

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY
THE ROMULO BETANCOURT CHAIR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

ISRAEL
ELECTIONS STUDY 1984
FINDINGS

Summer 1986

Tel Aviv University
The Romulo Betancourt Chair of Political Science
Summer, 1986

Elections Study 1984

The Israel Elections Study of 1984 was based on a representative sample of the adult, Jewish population. It was held between 8-12 July 1984 and included 1259 respondents.

The findings are organized according to the structure of the questionnaire. The questionnaire presents questions and possible answers -- the number that appears to the left of each question indicates the punch card position. The numbers to the right of the answers indicate the percentage distribution of each question. The percentage of interviewees that did not respond is indicated below the distribution according to the answers for each question.

The field research was conducted by "Dahaf. The questionnaire was composed by Prof. Asher Arian from the Political Science Department, Tel Aviv University. These data are presented and made available as part of the activities of the Romulo Betancourt Chair of Political Science of Tel Aviv University.

1/6	In your opinion, how is the general situation in Israel today?	
	(1) very good	4.4
	(2) good	21.1
	(3) so-so	28.3
	(4) not good	24.4
	(5) bad	21.4
		0.4
1/7	What is your opinion on the way the government is handling the problems in Israel today?	
	(1) very well	4.3
	(2) well	26.9
	(3) not so well	38.5
	(4) not well at all	28.4
		1.8
1/8	What, in your opinion, is the main problem that the government must take care of?	
	(1) security	28.3
	(2) economy	49.9
	(3) social inequality	3.4
	(4) peace	2.6
	(5) young couples	1.4
	(6) inflation	7.9
	(7) immigrant absorption	0.1
	(8) education	2.0
	(9) lack of leadership	1.2
	(0) other	2.3
		1.0

1/9 In your opinion, are there differences between the various parties' stands on

the issue you have indicated?

(1)	very great differences	15.3
(2)	great "	28.9
(3)	certain "	26.8
(4)	small "	9.6
(5)	very small "	5.6
(6)	no differences at all	12.0
		1.8

1/10-11 Which party (list) will best be able to handle this problem?

(01)	Alignment	34.1
(02)	Likud	30.7
(03)	NKP	1.0
(04)	Agudat Israel	0.3
(05)	Morasha	0.3
(06)	Tami	0.4
(07)	Yahad (Weitzman)	1.1
(08)	Shinui	1.0
(09)	Ratz	0.6
(10)	Hathiya	1.7
(11)	Ometz	3.4
(12)	Hadash	0.1
(13)	Other party. Which? _____	1.9
(14)	don't know	20.6
		2.8

1/13 There are three proposals for long term settlements of the problem of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. Review all of them and indicate the one that you most agree to:

- (1) in return for a peace settlement, a return of most of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip, making sure

	there are security arrangements acceptable to Israel	34.4
	(2) Annexation of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip	22.5
	(3) Status quo-keeping the situation as it is	40.7
		2.4
1/14	And if Israel has to decide between the two following possibilities, what, in your opinion, should she do?	
	(1) in return for a peace settlement, the return of most of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip to Jordan, making sure there are security arrangements	18.3
	(2) annexation of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip	36.5
		45.3
1/15	In your opinion, should a territorial concession in Judea and Samaria be made in order to reach a peace agreement, and if so, what is the largest concession to be made?	
	(1) no part of Judea and Samaria should be conceded	41.1
	(2) only a small part of Judea & Samaria should be conceded	21.4
	(3) a part of Judea & Samaria should be conceded	21.6
	(4) almost all of Judea & Samaria should be conceded	5.9
	(5) all of J. and S. should be conceded in order to reach a peace agreement	8.2
		1.7
1/16	As long as a settlement for Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip is not reached, are you for an increase of civil rights for the inhabitants of the territories, or for a decrease in civil rights, or do you believe the situation should be left as it is?	
	(1) increase of civil rights, including the right to vote Knesset elections	5.6
	(2) increase of civil rights, not including the right to vote in Knesset elections	17.2
	(3) leaving the situation as it is	58.7
	(4) decrease of civil rights	16.8
		1.7

1/17	In your opinion, are there differences in the various parties' stands on the issue of the territorial concessions?	
	(1) very great differences	27.7
	(2) great "	36.5
	(3) certain "	23.1
	(4) small "	6.3
	(5) very small "	2.4
	(6) no differences at all	2.6
		1.4
1/18	To what extent will the territorial concessions issue influence the results of the coming Knesset elections?	
	(1) to a great extent	26.1
	(2) to a certain "	44.0
	(3) to a small "	16.5
	(4) not at all	10.7
		2.7
1/19	To what extent will the territories issue influence your vote in the coming Knesset elections?	
	(1) to a great extent	29.2
	(2) to a certain "	35.0
	(3) to a smalll "	14.0
	(4) not at all	20.1
		1.7
1/20-21	Which party best reflects your stand on the territories issue?	
	(01) Alignment	32.0
	(02) Likud	36.5
	(03) NRP	1.7
	(04) Agudat Israel	0.4
	(05) Morasha	1.3
	(06) Tami	0.2
	(07) Yahad (Weitzman)	1.4

(08)	Shinui	2.4
(09)	Ratz	1.7
(10)	Hathiya	9.0
(11)	Ometz	0.2
(12)	Hadash	0.1
(13)	Other party. Which? _____	2.1
(14)	don't know	10.0
		1.0

1/22 What is your opinion on the way the government is handling the economic problems of the country?

(1)	very well	2.9
(2)	well	13.1
(3)	so-so	25.7
(4)	not so well	23.2
(5)	not well at all	33.4
		1.6

1/23 Lately, we have heard alot about inflation in the country. To what extent do you believe this issue will influence the results of the coming Knesset elections?

(1)	to a great extent	46.9
(2)	to a certain "	35.3
(3)	to a small "	9.4
(4)	not at all	6.6
		1.8

1/24 To what extent will the inflation issue influence your vote in the coming Knesset elections?

(1)	to a great extent	34.4
(2)	to a certain "	33.0
(3)	to a small "	11.9
(4)	not at all	19.8
		1.0

1/25 In your opinion are there differences in the various parties' stands on the economic issue?

(1)	very great differences	16.0
(2)	great "	28.4
(3)	certain "	29.8
(4)	small "	9.4
(5)	very small "	6.0
(6)	no differences at all	7.9
		2.6

1/26-27 Which party best reflects your stand on the economic issue?

(01)	Alignment	37.7
(02)	Likud	26.6
(03)	NRP	0.9
(04)	Agudat Israel	0.6
(05)	Morasha	0.3
(06)	Tami	0.5
(07)	Yahad (Weitzman)	1.3
(08)	Shinui	1.6
(09)	Ratz	0.8
(10)	Hathiya	1.0
(11)	Ometz	8.7
(12)	Hadash	0.1
(13)	Other party. Which? _____	2.1
(14)	don't know	16.1
		1.0
		1.7

1/28 Whose stand are you closer to on economic issues, that of the Alignment or that of Likud?

(1)	Alignment	44.7
(2)	Likud	34.5
(3)	Another party. Which? _____	11.4
		9.5

1/29	Whose stand are you closer to on defense and foreign affairs, that of the Alignment or that of Likud?	
	(1) Alignment	41.5
	(2) Likud	45.7
	(3) another party. which? _____	6.4
		6.4
1/30	Who, in your opinion, will better handle the country's economic problems -- the Alignment team or the Likud team?	
	(1) Alignment team	42.9
	(2) Likud "	29.2
	(3) both equally	14.5
	(4) neither	11.3
		2.1
1/31	Who will better handle the country's foreign affairs and defense problems -- the Alignment team or the Likud team?	
	(1) Alignment team	40.2
	(2) Likud "	44.7
	(3) both equally	8.7
	(4) neither	5.1
		1.3
1/32	All in all, who will better handle the country's problems -- the Alignment team or the Likud team?	
	(1) Alignment team	41.1
	(2) Likud "	38.1
	(3) both equally	11.3
	(4) neither	7.5
		2.0

1/33 The Histadrut has established economic enterprises like Koor, Solel Boneh, supermarkets, etc. Do you think it's all right that the Histadrut has established economic enterprises?

(1)	certainly all right	28.4
(2)	all right	42.7
(3)	not all right	15.5
(4)	not at all all right	11.0
		2.4

1/34 In terms of the economic structure of the country, do you support a socialist or capitalistic approach?

(1)	certainly capitalist	6.6
(2)	capitalist	28.1
(3)	socialist	50.2
(4)	certainly socialist	6.3
		8.8

We now turn to a number of statements made by people on issues concerning society and state. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each?

1.35 Democracy is the best form of government

(1)	certainly agree	67.0
(2)	agree	23.4
(3)	not sure	5.8
(4)	don't agree	1.7
(5)	certainly don't agree	0.8
		1.4

1/36 Politicians tend not to take into account the opinion of the man in the street.

(1)	certainly agree	12.0
(2)	agree	26.8
(3)	not sure	27.6
(4)	don't agree	23.6
(5)	certainly don't agree	7.2
		2.7

1/37	Lighter punishments should be given to Jews that break the law when acting against Arabs then to Arabs when acting similarly against Jews.	
	(1) certainly agree	13.1
	(2) agree	13.8
	(3) not sure	14.5
	(4) don't agree	30.0
	(5) certainly don't agree	26.8
		1.8
1/38	A few strong leaders could do the country more good than all the laws and discussions.	
	(1) certainly agree	22.0
	(2) agree	26.3
	(3) not sure	21.5
	(4) don't agree	16.3
	(5) certainly don't agree	11.7
		2.2
1/39	I believe in freedom of expression for all people, regardless of their opinions.	
	(1) certainly agree	40.9
	(2) agree	32.3
	(3) not sure	11.5
	(4) don't agree	9.9
	(5) certainly don't agree	3.7
		1.6
1/40	There are situations in which it seems better for people to take the law into their own hands.	
	(1) certainly agree	1.8
	(2) agree	4.3
	(3) not sure	9.5
	(4) don't agree	33.7
	(5) certainly don't agree	49.0
		1.7

1/41	It would be best to tear down all the institutions and begin anew.	
	(1) certainly agree	1.8
	(2) agree	4.3
	(3) not sure	9.5
	(4) don't agree	33.7
	(5) certainly don't agree	49.0
		1.7
1/42	There are various factors that make a person vote for a certain party. From among the following 4 factors -- identification with the party (because of habit or an emotional or historic link), the party's candidate for Prime Minister, the party's stand on specific issues, or the fact that the party is in the government or the opposition -- which is the main factor that influences your vote?	
	(1) party identification	32.4
	(2) party's candidate	9.5
	(3) party's stand on specific issues	52.6
	(4) party's place in gov't or opposition	3.7
		1.8
1/43	Do your family members vote like you in Knesset elections?	
	(1) all of them do	32.4
	(2) a large portion of them does	25.7
	(3) a small " " " "	14.4
	(4) none of them do	9.4
	(5) I don't know how they vote	16.5
		1.6
1/44	Do your friends vote like you in Knesset elections?	
	(1) all of them do	9.2
	(2) a large portion of them does	37.6
	(3) a small " " " "	20.2
	(4) none of them do	3.3
	(5) I don't know how they vote	28.3
		1.4

1/45	Do your co-workers vote like you in Knesset elections?							
	(1)	all of them do						5.9
	(2)	a large portion of them does						23.6
	(3)	a small " " " "						13.8
	(4)	none of them do						3.9
	(5)	I don't know how they vote						24.6
	(6)	I don't work						25.4
								2.8
1/46	To what extent can you and your friends influence government policy?							
	(1)	to a great extent						12.4
	(2)	to a certain "						36.3
	(3)	to a small "						28.9
	(4)	not at all						19.7
								2.6
1/47	Some claim that the public's votes can't actually change government or state policy. What is your opinion?							
	(1)	the votes can change policy to a great extent						29.9
	(2)	the votes can change policy to a certain extent						38.8
	(3)	the votes can change policy to a certain extent						18.6
	(4)	the votes can't change policy at all						10.5
								2.2

People speak 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.

1/48	Where on this scale would you place yourself generally?							
right	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	left
	10.0	14.8	17.8	31.7	15.6	6.6	1.4	2.1

1/49 Where would you place yourself in terms of defense and foreign affairs?

right	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	left
	13.3	16.5	16.0	27.0	14.5	8.5	2.3	1.9

1/50 And where would you place yourself in terms of economic problems?

right	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	left
	8.8	11.3	15.8	33.2	16.1	8.4	4.1	2.3

Before you are scales from 1 to 7 that describe various characteristics of political parties. For example, 1 stands for a young party and 7 for an old one; 4 is in the middle-- neither old or young. Think about the ideal party you would like to see in government and rate it on these scales. For example, if your ideal party should be young, give it 1, and if it should be old, give it 7; if it should be young, but not entirely so, give it 2 or 3, and if it should be old, but not entirely so, give it 5 or 6; if it should be neither young nor old, give it 4.

1/51

young	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	old
	12.9	13.3	21.9	34.9	7.4	2.8	2.1	4.8

1/52

strong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	weak
	53.6	21.4	10.3	6.7	1.7	0.3	0.8	5.2

1/53

right-wing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	left-wing
	17.8	13.0	13.3	27.9	12.7	6.8	2.9	5.6

1/54

out-dated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	innovative
	2.1	1.7	4.2	20.7	18.4	23.2	23.7	5.8

1/55

middle class	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	working class
	5.6	6.0	11.1	46.2	10.2	7.1	8.0	5.8

1/56

Sephardic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ashkenazi
	2.1	1.7	3.2	78.7	4.6	1.0	1.4	7.4

1/57

cares mainly for itself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	cares mainly for the citizen
	0.3	0.4	1.9	6.3	8.1	18.6	58.9	5.5

1/58

inexperienced	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	experienced
	1.0	1.3	1.7	7.1	9.1	18.1	56.3	5.4

1/59

dovish (moderate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	hawkish (not moderate)
	16.1	10.5	11.5	31.0	12.5	5.7	6.8	5.9

1/60

young	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	old
	2.5	1.8	6.3	25.9	20.3	21.2	17.6	4.3

1/61

strong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	weak
	11.9	13.3	14.5	23.6	16.1	7.1	8.8	4.8

1/62								
right-wing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	left-wing
	4.1	3.2	3.7	22.7	27.4	18.7	15.3	4.8
1/63								
out-dated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	innovative
	10.6	12.6	13.9	28.0	15.9	7.5	6.2	5.2
1/64								
middle-class	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	working- class
	8.3	7.3	9.3	32.9	13.6	11.7	11.4	5.6
1/65								
Sephardic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ashkenazi
	0.8	1.4	1.3	40.8	20.0	18.0	11.0	6.8
1/66								
cares mainly for itself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	cares mainly for the citizen
	11.8	10.0	14.1	22.5	14.5	10.9	11.0	5.2
1/67								
honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	corrupt
	10.0	10.5	10.3	26.6	14.6	10.1	12.0	5.9
1/68								
inexperienced	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	experienced
	2.8	2.1	3.1	10.6	15.0	29.6	31.9	4.9
1/69								
not trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	trustworthy
	10.8	8.8	10.2	20.9	16.0	13.9	14.6	4.8

1/79

dovish (moderate)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	hawkish (not moderate) 5.6
	12.5	13.2	17.9	32.6	9.4	4.2	4.7	

1/80

not trust worthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	trust- worthy 4.5
	12.3	9.5	11.3	19.5	13.0	13.8	16.0	

2/6

dovish (moderate)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	hawkish (not moderate) 32.6
	6.3	5.5	6.2	19.0	13.8	11.4	5.3	

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

2/7	Party with experienced leaders	
	(1) suits Alignment better	46.4
	(2) " Likud "	20.7
	(3) suits both equally	28.6
	(4) suits neither	29.9
		1.4
2/8	Party that gives suitable representation to Orientals.	
	(1) suits Alignment better	11.0
	(2) " Likud "	51.5
	(3) suits both equally	25.6
	(4) suits neither	9.6
		2.3

2/9	Party that ensures the country's future.	
	(1) suits Alignment better	34.3
	(2) " Lukud "	32.9
	(3) suits both equally	19.7
	(4) suits neither	10.7
		2.3
2/10	Party that ensures a Jewish majority in the country.	
	(1) suits Alignment better	27.9
	(2) " Lukud "	38.5
	(3) suits both equally	24.4
	(4) suits neither	6.6
		2.6
2/11	Party that reduces the ethnic gap (between Sephardics and Ashkenazis).	
	(1) suits Alignment better	19.0
	(2) " Lukud "	45.9
	(3) suits both equally	20.2
	(4) suits neither	12.5
		2.5
2/12	Party that contributed to the building of the country.	
	(1) suits Alignment better	46.9
	(2) " Lukud "	22.0
	(3) suits both equally	27.8
	(4) suits neither	1.2
		2.1
2/13	Party that cares for the self respect of the Orientals.	
	(1) suits Alignment better	9.7
	(2) " Lukud "	53.6
	(3) suits both equally	20.2
	(4) suits neither	12.9
		3.5

2/14

Party that will know how to stand firm in negotiations over the territories and peace.

(1)	suits Alignment better	28.0
(2)	" Lukud "	43.4
(3)	suits both equally	17.4
(4)	suits neither	8.3
		3.0

2/15

Party that appoints suitable people to key positions, regardless of their ethnic background.

(1)	suits Alignment better	23.0
(2)	" Lukud "	37.5
(3)	suits both equally	24.9
(4)	suits neither	12.0
		2.7

2/16

Party that will know how to get out of Lebanon and ensure the Northern border.

(1)	suits Alignment better	28.9
(2)	" Lukud "	29.4
(3)	suits both equally	15.3
(4)	suits neither	13.5
		2.5

2/17

Party that uses the Orientals for political needs.

(1)	suits Alignment better	21.6
(2)	" lukud "	33.2
(3)	suits both equally	22.0
(4)	suits neither	19.3
		3.9

2/18

Party that will keep the democratic regime in the country.		
(1)	suits Alignment better	27.8
(2)	" Lukud "	26.1
(3)	suits both equally	40.7
(4)	suits neither	2.9
		2.4

2/19

To what extent do you believe there is ethnic-based discrimination in Israel?

(1)	very great extent	4.4
(2)	great "	10.4
(3)	medium "	29.6
(4)	small "	26.9
(5)	not at all (or almost not at all)	25.6
		3.1

2/20

To what extent have you personally suffered from ethnic discrimination?

(1)	very great extent	3.2
(2)	great "	4.4
(3)	medium "	8.4
(4)	small "	13.7
(5)	not at all (or almost not at all)	67.0
		3.3

Which of the two big parties - Alignment or Likud - is more responsible for each of the following phenomena in Israel:

2/21

Violence

(1)	Alignment	15.0
(2)	Likud	35.6
(3)	both equally	29.5
(4)	neither	18.0
		1.7

2/22

Immigration from Israel (Yiridah)

(1)	Alignment	13.3
(2)	Likud	38.1
(3)	both equally	33.1
(4)	neither	13.4
		2.1

2/23

High inflation.

(1)	Alignment	4.8
(2)	Likud	70.5
(3)	both equally	17.4
(4)	neither	5.6
		1.7

2/24

Low moral standards (corruption).

(1)	Alignment	24.3
(2)	Likud	22.4
(3)	both equally	34.3
(4)	neither	16.5
		2.5

2/25

Crime in the country.

(1)	Alignment	9.0
(2)	Likud	18.7
(3)	both equally	36.6
(4)	neither	33.1
		2.5

2/26

Ethnic gap

(1)	Alignment	34.1
(2)	Likud	18.1
(3)	both equally	28.4
(4)	neither	17.0
		2.2

Before you is a scale from 1 to 10 that represents support (love) or repulsion (hate) for a certain body or person. 1 stands for strong repulsion (hate) and 10 stands for strong attraction (love). You are asked to use this scale to indicate the extent of your attraction or repulsion to each of the following bodies or persons.

2/27 Alignment

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11.9	8.8	9.2	8.3	19.2	6.4	8.5	11.0	5.6	11.0

2/28 Likud

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11.4	9.5	10.1	8.5	15.1	6.7	5.7	9.5	7.3	16.2

2/29 Shimon Peres

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
21.0	11.7	9.5	7.6	14.5	7.2	8.2	7.6	4.5	8.1

2/30	Yitzhak Shamir									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	5.6	8.3	9.3	9.6	20.6	8.8	8.9	10.7	6.4	11.8
2/31	Arabs									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	27.8	12.9	10.6	7.5	27.1	5.2	2.4	0.9	0.6	5.0
2/32	Ariel Sharon									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	21.7	9.8	8.9	7.9	13.6	7.1	5.6	7.4	4.9	13.1
2/33	the religious (orthodox)									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	12.5	9.3	9.8	9,7	28.8	7.3	4.4	4.1	3.2	11.0
2/34	Ashkenazis									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	1.9	1.6	1.4	4.4	46.9	12.0	6.1	6.5	4.9	14.4
2/35	David Levy									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	4.1	3.2	5.8	8.1	24.8	9.2	11.2	11.8	8.6	13.3
2/36	Yitzhak Navon									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	2.0	1.0	2.5	5.1	13.3	8.7	14.9	14.1	15.3	23.1
2/37	Sephardic									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	0.9	0.8	1.0	3.9	44.8	10.2	7.1	7.4	6.2	17.7
2/38	Yitzhak Rabin									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	3.1	5.5	6.21	9.9	18.7	11.0	14.3	12.2	8.2	11.0

2/39	Menachem Begin									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	5.5	5.3	4.4	5.3	13.6	6.4	7.8	9.6	9.9	32.2

2/40	Gush Emunim									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	17.6	12.7	10.6	7.9	19.0	6.4	6.4	6.2	3.3	9.7

2/41	Peace Now									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	30.7	12.8	10.4	7.3	14.1	5.8	4.1	5.2	3.9	5.6

2/42

If Knesset elections were held today, which list would you vote for?

(1)	Alignment	34.7
(02)	Likud	29.4
(03)	NRP	2.5
(04)	Agudat Israel + Shas	1.4
(05)	Morasha	1.7
(06)	Tami	0.3
(07)	Yahad (Weitzman)	2.5
(08)	Shinui	2.2
(09)	Ratz	1.5
(10)	Hathiya	4.1
(11)	Hadash (Rakah)	0.1
(12)	Flatto Sharon	0.2
(13)	Lova Eliav	1.0
(14)	Ometz (Yigal Hurvitz)	1.6
(15)	Ben Porat	-
(16)	ethnic list. Which? _____	0.1
(17)	Other list. Which? _____	0.6
(18)	I'll vote with a white slip	0.4
(19)	haven't decided	12.1
(20)	won't vote even though I'll be in the country	1.4

2.3

2/44

How sure are you that you'll vote this way in the coming elections?

(1)	absolutely sure	66.9
(2)	I think I'll vote this way but am not sure	16.0
(3)	not at all sure	3.4
		13.6

2/45-46

If you don't vote for this list, which list will you vote for?

Which two lists are you trying to decide between?

(1)	Alignment	34.7
(02)	Likud	29.4
(03)	NRP	2.5
(04)	Agudat Israel + Shas	1.4
(05)	Morasha	1.7
(06)	Tami	0.3
(07)	Yahad (Weitzman)	2.5
(08)	Shinui	2.2
(09)	Ratz	1.5
(10)	Hathiya	4.1
(11)	Hadash (Rakah)	0.1
(12)	Flatto Sharon	0.2
(13)	Lova Eliav	1.0
(14)	Ometz (Yigal Hurvitz)	1.6
(15)	Ben Porat	-
(16)	ethnic list. Which? _____	0.1
(17)	Other list. Which? _____	0.6
(18)	I'll vote with a white slip	0.4
(19)	haven't decided	12.1
(20)	won't vote even though I'll be in the country	1.4
		2.3

2/49-50 Second Choice

2/51-52

Which list did you vote for in the last kneset elections (10th Knesset; June 1981)?

(1)	Alignment	28.4
(02)	Likud	37.1
(03)	NRP	3.7
(04)	Agudat Israel - Poalei Agudat Israel	1.5
(05)	Tami	0.4
(06)	Telem	0.7
(07)	Shinui	2.1
(08)	Ratz	1.6
(09)	Hathiya	2.0
(10)	Sheli	0.6
(11)	Other list. Which? _____	0.7
(12)	I didn't have the right to vote	11.5
(13)	I didn't vote although I could have (had the right to)	6.4
		3.3

2/53-54

Which list did you vote for in the last Histadrut elections (1981)

(01)	Alignment	30.8
(02)	Religious Worker	1.3
(03)	Likud or Shlomzion	15.3
(04)	Independent Liberals	0.3
(05)	DMC	0.6
(06)	Shai	-
(07)	Panthers	-
(08)	Sheli	0.2

(09)	Rakah	-
(10)	Other list. Which? _____	0.6
(11)	Wasn't in the country	1.7
(12)	didn't vote although I was in the country	24.1
(13)	not a member of Histadrut	19.1
		5.9

2/55

Do you define yourself as Ashkenazi or Sephardic (Oriental)?

(1)	Ashkenazi	30.9
(2)	Sephardic	37.6
(3)	Neither	29.0
		2.5

2/56

Do you observe religious traditions?

(1)	I observe completely	9.3
(2)	I observe to a great extent	18.3
(3)	I observe to a small "	39.5
(4)	I don't observe at all, totally free	30.2
		2.8

2/57

Where were you born and where was your father born?

	<u>Interviewee</u>	<u>Father</u>	
(1)	Israel	Israel	12.5
(2)	Israel	Asia-Africa	22.2
(3)	Israel	Europe-America	16.0
(4)	Asia-Africa	Asia-Africa	20.4
(5)	Europe-America	Europe-America	22.1
			6.7

2/58

When did you immigrate to Israel?

(1)	Born in Israel	20.4
(2)	Before 1948	9.0
(3)	1948-1954	15.6
(4)	1955-1960	6.4
(5)	1961-1966	7.1
(6)	1967-1972	4.3
(7)	1973-1977	1.7
(8)	1978-1979	0.6
(9)	1980 +	0.6
		34.4

2/59

Do you support a party, or are you a party member and/or paid
functionary

(1)	member and paid functionary	0.6
(2)	member and unpaid	2.1
(3)	member without a function	5.2
(4)	I support, but am not a member or functionary	40.4
(5)	don't particularly support any party	49.3
		2.3

2/60

With which political tendency do you identify?

(1)	left	4.7
(2)	moderate left	18.4
(3)	center	21.0
(4)	moderate right	23.2
(5)	right	15.3
(6)	religious	2.1
(7)	don't identify with any tendency	13.6
		1.7

2/61

How many years of schooling did you have?

(1)	none	1.1
(2)	up to, and including, 4 years	0.7
(3)	5-8 years	9.0
(4)	9-10 years	11.8
(5)	11 years	8.5
(6)	12 years	35.0
(7)	13+ years (without academic degree)	18.0
(8)	full university education	15.6
		0.3

2/62-63

What is your age?

2/64

The monthly expenditures of the average family of 4 reached 75,000 shekels in May. Taking into account your expenditures, and the size of your family, is your family average, above average, or below average?

(1)	way below average	4.3
(2)	somewhat below average	10.0
(3)	average	38.5
(4)	somewhat above average	29.2
(5)	way above average	14.7
		3.3

2/65

To which social class would you say you belong?

(1)	upper middle or upper class	8.3
(2)	middle class	67.0
(3)	working class	17.5
(4)	lower class	2.1
(5)	don't belong to any class	2.9
		2.0

- (A) How many rooms are there in your home?
- (B) How many people live in your home (including babies)?

2/66

Table of living conditions:
number of people

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

1-	21.5	5-	1.1
2-	38.0	6.	0.6
3-	26.1	7.	0.1
4-	8.3	8.	0.2
		9+-	0.1
			4.1

2/67

Sex of interviewee:

(1)	female	46.7
(2)	male	52.3

2/68

Do you work outside the household or not?

(1)	work outside the household	54.6
(2)	do not work outside the household	32.6
		12.6

2/69

How would you describe your role at work?

2/70

To what extent do you believe your place of work to be better or worse than similar places of work in the same field

(1)	better	16.9
(2)	same	38.0
(3)	worse	6.4
		38.6

2/71

To what extent does the management in your place of work take into consideration the workers?

(1)	to a very great extent	7.6	
(2)	to a great	"	16.0
(3)	to a certain	"	22.9
(4)	to a small	"	5.3
(5)	not at all		4.5
			43.6

2/72

If there is national management, to what extent does it take into consideration the workers?

(1)	to a very great extent	3.6
(2)	to a great "	9.5
(3)	to a certain "	21.4
(4)	to a small "	7.2
(5)	not at all	4.1
		54.2

2/73

To what extent are your working conditions and salary better or worse than in similar places of work, in the same field?

(1)	better	8.7
(2)	same	38.9
(3)	worse	11.0
		41.3

2/74-75

Place of interview