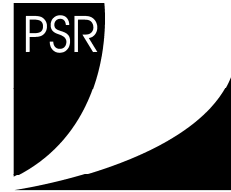




האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים  
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Palestinian Center for  
POLICY and  
SURVEY RESEARCH

March 2010

PRESS RELEASE

**Joint Israeli Palestinian Poll, March 2010**

## **Majority of Palestinians and Israelis prefer two-state solution over binational state or confederation**

Jerusalem, March 17, 2010 – A majority of Israelis and Palestinians prefer a two-state solution as the most acceptable resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, as opposed to a single binational state or a Palestinian-Israeli confederation.

This is the clear conclusion drawn from the latest public opinion survey conducted under the auspices of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research.

The March joint Israeli Palestinian poll focused on the main political outlines for a final status Palestinian- Israeli agreement. Those surveyed were asked whether they preferred a solution of two states for two peoples, a binational Palestinian-Israeli state, or a Palestinian-Israeli confederation.

The results were as follows:

- **71% among Israelis and 57% among Palestinians supported the “two-state solution,” namely the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside of Israel.**
- **Compared to the two-state solution, only 24% of the Israelis and 29% of the Palestinians supported the solution of a binational state, in which Israel is unified with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to establish one state in which Palestinians and Israelis would have equal rights.**
- **The third outline for a political settlement is a two states for two peoples solution, with joint political institutions which will lead eventually to a confederation of the two states. Only 30% of the Israelis and 26% among Palestinians supported this solution.**

In recent months the idea of a binational state has increasingly been put forth as a solution. However, it would seem to be impossible to implement this option given the strong opposition to it in the two publics.

- **Palestinians and Israelis also understand that the most difficult solution to implement is the bi-national state solution: 38% of the Israelis and 42% of the Palestinians think so. Fewer respondents, think so about the two-state solution (29% and 32% respectively), and even less (21% and 18% respectively) believe so about the confederation.**

The Palestinian sample size was 1270 adults interviewed in person in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip in 127 randomly selected locations between March 4-6. The margin of error is 3%. The Israeli sample includes 501 adult Israelis interviewed by phone in Hebrew, Arabic or Russian between March 1-10. The margin of error is 4.9%.

The Joint Israeli-Palestinian Poll is supported by the Ford Foundation (Cairo) and the Adenauer Stiftung (Jerusalem and Ramallah). The poll was planned and supervised by Prof. Yaacov Shamir of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace and the Department of Communication and Journalism at the Hebrew University, and Prof. Khalil Shikaki, director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR).

For further details on the Palestinian survey contact PSR director, Prof. Khalil Shikaki or Walid Ladadweh, at tel. 02-2964933 or email [pcpsr@pcpsr.org](mailto:pcpsr@pcpsr.org). On the Israeli survey, contact Prof Yaacov Shamir at tel. 03-6419429 or email [jshamir@mcc.huji.ac.il](mailto:jshamir@mcc.huji.ac.il).

**Israeli Poll #(31) 1-14 March 2010; Israelis N=501, Settlers N=506\***

*(Palestinian Poll #35 4 March - 6 March 2010; N=1270)*

\*Listed below are the questions asked in the Israeli survey, and the comparable Palestinian questions. When Israeli and Palestinian questions differ, the Palestinian version is italicized.

**V6) How would you describe Israel's condition in general these days?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Very good	6.5%	5.0%	5.6%	
2) Good	27.9%	24.0%	24.0%	
3) So-so	36.6%	47.0%	43.7%	
4) Bad	14.2%	13.8%	14.8%	
5) Very Bad	11.5%	8.8%	10.4%	
6) DK/NA	3.4%	1.4%	1.6%	

*Q1) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?*

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) <i>Very good</i>				2.0%
2) <i>Good</i>				8.9%
3) <i>So-so</i>				13.5%
4) <i>Bad</i>				40.1%
5) <i>Very Bad</i>				33.1%
6) <i>DK/NA</i>				2.4%

*Q2) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?*

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) <i>Very good</i>				6.9%
2) <i>Good</i>				23.9%
3) <i>So-so</i>				28.9%
4) <i>Bad</i>				26.1%
5) <i>Very Bad</i>				9.7%
6) <i>DK/NA</i>				4.4%

**V7) Did you support or oppose, at the time, Sharon's disengagement plan, in which all the settlements in Gaza Strip and some of the settlements in Samaria were evacuated?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely supported	4.0%	10.5%	13.2%	
2) Supported	14.8%	40.6%	40.1%	
3) Objected	35.6%	23.5%	21.2%	
4) Definitely objected	38.7%	15.0%	12.8%	
5) DK/NA	6.9%	10.5%	12.8%	

**V8) (Q44) What do you expect to happen now, after the assassination of Mahmoud Al-Mabhuh In Dubai and the Israeli announcement of Al Haram al Ibrahim in Hebron and Masjid Bilal in Bethlehem as part of Israeli historic national heritage?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	4.3%	6.4%	7.0%	14.4%
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	31.8%	37.5%	35.3%	36.3%
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	49.6%	44.9%	45.3%	43.1%
4) DK/NA	14.2%	11.2%	12.4%	6.1%

**V9) What do you expect to happen with the settlements in Judea and Samaria in the coming years?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Most settlements will be evacuated	4.3%	5.7%	6.0%	
2) Some settlements will be evacuated	21.3%	31.4%	29.1%	
3) The number of settlements will remain as it is today	28.9%	38.7%	35.7%	
4) Some settlements will be added	22.1%	10.2%	13.4%	
5) Many settlements will be added	13.4%	3.6%	5.0%	
6) DK/NA	9.9%	10.5%	10.8%	

**V10) (*Settlers only*) Various reasons are given for the decision to settle in Judea and Samaria:**

- National or religious mission to inhabit the land
- The importance of the territories for the security of Israel
- Personal wish for quality of life, housing and community

**Of these three reasons, what is the most important reason for your own decision to live in the place you live now?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) National or religious mission to inhabit the land	31.2%			
2) The importance of the territories to the security of Israel	15.2%			
3) Personal wish for quality of life, housing and community	46.2%			
4) DK/NA	7.3%			

**V11) In your opinion, what is the most important reason for the majority of the residents in Judea and Samaria to settle in the territories?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) National or religious mission to inhabit the land	48.0%	57.7%	54.7%	
2) The importance of the territories to the security of Israel	13.4%	18.3%	21.2%	
3) Personal wish for quality of life, housing and community	25.9%	19.0%	19.2%	
4) DK/NA	12.6%	5.0%	5.0%	

**(*Israeli Jews only*) In thinking about the various paths along which Israel can develop, there are four important values that clash to some extent, and that are important to different degrees to different people:**

1. Israel with a Jewish majority
2. Greater Israel
3. A democratic state (with equal political rights to all)
4. Peace (that is, low probability for war).

**Of these four values which is the most important one to you? which is the second in importance? the third?**

**V12) Most important value \_\_\_\_\_**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Jewish majority	49.0%	28.7%		
2) Greater Israel	16.0%	11.2%		
3) Democracy	12.1%	26.1%		
4) Peace	20.4%	32.1%		
5) DK/NA	2.6%	1.9%		

**V13) 2<sup>nd</sup> most important \_\_\_\_\_**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Jewish majority	23.1%	20.9%		
2) Greater Israel	27.1%	15.9%		
3) Democracy	19.8%	28.7%		
4) Peace	24.9%	31.4%		
5) DK/NA	5.1%	3.1%		

**V14) 3<sup>rd</sup> most important \_\_\_\_\_**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Jewish majority	14.2%	24.0%		
2) Greater Israel	20.4%	25.4%		
3) Democracy	27.1%	24.7%		
4) Peace	23.7%	20.2%		
5) DK/NA	14.6%	5.7%		

**V15) 4<sup>th</sup> most important \_\_\_\_\_**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Jewish majority	7.5%	21.9%		
2) Greater Israel	25.5%	40.4%		
3) Democracy	27.9%	15.4%		
4) Peace	20.9%	12.1%		
5) DK/NA	18.2%	10.2%		

**V16) When do you think will it be possible to achieve a political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) A political settlement is not possible ever	49.0%	31.4%	34.1%	
2) Only in many generations to come	15.8%	20.7%	19.2%	
3) Only in the next generation	13.2%	18.5%	16.4%	
4) Only in the next decade	4.3%	9.5%	9.2%	
5) In the next few years	7.7%	11.2%	11.4%	
6) DK/NA	9.9%	8.8%	9.8%	

**Of the following bodies, which have the authority to decide to evacuate or not evacuate settlements in Judea and Samaria?****V17) The government**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Yes	42.7%	72.2%	71.9%	
2) No	53.6%	24.7%	24.6%	
3) DK/NA	3.8%	3.1%	3.6%	

**V18) The Knesset**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Yes	43.1%	67.0%	66.7%	
2) No	51.8%	29.9%	29.1%	
3) DK/NA	5.1%	3.1%	4.2%	

**V19) The Knesset but only by a Jewish majority**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Yes	44.5%	49.4%	52.1%	
2) No	49.2%	45.8%	42.1%	
3) DK/NA	6.3%	4.8%	5.8%	

**V20) A referendum**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Yes	60.1%	57.0%	50.9%	
2) No	35.8%	38.5%	43.3%	
3) DK/NA	4.2%	4.5%	5.8%	

**V21) Rabbinical authority**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Yes	23.9%	17.1%	20.0%	
2) No	70.6%	79.3%	75.4%	
3) DK/NA	5.5%	3.6%	4.6%	

**V22) If the government decides on a comprehensive evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria, how in your opinion should one respond to this decision?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Obey	19.8%	36.6%	37.9%	
2) Resist it by legal means	51.6%	42.3%	39.1%	
3) Resist it by all means	21.1%	15.0%	16.6%	
4) DK/NA	7.5%	6.2%	6.4%	

**V23) And is it justified in such a struggle to try to bring down the government?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Yes	64.0%	41.1%	40.9%	
2) No	29.4%	52.0%	50.9%	
3) DK/NA	6.5%	6.9%	8.2%	

**V24) And to endanger yourself and your family?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Yes	13.2%	9.5%	14.8%	
2) No	79.8%	81.0%	74.3%	
3) DK/NA	6.9%	9.5%	11.0%	

**V25) And to endanger other Jews (*Israeli Arabs were asked: Other people*)?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Yes	9.5%	8.8%	12.4%	
2) No	85.0%	81.5%	76.2%	
3) DK/NA	5.5%	9.7%	11.4%	

**V26) And how, in your opinion, will most settlers in Judea and Samaria respond to such a decision?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) The majority will obey	5.7%	9.5%	9.6%	
2) The majority will resist the decision by legal means	42.9%	31.6%	27.1%	
3) The majority will resist the decision by all means	39.5%	52.3%	56.7%	
4) DK/NA	11.9%	6.7%	6.6%	

**V27) (*Settlers only*) If a comprehensive evacuation of settlements would take place as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians, which of the following arrangements, in your opinion, would be the right one for the settlers in the settlements included in the evacuation?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) To allow Jewish settlers to continue to live in the settlements under Palestinian rule	5.7%			
2) Not to allow them to stay, and settle them in another settlement in Judea and Samaria pending the government's decision	12.3%			
3) Not to allow them to stay, and settle them in another community in Israel pending the government's decision	11.1%			
4) Not to allow them to stay, and pay them compensation so they can decide for themselves where to live	46.6%			
5) The disengagement plan will not occur	10.3%			
6) DK/NA	14.0%			

**V28) A comprehensive evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria might change dramatically the lives of the settlers in the settlements to be evacuated, and cause pain and frustration in the settlers' community as a whole. Which of the following steps is the most important for facilitating the emotional frenzy among the settlers in Judea and Samaria?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Generous financial or economic compensation	37.4%	45.8%	44.1%	
2) Emotional compensation through empathy and understanding of the settlers' pain by the general public	4.5%	5.9%	6.2%	
3) Ideological compensation by strengthening the Jewish identity of the state through legislation and social arrangements	6.1%	12.1%	11.2%	
4) Political compensation by expanding the settlements in the settlement blocs that will remain under Israeli sovereignty	22.5%	20.7%	19.8%	
5) Do not deserve compensation	0.2%	1.4%	4.2%	
6) No compensation sufficient	17.6%	8.8%	9.0%	
7) DK/NA	11.7%	5.2%	5.6%	

**V29) In your opinion, do the settlements contribute or hurt Israel's national security?**

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Contribute to security	39.7%	39.5%	
2) Hurt security	29.9%	32.9%	
3) Neither contribute nor hurt	23.0%	20.0%	
4) DK/NA	7.4%	7.6%	

**V30) To what extent do you support or oppose dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Strongly support	5.1%	19.0%	23.8%	
2) Support	18.2%	36.8%	36.3%	
3) Oppose	29.2%	22.1%	20.0%	
4) Strongly oppose	39.7%	15.0%	12.8%	
5) DK/NA	7.7%	7.1%	7.2%	

**V31) And what about the majority of the Israeli public? Do most Israelis support or oppose dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace agreement?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Majority supports	22.3%	31.8%	31.1%	
2) Majority opposes	56.5%	41.8%	43.9%	
3) <b>(Don't read)</b> Split- half	8.5%	12.4%	12.0%	
4) DK/NA	12.6%	14.0%	13.0%	

**V32) (Q46) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state along side Israel, known as the two-state solution?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely support	8.5%	21.4%	25.7%	8.4%
2) Support	30.8%	46.8%	45.3%	48.8%
3) Object	27.9%	18.1%	16.2%	29.5%
4) Definitely Object	24.7%	8.6%	7.6%	11.6%
5) DK/NA	8.1%	5.2%	5.2%	1.7%

**V33) (Q47) Some people think that the best solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the one in which Israel is unified with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to establish one state whereby Palestinians and Israelis would have equal rights – a solution known as the one-state solution for two people (Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews would be equal). Do you support or oppose this solution?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely support	1.2%	4.5%	6.0%	4.1%
2) Support	15.4%	17.8%	17.8%	24.6%
3) Object	33.8%	36.1%	37.5%	47.3%
4) Definitely Object	40.9%	35.6%	32.5%	21.5%
5) DK/NA	8.7%	5.9%	6.2%	2.5%



**V34) (Q48) And what about a two-state solution for two people with joint political institutions, which will lead eventually to a confederation of the two states? Do you support or oppose this solution?**

*(And what about a solution of a Palestinian state alongside Israel where both states share joint political institutions which will eventually lead to a confederation. Do you support or oppose such a solution?)*

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely support	1.2%	5.7%	6.8%	3.3%
2) Support	11.3%	24.2%	23.4%	23.0%
3) Object	37.5%	35.4%	37.5%	50.9%
4) Definitely Object	37.7%	24.0%	21.2%	18.2%
5) DK/NA	12.3%	10.7%	11.2%	4.6%

**V35) (Q49) And in your opinion, which of the three solutions is the most difficult to achieve?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) The solution of two independent states	18.8%	27.8%	29.3%	31.6%
2) The one-state for two people with equal rights solution	34.4%	38.7%	37.7%	42.2%
3) The two-state with joint political institutions solution ( <i>the two states jointly in confederation</i> )	21.7%	21.2%	20.6%	18.1%
4) DK/NA	25.1%	12.4%	12.4%	8.2%

**V43) (Q20) To what extent are you worried or not worried that you or a member of your family could be hurt by Arabs (Israel) in your daily life (or that your land would be confiscated or home demolished)?**

**(Israeli Arabs were asked "To what extent are you or are you not worried that you or your family members may be harmed by Jews in your daily life?")**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Very worried	17.0%	17.6%	16.6%	33.8%
2) Worried	34.2%	35.9%	35.5%	42.8%
3) Not worried	31.6%	28.5%	28.3%	17.3%
4) Not at all worried	15.2%	15.0%	16.4%	5.8%
5) DK/NA	2.0%	3.1%	3.2%	0.3%

**44-47) (Settlers only) For each of the following protest activities against the freezing or evacuation of settlements, please tell me whether you participated or did not participate in person:**

**V44) (Settlers only) Demonstrations, marches or assemblies that were held in Judea and Samaria**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Yes	27.5%			
2) No	70.2%			
3) DK/NA	2.4%			

**V45) (Settlers only) Demonstrations, marches or assemblies that were held within the 1967 borders?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Yes	27.1%			
2) No	70.8%			
3) DK/NA	2.2%			

**V46) (*Settlers only*) Persuasion activities such as discussion groups, house calls, distribution of fliers or picketing on road intersections**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Yes	18.6%			
2) No	79.2%			
3) DK/NA	2.2%			

**V47) (*Settlers only*) And did you participate in active resistance to IDF evacuation of an outpost or settlement?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Yes	8.7%			
2) No	88.7%			
3) DK/NA	2.6%			

**V48) If a comprehensive evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria will be decided upon, do you plan or do not plan on taking an active role in protest activities against such evacuation, during the evacuation?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely yes	17.0%	6.2%	6.6%	
2) Think yes	17.6%	12.4%	12.8%	
3) Think no	19.2%	24.0%	22.8%	
4) Definitely no	33.8%	53.4%	53.3%	
5) DK/NA	12.5%	4.0%	4.6%	

Recently there is much talk about refusals to fulfil duties in the IDF. These usually stem from two major reasons. One is a personal conscience-related reason. The refuser believes that his duty contradicts moral, religious or personal values. This type of refusal is labeled conscience motivated refusal. Another reason is that the refuser seeks social or legal change on issues which are not strictly personal and his refusal connotes an act of demonstration. This is labeled outlook motivated refusal.

**V49) In your opinion, a soldier's refusal to serve in the territories is more of an outlook motivated refusal or more of a conscience motivated refusal? Give your answer on a continuum ranging from 1 to 10 where 1 means an outlook motivated refusal and 10 means conscience motivated refusal:**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
Mean	5.20	5.38	5.57	

**V50) And how would you rate a soldier's refusal to evacuate settlements in Judea and Samaria– is it more of an outlook motivated refusal or more of a conscience motivated refusal? Again, give your answer on a continuum ranging from 1 to 10 where 1 means an outlook motivated refusal and 10 means conscience motivated refusal**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
Mean	6.06	5.82	5.70	

**V51) In your opinion should the same punishment be instituted on the refusal to serve in the territories and refusal to evacuate settlements?**

	Settlers	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely the same punishment	36.8%	46.1%	41.7%	
2) There should be a punishment on the refusal to serve in the territories but not on the refusal to evacuate settlements	22.9%	14.0%	12.8%	
3) There should be a punishment on the refusal to evacuate settlements but not on the refusal to serve in the territories	2.4%	5.2%	7.0%	
4) There should be no punishment on either of them	22.1%	22.8%	25.5%	
5) DK/NA	15.8%	11.9%	13.0%	

**Israeli Settlers Polls 2005, 2010**

\*Listed below are the questions asked in the Israeli settlers survey, and the comparable older questions. When the 2010 and the 2005 questions differ, the older version is italicized.

**V6) (V5) How would you describe Israel's condition in general these days?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Very good	2.4%	6.5%	2.6%	5.6%
2) Good	12.2%	27.9%	17.5%	24.0%
3) So-so	36.1%	36.6%	35.3%	43.7%
4) Bad	21.8%	14.2%	18.9%	14.8%
5) Very Bad	26.3%	11.5%	25.3%	10.4%
6) DK/NA	1.2%	3.4%	0.5%	1.6%

**V7) (V6) Did you support or oppose, at the time, Sharon's disengagement plan, in which all the settlements in Gaza Strip and some of the settlements in Samaria were evacuated?**

*(Do you support or oppose Sharon's disengagement plan which proposes to evacuate all settlements from Gaza strip and a small number of settlements in the West Bank? )*

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Definitely supported	10.6%	4.0%	22.5%	13.2%
2) Supported	14.4%	14.8%	30.3%	40.1%
3) Objected	15.6%	35.6%	18.7%	21.2%
4) Definitely Objected	54.9%	38.7%	20.5%	12.8%
5) DK/NA	4.6%	6.9%	8.0%	12.8%

**V8) (V10) What do you expect to happen now, after the assassination of Mahmoud Al-Mabhuh In Dubai and the Israeli announcement of Al Haram al Ibrahimy in Hebron and Masjid Bilal in Bethlehem as part of Israeli historic national heritage?**

*(What do you expect to happen now, after the disengagement plan has been postponed to mid-August, and after Abu Mazin's visit to the US?)*

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	1.4%	4.3%	8.7%	7.0%
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	41.1%	31.8%	59.6%	35.3%
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	51.9%	49.6%	27.3%	45.3%
4) DK/NA	5.6%	14.2%	4.4%	12.4%

**V9) (V12) What do you expect to happen with the settlements in Judea and Samaria (in the West Bank) in the coming years?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
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1) Most settlements will be evacuated	12.0%	4.3%	17.4%	6.0%
2) Some settlements will be evacuated	29.5%	21.3%	40.7%	29.1%
3) The number of settlements will remain as it is today	18.0%	28.9%	14.0%	35.7%
4) Some settlements will be added	15.4%	22.1%	11.5%	13.4%
5) Many settlements will be added	18.2%	13.4%	6.7%	5.0%
6) DK/NA	7.0%	9.9%	9.8%	10.8%

**V10) (V14) (*Settlers only*) Various reasons are given for the decision to settle in Judea and Samaria:**

- National or religious mission to inhabit the land
- The importance of the territories for the security of Israel
- Personal wish for quality of life, housing and community

**Of these three reasons, what is the most important reason for your own decision to live in the place you live now?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) National or religious mission to inhabit the land	37.7%	31.2%		
2) The importance of the territories to the security of Israel	16.8%	15.2%		
3) Personal wish for quality of life, housing and community	41.5%	46.2%		
4) DK/NA	4.0%	7.3%		

**V11) (V16) In your opinion, what is the most important reason for the majority of the residents in Judea and Samaria (*and Gaza district*) to settle in the territories?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) National or religious mission to inhabit the land	60.7%	48.0%	54.1%	54.7%
2) The importance of the territories to the security of Israel	11.4%	13.4%	16.4%	21.2%
3) Personal wish for quality of life, housing and community	18.2%	25.9%	23.1%	19.2%
4) DK/NA	9.8%	12.6%	6.4%	5.0%

**(*Israeli Jews only*) In thinking about the various paths along which Israel can develop, there are four important values that clash to some extent, and that are important to different degrees to different people:**

5. Israel with a Jewish majority
6. Greater Israel
7. A democratic state (with equal political rights to all)
8. Peace (that is, low probability for war).

**Of these four values which is the most important one to you? which is the second in importance? the third?**

**V12) (V17) Most important value \_\_\_\_\_**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israeli Jews 05	Israeli Jews 10
1) Jewish majority	50.9%	49.0%	34.6%	28.7%
2) Greater Israel	17.8%	16.0%	10.2%	11.2%
3) Democracy	11.4%	12.1%	20.3%	26.1%
4) Peace	17.8%	20.4%	33.8%	32.1%
5) DK/NA	2.2%	2.6%	1.0%	1.9%

**V13) (V18) 2<sup>nd</sup> most important \_\_\_\_\_**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israeli Jews 05	Israeli Jews 10
1) Jewish majority	28.5%	23.1%	26.7%	20.9%
2) Greater Israel	24.0%	27.1%	16.7%	15.9%
3) Democracy	22.4%	19.8%	28.9%	28.7%
4) Peace	21.6%	24.9%	25.8%	31.4%
5) DK/NA	3.6%	5.1%	1.9%	3.1%

**V14) (V19) 3<sup>rd</sup> most important**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israeli Jews 05	Israeli Jews 10
1) Jewish majority	13.8%	14.2%	22.4%	24.0%
2) Greater Israel	15.6%	20.4%	18.7%	25.4%
3) Democracy	32.3%	27.1%	28.3%	24.7%
4) Peace	29.9%	23.7%	26.0%	20.2%
5) DK/NA	8.4%	14.6%	4.6%	5.7%

**V15) 4<sup>th</sup> most important**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israeli Jews 05	Israeli Jews 10
1) Jewish majority		7.5%		21.9%
2) Greater Israel		25.5%		40.4%
3) Democracy		27.9%		15.4%
4) Peace		20.9%		12.1%
5) DK/NA		18.2%		10.2%

**V16) When do you think will it be possible to achieve a political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) A political settlement is not possible ever		49.0%		34.1%
2) Only in many generations to come		15.8%		19.2%
3) Only in the next generation		13.2%		16.4%
4) Only in the next decade		4.3%		9.2%
5) In the next few years		7.7%		11.4%
6) DK/NA		9.9%		9.8%

**Of the following bodies, which have the authority to decide to evacuate or not evacuate settlements in Judea and Samaria (and the Gaza district)?****V17) (V21) The government**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Yes	49.1%	42.7%	69.8%	71.9%
2) No	49.9%	53.6%	28.8%	24.6%
3) DK/NA	1.0%	3.8%	1.4%	3.6%

**V18) (V22) The Knesset**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Yes	48.3%	43.1%	63.5%	66.7%
2) No	49.1%	51.8%	35.4%	29.1%
3) DK/NA	2.6%	5.1%	1.1%	4.2%

**V19) (V23) The Knesset but only by a Jewish majority**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Yes	52.1%	44.5%	51.8%	52.1%
2) No	45.9%	49.2%	45.5%	42.1%
3) DK/NA	2.0%	6.3%	2.7%	5.8%

**V20) (V24) A referendum**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Yes	62.7%	60.1%	57.4%	50.9%
2) No	34.9%	35.8%	40.6%	43.3%
3) DK/NA	2.4%	4.2%	2.0%	5.8%

**V21) (V25) Rabbinical authority**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Yes	26.3%	23.9%	18.0%	20.0%
2) No	72.1%	70.6%	81.0%	75.4%
3) DK/NA	1.6%	5.5%	1.0%	4.6%

**V22) (V26) If the government decides on a comprehensive evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria, how in your opinion should one respond to this decision?**

*(Now that the government decided on the disengagement and on the evacuation of once authorized settlements, how in your opinion should one respond to this decision?)*

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Obey	20.6%	19.8%	39.7%	37.9%
2) Resist it by legal means	61.1%	51.6%	44.5%	39.1%
3) Resist it by all means	15.2%	21.1%	14.3%	16.6%
4) DK/NA	3.2%	7.5%	1.6%	6.4%

**V23) (V27) And is it justified in such a struggle to try to bring down the government?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Yes	70.7%	64.0%	45.6%	40.9%
2) No	26.1%	29.4%	49.1%	50.9%
3) DK/NA	3.2%	6.5%	5.3%	8.2%

**V24) (V28) And to endanger yourself and your family?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Yes	16.6%	13.2%	10.7%	14.8%
2) No	79.4%	79.8%	86.5%	74.3%
3) DK/NA	4.0%	6.9%	2.8%	11.0%

**V25) (V29) And to endanger other Jews (Israeli Arabs were asked: Other people)?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Yes	8.6%	9.5%	7.2%	12.4%
2) No	87.2%	85.0%	89.5%	76.2%
3) DK/NA	4.2%	5.5%	3.2%	11.4%

**V26) (V30) And how, in your opinion, will most settlers in Judea and Samaria respond to such a decision?**

*(And how will most settlers in Judea Samaria and Gaza respond now that the government decided on the disengagement and on the evacuation of once authorized settlements?)*

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) The majority will obey	10.0%	5.7%	15.7%	9.6%
2) The majority will resist the decision by legal means	59.1%	42.9%	38.9%	27.1%
3) The majority will resist the decision by all means	25.7%	39.5%	38.2%	56.7%
4) DK/NA	5.2%	11.9%	7.2%	6.6%

**V27) (V31) (*Settlers only in 2010*) If a comprehensive evacuation of settlements (*the disengagement*) would take place as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians, which of the following arrangements, in your opinion, would be the right one for the settlers in the settlements included in the evacuation (*disengagement plan*)?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) To allow Jewish settlers to continue to live in the settlements under Palestinian rule	13.6%	5.7%	9.2%	
2) Not to allow them to stay, and settle them <i>in another settlement in Judea and Samaria</i> pending the government's decision	11.4%	12.3%	7.9%	
3) Not to allow them to stay, and settle them in another community in Israel pending the government's decision	4.0%	11.1%	18.8%	
4) Not to allow them to stay, and pay them compensation so they can decide for themselves where to live	56.3%	46.6%	55.8%	
5) The disengagement plan will not occur	3.8%	10.3%	1.3%	
6) DK/NA	11.0%	14.0%	6.8%	

**V28) (V34) A comprehensive evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria might change dramatically (*The disengagement plan dramatically changes*) the lives of the settlers in the settlements to be evacuated, and cause (*causes*) pain and frustration in the settlers' community as a whole. Which of the following steps is the most important for facilitating the emotional frenzy among the settlers in Judea and Samaria (*Judea, Samaria and Gaza*)?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) ( <i>More</i> ) Generous financial or economic compensation	31.7%	37.4%	41.3%	44.1%
2) Emotional compensation through empathy and understanding of the settlers' pain by the general public	17.0%	4.5%	17.9%	6.2%
3) Ideological compensation by strengthening the Jewish identity of the state through legislation and social arrangements	13.0%	6.1%	13.0%	11.2%
4) Political compensation by expanding the settlements in the settlement blocs that will remain under Israeli sovereignty ( <i>the settlements project in Judea and Samaria</i> )	28.5%	22.5%	15.7%	19.8%
5) Do not deserve compensation	0.2%	0.2%	5.0%	4.2%
6) No compensation sufficient	1.6%	17.6%	0.8%	9.0%
7) DK/NA	8.0%	11.7%	6.4%	5.6%

**V29) Administrative use**



**V30) (V38) To what extent do you support or oppose dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Strongly support	12.2%	5.1%	28.8%	23.8%
2) Support	17.8%	18.2%	33.0%	36.3%
3) Oppose	21.4%	29.2%	14.6%	20.0%
4) Strongly oppose	45.3%	39.7%	17.6%	12.8%
5) DK/NA	3.4%	7.7%	6.0%	7.2%

**V31) And what about the majority of the Israeli public? Do most Israelis support or oppose dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace agreement?**

	Settlers 10	Israelis 10
1) Majority supports	22.3%	31.1%
2) Majority opposes	56.5%	43.9%
3) <b>(Don't read)</b> Split- half	8.5%	12.0%
4) DK/NA	12.6%	13.0%

*V39-44) What percent of the Israeli public support dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians? \_\_\_\_\_*

	Settlers 05	Israelis 05
<i>Percent of respondents believing that the majority of the Israeli public support dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians</i>	34.2%	48.5%

**V32) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state along side Israel, known as the two-state solution?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Definitely support		8.5%		25.7%
2) Support		30.8%		45.3%
3) Object		27.9%		16.2%
4) Definitely Object		24.7%		7.6%
5) DK/NA		8.1%		5.2%

**V33) Some people think that the best solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the one in which Israel is unified with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to establish one state whereby Palestinians and Israelis would have equal rights – a solution known as the one-state solution for two people. Do you support or oppose this solution?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Definitely support		1.2%		6.0%
2) Support		15.4%		17.8%
3) Object		33.8%		37.5%
4) Definitely Object		40.9%		32.5%
5) DK/NA		8.7%		6.2%

**V34) And what about a two-state solution for two people with joint political institutions, which will lead eventually to a confederation of the two states? Do you support or oppose this solution?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Definitely support		1.2%		6.8%
2) Support		11.3%		23.4%
3) Object		37.5%		37.5%
4) Definitely Object		37.7%		21.2%
5) DK/NA		12.3%		11.2%

**V35) And which of the three solutions is the most difficult to achieve?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) The solution of two independent states		18.8%		29.3%
2) The one-state for two people with equal rights solution		34.4%		37.7%
3) The one-state with joint political institutions solution		21.7%		20.6%
4) DK/NA		25.1%		12.4%

**V36 – V42) Administrative use****V43) (V53) To what extent are you or are you not worried (Are you worried or not worried) that you or your family members may be harmed by Arabs in your daily life?**

(Israeli Arabs were asked "To what extent are you or are you not worried that you or your family members may be harmed by Jews in your daily life?")

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
6) Very worried	19.4%	17.0%	25.5%	16.6%
7) Worried	38.9%	34.2%	41.9%	35.5%
8) Not worried	26.3%	31.6%	19.9%	28.3%
9) Not at all worried	14.2%	15.2%	10.9%	16.4%
10) DK/NA	1.2%	2.0%	1.8%	3.2%

For each of the following protest activities against the freezing or evacuation of settlements, please tell me whether you participated or did not participate in person:

**V44) (V54) (Settlers only in 2010) Demonstrations, marches or assemblies that were held in Judea and Samaria**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israeli Jews 05	Israeli Jews 10
1) Yes	25.5%	27.5%	4.3%	
2) No	73.5%	70.2%	94.8%	
3) DK/NA	1.0%	2.4%	0.9%	

**V45) (V55) (Settlers only in 2010) Demonstrations, marches or assemblies that were held within the 1967 borders?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israeli Jews 05	Israeli Jews 10
1) Yes	30.1%	27.1%	6.3%	
2) No	69.1%	70.8%	92.8%	
3) DK/NA	0.8%	2.2%	0.9%	

**V46) (V56) (Settlers only in 2010) Persuasion activities such as discussion groups, house calls, distribution of fliers or picketing on road intersections**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israeli Jews 05	Israeli Jews 10
1) Yes	20.0%	18.6%	3.5%	
2) No	79.2%	79.2%	95.2%	
3) DK/NA	0.8%	2.2%	1.2%	

**V47) (V57) (Settlers only in 2010) And did you participate in active resistance to IDF evacuation of an outpost or settlement?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israeli Jews 05	Israeli Jews 10
1) Yes	5.2%	8.7%	0.3%	
2) No	93.6%	88.7%	98.5%	
3) DK/NA	1.2%	2.6%	1.2%	

**V48) (V58) (*Israeli Jews only*) If a comprehensive evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria will be decided upon, do you plan or do not plan on taking an active role in protest activities against such evacuation, during the evacuation?**

*(Are you planning or not planning on taking an active role in protest activities against the disengagement at the time of the disengagement?)*

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israeli Jews 05	Israeli Jews 10
1) Definitely yes	17.8%	17.0%	3.5%	6.6%
2) Think yes	15.4%	17.6%	5.4%	12.8%
3) Think no	8.8%	19.2%	10.2%	22.8%
4) Definitely no	52.7%	33.8%	76.3%	53.3%
5) DK/NA	5.4%	12.5%	4.6%	4.6%

Recently there is much talk about refusals to fulfil duties in the IDF. These usually stem from two major reasons. One is a personal conscience-related reason. The refuser believes that his duty contradicts moral, religious or personal values. This type of refusal is labeled conscience motivated refusal. Another reason is that the refuser seeks social or legal change on issues which are not strictly personal and his refusal connotes an act of demonstration. This is labeled outlook motivated refusal.

**V49) (V60-61) In your opinion, a soldier's refusal to serve in the territories is more of an outlook motivated refusal or more of a conscience motivated refusal? Give your answer on a continuum ranging from 1 to 10 where 1 means an outlook motivated refusal and 10 means conscience motivated refusal:**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
Mean	5.42	5.20	6.03	5.57

**V50) (V62-63) And how would you rate a soldier's refusal to evacuate settlements in Judea and Samaria– is it more of an outlook motivated refusal or more of a conscience motivated refusal? Again, give your answer on a continuum ranging from 1 to 10 where 1 means an outlook motivated refusal and 10 means conscience motivated refusal**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
Mean	6.65	6.06	6.34	5.70

**V51) (V64) In your opinion should the same punishment be instituted on the refusal to serve in the territories and refusal to evacuate settlements?**

	Settlers 05	Settlers 10	Israelis 05	Israelis 10
1) Definitely the same punishment	36.5%	36.8%	40.0%	41.7%
2) There should be a punishment on the refusal to serve in the territories but not on the refusal to evacuate settlements	28.5%	22.9%	17.7%	12.8%
3) There should be a punishment on the refusal to evacuate settlements but not on the refusal to serve in the territories	2.0%	2.4%	6.1%	7.0%
4) There should be no punishment on either of them	27.9%	22.1%	30.1%	25.5%
5) DK/NA	5.0%	15.8%	6.0%	13.0%