

# Israel National Election Study, November 01, 2022

## Pre-election Questionnaire

Throughout the questionnaire: **98 Don't know/no answer**

### Version

1. Version A (Green+Red)
2. Version B (Green+Blue)

### **Introduction**

Hello, you agreed to participate in different studies conducted by “The Cohen Institute for Public Opinion Research at Tel Aviv University. We contact you now with an academic study dealing with various issues on the agenda.

Completing the questionnaire takes about 15 minutes.

Several days after fully completing the questionnaire, you will receive a **voucher**, to the cellphone number you will provide at the end of the survey.

We will appreciate if you complete the questionnaire **attentively**.

**Please note: Throughout the questionnaire we included questions that are not related to the topic, which aim to ascertain that the questionnaire is completed with attention. Answering these questions not according to the instructions, will lead to the immediate termination of the questionnaire, without getting the payment for it.**

### **Thank you very much for your cooperation!**

**The Cohen Institute operates in accordance with the instructions of the “Privacy Protection Law”, any data you will provide are confidential. We guarantee that your answers will be kept confidentially, and will be used only for research.**

Any question you do not want to answer, you can choose the option “can't choose” or “refuse”.

If any questions arise or there is a need for clarifications, you can contact the Institute's researchers.

If questions arise or clarification is needed, you can contact the researchers:

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**Respondent ID** \_\_\_\_\_

**(Agree) Do you agree to participate in the study?**

1. Yes, I agree to participate in the study
2. No

**5. Are you an Israeli citizen?**

1. Yes
2. No → End interview

**Interview only Israeli citizens**

**2. How old are you ?**

**For those who did not answer:**

**3. What age group do you belong to?**

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

**Interview only 18 and above**

**4. Sex:**

1. Male
2. Female
3. Other

**136. What is your highest level of education?**

1. No formal education
2. Elementary school
3. Partial high school
4. Complete high school - without matriculation diploma
5. Complete high school - with matriculation diploma
6. Post high school, non-academic (e.g., engineering school)
7. Partial academic degree
8. Full academic degree - BA
9. Full academic degree - MA or higher

**144. In terms of religion, how do you define yourself?**

1. Very religious, Haredi (Arabs: very religious)
2. Religious
3. Traditional religious
4. Traditional, not so religious
5. Non-religious, secular

**6. In your opinion, what is Israel's general situation?**

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

8. **In your opinion, what is the most important problem that the government has to deal with?**  
(Note only one problem)

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601. **Israel is holding an election for the fifth time within less than four years. From the following issues, what do you think is the main reason for that?**  
[mix up the order of 1-4]

1. The electoral system in Israel
2. The personal interests of politicians, who try to maximize their personal good and political survival
3. Difficulties in handling Israel's main problems
4. Ideological differences between the parties in the coalition
5. Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

9. **In your opinion, in the past 4 years, has the economic situation of Israel improved, not changed, or deteriorated?**

1. Has improved a lot
2. Has improved a little
3. Has not changed
4. Has deteriorated a little
5. Has deteriorated a lot

10. **And what about your personal economic situation: Would you say that in the past 4 years your personal situation:**

1. Has improved a lot
2. Has improved a little
3. Has not changed
4. Has deteriorated a little
5. Has deteriorated a lot

11. **And what about the country's security situation – In your opinion, in the past 4 years, has the security of Israel improved, not changed, or deteriorated?**

1. Has improved a lot
2. Has improved a little
3. Has not changed
4. Has deteriorated a little
5. Has deteriorated a lot

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

1. Definitely possible
2. Believe it is
3. Believe it is not
4. Definitely not possible

**Question 700 only to Jewish interviewees**

**700. In your opinion, what are the final aspirations of the Arabs?**

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 country and destroy a significant part of its Jewish population

**14. To what extent are you worried or not worried that you or one of your family members are likely to be harmed by terrorists in your everyday life?**

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

**Questions 15-17 only to Jewish interviewees**

**When thinking about possible directions for the development of the state of Israel, there are four values that are conflicting to some extent, and are important to different people to different degrees**

**15. Of the following four values, which is most important to you?**

1. A Jewish majority
2. Greater Israel
3. A Democratic state (equal political rights to all)
4. A state of peace (low probability of war)

**16. Which is second most important?**

1. A Jewish majority
2. Greater Israel
3. A Democratic state (equal political rights to all)
4. A state of peace (low probability of war)

**17. Third most important?**

1. A Jewish majority
2. Greater Israel
3. A Democratic state (equal political rights to all)
4. A state of peace (low probability of war)

**19. In your opinion, should Israel agree or not agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza strip within the framework of a permanent agreement?**

1. Definitely should agree
2. Believe that should agree
3. Believe that should not agree
4. Definitely should not agree

(In Arabic: Instead of “in your opinion should Israel agree or disagree to...” translate as “Do you support...” and change answer categories accordingly to: definitely support, support, don’t support, definitely don’t support)

701. Among the following solutions to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which one do you prefer the most?

1. Two states
2. One state from Jordan to the sea with full equality of rights for Palestinians
3. One state from the Jordan to the sea under the rule of Israel without political rights for Palestinians
4. Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

20. About the structure of economic life in the country, which do you support more - a socialist or capitalist approach?

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

702. Some think it is the government's responsibility to make sure that everyone has work and a reasonable standard of living. Others think that the government should not get involved and should let everyone make do for themselves. What is your opinion?

1. The government should make sure that everyone has work and a reasonable standard of living
2. It depends
3. The government shouldn't interfere because everyone should make do for themselves

21. In your opinion, should the government of Israel see to it that public life in the country is conducted according to Jewish religious tradition or not?  
(In Arabic: "AlTkalid AlYehudiya" – Jewish Tradition)

1. The government should definitely see to it
2. The government should perhaps see to it
3. I don't think the government should see to it
4. The government should definitely not see to it

36. To what extent do you agree or disagree that civil marriage should be instituted in Israel, in addition to religious marriage?

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Agree
4. Strongly agree

703. To what extent do you agree or disagree that the Supreme Court should have the authority to overturn a law enacted by the Knesset?

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Agree
4. Strongly agree

**Attention1: The following question is an attention check, choose the value “To a certain degree”:**

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

**704. To what extent do you support or oppose the participation of Arab parties in the coalition?**

1. Completely opposed
2. Oppose their participation in the coalition, but in favor of their support from the outside
3. Supports their participation in the coalition, without ministerial positions
4. Supports their participation in the coalition, including ministerial positions

**Questions 27-30 only to Arab interviewees**

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

		<b>Strongly agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>
<b>27</b>	The main aspiration of Arab citizens in Israel is to have full equality as citizens	4	3	2	1
<b>28</b>	Civic equality for Arab citizens can be achieved mainly through a political struggle in the Knesset (parliament)	4	3	2	1
<b>29</b>	The Arab political parties are doing everything in their power to advance the interests of the Arab population in Israel	4	3	2	1
<b>30</b>	Participating in Knesset elections harms the struggle for Palestinian national rights	4	3	2	1

**To what extent do you agree or disagree that:**

		<b>Strongly agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>
<b>25</b>	We should allow a political leader, who is successful in his job, to continue in his job, even if he has been convicted of public corruption	4	3	2	1

**22. There are claims that the indictments against the Prime Minister are part of a “witch hunt” held against him by the judicial system, the media and the police in order to bring an end to his rule.**

**On the other hand, others argue that these institutions are acting as required of them when there is suspicion of public corruption. Of these two arguments, with which do you tend to agree?**

1. That the indictments against the prime minister are part of a “witch hunt” against him
2. That these institutions are acting as required

**And, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:**

		<b>Strongly agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>
<b>33</b>	Sometimes politics seems so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on	4	3	2	1
<b>35</b>	No matter who you vote for, it does not change the situation	4	3	2	1
<b>86</b>	Politicians make promises during the campaign that they have no intention of keeping	4	3	2	1
<b>89</b>	The electoral system in Israel distorts the voter's will	4	3	2	1

**45. To what extent do you tend to discuss political issues with your friends and family?**

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

**46. To what extent can you and your friends influence the policies of the government?**

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

**47. Who in your opinion will deal best with Israel's economic and social problems?**

[mix up the order of 2-3]

1. Netanyahu
2. Lapid
3. Gantz
4. All equally
5. Neither one

**48. Who in your opinion will deal best with Israel's foreign affairs and security problems?**

[mix up the order of 2-3]

1. Netanyahu
2. Lapid
3. Gantz
4. All equally
5. Neither one

**What is your attitude toward each of the following political parties?**

Rate your response on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is rejection/hatred, 10 is support/sympathy; and 5 is in-between

		rejection / hatred											support/ sympathy
49A	Likud	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49Z	Yesh Atid	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49B	National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49S	Hatzionut Hadatit (Religious Zionist Party)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49I	Shas	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49K	Yahadut Hatora	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49H	Yisrael Beiteinu	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49F	Meretz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49C	HaAvoda (Labor)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49J	Hadash-Ta'al	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49Y	Ra'am	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49T	Balad (only for Arab sector)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

**And on the same scale, what is your attitude toward each of the following people?**

0 is rejection/hatred, 10 is support/ sympathy, and 5 is in-between:

		rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy
52A	Benjamin Netanyahu	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
52B	Benny Gantz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
52C	Yair Lapid	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

**Attention2: The following question is an attention check, choose the value 8:**

rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

**Mix up the order of questions 50-51:**

50. **On a scale where 0 is rejection/hatred; 10 is support/sympathy; and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward rightists (“Yemanim”)?**

rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	

51. **On a scale where 0 is complete rejection/hatred, 10 is complete support, and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward leftists (“Smolanim”)?**

rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	



**Question 622a only to non-Haredim interviewees**

**622a. On a scale where 0 is complete rejection/hatred, 10 is complete support, and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward Haredim?** filter according to question 144

rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	

**Question 622b only to Haredim interviewees**

**622b. On a scale where 0 is complete rejection/hatred, 10 is complete support, and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward seculars?** filter according to question 144

rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	

**623. On a scale where 0 is complete rejection/hatred, 10 is complete support, and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward Arabs?** (For Arabs: your attitude toward Jews)

rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	

**53. What political tendency do you identify with?**

1. Left
2. Moderate left
3. Center
4. Moderate right
5. Right

**Questions 58-62 only to Jewish interviewees**

**In your opinion, are there or aren't there differences between the positions of the major parties in Israel on the following issues?**

		Very great differences	Great differences	Certain differences	Small differences	Almost no differences
<b>58</b>	Social-economic policy	5	4	3	2	1
<b>59</b>	State and religion	5	4	3	2	1
<b>60</b>	Peace and territories	5	4	3	2	1
<b>61</b>	Security and terrorism	5	4	3	2	1
<b>62</b>	Their attitude towards democracy	5	4	3	2	1

**63. There are different factors that influence people's decision to vote for a specific party for the Knesset. From the following factors, which is the one that influences your decision the most?**

1. Identification with the party
2. The party leader
3. The party's nominees for Knesset
4. The party's position on certain issues
5. Whether the party is in power or in the opposition

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

		Will greatly influence	Will somewhat influence	Will have little influence	Will not influence at all
64	Social-economic policy	4	3	2	1
65	State and religion	4	3	2	1
66	Peace and security	4	3	2	1
68	Corruption	4	3	2	1
69	Attitude towards democracy	4	3	2	1

**104. If the Knesset election were to take place today, which party list would you vote for?**  
[mix up options 5-9]

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	11	Hadash-Ta'al (Ayman Odeh)
2	Yesh Atid (Yair Lapid)	12	Ra'am (Mansour Abbas)
3	National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti) (Benny Gantz)	13	Balad (Sami Abu Shehadeh)
4	Hatzionut Hadatit (Bezalel Smotrich & Itamar Ben-Gvir)		
5	Shas (Aryeh Deri)	30	Other (specify): _____
6	Yahadut HaTorah (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah) (Moshe Gafni)	94	Doesn't intend to vote
7	Yisrael Beitenu (Avigdor Lieberman)	96	Blank Ballot
8	HaAvoda (Merav Michaeli)	97	Undecided/debating
9	Meretz (Zehava Gal-On)	98	No response / Doesn't know
10	HaBayit HaYehudi (Ayelet Shaked)	99	Refuses to answer

**For those who answered 97, 98, 99:**

**104a. Is your tendency to vote for a party from:**  
[mix up the order of 2-3]

1. Left
2. Center
3. Right
4. Haredi
5. Arabic

		<b>Will greatly influence</b>	<b>Will somewhat influence</b>	<b>Will have little influence</b>	<b>Will not influence at all</b>
<b>504</b>	To what extent the consideration of preventing another election in the near future will influence or not influence your vote?	4	3	2	1

	<b>Don't ask those who answered 1 in question 104</b>	<b>Will greatly influence</b>	<b>Will somewhat influence</b>	<b>Will have little influence</b>	<b>Will not influence at all</b>
<b>609</b>	To what extent the consideration of whether the party will or will not sit under Netanyahu as prime minister, will influence or not influence your vote?	4	3	2	1

**705. What is your opinion on the participation of Ra'am party, led by Mansur Abbas, in the last coalition?**

1. Very positive
2. Positive
3. Neither positive nor negative
4. Negative
5. Very negative

**106. In your opinion, after the election, will the government be based on:**

1. A coalition of the Likud with right-wing and Haredi parties
2. A coalition of Yesh Atid with center-left parties
3. A unity government of parties from the right, the center, and the left
4. No coalition will be formed, and the Knesset will dissolve
5. Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

**107. And which of the following governments would you prefer?**

1. A coalition of the right-wing parties
2. A coalition of center-left parties
3. A unity government of parties from the right, the center, and the left
4. Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

**706. What party list did you vote for in the last Knesset election, held a year ago, in March 2021?**

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	11	Yahadut HaTorah (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah) (Yakov Litzman)
2	Kahol-Lavan (Benny Gantz)	12	HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) (Hadash-Ta'al-Ra'am-Balad) (Ayman Odeh)
3	Yesh Atid (Yair Lapid)	13	Ra'am (Mansour Abbas)
4	Tikva Hadasha (Gideon Sa'ar)		
5	HaAvoda (Merav Michaeli)	30	Other (specify): _____
6	Meretz (Nitzan Horowitz)	94	Didn't vote despite being eligible
7	Yamina (Naftali Bennett)	95	Didn't vote because I wasn't eligible
8	Hatzionut Hadatit (Bezalel Smotrich & Itamar Ben-Gvir)	96	Blank Ballot
9	Yisrael Beitenu (Avigdor Lieberman)	98	No response / Doesn't know / Not remember
10	Shas (Aryeh Deri)	99	Refuses to answer

**111. There is much talk about left and right in politics. Where would you rank yourself along a left-right continuum, where 1 is the right end and 7 is the left end?**

Right    1 2 3 4 5 6 7    Left

**611. In the last week, how many times did you catch up on political information and news from the daily newspaper, the television, the radio or news websites?**

1. Never
2. Once a week
3. Two-three times a week
4. Almost daily
5. More than once a day

**506. In the last week, how many times did you read political information and news on the social media platforms you are active on such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter?**

0. I don't use social media platforms
1. Never
2. Once a week
3. Two-three times a week
4. Almost daily
5. More than once a day

**73. To the best of your knowledge, what is the threshold of representation in the Knesset elections?**

1. Correct response [3.25%; or any percentage between 3-4%; or 4 mandates; or the number 4 alone]
2. Don't Know
3. Incorrect response

**510. To the best of your knowledge, who is the current President of the Supreme Court?**

1. Correct response [Esther Hayut]
2. Don't Know
3. Incorrect response

**511. To the best of your knowledge, which Ministry, other than the Ministry of Defense, has the largest budget?**

1. Don't know
2. Construction and Housing
3. Health
4. Education
5. Transportation

**In Israel, as in the rest of the world, it's impossible for all citizens to gather together to make decisions, and therefore there are representatives and institutions that do so for us and on our behalf.**

**109. In general, to what extent do you feel there is a political party or politician in Israel that represent you?**

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

**110. And in general, to what extent do you believe the Israeli political system represents you?**

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

**115. How democratically is Israel being governed today?**

Rank your response on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that it is "not at all democratic" and 10 means that it is "completely democratic".

Completely democratic 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Not at all democratic

**116. How satisfied are you with how the political system is functioning in Israel these days?**

Rank your response on a scale of 1-10, where 1 means "not satisfied at all" and 10 means "completely satisfied"

Completely satisfied 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Not satisfied at all

**707. Which of the following terms best define your identity? Please arrange them in order of their importance to you, with the first term being the most important to you, and the fourth the least important.**

[mix up the order of 1-2] Matrix ranking question

1. Israeli
2. Jewish (in Arabic: Palestinian)
3. My ethnic origin (in Arabic: my religion)
4. My secularity/religiosity

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

		<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>
<b>119</b>	You feel committed to the democratic regime in Israel, even if there are times when you don't like the decisions	4	3	2	1
<b>120</b>	In order to take care of Israel's unique problems, there is a need for a strong leader who doesn't take the Knesset or the election into consideration	4	3	2	1
<b>619</b>	To deal with Israel's problems, it is best having experts, not elected representatives, make decisions according to what they think is best for the country	4	3	2	1
<b>121</b>	There are times when it seems it would be preferable to deviate from the democratic rules of the game in order to achieve significant change	4	3	2	1
<b>122</b>	The state has to ensure full and equal social and political rights to all citizens, regardless of religion, race, or sex	4	3	2	1
<b>123</b>	We must secure the freedom of speech of people who speak out against the state too	4	3	2	1

**708. With which of the following two claims about the essence of democracy do you agree more: the claim that says that any regime that operates according to the principle of majority rule is a democratic regime, or with the claim that says that for a regime to be truly democratic it must also maintain other principles, such as human rights and freedom of speech?**

1. With the first claim, that any regime that operates according to majority rule is democratic
2. With the second claim, that in order to be truly democratic a regime must also maintain principles such as human rights and freedom of speech

**How much trust do you have in:**

		<b>Very high trust</b>	<b>High trust</b>	<b>Little trust</b>	<b>No trust at all</b>
<b>125</b>	The government	4	3	2	1
<b>126</b>	The Knesset	4	3	2	1
<b>127</b>	The Supreme Court	4	3	2	1
<b>128</b>	Politicians	4	3	2	1

**There is much talk about “left” and “right” in politics. Where would you rank the following political parties along a left-right continuum from 0 to 10, where 0 is the left and 10 is the right?**

		<b>Left</b>											<b>Right</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
<b>620A</b>	Likud	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
<b>620Z</b>	Yesh Atid	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
<b>620S</b>	Hatzionut Hadatit (Religious Zionist Party)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
<b>620B</b>	National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
<b>620I</b>	Shas	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
<b>620K</b>	Yahadut Hatora	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	

<b>620H</b>	Yisrael Beiteinu	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98
<b>620C</b>	HaAvoda (Labor)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98
<b>620F</b>	Meretz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98
<b>620J</b>	Hadash-Ta'al	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98
<b>620Y</b>	Ra'am	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98

**620.** Where would you rank yourself along a left-right continuum from 0 to 10, where 0 is the left and 10 is the right?

<b>Left</b>											<b>Right</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	

**709.** When you think about the history of the State of Israel and of the people of Israel (Am Israel), what past event seems to you to be the most important?

(In Arabic: When you think about the history of the state of Israel and the Arab-Israeli citizens, what event in the past seems to you to be the most important?)

**710.** When you think about the future of the state of Israel and the people of Israel (Am Israel), what event or occurrence would you like to see happen?

(In Arabic: When you think about the future of the state of Israel and the Arab-Israeli citizens, what event or occurrence would you like to see happen?)

**711.** Who, in your opinion, is the most influential figure in the history of the state of Israel and the people of Israel (Am Israel)?

(In Arabic: Who, in your opinion, is the most influential figure in the history of the state of Israel and the Arab-Israeli citizens?)

**712.** In our society, there are people who tend to be at the top of the society and people who tend to be at the bottom. What follows is a scale that runs from the top to the bottom. Where would you rank yourself on this scale nowadays?

<b>The bottom of our society</b>											<b>The top of our society</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	

**Finally, a few personal details for statistical purposes only:**

**130.** To what extent do you observe religious tradition?

1. Not at all
2. A little
3. A lot
4. I observe them completely

**Questions 131, 513, 134, 137 only to Jewish interviewees**

**131. How would you define yourself?**

1. Ashkenazi
2. Sephardic
3. Mizrachi
4. Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

**513. Where were you born?**

1. Asia/Africa
2. Europe or America
3. Former USSR/FSU
4. Native born Israeli, Father- native born Israeli
5. Native born Israeli, Father - Asia/Africa
6. Native born Israeli, Father - Europe/America
7. Native born Israeli, Father – former USSR/FSU

**134. If you were not born in Israel, when did you immigrate to Israel? \_\_\_\_\_**

**137. Did you attend high school or post high school studies in any religious framework?**

1. Has not studied in a religious framework
2. Studied in a religious framework

**138. Describe in detail your profession or your main job (if not working, refer to last main job)  
(Not a general definition such as worker, but a cosmetics production worker; not a driver but a bus driver; not a doctor but an eye doctor; not a clerk but a human resources clerk, etc.)**

Write here: \_\_\_\_\_

**139. The average monthly household expenditure in Israel is approximately 16,000 NIS. Considering all your household expenditure do you spend:**

1. Much below average
2. Somewhat below average
3. About average
4. Somewhat above average
5. Much above average

**140. How many rooms do you have in your home? \_\_\_\_\_**

**141. How many people live in your household (including soldiers)? \_\_\_\_\_**

**143. What is your religion?**



1. Jewish
2. Muslim
3. Christian
4. Druze
5. Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

**145. Place of Residence: \_\_\_\_\_**

<p><b>date. Date of Interview:</b> _____</p> <p><b>num. Interviewer number:</b> _____ (to the telephone questionnaire in Arabic)</p> <p><b>language. Interview language:</b> 1. Hebrew 2. Arabic</p> <p><b>sector. Sector:</b> 1 Jewish 2 Arab</p> <p><b>Telephone:</b> _____ (to the telephone questionnaire in Arabic)</p> <p><b>Id from list:</b> _____ (to the telephone questionnaire in Arabic)</p>
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**Thank you for your cooperation**

**Concluding sentence:** As a thank you for your participation in the study, an SMS message will be sent to your smartphone, with a 50 NIS coupon that can be used in various retail chains. The message with the coupon will be delivered under the name TAU. Be careful not to delete the message.

Please enter the phone number to which you would like us to send the coupon. It is important to make sure that the phone number is entered correctly: \_\_\_\_\_

If you prefer to receive the coupon by Israel Post (not recommended!), please write down an exact mailing address, first name and last name. (Please be advised that the coupon will be sent by Israel Post as registered mail and will have to be picked up from the post office listed in the mail message you will receive in your inbox. Also, since the shipment is via Israel Post, it may take a long time. It is therefore recommended to receive it via smartphone.

**Concluding sentence for those who answered “not attentively” in the questionnaire:**

The questionnaire was stopped following an inattentive response. Therefore, as explained at the beginning of the questionnaire, you will not be sent a coupon.

## **Post-Election Questionnaire**

**Throughout the questionnaire: 98 Don't know/no answer**

### **Introduction**

Hello, before the election you participated in a survey conducted by The Cohen Institute for Public Opinion Research at Tel Aviv University. We approach you now with a short follow-up study, with only 15 questions. Your cooperation is very important for the success of the study.

Several days after fully completing the questionnaire, you will receive a **voucher**, to the cellphone number you will provide at the end of the survey.

We will appreciate if you complete the questionnaire **attentively**.

**Thank you very much for your cooperation**

**The Cohen Institute operates in accordance with the instructions of the “Privacy Protection Law”. Any data you will provide are confidential. We guarantee that your answers will be kept confidentially, and will be used only for research.**

Any question you do not want to answer, you can choose the option “can't choose” or “refuse”.

If any questions arise or there is a need for clarifications, you can contact the Institute's researchers:

**(Agree) Do you agree to participate in the study?**

1. Yes, I agree to participate in the study
2. No

**F1. Did you vote in the last Knesset election?**

1. Yes
2. No → skip to question F3
3. Blank ballot → skip to question F3

**F2. What party list did you vote for in the last Knesset election**

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	10	HaBayit HaYehudi (Ayelet Shaked)
2	Yesh Atid (Yair Lapid)	11	Hadash-Ta'al (Ayman Odeh)
3	National Unity (HaMaḥane HaMamlakhti) (Benny Gantz)	12	Ra'am (Mansour Abbas)
4	Hatzionut Hadatit (Bezalel Smotrich & Itamar Ben-Gvir)	13	Balad (Sami Abu Shehadeh)
5	Shas (Aryeh Deri)		
6	Yahadut HaTorah (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah) (Moshe Gafni)	30	Other (specify): _____
7	Yisrael Beiteinu (Avigdor Lieberman)	94	Didn't vote
8	HaAvoda (Merav Michaeli)	96	Blank Ballot
9	Meretz (Zehava Gal-On)	99	No response / Doesn't know

**F3. When did you reach your final decision (for whom to vote / not to vote / put a blank ballot)?**

1. On the election day itself
2. 2-3 days before the election
3. About a week before the election
4. About a month before the election
5. A few months before the election
6. I knew all along who I would vote for

**F5. To what extent were the surveys released a few days before the elections a factor in your decision how to vote?**

1. Not at all a factor
2. A small factor
3. Somewhat a factor
4. Quite a factor
5. Very much a factor

**F7. And when you think about the election that just took place, what was it mainly about? Was it about:**

[Mix up the order of 1-7]

1. The conflict with the Palestinians
2. The future of democracy and the role of the judicial system in Israel
3. The security threats and how to handle them
4. The socio-economic situation
5. State and religion relations
6. The government's handling of crime and personal safety
7. Netanyahu: Whether he should continue to lead the country

**N1. And what about cooperation with the Arab parties in the government formation, are you:**

1. Completely opposed
2. Oppose their participation in the coalition, but in favor of Arab parties supporting the government from outside
3. Supports their participation in the coalition, without ministerial positions
4. Supports their participation in the coalition, including ministerial positions

**F9. And now given the election results, which coalition would you prefer most?**

1. A coalition of the Likud with right-wing and Haredi parties
2. A coalition of the Likud with Haredi parties and National Unity (HaMaḥane HaMamlakhti), without Hatzionut Hadatit
3. A unity government of the Likud with Yesh Atid and National Unity (HaMaḥane HaMamlakhti)
4. A different coalition. Which: \_\_\_\_\_
5. None of the above
6. I don't care which government it is, as long as there will be one

**F110. To what extent do you feel the Israeli political system represents you?**

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

**F10. To what extent are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the democracy in Israel?**

4. Very satisfied
3. Satisfied
2. Not satisfied
1. Not at all satisfied

**F11. To what extent are you proud to be Israeli?**

4. Very proud
3. Proud
2. Not proud
1. Not at all proud

**Mix up the order of questions 50-51:**

**N50. On a scale where 0 is rejection/hatred; 10 is support/sympathy; and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward rightists ("Yemanim")?**

rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	

**N51. On a scale where 0 is complete rejection/hatred, 10 is complete support, and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward leftists ("Smolanim")?**

rejection/ hatred										support/ sympathy	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98

**Question N622a only to non-Haredim interviewees**

**N622a. On a scale where 0 is complete rejection/hatred, 10 is complete support, and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward Haredim?** filter according to question 144

rejection/ hatred										support/ sympathy	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98

**Question N622b only to Haredim interviewees**

**N622b. On a scale where 0 is complete rejection/hatred, 10 is complete support, and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward seculars?** filter according to question 144

rejection/ hatred										support/ sympathy	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98

**N623. On a scale where 0 is complete rejection/hatred, 10 is complete support, and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward Arabs?** (For Arabs: your attitude toward Jews)

rejection/ hatred										support/ sympathy	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98

**Thank you very much for your cooperation**

**15. Date of interview:** \_\_\_\_\_

**16. Interviewer number:** \_\_\_\_\_

**17. Language of the interview:** 1. Hebrew 2. Arabic

**18. Sector:** 1. Jewish 2. Arab

## Additional Codes for Election Study, November 2022

### Codes for Open Question on the Most Important Problem

V8

- 1 - Security (General)
- 2 - The Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinian problem, the territories, the wars (general)
- 3 - Ending the occupation, the treatment of Palestinians in the territories, the problem of Palestinian refugees
- 4 - Homeland security, security of civilians in everyday life, terror, terrorist attacks, terrorists
- 5 - Hamas, the situation in Gaza/the southern border, the settlements near the Gaza strip
- 6 - Deterrence, military capabilities, IDF performance
- 7 - The Iranian threat, the Iranian nuclear program
- 8 - Authorizing the settlements in Judea and Samaria
- 9 - Jews-Arabs relations (general)
- 10 - Foreign policy, international relations (general)
- 11 - Israel's image abroad, strengthening international standing
- 12 - The peace process (general)
- 13 - Renewing the peace process with the Palestinians
- 14 - The relations with diaspora Jews
- 15 - The economy (general)
- 16 - Growth, increasing wages, increasing the minimum wage, decreasing taxes
- 17 - Reducing unemployment, ensuring employment, preventing layoffs
- 18 - Increasing prices, the cost of living, monitoring the prices of products
- 19 - That the state has no budget
- 20 - Treatment of the economic problems created by the COVID-19 crisis
- 21 - Domestic issues/society (general)
- 22 - Equality/inequality, equal rights/duties, equal opportunities (general)
- 23 - Social justice, decreasing societal gaps, classes, helping the weak, poverty, welfare
- 24 - Social Security payments
- 25 - Support for small businesses, care for the self-employed
- 26 - Making a living with honor, workers' rights
- 27 - Improving the situation of the middle class
- 28 - Housing, mortgages, real estate prices, municipal property taxes, young couples
- 29 - Professional training
- 30 - Youth, the younger generation
- 31 - The elderly, pensioners, the disabled, Holocaust survivors
- 32 - Education, higher education, kindergartens, schools, universities, research
- 33 - Health, medication, conditions in hospitals, shortage of medical doctors, COVID-19
- 34 - Crime, criminality, drugs, police enforcement, police performance
- 35 - Violence in society, violence in the education system
- 36 - Domestic violence, violence against women
- 37 - Transportation, car accidents, road infrastructure, traffic, busses availability
- 38 - Immigrant absorption, dealing with immigrants' problems
- 39 - Developing the settlements in the periphery
- 40 - The environment, environmental protection, animals protection, the climate crisis
- 41 - LGBT rights
- 42 - The status of women in society
- 43 - Religious-secular relations, the topic of religion (general)
- 44 - Concern for the religious/Jewish character of the state, supporting Yeshiva students, preventing Reform conversion
- 45 - Preventing religious coercion, separation of religion and state
- 46 - Drafting Haredim into the army (equal burden law), Haredim having too much influence/money, integration of ultra-Orthodox in the labor market
- 47 - Rights of Arab-Israeli citizens, equality between Jews and Arabs, co-existence

- 48 - Violence in the Arab sector, crime in the Arab sector, the illegal weapons problem
- 49 - Infrastructure in the Arab sector, access to services for the Arabic-speaking population
- 50 - Settling building permits in the Arab sector, ending building demolitions
- 51 - The problem of the Bedouin in the South
- 52 - Attentiveness to the citizens' needs, the service provided to citizens
- 53 - Bureaucracy, inefficacy of the public sector, good governance, proper prioritization
- 54 - Fighting corruption
- 55 - Protecting the legal system, rule of law, power separation, the lack of a constitution
- 56 - Courts having too much authority, The Supreme Court's takeover
- 57 - Mandatory vaccination, too many lockdowns / restrictions on gatherings, prevention of flights abroad
- 58 - Protecting democracy, human rights, personal liberties, freedom of speech
- 59 - Tolerance, pro-social behavior, humanistic values, human dignity, morality
- 60 - Racism
- 61 - Governance, system of government/elections, need for a functioning government
- 62 - Public trust in government, trust in politicians / elected representatives
- 63 - Replacing the prime minister
- 64 - Leftists, the media
- 65 - National unity, defragmentation of society, preventing a civil war
- 66 - Societal polarization, political fragmentation, ethnic tension, hate among social groups
- 67 - The happiness of citizens, the quality of life of citizens
- 68 - A lot/everything (without specification)
- 69 - The economic situation of the Arab sector, improving education in the Arab sector
- 70 - Increasing the representation of Arabs in politics
- 71 - To promote a free market
- 72 - Minorities
- 73 - Legalization
- 100 - Other (to be used only when absolutely necessary)
- 101 - No problems
- 102 - Don't know
- 103 - Refuses to answer

### Additional Codes for the Question on Fifth Election within Four Years

V601

- 9 - All the above
- 10 - Politicians' ego, politicians' selfishness
- 11 - Dysfunction of the government
- 12 - Loss of public trust in his elected representatives
- 13 - Lack of unity, the people are divided
- 14 - There is a political tie that cannot be changed, a cultural gap that cannot be bridged
- 15 - There are too many parties, the threshold of representation is too low
- 16 - The law according to which if there is no state budget the government dissolves
- 17 - The failure of the democratic system
- 18 - Voters vote stupidly, irrationally
- 19 - The left does not accept that the right has a majority, the left does not recognize Netanyahu's greatness
- 20 - Fabricating legal cases against Netanyahu
- 21 - A Corrupt prime minister
- 22 - The Israeli-Palestinian conflict
- 23 - This is the will of God
- 24 - Biased media

- 25 - The judicial system
- 26 - The right, no decision for the right, low voting percentage on the right, Jewish identity
- 98 - Don't know/ other / refuses

### **Additional Codes for the Question about for the Conflict Resolution**

V701

- 5 - There is no solution
- 10 - Transfer, deportation
- 11 - Jewish state (general)
- 12 - Greater Land of Israel, occupation of the territories
- 13 - Treat the Palestinians with a harsh hand, severe punishment for terrorists and supporters of terrorism
- 14 - Autonomy for the Palestinians. Give the Palestinians territories
- 15 - Paying the Palestinians, improving their lives, equalizing the Arabs
- 97 - Other
- 98 - Don't know / refuses

### **Additional Codes for the November 2022 Election Vote Questions**

V104+F2

- 16 - The New Economic Party (Yaron Zelekha)
- 17 - Tzeirim Boarim (Youths on Fire) (Hadar Muchtar)
- 18 - Ometz party (Zvika Granot)
- 19 - Economic Freedom (Abir Kara)
- 20 - Yachad (Eli Yishai)
- 21 - Kol Hasviva

### **Additional Codes for the Question about Expected/Preferred Coalition before the Election**

V106 + V107

- 15 - A coalition with right and Haredi parties only
- 16 - A coalition of the center-right without the Haredim
- 20 - A coalition headed by Bennett with Yesh Atid, Tikva Hadasha, Yisrael Beitenu, and the Haredim
- 24 - A coalition without Netanyahu
- 26 - A coalition with the Arab parties
- 27 - An Arab coalition with a Jewish minority
- 16 - A coalition of Blue and White, Yesh Atid, Haredim and the Labor party



- 17 - A right-center-left unity coalition without Netanyahu
- 18 - A coalition of the Likud, Blue and White, and the Haredim
- 19 - A coalition of the Likud and the National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti)
- 20 - A unity coalition without the Haredim
- 21 - A unity coalition without Netanyahu and without the Haredim
- 22 - A coalition of center parties only
  
- 40 - Any functioning coalition
- 41 - A coalition headed by honest / democratic / educated people
- 42 - No coalition will be formed and the Knesset will be dissolved
- 43 - Other / does not prefer any of the options
- 98 - Don't Know / Cannot assess

### Additional Codes for Ethnic Background (Self-Definition)

V131

- 5 - "half and half", "middle", "both"
  - 6 - None of them, nothing, not relevant
  - 10 - Israeli, Eretz Israeli, resident of the country
  - 11 - Sabra, native born
  - 12 - Jewish
  - 13 - Arab
  - 14 - Israeli Jew
  - 16 - Jewish convert
  - 17 - Christian
  - 18 - Chabad
  - 19 - Asian
  - 24 - Russian
  - 28 - Ethiopian
  - 30 - Moroccan
  - 31 - Yemenite
  - 36 - Bukhari
  - 37 - Ashkenazi and Arab
  - 38 - Atheist
  - 40 - A person, human being
  - 98 - Don't Know / Refuses
- "Ashkenazi Israeli" or "Ashkenazi Jew" are coded as 1  
"Sephardic Israeli" or "Sephardic Jew" are coded as 2  
"Half and half" or "in the middle" or "both" are coded as 5  
"Neither" or "Nothing" are coded as 6

## **Occupation**

Source: The Central Bureau of Statistics, The standard classification of occupations  
(2011)

V138

### **Managers**

- 11 - Legislators, senior officials, chief executives and managing directors
- 12 - Administrative and commercial managers
- 13 - Production and specialized services managers
- 14 - Hospitality, retail and other services managers

### **Professionals**

- 21 - Science and engineering professionals
- 22 - Health professionals
- 23 - Teaching professionals
- 24 - Business and administration professionals
- 25 - Information and communications technology professionals
- 26 - Legal, social and cultural professionals

### **Practical engineers, technicians, agents, and associate professionals**

- 31 - Science and engineering associate professionals
- 32 - Health associate professionals
- 33 - Business and administration associate professionals
- 34 - Legal, social, cultural and related associate professionals
- 35 - Information and communications practical engineers and technicians

### **Clerical support workers**

- 41 - General and keyboard clerks
- 42 - Customer services clerks
- 43 - Numerical and material recording clerks
- 44 - Other clerical support workers

### **Service and sales workers**

- 51 - Personal service workers
- 52 - Sales workers
- 53 - Personal care workers
- 54 - Protective services workers

### **Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers**

- 61 - Market-oriented skilled agricultural workers
- 62 - Market-oriented skilled forestry, fishery and hunting workers
- 63 - Subsistence farmers, fishers, hunters and gatherers

### **Tradesmen in manufacturing and construction and other tradesmen**

- 71 - Building and related trades workers (excluding electricians)
- 72 - Metal, machinery and related trades workers
- 73 - Handicraft and printing workers
- 74 - Electrical and electronic trades workers
- 75 - Food processing, woodworking, garment and other craft and related trades workers

### **Plant and machine operators, assemblers of products and machinery, and drivers**

- 81 - Stationary plant and machine operators
- 82 - Assemblers
- 83 - Drivers and mobile plant operators

### **Elementary occupations**

- 91 - Cleaners and helpers
- 92 - Agricultural, forestry and fishery labourers
- 93 - Labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport
- 94 - Food preparation assistants
- 95 - Street and related sales and service workers
- 96 - Refuse workers and other elementary workers

### **Armed forces occupations**

- 01 - Commissioned armed forces officers
- 02 - Non-commissioned armed forces officers
- 03 - Armed forces occupations, other ranks
- Unknown classification**
- XX - Unknown classification

**No occupational classification**

- Y1 - Unemployed persons who did not work
- Y2 - Persons not in the labour force who did not work

**Additional Codes for the Question about Preferred Coalition after the Election**

F9

- 12 - Right-wing coalition with Blue and White and with the support of Ra'am
- 19 - A coalition of Netanyahu's opponents led by Lapid, with Yamina and with the support of Ra'am
- 20 - A coalition of Netanyahu's opponents with a rotation between Gantz and Lapid
- 21 - A national unity government of all parties in the Knesset, national unity (general)
- 22 - A national unity government without the Haredim and without the Arabs
- 23 - The main thing is to have a right-wing coalition
- 24 - The main thing is to have a coalition of Netanyahu's opponents / a coalition without Netanyahu
- 25 - The main thing is to have a functioning coalition, which wants the best in the country, without corruption
- 27 - A coalition of the left-center with the Arab parties
- 28 - Right-wing coalition with the Likud, the National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti), Hatzionut Hadatit and the Haredim
- 29 - A coalition without the Likud and without the Haredim
- 30 - A moderate coalition without the Zionist camp and with Yesh Atid
- 31 - A coalition led by the Likud, the Haredim parties, Yesh Atid and the National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti)
- 32 - A unity government without Netanyahu
- 33 - Right-wing government led by the Likud, without the Haredim
- 34 - Right-wing coalition without the Hatzionut Hadatit and with the Likud without Netanyahu
- 35 - A coalition led by the Likud without Netanyahu, the National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti), and Yesh Atid
- 36 - A center-left coalition (regardless of which composition)
- 37 - A center coalition
- 38 - A coalition led by the Likud, the Hatzionut Hadatit, the National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti), and Yisrael Beitenu
- 39 - A coalition led by the Likud without Netanyahu, the National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti), Yesh Atid and Yisrael Beitenu
- 40 - A coalition with the Likud, Hatzionut Hadatit, Yesh Atid, and the National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti)
- 41 - A coalition led by Yisrael Beitenu, Yesh Atid, and the Labor
- 42 - A coalition Shas, Hatzionut Hadatit, and the Likud
- 43 - A center-right coalition with the religious parties
- 44 - A coalition led by the Likud, the Hatzionut Hadatit, Yesh Atid, and Israel Beitenu

- 45 - A coalition with the Likud without Netanyahu, Yesh Atid, the National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti), and Labor
- 46 - Right-wing government led by the Haredim parties and the National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti)
- 47 - A coalition led by the Likud, the National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti), and Hatzionut Hadatit
- 48 - A coalition led by Yesh Atid, the National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti), the Labor, Israel Beytinu, and Yahadut HaTorah (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah)
- 49 - A unity coalition without the Arab parties
- 50 - A coalition led by Yesh Atid, the Likud and the religious parties
- 51 - A coalition led by the Likud, Shas and the National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti)
- 52 - A coalition led by the Likud and the religious parties
- 53 - A coalition without Haredim
- 54 - A left-wing coalition
- 98 - It doesn't matter/ I don't know