



JPPI Israeli Society Index

» Main Finding

The Jewish People Policy Institute's monthly Israeli Society Index finds that most of the Israeli public does not trust the IDF senior command. Fifty-five percent of Jewish respondents rated their level of trust in the senior command as "low" or "very low."

This report has five main parts. The first deals with the war and its repercussions, the second with trust in leadership, the third with Israel-US relations, the fourth with the ultra-Orthodox conscription controversy, and the fifth with questions about Israel's future.

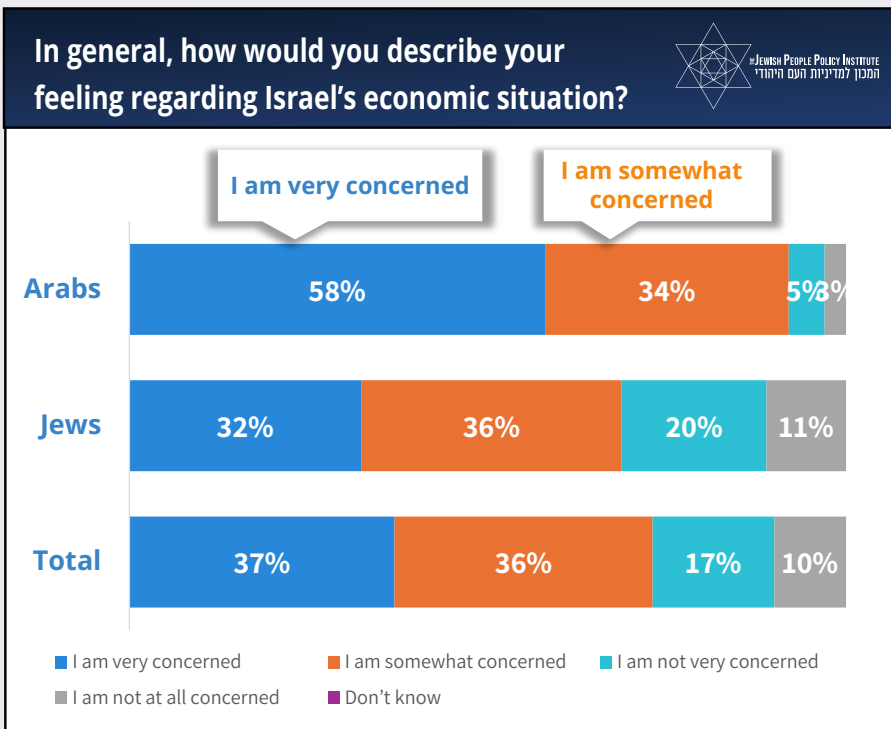
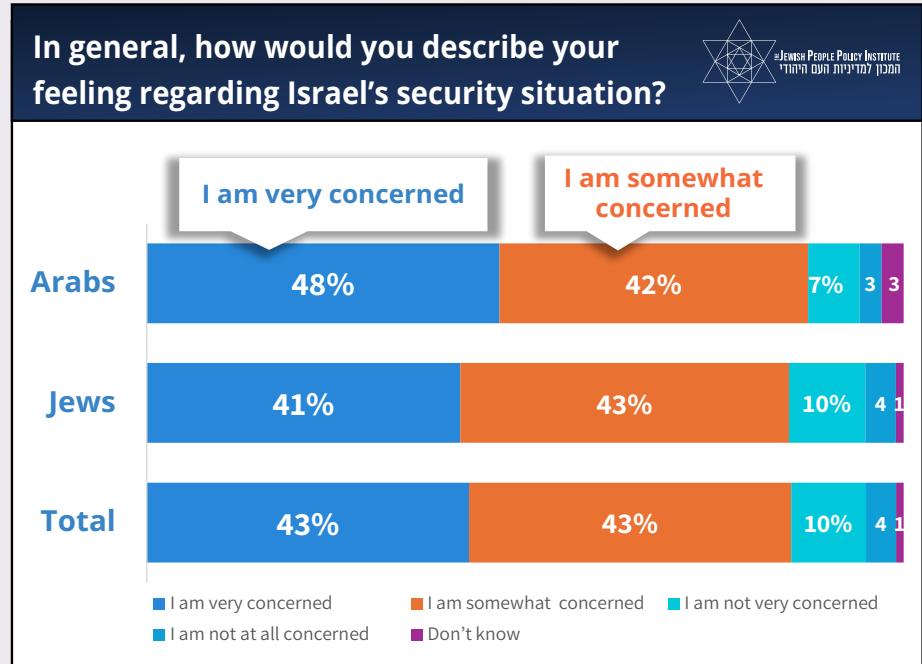
Additional Findings

- Eight in ten right-wing Israelis express a lack of trust in the IDF senior command.
- 27% of the public have confidence in the prime minister, 22% have confidence in the government.
- Most on the political right support Israeli civilian control of Gaza after the war.
- There has been a slight drop in support for an Israeli offensive in Lebanon - and a rise in support for a diplomatic settlement.
- There has been a significant rise among Jewish respondents who believe national interests outweigh morality in wartime.
- Most support the anti-government demonstrations, but also believe they are "excessive."
- Most support the Supreme Court ruling that all young ultra-Orthodox males are subject to IDF conscription.
- Of those with an opinion on the subject, most prefer Trump to Biden as US president.

The Ongoing War

> Concern about the Situation

A large majority of Israeli citizens are very or somewhat concerned about Israel's security situation. On the right (including the center-right), the tendency is to be "somewhat concerned," while those in the center and leaning left tend to be "very concerned."



A significant, though smaller majority are also concerned about Israel's economic situation. A majority of those on the political right are not concerned about Israel's economic condition (40% not very concerned, 18% not at all concerned). But among other groups, a majority of the center-right are concerned, and from the center leftward, a majority are very concerned.

> Confidence in Victory

July's Israeli Society Index shows a slight increase compared with May and June in the degree of confidence among Jewish Israelis that Israel will win the war. A third (35%) rated their confidence of victory at 1 or 2 on a scale of 1 to 5. Forty-one percent rated their confidence of victory at 4 or 5. Among Arab Israelis, 45% rated the likelihood of victory at the lower levels, while a quarter (26%) rated it at the higher levels (4 or 5).

Confident about the situation

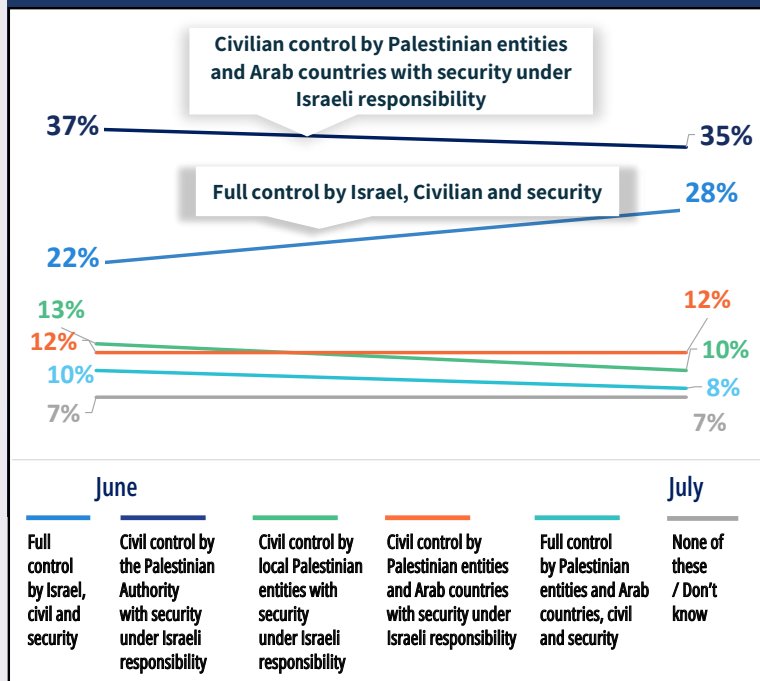


Rating by Jews	October %	November %	January %	February %	March %	May %	June %	July %
1 – Not at all Confident	6	6	10	15	11.4	26	29	21
2	4	3	8	9	7.2	15	12	14
3	16	13	21	22	19.4	20	17	24
4	24	24	26	24	24.9	14	19	19
5 – Absolutely Confident	51	54	35	31	37.0	24	23	22

> Post-War Control of Gaza

The July data also shows that most Israeli Jews are not interested in Israeli civilian control of Gaza after the war ends. However, there was a slight increase in the share of Jewish Israelis who want Israel to exercise both security and civilian control in Gaza; among right-wing groups this is now the majority view (54%). Regarding the various options offered in the survey, the largest group (among both Jews and Arabs) chose “civilian control by Palestinians and Arab countries with security under Israeli responsibility” as their preferred post-war arrangement. Slightly over a quarter of all Jewish respondents chose the option of full Israeli control, civilian and security related.

Jewish Israelis



> Tensions in the North




The survey was conducted at a time of heightened tensions in the north, as reflected in increased rocket barrages on various targets within Israel. At the same time, warnings were issued about the damage Israel would suffer as a result of war in the north. This month's survey shows a slight drop in support for an Israeli offensive in Lebanon (immediately or once the war in Gaza ends), and a small rise in those favoring a diplomatic settlement of tensions in the north. This change is evident among Jewish Israelis – among Arab Israelis there continues to be

significant majority support for a diplomatic settlement (in the July survey, 67%). However, among Jewish Israelis a majority still prefer an immediate or post-Gaza-War offensive (56%). Among coalition supporters, except for United Torah Judaism, an immediate offensive in Lebanon remains the main preference. This is the view of 45% of Likud voters, and 60% of Shas and Religious Zionist voters.

> Cost of Security

This month we detected a slight rise, compared to a similar question from March, in the percentage of Israelis who feel that taxes should be raised and the standard of living lowered in order to maintain Israel's security. This finding may be the result of reports on the amount of investment required, and the growth of Israel's deficit over the months of the war. The view in favor of a tax hike is especially pronounced among National Unity voters, and particularly low among the ultra-Orthodox and Arab Israelis.

Cost of security



	Jews March %	Jews July %	Arabs March %	Arabs July %
Invest more in security, at the expense of areas like welfare, education, health and infrastructure	12	13	14	12
Invest more in security by raising taxes and lowering the standard of living	22	28	10	9
Invest in security around the current amount, without sacrificing services and standard of living	49	43	33	40
Invest in security less than the current amount, so that there is more for areas like welfare, education, health and infrastructure	7	5	26	19
Don't know	9	10	17	19

> War and Morality

The war is affecting Israeli opinion with respect to Israel’s conduct under security threats. Compared with an identical question from two years ago, there has been a significant change (among Jews) in assessments of the right balance between the desire to behave morally in wartime, and the need to defend Israeli interests. Two years ago most of the public supported an emphasis on morality, balanced with concern for the state’s interests (31% favored ethical behavior with exceptions, and 22% favored an equal balance), but today the weight has shifted toward an interest-based policy, with morality coming second (26% for interests only and 32% for interests with exceptions in cases of for serious moral violation).

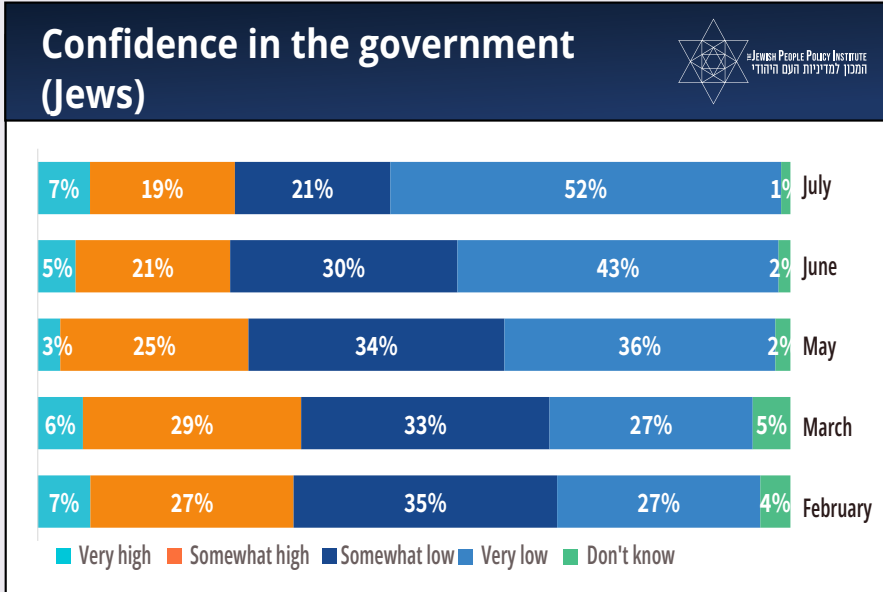
In matters of Israel’s foreign and security policy, some say policies should be primarily moral, while others say that it should primarily look after the interests of the State of Israel. In this regard, of the following positions, which position is closest to yours?



	Foreign and security policy should be based only on moral considerations	Policy should be moral, but with exceptions in case of serious harm to interests	Moral considerations must be balanced equally with interests	Policy should be based on interests, with exceptions in the case of a serious moral violation	Policy should be based only on Israel’s interests	Don’t know
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Jews 2024	2	18	20	32	26	2
Jews 2022	2	31	22	30	13	1

For this question we find major ideology-driven disparities, with the right showing a significant preference (48%) for conduct solely based on interests (with no moral considerations), the center-right showing a clear preference (50%) for conduct based on interests but with exceptions, and the center and left giving greater priority to a balance or to an emphasis on morality. Religious Zionist voters are the firmest in their prioritization (54%) for interests alone. Among Meretz (left) voters, half prioritize moral considerations alone, or morality with exceptions.

Trust in Leadership



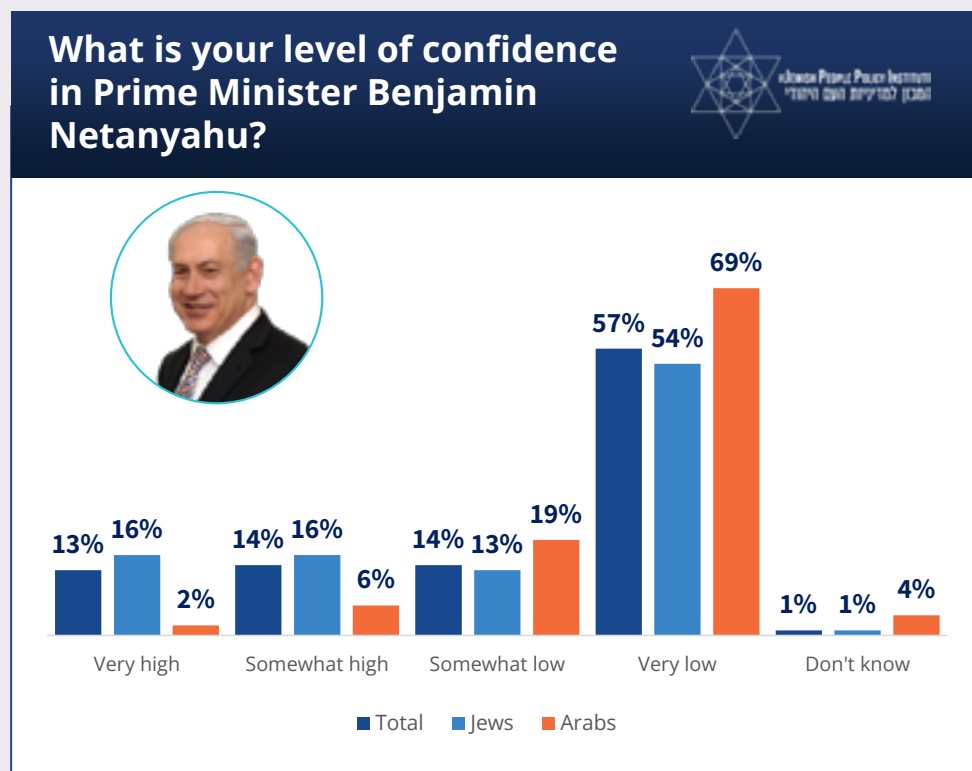
July's findings indicate a slight additional slippage in public confidence in the government. Only 9% of Arab Israelis have fairly or very high confidence in the government. Among Jewish Israelis, 26% have fairly or very high confidence in the government (rightists: 56%). Israelis who express high confidence in the government are mainly Likud and Shas voters.

A small majority of Religious Zionist and Otzma Yehudit voters lack confidence in the government.

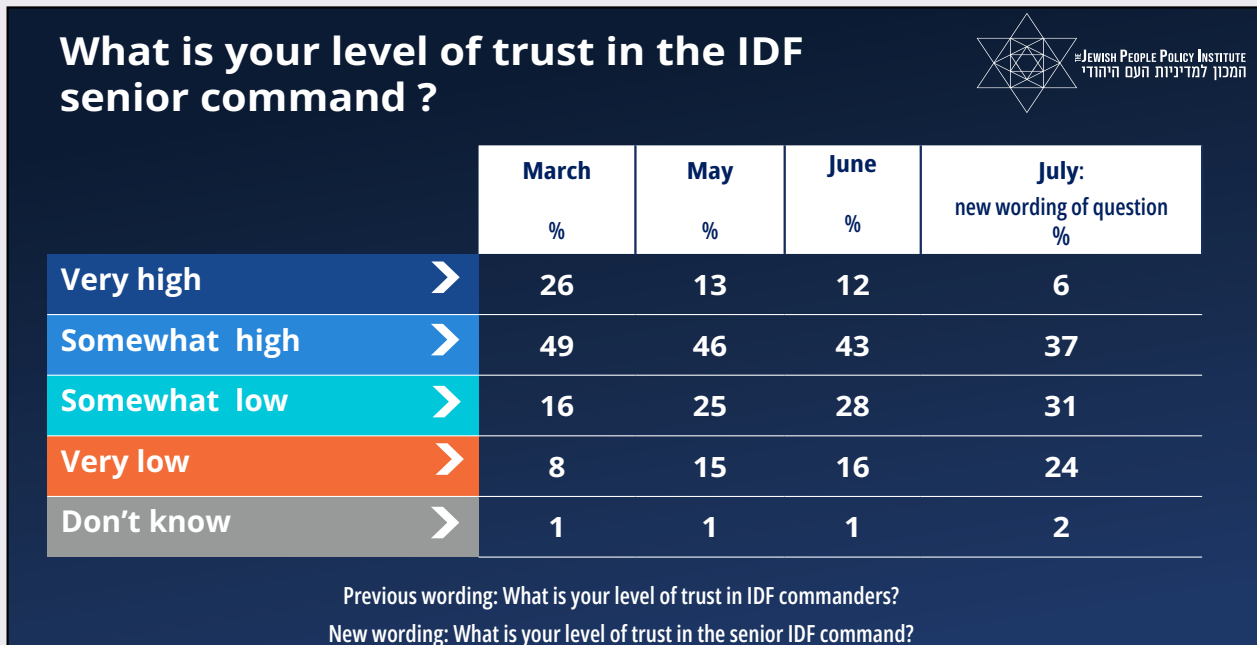
> Confidence in the Government (Jews)

Confidence in Prime Minister Netanyahu, has been low throughout the months of the crisis, and remains so in July.

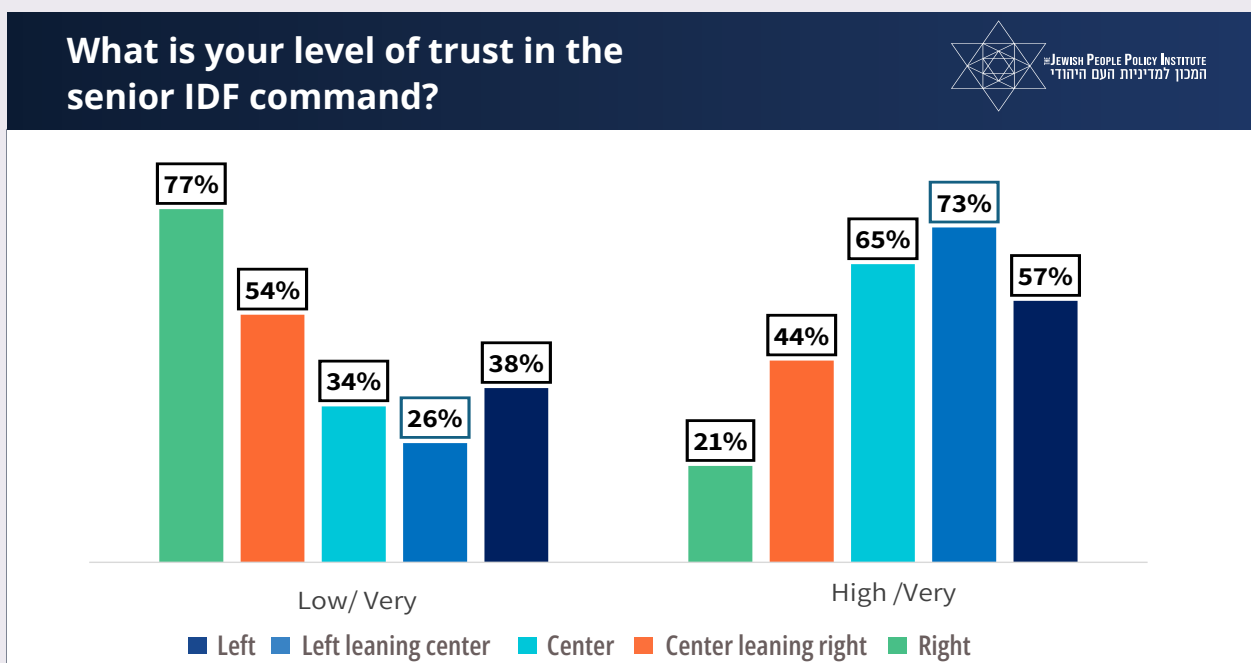
This month we examined support for the IDF command echelon with a question worded differently from those of previous months. Previously, we have asked about "trust in IDF commanders," but this month we queried "trust in the senior IDF command."



This change (and possibly other factors such as eroding confidence in the IDF's combat performance) led to a significant decline this month in Israelis' trust in the IDF command echelon compared with earlier months. The finding indicates that when the public looks explicitly at the senior command, and not at "commanders" more generally (the term can also refer to mid-level commanders), over half express low or very low trust in the figures in question.



In general, trust in the senior IDF command drops the further right respondents are on the political spectrum (likewise, the further one moves toward the traditionalist and religious end of the religiosity scale). Among Jews who self-define as "right-wing," eight in ten have low or very low trust in the IDF senior command. Among Jews who self-identify as "centrist," two out of three have high or very high trust in the senior command.



> Anti-Government Protests

From the following options, what do you think about the protests being held in Israel against the government and to promote new elections?



	I support the protests as they are %	I support the protests in principle, but think they are excessive %	I do not support the protests in principle, but accept them %	I do not support the protests in principle and think they are excessive %	Don't know %
Total	42	14	7	32	4
Jews	37	15	7	39	2
Arabs	62	11	8	4	16

Nearly half of Israelis (47%) say they have been forced to “sit in a major traffic jam due to a protest against the government,” and the likelihood of getting stuck in traffic due to protests was equal regardless of one’s political affiliation or religiosity level. A lower, though still significant, percentage (42%) support the protests “as they are,” and 46% of Israelis think the protests “excessive” (including some who support them “in principle”).

Support for anti-government protests



	I support the protests as they are %	I support the protests in principle, but think they are excessive %	I do not support the protests in principle, but accept them %	I do not support the protests in principle and think they are excessive %	Don't know %
Left	92	3	3	0	2
Left leaning center	78	13	6	2	1
Center	61	16	5	17	2
Center leaning right	25	23	9	42	1
Right	4	12	7	77	0
	25	25	25	25	0

As expected, support for the protests, and opinions about whether or not they are excessive, differ from sector to sector in accordance with political orientation and religiosity level. Jewish centrists and leftists show high support for the protests, while those on the right show low support. However, a significant disparity between the right and left is worth noting: half of the latter support the demonstrations in principle, even though a large proportion of them think they are “excessive.”

Interestingly, when we look at both questions (whether someone was stuck in traffic because of a protest and whether someone supports the protest) – we find no correlation between being personally affected by the protests and support for the protests themselves. That is, the fact of having been stuck or not having been stuck in a traffic jam caused by a demonstration did not lead respondents to change their views about the protests, or their assessment of the protests as excessive or not excessive. For example, the table below shows that the percentage of those who oppose the demonstrations and think they are excessive is 40% among those who have been caught in a traffic jam, and 41% among those who have not.

From the following options, what do you think about the protests being held in Israel against the government and to promote new elections?



		I support the protests as they are	I support the protests in principle, but think they are excessive	I do not support the protests in principle, but accept them	I do not support the protests in principle and think they are excessive	Don't know
		%	%	%	%	%
Have you been stuck in a significant traffic jam due to protests held against the government?	Yes	40	14	6	40	1
	No	36	14	7	41	1
	Don't know	53	24	6	18	0

When we cross-reference the election-preference question (whom respondents want as US president) with the question about Biden’s support for Israel, we see a correlation between the two questions. Of those who prefer Biden, 75% feel that his support for Israel is strong. Among those who prefer Trump, most (25% and 29%) feel that Biden has not been supportive of Israel, either at the beginning of the war or in its later stages.

Of the following options, which is closest to your position? (Biden supporters)



As an Israeli, which of the two main candidates right now would you prefer...	President Biden strongly supported Israel at the beginning of the war, and still strongly supports it today %	President Biden strongly supported Israel at the beginning of the war, but supports it less today %	President Biden strongly supported Israel at the beginning of the war, but does not support it today %	President Biden did not support Israel that much even at the beginning of the war %	Don't know %
President Joe Biden	75	24	1	0	0
Former President Donald Trump	5	40	25	29	1
I have no position	29	49	12	5	5

Of the following options, which one best reflects your position?



	The US is an important ally, and we must make a great effort to maintain the alliance with it, including compromises on things that do not actually endanger Israel’s security %	The US is an important ally, but that does not mean we have to accept its positions. If we agree – great, if we disagree – Israel should do as it sees fit %	The US is an ally, but its importance is decreasing, Israel should use it when possible, but not behave as if its existence depends on friendship with the US %	The US was an important ally, but in recent years it has caused Israel more harm than good, and we should carefully consider how much coordination and dialogue with the US really strengthens Israel %
Total	42	37	13	9
Jews	40	41	12	7
Arabs	47	19	14	20

Israelis' assessment of the importance of Israel-US relations has not changed significantly in recent months. A large majority of Jewish and Arab Israelis agree that the US is an important ally of Israel. Among Jews, half feel that this fact demands that Israel compromise on its positions so as to maintain the alliance, while the other half feel that it does not necessitate compromise by Israel on its positions. These findings are very similar to those of the March survey. Willingness to compromise on positions is very high among the left and fairly high among centrists (61%), while among the right (including the center-right) a majority feel that "the US is an important ally, but that doesn't mean we have to accept its views. If we agree – great. If we disagree – Israel should do as it sees fit."

Ultra-Orthodox Conscription

Most of Israel's Jewish population supports the recent Supreme Court ruling that affirmed that all young ultra-Orthodox men are eligible for conscription. As expected, the majority of the ultra-Orthodox do not favor this view, and the present survey's findings indicate that this is true of religious Israelis as well. Half of the religious respondents believe that the current situation is not equitable, but that it should be rectified "gradually and through persuasion," and this is the reason why they do not support the Supreme Court ruling (this

– or the distrust with which religious Jews regard the Supreme Court and its rulings overall).

In general, a small majority of those with an opinion on the matter support drafting yeshiva students into the IDF "by any means, including coercion (or withholding funding)." Among the secular the majority is more pronounced, but other groups prefer "gradualism and persuasion." It should be noted that other versions of this question with options specifying different "sanctions" to promote conscription produce a different breakdown of views, with a majority of traditionalists and the religious joining the consensus on conscription-promoting measures other than "persuasion."

Support for the Supreme Court decision on ultra-Orthodox conscription	Support	Do not support	Don't know
	%	%	%
Total Jews	63	31	6
Secular	82	15	3
Traditionalist, not so religious	62	29	9
Traditionalist, religious	57	36	7
Religious	38	48	13
Ultra-Orthodox	12	82	6

Today, yeshiva students are exempt from IDF conscription; of the following options, which is closest to your position?



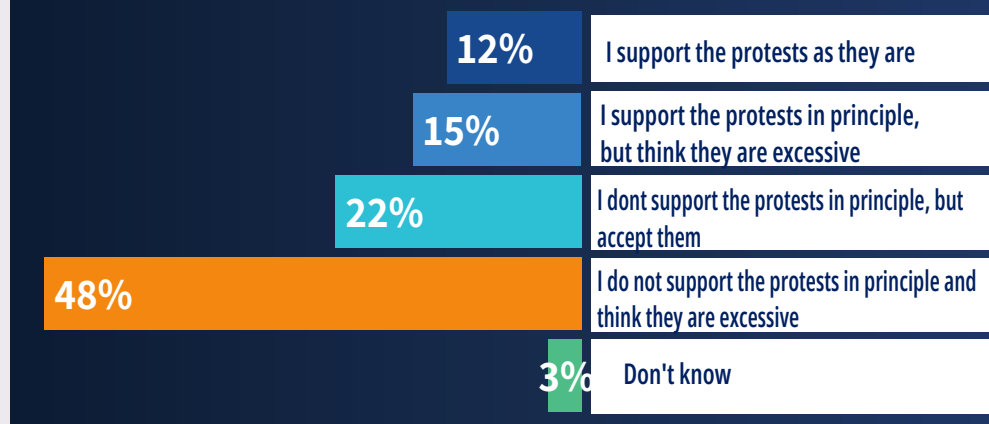
	This is the optimal situation and should be maintained for the sake of Torah study %	This is an inequitable situation, but should be maintained out of respect for the Haredi way of life %	This is an inequitable situation, but there is no way to change it so we shouldn't engage in unnecessary conflict %	This is an inequitable situation that needs to be amended gradually through persuasion %	This is an inequitable situation that needs to be rectified in any possible way, including coercion (or withholding funding) %	No position reflects my opinion %
Total Jews	11	2	4	31	49	4
Secular	2	1	1	25	70	1
Traditionalist, not so religious	2	0	6	50	38	5
Traditionalist, religious	12	5	5	29	48	2
religious	13	3	4	49	26	6
Ultra-Orthodox	48	4	12	14	10	12

In light of the recent months' demonstrations against the conscription of yeshiva students into the IDF, we looked at the level of support for these protests. A large majority of the respondents (72%) said that they had not been "forced to sit in a traffic jam" due to anti-conscription demonstrations. However, a majority do not support the protests, and feel that they are "excessive" (this majority also includes Israelis who support the protests in principle).

Of the following options, which is closest to your opinion of the protests in Israel against drafting the ultra-Orthodox into the IDF?



JEWS ONLY



Israel's Future

“If I had a practical possibility to emigrate, I would”



	Completely disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Completely agree	Don't know
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Jews July	55	8	11	13	11	2
Jews March	58	8	6	11	12	4
Arabs July	38	7	10	15	25	5
Arabs March	47	9	7	7	20	10

In recent weeks, there have been lively discussions on social media regarding the possibility that many Israelis will emigrate to other countries. The July survey does not detect a change in the percentage of those seeking to leave Israel compared with a corresponding survey from March. A quarter of Jewish Israelis and four in ten Arab Israelis agree with the statement: “If I had a practical opportunity to emigrate, I would do so.” Arab respondents showed a certain increase over March, but the sample is smaller, and it is too early to tell whether this constitutes a trend. Among Jewish Israelis, there has been almost no change on the issue of emigration since March. The percentage of those agreeing with the statement on emigration is higher among secular Israelis who identify with the center and the left (center – 33%, center-left – 36%), and significantly lower among religious Israelis (4%).

Among both Jewish and Arab Israelis, there has been a slight decline in optimism regarding Israel’s future compared with the March survey, and a rise (mainly among Arabs) in the percentage of those who are pessimistic about the future of the state. Within the population as a whole, a small majority of pessimists outweighs optimists (51% versus 47%).

What is your level of optimism for the future of the State of Israel?



	Jews March %	Jews July %
Very optimistic	31	32
Somewhat optimistic	25	21
Somewhat pessimistic	26	27
Very pessimistic	16	19
Don't know	2	1

	Arabs March %	Arabs July %
Very optimistic	11	8
Somewhat optimistic	25	16
Somewhat pessimistic	28	30
Very pessimistic	29	39
Don't know	7	8

Data was collected for JPPI’s July survey by theMadad.com (616 Jewish respondents via an online poll) and by Afkar Research (200 Arab respondents, half online and half by phone). Data was analyzed and weighted by political affiliation and religiosity level to represent Israel’s adult population. Shmuel Rosner and Noah Slepko compile the JPPI Israeli Society Index. Statistical consultant: Professor David Steinberg.