Empowering Israeli Women: Gender Gaps, Women's Issues, and The Vote

Survey Research Report
for the Israel Women's Network
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Charney Research
5 West 102nd Street
New York, NY 10025

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of a survey of Israeli voters conducted for the Israel Women's Network on April 26-27 and May 3-4, 1998.

The principal findings are the following:

- *The general mood, national priorities, current voting intentions, and Zionist values of women are similar to those of men, reflecting both conditions in the country and the lack of gender emphases in Israeli politics, though women do focus a bit more on education and religion than men do.*

- *From a gender perspective, there are noteworthy differences between views of Benjamin Netanyahu's performance on several important international and domestic issues. Both men and women criticize his handling of the peace process, but women are less favorable to his stance on terrorism, and on education and women's issues there are distinct gender gaps, with women negative and men positive.*

- *A plurality of women favor re-deploying from 13% of the West Bank and Gaza, while men favor a smaller withdrawal; the difference reflects in part women's concern for relatives in the Army. Both sexes strongly favor re-deployment from South Lebanon, but women slightly less so.*

- *Both women and men recognize that women have common interests to express in politics, and both rate jobs, crime, children, and sexism as Israeli women's most important concerns. However, women feel they have made far from enough progress towards equality, and many feel that the country's leaders ignore them.*

- *Women are as likely to vote, discuss politics, or identify with a political party as men, but they are less likely to be very interested in politics, belong to a party, or vote in a party primary. Lower participation appears connected to women's political alienation rather than passivity or family focus.*

- *Women running for public office attract public sympathy and voters (especially women) want to see them on local council lists. Women running for Mayor would attract extra women's votes without a net loss of votes from men and a Knesset list led by Penina Rosenbloom could win several seats. Israelis think women are underrepresented in public life, and both women and men support reserving 30% of places on Knesset and council lists for them.*

- *Women's issues raised by candidates would attract voters, particularly women – but female candidates can raise them with more credibility than male ones*

- *Women's issues could be important sources of votes in local government elections, with majorities of both sexes drawn to proposals concerning domestic violence, day care, job discrimination, women's input into local government, and women's sports which do not correspond to the traditional left-right divide..*

- *Women's issues also have a good deal of appeal in the context of national elections, with the top issues once again focused on children, jobs, and crimes against women.*

- *The women's vote needs to be analyzed in its own terms, rather than on the usual lines of party, ideology, ethnicity, or class. For instance, Sephardi, Arab, religious conservative (masorti), Russian immigrant women, and housewives all have their own specific outlooks.*

- *Sizable minorities of Israeli women know women who have suffered job discrimination, sexual harassment, or domestic abuse, and they are more discontented with the status of women, more politicized, and more supportive of women's efforts to win elective office.*

INTRODUCTION

Aims of the Survey

The aim of this study is to explore how women in Israel can increase their

political power as a group and advance issues important to them as women. Up to now,

Israeli women usually have not thought or acted as a distinct political group with their

own concerns and representatives, because women's issues have not been injected into

the political process and the role of women in politics has remained limited. The result is

that there has been little to no "gender gap" between the voting behavior of men and

women in Israel and scant recognition of women as an interest group. Indeed, even

research on women's political attitudes in Israel has been rare, and there has never been a

comprehensive national survey on the subject.[1]

The political behavior of women in Israel contrasts sharply with that of women in

other Western countries, most notably the US, but also Britain, France, and others.[2] In

those countries, as the women's movement gathered strength and women's issues became

increasingly politicized, women and their concerns have become increasingly central to

political life.   Consequently, issues of specific concern to women took their place among

the leading national priorities. Growing awareness that women have distinctive views on

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[1] The first published study of Israeli women's voting behavior appeared only in 1993: Yael Yishai, "Equal but Different? The Gender Gap in Israel's 1992 Elections," in Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, eds, The Elections in Israel, 1992 (Albany, SUNY Press: 1993).   Social scientists elsewhere have studied the issue since the 1970s: see, for example, Ethel Klein, Gender Politics.

[2] The emergence of gender gaps is discussed in more detail in Craig Charney, The Dynamics of Electoral Choice: Britain, France, and the United States (M.A. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1979)

important policy issues obliged politicians to appeal to these concerns and find language that speaks forcefully to women about them. Women's representation in elected office also grew remarkably at all levels, from local councils to national cabinets. In each of these respects, the contrast with the Israeli reality is striking.

However, the findings of our research show that the time is ripe for a change in this situation. While they have their own party, religious, and ethnic loyalties, Israeli women also have specific views of their own on important national issues, they would respond warmly to women running for political office, and they are ready to reward with their votes politicians who advance the issues which concern them. The survey results thus show that women are now ready to make their voices heard by Israel's political leaders – and the country's politicians will ignore them at their peril.

The findings of this survey are thus addressed to several audiences:

- *Israel's political leadership and media*: to encourage the parties and politicians to take women's attitudes and potential power into their calculations, and the media to make the public more aware of them.

- *Women considering running for public office:* to encourage them to stand and to aid them to identify potential supporters and campaign issues.

- *Women's groups and organizations:* to show lines along which women could be mobilized for the various issues which they support.

- *Academics and political analysts:* to underline to them the importance of factoring gender into their analysis of political attitudes and behavior.

- *Women in general:* last but definitely not least, to help reveal to Israeli women themselves their potential for political action on gender lines and issues.

This project is thus intended to make a contribution to the process of women's empowerment in Israel, by raising the profile of women's issues among the political elite, helping women compete more successfully in elections, assisting organized women's groups to make political interventions, focusing more attention on gender politics among intellectuals, and increasing women's awareness of their shared attitudes and concerns. The aim is not to work to the advantage of any particular political party or to rally women on behalf of a new one, but rather to increase Israeli women's ability to influence all the parties and the political system as a whole.

The Lack of A Gender Gap

The background to this study is the above-noted finding of surveys of Israeli voters over the years that gender has had little influence on Israeli voting behavior. (See Figure 1.) When we look at the correlation of gender and the vote – that is, a statistical measure of how closely voting choice is linked to the voter's sex – we can see that it remains near zero for the whole period from the election of 1969 to that of 1996. Visibly, the influence of gender on the vote has been far smaller than that of religious outlook, Ashkenazi-Sephardic ethnicity, or education.

Yet what this graph also reveals is the relationship between social and political mobilization and the influence of social cleavages on the vote. In 1969, none of the cleavages in the graph had much influence on voting behavior. However, the influence of

religion and ethnicity jumped in the upheaval of 1977, as appeals along these lines

helped to bring the Likud to power, and they have remained the most powerful

demographic influences on the vote ever since. During the 1980s education became more

of an influence on the vote, as politics moved more into alignment with class, although

the significance of this factor faded in the 1996 election in which class-based

Figure 1

The Absence of a Gender Gap
Correlates of the Vote in Israel, 1969-1996

Data for 1969-1992 from Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, The Elections in Israel 1992, for 1996 from IWN survey results.
Charney Research
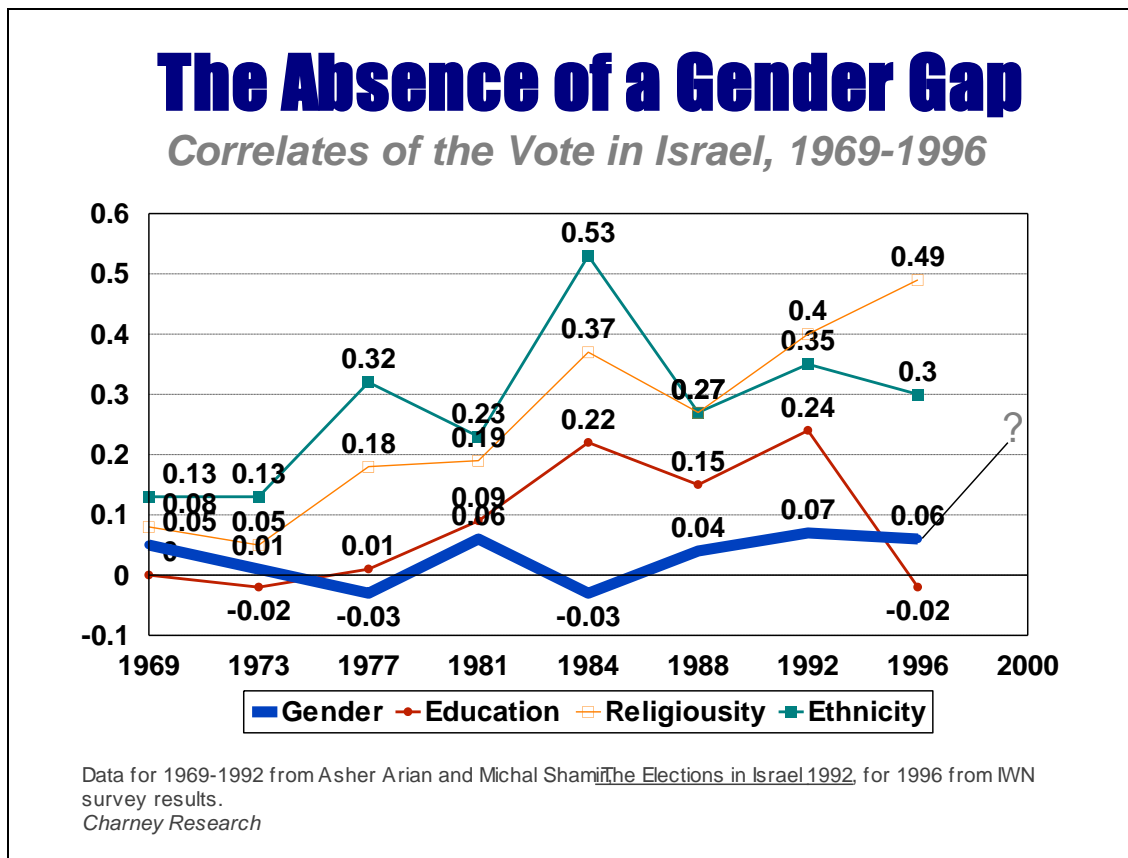
issues played little role. In other words, since the influence of different social factors on

the vote waxes and wanes in relation to the kinds of appeals and mobilizations

undertaken by politicians and social forces, there is no reason to assume that the influence

of gender on the vote will remain as low in the future as it has in the past. Indeed, the

question this study poses is whether it will be possible to raise the influence of gender on the vote so that, in the elections to come, it rivals that of the other factors examined in the graph.

Possibilities for Gender Mobilization

Since there is not yet an observable relation between gender and the vote in Israel, how can we describe the potentials for a "gender gap" or mobilization?   There are three logical possibilities that can provide a basis for women to exercise political power, which are examined in the first three sections of this report.

- *Distinctive views on issues of general concern:* If women have views different from those of men on major issues facing the country – such as peace or prosperity – or thought about these issues in a way different from the way man do, then there would be a basis for a specific appeal to win their vote reflecting their distinctive views.   In Part I of this report, we examine how women's general political outlooks both resemble those of men and display some important gender gaps.

- *Increasing the number of women in office and the political process:* If more women were in office, more attention could be given to women's concerns. In Part II of this report, we therefore look at women's views of politics, factors influencing their under-representation in politics, and the reactions of both sexes to female candidates.

- *Issues of concern to women:* If candidates or lists emphasize issues of concern to women in their campaigns, these might win them a greater share of the votes from women (as well as from men also interested in these issues). Part III of this report examines how voters would respond to such "women's issues" in general, as well as their responses to 15 women's issues which could be presented by candidates in local government elections or in national elections.

However, these factors cannot be considered in isolation. There is one more factor we need to look at to see how gender influences interact with other influences on women, which is the basis of the fourth section of this report.

■ *Differences according to identity and experience:* Women are not a uniform mass; they differ both in the social groups to which they belong and in their exposure to discrimination against women of different sorts. Thus, without attempting to provide a comprehensive portrait of all Israeli women, Part IV of this report presents political profiles of key social groups of women and explores the impact of women's experience on their views on gender issues.

Thus there are four key bases for women's potential political mobilization – which form the basis of the four sections of this report.

Research Methodology

This report is based on a telephone survey taken among a random sample of the adult Israeli public by Dahaf of Tel Aviv on April 26 and 27 and May 3 and 4, 1998. The sample size totaled 804. In order to permit more detailed analysis of the political views of sub-groups of Israeli women, we over-sampled women, conducting 532 interviews among women and 272 among men. (In all figures reported for the whole sample, these values are re-weighted to reflect the true proportions of women and men in the population.) This yields an error margin of +/-4% for national data, and (because of smaller sub-samples) slightly larger error margins of +/- 4.5% for data on women and +/- 6% of men. On certain questions where the sample was split in two or three, the resulting error margins are larger. For half samples, the error margins are +/-5.5% for the whole

sample, +/-6% for women, and +/- 8% for men; for one-third samples they are +/-7% for the whole sample, +/- 7.5% for women, and +/-10% among men.

Part I
Women's Political Outlook

1. Mood, Priorities, Vote, and Values

■ *The general mood, national priorities, current voting intentions, and Zionist values of women are similar to those of men, reflecting both conditions in the country and the lack of gender emphases in Israeli politics, though women do focus a bit more on education and religion than men do.*

Ask Israelis about the general state of the country or the economy and there are almost no gender differences in their replies. When asked if the county is headed in the right direction, men and women both say it is not, by virtually identical margins (see Figure 2). Women say the country is headed in the wrong direction by a margin of 49% to 39%, men by 50% to 40%. Both sexes also share negative views of the economy

Figure 2
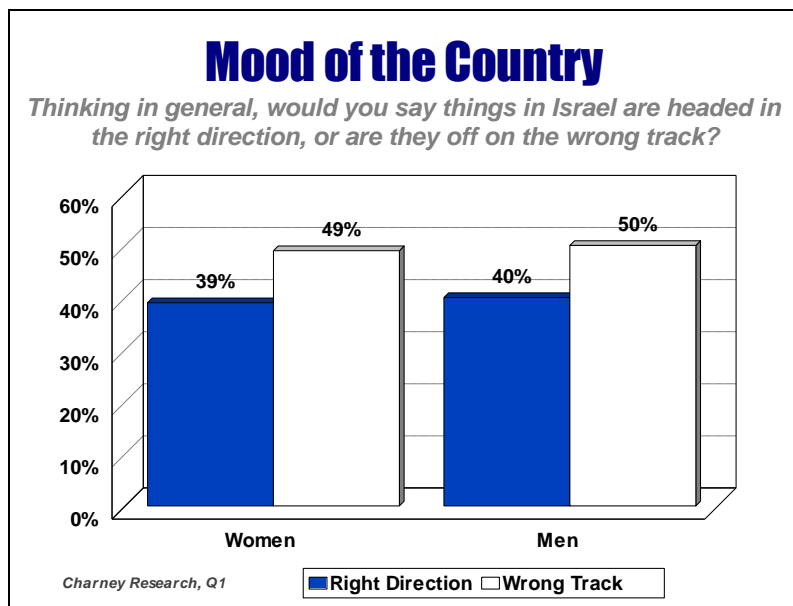
(Question 2).[3]   Some 44% of women say the economic situation is bad or very bad,

against 45% of men; it is rated as mediocre by 40% of women and 32% of men, while

only 15% of women and 21% of men say the economic situation is good or very good.

The immediate political priorities of women and men are also fairly similar.

Asked whether it is more important to advance the peace process while maintaining

Israel's security, or ensure security even if it means slowing the peace process, both make

peace their priority, women by 58% to 40%, men by 63% to 35%. (See Question 3.)

When it comes to their top domestic priority, the economy comes next for the majority of

both sexes – but it receives slightly less emphasis from women

Table 1

Domestic Priorities

Besides peace and security, what would you think is the important issue for the government of Israel to address

	All	Women	Men
Economy	66	61	72
Social welfare / poverty	8	7	8
Education	7	10	5
Religious issues	6	7	4

No other issues mentioned by more than 5%
Charney Research, Q4

(61%) than men (72%). It was followed by three issues which received much lower, but

almost equal, emphasis – welfare and poverty (8% of all voters), education (7%) and

religion (6%) Women are a bit more likely than men to name education (10% vs. 5%) or religious issues (7% vs. 4%) as top priorities, although these are not huge differences. The proportions of women who were most likely to name education as their priority tended, not too surprisingly, to be highest among those who were Jewish (12%), had children (15%), and had university education (22%). Only among the haredim was there a much above-average proportion of women who made religious issues their top domestic priority (38%).

When it comes to voting intentions, as in the past, so too current data do not indicate significant gender differences. On the question of who they would choose for Prime Minister (Question 7), Benjamin Netanyahu led Ehud Barak by 6 points among women (37% to 31%) and 8 points among men (41% to 33%). Asked which party list they would prefer for the local government elections, both sexes also gave similar replies (Question 9). Some 37% of women preferred parties of the left (Labor, Meretz), as did 32% of men; parties of the right (Likud, Tzomet, Moledet) were preferred by 27% of both men and women; centrist parties (Gesher, Israel b'Aliyah, Third Way) got 4% among men and 3% among women, while religious parties (Mafdal, Shas, Yhadut haTorah) were the choice of 5% of men and 6% of women)

Finally, core values concerning Zionism and the role of religion in the state are also shared equally by men and women. In the survey Israelis of both sexes manifested a strong commitment to the traditional Zionist ideal by virtually identical margins –

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[3] All references to the results of specific survey questions refer to the Appendix, where a summary of results

rejecting the idea of moving away from it and becoming a "normal" country (55% to 36% among women, 56% to 36% among men). On the other hand, both sexes also

Figure 3
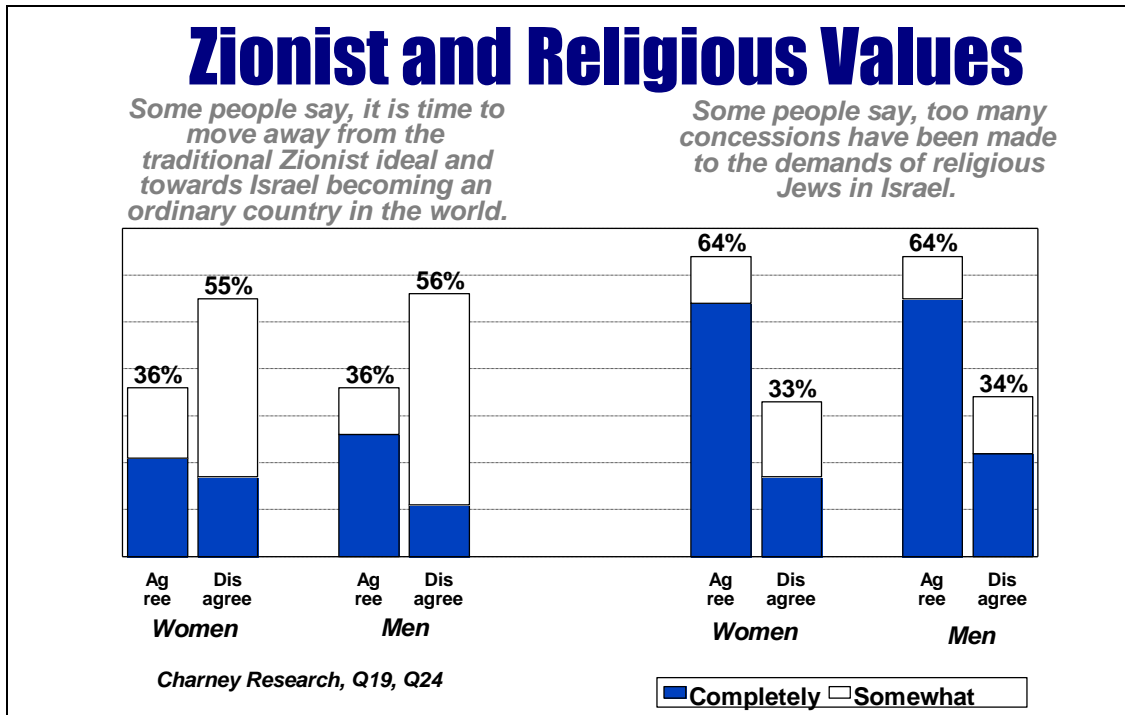
felt that too much influence has been ceded to religious Jews by even larger margins: 64% to 33% in the case of women and 64% to 34% for men.[4]   Thus also in the case of basic attitudes about the character of the state and the role of religion within it, few gender differences can be seen at present.

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to all questions is given for all voters and each sex.

[4] To some extent these particular findings may have been influenced by the timing of the survey, which was sandwiched just before and after Israel's 50th anniversary celebrations. The fervor produced by the anniversary may help explain why the proportion committed to the Zionist ideal was higher than in some previous research, while the religious controversy over a dance company connected with the festivities may have exacerbated the irritation of more secular Jews towards the religious community.

Yet while we have seen that there is currently little difference between the sexes in mood, vote, priorities, or values, this does not mean that gender cannot make a difference in Israeli politics – it is simply another indication that it does not do so <u>at present.</u> In part, of course, these findings reflect conditions in the country today: the stalled peace process, weak economy, and security concerns impinge on the lives of both men and women, and both, too, are concerned by issues of Zionism and religion. Yet at a more profound level, what these patterns of attitudes reflect is politics-as-usual in Israel – a politics in which political appeals are not made in gender terms nor issues and platforms framed on that basis. They are not an indication that women and men see eye-to-eye on all political issues – indeed, the priorities data are our first indication that women have somewhat different views on the importance of issues such as education. As we will see in the rest of the survey, there are many other, considerably larger, gender gaps which could become part of the political debate, as well as a number of women's issues which could also command substantial support from men. But at present, Israeli political debate is not very concerned with women's perspectives and issues and as a result no differences can be observed in women's responses to politics. In other words, these initial findings reflect what is – while most of the rest of the findings in this report will point to what could be, if political leaders and women themselves are daring enough to raise a gender agenda.

2. National Government Evaluations

■ *From a gender perspective, there are noteworthy differences between views of Benjamin Netanyahu's performance on several important international and domestic issues. Both men and women criticize his handling of the peace process, but women are less favorable to his stance on terrorism, and on education and women's issues there are distinct gender gaps, with women negative and men positive.*

When it comes to evaluating the performance of Israel's present government on issues of peace and security, there are no major gender differences on peace, but there is a small yet noticeable difference on terrorism. (See Figure 4). Both men and women tend to be dissatisfied with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's handing of

Figure 4
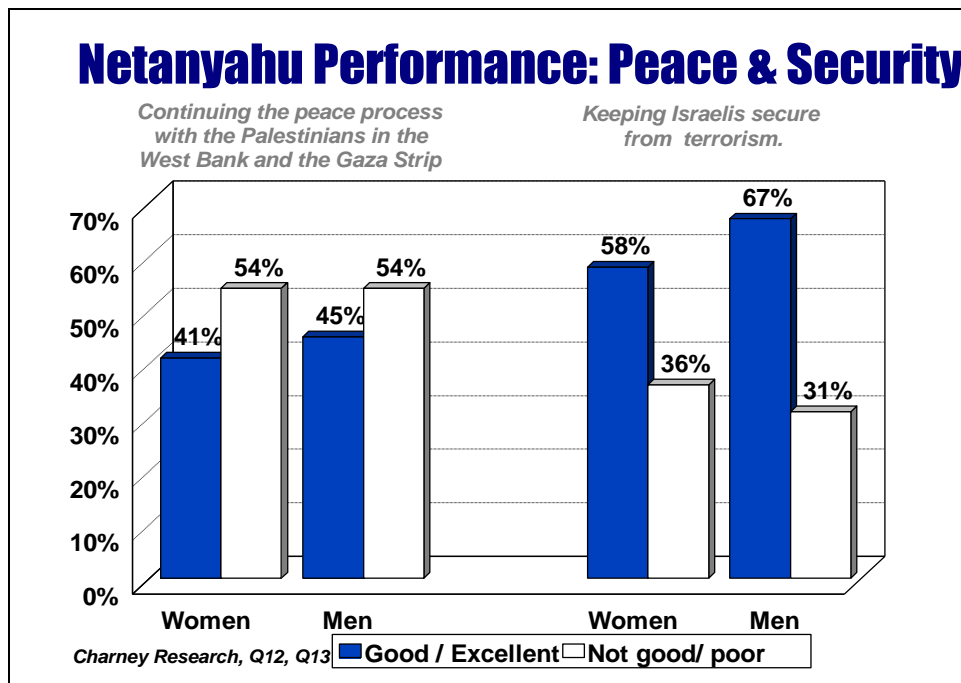
the peace process by nearly identical margins: women by 54% to 41%, men by 54% to 45%. But when it comes to security, while both men and women view his handling of the

problem of terrorism rather favorably, women are cooler to him than are men on this issue. Some 58% of women say he has done a good or excellent job on terrorism, compared to 67% of men, a 9 point difference, while 36% of women and 31% of men say he has done a not so good or poor job.

On the other hand, when we look at some domestic issues, there are clear differences by gender in views of Netanyahu's job performance . (See Figure 5.) The Israeli public splits evenly on the Prime Minister's handling of education, 44% favorable, 43% unfavorable, but this hides a sharp split between the sexes. The majority of women are critical of his handling of education, 51% to 36%, while the

Figure 5

Netanyahu Performance: Education, Women

Dealing with education   *Dealing witn women's issues*

Charney Research, Q15, Q14   ■ Good / Excellent   □ Not good/ poor
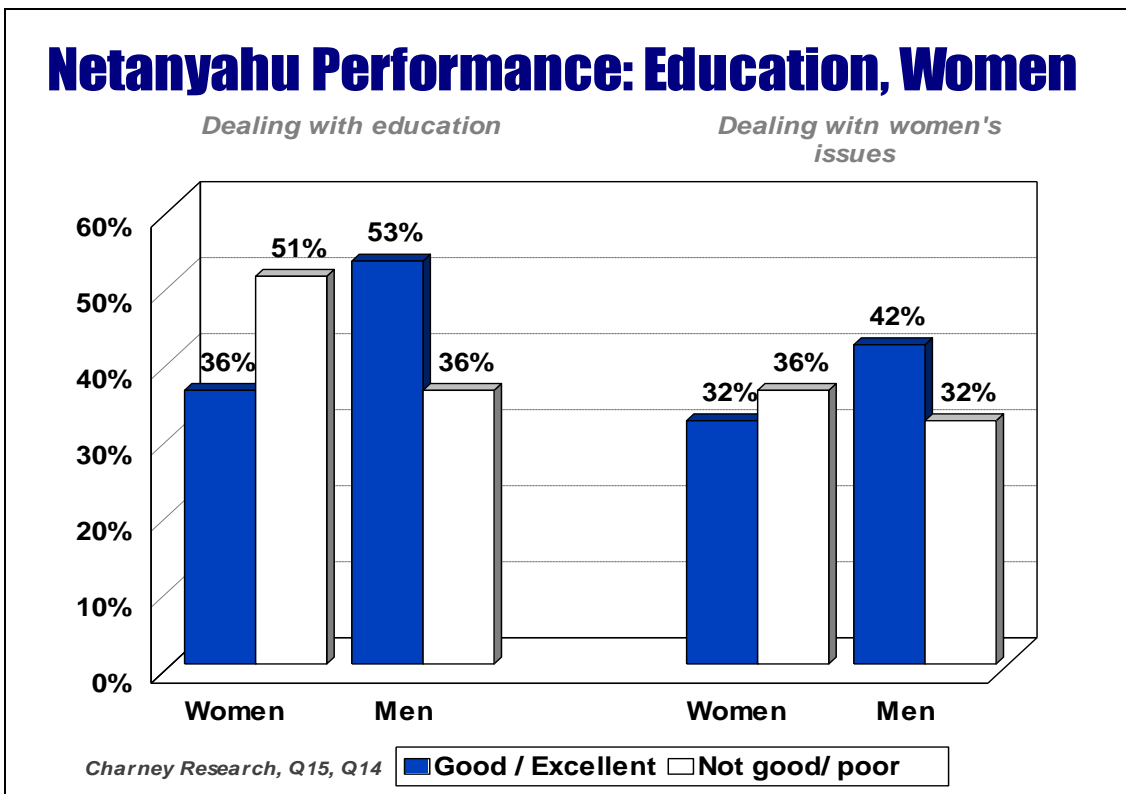
judgment of men on the issue is almost a mirror-image opposite, 52% positive and 36% negative. The sexes also are divided on the government's performance on women's issues. Men think Netanyahu has done a fairly good job on women's affairs, by 42% to 32%. But women tend to be either critical or uncertain: 36% rate Netanyahu negatively while just 32% are positive, with a very large 32% of women not sure how well he has done.

What is particularly interesting about women's discontents on these issues is that they respond to women's imperatives and life cycles – much like the issues which have produced gender gaps in other countries. Thus, the most dissatisfied tend

Table 2

Education and Women's Issues: Women's Evaluations of Netanyahu

% Good or Excellent /
% Not Good or Poor

	Age		Have Kids		Ethnicity			96 Vote			Swing Voters Now	
	18-49	50+	Yes	No	Sephardi	Ashkenazi	Russian	Netanyahu	Peres	No Vote	Don't Know	Could Change
Education	35/51	38/49	34/52	40/48	34/50	27/64	26/65	40/43	29/62	44/46	25/58	37/48
Women's issues	30/37	40/32	28/40	38/29	23/25	28/45	17/64	32/36	30/43	30/56	23/40	13/69

Charney Research, Q.14, 15

to be younger women (between 18-49) and those with children, who feel ill served by the government's policies on education and women's affairs.   Younger women are slightly more critical on education than older ones (35/51 vs. 38/49), and are negative towards Netanyahu's handing of women's affairs (30/37) while their elders are positive (40/32). Similarly women with children rate Netanyahu more unfavorably on education (52/34) than those without them (48/40), and also are critical of his handling of women's issues (28/40) while those without are favorable (38/29).

Moreover, discontent along these lines is not confined to women who would normally be thought of as opposition supporters. For instance, while it is true that Ashkenazi women are the most critical of the government's handling of these issues (27/64 on education, 28/45 on women's rights), it is also true that women of Sephardic or Russian origin – two groups seen as part of the Prime Minister's coalition – are also critical of his stances on education and women's affairs (the Sephardim by 34/50 on education and 25/23 on women's issues, the Russians by much larger margins of 26/65 and 17/64 respectively). The same is true of women who voted for Netanyahu (40/43 on education, 32/36 on women's issues), as well as those women now fall into the crucial "swing voter" groups that decide elections – those who don't know for whom they'd vote (unhappy on education by a sizable 25/58, on women's issues by 23/40) or whose vote might change (37/48 on education, and on women's issues by a big 23/69 margin).

The significance of the gender differences we have found lies in their ability to permit women – and sympathetic politicians – to redefine the political cleavages that

matter. If a significant proportion of a voter group like women is skeptical about a key

claim of a candidate, such as fighting terror, the candidate's ability to mobilize those

voters on that basis is weaker.   Potentially even more important are the issues such as

education or women's affairs where women have views on government performance

which differ from mens'. In such cases factors such as gender, parental status, and the

like can offer direct bases for political appeals. While these may sound like novel ideas

in Israeli politics, they are common in other countries where gender is routinely factored

into politics.[5] They are particularly important because they cut across existing political

alignments. Such a concern would be as relevant to the Prime Minister's opponents as to

his supporters, because it would represent a new terrain on which they would have to

compete, to the advantage of women.   Though some may argue that these domestic

issues are trumped in Israel by questions of war and peace, it should also be remembered

that there are elections where security issues are less relevant – e.g. the local government

elections; that swinging even a few votes in national elections could be critical given their

closeness in Israel; and that to the extent that Israeli politics becomes peacetime politics

their potential will steadily grow in national elections. However, domestic issues are not

the only ones where gender differences exist in Israel. The IWN survey also found some

important ones concerning women's attitudes towards peace as well, and we now turn to

these.

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[5] For instance, in the 1996 US election, the Clinton polling team discovered that marital and parental status
predicted the voter better than traditional partisan and social variables, and this insight helped shape the
ultimately winning strategy of focusing on family-friendly issues and "soccer moms."

3. Women and Peace

■ *A plurality of women favor re-deploying from 13% of the West Bank and Gaza, while men favor a smaller withdrawal; the difference reflects in part women's concern for relatives in the Army. Both sexes strongly favor re-deployment from South Lebanon, but women slightly less so.*

Gender gaps on issues relating to peace and the military have been found in many other countries and appear to exist in Israel as well. On the latest controversy regarding the peace process when the IWN poll was taken, concerning the extent of withdrawal of the Israeli Defense Force from the occupied territories in the West Bank and Gaza, a narrow plurality of women favored the 13% pullback recommended by the Americans rather than Prime Minister Netanyahu's proffered smaller withdrawal by

Figure 7

Re-deployment from the Territories

Should Netanyahu re-deploy Israeli troops out of 13% of the West Bank and Gaza as the Americans ask, should he make a smaller withdrawal, or should he keep the troops in those areas as they are?

Women: 13% W/draw 34%, Smaller W/draw 31%, Keep There 20%
Men: 13% W/draw 25%, Smaller W/draw 39%, Keep There 20%

Charney Research, Q16
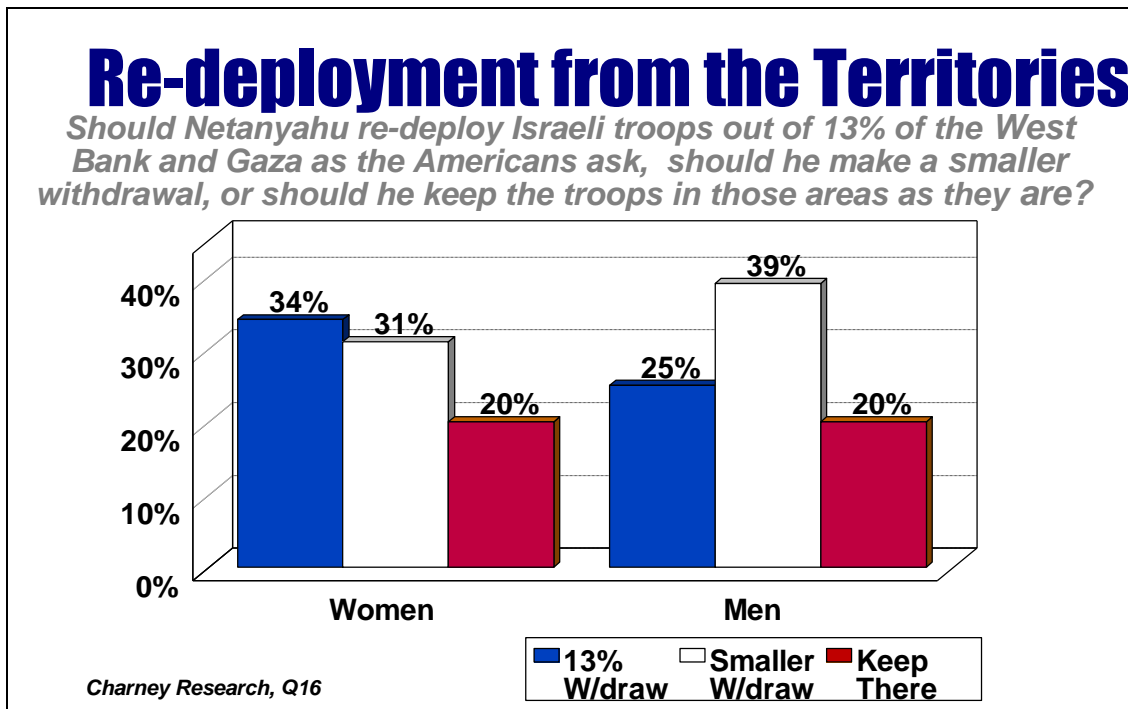
34% to 31%, while men leaned towards the smaller withdrawal by a margin of 39% to

25%. (See Figure 6.) Roughly one in five (20%) of both sexes preferred keeping the

troops where they were.

It is interesting to note that the gender gap on the peace process was not limited to

the groups normally thought of as in the "peace camp" (young, secular, and Ashkenazi).

(See Figure 8.) Indeed, the groups where it was largest were rather

Figure 8

Gender Gap: The Peace Process

Groups of Women Where Gender Differences on the 13%
Withdrawl Were Above the Average (9%)

- Middle-aged women (36-64): 15%

- Arabs, Secular and conservative
  religious Jews: 15%

- Sephardim: 15%

Charney Researc, Q.16
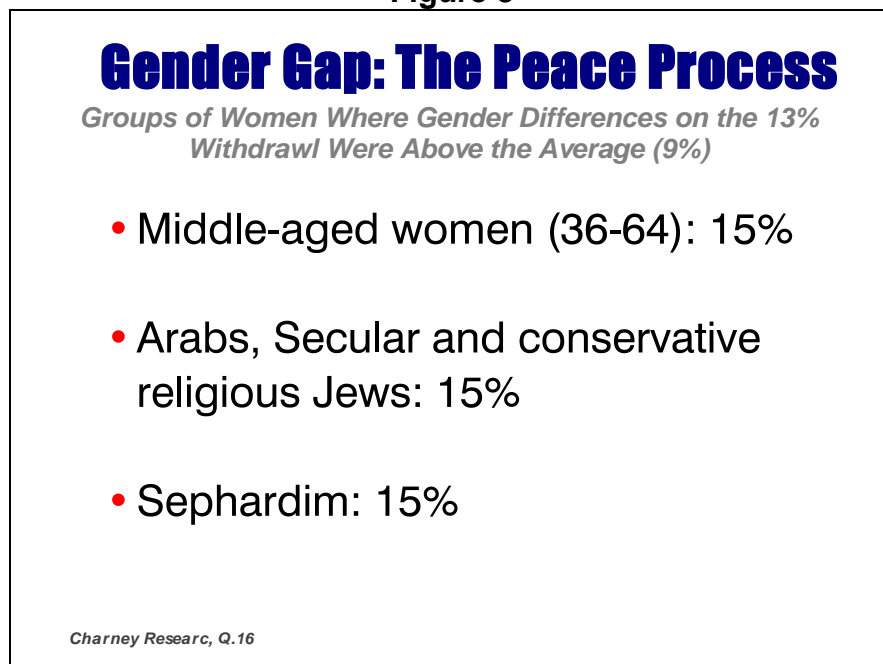
different: middle-aged women (36-64), Arab, secular, and conservative Jewish women,

and Sephardi women were all 15% likelier than men from the same groups to support the

larger withdrawal. It is striking, in fact, that the middle-aged women were more

supportive in absolute terms of the 13% option than were 18-34 year olds (41% vs. 26%),

and that Sephardi women were more favorable to it than Ashkenazi women (33% vs. 23%).

The survey also found one possible reason why women are more favorable to the 13% option: fear that the deadlocked peace process means that their loved ones serving in the IDF will once again be at risk. Women were almost twice as likely as men to cite concern that their relatives could be injured in the territories as a reason to criticize Netanyahu's handling of the peace process: 39% vs. 21%. (See Figure 9). (Those who were more concerned about risks to family members tended to be members of the younger, post-state generation: some 52% of women under 50 took this view, against only 31% of their elders, who came of age in the era when a

Figure 9

Family Concerns and Peace

There are people who are afraid that their relatives will be injured if they serve as soldiers in the territories. Should such worries make us more critical of Netanyahu's management of the peace process, or not affect our support of his policy?

Charney Research, Q17

■ More Critical □ Not Affect
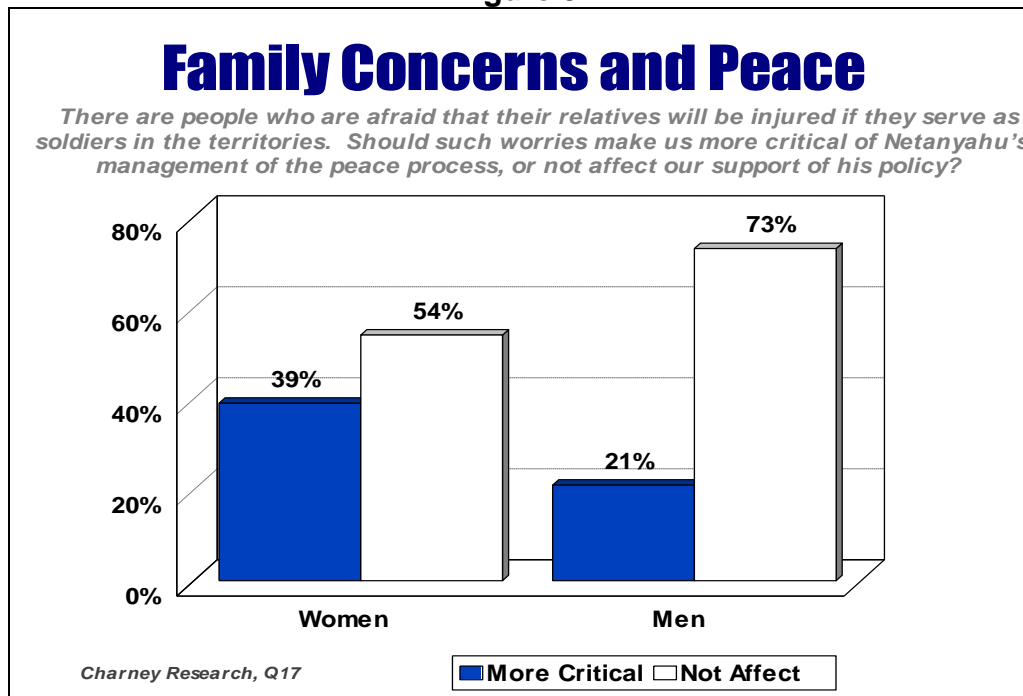
consensus existed over sacrifice for the state and the possibility of peace seemed remote.)

These differences in approach to the question have a real impact: those women who feel

that the danger to their relatives is reason to be critical support the 13% option over the

smaller withdrawal by 44% to 22%. The situation is the reverse among women who

think the danger should not affect policy judgments – they back the smaller withdrawal

over the 13% pullback by 41% to 29%. In other words, there are gender differences not

just in policy views but in the way women and men approach the question of peace.

Women are not more dovish on all issues of peace and security, however, as the

survey findings on a pullback from South Lebanon showed (Question 18). Both men and

women were quite favorable to withdrawal if Israel received assurances it would not be

attacked from there, even without a formal agreement with the Syrians. But women were

a bit less favorable than men: they opted for re-deployment over keeping troops there by

60% to 34%, while men took the same view by 67% to 27%.   Further research would be

required to see if this difference represents greater concern on women's part over the

threat of physical attack from the outside on Israeli territory.

In sum, on the key peace issue confronting Israel at the time of the research, the

survey revealed both a gender gap, with women favorable to a larger withdrawal from the

territories, and greater concern for the danger to family members on Army duty in the

way women (particularly younger women) think about the subject. The gender difference

on negotiations represents the sort of cross-cutting cleavages which have been mobilized

to produce gender gaps elsewhere, while the difference in outlook suggests language and concerns which are particularly important when speaking to women about peace. At the same time, the Lebanon results show that it may be dangerous to assume that women are more dovish in all circumstances; rather it is necessary to consider the balance of their attitudes and experience on each question separately. But in general, what is clear from the survey results is that on peace, as well as on important domestic issues, there are gender differences in outlook which could have important political effects, if injected into Israel's political debate.

Part II
Women and the Political Process

4. Women and Politics

- *Both women and men recognize that women have common interests to express in politics, and both rate jobs, crime, children, and sexism as Israeli women's most important concerns. However, women feel they have made far from enough progress towards equality, and many feel that the country's leaders ignore them.*

The idea that women have common interests that should be expressed in the political arena is common to both women and men in Israel nowadays. (See Figure 9.) Some 61% of women agree that women have important common interests on a par with those of Sephardim, Russians, or Arabs that should be expressed in politics and elections, while just 34% disagree with this view. This view prevails among

Figure 9
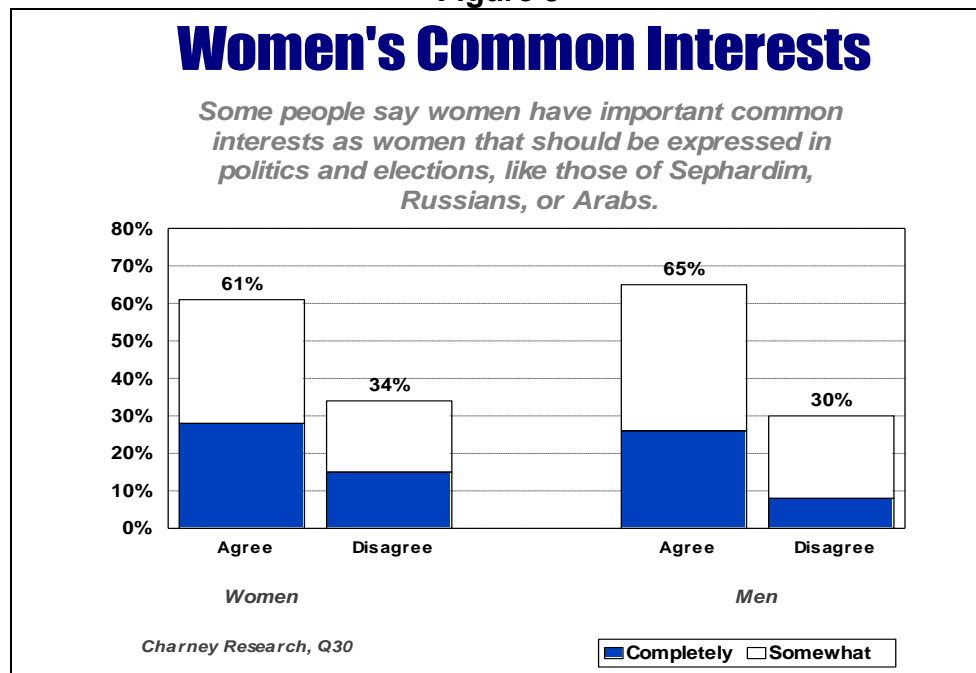
almost all categories of Israeli women, including both Jews and Arabs (the latter are

particularly enthusiastic – 80% agree), among left, center, and right, and among more

than two-thirds of the "swing voters" in the mock vote for Prime Minister (those who

don't know or could change for whom they'd vote). The only groups of women who

rejected it were the two Hasidic groups (50% to 39% for the leumi, 56% to 36% for the

haredi), and, surprisingly, university-educated women (49% to 47%). Like the women,

most men are also ready to accept that women put forward political claims on their own

behalf, 65% agreeing (slightly more than among women), and only 30% disagreeing.

To get an idea of what was seen as women's interests, the survey asked what the

two top problems of women in Israel were, and here too revealed a high degree of

agreement between women and men. (See Figure 10.) By substantial majorities,

Figure 10

Women's Concerns

If you think about the problems of women in Israel today, what do you think is the single biggest issue facing them? What do you think is the next biggest problem facing women in Israel today? (Responses combined).

	Women	Men
Jobs	63%	53%
Crime / Domestic Abuse	38%	39%
Children	18%	14%
Men's Attitudes	9%	15%

No other issues mentioned by more than 5%
Charney Research
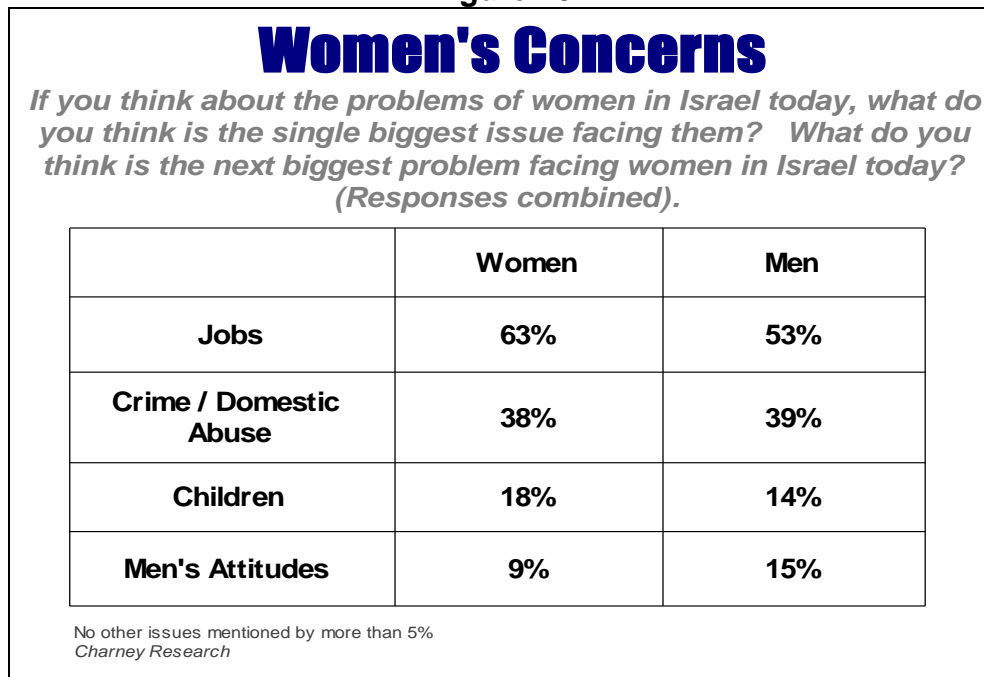
both women (63%) and men (53%) put job problems (pay discrimination, sexual harassment, advancement, etc.) at the top of the list. This was followed by crime against women (including domestic abuse, rape, and unfair treatment by the courts or police), mentioned by 38% of women and 39% of men. (Clearly these results show that the campaigns by Israeli feminist groups on these issues have had an impact – but just as clearly they reflect the reality of women's lived experience of these problems, as will be seen in Section 11 of this report.) Issues related to children took third place (raising them, educating them, child care, etc.), mentioned by 18% of women and 14% of men. The fourth biggest problem, sexist attitudes on the part of men, was actually cited a bit more often by men (15%) than by women (9%).

On these topics too there is a very broad consensus on what women's problems are, with the same four topics in the same or similar order in most cases among almost all types of women. At most the survey results revealed some differences of emphasis. Jobs rated even above the high general level of concern for women with above-average incomes (79%) or in the prime career years of 35-49 (75%). Crime is an above-average concern for single women (54%) and those on the ideological right (48%). Children are mentioned among women's top problems more often than average by Russian women (64%), Arab women (52%), those who did not vote or voted blank in 1996 (38%), and those who do not know who they would choose for Prime Minister now (24%). Only one other topic was rated as a priority by more than 15% of any subgroup, and this was health care, which was seen as a top problem by 17% of Russian women.

Despite the agreement between women and men on the existence and nature of women's interests, they part company on how far the interests of women have advanced in Israel and how much attention their views receive.   (See Figure 11.)

Figure 11
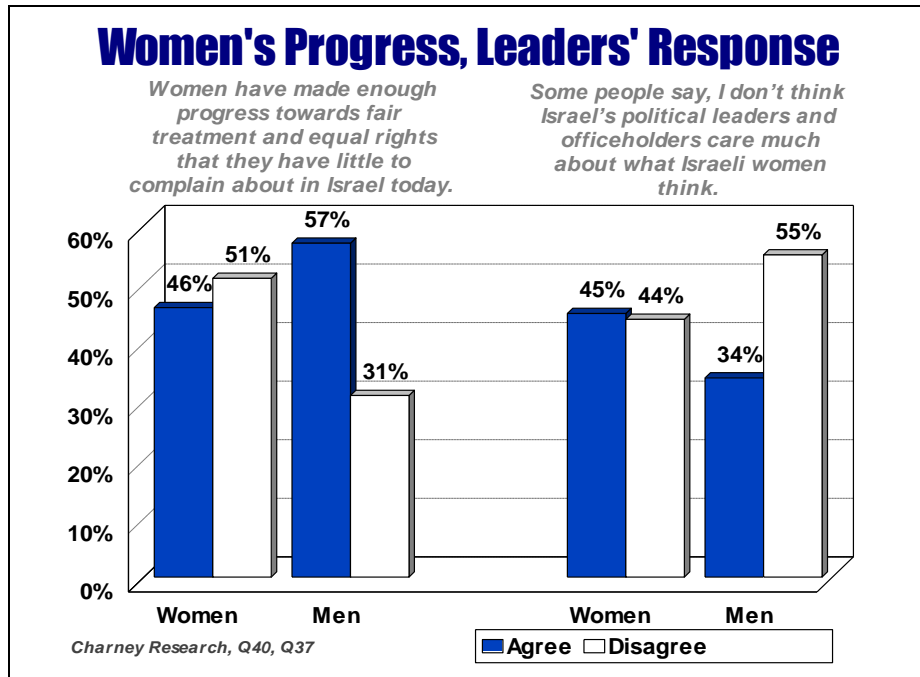
Some 51% of women rejected the notion that they had made so much progress towards equal rights that they had little to complain about, while 46% accepted it. In contrast, Israeli men said women had made enough progress towards equality by a substantial 57% to 31% margin. Similarly, if women said that they felt that Israeli politicians and officeholders did not care much about what they think, albeit by a narrow 46% to 45% margin, once more men disagreed with the claim by a much clearer 55% to 34% majority.

The breadth of discontent among women and the extent of women's alienation

from Israeli political leaders is quite striking. For instance, the proportions of secular and

conservative religious (*masorti*) Jewish women who feel women have not made enough

progress is identical: 58%. Similar feelings are expressed by women irrespective of

ethnicity (50% of Sephardim, 58% of Ashkenazim, 62% of Russians) or educational level

(50% of the high school educated, 55% of the university educated).   They run across

ideological lines (50% of women on the left, 54% of those in the center, 47% of those on

the right) and into key voter groups (including 58% of the women who support

Netanyahu and 54% of those who don't know for whom they would vote). The sense of

alienation – the belief that politicians ignore women's voices – while varying a bit more

predictably according to established political and social lines – also remains surprisingly

widespread among major women's voter blocs. It affects 36% of Sephardim as well as

54% of Ashkenazim and 58% of Russian women, 43% of those on the left and 39% of

those on the right, 44% of Netanyahu's current supporters and a big 64% of those women

who don't know who they would choose for Prime Minister.

In sum, while gender issues have not played a major role in Israeli politics to date,

their expression in politics has achieved general legitimacy, which suggests that they are

on the threshold of finding a place on the public stage. There is also a considerable

degree of agreement on what women's problems are, and they are seen (particularly by

women) not primarily as the result of male attitudes but rather as institutional and legal

issues (jobs, crime, children's issues) for which political remedies would be appropriate.

Where women's reactions differ regards the seriousness of the problems and the extent to

which the country's political leadership is responsive.   This result is considerable

discontent and alienation from politics among the country's women – which in turn has

implications for women's participation in politics, explored in the next section of this

report.

5. Women's Political Participation

■ *Women are as likely to vote, discuss politics, or identify with a political party as men, but they are less likely to be very interested in politics, belong to a party, or vote in a party primary.   Lower participation appears connected to women's political alienation rather than passivity or family focus.*

On the most basic measures of the general public's participation in politics in Israel, women and men are equally likely to participate, the IWN survey found. (See Table 3.) Thus 78% of women and 77% of men said they voted in 1996, 64% of

Table 3

Women's Political Particiption: Areas of Equality

	Women	Men	Proportion of female participants
Voted in 1996	78%	77%	51%
Discuss politics often/ all the time	64%	68%	49%
Political party identifier	51%	53%	50%

Charney Research, Q59, 26, 60

women and 68% of men said they talked about politics often or almost all of the time, and

51% of women and 53% of men said they normally supported or identified themselves

with a political party.   For all three of these activities, the proportion of female

participants was around half the total, close to their share of the population (52%).

However, matters were different on more demanding measures of political

participation – those which are associated with influence in political parties. (See Table

4.)   Only 19% of women said they were very interested in politics, compared to

Table 4

Women's Political Particiption: Areas of Inequality

	Women	Men	Proportion of female participants
Very interested in politics	19%	33%	38%
Political Party Member	12%	15%	44%
Voted in Party Primary	6%	10%	39%

Charney Research, Q25, 27, 29

33% of the men. Just 12% of women said they belonged to political parties, against 15%

of the men. And only 6% of the women said they had voted in party primaries, against

10% of the men. In all these activities, women's participation is just over one third,

putting the sex that is in a majority of the population in the minority in essential partisan

political activities. The difference between the sexes in interest and participation is

greatest in among women who are over 50, Arab, or who have only a high school education.

While various factors no doubt play a role in women's lesser involvement in political and partisan life, the IWN poll results highlight one important one which has received little comment: its connection to women's disinterest in politics and their alienation from it. When Israeli women were asked why they did not belong to political parties, few mentioned the external factors often given as reasons for non-involvement in other countries (such as lack of time, cited by 12% or the dangers of involvement, mentioned by 8%). Rather, 41% said they were not interested in politics, and another 12% indicated that they felt they could not make a difference (Question 29).   These responses are suggestive of the impact of women's political alienation on partisan participation. Although we have already seen that most women do feel that they have interests and discontents to express through the political process, party politics-as-usual has remained so disconnected from their concerns that women are disproportionately likely not to be very interested or involved in the party processes that really determine which individuals will hold political office in Israel.

The survey results also let us trace the impact of women's political alienation on their rates of participation. (See Table 5.) In the 1996 election, just 74% of those women who felt Israel's leaders ignore what women think bothered to vote, against 84% of those who thought they were not ignored. Fewer than half – 43% -- of the alienated women identified with political parties, against almost three-fifths (59%) of those who were not.

Between the two groups there were also differences of almost 2 to 1 in the proportions very interested in politics (14% of the alienated vs. 23% of those not) and who had voted in party primaries (5% vs. 9% respectively).

Table 5

Women's Political Particiption: The Impact of Alienation

Effect of belief Israel's political leaders don't care about what women think on partcipation at different levels

	Belive leaders don't care	Believe leaders do care
Voted in 1996	**74%**	**84%**
Political party identifier	**43%**	**59%**
Very interested in politics	**5%**	**9%**
Voted in primary	**14%**	**23%**

Charney Research, Q59, 60, 25, 29

Thus, while women vote and identify with parties as often as men do in Israel, they are not equally interested in political life, nor do they share equally in the inner life of the parties. Yet this is not because women are politically passive and devoid of concerns addressed to social and political institutions, nor are they too burdened by time and family commitments to play a larger role. Rather the survey results suggest that in a significant measure women's alienation from politics, due to the absence of links to

women's concerns, inhibits their participation in parties and thus reinforces a built-in

male majority in the key instances which form and approve party lists and candidacies.

6. Women as Candidates

■ *Women running for public office attract public sympathy and voters (especially women) want to see them on local council lists. Women running for Mayor would attract extra women's votes without a net loss of votes from men and a Knesset list led by Penina Rosenbloom could win several seats. Israelis think women are underrepresented in public life, and both women and men support reserving 30% of places on Knesset and council lists for them.*

The electorate in general reacts quite favorably to the idea of a women running for

public office. (See Table 6.) The principal response of both women (55%) and

Table 6

Women as Candidates:Reactions

If you think of a woman running for political office, what's your reaction?

	Women	Men
Generally Positive	55%	57%
Ambitious/ Strong	19%	14%
Will Advance Women's Status	12%	11%
Family-Career Conflict	4%	6%
Generally Negative	4%	6%

Charney Research, Q31

men was a general favorable reaction ("a good thing," "about time," etc.) Some 19%

of women and14% of men said such a woman would be ambitious or strong, and

expectations that she would try to advance the status of women were voiced by 12% of

women and 11% of men.   Hostile reactions were only expressed by tiny minorities: 4%

of women and 6% of men raised concerns that such a candidate's career might conflict

with the demands of her family, and similar small proportions of each sex reacted with

general negative comments. These reactions held true largely across the board –

comments on a women's candidacy were largely positive from Jew and Arab, left, right,

and center, and secular, conservative, and leumi (though not from haredim).

The public response is also quite favorable to women appearing on party lists for

local councils. (See Figure 12.) To gauge how voters would react, the survey

Figure 12

	Women		Men	
	Very Important	**Very + Somewhat Important**	**Very Important**	**Very + Somewhat Important**
Women	41%	78%	30%	65%
Mizrahim	27%	65%	31%	60%
Religious Jews	19%	45%	14%	40%
Russian Immigrants	15%	44%	24%	42%

Women on Council Lists

Please tell me if is important for you that whether a party's list for the municipal council elections includes the following

Charney Research, Q20,21,22,23

asked them how important it was to see members of several different groups on the lists –
women, Mizrahim, religious people, and immigrants from the former Soviet Union.   Of
these, women were the group voters most wanted to be in the running – 78% of women
and 65% of men considered it very or somewhat important that women were included on
local council lists, roughly 10% to 15% higher than the corresponding figures for
Mizrahim and 20% to 30% above those for the religious and Russian immigrants. Here,
too, there was a gender gap worth noting: some 41% of women considered it "very
important" to see women on a list, against 30% of men. It is noteworthy that the
proportions of women who considered it "very important" to have women candidates was
particularly high among both secular (56%) and conservative religious women (57%),
and higher among Sephardim (50%) than among Ashkenazim (44%). So putting women
on local lists appear likely to increase their appeal to all voters, but particularly to women
– and not necessarily just to those traditionally thought of as "feminists.".

        When it comes to local elections for Mayor, women who run against men for the
office are likely to benefit from additional support from women without losing support
from men (see Figure 13). The IWN survey revealed that if a woman ran against a man
with similar qualifications and political views, 35% of women would prefer the woman
and just 18% would prefer the man, for a net gain of 17% of the women's vote.   There
would be no net loss of male votes, either: men would split 19% for the woman and 19%
for the man, with the two groups canceling each other out. Thus, other things equal,
Israeli political parties would gain from nominating women for Mayor, as for councils.

Figure 13

Woman Vs. Man for Mayor

If two people with equal qualifications and similar political orientations ran for Mayor of your city and one was a woman and the other was a man, who would you prefer? Much more, or somewhat more?

Women: The woman 35%, The man 18%
Men: The woman 19%, The man 19%

■ Much more ☐ Somewhat more

Charney Research, Q30
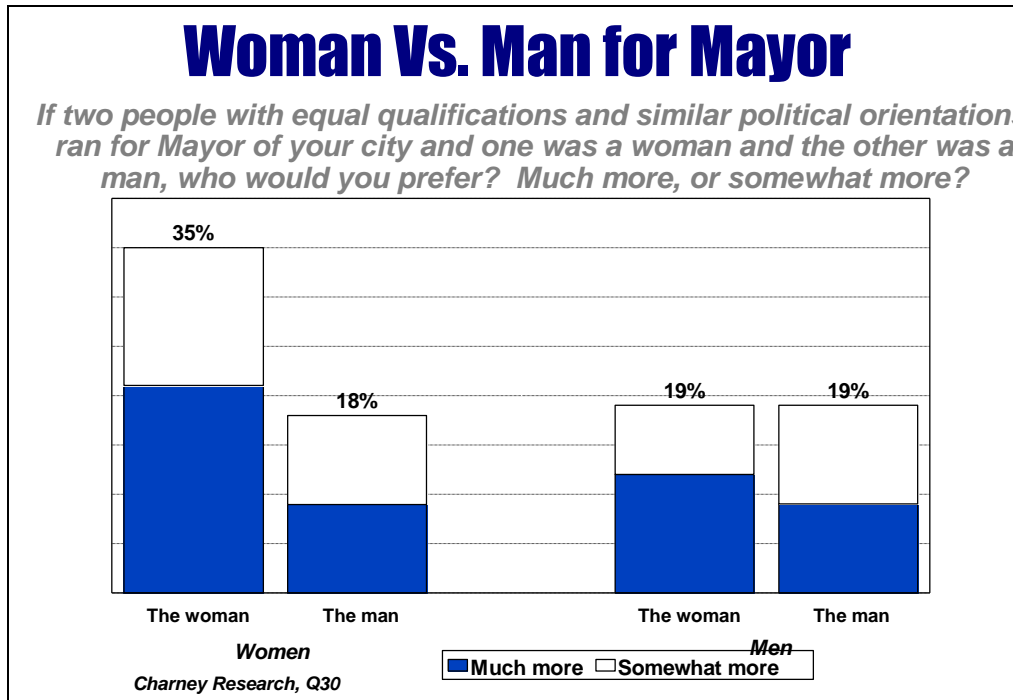
This general picture must be nuanced a bit when we look at specific groups of voters. Thus while among Jewish women, a female candidate for Mayor is preferred by 31% to 18% over a male candidate, among Arab women the difference in her favor is a massive 52% to 19%. (Her gains among Arab women would more than offset Arab men's 39% to 22% preference for a male candidate.) Among both Sephardic and Ashkenazi women, a female would be preferred by somewhat larger margins among the former (33% to 18% and 22% to 16% respectively), while the response of men of those groups would be roughly balanced. In religious terms, a female candidate would enjoy a gain among secular female voters (40% vs. 9% for a male), with little net gain or loss among conservative religious women. She would also enjoy big gains among women in the political center (50% to 7%) and on the left (35% to 15%, with an additional boost

from left-wing men, who preferred her 22% to 8%). The groups of women who prefer a man to a woman for Mayor are fairly predictable and in general quite conservative: leumi (26% to 23%) and haredi (67% to 14%) women, women on the ideological right (31% to 25%), though somewhat surprisingly, Russian immigrant women felt the same (35% to 19%).

In addition to looking at women's candidacies in general, the IWN survey looked at the possible fortunes of a specific female candidate: Penina Rosenbloom, the cosmetics magnate, who has said she is considering running for the Knesset. Her

Figure 14
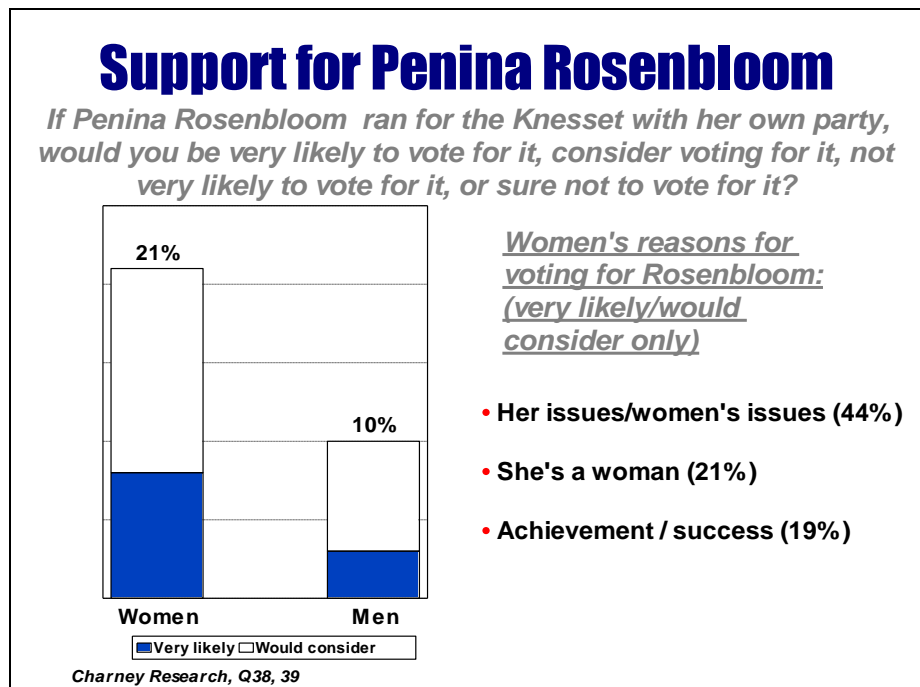
potential candidacy received a favorable response from women, with a muted reaction

from men – another example of a gender gap in response to women running for office.

Some 21% of women said they would consider voting for her, against 10% of men.

These included 8% of women who said they would be "very likely" to vote for such a

party, compared to just 3% of men. The women who were very likely to vote for

Rosenbloom's party were drawn from an interesting mix of backgrounds: the highest

proportions came from women over 65 (18% said they were very likely to vote for her),

conservative religious women (15%), women with less than high school education (18%),

and women very interested in politics (16%). Whatever their backgrounds, however, the

women who said they were likely to do so or would consider it offered similar reasons.

The principal ones – cited by 44% -- was the issues they expected her to raise, many

referring specifically to women's issues, followed by her gender (21%) and her

achievements (19%). Thus Rosenbloom's appeal is an appeal, primarily to women, with

several aspects: the expectation she will support women's issues, the fact she is a woman

herself as a guarantee, and her effectiveness demonstrated through business success.

Finally, the survey looked at attitudes to the number of women in office and

proposals to increase it. It found – not surprisingly, given the attitudes shown already –

that both women and men agree, by roughly two-thirds majorities, that too few women

are in political office. (See Figure 15.)   This is the view of 67% of women and 65% of

men. Only 9% of women and 12% of men think too many women are in politics, and

only 17% of women and 15% of men are satisfied with the number of women who are.
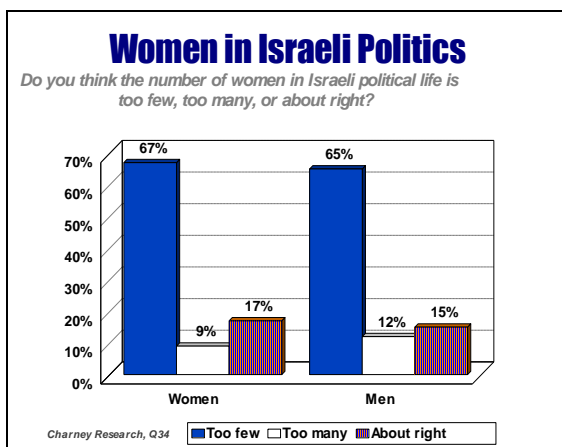
Figure 15   **Figure 16**
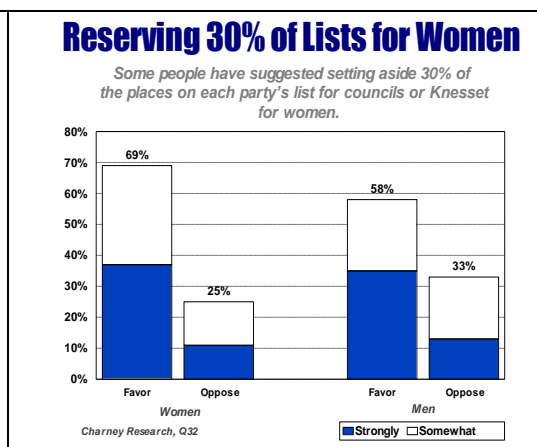
More surprising is the widespread support among Israelis of both sexes for

reserving 30% of the places on Knesset and local government lists for women. The idea

of setting side places for women was endorsed by 69% of women and 58% of men.[6]

Obviously, the gender difference here would mean that this proposal would generate

somewhat more support from women than from men, but the striking finding is the

breadth of support among men as well, which probably reflects their recognition of the

under-representation of women in office. Whatever their responses if confronted with a

head-to-head choice between female and male candidates, Israelis are considerably more

willing to accept institutional mechanisms to increase women's political representation

than may be generally realized.

In sum, running more women as political candidates would have an appeal to the Israeli electorate which both the political class and women themselves should recognize. The general response to women's candidacies is quite favorable from both men and women, and both view women's presence on local council lists positively – women even more than men. A woman running for mayor – a rarity in Israel up to now – would have a strong appeal to women voters, across religious, ethnic, and even national lines, without threatening most men. A figure such as Penina Rosenbloom, despite her lack of political experience, can exercise an appeal to women simply on the basis of women's rights and her own gender. Men as well as women recognize that women have been under-represented in political life, and both would be willing to support setting aside 30% of party lists for them in order to increase their representation. In short, including more women as candidates would tend to boost the fortunes of parties and lists, while helping to bring the women's voices and concerns which have been excluded from Israeli political life into the mainstream.

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[6] Such set-asides for women have been created in different forms by political parties in the US, UK, Brazil, and South Africa.

Part III
Women's Issues and the Vote

7. Women's Issues and Candidate Choice

■ *Women's issues raised by candidates would attract voters, particularly women – but female candidates can raise them with more credibility than male ones.*

To explore the extent to which women's issues – if injected into campaigns – could win support for candidates by creating a gender gap in their favor, the IWN survey asked respondents how they would respond to two Mayoral candidates, otherwise similar, one of whom stressed women's issues and the other did not. (See Figure 17.) This is obviously a rather generic test, since neither the women's issues were specified nor those of the other candidate. Nonetheless, the results were

Figure 17

Women's Issues and Mayoral Voting

If two people with equal qualifications and similar political orientations ran for Mayor of your city, and one stressed women's issues and the other did not, who would you prefer? Much more, or somewhat more?

72% 57% 3% 10%

One stresssing women's issues · Other one · One stressing women's issues · Other one

Women   *Men*

■ Much more □ Somewhat more

Charney Research, Q35
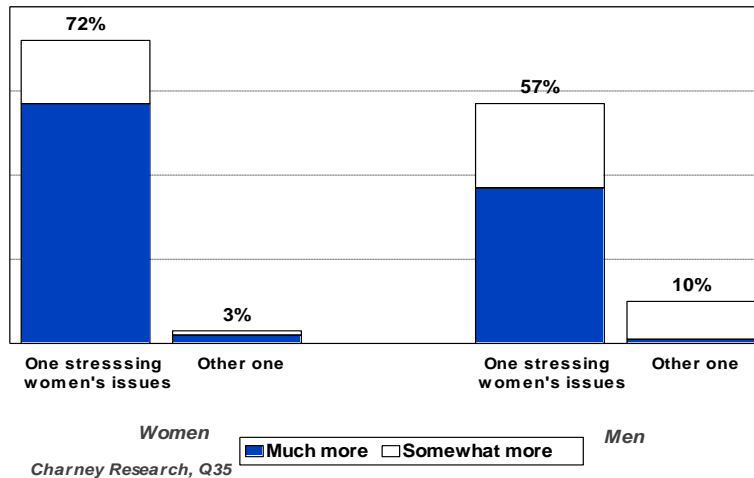
revealing. The survey results indicated that knowing only this, both women and men preferred the candidate raising women's issues – but that women did so by a significantly larger margin than men (72% for women vs. 57% for men) and with substantially greater intensity (57% of women preferred the candidate stressing women's issues much more compared to just 37% of men).   This finding holds impressively across numerous categories of women: those who prefer the candidate raising women's issues "much more" include 54% of Jews and 78% of Arabs, 54% of secular Jews, 54% of conservative religious Jews, 52% of Sephardim and 46% of Ashkenazim, 55% of those with below-average incomes and 57% of those above the average, 63% of single women and 54% of married women, as well as 58% of women on the left, 59% of those in the center, and 56% of those on the right. While listing figures showing that women would respond strongly to women's issues in local elections, other things equal, may seem to be belaboring the obvious, it is important to recall the sharp contrast this represents with the

findings at the outset of this report, which pointed to the lack of a gender gap in Israeli national voting behavior until now.

The survey results also gave some detail on how Israeli women and men would react to women's issues raised by politicians of either sex. (See Figure 18.) If they thought of a male politician campaigning on women's issues, the most frequent reaction was disbelief – voiced by 36% of women, 39% of men. (Disbelief was most common among the more conservative categories of women: it ran at 50% among the leumi, 53% among the Sephardi, and 100% among the haredim, who apparently found it inconceivable that a man would run for office on women's issues.) Next came generally positive reactions, which ran at 31% among women and 28% among men. Broadly speaking, the idea of men running on women's issues evoked a balance of negative and positive reactions from both men and women.

Table 7

Women's Issues and Candidates

If you think of a ... politician campaigning for office on "women's issues," what's your reaction?

	Male Politician		*Female Politician*	
	Women	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**
Generally Positive	31%	28%	56%	34%
Concerned with Women's Issues	18%	13%	20%	11%
Disbelief	34%	39%	3%	8%
Women's Issues Have No Place	1%	3%	6%	15%
Extremist, Excessive	3%	0%	2%	4%
Rich, Out of Touch	1%	7%	0%	0%
Generally Negative	11%	8%	12%	28%

Charney Research, Q36A, 36B

The response to a woman campaigning on women's issues was considerably warmer, particularly among women. Some 56% of women and 34% of men had generally positive reactions to such a candidate, and a further 20% of women and 11% of men thought she would be concerned with women's and social issues. Generally negative reactions were few among women (12%), and even among men, while general negative perceptions ran higher at 28%, they were still outnumbered by the positive ones. Relatively small shares of either sex felt that women's issues did not belong in politics (women 6%, men 15%) or that such a candidate would be excessive or extremist (women 2%, men 4%).

The IWN survey findings thus suggest that voters, especially female ones, would respond favorably to candidates who raised women's issues. However they also suggest that in Israel today, unlike in other countries where the idea of political campaigns based

on gender is more familiar, women candidates will initially be more credible advocates of such issues than male politicians are. It would be wrong to suggest on this basis that women's issues should be labeled "for women only" – the response of male voters to many such issues in the next section shows that this clearly is not the case. But they do mean that men who raise those issues will also need to explain why they as individuals should be taken seriously (from their records, background, attitudes, etc.) as advocates of the women's cause.

8. Women's Issues in Local Elections

- ■ *Women's issues could be important sources of votes in local government elections, with majorities of both sexes drawn to proposals concerning domestic violence, day care, job discrimination, women's input into local government, and women's sports, which do not correspond to the traditional left-right divide.*

In order to see how women's issues could actually affect voting patterns, the IWN survey used a standard polling test, asking how each of a list of proposals would affect the respondent's chances of voting for a candidate who presented them. This type of test is regularly used by pollsters in the US, Israel, and elsewhere to assess how voters would respond to policy ideas. The findings should not be taken literally on a one-for-one basis. In other words, even if 50% of voters say they are "much more likely" to vote for a candidate who advocates a given proposal, that does not mean she or he has only to suggest it to reap half of the vote. But what experience has shown is that the responses to such questions is proportional to their actual influence on the vote. If a large part of the electorate says they are "much more likely" to vote for the candidate who advances a particular proposal, the odds are that that policy is likely to win many more votes for them than one which gets a much smaller share of the voters to give the same response. This section of the report explores the reactions of Israeli voters to a set of women's issues which could be raised in the context of local government elections; the next looks at some which could be proposed in national elections.

The poll tested a series of seven women's issues which could be presented by

candidates for Mayor or local council in the upcoming local government elections.

Table 8

Women's Issues: Local Elections	Women		Men	
	Much More Likely To Vote For	More/ Less Likely To Vote For	Much More Likely To Vote For	More/ Less Likely to Vote For
Combating DOMESTIC VIOLENCE by education programs, expanding battered women's shelters, telephone hotlines, and counseling, and giving radio alarms to threatened women.	49%	84/1	51%	86/2
Increasing the availability of DAY CAREcenters for children, reducing their cost, and lengthening their opening hours.	38%	69/2	36%	68/4
To institute a municipal/local ordinance which will ensure that any PRIVATE COMPANIES which work for the authority will not discriminate against women.	32%	71/2	28%	65/1
Establishing a municipal WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL, to act as an advocate in city government for programs and policies in the interest of women.	28%	68/4	22%	57/12
Promoting WOMEN'S SPORTS, to give women's teams equal access to facilities, opportunities, and support.	24%	58/4	27%	58/10
Promising to give PREFERENCE TO WOMEN over men in hiring, job advancement, and city contracts, assuming the women are qualified.	23%	49/10	23%	49/21
To arrest and PUNISH THE CLIENTS OF PROSTITUTES instead of the women.	19%	39/8	17%	41/9

Charney Research, Q44,41,42,47, 45, 46, 43

The top vote-getters among them responded to the issues which the survey had found to be women's biggest problems – jobs, crime, and children. Of these, the most popular involved a variety of measures to combat domestic violence (education, shelters, hotlines, counseling, and radio alarms), taking a social service approach within the reach of local government rather than a punitive one emphasizing the police. Some 49% of

women and 51% of men said they were much more likely to vote for candidates who advanced such proposals, and they won nearly unanimous favor: those more likely to vote for candidates who proposed them outnumbered those less likely by 84% to 1% among women and 86% to 2% among men. After this came a proposal to increase the availability and reduce the cost of day care, which made 38% of women and 36% of men "much more likely" to vote for candidates proposing them, and enjoyed broad support overall (69% more likely / 2% less likely among women, 68% more likely / 4% less likely among men). These first two proposals also point to an interesting aspect of women's issues: many are also warmly supported by men, who are also concerned about the well-being of their sisters, mothers, wives, and children. On the other hand, some women's issues do generate gender gaps, as in the case of the third most popular proposal, a law to ensure that private companies which work for the local authority do not discriminate against women, modeled on the "prevailing wage" law in New York City which corrected widespread wage discrimination against women workers there. This one generated more support among women (32% much more likely to vote for candidate, 71% more likely) than men (28% much more likely, 65% more likely).

There were two other proposals which got majority support from the public, as well as two that generated substantial hostility. The idea of a women's advisory council to provide input into local government – as practiced in Burlington, Vermont in the US, for example – made 28% of women and 22% of men much more likely to vote for its proposer, and made 68% of women and 57% of men somewhat more likely to vote for him or her. Support and promotion for women's sports – a proven vote-getter in many

American elections – also had some attraction for Israelis, with 24% of women and 27% of men much more likely to vote for candidates proposing it, and 58% of each group more likely to do so. The two final ideas – in addition to winning the least positive support of all the proposals – were also the only ones to generate substantial hostility.   A proposal to give qualified women preference over men in municipal hiring, promotions, and contracts – so-called "positive discrimination" or "affirmative action" – made 23% of both women and men much more likely to vote for its proposer, but it also made 10% of women and 21% of men less likely to do so. Suggesting the arrest of the clients of prostitutes rather than the women aroused a similar reaction: 19% of women and 17% of men more likely to vote for a candidate taking such a stance, buy 8% of women and 19% of men less likely to do so.

There were some variations among demographic groups of women in their responses to these proposals, which are detailed in the points below.

- *Domestic violence:* Women under 35, Jewish women, particularly secular and conservative religious ones, Sephardi women, and women who said they might change their votes in the local elections were stronger-than-average in their attraction to this proposal; it was below average in appeal to women over 65, Arabs, and leumi and haredi women.

- *Day care:* This proposal had particularly strong appeal to women with children, married women, housewives, Russian immigrants, and Arab women, while it was a below-average vote-getter among women over 65 and divorced or widowed women.

- *Anti-discrimination law*:   This idea was most attractive to women under 35, women with left-wing ideology, and women who could change their local vote choice. It was least attractive to haredi women, Arabs, and women with less than high-school education.

- *Women's Advisory Council:* This measure received its warmest response from Russian immigrant women, Arab women, and housewives, and the least from women over 65 and leumi and haredi women.

- *Women's sport:* This idea had above-average appeal to Russian immigrant women, Arab women, housewives, and women on the left, while it has below-average appeal among Sephardi women and none whatever to the leumi and haredi women.

- *Preference to women:* This proposal tended to appeal most to Arab women and housewives, while it had the least appeal to women over 50 and university-educated women.

- *Arresting clients of prostitutes:* This idea also did best among Arab women and housewives, while generating very little support among women over 50, the unviersity-educated women, or Ashkenazi women.

In short: the survey findings suggest that women's issues could be significant vote-getters in the upcoming local elections. The most attractive are those which relate to what women themselves have described as their biggest problems – jobs, crime, and kids – but both female and male voters are responsive to novel initiatives in local politics and women's sports as well.   What is particularly noteworthy is that most of these initiatives are neutral in classic ideological terms – they would be acceptable to either the right, left, or center. At the same time, they have an appeal that cuts across the old partisan blocs – uniting unlikely allies like Russians, Arabs, and Sephardim, or permitting candidates to target appeals on specific sub-groups of women. The IWN survey findings suggest that parties and candidates who think creatively about how to use local government to advance women's issues could stand to reap a rich harvest of votes in return.

9. Women's Issues in National Elections

- *Women's issues also have a good deal of appeal in the context of national elections, with the top issues once again focused on children, jobs, and crimes against women.*

To assess how much appeal women's issues could have in elections for Knesset or Prime Minister, the IWN survey also examined voters responses to eight such issue positions which could be presented by candidates for national office.

Once more, on the national issue positions as on the local ones, the ones which have the biggest potential as vote-winners dealt with the top priorities expressed by women – job discrimination, violence against them, and the education and care of their children. The most attractive proposal, for both men and women, was more spending for education to extend instructional time, restore cuts, and modernize facilities. This would make 47% of women and an even larger 56% of men much more likely to vote for candidates who propose it, while making 83% of women and 85% of men more likely at least somewhat more likely to do so. This measure was followed on the list by effective machinery to enforce the laws against job discrimination against women, where a gender gap was evident in the other direction. Some 46% of women were much more likely to vote for a candidate proposing this, against just 35% of men, although there was little hostility to the proposal among either sex (overall 75% more likely / 4% less likely among women, 64% more likely / 5% less likely among men). Stricter punishment for crimes against women in the form of mandatory minimum

Table 9

Women's Issues: National Elections

	Women		*Men*	
	Much More Likely To Vote For	**More/ Less Likely To Vote For**	**Much More Likely To Vote For**	**More/ Less Likely to Vote For**
More funding for EDUCATION, in order to lengthen the school day, restore cutbacks, improve school facilities, and expand the availability of computers.	47%	83/1	56%	85/1
Creating effective machinery to ENFORCE THE LAWS BARRING DISCRIMINATION against women in hiring, pay, and promotions, and forbidding sexual harassment.	46%	75/4	35%	64/5
Establishing mandatory minimum sentences for SEXUAL ASSAULTS AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.	41%	70/12	40%	65/12
Helping working parents of preschool children by lowering their taxes by at least 2000 NIS per child per year, to help pay for DAYCARE	39%	71/3	34%	66/8
Increasing funding for research and treatment on WOMEN'S DISEASES, including breast cancer.	38%	71/4	33%	52/5
Increasing the financial support and other benefits given to SINGLE MOTHERS.	28%	66/6	27%	53/9
Establishing CIVIL MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE as an option alongside religious law.	23%	41/24	22%	40/21
Giving PREFERENCE TO WOMEN over men in hiring, in job advancement, and in getting government contracts, assuming the women are qualified.	19%	40/18	16%	32/25

Charney Research, Q49, 52, 50, 48, 53, 51, 54, 55

sentences for sexual assaults and domestic violence ranked next, with 41% of women and 40% of men much more likely to vote for its supporters. Overall support for this measure was also high, but there was also a bit more opposition: women were 70% more likely / 12% less likely to vote for its backers, men 65% more likely / 12% less likely. In fourth place stood a tax credit of at least 2000 NIS for day care; some 39% of women and 34% of men were much more likely to vote for candidates urging this. Altogether, 71% of women were more likely to vote for them, and just 3% less likely, along with 66% and 8% respectively of men.

Two other fairly popular proposals dealt with specific concerns of women: women's health and single mothers. A proposal to spend more to study and treat women's diseases such as breast cancer – a hardy perennial among appeals to women voters in the U.S., used even by figures like conservative Republican Senator Al D'Amato – also would make 38% of Israeli women and 33% of men much more likely to vote for candidates proposing it. Overall it was as popular as the day care measure among women (71% more likely 4% less likely) but enjoyed less support among men (52% more likely / 5% less likely). The two final positions tested did not win majority support and proved rather divisive. Establishing civil marriage and divorce would make only 23% of men and 24% of women much more likely to vote for its proposer, and making roughly as many less (24% of women, 21% of men) less likely as much more likely to vote for candidates offering them, and appealing overall to only 41% of men and 40% of women. The reaction to affirmative action for women at the national level was like that at local level, but even more so: while 40% of women were much more likely to

vote for someone who took that position, only 16% of men were, while 18% of women

and 25% of men were less likely, and it won overall favor among only 40% of women

and 32% of men.

Demographic variations in responses to the different proposals among groups of

women included the following:

- *Increased education spending:* This position appealed most strongly to mothers, women between 18 and 34, secular women, and university-educated women, while appealing least to women over 65, leumi women, and those with less than high school education.

- *Enforcing anti-discrimination:* This idea has its strongest appeal among women from 18 to 34, conservative religious women and Sephardi women, while scoring least among women over 65, leumi and haredi women, Russian immigrants, and divorced and widowed women.

- *Minimum sentences for sexual assaults and domestic violence:* Not too many variations for this one, but it was most appealing to Sephardim, housewives, and haredi women, least so to Russian immigrants and women with less than high school.

- *Day care tax credit:* This idea had an above-average response among housewives, Sephardi, and haredi women, while appealing least to women without children, women over 50, Ashkenazi and Russian women, women with less than high school education, and divorced or married women.

- *Women's health*: The initiative got the strongest reaction from women between 18 and 34, Sephardi women, and housewives, while receiving its weakest response from women over 50, Russian women, university graduates, and divorcees and widows.

- *Single mothers:* The women most sympathetic to this suggestion were single women, housewives, conservative religious women, and those with less than high school education, and those who don't know whom they would choose for Prime Minister, while those least so were those over 65, Ashkenazi and Russian women, and leumi and haredi women.

- *Civil marriage and divorce:* The women who liked this idea the best were 18 to 34, single, secular, and on the left, while those most hostile were 35 to 64,

leumi or haredi, Russian immigrants, less than high school educated, and on the right.

- *Preference for women:* This proposal got above-average support from Arab women and housewives, while it was least popular with women over 65, leumi and Russian women, divorced or widowed women, and those on the right.

Thus, on the national as on the local level, women's issues attract considerable voter interest – among diverse groups of voters. Some pull men and women together, like the education, crime, or day care proposals; others product a gender gap, like the anti-discrimination and women's health ideas. Each issue appeals to its own specific spectrum of women voters as well. Taken together, however, the IWN survey results suggest that nationally as well as locally, Israel's politicians have neglected women's issues that could generate sizable support – to their cost and to that of Israel's women.

Part IV
Segmenting the Women's Vote

10. Women's Sub-Groups

- *The women's vote needs to be analyzed in its own terms, rather than on the usual lines of party, ideology, ethnicity, or class. For instance, Sephardi, Arab, religious conservative (masorti), Russian immigrant women, and housewives all have their own specific outlooks*

While up to now we have largely focused on what women have in common, in order to target women for campaigns and influence their potential voting behavior it is also important to look at how they should be divided. This means shaking off a lot of the usual political stereotypes of party, ideology, ethnicity, or class. The outlooks of specific groups of women reflect their own specific experience and background, the attitudes of their leaders, their situation in the life and reproductive cycle and within Israel itself.   To illustrate this, data from the IWN survey are used to compile thumbnail sketches are provided below of the attitudes of five groups of Israeli women: Sephardim, religious conservatives (masorti), Arabs, Russians, and housewives. Obviously, there are any number of other groups which could be examined. These were chosen because they tend either to fall in towards the center of the political scale – and thus represent important battleground groups – and/or because they display surprising outlooks that cut right across the camps to which they are supposed to belong.

- *Sephardim:* Split over Israel's direction. Satisfied with Netanyahu on peace and terrorism, unsure of his handling of women's issues, dissatisfied with his handling of education.   A large proportion are worried about the soldiers in the territories and the 13% withdrawal gets more support from them than

either a smaller or no withdrawal. Divided over the status of women in Israel, but feel strongly that women have common interests. They do think the leaders are paying attention to women. Big concerns for women are jobs and crime. They are joiners: above-average frequency of party membership. Keen to see women and Mizrahim on local party lists. Favorable to a woman running for office against a man and feel too few women are in Israeli political life. On local government issues, they are concerned about domestic violence above all, followed by day care and anti-discrimination. Their top choices on the national level women's issues were enforcing anti-discrimination, more money for education, and minimum sentences for sex crimes and family violence.

■ *Religious conservatives (masorti):* Divided over the country's direction. Like Netanyahu on peace, terrorism, and women's issues, but split on his record on education. Smaller withdrawal than 13% is most popular peace option. Dissatisfied with the status of women in Israel and believe women have common political interests. Consider jobs and crime to be women's main problems, followed by kids. They do think the political leaders are listening. Not all that concerned with seeing religious people on local election lists, but very much want to see women there, and also feel there are too few women in Israeli political life. They split when they have to choose between a woman and a man for Mayor, but they like Penina Rosenbloom.   On women's issues in local government their preferences follow the mainstream, with domestic violence, anti-discrimination and day care topping the list. At national level they most strongly favored the women's positions on enforcing anti-discrimination, minimum sentences for sex crimes and domestic violence, and more money for education.

■ *Arab women:* Gloomy over Israel's direction. Emphatically in favor of 13% withdrawal. Feel women have made a lot of progress in Israel, but also feel strongly that women have common interests. Less focused on crime as a priority than Jewish women, but more focused on their role rearing children and child care. Very alienated from the political leaders, little interest in politics, rarely belong to parties, and almost never vote in primaries. Feel there are too few women in Israeli politics and are delighted by the idea of a female running for Mayor against a man. On the local government level, the positions that appealed most to them were day care, arresting clients of prostitutes, and women's sports. At national level they were most interested in the proposals regarding more spending for education, day care, and enforcing anti-discrimination.

■ *Russian immigrant women:* Positive over the country's direction. Very focused on their role as in child rearing and education. More focused on children as a women's priority and less focused on jobs and crime than average. Very dissatisfied with the status of women in Israel and don't think

the leaders are listening to them. Low on party loyalties but want to see new immigrants on local party lists. Below-average interest in politics and few belong to parties. Think the number of women in Israeli political life about right and prefer a man to a woman for Mayor. Not excited about a candidate stressing women's issues. At the local level, the women's issues which interested them the most were day care, women's sports, and the women's advisory council. Low levels of interest for all the national level women's proposals except more money for education.

■ *Housewives:* Unhappy with the country's direction. Split on Netanyahu's record on peace and terrorism, discontented with his handling of women's issues and education. Divided over withdrawal options. More concerned with children than average, less with crime, typical in priority given to jobs. Feel women have made a lot of progress in Israel, but also believe they have common interests and are divided over whether the leaders are listening. Few belong to parties. Want to see more women in Israeli political life and prefer a woman to a man for Mayor.   On local government issues, they show above-average interest in day care, women's sport, and a women's advisory council. At national level the positions which most interested them were enforcing anti-discrimination, minimum sentences for sexual assaults and family violence, and women's health.

Thus even a brief glimpse of several different groups of women is sufficient to underline the diversity of outlook and views that exist among them. A serious effort to appeal to women in Israel – as to any other group of voters – means making a serious effort to understand the concerns of the different groups of women within the target area or groups and to try to speak to them in their own language. Breaking with the old world of closed cliques and boys' clubs that has dominated Israeli politics is a necessity if it is to include women – and it will carry the collateral benefit of advancing the modernization of the country's political life.

11. Women's Experience and its Political Consequences

■ *Sizable minorities of Israeli women know women who have suffered job discrimination, sexual harassment, or domestic abuse, and they are more discontented with the status of women, more politicized, and more supportive of women's efforts to win elective office.*

One final distinction also needs to be made among women on the basis of the results of the IWN survey: between those who are aware of gender discrimination or violence from their own experience and those who are not. Social science shows that life experience is always a powerful teacher, and the case of Israeli women is no exception. The findings showed clear and politically significant differences between those who had seen cases of the unequal treatment and violence women suffer in Israeli society and those who had not.

The groups of women who say they have witnessed gender abuses in Israel are sizable. (See Figure 18.) More than one-fourth of Israeli women (27%) say they personally know women who have been discriminated against on the job in hiring, promotional, or pay decisions. Over one-sixth (18%) say they know women who have been pressured by men above them for sexual favors in the workplace, school, or army. Most disturbing of all, more than one-third (38%) say they know women who have suffered physical abuse at the hands of their husbands or boyfriends. (While there were few demographic variations in reports of job discrimination or sexual harassment, awareness of cases of domestic violence was above-average in women under 50 (42%)

and among Sephardim (50%), while it was rarest among women over 65 (18%) and
Arabs.)

Figure 18
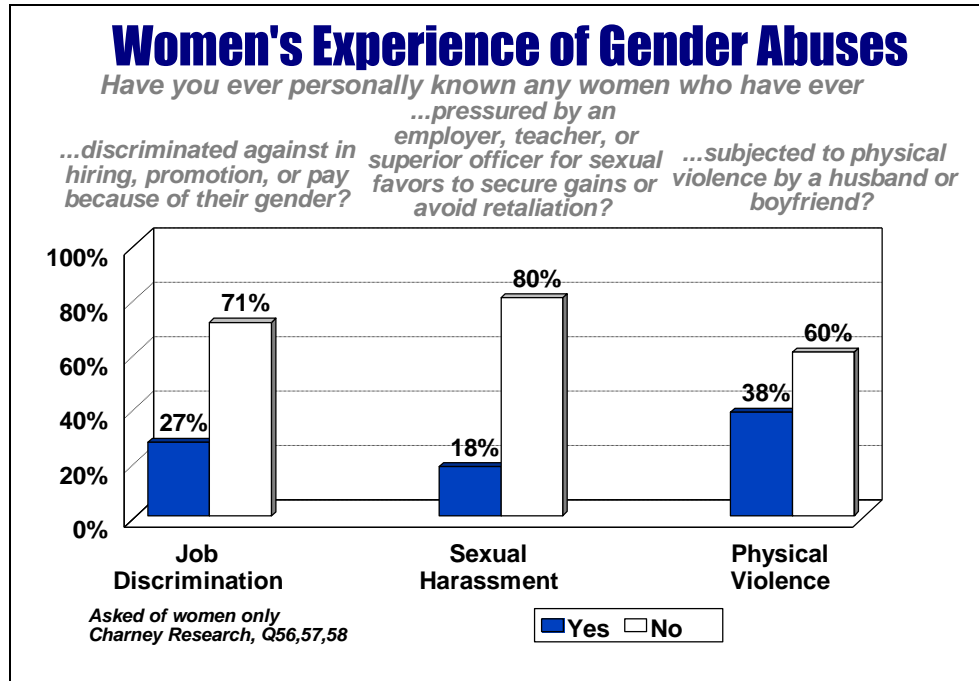
Not surprisingly, awareness of these types of experiences is associated in the IWN
survey data with a more critical view of women's place in Israeli society. (See Figure
19.) Those who know women who have had them are considerably likelier to think that
women still have a lot to complain about in Israel – 75% for those who have known job
discrimination, 44% for those who have not, and 64% and 49% and 57% and 48%
respectively for those aware or not of sexual harassment and domestic violence.
Likewise, there is also a difference, albeit smaller, between those aware of such abuses
and those who are not in the likelihood of perceiving common interests among women.
Those aware of job discrimination cases are likelier to agree strongly with this viewpoint

compared to those who are not, 37% to 25%; the comparable figures for awareness of

sexual harassment are 40% to 26% and for domestic violence 35% to 25%.[7]

Figure 19

	Known Job Discrimination		Known Sexually Harassed		Known Domestic Violence	
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Women have progressed enough: DISAGREE	75%	44%	64%	49%	57%	48%
Women have common interests: AGREE STRONGLY	37%	25%	40%	26%	35%	25%

Charney Research, Q57, 58, 59 and Q40, 33

But the impact of women's experience of discrimination and violence does not

stop here: it is also associated with greater politicization. (See Figure 20.) Those who

have known victims of discrimination, harassment, and abuse are consistently likelier to

be talk frequently about politics, be very interested in it, belong to political parties, and

vote in party primaries. This is most marked in the case of job discrimination: those who

have known such cases are almost twice as likely as those who have not to talk about

politics (33% to 18%) and to be very interested in it (27% to 16%), twice as likely to

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[7] Nor is this necessarily the case because those who are politicized are more aware of discrimination. Although the data suggest that is true in some instances, it is not true in all. For instance, even though women aware of gender discrimination are likelier to think women have common interests, it is not the case that women who think they have common interests are likelier to be aware of job discrimination. In fact the

belong to political parties (18% vs. 9%), and almost four times as likely to have voted in

primaries (11% vs. 3%).

Figure 20

Women's Experience and Politicization

	Known Job Discrimination		*Known Sexually Harassed*		*Known Domestic Violence*	
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Almost always talk about politics	33%	18%	25%	21%	25%	20%
Very interested in politics	27%	16%	19%	19%	23%	17%
Party members	18%	9%	14%	11%	14%	10%
Voted in party primary	11%	3%	11%	4%	8%	3%

Charney Research, Q57, 58, 59 and Q26, 25, 27, 28
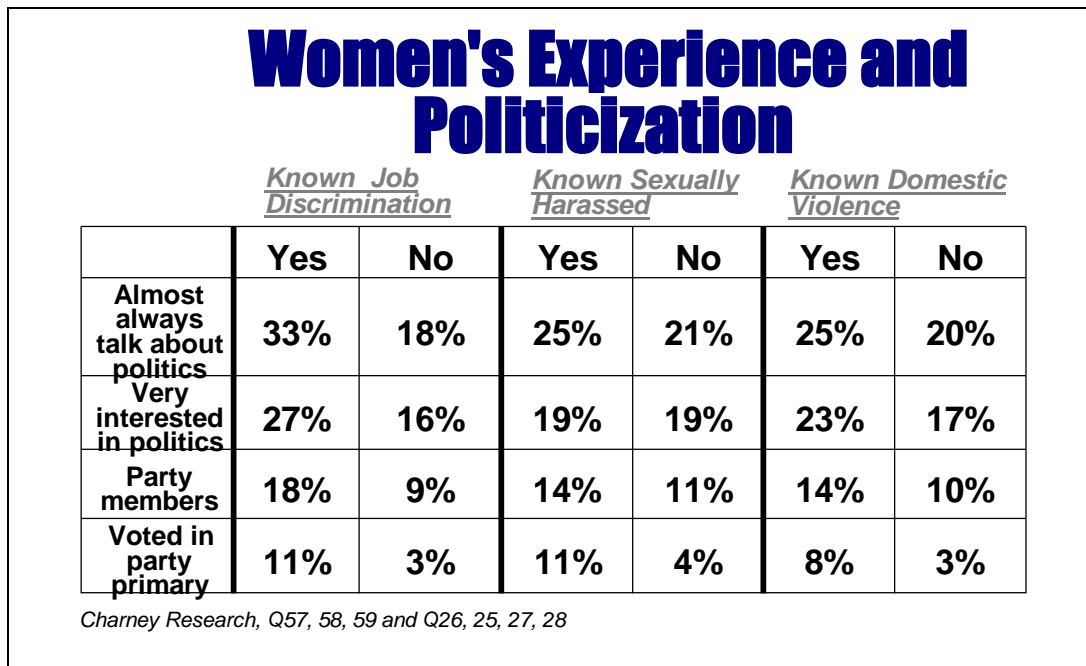
Also not too surprisingly, women's awareness of gender abuses also is associated

with more of a desire to see women in positions of political power. (See Figure 21.)

Thus those who are aware of instances of job discrimination, for instance, are much

likelier than women who are not to consider it very important to see women on local

council lists (58% vs. 33%) and to strongly favor setting aside 30% of the places on such

lists for women (50% vs. 32%). They are also 15 points likelier to prefer a woman for

mayor over a man (46% vs. 32%), and more than twice as many say they are likely to vote

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opposite is true: 28% of those who think do not agree that women have such interests say they have seen
cases of job discrimination against 26% of those who think they do have common interests.

for Penina Rosenbloom if she runs (14% vs. 6%).   The effects are similar, albeit

somewhat smaller, for awareness of sexual harassment and domestic violence.

Figure 21

	Known Job Discrimination		Known Sexually Harassed		Known Domestic Violence	
Women's Experience and Voting Choice	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Very important to see women on list	56%	33%	52%	38%	48%	36%
Strongly favor 30% set-aside	50%	32%	47%	35%	46%	31%
Prefer woman for Mayor	46%	31%	38%	34%	34%	37%
Very likely to vote Rosenbloom	14%	6%	17%	7%	8%	8%

Charney Research, Q57, 58, 59, and Q22, 32, 30, and 38

The dimension of women's experience offers another way to understand women's

political thinking and how women can be mobilized. In the short run, women who are

aware of gender abuses represent an important and sizable segment of the electorate, one

which is particularly sensitive to women's interests and candidacies for office, and need

to be taken into account as such. Their confrontation with mistreatment of women in

institutional settings or the home seems to be linked to an awareness that common action

is the most effective way to right the situation. In the medium to long run, organizations

like the IWN need to foster such awareness by promoting awareness of discrimination,

harassment, and domestic violence and overcoming the shame associated with them.

(The importance of personal experience seems so central that in addition to media campaigns, it may be worth considering a campaign of face-to-face "speak-outs" on these themes in meetings among women, as was done with some success years back in the US.) In any event, it is important to remember that it is not just the static factors of group position but the dynamics of personal and collective experience which help to shape the inaction – or activity – of women in the political sphere.

CONCLUSION

If any conclusions can be drawn from the mass of data in this report, it is that below the surface of Israeli politics, changes are underway that may be on the brink of making gender a central factor. Women have come to have their own evaluations of national political actors and their own views on and ways of thinking about critical issues such as peace. Across party-political, ethnic, and religious lines, they have a sense of their own common interests and a suspicion that the men in charge of Israel are not paying them much attention. They have played less of a role in the country's political life in the past because there has not been much in it to make women very interested, but they are intrigued by the idea of women running for political office and would like to vote for candidates – particularly women – from parties acceptable to them who are also pledged to advance women's interests. They say they are likely to vote for candidates in local and national elections who offer proposals in line with their own agenda as women. They are divided into their own sub-groups and views, which do not run along the lines of conventional politics. And they respond to their life-experiences of sexual discrimination and political alienation by wanting the power to set things right.

Thus, the results of the IWN research suggest that the time is ripe for the emergence of a new women's politics in Israel. This is not necessarily a politics that will advantage an existing party or create a new one – though either or both of those outcomes is a possibility. Rather it is a politics in which women will at last rise from subjects to participants in Israeli politics, obliging all the parties to compete to advance their

concerns as a condition for winning their votes. It is part both of the modernization of

Israeli politics and of the shift from the politics of a garrison state to the politics of

peacetime. But while no one can yet say exactly what form it will take, what has been

shown here should be enough to suggest that a decade or a generation hence, no one will

still be wondering whether there is a "women's vote" in Israel.

ISRAEL WOMEN'S NETWORK SURVEY

SUMMARY OF RESULTS -- 804 RESPONDENTS
Interviewing Dates: April 26 & 27, May 3 & 4, 1998

	All %	Women %	Men. %.
0. Screener: Are you over 18 and an Israeli citizen?			
1) Yes	100	100	100
2) No – TERMINATE			
9) Don't know – TERMINATE			

I. MOOD

1. Thinking in general, would you say things in Israel are headed in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?

1) Right direction	39	39	40
2) Wrong track	50	49	50
9) Don't know	11	12	11

2. How would you characterize Israel's economic situation today: very good, good, mediocre, bad, or very bad?

1) Very good	3	2	3
2) Good	15	13	18
3) Mediocre	36	40	32
4) Bad	19	22	16
5) Very bad	25	22	29
9) Don't know	2	2	2

II. PRIORITIES AND CONCERNS

3. Which do you think is more important for the government of Israel now – to advance the peace process while maintaining Israel's security, or to ensure Israel's security even if it means slowing the peace process?

1) advance peace process as the best route to security	60	58	63
2) ensure security even if slowing peace process	37	40	35
9) Don't know	3	3	3

ASKED OF HALF ONLY

4. Besides peace and security, what would you think is the most important issue for the government of Israel to address now? (OPEN END WITH PRE-CODES, DO NOT READ OUT, ONE RESPONSE ONLY)

1)	the economy / jobs / employment / opportunities	66	61	72
2)	attracting investment / promoting business	1	1	1
3)	problems of Olim / Russians / Ethiopians		1	2
	1			
4)	terrorism	1	1	1
5)	education	7	10	5
6)	health care	0	1	0
7)	housing	1	2	1
8)	social welfare / poverty	8	7	8
9)	road safety	1	0	1
10)	transportation	0	1	0
11)	religious issues	6	7	4
12)	women's issues	1	1	0
13)	promoting/strengthening settlements	0	0	0
14)	Sephardi-Ashkenazi tensions/discrimination	2	3	1
15)	Arab minority problems/status	1	1	1
16)	Other	1	0	1
99)	Don't know	3	3	4

ASKED OF OTHER HALF

5. If you think about the problems of women in Israel today, what do you think is the single biggest issue facing them? (OPEN END WITH PRE-CODES, DO NOT READ OUT, ONE RESPONSE ONLY)

1)	Children care/raising children	10	10	9
2)	Jobs/pay discrimination/harassment/advancement/pay	39	43	33
3)	Crime/Domestic Abuse/Rape/Police or courts unfair	21	19	24
4)	Legal status/divorce/financial independence	1	1	0
5)	Politics/no power/ not represented or listened to	2	2	3
6)	Religion/inequality/no civil marriage or divorce	2	3	1
7)	Army/Discrimination/Not in combat/Being drafted	2	1	3
8)	Health Care/needs ignored/abortion	1	1	0
9)	Men's attitudes/discrimination in general	6	4	9
10)	Other	2	1	3
99)	Don't know	15	15	15

6. Besides that, what do you think is the next biggest problem facing women in Israel today? (OPEN END WITH PRE-CODES, DO NOT READ OUT, ONE RESPONSE ONLY)

1)	Children care/raising children	7	8	5
2)	Jobs/pay discrimination/harassment/advancement/pay	20	20	20
3)	Crime/Domestic Abuse/Rape/Police or courts unfair	19	22	15
4)	Legal status/divorce/financial independence	1	1	1
5)	Politics/no power/ not represented or listened to	3	3	4
6)	Religion/inequality/no civil marriage or divorce	3	3	3
7)	Army/Discrimination/Not in combat/Being drafted	2	2	3
8)	Health Care/needs ignored/abortion	1	1	1
9)	Men's attitudes/discrimination in general	5	5	6
10)	Other	0	0	0
99)	Don't know	38	33	44

III. VOTE

ASKED OF HALF OF SAMPLE WHO RECEIVED PART IX (NATIONAL ISSUES)

7. If an election for Prime Minister were held today, would you vote for Benjamin Netanyahu of the Likud Party or Ehud Barak of the Labor Party?

1)	Benjamin Netanyahu	39	37	41
2)	Ehud Barak	32	31	33
3)	I wouldn't vote – GO TO Q.9	15	16	14
5)	Refused to say -- GO TO Q.9	3	4	3
9)	Could not decide – GO TO Q.9	11	12	7

8. Would you definitely vote for that candidate, or is there a chance you might change your mind? (PERCENTAGES BASED ON THE 71% WHO EXPRESSED A CHOICE.)

1)	Definitely vote for them	71	69	73
2)	Might change mind	25	25	25
9)	Don't know	3	5	2

ASKED OF OTHER HALF OF SAMPLE WHO RECEIVED PART VIII (LOCAL ISSUES)

9. In November there will be elections for mayors and municipal councils. If the election for the municipal council was held today, for which party list would you vote?
 (DO NOT READ OUT.)

1) Labor	25	26	25
2) Likud	21	21	21
3) Meretz	2	3	1
4) Shas	1	2	1
5) Gesher	0	0	0
6) Third Way	0	1	0
7) Israel B'Aliyah	2	1	3
8) Mafdal (NRP)	2	1	3
9) Tzomet	0	0	1
10) Torah Unity (Yhadut Hatorah)	1	1	1
11) Moledet	0	0	0
12) Hadash	1	1	1
13) Arab Democratic Party	1	1	1
14) Independent or local list	2	1	2
15) Other	0	0	0
16) Would not vote – SKIP Q.10 and 11	16	15	17
17) Refused	5	4	6
99) Don't know – SKIP Q. 10 AND 11	19	20	19

10. Would you definitely vote for that list, or is there a chance you might change your mind? (PERCENTAGES BASED ON THE 60% WHO EXPRESSED A CHOICE.)

1) Definitely vote for them	63	62	65
2) Might change mind	30	32	29
9) Don't know	7	7	7

11. What is the most important reason why you chose that list? (OPEN END WITH PRE-CODES, DO NOT READ OUT) (PERCENTAGES BASED ON 60% WHO EXPRESSED A CHOICE.)

1) My party/party I support and vote for the Knesset	44	46	43
2) Represents local needs/responds to local problems	20	22	19
3) Candidates/effectiveness/ability/personality	15	10	20
4) Candidates' gender/concern with women	0	0	0
4) Ethnic factors/Sephardim/Russians/Arabs	1	1	1
5) Age factors/youth/older people	4	6	3
6) Religious factors and views/my religious group	0	0	0
7) Instructions of my rabbi or religious leader	2	0	0
8) Ideology	0	0	0
9) National Issues/peace/security	1	2	1
10) Other	3	3	3
11) Don't know/Not asked	8	9	9

IV. GOVERNMENT EVALUATIONS (ASKED OF ONE-THIRD ONLY)

Now I'd like to ask about the job Prime Minister Netanyahu has done in several areas.

12. Continuing the peace process with the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Do you believe that Netanyahu has done an excellent job, a good job, a not so good job, or a poor job?

1) Excellent	12	12	13
2) Good	31	29	32
3) Not so good	25	23	28
4) Poor	28	31	26
9) Don't know	4	6	2

13. Keeping Israelis secure from terrorism. Do you believe that Netanyahu has done an excellent job, a good job, a not so good job, or a poor job?

1) Excellent	16	14	17
2) Good	47	44	50
3) Not so good	15	15	14
4) Poor	19	21	17
9) Don't know	4	6	2

14. Dealing with women's issues. Do you believe that Netanyahu has done an excellent job, a good job, a not so good job, or a poor job?

1) Excellent		6	4	7
2) Good		32	28	35
3) Not so good		20	21	20
4) Poor		14	15	12
9) Don't know		29	32	26

15. Dealing with education. Do you believe that Netanyahu has done an excellent job, a good job, a not so good job, or a poor job?

1) Excellent		4	3	5
2) Good		40	33	47
3) Not so good		26	29	24
4) Poor		17	22	12
9) Don't know	13	13	12	

V. THE PEACE PROCESS (ASKED OF SECOND THIRD)

Now I'd like to ask some questions about the peace process.

16. Should Netanyahu re-deploy Israeli troops out of 13% of the West Bank and Gaza as the Americans ask, should he make a smaller withdrawal, or should he keep the troops in those areas as they are?

1) Should re-deploy from 13%	30	34	25
2) Should make smaller withdrawal	35	31	39
3) Should keep the troops there	20	20	20
9) Don't know	15	15	16

17. There are people who are afraid that their relatives will be injured if they serve as soldiers in the territories. Should such worries make us more critical of Netanyahu's management of the peace process, or not affect our support of his policy?

1) They should make us more critical	30	39	21
2) They should not affect our support	63	54	73
9) Don't know	6	7	6

18. As long as there is no agreement with the Syrians, should Israel re-deploy its troops out of South Lebanon if we receive assurances that Israel will not be attacked from there, or should we keep the troops in South Lebanon?

1) Should re-deploy	63	60	67
2) Should keep troops there	31	34	27
9) Don't know	6	6	6

19. Some people say, it is time to move away from the traditional Zionist ideal and towards Israel becoming an ordinary country in the world. Would you agree completely, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree completely?

1) Agree completely	23	21	26
2) Agree somewhat	13	15	10
3) Disagree somewhat	14	17	11
4) Disagree completely	42	38	45
9) Don't know	9	8	9

VI. LOCAL GOVERNMENT VOTE CHOICE (ASKED OF LAST THIRD)
Please tell me if is important for you that whether a party's list for the municipal council elections includes the following groups

20. New immigrants from the former Soviet union. Is it very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all for you to see new immigrants on a party's list for the municipal council?

1) Very important	19	15	24
2) Somewhat important	25	29	18
3) Not very important	12	12	11
4) Not important at all	40	37	45
9) Don't know	5	7	2

21. Religious people. Is it very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all for you to see religious people on a party's list for the municipal council?

1) Very important	17	19	14
2) Somewhat important	26	26	26
3) Not very important	12	8	16
4) Not important at all	41	41	41
9) Don't know	5	6	4

22. Women. Is it very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all for you to see women on a party's list for the municipal council?

1) Very important	38	41	35
2) Somewhat important	34	37	30
3) Not very important	13	10	17
4) Not important at all	14	11	18
9) Don't know	2	2	1

23. Mizrahim. Is it very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all for you to see Mizrahim on a party's list for the municipal council?

1) Very important	29	27	31
2) Somewhat important	34	38	29
3) Not very important	16	17	15
4) Not important at all	18	14	24
9) Don't know	3	5	1

VI. SECULARISM AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION (ASKED OF ALL)

24. Some people say, too many concessions have been made to the demands of religious Jews in Israel. Would you agree completely, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree completely?

1) Agree completely	54	54	55
2) Agree somewhat	20	17	22
3) Disagree somewhat	10	10	9
4) Disagree completely	14	16	12
9) Don't know	3	3	2

25. Now let's talk about something else. How interested are you in politics? Very interested, somewhat interested, not very interested, or not interested at all?

1) Very interested	26	19	33
2) Somewhat interested	45	50	40
3) Not very interested	16	19	14
4) Not interested at all	12	12	12
9) Don't know	1	1	1

26. How often do you discuss politics with friends? Almost all the time, often, not very often, or almost never?

1) Almost all the time	24	22	25
2) Often	43	42	43
3) Not very often	18	19	18
4) Almost never / Never	14	16	13
9) Don't know	1	1	1

27. Are you a member of a political party?

1) Yes	13	12	15
2) No -- GO TO Q.28	86	87	84
3) Don't Know/Refused	1	1	1

27a. [IF YES:] Which one?

1) Labor	6	5	8
2) Likud	3	4	3
3) Meretz	1	0	1
4) Shas	0	0	0
5) Gesher	0	1	0
6) Third Way	0	0	0
7) Israel B'Aliyah	1	1	1
8) Mafdal (NRP)	1	1	1
9) Tzomet	0	0	1
10) Torah Unity (Yhadut Hatorah)	0	0	0
11) Moledet	0	0	0
12) Hadash	0	0	0
13) Arab Democratic Party	0	0	0
14) Other (Specify) _____	0	0	1
15) Don't know / Refused to say – SKIP Q.28 AND 29	1	1	1
16) Not a member of a party	86	87	84

28. Have you ever voted in a primary election for your party?

1) Yes, voted in primary	8	6	10
2) No, never voted in primary	6	6	6
9) Don't know	0	0	0
99) Not a member of a political party	86	88	85

SKIP Q.29

29. People have many different and good reasons for not belonging to political parties. Why is it that you don't? (OPEN END WITH PRE-CODES, ONE RESPONSE ONLY, DO NOT READ OUT)

1) Not interested in politics/It's not for people like me	38	41	35
2) Dangerous / risky to get involved in politics	7	7	8
3) Individual can't make a difference	11	12	11
4) Don't like the kind of people involved	3	3	3
5) No time due to work	5	7	4
6) No time due to family	6	4	8
7) No one asked me	3	4	2
8) Involved in other organizations	2	1	2
9) Don't know / Refused to say	12	11	13
10) Belongs to a political party	13	12	15

VII. WOMEN AND POLITICS

ASKED OF HALF ONLY

30. If two people with equal qualifications and similar political orientations ran for Mayor of your city and one was a woman and the other was a man, who would you prefer? Much more, or somewhat more?

1) The woman, much more	17	21	12
2) The woman, somewhat more	11	14	7
3) The man, somewhat more	9	9	9
4) The man, much more	10	9	10
5) Gender would have not effect on my vote	51	44	58
9) Don't know	3	2	4

31. If you think of a woman running for political office, what's your reaction? Tell me the first things that come to your mind. (OPEN END WITHOUT PRE-CODES)

1) Generally positive	48	48	47
2) Will advance women's status/issues	10	11	9
3) Ambition/strong	15	17	12
4) Family-Career balanced	2	0	3
5) Family-Career conflict/family neglected	3	3	2
6) Generally negative	4	6	5
7) Other	5	5	5
8) No Response	15	13	17

32.   Some people have suggested setting aside 30% of the places on each party's list for councils or Knesset for women.   Would you be strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed, or strongly opposed to this idea?

1) Strongly in favor	36	37	35
2) Somewhat in favor	28	32	23
3) Somewhat opposed	12	11	13
4) Strongly opposed	17	14	20
9) Don't know	8	7	10

33.   Some people say women have important common interests as women that should be expressed in politics and elections, like those of Sephardim, Russians, or Arabs. Would you agree completely, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree completely?

1) Agree completely	27	28	26
2) Agree somewhat	36	33	39
3) Disagree somewhat	12	15	8
4) Disagree completely	20	19	22
9) Don't know	5	5	4

34. Do you think the number of women in Israeli political life is too few, too many, or about right?

1) too few	66	67	65
2) too many	11	9	12
3) about right	16	17	15
9) don't know	8	7	9

ASKED OF OTHER HALF

35. If two people with equal qualifications and similar political orientations ran for Mayor of your city, and one stressed women's issues and the other did not, who would you prefer? Much more, or somewhat more?

1) The one stressing women's issues, much more	47	57	37
2) The one stressing women's issues, somewhat more	17	15	20
3) The other one, somewhat more	2	2	1
4) The other one, much more	5	1	9
5) Women's issues would have not effect on my vote	22	20	24
9) Don't know	8	6	9

ASKED OF ONE-FOURTH ONLY

36.A If you think of a male politician campaigning for office on "women's issues," what's your reaction? Tell me the first thing that comes to your mind. (OPEN END WITHOUT PRE-CODES.)

1) Generally positive	20	20	21
2) Concerned with women/social issues	11	12	9
3) Disbelief	25	22	28
4) Women's issues have no place in politics	2	1	2
5) Extremist, excessive	1	2	0
6) Rich, out of touch	3	1	5
7) Generally negative	7	7	6
8) No Response	32	36	29

ASKED OF OTHER ONE-FOURTH

36B. If you think of a female politician campaigning for office on "women's issues," what's your reaction? Tell me the first thing that comes to your mind. (OPEN END WITHOUT PRE-CODES.)

1) Generally positive	33	44	21
2) Concerned with women/social issues	11	16	7
3) Disbelief	4	3	5
4) Women's issues have no place in politics	7	1	9
5) Extremist, excessive	2	1	3
6) Rich, out of touch	0	0	0
7) Generally negative 17		13	9
8) No Response	30	22	37

37. Some people say, I don't think Israel's political leaders and officeholders care much about what Israeli women think. Would you agree completely, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree completely?

1)	Agree completely	18	22	14
2)	Agree somewhat	22	23	20
3)	Disagree somewhat	22	20	24
4)	Disagree completely	27	24	31
9)	Don't know	11	11	11

38. If Pnina Rosenbloom ran for the Knesset with her own party, would you be very likely to vote for it, consider voting for it, not very likely to vote for it, or sure not to vote for it?

1)	Very likely to vote for it	6	8	3
2)	Consider voting for it	10	13	7
3)	Not very likely to vote for it -- GO TO Q.40	18	17	19
4)	Sure not to vote for it – GO TO Q.40	54	47	61
9)	Don't know – GO TO Q.40	13	15	10

39. Why do you say that? (OPEN END WITH PRE-CODES, ONE RESPONSE ONLY) (PERCENTAGES BASED ONLY ON THE 16% VERY LIKELY TO VOTE OR CONSIDERING VOTING FOR PNINA'S PARTY)

1)	Her gender / She is a woman	18	21	14
2)	Issues / She is running on women's issues	46	44	50
3)	Achievement/She is successful/built a company	16	19	6
4)	Customer of hers/I like her cosmetics	0	0	0
5)	Personality/beauty/glamour/excitement around her	5	3	9
6)	Other	3	4	3
7)	Protest against big parties	4	2	7
9)	Don't know	9	8	11

40. Here is another statement: Women have made enough progress towards fair treatment and equal rights that they have little to complain about in Israel today. Would you agree completely, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree completely?

1)	Agree completely	27	17	38
2)	Agree somewhat	29	29	29
3)	Disagree somewhat	24	29	19
4)	Disagree completely	17	22	12
9)	Don't know	3	4	2

VIII. LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION ISSUES

ASKED OF HALF ONLY
Now I'd like to ask you about some ideas candidates might present in the local government elections.

41. Increasing the availability of day care centers for children, reducing their cost, and lengthening their opening hours. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	37	38	36
2) Somewhat more likely	32	31	32
3) Somewhat less likely	1	1	3
4) Much less likely	1	0	1
5) Would not affect my vote	26	26	26
9) Don't know	4	5	3

42.   To institute a municipal/local ordinance which will ensure that any private companies which work for the authority will not discriminate against women. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	30	32	28
2) Somewhat more likely	38	39	37
3) Somewhat less likely	1	1	1
4) Much less likely	1	1	0
5) Would not affect my vote	26	23	30
9) Don't know	5	5	5

43. To arrest and punish the clients of prostitutes instead of the women.
. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	18	19	17
2) Somewhat more likely	22	20	24
3) Somewhat less likely	4	3	6
4) Much less likely	9	5	13
5) Would not affect my vote	35	39	29
9) Don't know	13	13	12

44. Combating domestic violence by education programs, expanding battered women's shelters, telephone hotlines, and counseling, and giving radio alarms to threatened women. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	50	49	51
2) Somewhat more likely	35	35	35
3) Somewhat less likely	1	1	0
4) Much less likely	1	0	2
5) Would not affect my vote	9	10	7
9) Don't know	5	5	6

45. Promoting women's sports, to give women's teams equal access to facilities, opportunities, and support. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	25	24	27
2) Somewhat more likely	33	34	31
3) Somewhat less likely	4	2	6
4) Much less likely	3	2	4
5) Would not affect my vote	30	34	26
9) Don't know	5	4	6

46. Promising to give preference to women over men in hiring, job advancement, and city contracts, assuming the women are qualified. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	23	23	23
2) Somewhat more likely	27	29	26
3) Somewhat less likely	6	6	5
4) Much less likely	10	4	16
5) Would not affect my vote	27	33	22
9) Don't know	7	6	8

47. Establishing a municipal Women's Advisory Council, to act as an advocate in city government for programs and policies in the interest of women. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	26	28	22
2) Somewhat more likely	37	40	35
3) Somewhat less likely	4	2	5
4) Much less likely	4	2	7
5) Would not affect my vote	24	24	24
9) Don't know	6	4	8

IX. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION ISSUES
ASKED OF OTHER HALF
Now I'd like to ask you about some ideas candidates might present in national elections.

48. Helping working parents of preschool children by lowering their taxes by at least 2000 NIS per child per year, to help pay for daycare. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	36	39	34
2) Somewhat more likely	32	32	32
3) Somewhat less likely	3	2	5
4) Much less likely	2	1	3
5) Would not affect my vote	22	22	22
9) Don't know	5	4	5

49. More funding for education, in order to lengthen the school day, restore cutbacks, improve school facilities, and expand the availability of computers. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	51	47	56
2) Somewhat more likely	33	36	29
3) Somewhat less likely	1	1	1
4) Much less likely	1	0	2
5) Would not affect my vote	11	13	9
9) Don't know	3	3	3

50. Establishing mandatory minimum sentences for sexual assaults and domestic violence. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	40	41	40
2) Somewhat more likely	27	29	25
3) Somewhat less likely	6	6	7
4) Much less likely	6	6	5
5) Would not affect my vote	14	13	16
9) Don't know	7	5	9

51. Increasing the financial support and other benefits given to single mothers. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	28	28	27
2) Somewhat more likely	32	38	26
3) Somewhat less likely	3	3	3
4) Much less likely	4	3	6
5) Would not affect my vote	24	22	26
9) Don't know	9	7	12

52. Creating effective machinery to enforce the laws barring discrimination against women in hiring, pay, and promotions, and forbidding sexual harassment. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	40	46	35
2) Somewhat more likely	29	29	29
3) Somewhat less likely	2	2	2
4) Much less likely	2	2	3
5) Would not affect my vote	19	16	21
9) Don't know	8	5	10

53. Increasing funding for research and treatment on women's diseases, including breast cancer. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	36	38	33
2) Somewhat more likely	26	33	19
3) Somewhat less likely	2	2	3
4) Much less likely	2	2	2
5) Would not affect my vote	26	19	32
9) Don't know	9	6	12

54. Establishing civil marriage and divorce as an option alongside religious law. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	23	23	22
2) Somewhat more likely	18	18	18
3) Somewhat less likely	5	3	6
4) Much less likely	18	21	15
5) Would not affect my vote	29	29	28
9) Don't know	8	6	10

55. Giving preference to women over men in hiring, in job advancement, and in getting government contracts, assuming the women are qualified. Would this make you much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely to vote for them?

1) Much more likely	18	19	16
2) Somewhat more likely	24	31	16
3) Somewhat less likely	12	9	15
4) Much less likely	14	9	20
5) Would not affect my vote	25	27	24
9) Don't know	6	4	9

X. WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE

ASKED OF WOMEN ONLY – MEN WENT TO Q. 59

56. Have you personally known any women who have been discriminated against in hiring, promotion, or pay because of their gender?

1) Yes	27	27	n/a
2) No	71	71	n/a
9) Don't know / refused to say	3	3	n/a

57. Have you personally known any women who have been ever been pressured by an employer, teacher, or superior officer for sexual favors to secure gains or avoid retaliation?

1) Yes	18	18	n/a
2) No	80	80	n/a
9) Don't know / refused to say	2	2	n/a

58. Have you personally known any women who have been subjected to physical violence by a husband or boyfriend?

1) Yes	38	38	n/a
2) No	60	60	n/a
9) Don't know / refused to say	2	2	n/a

XI. DEMOGRAPHICS (ASKED OF ALL)

Now a few final questions for statistical purposes only.

59. In the 1996 election for Prime Minister, for whom did you vote?

1) Benjamin Netanyahu	39	41	36
2) Shimon Peres	38	36	40
3) Blank ballot	1	1	1
4) Did not vote	14	13	15
5) Refused to say	8	8	8
9) Don't know	1	1	1

60. Do you normally think of yourself as a supporter of a political party?

1) Yes		52	51	53
2) No – GO TO Q.61	45	46	43	
9) Don't know – GO TO Q.61		4	3	4

60a. If so, which one? (OPEN END WITH PRE-CODES, DO NOT READ OUT, ONE CHOICE ONLY) (PERCENTAGES BASED ON ENTIRE SAMPLE)

1) Labor	20	21	19
2) Likud	16	14	17
3) Meretz	3	3	3
4) Shas	1	1	2
5) Gesher	0	1	0
6) Third Way	1	1	1
7) Israel B'Aliyah	2	2	2
8) Mafdal (NRP)	3	3	2
9) Tzomet	1	0	2
10) Torah Unity (Yhadut Hatorah)	1	2	1
11) Moledet	1	0	1
12) Hadash	0	0	1
13) Arab Democratic Party	1	1	1
14) Other	0	0	0
99) Don't know/Not applicable	51	51	50

61. Religiously, do you consider yourself secular Jewish, Jewish religious conservative (masorati), Jewish religious leumi, Jewish religious haredi, Moslem, Christian, or Druze?

1) Jewish secular	43	41	44
2) Jewish conservative (masorati)	27	25	28
3) Jewish religious leumi	9	12	7
4) Jewish religious haredi	4	6	2
5) Moslem	13	12	14
6) Christian	3	2	4
7) Druze	0	0	0
8) Other	0	0	0
9) Don't know/ refused	1	1	2

62. IF JEWISH: In what country were you born?

1)	Israel	53	55	50
2)	Russia	12	11	13
3)	Europe (East and West)	7	7	6
4)	No.America/RSA/Australia/Other English-Speaking	1	2	1
5)	Argentina / Other Spanish-Speaking	1	0	1
6)	Middle East (except Israel), Turkey, Iran, India	6	5	6
7)	North Africa (Morocco / Tunisia / Algeria)	5	5	6
8)	Ethiopia	0	1	0
9)	Other	0	0	0
99)	Don't know/refused/Not Applicable	15	14	17

62A. IF BORN IN ISRAEL: In what country were your parents born? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED) (PERCENTAGES BASED ON THE WHOLE SAMPLE.)

1)	Europe (East and West)	4	4	4
2)	Russia / former Soviet Union	13	13	14
3)	No. America/RSA/Australia/English-speaking	1	1	1
4)	Argentina / Other Spanish-speaking	1	0	1
5)	Israel	20	21	19
6)	Middle East (except Israel), Turkey, Iran, India	12	12	13
7)	North Africa (Morocco / Tunisia / Algeria)	19	19	18
8)	Ethiopia	0	1	0
9)	Other	0	0	0
99)	Don't know/refused/not applicable	35	35	35

63.   IF JEWISH AND YOU OR YOUR PARENTS WERE BORN IN RUSSIA: Did you immigrate to Israel from the former Soviet Union within the past 15 years? (PERCENTAGES BASED ON THE WHOLE SAMPLE.)

1)	Yes	11	10	12
2)	No	12	12	12
9)	Don't know / refused	1	0	1
99)	Not applicable	77	78	75

64. Politically, where do you see yourself: right, somewhat right, center, somewhat left, or left?

1)	Right	21	20	21
2)	Somewhat right	14	15	13
3)	Center	23	19	27
4)	Somewhat left	14	15	12
5)	Left	14	13	15
9)	Don't know / refused	15	19	12

65. What is your age?
1) 18-24		18	22	13
2) 25-34		23	23	23
3) 35-49		34	32	36
4) 50-64		15	13	17
5) 65+		11	10	11

66. What is your marital status – single, married, divorced or widowed? And do you have any children?
1) single, no kids	22	23	20
2) single, with kids	1	1	1
3) married, no kids	7	7	7
4) married, with kids	59	57	61
5) divorced / widowed, with no kids	8	8	9
6) divorced / widowed, with kids	2	2	2
7) aguna / refused a divorce	0	0	0
9) Don't know	1	1	1

67. IF MARRIED: In the 1996 election for Prime Minister, for whom did your spouse vote?
1) Benjamin Netanyahu	27	29	25
2) Shimon Peres	23	21	24
3) Blank ballot	1	0	1
4) Did not vote	6	4	8
5) Refused to say	5	6	3
9) Don't know/Not married	39	39	39

68. What is the highest level of school you completed?
1) no school	1	2	1
2) elementary school	5	4	6
3) some high school	10	9	11
4) high school graduate	41	38	44
5) some college / technical school	19	20	18
6) college graduate	16	19	13
7) graduate school	7	7	7
9) Don't know	1	2	1

69. Are you now employed, a housewife, retired, a student, or looking for work?
1) Employed	62	52	73
2) Housewife	11	21	0
3) Retired	10	9	12
4) Student	7	7	6
5) Unemployed	4	3	4
6) Other	6	8	4

70. The average expenditure of a 4-person family last March was NIS 6,300. Considering your household's expenditures and its size, are your household expenses average, below average, or above average?

1) average	12	11	13
2) Much below average	14	15	12
3) Below average	30	26	34
4) Above average	20	25	15
5) Much above average	16	16	16
9) don't know/refused	8	8	9

71. Code respondent's gender (DO NOT ASK)

1) Male	48	0	100
2) Female	52	100	0