

**Election Study 1992**

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The Election Study of 1992 was conducted between June 8-18, 1992 and includes a sample of 1192 interviewees. The field work was conducted by "Dahaf" research institute. The questionnaire was edited by Asher Arian from the department of Political Science at Haifa University and Michal Shamir from the department of Political Science at Tel-Aviv University.

The sample is a representative sample of the adult Jewish population in Israel, not including residents of Kibbutzim and settlers in the occupied territories.

All findings are specified here according to the questionnaire's structure. The questionnaire presents a question and a specification of the possible answers, including the punch number of the answers.

The numbering of the questions was done according to the edited data file, i.e., a question's number is also the number of the answer's column on the data row. When a new card begins the following notation appears:

Card number				
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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) \_\_\_\_\_

1. Economy
2. Security
3. Employment
4. Intifada
5. Peace
6. Education
7. Domestic security
8. Arabs/ Palestinian problem
9. mortgage
10. Poverty/ weaker strata
11. Housing
12. Religious coercion
13. Promoting Peace
14. Lack of security budget
15. Negative treatment to immigrants

16. Nuclear weapon
17. Discharged soldiers
18. Immigration absorption
19. Society
20. Corrupted administration
21. Settlements
22. Dictatorship
23. Domestic problems
24. Assistance to young couples/poor people
25. Foreign affairs
26. Health
27. Religious discrimination
28. Religious (positive)
29. Change in electoral system

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

1. Labor
2. Likud
3. Meretz (Ratz, Shinui, Mapam)
4. Hatnua
5. Moledet (Gandhi)
6. Tsomet
7. Mafdal
8. Agudat Israel + Degel Hatora + Rabbi Peretz
9. Shas
10. Modai's party
11. Russian Immigrants' Party
12. Arab Democratic Party
13. Hadash
14. Progressive List for Peace
15. Other Party, which?
16. Unity government

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

1. In return for a peace settlement, a return of most of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip (skip to question 17)
2. Annexation of Judea, Samaria 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, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.
2. Annexation of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.

17. 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.

18. 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 not agree
4. Definitely not agree

19. Should Israel agree to negotiate with P.L.O taking into account the current situation?

1. Should agree (skip to question 21)
2. Should not agree (continue to the next question)

20. 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

21. 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

22. 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

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

1. Too harsh
2. Appropriate
3. Too premissive

24. What emphasis do you think Israel should put in its attempt to prevent a war against the Arab countries?

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

25. 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

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

1. Definitely possible
2. Probably possible
3. Probably impossible
4. Definitely impossible

27. 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. Probably capable
3. Probably incapable
4. Definitely incapable

28. What do you think are the chances of signing a Palestinian Autonomy agreement in the territories?

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

29. 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

30. 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 each of the following options, what do you think are the chances it will bring to another Arab-Israeli war?

	Almost no chance for war	Very low probability	Low probability	Probable	High Probability	Very high probability	Almost certainly
31. Territorial concession to Jordan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. Palestinian state	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. Palestinian autonomy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. Annexation and full Israeli sovereignty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. Continuation of current situation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

36. What do you think will be the final outcome of Palestinian autonomy?

1. Israeli annexation of territories
2. Palestinian state (with or without Jordan)
3. Palestinian autonomy under permanent Israeli sovereignty

Is Israel capable of coping with each of the following?

	Capable	Incapable
37. Total Israeli-Arab war	1	2
38. A war with "Eastern Front" states (Syria, Jordan and Iraq)	1	2
39. War against Syria alone	1	2
40. Increase of terrorist activity	1	2
41. Israeli Arabs' civilian uprising	1	2
42. Economic sanctions by U.N. supported by U.S	1	2
43. Decrease of American support	1	2
44. Cessation of American support	1	2

45. Among the following, what do you think is the Arabs ultimate goal (review all before replying)

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

46. Recently people are talking about situations where respecting the rule of law contradicts the need to protect security interests. Some people say that in a case of a contradiction, security interest should be preferred. Others say that saving 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

47. If step 1 means that our presence in the occupied territories has a negative effect on IDF moral and step 7 means that our presence in the occupied territories has a positive effect on IDF moral, on which step will you place your position?

Positive effect

Neither negative or positive

Negative

7            6            5            4            3            2            1

48. To what extent do you support or object of Israel's participation in peace talks?

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

49. Do you support or object to settlements in occupied territories?

1. Support unconditionally
2. Only in areas of security importance
3. Generally object to settlements in occupied territories

50. There are several possible solutions to Arab-Israeli conflict . Below is a list of such suggestions, please state which is the closest to your position.

1. Establishment of Palestinian state in territories
2. Jordanian-Palestinian federation in territories
3. Alon program (return of territories with Israeli occupying strategic areas)
4. Palestinian autonomy in territories
5. Annexation of territories with full civil rights to Arabs (including voting rights)
6. Annexation of territories without voting rights for Arabs
7. Annexation and transfer of Palestinian population

51-52. And without considering your preferences, which arrangement do you think will take place in occupied territories in the far future?

1. Establishment of Palestinian state in territories
2. Jordanian-Palestinian federation in territories
3. Alon program (return of territories with Israeli occupying strategic areas)
4. Palestinian autonomy in territories
5. Annexation of territories with full civil rights to Arabs (including voting rights)
6. Annexation of territories without voting rights for Arabs
7. Annexation and transfer of Palestinian population
8. The present situation will stay as it is

53. To what extent are you concerned you and your family might get hurt from Arabs in your daily life?

1. Very concerned
2. Concerned
3. Not concerned
4. Not concerned at all

54. To what extent territorial issue will effect your voting to the Knesset?

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

55-56. Which party reflects best your position toward territories?

1. Labor
2. Likud
3. Meretz (Ratz, Shinui, Mapam)
4. Tehiya
5. Moledet (Gandhi)
6. Tsomet
7. National Religious Party
8. Agudat Israel/Degel HaTorah/Rabbi Peretz
9. Shas
10. Modai's party
11. Russian Immigrants' Party
12. Arab Democratic Party
13. Hadash
14. Progressive List for Peace
15. Other party
16. Don't know (do not read)

57. In your opinion, are there any differences between the various parties' stands on territories issue?

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

58. 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

59. In your opinion, are there any differences between 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

60. To what extent do you think that the economic issue will effect 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

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

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

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

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

63. Who do you think will take better care of the country's economic problems -the Labor team or the Likud team?

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

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

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

65. 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, if headed by Likud party
  6. Yes, if headed by Labor party

66. 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

67. 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

68. 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

69. Are you willing to pay more taxes so that the state will be able to take care of different problems?

1. Yes
2. No

Regarding each of the following, in your opinion, should the state spend more money, less money or to the same extent it spends now?

	Spend more	Spend less	To the same extent
70. Education	1	2	3
71. Saving nature and ecology	1	2	3
72. Religious institutions and Yeshivas	1	2	3
73. Health	1	2	3
74. Security	1	2	3
75. Immigration absorption	1	2	3
76. Assisting the unemployed	1	2	3
77. Settlements in the territories	1	2	3
78. Creating places of employment	1	2	3

79. Some people claim that there isn't enough social and economic equality in the country. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this opinion?

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

80. What do you think should be more important to the citizens of the state – their personal interests or the interests of the whole state?

1. The interests of the state are much more important
2. The interests of the individual and the interests of the state are equally important
3. The interests of the individual are much more important

81-84. 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. A state with a Jewish majority
2. The Greater Land of Israel
3. A democratic state (equal political rights for all)
4. Peace

81. Most important \_\_\_\_

82. Second \_\_\_\_

83. Third \_\_\_\_

84. Fourth \_\_\_\_

85. 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

86. What is your preferred arrangement for public swimming pools in mixed communities of religious and secular?

1. Strongly support separate days for men and women
2. Prefer separate days
3. Days with separate swimming and days with joint swimming
4. Prefer joint days
5. Strongly support joint days

87. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the position that every Jewish man should serve in IDF?

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

88. To what extent do you support or object to exemption of Yeshiva students from military service?

1. strongly support
2. support
3. object
4. strongly object

89. To what extent do you agree that public transportation will work on Sabbath?

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

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 Labor or the Likud

	Suits Labor	Suits Likud	Both equally	Neither
90. Party that has experienced leaders	1	2	3	4
91. Party that takes care of weaker strata in society	1	2	3	4
92. Party that ensures Jewish majority in Israel	1	2	3	4
93. Party that reduces the ethnic gap between groups in Israel	1	2	3	4



Below is a list of qualities of leaders, , please state if it best describes Yitzhak Shamir or Yitzhak Rabin.

	Describes Shamir	Describes Rabin	Both equally	Neither
114. Has leadership characteristics	1	2	3	4
115. Strong	1	2	3	4
116. Reliable	1	2	3	4
117. Decisive	1	2	3	4
118.Places benefit of the country before party	1	2	3	4
119. Initiates and move things	1	2	3	4
120. Good negotiator	1	2	3	4
121. Can stand stressful situations	1	2	3	4

122. Between the two leaders, whose stand best reflects your positions toward territories issue?

1. Yitzhak Shamir
2. Yitzhak Rabin

Of the next factors, which has effect on your voting decision in the elctions to the Knesset?

	Has effect	Has no effect
123. Placement of Yitzhak Shamir as head of the Likud party	1	2
124. Primaries held in Labor party	1	2
125. Composition of Labor party list	1	2
126. composition of Likud party list	1	2
127. The process of electing seven candidates at a time in Likud	1	2
128. Placement of Yitzhak Rabin as head of Labor party	1	2

1-5.

	Has effect	Has no effect
6. Probability of having national unity government	1	2
7. Relations with United States	1	2
8. Absorption of immigrants	1	2
9. Unemployment	1	2
10. Corruption in government and the report of the state comptroller	1	2
11. The Intifada	1	2
12. Initiation of peace talks	1	2

13. Government's handling of peace talks	1	2
14. Relations between religious and non-religious groups	1	2
15. Settlement policy of the Likud	1	2
16. Current personal situation	1	2

To what extent do you consider a threat each of the following:

	To a high extent	To a certain extent	To a small extent	To no extent
17. Non conventional weapons in Arab countries	1	2	3	4
18. State run by Jewish religious law	1	2	3	4
19. Palestinian state	1	2	3	4
20. Equal number of Jews and Arabs in Israel	1	2	3	4
21. Separation of religion from state (primarily secular legislation)	1	2	3	4
22. Returning the territories	1	2	3	4
23. Cessation of American support	1	2	3	4
24. Non democratic regime in Israel	1	2	3	4
25. Another war with the Arabs	1	2	3	4

What is the probability that each of the situations will take place in the near future?

	To a high extent	To a certain extent	To a small extent	To no extent
26. State run by Jewish religious law	1	2	3	4
27. Palestinian state	1	2	3	4
28. Equal number of Jews and Arabs in Israel	1	2	3	4
29. Separation of religion from state	1	2	3	4
30 Returning the territories	1	2	3	4
31. Cessation of American support	1	2	3	4
32. Non democratic regime in Israel	1	2	3	4

33. Some think that Israel can achieve all its goals: Peace, Greater Israel, keeping a Jewish majority in the state and keeping a democratic regime without giving up anything. Others think that all these goals cannot be achieved at once, and that in order to achieve some of them, others should be compromised. What do you think?

1. All goals can be accomplished at the same time, and one shouldn't come on account of the other.
2. All goals cannot be accomplished at the same time.

The scale below has 9 steps which describe different situations a person can find himself in. The top of the scale 9 describes the best possible situation you can think of and the bottom of the scale 1 describes the worst possible situation

	Best					Worst			
34. On which step of the scale do you think you are positioned <u>now</u> concerning your personal situation?	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
35. On which step of the scale do you think you were <u>five years ago</u> , concerning your personal situation?	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
36. On which step of the scale do you think you will be <u>in five years</u> concerning your personal situation?	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

37. To what extent is there an ethnic 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

38. To what extent were you personally offended from 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

39. Do you think that the direct election for Prime Minister will lead to a better or a worse regime system in the state?

1. Better system
2. Worse system
3. No change

40. Which party do you think will be the leading party after the elections?  
(Do not read)

1. Labor
2. Likud
3. National unity government
4. National unity government headed by Labor
5. National unity government headed by Likud
6. Other

41. Which party do you prefer to be the leading party after the elections?  
(Do not read)

1. Labor
2. Likud
3. National unity government
4. National unity government headed by Labor
5. National unity government headed by Likud
6. Other

42-43. If elections were held today, which one of the parties mentioned below will you vote for?

1. Labor
2. Likud
3. Meretz (Ratz, Shinui and Mapam)
4. Tehiya
5. Moledet
6. Tzomet
7. National Religious Party
8. Agudat Israel/Degel Ha-Torah/Harav Peretz
9. Shas
10. Modai's Party
11. Russian Immigrant's Party
12. Arab Democratic Party
13. Hadash
14. Progressive List for Peace
15. Other Party
16. Haven't decided yet
17. Won't vote

44-45. Which party did you vote for in the last Knesset elections in 1998?

1. Labor
2. Likud
3. Mapam
4. Ratz
5. Shinui Center Party
6. Tehiya
7. Tzomet
8. Moledet
9. National Religious Party
10. Dovish Religious Party
11. Agudat Israel
12. Degel Ha-Torah
13. Shas
14. Arab Democratic Party
15. Hadash
16. Progressive List for Peace
17. Other Party
18. Didn't vote though I was eligible to vote
19. Didn't vote, wasn't eligible to vote

46. If personal elections for PM were held now and you could have voted separately for PM, whom would you vote for?

1. Yitzhak Shamir
2. Yitzhak Rabin

47-48. Which party you would have voted for then to the Knesset?

1. Labor
2. Likud
3. Meretz (Ratz, Shinui and Mapam)
4. Tehiya
5. Moledet
6. Tzomet
7. National Religious Party
8. Agudat Israel/Degel Ha-Torah/Harav Peretz
9. Shas
10. Modai's Party
11. Russian Immigrant's Party
12. Arab Democratic Party
13. Hadash
14. Progressive List for Peace
15. Other Party
16. Haven't decided yet
17. Won't vote

	Yes	No	Don't have TV set
49. Are you connected to cable TV?	1	2	9
50. Do you have a reception of channel 2 broadcasts	1	2	9
51. Do you own a VCR?	1	2	9

52. Do you watch television elections broadcasts?

1. Daily
2. Usually
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

53. To what extent do you think elections broadcast will help you decide whom to vote for?

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

54. 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

55. How do you define yourself?

1. Ashkenazi
2. Sephardi
3. Neither
- Do not read:
4. Both

56-57. Where were you born (for Israel born – where was your father born?)

1. North Africa
2. Asia
3. Eastern Europe
4. Western and central Europe
5. America, Australia & S. Africa
6. Israel born - father born in Israel
7. Israel born - father born in N.Africa
8. Israel born - father born in Asia
9. Israel born - father born in Eastern Europe
10. Israel born - father born in W. & Cen. Europe
11. Israel born - father born in America, Aust. & S.Africa

58-59. When did you immigrate to Israel?

60-61. What's your marital status?

1. Single
2. Married
3. Divorced
4. Widowed

62. 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

63. 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

64. Are you an Histadrut member?

1. Yes
2. No

65. 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

66. Did you serve or serving now in the IDF?

1. Didn't serve yet but will in future
2. Serving in regular service
3. Serving in reserve now
4. Served in past
5. Did not serve

67. Did you serve in the territories since the beginning of uprising there (December 87)

1. Yes
2. No

68-69. How old are you?

70-71. How many years of schooling do you have?

72-73. How many rooms are there in your house?

74-75. How many people live in your house?

76. The monthly expenses of an average four people family have reached in April to 4300 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

77. How do you define your status at work?

1. Salaried worker
2. Salaried clerk
3. Salaried manager
4. Independent/ small business
5. Independent-company owner
6. Not working

78. Sex:

1. Female
2. male

79-80. Locality of interview

81-82. Statistical area

83-84. Date of interview

85-86. another answer for question 11