

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.						Q3-1
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	
2. I am proud of the Israel Defense Force.						Q3-2
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	
3. I am proud of Zionism.						Q3-3
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	
4. I am proud of the Israeli economy.						Q3-4
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	
5. I am proud of the social security service in Israel.						Q3-5
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	
6. I am proud of the legal system in Israel.						Q3-6
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	
7. I am proud of Jewish/Arab (for Arabs) culture and Judaism.						Q3-7
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	
8. I am proud of political leaders in Israel.						Q3-8
1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Moderately	4. Disagree	5. Never	9. Don't Know	

#### 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						Q4.
1. Strongly Support	2. Support	3. Moderately	4. Not Support	5. Never Support	9. Don't Know	

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						Q5.
1. Strongly Support	2. Support	3. Moderately	4. Not Support	5. Never Support	9. Don't Know	

### *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						Q6.
1. Strongly Support	2. Support	3. Moderately	4. Not Support	5. Never Support	9. Don't Know	

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						Q7.
1. Strongly Support	2. Support	3. Moderately	4. Not Support	5. Never Support	9. Don't 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						Q8.
1. Strongly Support	2. Support	3. Moderately	4. Not Support	5. Never Support	9. Don't 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 government of Israel						Q9.
1. Strongly Support	2. Support	3. Moderately	4. Not Support	5. Never Support	9. Don't Know	

**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

10-1. Oslo Agreements (1993)						Q10-1
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	
10-2. Peace Treaty with Royal Jordan Kingdom (1994)						Q10-2
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	
10-3. Unilateral withdrawal of the IDF from the South Lebanon (2000)						Q10-3
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	
10-4. Unilateral withdrawal from Gaza Strip (2005)						Q10-4
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	
10-5. Second Lebanon War (2006)						Q10-5
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	
10-6. The civil war in Syrian (2011-present)						Q10-6
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	
10-7. Egyptian coup [President Mursi toppling ](2013)						Q10-7
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	
10-8. rising of the Daesh [the Islamic State] (2014-Present)						Q10-8
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	
10-9. International Agreement on Iran's nuclear program (2015)						Q10-9
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	

**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						Q11-1
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	
11-2. Military strike at the reactor facilities of Iran in future						Q11-2
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	
11-3. Independence of the Palestinian State in future						Q11-3
1. Very good	2. Good	3. So-so	4. Not good	5. Bad	6. Undecided	

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

1. The government should annex all of the occupied territories and build more settlements for Jews.	Q12
2. The government should develop a limited area in the West Bank.	
3. The government should maintain status quo and build no more settlements.	
4. The government should return territories as much as possible from the viewpoint of national security, in exchange for peace agreement	

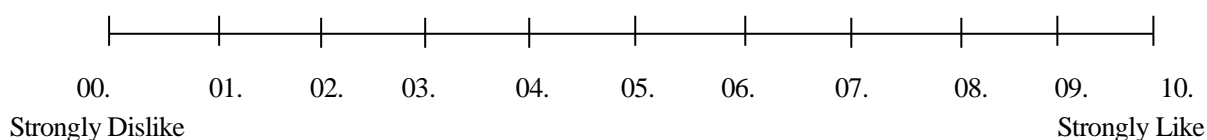
**13-** 1. For each of the following countries, please evaluate to what extent do they contribute to the stability in the Middle East?

1. Turkey						Q13-1
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Don't know	
2. Iran						Q13-2
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Don't know	
3. United Kingdom						Q13-3
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Don't know	
4. Syria						Q13-4
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	
5. Russia						Q13-5
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	
6. Saudi Arabia						Q13-6
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	
7. Lebanon						Q13-7
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	
8. China						Q13-8
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	
9. France						Q13-9
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	
10. Palestinian Authority						Q13-10
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	
11. Israel						Q13-11
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	
12. Egypt						Q13-12
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	
13. United States						Q13-13
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	
14. Japan						Q13-14
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	
15. Jordan						Q13-15
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	
16. Qatar						Q13-16
1. Very Much	2. Quite Much	3. Moderately	4. Not very much	5. Not at all	6. Undecided	

**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 8. Habaith Hayehudi 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 _____	Q15.
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**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. Male		2. Female		Q17
D2. Age_____		88. DK		99. refused (Don't read)		Q18
D3. Where do you live?		(area)		(city)		Address
D4. How many years have you been living in the same house? _____		88. DK		99. refused (Don't read)		Q19
D5. Where were you born?				(nation)		Q20m1
D6. (For those who were born in the former Soviet Union) Year of immigration to Israel.						Q21
D7. What is your religion?	1. Jewish	2. Muslim	3. Christian	4. Druze	Q22	
D8. How would you define yourself (Do not ask Arab)	1. Secular	2. Traditional	3. Religious	4. Haredi	Q23	
D9. What is your mother tongue?	1. Hebrew	2. Russian	3. Arabic	4. Others	Q24m1	
D10. How many persons are living in your household including yourself? _____						Q25
D11. Your personal status	1. Single	2. Married	3. Widower/Widow	4. Divorced	5. Others	9. NA (Do not read) Q26m1
D12. Your education	1. Did not study at all		2. Elementary school and junior high		3. High school (including non vocational, professional, agricultural, technological, heshiva)	
	4. Institute providing training courses and continuing education program		5. Post high school institution (teachers seminar, nursing school, engineering school, post high school yeshiva)		6. Academic institution	9. refused (do not read) Q27
D13. Are you the main breadwinner?			1. Yes		2. No Q28	
D14. The average monthly expenditure for a 4 person family in Israel is about 13,000 NIS. Considering the expenditures of your family, do you spend:	1. Much more than the average	2. A little more than the average	3. About the average	4. A little less than the average	5. Much less than the average	9. DK/NA Q29