

The Israeli

Democracy

Index

2014

Tamar Hermann

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THE ISRAEL
DEMOCRACY
INSTITUTE

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The Israel Democracy Institute is an independent, non-partisan think-and-do tank dedicated to strengthening the foundations of Israeli democracy. IDI supports Israel's elected officials, civil servants, and opinion leaders by developing policy solutions in the realms of political reform, democratic values, social cohesion, and religion and state.

IDI promotes the values and norms vital for Israel's identity as a Jewish and democratic state and maintains an open forum for constructive dialogue and consensus-building across Israeli society and government. The Institute assembles Israel's leading thinkers to conduct comparative policy research, design blueprints for reform, and develop practical implementation strategies.

In 2009, IDI was recognized with Israel's most prestigious award—The Israel Prize for Lifetime Achievement: Special Contribution to Society and State. Among many achievements, IDI is responsible for the creation of the Knesset's Research and Information Center, the repeal of the two-ballot electoral system, the establishment of Israel's National Economic Council, and the launch of Israel's constitutional process.

IDI's Board of Directors is comprised of some of the most influential individuals in Israeli society. The Institute's prestigious International Advisory Council is headed by former US Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

The Guttman Center for Surveys at IDI holds the largest, most comprehensive database on public opinion surveys in Israel. Over a span of sixty years, the Center, based in Jerusalem, has applied rigorous, innovative, and pioneering research methods enhanced by its unique "continuing survey." It has documented the attitudes of the Israeli public regarding thousands of issues, in all aspects of life, in over 1,200 studies that have been conducted since 1947: from everyday concerns to politics, culture, ideology, religion, education, and national security.

The Israeli Democracy Index is a public opinion poll project conducted by the Guttman Center for Surveys. Since 2003, an extensive survey has been conducted annually on a representative sample of Israel's adult population (1,000 participants). Each survey presents an estimate of the quality of Israeli democracy for that year. On the whole, the project aims at assessing trends in Israeli public opinion regarding realization of democratic values and the performance of government systems and elected officials. Analysis of its results may contribute to public discussion of the status of democracy in Israel and create a cumulative empirical database to intensify discourse concerning such issues.

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Introduction

The 2014 *Israeli Democracy Index* is the twelfth in a series of reports published since 2003 that examine the institutional, procedural, and perceptual aspects of Israeli democracy on a regular basis. The purpose of this report is to provide a comprehensive and up-to-date portrait, and at the same time to identify trends of change and elements of stability in Israeli public opinion in the political and socioeconomic spheres.

Structure of the report

This year's survey (which forms the basis of the *Democracy Index*) focused on social and economic concerns, which are also the subject of the first chapter. In the second chapter, we address various aspects of Israel's political and government systems. The third chapter deals with Israeli society, while the fourth chapter examines the country's ranking in international democracy indicators.

It is important to note that the survey was conducted in the spring of 2014, prior to Operation Protective Edge (Tzuk Eitan), which took place in the summer. Given everything that happened in Israel during that turbulent period, some of the data may seem questionable from a post-war perspective. But the findings are accurate reflections of the time and may well hold true in future when the dust settles from the operation. Readers should bear in mind, moreover, that the survey on which the *Index* is based measures the feelings, opinions, and judgments of the general public, meaning that this is not an "objective" or professional assessment of Israel's situation.

Methodology

The questionnaire

The questionnaire for this year's *Democracy Index* survey was compiled in March–April 2014 and consists of 63 content questions and 12 sociodemographic questions. Of these, slightly less than half are recurring questions asked each year (for the full questionnaire, see Appendix 1). Note that certain questions, due to their emotional content or specific relevance, were posed to Jewish respondents only (for example, the question regarding Israel's definition as a Jewish or a democratic state).

Data collection

The data were collected by the Dialog Institute in phone interviews conducted between April 28 and May 29, 2014. The Hebrew questionnaire was translated beforehand into Russian and Arabic; the interviewers who administered these versions were native speakers of these languages. A total of 148 respondents were interviewed in Arabic and 59 in Russian.

The sample

The study population was a representative national sample of 1,007 adults aged 18 and over. The maximum sampling error for a sample of this size is $\pm 3.2\%$.

It is our hope that the wealth of data presented here will help readers gain a better understanding of the map of public opinion in Israel on issues related, directly or indirectly, to Israel's democratic character, and will assist scholars in their writing and research. For this reason, we are also making the raw data used in the Index available to the public (in SPSS) on **the Guttman Center site**, which forms part of **the IDI site** (www.idi.org.il).

Note that the *Democracy Index* in English is an abbreviated version of the Hebrew original. The full text includes many additional figures and analyses.

Chapter 1

Economy and Society

The subject of society and the economy was chosen this year (2014) as the major theme of the *Democracy Index* survey, due to its centrality in public discourse over the past several years, in particular since the wave of social/economic protests in the summer of 2011. In addition, we believe there is a need for further research on the link between social/economic attitudes and democratic views, and between socioeconomic status and political orientation.

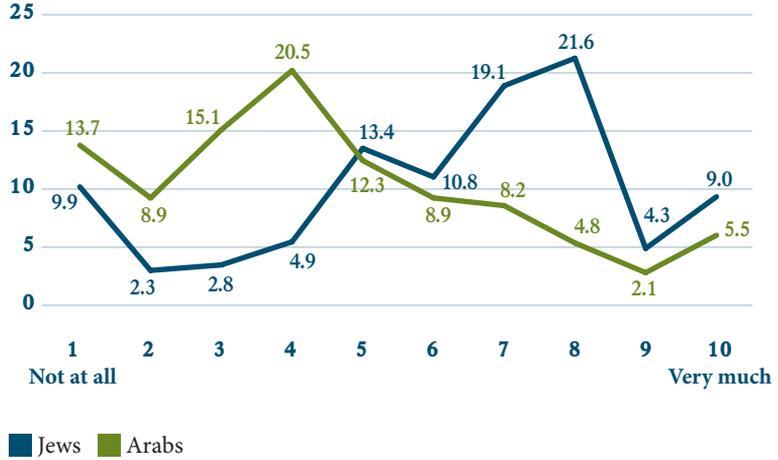
1.1 Personal financial situation

We began with a factual question about the interviewees' monthly family income as compared with the Israeli national average (NIS 13,500, or roughly US \$3,900 at the time of the survey). The most frequent response in the total sample (37.5%) was that the family income was below the national average (with 19.2% reporting "around average," and 27.2% "above average"; the remaining 16.1% responded that they did not know or refused to answer). Among Jewish respondents, the most frequent response (at 20.5%) was "slightly above the average"; however, the aggregate of those who responded slightly or far below the average (34.8%) exceeded that of the slightly or far above average group (29.5%). A total of 19.8% reported that their family income was "around the national average."

In the Arab sector, by contrast, the picture is more worrisome. Here, the aggregate of those with incomes slightly or very much below the national average (54.8%) far surpassed the share of respondents whose income was around the average (17.8%) or the aggregate of those above the average (16.4%), and even that of the last two categories combined.

We then moved on to a more subjective question dealing with financial satisfaction. We asked: "How satisfied are you with your family's financial situation?" The possible responses were arrayed on a ten-point scale ranging from 1 ("not at all satisfied") to 10 ("very satisfied"). Figure 1.1 illustrates the great disparity between the responses of the Jewish and Arab interviewees. Among Jews, the satisfaction ratings tended toward the positive end of the scale, while among Arabs the trend was in the opposite direction.

Figure 1.1: How satisfied are you with your family's financial situation? (total sample and by nationality; percent)



Yet there is no clear-cut correlation between the two parameters—objective income and subjective satisfaction with the family financial situation. A breakdown of the figures by religiosity, for example (Table 1.1), shows that groups whose family income is lower than the national average are not necessarily less satisfied with their financial situation. Thus, the religious respondents, whose financial situation, according to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), is lower than average, are the most satisfied with their family financial situation; while the secular, whose average situation is better, are less satisfied. The same holds true for the Haredim: despite the fact that their average financial situation is worse than that of either of the traditional groups (religious and non-religious), and that they are one of the poorest groups in Israeli society, on average they are more satisfied.

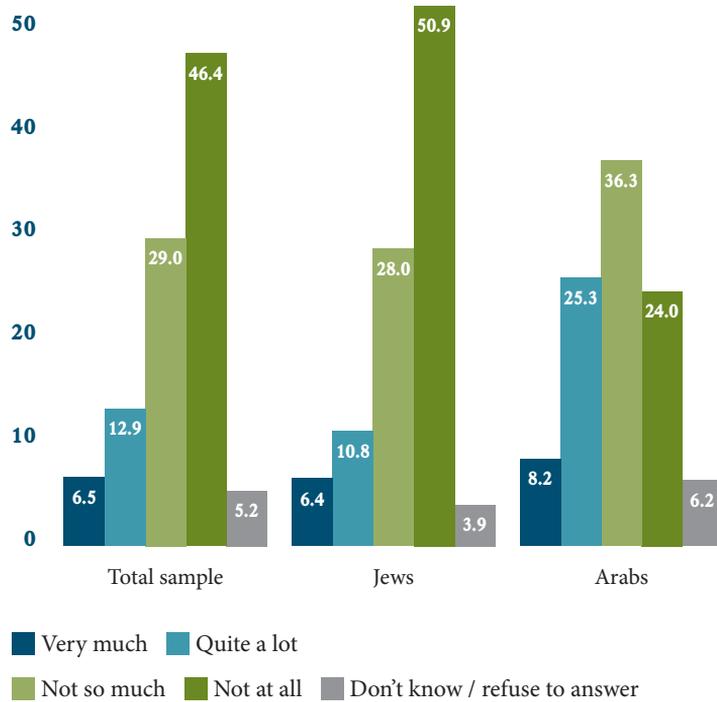
Table 1.1

Level of religiosity	Satisfaction with family financial situation—group average
Haredim	6.2
Religious	6.8
Traditional religious	6.1
Traditional non-religious	6.1
Secular	6.4

Breaking down the level of financial satisfaction by self-reported location on the political/security spectrum shows that those who identify with the center are the most satisfied (average rating of 6.25), followed by the left and the right (both with roughly 6.1). An analysis of the figures by social/economic worldview reveals that those who are the most satisfied with their family financial situation (of the total sample) are advocates of capitalism, with an average score of 6.1; below them are those who favor a mixed economy (5.9), followed closely by adherents of social democracy (5.8). On the whole, these averages indicate that the interviewees in all groups are not that satisfied with their financial situation, but neither are they in despair.

The third and final question in this group was a sensitive and highly subjective one: “Do you feel poor these days?” The figures indicate that the feeling of poverty is not widespread in the Jewish sector. A slight majority (50.9%) responded that they do not feel poor at all, while 28% said “not so much.” Another 10.8% responded that they feel quite poor, and 6.4% that they feel very poor (meaning that roughly 17% feel poor to some degree). The portrait that emerges from the Arab respondents is more sobering, however; while the most frequent response is “not so much” (36.3%), a total of 33.5% (almost twice the share of the Jewish public!) feel poor (25.3% quite poor, and 8.2% very poor) and only 24% do not feel at all poor (Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2: Do you feel poor these days? (total sample and by nationality; percent)¹



The debate over the contemporary relevance of ethnicity in Israel led us to examine whether there is a difference between ethnic groups in their subjective sense of poverty. As illustrated in Table 1.2, that sense is not distributed equally between ethnic categories: Respondents of Asian-African origin and their children define themselves as poor to a greater extent than do respondents from other ethnic backgrounds.

¹ To simplify the presentation of the data, from this point on we classify the interviewees into two groups: those who do not feel poor (i.e., who responded “not at all” and “not so much”) and those who feel poor (“quite a lot” and “very much”).

Table 1.2 (percent)

	Israel-Israel ²	Former Soviet Union (FSU)	Europe-Americas	Asia-Africa
Feel poor	13.4	18.4	12.7	24
Don't feel poor	83.1	79.4	86.1	75
Don't know / refuse to answer	3.5	2.2	1.2	1
Total	100	100	100	100

1.2 Level of economic knowledge

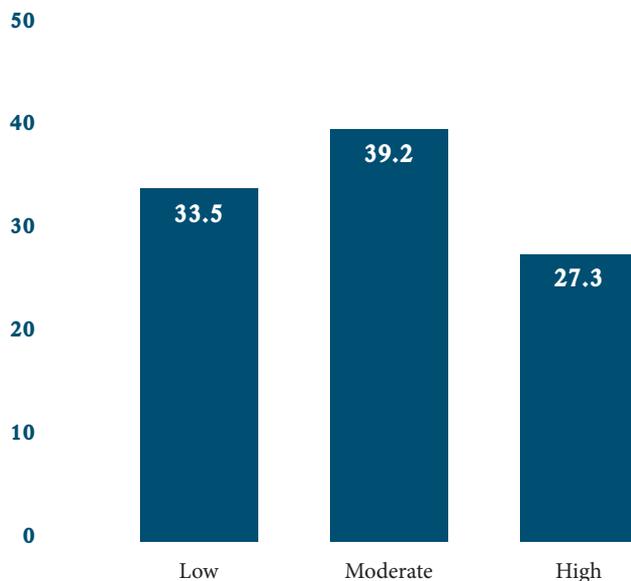
To find out how the public rated its knowledge of economic affairs, we used two methods: self-assessment and a quiz. We posed the question: “How would you rate your level of understanding of economic matters?” The most frequent response in the total sample was “moderate” (48.3%), while 28.8% rated their level of economic knowledge as fairly high or high; a minority (19.7%) classified it as fairly low or low.

The “objective” financial quiz was made up of five questions: What is the minimum monthly wage in Israel? What is the average gross monthly salary? What is the Arrangements Law? Who is the present governor of the Bank of Israel? And is Israel's current unemployment rate roughly 1%, 7%, 10%, or 20%?³ Possible scores ranged from 0 (for incorrect responses on all the questions) to 5 (all were answered correctly). We grouped the respondents' scores according to three levels of economic knowledge: low (0–1); moderate (2–3); and high (4–5). Figure 1.3 presents the distribution of scores. As expected, the most frequent score in the total sample was in the moderate range (39.2%) followed quite closely by low (33.5%) and high (27.3%) levels of economic knowledge.

2 Indicates an Israeli-born respondent whose father was also born in Israel.

3 The correct responses are (respectively): 4,300 sheqels; 9,200 sheqels; a law passed together with the State Budget that generally includes economic reforms voted on by the Knesset at the same session; Karnit Flug; 7%.

Figure 1.3: Respondents' level of economic knowledge (total sample; percent)



An analysis of the scores by nationality revealed vast differences between Arabs and Jews. Assuming that our sample was in fact representative, the Arab respondents' level of economic knowledge as measured on our scale is low both in absolute terms and in comparison with the Jewish population. The Jewish respondents scored an average of 2.58 (out of a maximum of 5), whereas the Arab average was 1.25. This gap can no doubt be explained in several ways, including language difficulties, greater alienation from the state, lower education and income levels, and a different economic orientation (more local and less national, for example). In any event, it is obvious from these findings that the economic difficulties resulting from low income levels and the perception of being poor are compounded by the negative variable of lack of relevant economic knowledge, which makes it harder for Arabs (individually and as a group) to function in the Israeli economic space.

The variable of ethnic origin also plays a role with respect to economic knowledge. As shown in Table 1.3, respondents of European-American origin and their children possess the highest level of economic knowledge, while those born in Asia-Africa and their children possess the lowest.

Table 1.3 (percent)

	Israel- Israel	FSU	Europe- Americas	Asia- Africa
Low level of economic knowledge	21	36.5	10	39
Moderate level	44	40	48	33
High level	35	23.5	42	28
Total	100	100	100	100

We also found sizeable differences in economic knowledge corresponding to the subjective sense of poverty. As illustrated in Table 1.4, those who feel poor tend to have much lower levels of economic knowledge than those who do not feel poor; however, it is difficult to separate cause and effect here. It may be that those who are knowledgeable about economics do not feel poor (or are in fact not poor), or it may be that those who feel poor (and may actually be poor) find themselves in this situation due, among other things, to a lack of economic knowledge, which is a function of education and income.

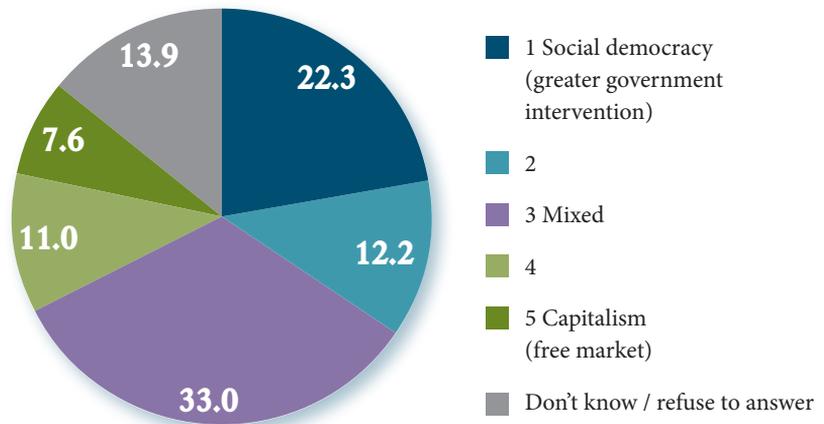
Table 1.4 (percent)

	Feel poor	Don't feel poor
Low level of economic knowledge	55	26
Moderate level	34	42
High level	11	32
Total	100	100

1.3 Israel's economic/social system

To begin, we mapped respondents' views on various economic systems by posing the question: "Which type of economic system do you consider preferable?" The possible responses on a scale of 1 to 5 ranged from 1–2 (meaning a high degree of government intervention in economic/social affairs, i.e., social democracy) to 4–5 (a free-market system in which the state is not involved in economic/social matters; i.e., capitalism), with 3 denoting a mixed economy. As shown in Figure 1.4, the largest group of respondents (though not a majority) favors the social-democratic approach (34.5%), while a similar percentage (33%) advocate a mixed system. Only a minority (18.6%) favor a capitalist, free-market economy.

Figure 1.4: Preferred economic system (total sample; percent)



The question then arose of whether there is a correlation between respondents' subjective sense of poverty and their preferred economic/social approach. And in fact, the figures indicate that those who feel poor tend to support a social-democratic system, whereas those who do not feel poor are more inclined to a mixed economy. In both groups, only a minority support the capitalist system.

When we cross-tabulated economic/social positions with right/left political orientation (among Jewish respondents), we found, as expected, that those who locate themselves on the left of the political/security spectrum are more likely than other groups to support social-democracy (51%, versus 33.2% in the center and 38.2% on the right); however, there is not a clear, one-to-one correspondence. In all three political camps, only a minority support the capitalist system (right, 23.4%; center, 22.1%; left, 16.1%). Breaking down the data by education shows that here too the capitalist system is favored by only a minority of respondents, regardless of their level of education. Analysis on the basis of voting patterns in the 2013 Knesset elections reveals that among voters of all parties, only a minority (between a fifth and a quarter) prefer the capitalist system.

Next, we examined whether the interviewees see democracy and income distribution as necessarily connected by asking their opinion on the statement: "A state where income disparity is high cannot be a true democracy." The majority (52.1%) agreed with this statement; but a sizeable minority (42.4%) disagreed, meaning they did not see a necessary link between how democratic a system is and how egalitarian its income distribution. We then broke down the responses by the respondents' economic/social views. As expected, the highest proportion of interviewees who agreed with the statement was found among those who favor social democracy. But surprisingly enough, even among the proponents of capitalism the share of those who agreed exceeded those who disagreed.

We then moved on to exploring how the public perceives the gap between rich and poor in Israel. As in previous years, we asked the interviewees to assess the tension between various groups in Israeli society, among them the rich and the poor. Of the Jewish respondents, 58.1% characterized the level of tension between rich and poor as high, while only 37% of the Arab interviewees shared this perception.

We also broke down the answers by level of economic knowledge (total sample). The results are interesting and somewhat unexpected: It seems that the greater the respondents' economic knowledge, the more likely they are to define the level of tension between rich and poor as high. We are not proposing

a causal connection (i.e., that greater economic knowledge contributes to this perception), since there may also be an inverse connection, namely, that those who feel that tensions between rich and poor are high consequently show greater interest in economics and as a result score higher in economic knowledge.

We then analyzed the responses based on whether or not the interviewees feel poor (total sample). We found that while a majority of both the “poor” and “not poor” groups define the level of tension between rich and poor as high, this view is more common among those who do not consider themselves poor than among those who do (56.8% and 51.8%, respectively).

Breaking down the figures by preferred economic/social system (total sample) did not yield substantial differences between adherents of social democracy, a mixed economy, or capitalism.

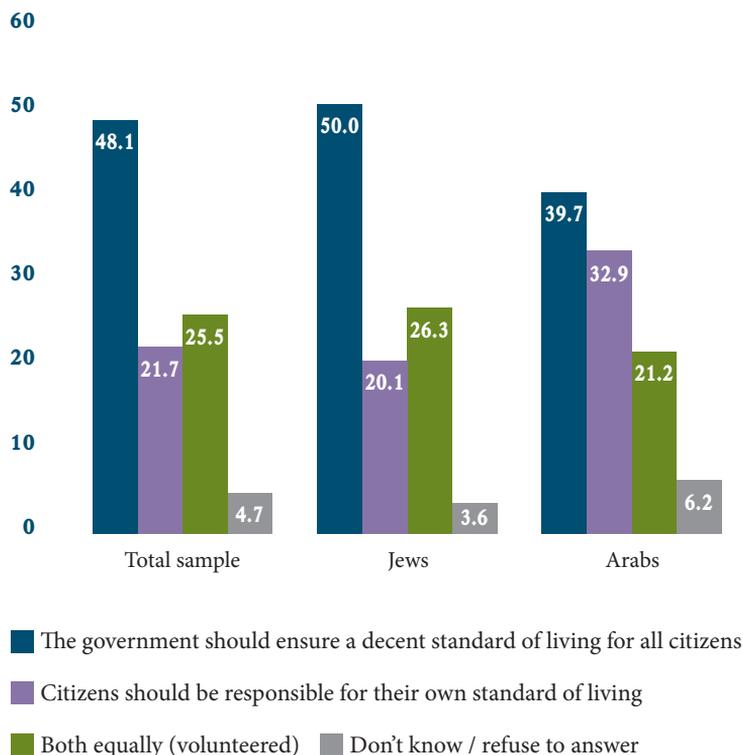
The final question in our economic/social diagnosis dealt with trust in financially powerful institutions, specifically, the Ministry of Finance and the banks. A clear majority of the total sample (59.3%) expressed a lack of trust in the Ministry of Finance. But what about the banks, which have been presented in the media on more than one occasion as the “enemies of the people”? The percentage of respondents who do not trust the banks (61.8% of the total sample) is slightly higher than the share who lack faith in the Ministry of Finance.

1.4 Who's to blame?

We attempted to find out who the public believes is “to blame” for the present economic/social situation. The logical candidate is of course the Government.⁴ Accordingly, we presented two statements to the interviewees and asked them which they agreed with more: “The Government should see to it that all citizens enjoy a decent standard of living,” or “citizens should be responsible for their own standard of living” (Figure 1.5).

4 In Israeli parlance, “Government” (capital G) means the executive branch, and specifically the prime minister and cabinet (as in British usage).

Figure 1.5: Who is responsible for people's standard of living – the Government or citizens themselves? (total sample and by nationality; percent)



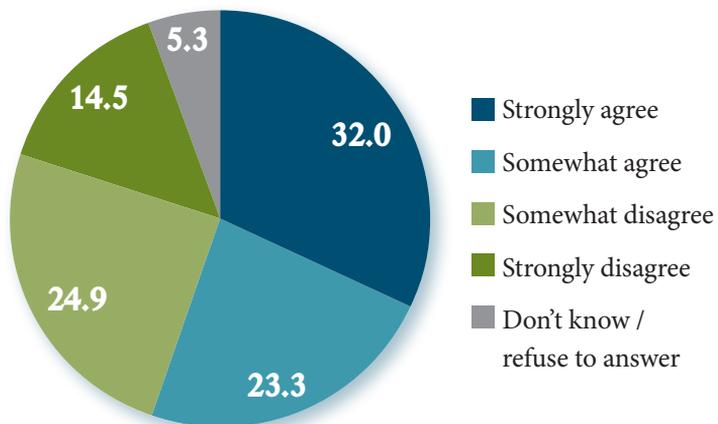
Of the Jewish respondents, exactly half (50%) feel that it is the Government's job to ensure a decent standard of living for Israel's citizens; roughly a fifth (20.1%) hold that this should be the responsibility of the citizens themselves, while about a quarter argue that the responsibility should be divided equally between the Government and citizens. Among Arab respondents, by contrast, the share of those who expect the Government to take responsibility for citizens' welfare is significantly lower (39.7%), whereas the proportion who feel that citizens should take care of themselves (32.9%) is much higher than the comparable share among Jews. This distribution is presumably due to the Arab citizens' unsuccessful experience with the Government over the years in terms of their standard of living.

A breakdown of the figures by subjective sense of poverty shows that those who consider themselves poor are more likely to hold the Government responsible for citizens' welfare than are those who do not feel poor. In both groups, however, the group that places this responsibility squarely on the citizens' shoulders is the smallest of all.

An analysis of the responses to this question by preferred economic/social system reveals, as expected, that those who favor social democracy hold the Government responsible for the citizens' standard of living to a greater extent than do those who prefer a mixed or capitalist system; but in the two latter groups, as well, the largest group of respondents place responsibility for the standard of living on the Government, and the smallest group on the citizens.

We wished to find out whether decision-makers are subject to pressures that cause them to act improperly in the economic/social sphere. Accordingly, we asked respondents whether they agreed with the following statement: "Israel is not a true democracy because a small group of rich people influences government leaders to make decisions that favor the wealthy over ordinary citizens." As illustrated in Figure 1.6, a majority (55.3%) of the total sample agree with this harsh characterization.

Figure 1.6: "Israel is not a true democracy because a small group of rich people influences government leaders to make decisions that favor the wealthy over ordinary citizens" (total sample; percent)

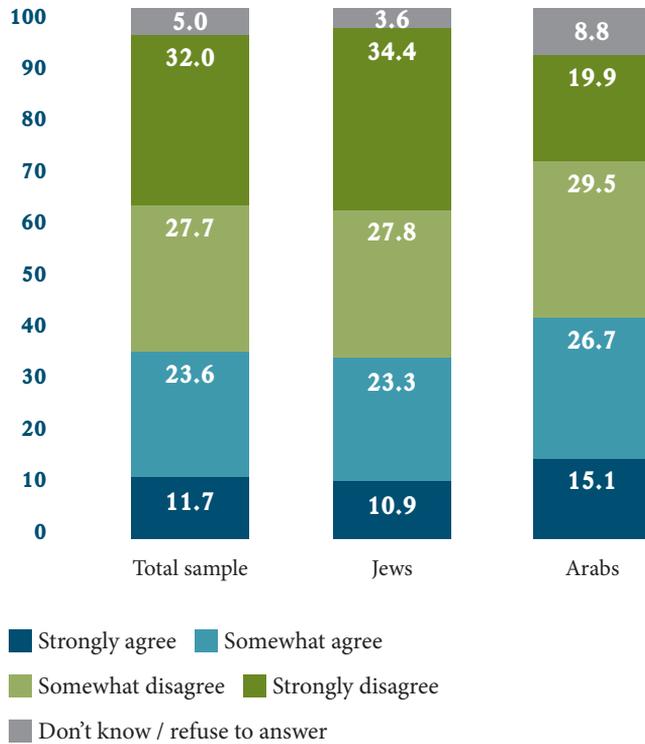


The labor unions are another potential guilty party for the unsatisfactory economic/social situation. We therefore asked the interviewees to express their agreement or disagreement with the following: “The major labor unions (at the Electric Corporation, Israel Railways, the ports, and the banks, for example) have too much power.” A substantial majority of the total sample (79.2%) agreed with the statement. But does preferred economic/social system play a role here, given that social democracy calls for the existence of strong labor unions? It turns out that even among the proponents of a social-democratic system, a sizeable majority of the total sample (though somewhat fewer than among those who favor a mixed economy or capitalism) agree with the above statement.

And what about feelings of poverty: Do those who see themselves as poor take a dim view of the power of the major labor unions? Once again, a majority of both the “poor” and “not poor” groups agree with the statement, but by much less so in the former group than in the latter (64.6% and 83.3%, respectively, of the total sample).

A further possibility, often raised by advocates of the free market system, is that the poor are to blame for their situation. Accordingly, we asked the respondents for their opinion of the following: “Poor people are largely responsible for their situation, because if they made an effort they could pull themselves out of poverty.” As shown in Figure. 1.7, a majority disagreed with this statement.

Figure 1.7: “Poor people are largely responsible for their situation, because if they made an effort they could pull themselves out of poverty” (total sample and by nationality; percent)



Do those who favor social democracy respond differently to this question than those who support a mixed or capitalist system? Our findings show that social democrats and proponents of a mixed economy lie on one side of the divide, and supporters of capitalism, on the other. While a clear majority of the first two groups are opposed to placing responsibility for their situation on the poor themselves, in the third group (advocates of capitalism) opinions are split almost evenly.

Predictably enough, those who consider themselves poor are more adamant in rejecting the claim that the poor are responsible for their fate, although a clear majority of those who do not feel poor also refrain from making the same assumption (Table 1.5).

Table 1.5 (percent)

	Agree that the poor are responsible for their situation	Disagree that the poor are responsible for their situation	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
Feel poor	28.1	68.8	3.1	100
Don't feel poor	37.5	58.8	3.7	100

That being the case, does the fault for the size of the income gap lie in the fact that Israelis are not working hard enough? We asked the interviewees to choose between these two statements: “If you work hard, you’ll succeed in the long run” and “hard work does not guarantee financial success.” Here we found a substantial difference between Arab and Jewish respondents: While the largest share of Arab interviewees (45.2%) supported the statement that if you work hard you’ll succeed financially, a majority of the Jews (58.8%) chose the contrary statement, that hard work does not ensure financial success. A breakdown of the responses by the subjective feeling of poverty (total sample) shows only slight differences: In both the “poor” and “not poor” groups, the majority feel that hard work and financial success are not necessarily connected, though the proportion of self-defined poor who hold that hard work does not guarantee financial success is greater than the corresponding share in the not-poor group (62.2% and 54.3%, respectively).

1.5 What can be done?

Raising taxes is one way to deal with economic/social inequality. We therefore asked: “Would you agree to pay higher taxes if the proceeds would be used to narrow Israel’s social/economic gaps?” Only about a third of the respondents (35.2%) answered in the affirmative.

When we proceeded to examine the willingness to pay more taxes in relation to economic knowledge we found sizeable differences between the groups. At all knowledge levels, the percentage of those who are unwilling to pay higher taxes surpasses that of those who are willing. Yet at the same time, there are considerable differences in their willingness: those with the greatest understanding of economics are more willing than others to pay higher taxes as a means of reducing economic/social disparities. This topic, too, was examined in light of respondents’

preferred economic system, the expectation being that those who favored the social-democratic approach would be more willing to pay higher taxes for this purpose. This assumption was not borne out, however: no statistically significant differences were found between advocates of social democracy and proponents of a mixed approach or of capitalism in terms of their willingness to pay higher taxes as a contribution to the reduction of economic/social gaps in Israel.

A majority of both those who feel poor and those who do not are unwilling to pay more taxes to help lessen income disparities; but the former, whose financial situation is presumably more difficult, are more strongly opposed to doing so (62.2% versus 53.1%, respectively, of the total sample).

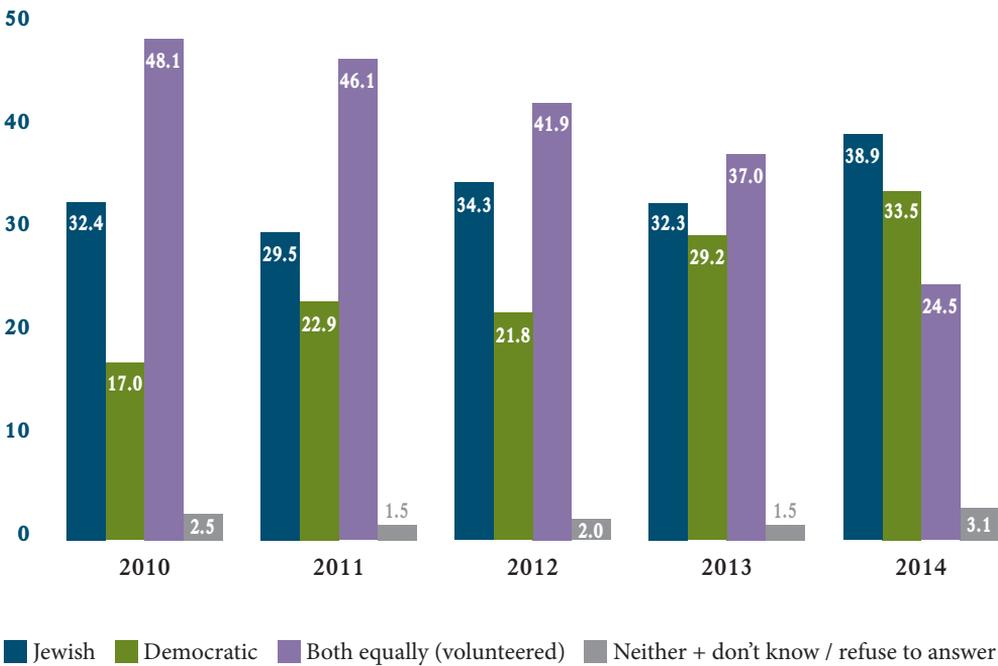
Another course of action to try to improve Israel's economic/social situation involves social protests to spur changes in Government policy. We wished to find out if, given the lack of trust in the financial institutions and the general dissatisfaction in the social/economic sphere, the public feels that there is reason to renew the social/economic protests of summer 2011, echoes of which we glimpsed in the summer of 2012 as well. Accordingly, we asked: "In your opinion, does the current economic situation justify taking to the streets to demonstrate against the Government?" Roughly two-thirds of both the Jewish (66.2%) and the Arab (63%) respondents replied in the affirmative. A breakdown of the responses by the subjective sense of poverty yielded a majority in both groups who favor renewing the protests (70.6% of those who feel poor and 65.3% of those who do not).

Chapter 2 State and Government

2.1 Defining Israel's character

As in past years, we posed the following question (to Jewish respondents only): “Israel is defined as both a Jewish and a democratic state. Which part of this definition is more important to you personally?” In Figure 2.1, we present the breakdown of responses to this question by year, from 2010 through 2014.

Figure 2.1: Israel is defined as both a Jewish and a democratic state. Which part of this definition is more important to you personally? (Jewish respondents only; by year; percent)

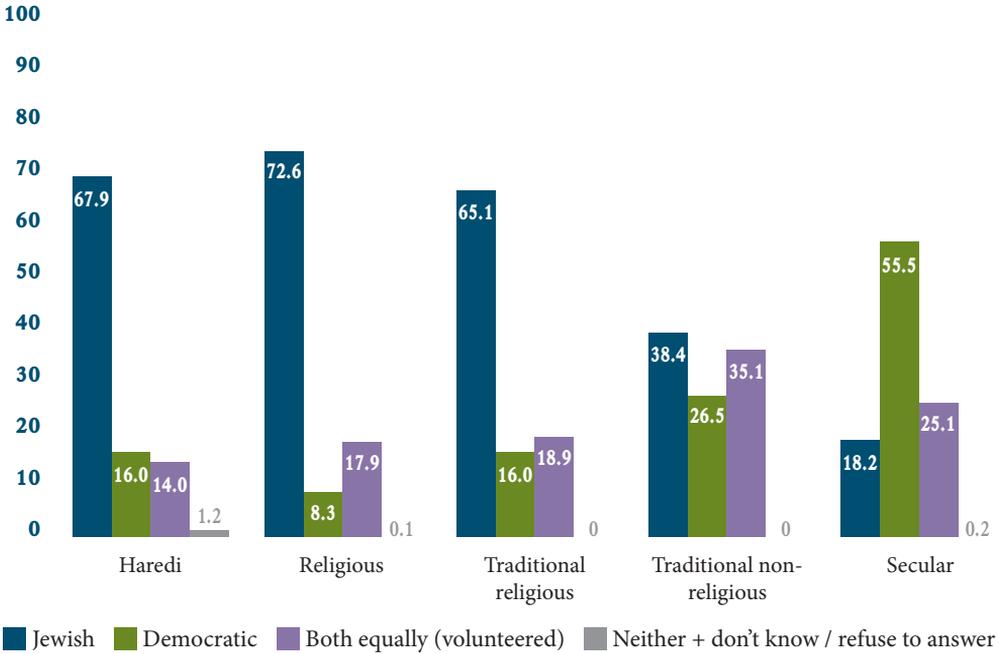


As indicated in the figure, the share of interviewees this year who ascribe greater importance to the Jewish component is the highest of all the years shown (38.9%). Next in line are those who consider the democratic component more important (33.5%), followed by the “Jewish and democratic equally” group (only 24.5%). The findings also point to a steady decline in the Jewish public’s preference for the dual definition of Jewish and democratic and a rise in support for the binary categories of either Jewish or democratic.

A breakdown of the responses by political orientation indicates that the desired character of the state correlates strongly with location on the political/security spectrum: The left shows an unmistakable preference for the democratic component (72.1%), while the right clearly favors the Jewish element (59%) and the center lies somewhere in between (44% giving priority to the democratic aspect and 21.8%, to the Jewish). Respondents who identify with the center also show the highest percentage in favor of an equally Jewish and democratic state (33.3%, as opposed to 20.6% who favor this option on the right and 19.1% on the left).

Figure 2.2, which illustrates the responses to this question based on self-defined religiosity, underscores the polarization within the Israeli-Jewish public on this topic: the religious groups (including the traditional religious) emphasize the Jewishness of the state, whereas the secular respondents clearly prefer the democratic component; only the traditional non-religious offer some balance between both aspects of the official definition of the state.

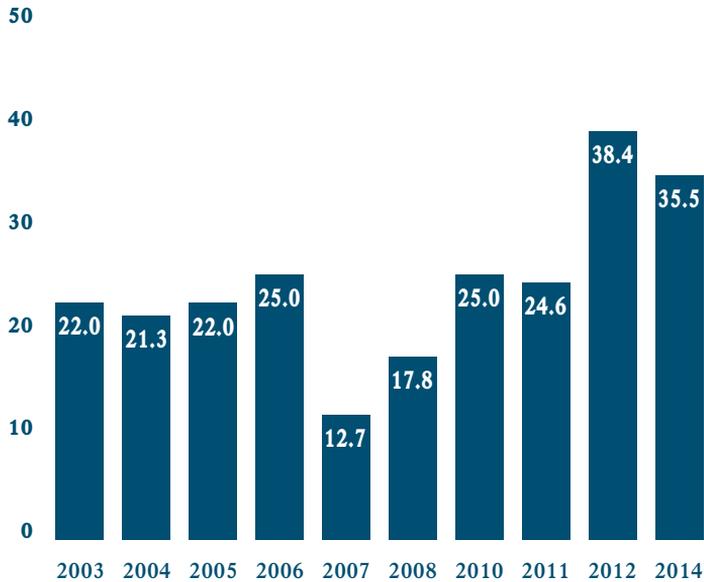
Figure 2.2: Israel is defined as both a Jewish and a democratic state. Which part of this definition is more important to you personally? (Jewish respondents only; by religiosity; percent)



2.2 The Government's performance

In general, the public's assessment of how the Government is managing the problems at hand tends toward the negative. A clear majority (60.2%) of the total sample feel that the Government is handling national problems "not so well" or "not at all well," with a similar pattern among Jewish and Arab respondents. The distribution of responses to this question is almost identical to that of last year, though there is a slight drop in the share of respondents who take a positive view of the Government's handling of national problems (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: How well is the government handling the country’s problems? (very well or quite well; total sample; by year; percent)



In a breakdown of the answers to this question by the party for which respondents voted in the 2013 Knesset elections (total sample), we find that for no party do a majority of its voters hold that the Government is handling the country’s problems “quite well” or “very well.” This includes the coalition parties (Likud–Yisrael Beitenu, 49.8%; Bayit Yehudi, 45.5%; Yesh Atid, 30.1%). A breakdown of the data by location on the political/security spectrum (Jewish respondents) showed sizeable differences (Table 2.1).

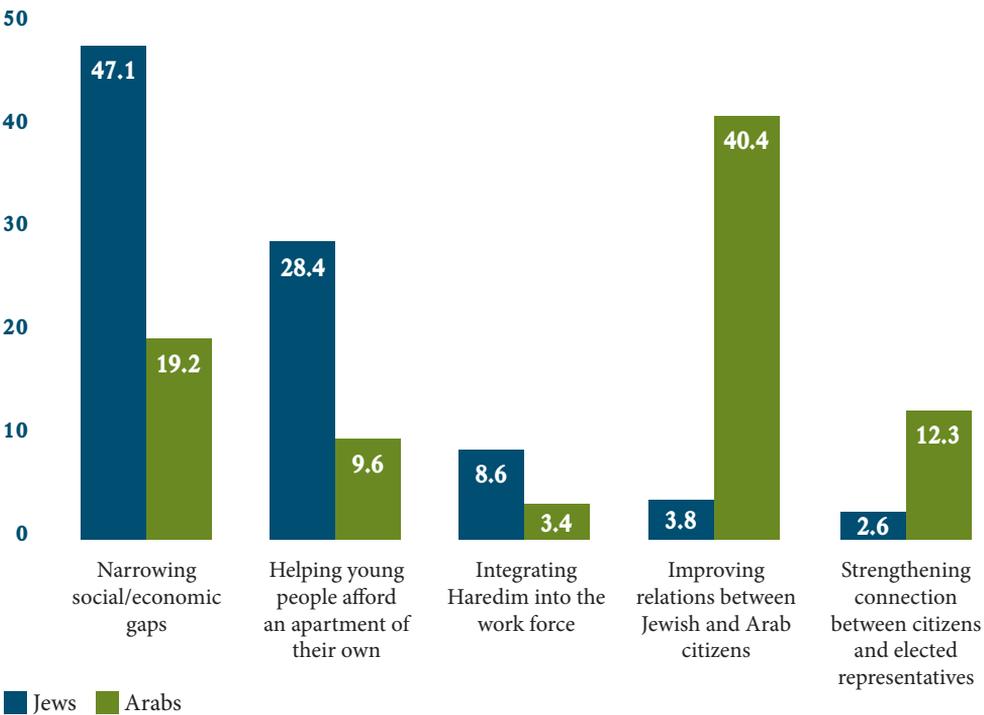
Table 2.1 (percent)

	The Government is handling the country’s problems “quite well” or “very well”	The Government is handling the country’s problems “not so well” or “not at all well”	Don’t know / refuse to answer	Total
Right	40.4	56.4	3.2	100
Center	35	60.6	4.4	100
Left	17.7	80.5	1.8	100

2.3 National priorities

We attempted to identify the respondents' preferred national priorities. The goal of reducing social/economic gaps ranked first among Jewish interviewees (with 47.1% preferring it to all the other options). Among Arab respondents, however, this option took second place (only 19.2%). As shown in Figure 2.4, the number-one priority among Arab respondents (40.4%) is improving relations between Jewish and Arab citizens, an objective that lags far behind among Jews, with only 3.8% assigning it top priority.

Figure 2.4: Which of the following social/economic goals should be the government's top priority? (by nationality; percent)



Breaking down the results by whether respondents feel poor or not (total sample), we found that the most frequent choice in both groups was narrowing social/economic gaps, followed by helping young people afford an apartment of their own.

We also wished to learn whether religiosity affected social/economic priorities. Among Haredim, we found that help with housing and reducing social/economic gaps were more or less equal priorities, whereas the other groups clearly assigned first priority to narrowing the gaps. Incidentally, it should be noted that among Haredim, the goal of integration in the work force did not rank high.

When it comes to political/security objectives, achieving a peace agreement with the Palestinians is the first priority; however, there is a sizeable gap between the shares of Jews and Arabs who chose this response (27.7% and 45.2%, respectively). A breakdown of the responses by political orientation (Jews) found that, on the right, the first priority is strengthening Israel's military capabilities, while the center and the left attach the greatest importance to reaching a peace agreement with the Palestinians.

When the interviewees were asked to choose between their top-ranked social/economic and political/security priorities, the following picture emerged: among Arab interviewees, the most frequent response (39%) was that both were equally important; among Jews, there was a clear preference (41.5%) for the social/economic objective.

A breakdown of the responses by subjective feeling of poverty shows that while those who do not consider themselves poor rank the social/economic objective in first place and the political/security objective after that, the most common response of those who feel poor is "both equally," followed by the social/economic goal. A breakdown of the responses to this question by political/security orientation and preferred economic system did not yield statistically significant results.

Since the data indicate that the public has a clear-cut set of priorities, we wished to learn whether the interviewees felt they were capable of influencing Government policy. The question we have posed almost every year is: "To what extent are you and your friends able to influence Government policy?" We encountered a marked sense of helplessness this year: in the total sample, over three-quarters (75.5%) felt that they and their friends could influence policy "not so much" or "not at all." Though the findings are not new, they certainly do not bode well for Israeli democracy, since such feelings of impotence can lead to apathy among citizens and even delegitimization of the Government.

A breakdown of the responses to this question by subjective poverty produced an interesting result. Interviewees who do not consider themselves poor feel less able to influence Government policy than do those who feel poor. The explanation for this seeming paradox is that those who do not feel poor (who are generally more educated) are less inclined to “buy into” the formal ethos of democracy, which asserts, for example, that “every vote counts.” They are apparently more aware of decision-makers’ ability to hide behind such slogans and in practice ignore public opinion.

This year, too, we examined people’s views on how much importance politicians attach to their constituents’ opinions. We did this by asking whether interviewees agreed or disagreed with this statement: “Politicians don’t care about the opinions of the man in the street.” Expressing their sense of helplessness, a clear majority of the total sample (62%) agreed with this statement.

If not the will of the people, then what does guide politicians? The public has an unequivocal answer to this. A clear majority agrees strongly or somewhat with the statement that “politicians look out more for their own interests than for those of the public who elected them.” Among Jews, this percentage is higher (77.2%) than among Arabs (63.7%).

Does this mean that people view the leaders of Israel as corrupt? We asked: “How would you rate Israel’s current leadership in terms of corruption, where 1 = very corrupt and 5 = not at all corrupt?” A plurality of respondents in the total sample (aggregate of 42.6%) felt that Israeli leaders are very or somewhat corrupt. Roughly a third (31.4%) opted for the midpoint of the scale, while only a minority (aggregate of 19.4%) responded that there is little or no corruption among Israel’s leaders.

Given this largely unflattering view of their elected representatives, we asked the interviewees whether they agreed with the following statement: “To handle Israel’s unique problems, we need a strong leader who is not swayed by the Knesset, the media, or public opinion.” This statement embodies anti-democratic values (desire for a strong leader, disregard for liberal democratic principles) and is a good yardstick of how democratic or undemocratic Israel’s political culture is. On this point, there is a sizeable difference between Jewish and Arab interviewees. A majority (57.1%) of the former disagree strongly

or somewhat with the statement, whereas 45.9% of the latter (a plurality) support the notion of a strong leader. A breakdown of the responses by location on the political/security spectrum shows that whereas a majority of all three groups reject the need for a strong leader, this majority increases the farther left one moves along the continuum (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 (percent)

	Disagree that Israel needs a strong leader to handle its unique problems	Agree that Israel needs a strong leader to handle its unique problems	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
Right	53.1	45.7	1.2	100
Center	60.6	37.0	2.4	100
Left	64.2	29.1	6.7	100

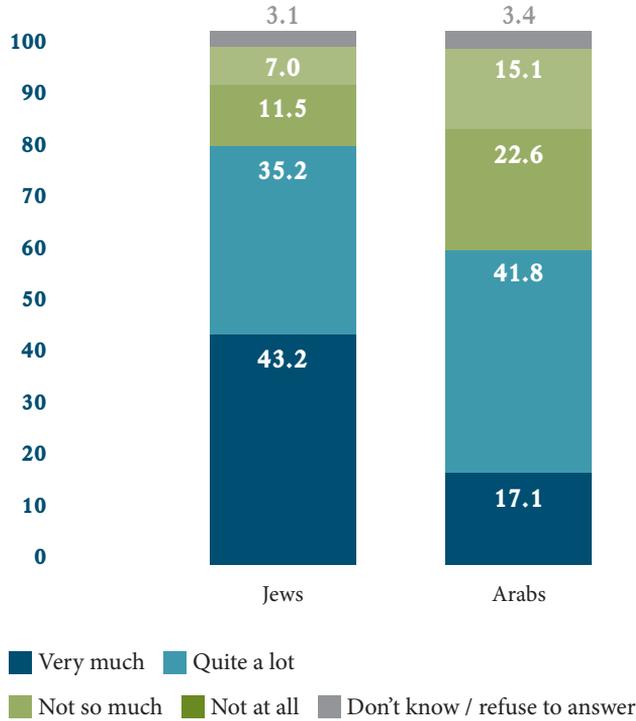
2.4 Interest and involvement in politics

Israelis are known to be strongly “political,” which led us to the question: “How interested are you in politics?” Almost two-thirds of the total sample (62.5%) stated that they are very much or quite interested. This year, too, we recorded profound differences between various population groups on this issue: more Jews (65.8%) than Arabs (45.3%) reported that they are very or quite interested in politics.

Wishing to learn if this high level of interest in politics translated into party activity, we asked: “Do you support or are you active in any political party?” An overwhelming majority (70.5%) of the Jewish respondents are not active in and do not support any party, compared with 50% of the Arab public.

As in past years, we asked two questions concerning the sense of connection with the state: “To what extent do you feel part of the State of Israel and its problems?” and “How proud are you to be an Israeli?” Of the total sample, 75.1% responded that they feel part of the state and its problems “very much” or “quite a lot” (61.6% last year); 81.8% stated that they are very or quite proud to be Israeli (76.5% last year). But since we have found sizeable differences on these questions in the past between Jewish and Arabs respondents, we present the figures for each of the groups separately (Figure 2.5).

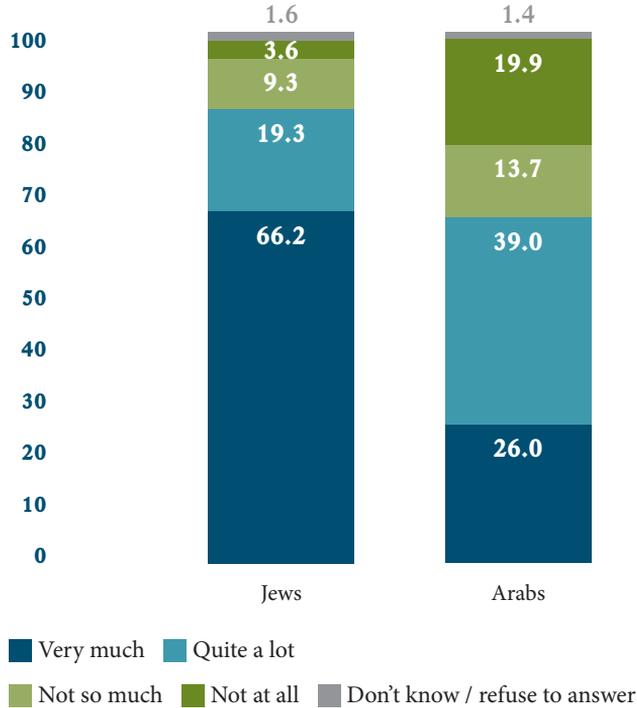
Figure 2.5: To what extent do you feel part of the State of Israel and its problems? (by nationality; percent)



Jewish respondents showed a marked decline from 2013 in their sense of belonging, continuing the trend we noted last year. The proportion of Arabs who feel a connection with the state is lower than that of the Jews; however, bearing in mind that the state defines itself as Jewish (and democratic), and not, for example, as a state of all its citizens, some feel that the present figure should not be seen as low—not to mention the fact that it is noticeably higher than in previous years.

When it comes to pride in being Israeli, this year, again, a distinct majority of Jews (85.5%) feel a sense of pride (83.3% last year). Among Arab respondents, too, 65% feel this way (49.8% last year) (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6: How proud are you to be an Israeli?
(by nationality; percent)



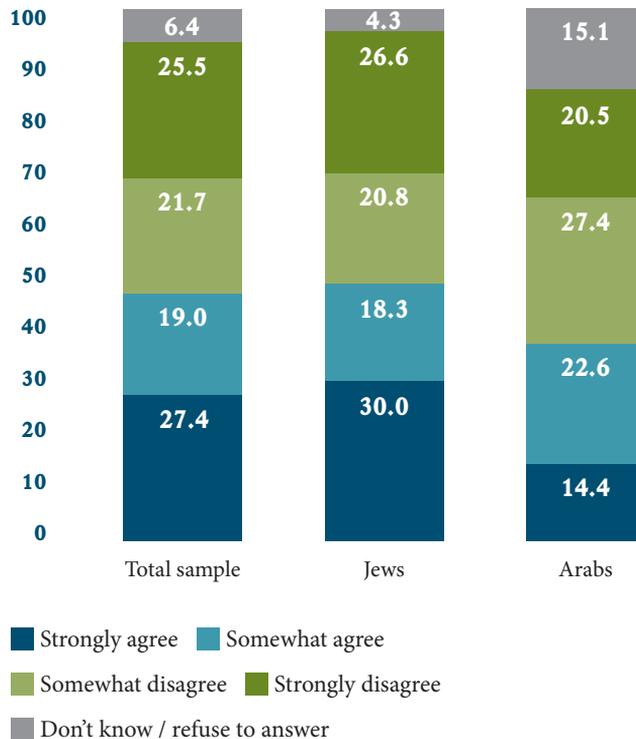
A breakdown of the total sample by subjective feeling of poverty shows that in both groups (those who do and those who do not consider themselves poor), a majority of respondents feel part of the state and its problems; but the portion who feel this way in the “not-poor group” clearly exceeds that of their counterparts in the “poor group” (77.1% versus 69.5%, respectively). A breakdown of the figures by political/security orientation reveals that a majority in all camps feel part of the state and its problems; the figure is largest, however, among those who identify with the center.

With respect to pride in being Israeli, a majority of those who consider themselves poor, as well as of those who do not (total sample) stated that they are proud to be Israeli; but the proportion who feel that way in the former group is less than that in the latter (74.5% and 84.5%, respectively). In other words, a sense of poverty diminishes pride in being Israeli. A breakdown of

the figures by location on the political/security spectrum shows that a solid majority in all political camps there are proud to be Israeli; however, this figure is noticeably lower among those who identify with the left than among those on the right or center of the political map.

Does the strong sense of belonging and pride mean that there is no room for criticism of the state? We asked the interviewees whether they agree or disagree with the following statement: “Speakers should be prohibited from harshly criticizing the State of Israel in public.” As shown in Figure 2.7, the public is divided on this issue. Among Jewish respondents, 48.3% agreed and 47.4% disagreed. Among Arab interviewees, however, those who disagreed exceeded those who agreed (47.9% and 37%, respectively).

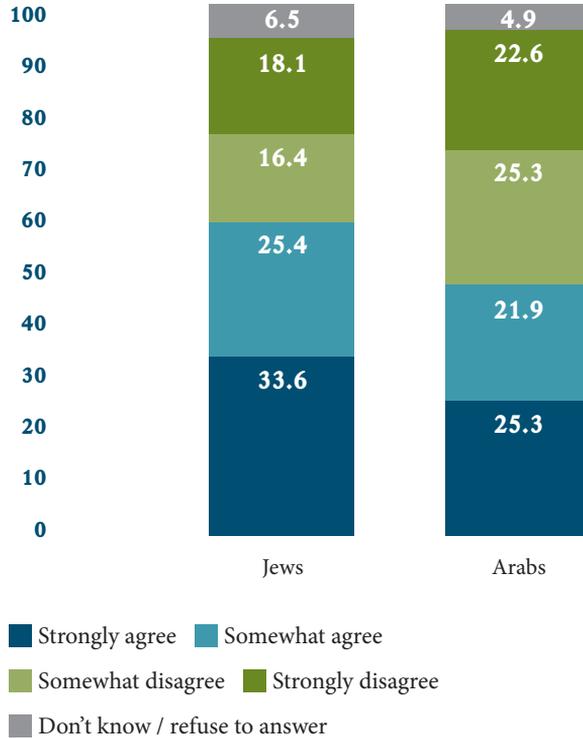
Figure 2.7: “Speakers should be prohibited from harshly criticizing the State of Israel in public” (total sample and by nationality; percent)



We wanted to find out to what extent political orientation affects readiness to tolerate harsh public criticism of the country. A breakdown of the figures demonstrates the impact of this variable: on the right, a majority favor banning harsh criticism of the state (58.2%); by contrast, a majority of the center (54.4%) and a larger majority on the left (65.2%) reject such a ban.

Given the heated debate throughout the democratic world about freedom of expression and privacy, in the wake of Edward Snowden's sensational revelations about the U.S. National Security Agency's surveillance of citizens' phone and Internet use, we asked interviewees for their reaction to the following statement: "To safeguard Israel's security, it is permissible for the state to monitor what citizens write on the Internet." We found that while the Arab public is almost evenly split on this issue, a clear majority of the Jews agree with the statement and support monitoring of Internet users (Figure 2.8).

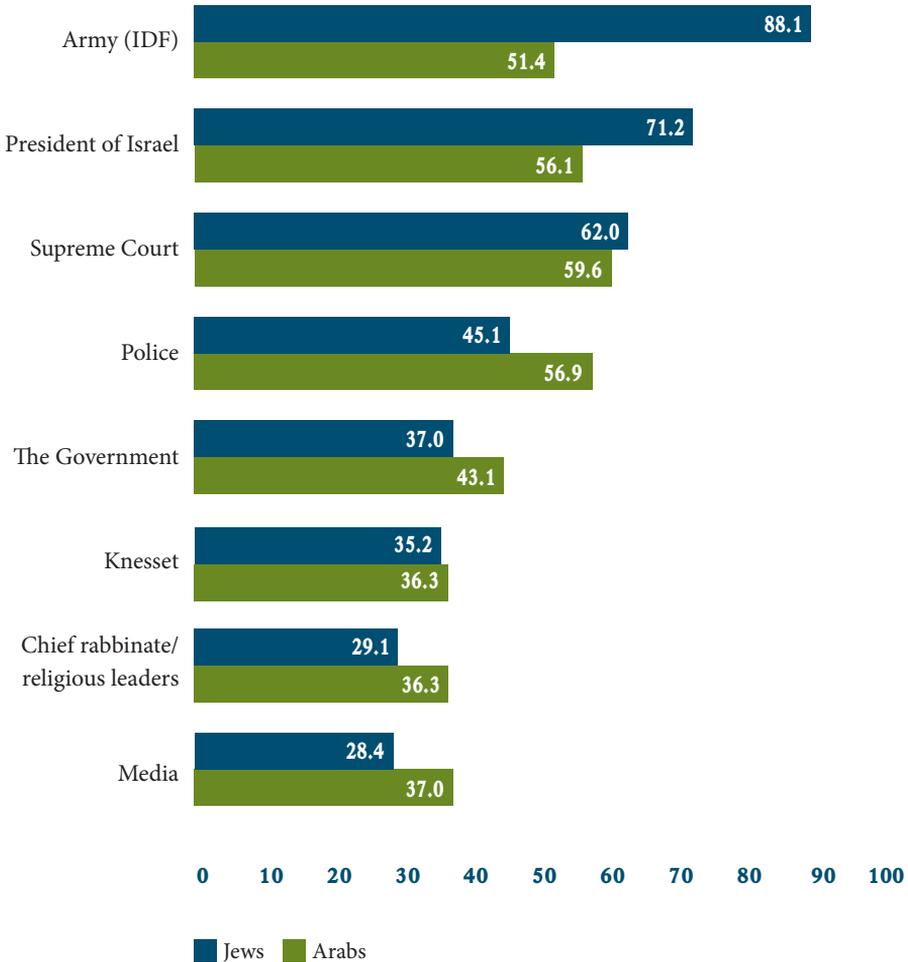
Figure 2.8: “To safeguard Israel’s security, it is permissible for the state to monitor what citizens write on the Internet” (by nationality; percent)



2.5 Trust in institutions

In light of all the above, the unflattering numbers related to the public's faith in political and other institutions is not entirely unexpected.

Figure 2.9: Trust in institutions (very much or quite a lot; by nationality; percent)



This year, as in the past, the IDF garners the highest level of trust (88.1%) among Jewish respondents, followed by the president of the state (with 71.2%) and the Supreme Court (62%). These three institutions were the only ones with the trust of a majority of the Jewish public. Next in line were the police (45.1%), the Government (37.0%), and the Knesset (35.2%). At the bottom of the scale are institutions trusted by less than a third of the Jewish public: the Chief Rabbinate (29.1%), the media (28.4%), and the banks and the Ministry of Finance.

The scale of trustworthy institutions is different for the Arab respondents; just like last year, the Supreme Court tops the list (59.6% trust it “quite a lot” or “very much”), followed in descending order by the police (56.9%), the president of the state (56.1%), and the IDF (51.4%). Lowest on the list were the Government (43.1%), the media (37%), and the Knesset (36.3%).

Compared with the 2013 *Democracy Survey*, the Jewish public registered less trust virtually across the board, whereas that among Arab interviewees differed from institution to institution: for some institutions, their trust rose, while for others it declined or remained unchanged from last year.

Chapter 3

Society, Equal Rights, and Human Dignity

In this chapter, we will analyze the responses to questions on topics related to Israeli society and to core democratic values, especially equal rights and human dignity.

3.1 Social/ national solidarity

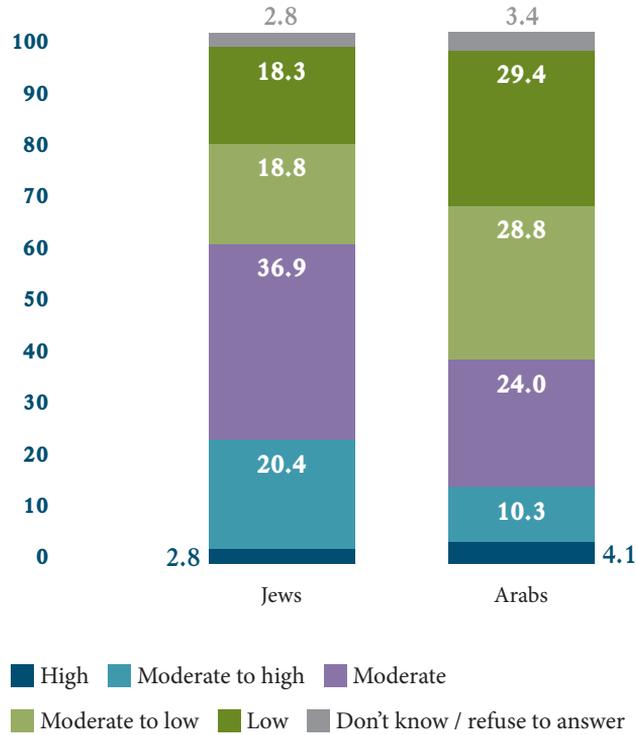
We posed the question: “How would you rate the level of solidarity (sense of “togetherness”) of Israeli society (Jews, Arabs, and all other citizens), where 1 = no solidarity at all and 10 = high level of solidarity?”⁵ As shown in Figure 3.1, the most common response among Jews was “moderate,” followed by “moderate to high,” whereas the most frequent reply of Arab respondents was “low” and, in almost the same proportion, “low to moderate” (average for Arabs, 3.9; for Jews, 4.8). It should be noted that whereas the Jews’ assessment of the level of solidarity of Israeli society is higher than that of the Arabs, it is still quite low.

We wanted to learn whether the perceived solidarity level of Israeli society is affected by subjective feeling of poverty (total sample). We found that those who do not feel poor are more likely to hold that Israeli society as a whole evinces greater solidarity than are those who feel poor (average solidarity rating of 5.0 among the former and 3.8 among the latter). In fact, the gap between the “poor” and “not poor” is greater than that between Jews and Arabs.

A breakdown of the findings by political orientation indicates that those who identify with the center are most likely to rate Israel’s overall level of solidarity as high, whereas respondents on the left tend to assess it as low. Respondents on the right are the most inclined to see Israel’s overall solidarity level as moderate (average scores: center, 5.1; right, 4.9; left, 4.6).

5 We divided the scale into five levels: low level of solidarity (1–2); low to moderate (3–4); moderate (5–6); moderate to high (7–8); high (9–10).

Figure 3.1: Level of solidarity in Israeli society as a whole (by nationality; percent)



Next we examined respondents’ assessments of the solidarity level in Israeli-Jewish society alone. Here the average scores are higher than for Israeli society as a whole, though still not very high. In this case as well, the Arab assessment of the level of solidarity in Israeli-Jewish society is lower than the Jewish respondents’ self-perception.

Table 3.1

	Solidarity of Israeli-Jewish society, average*
Arabs	5.7 (3.9)
Jews	6.1 (4.8)
Total sample	6.0 (4.7)

* The solidarity level rating for Israeli society as a whole is provided in parentheses.

Once again, we analyzed the solidarity rating (of Israeli-Jewish society alone) by interviewees’ subjective feelings of poverty. We found that the same pattern persists: those who see themselves as poor perceive less solidarity than do those who do not feel poor. The same holds true for the influence of political/security orientation: The highest assessment of Israeli-Jewish solidarity was found in the center, immediately followed by the right, with the left bringing up the rear.

3.2 Equal rights

In this context, we wanted to discover whether interviewees agreed or disagreed with the statement: “Jewish citizens of Israel should have greater rights than non-Jewish citizens.” A similar majority of Jews and Arabs disagreed with this discriminatory statement: 62.9% and 65.1%, respectively. We expected to find differences between those who identified with the right, center, or left on political/security issues; in fact, the differences that emerged were substantial:

Table 3.2 (percent)

	Disagree that Jewish citizens of Israel should have greater rights than non-Jewish citizens	Agree that Jewish citizens of Israel should have greater rights than non-Jewish citizens	Don’t know / refuse to answer	Total
Right	51.1	47.1	1.7	100
Center	69.5	28.0	2.5	100
Left	82.9	13.4	3.7	100

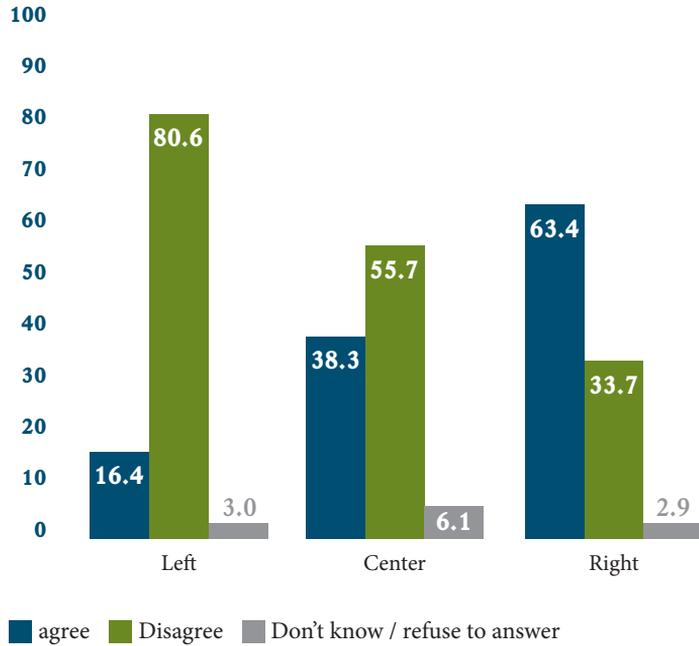
A breakdown of these figures by self-defined religiosity shows clearly that religious respondents are most strongly in favor of granting greater rights to Jews in Israel, followed by Haredi respondents.

Table 3.3 (percent)

	Disagree that Jewish citizens of Israel should have greater rights than non-Jewish citizens	Agree that Jewish citizens of Israel should have greater rights than non-Jewish citizens	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
Haredim	49.4	50.6	0	100
Religious	37.3	58.8	4.8	100
Traditional religious	59.4	37.7	2.8	100
Traditional non-religious	61.1	37.8	1.1	100
Secular	74.9	23.1	2.0	100

Moving from the theoretical to the practical, we asked respondents to express their agreement or disagreement with the following statement: “It is acceptable for Israel, as a Jewish state, to allocate more funding to Jewish localities than to Arab ones.” On concrete questions of this type, the Jewish respondents’ commitment to democracy shows signs of erosion: The percentage of respondents who agree with this discriminatory statement is virtually the same as those who disagree with it (agree, 47.2%; disagree, 47.5%). When we examined the distribution of opinions on this question by location on the political/security spectrum, there were sizeable differences among the three camps: on the left, a very large majority (80.6%) disagree with this discriminatory statement, whereas two-thirds on the right (63.4%) agree with it. In the center camp, a majority (55.7%) disagree with the statement (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: “It is acceptable for Israel, as a Jewish state, to allocate more funding to Jewish localities than to Arab ones” (by political orientation; percent)



We examined the responses to this question based on self-defined religiosity as well. As shown in Table 3.4, only among secular respondents is there a majority who disagree that it is permissible for Israel to direct more funds to Jewish localities than to Arab ones.

Table 3.4 (percent)

	Disagree with allocation of more funds to Jewish localities	Agree with allocation of more funds to Jewish localities	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
Haredim	25.9	66.7	7.4	100
Religious	22.9	72.3	4.8	100
Traditional religious	40.6	51.9	7.5	100
Traditional non-religious	45.9	50.8	3.2	100
Secular	63.4	30.5	6.1	100

At this point, we took the bull by the horns and asked the interviewees whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement that Arab citizens of Israel are discriminated against. Not surprisingly, the figures indicate that Jews and Arabs have opposite perspectives on this issue: Whereas a majority of Jews (59.6%) disagree with this statement (a slight increase over last year's figure of 58.3%), a similar proportion of Arabs (56.8%) agree with it.

A breakdown of the responses by political/security orientation reveals enormous gaps between the camps. On the right, three-quarters disagree with the statement that Arab citizens of Israel are the victims of discrimination, while the center is split evenly between those who agree and those who disagree. Three-quarters of respondents on the left agree that Arabs are discriminated against (see Table 3.5).

Table 3.5 (percent)

	Disagree that Arabs are discriminated against in Israel	Agree that Arabs are discriminated against in Israel	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
Right	75.3	23.6	1.1	100
Center	49.8	46.9	3.3	100
Left	23.2	75.6	1.2	100

We also found a very real difference on this question between those who consider themselves poor and those who do not (total sample): A sizeable majority (68.4%) of those who feel poor disagree that Arab citizens of Israel are discriminated against; a slight majority (54.2%) of those who do not feel poor agree with this statement.

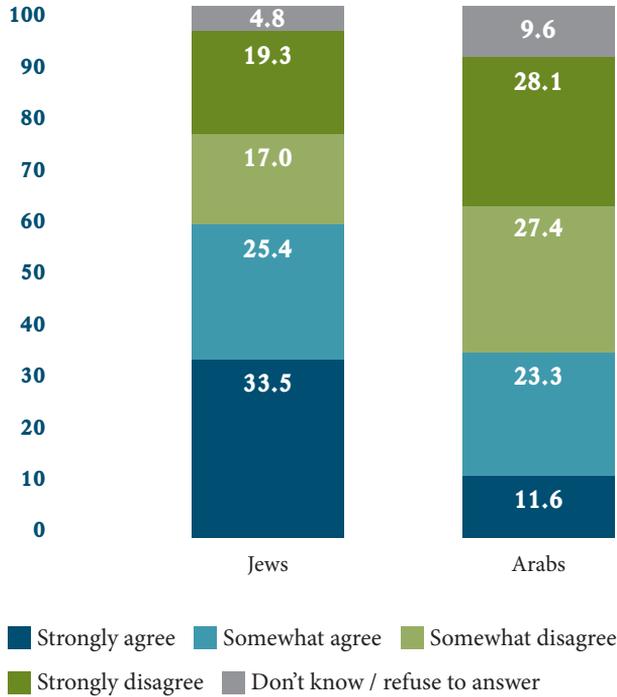
Three-quarters (73.8%) of Jewish respondents agreed that decisions about peace and security crucial to the state should require a Jewish majority; in other words, they consider the exclusion of Arab citizens to be legitimate. The desire for a Jewish majority for decisions of this type can perhaps be attributed to doubts about whether the Arab citizens' fundamental loyalty is to Palestinian interests or Israeli ones; but the high proportion of Jewish interviewees who agree that there should also be a Jewish majority for decisions relating to governance and economic and social structure (61.1%) can be explained only by Jews' broader and continuing desire to exclude Israeli Arabs from meaningful decision-making at the national level.

3.3 Human dignity

The last subject addressed in this chapter is human dignity, one of the classic hallmarks of democracy. We wanted to explore whether the respondents see any connection between democracy in Israel and respect for human rights. To this end, we asked them their opinion of the following statement: "Only in democratic regimes is human dignity upheld in the true sense of the term." A majority of both Jewish and Arab respondents agreed with this statement; however, the proportions were different, with 69.0% agreement among Jews and 56.8% among Arabs. Differences were also found when the figures were broken down on the basis of other variables, for example political orientation, but the result was always the same: a majority of every group agreed with this statement.

So far so good. But from our perspective, agreeing with such abstract formulations is not enough. We therefore decided to put the interviewees to the test and asked for their reaction to the following statement: "When investigating a potential terrorist attack, security forces are entitled to violate a suspect's human rights." As shown in Figure 3.3, a considerable share of the Jewish respondents (58.9%) are ready to forgo human rights when it comes to preventing a terrorist attack. Among Arabs, meanwhile, 55.5% disagree with this statement.

Figure 3.3: “When investigating a potential terrorist attack, security forces are entitled to violate a suspect’s human rights” (by nationality; percent)



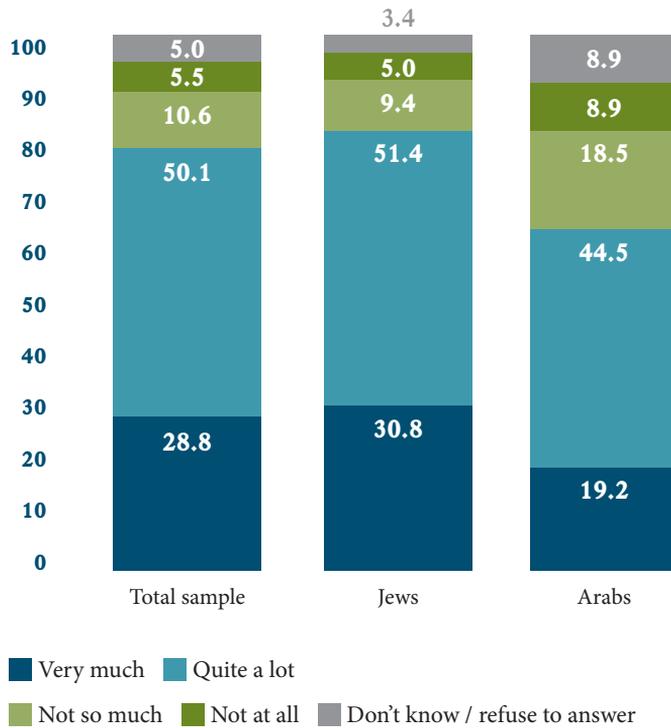
A breakdown of the responses by political/security orientation reveals that a majority on the right and center agree with this statement. By contrast, the left is almost evenly split on this question.

Table 3.6 (percent)

	Agree that suspect’s human rights can be violated in investigations of terrorism	Disagree that suspect’s human rights can be violated in investigations of terrorism	Don’t know / refuse to answer	Total
Right	65.8	31.7	2.5	100
Center	56.1	38.2	5.7	100
Left	47.9	48.1	4.0	100

To conclude the topic of human dignity, and in line with the above, we asked: “On a personal level, do you usually feel that your dignity as a human being is respected?” As in previous surveys conducted by the Israel Democracy Institute as part of the “Israel Speaks: Human Dignity” project, most Israelis do feel that their human dignity is respected “very much” or “quite a lot.” Nonetheless, the difference between Jews and Arabs on this point is significant (Jews, 82.2%; Arabs, 63.7%) (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4: Do you usually feel that your dignity as a human being is respected? (total sample and by nationality; percent)



A breakdown of the responses by subjective feeling of poverty yielded major differences: A small majority (57.1%) of those who consider themselves poor stated that their personal human dignity is respected “very much,” whereas to an overwhelming majority (87%) of those who do not feel poor who offered the same response. In other words, despite the dissatisfaction that we encountered, a majority of Israelis feel that the country’s democracy and its institutions respect human dignity to an acceptable degree.

Chapter 4

Israel 2014: An International Comparison

Each year, research institutes around the world publish international comparative indicators addressing a variety of structural, functional, and ethical aspects of democracy in dozens, and even hundreds, of countries. These democracy indicators, expressed in annual scores, represent the institutes' current assessments (each in its own area) of the specific and relative state of affairs in the countries surveyed. In this chapter of the 2014 *Israeli Democracy Index*, we examine Israel's scores and the international rankings derived from them. This year, we relate to 16 democracy indicators (Table 4.1): seven dealing with aspects of government, governance, and rights; eight addressing economic and social topics; and one dealing with levels of internal and external conflict. Because the indicators are calculated by different institutes, each with its own focus, there may be some overlap between them.

Table 4.1: Democracy Indicators

Indicator	Institution/Report
1. Political rights and civil liberties	Freedom House: Freedom in the World
2. Freedom of the press	Freedom House: Freedom in the World
3. Political culture	Economist Intelligence Unit: Democracy Index
4. Civil liberties	Economist Intelligence Unit: Democracy Index
5. Voice and accountability	The World Bank: Worldwide Governance Indicators
6. Government effectiveness	The World Bank: Worldwide Governance Indicators
7. Civic engagement	OECD: Better Life Index
8. Corruption Perceptions Index	Transparency International
9. Index of Economic Freedom	Heritage Foundation
10. Gender Inequality Index	UN Human Development Report
11. Human Development Index	UN Human Development Report
12. Satisfaction with life	OECD: Better Life Index
13. Community (social support)	OECD: Better Life Index
14. Economic policies	Bertelsmann Stiftung: Sustainable Governance Indicators
15. Social policies	Bertelsmann Stiftung: Sustainable Governance Indicators
16. Political stability & absence of violence/terrorism	The World Bank: Worldwide Governance Indicators

The democracy indicators are examined along two axes:

- Israel's democratic performance over the past year in comparison with other countries
- Israel's performance this year in comparison with previous years.

Each institute has its own list of countries covered by its indexes. As we report obviously cannot list all of the countries studied, we limited the number we compared with Israel to 27. The first consideration in selecting the countries was geographic location, to ensure that different regions were adequately represented. We also included several countries that are not democratic but are located near to Israel or share certain political features with it. Geographically, the countries comprised five in the Americas (Argentina, Brazil, Canada, the United States, and Venezuela), nine in Western Europe (Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom), three in Central and Eastern Europe that were formerly part of the Soviet Bloc (the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Russia), six in the Middle East (Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Turkey); and four in Asia and Oceania (China, India, Japan, and New Zealand).

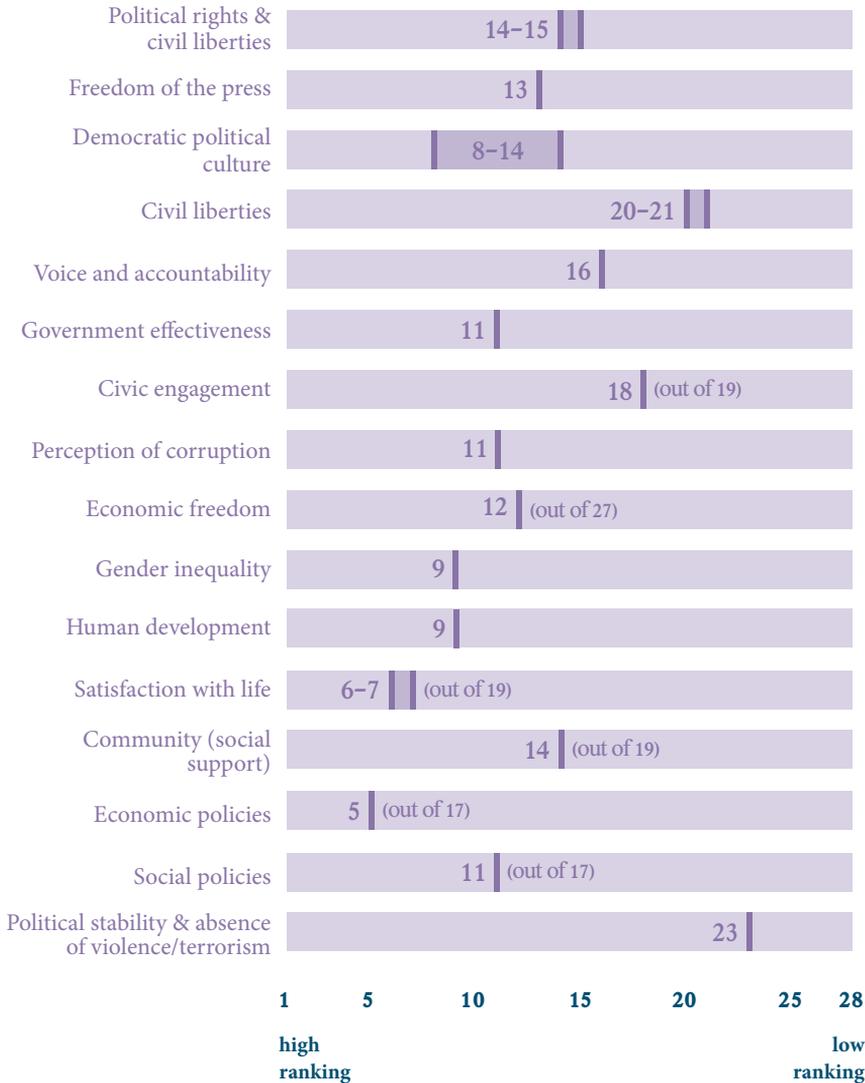
4.1 Democracy Indicators 2014: Israel in comparison with other countries

Figure 4.1 shows Israel's rank over the past year on the 16 indicators studied, in comparison with 27 other countries. Position number 1 (left side of the figure) denotes the optimal level of democracy, while the 28th place (on the right) indicates the lowest level, or most flawed democracy. When Israel has the same score as one or more other countries, they are represented graphically as a band rather than a single position. For example, in the indicator of political culture, Israel has the same score as six other countries: Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Italy, Japan, and Spain. Thus all of them are placed together in slots 8–14.

It is important to clarify that changes over time in scores and in rank do not always correspond: a country can receive the same score year after year but climb or drop in its rank relative to other countries. This means that if the scores of other countries improve, a country may be ranked lower on the comparative

scale even if its scores remain the same; conversely, if the scores of other countries drop, it could rise in the rankings even if there is no change for the better in its democratic performance.

Figure 4.1: Israel's ranking on democracy indicators — 2014



1. **Political rights and civil liberties:** Israel is ranked at the midpoint of the scale, in position 14–15, along with Hungary.
2. **Freedom of the press:** Israel falls near the middle of the scale, in position 13, ahead of Italy and Hungary but trailing Japan and Spain.
3. **Political culture:** Israel is positioned around the middle of the scale (8–14) along with Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Italy, Japan, and Spain.
4. **Civil liberties:** Israel ranks quite low (20–21), together with Lebanon.
5. **Voice and accountability:** Israel is positioned in 16th place, slightly below the midpoint of the scale, ahead of India and following Greece.
6. **Government effectiveness:** Israel occupies the 11th slot, slightly above the midpoint—higher than Spain but lower than France.
7. **Civic engagement:** Israel is ranked a very low 18 out of the 19 countries surveyed for this indicator, ahead only of Russia and below the Czech Republic and Switzerland.
8. **Corruption Perceptions Index:** Israel is positioned slightly above the midpoint of the scale, in the 11th slot.
9. **Economic freedom:** Israel is ranked in 12th place, slightly above the middle of the scale.
10. **Gender inequality:** Israel falls in the top third of the scale (ninth place), ahead of Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States, and other Western countries.
11. **Human development:** Israel's rank of 9 places it in the upper third of the scale, between Japan and France.
12. **Satisfaction with life:** Of the 19 countries included in this indicator, Israel ranks a relatively high 6–7, the same as Belgium, ahead of the United States, and following Brazil.
13. **Community (social support):** Israel ranks 14 out of the 19 countries in this indicator—a relatively low position, ahead of Hungary and following Brazil.
14. **Economic policies:** Of the 17 countries included in this indicator, Israel ranks fifth, ahead of Belgium and New Zealand and following Germany and Canada.

15. **Social policies:** Israel ranking is somewhat low here (11 out of the 17 countries in this indicator), ahead of Japan and Spain and behind the United States and Belgium.
16. **Political stability and absence of violence/terrorism:** On this indicator, Israel places in the bottom third of the scale, in the 23rd position, near Venezuela, India, and Turkey.

As in 2012 and 2013, Israel again ranks at or near the midpoint of the scale in most indexes. It stands out favorably in the indicators for satisfaction with life, human development, gender equality, and economic policies; but its position on three other scales (civil liberties, civic engagement, and political stability and absence of violence/terrorism) is less than impressive. As for Israel's position relative to previous years, it showed a moderate rise in the rankings in three areas (perception of corruption, economic freedom, and gender equality). This year, Israel's rank did not decline for any indicators.

4.2 International indicators: a comparative perspective

Taking a closer look at the seven indicators in the areas of government, governance, and rights, we found that, on the one hand, Israel certainly satisfies the somewhat "meager" requirements of Freedom House's *Freedom in the World* index, earning it the designation of a free country. It also wins a high score in government effectiveness (a World Bank indicator), meaning that its civil service performs relatively well and is not subject to political pressures, and that the Government is capable of shaping policy and committing to it. (Note that, to some extent, this score contradicts the findings of this year's survey; as we saw in the preceding chapters, the public does not trust many aspects of government, in particular politicians, and feels that the Government is not doing a good job of handling Israel's problems.)

On the other hand, this year Israel earned only moderate scores in several other aspects of democracy: It upholds freedom of the press (a Freedom House indicator), though it is ranked at the bottom of the group of countries classified as having a free press. Israel's political culture (an indicator of *The Economist's* Intelligence Unit) is considered democratic to a moderate extent; that is, progress is needed when it comes to citizens' support for

democratic values and the separation of religion and state. Israel scores in the medium range on voice and accountability (the World Bank); this suggests that improvement is needed in voter turnout as well as in freedom of expression, of assembly, and of the press. These figures are substantiated by the findings of the present survey. As demonstrated above, many of the respondents expressed support for a strong leader, felt that harsh criticism of the state should be prohibited, and favored decision-making by a Jewish majority alone; in other words, they expressed positions that do not reflect a democratic political culture. Likewise, a relatively high proportion of respondents reported that they had not voted in municipal elections, did not have ties with a political party, and did not volunteer in civic/social organizations, suggesting a low level of political participation.

Finally, Israel earned low scores on two other aspects of government, governance, and rights. It was ranked low in civil liberties (by *The Economist*), as reflected in freedom of the press, freedom of protest, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, equality before the law, and level of personal security; and it scored poorly in civic engagement (an OECD indicator), that is, citizens' level of trust in the Government and perception of their to influence the legislative process.

To summarize, although Israel is classified as belonging to the family of democratic nations, the situation calls for improvement when it comes to upholding democratic liberties, internalizing democratic values, and strengthening the level of trust in the Government.

The social/economic indicators present a more complicated picture: Israel scores relatively high in the area of human development (the UN's Human Development Index), meaning that its average life expectancy is high, its health and education are satisfactory, and the level of equality between the sexes is comparatively high. In terms of economic freedom (Heritage Foundation), Israel also ranks fairly high, indicating that it upholds free-market and neoliberal economic principles. (Proponents of the social-democratic approach will no doubt view this as worrisome, and not as cause for celebration.) Israelis' life satisfaction (as measured by the OECD's Better Life Index) is relatively high, meaning that despite the problems and challenges confronting the state, its citizens report a generally high level

of satisfaction with their lives. This finding is bolstered by the present survey as well; as we saw, a very large share of respondents report that their personal situation is good, that they feel part of the state of Israel and its problems, and that they are proud to be Israeli. Israel also scores comparatively high in the area of economic policy (an indicator of the Bertelsmann Stiftung), as reflected in the Government's performance in such areas as inflation, state deficit, and GNP.

Nonetheless, Israel received intermediate scores on three social/economic indicators: perception of political corruption, community support network, and social policy. While Israel's level of political corruption (Transparency International) is not high in comparison with the other countries surveyed, the score itself is certainly not favorable. This ranking is supported by the present survey, in which a large proportion of interviewees felt that Israel's leadership today is somewhat or very corrupt.

The level of community support (OECD's Better Life Index), i.e., the sense of having a social "safety net," the willingness to help strangers, and the degree of participation in volunteer activities, is also relatively low.

Finally, the Government's social policies in the areas of education, health, family, and inequality are deficient (Bertelsmann Stiftung). In particular, there is a need for improvement in the level of social inclusion, as reflected in the gaps between rich and poor, Jews and Arabs, Mizrahim and Ashkenazim, and men and women. This score, too, is corroborated by the present survey. As we saw earlier, a great many respondents feel that the present economic situation justifies taking to the streets to protest; a very large proportion consider the level of tension between Jews and Arabs, and between rich and poor, to be high; and many assert that the prevalence of poverty is too high.

To sum up, based on the indicators in the economic and social areas, Israel has a relatively high level of human development and gender equality. Citizens enjoy economic freedom, and people are satisfied with their lives and with the Government's economic performance. Nonetheless, there is significant room for improvement with respect to the level of corruption and of community support, as well as in the area of social policy, particularly with regard to inequality between different groups and sectors in Israeli society.

Not surprisingly, the index of internal and external conflict in Israel yields a gloomy picture: Israel registered a very poor score in the indicator of political stability and absence of violence/terrorism, relative to both the 27 countries surveyed in this chapter and to all nations of the world. There is no question that the unstable security situation between Israel and the Palestinians and between Israel and its neighbors (including the various terrorist organizations) is a significant feature of life in Israel and has far-reaching political, democratic, economic, and social ramifications.

Appendix

Democracy Survey 2014: Distribution of Responses (percent)

1. How would you characterize Israel's overall situation today?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very good	10.7	9.3	19.2
Good	33.6	33.4	35.6
So-so	36.6	38.2	26.7
Bad	8.8	9.1	6.8
Very bad	8.2	7.8	11.0
Don't know / refuse to answer	2.1	2.2	0.7
Total	100	100	100

2. And what about your personal situation?

Discussion on p. 9

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very good	19.5	20.9	12.3
Good	46.4	48.2	37.7
So-so	22.3	20.9	28.1
Bad	6.4	5.6	10.3
Very bad	3.1	2.1	9.6
Don't know / refuse to answer	2.3	2.3	2.0
Total	100	100	100

3. In your opinion, how well is the Government handling the country's problems?

Discussion on p. 27

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very well	5.5	4.7	11.0
Quite well	30.0	29.3	34.9
Not so well	38.1	38.7	33.6
Not at all well	22.1	23.8	13.7
Don't know / refuse to answer	4.3	3.5	6.8
Total	100	100	100

4. To what extent do you feel part of the State of Israel and its problems?

Discussion on p. 32

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very much	38.8	43.2	17.1
Quite a lot	36.3	35.2	41.8
Not so much	13.4	11.5	22.6
Not at all	8.1	7.0	15.1
Don't know / refuse to answer	3.4	3.1	3.4
Total	100	100	100

5. How proud are you to be an Israeli?

Discussion on p. 33

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very much	59.8	66.2	26.0
Quite a lot	22.0	19.3	39.0
Not so much	10.3	9.3	13.7
Not at all	5.9	3.6	19.9
Don't know / refuse to answer	2.0	1.6	1.4
Total	100	100	100

6. How interested are you in politics?

Discussion on p. 32

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very interested	21.6	22.7	15.8
Quite interested	40.9	43.1	29.5
Not very interested	25.1	24.9	25.3
Not at all interested	11.0	8.3	27.4
Don't know / refuse to answer	1.4	1.0	2.0
Total	100	100	100

7. To what extent are you and your friends able to influence Government policy?

[Discussion on p. 30](#)

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very much	6.6	6.2	9.6
Quite a lot	13.5	11.6	25.3
Not so much	42.2	45.0	27.4
Not at all	33.5	33.2	32.9
Don't know / refuse to answer	4.2	4.0	4.8
Total	100	100	100

8. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that Arab citizens of Israel are discriminated against (compared with Jewish citizens of the state)?

[Discussion on p. 45](#)

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree strongly	35.8	39.4	15.8
Disagree somewhat	20.7	20.2	23.3
Agree somewhat	24.0	23.4	26.0
Agree strongly	15.6	13.1	30.8
Don't know / refuse to answer	3.9	3.9	4.1
Total	100	100	100

9. To what extent do you trust each of the following individuals or institutions?

Discussion on p. 38

Total sample

	Not at all	Somewhat	Quite a lot	Very much	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
9.1. Media	22.4	44.3	23.8	5.9	3.6	100
9.2. Supreme Court	10.3	21.4	33.5	27.4	7.4	100
9.3. Police	16.8	32.4	35.0	11.5	4.3	100
9.4. President of Israel	11.8	12.8	30.0	38.6	6.8	100
9.5. Knesset	21.5	37.9	27.7	7.3	5.6	100
9.6. Army (IDF)	5.3	9.0	27.9	54.5	3.3	100
9.7. The Government	20.0	39.4	28.6	9.1	2.9	100
9.8. Religious leaders	31.2	24.9	21.0	9.0	13.9	100
9.9. Banks	23.0	38.8	24.9	8.2	5.1	100
9.10. Ministry fo Finance	22.8	36.5	21.8	7.6	11.3	100

Jews

	Not at all	Somewhat	Quite a lot	Very much	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
9.1. Media	21.2	46.8	23.8	4.6	3.6	100
9.2. Supreme Court	9.8	20.8	33.3	28.7	7.4	100
9.3. Police	15.7	34.9	34.1	11.0	4.3	100
9.4. President of Israel	10.1	11.6	30.5	40.7	7.1	100
9.5. Knesset	20.2	40.5	28.1	7.1	4.1	100
9.6. Army (IDF)	2.7	7.3	27.8	60.4	1.8	100
9.7. The Government	18.8	42.2	29.0	8.0	2.0	100
9.8. Chief Rabbinate	32.3	25.8	21.2	7.9	12.8	100
9.9. Banks	23.6	40.8	24.5	6.3	4.8	100
9.10. Ministry of Finance	23.0	38.9	21.1	5.4	11.6	100

Arabs

	Not at all	Somewhat	Quite a lot	Very much	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
9.1. Media	28.8	31.5	22.6	14.4	2.7	100
9.2. Supreme Court	14.4	22.6	36.3	23.3	3.4	100
9.3. Police	24.0	17.1	41.8	15.1	2.0	100
9.4. President of Israel	21.2	17.8	26.0	30.1	4.9	100
9.5. Knesset	30.1	21.9	26.7	9.6	11.6	100
9.6. Army (IDF)	19.9	17.8	29.5	21.9	10.9	100
9.7. The Government	28.1	21.2	26.0	17.1	7.6	100
9.8. Religious leaders	26.0	20.5	19.9	16.4	17.2	100
9.9. Banks	21.2	26.7	27.4	20.5	4.2	100
9.10. Ministry of Finance	21.9	24.0	26.0	21.2	6.9	100

10. Israel is defined as both a Jewish and a democratic state.
Which part of this definition is more important to you personally?*

Discussion on p. 25

	Jews
Jewish	38.9
Democratic	33.5
Both equally (volunteered)	24.5
Neither (volunteered)	0.2
Don't know / refuse to answer	2.9
Total	100

* This question was asked of Jewish respondents only.

11. Which of the following social/economic goals should be the Government's top priority?

Discussion on p. 29

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Integrating Haredim into the work force	7.8	8.6	3.4
Narrowing social/economic gaps	42.5	47.1	19.2
Improving relations between Jewish and Arab citizens	9.3	3.8	40.4
Strengthening connection between citizens and elected representatives	4.0	2.6	12.3
Helping young people afford an apartment of their own	25.4	28.4	9.6
None of the above (volunteered)	1.3	0.9	2.7
All equally (volunteered)	6.1	6.4	3.4
Don't know / refuse to answer	3.6	2.2	9.0
Total	100	100	100

12. And which of the following should be the Government's top priority when it comes to foreign affairs and defense?

Discussion on p. 30

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Achieving peace with the Palestinians	29.9	27.7	45.2
Reducing dependence on U.S.	6.7	6.8	6.8
Halting/eliminating Iran's nuclear program	13.9	14.3	11.0
Strengthening Israel's military capabilities	20.4	20.7	18.5
Improving Israel's image and international standing	18.3	20.0	7.5
None of the above (volunteered)	1.5	1.3	3.4
All equally (volunteered)	5.3	5.6	2.7
Don't know / refuse to answer	4.0	3.6	4.9
Total	100	100	100

13. Of the two goals that you noted above, which should the Government focus on?

Discussion on p. 30

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Integrating Haredim into the work force	1.2	1.5	
Narrowing social/economic gaps	19.6	22.6	3.4
Improving relations between Jewish and Arab citizens	1.6	1.2	4.1
Strengthening connection between citizens and elected representatives	0.4	0.5	
Helping young people afford an apartment of their own	9.4	10.9	1.4
Social/economic objective (not specified)	4.8	4.8	5.5
Achieving peace with the Palestinians	7.7	7.6	8.9
Reducing dependence on U.S.	0.6	0.7	
Halting/eliminating Iran's nuclear program	5.4	6.5	
Strengthening Israel's military capabilities	5.2	5.9	0.7
Improving Israel's image and international standing	2.4	2.7	0.7
Foreign affairs/defense objective (not specified)	5.0	5.3	3.4
Both equally (volunteered)	27.8	25.7	39.0
Don't know / none of the above / refuse to answer (volunteered)	8.9	4.1	32.9
Total	100	100	100

14. (Summary of question 13) Which of the two goals that you indicated above should the Government concentrate on?

Discussion on p. 30

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Total: social/economic goal	37.1	41.5	14.4
Total: foreign affairs and defense goal	26.3	28.7	13.7
Both equally	27.9	25.7	39.0
Don't know / neither / refuse to answer	8.7	4.1	32.9
Total	100	100	100

15. For the first time, women now occupy key positions in the Israeli economy (for example, at the Bank of Israel, the Ministry of Finance, and the major banks). In your opinion, how (if at all) will this new situation affect social/economic inequality in Israel?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Will not affect	45.6	49.9	21.9
Will contribute to reducing inequality	38.7	35.2	58.2
Will contribute to increasing inequality	7.5	6.5	14.4
Don't know / refuse to answer	8.2	8.4	5.5
Total	100	100	100

16. How satisfied are you with your family's financial situation?
Indicate the degree of satisfaction on a scale of 1 to 10, where
1 = not at all satisfied and 10 = very satisfied.

Discussion on p. 9

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
1 – Not at all satisfied	10.3	9.9	13.7
2	3.2	2.3	8.9
3	4.7	2.8	15.1
4	7.2	4.9	20.5
5	13.2	13.4	12.3
6	10.8	10.8	8.9
7	17.4	19.1	8.2
8	18.7	21.6	4.8
9	4.1	4.3	2.1
10 – Very satisfied	8.4	9.0	5.5
Don't know / refuse to answer	2.0	1.9	
Total	100	100	100
Average (1-10)*	5.95	6.21	4.43
Standard deviation	2.59	2.53	2.43
No. of respondents	987	826	146

* $p \leq .000$

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?[Discussion on p. 31](#)

17. Politicians don't care about the opinions of the man in the street.

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree strongly	10.8	10.7	12.3
Disagree somewhat	22.5	22.6	23.3
Agree somewhat	31.4	31.0	33.6
Agree strongly	30.6	32.5	20.5
Don't know / refuse to answer	4.7	3.2	10.3
Total	100	100	100

18. Speakers should be prohibited from harshly criticizing the State of Israel in public.

[Discussion on p. 35](#)

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Agree strongly	27.4	30.0	14.4
Agree somewhat	19.0	18.3	22.6
Disagree somewhat	21.7	20.8	27.4
Disagree strongly	25.5	26.6	20.5
Don't know / refuse to answer	6.4	4.3	15.1
Total	100	100	100

19. Only in democratic regimes is human dignity upheld in the true sense of the term.

[Discussion on p. 46](#)

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree strongly	9.9	9.6	13.0
Disagree somewhat	17.6	16.3	24.7
Agree somewhat	29.3	29.0	30.1
Agree strongly	37.5	40.0	26.7
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.7	5.1	5.5
Total	100	100	100

20. Decisions crucial to the state on issues of peace and security should be made by a Jewish majority.

Discussion on p. 46

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree strongly	13.8	11.0	30.1
Disagree somewhat	13.1	10.5	27.4
Agree somewhat	23.7	24.0	21.9
Agree strongly	44.0	49.8	13.7
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.4	4.7	6.9
Total	100	100	100

21. Decisions crucial to the state regarding governance, economy or society should be made by a Jewish majority.

Discussion on p. 46

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Agree strongly	31.4	35.3	12.3
Agree somewhat	25.3	25.8	24.0
Disagree somewhat	19.3	18.6	23.3
Disagree strongly	18.1	16.1	30.1
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.9	4.2	10.3
Total	100	100	100

22. The Knesset is an accurate reflection of the areas of consensus and controversy in the Israeli public.

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree strongly	20.9	21.3	19.2
Disagree somewhat	26.4	27.0	24.0
Agree somewhat	30.2	30.6	30.1
Agree strongly	15.2	15.3	14.4
Don't know / refuse to answer	7.3	5.8	12.3
Total	100	100	100

23. Israel is not a true democracy because a small group of rich people influences government leaders to make decisions that favor the wealthy over the ordinary citizen.

Discussion on p. 20

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Agree strongly	32.0	34.1	20.5
Agree somewhat	23.3	24.2	19.2
Disagree somewhat	24.9	23.6	32.9
Disagree strongly	14.5	14.1	17.8
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.3	4.0	9.6
Total	100	100	100

24. Do you support, or are you active in, any political party?

Discussion on p. 32

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
No, I do not support and am not active in any party	67.4	70.5	50.0
I support a party, but am not a member	20.5	21.4	17.8
I am a member of a party	6.5	4.4	17.8
I am an active member of a party	2.6	1.8	7.5
I am a party official	1.1	0.7	2.1
Don't know / refuse to answer	1.9	1.2	4.8
Total	100	100	100

25. Have you volunteered at any social welfare organization on a regular basis in the last few years?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Yes	27.2	29.7	14.4
No	70.1	69.6	75.3
Don't know / refuse to answer	2.7	0.7	10.3
Total	100	100	100

26. Did you vote in the last elections for your local authority/council or municipality?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Yes	73.5	79.0	45.9
No	24.3	19.6	50.7
Don't know / refuse to answer	2.2	1.4	3.4
Total	100	100	100

27. The Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty stipulates that it is forbidden to violate an individual's human dignity: To what extent do the following institutions respect the dignity of citizens who come in contact with them or require their services?

Total sample

	Not at all	Very little	Quite a lot	Very much	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
27.1. Police	14.1	27.1	40.2	10.2	8.4	100
27.2. National Insurance Institute	17.6	23.2	39.5	10.7	9.0	100
27.3. Interior Ministry	9.3	11.6	50.1	10.5	18.5	100
27.4. Army (IDF)	5.0	8.3	37.6	41.2	7.9	100
27.5. Hospitals	7.9	13.9	47.5	25.8	4.9	100
27.6. Educational system	9.5	16.5	46.2	18.3	9.6	100
27.7. Courts	8.6	14.7	39.2	23.0	14.4	100
27.8. Airport security	5.9	9.4	44.6	24.8	15.3	100
27.9. Banks	16.3	18.3	43.5	13.0	8.9	100

Jews

	Not at all	Very little	Quite a lot	Very much	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
27.1. Police	13.6	27.9	41.0	9.0	8.5	100
27.2. National Insurance Institute	19.3	23.0	39.6	8.7	9.4	100
27.3. Interior Ministry	9.1	10.7	50.8	9.2	20.2	100
27.4. Army (IDF)	3.4	6.3	38.6	44.4	7.3	100
27.5. Hospitals	7.4	13.5	49.4	25.3	4.4	100
27.6. Educational system	9.8	15.7	48.4	16.7	9.4	100
27.7. Courts	8.4	14.5	40.1	22.7	14.3	100
27.8. Airport security	4.0	7.7	47.4	25.8	15.1	100
27.9. Banks	16.8	19.4	44.5	11.3	8.0	100

Arabs

	Not at all	Very little	Quite a lot	Very much	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
27.1. Police	19.2	23.3	35.6	17.8	4.1	100
27.2. National Insurance Institute	10.3	24.7	38.4	23.3	3.4	100
27.3. Interior Ministry	11.0	14.4	48.6	19.2	6.8	100
27.4. Army (IDF)	14.4	19.9	32.2	24.7	8.8	100
27.5. Hospitals	11.6	17.8	37.0	28.1	5.5	100
27.6. Educational system	7.5	22.6	33.6	28.1	8.2	100
27.7. Courts	10.3	17.1	34.9	26.7	11.0	100
27.8. Airport security	16.4	19.9	30.1	18.5	15.1	100
27.9. Banks	14.4	13.0	37.0	24.0	11.6	100

28. Would you agree to pay higher taxes if the proceeds would be used to narrow Israel's social/economic gaps?

Discussion on p. 23

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Yes, I would	35.2	37.7	23.3
No, I would not	54.8	54.1	59.6
Depends on extent of increase (volunteered)	4.7	3.2	12.3
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.3	5.0	4.8
Total	100	100	100

29. How would you rate the level of solidarity (sense of "togetherness") of Israeli society (Jews, Arabs, and all other citizens), where 1 = no solidarity at all and 10 = high level of solidarity?

Discussion on p. 40

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
1 - No solidarity/sense of togetherness at all	13.2	12.2	20.5
2	6.5	6.1	8.9
3	10.0	9.1	14.4
4	10.2	9.7	14.4
5	20.0	20.9	15.1
6	14.8	16.0	8.9
7	11.6	12.6	5.5
8	7.2	7.8	4.8
9	0.7	0.7	0.7
10 - High level of solidarity	2.4	2.1	3.4
Don't know / refuse to answer	3.4	2.8	3.4
Total	100	100	100
Average (1-10)*	4.71	4.83	3.99
Standard deviation	2.30	2.25	2.40
No. of respondents	971	818	141

* $p \leq .000$

30. How would you rate the level of solidarity (sense of “togetherness”) of Jewish society in Israel, where 1 = no solidarity at all and 10 = high level of solidarity?

Discussion on p. 40

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
1 – No solidarity/sense of togetherness at all	7.0	7.2	5.5
2	2.2	1.8	4.8
3	4.7	4.6	6.2
4	7.7	7.4	9.6
5	14.1	13.1	19.9
6	13.6	14.0	11.0
7	18.4	19.8	11.0
8	17.2	18.4	12.3
9	4.8	4.8	5.5
10 – High level of solidarity	6.0	6.1	6.2
Don't know / refuse to answer	4.3	2.8	8.0
Total	100	100	100
Average (1–10)*	6.04	6.11	5.70
Standard deviation	2.34	2.33	2.41
No. of respondents	964	818	134

* $p \leq .053$

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

31. Israel used to be much more democratic than it is today.

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree strongly	28.5	30.7	17.8
Disagree somewhat	22.9	24.3	17.8
Agree somewhat	22.1	21.2	26.7
Agree strongly	17.4	15.6	28.1
Don't know / refuse to answer	9.1	8.2	9.6
Total	100	100	100

32. A state where income disparity is high cannot be a true democracy.

[Discussion on p. 17](#)

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Agree strongly	26.8	28.4	18.5
Agree somewhat	25.3	26.2	21.9
Disagree somewhat	23.7	22.5	31.5
Disagree strongly	18.7	19.8	13.0
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.5	3.1	15.1
Total	100	100	100

33. Jewish citizens of Israel should have greater rights than non-Jewish citizens.

[Discussion on p. 42](#)

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree strongly	41.4	42.0	37.7
Disagree somewhat	21.5	20.9	27.4
Agree somewhat	15.1	15.2	15.1
Agree strongly	18.0	19.8	8.2
Don't know / refuse to answer	4.0	2.1	11.6
Total	100	100	100

34. Poor people are largely responsible for their situation, because if they made an effort they could pull themselves out of poverty.

[Discussion on p. 21](#)

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree strongly	32.0	34.4	19.9
Disagree somewhat	27.7	27.8	29.5
Agree somewhat	23.6	23.3	26.7
Agree strongly	11.7	10.9	15.1
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.0	3.6	8.8
Total	100	100	100

35. It doesn't matter which party you vote for; it won't change the situation.

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Agree strongly	22.7	23.3	20.5
Agree somewhat	22.7	23.3	21.9
Disagree somewhat	21.5	20.4	26.7
Disagree strongly	30.1	31.5	24.0
Don't know / refuse to answer	3.0	1.5	6.9
Total	100	100	100

36. When investigating a potential terrorist attack, security forces are entitled to violate a suspect's human rights.

[Discussion on p. 46](#)

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree strongly	20.4	19.3	28.1
Disagree somewhat	18.3	17.0	27.4
Agree somewhat	25.2	25.4	23.3
Agree strongly	30.1	33.5	11.6
Don't know / refuse to answer	6.0	4.8	9.6
Total	100	100	100

37. To handle Israel's unique problems, we need a strong leader who is not swayed by the Knesset, the media or public opinion.

[Discussion on p. 31](#)

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree strongly	35.2	38.5	19.2
Disagree somewhat	19.5	18.6	26.0
Agree somewhat	19.3	17.4	30.1
Agree strongly	21.4	22.5	15.8
Don't know / refuse to answer	4.6	3.0	8.9
Total	100	100	100

38. When calculating the number of poor people in Israel, we should not count the Arabs or the Haredim, and it will turn out that there are not that many needy people in Israel after all.

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Agree strongly	11.5	12.0	9.6
Agree somewhat	15.1	15.2	15.1
Disagree somewhat	21.1	20.0	29.5
Disagree strongly	43.3	45.4	32.2
Omit only Arabs (volunteered)	2.1	1.5	4.1
Omit only the Haredim (volunteered)	0.5	0.6	
Don't know / refuse to answer	6.4	5.3	9.5
Total	100	100	100

39. Politicians look out more for their own interests than for those of the public who elected them.

Discussion on p. 31

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree strongly	6.1	5.3	11.0
Disagree somewhat	13.7	13.6	14.4
Agree somewhat	28.9	28.8	30.8
Agree strongly	46.0	48.4	32.9
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.3	3.9	10.9
Total	100	100	100

40. The major labor unions (Electric Corporation, Israel Railways, the ports, and the banks, for example) have too much power.

Discussion on p. 21

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree strongly	7.7	6.5	15.1
Disagree somewhat	7.5	5.7	18.5
Agree somewhat	22.7	22.2	26.0
Agree strongly	56.5	62.2	26.7
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.6	3.4	13.7
Total	100	100	100

41. It is acceptable for Israel, as a Jewish state, to allocate more funding to Jewish localities than to Arab ones.

Discussion on p. 43

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Agree strongly	26.9	29.8	12.3
Agree somewhat	17.6	17.4	20.5
Disagree somewhat	23.9	23.8	26.0
Disagree strongly	24.6	23.7	29.5
Don't know / refuse to answer	7.0	5.3	11.7
Total	100	100	100

42. To safeguard Israel's security, it is permissible for the state to monitor what citizens write on the Internet.

Discussion on p. 36

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Agree strongly	32.0	33.6	25.3
Agree somewhat	24.7	25.4	21.9
Disagree somewhat	17.6	16.4	25.3
Disagree strongly	18.8	18.1	22.6
Don't know / refuse to answer	6.9	6.5	4.9
Total	100	100	100

43. How important is human dignity to Israel's leaders?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very important	31.5	33.8	21.2
Quite important	32.7	32.6	35.6
Not so important	23.7	22.8	30.1
Not at all important	7.6	7.8	5.5
Don't know / refuse to answer	4.5	3.0	7.6
Total	100	100	100

44. To what extent is maintaining the Jewish character of the state truly important to Israel's leaders?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very important	44.4	48.2	27.4
Quite important	31.2	32.1	28.1
Not so important	13.2	11.2	23.3
Not at all important	6.3	5.2	12.3
Don't know / refuse to answer	4.9	3.3	8.9
Total	100	100	100

45. To what extent is maintaining the democratic character of the state truly important to Israel's leaders?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very important	38.6	40.6	29.5
Quite important	32.3	34.3	23.3
Not so important	17.2	16.1	24.0
Not at all important	6.2	5.1	12.3
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.7	3.9	10.9
Total	100	100	100

46. Societies throughout the world are divided into stronger and weaker groups. Which group in Israeli society do you feel you belong to?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Strong group	16.9	16.1	23.3
Quite strong group	41.0	45.0	21.9
Quite weak group	18.5	17.8	22.6
Weak group	12.9	10.9	23.3
Don't know / refuse to answer	10.7	10.2	8.9
Total	100	100	100

47. How would you rate your level of understanding of economic matters?

Discussion on p. 13

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
High	11.9	11.9	12.3
Quite high	16.9	16.9	16.4
Average	48.3	51.1	37.0
Quite low	9.6	9.0	13.0
Low	10.1	9.7	11.6
Don't know / refuse to answer	3.2	1.4	9.7
Total	100	100	100

48. For many years, the following were considered to be the major focal of tension in Israeli society. How would you characterize the level of tension between these groups today?

Discussion on p. 17

Total sample

	High	Moderate	Low	None	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
48.1. Mizrahim and Ashkenazim	24.5	36.1	28.6	2.7	8.1	100
48.2. Religious and secular Jews	52.2	30.4	8.9	1.9	6.6	100
48.3. Right and left (on political/security issues)	45.3	32.8	12.5	1.7	7.7	100
48.4. Rich and poor	54.5	25.8	11.6	2.3	5.8	100
48.5. Haredim and religious-Zionists	39.4	34.5	11.4	1.7	13.0	100
48.6. Jews and Arabs	58.0	29.7	5.5	1.7	5.1	100

Jews

	High	Moderate	Low	None	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
48.1. Mizrahim and Ashkenazim	23.0	37.3	31.8	2.5	5.4	100
48.2. Religious and secular Jews	56.5	29.2	8.7	1.5	4.1	100
48.3. Right and left (on political/security issues)	47.7	33.8	11.9	0.9	5.7	100
48.4. Rich and poor	58.1	24.9	11.1	1.9	4.0	100
48.5. Haredim and religious-Zionists	40.1	35.6	11.5	1.2	11.6	100
48.6. Jews and Arabs	60.9	29.9	4.3	1.1	3.8	100

Arabs

	High	Moderate	Low	None	Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
48.1. Mizrahim and Ashkenazim	35.6	28.8	12.3	2.7	20.6	100
48.2. Religious and secular Jews	32.9	36.3	9.6	3.4	17.8	100
48.3. Right and left (on political/security issues)	35.6	26.7	17.8	4.1	15.8	100
48.4. Rich and poor	37.0	31.5	15.8	3.4	12.3	100
48.5. Haredim and religious-Zionists	39.0	28.1	12.3	3.4	17.2	100
48.6. Jews and Arabs	45.2	28.8	12.3	4.1	9.6	100

49. In your opinion, does the current economic situation justify taking to the streets to demonstrate against the Government?

Discussion on p. 24

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
No, it does not	27.0	28.5	19.9
Yes, it does	65.1	66.2	63.0
Don't know / refuse to answer	7.9	5.3	17.1
Total	100	100	100

50. In your view, can social protest influence the Government's economic policies?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Can influence	61.8	64.1	54.1
Cannot influence	30.7	30.2	34.2
Don't know / refuse to answer	7.5	5.7	11.7
Total	100	100	100

51. Did you take part in one or more demonstrations during the summer 2011 social protests in Israel?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Yes, I took part	20.1	21.7	11.6
No, I did not take part	76.3	76.5	79.5
Don't know / refuse to answer	3.6	1.8	8.9
Total	100	100	100

52. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that if someone violates the dignity of others, he forfeits his own right to respect.

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Agree strongly	33.6	33.9	33.6
Agree somewhat	21.6	19.6	34.9
Disagree somewhat	20.2	20.6	17.1
Disagree strongly	19.0	21.1	8.9
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.6	4.8	5.5
Total	100	100	100

53. And on a personal level, do you usually feel that your dignity as a human being is respected?

Discussion on p. 48

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Not at all	5.5	5.0	8.9
Not so much	10.6	9.4	18.5
Quite a lot	50.1	51.4	44.5
Very much	28.8	30.8	19.2
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.0	3.4	8.9
Total	100	100	100

54. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

Discussion on p. 23

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
If you work hard, you'll succeed in the long run.	36.5	35.2	45.2
Hard work does not guarantee financial success.	54.6	58.8	35.6
Don't know / refuse to answer	8.9	6.0	19.2
Total	100	100	100

55. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Every society and culture has its own understanding of human dignity, and each of these perspectives is valid.	32.2	34.1	24.7
There is only one definition of human dignity, and it should be respected by all societies and cultures.	56.2	56.3	60.3
Don't know / refuse to answer	11.6	9.6	15.0
Total	100	100	100

56. Which of these statements do you agree with more?

Discussion on p. 18

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
The Government should see to it that all citizens enjoy a decent standard of living.	48.1	50.0	39.7
Citizens should be responsible for their own standard of living.	21.7	20.1	32.9
Both equally (volunteered)	25.5	26.3	21.2
Don't know / refuse to answer	4.7	3.6	6.2
Total	100	100	100

57. How would you rate Israel's current leadership in terms of corruption, where 1 = very corrupt and 5 = not at all corrupt?

Discussion on p. 31

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
1 – Very corrupt	22.8	24.7	15.1
2	19.8	19.4	22.6
3	31.4	30.5	39.0
4	15.2	15.8	12.3
5 – Not at all corrupt	4.2	4.4	3.4
Don't know / refuse to answer	6.6	5.2	7.6
Total	100	100	100
Average (1–5)*	2.55	2.54	2.64
Standard deviation	1.15	1.18	1.15
No. of respondents	941	798	135

* $p \leq .468$ (not statistically significant)

58. Do you feel poor these days?

Discussion on p. 11

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very much	6.5	6.4	8.2
Quite a lot	12.9	10.8	25.3
Not so much	29.0	28.0	36.3
Not at all	46.4	50.9	24.0
Don't know / refuse to answer	5.2	3.9	6.2
Total	100	100	100

And now some questions on the subject of Israel's economy. Many people do not know the answers to these questions. So if you don't know the answer to a certain question, we'll just move on to the next one.

59. What is the minimum monthly wage in Israel?

Discussion on p. 13

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
1,200 sheqels	2.4	0.6	13.0
2,500 sheqels	7.7	4.8	24.0
4,300 sheqels	68.1	72.8	45.2
6,500 sheqels	7.8	6.9	13.7
Don't know / refuse to answer	14.0	14.9	4.1
Total	100	100	100

60. What is the average gross monthly salary in Israel?

Discussion on p. 13

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
9,200 sheqels	34.4	39.1	10.3
6,500 sheqels	28.1	27.7	32.2
4,300 sheqels	10.4	7.6	26.7
11,000 sheqels	7.9	6.1	18.5
Don't know / refuse to answer	19.2	19.5	12.3
Total	100	100	100

61. What is the Arrangements Law?

Discussion on p. 13

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Law formalizing status of yeshiva students	11.6	13.2	4.1
Law stipulating legal methods of resolving disputes between citizens	4.7	2.0	21.2
Law formalizing relations between the Supreme Court and the Knesset	4.6	2.8	15.8
Law passed together with the state budget; usually includes economic reforms that the Knesset votes on as a single package	30.9	34.4	13.0
Don't know / refuse to answer	48.2	47.6	45.9
Total	100	100	100

62. Who is the present Governor of the Bank of Israel?

Discussion on p. 13

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Stanley Fischer	6.6	7.1	4.8
Yair Lapid	3.4	1.9	12.3
Karnit Flug	56.1	63.1	21.9
Galia Maor	7.2	6.0	13.0
Don't know / refuse to answer	26.7	21.9	48.0
Total	100	100	100

63. The current unemployment rate in Israel is roughly:

Discussion on p. 13

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
1%	4.3	3.8	7.5
7%	46.2	48.7	34.9
10%	17.4	15.9	28.1
20%	9.8	9.3	13.7
Don't know / refuse to answer	22.3	22.3	15.9
Total	100	100	100

64. The gross monthly income of an Israeli family averages roughly NIS 13,500. Is your total family income (from both spouses) above, around, or below the national average?

Discussion on p. 13

	Total sample
Far below average	17.5
Slightly below average	20.0
Around average	19.2
Slightly above average	18.6
Far above average	8.6
Don't know / refuse to answer	16.1
Total	100

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