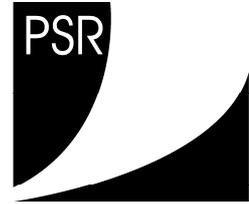




האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים
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المركز الفلسطيني
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Palestinian Center for
POLICY and
SURVEY RESEARCH

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Joint Israeli Palestinian Poll, March 2008

THREATENED ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS DISENCHANTED WITH THE PEACE PROCESS AND SUPPORT FURTHER VIOLENCE

These are the results of the most recent poll conducted jointly by 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 in Ramallah, between March 12 and 17, 2008.

The weeks preceding the poll were characterized by increased violence between Israel and Hamas in the Gaza Strip, with Hamas intensifying its rocket shelling on Israeli civilian communities; an Israeli incursion into Gaza that left more than 130 Palestinians dead; and a shooting attack in West Jerusalem that led to the death of 8 Israeli religious students.

The joint poll examined Israelis and Palestinians' assessments of the negotiations launched by the Annapolis conference and are currently going on between Olmert and Abu Mazin. It further examined Israeli and Palestinian attitudes regarding a permanent settlement along the lines of the Saudi (Arab league) plan and Israelis' attitudes towards a full evacuation of the Golan Heights in return for a complete peace agreement with Syria.

The findings indicate that both Israelis and Palestinians do not hold high hopes for the Abu Mazin–Olmert talks, don't see them as beneficial and believe they should be stopped. With regard to the Saudi plan, Israelis oppose it while Palestinians support it. A majority of Israelis also oppose the evacuation of the Golan for peace with Syria. At the same time there is considerable support for launching rockets and suicide attacks among Palestinians, and support for retaliatory operations in Gaza among Israelis. This combination looks explosive and may perpetuate further escalation in violence between the two sides.

The Palestinian sample size is 1270 adults interviewed face-to-face in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 127 randomly selected locations between March 13 and 15, 2008. The margin of error is 3%. The Israeli sample includes 597 adult Israelis interviewed by phone in Hebrew Arabic or

Russian between March 12 and 17, 2008. The margin of error is 4%. The poll was planned and supervised by Dr. Yaacov Shamir, the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace and the Department of Communication and Journalism at the Hebrew University and Dr. Khalil Shikaki, director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR).

For further details on the Palestinian survey contact PSR director, Dr. Khalil Shikaki or Walid Ladadweh, at tel. 02-296 4933 or email pcpsr@pcpsr.org. On the Israeli survey, contact Dr. Yaacov Shamir at tel. 03-6419429 or email jshamir@mscc.huji.ac.il.

This joint survey was conducted with the support of the Ford Foundation Cairo office and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Ramallah.

MAIN FINDINGS

(A) Peace Process:

- 57% of the Israelis oppose and 40% support the Saudi initiative which calls for Arab recognition of and normalization of relations with Israel after it ends its occupation of Arab territories occupied in 1967 and after the establishment of a Palestinian state. Among Palestinians, 66% support the plan and 32% oppose it.
- 44% of the Israelis support and 54% oppose talks with Hamas if needed to reach a compromise agreement with the Palestinians. However a sizeable Israeli majority (62%) support and only 34% oppose talks with a national unity government composed jointly of Hamas and Fatah if such a government is reestablished.
- Similarly, 45% of the Israelis support and 51% oppose the release of Marwan Barghouti from prison and negotiation with him, if needed to reach such an agreement.
- 67% of the Israelis support and 29% oppose mutual recognition of Israel as the state for the Jewish people and Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people as part of a permanent status agreement. Among Palestinians, 55% support and 44% oppose this step.
- 53% of the Israelis believe that the meetings between Mahmud Abbas and Ehud Olmert are not beneficial and should be stopped while 39% believe they should continue. Palestinians show greater disappointment with these talks. Among Palestinians a sizeable majority of 75% believe the talks should come to a halt while only 21% believe they are beneficial and should be continued.
- 66% among Israelis and 68% of the Palestinians believe that the chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state during the next five years are non-existent or weak. Only 31% of Israelis and 30% of Palestinians believe chances are fair or high.
- 59% of Israelis oppose full evacuation of the Golan Heights in return for a complete peace agreement with Syria, and 25% support it.

(B) Threat perceptions and support of violence

Following the renewed wave of violence, both Israelis and Palestinians' threat levels increased significantly compared to our December 2007 poll.

- Among Israelis, 74% are worried that they or their family may be harmed by Arabs in their daily life, compared to 64% in our December 2007 poll -- an increase of 10 percentage points. Among Palestinians 63% fear that their security and safety and that of their family is not assured compared to 53% three months ago, a similar 10 percentage points increase.
- 13% of the Israelis also fear that Hezbollah will react to the assassination of Imad Mughniyeh by resuming the bombing and shooting of IDF forces along the border, 21% fear that it will retaliate by resuming the rocket launches on Israeli towns, 42% believe it will perform terrorists attacks against Jews and Israelis around the world and only 13% believe it will restrain itself and will not respond.

Consistent with the gloomy expectations from the peace process and the heightened threat feelings, Palestinians support of violent acts against Israel is staggering while Israeli support for military action in Gaza remains stable.

- An overwhelming majority of 84% support and 13% oppose the shooting attack that took place in a religious school in West Jerusalem. Support for this attack is greater in the Gaza Strip (91%) compared to the West Bank (79%).
- 64% support and 33% oppose launching rockets from the Gaza Strip against Israeli towns and cities such as Sderot and Ashkelon.
- Among Israelis only 27% believe that if the shelling of Israeli communities from the Gaza Strip continues, Israel should use primarily diplomatic rather than military steps, 29% of the Israelis suggest that Israel should reoccupy the Gaza Strip and stay there and 41% think that Israel should carry out ad-hoc operations against the shelling and get out. Surprisingly these figures did not change from three months ago.

Israeli Poll#(23) 12-17 March 2008; N=597*
(Palestinian Poll #(27)13-15 March 2008; 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.
 1-3 (administrative use)

V4) (Q13-Q14) How would you describe Israel's condition in general these days?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Very good | 1.9% | 2.5% | |
| 2) Good | 9.7% | 10.4% | |
| 3) So-so | 42.5% | 40.6% | |
| 4) Bad | 22.1% | 22.5% | |
| 5) Very Bad | 23.2% | 23.2% | |

Q13) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Very good | | | 0.9% |
| 2) Good | | | 4.4% |
| 3) So-so | | | 6.8% |
| 4) Bad | | | 30.1% |
| 5) Very Bad | | | 56.8% |

Q14) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Very good | | | 2.2% |
| 2) Good | | | 18.9% |
| 3) So-so | | | 24.9% |
| 4) Bad | | | 33.3% |
| 5) Very Bad | | | 18.3% |

V5) In your opinion how will Hizbulla react to the assassination of Imad Mughniyeh?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) It will restrain itself and will not respond | 12.3% | 12.9% | |
| 2) Bombing and shooting of IDF forces along the northern border will resume. | 12.3% | 13.3% | |
| 3) Rocket launches against Israeli towns will resume. | 21.6% | 21.1% | |
| 4) Terrorist attacks against Jews and Israelis around the world will take place. | 44.7% | 42.4% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 9.1% | 10.2% | |

V6) (Q26) What do you expect to happen now between Palestinians and Israelis, after increase in the level of violence and number of Palestinian and Israeli casualties (and at the time the two sides started final status negotiations launched by the Annapolis Conference)?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop | 2.4% | 4.6% | 12.9% |
| 2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue | 50.8% | 48.9% | 47.8% |

| | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|
| 3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations | 44.7% | 44.0% | 34.5% |
| 4) DK/NA | 2.1% | 2.5% | 4.9% |

V7) And if the shelling of Israeli communities from the Gaza Strip will continue, how in your opinion should Israel react?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Reoccupy the Gaza Strip and stay there | 31.6% | 28.6% | |
| 2) Carry out ad-hoc operations against the shelling and get out | 45.0% | 40.8% | |
| 3) Use primarily diplomatic rather than military steps | 19.9% | 26.9% | |
| 4) DK/NA | 3.4% | 3.6% | |

V8) If in order to reach a compromise agreement with the Palestinians, Israel will have to release Marwan Barghouti from prison and negotiate with him, in your opinion - should Israel resort or not resort to such a step?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely should do it | 15.1% | 20.5% | |
| 2) Think it should do it | 22.2% | 24.2% | |
| 3) Think it should not do it | 15.2% | 13.7% | |
| 4) Definitely should not do it | 43.3% | 37.7% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 4.1% | 3.8% | |

V9) If in order to reach a compromise agreement with the Palestinians, Israel will have to negotiate with the Hamas government - in your opinion, should Israel do it or not?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely should do it | 11.0% | 16.7% | |
| 2) Think it should do it | 26.3% | 27.1% | |
| 3) Think it should not do it | 14.8% | 14.2% | |
| 4) Definitely should not do it | 45.7% | 39.4% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.2% | 2.5% | |

V10) And what is the Israeli majority opinion on this issue? Do most Israelis think Israel should or should not negotiate with the Hamas government ?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Majority think Israel should do it | 22.4% | 26.8% | |
| 2) Majority think Israel should not do it | 66.3% | 62.2% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 11.3% | 10.9% | |

V11) And if a national unity government composed jointly of Hamas and Fateh will reestablish, should Israel negotiate with it, or should it not, in order to reach a compromise agreement?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely should do it | 21.0% | 25.5% | |
| 2) Think it should do it | 37.3% | 36.6% | |
| 3) Think it should not do it | 16.9% | 15.9% | |
| 4) Definitely should not do it | 20.7% | 18.4% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 4.2% | 3.7% | |

V12) (Q18) Hamas insists on armed resistance as a strategic choice (to liberate all Palestine). In your view, what is the reason for Hamas's insistence on armed resistance?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Religious factor, since it thinks that armed resistance is the Jihad called for in the Islam | 27.6% | 24.9% | 31.5% |
| 2) Wants to use armed resistance as a bargaining card with the aim of achieving political benefits for the Palestinians | 30.5% | 32.0% | 14.7% |
| 3) For fear of losing public support | 21.1% | 20.0% | 13.2% |
| 4) For fear of a split inside the movement if it abandons armed resistance | 14.1% | 14.6% | 7.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 6.8% | 8.5% | 8.6% |
| 5) (<i>Its belief that the peace process has failed and that armed resistance is the most effective means of restoring Palestinian rights</i>) | - | - | 24.2% |

V14) In your opinion, what are the aspirations of the Hamas leadership eventually?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) To take back part of the territories occupied in the Six Days War | 8.9% | 13.3% | |
| 2) To take back all the territories occupied in the Six Days War | 17.4% | 20.6% | |
| 3) To conquer the state of Israel | 19.0% | 17.8% | |
| 4) To conquer the state of Israel and annihilate a considerable part of the Jewish population in the state | 51.1% | 44.3% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.6% | 4.1% | |

V15) In your opinion, what are the aspirations of the Fateh leadership eventually?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis |
|--|--------------|--------------|
| 1) To take back part of the territories occupied in the Six Days War | 23.4% | 27.2% |
| 2) To take back all the territories occupied in the Six Days War | 26.9% | 26.9% |
| 3) To conquer the state of Israel | 10.7% | 9.9% |
| 4) To conquer the state of Israel and annihilate a considerable part of the Jewish population in the State | 35.1% | 30.7% |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.8% | 5.2% |

V16) The Joint statement issued during the Annapolis conference stated that Israel and the Palestinians will engage in permanent status negotiations aiming at reaching a peace treaty based on the establishment of two states: the state of Israel and the state of Palestine. Do you support or oppose of this goal?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Strongly support | 21.5% | 23.9% | |
| 2) support | 42.2% | 42.5% | |
| 3) oppose | 14.7% | 14.0% | |
| 4) Strongly oppose | 20.1% | 17.6% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.5% | 2.1% | |

V17) The joint statement also stated that the two sides will seek to conclude the permanent status negotiations before the end of 2008. Do you think they will indeed succeed in achieving that on the period indicated?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely yes | 1.0% | 1.5% | |
| 2) Yes | 2.8% | 5.4% | |
| 3) No | 29.4% | 28.1% | |
| 4) Definitely no | 65.3% | 63.4% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.5% | 1.6% | |

V18) (Q23) With regard to meetings between Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and PA President Mahmud Abbas, do you see them beneficial and should be continued or do you see them unbeneficial and should be stopped?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Beneficial, and should continue | 39.3% | 39.2% | 21.4% |
| 2) Unbeneficial and should stop | 52.0% | 52.6% | 74.9% |
| 3) DK/NA | 8.7% | 8.2% | 3.7% |

V19) (Q27) According to the Saudi plan, Israel will retreat from all territories occupied in 1967 including Gaza the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and a Palestinian state will be established. The refugees problem will be resolved through negotiation in a just and agreed upon manner and in accordance with UN resolution 194 (which allows return of refugees to Israel and compensation). In return, all Arab states will recognize Israel and its right to secure borders, will sign peace treaties with her and establish normal diplomatic relations. Do you agree or disagree to this plan?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely agree | 9.8% | 12.0% | 8.2% |
| 2) Agree | 22.8% | 28.0% | 57.5% |
| 3) Disagree | 29.6% | 26.9% | 24.8% |
| 4) Definitely disagree | 35.0% | 30.1% | 6.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.9% | 3.0% | 2.7% |

V20) And in your opinion is it possible or impossible to reach nowadays a compromise settlement with President Abu Mazin and the Fateh leadership?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely it is possible | 3.2% | 3.6% | |
| 2) Think it is possible | 28.4% | 30.5% | |
| 3) Think it is impossible | 36.1% | 33.6% | |
| 4) Definitely it is impossible | 30.3% | 30.4% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.9% | 2.0% | |

V21) In general, how soon do you think will a political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians be achieved?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) A political settlement is not possible ever | 34.4% | 32.7% | |
| 2) Only in many generations to come | 17.2% | 17.7% | |
| 3) Only in the next generation | 16.7% | 16.3% | |
| 4) Only in the next decade | 11.4% | 11.2% | |
| 5) In the next few years | 15.3% | 17.1% | |
| 6) DK/NA | 5.0% | 4.9% | |

V41) (Q33) Now, 40 years after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, what in your view are the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years? (Are they high, medium, low, or none existent?)

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Non existent | 31.6% | 30.7% | 31.1% |
| 2) Low | 35.2% | 35.7% | 37.2% |
| 3) Medium | 24.1% | 23.9% | 24.2% |
| 4) High | 6.0% | 6.8% | 5.3% |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.0% | 2.9% | 2.2% |

V42) (Q17) To what extent are you or are you not worried that you or your family members may be harmed by Arabs in your daily life? (Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?)

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Very worried (<i>Not assured at all</i>) | 32.1% | 30.9% | 15.0% |
| 2) Worried (<i>Not assured</i>) | 44.8% | 43.2% | 48.0% |
| 3) Not worried (<i>Assured</i>) | 15.5% | 16.3% | 30.2% |
| 4) Not at all worried (<i>Completely assured</i>) | 6.6% | 8.6% | 6.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 0.9% | 1.0% | 0.0% |

V43) If a peace agreement is reached, and a Palestinian state is established and recognized by Israel, would you support or oppose the efforts to reach full reconciliation between Israel and the Palestinian state?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Would strongly support | 24.5% | 27.3% | |
| 2) Would support | 49.7% | 49.6% | |
| 3) Would oppose | 12.6% | 11.2% | |
| 4) Would strongly oppose | 10.2% | 9.1% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.0% | 2.7% | |

V44) If a peace agreement is reached and a Palestinian state is established and recognized by Israel, how soon do you think full reconciliation between the two people will be achieved?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Reconciliation is not possible ever | 28.7% | 26.5% | |
| 2) Only in many generations to come | 23.0% | 22.0% | |
| 3) Only in the next generation | 22.3% | 21.1% | |
| 4) Only in the next decade | 10.6% | 11.4% | |
| 5) In the next few years | 11.9% | 15.5% | |
| 6) DK/NA | 3.4% | 3.6% | |

V45) (Q28) There is a proposal that after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and the settlement of all issues in dispute, including the refugees and Jerusalem issues, there will be a mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people. Do you agree or disagree to this proposal?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely agree | 21.3% | 21.6% | 5.3% |
| 2) Agree | 44.8% | 45.4% | 51.8% |
| 3) Disagree | 18.4% | 18.7% | 29.8% |
| 4) Definitely disagree | 11.8% | 10.1% | 11.8% |

| | | | |
|----------|------|------|------|
| 5) DK/NA | 3.7% | 4.2% | 1.3% |
|----------|------|------|------|

V46) (Q29) And what is the Israeli (*Palestinian*) majority opinion on this issue? Do most Israelis (*Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza*) support or oppose the mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Majority supports | 55.7% | 56.1% | 46.9% |
| 2) Majority opposes | 29.9% | 30.5% | 41.3% |
| 3) DK/NA | 14.4% | 13.4% | 12.0% |

V47) (Q30) And what is the Palestinian (*Israeli*) majority opinion on this issue? Do most Palestinians in the territories (*Israelis*) support or oppose the mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Majority supports | 32.2% | 33.7% | 40.1% |
| 2) Majority opposes | 51.1% | 50.2% | 47.8% |
| 3) DK/NA | 16.7% | 16.2% | 12.2% |

V48) Do you support or oppose full evacuation of the Golan Heights in return for a complete peace agreement with Syria?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Strongly oppose | 53.7% | 46.5% | |
| 2) Somewhat oppose | 13.8% | 12.9% | |
| 3) So so | 12.3% | 13.1% | |
| 4) Somewhat support | 11.3% | 11.8% | |
| 5) Strongly support | 5.9% | 13.1% | |
| 6) DK/NA | 2.9% | 2.6% | |

V49) 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?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Strongly support | 18.8% | 24.0% | |
| 2) Support | 28.5% | 29.2% | |
| 3) Oppose | 22.9% | 19.9% | |
| 4) Strongly oppose | 25.8% | 22.6% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.9% | 4.3% | |

V50-55) What percent of the Israeli public support dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 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 | 30.5% | 30.5% | |