

Israel National Election Study, Feb 10, 2009

1. Version:

1. Version A (Green+Blue)
2. Version B (Green+Violet+Red)
3. Version C (Green+Violet+Orange)

Hi, my name is.....

I am an interviewer from the Research Institute of Tel Aviv University.

You were chosen randomly to participate in an academic survey dealing with various issues.

It is very important that everyone sampled participates in order to ensure the quality of the research.

We guarantee that all your answers will remain confidential and will be used for research only.

2. How old are you? _____

Interview only age 18 and above

For those who did not answer:

3. What is your age group?

1. 18-22
2. 23-29
3. 30-39
4. 40-49
5. 50-59
6. 60-69
7. 70-79
8. 80 and above

Interview only age 18 and above

4. Sex

1. Male
2. Female

5. Are you an Israeli citizen?

1. Yes
2. No (End the interview)

Interview only Israeli citizens

6. In your opinion, what is the general situation of Israel?

1. Very good
2. Good
3. So-so
4. Not good
5. Bad

7. What is your opinion on the way the government is handling the problems that exist in Israel today?

1. It handles them in a very good way
2. It handles them in a good way
3. It handles them in a not so good way
4. It handles them in a not at all good way

8. What do you think is the most important problem the government should take care of? (Indicate only one problem) _____

9. In your opinion has Israel's economic situation in the past three years improved, not changed, or become worse?

1. Improved a lot
2. Improved a bit
3. Has not changed
4. Become a bit worse
5. Become much worse

10. And what about your own personal economic situation; would you say that in the past year your personal situation:

1. Improved a lot
2. Improved a bit
3. Has not changed
4. Become a bit worse
5. Become much worse

11. In your opinion, what is the country's situation nowadays from a national security perspective? Rate your answer on a scale of 9, where 1 is the worst situation and 9 is the best situation

Worst situation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Best situation

		Worst situation								Best situation
12.	And 5 years ago, what was the country's situation from a national security perspective?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
13.	And in 5 years from now, what will be the country's situation from a national security perspective?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

14. In your opinion, what are the chances that the peace between Israel and the Arab states will become stronger in the next 3 years?

1. High chance 2. Medium chance 3. Low chance 4. Very low chance

15. And in your opinion, what are the chances that a war will break out between Israel and an Arab state in the next 3 years?

1. High chance 2. Medium chance 3. Low chance 4. Very low chance

A16

In your opinion, was the IDF's operation "Cast Lead" in Gaza successful or not?

1. Very successful
2. Rather successful
3. Not so successful
4. Not at all successful

B16

How, in your opinion, should Israel react if the firing from the Gaza Strip on Israeli settlements continues?

1. Conquer all of Gaza strip anew and stay there
2. Initiate one-time operations against firings without staying there
3. Act mainly through diplomatic moves and not by military force

17. In your opinion is it possible to reach a peace agreement with the Palestinians?

1. Definitely it is 2. I think it is 3. I think not 4. Definitely not

18. In your opinion, what is the Arabs' final goal?

1. To get back some of the territories that we conquered in the Six-Day War
2. To get back all of the territories that we conquered in the Six-Day War
3. To conquer the state of Israel
4. To conquer the state of Israel and eliminate a significant part of the Jewish population in Israel

19. If we reach a peace agreement with the Palestinians and with the Arab states, in your opinion, will this end the Israeli-Arab conflict end or not?

1. I'm certain it will come to an end 2. I think it will come to an end 3. I think it will not come to an end 4. I'm certain it will not come to an end

20. What do you think Israel should concentrate on in order to avoid war between it and the Arab states?

1. Focus on the peace process 2. Building military strength

21. To what extent are you worried or not worried that you or your family members may be injured by Arabs in your daily lives?

1. Very worried 2. Worried 3. Not worried 4. Not at all worried

(Do not ask Arabs)

If we think of the possible directions of development of the state of Israel, there are four important values that conflict with each other to a certain extent, and are important to different people at different levels.

1. A state with a Jewish majority
2. Greater Israel
3. Democratic state (equal political rights for all)

4. A state of peace (low chance for war)

Of these four values, which is the most important one for you? (Interviewer: Go back and read) And which is the second? And the third? And the fourth?

22. Most Important 23. Second in importance 24. Third
 25. Fourth

To what extent does each of the following situations constitute a threat in your eyes? Rate your answer on a scale of 7, where 1 means not at all threatening and 7 means very threatening

		Not at all threatening						Very threatening
26.	Returning territories in exchange for peace	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27.	Chemical and biological weapons in the hands of an enemy state	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28.	A non-democratic regime in Israel	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29.	Unilateral disengagement from the Palestinians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30.	Nuclear weapons in the hands of an enemy state	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31.	The establishment of a Palestinian state	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32.	War with Syria	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

33. (Do not ask Arabs) **There are situations in which there is a contradiction between democracy and Jewish religious law. In the case of such a contradiction, should preserving the principles of democracy prevail, or should keeping the commandments of Jewish religious law prevail?**

1. Preserving democracy should prevail in every situation
2. Sometimes this, sometimes that
3. Keeping Jewish religious law should prevail in every situation

34. **Some think that the government should see to it that everyone has employment and a reasonable standard of living. Others think that the government must not interfere and should let people take care of themselves. What is your opinion?**

1. The government should see to it that everyone has employment and a reasonable standard of living
2. It depends
3. The government must not interfere and should let people take care of themselves

35. **There are situations in which there is contradiction between preserving the rule of law and protecting national security interests. In the case of such a contradiction, should the national security interests prevail or should the rule of law prevail?**

1. Preserving the rule of law should prevail in every situation
2. Sometimes this, sometimes that
3. National security interests should prevail in every situation

36. **In your opinion, should Israel agree or not agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza strip as part of a permanent peace agreement?**

1. Definitely should agree
2. I think it should agree
3. I think it should not agree
4. Definitely should not agree

37. **As part of a permanent peace agreement with the Palestinians, should Israel be prepared to return the Arab neighborhoods of Jerusalem or should it continue to retain them, even at the price of preventing a permanent agreement?**

1. Definitely should return
2. Should return
3. Should continue to retain
4. Definitely should continue to retain

38. **Should Israel return territories in the Golan Heights to Syria in exchange for a peace treaty and security arrangements acceptable to the IDF?**

1. No, Israel must not withdraw from any territory in the Golan Heights
2. Israel should return a small part of the Golan Heights
3. Israel should return a significant part of the Golan Heights
4. Israel should return all of the Golan Heights

39. **And what is your position regarding the evacuation of Jewish settlements in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza as part of a permanent agreement?**

1. They should not be evacuated under any condition. 2. I am willing to evacuate all the small and isolated settlements 3. I am willing to evacuate all the settlements including the large settlement blocs

40. (Do not ask Arabs) **In your opinion should the Israeli government or should not see to it that public life in Israel is conducted according to Jewish religious tradition?**

1. It is definitely its duty to see to it
2. Maybe the government should see to it
3. I do not think the government should see to it
4. No way should the government see to it

41. **Regarding the structure of economic life in the country, do you support a more socialist approach or a more capitalist approach?**

1. Definitely capitalist
2. More capitalist than socialist
3. More socialist than capitalist
4. Definitely socialist

To what extent do you agree or not agree with the following statements?

		Definitely do not agree	Do not agree	Agree	Definitely agree
42.	Even if there are problems with democracy, it is still the best form of government	1	2	3	4
43.	Politicians do not tend to take into account the opinion of the simple citizen	1	2	3	4
44.	It is not important who you vote for, it does not change the situation	1	2	3	4
45.	The peace process should be stopped even at the risk of another war	1	2	3	4
46.	Territories should be returned in exchange for peace	1	2	3	4
47.	The government should encourage the emigration of Arabs from the country (Do not ask Arabs)	1	2	3	4
48.	Israel should do what is best for its security, even at the price of a confrontation with the American administration	1	2	3	4
49.	Civil marriage, in addition to religious marriage, should be instituted in Israel	1	2	3	4
51.	People with a high income should pay more taxes than they pay today	1	2	3	4
52.	The authority of the police should be increased to defend public order	1	2	3	4
53.	The Supreme Court should have the authority to overturn a law passed by the Knesset	1	2	3	4

55. **To what extent do you usually discuss politics with your friends and family?**

1. To a great extent
2. To a certain extent
3. To a small extent
4. Not at all

56. **To what extent do you and your friends have the ability to influence government policy?**

1. To a great extent
2. To a certain extent
3. To a small extent
4. Not at all

57. How would you rate your personal situation these days?

Rate your answers on a scale of 9, where 1 means the worst situation and 9 means the best situation.
Worst situation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Best situation

		Worst Situation								Best Situation
58.	And 5 years ago, what was your personal situation?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
59.	And 5 years from now, what will your personal situation be?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

60. In general, to what extent are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Israeli democracy functions?

1. Very dissatisfied 2. Dissatisfied 3. Satisfied 4. Very satisfied

What is your attitude towards each of the following parties?

Rate your answers on a scale of 10, where 1 is rejection and hate, and 10 is support and sympathy

		Rejection/ hate										Support/ sympathy
61.	Kadima	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
62.	Labor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
63.	Likud	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
64.	The New Movement - Meretz	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
65.	HaBayit Hayehudi - The New Mafdal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
66.	Israel Beiteinu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
67.	Shas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10

68. In sum, amongst these parties, which one do you favor most?

1. Kadima 2. Labor 3. Likud 4. The New Movement - Meretz 5. HaBayit Hayehudi – The New Mafdal 6. Israel Beiteinu 7. Shas 8. Don't read: Other 9. Don't read: None of them

A68. The Central Elections Committee decided to disqualify the Arab lists Balad and Ra'am-Ta'al from competing in the upcoming elections. Do you support or oppose this decision?

1. Support the disqualification of both parties
2. Support the disqualification of Balad but not Ra'am-Ta'al
3. Support the disqualification of Ra'am-Ta'al but not Balad
4. Oppose the disqualification of both parties

What is your attitude towards each of the following personalities?

Rate your answers on a scale of 10, where 1 is rejection and hate, and 10 is support and sympathy

		Rejection/ hate										Support/ sympathy
69.	Tzipi Livni	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
70.	Ehud Barak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
71.	Binyamin Netanyahu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10

A72. Who, in your opinion, will take care of the country's economic problems best: (Mix randomly 1-3)

1. Tzipi Livni 2. Binyamin Netanyahu 3. Ehud Barak
Don't read: 4. Everyone equally 5. None of them

B72. For those who answered 1-3: and who is in second place?

1. Tzipi Livni 2. Binyamin Netanyahu 3. Ehud Barak

A73. Who, in your opinion, will take care of the social problems in the country best: (Mix randomly 1-3)

1. Tzipi Livni 2. Binyamin Netanyahu 3. Ehud Barak
Don't read: 4. Everyone equally 5. None of them

B73 For those who answered 1-3: and who is in second place?

1. Tzipi Livni 2. Binyamin Netanyahu 3. Ehud Barak

A74. Who, in your opinion, will take care of the country's foreign and security problems best: (Mix randomly 1-3)

1. Tzipi Livni 2. Binyamin Netanyahu 3. Ehud Barak
Don't read: 4. Everyone equally 5. None of them

B74 For those who answered 1-3: and who is in second place?

1. Tzipi Livni 2. Binyamin Netanyahu 3. Ehud Barak

In your opinion, are there or are there not differences in the positions of the major parties in the country on the following issues?

		Very big differences	Big Differences	Certain Differences	Small Differences	There Are Almost No Differences
75.	Jerusalem	1	2	3	4	5
76.	The economy	1	2	3	4	5
77.	Social policy	1	2	3	4	5
78.	Religion and state	1	2	3	4	5
79.	Peace and territories	1	2	3	4	5
80.	Terror	1	2	3	4	5

81. There are different factors causing people to vote for a certain party for the Knesset. Of the following four factors, what is the main factor that influences you to vote for a certain party?

1. Identifying with the party
2. The party's candidates for the Knesset
3. The party's position on certain issues
4. The positioning of the party in the coalition or in the opposition

To what extent will each of the following issues influence or not influence your vote?

		Will influence to a great extent	Will influence to some extent	Will influence only to a small extent	Will not influence at all
82.	Jerusalem	1	2	3	4
83.	The economy	1	2	3	4
84.	Social policy	1	2	3	4
85.	Religion and state	1	2	3	4
86.	Peace and territories	1	2	3	4
87.	Terror	1	2	3	4
88.	Corruption	1	2	3	4

89. Of the following issues which will have the greatest influence on your vote in the upcoming elections: (Mix randomly 1-6)

1. The peace process with the Palestinians and with Syria
2. The security situation
3. The socio-economic situation
4. Religious-Secular relations
5. Corruption and the rule of law
6. National unity
7. (Do not read) other
8. (Do not read) I do not know

90. There is a lot of talk about "left" and "right" in politics. How would you rate yourself on a "left-right" continuum, where 0 means left, 10 means right and 5 is in the middle?

Left 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Right

Where would you rate the following parties on a "left-right" continuum, where 0 means left, 10 means right and 5 is in the middle?

		Left										Right
91.	Likud	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
92.	Labor	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
93.	Kadima	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
94.	Shas	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
95.	HaBayit Hayehudi	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
96.	Israel Beiteinu	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
97.	Meretz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

98. Would you be prepared or unprepared to have taxes in the country raised, meaning that you would also have to pay more taxes, in order to address the different problems that the country is confronted with?

1. Yes
2. No

		Livni	Netanyahu	Barak	them	of them		Livni	Netanyahu	Barak
123.	Leadership skills	1	2	3	4	5	124.	1	2	3
125.	Reliability	1	2	3	4	5	126.	1	2	3
127.	Will prefer the good of the country over other interests	1	2	3	4	5	128.	1	2	3
129.	Good ability to conduct negotiations	1	2	3	4	5	130.	1	2	3
131.	Will protect the rule of law	1	2	3	4	5	132.	1	2	3

133. Amongst the following issues, which issue, in your opinion, stands at the center of the election campaign? Are the elections mainly about: **(Read answers 1-6 in a changing order).**

1.	The peace process with the Palestinians and with Syria	5.	Corruption and the rule of law
2.	The security situation	6.	National unity
3.	The socio-economic situation	7.	(do not read) other
4.	Religious-secular relations	8.	(do not read) I do not know

134. With which political stream do you identify?

1.	Left	5.	Right
2.	Moderate left	6.	(Do not read) The religious stream
3.	Center	7.	(Do not read) Do not identify with any stream
4.	Moderate right		

135. There is a lot of talking about "left" and "right" in politics. How would you rate yourself on a "left-right" continuum, where 1 is the extreme right and 7 is the extreme left?
Right 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Left

136. Do you usually read a daily newspaper?

1. Almost never 2. Rarely 3. About once a week 4. 2-3 times a week 5. I read one daily newspaper almost every day 6. I read more than one daily newspaper almost every day

137. Do you usually watch the news on TV?

1. Almost never 2. Rarely 3. About once a week 4. 2-3 times a week 5. I watch the news at least once a day 6. I watch the news more than once a day

138. To what extent, in your opinion, will the election campaign assist you in deciding whom to vote for?

1. To a great extent 2. To a certain extent 3. To a small extent 4. Not at all

139. Do you usually watch the election campaign broadcasts on TV? (For interviews before the beginning of broadcasts: Do you intend to watch the campaign broadcasts on TV?)

1. Every day 2. Frequently 3. Sometimes 4. Rarely 5. Not at all

140. During the period of the elections, do you use the internet in connection to the elections?

1. Yes, I use it in connection to the elections 2. I use the internet but not in connection to the elections 3. I do not use the internet at all

To those who answered 1:

Which of the following capabilities of the internet have you used in connection to the election?

	Do not use	Receive info through it	Distribute info through it	Both receive and distribute
141. Emails	1	2	3	4
142. Blogs	1	2	3	4
143. Talkbacks	1	2	3	4
144. Chats or discussion groups	1	2	3	4
145. Website of the party or candidates that you support	1	2	3	4
146. Websites of other parties or candidates	1	2	3	4
147. Video websites like YouTube	1	2	3	4
148. News websites like Walla or Ynet	1	2	3	4
149. Social Networking sites like Facebook	1	2	3	4

150. Did you participate in the Election Compass on Ynet? 1. Yes 2. No

151. Are you a member, a supporter, or an activist of a party?

1. No, I am not a supporter or an activist of any of the parties 2. I am a supporter of a party but not a member 3. I am a member of a party 4. I am an active member of a party 5. I am a member with a position in a party

152. Are you planning on voting in the elections to Knesset?

1. I am certain that I will vote 2. I think I will vote
3. I don't think I will vote 4. I am certain that I will not vote

153. It seems that in the coming elections fewer people will vote than in the past. In your opinion, what is the main reason for this? (Mix randomly 1-6)

1. There is no difference between the parties
2. It is already clear who is going to win
3. In any case, it doesn't matter who you vote for, because it doesn't change the situation
4. The public is fed up with politics and politicians
5. There is a feeling that there is no one to vote for
6. People don't care about politics

154. If the elections for the Knesset were held today, for which list would you vote? (Do not read answers)

1. Kadima	13. The Pensioners
2. Likud	14. Tzomet
3. Labor	15. Strong Israel (Efrayim Sneh)
4. Israel Beiteinu (Lieberman)	16. Da'am
5. Habayit hayehudi + New Mafdal	17. Balad
6. Yahadut Ha'tora	18. Raam – Taal
7. Shas	19. Hadash
8. The New Movement – Meretz	95. Other _____
9. Hayihud haleumi (Tikva, Tkuma, Moledet)	96. Blank ballot
10. Green movement – Memad	97. Undecided/Debating
11. The Green Party	98. Do not intend to vote
12. Green Leaf	99. Refuse to answer

155. And what about your spouse – if you have one – how, to the best of your knowledge, will he/she vote? (Do not read answers)

1. Kadima	13. The Pensioners
2. Likud	14. Tzomet
3. Labor	15. Strong Israel (Efrayim Sneh)

4.	Israel Beiteinu (Lieberman)	16.	Da'am
5.	Habayit hayehudi + New Mafdal	17.	Balad
6.	Yahadut Ha'tora	18.	Raam – Taal
7.	Shas	19.	Hadash
8.	The New Movement - Meretz	95.	Other _____
9.	Hayihud haleumi (Tikva, Tkuma, Moledet)	96.	Blank ballot
10.	Green movement – Memad	97.	Undecided/Debating
11.	The Green Party	98.	Do not intend to vote
12.	Green Leaf	99.	Refuse to answer
13.	The Pensioners	90.	I don't have a spouse
		91.	I don't know how my spouse votes

If there were two ballots in these elections, one for the prime minister and one for the Knesset:

156. Whom would you vote for the prime minister post? (Do not read)

1. Livni 2. Netanyahu 3. Barak 4. Lieberman 5. Yishai 6. Other.....
7. Blank ballot 8. I don't know 9. I wouldn't vote

157. And for the Knesset? (Interviewer: Write the number according to the answers of question 154)

Now I am going to ask you about the chances of Tzipi Livni, Binyamin Netanyahu, and Ehud Barak to be prime minister after the elections.

	Score
158. In your opinion, what are the chances that Tzipi Livni will be prime minister after the elections? Rate your answer on a scale between 0-100, with 0 being no chance that Livni will become prime minister and 100 being a certainty that Livni will be prime minister. You can give any score between 0-100:	
159. What are the chances that Binyamin Netanyahu will be prime minister after the elections?	
160. What are the chances that Ehud Barak will be prime minister after the elections?	

161. To what extent do you personally care about who will be the prime minister after the election?

1. I care a lot 2. I care pretty much 3. I care only a little 4. I do not care at all

162. Which list did you vote for in the last Knesset elections in 2006? (Do not read the answers)

1.	Kadima	13.	The Pensioners
2.	Likud	14.	Hazit Leumit Yehudit (Baruch Marzel)
3.	Labor	15.	Herut (Michael Kleiner)
4.	Israel Beiteinu (Lieberman)	16.	Tafnit (Uzi Dayan)
5.	Ihud Leumi + Mafdal	17.	Balad
6.	Yahadut Ha'tora	18.	Raam – Taal
7.	Shas	19.	Hadash
8.	Meretz / Yachad	95.	Other _____
9.	Shinui (Headed by Levental)	96.	Blank ballot
10.	Hetz (Split off from Shinui headed by Poraz)	97.	I didn't vote, though I had the right to vote
11.	The Green Party	98.	I didn't vote, because I didn't have the right to vote
12.	Green Leaf	99.	Refuse to answer

163. Did you participate in the municipal elections that were held in November 2008? 1. Yes 2. No

(For Jews) Which of the following terms best defines your identity? (Read) And the second? The third? The fourth?

1. Israeli 2. Jewish 3. My ethnicity (Ashkenazi –Sephardi) 4. My religiousness/secularity
164. First: _____ 165. Second: _____ 166. Third: _____ 167. Fourth: _____

(For Arabs) Which of the following terms best defines your identity? (Read) And the second? The third? The fourth?

1. Israeli 2. Palestinian 3. Arab 4. My religion (Muslim/ Christian/ Druze)
168. First: _____ 169. Second: _____ 170. Third: _____ 171. Fourth: _____

172. To the best of your knowledge, what is the minimum threshold for representation in elections to the Knesset? (Do not read the answers)

1. Right answer: 2% 2. Wrong answer 3. I do not know

173. To the best of your knowledge, what percentage of the overall government budget currently goes to the security budget? (Do not read the answers)

1. Less than 10% 2. Between 10% - 40% 3. Between 40% - 75% 4. More than 75% 8. I do not know

174. To the best of your knowledge, who is the current Knesset chairperson? (Do not read answers)

1. Right answer: Dalya Itzik 2. Wrong answer 3. I do not know

And to conclude a number of personal details for statistical purposes only:

175. To what extent do you observe the religious tradition?

1. I do not observe the tradition at all 2. I observe some elements of the tradition 3. I observe the tradition to a great extent 4. I observe the tradition completely to its every detail

176. (Do not ask Arabs): Where were you born? (Write the country) _____

177. (Do not ask Arabs): For interviewees who were not born in Israel: In which year did you immigrate to Israel? _____

178. (Not for Arabs): Interviewer: If interviewee came from the Former USSR from 1989 and on, circle: 1. Immigrant from the USSR

179. (Do not ask Arabs): Where was your father born? (Write the name of the country): _____

180. (Do not ask Arabs): Where was your mother born? (Write the name of the country): _____

181. How many years did you study? (Including elementary school) _____

182. (For those who completed 12 or more years): Do you have an academic degree? 1. Yes 2. No

183. Describe in detail your profession or your main job (if unemployed, should refer to most recent job) (Interviewer: Not a general definition like "worker", but "worker in makeup manufacturing"; not driver – but bus driver; not doctor – but ophthalmologist; not clerk, but human resources clerk etc. It is important to understand and to identify the profession and position as exactly as possible (meaning, if he/she is an administrator, head engineer, shift-worker etc.).

Write here: _____

184. The average monthly expenditure for a family in Israel is about 11,000 NIS. Considering the expenditures of your family, do you spend:

1. Much more than the average 2. A little more than the average 3. About the average 4. A little less than the average 5. Much less than the average

185. Are you worried that you will lose your job or your source of income?

1. Not at all worried 2. A little worried 3. Very worried 4. I have lost my job recently and am looking for work 5. I am not working and I am not looking for work

186. How many rooms do you have in your house? _____

187. How many people are living in the house? (including soldiers): _____

188. To which social class do you belong? 1. High 2. Medium-high 3. Medium 4. Low

189. What is your religion? 1. Jewish 2. Muslim 3. Christian 4. Druze

190. (Do not ask Arabs): How would you define yourself? 1. Secular 2. Traditional 3. Religious 4. Haredi

191. What was the last schooling institution that you attended?

1. Did not study at all

2. Elementary school and junior high

3. High school (including non-vocational, professional, agricultural, technological, yeshiva)

4. Institute providing training courses and continuing education programs (up to a year program)

5. Post high school institution (teachers seminar, nursing school, engineering school, post high school yeshiva)

6. Academic institution

9. Do not read: refuses to answer

192. (Do not ask Arabs): **Thank you very much. Your interview was especially interesting. In principle, would you be willing for us to contact you in the next week or two, to set up another short face-to-face interview?**

(If they are willing to – write down name and telephone number to contact)

193. Place of residence _____

194. Language of the interview: 1. Hebrew 2. Arabic 3. Russian

195. Sector: 1. Jewish 2. Arab

Date of interview: 196. Day _____ 197. Month: _____

198 Area code: ____

199 Phone number: _____

Name of the Interviewee: _____ Interviewer No.: _____

Thank you very much for your cooperation

Post Election Survey

Hello, my name is _____ and I am an interviewer from the Research Institute of Tel Aviv University. Prior to the election we interviewed _____ and now we are calling the interviewees back with a few questions. The survey will take no longer than 4-5 minutes. We guarantee that all your answers will remain confidential and will be used for research purposes only.

Interviewer: Interview only the person who's name appears on the list, and **not** any other family member.

ID number from the list

In order to make sure we are interviewing the right person, we'll ask a few details:

Age. How old are you? _____

Age group. **(For those who did not answer the previous question):**

What is your age group?

1. 18-22
2. 23-29
3. 30-39
4. 40-49
5. 50-59
6. 60-69
7. 70-79
8. 80 and over

Sex 1. Male 2. Female

Religion. **What is your religion?** 1. Jewish 2. Muslim 3. Christian 4. Druze

Education. **How many years did you study (including elementary school)?** _____

1. **Did you vote in the last election to Knesset?** 1. yes 2. no

2. For those who did not vote:

Why didn't you vote? Write the response verbatim

3 Which list did you vote for in the last elections to Knesset? (Do not read the answers)

1.	Kadima	13.	The Pensioners
2.	Likud	14.	Tzomet
3.	Labor	15.	Strong Israel (Efrayim Sneh)
4.	Israel Beiteinu (Lieberman)	16.	Da'am
5.	Habayit hayehudi + New Mafdal	17.	Balad
6.	Yahadut Ha'tora	18.	Raam – Taal
7.	Shas	19.	Hadash
8.	The New Movement – Meretz	95.	Other _____
9.	Haichud haleumi (HaTikva, Tkuma, Moledet)	96.	Blank ballot

10.	Green movement – Memad		
11.	The Green Party		
12.	Green Leaf	99.	Refuses to answer

4 And what about your spouse – if you have one – how, to the best of your knowledge, did he/she vote? (Do not read answers)

1.	Kadima	13.	The Pensioners
2.	Likud	14.	Tzomet
3.	Labor	15.	Strong Israel (Efrayim Sneh)
4.	Israel Beiteinu (Lieberman)	16.	Da'am
5.	Habayit hayehudi + New Mafdal	17.	Balad
6.	Yahadut Ha'tora	18.	Raam – Taal
7.	Shas	19.	Hadash
8.	The New Movement – Meretz	95.	Other _____
9.	Haichud haleumi (HaTikva, Tkuma, Moledet)	96.	Blank ballot
10.	Green movement – Memad	97.	Undecided
11.	The Green Party	98.	Did not vote
12.	Green Leaf	99.	Refuses to answer
		90.	I do not have a spouse
		91.	I don't know how my spouse voted

5 Of the possible coalitions, which coalition do you most prefer? [mix 1-2]

Interviewer: read including the option "other"

1. National unity government headed by Netanyahu
2. National unity government headed by Livni
3. National unity government with rotation between Netanyahu and Livni
4. Right-wing government headed by Netanyahu
5. Other (Interviewer: write down the response verbatim) _____

6 In general, are you pleased or not pleased with the results of the elections?

1. Very pleased
2. Rather pleased
3. Not so pleased
4. Not at all pleased

7 When did you make your final decision to vote for _____?

(Interviewer: Name the party the person voted for according to Q3.

If the interviewee said in Q1 that he/she did not vote, ask when the final decision not to vote was made)

1.	On election day itself	4.	A month before the elections
2.	2-3 days before the elections	5.	A few months before the elections
3.	A week before the elections	6.	I knew from the beginning who I would vote for

8 How many times did you watch the election campaign broadcasts of the parties on TV?

1. Every night
2. Almost every night
3. A few times
4. Just once
5. Never

9 Did any party or group contact you during the course of the election campaign in an attempt to influence the way you would vote?

1. Yes
2. No

(Instruction for the interviewer: if the interviewee asks, this includes automatic phone calls from parties or candidates)

There are all types of opinions on what the recent elections "were about." I am about to read to you several sentences that represent different opinions on the matter. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following sentences? [mix 10-19]

		Definitely Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
10.	The elections indicate that the people want the Right	5	4	3	2	1
11.	The elections were about who is best fitting to lead Israel in this period	5	4	3	2	1
12.	The elections indicate that the people want honest candidates	5	4	3	2	1
13.	The elections were mainly about the Palestinian state and the Golan Heights	5	4	3	2	1
14.	The elections were mainly about which economic plan will get the country out of the woods	5	4	3	2	1
15.	The elections were mainly about how to cope with security threats (Iran, Hamas)	5	4	3	2	1
16.	The elections indicate that Kadima is not a temporary phenomenon	5	4	3	2	1
17.	The elections were mainly about Jewish-Arab relations inside Israel and the connection between citizenship and loyalty	5	4	3	2	1
18.	The elections indicate that the public thinks a woman is suitable to be a prime minister	5	4	3	2	1
19.	The elections show that we must change the current electoral system into a system that will lead to a stable government for four years	5	4	3	2	1

20 All in all, in your opinion what were the elections mainly about? Was it:

(Only one answer) [mix 1-5]

1. About the foreign policy issue (meaning the Palestinian state and the Golan Heights)
2. About the security situation
3. About the socio-economic situation
4. About corruption
5. About who is fit to be prime minister

6. Do not read: Don't know

21 In your opinion, is the party "Israel Beyteinu" first and foremost a party representing the immigrants from the former Soviet Union or is it not that kind of party?

1. It is first and foremost a party representing immigrants from the former Soviet Union
2. It is not that kind of party

Thank you very much for your participation

22. **Language of the interview:** 1. Hebrew 2. Arabic 3. Russian

23. **Date of interview:** Day Month February

24. Area code 02 03 04 05 08 09 057 054 050 052 077

25. Telephone

26. Name of interviewee 27. Interviewer No.

Open Questions Coding

Coding for the question regarding the most important problem

- 1 Security (general)
- 2 The Israeli –Arab conflict, the Palestinian problem (general)
- 3 Withdrawal from the territories, ending occupation
- 4 Building in the territories / Settlements / Settlers
- 5 Palestinian Terror / Terror attacks / The Intifada
- 6 Return of the POW and MIA
- 7 The Army
- 8 The Iranian threat
- 9 The Demographic problem
- 10 The Arabs (no details)
- 11 Foreign policy (general)
- 12 Israel's image abroad, strengthening international status
- 13 Running an independent foreign policy
- 14 The Peace process (general)
- 15 Reaching a permanent agreement with Palestinian authority / Establishing a Palestinian state
- 16 Improving relations with Arab states
- 17 Economy (general)
- 18 Growth, Increase the standard of living, Increasing wages, Decreasing taxes
- 19 Reducing unemployment, Ensuring employment, Preventing dismissals
- 20 Domestic / Society (general)
- 21 Decreasing societal gaps, Assisting underprivileged, Poverty, Welfare
- 22 Housing problems, Young couples, Children's allowances
- 23 Education / Research
- 24 Youth
- 25 Elderly, Pensioners, Handicapped
- 26 Health
- 27 Crime, Drugs
- 28 Violence (general)
- 29 Domestic violence, Violence amongst youth
- 30 Transportation, Car accidents
- 31 Immigrant Absorption, Addressing immigrants' problems
- 32 Environment, Natural resources, Preventing experiments on animals
- 33 Taking care of the religious / Jewish character of the state
- 34 Preventing religious coercion, Separation of religion and state
- 35 The problems of the Arab citizens of Israel, Equality between Jews and Arabs in Israel
- 36 Foreign workers in Israel
- 37 Bureaucracy, Governmental efficiency, Fighting corruption
- 38 Keeping the law, Rule of law, Equality before the law
- 39 Defending democracy, Human rights, Freedom of speech, Tolerance
- 40 Governability of the political system, System of government / Electoral system (general, within parties)
- 41 Status of the state's president
- 42 Functioning of the government / prime minister, Public trust in government
- 43 Resignation of the government, Changing the prime minister, Establishing a new government
- 44 National unity, Preventing internal rift, Reducing self-criticism
- 45 Security + Economy
- 46 Security + Society
- 47 Economy + Society
- 48 Everything (no details)
- 49 Security in the south, Situation in the south, Residents of the south
- 50 Security in the north
- 51 Equality (general)
- 52 The war in Gaza, What's happening in Gaza, Results of the war
- 53 Other (**Avoid using this category whenever possible**)
- 54 No problems
- 55 Don't know / Refuses to answer

Coding for the country of origin of the interviewees and their parents

(The categorization is based on *Tents of Jacob* by Raphael Patai)

Native Born

01 Israel (Eretz Israel, Palestine)

Ashkenazi Jews – Western Europe

02 Germany

03 Austria

04 Switzerland

05 Belgium

06 Netherlands

07 Luxembourg

08 France

09 Britain

10 Denmark

11 Sweden

12 Norway

13 Finland

14 Iceland

15 Ireland

Ashkenazi Jews –Eastern Europe

16 Russia

17 Ukraine

18 Belarus

19 Moldova

20 Crimea

21 Kalinin

22 Lithuania

23 Latvia

24 Estonia

25 Poland

26 Czechoslovakia (Czech, Slovakia)

27 Romania

28 Hungary

29 Albania

30 Bessarabia

Ashkenazi Jews – North America

31 USA

32 Canada

Ashkenazi Jews – Central and South America

33 Mexico

34 Cuba

35 Colombia

36 Venezuela

37 Brazil

38 Argentina

39 Uruguay

40 Chile

41 Bolivia

42 Peru

Ashkenazi Jews – Central and South Africa

43 Nigeria

44 Kenya

45 Mauritius

46 Rhodesia

47 South Africa

Ashkenazi Jews – Oceania

48 Australia

49 New Zealand

Sephardic Jews –Western Europe

51 Spain

52 Portugal

Sephardic Jews – Balkan Countries

53 Bulgaria

54 Greece

55 Yugoslavia (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia)

56 Turkey

57 Cyprus

58 Italy

Arab Jewry – North Africa

61 Morocco

62 Algiers

63 Tunisia

64 Libya

65 Egypt

Arab Jewry – South West Asia

66 Yemen

67 Lebanon

68 Syria

69 Iraq, Kurdistan

70 Iran (Persia)

71 Afghanistan

72 Pakistan

Isolated Communities

81 Caucasus

82 India

83 Ethiopia

84 China, Mongolia

85 Armenia

86 Georgia

87 Tajikistan

88 Turkmenistan

89 Kazakhstan

90 Uzbekistan (Bukhara)

91 Azerbaijan

92 Kyrgyzstan

Ethnic origin coded into 11 categories: V179A, V180A

1 North Africa

2 Asia

3 Eastern Europe

4 Western and Central Europe

5 America / Australia / South Africa

6 Israel, Israel

7 Israel, North Africa

8 Israel, Asia

9 Israel, Eastern Europe

10 Israel, Western and Central Europe

11 Israel, America / Australia / South Africa

The coding for ethnic origin:

01 = Israel

83 ,65 -61 = North Africa

92 -84 ,82 ,81 ,72 -66 ,57 ,56 = Asia

55 ,54 ,53 ,16-30 = Eastern Europe

58 ,52 ,51 ,15 -02 = Western and Central Europe

31-49 = America, Central and South Africa and Oceania

CBS occupation code

00	Biologists, Pharmacologists and Similar Professionals
01	Chemists, Physicists, Mathematicians and Similar Professionals
02	Engineers and Architects
03	Medical Doctors, Pharmacists and Veterinarians
04	Judges and Lawyers
05	Economists, Psychologists, Accountants and Similar Professionals
06	Academic Professionals in the Humanities
07	Lecturers at Academic Institutions
08	High School and Post-High School Teachers
09	Academic Professionals in Religious Services
10	Engineers and Technicians in the Natural Sciences
11	Civil Engineers and Civil Engineering Technicians
12	Electric, Electronics, Mechanical, and other Engineers and Technicians
13	Computer Engineers and Computer Technicians
14	Communications and Medical Equipment Operators and Photographers
15	Medical Laboratory Workers, Nurses and Other Paramedical Professionals
16	Teachers in Primary Schools and in Kindergartens and Social Counselors
17	Journalists and Workers in Arts and Sports
18	Auditors and Cost-Accountants
19	Religious Services Professionals
20	Members of the Legislative Authority and Heads of the Executive Authority
21	General Managers
22	Senior Managers
23	Secretaries of Local Authorities and Other Managers
30	Customs, Tax and Licensing Clerical Workers
31	Accounts Workers (Bookkeepers)
32	Cashiers, Bank Clerks and Credit Company Clerks
33	Secretaries
34	Stock Keepers and Transport Clerks
35	Mail Clerks
36	Customer Service Clerks and Office Equipment Operators
37	Other Clerks
40	Financial and Business Services Agents
41	Wholesalers and Trade Dealers
42	Salespersons and Models
43	Tour Guides and Stewards
44	Workers in Lodging and Restaurant Services
45	Caregivers
46	Security Workers
47	Other Services Workers
50	Crop Growers
51	Animal Farmers
52	Mix Crop and Animal Farmers
53	Skilled Forestry Workers
54	Fishery and Hunting Workers
60	Raw Metal Processors
61	Welders, Tinsmiths, Locksmiths and Metal workers
62	Machinery Mechanics and Fitters
63	Power Production and Water Treatment Plant Operators
64	Electric and Electronics Equipment Mechanics and Fitters
65	Precision-Instrument Makers and Repairers and Goldsmiths
66	Diamond Workers
67	Digging, Paving and Dirt Lifting Equipment Operators
68	Miners and Quarry Workers
69	Builders and Construction Workers
70	Plumbers and Pipe Workers
71	Painters and Plasterers
72	Woodworkers and Carpenters
73	Food and Tobacco Processing Workers
74	Spinners, Weavers, Knitters and Fiber Preparers
75	Tailors and Dressmakers
76	Shoemakers and Other Leather Production Workers

77	Printing Workers
78	Workers in Paper, Corrugated Paper and Other Paper Products Production
79	Chemical Processing Plant Operators (except plastic and rubber)
80	Plastic, Rubber and Products Processors
81	Concrete Casters and Non-Metal Mineral Products Producers (except ceramic and glass)
82	Ceramic and Glass Workers
83	Ships' Deck Crews and Train Operators
84	Drivers
85	Packing Machine Operators
90	Street Peddlers and Other Street Services
91	Cleaning Workers Kitchen Workers, Launderers
92	Janitors, Caretakers and Other Cleaners
93	Watchpersons, Messengers and Ushers
94	Porters and Dock workers
95	Unskilled Workers in Fruit Picking, Packing, Sorting and Goods Arranging
96	Unskilled Agricultural Laborers and Road Workers
97	Other Unskilled Workers
XX	Unknown Occupation
Y0	Work Seekers Who Have Not Worked Before
Y1	Armed Forces
Y2	Housewives
Y3	Pensioners
Y4	Recipients of Welfare and Other Financial Aid
Y5	Pupils and Students
Y6	Religious Academy (Yeshiva) Students
Y9	Others

Z1 'Salaried' without specification of the profession

Z2 'Self-employed' without specification of the profession

Coding reasons for not voting

- 0 Refuses to answer / No answer
- 1 General statement – "Was not possible", "I could not" etc.

Personal aspects

- 2 Work / Studies / Family constraints
- 3 Preferred other activities on that day
- 4 Physical limitations / Illness / Difficulties getting to the ballot box
- 5 Rainy / Stormy weather
- 6 "Received instruction not to vote" (from a religious authority)
- 7 "I wasn't told who to vote for"
- 8 "Don't feel that I have enough knowledge"
- 9 "Not enough time in Israel to formulate an opinion"
- 10 "Not interested in living here and therefore don't care about voting"

General attitude to the political system

- 11 Basic lack of trust in the system
- 12 Exhibited or implied indifference ("Doesn't interest me", "Didn't feel like it")
- 13 Despair from the situation

The Parties

- 14 No party matches the opinions the interviewee
- 15 All parties are the same
- 16 Lack of trust in the parties and their intentions

Leading Candidates

- 17 There was no suitable candidate (general position – combining criteria of trust and capability)
- 18 Don't trust **in politicians** (Capability dimension)
- 19 Don't trust **the politicians** (Trust dimension)

Coding for preferred coalition

- 1 National unity government headed by Netanyahu
- 2 National unity government headed by Livni
- 3 National unity government with rotation between Netanyahu and Livni
- 4 Right-wing government headed by Netanyahu
- 5 Other

- 10 Likud and Labor government headed by Netanyahu
- 11 Kadima and Labor government headed by Livni
- 12 Left wing government headed by Livni
- 13 Left wing government headed by Barak
- 14 Left wing government (without specifying the prime minister)
- 15 Center - left government (without specifying the prime minister)
- 16 Center government (without specifying the prime minister)
- 17 National unity government (without specifying the prime minister)
- 18 Government headed by Netanyahu (No details)
- 19 Government headed by Livni (No details)
- 20 A government with 'Israel Beyteinu' in it
- 21 Rotation between Netanyahu and Lieberman
- 22 Government headed by Lieberman
- 23 A government without 'Israel Beyteinu'
- 24 A government without 'Shas'
- 25 Rotation between Netanyahu, Livni and Barak

- 30 None
- 31 Whatever is good for the country
- 32 New Elections
- 33 No preference / Don't know
- 34 Refuses to answer