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Tel Aviv University

רית הספר ללימוד חברה ומדיניות The Gershon H. Gordon הפקולטה למדעי החברה ע"ש גרשון גורדון אוניברסיטת תל אביב

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Peace Index, May 2019

- Much more of the Jewish public consider that Hamas achieved more than Israel did in the last round of fighting between them, and most interviewees give Netanyahu failing marks on handling the situation. Most also continue to prefer a military action in the Gaza Strip in order to cause the collapse of the Hamas government.
- There is no change in perceptions of desirable and possible solutions to the conflict with the Palestinians from previous months. The two-state solution still receives most support even though the widely accepted opinion is that the existing situation will continue despite the opposition of the great majority.
- There is widespread agreement that Israel implements the value of being open to immigration of Jews all over the world. There is less agreement that Israel implements values such as peace, equal rights and religious freedom, while the greatest disagreement about the measure of implementation of these values exists between Arabs and Jews.
- The Eurovision song contest event which took place in Israel last week is perceived by the Jewish population in general as having expressed a variety of positive perceptions of the country, but this does not hold true among significant segments of the Arab population.

Prof. Ephraim Yaar and Dr. Nimrod Rosler

The May Peace Index was devoted to the following issues: the conflict with the Palestinian Authority and with Hamas in the Gaza Strip, the extent to which Israel maintains its central values on its 71st anniversary, and attitudes to the Eurovision event in Israel.

The Conflict with the Palestinians

Possible desirable solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: The rates of support and opposition to the four possible solutions to the conflict with the Palestinians is similar to those of previous Peace Index surveys: None of the solutions receives the support of most of the Jewish population, but the two state solution still receives much more support than other solutions (42%

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support in contrast to 52% opposed), and a bi-national state receives very little support (14% support in contrast to 77% opposed). Among the Arab public, the two-state solution (58%) support in contrast to 27% opposed) and the bi-national state solution (57% support in contrast to 25% opposed) receive similar measures of support. The two other solutions, annexation of the territories (31% support in contrast to 59% opposed) and continuing the present situation (29% support in contrast to 6% opposed) receive similar rates of support, but less among the Jewish population. Among left-wing and centrist voters, unsurprisingly, the two-state solution is preferred (83% and 61% support, respectively). Among moderate right-wing voters, there is no clear preference among the alternatives of two states (40% support), continuing the present situation (38% support) and annexation (37% support) and for the more right-wing voters, annexation (44%) and continuing the present situation (40%) receive similar levels of support. None of the solutions receives the support of a majority in either of these two ideological groups. On the question, "Which of these solutions do you believe has the best chance of being implemented in the foreseeable future?", the most popular answer was continuing the present situation, both among the Jewish public (45%) and among the Arab public (49%), while the implementation chances of other solutions were rated much lower. In other words, whatever has existed up to now will continue in the future, despite the great majority (61% among the Jews and 65% among the Arabs) who do not desire it.

Dealing with Hamas in the Gaza Strip: In answer to the question, "Who, in your opinion, gained the most in the last wave of fighting – Israel or Hamas?", 32% of the Jewish public think that Hamas achieved the most, while 21% feel that Israel's achievements were greater. From among the other Jewish interviewees, 30% feel that neither side gained anything and 10% think that both sides had similar achievements. In the question about how the prime minister and defense minister (Netanyahu) functioned during the last round of fighting with Hamas, 37% of the Jewish public felt that he had been excellent or good, while 55% felt that he had been not good or terrible. Put differently, a clear majority of the Jewish public gave Netanyahu negative grades for his management of this latest round of fighting with Hamas, and even a significant minority among right-wing voters (44%) and almost half of the moderate right (47%) feel that way. As expected, there is a connection between the two last questions, as a great majority (73%) among those who believe that Israel achieved more, evaluated Netanyahu's functioning positively. In contrast, a very great majority (83%) of those who felt that Hamas achieved more, evaluated Netanyahu's functioning negatively and even a majority of those who thought that neither side had gained anything (60%) considered Netanyahu's functioning negatively. A clear

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majority (63%) of the Arab public considered Netanyahu's functioning negatively in this context, while only a small minority (17%) evaluated his functioning positively. The rest (20%) abstained and chose not to answer. About half (49%) of the Arab population felt that no side had gained in the recent round of fighting, as opposed to 16% who thought that Hamas had gained more, 8% who answered that both sides had gained equally, and who 5% considered that Israel had achieved more.

We repeated our question, "How, in your opinion, should Israel deal with the situation in the Gaza Strip?" The answers remained similar to those of the previous months, as most of the Jewish public (55%) believed that military means should be used to cause the Hamas government to collapse, 32% felt that Israel should act to achieve a long-term agreement with Hamas, and only 7% supported continuing with the present situation. Interestingly, Netanyahu received negative marks on his dealing with the recent round of fighting among most supporters of a militant policy towards Gaza (59%) as well as from a majority of supporters of a long term agreement with Hamas (56%). We also found that most of those who consider that Hamas gained more (59%) as well as those who think that Israel gained more (59%), support undertaking military steps to cause the Hamas government to collapse. Among the Arab public, two-thirds believe that Israel should act to achieve a long-term agreement, while 10% think that Israel should use military means leading to the collapse of the Hamas government, and 6% support maintaining the present situation.

The 71st Independence Day

Implementation of the central values of the Declaration of Independence in the State of **Israel:** We presented interviewees with a list of four values and we asked the extent to which the State of Israel implements each of them. These are the replies we received from the Jewish public in accord with the content of the values: Being open to immigration of Jews all over the world – To a great extent (high or very high) – 69%, to a moderate extent (little or partial) – 22%, to a small extent (very little or not at all) -5%. Based on foundations of freedom, justice and peace – To a great extent – 41%, to a moderate extent – 43%, to a small extent – 13%. Maintaining completely equal rights, socially and politically, for all citizens without **distinctions of religion, race or gender** – To a great extent -27%, to a moderate extent -42%, to a small extent – 28%. Maintaining freedom of conscience and religion – To a great extent –

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38%, to a moderate extent -38%, to a small extent -23%. There are no great differences between the various ideological groups in the Israeli public regarding perceptions of fulfillment of the value of sustaining immigration of Jews all over the world. In contrast, regarding the three other values, there are significant differences, such that people on the right and the moderate right tend to rate value fulfillment as higher than people in the center and on the left. The rating of answers according to their weighted averages indicates that the highest grades from the Jewish public from the Arab public to implementation of the clearly Jewish-national value – "open to immigration of Jews from all over the world" – and following that, in descending order, "based on foundations of freedom, justice and peace", "maintaining freedom of conscience and religion", and "maintaining completely equal social and political rights for all citizens without distinctions of religion, race or gender".

The Eurovision Event

Attitudes towards the Eurovision event in Israel and the threats of its boycott: We wanted to ascertain the extent to which the Eurovision event in Israel this year elicited a variety of attitudes among the Israeli public. The perception which gained the widest agreement among the Jewish public was that the Eurovision production expressed national pride in Israel (72% to a great extent – greatly or very greatly) and then, to a similar extent, the perception that Israel is part of the international community (70%), that Israel is an open and cultured state (69%) and a strong and flourishing state (67%). Evaluating the answers according to political ideology and religiosity, it is clear that right-wingers (in contrast to moderate right, center and left-wingers) and the traditional-religious (in contrast to the secular, traditional but not very religious, religious and ultra-Orthodox) viewed the Eurovision as an expression of positive perceptions toward Israel to a much greater extent, although among all of the groups of the Jewish public, the fact that the event took place in Israel was perceived as expressing a range of positive attitudes. Among the Arab public, these attitudes received much less support, as the most common perception was that Israel is a part of the international community (32%). It is also interesting to note that many among the Arab public chose not to reply to these questions (between 25%-35%).

When we asked to what extent threats of a Eurovision boycott and the possibility of public protests during the event would have harmed the various perceptions, the greatest potential harm was to Israeli national pride (36% - to a great extent, 27% - to a moderate extent, and 32% - to a

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small extent) and to Israel as a member of the international community (35% - to a great extent, 29% to a moderate extent, and 30% - to a small extent), followed by the perception of Israel as a progressive and cultured state or to Israel as a strong and flourishing state (33% - to a great extent, 30% - to a moderate extent, and 33% - to a small extent for both of these perceptions). The group for which the Eurovision event elicited the greatest positive perceptions, the traditional-religious, was also the group which viewed the threats has having the greatest potential to do harm to these perceptions. The average perception of potential harm by a boycott or public protests was a bit higher among the Arab public than among the Jewish public. In this case, as well, many Arabs chose not to answer (34% to 38%).

Negotiation Index:

General sample: 44.1 (An increase of 0.1 points in comparison to last month).

Jewish sample: 42.4 (A decrease of 0.1 points in comparison with last month).

The negotiation index is calculated by a weighing two questions: Level of support for negotiation with the Palestinian Authority, and level of trust that negotiation with the Authority will lead to peace in the coming years.

The Peace Index is conducted by the Evens Program in Mediation and Conflict Management at Tel Aviv University and the Midgam Consulting and Research Institute. The survey was conducted by telephone and internet on 13-14 May 2019, among 600 respondents, a representative sample of the entire adult population (ages 18 and over) in Israel. Maximum margin of error for the entire sample is +/-4.1% at a confidence level of 95%. Statistical analysis: Ms. Yasmin Alkalay.

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Diagram of the month: To what extent did the Eurovision event in Israel this year give expression to each of the following?

