

Israel National Election Study, September 17, 2019

Pre and Post Election Inclusive Questionnaires

Pre-election Inclusive Questionnaire – September 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..... and I am an interviewer from the research institute of Tel Aviv University.

In April we interviewed _____ for an academic election study conducted by Professor Michal Shamir.

We are calling the interviewees back now in order to hear their opinion regarding the upcoming elections to be held on the 17th of September. Your opinion is very important to us. The survey will take about 10 minutes.

We promise your answers will remain confidential and will be used only for the study.

All of the data we collect will be entirely anonymous, such that there is no way to connect between your personal information and your responses.

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

In order to ensure we are interviewing the correct individual; we'll ask a few identifying questions:

2. How old are you _____ ?

For those who did not answer:

3. What age group do you belong to?

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

4. Sex:

1. Male
2. Female

Let's begin with the events that led to the second elections on the 17th of September, after Netanyahu was unable to form a coalition government. To what extent, in your opinion, were each of the following things proper or improper?

		Definitely Proper	Proper	So-So	Improper	Definitely Improper
301	That the Knesset decided to dissolve itself and hold a new election	5	4	3	2	1
302	That Netanyahu did not return the mandate to the President at the end of the assigned time period to form a coalition	5	4	3	2	1

And to what extent, in your opinion, were each of the following things proper or improper?

[mix up the order]

		Definitely Proper	Proper	So-So	Improper	Definitely Improper
303	That Lieberman did not join the coalition despite him committing to a right-wing coalition led by Netanyahu	5	4	3	2	1
304	That the center and left parties rejected joining a government lead by Netanyahu because of his indictments	5	4	3	2	1
305	That the coalition negotiations focused on Netanyahu's personal affairs and not on policy issues	5	4	3	2	1

People have different feelings regarding what happened after the April election. To what extent do you feel:

[mix up the order]

		Very much	Quite	Somewhat	Slightly	Not at all
306	Anger	5	4	3	2	1
307	Disgust	5	4	3	2	1
308	Hope	5	4	3	2	1
209	Despair	5	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]

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	19	Otzma Yehudit
2	Kahol-Lavan (Benny Gantz and Yair Lapid)		
3	HaAvoda-Gesher (Amir Peretz, Orly Levi-Abukasis)	30	Other (specify): _____
5	Yamina/HaYamin HaMeuchad (HaBayit HaYehudi + HaIchud HaLeumi , HaYamin HaHadash) (Ayelet Shaked)	94	Doesn't intend to vote
6	Hamachane Hademocrati (Democratic Union) (Nitzan Horowitz, Stav Shafir and Ehud Barak)	96	Blank Ballot
7	Yahadut HaTorah (United Torah Judaism) (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah)	97	Undecided/debating
8	Shas	98	Doesn't know
9	Yisrael Beiteinu (Avigdor Lieberman)	99	Refuses to answer
11	HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) (Hadash-Ta'al-Ra'am-Balad)		

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]: _____

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 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? (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

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
25	To what extent do you agree or disagree that we should allow a political leader, who is successful in his job, to continue in his job, even if he/she has been convicted of public corruption	4	3	2	1

Questions 28-29 only to Arab interviewees

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

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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

In Israel, as in the rest of the world, it is impossible for all the citizens to gather together and make decisions, and therefore representatives and institutions do so for us and on our behalf

		Yes, definitely	I believe so	I don't believe so	Definitely not
31	Is there a party and/or politician in Israel <u>that represent your views?</u>	4	3	2	1
34	Is there a political party in Israel <u>which has representatives who are similar to you in their personal characteristics and background?</u>	4	3	2	1
37	Is there a party and/or politician in Israel <u>that gives you a sense of belonging and pride in your identity?</u>	4	3	2	1
40	Does the party and/or politician you voted for <u>use the authority you gave them responsibly?</u>	4	3	2	1

43. Think about your vote for a certain political party in the election. Which of the following is the 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 the 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

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	<u>Likud</u>	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
49B	Kahol-Lavan (Blue and White)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
49C	HaAvoda-Gesher (Labor)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
49D	Yamina (HaYamin HaMeuchad)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
49F	Hamachane Hademocrati	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
49J	HaReshima HaMeshutefet	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
49A	Likud	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
49B	Kahol-Lavan (Blue and White)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
49C	HaAvoda-Gesher (Labor)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
49F	Hamachane Hademocrati	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

52A. And a different question, what is your attitude toward Benjamin Netanyahu?

Rank your answer such that 0 is rejection/hatred, 10 is support/sympathy, and 5 is in-between.

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 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
52D	Amir Peretz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
52E	Ayelet Shaked	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
52I	Avigdor Lieberman	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
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Arab Sector:											
52K	Ayman Odeh											
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
52D	Amir Peretz	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

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 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

106. In your opinion, after the election, 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 and 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 _____

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

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

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
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

And final questions about your use of media.

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, such as Whatsapp, Facebook, Twitter and Telegram?

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?

		Never	Once a week	Two-three times a week	Almost daily	Several times per day
101	Read content from a politician or political party that appeared on your feed	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

Thank you for your time. We would very much like to talk to you again, after the election, with just 5 questions.

310. Would you agree to that?

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

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 - September 2019

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

Hi, my name is _____ and I am an interviewer from the research institute of Tel Aviv University. Before the election we interviewed _____ and we're calling back now to ask only 5 questions. It's very important for us to speak to [them], this will take no longer than 2 minutes.

We promise that all your answers will remain confidential and are for research purposes only. All of the data we collect will be entirely anonymous, so there will be no way to connect your personal information and your responses.

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 4
3. White ballot

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

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	19	Otzma Yehudit
2	Kahol-Lavan (Benny Gantz and Yair Lapid)		
3	HaAvoda-Gesher (Amir Peretz, Orly Levi-Abukasis)		
5	Yamina/HaYamin HaMeuchad (HaBayit HaYehudi + HaIchud HaLeumi , HaYamin HaHadash) (Ayelet Shaked)	30	Other (specify): _____
6	Hamachane Hademocrati (Democratic Union) (Nitzan Horowitz, Stav Shafir and Ehud Barak)	94	Didn't vote
7	Yahadut HaTorah (United Torah Judaism) (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah)	96	Blank Ballot
8	Shas	97	Undecided/debating
9	Yisrael Beiteinu (Avigdor Lieberman)	98	Doesn't know
11	HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) (Hadash-Ta'al-Ra'am-Balad)	99	Refuses to answer

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

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

[Mix up answers 1-5]

1. About the conflict with the Palestinians
2. About the future of democracy in Israel
3. About the security threats and how to handle them
4. About the social and economic situation
5. About state-religion relations
6. About Netanyahu: whether or not he can be trusted
8. Do not read: Don't know
9. Do not read: No answer/refuses to answer

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

1. A coalition led by Likud with the ultra-Orthodox parties, religious parties, and another party
2. A coalition led by Kahol-Lavan with the left-wing parties and other parties
3. A national unity government of Likud and Kahol-Lavan with Gantz and Netanyahu
4. A national unity government of Likud and Kahol-Lavan with Gantz and a Likud MP who is not Netanyahu
5. Do not read: A different coalition. Which: _____
6. Do not read: None of the above
8. Do not read: Don't know
9. Do not read: No answer / refuses to answer

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, September 2019

Codes for Open Question on the Most Important Problem

c8

- 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
- 81- Removing Netanyahu (and his family)
- 82- The deficit in the state's budget
- 83- The rightists
- 84- The security situation in the North
- 85- Agriculture

Additional Codes for the September 2019 Election Vote Question

c104 + D2

- 12 - Tzedek
- 13 - Tzomet
- 14 - Noam
- 15 - HaPiratim
- 16 - Bible Bloc Party
- 17 - Ale Yarok
- 18 - Otzma Calcalit
- 21 - some Right-wing party
- 22 - some Center party

Additional Codes for the Question about Preferred Coalition

c106 + c107 + D9

- 11 – A coalition of the Likud and Kahol-Lavan, headed by Netanyahu
- 12 – A coalition of the Likud and Kahol-Lavan, headed by Gantz
- 13 – A coalition of the Likud and Kahol-Lavan, with rotation between Netanyahu and Gantz
- 14 – A coalition of the Likud and Kahol-Lavan, without Netanyahu
- 15 – A coalition of the Likud and Kahol-Lavan, with Yisrael Beitenu
- 16 – A coalition of the Likud and Kahol-Lavan, with the Haredim
- 17 – A coalition that includes the Haredi parties
- 18 – A coalition of secular parties / coalition without the religious
- 19 – A coalition of the Likud, the religious and Yisrael Beitenu
- 20 – A coalition of the center-left with Yisrael Beitenu

- 21 – A coalition of the Left bloc with HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List)
- 22 – A coalition of the Center-Left, with the HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) support from outside the coalition
- 23 – A coalition that includes everybody, except the extreme left and the Arabs
- 24 – Unity of all parties
- 25 – Any coalition headed by Netanyahu
- 26 – Any coalition headed by Gantz

- 28 – None of the coalitions
- 29 – It doesn't matter / It's not important / It's not relevant
- 30 – There will be no coalition, but a third election