

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY
The Romulo Betancourt Chair of Political Science

ISRAEL
ELECTIONS STUDY 1981

FINDINGS

Summer 1986

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Elections Study 1981

The Israel Election Study of 1981 was conducted in three phases, each based on a representative sample of the adult, Jewish population.

The first phase was held between 18-25 March 1981 and included 1249 respondents. The second phase, held between 26 April - 4 May 1981, was based on a sample of 1088 interviewees, and the third and final phase, held between 27 May - 6 June 1981, included 1237 respondents.

The findings of the three phases are organized according to the structure of the three questionnaires. The questionnaires present questions and the possible answers - the numbers that appears to the left of each question indicate the punch card positions. The numbers to the right of the answers indicate the percentage distribution of each question. In the March and May surveys the total of percentages for each question is less than 100% - the remainder is the percentage of interviewees who did not respond to the question. In the April survey, the percentage that did not respond is indicated below the distribution according to the answers for each question.

The field research was conducted by "Dahaf" (March and May) and by the Israeli Institute for Applied Social Research (April). The questionnaires were compiled by Prof. Asher Arian of the Political Science Department, Tel-Aviv University, and are presented and made available as part of the activity of the Romulo Betancourt Chair of Political Science at Tel Aviv University.

1/6	In your opinion, how is the general situation in Israel today?	
	(1) very good	4
	(2) good	18
	(3) not so good	35
	(4) not good	24
	(5) not good at all	16
1/7	What is your opinion on the way the government is handling the problems of our present situation?	
	(1) it is handling them very well	5
	(2) it is handling them well	24
	(3) not so well	43
	(4) not well at all	25
1/8	In your opinion, what is the main problem that the government has to take care of?	
	(1) security	13
	(2) economy	41
	(3) social inequality	10
	(4) peace	5
	(5) young couples	8
	(6) inflation	11
	(7) immigrant absorption	1
	(8) education	6
	(9) lack of leadership	3
	(0) other	2
1/9	Are there differences in the parties' stands on this issue?	
	(1) very big differences	12
	(2) big differences	26
	(3) certain differences	30
	(4) small differences	10
	(5) very small differences	6
	(6) no differences	13

1/10	Which party will best handle the issue?	
	(1) Alignment	32
	(2) Likud	23
	(3) Moshe Dayan's list	3
	(4) National Religious Party	2
	(5) Agudat Israel & Poalei Agudat Israel	2
	(6) Katz	1
	(7) Shinui	1
	(8) Sheli	1
	(9) Bathiya	2
	(10) Rakah	-
	(x) Other	2
	(v) Don't know	29
1/11	To what extent must Israel be prepared to negotiate with the PLO?	
	(1) not at all	65
	(2) to a small extent	13
	(3) to a certain extent	15
	(4) to a great extent	5
1/12	In your opinion, should territorial concessions in Judea and Samaria be made in order to achieve a peace agreement and if so, what is the largest concession that should be made?	
	(1) nothing should be conceded	50
	(2) only a small part should be conceded	23
	(3) a part should be conceded	19
	(4) almost all should be conceded	4
	(5) all should be conceded to achieve a peace agreement	3
1/13	Are there differences in the parties' positions on the territories issue?	
	(1) very big differences	26
	(2) big differences	35
	(3) certain differences	24
	(4) small differences	7
	(5) very small differences	3
	(6) no differences	4

- 1/14 To what extent will the territorial concessions issue have an influence on the election results?
- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|----|
| (1) | to a great extent | 24 |
| (2) | to a certain extent | 42 |
| (3) | to a small extent | 16 |
| (4) | not at all | 15 |
- 1/15 To what extent will this issue influence your voting in the coming Knesset elections?
- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|----|
| (1) | to a great extent | 26 |
| (2) | to a certain extent | 42 |
| (3) | to a small extent | 16 |
| (4) | not at all | 15 |
- 1/16 Which party best reflects your stand on this issue?
- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (1) | Alignment | |
| (2) | Likud | |
| (3) | Moshe Dayan's list | |
| (4) | National Religious Party | |
| (5) | Agudat Israel and Poalei Agudat Israel | |
| (6) | Ratz | |
| (7) | Shinui | |
| (8) | Sheli | |
| (9) | Hathiya | |
| (0) | Kakah | |
| (x) | Other | |
| (r) | Don't know | |
- 1/17 What is your opinion of the way the government is handling the country's economic problems?
- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|----|
| (1) | it is handling them very well | 5 |
| (2) | it is handling them well | 18 |
| (3) | so-so | 28 |
| (4) | not so well | 22 |
| (5) | not well at all | 27 |

1/18	Much has been said lately about inflation. To what extent will this influence election results?	
	(1) to a great extent	47
	(2) to a certain extent	32
	(3) to a small extent	10
	(4) not at all	9
1/19	To what extent will this issue influence your voting in the coming Knesset elections?	
	(1) to a great extent	29
	(2) to a certain extent	34
	(3) to a small extent	12
	(4) not at all	23
1/20	Are there differences in the parties' positions on economic issues?	
	(1) very big differences	13
	(2) big differences	30
	(3) certain differences	31
	(4) small differences	13
	(5) very small differences	5
	(6) no differences	6
1/21	Which party best reflects your stand on economic issues?	
	(1) Alignment	37
	(2) Likud	25
	(3) Moshe Dayan's list	2
	(4) National Religious Party	1
	(5) Agudat Israel and Poalei Agudat Israel	1
	(6) Ratz	-
	(7) Shinui	1
	(8) Sheli	1
	(9) Hathiya	1
	(0) Rakab	-
	(x) Other	2
	(r) don't know	26

1/22	Before elections do you tend to participate in meetings organized by parties, and if so, how often?	
	(1) yes, very often	9
	(2) yes, very infrequently	20
	(3) no, never	70
1/23	Do you participate in home discussion groups organized by parties, and if so, how often?	
	(1) yes, very often	6
	(2) yes, very infrequently	18
	(3) no, never	74
1/24	To what extent do you discuss politics with your friends and family?	
	(1) to a great extent	23
	(2) to a certain extent	34
	(3) to a small extent	23
	(4) not at all	19
1/25	To what extent do you think election campaigns will help you decide who to vote for?	
	(1) to a great extent	9
	(2) to a certain extent	19
	(3) to a small extent	19
	(4) not at all	52
1/26	To what extent do you think radio broadcasts will help you decide who to vote for?	
	(1) to a great extent	4
	(2) to a certain extent	15
	(3) to a small extent	18
	(4) not at all	62

1/27	To what extent do you think newspapers will help you decide who to vote for?	
	(1) to a great extent	6
	(2) to a certain extent	16
	(3) to a small extent	17
	(4) not at all	60
1/28	To what extent do you think television broadcasts will help you decide who to vote for?	
	(1) to a great extent	7
	(2) to a certain extent	17
	(3) to a small extent	15
	(4) not at all	59

* On a scale from 1 to 10, 1 stands for the best life for you and 10 stands for the worst. The following 3 questions refer to this scale:

1/29	Where would you place yourself today?									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	4	6	14	15	32	10	7	6	2	2

1/30	Where were you four years ago?									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	6	10	16	18	23	9	7	5	2	2

1/31	Where do you think you will be in four years?									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	7	11	14	14	19	8	6	4	2	2

* The same scale now refers to the security situation in the country. 1 stands for the optimal situation and 10 stands for the worst. The following 3 questions refer to this scale:

1/32 Where would you place the country in terms of security today?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
9	15	18	14	19	8	6	6	2	1

1/33 Where did the country stand in terms of security four years ago?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

and where do you estimate the country will stand in terms of security in four years?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10	13	14	14	14	7	5	5	2	2

* The same scale now refers to economics. 1 stands for the optimal economic situation and 10 stands for the worst. The following 3 questions refer to this scale:

1/35 Where does the country stand in terms of the economy today?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2	3	6	10	15	9	12	18	11	12

1/36 Where did the country stand four years ago?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3	5	11	18	26	16	8	6	2	2

1/37 And where do you estimate the country will stand in terms of the economy in four years?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3	6	9	11	19	12	9	6	4	4

1/38 Before you are various reasons that people have given for watching election broadcasts on television. Which seems to you to be the main reason?

(1)	to hear arguments that can be used in political debates	3
(2)	to get to know the political leaders	9
(3)	to get to know the political programs of the parties	15
(4)	to clarify to myself whom to vote for	13
(5)	to review the position of the party I belong to or support	9
(6)	to help me estimate the parties' chances of success	6
(7)	to bring me up to date on the general political situation	12
(8)	I enjoy the political struggle and debate	8
(9)	it's the only program I can watch on television at that time	8
(0)	other	2
(x)	don't know	11

1/39 Before you are reasons that have been given for not watching election broadcasts on television. Which seems to you to be the main reason?

(1)	I'm not interested in politics	9
(2)	I prefer entertainment on TV	11
(3)	I don't believe the parties' arguments	12
(4)	Because some of the candidates don't treat the public seriously	9
(5)	I've already decided who to vote for and have no need to watch	19
(6)	Because I often find it difficult to understand what the candidates want to say	4
(7)	I don't want to open my home to political propoganda	2
(8)	Because they have nothing new to tell me	11
(9)	Because I don't like politicians tricking me	2
(0)	Other	1
(x)	don't know	14

- 1/40 There are several factors that make a person vote for a certain party: identification with the party (including habit, or an emotional or historical link), the party's candidate, the party's stand on specific issues, its chances of being in government, etc. Which is the main factor that influences your choice?
- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|----|
| (1) | identification with the party | 31 |
| (2) | the party's candidate | 18 |
| (3) | the party's stand on specific issues | 38 |
| (4) | party's chance of being in government | 7 |
- * People tend to give different reasons for voting for a certain party. The following 28 questions present arguments that could be given for supporting a party; in each question you are asked to judge how convincing the argument is. The first 10 questions relate to possible reasons for supporting Likud. To what extent is each argument convincing enough to vote for Likud?
- 1/41 Four years are not enough to build up what the Alignment destroyed in 30 years.
- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|----|
| (1) | to a great extent | 21 |
| (2) | to a certain extent | 20 |
| (3) | to a small extent | 19 |
| (4) | not at all | 36 |
- 1/42 The Likud has good leaders.
- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|----|
| (1) | to a great extent | 14 |
| (2) | to a certain extent | 22 |
| (3) | to a small extent | 21 |
| (4) | not at all | 39 |
- 1/43 The Likud's policy will increase the chances for peace.
- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|----|
| (1) | to a great extent | 21 |
| (2) | to a certain extent | 25 |
| (3) | to a small extent | 22 |
| (4) | not at all | 27 |

1/44	The Likud took a firm stand in the negotiations over territory and peace.	
	(1) to a great extent	20
	(2) to a certain extent	22
	(3) to a small extent	20
	(4) not at all	32
1/45	The Likud will be more effective in handling economic and social problems	
	(1) to a great extent	12
	(2) to a certain extent	17
	(3) to a small extent	23
	(4) not at all	43
1/46	One cannot trust the Alignment's leaders and should thus support Likud	
	(1) to a great extent	18
	(2) to a certain extent	15
	(3) to a small extent	19
	(4) not at all	44
1/47	The Likud is the least of all evils	
	(1) to a great extent	17
	(2) to a certain extent	17
	(3) to a small extent	21
	(4) not at all	41
1/48	The leaders of the Alignment are responsible for bringing the country to its present difficult situation and must not be allowed to return to government	
	(1) to a great extent	19
	(2) to a certain extent	17
	(3) to a small extent	18
	(4) not at all	41

1/49	The Alignment and Dayan do not have clear foreign and security policies and so one must support Likud	
	(1) to a great extent	17
	(2) to a certain extent	15
	(3) to a small extent	20
	(4) not at all	43
1/50	The Alignment's Jordan Option and Dayan's ideas will bring about a Palestinian State, so one must support Likud.	
	(1) to a great extent	23
	(2) to a certain extent	15
	(3) to a small extent	19
	(4) not at all	38
* The next ten questions relate to possible reasons for supporting Alignment. To what extent is each argument convincing enough to vote for Alignment?		
1/51	The Alignment has experience in government	
	(1) to a great extent	25
	(2) to a certain extent	29
	(3) to a small extent	18
	(4) not at all	22
1/52	The Alignment has good leaders	
	(1) to a great extent	17
	(2) to a certain extent	29
	(3) to a small extent	22
	(4) not at all	27
1/53	The Alignment offers new people and good ideas for solving the country's problems.	
	(1) to a great extent	13
	(2) to a certain extent	27
	(3) to a small extent	26
	(4) not at all	29

1/54	The Alignment's policy will increase the chances for peace	
	(1) to a great extent	13
	(2) to a certain extent	26
	(3) to a small extent	24
	(4) not at all	31
1/55	The Alignment can better handle the economic and social problems	
	(1) to a great extent	21
	(2) to a certain extent	26
	(3) to a small extent	23
	(4) not at all	24
1/56	The Alignment is renewing itself and can now be trusted	
	(1) to a great extent	16
	(2) to a certain extent	24
	(3) to a small extent	23
	(4) not at all	31
1/57	The Alignment is the least of all evils	
	(1) to a great extent	18
	(2) to a certain extent	20
	(3) to a small extent	20
	(4) not at all	36
1/58	After the experience of DMC one must support the Alignment and not vote for new parties	
	(1) to a great extent	18
	(2) to a certain extent	19
	(3) to a small extent	17
	(4) not at all	40
1/59	The Likud does not have good leaders, and so one must support the Alignment	
	(1) to a great extent	17
	(2) to a certain extent	18
	(3) to a small extent	21
	(4) not at all	38

1/60	Begin's Autonomy Plan and Dayan's ideas will bring about a Palestinian State, so one must support the Alignment	
	(1) to a great extent	12
	(2) to a certain extent	18
	(3) to a small extent	18
	(4) not at all	45
* The next 8 questions relate to possible reasons for supporting Moshe Dayan's list. To what extent is each argument convincing enough to vote for Dayan's list?		
1/61	Dayan offers strong leadership	
	(1) to a great extent	15
	(2) to a certain extent	23
	(3) to a small extent	23
	(4) not at all	33
1/62	Dayan's policy will increase the chances for peace	
	(1) to a great extent	10
	(2) to a certain extent	24
	(3) to a small extent	28
	(4) not at all	32
1/63	Dayan's list will better handle economic and social problems	
	(1) to a great extent	4
	(2) to a certain extent	16
	(3) to a small extent	30
	(4) not at all	43
1/64	Dayan's list is the least of all evils	
	(1) to a great extent	7
	(2) to a certain extent	15
	(3) to a small extent	25
	(4) not at all	46

1/65	The Alignment and Likud are equally bad so one must support Dayan's list	
	(1) to a great extent	4
	(2) to a certain extent	13
	(3) to a small extent	23
	(4) not at all	52
1/66	Dayan can bring about real change in the country	
	(1) to a great extent	8
	(2) to a certain extent	18
	(3) to a small extent	25
	(4) not at all	43
1/67	The Alignment and Likud leaders have proven they are incapable of running things, so one must support Dayan's list	
	(1) to a great extent	5
	(2) to a certain extent	15
	(3) to a small extent	25
	(4) not at all	48
1/68	Begin's Autonomy Plan and the Alignment's Jordan Option will bring about a Palestinian State, so one must support Dayan's list	
	(1) to a great extent	5
	(2) to a certain extent	11
	(3) to a small extent	24
	(4) not at all	54
1/69	To what extent do you believe that you and your friends can influence the government's policy?	
	(1) to a great extent	6
	(2) to a certain extent	28
	(3) to a small extent	31
	(4) not at all	33

1/70	To what extent do the elections influence government policy?	
	(1) to a great extent	30
	(2) to a certain extent	39
	(3) to a small extent	17
	(4) not at all	11
1/71	Some people say that a few strong leaders could do a lot more good than all the discussions and laws. Do you agree or disagree?	
	(1) certainly agree	31
	(2) agree	41
	(3) disagree	16
	(4) certainly disagree	9
1/72	With what political tendency do you identify?	
	(1) Left	4
	(2) Moderate left	13
	(3) Center	39
	(4) Moderate right	19
	(5) Right	13
	(6) Religious	6

* Before you is a list of characteristics and their opposites. On a scale from one to six you are to indicate how you would rate a certain leader on a given characteristic. For example:

"young leader" 1 2 3 4 5 6 "old leader"

On this scale, 1 stands for a young leader and 6 stands for an old leader. You can indicate whether a certain leader is young or old, or somewhere in the middle. The first five questions relate to Shimon Peres:

1/73	"Strong"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"Weak"
		15	21	26	15	7	12	

1/74	"Can work on a team"	1 20	2 22	3 22	4 14	5 8	6 9	"Cannot work on a team"
1/75	"Honest"	1 13	2 17	3 22	4 15	5 9	6 19	"Not honest"
1/76	"Decisive"	1 22	2 23	3 21	4 14	5 6	6 9	"Indecisive"
1/77	"Can stand stress"	1 20	2 25	3 21	4 12	5 7	6 10	"Cannot stand stress"

The next five questions relate to Menachem Begin:

2/6	"Strong"	1 26	2 18	3 18	4 13	5 13	6 10	"Weak"
2/7	"Can work on a team"	1 25	2 20	3 15	4 13	5 12	6 12	"Cannot work on a team"
2/8	"Honest"	1 50	2 17	3 12	4 6	5 6	6 5	"Not honest"
2/9	"Decisive"	1 30	2 18	3 16	4 14	5 9	6 8	"Indecisive"
2/10	"Can stand stress"	1 25	2 16	3 17	4 14	5 12	6 12	"Cannot stand stress"
2/11	"Strong"	1 29	2 21	3 19	4 13	5 5	6 8	"Weak"

2/12	"Can Work on a team"	1 15	2 16	3 22	4 18	5 10	6 15	"Cannot work on a team"
2/13	"Honest"	1 18	2 16	3 22	4 17	5 10	6 13	"Not honest"
2/14	"Decisive"	1 31	2 20	3 18	4 13	5 6	6 7	"Indecisive"
2/15	"Can stand stress"	1 26	2 20	3 20	4 13	5 8	6 8	"Cannot stand stress"
2/16	Some people say that politicians tend not to take into account the opinion of the man in the street. What do you think?							
	(1)	don't take his opinion into account at all						20
	(2)	they do only to a small degree						35
	(3)	they do to a certain degree						34
	(4)	they do to a large degree						7
2/17	Do your family members vote like you?							
	(1)	they all vote like me						24
	(2)	most of them do						19
	(3)	some of them do						15
	(4)	none of them do						10
	(5)	I don't know how they vote						29
2/18	Do your friends vote like you?							
	(1)	they all vote like me						10
	(2)	most of them do						26
	(3)	some of them do						17
	(4)	none of them do						7
	(5)	I don't know how they vote						37

2/19 From the following list of groups, you are asked to choose the two groups that you would like to see receive greater representation in the party for which you intend to vote. Your first choice:

(1) young people	34
(2) women	10
(3) Orientals	11
(4) intellectuals	12
(5) workers	7
(6) military	7
(7) business men	4
(8) new immigrants	1
(9) no group	12

2/20 Your second choice:

(1) young people	16
(2) women	7
(3) Orientals	10
(4) intellectuals	13
(5) workers	9
(6) military	12
(7) business men	8
(8) new immigrants	2
(9) no group	20

The following 5 questions refer to Yorom Aridor's economic policy:

2/21 To what extent do you believe Aridor's policy will improve the economy of the country?

(1) not at all	28
(2) not a lot	25
(3) to a certain extent	32
(4) to a great extent	10

2/22	If the Likud continues to be in government after the elections, what is the chance that Aridor's economic policy will continue?	
	(1) there's a very good chance	24
	(2) only a small chance	32
	(3) no chance	18
	(4) no chance at all	22
2/23	Which social class most benefits from Aridor's new economic policy?	
	(1) mainly the lower classes	6
	(2) mainly the middle classes	41
	(3) mainly the upper classes	38
	(4) no specific class - all citizens	11
2/24	To what extent does Aridor's policy improve your own personal economic situation?	
	(1) to a great extent	5
	(2) to a certain extent	28
	(3) to a small extent	26
	(4) not at all	40
2/25	Have you lately bought, or do you intend to buy in the near	
		?
	(1) yes	18
	(2) no	74
	(3) don't know, haven't decided	7
2/26	What appeals to you more - a party that claims it is strong and able to govern or a party that warns of hard times?	
	(1) a strong party appeals to me most	38
	(2) a strong party appeals to me more or less	24
	(3) a party that warns appeals to me more or less	16
	(4) a party that warns appeals to me most	16

2/27 Some people say that what our democracy today needs is a strong government based on a party that received an absolute majority (more than 60 mandates) in the Knesset elections, while others claim that a party that receives an absolute majority endangers our democracy. What is your opinion?

- | | | |
|-----|---|----|
| (1) | I'm sure we need a government that won an absolute majority | 45 |
| (2) | Possibly we need a government that won an absolute majority | 28 |
| (3) | Possibly a party with an absolute majority endangers democracy | 17 |
| (4) | I'm sure that a party with an absolute majority endangers democracy | 9 |

2/28 From the list below, whom would you like to see as Prime Minister after the elections?

- | | | |
|-----|----------------|----|
| (1) | Itzhak Rabin | 20 |
| (2) | Menachem Begin | 28 |
| (3) | Shimon Peres | 24 |
| (4) | Moshe Dayan | 9 |
| (5) | Itzhak Shamir | 2 |
| (6) | Ezer Weizman | 6 |
| (7) | David Levy | 2 |
| (8) | Arik Sharon | 4 |

2/29 To what extent do you support, or are you against, the idea of establishing a Palestinian state?

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|----|
| (1) | strongly against | 72 |
| (2) | to a certain extent against | 16 |
| (3) | support to a certain extent | 8 |
| (4) | strongly support | 2 |

- 2/30 Are you for a continuation of the status quo in religious matters, for greater implementation of religious law, or for greater liberalization in religious matters?
- | | |
|---|----|
| (1) for greater implementation of religious law | 16 |
| (2) for status quo | 34 |
| (3) for greater liberalization | 39 |
| (4) no opinion | 10 |
- 2/31 Some people say that Dayan is an old leader who has made too many mistakes (Yom Kippur) and should not be allowed to return to government, while others claim that Dayan has good ideas and is the kind of leader needed today. What is your opinion?
- | | |
|---|----|
| (1) I'm sure he is an old leader who has made too many mistakes | 21 |
| (2) I think he is an old leader who has made too many mistakes | 32 |
| (3) I think he is the kind of leader we need | 33 |
| (4) I'm sure he is the kind of leader we need | 8 |
- 2/32 To what extent do you want to see the NRP in the next government? (Participant in the coalition)
- | | |
|-------------------------|----|
| (1) not at all | 35 |
| (2) to a small extent | 27 |
| (3) to a certain extent | 23 |
| (4) to a great extent | 13 |
- 2/33 To what extent has Likud proven its ability to replace the Alignment in government?
- | | |
|-------------------------|----|
| (1) to a great extent | 23 |
| (2) to a certain extent | 26 |
| (3) to a small extent | 21 |
| (4) not at all | 27 |

- 2/34 To what extent are you certain about whom you're voting for in the coming Knesset elections?
- | | |
|-------------------------|----|
| (1) to a great extent | 48 |
| (2) to a certain extent | 22 |
| (3) to a small extent | 12 |
| (4) not at all | 16 |
- 2/35 Some people say that in the coming elections people will not be voting for a party, but rather will be voting against another party. What about you? Do you think that you will decide to vote for a party in order to support that party or to show your protest against another party?
- | | |
|--|----|
| (1) to support the party I'll vote for | 59 |
| (2) to show my protest against another party | 14 |
| (3) Both reasons (a little of each) | 11 |
| (4) don't know, haven't thought about it | 14 |
- 2/36 In your opinion, who is the Alignment's strongest competitor in the elections: Likud or Moshe Dayan's party?
- | | |
|-------------------------|----|
| (1) Likud | 75 |
| (2) Moshe Dayan's party | 22 |
- 2/37 Do you think that the government of Israel has to make sure that the public life of the country is in accordance with Jewish tradition?
- | | |
|----------------------|----|
| (1) certainly yes | 27 |
| (2) maybe yes | 23 |
| (3) I don't think so | 23 |
| (4) certainly not | 26 |
- 2/38 As to the country's economic structure, do you support a more capitalist approach, or a more socialist one?
- | | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| (1) absolutely capitalist | 11 |
| (2) more capitalist than socialist | 18 |
| (3) more socialist than capitalist | 31 |
| (4) absolutely socialist | 25 |

2/39	Whose position are you closer to on economic affairs?	
	(1) the Alignment's	48
	(2) the Likud's	39
	(3) another party's. which? _____	5
2/40	Whose position are you closer to on foreign and security affairs?	
	(1) the Alignment's	42
	(2) the Likud's	45
	(3) another party's. which? _____	6

People talk about left and right in politics. On a scale from 1 to 7, 1 stands for the far right and 7 stands for the far left. The next 3 questions refer to this scale:

2/41	"right"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	"left"
		9	15	19	36	9	4	1	
2/42	"right"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	"left"
		11	18	21	30	8	4	1	
2/43	"right"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	"left"
		8	12	20	32	12	6	2	

2/44	In the coming elections, will you vote as you usually do, or not?	
	(1) yes	52
	(2) no	29
	(3) I didn't vote in the past	12

2/45	Which party would you like to see forming the next government?	
	(1) Alignment	39
	(2) Likud	29
	(3) Moshe Dayan's List	5
	(4) National Religious Party	2
	(5) Agudat Israel & Poalei Agudat Israel	2
	(6) Ratz	-
	(7) Shinui	1
	(8) Sheli	1
	(9) Tehiya	2
	(0) Rakah	-
	(x) other	2
	(v) no opinion	15

2/46	Which party do you think will form the next government?	
	(1) Alignment	57
	(2) Likud	25
	(3) Moshe Dayan's List	2
	(4) National Religious Party	1
	(5) Agudat Israel & Poalei Agudat Israel	-
	(6) Ratz	-
	(7) Shinui	-
	(8) Sheli	-
	(9) Tehiya	-
	(0) Rakah	-
	(x) other	-
	(v) no opinion	12

2/47	If Knesset elections were held today, for whom would you vote?	
	(1) Alignment	37
	(2) Likud	27
	(3) Moshe Dayan's List	4
	(4) National Religious Party	3
	(5) Agudat Israel & Poalei Agudat Israel	1
	(6) Ratz	1
	(7) Shinui	1
	(8) Sheli	2
	(9) Tehiya	1
	(0) Rakah	-
	(x) other. which? _____	1
	(v) haven't decided or wouldn't vote	19
2/48	Which two parties are you trying to decide between?	
	(1) Alignment and Likud	11
	(2) Alignment and Rafi	1
	(3) Likud and Rafi	1
	(4) Alignment and another party	8
	(5) Likud and another party	5
	(6) I'm waiting for further developments	28
	(7) I'm not trying to decide between two parties	38
2/49	If Moshe Dayan forms an independent list, for whom will you vote?	
	(1) Alignment	35
	(2) Likud	25
	(3) Moshe Dayan's List	4
	(4) National Religious Party	3
	(5) Agudat Israel & Poalei Agudat Israel	8
	(6) Ratz	1
	(7) Shinui	1
	(8) Sheli	1
	(9) Tehiya	2
	(0) Rakah	-
	(x) other party. which? _____	1
	(v) haven't decided or wouldn't vote	18

2/50	And if the Alignment wins by a large margin in the Histadrut elections, for whom will you vote?	
	(1) Alignment	37
	(2) Likud	29
	(3) Moshe Dayan's List	4
	(4) National Religious Party	2
	(5) Agudat Israel & Poalei Agudat Israel	1
	(6) Ratz	1
	(7) Shinui	1
	(8) Sheli	2
	(9) Tehiya	-
	(0) Rakah	-
	(x) other party. which? _____	1
	(v) haven't decided or wouldn't vote	19
2/51	Whom did you vote for in the last Knesset elections (May 1977)?	
	(1) Alignment	23
	(2) Likud (including Shlomzion - A. Sharon)	36
	(3) National Religious Party	4
	(4) Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	3
	(5) DMC	9
	(6) Sheli	1
	(7) Ratz	1
	(8) Independent Liberals	-
	(9) Hadash (Rakah)	-
	(0) other. which? _____	1
	(x) I didn't vote	17

2/52	And whom did you vote for in the 1973 elections?	
	(1) Alignment	35
	(2) Likud	19
	(3) National Religious Party	4
	(4) Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	3
	(5) Independent Liberals	1
	(6) Moked	1
	(7) Ratz	1
	(8) Rakah	-
	(9) other. which? _____	1
	(10) I didn't vote	30
2/53	Do you agree or disagree that the Histadrut will own factories and also represent the workers?	
	(1) certainly agree	14
	(2) agree	25
	(3) don't really agree	22
	(4) certainly disagree	34
2/54	To what extent will the Histadrut election results influence your decision how to vote in the Knesset elections?	
	(1) to a great extent	7
	(2) to a certain extent	14
	(3) to a small extent	11
	(4) not at all	62
2/55	Are you a member of the Histadrut?	
	(1) yes	66
	(2) no	29

2/56	If Histadrut elections were held today, for whom would you vote?	
	(1) Alignment	51
	(2) Religious Workers	3
	(3) Likud or Shlomzion	22
	(4) Independent Liberals	1
	(5) DMC	-
	(6) Shai	1
	(7) Panthers	-
	(8) Sheli	1
	(9) Rakah	-
	(0) other. which? _____	1
	(x) haven't decided	11
	(v) wouldn't vote	9

2/57	Will you vote for the same list in both the Histadrut and Knesset elections?	
	(1) yes	59
	(2) no	16
	(3) haven't decided how to vote	16
	(4) will not vote	7

2/58	Whom did you vote for in the last Histadrut elections held in June 1977?	
	(1) Alignment	46
	(2) Religious Workers	3
	(3) Likud or Shlomzion	17
	(4) Independent Liberals	-
	(5) DMC	2
	(6) Shai	
	(7) Panthers	
	(8) Sheli	
	(9) Rakah	1
	(0) other. which? _____	1
	(x) didn't vote	26

2/59-60 Age:
Exact age is punched.

2/61	Sex:		
	(1)	male	53
	(2)	female	44
2/62	Education:		
	(1)	no schooling	2
	(2)	up to (and including) 4 years	1
	(3)	5-8 years	15
	(4)	9-10 years	15
	(5)	11 years	8
	(6)	12 years	33
	(7)	more than 13 years without university degree	12
	(8)	full university education	13
2/63	Where were you and your father born?		
		<u>interviewee</u>	<u>his father</u>
	(1)	Israel	Israel
	(2)	Israel	Asia-Africa
	(3)	Israel	Europe-America
	(4)	Asia-Africa	Asia-Africa
	(5)	Europe-America	Europe-America
	(6)	any other combination	
			7
			11
			18
			19
			44
			1
2/64	When did you immigrate to Israel?		
	(1)	Israeli born	40
	(2)	before 1948	9
	(3)	1948-1954	19
	(4)	1955-1960	9
	(5)	1961-1966	8
	(6)	1967-1972	8
	(7)	1973-1977	3
	(8)	1978-1979	1
	(9)	after 1980	1

2/65	Are you an employee, independent, member of a cooperative, or are you unemployed?	
	(1) employee	50
	(2) independent	10
	(3) member of a cooperative	2
	(4) pensioner	7
	(5) housewife	16
	(6) soldier or student	13
	(7) unemployed	3
2/66	Is your spouse an employee, independent, member of a cooperative or unemployed?	
	(1) employee	37
	(2) independent	10
	(3) member of a cooperative	1
	(4) pensioner	5
	(5) housewife	21
	(6) soldier or student	4
	(7) unemployed	3
2/67	To what social class do you belong?	
	(1) upper or upper middle class	9
	(2) middle class	64
	(3) working class	19
	(4) lower class	4
	(5) do not belong to any class	3
2/68	What is your family status?	
	(1) single	21
	(2) married without children	6
	(3) married with one child	14
	(4) married with two children	24
	(5) married with 3 children or more	31
	(6) divorced without children	1
	(7) divorced with children	1
	(8) widow(er) without children	-
	(9) widow(er) with children	3

2/69	Do you observe Jewish religious traditions, and if so, to what extent?	
	(1) I observe all Jewish traditions	9
	(2) I observe to a great extent	14
	(3) I observe to some extent	42
	(4) I do not observe at all	33
2/70	How many rooms are there in your house (or apartment)?	
	(1) one room	
	(2) two rooms	
	(3) three rooms	
	(4) four rooms	50
	(5) five rooms	
	(6) six rooms	
	(7) seven rooms	
	(8) eight rooms	
	(9) nine rooms or more	
2/71	How many people live in your house (or apartment)?	
	(1) one person	4
	(2) two people	17
	(3) three people	19
	(4) four people	22
	(5) five people	21
	(6) six people	8
	(7) seven people	
	(8) eight people	
	(9) nine people or more	
2/72-74	Do you read a daily newspaper (or newspapers), and if so, which? (indicate up to 3 papers)	
	(1) Maariv	37
	(2) Yediot Ahronot	11-46
	(3) Haaretz	3-6
	(4) Davar	
	(5) other Hebrew newspaper	
	(6) foreign language newspaper	
	(7) don't read a daily newspaper	

2/75 Which radio station do you listen to most frequently?

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|----|
| (1) | HaGal Hakal (Reshet Bet) | 25 |
| (2) | Gal Gimel | 28 |
| (3) | Galei Zahal | 29 |
| (4) | Gal Aleph | 6 |
| (5) | Voice of Peace | 4 |
| (6) | don't listen to the radio | 7 |

2/76 How much money do you spend a month on the average?

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|----|
| (1) | up to 1,000 shekels | 2 |
| (2) | 1,001-1,500 shekels | 3 |
| (3) | 1,501-2,000 shekels | 6 |
| (4) | 2,001-2,500 shekels | 8 |
| (5) | 2,501-3,000 shekels | 13 |
| (6) | 3,100-4,000 shekels | 19 |
| (7) | 4,001-5,000 shekels | 19 |
| (8) | 5,001-6,000 shekels | 13 |
| (9) | 6,001-7,000 shekels | 6 |
| (0) | 7,001+ | 4 |

APRIL 1981

1/6	In your opinion, how is the general situation in Israel today?	
	(1) very good	4.2
	(2) good	27.1
	(3) not so good	38.4
	(4) not good	18.6
	(5) not good at all	10.8
		0.8
1/7	What is your opinion on the way the government is handling the problems of our present situation?	
	(1) it is handling them very well	40
	(2) it is handling them well	27.9
	(3) not so well	46.5
	(4) not well at all	20.7
		0.9
1/8	What is the main problem that the government has to take care of?	
	(1) security	20.8
	(2) economy	34.8
	(3) social inequality	12.6
	(4) peace	6.3
	(5) young couples	6.9
	(6) change of voting procedures	5.1
	(7) immigrant absorption	1.3
	(8) education	6.5
	(9) other	4.7
		1.0
1/9	To what extent is government policy advancing the issue of peace?	
	(1) to a very great extent	9.6
	(2) to a great extent	24.1
	(3) to a certain extent	41.6
	(4) to a small extent	16.1
	(5) not at all	7.9
		0.7

1/10	What is your opinion on the way the Defense Minister is handling the country's security problems today?	
	(1) he is handling them very well	12.3
	(2) he is handling them well	43.3
	(3) not so well	24.0
	(4) not well	9.4
	(5) not well at all	7.0
		3.4
1/11	You have heard of the discussions about the defense budget. In our present situation, should cuts be made in the defense budget?	
	(1) cuts should certainly be made	6.1
	(2) cuts should be made	19.0
	(3) cuts should perhaps be made	14.3
	(4) cuts should perhaps not be made	6.2
	(5) cuts should not be made	27.9
	(6) cuts should certainly not be made	24.3
		2.2
1/12	Should security issues be a part of the Knesset election campaign?	
	(1) certainly, yes	25.7
	(2) yes	25.6
	(3) perhaps they should	8.0
	(4) perhaps not	4.6
	(5) they shouldn't	24.1
	(6) certainly not	11.0
		1.0
1/13	Democracy is the optimal form of government?	
	(1) certainly agree	50.0
	(2) agree	33.7
	(3) not sure	8.2
	(4) disagree	5.3
	(5) certainly disagree	2.1
		0.6

1/14	Politicians tend not to take into account the opinion of the man in the street?	
	(1) certainly agree	
	(2) agree	16.7
	(3) not sure	25.7
	(4) disagree	23.2
	(5) certainly disagree	25.3
		8.3
		0.8
1/15	A few strong leaders could do the country more good than all the discussions and laws	
	(1) certainly agree	
	(2) agree	34.6
	(3) not sure	26.7
	(4) disagree	13.1
	(5) certainly disagree	17.0
		7.4
		1.0
1/16	I believe in freedom of speech for everyone, regardless of their opinions.	
	(1) certainly agree	
	(2) agree	43.2
	(3) not sure	30.1
	(4) disagree	9.7
	(5) certainly disagree	11.3
		4.5
		1.2
1/17	There are situations in which it seems better to take the law into one's hands than to wait for the government to act.	
	(1) certainly agree	
	(2) agree	8.9
	(3) not sure	14.1
	(4) disagree	13.1
	(5) certainly disagree	24.1
		33.6
		1.2

1/18	Today only by using force can one get what one wants in the country.	
	(1) certainly agree	12.6
	(2) agree	23.0
	(3) not sure	17.2
	(4) disagree	25.3
	(5) certainly disagree	15.9
		0.6

1/19	The best solution would be to destroy all the institutions and begin all over again.	
	(1) certainly agree	8.1
	(2) agree	7.7
	(3) not sure	17.4
	(4) disagree	30.0
	(5) certainly disagree	36.0
		0.8

The next seven questions refer to various actions. To what extent is each action appropriate to good citizenship?

1/20	Paying taxes	
	(1) very appropriate	64.2
	(2) appropriate	26.0
	(3) not sure	5.0
	(4) not appropriate	2.5
	(5) not at all appropriate	1.6
		0.6
1/21	Not voting on election day	
	(1) very appropriate	2.8
	(2) appropriate	4.3
	(3) not sure	12.8
	(4) not appropriate	39.4
	(5) not at all appropriate	40.0
		0.8

1/22	Planning to study abroad	
	(1) very appropriate	2.8
	(2) appropriate	14.8
	(3) not sure	31.8
	(4) not appropriate	30.4
	(5) not at all appropriate	18.7
		1.7
1/23	Allowing oneself to break the law if a policeman is not around.	
	(1) very appropriate	1.0
	(2) appropriate	2.5
	(3) not sure	6.0
	(4) not appropriate	35.5
	(5) not at all appropriate	55.1
		0.5
1/24	Not planning one's future according to the needs of society (the collective).	
	(1) very appropriate	4.0
	(2) appropriate	11.8
	(3) not sure	27.6
	(4) not appropriate	32.8
	(5) not at all appropriate	21.9
		1.9
1/25	Emigrating from the country in order to improve one's situation	
	(1) very appropriate	2.5
	(2) appropriate	5.5
	(3) not sure	10.4
	(4) not appropriate	25.1
	(5) not at all appropriate	55.8
		0.7

1/26	Caring for oneself before others	
	(1) very appropriate	4.9
	(2) appropriate	14.1
	(3) not sure	24.9
	(4) not appropriate	30.6
	(5) not at all appropriate	24.4
		1.1
1/27	As you know, elections are coming up. There are people that don't vote in Knesset elections. In your opinion, what is the <u>main</u> reason for their not voting?	
	(1) those heading the lists are unattractive	4.6
	(2) no list is attractive, there's noone to vote for	35.8
	(3) usually it's clear who will win; people think that their vote won't matter	9.3
	(4) the differences between the parties are not clear	11.6
	(5) they think that no party defends the interests of people like them	13.3
	(6) they think the elections are just a game	4.0
	(7) they aren't interested in politics	17.6
	(8) they think everything must be destroyed and begun again	1.5
	(9) they are simply not in the country at the time	0.6
		1.7
1/28	Some people decide early on who to vote for, and others postpone the decision. In your opinion, what is the <u>main</u> reason that people tend to postpone their decision?	
	(1) it's not yet clear who will be candidates for the Knesset	6.7
	(2) it's not yet clear who the leaders or the leading groups are	9.9
	(3) the heads of the lists are unattractive	9.2
	(4) the party's platform is unclear	11.3
	(5) no party's platform is attractive	8.5
	(6) the differences between the parties are not clear	10.7
	(7) they wait for the election campaign	7.4
	(8) they wait for political or economic developments	19.3
	(9) they have no attachment to any party	15.6
		1.9

1/29 What do you believe to be the best way to help the undecided make a decision for whom to vote?

(1)	home discussion groups	24.9
(2)	visits of leaders in the neighborhood	11.2
(3)	visits of party representatives at home	5.9
(4)	rallies	13.9
(5)	visits of party representatives at work	5.7
(6)	trips and tours organized by the party	4.2
(7)	discussions with friends	14.2
(8)	each of the above, more or less equally	5.9
(9)	none of the above	13.3
		0.7

1/30 What else could help? (one answer only)

(1)	home discussion groups	13.4
(2)	visits of leaders in the neighborhood	10.4
(3)	visits of party representatives at home	7.4
(4)	rallies	14.0
(5)	visits of party representatives at work	8.1
(6)	trips and tours organized by the party	4.3
(7)	discussions with friends	13.7
(8)	each of the above, more or less equally	7.0
(9)	none of the above, nothing else	20.0
		1.7

1/31 And what is the main thing that could help them decide from the following list?

(1)	newspaper articles	13.1
(2)	party advertisements in the newspaper	3.2
(3)	election campaign broadcasts on the radio	3.3
(4)	election campaign broadcasts on TV	26.8
(5)	TV discussions and programs on Israeli current events	26.1
(6)	advertisements in the street	2.2
(7)	pamphlets sent home	4.9
(8)	each of the above, more or less equally	6.6
(9)	none of the above	12.8
		1.0

1/32	What else could help from this list?	
	(1) newspaper articles	16.8
	(2) party advertisements in the newspaper	6.6
	(3) election campaign broadcasts on the radio	10.1
	(4) election campaign broadcasts on TV	14.8
	(5) TV discussions and programs on Israeli current events	14.4
	(6) advertisements in the street	4.2
	(7) pamphlets sent home	5.0
	(8) each of the above, more or less equally	7.2
	(9) none of the above, nothing else	18.9
		1.9
1/33	To what extent do you tend to discuss politics with your family?	
	(1) to a great extent	19.6
	(2) to a certain extent	37.2
	(3) to a small extent	23.9
	(4) not at all	15.4
		3.8
1/34	To what extent do you tend to discuss politics with your friends?	
	(1) to a great extent	26.0
	(2) to a certain extent	35.8
	(3) to a small extent	23.5
	(4) not at all	14.5
		0.1
1/35	Do your family members vote like you?	
	(1) they all vote like me	33.8
	(2) most of them do	21.3
	(3) some of them do	14.6
	(4) none of them do	11.5
	(5) I don't know how they vote	17.7
		0.9

1/36	Do your friends vote like you?	
	(1) they all vote like me	8.9
	(2) most of them do	23.3
	(3) some of them do	24.2
	(4) none of them do	8.3
	(5) I don't know how they vote	35.0
		0.3
1/37	To what extent do you believe that you and your friends can influence policy?	
	(1) to a great extent	7.5
	(2) to a certain extent	25.6
	(3) to a small extent	34.1
	(4) not at all	31.7
		1.1
1/38	Some say that votes don't actually change policy. What is your opinion?	
	(1) votes can change policy to a great extent	28.2
	(2) votes can change policy to a certain extent	33.3
	(3) votes can change policy to a small extent	20.5
	(4) votes cannot change policy at all	16.5
		1.5
1/39	There are several factors that make a person vote for a certain party: identification with the party (including habit, or an emotional or historical link); the party's candidate; the party's stand on specific issues; its being in the government or the opposition. What is the main factor that influences your choice?	
	(1) identification with the party	32.7
	(2) the party's candidate	21.5
	(3) party's stand on specific issues	39.5
	(4) whether the party is in the government or opposition	4.4
		1.8

People tend to give different reasons for voting for a certain party. The following 21 questions present arguments that could be given for supporting a party; in each question you are asked to judge how convincing the argument is. The first 7 questions relate to possible reasons for supporting Likud. To what extent is each argument convincing enough to vote for Likud?

1/40	Offers strong leaders	
	(1) to a great extent	28.2
	(2) to a certain extent	29.8
	(3) to a small extent	14.0
	(4) not at all	26.1
		1.9
1/41	Promises that the individual's economic situation will be good	
	(1) to a great extent	19.5
	(2) to a certain extent	30.4
	(3) to a small extent	19.5
	(4) not at all	29.1
		1.5
1/42	Ensures the children's future	
	(1) to a great extent	24.5
	(2) to a certain extent	26.7
	(3) to a small extent	22.2
	(4) not at all	24.6
		1.9
1/43	Will preserve the Jewish character of the country	
	(1) to a great extent	40.3
	(2) to a certain extent	31.3
	(3) to a small extent	11.5
	(4) not at all	15.3
		1.7

1/44	Will ensure the country's security	
	(1) to a great extent	48.5
	(2) to a certain extent	27.4
	(3) to a small extent	11.0
	(4) not at all	11.1
		1.9
1/45	Will make the country a place that Jews will want to live in	
	(1) to a great extent	33.5
	(2) to a certain extent	25.7
	(3) to a small extent	17.5
	(4) not at all	21.9
		1.4
1/46	Will know how to stand firm in negotiations over territory and peace	
	(1) to a great extent	39.0
	(2) to a certain extent	25.6
	(3) to a small extent	14.9
	(4) not at all	19.1
		1.6

The next 7 questions relate to possible reasons for supporting Alignment.
To what extent is each argument convincing enough to vote for Alignment?

1/47	Offers strong leaders	
	(1) to a great extent	24.5
	(2) to a certain extent	33.8
	(3) to a small extent	19.7
	(4) not at all	20.7
		1.3

1/48	Ensures that the individual's economic situation will be good	
	(1) to a great extent	16.2
	(2) to a certain extent	34.3
	(3) to a small extent	26.1
	(4) not at all	21.4
		2.0
1/49	Ensures the children's future	
	(1) to a great extent	21.0
	(2) to a certain extent	35.7
	(3) to a small extent	22.3
	(4) not at all	18.8
		2.2
1/50	Will preserve the Jewish character of the country	
	(1) to a great extent	20.1
	(2) to a certain extent	31.8
	(3) to a small extent	25.3
	(4) not at all	21.0
		1.7
1/51	Will ensure the country's security	
	(1) to a great extent	37.4
	(2) to a certain extent	30.1
	(3) to a small extent	16.7
	(4) not at all	13.7
		2.0
1/52	Will make the country a place that Jews will want to live in	
	(1) to a great extent	26.0
	(2) to a certain extent	31.3
	(3) to a small extent	23.3
	(4) not at all	17.6
		1.8

1/53	Will know how to stand firm in negotiations over territory and peace	
	(1) to a great extent	25.4
	(2) to a certain extent	29.0
	(3) to a small extent	23.3
	(4) not at all	20.8
		1.6

Finally, to what extent is each of the following 7 arguments convincing enough to support Moshe Dayan's list - Telem?

1/54	Offers strong leaders	
	(1) to a great extent	16.7
	(2) to a certain extent	22.7
	(3) to a small extent	18.3
	(4) not at all	34.5
		7.8
1/55	Ensures the individual's economic situation will be good	
	(1) to a great extent	7.8
	(2) to a certain extent	18.8
	(3) to a small extent	14.5
	(4) not at all	40.2
		8.7
1/56	Ensures the children's future	
	(1) to a great extent	9.7
	(2) to a certain extent	18.0
	(3) to a small extent	24.4
	(4) not at all	38.7
		9.2

1/57	Will preserve the Jewish character of the country	
	(1) to a great extent	12.5
	(2) to a certain extent	19.9
	(3) to a small extent	21.7
	(4) not at all	37.0
		8.8
1/58	Will ensure the country's security	
	(1) to a great extent	26.6
	(2) to a certain extent	23.2
	(3) to a small extent	12.7
	(4) not at all	29.3
		8.3
1/59	Will make the country a place that Jews will want to live in	
	(1) to a great extent	15.4
	(2) to a certain extent	21.4
	(3) to a small extent	20.8
	(4) not at all	33.5
		8.9
1/60	Will know how to stand firm in negotiations over territories and peace	
	(1) to a great extent	22.5
	(2) to a certain extent	21.6
	(3) to a small extent	17.0
	(4) not at all	30.7
		8.2

1/61 As you know, Knesset members are now elected in national elections. There is a proposal for a new system whereby some of them would be elected by elections based on a regional system of representation. Do you think we should keep the existing system or change it according to this proposal?

- (1) we should certainly keep the present system 23.5
 - (2) I think we should keep the present system 16.8
 - (3) I think we should change it according to the proposal 23.6
 - (4) We should certainly change it according to the proposal 17.8
 - (5) I have no opinion on the subject 11.2
 - (6) both systems are not good - we should change to regional elections 5.5
- 1.5

Below you are word pairs that can be used to describe a political party. Think about an ideal party that you would like to see in government, and then indicate on the scale from one to seven (that runs between each word-pair) how you would rate this ideal party:

1/62 "strong" 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 "not strong"
 69.4 17.9 5.8 4.2 0.7 0 0.5
 1.5

1/63 "right" 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 "left"
 27.7 14.4 12.7 31.0 6.3 2.7 3.5
 1.8

1/64 "out-dated" 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 "innovative"
 5.0 4.0 6.3 21.8 12.0 16.4 32.9
 1.6

1/96	"can work on a team"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"cannot work on a team"
		27.0	24.4	16.9	11.9	7.7	9.8	2.2
1/97	"honest"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"not honest"
		20.7	17.9	17.8	15.6	12.7	13.0	2.3
1/98	"decisive"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"indecisive"
		24.3	25.5	18.2	13.7	7.4	8.8	2.2
1/99	"can stand stress"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"cannot stand stress"
		23.3	23.1	19.9	14.9	7.8	8.2	2.9
1/100	"credible in TV appearances"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"not credible in TV appearances"
		19.4	17.6	16.3	13.1	14.1	17.1	2.6
1/101	"slick"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"straight"
		28.7	20.1	16.5	12.0	9.6	10.6	2.6
1/102	"tired"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"fresh"
		11.7	9.6	17.9	22.2	15.5	20.6	2.6

We now turn to Moshe Dayan:

1/103	"strong"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"weak"
		33.1	20.2	19.9	10.5	6.5	12.0	2.8

1/104	"can work on a team"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"cannot work on a team"
		23.0	16.9	15.1	10.6	11.7	19.3	3.5
1/105	"honest"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"not honest"
		27.8	17.3	15.3	13.4	10.4	12.7	3.1
1/106	"decisive"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"indecisive"
		37.4	22.0	13.8	10.0	6.9	7.0	2.9
1/107	"can stand stress"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"cannot stand stress"
		35.8	20.2	15.2	9.2	6.0	10.4	3.2

Finally, we turn to Haim Bar-Lev:

2/35	"strong"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"weak"
		15.2	19.3	13.8	14.3	9.6	11.3	6.5
2/36	"can work on a team"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"cannot work on a team"
		25.3	24.4	17.8	13.8	5.8	6.0	6.9
2/37	"honest"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"not honest"
		33.9	21.5	17.4	11.3	4.3	4.6	7.0
2/38	"decisive"	1	2	3	4	5	6	"indecisive"
		24.0	22.2	21.0	13.4	6.7	5.8	6.9

1/111	To what extent has Likud proven its ability to replace the Alignment in government?	
(1)	to a great extent	28.7
(2)	to a certain extent	35.1
(3)	to a small extent	18.6
(4)	not at all	16.6
		1.0
1/112	To what extent are you certain about whom you are voting for in the coming Knesset elections?	
(1)	to a great extent	56.4
(2)	to a certain extent	76.5
(3)	to a small extent	20.0
(4)	not at all	8.6
		23.0
		14.3
		0.6
1/113	From among the following people, who would you like to see as Prime Minister after the elections?	
(1)	Yitzhak Rabin	20.1
(2)	Menachem Begin	32.8
(3)	Shimon Peres	22.2
(4)	Moshe Dayan	6.1
(5)	Yitzhak Shamir	1.8
(6)	Ezer Weizman	5.2
(7)	David Levy	1.1
(8)	Arik Sharon	1.5
(9)	Aba Eban	3.4
		5.8

1/114 And from among the following, who would you like to see as Defense Minister after the elections?

(1)	Yitzhak Rabin	11.6
(2)	Menachem Begin	2.3
(3)	Shimon Peres	3.1
(4)	Moshe Dayan	9.0
(5)	Ezer Weizman	24.5
(6)	Haim Bar-Lev	12.1
(7)	Arik Sharon	25.8
(8)	Moshe Arens	7.4
		4.1

1/115 And who would you like to see as Finance Minister?

(1)	Yaakov Levinson	13.6
(2)	Gad Yaakobi	7.1
(3)	Yoram Aridor	35.3
(4)	Haim Ben-Shahar	17.7
(5)	Naphtali Blumenthal	3.4
(6)	Yigal Hurvitz	11.7
(7)	Shimha Erlich	1.0
(8)	Yitzhak Modai	1.2
(9)	Gideon Pat	1.7
		7.4

1/116 Who would you like to see as Foreign Minister?

(1)	Yosef Burg	2.6
(2)	Aba Eban	9.1
(3)	Yitzhak Rabin	4.8
(4)	Moshe Dayan	11.2
(5)	Yitzhak Shamir	13.1
(6)	Haim Herzog	20.1
(7)	Yitzhak Modai	1.7
(8)	Moshe Arens	3.7
		3.6

- 1/117 Some people changed their mind about who to vote for in the period after the publication of Aridor's program. In your opinion, what is the main reason for this change (in any direction)?
- | | |
|---|------|
| (1) Aridor's economic program | 48.9 |
| (2) the fact that the Alignment had no alternative | 13.4 |
| (3) Abu-Hatzira's trial | 3.6 |
| (4) the competition among the Labor Party's leaders | 10.9 |
| (5) the functioning of the government | 11.5 |
| (6) Histadrut elections | 2.8 |
| | 8.8 |
- 1/118 How clear to you is Finance Minister Yoram Aridor's economic program?
- | | |
|----------------------|------|
| (1) very clear | 10.5 |
| (2) clear | 17.8 |
| (3) pretty clear | 15.1 |
| (4) not so clear | 23.4 |
| (5) not clear | 15.2 |
| (6) not at all clear | 17.6 |
| | 0.5 |
- 1/119 And how clear to you is Prof. Haim Ben-Shahar's economic program?
- | | |
|----------------------|------|
| (1) very clear | 3.8 |
| (2) clear | 8.3 |
| (3) pretty clear | 9.7 |
| (4) not so clear | 20.7 |
| (5) not clear | 19.1 |
| (6) not at all clear | 35.5 |
| | 4.0 |
- 1/120 To what extent does Yoram Aridor's economic program help people like you?
- | | |
|----------------------------|------|
| (1) to a very great extent | 5.9 |
| (2) to a great extent | 12.1 |
| (3) to a certain extent | 33.1 |
| (4) to a small extent | 17.8 |
| (5) not at all | 28.8 |
| | 2.3 |

1/121	And to what extent does Prof. Haim Ben-Shahar's economic program help people like you?	
(1)	to a very great extent	1.3
(2)	to a great extent	5.5
(3)	to a certain extent	21.5
(4)	to a small extent	17.3
(5)	not at all	33.3
		21.4
1/122	To what extent does Aridor's economic program help Israel's economy?	
(1)	to a very great extent	5.1
(2)	to a great extent	12.9
(3)	to a certain extent	32.3
(4)	to a small extent	18.7
(5)	not at all	26.2
		5.0
1/123	And to what extent does Ben-Shahar's economic program help Israel's economy?	
(1)	to a very great extent	1.9
(2)	to a great extent	8.9
(3)	to a certain extent	26.7
(4)	to a small extent	14.3
(5)	not at all	24.1
		24.1
1/124	To whose position are you closer on economic affairs?	
(1)	the Alignment's	46.4
(2)	the Likud's	43.9
(3)	another party's. which? _____	2.1
		7.5

1/125	To whose position are you closer on foreign and security affairs?	
	(1) the Alignment's	40.1
	(2) the Likud's	51.2
	(3) another party's which? _____	4.4
		4.3
1/126	With what political tendency do you identify?	
	(1) left	3.8
	(2) moderate left	13.2
	(3) center	27.2
	(4) moderate right	35.3
	(5) religious	5.5
	(6) don't identify with any of them	13.3
		1.7
1/127	Which of the two won in the Histadrut elections?	
	(1) Alignment	79.7
	(2) Likud	8.7
	(3) both Alignment and Likud	6.7
	(4) neither	3.4
		1.5
1/128	Whom did you vote for in the last Histadrut elections?	
	(1) Likud	14.2
	(2) Sheli	0.6
	(3) Independent Liberals	0.9
	(4) Alignment: Workers-Mapam	28.2
	(5) Rakah - Hadash	0.1
	(6) Shinui	0.7
	(7) other	0.8
	(8) didn't vote - Histadrut member	25.9
	(9) not a Histadrut member	22.3
		6.9

The next 2 questions relate only to those who voted in the Histadrut elections - others continue with question 2/8

2/6	What is your <u>main</u> reason for voting for this list?	
	(1) those that headed the lists	5.0
	(2) the parties' stand on certain issues	8.7
	(3) Histadrut's past achievements	9.5
	(4) party identification	13.2
	(5) least of all evils	6.0
	(6) to strengthen the party before the Knesset elections	4.0
	(7) to punish another party	2.0
	(8) didn't vote - Histadrut member	18.8
	(9) not a Histadrut member	19.4
		13.3

2/7	What is another reason for voting for this list?	
	(1) those that headed the lists	5.8
	(2) the parties' stand on certain issues	8.2
	(3) Histadrut's past achievements	8.2
	(4) party identification	7.4
	(5) least of all evils	5.8
	(6) to strengthen the party before the Knesset elections	7.0
	(7) to punish another party	2.1
	(8) didn't vote - Histadrut member	18.1
	(9) not a Histadrut member	19.6
		17.1

For Histadrut members who did not vote:

2/8	What is your <u>main</u> reason for not participating in the Histadrut elections?	
	(1) those that headed the lists repulsed me	0.8
	(2) there's noone to vote for, no list attracted me	4.5
	(3) it was clear who would win, it wouldn't have made any difference	1.9
	(4) the differences between the parties are not clear	0.3
	(5) Histadrut doesn't take care of people like me	0.8
	(6) the elections were just a game	0.9
	(7) I'm a member only because of Kupat Holim - nothing else interests me	4.2
	(8) it's difficult to reach the polling station, I didn't know about the elections, noone came to take me	2.3
	(9) personal reason, not political (e.g. out of the country, sick, couldn't leave work, sickness in the family)	10.8
	(0) voted in the Histadrut elections	?
		74.0
2/9	Whom did you vote for in the last Knesset elections (1977)?	
	(1) Likud or Shlomzion (Arik Sharon)	37.0
	(2) Sheli	1.2
	(3) Independent Liberals	0.2
	(4) Alignment: Workers-Mapam	21.4
	(5) one of the religious parties (NRP, Agudat Israel, Poalei Agudat Israel)	8.3
	(6) DMC	11.1
	(7) other (including white slip)	2.9
	(8) I could have voted, but didn't	3.7
	(9) I could not vote	6.0
	(0) no answer, not willing to say	-
		8.3

2/10	And whom did you vote for eight years ago, in the eighth Knesset elections held in 1973?	
(1)	Likud (Gahal, Free Center, Am)	17.8
(2)	Moked	0.6
(3)	Independent Liberals	1.0
(4)	Alignment: Workers - Mapam	38.4
(5)	one of the religious parties	8.2
(6)	Meri	0.2
(7)	other	2.0
(8)	I could have voted, but didn't	8.3
(9)	I could not vote	15.9
		7.1
2/11-12	If Knesset elections were held today, for whom would you vote?	
(1)	Likud	26.1
(2)	Sheli (Moked, Uri Avneri, Lova Eliav)	0.5
(3)	Independent Liberals	0.1
(4)	Alignment: Workers - Mapam	28.3
(5)	Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	2.7
(6)	National Religious Party	4.0
(7)	Telem, Moshe Dayan's list	3.1
(8)	Rakah (Hadash - Charlie Biton, Meir Vilner)	0.1
(9)	Shmuel Flatto Sharon's list	0.1
(10)	Ratz - Shulamit Aloni	1.6
(11)	Tehiya	2.8
(12)	Shinui	1.2
(13)	Rafi (Yigal Hurvitz)	-
(14)	Ethnic list	-
(15)	other	0.8
(16)	I'll vote with a white slip	0.6
(17)	I haven't decided	17.8
(18)	won't vote	1.4
(19)	not willing to say	8.5
		0.5

2/13	From among the following, to whom do you feel closest?	
(1)	Alignment	9.7
(2)	Likud	7.0
(3)	Telem, Moshe Dayan's list	1.5
(4)	NRP	1.7
(5)	Shinui, Ratz	1.1
(6)	other	0.9

Why do you not tend toward any of the above?

????	(see your page 36 - bottom) - the replies don't answer the question	
(7)	I won't vote	0.4
(8)	I haven't yet decided	5.2
(9)	not willing to say	3.0
		69.6

2/14-15 About 2 months ago, before Aridor announced his program, and after the Peres-Rabin competition in the Worker's Party Convention, whom did you think to vote for?

(1)	Likud	25.7
(2)	Sheli (Moked, Uri Avneri, Lova Eliav)	0.6
(3)	Independent Liberals	0.1
(4)	Alignment: Workers - Mapam	33.4
(5)	Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	2.3
(6)	National Religious Party	3.5
(7)	Telem, Moshe Dayan's list	1.7
(8)	Rakah (Hadash - Charlie Biton, Meir Vilner)	0.2
(9)	Shmuel Flatto Sharon's list	0.1
(10)	Ratz - Shulamit Aloni	1.0
(11)	Tehiya	1.6
(12)	Shinui	1.4
(13)	Rafi (Yigal Hurvitz)	-
(14)	Ethnic list	0.1
(15)	other	0.6
(16)	I'll vote with a white slip	0.2

	(17)	I haven't decided	16.2
	(18)	won't vote	0.8
	(19)	not willing to say	6.7
			3.7
2/16		Do you support a party, or are you a party member and/or functionary?	
	(1)	member and paid functionary	0.5
	(2)	member and non-paid functionary	1.8
	(3)	member without function	8.8
	(4)	I support, but am not a member or functionary	37.7
	(5)	don't particularly support any party	48.6
			2.5
2/17		Sex:	
	(1)	male	53.1
	(2)	female	46.9
2/18		How many years of schooling did you have?	
	(1)	none	1.7
	(2)	up to and including 4 years	1.8
	(3)	5 to 8 years	16.4
	(4)	9 to 10 years	15.0
	(5)	11 years	7.7
	(6)	12 years	29.0
	(7)	13+ years	15.4
	(8)	full university education	12.9
			0.2
2/19		How many rooms are there in your home?	
	(1)	one room	(4) four rooms
			(7) seven rooms
	(2)	two rooms	(5) five rooms
			(8) eight rooms
	(3)	three rooms	(6) six rooms
			(9) nine+ rooms

- 2/20 How many people live in your home?
- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (1) one person | (4) four people | (7) seven people |
| (2) two people | (5) five people | (8) eight people |
| (3) three people | (6) six people | (9) nine+ people |

2/21 For the interviewer: Living conditions are summarized in the following table:

		number of people								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+
number of rooms	1	2	4	6	8	8	8	8	9	9
	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	8
	3	1	1	2	3	3	4	4	5	6
	4	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	4
	5	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3
	6	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3
	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
	9+	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2

1 - 21.1	6 - 1.0
2 - 34.6	7 - 0.4
3 - 28.4	8 - 0.6
4 - 10.3	
5 - 2.0	

2/22-23 What is your age:

- 2/24 From among the following levels of income, which fits your monthly gross income, including that of all family members that live with you?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|------|
| (1) up to IL.20,000 a month | 10.4 |
| (2) IL.20,001-30,000 a month | 11.3 |
| (3) IL.30,001-35,000 a month | 8.0 |
| (4) IL.35,001-40,000 a month | 11.1 |
| (5) IL.40,001-50,000 a month | 12.0 |
| (6) IL.50,001-60,000 a month | 10.7 |
| (7) IL.60,001-75,000 a month | 8.4 |
| (8) IL.75,001-85,000 a month | 6.2 |
| (9) more than IL.85,001 a month | 11.9 |

2/25	To which social class do you belong?	
	(1) upper or upper middle class	6.4
	(2) middle class	56.1
	(3) working class	27.6
	(4) lower class	3.3
	(5) don't belong to any class	5.4
		1.2
2/26	What is your family status?	
	(1) single	15.5
	(2) married without children	5.5
	(3) married with one child	12.4
	(4) married with two children	24.8
	(5) married with 3 children or more	34.5
	(6) divorced without children	0.6
	(7) divorced with children	2.0
	(8) widowed without children	0.4
	(9) widowed with children	4.1
		0.2
2/27	Do you observe religious tradition?	
	(1) I certainly do	16.5
	(2) I observe to a large extent	17.5
	(3) I observe to a small extent	43.1
	(4) I don't observe at all, totally free	22.1
		0.2
2/28	Are you an employee, independent, member of a cooperative, or unemployed?	
	(1) employee	50.5
	(2) independent	11.9
	(3) member of a cooperative	0.6
	(4) pensioner	11.1
	(5) housewife	17.3
	(6) soldier, student	5.8
	(7) other, not employed	2.0
		0.4

2/29 Where were you born, and where was your father born?

<u>interviewee</u>	<u>his father</u>	
(1) Israel	Israel	6.9
(2) Israel	Asia-Africa	14.9
(3) Israel	Europe-America	19.0
(4) Asia-Africa	Asia-Africa	25.5
(5) Europe-America	Europe-America	32.4
(6) any other combination		1.2
		0.1

2/30 When did you immigrate to Israel?

(1) born in Israel	40.7
(2) before 1940	9.3
(3) 1941-1947	3.3
(4) 1948-1954	24.1
(5) 1955-1960	8.8
(6) 1961-1967	7.5
(7) 1968-1973	9.8
(8) 1974-1979	1.8
(9) 1980+	0.1
	0.1

2/31 Do you have a phone at home?

(1) yes	73.7
(2) no	25.6
	0.6

2/32-33 Place of interview

1-4 Identity

1/6	In your opinion, how is the general situation in Israel today?	
	(1) very good	4.4
	(2) good	20.9
	(3) so-so	36.5
	(4) not good	24.4
	(5) not good at all	13.3
1/7	What is your opinion on the way the government is handling the problems in Israel today?	
	(1) very well	7.3
	(2) well	30.6
	(3) not so well	38.7
	(4) not well at all	21.6
1/8	In your opinion, are there differences in the capabilities of the different parties to handle the country's problems?	
	(1) very great differences	12.0
	(2) great differences	23.0
	(3) certain differences	31.5
	(4) small differences	13.8
	(5) very small differences	5.5
	(6) no differences at all	12.3
1/9	Who, in your opinion, can better handle the country's problems: Shimon Peres or Menachem Begin?	
	(1) Peres	34.6
	(2) Begin	49.7

1/10	What, in your opinion, is the main problem that the government must take care of?	
	(1) security	35.1
	(2) economy	33.7
	(3) social inequality	7.2
	(4) peace	4.2
	(5) young couples	3.7
	(6) inflation	6.4
	(7) immigrant absorption	0.6
	(8) education	2.7
	(9) lack of leadership	2.0
	(0) other	1.8
1/11	In your opinion, are there differences in the various parties' stands on security issues?	
	(1) very great differences	12.7
	(2) great differences	28.1
	(3) certain differences	31.3
	(4) small differences	10.8
	(5) very small differences	4.7
	(6) no differences at all	10.4
1/12	To what extent is it important for Israel to have a Jewish majority?	
	(1) very important	76.8
	(2) important	17.7
	(3) not important	3.8
	(4) totally unimportant	0.7
1/13	Some say that in order to maintain a Jewish majority in the country, we will have to be willing to concede territories in Judca and Samaria. Do you agree or disagree with this opinion?	
	(1) certainly agree	14.2
	(2) agree	26.8
	(3) don't agree	29.9
	(4) certainly don't agree	27.4

- 1/14 If we annex Judea and Samaria, we will also annex a large Arab population (a million and a quarter Arabs) and we will then face the possibility that in the relatively near future there will be an Arab majority in the country. Keeping this in mind, are you for or against territorial concessions?
- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| (1) | I'm in favor of conceding all territories | 8.6 |
| (2) | I'm in favor of conceding a large portion of the territories | 18.4 |
| (3) | I'm in favor of conceding a small portion of the territories | 33.1 |
| (4) | nothing should be returned | 37.9 |
- 1/15 To what extent will the security issue influence the results of the coming Knesset elections?
- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|------|
| (1) | to a great extent | 23.2 |
| (2) | to a certain extent | 39.0 |
| (3) | to a small extent | 16.8 |
| (4) | not at all | 15.9 |
- 1/16 To what extent will the security issue influence your vote in the coming Knesset elections?
- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|------|
| (1) | to a great extent | 19.8 |
| (2) | to a certain extent | 31.2 |
| (3) | to a small extent | 16.7 |
| (4) | not at all | 30.4 |
- 1/17 Which party best reflects your stand on security issues?
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|------|
| (1) | Alignment | 30.8 |
| (2) | Likud | 43.2 |
| (3) | Moshe Dayan's list | 5.1 |
| (4) | NKP | 1.3 |
| (5) | Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel | 0.7 |
| (6) | Ratz | 0.6 |
| (7) | Shinui | 1.1 |

	(8) Sheli	1.2
	(9) Hachiya	3.2
	(0) Kakah	0.1
	(x) other party. which? _____	0.9
	(v) don't know	10.0
1/15	Who, in your opinion, can better handle the country's security problems: Haim Bar Lev or Arik Sharon?	
	(1) Haim Bar Lev	34.5
	(2) Arik Sharon	53.5
1/19	What is your opinion on the way the government is handling the country's economic problems?	
	(1) handling them very well	3.9
	(2) handling them well	17.6
	(3) handling them so-so	29.9
	(4) not handling them so well	19.4
	(5) not handling them well at all	27.6
1/20	In your opinion, are there differences in the various parties' stands on economic issues?	
	(1) very great differences	13.3
	(2) great differences	28.2
	(3) certain differences	31.7
	(4) small differences	12.2
	(5) very small differences	4.2
	(6) no differences at all	7.3
1/21	Which party best reflects your stand on economic issues?	
	(1) Alignment	36.2
	(2) Likud	36.5
	(3) Moshe Dayan's list	2.7
	(4) National Religious Party	1.1
	(5) Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	0.5
	(6) Ratz	0.5

	(7) Shinui	1.6
	(8) Sheli	0.8
	(9) Bathiya	0.3
	(0) Rakab	0.1
	(x) Other party	1.1
	(r) don't know	15.0
1/22	Who in your opinion can better handle the country's economic problems: Yoram Aridor or Haim Ben-Shahar?	
	(1) Aridor	43.8
	(2) Ben-Shahar	40.4
1/23	How clear to you is the economic program of the present Finance Minister, Yoram Aridor?	
	(1) very clear	9.1
	(2) clear	21.4
	(3) pretty clear	20.7
	(4) not so clear	19.7
	(5) not clear	11.7
	(6) not clear at all	13.8
1/24	And how clear to you is the economic program of the Alignment's candidate for Finance Minister, Professor Haim Ben-Shahar?	
	(1) very clear	4.5
	(2) clear	12.0
	(3) pretty clear	14.2
	(4) not so clear	21.9
	(5) not clear	17.3
	(6) not clear at all	25.6
1/25	To what extent does Aridor's economic program help people like you?	
	(1) to a very great extent	5.3
	(2) to a great extent	13.6
	(3) to a certain extent	30.7
	(4) to a small extent	16.3
	(5) not at all	29.8

1/26	And to what extent does Ben-Shahar's economic program help people like you?	
	(1) to a very great extent	2.0
	(2) to a great extent	7.2
	(3) to a certain extent	26.4
	(4) to a small extent	15.8
	(5) not at all	33.2
1/27	And to what extent does Aridor's economic program help Israel's economy?	
	(1) to a very great extent	5.0
	(2) to a great extent	13.0
	(3) to a certain extent	28.9
	(4) to a small extent	15.0
	(5) not at all	31.9
1/28	To what extent does Ben-Shahar's economic program help Israel's economy?	
	(1) to a very great extent	2.2
	(2) to a great extent	11.1
	(3) to a certain extent	27.6
	(4) to a small extent	14.2
	(5) not at all	23.6
1/29	Lately we have heard a lot about Aridor's program (his economic steps). To what extent do you think that this issue will influence the results of the coming Knesset elections?	
	(1) to a great extent	23.8
	(2) to a certain extent	39.3
	(3) to a small extent	15.4
	(4) not at all	17.1

1/30	To what extent will Aridor's program influence your vote in the coming Knesset elections?	
	(1) to a great extent	9.1
	(2) to a certain extent	19.7
	(3) to a small extent	13.0
	(4) not at all	54.6
1/31	Whose stand are you closer to on economic issues, that of the Alignment or that of Likud?	
	(1) Alignment	42.0
	(2) Likud	44.9
	(3) another party. which? _____	3.8
1/32	Whose stand are you closer to on foreign affairs and security issues, that of the Alignment or that of Likud?	
	(1) Alignment	36.9
	(2) Likud	50.0
	(3) another party. Which? _____	4.8
1/33	Some people say that the differences between the parties are in "what they say", and not in "what they do". Others say the opposite. What is your opinion?	
	(1) the differences are in "what they say"	20.9
	(2) the differences are in "what they do"	33.3
	(3) the differences are in both	33.8
	(4) there are no differences - not in "what they say" nor in "what they do"	9.5
1/34	To what extent can you and your friends influence government policy?	
	(1) to a very great extent	4.0
	(2) to a great extent	10.3
	(3) to a certain extent	24.4
	(4) to a small extent	23.6
	(5) not at all	35.7

Below you is a list of various descriptions or characteristics of parties. For each, you are asked to indicate which party it suits better: the Alignment or Likud.

1/35	Strong party	
	(1) suits Alignment much more than Likud	15.8
	(2) suits Alignment more than Likud	19.7
	(3) suits both parties equally	13.7
	(4) suits Likud more than Alignment	23.2
	(5) suits Likud much more than Alignment	13.2
	(6) suits neither	12.3
1/36	Experienced party	
	(1) suits Alignment much more than Likud	28.9
	(2) suits Alignment more than Likud	30.5
	(3) suits both parties equally	15.5
	(4) suits Likud more than Alignment	10.5
	(5) suits Likud much more than Alignment	5.8
	(6) suits neither	5.2
1/37	Innovative party	
	(1) suits Alignment much more than Likud	5.5
	(2) suits Alignment more than Likud	11.1
	(3) suits both parties equally	10.9
	(4) suits Likud more than Alignment	19.4
	(5) suits Likud much more than Alignment	10.5
	(6) suits neither	37.5
1/38	Young party	
	(1) suits Alignment much more than Likud	4.8
	(2) suits Alignment more than Likud	10.4
	(3) suits both parties equally	11.3
	(4) suits Likud more than Alignment	18.4
	(5) suits Likud much more than Alignment	9.8
	(6) suits neither	41.2

1/39	A party that represents Ashkenazim and Sephardim	
	(1) suits Alignment much more than Likud	7.2
	(2) suits Alignment more than Likud	10.4
	(3) suits both parties equally	27.3
	(4) suits Likud more than Alignment	17.6
	(5) suits Likud much more than Alignment	10.8
	(6) suits neither	21.5
1/40	A party that mainly watches out for the interests of the citizens	
	(1) suits Alignment much more than Likud	9.2
	(2) suits Alignment more than Likud	15.6
	(3) suits both parties equally	15.2
	(4) suits Likud more than Alignment	19.7
	(5) suits Likud much more than Alignment	12.1
	(6) suits neither	24.3
1/41	Honest party	
	(1) suits Alignment much more than Likud	8.0
	(2) suits Alignment more than Likud	12.4
	(3) suits both parties equally	11.3
	(4) suits Likud more than Alignment	19.8
	(5) suits Likud much more than Alignment	13.4
	(6) suits neither	31.2
1/42	Credible party	
	(1) suits Alignment much more than Likud	10.6
	(2) suits Alignment more than Likud	14.7
	(3) suits both parties equally	10.6
	(4) suits Likud more than Alignment	19.3
	(5) suits Likud much more than Alignment	15.0
	(6) suits neither	25.4

1/43	Party with experienced leaders	
	(1) suits Alignment much more than Likud	21.3
	(2) suits Alignment more than Likud	25.4
	(3) suits both parties equally	17.4
	(4) suits Likud more than Alignment	14.1
	(5) suits Likud much more than Alignment	9.6
	(6) suits neither	8.0
1/44	Party that guarantees the country's future	
	(1) suits Alignment much more than Likud	12.9
	(2) suits Alignment more than Likud	16.2
	(3) suits both parties equally	16.1
	(4) suits Likud more than Alignment	19.1
	(5) suits Likud much more than Alignment	14.6
	(6) suits neither	16.4
1/45	Party that ensures a Jewish majority in the country	
	(1) suits Alignment much more than Likud	12.0
	(2) suits Alignment more than Likud	17.5
	(3) suits both parties equally	16.2
	(4) suits Likud more than Alignment	20.2
	(5) suits Likud much more than Alignment	18.8
	(6) suits neither	11.2
1/46	Party that contributed to the building of the country	
	(1) suits Alignment much more than Likud	21.8
	(2) suits Alignment more than Likud	24.8
	(3) suits both parties equally	21.0
	(4) suits Likud more than Alignment	11.5
	(5) suits Likud much more than Alignment	11.0
	(6) suits neither	5.8

1/47	In your opinion, is Likud a "hawkish" or "dovish" list?	
	(1) very hawkish	9.8
	(2) hawkish	33.7
	(3) neither hawkish nor dovish	32.8
	(4) dovish	9.1
	(5) very dovish	2.1
1/48	In your opinion, is the Alignment a "hawkish" or "dovish" list?	
	(1) very hawkish	3.7
	(2) hawkish	8.2
	(3) neither hawkish nor dovish	37.9
	(4) dovish	30.8
	(5) very dovish	5.9

Below you is a list of characteristics and their opposites. For each you are asked to indicate which usually characterizes Menachem Begin, using a scale from 1 to 7.

1/49	Is helpful to the country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Is damaging to the country
		28.1	14.9	12.9	16.6	7.8	7.2	10.9	
1/50	Weights his words care- fully	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Does not weigh his words carefully
		22.8	13.7	10.5	14.5	9.3	9.4	13.9	
1/51	stable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unstable
		27.2	15.2	10.4	14.6	9.5	8.5	12.4	
1/52	A leader whose time has passed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	A leader whose time has not passed
		22.0	9.2	8.3	12.9	8.7	13.7	22.8	

1/61 What, in your opinion, should be more important to the citizens of the country - their own private interests or the interests of the state?

(1)	state interests are much more important	41.7
(2)	state interests are more important	20.5
(3)	state and private interests are important to the same extent	24.9
(4)	private interests are more important	4.3
(5)	private interests are much more important	0.5

Before you is a scale from 1 to 10; 1 stands for the best life for you, and 10 stands for the worst.

best life 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 worst life

1/62 Where would you place yourself today?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
7.7	9.8	18.2	14.2	25.9	8.3	5.2	4.1	1.5	1.5

1/63 Where were you four years ago?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6.1	11.0	18.6	16.4	21.6	9.8	4.8	4.4	1.8	1.0

1/64 Where do you estimate you will be in four years?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10.3	12.4	16.1	13.7	15.6	7.4	2.1	1.9	1.9	0.9

This same scale now relates to the security situation. 1 stands for the best security situation and 10 stands for the worst.

best security	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	worst security
situation											situation

1/65 Where does the country stand in terms of security today?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	10.8	14.8	14.9	11.3	15.4	7.8	8.4	7.6	3.2	1.5

1/66 Where, in your opinion, did the country stand in terms of security four years ago?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	7.8	12.0	16.2	17.0	19.1	9.5	6.0	5.3	1.7	0.6

1/67 And where do you estimate the country will stand in terms of security in four years?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	11.1	15.4	12.7	12.8	15.0	7.4	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.1

The same scale now relates to Israel's foreign policy. 1 stands for the best foreign relations situation, and 10 stands for the worst.

best foreign	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	worst foreign
relations											relations
situation											situation

1/68 Where does the country stand in terms of foreign relations today?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	4.8	7.8	10.7	12.5	18.4	9.7	10.1	11.1	5.4	4.9

1/69 Where, in your opinion, did the country stand in terms of its foreign relations four years ago?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
4.0	9.5	16.5	17.9	22.4	10.8	7.0	4.9	1.4	0.5

1/70 And where do you estimate the country will stand in terms of its foreign relations in four years?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6.3	9.5	12.4	15.2	16.7	9.0	4.7	2.9	1.9	0.9

The same scale now relates to the country's economy. 1 stands for the best economic situation and 10 stands for the worst.

best economic situation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	worst economic situation
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1/71 Where does the country stand in terms of the economy today?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3.3	4.4	7.6	11.2	14.3	7.2	12.2	12.9	12.1	10.3

1/72 Where, in your opinion, did the country stand in terms of the economy, four years ago?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2.2	7.0	14.1	18.6	21.5	14.1	7.4	4.2	3.4	1.8

1/73 And where do you estimate the country will stand in terms of the economy in four years?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
5.3	6.7	10.5	14.4	15.3	10.0	6.4	3.3	3.8	3.9

People talk a lot about left and right in politics. What, in your opinion, are the main things that differentiate between left and right?

1/74 _____

1/75 _____

1/76 _____

1/77 Are the definitions of left and right in politics meaningful in Israel today, or not?

(1)	certainly yes	15.8
(2)	I think so	18.9
(3)	so-so	23.1
(4)	I think not	17.5
(5)	certainly not	12.5

People talk a lot about left and right in politics. Before you is a scale from 1 to 7; 1 stands for the extreme right and 7 stands for the extreme left.

2/6 Where on this scale would you place yourself generally?

right	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	left
	14.0	12.2	15.3	30.7	9.1	5.7	1.7	

2/7 Where would you place yourself on this scale in terms of security issues?

right	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	left
	16.4	15.9	14.1	25.5	9.1	5.9	2.0	

2/8 And where would you place yourself on this scale in terms of your attitude toward foreign policy?

right	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	left
	15.0	12.9	14.5	28.1	9.1	6.9	1.9	

2/9 Finally, in terms of economic problems, where on this scale would you place yourself?

right	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	left
	12.9	13.3	12.9	28.4	11.3	5.8	3.5	

2/10 Do you read the results of public opinion surveys on elections in the newspaper?

(1) often	12.6
(2) seldom	31.2
(3) never	19.2
(4) don't know about election surveys	5.2

2/11 In your opinion, can these surveys be trusted?

(1) yes, always	10.3
(2) yes, usually	50.0
(3) usually not	23.4
(4) never	8.5
(5) don't know about election surveys	6.2

2/12 In your opinion, do these surveys have an impact on the voting public, or not?

(1) great impact	11.5
(2) certain impact	37.9
(3) small impact	23.2
(4) no impact	20.5
(5) don't know about election surveys	5.3

2/13	In your opinion, do these surveys have an impact on the politicians?	
	(1) great impact	23.6
	(2) certain impact	34.5
	(3) small impact	16.2
	(4) no impact	17.4
	(5) don't know about election surveys	5.6
2/14	Are you planning a trip abroad this summer, and if yes, will you be in Israel on election day?	
	(1) I'm not planning a trip	81.6
	(2) I'm planning a trip, but will be in Israel on election day	15.4
	(3) I'm planning a trip and will not be in Israel on election day	2.0
2/15-16	If Knesset elections were held today, which party would you vote for?	
	(1) Alignment	31.2
	(2) Likud	37.0
	(3) NRP	2.5
	(4) Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	1.1
	(5) Moshe Dayan's list - Telem	3.6
	(6) Sheli	0.7
	(7) Ratz	1.5
	(8) Shinui	1.2
	(9) Independent Liberals	0.2
	(10) Tehiya	2.3
	(11) Abu Hatzira's list	0.7
	(12) Rakah	0.3
	(13) Elatto Sharon	0.3
	(14) Ethnic list. which? _____	0.2
	(15) other list. which? _____	0.2
	(16) I'll vote with a white slip	0.2
	(17) I haven't yet decided	9.2
	(18) I won't vote	1.5
	(19) I'm not willing to say	5.0

2/17	And if you were given a second vote (if you could vote for a second list) who would you vote for?	
	(1) Alignment	12.4
	(2) Likud	17.1
	(3) NRP	4.7
	(4) Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	0.6
	(5) Moshe Dayan's list - Telem	8.0
	(6) Shinui	4.2
	(7) Tehiya	5.5
	(8) Abu Hatzira's list	1.9
	(9) Ratz	6.1
	(0) other list. which? _____	1.7
	(x) haven't decided	12.1
	(v) wouldn't vote	11.6
2/18	To what extent are you certain about who to vote for in the Knesset elections?	
	(1) certain to a great extent	60.7
	(2) certain to a certain extent	18.0
	(3) certain to a small extent	3.5
	(4) not at all certain	5.0
2/19	From among the following lists, to whom do you feel closer?	
	(1) Alignment	13.3
	(2) Likud	17.1
	(3) Telem - Moshe Dayan's list	2.1
	(4) NRP	1.2
	(5) Shinui or Ratz	1.1
	(6) other	0.6
	(7) won't vote, don't feel close to anyone	0.6
	(8) haven't decided	4.4
	(9) not willing to say	2.3

2/20	When do you intend to decide which list to vote for?	
	(1) day before the elections	13.3
	(2) a few days before the elections	7.8
	(3) two weeks before the elections	3.5
	(4) three weeks before the elections	9.0
	(5) in the next few days	18.8
	(6) don't know when	11.5
2/21	About two months ago, before the crisis in Lebanon and after Yoram Aridor announced his economic program, who did you think to vote for?	
	(1) Alignment	31.8
	(2) Likud	36.9
	(3) NRP	3.1
	(4) Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	1.1
	(5) Moshe Dayan's list - Telem	2.3
	(6) Shinui	1.4
	(7) Hachiya	1.9
	(8) Sheli	0.6
	(9) Ratz	1.4
	(0) other. which? _____	0.2
	(x) haven't decided	12.9
	(v) wouldn't have voted	2.3
2/22	In comparison with the situation a month ago, would you say that today you know more or less who you will vote for?	
	(1) more	25.1
	(2) less	6.3
	(3) same	55.0
	(4) don't know	9.0

2/23	Which lists would you not vote for under any circumstances?	
	(1) Alignment	22.4
	(2) Likud	19.6
	(3) NRP	2.7
	(4) Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	43.7
	(5) Moshe Dayan's list - Telom	0.2
	(6) Shinui	0.2
	(7) Tehiya	0.3
	(8) Sheli	0.6
	(9) Ratz	0.1
	(0) other. which? _____	0.2
	(x) don't know, didn't think about it	1.4
2/24	Which list did you vote for in the last Knesset elections (for the 9th Knesset - 1977)?	
	(1) Alignment	23.0
	(2) Likud (including Shlomzion)	37.5
	(3) NRP	4.4
	(4) Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	1.1
	(5) DMC	9.0
	(6) Sheli	1.5
	(7) Ratz	1.0
	(8) Independent Liberals	0.2
	(9) other list. which? _____	0.6
	(0) I had the right to vote, but didn't	4.7
	(x) I didn't have the right to vote	9.4
	(v) won't answer	5.0
2/25	Which list did you vote for eight years ago, in the eighth Knesset elections (1973)?	
	(1) Alignment	33.4
	(2) Likud (including Shlomzion)	20.1
	(3) NRP	4.8
	(4) Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	1.2
	(5) Independent Liberals	1.4
	(6) Moked	1.1

(7)	Ratz	0.9
(8)	Meri	0.2
(9)	other list. which? _____	0.2
(0)	I had the right to vote, but didn't	7.0
(x)	I didn't have the right to vote	19.6
(v)	won't answer	5.7

2/26

And which party did you vote for in the 1969 elections?

(1)	Alignment	28.9
(2)	Gahal	11.6
(3)	KRP	4.0
(4)	Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	1.1
(5)	Independent Liberals	2.0
(6)	Am	0.2
(7)	other list. which? _____	0.7
(8)	I had the right to vote, but didn't	6.7
(9)	I didn't have the right to vote	31.9
(0)	won't answer	6.4

2/27

From among the following, who would you like to see as Prime Minister after the elections?

(1)	Yitzhak Rabin	21.5
(2)	Menachem Begin	40.7
(3)	Shimon Peres	17.9
(4)	Moshe Dayan	5.1
(5)	Yitzhak Shamir	1.3
(6)	Ezer Weitzman	4.2
(7)	David Levy	0.4
(8)	Arik Sharon	1.1
(9)	Abba Eban	2.3

2/28 And who from among the following would you like to see as Defense Minister after the elections?

(1)	Yitzhak Rabin	7.8
(2)	Menachem Begin	3.3
(3)	Shimon Peres	4.3
(4)	Moshe Dayan	6.5
(5)	Ezer Weitzman	18.1
(6)	Haim Bar Lev	12.8
(7)	Arik Sharon	33.4
(8)	Mota Gur	8.2

2/29 Who would you like to see as Finance Minister?

(1)	Yaakov Levinson	10.3
(2)	Gad Yaakobi	4.8
(3)	Yoram Aridor	34.4
(4)	Haim Ben-Shahar	23.4
(5)	Naphtali Blumenthal	2.1
(6)	Yigal Hurvitz	1.4
(7)	Simha Erlich	1.4
(8)	Yitzhak Modai	1.5
(9)	Gidon Patl	0.8

2/30 Who would you like to see as Foreign Minister?

(1)	Yosef Burg	2.9
(2)	Abba Eban	32.7
(3)	Yitzhak Rabin	4.6
(4)	Moshe Dayan	12.3
(5)	Yitzhak Shamir	21.2
(6)	Haim Herzog	14.9
(7)	Yitzhak Modai	1.5
(8)	Moshe Arens	4.1

2/31	Which party do you think will form the government after the elections?	
	(1) Alignment	42.8
	(2) Likud	46.9
	(3) Moshe Dayan's list - Telem	1.1
	(4) NRP	0.2
	(5) Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	0.2
	(6) Ratz	-
	(7) Shinui	0.3
	(8) Sheli	-
	(9) other list. which? _____	0.9
2/32	To what extent do you, or do you not, want to see the NRP in the next government (participating in the coalition)?	
	(1) certainly do not want to see them in next government	37.2
	(2) don't really want to see them in next government	20.1
	(3) to a certain extent want to see them in next government	21.9
	(4) certainly want to see them in next government	16.2
2/33	Which of the two big lists would you like to see form the next government - Alignment or Likud?	
	(1) want Likud to a great extent	35.4
	(2) want Likud to a certain extent	10.9
	(3) don't care	9.9
	(4) want Alignment to a certain extent	13.0
	(5) want Alignment to a great extent	23.4
2/34	Do you, or do you not, read election notices that appear in the newspaper?	
	(1) often read them	35.7
	(2) seldom read them	27.8
	(3) don't read them at all	30.7

2/35	To what extent do these notices influence your decision for whom to vote?	
	(1) to a great extent	3.4
	(2) to a certain extent	9.1
	(3) to a small extent	11.0
	(4) barely (influence)	8.9
	(5) not at all	41.7

Before you is a list of characteristics and their opposites. For each pair of characteristics you are asked to indicate which is most suitable for describing the election campaign being held in Israel (using a scale from 1 to 7).

2/36	positive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	negative
		19.3	14.5	12.6	16.2	9.7	4.5	13.6	
2/37	short	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	long
		13.9	10.7	14.6	26.1	7.8	8.8	13.5	
2/38	educational	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not educational
		12.4	8.5	9.4	18.1	11.1	14.6	20.9	
2/39	helps to decide who to vote for	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	doesn't help to decide who to vote for
		11.4	10.4	11.7	16.1	11.2	12.2	23.3	
2/40	helps to understand the country's problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	doesn't help to understand the country's problems
		12.1	11.5	12.0	14.3	10.3	12.2	23.3	

2/41	helps to get to know the differences between the parties	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	doesn't help to get to know the differences between the parties
		17.1	15.5	14.2	14.0	8.8	10.1	16.0	
2/42	unites the country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	pulls the country apart
		9.1	6.5	10.6	21.2	13.8	15.6	18.9	
2/43	helps to get to know the leaders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	doesn't help to get to know the leaders
		17.4	16.7	14.3	14.6	8.0	9.1	15.0	
2/44	gives a feeling of belonging to the country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	doesn't give a feeling of belonging to the country
		20.1	13.3	12.4	18.7	9.5	8.9	12.5	
2/45	wasteful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	worth the cost
		42.4	14.6	6.6	12.0	6.0	5.4	6.7	
2/46	decisive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	doesn't change much
		19.4	11.6	11.6	20.5	7.9	9.1	15.8	
2/47	important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unimportant
		29.8	15.3	10.0	17.1	5.1	7.1	11.6	

And now some questions about the Histadrut elections:

2/48	Which of the two parties won the Histadrut elections in your opinion - Alignment or Likud?	
	(1) Alignment	69.1
	(2) Likud	14.2
	(3) both	5.7
	(4) neither	5.1

2/49	Are you a member of the Histadrut?	
	(1) yes (continue to next question)	71.7
	(2) no (continue to question 51)	25.5
2/50	Who did you vote for in the last Histadrut elections?	
	(1) Alignment	31.2
	(2) Likud	18.7
	(3) Shinui	1.1
	(4) Sheli	0.6
	(5) Independent Liberals	0.2
	(6) Rakah - Hadas	
	(7) other list. which? _____	0.7
	(8) didn't vote, but am a member of Histadrut	18.3
	(9) won't answer	4.1

Before you is a list of characteristics and their opposites. For each pair of characteristics you are asked to indicate which is most suitable for describing the State of Israel (using a scale from 1 to 7).

2/51	strong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	weak
		32.9	24.5	17.1	13.7	4.4	2.7	1.6	
2/52	gives hope	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	leave one in despair
		33.4	23.9	16.5	13.2	4.9	2.7	2.0	
2/53	just (righteous)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not just
		37.8	22.0	5.1	13.8	3.2	2.0	1.4	
2/54	the place where I want to live	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	the place where I don't want to live
		66.5	14.1	6.9	6.5	1.4	1.1	0.5	

2/55	the place to which all Jews must immigrate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not the place to which all Jews must immigrate
		40.9	17.4	13.7	12.3	5.3	3.7	3.7	
2/56	democratic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not democratic
		53.7	21.7	11.4	6.3	1.9	0.8	0.8	
2/57	has social justice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	does not have social justice
		16.2	16.5	20.1	20.7	9.0	7.4	6.5	
2/58	is willing to be good neighbors with Arab nations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	is not willing to be good neighbors with Arab nations
		48.1	21.7	10.9	9.3	3.6	1.5	1.7	
2/59	peace loving	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	war seeking
		55.1	20.4	11.2	6.7	2.1	0.8	0.4	
2/60	the realization of the Zionist dream	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not the realization of the Zionist dream
		31.0	17.5	16.0	15.1	6.6	5.3	4.0	

And now, some facts about you:

1/67-68 What is your age?

2/69 Sex of interviewee:

(1) male	51.7
(2) female	45.9

2/70	How many years of schooling did you have?		
	(1)	none	1.8
	(2)	up to and including 4 years	1.9
	(3)	5 to 8 years	14.9
	(4)	9 to 10 years	15.0
	(5)	11 years	8.4
	(6)	12 years	31.2
	(7)	13+ years (without academic degree)	14.6
	(8)	full university education (university degree)	11.5
2/71	Where were you born, and where was your father born?		
	<u>interviewee</u>	<u>his father</u>	
	(1)	Israel	10.3
	(2)	Israel	Asia-Africa
	(3)	Israel	Europe-America
	(4)	Asia-Africa	Asia-Africa
	(5)	Europe-America	Europe-America
	(6)	any other combination	1.1
			0.1
2/72	When did you immigrate to Israel?		
	(1)	born in Israel	35.7
	(2)	before 1948	12.6
	(3)	1948-1954	20.8
	(4)	1955-1960	10.0
	(5)	1961-1966	7.4
	(6)	1967-1972	4.0
	(7)	1973-1977	2.4
	(8)	1978-1979	0.2
	(9)	1980+	0.1

2/73	Are you an employee, independent, member of a cooperative, or unemployed?	
	(1) employee	46.0
	(2) independent	11.6
	(3) member of cooperative	1.1
	(4) pensioner	9.5
	(5) housewife	17.2
	(6) soldier, student	9.5
	(7) other, unemployed	4.4
2/74	To which social class would you say you belong?	
	(1) upper-middle or upper class	8.5
	(2) middle class	64.9
	(3) working class	19.1
	(4) lower class	3.2
	(5) don't belong to any class	2.8
2/75	What is your family status?	
	(1) single	26.7
	(2) married without children	5.1
	(3) married with one child	11.6
	(4) married with two children	27.2
	(5) married with 3 children or more	29.9
	(6) divorced without children	0.4
	(7) divorced with children	1.0
	(8) widowed without children	0.9
	(9) widowed with children	2.7
2/76	Do you observe religious traditions, and if so, to what extent?	
	(1) I observe completely	13.4
	(2) I observe to a great extent	14.7
	(3) I observe to a small extent	40.7
	(4) I don't observe at all, totally free	30.5

2/77	Do you travel on the Sabbath?	
	(1) yes	74.3
	(2) no	19.4
2/78	Do you eat only Kosher food?	
	(1) yes	57.6
	(2) no	36.2
2/79	How many times a year do you go to Synagogue?	
	(1) every day	6.3
	(2) almost every Sabbath and holiday	15.3
	(3) a few times throughout the year	34.1
	(4) only Yom Kippur	21.0
	(5) never	21.1
2/80	How many rooms are there in your home?	
	(1) one room	1.7
	(2) two rooms	15.6
	(3) three rooms	50.0
	(4) four rooms	25.1
	(5) five rooms	5.3
	(6) six rooms	1.1
	(7) seven rooms	0.4
	(8) eight rooms	0.1
	(9) nine+ rooms	0.2
3/6	How many people live in your home?	
	(1) one person	4.6
	(2) two people	17.5
	(3) three people	18.4
	(4) four people	26.4
	(5) five people	17.3
	(6) six people	7.8
	(7) seven people	3.2
	(8) eight people	1.9
	(9) nine+ people	2.5

3/7-9	Do you read a daily newspaper(s), and if so, which? (indicate up to 3 newspapers)	
	(1) Maariv	37.2
	(2) Yediot Ahronot	57.6
	(3) Haaretz	13.7
	(4) Davar	3.4
	(5) other Hebrew newspaper	
	(6) foreign language newspaper	
	(7) don't read a daily newspaper	
3/10	Which radio station do you listen to most frequently?	
	(1) Hagal Hakal (Reshet Bet)	
	(2) Gal Gimal	
	(3) Galci Zahal	
	(4) Gal Aleph	
	(5) Voice of Peace	
	(6) don't listen to the radio	
3/11	Do you support a party, or are you a party member and/or functionary?	
	(1) member and paid functionary	0.3
	(2) member and unpaid functionary	2.0
	(3) member without function	7.4
	(4) I support, but am not a member or functionary	37.7
	(5) don't particularly support any party	50.2
3/12	With what political tendency do you identify?	
	(1) left	3.0
	(2) moderate left	12.9
	(3) center	21.8
	(4) moderate right	16.6
	(5) right	15.4
	(6) religious	4.4
	(7) don't identify with any tendency	20.9

3/13	How much does your family spend a month on the average?	
	(1) up to 1,000 shekels	1.5
	(2) 1,001-1500 shekels	1.6
	(3) 1,501-2,000 shekels	4.4
	(4) 2,001-2,500 shekels	6.2
	(5) 2,501-3,000 shekels	12.4
	(6) 3,001-4,000 shekels	18.0
	(7) 4,001-5,000 shekels	18.8
	(8) 5,001-6,000 shekels	13.1
	(9) 6,001-7,000 shekels	7.0
	(0) 7,001+ shekels	7.0

101-30
3/14-15 Place of interview _____

1-32

32

32