

Political Stances Study – March 2025

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

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

Completing the questionnaire takes about 15 minutes.

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

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

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

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

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

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

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

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

Alon: ayakter@tauex.tau.ac.il

Lior: liorsheffer@tauex.tau.ac.il

Respondent ID _____

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

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

5. Are you an Israeli citizen?

1. Yes
2. No → End interview

Interview only Israeli citizens

2. How old are you ?

For those who did not answer:

3. What age group do you belong to?

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

Interview only 18 and above

4. Gender:

1. Man
2. Woman
3. Other

136. What is your highest level of education?

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

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

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

8. **In your opinion, what is the most important problem that the government has to deal with?**
(Note only one problem)
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9. **In your opinion, in the past year, has the economic situation of Israel improved, not changed, or deteriorated?**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Question 700 only to Jewish interviewees

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

1. To get back some of the territories that we conquered in the Six Day War
2. To get back all of the territories that we conquered in the Six Day War
3. To conquer the state of Israel
4. To conquer the country and destroy a significant part of its Jewish population

Questions 15-17 only to Jewish interviewees

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

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

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

16. Which is second most important?

17. Third most important?

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

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

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?

(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)

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

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

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

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

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

702. To what extent do you agree that the government should reduce the economic gaps between rich and poor by taxing high-income earners and providing assistance to low-income earners?

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

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: "AlTkaliid AlYehudiya" – Jewish Tradition)

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

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

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

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

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

708. With which of the following two opinions about what is democracy do you agree more: the statement that any regime operating according to the principle of majority rule is a democratic regime, or the statement that for a regime to be truly democratic it must also uphold other principles, such as human rights, freedom of expression, and separation of powers?

Please place yourself on the following axis, where 0 means 'Any regime that operates according to majority rule is a democratic regime' and the 10 means 'For a regime to be truly democratic it must uphold other principles such as human rights'?

Any regime that operates according to majority rule is a democratic regime										For a regime to be truly democratic it must uphold other principles such as human rights	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98

18. **Israel is commonly referred to as a Jewish and democratic state, and in the public discourse it is sometimes argued that there is tension between these two values. When you think about your preferred balance between these values, where would you place yourself on the following axis, where 0 means 'Jewish state' and 10 means 'Democratic state'?**

Jewish state										Democratic state	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	98

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

1. Completely opposed
2. Oppose their participation in the coalition, but in favor of their support from the outside
3. Supports their participation in the coalition, but only if there is a coalition majority without them and without ministerial positions
4. Support their participation in the coalition even if the coalition majority depends on them, but without ministerial positions
5. Supports their participation in the coalition unconditionally

Questions 27-30 only to Arab interviewees

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
31	I feel part of the State of Israel	4	3	2	1

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

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
33	Sometimes politics seems so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on	4	3	2	1
35	No matter who you vote for, it does not change the situation	4	3	2	1

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

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

- 52A. On a scale where 0 is rejection/hatred, 10 is support/sympathy, and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward Benjamin Netanyahu?

rejection/ hatred											support/ sympathy	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

Mix up the order of questions 622a-c:

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

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

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

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

- 622c. On a scale where 0 is complete rejection/hatred, 10 is complete support, and 5 is in-between, what is your attitude toward national religious Jews [Dati'im Leumi'im]?

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

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

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

91. How certain are you that you will vote in the next elections?

1. Very certain
2. Certain
3. Not so certain
4. Not certain at all

104. If the Knesset election were to take place today, which party list would you vote for?
[mix up options 1-13]

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

91. Regarding the decision who to vote for in the elections, are you undecided between several options? If yes, please freely detail all the options you are considering. For example, these could include existing parties, potential parties that are not currently running, and/or the option of not voting at all.

706. What party list did you vote for in the last Knesset election, held a two year ago, in November 2022?

1	Likud (Benjamin Netanyahu)	11	Hadash-Ta'al (Ayman Odeh)
2	Yesh Atid (Yair Lapid)	12	Ra'am (Mansour Abbas)
3	National Unity (HaMahane HaMamlakhti) (Benny Gantz)	13	Balad (Sami Abu Shehadeh)
4	Hatzionut Hadatit (Bezalel Smotrich & Itamar Ben-Gvir)		
5	Shas (Aryeh Deri)	30	Other (specify): _____
6	Yahadut HaTorah (Agudat Israel Degel HaTorah) (Moshe Gafni)	94	I didn't vote although I had the right to vote
7	Yisrael Beitenu (Avigdor Lieberman)	95	I didn't vote because I didn't had the right to vote

8	HaAvoda (Merav Michaeli)	96	Blank Ballot
9	Meretz (Zehava Gal-On)	98	No response / Doesn't know
10	HaBayit HaYehudi (Ayelet Shaked)	99	Refuses to answer

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

Right 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Left

612. In the last week, how many times did you catch up on political information and the news?

1. Never – skip questions 613 and 614
2. Once a week
3. Two-three times a week
4. Almost daily
5. More than once a day

Ask 613, 614 only those which responded “Never” on question 612:

613. Which of the following sources have you used in the past week to catch up on political information and the news? Please mark all relevant sources:

1	News websites	7	TikTok
2	Television news	8	WhatsApp groups
3	Radio	9	Telegram channels
4	Daily newspapers	10	Twitter
5	Facebook	30	Other (specify): _____
6	Instagram		

614. Which of the following channels do you regularly watch to catch up on the news? Please mark all relevant channels:

(Read answers 5-6 only to Arabs)

1. Channel 11
2. Channel 12
3. Channel 13
4. Channel 14
5. Al Jazeera (الجزيرة)
6. Makan 33 (مكان 33)
7. None of the above
8. Other (specify): _____

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

Rate your answer on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means “does not represent me at all” and 10 means “represents me very much”.

Represents me very much 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Does not represent me at all

710. Do you support or oppose the judicial reform led by the Government?

1. Strongly oppose
2. Oppose
3. Neither support nor oppose
4. Support
5. Strongly support

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

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	The Police	4	3	2	1
129	The IDF (Israeli Defense Force)	4	3	2	1
130	The President	4	3	2	1

400. Do you personally know people who were directly harmed as a result of the Hamas attack on October 7 or during the war?

1. Yes
2. No

Ask 401 only if answered "Yes" on 400:

401. Think of the person closest to you among the people you know who were harmed. How close are you to them?

0. I was personally harmed
1. Family member
2. Close friend
3. Neighbor
4. Co-worker
5. Acquaintance

402. Are you currently in military service?

1. Yes, in regular service (mandatory or career)
2. Yes, in reserve service
3. I was called up for reserve service after October 7 and have been discharged since
4. No

403. Since the beginning of the war, there are Israelis who have been evacuated from their homes in the south and north of the country. Do you personally know people who have been evacuated from their homes? Please indicate how close you are to them:

1. Yes, I was evacuated from my home
2. Yes, my family members were evacuated from their homes
3. Yes, I know friends or co-workers who were evacuated from their homes
4. Do not know personally

409. Do you support or oppose the establishment of a State Commission of Inquiry into the events of October 7?

1. Support
2. Oppose
98. Do not know

410. How would you evaluate Israel's management of the war so far?

1. Very bad
2. Bad
3. Neither good nor bad
4. Good
5. Very good

411. which of the following options do you find acceptable as possible solutions for the day after the end of the war in Gaza? Please choose all the relevant options:

1	Transferring control over Gaza to the Palestinian Authority	6	Establishing settlements inside the Gaza Strip
2	Withdrawal from the Gaza Strip without establishing any arrangement	7	Rebuilding the Gaza Strip with the assistance of international actors
3	Transferring control over Gaza to an international force or a foreign country	8	Transferring population from Gaza to another country or countries
4	Establishing long-term Israeli rule in the Gaza Strip	9	Permanent relocation of the population from northern Gaza to southern Gaza
5	Establishing a security zone or buffer zones within the Gaza Strip	10	Leaving Hamas in power

412. Some believe that Israel should fight in strict accordance with the international laws of war as defined by the Geneva Convention regarding what is permitted and prohibited in combat; others believe that these laws unnecessarily restrict the IDF's freedom of action, and therefore Israel should fight without any consideration for them.

Where would you place yourself on the following scale, where 0 means "Israel should fight strictly in accordance with international laws of war," and 10 means "Israel should fight without any consideration for international laws of war"?

Israel should fight strictly in accordance with international laws of war											Israel should fight without any consideration for international laws of war	Don't know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		98

413. Since October 7, have you participated in any protests, and if so, which ones? Please select all relevant options:

1. I did not participate in protests at all
2. Yes, in protests for the return of the hostages
3. Yes, in protests against the judicial reform
4. Yes, in protests against the war
5. Yes, in protests supporting the government's policy

When you think about the crises that Israel is currently facing, how confident are you that the country will be able to recover from them in each of the following aspects?

		Confident it will recover	Think it will recover	Think it will not recover	Confident it will not recover
415	Security wise	4	3	2	1
416	Economically	4	3	2	1
417	Socially	4	3	2	1
418	International standing wise	4	3	2	1

Finally, a few personal details for statistical purposes only:

132. To what extent do you observe religious tradition?

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

133. How frequently do you attend a religious place of worship (synagogue, mosque, church, etc.)?

1. Every day
2. Once a week
3. Once a month
4. On holidays
5. Very rarely
6. Never

143. What is your religion?

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

Questions 131, 513, 134 only to Jewish interviewees

131. How would you define yourself?

1. Ashkenazi
2. Sephardic
3. Mizrahi

4. Other (specify): _____

513. Where were you born?

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

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

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

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

145. Place of Residence:

date. Date of Interview: _____

num. Interviewer number: _____ (to the telephone questionnaire in Arabic)

language. Interview language: 1. Hebrew 2. Arabic

sector. Sector: 1 Jewish 2 Arab

Telephone: _____ (to the telephone questionnaire in Arabic)

Id from list: _____ (to the telephone questionnaire in Arabic)

Thank you for your cooperation

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

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

If you prefer to receive the coupon by Israel Post (not recommended!), please write down an exact mailing address, first name and last name. (Please be advised that the coupon will be sent by Israel Post as registered mail and will have to be picked up from the post office listed in the mail message you will receive in your

inbox. Also, since the shipment is via Israel Post, it may take a long time. It is therefore recommended to receive it via smartphone.

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

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