The Research Project "Studies of Political Order and Political Changes in the Middle East," KAKENHI, Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) No. 15H03308

### Questionnaire

# Poll Survey Experiment of Israelis in the Middle East (Israel 2015)

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

1. I am proud of Israeli Democracy.						
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4.Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	Q3-1
2. I am proud o	of the Israel Defe	nse Force.				
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	Q3-2
3. I am proud of	f Zionism.					
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4.Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	Q3-3
4. I am proud of	f the Israeli econo	omy.				
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	Q3-4
5. I am proud of	the social securi	ty service in Israe	el.			
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	Q3-5
6. I am proud of	f the legal system	in Israel.				
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	Q3-6
7. I am proud of	f Jewish/Arab (fo	r Arabs) culture	and Judaism.			
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	Q3-7
8. I am proud of	8. I am proud of political leaders in Israel.					
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	Q3-8

#### Scenario 1-A third of sample

4. Let us imagine the following military situation. Israel carries out an operation against Hamas in Gaza. Assume that at the beginning of the operation, the support for the Government and for the military operation is high, and that you also support the operation.

Three weeks into this current wave of Palestinian terror all over the country, surveys show that the level of public support for the government remains very high. What is your personal opinion - do you support the government in this respect or not?

4. to the government of Israel						
1. Strongly Support	2. Support	3. Moderately	4. Not Support	5. Never Support	9. Don't Know	Q4.

5. Now imagine the same situation as above, but the military operation is against Hizbullah in Lebanon. Again, assume that two weeks after the start of the military operation there are very many casualties and that **despite the casualties, the public support for the Government is still high**. In such a case, to what extent do

you think that you would support or not support the Government?

5. to the government of Israel						
1. Strongly Support	2. Support	3. Moderately	4. Not Support	5. Never Support	9. Don't Know	Q5.

### Scenario 2- A third of sample

6. Let us imagine the following military situation. Israel carries out an operation against Hamas in Gaza. Assume that at the beginning of the operation, the support for the Government and for the military operation is high, and that you also support the operation.

Three weeks into this current wave of Palestinian terror all over the country, surveys show that the level of public support for the government has decreased drastically. What is your personal opinion - do you support the government in this respect or not?

6. to the government of Israel						
1. Strongly Support	2. Support	3. Moderately	4. Not Support	5. Never Support	9. Don't Know	Q6.

7. Now imagine the same situation as above, but the military operation is against Hizbullah in Lebanon. Again, assume that two weeks after the start of the military operation there are very many casualties and that **because of the casualties, the public support for the Government decreases drastically.** In such a case, to what extent do you think that you would support or not support the Government?

7. to the government of Israel						
1. Strongly	2 Support	3. Moderately	4. Not	5. Never	9. Don't	Q7.
Support	2. Support	3. Wioderatery	Support	Support	Know	

#### Scenario 3- A third of sample

8. Let us imagine the following military situation. Israel carries out an operation against Hamas in Gaza. Assume that at the beginning of the operation, the support for the Government and for the military operation is high, and that you also support the operation.

Three weeks into this current wave of Palestinian terror all over the country. What is your personal opinion - do you support the government in this respect or not?

8. to the government of Israel						
1. Strongly	2 Support	3. Moderately	4. Not	5. Never	9. Don't	Q8.
Support	2. Support	3. Wioderatery	Support	Support	Know	

9. Now imagine the same situation as above, but the military operation is against Hizbullah in Lebanon. Again, assume that two weeks after the start of the military operation there are very many casualties. In such a case, to what extent do you think that you would support or not support the Government?

9. to the govern	nment of Israel					
1. Strongly Support	2. Support	3. Moderately	4. Not Support	5. Never Support	9. Don't Know	Q9.

10. I will read a list of events. For each of them please tell me how to what extent do you think that each event would contributed to the national interests of Israel

would contributed to the national interests of Israel								
10-1. Oslo Agreements (1993)								
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	Q10-1		
10-2. Peace Tre	aty with Royal Jo	ordan Kingdom (	1994)					
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	Q10-2		
10-3. Unilateral	withdrawal of th	ne IDF from the S	South Lebanon (2	000)				
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	Q10-3		
10-4. Unilateral	withdrawal fron	Gaza Strip (200	5)					
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	Q10-4		
10-5. Second Le	ebanon War (200	16)						
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	Q10-5		
10-6. The civil	war in Syrian (2	2011-present)						
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	Q10-6		
107. Egyptian	coup [President	Mursi toppling	](2013)					
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	Q10-7		
10-8. rising of the	10-8. rising of the Daesh [the Islamic State] (2014-Present)							
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	Q10-8		
10-9. Internation	nal Agreement or	n Iran's nuclear p	rogram (2015)					
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	Q10-9		

**11**. I will now read a list **potential events in future**. For each of them please tell me how to what extent do you think that each event would contribute to the national interests of Israel.

11-1. Further Enlargement of the settlements in the West Bank in future						
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	Q11-1
11-2. Military s	trike at the reacto	r facilities of Irar	in future			
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	Q11-2
11-3. Indepen	ndence of the Pale	estinian State in f	uture			
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	Q11-3

**12.** How does your country should treat the territories from the viewpoint of national power? (Check only one choice.)

<ol> <li>The government should annex all of the occupied territories and build more settlements for Jews.</li> <li>The government should develop a limited area in the West Bank.</li> <li>The government should maintain status quo and build no more settlements.</li> <li>The government should return territories as much as possible from the viewpoint of national security, in exchange for peace agreement</li> </ol>	)12
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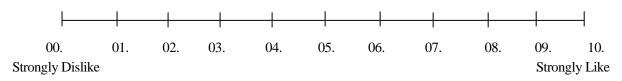
**13-** 1. For each of the following countries, please evaluate to what extend do they contribute to the stability in the Middle East?

the Middle East	••					
1. Turkey	1	T	14 NT /	T	( D ) 1	012.1
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Don't know	Q13-1
2. Iran		T				
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Don't know	Q13-2
3. United Kingo	lom					
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Don't know	Q13-3
4. Syria						
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-4
5. Russia					•	
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-5
6. Saudi Arabia						
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-6
7. Lebanon						
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-7
8. China						
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-8
9. France						
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-9
10. Palestinian	Authority					
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-10
11. Israel						
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-11
12. Egypt		1				
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-12
13. United State	es					
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-13
14. Japan						
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-14
15. Jordan					_	
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-15
16. Qatar						
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	Q13-16

**14**. What you think about each the following political parties. After I read the name of a political party or party lists, please rate it on a scale from zero to 10, where zero means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If I come to a party you have not heard of, or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so.

14-1 Yesh Atid	Q14-1
14-2 Likud	Q14-2
14-3 Yisrael Beiteinu	Q14-3
14-4 Shas	Q14-4
14-5 Zionist Camp	Q14-5
14-6 Yahaduth Hatorah,	Q14-6
14-7 Kulanu	Q14-7
14-8 Habaith Hayehudi	Q14-8
14-9 Meretz	Q14-9
14-10 United Arab List (Hadash, Ra'am, Ta'al)	Q14-10

## **Emotional Thermometers**



- 96. Have not heard of the party
- 97. Refused
- 98. DK/cannot rate
- 99. Missing

15. If the Knesset election will be held tomorrow, which parties do you vote for? (Check only one choice)

1. Yesh Atid	
2. Likud	
3. Yisrael Beiteinu	
4. Shas	
5. Zionist Camp	
6. Yahaduth Hatora	
7. Kulanu	015
8. Habaith Hayehudi	Q15.
9. Meretz	
10. United Arab List (Hadash, Ra'am, Ta'al)	
11. I will not vote.	
12. I have no party to support.	
13. Other parties or lists	

- 16. Which party did you vote for last elections (held on 2015)
- 1. Yesh Atid
- 2. Likud
- 3. Yisrael Beiteinu
- 4. Shas

- 5. Zionist Camp
- 6. Yahaduth Hatora
- 7. Kulanu
- 8. Habaith Hayehudi
- 9. Meretz
- 10. United Arab List (Hadash, Ra'am, Ta'al)11. Did not vote though I had voting right
- 12 Did not have voting right.
- 13. Had no party to support. (White ballot) 14 Don't remember
- 15. Refuse to answer
- 16 Other parties or lists\_\_\_\_\_

# Demographics

D1. Sex	1. M	1. Male				2. Female					Q17						
D2. Age								88. DK				99. refused (Don't read)					Q18
D3.Where do you	(are	(area)				(city)					Address						
D4. How many y	98 1	88. DK				99. refused					Q19						
house?	00.1	00. DK				(Don't read)											
D5. Where were						(nation)					Q20m1						
D6. (For those who were born in the former Soviet Union)Year of immigration to Israel.															Q21		
D7.What is your			ewish 2. Mu			ıslim	slim 3. Chi			nristi	ristian 4.			ruze		Q22	
religion?				2.1143													000
D8.How would y		1. Sec	10#	1- ·			dition	litional 2 Da			انحنا	liaious d			aredi		Q23
not ask Arab)	` `		cular 2. 11			2. 118	iaition	ditional 3. Re			engre	ligious			arear		
D9.What is your																	Q24m1
mother tongue?		1. He	Hebrew 2			2. Ru	2. Russian			3. Aı	3. Arabic			4. Others			(
D10. How many	persor	ns are l	iving	g in you	r hou	isehold	includ	ing you	ars	elf? _			II.				Q25
D11. Your						3.								9. NA		(Do	001 1
personal status 1. Sin		Single	, I				Widower/Wi 4. Di dow			Jivorce	ivorced 5.		5. Others		not read)		Q26m1
							vv			-	3 H	ioh sc	chool (including			non	
	1 5	2. Ele										cational, professitonal, gricultural, technological,					Q27
	1. Did not study at all junior h																
D12. Your												eshiva)					
education							high school										
		raining courses and continuing education seminar, engineer						nureing echool				Academic stitution			9. refused (do not read)		
	contir																
	progra																
D13. Are you the main breadwinner?								1. Yes				2. No					Q28
D14. The average monthly								1					1				
expenditure for a 4 person																	
family in Israel is about				Auch	2. A	A little				4. A 1	little less		5. Much		ess	0 577	
40.000 NIIO. O			more than more		ore than		3. About th average		than t	the		than the average			9. DK/	Q29	
					average	e aver			averaş						NA		
expenditures of your family,		savt															
do you spend:																	
													1			1	