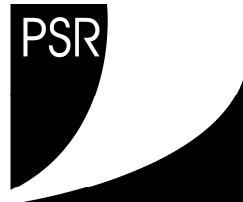




האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים
המכון למחקר ע"ש הרמן
למען קידום השלום
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
The Harry S. Truman
Research Institute
For the Advancement of Peace
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المراكز الفلسطينية
للبحوث
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Palestinian Center for
POLICY and
SURVEY RESEARCH

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PRESS RELEASE

Joint Israeli-Palestinian Poll, September 2011

Over 80% of the Palestinians support turning to the UN to obtain recognition of a Palestinian state. About 70% of Israelis think that if the UN recognizes a Palestinian state Israel should accept the decision

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.

In the poll we explored Israeli and Palestinian attitudes regarding the Palestinian appeal to the UN to obtain recognition as an independent state. We also explored salient domestic issues in each public.

83% of the Palestinians believe they should go to the UN to obtain recognition for their state.

Majorities on both sides, 77% of the Palestinians and 79% of the Israelis, 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.

69% 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 (34%) or not allow any change on the ground by the Palestinians (35%); 16% believe Israel should oppose the decision and intensify the construction in the settlements; 7% think that Israel should annex to Israel the PA territory; and 4% think Israel should invade the PA and use force in order to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state.

If the UN recognizes the Palestinian state, 26% of Palestinians support a return to armed attacks on army and settlers to force Israel to withdraw from their state, 37% think peaceful non-violent resistance can force Israelis to withdraw; 30% think negotiations with Israel can bring it to withdraw. 54% of Palestinians in the West Bank say they would join large peaceful demonstrations in the West Bank and Jerusalem if they were to take place after the recognition of the Palestinian state.

As to the recent social protest in Israel, 44% of Israelis think the protest movement should turn into a political party and run in the elections. If indeed such a party participates in the next elections, 27% of the Israelis claim they will vote for it. Two thirds of Palestinians say the rising cost of living and their inability to provide a better future for themselves and their families could push them to demonstrate as well.

The Palestinian sample size was 1200 adults interviewed face-to-face in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza Strip in 120 randomly selected locations between September 15 and 17, 2011. The margin of error is 3%. The Israeli sample includes 605 adult Israelis interviewed by phone in Hebrew Arabic or Russian between September 11-14, 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 and expectations regarding the recognition by the UN of the Palestinian state

- 74% of the Palestinians believe they should go to the UN in September to obtain recognition for their state, since there is no point to return to negotiations now.
- Majorities on both sides 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. 77% of the Palestinians and 79% of the Israelis think so, while 16% and 17% respectively think that the US will not use its veto power. A majority of Israelis (60%) also believes 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% believe they will not succeed to obtain this majority.
- 50% of Palestinians think that a state of Palestine will become a UN member in September, while 43% do not believe so. Among Israelis, 37% think this will happen while 57% do not believe so.
- A majority of Israelis (57%) believe that if Palestinians appeal for the recognition of the UN, Israel should take diplomatic measures to prevent such a step; 20% 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, 69% of the Israelis think Israel should accept the decision and either start negotiations with the Palestinians about its implementation (34%) or not allow any change on the ground by the Palestinians (35%). 27% believe Israel should oppose the decision, of them 16% think it should intensify the construction in the settlements; 7% - that it should annex to Israel the PA territory, and 4% - that it should invade the PA and use force in order to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state.
- On the Palestinian side, 68% believe that if the Palestinians request UN membership, Israel will respond by stopping transfer of custom funds to the PA and making conditions of occupation harsher with more checkpoints and settlement activities, 10% believe Israel will only stop the transfer of custom funds, 12% think Israel will not stop transfer of custom

funds but conditions of occupation will become harsher; and 8% believe Israel will do nothing and the status quo will prevail.

- 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. 46% of Israelis think the Palestinians will resume the Intifada including armed confrontations, while 31% think they will start non-violent resistance such as peaceful demonstrations. More Palestinians however think peaceful non-violent resistance can force Israelis to withdraw (37%) than armed attacks on army and settlers (26%). 30% of the Palestinians think negotiations with Israel can bring it to withdraw, and 16% of the Israelis think the Palestinians will resume negotiations.
- 54% of Palestinians in the West Bank say they would join large peaceful demonstrations in the West Bank and Jerusalem if they were to take place after the recognition of the Palestinian state. 44% will not participate.
- We asked Palestinians what they think the PA should do after the UN recognizes the Palestinian state in September. 75% 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. 21% think the PA should not do that. Similarly, 73% 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. 23% think the PA should not do that.
- 28% of Palestinians and 10% of Israelis expect that after the Palestinians seek membership in the UN, there will be negotiations between the sides and armed confrontations will stop; 28% and 38% respectively think that there will be negotiations between the sides but some armed attacks will continue; and 23% of Palestinians and 49% of Israelis expect the sides not to return to negotiations and armed confrontations not to stop.

(B) Conflict management and threat perceptions

- Majorities on both sides - 72% 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. Nonetheless, 54% of the Palestinians believe that if large peaceful demonstrations were to take place in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, they would contribute to speeding the process of ending Israeli occupation.
- In our poll we also examine periodically Israelis' and Palestinians' readiness for a mutual recognition of identity 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 58% of the Israelis support such a mutual recognition of identity and 36% oppose it. Among Palestinians, 46% support and 52% oppose it.
- Among Palestinians, 73% are worried and 27% 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, 58% are worried and 42% 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. 58% 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 19% 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 (38%); 20% think the goals of the Palestinians are to conquer the State of Israel. Only 21% 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 37% of Israelis think the aspirations of the Palestinians are to regain some or all of the territories conquered in 1967.

(C) Domestic developments

- 34% of Israelis think that the main reason for the eruption of the protest is the big gap in wealth distribution, 30% think it is the need for welfare policies that will relieve citizens' economic difficulties, 20% think it is the housing problem of young people, and 12% believe the main reason is a left wing plot to bring down the government.
- 17% of the Israelis declared they participated in person in the protest. Among those who participated in the protest, 13% claim they built a tent, 35% expressed their views regarding the protest on the internet, 41% signed a petition, and 88% say they participated in a demonstration.
- Among the general Israeli public, 81% support the social justice protest, and between 64% and 89% support their specific demands.
- 44% of Israelis think the protest movement should turn into a political party and run in the elections. If indeed such a party participates in the next elections, 27% of the Israelis claim they will vote for it.
- 24% of the Palestinians regard the widespread popular demonstrations for social justice in Israel as something good for the Palestinians; 25% regard these demonstrations as something bad, and 45% think they have no effect on Palestinians.
- Interestingly, 66% of Palestinians say the rising cost of living and their inability to provide a better future for themselves and their families would push them to demonstrate, while 33% say these concerns would not push them to demonstrate in order to demand a better standard of living and a better life.

Israeli Poll (#37) 11-14 September 2011; N= 605
(Palestinian Poll (#41) 15-17 September 2011; N=1200)

*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	Palestinians
1) Very good		4.1%	4.0%	
2) Good		15.9%	14.9%	
3) So-so		40.9%	38.8%	
4) Bad		23.9%	25.8%	
5) Very Bad		14.4%	15.5%	
6) DK/NA		1.2%	1.0%	
		100.00%		

Q1) 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				3.9%
2) Good				18.9%
3) So-so				23.3%
4) Bad				33.3%
5) Very Bad				16.7%
6) DK/NA				3.8%

Q2) 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				7.0%
2) Good				31.8%
3) So-so				28.8%
4) Bad				22.2%
5) Very Bad				7.5%
6) DK/NA				2.8%

V2) (Q20) What do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis now after the Palestinian decision to seek membership in the UN on 20 September 2011?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Negotiations will continue and armed confrontations will stop		2.9%	9.8%	27.7%
2) Negotiations will continue but some armed attacks will continue		39.8%	38.0%	28.2%
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations		53.4%	48.8%	23.3%
4) <i>Two sides will not return to negotiations and armed a</i>		/	/	12.9%
5) DK/NA		3.9%	3.5%	7.9%
		100.10%		

V3) 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?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Certain that they will obtain		23.3%	20.7%	
2) Think that they will obtain		39.0%	39.5%	
3) Think that they will not obtain		24.9%	26.0%	
4) Certain that they not will obtain		8.5%	9.9%	
5) DK/NA		4.3%	4.0%	
		100.10%		

V4) (Q32) 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 in order to prevent the UN from admitting the Palestinian State 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		42.9%	40.2%	28.6%
2) It will use it		37.9%	38.7%	47.8%
3) It will not use it		10.7%	11.6%	13.3%
4) Certainly it will not use it		5.0%	5.5%	2.6%
5) DK/NA		3.5%	4.1%	7.6%
		100.10%		

V5) (Q31) 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		9.3%	9.4%	5.0%
2) Will become a UN member		25.2%	27.4%	44.7%
3) Will not become a UN member		40.2%	39.5%	37.0%
4) Certainly will not become a member		19.2%	18.2%	5.7%
5) DK/NA		6.0%	5.5%	7.6%
		100.00%		

V6) What do you think Israel should do regarding the Palestinian appeal to the UN for recognition of Palestinian state?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Support this step		13.2%	19.8%	
2) To take diplomatic measures to prevent such a step		61.4%	57.2%	
3) Threaten to annex to Israel the Palestinian Authority territories		14.4%	13.2%	
4) DK/NA		11.1%	9.8%	
		100.00%		

(Q34) And what about the Israeli response to Palestinian request for UN membership?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians

1) will stop transfer of custom funds to the PA and will make conditions of occupation harsher				66.8%
2) will only stop transfer of custom funds				9.7%
3) will not stop transfer of custom funds but conditions of occupation will become harsher, for example by adding more check points and increase settlement activities				11.5%
4) will do nothing and the status quo will continue				7.9%
5) other: specify -----				0.4%
6) DK/NA				2.3%

V7) How should Israel react if the UN will recognize the Palastinian state in September?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) To accept the decision and start negotiations with the Palestinians about its implementation.		28.7%	33.6%	
2) To accept the decision but not allow any change on the ground by the Palestinians.		38.4%	35.0%	
3) Oppose the decision and intensify the construction in the settlements.		16.5%	15.9%	
4) To annex to Israel the territory.		7.2%	7.1%	
5) To invade the PA and use force in order to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state.		3.9%	3.6%	
6) DK/NA		5.2%	4.8%	
		100.00%		

(Q35) After the UN issues its recognition of the Palestinian state in September, do you think the PA president and his government should enforce Palestinian sovereignty over all the territories of the West Bank, for example by opening roads in area C or by starting to build an airport in the Jordan valley, or by deploying Palestinian security forces in area C, even if this lead to confrontation with the Israeli occupation forces and settlers?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) certainly should				15.5%
2) should				58.6%
3) should not				16.6%
4) certainly should not				3.7%
5) DK/NA				5.6%

(Q36) And after the UN issues its recognition of the Palestinian state, do you think the Palestinian side should insist on assuming control of the Allenby Bridge terminal from the Israeli side even if this lead to the closure of the terminal and the cessation of Palestinian movement across the bridge to and from Jordan?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) <i>certainly should</i>				19.2%
2) <i>should</i>				53.6%
3) <i>should not</i>				20.2%
4) <i>certainly should not</i>				2.7%
5) <i>DK/NA</i>				4.3%

V8) (Q37) 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. <i>(Popular peaceful demonstrations that would break through check points and block roads used by army and settlers)</i>		29.5%	31.2%	36.4%
2) Resume the Intifada including armed confrontations <i>(Armed attacks on army and settlers)</i>		48.2%	45.6%	25.5%
3) Return to negotiations with the Israeli government		14.4%	15.9%	29.7%
4) DK/NA <i>(other (specify__))</i>		2.5%	2.3%	3.2%
5) other <i>(specify__)</i> (DK/NA)		5.4%	5.0%	5.1%
		100.00%		

(Q39) If such large peaceful demonstrations were to take place in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, do you think they would contribute to speeding the process of ending Israeli occupation?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) <i>certainly yes</i>				9.5%
2) <i>yes</i>				44.0%
3) <i>no</i>				35.5%
4) <i>certainly no</i>				7.8%
5) <i>DK/NA</i>				3.2%
		100.00%		

V9) (Q28) 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 revolt 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 <i>(certainly capable)</i>		3.3%	4.6%	4.0%
2) Probably yes <i>(capable)</i>		10.3%	14.4%	30.0%
3) Probably no <i>(incapable)</i>		42.5%	41.5%	51.3%
4) Definitely no <i>(certainly incapable)</i>		33.8%	30.9%	12.3%
5) DK/NA		10.1%	8.6%	2.4%
		100.00%		

V10) 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
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1) Definitely support		19.2%	22.7%	
2) support		26.8%	27.8%	
3) Oppose		26.2%	24.8%	
4) Definitely oppose		22.1%	20.0%	
5) DK/NA		5.6%	4.7%	

V11-13) What percent of the Israeli public support dismantling most of the settlements?

	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	27.3%	29.2%	

V14) And in your opinion is it possible or impossible to reach these days a final status settlement with the Palestinians?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely possible	3.9%	4.8%	
2) Think it is possible	25.2%	28.1%	
3) Think it is impossible	35.7%	35.5%	
4) Definitely impossible	33.8%	30.4%	
5) DK/NA	1.4%	1.2%	
		100.00%	

V15) (Q25) 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	18.6%	18.3%	3.3%
2) Agree	41.9%	40.0%	42.6%
3) Disagree	18.6%	22.0%	38.8%
4) Definitely disagree	14.4%	14.0%	12.5%
5) DK/NA	6.4%	5.6%	2.9%
		99.90%	

V16) 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	Palestinians
1) Majority supports	49.5%	50.4%	
2) Majority opposes	38.1%	38.8%	
3) DK/NA	12.4%	10.7%	
		99.90%	

V17) (Q22) 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	21.7%	19.7%	27.1%
2) Worried	41.2%	38.3%	45.3%
3) Not worried	26.6%	28.9%	22.6%
4) Not worried at all	9.9%	12.6%	4.1%
5) DK/NA	0.6%	0.5%	0.8%

			100.00%	
V18) (Q23) What do you think are the aspirations of the Palestinians (Israel) for the long run?				
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>)		10.7%	14.2%	7.0%
2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war (<i>Withdrawal from part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security</i>)		20.8%	22.6%	13.6%
3) Conquer the State of Israel (<i>Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens</i>)		20.0%	20.0%	18.6%
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>)		43.7%	38.2%	58.0%
5) DK/NA		4.9%	5.0%	2.8%
			100.00%	

V19) There is much talk nowadays about left and right in politics. Where would you locate yourself on a left right continuum ranging from 1 to 9, where 1 means left, 9 means right, and 5 is the midpoint of the scale?

Right 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Left

Here are a few questions about political affairs. Many people don't know the answers to these questions, so if there are some questions you don't know, just tell me and we'll go on

V20) What is the name of the Finance minister? (Don't read)

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Yuval Steinetz		73.2%	70.6%	
2) Any other name		1.9%	2.3%	
3) DK/NA		24.9%	27.1%	
		100.00%		

V21) Which of the following has been agreed upon in the Oslo accord signed between Rabin and Arafat in 1993? (Read the answers)

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Dismantling of settlements in the territories		5.4%	5.3%	
2) Mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO		35.1%	32.4%	
3) Affording rights to Palestinians in East Jerusalem		8.5%	10.1%	
4) Recognition of a Palestinian state		17.3%	19.5%	

5) DK/NA		33.6%	32.7%	
			100.00%	

V22) What is the name of the American President who initiated the Camp David summit between Barak and Arafat in 2000? (Don't read)

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Clinton		75.5%	64.3%	
2) Any other		24.5%	18.0%	
3) DK/NA		17.5%	17.7%	
			100.00%	

V23) If elections for the Knesset were held today which party would you vote for?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
01) Kadima		10.9%	10.1%	
02) Labor		9.7%	9.9%	
03) Likud		19.2%	16.7%	
04) Shas		2.1%	2.0%	
05) Meretz		2.3%	2.1%	
06) Habait Hayehudi (Mafdal)		1.4%	1.2%	
07) Yahadut Hatora (Agudat Israel, Degel Hatora)		3.7%	3.1%	
08) Israel Beteinu – Lieberman		10.9%	9.3%	
09) HaIchud Haleumi		1.7%	1.5%	
10) Yerukim		0.2%	0.2%	
11) Hatnua Hayeruka-Meimad		0.2%	0.2%	
12) Ale Yarok		1.0%	0.8%	
13) Gimlaim		/	/	
14) Atzmaut		0.2%	0.3%	
15) Hadash		0.4%	5.3%	
16) Raam Taal		/	0.8%	
17) Balad		/	1.0%	
18) Other		/	/	
19) Blank Ballot		1.4%	1.8%	
20) Haven't decided		23.3%	21.2%	
21) No vote		8.5%	9.3%	
22) Refusal		2.9%	3.3%	

V24) And if in the next elections for the Knesset attend the party of social protest movement and the other lists will remain as they, which party would you vote for?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
01) Kadima		6.0%	5.8%	
02) Labor		5.0%	5.6%	
03) Likud		15.1%	13.2%	
04) Shas		1.7%	1.7%	
05) Meretz		1.2%	1.0%	
06) Habait Hayehudi (Mafdal)		1.4%	1.2%	
07) Yahadut Hatora (Agudat Israel, Degel Hatora)		3.7%	3.1%	
08) Israel Beteinu – Lieberman		10.3%	8.8%	
09) HaIchud Haleumi		1.6%	1.3%	
10) Social Protest Movement		28.3%	26.8%	
11) Yerukim		/	/	
12) Hatnua Hayeruka-Meimad		0.2%	0.2%	
13) Ale Yarok		0.4%	0.3%	
14) Gimlaim		/	/	

15) Atzmaut		/	/	
16) Hadash		0.4%	3.3%	
17) Raam Taal		/	0.3%	
18) Balad		/	0.8%	
19) Other		0.2%	0.2%	
20) Blank Ballot		0.8%	1.3%	
21) Haven't decided		16.5%	15.9%	
22) No vote		5.2%	6.3%	
23) Refusal		1.9%	3.0%	

V25) Which party did you vote for in the last elections to the Knesset in February 2009?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
01) Kadima		21.2%	18.8%	
02) Labor		7.8%	7.8%	
03) Likud		27.2%	23.5%	
04) Shas		2.7%	2.5%	
05) Meretz		3.5%	3.1%	
06) Habait Hayehudi (Mafdal)		1.4%	1.2%	
07) Yahadut Hatora (Agudat Israel, Degel Hatora)		3.5%	3.0%	
08) Israel Beteinu – Lieberman		1.4%	9.8%	
09) HaIchud Haleumi		1.6%	1.3%	
10) Yerukim		0.4%	0.3%	
11) Hatnua Hayeruka-Meimad		0.2%	0.2%	
12) Ale Yarok		0.2%	0.2%	
13) Gimlaim		1.4%	1.2%	
14) Hadash		0.2%	4.0%	
15) Raam Taal		/	0.8%	
16) Balad		0.2%	0.8%	
17) Other		0.6%	0.7%	
18) Blank Ballot		0.4%	0.8%	
19) No Vote (with right to vote)		7.0%	8.1%	
20) No vote (no right to vote)		3.1%	4.6%	
21) Refusal		6.2%	7.5%	

V26) What is the primary means through which you update yourself on the protest developments?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Television		48.7%	50.7%	
2) Radio		7.2%	6.9%	
3) Internet (facebook, Twitter etc.)		22.7%	23.0%	
4) On line newspapers		3.7%	3.6%	
5) Print newspapers		11.3%	10.2%	
6) Other _____		1.8%	1.5%	
7) do not update		0.6%	0.5%	
8) all		3.7%	3.1%	
9) DK/NA		0.4%	0.3%	
			99.80%	

V27) In your opinion, what is the main reason for the eruption of the current protest?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) The housing problem of young people		17.1%	19.7%	

2) The need for welfare policies that will relieve citizen economic difficulties		32.0%	30.2%	
3) the big gaps in wealth distribution		33.2%	33.9%	
4) the left wing plot to bring down the government		13.2%	12.4%	
5) Other _____		2.1%	1.8%	
6) all		1.6%	1.3%	
6) DK/NA		0.8%	0.7%	
		100.00%		

V28) Did you participate in person in the protest?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No (move to V30)		80.8%	82.8%	
2) Yes		19.2%	17.2%	
3) DK/NA				

V29.1) Did you raise a tent or dwell in one? [V29.1-V29.4 percentage out of respondent who answered (2) in V28]

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		88.8%	87.4%	
2) Yes		11.2%	12.6%	
		100.00%		

V29.2) Did you participate in a demonstration?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		10.1%	12.5%	
2) Yes		89.9%	87.5%	
		100.00%		

V29.3) Did you sign a petition?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		57.6%	58.7%	
2) Yes		42.4%	41.3%	
		100.00%		

V29.4) Did you express your views regarding the protest on the Internet?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		65.7%	65.4%	
2) Yes		34.3%	34.6%	
		100.00%		

V30) Do you support the current social protest?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		15.3%	15.7%	
2) Yes		81.2%	81.3%	
3) DK/NA		3.5%	3.0%	
		100.00%		

V31) And what about the majority of the Israeli public, do most Israelis support or oppose the current protest?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) The majority supports		87.0%	87.3%	
2) The majority opposes		7.4%	7.9%	
3) DK/NA		5.6%	4.8%	
		100.00%		

V32) In response to the social protest, Prime minister Netanyahu set up an experts' committee headed by Prof. Manuel Trachtenberg. Do you support or oppose this step?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Definitely support		21.4%	20.2%	
2) Support		54.4%	52.1%	
3) Oppose		12.0%	14.5%	
4) Definitely oppose		4.1%	5.1%	
5) DK/NA		8.2%	8.1%	
		100.00%		

V33) And what about the majority of the Israeli public - do most Israelis support or oppose the Trachtenberg Committee?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) The majority supports		60.0%	61.3%	
2) The majority opposes		19.6%	20.0%	
3) DK/NA		20.4%	18.7%	
		100.00%		

V34) Do you support or oppose the protesters' demand for a reduction of indirect taxation?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		5.8%	6.1%	
2) Yes		88.5%	89.1%	
3) DK/NA		5.6%	4.8%	
		100.00%		

V35) And what about the majority of the Israeli public, do most Israelis support or oppose the reduction of indirect taxes?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) The majority supports		88.9%	87.3%	
2) The majority opposes		4.1%	6.6%	
3) DK/NA		7.0%	6.1%	
		100.00%		

V36) Do you support or oppose the protesters' demand to increase government subsidies for mortgages and housing rent?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		11.3%	11.9%	
2) Yes		82.9%	82.8%	
3) DK/NA		5.8%	5.3%	
		100.00%		

V37) And what about the majority of the Israeli public, do most Israelis support or oppose an increase in the subsidies of mortgages and housing rent?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) The majority supports		87.2%	86.8%	
2) The majority opposes		3.9%	5.3%	
3) DK/NA		8.9%	8.0%	
		100.10%		

V38) Do you support or oppose the protesters' demand to abolish the law which circumvents the existing regulation for the construction of housing?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		22.7%	22.8%	
2) Yes		62.9%	64.3%	
3) DK/NA		14.4%	12.9%	
		100.00%		

V39) And what about the majority of the Israeli public, do most Israelis support or oppose the protesters' demand to abolish the law which circumvents the existing regulation for the construction of housing?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) The majority supports		57.5%	61.2%	
2) The majority opposes		18.4%	17.9%	
3) DK/NA		24.1%	21.0%	
		100.10%		

V40) Do you support or oppose the protesters' demand to provide free education from age 3 months?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		12.8%	12.4%	
2) Yes		82.9%	83.8%	
3) DK/NA		4.3%	3.8%	
		100.00%		

V41) And what about the majority of the Israeli public, do most Israelis support or oppose the protesters' demand to provide free education from age 3 months?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) The majority supports		88.5%	87.9%	
2) The majority opposes		5.8%	6.8%	
3) DK/NA		5.6%	5.3%	
		100.00%		

V42) Do you support or oppose the protesters' demand to gradually ban employment through contractors in the public sector?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		13.2%	18.0%	
2) Yes		70.5%	66.6%	
3) DK/NA		16.3%	15.4%	
		100.00%		

V43) And what about the majority of the Israeli public, do most Israelis support or oppose the protesters' demand to gradually ban employment through contractors in the public sector?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) The majority supports		67.4%	65.5%	
2) The majority opposes		8.9%	12.2%	
3) DK/NA		23.7%	22.3%	
		100.00%		

V44) Do you support or oppose the protesters' demand to discontinue the privatization policy of welfare, health and education services?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		27.4%	27.3%	
2) Yes		62.1%	63.1%	
3) DK/NA		10.5%	9.6%	
		100.00%		

V45) And what about the majority of the Israeli public, do most Israelis support or oppose the protesters' demand to discontinue the privatization policy of welfare, health and education services?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) The majority supports		61.9%	63.1%	
2) The majority opposes		18.3%	19.3%	
3) DK/NA		19.8%	17.5%	
		99.90%		

V46) And how many of the protest demands will be accepted by the government, in your opinion?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) all of the protest demands		0.2%	2.8%	
2) most of the protest demands		8.7%	10.7%	

3) a small part of the protest demands		81.6%	77.5%	
4) none		5.0%	4.6%	
5) NA		4.5%	4.3%	
			99.90%	

V47) An if the protest demands will not be accepted by the government, how long do you think the protest will continue?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) a few days		5.8%	5.6%	
2) a few weeks		18.4%	17.7%	
3) a few months		23.3%	23.8%	
4) half a year to a year		16.1%	17.4%	
5) until the government falls		25.5%	25.5%	
6) DK/NA		8.3%	7.3%	
7) it already stopped		2.9%	2.8%	
			100.10%	

V48) Some people say that the debate today is about the economy being social democratic or capitalistic. Where would you locate yourself this continuum? Rank your answer on a scale ranging from 1 to 9, where 1 means social-democratic, 9 means capitalistic, and 5 is the midpoint of the scale?

Caspitalistic 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Social-Democratic

V49) Did you join the protest facebook page?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		85.8%	83.5%	
2) Yes		13.8%	16.0%	
3) DK/NA		0.4%	0.5%	
			100.00%	

V50) Do you think that the protest movement should turn into a political party which will participate in the elections?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) No		53.8%	50.7%	
2) Yes		40.6%	43.6%	
3) DK/NA		5.6%	5.6%	
			99.90%	

V51) How old are you ? _____

V51A) ask only those who did not respond to question 2: which age group do you belong to?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) 18-22				
2) 23-29				
3) 30-34				
4) 35-39				
5) 40-44				
6) 45-49				
7) 50-54				
8) 55-59				
9) 60-64				
10) 65-69				
11) 70+				
12) DK				

V52) Gender

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Male		47.4%	49.4%	
2) Female		52.6%	50.6%	

53) Years of schooling _____

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) 0 To 8 years (go to 58)		2.3%	4.6%	
2) 9 to 12 years (go to 56)		32.6%	36.5%	
3) up to 13 years (continue)		46.9%	58.3%	
4) NA		0.2%	0.5%	
		99.90%		