Codebook for the Israel Polarization Panel Dataset, 2019–2023

Noam Gidron, Lior Sheffer, and Guy Mor

Introduction

This codebook accompanies the Israel Polarization Panel Dataset, an eleven-wave survey panel study conducted before, during, and after the five elections held in Israel in 2019-2022 (April 2019, September 2019, March 2020, March 2021, November 2022). Participants were voting-age Jewish Israelis who were recruited by Midgam Panel and were re-interviewed for each panel wave.

Panel Information

Wave	Dates	Note on timing	Re-interview method	N
1	6/3/2019 – 10/3/2019	About one month prior to the April 9 2019 election	(Original sample)	2514
2	3/4/2019 – 7/4/2019	About one week prior to the April 9 2019 election	Everyone completing the first wave were re-invited	2082
3	14/4/2019 – 18/4/2019	About one week after the April 9 2019 election	Everyone completing the second wave were re-invited	1799
4	12/5/2019 – 17/5/2019	About one month after the April 9 2019 election	Everyone completing the third wave were re-invited	1551
5	22/9/2019 – 25/9/2019	About one week after the September 17 2019 election	Everyone completing the first wave were re-invited	1665
6	9/3/2020 – 15/3/2020	About one week after the March 2 2020 election	Everyone completing the first wave were re-invited	1612
7	24/5/2020 – 27/5/2020	About one week after the May 17 swearing in of	Everyone completing the first wave were re-invited	1580

		the new 'unity government' following the March 2 2020 election		
8	9/3/2021 – 14/3/2021	About two weeks prior to the March 21 2021 election	Everyone completing the first wave were re-invited	1379
9	4/4/2021 – 7/4/2021	About two weeks after the March 21 2021 election	Everyone completing the first wave were re-invited	1258
10	22/6/2021 – 26/6/2021	About one and a half weeks after the June 13 swearing in of the new 'change government' following the March 21 2021 election.	Everyone completing the first wave were re-invited	1240
11	2/1/2023 - 9/1/2023	About one week after the December 29 swearing in of Netanyahu's new government, following the November 1 2022 election.	Everyone completing the first wave were re-invited	1062

Notes and conventions

Metadata variables are received from the polling firm and are constant for every respondent through the panel. Time specific variables are prefixed by w[x]_ where x is the wave number (1-9). Some variables are measured with respect to several groups or parties. These variables are suffixed by _[group]. For example, variable w3_thermometer_Likud records feeling thermometer evaluations towards the Likud party, captured in the 3th wave.

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Metadata

userid
Unique identifier of respondent

byear
Year born

cbor
Country respondent was born in. 2-letter country code.

alyayear
Year respondent emigrated to Israel (aliya)

osek
Primary occupation
1 high school student
2 soldier
3 student
4 yeshiva student
5 employed
6 unemployed
7 other – not looking for work
8 freelancer
11 junior manager
12 middle manager
13 senior manager
14 employer
15 pensioner
16 co-operative member
17 kibbutz member

rel
Religious community
1 Jewish
2 Christian
3 Muslim
4 Druze
5 Other
6 No religion

edu
Education
1 up to 8 years of study
2 9-10 years of study

3 11-12 years of study
4 high school education
5 graduated from high school
6 during non-academic post-secondary education
7 graduated from non-academic post-secondary education
8 bachelor degree student
9 bachelor degree graduate
10 master degree student
11 master degree graduate
12 doctoral student
13 doctor

relid
Religious identification
1 secular
2 masorti
3 dati
4 haredi

sex
1 male
2 female

vote2015
Party vote in 2015 elections

1 Likud
2 Hamahane HaTzioni
3 Joint List
4 Yesh Atid
5 Kulanu
6 Habayit Hayehudi
7 Shas
8 Yahadut Hatorah
9 Israel Beitenu
10 Meretz
11 Yachad
12 Ale Yarok
13 Other
14 Did not vote
15 Too young/Doesn't Know/Refuses to answer

fstat

Family status
1 single
2 married
3 divorced/separated
4 widowed

ses
Income
9 No income at all
1 Significantly below average
2 Below average
3 Average
4 Above average
5 Sigificantly above average
6 No answer

nafa
Geographical area
1 Jerusalem
2 North
3 Haifa
4 Center
5 Tel Aviv
6 South
7 Judea and Samaria
8 Abroad

Time specific variables

left_right
Waves: 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11

"Where would you position yourself on a left-right scale, where 0 is the left end and 10 is the right"?

Range: 0-10

vote_intention
Waves: 1, 2, 8

"Some people do not vote for one reason or another. Do you intend to vote in the Knesset elections?"

(1) I will definitely vote

(2) I think I will vote
(3) I don't think I will vote
(4) I will certainly not vote

party_vote_intention
(original, first_vc)

if Knesset elections were held today, which party would you vote for?

Waves: 1, 2, 8

Note: question was asked only if respondent did not answer "I will certainly not vote" in [vote_intention]

Party	**Waves**
Balad-Raam	1, 2
Gesher	1, 2
Haavoda	1, 2, 8
Habayit Hayehudi	1, 2
Hacalcalit Hahadasha	8
Hadash-Taal	1, 2
Hayamin Hahadash	1, 2
Hazionut Hadatit	8
Israel Beitenu	1, 2, 8
Joint List	8
Kahol Lavan	1, 2, 8
Kulanu	1, 2
Likud	1, 2, 8
Meretz	1, 2, 8
Shas	1, 2, 8
Tikvah Hadasha	8
Yachad	1, 2
Yahadut Hatorah	1, 2, 8
Yemina	8
Yesh Atid	8
Zehut	2

second_vote_intention_[party]
(original: second_vc)

many voters consider voting for more than one party. Are there additional parties that you consider voting for, in addition to [first_vc]? If so, please mark all of them. If there are none, please skip.

Waves: 1, 2, 8

Note: question was asked only if respondent has a party choice for [first_vc], and if respondent did not answer “I will certainly not vote” in question [vote_intention].

Party	Waves
Balad-Raam	1, 2
Gesher	1, 2,
Haavoda	1, 2, 8
Habayit Hayehudi	1, 2
Hacalcalit Hahadasha	8
Hadash-Taal	1, 2
Hayamin Hahadash	1, 2
Hazionut Hadatit	8
Israel Beitenu	1, 2, 8
Joint List	8
Kahol Lavan	1, 2, 8
Kulanu	1, 2
Likud	1, 2, 8
Meretz	1, 2, 8
Other	1, 2, 8
Raam	8
Shas	1, 2 , 8
Tikva Hadasha	8
Undecided	1, 2, 8
Wont vote	1, 2, 8
Yachad	1, 2
Yahadut Hatorah	1, 2, 8
Yemina	8
Yesh Atid	8

undecided_vc

Which parties do you consider voting for? Please mark all of them.

Note: only respondents who answered “undecided” in [first_vc] and did not answer “I will certainly not vote” in [vote_intention] were asked this question.

Note: due to a technical issue only one choice was accepted for this question in waves 1 and 2, and the responses are reflected in this variable. For wave 8, this question allowed for multiple choice selection, and it is reflected in undecided_vc_[party] – see below.

Waves: 1, 2

Party	**Waves**
Balad-Raam	2
Gesher	1, 2
Haavoda	1, 2
Habayit Hayehudi	1, 2
Hadash-Taal	1, 2
Hayamin Hahadash	1, 2
Israel Beitenu	1, 2
Kahol Lavan	1, 2
Kulanu	1, 2
Likud	1, 2
Meretz	1, 2
Shas	1, 2
Yachad	1
Yahadut Hatorah	1, 2
Zehut	2

undecided_vc_[party]
Which parties do you consider voting for? Please mark all of them.

Note: only respondents who answered "undecided" in [first_vc] and did not answer "I will certainly not vote" in [vote_intention] were asked this question.

Note: this response format was only available in wave 8. See above for further details.

Waves: 8

Party	Waves
Haavoda	8
Hacalcalit Hahadasha	8
Hazionut Hadatit	8
Israel Beitenu	8
Joint List	8
Kahol Lavan	8
Likud	8
Meretz	8
Raam	8
Shas	8

Tikva Hadasha	8
Yahadut Hatorah	8
Yemina	8
Yesh Atid	8

thermometer_[party]

What is your attitude towards each of the following 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.

Waves: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10

Party	**Waves**
Balad-Raam	1, 2, 3, 4
Gesher	1, 2, 3, 4
Haavoda	1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11
Haavoda-Gesher	5
Haavoda-Gesher-Meretz	6, 7
Habayit Hayehudi	1, 2, 3, 4, 11
Hacalcalit Hahadasha	8, 9, 10
Hadash-Taal	1, 2, 3, 4, 11
Hamahane Hademokrati	5
Hayamin Hahadash	1, 2, 3, 4
Hazionut Hadatit	8, 9, 10, 11
Israel Beitenu	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
Joint List	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Kahol Lavan	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Kulanu	1, 2, 3, 4
Likud	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
Meretz	1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11
Otzma Yehudit	5, 6, 7
Raam	8, 9, 10
Shas	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
Tikva Hadasha	8, 9, 10
Yahadut Hatorah	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
Yemina	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Yesh Atid	8, 9, 10, 11
Zehut	2, 3, 4
Hamahane Hamamlakhti	11
Raam	11

Balad	11

dg_control

Imagine that you and an anonymous person were picked at random. This person will never know any identifying information about you. You must decide how to divide 100 NIS between the two of you. You may keep the full amount to yourself, give everything to him or her, or choose any other split. The decision is only up to and your identity will remain confidential. Out of this amount, how much will you **keep to yourself?** Please input a number between 0 and 100.

Waves: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7

dg_[party]

Imagine that you and an anonymous person were picked at random. The only detail known about this person is that he or she identify as a supporter of [party]. This person will never know any identifying information about you. You must decide how to divide 100 NIS between the two of you. You may keep the full amount to yourself, give everything to him or her, or choose any other split. The decision is only up to and your identity will remain confidential. Out of this amount, how much will you **keep to yourself?** Please input a number between 0 and 100.

Waves: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7

Party	**Waves**
Balad-Raam	1, 2, 3, 4
Haavoda-Gesher-Meretz	6, 7
Hamahane Hademokrati	5
Joint List	5, 6, 7
Kahol Lavan	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Likud	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Meretz	1, 2, 3, 4
Yahadut Hatorah	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7

sd_[group]

Below is a list of groups in Israeli politics. What is the maximal proximity that you would be willing to accept with respect to each of the groups? For example, if you would be willing to

have people from this group living in your street, but not to be their friend, choose the option "neighbours in the same street".

(1) I would accept him as a family member
(2) I would accept him as a close friend
(3) I would accept him as a neighbour in my street
(4) I would accept him as a worker in my occupation
(5) I would accept him as a citizen in the state
(6) I would accept him as a visitor to the country
(7) I would not accept him in my country

Waves: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11

Party Voters/Group	**Waves**
Balad-Raam	1, 2, 3, 4
Haavoda-Gesher-Meretz	6, 7
Hamahane Hademokrati	5
Joint List	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Kahol Lavan	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Left Wingers	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
Likud	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
Meretz	1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10
Right Wingers	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
Yahadut Hatorah	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
Yesh Atid	8, 9, 10, 11
Raam	11
Hadash-Taal	11

ag_fair
What is your opinion on Attorney General Avichai Mandelblit's decisions regarding the investigation of Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu? Do you think that these decisions are fair, nor not fair?

(1) Fair
(2) Not fair
(3) Don't know

Waves: 2

ag_biased
Do you think that the Attorney General is biased towards Netanyahu, biased against Netanyahu, or not biased (neutral)? Answer in a scale of 1 to 9 where 1 means 'biased towards Netanyahu',

9 means ‘biased against Netanyahu’, and 5 means neutral. If you don’t know, choose the relevant option.

1-9

10 Don’t know
Waves: 2

voted_2019_apr, voted_2019_sep, voted_2020, voted_2021, voted_2022
Did you vote in the Knesset elections?

(1) Yes
(2) No
(3) I was not eligible to vote

Variable	Waves
voted_2019_apr	3
voted_2019_sep	5, 6
voted_2020	7
voted_2021	9
voted_2022	11

vote_choice
(original is first_vc)

For which party did you vote?

Note: In wave 3, only asked if [voted_2019] is “Yes”

Waves: 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11

Party	Waves
Balad-Raam	3
Gesher	3
Haavoda	3, 9, 11
Haavoda-Gesher	5
Haavoda-Gesher-Meretz	6, 7
Habayit Hayehudi	3, 11
Hacalcalit Hahadasha	9
Hadash-Taal	3, 11
Hamahane Hademokrati	5
Hayamin Hahadash	3
Hazionut Hadatit	9, 11
Israel Beitenu	3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11
Joint List	5, 6, 7, 9

Kahol Lavan	3, 5, 6, 7, 9
Kulanu	3
Likud	3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11
Meretz	3, 9, 11
Other party	3, 5, 6, 7
Otzma Yehudit	5, 6, 7
Shas	3, 5, 6, 7, 9
Tikvah Hadasha	9, 11
Yahadut Hatorah	3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11
Yemina	5, 6, 7, 9
Yesh Atid	9, 11
Zehut	3
Hamahane Hamamlakhti	11
Raam	11
Balad	11

second_vote_choice_[party]
(original: second_vc)

Were there other parties that you considered voting for? If so, please mark all of them.

Note: only asked if vote_choice != “Blank vote” and [voted_2019_sep] = “Yes”

Waves: 5, 6, 7, 9, 11

Party	**Waves**
Gesher	5
Haavoda	9, 11
Haavoda-Gesher-Meretz	6, 7
Hacalcalit Hahadasha	9
Hamahane Hademokrati	5
Habayit Hayehudi	3, 11
Hazionut Hadatit	8, 11
Hadash-Taal	3, 11
Israel Beitenu	5, 6, 7, 9, 11
Joint List	5, 6, 7, 9
Kahol Lavan	5, 6, 7, 9
Likud	5, 6, 7, 9, 11
Meretz	9, 11
Otzma Yehudit	5, 6, 7
Raam	9
Shas	5, 6, 7, 9, 11

Tikva Hadasha	9
Undecided	9
Wont vote	9
Yahadut Hatorah	5, 6, 7, 9, 11
Yemina	5, 6, 7, 9
Yesh Atid	9, 11
Hamahane Hamamlakhti	11
Raam	11
Balad	11

[party]_won

Now think of the parties that you did not vote for. In light of the election results, do you think that each of these parties:

(1) Won the elections
(2) Lost the elections
(3) Don't know

Note: In wave 3, question was only asked if [voted_2019] is "Yes"

Waves: 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10

Party	**Waves**
Balad-Raam	3, 4
Gesher	3, 4
Haavoda	3, 4, 9, 10
Haavoda-Gesher	5
Haavoda-Gesher-Meretz	6
Habayit Hayehudi	3, 4
Hacalcalit Hahadasha	9, 10
Hadash-Taal	3, 4
Hamahane Hademokrati	5
Hayamin Hahadash	3, 4
Hazionut Hadatit	9, 10
Israel Beitenu	3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10
Joint List	5, 6, 9, 10
Kahol Lavan	3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10
Kulanu	3, 4
Likud	3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10
Meretz	3, 4, 9, 10
Otzma Yehudit	5, 6
Raam	9, 10
Shas	3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10

Tikva Hadasha	9, 10
Yachad	3, 4
Yahadut Hatorah	3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10
Yemina	5, 6, 9, 10
Yesh Atid	9, 10
Zehut	3, 4

attention_campaign
To what extent did you follow the election campaign?

(1) Not at all
(2) Very little
(3) To an extent
(4) Very much

Waves: 5, 6

party_differences
In the election campaign, were there in your opinion differences between the parties in Israel?

(1) There are no differences at all
(2) Small differences
(3) Major differences

Waves: 5, 6

social_ladder
In our society, some people tend to be at the top and others at the bottom. Below is a scale that runs from the top to the bottom. Where would you place yourself in this scale today?

10 (top of our society) – 0 (bottom of our society)

Need to recode!

Waves: 5, 11

contact_right
How often do you speak with people whose view are right-wing?

(1) Never
(2) Seldom
(3) Sometimes
(4) Often

Waves: 11

contact_left
How often do you speak with people whose view are right-wing?

(1) Never
(2) Seldom
(3) Sometimes
(4) Often

Waves: 11

positive_partisanship
I say “us” instead of “them” when I talk about [vote_choice]

(1) Never/rarely
(2) Sometimes
(3) Often
(4) Always

Waves: 6

kl_identify
Since the elections, Kahol Lavan split into two factions: Kahol Lavan headed by Benny Gantz and Gabi Ashkenazi, which joined the coalition, and Yesh Atid/Telem headed by Yair Lapid and Moshe Ya’alon, which is in the opposition. With which faction do you identify more?

(1) Kahol Lavan headed by Benny Gantz and Gaby Ashkenazi
(2) Yesh Atid/Telem headed by Yair Lapid and Moshe Ya’alon
(3) Neither

Note: only asked if [vote_choice] = “Kahol Lavan”

Waves: 7

kl_identify_weak
And if you had to choose one, which would you choose?

(1) Kahol Lavan headed by Benny Gantz and Gaby Ashkenazi
(2) Yesh Atid/Telem headed by Yair Lapid and Moshe Ya’alon

Note: only asked if [kl_identify] = “Neither”

Waves: 7

unity_gov_support

Did you support or object to the formation of the new unity government?

(1) Very much objected
(2) Objected to an extent
(3) Neither objected nor supported
(4) Supported to an extent
(5) Very much supported

Waves: 7

traits_[party]
We will now ask you to describe what are the prominent traits of the supporters of various parties.

What are the prominent traits of Likud voters? [Likud] (wave 7)

What are the prominent traits of Kahol Lavan voters? [Kahol_Lavan] (wave 7)

What are the prominent traits of Avoda-Gesher-Meretz voters? [Avoda_Gesher_Meretz] (wave 7)

What are the prominent traits of Yahadut Hatorah voters? [Yahadut_Hatorah] (wave 7)

What are the prominent traits of Joint List voters? [Joint_List] (waves 7, 9)

What are the prominent traits of Ra'am voters? [Raam] (wave 9)

Note: open-ended (free text) answer

Waves: 7, 9

traits_[party]
Machine translated version of traits_[party], translated into English.

netanyahu_thermometer
What is your attitude towards Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu? Rate your response on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is rejection/hatred, 10 is support/sympathy; and 5 is in between.

Waves: 8, 9, 10, 11

left_right_[party]
(original: parties_left_right)

Where would you place the following parties on a left-right scale, where 0 is the left end and 10 is the right end?

Waves: 8, 9, 10

Party	Waves
Haavoda	8, 9, 10
Hacalcalit Hahadasha	8, 9, 10
Hazionut Hadatit	8, 9, 10
Israel Beitenu	8, 9, 10
Joint List	8, 9, 10
Kahol Lavan	8, 9, 10
Likud	8, 9, 10
Meretz	8, 9, 10
Raam	8, 9, 10
Shas	8, 9, 10
Tikva Hadasha	8, 9, 10
Yahadut Hatorah	8, 9, 10
Yemina	8, 9, 10
Yesh Atid	8, 9, 10

elec_integrity_fair_count_future
Will the following things happen during the elections, in your opinion?

A fair count of the votes

(1) Definitely will not happen
(2) Probably will not happen
(3) Probably will happen
(4) Definitely will happen

Waves: 8

elec_integrity_central_elections_committee_future
Will the following things happen during the elections, in your opinion?

Politically biased decision-making by the Central Elections Committee, which is in charge of running and supervising the elections.

(1) Definitely will not happen
(2) Probably will not happen
(3) Probably will happen
(4) Definitely will happen

Waves: 8

elec_integrity_organized_fraud_future
Will the following things happen during the elections, in your opinion?

Organized ballot fraud on behalf of certain groups/parties on election day.

(1) Definitely will not happen
(2) Probably will not happen
(3) Probably will happen
(4) Definitely will happen

Waves: 8

elec_integrity_officials_fraud_future
Will the following things happen during the elections, in your opinion?

Attempts by senior officials in government to forge the election results.

(1) Definitely will not happen
(2) Probably will not happen
(3) Probably will happen
(4) Definitely will happen

Waves: 8

elec_integrity_external_fraud_future
Will the following things happen during the elections, in your opinion?

Attempts by a foreign country or countries to forge the election results.

(1) Definitely will not happen
(2) Probably will not happen
(3) Probably will happen
(4) Definitely will happen

Waves: 8

elec_fraud_groups_future

In your opinion, which groups or parties will be responsible for organized fraud during election day?

Note: only asked if [elec_integrity_organized_fraud] = “Probably will happen” or “Definitely will happen”

Note: open-ended (free text) answer

Waves: 8

elec_fraud_groups_future_en
Machine translated version of elec_fraud_groups_future.

elec_integrity_fair_count_past
Did the following things happen during the elections, in your opinion?

A fair count of the votes

(1) Definitely will not happen
(2) Probably will not happen
(3) Probably will happen
(4) Definitely will happen

Waves: 9

elec_integrity_central_elections_committee_past
Did the following things happen during the elections, in your opinion?

Politically biased decision-making by the Central Elections Committee, which is in charge of running the elections and supervising them.

(5) Definitely will not happen
(6) Probably will not happen
(7) Probably will happen
(8) Definitely will happen

Waves: 9

elec_integrity_organized_fraud_past
Did the following things happen during the elections, in your opinion?

Organized ballot fraud on behalf of certain groups/parties on election day.

(5) Definitely will not happen
(6) Probably will not happen
(7) Probably will happen
(8) Definitely will happen

Waves: 9

elec_integrity_officials_fraud_past
Did the following things happen during the elections, in your opinion?

Attempts by senior officials in government to forge the election results.

(5) Definitely will not happen
(6) Probably will not happen
(7) Probably will happen
(8) Definitely will happen

Waves: 9

elec_integrity_external_fraud_past
Did the following things happen during the elections, in your opinion?

Attempts by a foreign country or countries to forge the election results.

(5) Definitely will not happen
(6) Probably will not happen
(7) Probably will happen
(8) Definitely will happen

Waves: 9

Income_coronavirus
How would you estimate that your income (including government aid) has changed during the last year, in comparison to your situation prior to the coronavirus crisis?

(1) My income was greatly reduced as is less than half than it was prior to the crisis
(2) My income was greatly reduced and is about half than it was prior to the crisis

(3) My income was significantly reduced (around 20%-40%) in comparison to what it was prior to the crisis
(4) My income was a little reduced (around 10%) in comparison to what it was before the crisis
(5) My income has remained similar to what it was prior to the crisis
(6) My income has increased by a little (around 10%) in comparison to what it was before the crisis
(7) My income has significantly increased (around 20%-40%) in comparison to what it was before the crisis
(8) My income has greatly increased by half than it was before the crisis
(9) My income has greatly increase by more than half than it was before the crisis

Waves: 8

occupation_pride

Think of your occupation. How proud are you to be one of the people in the occupation?

(1) Very much ashamed
(2) Ashamed
(3) A little bit ashamed
(4) Neither ashamed nor proud
(5) A little bit proud
(6) Proud
(7) Very much proud

Waves: 8

gov_policy_impact

Many people's income was differently affected by the government's policy during the coronavirus pandemic (especially lockdowns and restrictions on trade). In comparison to the average person, how do you estimate the extent of harm that was directly afflicted to you by government policy?

(1) I was not harmed at all
(2) I was harmed much less than the average
(3) I was harmed less than the average
(4) I was harmed a little less than the average
(5) I was harmed to an average extent
(6) I was harmed a little more than the average
(7) I was harmed more than the average
(8) I was harmed much more than the average

Waves: 8

media_left_right
Where would place Israeli media on a left-right scale, where 0 is the left end and 10 is the right?

0-10

Waves: 8

netanyahu_media_self
Do you support or object to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's remarks against the Israeli media?

(1) Very much object
(2) Object
(3) Neither object nor support
(4) Support
(5) Very much support

Waves: 8

netanyahu_media_others
In your opinion, does most of the public support or object to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's remarks against the Israeli media?

(1) Most of the public very much objects
(2) Most of the public objects
(3) Most of the public neither objects nor supports
(4) Most of the public supports
(5) Most of the public very much supports

Waves: 8

journalist_traits
In your opinion, what are the prominent traits of journalists in Israel?

Note: open ended text

Wave: 8

journalist_traits_en
Machine translated version of journalist_traits.

new_gov_support

Do you support or oppose the newly formed government?

(1) Very much oppose
(2) Oppose
(3) Neither oppose nor support
(4) Support
(5) Very much support

Wave: 10

new_gov_legal

Is the newly formed government legal in your opinion?

(1) Yes
(2) No
(3) I don't know

Wave: 10

new_gov_legitimate

Is the newly formed government legitimate in your opinion?

(1) Yes
(2) No
(3) I don't know

Wave: 10, 11

new_gov_fraud_suppor
Outgoing prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu argues that the new government is the "fraud of the century". Do you agree with his claim?

(1) Very much agree
(2) Agree
(3) Disagree
(4) Very much disagree

Wave: 10

new_gov_fraud_text

Why do you think that the newly formed government is the “fraud of the century”?

Note: open-ended answer

Note: Only asked if [new_gov_fraud_suppor] = “Very much agree” or [new_gov_fraud_suppor] = “Agree”

Wave: 10

new_gov_fraud_text_en
Machine translated version of new_gov_fraud.

new_gov_prediction
In your opinion, how long will the newly formed government govern?

(1) Up to a year
(2) 1-2 years
(3) 3-4 years
(4) 3-4 years
(5) Full term (4 years)

Wave: 10

rr_dv_values_jewish_interests
Jewish interests must be promoted over any universal value

(1) Very much oppose
(2) Oppose
(3) Neither oppose nor support
(4) Support
(5) Very much support

Waves: 11 [Note different prompt given in wave 8 in the experimental module]

rr_dv_values_israel_concessions
The enemies of Israel must be fought in a total manner – no negotiations, no concessions, and no compromises

(1) Very much oppose
(2) Oppose
(3) Neither oppose nor support
(4) Support
(5) Very much support

Waves: 11 [Note different prompt given in wave 8 in the experimental module]

rr_dv_values_encourage_emigration

Enemies of the state should be encouraged to emigrate from the country

(1) Very much oppose
(2) Oppose
(3) Neither oppose nor support
(4) Support
(5) Very much support

Waves: 11 [Note different prompt given in wave 8 in the experimental module]

rr_dv_values_judaism_halakha

There is no such thing as a Judaism not based on Jewish Halakha (religious law)

(1) Very much oppose
(2) Oppose
(3) Neither oppose nor support
(4) Support
(5) Very much support

Waves: 11 [Note different prompt given in wave 8 in the experimental module]

rr_dv_values_jewish_priviliges

The state ought to grant the Jewish population privileges over the Arab population

(1) Very much oppose
(2) Oppose
(3) Neither oppose nor support
(4) Support
(5) Very much support

Waves: 11

rr_dv_values_jewish_priviliges_racism

Giving preference to Jews over Arabs is not racism

(1) Very much oppose
(2) Oppose
(3) Neither oppose nor support
(4) Support
(5) Very much support

Waves: 11

dem_definition

With which of the two following views on the nature of democracy do you agree more: the claim that every regime that follows the principle of majority rule if a democracy, or the claim that in order for a regime to be truly democratic other principles must be observed, such as human rights?

10 (for a regime to be truly democratic it must observe principles such as human rights) – 0 (every regime that follows the principle of majority rule is a democracy)

Waves: 11

dem_text_differences

In your opinion, what are the major differences between democracies and other kinds of regimes?

[open-text response]

Waves: 11

dem_text_differences_english
A machine translated version of the question into English.

dem_regime_type
Try to think of the type of regime you would like to see most in the state of Israel. When thinking about it, how important is it for you that this type of regime would be democratic?

(1) Not at all
(2) Somewhat important
(3) Moderately important
(4) Important
(5) Very important

Waves: 11

dem_text_future
When thinking of the future, what would you most like to change in Israeli democracy?

[open-text response]

Waves: 11

dem_text_future_english
A machne translated version of the question into English.

dem_threat
In your opinion, is Israeli democracy under threat? If so, to what extent?

(1) Not at all

(2) Yes, to some extent
(3) Yes, greatly

Waves: 11

dem_threat_text
And in your opinion, what is the greatest threat for Israeli democracy?

Waves: 11

[open-text response]

[Note: only respondents who responded 'Yes, to some extent' or 'Yes, greatly' to dem_threat were presented this question]

dem_threat_text_english
A machine translated version of the open-ended response into English.

media_feelings_[feeling]
Which of the following terms most aptly describe your feelings about the media in Israel? You may choose more than one response.

media_feelings_apathy: True/False

media_feelings_trust: True/False

media_feelings_distrust: True/False

media_feelings_hatred: True/False

media_feelings_sympathy: True/False

media_feelings_appreciation: True/False

media_feelings_contempt: True/False

[Note: False indicates that the relevant term has not been selected]

Waves: 11

journalist_contact_[form]
Have you ever contacted journalists or media outlets in Israel, online or in any other way? You may choose more than one response.

journalist_contact_no: True/False [No]

journalist_contact_criticism: True/False [Yes, to offer criticism or protest]

journalist_contact_support: True/False [Yes, to offer support or encouragement]

journalist_contact_story: True/False [Yes, to offer a story for media coverage]

[Note: False indicates that the relevant form of communication has not been selected]

Waves: 11

populism_people_should_decide
Do you agree with the following sentence:

The people should take the important policy decision, and not politicians.

(1) Very much disagree
(2) Tend to disagree
(3) In between
(4) Tend to agree
(5) Very much agree

Wave: 11

populism_politicians_dont_care
Do you agree with the following sentence:

Most politicians don't care about the people

(1) Very much disagree
(2) Tend to disagree
(3) In between
(4) Tend to agree
(5) Very much agree

Wave: 11

populism_politicians_compromise
Do you agree with the following sentence:

What people call "compromise" in politics is in fact a betrayal of principles

(1) Very much disagree
(2) Tend to disagree
(3) In between
(4) Tend to agree
(5) Very much agree

Wave: 11

Experimental components

Wave 7 experimental component

Wave 7 included an experimental component on COVID-19 and social distance measures. Variables sd_covid_control_[group] and sd_covid_experiment_[group] capture responses

towards [group] and indicate whether respondent was assigned to the control or treatment groups.

sd_covid_control_[group]
(original: covid_control)

Below is a list of groups in Israeli society. What is the **maximal** proximity that you would be willing to accept with respect to each of the groups? For example, if you would be willing to have people from this group living in your street, but not to be their friend, choose the option "neighbours in the same street".

(1) I would accept him as a family member
(2) I would accept him as a close friend
(3) I would accept him as a neighbour in my street
(4) I would accept him as a worker in my occupation
(5) I would accept him as a citizen in the state
(6) I would accept him as a visitor to the country
(7) I would not accept him in my country

Groups:

(1) Ultra-orthodox people (haredim)
(2) Arabs
(3) Secular people (hiloni'im)
(8) Religious people (dati'im)
(4) Foreign workers

Waves: 7

sd_covid_experiment_[group]
(original: covid_experiment)

The coronavirus crisis has caused people to think about their attitudes towards different groups in Israeli society, and has led to many changes In our lives. Think of the way in which different groups handled the crisis. What is the **maximal** proximity that you would be willing to accept with respect to each of the groups? For example, if you would be willing to have people from this group living in your street, but not to be their friend, choose the option "neighbours in the same street".

1. I would accept him as a family member
2. I would accept him as a close friend
3. I would accept him as a neighbour in my street
4. I would accept him as a worker in my occupation
5. I would accept him as a citizen in the state

6. I would accept him as a visitor to the country
7. I would not accept him in my country

Groups:

(1) Ultra-orthodox people (haredim)
(2) Arabs
(3) Secular people (hiloni'im)
(8) Religious people (dati'im)
(4) Foreign workers

Waves: 7

Wave 8 experimental component

Wave 8 included a 2x3 experimental component on perceptions of the radical right party "HaTzionut HaDatit". Respondents were shown a single text out of 6 possible experimental groups.

All respondents were shown the following introductory passage:

The recent formation of the new radical right candidate list "HaTziyonut HaDatit" ("Religious Zionism") in preparation for the upcoming elections, had sparked a public debate. The list consists of three parties – "HaIhud HaLeumi-Tkuma" led by Bezalel Smotrich, "Otzma Yehudit" led by Itamar Ben Gvir, and "Noam" led by Avi Maoz. The roots of "Otzma Yehudit" could be traced to Rabbi Meir Kahane's movement "Kach", which was disqualified from running for parliament due to its Incitement of racism. The principles advocated by "Noam" focus on an objection to equal rights for women and LGBTQs.

And either of the following two passages regarding the party's electoral viability:

a. The list passes the electoral threshold

In a recently published Channel 13 News election poll, the "HaTziyonot HaDatit" list passes the electoral threshold and gets five seats in parliament.

b. The list does not pass the electoral threshold

In a recently published Channel 13 News election poll, the "HaTziyonot HaDatit" list does not pass the electoral threshold.

As well as either of three passages regarding the narrative of mainstream right-wing Party "Likud" regarding the list:

a. Endorsement

Some top "Likud" officials have expressed support for the formation of the joint list, for Ben Gvir to join the parliament, or for incorporating Ben Gvir and his party in the coalition that would be formed after the elections. Minister of transport Miri Regev said that "Ben Gvir is part of the religious Zionism, which is part of the coalition. I am pleased that Smotrich and Ben Gvir united, so as not to lose right-wing votes". Chairman of the Coalition Miki Zohar expressed a similar notion, claiming that "Ben Gvir is part of the religious Zionism, which would be a part of the coalition". According to Zohar, uniting these parties in one list "is very important for the right wing, and would help us win the elections."

b. Denouncement

Some top "Likud" officials have criticized ideas of including Ben Gvir and his party in the government or coalition that would be formed after the elections. Minister of transport Miri Regev said that she "does not think we will seat in a coalition with Ben Gvir." Speaker of the Knesset Yariv Levin explained that Ben Gvir and his party "have no intention, and neither do we, for them to be part of the coalition, because the differences between us are grave" and that "Itamar Ben Gvir's ways are not my ways, and his opinions are not my opinions."

c. Contradiction

Different top "Likud" officials have expressed different thoughts regarding the appropriate place for Ben Gvir and his party in Israeli politics. Chairman of the Coalition Miki Zohar expressed support for including Ben Gvir and his party in the coalition that would be formed after the elections. Zohar claimed that "Ben Gvir is part of the religious Zionism, which would be a part of the coalition" and added that uniting these parties in one list "is very important for the right wing, and would help us win the elections." On the other hand, Speaker of the Knesset Yariv Levin expressed opposition to including the party in a future coalition. Levin explained that Ben Gvir and his party "have no intention, and neither do we, for them to be part of the coalition, because the differences between us are grave" and that "Itamar Ben Gvir's ways are not my ways, and his opinions are not my opinions."

Variables rr_threshold and rr_rhetoric capture the treatment group assigned to respondents. Outcome variables for this experimental component are described next.

rr_threshold
Indicates which survey information respondents were randomly assigned to read regarding the Zionut Hadatit party's likelihood of passing the electoral threshold.

(0) assigned to read survey results in which the party does not pass the threshold in the survey

(1) assigned to read survey results in which party passes the threshold in the survey

Wave: 8

rr_rhetoric

Indicates what kind of Likud officials 'rhetoric the respondents were randomly assigned to read, which could be either statements opposing the inclusion of the Zionut Hadatit in a future coalition, supporting its inclusion, or a mix of both.

(0) assigned to opposing rhetoric only

(1) assigned to mixed opposing and supporting rhetoric

(2) assigned to supporting rhetoric only

Wave: 8

rr_dv_support
Do you support or oppose HaTzionut HaDatit joining the government to be formed after the elections?

(1) Very much oppose
(2) Oppose
(3) Neither oppose nor support
(4) Support
(5) Very much support

Wave: 8

rr_dv_likud
If the Likud party forms the government, do you think that HaTzionut HaDatit will join it?

(1) Definitely not
(2) I don't think so
(3) Maybe and maybe not
(4) I think so
(5) Definitely

Wave: 8

rr_dv_values_jewish_interests
(original: Q37_1)

HaTzionut Hadatit promotes the following values. To what extent do you support or oppose them?

Jewish interests must be promoted over any universal value

(6) Very much oppose
(7) Oppose
(8) Neither oppose nor support
(9) Support
(10) Very much support

Waves: 8

rr_dv_values_israel_concessions
(original: Q37_2)

HaTzionut Hadatit promotes the following values. To what extent do you support or oppose them?

The enemies of Israel must be fought in a total manner – no negotiations, no concessions, and no compromises

(6) Very much oppose
(7) Oppose
(8) Neither oppose nor support
(9) Support
(10) Very much support

rr_dv_values_encourage_emigration
(original: Q37_3)

HaTzionut Hadatit promotes the following values. To what extent do you support or oppose them?

Enemies of the state should be encouraged to emigrate from the country

(6) Very much oppose
(7) Oppose
(8) Neither oppose nor support
(9) Support
(10) Very much support

rr_dv_values_judaism_halakha
(original: Q37_4)

HaTzionut Hadatit promotes the following values. To what extent do you support or oppose them?

There is no such thing as a Judaism not based on Jewish Halakha (religious law)

(1) Very much oppose
(2) Oppose
(3) Neither oppose nor support
(4) Support
(5) Very much support