

Israel National Election Study, March 23, 2021

Pre-election Questionnaire

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

Telephone Survey Introduction

Hi, my name is..... I am an interviewer from the research institute of Tel Aviv University.

You were chosen randomly to participate in an academic study dealing with various issues on the agenda.

It is very important that everyone who was sampled will participate in the survey, to ensure its quality.

Your opinion is very important to us and we will be grateful if you participate in the survey.

We guarantee that your answers will be kept confidentially according to the ethical rules the researchers are committed to, and will be used only for research.

All the data we collect is completely anonymous, so there is no way to connect your personal information to your replies.

Any question you do not want to answer can be skipped.

Internet Survey 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.

Respondent ID _____

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

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

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. 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?

- a. Very religious, Haredi (Arabs: very religious)
- b. Religious
- c. Traditional religious
- d. Traditional, not so religious
- e. Non-religious, secular

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

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

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

601. Israel is holding an election for the fourth time within less than two 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. The difficulty to handle the Covid-19 crisis and its economic and social implications
4. Ideological differences between the parties in the coalition
5. Do not read: other: _____

602. Compared to your economic situation a year ago, namely before the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, has your personal economic situation today:

1. Improved a lot
2. Improved a little
3. Not changed
4. Deteriorated a little
5. Deteriorated a lot

603. To what extent are you worried or not worried that your family members might get hurt from Covid-19?

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

604. What do you think about the way the government is handling the Covid-19 crisis?

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

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)

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

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

Questions 26-30, 502, 605 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
502	The Arab Parties (HaReshima HaMeshutefet and Ra'am) should be active in order to enter into the coalition	4	3	2	1
605	The split in HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) harms the interests of the Arab population	4	3	2	1

503A. Do you think Netanyahu can continue serving as prime minister while under trial?

1. He definitely can
2. He can
3. He can not
4. He definitely can not

To what extent do you agree or disagree that:

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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

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

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

606. Have you participated in a demonstration in the past year?

1. Haven't participated
2. Participated in one protest
3. Participated about 2-3 times
4. Participated approximately once a month
5. Participated once a week or more

607. Who in your opinion will deal best with the Covid-19 crisis?

[mix up the order of 2-4]

1. Netanyahu
2. Sa'ar
3. Lapid
4. Bennett
5. Do not read: Both equally
6. Do not read: Neither one

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

[mix up the order of 2-4]

1. Netanyahu
2. Sa'ar
3. Lapid
4. Bennett
5. Do not read: Both equally
6. Do not read: Neither one

Only in internet panel:

The following question is an attention check, choose the value "very good":

1. Excellent
2. Very good
3. Good
4. Bad
5. Very bad
6. Refuse

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
	Jewish Sector:												
49A	Likud	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49B	Kahol-Lavan (Blue & White)	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	
49F	Meretz	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	
49Z	Yesh Atid	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49X	Tikva Hadasha (New Hope)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49D	Yamina	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	
49J	HaReshima HaMeshutefet	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49Y	Ra'am (headed by Mansour Abbas)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Arab Sector:												
49J	HaReshima HaMeshutefet	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49Y	Ra'am (headed by Mansour Abbas)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49A	Likud	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49C	HaAvoda (Labor)-Gesher-Meretz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49F	Meretz	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	

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
	Jewish Sector:												
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	
52E	Naftali Bennett	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
52Z	Gideon Sa'ar	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
52D	Merav Michaeli	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
52G	Nitzan Horowitz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
52K	Ayman Odeh	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
52S	Mansour Abbas	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

	Arab Sector:											
52K	Ayman Odeh	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
52S	Mansour Abbas	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
52R	Ahmad Tibi	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
52A	Benjamin Netanyahu	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
52D	Merav Michaeli	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
52G	Nitzan Horowitz	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

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
608	The handling of the Covid-19 crisis	4	3	2	1

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

[To the interviewer: do not read answers]

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	12	HaReshima HaMeshufet (Joint List) (Hadash-Ta'al-Balad) (Ayman Odeh)
2	Kahol-Lavan (Benny Gantz)	13	Ra'am (Mansour Abbas)
3	Yesh Atid (Yair Lapid)	14	HaMiflaga HaCalalit (Yaron Zalicha)
4	Tikva Hadasha (Gideon Sa'ar)	15	Ma'an (Mohammad Darawshe)
5	HaAvoda (Merav Michaeli)		
6	Meretz (Nitzan Horowitz)	30	Other (specify): _____
7	Yamina (Naftali Bennett)	94	Doesn't intend to vote
8	Hatzionut Hadatit (Bezalel Smotrich & Itamar Ben-Gvir)	96	Blank Ballot
9	Yisrael Beitenu (Avigdor Lieberman)	97	Undecided/debating
10	Shas (Aryeh Deri)	98	No response / Doesn't know
11	Yahadut HaTorah (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah) (Moshe Gafni)	99	Refuses to answer

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

	Don't ask those who answered 1 in question 104	Will greatly influence	Will somewhat influence	Will have little influence	Will not influence at all
609	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

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 the Likud with right-wing without Haredi parties
3. A coalition of Tikva Hadasha, right-wing and Haredi parties
4. A coalition of Yesh Atid, Tikva Hadasha, Yamina, Yisrael Beitenu, Kahol-Lavan, HaAvoda and Meretz
5. A coalition of center, left and right parties, with support of the HaReshima HaMeshutefet from the outside
6. A unity government of Likud and parties from the center-left block
7. No coalition will be formed and the Knesset will dissolve
8. Do not read: other _____

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

1. A coalition of the Likud with right-wing and Haredi parties
2. A coalition of the Likud with right-wing without Haredi parties
3. A coalition of Tikva Hadasha, right-wing and Haredi parties
4. A coalition of Yesh Atid, Tikva Hadasha, Yamina, Yisrael Beitenu, Kahol-Lavan, HaAvoda and Meretz
5. A coalition of center, left and right parties, with support of the HaReshima HaMeshutefet from the outside
6. A unity government of Likud and parties from the center-left block
8. Do not read: other _____

610. What party list did you vote for in the last Knesset election, held a year ago, in March 2020? [To the interviewer: do not read answers]

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	30	Other (specify): _____
2	Kahol-Lavan (Benny Gantz)	94	Didn't vote despite being eligible
3	HaAvoda-Gesher-Meretz (Amir Peretz)	95	Didn't vote because I wasn't eligible
5	Yamina (Naftali Bennett)	96	Blank Ballot
19	Otzma Yehudit (Itamar Ben-Gvir)	98	No response / Doesn't know
7	Yahadut HaTorah (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah) (Yakov Litzman)	99	Refuses to answer
8	Shas (Aryeh Deri)		
9	Yisrael Beitenu (Avigdor Lieberman)		
11	HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) (Hadash-Ta'al-Ra'am-Balad) (Ayman Odeh)		

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

612. In the last week, which of the following actions did you take on the internet?

0. I don't use the internet at all
1. Followed a political party or a politician on social media or on websites
2. Wrote about the election or shared content on social media or a news website
3. Both followed and wrote
4. I use the internet but I haven't done any of these actions

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

(To the interviewer: Do not read and write the response): _____

1. Correct response: [3.25%; or any percentage between 3-4%; or 4 mandates; or the number 4 alone]
2. Incorrect response [To the interviewer: write _____]
3. Don't know

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

(To the interviewer: do not read answers)

1. Esther Hayut (correct answer)
2. Wrong answer [To the interviewer: write _____]
3. Don't know

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

Only in internet panel:

The following question is an attention check, choose the number 4:

- 1 2 3 4 5 6. Refuse

Questions in the Telephone Survey only:

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

613. And who do you feel represented you more in the past year, the political party or politician you voted for or other politicians and political parties?

1. Those who I voted for
2. Those who I did not vote for
3. Do not read: both
4. Do not read: neither
5. Do not read: didn't vote

614. And who do you feel represented you more in the past year, the political parties or politicians or other entities and people outside the political system?

1. Political parties and politicians in the political system
2. Entities and people outside the political system
3. Do not read: both
4. Do not read: neither

[Only for those who answered 2 or volunteered the response "both" in question 614 (i.e., mentioned entities and people outside the political system)]

615. Which entities and people outside the political system represented you? _____

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 election, such that the results don't reflect the voter's will	4	3	2	1
89	The electoral system in Israel distorts the voter's 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 the order of 1-4]

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

616. Compared to other democracies, in your opinion, is the political system in Israel stable or unstable?

1. Very stable
2. Stable
3. Like others
4. Unstable
5. Very unstable

617. And in your opinion, do governments in Israel survive a shorter, similar, or a longer period of time, compared to other democracies?

1. A much longer period
2. A longer period
3. A similar period to governments in other democracies
4. A shorter period
5. A much shorter period

618. And compared to other democracies, in your opinion, are governments in Israel successful or not successful in passing the policy they want?

1. Very successful
2. Successful
3. Like others
4. Not successful
5. Not successful 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

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 election into consideration	4	3	2	1
619	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
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 too	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

Questions in the Internet Panel only:

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? (Note one main factor)

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

620. 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?

		Left											Right	Don't know
A620	Likud	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
B620	Kahol-Lavan (Blue & White)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
Z620	Yesh Atid	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
C620	HaAvoda (Labor)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
F620	Meretz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
X620	Tikva Hadasha (New Hope)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
D620	Yamina	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
S620	Hatzionut Hadatit (Religious Zionist Party)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
H620	Yisrael Beiteinu	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
I620	Shas	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
K620	Yahadut Hatora	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
J620	HaReshima HaMeshufetet	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	
Y620	Ra'am (headed by Mansour Abbas)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98	

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

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

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	

622. Don't ask Haredim: On a scale where 0 is complete rejection/hatred, 10 is complete support, and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward Haredim?

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

623. Only to Jewish interviewees: On a scale where 0 is complete rejection/hatred, 10 is complete support, and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward Arabs?

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

Only to Jewish interviewees:

15. 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.

15A. Of the following four values, which is the 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)

15B. And of the following four values, 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)

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

Questions in both Telephone Survey and Internet Panel

Finally, a few personal details for statistical purposes only:

Questions 513, 134, 137 only to Jewish interviewees

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
9. Do not read: refuses to answer

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

143. What is your religion?

- a. Jewish
- b. Muslim
- c. Christian
- d. Druze
- e. Other

139. The average monthly household expenditure in Israel is approximately 16,500 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)? _____

145. Place of Residence: _____

147. Thank you for your time. It will be very important to us to return to you after the election with only 10 questions. Will you agree to that?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

Thank you for your cooperation

date. Date of Interview: _____

num. Interviewer number: _____

language. Interview language: 1. Hebrew 2. Arabic

sector. Sector: 1 Jewish 2 Arab

Telephone: _____

Id from list: _____

Post-Election Questionnaire

Throughout the questionnaire: 98 and/or 8 Don't know; 99 and/or 9 No answer/refuses to answer

Telephone Survey Introduction

Hi, my name is _____ and I am an interviewer from the research institute of Tel Aviv University. Before the election we interviewed you and now we are calling back to the interviewees with only 10 questions. The survey will take only 4-5 minutes.

Your opinion is very important to us and therefore we will be grateful if you participate in the survey.

We guarantee that your answers will be kept confidentially according to the ethical rules the researchers are committed to, and will be used only for research. All the data we collect is completely anonymous, so there is no way to connect your personal information to your replies.

Any question you do not want to answer can be skipped.

Id. ID number from the list: _____

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

1. Yes
2. No

To make sure we are interviewing the right person we will ask some details:

To the interviewer: Interview only the person named on the list, not any other relative

age. How old are you? _____

For those who did not answer:

agegroup. 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. Sex

1. Male
2. Female

To the interviewer: write notes regarding the interviewee's identification, if these are available

Internet Survey 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

Questions in both Telephone Survey and Internet Panel

F1. Did you vote in the last Knesset election?

1. Yes
2. No → skip to question F3 (mark 94 in question F2)
3. Blank ballot → skip to question F3 (mark 96 in question F2)

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

[To the interviewer: do not read answers]

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	11	Yahadut HaTorah (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah) (Moshe Gafni)
2	Kahol-Lavan (Benny Gantz)	12	HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) (Hadash-Ta'al-Balad) (Ayman Odeh)
3	Yesh Atid (Yair Lapid)	13	Ra'am (Mansour Abbas)
4	Tikva Hadasha (Gideon Sa'ar)	14	HaMiflaga HaCalalit (Yaron Zalicha)
5	HaAvoda (Merav Michaeli)	15	Ma'an (Mohammad Darawshe)
6	Meretz (Nitzan Horowitz)		
7	Yamina (Naftali Bennett)	30	Other (specify): _____
8	Hatzionut Hadatit (Bezalel Smotrich & Itamar Ben-Gvir)	94	Didn't vote
9	Yisrael Beitenu (Avigdor Lieberman)	96	Blank Ballot
10	Shas (Aryeh Deri)	99	Refuses to answer

F3. When did you reach your final decision [to vote for the party you voted for / not to vote / to put a blank ballot]?

[Internet panel: When did you reach your final decision for whom to vote or not to vote or 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

F4. 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

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 peace accords and 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. The handling of Covid-19
6. State and religion relations
7. Netanyahu: Whether he should continue to lead the country
8. Do not read: Don't know
9. Do not read: No answer / Refuse to answer

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

1. In favor of including the Arab parties in the government
 2. In favor of Arab parties supporting the government from outside
 3. Oppose both including the Arab parties in the government and them supporting from outside
- [**Note to interviewer:** if the interviewee is in favor of 1 and 2, mark 1.]

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

1. A right-wing coalition headed by Netanyahu with Bennett and with the support of Ra'am (Mansour Abbas's party)
2. A right-wing coalition headed by Netanyahu with Bennett and with several party members from the opposing block, without the support of Ra'am
3. A coalition of Netanyahu opposers, with rotation between Bennett and Lapid, and the support of one or the two Arab parties.
4. A coalition of Netanyahu opposers, headed by Lapid, without Bennett, with the support of the two Arab parties.
5. Do not read: A different coalition. Which: _____
6. Do not read: None of the above
7. Do not read: I don't care which government it is, as long as there will be one
98. Do not read: Don't know
99. Do not read: No answer / refuses to answer

N2. And of the two following options, which do you prefer?

1. That the party you voted for will break its promise regarding who it will not sit with, in order for a government to form
2. To have a fifth election

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
8. Do not read: Don't know
9. Do not read: No answer / refuses to answer

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
8. Do not read: Don't know
9. Do not read: No answer / refuses to answer

Only in the Internet Panel

And finally, 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
49S	Hatzionut Hadatit (Religious Zionist Party)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49D	Yamina	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49J	HaReshima HaMeshutefet	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
49Y	Ra'am (headed by Mansour Abbas)	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	

Thank you very much for your cooperation

<p>15. <u>Date of interview:</u> _____</p> <p>17. <u>Language of the interview:</u> 1. Hebrew 2. Arabic</p>	<p>16. <u>Interviewer number:</u> _____</p> <p>18. <u>Sector:</u> 1. Jewish 2. Arab</p>
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Additional Codes for Election Study, March 2021

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- Other (to be used only when absolutely necessary)
- 70- No problems
- 71- Don't know
- 72- Refuses to answer

Additional Codes for the Question on Fourth Election within Two 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

Additional Codes for the March 2021 Election Vote Questions

V104+F2

- 16 – Rappeh
- 17 – HaGimlaim

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

V106 + V107

- 10 – A coalition of the Likud, right parties, Haredi parties, and center parties
- 11 – A coalition of the Likud, Haredim, Yamina, and Tikva Hadasha (without Hatzionut Hadatit)
- 12 – A coalition of the Likud, Haredim, Yamina, Hatzionut Hadatit and Ra'am
- 13 – A coalition of the Likud without Netanyahu, Yamina, Tikva Hadasha, and Haredi parties
- 14 – A coalition of the Likud without Netanyahu, with center and left parties
- 15 – A coalition with right and Haredi parties only
- 16 – A coalition of the center-right without the Haredim
- 17 – A rotation government between Netanyahu and Lapid / Netanyahu and Lieberman / Netanyahu and Sa'ar
- 18 – A coalition headed by Yamina / A coalition headed by Bennett
- 19 – A coalition headed by Bennett with center and left parties, without the Haredim
- 20 – A coalition headed by Bennett with Yesh Atid, Tikva Hadasha, Yisrael Beitenu, and the Haredim
- 21 – A coalition of Yamina, Tikva Hadasha, Yesh Atid, Kahol-Lavan, and Yisrael Beitenu
- 22 – A coalition of Yamina, Tikva Hadasha, Yesh Atid, Yisrael Beitenu, and the Haredim
- 23 – A coalition of the center-left with Yesh Atid, Kahol-Lavan, HaAvoda, Meretz, and the Arab parties
- 24 – A coalition without Netanyahu
- 25 – A coalition that will not rely on the support of the Arab parties
- 26 – A coalition with the Arab parties
- 27 – An Arab coalition with a Jewish minority
- 28 – Any functioning coalition
- 29 – A coalition headed by honest / democratic / educated people
- 30 – None of the coalitions
- 31 – Cannot assess

Additional Codes for the Question about Preferred Coalition after the Election

F9

- 10 – A coalition headed by the Likud, Yesh Atid, and Yisrael Beitenu
- 11 – A coalition headed by Netanyahu, Bennett, and Lapid
- 12 – A right-wing coalition with Kahol-Lavan and the support of Ra'am
- 13 – A right-wing coalition headed by Bennett
- 14 – A right-wing coalition headed by Sa'ar
- 15 – A coalition of the center-right with rotation between Netanyahu and Gantz
- 16 – A right-wing coalition without Netanyahu
- 17 – A coalition of Netanyahu opposers with the Haredi parties
- 18 – A coalition of Netanyahu opposers without the support of the Arab parties
- 19 – A coalition of Netanyahu opposers headed by Lapid, with Yamina and the support of Ra'am
- 20 – A coalition of Netanyahu opposers with rotation between Gantz and Lapid
- 21 – A unity government with all the Knesset parties
- 22 – A unity government without the Haredim and the Arabs
- 23 – Any right-wing coalition
- 24 – Any coalition of Netanyahu opposers
- 25 – Any functioning coalition
- 26 – An Arab coalition with a Jewish minority