

Election Study – October 88

1-5.

6. In your opinion, how is the general situation in Israel today?

1. Very good
2. Good
3. Not so good
4. Not good
5. Bad

7. In your opinion, how is the government handling the problems of the state?

1. Very well
2. Well
3. Not so well
4. Not well at all

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
8.	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
9.	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
10.	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

11-12. What do you think is the main problem that the government has to take care of?

(Please state only one problem) _____

13-14. Which party will best be able to handle this problem?

1. Alignment
2. Likud
3. Hatehiya
4. Tsomet
5. Moledet (Gandhi)
6. Kach (Kahane)
7. The Center Movement - Shinui
8. Mapam
9. Ratz
10. Mafdal
11. Meimad
12. Agudat Israel / Degel Hatora
13. Shas /Yshai
14. Po'alei Agudat Israel – Morasha
15. Arab Democratic Party (Darawshe)
16. Hadash (Rakach)
17. Progressive List for Peace
18. Other Party, which?
19. Don't know (do not read)

15. 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 return of most of Judea, Samaria and the Gaze Strip (skip to question 17)
2. Annexation of Judea, Sameria and the Gaza Strip (skip to question 17)
3. Status quo, keeping the present situation as it is

16. 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 return of most of Judea, Sameria and the Gaza Strip.
2. Annexation of Judea, Sameria and the Gaza Strip.

17. 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
2. A small part of Judea and Samaria should be conceded
3. A part of Judea and Samaria should be conceded
4. Almost all of Judea and Samaria should be conceded
5. All of Judea and Samaria should be conceded in order to reach a peace agreement

18. Should Israel agree or not agree to negotiate with P.L.O taking into account the current situation?

1. Should agree (skip to question 20)
2. Should not agree (continue to the next question)

19. 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

20. 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

21. What rights should be given to Palestinians if 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

22. How do you evaluate the government policy to maintaining tranquility in the territories— too harsh, appropriate or too premissive?

1. Too harsh
2. Appropriate
3. Too premissive

23. What emphasize do you think Israel should put in attempt to prevent a war against the Arab countries?

1. Take all measures towards peace treaty
2. To increase its military power

24. To what extent do you agree that Israel should encourage Arab emigration from the country?

1. Definitely agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Definitely disagree

25. 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

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

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

27. What do you think are the chances that another 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

28. 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

29. Most dangerous _____

30. Second most dangerous _____

31. 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
32. Total Israeli-Arab war	1	2
33. War against Syria alone	1	2
34. Increase of terrorist activity	1	2
35. Decrease of American support	1	2
36. Israeli Arabs' civilian uprising	1	2
37. Territories Arabs' uprising	1	2
38. USSR will assist Arab states in a war against us	1	2

39. 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

40. Some claim that security considerations override other considerations and should be preferred above social or economic considerations. On the other hand, others claim that although security is important, preferring it above any other consideration is not warranted and might do harm more than good. 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 your position on this scale?

Security not at all costs Security is preferred
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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

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

42. 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 settlements 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	don't disrupt or contribute			Disrupt the state's security		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

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

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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44. There's a suggestion to convene an international peace conference with the participation of the great super powers. To what extent do you support or disapprove this suggestion?

1. Strongly support
2. Support
3. Disapprove
4. Strongly disapprove

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

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

46. 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

47. People speak a lot about hawkishness and dovishness concerning foreign affairs and security. Where would you place yourself along a dovish-hawkish continuum, when 1 is the hawkish end and 7 is the dovish end?

Dovish						Hawkish
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

48. Did the uprising in the occupied territories (Intifadah) change your positions toward the political and security situation?

1. My positions haven't changed
2. My positions have changed – I am more ready for concessions
3. My positions have changed – I am less ready for concessions

Did the uprising in the occupied territories (Intifadah) change the following:

49. Your mood:

1. Improved
2. Did not change
3. Became worse

50. National mood:

1. Improved
2. Did not change
3. Became worse

51. Your estimation of election results:

1. Haven't changed
2. Likud's camp's chances improved
3. Alignment's camp's chances improved
4. Religious parties' chances improved

52. And your political activity:

1. Increased
2. Did not change
3. Decreased

53. Your desire to live in Israel:

1. Increased
2. Did not change
3. Decreased

54. And your vote?

1. Did not change
2. Strong inclination to vote for Likud or to parties in its camp
3. Strong inclination to vote for Alignment or to parties in its camp
4. Strong inclination to vote for religious parties

55. And your attitude towards Arabs

1. More positive
2. Did not change
3. More negative

56. To what extent will the territories issue influences the results of the forthcoming Knesset elections?

1. To a great extent
2. To a certain extent
3. To a small extent
4. To no extent at all

57. And to what extent will the territories issue influences your vote in the forthcoming Knesset elections?

1. To a great extent
2. To a certain extent
3. To a small extent
4. To no extent at all

58-59. Which party best reflects your stand on territories issue?

1. Alignment
2. Likud
3. Hatehiya
4. Tsomet
5. Moledet (Gandhi)
6. Kach (Kahane)
7. The Center Movement – Shinui
8. Mapam
9. Ratz
10. Mafdal
11. Meimad
12. Agudat Israel / Degel Hatora
13. Shas / Yshai
14. Pagi (The United Torah Camp)
15. Arab Democratic Party (Darawshe)
16. Hadash (Rakach)
17. Progressive List for Peace
18. Other Party, which?
19. Don't Know (do not read)

60. When you hear or read about arguments concerning security policy recently, 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

61. To what extent do the views of your relatives on security and territories issues resemble your opinions?

1. Everyone's views resemble mine
2. A part's views resemble mine
3. A small part's views resemble mine
4. No one's views resemble mine
5. Don't know what are their views on this issues (do not read)

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

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

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

1. Father
 2. Mother
 3. Brother/sister
 4. Spouse
 5. Children
 6. Other, specify_____
 7. Both parents equally
 8. All family members equally
- Do not read:
9. No one

64. As to the country's economic structure, do you support a more socialist approach or a more capitalist one?

1. Absolutely capitalist
2. More capitalist than socialist
3. More socialist than capitalist
4. Absolutely socialist

65. 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. Definitely all right
2. All right
3. Not all right
4. Definitely not all right

66. In your opinion, are there any differences in the various parties' stands on the economic issue?

1. Very big differences
2. Big differences
3. Some differences
4. Small differences
5. Hardly any differences

67. To what extent do you think the economic issue will affect the results of the forthcoming elections?

1. To a great extent
2. To a certain extent
3. To a small extent
4. To no extent

68. To what extent do you think the economic issue will affect your vote in the forthcoming elections?

1. To a great extent
2. To a certain extent
3. To a small extent
4. To no extent

69. Whose stand are you closer to on economic issues, that of the Alignment or that of Likud?

1. Alignment
 2. Likud
- Do not read:
3. Another party. Which?

70. Whose stand are you closer to on defense and foreign affairs, that of the Alignment or that of the Likud?

1. Alignment
 2. Likud
- Do not read:
3. Another party, which?

71. Who do you think will take better care of the country's economic problems – the Alignment team or the Likud team?

1. Alignment team
2. Likud team
3. Both equally
4. Neither

72. And who will take better care of the country's foreign affairs and defense problems - the Alignment team or the Likud team?

1. Alignment team
2. Likud team
3. Both equally
4. Neither

73. Are you interested in the reestablishment of a national unity government in Israel, after the elections?

1. Definitely yes
2. Probably yes
3. Probably no
4. Definitely no

Do not read:

5. Yes, but only with Likud at the head
6. Yes, but only with Alignment at the head

74. To what extent do you discuss politics with your friends?

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

75. To what extent do you think that you and your friends can influence government policy?

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

76. Various factors lead people to vote for a specific party. Out of the next four factors, what is the main factor that brings you to vote for a specific party? (Specify one main factor)

1. Identification with the party
2. The party's candidate for Prime minister
3. Party's stands on specific issues
4. Its being in government or in the opposition

77-78. Below is a list of different political groups that are sympathized by a part of the public, and not sympathized by another part. Please state which of the following groups you like least (the group you most object to)

1. Neturei Kartha
2. Rakah (Hadash)
3. Kah (Rabbi Kahana movement)
4. Agudat Israel – Pagi
5. Gush Emunim
6. Progressive List for Peace
7. Other PLO supporting groups (e.g “Bnei-Hakfar”)
8. Hatehiya
9. Tsomet
10. Moledet (Gandhi Movement)
11. Arab Democratic Party (Daraushe movement)
12. Peace Now
13. Matzpen
14. “Yesh Gvul” movement
15. Other, which?

79-83. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, concerning the group you object most

	Definitely agree	Agree	Not certain	Disagree	Definitely disagree
79. A member of the group should be banned from being prime minister	1	2	3	4	5
80. That group should be declared illegal	1	2	3	4	5
81. Members of the group should be allowed to appear on TV	1	2	3	4	5
82. The group members' phones should be tapped	1	2	3	4	5
83. Members of the group should be allowed to demonstrate	1	2	3	4	5

If each of the following groups was declared illegal, would you approve?

	Definitely approve	Approve	Not certain	Disapprove	Definitely disapprove
84. Progressive List for Peace	1	2	3	4	5
85. Kah (Rabbi Kahana's movement)	1	2	3	4	5
86. Rakah (Hadash)	1	2	3	4	5
87. Gush Emunim	1	2	3	4	5
88. Peace Now	1	2	3	4	5

Below are some statements concerning Israeli-Arabs. Please state your approval or disapproval regarding each.

	Definitely agree	Agree	Not certain	Disagree	Definitely disagree
89. Arab should be banned from being prime minister	1	2	3	4	5
90. Arabs should be allowed to deliver speeches in public and to appear on TV	1	2	3	4	5

91. Arabs phones should be tapped	1	2	3	4	5
92. Arabs should be allowed to demonstrate	1	2	3	4	5
93. Arabs emigration from the country should be encouraged	1	2	3	4	5

Below is a list of characters or titles of parties, concerning each you are required to mention for which party is it more suitable – for the Alignment or the Likud

	Suits Alignment	Suits Likud	Both equally	Neither
94. Party who has experienced leaders	1	2	3	4
95. Party that provides an adequate representation to Orientals.	1	2	3	4
96. Party that ensures the future of the state	1	2	3	4
97. Party that ensures Jewish majority in Israel	1	2	3	4
98. Party that reduces the ethnic gap between groups in Israel	1	2	3	4
99. Party that contributed to the building of the country	1	2	3	4
100. Party that cares for the self esteem of the Orientals.	1	2	3	4
101. Party that will know how to stand firmly at peace and territories negotiations	1	2	3	4
102. Party that will preserve the democratic regime in the state	1	2	3	4
103. Ethnic party	1	2	3	4
104. Party that will retain necessary amount of territories	1	2	3	4
105. Party that can achieve true peace with Arabs	1	2	3	4
106. Party that will return tranquility and order to territories	1	2	3	4
107. party that will know when and how to lead to successful war	1	2	3	4
108. National party	1	2	3	4

The scale below includes 10 steps that represent support (love) or repulsion (hate) toward a certain body or person. 1 stands for strong repulsion (hate) and 10 stands for strong attraction (love). Please use this scale in order to indicate the extent of your attraction or repulsion toward each of the following bodies or persons.

11. Minority groups should be allowed to act in order to achieve support of majority groups.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I believe in freedom of speech for all people, regardless their opinions.	1	2	3	4	5
13. There are situations when it's better to take law in one's own hands	1	2	3	4	5

14. Do you think that the government has to guarantee that the public life of the country is in accordance with Jewish religious tradition?

1. It is certainly the Government's duty
2. Perhaps it's the Government's duty
3. I don't think it's the Government's duty
4. It's certainly not the Government's duty

15. In your opinion, is there an ethnic-based discrimination in Israel?

1. To a very high extent
2. To a high extent
3. To a certain extent
4. To a small extent
5. To a very small extent or hardly any

16. To what extent did you personally suffer from an ethnic discrimination?

1. To a very high extent
2. To a high extent
3. To a certain extent
4. To a small extent
5. To a very small extent or hardly any

17. As you know, Knesset members are now elected in general-national elections. There's a proposal by which a part of them will be elected in regional elections. Do you think that we should change the system to partly regional or stay with the current system?

1. Definitely stay with present system
2. Probably stay with present system
3. Probably shift to partly regional
4. Definitely shift to partly regional
5. Do not read:
6. Have no opinion
7. Both systems are not good – fully regional system should be adopted

18-19. Which party would you like to see forming the next government?
(Do not read)

1. Alignment
2. Likud
3. Hatehiya
4. Tsomet
5. Moledet (Gandhi)
6. Kach (Kahane)
7. The Center Movement – Shinui
8. Mapam
9. Ratz
10. Mafdal
11. Meimad
12. Agudat Israel / Degel Hatora
13. Shas /Yshai
14. Po'alei Agudat Israel
15. Arab Democratic Party (Darawshe)
16. Hadash (Rakach)
17. Progressive List for Peace
18. Other, which?

20-21. Which party do you think will form the next government? ____

22-23. If elections were held today, which one of the parties mentioned below will you vote for?

1. Alignment
2. Likud
3. Hatehiya
4. Tsomet
5. Moledet (Gandhi)
6. Kach (Kahane)
7. The Center Movement - Shinui
8. Mapam
9. Ratz
10. Mafdal
11. Meimad
12. Agudat Israel / Degel Hatora
13. Shas /Yshai
14. Po'alei Agudat Israel
15. Arab Democratic Party (Darawshe)
16. Hadash (Rakach)
17. Progressive List for Peace
18. Other, which?
19. I'd cast a blank ballot
20. Haven't decided yet
21. Have no intention to vote

24-25. 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, which?
18. Didn't vote despite having suffrage
19. Didn't vote due to absence of suffrage

26-27. If you could vote in the Knesset elections for more than one party, with no limitations, which party will you vote for?

28-29

30-31. In case your father will vote in the forthcoming elections, which party will he vote for?

1. Alignment
2. Likud
3. Hatehiya
4. Tsomet
5. Moledet (Gandhi)
6. Kach (Kahane)
7. The Center Movement - Shinui
8. Mapam
9. Ratz
10. Mafdal
11. Meimad
12. Agudat Israel / Degel Hatora
13. Shas / Yshai
14. Po'alei Agudat Israel
15. Arab Democratic Party (Darawshe)
16. Hadash (Rakach)
17. Progressive List for Peace
18. Other, which?
- Do not read:
19. Haven't decided yet
20. Don't know
21. Died, lives abroad, no suffrage

32-33. In case your mother will vote in the forthcoming elections, which party will she vote for? ___

34. What's your marital status?

1. Not married (skip to question 37)
2. Married
3. Divorced (skip to question 37)
4. Widowed (skip to question 37)

35-36. In case your spouse will vote in the forthcoming election, which party will he vote for? ___

37. Do you approve or disapprove of canceling football matches on Sabbath?

1. Approve
2. Disapprove

38-39. In your opinion, what percentage of the public approves of canceling football matches on Sabbath?

00 for Minority
99 for Majority

40-41. How did you give this estimation? What was the basis to your estimation?

42. Do you approve or disapprove of status change of large villages from local councils to cities?

1. Approve change of status
2. Disapprove change of status

43-44. What percentage of the public approves the status change of large villages to cities?

00. Minority
99. Majority

45-46. What was the basis to your estimation?

47. Are there any conditions by which Israel's usage of nuclear weapons will be justified? (If Israel holds this kind of weapon) or under no conditions usage is justified?

1. There are conditions when unsage is justified
2. Under no conditions is usage justified

48-49. And what percentage of the public thinks that under no conditions usage is justified?

50-51. What was the basis to your estimation?

52. Do you approve or disapprove of breaking off relations with South Africa?
1. Approve
 2. Disapprove
- 53-54. and what percentage of the public approves of breaking off relations with South Africa?
- 00 – Minority
99 – Majority
- 55-56. What was the basis to your estimation?
57. In your opinion, is the burden of reserve military service distributed fairly?
1. Fairly
 2. Unfairly
- 58-59. And what percentage of the public thinks that there is a fair distribution of reserve military service burden?
- 60-61. What was the basis to your estimation?
62. If we think of potential directions for development in Israel, there are four important values that clash with one another to some extent and are important to different people in different degrees: a state with a Jewish majority, the Greater Land of Israel, a democratic state (equal political rights for all) and peace (low probability of war)
From these four values, which is the most important to you?
1. Jewish majority state
 2. Greater Israel
 3. Democratic state (equal rights for all)
 4. State of peace (low probability of war)
63. And what's the second most important value? ____
64. What's the third most important value? ____
65. What's the fourth most important value? ____
66. 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
67. How do you define yourself?
1. Ashkenazi
 2. Sephardi
 3. Neither
- Do not read:
4. Both

68-69. 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. Israeli 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)

70. When did you immigrate to Israel?

1. Israeli born
2. Before 1948
3. 1948-1954
4. 1955-1960
5. 1961-1966
6. 1967-1972
7. 1973-1977
8. 1978-1983
9. 1984+

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

1. Don't particularly support any party
2. I support, but am not a member or functionary
3. member without a function
4. member and unpaid functionary
5. member and paid functionary

72. With which political tendency do you identify?

1. Left
 2. Moderate left
 3. Center
 4. Moderate right
 5. Right
- Do not read:
6. Religious
 7. I don't identify with any specific tendency

73. are you an Histadrut member?

1. Yes
2. No

74. Do you usually read a daily newspaper?
1. Almost never
 2. Very occasionally
 3. Approximately once a week
 4. Twice- thrice a week
 5. I read one daily newspaper almost everyday
 6. I read more than one daily newspaper almost every day
75. Did you serve or serving now in IDF?
1. Didn't serve yet but will in future (skip to question 78)
 2. Serving in regular service (skip to question 77)
 3. Serving in reserve now (skip to question 77)
 4. Served in past (continue to next question)
 5. Did not serve (pass to question 78)
76. Are you serving today in reserve?
1. Yes (skip to question 78)
 2. No
77. Did you serve in the territories since the beginning of uprising there (Dec. 87)?
1. Yes
 2. No
- 78-79. How old are you?
- 80-81. How many years of schooling do you have?
82. What social class do you belong?
1. Upper class
 2. Upper-middle class
 3. Middle class
 4. Lower class
 5. worker's class
- Do not read:
6. I don't belong to any class
83. How many rooms are there in your house (or flat)?
84. How many people live in your house?
85. The monthly expenses of an average four people family have reached in September to 2400 Nis approximately. Considering your expenses and the size of your family, do you spend:
1. A lot above average
 2. Little above average
 3. Averagely
 4. Little below average
 5. A lot below average

86. 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
6. Not working

87-88. Locality of interview:

89-90. Statistical Area:

91-92. Date of interview