
Nearly poor	1.1%	1.0%
Poor	0.6%	0.6%
Don't know/decline to answer	1.8%	2.4%
Total	100%	100%
N	3,000	2,101

Source: Gen08 survey

The indicators considered above all point to the representative character of the achieved sample, but there is one additional criticism that may be made. The sample may be reliable for the engaged members of the community, for the closely affiliated, but it may not have reached the marginalised, despite the fact that it seems to have achieved a representative sample as judged against census and other statistical data. The following points may be made in response:

- The survey findings indicate that those of lower socio-economic status are less likely to be affiliated. As indicated in the immediately preceding table, some 14% of respondents in Melbourne and Sydney indicated that they were 'just getting along', 'nearly poor' or 'poor'. This compares with 17.7% in the four lowest household gross weekly income categories (nil to $499) as indicated by the 2006 census.

- 19% of respondents in Melbourne and 22% in Sydney indicated that they were 'only slightly' or 'not at all connected' to Jewish communal life, while a further 9% indicated that they were neutral with regard to their community engagement; thus there were between 1,000 and 1,500 respondents (depending on definition) in the two cities without close communal identification whose views are available for analysis.

These statistics point to the success of the survey in reaching a broad range of sub-groups within the community. Even if it is thought that the representation of marginal groups is too small, there is basis for analysis of relevant sub-groups. The number of disconnected respondents makes possible the section of the report dealing with the periphery of the community.

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