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## Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation

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February 24, 2020

### **One week ahead of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Knesset elections: A poll in the Arab public expects 60% voter turnout, great public confidence (91%) in the impact of the Joint List in the next Knesset, and a high level of opposition to the "Deal of the Century"**

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One week ahead of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Knesset elections (March 2, 2020),  
a comprehensive public opinion poll among Israeli Arab voters reveals:

- The expected turnout of Arab citizens in the upcoming 23<sup>rd</sup> Knesset Elections is 60%, a similar voting rate as the 22<sup>nd</sup> Knesset elections (59.2%).
- The Joint List is expected to win the support of a large majority in the Arab public, 75.2%. Jewish parties receive the support of 22.3% of those surveyed.
- A majority of the Arab public (59.5%) believes that the Joint List represents its interest to a large extent. An even larger majority (almost 91%) believes that the Joint List will have an impact in the next Knesset in raising development budgets for Arab communities, increasing awareness of Arab society's problems, preventing anti-Arab legislation, and cooperating with the government in return for its commitment to solve Arab society's problems. However, only 34.3% of the Arab public are optimistic about the expected results of the elections.
- The most qualified candidate for Prime Minister in the eyes of the Arab public is Ahmad Tibi (23.6%), followed by Benny Gantz (12.0%), Ayman Odeh (6.9%), and Amir Peretz (6.1%). Benjamin Netanyahu receives a small support, 2.2%. On the other hand, 12.4% of those surveyed believe that there is no qualified candidate for this position today.
- A quarter of the Arab public is not familiar with the "Deal of the Century" program. Of the opinion holders, 79% oppose the vision presented in the plan while only 21% regard it favorably.
- The most important issues for the Arab public are poverty and employment, the problem of violence and crime, planning and construction, education, struggle to amend the Nation State Law, and the Palestinian issue.

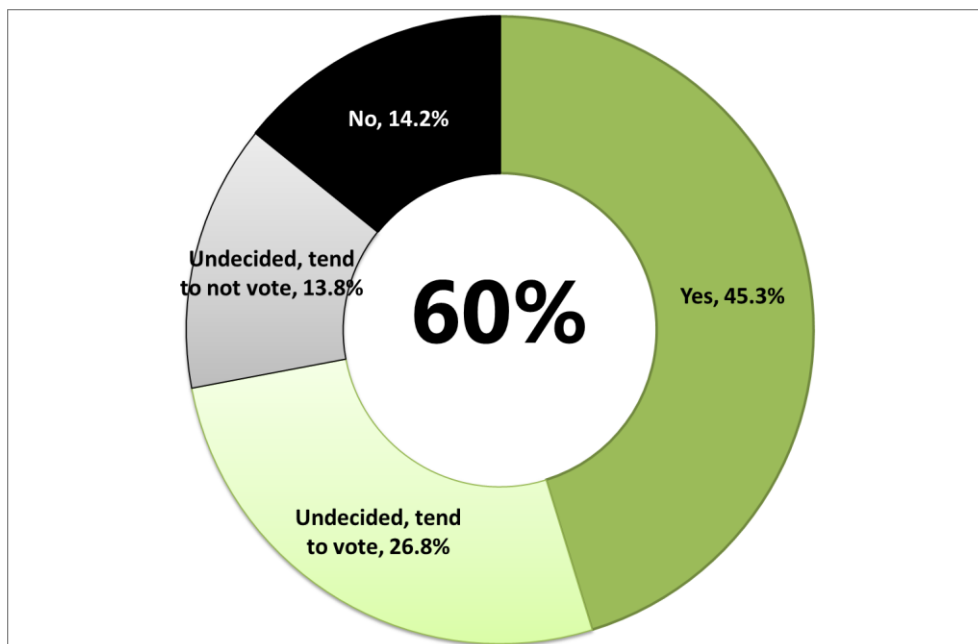
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### One week ahead of the elections: What will be the turnout in the Arab public?

According to the findings of the survey, 45.3% of the respondents said they intend to vote while 14.2% do not intend to vote. 40.6% of those surveyed have yet to decide whether or not to vote, of which 26.8% are undecided and may vote, while 13.8% are undecided and likely not to vote.

By weighting the answers and based on past experience, the turnout of Arab voters on Election Day is expected to be 60%. The expected turnout of Arab citizens in the upcoming elections is similar to their turnout in September 2019 elections (59.2%).

#### Will you vote on Election Day?



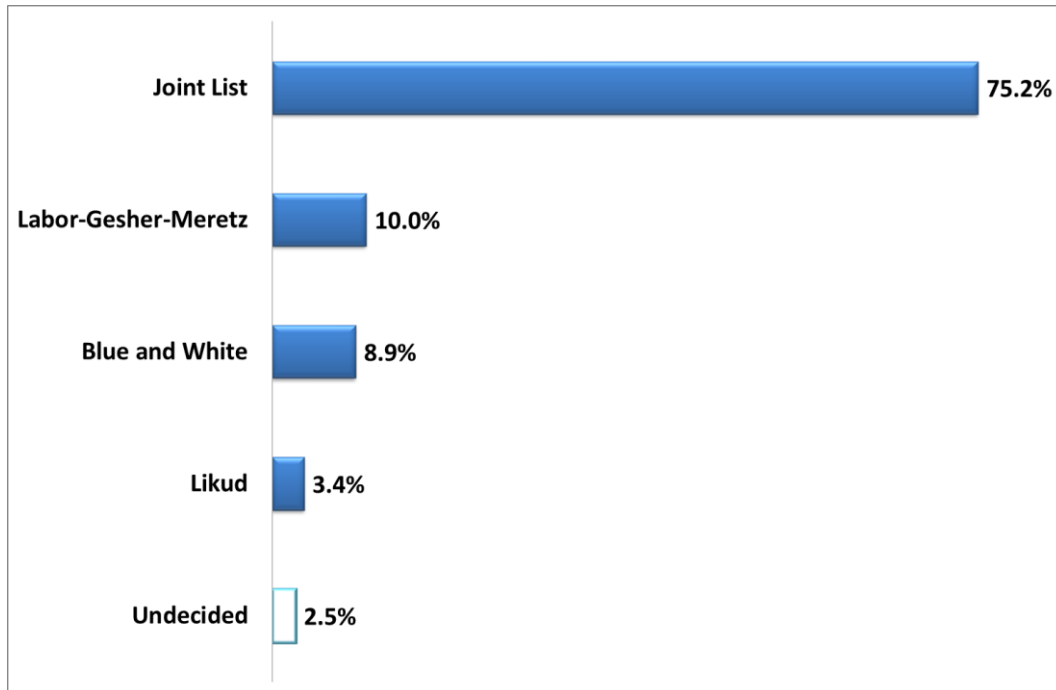
### Whom will the Arab citizens vote for?

According to the survey results, the Joint List will win a large majority of the Arab public. Of those who plan to vote in the election, 75.2% indicated that they intend to vote for the Joint List.

Other parties that receive significant support from the Arab voters are Labor-Gesher-Meretz (10.0%) and Blue and White (8.9%). The Likud party is expected to gain small support (3.4%).

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### Whom will you vote for? (Among those who plan to vote)



### Who is the most qualified candidate to be Prime Minister?

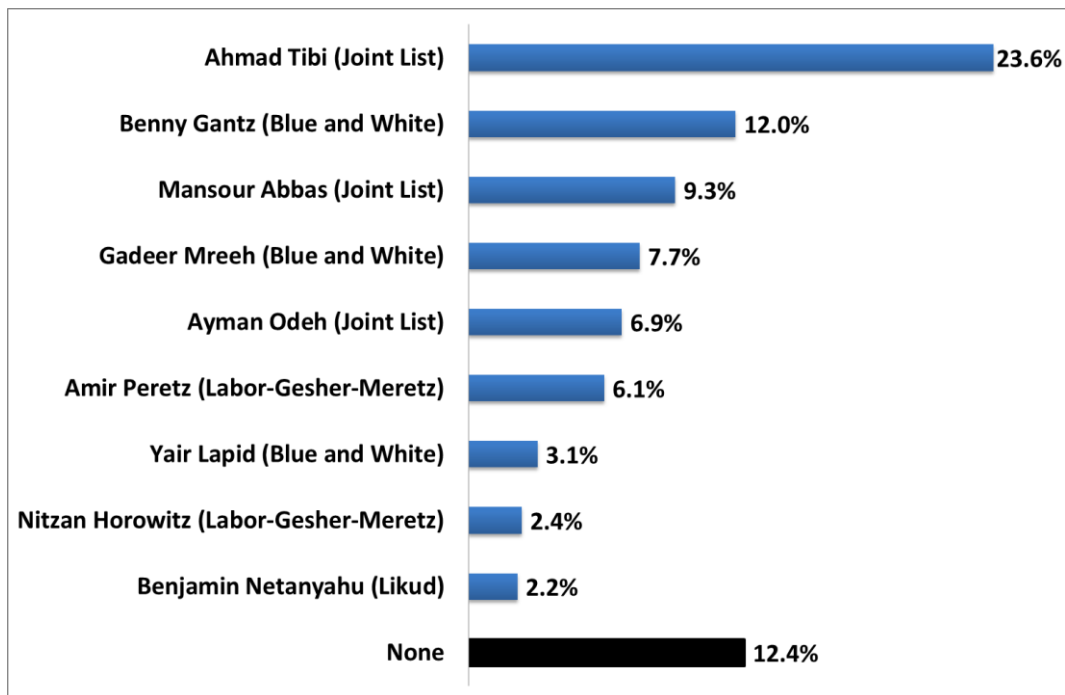
The respondents were presented an open question: Which Knesset member is most qualified in their opinion for the position of prime minister, regardless of their voting intentions or whether they like the candidate or not.

According to the survey responses, top of the list is Ahmad Tibi (23.6%) followed by Benny Gantz (12.0%), Mansour Abbas (9.3%), Gadeer Mreeh (7.7%), Ayman Odeh (6.9%) and Amir Peretz (6.1%). Other qualified candidates in the Arab public eyes are Yair Lapid (3.1%), Nitzan Horowitz (2.4%), and Benjamin Netanyahu (2.2%).

However, 12.4% of those surveyed believe there is no qualified candidate for this position today.

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### Who is the qualified candidate to be Prime Minister?



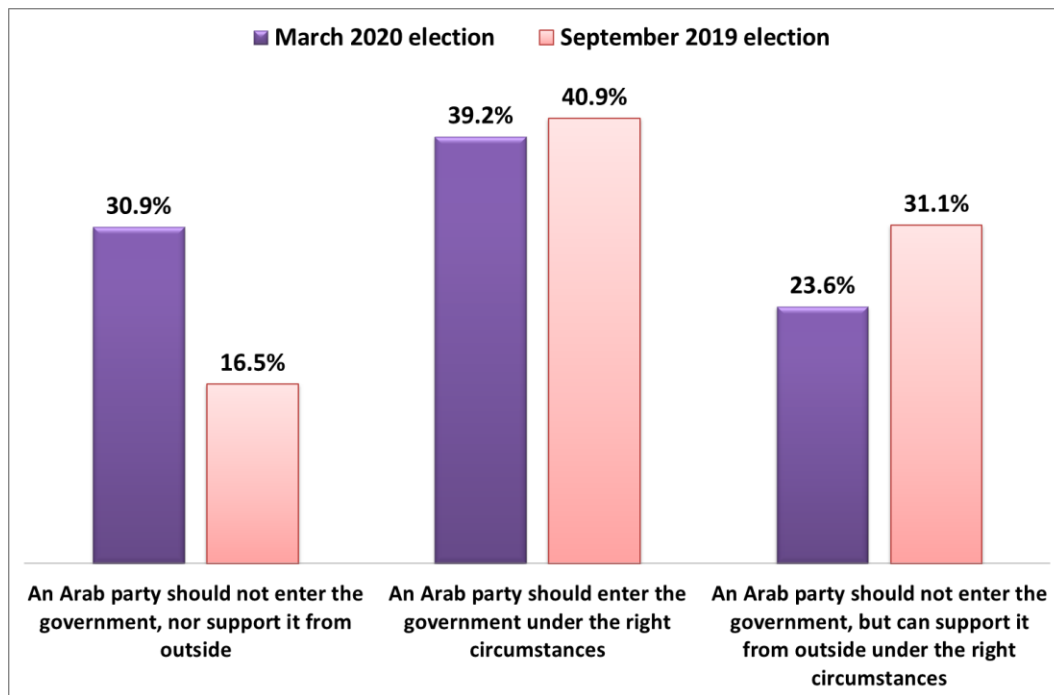
### Political Cooperation with the Government

The Arab public aims to influence the government directly (as part of the coalition) or indirectly (as a parliamentary bloc) through the parties that represent it. 39.2% of those surveyed believe that an Arab party should enter government under the right circumstances. In addition 23.6% think that an Arab party is not allowed to enter the government, but it is allowed to support the government from outside under the right circumstances. In contrast, 30.9% of those surveyed believe that an Arab party should not enter the government nor support it from outside.

What has changed from the previous September elections? The Arab public no longer holds much hope of influencing the future government. In the September survey, 40.9% of those surveyed responded that an Arab party should enter the government under the right circumstances – a similar rate to the current poll. However, the proportion of those surveyed who believe that an Arab party should neither enter nor support the government from outside is higher in the current survey almost twice the corresponding rate in September (16.5%).

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### Should an Arab party join the government or support it from outside?



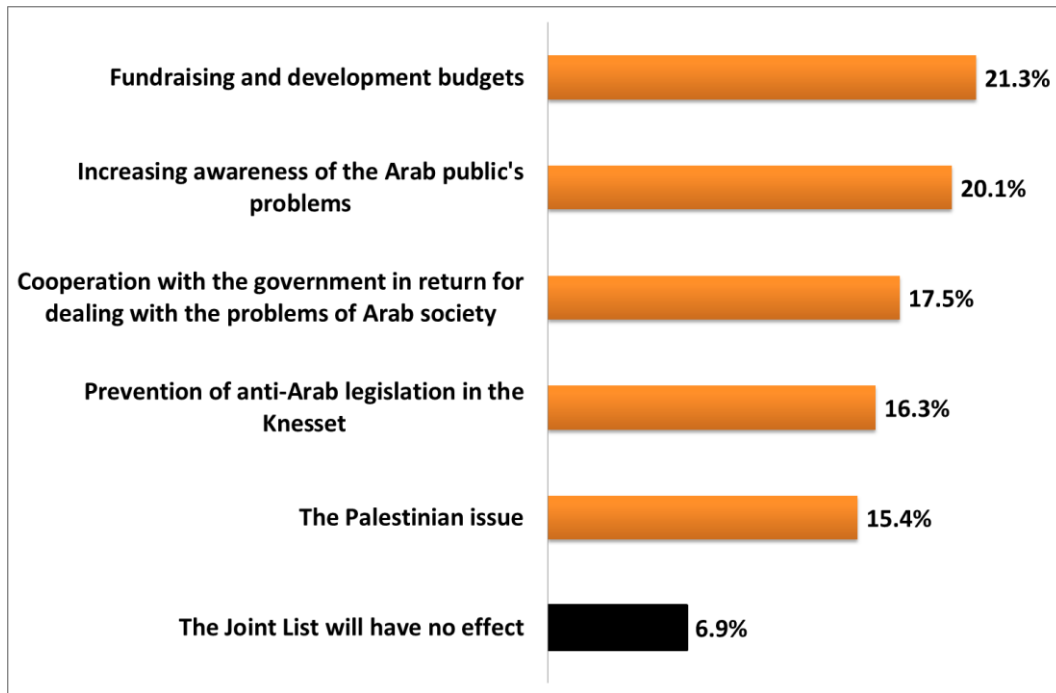
The change in the attitudes of the Arab public should be attributed to statements by Blue and White leaders Benny Gantz and Yair Lapid that they do not see political partnership with the Joint List as a viable option. The leaders of the Joint List have also repeatedly stated that they do not intend to enter the government. The Joint List members also do not undertake to support from outside a government led by Gantz, if it is established, in light of the principled support of Blue and White heads in the "Deal of the Century" plan.

### Expectations for political influence in the next Knesset

Regardless of their actual voting intentions, Arab citizens believe in the ability of the Joint List to play an effective role in the following Knesset in a variety of areas: fundraising and development budgets, preventing anti-Arab legislation, cooperation with the government in return for its commitment to addressing the problems of Arab society, raising public awareness and understanding for the problems suffered by the Arab society, and the Palestinian issue in general. Only 6.9% do not believe that the Joint List could have any effect in the next Knesset.

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### In which area will the Joint List be most influential in the next Knesset?



In addition, a majority (59.5%) of the Arab public believes that the Joint List represents his interests to a large extent. 31.5% believe that the Joint List represents their interests to a small extent. Only 6.5% of those surveyed responded that the Joint List did not represent the interests of the Arab public.

However, the majority of those surveyed (63.5%) said they were pessimistic about the expected results of the election, and only 34.3% said they were optimistic about them. In addition, a larger majority (70.7%) said that their level of confidence in Israeli democracy was low, and only 27.8% indicated a high level of confidence in Israeli democracy.

These findings indicate that the Arab public understands the correlation between his political representation in the Knesset and addressing the issues that concern him. Regardless of the election results, he believes that the Joint List could advance his interests in the Knesset.

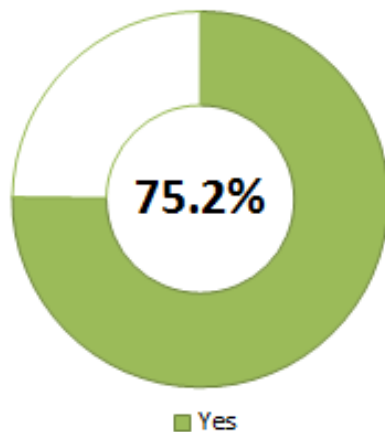
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### Position on the “Deal of the Century” Plan

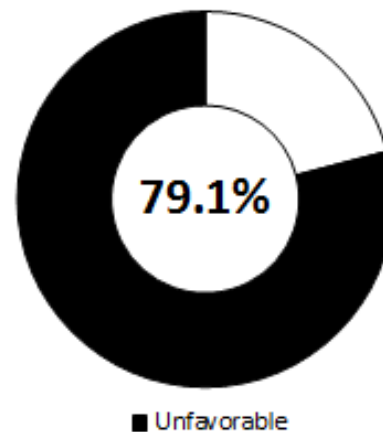
US President Donald Trump's "Deal of the Century" plan has aroused a lot of interest in the Arab public, mainly because of its reference to a possible annexation of the Triangle region to a future Palestinian state. The findings of the survey indicate that a large majority of the Arab public (75.2%) did in fact hear about the plan and know its details, and only 24.8% did not know the details of the plan.

Of the opinion holders who know the details of the plan, a large majority (79.1%) opposes the vision that came up with it and only 20.9% regard it positively.

**Are you familiar with the details of the “Deal of the Century” plan?**



**What is your position on the vision presented in the “Deal of the Century” plan?**



The surveyed were asked to address key issues mentioned in the "Deal of the Century" and to indicate which ones have an impact on the Arab public within Israel. According to their answers, recognition of Jerusalem as a united capital for the State of Israel was rated as the most influential issue on the Arab public (31.1%), followed by the establishment of a Palestinian state recognizes by Israel (23.2%), application of Israeli sovereignty on the Jordan Valley (19.3%) and the possibility of annexing the Triangle to a Palestinian state (15.6%). The issue of cancellation of the Right of Return was rated as the least affecting the Arab public (3.0%).

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### Which issue in the "Deal of the Century" is most influential on the Arab public in Israel?

Jerusalem as a united capital of the State of Israel	31.1%
Establishment of a Palestinian state recognized by Israel	23.2%
Applying Israeli sovereignty on the Jordan Valley	19.3%
Possible annexation of the Triangle to the Palestinian state	15.6%
Cancellation of the Right of Return	3.0%

### What is on the Arab public's agenda?

Regardless of their actual voting intentions, all survey participants were asked to indicate what the most important issues for the Arab public are today.

The majority of the Arab public (73.4%) is focused on daily problems: poverty, welfare and employment, violence and crime, planning and construction, and education. On the other hand, 13.0% believe that the struggle to amend laws such as the "Nation State Law" or the "Kaminitz Law" (increased enforcement on construction defined as "illegal") is the most important issue. 10.2% believe that the most important issue is the Palestinian issue, and only 3.4% believe that the question of Jewish-Arab relations is now the most important issue.

### Which issues are most important to the Arab public?

Poverty, welfare and employment	23.2%	<b>73.4%</b> Day to day problems of the Arab society
Crime and violence	17.9%	
Planning and building	17.1%	
Education	15.2%	
Struggle to amend laws (such as the Nation State Law or the Kaminitz Law)	13.0%	<b>16.4%</b> Arab society relations with the state and the Jewish majority
Jewish-Arab relations	3.4%	
The Palestinian issue		<b>10.2%</b>



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### Defining self-identity

The respondents were presented with several possible definitions for their self-identity and were asked to choose one definition that best describes them. The majority of the Arab public (56.9%) define themselves in national terms (mainly "Arab", and also "Palestinian"); about a third of them choose a definition that combines national identity with a civilian component (mainly "Israeli-Arab"), and only 10% define themselves as "Israeli".

#### Which of the following terms best describes you?

Arab	43.3%	<b>56.9%</b> National identity
Palestinian	13.6%	
Israeli Arab	31.9%	<b>32.9%</b> National and civil identity
Israeli Palestinian	1.0%	
Israeli		<b>10.0%</b> Civil identity
Other		<b>0.2%</b>

The survey was initiated by the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, in cooperation with the Israel Office of the German Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

The survey was conducted by KEEVOON Research, Strategy & Communications headed by Mitchell Barak.

Data was collected on February 10 – 19, 2020 in a telephone survey conducted in Arabic among a representative sample of the adult Arab population in Israel (age 18 and above). Sample size: 508 respondents, margin error: 4%.

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