

**JPPI's 2017 Structured Jewish World Dialogue**

# **JERUSALEM AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE: UNITY AND DIVISION**

Project Heads: **Shmuel Rosner** and **John Ruskay**

Contributors: **Noah Slepkov** and **Chaya Ekstein**

Editors: **Rami Tal** and **Barry Geltman**



**המכון למדיניות העם היהודי** (מיסודה של הסוכנות היהודית לא"י) בע"מ (חל"צ)

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JPPI, Givat Ram Campus, P.O.B 39156, Jerusalem 9139101, Israel  
Telephone: 972-2-5633356 | Fax: 972-2-5635040 | [www.jppei.org.il](http://www.jppei.org.il)

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# Foreword

For 2000 years Jews around the world have faced Jerusalem in prayer. This year we celebrate 50 years of reunification. Despite the challenges posed by demography and the composition of its citizens, most Jews feel at home the moment they step into the city. Not just religious, but also traditional and secular Israelis stand before the Kotel and find spiritual meaning at crucial life junctures. These feelings are shared by Jews around the globe – Reform, Conservative, Orthodox, or unaffiliated. This is why the Cabinet decision to freeze the plan for an egalitarian worship space has created such sharp tension.

For this reason, the decision to dedicate JPPI's 2017 Structured Jewish World Dialogue to the significance of Jerusalem for Israel-Diaspora ties was at once obvious and appropriate. One of the most significant findings of this year's Dialogue process was that Diaspora Jewish leaders everywhere, and many non-Israeli Jews too, feel that their views should be taken into consideration in the shaping of the cultural and political future of Jerusalem, the eternal capital at the core of Jewish identity writ large.

What are the common concerns of Israeli and Diaspora Jews? First and foremost is that the city maintains a Jewish majority, which is currently threatened by the growth of the non-Jewish population within the broad borders of greater Jerusalem. A second concern is the "Haredization" of the city, which imperils its original pluralistic character and its economic well-being. Many Israeli and Diaspora Jews worry that the Orthodox religious system has become a monopoly that uses the Israel political system to advance the agenda of one part of the Jewish people.

This is the fourth year that JPPI has been building a structure for a systematic discourse on issues at the core of what connects all Jews globally. We are still on a learning curve.

The first Dialogue was on the character of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state; the second dealt with Jewish values and the use of force in wartime; the third took on the Jewish spectrum in this era of fluid identity. It is not surprising that Jerusalem is the nerve center of them all.

In 2018 we will celebrate 70 years of renewed Jewish sovereignty. Israel is home to the largest Jewish community in the world. This is precisely the right time to look at what unites us as a people, and also at what may generate distance as a result of geographical and ideological diffusion. For this reason, we are engaging a substantial representation of younger-generation participants, drawing on joint programs of Israeli and Diaspora youth to stimulate a lively conversation between them.

I would like to express my gratitude to the William Davidson Foundation for their support of our Pluralism and Democracy project and this Dialogue endeavor, which is encouraging a deeper mutual understanding among Jews the world over. Special thanks and deep appreciation go to the project heads, our Senior Fellows, the Israeli Shmuel Rosner and his American partner John Ruskay for their extremely impressive work. They represent the two biggest Jewish communities in the world.

The 2017 Dialogue was launched in Jerusalem at a meeting of representatives of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, and was concluded at the President of Israel's official residence. President Rivlin initiated a tradition with JPPI three years ago to bring together representatives of all the streams to study Jewish texts together on Tisha b'Av. More than 500 individuals participated in approximately 50 discussion seminars worldwide. JPPI's effort to enhance pluralism in the Jewish world has from its inception enjoyed the encouragement of Israeli leaders like the late President Shimon Peres z"l, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, and JAFI's Chairman Natan Sharansky as well as the support and cooperation of Jewish communities and organizations abroad.

Last but certainly not least, I want to mention the help and commitment of the Institute's leadership, especially Stuart Eizenstat, Dennis Ross, Leonid Nevzlin, and Elliott Abrams who make an invaluable contribution to our Professional Guiding Council.

**Avinoam Bar-Yosef**

# Main Findings

- Jerusalem is a **crucially important** place to engaged Jews worldwide, and a **main point of connection** between Diaspora Jews and Israel.
- Many visiting engaged non-Israeli Jews **feel “at home” in Jerusalem.**
- JPPI’s 2017 Structured Dialogue with Jewish leaders and highly engaged non-Israeli Jews found that many of them feel that **their views should be taken into consideration** as the political and cultural future of Jerusalem is shaped.<sup>1</sup>
- Jewish Dialogue participants, as well as most Israelis, feel that Jerusalem is not moving “in the right direction” mainly because of **concerns about Jewish-Arab relations and religious pluralism.**
- Concerns of Jews about Jerusalem reflect, in many ways, their concerns and grievances about **Israel’s policies.**
- **Haredi** demographic growth is **more concerning** to participants than Arab demographic growth.
- A majority of JPPI Dialogue participants believe that “all countries ought to **move their embassies to Jerusalem.**”
- A small majority of them agree that Jerusalem “**should never be divided.**” A significant majority wants it to be a city with “**a clear Jewish majority,**” and argue that “the **Temple Mount must remain under Israeli jurisdiction.**”
- However, in a seemingly contradictory statement, a small majority also argues that “**Israel should be willing to compromise** on the status of Jerusalem as a united city under Israeli jurisdiction.”
- Dialogue participants’ belief that **Israel is sincere in seeking peace** sharply declined compared to previous Dialogues.
- Dialogue participants believe that **Israel is “strong and thriving,”** but are divided about whether the Jewish world outside Israel is strong or “deteriorating and weakening.”

# Main Recommendations

The following JPPI recommendations were compiled based on the following components: **A.** Recommendations and suggestions specifically raised during JPPI discussions in the communities; **B.** Sentiments expressed in the Dialogue process, and the recommendations that spring from them, as JPPI fellows understand their meaning and implications. In other words: The recommendations below do not always reflect the consensus of the community Dialogues, and certainly not the views expressed by all the participants in these dialogues. These are the steps **JPPI recommends**, based on discussions with many engaged Jews – many of them leaders in their communities.

The 2017 Dialogue focused on Jerusalem, and this report echoes this fact in detail. However, it is important to note that many of the issues that emerged during discussions related essentially to divisions among and between segments of the Jewish people. This fact will be reflected in the recommendations section:

Jerusalem is a key tool in connecting Israel and the Diaspora: it ought to be utilized wisely and carefully.

The dialogue unearthed the deep sense of connection that Jewish leaders feel toward Jerusalem. They identify it as their city, as a “home away from home,” a place in which they have a stake. They expect to be taken into account as the future of the city is planned and pondered.

There is no substitute for Jerusalem, and this is as important as it is obvious. In the Jewish psyche this is the single place that almost all Jews hold dear and all share; Israel, as the guardian of the city, ought to remember this fact.

Because of Jerusalem’s special place we recommend the following:

1. As decisions concerning the future of Jerusalem are made, the **impact of these decisions** on the connection of Jews to Jerusalem should be **taken into account**.
2. A **consultation mechanism** between Jewish groups about the future of Jerusalem should be established. Both the GOI and the Mayor of Jerusalem



can determine ways to **incorporate input from the Jewish world** prior to making important decisions that affect the long-term character of the city.

3. **Jerusalemites** should be **made aware** through educational and other means of the special role that they and their city has – and to be alerted to the fact that their actions and decisions profoundly influence the connection of Jews to Israel. Jerusalemites should be encouraged to **take part** in the mission of making their city a place where all Jews can feel at home.
4. The **image of Jerusalem** ought to be actively enhanced, by bettering the situation where necessary, and also by making Jews more aware of improvement where the situation is already satisfactory. It does not benefit relations when Jews think of one of the main points of connection with Israel as a problematic place.

### An attempt to reconcile competing visions of the future of Jerusalem is necessary

Jews disagree on many things, one of them is the desired future of Jerusalem. This is not something that can be changed. Also, we should expect differences in aspirations and agendas between Jews who reside in Jerusalem, and need it to be a comfortable home, and Jews who come to visit the city, and see it more as a place for rest, inspiration, and tourism.

These competing agendas present challenges to every major city in the world, and they present a challenge to Jerusalem. As these challenges are navigated we recommend the following:

1. That both the city and those visiting the city attempt to **reduce unnecessary conflicts** and find ways to accommodate **different agendas** in different parts of the city.
2. That the city (and the GOI) make an effort to advance the **diversity of Jerusalem's Jewish population** – so that all communalities of Jews could find like-minded people in the city. Current demographic trends threaten to reduce the level of diversity and make Jerusalem less appealing for many groups of Jews, both as a residence and a place to visit.
3. That areas be marked where **strict rules of pluralistic coexistence** will be enforced – while other areas are known to be enclaves for communities who

seek to shield themselves from outside influences.

4. Jerusalem's attractiveness to Jews stems mainly from its historical significance and its religious/spiritual power. Thus, reinforcing **the ability of all Jews to express their religious sentiments** in a meaningful way is key to maintaining a strong Jewish connection to Jerusalem.

There is an urgent need to develop better communication with ultra-Orthodox Jews in Jerusalem and elsewhere.

The JPPI Dialogue gave voice to a growing, and in some instances alarming, alienation that is separating most Jews from the growing minority of ultra-Orthodox Jews. Haredi growth is viewed by some as a danger, burden, or detriment.

Quite remarkably, many Dialogue participants in the Diaspora view the growth of the non-Jewish sectors in Jerusalem (i.e. Arabs) as adding to the positive diversity of Jerusalem, but believe that the parallel growth of the Haredi segment is a detriment. Although this is about Jerusalem, its implications extend far beyond. This is especially so as the relative numbers of ultra-Orthodox Jews are on the rise in both Israel and the Diaspora and hence their visibility and influence is expected to grow.

JPPI has already made some recommendations concerning this issue in previous publications, but the context of Jerusalem clarified that these bear repeating and should be bolstered:<sup>2</sup>

1. The Government of Israel (GOI) and major Diaspora communities where the Haredi population share is growing similarly should identify appropriate strategies (which will vary) and provide the resources needed to **accelerate Haredi economic integration** in the broader economies.
2. **Haredi leaders** must be approached by the GOI and other bodies to get its **assistance and cooperation** in making Jerusalem a place where all Jews can feel at home (or at the very least to convince them not to disrupt such efforts).
3. Structured communications **between non-Haredi groups and Haredi groups** need to be established to help defuse tensions between Jews with conflicting agendas and attempts should be made to find common ground where possible.

4. The GOI and the mayor of Jerusalem along with major Jewish communities should explore, test, design, and fund **initiatives** that create **additional contexts for Haredi and non-Haredi Jews to interact** in a non-confrontational atmosphere.
5. Jewish leadership around the world ought to be **more aware and more considerate of Haredi sensitivities**. This important sector of the community cannot be expected to align itself to the rest of the community, and tailor its agenda accordingly, without a parallel effort by the community to accommodate Haredi needs.

The purpose of such efforts should be to test what might be done to increase knowledge and ultimately expand appreciation among and between key segments of the Jewish people; to deepen appreciation that while Jews may understand the nature of God, obligation, and Torah differently, they – Haredi and secular, Israeli and Diaspora – share a common history and destiny. The growing divide and bifurcation of the Jewish people has been long predicted. Dialogue discussions revealed the extent of the distancing within our people. While it is not clear what (if anything) can be done about this distancing, which is based on deeply held beliefs about the nature of Judaism and the Jewish people, JPPI believes that serious efforts must be tested that seek to redress the deeply troubling trends revealed in the 2017 Dialogue about Jerusalem and in many other areas.

Resolving the Kotel issue is essential. Israel should implement the January 2016 compromise reached with world Jewry.

The issue of an egalitarian third Western Wall plaza is constant background noise in any discussion of Jerusalem and the Jewish people, and a constant detriment to Israel-Diaspora relations. On this issue, the 2017 Dialogue did not provide much news: the leaders of Diaspora Jewry believe that it is past the time for Israel to implement the agreement and establish the plaza under the agreed terms.

Granted, this issue is probably not the most pressing on Israel's political agenda, and probably also not the most important for many Diaspora Jews. Its main importance derives from the fact that Israel refuses to complete the deal, and hence is demonstrably signaling that relations with Diaspora Jews are not a government priority. This message is harmful to the future of these relations.

## Address demographic trends to keep Jerusalem a Jewish city.

Jerusalem has a key role in Israel's relations with its Arab neighbors, and especially so with the Palestinians. JPPI makes no specific recommendations as to how a future peace deal ought to look vis-a-vis Jerusalem. It does, however, feel the need to make decision makers aware of the possible impact of their positions on the Jewishness of Jerusalem and on the connection of Jews around the world to the city. Thus, we make the following recommendations:

1. Israel must **consider and address** the fact that **current demographic trends** could turn Jerusalem into **a majority non-Jewish city**, a development world Jewry sees as negative. The implications of such a development on the connection of Jews, Israelis and non-Israelis, to the city could be profound.
2. Israel must take **concrete steps to improve the lives of Jerusalemite Arabs**.
3. Israel needs to understand that its positions on the political future of Jerusalem (and the implications for the peace process) and the way it treats non-Jewish minority populations in the city **impact the way Diaspora Jews view Jerusalem** and their support for Israel's control of the city.
4. Israel must consider Diaspora Jews as partners in Jerusalem. It must **actively invite their participation in the discussion concerning Jerusalem's political future**. That said, decisions on this issue ultimately rest with the Israeli public and its democratically elected representatives.

# Methodology

JPPI's 2017 Dialogue was conducted under the wider umbrella of its *Pluralism and Democracy project*, which is supported by the William Davidson Foundation. The Dialogue process, an unmediated study of Jewish public positions highly relevant to the Jewish world, comprised 45 discussion groups in Jewish communities around the world.

The Dialogue took place between January and April of 2017 in dozens of Jewish gatherings worldwide. Participants were asked to read a short background paper and attend a 90-120-minute discussion seminar which included:

- A short **presentation** about Jerusalem's current situation.
- A **survey** that all participants were asked to answer, from which JPPI derived data on how participants think about the various questions presented to them.
- A structured and **moderated discussion** on the future of Jerusalem.

Participants were presented with certain challenges and were asked to respond to them, and in so doing clarify their nuanced positions on Jerusalem's current image, Jerusalem's political future, Jerusalem's culture and Jewish character, and the role of world Jewry in crafting its future. The Chatham House Rule applied to JPPI's discussions, i.e., participants would be quoted without specific attribution. This was meant to ensure open and frank exchanges. Participant names are listed in the appendix.

In addition to the information JPPI gathered at community discussion seminars, available relevant research was analyzed. This year we also relied on a broad JPPI survey of Jewish public opinion in Israel conducted in March 2017.<sup>3</sup>

JPPI's 2017 Israel-Diaspora Structured Dialogue is the fourth in an ongoing series. Previous dialogues included: *Exploring the Jewish Spectrum in a Time of Fluid Identity* (2016)<sup>4</sup>; *Jewish Values and Israel's Use of Force in Armed Conflict* (2015)<sup>5</sup>; and *Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State* (2014)<sup>6</sup>.

# Introduction

2017 marks the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Jerusalem's reunification after the Six Day War. It also marks a decade since JPPI's last major report on Jerusalem. Thus, it was natural for JPPI to dedicate this year's Dialogue to a reexamination of Jerusalem's status. Jerusalem is, of course, considered holy by the three monotheistic religions. But JPPI aimed to deal with Jerusalem as understood and interpreted by Jews around the world who have a stake in the city's future.

In JPPI's 2007 report, *A Strategic Plan for the Strengthening of Jerusalem as a Civilizational Capital of the Jewish People*,<sup>7</sup> it was argued that there was an urgent need to close the gap between the visions, perceptions, and ideals people have concerning Jerusalem and the actual reality of Jerusalem. Ten years later, we have strived to survey the perceptions of Jews and compare them with their ideals and visions for Jerusalem. It's worth mentioning that at the time this report goes to press, Israel's politicians also discussed two laws that could change Jerusalem's landscape dramatically: one law (the greater Jerusalem bill) is meant to drastically widen the city's borders to include neighboring settlements and the other suggests shrinking the city's borders by excluding Arab neighborhoods from Jerusalem's municipal authority.<sup>8</sup>

Our questions were at times very specific: Is it essential that Jerusalem have a clear Jewish majority? How important is it that the city be Jewishly diverse? Do you support a division of Jerusalem in exchange for peace with the Palestinians? What role should Diaspora Jews play in crafting Jerusalem's future?

## **Our aim was to better understand the following:**

1. How Jews around the world view Jerusalem's current situation – culturally, demographically, and politically. Do they view it as a thriving city or as a city in trouble? Do they feel pride at how it is developing, or anxiety about its future?
2. How important is Jerusalem for Jews – especially Jews who do not live in Jerusalem and even more so those who do not live in Israel (visitors and tourists usually see only a small part of Jerusalem, and hence are not always

familiar with the full complexity of the city) – and how invested do they feel in its future?

3. What is the vision of Jews for Jerusalem, and what are the policies and priorities they would subscribe to in fulfilling this vision?

In the context of trying to identify the gap (or lack thereof) between reality and vision, there was a need to narrow the discourse and frame it in a way suitable for discussion and reporting. In the Dialogue, we focused on four main areas of interest:

1. Demographic trends of Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem and what they mean for its future.
2. Societal and cultural developments stemming from these changes, and what they could mean for Jerusalem's future.
3. Political questions that could impact Jerusalem's future.
4. The input of Jews all over the world in crafting a vision for Jerusalem and how it might be implemented.

Obviously, these topics hardly cover all the possible angles from which Jerusalem can be seen. But we believe that by focusing on them JPPI Dialogue participants could cover most of the areas in which decisions – by the Israeli authorities and by Jewish institutions – can be made. JPPI's goal is to offer decision makers both a better understanding of where Jews stand as they think about Jerusalem today, and where they would like their leaders to take Jerusalem in the future.

Naturally, some of the topics under discussion were highly charged, and JPPI did not expect a consensus on all of them would emerge. Many Dialogue participants “spoke of feeling conflicted in their feelings about Jerusalem,” according to the report on the Dialogue session held in Melbourne, Australia.<sup>9</sup> However, previous Dialogues have taught us that by listening to the Jewish voices we can learn a great deal about their preferences, and also derive useful recommendations that could lead to better policies – policies that do not increase the level of division but rather reduce it.

Making as many Jews as possible feel at home in Israel is a main feature of the JPPI-William Davidson Foundation “Pluralism and Democracy Project.” It is not difficult to see how a similar goal could be tailored specifically for Jerusalem.

# Jewish Attachment to Jerusalem

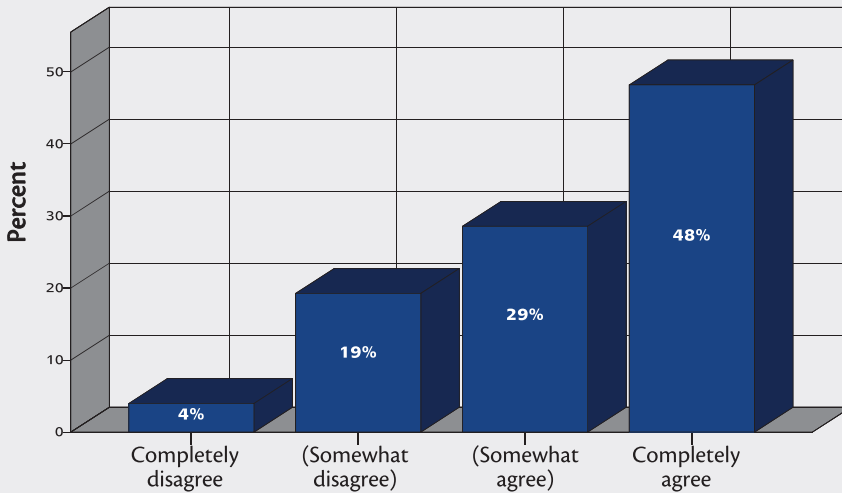
The connection of non-Israeli Jews to Jerusalem is strong. “It’s the center of our history – next year in Jerusalem,” a participant in the Washington Dialogue seminar explained.<sup>10</sup> “Jerusalem is the essence of the connection between Israel and the Jews, yet it is also the center of much debate,” a participant in Brazil stated.<sup>11</sup> “Consensus: Jerusalem is the heart of the Jewish people, the heart and the *raison-d’être* of the very existence of the Jewish state,” the report from Paris, France noted.<sup>12</sup> Gabriel (Gabi) Sheffer and Eyal Tsur made a similar observation in their comprehensive survey of Jewish Diaspora ties to Jerusalem: “The bond between the Jewish people all over the world and Jerusalem has, as we know, been maintained for thousands of years and has religious, national and cultural aspects.”<sup>13</sup>

Many Dialogue participants feel a sense of ownership as they think about the city. “I know I do not have the right to feel it is mine because I don’t live there – yet I do!”, a Dialogue participant in Ann Arbor, Michigan said.<sup>14</sup> “Jerusalem should be the central address of the Jewish people,” a participant in Palm Beach, Florida contended.<sup>15</sup> Many articulated their feelings toward the city in emotional terms. When we asked Dialogue participants to create slogans to strengthen the connection of world Jewry to Jerusalem, many proposed slogans such as “Your City/Your Home,”<sup>16</sup> and “Jerusalem – Our City.”<sup>17</sup> The report from St. Louis, Missouri stated: “There was a strong feeling that the slogan needed to connect people so they feel a sense of ownership. Therefore, the emphasis on ‘your’ and ‘our’ and the concept of eternal capital.”<sup>18</sup> As we will show in a later chapter, this sense of “ownership” also translates into an expectation: to take part in making decisions about Jerusalem’s future.

A vast majority of JPPI’s Dialogue participants feel “at home” in Jerusalem (graph 1) – and they know what they are talking about as 42 percent had visited Israel more than 10 times, and less than 3 percent had never visited Israel.<sup>19</sup> Almost half of participants “completely” agreed with the statement “Visiting Jerusalem, I feel at home,” and 29 percent more “somewhat” agreed with it. A Dialogue participant in Australia described his feelings this way: “I love the culture of Jerusalem, I would



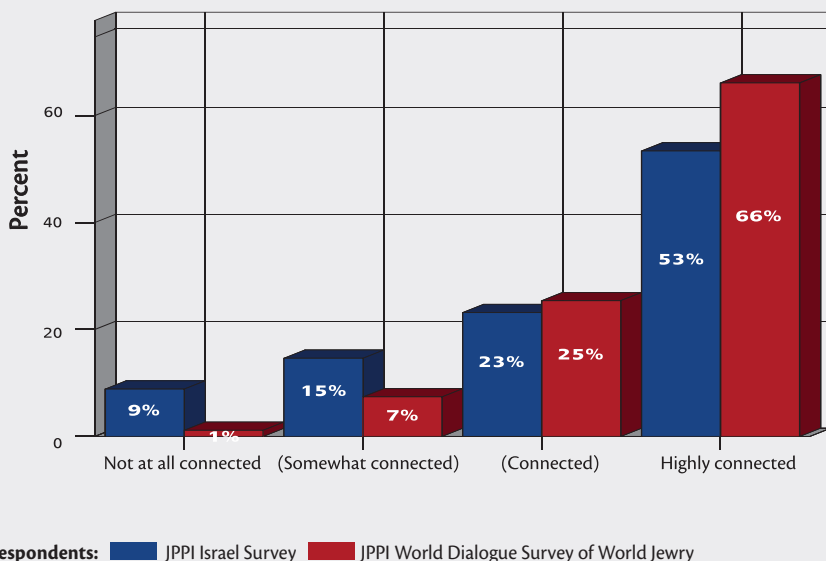
Graph 1 \ Visiting (living in) Jerusalem, I feel at home



love to buy an apartment around the German Colony and spend six months of the year there. I could walk the streets all day. It feels safe. It feels like home.” More succinctly, a participant in Cleveland stated: “It feels exactly like home.”<sup>20</sup> Another one, in Zurich, commented: “Jerusalem is like an old spouse: she is not as beautiful as she once was, but she still means so very much to me.”<sup>21</sup> When Israeli Dialogue participants were asked to write slogans for Jerusalem aimed at the Jewish world, one of them suggested “Come visit home,” another proposed “Come to Jerusalem – because you can’t choose your family.”<sup>22</sup>

Interestingly, when we asked these highly engaged Diaspora Jews to rank their level of connection to Jerusalem (graph 2), their ranking was higher than that of Jewish Israelis.<sup>23</sup> Among Jews in Israel, 53 percent said that they were “highly connected” to Jerusalem, while among JPPI Dialogue participants – Jewish leaders and highly engaged Jews – 66 percent felt “highly connected” to Jerusalem. Among Jews in Israel, almost one in ten said they were “not at all connected” to Jerusalem. Among JPPI Dialogue participants only 1 percent said they were “not at all connected.”

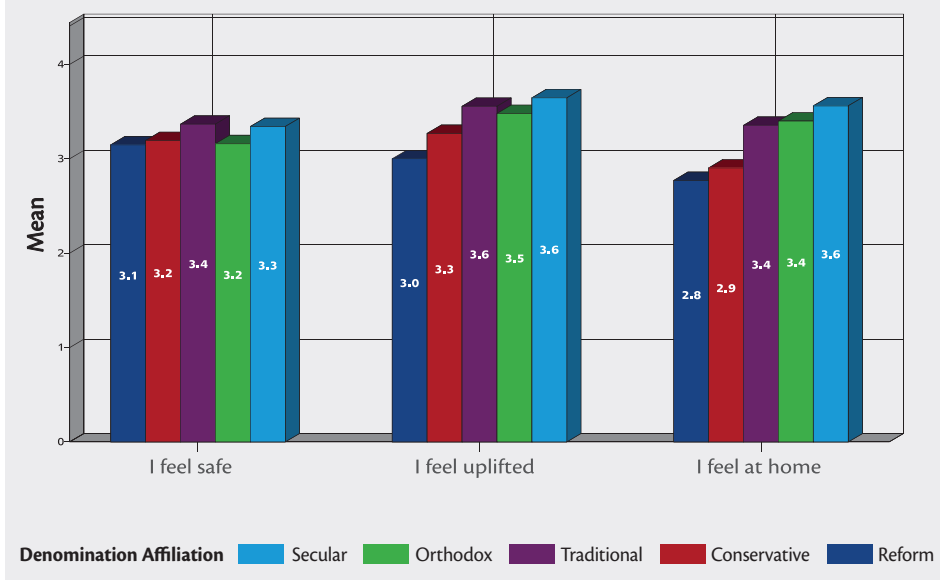
Graph 2 \ Level of attachment to Jerusalem



Among Dialogue participants, and also true for Israeli Jews, connection to Jerusalem varies by affiliation, level of religiosity, and political orientation. It is stronger among religious Jews than among secular Jews; it is stronger among Orthodox Jews than Reform Jews. Among the Jewish leaders who participated in the 2017 Dialogue, the self-identified Orthodox and traditional Jews were more “highly connected” to Jerusalem – 85 percent for Orthodox and 88 percent for Traditional. Seventy percent of Conservative participants and 47 percent of Reform participants said they were “highly connected” to Jerusalem (among Reform Jews, a comparatively significant group of 41 percent, preferred the less emphatic term: “connected”).

Differences according to affiliation were evident in the responses to many of the questions examining both the strength and the nature of connection to Jerusalem. This is thrown into sharp relief if we compare the answers to three questions concerning: feeling safe in Jerusalem, feeling uplifted in Jerusalem, and feeling “at home” in Jerusalem (all ranked on a 1-4 scale) (graph 3). A the more specific question of “feeling safe” shows differences but not great differences

Graph 3 \ Visiting (living in) Jerusalem



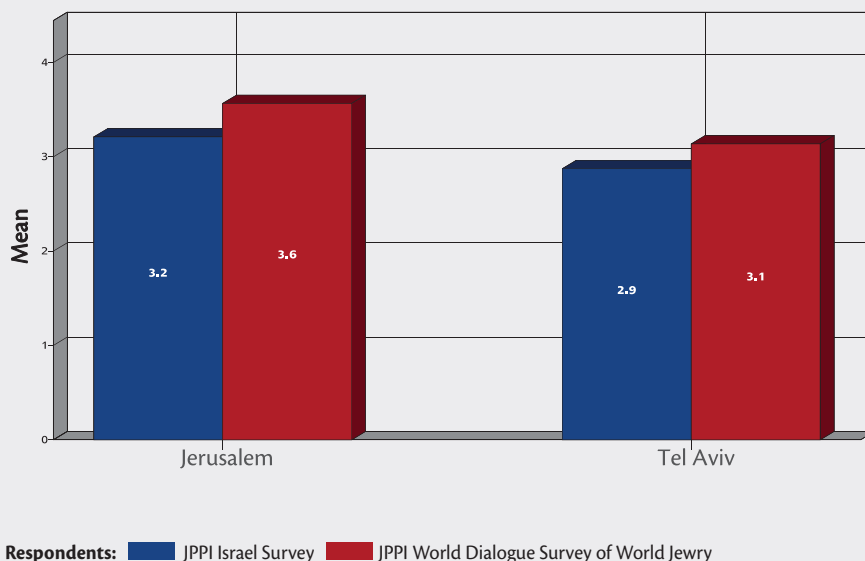
between groups of Jews according to religious affiliation.

But when we look at the sense of feeling “uplifted” in Jerusalem there are differences, and the differences become even more pronounced when it comes to feeling “at home” in Jerusalem. In both cases, Orthodox Jews rank Jerusalem higher than other groups. In both cases, secular Jews, and Reform Jews more so, rank Jerusalem lower than other groups. A city that becomes more Orthodox in look and feel, makes non-Orthodox Jews less comfortable, less “at home.” Interestingly, this trend doesn’t much affect Conservative Jews, who feel less at home in the city than Orthodox Jews, but still far more so than Reform and secular Jews.

In Israel – based on JPPI’s 2017 survey of Israelis – connection to Jerusalem is stronger among Jews who are more religious and also among Jews self-identifying as “right wing.” On a scale of 1-4, where 1 means a weak connection and 4 a strong connection to Jerusalem, the average ranking among “totally secular” Israeli Jews is 2.8, while the average for religious and Haredi Jews is 3.7 and 3.8 respectively.<sup>24</sup>

The fact that Jews around the world are highly connected to Israel has been shown in many previous reports and surveys. But what this year’s Dialogue seems to suggest is that a main point of connection to Israel is Jerusalem. When asked to rank their

Graph 4 \ Level of attachment to Jerusalem and Tel Aviv

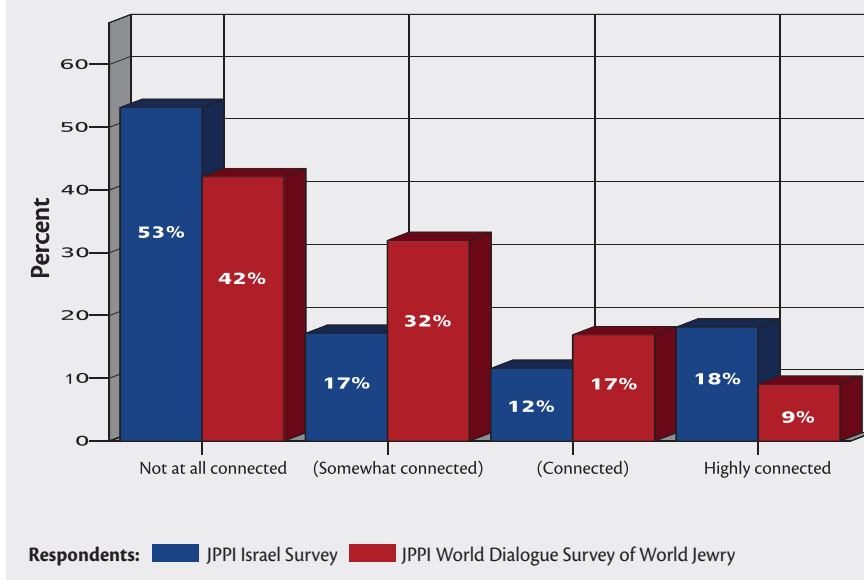


connection to Jerusalem compared to Tel Aviv, for example, Israeli Jews – but even more notably Dialogue participants – ranked their connection to Jerusalem higher.

For Israeli Jews, Jerusalem has a slight average connection advantage over Tel Aviv (3.2 vs. 2.9) (graph 4). But for non-Israeli Dialogue participants the gap is more significant, as graph 4 shows. By the same token, while 70 percent of Dialogue participants ranked their level of connection to Jerusalem as “highly connected,” a much lower 38 percent ranked their connection to Tel Aviv similarly. Jews from around the world visit Jerusalem more than they do Tel Aviv, and their emotional attachment to the city is demonstrably higher. As one Chicago participant put it: “Tel Aviv is great fun, and I see why some Israelis like it much better – but you can’t make a serious argument that Tel Aviv is even remotely as important to Judaism as is Jerusalem.”<sup>25</sup>

Testing the connection to Jerusalem in comparison to other cities in the Holy Land, we also asked Dialogue participants to rank their connection to Hebron (graph 5), a city also linked to salient Jewish history and that has an important Jewish site (the Cave of the Patriarchs). But unlike Jerusalem, Hebron has a vast Arab majority, is under partial Israeli control but located in the disputed area of the West Bank, and is known for friction between Arabs and Jews.

Graph 5 \ Level of attachment to Hebron



The connection of Jews – both Israelis and non-Israelis – to Hebron is relatively weak. Fifty-three percent of Israeli Jews and 42 percent of JPPI’s Dialogue participants said they were “not at all connected” to Hebron. Only 30 percent of Israelis and 26 percent of dialogue participants – in both cases groups with a strong Orthodox tilt – said they were “connected” or “highly connected” to Hebron.

This could mean that the stature of conflict charged places diminishes even when its value from a Jewish historical, cultural, and religious perspective is high. Of course, Hebron has not been as prominent as Jerusalem in the Jewish psyche for many generations. But Hebron is not the only charged place we examined, and not the only one hinting that a state of confrontation weakens Jewish attachment to a location. In addition to the finding concerning Hebron, JPPI also found a relatively low ranking of Jewish connection to the Temple Mount – another place with a high value for Jews that is politically controversial.

There is a wider gap between Israeli Jews and Dialogue participants with respect to the Temple Mount than there is for Hebron. Among Israelis, a very large group – 39 percent – said they are “not at all connected” to the Temple Mount. Among JPPI Dialogue participants, the completely detached group is much smaller: 18

percent. But even among Dialogue participants the connection to the Temple Mount is weaker than the connection to Jerusalem, or Tel Aviv, or “Israel” in general. On a scale of 1-4, where 4 represents the strongest connection, the average for Hebron was 1.9 and 2.5 for the Temple Mount. Israel (3.8), Tel Aviv (3.1), the Old City of Jerusalem (3.4), and the Kotel (3.4) all ranked significantly higher.

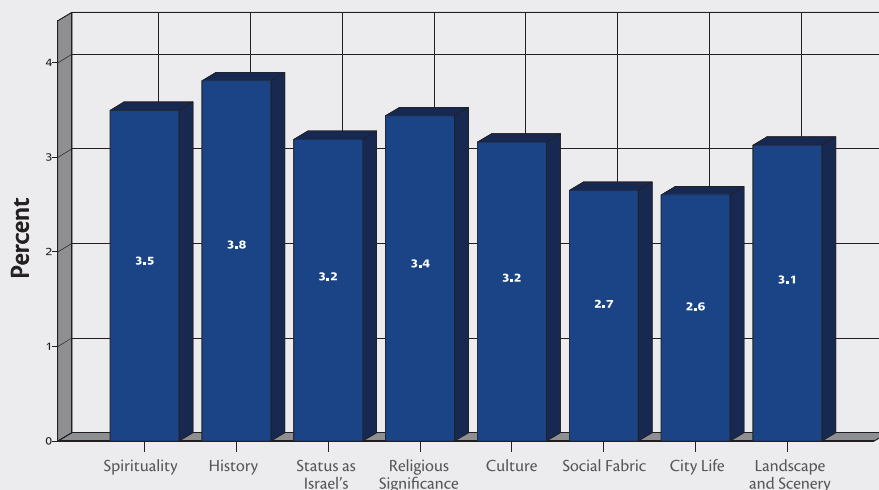
# Main Components of Attachment

Why are Jews connected to Jerusalem? Of course, there is no single component that explains the connection of all Jews. Jerusalem has historical and religious value, it is the capital of the Jewish State, and it is a vibrant, diverse city with unique scenery, scents, colors, weather.

A majority of Dialogue participants agreed with the statement: “Visiting Jerusalem I feel uplifted.” Fifty-eight percent “completely agreed”, and 28 percent “somewhat agreed” with it (compared to 11 percent who “somewhat disagreed” and only 3 percent who “completely” disagreed). This sense of emotional elevation was reiterated in the way participants described their connection in Dialogue sessions. “Some participants described an overwhelming emotional response upon visiting for the first time,” reported the community in Melbourne, Australia. “Jerusalem is the emotional focal point of Israel. It’s the phoenix of our people going back to 1948 and the Zionist era,” argued a participant in St. Louis, Missouri. In Washington DC, a participant articulated something many other participants also stressed – the challenge of reconciling the idea of Jerusalem with the actual place they have come to know. “When I think of Jerusalem I combine the heavenly and earthly city. But when I am there I get wrapped up in the mundane daily life which makes it real.”

Dialogue participants were asked to rank on a scale of 1-4 the significance of many aspects of how they view Jerusalem (graph 6); history (ranked first), and spirituality/religiosity (ranked second) beat all other components. “I think of history as what makes it special,” said a participant at Hebrew Union College, New York. “If you go back to the timeline of Jerusalem, it is one of the most ancient cities in the world; diverse history; Jewish story is powerful, important, significant”, said another participant. “Also chose history. Other aspects don’t seem necessarily unique. City life exists in other places in the world. Obviously, history is uniquely the city of Jerusalem, just like my biography is my biography, and it is very present in the everyday life,” said a third participant in this discussion seminar.<sup>26</sup> “Historical and political phenomena transformed Jerusalem into a ‘sacred city’, not religious one,” argued a participant in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Graph 6 \ To what extent do each of the following characteristics make Jerusalem special to you



That history was the most frequently mentioned aspect should not come as a big surprise. Jews today relate to their Jewishness more as a culture, and as a people, than as a religious sentiment. Last year, in the final report on the Dialogue, *The Jewish Spectrum in a Time of Fluid Identity*, a full chapter was devoted to the “main components of Judaism,” in which we highlighted data from many studies confirming this finding.<sup>27</sup>

In both JPPI’s 2017 Dialogue survey and its 2017 survey of Israeli attitudes (executed as part of JPPI’s Pluralism in Israel project), respondents were asked to rank the importance of four definitions that could explain what Judaism means to them. The exact question in the Dialogue survey was: “To what extent is each of the following aspects of Judaism a primary component of Jewishness: Religion; Culture; Genealogy; or Nationality\Peoplehood? (1 designated “not at all” a primary component of Jewishness, and 5 designated “very much so” a primary component of Jewishness).

Dialogue participants ranked these four terms as follows: “culture” and “nationality\peoplehood” ranked highest; the more traditional definitions – religion and genealogy – lagged behind. Clearly, Dialogue participants felt more comfortable with definitions of their Jewishness that were compatible with non-



religious, non-traditional lives. And as a Dialogue participant from Philadelphia remarked last year, even when they adhere to criteria of belonging to Judaism was religious in nature: “We are using religious definitions to be a part of a nation of a people. Yet many are part of this people, who have no feeling of religion.”

Still, as JPPI searched for the components that make Jerusalem special for Jews, there were detectable differences between Jews of various streams and viewpoints. For example, for self-identified “secular” Jews – as one might expect – “spirituality” and “religious significance” ranked relatively low in their connection to Jerusalem (on a 1-4 scale, these ranked 3.09 and 3.01 respectively, compared to 3.73 for “history”). Reform Jews ranked Jerusalem’s status as Israel’s capital low – 2.84 – compared to a much higher rank for “religious significance” (3.36). There was agreement between all groups of Jews that Jerusalem’s “city life” and “social fabric” are the least important components of Jerusalem’s specialness. All groups agreed that “history” is the most valuable component.

In this year’s discussion seminars, participants were shown a set of photos from Jerusalem, one emphasized the cultural side of the city, one the religious side, one highlighted the Jewish-Arab conflict etc. Participants were asked to identify “their” Jerusalem among these photos, and although some of them had misgivings about the question itself (we “do ourselves a disservice by trying to rank them,” a participant in Cleveland, Ohio said<sup>28</sup>) in most communities the response was similar, with a majority opting for a photograph of the Kotel, or one showing the Old City as a whole.

In the Adelaide, Australia seminar, “the strongest pictorial image was the Dome of the Rock and the Kotel.”<sup>29</sup> In Sydney Australia, a participant said that “Jerusalem = The Western Wall. The rest are just areas of Tel Aviv.”<sup>30</sup> In Minneapolis “the image that portrayed the Kotel, Dome of the Rock, and Jerusalem skyline together... evoked positive feelings of Jerusalem at its best, a city that is accommodating to people of different faiths.” In Paris, it was “the Kotel and the Knesset” – one of few places where the image of the Knesset, representing Jerusalem’s status as the capital of the modern Jewish state, was the participants’ top choice. In most other communities, the Knesset was not an image that elicited a lot of positive (or other) reaction. The “Knesset is alive, aspirational,” was a notable exception from New York. But groups like the one in Cleveland in which participants mentioned, one after the other, “history”, “spirituality”, “spirituality”, “spirituality”, “history”,

“history”, “religious”, “history”, “uniqueness of the city”, “history”, “history” – as their main components of connection were more the norm.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the Knesset as a manifestation of Jerusalem’s status as capital – the official-political component – was not mentioned as much when the photos were shown.

Moreover, Jerusalem as an official capital seems to be losing significance with the passage of time since its establishment as the capital of modern Israel. In JPPI’s survey of Dialogue participants it is notable that the younger the respondent, the less they attribute significance to “Jerusalem’s status as Israel’s capital.” Among the youngest cohort of Dialogue participants (7.4 percent of all participants) Jerusalem’s status as capital is dramatically less important than it is to older groups, with less than half of them calling it “significant” or a “highly significant.” It is also noteworthy that Reform Jews in general attribute much less significance to Jerusalem as Israel’s capital than do other groups. Thirty-seven percent of Reform Jews attribute a “highly significant” meaning to Jerusalem’s status as Israel’s capital, while secular, Conservative, traditional and Orthodox Jews rank this component as highly significant at a much higher rate – 48, 55, 72, and 63 percent respectively.<sup>32</sup>

# Concerns about Jerusalem's Direction

Most Jews in Israel and most Dialogue participants believe that Jerusalem is developing in the “wrong direction” (graph 7). In fact, when considering responses to the question about the direction in which Jerusalem is moving, JPPI identified three circles of reference:

Jews around the world are highly concerned about the direction of the city – and 71 percent of them argue that it is moving in the wrong direction.

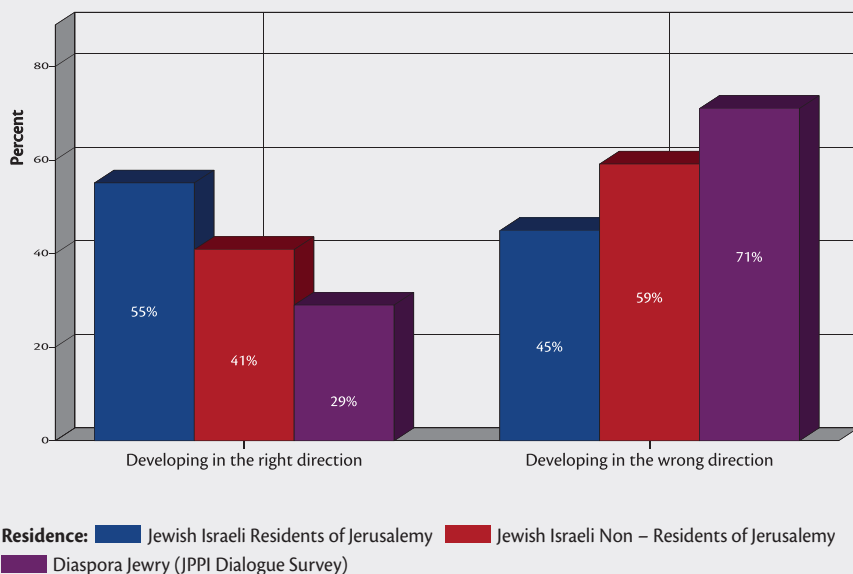
Jews in Israel also have a relatively dim view of the city's trajectory. Fifty-seven percent of them argue that it is moving in the wrong direction (it is 59 percent among Israeli Jews who do not live in Jerusalem).

However – and this is surely significant – the Jewish residents of Jerusalem have a much more positive assessment of the city's direction. A majority (55 percent) of them believe the city is actually moving in the right direction. That is to say: the people who are most familiar with the city, also have a more positive view of its direction it is taking (again, it is important to distinguish between the Dialogue survey, which all participants completed, and JPPI's survey of Israelis, which is a scientific poll with a sample that represents the views of Israeli Jews).

The fact that a majority of Jews assert that the city is moving in the wrong direction (we can quite safely assume that Jews who were not represented in the Dialogue process may have an even dimmer view of the city's direction) is significant. If Jerusalem “should be the central address of the Jewish people,” as a Palm Beach participant argued, then having this address moving in the wrong direction is not a positive development. If Jerusalem is “the spiritual, religious, and national center” of the Jewish people, as Sheffer and Tzur argue, then having this center moving in the wrong direction is not a positive development.

But Jerusalem – a city much bigger than the sum of its residents – is still also a city of many hundreds of thousands residents. The fact that a (slim<sup>33</sup>) majority of Jewish Jerusalemites believe the city is moving in the right direction is also

Graph 7 \ From your perspective contemporary Jerusalem is



significant. These different, conflicting assessments could trigger a debate among Jews around two important questions: 1) Who knows Jerusalem better? and 2) Who owns Jerusalem?

In other words, there are two main ways to understand the differences of opinion concerning the city's trajectory between Jews who live in Jerusalem and those who do not.

One way is to assume that **different outlooks** result in different assessments of the situation. Namely, Jews in Jerusalem have a more intimate familiarity with their city and, therefore, see positive trends that other Jews cannot see (or cannot yet see). Of course, it is also possible to argue that the intimate familiarity of Jerusalemites with their city makes it difficult for them to look at it with objective eyes – as other Jews can do from afar.

Another way is to assume that **a different expectation** results in a different assessment of the situation. Namely, that what the Jewish people expect from Jerusalem is different from what the majority of Jews in Jerusalem expect their city to be. Of course, all Jews, both in and outside of Jerusalem, acknowledge the centrality of the city to Jewish life and culture. Nevertheless, for ideological or

practical reasons they differ in the way they would like this centrality to manifest itself.

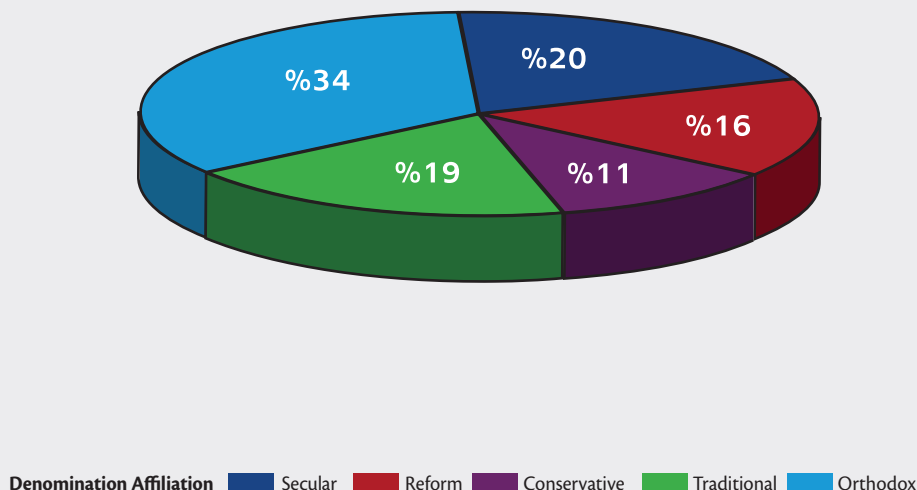
For lack of sufficient data, it would be impossible for JPPI to conclude with certainty which of the two hypotheses (different outlook vs. different expectations) accurately captures the reason Jerusalemite Jews are more satisfied with the city's direction than other Jews. But there are signs that we can still use to better understand this phenomenon. The simplest of which is to look at the composition of Jerusalem's population and compare it to the composition of Jews who voice satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the city's direction.

Last year, JPPI submitted a report to the Israeli government dealing with demographic trends in Jerusalem, prepared by JPPI Senior Fellow, Prof. Uzi Rebhun.<sup>34</sup> This document reported that on the eve of the state's founding, in 1946, Jerusalem was home to 164,000 residents. Following the 1967 reunification of Jerusalem, the number of citizens stood at slightly more than a quarter million. Jerusalem's population today is 850,000, Israel's largest city.

With the reunification of the city (and partially because of the still-controversial decision to include many predominantly Arab areas within its municipal borders), a large number of non-Jewish residents was added to Jerusalem. The proportion of Jews was reduced to three-quarters, and this has continued to decline over time and currently stands at 62.8 percent of the city's population. Almost all residents in the western part of the city are Jewish, whereas in the eastern part Jews make up 40 percent of the population. In absolute terms, 200,000 Jews reside in the Jewish neighborhoods of the eastern section and the old city.

Jerusalem's Jewish population is also undergoing demographic changes, the most significant of which is the rapid growth of the ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) sector. Although the internal balance of migration for all Jews in Jerusalem is negative,<sup>35</sup> high rates of natural growth in the Haredi sector balance out migration and the Haredi sector's share of the overall Jewish population is gradually increasing. Over the course of about five years, from 2008 to 2013, the Haredi proportion of Jerusalem's total Jewish population increased from 29 to 34 percent (graph 8). Notably, Haredim constitute 10 percent of the total Jewish Israeli population. As

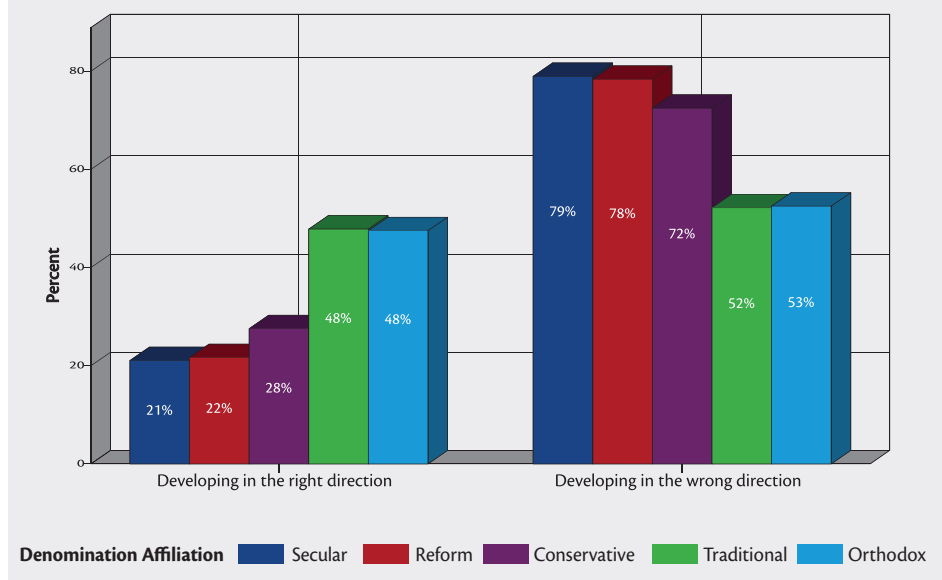
Graph 8 \ 2013 Jewish population of Jerusalem



the Haredi share of Jerusalem's Jewish population has grown, that of traditional Jews in the city declined (from 33 to 27 percent).<sup>36</sup> The proportion of secular Jews has remained stable. All in all, Jewish Jerusalem today is a city with a majority of practicing Orthodox Jews (53 percent) along with a large segment of traditional Jews (27 percent).

This composition of Jews could provide us with one key to understanding why Jews in Jerusalem are more satisfied than other Jews with the city's current trajectory. Jerusalem is relatively conservative, religiously and politically, (in 2015, 79 percent of the city's eligible voters supported the current right-wing-religious coalition<sup>37</sup>), and so are the groups that seem more satisfied with Jerusalem's trajectory. Even among Jews who live outside of Israel, the Orthodox and traditional groups tend to be more optimistic about the city's future – they are close to evenly split between “right direction” and “wrong direction” (graph 9). The groups that take a harsher view of Jerusalem's future are the groups less represented among Jerusalemite Jews. Close to 80 percent of secular and Reform Jews argue that Jerusalem is developing in the wrong direction – perhaps because of the visible decline of non-Orthodox groups in Jerusalem. A 53 percent majority of Orthodox

Graph 9 \ From your perspective contemporary Jerusalem is

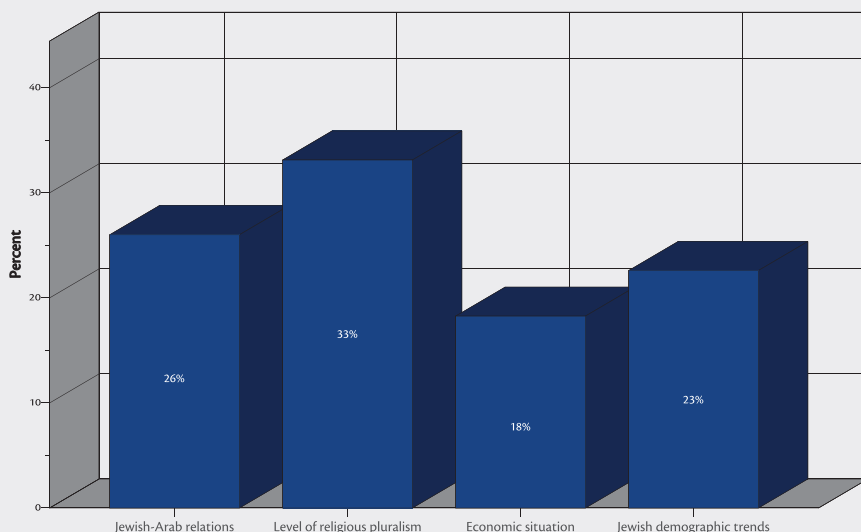


Jews believe that the city is developing in “the right direction” – possibly because they feel more comfortable in a city whose cultural atmosphere is compatible with their own ideology and culture.

The specific concerns Dialogue participants outlined as they were asked to explain their negative assessment of the city’s direction give even more credence to the theory that the Jews of Jerusalem are satisfied with the city exactly for the same reasons that worry their fellow Jews in other countries. The survey provided participants who thought Jerusalem is developing in the wrong direction with seven options (plus the option to write in something else) to explain their misgivings. The options were: Jewish-Arab relations; level of religious pluralism; the economic situation; Jewish demographic trends; the material state of the city; cultural vibrancy (Insufficient); religious vibrancy (Insufficient).

Participant assessments show (graph 10) that intra-Jewish concerns top the list of factors that make Jews worldwide uneasy about Jerusalem’s direction; Jewish-Arab issues ranked second. Thirty-one percent cited “Level of Jewish pluralism” as a main concern and 21 percent cited “Jewish demographic trends” as such. Together they can be decoded as expressions of discomfort with the dominance of Orthodoxy in Jerusalem. This shows that the majority of dissatisfied

Graph 10 \ The main reason Jerusalem is heading in the wrong direction is

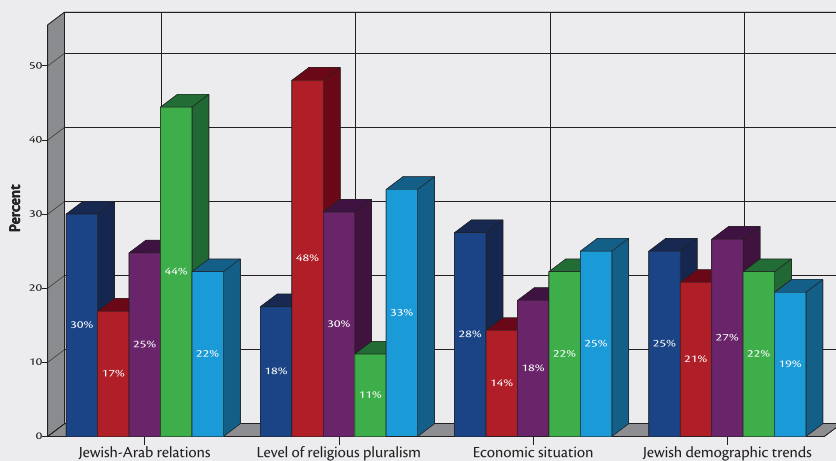


participants had the intra-Jewish religious composition of the city in mind when they identified movement in the “wrong direction.” Jewish-Arab relations in the city was emphasized less, but was still a concern of many participants. It should come as no surprise that Dialogue participants with a politically liberal and religiously progressive bent differed from those Jerusalem residents whose bent is both politically and religiously conservative in their assessment of Jerusalem’s direction.

As one might expect, concerns differ according to several variables; religious affiliation is an important one (graph 11). For example, secular participants were notably more concerned with “secular” issues – Jewish-Arab relations, the economic situation – and less so with the level of religious pluralism. On the other hand, Reform participants were mostly troubled by the level of religious pluralism in Jerusalem, and paid relatively little attention to its economic situation. All in all, the significance of religious pluralism is highlighted by participants affiliated with religious traditions (Reform, Conservative, Orthodox). Note that a small percentage of participants also had “other” concerns. These included the “material state of the city,” “cultural vibrancy,” “religious vibrancy,” and a few others.



Graph 11 \ The main reason Jerusalem is heading in the wrong direction is



**Denomination Affiliation** ■ Secular ■ Reform ■ Conservative ■ Traditional ■ Orthodox

# Concerns about Jewish-Arab Relations

“The Arab population is violently oppressed in Jerusalem,” was an opinion expressed by at least one Dialogue participant in New York.<sup>38</sup> “When I visit I can’t help focus on the Jewish Arab conflict,” said a Washington participant. A participant in Australia argued that there is a need “to bring more Jews to live in the city in order to balance the number of Arabs living there.”<sup>39</sup> “Discrimination in East Jerusalem most pressing problem”, concluded another participant in New York.<sup>40</sup> In several groups –New York and Ann Arbor among others – several participants opted to elect the Arab “mayoral candidate” in the mock election game that was played during discussions, because, as one of the participants said, they “care about the two-state solution.”<sup>41</sup>

Dialogue participants expressed three main concerns when speaking about Jewish-Arab relations in Jerusalem.

1. **The conditions** in which Jerusalem’s Arab residents live, and Israel’s obligation to improve these conditions.
2. **The number** of Jerusalem’s Arab residents and what this means for the future of the city as a center of Jewish life.
3. The role Jerusalem plays in the **Israeli-Palestinian conflict**, and the role that the Arab side of the city plays in it.

Last year, JPPI submitted to the Israeli government a report dealing with demographic trends in Jerusalem, by JPPI Senior Fellow, Prof. Uzi Rebhun.<sup>42</sup> As we mentioned earlier in this report, on the eve of the state’s founding Jerusalem was home to 164,000 residents (graph 12). Following the 1967 reunification, the number of citizens stood at slightly more than a quarter million. Jerusalem’s population today is 850,000, Israel’s largest city.

Naturally, with the reunification of the city (and partially because of the still-

Graph 12 \ Jewish and non-Jewish population of Jerusalem from 1922 to 2015, by percent



controversial decision to include many Arab dominated areas within its municipal territory), a large sector of non-Jewish residents was added to Jerusalem. The proportion of Jews was reduced to three-quarters, and with time was kept declining to the current 62.8 percent of the city's population. Almost all the residents in the western part of the city are Jewish, in the eastern part, Jews make up 40 percent of the population. In absolute terms, 200,000 Jews reside in the Jewish neighborhoods of Jerusalem's eastern part or its Old City.

The presence of large percentage of Arabs in Jerusalem contributes significantly to the fact that this is a relatively poor city.<sup>43</sup> More than a third of Jerusalem's families are defined as "poor" by Israeli standards. Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem do not receive sufficient municipal services and are neglected.<sup>44</sup> According to Amir Efrati, writing for the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), "the gradual worsening of the economic state of East Jerusalem Arabs can be traced back to 2002, when the Israeli government commenced construction of the security fence, which cut off the neighborhoods of East Jerusalem from the Palestinian villages surrounding the city and the West Bank. For the residents of these neighborhoods, who commonly worked in the hotel and restaurant industries (25 percent), education (19 percent), and general services (19 percent),

the geographic division dealt what in many respects was a fatal blow.”

According to the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, in 2015 75.4 percent of all Jerusalem’s Arab residents, and 83.9 percent of Arab children were living under the poverty line.<sup>45</sup> In 2011, according to the Jerusalem Institute for Israel studies, “37% of the families in Jerusalem lived below the poverty line. The extent of poverty within the non-Jewish population of Jerusalem was significantly higher than within the Jewish population. 73% of the families and 85% of the children in the non-Jewish population lived below the poverty line, compared to 24% of the families and 43% of the children in the Jewish population.”<sup>46</sup>

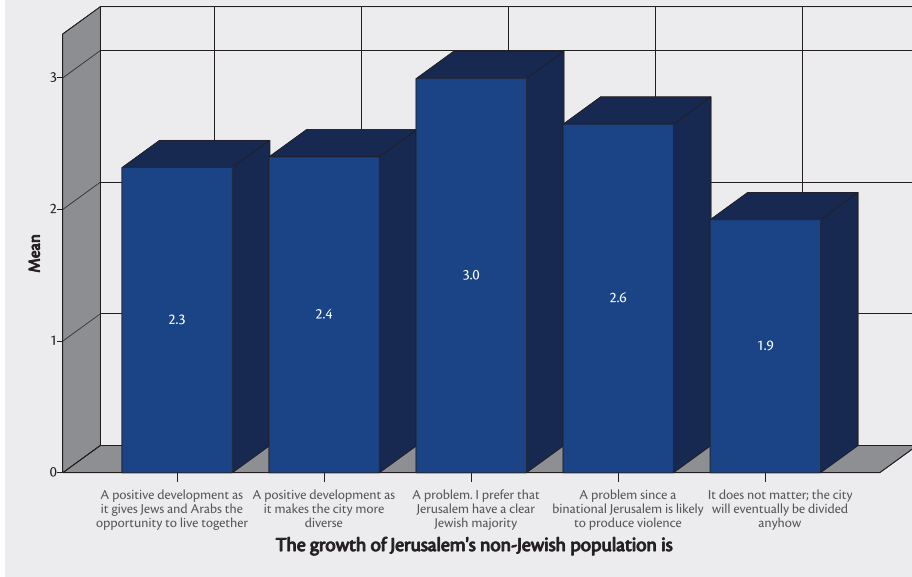
So, worries concerning both the growth of the Arab segment in Jerusalem, and the economic conditions this Arab segment endures, are well founded (the issue of the two- state solution will be discussed in a later chapter). Some participants worried about both these issues, while others focused primarily on one of them – and political undertones could often be detected as Dialogue participants laid out their concerns.

On one side of the political spectrum there were participants who said things such as “a Jewish state cannot let people leave in such poverty, this is not what we call Jewish values” (a participant in Ann Arbor). In Curitiba, Brazil, a young discussant asserted “with the Arab population there is a criminal negligence. The Arabs would be less hostile with the Jews if we had been more just and if we had given to their neighborhoods similar treatment that we have done for the Jewish neighborhoods.”<sup>47</sup>

On the other side were those mostly concerned with the demographic reality, and with the possibility that Arabs will constitute an even larger share of the population. “I don’t want to sound racist or bigoted. I want to be inclusive. But I was leaning toward strong agreement that Jews should make up the majority of the population in Jerusalem,” said a participant in Palm Beach. Another one warned: “If non-Jews are the majority they can vote Jews out!”

We presented Dialogue participants with the statement: “Jerusalem’s non-Jewish population has been growing in recent decades and currently constitutes more than a third of Jerusalem’s total population.” We then asked them to assess in several ways whether this growth of the Arab sector was a positive or negative development on a scale from 1 to 4 (graph 13). All in all, most participants did not see this demographic trend as positive. The statement “I prefer that Jerusalem

Graph 13 \ The growth of Jerusalem's non-Jewish population is



have a clear Jewish majority” averaged 3, with a clear 71 percent majority of participants agreeing with it “somewhat” (32 percent) or “strongly” (39 percent).

Naturally, the issue of a Jewish majority in the city is sensitive, as was considering the option of having an Arab mayor in Jerusalem. In Ann Arbor participants struggled with it, and some expressed unease with even raising the issue of a Jewish majority. One of them even remarked that this sounds “racist to me.” But in Melbourne, Australia “over 50 percent of participants” said that they “couldn’t vote for a Muslim Arab to be mayor of Jerusalem, irrespective of their policies. In St. Louis, a participant sympathetic to Palestinian national aspirations, still “couldn’t accept an Arab mayor of the Jewish capital.” In Chicago, a participant argued that “Jerusalem without a Jewish majority will be in danger of losing its soul.” In several communities, participants raised concerns about the security of Jews if the city becomes less Jewish and more Arab.<sup>48</sup>

# Political Issues: Peace, Control, Recognition

Three developments highlighted Jerusalem's centrality as a political point of friction in the Israeli-Palestinian arena in 2016.

**First:** In October 2016, UNESCO adopted a resolution that ignored a Jewish connection to the Temple Mount – and prompted an angry response from Israel.<sup>49</sup> In 2017, UNESCO repeated this action, albeit with somewhat softer language.<sup>50</sup>

**Second:** U.S. President-elect Trump followed previous presidential candidates and promised to move the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. But unlike previous candidates, Trump and his advisers continued to insist after Election Day that he was serious about implementing this policy.<sup>51</sup> After the completion of the Dialogue process but before this report was written, President Trump proved to be – at least on this specific issue – more similar to his predecessors than he cared to initially admit. His top advisers insisted that the president's support for moving the embassy is still as solid as it was before, but the actualization of this move has been put on hold for the time being.<sup>52</sup>

**Third:** At the end of 2016, a UN Security Council resolution treated the construction of Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem as an illegal act of building in occupied territory controlled by Israel. In a follow up speech explaining the decision of the United States not to veto the resolution, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry argued that Jerusalem ought to be, in the future, “the internationally recognized capital of the two states.”<sup>53</sup> Both the resolution and subsequent speech drew a strong rebuke from Israeli officials and some Jewish leaders in the United States.<sup>54</sup>

These events and others (such as comments made by Turkey's President Erdogan<sup>55</sup>) highlight the centrality of Jerusalem to both Israel and the Palestinians (and the Arab world in general), and the potential for conflict, including religious conflict, related to the city in the years to come. They highlight the fact that Jerusalem's international status as Israel's capital has yet to be resolved.<sup>56</sup>

Political issues – and especially Jerusalem as a focal point of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict – were front and center in some of the discussion seminars. “It’s a city of paradoxes and extremes, and all the tension that exists within Israel/Palestine is doubled or tripled there,” a participant in a discussion at Hebrew Union College New York said. Generally speaking, it is known that non-Israeli Jews are mostly supportive of the “two-state solution.” In 2013, the Pew Research Center found that when it comes to American Jews, “about seven-in-ten Jews with no denominational affiliation (72%) think it is possible for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully, as do majorities of Reform and Conservative Jews (58% and 62%, respectively). By contrast, most Orthodox Jews (61%) do not think a two-state solution will work.”

However, when discussing the potential ramifications for Jerusalem in peace negotiations, the picture of Jewish support becomes murkier. In AJC surveys of American Jewish opinion, a majority gave a negative answer to the question: “In the framework of a permanent peace with the Palestinians, should Israel be willing to compromise on the status of Jerusalem as a united city under Israeli jurisdiction?” (in 2011, 59 percent said no).<sup>57</sup> In J Street surveys, American Jewish opinion looks different, with 70 percent support for a peace agreement according to which “Palestinian neighborhoods in Jerusalem become part of the new Palestinian state while Israel retains control of Jewish neighborhoods and the Western Wall in Jerusalem.”<sup>58</sup> A study of American Jewish attitudes toward Israel from 2010 found that “Fifty-one percent of respondents opposed – and 29 percent supported – compromising on Jerusalem’s status as a united city under Israeli jurisdiction.”<sup>59</sup> The authors of this study explained that “with all other variables held constant... opposition to compromise on Jerusalem increases with conservatism, travel to Israel, and religious background. Support for compromise increases with age and educational attainment. Gender is also significantly related, with women more likely to answer ‘don’t know’”

Israeli Jews also give various answers to different questions about a possible arrangement in Jerusalem. A survey conducted by the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) during the 2015-16 wave of terror attacks and the following year of relative calm, provided information on how Israelis view future arrangements in Jerusalem.<sup>60</sup> Respondents were asked: “In the current situation, what, in your opinion, is the correct solution for the issue of Jerusalem?” The findings of the survey, according to the INSS report, “revealed that approximately

22 percent of the Israeli public supported maintaining the status quo in Jerusalem whereas the rest preferred a degree of change in the city, including concession and/or a new solution.”

According to this survey, approximately 29 percent were “in favor of maintaining the status quo while increasing physical separation in East Jerusalem; some 26 percent favored transferring control of the Arab neighborhoods to the control of the Palestinian Authority; and approximately 23 percent expressed support for the establishment of a separate local authority for the Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty. Even though establishing a separate authority for the Arab neighborhoods was a new idea, it is particularly interesting to note that two separate public opinion polls regarding the idea yielded comparable findings.”

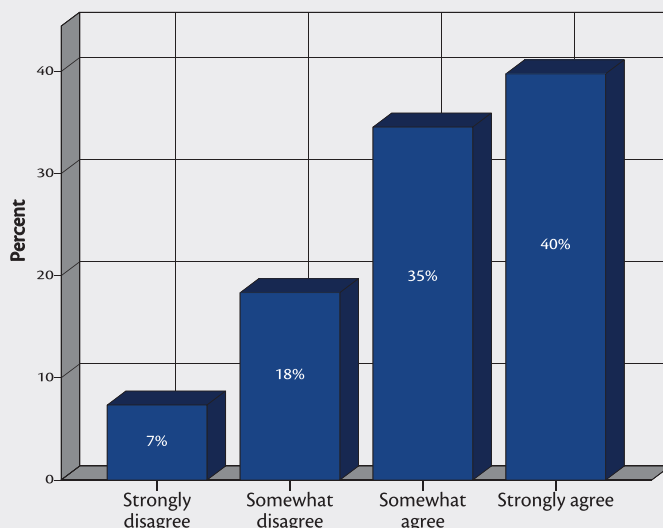
Other surveys have provided different answers to similar – but not identical – questions.<sup>61</sup> A survey by Yediot Daily found that 46 percent of Jewish Israelis oppose any compromise on Jerusalem, 32 percent would accept an arrangement that put the city’s Arab neighborhoods under Palestinian jurisdiction, but also say that “the Temple Mount and the Old City must remain under Israel’s jurisdiction.” Fifteen percent agree that both the Arab neighborhoods and the Temple Mount will be part of the capital of a future Palestinian state. A survey conducted by the newspaper Israel Hayom found that 67 percent of Jewish Israelis oppose a settlement that includes “partial Palestinian sovereignty in the Old City.” Eighty-four percent oppose full Palestinian sovereignty over the Old City. Most supporters of the arrangement would oppose it if the Kotel were also going to be under Palestinians control, 87 percent of opponents to the deal say that they would keep opposing it even if it means there will never be a peace deal with the Palestinians.

The Dialogue on Jerusalem did not include a question on the two-state solution, but did include several questions on Jerusalem-related political matters. Some of them were simple, and not controversial. For example, on the question of whether countries ought to move their embassies to Jerusalem, a clear majority of participants said yes, with about 62 percent agreeing with the statement “all countries ought to move their embassies to Jerusalem” (support for such a measure was much higher among men (69 percent) than among women (58 percent)).

However, when it comes to the nuances of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict,



Graph 14 \ The Temple Mount must remain under Israeli jurisdiction

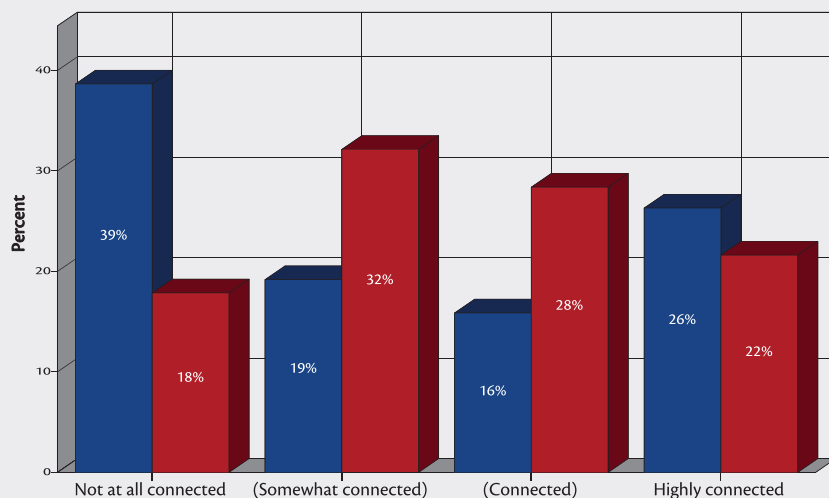


and the issue of who should control Jerusalem, and whether there should be a compromise that divides the city between Israel and the Palestinians, Dialogue participants were more conflicted, and at times even self-contradictory.

On the one hand, a clear majority of close to 75 percent argued that “the Temple Mount must remain under Israeli jurisdiction” (graph 14). A majority of 56 percent also agreed that “Jerusalem should never be divided” (34 percent “strongly agree”, 22 percent “somewhat agree”). Still, a participant in St. Louis said: “I’m not opposed to some kind of capital for Palestinians but not the Temple Mount. Not in the Old City. Maybe the eastern suburbs of Jerusalem.” In Chicago, a participant voiced a similar sentiment: “I want a peace agreement, but am wary of a situation that puts the Temple Mount in Palestinian hands.” In Rio de Janeiro, some thought “that Jerusalem is not an issue to discuss with nobody [sic], and also not to negotiate with the Arabs. They don’t accept to divide Jerusalem with the Palestinians.”

That Jews want the Temple Mount to remain under Israeli jurisdiction is interesting, and might reflect their lack of confidence that forces other than Israel’s can control this area and safeguard the right of Jews to access it freely. Thus, when we asked participants if they were willing “to let an international force rule

Graph 15 \ Attachment to the Temple Mount (Har HaBait)



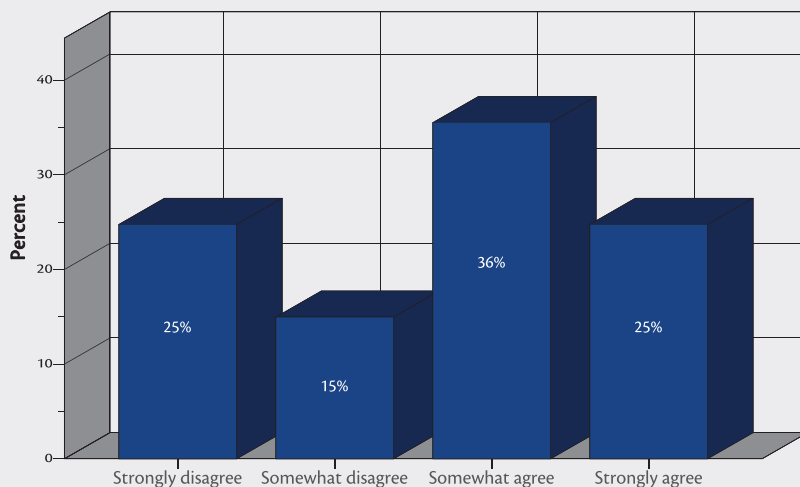
**Respondents:** ■ JPPI Israel Survey ■ JPPI World Dialogue Survey of World Jewry

the ‘Holy Basin’ of Jerusalem” many “strongly disagreed.” Even among “secular” respondents – the most open to such arrangement – only 13 percent “strongly agreed” with this option, while 61 percent “strongly” or “somewhat” disagreed with it. Among the Orthodox, the most suspicious group of such a proposition, 72 percent “strongly” disagreed with accepting an international force in Jerusalem, and only 14 percent “somewhat” or “strongly” agreed to it.

The level of political attachment to the Temple Mount (graph 15) is interesting, as we take into account the fact that the connection of Jews (especially in Israel) to this site of great historical and religious significance is not very high according to JPPI’s findings. Almost 40 percent of Israelis feel “not at all connected” to the Temple Mount (in Yediot’s survey, 21 percent of respondents said the Temple Mount is the most important site in Jerusalem, compared to 61 percent for the Kotel).

Among non-Israeli Jews who participated in the Dialogue, the level of connection to the Temple Mount is somewhat higher, with half feeling “connected” or “highly connected” to it. On average, it is apparent that the Temple Mount is not a site with which Jews feel a great connection compared to the Kotel or the Old City in general. Perhaps this is not surprising considering the more controversial political

**Graph 16 \ In the framework of a permanent peace with the Palestinians, if satisfied with the rest of the agreement, Israel should be willing to compromise on the status of Jerusalem as a united city under Israeli jurisdiction**



connotation of Israel's control of Temple Mount, and also because many Jews that visit Jerusalem go to the Kotel but not the Temple Mount (for religious, political or other reasons). According to the Yediot survey, 75 percent of Jews said that they had never visited the Temple Mount.<sup>62</sup> In the Dialogue survey, on a scale of 1-4, "the Old City" attachment level was 3.4, "the Kotel" is 3.4, "Jerusalem" was 3.6, and "the Temple Mount" was 2.5.

Although Dialogue participants expressed relatively strong views against the division of Jerusalem, Palestinian control of key areas, and international involvement in safeguarding any arrangement in Jerusalem, it is interesting to note that when presented with a more nuanced statement vis-a-vis a theoretical peace arrangement they responded to it relatively favorably.

Why? Because "I do not want to lose any of it [Jerusalem], but peace is also something I can't lose," as a participant in Ann Arbor said. A Washington participant said: "Saying no to having a Palestinian capital in Jerusalem is a deal breaker for me." Others were no less clear in expressing their support for a peace deal, with the understanding that a compromise in Jerusalem is what the Palestinian side demands.

In the Dialogue survey, participants were asked to agree or disagree with the statement: “In the framework of a permanent peace with the Palestinians, if satisfied with the rest of the agreement, Israel should be willing to compromise on the status of Jerusalem as a united city under Israeli jurisdiction.” About 60 percent of them agreed with it (graph 16). And, of course, this might seem to be in contradiction with their answers to other questions. Nevertheless, even though a majority of participants opposed a division of Jerusalem,<sup>63</sup> and even though a majority opposed a non-Israeli control over the so called “Holy Basin” – a majority is still willing to “compromise on the status of Jerusalem as a united city under Israeli jurisdiction” under the above-mentioned circumstances of a satisfying peace agreement<sup>64</sup>.

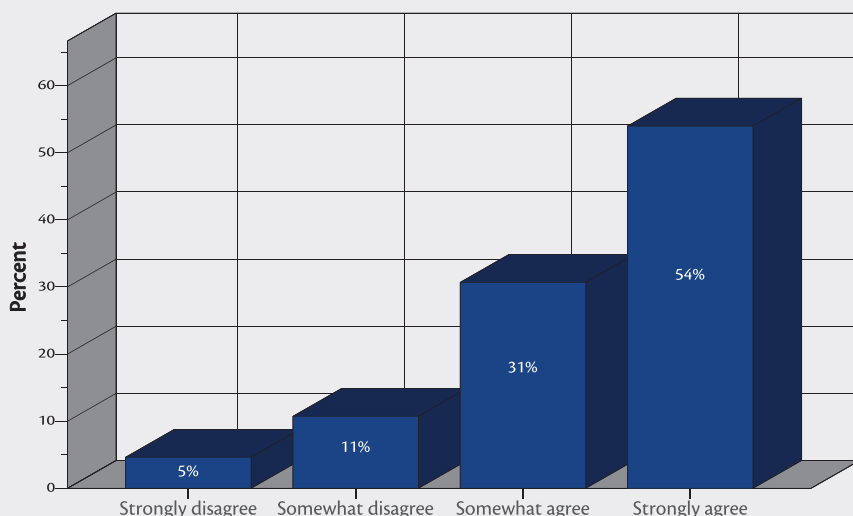
# Concerns about Intra-Jewish Relations/Pluralism

2016 and early 2017 gave world Jewry many opportunities and reasons to think about intra-Jewish relations, and the tensions these relations potentially entail. These tensions are hard to hide, especially when it comes to Jerusalem gradually growing more religiously Orthodox. Jews see them everywhere. They see them as they ponder the issue of the Western Wall (a later chapter is dedicated to this issue) – an issue that was dealt with on the national Israeli level, but happens and impacts Jerusalem. They see them as they travel the city and see its changing demographic faces.

Jerusalem today offers a great variety of cultural and religious options that weren't available in previous decades. But it also makes Israelis and non-Israeli Jews feel less welcome in a city whose growing sectors are more religiously (and politically) conservative than the general Jewish average. As seen earlier, Reform Jews tend to be highly concerned about Jerusalem's direction mainly because they perceive an encroachment of religious pluralism. And they are not the only ones. A pluralistic Jewish environment is what most of the Dialogue participants expect. They expect it from Israel generally – as previous studies have shown. They expect it in Jerusalem – when the practicalities of pluralistic arrangements seem to be becoming more complicated. Prohibitions against egalitarian access and worship at the Kotel, said a participant at the Jewish Theological Seminary, is an indication of “the lack of religious pluralism in Israel.”<sup>65</sup>

“Throughout the discussion, it became apparent that the underlying issue of pluralism in Israel was the main topic that should have been raised from the beginning,” JPPI reported following a Dialogue session in New Orleans back in 2014. Like many other aspects of the 2017 Dialogue, Jewish pluralism in Jerusalem was a microcosm of the larger issue of Jewish pluralism in the whole of Israel. “If we're trying to figure out priorities, my two issues are religious pluralism and equality for all peoples,” a New York participant asserted. There is “growing intolerance,” one St. Louis discussant warned. “I believe Jews have a right to

**Graph 17 \ If the growth of the Haredi population continues, Jerusalem will not be a pluralistic city that is hospitable to Jews of all streams and denominations**



express how they feel about Judaism. Live and let live. Tolerate people,” said a participant in Sydney, Australia. In Ann Arbor, a participant said: “I would like to strengthen the more pluralistic connections.” In Rio de Janeiro participants wished for a “Jewish pluralistic city and also for the other religions.”

When participants played the “elect a mayor” game, they gravitated toward the candidate (in the game he was named “Omer”) that seemed most tolerant of multiple Jewish expressions. He was the only candidate that vowed to “invest in pluralistic Jewish education” and “welcome all streams of Judaism, and make a place for them.” This imaginary candidate was elected in West Palm Beach, Melbourne, Minneapolis, St. Louis, New York, Zurich, Sao Paulo, Curitiba, Cleveland. In Washington, 18 participants voted for him, more than double the number that voted for his most vibrant competitor (“Aliza,” a Religious Zionist (Orthodox) woman). These are the “two reasonable candidates,” agreed the group at the Sutton Place Synagogue in New York.<sup>66</sup> The runner up, Aliza, is “not friendly to Reform & Conservative Jews,” explained one “Omer” supporter. “Pluralism seems to be the most important factor,” explained another. The group as a whole agreed that it is “important to be pluralist and welcoming – we don’t want intolerance, we want a place for all Jews.”

Is Jerusalem tolerant and pluralistic? Many Jews we interviewed think not. And the main reason they point to are: 1) general intolerance in Israel toward progressive Judaism; and 2) specific intolerance in Jerusalem with respect to progressive Judaism and also secularism because of the concentration of religious and ultra-religious Orthodox Israelis in this city. In the Dialogue survey, participants were asked to refer to the growing number of ultra-Orthodox residents in Jerusalem, and to agree or disagree with the statement: “If this trend continues, Jerusalem will not be a pluralistic city that is hospitable to Jews of all streams and denominations.”

The outcome (graph 17) was a whopping consensus, with close to 85 percent of participants in agreement that the likely outcome of the current trend will be a less Jewishly pluralistic city (more about this in a later chapter). Add participants’ desire for such a city, their assessment of current trends and their likely outcomes, and the result – that a majority of them think the city is moving in the wrong direction – should come as no surprise.

One of JPPI’s goals in playing the “elect a mayor” game was to try to draw out not just what Jews have in mind as they dream of “their” Jerusalem, but also their priorities as they navigate the many preferences all have. In other words, we were trying to see not just what makes Jews either hopeful or concerned about the future of the city, but also which of these concerns are more acute and assigned a higher priority than others.

Of all the concerns discussed, Jewish pluralism topped all others in most communities. This is mainly due to three reasons:

1. There is relatively little disagreement within world Jewry about the need for a pluralistically Jewish Jerusalem. And, of course, this does not necessarily mean that all will be in agreement on every detail pertaining to how such “pluralistic” city ought to look in practice (participants in France agreed on the general notion that “basic amenities should be put in place for Conservative and Reform Jews”). But it does mean that the ultimate goal of having a Jerusalem to which all Jews can feel a strong connection and in which all Jews can find a way to express their Jewishness is widespread.
2. There is a general feeling among Jews that the issue of Jewish pluralism is a “global Jewish” issue – that is, an issue on which non-Israeli Jews ought to have a say. Not all non-Israeli Jews feel that Jerusalem’s economic problems

or advantages are something they should be dealing with, because many of them see economics as the purview of the municipality and the state – and not something that should concern Jews who live outside of Jerusalem. But Jewish pluralism in the Jewish world's core city of the is an issue the Jews feel comfortable talking about.

3. Dialogue participants see Jewish pluralism as a relatively simple concept that is not too complicated to implement. Unlike issues such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict over Jerusalem, which involve matters of security, the participation of other parties, international considerations etc., Jewish pluralism is an internal matter that involves nothing but the good will of Jews and their ability to cooperate and compromise.



# The Haredi Issue: Culture and Economy

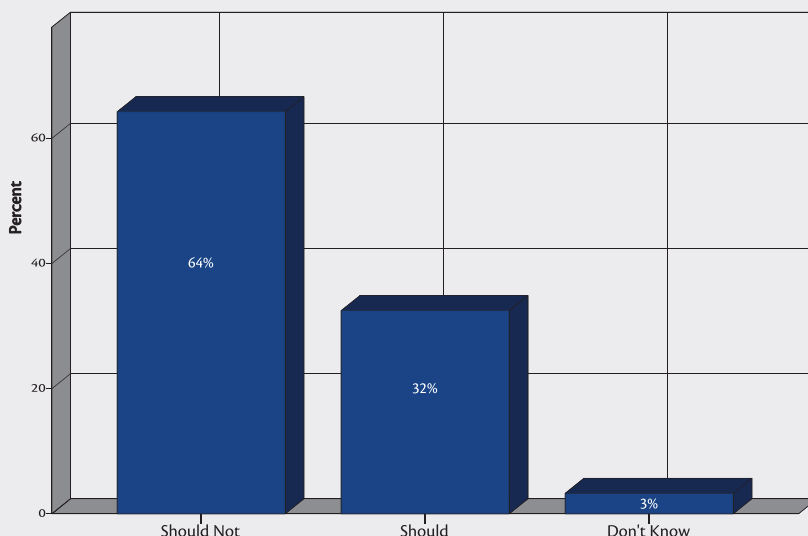
Discussing Jerusalem, JPPI Dialogue participants described the alienation separating most Jews from the ultra-Orthodox minority. In almost all communities, participants referred to Haredi communities in negative terms expressing both apprehension and frustration with their actions. “I have a problem with control and domination by the Haredim, who I see as intolerant,” a participant in St. Louis said. We, the Jews, “need to maintain a Jewish majority [in Jerusalem], but we also need more diversity in the Jewish population to balance the Haredi influence,” said a participant in Sydney.

This should not come as big surprise. In many studies and surveys, Haredi communities in Israel have been shown time and again to be unpopular among their counterparts – Jewish Israelis, non-Jewish Israelis, Jewish non-Israelis.

JPPI’s 2016 Annual Assessment included a chapter on the ultra-Orthodox community in the United States, and concluded that “the barriers to the integration of the Haredi sector into the established mainstream Jewish communal organizations are significant. Fundamental ideological conflicts divide the Haredim and the broader Jewish population, and given the existence of their own network of charitable and social service organizations, there is a lack of incentive on the Haredi side to bridge those differences.”<sup>67</sup> Of course, the challenge posed by the Haredi presence in Jerusalem is not identical to the challenge posed by their growing presence as a share of the Jewish community worldwide.<sup>68</sup> Still, some of the challenges are similar – and the difficulties Haredi and non-Haredi Jews have in finding a common language and agreeing on common interests are also similar.

In JPPI’s 2017 Pluralism survey of Israelis, we found (as we did in 2016) that Haredis in Israel are considered by almost all other groups as one of the two groups least “contributing to Israel’s success.”<sup>69</sup> Their average score among Jewish Israelis was 2.27 on a scale of 1-4 – second from bottom (Muslim Arabs scored 1.85). They

Graph 18 \ **Should Haredim and secular Jews live in mixed neighborhoods in Israel?**

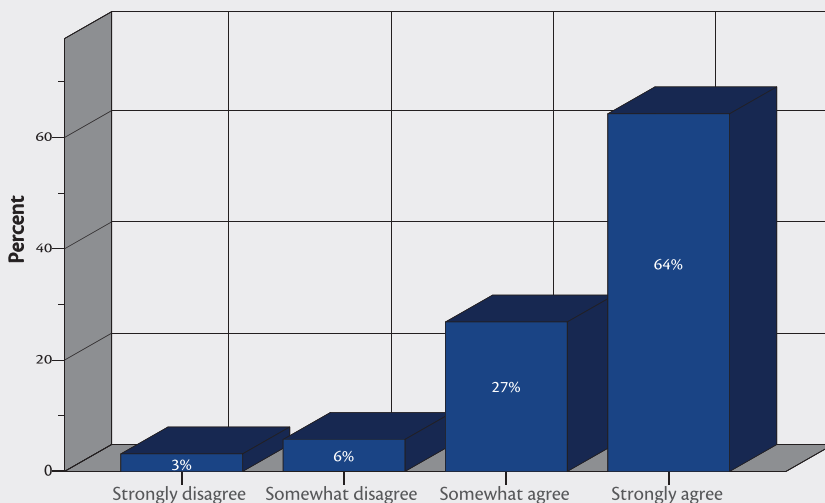


were ranked last by “totally secular” Jews, second to last by “secular-traditional” Jews, and fourth from last by “traditional” Jews. Interestingly, they are also ranked as the group contributing least by Christian Arab Israelis, and second from last (after “settlers”) by Muslim Arab Israelis.

In the same survey JPPI found that 78 percent of secular Israeli Jews believe they should not live with the Haredim in “the same neighborhoods,” and, in fact, most other Israelis agreed that such mixing would not be advisable (graph 18). The approximately 10 percent share of Haredim among Israel’s Jews said they feel comfortable “being themselves” in Israel – more so than most other religious groups. But other Israelis do not seem comfortable around them. In Jerusalem, where the presence of Haredis is more pronounced than in most other cities, the suspicion that exists in all cities becomes more dramatic.

The worries Dialogue participants raised as they discussed the Haredi presence in Jerusalem were of two main kinds: concerns about religious pluralism, and concerns about economic vitality. Jerusalem – most Dialogue participants believe – needs to both be attractive to world Jewry, and to serve its mission as a center of the Jewish people. Haredi Jerusalemis make these two issues problematic. In Minneapolis, participants raised “concern about the ‘hegemony’; of the Haredi

Graph 19 \ The continued growth of the Haredi population in Jerusalem is an economic problem for the future of the city (as the Haredi population has low employment and high poverty rates)



population, its lack of respect for non-Orthodox Judaism and the ‘work’ that needs to be done within the Jewish community around [mutual] respect. In Chicago, a participant warned that if Jerusalem is “poor and dirty” it will inevitably become “less attractive to Jews who come to visit; for them, a visit to Jerusalem is also a vacation.”

Thus, when we asked participants if having a growing Haredi community in the city is “a positive development as it gives Jews of various types the opportunity to live together,” more than 70 percent disagreed with the statement (32.2 percent strongly, 39.6 percent somewhat). When we asked if the growing percentage of Haredim is “a positive development as it makes the city more diverse,” the result was similar. Only 26 percent of participants agreed with the statement (20.8 percent somewhat, 5.2 percent strongly).

Both these answers reflect a sentiment that the Haredi community does not contribute to Jewish diversity, but is rather a danger to such diversity. Thus, more than 80 percent of Dialogue participants agreed that “if this trend” of a growing Haredi presence continues, “Jerusalem will not be a pluralistic city that is hospitable to Jews of all streams and denominations.” In the “elect a mayor” activity, very few participants even considered “voting” for ‘Moshe’, the Haredi

candidate. “Moshe, no votes,” stated the report from Washington; “Nobody showed any interest in voting for Moshe,” stated the report from Melbourne.

When it comes to economic issues, the skepticism concerning the contribution of the ultra-Orthodox community to creating a city fitting the vision of world Jewry is similar. They see the Haredi community as a burden on Jerusalem’s path for economic success. More than 90 percent of participants agreed that the Haredi presence is “an economic problem for the future” of Jerusalem (graph 19).

# More Concern about the Haredim than about the Arabs

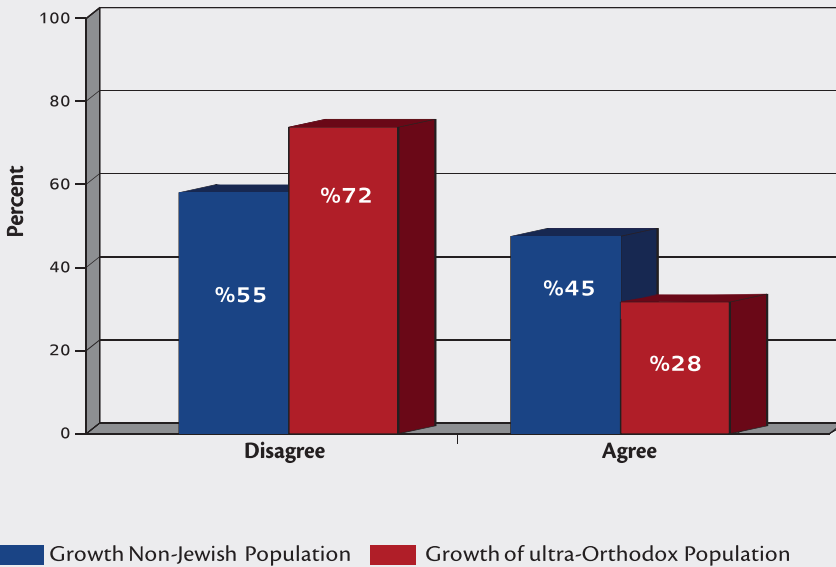
Talking about demographic concerns is always sensitive, and that was evident in many of the Dialogue discussion sessions this year. Jerusalem, as we have shown earlier, is a city whose demographic changes raise concern among both its non-Haredi residents (many of whom leave the city) and far-away observers.

As pointed out earlier, two groups of Jerusalemites are growing in number and share of the city's population much more than other groups – Arabs and ultra-Orthodox Jews. Dialogue participants were asked to rank their level of agreement with nine statements concerning the numerical growth of Jerusalem's non-Jewish and ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) populations. Overall, most participants tended to view this demographic reality as a problematic development. But interestingly, the growth of the ultra-Orthodox population was viewed as significantly more negative than the growth of the non-Jewish population (with some exceptions). Haredim, as one participant in Washington put it, “are too extreme.”

Participants were asked if they thought the growth of the **non-Jewish population** was a “positive development as it gives Jews and Arabs the opportunity to live together” and then subsequently asked if they thought the growth of the **ultra-Orthodox population** was a “positive development as it gives Jews of various types the opportunity to live together.” Graph 20 shows that 45 percent agreed that the growth of the non-Jewish population was a “positive development” in that regard (opportunity to live together), while only 28 percent agreed that the growth of the ultra-Orthodox population was a “positive development” in that regard (opportunity to live together).<sup>70</sup> Of course, the opposite is also true: More participants disagreed with the notion that the growth of the Haredi sector was positive than those disagreeing with the notion that the growth of Arabs was positive.

In order to better understand the responses to these two related questions, we divided all Dialogue participants into the following four categories based on their

Graph 20 \ The growth of Jerusalem's non-Jewish and Haredi populations are a positive development as it gives an opportunity to live together

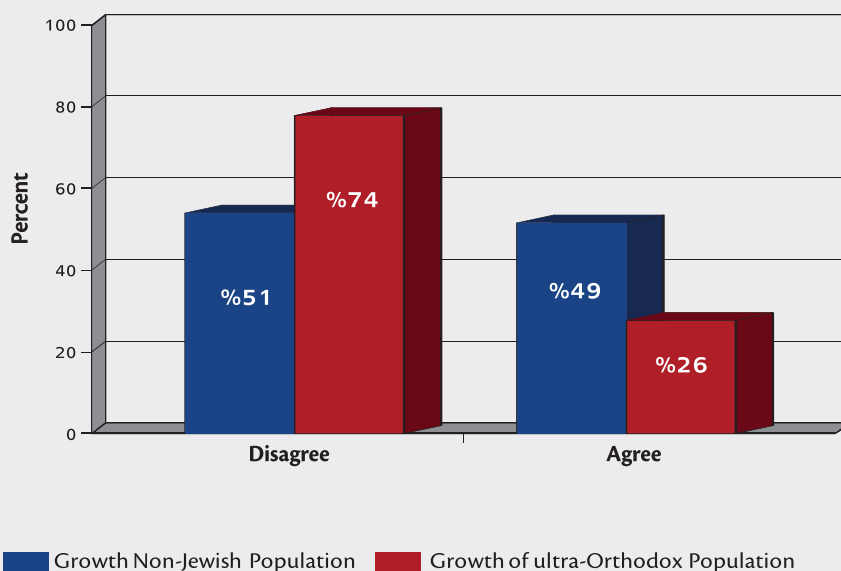


responses to whether the growth of the non-Jewish and Haredi population was a positive development (as it gives Jerusalemites the opportunity to live together):

1. Those who **disagree** on both Haredi and non-Jewish growth (that is, those thinking the growth of these populations is a negative demographic reality);
2. Those who **agree** only with respect to Haredi growth (that Haredi growth is positive);
3. Those who **agree** only about non-Jewish growth (that Arab growth is positive);
4. Those who **agree** on both Haredi and non-Jewish growth.

We then looked at these four groups by religious denomination. Namely, we looked at which Jewish groups (by denomination) applied which judgment to this Jerusalemite demographic reality. Orthodox respondents were three times more likely to agree with the statement when it pertained only to the Haredim – that is, to see the growth of the Haredi population positively, while the largest percentage of Reform respondents (42 percent) agreed only with respect to non-Jewish growth – that is, saw the growth of the Arab population as positive.

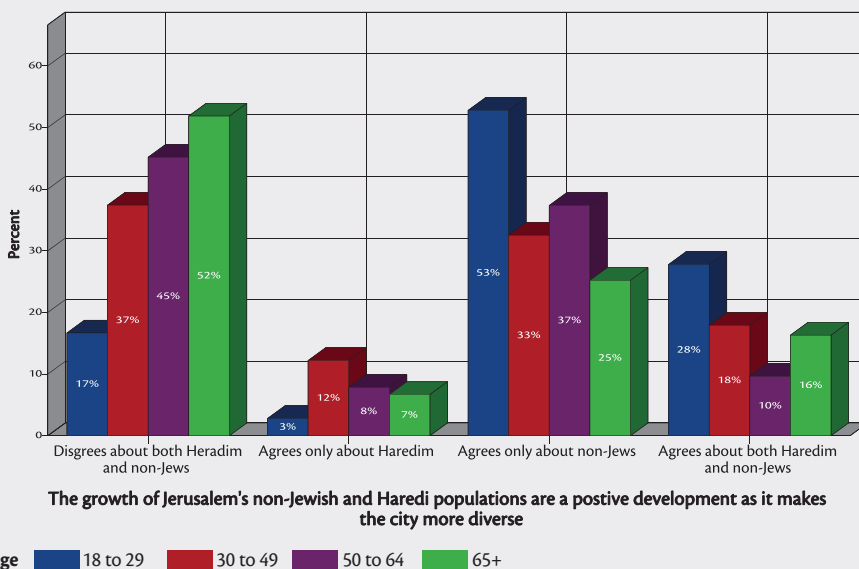
Graph 21 \ The growth of Jerusalem's non-Jewish and Haredi populations are a positive development as it makes the city more diverse



Dividing Dialogue participants according to age cohort, we see that the percent of respondents disagreeing about the positivity of the growth of both the Haredi and non-Jewish populations increased with each successive cohort. More interesting: the youngest cohort, age 18 to 29, showed a clear preference to living in a mix of Jews and Arabs than in a mix of non-Haredi and Haredi Jews. According to 49 percent of these young participants, only the growth of the non-Jewish (Arab) population is a positive development, as it provides Jews and Arabs the opportunity to live together. Less than half of that number (20 percent) agreed that the growth of both the Haredi and the non-Jewish populations is a positive development. Only 3 percent agreed that only the Haredi growth is a positive development.

In addition to the statement about the positive\negative aspect of “living together” with Haredim and Arabs, JPPI asked Dialogue participants to agree or disagree with the statement: “The growth of Jerusalem’s non-Jewish\Haredi population is a positive development as it makes the city more diverse.”<sup>71</sup> As graph 21 illustrates, the responses were similar in nature to the ones presented in the previous question. That is, there were many more participants viewing the growth of the non-Jewish population as a positive development, compared

Graph 22 \ The growth of Jerusalem's non-Jewish and Haredi populations are a positive development as it makes the city more diverse



to those viewing the growth of the Haredi group as a positive development. Participants were split (51 to 49 percent) as to whether the growth of the non-Jewish population was a positive development (because it would make the city more diverse). They were heavily tilted (74 to 26 percent) against viewing the growth of Jerusalem's Haredi Jewish population as a positive development.

As with the previous question, we examined responses to this question by dividing them into four categories (positive on both Arabs and Haredi Jews, negative on both, positive on Arabs, positive on Haredi Jews), as well as looking at the respondents according to denomination. And what we observe here, again, albeit to a lesser extent, is that a larger portion of the Orthodox participants agreed that the growth of the Haredi population, but not that of the non-Jewish population, was positive (because of its impact on the city's diversity). On the other end of the spectrum of participants, Reform Jews, as well as secular and Conservative Jews, believed that the growth of the non-Jewish population, not that of the Haredi population, was positive because of its effect on the city's diversity.

When it comes to age cohorts, the similarity between the two questions was even more striking. As graph 22 shows, the majority of the youngest cohort, age 18 to 29, agreed (53 percent) only with the statement about the non-Jewish population



(its growth is positive because of the city's diversity), but they were also least likely to agree on the statement concerning the Haredi population. That is to say: the younger JPPI Dialogue participants appreciated the value of a diverse city of Jews and Arabs, but did not see such value in mixing non-Haredi and Haredi Jews.

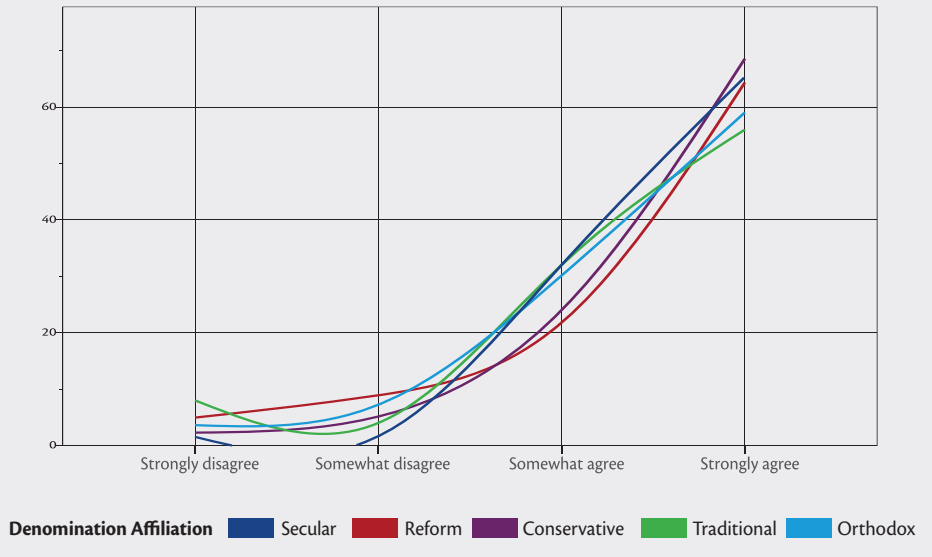
The fact that the younger generation views the growth of the non-Jewish population in Jerusalem as a positive development is not necessarily surprising, as it is consistent with the notion that the younger generation has, generally, more liberal and inclusive attitudes. What is interesting here is the seeming contradiction between a desire for diversity when it comes to Jews and Arabs and the lack of such desire when it comes to non-Haredi and Haredi Jews.

There is a simple explanation for this seeming contradiction: Dialogue participants believe that the growth of the non-Jewish population would add to the city's diversity – but also believe that the growth of the Haredi population would not have the same effect. They believe that adding more Haredim to the mix would, in due time, make Jerusalem not more but rather less diverse, because of Haredi objections to diversity.

This sentiment was expressed clearly when JPPI asked participants to agree or disagree with the statement: "If the growth of Haredi population continues Jerusalem will not be a pluralistic city that is hospitable to Jews of all streams and denominations." As the graph below shows, a combined 85 percent (31 percent "somewhat agree" and 54 percent "strongly agree") of Dialogue survey respondents agreed with this statement. That is to say: a vast majority of respondents believe that increasing numbers of Haredim in Jerusalem would make the city less hospitable to other Jews (and hence less diverse). "We spoke of an open and welcoming Judaism" as a priority, reminded a participant in New York.<sup>72</sup>

In fact, even the majority of respondents who identified as traditional or Orthodox, and who had showed (ostensibly) a preference for the growth of the Haredi population over the non-Jewish population agrees that Haredi population growth would be a detriment to the city's Jewish pluralism (69 percent of Orthodox participants agreed with the statement, 64 percent of "traditional" participants agreed with it, compared to 87 and 91 and 91 percent respectively for Conservative and Reform and secular Jews).

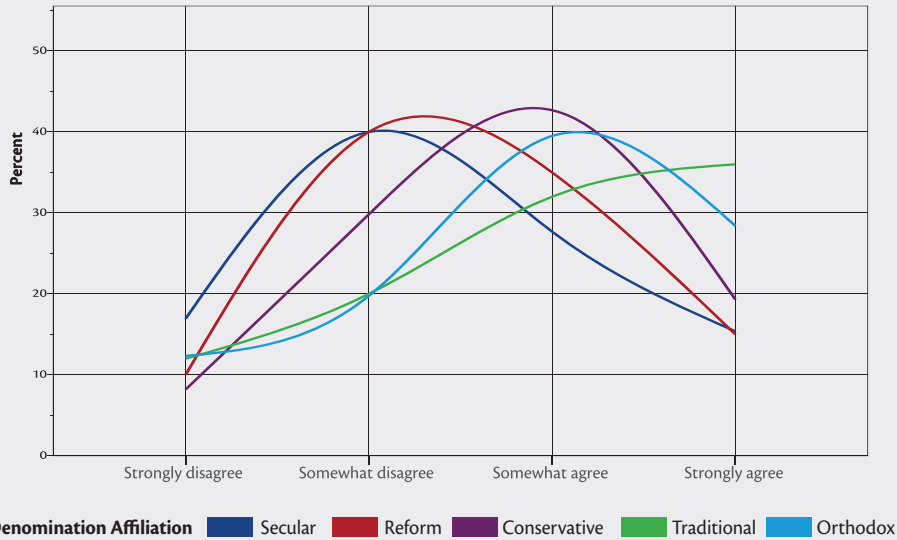
**Graph 23 \ The growth of the ultra-Orthodox is an economic problem for the future of the city (as the Haredi population has low employment and high poverty rates)**



Furthermore, there was a consensus among Dialogue survey respondents that the growth of the Haredi population poses an “economic problem for the future of the city (as this Haredi population has low employment and high poverty rates).” Graph 23 shows the distribution of responses on this question by Jewish denomination (among Dialogue participants). That the lines follow almost an identical pattern and are close together suggests that there is little variance of opinion among denominations on this question. They all agree that Haredi growth is an “economic problem” for Jerusalem. “You have to be realistic. The Haredim are not going to high school or college,” a participant in West Palm Beach asserted.

For the sake of comparison, graph 24 shows the distribution of responses given by the various denominations on the statement: “The growth of Jerusalem’s non-Jewish population is a problem, since a binational Jerusalem is likely to produce violence.”<sup>73</sup> In this case – a statement contending that the presence of Arabs in Jerusalem is a potential security problem – the distribution of the responses by denomination is different. We see more difference between denominations, and we see (for most groups – the traditional, in green, are the odd group out) a bell curve. That is to say: these groups are divided on whether “the growth of

Graph 24 \ The growth of the non-Jewish population is a problem, since a binational Jerusalem is likely to produce violence



Jerusalem's non-Jewish population is a problem" because of the potential for violence.

To sum up this short chapter: When Dialogue participants look at the demographic realities in Jerusalem, they are much more concerned about Haredi growth than they are about Arab growth. Dialogue participants were in more agreement on the positive statements vis-a-vis the growth of the non-Jewish population, as well as the negative statements concerning the growth of the Haredi population.

# The Kotel Controversy as a Test Case

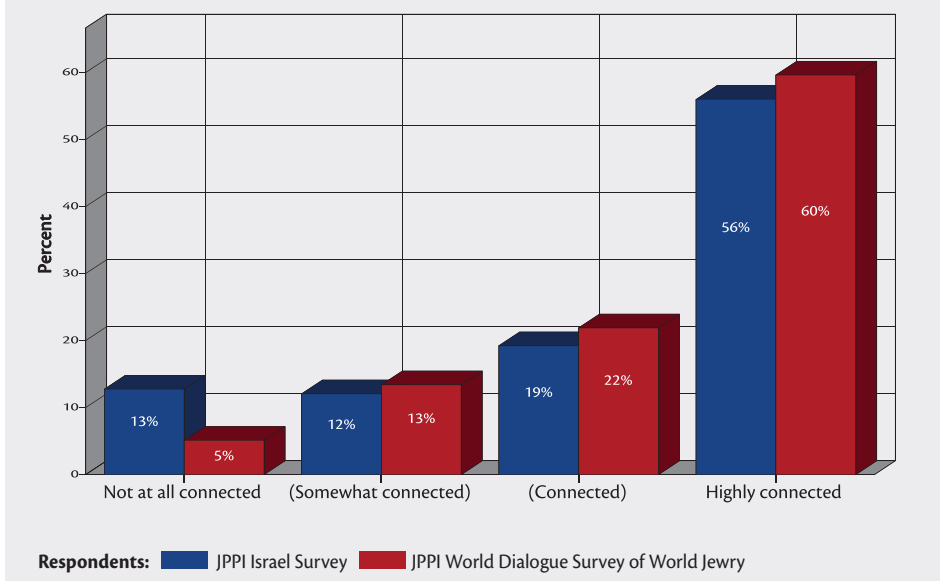
The 2017 Dialogue process took place when it was already clear that the “Kotel compromise” – the agreement<sup>74</sup> (and government decision) to establish an officially recognized third platform near the Western Wall for progressive practice of Judaism – was in trouble due to Haredi resistance to implementing the plan.<sup>75</sup> However, the ultimate cabinet decision (June 25, 2017) to put the plan on hold, and the consequent anger and disappointment, was not yet known.

The grievances of non-Orthodox Jews, especially in the United States, but also in Israel,<sup>76</sup> concerning Haredi dominance of the Western Wall have a long legal, political, and religious history. Much more than its actual importance to any specific movement or Jewish leader, this issue has become both a symbol of Israel’s disregard for Diaspora Jewry’s interests and sentiments. It is a litmus test of Israel’s seriousness in declaring its intention to allow a more Jewishly diverse public sphere to emerge, and in being more considerate of world Jewry.

In the final report on JPPI’s 2014 Dialogue on *Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State*, we reported that the “example of the Western Wall – that is, the inability of non-Orthodox Jewish women to hold services at the Kotel in ways compatible with their own understanding of Judaism – was commonly cited by Jews who are unhappy with Israel’s religious preferences, and was often mentioned in JPPI seminars.”<sup>77</sup> Previous JPPI research argued that “young Jewish Americans are not fond of the fact that the Kotel plaza has a strict separation policy between men and women, and that the responsibility for enforcing it is in the hands of an Orthodox rabbi who applies to all visitors the rules of behavior that agree with his conception. of Judaism.”<sup>78</sup>

In the eyes of Jews around the world, time and again Israel fails the test, and this further enhances the issue’s symbolic value. This was of obvious importance when the Dialogue dealt with Israel as a Jewish and democratic State, and was of no less importance in the Dialogue concerning the future of Jerusalem – whose main emblematic feature for Jews is the Western Wall.

Graph 25 \ Attachment to the Kotel (Western Wall)



“The Wall is the heart of our religion,” stated a participant in Cleveland.<sup>79</sup> When asked about Jerusalem’s significance “people mentioned personal experiences at the Kotel,” reported a New York group.<sup>80</sup> The “Kotel presents a sense of spirituality and inspiration,” said a participant in Washington, with another adding that “The Kotel and all that it symbolizes” was what makes Jerusalem special for him. In Melbourne, Australia, a participant shared his experience: “It strikes me as amazing when I get to the Kotel and there is someone davening with an iPhone. The old and the new. I wonder for how long have people been praying at the Kotel and how many people have been here before me?”

In fact, the sense of connectedness to the Kotel is yet another case where Dialogue participating Jews are connected to a site in Israel – at least in the hearts – even more so than Israeli Jews. The percentage of Dialogue participants who reported feeling highly connected to the Kotel (60 percent) surpassed the percentage of Jewish Israelis who reported feeling this way (56 percent) (graph 25). Even more vivid was the lower percentage of Dialogue participants who reported feeling no connection to the Kotel (5 percent) than the percentage of Jewish Israelis who reporting feel disconnected from it (13 percent). It is important to note, though, that when Israeli Jews were recently asked by a pollster “What in your opinion is

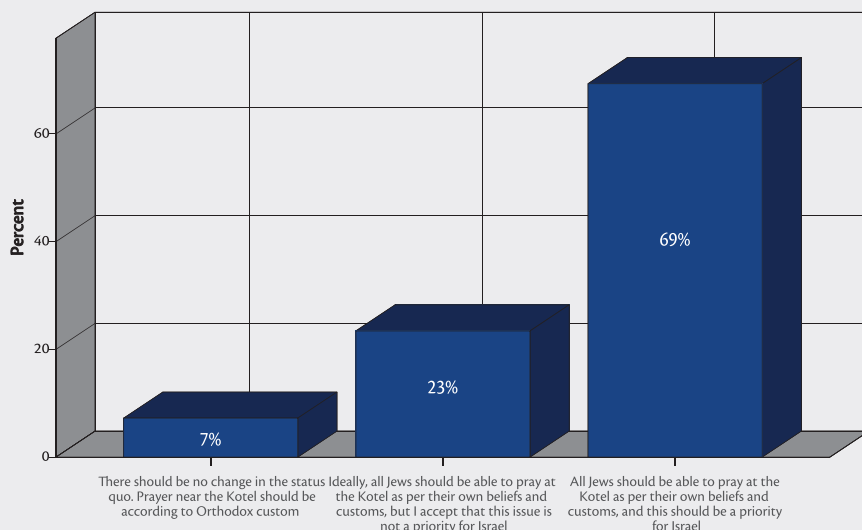
the most important site in Jerusalem?" 61 percent said the Western Wall. In that poll, 76 percent of Jewish Israelis said that they had "visited the Kotel in the past year."<sup>81</sup>

But there is a shadow over this rosy picture of Kotel-connected Jews. "The image of the men and boys at the Kotel evoked several negative remarks, concern about the 'hegemony' of the Haredi population, the lack of respect for non-Orthodox Judaism and the 'work' that needs to be done internally within the Jewish community around respect," stated the report from the Dialogue seminar in Minneapolis. "I can't stand this place anymore," a participant in Detroit told the moderator, referring to the Kotel. "The Kotel is not my favorite place. Jerusalem is a complex place. Religiously on the ground it is not a place all Jews can go," a participant in Washington explained. In San Paulo Brazil "Masorti participants brought memories of having problems with Haredim during Shabbat in Jerusalem (stones against cars) and Neshei HaKotel."

JPPI discussants in their references to Jerusalem mentioned the Kotel many times as a symbol of both the importance and value of the city, and the grievances they have as they connect with it. JPPI's Dialogue survey asked one specific question about the Kotel compromise (graph 26), and the responses predicted the ensuing crisis over the government's freezing of the compromise. Participants were asked to consider three possible options:

1. No change in the status quo near the Kotel – the preference of merely 7 percent of the participants, most of them Orthodox;
2. Preference for change but acceptance of the notion that Israel has other, more urgent priorities on its agenda – 23 percent agreed with the position, which was, essentially, the position of the prime minister when deciding to freeze the Kotel agreement;
3. Change near the Kotel must be a priority for Israel – the option that a clear majority of 69 percent of respondents chose (remember: this survey was conducted prior to the crisis). Namely, a clear majority of Jews were not willing to accept the status quo, not even on practical grounds. Policy makers searching for the reasons behind the significant outcry over the Kotel compromise freeze could find it right here. This 70 percent support for modifying the arrangement at the Kotel can be seen in other surveys as well. For example, the 2016 AJC survey of American Jewish Opinion found that

Graph 26 \ Which statement most accurately reflects your opinion of the Kotel?

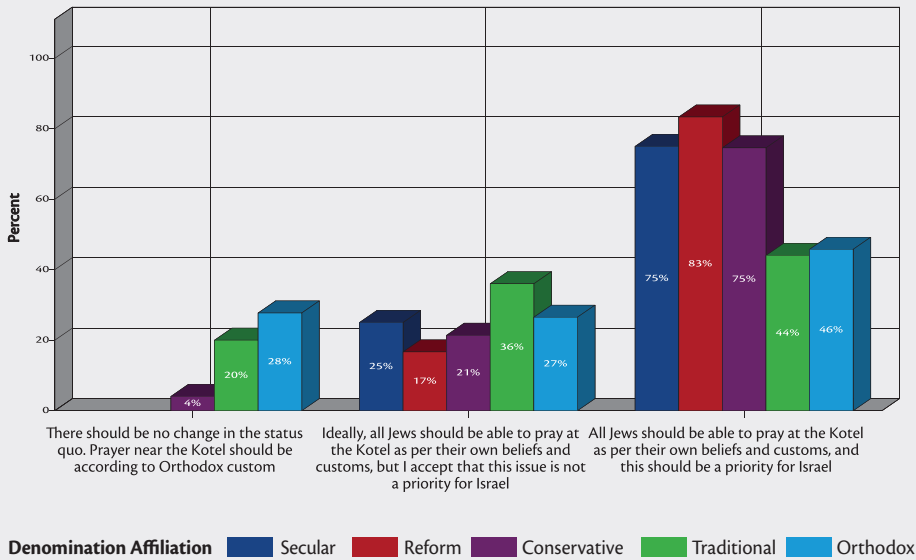


70 percent supported “the creation of a mixed-gender prayer area near the Wall.”<sup>82</sup>

As is true on several other issues – and is clearly a reflection of America’s front and center role in the battle over the Kotel compromise – the view of the American Jewish community on this issue (as expressed by Dialogue participants in the United States) is even more pronounced than that of other Jews. Note that Dialogue participants are mostly connected to the established Jewish community, and hence are probably more aware of the topic and of the limitations that complicate the implementation of the compromise. Still, of the American Dialogue participants, 74 percent seem to have lost patience while waiting for a move by the Israeli government – a finding that would probably be even clearer had we repeated the survey following the eruption of the crisis over the government’s decision to freeze the deal.

Also of note, if not quite surprising, is the fact that the Kotel arrangement seems more urgent and necessary to Reform and Conservative Jews – and to secular Jews who tend to sympathize with all things non-Orthodox (graph 27). More than 80 percent of Reform Jews participating in the Dialogue demanded that a Kotel compromise be implemented expeditiously, compared to just 46 percent

Graph 27 \ Which statement most accurately reflects your opinion of the Kotel?



of Orthodox participants. Also worthy of note is that even among Orthodox respondents to the Dialogue survey a 28 percent minority rejected any change and wished to retain the status quo at the Kotel. This runs contrary to the views of Orthodox Israeli Jews, most of whom rejected the compromise, and any change at all, even amid the fury following the cabinet decision to freeze the compromise deal.

The views of Israeli Jews on the question of the Kotel depend largely on how the question is framed. In the 2016 Pew survey of Israelis, Israeli Jews were “about evenly divided between those who favor (45 percent) and oppose (47 percent) allowing women to pray out loud at the Kotel.”<sup>83</sup> According to this survey, Haredim were generally opposed to allowing women to pray out loud at the Western Wall (81 percent). By comparison, 55 percent of secular Israeli Jews favored allowing women to pray at the Kotel; 35 percent were opposed. “Two-thirds of Datiim (Orthodox) oppose allowing women to pray at the Kotel, while Masortim (traditional Jews) are closely divided on this issue (44 percent favor, 48 percent oppose).”

A survey conducted in 2017 by the Schechter Institute asked a different question: “Should everyone be allowed to pray at the Western Wall in an equal manner?”



This time, 62 percent of respondents said yes. Seventeen percent of respondents said that “a solution allowing everyone to pray at the site but with priority for Orthodox and traditional prayer services should be implemented.” 6.1 percent said non-Orthodox services should be given precedent. Nine percent of respondents said non-Orthodox services and those of the Women of the Wall group should be banned.<sup>84</sup>

Following the government decisions of July 2017, the Ruderman Family Foundation asked a more general question: “Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu declared to the leadership of the Jewish community in the United States that ‘every Jew should feel that the Western Wall [Kotel] belongs to him and every Jew should feel welcome in Israel.’ Do you agree or disagree that all Jews, including Reform and Conservative, should feel that the Western Wall [Kotel] belongs to him and that every Jew should feel welcome in Israel?” Eighty-two percent of Jewish Israeli adults answered affirmatively.<sup>85</sup>

The activist organization Hiddush found that 63 percent of Jewish Israelis oppose the “government’s decisions this Sunday in acquiescence to the ultra-Orthodox political parties’ demands to suspend the ‘Kotel Compromise’ and pass the Conversion Law.”<sup>86</sup> On the other side of the spectrum, a survey by an Orthodox activist center of ultra-Orthodox and Orthodox Israelis found that 94 percent of Haredi voters oppose a platform for Reform and Conservative Jews, and 68 percent of the Orthodox party Habayit Hayehudi have the same view. Ninety-four percent of the Haredi Shas Party’s voters said that the platform was a “red line” and that the party ought to leave the coalition if the compromise is realized.<sup>87</sup>

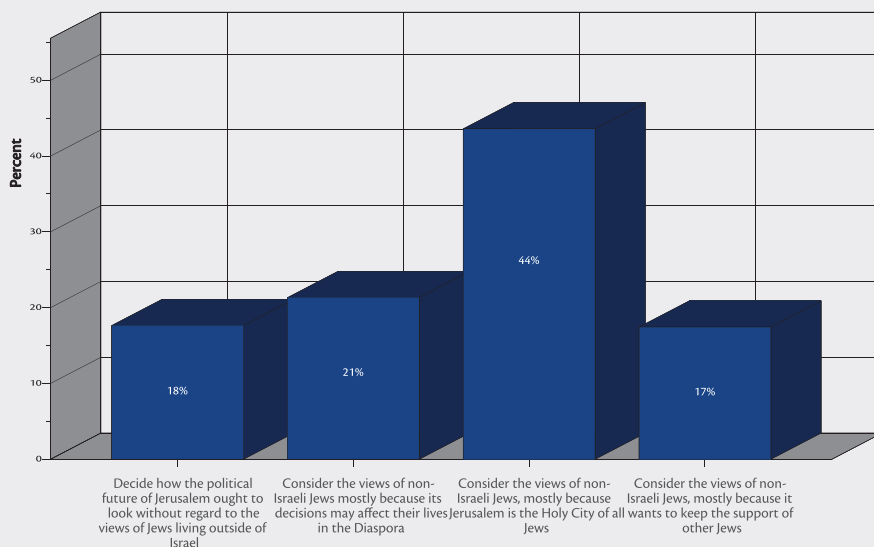
# Expectations Concerning Involvement and Impact

Jerusalem is currently under Israeli jurisdiction, not under the jurisdiction of the Jewish people writ large. Thus, one could certainly debate how beneficial it is to Israel to have policy input from Jews who do not live there, most of whom have no intention of ever becoming Israeli citizens. Clearly, given that Jerusalem is a part of Israel, it is fair to argue that the opinions of Israelis on the issues in question have more merit than those of people who live in other countries and who are not generally exposed to many of the challenges with which Israelis have to cope.

Still, the clear underlying assumption of this Dialogue (and all previous JPPI Dialogues) is that Israel ought to consider the views of world Jewry on various subjects. Dialogue participants have strongly seconded this underlying assumption. They believe that as the political and the cultural future of Jerusalem is shaped, whether by the government of Israel or by the mayor of Jerusalem, **world Jewry's concerns should be taken into consideration**. There is more than one reason to justify such a notion, as JPPI argued in its first Dialogue report on Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, an investigation of the perspectives of all Jews on the matter at hand is necessary for the following reasons:

1. Israel claims to be a state in which all Jews have a stake. It frequently calls Jerusalem “the capital of the Jewish people,”<sup>88</sup> and, therefore, ought to consult with world Jewry on matters pertaining to Jerusalem.
2. Jewish communities around the world have contributed significantly to developing Jerusalem and are asked to keep contributing to its success. As active partners, it would be wise for Israel to consult them as it ponders matters related to the city that stands at the core of Jewish identity.
3. Jerusalem's profile as a world phenomenon, a holy city of three world religions, makes it possible that its future may influence the image of Jews all around the world.

Graph 28 \ Thinking about Israel-Diaspora relations, you generally believe that Israel should



#### 4. Jerusalem's character has the potential to impact the way Israel relates to Jews around the world. It can also impact the way Diaspora Jews relate to Israel.

Even if one accepts the premise that all Jews should have a say in planning for Israel's future,<sup>89</sup> the question of their exact role, and the areas in which they could expect to influence Israeli policies and decisions, still stands. In previous JPPI Dialogues many participants differentiated between policies concerning political-security issues (such as the specific arrangements of a possible peace agreement with the Palestinians) and policies relating to cultural-religious questions (such as the arrangements governing how progressive Jews can practice near the Kotel). When it comes to Jerusalem, these questions do not always easily disentangle (is the future of the Temple Mount a political or a cultural-religious question?). But participants still seem to differentiate between these two areas as we will show later.

As we've shown in a previous chapter, Jews who live outside of Israel perceive Jerusalem as a "home." They see it as home not only in the sense of feeling at home in the city, but also in the sense that it is their home too, and hence they ought to have a say as its political and cultural future is shaped. Only 18 percent of Dialogue participants believe that Israel ought to determine Jerusalem's political future without regard to the views of world Jewry (graph 28). Only 11 percent

expressed the belief that Israel ought to determine Jerusalem's political future without consulting with Diaspora Jewry.

In both cases, JPPI outlined three possible arguments for Diaspora influence on the future of the city. 1. Because it might affect their lives in the Diaspora; 2. Because Jerusalem is holy to all Jews; 3. Because Israel wants to keep the support of world Jewry. In essence, these are three types of argument: one builds on the self-interest of Diaspora Jews, one on the self-interest of Israel, and one on the partnership between Israeli and Diaspora Jews. Both when it comes to Jerusalem's political future and its cultural future, the partnership argument held most sway with a plurality of participants.

Jerusalem is not the first topic on which JPPI has tried to assess the extent to which non-Israeli Jews wish to be consulted, or involved, in decisions made by Israel. Two years ago, participants in the Dialogue *Jewish Values and the Use of Force by Israel in Armed Conflict* were asked a similar question. Last year, too, we asked this question in the context of the Dialogue *The Jewish Spectrum in Time of Fluid Identity*.

Of course, the questions were different as were the topics discussed at each of these Dialogues. But the concept was similar. In 2016, JPPI asked if "Thinking about Israel-Diaspora relations, Israel should consider views of non-Israeli Jews when determining who is considered Jewish in Israel." In 2015, JPPI asked if "Thinking about Israel-Diaspora relations, Israel should consider views of non-Israeli Jews when conducting armed conflicts..." This year we asked two questions, one about political decisions and one about cultural decisions: Thinking about Israel-Diaspora relations, do you generally believe that... Israel should decide how the **political** **cultural** future of Jerusalem ought to look without regard to the views of Jews living outside of Israel / consider the views of non-Israeli Jews mostly because its decisions may affect their lives in the Diaspora / consider the views of non-Israeli Jews, mostly because Jerusalem is the Holy City of all Jews / consider the views of non-Israeli Jews, mostly because it wants to keep the support of world Jewry.

The table below compares the answers to all four (one in 2015, one in 2016, two in 2017) questions: First, it clearly shows that Diaspora Jews want to be considered in decisions made by Israel. Second, it also shows that the more a participant considers questions of "Jewishness," the more inclined s/he is to want Israel to consider Diaspora views. Thus, the demand for consideration of Diaspora viewpoints is higher when determining who is considered Jewish in Israel, than it

is on Israel's going to war. It is higher on the cultural future of Jerusalem, than it is in the political future of Jerusalem.

Then again, JPPI's survey this year might hint that even the political future of Jerusalem has a "Jewish" meaning beyond Israeli considerations, and therefore, according to Dialogue participants, the political future of Jerusalem is not up to Israel to decide on its own.

	When conducting armed conflict	When determining who is considered Jewish in Israel	when deciding the political future of Jerusalem	When deciding the cultural future of Jerusalem	Ave.
Israel should have no regard to the views of Jews living outside of Israel	31%	6%	18%	14%	17%
Israel should consider the views of non-Israeli Jews mostly because its decisions may affect lives in the Diaspora	38%	18%	21%	19%	24%
Israel should consider... because Jerusalem is City of all Jews / all Jews define Jewish values / all Jews define Jewishness	11%	54%	44%	51%	40%
Israel should consider... to keep the support of other Jews	21%	22%	17%	17%	19%

Three years of asking a very similar question also provides us with an opportunity to conclude with confidence that Diaspora Jews expect Israel to be considerate of their views, less because of pragmatic concerns and more because of a sense of partnership. Two of the options we had on the menu in all three years were pragmatic concerns: Israel's decisions could impact Diaspora Jews, and Israel's decisions could have impact on Jewish support for Israel. One option tends to focus on the notion of partnership. All Jews have the city, all Jews define Jewish values, all Jews define Jewishness – and, hence, all Jews should be taken into account as Israel makes its decisions.

As you can see in the table above, when it comes to armed conflict – the issue least instinctively associated with Jewishness – Dialogue participants opted for the practical reasoning for consideration (and about a third of them did not think that Israel ought to consider their views). But the more the issue feels “Jewish,” the clearer the tilt toward an assumed partnership. Fifty-one percent for deciding the cultural future of Jerusalem, 54 percent for determining who is considered Jewish in Israel.

As we consider the events of recent months, and the sense of crisis in Israel-Diaspora relations following the Israeli cabinet decision to freeze the Kotel compromise and to support a change in the laws governing conversion in Israel, this finding can explain a lot. Most of the many Jews who protested the Kotel decision do not come to the Kotel very often, surely not on a daily or a weekly basis. All Diaspora Jews protesting against changing the laws governing conversion had no immediate personal or communal stake in this legislation.<sup>90</sup> Still, these Jews felt betrayed by the government of Israel. Diaspora Jewish leadership “feels betrayed, and with good reason,” wrote columnist Gary Rosenblatt.<sup>91</sup> Rabbi Rick Jacobs, president of the Union for Reform Judaism, stated: “The decision cannot be seen as anything other than a betrayal.” Rabbi Laura Janner-Klausner (Reform) and Rabbi Danny Rich (Liberal Judaism) stated on behalf of Britain's Alliance for Progressive Judaism that the decision is a “betrayal of Israeli and Diaspora Jewry.”<sup>92</sup>

“Betrayal” is the expression one expects when a sense of partnership is suddenly shattered. This sense has clearly presented itself in the last three JPPI Dialogues.

# Israeli Acceptance of Impact

The extent to which Israelis are willing to accept Diaspora involvement in Israeli affairs is hard to measure. On some issues, Israelis seem more willing to be receptive to requests or ideas from Diaspora Jews, on others they seem less so.<sup>93</sup> Relations between non-Israeli Jews and Israel have changed over the years since its establishment. If the idea of Diaspora Jews having real impact on Israel's policies once seemed strange, in recent years the expectation of Jews in many communities have changed,<sup>94</sup> and they now expect to have such influence.<sup>95</sup>

Many Israelis understand the essential importance of relations with Diaspora Jewry, and are beginning to understand that a change in the nature of these relations is underway. A broad Israeli acceptance of Diaspora criticism of Israel – at least in theory – has been shown by several polls, and is a sign that Israelis are not blind to Diaspora expectations: “62 percent say that American Jews have a right to freely and publicly criticize Israel and Israeli policies; which is more than double the number of Israelis who feel otherwise.”<sup>96</sup>

But there is also evidence that a significant number of Israelis exhibit resistance to the idea of Diaspora involvement in Israeli affairs. Israeli columnist Irit Linur protested the decision to have two representatives of the Diaspora light torches as part Israel's 2017 Independence Day ceremony.<sup>97</sup> “On the day of the celebration of the one miracle of which there is no second, the proper place for anyone who's not an Israeli is in the visitors' gallery,” she argued. Ran Baratz, former adviser to Prime Minister Netanyahu, argued in a Facebook post, following the Kotel crisis, that the Reform demand “Israel's consideration,” but show “zero respect for the fact that the vast majority of Israeli Jews” are Orthodox. The fight over the Kotel, he wrote, is against “most of the Israeli public.” The editor of the right-leaning newspaper Makor Rishon, Hagai Segal, wrote an article in which he argued that “the government did not betray Reform Jews because it owes them nothing.”<sup>98</sup>

Ultra-Orthodox leaders, supporters of the government, and other Israelis who disliked the threat of disengagement following the government's decision over the Kotel – all made statements rejecting the right of Diaspora Jews to dictate Israeli policies. “Don't threaten us!” a well-known Israeli radio host dared the leaders of

the Reform and Conservative Movements. “I do not really care what they think,” he said about the Jews of America.<sup>99</sup>

Differences exist between various groups of Israelis over the level of attachment to world Jewry, and, therefore, also over the acceptance level of possible Diaspora involvement in Israel’s policy making. But these differences do not always present themselves in the same way. Israelis, in general, seem more willing to accept efforts by Diaspora Jews to influence Israel on matters related to Judaism than on matters directly related to foreign affairs and security. In a Ruderman Foundation survey,<sup>100</sup> more than 70 percent of Israelis agreed that the Knesset should “consider the Diaspora when deliberating on legislation like ‘who is a Jew.’” Feelings of “belonging” to a larger Jewish world are stronger for traditional and Orthodox Israelis than for secular Israelis.<sup>101</sup>

But these Israelis with stronger feelings of “belonging” do not always have a higher propensity to consider the views of Diaspora Jews. An internal survey by Israel’s Diaspora Affairs Ministry found that 16 percent of Israeli Jews want Israel to completely disregard the views of Diaspora Jews on state-religion matters, 39 percent are willing to accept a low level of consideration, 33 percent accept a lot of consideration, and 11 percent would agree to an even higher level of consideration. As one might expect, religiosity level highly impacted the views of Israelis on this question. The more religious they were (Orthodox) the less they accepted the notion that Israel ought to be considerate of Diaspora views on these matters. More than a third of each Orthodox (34 percent) and ultra-Orthodox (35 percent) Israelis rejected all Diaspora input on matters of state-religion in Israel.<sup>102</sup> In Jerusalem, there is high concentration of Jewish Israelis whose willingness to consider the views of world Jewry is relatively low.



# Appendix A: Background on the Seminars, Advantages and Limitations

This special JPPI report is based on discussions held all over the Jewish world about “Jerusalem and the Jewish People: Unity and Division.” It is also based on a vast volume of research and relies on a plethora of previously published studies, papers, books, and articles. References to some of the background materials we utilized appear in the footnotes. The research was used mostly for understanding the background of our topic of discussion, while seminars enabled us to learn firsthand about the opinions of Jewish leaders, professionals, rabbis, philanthropists, activists and other engaged Jews. Most of the discussions were held in March and April 2017.

Alongside the discussion groups, all participants were asked to complete a questionnaire (referred to as the Dialogue survey throughout this report). Beyond the fact that it provided us with additional and focused information about participant attitudes, the questionnaire enabled us to present a more accurate and detailed picture regarding the groups who took part in the process (such as the age of the participants, their religious affiliation, and how many times they have visited Israel). It can also be used as a tool to compare those who participated in JPPI’s Dialogue this year to participants from previous years, as well as to the general Jewish population by comparing our data with other studies.<sup>103</sup>

Naturally, the conclusions drawn from the seminars, the survey, and the background materials are subject to reservations and critique, and we cannot present them without raising several “warning flags” to explain the context in which the seminars were held, and to clarify what they can accomplish for certain, and what they cannot.

## Structure and Content of the Seminars:

The vast majority of the seminars were between one and a half to two hours long, and in most cases, each discussion group had fewer than 20 participants. In communities where there were a greater number of participants, they were divided into separate discussion groups that were summarized separately.

The seminar began by presenting some background data about Jerusalem: the historical significance and data about the different populations living in Jerusalem from the beginning of the 20th century until today. Following the brief background presentation, and prior to the start of the discussion, participants were asked to complete the survey questionnaires. Afterward, the seminar continued to the main part of the seminar - several cases were given to discussants for a more detailed and practical discussion. The first one was geared to understand what participants' current feelings are toward Jerusalem. The second, and main case in the seminar required participants to "elect a mayor" for Jerusalem, choosing between four "candidates". This case was aimed to illuminate participants' priorities vis-à-vis the reality of contemporary Jerusalem. The third case related to visions of an ideal future Jerusalem.

Following a detailed exchange on some of the tasks, the discussion returned to the central questions that had been defined as the main focus of the 2017 Dialogue:

1. How do connected Jews and Jewish leaders around the world view Jerusalem's current situation – culturally, demographically, and politically? Do they view it as a thriving city or as a city in trouble? Do they feel pride in how it is developing, or anxiety concerning its future?
2. How important is Jerusalem to these Jews – especially Jews who do not live in Jerusalem, and, even more so, those who do not live in Israel (visitors and tourists usually see only a small part of Jerusalem, and are not always familiar with the full complexity of the city) – and how invested do they feel in its future?
3. What is the vision of connected Jews and Jewish leaders for Jerusalem, and what are the policies and priorities they would support the fulfillment of that vision?

Specific questions were presented to the discussion groups such as: Is it essential that Jerusalem have a clear Jewish majority? How important is it for the city to be Jewishly diverse? Would you support a division of Jerusalem in exchange for peace with the Palestinians? What role should Diaspora Jews play in crafting Jerusalem's future? What is your connection to Jerusalem today? How do you envision an ideal "future Jerusalem"?

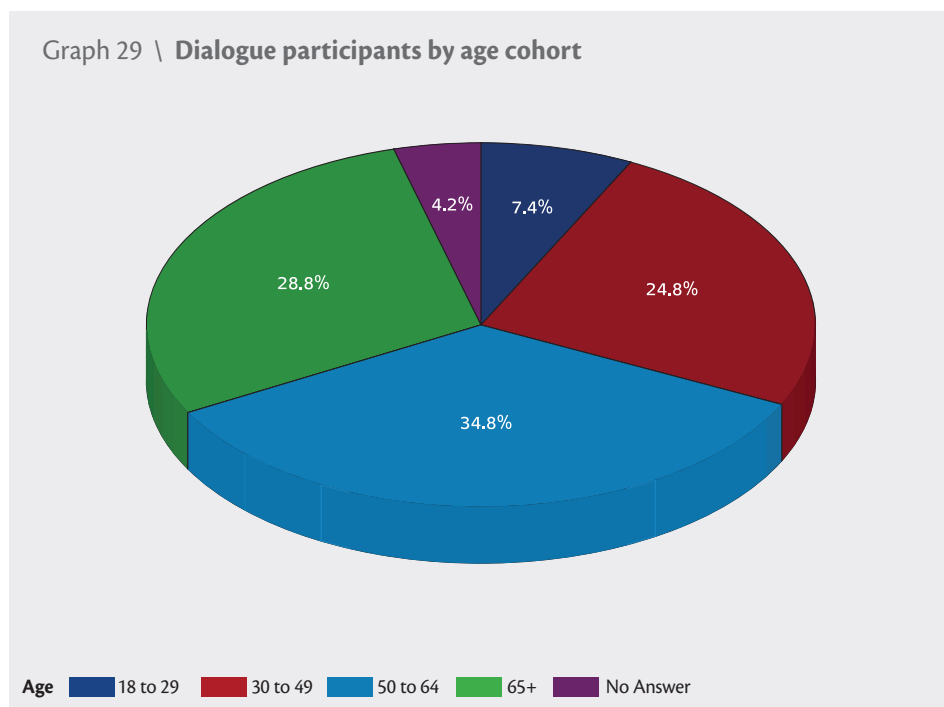
Participants were asked to express their opinions concerning these issues in connection to the tasks they had discussed in the seminar that provided them with information and examples of specific ramifications of different answers to these questions.

### **Bias in favor of the Jewish community's core population:**

Understanding the process, its advantages and limitations requires that we first note that this process relies heavily upon each local community (and local organizations). The communities were responsible for recruiting the groups for the seminars. Therefore, there are significant differences in the composition and size of the groups in various communities. But one thing is common to all of them: The established community – usually the federation but sometimes other organizations as well – was the organizing body that gathered the participants. In many cases, particularly in the seminars held outside the United States, it was also the body that reported on the discussion to JPPI. Since we rely on the seminar reports from all the communities, it is important to recognize the fact that they are reporting on the attitudes of those connected to the "core" of the organized Jewish community, often the attitudes of Jews who hold various leadership positions in the community, and are less of a reflection of Jews whose connection to established Jewish life is weak, or even non-existent.<sup>104</sup> We know from previous studies that members of the core community attribute greater importance to their Jewish identity, are more actively Jewish both in their personal lives and as members of their communities, are more connected to Israel, and in certain cases tend to be less liberal leaning than other Jewish groups.<sup>105</sup> The information we gathered indicates, for example, that the Dialogue participants tend to visit Israel much more frequently than the "average Jew."<sup>106</sup> Naturally, these characteristics could impact the attitudes of participants in the Institute's seminars.

## The voice of younger community members:

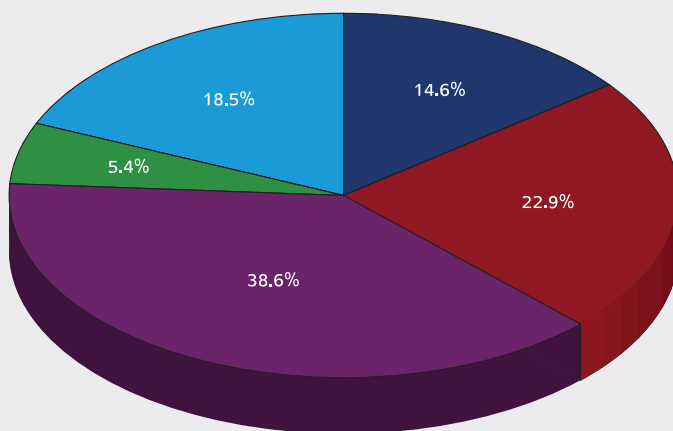
Since the groups convened for the discussion were, by and large, groups of people with high standing in the community, many of them included fewer young people whose Jewish identity often differs in composition and intensity from the Jewish identity of older cohorts.<sup>107</sup> In the previous two years, we included several groups of younger participants, both within a few communities and by holding several seminar groups through college Hillels, gap year programs in Israel, and Israeli gap year programs. This year, for various reasons (partially due to the politically sensitive issues under discussion) we were less successful. The percentage of young participants in this year's Dialogue was considerably lower than their percentage in the community, and their voice is underrepresented (graph 29).



## Religious composition:

JPPI's 2017 Dialogue process included very few ultra-Orthodox participants, as in past years, so in most communities they are underrepresented.<sup>108</sup> Graph 30 lays out the specific religious composition of the groups. The percentage of Jews who self-identify as "Conservative" is higher in the Dialogue than their actual share of

Graph 30 \ Dialogue participants by denomination affiliation

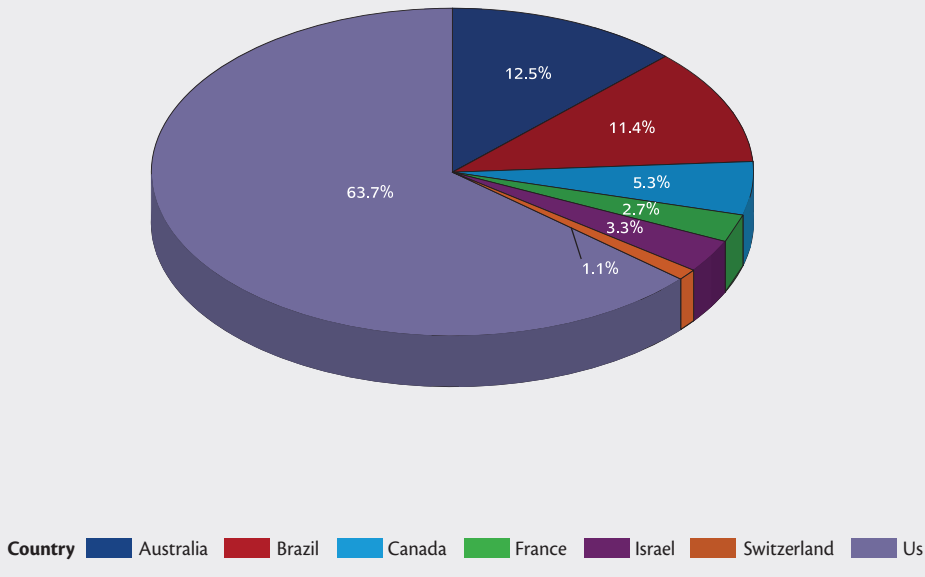


**Denomination Affiliation**    ■ Secular   ■ Reform   ■ Conservative   ■ Traditional   ■ Orthodox

the general Jewish population – in fact, this year the share of Conservative Jews was even higher than in previous years; in comparison, the percentage of Jews who are not “Reform,” “Conservative” or “Orthodox” was significantly lower than their share of the general Jewish population. In other words, those participating in the Dialogue were more “religiously affiliated” (not in terms of observance but in terms of identity and identification) than the average Jew.

- Conservative includes: Conservative, Conservadox
- Non-denominational includes: cultural, pluralistic, liberal, humanist, Jewish, post denominational, none
- Orthodox includes: Orthodox, Modern Orthodox, Open Orthodox, Religious Zionist
- Other includes: other, Reconstructionist, Masorti, Traditional, Datlash
- Reform includes: progressive Reform, orthodox + Reform, Conservative + Reform
- Secular includes: Secular, Secular +Orthodox, Secular + Reform, Secular + Conservative, Secular +Masorti

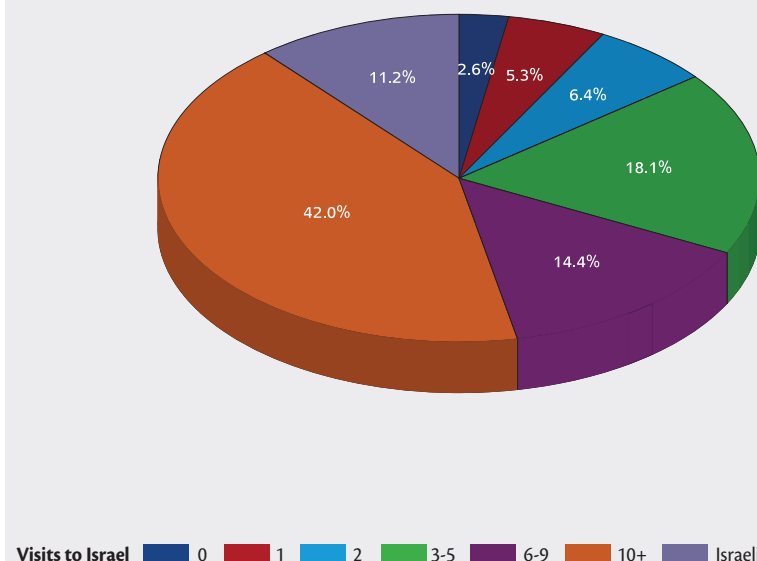
Graph 31 \ Dialogue participants by country



### Geographic distribution:

The geographic distribution of the seminars was quite widespread (graph 31). Communities from several continents took part in the Dialogue process. The impressive representation of the North American Jewish community (380 participants) corresponds to the size of the Jewish population there.<sup>109</sup> We also had, as in previous years, significant representation from Australia (69) and Brazil (63). Representation of European Jewry was lower in this year's process than we would have liked. We hope to expand the number of participating communities next year, and for now we have attempted to overcome the under-representation of these communities by analyzing the relevant ancillary materials. It is important to note that Israel, and the views of Israelis, are underrepresented in this year's Dialogue as well. Much of the data about Israelis is derived from JPPI's Pluralism in Israel Survey, a separate survey by JPPI conducted in March 2017, which included several of the same questions as the 2017 Dialogue Survey.<sup>110</sup>

Graph 32 \ Dialogue participants by visits to Israel



## Interest in Israel:

It can be assumed that the groups taking part in the discussions had a self-selection bias as having a vested interest in Israel. Thus, the general picture we get from the seminars undoubtedly tends toward those members of the worldwide Jewish community for whom Israel is essential, and who are interested in conducting a Dialogue with and about Israel. The fact that the percentage of Israel visits (graph 32) among seminar participants is much higher than of the general Jewish population is clear-cut evidence of this.

We should note that we did not specifically ask about visits of dialogue participants to Jerusalem, but our impression is that all Jews who visited Israel visited Jerusalem. Among Israeli Jews who do not live in Jerusalem, 23 percent said that they had not visited Jerusalem in the last year (in a survey by *Yediot Daily*), 21 percent said they had only visited the city once, and 7 percent said they had only visited the city during military service or in a work related capacity. Seventy-six percent of Israeli Jews said that they had visited the Kotel in the last year.

Graph 32

## Gaps in the process itself:

In certain cases we relied on the communities to record seminar minutes and summarize them for us, and in other cases the Institute's staff was responsible for the summaries. JPPI researchers facilitated the seminars in some communities; other seminars were run by the communities themselves. Additionally, seminars varied in duration, discussion intensity, and level of summation. Full details regarding the nature of the seminars in each community appear below. It should be noted that all of the participating communities demonstrated an impressive level of earnestness and commitment to the process.

## Advantages:

After having outlined the composition of the seminars and highlighting some of the limitations, we should also present some of the advantages. A discussion among Jews with a clear and unequivocal interest in the Jewish world and in Israel, and who are involved in their own Jewish communities, could be preferable to a discussion that also includes Jews who are weakly connected to the Jewish community and who exhibit a low level of interest. Since the purpose of the process is to discuss the connection to Jerusalem, visions of Jerusalem, and the policies and priorities Jews would support in the fulfillment of these visions, it would be reasonable to argue that such a discussion should take into account primarily (and perhaps only) the outlook of Jews for whom the community and Israel is important. Taking into consideration the perspectives of Jews who are not interested in Israel and in their Jewish community is not reasonable in this context.

In spite of this, in order to give a full and comprehensive picture of the "perspectives of the Jewish world" we supplemented our study by including a considerable amount of data and information that also shed light on the outlooks of groups who are more distant from the organized community, including data from studies and quotes from articles. We have made a considerable effort to present a full and comprehensive picture in this report, to the best of our understanding.



# Appendix B: Additional Data about the Participants

**Total number of participants and discussion groups of the Institute:**

Groups: 45

Participants: 551

Number of groups facilitated by the Institute: 32

Number of groups locally facilitated: 13

**Number of participants in Dialogue, by country:**

Country	Number of participants
North America	380
Brazil	63
Australia	69
Israel	18
Europe	21

**Distribution by gender:**

**Men:** 51%                      **Women:** 49%

(General distribution of Jewish men / women in the USA: 52% / 48%)<sup>111</sup>

**Religious composition (USA only): Comparison between Dialogue participants and the Jewish population (according to PEW)**

	2017 Dialogue (USA only)	2016 Dialogue (USA only)	2015 Dialogue (USA only)	PEW (USA only)
<b>Reform</b>	27%	33%	20%	35%
<b>Conservative</b>	45%	38%	42%	18%
<b>Orthodox</b>	17%	15%	12%	10%
<b>Other</b>	11%	13%	16%	36%

**Visits to Israel: Comparison of Dialogue participants with data on all Jews in the USA**

	JPPI 2017 Dialogue	PEW (USA only)
Visited Israel	97.4%	43%
Visited more than once	92.1%	23%

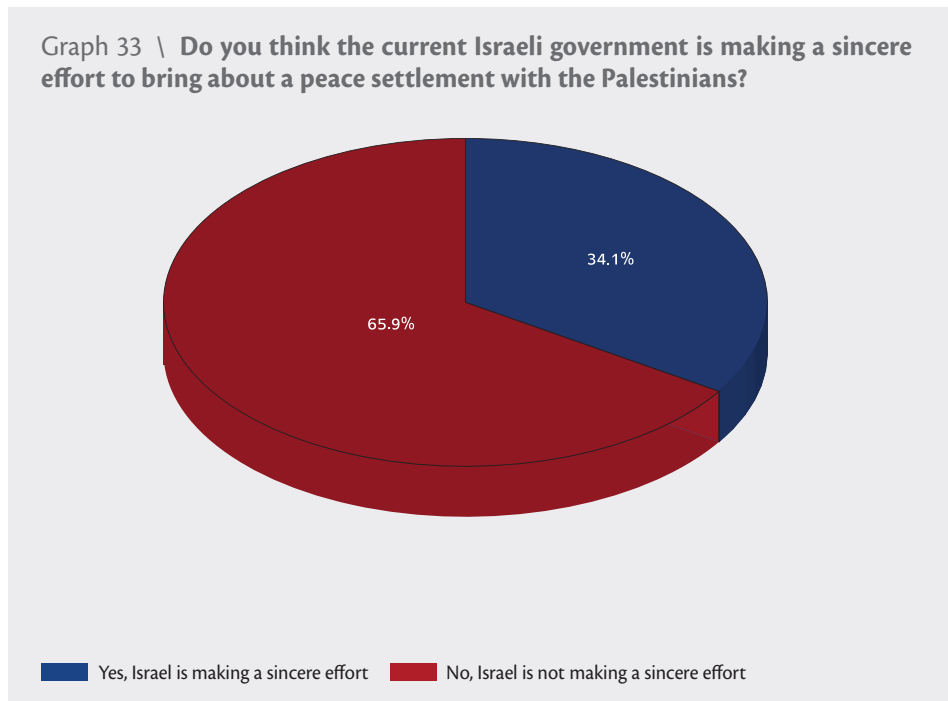
**Age: comparing dialogues**

	2017 Dialogue (all)	2016 Dialogue (All)	2015 Dialogue (All)	PEW (USA)
18-29	7%	28%	27%	20%
30-49	25%	25%	21%	28%
50-64	35%	28%	25%	27%
65+	29%	19%	19%	24%

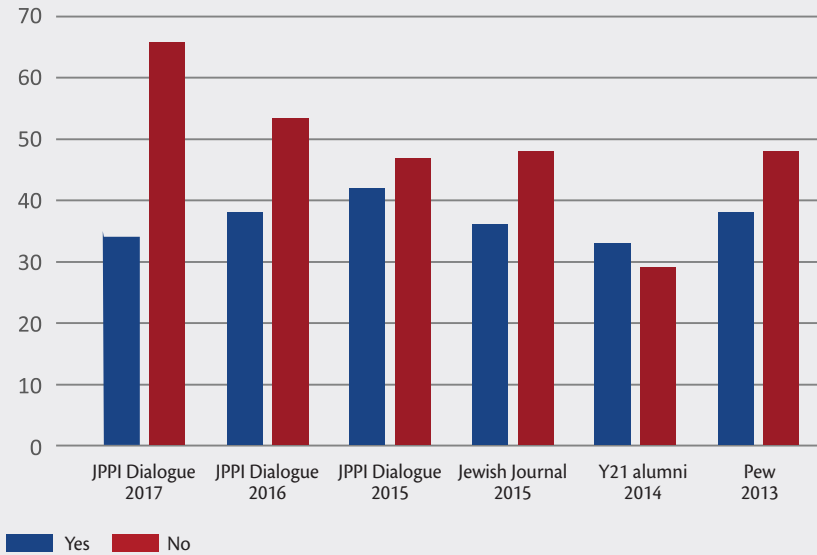
# Appendix C: The Peace Question

For the third year in a row we have asked the same question on the Israeli-Palestinian peace process in order to give a sense of the political proclivities of JPPI Dialogue participants. The question: “Do you think the current Israeli government is making a sincere effort to bring about a peace settlement with the Palestinians?” is used in several other surveys, and hence it gives us a way of showing how the answers of Dialogue participants change from year to year, but also allows comparison the composition of Dialogue participants to those of other surveys of Jewish groups.

First, take a look at this year’s Dialogue response in graph 33.

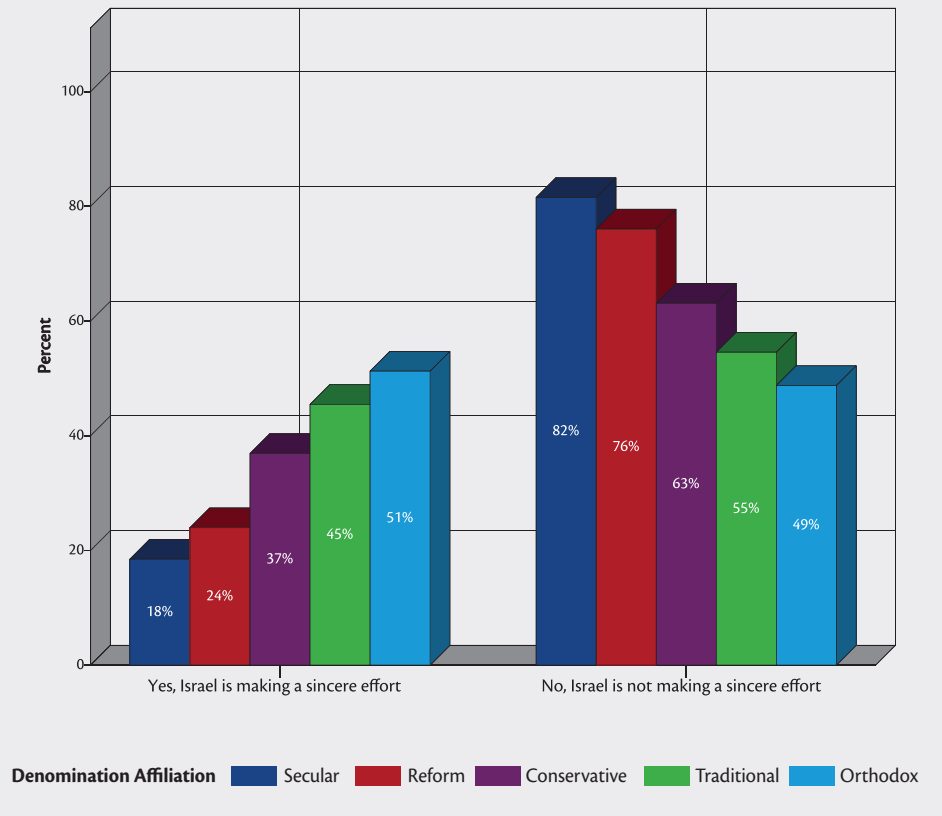


Graph 34 \ Survey comparison of the question “Do you think the current Israeli government is making a sincere effort to bring about a peace settlement with the Palestinians?”



Graph 34 compares the three Dialogue surveys with three other surveys: one of U.S. Jews by Pew (from 2013), one of U.S. Jews by The Jewish Journal<sup>112</sup> (from 2015), and one by Youth to Israel Adventure<sup>113</sup> (from 2014). Of course, these are not really comparable in a scientific way. JPPI’s survey includes Dialogue participants from all over the world, the Pew and JJ surveys are statistically representative of U.S. Jews, and Y2I alumni are a very specific group of people. In addition, the surveys were conducted in different years, and the circumstances of the Israeli-Palestinian issue are not uniform from year to year. Then again, it is worth noting that the result (with the exception of Y2I) is not dramatically different in all of the pre-2017 surveys. A plurality of Jews seemed to doubt whether Israel’s efforts to resolve the conflict are sincere. 2017 is unique – as it shows a sharp rise in the percentage of Dialogue participants who do not feel that Israel is making a sincere effort toward peace. As you can see, the fact that the JPPI Dialogue comprises people who are highly connected to Israel, have visited the country many times, and also includes a number of Israeli participants – does not make this question about the sincerity of Israel’s efforts to achieve peace any less interesting.

Graph 35 \ Do you think the current Israeli government is making a sincere effort to bring about a peace settlement with the Palestinians?



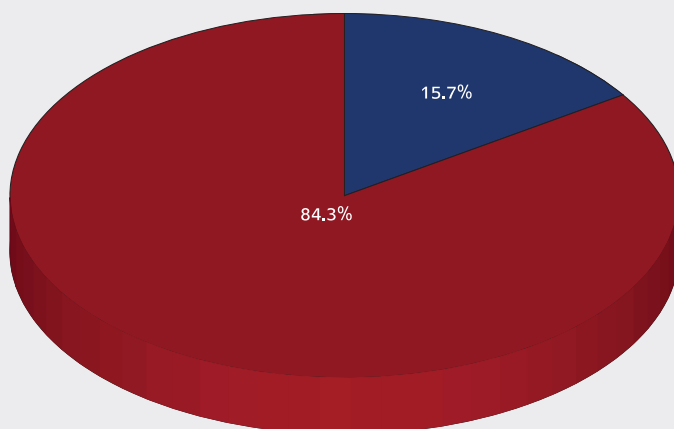
Quite predictably, the way participants view Israel’s sincerity is closely linked to their political and religious affiliations. The secular (and left) tends to be more suspicious of Israel’s policies, while the Orthodox right is the only group in which we found a slight majority of participants who believe that Israel is sincere in its efforts to achieve peace (graph 35).

## Appendix D: Thrive/Deterioration of Israel/Diaspora

This year we added another standard question to our JPPI survey of Dialogue participants, which teaches us something about the way Jews – the Jews represented in the Dialogue – generally view the state of affairs for Israel and world Jewry.

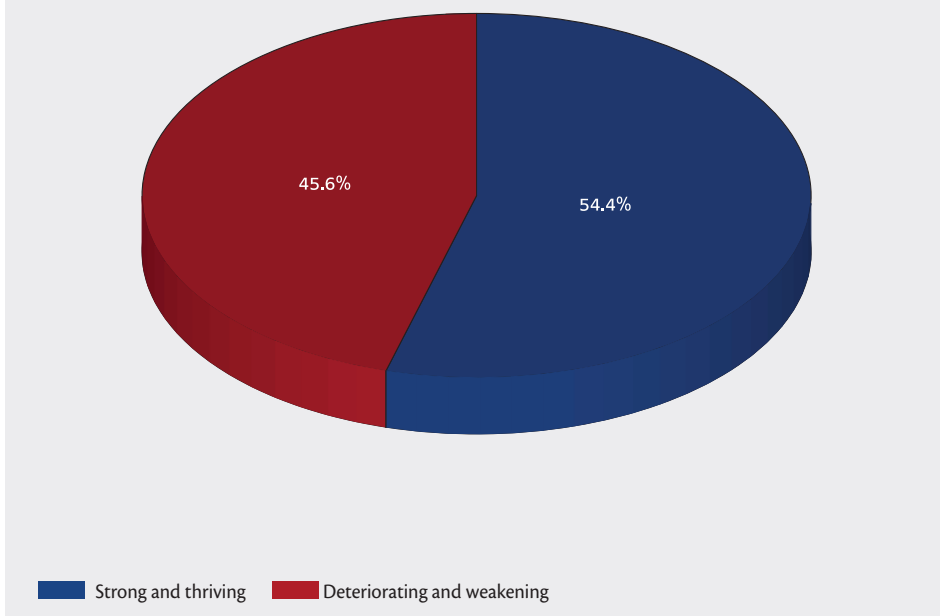
The answer we got clearly shows that with all the criticism leveled at Israel and its policies (for example, in the peace question – see previous appendix), Jews see Israel as being in a much better shape than world Jewry writ large. More than 80 percent of Dialogue participants see Israel as “strong and thriving” (graph 36). In contrast, just over half of them say the same about “the Jewish world outside Israel” (graph 37). On the other hand, only a small group of Dialogue participants see Israel as “deteriorating and weakening,” whereas a much more substantial group sees the Jewish world “outside Israel” as “deteriorating and weakening.”

Graph 36 \ **How would you define Israel?**



■ Deteriorating and weakening ■ Strong and thriving

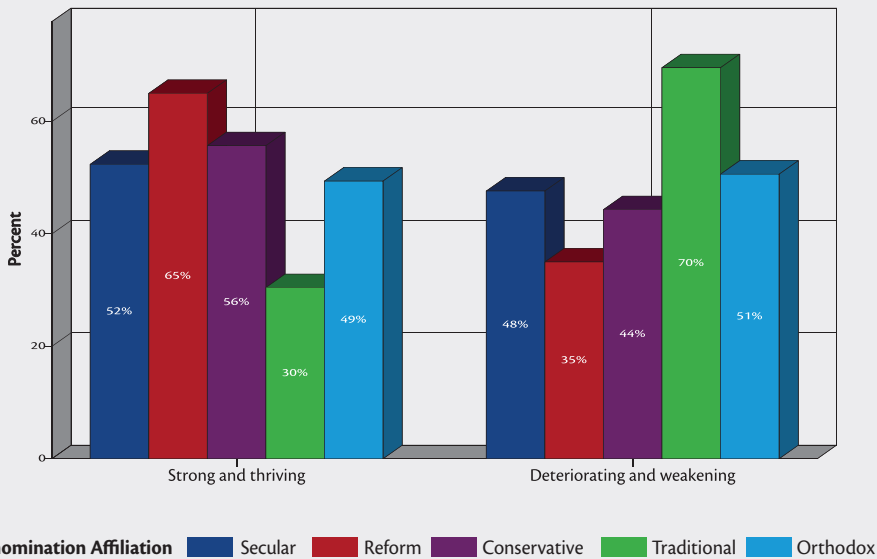
Graph 37 \ How would you define the Jewish world outside Israel?



Notably, the group most inclined to describe Israel as “deteriorating” is the “secular” group – nearly 15 percent of Dialogue participants. A significant 30 percent of these participants have a bleaker view of Israel than the majority of participants. On the other side of the spectrum, the group most inclined to describe the Jewish world outside Israel as “deteriorating” is the group of “traditional” Jews (graph 38) – a smaller group representing 5.4 percent of Dialogue participants. Among Orthodox participants, a slight majority hold a negative view of Jewish world trends. Reform Jews are the most positive when characterizing the state of the Jewish world outside Israel, although even among this group a significant 35 percent opted for the “deteriorating and weakening” choice when answering our survey question.

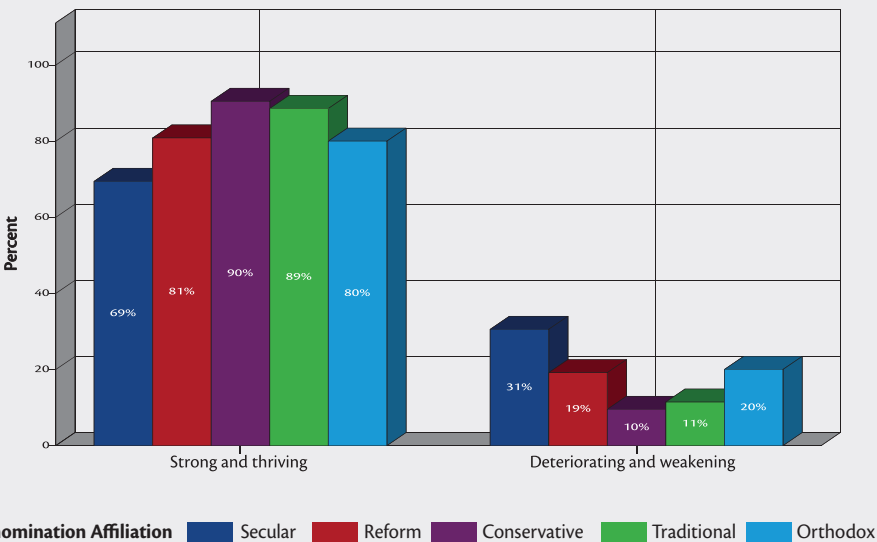
A significant gap in the assessment of Israel’s direction is also easily detectable when we sort the answers by age (graph 39). The youngest Dialogue age cohort holds the bleakest view of Israel’s situation. They were most likely (31 percent) to say that Israel is “deteriorating and weakening” and the least likely (69 percent) to describe the country as “strong and thriving.” There was no such difference by age in assessing the Diaspora’s situation.

Graph 38 \ How would you define the Jewish world outside Israel?



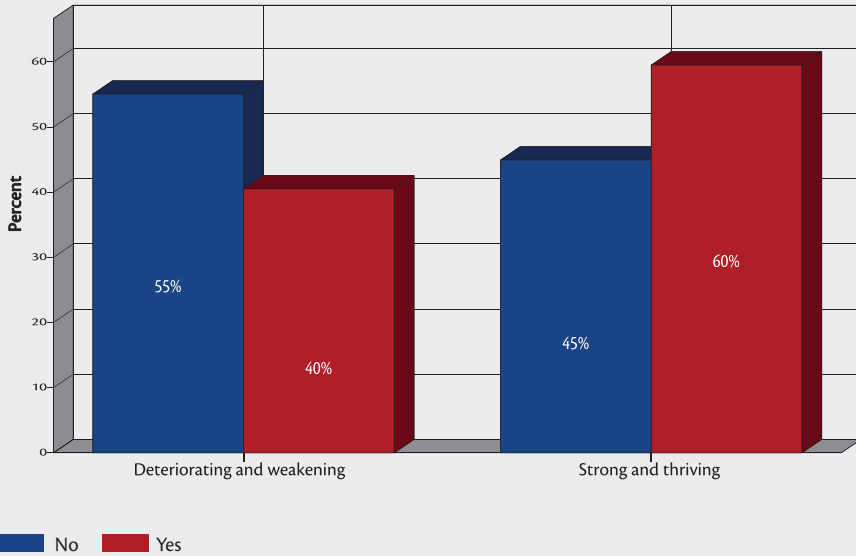
Another notable and telling difference in assessment is between American and non-American Jews on the question concerning the Jewish world outside Israel (graph 40). As you can see in the graph, American Dialogue participants tended

Graph 39 \ How would you define Israel?





Graph 40 \ How would you define the Jewish world outside Israel?



to have a much more positive view of the Jewish world outside of Israel. A clear majority of American Dialogue participants believe that the Jewish world is strong and thriving, while a majority of all other Jews (Europeans, Australians, Brazilians, Israelis) believe that the Jewish world outside Israel is deteriorating and weakening. Of course, we do not know what accounts for this difference in assessment. It could be that the Jews of America feel that their community is strong and therefore merits the “strong and thriving” tag, while other Jews see more problems in their communities. Or it could be a difference in outlook on similar trends. There was no significant difference between Americans and non-Americans when assessing Israel’s situation.

# Appendix E: JPPI’s 2017 Dialogue Questionnaire

## JPPI 2017 Dialogue Seminar Questionnaire

### Jerusalem and the Jewish People: Unity and Divisions

Please take 10 minutes to answer the following questions. For each question, circle the **one answer** that is **closest** to your own view.

**1. To what extent does each of the following characteristics makes Jerusalem special for you**

(1 – not at all significant, 4 – highly significant)

Jerusalem’s spirituality	1	2	3	4
Jerusalem’s history	1	2	3	4
Jerusalem’s status as Israel’s capital	1	2	3	4
Jerusalem’s religious significance	1	2	3	4
Jerusalem’s culture	1	2	3	4
Jerusalem’s social fabric	1	2	3	4
Jerusalem’s city life	1	2	3	4
Jerusalem’s landscape and scenery	1	2	3	4

**2. From what you know/have heard/have seen contemporary Jerusalem is:**

- A. Developing in the right direction.      B. Developing in the wrong direction.

**2b. If your answer is “wrong direction” please circle the one main reason for your negative assessment:**

Jewish-Arab relations	Level of religious pluralism	Economic situation	Jewish Demographic trends	Material state of the city	Cultural vibrancy (Insufficient)	Religious vibrancy (Insufficient)	Other, specify _____
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**3. Jerusalem’s non-Jewish population has been growing in recent decades and currently constitutes more than a third of Jerusalem’s total population. Do you view this development as:**

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
A positive development as it gives Jews and Arabs the opportunity to live together.				
A positive development as it makes the city more diverse.				
A problem. I prefer that Jerusalem have a clear Jewish majority.				
A problem, since binational Jerusalem is likely to produce violence.				
It does not matter; the city will eventually be divided anyhow.				

**4. Jerusalem’s ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) population has been growing in recent decades and currently constitutes more than a third of Jerusalem’s Jewish residents. Do you view this development as:**

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
A positive development as it gives Jews of various types the opportunity to live together.				
A positive development as it makes the city more diverse.				
An economic problem for the future of the city (as this Haredi population has low employment and high poverty rates).				
If this trend continues, Jerusalem will not be a pluralistic city that is hospitable to Jews of all streams and denominations.				

**5. Last year, in what was described as a historic move toward recognition of progressive Judaism, the Israeli government voted to establish an egalitarian prayer space at the Western Wall (Kotel). The decision was never implemented because of ultra-Orthodox political resistance. Which one of the following most accurately reflects your opinion?**

1. There should be no change in the status quo. Prayer near the Kotel should be according to Orthodox custom.
2. Ideally, all Jews should be able to pray at the Kotel as per their own beliefs and customs, but I accept that this issue is not a priority for Israel.
3. All Jews should be able to pray at the Kotel as per their own beliefs and customs, and this should be a priority for Israel.

**6. Please rank the level of attachment you feel to the following places.**

(1 – “not at all connected” and 4 – “very connected”)

Jerusalem	1	2	3	4
The Old City of Jerusalem	1	2	3	4
(The Kotel (Western Wall	1	2	3	4
(Temple Mount (Har HaBait	1	2	3	4
Israel	1	2	3	4
Tel Aviv	1	2	3	4
Hebron	1	2	3	4

**7. To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements?**

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
In the framework of a permanent peace with the Palestinians, if satisfied with the rest of the agreement, Israel should be willing to compromise on the status of Jerusalem as a united city under Israeli jurisdiction				
Jerusalem should never be divided				
All countries ought to move their embassies to Jerusalem				
Jerusalem is a city of peace				
I am willing to let an international force rule the “Holy Basin” of Jerusalem				
The Temple Mount must remain under Israeli jurisdiction				

**8. Thinking about Israel-Diaspora relations, do you generally believe that**  
(choose only one answer):

- 1. Israel should decide how the political future of Jerusalem ought to look without regard to the views of Jews living outside of Israel.
- 2. Israel should consider the views of non-Israeli Jews mostly because its decisions may affect their lives in the Diaspora.
- 3. Israel should consider the views of non-Israeli Jews, mostly because Jerusalem is the Holy City of all Jews.
- 4. Israel should consider the views of non-Israeli Jews, mostly because it wants to keep the support of other Jews.

**9. Thinking about Israel-Diaspora relations, do you generally believe that:**

- 1. Israel should decide how the cultural-religious future of Jerusalem ought to look without regard to the views of Jews living outside of Israel.
- 2. Israel should consider the views of non-Israeli Jews mostly because its decisions may affect their lives in the Diaspora.
- 3. Israel should consider the views of non-Israeli Jews, mostly because Jerusalem is the Holy City of all Jews.
- 4. Israel should consider the views of non-Israeli Jews, mostly because it wants to keep the support of other Jews.

**10. If you ever visited (lived, living in) Jerusalem please rank your level of agreement with each of the following statements**

(1 – completely disagree, 4 – completely agree)

Visiting (living in) Jerusalem, I feel safe	1	2	3	4
Visiting (living in) Jerusalem, I feel uplifted	1	2	3	4
Visiting (living in) Jerusalem, I feel at home	1	2	3	4

**Please answer the following background questions:**

<b>Country:</b>	<b>City</b>					
<b>Age:</b>	<b>Male/Female</b>					
<b>Religious Affiliation</b> (Orthodox, Reform, Conservative, Secular, Other): _____						
<b>How many times have you visited Israel?</b>						
0	1	2	3-5	6-9	10+	<b>Israeli</b>

**Please mark the answer closest to your view: How would you define the Jewish world outside Israel?**

1. Strong and thriving.
2. Deteriorating and weakening.

**Please mark the answer closest to your view: How would you define Israel?**

1. Strong and thriving.
2. Deteriorating and weakening.

**Do you think the current Israeli government is making a sincere effort to bring about a peace settlement with the Palestinians?**

1. Yes, Israel is making a sincere effort.
2. No, Israel is not making a sincere effort.

# Appendix F: Technical data, Including a List of Participating Communities and Participants

The Jewish People Policy Institute's 2017 Dialogue process *Jerusalem and the Jewish People: Unity and Division* included a number of key research components: a comprehensive survey and in-depth analysis of background literature on definitions and interpretations of Judaism, and on collective identity in our time; several dozen seminars in communities throughout the world, some of which were facilitated by JPPI moderators while others were facilitated locally; distribution of a questionnaire to all discussion group participants; reading and analyzing opinion articles from all over the world on this topic; analysis of the Dialogue survey data and written seminar summaries; and data from JPPI's 2017 Pluralism in Israel Survey.

Materials produced by the Institute in advance of this year's Dialogue process included:

- A background report prepared prior to the seminars;
- A PowerPoint presentation to be shown at the seminars, and detailed instructions for moderators on how to utilize the presentation;
- A questionnaire that was distributed to all the discussion group participants (attached above);
- An interim report, presented to Mr. Nir Barkat, Mayor of Jerusalem, in May.





## Endnotes

- 1 JPPI's Dialogue and its Survey of World Jewry represent the average views of a self-selected group of mostly Jewish leaders and highly engaged Jews who chose to take part in the Dialogue. More on this issue in the appendix.
- 2 For more on these issues, and some of the complications involved in pursuing them, see: The Haredi Challenge, Dov Maimon, Shmuel Rosner, JPPI, 2013. The study identified three areas of concern, each deserving its own strategy: contribution to the economy; the absence of equal burden sharing; religious coercion.
- 3 The survey, conducted by Menachem Lazar of Panels Politics, is a scientific sample of Israel's citizens. It was conducted and the findings were based on a relatively large sample of 1,300 respondents, with a 5.6% margin of error for Arabs and 3.1% for Jews. More details on the survey here: <http://jppei.org.il/new/en/article/english-2017-pluralism-index-survey-results/>.
- 4 Shmuel Rosner and John Ruskay. The report based on this Dialogue can be read here: [http://jppei.org.il/uploads/Exploring\\_the\\_Jewish\\_Spectrum\\_in\\_a\\_Time\\_of\\_Fluid\\_Identity-JPPI.pdf](http://jppei.org.il/uploads/Exploring_the_Jewish_Spectrum_in_a_Time_of_Fluid_Identity-JPPI.pdf)
- 5 Shmuel Rosner and Michael Herzog. The full report is here: <http://jppei.org.il/news/175/58/Jewish-Values-and-Israel-s-Use-of-Force-in-Armed-Conflict--Perspectives-from-World-Jewry/>
- 6 Shmuel Rosner and Avi Gil. The full report is here: <http://jppei.org.il/news/157/58/Jewish-and-Democratic-The-Full-Report/>
- 7 See (Hebrew): תכנית אסטרטגית לחיזוק מעמדה של ירושלים כבירה ציביליזציונית של העם היהודי, המכון למדיניות העם היהודי, 2007. <http://jppei.org.il/he/uploads/Jerusalem-%20A%20Strategic%20Plan%20for%20the%20Srengthening%20of%20Jerusalem%20as%20the%20Civilization%20Capital%20of%20the%20Jewish%20People-Heb.pdf>
- 8 About the greater Jerusalem bill and the American government response, read "Coalition chairman confirms US pressure behind 'greater Jerusalem' bill delay", Reuters, Jerusalem post, October 29th 2017.
- 9 Caulfield South, Melbourne, Australia, Sunday, February 19, 2017. Moderator: John Searle, note taker: Ariella Birnbaum.
- 10 Washington DC dialogue. April 5, 2017. Moderator: John Ruskay, note taker: Naomi Rosenblatt.
- 11 Curitiba, Brazil, notes by Alberto Milkewitz.
- 12 Paris dialogue. January 22, 2017. Moderator: Gil Taieb.
- 13 For the Sake of Zion I Shall Not Stand Still? The Jewish Diaspora and the Jerusalem Issue, Gabriel (Gabi) Sheffer and Eyal Tsur, The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 2011.
- 14 From notes by Shmuel Rosner. Ann Arbor, Michigan, April 25 2017. Moderator: Shmuel Rosner note takers: Max Glick and Ayelet Shapiro.
- 15 West Palm Beach, March 13, 2017. Moderator: John Ruskay, note Taker: Patrice Gilbert.
- 16 Dialogue session in Minneapolis, MN, March 8, 2017, Moderator: Rabbi Hayim Herring, Ph.D. Note Taker: Terri Krivosha.
- 17 Ann Arbor, see 9.
- 18 St. Louis, MO, March 13, 2017. Moderator: Barry Rosenberg, note taker: Rabbi Tracy Nathan.
- 19 See appendix for the full details on the composition of dialogue participants.
- 20 Cleveland, March 30, 2017, group 8 notes.
- 21 Zurich Discussion Notes, April 6, 2017. Moderator: Guy Spier.
- 22 Dialogue in Jerusalem. Moderator: Shmuel Rosner, note taker: Inbal Hackman.
- 23 It is important to emphasize that the two surveys we show here are not comparable in a statistical sense. The survey in Israel is a scientific sample of Israel's Jews. The survey of world Jews represents the average views of a self-selected group (see previous footnotes).

24 35% of Jewish Israelis self-identify as “totally secular.” 10% are religious and 9% are Haredi. See: [http://jppi.org.il/new/en/article/english-2017-pluralism-index-survey-results/#.WRF5\\_VN97Vo](http://jppi.org.il/new/en/article/english-2017-pluralism-index-survey-results/#.WRF5_VN97Vo)

25 Chicago seminar, from notes by Shmuel Rosner.

26 Hebrew Union College, NY, Dialogue. March 15, 2017, Moderator: John Ruskay.

27 You can read the full chapter here: <http://jppi.org.il/new/en/article/english-exploring-the-jewish-spectrum-in-a-time-of-fluid-identity/#.WVpbRN97Vo>

28 March 30, 2017, group 8.

29 April 2, 2017. Moderator: Alison Marcus, note taker: Marilyn Ades.

30 Sydney, Australia. May 15, 2017. Moderator: Dr Ron Weiser, note Taker: Hayley Hadassin.

31 Cleveland, group 6.

32 Note that Reform Jews ranked many of the components lower than Jews who self-identify with the other groups. So the difference in this case (status as capital) is just another case showing less inclination to rank any aspect of the connection to Jerusalem relatively high. See, for example, this comparison between Reform and Conservative survey respondents, and how their average ranking of the components differs (the average ranking of Orthodox participants was higher than Reform and lower than Conservative, at 3.2625, the ranking of secular participants is still higher than that of Reform participants with 3.10625):

	Reform	Conservative
<b>History</b>	3.75	3.85
<b>Religion</b>	3.36	3.55
<b>Spirituality</b>	3.34	3.6
<b>Culture</b>	3.04	3.3
<b>Landscape</b>	3.02	3.34
<b>Capital</b>	2.84	3.31
<b>Social</b>	2.43	2.63
<b>City Life</b>	2.33	2.74
<b>Average</b>	<b>3.01375</b>	<b>3.29</b>

33 Internal surveys by Israeli institutions show even greater satisfaction of Jerusalemites with the city’s direction.

34 See: JPPI’s 2016 Annual Assessment. Chapter 8, The Population of Israel, with a special section on Jerusalem. [http://jppi.org.il/uploads/2016\\_The\\_Population\\_of\\_Israel.pdf](http://jppi.org.il/uploads/2016_The_Population_of_Israel.pdf)

35 Based on analysis by Prof. Rebhun for the five-year period 2009-2013.

36 This number refers to “traditional, not religious” Jews and to “traditional-religious” Jews. The numbers of “secular” and “religious” Jews in Jerusalem remained about the same according to Rebhun’s assessment.

37 In Jerusalem, Likud won 24.23% of the vote, while 21.11% of the capital’s voting residents cast their ballots for United Torah Judaism, 11.96% for Shas, 9.68% for the Zionist Union, 8.32% for Habayit Hayehudi, 7.19% for Yahad, 4.68% for Kulanu, 4.21% for Yesh Atid, 3.98% for Meretz, 2.37% for Yisrael Beiteinu, and 1.24% for the Joint List. See: Election Results by City: Likud Won in Eight Out of the 10 Largest Cities, *Haaretz*, March 18, 2015.

38 HUC seminar.

39 Caulfield South, Melbourne, Australia.

40 NY Federation group 4.

41 Yusuf, the Arab candidate in this mock election game, was the only candidate supportive of a Palestinian state.

42 See: JPPI’s 2016 Annual Assessment. Chapter 8, The Population of Israel, with a special section on Jerusalem. [http://jppi.org.il/uploads/2016\\_The\\_Population\\_of\\_Israel.pdf](http://jppi.org.il/uploads/2016_The_Population_of_Israel.pdf)

- 43 See: Analysis: Why Jerusalem is the poorest city in the country, *Jerusalem Post*, June 23, 2016.
- 44 See: A Troubling Correlation: The Ongoing Economic Deterioration in East Jerusalem and the Current Wave of Terror, Amit Afrati, INSS, 2016.
- 45 East Jerusalem 2015: Facts and Figures, Updated: May 12, 2015.
- 46 Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, Jerusalem: Facts and Trends 2013.
- 47 Curitiba, Brazil, March 19, 2017. Moderators: Sergio Napchan and Alberto Milkewitz. This group was “a miscellaneous of representatives of the community, from young people of the youth movements like Dror Habonim, to women of Wizo and Naamat, the community school, the Shoah Museum, the Federation, Bnai Brith, the Jewish Federation, the community, men and women, teachers and people of different ages.
- 48 The statement “binational Jerusalem is likely to produce violence” got a 2.7 level of agreement on a scale of 1-4.
- 49 See: UNESCO adopts another resolution ignoring Jewish link to Temple Mount, *Times of Israel*, October 26, 2016.
- 50 See: UNESCO denies once more Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem, Itamar Eichner, *Ynet News*, July 4, 2017.
- 51 See: Trump’s U.S. Ambassador to Israel David Friedman said that he was looking forward to working in a “U.S.embassy in Israel’s eternal capital, Jerusalem”.. See: *Jerusalem Post*, December 16, 2016.
- 52 See: Donald Trump Won’t Move Embassy to Jerusalem, at Least for Now, Peter Baker, *New York Times*, June 1, 2017.
- 53 See: Remarks on Middle East Peace, John Kerry , Secretary of State, The Dean Acheson Auditorium, Washington, DC, December 28, 2016. <https://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2016/12/266119.htm>
- 54 See: Jewish groups split on Kerry’s settlements speech, *JTA*, December 29, 2016.
- 55 See for example: Analysis: Turkey’s Erdogan Stakes His Claim To Jerusalem, Seth Frantzman, *Jerusalem Post*, May 9, 2017.
- 56 The volume of reading material on Israel’s status is endless. For a comprehensive review of the topic see: Is Jerusalem Really Negotiable? An Analysis of Jerusalem’s Place in the Peace Process, Alan Baker, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs (JCPA), 2012. In fact, thus far the world refuses to recognize even west Jerusalem as Israel’s capital.
- 57 See: <http://www.ajc.org/site/apps/nlnet/content3.aspx?c=7oJILSPwFfjSG&b=8479755&ct=12476755>
- 58 See: J Street – National Post-Election Survey: November 8, 2016. In J Street surveys it is also clear that Jerusalem complicates the response of Jewish Americans. When Jerusalem is included as part of a two-state solution deal there is a decline in support for the deal (for example, this formulation has 72%, compared to a 81% support for a formulation that does not include Jerusalem: “I support a two-state solution that declares an end to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, resulting in all Arab countries establishing full diplomatic ties with Israel and creating an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank, Gaza, with its capital in East Jerusalem”).
- 59 Still Connected: American Jewish Attitudes about Israel, Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, 2010.
- 60 Zippi Israeli, INSS Insight No. 936, June 15, 2017.
- 61 The *Yediot* and *Israel Hayom* surveys were both conducted for the 50 celebration of Jerusalem Day.
- 62 This number refers to Israeli Jews except for settlers. 10% of Jews said they had visited once, 8% more than once, 6% as part of their military service or other work-related purposes.
- 63 Most participants also do not believe that a division of Jerusalem is a likely prospect. When JPPI asked about Arab-Jewish relations in Jerusalem and offered the option that “It does not matter; the city will eventually be divided anyhow,” only 5% strongly agreed with it, and 20% agreed with it. This does not necessarily mean that they don’t foresee a division (they might think relations do “matter” even though a division is forthcoming) but for some of them that is probably what this answer means.
- 64 Again, there was a significant difference between men and women in answering this question, with women being more suspicious of the proposed arrangement. 19% of women “strongly” agreed with the statement, compared to 29% of men; 29% of women “strongly” disagreed with the statement, compared to 21% of men.

- 65 Jewish Theological Seminary, NY, February 22, 2017, Moderators: Arnold Eisen, John Ruskay note-taker: Rabbi Burton Visotzky.
- 66 April 25, 2017. Moderator: Rachel Ain.
- 67 See: Orthodox Jews in the United States, JPPI annual assessment, 2016. The chapter begins with the notion that “The growth of the Orthodox population as a percentage of the U.S. Jewish population potentially disrupts settled conceptions of the overall character of U.S. Jewry.”
- 68 On the Haredi challenge in Israel see JPPI, Dov Maimon and Shmuel Rosner, 2013. <http://jppi.org.il/new/en/article/english-the-haredi-challenge/#.WWuZ4tN95sM>
- 69 You can see these findings and all related material here: <http://jppi.org.il/new/en/article/english-2017-pluralism-index-survey-results/#.WWuAYNN95sM>
- 70 Note that the graph amalgamates two separate questions.
- 71 Again, these were two separate statements in the original form of the survey. 1. the growth of Jerusalem’s non-Jewish population is a positive development as it makes the city more diverse. 2. the growth of Jerusalem’s Haredi population is a positive development as it makes the city more diverse. We combined them here into one graph as it makes them easier to compare.
- 72 NY Federation discussion, group 1.
- 73 It is important to reemphasize that the survey was answered way before the eruption of violence around Temple Mount in July 2017.
- 74 See: The two Kotels solution: Cheer it with a grain of sadness, Shmuel Rosner, *Jewish Journal*, Feb. 1, 2016.
- 75 See: Is the Kotel compromise dead? Answering a reader’s question, Shmuel Rosner, *Jewish Journal*, March 29, 2016.
- 76 See: Herman, Tamar, (May 2013), “Israeli public opinion on the Women of the Wall,” IDI (<http://en.idi.org.il/analysis/articles/israeli-public-opinion-on-the-women-of-the-wall>). From the analysis: “the survey data show that support for the demand of the Women of the Wall to be allowed to pray at the Western Wall while wearing prayer shawls and phylacteries is not distributed evenly Israeli Jewish public, and is concentrated among Israelis born in Europe and America and their children (with the exception of Israelis born in the former Soviet Union), university educated Israelis, and traditional and secular Israelis. In contrast, support for the Women of the Wall is far lower among Israelis who were born in Asia and Africa, among Israelis with a low level of education, among religious Jews in Israel, and—even lower - among Haredim”.
- 77 Page 83 in the report. [http://jppi.org.il/uploads/jewish\\_and\\_democratic-eng.pdf](http://jppi.org.il/uploads/jewish_and_democratic-eng.pdf)
- 78 Rosner, Shmuel, (2011), “Debating Religion and State, Debating Distancing,” JPPI.
- 79 Group 1. Moderator: Bruce Goodman, note taker: Lakshmi Nebel.
- 80 New York Federation, group 1, note taker Andrea Fleishaker.
- 81 A survey for *Yediot Daily* by the Midgam Institute, June 2, 2017.
- 82 The exact question was: A proposal has recently been made to set aside an area near the Western Wall in Jerusalem—a site holy to Jews—for mixed-gender Jewish prayer. Currently, prayer services are conducted according to Orthodox tradition, with men and women separated by a barrier. Do you support or oppose the creation of a mixed-gender prayer area near the Wall? See: AJC’s 2016 Survey of American Jewish Opinion, conducted by the research company SSRS, [http://www.ajc.org/site/c.7oJILSPwFfjSG/b.9456115/k.F87D/AJC\\_Survey\\_of\\_American\\_Jewish\\_Opinion\\_2016.htm](http://www.ajc.org/site/c.7oJILSPwFfjSG/b.9456115/k.F87D/AJC_Survey_of_American_Jewish_Opinion_2016.htm)
- 83 Pew asked a somewhat strange question: “Should women be allowed to pray out loud near the Western Wall?” We should assume that most respondents understood this to be a question about Women of the Wall, but the formulation (the controversy was never about prayer volume) casts doubt on these findings. See: Israel’s Religiously Divided Society, Pew, 2016.
- 84 See: Survey Results Are In: 62% of Israelis Believe Everyone Should be Allowed to Pray at Kotel, <http://www.schechter.edu/survey-results-62-israelis-believe-everyone-allowed-pray-kotel/>

- 85 See: <http://www.rudermanfoundation.org/news-and-events/news/poll-israeli-attitudes-toward-american-jews>
- 86 Note that this survey employs a questionable formulation. Jewish Israelis' view of the ultra-Orthodox community is not positive, and thus reminding respondents that the government's decision was made "at the demand of the ultra-Orthodox political parties" invites a certain response.
- 87 The survey was conducted by the Liba Center, which opposes the Kotel compromise. See: <http://www.libayahudit.org/en>
- 88 See: Netanyahu: Jerusalem Is the Capital of the Jewish People Alone, *Haaretz*, May 17, 2015.
- 89 Some Jews do not wait to get Israel's permission when it comes to trying to influence the future of Jerusalem. This was visible at certain points of negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. See: Whose Jerusalem Is It, Anyway?, Shmuel Rosner, *Slate*, February 28, 2008.
- 90 The proposed law was aimed to govern the conversion of non-Jews residing in Israel. For more on it see: 24 short and sober comments on the sudden resurgence of a conversion bill, Shmuel Rosner, *Jewish Journal*, June 29, 2017.
- 91 Betrayed By Bibi: One Wall, Two Peoples, Gary Rosenblatt, *The New York Jewish Week*, June 27, 2017.
- 92 Reversal on egalitarian prayer at Kotel a 'betrayal', say UK progressive Jews, *The Jewish News and JTA*, June 26, 2017.
- 93 See: Israelis' Interest in the Views and Perspectives of World Jewry, In: *Jewish and Democratic: Perspectives from World Jewry*, Shmuel Rosner, Avi Gil, JPPI, 2014.
- 94 Wertheimer, Jack, and Manfred Gerstenfeld, (2008), *Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs (JCPA)*.
- 95 You can find a discussion of this topic at: Mirsky, Yehudah, (2010), "Peoplehood – thin and strong: Rethinking Israel-Diaspora relations for a new century," JPPI.
- 96 A poll by ADL and the Begin Sadat Center ([http://archive.adl.org/presrele/islme\\_62/5055\\_62.html#.Uuok6WQW0sY](http://archive.adl.org/presrele/islme_62/5055_62.html#.Uuok6WQW0sY))
- 97 U.S. Jews Have No Place in Israel's Independence Day Ceremony, Irit Linur, *Haaretz*, April 30, 2017.
- 98 The Kotel belongs to everyone, but especially to Israeli Jews (Hebrew), Hagai Segal, *Makor Rishon*, July 1, 2017.
- 99 Fight or flee? A post-Kotel Jewish American dilemma, Shmuel Rosner, *Jewish Journal*, 27 June 2017.
- 100 Press release with poll findings: [http://rudermanfoundation.org/news\\_and\\_events/pr/2012-1-23.shtml](http://rudermanfoundation.org/news_and_events/pr/2012-1-23.shtml).
- 101 See: A Portrait of Israeli Jews, Beliefs, Observance, and Values of Israeli Jews, 2009. Research Team Leader: Asher Arian, Report: Keissar-Sugarmen, Ayala, (2012), "A Portrait of Israeli Jews Beliefs, Observance, and Values of Israeli Jews, 2009," Survey conducted by the Guttman Center for Surveys of the Israel Democracy Institute for the AVI CHAI-Israel Foundation ([http://en.idi.org.il/media/1351622/GuttmanAviChaiReport2012\\_EngFinal.pdf](http://en.idi.org.il/media/1351622/GuttmanAviChaiReport2012_EngFinal.pdf)).
- 102 Interestingly, even the first media report on this internal survey, by right-tilting newspaper *Makor Rishon*, showed the expected ideological bias toward the data. The headline that was given to the report said that a "majority" of Israeli Jews do not want to consider diaspora views – including both the "not at all" and the "only a little" under a category of rejection. A different take would argue that a vast majority of 83% of Jewish Israelis support consideration of Diaspora Jews, and only 16% completely reject such consideration. The report in Hebrew is here: <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/884/546.html>
- 103 Comparison is possible mainly with regard to American Jewry, since the number of participants from the U.S. is relatively significant and the information for comparison is accessible.
- 104 Studies of this type are often biased, to a certain extent, toward the core community. For example, we can note the following warning from a study by the JPR conducted among Jews in Great Britain: "It is reasonable, however to suspect that the community involved may be over-represented. Because the survey utilized membership and subscriber lists held by the Jewish community as a first port of call (followed by referrals made by people on these lists), those Jews on the community lists may have had a larger, albeit unknown, probability of inclusion in the sample." ([http://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/Perceptions\\_and\\_experiences\\_of\\_antisemitism\\_among\\_Jews\\_in\\_UK.pdf](http://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/Perceptions_and_experiences_of_antisemitism_among_Jews_in_UK.pdf))
- 105 The most prominent example of these characteristics appeared quite clearly in the 2013 Pew report on American Jewry, where an effective distinction was made between Jews by religion, and Jews not by religion. See,

"Who are the 'Jews by Religion' in the Pew Report?" Shlomo Fischer, *The Times of Israel*, December 13, 2013.

106    ¾ of the participants in the Jewish People Policy Institute seminars had visited Israel more than three times. 97.4% of them had visited Israel at least once. By way of comparison, the Pew study on American Jews found that around 43% of respondents had been to Israel, including 23% who visited Israel more than once (Chapter 5 of the Pew Report).

107    "Identificational shifts among the younger generation – from ethnic to cultural, from community-oriented to individualistic and customized – as well as the turning away from mainstream Jewish organizations toward alternatives may be, in part, a manifestation of the transition to a network society". See: "Jewish Identity and Identification: New Patterns, Meanings, and Networks", Shlomo Fischer and Suzanne Last Stone, JPPI, 2012.

108    However, the percentage of ultra-Orthodox Jews in the world is relatively small, so that even if we know that they have very different outlooks from those of most Jews on numerous subjects, the absence of ultra-Orthodox representatives from the discussion, while unfortunate, does not necessarily lead to a misunderstanding of the general outlook within the Jewish world.

109    See: DellaPergola, Sergio, "Jewish demographic policies, population trends and options in Israel and in the Diaspora," JPPI, 2011.

110    It is important to emphasize that the two surveys, are not comparable in a statistical sense. The survey in Israel is a scientific sample of Israel's population. It was conducted by Panels Politics and the findings were based on a relatively large sample of 1,300 respondents, with a 5.6% margin of error for Arabs and 3.1% for Jews. In this report, we have used the data about the Jewish respondents. More details on the survey here: [http://jppi.org.il/new/en/article/english-2017-pluralism-index-survey-results/#.WRF5\\_VN97Vo](http://jppi.org.il/new/en/article/english-2017-pluralism-index-survey-results/#.WRF5_VN97Vo). The survey of world Jews represents the average views of a self-selected group.

111    Pew, May 2015: <http://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/gender-composition>

112    See: "When American Jews do not believe that Israel 'sincerely' wants peace," Shmuel Rosner, *Jewish Journal*, July 2015 (based on the survey by Prof. Steven Cohen).

113    A survey of 370 Y2I Alumni by Prof. Steven Cohen, See: <http://jewishquestions.bjpa.org/Surveys/details.cfm?SurveyID=242>

