

Israel National Election Study, April 9, 2019 **Pre and Post Election Inclusive Questionnaires**

Pre-election Inclusive Questionnaire – April 2019

Throughout the questionnaire: 98 Don't know/no answer; 99 Refuses to answer

1. Version

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

Hi, my name is..... I am an interviewer from Tel Aviv University.

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

It is very important that everyone who was sampled will participate in order to ensure the quality of the research.

Your answers will remain confidential and will be used only for the study.

2. How old are you _____ ?

Interview only 18 and above

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

136. What is your highest level of education:

1. Elementary school or less
2. Partial high school
3. Complete high school - without matriculation diploma
4. Complete high school with matriculation diploma
5. Post high school, non-academic (teacher's seminar, nursing school, engineering school, yeshiva)
6. Partial academic degree
7. Full academic degree - BA
8. Full academic degree - MA or higher

5. Are you an Israeli citizen?

1. Yes
2. No –End interview

Interview only Israeli citizens

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

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

7. What do you think about the way the government is handling the problems that exist in Israel today?

1. Handling them in a very good way
2. Handling them in a good way
3. Handling them in a bad way
4. Handling them very badly

8. In your opinion, what is the most important problem that the government has to deal with currently? (Note only 1 problem)

[To the interviewer: write the complete and exact response]: _____

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

13. What do you think Israel should focus on in order to prevent war with its neighbors?

1. Concentrate on peace talks
2. Increase its military strength

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 15-18 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)

18. Fourth?

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

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

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

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?

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

22. Recently, it has been argued that the investigations of the Prime Minister are part of a “witch hunt” against him by the media, the judicial system, and the police in order to bring an end to his rule.

On the other hand, others argue that the media, the judicial system, and the police are acting as expected of them when there is suspicion of public corruption.

Between these two arguments, with which do you tend to agree?

1. Investigations of the prime minister are part of a “witch hunt” against him or...
2. The media, judicial system, and police are acting as required

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

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
23	People with a high income should pay more taxes than they currently pay	4	3	2	1
24	Politicians do not take into account the opinion of the average citizen	4	3	2	1
25	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

Questions 26-30 only to Arab interviewees

26. There are those who argue that a Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel is the best way to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Others argue that one state between the sea and the Jordan river is the best way to solve the conflict.

With which of the two arguments do you tend to agree?

1. A Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel is the best solution
2. One state between the sea and the Jordan river is the best solution

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

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

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.

31. Is there, in Israel, a political party and/or politician that represent your views?

4. Definitely there is
3. I believe so
2. I don’t believe so
1. Definitely there is not

32. (For those who answered 3 or 4) Could you say which party and/or politician?

33. Overall, do the laws that are passed in the Knesset represent your views?
4. Yes, definitely
 3. I believe so
 2. I don't believe so
 1. Definitely not
34. Is there, in Israel, a political party which has representatives that are similar to you in their personal characteristics and background?
4. Definitely there is
 3. I believe so
 2. I don't believe so
 1. Definitely there is not
35. (For those who answered 3 or 4) Could you say which party and/or politician?
36. Does the Knesset represent people with personal characteristics and background such as yours?
4. Yes, definitely
 3. I believe so
 2. I don't believe so
 1. Definitely not
37. Is there a political party and/or politician that gives you a sense of belonging and pride in your identity?
4. Definitely there is
 3. I believe so
 2. I don't believe so
 1. Definitely there is not
38. (For those who answered 3 or 4) Could you say which party and/or politician?
39. Does the Knesset give you a sense of belonging and pride in your identity?
4. Yes, definitely
 3. I believe so
 2. I don't believe so
 1. Definitely not
40. Do the party and/or politician that you voted for use the authority you gave them responsibly?
4. Yes, definitely
 3. I believe so
 2. I don't believe so
 1. Definitely not
41. (For those who answered 3 or 4) Could you say which party and/or politician?
42. Does the Knesset use the authority we gave it responsibly, for the citizens?
4. Yes, definitely
 3. I believe so
 2. I don't believe so
 1. Definitely not
43. Think about your vote for a certain political party in the election. Which of the following is most important to you?
[mix up the order of 1-4]
1. That the party represents your positions on issues that are important to you
 2. That the party has individuals with similar characteristics and background to yours
 3. That the party gives you a sense of belonging and pride in your identity
 4. That the party uses the authority you gave it responsibly
44. And regarding the Knesset, of the following, which is most important to you?
[mix up the order of 1-4]
1. That the laws of the Knesset represent your positions on issues that are important to you
 2. That there is representation of people with characteristics and background like yours in the Knesset
 3. That the Knesset gives you a sense of belonging and pride in your identity
 4. That the Knesset uses the authority we gave it responsibly, for the public

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?

1. The Kahol-Lavan team
2. The Likud team
3. Do not read: Both equally
4. Do not read: Neither one

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

1. The Kahol-Lavan team
2. The Likud team
3. Do not read: Both equally
4. Do not read: 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 inbetween

		rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy
	Jewish Sector:												
A49	Likud	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
B49	Kahol-Lavan (Blue & White)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
C49	HaAvoda (Labor)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
D49	HaYamin HaHadash (The New Right)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
E49	HaBayit HaYehudi	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
F49	Meretz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
G49	Kulanu	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
H49	Yisrael Beiteinu	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
I49	Shas	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
S49	Otzma Yehudit	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
J49	Hadash-Ta'al	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
R49	Ra'am-Balad	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Arab Sector:												
J49	Hadash-Ta'al	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
R49	Ra'am-Balad	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A49	Likud	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
B49	Kahol-Lavan (Blue & White) – Benny Gantz & Yair Lapid)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
C49	HaAvoda (Labor)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
F49	Meretz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
G49	Kulanu (Kachlon)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
I49	Shas	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
S49	Otzma Yehudit	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

Mix order of questions 50-51:

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

rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy	cannot generalize [was not read]
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	95

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

rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy	cannot generalize [was not read]
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	95

52A. On the same scale, what is your attitude toward Benjamin Netanyahu? Rank your answer such that 0 is rejection/hatred, 10 is support/sympathy, and 5 is inbetween.

rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy
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 inbetween:

		rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy		
	Jewish Sector:														
A52	Benjamin Netanyahu	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
B52	Benny Gantz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
C52	Yair Lapid	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
D52	Avi Gabbay	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
E52	Naftali Bennett	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
F52	Bezael Smotrich	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
G52	Tamar Zandberg	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
H52	Moshe Kahlon	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
I52	Avigdor Lieberman	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
J52	Aryeh Deri	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
K52	Ayman Odeh	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
	Arab Sector:														
K52	Ayman Odeh														
R52	Ahmad Tibi	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
S52	Mansour Abbas	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
T52	Mtanes Shehadeh	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
U52	Aida Touma-Suleiman	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
A52	Benjamin Netanyahu	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
B52	Benny Gantz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
C52	Yair Lapid	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
D52	Avi Gabbay	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		
G52	Tamar Zandberg	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10		

53. What political tendency do you identify with?

1. Left
2. Moderate left
3. Center
4. Moderate right
5. Right
6. Do not read: religious
7. Do not read: do not identify with any

Ask questions 54-57 to those who responded 1-5 on question 53, and according to their answer to question 53:

54. How important to you is your identification as a [leftist / rightist / centrist]?

4. Very important
3. Quite important
2. Not so important
1. Not important at all

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

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
55	When someone criticizes [rightists/ leftists/ centrists] it feels like a personal insult	4	3	2	1
56	When you meet another supporter of the [right/ left/ center] you feel connected to him	4	3	2	1
57	When people say positive things about [rightists/ leftists/ centrists] it makes you feel good	4	3	2	1

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
58	Social-economic policy	5	4	3	2	1
59	State and religion	5	4	3	2	1
60	Peace and territories	5	4	3	2	1
61	Security and terrorism	5	4	3	2	1
62	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 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 territories	4	3	2	1
67	Security and terrorism	4	3	2	1
68	Corruption	4	3	2	1
69	Attitude towards democracy	4	3	2	1

Next is a list of characteristics of leaders. Please tell me about each if it suits more Benjamin Netanyahu or Benny Gantz:

[Mix up answers 1-2 in the following three questions]

70. Leadership ability:

1. Benny Gantz
2. Benjamin Netanyahu
3. Both
4. Neither

71. Cares about people like you:

1. Benny Gantz
2. Benjamin Netanyahu
3. Both
4. Neither

72. Integrity and decency:

1. Benny Gantz
2. Benjamin Netanyahu
3. Both
4. Neither

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

do not read _____

Correct response: [3.25%; or any percentage between 3-4%; or 4 mandates; or the number 4 alone]

1. Incorrect response [to the interviewer: write _____]
2. Don't know

75. To which party do you feel closest? (To the interviewer: do not read possible responses)

1	Likud	20	Yesh Atid
2	Kahol Lavan (Blue & White)	21	HaBayit HaYehudi
3	HaAvoda (Labor)	22	HaIchud HaLeumi
4	HaYamin HaHadash (The New Right)	23	Otzma Yehudit
5	The Union of Right-wing Parties (HaBayit HaYehudi + The National Union (HaIchud HaLeumi) + Jewish Power (Otzma Yehudit)	24	Agudat Israel
6	Meretz	25	Degel HaTorah
7	Yahaduth HaTorah (Agudath Israel + Degel HaTorah)	26	Hadash (Ayman Odeh)
8	Shas	27	Ta'al (Achmed Tibi)
9	Israel Beyteinu	28	Ra'am (Mansour Abbas)
10	Kulanu	29	Balad (Mtanes Shehadeh)
11	Hadash-Ta'al	30	Other (specify) _____
12	Ra'am-Balad		
13	Yachad (Eli Yishay)	96	Do not read: don't feel close to any party
14	Zehut (Moshe Feiglin)		
15	Gesher (Orly Levy-Abekasis)	98	Don't know/no answer
		99	Refuses to answer

Ask questions 76-79 interviewees who answer 1-30**76. To what extent is your identity as a supporter of [party mentioned by interviewee] important to you?**

4. Very important
3. Quite important
2. Not so important
1. Not at all important

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

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
77	When someone criticizes supporters of [the party mentioned] it feels like a personal insult	4	3	2	1
78	When you meet another supporter of [the party mentioned] you feel connected to him	4	3	2	1
79	When people say positive things about supporters of [the party mentioned] it makes you feel good	4	3	2	1

I will ask now a series of questions about the Knesset and the government.**To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the government:**

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
80	Members of the government come from all sectors of society	4	3	2	1
81	The government in Israel tailors its policy to the public's positions	4	3	2	1
82	The government makes most people feel a sense of belonging and pride	4	3	2	1

And to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the Knesset:

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
83	There is representation of the different groups of Israeli society in the current Knesset	4	3	2	1
84	The composition of the Knesset represents well the many viewpoints of the Israeli public	4	3	2	1
85	The Knesset inspires a sense of belonging and pride in most Israelis	4	3	2	1

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

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
86	Politicians make promises during the campaign that they have no intention of keeping	4	3	2	1
87	Most politicians in Israel are not corrupt	4	3	2	1
88	There is too much interference in the elections, such that the results don't reflect the voters' will	4	3	2	1
89	The electoral system in Israel distorts the voters' will	4	3	2	1

90. Of the following, what do you think is the biggest threat to the Israeli political system today?

[Mix up answers 1-4]

1. Corruption
2. Politicians who don't keep election promises
3. Interferences in the elections such that the results don't reflect the voter's will
4. The electoral system that distorts the voters' will

91. If you could pick one politician to represent you in the Knesset, which of the following characteristics would be most important to you?

[Mix up answers 1-6]

1. That he has the same level of education as you
2. That he/she be a man/woman like you [To the interviewer: match to the interviewee's gender]
3. That they keep, or don't keep, religious tradition to the same degree you do
4. That he belongs to the same ethnic group as you
5. That he comes from a similar economic class as you
6. That he is Jewish [for Jews] /Arab [for Arabs]
7. None of the above are important to me
8. Do not read: Other. Specify _____

Now we will ask about your use of media.

92. Do you use social media such as Whatsapp, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Telegram, etc?

1. No →Ask questions 93-95 and move on to question 104
2. Yes

Usually, to what extent do you use each of the following media channels to consume political information and news:

		Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Constantly
93	News websites or newspapers	1	2	3	4	5
94	News on one of the television channels	1	2	3	4	5
95	News on the radio	1	2	3	4	5
96	Social media such as Whatsapp, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Telegram, etc.	1	2	3	4	5

97. In the last week, how many times did content from politicians and political parties appear on your accounts on the social media platforms you are active on?

1. Never
2. Once a week
3. Two-three times a week
4. Almost daily
5. Several times per day

In the last week, how many times did you take one of the following actions on the social media platforms you are active on, such as Whatsapp, Facebook, Twitter, Telegram, etc?:

		Never	Once a week	Two-three times a week	Almost daily	Several times per day
98	Wrote on the Facebook page or Twitter account of a politician or party	1	2	3	4	5
99	Responded to content that a politician or political party posted	1	2	3	4	5
100	Shared content from a politician or political party	1	2	3	4	5
101	Read content from a politician or political party that appeared on your feed	1	2	3	4	5
102	“Followed” (did Like or Follow) the page of a politician or a political party on social media, or joined a politician or political party’s WhatsApp group	1	2	3	4	5
103	Wrote your opinion on a political topic on social media, or shared political content other people wrote	1	2	3	4	5

104. If the Knesset elections were to take place today, which party list would you vote for?

(To the interviewer: do not read)

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	13	Yachad (Eli Yishay)
2	Kahol Lavan (Blue & White – Benny Gantz and Yair Lapid)	14	Zehut (Moshe Feiglin)
3	Labor (Avi Gabbay)	15	Gesher (Orly Levy-Abekasis)
4	HaYamin HaHadash (The New Right – Bennett and Shaked)	16	Achi Yisraeli (Adina Bar-Shalom)
5	The Union of Right-wing Parties (HaBayit HaYehudi + The National Union (HaIchud HaLeumi) + Jewish Power (Otzma Yehudit)	17	Magen (Gal Hirsch)
6	Meretz	18	BeYachad (Yom Tov Samia)
7	Yahaduth HaTorah (Agudath Israel + Degel HaTorah)	30	Other (specify)_____
8	Shas	94	Don't plan on voting
9	Israel Beyteinu (Avigdor Lieberman)	96	Blank ballot
10	Kulanu (Moshe Kahlon)	97	Undecided
11	Hadash-Ta'al	98	Don't know/no answer
12	Ra'am-Balad	99	Refuses to answer

Do not ask Likud or Kahol-Lavan voters:**105. In these elections, the electoral threshold is such that only a party that will receive at least 4 seats will enter the Knesset.****If the surveys released during the last days of the campaign indicate that the party you intend to vote for will not necessarily pass the threshold, will this make you change your vote?**

1. No, it will not change my vote
2. Yes, it will make me change my vote and vote for another party that will pass the threshold according to the surveys
3. Yes, this will make me not to vote in the April 9th elections

105A. Which party _____**106. In your opinion, after the elections, the government will be based on:**

1. A coalition led by the Likud with right-wing parties
2. A coalition led by the Likud with parties from both sides of the political spectrum
3. A coalition led by Kahol-Lavan with center-left parties
4. A coalition led by Kahol-Lavan with parties from both sides of the political spectrum
5. A coalition of the Likud and Kahol-Lavan
6. Do not read: other _____

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

1. A coalition led by the Likud with right-wing parties
2. A coalition led by the Likud with parties from both sides of the political spectrum
3. A coalition led by Kahol-Lavan with center-left parties
4. A coalition led by Kahol-Lavan with parties from both sides of the political spectrum
5. A coalition of the Likud and Kahol-Lavan
6. Do not read: other _____

108. Which of the following party lists did you vote for in the 2015 Knesset elections?**(To the interviewer: do not read)**

1	Likud headed by Benjamin Netanyahu	17	Economics Party headed by the Goldstein Brothers
2	The Zionist Union headed by Yitzhak Herzog and Tzippi Livni	18	The Pirates
3	Kulanu headed by Moshe Kahlon	19	We Are All Friends Na Nach
4	Yesh Atid headed by Yair Lapid	20	Or
5	HaBayit HaYehudi headed by Naftali Benet	21	Social Leadership – Manhigut Hevratit
6	Israel Beiteinu headed by Avigdor Liberman	22	The People's Team – Nivheret Ha'am
7	Yahaduth HaTorah (Agudath Israel + Degel HaTorah)	23	Protecting Our Children – from pornography
8	Shas	24	Supporters of the Democratura
9	Meretz	25	Rent With Dignity
10	Yachad and Otzma le Yisrael headed by Eli Yishay	26	Perach VaNetz
11	The Joint List	30	Other (specify)_____
12	The Hope For Change	94	Didn't vote despite being eligible
13	The Arab List	95	Didn't vote because I wasn't eligible
14	U'Bizchutan	96	Blank ballot
15	The Greens	98	Don't know/don't remember
16	Green Leaf	99	Refuses to answer

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. 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

111. 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

112. To the best of your knowledge, who is the current Speaker of the Knesset? (Interviewer: do not read answers)

1. Yuli Edelstein (correct answer)
2. Wrong answer
3. I do not know

113. To the best of your knowledge, with which state did Israel recently renew diplomatic relations?

1. Don't know
2. Brazil
3. Saudi Arabia
4. North Korea
5. Chad

(Correct answer: 5)

114. How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically?

Rank your response on a scale of 1-10, where 1 means it is "not at all important" and 10 means "absolutely important" what position would you choose?

Absolutely important 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Not at all important

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," what position would you choose?

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 is "not satisfied at all" and 10 is "completely satisfied"

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

117. How important to you is your identity as an Israeli?

4. Very important
3. Quite important
2. Not so important
1. Not at all important

118. And how important to you is your identity as a Jew? (For Arabs: "as a Palestinian")

4. Very important
3. Quite important
2. Not so important
1. Not at all important

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

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
119	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
120	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 elections into consideration	4	3	2	1
121	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
122	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
123	We must secure the freedom of speech of people who speak out against the state	4	3	2	1
124	People who compromise in politics are actually selling out their principles	4	3	2	1

How much trust do you have in:

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

Finally a few personal details for statistical purposes:

129. What is your family status?

1. Married
2. Living with a regular partner
3. Divorced
4. Separated (living separately)
5. Widowed
6. Single, never married

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 131-135 only to Jewish interviewees

131. Where were you born?

1. Israel
2. Asia or Africa
3. Europe or America
4. Former USSR

132. Where was your father born?

1. Israel
2. Asia or Africa
3. Europe or America
4. Former USSR

133. Where was your mother born?

1. Israel
2. Asia or Africa
3. Europe or America
4. Former USSR

134. If you were not born in Israel, when did you immigrate to Israel? _____

135. How would you define yourself?

1. Ashkenazi
2. Sephardic
3. Mizrachi (To the interviewer: mark 3 if said: Oriental Jewery)
4. Other? _____
(To the interviewer: do not read responses 5 and 6, but mark if matches the interviewee's response for "other")
5. Mixed
6. None of the above, do not define myself by ethnic origin

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)

(To the interviewer: 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 15,000 NIS. Considering 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)? _____

142. What social class do you belong to?

1. Upper class
2. Upper middle class
3. Middle class
4. Lower class

143. 143. What is your religion?

1. Jewish
2. Muslim
3. Christian
4. Druze
5. Other

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

145. Place of Residence: _____

Thank you for your cooperation

146. Date of Interview: _____ **147. Interviewer number:** _____

148. Interview language: 1. Hebrew 2. Arabic **149. Sector:** 1 Jewish 2 Arab

150. Telephone: _____

151. Statistical area: _____

Post-election Questionnaire - April 2019

Throughout the questionnaire: 98 Don't know/no answer; 99 Refuses to answer

Hi, my name is _____ I am an interviewer from Tel Aviv University.

Before the elections we interviewed _____ and now we are calling back to the interviewees with a few questions. The survey will take no longer than 4-5 minutes.

Your answers will remain confidential and will be used only for the research.

To the interviewer: Interview only the person named on the list, no other relative

Id. ID number from the list: _____

To make sure we are interviewing the right person we'll ask some questions:

age. How old are you? _____

For those who did not answer:

age group. 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

Sex.

1. Male
2. Female

1. Did you vote in the last elections?

1. Yes
2. No → skip to question 3
3. White ballot

2. What party did you vote for in the last elections? [do not read answers]

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	13	Yachad (Eli Yishay)
2	Kahol Lavan (Blue & White – Benny Gantz and Yair Lapid)	14	Zehut (Moshe Feiglin)
3	Labor (Avi Gabbay)	15	Gesher (Orly Levy-Abekasis)
4	HaYamin HaHadash (The New Right – Bennett and Shaked)	16	Achi Yisraeli (Adina Bar-Shalom)
5	The Union of Right-wing Parties (HaBayit HaYehudi + The National Union (HaIchud HaLeumi) + Jewish Power (Otzma Yehudit)	17	Magen (Gal Hirsch)
6	Meretz	18	BeYachad (Yom Tov Samia)
7	Yahaduth HaTorah (Agudath Israel + Degel HaTorah)	30	Other (specify)_____
8	Shas		
9	Israel Beyteinu (Avigdor Lieberman)	94	Didn't vote
10	Kulanu (Moshe Kahlon)	96	Blank ballot
11	Hadash-Ta'al	98	Don't know/no answer
12	Ra'am-Balad	99	Refuses to answer

3. When did you make your final decision [to vote for the party he/she voted for/not to vote/to put a blank ballot]?

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

4. On Election Day, to what extent was it important to you personally that the next government will be a right-wing government or a left-wing government?

1. Not at all important
2. Slightly important
3. Somewhat important
4. Quite important
5. Very important

5. 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

**There are various opinions on what the elections “were about”.
I will read several statements presenting different opinions on the matter.
To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of them?**

		Completely Agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Completely Disagree
A6	The elections were a referendum on Netanyahu as Prime Minister	5	4	3	2	1
B6	The elections were mainly about the future of democracy in Israel	5	4	3	2	1
C6	The elections indicate that the people have had enough with the media being against Netanyahu	5	4	3	2	1
D6	The elections were mainly about how to deal with the security threats around us	5	4	3	2	1
E6	The elections indicated that the people are satisfied with the socio-economic situation	5	4	3	2	1
F6	The elections were about the status of Arab citizens of Israel given the “Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People” (“Hok HaLe’om”)	5	4	3	2	1
G6	The elections indicate that the people want large political parties	5	4	3	2	1
H6	The elections indicate that the people want the Right	5	4	3	2	1
I6	The elections were mainly about Netanyahu’s corruption investigations	5	4	3	2	1
J6	The elections indicate that the people are loyal to Eretz Israel and support annexation	5	4	3	2	1

(Each time in Hebrew “the people” is mentioned, replace in Arabic with “voters”)

7. All in all, in your opinion what were the elections about? Was it: (one answer only)

[Mix up answers 1-5]

1. About the conflict with the Palestinians
2. About the future of democracy in Israel
3. About security threats and how to handle them
4. About the social and economic issues
5. About Netanyahu: whether or not he can be trusted

In these elections there was much talk about Right and Left in politics.

[Mix A8 and B8]

8A. What is Right as you understand it? (To the interviewer: write complete answer)

8B. What is Left as you understand it? (To the interviewer: write complete answer)

9. **And now given the election results - which coalition would you prefer?**

1. Likud led coalition with the religious, orthodox, and secular right-wing parties
2. A unity government of the Likud and Blue and White (“Kahol-Lavan”)
3. Do not read: a different coalition. Which _____
4. Do not read: neither one

110. **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

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

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

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

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

Questions 12A-14A only to Jewish interviewees

12A. **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?**

[To the interviewer: one event only]

13A. **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?**

[To the interviewer: one event only]

14A. **Who, in your opinion, is the most influential figure in the history of the state of Israel and the people of Israel (Am Israel)?**

[To the interviewer: one person only]

Questions 12B-14B only to Arabs interviewees

12B. 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?

[To the interviewer: one event only]

13B. 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?

[To the interviewer: one event only]

14B. Who, in your opinion, is the most influential figure in the history of the state of Israel and the Arab-Israeli citizens?

[To the interviewer: one person only]

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

19. Telephone number: _____

Additional Codes for Election Study, April 2019

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- The demographic problem, maintaining a Jewish majority
- 9- The Arabs (without specification)
- 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, establishing a Palestinian state, Jerusalem
- 14- Settling the relationship with Arab states
- 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- A freer market, less government intervention in the market
- 20- Centralization of the economy, the wealthy few, the large corporations
- 21- Domestic issues/society (general)
- 22- Equality/inequality, equal rights/responsibilities (general)
- 23- Social justice, decreasing societal gaps, classes, helping the weak, poverty, welfare
- 24- Social Security payments
- 25- Improving the situation of residents in the periphery
- 26- Making a living with honor, workers' rights, support for small businesses
- 27- Improving the situation of the middle class
- 28- Housing, mortgages, real estate prices, municipal property taxes, young couples
- 29- Service conditions of IDF soldiers, taking care of lone soldiers, aid to soldiers released from the IDF
- 30- Youth, the younger generation, children
- 31- The elderly, pensioners, the disabled, Holocaust survivors
- 32- Education, higher education, kindergartens, schools, universities, research, culture, sports
- 33- Health, medication, conditions in hospitals, health insurance
- 34- Crime, criminals, drugs, police enforcement, police functioning
- 35- Violence (without specification)
- 36- Domestic violence, violence against women
- 37- Transportation, car accidents, road infrastructure, traffic, public transportation (busses, trains)
- 38- Immigrant absorption, dealing with immigrant problems
- 39- Preventing emigration from the country
- 40- The environment, environmental protection, animal rights protection
- 41- Legalizing cannabis, medical marijuana
- 42- The LGBT community, LGBT rights
- 43- Religious-secular relations, the topic of religion (general)
- 44- Concern for the religious/Jewish character of the state, respecting religion/Yeshiva students, keeping the Sabbath

- 45- Preventing religious coercion, separation of religion and state, civil marriage (not through Rabbinate)
- 46- Drafting Haredim into the army (equal burden laws), Haredim having too much influence/money
- 47- Rights of Arab-Israeli citizens, equality between Jews and Arabs, co-existence
- 48- Violence in the Arab sector, crime/drugs/weapons in the Arab sector
- 49- Infrastructure and transportation in Arab cities and villages
- 50- Settling building permits in the Arab sector, ending building demolitions
- 51- Cancellation of the 'Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People' basic law
- 52- Foreign workers in Israel, illegal immigrants, infiltrators
- 53- Bureaucracy, inefficacy of the public sector, good governance, proper prioritization
- 54- Fighting corruption, corrupt politicians
- 55- Protecting the legal system, protecting the status of the Supreme Court, rule of law
- 56- Courts having too much authority, overly activist justice system
- 57- The media having too much influence
- 58- Protecting democracy, human rights, personal liberties, freedom of speech
- 59- Tolerance, pro-social behavior, mutual responsibility, humanistic values, human dignity
- 60- Racism
- 61- Governance, system of government/elections, lack of a constitution
- 62- Public trust in government, trustworthiness of politicians
- 63- Performance of the prime minister
- 64- Leftists, left-wing parties, left-wing NGOs
- 65- National unity, defragmentation of society, preventing a civil war
- 66- Societal polarization, political fragmentation, hate among social groups
- 67- Wellbeing of citizens, good quality of life
- 68- A lot/everything (without specification)
- 69- Other (**to be used only when absolutely necessary**)
- 70- No problems
- 71- Don't know / refuses to answer

Additional Codes for the Question to Which Party do You Feel Closest

V75

- 31 – The Joint List (“HaReshima HaMeshutefet”)
- 32 – The Original “Mafdal”
- 33 – Green Leaf (“Aleh Yarok”)
- 34 – Social Justice (“Tzedek Hevrati”)
- 41 – Labour and Meretz
- 42 – Center-Left bloc
- 43 – Center parties
- 95 – All parties
- 96 – No party
- 97 – Undecided

Additional Codes for the April 2019 Election Vote Question

V104 + V2_after

- 19 – Social Justice (“Tzedek Hevrati”)
- 20 – Justice for All (“Tzedek LaKol”)
- 31 – A religious list
- 32 – An Arab list

Additional codes for the Alternative Vote Question

V105A

- 11 – The Likud
- 12 – Blue and White
- 13 – Labour
- 14 – The New Right (“HaYamin HaHadash”)
- 15 – The Union of Right-Wing Parties
- 16 – Meretz
- 17 – United Torah Judaism (UTJ)
- 18 – Shas
- 19 – Israel Our Home (“Yisrael Beitenu”)
- 20 – Hadash/Ta’al
- 21 – Kulanu
- 22 – Zehut
- 23 – Gesher
- 31 – Another Leftist party
- 31 – Another Right-wing party
- 33 – Another Arab party
- 41 – Whoever is the closest/most similar (in opinion/ideology)
- 42 – Whoever would pass the threshold according to surveys
- 43 – A larger/stronger party
- 44 – Any party that would remove Netanyahu
- 91 – Undecided
- 92 – Have yet to decide
- 93 – Don’t know
- 94 – Refuses to answer

Additional Codes for the Question about Preferred Coalition

V106 + V107 + V9_after

- 11 – Blue and White with part of the Likud
- 12 – The Likud with part of Blue and White
- 13 – A coalition of the Likud and Blue and White, headed by the Likud
- 14 – A coalition of Likud and the Haredi parties
- 15 – A coalition headed by Labour
- 16 – A coalition of the Likud and Blue and White with the Left
- 17 – A coalition headed by Blue and White
- 18 – A coalition of Blue and White and the Haredi parties
- 21 – A coalition without religious/Haredi parties
- 22 – A coalition that includes Arab parties
- 23 – Any coalition headed by Netanyahu
- 24 – Any coalition in which Netanyahu is not Prime Minister
- 25 – A coalition that includes Bennet/The New Right
- 26 – A coalition that will advance peace
- 31 – Unity of all parties
- 32 – Maintaining the status quo
- 41 – Difficult to say/evaluate
- 42 – It doesn’t matter / It’s not important / It’s not relevant

Additional Codes for the 2015 Vote Question

V108

- 27 – Whole Nation (“Am Shalem”)
- 28 – Emet Movement (“Tnuat Emet”)
- 29 – Yahav
- 31 – A left-wing party
- 32 – A right-wing party
- 97 – Wasn’t in Israel
- 98 – Doesn’t remember

Additional Codes for Ethnic Background (Self-Definition)

V135

- 10 – Israeli, citizen of the country, resident of the country
- 11 – Sabra, native born
- 12 – Jewish
- 13 – Arab
- 14 – Israeli Jew
- 15 – Jerusalemite
- 21 – European
- 22 – Bulgarian
- 23 – Romanian
- 24 – Russian
- 25 – American
- 26 – Khafkazi
- 27 – Georgian
- 28 – Ethiopian
- 29 – Buddhist
- 30 – Moroccan
- 31 – Yemenite
- 32 – Iraqi
- 33 – Tunisian
- 34 – Hasidic
- 35 – Mediterranean
- 40 – A person, human being, man/woman
- 41 – Citizen of the world, cosmopolitan

“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

Code for Open Questions on the Meaning of Right and Left in Politics
(Post-Election Survey April 2019)

Definition of Right V8A_after

- 41 – Right = not relinquishing the territories / unwillingness for concessions in negotiations
- 42 – Right = opposition to a Palestinian state, one state for everyone
- 43 – Right = Greater Israel, love of the land of Israel, annexing the territories
- 44 – Right = hawks
- 45 – Right = Revisionist ideology
- 46 – The right is against evacuating settlements, in favor of expanding settlements, cares for the settlers
- 47 – The right is against peace at any cost, doesn't believe in the possibility of achieving peace
- 48 – The right protects security, fights terror, strengthens the IDF, protects the residents of the country
- 49 – The right knows how to stand up to international pressure, maintains policy independence

- 50 – The right is in favor of maintaining the socio-economic status quo
- 51 – Right = capitalism, free market
- 52 – Right = the civilian camp, economic liberalism, citizen independence from authorities
- 53 – The right protects the interests of the wealthy / the rich / the large corporations
- 54 – Right = privatization
- 55 – The right is real democracy
- 56 – The right is in favor of religion / the religious / the ultra-Orthodox (Haredim)
- 57 – The right cares about maintaining the Jewish / religious character of the state
- 58 – The right is connected to Jewish tradition / heritage
- 59 – The right is against the separation of the state and religion

- 60 – Right = the Jewish state, the state of the Jewish people, Jewish sovereignty
- 61 – The right is against Arabs, discriminates against Arabs, rights for Jews only
- 62 – The right harms democracy, wants a strong leader, doesn't protect individual rights / liberties
- 63 – The right = Zionism
- 64 – The right is patriotic, acts in favor of the state, cares for the Jewish people, protects national unity
- 65 – Right = racism, fascism
- 66 – Right = nationalism
- 67 – Right = Mizrahim
- 68 – Right = The Likud, Habayit Hayehudi, The Union of Right-Wing Parties, Yisrael Beiteinu, Shas, Zehut
- 69 – Right = Benjamin Netanyahu, Naftali Bennet, Smotrich, Avigdor Liberman, Itamar Ben-Gvir

- 70 – The right is realistic, sane
- 71 – The right is hardliners, zealots, fanatics, fixed mindset
- 72 – The right is extremist
- 73 – The right is conservative
- 74 – The right is innovative, active, proactive, strong
- 75 – Right = ignorance, lack of rationality, lack of education
- 76 – The right encourages partisanship and hatred

- 77 – Right = militarism, forcefulness, violence
- 78 – The right emphasizes the collective, the nation, the family
- 79 – The right focuses on state-security issues
- 80 – The right is corrupt

General Categories

- 81 – A format for running the country
- 82 – A worldview, life philosophy, ideology
- 83 – A way of thinking and looking at things
- 84 – Left is positive, and right is negative (positive association with left and/or negative association with right without a substantive claim)
- 85 – Right is positive, and left is negative (positive association with right and/or negative association with left without a substantive claim)
- 86 – The right is in favor of Netanyahu and the left is against Netanyahu

- 91 – The difference is only historic (once there were differences, but today there are none)
- 92 – The difference is only in rhetoric and not in action, different ways of expression and marketing
- 93 – There is no difference, there is almost no difference, everyone is the same
- 94 – The way we interpret these terms is wrong
- 95 – in Israel there is no left, only right
- 96 – in Israel there is no right, only left
- 97 – Other (**to be used only when absolutely necessary**)
- 98 – Doesn't know, has no clue, doesn't understand, cannot say
- 99 – Refuses to answer

Definition of Left V8B_after

- 1 – Left = relinquishing the territories / willingness for concessions in negotiations / against “one Israel”
- 2 – Left = a Palestinian state, two states for two peoples
- 3 – Left = cooperating with the Arabs, trusting the Arabs, loving the Arabs
- 4 – Left = doves
- 5 – The left is against the occupation
- 6 – The left supports evacuating settlements
- 7 – The left wants peace, and believes in the ability to achieve peace
- 8 – The left endangers security, is willing to forgo security interests, harms the IDF
- 9 – The left capitulates to international pressure, does what the world wants

- 10 – The left is in favor of changing the existing socio-economic order
- 11 – Left = socialism, government intervention in the economy
- 12 – Left = working class, the workers' camp
- 13 – The left cares for the disadvantaged/poor, a welfare state, social justice
- 14 – The left supports liberalism, is more liberal
- 15 – The left is in favor of separation of powers, the status of the Supreme Court, the rule of law
- 16 – The left is against religion / the religious / ultra-orthodox (Haredim)
- 17 – The left is responsible for losing the religious / Jewish character of the state
- 18 – The left is disconnected from Jewish tradition / heritage
- 19 – The left wants to separate the state and religion, aims for a secular state

- 20 – Left = a state for all its citizens
- 21 – Left = Equal rights for Arabs/minorities, advancement of the Arab population of Israel
- 22 – Left = democracy, freedom, humanism, justice, tolerance, pluralism, human rights

- 23 – The left is more Zionist, true Zionism
- 24 – Left = traitors, unpatriotic, not for the good of the state, not Zionist, Israel-hating
- 25 – Left = cosmopolitan, open to the world
- 26 – Left = bleeding hearts, “the state of Tel Aviv”
- 27 – Left = Ashkenazis
- 28 – Left = the Alignment, Mapai, Mapam, Labour, Blue and White, Meretz, Hadash
- 29 – Left = Benny Gantz, Yair Lapid, Avi Gabbai, Tamar Zandberg

- 30 – The left is idealistic, naïve, optimistic, detached from reality, not relevant
- 31 – The left is flexible, compromising, pragmatic
- 32 – The left is moderate, brings hope, wants a better future
- 33 – The left is open to change, permissive
- 34 – The left is indifferent, passive, reactive, weak
- 35 – Left = Enlightenment, education, culture, intellectuals
- 36 – The left is snobby, elitist, arrogant, hypocritical / fake
- 37 – Left = less forceful, more diplomatic
- 38 – The left emphasizes the individual
- 39 – The left focuses on socio-economic issues
- 40 – The left is less corrupt, fights corruption

General Categories

- 81 – A format for running the country
- 82 – A worldview, life philosophy, ideology
- 83 – A way of thinking and looking at things
- 84 – Left is a positive thing, and right is a negative thing (positive association with left and/or negative association with right without a substantive claim)
- 85 – Right is positive, and left is negative (positive association with right and/or negative association with left without a substantive claim)
- 86 – The right is in favor of Netanyahu and the left is against Netanyahu

- 91 – The difference is only historic (once there were differences, but today there are none)
- 92 – The difference is only in rhetoric and not in action, different ways of expression and marketing
- 93 – There is no difference, there is almost no difference, everyone is the same
- 94 – The way we interpret these terms is wrong
- 95 – in Israel there is no left, only right
- 96 – in Israel there is no right, only left
- 97 – Other (**to be used only when absolutely necessary**)
- 98 – Doesn't know, has no clue, doesn't understand, cannot say
- 99 – Refuses to answer