



Peace Index, July 2019

- **Most of the public rejects the pledge of loyalty to Netanyahu signed by Likud candidates to the Knesset, and this includes a sizable minority of Likud voters. If Netanyahu is unable to form the next government, there is similar support among the Jewish public for giving the mandate either to another Likud Knesset member or to Benny Ganz. In the first case, Gidon Saar is the candidate most popular among the general public as well as among Likud voters.**
- **The public remains stable in its opposition to legislation that will prevent the prime minister from standing trial, and this is also true among a small majority of Likud voters.**
- **Like last month's index, most of the Jewish public prefer formation of a government under the Likud following the coming elections and would rather have a government without the ultra-Orthodox parties, while the Arab public would prefer a center-left government. Support for a unity government between the Likud and the Blue-White Party fell among the Jewish public in comparison with the June index. However, the accepted appraisal among the general public remains that the Likud will most likely form the next government with the ultra-Orthodox parties following the election.**
- **The public believes that Ethiopians receive the most discriminatory treatment by the Israeli police, and that following them, in descending order, are Israeli Arabs, ultra-Orthodox and women.**
- **The general Israeli population places economic and social issues at the top of their list of priorities for the coming government. Achieving peace with the Palestinians as a single issue is least important among the Jewish public and most important among the Arab public.**
- **The Jewish public is divided in their preference for a solution to the conflict with the Palestinians: The two-state solution is preferred by the left-wing and center, and continuing the existing situation is preferred by the moderate right-wing. Annexation of the territories is the solution preferred by the right-wing. The Arab public comprehensively supports the two-state solution. However, a majority of each of these groups believes that the existing situation will continue for the foreseeable future.**



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The Peace index for July continued to follow the public's position on issues connected with the coming elections, Netanyahu's status and the solution to the conflict with the Palestinians. In addition, we examined police treatment of various marginalized groups and the main subject for the new government to focus on.

The elections and Netanyahu's future

The desired composition of the government following the coming elections: From among six possibilities presented, the one most preferred by the Jewish public was a right-wing government headed by the Likud with the ultra-Orthodox parties (27%). Other possibilities, in descending order, were a center-left government headed by the Blue-White Party without the ultra-Orthodox (20%), a government headed by the Likud with the Blue-White Party but without the ultra-Orthodox (17%), a government headed by the Blue-White Party with the Likud and without the ultra-Orthodox parties (13%), a government headed by the Likud with the Blue-White Party and with the ultra-Orthodox parties (10%), and a government headed by Blue-White with the Likud and the ultra-Orthodox (4%). In general, it appears that Likud governments are most preferred (54%), while governments headed by Blue-White are preferred by 37% and these are similar to last month's results. In addition, support for a government without the ultra-Orthodox remained similar (50%) while support for a government with these parties also remained similar (41%). In comparison to the previous month, there was less support for a government including the Likud and Blue-White (44% in comparison to 53%). Among the Arab public, there was continued clear support for a center-left government headed by Blue-White (58%).

The government that has the best chance of being formed: In comparison to the great dispersal of support in response to the question of a desired government, most respondents (46%) clearly expect that a government headed by the Likud with the ultra-Orthodox parties has the best chance of being formed. The chances of other governments are much lower, without striking differences among them: a government headed by the Likud with Blue-White and with the ultra-Orthodox (13%), a government headed by the Likud with Blue-White but without the ultra-Orthodox (10.5). The feasibility of forming a government headed by Blue-White in its various



compositions was evaluated at between 4-6%. In general, it appears that the public believes that the Likud will be the dominant factor in forming the next government and considering its preferences, the ultra-Orthodox parties will participate in the government; their chances of being included are estimated by 63% of respondents.

Netanyahu's status: The Knesset candidates for the Likud recently signed a pledge of loyalty to Netanyahu, signifying that Netanyahu is the only candidate for prime minister by the Likud, independent of the results of the election and the conditions set by other parties. Against that backdrop, we asked: "In your opinion, is such a pledge of loyalty justified or unjustified?" The answers indicate that a sizable majority (58%) of the Jewish public feel that this pledge was unjustified, while 34% feel that the pledge was justified. Among Likud voters, 52% feel that the pledge was justified, but a significant minority (40%) oppose the demand to sign a pledge of loyalty to Netanyahu.

In addition, we asked, "If the Likud is the largest party after the coming elections, but Netanyahu does not succeed in forming a government, what do you think should happen?" From among the three possibilities we presented, most Jewish respondents were divided almost equally between two: to appoint another Likud Knesset member to form a government (39%) or to appoint Benny Ganz of Blue-White to form a government (37%). The third possibility – to have new elections – was supported by 10% of the Jewish public, in contrast to 27% among the Arab public.

We also asked, "If the Likud is the largest party after the coming elections and Netanyahu does not succeed in forming a government, which Likud member, in your opinion, should form the next government?" The most popular candidate among the Jewish public was Gidon Saar (34.5%) and there was a considerable gap between him and Yuli Edelstein (13%), Moshe Kahlon (10%), Yisrael Katz (6%), and Gilad Erdan (4%). The following preferences were expressed by Likud voters: Gidon Saar (23%), Yuli Edelstein and Moshe Kahlon (13% each), Yisrael Katz (9.5%), and Gilad Erdan (7%). It may be seen that Likud voters have even more difficulty than the general Jewish public in indicating a dominant candidate who, in their opinion, is deserving of taking Netanyahu's place. Nevertheless, Gidon Saar is preferred, despite Netanyahu's dislike of him.

Finally, we again investigated whether the public supports or opposes legislation to prevent having the serving prime minister stand trial. The replies show that a significant majority oppose such legislation (59%), while 31.5% support it. Among Likud voters, more oppose legislation to



prevent a serving prime minister from standing trial than support it (45% vs. 40%, respectively). The Arab public sharply opposes such legislation: 59% greatly oppose while another 20% oppose, compared to only 9% who support it.

The attitudes of the Israeli police to marginalized groups

From among the four groups we presented to respondents, in variable order – women, ultra-Orthodox, Ethiopians and Arab citizens of Israel, the Jewish public feels that Ethiopians are the group most discriminated against by the Israeli police: 74% feel that they are discriminated against while only 20% believe that they receive equal treatment to others. After that, in descending order, are Israeli Arabs (58% - discriminated against, 23% - equal, 18% - preferential), ultra-Orthodox (43% - discriminated against, 14% - equal, 24% - preferential), and women (29% - discriminated against, 47% - equal, 18% - preferential). These data are very similar to the responses we received in the January 2019 index, asking about discrimination in general suffered by Ethiopians, Arab citizens of Israel and the ultra-Orthodox; this indicates stability in the attitudes towards these groups. Interestingly, while 53% in the January index thought that women suffered from discrimination in Israel, only 29%, this month, thought that women suffered from discrimination at the hands of the Israeli police.

The tasks facing the coming government

Of the six tasks we presented in this question, the main tasks that the new government must focus on after the elections in September, according to the Jewish public, are (in descending order): improving the economic situation (17%), closing socio-economic gaps (16%), eliminating corruption in government institutions (14.5%), increasing unity in the nation (12%), strengthening the IDF and Israeli security (11%), and achieving a peace agreement with the Palestinians (5%). A relatively large number (23%) answered that all of the tasks were equally important. As can be seen, two of the tasks which had the greatest support among the Jewish public (33% together) were connected to economics and society, while the task of achieving peace was at the bottom of the list of priorities by a sizable gap from the other tasks (5%). Although socio-economic issues are also important to the Arab public (31% for the two issues), achieving peace with the Palestinians was at the top of their list of priorities (19%).



The Israeli-Palestinian conflict

As we have done from the beginning of the year, this index also presented respondents with four possible solutions to the conflict and we asked the extent to which they supported or opposed them. As in the past, none of the solutions was preferred by a majority of respondents among the Jewish public. Rates of support and opposition were as follows (in descending order): 1. Establishing an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel – 41% support, 52% oppose; 2. Continuing the present situation – 32% support, 59% oppose; 3. Annexation of the territories and one state under Israeli control with limited rights for the Palestinians (30% support, 61% oppose; 4. Establishing a binational state between the Jordan River and the sea with full rights for Jews and Palestinians (17% support, 74 % oppose). Among the Arab public, there is wide support for the establishment of two states for two peoples (70.5%). Second on the list, with a great gap from the first, is a binational state, with similar levels of support (45%) and opposition (47%).

It is interesting to note that the Jewish public is divided ideologically in their preferences for each of the solutions: The preferred solution for moderate right-wing supporters is maintaining the present situation (41%), although it is noteworthy that 50% oppose this solution. The solution which receives the most support among the right-wing public is annexation of the territories (44%), although 51% are opposed. Left-wing respondents (80%) and centrists (67%), as expected, prefer the two-state solution. It may be noted that, although the center and the left present the two-state solution as clearly desirable, the moderate right-wing and the right-wing have difficulty in finding a solution that is agreed upon by most of their supporters.

Similar to previous months, there is agreement among all of the groups – Jews from all parts of the ideological spectrum as well as Arabs – that the solution which has the best chance of being actualized in the foreseeable future is a continuation of the present situation (52%). There is a great gap between this and the other solutions: a two-state solution (18%), annexation (12%), and a binational state (7%). In other words, a solution to the conflict with the Palestinians is not on the horizon.

Negotiation Index:

General sample: 44.1% (an increase of .4% from last month)

Jewish sample: 42.8% (an increase of 0.1% from last month)



The negotiation index is calculated by a weighing two questions: Level of support for negotiation with the Palestinian Authority, and level of trust that negotiation with the Authority will lead to peace in the coming years.

The Peace Index is conducted by the Evens Program in Mediation and Conflict Management at Tel Aviv University and the Midgam Consulting and Research Institute. The survey was conducted by telephone and internet on 6-7 August 2019, among 600 respondents, a representative sample of the entire adult population (ages 18 and over) in Israel. Maximum margin of error for the entire sample is +/-4.1% at a confidence level of 95%. Statistical analysis: Ms. Yasmin Alkalay.

Diagram of the month: How does the Israeli police relates to each of the following groups?

