

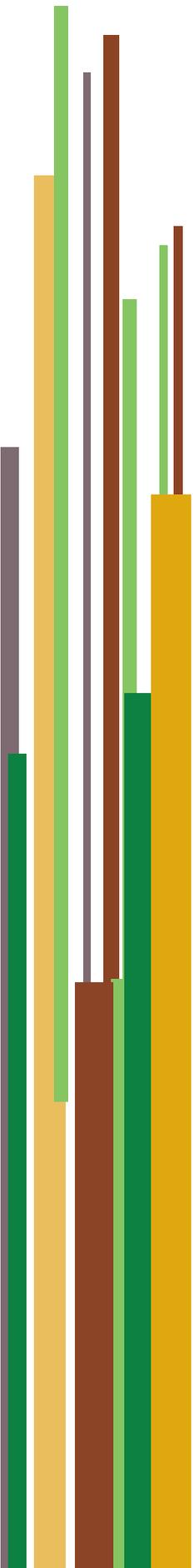
# Cosmopolitan but slightly worried

## Survey of Young Italian Jews



Associazione di Cultura Ebraica  
**HANS JONAS**

JDC International Centre  
for Community Development



# Cosmopolitan but slightly worried

## Survey of Young Italian Jews

August 2012

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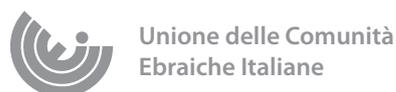
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## Foreword

The following survey is the product of a richly rewarding partnership between JDC-ICCD and the Rome-based Hans Jonas Association for Jewish Culture. Since the latter's founding in 2009, the JDC has provided it with assistance and training seminars, helping a young generation of Italian Jewish leaders create the new association.

This survey is a product of that collaborative process, born from our partners' need to better assess the realities surrounding their daily lives. From the outset it was agreed that the students and members of the association would be involved in all aspects of the survey.

This applied research contributes to the field of "emerging adulthood" studies. Over the last few years, scholarly works identifying a new and distinct stage of life—one placed between the teenage years and adulthood—have flourished in the academic landscape.<sup>1</sup> Alternatively labeled "extended adolescence," "adulthood," or "young adulthood," experts agree that a series of sociocultural and psychological transformations occurring during "late modernity" produced this new stage of life.

New technologies and recent phenomena (delayed marriage and pregnancy, feelings of instability and uncertainty about the future, an openness to following non-traditional lifestyles) are experienced alongside young people's first real professional experiences.

"Rather than viewing these years as simply the last hurrah of adolescence or an early stage of real adulthood, it recognizes the very unique characteristics of this new and particular phase of life," concludes sociologist Christian Smith.<sup>2</sup>

These transformations—with their strong impact on the fabric of communal life—are being closely followed by the Jewish organized world. Recent studies in the US and Europe have focused on younger generations of Jews, identifying common threads woven among them all around the world.<sup>3</sup> Jewish young adults' changing patterns of Jewish identification and affiliation, the roles of religion and secularism in their lives, their feelings about Israel, the Middle East conflict and intermarriage are all key elements of concern.

Starting from its very title, "Cosmopolitan, but slightly worried," the authors take a somewhat concerned stance on the question of Jewish Italian young adults. The portrait that they draw could be universally shared: oscillating between tradition and change, proud of their origins and their country yet uncertain about their future, fully supportive of Israel but not at any price, outward looking yet vigilant about any sign of anti-Semitism.

The implications of this generational shift for on Jewish life are becoming increasingly visible. Being able to grasp these changes in order to better adapt our programs and policy is one of the most crucial aspects we face today.

Marcelo Dimentstein

Operations Director

JDC International Centre for Community Development

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<sup>1</sup> See: Jeffrey Jensen Arnett, *Emerging Adulthood: The Winding Road from the Late Teens through the Twenties*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); Richard Settersten and Barbara Ray, *Not Quite Adults: Why 20-Somethings Are Choosing a Slower Path to Adulthood, and Why It's Good for Everyone*, (Bantam Books, New York, 2010); and Christian Smith, et.al., *Lost in Transition: The Dark Side of Emerging Adulthood*, (Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *Ibid.*, p. 15

<sup>3</sup> See: Jack Wertheimer (et. al.), "Generation of Change: How Leaders in their Twenties and Thirties are Reshaping American Jewish Life," (AVI CHAI Foundation, September 2010); Anna Greenberg, "Grande Soy Vanilla Late with Cinnamon, No Foam..." *Jewish Identity and Community in the Time of Unlimited Choices*, (Reboot, 2005); JDC International Centre for Community Development, "*Identity à la carte*. Research on Jewish identities, participation and affiliation in five Eastern European countries", Oxford, 2011 ; David Graham and Jonathan Boyd, "Home and Away: Jewish journeys towards independence. Key findings from the 2011 National Jewish Student Survey," Institute for Jewish Policy Research, (London, 2011).

## Foreword

*Keep Ithaca always in your mind.  
Arriving there is what you're destined for.  
But don't hurry the journey at all.  
Better if it lasts for years,  
so you're old by the time you reach the island,  
wealthy with all you've gained on the way,  
not expecting Ithaca to make you rich.  
Ithaca gave you the marvelous journey.  
Without her you wouldn't have set out.  
She has nothing left to give you now.*

– Konstantinos Kavafis

The idea of conducting a survey of young Italian Jews goes back a long way. During the 2006 Conference of UCEI, the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, the youths present called for the development of a youth leadership program, as well as stressing the need for social research on the young population. Indeed, during the years of student activism, we realized these two aforementioned elements were entirely absent. Instead, that area of community life was dominated by an improvisational makeshift approach, in spite of an often genuine willingness to be of assistance.

The Hans Jonas Association for Jewish Culture was founded in September 2009 for these very reasons and immediately began collaborating with the Jewish institutions of Italy. Since then, in a relatively short period of time, we have organized two cycles of the Hans Jonas Master's degree for students aged 18-35, and raised awareness for our association through various public initiatives on topical, news-related issues. Our courses are divided into two main areas: on the one hand, developing practical and professional skills; on the other, providing in-depth analysis of Jewish history, the globalized society, plus issues of identity, secularism and representation.

After reading the following study, it is very clear that there is a huge need for reflection. Italian Jews are experimenting with a new aspect of their identity, namely, being one of many minorities. They share the general concern over a society undergoing rapid transformation, over the general sense of precariousness of their lives and the weakening of social bonds. At the same time, they fear the effects of a new wave of anti-Semitism. And even at a time when those living in the West enjoy high levels of prosperity, there are still reasons to fear for the future of the State of Israel and to call for the resolution of the increasingly harsh Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These sentiments must be understood if one is to propose answers and implement concrete initiatives.

The book from which this survey was taken<sup>1</sup> was designed to provide both young Italian Jews and leaders of Italian Judaism with a useful tool and an opportunity to contemplate the issues they are dealing with. It is an initial survey on the condition of young Jews and their self-image, and methodologically speaking it could provide the basis for a more general investigation. We hope the survey not only generates ideas, but provokes action: the future of Italian Judaism depends, to a large extent, on how the new generations develop and grow. Many fear that Italian Judaism may be "on the verge of extinction", and indeed a certain degree of pessimism is justified by an analysis of population trends. The only way to counteract this pessimism, in our view, is to envisage policies, projects and initiatives that are both effective and timely.

Young Italian Jews are in a unique position as they are part of a minority community, and at the same time have many points in common with their non-Jewish peers in Italy, as one would expect.

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<sup>1</sup> The following survey was originally published in Italian and appeared in the book, Saul Meghnagi (a cura), *Cittadini del mondo, un po' preoccupati. Una ricerca sui giovani ebrei italiani*, Quaderni dell'Associazione di Cultura Ebraica Hans Jonas, Giuntina, 2011.

In this sense, the survey as well as the entire book, makes for interesting reading for non-Jews as well, if only as a comparative exercise. In conclusion, this is just the first of many milestones to be reached, on a long journey that ultimately branches off, taking each reader down a different road. And that's a good thing, for in order to tackle the issues at hand, the last things we need are blind consensus, easy shortcuts or shallow superficiality. On the contrary, what we need is an open and frank discussion and the strength to propose concrete ideas for the path ahead. At any rate, we are committed to trying and doing our share.

Tobia Zevi

President

Association of Jewish Culture Hans Jonas

## Executive Summary

### Overview

The following survey<sup>1</sup> conducted by the Hans Jonas Association for Jewish Culture, sampling young Italian Jews, took place over a two-year period (2010-2011) in parallel with the Master's Degree on "Judaism in Modernity" offered by the same association. The same students who attended the MA course were involved in conducting the survey and analyzing its results.

144 young adults aged 18-35 coming from communities all over Italy were surveyed through an online questionnaire. Participants presented different levels of religious observance.

### Judaism and Involvement in the Jewish Community

Survey results showed that **45% of young Italian Jews cited culture as the most important definition of Judaism**, over family bonds (28%), religion (21%) and emotional ties (6%). Interestingly, 46% of participants declared being at least as religious as their parents and 32% even more religious. 72% agreed or strongly agreed with the idea that their being Jewish doesn't conflict with allegiance to one's country.

**The Jewish community was perceived by 26% of respondents as a place of encounter, exchange, and mutual support or as responsible for safeguarding the rights of the Jewish minority (26%). The community as a guarantee of religious or moral support was important for 23%.** Respondents—especially those who were members of smaller communities—said they frequented their communities and attended the programs they organized. The 30-35 year-old cohort appears to be the least attracted by their community's social life, demonstrating less participation in the life of the community (56% declared hardly ever attending young adult programs). Yet, a majority (63%) believed that their being Jewish is not contingent upon belonging to Jewish institutions.

### Mixed Marriages

Young Italian Jews are **divided over the issue of life partners and mixed marriages**. In large communities participants were almost evenly split between those who agreed or strongly agreed (totaling 46%) that a family's

Jewish status was closely connected to having a Jewish partner, and those who disagreed or strongly disagreed (54%) with that stance. Smaller communities showed even a more pronounced disagreement with that view (72%). **Likewise, when asked if it is possible to create a Jewish family even if one of the spouses is not Jewish, participants from smaller communities overwhelmingly supported that idea with 77%, while those from larger communities tended to be more equally divided over the issue (56% agreement vs. 44% disagreement).**

Not surprisingly, in the era of individual choice and romantic love, all participants prioritized issues like "being in love" and "respecting and understanding the other person's family traditions" over "practicing the same religion" as key aspects when two people wish to marry.

### Israel

**Young Italian Jews are proud of Israel**—some even expressed admiration for it—viewing it as a model of democracy even by Western standards. They nonetheless agreed (71%) that it is possible to criticize the Israeli government, even outside the Jewish community, but it should be done carefully. Large and small communities alike share this position, but large communities tend to be more cautious in this respect (68% in large communities vs. 77% in small ones).

**The great majority of respondents (92%) did not view moving to Israel as a necessary condition for the future of Judaism.** This view may be due, on the one hand, to the fact that young respondents were deeply rooted in the Italian culture and society, as well as to the fact that Israel is no longer perceived as the only possible destination and homeland of the Jewish people. Not even the most observant respondents viewed emigrating to Israel as a key to the future of Judaism.

**Answers regarding Israel as a preferred destination for work/study varied depending on age group and level of religious observance:** older respondents were more keen on the idea of moving to Israel than younger ones (68% vs. 48%), much as those who were more observant were more in agreement with the choice of Israel as a preferred destination (43% vs. 73%).

It is interesting to note the differences of opinions between those living in large and small communities. In fact, **respondents living in larger communities had a stronger connection with the State of Israel compared with those in smaller ones:** they more strongly believed that Israel is a model of democracy than youngsters from small communities (86% vs. 68%), they were less inclined

<sup>1</sup> Italian edition: S. Meghnagi (ed.), *Cittadini del mondo, un po' preoccupati*, Giuntina, Florence 2011.

to agree that one can criticize the Israeli government, both within and outside the Jewish community, but cautious (68% vs. 77%) and finally, they were more willing to move to Israel to study (60% vs. 38%).

## Relationship with other minorities

**Only few respondents (15%) agreed with the sentence A Jew can be compared with an immigrant**, probably because they felt strong and did not feel there were any doubts about their status as Italian citizens. Even though a large number of participants (46% in large communities and 60% in small ones) recorded witnessing incidents of discrimination in the last six months, they generally did not see themselves as victims of this discrimination. The question of the relationship between Jews and immigrants is more delicate: **it was above all in the small communities where youngsters reported immigrants being hostile towards Jews (43%).**

# Introduction

## Young Italian Jews: Survey Results

by Saul Meghnagi and Elisa Cavicchiolo

### I. Survey design

“The social group we are about to survey represents a small minority within a larger population. From a methodological viewpoint, this implies some complex issues connected with defining, identifying and counting that minority...”<sup>1</sup>

These were the opening remarks made by Sergio Della Pergola at the beginning of his important 1976 survey of Italian Jews, before identifying and circumscribing the object of his statistical research. Forty years later, we found ourselves facing a similar problem as we prepared to survey the views of young Italian Jews. In the first part of the book from which this survey is taken<sup>2</sup>, we have recalled a number of issues connected with Jewish emancipation—the Jews’ full participation in the social development of their countries of residence, the difficulties and even the tragedies which accompanied that process, and the revival of Jews’ interest in their own identity over the past few decades. We have illustrated the Israeli authorities’ response when the need arose to determine ‘who is a Jew’ in one of the fundamental laws of the fledgling State. We also recalled the discussion that developed within the Italian Jewish youth organizations. Parallel to that, in the first chapter of the second part of this volume we have outlined recent studies of contemporary Italian young adults.

The resulting picture made it possible to fine-tune the survey’s goals, develop our methodology, build our research tools, and collect and process information.

As for the study’s goals, we formulated several basic assumptions, which rest upon some of Israeli philosopher Avishai Margalit’s contentions: a society can only achieve its most ambitious standards of fairness and justice if it embarks upon an attempt at becoming decent, i.e. a society where none of the members are humiliated, and where ‘the institutions never violate the dignity of persons’.<sup>3</sup>

Margalit draws a distinction between those societies whose members do not humiliate each other—which he calls ‘civil societies’—and those whose institutions do not humiliate any of the members—which he calls ‘decent societies’. He also considers that clear and officially defined rules need to be established by a political decision-making process, and that these rules should be established in such a way as to prevent discrimination against people, families or groups, so that similar non-discriminatory behavior spreads as a consequence. Humiliation, Margalit maintains, destroys self-respect, mortifies personal honor, and causes exclusion and self-exclusion.

The notion of a decent society thus seems to set forth a minimal, acceptable and reasonable objective, and at the same time renouncing the more ambitious goals of fairness and justice for the time being. Margalit believes it makes no sense to establish these latter goals based upon an abstract idea of society without unequivocally raising the issue of the relationship between *not humiliating others* and *not being humiliated*.

<sup>1</sup> S. Della Pergola, *Anatomia dell'ebraismo italiano*, Beniamino Carucci Editore, Assisi-Roma 1976, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See note 1 of the Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Margalit, *The Decent Society*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1996.

Identifying this essential need for respect, appreciation, and honor presupposes recognition of individuals, first by the institutions and then by all members of society. Further clarification of this aspect will be useful. Italian sociologist Alessandro Pizzorno suggests that collectives

‘are not composed of individuals, but of a set of social relations that may be occupied by any individual member. What differentiates between collectives is the structure of the relations of which they are comprised’.<sup>4</sup>

Individuals are not excluded from this attention to institutions, as even individuals’ orientation of behaviors and views ‘depends on how we conceive and regulate our moral conduct in our daily lives and our political action in our public sphere’.<sup>5</sup>

In this regard, we carried out the survey with a view to examining the characteristics of young Italian Jews, their ways of thinking and their views. In so doing, we focused on their respect and recognition of themselves and of others, as individuals and as groups.

The methodology we adopted—to start by defining our working hypotheses, then building our tools and finally organizing the collection of information—involved holding a number of training workshops within the framework of the Master’s degree promoted and organized by the newly created Hans Jonas Association for Jewish Culture.<sup>6</sup> This involved 46 young Italian Jews of varying ages and backgrounds, with whom we shared some of our ideas and considerations, explaining which scholarly works had inspired our approach, and setting forth the following hypotheses, which to a large extent we incorporated as the basis of the questionnaires we used in collecting data for our survey:

- One of the chief difficulties of young Italian is finding employment, but this is not the only cause of their instability and insecurity. As shown by recent studies, the perception of being excluded concerns a great many more people than statistics account for, and this state tends to become differentiated and chronic, if not translated into actual marginalization.<sup>7</sup>
- Another important cause of malaise among young Italians can be traced back to the growing fragility of Italian families, historically a central institution in the country’s traditional society. These changes are the result of the increasing number of separations and the rise in the average age of the Italian population. Such changes have brought to the forefront a new and thus far unmet social demand, connected to young people’s ideal life prospects;
- The transition of Western economies and societies to new arrangements—impelled primarily by the decline of the economic model based on wage labor<sup>8</sup>—demands that workers accept<sup>9</sup> a degree of flexibility and adaptability, implying their willingness to change place of residence, schedules and life plans. Young Italian Jews are fully aware of that need and are willing to draw the inevitable practical conclusions.
- The growing individualization of labor relations compels younger workers to

4 A. Pizzorno, *Il velo della diversità*, Feltrinelli, Milano 2007, p. 133.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

6 For a description of the nature and content of those workshops, see the Introduction by Tobia Zevi.

7 A recommended reading containing extensive references to European literature and statistics is C. Saraceno (ed.), *Social Assistance Dynamics in Europe*, Policy Press, Bristol 2002.

8 R. Castel, *Les métamorphoses de la question sociale*, Fayard, Paris, 1995.

9 E. Reyneri, *Sociologia del mercato del lavoro*, il Mulino, Bologna, 2002.

recycle themselves professionally, but more than that, to allow themselves the time and space required to regain control over their own lives, to meditate past experiences, and to prepare for future choices.<sup>10</sup> The ongoing transition from a *society of labor* to a *society of many different jobs* with a growing number of 'contingent' workers requires a high degree of professional skills to be acquired through more and more study and training experiences both in Italy and abroad—a trend viewed as 'normal' by most young Italian Jews.

- As the ongoing change is not only economic but also socio-demographic, this has led to the emergence of different approaches in the way each person addresses the increasing diversity characterizing each country, and within it the native population as well as recent immigrants. The process of European unification has now also led, on the one hand, to the attachment of value to legitimate national sentiments and emphasis often placed on a common history, culture and traditions, yet on the other hand, a simultaneous reassertion of parochial values—and Jewish communities are not immune from this trend.
- One consequence of the latter development, which has a bearing upon immigrants first and foremost, but also involves Jews, is the increasing spread of radical hostility to the presence of different sensitivities and cultures in Italy. Even many Italians who support multi-ethnicity tend to display excessive caution or resistance, and an inclination to try to contain, if not reject, the influx of persons with a different historical and ethnic background—or just simply with different direct and indirect experiences—into the country and its social discourse.

The assessment of the past, the perception of the present, and future prospects seem increasingly connected to socio-cultural dynamics. Against this backdrop, the changes we have briefly outlined above do not only require better investigation and education, but also demand greater sensitivity and ability in dealing with the changes taking place in a system of certainties and relations once viewed as well-established; in roles that were never expected to change at such speed; in the new and different division of responsibilities between men and women; in inter-generational dynamics; and in dealing with the increased diversity of contemporary Italian society. All of this demands that Italians act rationally when making decisions that are bound to impact their future.<sup>11</sup> Among other factors, this new and more open mindset is leading social scientists and researchers to more thoroughly investigate the diversification and complexity of Italian society today and the complicated issue of identity as they try to overcome the crisis of the paradigms used thus far to interpret the ongoing transformations of society, and to introduce new tools for its understanding.<sup>12</sup>

The curriculum of the Hans Jonas Master's Degree was designed to involve participants in a study of these issues based upon their direct experiences as young Italian Jews who are actively engaged in their communities and in civil society, albeit in different ways. We discussed with them how to best build the survey sample (see Annex 1).<sup>13</sup> It was also possible to produce a detailed description of the young respondents (see Annex 2).

As for the survey, the obvious choice was naturally to entrust the same Hans Jonas

10 See A. Touraine, *Libertà, uguaglianza, diversità, Si può vivere insieme?*, il Saggiatore, Milano [1997] 2002.

11 In this regard, see J. Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, Belknap, Cambridge, 1971. For additional references, see also N. Bobbio, *Destra e sinistra*, Donzelli, Roma [1994] 2004.

12 See A. Pizzorno, "Sul confronto intertemporale delle utilità", in 'Stato e mercato' no. 16, 1986, pp. 3-25; A. Pizzorno, "Spiegazione come reidentificazione", in 'Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia' no. 2, 1989, pp. 161-181.

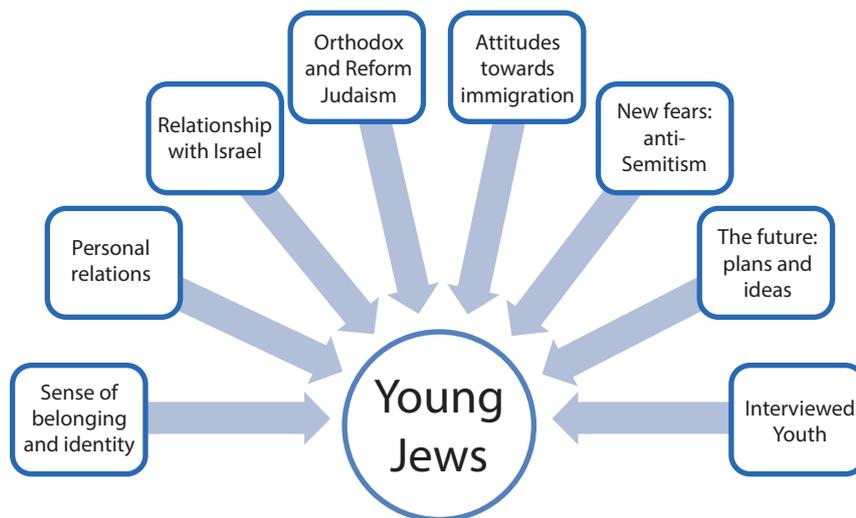
13 See Annex 1. For that purpose we have recruited as a consultant Prof. E. Campelli (University of Rome), whose advice was decisive. In taking full responsibility for the results, we wish to express our gratitude to him and to Ms. G. Arbib, director of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities (UCEI), for sharing the information that made the sampling possible.

students with the design of the questionnaire's structure, the collection of information by telephone, and the provision of assistance to respondents when filling out the survey by computer.

Finally, when it came to organize the treatment of data we decided, in view of jointly examining the results, to display the main figures in the body of the text, and to reserve an extensive annex for the detailed breakdown of the survey results.<sup>14</sup>

In the present volume, we have arranged the content and tables in the same form, according to the following macro-areas, each of which is dealt with in a separate section:

- Sense of belonging and identity
- Personal relations
- Relationship with Israel
- Orthodox and Reform Judaism
- Attitudes towards immigration
- New fears: anti-Semitism
- The future: plans and ideas



<sup>14</sup> Due to length restrictions, this annex could not be included in the English version.

## 2. Sense of belonging and identity

When asked to identify the key characteristics of being Jewish, the young respondents put the greatest emphasis on the cultural side, followed by family, religion and then the emotional arena. Young adults in both large and small communities highlighted the cultural aspect as central to their definition of being Jewish, recording respective scores of 40,9% and 52,3%. There are also only minimal differences between large and small communities' perceptions in the other categories (family, religion and emotional).



	All respondents	Large Communities	Small Communities
Religion	21%	22,7%	18,2%
Emotional	6%	5,7%	6,8%
Family	28%	30,7%	22,7%
Cultural	45%	40,9%	52,3%
Total	100%	100%	100%

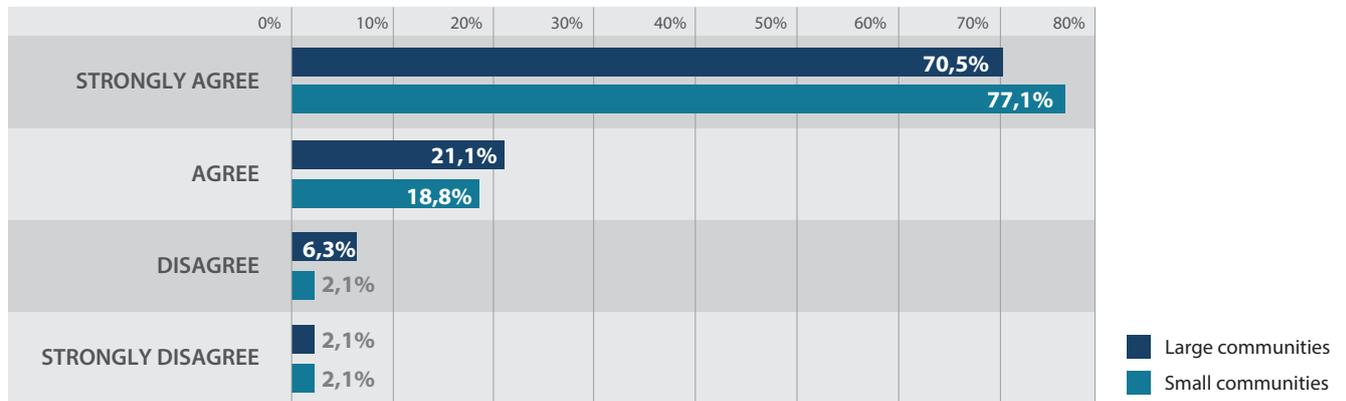
When asked to choose a word that embodied the meaning of being Jewish, the young adults first chose being a people, followed by a common bond, a shared experience and finally a religion. Once again, there were no significant differences between the options chosen by those living in large and small communities.



	All respondents	Large Communities	Small Communities
A people	65%	62,4%	35,5%
A religion	6%	6,5%	3,2%
A shared experience	8%	8,6%	3,2%
A common bond	21%	22,6%	8,6%
Total	100%	100%	100%

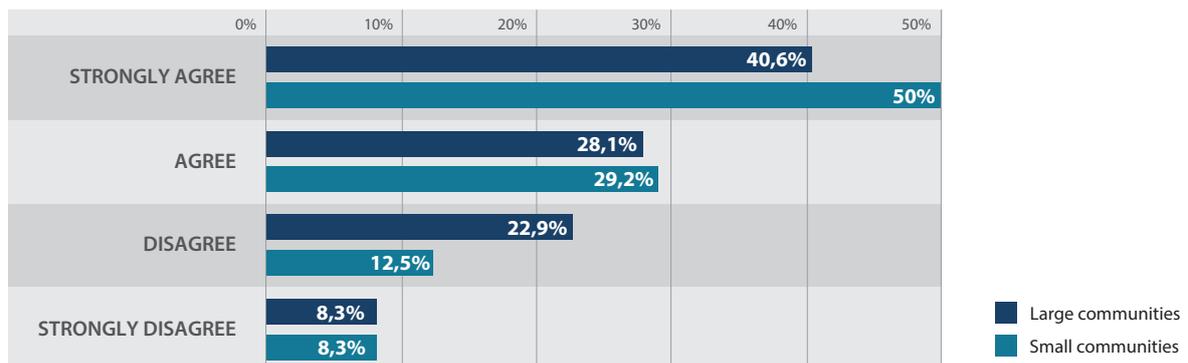
Young adults believe that safeguarding every culture is a fundamental value: 70,5% in large communities and 77,1% in small ones strongly agree with the statement.

Figure 47. Safeguarding every culture is a fundamental value



The sample group of young adults basically agreed with the fact that being Jewish does not conflict with belonging to one’s country: 40,6% in large communities and 50% in small ones strongly agreed. Concerning those who disagree, there were more young adults from large communities (22,9%) compared with those from small ones (12,5%). The percentage of those agreeing with the statement increases with a high educational qualification: young adults with low level qualifications who strongly agree amount to 30%, while those with medium level qualifications (up to a diploma) reach 40,8%, and those with the highest qualifications almost reach 50%.

Figure 23. Being Jewish does not conflict with belonging to one’s country

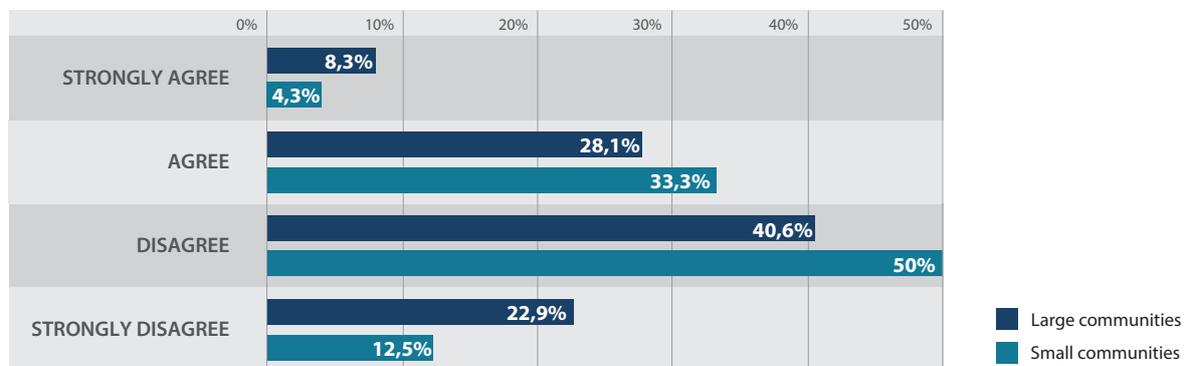


Q23

Qualification Level			
	<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>
Strongly disagree	10,0%	11,3%	4,8%
Disagree	30,0%	21,1%	15,9%
Agree	30,0%	26,8%	30,2%
Strongly Agree	30,0%	40,8%	49,2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

The young people do not firmly agree with the statement that being Jewish is subject to belonging to a Jewish community. The total of those who strongly agree and agree with this statement reaches 37,5% in small communities and 36,4% in large ones. In other terms, the majority of young adults disagree or strongly disagree with this statement, but in only slightly greater numbers than those who agree. The position is also unclear in connection with keeping Shabbat. Indeed, percentages fluctuate without indicating a definite position: for example, while those who are quite observant disagree with the statement (50%), the majority of those who are very observant actually agree (48,1%).

Figure 7. Being Jewish is contingent upon belonging to a Jewish community/institution

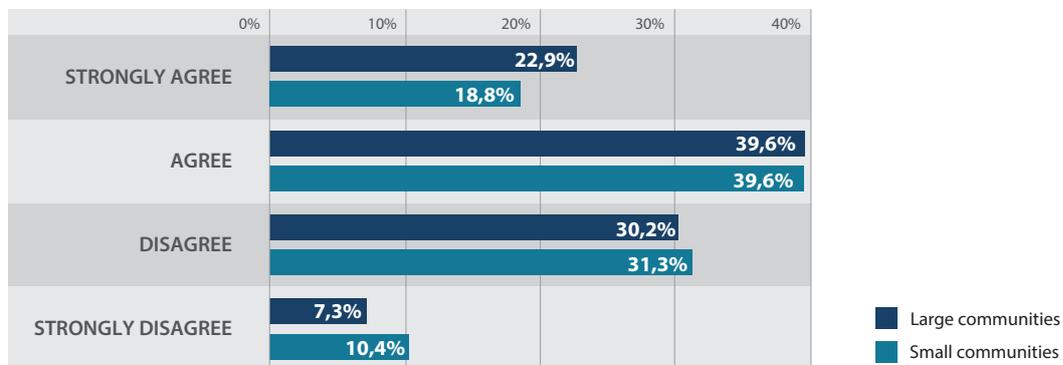


Q7

Keeping Shabbat				
	<i>Not observant</i>	<i>Slightly observant</i>	<i>Quite observant</i>	<i>Extremely observant</i>
Strongly disagree	21,2%	21,2%	16,7%	14,8%
Disagree	53,0%	33,3%	50,0%	29,6%
Agree	19,7%	39,4%	22,2%	48,1%
Strongly Agree	6,1%	6,1%	11,1%	7,4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Even if the majority of those questioned agree or strongly agree that without a Jewish community Judaism is destined to die out (the combination of large and small communities amounts to roughly 60%), here again, the young adults' position on this question is not unequivocal, as a conspicuous number of them disagree or strongly disagree with this statement. An analysis of the results by gender shows that men are more inclined than women to link Judaism with the presence of a local Jewish community (66,6% of men agree or strongly agree, compared with 55,5% of women). Breaking down the figures based on attendance of Jewish school shows that those who have attended agree more than those who have not attended. For example, the percentages of those who strongly agree range between 16,7% for those who have not attended Jewish school, and 26,4% for those who have.

**Figure 8. In areas with no Jewish communities/institutions, Judaism is doomed to extinction**



**Q8**

	Gender		Attended Jewish School	
	Men	Women	No	Yes
Strongly disagree	12,5%	4,2%	8,3%	8,3%
Disagree	20,8%	40,3%	37,5%	23,6%
Agree	33,3%	45,8%	37,5%	41,7%
Strongly agree	33,3%	9,7%	16,7%	26,4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

According to the young adults, the task of Jewish institutions in Italy is mainly linked to the provision of a place to meet or exchange ideas, to guarantee religious and moral support and to safeguard the rights of the Jewish minority. Young adults place less importance on the role of political representation outside the community. The percentages diverge slightly between large and small communities: in the former, the highest percentage sees the community as a place of meeting and exchange, while for the latter, the community guarantees religious and moral support. What's more, while the answers are fairly evenly distributed in large communities, in the small ones there are higher values for the

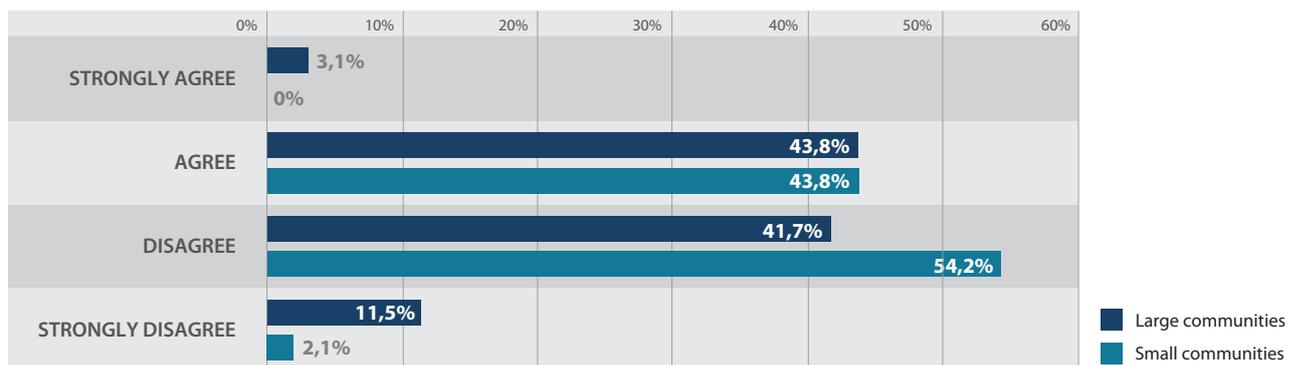
**GUARANTEE-SUPPORT** POLITICAL-REPRESENTATION  
**SAFEGUARDING-RIGHTS**  
**MEETING-PLACE**  
**PROVISION-OF-SERVICES**

safeguarding of rights, religious and moral support, and a place for exchanges, while the other options have less resonance.

	All respondents	Large Communities	Small Communities
Provision of services	15%	14,9%	13,8%
Political representation outside the community	11%	13,8%	5,3%
Safeguarding the rights of the Jewish minority	26%	24,5%	27,7%
Guarantee religious/moral support	23%	19,7%	28,7%
Provide a place to meet/ exchange ideas	26%	27,1%	24,5%
Total	100%	100%	100%

The young adults’ position on the effectiveness of the Jewish communities in carrying out their tasks is concentrated in the middle range of responses: 43,8% in both large and small communities agree with the statement, while 54,2% of those in small communities and 41,7% of those in large ones disagree. As for gender, a high percentage of men strongly disagree that the Jewish community is effective in its operations (13,9%), while the women take a more moderate position.

Figure 14. The Jewish communities are generally efficient in performing their tasks





The next group of questions investigates the level of culture of the young adults interviewed, considering activities conducted over the four previous months. Regarding the number of visits to exhibitions or museums, young adults in both large and small communities ticked the option '1-3 times' (respectively 49,5% and 56,5%); 30,4% of those in small communities ticked the option '4-7 visits', as did 24,7% of those living in large communities. As for the number of books read, the figures showed that young adults living in small communities read more compared to those who live in large ones: 68,3% in small communities had read at least four books as opposed to 39,6% in large ones. The number of young adults who take part in political rallies or debates was basically the same for both community sizes: roughly 35% had not participated in any rallies or debates in the four previous months, while approximately 50% had taken part in 1-3 debates or political rallies. Finally, the majority of respondents said they had attended 1- 3 concerts (47,9% in small communities, and slightly more in large ones, standing at 57,3%), while 33,3% of young adults in small communities and 22,9% in large ones had not been to any concerts or shows in the four previous months.

Figure 9. How many exhibitions/museums have you visited in the last 4 months?

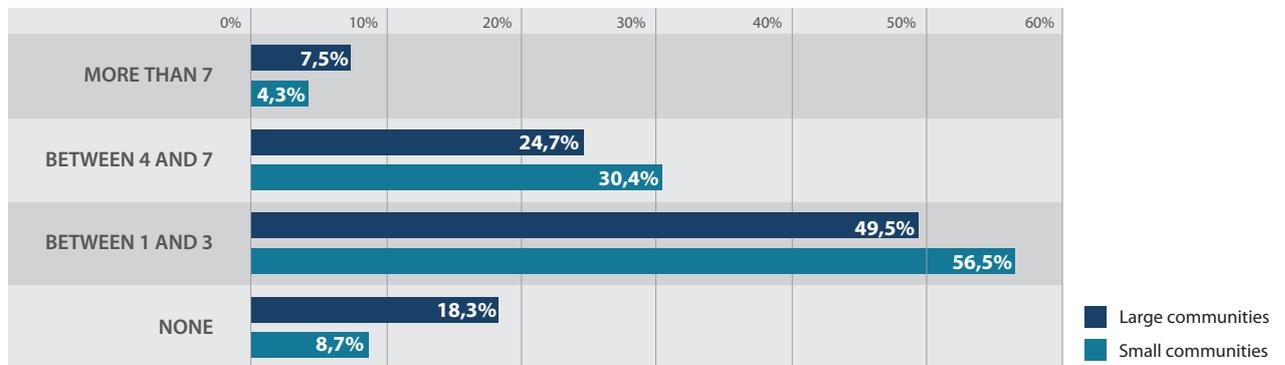


Figure 10. How many books have you read in the last 4 months?

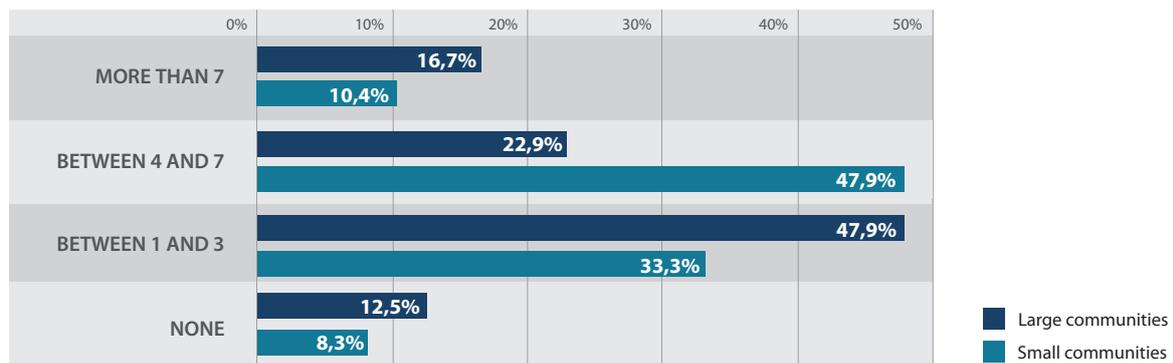


Figure 11. How many debates/political rallies have you attended in the last 4 months?

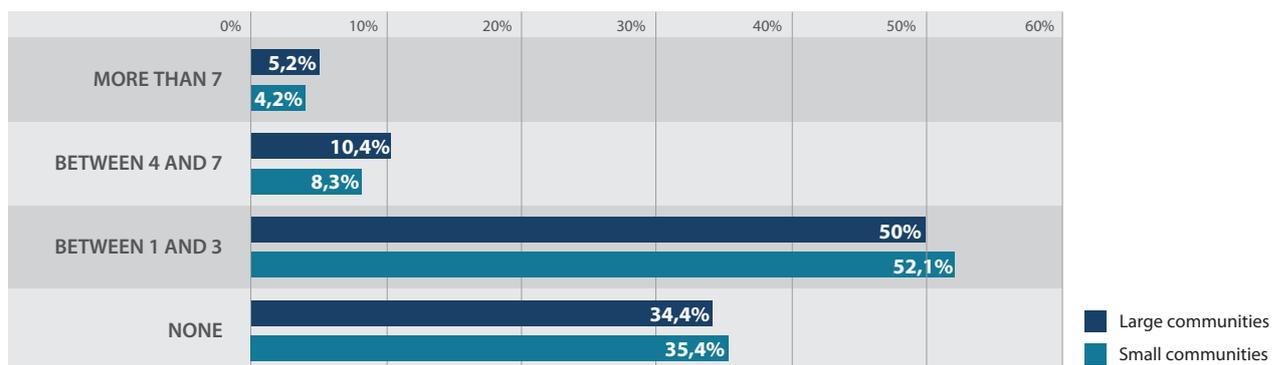
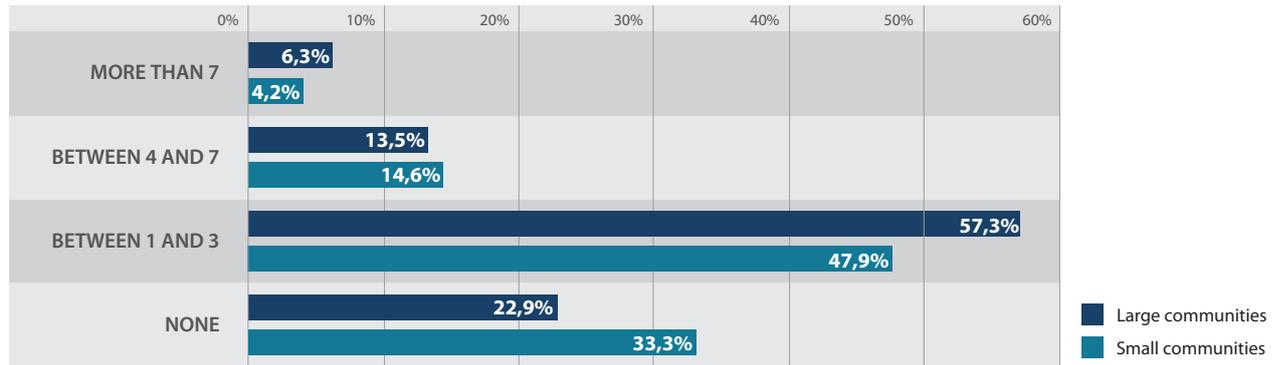


Figure 12. How many plays and/or concerts have you been to in the last 4 months?



### Considerations

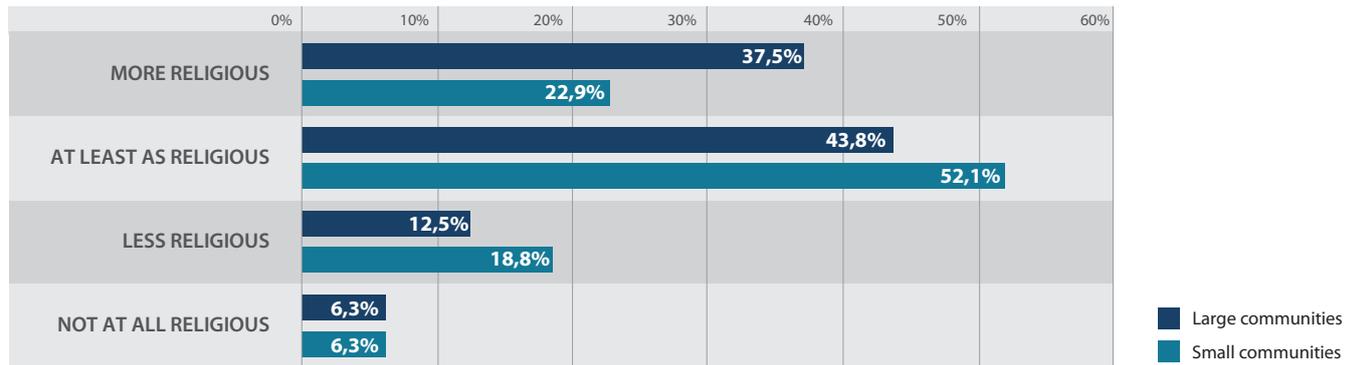
The young Jews interviewed identify culture as the main characteristic of Judaism. The family is also important, while emotional ties come lower down the list. These young adults identify being Jewish as being a people and a common bond, putting less emphasis on religion. On the relationship between Judaism and the presence of a Jewish community, the young adults’ opinions are not clear: the figures are neither strongly positive nor negative, even if the majority of young adults do not see a strong link between being Jewish and belonging to a Jewish community. Once again the answers are not so much driven by the identification of the Jewish community as a place of worship, but rather as a place for meeting and exchanging ideas or for support. So the presence of a community is important, but Judaism’s survival does not only depend on the presence of a local community. The main function for the Jewish community seems to be to support and safeguard, rather than a place for religion or politics. The respondents are unable to clearly state whether the community is good or bad at what it does and this gives rise to the thought that the young adults do not really know a lot about what the community does or share a sense of its actions.

Nevertheless, the young people interviewed do say they frequent the community and the initiatives it promotes, above all in the small communities. The younger members of the sample are less attracted to community social life and say they are less involved in community events, perhaps also because of their young age. In this group of questions, apart from differing responses by age, it is interesting to note the differences between men and women: while the former have a greater perception of the importance of the local community and also feel free to give a negative score for the way the community operates, the women have weaker ties to the community and are more moderate in their judgment of it.

### 3. Emotional relations

The majority of young adults believe they are *at least as religious* as their parents, amounting to 52,1% of young people in small communities and 43,8% in large ones. At least one third in large communities feel they are *more religious* than their parents, while the figures in the small communities rest at 22,9%. In fact, the reverse is actually the case in the small communities, where a higher percentage of young adults feel they are *less religious* than their parents (18,8%). The nature of what it means to be religious also emerges in relation to keeping *Shabbat*: over half of those who are observant (51,9%) feel they are *more religious* than their parents, a percentage that drops to 21,2% for people who are not observant.

Figure 28. Compared to your parents you are

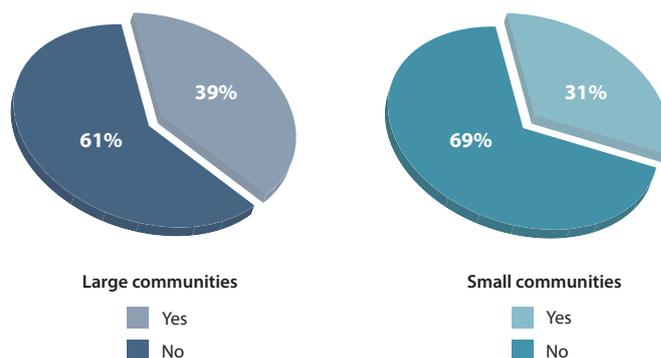


Q28

	Keeping Shabbat			
	Not observant	Slightly observant	Quite observant	Extremely observant
Not at all religious	10,6%	6,1%	0,0%	0,0%
Less religious	13,6%	21,2%	16,7%	7,4%
At least as religious	54,5%	42,4%	33,3%	40,7%
More religious	21,2%	30,3%	50,0%	51,9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Being Jewish is a characteristic that young Jews take into consideration in their social circles: in large communities 39% of young adults make a distinction between Jewish and non-Jewish friends, while in the small communities that percentage drops to 31%. The type of friendships is tied to the level of respect for Jewish traditions: the more the young adults keep *Shabbat* the more importance is given to the difference in social relations between Jews and non-Jews.

Figure 26. In your social circle, do you make a distinction between Jewish and non-Jewish friends?

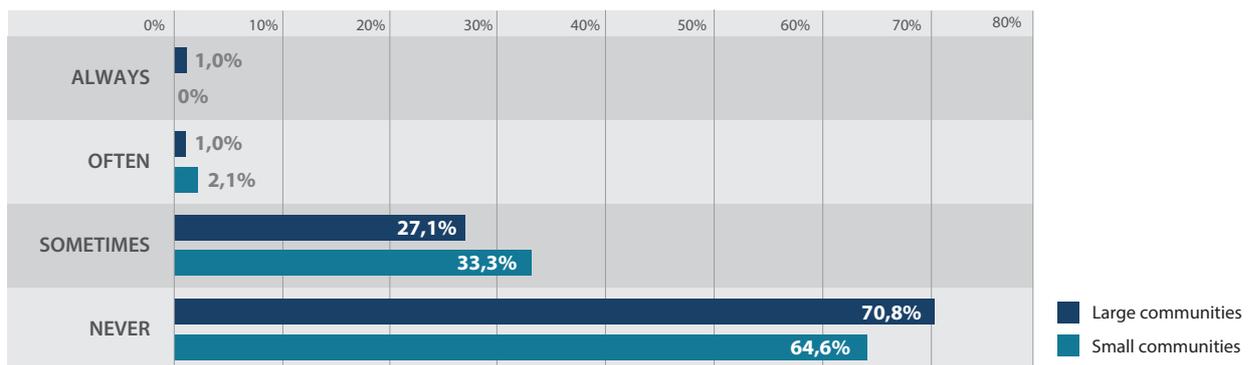


Q26

Keeping Shabbat				
	<i>Non observant</i>	<i>Slightly observant</i>	<i>Quite observant</i>	<i>Extremely observant</i>
No	74,2%	72,7%	55,6%	33,3%
Yes	25,8%	27,3%	44,4%	66,7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Those interviewed do not generally seem uncomfortable in the presence of non-Jewish friends or acquaintances, especially in large communities where young people *never* feel uneasy in 70,8% of cases. While this feeling of unease is not at all prevalent among young adults, it is more likely to be felt among those who are more traditional and very observant of *Shabbat*: 77,3% of non-observant young adults *never* feel uncomfortable, while that percentage drops to 48,1% for the very observant.

Figure 27. Do you feel uncomfortable in the company of non-Jewish friends/acquaintances?

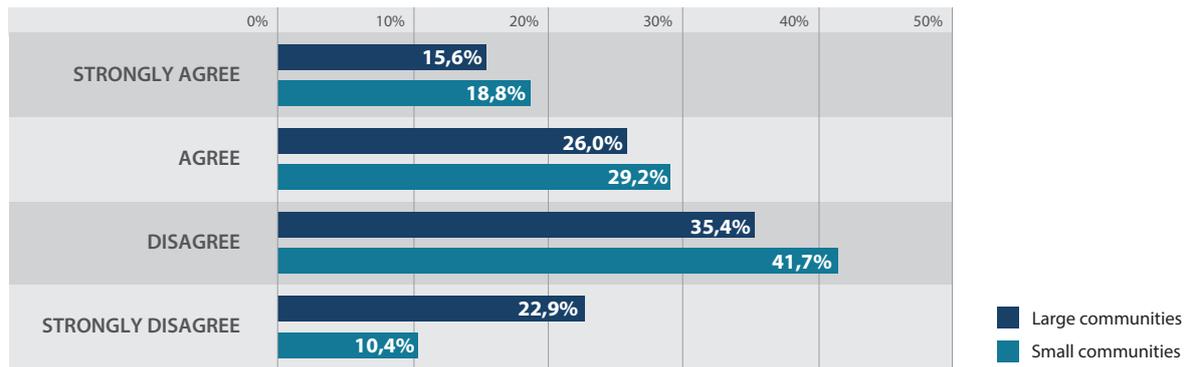


Q27

Keeping Shabbat				
	<i>Non observant</i>	<i>Slightly observant</i>	<i>Quite observant</i>	<i>Extremely observant</i>
Never	77,3%	75,8%	55,6%	48,1%
Sometimes	19,7%	24,2%	38,9%	51,9%
Often	1,5%	0,0%	5,6%	0,0%
Always	1,5%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Respondents' attitudes about the potential sense of security fostered by frequenting contemporaries of the same religion is not clear: just over half of those in small communities *disagree* or *strongly disagree* (52,1%), while in large communities the responses fall just below the halfway point (45,8%), above all driven by a higher number of people who *strongly disagree* (22,9%) compared with the small communities (10,4%). Looking at other variables, and those with a lower level of qualification are less likely to feel secure only with fellow Jews, while for those who are very observant of *Shabbat* that figure is 33,3%. In contrast, those who are not observant or only slightly observant do not see a connection between security and frequenting fellow Jews (30,3% and 12,1%).

Figure 25. Frequenting Jewish peers makes one feel more secure



Q25

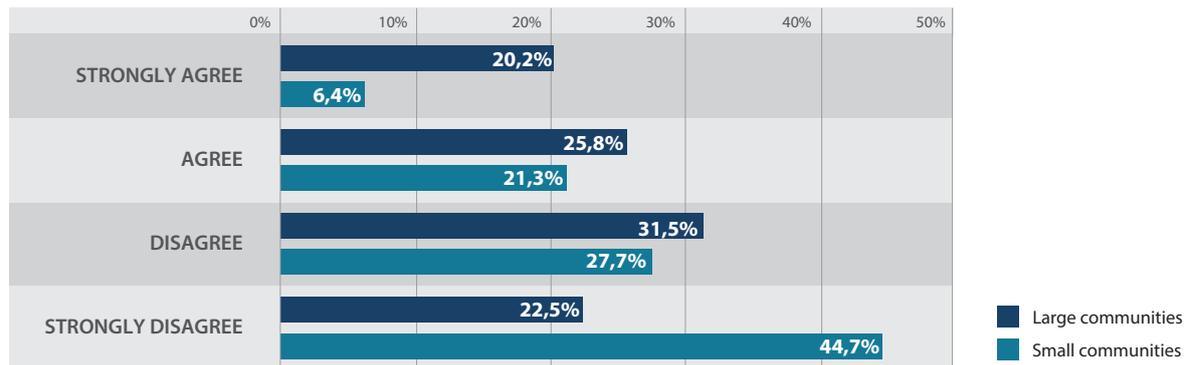
	Qualification level			Keeping Shabat			
	Low	Medium	High	Non observant	Slightly observant	Quite observant	Extremely observant
Strongly disagree	40,0%	12,7%	22,2%	30,3%	12,1%	5,6%	7,4%
Disagree	40,0%	33,8%	41,3%	39,4%	51,5%	33,3%	18,5%
Agree	0,0%	31,0%	27,0%	22,7%	24,2%	27,8%	40,7%
Strongly agree	20,0%	22,5%	9,5%	7,6%	12,1%	33,3%	33,3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Asked to identify aspects that distinguish being Jewish, the young adults highlight *following family traditions* and *feeling part of the Jewish people* as the most representative traits. The belief in one G-d, respect for others and oneself, respect for Jewish Laws and *Shabbat* are the second most popular options. The least chosen elements were those related to the *Holocaust*, *being a minority* and *doing good deeds for others*.



The young adults do not adopt a clear position on the statement that a family’s status as Jewish depends solely on having a partner of the same religion. In large communities, 20,2% of young adults *strongly agree* with this and 25,8% *agree* (totaling 46%), whereas in the small communities, only 6,4% said they *strongly agreed* and 21,3% *agreed* (for a total of 27,7% of respondents). There is a high level of strong disagreement among young adults in the small communities, equaling 44,7%. When looking at the level of *Shabbat* observance, the higher the level, the more young adults are convinced that the Jewishness of a family depends on having a partner of the same religion, as opposed to the 42,4% of non-observant respondents who disagree.

**Figure 37. A family can be Jewish only if both spouses are Jewish**

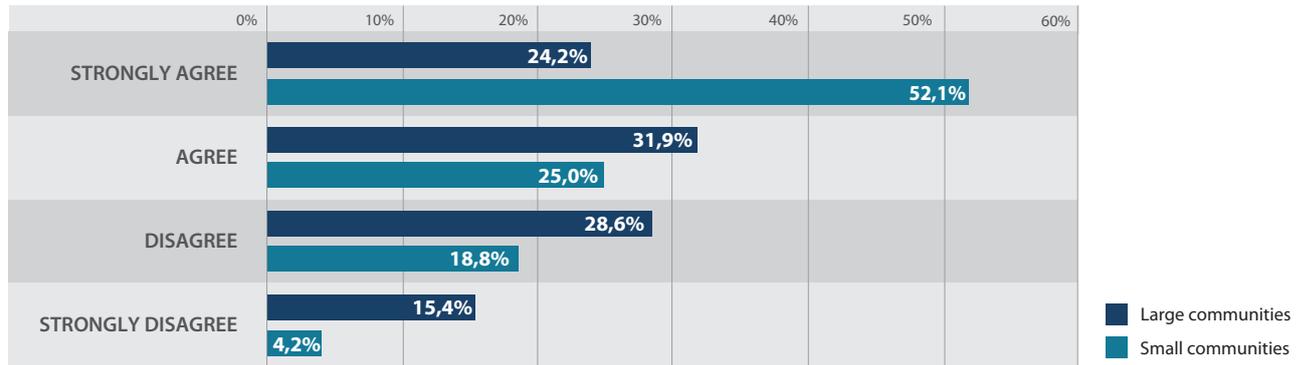


Q37

Keeping Shabbat				
	<i>Non observant</i>	<i>Slightly observant</i>	<i>Quite observant</i>	<i>Extremely observant</i>
Strongly disagree	42,4%	32,1%	25,0%	0,0%
Disagree	28,8%	25,0%	31,3%	38,5%
Agree	19,7%	32,1%	25,0%	26,9%
Strongly agree	9,1%	10,7%	18,8%	34,6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Regarding the possibility of creating a Jewish family after marrying a non-Jewish partner, young adults have differing opinions. The majority of those in small communities strongly agree (52,1%), but in large communities the rate is only 24,2%. Indeed, 15,4% of those in large communities strongly disagree with this statement, as opposed to the 4,2% of those in small communities. Disagreement grows proportionally to the age of respondents: only 8,6% of young adults up to the age of 24 say they *strongly disagree* that a Jewish family can be created from a mixed marriage, but above age 30 the figure rises to 17,4%. Skepticism also increases with the level of observance of *Shabbat*: the higher the level of observance, the greater the conviction that a Jewish family can only be created by two Jewish spouses: from 6,1% of non-observant respondents to 34,6% for extremely observant ones.

**Figure 38. It is possible to create a Jewish family even if one of the spouses is not Jewish**

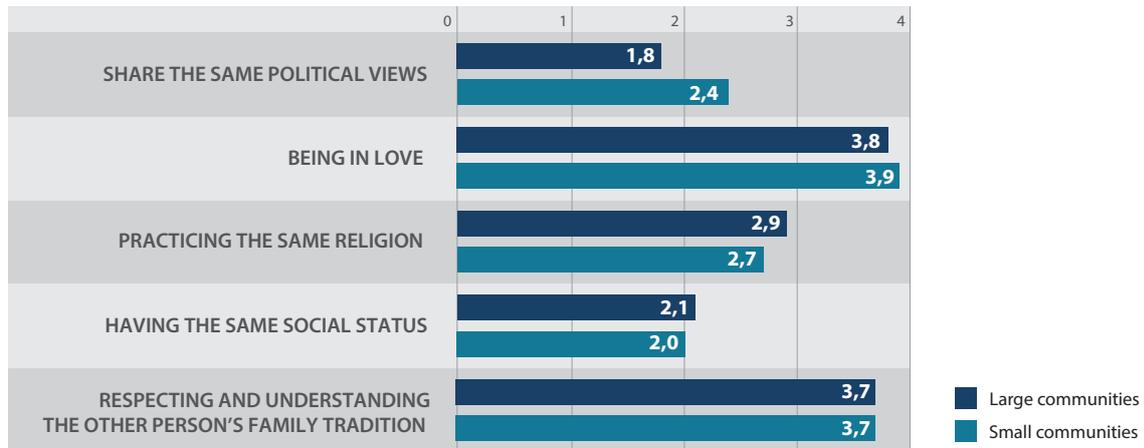


Q38

	Age group			Keeping Shabbat			
	18-24	25-29	30-35	Not observant	Slightly observant	Quite observant	Extremely observant
Strongly disagree	8,6%	12,1%	17,4%	6,1%	3,2%	12,5%	34,6%
Disagree	29,3%	25,9%	13,0%	16,7%	25,8%	25,0%	46,2%
Agree	31,0%	22,4%	43,5%	27,3%	35,5%	50,0%	15,4%
Strongly agree	31,0%	39,7%	26,1%	50,0%	35,5%	12,5%	3,8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

On the issue of marriage, the young Jews identify the following aspects as the most important: *being in love* (with an average score of 3,8 in large communities and 3,9 in small ones) and the *respect and understanding of the other person's family tradition* (average score 3,7 for both size communities). These are followed by *practicing the same religion*, and finally *sharing the same political views* for the small communities and *having the same social status* for large ones. Having the same political leaning is not an important trait for those who keep *Shabbat*, who rate practicing the same religion as most important. Whereas those who do not keep *Shabbat* give greater weight to social standing than those who are observant: 20% of non-observant respondents and 42,4% of those who are slightly observant *agree* on the importance of having the same social status. As for being in love, 20% of young adults with a low level qualification disagree that it is a fundamental criterion for marriage.

**Figure 39. On the issue of marriage, indicate how important you feel the following aspects are for two people who want to get married?**



**Q39\_1 (Political views)**

Keeping Shabbat				
	<i>Non observant</i>	<i>Slightly observant</i>	<i>Quite observant</i>	<i>Extremely observant</i>
Strongly disagree	27,3%	28,1%	38,9%	40,7%
Disagree	31,8%	46,9%	44,4%	48,1%
Agree	31,8%	21,9%	16,7%	11,1%
Strongly Agree	9,1%	3,1%	0,0%	0,0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

**Q39\_2 (Being in love)**

Qualification level			
	<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>
Strongly disagree	20,0%	0,0%	1,6%
Disagree	20,0%	14,1%	12,7%
Agree	60,0%	85,9%	85,7%
Strongly Agree	100%	100%	100%

**Q39\_3 (Religion)**

Keeping Shabbat				
	<i>Non observant</i>	<i>Slightly observant</i>	<i>Quite observant</i>	<i>Extremely observant</i>
Strongly disagree	13,6%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Disagree	39,4%	42,4%	16,7%	0,0%
Agree	36,4%	36,4%	55,6%	29,6%
Strongly Agree	10,6%	21,2%	27,8%	70,4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

**Q39\_4 (Social Status)**

	Gender		Keeping Shabbat			
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Non observant</i>	<i>Slightly observant</i>	<i>Quite observant</i>	<i>Extremely observant</i>
Strongly disagree	27,1%	27,8%	32,3%	15,2%	41,2%	22,2%
Disagree	54,3%	36,1%	46,2%	36,4%	41,2%	55,6%
Agree	15,7%	30,6%	20,0%	42,4%	11,8%	14,8%
Strongly Agree	2,9%	5,6%	1,5%	6,1%	5,9%	7,4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

When asked to prioritize a number of aspects related to educating children, the young adults highlighted *civic education* and *academic education* as the most crucial foundations for their children’s education (the average score for each was over 4). In large communities *religious education*, *education linked to tradition* and *historical education* were equally deemed important. In medium-sized and small communities, *education in history* came first, followed by *teaching respect of customs and morals* and finally by *religious education*, all scoring at least 1 point less than the first choices (3,1 as opposed to 4,3). Some interesting figures emerged about aspects linked to tradition: respondents with a lower level qualification said those elements were *very important* or *important* in educating children (66,7% important, 33,3% very important). Looking at the figures by age group, young adults over 30 attached the most importance to the attention given to customs and morals (50% important, 25% very important) compared to the middle-age range (while the percentages of the youngest group were close to those in the oldest age range), or to those with the highest qualifications, whose answers are more evenly distributed.

**Figure 40. Rank the following aspects concerning your children's education in order of importance.**



**Q40\_3 (Tradition)**

	Age range			Qualification level		
	18-24	25-29	30-35	Low	Medium	High
Unimportant	9,7%	6,1%	0,0%	0,0%	5,9%	8,6%
Not so important	6,5%	15,2%	0,0%	0,0%	5,9%	14,3%
Fairly important	6,5%	21,2%	25,0%	0,0%	14,7%	17,1%
Important	51,6%	30,3%	50,0%	66,7%	50,0%	31,4%
Very important	25,8%	27,3%	25,0%	33,3%	23,5%	28,6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

**Considerations**

The young adults interviewed are linked to tradition and feel a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish culture. The values they identify as being most representative of Judaism are the respect of family traditions and belonging to a people, while aspects related to the Jewish people's history (like the Holocaust) or to religion are of secondary importance. They are proud to belong to the Jewish community and do not feel they are a minority.

In regards to relations with friends and acquaintances, it is interesting to note the differences between large and small communities: young Jews in the latter (especially the most observant) feel more comfortable frequenting fellow Jews, while for those in large communities being Jewish is not necessary for these kinds of relationships, perhaps because there is a less strong cohesion among them because of the size of the community. Choosing to have Jewish friends does not seem driven by reasons of security: the young adults, above all those with lower level qualifications, do not appear to be uncomfortable with people of other religions, but they may feel there is a greater understanding and more of a common bond between Jewish friends.

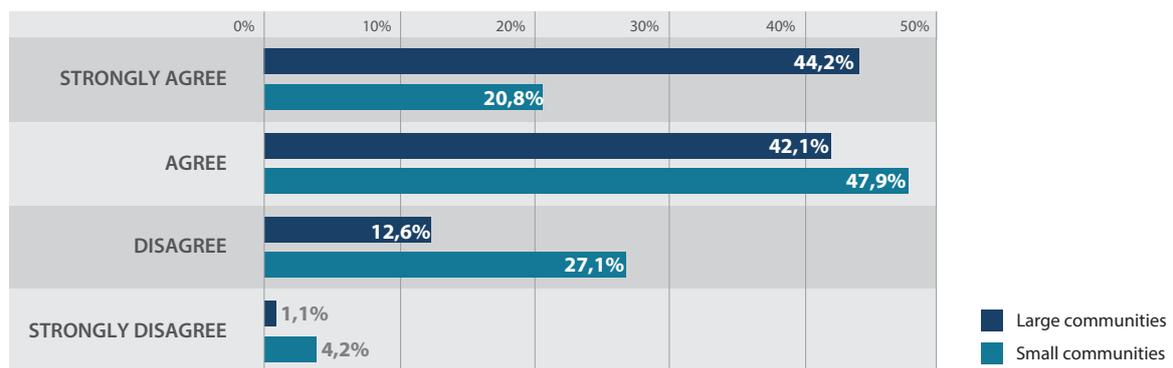
The issue of family and partners is different: in this case large communities are more tied to tradition. In fact these are the communities where young adults see a family's status as Jewish as closely connected to having a partner of the same religion, or they are less in favor of mixed marriages. The importance of tradition increases the older the respondent. Tradition is also one of the key criteria in the selection of a partner, both for the small and large communities.

The young adults' position on the education of their children ranks other factors as important: there is less emphasis on tradition and more weight given to teaching kids about culture in general and the rights/duties of citizens in civic and scholastic education.

#### 4. Relationship with Israel

The young Jews interviewed are basically in agreement about the fact that Israel is a model of democracy, even for the more advanced countries in the West. It is interesting to note the difference between large and small communities here: those who *strongly agree* in large communities are more than double than those in the small ones (44,2% compared with 20,8%), while the opposite is the case for those who *disagree*, with the small communities scoring higher (27,1%) in comparison with large ones (12,6%). When totaling the percentages of the disagree and strongly disagree categories, one sees that almost one third of respondents from small communities do not see Israel as a model of democracy. Looking at the results by age range, even if all groups have high levels of agreement (in particular 48% of those aged 30-35 *strongly agree*), the youngest age range of 18-24 year olds is the only group in disagreement, with 5,2% of respondents stating they *strongly disagree*. The distribution of replies by age range also has an influence on those divided by level of qualification. Once again the highest level of disagreement is linked to those with the lowest qualifications, eight-times-out-of-ten associated with a younger age. Finally the majority of those who are most observant of *Shabbat* say they *strongly agree* or *agree*, while the figures for youths who are not observant or only slightly so exceed 20% in the *strongly disagree* and *disagree* categories.

**Figure 18. Israel is a great model of democracy, even for the more advanced countries in the West**

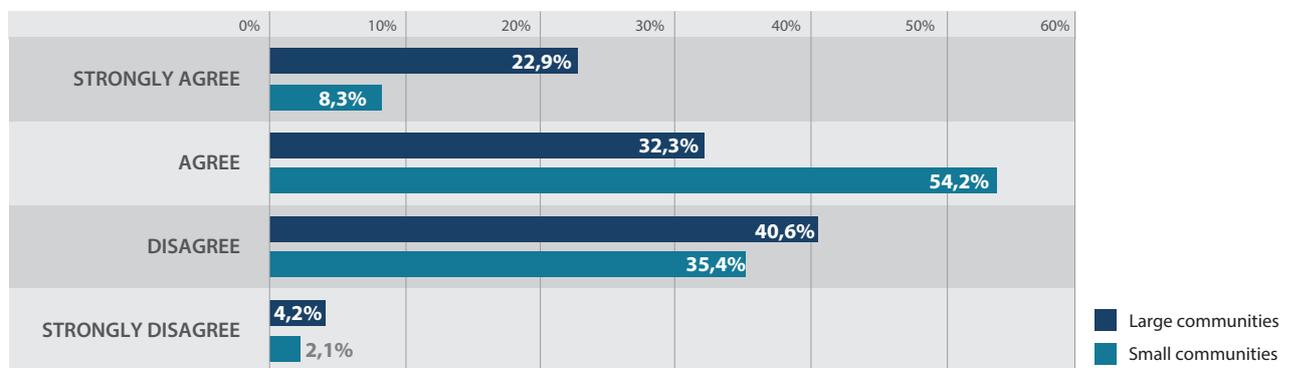


Q18

	Age range			Qualification level			Keeping Shabbat			
	18-24	25-29	30-35	Low	Medium	High	Non observant	Slightly observant	Quite observant	Extremely observant
Strongly disagree	5,2%	0,0%	0,0%	10,0%	2,9%	0,0%	4,6%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Disagree	20,7%	16,7%	12,0%	30,0%	14,3%	19,0%	18,5%	24,2%	16,7%	7,4%
Agree	39,7%	50,0%	40,0%	20,0%	45,7%	46,0%	44,6%	51,5%	55,6%	25,9%
Strongly Agree	34,5%	33,3%	48,0%	40,0%	37,1%	34,9%	32,3%	24,2%	27,8%	66,7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

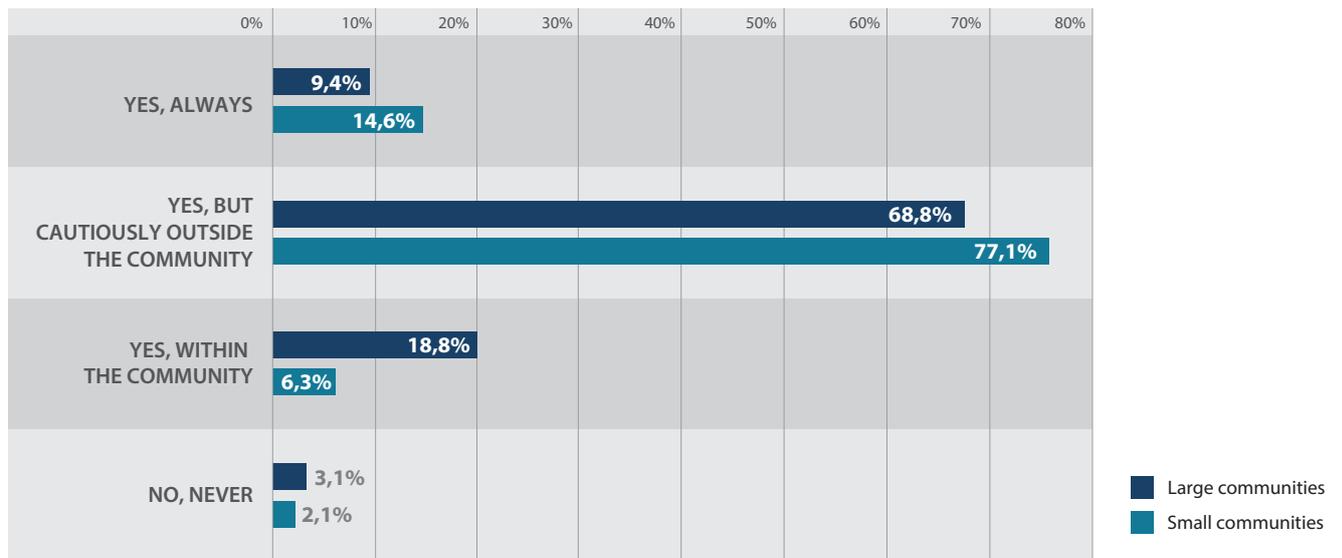
The respondents' position on the relationship between the survival of the State of Israel and the international situation is not at all clear: answers fall more into the *agree* category than the *disagree* option, with a few differences between large and small communities. Large communities record high levels of those who *strongly agree* (22,9%) and at the same time those who *disagree* (40,6%), while in the small communities there are more people who *agree* (54,2%).

Figure 19. The current international situation is threatening the survival of the State of Israel



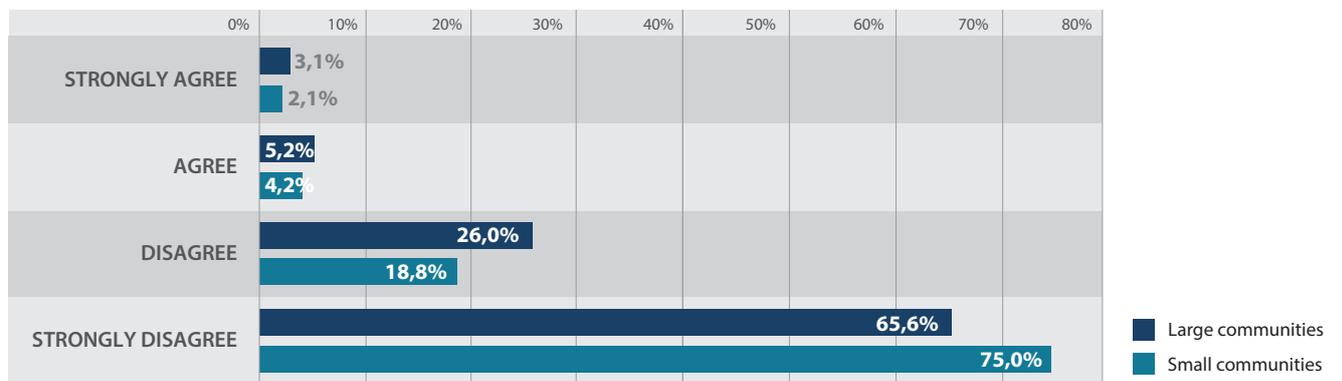
According to the young Jews, it is possible to criticize Israel, even outside the Jewish community, but it should be done carefully. This position is shared by large and small communities alike, but one can see how large communities are more cautious, recording 18,8% for the option allowing for *criticism within the Jewish community* and 3,1% choosing *no never*.

Figure 20. Is it possible to criticize the Israeli government?



The respondents do not connect Israel's survival with all Jews moving to the country: in fact 75% of those in small communities and 65,6% in large ones disagree with this statement. Affirmative answers do not amount to more than 10% in both size communities. On this question it is interesting to note the responses of those who observe *Shabbat*: most of them strongly disagree and so they follow the general trend for the responses, independently of their respect of this religious tradition.

Figure 24. Judaism will only have a future if all Jews move to Israel

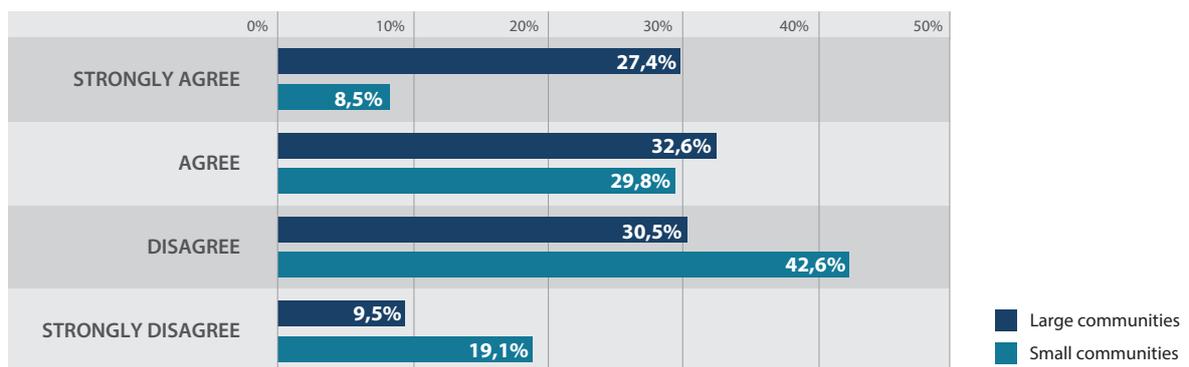


Q24

Keeping Shabbat				
	<i>Non observant</i>	<i>Slightly observant</i>	<i>Quite observant</i>	<i>Extremely observant</i>
Strongly disagree	78,8%	69,7%	72,2%	40,7%
Disagree	19,7%	21,2%	22,2%	37,0%
Agree	1,5%	3,0%	5,6%	14,8%
Strongly Agree	0,0%	6,1%	0,0%	7,4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Answers to the question highlighting Israel as the preferred destination for young adults planning to move abroad vary between large and small communities. The former *strongly agree* with the idea of Israel as a country to go to in preference over others (27,4%), with those who *agree* amounting to 32,6%. Whereas this preference is not shared by those in small communities, with 42,6% *disagreeing* and 19,1% *strongly disagreeing*. Those in the youngest age category (18-24 year olds) do not see Israel as a preferred destination over other countries when looking to move abroad, with their combined scores of partial or total disagreement amounting to over 50%. Opposed to that, the majority of respondents over age 30 would choose Israel as their preferred destination. Results by qualification follow those for age, and interest in Israel as a potential home increases with the level of qualification. Among those who keep *Shabbat*, the agreement with the idea of Israel as a preferred destination increases with the level of observance: 77,9% of those who are extremely observant either *strongly agree or agree*.

Figure 17. You would prefer Israel to other countries of the world if you were to move abroad for work/study



Q17

	Age range			Qualification level			Keeping Shabbat			
	18-24	25-29	30-35	Low	Medium	High	Non observant	Slightly observant	Quite observant	Extremely observant
Strongly disagree	19,0%	8,5%	8,0%	30,0%	10,0%	12,9%	16,9%	15,6%	11,1%	0,0%
Disagree	32,8%	40,7%	24,0%	40,0%	31,4%	37,1%	36,9%	46,9%	22,2%	22,2%
Agree	29,3%	27,1%	48,0%	10,0%	31,4%	35,5%	29,2%	31,3%	50,0%	25,9%
Strongly Agree	19,0%	23,7%	20,0%	20,0%	27,1%	14,5%	16,9%	6,3%	16,7%	51,9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

### Considerations

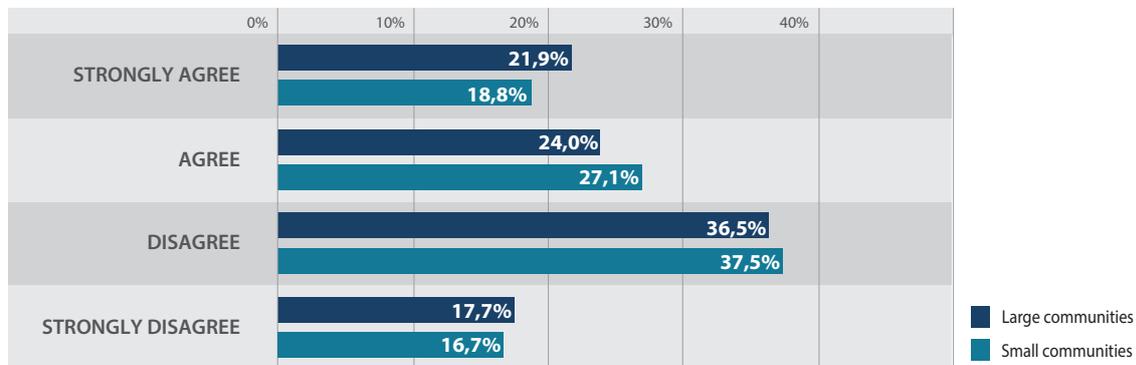
The respondents are proud of Israel, respect it, and consider it as a model of democracy even for Western countries, but at the same time they feel they can criticize the Israeli government, even outside the Jewish community. Their views on the connection between Israel and the international situation are not very clear-cut: in fact they are unable to define whether global circumstances are an obstacle to Israel or not. Another interesting aspect is the widespread feeling among the respondents that a mass migration of Jews to Israel is not a necessary condition to ensure the future of Judaism. On the one hand, this conviction may be linked to the respondents' strong roots in Italian society and culture, and on the other hand it could be because Israel is no longer identified as the only possible destination and homeland for the Jewish people. Not even the more traditional young adults (those who keep *Shabbat*) seem to see the mass migration of Jews to Israel as key to the future of Judaism, probably because they see other factors as important for its continuation. Answers regarding Israel as a preferred destination for work/study vary depending on age group and level of religious observance: older respondents are more keen on the idea of moving to Israel compared with those in the youngest age range, and similarly, those who are more observant (keeping *Shabbat*) are more in agreement with the choice of Israel as a preferred destination. For this group of questions it is interesting to note the differences of opinions between those living in a large or small community. In fact, respondents living in larger communities have a stronger connection with the State of Israel compared with those in smaller ones: they more strongly believe that Israel is a model of democracy than young adults in small communities, they are more cautious when criticizing Israel, both within and outside the Jewish community, and finally, they are more willing to move to Israel to study or work.

### 5. Orthodox and Reform Judaism

Young adults' opinions about Orthodox Judaism as being the official denomination within the Jewish community are not obvious. Even if the majority disagrees with the statement, whether they are in large or small communities; nevertheless a significant percentage of respondents agree or strongly agree with this choice. For example, combining the responses of those who *strongly agree* and *agree*, in both large and small communities, the result (45,9%) is pretty close to the sum of those who *disagree* and *strongly disagree* (54,2%).

Taking into consideration the variations in context and demographics, one can see that the youngest respondents (aged 18-24) have the highest negative scores (*disagree* and *strongly disagree*) compared with those in the other age groups, where those aged 25-29 have the highest percentage for the *disagree* option and the most popular choice for oldest respondents (30-35) was *strongly agree*. Those with high-level qualifications responded more favorably about the orthodoxy of the Jewish community (the number of *agree* and *strongly agree* answers amounts to 52,4%), while those with lower level qualifications identify less with orthodoxy. The figures by qualification are obviously influenced by the weight of the youngest respondents, as the majority of those aged 18-24 have a lower level of qualification because they are still studying. Finally, the level of keeping *Shabbat* has a bearing on the agreement options. Those who respect *Shabbat* have a greater connection with the obligation for orthodoxy in the Jewish community compared with those who do not keep *Shabbat* (66,7% of those who are extremely orthodox also *strongly agree* with orthodoxy being the official denomination within the Jewish community).

**Figure 16. All Italian Jewish communities are Orthodox by statute. Do you agree with this choice?**



Q16

	Age range			Qualification level			Keeping Shabbat			
	18-24	25-29	30-35	Low	Medium	High	Non observant	Slightly observant	Quite observant	Extremely observant
Strongly disagree	20,7%	16,4%	12,0%	30,0%	19,7%	12,7%	33,3%	6,1%	5,6%	0,0%
Disagree	44,8%	32,8%	28,0%	50,0%	36,6%	34,9%	36,4%	54,5%	38,9%	14,8%
Agree	20,7%	27,9%	28,0%	10,0%	28,2%	23,8%	22,7%	33,3%	27,8%	18,5%
Strongly Agree	13,8%	23,0%	32,0%	10,0%	32,0%	28,6%	7,6%	6,1%	27,8%	66,7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

When asked to identify key traits of Reform Judaism, the young adults interviewed highlighted the possibility for women to become rabbis as the most innovative aspect. The small communities identify a second trait they see as equally important, namely the different approach to conversion, which came third in the options chosen by those in

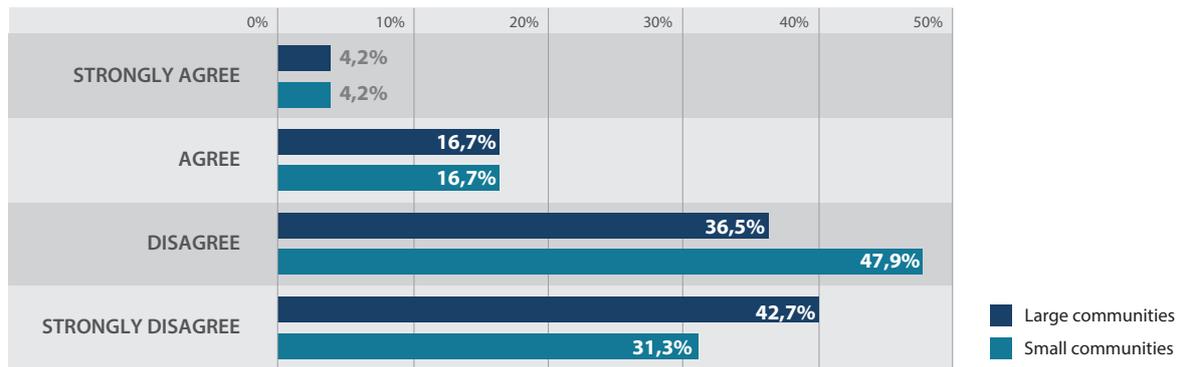
large communities. The least significant aspect, for both size communities, is the different approach to *Kashrut*.

# Conversions Kashrut Women-rabbis Shabbat Mixed-marriages

	All respondents	Large Communities	Small Communities
Mixed marriages	24%	29,8%	13,7%
Entry of women into the rabbinate	35%	34,7%	35,6%
Different approach to Kashrut	4%	5,0%	2,0%
Different approach to keeping Shabbat	10%	8,0%	12,6%
Different approach/criteria for conversions	26%	21,1%	35,6%

The respondents' position becomes clearer when explicitly asked whether Reform Judaism has become a valid alternative to orthodoxy: the majority do not agree with this statement, whether they come from a small or large community. The total of all negative responses (*disagree* and *strongly disagree*) reaches 79,2% for large and small communities. Here, the more the respondents keep *Shabbat* the greater they are in disagreement about Reform Judaism being a valid alternative (77,8% of those who are extremely orthodox *strongly disagree*). These figures relating to those who keep *Shabbat* are mirrored, though to a slightly lesser degree, in the responses of those who have attended a Jewish school, where 45,8% of those who have had this kind of education strongly disagree compared with the 31,9% of those who have not been to Jewish school. The other variable that plays a part in this question is the level of qualification. Those with lower qualifications record values that are more closely linked to the orthodox component, while those with higher qualifications become less radical, with the highest scores recorded for the *disagree* option.

Figure 31. Reform Judaism has become a valid alternative to Orthodox Judaism

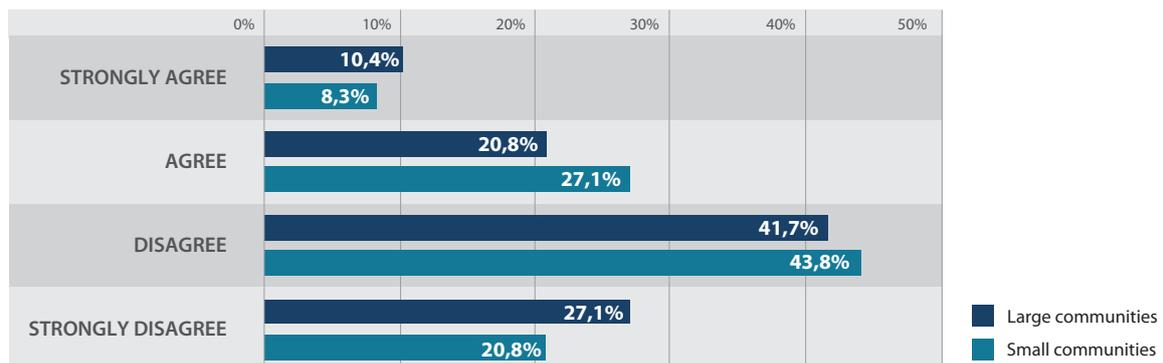


Q31

	Qualification level			Attended Jewish school		Keeping Shabbat			
	Low	Medium	High	No	Yes	Non observant	Slightly observant	Quite observant	Extremely observant
Strongly disagree	70,0%	36,6%	36,5%	31,9%	45,8%	18,2%	36,4%	61,1%	77,8%
Disagree	20,0%	40,8%	42,9%	44,4%	36,1%	48,5%	45,5%	27,8%	22,2%
Agree	10,0%	16,9%	17,5%	16,7%	16,7%	25,8%	18,2%	5,6%	0,0%
Strongly Agree	0,0%	5,6%	3,2%	6,9%	1,4%	7,6%	0,0%	5,6%	0,0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The relation between the modern interpretation of Jewish laws (*mitzvot*) and the return to Judaism of Jews who had ‘moved away’ is not considered very significant by the respondents. Indeed, the majority *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement. Again, being observant comes into conflict with Reform on this topic, just as in previous questions. In this case, 59,3% of very observant Jews do not agree with the link between a modern interpretation of the *mitzvot* and the return of Jews who ‘moved away’ from their faith. On the other end of the scale, only 7,6% of non-observant respondents strongly disagree.

Figure 32. The modern interpretation of the mitzvot applied by Reform Judaism encourages the return of Jews who have ‘moved away’ from their faith

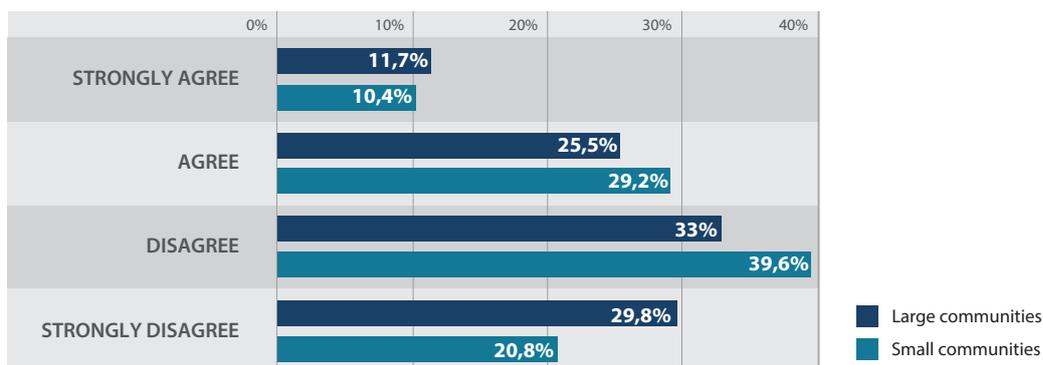


Q32

Keeping Shabbat				
	Non observant	Slightly observant	Quite observant	Extremely observant
Strongly disagree	7,6%	24,2%	38,9%	59,3%
Disagree	47,0%	48,5%	27,8%	33,3%
Agree	28,8%	21,2%	27,8%	7,4%
Strongly Agree	16,7%	6,1%	5,6%	0,0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

According to the young adults questioned, a progressive approach in conversion to Judaism is not an antidote to the falling numbers of Italian Jews. Even if the percentages are less clear cut than for the previous question, concentrating on the issue of bringing Jews back into the fold thanks to a new interpretation of Jewish laws, for this question the respondents do not believe a progressive approach can have a significant impact on the decline of Italian Jews, with percentages of those who *disagree* or *strongly disagree* exceeding 60% in large and small communities. Analyzing the responses in terms of context and demographics, one can see that the answers of those with a low level of qualification mainly opted for *disagree* and *strongly disagree* (44,4% and 55,6%), while the answers by those with a higher level of qualification are more evenly distributed. More religiously observant respondents are in greater disagreement (70,4% *strongly disagree*) while these scores drop and become more widely distributed for those who are slightly or not at all observant.

Figure 33. The progressive (Reform) approach to conversion to Judaism for non-Jews, or for children from mixed marriages, is less rigid than the approach applied by Orthodox Judaism

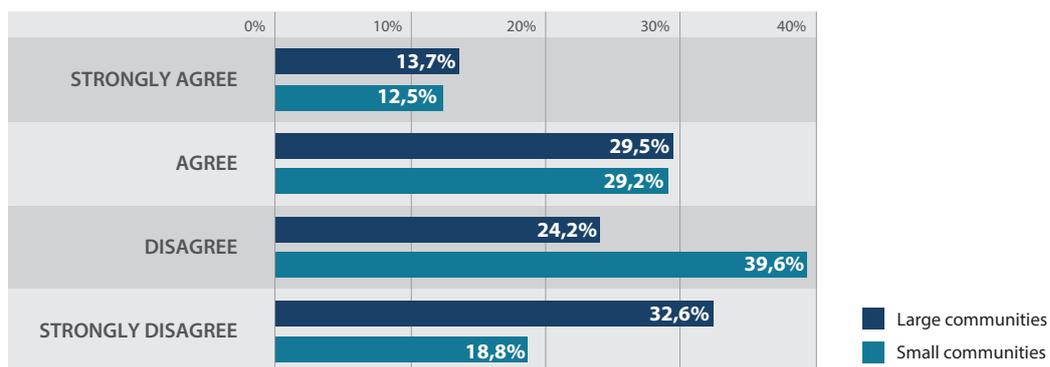


Q33

	Qualification level			Keeping Shabat			
	Low	Medium	High	Non observant	Slightly observant	Quite observant	Extremely observant
Strongly disagree	44,4%	22,5%	29,0%	12,5%	12,1%	38,9%	70,4%
Disagree	55,6%	32,4%	35,5%	39,1%	39,4%	33,3%	22,2%
Agree	0,0%	32,4%	24,2%	31,3%	36,4%	22,2%	7,4%
Strongly agree	0,0%	12,7%	11,3%	17,2%	12,1%	5,6%	0,0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The position is less clear regarding Reform Jews having the possibility of political representation within the national Jewish institutions in Italy. In percentage terms, there is much less of a difference between those in favor and those against when making a comparison with the previous questions, and in large and small communities alike, those in support amount to over 40%. On this question of political representation there is an interesting difference between those who keep *Shabbat* and those who don't. Mirroring the results of the questions on Orthodox and Reform Judaism, once again the most observant Jews are more critical than those who are less observant or not at all observant. It is also interesting to note that the percentage of those who *disagree* is slightly higher for those who do not keep *Shabbat* at all compared with those who only keep *Shabbat* a little (the former recording 33,8%, while the latter score 27,3%).

Figure 34. Reform Jews should be politically represented within the national Jewish institutions in Italy

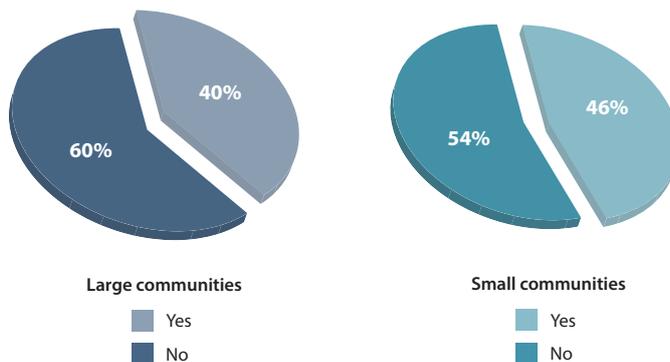


Q34

Keeping Shabbat				
	Non observant	Slightly observant	Quite observant	Extremely observant
Strongly disagree	9,2%	24,2%	33,3%	74,1%
Disagree	33,8%	27,3%	27,8%	22,2%
Agree	33,8%	36,4%	38,9%	3,7%
Strongly Agree	23,1%	12,1%	0,0%	0,0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

When questioned about a possible reinforcement of the Reform element within Italian Judaism, the respondents once again adopt quite a balanced position. In large communities 40% were in favor, increasing to 46% for those in small communities. When asked to indicate the reasons for supporting this idea, the respondents mainly indicated the chance to enlarge the Jewish community and the continuity of Judaism. Whereas taking into account the context variables, the breakdown of results by qualification is significant. The majority of those interviewed with a low level of qualification were opposed to strengthening the Reform element (90%), while 50% of those with an intermediate level qualification were opposed, and the opposition rose again to 62,3% for those with the highest qualifications. Here again, very observant young adults were not in favor of opening up more to Reform Jews, with 92,6% against this.

Figure 35. Would you like to see Reform Judaism grow in Italy's Jewish communities?



**MIXED-MARRIAGES**  
**SURVIVAL CONTINUITY**  
**ENLARGEMENT**

Q35

	Qualification level			Keeping Shabat			
	<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Non observant</i>	<i>Slightly observant</i>	<i>Quite observant</i>	<i>Extremely observant</i>
No	90,0%	50,0%	62,3%	35,9%	63,6%	76,5%	92,6%
Yes	10,0%	50,0%	37,7%	64,1%	36,4%	23,5%	7,4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

### Considerations

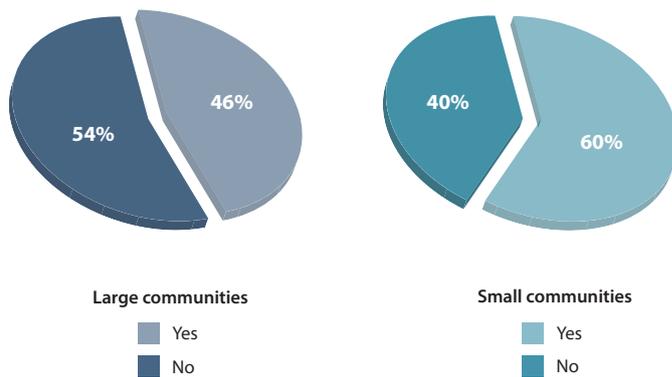
The young respondents’ position on Reform Judaism reveals specific characteristics, even though they are not always in agreement. While they do not adopt a clear stance on orthodoxy being the official denomination within the Italian Jewish community’s statutes (as though stressing a drive towards reform), the position changes and becomes more critical towards Reform Judaism when the respondents were specifically asked if the Reform approach could be a valid alternative to orthodoxy. Religious aspects (the chance for women to become Rabbis, the new approach to conversions) were highlighted as distinctive to the Reform movement, and thus these areas received the highest levels of criticism, compared to aspects more closely linked to Jewish tradition, like respecting the laws of *Kashrut* or keeping *Shabbat*. Whereas the young adults do not see the potential for the Reform approach to encourage the conversion of new people to Judaism as an efficient tool to counteract the drop in the number of Jewish people in Italy or as a way to encourage those who have moved away Judaism to return.

However, they adopt a more open position regarding the political representation of Reform Judaism. Compared with the clearly negative responses in the previous questions, here the respondents do not exclude greater visibility and political representation for Reform Jews. Turning to contextual and demographic variables, the most significant facets are those linked to the level of qualification and observance of Shabbat. Indeed, in some questions those with the lowest qualifications did not support the strengthening of the Reform element, just like those most observant of *Shabbat* (meaning they are more strict towards respecting Jewish traditions), who were also very closed to the Reform approach. Therefore, the young Jews have a more rigid position regarding Reform Judaism if they have to choose between Orthodoxy and Reform. They are also unfavorable to Reform’s innovations concerning conversions and women rabbis, but they are nevertheless open to enlarging and exploiting the Reform component within the Jewish community as a whole, as well as in the light of Judaism’s continuity .

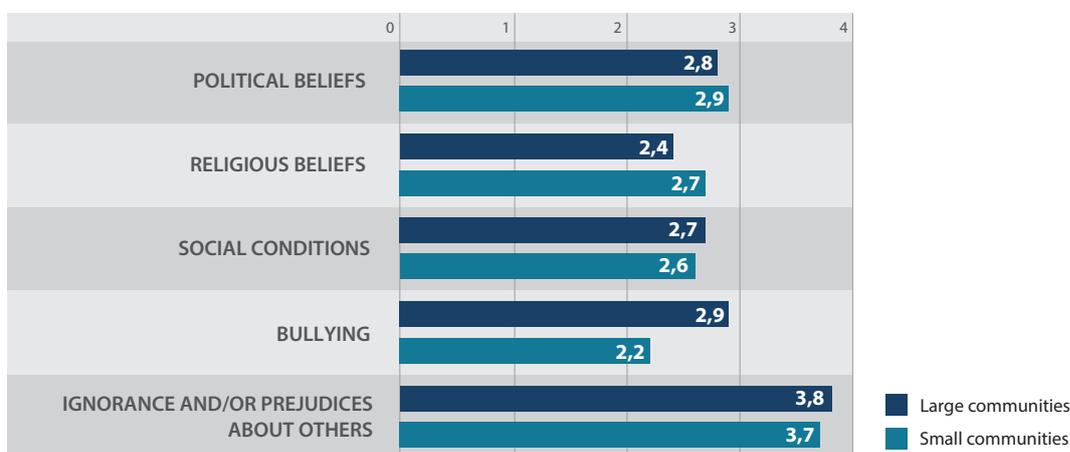
## 6. Attitudes toward immigration

The young adults interviewed have witnessed episodes of social and/or racial discrimination. In large communities, 46% of young Jews have seen acts of discrimination in the last 6 months. The figures in the small communities are even more worrying, where the results reach 60%. When asked to identify the factor that could have contributed to sparking off the discrimination, on average the respondents identified *ignorance* and/or *prejudices about others* as important. The other potential factors score more or less the same average values: in large communities, *ignorance* is followed in second place by *bullying* (whereas the small communities put this factor last), while the small communities put *political beliefs* second.

**Figure 51. Have you witnessed any episodes of social and/or racial discrimination in the last 6 months?**

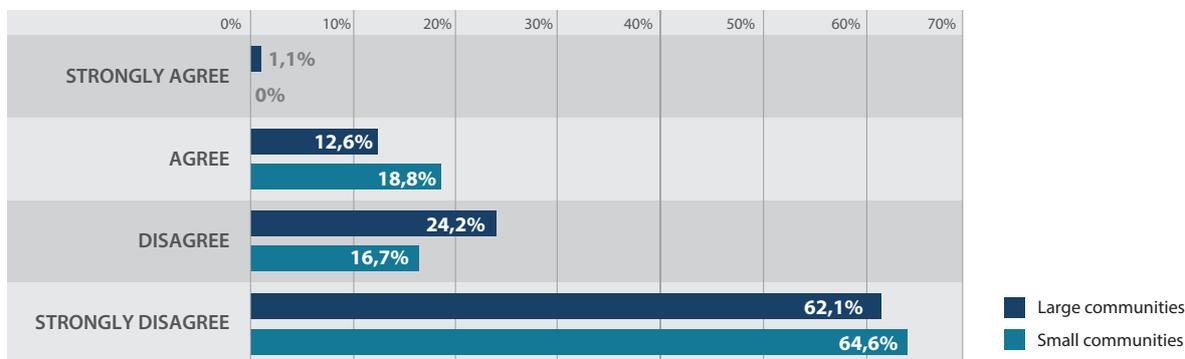


**Figure 52. If you answered Yes to question 51, indicate which of these factors you think could have sparked off the discrimination**



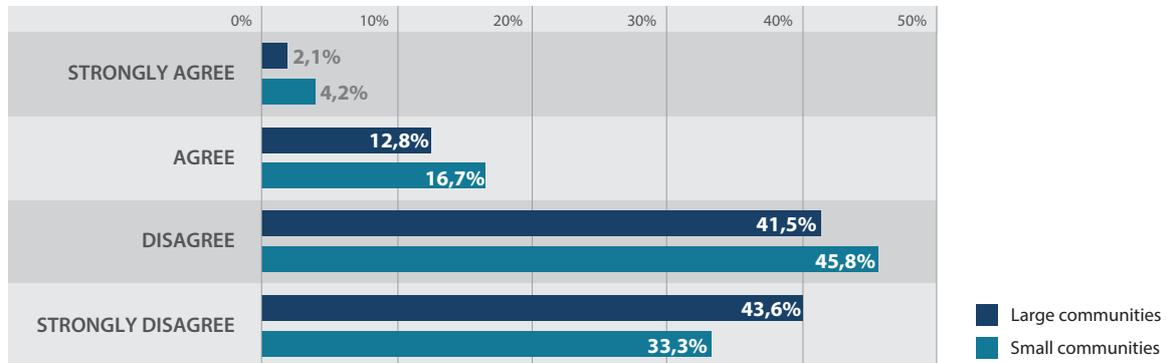
The respondents do not agree with the comparison between Jews and immigrants and they adopt a radical position, with 62,1% of youths in large communities and 64,6% in small ones strongly disagreeing.

**Figure 46. A Jew can be compared to an immigrant**



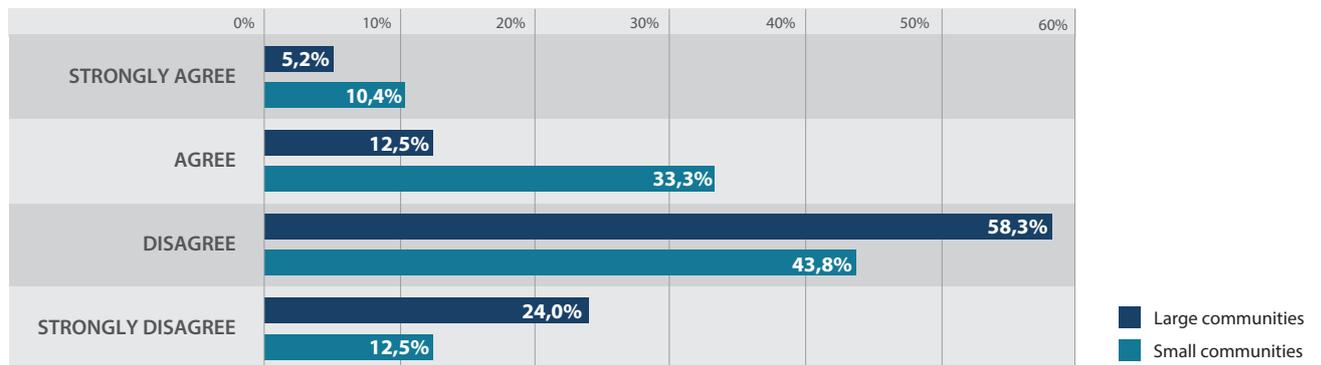
Turning to the connection between rising immigration and increasingly hostile public opinion against Jews, young adults in both large and small size communities, agree in their rejection of this link, with percentages disagreeing or strongly disagreeing exceeding 40% in almost all cases.

**Figure 45. Rising immigration increases the hostility of public opinion against Jews**



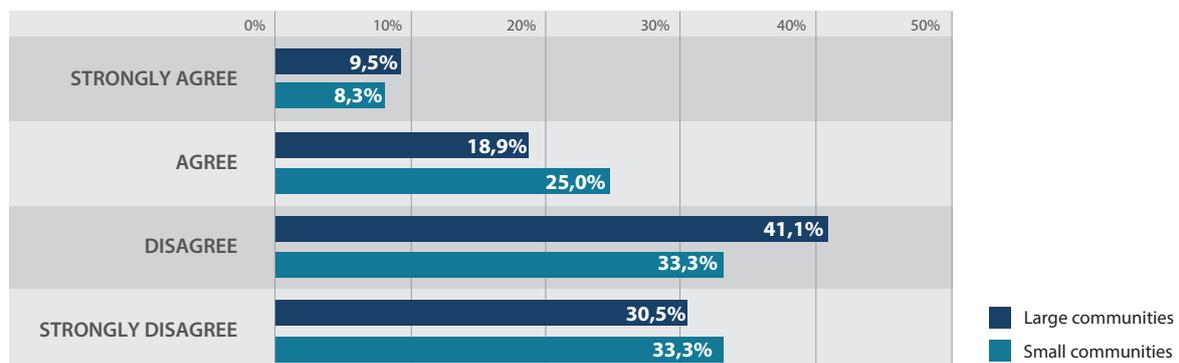
According to the young Jews interviewed, immigrants in Italy do not tend to be hostile towards Jews: 82,3% of those in large communities do not see any antagonism of this kind. The picture is not so clear-cut in small communities, where no fewer than 43,7% of respondents (almost one half) cited some hostility towards Jews on the part of immigrants.

**Figure 42. Immigrants in Italy tend to be hostile towards Jews**



The young respondents do not agree with the statement that defending immigrants equates to defending Jews: over 60% either strongly disagree or disagree with this statement, with few differences between large and small communities.

**Figure 48. Defending immigrants equates to defending Jews**



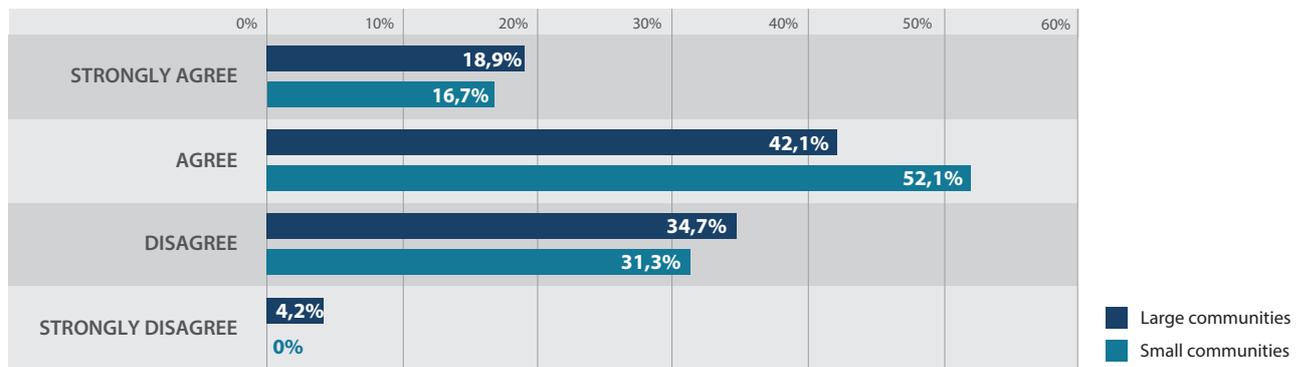
## Considerations

The respondents do not make a connection between being Jewish and being an immigrant, probably because they feel strong and do not feel there is any doubt about their status as Italian citizens. Even though they record witnessing a very high number of incidents of discrimination, they probably do not feel the victims of this discrimination. The question of the relationship between Jews and immigrants is more delicate: it is above all in the small communities where youths report immigrants being hostile towards Jews. Perhaps this figure is also because of a greater cohesion within the small Jewish communities, which can attract hostility from those who equate cohesion with closure.

## 7. New fears: anti-Semitism

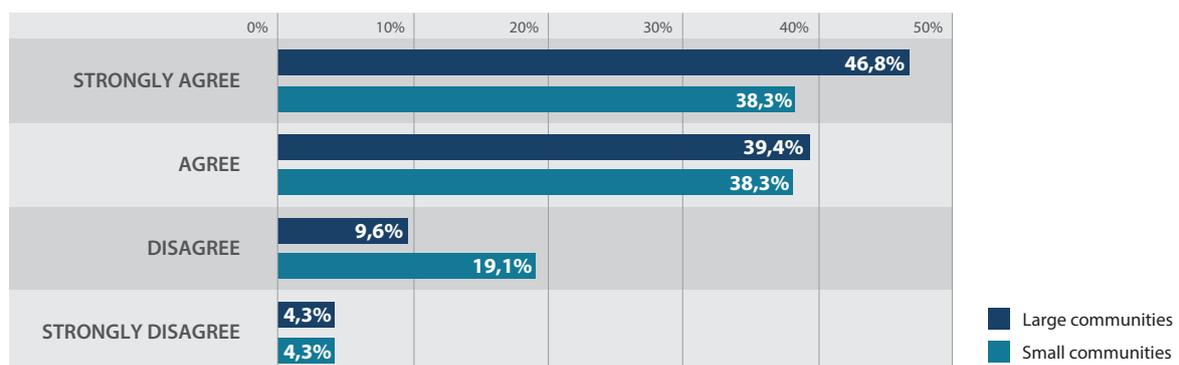
The young adults interviewed pretty much agree that anti-Semitism is on the rise today: 52% of those from large communities and 42,1% of those in small ones *agree* with the statement, and when you add the results for the *strongly agree* option, this amounts to 61% in large communities and 68,8% in the small ones.

Figure 50. Anti-Semitism is on the rise



According to the young Jews, there is a link between criticism leveled at Israel and anti-Semitism, shown by the 46,8% of *strong agreement* recorded in large communities and 38,3% in small ones. Only 13,9% of those from large communities *disagree* or *strongly disagree*, while the small ones record a higher level of disagreement across the board, reaching 23,4%. People who are very observant of *Shabbat* particularly agree about this link between criticizing Israel and anti-Semitism, with those agreeing and strongly agreeing almost totaling 90%, while the values for those who are less observant are less radical but nevertheless in agreement.

Figure 41. Criticizing the State of Israel encourages anti-Semitism

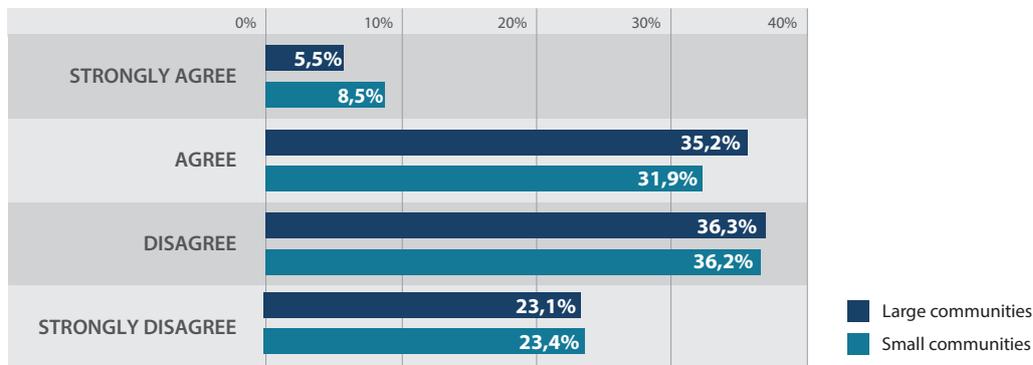


Q41

Keeping Shabbat				
	<i>Non observant</i>	<i>Slightly observant</i>	<i>Quite observant</i>	<i>Extremely observant</i>
Strongly disagree	6,3%	3,1%	5,6%	0,0%
Disagree	14,1%	15,6%	5,6%	11,1%
Agree	32,8%	50,0%	61,1%	25,9%
Strongly Agree	46,9%	31,3%	27,8%	63,0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

The respondents' position about possible discrimination as a result of being Jewish is less clear-cut than for other questions. A substantial percentage – 35,2% in large communities and 31,9% in small ones – *agrees* with this statement. Nonetheless, the majority do not feel that the work environment discriminates against Jews, as shown by the total of the two disagree options, equating to almost 60% in both size communities. Those who are fairly and extremely observant of *Shabbat* seem to be more concerned about possible discrimination at work: 44% of the *extremely observant* and 77,8% of the *quite observant* agree.

Figure 49. Being Jewish could trigger discrimination at your workplace/place of study

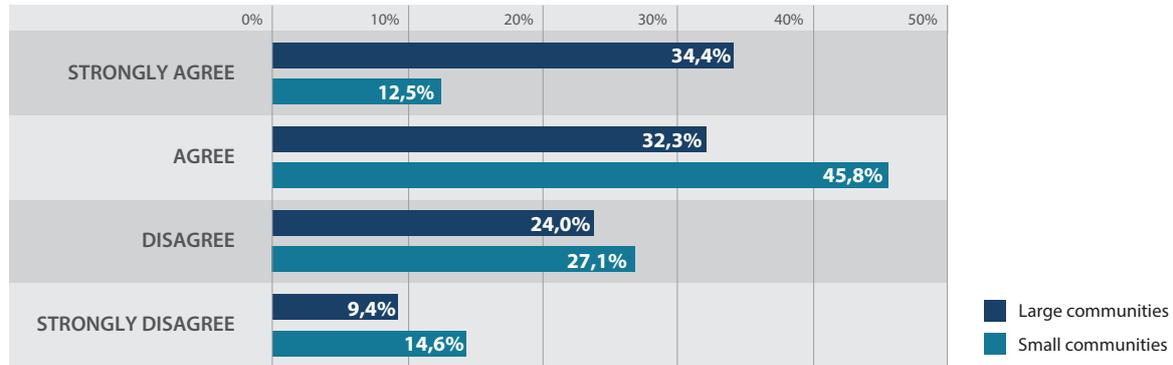


Q49

Keeping Shabbat				
	<i>Non observant</i>	<i>Slightly observant</i>	<i>Quite observant</i>	<i>Extremely observant</i>
Strongly disagree	31,3%	29,0%	0,0%	12,0%
Disagree	39,1%	41,9%	16,7%	36,0%
Agree	23,4%	22,6%	77,8%	44,0%
Strongly Agree	6,3%	6,5%	5,6%	8,0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

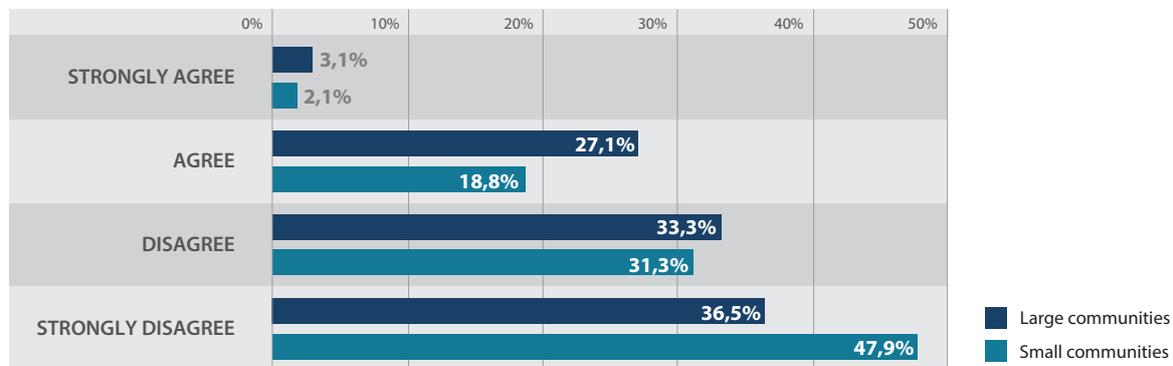
The majority of young Jews interviewed see Islamic immigration as a threat for Italy and Europe: 45,8% in the small communities *agree* with this, while that figure stands at 32,3% in large communities. Young adults in large communities are more uneasy about Islamic immigration, reflected in the figures for those who *strongly agree*, namely 34,4% and the low score for those who strongly disagree, coming under 10%.

Figure 43. Muslim immigrants are a threat for Italy and/or Europe



On the whole, the respondents do not agree with the statement that all Muslims are hostile towards Jews, 47,9% in small communities *strongly disagree* and 31,3% *disagree*. The situation is slightly different in large communities, where the percentage strongly disagreeing drops to 36,5%, while a higher percentage of these young adults actually *agree* compared to the small communities (respectively 27,1% and 18,8%).

Figure 44. All Muslims are hostile towards Jews



### Considerations

There is concern among the young Jews about anti-Semitism, which they feel is on the rise and which they connect to criticism leveled at the State of Israel. They do not even feel totally free from the risk of episodes of anti-Semitism at work. While those who consider themselves possible victims of anti-Semitism are not in a majority, nevertheless they do make up a significant number. Those who are more religious and abide more by Jewish traditions are even more concerned about anti-Semitism, expressing more concern about possible discrimination at work or tensions caused by possible criticism against Israel.

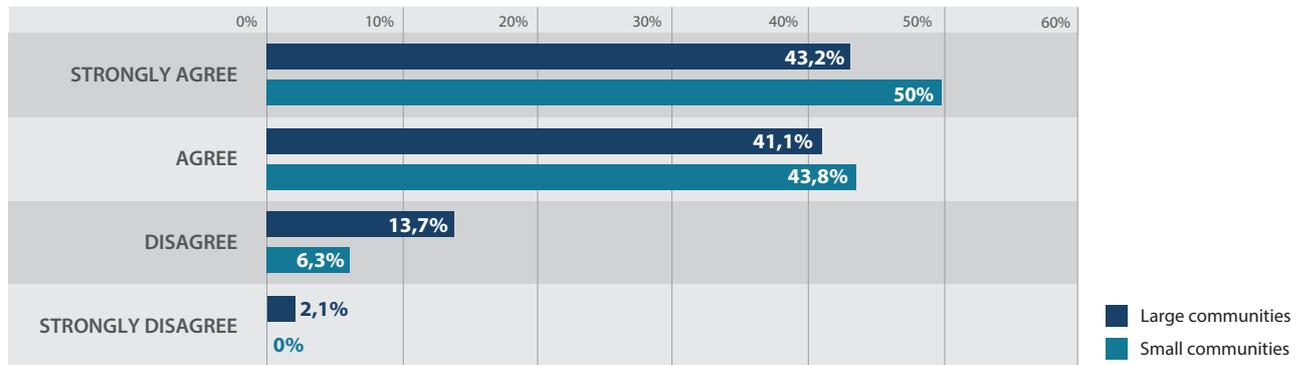
The relationship with immigration is controversial: young Jews, like many young Italians, see immigration as a possible threat, even more so for those living in large communities

where they have more contact with immigrant communities. The mistrust in immigration is only partly reflected in distrust towards those of Muslim faith. For many young Jews, Muslims are not antagonistic towards Jews, even if this is mainly true for those in small communities compared to large ones, which once again are in closer contact with Muslim populations.

### 8. The future: plans and ideas

The respondents agree that continuing their studies until university graduation is important for their future career. In particular, in large communities this is very true for 43,2%, and for 50% in small ones. However, 15% of youths in large communities *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with this statement. Breaking the figures down by qualification, the higher the level of qualification held, the greater the respondents' understanding of the importance of continuing their studies until graduation: 57,1% of those with the highest qualifications *strongly agree* compared with 38,6% of those who only hold diplomas and 20% of those with the lowest level of qualification.

Figure 1. Continuing one's studies until graduation is useful for one's future career



Q1

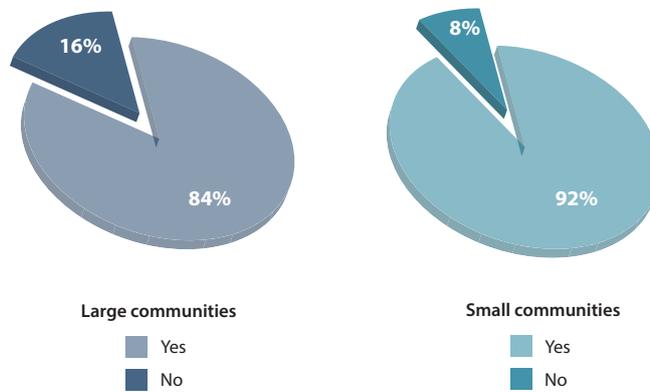
	Qualification level		
	Low	Medium	High
Strongly disagree	20,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Disagree	30,0%	15,7%	3,2%
Agree	30,0%	45,7%	39,7%
Strongly Agree	20,0%	38,6%	57,1%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Young Jews believe the Italian institutions do not do enough to capitalize upon and safeguard studying: this is very much the case for 38,5% of those living in large communities and for 52,1% in small ones. In large communities, however, 24% disagree with this statement, 10 points more than in small communities.



Almost all of the young adults, whether from large or small communities, are willing to go abroad to study or work, equating to 84% in the big communities and reaching 92% in the small ones. The youngest age group, 18-24 year olds, are more willing to move: 91,4% say they would transfer as opposed to roughly 84% in the two older age groups.

Figure 4. You are willing to move abroad for work/study

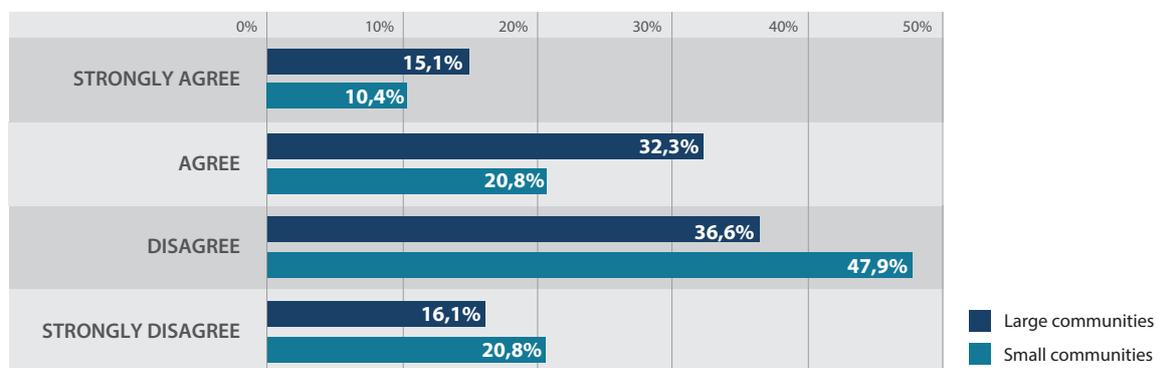


Q4

	Age range		
	18-24	25-29	30-35
No	8,6%	16,4%	16,0%
Yes	91,4%	83,6%	84,0%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Turning to the idea of leaving Italy permanently, the respondents are less emphatic in their position: 47,4% of those in large communities are scared or very scared by the prospect, while the percentage drops to 31,2% in small communities. The older the respondents, the more frightened they are about a definitive move abroad: while only 1,8% of the youngest age group, 18-24 year olds, are frightened by the idea, the percentage of those who are frightened increases with their age, exceeding 20%.

Figure 5. The idea of permanently leaving Italy for work reasons frightens you

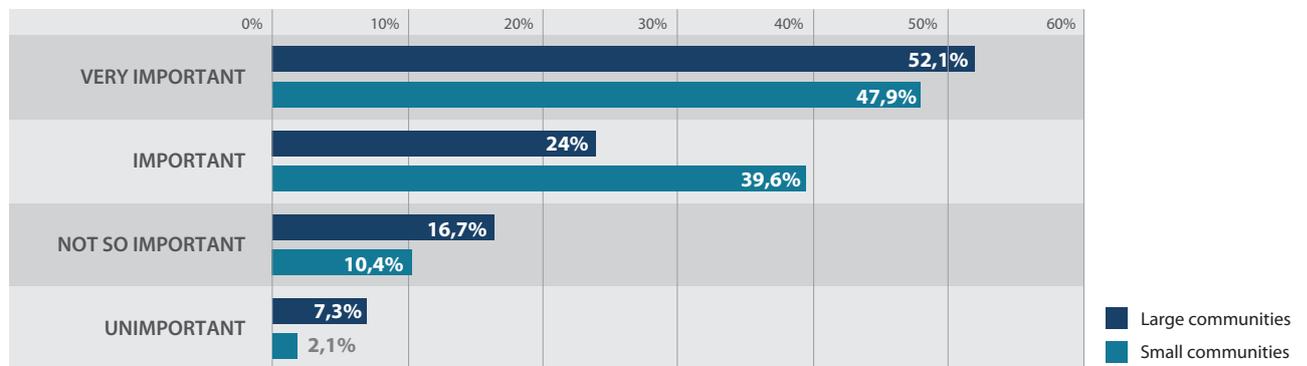


Q5

Age range			
	18-24	25-29	30-35
Strongly disagree	22,8%	15,0%	12,5%
Disagree	45,6%	35,0%	41,7%
Agree	29,8%	28,3%	25,0%
Strongly agree	1,8%	21,7%	20,8%
Total	100%	100%	100%

The presence of a Jewish community in the potential city of transfer abroad is very important for the respondents: 52,1% of young adults in large communities and 47,9% in small ones say the presence of a Jewish community is *very important*, while 24% in large communities and 39,6% in small ones view it as *important*. The level of observance of *Shabbat* has a bearing on the importance attached to the presence of a Jewish community: 81,5% of those who are extremely observant *strongly agree*, compared with 39,4% or 33,3% of the non- or slightly observant.

Figure 6. How important is the presence of a Jewish community in the foreign city where you may have to move for work/study reasons?



Q6

Keeping Shabbat				
	Non observant	Slightly observant	Quite observant	Extremely observant
Strongly disagree	9,1%	6,1%	0,0%	0,0%
Disagree	22,7%	9,1%	5,6%	7,4%
Agree	28,8%	51,5%	16,7%	11,1%
Strongly Agree	39,4%	33,3%	77,8%	81,5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

## Considerations

The youths interviewed are well aware of the importance of education, even though they are not totally satisfied with what the Italian authorities do to protect and encourage higher education. In general, and especially when very young, they believe that an experience abroad is important and they support the idea of moving for work or study. The idea of a permanent move from Italy frightens them, especially if they live in large communities. The presence of a Jewish community in the potential destination country is important, especially for young adults from small cities (probably because they have closer ties to their local community's activities), but also for those who are extremely observant of Shabbat.

## Annex 1

### The Sample

The sample of young Italian Jews we selected for our survey was built by extracting young men and women who were members of the Jewish communities in Italy. The selection criteria kept into account the makeup of the population for each age group as well as the structure of the communities in the various geographical areas. We used the quota sampling method, that is, we selected units of population up until we reached the established number of interviewees, which was representative of the chosen group. As the quota sampling method is not among the probabilistic ones, it is not possible to estimate the error associated to the sample. Rather, we opted for that method with a view to *selecting* the units to interview by picking the traits and characteristics that would best represent young Italian Jews and their views. In other terms, we opted for the quota sampling method because we thought it most suitable to assess our respondents' opinions. In addition to that, this method is most frequently used in opinion surveys. For these reasons, the sampling plan included the extraction of quotas of young males and females from large and small Jewish communities based upon the following pattern:

	No. of interviewees
Large community, Male	48
Large community, Female	48
Small community, Male	24
Small community, Female	24

Our choice to select 96 members of Italy's large Jewish communities and 48 members of small communities was dictated by the peculiar geographical distribution of young adults in the population: most young members of Jewish communities in Italy happen to be in larger communities.

At any rate, we built our sample keeping in mind the population distribution by age group as shown in the table below, which demonstrates the coherence between the proportion of interviewees in the sample and the reference universe. The geographical distribution of the young adults in the reference Jewish population is characterized by a greater concentration of community members in the Center-South of Italy (including Rome), with 58% of the total number of members, followed by the North-West (including Milan), with 36% of the total. Upon extracting the sample we kept the same geographical distribution of Jewish community members, with percentages that were very close to those of the population, i.e. 62% for the Center-South and 32% for the North-West. Against this geographical background, attention should be drawn to the cities of Rome and Milan, which by themselves include a significant number of Jewish community members: 51% and 31% respectively.

	No. of community members aged 19-35	% of the population	% of the interviewees	No. of interviewees
North-East	319	6%	6%	8
North-West (Milan)	1735	36%	32%	46
Centre-South	2884	58%	62%	90
Total	4938	100%	100%	144

Any discrepancies between the sample quotas and the reference population were caused by adjustments to the quotas due to difficulties in identifying certain groups of interviewees.

The decision to select the same number of males and females was dictated by research reasons. Although we were aware that the decision did not reflect the male/female proportion in the population, we considered the same number of young adults of both sexes—partly because the Jewish descent is matrilineal—in view of obtaining a complete picture of our young respondents’ opinions.

## Annex 2

### The interviewees

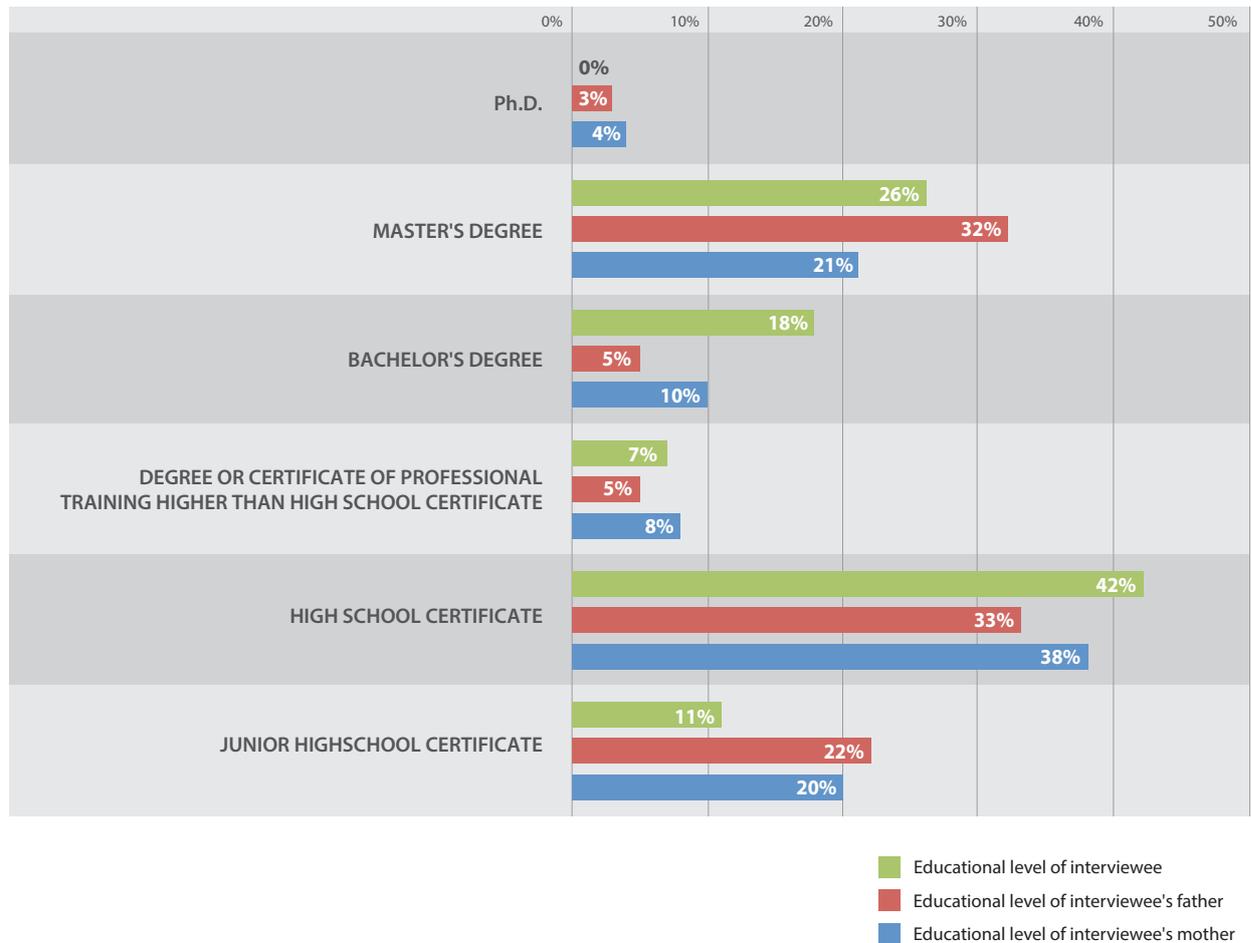
Most of our young interviewees belonged to the intermediate age group, between 23 and 27 years. In particular, in larger Jewish communities this age group is by far the most numerous (53,1%). The second largest group was young adults over 28 years of age, who are 28,1% of the total. In smaller communities the intermediate age group only slightly exceeded the other ones, and unlike in larger communities, the interviewees aged between 18 and 22 were the second largest group.

	All respondents	Large communities	Small communities
18-22	22,9%	18,8%	15,6%
23-27	48,6%	53,1%	19,8%
28 and older	28,5%	28,1%	14,6%
Total	100%	100%	100%

As regards educational level, the largest group (with 42%) was that of young adults who held at least a high school diploma and a considerable percentage of our interviewees were holders of Master’s Degrees. Of course, the distribution of educational achievement was influenced by the distribution of the reference population by age group. It is interesting to note how the distribution of our young interviewees reflected—or even, in some cases, exceeded—their parents’ patterns. For instance, in the case of high school

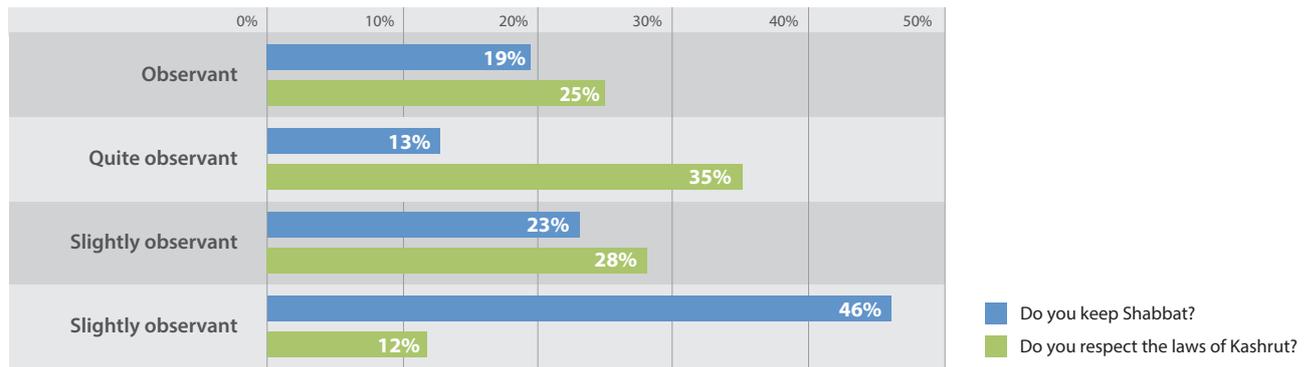
diploma holders, the interviewees and their parents had similar percentages. The same did not apply for university degrees—due in part to the recent change in the Italian higher education system—and our young respondents hold Bachelor’s or Master’s degrees in larger percentages than their parents. Generally speaking, therefore, the educational level of Italian Jews has increased from one generation to the next: this is demonstrated with the holders of the lowest diploma (junior high school): their percentage was higher among the parents than among their children.

**Educational Level**



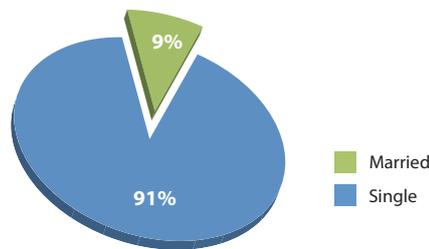
Our assessment of the respondents’ religious observance was based on their level of observance of Shabbat and of the rules of *Kashrut*. The differences with respect to these variables were significant: 46% of our young interviewees did not keep *Shabbat* but only 12% did not respect the rules of *Kashrut*. 25% said they were observant and 35% quite observant of *Kashrut*, but only 19% said they were observant of *Shabbat* and 13% quite observant. Thus, in general, young Italian Jews say they keep kosher more than they keep *Shabbat*.

### Level of religious observance



Only 9% of our young interviewees were married, as against 91% of singles. This reflected the general trends of Italian young adults, who tend to marry later and later.

### Marital Status



## Annex 3

### Online questionnaire

The following qualitative questionnaire comprises a total of 52 questions, divided into groups of four. It should take around 20 minutes to answer all the questions.

The Hans Jonas Association for Jewish Culture will use the information provided to develop research analyzing young adults' perceptions of Italian Judaism.

Interviewees are asked to answer ALL the questions on the basis of their own personal experience and understanding, without comparing notes with others.

We would also ask that particular attention be paid to answering the final set of questions relating to your personal information. This has been included purely for statistical purposes and to enable us to compare results from the perspective of different cultural and social backgrounds.

PLEASE NOTE! All answers will be collected ANONYMOUSLY. As a result, neither the Hans Jonas Association nor any other third parties will be able to recover any information about participating interviewees, conforming to Italian privacy laws (Art. 4, Legislative Decree no. 196 of 2003).

By clicking on the option to CONTINUE and answering the following questionnaire, the interviewee is giving their consent to the Hans Jonas Association for Jewish Culture to use the information provided for research purposes. In turn, the Hans Jonas Association

commits to protecting said data, guaranteeing it is not disclosed or passed on and ensuring the anonymity of the interviewees is protected.

Some questions are in the form of statements, in which case you are asked to indicate to what extent you agree with the statement

Finally, we ask you to answer all the questions, as it will be extremely difficult to make good use of incomplete questionnaires.

Thank you for your cooperation.

## Hans Jonas: online questionnaire 2010

### 1) Continuing one's studies until graduation is useful for one's future career

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

### 2) Italian institutions safeguard and capitalize upon the experience of studying less than other European countries

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

### 3) Moving abroad to study/work is worthwhile

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

### 4) You are willing to move abroad for work/ to study

- Yes
- No

### 5) The idea of permanently leaving Italy for work reasons frightens you

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

### 6) How important is the presence of a Jewish community in the foreign city where you may have to move for work/study reasons?

Unimportant 1 2 3 4 Very important

**7) Being Jewish is contingent upon belonging to a Jewish community/institution**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**8) In areas with no Jewish communities/institutions, Judaism is doomed to extinction**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**9) How many exhibitions/museums have you visited in the last four months?**

- None
- Between 1 and 3
- Between 4 and 7
- More than 7

**10) How many books have you read in the last four months?**

- None
- Between 1 and 3
- Between 4 and 7
- More than 7

**11) How many debates/political rallies have you attended in the last four months?**

- None
- Between 1 and 3
- Between 4 and 7
- More than 7

**12) How many plays and/or concerts have you been to in the last four months?**

- None
- Between 1 and 3
- Between 4 and 7
- More than 7

**13) Given the choice to select at least one and no more than two of the following options, indicate what you think are the tasks of the Jewish institutions in Italy:**

- Provision of services
- Political representation outside the community
- Safeguarding the rights of the Jewish minority
- Guarantee religious/moral support

- Provide a place to meet/exchange ideas
- Other

**14) The Jewish communities are generally efficient in performing their tasks**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**15) Do you participate in programs for young adults of your age organized by your community?**

- Never
- Hardly ever
- Often
- Always

**16) All Italian Jewish communities are Orthodox by statute. Do you agree with this choice?**

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**17) You would prefer Israel to other countries if you were to move abroad for work/ to study**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**18) Israel is a great model of democracy, even for the more advanced countries in the West**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**19) The current international situation is threatening the survival of the State of Israel**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**20) Is it possible to criticize the Israeli government?**

- No, never
- Yes, only within the community
- Yes, but cautiously outside the community
- Yes, always

**21) The key aspects of being Jewish are generally linked to:**

- Religion
- Emotional ties
- Family
- Culture
- Other....

**22) Being Jewish means:**

- A people
- A religion
- A shared experience
- A common bond
- Other....

**23) Being Jewish does not conflict with belonging to one's country**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**24) Judaism will only have a future if all Jews move to Israel**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**25) Frequenting Jewish peers makes one feel more secure**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**26) In your social circle, do you make a distinction between Jewish and non-Jewish friends?**

- Yes
- No

**27) Do you feel uncomfortable in the company of non-Jewish friends/acquaintances?**

- Never
- Sometimes
- Often
- Always

**28) Compared to your parents you are**

- Not at all religious
- Less religious
- At least as religious
- More religious

**29) Which of the following things do you identify most with being Jewish (max 2 options)**

- The belief in one G-d
- Respect for others and oneself
- Respect for Jewish Laws (*Mitzvot*)
- Keeping *Shabbat*
- Doing good deeds for others (*Tzedakah*)
- Belonging to the Jewish people
- Being a minority
- Following family traditions
- The Holocaust
- Other:

**30) In your opinion, given the choice from the following options, the key traits of reform Judaism are (max 2 options):**

- Mixed marriages
- Women rabbis
- Different approach to *Kashrut*
- Different approach to *Shabbat*
- Different approach / criteria for conversions
- Other:

**31) Reform Judaism has become a valid alternative to Orthodox Judaism**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**32) The modern interpretation of the mitzvot applied by Reform Judaism encourages the return of Jews who have 'moved away' from their faith**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**33) The progressive (Reform) approach to conversion to Judaism for non-Jews, or for children from mixed marriages, is less rigid than the approach applied by Orthodox Judaism. This is a valid antidote to counter the falling number of Italian Jews**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**34) Reform Jews should be politically represented within the national Jewish institutions in Italy**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**35) Would you like to see Reform Judaism grow in Italy's Jewish communities?**

- Yes
- No

**36) If you answered Yes to the previous question, why?**

*Indicate which of the following options you consider most important*

- Continuity
- Enlargement
- Survival
- The possibility of entering into mixed marriages

**37) A family can be Jewish only if both spouses are Jewish**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**38) It is possible to create a Jewish family even if one of the spouses is not Jewish**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**39) On the issue of marriage, indicate how important you feel the following aspects are for two people who want to get married?**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with each option*

**a) Sharing the same political views**

Unimportant 1 2 3 4 Very important

**b) Being in love**

Unimportant 1 2 3 4 Very important

**c) Practicing the same religion**

Unimportant 1 2 3 4 Very important

**d) Having the same social status**

Unimportant 1 2 3 4 Very important

**e) Respecting and understanding the other person's family tradition**

Unimportant 1 2 3 4 Very important

**40) Rank the following aspects concerning your children's education, in order of importance**

*Choose column headed "5" for the most important aspect; the column headed "1" represents the least important aspect. Each line must be given a different score (so only one option can be marked as 5, one as 4, one as 3 etc.)*

1 (least important) 2 3 4 5 (most important)

- Civic education (abiding by the law)
- Religious education (knowing the religion's rules)
- Traditional aspects (respect of customs and morals)
- Historical education (knowing history of people/s)
- School education (basic notions and knowledge)

**41) Criticizing the State of Israel encourages anti-Semitism**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**42) Immigrants in Italy tend to be hostile towards Jews**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**43) Muslim immigrants are a threat for Italy and/or Europe**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**44) All Muslims are hostile towards Jews**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**45) Rising immigration increases the hostility of public opinion against Jews**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**46) A Jew can be compared to an immigrant**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**47) Safeguarding every culture is a fundamental value**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**48) Defending immigrants equates to defending Jews**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**49) Being Jewish could trigger discrimination at your workplace/place of study**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**50) Anti-Semitism is on the rise today**

*Indicate to what extent you agree with this statement*

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 Strongly agree

**51) Have you witnessed any episodes of social and/or racial discrimination in the last 6 months?**

- Yes
- No

**52) If you answered Yes to question 51, indicate which of these factors you think could have sparked off the discrimination**

**a) Political beliefs**

Not at all influential 1 2 3 4 5 Very influential

**b) Religious beliefs**

Not at all influential 1 2 3 4 5 Very influential

**c) Social conditions**

Not at all influential 1 2 3 4 5 Very influential

**d) Bullying**

Not at all influential 1 2 3 4 5 Very influential

**e) Ignorance and/or prejudices about others**

Not at all influential 1 2 3 4 5 Very influential

## PERSONAL DATA

We remind you that the anonymity of interviewees is guaranteed and all the information collected here will be treated in accordance with Italian privacy laws. Answers will only be used for the statistical purposes of the research.

When you have completed your answers, click on SEND.

Once your answers have been sent, it will not be possible to effectuate any further modifications to the questionnaire. If you wish to make any changes, please do so before clicking send.

\*Compulsory field

**Gender\***

- Male
- Female

**Age\***

Please select your age. If you have not yet celebrated your birthday, select the age you will be turning on your birthday in 2010

**City where you live\***

Indicate the city where you currently live/study

**Of which Jewish community are you a member? \***

Indicate the community where you are a member. If you are not a member of any Jewish community you can write NONE

**Marital status\*****Level of qualification\***

Lower secondary school certificate

**Have you attended a Jewish school\***

Supplementary Talmud Torah courses organized by the Jewish Community do not count as a Yes answer for this question

- Yes
- No

**Do you keep Shabbat?\***

The observance of Shabbat involves many limitations (prohibiting cooking, travelling, writing, switching electrical appliances on or off, smoking, carrying). Define yourself as keeping Shabbat on the basis of your observance of these laws or not.

Not Observant 1 2 3 4 Extremely observant

**Do you keep Kosher?\***

The rules of Kashrut forbid the eating of certain foods (e.g. shellfish, pork, etc.) or the mixing of certain foods (e.g. not eating milk and meat during the same meal). Define your level of observance on the basis of your keeping these laws or not.

Not Observant 1 2 3 4 Extremely observant

**Your father's level of qualification\*****Your mother's level of education\*****Notes**

In the box below you can add comments, suggestions and criticisms of the questionnaire you have just taken.

The JDC International Centre for Community Development (JDC-ICCD) was founded in 2005. It aims to identify, understand and analyze ongoing changes and transformations taking place in Europe that impact particularly Jewish communities on the continent.

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Associazione di Cultura Ebraica  
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for Community Development

