



Expert discussion

**"Image of the Future" of Israelis
in the context of elections in leading countries in 2024**

Part 1: USA

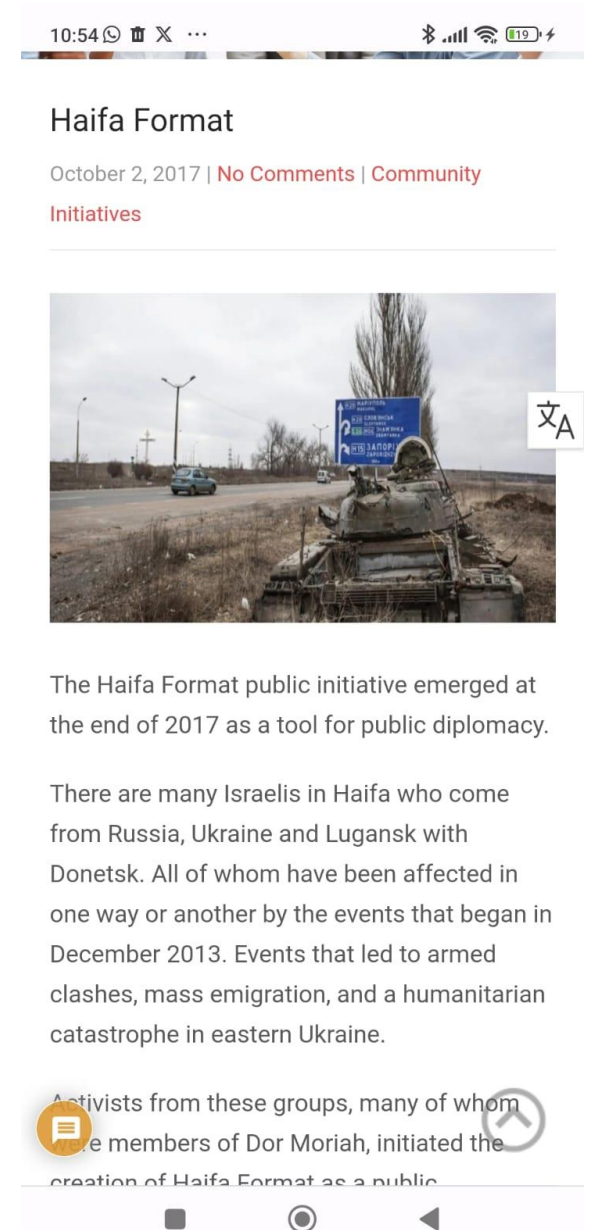
27 September 2023, Tel-Aviv

Round Table Program

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| | |
| 15:30-16:00 | Gathering and light snacks |
| 16:00-16:30 | The meeting opening and "Dor Moria" research activities presentation. The presentation of series of studies "" Image of the Future "of Israelis in the context of elections in leading countries in 2024" |
| 16:30-17:00 | The presentation of the results of the poll "Israelis' expectations of the US presidential election in 2024" |
| 17:00-17:15 | The results of monitoring "Israelis' attitude to the armed conflict in Ukraine" |
| 17:15-17:45 | The discussion on the topics <i>"The impact of the US election results on the internal political situation in Israel, on the position of Israel in the armed conflict in Ukraine context, etc.; Are the warring sides of the Israel political crisis waiting for a new US president; How will the possible victory of the Republican president affect the confrontation between the liberal and conservative political camps in Israel"</i> . |
| 17:45-18:00 | Summing up the conference and discussing the following studies of Dor Moria Association. |
| 18:00-18:45 | Break |

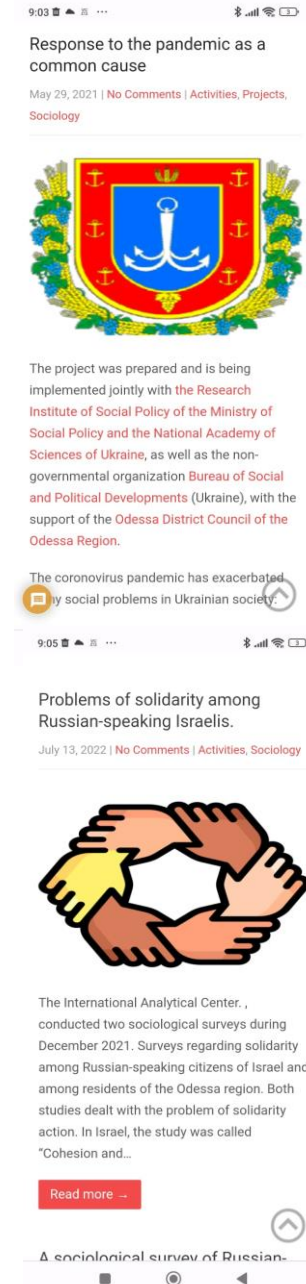
Hybrid conflicts require hybrid tools to work with them

- In 2017, the non-governmental organization Dor Moria was created as a hybrid of an analytical center, of instruments of people's diplomacy and public lobbying.
- **The main areas of activity:** sociological research; development and implementation of projects and programs; investigative journalism and analytical articles; civic initiatives support and social mobilization.
- The Haifa Format project was launched in 2017. It was created as a negotiating platform for discussing acute for Israel society issues.
- The topic of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict was important for us at that moment, since that topic contributed to an additional split in Israel society. And it was important to work with that problem.
- **The Haifa Format program is based on three axioms:**
 - Russians and Ukrainians geographically will always live nearby;
 - Both Russians and Ukrainians need an increase the human development index, as an integral indicator of social and human capital quality;
 - Any war always ends with peace negotiations and post-military relations building.



Haifa Format until 2023

- Since 2017, within the framework of the Haifa Format, we have created an international analytical center with the participation of Russian and Ukrainian research organizations, have conducted a number of sociological studies in Israel and Ukraine, and held negotiations with Ukrainian and Russian politicians and experts;
- In 2019, letters to President of Ukraine V. Zelensky and Israeli Prime Minister B. Netanyahu were sent on behalf of the organization. The letters were sent before their meeting in Kyiv. The letter included a proposal to make Israel a negotiating platform, and Benjamin Netanyahu to assume the role of a peacemaker-mediator;
- In 2020-2022, research projects were implemented on the issues of solidarity response to various social challenges;
- In 2021, these were studies "Solidarity response to the coronavirus pandemic in Odessa region";
- In 2022, this was a study "Problems of solidarity among Russian-speaking Israelis."



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The founding meeting was attended by:

1. **Bsoul** Manar is coordinator of solidarity programs between the Russian-speaking and Arabic-speaking communities in Israel;
2. **Ilchuk** Leonid – Director of the Research Institute of Labor and Employment of the Ministry of Social Policy and the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Ukraine);
3. Igor **Kaminnik** – Chairman of the Board of Dor Moriah NGO (Israel);
4. **Kolpina** Lola – Coordinator of research programs of the NGO "Dor Moriah" (Israel);
5. Inna **Pavlova** is a journalist and coordinator of information programs at Dor Moriah (Israel);
6. Roman **Shilishpanov** – Chairman, "Center for Religious Studies and Prevention of Religious Extremism," Department of Philosophy and Theology, ION&MK, Federal State Educational Institution of Higher Professional Education "BelSU" (Russian Federation).

According to the Statute of the International Think Tank on Human Development, the goal of the Center is:

- analysis of social sector problems based on

Haifa Format in 2023

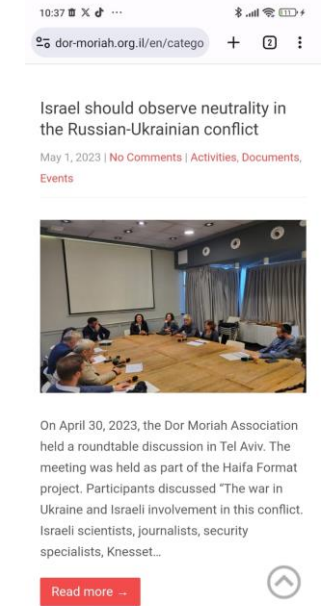
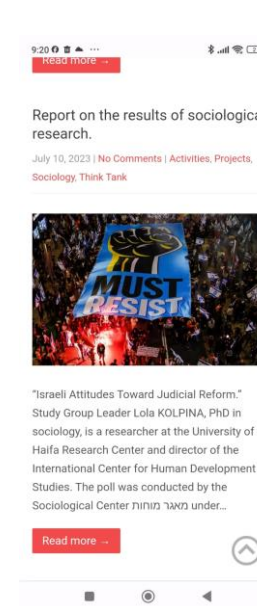
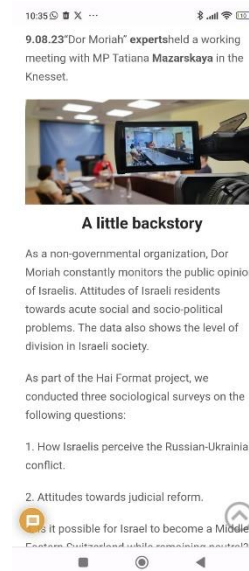
Within the framework of Haifa Format project, 4 studies were carried out in 2023:

- Israelis' attitude to the armed conflict in Ukraine;
- Israelis' attitude to judicial reform;
- Israelis' attitude to the Israel neutrality issue;
- Israelis' expectations of the US presidential election in 2024.

6 meetings were held on the researches results, including in Knesset.

Topics for researches were selected those that caused social confrontation and conflict among Israelis.

- Due to the basic problems of Haifa Format, the first study concerned the attitude of Israelis to Russian-Ukrainian conflict.
- The second problem - judicial reform and attitude to it.
- Considering that most Israelis prefer Israel's neutrality in Russian-Ukrainian conflict, the third study focused on the topic of Israel's neutrality as an instrument in international politics.
- The society split and complicated relations of Israel government with the US administration made it possible to assume that the US presidential election topic could become another conflict one in addition to judicial reform, religion and state relations and Russian-Ukrainian conflict.



Research Approaches

- Head of the research group - **Lola KOLPINA**, PhD in Sociology, researcher at the University of Haifa research center, director of the International Analytical Center for Human Development.
- The opinion poll is conducted by the Sociological Center "מאגר מוחות" (www.maagar-mochot.co.il) commissioned by the International Analytical Center for Human Development at non-governmental organization "Dor Moria" (<https://dor-moriah.org.il/>)

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| Poll developed | Dor Moria Association |
| Poll Editor and Address | Maagar Mohot Khasholsha 2, PO Box 9154 Tel Aviv 6109101 |
| Poll dates | 12.09.2023-15.09.2023 |
| Sampling method | Web panel |
| Type of population | All adult population of Israel aged 18 years and over |
| Sample Size | 1019 |
| Statistical error size | 3.1% at 95% confidence level |

Israelis' attitude to the armed conflict in Ukraine

- The vast majority of Israelis (52-56%) believe that the conflict between Russia and Ukraine does not affect the external and internal situation of the state of Israel.
- The bulk of Israelis are convinced that Israel is quite actively involved in the situation resulting from the Russian-Ukrainian armed conflict, providing humanitarian assistance to the affected population (70%), facilitating repatriation (75%), providing political asylum to those in need (55).
- At the same time, every third (33%) believe that Israel provides military assistance (weapons, ammunition and other items), and those who disagree with this are only slightly more (39%).
- It is noteworthy that the absolute majority of citizens (56%) associate the main risk from Israel's involvement in the situation around Russian-Ukrainian conflict with the deterioration of relations with Russia. All other risks Israelis do not consider significant. They are reported by 4 to 10%, and only one in 10 shares the risk of deteriorating relations with the United States.
- It is interesting that native Israelis are more often than others name the risk of deteriorating relations with Russia (58% versus 44% of immigrants from countries of the former USSR and 52% - from other countries) and less often - with the United States and other countries (8% versus 12-14%).

Within the framework of Haifa Format, changes in the attitude of Israelis towards the Russian-Ukrainian conflict are being monitored:

| No | Possible answer | 30.07 | 15.09 | Δ |
|----|--|-------|-------|----|
| 1 | Conflict and damage to relations with Russia | 54 | 56 | +2 |
| 2 | Conflict and damage to relations with Ukraine | 4 | 3 | -1 |
| 3 | Conflict and damage to relations with the US and other countries | 10 | 11 | +1 |
| 4 | Economic damage, decrease in foreign investment, etc. | 8 | 6 | -2 |
| 5 | Damage to Israel's National Security Resilience | 3 | 4 | +1 |
| 6 | Damage to Israel's National Resilience from a Social Perspective | 2 | 4 | +2 |
| 7 | Damage to Jewish communities around the world | 3 | 4 | +1 |
| 8 | There are no risks at all | 4 | 3 | -1 |
| 9 | Don't know | 12 | 9 | -3 |

Israelis' attitude to judicial reform

Relevance and purpose of judicial reform

- 63% of respondents from the total number of respondents (and 72% of those who have an opinion on this matter) believe that any reform of Israel legal system is necessary.
- 60% of respondents believe that the Israel justice system is ineffective or not enough ineffective.
- 61% of respondents agree with the statement that excessive bureaucracy, delays and numerous delays currently characterize judicial system.

Mass actions

- 47% of the entire sample respondents (55% from among those who have an opinion on mass actions) believe that mass protests are an effective tool for political decisions influencing.
- 4% of poll participants report that they are constantly participating in demonstrations against reform.
- 89% of respondents do not participate or participate sporadically.

Sources of information

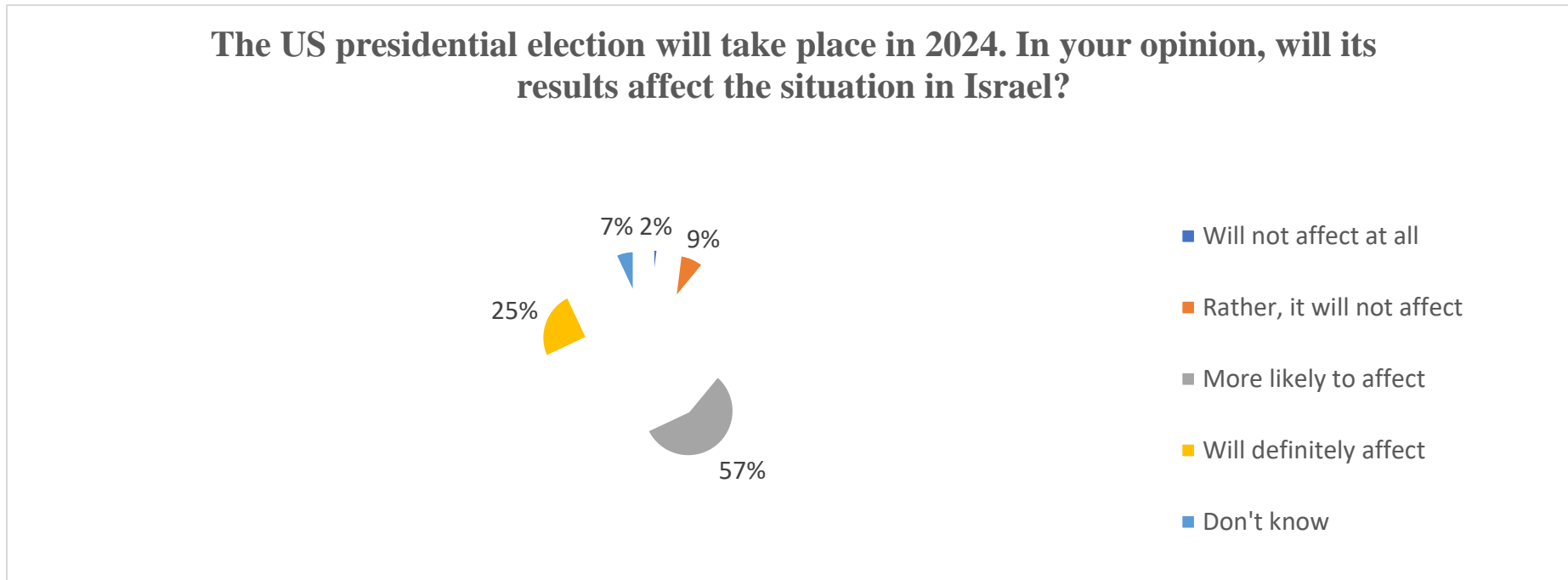
- The vast majority of respondents (89%) receive information about judicial reform through Israel Hebrew-language media, through: Reading, listening and viewing the News (36%); Reading information on the Internet (20%); Reading feature articles (14%)

Israelis' attitude to the Israel neutrality issue

- The majority of Israelis agree that the state of Israel should maintain neutrality in international conflicts to preserve its relations with other countries and pursue an independent policy. However, the policy of neutrality should not be enshrined in normative legal documents. Neutrality should be more situational, depending on circumstances.
- In general, neutrality is a characteristic practice for Israel: only 10% of respondents claim that Israel is not neutral in any of the listed military conflicts (Russia-Ukraine, Armenia-Azerbaijan, Syrian Civil War, US-China Trade War).
- In total, 78% of Israelis believe that Israel should be a neutral country in relation to military conflicts occurring in other countries and can adjust its neutrality depending on the conflict.
- 55% of respondents believe that Israel is fully or partially ready to pursue a peace-oriented course as part of its foreign policy.
- 54% believe that the state of Israel should maintain neutrality in international conflicts to preserve its relations with other countries and pursue an independent policy.
- 42% of respondents believe that Israel should refrain from supplying weapons to countries in a state of military conflict to maintain neutrality.
- Israelis have a positive attitude toward Israel providing humanitarian aid: nearly 40% of respondents consider it sufficient, and another 30% consider it more or less sufficient. This position is most often held by repatriates from the former USSR.

Israelis' expectations of the US presidential election in 2024

- According to Israelis opinion in most areas the situation in Israel significantly depends on relations with the United States. In total, 75% -85% of Israelis believe that Israel depends strongly and very strongly on the United States in all areas.
- 82% believe that the US presidential elections results will affect the situation in Israel.



Which candidate would you prefer to win the US presidential election? /by *religious preference*

| | Answer options | Republicans | Democrats | Doesn't matter | Do not know | Total |
|---|------------------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-------------|-------|
| 1 | Secular Jew | 24% | 43% | 9% | 24% | 100% |
| 2 | Observing traditions | 33% | 29% | 13% | 25% | 100% |
| 3 | National Religious Jew | 42% | 18% | 8% | 32% | 100% |
| 4 | Hareddim | 50% | 20% | 2% | 28% | 100% |
| 5 | Arab | 8% | 45% | 25% | 22% | 100% |

- The difference in expectations from the US presidential election is another rift in Israel society, along with the previously identified significant contradictions in the attitude of Israelis to judicial reform. This difference may be due, among other things, to months of protests around judicial reform, during which Democrats actively supported the protests.
- Secular and Arabic-speaking Israelis prefer a victory of Democrats (43-45% versus 18-29% to religious of varying degrees Jews). Religious Jews prefer a victory of Republicans (33-50% versus 8-24% among Arabs and secular Israelis). There are similar differences between Israelis with different political preferences. The right and right-centrists expect a victory of Republicans (39-40% to 21-29% - *expecting a victory of Democrats*).

How do you think a victory of Democratic or Republican candidate in a US presidential election will affect *Israel foreign policy independence* (its ability to influence world politics and defend its interests)?

| | Will win | Positive | Negative | Both | Will not affect | Do not know | Total |
|---|------------------|----------|----------|------|-----------------|-------------|-------|
| 1 | Democratic Party | 23% | 18% | 24% | 9% | 26% | 100% |
| 2 | Republican Party | 25% | 13% | 27% | 9% | 26% | 100% |

How do you think a victory of Democratic or Republican candidate in a US presidential election will affect the Israel national security?

| | Will win | Positive | Negative | Will not affect | Both | Do not know | Total |
|---|------------------|----------|----------|-----------------|------|-------------|-------|
| 1 | Democratic Party | 24% | 16% | 15% | 22% | 23% | 100% |
| 2 | Republican Party | 26% | 11% | 14% | 24% | 25% | 100% |

- Respondents see the positive effect of the victory of Republicans in the areas "*Independence of Israel foreign policy and Israel national security*". The field of **national security** is among the few where there is some consensus on **the desirability of Republican candidate winning in the US election**.
- We see the minimum difference of Israelis opinion on specific issues as "*the expectation of the election results impact on the economy, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, etc.*" So, on some issues, we get the same shares of those waiting both Republican victories and Democratic victories (20% - 20%).
- Only in the sphere of "*socio-political tension in Israel*" the difference between positive expectations in the case of elections of Democrats and Republicans reaches 5%. In all other areas the difference does not exceed 4% with a statistical error of 3.1%.
- Russian-speaking Israelis favor Republicans in their expectations of the US elections results. Basically, repatriates from other countries take a similar position, unlike native Israelis.

The influence of the US presidential election on *Israel foreign policy independence, its ability to influence world politics and defend its interests*:

| | Options | | Republicans | Democrats | | Republicans | Democrats | | Republicans | Democrats |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------|--|-------------|-----------|--------|-------------|-----------|
| 1 | Positive | Native Israelis | 24% | 24% | Repatriates from the former USSR countries | 34% | 13% | Others | 35% | 21% |
| 2 | Negative | | 13% | 16% | | 11% | 33% | | 12% | 20% |
| 3 | Both | | 27% | 24% | | 26% | 33% | | 21% | 27% |
| 4 | Will not affect | | 9% | 10% | | 13% | 5% | | 8% | 8% |
| 5 | Don't know | | 27% | 26% | | 16% | 16% | | 24% | 24% |
| | Total | | 100% | 100% | | 100% | 100% | | 100% | 100% |

The influence of the US election on *relations between Israel and Russia*:

| | Options | | Republicans | Democrats | | Republicans | Democrats | | Republicans | Democrats |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------|--|-------------|-----------|--------|-------------|-----------|
| 1 | Positive | Native Israelis | 10% | 12% | Repatriates from the former USSR countries | 9% | 9% | Others | 15% | 15% |
| 2 | Negative | | 17% | 17% | | 13% | 15% | | 9% | 9% |
| 3 | Both | | 21% | 20% | | 29% | 18% | | 18% | 18% |
| 4 | Will not affect | | 20% | 19% | | 15% | 24% | | 31% | 31% |
| 5 | Don't know | | 32% | 32% | | 34% | 34% | | 27% | 27% |
| | Total | | 100% | 100% | | 100% | 100% | | 100% | 100% |

For Notes

Thank you for your attention

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www.dor-moriah.org.il