Survey: Israel Victory Project

Findings, Insights and Recommendations

July 16th, 2019
Methodology

- Online Panel of 703 likely voters, 18+
- Statistically representative sample of Jewish population
- Margin of error: +/- 3.7%
- Survey conducted: 7-11 July
- Data Collection: New Wave Research
- Survey conducted in Hebrew
## Demographics

### Region
- Jerusalem: 9
- North: 11
- Haifa: 12
- Centre: 28
- Tel Aviv: 21
- South: 13
- Judea and Samaria: 5

### Age
- 18-24: 14
- 25-34: 21
- 35-44: 19
- 45-54: 15
- 55-64: 14
- 65+: 17

### Income
- Well above average: 8
- A bit above average: 26
- About average: 21
- A bit below average: 17
- Well below average: 14
- Refused: 14

### Religiosity
- Secular: 43
- Traditional: 34
- Religious: 12
- Ultra-Orthodox: 11

### Education
- High school and below: 30
- High school and above: 24
- University: 46

### Aliyah from the former USSR
- No: 85
- Pre-1989: 4
- Post-1989: 11
### April 2019 Election

Which party did you vote for in the April 2019 elections? (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>Actual Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Likud</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue and White</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shas</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>UTJ</td>
<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Right</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Right</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meretz</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zehut</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yisrael Beteinu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulanu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I didn’t vote</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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• Part 2: “Israel Victory”
• Part 3: Policies
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Part 1: The Conflict
Lack of optimism about end of conflict

What do you think the chances are of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict coming to an end in the next twenty years? (Total)

- Very Likely: 4
- Somewhat Likely: 18
- Somewhat Unlikely: 50
- Very Unlikely: 28

22% Very Likely, 78% Somewhat Unlikely and Very Unlikely
Palestinian ‘Rejectionism’ the main cause

In your opinion, what is the primary reason that agreements between Israel and the Palestinians starting in 1993 have not yet achieved their goal? (Total)

- The Palestinian refusal to recognise the existence of the Jewish State of Israel: 47
- Palestinian inflexibility on issues such as Jerusalem and the right of return: 16
- Israel’s refusal to recognise the Palestinian’s right to their own state: 5
- Israeli inflexibility on issues such as West Bank settlements: 5
- The conflict is unsolvable: 20
Plurality: Convince Palestinians they lost

Which of the following statements comes closest to your views on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? (Total)

- It will end only when the Palestinians give up their dream of eliminating Israel.
- We must use our power to convince the Palestinians they have lost.
- The Israeli-Palestinian conflict cannot be solved. We must focus on ways to manage it.
- It will end only through a negotiated settlement. We must restart the diplomatic process immediately.

41% for: It will end only when the Palestinians give up their dream of eliminating Israel.
30% for: We must use our power to convince the Palestinians they have lost.
24% for: It will end only through a negotiated settlement. We must restart the diplomatic process immediately.
Modern-Orthodox most receptive

Which of the following statements comes closest to your views on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? (by Religiosity)

- Convince Palestinians they lost
- Manage Conflict
- Restart Diplomatic Process

![Bar chart showing the percentage of each religious group for each statement]

- Secular: Convince 31, Manage 25, Restart 20
- Traditional: Convince 44, Manage 29, Restart 20
- Religious: Convince 58, Manage 33, Restart 5
- Ultra-orthodox: Convince 49, Manage 46, Restart 0
Lower support for message in South

Which of the following statements comes closest to your views on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? (by Region)

Convince Palestinians they lost
Manage Conflict
Restart Diplomatic Process

Jerusalem: 42, 27, 24
North: 48, 27, 23
Haifa: 41, 33, 22
Centre: 38, 37, 22
Tel Aviv: 40, 26, 27
South: 37, 38, 14
Support decreases when focus is solution

Which of the following is the best way to achieve Palestinian recognition of Israel as the Jewish state? (Total)

- Restart negotiations: 20
- Economic development of WB and Gaza: 18
- Crush Palestinian will to keep fighting: 33
- Military operations like Cast Lead and Protective Edge: 9
- DK: 20

12
Even among target groups ≤ 50%

Which of the following is the best way to achieve Palestinian recognition of Israel as the Jewish state? (Target Groups)

- Restart negotiations
- Crush Palestinian will to keep fighting
- Economic development of WB and Gaza
- Military operations like Cast Lead and Protective Edge
- DK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Convince Palestinians they lost</th>
<th>Likud + RW Voters</th>
<th>Religious</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Convince Palestinians they lost</td>
<td>6, 16, 19, 50</td>
<td>12, 12, 14, 40</td>
<td>13, 13, 19, 49</td>
<td>19, 15, 10, 24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DK
The Conflict: Summary

- Scepticism about chances for end of conflict, but not all out negativity

- Israel Victory narrative strongest, but never among a majority

- No compelling counter narrative – rather uncertainty and scepticism conflict can be solved

- IV narrative stronger as a diagnostic tool than as a solution
Part 2: “Israel Victory”
‘Winning’ important, especially on the right

How important is it to you to achieve victory in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Target Groups)

- Total: 58 Very Important, 26 Somewhat Important, 16 Not Important
- Traditional, Religious & Ultra-Orthodox: 64 Very Important, 24 Somewhat Important, 12 Not Important
- Likud Voters: 72 Very Important, 21 Somewhat Important, 7 Not Important
- Other Right Wing Voters: 65 Very Important, 24 Somewhat Important, 11 Not Important
- Convince Palestinians they lost: 72 Very Important, 21 Somewhat Important, 7 Not Important
But 2/3 say nobody currently winning

Who do you believe is currently ‘winning’ in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? (by April 2019 Vote)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Israel</th>
<th>Palestinians</th>
<th>Neither</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Likud Voters</strong></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Right Wing Voters</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blue and White Voters</strong></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No clear view on meaning of victory

How do you define an Israeli victory in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? (Total)

- Peace agreement with the Palestinians and an end to the conflict: 32
- Palestinians give up their goal of eliminating the State of Israel: 32
- The Arab states recognise Israel: 14
- Israel is treated like an ordinary country by the international community: 12
- The current situation, as in it’s already happened: 2

Diplomatic ‘win’
Left clearer on meaning than right

How do you define an Israeli victory in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

- **Secular**
  - Peace deal: 45
  - Palestinians give up: 26
  - Diplomatic: 23

- **Religious**
  - Peace deal: 17
  - Palestinians give up: 38
  - Diplomatic: 36

- **B&W + LW parties**
  - Peace deal: 54
  - Palestinians give up: 20
  - Diplomatic: 19

- **Likud + RW parties**
  - Peace deal: 41
  - Palestinians give up: 22
  - Diplomatic: 26

- **End with Peace deal**
  - Peace deal: 73
  - Palestinians give up: 8
  - Diplomatic: 17

- **Convince Pals they lost**
  - Peace deal: 49
  - Palestinians give up: 19
  - Diplomatic: 25
“Israel Victory” resonates with around ½

How does the term “Israel Victory” in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict sound to you? (Total)

- Sensible: 26
- Inspiring: 20
- Dangerous: 17
- Terrifying: 5
- Don’t Know: 32
How does the term “Israel Victory” in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict sound to you? (Target Groups)

- Convince Pals they lost: Sensible/Inspiring 58, Dangerous/Terrifying 13, Don't Know 29
- Likud Voters: Sensible/Inspiring 59, Dangerous/Terrifying 11, Don't Know 31
- Other Right Wing Voters: Sensible/Inspiring 54, Dangerous/Terrifying 14, Don't Know 32
- Traditional: Sensible/Inspiring 50, Dangerous/Terrifying 17, Don't Know 32
- Religious: Sensible/Inspiring 59, Dangerous/Terrifying 12, Don't Know 30
“Israel Victory”: Summary

• Winning is important to the Israeli public – especially our target groups

• Majority - nobody currently winning, moderate partisanship

• 3 way split on what victory means between peace, end of rejectionism and diplomacy. Left much clearer on narrative

• “Israel Victory” – slogan with potential, limited negatives, but not fully understood
Part 3: Policies
PA divides public; Hamas unites

In general, do you feel that the government is too tough, too soft or about right in its policies towards...? (Total)

The PA in the West Bank:
- Too tough: 10
- Too soft: 49
- About right: 22
- Don’t Know: 18

Hamas in the Gaza Strip:
- Too tough: 3
- Too soft: 82
- About right: 5
- Don’t Know: 10
And 2/3 disapprove of government policy

To what extent do you approve of...

Current government policy towards Hamas
The recent ceasefire with Hamas

22% / 25%

3
4

19
21

35
32

35
36

Strongly Approve
Somewhat Approve
Somewhat Disapprove
Strongly Disapprove
Strongly influenced by partisanship

To what extent do you approve of current government policy towards Hamas?

- **Likud Voters**: 25% Strongly Disapprove, 32% Somewhat Disapprove
- **Other RW Voters**: 41% Strongly Disapprove, 43% Somewhat Disapprove
- **B&W + LW Voters**: 43% Strongly Disapprove, 32% Somewhat Disapprove
- **Secular**: 43% Strongly Disapprove, 29% Somewhat Disapprove
- **Traditional, Religious + Ultra-orthodox**: 29% Strongly Disapprove, 39% Somewhat Disapprove
Opposition to ceasefire strongest in N & S

To what extent do you approve of the recent ceasefire with Hamas? (by Region)

- Jerusalem: 27% Approve, 56% Disapprove
- Haifa: 28% Approve, 64% Disapprove
- Tel Aviv: 27% Approve, 65% Disapprove
- Centre: 29% Approve, 67% Disapprove
- South: 18% Approve, 75% Disapprove
- North: 19% Approve, 77% Disapprove

Almost 50% strongly disapprove
50% want to eliminate Hamas

Which of the following would you most like to see the government do with regard to Hamas? (Total)

- Eliminate Hamas: 49
- Stop supplying Gaza with food, water, fuel, and medicines: 18
- Find a way to cooperate with Hamas: 14
- Continue the current policy, including allowing Qatari funds into Gaza: 5
- None of the above: 14
Targeted assassinations - preferred deterrence

Which, if any, of these policies do you think should be used to deter Hamas terrorist attacks from Gaza? (Total)

- Targeted assassinations: 33
- Death penalty for convicted terrorists who committed murder: 19
- Use overwhelming force: 18
- Cut off water, fuel, food, and medicine to Gaza: 8
- Cut off humanitarian aid to Gaza: 6
- Build more settlement homes: 2
- Bury anonymously bodies of terrorists killed during attacks: 2
- None of the above: 12
But death penalty popular among youth

Which, if any, of these policies do you think should be used to deter Hamas terrorist attacks from Gaza? (By Age – Top 3)
Policies: Summary

- Verdict split on government policy towards PA, but virtual unanimity that too weak on Hamas
- Government attacked on Hamas from left and right
- Eliminating Hamas popular – but doesn’t break 50%
- Targeted assassinations and death penalty for terrorists (among youth) popular measures of deterrence
Part 4: Messaging
“Win-win” the strongest message

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (Total)

- **The Palestinian people will benefit when they stop making war on Israel**
  - Agree Strongly: 67
  - Agree Somewhat: 24

- **Palestinian rejection of Israel is the source of the conflict**
  - Agree Strongly: 50
  - Agree Somewhat: 32

- **Negotiations with the Palestinians should take place only after they consistently show they accept Israel**
  - Agree Strongly: 37
  - Agree Somewhat: 39

- **It’s time to stop managing the conflict and begin winning it**
  - Agree Strongly: 35
  - Agree Somewhat: 35

- **Israel’s security establishment is too timid vis-à-vis the Palestinians**
  - Agree Strongly: 33
  - Agree Somewhat: 46
Especially among target groups

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

“The Palestinians will benefit when they stop making war on Israel” (Target Groups)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree Strongly</th>
<th>Agree Somewhat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convince Pals</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>they lost</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other RW Voters</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likud Voters</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</table>
Thank You