

ELECTIONS STUDY 1996

Asher Arian

Political Science
Haifa University

Michal Shamir

Political Science
Tel-Aviv University

Elections Study 1996

The Israel Elections Study of 1996 was conducted on May 1996. Here are the findings of a survey that was conducted between May 1-27 1996 among 1,168 Jewish interviewees, who constitute a representative sample of the urban adult Jewish population in Israel, not including Kibbutzim and settlements beyond the green line.

The field research was conducted by “Modiin Ezrahi” research institute. The interviews were conducted by professional interviewers at the homes of the respondents. The research project was conducted 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.

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 numbers to the right of the responses indicate the percentage distribution of each question. 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. The data for each interviewee is gathered in four rows, and a notation indicates the beginning of a new row (on page 13 appears the sign 2/5 that signifies the passage to the second row; on page 19 appears the sign 3/5 and there is the passage to the third row; on page 27, 4/5 signifies the passage to the fourth row).

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

1. Very good	6
2. Good	35
3. Not so good	33
4. Not good	15
5. Not good at all	11

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

1. Very well	7
2. Well	39
3. Not so well	38
4. Not well at all	15

8-9 what do you think is the main problem of which the government has to take care?
(Please state only one problem) _____

1. Security and terror in general	55
2. Economy	3
3. The peace process	12
4. The problem of Gaza and the territories/ the Palastinian problem	2
5. Histadrut	-
6. Golan Heights	<1
7. Housing	1
8. Internal conflicts	<1
9. Social problems (unemployment, seniors, class-gap, poverty)	7
10. Keeping a consistent government policy	<1
11. Settlements	<1
12. Wrong policy of the government	<1
13. Traffic accidents (public transportation)	1
14. Military (discharged soldiers)	<1
15. Education	3
16. The Iranian threat	<1
17. Internal security	4
18. Foreign policy	<1
19. Security and peace	3
20. Social-economic	<1
21. Jerusalem	<1
22. Arab citizens of Israel	<1
23. Coalitions and giving up to religious	-
24. Missings in action	-
25. Health care (health maintenance organizations)	<1
26. Fulfilment of Zionism, connection to the Jewish people, love of the land (assimilation)	1
27. Security of north of Israel's residents and Lebanon	<1
28. Religius coercion	<1
29. Inadequate government (corruption, multiplicity of parties)	<1
30. Foreign workers	<1
31. Environment	<1
32. Relations with Arabs in general	<1

- 33. Education for tolerance (fighting violence) <1
- 97. Other <1
- 98. There's more than one problem <1
- 99. Don't know/neither <1

10. Who do you think is more capable of handling this problem?

- 1. Netanyahu 37
- 2. Peres 44
- Do not read:
- 3. Neither 15
- 4. Both to the same extent 5

11. Which party do you think can handle better the problems you've stated?

- 01. Likud, Tzomet, Gesher 35
- 02. The Israel Labor Party (Alignment) 39
- 03. Meretz 3
- 04. Mafdal 2
- 05. Yehadut Hatora (Agudat Yisrael + Degel hatora) <1
- 06. Moledet 2
- 07. The Third Way 1
- 08. Shas <1
- 09. Aliya/Yisrael Be' aliyah (Sharansky/Gur) <1
- 10. Hadash and the National Democratic Assambly (Hashem Mahmeed) <1
- 11. United Arab List (Dehamshe/Abed Elmalc) -
- 12. Arab Movement for Renewal (Ahmad Tibi) -
- 13. Brit Mitkademet (Mohamed Zidan) -
- Do not read:
- 14. A party from the left, which? -
- 15. A party from the right, which? <1
- 16. A religious party, which? <1
- 17. Other party, which? <1
- 18. They are all the same
- 19. Neither 4
- 20. Don't know 7
- 21. Refuses to answer 1

Below is a nine-point scale, describing 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
13	On which step of the scale do you think the state is	2	8	19	15	20	14	9	6	9
- x										

5.0	positioned now, regarding national security?									
14	On which step of the scale do you think the state was <u>5</u> years ago regarding national security?	3	12	17	19	22	10	10	4	2
5.5										
15	On which step of the scale do you think the state will be <u>in 5</u> years, regarding national security?	20	27	18	10	10	7	3	2	3
6.7										

16. What do you think is the chance that peace between Israel and the Arab states will become stronger in the next three years?

- | | |
|---------------------|----|
| 1. High chance | 25 |
| 2. Medium chance | 47 |
| 3. Low chance | 18 |
| 4. Very low chances | 10 |

17. And what do you think is the chance that a war will break out between Israel and an Arab state in the next 3 years?

- | | |
|--------------------|----|
| 1. High chance | 11 |
| 2. Medium chance | 32 |
| 3. Low chance | 35 |
| 4. Very low chance | 23 |

Below is a seven-point scale. Step 1 states “highly disagree” and step 7 states “highly agree”. According to this scale, please express your opinion referring to the next statements:

18. We should give back territories for peace

Highly agree

Highly disagree

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
18	12	13	15	10	11	22

19. When there is a contradiction between Democracy and the Jewish law, the latter should be preferred

Highly agree				Highly disagree		
7	6	5	4	3	2	1
13	7	8	18	10	15	30

20. The peace process has to be stopped, even in a risk of another war

Highly agree				Highly disagree		
7	6	5	4	3	2	1
9	6	7	12	9	19	39

21-22

In your opinion, what percentage of the public basically agrees to give up territories for peace?

- minority – 35
- 50% -- 26
- majority – 39

23. And which tendency is about to grow? In a year or two, do you think that the number of people willing to give up territories will grow in comparison to today, or that the number of people that aren't willing to give up territories will grow?

- 1. The number of people willing to give up territories will grow 60
- 2. The number of people not willing to give up territories will grow 40

24. Do you agree or disagree to the limitation of human rights in the state of Israel, in order to allow the security forces to prevent dangerous activities from home?

- 1. Absolutely agree 19
- 2. Agree 42
- 3. Disagree 27
- 4. Absolutely disagree 12

25. A separation between Israel and the Palestinians in the occupied territories is often discussed. Do you support that kind of separation?

- 1. Support a long-term separation 76

- 2. Support separation, but only for a limited time as a solution to the terror problems 16
- 3. Don't support separation at all 8

26. Do you think that the PLO is capable of handling the situation and stopping terror?

- 1. Absolutely capable 4
- 2. Capable 34
- 3. Not capable 36
- 4. Absolutely not capable 27

27. Do you support or oppose to the Oslo Accord between Israel and the PLO?

- 1. Definitely support 13
- 2. Support 50
- 3. Oppose 25
- 4. Definitely oppose 2

28. Does the Oslo 2 Accord, i.e., the evacuation of the IDF from the big cities of the West Bank, contributes or harms the state's security?

- 1. Definitely contributes 7
- 2. Contributes 38
- 3. Harms 38
- 4. Definitely harms 17

29. Do you think that the personal security of the residents of Israel today is better or worse in comparison to before the beginning of the current peace process?

- 1. Much better 4
- 2. Better 33
- 3. Worse 48
- 4. Much worse 16

30. Some people claim that because of the continuation of terror, negotiation with the PLO should not proceed. Others claim that only a successful ending of the negotiation would put a stop to terror. What do you think?

- 1. The negotiation with the PLO should not proceed due to the continuation of terror 40
- 2. Only a successful ending of the negotiation would put a stop to terror 60

31. What is your position toward evacuating Jewish settlements in Judea, Samaria and Gaza?

- 1. Should not be evacuated under any condition 35
- 2. Willing to evacuate only the settlements that cause a security problem, like Nezarim or the settlement in Hebron 50
- 3. Willing to evacuate them all 15

32. What do you think of the next statement: “most Palestinians want peace”

- | | |
|-----------------------|----|
| 1. Certainly true | 8 |
| 2. True | 34 |
| 3. Not so true | 36 |
| 4. Certainly not true | 23 |

33. xxxx

34. Do you think that a peace agreement that includes security arrangements with the Arab states and the Palestinians will bring to an end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. It will certainly end the conflict | 4 |
| 2. It will end the conflict | 36 |
| 3. It won't end the conflict | 42 |
| 4. It certainly won't end the conflict | 18 |

35. Do you think that Israel should agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip during a permanent agreement?

- | | |
|------------------|----|
| 1. Certainly yes | 17 |
| 2. I think so | 32 |
| 3. Think not | 24 |
| 4. Certainly not | 28 |

36-37. In your opinion, what percentage of the public agrees to the establishment of a Palestinian state?

- | | |
|------------|----|
| Minority – | 57 |
| 50% - | 22 |
| Majority – | 21 |

38. And which tendency is about to grow? Do you think that in a year or two, the number of people who agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state will grow in comparison to today, or that the number of people who are against the establishment of a Palestinian state will grow?

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. The number of people who agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state will grow | 55 |
| 2. The number of people who are against the establishment of a Palestinian state will grow | 45 |

39. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement that the government should encourage Arab emigration from the country?

- | | |
|--------------------|----|
| 1. Certainly agree | 21 |
| 2. Agree | 35 |
| 3. Disagree | 33 |

4. Certainly disagree 11

40. In your opinion, what is the final goal of the Arabs?

1. To get back part of the territories we've occupied at the Six Day War 15
2. To get back all the territories we've occupied at the Six Day War 34
3. To occupy the state of Israel 23
4. To occupy the country and to eliminate a substantial part of the Jewish population of the state of Israel 28

41. Where do you think Israel should concentrate its efforts in order to prevent a war with the Arab countries?

1. It should concentrate in the peace talks 51
2. It should increase its military strength 49

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

1. Very worried 36
2. Worried 45
3. Not worried 16
4. Not worried at all 3

43. Without considering your personal opinion, according to your estimation, will a Palestinian state be established in Judea and Samaria in the next 10 years?

1. A Palestinian state will be established in the West Bank 72
2. A Palestinian state won't be established in the West Bank 28

44. There are several suggestions concerning a permanent agreement for the West Bank and Gaza territories. Below is a list of such suggestions, go over them and state which is the closest to your position

(Please go over the entire list before answering)

1. A Palestinian state in the territories of the West Bank and Gaza 19
2. A Jordan-Palestinian confederation in the territories of the West Bank and Gaza 23
3. Giving most of the territories of the West Bank and Gaza to Jordan 4
4. Autonomy to the Arab residents of the territories 30
5. Annexation of the West Bank and Gaza to the state of Israel while granting civil rights, including a right to vote for the Knesset 4
6. Annexation of the West Bank and Gaza to the state of Israel without transferring the Arabs but without granting them civil rights 9
7. Annexation of the West Bank and Gaza to the state of Israel and transferring the Arabs from there 11

Interviewer: present card number 3

45. And without considering your preferences, which arrangement do you think will take place in the territories of the West Bank and Gaza in the far future?

1. A Palestinian state in the territories of the West Bank and Gaza 41
2. A Jordan-Palestinian confederation in the territories of the West Bank and Gaza 13
3. Giving most of the territories of the West Bank and Gaza to Jordan 3
4. Autonomy to the Arab residents of the territories 26
5. Annexation of the West Bank and Gaza to the state of Israel while granting civil rights, including a right to vote for the Knesset 3
6. Annexation of the West Bank and Gaza to the state of Israel without transferring the Arabs but without granting them civil rights 3
7. Annexation of the West Bank and Gaza to the state of Israel and transferring the Arabs from there 4
8. The current situation will stay as is 8

46. Should Israel give back to Syria territories in the Golan Heights in exchange for a peace agreement and security arrangements that are acceptable to the IDF?

1. No. Israel should not retreat any territory of the Golan Heights, even with security arrangements that are acceptable to the IDF 48
2. Israel should give back a little part of the Golan Heights 28
3. Israel should give back a significant part of the Golan Heights 16
4. Israel should give back most of the territories of the Golan Heights 7

47. Without considering your personal opinion, in your estimation, will Israel give back the Golan Heights to Syria in exchange for a peace agreement, within the next 10 years?

1. Yes, Israel will give back the Golan Heights to Syria in exchange for a peace agreement 60
2. No, Israel will not give back the Golan Heights to Syria in exchange for a peace agreement 40

If we think of potential directions for development in Israel, there are four important values that clash with one another to some extent and they 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?

48. Most important ____
49. Second ____
50. Third ____
51. Fourth ____

	Most important	2	3	4
A state with a	37	21	32	10

Jewish majority				
The Greater Land of Israel	11	19	17	54
A democratic state	18	34	30	18
Peace	34	26	22	18

52. Recently, people have been talking about situations in which respecting the rule of law contradicts the need to protect security interests. Some people say that in a case of a contradiction security interests 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
8	6	7	25	19	16	19

53. According to your estimation, to what extent is there a likelihood of a civil war in Israel as a result of the arrangements concerning the future of the territories?

- | | |
|------------------------|----|
| 1. To a great extent | 6 |
| 2. To a certain extent | 27 |
| 3. To a small extent | 29 |
| 4. Not at all | 38 |

54-57 xxxxx

Below is a ten-point scale expressing the measure of support and sympathy or dislike and hatred toward a group or a specific person. 1 means a strong rejection (hatred) and 10 means a strong support. The higher the grade is the higher the sympathy. Please state to what extent you support or reject each of the following groups or persons:

^ x		10 attraction (sympathy)										1 rejection (hatred)
		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
5.8	58. Labor	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
5.9	59. Likud	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
4.6	60. Yesha Council	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
4.1	61. Meretz	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
4.9	62. Religious	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
2.6	63. Arabs	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	

1.5	64. The Islamic Movement	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
2.2	65. Arafat	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
7.5	66. Yitzhak Rabin	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
5.7	67. Binyamin Netanyahu	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
6.2	68. Shimon Peres	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

69. There is much talk about left and right in politics. Where would you rank yourself along a left-right continuum, when 1 is the right end and 7 the left end?

	Left					right	
	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
	8	18	14	21	17	11	12

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

1. Absolutely capitalist	18
2. More capitalist than socialist	36
3. More socialist than capitalist	35
4. Absolutely socialist	11

71. Some claim that crucial decisions like giving back the territories and determining the state's borders must be constituted from a Jewish majority, and that the Arab citizens of the state cannot take part in this decisions making. On the other hand, others claim that in a democratic state all citizens are equal participants in the decision making process, including the Arab citizens of the country. What do you think?

1. Certainly only Jews should participate	37
2. Think only Jews should participate	23
3. Think Arabs Also should participate	22
4. Certainly Arabs also should participate	18

72. Various factors lead people to vote for a specific candidate for Prime Minister. Of the next four factors, what is the main factor that brings you to vote for a specific candidate? Specify one main factor

1. The candidate's characters	20
2. Identification with his party	35
3. The candidate's positions on different issues	43
4. His being in government or in the opposition	2

In your opinion, are there any differences between the two main parties in Israel, Labor and Likud, regarding the next issues?

	Very big Differences	Big differences	Certain differences	Small differences	Almost no differences
--	----------------------	-----------------	---------------------	-------------------	-----------------------

73. Jerusalem	1	26	2	28	20	3	4	9	7	5
74. The economy	1	11	2	19	3	32	4	21	5	17
75. Peace and Territories	1	44	2	35	3	15	4	3	5	3
76. Terror	1	33	2	28	3	15	9	4	5	16

2/5

To what extent will each of these topics affect your vote for Prime Minister?

	It Influences greatly	It influences	It influences a little	It has no influence
6. Jerusalem	1 55	2 24	3 9	4 12
7. The economy	1 34	2 35	3 20	4 12
8. Peace and Territories	1 74	2 17	3 4	4 5
9. Terror	1 68	2 16	3 7	4 9
10. Assassination of Rabin	1 22	2 18	3 16	4 45
11. Operation Grapes of Wrath in Lebanon	1 15	2 19	3 19	4 47

To what extent will each of these topics affect your vote for the Knesset?

	It Influences greatly	It influences	It influences a little	It has no influence
12. Jerusalem	1 55	2 25	3 8	4 12
13. The economy	1 37	2 33	3 20	4 10
14. Peace and Territories	1 70	2 19	3 5	4 6
15. Terror	1 66	2 18	3 7	4 10
16. Assassination of Rabin	1 12	2 18	3 17	4 44
17. Operation Grapes of Wrath in Lebanon	1 16	2 20	3 19	4 45

28 xxxxx

To whose position are you closer in each of the following issues, Labor or Likud?

	Labor	Likud	Other party
--	-------	-------	-------------

			(do not read)
19. Jerusalem	1 40	2 56	3 4
20. The economy	1 54	2 38	3 8
21. Peace and territories	1 47	2 49	3 4
22. Terror	1 44	2 53	3 4

23. Who do you think will take better care of the economic problems of the state, the Labor's team or the Likud's team?

1. The Labor's team 46
2. The Likud's team 31
3. Both to the same extent 17
4. Neither 6

24. Who will take better care of foreign affairs and security issues, the Labor's team or the Likud's team?

1. The Labor's team 43
2. The Likud's team 43
3. Both to the same extent 9
4. Neither 5

25. Various factors lead people to vote for a specific party. 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 28
2. The party's candidate for Prime minister 16
3. Party's stands on specific issues 54
4. Its being in government or in the opposition 2

26. xxxxx

27. Would you agree to raising taxes such that you also pay more in order to take care of different problems of the state?

1. Agree 21
2. Disagree 79

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

	Spend more	Spend less	The same amount
28. Education	1 84	2 2	3 14
29. Saving nature and ecology	1 43	2 16	3 41
30. Religious institutions and	1 18	2 53	3 29

Yeshivas			
31.Health	1 84	2 2	3 14
32.Security	1 76	2 6	3 18
33.Immigrants absorption	1 37	2 23	3 41
34.Aid to unemployed	1 46	2 23	3 31
35.Settelments in the territories	1 25	2 49	3 26
36, The Arab sector	1 19	2 44	3 37
37. Creating places of employment	1 89	2. 4	3. 7
38. Highways and car accidents	1 93	2 2	3 5

39. 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 | 33 |
| 2. Agree | 2 |
| 3. Disagree | 3 |
| 4. Certainly disagree | 4 |

40. In your opinion, is there an ethnic discrimination in Israel?

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. To a very high extent | 9 |
| 2. To a high extent | 16 |
| 3. To a certain extent | 27 |
| 4. To a small extent | 22 |
| 5. To a very small extent or nearly not at all | 26 |

41. Have you personally suffered from ethnic discrimination?

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. To a very high extent | 3 |
| 2. To a high extent | 3 |
| 3. To a certain extent | 9 |
| 4. To a small extent | 12 |
| 5. To a very small extent or nearly not at all | 73 |

42-43 xxxxx

44. 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 | 34 |
| 2. The interests of the individual and the interests of the state are equally important | 59 |
| 3. The interests of the individual are much more important | 7 |

45. To what extent do you discuss politics with your friends and relatives?

- 1. To a great extent 26
- 2. To a certain extent 39
- 3. To a small extent 24
- 4. Not at all 11

46. Do your relatives vote like you?

- 1. They all vote like me 43
- 2. Most of them do 26
- 3. A small part of them do 13
- 4. None of them do 8
- Do not read:
- 5. I don't know how they vote 11

47. xxxxx

48. To what extent do you think you and your friends can influence the Government's policy?

- 1. To a great extent 9
- 2. To a certain extent 23
- 3. To a small extent 39
- 4. Not at all 29

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

- 1. It is certainly the Government's duty 31
- 2. Perhaps it's the Government's duty 22
- 3. I don't think it's the Government's duty 25
- 4. It's certainly not the Government's duty 22

Below is a list of characteristics or titles of parties, concerning each of them you are required to note of which party is it a more appropriate description – of Labor or Likud

	More appropriate for Labor	More appropriate for Likud	Equally appropriate for them both	Not appropriate for neither
50. A party that will guaranty a Jewish majority in the state	1 18	2 49	3 27	4 6
51. A party that knows to be persistent in the negotiation on the	1 32	2 50	3 14	4 4

territories and Peace				
52. A party that will protect the democratic character of the state	1 35	2 27	3 36	4 2
53. A party that will lead to a true peace with the Arabs	1 46	2 35	3 11	4 8
54. A party that will know how to handle terror	1 27	2 49	3 17	4 5
55. A party that will reduce ethnic gap	1 23	2 32	3 30	4 15
56. A party that will bring to separation between Israel and the Palestinians	1 41	2 38	3 16	4 6
57. A party that is corrupt	1 19	2 18	3 51	4 12
58. A party with experienced leaders	1 54	2 21	3 23	4 3
59. A party that will know how to maintain a good relationship with the United States	1 52	2 17	3 30	4 1
60. A party that will reduce social gaps	1 28	2 31	3 30	4 12

Below is a nice-point scale, describing different situations in which a person can find himself. The top of the scale 9 describes the best situation you can think of and the bottom of the scale 1 describes the worst situation.

	Best	worst
61. Where on the scale do you think you are positioned <u>now</u> concerning your personal situation?	9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1	6.3
62. Where on 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	6.3
63. Where on 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	7.3

Below is a list of qualities of leaders. Concerning each one, please state if it best describes Binyamin Netanyahu (Bibi), Shimon Peres, or if it equally describes them both or neither

	Describes Shimon Peres	Describes Binyamin Netanyahu	Both	Neither
64. Has leadership capability	1 51	2 27	3 18	4 5
65. Strong	1 44	2 32	3 19	4 6
66. Reliable	1 44	2 31	3 13	4 13
67. Has a good decision-making capability	1 48	2 29	3 18	4 5
68. Would prefer the benefit of the state over the benefit of the party	1 38	2 33	3 20	4 10
69. Experienced	1 74	2 14	3 10	4 3
70. Takes initiative and has a vision	1 51	2 27	3 17	4 4
71. Has negotiation skills	1 49	2 29	3 18	4 4
72. Can stand strong in stressful situations	1 45	2 28	3 21	4 7

73. Some think that Israel can accomplish all its goals: peace, the Greater Land of Israel, keeping a Jewish majority in the state and keeping a democratic regime without giving up anything. Others think that all those goals cannot be accomplished at once,

and that in order to accomplish 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 at the other's expense 28
2. All goals cannot be accomplished at the same time 72

74. Do you usually read a daily newspaper?

1. Almost never 6
2. Very occasionally 5
3. Approximately once a week 15
4. Two or three times a week 20
5. I read one daily newspaper almost everyday 45
6. I read more than one daily newspaper almost every day 8

75. xxxxx

76. Do you usually follow the surveys published regarding the elections?

1. To a great extent 19
2. To a certain extent 32
3. To a small extent 27
4. Not at all 22

3/5

6. To what extent do you believe in these surveys?

1. To a great extent 5
2. To a certain extent 37
3. To a small extent 30
4. Not at all 28

7. To what extent do you think that the decision for whom to vote is influenced by those surveys?

1. To a great extent 6
2. To a certain extent 26
3. To a small extent 36
4. Not at all 32

8. Some people suggest prohibiting the publication of polls a month before the elections, and others oppose this suggestion. What do you think?

1. Certainly to prohibit publication of polls 12
2. Tend to prohibit 17
3. Tend to allow 42
4. Certainly to allow publication of polls 30

9. Do you watch election advertisements on television?
- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. Every day | 11 |
| 2. Usually | 16 |
| 3. Sometimes | 31 |
| 4. Very occasionally | 15 |
| 5. Not at all | 19 |
| 6. It still haven't started (the interview was held before May 8) | 9 |
10. To what extent are these advertisements an important factor in your decision for whom to vote?
- | | |
|------------------------|----|
| 1. To a great extent | 2 |
| 2. To a certain extent | 7 |
| 3. To a small extent | 16 |
| 4. Not at all | 76 |
11. If Israel reaches a draft peace agreement with Syria that includes a full withdrawal from the Golan Heights with proper security arrangements and a referendum will be conducted, how would you vote?
- | | |
|------------------------------|----|
| 1. In favor of the agreement | 40 |
| 2. Against the agreement | 60 |
- 12-13. In your opinion, what percentage of the public agrees to give back the Golan Heights to Syria?
- | | |
|------------|----|
| Minority – | 63 |
| 50% - | 16 |
| Majority – | 21 |
14. And which tendency is about to grow in a year or two from today? Do you think that the number of people in favor of giving back the Golan Heights to Syria will increase in comparison to today, or that the number of people against it will increase?
- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. The number of the people in favor of giving back the Golan Heights will increase | 48 |
| 2. The number of the people against giving back the Golan Heights will increase | 52 |
15. Are you interested in the reestablishment of a national unity government in Israel after the elections?
- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. Certainly yes | 14 |
| 2. I think so | 27 |
| 3. Think not | 23 |
| 4. Certainly not | 30 |
| Do not read: | |
| 5. Yes, but only with Likud at the head | 5 |
| 6. Yes, but only with Labor at the head | 1 |

Did you participate in a demonstration during the last year or two?

	Never	Two or three times	Three times or more
16. Concerning the peace process	1 88	2 8	3 4
17. Following Rabin's assassination	1 90	2 8	3 2

18. xxxxx

19. Do you think that the direct election of the Prime Minister leads to a better or a worse regime system in the state?

- 1. Better 50
- 2. Worse 13
- 3. Makes no difference 37

20. There's an argument whether it's appropriate that in a Jewish and a democratic state, ministers from Arab parties should join the government. The supporters claim that the Arabs were elected in democratic elections while others who oppose claim that Arabs should not determine important issues. What do you think? To what extent do you support or oppose adding Arab parties to the government?

- 1. Support 13
- 2. Support to a certain extent 30
- 3. Oppose to a certain extent 22
- 4. Oppose 35

21. In your opinion, do primaries lead to a better or a worse regime system?

- 1. Better 39
- 2. Worse 17
- 3. Makes no difference 44

22. Did you participate in one of the Primaries?

- 1. No 87
- 2. Yes, for the Likud 5
- 3. Yes, for the Labor 8
- 4. Yes, for Mertez <1

23-24. In the coming Elections you will be able to vote in two ballots. One for Prime Minister and the other, in a different envelope, for a party.

First is the party's ballot: If elections were held today, which one of the parties mentioned below would you vote for?

01. Likud, Gesher, Tzomet	34
02. The Israel Labor Party (Alignment)	36
03. Meretz	5
04. Mafdal	4
05. Yehadut Hatora (Agudat Yisrael + Degel hatora)	1
06. Moledet	2
07. The Third Way	2
08. Shas	2
09. Aliya/Yisrael Be' aliyah (Sharansky/Gur)	<1
10. Hadash and the National Democratic Assambly (Hashem Mahmeed)	<1
11. United Arab List (Dehamshe/Abed Elmalc)	-
12. Arab Movement for Renewal (Ahmad Tibi)	-
13. Brit Mitkademet (Mohamed Zidan)	-
Do not read:	
14. A party from the left, which?	-
15. A party from the right, which?	<1
16. A religious party, which?	-
17. Other party, which?	<1
18. I won't vote, why? _____	1
19. Still haven't decided	8
20. Whatever the Rabbi says	<1
21. Refuses to answer	4

25-26. xxxxx

(For those who chose 01 – Likud-Tzomet-Gesher)

26. And if Tzomet and Gesher were running separately without Likud, which list would you vote for?

1. Likud	83
2. Tzomet	10
3. Gesher	3
4. Other party, which?	1
5. Haven't decided/don't know	4

For all:

And now for the Prime minister's ballot

28. If elections for Prime Minister were held today and the candidates were Bibi Netanyahu and Shimon Peres, whom would you vote for?

1. Bibi Netanyahu (skip to question 33-34)	42
2. Shimon Peres (skip to question 33-34)	45
Do not read:	
3. I'd cast a blank ballot (continue)	1
4. I won't vote (continue)	1

5. Still haven't decided (skip to question 33-34)	8
6. Refuses to answer (skip to question 33-34)	2

29-32. Please explain your answer (why a blank ballot/not to vote) according to your answer in the last question

Do not read:

1. No one seems appropriate	2
2. In order to protest	<1
3. The Rabbi said so	<1
4. Technical problems	-
5. Other, specify ____	<1

For all:

33-34. If the elections were held according to the old system, i.e., voting by only one ballot for the Knesset, whom would you vote for?

01. Likud, Gesher, Tzomet	36
02. The Israel Labor Party (Alignment)	38
03. Meretz	4
04. Mafdal	4
05. Yehadut Hatora (Agudat Yisrael + Degel hatora)	1
06. Moledet	1
07. The Third Way	<1
08. Shas	1
09. Aliya/ Yisrael Be' aliyah (Sharansky/Gur)	<1
10. Hadash and the National Democratic Assambly (Hashem Mahmeed)	<1
11. United Arab List (Dehamshe/Abed Elmalc)	-
12. Arab Movement for Renewal (Ahmad Tibi)	-
13. Brit Mitkademet (Mohamed Zidan)	-

Do not read:

14. A party from the left, which?	<1
15. A party from the right, which?	<1
16. A religious party, which?	-
17. Other party, which?	<1
18. I won't vote, why?	1
19. Still haven't decided	8
20. Whatever the Rabbi says	<1
21. Refuses to answer	4

35. Who do you think will win the elections for Prime Minister: Netanyahu or Peres?

1. Netanyahu	29
2. Peres	52
Do not read:	
3. Don't know	19

36. Which party, in your estimation, would be the largest party in the next Knesset?

1. Labor	47
----------	----

2. Likud	33
Do not read:	
3. Don't know	20

37-38. Which party did you vote for in the last Knesset elections? (June 1992)

01. Likud	22
02. The Israel Labor Party (Alignment)	32
03. Meretz	7
04. Tzomet	6
05. Moledet	2
06. Tehiya	<1
07. Mafdal	4
08. Yehadut Hatora (Agudat Yisrael + Degel Hatora)	1
09. Shas	2
10. Hadash	<1
11. Arab Democratic Party	-
Do not read:	
12. A party from the left, which?	-
13. A party from the right, which?	<1
14. A religious party, which?	-
15. Other party, which?	<1
16. Didn't vote though I had the right to vote	5
17. Didn't vote because I didn't have the right to vote	13
18. Refuses to answer	4

39-40

Try to remember which party did you vote for before the last Knesset elections, meaning those that were held at 1988

01. Alignment/Labor	24
02. Likud	25
03. Mapam/Ratz/Shinui	4
04. Tehiya/Tzomet/Moledet	3
05. Mafdal	4
06. Meimad	<1
07. Agudat Yisrael/Degel Hatora	1
08. Shas	2
09. Arab Democratic Party	-
10. Hadash	<1
11. Progressive List for Peace	
Do not read:	
12. A party from the left, which?	<1
13. A party from the right, which?	<1
14. A religious party, which?	<1
15. Other party, which?	<1
16. Didn't vote though I had the right to vote	4
17. Didn't vote because I didn't have the right to vote	26
18. Refuses to answer/doesn't remember	8

41. Whom did you vote for in the last Histadrut elections?

1. Labor (Haim Haberfeld)	7
2. Ram (Haim Ramon)	13
3. Likud (Yaakov Shabtay)	6
4. Hadash (Binyamin Gonen)	<1
5. I didn't vote although I had the right to vote	25
6. I didn't vote because I wasn't an Histadrut member	48

42. Do you have any connections with Arabs?

1. Not at all	68
2. Only work relations	19
3. Yes, a friend or two	9
4. A lot of relationships, including friendships	3

43. xxxxxx

44. If you were spotted by a television reporter with a camera and a microphone, and he would have liked to ask you some questions about the occupied territories for the evening news show, would you be willing to specify your opinions on this subject?

1. Certainly yes	18
2. Yes	23
3. Not certain	21
4. No	20
5. Certainly not	18

45. Do you support a specific party or are you a member or office holder in one?

1. No, I'm not a supporter or active member in any party	69
2. I'm a supporter of a party, but not a member	22
3. I'm a party member	7
4. I'm an active member of a party	2
5. I'm an active member and a paid worker	<1

46. With what political tendency do you identify?

1. Left	12
2. Moderate left	24
3. Center	16
4. Moderate right	23
5. Right	16
Do not read:	
6. Religious	3
7. I don't identify with any specific tendency	6

Which of the following terms best define your identity?

	47. Defines most	48. Second	49. Third	50. Fourth
1. Israeli	47	44	8	2
2. Jewish	50	40	7	3
3. Ethnic origin (Ashkenazi/ Sephardi)	<1	3	42	54
4. Secular/religious	2	13	43	42

51-54

Details for statistics

55. How would you define yourself?

- 1. Ashkenazi 31
- 2. Sephardi 41
- 3. Neither 28

56. Sex:

- 1. Male 47
- 2. Female 52

57-58. Age: How old are you?

59. Where were you born? (Specify the name of the country)

Overseas:

- 1. North Africa ____ 9
- 2. Asia ____ 6
- 3. Eastern Europe ____ 16
- 4. Western and Central Europe ____ 5
- 5. America, Australia, South Africa ____ 2

In Israel: (where was your father born?)

- 6. Interviewee and his father were born in Israel 16
- 7. Born in Israel, father was born in North Africa ____ 16
- 8. Born in Israel, father was born in Eastern Europe _____ 13
- 9. Born in Israel, father was born in Western or Central Europe _____ 4
- 10. Born in Israel, father was born in America, Australia or South Africa ____ <1

61-62. (For those who were born overseas): When did you immigrate to Israel?

63-64. How many years of schooling do you have?

65-66. How many rooms are there in your house (or flat)? _____

67-68. How many people live in your house (including soldiers) _____

69. Did you serve in the territories during your regular or reserve military service?

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. Yes | 31 |
| 2. Didn't serve in the territories | 34 |
| 3. Didn't serve in the military at all | 35 |

70. Do you observe religious traditions?

- | | |
|------------------------------|----|
| 1. I observe them thoroughly | 10 |
| 2. To a great extent | 17 |
| 3. To a small extent | 52 |
| 4. Not at all | 21 |

71. Do you work outside the household?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| 1. Yes (continue) | 64 |
| 2. No (skip to question 73) | 36 |

72. How do you define your position at work?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----|
| 1. Employee (laborer) | 42 |
| 2. Employee (officer) | 27 |
| 3. Executive employee | 19 |
| 4. Small independent | 11 |
| 5. Independent firm owner | 2 |

73. What is your social class?

- | | |
|-----------------------|----|
| 1. Upper class | 3 |
| 2. Upper-middle class | 26 |
| 3. Middle class | 64 |
| 4. Lower class | 8 |

74. The monthly expenses of an average four-person family have reached in April approximately NIS7200. Considering your expenses and the size of your family, do you spend:

- | | |
|-------------------------|----|
| 1. Much above average | 8 |
| 2. Little above average | 16 |
| 3. Average | 37 |
| 4. Little below average | 19 |
| 5. A lot below average | 21 |

75. xxxxx

4/5

6-13

If you could vote in the Knesset elections for more than one party, with no limitations, which party would you vote for?

	First	Second	Third
01. Likud, Gesher, Tzomet	46	44	43
02. Labor (Alignment)	42	47	50
03. Meretz	21	24	21
04. Mafdal	19	17	29
05. Yehadut Hatora (Agudat Yisrael + Degel Hatora)	4	2	-
06. Moledet	16	12	7
07. The Third Way	14	14	-
08. Shas	7	7	-
09. Aliya/Yisrael Be`aliyah (Sharansky/Gur)	3	2	-
10. Hadash and the National Democratic Assembly (Hashem Mahmeed)	2	1	1
11. United Arab List (Dehamshe/Abed Elmalc)	-	-	-
12. Arab Movement for Renewal (Ahmad Tibi) -	<1	-	-
13. Brit Mitkademet (Mohamed Zidan)	-	-	-
Do not read:	-	-	-
14. A party from the left, which?	-	-	-
15. A party from the right, which?	<1	<1	-
16. A religious party, which?	<1	<1	-
17. Other party, which?	<1	-	-
18. I won't vote	3	3	-
19. Still haven't decided	4	6	-
20. Whatever the Rabbi says	<1	<1	-

21. Refuses to answer	3	3	-
-----------------------	---	---	---

Think about the parties that are running to the Knesset. Which do you prefer best? Second? Third?

	14-15.Perfered best	16-17.Second	18-19. Third
01. Likud, Gesher, Tzomet	37	14	6
02. Labor (Alignment)	38	12	6
03. Meretz	5	25	5
04. Mafdal	5	13	16
05. Yehadut Hatora (Agudat yisrael + Degel Hatora)	2	2	3
06. Moledet	2	11	13
07. The Third Way	2	12	22
08. Shas	2	4	8
09. Aliya/ Yisrael Be`aliyah (Sharansky/Gur)	<1	1	3
10.Hadash and the National Democratic Assembly (Hashem Mahmeed)	<1	1	3
11. United Arab List (Dehamshe/Abed Elmalc)	-	<1	<1
12. Arab Movement for Renewal (Ahmad Tibi) -	-	-	<1
13. Brit Mitkademet (Mohamed Zidan)	-	-	-
Do not read: 14. A party from the left, which?	-	-	-
15. A party from the right, which?	-	-	-
16. A religious party, which?	-	<1	<1
17. Other party, which?	<1	-	<1

18. I won't vote	1	4	8
19. Still haven't decided	4	2	5
20. Whatever the Rabbi says	-	-	-
21. Refuses to answer	3	<1	<1

Which party do you least prefer?

	20-21. Least preferred	22-23. Second	24-25. Third
01. Likud, Gesher, Tzomet 36	10	5	4
02. Labor (Alignment)	8	4	2
03. Meretz	4	7	3
04. Mafdal	1	4	5
05. Yehadut Hatora (Agudat yisrael + Degel Hatora)	3	7	6
06. Moledet	14	7	4
07. The Third Way	<1	<1	1
08. Shas	7	9	8
09. Aliya Yisrael Be'aliyah (Sharansky/Gur)	1	1	2
10. Hadash and the National Democratic Assembly (Hashem Mahmeed)	1	13	9
11. United Arab List (Dehamshe/Abed Elmalc)	5	14	14
12. Arab Movement for Renewal (Ahmad Tibi) -	10	13	17
13. Brit Mitkademet (Mohamed Zidan)	2	5	15
Do not read: 14. A party from the left, which?	<1	<1	-

15. A party from the right, which?	<1	<1	-
16. A religious party, which?	<1	-	<1
17. Other party, which?	<1	<1	<1
18. I won't vote	7	7	8
19. Still haven't decided	2	1	2
20. Whatever the Rabbi says	<1	-	-
21. Refuses to answer	3	<1	<1