J Street's Role as a Broker:

Is J Street Expanding the Reach of the Organized American Jewish Community?

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Abstract

J Street, a new pro-Israel interest group, has engaged the debate over what it means to be pro-Israel. In doing so, J Street has become a broker that can communicate with and influence the people and organizations that were once considered outside the reach of the organized American Jewish community. Many of theses groups are more liberal than the American Israel Public Affairs Committee's (AIPAC) positions on the issue of Israel. In its capacity as a broker, J Street has been able to reach out to organizations such as liberal interest groups, Christian groups, Arab and Muslim groups, younger American Jews, and student groups. On the individual level, J Street has the potential to act as a broker to American Jews who are either apathetic or feel that their views on Israel are unrepresented by mainstream Jewish groups such as AIPAC. This thesis explores how J Street came to assume this role, what it has done so far in terms of its role as a broker, and what it can do as a broker in the future.

For many years, the issue of United States policy concerning the U.S.-Israeli relationship has been dominated by one interest group, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). AIPAC is a pro-Israel group who refers to itself as “America’s Pro-Israel Lobby” (“What is AIPAC?”). AIPAC has an “100,000-member national grassroots movement described by *The New York Times* as ‘the most important organization affecting America's relationship with Israel’" (“What is AIPAC?”). Some critics of the organization argue that AIPAC only represents a small range of views that tend to be more aligned with the views of neoconservatives and right-wing groups. Due to this perceived bias, critics assert that AIPAC does not adequately represent the American Jewish view on the US-Israeli relationship (Ben-Ami “The 'previously silent' majority”). AIPAC, along with the majority of other pro-Israel groups, seldom criticizes Israel publicly, and AIPAC’s official position is to support the interests and actions of the Israeli government. Since the creation of Israel there have been pro-Israel groups who were willing to criticize Israel, but most of them were short-lived and have been unsuccessful at changing the debate (Goldberg 206-207).

In April of 2008, a new pro-Israel group called “J Street” was founded with the motto “pro-Israel, pro-peace.” J Street was formed when Jewish activists were dissatisfied that a strong, liberal voice was missing from pro-Israel groups and, therefore, J Street was, “named after the street missing from Washington’s grid and thus evoking a voice missing from Washington’s policy discussions” (Traub). The major part of J Street’s identity that differentiates it from other groups is its willingness to criticize and disagree with the Israeli government. The founder and executive director of J Street, Jeremy Ben-Ami stated, “We’re trying to redefine what it means to be pro-Israel. You don’t have to be noncritical. You don’t have to adopt the party line. It’s not, Israel, right or wrong” (Traub). Since J Street is willing to criticize Israel, the group has “tried to

position itself as a counterweight to groups like the American Israel Public Affairs Committee" (Lewis and Landler). By positioning itself as the "counterweight" to the more conservative AIPAC, J Street is clearly trying to become a major player as an effective liberal pro-Israel group. J Street's identity of being less conservative comes from its willingness to support positions such as sharing Jerusalem as a capital, agreeing to freeze settlements, and supporting the goal of ultimately having two separate states. These views are in line with the Obama Administration's policy on Israel. J Street describes its successes in this excerpt from J Street's 2010 annual report:

> The political voice of the pro-Israel, pro-peace movement grew by leaps and bounds, raising over $5 million in operating funds across the J Street family of organizations, and growing to over 160,000 supporters and 45 full and part-time staff in eight cities around the country. J Street also moved into communities all across the country in 2010, establishing over 40 J Street Locals and creating a home for pro-Israel, pro-peace college students on over 50 campuses through J Street U. In November, as election results rocked the political world in Washington, the success of J Street's independent political action committee, JStreetPAC was the political story of the year in the Jewish community. The PAC cemented its status as the largest pro-Israel PAC in the country, distributing over $1.5 million to its endorsed candidates and winning 45 of the 61 races in which it endorsed (J Street).

This early success has given J Street publicity in the news and criticism from many of the more mainstream pro-Israel groups. Many individuals within the organized American Jewish

community have criticized J Street and even accused the group of not being pro-Israel (Rosenberg).

Despite the framing of J Street as always being against the organized American Jewish community, J Street may, in fact, be helping the organized American Jewish community expand its reach. Due to its liberal identity, J Street has been able to communicate and influence groups and individuals that are traditionally considered to be outside the organized American Jewish community. Due to its pro-Israel identity, J Street has also been able to work in coalitions and in collaboration with pro-Israel Jewish groups in the organized American Jewish community. These two connections allow J Street to act as an intermediary and broker to groups outside the organized American Jewish community. J Street's influence has brought about negotiations that would either have not occurred or would have been much more difficult without J Street. Many of these negotiations have produced outcomes that were preferable to the organized American Jewish community. In other words, J Street has stepped in and communicated more moderate views that are often in line with the organized American Jewish community to organizations and individuals who are outside that community. When J Street was created, it engaged the debate about what it means to be pro-Israel, and in doing so, J Street has actually expanded the reach of the organized American Jewish community. With J Street's help, the Jewish community is able to reach more individuals and groups outside of the community.

This thesis explains J Street's role as a broker. The first section of the paper explains what it means to be a broker and discusses the context in which J Street serves as a broker. The second section explains the historical circumstances of how certain individuals and groups became separated from the organized American Jewish community. Further this section details notable structural facets and policy positions of the organized American Jewish community. The

third section discusses the methods of conducting interviews of staff members from pro-Israel interest groups, the Israeli embassy, and congressional offices. The fourth section reports the results of the interviews, which show that the organized American Jewish community and other individuals see J Street as aiding the community by serving as a broker. The fifth section discusses the method of conducting surveys of American Jewish views on Israel and pro-Israel interest groups. The sixth section reports the survey results, which show, the potential role that J Street serves to American Jews who are uninformed, apathetic, or consider themselves outside the organized American Jewish community. The final section concludes that J Street has and can continue to serve as a broker between groups in the organized American Jewish community and the individuals and groups outside the community.

Brokerage Theory: J Street's Role as a Broker

In order to evaluate J Street's role as a broker, it is important to understand what is meant by the term "broker". According to theories of brokerage, "a broker is an intermediary that facilitates transactions by standing between other interest groups that are not connected directly to one another" (Marsden 202). There are various reasons why groups may not be directly connected to one another. For instance, these reasons can include "geographical distance, lack of trust, lack of resources, or simply because they are unaware of each others' existence" (Bulow 3). Groups may not trust one another if they have opposing ideologies or even more so if they have had past negative relations. A successful broker can bring these types of opposing groups together because they are able to "undermine ideological differences" (Bulow 4). There are certain situations in which a broker may be helpful even if the groups it connects are not entirely separated from one another (Bulow 3). This means that certain groups may communicate or

work with one another, but can be further connected through a broker. According to one categorization of brokers, there are four roles that brokers can serve:

> . . . *translators*, who produce and diffuse information within and across boundaries; *coordinators*, needed to organize the distribution of resources, responsibilities and information; *articulators*, who bridge across cleavages to bring together actors and negotiate common positions, and the role of *representatives* of a wider group in events and meetings (Bulow 6).

An articulator's role includes opening up dialogues between groups and helping groups to reach a negotiation (Bulow 6). This thesis examines how J Street is serving as a broker, specifically as an articulator, by connecting the organized American Jewish community to the groups or individuals who are considered outside of the organized American Jewish community. Due to ideological divisions between these two groups, there was a lack of effective communication and negotiation. When J Street was created, it was able to take on the role of linking these two groups despite their divisions. J Street was able serve as an intermediary between the two groups since it shared common interests with both groups.

In discussing the interview results below, I offer examples in which J Street has successfully served as a broker. In addition to these successes, the surveys results section looks at the potential role J Street can play as a broker between the organized American Jewish community and Jews who are not currently active in the organized American Jewish community. Before these ideas can be further explored, it is necessary to first understand the historical events and circumstances that have allowed J Street to step in and take on this role as a broker.

The Organized American Jewish Community in Historical Perspective

Although the focus of this thesis is on J Street's role as a broker, a complete understanding of this role requires an awareness of the larger context of the pro-Israel interest group community and its history. This analysis allows for a proper assessment of why certain groups no longer consider themselves to be a part of the organized American Jewish community, and of why J Street is able to play the role of a broker. This discussion allows for a better understanding of why other groups similar to J Street failed in the past to serve as brokers and why J Street has met a different fate.

In order to better understand the current organization of pro-Israel interest groups in the United States, it is important to first be familiar with the history of pro-Israel interest groups. A complete understanding of this history includes an awareness of Jewish involvement in politics. The Jewish involvement in politics, especially when it comes to pro-Israel groups, had been strongly affected and shaped by events in Israel, by the various Israeli political parties, by events in the United States, and by various United States administrations and governments. I examine these factors, mindful of the question of how these events, administrations and governments have affected the mindset of American Jews, the strategies of the organized American Jewish community, and the structure and tendencies of pro-Israel groups in the United States. Certain groups and events are left out of this historical narrative, not because they are unimportant, but because they are not relevant to J Street's role as a broker. In addition, certain viewpoints that are discussed are arguable in nature, but since some groups believe that these positions are true, the influence of these beliefs is still quite real and worth discussing. I begin by examining the influence of the creation of the state of Israel on pro-Israel groups.

The Organized American Jewish Community After the State of Israel

The state of Israel declared its independence in 1948. After Israel was established, the organizations within the American Jewish community evolved to support the new nation and the organizations were affected by the events that took place in Israel. As a response to the creation of the state of Israel, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee was founded in 1950. AIPAC is a prominent pro-Israel group and is "arguably the most influential voice in Washington advocating on behalf of the state of Israel" (Maisel 110). AIPAC's main focus is to lobby the United States government to support Israel. By the 1980s, AIPAC had become one of the most powerful lobbies in the United States and had built up an impressive grassroots network (Maisel 259). AIPAC's policy is to support the state of Israel and the current government of Israel, so criticism of Israel is rare to non-existent within the group. In theory, no matter what political party is in power in Israel, AIPAC will give that party its full support (Goldberg 60).

For almost the first thirty years of Israel's history, the Labor Party was in power, but after 1977, the Likud party came to power. Since that time both parties have won elections. In 1984 there was an election with no clear majority and a unity government was formed in which the parties rotated being in power. Currently, the Likud party is in power. The two parties have different ideologies and priorities. Compared to the Likud party, the Labor party tends to be much more supportive of the idea of trading land for peace. Generally speaking, the Labor party is more willing to make concessions in hopes for peace, while the Likud party is more focused on maintaining security. The Likud party is often viewed as the more hawkish group with conservative views while the Labor party is seen as the more dovish and liberal group (Goldberg 200, 210).

According to some critics of AIPAC, when the Israeli government shifted toward holding more conservative positions, AIPAC also became more conservative and has continued moving in that direction ever since (Goldberg 225-226). By having more conservative beliefs on the issue of Israel, groups often put a higher focus on security and retaining all of Israel's land rather than on making concessions for peace and considering minority rights. Yitzhak Rabin, a former Labor party prime minister voiced the accusation that AIPAC's claim of supporting the Israeli government and not taking a position on Israeli policies was hypocritical, since AIPAC tended to support the Likud party and not the Labor party even though the Labor party was currently the party in power (Goldberg 347). The perception that AIPAC had taken a more conservative turn has alienated some of the more liberal Jews and non-Jews. Those who feel alienated either become apathetic or join groups that are not included in the organized pro-Israel community. The organized American Jewish community often considers the people who leave the community and are critical of the Israeli government to be self-hating Jews or anti-Israel. These accusations have created a rift between the organized American Jewish community and those Jews and non-Jews who left the community to form new groups or who left and became uninvolved on the issue of Israel altogether. A common belief among the more liberal groups is that younger Jews are not interested in groups such as AIPAC since it is perceived as being too conservative (Beinart).

Understanding Security Concerns and Dissent

In 1967, Israel received intelligence that Egypt and Syria were planning an attack on Israel in what would become known as the Six-Day War (Maisel 106). For three weeks Israel prepared for war and both American Jews and Israelis worried about the future of Israel. On June 5, 1967, Israel attacked first and it quickly became apparent that the Arab resistance was no match to the Israeli army. The Six-Day War helped to install pride in Jews of Israel's great

strength. However, the three-week wait before the war also cemented the fear in the minds of many Jews that Israel faced many threats and could be destroyed at any moment. (Goldberg 134-7). During the war, Israel had seized new territories and many people, including many Israelis were uncomfortable with the seizures. However, the League of Arab States would not negotiate with Israel and the United Nations debates were filled with anti-Semitic rhetoric. Around this time, many third world countries, along with the Soviet Union, moved away from supporting Israel.

After 1967, Holocaust awareness became more prominent. According to J.J. Goldberg in *Jewish Power*, after 1968 the lesson from the Holocaust shifted from being a message about "common humanity" to becoming the message that "Jews should never let their guard down in a world that couldn't be much worse" (Goldberg 146). American Jews worried about the world turning against Israel and about preventing another Holocaust. These worries reinforced the view that Israel needed American Jewish support (Maisel 138-46). According to Goldberg, a minority of Jews experienced these strong worries, but this minority fought fiercely to support Israel and these views became engrained in the organized American Jewish community.

The Six-Day War had an effect on older Jews who lived through a time when it seemed as if Israel's security was in imminent danger. Due to this event, many older American Jews worry more about Israeli security than about human rights and occupation since they "continue to identify with that more internally cohesive, more innocent Israel of their youth, an Israel that now only exists in their memories" (Beinart). The Six-Day War also changed the organizations themselves since there seemed to be "a fundamental transformation of values" in the American Jewish community (Goldberg 161). The excerpt below shows the shift of values:

> . . . the world after 1967 was regarded as a hostile place, divided between the Jews' friends and their enemies. The values that for so long categorized American Judaism-equality, tolerance, and social justice- became suspect in New Jewish leadership circles. A new set of values came to replace them: loyalty to the Jewish people, commitment to its survival, and hostility towards enemies (Goldberg 161-162).

This shift in values led to a new view of the world that allowed for liberalism to fall to a low priority and security concerns to be the sole priority valued by the organized American Jewish community. The Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations (the Presidents' Conference) was created in 1954 and worked to provide a collective Jewish voice on international issues. More than 50 American Jewish organizations are members and the organizations consist of community groups, religious groups, lobbing groups, advocacy groups and other types of Jewish groups. The Presidents' Conference took on the important role of communicating information between the executive branch in the United States and Israeli officials as well as working on congressional advocacy and all forms of U.S. government advocacy on Israel (Maisel 106-107).

After the Six-Day War, the President's Conference turned its focus to Israel. Many U.S. government officials were glad to have one organization to talk to that represented the organized American Jewish community (Maisel 106-107). In order to have one organization represent the community, there needed to be a unified front. Even today, many Jewish organizations still believe that the American Jewish community needs to present a unified front in order to have access and influence to public officials (Goldberg 208). Any group or individual which publicly dissents is often criticized, since this dissent shows the disunity within the community. The

organized American Jewish community has criticized and ostracized the organizations or people who dissent, which has made ". . . the right of Jews to dissent from Israeli policy…the most sordidly painful issue to arise in Jewish community life in the last generation" (Goldberg 206). Although the Jewish community "prides itself on feisty independence, the Jewish community came down solidly *against* its own members' freedom of expression during the mid-1970s" (Goldberg 206). In 1973, a group called "Breira" was created. Breira criticized some Israeli policies and was willing to dissent from the rest of the organized American Jewish community. Breira never had more than 1,500 members and its budget was less than $50,000. However, Breira received a lot of media attention and was criticized by other groups in the community. Breira' staff members were threatened to be removed from other groups and their loyalty to Israel was questioned. By 1977, many of the staff members had resigned and the group dissolved (Goldberg 207-208). Other groups and individuals, especially journalists, were criticized for any public dissent on the issue of Israel.

After the "crackdown" on dissent in the 1970s, some within the community questioned the harsh way dissenters were treated (Goldberg 208). As a response to this questioning, the organized community decided upon a new set of rules that aimed to allow groups to criticize Israeli policy while maintaining the public appearance of unity. This aim meant that publicly groups or individuals were not allowed to criticize Israel, but privately within the Jewish community, the criticism could be heard. The new rules included the idea that only Israelis could decide their policy because American Jews did not face the real security risks of living in Israel.

Another important rule was to not negotiate with the Palestinian terrorists. Anyone within the Jewish community who did not follow these rules, "found themselves unwelcome in community forums, asked to leave governing boards, shouted down at meetings" (Goldberg 207-

208). The groups or individuals who broke the new rules were alienated from the organized American Jewish community. Some individuals choose to remain silent and became inactive in the community. Other individuals formed new groups that were not accepted within the community. These groups splintered off, and until this day, many of these groups are ignored or criticized by the organized American Jewish community. These new rules were a turning point because they created a clear division between which groups were a part of the organized community and which groups were outsiders (Goldberg 208-209).

J Street Enters the Scene

In 2008, J Street was created to serve as a "new political voice for pro-Israel Americans in favor of active U.S. leadership to achieve a two-state solution, and assertive diplomacy to end conflicts in the Middle East peacefully" (Ben-Ami "The Previously Silent Majority"). J Street's founders believed that negotiations need to begin as soon as possible and that, in order for this to happen, the United States government needs to put pressure on Israel. J Street says that American Jews need to give the United States government support so that United States officials and representatives do not fear alienating American Jews by pushing the Israeli government to make concessions and negotiate. Executive director of J Street Jeremy Ben-Ami, discusses these views in the following excerpt:

> The window is closing on a two-state solution, and Israel's prospects for a second, safer 60 years grow [sic] are growing ever dimmer…It is time for the broad, sensible mainstream of pro-Israel American Jews and their allies to challenge those on the extreme right who claim to speak for all American Jews in the national debate about Israel and the Middle East — and who, through the use of fear and intimidation, have cut off reasonable debate on the topic. In Washington

> today, these voices are seen to speak for the entire American Jewish community. But they don't speak for me. And I don't believe they speak for the majority of the American Jews with whom I have lived and worked. Yet I heed those in Israel who say we are fast approaching a point of no return beyond which it may be impossible to secure Israel's future as the Jewish, democratic home … An immediate, negotiated end to the conflict is, simply, an existential necessity — and the time to reach it is running out" (Ben Ami "For Israel's Sake, Moderate American Jews Must Find Their Voice").

In the above excerpt Ben Ami discusses how right-wing-groups, such as AIPAC, speak for the Jewish community in Washington, yet he believes that these groups do not represent the majority of American Jews. Ben Ami insinuates that there are a majority of American Jews who are more moderate than groups like AIPAC. He also touches upon how the debate has been silenced. Ben Ami sees J Street as being more representative of the views of American Jews than groups like AIPAC and he wants J Street to create a debate on what is best for Israel and at times he believes that it means criticizing Israel.

Some of J Street's beliefs have attracted criticism from the organized American Jewish community. J Street has been called "anti-Israel" and some groups have shunned it from the community in the same way other liberal groups like Breira were shunned in the past (Rosenberg). However, unlike Breira, J Street has been able to step in and negotiate solutions that bring together liberal groups and the more mainstream organized American Jewish community. The following section discusses why J Street has been successful at stepping into its role as a broker.

Explanations for J Street's Success as a Broker

There are a few explanations that account for J Street's success as broker. J Street formed during the same time that President Barack Obama was elected. Obama has similar views to J Street on the issue of United States-Israeli relations and has invited J Street to important meetings that include the notable organizations from the organized American Jewish community. For instance, in Obama's first formal meeting with American Jewish leaders at the White House, J Street's executive director was one of sixteen Jewish leaders who were invited to attend the event (Kampeas "At White House, U.S. Jews Offer Little Resistance to Obama Policy on Settlements"). This invitation signaled that the Obama Administration was taking J Street seriously and gave the group some legitimacy with the organized American Jewish community (Lewis and Landler).

Another reason for J Street's success as a broker is that it is a liberal group, but its positions are not as radical as some other left-wing-groups. This means that J Street has more in common with the organized American Jewish community then groups that existed before it that are farther to the left on certain issues. J Street has also made an effort to show that its core value is being pro-Israel. For instance, J Street has made its motto, "Pro-Israel, Pro-peace".

Another advantage J Street has is that it is able to make autonomous decisions. Breira failed partially because the organized American Jewish community was able to influence and intimidate its staff members. J Street communicates with the organized community, but at the end of the day J Street is able to make its own decisions. Part of the reason for this autonomy is that J Street does not rely on the organized American Jewish community for funding. J Street has been successful at fundraising and even has its own political action committee or PAC, which allows it to raise money to support representatives' campaigns. J Street also lobbies Congress.

Since J Street lobbies Congress and helps to influence who is elected to Congress, J Street has some access to elected officials and is not reliant on groups like AIPAC to provide it that access to elected officials. This autonomy has allowed J Street to not worry as much about criticism from the organized American Jewish community.

Currently, J Street is treading a fine line. It needs a certain amount of acceptance within the organized American Jewish community to be a part of coalitions, to have access to information, and to work jointly on issues involving Israel. J Street does not want to go too far with its criticism of Israel or liberal beliefs because it wants to communicate with and influence the organized American Jewish community. On the other hand, J Street needs to remain autonomous so that it can make its own decisions. It does not want to abandon its liberal beliefs and critical views that define it since it wants to be successful at promoting its goals and also so that it can reach out to groups that are more liberal then J Street.

Interview Methodology

The aim of this research is to understand J Street's role in the organized American Jewish community. In order to better understand this role, I interviewed staff members of pro-Israel organizations, of congressional representatives, and of the Israeli Embassy. One-on-one interviews help to gain an open, current and personal look at the staff member's views and their organization's relationships with J Street. The interviews explored how other pro-Israel groups perceived both J Street's identity and J Street's role in the community.

Since there are hundreds of Jewish organizations, it is necessary to narrow down the number of groups being examined. I selected fourteen groups by using the list of organizations that attended President Barack Obama's first formal meeting with Jewish leaders in the White

House. President Obama selected these groups because they are major Jewish organizations that each represents a segment of the American Jewish community (Lewis and Landler). I opted to interview these organizations because their recognition by the Obama administration shows that they are an active part of current political debates. In addition to this recognition, most of these groups have Washington offices that have some exposure and interactions with J Street. The groups include AIPAC, the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (President's Conference), the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the American Jewish Committee (AJC), the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW), United Jewish Communities (UJC), the Jewish Council for Public Affairs (JCPA), Hadassah, the Orthodox Union (OU), the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism (USCJ), the Union for Reform Judaism (URJ), the National Jewish Democratic Council (NJDC), Americans for Peace Now (APN) and J Street (Kampeas "At White House, U.S. Jews Offer Little Resistance to Obama Policy on Settlements").

Out of the fourteen organizations, I interviewed staff members from eight organizations. A few of the groups did not respond to my requests for interviews, which included numerous emails and phone calls. AIPAC was the only group to formally decline the request since it has a policy of not participating in student interviews. Since I could not speak directly with a current staff member from AIPAC and because AIPAC is currently one of the most powerful Jewish lobbies in Washington, I made it a priority to do other forms of research on the group, such as speaking with former AIPAC staff members and paying special attention to the organization when I read books and news articles. I also thoroughly read through AIPAC's web site and attended several of their summer lectures for interns in both 2009 and 2010. Although, an interview with a current staff member would have given me a more current and personal insight into the organization, these other forms of research allowed me to ascertain much of the same

information that I would have asked a current staff member in such an interview. For other groups who do did not respond to my emails or calls, I read through the organizations' web sites to gather information on the group's history, purpose, coalition work and policy positions. For the eight groups who agreed to do interviews, I requested to speak with staff members who were responsible for intergroup relations or government affairs.

At the beginning of each interview, I asked general questions about the organization, its history, its identity, its membership, its practices and its policies. I then transitioned into questions about coalition work and work with J Street. I asked whether the organization was working with J Street and if the staff member thought J Street was a meaningful part of the debate on what it means to be pro-Israel. I asked about their perceptions of what American Jews think about US-Israeli relations and what younger Jews think about the relations. Toward the end of each interview, I asked whether they though J Street would be around in ten years. To see the full range of questions see Interview Questions for Jewish Groups in Appendix A.

In addition to the interviews with Jewish interest groups, I was also able to ask questions of Michael Oren, the Ambassador of Israel to the United States. As Ambassador to Israel, he often interacts with pro-Israel interest groups and his perspective is well respected by many other groups in the organized American Jewish community. I was able to question him when I attended an event hosted by the Israeli embassy for summer interns in Washington DC in July of 2010.

In addition to the interviews with staff members from Jewish groups and the Israeli Ambassador, I conducted several interviews with staff members of congressional representatives. There were other individuals such as staff from the Israeli Embassy, and staff from government offices who I interviewed as well and many of these individuals asked to remain anonymous.

Many of the staff members from the Jewish groups and from the offices of the congressional representatives also asked to remain anonymous. Since anonymity would encourage the individuals I interviewed to share their personal views, especially on controversial issues involving J Street, all interview responses will be kept anonymous when referenced in this paper.

Key Observations from Interviews

Through these interviews, I learned about the extent of J Street's involvement in both formal and informal coalitions and J Street's collaboration with other Jewish organizations. I found that J Street was already involved in many Jewish coalitions and that J Street had a large amount of communication with other Jewish groups. Many of the staff members expressed that they were happy J Street existed and that J Street's existence added a meaningful component to the debate on what it means to be pro-Israel. For example, an anonymous staff member from a Jewish group explained that she was glad J Street was a part of the conversation (Anonymous Jewish Group Staff Member 1 Interview June 2010). She said that she saw potential for further collaboration and that although their organizations did not necessarily see eye to eye on every issue, she thought J Street was adding a meaningful part to the debate on what it means to be pro-Israel (June 2010). An anonymous congressional staffer commented that J Street was "filling a serious void" and that J Street was creating a voice for certain affiliated and non-affiliated American Jews who disagree with some of AIPAC's policies and strategies (Anonymous Congressional Staff Member Interview, October 2010). She also stated that J Street was bringing "a vibrancy to the discussion" and that the group was indeed adding a meaningful element to the debate on what it means to be pro-Israel (October 2010). Another anonymous staff member from a Jewish group stated that "J Street has ignited a conversation that can not be ignored" and also agreed that J Street is adding a meaningful component to the debate (Anonymous Jewish Group

Staff Member Two Interview June 2010). She went on to explain that the groups informally work with one another and that staff members from most of the Jewish groups were well acquainted with J Street's staff. The interview responses made it clear that J Street was quite involved with the groups in the organized American Jewish community and that staff members from these groups saw some meaningful aspects of J Street's work (Anonymous Jewish Group Staff Member Interviews June-October 2010).

A common thread in the interviews was J Street's role as a broker to groups outside the mainstream organized American Jewish community. In an interview with J Street, a J Street staff member discussed J Street's involvement as a broker (Anonymous J Street Staff Member Interview October 2010). Staff members of other Jewish organizations, of congressional representatives, and the Israeli Ambassador, himself, verified J Street's role as a broker between groups within the organized American Jewish Community and to groups outside the organized American Jewish community. Out of the eight Jewish organizations I spoke with, staff members from five of the organizations identified J Street as serving as a meaningful part of the debate on what it means to be pro-Israel. Out of the remaining three organizations, one staff member disagreed, one staff member did not comment, and the other staff members stated that J Street was definitely a part of the debate.

The interviews clearly showed that J Street has already reached out to groups of individuals whose views are further to the left on the issue of Israel than the views of the organized American Jewish community. The prime example that was brought up in the interviews was J Street's involvement in reaching out to the student government at the University of California Berkley after the student senators originally voted for divestment from Israel. In the interviews, I learned that multiple staff members as well as the Israeli Ambassador, credited J

Street with having a pivotal role in stopping the divestment. I further discuss this example in the next section of this paper. Another example that was brought up on multiple occasions was J Street's role in reining in student groups that typically agreed with J Street, but sometimes went further left than even J Street was willing to go.

After I completed the interviews, I found that in most cases J Street's brokerage was aiding the organized American Jewish community in that it was able to mediate situations when the more mainstream groups were not able to do so as effectively. After I completed the interviews, I consulted news articles and press releases to learn more about each circumstance where J Street acted as a broker.

The following section uses the information obtained through the interviews to demonstrate that J Street is serving as a broker to certain groups outside the organized American Jewish community. In this section, I discuss four types of groups to which J Street has already been successful at serving as a broker: 1) left-wing-groups, 2) Christian groups, 3) Arab and Muslim groups, and 4) student groups and younger Jews. This section discusses each of the four categories and uses an example to illustrate the work J Street has done with that specific group. It draws from news articles and press releases to further explain the context in which J Street served as a broker. Although the news articles provide information about the context, it should be noted that these articles do not identify J Street as playing a key role as a broker. However, I combine the insights that I have gained from the interviews, with the aid of the context provided in these articles, to explain how J Street has served as an important broker in these instances.

Interview Results: Examples of J Street's Brokerage

Topic 1: J Street Brokers to Left-wing-groups

Example: UC Berkley

As discussed earlier in this thesis, J Street staff members, multiple staff members from other Jewish groups and the Israeli Ambassador, all mentioned J Street's role at the University of California Berkley in the spring of 2010. The situation at Berkley occurred when the student government of UC Berkley voted to pass a bill that had a general aim of divesting from countries involved in war crimes. The bill would have resulted in the University divesting from business with companies involved with the state of Israel (Nathan-Kazis). Berkley's divestment bill echoed the views of the global BDS movement. "BDS" stands for boycott, divestment and sanctions, which are all techniques to hurt the state of Israel financially. Critics of the BDS movement say that it unfairly targets Israel without putting pressure on the Palestinian authorities to make concessions as well ("The Boycott, Divestment, & Sanctions Movement").

The president of the student body vetoed the bill and based on the original vote it seemed as if there were enough senators who supported the bill to override the veto. However, in the time between the original vote and the vote to override the veto, many groups sought to speak with the senators to change their vote. The Hillel on campus brought in many groups including people from AIPAC, representatives of local branches of the Anti-Defamation League, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the Jewish Community Relations Council, J Street, Israel's consul general in San Francisco and local rabbis (Nathan-Kazis).

The organized American Jewish community was successful in swaying senators to change their votes and ultimately, there were not enough votes to override the veto. After this occurred, many news articles detailed these events and told the basic story written above. These articles

mentioned J Street as one of many organizations that spoke with the senators, however the articles do not single J Street out as having a significant influence in the discussion (Nathan-Kazis; “Cal-Berkeley student government reportedly endorses divestment”).

In the interviews, the staff members I spoke to from various groups told the unseen part of the story. Many of these staff members pointed out that J Street played a pivotal role and that they were glad J Street was there to help. These staff members discussed how J Street was able to reach out to the far-left-groups and credited J Street with swaying the votes of some of the student senators (Anonymous Jewish Group Staff Member Interviews June 2010-October 2010, Israeli Ambassador Interview July 2010).

J Street has the credibility to be a broker to groups outside the organized American Jewish community, in part, because these outside groups can identify or at the very least relate to J Street’s views. J Street also has made an effort to show that although it has criticized the “Global BDS movement”, it also recognizes the concerns of the supporters of the BDS movement who aim to boycott goods or businesses specifically from the controversial settlements (as opposed to boycotting all Israeli goods or businesses). The more mainstream pro-Israel groups have not recognized the legitimacy of the goals of any BDS supporters which makes it much more difficult for these groups to reach out to even the most moderate of the supporters. On the other hand, J Street is in a much better position to broker arrangements with the more moderate supporters since their goals for achieving peace in Israel are more aligned with these outside groups. For instance, J Street has policy statements about the BDS movement, which makes clear its position on opposing the global movement, yet the statement does not aim to alienate BDS supporters completely. See an excerpt of the statement below:

> We note positively that some promoting BDS tactics are trying to narrow the scope of boycotts or divestment initiatives to oppose simply the occupation and not Israel itself. The Palestinian Authority, for instance, calls not for a boycott of Israel itself or Israeli goods, but of settlement products, unlike the all-encompassing boycott of Israel promoted by the global BDS Movement ("The Boycott, Divestment, & Sanctions Movement").

This type of statement is significant because we would be shocked to hear it come from a more mainstream organization. If a group like AIPAC issued such a statement it would seem inconsistent with its basic positions, which are not supportive of freezes in the settlements. Additionally, AIPAC's members and supporters would most likely be against such a statement. However, the above statements are very much in line with J Street's previous views on settlements and J Street's supporters most likely would approve this statement. Since J Street has the ability to issue such statements, it is able to fill a void as a broker to those groups to the left of the organized Jewish community.

From the Berkley example, we can see the potential for J Street to reach out to many other supporters of the BDS movement. J Street can have an impact on these types of situations when the more mainstream groups are unable to do so.

Topic 2: J Street Brokers to Churches

Example: The Presbyterian Church

Although, many churches consider themselves pro-Israel and are supportive of the organized American Jewish community, there are certain churches that have difficult relations with Israel and solely give their support to the Palestinians. During my interviews, the

Presbyterian Church was mentioned as an example of the latter group of churches, which are more supportive of the Palestinians than the Israelis. When I asked an anonymous staff member at the Israeli Embassy if he thought J Street was making a meaningful contribution to the organized American Jewish community, he cited the example of the role J Street played in mediating a situation with the Presbyterian Church (Anonymous Israeli Embassy Staffer July 2010). In 2010, the church's Middle East Study Committee issued a report called "Breaking Down the Walls" that was strongly critical of Israel and compared the country to Nazi Germany (Ronen). Critics of the report stated that it was only critical of Israel and ignored the wrongdoings of Palestinian militant groups (Lerner). The report mentioned its views on mainstream groups and its views on J Street in the following excerpt:

> We are hard-pressed to find statements from such [mainstream] organizations that are willing to oppose the occupation or the settlement policy that has dominated Israel since 1967. Even so, we are hopeful as organizations like J-Street, B'Tselem, Jewish Voice for Peace, and others continue to raise the banner that being pro-Israel and being truly Jewish is not tantamount to complicity in the excesses of Israeli policy. It is our hope that the leadership of mainstream American Jewish organizations will catch up with this growing reality of Jewish identity in the U.S. (Presbyterian Church).

From this excerpt, it is apparent that due to J Street's policy on supporting a freeze on settlements, the Presbyterian Church perceives itself more in line with J Street than the more mainstream American Jewish organizations that do not support a freeze on settlements. After this report was issued, J Street responded by asserting that it was not contacted about this report before it was issued and that it was troubled by the contents of the report (Lerner). Other Jewish groups also criticized the report (Kampeas "Facing Confrontation on Israel, Presbyterian Church

Manages Compromise”). Most notably, J Street responded by saying that if the church passed this report, it would alienate J Street and prevent it from doing work with the Presbyterian Church in the future (Lerner). In July of 2010, the Presbyterian Church ultimately decided to revise the report and voted against sanctions and divestment of Israel. The church also voted to remove much of the language that was criticized as being anti-Semitic in nature (Kampeas “Facing Confrontation on Israel, Presbyterian Church Manages Compromise”).

Although many Jewish groups and individuals within the Presbyterian Church influenced this final outcome, J Street undoubtedly played a key role. From the earlier excerpt from the church’s report we can see that the authors of the report had more respect for J Street than for the mainstream Jewish organizations. It makes much more sense that they would be more heavily influenced by a group that they saw as a future partner, than by groups who they had already dismissed as refusing to see the Palestinian perspective.

J Street’s role in this specific circumstance is significant, but this event signals that J Street has the credibility to continue to act as a broker between the Presbyterian Church and the organized American Jewish community in the future. Although, the Presbyterian Church was criticized by J Street in this instance, it will most likely run its future reports by J Street and ask for J Street’s advice in other circumstances involving Israel. Other Christian groups, that have similar positions on Israel to the Presbyterians, may learn from this situation and consult J Street in the future before issuing their own reports or statements on Israel. Additionally, this event reinforced the idea to the organized American Jewish community that J Street is serving a valuable role since it can speak out and have their views considered by groups who have distanced themselves from the more mainstream American Jewish community. As long as J

Street maintains its identity of being willing to criticize Israel, it should continue to have the credibility of brokering situations with churches that are at times critical of Israel.

Topic 3: J Street as a Broker to Arab Groups

Example: Arab and Muslim Donors

News reports in August of 2009 indicated that J Street received thousands of dollars in donations from Muslim and Arab groups. Many of the articles attacked J Street as being a hidden front for Muslim groups and the organized American Jewish community seemed skeptical of why Muslims, or Arabs would donate to an organization that is truly pro-Israel (Lasky). The Executive Director of J Street, Jeremy Ben-Ami, responded to these allegations and worries by estimating that less than 3 percent of J Street's donations come from Muslims or Arab Americans. Ben-Ami also said that these donations showed that J Street has been successful at reaching out to people in the Muslim and Arab communities who also want peace between the Israelis and Palestinians (Lasky).

In a section of J Street's web site called "Myths and Facts about J Street", there is the assertion listed under the title "myth" that J Street's funding comes from Arab or Muslim Americans who are anti-Israel. J Street's response to this claim, which is listed under the title "fact", explains that a small part of J Street's funding does come from Arab and Muslim Americans, but that the majority of funding comes from Jewish Americans. The "fact" response also asserts that J Street "welcomes support from all Americans who believe in assertive U.S. diplomacy to resolve the conflicts in the Middle East and the establishment of two states living side by side in peace and security" ("Myths and Facts About J Street"). There has been controversy surrounding J Street's funding from Muslims and Arabs, but nevertheless this

example still shows that J Street has been successful at reaching out to Muslims and Arabs. The logic behind this argument is that if Muslims and Arabs are willing to support J Street financially, these groups probably agree with the work J Street is trying to accomplish. (A less plausible and more sinister view is that these groups are working in cahoots with J Street to bring down the state of Israel.)

If Muslim and Arab groups are willing to support J Street financially, then it is not a giant leap to believe that these groups are willing to hear what J Street has to say. Since most American Jewish groups are not funded by Muslims and Arabs, we can reason that J Street has been successful at reaching out to these groups in ways, and to an extent, that the organized American Jewish community has either not tried or has not been successful at doing. Therefore, it makes sense that J Street would serve as a more effective broker to these groups than mainstream organizations who receive little to no funding from Muslims and Arabs.

Another example of when J Street has reached out to Muslim and Arab groups, is J Street's coalition work with Arab groups including the American Task Force for Lebanon and the Arab American Institute. J Street has co-signed letters with these groups and has run joint events with these groups ("United for the Two State Solution"; "APN Joins Jewish-American, Arab-American, Religious-Based Groups in Urging Obama to Immediately Address Mideast Peace"). The fact that the Arab American Institute has J Street's 2011 National Conference listed as an event on it's web site shows the success of the cooperation and reach J Street has with the American Arab community ("Events: J Street's Conference 2011").

It is debatable whether the organized American Jewish community is more suspicious of the extent to which J Street works with Arab and Muslim groups or if it is more appreciative of the ties J Street has brokered with the Arab and Muslim groups. Either way, J Street has created

these ties and if a situation were to arise, in which the organized American community wanted to influence Arab or Muslim groups, J Street would be a prime candidate to serve as a broker between the two groups due to its existing ties with both groups. I am not saying that the organized American Jewish community has no ties with the Arab or Muslim groups, but that J Street has more in common with these groups and does more work with these groups. Therefore, J Street would be a more effective broker.

Topic 4: J Street Brokers to Students and Younger Jews

Multiple Examples

When I asked the Jewish groups about their efforts to attract younger Jews to their organizations, many of the staff members acknowledged that their organization is struggling with this effort. Some of the staff members did not believe that younger Jews disagree with their organization's positions on Israel, but that younger Jews are apathetic on the issue of Israel and less involved in the Jewish community than their parent's generation. Other staff members worried that the positions of the organized Jewish community were alienating younger Jews.

In multiple interviews, staff members referred to Peter Beinart's article called "The Failure of the American Jewish Establishment." In this article, Beinart argues that younger Jews find liberalism and Zionism to be incompatible. He states that since the organized American Jewish community refuses to criticize Israel, younger Jews feel alienated since they see problems with the current Israeli government and its policies regarding the settlements. He summarizes the views and characteristics of young American Jews in the excerpt below:

> Most of the students, in other words, were liberals, broadly defined. They had imbibed some of the defining values of American Jewish political culture: a belief

> in open debate, a skepticism about military force, a commitment to human rights. And in their innocence, they did not realize that they were supposed to shed those values when it came to Israel. The only kind of Zionism they found attractive was a Zionism that recognized Palestinians as deserving of dignity and capable of peace, and they were quite willing to condemn an Israeli government that did not share those beliefs…The only kind of Zionism they found attractive was the kind that the American Jewish establishment has been working against for most of their lives (Beinart).

In other words, Beinart argues that younger Jews are uncomfortable with the organized American Jewish community's refusal to criticize the Israeli government when their actions fall out of line with the liberal views of equality and human rights. Beinart explains this concept in more depth in the following excerpt:

> . . . the leading institutions of American Jewry have refused to foster—indeed, have actively opposed—a Zionism that challenges Israel's behavior in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and toward its own Arab citizens. For several decades, the Jewish establishment has asked American Jews to check their liberalism at Zionism's door, and now, to their horror, they are finding that many young Jews have checked their Zionism instead (Beinart).

Beinart reiterates that younger Jews are not associating with the organized American Jewish community because of their discomfort with the organized American Jewish community's conservative views and lack of criticism of the Israeli government. Beinart also argues that the mainstream Jewish groups need to change their strategy and begin to criticize the Israeli government on certain issues. Beinart concludes with the following excerpt:

> Morally, American Zionism is in a downward spiral. If the leaders of groups like AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations do not change course, they will wake up one day to find… a mass of secular American Jews who range from apathetic to appalled. Saving liberal Zionism in the United States… is the great American Jewish challenge of our age. And it starts…by talking frankly about Israel's current government, by no longer averting our eyes (Beinart).

In the survey results section of this paper below, I reexamine the validity of Beinart's assertions in terms of American Jewish apathy towards the issue of Israel, positions on Israel, and knowledge and views of interest groups in the organized American Jewish community. Regardless of the extent to which Beinart's assertions hold true, we already know that his assertions are applicable to some American Jews on college campuses. J Street, which is willing to do exactly what Beinart suggests and talks openly about criticism of the Israeli government, has been successful at reaching out to some of these young Jews. As of 2010, there are over 50 campuses with a J Street U presence (J Street). The following excerpt from J Street's web site describes J Street U and its goals:

> J Street U is a student-driven network of activists organizing on campuses across North America for peace, security and social justice in Israel, the future state of Palestine and across the Middle East. As supporters of Israel, we are firmly committed to protecting the future of the State of Israel as a Jewish democratic homeland. We believe the fates of a secure Israel and a viable Palestinian state are intertwined. The peace and security of both peoples is achievable only through a negotiated, two-state solution ("Who we are J Street U Mission Statement").

Many of these young Jews are even more radical than J Street in their criticism of Israel. At times, J Street has publicly disagreed with their chapters of J Street U's on college campuses. For instance, when Brandeis University invited the Israeli Ambassador, Michael Oren, to speak at its commencement ceremony, the local J Street U opposed having the Ambassador as the commencement speaker. Members of the chapter argued that he was a divisive figure and would alienate potential supporters of the peace process in Israel (Gordis). However, J Street, the national organization, released a public statement welcoming the ambassador and encouraging him to attend future J Street events ("Statement on Amb. Oren's Plans to Speak at Brandeis Commencement"). This example shows that J Street is most likely not radicalizing Jewish students, but serving as a home to Jewish students who already have views differing from the organized American Jewish community. In fact, J Street is doing the opposite of radicalizing these students. For the first time, these students are being accepted into a group that considers itself pro-Israel and allows them to also be critical of Israel. Before joining J Street U, these students were alienated by the Jewish community. Now these students are communicating with the parent organization J Street, and although they might not agree with all of J Street's positions, they are hearing them out. These students probably would not give much credence to what groups like AIPAC have to say, but since J Street is viewed as a group willing to criticize Israel, the organization has more respect among students whose views are further to the left than even J Street's views. Once again, this puts J Street into the position of being able to serve as an effective broker to these students. It also means that J Street will remind these students of the pro-Israel stance that is required in order to be a member of J Street U. In a 2009 blog entry J Street wrote:

> We will be giving campus groups and student members great latitude and flexibility - with only one constraint: that the work be done in a context that always embraces the right of a state for Jewish people in the land of Israel to exist beside a state for Palestinian people in the land of Palestine (Shapiro).

Although this may sound like a small constraint, it is a requirement that will ensure that any campus group that uses the name J Street U have a core belief in supporting the existence of the state of Israel. In order to enforce this constraint, J Street evaluates whether a campus group respects this core belief when deciding if it will allow the group to use the J Street U title (Anonymous J Street Staff Member Interview March 2011). There are many anti-Israel campus groups that do not meet this requirement, so if J Street is able to keep students in J Street U's as opposed to having these students join groups that are blatantly anti-Israel in stance, then J Street is succeeding at reaching out to these college students and connecting them to the pro-Israel community.

In addition to reaching out to Jewish students, J Street has also been successful at reaching out to non-Jewish students at institutions such as UC Berkley and other colleges across the country. At such colleges, local J Street U's oppose what many colleges refer to as "Israel Apartheid Week", which paints Israel in an extremely negative light and according to both J Street and J Street U, has the effect of polarizing students on campus. In March of 2010 the organizations issued a joint statement explaining their opposition to the event:

> We also reject comparisons of Israel to South African apartheid. The analogy clearly implies that Israel is illegitimate, that it deserves a wholesale boycott, and suggests a single state for Israelis and Palestinians would be some sort of solution to the conflict, when in reality, it is a recipe for further violence, strife, and

> insecurity (“J Street & J Street U Reiterate Opposition to BDS, "Israel Apartheid Week"”).

Although J Street and J Street U come off as critical, their statements are significant because if these views came from AIPAC, the organizers of the Israel Apartheid Week would probably ignore them. However, since J Street and J Street U both have reputations of being willing to criticize Israel, J Street and J Street U have much more credibility to serve as brokers to the non Jewish college students who have opposing views to the organized American Jewish community. In other words, although J Street disagrees with the organizers of Israel Apartheid Week, J Street’s goals are not antithetical to everything the organizers stand for and the two groups actually share similar goals. These shared goals are a major part of what makes J Street an effective and credible broker to these students.

A Survey of American Jews

J Street has served as an effective broker to left-wing-groups, Christian groups, Muslim and Arab groups and college students. There is much contention within the organized American Jewish community over why younger Jews are apathetic on the issue of Israel. The Executive Director of J Street, Jeremy Ben-Ami, has argued that there are not only young American Jews who are apathetic, but also older American Jews whose views are not represented by the organized American Jewish community. Ben-Ami discusses the potential J Street has to mobilize American Jews in the excerpt below:

> The revolution afoot in 21st-century American politics enables the silent majority of American Jews to do what hasn't been done before - namely to mobilize a

broad and less organized base of moderates in a politically meaningful way ("The Previously Silent Majority").

He discusses how the "silent majority" of American Jews are not represented by the more mainstream organized American Jewish community and asserts that they are "finally waking up to the impact of letting a vocal right-wing minority speak for us in national politics" ("The Previously Silent Majority"). In other words, he thinks that a majority of American Jews believes that groups like AIPAC are too aligned with the right wing and have views that are too conservative.

Other groups have responded that most American Jews do support the views of the organized American Jewish community. These groups claim that if there was a "silent majority" then it would have spoken up by now. J Street has responded to this claim by conducting polls that showed that many American Jews agreed with J Street's views (Fingerhut "New J Street Poll: American Jews Wants U.S. Engagement in Peace Process"). However, many groups have responded that J Street's polling is biased or that J Street asked the wrong questions "(Fingerhut "Some J Street Poll Reaction". Groups such as the ADL have done their own polling and J Street has argued that these polls ask the wrong questions (Fingerhut "J Street to ADL: Let's Do a Poll").

In order to understand J Street's potential role as a broker to Jews outside the organized American Jewish community, I use the surveys to examine whether or not this silent majority exists or whether AIPAC and similar groups are representative of the views of the majority of American Jews. Since J Street and the other groups' surveys are so contentious, conducting original surveys is the best method of obtaining the data that would help to answer this question.

My surveys were distributed in three different regions and targeted two different groups of Jews living in the United States. The first group was Jews who attended a reform synagogue. The purpose of targeting this group was to study the views of older Jews who had some affiliation with being Jewish by attending temple. The surveys were distributed at reform temples since many people at reform services are willing to write on Friday nights and Saturday mornings, which made them able to fill out the surveys. Although the majority of survey participants in this group identified with Reform Judaism, some participants identified with Conservative or Orthodox Judaism. The second group was Jewish college students who had some affiliation with a Jewish organization. For this group, I found participants through Hillel events and events sponsored by other Jewish organizations. The majority of the Jews in this group identified with Reform Judaism although there were some participants who identified with Conservative or Orthodox Judaism. The reason why I targeted Jews with some affiliation to being Jewish was because these Jews were easier to survey than non-affiliated Jews and because affiliated Jews are the Jews that the organized American Jewish community claims to represent. In order to obtain a more diverse group of participants the surveys were distributed in three different states: Michigan, New Jersey and Washington DC. The participants were asked if they would fill out a survey about Jewish views on Israel and pro-Israel interest groups. The surveys took most participants a range of time from about two to five minutes to complete.

The surveys asked the participants questions about their demographics, experiences with Israel and the Holocaust, their views and awareness on AIPAC and J Street, their views on Israel, and their willingness to criticize the Israeli government. There was a question that asked participants if they had ever heard of J Street and another question that asked if they had ever heard of AIPAC. There were also questions that asked the participants if these organizations

represented their own views. The purpose of these questions was to see how familiar affiliated Jews were with AIPAC and J Street and to see if they felt represented by either organization. There were also questions about the participant's positions on statements related to Israel such as "I support a freeze on all settlements" and "Any Palestinian state must be demilitarized". The purpose of these questions was to see if a majority of participants had views on these positions that were more in line with AIPAC or J Street. Another question asked the participants for their opinion on criticism of the Israeli government with choices including "Pro-Israel groups should publicly criticize Israel at times," "Pro- Israel Groups should never criticize Israel," and "No Opinion or Don't Know." See Appendix B for the survey questions.

I expected to find that the younger Jews would be more willing to criticize the Israeli government than older Jews since younger individuals live during a time when Israel seems to be in less peril and the Holocaust is a more distant memory. I also hypothesized that most of the survey respondents would be familiar with AIPAC and fewer respondents would be familiar with J Street since AIPAC has been around for a much longer time than J Street. I expected there to be a group of the participants who were apathetic and uninformed on positions related to Israel, as well a large group of the participants who had views in line with AIPAC. I also hypothesized that there would be a larger number of older respondents who had heard of AIPAC than younger respondents since older Jews tend to be more involved in the organized American Jewish community (Anonymous Jewish Group Staff Member Interviews June-October 2010).

Survey Results and the Implications for J Street

When survey respondents filled out the surveys, many commented that they might not be the right people to fill out the survey since they did not know a lot about Israel. Although they were the "right" people in that they represented the group the survey was targeted to study, the

results did show that many respondents did not know a lot about Israel, were indecisive about their views on Israel or were apathetic towards issues involving Israel. For instance, I expected that almost all survey respondents would have heard of AIPAC, but only 57 percent of respondents had recalled of ever hearing of AIPAC. I expected that fewer respondents would have heard of J Street and the surveys supported this since only 36 percent of respondents had recalled hearing of J Street.

Figure 1 Percentage of Survey Respondents Who Have Heard of Organization

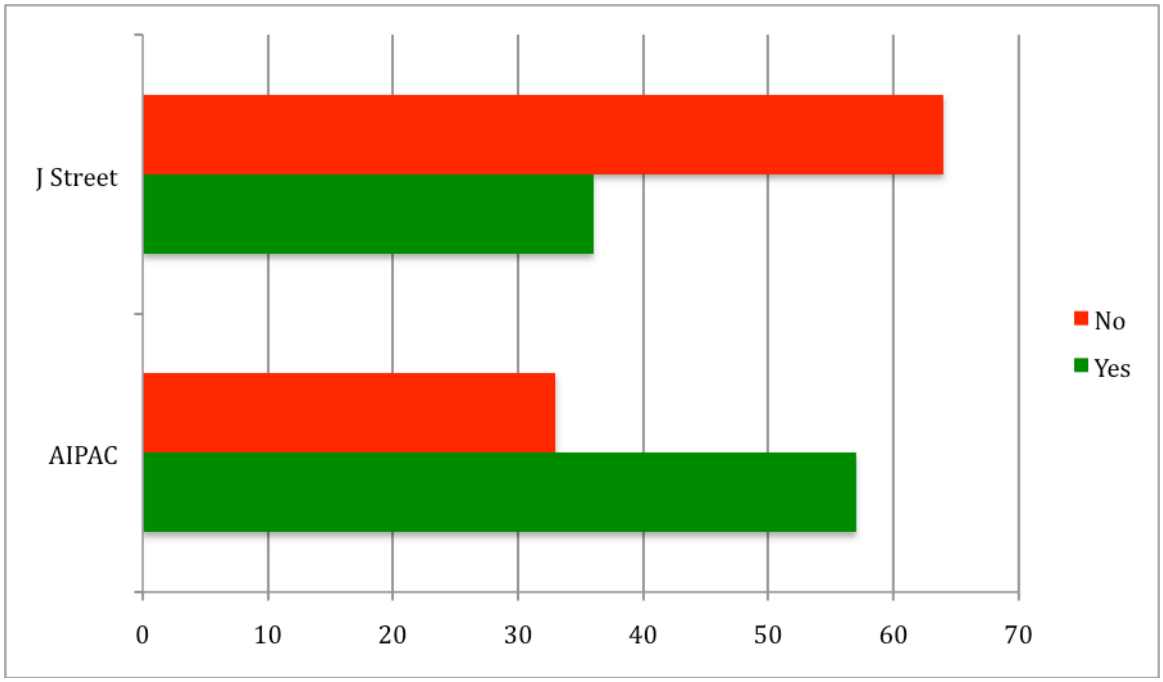

Figure 1, shows that, of the affiliated Jews who were surveyed, 43 percent did not recall of hearing of AIPAC and 64 percent did not recall of hearing of J Street. These percentages show that many affiliated American Jews are unaware of the pro-Israel interest groups in the organized American Jewish community. Since J Street is a newer group this is not surprising, but AIPAC has been around for over 50 years so if affiliated American Jews have not heard of it either they do not care about the kind of work that AIPAC does or they are not aware that this kind of a group exists. Another possibility is that they may not be very knowledgeable about politics in

general. For example, when Americans were asked if they “know what political party their representative belongs to, a whopping 68% say they don't know or aren't sure” (Sewell). Either way, it is hard to argue that most American Jews support AIPAC when a large percentage of survey respondents were not aware that AIPAC exists. It is possible that these people have the same views as AIPAC, but it is clear that they are not active supporters of the organization.

According to J Street, it is seeking to attract new members who are currently alienated or apathetic on the issue of Israel, as opposed to seeking new members who are already supporters of AIPAC. Since there is a sizable number of American Jews who are not committed to AIPAC because they have not even heard of AIPAC, this means that the pool of American Jews that J Street is trying to attract is quite large and certainly not a minority within the American Jewish community. However, the argument is not that the group of participants who have not heard of AIPAC will become J Street members, but only that the type of people who J Street wants to target (people who are not AIPAC supporters) do exist within the Jewish community.

If survey respondents answered that they recalled hearing of AIPAC, they were asked to circle their opinion of the statement “AIPAC represents my views” by circling strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree or strongly disagree. A majority of survey respondents, 53 percent, answered neutral. About 12 percent of respondents answered disagree or strongly disagree and about 35 percent answered agree or strongly agree. If survey respondents answered that they recalled hearing of J Street, they were asked to circle their opinion of the statement “J Street represents my views” by circling strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree or strongly disagree. Once again, a majority of survey respondents, 57 percent, answered neutral. About 15 percent of survey respondents answered disagree or strongly disagree and about 28 percent answered agree or strongly agree. These figures show that out of the respondents who have heard of J Street or

AIPAC, a majority of respondents were neutral on the statement that the organizations' represent their own views. This large group of participants who answered neutral on either question are the type of people J Street should target. These people are not attached to either group and therefore J Street has the potential to attract them. The results show that there were more people who agreed with J Street's views than there were people who disagreed with its views. This shows that out of the people who J Street has reached, more people agree with the group, then people who disagree. This suggests that J Street is doing an effective job at convincing people that its views represent them as opposed to turning people off to the group. J Street still has not convinced the people who answered neutral, but it also has not turned them off to the group and therefore still has the potential to reach out to those people.

Knowledge and Views about Israel

The survey contained eight questions that listed a position on Israel and asked the respondents to circle strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree or strongly disagree. The results showed that a sizable percentage of participants answered neutral for all the questions. The eight positions were: 1) There should not be peace talks until Hamas is out of power; 2) I support a two-state solution; 3) The Israeli army should control the Egyptian border with Gaza; 4) I would be willing to share Jerusalem as a capital; 5) Any Palestinian state must be demilitarized; 6) I support a freeze on all settlements; 7) There is not a humanitarian crisis in Gaza; and 8) There will be peace in the next 50 years. Respectively, 31 percent, 30 percent, 41 percent, 22 percent, 37 percent, 39 percent, 30 percent, and 29 percent of survey respondents circled the neutral option. It seems reasonable that the explanations for why someone would answer neutral is that they are either unsure of their position or they are apathetic to the issue.

Groups such as AIPAC, which have a policy of fully supporting the views of the Israeli government, do have decisive views on these positions. However, the results show that for most of these questions approximately a third of the respondents did not have a decisive view on these positions. The fact that these respondents either are on the fence about the issue or are apathetic while AIPAC has a decisive position shows that these respondents' views are not represented by AIPAC. This means that there are a group of Jews who are not currently represented and J Street has the potential of reaching out to them.

The results show that about 37 percent of the respondents who had an opinion on their willingness to criticize Israel or the Israeli government agreed with the statement "Pro-Israel groups should publicly criticize Israel at times." About 21 percent of respondents agreed with the statement "Pro-Israel groups should only internally criticize Israel" and about 18 percent agreed with the statement "Pro-Israel Groups should never criticize Israel." About 24 percent of respondents put "No Opinion or Don't Know." These results show that participants are split on this issue. This result is relevant to J Street since J Street does publicly criticize Israel at times. These results shows that there are some Jews who agree that at times, groups can publicly criticize Israel and J Street has the potential to reach out to these Jews. It also shows that 24 percent of respondents have no opinion or do not know how they feel so J Street can potentially reach out to this group as well as the group who is willing to publicly criticize Israel.

One of the questions on Israel asked respondents if they agreed with the statement that there will be peace in the next 50 years. Only 25 percent of respondents put agree and 4 percent put strongly agree. The remaining 71 percent put neutral, disagree or strongly disagree. It makes sense that if peace is not a foreseeable outcome then some people will be disillusioned. Groups such as AIPAC make security its number one issue, while J Street makes peace its number one

issue. After all, J Street's slogan is "pro-Israel, pro-peace". J Street claims that peace is possible and it needs to happen in the near future. J Street's assertion that peace can be achieved in the near future may attract potential supporters who are currently disillusioned because peace seemed unattainable. If J Street can reach out to those Jews who are disillusioned and uninvolved in groups such as AIPAC, J Street may convince them that peace is possible and that J Street can help push Israel on a path towards peace.

I estimated an ordered probit model with the dependent variable Palestinian State Must Demilitarize, shown in Table 1. The results show that when other factors were held constant, there was a significant and positive relationship between older survey respondents and agreeing with the position that any Palestinian state must be demilitarized. This means that the older survey respondents were, the more likely they were to agree with the position that any Palestinian State must be demilitarized.

I estimated an ordered probit model with the dependent variable Agree that Israeli Army Should Control the Egyptian Border With Gaza, shown in Table 2. I saw that when other factors were held constant there was a significant and positive relationship between older survey respondents and agreeing with the statement that the Israeli army should control the Egyptian border with Gaza. This result means that the older survey respondents were, the more likely they were to agree with the position that the Israeli army should control the Egyptian border with Gaza.

From these two relationships, it is clear that older Jews are more likely to be concerned with security related positions than younger Jews. The older Jews were more likely to support statements that increased Israeli security- specifically demilitarization of a future Palestinian state and Israeli control of the Egyptian border with Gaza. From the historical discussion above,

we know that older Jews lived through a time in which Israel's security was in constant threat. It makes sense, that younger Jews, who have lived through a time in which Israel occupies territory and seems to be quite powerful, would be less concerned with security. When J Street tries to

Table 1. Agreement that Any Palestinian State Must be Demilitarization
Ordered Probit Regression

Dependent Variable: *Agree Palestinian State Must Demilitarize*	**Regression Results**			**Descriptive Statistics**	
Independent Variable	**Coefficient**	**Standard Error**	**Z Score**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**
Heard of J Street	-0.2207	0.1429	-1.54	0.3594	0.4691
Heard of AIPAC	0.0041	0.1498	0.03	0.5715	0.4895
Nation of Birth US	-0.1033	0.2018	-0.51	0.8795	0.3260
Considers Israel Homeland	0.2401	0.1478	1.62	0.3584	0.4803
Has traveled to Israel	-0.0732	0.1452	-0.50	0.6325	0.4828
Reform Jew	-0.0285	0.1474	-0.19	0.5994	0.4908
Anyone except parent in Holocaust	-0. 0553	0.1331	-0.42	0.3561	0.4790
Parent in Holocaust	0.3557	0.4738	0.75	0.0241	0.1536
Age	0.0210*	0.0079	2.65	33.7650	16.8853
Gender	0.1165	0.1342	0.87	0.3777	0.4848
Education	0.0695	0.1755	0.40	2.0115	0.8312
Democrat	-0.3606*	0.1515	-2.38	0.5558	0.4967
First Cut Point	-1.7903	0.3344			
Second Cut Point	-0.0355	0.2844			
Third Cut Point	0.7114	0.2858			
Fourth Cut Point	1.6410	0.2993			
Sample Size	309.0000				
Log Likelihood	-404.8606				
Likelihood Ratio c^2 (12)	52.4700***				

Note: *** p< 0.001, ** p< 0.010, * p< 0.050

Table 2. Agreement that Israeli Army Should Control Egyptian Border With Gaza Ordered Probit Regression

Dependent Variable: *Agree that Israeli Army Should Control the Egyptian Border With Gaza*	**Regression Results**			**Descriptive Statistics**	
Independent Variable	**Coefficient**	**Standard Error**	**Z Score**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**
Heard of J Street	-0.4675*	0.1454	-3.22	0.3594	0.4691
Heard of AIPAC	0.2177	0.1511	1.44	0.5715	0.4895
Nation of Birth US	-0.3630	0.2065	-1.76	0.8795	0.3260
Considers Israel Homeland	0.1859	0.1468	1.27	0.3584	0.4803
Has traveled to Israel	0.06336	0.1458	0.43	0.6325	0.4828
Reform Jew	0.1689	0.1488	1.13	0.5994	0.4908
Anyone except parent in Holocaust	-0.1262	0.1342	-0.94	0.3561	0.4790
Parent in Holocaust	0.0269	0.4515	0.06	0.0241	0.1536
Age	0.0167*	0.0079	2.11	33.7650	16.8852
Gender	0.0027	0.1330	0.02	0.3777	0.4848
Education	-0.2675	0.1772	-1.51	2.0114	0.8312
Democrat	-0.1276	0.1518	-0.84	0.5558	0.4969
First Cut Point	-2.1506	0.3166			
Second Cut Point	-1.1564	0.2930			
Third Cut Point	0.0152	0.2889			
Fourth Cut Point	1.2142	0.2976			
Sample Size	302				
Log Likelihood	-392.4464				
Likelihood Ratio c^2 (12)	31.17**				

Note: *** p< 0.001, ** p< 0.010, * p< 0.050

attract older Jews, the group might tread more carefully and make a bigger effort to address security concerns.

Factors that Affect Jewish American Awareness of J Street

I estimated an ordered probit model with the dependent variable Recalled Hearing of J Street, shown in Table 3. The results show that there is a significant and positive relationship between having traveled to Israel and having heard of J Street when the other factors are held constant. Therefore, having traveled to Israel makes it more likely that a respondent will have heard of J Street. Men are significantly more likely than women to have heard of J Street. These results suggest that J Street may want to make more of an effort to reach out to Jews who have not traveled to Israel or Jews who are women since these groups are less likely to have heard of J Street.

I estimated an ordered probit model with the dependent variable Willingness to Share Jerusalem as a Capital, shown in Table 4. I saw that there is a positive and significant relationship between people who have heard of J Street and agreeing with the position that they would be willing to share Jerusalem as a capital. This means that people who have heard of J Street are more likely to agree with the statement that they would be willing to share Jerusalem as a capital. As an organization, J Street has the view that it would be willing to share Jerusalem as a capital. Therefore, we can reason that since people who have heard of J Street, agree with J Street's view on this position, then J Street is probably getting its name out to people who agree with its positions, and are more likely to be J Street supporters.

From the same model, I saw that there was a significant and negative relationship between agreeing with the position and having a parents or other family member who died or survived the Holocaust. This means that respondents who have family members who died or

Table 3. American Jews Who Recalled Hearing of J Street
Ordered Probit Regression

Dependent Variable: *Recalled Hearing of J Street = 1*	**Regression Results**			**Descriptive Statistics**	
Independent Variable	**Coefficient**	**Standard Error**	**Z Score**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**
Nation of Birth US	-0.2712	0.2467	-1.10	0.8795	0.3260
Considers Israel Homeland	0.1667	0.1767	0.94	0.3584	0.4803
Has traveled to Israel	0.4083*	0.1713	2.38	0.6325	0.4828
Reform Jew	-0.2756	0.1804	-1.53	0.5994	0.4908
Anyone except parent in Holocaust	0.1277	0.1631	0.78	0.3561	0.4790
Parent in Holocaust	-0.9560	0.6468	-1.49	0.0241	0.1536
Age	-0.0122	0.0095	-1.28	33.7650	16.8853
Gender	0.3599*	0.1638	2.20	0.3777	0.4848
Education	0.2970	0.2129	1.39	2.0115	0.8312
Democrat	0.1109	0.1834	0.60	0.5558	0.4969
Sample Size	311				
Log Likelihood	-190.6388				
Likelihood Ratio c^2 (10)	25.19**				

Note: *** p< 0.001, ** p< 0.010, * p< 0.050

Table 4. Willing to Share Jerusalem as a Capital
Ordered Probit Regression

Dependent Variable: *Willingness to Share Jerusalem as a Capital*	**Regression Results**			**Descriptive Statistics**	
Independent Variable	**Coefficient**	**Standard Error**	**Z Score**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**
Heard of J Street	0.3643*	0.1424	2.56	0.3594	0.4691
Heard of AIPAC	-.01139	0.1478	-0.77	0.5715	0.4895
Nation of Birth US	-0.3178	0.1998	-1.59	0.8795	0.3260
Considers Israel Homeland	-0.0813	0.1452	-0.56	0.3584	0.4803
Has traveled to Israel	0.0201	0.1429	0.14	0.6325	0.4828
Reform Jew	-0.0645	0.1458	-0.44	0.5994	0.4908
Anyone except parent in Holocaust	-0.2867*	0.1325	-2.16	0.3561	0.4790
Parent in Holocaust	-1.6153*	0.4932	-3.28	0.0241	0.1536
Age	-0.0039	0.0077	-0.50	33.7650	16.8853
Gender	0.3140*	0.1326	2.37	0.3777	0.4848
Education	0.1952	0.1744	1.12	2.0115	0.8312
Democrat	0.4103*	0.1492	2.75	0.5558	0.4968
First Cut Point	-0.88966	0.2880			
Second Cut Point	0.1083	0.2809			
Third Cut Point	0.7422	0.2838			
Fourth Cut Point	1.9613	0.3067			
Sample Size	309				
Log Likelihood	-437.8102				
Likelihood Ratio c^2 (12)	48.95***				

Note: *** p< 0.001, ** p< 0.010, * p< 0.050

survived the Holocaust are less likely to support sharing Jerusalem as a capital. When J Street puts out its views on this position, it should be mindful of and prepare for the negative reaction that family members of Holocaust survivors and victims might have to some of its positions. If J Street can understand why these people are less likely to support their views, the organization might be successful at understanding and responding to their perspective.

Discussion

Together, the interview results and survey results show that J Street has played the role of a broker and has the potential to continue to play this role in the future. The interview results demonstrate that J Street has reached out to several groups and has been able to serve as broker between these groups and the organized American Jewish community. The interviews also confirm that the staff members from groups in the organized American Jewish community recognize the value of J Street's role as a broker. This suggests that the organized American Jewish community might actually benefit from J Street's existence since J Street has been able to reach out to groups more effectively than the more mainstream Jewish organizations. We have seen that this is possible because of three rationales:

1) J Street's supporters are satisfied with J Street playing the role of a broker by trying to relate to left-wing-groups.
2) The left-wing-groups are more likely to listen to J Street than to the other more mainstream American Jewish organizations since J Street's goals and identity are closer to their own goals and identities.
3) The more mainstream organizations want to be able to talk with the groups who are further to the left and these more mainstream groups recognize that J Street is a more

effective broker than their group can be in these types of situations. Therefore, many of these groups not only accept J Street as a broker, but also are appreciative of the role J Street is playing in mediating these situations.

The combination of these three factors allows J Street to fill the void and play a significant role in acting as a broker between the organized American Jewish community and the groups outside the community including left-wing-groups, Christian groups, Arab and Muslim groups, younger Jews and student groups.

From the survey results, it is clear that J Street has the potential to serve as a broker to yet another group: American Jews. The results show that there is a sizable number of American Jews who have not heard of AIPAC or are not supporters of AIPAC, and this creates a void that J Street can fill. It is still too soon to tell if J Street will be successful at mobilizing these Jews, however the results suggest that there is a sizable number of American Jews who are either apathetic, unknowledgeable or alienated from the organized American Jewish community. Almost 30 percent of survey respondents answered neutral for the positions related to Israel. This also suggests that J Street has the potential to reach out to these American Jews and influence their opinions since this group of American Jews does not currently have decisive opinions of its own. The results show that survey respondents were divided on the issue of criticizing Israel or the Israeli government. This division bodes well for J Street since it suggests that a majority of American Jews do not oppose all criticism of Israel and that there are American Jews who would not discredit J Street's views due to its public criticism of Israel.

The results indicate that if J Street is able to leverage certain positions and reach out to the right people, it may be more successful at serving as a broker to American Jews. Since a majority of American Jews are not hopeful about peace, J Street should make an effort to

convince them that J Street is focused on establishing peace in the near future. J Street also should reassure older American Jews that it cares about Israel's security since security is a higher priority for older Jews. J Street should also be aware that family of Holocaust survivors or victims might be more critical of some of J Street's viewpoints. If J Street is aware of this perspective, it might be able to do more to effectively reach out to this group. J Street should also make an effort to reach out to women and Jews who have not traveled to Israel since these groups are less likely to have heard of J Street.

The results suggest that J Street is reaching out to the right people. Since people who have heard of J Street are more likely to share its views on Jerusalem, this means J Street is probably reaching out to people who have similar views. Although J Street wants to reach out to American Jews who are currently apathetic or unaware of J Street's views, the best strategy is to reach out to Jews who do not need convincing and just need a group to represent their existing views. If J Street can continue to reach out to people who share their views, then they will gain more members and more financial support.

The interview and survey results show which groups J Street has been able to and should continue to target as potential members or as groups it can influence. These groups include left-wing-groups, Christian groups, Arab and Muslim groups, younger Jews, student groups and American Jews who are apathetic or uninformed on the issue of Israel or alienated from the organized American Jewish community.

Conclusion

Despite J Street's public image as the enemy of the organized American Jewish community and antithesis of AIPAC, J Street is actually expanding the reach of the organized

American Jewish community by acting as a broker to groups outside the organized American Jewish community. From the interview results, this thesis shows that J Street is effectively brokering to groups outside the organized American Jewish community and helping to communicate more moderate views to these groups. The types of groups discussed in this thesis are left-wing-groups, Christian groups, Arab and Muslim groups, younger Jews and student groups. The interview results discusses examples of how J Street is reaching out to left-wing-groups, such as the student government at Berkley, or Christian groups, such as the Presbyterian Church, and that by reaching out to these groups, J Street is effectively brokering end results that are appealing to the organized American Jewish community. The interviews suggest that the organized American Jewish community is aware of this role and appreciative that J Street is expanding its reach.

This thesis also examines the idea that, in order to serve as a broker, J Street is treading a fine line that, on one side is being too liberal and radical and, on the other side, is being too mainstream and conservative. In order to further understand this fine line, further research can look at what the organizations inside the organized American Jewish community perceive as being so liberal and radical that they would stop communicating and working with J Street. The research can also look at what the organizations outside the organized American Jewish community perceive as being so mainstream and conservative that they would stop communicating and working with J Street. This type of information can be obtained through further interviews with staff members or group members from these organizations.

The survey results of this paper indicate that there are a large number of American Jews who are not involved or attached to the views of the more mainstream organized American Jewish community. This suggests that J Street has the potential to reach out to some of these

Jews. However, it is unclear exactly why these American Jews are unattached to groups like AIPAC. Further research can examine if these American Jews are uninformed, apathetic or alienated from the community. If the research finds that American Jews are uninformed or apathetic, then there needs to be further research that examines why this is the case. For instance, do American Jews not care about what happens in Israel or do they just not care about American groups who try to influence United States' policies on Israel? Also, it would be important to find out why they do not care. Is the lack of caring or knowledge due to feelings of alienation from the organized community or to hopeless feelings about the peace process or to a lack of feeling connected to Israel at all? The answers to these types of questions are relevant to J Street since they would help to better assess J Street's potential as a broker to these Jews who are answering neutral or no opinion or don't care. These answers can be found through surveys that directly ask why the survey respondents answer neutral or no opinion or don't know and through follow up surveys or interviews that ask more about why the respondents are choosing neutral or no opinion or don't know.

Although there is still room to further assess J Street's potential to become a broker to new groups, or to continue being a broker to other groups, this thesis shows that J Street is engaging in the debate over what it means to be pro-Israel and in doing so, it has found a valuable role as a broker that can communicate with and influence the people and organizations that were traditionally considered outside the reach of the organized American Jewish community. J Street also has the potential to reach out to new groups, especially to uninformed or alienated American Jews. The verdict is still out whether or not the organized American Jewish community will appreciate J Street's existence or view it as more of a hindrance than as a helpful broker. Future events will reveal if J Street is capable of treading the line and being a

long lasting broker or if J Street's brokerage will be short-lived. For now, J Street is serving a valuable role as a broker and expanding the reach of the organized American Jewish community.

Appendix A:

Transcript of Interview Questions for American Jewish Interest Groups

1. What is the history of the organization?

2. What issues does the organization work on?

3. What are the key aspects of the organization's identity? What differentiates it from other pro-Israel interest groups?

4. Who does the organization represent? Who are its members?

5. How does the organization create its policies and positions on Israel?

6. How does the organization achieve its goals?

7. Does the organization do any informal coalition work?

8. Is the organization involved in any formal coalitions?

9. What role does it play in these coalitions?

10. What other organizations are in these coalitions or networks?

11. Do you believe that there is a silent majority among American Jews?

12. Do you work with J Street?

13. Do you believe that J Street has contributed a meaningful part to the debate on what it means to be pro-Israel?

14. Is the pro-Israel community having difficulties attracting younger American Jews?

15. Do you think J Street will be around in 10 years?

16. Has J Street played a role as broker to people outside the organized American Jewish community?

17. How has the American pro-Israel community perceived President Barack Obama?

Jewish Views on Israel and Pro-Israel Interest Groups

Emily Duhovny, Principal Investigator

We would like you to participate in this short survey concerning Jewish views on Israel and pro-Israel interest groups. The purpose of this study is to understand generational differences about Israel and pro-Israel groups. All responses are completely ANONYMOUS. Answering this survey should take about five minutes.

1. What is your age? _____

2. Are you MALE or FEMALE? (circle one)

3. Nation of Birth_____

4. Do you consider yourself to be Jewish in a religious, spiritual, cultural, ethnic, or other sense? **Yes / No**

5. In which nation or nations are you a citizen?

_____

_____

_____

6. a) Have you ever traveled to Israel? **Yes / No**

b) If yes, how many times?_____

_____

7. a) Have you lived in Israel? **Yes / No**

b) If yes, for how many years?

_____

_____

8. a) Have any of your children, siblings, parents, grandparents or great grandparents lived in Israel?

Yes / No

b) If yes, which relatives? (Circle all that apply.)

Child Mother Grandparent

Sibling Father Great Grandparent

9. Which religious denomination do you consider yourself? (Circle all that apply.)

Reform Conservative Orthodox
Other_____ NONE

10. Are you a Holocaust survivor (Someone who lived in parts of Nazi occupied Europe during the Holocaust)? **Yes / No**

_____

11. Did any of your children, siblings, parents, grandparents or great grandparents die in the Holocaust? **Yes / No**

b) If yes, which relatives? (Circle all that apply.)

Child Mother Grandparent

Sibling Father Great Grandparent

12. Do you have any family members who were/are Holocaust survivors (who had lived in parts of Nazi occupied Europe during the Holocaust)? **Yes / No**

b. If yes, which relatives? (Circle all that apply.)

Child Mother Grandparent

Sibling Father Great Grandparent

_____

13. Do you view Israel as a potential safe place from persecution? **Yes / No**

14. Which nations or nations do you consider to be your homeland?

_____

15. Are there any factors beyond these questions that establish your connection to Israel?

_____

16. What is the highest level of education that you have completed? (example: high school)

_____

17. Have you heard of the organization called the American Israel Public Affairs Committee or AIPAC?

Yes / No If yes, please circle how you feel about the following statement?

AIPAC represents my views.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

---

18. Have you heard of the organization called J Street? **Yes / No**

If yes, please circle how you feel about the following statement.

J Street represents my views	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

19. Please circle how you feel about each statement.

There should not be peace talks until Hamas is out of power.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I support a two state solution.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The Israeli army should control the Egyptian border with Gaza.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I would be willing to share Jerusalem as a capital.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Any Palestinian state must be demilitarized.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I support a freeze on all settlements.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
There is not a humanitarian crisis in Gaza.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
There will be peace in the next 50 years.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

20. Which statement best describes your opinion about criticism of Israel and the Israeli government?

A. Pro-Israel groups should publicly criticize Israel at times
B. Pro-Israel groups should only internally criticize Israel
C. Pro-Israel Groups should never criticize Israel
D. No Opinion or Don't Know

21. Which U.S. political party, if any, do you identify with? (Please circle all that apply)

Democrat Republican Other: _____ NONE

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