

Israel National Election Study, March 2, 2020 **Pre and Post-Election Inclusive Questionnaires**

Pre-election Questionnaire – March 2020

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

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 the 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.

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

1. Yes
2. No
7. Don't read: Not relevant
8. Don't read: Don't know
9. Don't read: No answer/refuses to answer

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

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]: _____

501. Israel is holding an election for the third time within less than a year. From the following issues, what, if anything, bothers you the most in the current situation:

[mix up the order of 1-3]

1. That the public elects, but the politicians don't form a government
2. That the political system and the government ministries are paralyzed
3. That the rules of the game of the political and judicial systems were broken
4. I see nothing problematic about the situation
5. Do not read: other: _____

514. What do you think of Trump's peace plan, called the 'Deal of the Century', that includes applying Israeli sovereignty over the Jordan Valley and the Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria, and in the future a Palestinian state over about 70% of the Judea and Samaria area. Do you support or oppose?

1. Support
2. Oppose
3. Do not read: I don't know enough about the plan to express an opinion
4. Do not read: I haven't heard of the plan

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

Questions 15-16 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 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)

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)

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 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	HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) should act to enter into a coalition with Kahol-Lavan	4	3	2	1

503A. Following the indictment against the Prime Minister, 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 indictment against the Prime Minister is 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 indictment against the prime minister is part of a “witch hunt” against him
2. That these institutions are acting as required

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 that represent your views?	4	3	2	1
33	Overall, do the laws that are passed in the Knesset represent your views?	4	3	2	1
34	Is there a political party in Israel which has representatives who are similar to you in their personal characteristics and background?	4	3	2	1
36	Does the Knesset represent people with personal characteristics and background such as yours?	4	3	2	1
37	Is there a party and/or politician in Israel that gives you a sense of belonging and pride in your identity?	4	3	2	1
39	Does the Knesset give you a sense of belonging and pride in your identity?	4	3	2	1
40	Does the party and/or politician you voted for use the authority you gave them responsibly?	4	3	2	1
42	Does the Knesset use the authority we gave it responsibly, for the citizens?	4	3	2	1

43. Now 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. Kahol-Lavan
2. Likud
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. Kahol-Lavan
2. Likud
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 in-between

		rejection/ hatred										support/ sympathy
	<u>Jewish Sector:</u>											
A49	<u>Likud</u>	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)-Gesher-Meretz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
D49	Yamina	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
K49	Yahadut Hatora	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	HaReshima HaMeshutefet	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	<u>Arab Sector:</u>											
J49	HaReshima HaMeshutefet	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)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
C49	HaAvoda (Labor)-Gesher-Meretz	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Mix up the order of questions 50-51:

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

rejection/ hatred										support/ sympathy	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-between, 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

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:											
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
I52	Avigdor Lieberman	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	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
R52	Ahmad Tibi	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

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

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 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
504	Preventing another election	4	3	2	1

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

Do not read: _____

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

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

505. How frequently do you catch up on the news in the daily newspaper, the television, the radio or the internet?

1. Almost never
2. Seldom
3. About once a week
4. Two-three times a week
5. Almost daily
6. 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, Whatsapp, Instagram etc.)?

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

104E. 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)	30	Other (specify): _____
2	Kahol-Lavan (Benny Gantz)	94	Doesn't intend to vote
3	HaAvoda-Gesher-Meretz (Amir Peretz)	96	Blank Ballot
4	Yamina (Naftali Bennett)	97	Undecided/debating
5	Otzma Yehudit (Itamar Ben-Gvir)	98	No response / Doesn't know
7	Yahadut HaTorah (United Torah Judaism) (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah)	99	Refuses to answer
8	Shas		
9	Yisrael Beiteinu (Avigdor Lieberman)		
11	HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) (Hadash-Ta'al-Ra'am-Balad)		

106. In your opinion, after the election, will the government 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. No coalition will be formed and the Knesset will dissolve
7. 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 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 _____

507. What party list did you vote for in the last Knesset election held in September 2019? (To the interviewer: do not read answers)

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	11	HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) (Hadash-Ta'al-Ra'am, Balad)
2	Kahol-Lavan (Benny Gantz and Yair Lapid)	19	Otzma Yehudit
3	HaAvoda-Gesher (Amir Peretz, Orly Levi-Abukasis)	30	Other (specify): _____
5	Yamina/HaYamin HaMeuchad (HaBayit HaYehudi + HaIchud HaLeumi, HaYamin HaHadash) (Ayelet Shaked)	94	Didn't vote despite being eligible
6	Hamachane Hademocrati (Democratic Union) (Meretz: Nitzan Horowitz, Stav Shafir and Ehud Barak)	95	Didn't vote because I wasn't eligible
7	Yahadut HaTorah (United Torah Judaism) (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah)	96	Blank Ballot
8	Shas	98	Don't know / Don't remember
9	Yisrael Beitenu (Avigdor Lieberman)	99	Refuses to answer

508. And what party list did you vote for in the Knesset election held in April 2019? (To the interviewer: do not read answers)

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	11	Hadash-Ta'al (Ayman Odeh)
2	Kahol Lavan (Blue & White - Benny Gantz and Yair Lapid)	12	Ra'am-Balad (Mansour Abbas)
3	Labor (Avi Gabbay)	14	Zehut (Moshe Feiglin)
4	HaYamin HaHadash (The New Right – Bennett and Shaked)	15	Gesher (Orly Levy-Abekasis)
5	The Union of Right-Wing Parties (HaBayit HaYehudi + HaIchud HaLeumi (The National Union) + Otzma Yehudit (Jewish Power) – Rafi Peretz)	30	Other (specify) _____
6	Meretz (Nitzan Horowitz)	94	Didn't vote despite being eligible
7	Yahaduth HaTorah (Agudath Israel + Degel HaTorah)	95	Didn't vote because I wasn't eligible
8	Shas	96	Blank Ballot
9	Yisrael Beyteinu (Avigdor Lieberman)	98	Don't know / Don't remember
10	Kulanu (Moshe Kahlon)	99	Refuses to answer

509. What party list did you vote for in the 2015 Knesset election? (To the interviewer: do not read)

1	Likud headed by Benjamin Netanyahu	10	Yachad and Otzma le Yisrael headed by Eli Yishay
2	The Zionist Union headed by Yitzhak Herzog and Tzippi Livni	11	HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) (Hadash-Ta'al-Ra'am-Balad)
3	Kulanu headed by Moshe Kahlon		
4	Yesh Atid headed by Yair Lapid	30	Other (specify)_____
5	HaBayit HaYehudi headed by Naftali Bennett	94	Didn't vote despite being eligible
6	Israel Beiteinu headed by Avigdor Liberman	95	Didn't vote because I wasn't eligible
7	Yahaduth HaTorah (Agudath Israel + Degel HaTorah)	96	Blank ballot
8	Shas	98	Don't know/don't remember
9	Meretz headed by Zehava Galon	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. 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

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
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

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
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
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

512. Different people assign different meaning to the term “democracy”. In one or two words, what in your opinion is the most important and essential characteristic of a democratic regime?

[To the interviewer: write the exact complete answer] _____

Finally, a few personal details for statistical purposes only:

Questions 134-137, 513 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? _____

135. How would you define yourself?

[To the interviewer: Read only answers 1-4. Do not read answers 5 and 6, but mark if matches the interviewee's response for "other". If the interviewee says "Oriental Jewry" mark 3)

1. Ashkenazi
2. Sephardic
3. Mizrachi
4. Other: _____
5. Do not read: Mixed
6. Do not read: 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

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)? _____

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: _____

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

<p>date. Date of Interview: _____</p> <p>num. Interviewer number: _____</p> <p>language. Interview language: 1. Hebrew 2. Arabic 3. Russian</p> <p>sector. Sector: 1 Jewish 2 Arab</p> <p>Telephone: _____</p> <p>Id from list: _____</p>

Post-election Questionnaire – March 2020

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

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

Id. ID number from the list: _____

(Agree) Will you agree to participate in the research?

1. Yes
2. No

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

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

gender.

1. Male
2. Female

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

E1. Did you vote in the last Knesset election?

1. Yes
2. No → skip to question 4
3. Blank ballot → skip to question 4

E2. What party list did you vote for in the last Knesset election (To the interviewer: do not read answers)

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	11	HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) (Hadash-Ta'al-Ra'am-Balad)
2	Kahol-Lavan (Benny Gantz)		
3	HaAvoda-Gesher-Meretz (Amir Peretz)	30	Other (specify): _____
4	Yamina (Naftali Bennett)		
5	Otzma Yehudit (Itamar Ben-Gvir)	94	Didn't vote
7	Yahadut HaTorah (United Torah Judaism) (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah)	96	Blank Ballot
8	Shas	98	Don't know
9	Yisrael Beiteinu (Avigdor Lieberman)	99	Refuses to answer

E4. 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 / Refuse to answer

E7. And when you think about the election that just took place, what was it mainly about? Was it about:

[Mix up the order of 1-6]

1. The conflict with the Palestinians and Trump's plan
2. The future of democracy and the role of the judicial system in Israel
3. The security threats and how to handle them
4. The socio-economic situation
5. State and religion relations
6. 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

In this election there was much talk about Right and Left in politics.

[Mix up the order of questions 8A and 8B]

E8A. What is Right as you understand it? (To the interviewer: write complete answer)

E8B. What is Left as you understand it? (To the interviewer: write complete answer)

E9. And now given the election results - which coalition would you prefer?

1. A right-wing coalition led by Likud with another party or Knesset members from another party
2. A coalition led by Kahol-Lavan with Yisrael Beitenu, HaAvoda-Gesher-Meretz and the support of the HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) from the outside
3. A unity government of Likud and Kahol-Lavan led by Netanyahu
4. Do not read: A different coalition. Which: _____
5. Do not read: None of the above
6. Do not read: I don't care which government it is, as long as there will be one
8. Do not read: Don't know
9. Do not read: No answer / refuses to answer

E110. 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

E10. 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

E147. Thank you for your time.

If there will be another election, will you agree that we return to you with a short questionnaire of 5-8 questions, until a government is formed?

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

Thank you very much for your cooperation

15. Date of interview: _____

16. Interviewer number: _____

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

18. Sector: 1. Jewish 2. Arab

Additional Codes for Election Study, March 2020

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, settlements, 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/at 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 elaboration)
- 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
- 14- Implementing Trump's Plan
- 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- Budget deficit, lack of state budget
- 20- Centralization of the economy, the wealthy, the large corporations, the senior officials in the public service
- 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- Improving the situation of residents in the periphery
- 26- Making a living with dignity, 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
- 33- Health, medication, conditions in hospitals, shortage of physicians, coronavirus
- 34- Crime, criminals, drugs, police enforcement, police performance
- 35- Violence (without elaboration)
- 36- Domestic violence, violence against women
- 37- Transportation, car accidents, road infrastructure, traffic, busses, parking
- 38- Immigrant absorption, dealing with immigrant problems
- 39- Preventing emigration from the country
- 40- The environment, environmental protection, animal protection, climate crisis
- 41- Elimination of the water corporations
- 42- Jewish diaspora
- 43- Religious-secular relations, the topic of religion (general)

- 44- Concern for the religious/Jewish character of the state, Kashrut, keeping the Sabbath, rights of the ultra-orthodox (Haredim)
- 45- Preventing religious coercion, separation of religion and state, Hebrew non-religious identity
- 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/ multiplicity of weapons in the Arab sector
- 49- Infrastructure 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
- 55- Protecting the judiciary system, rule of law, separation of powers
- 56- Courts having too much authority, overly activist judiciary system
- 57- The media having too much influence
- 58- Protecting democracy, human rights, civil liberties, freedom of speech
- 59- Tolerance, civil behavior, mutual responsibility, humanistic values, human dignity
- 60- Racism
- 61- Governance, system of government/ elections, a need for a functioning government
- 62- Public trust in government, trust in politicians / elected officials
- 63- Replacing the prime minister
- 64- The Leftists
- 65- National unity, defragmentation of society, preventing a civil war
- 66- Societal polarization, political fragmentation, sectorial tension, hate among social groups
- 67- The happiness of the residents, the citizens' quality of life
- 68- Everything /A lot (without elaboration)
- 69- Other (**to be used only when absolutely necessary**)
- 70- No problems
- 71- Doesn't know
- 72- Refuses to answer

Additional Codes for the Question on What Bothers about Holding an Election for the Third Time within less than a Year

V501

- 6- Everything is problematic
- 7- That the political system is corrupt / that the prime minister is corrupt
- 8- That there is no alternative to the current situation / to the current leadership
- 9- That a lot of money is wasted in vain / that it costs a fortune
- 10- Division in the People / the political system / the state
- 11- That the electoral system is not good
- 12- That the public is indifferent / that people don't care
- 13- That the state does not serve the People

Additional Codes for the March 2020 Election Vote Intention Question

V104E + E2

- 13- Tnuat HaDror HaIvri (Hebrew Movement)
- 14- Otzma Calcalit
- 15- Tzomet
- 16- some green party
- 17- HaPiratim

Additional Codes for the Questions about Expected/Preferred Coalition

V106 + V107

- 8- A coalition of the Likud, Kahol-Lavan and Yisrael Beitenu
- 9- A coalition of the Likud and Kahol-Lavan, with the Haredim / Yamina
- 10- A coalition of Kahol-Lavan with the Haredim and Yamina
- 11- A coalition of the Likud and Kahol-Lavan, without Netanyahu
- 12- A government headed by the Likud / Netanyahu
- 13- A government headed by Kahol-Lavan
- 14- A government that includes the Haredim
- 15- A coalition with HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List)
- 20- It should be different from now, that's the main thing
- 21- None of the coalitions
- 22- I don't care
- 23- It is best that no government be formed, and we should have another election

Additional Codes for the September 2019 Election Vote Question

V507

- 13- Tzomet
- 14- Tzedek Hevrati
- 15- Adom Lavan

Additional Codes for the 2015 Election Vote Question

V509

- 12- Ale Yarok
- 13- Netz

Code for Open Questions on the Meaning of Democracy

V512

Different people assign different meaning to the term “democracy”. In one or two words, what in your opinion is the most important and essential characteristic of a democratic regime?

I Classic Model – Rule of the people

- 11- Rule of the People in general, the People’s sovereignty, control and oversight by the People
- 12- Political interest and awareness of the public
- 13- Responsibility, responsiveness of the government and the representatives to the People, government by consent
- 14- The government takes into consideration the People’s will
- 15- The government helps solve the People’s problems
- 16- Citizens’ participation in decision making, direct democracy

II Egalitarian Democracy

- 20- Proper representation of the entire population
- 21- Equality in general, equal rights (no additional elaboration)
- 22- Political equality (one vote to everyone)
- 23- Equality of opportunities, equal opportunities for all
- 24- A just life standard, social and economic security for all
- 25- Classless society, less economic and social distances and gaps
- 26- A right for every person to be elected
- 27- Justice
- 28- Equality between Jews and Arabs
- 29- Rights only for those who fulfill their duties, "equality in the burden"

III Liberal Democracy - Freedom

- 31- Freedom in general, civil liberties (no additional elaboration)
- 32- Civil rights / human rights no additional elaboration)
- 33- Freedom of speech, freedom to express one's opinion, freedom of argument (see also 40, 42)
- 34- Minority rights, regard for minorities (see also 41, 61)
- 35- Limitations of government, power dispersion, checks and balances
- 36- Free market, free initiative, freedom from government intervention in the economy
- 37- Freedom of religion (the freedom to observe religious commandments), freedom of worship
- 38- Freedom from religion (the freedom not to observe religious commandments), no religious compulsion
- 39- Separation of state and religion
- 40- Freedom of the press and the media, the public’s right to know
- 41- The rights of the Arab minority (similar to 34 with a specific reference of the Arab minority)
- 42- Freedom of conscience, freedom of thought
- 43- Freedom of organization, freedom of association, freedom of occupation
- 44- Freedom to strike
- 45- Freedom to protest, freedom of assembly
- 46- Freedom of movement
- 47- Freedom of creation
- 48- Freedom of action, freedom of behavior
- 49- The right to privacy, personal privacy

IV Liberal Democracy – Institutions and Procedures

- 51- Holding (regular) elections
- 52- Freedom for whom to vote, free elections, fair elections (one vote to everyone - 22)
- 53- A representative parliamentary system, the People operates through representatives
- 54- Oversight / control of the parliament over the executive branch
- 55- Proper administrative activity, transparency
- 56- The existence of a constitution, a special status of Basic Laws
- 57- Rule of the law, respect for the law, ability to limit rights only by the law
- 58- Mechanisms to prevent corruption, action to fight corruption
- 59- Equality before the law
- 60- Majority rule, respect for the majority decision (but see 61)
- 61- Majority rule and minority rights (both components mentioned together)
- 62- Separation of powers, independence of the judiciary branch, strong judicial system

V Political Competition and choice

- 71- Ability to replace the government, the minority can become the majority
- 72- Existence of fair competition between parties, electoral choice, multiple parties

VI Social Conditions

- 80- Non-discrimination (on the basis of race, ethnic group, religion, sex, etc.)
- 81- Multiple opinions and interests
- 82- Consultation by the government with groups and organizations within society and responsiveness to them
- 83- “Country before party” worldview
- 84- Trustworthy leadership, public integrity
- 85- Pluralism of the media
- 86- Mature, thoughtful, educated, civilized public
- 87- Personal freedom, the person is not just a screw in the system, the ability to be different
- 88- Tolerance and mutual appreciation, respect for all, “live and let live”, humanistic values
- 89- Faith in democratic values, education for democracy

VII Limitations on Democracy / Undemocratic worldviews

- 90- Viewing democracy as a negative thing in general
- 91- Defensive democracy
- 92- Strong rule, strong leadership
- 93- Limitations on democracy, limitation on freedom of speech (for security and other reasons)
- 94- Limiting democracy for Jews only
- 95- Limiting democracy to prevent anarchy (prioritizing functionality)
- 96- Limitations derived from religious commandments
- 97- Democracy is the lesser evil

VIII Other

- 01 What we have now is democracy
- 02 Democracy is important
- 03 Good for all
- 04 The opposite of dictatorship

- 05 Democracy is just a word
- 06 To complex, difficult to explain
- 07 There is no one salient feature
- 08 Doesn't know
- 09 Refuses to answer
- 00 No response

Additional Codes for Ethnic Background (Self-Definition)

V135

- 10- Israeli, Eretz Israeli, resident of the country
- 11- Sabra, native born
- 12- Jewish
- 13- Arab
- 14- Israeli Jew
- 15- Not Jewish
- 16- Jewish convert
- 17- Hebrew (Ivri)
- 21- Polish
- 22- Bulgarian
- 23- Romanian
- 24- Russian
- 25- Ukrainian
- 26- Caucasian (from The Caucasus)
- 27- Georgian
- 28- Ethiopian
- 29- African
- 30- Moroccan
- 31- Yemenite
- 32- Iraqi
- 35- Mediterranean
- 40- A person, human being
- 41- Citizen of the world

"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

Code for Open Questions on the Meaning of Right and Left in Politics (Post-Election Survey March 2020)

Definition of Right E8A

- 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- The right protects Jerusalem

- 46- The right is against evacuating settlements, in favor of expanding settlements, cares for the settlers
- 47- The right is against peace, 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, keeps independent policy
- 50- The right is in favor of maintaining the socio-economic order
- 51- Right = capitalism, free market
- 52- Right = the civic camp, liberal economy, citizen independence from authorities
- 53- The right protects the interests of the wealthy / the large corporations
- 54- Right = privatization
- 55- The right is the 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 state of the Jewish People, a Jewish state, Jewish sovereignty, Jewish majority
- 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, Yamina, Yisrael Beitenu, Otzama Yehudit
- 69- Right = Benjamin Netanyahu, Naftali Bennet, Avigdor Liberman, Itamar Ben-Gvir

- 70- The right is realistic, rational
- 71- The right is hardline, zealous, fanatic, messianic, has a fixed mindset
- 72- The right is extremist
- 73- The right is conservative
- 74- The right is entrepreneurial, active, proactive, strong
- 75- Right = ignorance, lack of rationality, lack of education
- 76- The right encourages sectarianism and hatred
- 77- Right = militarism, forcefulness, violence
- 78- The right emphasizes the collective, the nation, the family
- 79- The right focuses on foreign affairs and security issues
- 80- The right is corrupt

General Categories

- 81- A format for running the state
- 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
- 87- The right is the majority and the left is the minority

- 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 and center
- 96- In Israel there is no right and no left, only center
- 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 E8B

- 1- Left = relinquishing the territories / willingness for concessions in negotiations / against "Greater Israel"
- 2- Left = a Palestinian state, two states for two peoples
- 3- Left = cooperation with the Arabs, faith in / love of 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 possibility to achieve peace
- 8- The left endangers security, is willing to forsake the security interest, 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, workers' unions
- 13- The left cares for the disadvantaged/poor/small, welfare state, social justice
- 14- The left supports liberalism, is more liberal
- 15- The left cares for the 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, aspires 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, moral, tolerance, pluralism, human rights
- 23- The left is more Zionist, the true Zionism
- 24- Left = traitors, unpatriotic, not for the good of the state, not Zionist, Israel-hating
- 25- Left = cosmopolitan, open to the world, universal
- 26- Left = bleeding hearts, "the state of Tel Aviv", rich
- 27- Left = Ashkenazis
- 28- Left = Mapai, Mapam, the Alignment, Labour, Kahol-Lavan, Meretz, HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List)
- 29- Left = Benny Gantz, Yair Lapid, Orly Levi, Ayman Odeh, Ahmad Tibi

- 30- The left is idealistic, naïve, hallucinatory, detached from reality, not relevant
- 31- The left is flexible, compromising, pragmatic, reconciliatory
- 32- The left is moderate, sane, brings hope, wants a better future

- 33- The left is open to changes, modern
- 34- The left is indifferent, passive, weak, soft
- 35- Left = Enlightenment, education, culture, intellectuals
- 36- The left is snobby, arrogant, elitist, hypocritical
- 37- Left = not 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

- 88- A format for running the state
- 89- A worldview, life philosophy, ideology
- 90- A way of thinking and looking at things
- 91- Left is positive, and right is negative (positive association with left and/or negative association with right without a substantive claim)
- 92- Right is positive, and left is negative (positive association with right and/or negative association with left without a substantive claim)
- 93- The right is in favor of Netanyahu and the left is against Netanyahu
- 94- The right is the majority and the left is the minority

- 100- The difference is only historic (once there were differences, but today there are none)
- 101- The difference is only in rhetoric and not in action, different ways of expression and marketing
- 102- There is no difference, there is almost no difference, everyone is the same
- 103- The way we interpret these terms is wrong
- 104- In Israel there is no left, only right and center
- 105- In Israel there is no right and no left, only center
- 106- Other (**to be used only when absolutely necessary**)
- 107- Doesn't know, has no clue, doesn't understand, cannot say
- 108- Refuses to answer

Additional Codes for the Question about Preferred Coalition after the Election

E9

- 10- A unity government of the Likud and Kahol-Lavan, headed by someone else from the Likud
- 11- A unity government with rotation between Netanyahu and Gantz
- 12- A unity government of the Likud and Kahol-Lavan, headed by Gantz
- 13- A coalition headed by Kahol-Lavan, with HaReshima HaMeshutefet (Joint List) in the government
- 14- A unity government, not matter who heads it
- 15- A unity government, without Netanyahu
- 16- A temporary government to remove Netanyahu, and then election
- 17- The most important thing is that Netanyahu remains the prime minister
- 18- A coalition of Kahol-Lavan, with the Haredim and Yamina
- 19- A unity government, with Yisrael Beitenu
- 20- A government without Yisrael Beitenu