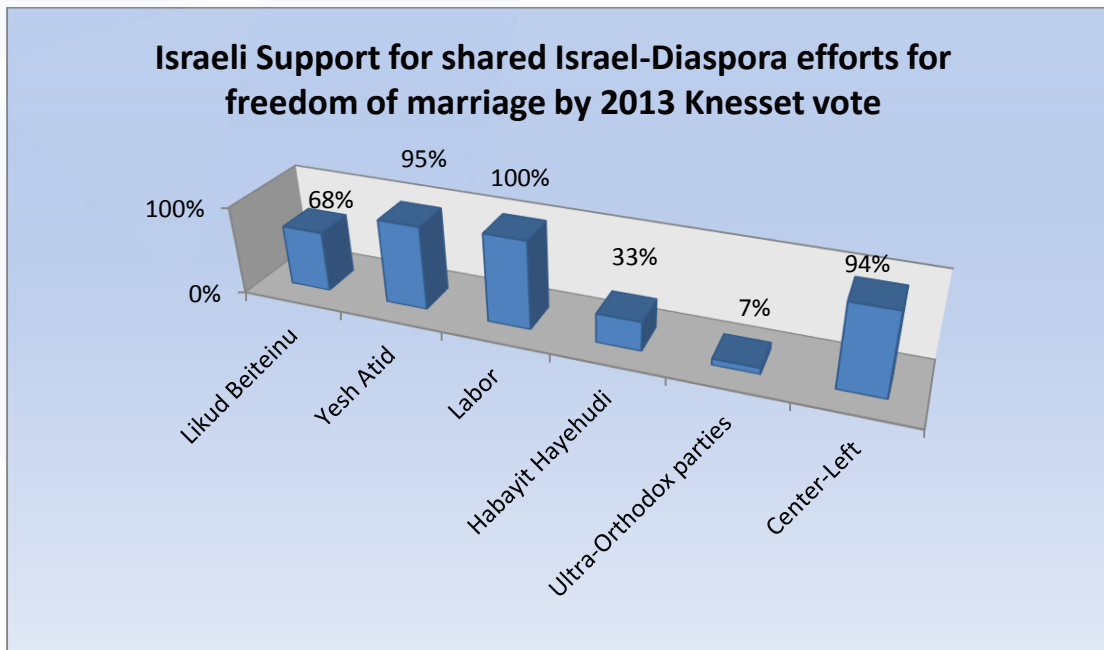




## 2014 Religion and State Index

September 2014  
Elul 5774



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## Executive Summary

**Opposition to Freedom of Religion.** 60% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews oppose freedom of religion and conscience in Israel, which is 2.5 times greater than in the previous Index (23%). The support for freedom of religion and conscience among the general Israeli Jewish public remains at its consistent rate of 84%.

**Let's work together!** More than two-thirds (67%) of Israeli Jews support joint efforts between Israel and world Jewry to advocate for freedom of marriage in Israel.

**No miracles here.** 76% of the non-ultra-Orthodox public (3 out of 4) and 65% of the residents of the southern Israel (almost two-thirds) oppose the claim of ultra-Orthodox spokespeople that Torah study and prayers are the real defense mechanism that protected soldiers and even caused miracles during Operation Protective Edge.

**The Likud Party wants equality in sharing the burden.** 50% of Likud voters said that Operation Protective Edge strengthened their belief that all or most ultra-Orthodox yeshiva students should enlist in the IDF. Only 3% said that the operation strengthened their belief that the yeshiva students should not enlist.

**A Conscription Law without conscription.** 61% of Israeli Jews believe that the Ultra-Orthodox Conscription Law passed this year in the Knesset will not succeed in drafting a significant amount of yeshiva students. The following is particularly embarrassing for Finance Minister Yair Lapid: 60% of Yesh Atid voters hold this belief.

**Religion and State- Nada:** 78% of Israeli Jews are dissatisfied with the Knesset's current activities regarding religion and state issues. 74% are dissatisfied with the Finance Minister Yair Lapid and his party, Yesh Atid's activities regarding religion and state issues.

**A crisis of faith in the Chief Rabbinate.** 71% of Israeli Jews are not pleased with the Chief Rabbinate. 89% of secular Israelis, 80% of immigrants, and 61% of traditional Israelis are unhappy with the institution.

**Public Transportation 24/7.** 70% of Israeli Jews support public transportation on Shabbat either widely or limited. This issue has consistently received increased support since 2010, when the rate stood at 58%.

**Shabbat: a Day of Necessities.** 65% of Israeli Jews and 85% of Jewish Tel Aviv residents support allowing small markets and convenience stores to remain open on Shabbat in Tel Aviv. 72% of Israeli Jews support allowing shopping malls located outside of cities to remain open on Shabbat.

**Let them marry!** 66% of Israeli Jews and 74% of non-Haredi Israeli Jews support recognition of civil marriage and non-Orthodox marriages. This is the highest rate of support seen in any index.

**Female representation required?** A small majority of 51% vs. 49% believe that all political parties (including ultra-Orthodox and Arab) should be required to have minimal female representation. Among the non-ultra-Orthodox population, the majority rises to 54%.

**Benefits for the employed and discharged.** 83% of Israeli Jews believe that there should be preferential benefits for those who are employed or who seek employment. 83% of Israeli Jews support granting preferential benefits to IDF and national service veterans.



**Hiddush-Freedom of Religion for Israel** is pleased to issue the *2014 Religion and State Index*, our annual study of public opinion regarding religion and state issues in Israel. The Index shows significant growth in public support for freedom of religion and equality in Israel. This is clearly seen through the wide variety of topics covered in the index, among them issues of marriage, conversion, public transportation on Shabbat and others. It is painfully unfortunate that the deep rift still remains between the reality of public support for freedom of religion and the government's recalcitrance to bring about desired and necessary changes.

This year's Index bears a clear and crucial message for world Jewry: **More than two-thirds (67%) of Israeli Jews support joint efforts between Israel and world Jewry to help Israel advocate for freedom of marriage.** These figures, along with the responses on other issues, reaffirm the notion that supporting efforts for freedom of religion in Israel is one of the most pro-Israel activities that world Jewry can take part in.

We are proud to present the 6<sup>th</sup> edition of the *Religion and State Index*, marking five years since this unique project was initiated by our then newly-created organization. The *Religion and State Index*, conducted by the Rafi Smith Institute, is the most comprehensive and systematic annual report on religion and state issues in Israel. The Index's findings are used by a wide variety of media outlets, by policymakers and opinion molders, and commentators in Israel and among leaders of world Jewry as the relevance of these issues grow.

The *2014 Religion and State Index* shows a tremendous growth in the support for religion and equality over the past year, surpassing the statistics recorded from the first years of the polling. Conversely, the Israeli Jewish public expressed an all-time high dissatisfaction with the government policies regarding religion and state.

Reflecting the recent hostilities, a significant portion of the 2014 Index was dedicated to Operation Protective Edge and the Ultra-Orthodox Conscription Law. It turns out the Israeli public is much more rational than politicians would acknowledge: A sweeping majority of Israelis (including the beleaguered residents of southern Israel) indicated their opposition to the claim, used to legitimize ultra-Orthodox draft evasion, that Torah study and prayers are Israel's true defense mechanism. Similarly, the majority of the respondents did not accept rabbinic explanations that security incidents and natural disasters are caused by punishments for religious sins.

Unfortunately, freedom of religion and equality continuously fall victim to politicians who ignore the strong will of the Israeli public for freedom of religion and equality. This must end immediately. There has never been a better opportunity for Israel to realize the founding promise of freedom of religion and equality that Israelis so badly desire, even if it is more than 60 years behind schedule.

The *2014 Religion and State Index* clearly demonstrates Israelis' strong desire for collaborative efforts with world Jewry to achieve this sacred mission. The time is here for all of us to help Israel embrace democracy, freedom of marriage, freedom of religion, and equality.

Uri Regev, President

Stanley Gold, US Chairman

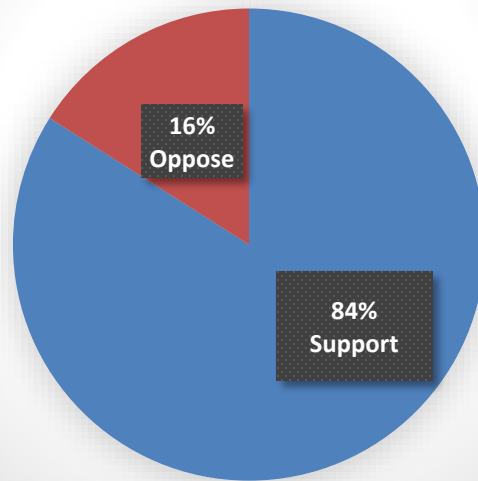
***This publication is made possible by a generous gift from Stanley and Marion Bergman and family.***



## Freedom of Religion

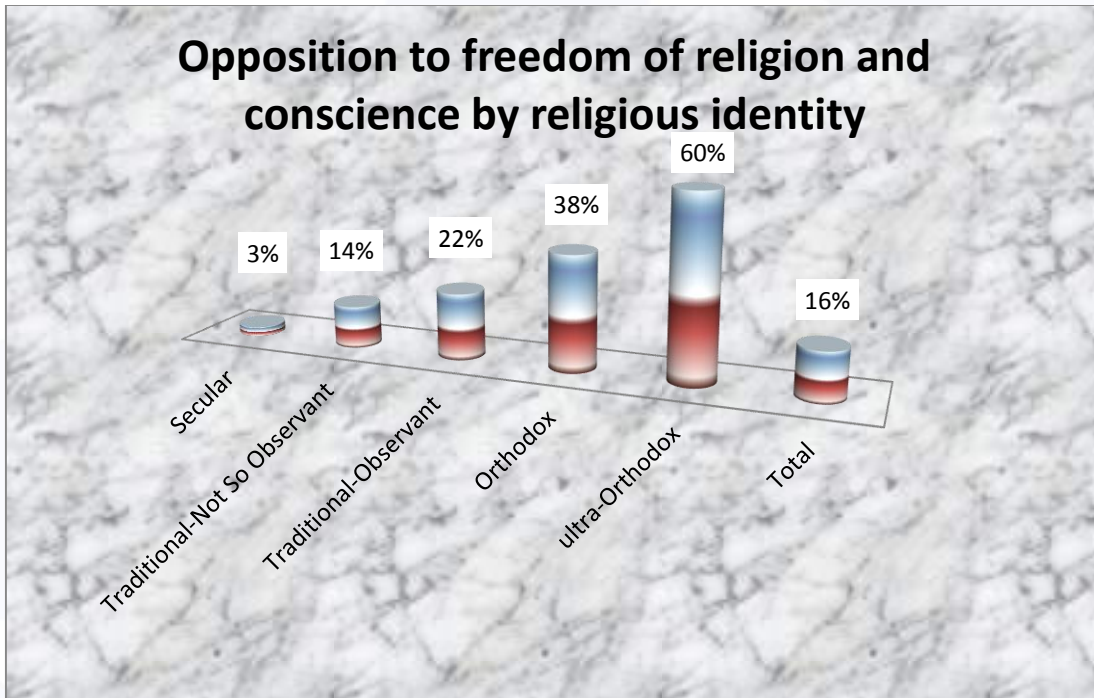
*84% of Israeli Jews support freedom of religion and conscience, 60% of ultra-Orthodox Israelis oppose*

### Support for freedom of religion and conscience among Israeli Jews



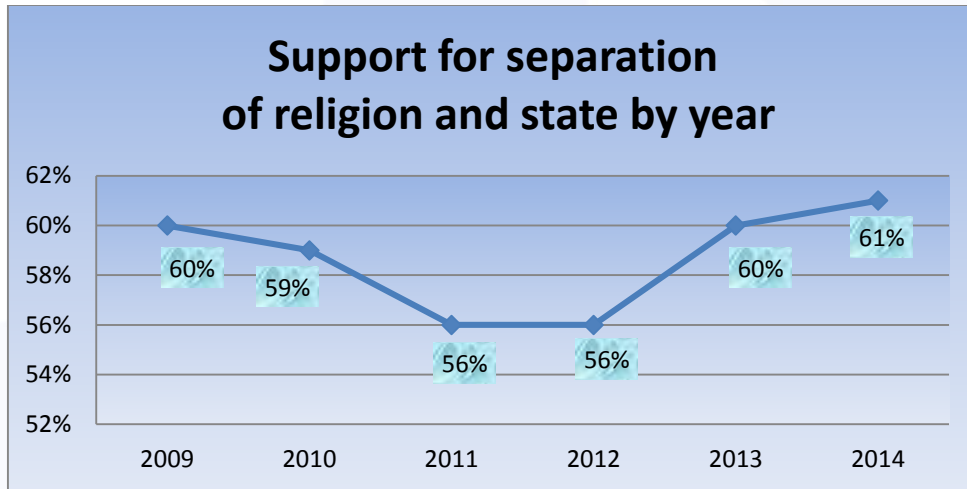
The level of support for freedom of religion, equality, and conscience remains at its consistent level in 2014 at 84% (83% in 2013). However, this year's index reveals a worrisome figure: 60% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews oppose freedom of religion and conscience in Israel, which is 2.5 times higher than the previous index (23%).

This is the highest result of ultra-Orthodox opposition to freedom of religion in the history of the Religion and State Index. The second-highest result was recorded in fall 2010 with the result of 56%. In the summer of 2010, there was a steep decline in opposition among ultra-Orthodox Israelis to only 26% (The graph above only covers summer surveys).



88% of non-Haredi Israeli Jews support freedom of religion and conscience in Israel. The previous index saw a dramatic rise in opposition among Orthodox Israeli Jews. In the 2012 index, there was 19% opposition and 36% opposition in 2013. The 2014 index presents an especially difficult figure: 38% of Orthodox Israeli Jews- more than one third – oppose freedom of religion and conscience in Israel.

If the assumption is made that the outlying figure among ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews is influenced by the tensions over the Conscription Law, the skyrocketing levels of opposition to freedom of religion and conscience among ultra-Orthodox and Orthodox Israeli Jews is undoubtedly one of the most serious threats to the future of freedom of religion and belief in Israel. This comes hand in hand with the increasing population growth in the two sectors.



This year, support for separation of religion and state have reached its highest point yet at 61%. This figure stood at 56% in 2012 and 60% in 2013. Hiddush estimates that when respondents express support for separation of religion and state, they intend for greater separation than is in place today between the two. They do not actually wish for a complete separation that would prevent observance of Kosher laws and Shabbat in government offices and the army as well as the studying the Bible as a school subject.

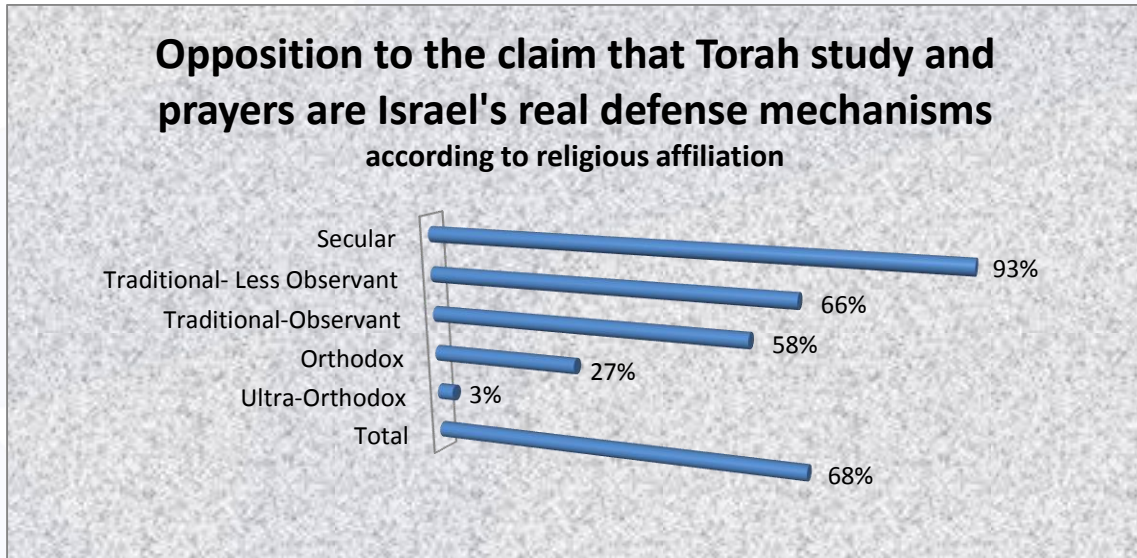
Support for separation of religion and state among Israeli Jews without children or with one child is around two-thirds. Among Israeli Jews with three or more children, the level of support drops to 43%. Support for separation among Left-wing Israeli Jews (who identify as "Left-wing" or "Very Left-wing" not including "Center-Left") stands at 98%.

For Right-wing Israeli Jews ("Right-wing" or Very Right-wing" but not "Center-right") 38% support separation of religion and state. (Full disclosure: Hiddush does not support complete separation of religion and state but embraces realizing freedom of religion and equality in sharing the burden while preserving Israel's character as a Jewish and democratic state.)



## Equality in Sharing the Burden and Operation Protective Edge

*3 out of 4 non-Haredi Israeli Jews reject the claim that Torah study safeguards Israel's security*

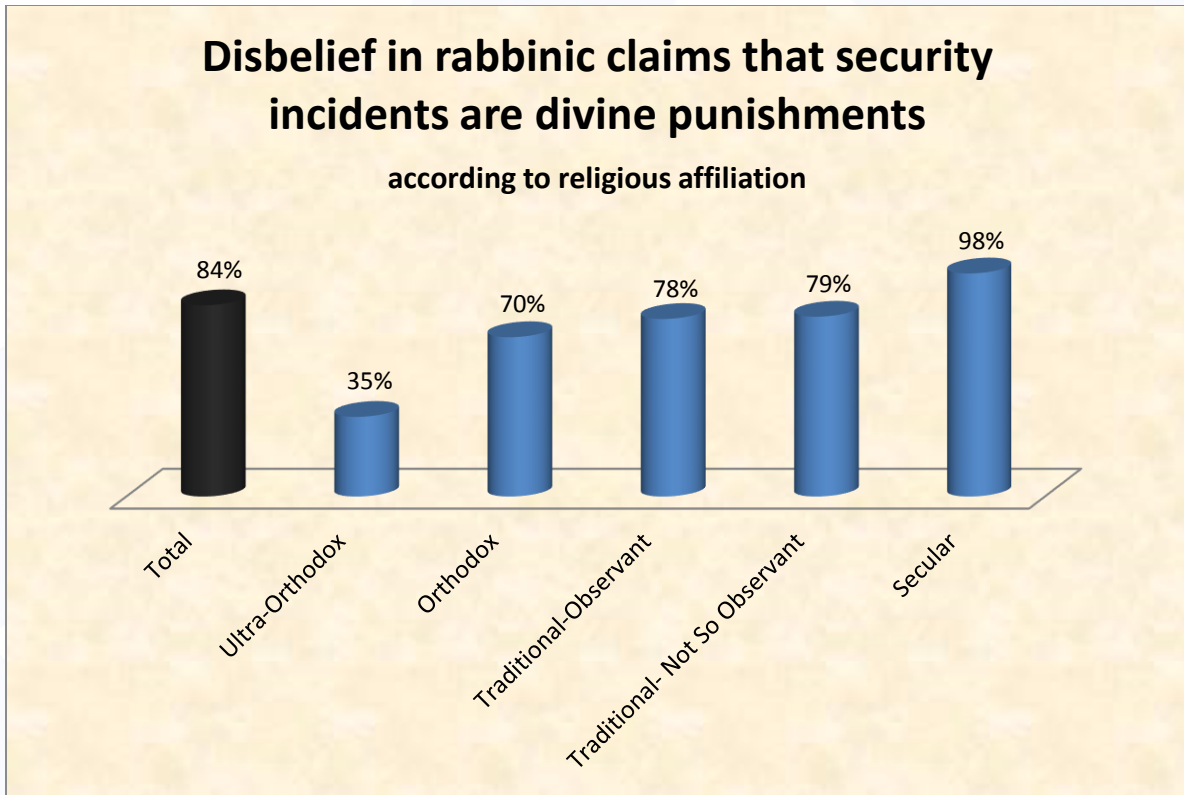


A large portion of the Religion and State Index this year was naturally dedicated to Operation Protective Edge, the Ultra-Orthodox Conscription Law, and the connection between the two.

More than two-thirds of Israeli Jews (68%) and 76% of non-Haredi Israeli Jews oppose ultra-Orthodox spokespeople's' claims that Torah study and prayer are Israeli soldiers' true defense mechanisms during times of war and that these acts even caused miracles in the war. 93% of Secular Israeli Jews and 63% of traditional Israeli Jews oppose this claim. However, 93% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews and 73% of Orthodox Israeli Jews support the notion.

A majority of the traditional party of Orthodox Israeli Jews, Habayit Hayehudi voters (51%), disagree with this claim. 100% of Left-wing voters similarly disagree, but 48% of Right-wing voters agree. 65% of residents of southern Israel (who were hit the hardest by missile attacks from Gaza) do not believe this claim, while 35% agree.





84% of Israeli Jews and 89% of the non-Haredi Israeli Jewish population do not believe the explanations of some rabbis who claimed that security incidents and natural disasters are caused by different sins, giving the breaking of Shabbat laws and drafting of yeshiva students as examples.

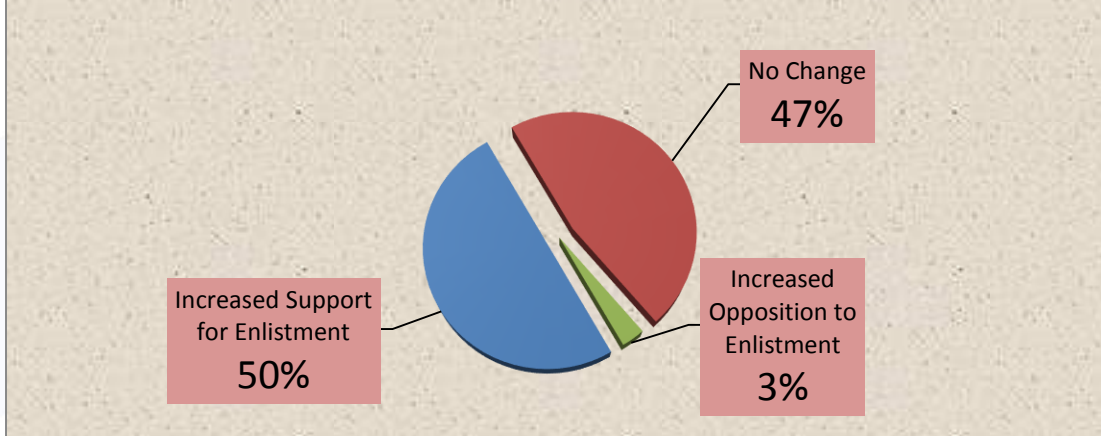
98% of secular Israeli Jews, 79% of traditional, and 70% of Orthodox (83% of Habayit Hayehudi voters) do not believe these explanations. However, two out of three ultra-Orthodox Israelis (65%) indeed believe them.

The percentage of those who believe these mystical explanations is especially high among families with three or more children (31%) while only 12% of families with one child believe these explanations.

18% of females believe these explanations while only 14% of males expressed such a sentiment. 8% of Ashkenazic Israeli Jews said they believe these rabbinic claims while 22% of Sephardic Israeli Jews and native-born Israelis said they believe the explanations.



## The influence of Operation Protective Edge on Likud voters regarding ultra-Orthodox enlistment



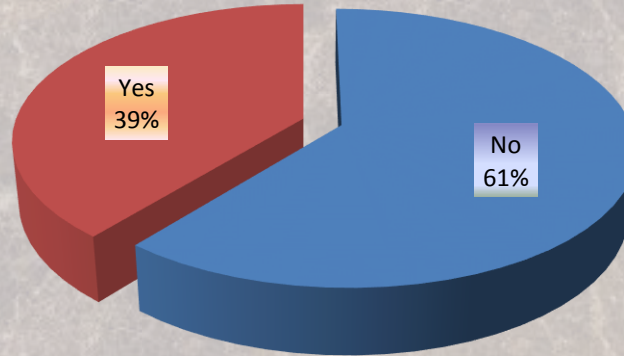
50% of Likud party voters said that Operation Protective Edge strengthened their stance that the Israeli Army should draft all or most yeshiva students. Only 3% said that the operation strengthened their position that the yeshiva students should not be enlisted. The rest of the respondents said that the operation did not affect their position on the issue.

In total, 34% (a third) of Israeli Jews said that the Israeli Army should draft all or most yeshiva students, while only 11% felt the opposite. 55% said that the operation did not affect their opinion on the matter. Among Haredi Israelis, 54% said that the operation affirmed their stance that the Army should not draft yeshiva students and no respondents said the opposite.



## Will the Ultra-Orthodox Conscription Law succeed in actually drafting yeshiva students?

among Israeli Jews

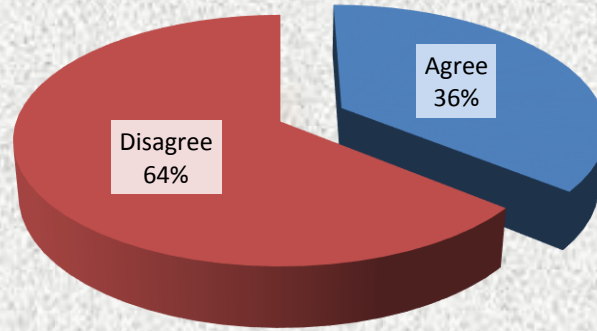


61% of Israeli Jews believe that the Haredi Conscription Law passed in 2014 by the government coalition will not bring significant draft numbers among yeshiva students, as the law stipulates. Only 39% believe that the law will bring significant draft numbers.

Among Haredi respondents, 98% said the law will not lead to a significant draft. 53% of secular Israeli Jews believe that the law will not bring a significant draft while 47% believe the opposite. This is an especially embarrassing figure for Finance Minister Yair Lapid who spearheaded the legislation. Among those who voted for him and his party, Yesh Atid, 60% do not believe the law will achieve its goal of drafting yeshiva students to the Israeli army.



### Israeli Jewish feelings about the sentiment that "there were no ultra-Orthodox fallen soldiers"



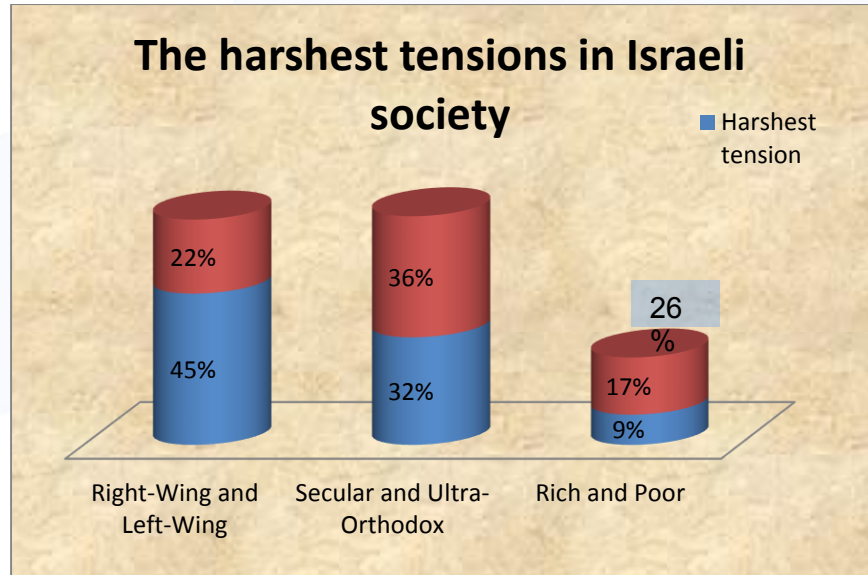
Despite the widespread support among Israeli Jews for achieving equality in sharing Israel's civic and defense burden, close to two-thirds (64%) do not agree with critical statements that voiced during Operation Protective Edge, that "there are no funerals in Bnei Brak" (meaning there were no IDF casualties from haredi population centers). 53% of secular Israeli Jews and 76% of Israeli Orthodox Jews disagree with that criticism. A majority of Israel's immigrant population (53%) agree with the sentiment.

67% of Left-wing voters do not agree with this criticism, but 55% of the Center-Left camp supports it. It seems that the Israeli Center-Left identifies more with the classic conception of equality in sharing the burden and those further to the Left place less importance on army service.



## Domestic Tensions in Israeli society

*Operation Protective Edge enhances political tensions*



If there is one issue in which the influence of Operation Protective Edge is felt in respondents' answers, it is clearly found in the area of societal tensions, the question which has consistently opened the Religion and State Index.

In most of the previous indexes, the sentiment that the secular-Haredi tension was the harshest or second-harshest tension in Israeli society, with a significant gap between the issue and other tensions. Generally, the tension that was ranked second (tension between Israel's political Left and Right) lagged behind by more than 20%.

There was a greatly noticeable change this year; secular-Haredi tensions decreased from its all-time high last year (74%) to 68% in 2014. Additionally, the tension between political right and left rose 20% to 67%. Nevertheless, even with these changes, the secular-Haredi tensions are perceived as the harshest domestic conflict by a margin of one percent.

The rise of importance given to political tensions is clearer when examining the harshest tension alone (without the second-harshest). 45% of respondents saw political tensions as the harshest in Israeli society while only 32% thought the harshest tension was between ultra-Orthodox and secular sectors.



However, 81% of ultra-Orthodox respondents answered that despite the war, the tension between ultra-Orthodox and secular sectors was the harshest in Israeli society. It seems that this is a result of the controversy over the Ultra-Orthodox Conscription Law which was passed this year.

Only 68% of secular Israeli Jews saw the tensions with the Haredi sector as the harshest or second-harshest, but 80% of Yesh Atid voters and 77% of voters for Habayit Hayehudi and the ultra-Orthodox parties believed the Haredi-secular tensions to be harshest or second-harshest.

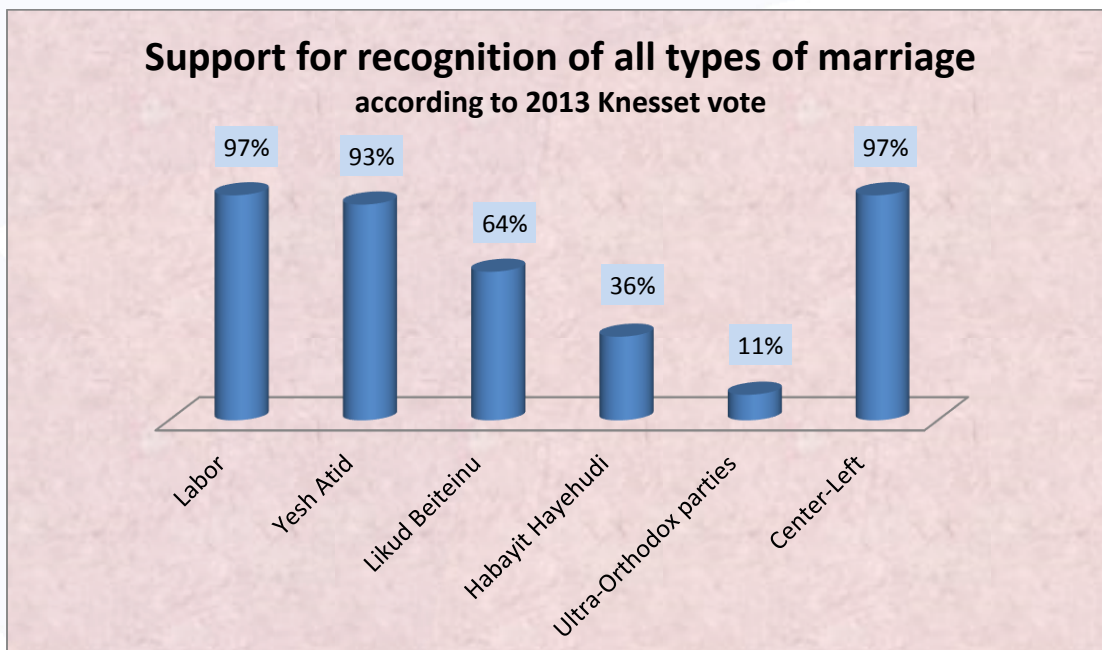
It is interesting to note as well how little importance the tensions between immigrants and native Israelis plays in Israeli society; only 5% of respondents noted this tension as harshest or second-harshest.



## Freedom of marriage and conversion

*Two out of three Israeli Jews support civil marriage*

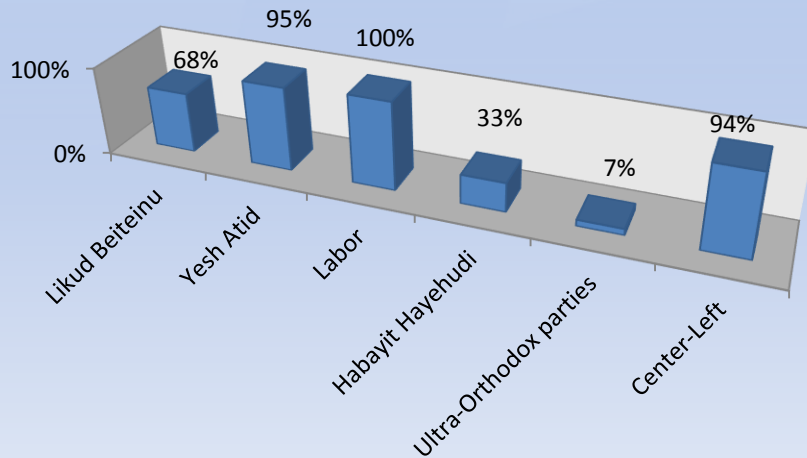
66% of Israeli Jews and 74% of non-Haredi Israeli Jews support recognition of civil marriage and marriages conducted by rabbis of all major Jewish denominations. This is the highest result in the history of the Religion and State Index. The second-highest level of support was recorded at 62% in 2011 and 2013. Secular Israeli Jewish support stands at 92% and among immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, 89% support the recognition of civil and non-Orthodox marriage.



On the other hand, 100% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews and 81% of Orthodox Israeli Jews oppose recognizing civil and non-Orthodox marriage in Israel. 57% of Israeli Jews who identify as traditional-observant and 63% of all traditional Israeli Jews support civil marriage. 93% of Yesh Atid voters, and 97% of Labor, Meretz, Kadima, and Hatnuah voters support recognizing all forms of marriage in Israel. 64% of Likud voters support freedom of marriage, but 64% of Habayit Hayehudi voters are opposed.



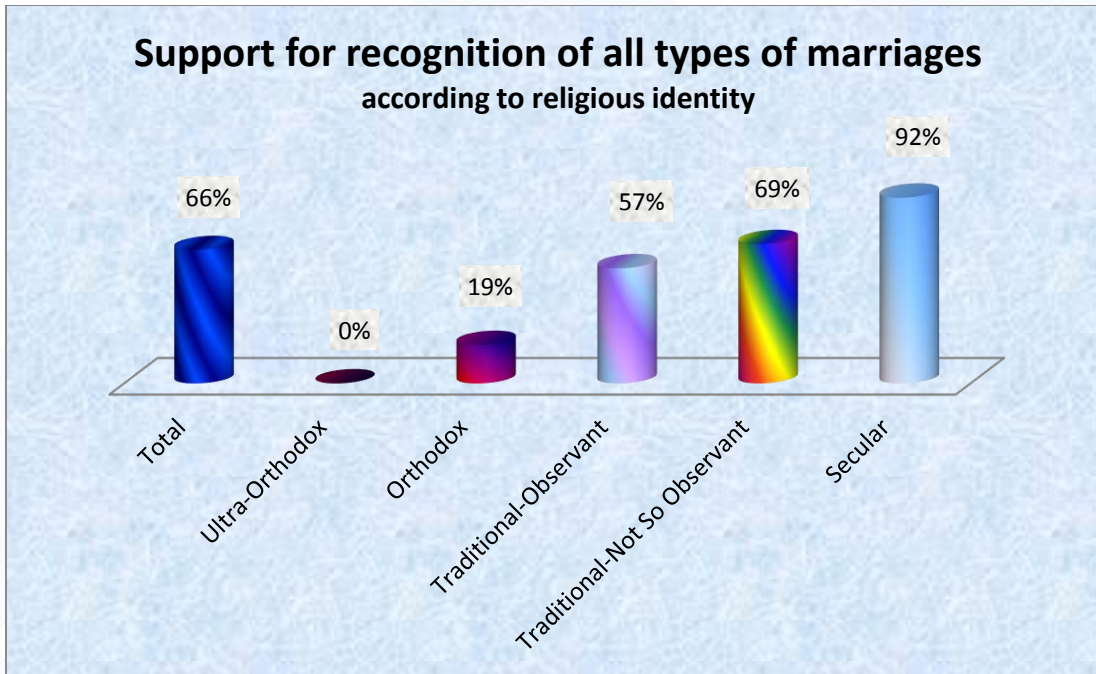
### Israeli Support for shared Israel-Diaspora efforts for freedom of marriage by 2013 Knesset vote



Leaders from Israel and the Diaspora Jewish community recently announced that they are working together to promote freedom of marriage in Israel. 67% of Israeli Jews and 74% of non-Haredi Israeli Jews support these shared efforts. Only 33% of the general Israeli Jewish population oppose the partnership. 98% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews and 81% of Orthodox Israeli Jews also are opposed.

100% of Labor voters, 95% of Yesh Atid and the Center-Left parties' voters (Meretz, Hatnuah, and Kadima) and 68% of Likud Beiteinu voters support the partnership. Essentially the only source of significant opposition to Israel-Diaspora efforts for freedom of marriage comes from the Orthodox Jewish sector. 67% of Habayit Hayehudi voters and 93% of ultra-Orthodox party voters oppose the shared efforts.





64% of Israeli Jews and 72% of non-Haredi Israeli Jews support recognizing all forms of conversion to Judaism. This level of support is higher than in any previous index. For the past five years, there was steady support at 60-61%. 89% of secular Israeli Jews and 63% of traditional Israeli Jews support recognizing all forms of conversion, but 100% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews and 83% of Orthodox Israeli Jews oppose such a move.

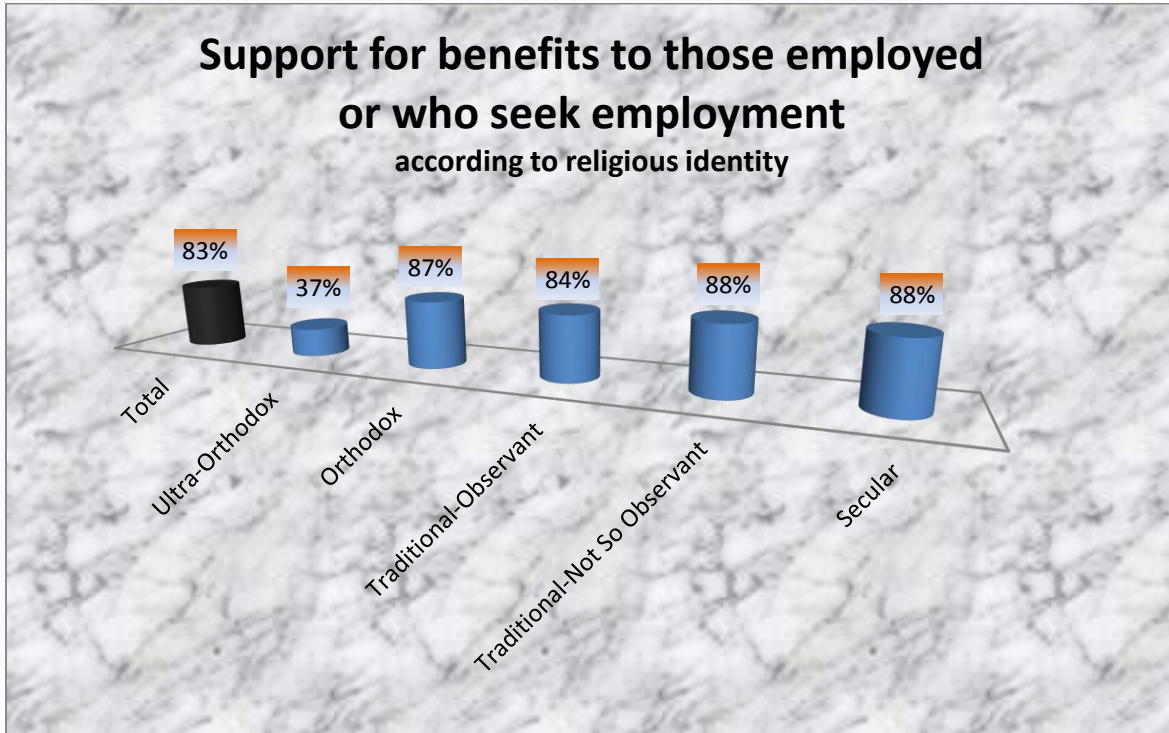
37% of Israeli Jews (56% of secular Israeli Jews) support recognizing secular conversion to Judaism, (Jewish study and a ceremony marking the entrance to the Jewish people in a non-religious process). This support comes despite the fact that this admission process is almost non-existent in Israel.



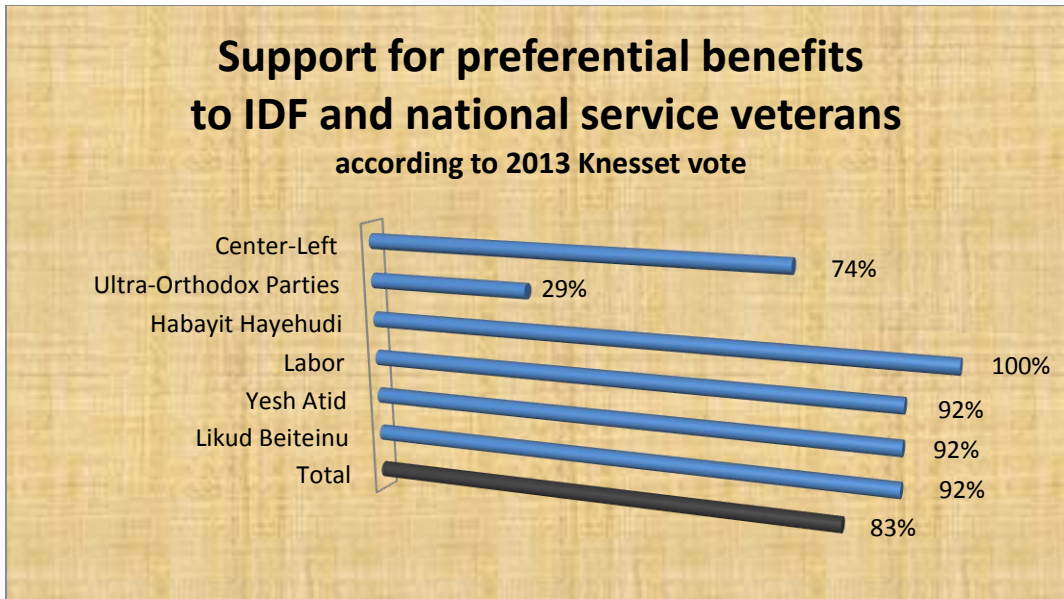
## Social Benefits and Support

83% are in favor of benefits for IDF veterans and working Israelis

Israel's government is continuously confronted by political and legal troubles in its attempts to grant benefits to Israelis who are employed or are searching for work and for IDF and national service veterans. The Israeli public, on the other hand, strongly backs such governmental support.



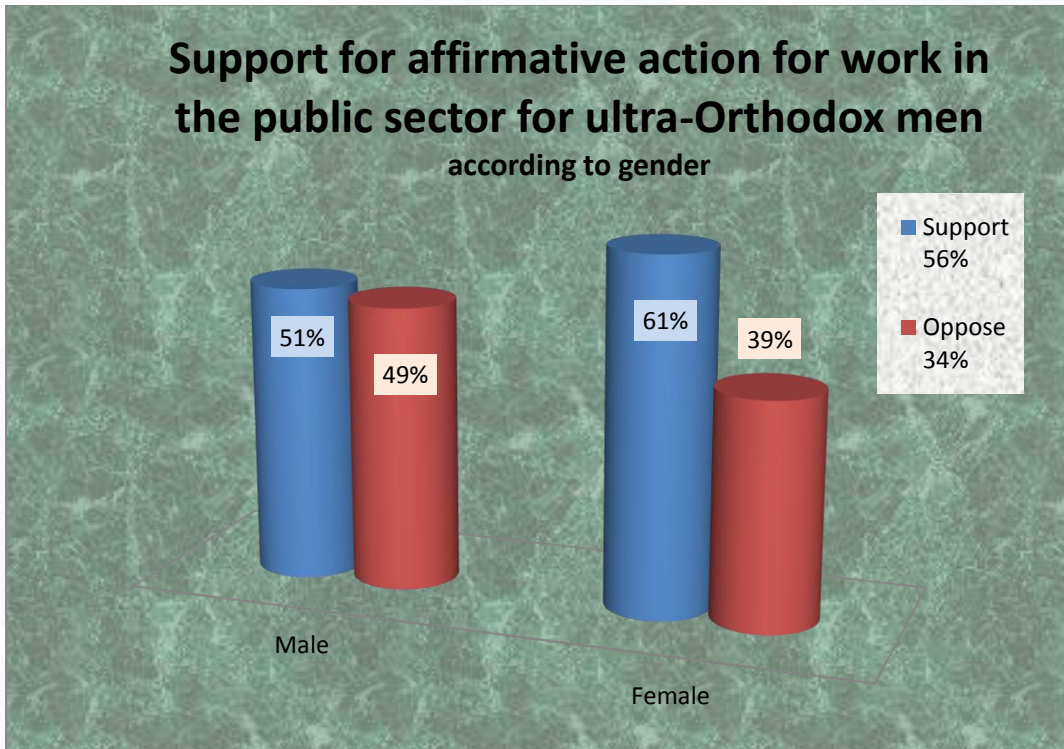
83% of Israeli Jews and 87% of non-Haredi Israeli Jews believe that the government should grant preferential benefits to citizens who are employed or seek employment. Only 17% oppose. The support for preferential benefits is above 80% among all religious affiliations. For example: 87% of the Orthodox Israeli Jewish population. More than one third of the Haredi Israeli population (37%) want employed Israelis to receive preferential benefits. 93% of Habayit Hayehudi voters support such measures, while 50% of Israelis who voted for ultra-Orthodox parties feel the same way. It is important to note that voters of Shas (an ultra-Orthodox party) include non-haredi voters.



83% of Israeli Jews and 89% of non-Haredi Israelis support granting preferential benefits to IDF and national service veterans. The Haredi sector is the only religious group whose support for this measure falls below 80% support; 78% oppose granting preferential benefits to those who served and 22% support doing so.

The support for these benefits is higher among Orthodox Israeli Jews (96%) than it is among secular Israeli Jews (87%). 100% of Habayit Hayehudi voters support this plan. Left-wing voters were the only political group for whom levels of support were below 80%, at 69%. It is safe to assume that this reflects the Israeli Left's desire to lessen Israeli society's militaristic character.

There is widespread support among Israeli Jews for ultra-Orthodox individuals to enter the workforce. 56% of Israeli Jews support the government's plans to grant affirmative action to Haredi men working in the public sector. 44% oppose the plan. Even 82% of ultra-Orthodox Jews support the government's plan for affirmative action for Haredi men, even though that would require a shift of Haredi men from the study hall to the workplace.



61% of women support the move for affirmative action but only 51% of men feel this way (49% oppose). This figure is interesting because such a move would require initial discrimination against ultra-Orthodox women who would not receive such preferential treatment in the workforce.

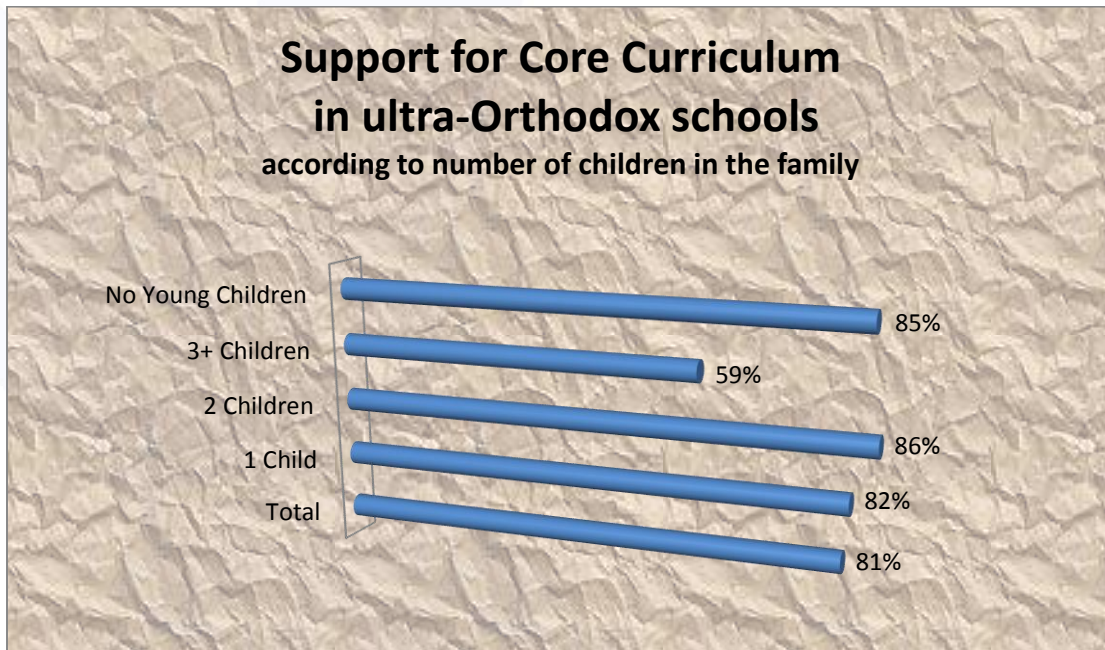


## Ultra-Orthodox Education

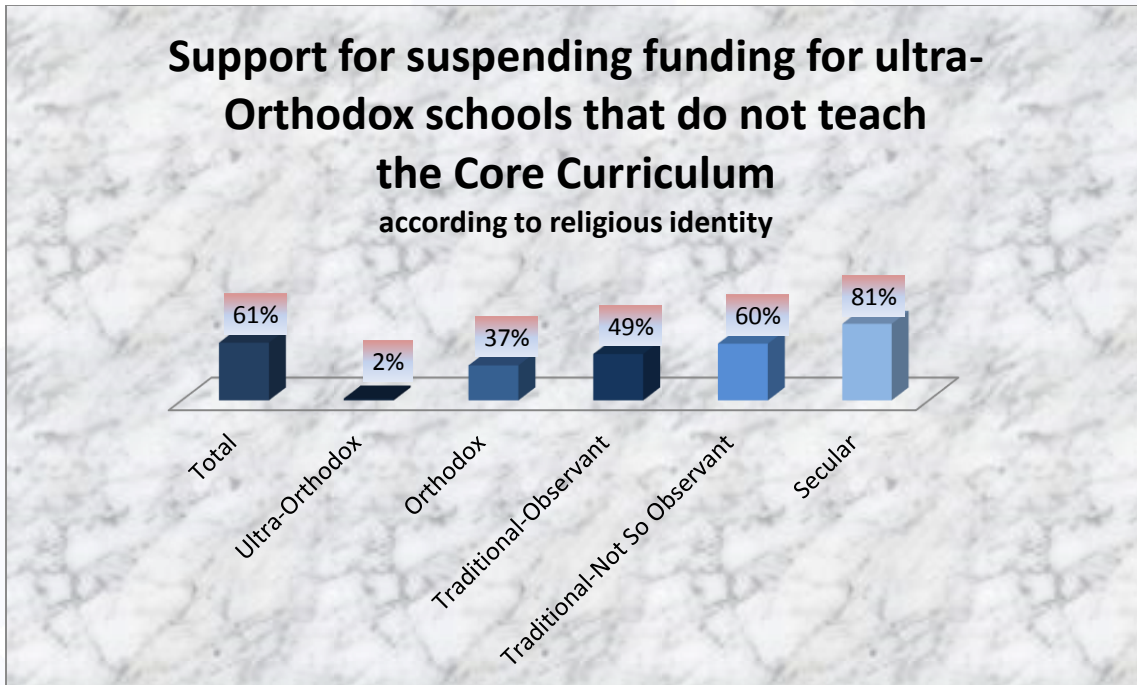
### 8 out of 9 respondents: Require Core Curriculum for ultra-Orthodox students

According to the Israeli government's decision, at the beginning of the 2014 school year, any educational institution that is "recognized but not official" or an "exempt institution" that conducts 11 weekly hours of basic studies will only receive 35% of the government funding given to public schools. 81% of Israeli Jews and 88% of the non-Haredi Israeli Jewish population believe that the government should require Haredi schools to teach the core curriculum, including Math, Science, English, and Civics.

This is a 2% increase from last year and a 6% increase from 2012 (75% support). Only 19% of Israeli Jews oppose requiring core curricular studies. 73% of Orthodox Israeli Jews support the requirement.



Among families with no more than three children, 80% support core curriculum in Haredi schools and with families that have three children or more, the rate of support drops to 59%.



61% of Israeli Jews support cutting government funding for schools that do not teach core curricular subjects, starting with decreasing the funding and then a complete funding cut, as the government stipulated.

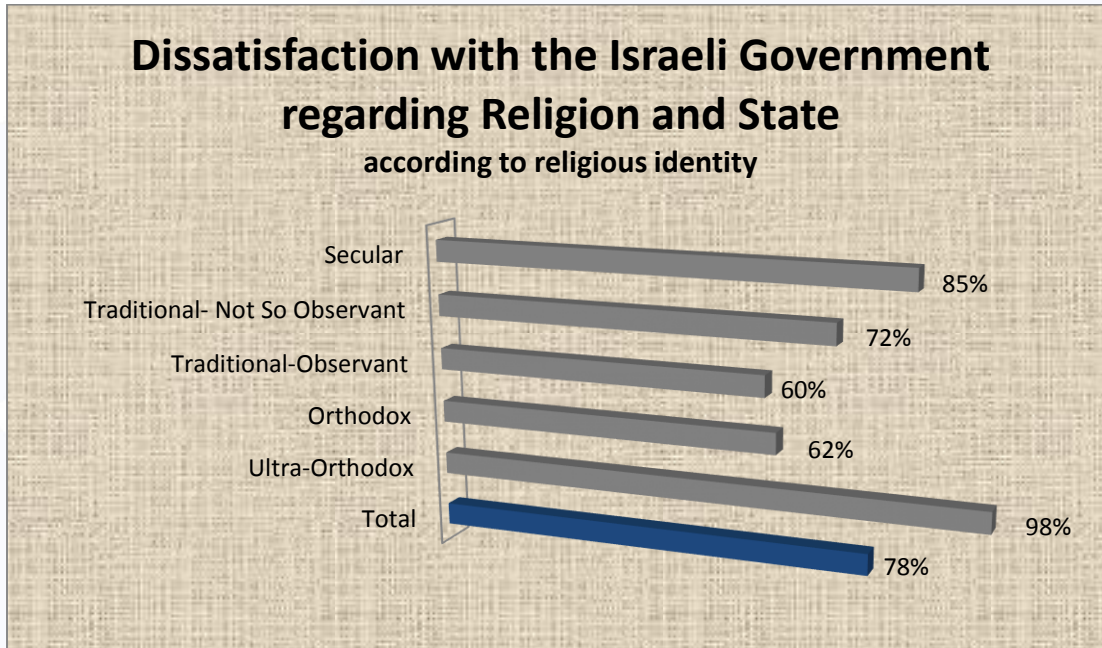
Of those in support, 27% also support the proposal to declare that schools that do not meet the requirements of core curricular instruction will constitute an offense, punishable by high fines. 39% believe that the current situation should be continued, where institutions that are not teaching the core curriculum should receive partial funding (18%) or that teaching the core curriculum should not be enforced at all (21%).

68% of non-Haredi Israeli Jews and 81% of secular Israeli Jews support measures to cut funding for Haredi schools that do not teach the core curriculum. 95% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews believe that teaching the core curriculum should not be enforced at all.



## Religion and Politics

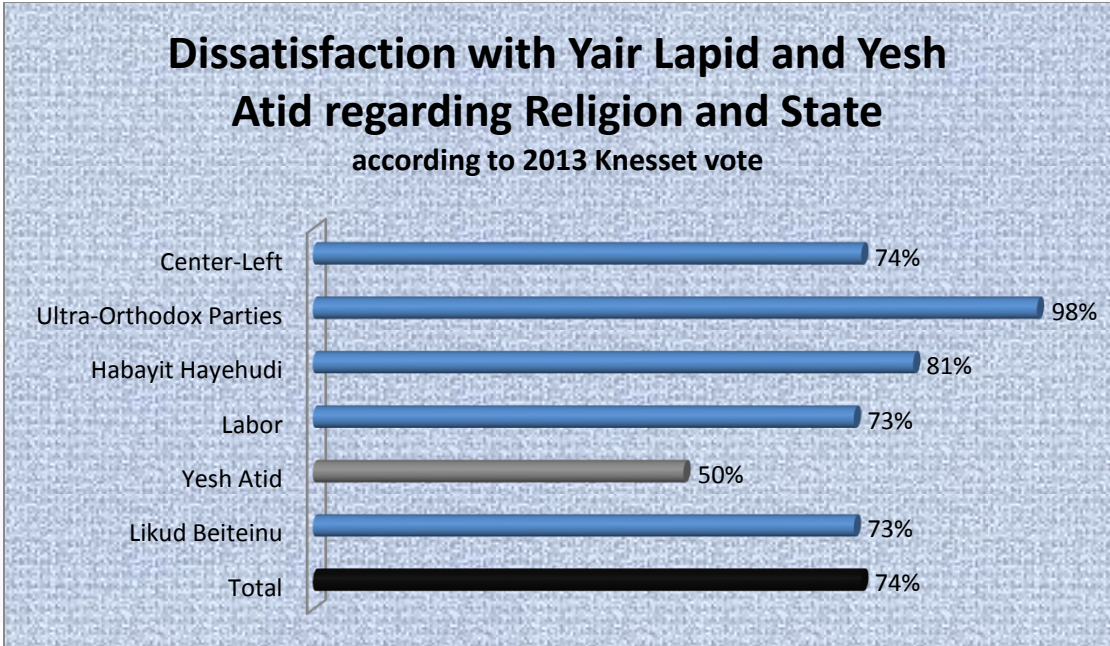
*The Israeli public is not pleased with the government's track record on religion and state issues, similar disapproval for Yesh Atid*



78% of Israeli Jews are displeased with the Israeli government's actions so far on religion and state issues. The unfavorable sentiment towards the government regarding these issues grew slightly by 2%.

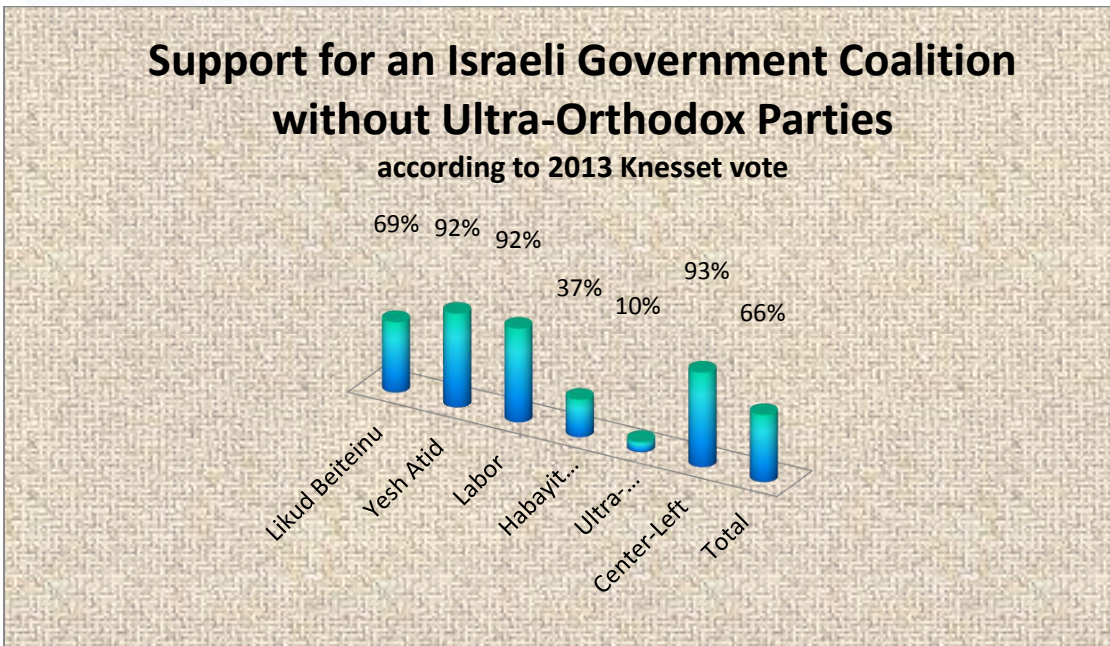
It is important to emphasize that this was felt throughout all Jewish sectors of Israeli society, 85% of Secular Israeli Jews and 95% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews are displeased with the government's religion and state record. Among Orthodox Israeli Jews, 62% expressed dissatisfaction and 38% said that they were pleased.

The only political party whose voters expressed a relatively high level of satisfaction with the government's actions on religion and state issues was Habayit Hayehudi (48% pleased, 52% displeased).



Even after the Ultra-Orthodox Conscription Law was passed, 74% of Israeli Jews said they were not pleased with the actions of Finance Minister Yair Lapid and his party Yesh Atid regarding religion and state issues. This is a slight drop by 2% from the 2013 Index (76% were displeased).

Out of the 26% who were pleased with Minister Lapid and Yesh Atid's activities regarding religion and state issues in the 2014 index, 22% said they were somewhat pleased. As expected, 100% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews said they were not pleased by the Finance Minister and his party. 70% of secular Israeli Jews were displeased. It is noteworthy that among Yesh Atid voters, only 50% were pleased and 50% were displeased.



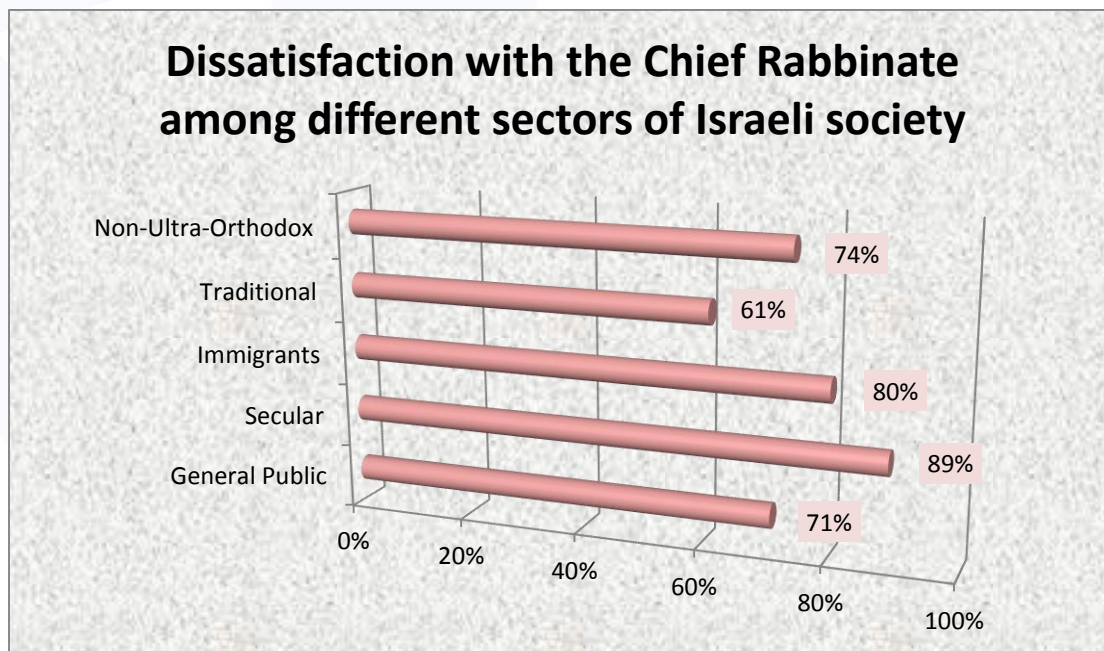




The current government coalition is somewhat exceptional in that it does not include any ultra-Orthodox parties. Two-thirds of all Israeli Jews (66%) and three-quarters of non-Haredi Israeli Jews (73%) support this coalition formation without ultra-Orthodox parties.

This is a slight rise from last year's index (64%). 91% of secular Israeli Jews, 82% of immigrants, and 57% of traditional Israeli Jews support a government coalition without ultra-Orthodox parties. Two-thirds of Orthodox Israeli Jews and 98% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews oppose the government coalition without ultra-Orthodox parties.

92-93% of Center and Left-wing voters (Yesh Atid, Meretz, Labor, etc) support the government coalition without ultra-Orthodox parties. Also two-thirds (69%) of Likud Beiteinu voters support a government coalition without ultra-Orthodox parties. 90% of ultra-Orthodox party voters are opposed.



71% of Israeli Jews are not pleased with the Chief Rabbinate, 40% of them are very unsatisfied. 74% of the non-Haredi population are not satisfied with the institution. The non-Haredi population's sentiments about the Chief Rabbinate bear heightened importance because, even though Israel's Chief Rabbis have been ultra-Orthodox for the past 30 years, the institution is intended to serve the non-Haredi population.

89% of secular Israeli Jews, 80% of immigrants, and 60% of traditional Israeli Jews are not pleased with the Chief Rabbinate. Additionally, 37% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews and 42% of Orthodox Israeli Jews are not pleased with the institution. 76% of women, compared to 67% of men are not pleased with the Chief Rabbinate.

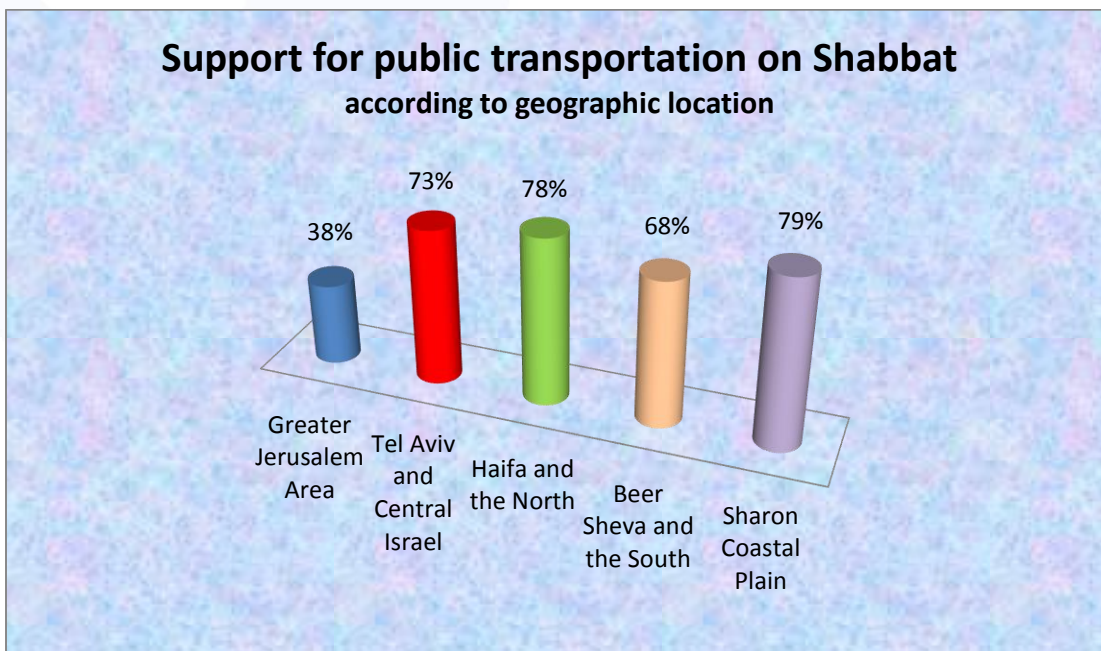


## Shabbat Battles

*Substantial support measured for freedom from religion in all Shabbat related criteria that were polled: businesses, public transportation, and granting kosher certification to restaurants open on shabbat*

70% of Israeli Jews and 77% of non-Haredi Israeli Jews are in favor of either limited or expanded public transportation on Shabbat. Only 30% are in favor of the status quo with a few bus lines on Shabbat in certain areas (18%) or are in favor of cancelling the lines that already run (12%).

Among the supporters for public transportation on Shabbat, 45% support providing public transportation on central routes and at low frequency. Only 25% support complete public transportation on Shabbat. The rise in support for public transportation on Shabbat has consistently risen since 2010, when support was at 58% until the current index, in which support was recorded at 70%. 97% of Yesh Atid voters and 74% of Likud voters support public transportation on Shabbat.



Support for public transportation on Shabbat is an issue that bears special importance based on geographic location. 79% of Sharon coastal plain residents, 73% of Tel Aviv and central Israel residents, 78% of residents of Haifa and Northern Israel, and 68% of Beer Sheva and the Southern Area residents support public transportation on Shabbat. 63% of the greater Jerusalem area residents are opposed to the idea.

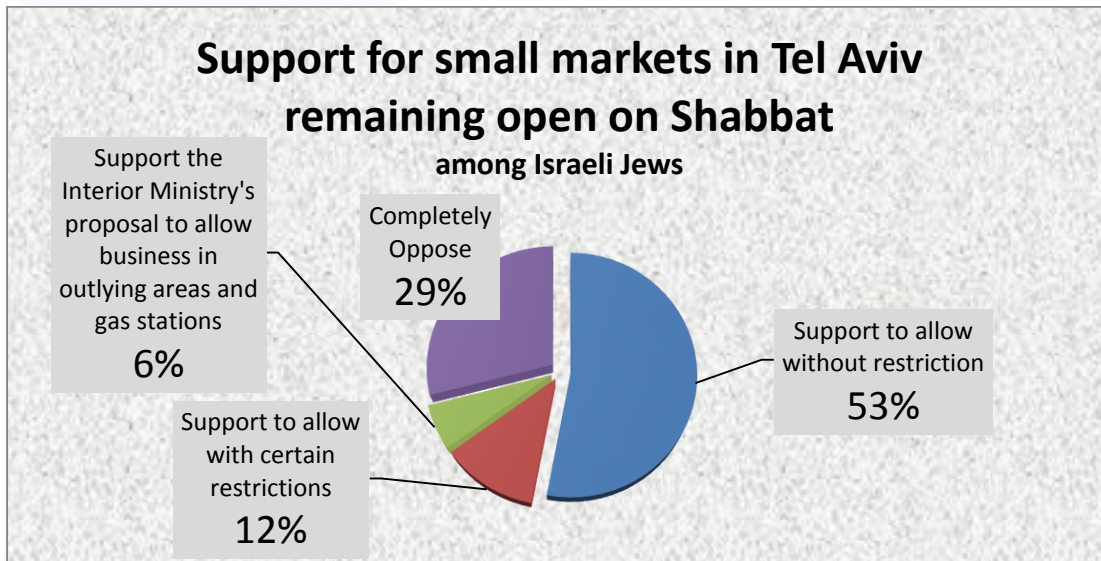
72% of Israeli Jews and 79% of non-Haredi Israeli Jews support allowing shopping malls located outside of cities to remain open on Shabbat. This is a 5% increase from the previous index (67%).



This model also enjoys support from 97% of secular Israeli Jews and 86% of immigrants, despite the claim that the immigrant community is exploited for work on Shabbat in these types of centers. 94% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews and 80% of Orthodox Israeli Jews are opposed, but 20% of them, and 6% of ultra-Orthodox Israelis support allowing these shopping malls to remain open on Shabbat.



Support for allowing shopping malls outside of cities to remain open on Shabbat is another issue that is important to examine according to geographic location. 91% of Sharon coastal plain residents, 74% of Tel Aviv area and Central Israel (including Bnei Brak) 79% of Haifa and northern Israel, and 72% of Beer Sheva and southern Israel support the measure. But 67% of greater Jerusalem area residents are opposed.



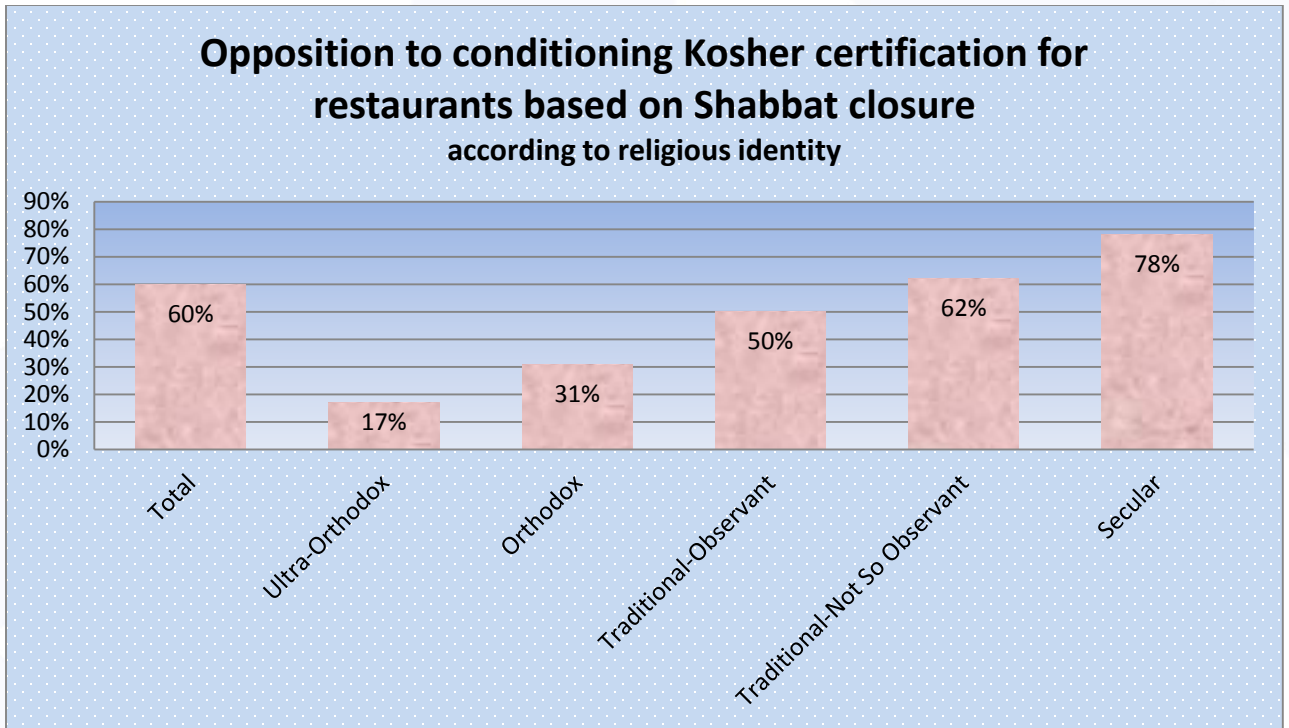


65% of Israeli Jews and 85% of Jewish Tel Aviv residents support allowing small markets and convenience stores to remain open on Shabbat in the streets of Tel Aviv. 53% of Israeli Jews (out of the 65%) support unrestricted operation and another 12% support restricted scope of operation. Namely, two-thirds of Israeli Jews oppose Interior Minister Gideon Saar's decision to prevent these types of businesses to operate on Shabbat in the streets of Tel Aviv. 6% support his decision to allow business on Shabbat in certain outlying areas and in gas stations and another 29% oppose allowing these stores to remain open on Shabbat at all.

69% of Likud Beiteinu voters (Minister Saar's party) support allowing food stores to remain open on Shabbat in Tel Aviv. Despite reservations of some Labor MKs regarding opening stores on Shabbat, 95% of the party's voters support allowing small markets and convenience stores to remain open on Shabbat in Tel Aviv.

It seems that public support for accessibility to commerce on Shabbat is generally high, and support for allowing shopping malls located outside of cities to remain open on Shabbat is somewhat higher than for allowing small markets and convenience stores to remain open on Shabbat inside of cities. This comes likely from the distance between the shopping malls and residential areas, despite the fact that they generate a higher level of commerce than small markets and convenience stores.

This situation presents two key social claims against allowing businesses to run on Shabbat: competition for small business owners and exploiting workers on the national day of rest. These two problems are much more relevant among larger shopping centers. If so (there is greater support for allowing large shopping malls located outside of cities to remain open on Shabbat) it seems that the Israeli public does not attach great importance to the social aspects of Shabbat commerce wars.



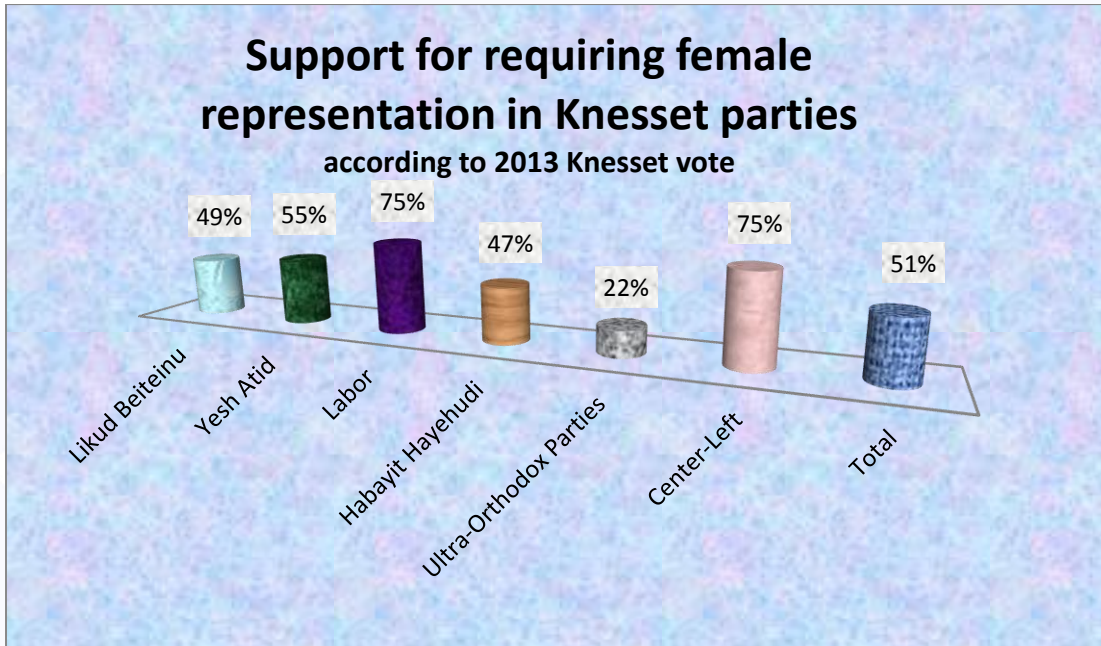
60% of Israeli Jews and 65% of non-haredi Israeli Jews believe that Kosher certification in restaurants should not be conditioned on observing Shabbat laws, as the Chief Rabbinate currently requires. 78% of secular Israeli Jews, 76% of immigrants, and 62% of traditional-not so observant Israeli Jews (the overwhelming majority of potential restaurant clientele on Shabbat) hold this belief. This topic has ignited political and public debate at the time of this poll generated from a specific bill, initiated by MK Elazar Stern (Hatnuah), to mandate this option.

69% of Orthodox Israeli Jews and 83% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews believe that Kosher certification should indeed be conditioned on adhering to Shabbat laws. 65% of Tel Aviv and the central Israel residents, 77% of Sharon coastal plain residents, and even 47% of greater Jerusalem area residents believe that Kosher certification in restaurants should not be dependent on Shabbat observance. 31% of Orthodox Israeli Jews and 17% of ultra-Orthodox Israelis believe that Kosher certification should not be dependent on adherence to Shabbat laws.



## Exclusion of women from the public realm

*51% of Israeli Jews: Require female representation in every political party*



A slight majority of 51% (vs. 49%) of Israeli Jews believe that every political party (including Israeli-Arab and ultra-Orthodox) should be required to have minimum female representation. Among non-Haredi Israeli Jews, the support rises to 54%.

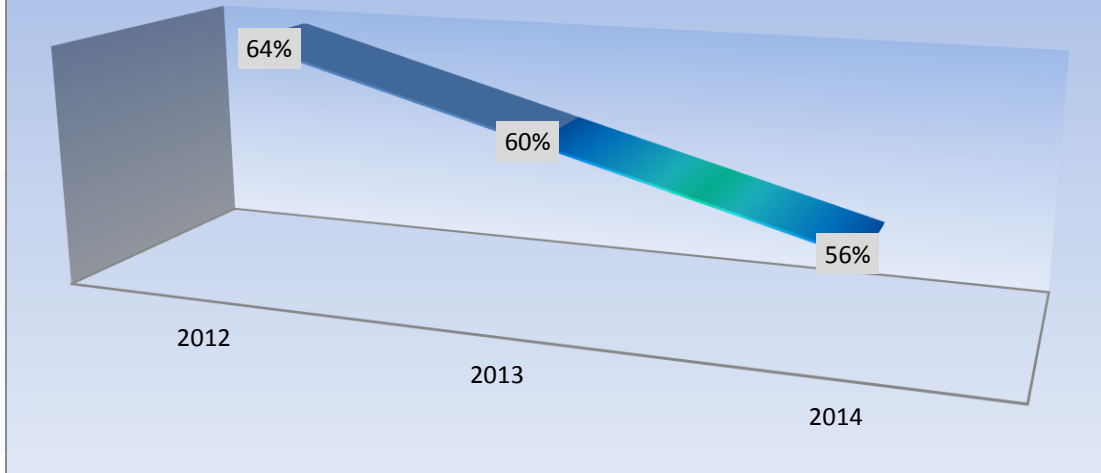
Because the Religion and State Index almost completely covers Jewish-related issues, there were no Israeli-Arab respondents, so there is no way to know what the Israeli Arab sector feels about this issue. The highest level of support for required female representation in political parties comes from Labor party voters (75%).

The breakdown of results regarding female representation in political parties is exceptional in a few ways. 60% of traditional Israeli Jews support the idea, but only 53% of secular Israeli Jews are in support.

The reason for this rare situation that traditional Israeli Jews hold a more liberal stance than secular Israeli Jews is that a significant segment of secular Israeli Jews are from the Former Soviet Union. This immigrant population is often similar to the rest of the secular sector but on this issue, they are more conservative. 55% of immigrants oppose minimal female representation in political parties.



## Support to criminalize excluding women from the public realm by Year



30% of ultra-Orthodox Israeli Jews and 48% of Orthodox Israeli Jews support a Ministry of Justice legislative initiative to criminalize the act of excluding women from the public realm. 56% of Israeli Jews support this proposal.

This is a 4% drop from the 2013 index and an 8% drop from 2012 index (64%), which was conducted only six months after this issue was a central controversial issue in Israeli public discourse. The fact that this issue has been seen less recently in headlines could attribute to the decrease in importance that Israelis see in it. There was not a significant difference in standing between men and women on this issue.



## RELIGION AND STATE INDEX 2014- EXPLANATIONS

The Religion and State Index is an annual public opinion survey conducted by the Rafi Smith Institute for Hiddush-Freedom of Religion for Israel. The index follows public opinion on religion and state issues and the changes that occur over time. This is done in order to provide the highest quality of discussion and decision-making tools for policymakers, NGOs, researchers, the general Israeli public, and world Jewry. The index is based on an exceptionally large sample of 800 Jewish Israeli adults (18+) and this year it contained 26 questions and an additional 12 background questions.

The 2014 index is based on a telephone survey conducted on August 11<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup>, 2014. The margin of error is 3.5%. The survey was delayed by two weeks because of Operation Protective Edge and it was eventually conducted during a long ceasefire between two periods of fighting. This was done to minimize the impact of the operation on respondents' answers. The breakdown of responses is based on percentages of those who expressed an opinion.

As usual, the two important segmentations were religious identification and 2013 Knesset vote. The breakdown of respondents according to religious identity is as follows: Secular-49%, Traditional-Not So Observant- 17%, Traditional-Observant-13%, Orthodox- 12%, Ultra-Orthodox- 9%. This year the category of "traditional" was split into two sub-categories: "Traditional-Observant" and "Traditional-Not So Observant." The results were presented, however, through the general traditional sector. The breakdown according to immigrant status was: Israeli-born or immigrated before 1989: 85%, immigrated from after 1989- 15%.

This categorization follows the model set by the governmental Central Bureau of Statistics which in its annual social study, asks the Jewish respondents to identify themselves religious according to the following categories.

To put the categorization in context, we asked a question to respondents regarding Shabbat observance. While 100% of Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox state that they observe Shabbat according to Jewish Law, and 0% of Secular Israelis do so, among the "Traditional" category: 47% of "Traditional-Observant" and only 6% of "Traditional-Not So Observant" gave that response. The terms "ultra-Orthodox" and "Haredi" are used interchangeably.

The Index project began five years ago and this current publication is its seventh edition. In the summer of 2009, with the founding of Hiddush, a special preparatory research project was published. The first two indexes were conducted in the fall and summer of





2010. It was then decided to conduct the index on an annual basis. In 2014, the Index included 26 questions, 10 consistent questions asked annually, 12 new questions and 4 questions that were asked in the past but not consistently.

Regarding the questions that were asked previously, a comparison was conducted with previous indexes. The questions asked for the first time are mostly related to events that took place in the past year, such as Operation Protective Edge, the Ultra-Orthodox Conscription Law, and the government's actions relating to religion and state issues. A number of questions were dedicated to the issue of Shabbat.

For analytical purposes, there were 10 breakdowns conducted according to different sets of background information (religious affiliation, immigrant status, Knesset vote in the last elections, education, political worldview, gender, and geographic location). This year, income level (which was not helpful to us in previous indexes) was switched with number of children under the age of 18 in the family. This is a factor that is influenced by religious identity and impacts income levels therefore it is more useful for religion/state issues.

Because of the small amount of Knesset members from Hatnuah, Meretz, and Kadima, the voters of these three parties were grouped together under the category of "Center-Left." Similarly, the two ultra-Orthodox parties, Shas and United Torah Judaism (Sephardic and Ashkenazic ultra-Orthodox parties, respectively) were combined into one category. On the other hand, the Labor party, who was grouped with Meretz in the previous term, has been considered its own category in the past two indexes.