

Israel National Election Study 2003

6. What do you think of Israel's condition (state) in general?

1. Very good
2. Good
3. Neither good nor bad
4. Bad
5. Very bad

7. What do you think of the way the government handles the country's problems?

1. Handles them very well
2. Handles them well
3. Handles them not very well
4. Handles them not well at all

8-9 What is the most important problem facing the government today (open ended)

10 What about your personal economic situation? Would you say that in the last year your personal economic situation

1. Improved greatly
2. Improved
3. Did not change
4. A little worse
5. Much worse

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

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

11. - to exchange territories for peace

12. - the establishment of a Palestinian state in the territories as part of a permanent settlement

***13-18: asked only in the first version**

13. - to build a fence to separate us from the Palestinians

14. - to negotiate with the Palestinians even if terror persists

15. - that Israel should decide on the borders it wants in the territories and should unilaterally withdraw to those borders

16. - to vacate settlements as part of a peace agreement except for the large blocks of settlements

17. - to transfer the Arabs of the territories (*not asked in Arab sample*)

18. - to transfer Arabs who are Israeli citizens (*not asked in Arab sample*)

19 What should Israel focus on to avoid another war with the Arabs?

1. concentrate on peace talks
2. increase military strength

20 Would a peace agreement with the Palestinians indicate an end to the Israeli-Arab conflict?

1. The conflict would definitely be concluded
2. The conflict would be concluded
3. The conflict would not be concluded
4. The conflict would definitely not be concluded

21 What are the aspirations of the Arabs in your opinion?

1. to regain some of the territories lost in the Six Days war
2. to regain all the territories lost in the Six Days war
3. to conquer the State of Israel
4. to conquer the country and to kill a large portion of the Jews in the state of Israel

22 To what extent are you worried that you or a member of your family might become a victim of a terrorist attack?

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

*** asked only in the first version**

23,24,25,26 When we think of the possible development of the State of Israel, there are four important values that conflict to some extent, and they are important to different people in various degrees: a state with a Jewish majority, greater Israel, a democratic state (equal political rights for all), and peace (a low probability of war). Of these four values, which is the most important to you? Second? Third? Fourth?

-Jewish majority - greater Israel - a democratic state - peace

1. The most important
2. The second most important
3. The third most important
4. The fourth most important

(not asked in Arab sample)

27-37 Here is a a ten-point scale, and you can express your support (love) or rejection (hate) to a group or a person. [explanation...]

- Labor - Likud - Meretz - Mafdal - Shinui - National Unity - Shas – Israel Ba’aliya - Amram Mitzna - Arik Sharon – Arabs *(not asked in Arab sample)*

38-40 On a 1 to 10 scale, how far (1) or close (10) are you to ... on issues of peace and security? - Labor - Likud - Shinui

41-43 On a 1 to 10 scale, how far (1) or close (10) are you to ... on economic issues? - Labor - Likud - Shinui

44-46 On a 1 to 10 scale, how far (1) or close (10) are you to ... on issues of religion and the state? - Labor - Likud - Shinui

47 Who will deal better with the state's economic problems, the Likud leaders or those of Labor?

1. Likud leaders
2. Labor leaders
3. Both
4. Neither

48 And with foreign and security matters, who will deal better with them?

1. Likud leaders
2. Labor leaders
3. Both
4. Neither

49 There is much talk about left and right in politics. On a scale from 1 (right) to 7 (left) where would you rank yourself?

50-55 In your opinion are there differences in the positions of the large parties on each of the following?

- Jerusalem - economics - social policy - religion and state - peace and territories - terror

1. Very great differences
2. Great differences
3. Some differences
4. Small differences
5. Almost no differences

56 Different factors lead people to vote for a certain party in Knesset elections. Of the following four factors, what is the most important factor for you in determining your choice?

1. Identification with the party
2. The party's candidates
3. The platform/position on certain issues
4. Whether the party is in government or in the opposition

57-63 To what extent will each of the following influence or not influence your vote choice?

- Jerusalem - economics - social policy - religion and state - peace and territories - terror
- corruption

1. Very great extent
2. Great extent
3. Certain extent
4. Not at all

*** asked only in second version**

64 Do you agree or disagree that taxes should be raised and that you will pay more tax to deal with the problems the state faces?

1. Agree
2. Disagree

*** asked only in second version**

65-73 Regarding each of the following, should the state spend more, less, or the same amount as now?

- education - preserving nature and ecology - religious institutions and yeshivot - health - security - aid to the unemployed - settlements in the territories - the Arab sector - creating jobs

1. More
2. Less
3. Same as now

74 To what extent do you discuss political issues with your friends and family?

1. Great extent
2. Certain extent
3. Not very much
4. Not at all

75 To what extent can you and your friends influence government policy?

1. Great extent
2. Certain extent
3. Not very much
4. Not at all

76 Should the government of Israel see to it that public affairs are conducted in accordance with Jewish religious tradition?

1. Definitely
2. Perhaps
3. No
4. Definitely not

77 Regarding economic matters, do you support a socialist or a capitalist approach?

1. Definitely capitalist
2. Capitalist
3. Socialist
4. Definitely socialist

Here is a list of attributes of political parties. Regarding each one, please tell me if it is more applicable to Labor or Likud?

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

78. - a party that will know how to negotiate issues of territories and peace

79. - a party that will preserve the state's democratic regime

80. - a party that will lead to true peace with the Arabs

81. - a party that will know how to deal with terror

82. - a party that will be able to bring about separation between Israel and the Palestinians

83. - a party that has corruption in it

84. - a party that will decrease social gaps

85-89 Here is a list of traits of leaders. Please tell me if you think that trait is more appropriate in describing Sharon or Mitzna?

1. Sharon
2. Mitzna
3. Both
4. Neither

- Leadership ability - credible - prefers the good of the state over other considerations - ability to handle negotiations - will preserve the rule of law

Card 2

6 Do you read a daily newspaper?

1. Never
2. Rarely
3. Once a week
4. 2-3 times a week
5. almost every day
6. more than one paper every day

*** asked only in first version**

*And now we want to ask you how likely you think it is that each of the following parties will be in the governing coalition after the election. Here is a scale that runs from 0 to 100. A score of 0 indicates that you think the party has no chance at all, a score of 100 means you think they have the greatest possible chances, and a score of 50 means you think the chances for the party are about even. And of course, the other points indicate feelings that fall in between.

On this scale, how likely is it that

- **7-9** the Likud will be in the governing coalition?
- **10-12** Labor
- **13-15** Meretz
- **16-18** Mafdal
- **19-21** Shinui
- **22-24** National Unity
- **25-27** Shas
- **28-30** Israel Ba'aliya

*** asked only in second version**

*And now we want to ask you how many seats you think the following parties will win in the coming elections:

31-32 How many seats will Likud win _____

33-34 Labor -

35-36 Meretz -

37-38 Mafdal -

39-40 Shinui -

41-42 National Unity -

43-44 Shas -

45-46 Israel Ba'aliya

And using the same 0-100 scale, what are the chances that each of the following coalitions will finally be set up?

47-49 a Likud-right-religious coalition

50-52 a Likud-Labor-Shinui coalition

53-55 a Labor-Meretz-Arabs coalition

56-58 a national unity government

To what extent do you favor each of the following coalition governments after the election?

1. very much against
2. somewhat against
3. so-so
4. somewhat in favor
5. very much in favor

- 59 a Likud-right-religious coalition
- 60 a Likud-Labor-Shinui coalition
- 61 a Labor-Meretz-Arabs coalition
- 62 a national unity government

63-64 In this election we will vote only for the Knesset and not with two ballots. If the Knesset elections were held today, for which list would you vote?

- 1-29. [lists that are running]
- 96. blank ballot
- 97. no decision yet
- 98. I will not vote

65 And if you did have two ballots, one for the Prime Minister and one for the Knesset, for whom would you vote?

- 1. Mitzna
- 2. Sharon
- 3. Blank ballot
- 4. Don't know
- 5. I would not vote

66-67 And for the Knesset?

Same codes as for question 63-64

68 Who did you vote for Prime Minister in 2001?

- 1. Barak
- 2. Sharon
- 3. Blank ballot
- 4. I did not vote even though I had the right to vote
- 5. I did not vote because I did not have the right to vote

69 Who did you vote for Prime Minister in 1999?

- 1. Barak
- 2. Netanyahu
- 3. Blank ballot
- 4. I did not vote even though I had the right to vote
- 5. I did not vote because I did not have the right to vote

70-71 For which party did you vote in the Knesset elections of 1999?

- 1-19. [lists that were running]
- 96. blank ballot
- 97. I did not vote even though I had the right to vote
- 98. I did not vote because I did not have the right to vote

72 Do you support a political party or are you active in one?

- 1. No, neither support nor active
- 2. I support a party but am not active
- 3. I am a member of a party
- 4. I am an active member of a party
- 5. I am an active member with a position in a party

73 With which political tendency do you identify?

1. left
2. moderate left
3. center
4. moderate right
5. right
6. (do not read) religious
7. (do not read) none

74-75 Age: How old are you? _____

76 To what extent do you observe religious tradition?

1. observe none
2. observe somewhat
3. observe to a great extent
4. observe all details

77-78 Continent of birth and father's continent of birth (*not asked in Arab sample*)

1. North Africa
2. Asia
3. East Europe
4. West and Central Europe
5. America, Australia, South Africa
6. Israel, father Israel
7. Israel, father North Africa
8. Israel, father Asia
9. Israel, father East Europe
10. Israel, father West of Central Europe
11. Israel, father America, Australia, South Africa

79-80 Year of immigration _____ (*not asked in Arab sample*)

81 If immigrated from East Europe since 1988 (*not asked in Arab sample*)

1. FSU immigrant

82-83 Years of education _____

84 (For those with 12 years and more) Do you have a college degree?

- 1.yes 2.no

85 The monthly expenditure for a family of 4 was 9,300 shekel last month. Based on your expenses and the size of your family, do you spend:

1. Much more than average
2. A little above average
3. Average
4. Below average
5. Much below average

86 - Are you worried about losing your job ?

- 1 - not at all; 2 - a bit; 3 - very worried; 4 - I lost my job recently and am looking for a job;
- 5 - I don't work and am not looking for a job.

87 Number of rooms in your house ____

88 Number of people in your house, including soldiers _____

89 To which social class do you belong?

1. Upper class
2. Middle upper
3. Middle
4. Lower

90 [for the Arab sample] Are you

1. Muslim
2. Christian
3. Druze

91 How would define yourself?

1. Secular
2. Traditional
3. Religious
4. Haredi

92 Gender

1. Male
2. Female

93-95 Place of residence

96-97 Date of interview - day, **98** month

99 - Questionnaire version:

1 a Hebrew; 2 b Hebrew; 3 a Arabic; 4 b Arabic; 5 a Russian; 6 b Russian.