

December 1987 survey  
(First wave of 1988 election study)

1-5.

Below is a scale that includes 9 steps, each describes different possible situations regarding national security in the state. The top of the scale 9 describes the best possible situation and the bottom of the scale 1 describes the worst possible situation.

		9 Best	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1 Worst
6.	On which step of the scale do you think the state is positioned <u>now</u> , regarding national security?	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
7.	On which step of the scale do you think the state was <u>5 years ago</u> regarding national security?	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
8.	On which step of the scale do you think the state will be <u>in 5 years</u> , regarding national security?	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

9. There are three proposals for long-term settlements for the problem of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. Review all and indicate which proposal you most agree with.

1. In return for a peace settlement, a concession of most of Judea, Samaria and the Gaze Strip.
2. Annexation of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.
3. Status quo, keeping the present situation as it is.

10. And if Israel will have to determine between the two following options, what do you think it should do?

1. In return for a peace settlement, a concession of most of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.
2. Annexation of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.

Below is a list of possible explanations for keeping Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. Rank the following explanations by their degree of importance: 1 for what you think is the most important reason for keeping the territories and 4 for the least important one.

11. It is our right to the land
12. Preventing the establishment of a Palestinian state that will jeopardize Israel
13. The territories provide a strategic depth for a case of war in the eastern front.
14. Can be used as a bargaining chip for peace negotiations with Jordan.

15. How do you evaluate the government policy to maintaining tranquillity in the territories– too harsh, appropriate or too permissive?

1. Too harsh
2. Appropriate
3. Too permissive

16. Below is a scale that includes 7 steps. Step 1 represents the opinion that settlements in the West Bank and Gaze Strip contribute to the state's security by their presence and by the activity of the settlers. Step 7 represents the opinion by which the settelments disrupt the state's security by forcing the IDF to protect them. Step 4 represents the opinion by which the settlements has no effect – not positive or negative. Where on this scale would you place your opinion?

Settelments contribute to state's security								Disrupt the state's security
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

17. If step 1 represents the opinion by which our presence in the occupied territories has a negative effect on IDF moral and step 7 represents the opinion by which our presence in the territories has a positive effect, where would you place your opinion?

Negative effect			Neutral				Positive effect
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

18. Among the following, whose voice should be heard regarding the future of the territories?

1. Generals
2. Ex-Generals
3. Professors of Political Science
4. Likud leaders
5. Alignment leaders
6. Rabbis
7. Public opinion

19. When you hear or read recently about arguments concerning security policy, how big are the differences between the two major parties, in your opinion?

1. Very big differences
2. Big differences
3. There are some differences
4. Small differences
5. Very small differences

20. What rights should be given to Palestinians if the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are annexed?

1. Full civil rights (including voting rights)
2. Civil rights (excluding voting rights)
3. Leave current situation unchanged
4. Decrease current rights

21. In your opinion, should Israel agree or object to Palestinian autonomy in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip?

1. Definitely agree
2. Probably agree
3. Probably object
4. Definitely object

22. Should Israel agree or not agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip?

1. Definitely agree
2. Probably agree
3. Probably not agree
4. Definitely not agree

23. Should Israel be willing to give back to Syria the Golan Heights in exchange for a peace agreement?

1. Israel should be willing to give back all the territories of the Golan Heights.
2. Israel should be willing to give back a part of the Golan Heights.
3. Israel should not be willing to give back any of the territories of the Golan Heights.

24. In your opinion, is it possible to extinguish Arab terrorism by military means alone?

1. It can be extinguished
2. It can be diminished, but not extinguished
3. Military action does not stop terror
4. Military action will only make it worse

25. Fighting terror can take different directions. Which of the following should be the main direction?

1. Initiative war
2. Defensive action
3. Retaliation war

26. And what should be the response to shelling Northern settlements by terrorists?

1. Invading South Lebanon with great military forces and holding the territory for a long period of time
2. Massive fire of Armor Corps and Air Force
3. Activating a limited military force in order to extinguish terrorist bases
4. A selective air raid on terrorist bases
5. Seeking for a political solution

27. Considering all the factors regarding the war in Lebanon - the price Israel had to pay and its achievements, all in all, was it worthwhile?

1. It was worth it
2. Not worth it

28. Should Israel agree or not agree to negotiate with PLO taking into account the current situation?

1. Should agree
2. Should not agree

29. And if a basic change will occur in the organization and PLO will recognize Israel and renounce terror, should Israel agree or not agree to negotiate with it?

1. Should agree
2. Should not agree

30. In principle, do you approve or disapprove of death penalty for terrorists?

1. Approve
2. Disapprove

A number of actions can be adopted in the war against terror. To what extent do you approve or disapprove each of the following

	Definitely approve	Approve	Disapprove	Definitely disapprove
31. Destroying houses who harbor terrorists	1	2	3	4
32. Deporting persons who had relations with terrorist organizations	1	2	3	4
33. Retaliation actions against terrorist bases, in condition they don't jeopardize Arab citizens	1	2	3	4
34. Bombing terrorist bases across the border even if civilians will be hurt	1	2	3	4
35. Harming terrorist leaders	1	2	3	4
36. Retaliation actions against countries who aid terrorists	1	2	3	4

37. Would you usually agree or object to the release of life-prison terrorists in order to save Israeli civilians?

1. Definitely agree
2. Agree
1. Object
3. Definitely object

38. Would you usually agree or object to the release of life-prison terrorists in order to save IDF soldiers?

2. Definitely agree
3. Agree
4. Object
5. Definitely object

In your opinion, is it justified or not to initiate a war in each of the following conditions:

	Definitely justified	Justified	Unjustified	Definitely Unjustified
39. As defensive act to prevent annihilation	1	2	3	4
40. In order to prevent an attempt to regain territories occupied by Israel	1	2	3	4
41. In order to prevent or to stop a war of attrition	1	2	3	4
42. In order to destroy enemy military power and to prevent future threat on Israel	1	2	3	4
43. In order to overthrow a hostile regime and to assist the establishment of a supportive regime that will sign a peace agreement with Israel	1	2	3	4
44. In order to conquer territories that will contribute to our security	1	2	3	4
45. As a result of news regarding intentions of neighbour states to start border incidents	1	2	3	4
46. As a result of U.S request to protect its interests in the area	1	2	3	4
47. In order to assist friendly factors in the area (like the Christians in Lebanon)	1	2	3	4
48. In order to destroy terror foundations	1	2	3	4

49. Should or shouldn't Israel develop nuclear weapons?

1. Yes
2. No

50. Are there any conditions in which it will be justified for Israel to use a nuclear weapon, or no conditions makes it justified?

1. There are conditions when it is justified to use a nuclear weapon
2. No conditions makes it justified

Is it justified for Israel to use nuclear weapons in each of the following conditions?

	Definitely justified	Justified	Unjustified	Definitely Unjustified
51. As a response for nuclear attack of another state	1	2	3	4
52. In desperate situations –	1	2	3	4



65. In your opinion, is peace between us and the Arab countries possible in the near future?

1. Definitely possible
2. Possible
3. Not possible
4. Definitely not possible

66. In your opinion, is Israel capable or incapable of influencing Arab willingness to a true peace through its behaviour and policy?

1. Definitely capable
2. Capable
3. Incapable
4. Definitely incapable

67. What do you think are the chances that a peace agreement will be signed between Israel and another Arab state in the next three years?

1. High chances
2. Mediocre chances
3. Low chances
4. Very low chances

68. What do you think are the chances that a war will break out between Israel and an Arab state in the next 3 years?

1. High chances
2. Mediocre chances
3. Low chances
4. Very low chances

Regarding the next countries and groups, which are the two most dangerous enemies for Israel?

1. Syria
2. PLO
3. Jordan
4. Lebanese Shiites
5. Libya
6. Egypt
7. Iraq
8. Iran
9. Saudi Arabia

69. Most dangerous \_\_\_\_

70. Second most dangerous \_\_\_\_

71. Today, eight years after signing peace treaty with Egypt, do you approve of it or disapprove?

1. Approve
2. Disapprove

72. Were you in favor of the agreement when it was signed?

1. In favor
2. Against it

Below is a list of opinions on different issues, to what extent do you agree or oppose to each of the following:

	Definitely agree	Agree	Oppose	Definitely oppose
73. Among all the available views in the world, probably only one is correct	1	2	3	4
74. In no situation it is best to take law in hands	1	2	3	4
75. When there is a clash between the interests of the whole and the interests of the individual, the last should be preferred	1	2	3	4
76. Not to return any territory is a principle not to be broken	1	2	3	4
77. Even if we won't be prepared for the next war, if we deserve it, God will watch us	1	2	3	4

78. To what extent do you believe in our existence in Israel in the long run?

1. Definitely believe
2. Believe
3. Doubt
4. Definitely don't believe

Is Israel capable of coping with each of the following?

	Capable	Incapable
79. Total Israeli-Arab war	1	2
80. War against Syria alone	1	2
81. Increase of terrorist activity	1	2
82. Decrease of American support	1	2
83. Israeli Arabs' civilian uprising	1	2
84. Territories Arabs' uprising	1	2
85. USSR will assist Arab states in a war against us	1	2

86. How do you evaluate the chances that Israel will be annihilated?

1. High chances
2. Mediocre chances
3. Low chances
4. No chance



87. Is Israeli foreign and security policy rational or irrational?

1. Always rational
2. Usually rational
3. Sometimes rational and sometimes irrational
4. Usually irrational
5. Always irrational

88. Is the Arab countries' foreign and security policy rational or irrational?

1. Always rational
2. Usually rational
3. Sometimes rational and sometimes irrational
4. Usually irrational
5. Always irrational

89. Regarding the following, what do you think is the Arabs ultimate goal?

1. To retrieve a part of the territories seized during the Six Day War
2. To retrieve all the territories seized during the Six Day War
3. To conquer Israel
4. To conquer Israel and to annihilate most of the Jewish population

To what extent each of following is a reason for the Arab resistance to the state of Israel?

	Is a reason	Not a reason
90. They hate Jews	1	2
91. They think Israel is a foreign element in the Middle East	1	2
92. Our technological and quality advantages frighten them	1	2
93. They see all the lands of Israel as Arab lands that must be returned.	1	2
94. They only want to release the territories that were occupied in 1967 (during the Six Days War)	1	2
95. They are afraid of future Israeli ggressiveness	1	2

Among these factors, which are the two main factors for the Arab resistance to Israel?

96. Main factor \_\_\_\_\_

97. Second main factor \_\_\_\_\_

Keeping security requires a lot of resources; which of the following would you be willing to sacrifice in order to keep or expand the level of security in the country?

	willing	Not willing
98. Are you willing to pay more taxes so that the money will be dedicated to security?	1	2
99. Are you willing that the required service in IDF will be longer, so that your children or close relatives will serve longer?	1	2
100. Are you willing that the reserve military service will be longer, so that your children or close relatives will serve more days in reserve?	1	2

101. In your opinion, does the burden of military service distribute fairly?
1. Fairly
  2. Unfairly
102. From your impression, is reserve duty utilized efficiently or inefficiently?
1. Generally efficiently
  2. Generally inefficiently
103. In your opinion, is the regular service in IDF
1. Too long
  2. In suitable length
  3. Too short
104. In your opinion, should the defence budget be reduced, stay as it is, or be increased?
1. Increased
  2. Stay as is
  3. Reduced
105. And if the economic situation will become worse, should the defence budget be reduced, stay as it is, or be increased?
1. Increased
  2. Stay as is
  3. Reduced
106. Is it justified to cut social services budgets (like health services and education) in order to increase the defence budget?
1. Definitely justified
  2. Justified
  3. Unjustified
  4. Definitely unjustified
107. In your opinion, was there a weakening, a strengthening or no change in IDF power in the last five years?
1. Substantial weakening
  2. Certain weakening
  3. No change
  4. Certain strengthening
  5. Substantial strengthening
108. Which of the following factors should mainly determine what will be the IDF's future weapon systems?
1. Government
  2. Knesset
  3. IDF
  4. Military industry
  5. Other \_\_\_\_

109. In principle, do you support or oppose to continuing the Lavi project?

1. Definitely support
2. Support
3. Oppose
4. Definitely oppose

110. In your opinion, is the decision making of IDF's high command in military issues influenced only by relevant and objective considerations, or also by other considerations?

1. Only by relevant considerations
2. Also by other considerations

111. Which of the following bodies actually determine Israel's security policy?

1. Prime Minister
2. Defence Minister
3. Limited Cabinet
4. Government general assembly
5. Foreign affairs and defence committee
6. General staff of IDF
7. Media
8. United States
9. The people
10. Other \_\_\_\_\_

112. Some claim that security considerations override other considerations and should be preferred over social or economic considerations. On the other hand, others claim that although security is important, preferring it above any other consideration is not wanted and might harm more than contribute. Below is a scale that includes 7 steps, the ends of the scale represent these positions, the other steps represent the opinions in between. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

Security not in all cost Security is preferred over all  
7                  6                  5                  4                  3                  2                  1

113. Recently people are talking about situations where respecting the rule of law contradicts the need to protect security interests. On the next scale, 1 represents the opinion by which in a case of contradiction, security interests should be preferred. 7 represents the opinion that keeping the rule of law should be preferred. What do you think?

Saving the rule of law should be preferred The security interest should be preferred  
7                  6                  5                  4                  3                  2                  1

114. To what extent do you think that our current political leadership prefers security considerations over saving the rule of law, or on the contrary, rule of law considerations are preferred over the security interest?

1. Security considerations are always preferred
2. Security considerations are usually preferred
3. Rule of law is usually preferred
4. Rule of law is always preferred

115. And what about the political leadership that established the state, what kind of considerations did they prefer?

1. Security considerations were always preferred
2. Security considerations were usually preferred
3. Rule of law was usually preferred
4. Rule of law was always preferred

116. In your opinion, is there sufficient supervision over the security services? (Shabak, Mossad)

1. Too much supervision
2. Sufficient supervision
3. Too less supervision

Below is a list of expressions regarding the situation of the state and the nation. To what extent do you agree or object to each?

	Definitely agree	Agree	Object	Definitely object
117. He who keeps Israel will neither slumber nor sleep	1	2	3	4
118. Masada shall never fall again	1	2	3	4
119. The whole world is against us	1	2	3	4
120. The God of Israel does not lie	1	2	3	4
121. Israel is and will continue to be a nation dwelling alone	1	2	3	4
122. It is good to die for our country	1	2	3	4
123. If one rises to kill you, kill him first	1	2	3	4
124. The best defence is offence	1	2	3	4
125. Military victory advances the cause of peace	1	2	3	4

126. There's a saying: "He who keeps Israel will neither slumber nor sleep". Who do you relate to as "he who keeps Israel"? Who can the people of Israel trust?

1. God
2. IDF
3. U.S
4. State of Israel
5. People of Israel
6. Each for himself
7. Other \_\_\_\_\_

127. Israel is known today as a weapon supplier to many countries in the world, including undemocratic states and even hostile states for Israel, like Khomeini's Iran. What do you think is the desirable policy for Israel in this field?

1. To sell weapon to everyone who's interested
2. To sell to everyone, except for hostile states for Israel
3. To sell only to states we approve of their regime
4. Not to sell weapon at all to other states

128. There's a suggestion to assemble an international peace conference with participation of great super powers. To what extent do you support or object to this suggestion?

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Object
4. Strongly object

1-5.

6. Think of a situation when the government is gathering in order to decide whether to initiate a war. Should it take into account the public stand on this issue?

1. Definitely yes
2. Yes
3. No
4. Definitely not

7. In your opinion, is it necessary to support a government during a security crisis like war, while disagreeing with its way?

1. It's absolutely necessary
2. It's usually necessary
3. It's usually not necessary
4. It's absolutely not necessary

Regarding a senior military officer who doesn't agree with government policy – which of the following is he allowed to do and which is not allowed, in your opinion?

	Allowed	Not allowed
8. Is he allowed to speak with his supervisor officers regarding his disagreement with government policy?	1	2
9. To send anonymous letters to newspapers	1	2
10. To express himself openly in the media (without harming state's security)	1	2
11. To ask to be released from duty	1	2
12. To refuse to follow orders	1	2

13. In your opinion, is the media treating the security issue responsibly or irresponsibly?

1. Definitely responsibly
2. Usually responsibly
3. Usually irresponsibly
4. Definitely irresponsibly

14. Is the media dealing with the security issue too little, to the right extent, or too much?

1. Too little
2. To the right extent
3. Too much

15. To what extent do you trust the statements of the state's leaders regarding security?

1. Definitely trust
2. Trust
3. Don't trust
4. Definitely don't trust

16. In your opinion, are the decisions of political leaders in security issues influenced only by relevant considerations, or also by other considerations?

1. Only by relevant considerations
2. Also by other considerations

17. To what extent is the public familiar with security issues in order to express an opinion?

1. To a very high extent
2. To a high extent
3. To a certain extent
4. To a small extent
5. To no extent at all

18. To what extent do you usually express your opinion regarding security issues in different channels, like talking to relatives and friends, writing letters to newspapers, signing petitions etc.?

1. Often
2. Sometimes
3. Seldom
4. Never

19. To what extent do you and your friends influence decision making regarding security issues?

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

20. To what extent are you familiar with security issues in order to express an opinion?

1. To a very high extent
2. To a high extent
3. To a certain extent
4. To a small extent
5. To no extent at all

Below is a list of arguments regarding different issues. To what extent do you agree or oppose each?

	Definitely agree	Agree	Oppose	Definitely oppose
21. In my daily life important ends sanctify the means	1	2	3	4

22. Criticism being heard in the world regarding Israeli policy is derived mostly from Anti-Semitism	1	2	3	4
23. Israel should take into account non-Jewish opinions regarding its policy	1	2	3	4
24. A number of strong leaders can be useful for the state more than all the discussions and laws.	1	2	3	4

25. What percentage of the complete government budget is dedicated to defence?

1. Less than 10%
2. Between 10% to 40%
3. Between 40% to 75%
4. More than 75%

26. Which state produces the F-16 plane?

1. Israel
2. France
3. U.S
4. U.K

27. How big is the U.S continuous military aid to Israel?

1. Less than 1 billion dollars a year
2. Between 1-3 billion dollars a year
3. Between 3-5 billion dollars a year
4. More than 5 billion dollars a year

28. Does the IDF have submarines?

1. Definitely yes
2. Yes
3. No
4. Definitely not

29. How many terrorists were released by Israel in the exchange of prisoners with the Jibril organization in May 1985?

1. 58
2. 140
3. 485
4. 1150
5. 3900

30. Do the Arabs of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip have a right to petition to the High Court of Justice?

1. Definitely yes
2. Yes
3. No
4. Definitely not

31. Do the Arabs of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip have a right to vote for the Knesset?

1. Definitely yes
2. Yes
3. No
4. Definitely not

32. Some say that you can trust most people and on the other side, others say that you need to be very careful in your relations with people. How do you feel?

1. Most people can be trusted
2. People have to be careful in their relations with others

33. In your opinion, do people tend to help others or only take care of themselves?

1. Tend to help others
2. Tend to take care of themselves

34. Among the next values, what's most important to you?

1. Self fulfilment
2. Self esteem
3. Affection, love
4. Certainty, confidence in life
5. Comfortable life

35. Which of the following sentences best reflects your position toward the society we're living in?

1. The way our society is organized in should be transformed by means of a revolutionary action
2. Our society should be improved in a gradual way, by reforms.
3. Our society is all right as it is and has to be protected from forces that want to change it.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following:

	Definitely agree	Agree	Not sure	Oppose	Definitely oppose
36. If one doesn't take care of himself, no one will take care of him.	1	2	3	4	5
37. life is a continuous struggle for survival	1	2	3	4	5
38. A compromise with political opponents is dangerous, because usually it brings to betrayal of principles	1	2	3	4	5
39. A group that allows too many differences in opinions won't survive for long	1	2	3	4	5
40. World views are divided into two groups: true and false. respectively, people are also right or wrong.	1	2	3	4	5



41. Most ideas that are being written today aren't worth the paper they're written on.	1	2	3	4	5
42. In the long run, best to choose friends and partners with similar opinions and tastes	1	2	3	4	5
43. Most people don't know what's good for them	1	2	3	4	5

44. What are your feelings toward the United States? Is your opinion positive or negative?

1. Very positive
2. Positive
1. Neutral
2. Negative
3. Very negative

45. And nevertheless, where does your opinion turn?

1. Toward good
2. Toward bad

46. How would you describe the current relations between U.S and Israel?

1. Very good
2. Good
3. Mediocre
4. Bad
5. Very Bad

47. In your opinion, to what extent can Israel rely on U.S for arms?

1. To a very high extent
2. To a high extent
3. To a mediocre extent
4. To a small extent
5. Not at all

48. Is it justified for Israel to spy in the U.S in order to achieve crucial information for our security?

1. Definitely justified
2. Justified
3. Unjustified
4. Definitely unjustified

49. And is it justified for U.S to spy on Israel in order to achieve crucial information for its security?

1. Definitely justified
2. Justified
3. Unjustified
4. Definitely unjustified





63-64. Which party did you vote for in the last Knesset elections (July 1984)?

1. Alignment
2. Likud
3. Mafdal
4. Agudat Israel
5. Shas
6. Morasha
7. Tami
8. Yahad (Weizman)
9. Shinui
10. Ratz
11. Hatehiya + Tsomet
12. Lova Eliav
13. Ometz (Horovitz)
14. Kah (Kahane)
15. Hadash (Rakah)
16. Progressive List for Peace
17. Other \_\_\_\_\_
18. Didn't vote despite having suffrage
19. Didn't vote due to absence of suffrage

65-66. When did you first participate in the elections?

1. 1949
2. 1951
3. 1955
4. 1959
5. 1961
6. 1965
7. 1969
8. 1973
9. 1977
10. 1981
11. 1984
12. Didn't vote yet

67-68. Which party did you vote for when you were first eligible to vote?

1. Mapai
2. Mapam
3. Ahdut A'avoda
4. Labor Party (Mapai + Ahdut A'avoda)
5. Alignment (Mapai+Ahdut A'avoda+Mapam)
6. General Zionists
7. Progerssive Party
8. Liberal Party (General Zionists + Progerssive Party)
9. Independent Liberals
10. Herut
11. Gahal (Herut + Liberal Party)
12. Free Center
13. National List
14. Likud (Gahal+Free Center+La'am)
15. Shlomtzion

16. Rafi
17. Ometz (Horovitz)
18. Mizrachi
19. Mizrachi Workers
20. Mafdal
21. Agudat Israel/Pagi
22. Shas
23. Morasha
24. Tami
25. Yahad (Weizmann)
26. Telem (Dayan)
27. Dash
28. Shinui
29. Ratz
30. Haolam Hazeh
31. Sheli
32. Lova Eliav
33. Maki
34. Moked
35. Rakah./Hadaash
36. Progressive List for Peace
37. Htehiya + Tsomet
38. Kah (Kahane)
39. Other \_\_\_\_\_
40. Don't remember (do not read)
41. Wasn't eligible to vote
42. Still didn't vote though I was eligible

69-70. Which party did your father vote for in the last Knesset elections, and if didn't vote, which party did he use to vote for in prior elections?

1. Mapai
2. Mapam
3. Ahdut A'avoda
4. Labor Party (Mapai + Ahdut A'avoda)
5. Alignment (Mapai+Ahdut A'avoda+Mapam)
6. General Zionists
7. Progerssive Party
8. Liberal Party (General Zionist + Progerssive Party)
9. Independent Liberals
10. Herut
11. Gahal (Herut + Liberal Party)
12. Free Center
13. National List
14. Likud (Gahal+Free Center+La'am)
15. Shlomt Zion
16. Rafi
17. Ometz (Horovitz)
18. Mizrachi
19. Mizrachi Workers
20. Mafdal
21. Agudat Israel/Pagi

22. Shas
23. Morasha
24. Tami
25. Yahad (Weizmann)
26. Telem (Dayan)
27. Dash
28. Shinui
29. Ratz
30. Haolam Hazeh
31. Sheli
32. Lova Eliav
33. Maki
34. Moked
35. Rakah./Hadash
36. Progressive List for Peace
37. Htehiya + Tsomet
38. Kah (Kahane)
39. Other \_\_\_\_\_
40. I don't know
41. Don't remember
42. He never participated in Israeli elections

71-72. Which party did your mother vote for in the last Knesset elections, and if didn't vote, which party did she use to vote for in prior elections? \_\_\_\_\_

73. What's your marital status?
1. Not married (skip to question 76)
  2. Married
  3. Divorced
  4. Widowed

74-75. Which party did your spouse vote for in the last Knesset elections, and if didn't vote, which party did she/he use to vote for in prior elections \_\_\_\_\_

76. To what extent do you think you are influenced by the vote of your relatives?
1. To a great extent
  2. To a high extent
  3. To a certain extent
  4. To a very small extent
  5. Not at all

77. Which of your relatives influenced your voting decision the most?
1. Father
  2. Mother
  3. Sibling
  4. Spouse
  5. Son/daughter
  6. Other \_\_\_\_\_
  7. Both parents equally
  8. All relatives equally
  9. None had any influence

78. Which of the following social groups influenced your voting decision the most?

1. My family
2. Close friends
3. Friends from work
4. People from my movement / organization
5. All to the same extent
6. None had any influence

79. To what extent is it important for you not to be considered exceptional in your family, regarding your political views?

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

80. How frequently do you discuss politics with your relatives?

1. Almost everyday
2. Once or twice a week
3. Seldom
4. Not at all

81. Which family member do you speak with more often about politics?

1. Father
2. Mother
3. Brother/sister
4. Spouse
5. Children
6. Other \_\_\_\_\_
7. Both parents equally
8. All family members equally
9. No one

82. When you used to live with your parents, whom did you speak with more often about politics?

1. Father
2. Mother
3. Brother/sister
4. Other \_\_\_\_\_
5. Both parents equally
6. All family members equally
7. No one
8. I'm still living with my parents

83. In general, to what extent are you satisfied with Israeli democracy?

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Not so satisfied
4. Not at all satisfied

84. When you have a clear opinion on a certain subject (political and apolitical), do you try to convince your relatives, friends and colleagues?

1. Often
2. Sometimes
3. Seldom
4. Never

85. Do you want to live in Israel in the long run?

1. Definitely yes
2. Yes
3. No
4. Definitely not

86. Among the following, which makes people doubt their desire to live in Israel?

1. Security situation
2. Economic situation
3. Social situation
4. Raise of anti-democratic tendencies
5. Status of religion in the state

87. How will you describe your feelings today – are you:

1. Very happy
2. Happy
3. Not so happy

88. Did you serve or serving now in IDF?

1. Didn't serve yet but will in future (skip to question 99)
2. Serving in regular service (skip to question 93)
3. Serving in reserve now (skip to question 93)
4. Served in past (continue to next question)
5. Did not serve (skip to question 99)

89. Are you serving today in reserve?

1. Yes
2. No (skip to question 92)

90-91. How many days did you serve in reserve this year? \_\_\_\_\_

92. Did you serve in a combat position in reserve?

1. Combat
2. Not combat

93. How many years did you serve in your regular service?

1. Up to a year
2. 1 – 1.5 years
3. 1.5-2 years
4. 2-2.5 years
5. 2.5-3 years
6. 3-6 years
7. 6-15 years
8. More than 15 years



94. Did you serve in a combat position during your regular service?
1. Mostly combat
  2. Combat and also not combat
  3. Mainly not combat
95. Did you serve in the territories during your regular or reserve service?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Don't serve in reserve
96. What is your military rank, or in what rank did you release from reserve?
1. Private
  2. Private first class
  3. Corporal
  4. Sergeant
  5. Staff Sergeant
  6. First Sergeant
  7. Master Sergeant
  8. Sergeant Major/Warrant Officer
  9. Second Lieutenant
  10. First Lieutenant
  11. Captain
  12. Major
  13. Lieutenant Colonel
  14. Colonel
  15. Brigadier General
  16. Major General
  17. Lieutenant General
97. Did you fight in one or more of the wars of Israel? (including the War of Attrition and combat service in Lebanon)
0. No
  1. Yes, how many wars did you fight \_\_\_\_\_
98. To what extent were you pleased of your military service?
1. Very pleased
  2. Pleased
  3. No opinion
  4. Not pleased
  5. Not pleased at all
99. Why didn't you serve in the army?
1. My draft didn't arrive yet
  2. I'm in academic reserve
  3. I'm a new immigrant
  4. I'm not a citizen
  5. Religious reasons
  6. Conscientious reasons
  7. Other \_\_\_\_\_
  8. Age reasons
  9. Martial reasons

100. Do you have a close relative who is serving now in regular service?

1. Yes
2. No

101-102. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_

103. How do you define yourself?

1. Ashkenazi
2. Sephardi
3. Neither

104-105. Where were you born? (If you were born in Israel, where was your father born)

1. North Africa
2. Asia
3. Eastern Europe
4. Western and Central Europe
5. America, Australia, South Africa
6. Isareli born (father also)
7. Israeli born (father in North Africa)
8. Israeli born (father in Asia)
9. Israeli born (father in Eastern Europe)
10. Israeli born (father in Western or Central Europe)
11. Israeli born (father in America, Australia or South Africa)

106-107. When did you immigrate to Israel? \_\_\_\_\_

108-109. How many years of schooling do you have? \_\_\_\_\_

110. To what extent do you observe religious traditions?

1. I observe them thoroughly
2. To a great extent
3. To a small extent
4. Not at all

111. Do you have sons or daughters in one of the following age groups?

	No	Son/sons	Daughter/daughters	Son and daughter
111. Up to 16 years old	1	2	3	4
112 16-18	1	2	3	4
113. 19-23	1	2	3	4

114. The monthly expenses of an average four people family have reached in December to 1600 NIS approximately. Considering your expenses and the size of your family, do you spend:

1. A lot above average
2. Little above average
3. Average
4. Little below average
5. A lot below average

115. How many rooms are there in your house?

116-117. How many people live in your house?

118. What social class do you belong?

1. Upper class
2. Upper-middle class
3. Middle class
4. Lower class

119. Do you work outside the household?

1. Yes
2. No

120. How do you define your status at work?

1. Salaried worker
2. Salaried clerk
3. Salaried manager
4. Independent/ own a small business
5. Independent-company owner

121. Do you usually read a daily newspaper?

1. Almost never
2. Very occasionally
3. Approximately once a week
4. Twice- thrice a week
5. Almost everyday

122. Do you read literature that deals with security issues?

1. Often
2. Sometimes
3. Seldom
4. Never

123. When you meet your friends, do you discuss politics?

1. Often
2. Sometimes
3. Seldom
4. Never

124. In the Second World War, were you in one of the Nazi occupied territories?

1. Yes
2. No

125. Did any of your close relatives go through the Holocaust on a country that was under the Nazi occupation?

1. Yes
2. No

126. Was any of your close relatives killed or hurt badly in the Holocaust?

1. Yes
2. No

127. Were you or any of your relatives hurt during military service?

1. I was hurt badly
2. I was hurt, but not badly
3. Someone from my family was hurt badly
4. Someone from my family was hurt, but not badly
5. No one was hurt

128. Was any of your relatives killed during his military service?

1. Yes
2. No

1-5.

6. Sex

1. Female
2. Male

7-8. Locality of residence