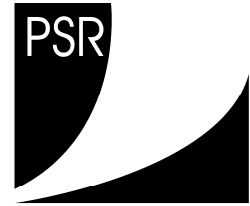




האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים
המכון למחקר ע"ש הרי.ס. טרומן
למען קידום השלום
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المركز الفلسطيني
للبحوث
السياسية والمسحية
Palestinian Center for
POLICY and
SURVEY RESEARCH

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PRESS RELEASE

Joint Israeli Palestinian Poll, June 2013

Despite the launching of the efforts of US Secretary of State John Kerry to renew the peace process and the modification introduced to the Arab Peace Initiative (API) accepting minor territorial swaps, both sides display pessimism regarding the peace process and Israeli support for the API drops

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.

This joint survey was conducted with the support of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Ramallah and Jerusalem.

- **Israelis and Palestinians continue to display pessimism regarding the peace process despite efforts by US Secretary of State John Kerry to renew the peace process and despite modification introduced to the Arab Peace Initiative: Only 27% of the Palestinians and 10% of the Israelis think that the two sides will return to negotiations and violence will stop while 34% of the Israelis and 31% of the Palestinians believe that negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue as well. On the other hand, 44% of the Israelis and 15% of the Palestinians think that the two sides will not return to negotiations and armed attacks will not stop and 21% of the Palestinians believe that the two sides will not return to negotiations but that violence will not resume.**
- **Furthermore, findings indicate that each side perceives the other side as constituting a threat to its very existence: 57% of Palestinians think that Israel's goals in the long run are to extend its borders to cover all the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and expel its Arab citizens, and 25% think the goals are to annex the West Bank while denying political rights to the Palestinians. 37% of the Israelis think that the Palestinian aspirations in the long run are to conquer the State of Israel**

and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel; 17% think the goals of the Palestinians are to conquer the State of Israel.

The Palestinian sample size was 1270 adults interviewed face-to-face in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza Strip in 127 randomly selected locations between June 13 and 16, 2013. The margin of error is 3%. The Israeli sample includes 601 adult Israelis interviewed by phone in Hebrew, Arabic or Russian between June 14 and 21, 2013. The margin of error is 4.5%. The poll was planned and supervised by Prof. Ifat Maoz, the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, the Department of Communication and Journalism and Director of the Swiss Center for Conflict Research 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. On the Israeli survey, contact Prof Ifat Maoz at email msifat@mscc.huji.ac.il.

MAIN FINDINGS

(A) Attitudes and expectations regarding the peace process

- The majority of Israelis (68%) and Palestinians (69%) view the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to Israel in the next five years as low or non-existent. A majority of Israelis (62%) supports a two-state solution while 33% oppose it. Among the Palestinians, 53% support and 46% oppose the two-state solution. 51% of Israelis think that the two-state solution is bound to fail because of settlements. 58% of Palestinians think that the two-state solution is no longer viable. At the same time, a majority of Israelis (63%) and Palestinians (69%) oppose the one state solution in which Arabs and Jews enjoy equality; while 32% of Israelis and 30% of Palestinians support this solution.
- 56% of the Palestinians support the Saudi peace plan and 41% oppose it, while 24% of the Israelis support and 67% oppose it. A year ago, in June 2012, 51% of the Palestinians supported the Saudi plan and 45% opposed it, while 36% of the Israelis supported and 59% opposed it. In other words, the Arab modification of the plan, by accepting territorial swap, did not positively change the views of the Israelis. On the other hand, the Arab modification did not negatively affect Palestinian support for the initiative. The plan 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. The plan calls for Israeli retreat from all territories occupied in 1967 including Gaza, the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and the establishment of a Palestinian state. The refugee problem will be resolved through negotiations in a just and agreed upon manner and in accordance with UN resolution 194. In return, all Arab states will recognize Israel and its right to secure borders, will sign peace treaties with Israel and establish normal diplomatic relations.
- As we do periodically in our joint polls, we asked Israelis and Palestinians about their readiness for a mutual recognition as part of a permanent status agreement and after all issues in the conflict are resolved and a Palestinian State is established. Our current poll shows that 57% of the Israeli public supports such a mutual recognition and 37% opposes it. Among Palestinians, 42% support and 56% oppose this step. In June 2012, 53% of the Israelis supported and 43% opposed this mutual recognition; among Palestinians, the corresponding figures were similar to the current poll (43% support and 55% oppose).

(B) Conflict management and threat perceptions

- Given the launching of the efforts of US Secretary of State John Kerry to renew the peace process and the modification introduced to the Arab Peace Initiative accepting minor territorial swaps, 27% of the Palestinians and 10% of the Israelis think that the two sides will return to negotiations and violence will stop while 34% of the Israelis and 31% of the Palestinians believe that negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue as well. On the other hand, 44% of the Israelis and 15% of the Palestinians think that the two

sides will not return to negotiations and armed attacks will not stop and 21% of the Palestinians believe that the two sides will not return to negotiations but that violence will not resume.

- Among Israelis, 50% are worried and 49% are not worried that they or their family may be harmed by Arabs in their daily life, this is similar to our June 2012 findings. Among Palestinians, 74% are worried that they or a member of their family could be hurt by Israel in their daily life or that their land would be confiscated or home demolished. In June 2012, perception of worry among Palestinians was identical.
- The level of threat on both sides regarding the aspirations of the other side in the long run is very high. 57% of Palestinians think that Israel's goals are to extend its borders to cover all the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and expel its Arab citizens, and 25% think the goals are to annex the West Bank while denying political rights to the Palestinians. The modal category among Israelis is that the Palestinian aspirations in the long run are to conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel (37%); 17% think the goals of the Palestinians are to conquer the State of Israel. Only 17% of the Palestinians think Israel's aspirations in the long run are to withdraw from part or all of the territories occupied in 1967; and 36% of Israelis think the aspirations of the Palestinians are to regain some or all of the territories conquered in 1967.

Israeli Poll (#43) 14-21 June 2013; N=601

(Palestinian Poll (#48) 13-16 June 2013; N=1267)

*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.

V1) How would you describe Israel's condition in general these days?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Very good | 5.8% | 6.2% |
| 2) Good | 27.5% | 25.9% |
| 3) So-so | 42.3% | 40.6% |
| 4) Bad | 12.1% | 13.1% |
| 5) Very Bad | 10.8% | 12.6% |
| 6) DK/NA | 1.5% | 1.6% |

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

| | Palestinians |
|---------------------|--------------|
| <i>1) Very good</i> | 7.1% |
| <i>2) Good</i> | 28.8% |
| <i>3) So-so</i> | 22.6% |
| <i>4) Bad</i> | 25.6% |
| <i>5) Very Bad</i> | 12.8% |
| <i>6) DK/NA</i> | 3.1% |

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

| | Palestinians |
|---------------------|--------------|
| <i>1) Very good</i> | 5.3% |
| <i>2) Good</i> | 25.3% |
| <i>3) So-so</i> | 31.0% |
| <i>4) Bad</i> | 25.6% |
| <i>5) Very Bad</i> | 11.6% |
| <i>6) DK/NA</i> | 1.1% |

V12) And in your opinion is it possible or impossible to reach these days a final status settlement with the Palestinians?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis |
|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely possible | 9.5% | 11.9% |
| 2) Think it is possible | 25.8% | 27.3% |
| 3) Think it is impossible | 25.2% | 23.5% |
| 4) Definitely impossible | 35.3% | 32.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 4.2% | 4.5% |

| V13) And what about the majority of the Palestinians - Do you think they believe in the possibility of reaching a final settlement today with Israel? | | | | |
|--|--|--------------|--------------|--|
| | | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | |
| 1) Definitely yes | | 6.3% | 8.0% | |
| 2) Yes | | 21.8% | 23.1% | |
| 3) No | | 30.7% | 29.8% | |
| 4) Definitely no | | 30.2% | 28.2% | |
| 5) DK/NA | | 10.9% | 11.0% | |

V14) (Q42) What do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis after the launching of the efforts of US Secretary of State John Kerry to renew the peace process and the modification introduced on the Arab Peace Initiative accepting minor territorial swaps?

| | | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Negotiations will continue and armed confrontations will stop (<i>The two sides will return soon to negotiations</i>) | | 8.2% | 9.9% | 27.2% |
| 2) Negotiations will continue but some armed attacks will continue (<i>The two sides will return to negotiations but some armed attacks will take place</i>) | | 35.1% | 33.6% | 30.7% |
| 3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations (<i>The two sides will not return to negotiations and some armed attacks will take place</i>) | | 44.8% | 43.9% | 15.2% |
| 4) <i>The two sides will not return to negotiations and there will be no armed attacks</i> | | / | / | 20.6% |
| 5) DK/NA | | 11.8% | 12.6% | 6.3% |

V15) (Q46) Now, more than 45 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?

| | | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|-----------------|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Non-existent | | 31.7% | 31.6% | 29.1% |
| 2) Low | | 37.8% | 36.2% | 39.6% |
| 3) Medium | | 21.6% | 22.1% | 25.6% |
| 4) High | | 3.5% | 3.9% | 3.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | | 5.4% | 6.1% | 1.9% |

V16) (Q44) Recent Arguments suggest that a failure of the two state solutions is inevitable because of the settlements. Others claim that two state solutions are possible because the sentiments can be dismantled. What is our opinion? *(Some believe that the two-state solution, an independent Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel, is no longer viable due to settlement expansion while others believe that it is still viable today as settlements can be dismantled or evacuated when an agreement is reached. What do you think?)*

| | | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | |
|---|--|--------------|--------------|-------|
| 1) Certain that two state solution will fail (<i>Certainly the two-state solution is no longer viable</i>) | | 28.9% | 27.6% | 19.0% |
| 2) Think that two state solution will fail (<i>The two state solution is no longer viable</i>) | | 24.6% | 23.7% | 38.5% |
| 3) Think that two state solution is still relevance (<i>The two-state solution remains viable today</i>) | | 28.4% | 30.2% | 33.0% |
| 4) Certain that two state solution is still relevance (<i>Certainly, the two-state solution remains viable today</i>) | | 9.3% | 10.0% | 6.2% |
| 5) DK/NA | | 8.8% | 8.5% | 3.4% |

V17) (Q45) Recent arguments suggest that a failure of the two state solutions is inevitable and there is a need to begin to think of a solution of a one state for two people in which Arabs and Jews enjoy equality. Do you agree or disagree to these arguments?

| | | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|------------------------|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely agree | | 6.6% | 11.3% | 3.6% |
| 2) Agree | | 20.3% | 20.7% | 25.8% |
| 3) Disagree | | 24.4% | 22.7% | 50.4% |
| 4) Definitely disagree | | 44.2% | 40.7% | 18.2% |
| 5) DK/NA | | 4.5% | 4.7% | 2.0% |

V18) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the two-state solution?

| | | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|-----------------------|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely support | | 17.2% | 22.8% | |
| 2) Support | | 41.1% | 39.2% | |
| 3) Object | | 14.8% | 13.8% | |
| 4) Definitely Object | | 21.6% | 19.2% | |
| 5) DK/NA | | 5.3% | 5.0% | |

V19) (Q50) 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 Arab | Israeli Jews | Palestinians |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely (<i>Certainly</i>) agree | 3.9% | 9.8% | 4.5% |
| 2) Agree | 13.4% | 14.4% | 51.1% |
| 3) Disagree | 23.1% | 21.1% | 32.4% |
| 4) Definitely (<i>Certainly</i>) disagree | 50.7% | 45.6% | 8.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 8.8% | 9.1% | 3.5% |

V20) 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 |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely support | 11.6% | 18.4% |
| 2) support | 26.1% | 25.3% |
| 3) Oppose | 24.3% | 22.1% |
| 4) Definitely oppose | 32.3% | 28.5% |
| 5) DK/NA | 5.7% | 5.7% |

V21-23) What percent of the Israeli public support dismantling most of the settlements?

| 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 | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | 21.0% | 21.7% | |

V24) (Q52) 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 | 9.9% | 15.5% | 4.8% |
| 2) Agree | 43.7% | 41.2% | 37.0% |
| 3) Disagree | 19.9% | 18.7% | 38.9% |
| 4) Definitely disagree | 20.5% | 18.8% | 17.2% |
| 5) DK/NA | 6.0% | 5.8% | 2.1% |

V25) And what is the Israeli majority opinion on this issue? Do most 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 |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Majority supports | 40.8% | 41.4% |
| 2) Majority opposes | 40.5% | 40.6% |
| 3) DK/NA | 18.7% | 18.0% |

V26) And what is the Palestinian majority opinion on this issue? Do most 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 |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Majority supports | 35.9% | 38.9% |
| 2) Majority opposes | 44.3% | 42.5% |
| 3) DK/NA | 19.9% | 18.6% |

V28) (Q47) To what extent are you worried or not worried that you or a member of your family could be hurt by Arabs in your daily life?

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

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Very Worried | 21.0% | 19.8% | 25.5% |
| 2) Worried | 30.3% | 29.9% | 48.2% |
| 3) Not worried | 34.2% | 33.5% | 23.3% |
| 4) Not worried at all | 12.7% | 15.1% | 2.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.8% | 1.7% | 0.1% |

V29) (Q49) What in your opinion are the aspirations of Israel (Palestinian Authority and the PLO) for the long run?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Withdrawal to the 1967 border after guaranteeing Israel's security <i>(Regain some of the territories conquered in the 1967 war)</i> | 11.4% | 12.4% | 37.9% |
| 2) Withdrawal from only parts of the territories after guaranteeing Israel's security <i>(Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war)</i> | 36.9% | 33.8% | 27.3% |
| 3) Annexation of the West Bank without political rights to the Palestinians living there <i>(Conquer the State of Israel and regain control over the pre 1948 Palestine)</i> | 17.4% | 16.7% | 16.2% |
| 4) Annexation of the West Bank and expelling the Palestinians living there <i>(Conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel)</i> | 15.6% | 17.4% | 11.3% |
| 5) DK/NA | 18.7% | 19.7% | 7.3% |

| V30) (Q48) What do you think are the aspirations of the Palestinians (Israel) for the long run? | | | | |
|---|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
| 1) Regain some of the territories conquered in the 1967 war (<i>Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security</i>) | | | | |
| | | 12.0% | 12.3% | 7.0% |
| 2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war (<i>Withdrawal form part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security</i>) | | | | |
| | | 19.4% | 23.6% | 9.8% |
| 3) Conquer the State of Israel (<i>Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens</i>) | | | | |
| | | 18.1% | 17.2% | 25.4% |
| 4) Conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel (<i>Extending the borders of the state of Israel to cover all the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and expelling its Arab citizens</i>) | | | | |
| | | 41.8% | 37.2% | 56.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | | | | |
| | | 8.7% | 9.8% | 1.0% |