

# CROSSROADS23 SURVEYING AUSTRALIAN JEWS ON ISRAEL

Preliminary analysis by Emeritus Professor Andrew Markus Monash University Produced by Plus61J Media June 14, 2023



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#### INTRODUCTION

Plus61J Media creates platforms for a diverse range of voices on issues of interest to Australia, Israel and the Jewish world. When the Office of Israel's president launched *Kol Ha'am – Voice of the People* to consult with Diaspora communities, we wanted to ensure that the many voices of our community would be heard.

Crossroads23: Surveying Australian Jews on Israel produced a cleaned data sample of 1080 self-selected respondents in a week. The response alone is an indication that members of the community feel strongly about Israel and want to express their opinions.

The survey results indicate a strong baseline identification with Israel: 90% agree that it is important that the Australian Jewish community maintains close ties with Israel, 88% feel a high level of personal connectedness with Israel, 86% agree that the existence of Israel is essential for the future of the Jewish people, 83% keep up with Israeli current events involving Israel and 80% indicate a high level of concern for Israel's safety.

# BUT FAITH IN ISRAEL'S FUTURE IS FAR FROM STRONG WITH 57% INDICATING THEY ARE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT ISRAEL'S FUTURE, 42% PESSIMISTIC AND 8% UNCERTAIN.

Responses are weaker still when the survey drills down to current issues, and comparison with the Gen17 survey shows a marked decline in Australian Jews' faith in Israel's politics and society. Only 46% agree that democracy is "alive and well", in sharp contrast with the 76% obtained for this question in the Gen17 survey; 77% agree that "there is too much corruption in Israel's political system" (up from 48%) and 85% agree that "Orthodox Judaism has too much influence" (up from 62%). Asked about their changing feelings, 66% of respondents say they feel less confident Israel is a democratic country than they did five years ago. The lowest positive response comes in relation to judicial reform which only 14% of respondents consider good for Israel.

In relation to the Israel-Palestinian conflict, the survey also finds a declining confidence in Israel's policies: 57% of respondents agree less with Israeli policy than they did five years and a minority 41% believe that Israel's control of the West Bank is vital for Israel's security. But 56% believe a viable solution to the conflict is possible.

The survey indicates that Australian Jews feel a strong stake in Israel and a right to be involved: 79% agree "It is acceptable for Jewish people who do not live in Israel to publicly express their views about the Israeli government and its policies". In particular, they believe Diaspora Jews have a stake in Israel's policies on Jewish status (75%), recognition of pluralism (67%) and the role of Orthodox Judaism (62%). More than half also consider Diaspora Jews should voice their opinions on the situation of Palestinians in the West Bank/Gaza, women's rights, judicial reform, LGBTQI+ rights and Arab citizenship rights. But there is little confidence that Diaspora Jews' input will be respected, with 57% agreeing with the proposition that "Israelis do not care what Diaspora Jews think".

Producing this data in the very short timeframe between the announcement of the Kol Ha'am Australian consultation and the event was a remarkable achievement. It could not have happened without the dedicated work of Professor Andrew Markus and the tremendous efforts of the Plus61J Media team. We hope it will contribute to a fruitful consultation that enhances the relationship between Israel and Diaspora Jews.

#### **Deborah Stone**

Editor-in-Chief. Plus61J Media

#### **BACKGROUND TO THE SURVEY**

An invitation to participate in a series of consultations was issued to members of 15 Jewish communities worldwide by the President of Israel, Isaac Herzog, in May 2023. His message inviting participation stated:

We are celebrating 75 years of Israel, a momentous milestone for our nation. Over the years, we have risen from the ashes of great catastrophes and cultivated a thriving centre of Jewish life that is innovative, creative, and a force of good in the world. However, the growing distance between our Jewish communities concerns me deeply. The gaps between us are widening, and we struggle to agree on essential issues. Even more concerning, we are often unable to discuss them, eroding the critical web of connectedness that has sustained our people for millennia. This lack of contact is leading to indifference, which undermines our sense of belonging and collective story.

As a culture, we celebrate dialogue and acknowledge that we must listen and learn from one another in order to grow. It is with great pleasure that I announce the creation of Voice of the People: A Worldwide Jewish Dialogue. This is a first-of-its-kind global council for Jewish dialogue, designed to be a collaborative, nonpartisan, and apolitical forum - a Jewish Davos, so to speak - that can accommodate and reflect the full and diverse range of Jewish voices.

This platform is where we can engage in meaningful, sensitive, and strategic discussions on the most complex and pressing issues facing our people. We can come up with concrete proposals and action items to address, while cultivating the next generation of Jewish leaders who can bear the torch of our peoplehood and infuse it with new life, keeping it relevant, buoyant, and alive. This is not a one-time gathering but a framework for an ongoing conversation and dialogue, under the auspices of the President of Israel, for all Jews today and for generations to come.

In pursuit of this vision, I have enlisted The Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization to help me transform it into reality. Now, we reach out to you. To further develop this vision collaboratively, we have organised a series of "strategic labs" facilitated by a professional team from the international consulting firm Deloitte, in 15 major Jewish communities worldwide, including Israel, Latin and Central America, Europe, South Africa, Australia, and North America.

I cordially invite you, as Jewish leaders, to participate in one of these labs, to help us develop this vision into a viable operating model. For those who cannot join physically, virtual labs will also be held on Zoom.

I strongly encourage you to participate in one of the labs and express your thoughts and concerns. This is an opportunity for you to help shape the future of our collective community. Let us commit to working hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder to shape our shared future and write the next chapter in the story of our people.

In response to the President's initiative, *Plus61J Media* initiated a survey to give all members of the Australian Jewish community an opportunity to voice their views. The invitation from Plus61J Media was presented in terms of a historic opportunity, with Israel reaching out to the Diaspora for the first time in its history. In an email distributed on May 30, it explained:

CROSSROADS23: SURVEYING AUSTRALIAN JEWS ON ISRAEL IS A ONE-OFF OPPORTUNITY TO COMMUNICATE YOUR VIEWS ON ISRAEL THROUGH A DIRECT LINE TO THE OFFICE OF ISRAEL'S PRESIDENT.

Australian Jews have a brief opportunity to register their feelings about Israel in a survey which will feed into an international project to better connect the Diaspora and Israel.

Plus61J Media has initiated Crossroads23:
Surveying Australian Jews on Israel to enable all
Australian Jews to have their say in an international
consultation project, Kol Ha'am – Voice of the
People, initiated by the office of Israel's president.

The aim of this survey is to provide input into forthcoming discussions at Melbourne's workshop for *Kol Ha'am* on Sunday, June 18.

Kol Ha'am, subtitled The President's Initiative for Worldwide Jewish Dialogue, is a global consultation project to reconnect Israel with the Diaspora. It was created in response to the growing divide between Israeli and Diaspora Jews, which has been brought to a head by the controversial judicial overhaul proposals.

The Australian [forum] ... will be held in Melbourne on June 18 for invited delegates. But Plus61J Media has launched the survey to ensure all Australian Jews have the opportunity to contribute. The Zionist Federation of Australia will distribute the survey to its affiliates and Plus61J Media is seeking wider participation to ensure the broadest spectrum of views.

"Kol Ha'am means the Voice of the People and that should be all the people. We want as many Australian Jews as possible to have their say on what they feel and believe about Israel through this survey," said Plus61J Media publisher Uri Windt.

"The timetable set by Israel is very short, so it is essential people fill in the survey straight away and share it widely," he said.

The survey is anonymous. Data will be analysed and reported by Emeritus Professor Andrew Markus, Monash University.

The Plus61J Media initiative was supported by the Zionist Federation of Australia, which also promoted the survey by email and social media on May 30. The ZFA described the survey in the following terms:

# CROSSROADS23: SURVEYING AUSTRALIAN JEWS ON ISRAEL

The Australian Jewish community has a unique opportunity to voice their opinions on key topics related to the relationship between Israel and the Australian Jewish community. The data this survey creates will help inform discussion at the Kol Ha'am - Voice of the People conference, an important project initiated by the President of Israel, Isaac Herzog.

Hosted by Plus 61J Media, the survey's aim is to provide input from a wide spectrum of Australian Jewry perspectives into the discussions that will take place at the Melbourne-based conference.

For the survey to be as accurate and well-rounded as possible, it's really important for as many Australian Jews – from across the political spectrum and from across Australia – to provide their outlooks on Israel and the Jewish people.

The survey is anonymous, takes only 10-15 minutes to complete and will make a great impact on the quality of the discussions held in the *Kol Ha'am* - *Voice of the People* conference.

#### I'VE COMPLETED THE SURVEY, NOW WHAT?

This survey's accuracy is dependent on the participation of as many Australian Jews as possible. Send the link to your Jewish friends, families, colleagues and neighbours and encourage them to complete the survey as soon as possible.

The survey closes on Tuesday, June 6, and can be completed from your computer or mobile device.

#### **QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN**

The questionnaire drew on a number of sources: the Gen17 Australian Jewish communal survey, conducted in 2017, recent surveys conducted in Jewish communities in the United States and England, and questions suggestions by *Plus61J Media* and the Zionist Federation of Australia.

The questionnaire comprised eight substantive questions, including one with 14 sub-questions and one with five. In addition, there were two open-ended questions and 12 demographic questions. A copy of the questionnaire is included in the appendix to this report.

The thematic areas covered by questionnaire included:

- Identification with Israel (eight questions)
- The Israeli-Palestinian conflict (two)
- Functioning of Israeli democracy (three)
- The controversy over the Israeli government's plan for judicial reform (two)
- Disunity in the Jewish world (one)
- Consultations with the Diaspora (three)

The questions covering the thematic areas were followed by five questions dealing with change in attitudes over the past five years, concerned with:

- · Sense of connection with Israel
- Israeli democracy
- Policy towards Palestinians
- · Advocating for Israel among the respondent's Jewish friends
- Advocating for Israel among non-Jewish friends

The survey included 12 demographic questions, to provide scope to establish the profile of the achieved sample, which was benchmarked against the 2021 census and the community profile indicated by the Gen17 survey, which was completed by 8,6210 respondents. The key demographic questions covered age, gender, country of birth, state where the respondent lives, stream of Judaism, political views, visits to Israel, time spent in Israel, relatives and close friends who are resident in Israel, and organisational membership or affiliation.

The two open-ended questions concerned critical challenges facing the Jewish people and perception of the Australian Jewish community's responsibility to Israel. The findings of the open-ended questions will be reported at a later time, once the responses have been coded for analysis.

#### **SURVEY ADMINISTRATION**

As noted, the survey was promoted by *Plus61J Media* and the Zionist Federation of Australia. The survey was only available for completion online, using one of five entry points provided – separate links were provided to enable tracking of respondents. The five points of access were:

- Crossroad23, the link promoted for Plus61J Media respondents, which was also shared by the ZFA to its
  affiliates
- 2. ZFA organisational link
- 3. Plus61J Media social media link
- 4. ZFA social media link
- 5. Australian Jewish News, link provided in a front-page advertisement

The survey was open for eight days, between May 30 and June 6. The survey was accessed on 1511 occasions. Nearly all of the access (1357 cases) was through the Crossroads23 link, with small numbers accessing the link provided in the *Australian Jewish News* (17), *Plus61J Media* social media (31), ZFA organisational (79) and ZFA social media (27).

#### **DATA CLEANING**

It was recognised that there was risk of fraudulent completion of the survey, with multiple surveys completed by the one person, some possibly motivated by hostility to the Jewish community.

To lessen the risk, the achieved sample was examined with attention to time taken for completion, repeat entry to the survey from the one internet enabled device, and pattern response.

With regard to time taken to complete the survey, examination of the data file indicated that 180 persons entered the survey but exited within two minutes, while another 49 persons began the survey but exited within four minutes. A check of the online site found that it was possible to complete the survey in under four minutes if the open-ended questions were skipped, although not many would be able to complete in such a short time. Most surveys were completed between five and 11 minutes, and the median for completion was 11 minutes and 30 seconds. A number of survey completions (14.7%) took over 23 minutes, possibly a reflection of the age of respondents and respondents failing to exit the survey, with their internet connection left open.

Indication of time to complete is provided in Table 1. For analysis, the 229 surveys that were completed under four minutes were excluded. The data file with these exclusions comprised 1282 cases and are referenced as **Crossroads23** [A] in this report.

Table 1 Crossroad23 survey: completion time

		Percentage (cumulative
Minutes (seconds in brackets)	Number of surveys	percentage in brackets)
0-2 (>119)	180	11.9
2-4 (120-239)	49	4.3 (15.2)
4-5 (240-299)	40	2.6 (17.8)
5-8 (300-479)	269	17.8 (35.6)
8-11 (480-659)	287	19.0 (54.6)
11-14 (660-839)	215	14.2 (68.8)
14-17 (840-1019)	121	8.0 (76.8)
17-20 (1020-1199)	71	4.7 (81.5)
20-23 (1200-1379)	57	3.8 (85.3)
23+ (1400+)	222	14.7 (100)

A second check of respondents was made with reference to the number of surveys completed on the one internet device (computer or telephone), made possible by the IP address of the device captured in the case record. It was found that seven surveys were completed from one IP address, six surveys from a second IP address. The data obtained from these two IP addresses was manually checked and did not disclose pattern response, for example, consistent negative responses to all or most questions.

In addition, 13 devices were used three times to complete the survey and 75 devices to complete the survey twice. The large majority of surveys, 1080, were completed on individual devices. The analysis of IP addresses is provided in Table 2.

A second data set was created and restricted to the 1080 cases with surveys completed on individual devices. This data set is referenced as **Crossroads23** [B] in this report. In the overview of survey findings, data from Crossroads23 [A] and Crossroads23 [B] is presented side by side. The result obtained from the two data sets is almost identical, with responses consistent within one percentage point.

Table 2 IP address of surveys commenced (excluding surveys closed in under 4 minutes)

Unique IP address, number of			
times used to access the survey	Frequency	Cases	Percentage
7	1	7	0.5
6	1	6	0.5
3	13	39	3.0
2	75	150	11.7
1	1080	1080	84.2

Hence this cleaning of the survey data has produced two data sets, Crossroads23 [A] comprising 1282 respondents (surveys completed in more than four minutes) and Crossroads23 [B] with 1080 respondents (surveys completed in more than four minutes and no more than one survey completion on an individual device).

#### THE ACHIEVED SAMPLE

There were three approaches to determining the character of the achieved sample: comparison of identical questions in the Gen17 and Crossroads23 surveys; the 2021 Australian census; and analysis with reference to segments of the community.

Comparison with the Gen17 survey finds that the respondents to the Crossroads23 survey were more connected with Israel, and with more positive attitudes to Israel when questions of a general nature, as distinct from current developments, were considered.

As summarised in Table 3, 77% of Crossroads23 respondents identified as Zionist, compared with 71% in Gen17; 74% of Crossroads23 respondents indicated that they had visited Israel three or more times, compared with 65% Gen17; 72% of Crossroads23 respondents had family and close friends living in Israel, compared with 59%-65% in Gen17.

Table 3 Gen17 and Crossroads23 surveys compared, selected questions

	Gen <b>1</b> 7 %	Crossroads [A]	Crossroads23 [B]
Identification as Zionist	71	77	77
Concern when Israel is in danger – top two indications of concern	77	80	80
Number of times visited Israel – three or more	65	74	74
Close family living in Israel	65	72	72
Close friends living in Israel	59	72	72
Number	8621	1282	1080

As to be expected, in a survey available only for a brief period of eight days and promoted most effectively using organisational email and social media, those with organisational connections will be over-represented. A key finding of the demographic analysis is that the younger members of the community, always difficult to survey, were under-represented in the Crossroads23 survey. The census finding is that 37% of people of Jewish faith are under the age of 44, a much lower 18% in Crossroads23; 32% are aged 65 or over, in the Crossroads23 survey 51%.

With regard to other demographic indicators, the survey did surprisingly well, given the limited time it was available and limited promotion. Thus, 53% of the survey respondents are female, within one percentage point of the census; 55% of the survey respondents were born in Australia, again within one percentage point of the census finding for the population over the age of 18; 50% of the survey respondents live in Victoria, within three percentage points of the census.

Table 4 Sample profile, percentage

	· -	_				
SEX	Female	Male				
Crossroads23 [B]	53	46				
Census	52	48				
AGE	18-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
Crossroads23 [B]	9	9	12	19	32	19
Census	22	15	16	15	18	14
BIRTHPLACE	Australia	South Africa	Israel	Russian Fed./ Ukraine	England	US
Crossroads23 [B]	55	11	10	1	6	3
Census	56	13	7	3	4	3
STATE	Victoria	NSW	Queensland	Western Australia	South Australia	ACT
Crossroads23 [B]	50	37	7	2	1	2
Census	47	40	5	6	1	1

The 2021 census data is for Jewish religion, aged 18 or above, Australia

A third and most important way of locating a non-probability survey, such as Crossroads23, in its community is by analysis focused on population sub-groups. While the achieved sample may be skewed at the community level, for some sub-groups with significant number of respondents (in this survey notably those affiliated with Zionist organisations and Plus61J Media), the skew is less, providing a reliable insight into the pattern of opinion within these segments. The third part of this report presents the survey findings for sub-groups.

Zionist identification Concern Israel's safety Visited Israel 3 or more times Close family in Israel Close friends in Israel 0 10 20 40 60 70 30 50 80 Crossroads23[B] Gen17

Figure 1: Israel connections

#### **OVERVIEW OF CROSSROADS23 FINDINGS**

An overview of the survey finds strongest positive response for general questions related to Israel. Thus, 77% of respondents indicate that they identify as a Zionist, 90% agree that it is important that the Australian Jewish community maintains close ties with Israel, 88% feel a high level of personal connectedness with Israel, 86% agree that the existence of Israel is essential for the future of the Jewish people, 80% indicate a high level of concern for Israel's safety when it is endangered by international events, and 83% keep up with current events involving Israel.

A lower proportion (64%) indicate that they feel more secure in the knowledge that if antisemitism increased in Australia they could go to Israel, possibly a lower positive response because Australians do not expect a deterioration in their conditions of life in Australia leading to their departure for Israel.

These strong positive responses provide an important context for the negative results obtained by a number of other questions in the survey: they clearly demonstrate that the achieved sample obtained by Crossroasd23 is not an unrepresentative cohort with little positive connection with Israel.

There is just one general proposition that obtains a relatively low positive response: when asked if optimistic about Israel's future, 49% were optimistic (with only 18% strongly optimistic) and 42% were pessimistic while a further 8% indicated that they did not know.

For some of the other thematic areas covered in the survey, questions obtain lower positive responses, in keeping with the lower sense of optimism for Israel's future. Thus, a relatively low 56% agree that a viable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is possible, and a minority 41% agree that Israel's control of the West Bank is vital for Israel's security.

With regard to the functioning of Israeli democracy, 46% agree that its democracy is "alive and well", in sharp contrast with the 76% obtained for this question in the Gen17 survey; 77% agree that "there is too much corruption in Israel's political system" (up from 48% obtained by Gen17) and 85% agree that "Orthodox Judaism has too much influence" (62% Gen17).

The lowest positive response is obtained by two questions concerned with proposed judicial reform in Israel; 76% indicate that they have followed the discussion of judicial reform, but only 14% have formed the view that the reforms are good for Israel.

With regard to the proposition that "it is acceptable for Jewish people who do not live in Israel to publicly express their views about the Israel government and its policies", a substantial majority of 79% indicate agreement with freedom to express views, although there is little confidence that such views are respected, with 57% agreeing with the proposition that "Israelis do not care what Diaspora Jews think".

When asked to indicate issues on which Diaspora Jews should voice an opinion, in the context of the consultation process initiated by the President of Israel, the highest level of agreement was obtained for Jewish status, with reference to conversion (75%), recognition of pluralism (67%) and the role of Orthodox Judaism (62%). A number of issues were indicated by a smaller majority (including the situation of Palestinians and women's rights), while the lowest level was obtained for the "status of Holy places" (42%) and "security issues" (34%).

The last series of five fixed-choice questions asked respondents to consider any change in their attitudes when compared to five years ago. The largest change was obtained when respondents were asked to consider "Israel as a democratic country": 62% indicated that they were now less confident that Israel is a democratic country, compared with 16% who were more confident.

When asked to consider their confidence in advocating for Israel among their non-Jewish friends, 44% were less confident, 26% were more. As expected, respondents were more confident advocating for Israel among their Jewish friends.

Views on Israeli policy on issues related to Palestinians strongly moved in the negative, with 57% indicating less agreement with Israeli policy, only 14% more.

Sense of connection with Israel is least changed, in keeping with the largely positive response to general questions related to Israel: 34% indicated that they felt more connected to Israel, 42% neither more nor less, while that lowest proportion, 24%, indicated a lower sense of connection.

#### **IDENTIFICATION WITH ISRAEL**

**Table 5** Although there are different opinions about what the term Zionism means, in general, do you consider yourself to be a Zionist? Please select one answer

	Crossroa	Crossroads23 [A]		Gen17
	Frequency	%	%	%
Yes	984	77	77	71
No	172	13	14	20
Don't know	95	7	8	8
Prefer not to say	12	1	1	1
Missing	19	1		
Total		100	100	100
N	1282		1080	8621

**Table 6** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? It is important that the Australian Jewish community and Israel maintain close ties

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Strongly agree	818	66	66
Tend to agree	296	24	24
Tend to disagree	54	4	4
Strongly disagree	21	2	2
No opinion	37	3	3
Don't know	19	2	1
Prefer not to say	3	0	0
Total		100	100
Missing	34		
N	1282		1080

Table 7 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I feel a high level of personal connectedness to Israel

	Crossroa	Crossroads23 [B]	
	Frequency	%	%
Strongly agree	704	56	56
Tend to agree	391	31	32
Tend to disagree	81	6	7
Strongly disagree	40	3	3
No opinion	15	1	1
Don't know	9	1	1
Prefer not to say	8	1	1
Total		100	100
Missing	34		
N	1282		1080

**Table 8** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? The existence of Israel is essential for the future of the Jewish people

	Crossroa	Crossroads23 [B]	
	Frequency	%	%
Strongly agree	821	66	67
Tend to agree	243	19	19
Tend to disagree	76	6	6
Strongly disagree	64	5	6
No opinion	15	1	1
Don't know	25	2	2
Prefer not to say	4	0	0
Total		100	100
Missing	34		
N	1282		1080

**Table 9** When international events put Israel in danger, which one of the following best describes how you feel? Please select one answer

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]	Gen17
	Frequency	%	%	%
I do not feel any different about it than I would if another important foreign country were in the same sort of danger	50	4	4	3
I feel rather more concerned than if another country was in the same situation	182	14	15	19
I feel a special concern because it is Israel and not some other country in danger	783	62	63	60
My reaction is so strong that it is almost the same as if my own life was in danger	228	18	17	17
Don't know	6	0	1	
Prefer not to say	10	1	1	
Total		100	100	100
Missing	23			
N	1282		1080	8621

**Table 10** To what extent do you keep up with current events which involve Israel? Would you say... Please select one answer

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]	Gen17
	Frequency	%	%	%
A lot	500	40	39	32
Quite a lot	537	43	44	38
A little	207	16	17	26
Not at all	9	1	1	3
Don't know	1	0		0
Prefer not to say	5	0	0	0
Total		100	100	
Missing	23			
N	1282		1080	8621

**Table 11** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I feel more secure knowing I could go to Israel if antisemitism increased in Australia

	Crossroa	ds23 [A]	Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Strongly agree	427	34	34
Tend to agree	382	31	30
Tend to disagree	173	14	14
Strongly disagree	116	9	10
No opinion	88	7	7
Don't know	56	4	4
Prefer not to say	6	0	0
Total		100	100
Missing	34		
N	1282		1080

**Table 12** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I am optimistic about Israel's future

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Strongly agree	207	17	18
Tend to agree	382	31	31
Tend to disagree	365	29	28
Strongly disagree	171	14	14
No opinion	19	2	2
Don't know	97	8	8
Prefer not to say	7	1	1
Total		100	100
Missing	34		
N	1282		1080

#### **ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT**

**Table 13** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Israeli control of the West Bank (Judea/Samaria) is vital for Israel's security

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]	Gen17
	Frequency	%	%	%
Strongly agree	237	19	20	33
Tend to agree	269	22	21	28
Tend to disagree	318	25	26	14
Strongly disagree	289	23	23	9
No opinion	25	2	2	4
Don't know	96	8	8	11
Prefer not to say	14	1	1	2
Total		100	100	100
Missing	34			
N	1282		1080	8621

**Table 14** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? A viable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is possible

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Strongly agree	208	17	16
Tend to agree	499	40	40
Tend to disagree	271	22	22
Strongly disagree	81	6	7
No opinion	20	2	1
Don't know	160	13	13
Prefer not to say	9	1	1
Total		100	100
Missing	34		
N	1282		1080

#### **ISRAELI DEMOCRACY**

**Table 15** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Democracy in Israel is alive and well

	Crossro	ads23 [A]	Crossroads23 [B]	Gen17
	Frequency	%	%	%
Strongly agree	239	19	19	40
Tend to agree	331	27	27	36
Tend to disagree	318	25	26	10
Strongly disagree	306	25	24	3
No opinion	16	1	1	3
Don't know	34	3	2	7
Prefer not to say	4	0	0	1
Total		100	100	100
Missing	34			
N	1282		1080	8621

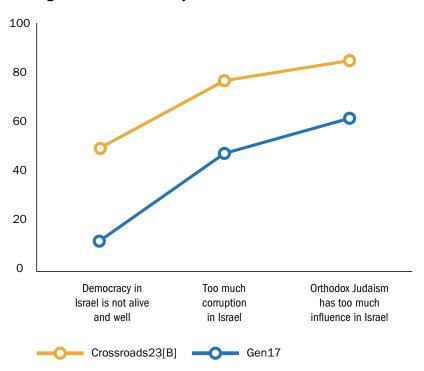
**Table 16** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? There is too much corruption in Israel's political system

	Crossro	oads23 [A]	Crossroads23 [B]	Gen17
	Frequency	%	%	%
Strongly agree	444	36	36	16
Tend to agree	512	41	41	32
Tend to disagree	71	6	6	12
Strongly disagree	31	2	2	3
No opinion	57	5	5	13
Don't know	125	10	11	23
Prefer not to say	8	1	1	2
Total		100	100	100
Missing	34			
N	1282		1080	8621

**Table 17** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Orthodox Judaism has too much influence in Israel's society

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]	Gen17
	Frequency	%	%	%
Strongly agree	702	56	56	35
Tend to agree	345	28	29	27
Tend to disagree	96	8	8	12
Strongly disagree	38	3	3	8
No opinion	34	3	3	7
Don't know	26	2	2	9
Prefer not to say	7	1	1	1
Total		100	100	100
Missing	34			
N	1282		1080	8621

Figure 2: Israeli democracy



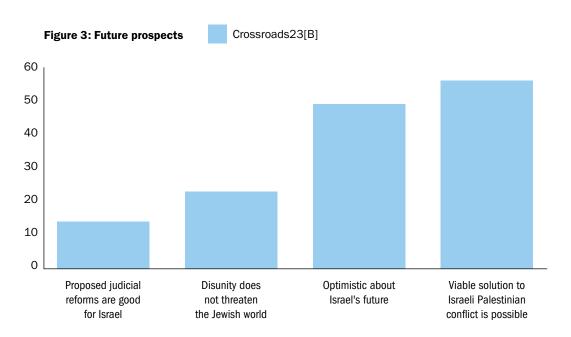
#### **JUDICIAL REFORM**

 Table 18 To what extent have you followed the discussion of judicial reform proposals in Israel?

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
A lot	437	35	35
Quite a lot	502	41	41
A little	268	22	22
Not at all	29	2	2
Prefer not to say	1	0	
Total		100	100
Missing	45		
N	1282		1080

**Table 19** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? The proposed judicial reforms are good for Israel.

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Strongly agree	72	6	6
Tend to agree	98	8	8
Tend to disagree	173	14	14
Strongly disagree	745	60	59
No opinion	50	4	4
Don't know	100	8	8
Prefer not to say	10	1	1
Total		100	100
Missing	34		
N	1282		1080



#### **DISUNITY IN THE JEWISH WORLD**

**Table 20** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Disunity threatens the Jewish world

	Crossroad	ds23 [A]	Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Strongly agree	474	38	38
Tend to agree	403	32	34
Tend to disagree	187	15	16
Strongly disagree	90	7	7
No opinion	39	3	3
Don't know	49	4	3
Prefer not to say	6	0	0
Total		100	100
Missing	34		
N	1282		1080

#### **CONSULTATIONS**

**Table 21** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? It is acceptable for Jewish people who do not live in Israel to publicly their views about the Israeli government and its policies

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Strongly agree	524	42	42
Tend to agree	452	36	37
Tend to disagree	155	12	13
Strongly disagree	55	4	5
No opinion	29	2	2
Don't know	22	2	2
Prefer not to say	11	1	1
Total		100	100
Missing	34		
N	1282		1080

**Table 22** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Israelis do not care what Diaspora Jews think about Israel's government or its policies

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Strongly agree	182	15	14
Tend to agree	533	43	43
Tend to disagree	262	21	22
Strongly disagree	66	5	5
No opinion	40	3	3
Don't know	158	13	13
Prefer not to say	7	1	1
Total		100	100
Missing	34		
N	1282		1080
			·

**Table 23** The President of Israel has initiated a process to consult with Diaspora communities. On which of the following issues in Israel do you think Diaspora Jews should voice an opinion? (Mark as many as you consider to be important)

	Crossroads23 [A]	Crossroads23 [B]
	Percent	%
Jewish status (who is a Jew, conversion)	74	75
Recognition of pluralism in Israel	67	67
The role of Orthodox Judaism	61	62
Situation of Palestinians in the West Bank/ Gaza	58	58
Women's rights	58	57
Judicial reform	55	54
LGBTQI+ rights	51	50
Arab citizenship rights	51	51
Status of Holy places	42	41
Security	34	34

#### PERCEIVED CHANGE IN ATTITUDES - THE PAST FIVE YEARS

Table 24 Compared to five years ago ... I feel more/less connected to Israel

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Much more	220	18	18
Somewhat more	194	16	16
Neither more nor less	518	42	42
Somewhat less	202	16	16
Much less	93	7	8
No opinion	7	1	1
Don't know/ Prefer not to say	9	1	1
Total		100	100
Missing	39		
N	1282		1080

Table 25 Compared to five years ago ... I feel more/less confident that Israel is a democratic country

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Much more	85	7	7
Somewhat more	103	8	9
Neither more nor less	248	20	20
Somewhat less	400	32	32
Much less	383	31	30
No opinion	12	1	1
Don't know/ Prefer not to say	12	1	1
Total		100	100
Missing	39		
N	1282		1080

**Table 26** Compared to five years ago ... I agree more/less with Israeli policy on issues related to the Palestinians

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Much more	71	6	5
Somewhat more	103	8	9
Neither more nor less	284	23	23
Somewhat less	268	22	22
Much less	449	36	35
No opinion	27	2	2
Don't know/ Prefer not to say	41	3	3
Total		100	100
Missing	39		
N	1282		1080

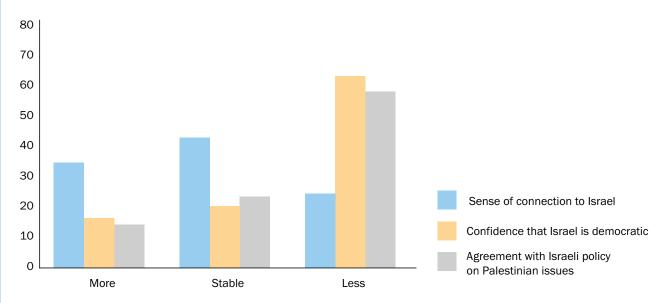
**Table 27** Compared to five years ago ... I feel more/less confident advocating for Israel among my Jewish friends

	Crossro	oads23 [A]	Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Much more	174	14	14
Somewhat more	200	16	16
Neither more nor less	409	33	34
Somewhat less	213	17	17
Much less	198	16	16
No opinion	37	3	3
Don't know/ Prefer not to say	12	1	1
Total		100	100
Missing	39		
N	1282		1080

**Table 28** Compared to five years ago ... I feel more/less confident advocating for Israel among my Jewish friends

	Crossroads23 [A]		Crossroads23 [B]
	Frequency	%	%
Much more	141	11	11
Somewhat more	177	14	15
Neither more nor less	338	27	27
Somewhat less	251	20	21
Much less	291	23	23
No opinion	30	2	2
Don't know/ Prefer not to say	15	1	1
Total		100	100
Missing	39		
N	1282		1080

Figure 4: Compared to five years ago ...



#### SUB-GROUP ANALYSIS: UIA AND PLUS61J MEDIA

The Crossroads23 survey asked respondents to "indicate your organisational membership or affiliation". Membership or affiliation was indicated by more than 200 respondents for three organisations: the United Israel Appeal (265, henceforth UIA), Jewish National Fund (240, henceforth JNF) and *Plus61J Media* (245).

JNF is not analysed because of the extent of overlap in membership with the UIA; a sample of 50 respondents found that 40 (or 80%) indicated dual membership or affiliation with the JNF and UIA.

The demographic profile of respondents finds very few aged 18-34, and only a small minority under the age of 54, 17% UIA and 21% *Plus61J Media*.

Among UIA respondents there is almost the same proportion of women and men, while among *Plus61J Media* respondents there is an over-representation of women (66% female, 34% male).

Reflecting the character of the two organisations, the UIA has a higher proportion of respondents who indicate alignment with the Modern Orthodox and Traditional streams of Judaism, 64% compared to 34% *Plus61JMedia*, while a higher proportion of *Plus61J Media* respondents indicate alignment with Conservative or progressive streams or identify as "Just Jewish" (43%, compared to 29%), and a much higher proportion indicate secular identification (20%, compared to 5%)

In terms of political alignment, the differentiation indicated by respondents again reflects the character of the two organisations: 24% of the respondents who indicate membership or affiliation with the UIA identify as conservative and 49% as moderate or centrist, a combined 73%, in contrast with *Plus61J Media* respondents, the largest proportion of whom (67%) identify as progressive.

The findings point to a high level of positive response from those associated with both organisations with regard to identification as a Zionist, connectedness to Israel and the importance of close ties with Israel. A substantial majority (71% UIA, 86% *Plus61J Media*) agree that it is acceptable for Jewish people who do not live in Israel to publicly express their views about the Israeli government and its policies. A substantial majority of both organisations are concerned that disunity threatens the Jewish world, 86% UIA, 61% *Plus61J Media*.

But the large measure of consensus is not maintained beyond these questions. Thus, with regard to the workings of democracy, a central issue identified in this survey, only 33% of those associated with *Plus61J Media* agree that democracy in Israel is alive and well, compared with 68% of those associated with UIA. A lower 59% associated with UIA indicate that they are either more positive or stable in their view that Israel is a democratic country, compared with a small minority of 20% *Plus61J Media*.

The lowest proportion among those associated with the UIA is obtained in response to the proposition that the proposed judicial reforms are good for Israel (24% agree, 61% disagree, 14% indicate no opinion or don't know), compared with just 3% agreement among those associated with *Plus61J Media*.

Contrasting proportions are also obtained for a question on the possibility of a viable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, agreed to by 46% UIA associates and a higher 71% *Plus61J Media*. Despite their pessimistic view on the prospects for a viable solution to the conflict, 75% UIA associates are optimistic about Israel's future, comparted to a much lower 33% for *Plus61J Media* associates.

This potential contradiction in views may be explained on the basis that while UIA associates are not optimistic about peace with the Palestinians, they have confidence in the ability of the Israeli state to cope with any challenges arising from the conflict, whereas a majority of *Plus61J Media* associates believe that a viable solution can be reached, but are pessimistic that it will be reached. This is reflected in other questions, for example, in the different response with regard to confidence in advocating for Israel among non-Jewish friends, indicated by 71% of UIA associates and 34% *Plus61J Media*.

With regard to issues on which Diaspora Jews should voice an opinion, there is agreement that the top two issues relate to Jewish status (conversion) and recognition of pluralism in Israel; security issues, on the other hand, rate last, seen by a large majority as a matter to be left to Israelis. The issues of rights for women, LGBTQI+ persons and Arab citizenship rate substantially higher among *Plus61J Media* associates, as does the situation of Palestinians (70% *Plus61J Media*, compared with 48% UIA).

 Table 29
 Demographic indicators, membership or affiliation with UIA and Plus61J Media (percentage)

	Age 18-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75-84
UIA	1	8	8	15	39	24
Plus61J	8	6	7	20	42	20

	Female	Male
UIA	51	49
Plus61J	66	34

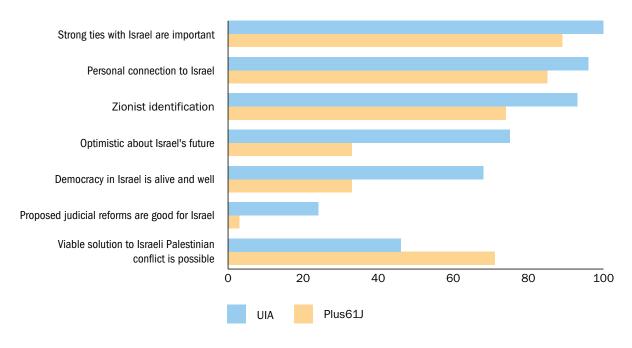
	Modern Orthodox	Traditional		Just Jewish	Secular
UIA	27	37	19	10	5
Plus61J	9	25	28	15	20

	Conservative	Moderate or centrist	Progressive
UIA	24	49	22
Plus61J	2	28	67

Table 30 Pattern of response, UIA and Plus61J Media (Crossroads23 [B], percentage)

	UIA	Plus61J
Consider yourself to be a Zionist – yes	93	74
High level of personal connectedness to Israel – strongly agree or tend to agree	96	85
The existence of Israel is essential for the future of the Jewish people Israel – strongly agree or tend to agree	100	79
It is important that the Australian Jewish community and Israel maintain close ties - strongly agree or tend to agree	100	89
Acceptable for Jewish people who do not live in Israel to publicly express their views about the Israeli government and its policies – strongly agree or tend to agree	71	86
Optimistic about Israel's future – strongly agree or tend to agree	75	33
A viable solution to the Israeli-Palestine conflict is possible – strongly agree or tend agree	46	71
Disunity threatens the Jewish world – strongly agree or tend to agree	86	61
Democracy in Israel is alive and well – strongly agree or tend to agree	68	33
Proposed judicial reforms are good for Israel – strongly agree or agree	24	3
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less confident that Israel is a democratic country	59	20
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less connected to Israel [Somewhat less, much less]	88	66
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor lessadvocating for Israel among my Jewish friends	83	48
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less confident advocating for Israel among my non-Jewish friends [Somewhat less, much less]	71	34
Compared to five years ago I agree much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less with Israeli policy on issues related to the Palestinians	58	16
N	265	245

Figure 5: Pattern or response, UIA and Plus16J affiliates



**Table 31** The President of Israel has initiated a process to consult with Diaspora communities. On which of the following issues in Israel do you think Diaspora Jews should voice an opinion? (Mark as many as you consider to be important) (Crossroads23 [B])

	UIA	Plus61 J
	%	%
Jewish status (who is a Jew, conversion)	79	78
Recognition of pluralism in Israel	65	81
The role of Orthodox Judaism	61	68
Women's rights	51	73
Judicial reform	52	67
Situation of Palestinians in the West Bank/ Gaza	48	70
LGBTQI+ rights	43	65
Status of Holy places	43	43
Arab citizenship rights	41	69
Security	38	30
N	265	245

#### **AGE AND SEX**

The extent of variation evident in attitudes of UIA and *Plus61J Media* associates is not replicated when age groups and men and women are considered. There is a consistently high level of identification with Israel. Thus, the affirmation of personal connectedness with Israel is in the narrow range 84%-90%, concern about the threat of disunity among the Jewish people is at a high level, in the range 69%-72%, and three-quarters or more respondents across the groups (76%-89%) agree that it is acceptable for Jewish people who do not live in Israel to express views about the Israeli government.

Confidence in advocating for Israel among non-Jewish friends almost evenly divides respondents across the groups, with higher level of confidence indicated by those aged 65 or older (55%) and men (60%). Confidence in the workings of Israeli democracy is indicated by a minority across all the groups but it is at the lowest level among those aged 18-34: 23% in this age group consider that Israeli democracy is alive and well and only 26% indicate that compared to five years ago, they are more confident or stable in the view that Israel is a democratic country. In general, men are more positive than women in their attitudes

The issue of proposed judicial reform obtains a very high negative response, seen in positive terms by just 5% of those aged 18-34, with the highest positive view at only 20%, indicated by men.

#### POLITICAL ALIGNMENT AND RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

Assessment by political alignment and religious identification finds substantial variation in response to a number of questions, similar to the pattern of response obtained by analysis of organisational affiliation.

There is high level of identification with Zionism, in the range 90%-97% across political alignment and 75%-94% across streams of Judaism, with an outlier of 57% indicated by secular respondents.

Personal connectedness with Israel is similarly indicated by a large majority, in the range 83%-94% by political alignment and 80%-96% by stream of Judaism.

However, views on the functioning of Israeli democracy sharply divide, viewed as "alive and well" by 86% of those who indicate that they are conservative, 21% by those progressive, 68% by Modern Orthodox, 37% "just Jewish" and 19% secular.

While a bare majority of 51% of conservatives view the proposed judicial reforms as positive, this view is not shared by even 20% among other groupings: the proposed reforms are viewed as positive by 14% centrists, 3% progressives, 18% traditional, 12% "just Jewish" and 5% secular.

Optimism about Israel's future is high among those of conservative political alignment at 84% and , among Modern Orthodox at 79%, but it is at what might be seen as an alarmingly low level among those of progressive political beliefs at 28%, 42% of Progressive or Conservative faith, and 21% secular.

A majority of all groups agree that it is acceptable for Jewish people who do not live in Israel to publicly express their views about the Israeli government, with agreement at the lowest level among conservatives (54%) and those of Modern Orthodox faith (59%), at the highest levels among those of progressive political belief (90%), Progressive or Conservative faith (89%), "just Jewish" (86%) and secular (87%).

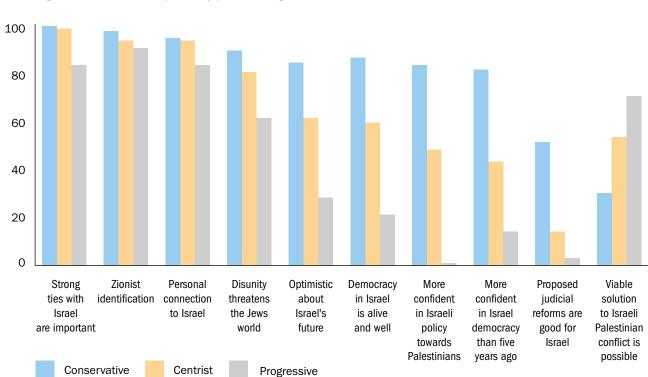


Figure 6: Pattern of response by political alignment

 Table 32 Selected questions by age and sex (Crossroads23 [B], percentage)

	Age 18-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65/+	Female	Male
Consider yourself to be a Zionist – yes	74	74	86	77	77	76	81
High level of personal connectedness to Israel - strongly agree or tend to agree	84	86	89	86	90	89	88
The existence of Israel is essential for the future of the Jewish people – strongly agree or tend to agree	75	80	88	83	90	86	87
Optimistic about Israel's future – strongly agree or tend to agree	31	34	45	45	56	42	56
A viable solution to the Israeli-Palestine conflict is possible – strongly agree or tend agree	54	52	59	59	57	58	55
Democracy in Israel is alive and well - strongly agree or tend to agree	23	37	49	49	48	38	54
Proposed judicial reforms are good for Israel - strongly agree or agree	5	10	14	16	17	10	20
Disunity threatens the Jewish world – strongly agree or tend to agree	71	69	74	71	72	72	72
Acceptable for Jewish people who do not live in Israel to publicly express their views about the Israeli government and its policies  – strongly agree or tend to agree	86	89	76	76	78	78	80
It is important that the Australian Jewish community and Israel maintain close ties - strongly agree or tend to agree	77	84	92	91	93	90	92
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less connected to Israel [Somewhat less, much less]	66 [33]	63 [36]	77 [22]	75 [25]	79 [20]	75 [24]	76 [24]
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor lessconfident that Israel is a democratic country	26	31	30	32	42	30	43
Compared to five years ago I agree much more, somewhat more, neither more nor lesswith Israeli policy on issues related to the Palestinians	32	32	44	36	39	32	45
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less advocating for Israel among my Jewish friends	59	54	62	68	66	61	68
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less confident advocating for Israel among my Jewish friends [Somewhat less, much less]	51 [45]	48 [47]	49 [49]	52 [46]	55 [42]	47 [50]	60 [38]

**Table 33** Political alignment (In general, would you describe your political views as ...?) (Crossroads23 [B], percentage)

	Conservative	Moderate or centrist	Progressive
Consider yourself to be a Zionist – yes	97	93	90
High level of personal connectedness to Israel – strongly agree or tend to agree	94	93	83
The existence of Israel is essential for the future of the Jewish people – strongly agree or tend to agree	100	95	76
Optimistic about Israel's future – strongly agree or tend to agree	84	61	28
A viable solution to the Israeli-Palestine conflict is possible – strongly agree or tend agree	30	53	70
Democracy in Israel is alive and well – strongly agree or tend to agree	86	59	21
Proposed judicial reforms are good for Israel – strongly agree or agree	51	14	3
Disunity threatens the Jewish world – strongly agree or tend to agree	89	80	61
Acceptable for Jewish people who do not live in Israel to publicly express their views about the Israeli government and its policies – strongly agree or tend to agree	54	76	90
It is important that the Australian Jewish community and Israel maintain close ties - strongly agree or tend to agree	99	98	83
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less connected to Israel [Somewhat less, much less]	98 [2]	85 [14]	61 [38]
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor lessconfident that Israel is a democratic country	81%	43	14
Compared to five years ago I agree much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less with Israeli policy on issues related to the Palestinians	83	48	1
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less advocating for Israel among my Jewish friends	93	78	45
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less confident advocating for srael among my Jewish friends [Somewhat less, much less]	84 [13]	64 [33]	33 [64]
N	141	360	443

Table 34 Stream of Judaism (Crossroads23 [B], percentage)

	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Progressive/ Conservative	Just Jewish	Secular
Consider yourself to be a Zionist – yes	94	89	75	75	57
High level of personal connectedness to Israel – strongly agree or tend to agree	96	93	84	88	80
The existence of Israel is essential for the future of the Jewish people – strongly agree or tend to agree	98	96	82	87	68
Optimistic about Israel's future – strongly agree or tend to agree	79	60	42	41	21
A viable solution to the Israeli-Palestine conflict is possible – strongly agree or tend agree	43	50	63	56	70
Democracy in Israel is alive and well – strongly agree or tend to agree	68	60	41	37	19
Proposed judicial reforms are good for Israel – strongly agree or agree	35	18	6	12	5
Disunity threatens the Jewish world – strongly agree or tend to agree	83	78	70	71	57
Acceptable for Jewish people who do not live in Israel to publicly express their views about the Israeli government and its policies – strongly agree or tend to agree	59	71	89	86	87
It is important that the Australian Jewish community and Israel maintain close ties - strongly agree or tend to agree	99	97	91	90	74
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less connected to Israel [Somewhat less, much less]	93 [7]	81 [18]	70 [29]	75 [24]	60 [39]
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less confident that Israel is a democratic country	60	47	27	33	15
Compared to five years ago I agree much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less with Israeli policy on issues related to the Palestinians	64	47	31	34	17
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less advocating for Israel among my Jewish friends	83	76	61	55	44
Compared to five years ago I feel much more, somewhat more, neither more nor less confident advocating for Israel among my Jewish friends [Somewhat less, much less]	72 [24]	63 [34]	47 [50]	42 [56]	36 [60]
N	151	245	232	153	177

#### **APPENDIX 1**

#### **DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE**

**Table 35**Age distribution, Jewish population aged **18-100** 

	Crossroads23 [B]	2021 Census – Jewish population by religion
	% (N in brackets)	%
18-34	9% (95)	22%
35-44	9% (87)	15%
45-54	2% (123)	16%
55-64	19% (187)	15%
65-74	32% (319)	18%
75/+	19% (187)	14%
Missing	1% (8)	
Total	100%	100%
	·	·

**Table 36 Gender, Jewish population aged 18-100** 

	Crossroads23 [B]	2021 Census – Jewish population by religion
	%	%
Male	46%	48%
Female	53%	52%
Total	100%	100%

**Table 37 Country of birth, Jewish population aged 18-100** 

		2021 Census – Jewish population
	Crossroads23 [B]	by religion
	%	%
Australia	55%	56%
South Africa	11%	13%
Israel	10%	7%
United	6%	4%
Kingdom		
Russian	1%	3%
Federation/		
Ukraine		
USA	3%	3%
Hungary	2%	1%
Poland	2%	1%
New Zealand	2%	1%

**Table 38**Location – state in which currently live, Jewish population aged 18-100

	Crossroads23 [B]	2021 Census – Jewish population by religion
	%	<u> </u>
Victoria	50%	47%
NSW	37%	40%
Queensland	7%	5%
Western Australia	2%	6%
ACT	2%	1%
South Australia	1%	1%
Total	100%	100%

**Table 39**Number of times visited Israel

	Crossroads23 [B]	Gen17
	%	%
Never	4	7
Once	9	13
Twice	13	15
Three or more	74	65
Prefer not to say	0	0
Total	100	100

**Table 40**Longest time spent in Israel (excludes born in Israel)

Crossroads23 [B]	Gen17
%	%
5	6
22	28
32	34
13	12
17	15
11	6
0	
100	100
	% 5 22 32 13 17 11 0

**Table 41**Close family living in Israel

	Crossroads23 [B]	Gen17
	%	%
Yes	72	65
No	27	34
Prefer not to say	1	1
Total	100	100

**Table 42**Close friends in Israel

	Crossroads23 [B]	Gen17
	%	%
Yes	72	59
No	28	40
Prefer not to say	1	1
Total	100	100

**Table 43**Political views

	Crossroads23 [B]	
	%	
Very conservative	1	
Conservative	14	
Moderate or centrist	36	
Progressive	44	
Radical	2	
Prefer not to say/ Other	2	
Total	100	

**Table 44**Religious identification/stream of Judaism

	Crossroads23 [B]	Gen17/ communal data
	%	
Strictly Orthodox/ Modern Orthodox	16	22
Traditional	24	30
Progressive/ Reform/ Conservative	23	14
Just Jewish	15	12
Secular	18	21
Total	100	100

## **APPENDIX 2**

#### QUESTIONNAIRE, KOL HA'AM SURVEY 2023

Q1		Q3
ALL		ALL
what t	ugh there are different opinions abo the term Zionism means, in general onsider yourself to be a Zionist?	To what extent do you keep up with current events which involve Israel? Would you say  Please select one answer
<ol> <li>Yes</li> <li>No</li> <li>Do</li> </ol>		1. A lot 2. Quite a lot 3. A little 4. Not at all 5. Don't know 6. Prefer not to say
ALL		Q4
which you fe		 ALL except Q3, response 4  To what extent have you followed the discussion of judicial reform proposals in
1. I do	select one answer o not feel any different about it than I ould if another important foreign country ere in the same sort of danger eel rather more concerned than if	Israel? Please select one answer  1. A lot  2. Quite a lot
3. I fe	other country was in the same situation cel a special concern because it is Israel d not some other country in danger	<ul><li>3. A little</li><li>4. Not at all</li><li>5. Don't know</li></ul>
the	reaction is so strong that it is almost e same as if my own life was in danger on't know	6. Prefer not to say
	efer not to sav	

#### ALL

#### To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Please select one answer on each row

		Strongly agree	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	Strongly disagree	No opinion	Don't know	Prefer not to say
1.	Democracy in Israel is alive and well							
2.	I feel a high level of personal connectedness to Israel							
3.	There is too much corruption in Israel's political system							
4.	Orthodox Judaism has too much influence in Israel's society							
5.	Israeli control of the West Bank (Judea/Samaria) is vital for Israel's security							
6.	I feel more secure knowing I could go to Israel if antisemitism increased in Australia							
7.	The existence of Israel is essential for the future of the Jewish people							
8.	The proposed judicial reforms are good for Israel							
9.	Disunity threatens the Jewish world							
10.	A viable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is possible							
11.	It is acceptable for Jewish people who do not live in Israel to publicly express their views about the Israeli government and its policies							
12.	It is important that the Australian Jewish community and Israel maintain close ties							
13.	Israelis do not care what Diaspora Jews think about Israel's government or its policies							
14.	I am optimistic about Israel's future							

Compared to five years ago	
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Please select one answer on each row

		Much more	Somewhat more	Neither more nor less	Somewhat less	Much less	No opinion	Don't know/ Prefer not to say
1.	I feel more/ less connected to Israel							
2.	I feel more/ less confident that Israel is a democratic country							
3.	I agree more / less with Israeli policy on issues related to the Palestinians							
4.	I feel more/less confident advocating for Israel among my Jewish friends							
5.	I feel more/less confident advocating for Israel among my non-Jewish friends							

#### Q7

#### ALL

The President of Israel has initiated a process to consult with Diaspora communities.

On which of the following issues in Israel do you think Diaspora Jews should voice an opinion?

Mark as many as you consider to be important

1.	Jewish status (who is a Jew, conversion)	7.	Women's rights	
2.	The role of Orthodox Judaism	8.	LGBTQI+ rights	
3.	Recognition of pluralism in Israel	9.	Security	
4.	Status of Holy places	10.	Situation of Palestinians in the	
5.	Judicial reform		West Bank/Gaza	
6.	Arab citizenship rights	11.	Other (please specify)	

ALL

The President of Israel has initiated a process to consult with Diaspora communities.

On which of the following issues in Israel do you think Diaspora Jews should voice an opinion?

Select the three most important to you, in order of importance

		1 <sup>st</sup> (most important)	2nd	3rd
1.	Jewish status (who is a Jew, conversion)			
2.	The role of Orthodox Judaism			
3.	Recognition of pluralism in Israel			
4.	Status of Holy places			
5.	Judicial reform			
6.	Arab citizenship rights			
7.	Women's rights			
8.	LGBTQI+ rights			
9.	Security			
10.	Situation of Palestinians in the West Bank/ Gaza			
11.	Other (please specify)			

## **DEMOGRAPHIC**

Q9	Q11	
ALL	ALL	
What age are you?	In which country were you born?	
1. 18-24	Please select one answer	
2. 25-34	1. Australia	
3. 35-44	2. South Africa	
4. 45-54	3. Russian Federation/USSR	
5. 55-64	4. Ukraine	
6. 65-74	5. Israel	
7. 75-84	6. New Zealand	
8. 85 or older	7. United Kingdom	
9. Prefer not to say	8. United States of America	
	9. France	
	10. Germany	
Q10	11. Hungary	
	 12. Poland	
ALL	13. Other country (please specify)	
Are you?		
Please select one answer		
1. Male	Q12	
2. Female	ALL	
3. Non-binary/ Other		
4. Prefer not to say	In which state or territory do you curren	tly live?
	Please select one answer	
	1. Victoria	
	2. New South Wales	
	3. Western Australia	
	4. Queensland	
	5. South Australia	
	6. ACT	
	7. Tasmania	
	8 Northern Territory	

Q13	Q15
ALL	IF NOT BORN IN ISRAEL (NOT Q11, response 5)
Which of the following best describes you religious beliefs, even if none of the option is exactly right?	ons you visited Israel?
Please select one answer	Please select one answer
Strictly Orthodox/ Haredi	1. Never
Modern Orthodox	2. Once
Traditional	3. Twice
Progressive/Reform/Conservative	4. Three or more times
5. Just Jewish	5. Don't know
6. Secular	6. Prefer not to say
<ul><li>7. Prefer not to say</li><li>8. Other (please specify)</li></ul>	<b>Q16</b>
<b>Q14</b>	IF NOT BORN IN ISRAEL (NOT Q11, response 5)  What was the longest time you spent in Israel
Q±+	at any one visit?
ALL	Please select one answer
In general, would you describe your politi	ical 1. Less than 2 weeks
views as?	2. weeks but less than 1 month
Please select one answer	3. month but less than 4 months
1. Very conservative	4. months but less than 12 months
2. Conservative	5. year but less than 3 years
3. Moderate or centrist	6. years or more
4. Progressive	7. Don't know
5. Radical	8. Prefer not to say
6. I don't know	
7. Prefer not to answer	
8. Other (please specify)	

3. 2021

ALL

wr	ien were you last in Israel?	
Plea	ase select one answer	
1.	2023	
2.	2022	

4. 2020
 5. 2019
 6. 2018
 7. 2017 or earlier

8. Prefer not to say

**Q18** 

ALL

Have you any ...?

Please select one answer per column

		living in Israel?	living in Israel?
1.	Yes		
2.	No		
3.	Don't know		
4.	Prefer not to say		

**Q19** 

ALL

Please indicate you organisational membership or affiliation

Pleas	se select all that apply	
1.	UIA	
2.	JNF	
3.	Jewish day school parent organisation or board	
4.	Jewish Care	
5.	Zionist youth movement	
6.	AUJS	
7.	WIZO	
8.	National Council of Jewish Women	
9.	Australian Federation of Russian Jewry	
10.	Maccabi	
11.	Ameinu	
12.	Friends of Likud	
13.	ARZA	
14.	Meretz	
15.	Mercaz Masorti	
16.	Plus61J	
17.	NIF	
18.	Prefer not to say	

19. Other(s) (please write)

ALL

PF		

٠.	What do you think are the critical challenges facing the Jewish people over the next three years?
	What do you see as the Australian Jewish community's responsibilities to Israel, if any?





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