The Israeli Democracy Index

2012

Tamar Hermann
Nir Atmor, Ella Heller, Yuval Lebel

THE ISRAEL
DEMOCRACY
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The Israel Democracy Institute is an independent, non-partisan body on the seam of academia and politics. The Institute plans policy and devises reforms for government and public administration agencies, and for the institutions of democracy.

In its plans and endeavors, the Institute strives to support the institutions of Israel's developing democracy and consolidate its values. The Institute's serious research work is followed up by practical recommendations, seeking to improve governance in Israel and foster a long-term vision for a stable democratic regime adapted to the structure, values, and norms of Israeli society. The Institute aspires to further public discourse in Israel on issues on the national agenda, to promote structural, political, and economic reforms, to serve as a consulting body to decision-makers and the broad public, and to provide information and present comparative research.

The Guttman Center for Surveys was established in its present form in 1998, when the Guttman Institute for Applied Social Research became part of the Israel Democracy Institute. Professor Louis Guttman founded the original Institute in 1949 as a pioneering center for the study of public opinion and the advancement of social science methodology. The goal of the Guttman Center for Surveys is to enrich public discourse on issues of public policy through the information retrieved from the Center's databases and through public opinion surveys conducted by the Center.

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 (1,025 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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Insights and Main Findings

The 2012 survey, like many of the **Israeli Democracy Index** polls in previous years, was strongly affected by "background noise." It was conducted in the shadow of a global financial crisis that threatens to shake up Israel's economy, and amid a painful process of national soul-searching regarding the nature and results of the social/economic protests of the previous summer, along with uncertainty as to whether they will be revived in the summer of 2012. Likewise, the survey follows on the heels of a wave of attempts to enact non-democratic legislation as well as statements by political office holders that are extremely problematic in terms of democracy—all against the backdrop of impending Knesset elections. And this, without even considering the looming Iranian threat and the discourse about Israel's future sparked by a combination of the above.

In light of the numerous dangers posed by this state of affairs, and the many highly critical commentaries on the political system and its functionaries by experts in various fields—not to mention the pessimism that characterized most media coverage this year on matters of domestic politics (as well as foreign affairs, though that is beyond our purview)—we would have expected a similar malaise in the court of public opinion. Yet, as this report shows, the public's assessment of Israel's current political situation has not dropped significantly in comparison with last year; future expectations for the county do not point to an imminent apocalypse. Granted, this year as well, the figures indicate considerable dissatisfaction and criticism, in particular with the performance of the politicians and the political parties; nonetheless, we did not encounter profound alienation or repressed anger of the citizenry toward the system, both of which are crucial elements in generating effective grass-roots pressure for sweeping changes in governmental structures and processes. Given the above, it may be possible to understand why there has not been (at least as of this writing) a renewed outburst of social/economic protest in the form of mass demonstrations. Similarly, we have not seen a lessening of democratic awareness on the part of the Israeli public. While, within the Jewish public, the balance between "Jewish" and "democratic" in the definition of the State

continues to tilt toward the "Jewish" component (particularly in the religious subgroups, where a sizeable majority favor this aspect), and there is denial of state discrimination against the Arab minority, there is strong opposition this year, as in 2011, to the false solution of a "strong leader" and to non-democratic means, such as the use of force, to spur bottom-up, citizen-initiated political change. With reference to the Arab public, the level of estrangement is higher, and the dissatisfaction deeper, than that of the Jewish population, but here too there is acceptance by the Arab public of the democratic rules of the game, and no evidence of a readiness or desire to cast them aside.

What, then, can be said about Israelis' attitudes toward the state and its political system, from a bird's eye view? Below, we offer several general insights.

Justifiably or not, the general public sees Israel's current situation as reasonable or even good. This view is shared by the Jewish and Arab populations alike, and evidently serves as the basis for the prevailing optimism regarding the future (which we broke down into various factors). Despite the "parlor debates," Internet discussions, and radio and TV talk shows suggesting that the state is "headed down the tubes" it seems that the Israeli public, especially its Jewish segment, has not internalized the message at home and abroad that Israel is approaching isolation in the international arena; that its existence is at risk, and its ability to defend itself is on the decline; that its status as a high-tech power is waning; that it is becoming increasingly "religified"; that it is losing its Jewish character; and that its deepening social/economic gaps will spawn violent protests that will rock the country's foundations.

Israel's overall situation

While Israel's Arab citizens are less satisfied and less optimistic, and feel more discriminated against and are somewhat less reluctant to support the use of unlawful means to achieve political ends, on the whole they too do not foresee a bleak future for Israel, and as a rule, are not far from the Jewish respondents in many areas related to the functioning of the political system, national priorities, and the like. Both groups do not anticipate the signing of a peace treaty with the Palestinians in the foreseeable future,

and the pessimism regarding the prospects for peace is only one of many examples in the report of a strong correspondence between the political/social assessments of the Jewish and Arab publics. All of the findings support the conclusion, reflected in other studies as well,[1] that we are not speaking of two collectives with no conceptual overlap between them, and that the Arab population has not turned its back completely on the State of Israel.

Assessing Israel's democracy

The bulk of the Jewish public sees the level of democracy of the Israeli political system as sufficient, in contrast with last year, when the prevailing opinion was that it was not democratic enough. There is reason to assume that the protests of the summer of 2011, and the way they were handled by the state authorities, contributed to the improved assessment this year. In the eyes of the country's Arab citizens, however, Israel is still seen as not democratic enough. The same holds true for those Jewish respondents who identify themselves with the political left.

The perception that Israel's democracy is lacking is stronger among those who reported taking part in the protests of the summer of 2011 (numbering roughly one quarter of the respondents) than it is among those who did not participate. We expected that those who protested would be distinct in many respects from those who did not, but this was borne out only partially. Thus, for example, on the question examining to what extent the system in Israel is democratic, we found sizeable differences between the protesters and non-protesters. Likewise, the level of trust in the country's political institutions and key officials was lower among the protesters. Even greater differences were recorded between the two groups in their sense of belonging to the state: those who participated in the protests reported feeling part of the state and its problems to a clearly greater extent than did those who were not participants. The protesters reported a significantly higher level of interest in politics compared with the non-protesters, and were also slightly less optimistic regarding the future of Israel in the areas we examined. By contrast, on the question about

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1 For example: Sammy Smooha, *Index of Jewish-Arab Relations in Israel 2011* (Haifa: Haifa University, 2012) [Hebrew].

government performance, there were no differences between the protesters and non-protesters with respect to how the country's problems are handled. This was also the case when respondents were asked if there is a party that truly represents their views; whether or not there are differences between the parties; and the degree of solidarity in Israeli Jewish society. In other words, here as well it emerges that the two groups are not so "alien" to one another, even if there are differences between them.

Further on the subject of the 2011 protests, the impression that young, secular, left-leaning Jews with an average or slightly higher income (who tended to align themselves with the stronger groups in Israeli society) were especially prominent in the demonstrations finds empirical corroboration in this year's survey. It is therefore no surprise that the predominant view is that the protest belonged to only part of the nation—albeit a significant part. To a lesser extent, the respondents held that this was a protest of all the people, or alternatively, of only a small minority. In assessing the balance of successes and failures, they tended to differentiate: in terms of raising media interest in social/economic issues as well as public awareness of the gaps in this area, the common view is that the protests were a success. When it comes to changing the government's priorities, however, the prevailing opinion is not unequivocal. And in terms of weakening the status and influence of the wealthiest tier, the majority hold that the protests were a failure.

To summarize this topic, the survey's findings suggest that the protests served as a safety valve for releasing pent-up anti-government and anti-political "steam." The public apparently feels that it was given a voice, and its preferences—for example with reference to social/economic and budgetary priorities—were openly expressed and addressed, even if the state's agendas were not dramatically transformed (though some would argue that important changes in the social/economic realm indeed took place in the wake of the protests).[2]

2   See for example the editorial entitled "The Protest Movement Celebrates a Successful Year," *Haaretz*, July 13, 2012, http://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/editorial-articles/1.1775249 [Hebrew] (All Internet sites appearing in this report were most recently accessed in June 2012.)

Assessing performance of the government and its representatives

While the country's overall situation and level of democracy are considered reasonable, once again this year government performance and the motives attributed to political leaders tend toward the negative: the government is seen by the majority as not doing a good job of handling the country's problems, and the primary motivating factor of the politicians is perceived as personal interest rather than public concerns. In a similar vein, the negative view of the effort invested by Knesset members in their jobs remains largely unchanged. At the same time, a certain upswing can be discerned in the level of trust in state institutions—with the exception of the media, which experienced a drop in public trust this year. Also dipping to worrisome levels is the level of trust in the political parties, which would explain the very low rate of party membership. Despite this finding, a majority of the public is convinced of the democratic value of competition between parties, and believes that there are substantial differences in the ability of the various parties to handle the country's problems.

Upcoming elections

This year, we addressed the impending elections. An important finding in this context—and one of particular interest, in light of the social protests—is that a majority of the public feel that the most effective way to exert political influence is by voting. And how does one decide which party to vote for? The Jewish respondents ranked the party leader as the most important factor in their choice, followed by the party platform, while the latter carried the most weight in the eyes of the Arab respondents. In both the Jewish and Arab populations, past voting patterns—that is, party loyalty—exerted little influence in this regard.

Social and ideological solidarity

And what can we conclude about the level of social solidarity? Surprisingly, the protests and other events of the past year had virtually no effect on the assessment of solidarity in Israeli Jewish society, which remains at the middling level. It should be noted here that the Arab view of Israeli Jewish solidarity is slightly lower than that of the Jews.

We also asked this year if Israel is Zionist, and found that the majority—of both Jews and Arabs—consider the country to be "quite" or "very" Zionist.

In a ranking of the tensions that characterize Israeli society as a whole, the friction between Jews and Arabs was considered to be the most serious, while that between Ashkenazim and Mizrahim placed at the bottom of the list. Between these two poles, the areas of tension (in descending order of severity) were between secular and religious, rich and poor, and left and right (in political and security matters).

Given these areas of tension, it is interesting to note the social/political/economic variables affecting the opinions of Israelis as reflected in our survey. The principal distinguishing variable is **nationality**—Jewish or Arab. Among the Jewish public, **religiosity**—or alternatively, secularism—was found to be the second most powerful factor in this context. **Self-identification with the left or right** (on political and security issues) was found to be significant; however, it largely coincides with the religious/secular factor, meaning that its "pure" influence is only middling. A factor considered in the past to have very strong explanatory value—**ethnic affiliation**—has been shown in the last several Indexes to exert a weak effect; this is largely due to the rise in mixed marriages in recent decades, as a result of which increasing numbers of Jewish Israelis no longer identify themselves as Ashkenazim or Mizrahim.

A no less important finding relates to the diminished explanatory power of the variable of **length of residence** in Israel as opposed to immigration to Israel in recent decades, primarily from the Former Soviet Union (FSU). (The integration of the FSU immigrants is considered successful, based on findings in this survey, in contrast with the absorption of Ethiopian immigrants, which is considered unsuccessful.) Despite elements in the Israeli public who, for various reasons, are interested in highlighting the differences between new immigrants and long-time residents, it emerges that, especially in the younger age groups, there has been a significant narrowing of the gap between the opinions of FSU immigrants and those of native-born Israelis with comparable

Socio-demographic variables and their impact on political attitudes

levels of education, income, and religious observance. Thus, on numerous major political issues, there are no significant differences between the two groups. This is true as well for the sex of the respondents; as in previous years, it was not found to have special importance as a distinguishing variable.

On the other hand, a variable with very strong explanatory power, which we examined systematically this year, is **self-identification with stronger or weaker groups** in society. This variable was measured in a slightly different way in previous years as well; then too, it was shown to have a clear impact on the political opinions of the respondents. As in the past, the proportion of those who placed themselves in the "strong" or "somewhat strong" group stands at two thirds. Jews, significantly more than Arabs, identified themselves with the stronger groups. The primary distinguishing variable among Jewish respondents in this context is income, followed by length of residence in Israel. The differences between those who see themselves as belonging to the strong group and those who identify themselves with the weak one are considerable, and not unexpected. Accordingly, the proportion of respondents who categorize Israel's situation as bad is twice as large among those who align themselves with the "somewhat weak" or "weak" group in Israeli society as it is among those who identify with the "somewhat strong" or "strong" group. A much greater share of the strong group report a sense of belonging to the state and its problems, pride in being Israeli, and a higher level of interest in politics. Further, their assessment of the solidarity of Israeli Jewish society is higher than that of the respondents who affiliated themselves with the weaker groups. Interestingly enough, those who felt greater affinity with the weaker groups were significantly less inclined to view last summer's demonstrations as a protest of the entire nation. In other words, here too they felt excluded, and in fact they reported a lesser level of participation in the protest movement.

Priorities for government spending

To the above, we would add our findings on the public's priorities in terms of government spending. As in 2011 (unlike the early 2000s), Israelis today favor increased funding for education and for narrowing of social/economic gaps (in the specific areas of

spending, there are differences in priorities between the Jewish and Arab respondents). In addition, whether due to the feeling that adequate sums are already being allocated or to a relatively strong sense of national security despite the Iranian threat, the military/security sphere does not top the public's list of priorities for added spending. At the bottom of the scale are allocations for religious institutions and for Jewish settlement in the territories.

To summarize, Israeli democracy is "alive and kicking" but is not at a revolutionary stage in its history. It is, however, experiencing changes, primarily in the issues on the national agenda. Likewise, the country's internal rifts are in a state of flux. At present, social/economic matters tend to top the scale of concerns at the expense of the political/security sphere, presumably due to the sense that a fundamental shift in the relationship between Israel and its neighbors is not anticipated in the foreseeable future.

Introduction

One of the leaders of the social protests of the summer of 2011, Stav Shaffir, stated recently that although not all—or even most—of the protesters' demands were met, and though there is still a long way to go to make the necessary improvements in the social/economic sphere, a new discourse is being heard in the Israeli public—a conversation of hope—as a result of last summer's protests and the changes they brought in their wake. This assessment of the spirit of public dialogue in Israel is substantiated by the findings of the 2012 Israeli Democracy Survey, as summarized in this report. It seems that the "voice" afforded by the protests to the man in the street has made politics relevant once again, after years in which the machinations of government had become disconnected from the people, and the people from them. Here and there, we can even point to an improvement in various parameters relating to democratic norms (for example, the deepening misgivings about the notion of a strong leader, and the growing feeling of being able to influence government policy). All is not well, of course. But in the face of unprecedented anti-democratic tendencies, as reflected this year in statements by certain elected officials, far-ranging nationalist and discriminatory legislative initiatives recently proposed in the Knesset, and democratically questionable moves by the top political echelons, today's public as a whole is still an "island of relative sanity" in the raging sea of Israeli democracy—though there are those who would belittle its collective wisdom, and though it encompasses extremist minorities to whom the principles of democracy are foreign.

In 2012, as in previous years, the IDI's Guttman Center for Surveys conducted its annual survey as part of the Democracy Index project, whose aim is to examine the institutional, procedural, and conceptual aspects of Israeli democracy on a regular basis. This year as well, the findings were analyzed with an eye to the present as well as the relevant data of the past. The 2012 questionnaire addressed the citizenry's positions on topics that have recently been at the center of public debate in Israel, for example: How well is Israel's democracy functioning? Is the government doing a good job of handling the problems of the

state? Did the protests of the summer of 2011 have any effect? And if so, what? Which issues will be in the forefront of the next elections? What should Israel's national priorities be in an optimal state of "budgetary plenty," and one of budgetary scarcity? And finally, what lies ahead for Israel?

One of the major questions that arose in analyzing the data, which we hope we have answered with at least some measure of success, concerns the seeming disparity between the repeated admonitions of various experts (as covered frequently and extensively in the media) and Israel's functional and ideological stability—and even improvement, in certain democratic parameters—as reflected in both our own findings and the international indexes addressed in Part Two of this report. These observations contrast sharply with the continual warnings that Israel is headed down a slippery slope with regard to the democratic behavior of its governing systems and public, and the dire references to rising poverty, widening social gaps, diminishing solidarity, and other social ills. For those whose gut instincts run counter to the findings cited below, we can only answer that we have a sound basis for believing that the data we have gathered do not fall under the heading of "statistical error"—not only because the sampling this year was especially meticulous but also because at least some of these findings have received external verification from various sources.

Nonetheless, it should be recalled that the survey measures feelings, opinions, and judgments of the general public, and is, therefore, not an "objective" or professional evaluation. Since distorted perceptions are a common occurrence both at the individual and collective levels, it is entirely possible that the public sees things in a way that will ultimately be proven wrong. Yet despite this, perceptions, attitudes, and emotions play a major role in the public's behavior, including its electoral preferences; hence it is fully justified in our eyes to invest effort and resources, as we have done, in trying to explore their preferences.

The English-language report this year is an abbreviated version of the Democracy Index in Hebrew, which can be found in full (including the raw data) at the Israel Democracy Institute site

Structure of the report

(www.idi.org.il). The present report is divided into two main sections: in the first part, the findings of the 2012 Democracy Survey are analyzed with reference to five key topics: (1) Israel's political system and government performance; (2) citizens, the state, politics, and society; (3) the protests of the summer of 2011, one year later; (4) the upcoming elections; and (5) Israel's future. Likewise, this section includes a comparison between the findings of the current survey and those from previous years to aid in understanding the stabilizing factors and patterns of change since 2003, when the first survey was conducted as part of the Democracy Index project. In the second section, we present 14 democracy indexes compiled by international research institutes. Israel's ranking in each of these indicators is presented relative to 27 other countries and in comparison with its position in the past. As noted below, this year we added two new indicators drawn from the Better Life Index, the research project launched last year by the OECD.

The questionnaire

The questionnaire for this year's Democracy Index survey, compiled in February–March 2012, was shorter than in previous years, with 47 content questions (some with multiple sections) and 10 sociodemographic questions. Of these, 25 were recurring questions asked each year (for the full questionnaire, see Appendix 1; for a multi-year comparison, see Appendix 2). Note that, due to their specific nature, several of the questions were presented to the Jewish sample only (for example, question 5 regarding the extent of the respondent's Zionist beliefs).

Data collection

The data were collected this year by Tel Aviv University's B.I. and Lucille Cohen Institute for Public Opinion Research, between April 16 and May 17, 2012. The questionnaire was translated beforehand into Russian and Arabic, and the interviewers who administered these versions were native speakers of the language.

The sample

The study population was a representative national sample of 1,025 adults aged 18 and over. The sampling error for a sample of this size is 3.1%. (For a sociodemographic breakdown of the

sample, see Appendix 3; the self-defined identity characteristics of the respondents are presented in Appendix 4.) The sample comprised 834 Jewish respondents and 191 Arab respondents.

**Part One:
The 2012 Index**
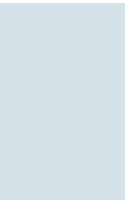
Chapter 1: Israel's Political System and Government Performance

As in previous years, we opened the survey with a question on Israel's overall situation, on the assumption (supported by previous surveys) that the respondents' assessment of the country's situation is an accurate barometer of the national mood.

On the whole, the assessments this year by the entire sample (both Jews and Arabs) tended more toward the positive than the negative: the prevailing view (at 40.5% of respondents) is that Israel's situation is "so-so," followed closely by those who consider it to be "very good" or "quite good" (38.1%); far behind on the scale are those who see it as "very bad" or "quite bad" (20%). This distribution is consistent with the responses on the degree of optimism (or pessimism) regarding Israel's future.[3] In this case as well, the public is inclined to take an optimistic view.

Israel's overall situation

Question 1

Figure 1.1 Israel's overall situation today (total sample; percent)

- Very good
- Quite good
- So-so
- Quite bad
- Very bad
- Don't know / refuse

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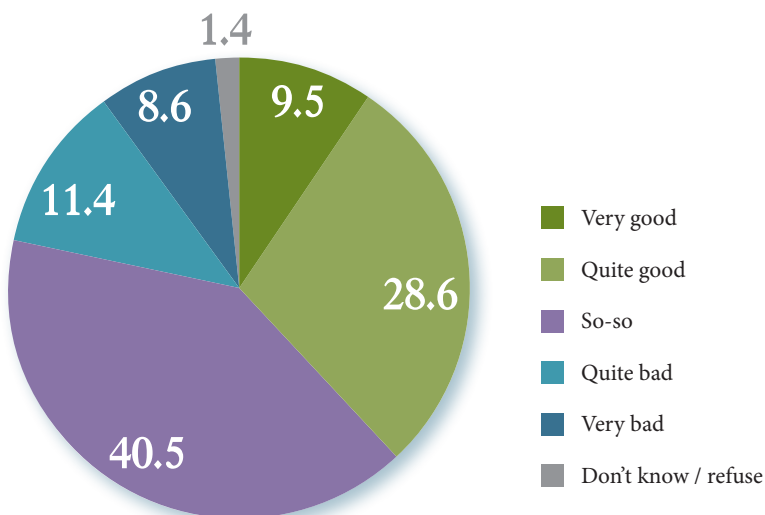
3   See p. 90.

In this and other questions, the portrait that emerges from the Jewish sample is very similar to that of the respondents as a whole, due to the large proportion of Jews relative to the entire sample. Of the Jewish sample, 41.1% characterized Israel's situation as "so-so"; 38.4%, as "very good" or "quite good"; and only 19.1% as "very bad" or "quite bad." Among the Arab respondents, the negative assessment was slightly more pronounced; but here too, the picture is more favorable than not: the proportions of those who assessed the situation as "so-so" and "very good/quite good" are virtually identical (37.7% and 37.1%, respectively), while the share of Arab respondents who see the situation as "very bad" or "quite bad" is 24.6%.

A breakdown of the total sample by age shows a similar, though not identical, distribution in the three age groups: among the older adults surveyed, the prevailing view was that Israel's situation is "very good" or "quite good" (41.9%), whereas in the intermediate and younger age groups, the category selected most frequently was "so-so" (41.9% and 41%, respectively). In all three groups, only a minority classified Israel's situation as "very bad" or "quite bad" (older adults, 17.4%; intermediate age group, 18.8%; and young adults, 23.3%).

A breakdown of the Jewish sample by political/security orientation shows, not surprisingly, that a greater share of those on the right offer a positive assessment of Israel's situation compared with the other two camps (center and left); by the same token, the left-wing respondents are more inclined than the other camps to see the situation as bad (though the most frequent response on the left, like the center, is "so-so").

Table 1.1

	% who see situation as good	% who see situation as so-so	% who see situation as bad	% Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
Right	41.8	39.2	17.8	1.2	100
Center	36.3	44.8	16.1	2.8	100
Left	29.3	37.0	33.7	–	100

Comparing the responses to this question over time, we find that since the first survey in 2003, there has been a steady rise in the assessment of Israel's overall situation, though the most frequent response remains "so-so." The proportion of Jewish respondents this year who hold that Israel's situation is good (38.1%) is similar to that in 2010 (39.7%), and higher than that in 2011 (27.8%). Likewise, it is much higher than the all-time low for this question, recorded in 2007.

Figure 1.2 Assessment of Israel's situation over time (very good and quite good; total sample; by year; percent)

After assessing Israel's situation, we moved on to examining how the respondents view the type of country in which they are living.

We asked the question: "Based on your personal understanding of the term 'Zionism,' would you characterize the State of Israel today as: very Zionist, quite Zionist, not so Zionist, or not at all Zionist?" Only a small minority (11.7%) of the Jewish sample defined the state as "very Zionist," and a further 44.6% (the most common answer) as "quite Zionist," meaning that a total of 56.3% classify the state as Zionist to some extent. By contrast, one third of the Jews surveyed (33.5%) see Israel as "not so Zionist," with 7.7% even categorizing it as "not at all Zionist" (a total of 41.2%,

Is Israel Zionist?

Question 4
Appendix 1, p. 130

then, do not define Israel as Zionist). In other words, just slightly more than half the Jews surveyed consider Israel to be a Zionist state to varying degrees.

The picture among the Arab respondents is different, and quite interesting. One third (33.5%) characterized Israel as "very Zionist," with roughly another third (35.1%) defining it as "quite Zionist," for a total of over two thirds (68.6%) who see Israel as Zionist. Some 11.5% of the Arab respondents classify Israel as "not so Zionist," and 7.3%, as "not at all Zionist" (yielding a total of 18.8%). A higher-than-usual (12.6%) share of the Arabs surveyed did not have a definite opinion as to Israel's "Zionism quotient." Stated otherwise, the Arab respondents—to a much greater degree than the Jews—see Israel today as Zionist to some extent.

Figure 1.3 Is Israel a Zionist state? (by nationality; percent)

- Very Zionist
- Quite Zionist
- Not so Zionist
- Not at all Zionist
- Don't know / refuse
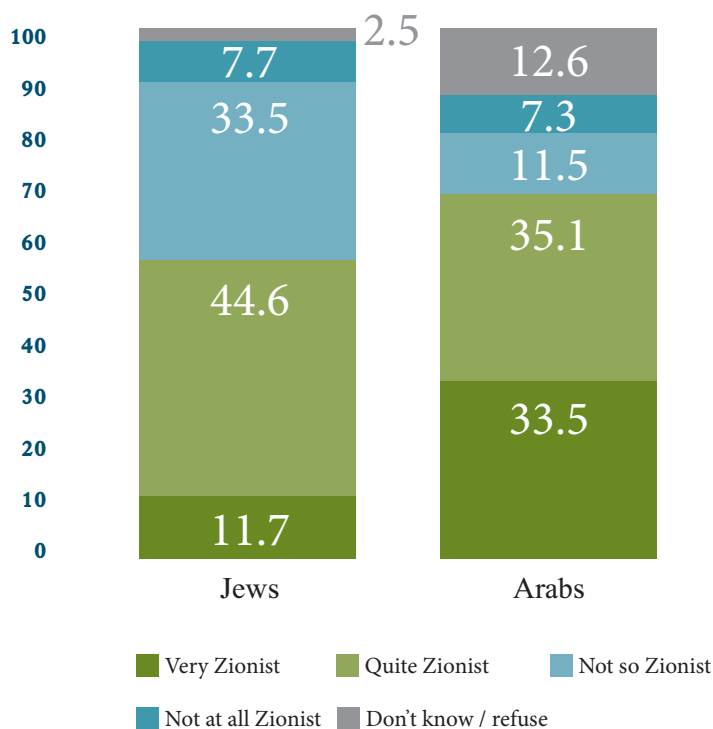
We broke down the responses of the Jewish respondents to this question by self-defined political orientation (right, center, left). Somewhat unexpectedly, the findings indicate that the difference between the political camps is negligible, and certainly not statistically significant.

The level of religiosity of the (Jewish) respondents, however, was shown to be a significant factor in their characterization of the state as Zionist or not Zionist. Indeed, we were surprised to discover that a majority of the haredi-leumi (Zionist ultra-Orthodox) and ultra-Orthodox camps classified the state as not Zionist, though apparently for different reasons: based on a breakdown of the religious groups by the level of Zionism of the respondents themselves, there is reason to assume that the haredi-leumi camp, who define themselves as Zionist to a greater extent than all the groups, see Israel as not Zionist in the sense of "not Zionist enough," while the ultra-Orthodox, who classify themselves mostly as non-Zionist, evidently do not view the state's (perceived) lack of Zionism as a negative trait.

As in previous years, we sought to examine whether the dual definition of Israel as both Jewish and democratic is in fact accepted by the Jewish public.[4] Thus we repeated the same question asked in past years: "Israel is defined as both a Jewish and a democratic state. Which part of this definition is more important to you personally?" Among the Jewish sample as a whole, the most common preference (41.9%) was indeed the dual definition. The second largest group (34.3%) reported that the Jewish component of the definition was more important to them, while the third, and smallest, group (21.8%) favored the democratic aspect of the definition. Though the prevailing view favored the dual definition (both Jewish and democratic), it should be noted that if we combine the second and third groups (for a total of 56.1%), it emerges, surprisingly enough, that a majority of the Jewish public today do not favor the formal definition of Israel as Jewish and democratic but instead opt

Jewish? Democratic? Jewish and democratic?

Question 9
Appendix 1, p. 132
Appendix 2, p. 161

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4   Since this question generated negative reactions in past years among the Arab respondents, it was not posed to them in recent surveys.

for other definitions, with the preference for the democratic component noticeably weaker than that for the Jewish aspect.

Figure 1.4 Jewish or democratic state: Which aspect is more important to you? (Jewish sample; percent)
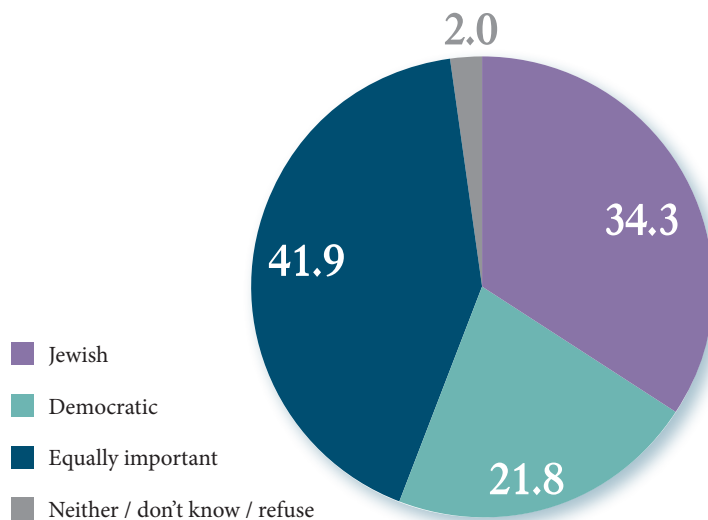
Cross-tabulating the responses favoring the Jewish, democratic, and Jewish-and-democratic definition of the state with the political orientations of the respondents, we found—as in 2011—a preference for the Jewish aspect on the right; for the Jewish-democratic definition, in the center; and for the democratic component, on the left.

Table 1.2

	% who favor the Jewish aspect	% who favor the democratic aspect	% who favor the Jewish-democratic definition	% Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
Right	48.1	11.0	40.2	0.7	100
Center	23.2	30.9	45.9	–	100
Left	7.5	58.1	33.3	1.1	100

Breaking down the responses by self-defined religiosity, we found that among the ultra-Orthodox, the haredi-leumi, and the Orthodox, the clear preference was for the Jewish component, whereas the traditional-religious, traditional-non-religious, and secular gave precedence to the Jewish-democratic definition. That is to say, in the breakdown by level of religiosity (again, as we saw last year) none of the groups prefers the democratic aspect of the state's definition.

A comparison of the results over time raises the possibility that the gap between Israel's definition as a Jewish state and as a democratic one was brought into sharper relief this year in the Jewish public consciousness. While the preferred option of the three is a state that is both Jewish and democratic, the share of respondents who chose this possibility has declined continually since this question was introduced in 2010. On the other hand, there was a definite upswing this year in the share of those who look upon Israel as a Jewish state. The proportion of those opting for a democratic state—the lowest of the three in all the Democracy Surveys—registered virtually no change.

Figure 1.5 Jewish or democratic state: Which aspect is more important to you? (Jewish sample; by religiosity; percent)

	Jewish	Democratic	Both are equally important
Ultra-Orthodox	80.4	0.0	19.2
Haredi-Leumi	66.7	16.7	16.7
Orthodox	62.7	8.2	28.9
Traditional – religious	35.8	11.3	51.9
Traditional – non-religious	32.2	15.8	52.0
Secular	20.6	35.0	43.3
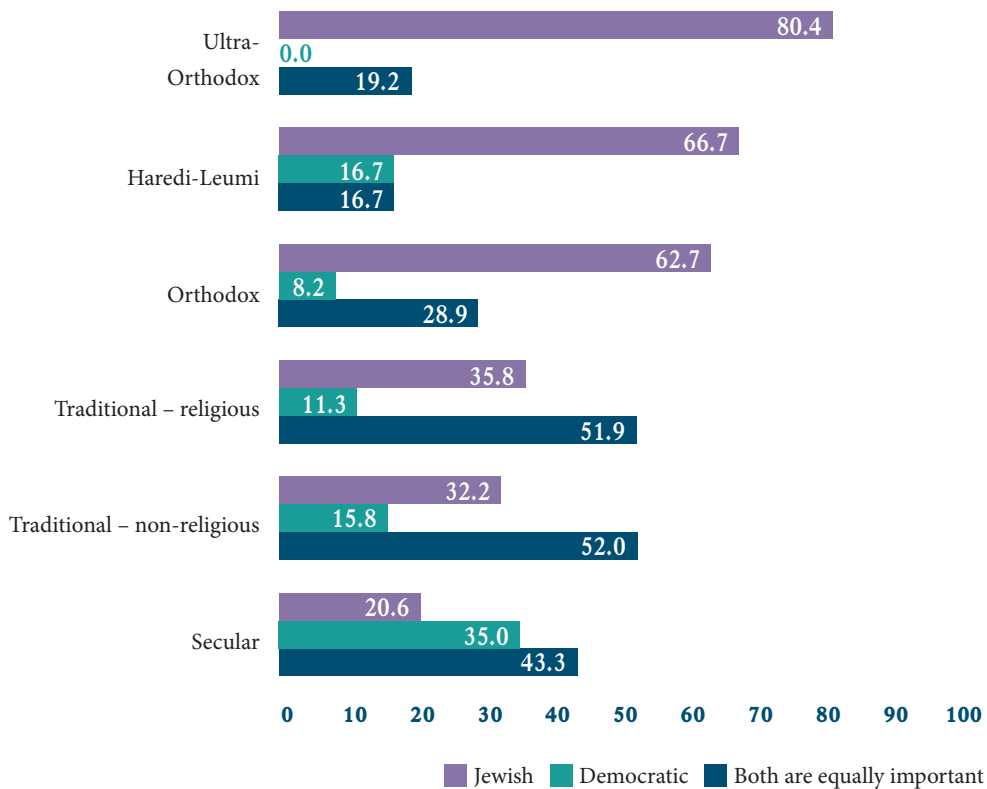
Figure 1.6 Jewish or democratic state: Which aspect is more important to you? (Jewish sample; by year; percent)

Legend:
- Jewish
- Democratic
- Both are equally important
- Neither is important + don't know / refuse
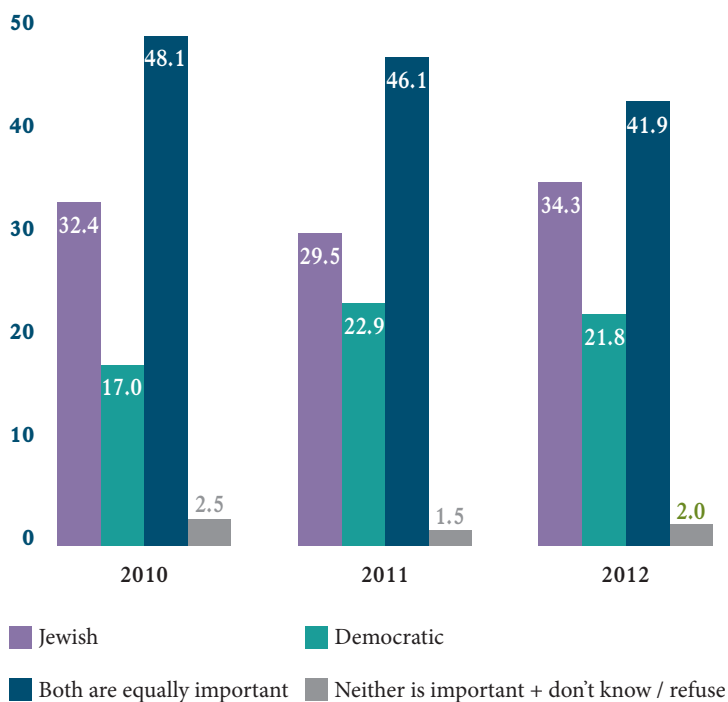
From here, we moved on to examining the extent of democracy in Israel as seen by the respondents, specifically, whether they felt that Israel is "too democratic," "democratic in the right measure," or "not democratic enough."

How democratic is Israel?

Question 8
Appendix 1, p. 132
Appendix 2, p. 161

There were salient differences between Jews and Arabs on this point: whereas the most common answer among Jewish respondents this year was that Israel is "democratic in the right measure" (42%)—followed, in almost equal measures, by "not democratic enough" (27.8%), which was the most frequent response last year, and "too democratic" (27.5%)—not surprisingly the prevailing view among Arab respondents (as in the past) was that Israel is not democratic enough (48.2%); next, in descending order, was that Israel is "democratic in the right measure" (44%), and lagging far behind, that Israel is "too democratic" (7.8%).

We also looked at the assessment of Israel's democracy in terms of political/security orientation (for Jewish respondents), and here we actually encountered profound differences: the prevailing view in the center of the political map is that Israel is democratic enough (49.4%), and on the left, that Israel is not democratic enough (47.2%); on the right, however, the two largest groups, with very similar percentages, are those who feel that Israel is democratic in the right measure and those who hold that it is too democratic (38.7% and 35.4%, respectively).

Comparing the results over time, we found that this year as well (as in 2003 and 2005)—perhaps by virtue of the moderation with which the government handled the protests of the summer of 2011—the most frequent response regarding the extent of Israel's democracy is that the country is democratic in the right measure—not too little and not too much. This is in contrast to the years 2004, 2006, and 2009–2011, when a greater share of respondents held that Israel was not democratic enough.

Figure 1.7 How democratic is Israel? (Jewish sample; by political camp; percent)

	Too democratic	Democratic in the right measure	Not democratic enough	Don't know / refuse
Left	9.6	38.7	47.2	4.5
Center	22.7	49.4	25.5	2.4
Right	35.4	38.7	23.9	2.0
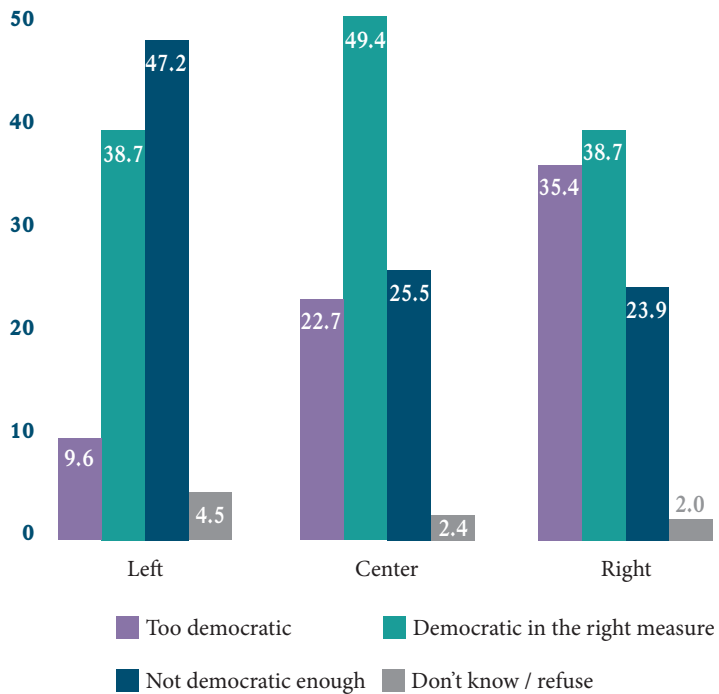
Figure 1.8 Is the State of Israel today democratic in the right measure, too democratic, or not democratic enough? (total sample; by year; percent)

2012
- 24.0
- 42.4
- 31.3
- 2.3

2011
- 24.4
- 34.1
- 39.3
- 2.2

2010
- 27.1
- 34.0
- 35.6
- 3.3

2009
- 25.9
- 32.8
- 37.7
- 3.6

2006
- 17.1
- 36.5
- 45.6
- 0.8

2005
- 23.4
- 39.4
- 36.2
- 1.0

2004
- 25.8
- 29.7
- 42.9
- 1.6

2003
- 20.4
- 46.2
- 32.8
- 0.6

0   10   20   30   40   50

■ Too democratic   ■ Democratic in the right measure
■ Not democratic enough   ■ Don't know / refuse
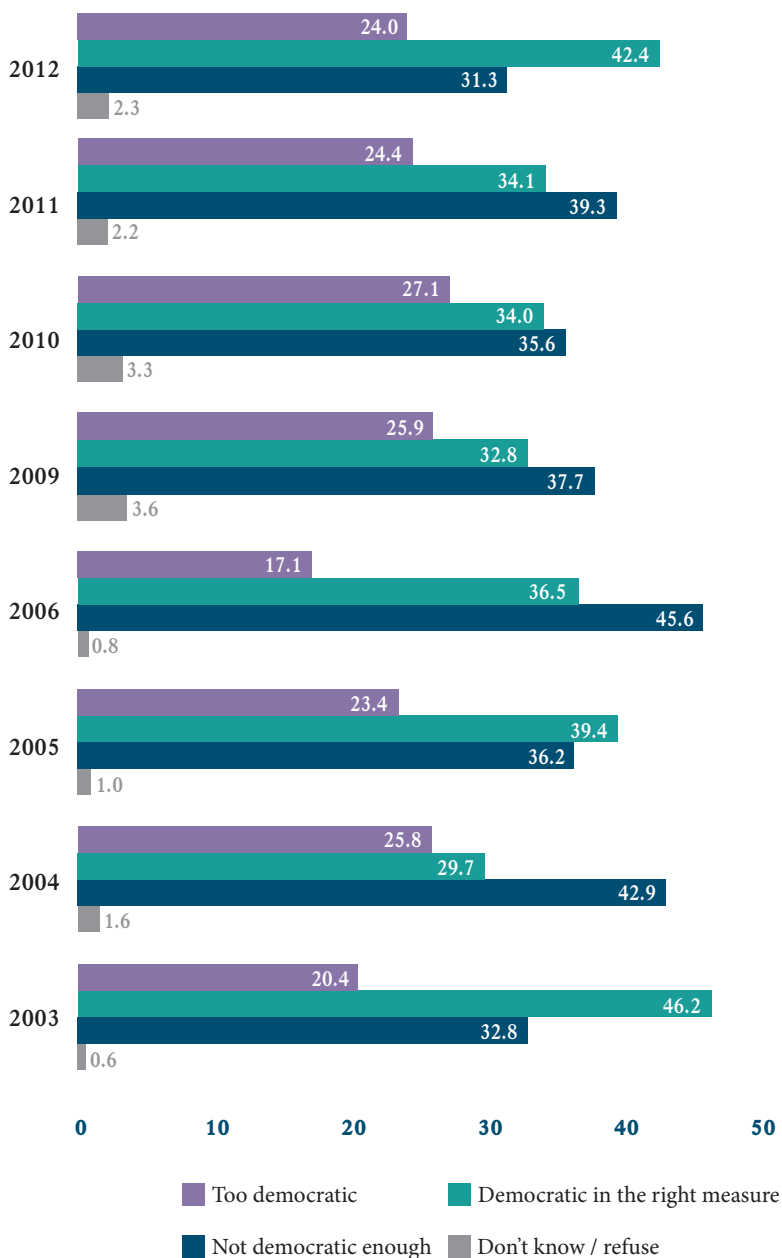
Next, we moved on to questions regarding various aspects of Israel's political system.

In contrast to the generally favorable assessment of Israel's overall situation, the public's opinion of government performance tends toward the negative this year as well, albeit to a lesser degree than in the past. In the sample as a whole, the majority (59%) hold that the government is handling the country's problems either "not so well" or "not at all well."

Functioning of government

Question 7
Appendix 1, p. 131
Appendix 2, p. 160

Figure 1.9 How well is the government handling the state's problems? (total sample; percent)

- Handling them very well
- Handling them well
- Handling them not so well
- Handling them not at all well
- Don't know / refuse
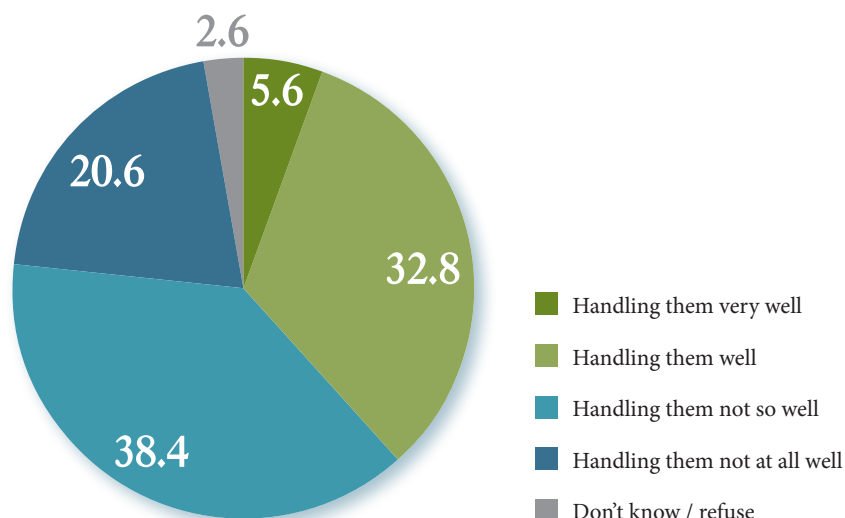
The distribution of opinions on this point was similar for the Jewish and Arab samples, though the Jews were slightly more critical, with a higher percentage (60% versus 53.9%) taking a negative view of the government's handling of Israel's problems.

Given the fact that it was the young people who bore the weight of last summer's protests, we wished to examine if they are indeed more disapproving than the older age groups when it comes to the government's performance. A breakdown of the responses on this subject by age (for the total sample) reveals that in fact the young people are not notable for the extent of their criticism compared with the older groups. The differences between the various age groups are not great, with a majority in all three groups holding that the government is not doing a good job of handling the state's problems.

We also wished to know whether the political/security orientation of the (Jewish) respondents affected their assessment of government functioning. The findings indicate that even among those who define themselves as right-wing, a majority of sorts (52.5%) feel that the government is handling the state's problems "not so well/not at all well"—though this view is shared by a much larger plurality in the center (64.6%), and especially, on the left (83.6%).

A historical comparison of the responses regarding the way the government handles the country's problems indicates that frustration with its performance reached its peak in 2007, when 85.8% expressed dissatisfaction. However, as shown in the figure below, there has been a decline over the last three years in the share of the discontented, which this year plunged to only 59%— by far the lowest figure since the surveys were begun in 2003.

Figure 1.10 How well is the government handling the state's problems? (by political camp; percent)

- Handling them well
- Not handling them well
- Don't know / refuse
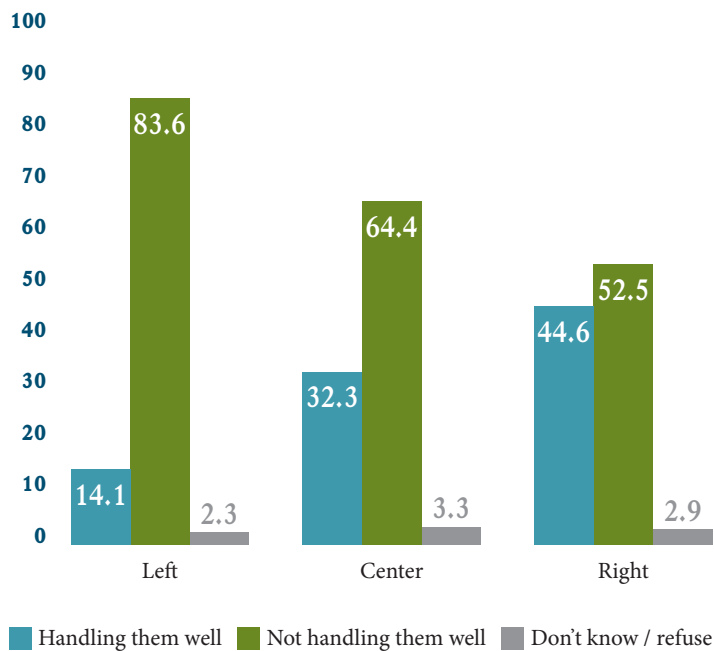
Figure 1.11 Government's handling of state problems (not at all well and not so well; total sample; by year; percent)
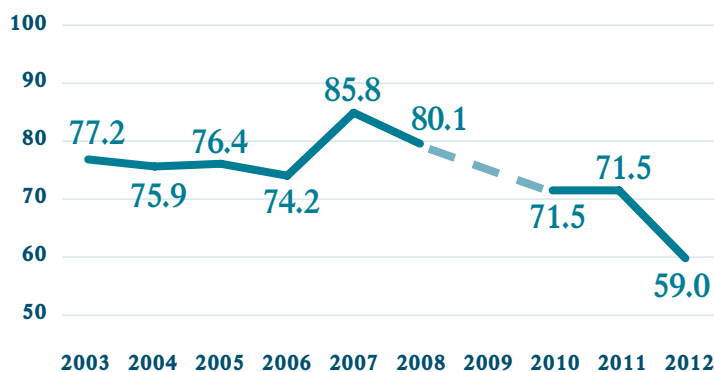
Knesset members' performance

Question 18.3–18.4
Appendix 1, p. 140
Appendix 2, p. 167

The poor opinion of Knesset members' performance has not changed over the last two years. As in 2011, a majority of the Israeli public feels that their representatives are not working hard and not doing their jobs well. A total of 61.8% of the entire sample (with similar rates for the Jewish and Arab respondents) disagreed somewhat or totally with the statement: "Overall, most members of Knesset work hard and are doing a good job." In other words, among both Jews and Arabs, the share of those who assert that Knesset members are working hard and doing a good job is only one third!

A strong leader?

Question 12
Appendix 1, p. 134
Appendix 2, p. 162

This leads us to the question of whether the stated dissatisfaction with government performance is spurring the Israeli public to look for "magic solutions," such as a strong leader who does not need to take the Knesset or elections into account. The answer is negative for the majority of respondents: among both Jews and—to a lesser extent—Arabs, a majority reject this alternative (62.6% and 53.9%, respectively).

Since it has been argued that the preference for a strong leader is particularly widespread among immigrants from the Former Soviet Union (FSU), we compared the rate of support for this option in the immigrant group with the rate among native-born Israelis and long-time residents. As in 2011, we found that the proportion of respondents who support a strong leader (a minority of roughly one third) is similar among both native-born Israelis/long-time residents and FSU immigrants. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the share of those who responded "don't know/refuse to answer" in the immigrant group is double that of long-time residents and native-born Israelis. This may be due to past attacks on FSU immigrants over their supposed support for the notion of a strong leader. Still, even if we added all those who refrained from responding together with those who favor a strong leader—a combination that is clearly unrealistic—the respondents who reject this "magic solution" would still constitute a majority of the immigrant group.

Figure 1.12 What Israel needs today is a strong leader (Jewish sample; by length of residence in Israel; percent)

■ FSU immigrants after 1990   ■ Native-born Israelis and long-time residents
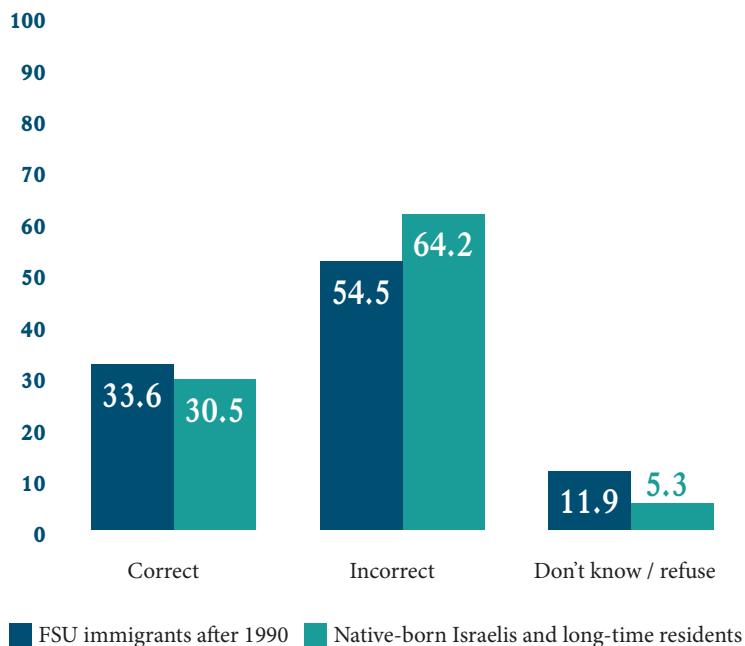
Breaking down the responses to this question by political/ security orientation, we found that in all three camps, the majority does not support the idea of a strong leader; however, this majority is markedly greater among respondents on the left (73.9%) than among those who identify with the center (65.6%) or right (60.3%).

Table 1.3

	% who agree that Israel needs a strong leader	% who do not agree that Israel needs a strong leader	% Don't know / refuse to answer	Total
Right	31.9	60.3	7.8	100
Center	30.0	65.6	4.4	100
Left	25.0	73.9	1.1	100

Trust in institutions

Does the Israeli public's desire for government intervention also reflect a high degree of trust in the state's key institutions and office holders? This year's findings indicate that the level of trust, though not always high, is not all that low. Because of the sizeable differences in this area between the Jewish and Arab samples, we distinguished between them for purposes of this analysis and thus we do not relate to the sample as a whole.

Figure 1.13 Trust in institutions (to a large extent and to some extent; Jewish sample; percent)

Institution	Percent
IDF	94.2
President of Israel	84.3
State Comptroller	77.1
Supreme Court	72.5
Prime Minister	61.5
Police	60.6
Government	60.3
Knesset	52.9
Media	43.5
Political parties	33.8
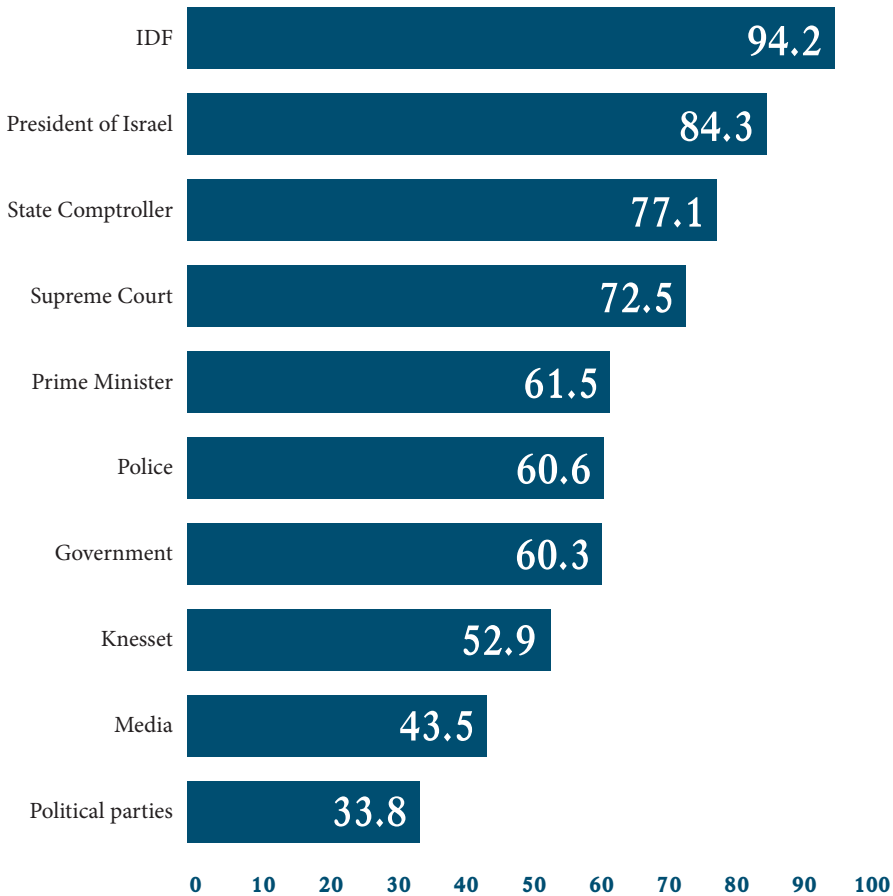
Figure 1.14 Trust in institutions (to a large extent and to some extent; Arab sample; percent)

Institution	Percent
Supreme Court	78.0
Police	62.3
Media	59.7
President of Israel	51.8
State Comptroller	51.8
Knesset	51.3
IDF	42.4
Government	40.3
Political parties	35.6
Prime Minister	31.9
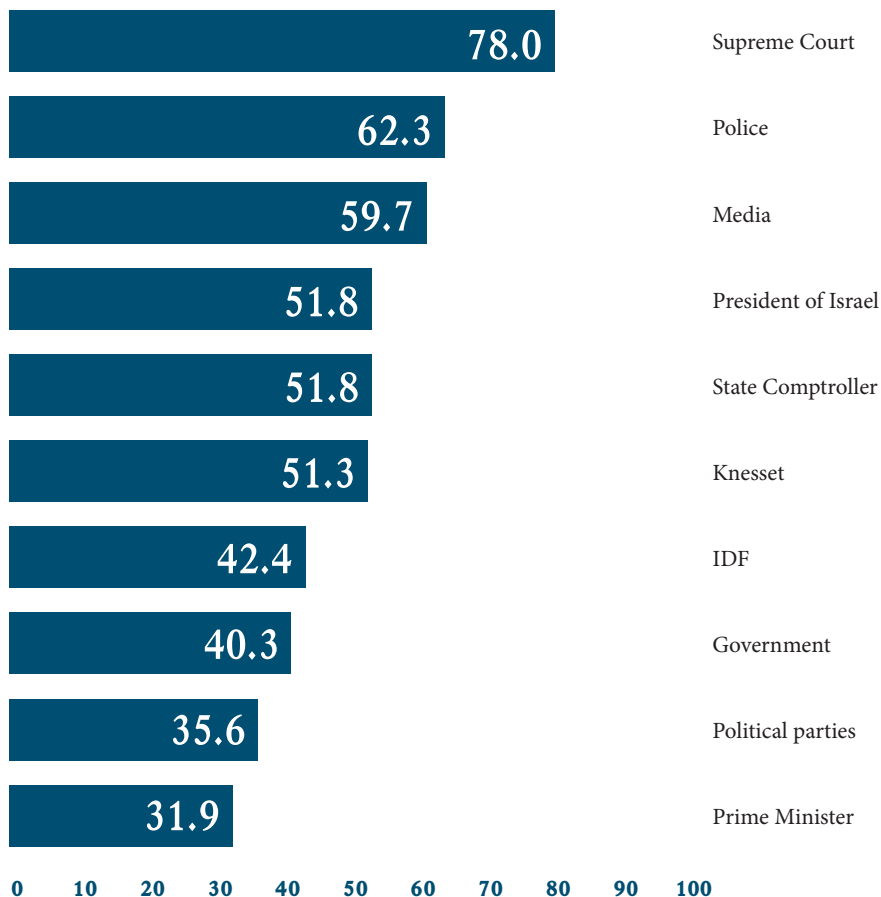
As the above figures demonstrate, despite the negative portrait of the top political echelon painted by the media and echoed in various parlor debates, a majority of the Jewish public expressed trust in the individuals and institutions surveyed—with the exception of the media, and the political parties, where the share of those who do not trust them exceeds those who do. There may even be a connection between the way the media presents matters and the fact that the public does not place much trust

in the journalism profession itself, perhaps because citizens feel that there is a gap between their feelings and what is reported in the press. This is only speculation, however, and calls for an exhaustive investigation, which is beyond the purview of this report.

Topping the "trust scale" of the Jewish respondents is, as always, the IDF (Israel Defense Forces), followed by the President of Israel. In the third and fourth slots, which are close in the rankings, we find the State Comptroller and the Supreme Court. By contrast, a clear majority of the respondents did not express trust in the media or the political parties.

As stated, the Arab sample yields a different picture. Not surprisingly, the overall levels of trust are lower than those of the Jews surveyed. The Arabs accord the highest level of trust to the Supreme Court, followed by the police and the media. At the bottom of the scale, in descending order, are: the government, the political parties, and the prime minister. In between (again, in descending order) lie the President of Israel, the State Comptroller, the Knesset, and the IDF.

This year as well, affiliation with a specific political/security camp proved to be highly significant in terms of trust in government institutions, though we observed a rise in the level of trust this year in all the camps (2011 also saw an increase over 2010, which may suggest a gradual upswing in Israeli citizens' level of trust in their government institutions).

The following table summarizes the highest and lowest positions in the "trust rankings" of the three political camps.

Table 1.4

	First place	Second place	Ninth place	Tenth place
Right	IDF	President	Political parties	Media
Center	IDF	President	Media	Political parties
Left	Supreme Court	IDF	Prime Minister	Political parties

If we compare the findings over time, the upward trend identified last year in the level of trust in institutions and key figures continues this year as well, with regard to most of the institutions studied; the exception is the media, which experienced a significant drop in trust this year. This "recovery" in effect restored the extent of trust in most of the institutions and individuals to the level of the early 2000s.

Chapter 2: Citizens, the State, Politics, and Israeli Society

Until now, we have been discussing the public's views on theoretical and practical aspects of the political system and the level of trust felt by Israeli citizens toward various individuals and institutions. We will now be focusing on the social/political/economic component of the Democracy Index.

Feeling part of the State of Israel and its problems

Question 2
Appendix 1, p. 129
Appendix 2, p. 159

A majority of Israelis still feel a sense of belonging to the State of Israel, as in the past. At the same time, as evident in the figure below, this feeling was stronger between 2000 and 2005, when the first Democracy Surveys were conducted. Thus, in 2003, 78.2% of the total population felt part of Israel and its difficulties to "a large extent" and "a very large extent"; but this sentiment gradually weakened, reaching a low point of 55.1% in 2008. Since 2009, the share of the overall sample who reported feeling part of the state and its troubles has remained steady at about two thirds of the sample (excluding a slight rise in 2011).

Figure 1.15 To what extent do you feel part of the State of Israel and its problems? (large and very large extent; total sample; by year; percent)
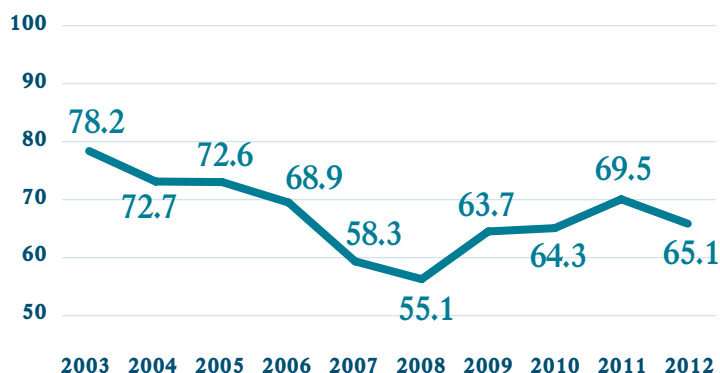
This year as well, the findings point to an impressive sense of belonging, primarily among the Jewish citizens of the state. A clear-cut majority of 72.9% described feeling part of the state and its problems to a large or very large extent (17.2% reported a sense of belonging "to some extent," while only a very small minority of 8.2% said that they feel this way to only a small or very small extent).

Not unexpectedly, the sense of belonging to the state and its problems was significantly weaker among the Arab sample. Only about one quarter (27.7%) of the Arab respondents reported feeling this way to a large or very large extent (although some would argue that, given the present circumstances, even this percentage is surprisingly high). The remainder are divided more or less evenly between those who feel part of the state and its problems to some extent (38.2%) and those who feel this way to only a small or very small extent (33.5%).

Looking at the total sample, age emerged as a highly influential variable (in a somewhat worrisome direction)—the older adults feel a much stronger sense of connection with the state and its problems than do the young people surveyed.

Table 1.5

	% who feel part of state to a large or very large extent	% who feel part of state to some extent	% who feel part of state to a small or very small extent	% Don't know / refuse	Total
Young adults	55.8	24.3	18.6	1.3	100
Intermediate age group	64.8	22.5	11.3	1.4	100
Older adults	76.0	15.1	7.0	1.9	100

Figure 1.16 Feeling part of the State of Israel and its problems (total sample and by nationality; percent)

Legend:
- To a large and very large extent
- To some extent
- To a small and very small extent
- Don't know / refuse

Total sample: 65.1, 20.8, 12.6, 1.5
Jews: 72.9, 17.2, 8.2, 1.7
Arabs: 27.7, 38.2, 33.5, 0.6
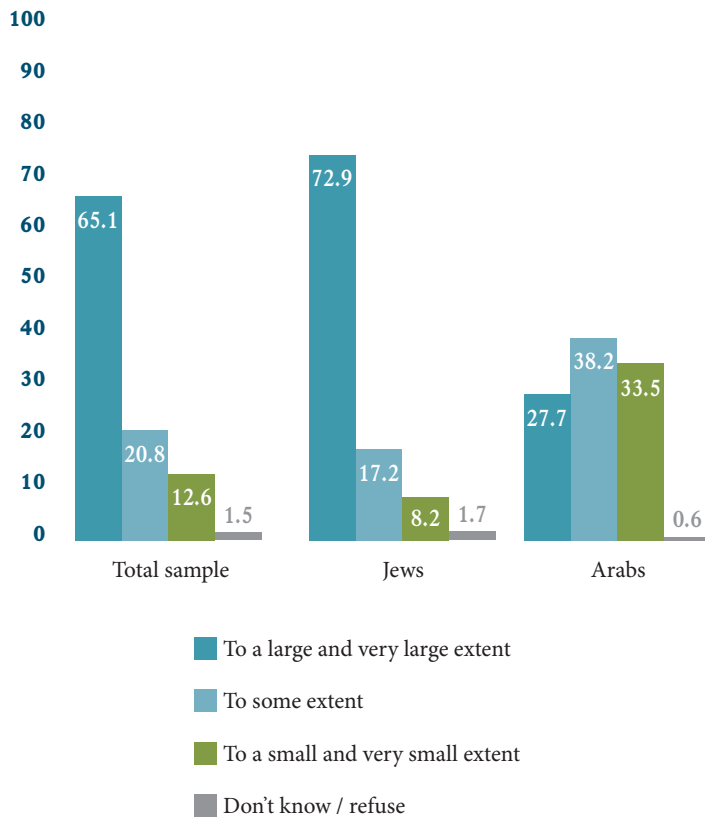
As in the past, we examined—in tandem with the sense of belonging to the state—the extent of pride in being Israeli. A decisive majority of the Jewish sample (89.1%) described themselves as very proud or quite proud of their "Israeliness" (66.6% and 22.5%, respectively). Among Arab respondents, the level of pride in being Israeli was clearly lower, though certainly not negligible: 44.5% are very proud or quite proud of being Israeli (14.1% and 30.4%, respectively). The remainder were "not so proud" (20.4%) or "not at all proud" (29.3%), for a total of 49.7%. There are those who would argue that this reflects a low proportion of Arab citizens who are proud to be Israeli; yet others would assert that nearly one half defining themselves as proud to varying degrees, in the case of a national minority of unequal status, is a remarkably high percentage.[5]

We saw earlier that the young adults surveyed felt part of the state and its problems to a lesser extent than did the older respondents. This raises the question of whether young people are also less proud to be Israeli compared with the older age groups. And in fact, we found that the feeling of pride is stronger than the sense of belonging, and that the differences between the age groups are smaller on this question: In the Jewish sample, the young adults surveyed are only slightly less proud than the older age groups, with a large majority of young people expressing pride in their Israeliness (young adults, 88.4%; intermediate age group, 88%; and older adults, 91.5%).

In the Arab sample, the picture is different: While a majority of the older respondents (64.9%) stated that they are proud to be Israeli, in the intermediate and younger age groups only a minority—though a not insignificant one—is proud of this affiliation (38.1% and 42.3%, respectively). However, we must be extremely cautious in interpreting these figures, particularly the proud majority among the older adults, since this may be proof of the thesis of the "stand-tall generation," which posits that the older generation is more fearful than the younger when it comes to expressing discontent with its civil status in Israel.[6]

Proud to be Israeli?

Question 3
Appendix 1, p. 130
Appendix 2, p. 160

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5 See for example: Alexander Jacobson, "Arab-Israeli Pride," *Haaretz*, February 1, 2012, http://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/1.1630748

6 Dan Rabinowitz and Khawla Abu Baker, *The Stand-Tall Generation* (Tel Aviv: Keter, 2002) [Hebrew].

Figure 1.17 Pride in being Israeli (by nationality; percent)

Legend:
- Very proud
- Quite proud
- Not so proud
- Not at all proud
- Don't know / refuse
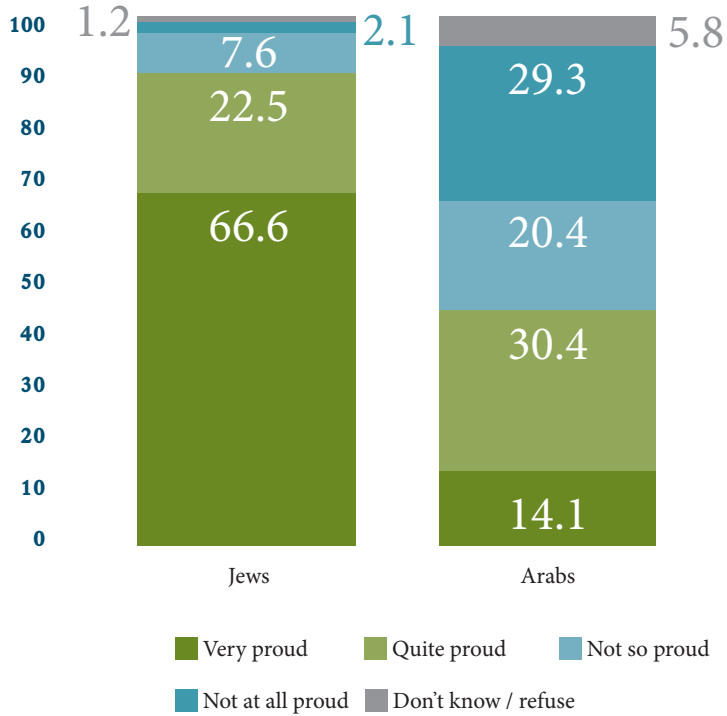
And how does political/security orientation affect the sense of pride in being Israeli (for the Jewish sample)? While we did not find differences between the three political camps with respect to the sense of belonging, we did observe clear disparities in the level of pride in being Israeli: the right is much prouder than the left, with the center lying somewhere in between. Of those who located themselves on the right, 72.3% were "very proud" to be Israeli, with 65.3% of the centrists sharing this feeling; among the left-wingers, however, only 46.7% felt this way. (If we combine the "very proud" with the "quite proud," the figures are: right, 92.3%; center, 90.3%; and left, 75%.)

Figure 1.18 Pride in being Israeli (Jewish sample; by political camp; percent)
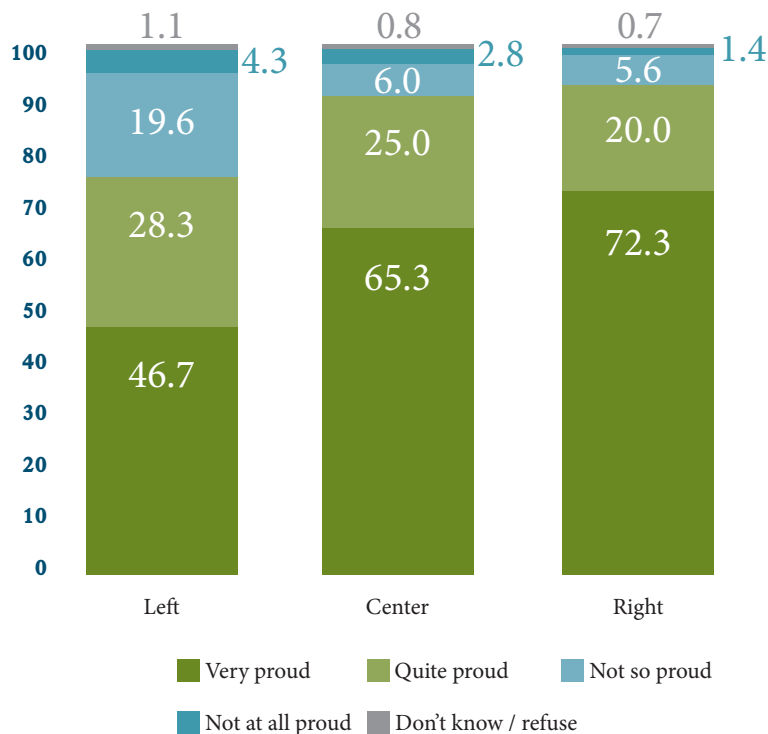
Since the bulk of the Jewish respondents reported a deep sense of connection with the state and its problems; a feeling of pride in being Israeli, to varying degrees; and—as demonstrated below[7]—interest in living in Israel in the long term, this time we examined to what extent they see themselves as sharing the founding ideology of the State of Israel—Zionism (however they interpret the term).[8]

A sizeable majority (81.7%) consider themselves Zionist to some degree, though less than half (45.3%) classify themselves as "very Zionist." Interestingly, 15.5% of the Jewish sample define themselves as "not so" or "not at all" Zionist.

Zionist or not?

Question 5
Appendix 1, p. 130

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7 See p. 92.

8 This question was asked of Jewish respondents only.

Figure 1.19 Zionist or not? (Jewish sample; percent)

Legend:
- Very Zionist
- Quite Zionist
- Not so Zionist
- Not at all Zionist
- Don't know / refuse

Values shown: 2.8, 5.3, 10.2, 45.3, 36.4
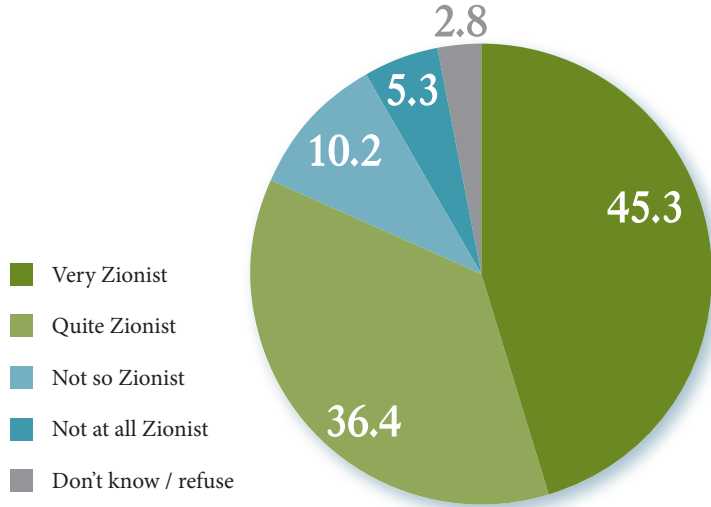
Interest in politics

Question 19
Appendix 1, p. 142
Appendix 2, p. 168

The level of interest in politics on the part of the Israeli public is high overall, though it tends to fluctuate. An analysis of the findings over time shows that following a record share of respondents who reported being interested in politics last year to a large extent or to some extent (76.8%), this year the corresponding figures declined slightly, returning to the 2009–2010 levels, i.e., roughly two thirds of the public.

This year as well, only a minority of the total sample (33.1%) ranked their level of interest in politics at the lower end of the scale, that is, "to a small extent" or "not at all" (31.2% of the Jews surveyed, and 42.9% of the Arabs). At the same time, the share of both Jews and Arabs who reported being interested to a large extent was outweighed by those who classified themselves as interested to some extent (Jews, 29.8% and 38.9%, respectively; Arabs, 21.5% and 35.6%, respectively).

Figure 1.20 How interested are you in politics? (to a large extent and to some extent; total sample; by year; percent)
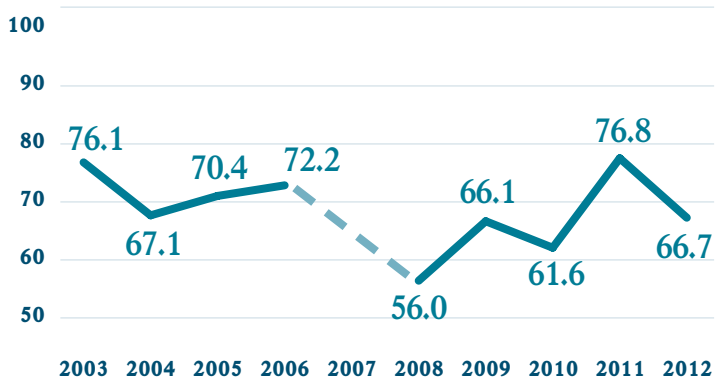
Breaking down the responses by age (total sample), we found that while young adults indicated less interest in politics than did the older age groups, the differences were small: 66.3% of the younger group reported being interested to a large extent or to some extent, compared with 65% in the intermediate age groups and 69.7% of the older adults.

A breakdown of the data by sex (total sample) reveals that more men than women described being interested in politics to a large extent (34.7% as opposed to 22.4%).

Figure 1.21 Interest in politics (total sample; by age; percent)

0.3

	Young adults	Intermediate age group	Older adults
Not at all	13.8	10.7	11.3
To a small extent	19.9	24.3	18.7
To some extent	44.2	36.1	34.2
To a large extent	22.1	28.9	35.5

Legend: ■ To a large extent ■ To some extent ■ To a small extent
■ Not at all ■ Don't know / refuse
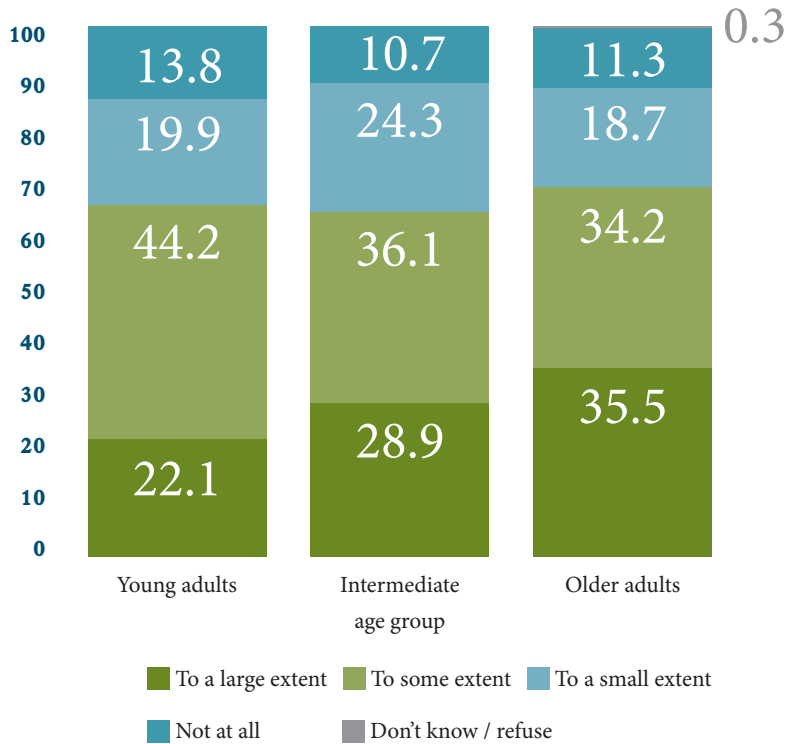
Influence on government policy

Question 20
Appendix 1, p. 142
Appendix 2, p. 168

This year as well, only a small minority—9.5% of the total sample (10.5% of the Jews, and only 4.7% of the Arabs)—responded that they and their friends are able to influence government policy to a large extent, while 25.4% felt that they could affect it to some extent (with virtually equal shares among Jews and Arabs of 25.5% and 25.1%, respectively). The majority, by contrast, held that their influence on policy was slight or non-existent: 34.9% felt that they could affect policy to a small extent, and 27.8%, not at all (the corresponding figures for the Jewish sample were 35.4% to a small extent, and 26.1% not at all; and for the Arab sample, 32.5% and 36.1%, respectively).

Figure 1.22 To what extent are you and your friends able to influence government policy? (total sample; percent)
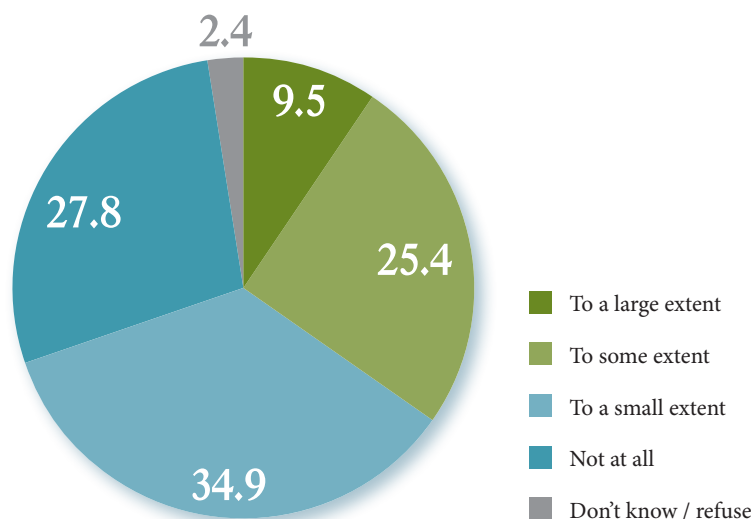
Analyzing the figures over time, we find a consistent pattern: a majority of respondents in all the surveys have felt that they lacked the ability to influence government policy. However, there is cause for optimism from a democratic perspective in that this sense of helplessness has declined quite steeply since 2009, when 81.6% felt that they had no influence. This year, slightly less than two thirds feel this way—clearly the lowest share since we began our surveys.

Figure 1.23 To what extent are you and your friends able to influence government policy? (to a small extent and not at all; total sample; by year; percent)
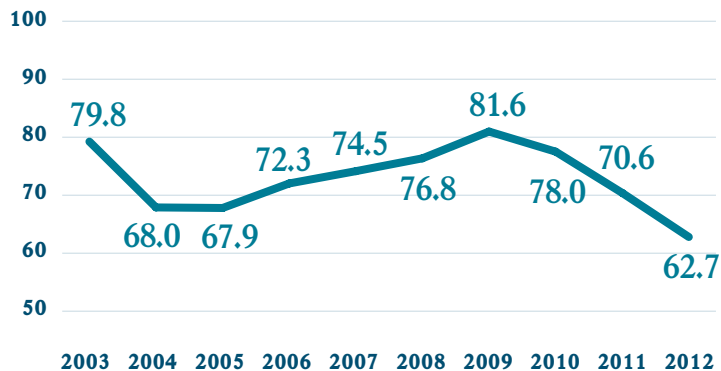
In view of the fact that those on the left have been excluded from positions of political influence for many years now, we wanted to find out if those who identify themselves with this camp (Jewish sample only) feel less effective politically than those who align themselves with the center or the right, whose representation in the political system is much greater. To our surprise, the share of those who feel able to exert an influence is actually greater in the left-wing camp (46.8%) than it is among those in the center (32.7%) or the right (38.6%) of the political map. A possible explanation for future study is that those who locate themselves on the left are better educated and more affluent than those who identify with the right, and possibly the center as well, leading to their stronger sense of influence.

Making an impact

Question 21.1–21.6
Appendix 1, p. 143

Which form of political activity is the most effective in the eyes of the public? We presented the respondents with the following six avenues: 1. Knesset elections; 2. Membership in a civic organization or NGO dealing with social/political issues; 3. Internet protests; 4. Party membership; 5. Participation in demonstrations; 6. Use of force.

As seen in the figure below, the sample as a whole considers voting in Knesset elections as having the greatest potential impact—a finding that attests to a robust democracy in terms of the status of representational government in Israel. Next in the rankings are Internet protests and participation in demonstrations—presumably due to media coverage of the protests in the Arab world as well as the dissemination of information on the demonstrations in Israel in the summer of 2011. Beneath these on the list, in proximity to one another, are membership in a civic organization and party membership, with use of force trailing far behind, as befits a democratic regime.

Figure 1.24 How much can citizens influence government policy, via each of the following avenues? (to a large and a very large extent; total sample; percent)

	Value	Label
	60.7	Knesset elections
	49.6	Internet protests
	49.2	Demonstrations
	40.8	Membership or active role in a civic organization or NGO dealing with social/political issues
	40.3	Party membership
	12.7	Use of force

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100

While the vast majority of respondents reject the use of force, it is still too soon to celebrate the internalization of the full range of democratic norms among the Israeli public. It emerges that most of the Jewish respondents in our survey are not at all eager to permit severe public criticism of the state. In fact, a majority (52.6%) agree either strongly or somewhat that speakers should be prohibited from harshly criticizing the state in public. Not unexpectedly, among the Arab respondents, there was actually a majority (68.6%) who disagreed either somewhat or totally with the notion of banning speakers from publicly expressing criticism of the state.

Figure 1.25 Should speakers be prohibited from publicly voicing harsh criticism of the state? (by nationality, percent)
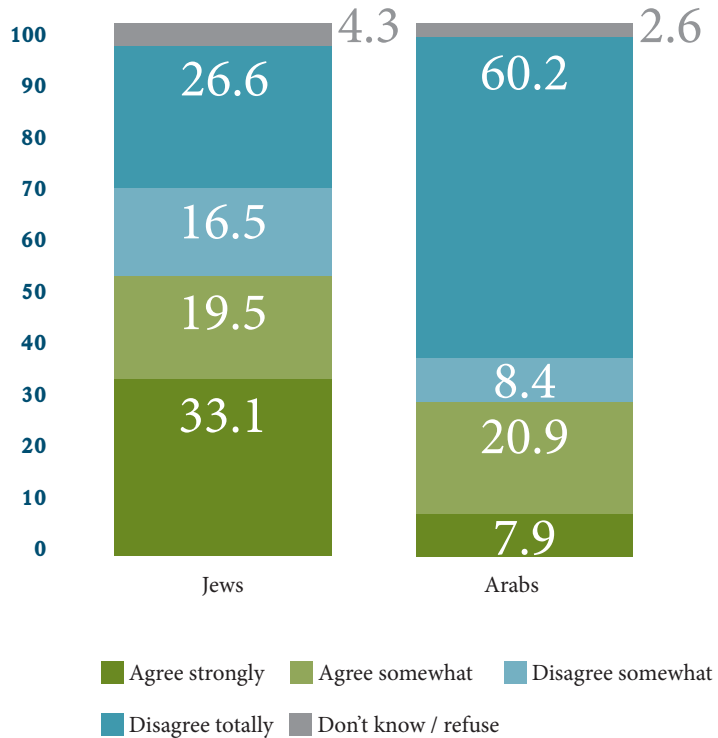
In the responses to this question, salient differences were recorded between the various political/security camps, with the right agreeing more strongly than the left on the need for such a ban:

Table 1.6

	Left	Center	Right
% who do not agree that harsh public criticism of the state should be banned	70.6	49.2	35.0
% who agree that harsh public criticism of the state should be banned	29.4	43.0	52.4
% Don't know / refuse	–	7.8	12.5
Total	100	100	100

We wished to explore how the respondents characterized the level of tension in the following groups (on a scale of "severe," so-so," and "not severe": 1. Mizrahim/Ashkenazim; 2. Religious/secular; 3. Right/left (on security issues); 4. Rich/poor; 5. Jews/Arabs.

As shown in the figure below, Jewish/Arab tension was the most widely perceived as "severe" (70.6% of the total sample), compared with only 23.3% who assessed Mizrahi/Ashkenazi tension in this way. The tension between the other groups was seen as severe by slightly more than half the respondents: religious/secular, 59.7%; rich/poor, 55.7%; and right/left (on security issues), 51.8%.

Degree of tension in Israeli society

Questions 34.1–34.5, 35

Appendix 1, p. 154

Figure 1.26 How severe is the tension in each of these areas? (total sample; percent)

	Mizrahim / Ashkenazim	Right / left (on political/ security issues)	Rich / poor	Religious / secular	Jews / Arabs
(top value)	3.8	4.4	3	1.9	2.1
Not severe	30.3	10.5	11.9	9.5	5.5
So-so	42.6	33.3	29.4	28.9	21.8
Severe	23.3	51.8	55.7	59.7	70.6

Legend: Severe · So-so · Not severe · Don't know / refuse
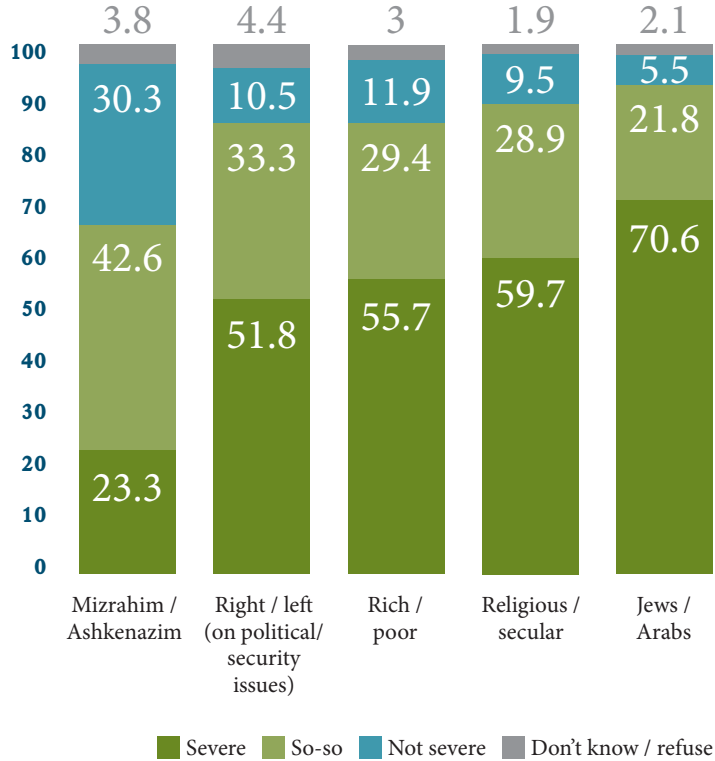
Breaking down the results by nationality reveals that more Arab than Jewish respondents classified the internal tensions within the Jewish public as severe: Mizrahi/Ashkenazi tensions (Arabs, 33.5%; Jews, 21.2%); religious/secular (Arabs, 62.8%; Jews, 59.1%), and right/left (Arabs, 52.4%; Jews, 51.7%). By contrast, more Jews than Arabs applied the designation "severe" to the tensions between rich and poor (Jews, 56.1%; Arabs, 53.9%) and between Jews and Arabs (Jews, 72.2%; Arabs, 62.8%).

Next, we asked the respondents to rank the tensions between these groups in terms of their severity. Here too, the tension between Jews and Arabs was seen as the most severe, followed (in descending order) by the tensions between religious and

secular, rich and poor, right and left, and lastly, Mizrahim and Ashkenazim. It is noteworthy that the ranking was identical among both Jews and Arabs, demonstrating that the Israeli public is united on more than a few issues.

Figure 1.27 Which of these areas of tension do you consider to be the most glaring today in Israeli society? (total sample; percent)

- ◼ Mizrahim / Ashkenazim
- ◼ Religious / secular
- ◼ Right / left (on political/security issues)
- ◼ Rich / poor
- ◼ Jews / Arabs
- ◼ All equal/no difference in intensity
- ◼ Don't know / refuse
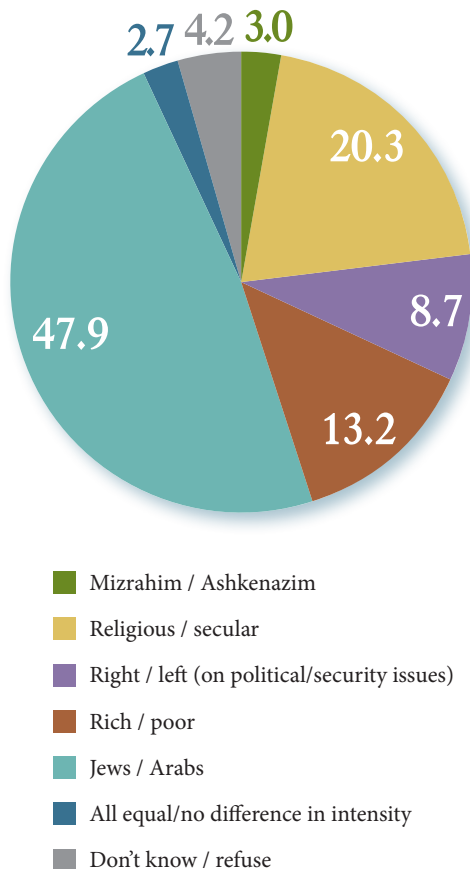
In light of the above, we attempted to assess the extent of solidarity in Israeli-Jewish society, as seen by the respondents.

We posed the question: "How would you rate the level of solidarity (sense of 'togetherness') of Israeli-Jewish society?" The average score for the total sample was 6.0 on a scale ranging from 1 (no solidarity at all) to 10 (very strong solidarity). Among the Jewish respondents, the average rating was 6.2, and among the Arabs, 5.4. This is an intriguing finding, since it shows that—like the rating of tensions within Israeli-Jewish society, where the Arab respondents assessed them as being more severe than did the Jews—here too the Arabs showed a tendency to minimize the level of solidarity in Israeli-Jewish society.

If we compare the figures this year with those from 2011, we find that in the sample as a whole, no real difference was recorded in the perception of solidarity (an average score of 6.0 as opposed to 5.8). But analyzing the responses of each population separately shows that while the perception of solidarity among the Jewish respondents rose from 5.8 to 6.2, the Arab sample registered a significant downturn from 6.1 to 5.4. Thus the protests of 2011 may have bolstered the sense of solidarity among the Jewish public while lowering the assessment of Israeli-Jewish solidarity in the eyes of the Arabs.

From here, we moved on to the Arab minority—a subject that we explored in greater depth last year. We asked: "Do you agree or disagree with the statement that Arab citizens of Israel are discriminated against as compared with Jewish citizens?" There was a vast difference between Arab and Jewish respondents in their assessments on this subject: a majority of the Arabs agreed strongly with the claim of discrimination, while the bulk of the Jews disagreed with it.

A comparison of this year's figures with previous findings shows that until 2008, a majority of the public agreed with the statement that Arab citizens of Israel are discriminated against compared with Jewish citizens; since then, however, we have observed an erosion of this view. It should be underscored that the root of this trend in the total sample lies in a serious "dilution" of the perception of anti-Arab discrimination in the Jewish sample exclusively, and not in a more positive assessment by the Arab sample. This year, as in 2009, the proportion of those in the total

sample who feel that the Arabs are not discriminated against outstrips the share of those who take the opposite view.

Figure 1.28 Arab citizens of Israel are discriminated against as compared with Jews (by nationality; percent)

Jews: Disagree totally 35.2, Disagree somewhat 23.1, Agree somewhat 24.5, Agree strongly 13.8, Don't know / refuse 3.4

Arabs: Disagree totally 10.5, Disagree somewhat 12.0, Agree somewhat 28.3, Agree strongly 46.6, Don't know / refuse 2.6

Legend: Disagree totally, Disagree somewhat, Agree somewhat, Agree strongly, Don't know / refuse
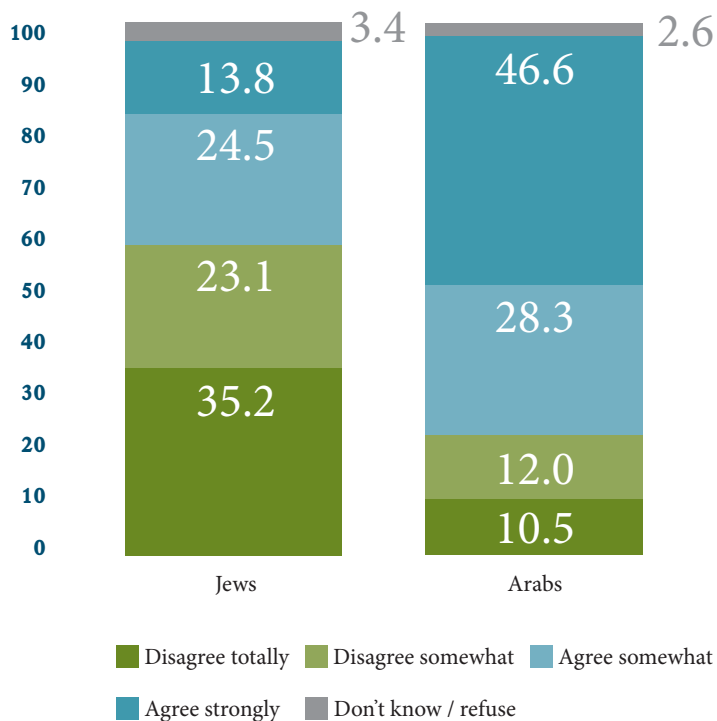
Figure 1.29 Arab citizens of Israel are discriminated against as compared with Jews (total sample; by year; percent)

Year	Agree somewhat and agree strongly	Disagree somewhat and disagree totally	Don't know / refuse
2012	44.6	52.1	3.3
2011	49.7	47.0	3.3
2009	40.3	56.3	3.4
2008	50.0	47.0	3.0
2007	52.8	43.2	4.0
2006	53.3	45.5	1.2
2005	55.2	43.6	1.2
2004	62.9	34.6	2.5
2003	55.1	44.5	0.4

■ Agree somewhat and agree strongly

■ Disagree somewhat and disagree totally

■ Don't know / refuse
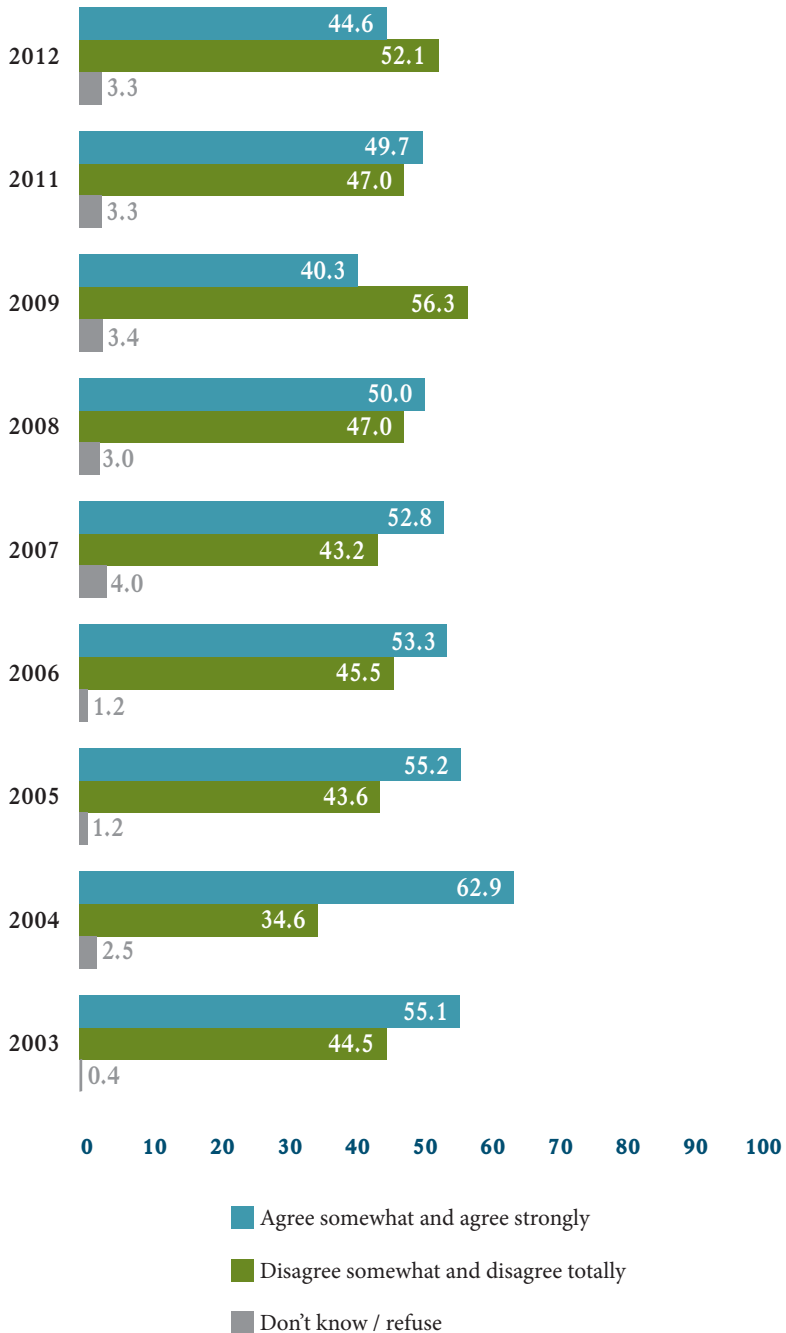
Another topic that we addressed this year for the first time is the similarity or disparity between the positions of the Arab-Israeli public as a whole and those of its leadership. We asked the respondents if, in their opinion, the Arab political leadership is more extreme than the general Arab public in its criticism of the state, more moderate than them, or representative of the prevailing opinion among Arab citizens of Israel.

On this question, we encountered substantial differences between the views of the Jewish respondents and those of the Arabs. A majority of the Jews feel that the Arab leadership is more extreme than the general Arab public in its criticism of the state, while among the Arab respondents equal portions believe that the leadership is more moderate than the general Arab public, and that it represents the prevailing opinions of the community. Only a minority feel that the leaders are more extreme than their followers. In other words, if there is any concern on the part of the Arab public that their leadership is not representative, it is actually that the leaders are too moderate—and not too extreme—in their criticism of Israel.

Positions of the Arab political leadership compared with the Arab public

Question 11
Appendix 1, p. 133

Figure 1.30 Does the Arab political leadership represent the prevailing opinions of the Arab public, or is it more moderate/more extreme? (by nationality; percent)

Legend:
- More extreme in its criticism than most Arab citizens of Israel
- Represents the prevailing opinions of the Arab community
- More moderate in its criticism than most Arab citizens of Israel
- Don't know / refuse

Jews: 62.5, 21.2, 7.4, 8.9
Arabs: 20.4, 37.7, 36.1, 5.8
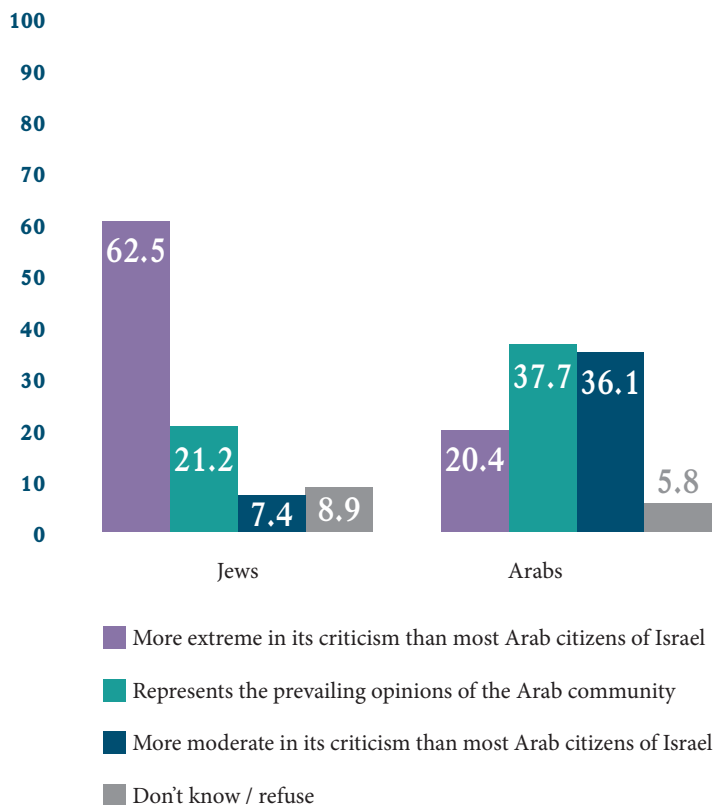
Chapter 3: The Summer of 2011 Protests— One Year Later

The protests of the summer of 2011 were a dramatic event in the life of the country. Ostensibly, they erupted without warning, and abated almost as quickly as they began. But only ostensibly— for already in the Israeli Democracy Index 2011 we noted the urgency of the housing and cost-of-living crises, and the growing anger of the public as a result; and in truth, it did not go away but continued to simmer beneath the surface even when the streets emptied. There is no question that the protests shook up the public's priorities and the alienated and lethargic relationship between the public and its elected representatives.

So what happened in the summer of 2011? Hundreds of thousands of Israelis from different sectors of the public, different political outlooks, different ages, different levels of education and income, and different places in the country took to the streets to express their dissatisfaction with various aspects of "the system." The criticism revolved mainly, though not exclusively, around the cost of living and the services provided by the state to its citizens in the areas of housing, education, health, and so on. Initially, the protests—which were scattered in the real and the virtual sense—focused on the costs of food, gas, housing, and other such basic needs. But later on, the protesters "took things up a notch" and joined forces; the combined protest developed into a critical scrutiny of the political-social-economic system as a whole, under the slogan "the people demand social justice."[9]

Granted, there were sectors of the population who were all but absent from last summer's demonstrations (for example, the ultra-Orthodox and residents of the settlements); moreover, by the end of the summer, rifts were emerging between the middle-class protesters and those from the weaker classes, as it became apparent—more than once and on more than one issue—that there were inherent contradictions between their interests and

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9 For an analysis of the shift from partisan to general demands, see: Karmit Haber and Ella Heller, "Solidarity in the Summer 2011 Protests: Image versus Reality" (online article, Israel Democracy Institute, 2012), http://tinyurl.com/d9momzt

thus, between those with moderate views and those holding more radical views regarding social change. However, compared with previous protests in Israel, this was without doubt the most socially, economically, and politically inclusive expression of dissent to ever take place in Israel.

Who came?

Question 31
Appendix 1, p. 152

Testing the respondents' memory, we found that those who report today that they participated in the protests one year ago total roughly one quarter (25.5%) of the total sample (27.6% of the Jews, and 15.7% of the Arabs). Obviously, no one has "objective" figures against which to compare this self-report (a headcount at a demonstration does not say much, since it is unclear who took part in all the demonstrations, in some of them, or perhaps only in the one that was counted). But the self-reports appear to be somewhat higher than the estimates in real time, for it is doubtful that 1,350,000 (a quarter of Israel's citizens in 2011) in fact took to the streets.[10]

We broke down the responses on participation in last year's protests by level of income to see if there was any truth to the claim that this was strictly a protest of the upper-middle class (and not the lower classes). The figures indicate that in fact the highest share of participants came from those with incomes slightly or well above average.

Table 1.7

	Income well below average	Income slightly below average	Average income	Income slightly above average	Income well above average
% who reported participating in protests	16.5	22.3	23.5	40.0	32.2

10 On an interesting note, in a survey conducted by the Israel Democracy Institute in late May 2012, prior to the Eli Hurvitz Conference on Economy and Society (the Caesarea Forum), only 37.8% of all respondents stated that if the protests would resume in the summer of 2012, they would join them.

Figure 1.31 Participation in summer of 2011 protests (by nationality; percent)
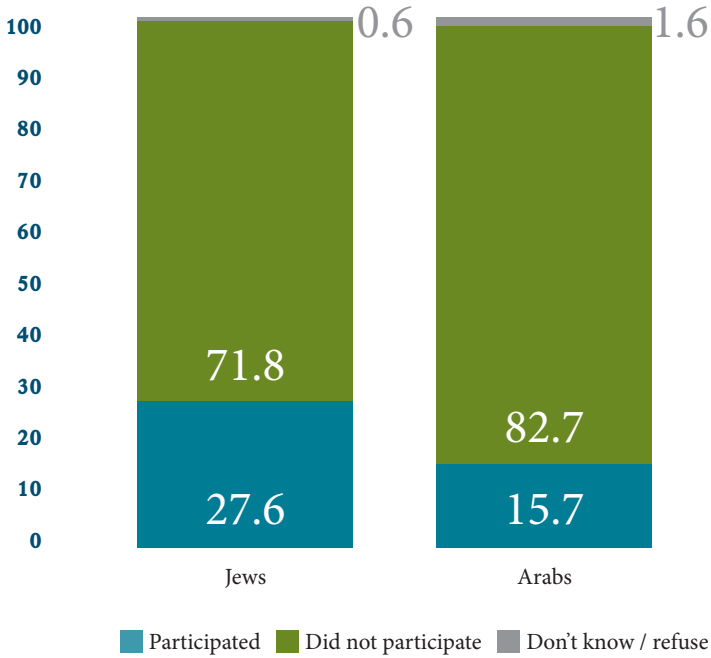
The breakdown by age was intended to compare the different generations as well as the leaders of the movement versus the protesters themselves, in light of the general impression that this was a "young people's" protest. As shown in the survey figures, it is in fact mostly the younger and intermediate age groups that report having participated in the protests.

Table 1.8

	Young adults	Intermediate age group	Older adults
% who reported articipating in protests	29.8	27.5	18.1

Cross-tabulating participation in the protests with level of religiosity (Jews) corroborated the prevailing impression that this was primarily a secular undertaking, though ultra-Orthodox, haredi-leumi, and Orthodox respondents also reported participating.

Table 1.9

	Secular	Traditional religious	Traditional non-religious	Orthodox	Haredi-Leumi	Ultra-Orthodox
% who reported participating in protests	37.7	27.4	20.6	10.1	11.1	12.0

We broke down the results by political/security orientation (Jews) to investigate whether this was in fact a "left-wing" protest (as argued by some). At least according to the reports of our respondents, the movement did have strong leftist overtones, although those who defined themselves as right or center were not entirely absent.

Figure 1.32 Participation in summer of 2011 protests (Jewish sample; by political camp; percent)
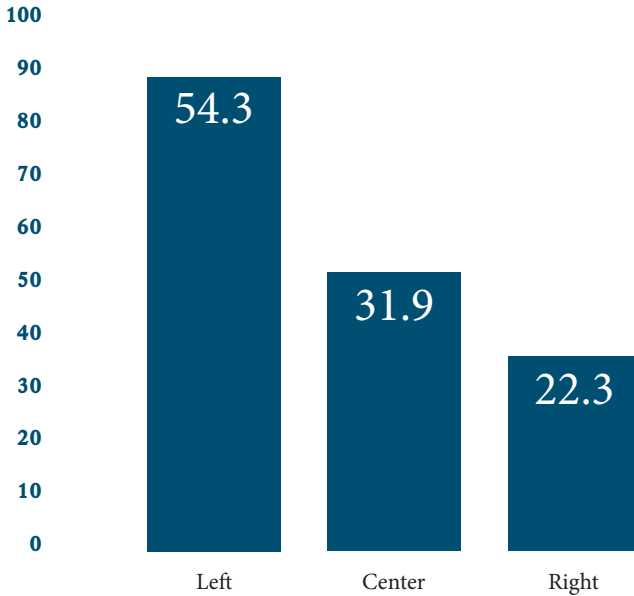
Given these findings, which indicate that certain groups had a stronger (or weaker) presence at the protests, we asked: "Last summer (2011), mass protests took place in Israel under the slogan: 'The people want social justice.' In your opinion, was this a protest of the majority, of a significant portion of the public, or of only a minority?" The responses of the total sample were divided more or less evenly between those who felt that the protest reflected the views of a considerable segment of the people (37.4%) and those who saw it as a protest of the majority (35.8%). A significantly smaller share (23.1%) stated that it was a protest of the minority.

Whose protest was it?

Question 29
Appendix 1, p. 150

Figure 1.33 Was this a protest of the majority, of a significant part of the public, or of a minority? (total sample; percent)

- The majority
- A significant part
- A minority
- Don't know / refuse

3.7
23.1
35.8
37.4
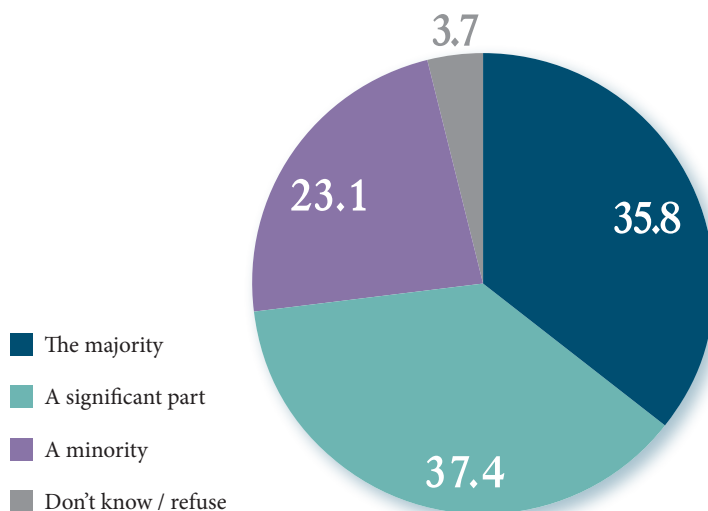
The assessments of the Jewish and the Arab respondents were similar, though not identical: of the Jews, the highest share (38.7%) held that this was the protest of a significant portion of the people; 36.1%, of the majority; and 21.4%, of only a minority. Among the Arabs surveyed, the responses were split into three roughly equal parts: 34% said that it was a protest of the majority; 30.9%, of some of the people; and 31.4%, of the minority. In other words, the Jewish respondents showed a tendency to view the protest as more inclusive than the Arabs did.

Breaking down the responses by political/security orientation, we found that the major difference between the camps lies in the percentage of respondents who feel that it was only a protest of the minority: on the left, only 8.9% feel this way, as opposed to 16.9% in the center, and 25.1% on the right. The left clearly believes more strongly than the other two camps that the protest belonged to a significant part of the people.

The most important question, of course, is how the successes and failures of the protests balance out in retrospect. We found that the respondents held a distinctive view on each aspect of the issue, suggesting considerable political sophistication. Thus, when it came to increasing media interest in social/economic issues, a majority of the total sample (51.2%) rated the protest a success. In terms of raising public awareness of social/economic gaps, the prevailing assessment (46%) was also one of success. By contrast, with regard to changing the government's priorities, the most frequent assessment of the protest's impact was only "succeeded somewhat" (41.2%), while a majority (52%) felt that the protests had failed to weaken the status and influence of the wealthiest tier.

Balance of successes and failures

Question 30.1–30.4

Chapter 4: The Upcoming Elections

As the survey was being conducted, a political drama was unfolding in Israel: The polling began amid what seemed to be a consensus that elections would be moved forward to sometime in the late summer-autumn of 2012. However, almost overnight, with the addition of Kadima to the coalition and the formation of a broad-based national unity government, they were pushed back to their original date of autumn 2013. Either way, the question of the impending elections remained up in the air throughout the interviews. We compared the responses in the interviews that took place before Kadima joined the coalition with those in the interviews held afterwards. The comparison did not yield statistically significant differences, allowing us to relate to the sample as one body and not as two separate samples.

Representativeness of the parties

Question 22
Appendix 1, p. 144

The first question on the subject of elections that we will examine here was: "Is there a political party in Israel today that truly represents your views?" Only one third (37.6%) of the total sample responded positively (39.6% of the Jews, and 27.7% of the Arabs). Over one half (57%) of the total sample (Jews, 54.7%; and Arabs, 68.1%) reported that they do not feel there is a party today that truly represents their views (the remainder had no definite opinion on this topic, further highlighting the sense of inadequate representation). These responses attest to a low level of representativeness in Israel's political parties—a finding consistent with Israel's poor ranking in the OECD's civic engagement index.[11]

11 See p. 108, below.

Figure 1.34 Is there a political party in Israel that truly represents your views? (total sample; percent)

Legend:
- Yes, there is
- No, there isn't
- Don't know / refuse

5.4 / 57.0 / 37.6
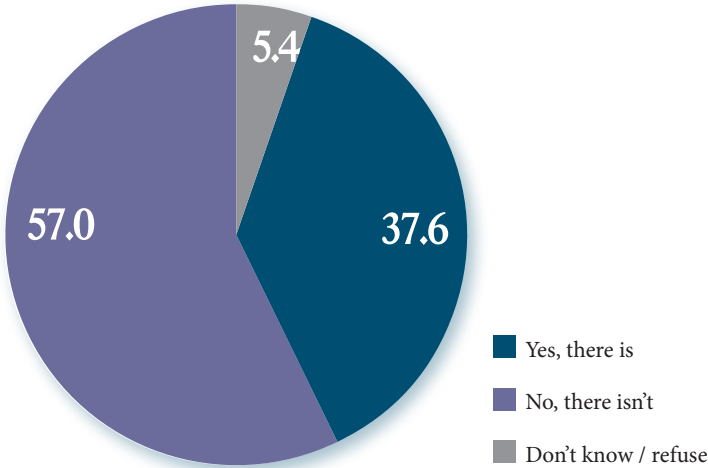
One question of interest to us is whether there is a difference between age groups in the assessment of the parties' representativeness. The figures attest to a striking difference between the young/intermediate age groups and the older adults. While a clear majority of the two younger groups feel that there is no party today that adequately represents their political views, the older adults are split almost down the middle between those who feel unrepresented and those who hold that there is a party that represents their outlook.

Table 1.10

	Young adults	Intermediate age group	Older adults
% who feel there is a party that truly represents them	35.1	30.4	44.8
% who feel there is no party that truly represents them	60.5	62.5	46.8
% Don't know / refuse	4.4	7.1	8.4
Total	100	100	100

Three quarters of the total sample reported that they do not support or belong to any party. Accordingly, we examined the connection between membership/non-membership in a party and the sense of representativeness. The difference is clear-cut and logical: only one quarter of those who do not support or belong to a party feel that there is a party that represents them properly. By contrast, among respondents who support, or are active in, a party to varying degrees (including those who have signed up with a party but do not really see themselves as members), the share of those who answered that there is a party that truly represents their views comes to an average of two thirds.

In the Jewish sample, we also looked for a correlation between political/security orientation and the sense of being represented by a party. We found that in all three political camps, the proportion of those who state that there is no party today that adequately represents them exceeds the share of those who hold the opposite view. At the same time, we found that more respondents on the right or left than in the center feel that there is a party today that truly represents their views.

Figure 1.35 Is there a political party in Israel that truly represents your views? (Jewish sample; by political camp; percent)

Legend: Yes, there is | No, there isn't | Don't know / refuse
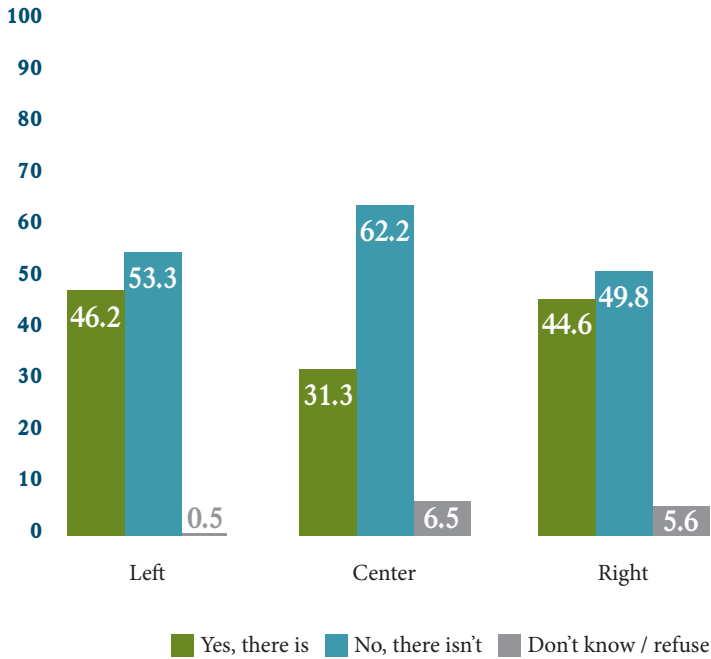
From here, we moved on to the question of whether or not there are differences, in the eyes of the public, in the ability of the various political parties to handle the country's problems. Despite the claims aired in the media and in distinguished public and academic forums that the public sees a hodgepodge of parties with negligible differences at the practical level (and perhaps the ideological as well), in reality a majority of the total sample (64.8%) feel that there are definite differences in the ability of the various parties to handle current problems (Jews, 63.8%; Arabs, 69.6%).

Are all the parties the same?

Question 26
Appendix 1, p. 147
Appendix 2, p. 172

Figure 1.36 Are there differences between the parties in their ability to handle the country's problems? (total sample; percent)

- Yes, there are
- No, there aren't
- Don't know / refuse

5.7

29.5

64.8
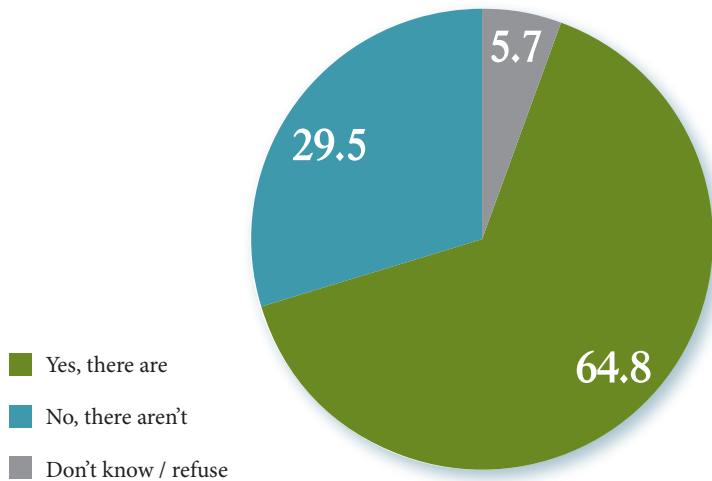
Table 1.11

	Left	Center	Right
% There are differences	81.5	60.9	64.3

A breakdown of the findings by membership or non-membership in a party shows that, as expected, more members and supporters see differences between the various parties than do those who do not support or belong to any party.

Table 1.12

	Member	Supporter	Not member or supporter
% There are differences	72.7	78.0	61.4

An examination of the responses to this question over time shows that in 2012 we have returned to the situation in 1981, when the majority saw differences between the parties. This is in contrast to the findings in 2010 (when the responses were divided almost evenly between those who felt that there were differences and those who held that there were not) and 2011 (when those who did not see differences between the parties outweighed those who did).

Figure 1.37 Are there differences between the parties in their ability to handle the country's problems? (total sample; by year; percent)
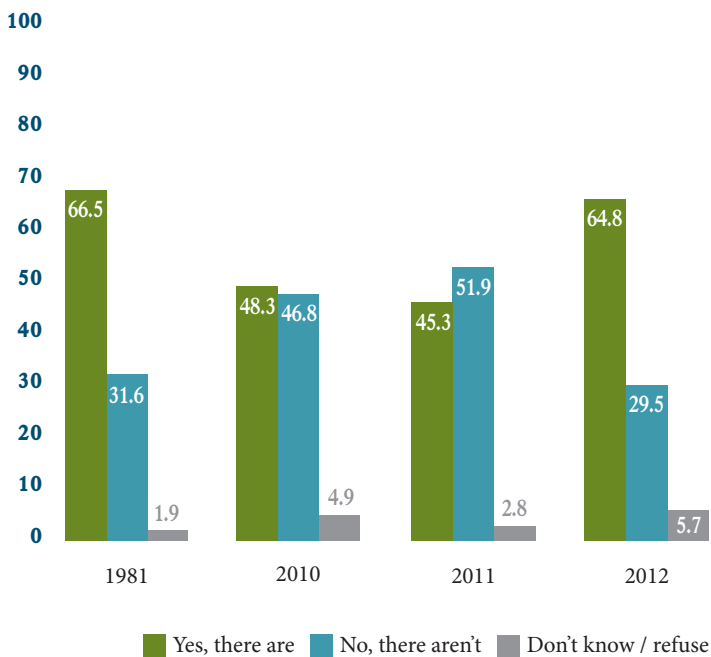
Competition between parties

Question 25.1
Appendix 1, p. 146
Appendix 2, p. 178

Quite often in Israeli public discourse, voices are heard denouncing inter-party competition as a situation that leads to a waste of funding and focus, and exacerbates divisions among the people. This view is particularly strong among those who hold that it makes no difference which party people vote for—the situation will stay the same.

We asked the respondents to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the statement that competition between parties strengthens Israel's democracy. A majority of the total sample (58.8%) confirmed that inter-party competition bolsters the country's democracy. It should be noted that a much larger majority shares this view among the Arab respondents than among the Jewish ones (69.1% as opposed to 56.6%, respectively).

Most influential factor in voting

Question 28
Appendix 1, p. 149

We sought to investigate the impact of each of the following factors on the decision to vote for a particular party: party platform; what the party did in the previous Knesset for people like the respondent; party's list of candidates; loyalty to party voted for in past; party leader; party's chances of being in the government following elections.

Specifically, we asked the respondents which of the above factors was the *most* influential in their choice. In the overall sample, the dominant factor was the party leader, followed by the party's platform on specific issues. In third place was the party's activity on behalf of people like the respondent.

Figure 1.38 Of the following, which is the primary factor affecting your decision to vote for a particular party? (total sample; percent)

- Party platform
- What party did in previous Knesset for people like you
- Party's list of candidates for Knesset
- Loyalty to party you voted for in past
- Party leader
- Party's chances of being in government following elections
- All factors equally / no primary one / other /don't know/refu
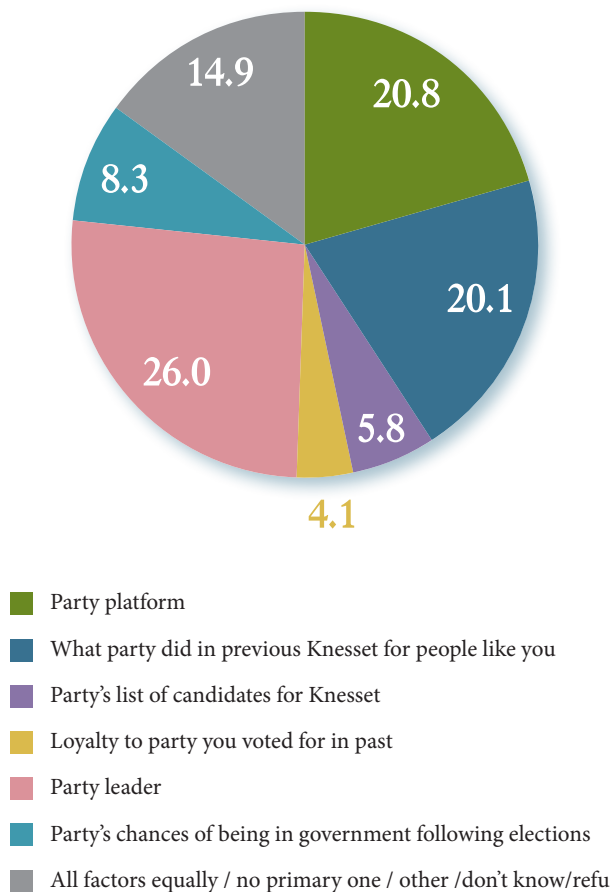
On this question, there was a substantial difference between the Jewish and the Arab samples in the distribution of responses. The largest group among the Jews, roughly one quarter (28.4%) of the sample, selected the party leader as the factor most important to them, while the smallest group (3.6%) cited loyalty to the party they had voted for in the past as the key variable in their decision. In the Arab sample, the largest group indicated the party platform as the primary factor (22%), and the two smallest groups (which were identical in size at 6.3% of the respondents) selected loyalty to a particular party and a party's chances of entering the government as the key factors influencing them personally in the choice of which party to vote for. It should be noted that the share of Arab respondents who indicated that none of the above considerations is the primary factor in their decision is more than double that of the Jews. It would seem, then, that certain key influences are missing from our list, for example, the factor of clan affiliation/loyalty.

Women as political leaders?

Question 39
Appendix 1, p. 157
Appendix 2, p. 173

Heading into the elections, we wished to find out what the public's attitude is today concerning women in politics. We posed the question: "In your opinion, is the claim that men make better political leaders than women do correct or incorrect?" About two thirds (64.9%) of the total sample (with a very similar share among both Jews and Arabs) hold that this statement is incorrect.

A breakdown of responses to this question by sex (based on the total sample) shows a disparity in the expected direction— women agree less than men with the statement that men are better political leaders—though the difference is not dramatic (women, 28.3%; men, 35.6%).

Breaking down the responses of the total sample by age, we find that, surprisingly enough, young people agree with this statement more than the older adults, and much more than the intermediate age group.

Table 1.13

	% who agree that men make better political leaders
Young adults	38.8
Intermediate age group	26.0
Older adults	31.3

Education emerged as a crucial factor in shaping opinions on this subject. Thus, 36.2% of respondents with an elementary school education agreed with the statement about men's superiority as political leaders, compared with only 7.5% of those who completed college or university.

Analyzing the responses by religiosity (Jewish sample), we learned that the differences are considerable, though they do not correlate systematically with the level of religious observance.

A breakdown of the responses by political/security orientation (Jewish sample) indicates that a majority in all the camps do not agree with the statement that men make better political leaders than do women, but the share of those who agree with this statement on the right is much higher than in the center, and six times higher(!) than on the left.

Table 1.14

	% who agree that men make better political leaders
Right	40.4
Center	24.6
Left	6.5

Chapter 5: Israel—The Future

In this year's survey, we attempted to explore how the public views Israel's future. The findings indicate that the relatively positive assessments of the country's present situation are matched by similar feelings about the years to come.

We presented the respondents with a list of possible developments in the foreseeable future in a range of areas, both domestic and foreign. As seen in the figure below, on all subjects (with the exception of a peace treaty with the Palestinians), the Jewish sample tended to envision a sunny future. The picture with regard to the Arab sample is different, however: In general, the Arab respondents' predictions with regard to Israel's future are less rosy. For example, a greater share of this group predict that violent social/economic protests will break out and that Israel's international isolation will increase. On the other hand, more Arabs than Jews believe there is chance that a peace agreement will be signed with the Palestinians.

The bulk of the Jewish respondents think that Israel will be capable of defending itself militarily (85.4%), will maintain its status as a leading high-tech nation (84.9%), and will not lose its Jewish character (78.2%). A majority do not think that Israel will become more isolated internationally (56.3%) or that violent social-economic protests will erupt (53.2%). Further, a majority do not believe that Israel will become a much more religious state (presumably, there are those in the Jewish public who would actually like Israel to become much more religious, meaning that this prediction should be understood as a negative development in their eyes). A substantial majority (69.9%) feel that a peace agreement with the Palestinians will not be signed in the near future (the respondents who take this view are most likely divided between those who view this forecast as distressing and those who see it as cause for rejoicing).

Figure 1.39 Which of these things do you think will happen in the near future? (by nationality; percent)

	Jews	Arabs	
Israel will be capable of defending itself militarily	85.4	62.8	
Israel will become a much more religious state	38.6	49.7	
Israel will lose its Jewish character	17.1	23.6	
Israel will be more isolated internationally than it is today	32.7	55.5	
Violent social/economic protests will erupt in Israel	34.4	71.7	
A peace agreement will be signed with the Palestinians	22.5	38.7	
Israel will maintain its status as a leading high-tech nation	84.9	75.9	

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Jews   Arabs

And among the Arabs? Here too, the majority think that Israel will maintain its status as a leading high-tech nation (75.9%), that it will be able to defend itself militarily (62.8%), that it will not lose its Jewish character (68.1%)—a prospect that is not necessarily favorable in the eyes of the Arab citizens—and that a peace agreement with the Palestinians will not be signed (56.5%). However, unlike the Jews, a large majority of the Arabs foresee violent social-economic protests (71.7%), while roughly half expect increasing international isolation (55.5%) and a sizeable share (49.7%) think that Israel will become a much more religious country (as opposed to 45.5% who do not share this view).

A breakdown of responses by political/security orientation (Jewish sample) points to significant differences in the forecasts, and here the majority in each of the groups is not always in the same place. While there is no difference on the question of whether Israel will be able to defend itself (over 90% of all three camps feel that it will), a much greater share of those who define themselves as leftists feel that Israel will become more religious, compared with those in the centrist and right-wing camps. The left is much more concerned than the center or the right that Israel's international isolation will increase, and is more convinced that violent social-economic protest will break out. As for the pessimism over the signing of a peace agreement with the Palestinians, there are no significant differences between the camps; likewise, there is a similar degree of optimism in all three camps over Israel's ability to maintain its status as a high-tech leader.

Table 1.15

	Left	Center	Right
% who feel that Israel will become much more religious	61.9	34.9	41.0
% who feel that Israel will become more isolated internationally	54.3	30.5	36.1
% who feel that violent social/ economic protest will erupt	48.4	39.7	35.7

A breakdown of the Jewish respondents by religiosity revealed several interesting findings: First, the percentage of ultra-Orthodox who are doubtful whether Israel will be able to maintain its security is much higher than that among the other religious groups (ultra-Orthodox, 29.5% compared with 4.4%–9.5% in the other groups). As for whether Israel will become much more religious, the ultra-Orthodox—to a much greater extent than the other groups—feel that this will happen. At the same time, they are more concerned than the others that Israel will lose its Jewish character and that its international isolation will increase.

Against the backdrop of these forecasts, we attempted to examine the public's priorities when it comes to government spending, which is tied in with the country's future strategic planning. We presented eleven financial objectives, asking which of them is the *most* worthy of government spending, assuming the presence of budgetary limitations:

How much should the state invest?

Questions 15.1–15.11, 16
Appendix 1, p. 135

1. Providing housing assistance for young couples

2. Improving the educational system

3. Nature and environmental conservation

4. Funding religious institutions and yeshivas

5. Health

6. Strengthening the army and improving security

7. Increasing social benefits (unemployment, old age, disability, children's)

8. Settling the territories

9. Improving the situation of the Arab sector

10. Creating jobs

11. Improving infrastructure (e.g., highways, trains, earthquake protection)

The following figures illustrate the points of similarity and difference in the priorities of the Jewish and Arab publics, which reflect the different problems preoccupying both groups.

Figure 1.40 Which of the following is the most deserving of increased funding, given the country's budgetary constraints? (Jewish sample; percent)

Category	Percent
Improving the educational system	39.3
Health	16.6
Strengthening the army and improving security	14.7
Housing assistance for young couples	11.5
Increasing social benefits (unemployment, old age, disability, children's)	7.1
Job creation	3.5
Improving infrastructure, e.g., highways, trains, earthquake protection	1.6
Funding religious institutions and yeshivas	1.4
Nature and environmental conservation	0.8
Improving situation of Arab sector	0.7
Settling the territories	0.5
Don't know / refuse	2.3

Figure 1.41 Which of the following is the most deserving of increased funding, given the country's budgetary constraints? (Arab sample; percent)

26.7	Improving the educational system
18.8	Improving situation of Arab sector
18.3	Job creation
12.0	Health
9.4	Increasing social benefits (unemployment, old age, disability, children's)
6.3	Housing assistance for young couples
3.1	Strengthening the army and improving security
2.1	Improving infrastructure, e.g., highways, trains, earthquake protection
1.0	Nature and environmental conservation
0.5	Funding religious institutions and yeshivas
0.5	Settling the territories
1.3	Don't know / refuse

0   10   20   30   40   50

Breaking down the responses by political/security orientation (Jewish sample), we found differences between left and right, primarily with regard to spending priorities in the areas of education and the army/security:

Table 1.16

	Left	Center	Right
% who feel that education should take priority in spending	59.8	44.5	34.2
% who feel that strengthening the army and security should take priority in spending	5.4	12.6	17.3

Optimism vs. pessimism regarding Israel's future

Question 41
Appendix 1, p. 158

In keeping with the prevailing mood emerging from this year's survey, the share of those who are optimistic in general about what lies ahead in the next few years is definitely greater than that of the pessimists. In the total sample, the ratio of optimists to pessimists is 75.6% to 21.8%. Breaking down the figures by nationality, we find a greater spread between the two poles, and a higher proportion of optimists, in the Jewish sample than in the Arab one (Jews, 78.8% versus 18.1%; Arabs, 60.2% versus 39.3%). In other words, in both the majority and minority groups, there is a clear majority who are not fearful of the future.

A breakdown of the figures by age (total sample) reveals that a majority of the young adults surveyed are optimistic about Israel's future, though less so than the two older age groups.

Table 1.17

	% optimistic about Israel's future
Young adults	71.5
Intermediate age group	77.6
Older adults	84.3

Figure 1.42 Are you optimistic or pessimistic about Israel's future? (by nationality; percent)

Legend:
- Very optimistic
- Quite optimistic
- Quite pessimistic
- Very pessimistic
- Don't know / refuse
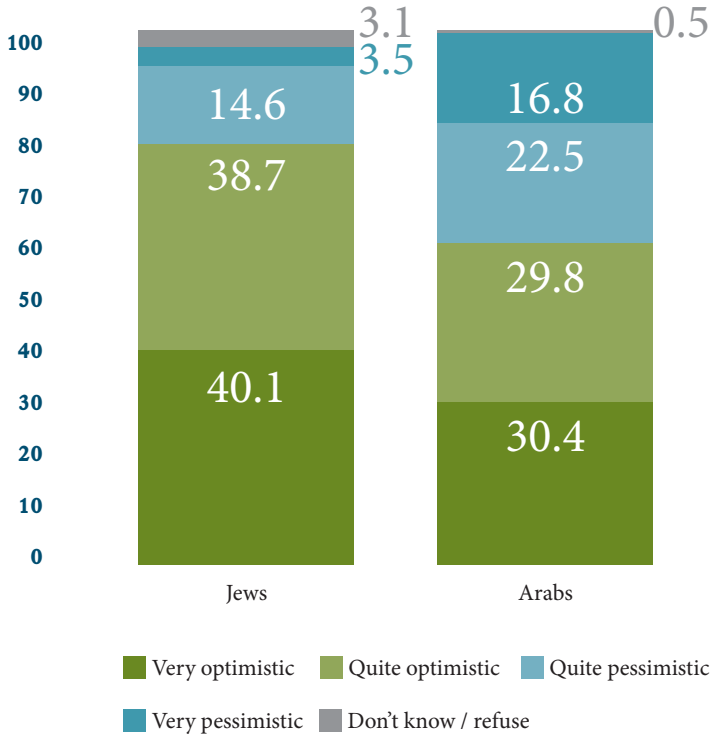
Breaking down the responses in the Jewish sample by religiosity reveals sizeable differences, with the ultra-Orthodox and secular groups turning out to be the least optimistic:

Table 1.18

	% optimistic about Israel's future
Secular	72.3
Traditional non-religious	84.0
Traditional religious	89.4
Orthodox	94.4
Haredi-Leumi	77.8
Ultra-Orthodox	72.9

A breakdown of the Jewish sample by political/security orientation shows that the right and center are much more optimistic than the left about Israel's future:

Table 1.19

	% optimistic about Israel's future
Right	85.5
Center	83.1
Left	58.9

We're staying put

The findings we have cited throughout this report explain the recurring statistic (which surprises so many each year) that the vast majority of respondents, Jews and Arabs alike, report that they wish to live in Israel in the long term "very much" or "somewhat": 90.7% of the Jews, and 87% of the Arabs.

Figure 1.43 Do you want to live in Israel in the long term? (by nationality; percent)
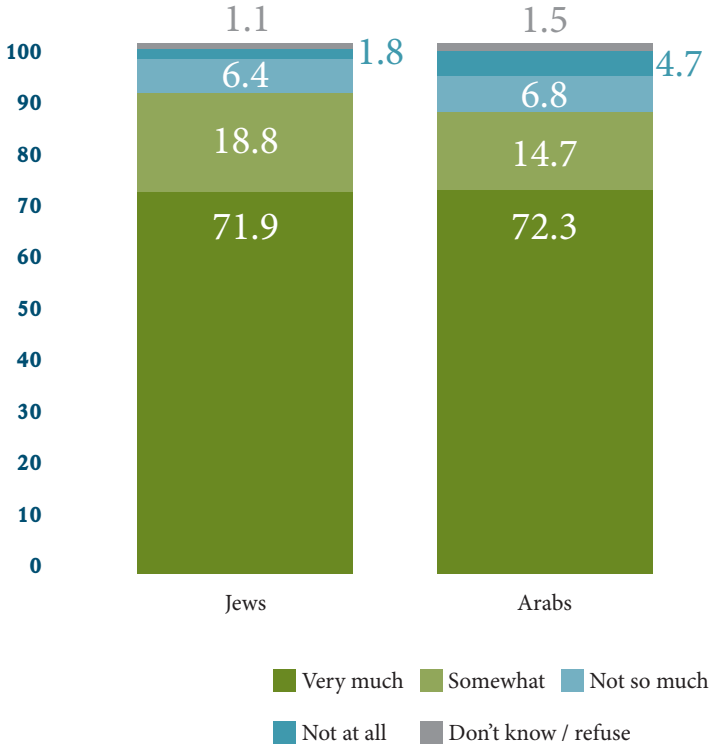
The figures indicate that young adults are less interested than the intermediate and older age groups in remaining in Israel, though we are still speaking about a sizeable majority of the young people surveyed. The same holds true of respondents on the left compared with those from the center or right; secular Jews as opposed to the more religious groups; and those who took part in the 2011 protests versus those who did not (of course there is considerable overlap among the above categories).

A comparison of the results over time shows that throughout the years when we measured the desire to remain in Israel or to move to a different country, a large majority of Israelis have been certain of their wish to live in Israel in the long term. Nonetheless, this year the share of those who would like "very much" to remain in Israel was somewhat lower than that recorded in 2003, 2006, and 2011 (roughly 78%), but higher than the all-time low of 2007–2008 (roughly 64%).

Figure 1.44 Do you want to live in Israel in the long term? (very much; total sample; by year; percent)
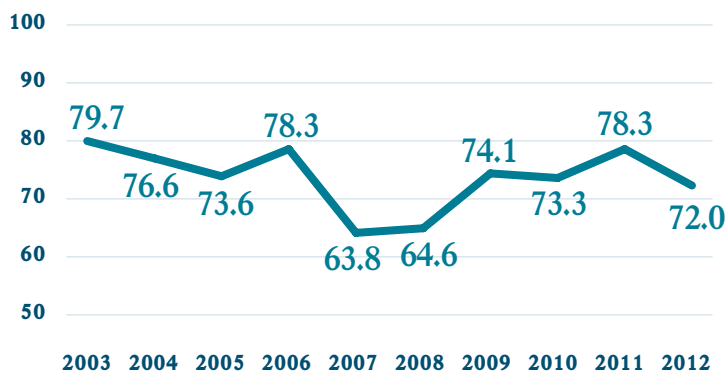
Chapter 1: Democracy Indicators

Each year, research institutes around the world publish a number of international comparative indicators that address a variety of structural, functional, and ethical aspects of democracy in various countries. These indexes (hereafter: democracy indicators), are expressed in numerical scores accorded to each country, and present the current assessments of these institutes (each in its own area) regarding the specific and relative situations of dozens and even hundreds of countries. The evaluations are based, for the most part, on a combination of primary and secondary sources and on the assessments of professionals. The present section of The Israeli Democracy Index 2012 examines the scores assigned to Israel's democracy in a number of areas (from which we derived its position relative to other countries). This year, we relate to 14 such democracy indicators, as shown in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1

Indicator	Institution	Operative Definition
1. Corruption Perceptions Index	Transparency International	Scale of 0–10 (10 = no political corruption); assesses "abuse of power for personal gain" based on a combination of 13 surveys from ten research institutions examining the perception of experts regarding the extent of corruption in their own or other countries.
2. Functioning of Government	Economist Intelligence Unit	Scale of 0–10 (10 = most effective functioning), based on a questionnaire compiled by experts in the field; assesses the extent of government autonomy in shaping and implementing policies.

$\longrightarrow$

Indicator	Institution	Operative Definition
3. Electoral Process and Pluralism	Economist Intelligence Unit	Scale of 0–10 (10 = freest elections), based on questionnaire compiled by experts; assesses the public's ability to change its decision makers through an institutionalized electoral system.
4. Political Participation	Economist Intelligence Unit	Scale of 0–10 (10 = highest participation), based on a questionnaire by experts; assesses the extent of citizens' participation in various political processes.
5. Civic Engagement	OECD Better Life Index	Scale of 0–8 (8 = highest degree of engagement), based on public opinion polls on a range of topics; assesses the extent of civic engagement on various political issues.
6. Social Network	OECD Better Life Index	Scale of 0–100 (100 = many social ties), based on public opinion polls; examines social ties.
7. Political Culture	Economist Intelligence Unit	Scale of 0–10 (10 = democratic political culture), based on a questionnaire by experts; assesses the extent to which a country's political culture is democratic.
8. Gender Inequality Index	Human Development Report	Scale of 0–1 (0 = full equality between men and women), based on expert assessments; examines (the absence of) discrimination between men and women and the application of equal rights to both genders, particularly in employment, politics and education.

Indicator	Institution	Operative Definition
9. Index of Economic Freedom	Heritage Foundation	Scale of 0–100 (100 = full economic freedom), based on expert assessments; examines the extent of government intervention in the state economy.
10. Freedom of the Press	Freedom House	Scale of 0–100 (100 = full freedom of the press), based on expert assessments; gauges the freedom enjoyed by the print and broadcast media.
11. Civil Liberties	Economist Intelligence Unit	Scale of 0–10 (10 = full respect for civil liberties), based on questionnaire by experts; examines whether basic civil liberties are upheld.
12. Freedom of Religion	CIRI Human Rights Data Project	Scale of 0–2 (2 = full freedom of religion), based on questionnaire by experts; assesses the freedom of citizens to exercise their religious beliefs and the imposition of government restrictions.
13. Religious Tensions	International Country Risk Guide	Scale of 0–6 (6 = no religious tensions); assesses the intensity of tensions between religious groups.
14. Ethnic Tensions	International Country Risk Guide	Scale of 0–6 (6 = no ethnic tensions); assesses the intensity of a country's tensions stemming from nationality/language.

All 14 indicators have been grouped into three overall components of democratic performance: the institutional aspect, the rights aspect, and the stability aspect.[12]

Figure 2.1 Democracy Indicators
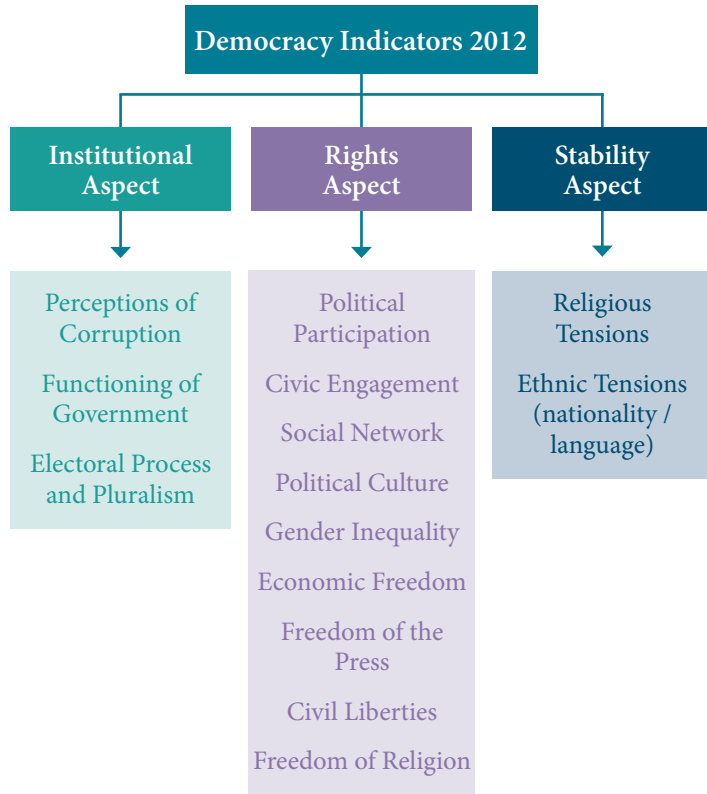
12 For a more detailed discussion, see A. Arian, D. Nachmias, D. Navot, and D. Shani, *The 2003 Israeli Democracy Index: Measuring Israeli Democracy* (Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2003), pp. 15-20 [Hebrew].

Institutional Aspect: This refers to the official institutions at the foundation of democratic rule, the division of power among them, and the reciprocal relations among actors in the system. In the 2012 Democracy Index, this aspect is represented by three indicators: electoral process and pluralism, functioning of government, and government integrity (or its opposite—the perception of corruption).

Rights Aspect: This addresses the implementation in practice of the basic principles of democracy: upholding human dignity and liberty, minority rights and the rule of law. This year, nine indicators were included in this aspect: political participation, political culture, gender (in)equality, economic freedom (property rights), freedom of the press, civil liberties, freedom of religion, civic engagement, and social network.

Stability Aspect: This aspect differs from the others in that, ostensibly at least, it does not reflect qualities that are unique to democracy. Stability can characterize various types of regimes, not necessarily democratic. Nevertheless, a stable government is certainly an objective of every democratic regime. In its absence, moreover, the essence of democracy is liable to be adversely affected. This year, the stability aspect includes religious tensions, and ethnic tensions based on nationality/language.

The democracy indicators are assessed along two axes:

> qualitative: an evaluation of Israel's democratic performance **in comparison with other countries;**

> historical: Israel's performance this year **in comparison with previous years**.

Countries we compared

Each institute has its own list of countries to which it relates in publishing its indexes. As this report obviously cannot list all of the countries assessed, we decided to limit the number to 27, which we compared with Israel. The first consideration in selecting the countries was their geographic location, so as to ensure that different regions were adequately represented. Additionally, we decided that the comparison group should include several countries that are not democratic but are located in the same vicinity as Israel or share several political features

with it, as we believe it is important to position Israel not only in the "classic democratic family" but also in the "Middle Eastern family" and the "family of young democracies."

The updated list of countries thus includes five countries 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 the Far East (China, India, Japan and New Zealand).

In selecting the countries for comparison with Israel, we also based ourselves on the assessments of Freedom House, which provides annual estimates of the extent of freedom in 194 countries representing 14 world regions, classifying them into three categories: free, partly free and not free.[13] Accordingly, our list of 27 countries consists of 18 free countries (Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States); three partly free (Lebanon, Turkey and Venezuela); and six not free (China, Egypt, Jordan, Russia, Saudi Arabia and Syria). Based on the Freedom House criteria, Israel is defined as a free country.[14]

13 For further information, see the organization's Website: www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=1

14 According to other classifications of democracy (for example, that of Wolfgang Merkel), Israel is not a free country; rather, it belongs to the category of "defective democracies." See W. Merkel, "Embedded and Defective: Where Does Israel Stand?" in *By the People, For the People, Without the People? The Emergence of (Anti)Political Sentiment in Western Democracies and in Israel*, ed. Tamar S. Hermann (Jerusalem: The Israel Democracy Institute, 2012), pp. 183-225 (online only): www.idi.org.il/PublicationsCatalog/Documents/EB1/EB1.pdf

Chapter 2: Detailed Findings

Perception of Corruption: To examine this issue, we used the Corruption Perceptions Index developed by Transparency International (TI),[15] a world leader in the battle against corruption of all kinds. The scores in the Index range from 0 to 10; the higher a country's score, the freer it is of corruption. As shown in Figure 2.2, New Zealand, Norway, and Switzerland obtained the highest scores this year, while Venezuela, Russia, and Lebanon received the lowest. Israel received a score of 5.8 in 2012, placing it in the 12th position.[16] This represents a change for the worse in comparison with last year, both in terms of Israel's score (6.1) and its ranking among the countries studied.[17]

Functioning of Government: This indicator—published by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) of the British magazine *The Economist*—examines the extent of government autonomy in setting and implementing policy.[18] The rating is presented on a scale of 0 to 10 (where 0 denotes least effective government and 10 represents most effective government). Israel's score this year was 7.5, which translates into positions 9–13 along with Spain, India, Brazil, and the United States. Heading the list of countries with highly effective government are Norway, Switzerland, and Canada, with Syria, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia at the bottom of the scale (see Figure 2.3). Israel's score this year is identical to its rating in previous reports of the EIU.

Institutional aspect

15 The Israeli branch of Transparency International is known by its Hebrew acronym, *Shvil*. For further information, see www.ti-israel.org

16 This estimate is based on six surveys conducted by five research institutes. It should be emphasized that in the organization's full index, Israel is situated in 30th place among 179 countries examined; however, the present report only compares Israel with the 27 selected countries.

17 For further information, see www.transparency.org

18 For additional information on the areas treated in the EIU *Index*, see *The Economist*, Economist Intelligence Unit, *The Democracy Index 2010: Democracy in Retreat*: www.eiu.com/public/topical_report. aspx?campaignid=demo2010.

Electoral Process and Pluralism: Another indicator published by the EIU assesses Electoral Process and Pluralism based on an average of responses to 12 questions concerning the electoral system of the countries surveyed. The issues addressed include the extent to which elections are free and fair, whether citizens are free to form political parties and whether opposition parties have a realistic chance of assuming power.[19] These are presented on a scale of 0 (least free elections) to 10 (freest elections). In this year's assessment of electoral process and pluralism (Figure 2.4), Israel scored 8.75, placing it in positions 18–19 together with Argentina. At the head of the list are New Zealand and Norway (score: 10), while Syria, China, Saudi Arabia are in the bottom position (score: 0). Israel's score this year is identical to that in previous EIU publications.

19 See note 18.

Figure 2.2 Political corruption

Country	Value
New Zealand	
Norway	
Switzerland	
Canada	
Japan	
Germany	
United Kingdom	
Belgium	
United States	
France	
Spain	
Israel	5.8
Hungary	
Jordan	
Czech Republic	
Saudi Arabia	
Turkey	
Italy	
Brazil	
China	
Greece	
India	
Argentina	
Egypt	
Syria	
Lebanon	
Russia	
Venezuela	

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

High corruption   **No corruption**
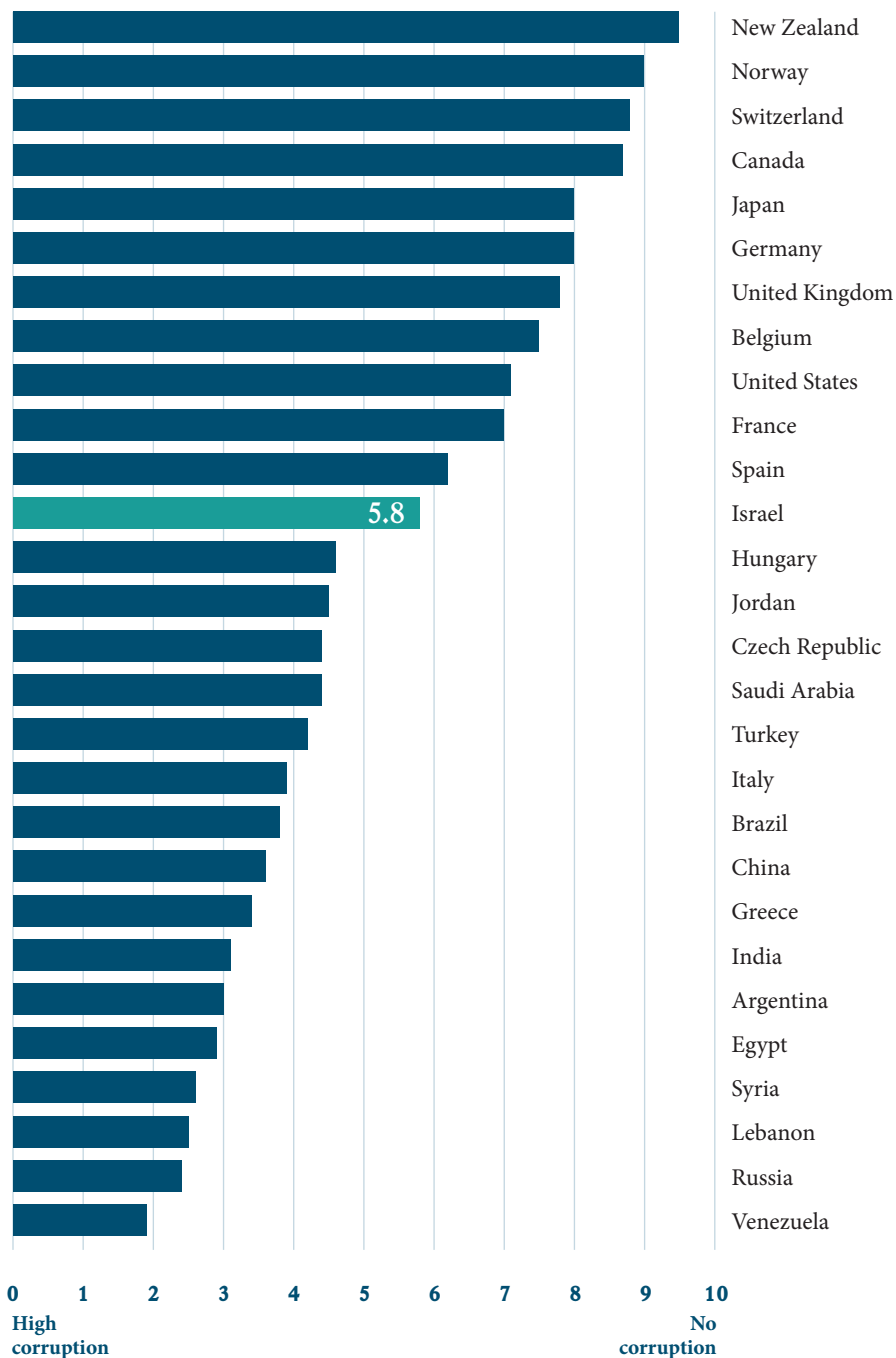
Figure 2.3 Functioning of government

Country	Score
Norway	
Switzerland	
Canada	
New Zealand	
Japan	
Germany	
Belgium	
United Kingdom	
Spain	
Israel	7.5
India	
Brazil	
United States	
France	
Czech Republic	
Turkey	
Italy	
Hungary	
Greece	
Argentina	
China	
Jordan	
Venezuela	
Egypt	
Russia	
Saudi Arabia	
Lebanon	
Syria	

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

Least effective   **Most effective**
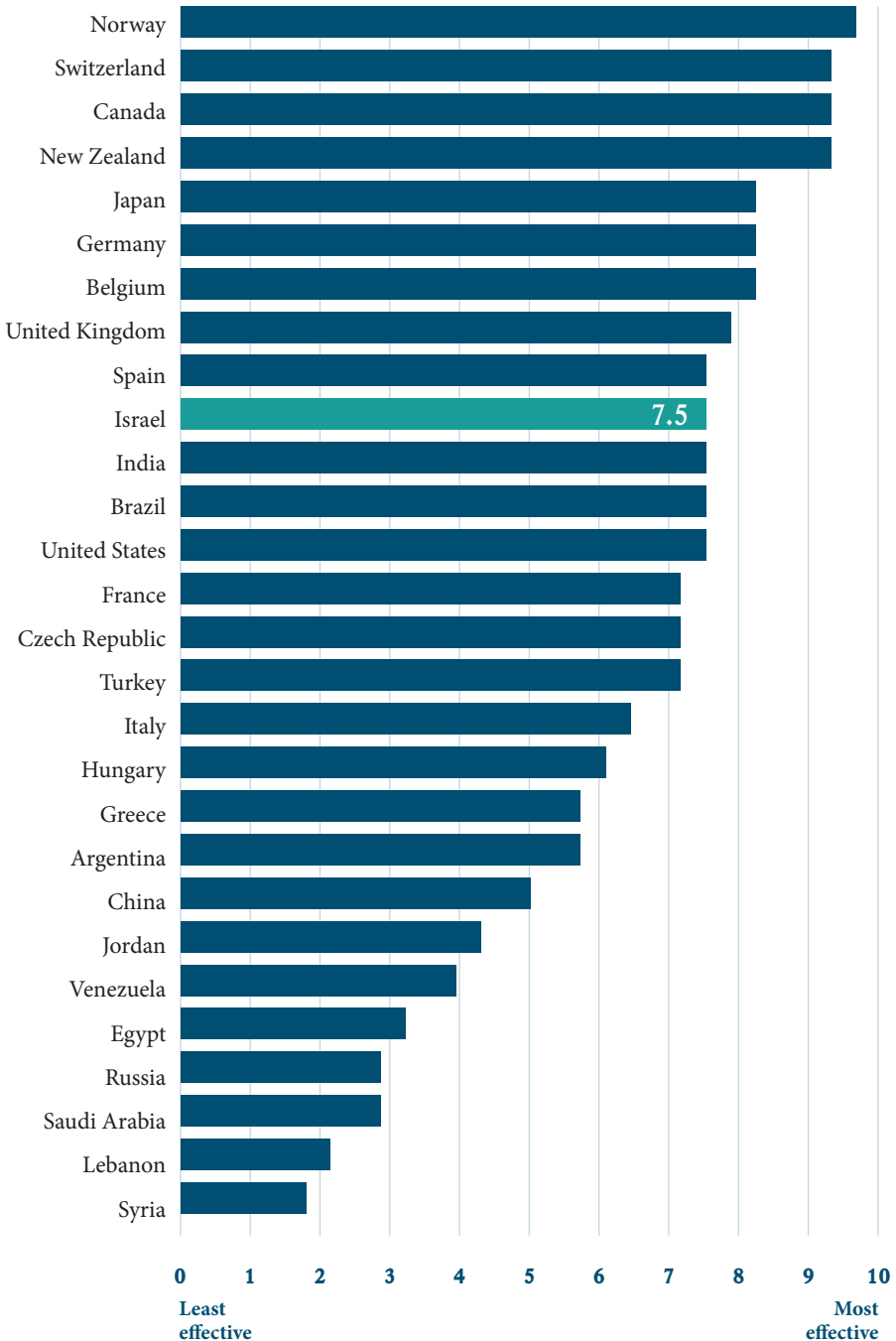
Figure 2.4 Electoral process and pluralism

	New Zealand
	Norway
	Switzerland
	Canada
	France
	Czech Republic
	Spain
	Greece
	Hungary
	India
	Germany
	United Kingdom
	Brazil
	Belgium
	Italy
	Japan
	United States
8.75	Israel
	Argentina
	Turkey
	Lebanon
	Venezuela
	Russia
	Jordan
	Egypt
	Saudi Arabia
	China
	Syria

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

Least free elections   **Most free elections**
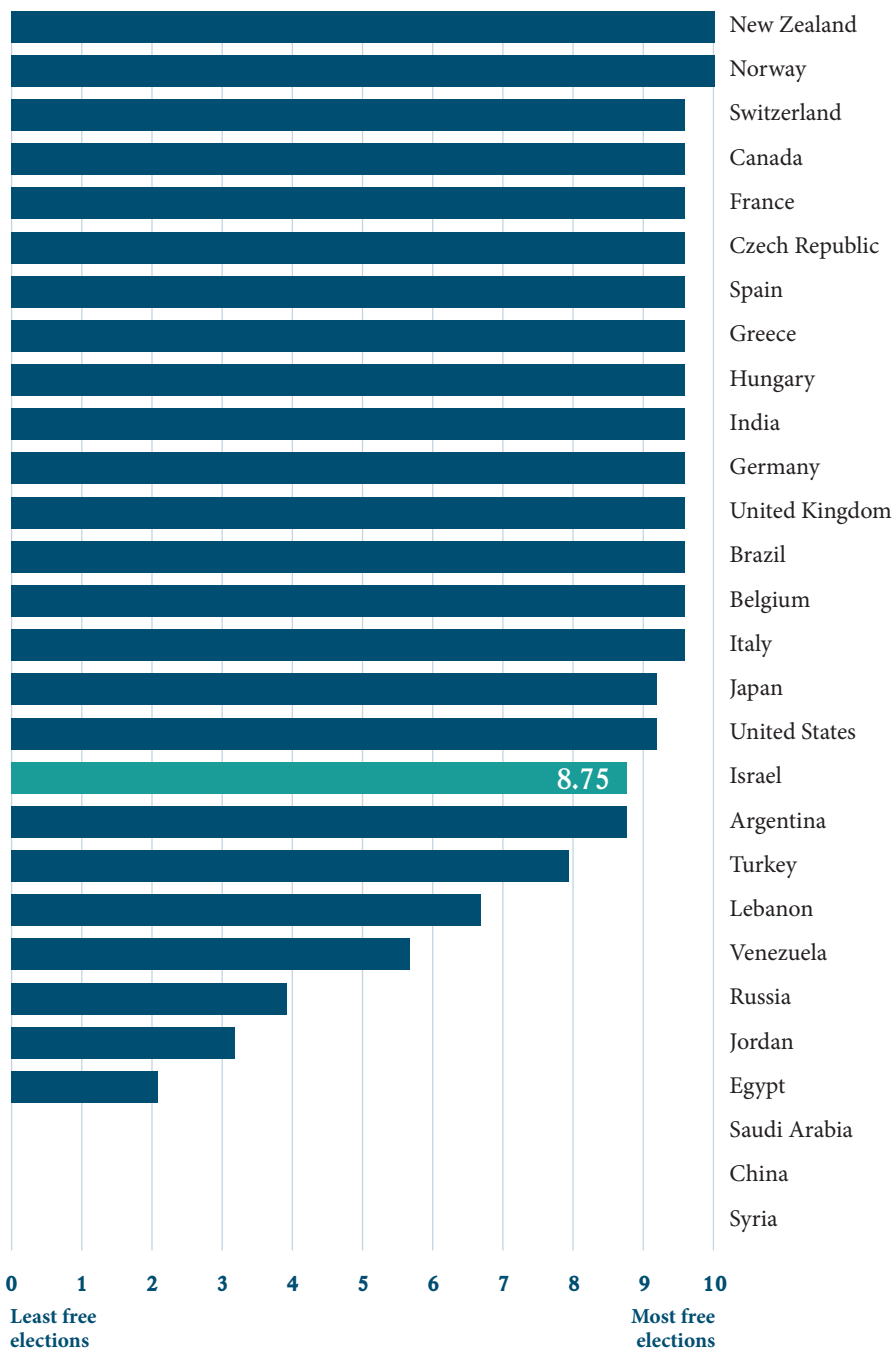
Rights Aspect

Political Participation: The EIU index of Political Participation, which we have categorized under the rights aspect of democracy, reflects the average score on nine questions examining such parameters as voter participation rate, extent of political party membership, and level of involvement in politics.[20] A score of 10 attests to a very high level of political participation, and 0, a very low one. As shown in Figure 2.5, Norway and New Zealand occupy the two top positions on the scale, with Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey in the lowest slots. Israel received a high score of 8.33, placing it in a very strong position near the top of the scale (third place), between New Zealand and Switzerland.

Civic Engagement: In our country comparisons this year, we elected to include two new indicators published in May 2012 by the Better Life Index of the OECD: Civic Engagement and Social Network. The Civic Engagement Index is based on a weighted calculation of several parameters, among them the extent of trust in political institutions; level of transparency; and voter turnout in elections.[21] A score of 10 indicates a very high level of civic engagement, while 0 points to a very low one. As shown in Figure 2.6, the United States and New Zealand top this year's scale, with scores of 7.7 and 7.6, respectively. At the bottom of the list is Israel (1.8), with Russia in close proximity (1.9). It is important to note that Israel's score on this index is based on voter turnout in the 2009 elections (65%); low levels of trust in the parliament (Knesset); and the extent of transparency in Israel's government—all of which earned low scores from the OECD. Thus, methodological differences in assessment of political participation mean that Israel finds itself on the lowest rung in the OECD index while placing near the top of the scale in the corresponding EIU indicator.

20 For a detailed discussion of the methodology used, along with the questions themselves, see *The Democracy Index 2010: Democracy in Retreat* (above n. 18).

21 For further discussion of the Better Life Index, see the OECD site: www. oecdbetterlifeindex.org/topics/civic-engagement

Figure 2.5 Political participation

Norway	
New Zealand	
Israel	8.33
Switzerland	
Canada	
Lebanon	
United States	
Italy	
Czech Republic	
Greece	
Germany	
Spain	
France	
Japan	
United Kingdom	
Belgium	
Venezuela	
Argentina	
Egypt	
India	
Russia	
Brazil	
Jordan	
Hungary	
China	
Turkey	
Saudi Arabia	
Syria	

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very low participation   **Very high participation**

Figure 2.6 Civic engagement

United States	
New Zealand	
United Kingdom	
Norway	
Belgium	
Canada	
Spain	
Turkey	
Italy	
Japan	
Hungary	
Greece	
Brazil	
France	
Germany	
Czech Republic	
Switzerland	
Russia	
Israel	1.8

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

Very low   **Very high**
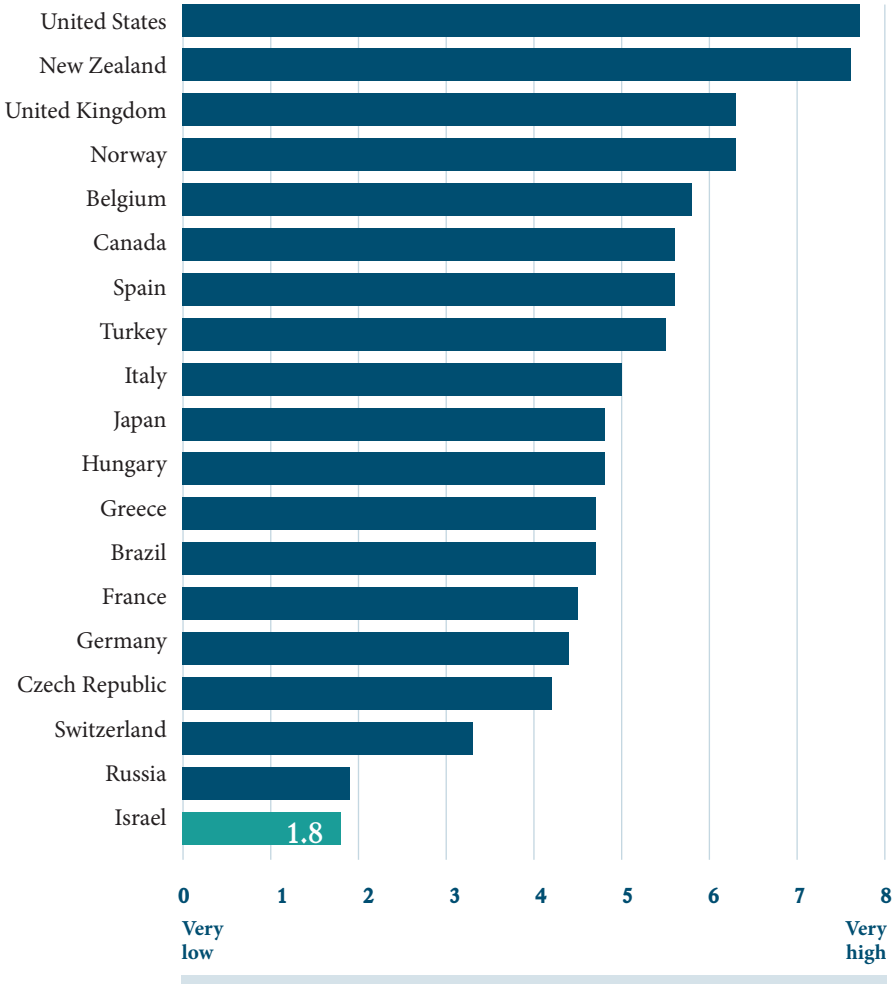
Social Network: The Social Network Index, another new parameter added this year, was also published in May 2012 by the Better Life Index of the OECD. The scale measures the proportion of people in a given country who respond positively to the question: "If you were in trouble, do you have relatives or friends you can count on to help you whenever you need them, or not?", with 0% indicating a weak network of social support, and 100%, a strong social network. As shown in Figure 2.7, the UK, New Zealand, and Germany ranked the highest in this parameter, with over 95% of respondents reporting that they have people they can rely on. Closing out the list are Turkey (69%) and Greece (85%). Israel is located next to them, at the lower end of the scale, with a score of 88%.

Political Culture, an index developed by the EIU, is another democracy indicator that we have grouped under the Rights Aspect. It reflects the average score for eight questions based on such parameters as consensus regarding democratic values; military involvement in politics; overall support for democracy; and a tradition of separation between religion and state.[22] A score of 10 indicates a civil society with a well-established democratic political culture, while 0 is assigned to countries whose values are not rooted in such a culture. As shown in Figure 2.8, the top positions on this scale are held by Norway and Switzerland (both with the same score) along with Canada, while Saudi Arabia, Russia, and Jordan occupy the bottom tier. Israel received a score of 7.5 this year, placing it in positions 9–14 alongside Belgium, Spain, France, Japan, and Italy.

Gender (In)equality: In addition to the political, economic, and civil rights reviewed in this section, we also examined another parameter under the Rights Aspect—gender equality, that is, the absence of discrimination between men and women. One of the most well-known indicators in this area is the Gender Inequality Index (GII), published annually as part of the United Nations

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22 For a detailed discussion of the methodology used, along with the questions themselves, see *The Democracy Index 2010: Democracy in Retreat* (above n. 18).

Human Development Reports.[23] The GII focuses on equal implementation of rights for both genders, primarily in the areas of employment, politics, and education. Scores are assigned on a scale of 0 (full equality) to 1 (no equality); however, to facilitate comprehension of the data for this indicator, we reversed the scale, so that a higher score denotes greater gender equality. Figure 2.9 illustrates Israel's ranking relative to the other countries in the 2012 Gender Inequality Index.[24] As shown, the countries that ranked the highest in gender equality are Switzerland, Norway, and Germany, while those at the bottom of the scale are Saudi Arabia, India, and Syria. Israel (with a score of 0.855) ranks 11th this year—an improvement over last year, when it was in the 13th position.

Economic Freedom: One of the widely used annual indicators is the Index of Economic Freedom, developed by the Heritage Foundation and published in recent years in conjunction with *The Wall Street Journal*. Both these organizations are avowed supporters of neoliberal principles, namely, a free market and minimal state intervention in production, trade, and services.[25] According to this view, any government intervention beyond what is absolutely necessary to maintain the economy impinges on basic democratic freedoms, in particular, property rights.[26] The Index of Economic Freedom is based on a scale ranging from 0 to 100, with 0 denoting a lack of economic freedom, and 100, full economic freedom. As shown in Figure 2.10, the countries

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23 See *International Human Development Indicators*, http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics

24 In its most recent publication, the UNDP decided to change its method of calculation, meaning that we cannot compare Israel's scores this year with those from previous years; however, since the change in methodology affected all the countries surveyed, Israel's relative position can be compared with that of last year.

25 The Index is published each year at the beginning of January. For further information, see: The Heritage Foundation, in partnership with *Wall Street Journal, 2012 Index of Economic Freedom*, www.heritage.org/index

26 The scores that each country receives are based on a combination of ten economic indicators: quantitative assessments of government trade policy, taxation system, government intervention in economics, monetary policy, foreign investment and cash flow, banking and financing, wages and prices, property rights, regulation, and absence of economic corruption.

with the most economic freedom are New Zealand, Switzerland, and Canada, while Venezuela, Argentina, and Russia are classified as lacking economic freedom. In 2012, Israel ranked 13th (with a score of 67.8), between Norway and Hungary. This represents a slight drop from year's score (68.5), though it did not affect Israel's ranking relative to the other countries surveyed.

Freedom of the Press: The annual index of freedom of the press, developed by Freedom House and published since 1979, ranks the degree of freedom in the print and broadcast media in 197 countries and regions throughout the world.[27] The final weighted score for each country is calculated by combining the results of a survey compiled by experts. The scores range from 0 (full freedom of the press) to 100 (no freedom of the press), meaning that a lower score indicates a stronger democracy. Countries with scores of 0-30 are considered to have a free press; 31–60, a partly free press; and 61–100, no free press. Please note, however, that to facilitate comprehension of the data, we have deliberately reversed the scale so that a higher score indicates greater freedom. Figure 2.11 shows the ranking of countries based on scores received in May 2012. According to these findings, Norway, Belgium, and Switzerland enjoy the most freedom of the press and Syria, China, and Saudi Arabia, the least. Israel, with a score of 70, is situated in position 13–14 at the middle of the scale, together with Greece. Israel's score this year is lower than last year's (71), as is its relative position compared with last year's rank of 13. It appears that freedom of the press in Israel in 2012 is noticeably limited by the government and its agencies, though there are those who would explain, or excuse, this as resulting from the difficult security conditions under which Israel's democracy is forced to function.

Civil Liberties: The Civil Liberties Index, compiled by the EIU, is based on an average of responses to 17 questions concerning such issues as the existence of a free press; freedom of expression; freedom of protest; and freedom of association. The scale ranges from 0 (civil liberties not respected) to 10 (civil liberties fully

27 Regarding the indicator of Freedom of the Press, see: Freedom House, *Freedom of the Press 2012*, www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2012

respected). As shown in Figure 2.12, Canada, New Zealand, and Norway earned the highest scores, and Syria, China, and Saudi Arabia, the lowest. Israel's score of 5.59 represents a slight improvement over last year's rating (5.29); nonetheless, it is low, placing Israel in the bottom third of the ranking, in positions 20–21, together with Lebanon.

Freedom of Religion: The Freedom of Religion Index of the CIRI Human Rights Data Project measures the extent to which citizens are free to exercise their religious beliefs without government restriction.[28] Scores are calculated on a scale of 0 (many restrictions on religious freedom) to 2 (full religious freedom). As shown in Figure 2.13, the highest score is shared by several countries, including the United States, Belgium, New Zealand, and surprisingly, Lebanon. Ten countries received the lowest score (0), among them, Israel, Turkey, and Russia.

28 For a more detailed discussion, see: the CIRI Human Rights Data Project, http://ciri.binghamton.edu/index.asp.

Figure 2.7 Social network

Country	Value
United Kingdom	
New Zealand	
Germany	
Switzerland	
Spain	
Norway	
Belgium	
Canada	
France	
Japan	
United States	
Czech Republic	
Brazil	
Italy	
Hungary	
Russia	
Israel	88
Greece	
Turkey	

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100

Few social ties   **Many social ties**

Figure 2.8 Democratic political culture

Country	Score
Norway	
Switzerland	
Canada	
Czech Republic	
New Zealand	
Germany	
United Kingdom	
United States	
Belgium	
Spain	
France	
Israel	7.5
Japan	
Italy	
Hungary	
Greece	
Argentina	
Egypt	
China	
Syria	
India	
Lebanon	
Turkey	
Venezuela	
Brazil	
Jordan	
Russia	
Saudi Arabia	

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Non-democratic political culture   **Democratic political culture**
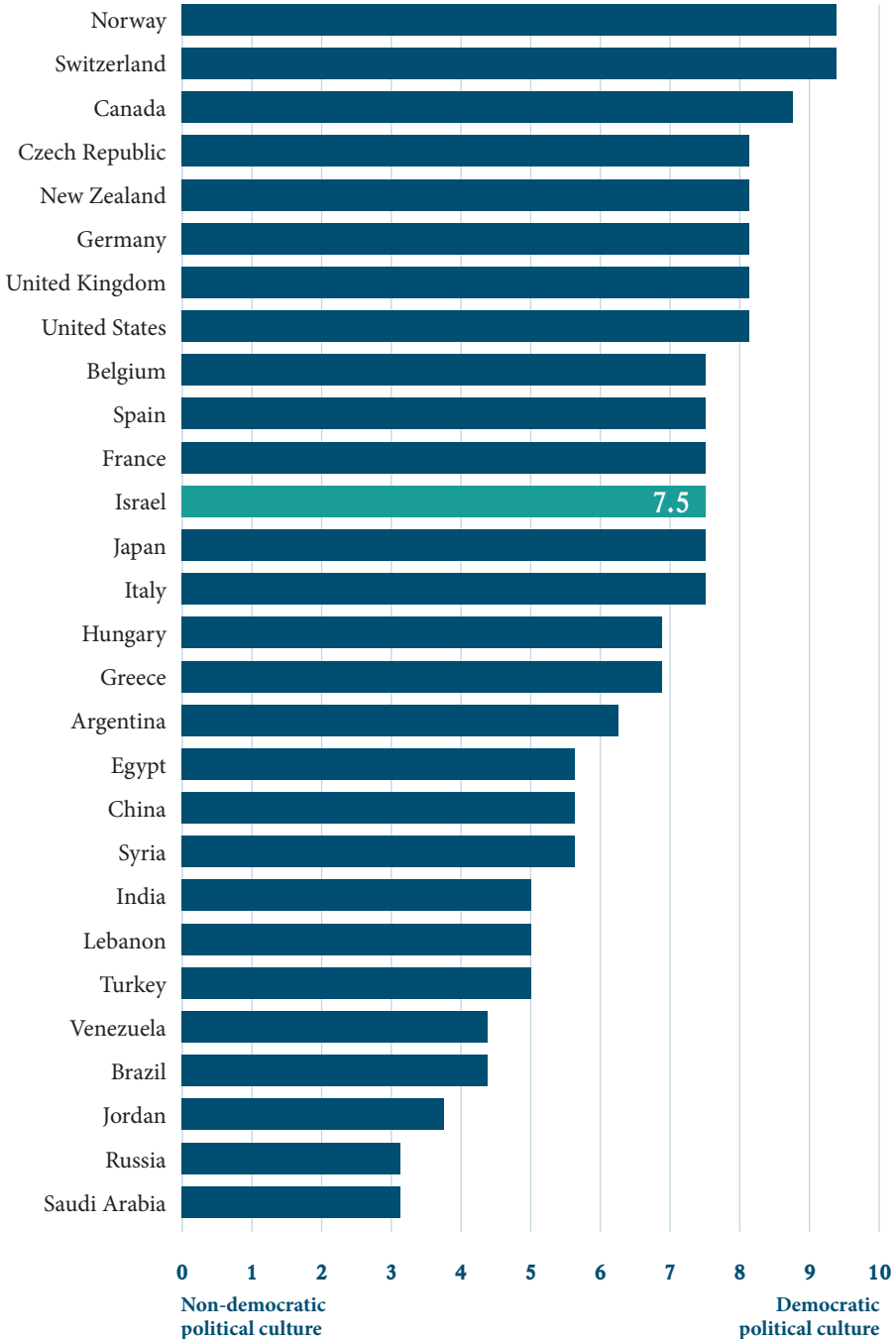
Figure 2.9 Gender equality

	Country
	Switzerland
	Norway
	Germany
	France
	Belgium
	Spain
	Japan
	Italy
	Czech Republic
	Canada
0.855	Israel
	Greece
	New Zealand
	China
	United Kingdom
	Hungary
	United States
	Russia
	Argentina
	Lebanon
	Turkey
	Venezuela
	Brazil
	Jordan
	Syria
	India
	Saudi Arabia

0   0.1   0.2   0.3   0.4   0.5   0.6   0.7   0.8   0.9   1

Total gender inequality   **Full gender equality**

Figure 2.10 Economic freedom

New Zealand
Switzerland
Canada
United States
United Kingdom
Japan
Germany
Czech Republic
Spain
Belgium
Jordan
Norway
Israel — 67.8
Hungary
France
Saudi Arabia
Turkey
Lebanon
Italy
Egypt
Brazil
Greece
India
China
Syria
Russia
Argentina
Venezuela

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100

Lack of economic freedom   **Full economic freedom**
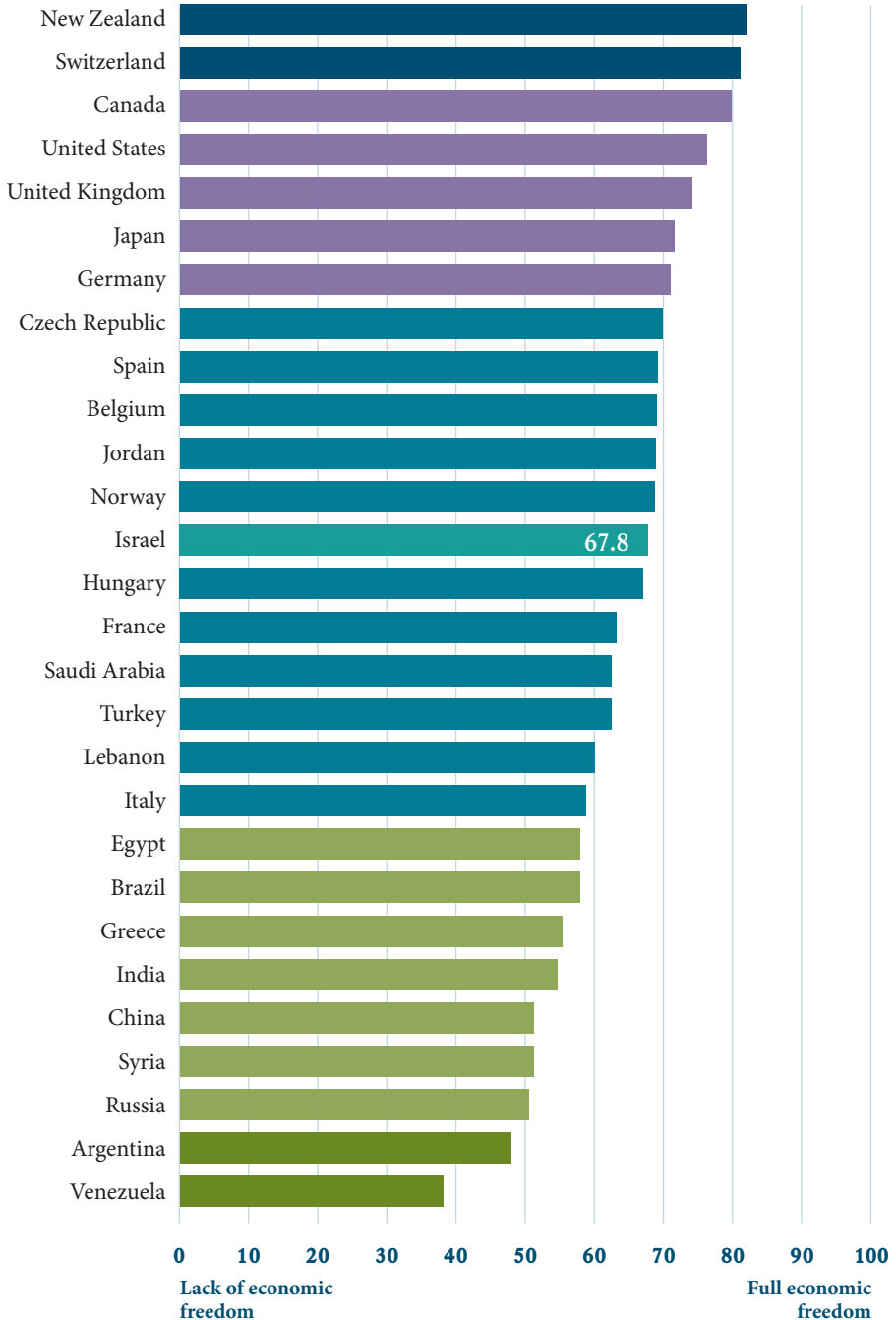
Figure 2.11 Freedom of the press

Norway	
Belguim	
Switzerland	
Germany	
New Zealand	
United States	
Canada	
Czech Republic	
United Kingdom	
Japan	
Spain	
France	
Greece	
Israel	70
Italy	
Hungary	
India	
Brazil	
Argentina	
Lebanon	
Turkey	
Egypt	
Jordan	
Venezuela	
Russia	
Saudi Arabia	
China	
Syria	

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100

No freedom of press   **Full freedom of press**
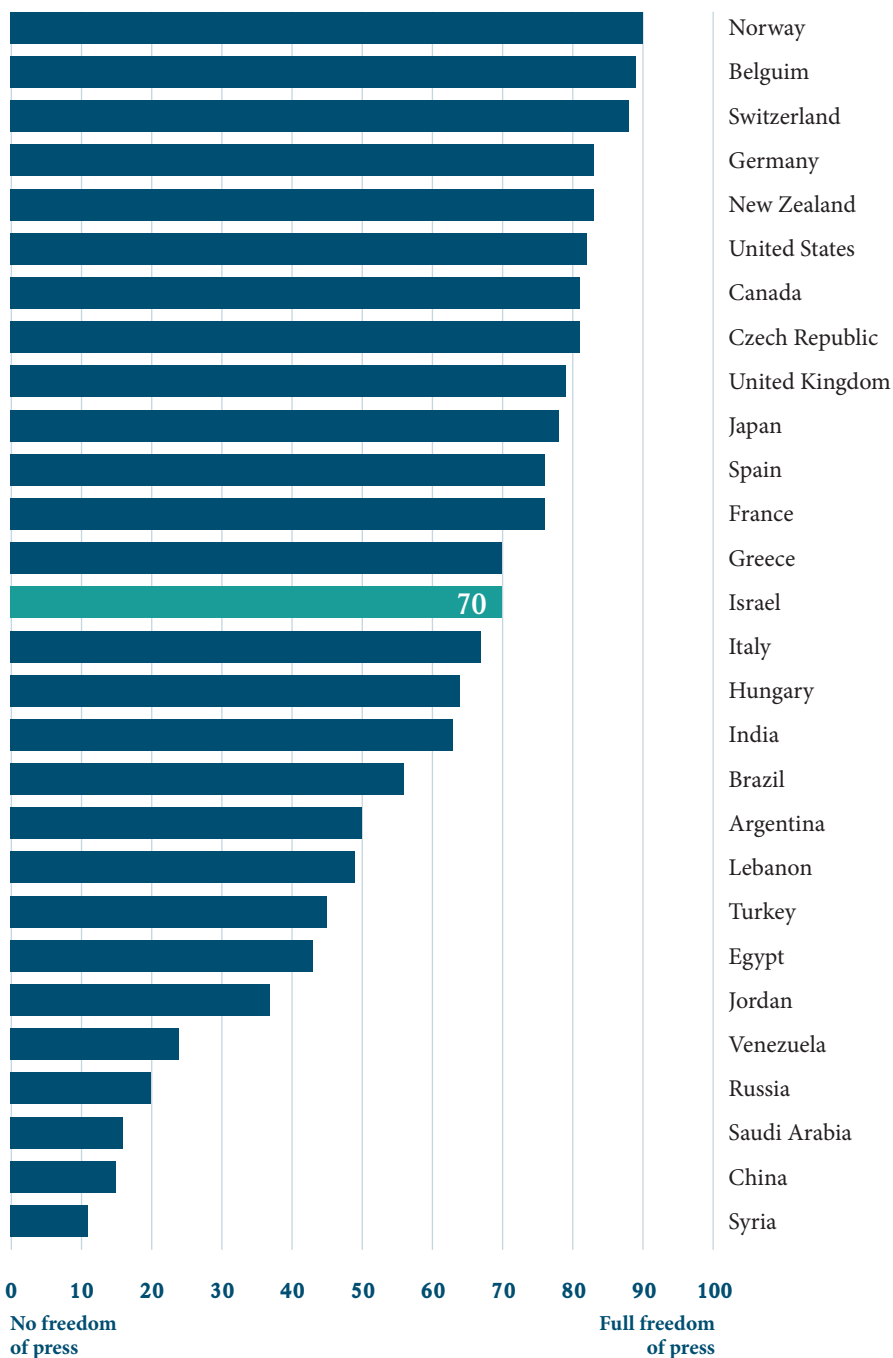
Figure 2.12 Civil liberties

Canada
New Zealand
Norway
Belgium
Czech Republic
Spain
Switzerland
Japan
Greece
India
Germany
United Kingdom
Brazil
France
United States
Italy
Hungary
Argentina
Venezuela
Israel — 5.59
Lebanon
Russia
Turkey
Egypt
Jordan
Saudi Arabia
China
Syria

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Civil liberties not respected   **Civil liberties fully respected**
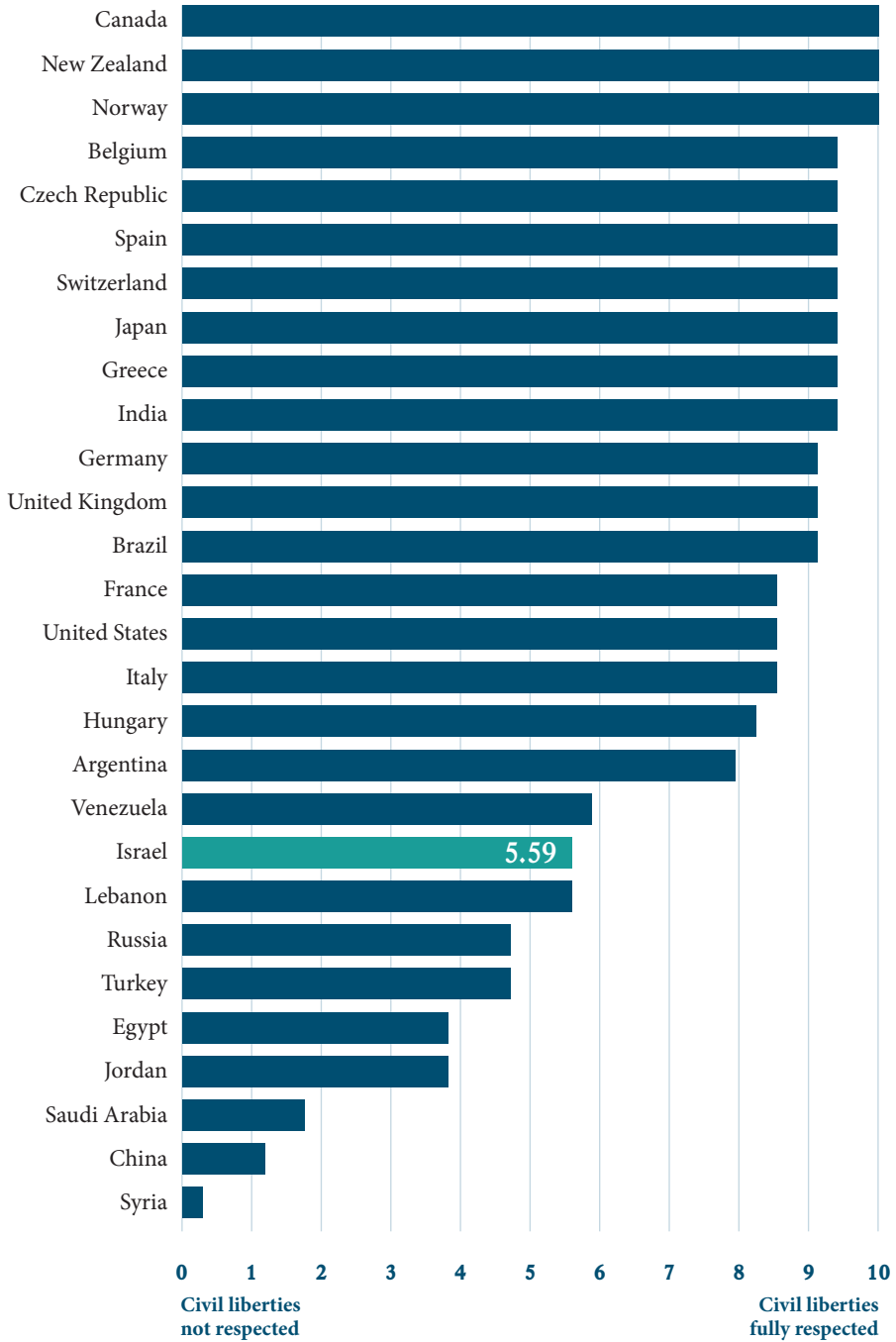
Figure 2.13 Freedom of religion

	Country
	Lebanon
	Canada
	Czech Republic
	New Zealand
	Norway
	Japan
	Hungary
	Brazil
	Belgium
	United States
	Argentina
	Switzerland
	France
	Spain
	Greece
	Gemany
	Italy
	United Kingdom
	Russia
	Saudi Arabia
	China
	Syria
	Egypt
	Israel
	Jordan
	Turkey
	Venezuela
	India

0   1   2

Many restrictions on religious freedom   **Full religious freedom**

Stability Aspect

Religious Tensions: To quantitatively assess the extent of a country's social rifts is an especially difficult task. Consequently, only a few research institutes issue comparative data on this subject. The International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) is perhaps the most noteworthy of the entities that have taken on this formidable challenge.[29] The Religious Tensions Index developed by the ICRG assesses the tensions between a country's religious groups, which may be reflected in attempts to replace civil law with religious law; exclusion of certain religious groups from important political and social processes; suppression and coercion aimed at consolidating the hegemony of a particular religion, and the like. Religious tensions are measured on a scale of 0–6; the higher the score, the less the religious tension. Figure 2.14 displays the scores for the countries surveyed in 2012; of these, Egypt, India, Israel, and Lebanon received the lowest score (2.5), while Canada, Czech Republic, New Zealand, UK, Brazil, and Argentina scored the highest rating (6). Israel's score this year remains the same as in 2011.[30]

Ethnic Tensions: The final index that we included this year as a democracy indicator is that of tensions stemming from differences in nationality or language. Many countries throughout the world are forced to cope with a multitude of rifts in society, but in this respect, Israel represents an extreme example of a divided society in terms of the number and intensity of its schisms. To assess these divisions, we made use of the Ethnic Tensions Index of the ICRG, which measures seven categories on a scale of 0 to 6; the higher the score, the lesser the tensions relating to nationality/

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29 The score assigned to each country is determined by an internal assessment conducted by a team of experts, based on reports by local and international journalists and on publications of international organizations. It should be noted, however, that the ICRG keeps its questionnaire confidential and thus fails to fulfill the requirement of transparency in assessment. For further information, see? The PRS Group, *International Country Risk Guide (ICRG)*, www.prsgroup.com/ICRG.aspx.

30 Religious tensions in Israel were discussed in depth in A. Arian, P. Ben Nun, S. Barnea, R. Ventura, and M. Shamir, *The 2005 Israeli Democracy Index: On the Tenth Anniversary of the Assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin* (Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2005).

language, and vice versa. Of the countries surveyed in 2012, Israel and Turkey received the lowest score (2), while Argentina scored the highest (6), as shown in Figure 2.15. There was no change in Israel's score this year compared with previous years.[31]

31 For further discussion, see previous note.

Figure 2.14 Religious tensions

Country	Value
Canada	6
Czech Republic	6
New Zealand	6
United Kingdom	6
Brazil	6
Argentina	6
Russia	5.5
Norway	5.5
Japan	5.5
Hungary	5.5
United States	5.5
Italy	5.5
China	5
Syria	5
Greece	5
Germany	5
Switzerland	4.5
Spain	4.5
Belgium	4.5
France	4
Jordan	4
Turkey	4
Venezuela	4
Saudi Arabia	3.5
Lebanon	2.5
Israel	2.5
India	2.5
Egypt	2.5

0   1   2   3   4   5   6
Very high tension — **Lack of tension**
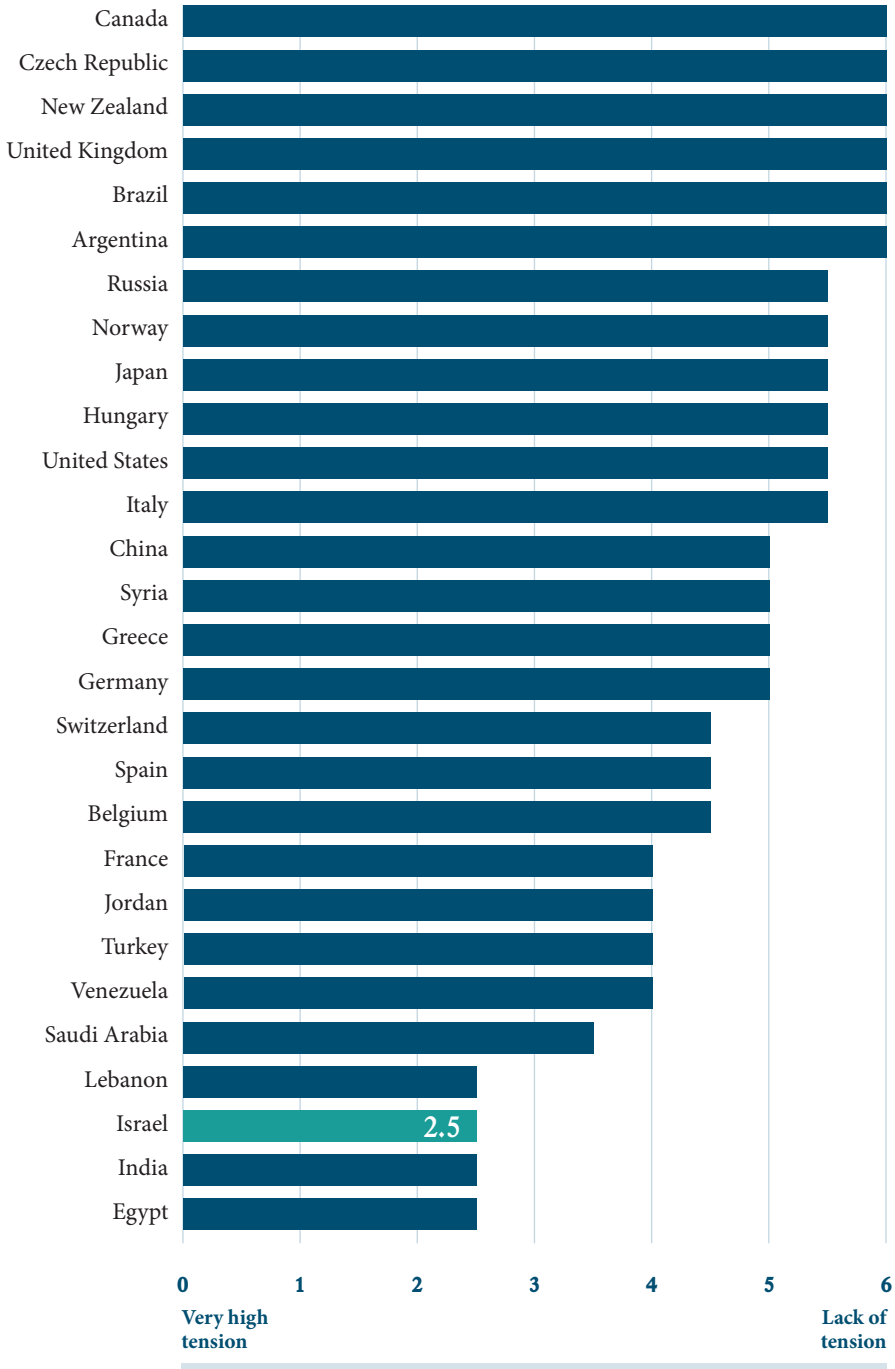
Figure 2.15 Ethnic tensions (nationality/language)

Argentina	
Japan	
Saudi Arabia	
Egypt	
Lebanon	
Greece	
Venezuela	
United States	
Norway	
Italy	
Switzerland	
Czech Republic	
Spain	
Hungary	
Germany	
United Kingdom	
Canada	
China	
New Zealand	
Jordan	
Russia	
Syria	
Brazil	
Belgium	
France	
India	
Israel	2
Turkey	

0   1   2   3   4   5   6

Very high tension   **Lack of tension**
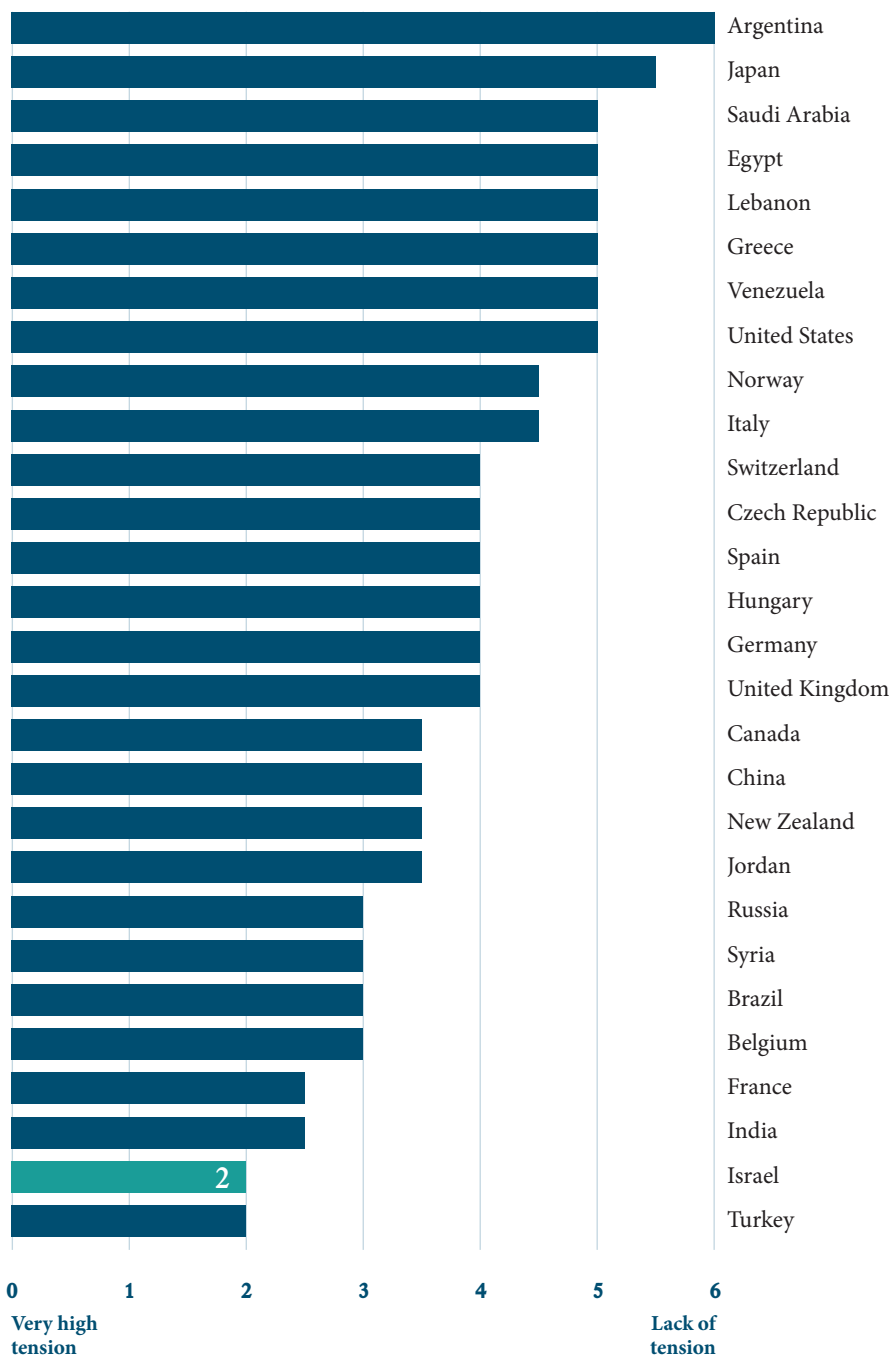
Appendices
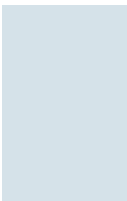
Appendix 1: Israeli Democracy Survey 2012 – Distribution of Responses (percent)

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

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very good	9.5	9.0	12.0
Quite good	28.6	29.4	25.1
So-so	40.5	41.1	37.7
Quite bad	11.4	10.5	15.7
Very bad	8.6	8.6	8.9
Don't know / refuse	1.4	1.4	0.4
Total	100	100	100

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

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
A very large extent	35.5	40.0	14.1
A large extent	29.6	32.9	13.6
Some extent	20.8	17.2	38.2
A small extent	7.9	5.6	18.8
A very small extent	4.7	2.6	14.7
Don't know / refuse	1.5	1.7	0.6
Total	100	100	100

3. How proud are you to be an Israeli?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very proud	57.6	66.6	14.1
Quite proud	23.8	22.5	30.4
Not so proud	9.8	7.6	20.4
Not at all proud	6.8	2.1	29.3
Don't know / refuse	1.9	1.2	5.8
Total	100	100	100

4. Based on your personal understanding of the term "Zionism," how would you characterize the State of Israel today?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very Zionist	15.5	11.7	33.5
Quite Zionist	43.0	44.6	35.1
Not so Zionist	29.7	33.5	11.5
Not at all Zionist	7.6	7.7	7.3
Don't know / refuse	4.2	2.5	12.6
Total	100	100	100

5. And how Zionist are you yourself? (Jews only)

	Jews
Very Zionist	45.3
Quite Zionist	36.4
Not so Zionist	10.2
Not at all Zionist	5.3
Don't know / refuse	2.8
Total	100

6. Do you want to live in Israel in the long term?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very much	72.0	71.9	72.3
Somewhat	18.0	18.8	14.7
Not so much	6.5	6.4	6.8
Not at all	2.3	1.8	4.7
Don't know / refuse	1.2	1.1	1.5
Total	100	100	100

7. What is your opinion of the way the government is handling the state's problems?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Handling them very well	5.6	4.4	11.0
Handling them well	32.8	32.4	34.6
Handling them not so well	38.4	40.3	29.3
Handling them not at all well	20.6	19.7	24.6
Don't know / refuse	2.6	3.2	0.5
Total	100	100	100

8. In your opinion, is the State of Israel today democratic in the right measure, too democratic, or not democratic enough?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Much too democratic	8.0	9.2	2.6
Too democratic	16.0	18.3	5.2
Democratic in the right measure	42.4	42.0	44.0
Not democratic enough	26.6	24.4	37.2
Definitely not democratic enough	4.7	3.4	11.0
Don't know / refuse	2.3	2.7	-
Total	100	100	100

9. Israel is defined as both a Jewish and a democratic state. Which part of this definition is more important to you personally? (Jews only)

	Jews
Jewish	34.3
Democratic	21.8
Both are equally important	41.9
Neither is important*	0.5
Don't know / refuse	1.5
Total	100

* Not read to respondent

10. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that Arab citizens of Israel are discriminated against as compared with Jewish citizens?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Disagree totally	30.9	35.2	10.5
Disagree somewhat	21.2	23.1	12.0
Agree somewhat	25.1	24.5	28.3
Agree strongly	19.5	13.8	46.6
Don't know / refuse	3.3	3.4	2.6
Total	100	100	100

11. In your opinion, does the Arab political leadership represent the prevailing opinions of the Arab community in Israel, or is it more moderate (or more extreme) than most Arab citizens of Israel in its criticism of the state?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
More extreme than most Arab citizens of Israel in its criticism of the state	55.2	62.5	20.4
Represents the prevailing opinions of the Arab community in Israel	24.0	21.2	37.7
More moderate than most Arab citizens of Israel in its criticism of the state	12.4	7.4	36.1
Don't know / refuse	8.4	8.9	5.8
Total	100	100	100

12. In your opinion, is the following statement correct or incorrect? "What Israel needs today is a strong leader who doesn't need to take the Knesset or elections into account."

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Correct	31.8	30.1	39.8
Incorrect	61.1	62.6	53.9
Don't know / refuse	7.1	7.3	6.3
Total	100	100	100

13. How would you rate the level of solidarity (sense of "togetherness") of Jewish society in Israel? Answer on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is "no solidarity at all," and 10 is "very strong solidarity."

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
1 – No solidarity at all	4.1	3.7	6.3
2	2.5	1.8	5.8
3	4.6	4.3	6.3
4	6.4	5.3	12.0
5	18.3	17.9	20.4
6	17.9	19.1	12.0
7	21.4	22.8	14.7
8	14.5	15.3	11.0
9	3.7	3.4	4.7
10 – Very strong solidarity	4.7	5.0	3.1
Don't know / refuse	1.8	1.4	3.7
Total	100	100	100
Average from 1 to 10	**6.0**	**6.2**	**5.4**
Standard deviation	2.1	2.0	2.3
No. of respondents	1,000	831	184

14. In your opinion, should Israel's government get involved in "domestic-social" issues such as the status of women or the curriculum in certain sectors of the population, or should the state allow each sector to act as it sees fit in these areas?

	Total sample	**Jews**	**Arabs**
Should get involved	78.4	80.1	70.2
Should not get involved	18.9	16.8	29.3
Don't know / refuse	2.7	3.1	0.5
Total	100	100	100

15. If the state had an unlimited budget, would you want it to spend more money, less money, or the amount it spends today, on:

Total sample

	Should spend more	**Should spend what it does now**	**Should spend less**	**Don't know/ refuse**	**Total**
15.1 Providing housing assistance for young couples	89.2	7.9	2.1	0.8	100
15.2 Improving the educational system	91.8	6.2	1.2	0.8	100
15.3 Nature and environmental conservation	66.5	26.9	4.8	1.8	100
15.4 Funding religious institutions and yeshivas	19.0	24.2	52.8	4.0	100
15.5 Health	89.0	8.8	1.4	0.8	100
15.6 Strengthening the army and improving security	57.0	27.9	12.8	2.3	100
15.7 Increasing social benefits (unemployment, old age, disability, children's)	80.7	14.2	2.8	2.3	100
15.8 Settling the territories	27.8	23.9	42.4	5.9	100

	Should spend more	Should spend what it does now	Should spend less	Don't know/ refuse	Total
15.9 Improving situation of Arab sector	51.3	23.4	20.5	4.8	100
15.10 Creating jobs	88.2	8.5	1.9	1.4	100
15.11 Improving infrastructure, e.g., highways, trains, earthquake protection	76.9	19.0	3.2	0.9	100

Jews

	Should spend more	Should spend what it does now	Should spend less	Don't know/ refuse	Total
15.1 Providing housing assistance for young couples	89.1	7.9	2.2	0.8	100
15.2 Improving the educational system	91.9	6.1	1.2	0.8	100
15.3 Nature and environmental conservation	65.4	27.4	5.3	1.9	100
15.4 Funding religious institutions and yeshivas	20.4	23.2	53.3	3.1	100
15.5 Health	89.5	8.0	1.6	0.9	100
15.6 Strengthening the army and improving security	65.4	25.2	7.3	2.1	100
15.7 Increasing social benefits (unemployment, old age, disability, children's)	80.4	14.1	3.0	2.5	100
15.8 Settling the territories	31.8	24.7	37.7	5.8	100
15.9 Improving situation of Arab sector	42.3	27.3	24.7	5.7	100
15.10 Creating jobs	86.9	9.1	2.2	1.6	100
15.11 Improving infrastructure, e.g., highways, trains, earthquake protection	75.4	20.2	3.5	0.9	100

Arabs

	Should spend more	Should spend what it does now	Should spend less	Don't know/ refuse	Total
15.1 Providing housing assistance for young couples	89.5	7.9	2.1	0.5	100
15.2 Improving the educational system	91.6	6.8	1.6	-	100
15.3 Nature and environmental conservation	71.7	24.6	2.6	1.1	100
15.4 Funding religious institutions and yeshivas	12.6	28.8	50.3	8.3	100
15.5 Health	86.9	12.6	0.5	-	100
15.6 Strengthening the army and improving security	16.8	40.8	38.7	3.7	100
15.7 Increasing social benefits (unemployment, old age, disability, children's)	82.2	14.7	1.6	1.5	100
15.8 Settling the territories	8.9	19.9	64.9	6.3	100
15.9 Improving situation of Arab sector	94.8	4.7	0.5	-	100
15.10 Creating jobs	94.2	5.2	0.5	0.1	100
15.11 Improving infrastructure, e.g., highways, trains, earthquake protection	83.8	13.6	1.6	1.0	100

16. But since the budget of the state is limited, and it is not possible to spend more money on all of these areas, which one do you consider the most deserving of added funds?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Providing housing assistance for young couples	10.6	11.5	6.3
Improving the educational system	37.1	39.3	26.7
Nature and environmental conservation	0.8	0.8	1.0
Funding religious institutions and yeshivas	1.2	1.4	0.5
Health	15.8	16.6	12.0
Strengthening the army and improving security	12.7	14.7	3.1
Increasing social benefits (unemployment, old age, disability, children's)	7.5	7.1	9.4
Settling the territories	0.5	0.5	0.5
Improving situation of Arab sector	3.8	0.7	18.8
Creating jobs	6.0	3.5	18.3
Improving infrastructure, e.g., highways, trains, earthquake protection	1.7	1.6	2.1
Don't know / refuse	2.3	2.3	1.3
Total	100	100	100

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

Total sample

	To a large extent	To some extent	To a small extent	Not at all	Don't know/ refuse	Total
17.1 Political parties	5.4	28.7	30.5	31.5	3.9	100
17.2 Prime Minister	19.7	36.7	18.7	22.8	2.1	100
17.3 Media	14.0	32.3	26.1	25.7	1.9	100
17.4 Supreme Court	42.9	30.5	12.3	10.7	3.6	100
17.5 Police	20.9	40.0	21.3	15.8	2.0	100
17.6 President of Israel	56.1	22.5	9.6	9.3	2.5	100
17.7 Knesset	14.3	38.4	26.1	18.2	3.0	100
17.8 Army (IDF)	65.0	20.2	5.8	7.1	1.9	100
17.9 Government	15.5	41.3	22.5	18.0	2.7	100
17.10 State Comptroller	41.3	31.4	10.9	9.1	7.3	100

Jews

	To a large extent	To some extent	To a small extent	Not at all	Don't know/ refuse	Total
17.1 Political parties	4.5	29.3	32.4	29.8	4.0	100
17.2 Prime Minister	22.4	39.1	18.8	17.8	1.9	100
17.3 Media	12.2	31.3	27.9	26.6	2.0	100
17.4 Supreme Court	43.3	29.2	12.8	11.0	3.7	100
17.5 Police	20.0	40.6	22.5	14.9	2.0	100
17.6 President of Israel	63.6	20.7	7.6	6.0	2.1	100
17.7 Knesset	14.3	38.6	27.2	16.9	3.0	100
17.8 Army (IDF)	75.3	18.9	2.9	1.8	1.1	100
17.9 Government	16.5	43.8	22.3	14.8	2.6	100
17.10 State Comptroller	45.3	31.8	8.9	6.8	7.2	100

Arabs

	To a large extent	To some extent	To a small extent	Not at all	Don't know/ refuse	Total
17.1 Political parties	9.4	26.2	21.5	39.8	3.1	100
17.2 Prime Minister	6.8	25.1	17.8	46.6	3.7	100
17.3 Media	22.5	37.2	17.3	21.5	1.5	100
17.4 Supreme Court	41.4	36.6	9.9	9.4	2.7	100
17.5 Police	25.1	37.2	15.7	19.9	2.1	100
17.6 President of Israel	20.4	31.4	18.8	25.1	4.3	100
17.7 Knesset	14.1	37.2	20.9	24.6	3.2	100
17.8 Army (IDF)	15.7	26.7	19.4	32.5	5.7	100
17.9 Government	11.0	29.3	23.6	33.5	2.6	100
17.10 State Comptroller	22.0	29.8	20.4	20.4	7.3	100

Discussion on pp. 40, 58

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

Total sample

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree totally	Don't know/ refuse	Total
18.1 Speakers should be prohibited from harshly criticizing the State of Israel in public.	28.8	19.8	15.1	32.4	3.9	100
18.2 It is never acceptable under any circumstances to employ violence for political ends.	76.6	10.9	3.8	7.5	1.2	100
18.3 Overall, most members of Knesset work hard and are doing a good job.	7.6	26.3	30.2	31.6	4.3	100
18.4 Politicians look out more for their own interests than for those of the public.	47.9	30.2	12.7	5.8	3.4	100

Jews

	To a large extent	To some extent	To a small extent	Not at all	Don't know/ refuse	Total
18.1 Speakers should be prohibited from harshly criticizing the State of Israel in public.	33.1	19.5	16.5	26.6	4.3	100
18.2 It is never acceptable under any circumstances to employ violence for political ends.	75.5	11.4	3.8	8.0	1.3	100
18.3 Overall, most members of Knesset work hard and are doing a good job.	7.8	25.7	29.6	32.3	4.6	100
18.4 Politicians look out more for their own interests than for those of the public.	49.9	30.3	11.4	5.4	3.0	100

Arabs

	To a large extent	To some extent	To a small extent	Not at all	Don't know/ refuse	Total
18.1 Speakers should be prohibited from harshly criticizing the State of Israel in public.	7.9	20.9	8.4	60.2	2.6	100
18.2 It is never acceptable under any circumstances to employ violence for political ends.	81.7	8.4	4.2	4.7	1.0	100
18.3 Overall, most members of Knesset work hard and are doing a good job.	6.8	28.8	33.0	28.3	3.1	100
18.4 Politicians look out more for their own interests than for those of the public.	38.2	29.3	18.8	7.9	5.8	100

19. How interested are you in politics?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
To a large extent	28.4	29.8	21.5
To some extent	38.3	38.9	35.6
To a small extent	21.1	19.8	27.7
Not at all	12.0	11.4	15.2
Don't know / refuse	0.2	0.1	-
Total	100	100	100

20. To what extent are you and your friends able to influence government policy?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
To a large extent	9.5	10.5	4.7
To some extent	25.4	25.5	25.1
To a small extent	34.9	35.4	32.5
Not at all	27.8	26.1	36.1
Don't know / refuse	2.4	2.5	1.6
Total	100	100	100

21. In your opinion, how much can ordinary citizens influence government policy in Israel today, via each of the following avenues?

Total sample

	Not at all	To a small extent	To a large extent	To a very large extent	Don't know/ refuse	Total
21.1 Knesset elections	7.9	29.2	35.5	25.2	2.2	100
21.2 Membership or active role in a civic organization or NGO dealing with social/political issues	13.8	38.8	30.0	10.8	6.6	100
21.3 Internet protests	13.2	30.3	31.9	17.7	6.9	100
21.4 Party membership	13.4	39.2	29.8	10.5	7.1	100
21.5 Participation in demonstrations	11.6	35.4	33.5	15.7	3.8	100
21.6 Use of force	59.8	21.0	9.0	3.7	6.5	100

Jews

	Not at all	To a small extent	To a large extent	To a very large extent	Don't know/ refuse	Total
21.1 Knesset elections	7.4	28.5	36.7	25.2	2.2	100
21.2 Membership or active role in a civic organization or NGO dealing with social/political issues	13.9	39.2	29.6	11.3	6.0	100
21.3 Internet protests	12.1	31.3	32.8	17.2	6.6	100
21.4 Party membership	13.0	39.4	30.2	10.1	7.3	100
21.5 Participation in demonstrations	9.5	37.2	33.5	15.7	4.1	100
21.6 Use of force	60.5	21.2	7.7	3.1	7.5	100

Arabs

	Not at all	To a small extent	To a large extent	To a very large extent	Don't know/ refuse	Total
21.1 Knesset elections	10.5	32.5	29.8	25.1	2.1	100
21.2 Membership or active role in a civic organization or NGO dealing with social/political issues	13.6	37.2	31.4	8.4	9.4	100
21.3 Internet protests	18.3	25.7	27.7	20.4	7.9	100
21.4 Party membership	15.2	38.2	27.7	12.6	6.3	100
21.5 Participation in demonstrations	22.0	26.7	33.5	15.7	2.1	100
21.6 Use of force	56.5	19.9	15.2	6.3	2.1	100

22. Is there a political party in Israel today that truly represents your views?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Yes, there is	37.6	39.6	27.7
No, there isn't	57.0	54.7	68.1
Don't know / refuse	5.4	5.7	4.2
Total	100	100	100

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

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
I do not support and am not active in any party	75.2	77.2	65.4
I've joined a party, but do not really see myself as a member	3.6	2.9	7.3
I support a party, but am not a member	14.2	14.1	14.7
I am a member of a party	2.7	3.1	1.0
I am an active member of a party	1.3	1.1	2.6
I am a member and hold a position in a party	0.2	0.3	-
Don't know / refuse	2.8	1.3	9.0
Total	100	100	100

24. Are you a member of, or active in, a civic organization or NGO dealing with social-political issues?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Yes	10.0	8.8	15.7
No	88.3	90.4	78.5
Don't know / refuse	1.7	0.8	5.8
Total	100	100	100

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

Total sample

	Disagree totally	Disagree somewhat	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly	Don't know/ refuse	Total
25.1 Competition between parties strengthens Israel's democracy	18.6	17.5	34.5	24.3	5.1	100
25.2 The parties in Israel reflect the people's views	23.1	27.1	33.8	9.5	6.5	100
25.3 It doesn't matter which party you vote for; it won't change the situation	33.9	17.2	20.2	22.6	6.1	100

Jews

	Disagree totally	Disagree somewhat	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly	Don't know/ refuse	Total
25.1 Competition between parties strengthens Israel's democracy	18.9	19.5	34.7	21.9	5.0	100
25.2 The parties in Israel reflect the people's views	23.9	28.0	33.0	8.4	6.7	100
25.3 It doesn't matter which party you vote for; it won't change the situation	34.3	18.3	19.7	21.1	6.6	100

Arabs

	Disagree totally	Disagree somewhat	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly	Don't know/ refuse	Total
25.1 Competition between parties strengthens Israel's democracy	17.3	8.4	33.5	35.6	5.3	100
25.2 The parties in Israel reflect the people's views	19.4	23.0	37.2	15.2	5.2	100
25.3 It doesn't matter which party you vote for; it won't change the situation	31.9	12.0	23.0	29.8	3.3	100

26. Do you feel that there are differences between the parties in their ability to handle the country's problems?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Yes, there are	64.8	63.8	69.6
No, there aren't	29.5	30.1	26.7
Don't know / refuse	5.7	6.1	3.7
Total	100	100	100

27. There are various factors that cause people to vote for a particular party in Knesset elections. How much do each of the following factors influence you personally to vote for a specific party?

Total sample

	Influences	Influences somewhat	Doesn't influence	Don't know	Total
27.1 Party platform	53.8	19.6	23.7	2.9	100
27.2 What the party did in previous Knesset for people like you	52.1	20.1	22.6	5.2	100
27.3 Party's list of candidates for Knesset	46.8	24.2	24.2	4.8	100
27.4 Loyalty to party that you voted for in past	28.6	23.3	42.2	5.9	100
27.5 Party leader	63.2	13.8	19.3	3.7	100
27.6 Party's chances of being in the government following elections	46.1	17.3	31.5	5.1	100

Jews

	Influences	Influences somewhat	Doesn't influence	Don't know	Total
27.1 Party platform	54.6	21.2	21.6	2.6	100
27.2 What the party did in previous Knesset for people like you	53.0	19.3	22.7	5.0	100
27.3 Party's list of candidates for Knesset	48.2	25.0	22.3	4.5	100
27.4 Loyalty to party that you voted for in past	27.9	22.2	44.0	5.9	100
27.5 Party leader	65.6	13.8	17.2	3.4	100
27.6 Party's chances of being in the government following elections	48.1	16.2	30.6	5.1	100

Arabs

	Influences	Influences somewhat	Doesn't influence	Don't know	Total
27.1 Party platform	49.7	12.0	34.0	4.2	100
27.2 What the party did in previous Knesset for people like you	47.6	24.1	22.5	5.8	100
27.3 Party's list of candidates for Knesset	40.3	20.4	33.5	5.8	100
27.4 Loyalty to party that you voted for in past	31.9	28.3	34.0	5.8	100
27.5 Party leader	51.3	14.1	29.3	5.3	100
27.6 Party's chances of being in the government following elections	36.6	22.5	35.6	5.3	100

28. Of the factors that you cited as influencing you, which is the **primary** factor affecting your decision about which party to vote for in Knesset elections?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Party platform	20.8	20.5	22.0
What the party did in previous Knesset for people like you	20.1	21.1	15.2
Party's list of candidates for Knesset	5.8	5.1	8.9
Loyalty to party that you voted for in past	4.1	3.6	6.3
Party leader	26.0	28.4	14.7
Party's chances of being in the government following elections	8.3	8.7	6.3
All factors equally / there is no primary one	3.5	2.7	7.3
None of the above	2.1	1.9	3.6
Don't know / refuse	9.3	8.0	15.7
Total	100	100	100

29. Last summer (2011), mass protests took place in Israel under the slogan: "The people want social justice." In your opinion, was this a protest of the majority, of a significant portion of the public, or of only a minority?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
The majority	35.8	36.1	34.0
A significant portion	37.4	38.7	30.9
Only a minority	23.1	21.4	31.4
Don't know / refuse	3.7	3.8	3.7
Total	100	100	100

30. In your opinion, did the protests succeed or fail in the following areas?:

Total sample

	Succeeded	Succeeded somewhat	Failed	Don't know / refuse	Total
30.1 Raising public awareness of the social/economic gaps in Israeli society	46.0	28.6	20.6	4.8	100
30.2 Changing the government's social/economic priorities	13.4	41.2	39.7	5.7	100
30.3 Weakening the status and influence of the wealthiest tier	11.4	27.7	52.0	8.9	100
30.4 Increasing media interest in social/economic issues	51.2	27.1	14.9	6.8	100

Jews

	Succeeded	Succeeded somewhat	Failed	Don't know / refuse	Total
30.1 Raising public awareness of the social/economic gaps in Israeli society	46.7	27.8	20.5	5.0	100
30.2 Changing the government's social/economic priorities	12.8	42.1	39.5	5.6	100
30.3 Weakening the status and influence of the wealthiest tier	10.3	25.8	55.4	8.5	100
30.4 Increasing media interest in social/economic issues	50.3	27.4	15.4	6.9	100

Arabs

	Succeeded	Succeeded somewhat	Failed	Don't know / refuse	Total
30.1 Raising public awareness of the social/economic gaps in Israeli society	42.4	32.5	20.9	4.2	100
30.2 Changing the government's social/economic priorities	16.2	36.6	40.3	6.9	100
30.3 Weakening the status and influence of the wealthiest tier	16.8	36.6	35.6	11.0	100
30.4 Increasing media interest in social/economic issues	56.0	25.7	12.6	5.7	100

31. Did you participate in one or more of the protest events last summer (2011)?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Participated	25.5	27.6	15.7
Did not participate	73.7	71.8	82.7
Don't know / refuse	0.8	0.6	1.6
Total	100	100	100

32. In your view, is the call for "social justice" a political demand or an apolitical one?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Political	40.6	41.2	37.7
Apolitical	52.7	52.5	53.9
Don't know / refuse	6.7	6.3	8.4
Total	100	100	100

33. Which of these things do you think will happen in the near future (the next 10–15 years)?

Total sample

	Will happen	Won't happen	Don't know	Total
33.1 Israel will be capable of defending itself militarily	81.5	11.7	6.8	100
33.2 Israel will become a much more religious state	40.5	52.1	7.4	100
33.3 Israel will lose its Jewish character	18.2	76.4	5.4	100
33.4 Israel will be more isolated internationally than it is today	36.6	53.1	10.3	100
33.5 Violent social/economic protest will erupt in Israel	40.9	48.1	11.0	100
33.6 A peace agreement will be signed with the Palestinians	25.3	67.6	7.1	100
33.7 Israel will maintain its status as a leading high-tech nation	83.4	11.6	5.0	100

Jews

	Will happen	Won't happen	Don't know	Total
33.1 Israel will be capable of defending itself militarily	85.4	8.3	6.3	100
33.2 Israel will become a much more religious state	38.6	53.5	7.9	100
33.3 Israel will lose its Jewish character	17.1	78.2	4.7	100
33.4 Israel will be more isolated internationally than it is today	32.7	56.3	11.0	100
33.5 Violent social/economic protest will erupt in Israel	34.4	53.2	12.4	100
33.6 A peace agreement will be signed with the Palestinians	22.5	69.9	7.6	100
33.7 Israel will maintain its status as a leading high-tech nation	84.9	10.1	5.0	100

Arabs

	Will happen	Won't happen	Don't know	Total
33.1 Israel will be capable of defending itself militarily	62.8	28.3	8.9	100
33.2 Israel will become a much more religious state	49.7	45.5	4.8	100
33.3 Israel will lose its Jewish character	23.6	68.1	8.3	100
33.4 Israel will be more isolated internationally than it is today	55.5	37.7	6.8	100
33.5 Violent social/economic protest will erupt in Israel	71.7	23.6	4.7	100
33.6 A peace agreement will be signed with the Palestinians	38.7	56.5	4.8	100
33.7 Israel will maintain its status as a leading high-tech nation	75.9	18.3	5.8	100

34. I am going to read you a list of what were considered for many years to be the major areas of tension in Israeli society. How would you characterize the level of tension in each of these areas today?

Total sample

	Severe	So-so	Not severe	Don't know / refuse	Total
34.1 Mizrahim / Ashkenazim	23.3	42.6	30.3	3.8	100
34.2 Religious / secular	59.7	28.9	9.5	1.9	100
34.3 Right / left (on political/security issues)	51.8	33.3	10.5	4.4	100
34.4 Rich / poor	55.7	29.4	11.9	3.0	100
34.5 Jews a/nd Arabs	70.6	21.8	5.5	2.1	100

Jews

	Severe	So-so	Not severe	Don't know / refuse	Total
34.1 Mizrahim / Ashkenazim	21.2	43.1	33.4	2.3	100
34.2 Religious / secular	59.1	29.8	9.4	1.7	100
34.3 Right / left (on political/security issues)	51.7	34.5	9.8	4.0	100
34.4 Rich / poor	56.1	29.4	11.1	3.4	100
34.5 Jews / Arabs	72.2	20.9	4.3	2.6	100

Arabs

	Severe	So-so	Not severe	Don't know / refuse	Total
34.1 Mizrahim / Ashkenazim	33.5	40.3	15.2	11.0	100
34.2 Religious / secular	62.8	24.6	9.9	2.7	100
34.3 Right / left (on political/security issues)	52.4	27.7	14.1	5.8	100
34.4 Rich / poor	53.9	29.3	15.7	1.0	100
34.5 Jews / Arabs	62.8	26.2	11.0	-	100

35. And which of these areas of tension do you consider to be the most glaring today in Israeli society?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Mizrahim / Ashkenazim	3.0	2.7	4.2
Religious / secular	20.3	21.2	16.2
Right / left (on political/security issues)	8.7	8.6	8.9
Rich / poor	13.2	14.3	8.4
Jews / Arabs	47.9	47.5	50.3
All equal/no difference in intensity	2.7	2.3	4.7
Don't know / refuse	4.2	3.4	7.3
Total	100	100	100

36. How would you assess the integration of immigrants from the Former Soviet Union (post-1990) in Israeli society?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very successful	30.0	30.5	27.7
Quite successful	41.9	45.0	27.2
Not so successful	17.0	17.0	17.3
Not at all successful	6.9	4.7	17.8
Don't know / refuse	4.2	2.8	10.0
Total	100	100	100

37. And how would you assess the integration of immigrants from Ethiopia (post-1990) in Israeli society?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very successful	7.0	5.5	14.1
Quite successful	16.2	15.1	21.5
Not so successful	38.3	41.0	25.1
Not at all successful	32.8	33.2	30.9
Don't know / refuse	5.7	5.2	8.4
Total	100	100	100

38. Every society in the world is divided into stronger and weaker groups. Which group in Israeli society do you feel you belong to today?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Strong group	21.1	21.3	20.4
Somewhat strong group	43.8	47.0	28.8
Somewhat weak group	17.3	16.2	23.0
Weak group	11.7	8.9	25.1
Don't know / refuse	6.1	6.1	2.7
Total	100	100	100

39. In your opinion, is the claim that men make better political leaders than women do correct or incorrect?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Correct	32.2	31.8	34.0
Incorrect	64.9	64.8	65.4
Don't know / refuse	2.9	3.4	0.6
Total	100	100	100

40. In certain Western countries, in order for a party to receive state funding, at least one third of its list must be made up of women. Do you support or oppose such a proposal for Israel?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Support	63.8	62.9	68.1
Oppose	30.0	30.4	28.3
Don't know / refuse	6.2	6.2	3.6
Total	100	100	100

41. In general, are you optimistic or pessimistic about Israel's future?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Very optimistic	38.4	40.1	30.4
Quite optimistic	37.2	38.7	29.8
Quite pessimistic	16.0	14.6	22.5
Very pessimistic	5.8	3.5	16.8
Don't know / refuse	2.6	3.1	0.5
Total	100	100	100

42. (Optimists only) State the factor that plays the biggest role in your optimism about Israel's future. (open-ended question)

43. (Pessimists only) State the factor that plays the biggest role in your pessimism about Israel's future. (open-ended question)

44. How would you define yourself from a political/security point of view? (See Table 2 in Appendix 4.)

45. In your opinion, which of the following is the optimal economic/social system?

	Total sample	Jews	Arabs
Strong state intervention in economic/social matters (socialism)	20.6	18.0	33.0
Some state intervention in economic/social matters (social democracy)	59.8	62.7	46.1
No state intervention in economic/social matters (capitalism)	11.3	11.7	9.4
Don't know / refuse	8.3	7.6	11.5
Total	100	100	100

Appendix 2: Distribution of 2012 Survey Results Compared with Previous Years[1] (percent)

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

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Very good	2.5	2.3	2.8	3.1	3.2	5.3	4.3	5.8	6.4	9.5
Quite good	8.6	11.1	16.5	19.4	11.4	23.1	26.9	33.9	21.4	28.6
So-so	26.1	32.9	37.5	38.2	34.3	35.7	38.4	35.2	41.0	40.5
Quite bad	24.3	22.7	16.8	18.4	25.0	16.1	17.1	13.8	16.0	11.4
Very bad	38.5	30.6	25.8	20.4	25.2	18.2	12.2	9.8	13.7	8.6
Don't know / refuse	-	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.9	1.6	1.1	1.5	1.5	1.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
A very large extent	52.0	45.3	43.6	35.3	28.0	28.1	32.3	33.5	39.6	35.5
A large extent	26.2	27.4	29.0	33.6	30.3	27.0	31.4	30.8	29.9	29.6
Some extent	12.7	16.8	14.4	20.5	25.3	27.6	23.6	22.0	18.2	20.8
A small extent	5.3	6.1	4.4	7.3	9.5	9.8	7.3	7.8	5.5	7.9
A very small extent	3.5	3.6	3.0	3.1	5.7	6.2	4.7	4.8	6.7	4.7
Don't know / refuse	0.3	0.8	5.6	0.2	1.2	1.3	0.7	1.1	0.1	1.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

1 (a) The comparative analysis presents the results of the entire sample, including the category "don't know / refuse"; (b) The wording of the questions and responses is based on the 2012 Democracy Survey; in cases where the wording differed in past Democracy Indexes, or a particular response did not appear in a given year, this is mentioned in a footnote beneath the relevant table; (c) N/A indicates that the question was not asked or that the category was not suggested in this year.

3. How proud are you to be an Israeli?

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Very proud	57.6	48.8	52.1	55.6	46.6	53.0	50.4	56.2	58.1	57.6
Quite proud	26.1	28.4	26.7	29.7	28.7	25.1	27.3	23.1	24.6	23.8
Not so proud	9.2	13.7	12.8	8.5	13.9	13.2	12.7	12.7	8.8	9.8
Not at all proud	6.9	7.5	7.3	5.6	9.3	6.9	8.0	5.9	7.2	6.8
Don't know / refuse	0.2	1.6	1.1	0.6	1.5	1.8	1.6	2.1	1.3	2.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

6 . Do you want to live in Israel in the long term?

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Very much*	79.7	76.7	73.6	78.3	63.8	64.6	74.1	73.3	78.3	72.0
Somewhat*	8.2	9.4	15.0	10.5	15.3	17.3	10.6	12.6	9.6	18.0
Not so much*	8.2	8.8	8.1	6.7	12.7	11.4	10.0	7.8	8.2	6.5
Not at all*	3.4	4.6	2.3	3.5	7.5	5.2	4.6	5.8	3.1	2.3
Don't know / refuse	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	0.7	1.5	0.7	0.5	0.8	1.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*   In the Israeli Democracy Index of 2011 (and the preceding years), the corresponding categories were: "certain that I want to"; "want to, but am not certain"; "I have doubts"; "certain that I don't want to."

7. What is your opinion of the way the government is handling the state's problems?

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Handling them very well	2.0	1.6	1.8	2.7	1.6	2.2		2.0	2.3	5.6
Handling them well	20.0	19.7	20.2	22.3	11.1	15.6		23.0	22.3	32.8
Handling them not so well	42.1	42.6	43.9	42.9	39.5	43.0	N/A	49.3	44.3	38.4
Handling them not at all well	35.1	33.3	32.5	31.3	46.3	37.1		22.2	27.2	20.6
Don't know / refuse	0.8	2.8	1.6	0.8	1.5	2.1		3.5	3.9	2.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100	100	100

8. In your opinion, is the State of Israel today democratic in the right measure, too democratic, or not democratic enough?

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Much too democratic	4.9	9.6	8.1	4.6			7.2	6.8	7.6	8.0
Too democratic	15.5	16.2	15.3	12.5			18.7	20.3	16.8	16.0
Democratic in the right measure	46.2	29.7	39.4	36.5			32.8	34.0	34.1	42.4
Not democratic enough	25.5	34.2	29.0	34.1	N/A	N/A	27.3	29.0	27.5	26.6
Definitely not democratic enough	7.3	8.7	7.2	11.5			10.4	6.6	11.8	4.7
Don't know / refuse	0.6	1.6	1.0	0.8			3.6	3.3	2.2	2.3
Total	100	100	100	100	-	-	100	100	100	100

9. Israel is defined as both a Jewish and a democratic state. Which part of this definition is more important to you personally? (Jews only)

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Jewish								32.4	29.5	34.3
Democratic								17.0	22.9	21.8
Both are equally important	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	48.1	46.1	41.9
Neither is important								1.7	1.0	0.5
Don't know / refuse								0.8	0.5	1.5
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	100	100

Discussion on p. 62   10. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that Arab citizens of Israel are discriminated against as compared with Jewish citizens?

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Disagree totally	27.4	23.8	21.9	27.4	20.8	27.3	36.0		29.8	30.9
Disagree somewhat*	17.1	10.8	21.7	18.1	22.4	19.7	20.3		17.2	21.2
Agree somewhat*	30.2	30.6	26.0	25.0	24.9	24.4	17.7	N/A	27.0	25.1
Agree strongly*	24.9	32.3	29.2	28.3	27.9	25.6	22.6		22.7	19.5
Don't know / refuse	0.4	2.5	1.2	1.2	4.0	3.0	3.4		3.3	3.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100	100

*   In the Israeli Democracy Index of 2011 and earlier, the corresponding categories were: "do not agree at all"; "agree to a small extent"; "agree somewhat"; "agree strongly."

Discussion on p. 40   12. In your opinion, is the following statement correct or incorrect? "What Israel needs today is a strong leader who doesn't need to take the Knesset or elections into account."*

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Incorrect	43.4	40.6	41.8	39.0	29.0	33.5	35.2	53.5	63.7	61.1
Correct	56.0	56.2	56.5	59.4	65.5	60.9	59.5	41.8	32.4	31.8
Don't know / refuse	0.6	3.2	1.7	1.6	5.5	5.6	5.3	4.7	3.9	7.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*   In 2003-2009, the statement was worded: "A few strong leaders can be more useful to the country than all the discussions and the laws." The four response categories, ranging from "definitely agree" to "definitely disagree," have been grouped for comparative purposes into the present wording of "correct" and "incorrect." In 2010 and 2011, the corresponding question related to various forms of government, and was worded as follows: "What is your opinion of a strong leader who does not need to take the Knesset or elections into account?" The possible responses were: "very bad" and "somewhat bad" (grouped together this year for purposes of comparison under the category "incorrect") and "somewhat good" and "very good" (grouped together for purposes of comparison under the category "correct").

13. How would you rate the level of solidarity (sense of "togetherness")
of Jewish society in Israel? Answer on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is "no
solidarity at all," and 10 is "very strong solidarity."

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Average between 1 and 10 total sample									5.8	6.0
Jews	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5.8	6.2
Arabs									6.1	5.4

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

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Political parties										
Not at all	34.0	37.8	50.3	41.3	44.1	46.9	35.4	32.6	28.3	31.5
To a small extent	33.4	34.0	31.6	35.9	32.5	36.1	39.9	39.3	32.7	30.5
To some extent	28.0	22.8	15.5	19.2	17.5	13.5	16.9	19.8	31.9	28.7
To a large extent	4.3	3.8	2.1	3.2	3.1	1.8	2.7	4.0	3.7	5.4
Don't know / refuse	0.3	1.6	0.5	0.4	2.8	1.7	5.1	4.3	3.4	3.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Prime Minister										
Not at all	25.6	31.3	38.1	32.6	46.7	55.1	33.9	35.3	25.3	22.8
To a small extent	21.4	23.4	22.6	23.9	30.5	26.8	29.2	24.8	24.0	18.7
To some extent	33.2	31.7	25.7	28.0	16.7	13.3	25.8	27.8	33.3	36.7
To a large extent	19.6	12.8	13.1	13.5	3.7	3.5	8.0	10.7	16.3	19.7
Don't know / refuse	0.2	0.8	0.5	2.0	2.4	1.3	3.1	1.7	1.1	2.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Media										
Not at all	28.1	23.8	24.3	28.9	26.5	30.4	30.3	34.5	24.4	25.7
To a small extent	23.3	24.8	25.2	27.0	27.3	31.9	34.1	30.3	22.8	26.1
To some extent	36.8	36.3	35.0	32.6	31.9	28.7	26.7	24.1	37.4	32.3
To a large extent	11.8	14.7	15.1	11.4	12.5	8.3	7.8	9.7	14.4	14.0

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Don't know / refuse	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.1	1.8	0.7	1.1	1.4	1.0	1.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Supreme Court										
Not at all	16.0	11.4	22.3	15.5	18.4	25.2	23.2	21.6	13.6	10.7
To a small extent	13.8	9.1	16.3	15.6	19.1	23.7	17.3	22.0	13.0	12.3
To some extent	30.4	27.4	28.6	29.0	28.7	29.1	28.1	27.9	27.3	30.5
To a large extent	39.4	49.0	31.4	37.5	29.2	18.3	23.1	23.8	41.4	42.9
Don't know / refuse	0.4	3.1	1.4	2.4	4.6	3.7	8.3	4.7	4.7	3.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Police										
Not at all	14.9	15.5	19.1	28.7	30.3	35.6	30.3	23.2	20.5	15.8
To a small extent	18.6	18.3	24.6	26.8	27.1	31.1	27.7	33.5	21.8	21.3
To some extent	41.6	41.8	36.2	30.7	28.3	23.1	27.2	29.8	38.2	40.0
To a large extent	24.8	23.6	19.5	12.5	11.9	8.4	10.4	11.5	17.9	20.9
Don't know / refuse	0.1	0.8	0.6	1.3	2.4	1.8	4.4	2.0	1.6	2.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
President of Israel										
Not at all	16.1	12.3	17.6	15.3	54.2	29.6	21.8	14.6	10.8	9.3
To a small extent	15.6	12.9	16.9	16.9	20.0	22.4	15.9	14.3	9.8	9.6
To some extent	36.1	33.7	29.4	30.3	14.9	24.1	27.4	25.7	21.8	22.5
To a large extent	31.4	35.5	34.7	33.5	5.6	21.6	30.2	42.3	56.0	56.1
Don't know / refuse	0.8	5.6	1.4	4.0	5.3	2.3	4.7	3.1	1.6	2.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Knesset										
Not at all	19.5	24.4	42.2	33.0	32.0	36.2	29.5	25.8	19.7	18.2
To a small extent	28.6	28.6	33.5	33.7	33.2	33.9	31.4	34.8	27.3	26.1
To some extent	38.2	37.3	20.0	25.3	26.0	22.9	27.1	27.6	43.3	38.4
To a large extent	13.1	8.5	4.0	7.4	6.2	5.5	8.6	8.8	8.3	14.3

	2003	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**
Don't know / refuse	0.6	1.2	0.3	0.6	2.6	1.5	3.4	3.0	1.4	3.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Army (IDF)										
Not at all	8.8	6.8	8.9	11.2	10.6	13.9	11.3	10.7	7.2	7.1
To a small extent	7.6	7.1	7.6	9.6	14.8	15.2	7.5	8.1	5.8	5.8
To some extent	23.4	25.1	27.2	24.9	28.8	26.2	22.8	18.7	17.0	20.2
To a large extent	59.8	59.8	55.7	53.5	43.7	43.9	56.4	60.3	68.8	65.0
Don't know / refuse	0.4	1.2	0.6	0.8	2.1	0.8	1.9	2.2	1.2	1.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Government										
Not at all	19.9	27.7	26.6	31.2	37.2	41.4	30.7	30.5	22.3	18.0
To a small extent	25.4	30.8	30.5	28.8	30.2	32.2	35.4	35.1	25.6	22.5
To some extent	40.8	35.3	30.3	29.6	23.6	20.1	24.9	26.4	41.1	41.3
To a large extent	13.8	4.4	12.1	9.1	6.6	5.0	6.1	6.3	9.9	15.5
Don't know / refuse	0.1	1.8	0.5	1.3	2.4	1.3	2.9	1.7	1.1	2.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
State Comptroller										
Not at all						22.7	18.2		8.3	9.1
To a small extent						24.6	14.3		9.8	10.9
To some extent	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	25.6	30.2	N/A	28.7	31.4
To a large extent						18.3	27.6		47.0	41.3
Don't know / refuse						8.8	9.7		6.2	7.3
Total	-	-	-	-	-	100	100	-	100	100

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

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

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Disagree totally					19.5	15.8	23.0		22.4	32.4
Disagree somewhat					24.4	24.7	18.0		23.6	15.1
Not sure					18.5	19.8	N/A		N/A	N/A
Agree somewhat	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	21.8	21.5	19.3	N/A	23.3	19.8
Agree strongly					12.0	12.4	35.4		27.5	28.8
Don't know / refuse					3.8	5.8	4.3		3.2	3.9
Total	-	-	-	-	100	100	100	-	100	100

18.2 It is never acceptable under any circumstances to employ violence for political ends.[*]

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Disagree totally	7.3	13.6	9.6	8.1	12.5	27.1	13.2	16.5	18.1	7.5
Disagree somewhat	10.3	8.4	8.5	9.3	13.0	11.2	12.5	12.9	12.3	3.8
Agree somewhat	25.1	11.1	17.5	14.1	22.0	19.4	14.2	15.3	14.8	10.9
Agree strongly	56.7	65.6	63.3	67.5	49.4	40.5	56.8	51.8	53.6	76.6
Don't know / refuse	0.6	1.3	1.1	1.0	3.1	1.8	3.3	3.5	1.2	1.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*   In the 2011 Democracy Index, the wording of the question was: "It is never justified to use violence for political ends."

18.3 Overall, most members of Knesset work hard and are doing a good job.

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Disagree totally									27.8	31.6
Disagree somewhat									35.3	30.2
Agree somewhat	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	28.7	26.3
Agree strongly									4.4	7.6
Don't know / refuse									3.8	4.3
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	100

18.4 Politicians look out more for their own interests than for those of the public.*

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012**
Own interests	52.8	48.2		63.6	65.3	49.8	48.5	49.1	70.6	78.1
Interests of public	14.5	15.3		10.2	14.1	23.4	28.4	26.4	11.6	18.5
Don't know / refuse / Not sure / To a similar extent*	32.7	36.5	N/A	26.2	20.6	26.8	23.1	24.5	17.8	3.4
Total	100	100	-	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* This question has appeared in several different versions. Over the years, the personal interests of "the people who run the country," "the leaders," and, beginning in 2009, "the politicians" have been juxtaposed with "the interests of the public who elected them," "the (general) public," and "the state as a whole." Likewise, the number of possible responses has shifted over the years between 3, 4, and 5. To create a comparative table for the various wordings of the question and answers, responses other than "own interests" and "interests of the public," such as "to a similar extent," "not sure," and "don't know/refuse," were divided up proportionally between own and public interests.

** In 2012, the middle category of "not sure" (which in previous years had been grouped together with "don't know/refuse" in this table) was discarded. As a result, the percentages in the content categories ("own interests" and "interests of the public") rose in 2012.

19. How interested are you in politics?

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
To a large extent	36.3	28.6	28.9	35.7		22.6	28.9	23.3	37.7	28.4
To some extent	39.8	38.5	41.5	36.5		33.4	37.2	38.3	39.1	38.3
To a small extent	17.5	23.3	18.1	18.2	N/A	25.6	22.0	24.9	16.0	21.1
Not at all	6.0	9.4	11.4	7.8		16.6	11.3	12.9	7.1	12.0
Don't know / refuse	0.4	0.2	0.1	1.8		1.8	0.6	0.6	0.1	0.2
Total	100	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	100	100

20. To what extent are you and your friends able to influence government policy?

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
To a large extent	4.6	3.8	7.4	6.1	5.7	3.1	3.9	2.9	7.3	9.5
To some extent	15.2	13.8	23.4	21.3	17.1	15.4	12.4	16.1	21.1	25.4
To a small extent	40.1	32.4	32.3	36.5	30.6	31.2	31.6	31.5	35.3	34.9
Not at all	39.7	35.6	35.6	35.8	43.9	45.6	50.0	46.5	35.3	27.8
Don't know / refuse	0.4	14.4	1.3	0.3	2.7	4.7	2.1	3.0	1.0	2.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
I do not support and am not active in any party	74.8	70.6	77.6	64.8					69.3	75.2
I've joined a party, but do not really see myself as a member	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A					N/A	3.6
I support a party, but am not a member	17.1	21.6	14.4	28.7					23.2	14.2
I am a member of a party	4.3	3.3	3.0	3.8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5.4	2.7
I am an active member of a party	1.7	2.8	1.6	1.9					1.3	1.3
I am a member and hold a position in a party	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3					0.4	0.2
Don't know / refuse	1.9	1.4	3.1	0.5					0.4	2.8
Total	100	100	100	100	-	-	-	-	100	100

24. Are you a member of, or active in, a civic organization or NGO dealing with social-political issues?*

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Yes					19.0					10.0
No	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	81.0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	88.3
Don't know / refuse					-					1.7
Total	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100

* In 2007, the question was worded: "Are you a member of, or participant in, any social organization working for the public good?"

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

25.1 Competition between parties strengthens Israel's democracy.*

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Disagree totally				8.2					7.2	18.6
Disagree somewhat				14.5					19.7	17.5
Not sure				24.8					17.1	N/A
Agree somewhat	N/A	N/A	N/A	34.4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	34.9	34.5
Agree strongly				15.4					18.4	24.3
Don't know / refuse				2.7					2.7	5.1
Total	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	100

*   In 2006 and 2011, there were five possible responses, with slightly different wording: strongly disagree; disagree; not sure; agree; strongly agree (respectively).

25.2 The parties in Israel reflect the people's views.*

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Disagree totally									14.5	23.1
Disagree somewhat									27.3	27.1
Not sure									23.0	N/A
Agree somewhat	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	24.0	33.8
Agree strongly									9.1	9.5
Don't know / refuse									2.1	6.4
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	100

*   In 2011, there were five possible responses, with slightly different wording: strongly disagree; disagree; not sure; agree; strongly agree (respectively).

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

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Disagree totally	19.9	26.2		26.5			31.7	28.0		33.9
Disagree somewhat	34.3	30.1		23.6			16.1	19.9		17.2
Not sure	11.8	10.8	N/A	13.3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Agree somewhat	23.1	16.8		19.3			19.7	20.8		20.2
Agree strongly	10.8	15.7		16.9			29.2	28.0		22.6
Don't know / refuse	0.1	0.4		0.3			3.3	3.3		6.1
Total	100	100	-	100	-	-	100	100	-	100

* In 2003-2006, there were five possible responses, with slightly different wording: strongly disagree; disagree; not sure; agree; strongly agree (respectively).

26. Do you feel that there are differences between the parties in their ability to handle the country's problems?

	1981*	2010**	2011**	2012****
	12.0	25.6	11.1	
Yes. There are	23.0	22.7	26.3	64.8
	31.5			
	N/A	N/A	16.9***	N/A
	13.8	23.2	27.6	
No, there aren't	5.5			29.5
	12.3	23.6	15.3	
Don't know / refuse	1.9	4.9	2.9	5.7
Total	100	100	100	100

* In an election poll conducted in May 1981, six possible responses were provided, ranging from "very great differences" to "no differences at all." For purposes of comparison, these have been grouped into two categories.

** The 2010 and 2011 Indexes included a question examining respondents' opinions on the statement "There are no real differences between the political parties," without mentioning the parties' ability to handle the country's problems. The categories were worded on a continuum from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree," which have been grouped into two categories in the comparative table above.

*** The 2011 Index included a middle category of "not sure," which, for purposes of comparison, has been divided proportionally in Figure 1.37 between those who felt that there are differences and those who felt there are not.

**** In 2012, the wording of the question was the same as in 1981, but with only two categories: "Yes, there are [differences]" / "No, there aren't."

39. In your opinion, is the claim that men make better political
leaders than women do correct or incorrect?*

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Correct	34.3	29.6	36.2		23.3	26.9	33.6	30.6		32.2
Not sure**	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	13.5	15.7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Incorrect	65.0	69.0	62.3		60.6	55.1	61.9	65.5		64.9
Don't know / refuse	0.7	1.4	1.5		2.6	2.3	4.5	3.9		2.9
Total	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	100	-	100

* In previous years, the answers were ranked on a scale from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree."

** The choice of responses in previous years ranged from 4 to 5 categories (the middle category of "not sure" was added solely in 2007 and 2008).

Appendix 3: Sociodemographic Characteristics of (Total) Sample (percent)

Table 1

Sex	Total sample
Male	49.2
Female	50.8
Total	100
Age	
18-34	35.5
35-54	34.0
55+	30.2
Did not respond	0.3
Total	100
Education	
Elementary or partial high school	11.5
Completed high school without matriculation certificate	13.4
Completed high school with matriculation certificate	25.1
Post-secondary (teachers' college, nursing school, practical-engineering school, yeshiva)	13.2
Partial college/university	5.6
Completed academic degree, B.A.	21.6
Completed academic degree, M.A. or higher	8.7
Did not respond	0.7
Total	100
Monthly household income	
Below average	41.6
Average	25.0

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Above average	22.0
Did not respond	11.4
Total	100
Nationality	
Jews and others[1]	82.8
Arabs	17.2
Total	100
Religion (Arabs)	
Muslim	77.5
Christian	9.4
Druze	8.9
Other (anti-religion / Bedouin, Arab / did not respond)	4.2
Total	100
Ethnic origin (Jews, by birth place of respondent and both parents)[2]	
Israel-Israel	24.8
Europe-America	9.6
Soviet Union	13.0
Asia-Africa	33.5
Ethiopia	1.4
Mixed (including "other" and no information available)[3]	17.7
Total	100
Length of residence in Israel (Jews)	
Native-born or long-time residents (arrived before 1990)	85.2
Immigrants (from 1990 onward)	14.1
Did not respond	0.7
Total	100

1 As defined by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), the category of "others" consists of non-Arab Christians or "no religion"; 0.7% of the respondents identified themselves in this way.

2 The categories Europe-America and Asia-Africa include native-born Israelis both of whose parents originate from these locations. Comparing our sample (based on place of birth) with similar data from the CBS (based on the father's ethnic origin), we find a certain preponderance in our sample of respondents born in Asia-Africa and their Israeli-born descendants, and a corresponding lack of: (a) respondents born in Europe-America; (b) immigrants from the Former Soviet Union and their Israeli-born descendants; and (c) second-generation Israeli-born.

3 The greater share of the respondents in the category of mixed ethnicity (14.5% of the total sample) were born in Israel to parents of different ethnic origins. The remainder (3.1%) were born outside Israel to parents of different ethnic origins.

Appendix 4: Distribution of Variables
(Self-Defined; percent)

Table 1: Religiosity (Jews)

Ultra-Orthodox	6.0
Haredi-Leumi*	2.2
Orthodox	11.8
Traditional – religious	12.7
Traditional – non-religious	20.7
Secular	45.6
Don't know / refuse	1.0
Total	100

* As stated in the Introduction, in light of discussions held recently in connection with several reports issued by the Israel Democracy Institute, in this year's Democracy Index we have separated the Haredi-Leumi sector for the first time from the categories of Orthodox and Ultra-Orthodox. An analysis of the figures from this year's Democracy Survey indicate that while this is a small group, it has its own philosophy and distinct opinions.

Table 1a: Religiosity by Age (Jews)

In 2012, as in previous years, the youngest age group defined itself as ultra-Orthodox or Orthodox to a greater extent than did the intermediate and older age groups.

Age	Ultra-Orthodox (Haredi)	Haredi-Leumi	Orthodox	Traditional Religious	Traditional Non-Religious	Secular	Don't know/ refuse	Total
18-34	10.2	4.2	15.5	10.6	19.0	39.4	1.1	100
35-54	4.7	1.5	8.4	15.3	19.3	50.4	0.4	100
55+	3.2	0.7	11.4	12.5	24.2	47.0	1.0	100

Table 2: Left–Right Political/Security Continuum (Jews)

Right	21.5
Moderate right	29.1
Center	29.8
Moderate left	7.2
Left	3.7
Don't know / refuse	8.7
Total	100

Table 2a: Religiosity and Political Orientation

As this table shows, there is a strong correspondence between political orientation (right-left) and religiosity.

Political orientation	Ultra-Orthodox	Haredi-Leumi	Orthodox	Traditional Religious	Traditional Non-Religious	Secular	Other/ Don't know/ Refuse	Total
Right	8.9	3.8	17.1	15.5	21.6	32.4	0.7	100
Center	1.2	0.8	6.0	10.8	19.6	60.4	1.2	100
Left	1.1	-	1.1	3.3	12.0	82.5	-	100

Table 3: Zionist–Non-Zionist Continuum (Jews)

Very Zionist	45.3
Quite Zionist	36.4
Not so Zionist	10.2
Not at all Zionist	5.3
Don't know / refuse	2.8
Total	100

Table 4: Membership in Stronger/Weaker Group (total sample)

Strong group	21.1
Somewhat strong group	43.8
Somewhat weak group	17.3
Weak group	11.7
Don't know / refuse	6.1
Total	100

Roughly two thirds of the Israeli public identify themselves with the two strongest groups, while the remaining one third is divided between the "somewhat weak" and the "weak" group. Due to the small size of the latter two categories, we elected to combine them into one group for purposes of analysis.

Table 4a: Breakdown of Self-Affiliation with Strong/Weak Social Groups by Sociodemographic and Sociopolitical Characteristics (Total sample)

	Strong group	Somewhat strong group	Somewhat weak and weak group	Don't know / refuse	Total
Total sample	21.1	43.8	29.0	6.1	100
Nationality					
Jews	21.3	47.0	25.1	6.6	100
Arabs	20.3	28.8	48.0	2.9	100
Length of residence in Israel (Jews)					
Immigrants, from 1990 onward	11.3	33.1	46.1	9.5	100
Israeli-born and long-time residents (pre-1990)	25.8	49.3	20.2	4.7	100

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	Strong group	Somewhat strong group	Somewhat weak and weak group	Don't know / refuse	Total
Age					
Young adults	20.4	45.9	29.6	4.1	100
Intermediate age group	22.3	43.9	29.2	4.6	100
Older adults	20.5	41.4	28.7	9.4	100
Sex					
Female	19.1	42.4	32.1	6.4	100
Male	23.2	45.5	25.9	5.4	100
Education					
Up to high school without matriculation	20.0	35.7	37.6	6.7	100
High school with matriculation	19.9	47.7	28.1	4.3	100
Partial post-secondary and academic	19.8	44.3	31.3	4.6	100
Full academic degree	23.9	47.2	21.4	7.5	100
Family income					
Below average	17.3	33.3	42.3	7.1	100
Average	22.0	47.8	25.9	4.3	100
Above average	29.3	57.3	11.6	1.8	100
Political orientation (Jews)					
Right	23.7	48.0	23.2	5.1	100
Center	19.8	50.4	23.4	6.4	100
Left	20.7	52.2	21.7	5.4	100
Religiosity (Jews)					
Secular	23.1	48.8	20.0	8.1	100
Traditional	18.1	46.5	28.4	7.0	100
Orthodox	24.2	44.4	27.3	4.1	100
Haredi-Leumi	22.2	61.1	16.7	-	100
Ultra-Orthodox	24.0	36.0	38.0	2.0	100

	Strong group	Somewhat strong group	Somewhat weak and weak group	Don't know / refuse	Total
Ethnic origin (Jews)					
Born in Israel, father born in Israel	20.1	51.9	23.9	4.1	100
Born in Israel, father born in Asia-Africa	26.3	52.2	16.5	5.0	100
Born in Israel, father born in Europe-America	28.9	49.5	16.5	5.1	100
Born in Asia-Africa	24.3	40.9	26.9	7.9	100
Long-time residents born in Europe-America (not incl. immigrants from 1990 onward)*	20.5	51.5	11.8	16.2	100

*   We decided to present long-time residents of Israel born in Europe and America as separate from immigrants of the same origins, since their feelings differed in this regard.

Table 5: Ethnic Self-Identification* (Jews)

Ashkenazi	21.5
Mizrahi	48.7
Both Ashkenazi and Mizrahi	10.9
Neither Ashkenazi nor Mizrahi	16.1
Don't know / refuse	2.8
Total	100

*   The respondents were presented with the categories listed in the table, but some of them preferred to use other designations, which we coded into this variable. For example, to the category of "Mizrahi," we added Sephardi/Moroccan; and to that of "neither Ashkenazi nor Mizrahi," we added Jew/Israeli/opposed to ethnicity.

As the table indicates, even today the majority of the Jewish public in Israel (70.2%) define themselves by ethnic group. Comparing self-definitions of ethnic identity with ethnic origin by continent of birth of the respondent and both his parents (Appendix 3) shows that a greater share of the respondents define themselves as "Mizrahi" than the proportion of "objective" Mizrahim in the sample: 48.7% identify themselves as such, whereas respondents born in Asia-Africa and those born in Israel to two parents from this group represent only 34.9% of the sample. The proportion of those who define themselves as Ashkenazim is close to their "objective" percentage—21.5% as opposed to 22.6%. A total of 27% affiliate themselves with both ethnic groups simultaneously or with neither of them.

Is the ethnic self-definition of Israeli-born respondents—in particular second-generation native Israelis or those born to parents of mixed ethnic origins—different from that of the Jewish sample as a whole? As Table 5a indicates, the breakdown of ethnic self-identification of native-born Israelis is similar to that of the overall sample. By contrast, Israeli-born respondents of mixed ethnic origins overwhelmingly chose to self-identify as Ashkenazim (69%).

Among native-born Israelis with two parents born in Israel, the majority (61%) still identify themselves with one of the two ethnic groups (Ashkenazi or Mizrahi); however, a higher proportion of this group (in comparison with the total Jewish sample) identifies itself with both ethnic groups or with neither of them (35% versus 27%, respectively). Fewer members of this category defined themselves as Mizrahim in comparison with the overall sample (38% as opposed to 48.7%).

Table 5a: Ethnic Self-Identification of Native-Born Israelis, by Birth Continent of Parents (Jews)

	Total sample	Total Israeli-born	Israeli-born (mixed ethnic origins*)	Israeli-born (both parents native Israelis)
Ashkenazi	21.5	20.8	69.0	23.0
Mizrahi	48.7	47.4	6.0	38.0
Both Ashkenazi and Mizrahi	10.9	12.8	19.0	15.0
Neither Ashkenazi nor Mizrahi	16.1	16.1	6.0	20.0
Don't know / refuse	2.8	2.9	-	4.0
Total	100	100	100	100

*   One parent born in Asia-Africa and the other in Europe-America.

To summarize, it would appear that ethnic identity is still relevant to the self-definition of Jewish Israelis, including those born in Israel and even the second generation of native Israelis, though to a lesser extent than in the total sample.

As for the sense of discrimination, the findings are somewhat contradictory. It emerges that self-affiliation with a stronger or weaker group in Israeli society on the part of native-born Israelis of Mizrahi origin is similar to that of Israeli-born respondents of Western origins (as opposed to the self-definition of parents born outside of Israel). By the same token, more of the respondents define themselves as Mizrahim in comparison with the proportion of Mizrahim based on continent of birth. This finding may indicate a sense of pride in their ethnic origins; however, native Israelis with parents of mixed origins by place of birth still showed a definite preference for identifying themselves as Ashkenazim.

Research Team

Prof. Tamar Hermann is the academic director of the Guttman Center for Surveys; a Senior Fellow of the Israel Democracy Institute (IDI); and a full professor in political science at the Open University of Israel.

Dr. Nir Atmor is a member of the research group of the IDI's Forum for Political Reform in Israel, and a lecturer at the Zefat Academic College.

Ella Heller is survey coordinator at the IDI's Guttman Center for Surveys. She is the former research director of the Modi'in Ezrachi research institute, and served as a senior researcher at the Knesset's Research and Information Center.

Yuval Lebel is a member of the research group of the IDI's Political Reform project, and a course coordinator in political science at the Open University of Israel.