

האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים המכון למחקר עייש הרי ס. טרומן למען קידום השלום למען קידום השלום The Hebrew University of Jerusalem The Harry S. Truman Research Institute For the Advancement of Peace טלי: 02-5882300/1 פקס: 02-5882300/1



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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 2011

Palestinians are determined to go to the UN in September and not to return to negotiations with Netanyahu, in line with Israelis' expectations

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 Ford Foundation Cairo office and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Ramallah and Jerusalem.

65% of the Palestinians believe they should go to the UN in September to obtain recognition for their state, despite President Obama's statement that it would be a mistake for them to do so. 65% of Israelis believe the Palestinians will indeed go to the UN.

61% of the Palestinians think they should not accept President Obama's call to return to negotiations with the Netanyahu government, and 60% of Israelis do not expect them to do so.

In light of President Obama's speech, a majority of 88% of the Palestinians think the US position is closer to Israel, while only 8% think it is closer to the Palestinian position. Israelis are split in their assessment: 42% think the US position is closer to Israel and 40% think it is closer to the Palestinians.

Majorities on both sides, 57% of Palestinians and 51% of Israelis, believe that if the Palestinians turn to the UN General Assembly for recognition of a Palestinian state, they will succeed to obtain a two thirds majority. Majorities on both sides, 76% of the Palestinians and 65% of the Israelis, also believe that the US will use its veto power in the UN Security Council in order to prevent the UN from admitting the state of Palestine as a UN member.

Almost 60% of Israelis think Israel should accept the decision if indeed the UN recognizes a Palestinian state, and either start negotiations with the Palestinians about its implementation

or not allow any change on the ground by the Palestinians; 20% believe Israel should oppose the decision and intensify the construction in the settlements; 5% think that Israel should annex to Israel the PA territory; and 6% think Israel should invade the PA and use force in order to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state.

Palestinians are split in the ways they think they can force Israel to withdraw from the territories, if the UN recognizes the Palestinian state. About a third thinks they can do so through armed attacks on army and settlers, and another third thinks peaceful non-violent resistance can force Israelis to withdraw; 26% think negotiations with Israel can bring it to withdraw.

The Palestinian sample size was 1196 adults interviewed face-to-face in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza Strip in 127 randomly selected locations between June 16 and 18, 2011. The margin of error is 3%. The Israeli sample includes 604 adult Israelis interviewed by phone in Hebrew Arabic or Russian between June 12 and 21, 2011. The margin of error is 4.0%. The poll was planned and supervised by Prof. 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 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 Yaacov Shamir at tel. 03-6419429 or email jshamir@mscc.huji.ac.il.

MAIN FINDINGS

(A) Israeli and Palestinian attitudes regarding Obama and Netanyahu's recent speeches

- A majority of 50% of Palestinians support President Obama's call for a Palestinian state within the 1967 lines with territorial swaps; 46% oppose it. A majority of 54% of Israelis opposes this plan and 40% support it.
- With regard to the security issues, Israeli opinion is split, while Palestinians oppose Obama's proposal that the Palestinian state will be demilitarized, it will have no airplanes, tanks, missiles, or any other heavy armaments, and the Israeli army would carry out a full and phased withdrawal from the Palestinian state. 66% of the Palestinians disagree with this principle, and only 31% support it; 46% of Israelis disagree and 48% agree with it.
- President Obama also said that a permanent peace should be based on the principle of two states for two peoples, the state of Israel as a Jewish state and a homeland for the Jewish people, and the state of Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people, each would have the right to self determination, mutual recognition, and peace. 51% of the Palestinians and 67% of Israelis support this principle, while 47% and 29% respectively oppose it.
- President Obama stated that it would be a mistake for the Palestinians to go to the UN in September to obtain recognition for their state. Despite this statement, 65% of the Palestinians believe they should go to the UN in September and 31% believe they should not go. 65% of Israelis believe the Palestinians will go to the UN, while 24% think they will not go.
- President Obama also called upon the Palestinians to return to negotiations with the Netanyahu government, even though Prime Minister Netanyahu declared during his stay in Washington DC that Israel will not freeze settlement construction and refuses to accept the principle of returning to the lines of 1967 with swaps. 61% of the Palestinians think they should not accept the call to return to negotiations, and 60% of Israelis do not expect them to do so.
- In light of President Obama's speech, a majority of 88% of the Palestinians think the US position is closer to the Israeli position, while only 8% think it is closer to the Palestinian position. Israelis are split in their assessment: 42% think the US position is closer to the Israeli position and 40% think it is closer to the Palestinian position.
- Considering the two speeches by Obama and Netanyahu during Netanyahu's visit to the US, we asked Palestinians whom they think decide what the other should do regarding the peace

process. 63% said Israel decides what the US should do and 32% said the US decides what Israel should do. 2% said neither decides what the other should do.

(B) Israeli and Palestinian attitudes and expectations towards September

- Majorities on both sides 57% of Palestinians and 51% of Israelis believe that if the Palestinians turn to the UN General Assembly for recognition of a Palestinian state, they will succeed to obtain a two thirds majority. 36% of the Palestinians and 41% of the Israelis believe they will not succeed to obtain this majority.
- Majorities on both sides also believe that the US will use its veto power in the UN Security Council in order to prevent the UN from admitting the state of Palestine as a UN member. 76% of the Palestinians and 65% of the Israelis think so, while 18% and 22% respectively think that the US will not use its veto power.
- Palestinians are split with regard to the question whether a state of Palestine will become a UN member in September, while a majority of Israelis do not think so. 48% of the Palestinians think this will happen while 44% do not believe so. 34% of the Israelis think this will happen while 57% do not believe so.
- A majority of Israelis (52%) believe that if Palestinians appeal for the recognition of the UN, Israel should take diplomatic measures to prevent such a step; 21% think Israel should support this step, and 13% believe Israel should threaten to annex the Palestinian Authority territories in this case.
- If indeed the UN recognizes a Palestinian state, 30% of the Israelis think Israel should accept the decision and start negotiations with the Palestinians about its implementation; 29% think Israel should accept the decision but not allow any change on the ground by the Palestinians; 20% believe Israel should oppose the decision and intensify the construction in the settlements; 5% think that Israel should annex to Israel the PA territory; 6% of the Israelis think Israel should invade the PA and use force in order to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state.
- On the Palestinian side, two thirds believe that if the UN recognizes the state of Palestine, Israel will respond by making the occupation worse and by increasing settlement building while 18% think Israel will do nothing and the status quo will prevail. 13% of the Palestinians think conditions in the occupied territories will become a little better.
- We asked Palestinians how they think Palestinians can force Israel to withdraw from the territories, if the UN recognizes the Palestinian state, and Israelis what they think Palestinians will do. A majority of Israelis (54%) thinks the Palestinians will resume the Intifada including armed confrontations, while 18% think they will start non-violent resistance such as peaceful demonstrations. Palestinians however are split between these two options: 34% think armed attacks on army and settlers, and 32% think peaceful non-violent resistance can force Israelis to withdraw. 26% of the Palestinians think negotiations with Israel can bring it to withdraw, and 19% of the Israelis think the Palestinians will resume negotiations with Israel.
- We asked Palestinians what they think the PA should do after the UN recognizes the Palestinian state in September. 76% think the PA president and government should enforce Palestinian sovereignty over all the territories of the West Bank, for example by opening roads in area C, start building an airport in the Jordan valley, and deploy Palestinian security forces in area C even if this leads to confrontations with the Israeli army and settlers. 20% think the PA should not do that. Similarly, 75% think the PA should insist on assuming control over the Allenby Bridge terminal from the Israeli side even if this leads to the closure of the terminal. 20% think the PA should not do that.
- Majorities on both sides, 58% of the Palestinians and 70% of the Israelis, think that most European countries will recognize the Palestinian state in September, while 37% of the Palestinians and 23% of the Israelis think that most European countries will not recognize it.
- A majority of Palestinians (56%) think the position of the EU countries regarding the peace process is closer to the Israeli position, while a majority of Israelis (64%) think it is closer to the Palestinian position.

(C) Conflict management, peace initiatives and threat perceptions

- 58% of the Palestinians support the Saudi initiative and 38% oppose it, while 29% of the Israelis support and 61% oppose it. 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 her and establish normal diplomatic relations. In our March 2011 poll there was a similar level of support for the plan among both Israelis and Palestinians.
- Palestinians and Israelis have a mirror image perception of the chances that Fateh and Hamas will succeed in implementing the reconciliation agreement they reached. 59% of the Palestinians and 34% of the Israelis believe they will succeed to do so, while 37% of the Palestinians and 59% of the Israelis believe that Fateh and Hamas will not succeed.
- 56% of the Israelis oppose and 39% support talks with the Hamas government if needed to reach a compromise agreement with the Palestinians.
- 45% of the Israelis oppose and 51% support talks with a government of specialists supported by Hamas and Fatah if needed to reach a compromise agreement with the Palestinians.
- Majorities on both sides regard the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years as non-existent or low: 53% on the Israeli side and 62% on the Palestinian side. 29% and 30% respectively regard these chances as medium, and only 14% of Israelis and 6% of Palestinians regard these chances as high.
- Majorities on both sides 69% of Israelis and 64% of Palestinians do not think that if a peaceful popular revolt like in Egypt or Tunisia were to erupt against the Israeli occupation in the West Bank it would be capable of ending occupation. Only 19% of Israelis and 34% of Palestinians think it would be capable of ending occupation.
- After the UN recognition of a Palestinian state, if large peaceful demonstrations were to take place in the West Bank and East Jerusalem in order to break through check points and close army and settlers' roads, 52% of the Palestinians say they think they will participate in them and 46% say they think they will not. A majority of 51% of the Palestinians think that if such large peaceful demonstrations were to take place in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, they would contribute to speeding the process of ending Israeli occupation.
- Among Palestinians, 70% are worried and 30% are not worried that they or a member of their family may be hurt by Israelis in their daily life or that their land would be confiscated or home demolished. Among Israelis, 59% are worried and 39% are not worried that they or their family may be harmed by Arabs in their daily life.
- The level of threat on both sides regarding the aspirations of the other side in the long run is very high. 60% 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 21% think the goals are to annex the West Bank while denying political rights to the Palestinians. The modal category among Israelis is that the Palestinians' aspirations in the long run are to conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel (37%); 18% 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 38% of Israelis think the aspirations of the Palestinians are to regain some or all of the territories conquered in 1967.

Israeli Poll #(36) 12-21/06/2011 ; N= 604

(Palestinian Poll #(40) 16-18/06/2011; N=1196)

*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) Are you a resident of Israel?

- 1) Yes (continue with the interview)
- 2) No (stop the interview)

V2) How old are you?

V3) ask only those who did not respond to	to question 2: which ago	e group do vou b	elong to?
usk only those who did not respond	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) 18-22	7.2%	9.4%	
2) 23-29	9.0%	9.3%	
3) 30-34	7.8%	7.9%	
4) 35-39	12.6%	12.1%	
5) 40-44	10.2%	11.4%	
6) 45-49	7.2%	9.1%	
7) 50-54	10.0%	9.1%	
8) 55-59	7.6%	6.8%	
9) 60-64	8.4%	7.6%	
10) 65-69	8.0%	6.8%	
11) 70+	11.8%	10.4%	
12) DK	/	/	
	99.80%	99.90%	
V4) Gender			
, i) dender	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Male	48.7%	49.0%	
2) Female	51.3%	51.0%	
	100.00%	100.00%	
V5) What was the last education institute	e you attended?		
	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Did not attend any	0.6%	0.5%	
2) Primary school	7.6%	8.1%	
3) Secondary school	34.5%	36.1%	
4) An institute offering			
supplementary courses (Up to	4.8%	5.1%	
one year)			
5) Post secondary institute such			
as teachers' seminar, nurses	16.8%	16.7%	
school etc.			
6) Academic institute	34.9%	32.8%	
9) DK/NA	0.8%	0.7%	
	100.00%	100.00%	
V6) How would you describe Israel's cor			
1) 17	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Very good	6.4%	5.8%	
2) Good	20.4%	18.2%	
3) So-so	44.7%	43.4%	
4) Bad	16.0%	18.9%	
5) Very Bad	11.4%	12.9%	
6) DK/NA	1.0%	0.8%	

	99.90%	100.00%	
Q1) In general, how would you describe co	onditions of the Palestini	ans in the Palesti	nian areas in
Gaza Strip these days?	J		
•	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Very good			4.2%
2) Good			20.6%
3) So-so			25.8%
4) Bad			30.6%
5) Very Bad			16.6%
6) DK/NA			2.2%
			100.00%
Q2) In general, how would you describe	conditions of the Palesti	nians in the Pale	estinian areas in
the West Bank these days?	J		
	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Very good			7.9%
2) Good			29.3%
3) So-so			31.9%
4) Bad			21.5%
5) Very Bad			7.1%
6) DK/NA			2.4%
			100.10%
V7) (Q36) What do you expect to happe	n hatwaan Palastinians	and Israelis now	often the
speech by President Obama and the spe			
speech by 11 esident Obama and the spe	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Negotiations will continue			
and armed confrontations will	5.8%	8.4%	27.0%
stop			
2) Negotiations will continue			
but some armed attacks will	39.1%	37.1%	29.8%
continue			
3) Armed confrontations will			
not stop and the two sides will	47.3%	46.5%	17.3%
not return to negotiations	1,10,1	1000,1	27.007.5
4) Two sides will not return to			
negotiations and armed a		/	16.0%
5) DK/NA	7.8%	7.9%	10.0%
5) 211111	100.00%	99.90%	100.10%
V8) (Q47) In his Middle East speech (In			
resumption of Palestinian-Israeli negotiat			
a Palestinian state based on the 1967 lin	_		
borders of the Palestinian state should be		vith mutually agr	eed swaps) . Do
you agree or disagree with this principle		T	
1) Definitely support (containly	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely support (<i>certainly agree</i>)	7.8%	13.2%	5.2%
2) support (agree)	24.8%	26.3%	44.6%
= 1 Support (ug/cc)	26.3%	24.3%	39.1%
		4 7. 7 /0	37.1 /0
3) Oppose (disagree)	20.3 /0		
3) Oppose (disagree) 4) Definitely oppose (certainly	34.9%	30.1%	7.3%
3) Oppose (disagree)			7.3% 3.9%

V9) (Q48) With regard to security, President Obama announced that both sides have the right to self defense, the Palestinian state will be demilitarized meaning that it will have no airplanes, tanks, missiles, or any other heavy armaments, and the Israeli army would carry out a full and phased withdrawal from the Palestinian state. (President Obama announced that the principle regarding security is that both sides have the right to self defense and that the Israeli army would carry out a full and phased withdrawal from the Palestinian state, a state that would be non militarized, meaning that it will have no heavy armaments such as airplanes, tanks, missiles, artillery, and others.) Do you agree or disagree with this principle?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely support (certainly agree)	10.0%	11.1%	3.4%
2) support (agree)	38.1%	36.4%	27.4%
3) Oppose (disagree)	26.9%	27.0%	47.4%
4) Definitely oppose (certainly disagree)	19.2%	19.4%	18.4%
5) DK/NA	5.8%	6.1%	3.5%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.10%

V10) (Q49) Moreover, President Obama said that a permanent peace should be based on the principle of two states for two peoples, the state of Israel as a Jewish state and a homeland for the Jewish people, and the state of Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people, and whereby each would have the right to self determination, mutual recognition, and peace. Do you agree or disagree with this principle?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely support (certainly agree)	15.2%	18.2%	5.0%
2) support (agree)	50.3%	48.8%	45.5%
3) Oppose (disagree)	16.6%	15.6%	39.2%
4) Definitely oppose (certainly disagree)	13.2%	13.1%	7.9%
5) DK/NA	4.6%	4.3%	2.4%
	99.90%	100.00%	100.00%

V11) (Q50)) Moreover, President Obama indicated in his speech that it would be a mistake for the Palestinians to go the UN in September to obtain a recognition for their state. Such recognition would be symbolic and will be opposed by the US. Do you think the Palestinian side will (should) go to the UN next September despite this US position in order to obtain a recognition of their state?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely (certainly) yes	16.2%	18.0%	17.3%
2) Probably yes	49.1%	47.2%	47.7%
3) Probably no	19.2%	19.0%	25.9%
4) Definitely (certainly) no	4.2%	5.3%	4.9%
5) DK/NA	10.6%	10.4%	4.2%
	99.30%	99.90%	100.00%

V12) (Q52) In light of what the American president said in his speech, do you think the US position today is closer to the Palestinian or Israeli position?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Certainly Palestinian	9.8%	8.6%	1.0%
2) Palestinian	33.5%	31.0%	6.8%
3) Israeli	29.3%	28.3%	56.0%
4) Certainly Israeli	6.6%	13.9%	31.4%
5) To neither	/	/	2.6%
6) DK/NA	20.8%	18.2%	2.2%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

V13) (Q54) During his stay in Washington DC, Prime Minister Netanyahu declared that Israel will not freeze settlement construction and refuses to accept the principle of returning to the lines of 1967 with swaps. (Despite this Israeli position), President Obama called upon the Palestinians to return to negotiations with the Netanyahu government. In your view, will or will not (should or should not) the Palestinians accept the call to return to negotiations?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely will accept (certainly should return)	3.2%	5.0%	8.0%
2) Think they will accept (should return)	29.3%	30.1%	27.0%
3) Think they will not accept (should not return)	40.5%	38.1%	37.4%
4) Definitely will not accept (certainly should not return)	21.6%	21.4%	23.7%
5) DK/NA	5.4%	5.5%	4.0%
	100.00%	100.10%	100.10%

V14) (Q57) If the Palestinians turn to the UN General Assembly for recognition of a Palestinian state, will they or will they not, in your opinion, obtain a two thirds majority?

(But recognition of the Palestinian state could be done by the UN General Assemby by a majority vote even if Palestine is not accepted as a member state. In this case, Palestine will need a two-third majority in the General Assembly. In your view, will a two third majority vote or not vote in favor of the Palestinian demand?)

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Certain that they will obtain (Certainly will vote in favor)	12.2%	12.3%	6.1%
2) Think that they will obtain (Will vote in favor)	38.9%	38.9%	50.4%
3) Think that they will not obtain (Will not vote in favor)	30.3%	30.0%	31.1%
4) Certain that they not will obtain (<i>Certainly will not vote in favor</i>)	9.2%	10.6%	4.4%
5) DK/NA	9.4%	8.3%	8.1%
	100.00%	100.10%	100.10%

V15) (Q56) In order to be accepted as a UN member, a vote in the General Assembly is not sufficient, and Security Council approval is required. If the issue reaches the UN Security Council, will the US use or not use its veto power to prevent the aceptince of Palestinian Authority as a UN member?

(In order to join the UN as a member state, the Palestinian state needs the positive votes of the majority of the members of the UN Security Council with no use of veto, in your view, will the US use or not use its veto power in the UN Security Council in order to prevent the UN from admitting the state of Palestine as a UN member?)

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Certainly it will use it	17.0%	19.7%	25.2%
2) It will use it	48.3%	45.7%	50.7%
3) It will not use it	16.4%	16.6%	15.6%
4) Certainly it will not use it	5.0%	5.1%	2.5%
5) DK/NA	13.2%	12.9%	6.1%
	99.90%	100.00%	100.10%

V16) (Q51) In your view, will a state of Palestine become or will not become a member of the UN in September?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Certainly will become a UN member	5.6%	7.1%	5.7%

2) Will become a UN member	24.6%	27.0%	41.8%
3) Will not become a UN	43.3%	40.2%	35.5%
member			
4) Certainly will not become a	16.4%	16.6%	8.2%
member	10.476	10.076	0.270
5) DK/NA	10.0%	9.1%	8.8%
	99.90%	100.00%	100.00%

V17) What do you think Israel should do regarding the Palestinian appeal to the UN for recognition of Palestinian state?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Support this step	13.2%	20.5%	
2) To take			
diplomatic measures to	57.9%	51.8%	
prevent such a step			
3) Threaten to annex to Israel			
the Palestinian Authority	13.6%	12.9%	
territories			
4) DK/NA	15.2%	14.7%	
	99.90%	99.90%	

V18) How should Israel react if the UN will recognize the Palastinian state in September?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) To accept the decision and start negotiations with the Palestinians about its implementation.	23.6%	30.0%	
2) To accept the decision but not allow any change on the ground by the Palestinians.	32.3%	29.1%	
3) Oppose the decision and intensify the construction in the settlements.	20.4%	19.5%	
4) To annex to Israel the territory.	5.4%	5.0%	
5) To invade the PA and use force in order to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state.	5.6%	5.5%	
6) DK/NA	12.6%	10.9%	
	99.90%	100.00%	

V19) (Q61) In your opinion, What will the Palestinians do in order to force Israel to withdraw from the territories, if the UN recognizes the Palestinian state?

(And after the UN issues its recognition of the Palestinian state how do you think Palestinians can force the Israelis to withdraw from the territories of the Palestinian state?)

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Start non-violent resistance, such as demonstrations and parades. (Popular peaceful demonstrations that would break through check points and block roads used by army and settlers)	16.4%	17.7%	32.3%
settiers)			

2) Resume the Intifada including armed confrontations (Armed attacks on army and settlers)	60.7%	54.0%	33.5%
3) Return to negotiations with the Israeli government	13.4%	18.9%	25.8%
4) other (specify)	2.6%	2.2%	2.9%
5) DK/NA	6.8%	7.3%	5.5%
	99.90%	100.10%	100.00%

V20) (Q64) In your view, will or will not most European countries recognize the Palestinian state next September?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely yes (certainly will)	17.4%	19.2%	4.8%
2) Probably yes (will)	51.1%	50.7%	52.7%
3) Probably no (will not)	18.2%	17.5%	33.6%
4) Definitely no (certainly will not)	5.4%	5.3%	2.9%
5) DK/NA	7.8%	7.3%	6.1%
	99.90%	100.00%	100.10%

V21) (Q65) And generally speaking, do you think the position of the EU and its countries today regarding the peace process is closer to the Palestinian or Israeli position?

- But But I was I	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely Palestinian position (certainly Palestinian)	20.6%	19.9%	4.0%
2) Think Palestinian position (Palestinian)	47.1%	44.4%	29.5%
3) Think Israeli position (Israeli)	17.2%	18.2%	39.9%
4) Definitely Israeli position (certainly Israeli)	3.2%	5.8%	15.7%
5) To neither	/	/	7.5%
6) DK/NA	11.8%	11.8%	3.3%
	99.90%	100.10%	99.90%

V22) (Q24) Fatch and Hamas have reached a reconciliation agreement (an agreement to unify the West Bank and the Gaza Strip), and agreed upon the formation of a government of specialists and the holding of elections in a year from today. In your view, will the two sides succeed in implementing the agreement (and unifying the West Bank and the Gaza Strip)?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely (certainly) yes	4.2%	6.0%	7.9%
2) Probably yes	25.3%	28.1%	50.7%
3) Probably no	40.5%	37.4%	29.6%
4) Definitely (certainly) no	22.2%	21.4%	6.9%
5) DK/NA	7.8%	7.1%	5.0%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.10%

V23) If in order to reach a compromise agreement with the Palestinians, Israel will have to negotiate with the new government of specialists supported by both Hamas and Fatah - in your opinion, should Israel do it or not speack with such a government?

	Israeli Je	ws All Israelis	
1) Definitely should negotiate	9.0%	18.4%	
2) Think it should negotiate	35.19	6 32.5%	
3) Think it should not negotiate	24.6%	22.5%	

	•		
4) Definitely should not	26.5%	22.4%	
negotiate			
5) DK/NA	4.8%	4.3%	
	100.00%	100.10%	
V24) If in order to reach a compromis	se agreement with the Pal	estinians, Israel	will have to
negotiate with the Hamas governmen			
	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Definitely should negotiate	8.8%	16.1%	
2) Think it should negotiate	22.6%	23.3%	
3) Think it should not	24.6%	21.7%	
negotiate	24.070	21.770	
4) Definitely should not	39.3%	33.8%	
negotiate	39.370	33.670	
5) DK/NA	4.6%	5.1%	
	99.90%	100.00%	
V25) And what about the majority of	the Israeli nublic? Do mo	ct Icraelic cunno	rt or onnose
negotiations with the Hamas?	me mune, po mo	or infactio suppo.	tor oppose
megonations with the Hallas.	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Majority supports	12.2%	17.4%	
2) Majority opposes	72.3%	68.7%	
3) DK/NA	15.4%	13.9%	
	99.90%	100.00%	
V26) To what extent do you support	ar annaga digmantling mag	at of the sottleme	nta in the
V26) To what extent do you support of		st of the settleme	nts in the
territories as part of a peace agreeme		All Icraelic	
	Israeli Jews	All Israelis 20.4%	
1) Definitely support	Israeli Jews 9.6%	20.4%	
1) Definitely support 2) support	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9%	20.4% 25.0%	
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2%	
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0%	
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5%	
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10%	
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10%	ements?
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10%	ements?
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p Percent of respondents	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10%	ements?
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p Percent of respondents believing that the majority of	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% Ublic support dismantling Israeli Jews	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis	ements?
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p Percent of respondents believing that the majority of the Israeli public support	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10%	ements?
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p Percent of respondents believing that the majority of the Israeli public support dismantling most of the	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% Ublic support dismantling Israeli Jews	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis	ements?
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p Percent of respondents believing that the majority of the Israeli public support dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% Ublic support dismantling Israeli Jews	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis	ements?
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p 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 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% Israeli Jews 21.2%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis 24.5%	
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p 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 V30) (Q37) Now, more than 40 years	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% Israeli Jews 21.2%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis 24.5%	nk and the
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p 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 V30) (Q37) Now, more than 40 years a Gaza Strip, what in your view are the	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% ublic support dismantling Israeli Jews 21.2%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis 24.5% and the West Barrent of an indep	nk and the
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p 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 V30) (Q37) Now, more than 40 years	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% ublic support dismantling Israeli Jews 21.2% after the Israeli occupation chances for the establishing rael in the next five years	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis 24.5% an of the West Bament of an indep ?	nk and the endent
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p 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 V30) (Q37) Now, more than 40 years a Gaza Strip, what in your view are the Palestinian state next to the state of Is	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% ublic support dismantling Israeli Jews 21.2% after the Israeli occupation chances for the establishment in the next five years Israeli Jews	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis 24.5% an of the West Bament of an indep All Israelis	nk and the endent
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p 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 V30) (Q37) Now, more than 40 years a Gaza Strip, what in your view are the Palestinian state next to the state of Is	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% ublic support dismantling Israeli Jews 21.2% after the Israeli occupation chances for the establishment in the next five years Israeli Jews 19.6%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis 24.5% and the West Barrier of an indep All Israelis 18.5%	nk and the endent Palestinians 23.6%
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p 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 V30) (Q37) Now, more than 40 years as Gaza Strip, what in your view are the Palestinian state next to the state of Is 1) Non-existent 2) Low	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% ublic support dismantling Israeli Jews 21.2% after the Israeli occupation chances for the establishment in the next five years Israeli Jews 19.6% 34.1%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis 24.5% and the West Barrent of an indep All Israelis 18.5% 34.8%	Palestinians 23.6% 38.6%
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p 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 V30) (Q37) Now, more than 40 years a Gaza Strip, what in your view are the Palestinian state next to the state of Is 1) Non-existent 2) Low 3) Medium	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% ublic support dismantling Israeli Jews 21.2% after the Israeli occupation chances for the establishmerael in the next five years Israeli Jews 19.6% 34.1% 28.7%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis 24.5% and the West Bament of an indep All Israelis 18.5% 34.8% 29.3%	Palestinians 23.6% 38.6% 30.2%
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p 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 V30) (Q37) Now, more than 40 years a Gaza Strip, what in your view are the Palestinian state next to the state of Is 1) Non-existent 2) Low 3) Medium 4) High	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% ublic support dismantling Israeli Jews 21.2% after the Israeli occupation chances for the establishment in the next five years Israeli Jews 19.6% 34.1% 28.7% 13.6%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis 24.5% 24.5% All Israelis 18.5% 34.8% 29.3% 13.7%	Palestinians 23.6% 38.6% 30.2% 6.3%
1) Definitely support 2) support 3) Oppose 4) Definitely oppose 5) DK/NA V27-29) What percent of the Israeli p 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 V30) (Q37) Now, more than 40 years a Gaza Strip, what in your view are the Palestinian state next to the state of Is 1) Non-existent 2) Low 3) Medium	Israeli Jews 9.6% 27.9% 29.5% 24.8% 8.2% 100.00% ublic support dismantling Israeli Jews 21.2% after the Israeli occupation chances for the establishmerael in the next five years Israeli Jews 19.6% 34.1% 28.7%	20.4% 25.0% 26.2% 21.0% 7.5% 100.10% most of the settl All Israelis 24.5% and the West Bament of an indep All Israelis 18.5% 34.8% 29.3%	Palestinians 23.6% 38.6% 30.2%

V31) (Q45) In light of the success achieved by the revolts in Egypt and Tunisia (the peaceful revolts in Arab countries like Egypt and Tunisia), do you think that if a peaceful popular revolution is to erupt against the Isreali occupation (and the settlements) in the West Bank it would be capable of ending occupation (or stopping settlements)?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely yes (certainly capable)	3.4%	4.1%	4.0%
2) Probably yes (capable)	13.0%	14.4%	30.2%
3) Probably no (incapable)	40.5%	37.7%	48.4%
4) Definitely no (certainly	29.5%	31.5%	15.3%
incapable)	29.370	31.5%	13.3%
5) DK/NA	13.6%	12.3%	2.1%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

V32) 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	5.0%	6.0%	
2) Think it is possible	29.9%	34.4%	
3) Think it is impossible	36.7%	32.8%	
4) Definitely impossible	25.5%	23.7%	
5) DK/NA	3.0%	3.1%	
	100.10%	100.00%	

V33) (Q40) 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 resoved 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 stablish normal diplomatic relations. Do you agree or disagree to this plan?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely (Certainly) agree	5.0%	10.8%	7.1%
2) Agree	14.6%	18.4%	51.0%
3) Disagree	29.9%	26.2%	29.0%
4) Definitely (<i>Certainly</i>) disagree	40.7%	34.4%	9.4%
5) DK/NA	9.8%	10.3%	3.5%
	100.00%	100.10%	100.00%

V34) (Q41) 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	9.0%	13.1%	3.5%
2) Agree	45.1%	43.7%	43.9%
3) Disagree	25.1%	23.8%	38.4%
4) Definitely disagree	14.0%	12.9%	12.5%
5) DK/NA	6.8%	6.5%	1.7%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

V35) 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?

	Is	sraeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Majority supports		42.1%	43.2%	
2) Majority opposes		39.1%	39.7%	
3) DK/NA		18.8%	17.1%	
	10	00.00%	100.00%	
•		•		

V36) (Q38) 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	24.2%	21.2%	26.9%
2) Worried	39.9%	37.9%	42.6%
3) Not worried	25.9%	27.3%	25.6%
4) Not worried at all	9.0%	11.9%	4.6%
5) DK/NA	1.0%	1.7%	0.3%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

V37)	What do	you think are t	he aspirations	of the Palestinians	(Israel) for the long run?

(1874et) 10r the long run?				
	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians	
1) Regain some of the territories conquered in the 1967 war (Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security)	8.4%	12.6%	7.7%	
2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war (Withdrawal from part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security)	20.2%	25.5%	8.8%	
3) Conquer the State of Israel (Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens	20.2%	17.7%	21.0%	
4) Conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel (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)	43.3%	36.8%	60.3%	
5) DK/NA	7.8%	7.5%	2.1%	
	99.90%	100.10%	99.90%	