

Arab Society in Israel Survey—Ahead of the November 2022 Knesset Elections

- 1. Everyone identifies with a number of collective definitions, such as their nationality, religion, religiosity, citizenship, ethnic community, and so on. Which of your various group identities defines you best?**

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
Religion (Muslim, Christian, Druze)	34.7	37.2	31.6	33.7	32.4
Arab	24.5	25.3	25.3	15.2	24.8
Arab + religion (two identities)	13.7	14.0	9.6	23.7	18.7
Palestinian Arab	5.3	4.3	9.7	0.0	2.4
Complex identity (three or four identities)	4.5	7.8	4.2	0.0	3.2
Palestinian	3.5	1.3	5.8	0.0	4.2
Religion + other (two identities)	2.3	0.0	2.3	9.1	3.8
Palestinian + other (two identities)	1.6	1.3	2.7	0.0	1.6
Israeli Arab	1.6	0.6	1.5	8.9	0.8
Nationality (not stated)	1.5	1.9	0.9	2.4	0.8
Israeli	0.8	0.6	0.4	4.6	0.7
Human / person / citizen / other	2.3	1.3	2.8	2.4	3.0
Don't know	3.7	4.4	3.2	0.0	3.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

- 2. To what extent do you feel part of the State of Israel and its problems?**

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote /

					blank ballot
Very much	14.3	16.7	12.4	35.1	7.5
Quite a lot	34.5	35.7	33.4	44.2	31.5
Not so much	31.9	30.7	30.4	13.6	40.8
Not at all	16.7	13.9	20.6	7.1	19.4
Don't know	2.6	3.0	3.2	0.0	0.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

3. It doesn't matter who you vote for; it doesn't change the situation.

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
Strongly agree	22.5	16.8	26.7	14.2	26.2
Somewhat agree	25.1	32.2	20.4	18.1	24.2
Somewhat disagree	22.0	16.5	21.0	34.4	26.9
Strongly disagree	30.1	34.5	31.5	33.3	21.9
Don't know	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

4. The Arab members of Knesset properly represent the range of views in the Arab public in Israel.

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
Strongly agree	12.9	12.9	18.1	11.9	8.6
Somewhat agree	32.6	42.8	35.4	19.6	18.7



Somewhat disagree	26.8	22.9	21.1	28.8	36.9
Strongly disagree	26.4	20.9	22.9	39.7	35.0
Don't know	1.3	0.5	2.5	0.0	0.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

5. The regime in Israel is democratic toward Arab citizens as well.

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
Strongly agree	7.2	9.1	8.3	12.7	3.4
Somewhat agree	25.6	34.5	17.5	43.8	17.9
Somewhat disagree	34.9	30.3	39.3	11.7	38.3
Strongly disagree	31.7	25.4	34.5	31.8	38.8
Don't know	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.0	1.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

6. Ra'am entering the coalition helped improve the situation of Arab citizens in Israel.

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
Strongly agree	12.2	20.3	10.9	18.7	4.0
Somewhat agree	31.0	46.9	20.2	36.7	27.1
Somewhat disagree	29.2	18.6	31.6	22.0	33.7
Strongly disagree	26.1	12.3	36.1	20.1	32.7

Don't know	1.5	1.9	1.2	2.5	2.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

7. If Arab voter turnout at the Knesset elections is high, it will help improve the situation of Arabs in Israel.

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
Strongly agree	26.2	38.1	28.4	32.8	9.0
Somewhat agree	36.3	35.9	38.5	27.1	35.2
Somewhat disagree	20.7	13.0	19.6	19.9	28.0
Strongly disagree	14.9	9.2	12.5	18.3	26.2
Don't know	1.9	3.8	1.0	1.9	1.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

8. Over the last year, under the Bennett-Lapid government, there has been an improvement in the situation of Arab citizens in Israel.

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
Strongly agree	7.2	6.8	6.7	20.7	4.6
Somewhat agree	19.8	30.0	13.1	33.8	11.8
Somewhat disagree	35.8	39.9	31.7	16.9	37.9
Strongly disagree	35.9	23.3	47.5	28.6	42.5
Don't know	1.3	0.0	1.0	0.0	3.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

9. In your opinion, is it possible or not possible for an Arab citizen of Israel who feels part of the Palestinian people to also be a loyal citizen of the State of Israel?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
Certain it is possible	24.4	25.9	29.7	22.9	13.4
Think it is possible	37.5	43.3	37.2	29.4	36.8
Think it is not possible	15.3	13.0	11.5	11.9	21.9
Certain it is not possible	20.1	16.1	17.9	35.8	27.0
Don't know	2.7	1.7	3.7	0.0	0.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100

10. Is there or is there not a party in the State of Israel today that represents your views?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
There is a party that fully represents my views	18.4	21.5	26.3	23.6	4.5
There is a party that partially represents my views	31.2	41.6	31.3	22.6	24.9
There is no party that represents my views	49.6	36.4	40.9	53.8	70.6
Don't know	0.8	0.5	1.5	0.0	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

11. Do you support or oppose the inclusion of Arab parties in the coalition?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote /

					blank ballot
Strongly support	32.6	49.1	24.4	45.3	22.3
Somewhat support	36.9	37.8	35.7	27.2	35.7
Somewhat oppose	15.0	8.3	15.9	11.5	24.4
Strongly oppose	13.7	3.7	22.2	13.8	15.1
Don't know	1.8	1.1	1.8	2.2	2.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

12. Do you support or oppose the appointment of Arab ministers?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
Strongly support	36.0	53.1	29.2	45.2	24.8
Somewhat support	38.8	33.1	38.5	36.3	41.2
Somewhat oppose	13.4	9.4	16.8	9.6	17.0
Strongly oppose	10.7	4.4	15.0	8.8	13.8
Don't know	1.1	0.0	0.5	0.1	3.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

13. Which of the following two claims do you most agree with?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
It is the state's responsibility to advance	63.7	63.9	69.3	57.8	57.8

the economic and social interests of the Arab public in Israel					
The Arab public in Israel should rely more on itself to advance its economic and social interests, and not wait for the state to do so	33.3	32.5	28.3	37.3	39.7
Don't know	3.0	3.6	2.4	4.9	2.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

14. What do you think is the main reason for the high level of crime in Arab society in Israel?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
The state does not invest sufficient resources into crime prevention	19.6	19.0	22.9	16.2	15.4
The leadership of Arab society does not cooperate with the police to reduce crime	6.9	7.3	5.9	4.6	9.8
Investing resources or cooperating will not help, because Arab society is violent	5.2	8.5	2.4	7.2	6.4
The economic situation of the Arab public, and the	28.2	25.7	23.7	45.7	25.4

large financial rewards of being involved in crime					
Decline in the power and influence of authoritative institutions in Arab society	2.5	4.4	1.1	2.4	2.3
Poor functioning of the police and law enforcement agencies	28.3	26.0	34.7	11.7	31.8
Values / home / education	3.9	3.5	4.5	6.0	3.3
All these reasons are relevant	3.4	3.8	3.9	3.7	2.3
Don't know	2.0	1.8	0.9	2.5	3.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

15. Which of the following two issues would you like Arab members of Knesset to pay more attention to?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
Advancing a peace agreement with the Palestinian Authority	6.6	7.4	7.7	5.2	5.4
The status of Arab citizens in Israel	49.1	57.7	44.0	60.3	41.0
Both issues equally	41.5	33.6	46.3	30.1	48.8
Other / Don't know	2.8	1.3	2.0	4.4	4.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

16. And which of the following issues do you think should be at the heart of the election campaign?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
Official recognition for unrecognized villages in the Negev	4.5	8.1	2.3	7.1	4.2
Lands and housing throughout Israel	16.1	15.3	17.8	30.3	8.8
The status of the Al-Aqsa Mosque	11.3	12.9	10.9	9.6	13.1
Equality between women and men	1.2	1.3	1.0	0.0	1.4
Solving the problem of violence in Arab society	53.8	52.9	51.3	51.3	59.1
The Palestinian issue—the refugees and ending the occupation	4.6	1.8	7.8	0.0	4.7
All these issues	5.3	5.3	6.5	0.0	4.0
Other / Don't know	3.3	2.4	2.4	1.7	4.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

17. What is the likelihood that you will vote at the upcoming Knesset elections?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot

Certain I will vote	50.5	60.6	60.9	63.5	19.5
Think I will vote	19.4	20.2	16.5	16.4	22.7
Think I will not vote	10.2	9.4	7.8	6.4	16.3
Certain I will not vote	19.2	9.8	14.4	13.6	41.5
Don't know	0.7	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

18. Which of the following things will most increase the likelihood that you will vote at the upcoming Knesset elections?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
If the Arab parties sign a pact to run election campaigns based on mutual respect and without mudslinging	17.7	19.2	19.6	13.8	10.3
A surplus vote-sharing agreement among the Arab parties	10.3	14.9	12.3	7.0	3.2
If I know that most Arabs are going to vote, I will vote too	12.0	17.6	9.0	8.1	11.2
If I know that my friends/parents/acquaintances are going to vote, I will vote too	6.1	6.9	6.0	0.0	7.5
A religious decree from religious leaders permitting voting for the Knesset	1.8	1.7	1.4	5.0	2.5

Nothing will make me vote	52.1	39.7	51.7	66.1	65.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

19. Which of the following most influences your decision about which party to vote for?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
The identity of the party's leader	10.5	8.6	9.1	23.7	9.5
The party's platform	17.2	22.3	19.1	15.3	10.4
The extent to which the party upholds national principles (<i>al-thawabit</i>)	4.6	1.9	8.2	0.0	4.0
The party's contribution to improving the socioeconomic situation of the Arab public	33.6	37.4	30.2	23.5	37.9
The balance between nationalist and civic elements in the party's functioning	7.1	7.5	9.1	2.2	3.9
The party's desire to participate in key decision-making forums	4.7	8.6	4.6	4.7	2.1
Local considerations connected to the results of local elections	2.0	3.6	1.5	2.6	0.8
Don't know	20.3	10.1	18.2	28.0	31.4

Total	100	100	100	100	100
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22. (For respondents who reported that they will vote for Ra'am or the Joint List, or do not intend to vote, or have not yet decided) Which of the following will most increase the likelihood that you will vote for one of the non-Arab parties?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
If the party has Arabs among its senior leadership	3.5	2.8	3.3	0.0	5.3
If the party has Arabs in realistic places in its electoral list	2.5	2.7	1.2	0.0	5.5
If the party has a campaign in Arabic	0.7	0.0	0.6	0.0	1.8
If the party's platform makes reference to advancing Arab society	15.3	14.3	8.0	49.8	19.5
Nothing could make me vote for a non-Arab party	77.3	79.6	86.9	44.2	66.5
Don't know / declined to respond	0.7	0.6	0.0	6.0	1.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

25. In your opinion, which Arab leader is best liked by the Arab public in Israel?

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote /



					blank ballot
Ayman Odeh	12.2	2.5	22.8	5.0	11.7
Ahmad Tibi	18.7	15.3	21.0	19.4	22.5
Mansour Abbas	27.3	60.7	8.3	35.4	18.5
Sami Abu Shehadeh	15.3	8.8	25.7	0.0	12.1
Other	2.0	3.1	2.0	4.6	0.9
None of them	9.5	3.1	9.0	19.0	14.7
Don't know / declined to respond	15.0	6.5	11.2	16.6	19.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

26. Do you feel that relations between Jewish and Arab citizens of Israel today are:

	Total sample	Voting pattern in 2021 elections			
		Ra'am	Joint List	Zionist parties	Didn't vote / blank ballot
Very good	4.1	6.7	2.5	6.5	4.1
Good	17.2	16.7	14.7	25.2	17.9
So-so	57.5	56.1	56.6	46.3	61.2
Bad	12.2	12.2	15.5	9.4	9.5
Very bad	7.8	7.6	10.2	10.1	5.8
Don't know	1.2	0.7	0.5	2.5	1.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The Arab Society in Israel Survey—Ahead of the November 2022 Knesset Elections was prepared by the Viterbi Family Center for Public Opinion and Policy Research at the Israel Democracy Institute. The survey was conducted by telephone between September 21–28, 2022, with 614 men and women interviewed in Arabic, constituting a nationally representative sample of the Arab population in Israel aged



18 and over. The maximum sampling error was $\pm 3.95\%$ at a confidence level of 95%. Field work was carried out by Afkar Research and Knowledge. The full data file can be found at: <https://dataisrael.idi.org.il>.