

## **Election study 2001**

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The Israel election study of 2001 was conducted through a telephone survey between January 7 and February 4, 2001. The field work was conducted by “Mahshov” 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 stratified sample that represents the population of eligible voters and includes 1,417 interviewees: 1,249 Jews and 168 Arabs. In each of the four weeks of data collection a random sample of voters' population was interviewed in each stratum. The Arab interviewees were interviewed in Arabic; the Jewish interviewees were interviewed in Hebrew or Russian.

Not all interviewees were asked the same questions, which is noted in the questionnaire, next to the question. The answers to each question are representative since in every week a random sample of the public was interviewed, and only the number of respondents for each question is smaller.

For example: Question 16a was asked only in the last two weeks of the survey (from 14.1.2001 on). In other words, only half of the sample replied to it. Other questions were asked only in the Jewish or Arab sectors.

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. The data for each interviewee is gathered in two rows and a notation indicates the beginning of the second row.

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

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

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

1. Not good at all
2. Not so good
3. Good
4. Very good

8-9. What do you think is the main problem that the government has to take care of?  
(Please state only one problem)

1. Security
2. Peace/ Peace process
3. Jerusalem
4. Arabs (not clear if in Israel)
5. Terror/ suicide attacks/ conflict with Arabs/ Palestinians
6. Israeli Arabs
7. Syria
8. Settlements
9. Territories/ Concession of territories
10. Leadership/ New Knesset
11. Economy
12. Socio-economic affairs: Poverty, helping the weak, social gaps
13. Education
14. Immigration, Immigrants absorption
15. Crimes and Violence
16. Unemployment
17. Religious-secular relations
18. Saving the religious character of the state
19. Democracy, Individual rights, Freedom of expression
20. Corruption, reinforcement of Rule of Law
21. Changing regime system
22. Unity of the people/ National unity government
23. Refugees
24. Missing in action

10. Do you think that the state of personal security of the residents of Israel is better today or worse than before the beginning of the current peace process?

1. Much worse
2. Worse
3. No change
4. Better
5. Much better

Do you support or oppose the following Israeli concessions suggested in Clinton's Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement

	Strongly oppose	Oppose	Support	Strongly Support
11. Establishment of a Palestinian State on 95% of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, Israel will keep settlement blocks.	1	2	3	4
12. Israel will give the Palestinians Jerusalem's Arab neighborhoods	1	2	3	4
13. Temple Mount will be given to the Palestinians; the Western Wall will stay in Israeli hands.	1	2	3	4
14. A limited number of Palestinian refugees will be allowed to return to Israel.	1	2	3	4
15. Israel will give up control in the Jordan Valley in a few years.	1	2	3	4

16. Eventually, do you oppose or support a peace agreement that includes establishment of a Palestinian state on 95% of the territories and keeping settlement blocks; Giving Palestinians Jerusalem's Arab neighbourhoods; consession of sovereignty in Temple Mount, not including the Western Wall; a return of a limited number of refugees and a mutual declaration of end of further demands?

1. Strongly oppose
2. Oppose
3. Support
4. Strongly support
9. Don't know

16a. And in your estimation, can a peace agreement be achieved without these concessions?

*(Answers are typed in the second card, column 64 – question was asked after 14/1)*

1. yes            2. no            3. (don't read) other \_\_\_\_\_

17. Will a peace agreement with Palestinians end the Arab-Israeli conflict?

1. Definitely won't end
2. Won't end
3. Will end
4. Will definitely end

18-19. What percentage of the public supports this kind of agreement?

99. for Majority
00. for Minority

20. And which tendency is about to increase? Do you think that in the next few weeks, public support of the agreement will increase or will it decrease?

1. Support will increase
2. Opposition will decrease

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

*(Question was asked until 17.1.01; Jews only)*

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

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

*(Question was asked until 17.1)*

1. No. Israel should not return any territory of the Golan Heights, even with security arrangements that are acceptable by the IDF
2. Israel should give back a small part of the Golan Heights
3. Israel should give back a considerable part of the Golan Heights
4. Israel should give back the whole territory of the Golan Heights

23. In your opinion, what is the aspiration of the Arabs?

1. To regain a part of the occupied territories
2. To regain all occupied territories
3. To occupy the state of Israel
4. To occupy the country and to eliminate a substantial part of the Jewish population of the state of Israel

24. To what extent are you worried you and your family might get hurt by Arabs?

1. Not at all worried
2. Not worried
3. Worried
4. Very worried

Recently the media presents reasons for supporting or not supporting Clinton's peace proposal. To what extent each of the following reasons sounds convincing?

	Not at all convincing	Not so convincing	Quite convincing	Very convincing
25. If there's no agreement there will be war	1	2	3	4
26. An agreement will bring more security than territories.	1	2	3	4
27. Peace will strengthen Israel's international position	1	2	3	4
28. Peace will strengthen Israel economically	1	2	3	4
29. Peace will end the conflict with the Palestinians and the Arab world	1	2	3	4

30-31. Which of the above reasons sounds most convincing? \_\_\_\_

How convincing the following reasons for not supporting the peace agreement?

	Not at all convincing	Not so convincing	Quite convincing	Very convincing
32. The territories are important for security and must not be given up.	1	2	3	4
33. The Arabs don't keep agreements	1	2	3	4
34. The settlers must not be removed from their homes since the government sent them there	1	2	3	4
35. A better agreement can be reached.	1	2	3	4
36. Jerusalem and the Temple Mount are Jewish Holy sites and shouldn't be given up.	1	2	3	4

37-38. Which of the above reasons sounds most convincing?

39. To what extent are you satisfied with Israeli Democracy?

1. Very unsatisfied
2. Unsatisfied
3. Satisfied
4. Very satisfied

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? (*Jews only*)

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

40. Most important \_\_\_\_

41. Second most important \_\_\_\_\_

42. Third most important \_\_\_\_\_

43. Fourth most important \_\_\_\_\_

44. There are situations where there's a contradiction between the Jewish law and Democracy. In a case of a contradiction, should keeping Democracy be preferred or keeping the Jewish law?

1. Always keeping Democracy
2. Sometimes one, sometimes the other.
3. Always keeping the Jewish law

The scale below includes 10 steps, which express 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 do you support or reject each of the following groups or persons:

	1 rejection (hatred)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 attraction (sympathy)
45. Labor Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
46. Ariel Sharon	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
47. The Likud Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
48. Orthodox People	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
49. Arafat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
50. Ehud Barak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
51. Binyamin Netanyahu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
52. Shimon Peres	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
53. Ariele Deri	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
54. Arabs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

55. 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

56. Do you think that in critical decisions like concession of territories Arabs should participate in decision making or only Jews should participate?  
(Only Jews were asked)

1. Definitely Jews only
2. Jews only
3. Arabs too
4. Definitely Arabs too

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

Specify one main factor

1. The candidate's characters
2. Identification with his party
3. Identification with his camp
4. The candidate's stands on different issues
5. Him being in government or in the opposition





Below is a list of qualities of leaders. Concerning each one, please state if it best describes Sharon or Barak.

	Sharon	Barak	Both (do'nt read)	Neither (don't read)
77. Reliable	1	2	3	4
78. Puts state interest above all	1	2	3	4
79. Resistant to pressures	1	2	3	4
80. Ensures Authority of Law	1	2	3	4
81. Can be firm in Peace and territory negotiations	1	2	3	4
82. Will know how to deal with terror	1	2	3	4
83. Can bring true peace with the Arabs	1	2	3	4
84. Will decrease the split in the nation	1	2	3	4

### Second card

6. 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. Definitely not
2. No
3. Not sure
4. Yes
5. Definitely yes

7. Do you usually read a daily newspaper?

1. Almost never
2. Rarely
3. Once a week
4. 2-3 times a week
5. One daily newspaper almost everyday
6. More than one newspaper almost everyday

78-81. What newspapers do you usually read? *(Answers were typed in the second card, columns 78-81, asked after 12/1, only Arabs)*

1. Yediot
2. Assennara
3. Fasel Almaqal
5. Maariv
6. Al Ethad
7. Kul al-Arab
8. Haaretz

8. Do you usually watch TV news?

1. Almost never
2. Rarely
3. Once a week
4. 2-3 times a week
5. I watch the news at least once a day
6. I watch the news more than once a day

82-85. What channels do you usually watch? (*Answers were typed in the second card, columns 82-85, asked after 12/1, only Arabs*)

1. Channel 1 Israel
2. Channel 2 Israel
3. MBC
4. Al Jazeera
5. Jordan
98. News in Arabic in general

9. Do you follow publications of election polls before elections?

1. Do not follow at all
2. With little interest
3. With some interest
4. With great interest

10. To what extent do you believe in these polls?

1. Not at all
2. Hardly
3. To some extent
4. Very much

11. To what extent election polls influence your vote decision?

0. Don't watch
1. Not at all
2. A little
3. To some extent
4. Very much

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

1. No change
2. Makes it worse
3. Improves regime system

13. To what extent do you support or object to the inclusion of ministers from Arab parties in government?

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

14. If elections for the Knesset were held today, and not only for Prime Minister, which of the parties mentioned below would you vote for?

1. One Israel/Labor
2. The Likud
3. Shas
4. Meretz

5. The National Religious Party
6. Ya'adut Hatorah/Agudat Yisrael/Degel Hatora
7. Am Ehad (Peretz)
8. Shinui (Lapid)
9. Hichud Haleumi
10. The Center Party
11. Yisrael Be'aliya (Sharansky)
12. Yisrael Beitanu (Lieberman)
13. Democratic Choice (Bronfman)
14. Hadash
15. Balad (Bishara)
16. Ta'al (Tibi)
17. United Arab Front
18. New Arab Party
19. Other
20. I'd cast a blank note
22. Won't vote
23. Haven't decided yet
99. Refuse to answer

16. If elections for Prime Minister were held today, whom would you vote for?  
(Do not read)

1. Sharon
2. Barak
3. I'd cast a blank note
4. Won't vote
5. Haven't decided
6. Refuse to answer

17. (If answered 3 or 4 in question 16): Why did you decide not to vote or to cast a blank note? \_\_\_\_\_

19. Whom do you expect to win the PM elections? (Do not read)

1. Sharon
2. Barak

19a. If Barak will not run for PM elections, and the candidates would be Shimon Peres and Ariel Sharon, whom will you vote for?

*(Answers were typed in the second card, column 65; asked after 14/1)*

1. Shimon Peres
  2. Ariel Sharon
- Do not read:
3. Haven't decided yet
  4. Won't vote
  5. Blank note
  6. Haven't decided/ refuse to answer

20. Whom did you vote for in the 1999 PM elections?

1. Netanyahu
2. Barak
3. Blank note
4. Didn't vote

21-22. for which party did you vote in the last Knesset elections in 1999? (Don't read)

1. One Israel (Labor, Gesher, Meimad)
2. The Likud
3. Shas
4. Meretz
5. The National Religious Party
6. Ya'adut Hatorah/ Agutat Yisrael/Degel Hatora
7. Am Ehad (Peretz)
8. Shinui (Lapid)
9. Ichud Leumi
10. The Center Party
11. Yisrael Be'aliya
12. Yisrael Beitanu
14. Hadash
15. Balad + Arab Movement for Renewal
17. United Arab Front
18. New Arab Party
19. Other
20. White/ Blank note
21. Wasn't eligible to vote
22. Didn't vote though I was eligible
99. Refuse to answer

23. Do you support or a member of a specific party?

1. No
2. Support, but not a member
3. A Member
4. An Active member
5. Member, and have a role in the party

24-25. How old are you?

26. To what extent do you observe religious traditions?

1. Not at all
2. A little
3. Significantly
4. Thoroughly

27. Do you define yourself as:

1. Secular
2. Traditional
3. Religious
4. Ultra-Orthodox

28. Do you define yourself as:

5. Moslem
6. Christian
7. Druze
8. Other

29-32. Which of the following terms best define your identity?

(Arabs)

	Israeli	Palestinian	Arab	My religion (Muslem, Christian, Druze)
29. Defines most	1	2	3	4
30. Second	1	2	3	4
31. Third	1	2	3	4
32. Fourth	1	2	3	4

(Jews)

	Israeli	Jewish	Ethnic origion (Ashkenazi/ Sephardi)	Secular/religious
29. Defines most	5	6	7	8
30. Second	5	6	7	8
31. Third	5	6	7	8
32. Fourth	5	6	7	8

33-34. Where were you born? (For Israel born – where was your father born?) (Jews)

1. North Africa
2. Asia
3. Eastern Europe
4. West and Central Europe
5. America, Australia, South Africa
6. Israeli born, father Israeli born
7. Israeli born, father North African
8. Israeli born, father Asian born
9. Israeli born, father Eastern European
10. Israeli born, father West/Central European
11. Israeli born, father American/Austr./S. African

35-36. When did you immigrate to Israel? \_\_\_\_\_

37. Were you born in one of the formar Soviet Union countries and immigrated to Israel after 1988?

1. Yes
2. No

38-39. How many years of schooling do you have?

40. Do you have an academic degree?

41. The monthly expenses of an average four people family have reached in the last month to 8500 Nis approximately. Considering your expenses and the size of your family, do you spend:

1. Much above average
2. Little above average
5. Averagely
6. Little below average
7. Much below average

42-43. How many rooms are there in your house?

44-45. How many people live in your house (including soldiers)

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

1. Yes
2. No
3. Never served in IDF

47. Sex

1. Male
2. Female

48-50. Locality of residence

51. Month of interview 1. January 2. February

55. Language of interview

1. Hebrew
2. Russian
3. Arabic

56. Telephone area code 02 03 04 06 07 08 09