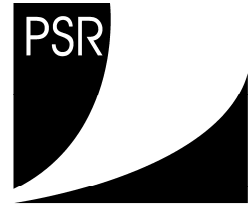




האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים  
המכון למחקר ע"ש הרי.ס. טרומן  
למען קידום השלום  
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem  
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SURVEY RESEARCH

December 2011

PRESS RELEASE

**Joint Israeli Palestinian Poll, December 2011**

## **Increase in Palestinians' and Israelis' willingness to compromise amidst climate of feud and mistrust**

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.

**The Joint Israeli-Palestinian Poll has been tracking the level of support and opposition to the Clinton / Geneva permanent settlement framework regularly since 2003. Amidst a turbulent Middle East and the political and diplomatic stalemate between the two sides, our December poll shows an increase in support for the Clinton permanent settlement framework on both sides. 58% of Israelis and 50% of Palestinians support a permanent settlement package along the Clinton parameters; 39% of Israelis and 49% of Palestinians oppose such a settlement. These results mark a significant increase in both sides' willingness to compromise compared to recent years.**

**At the same time both Palestinians and Israelis perceive the other side as opposing such a settlement: 61% of the Palestinians and 53% of the Israelis think so. About two thirds on both sides do not believe that it is possible to reach a final status settlement these days and see the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the near future as slim.**

**Palestinians and Israelis support their government's position with regard to return to negotiations. 78% of Palestinians support Abbas's conditions of an acceptable term of reference or a freeze on settlement construction for returning to negotiations, while 69% of Israelis think that Israel should not accept these conditions.**

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 December 15 and 17, 2011. The margin of error is 3%. The Israeli sample includes 605 adult Israeli Jews interviewed by phone in Hebrew, Arabic or Russian between December 11 and 14, 2011. The margin of error is 4.5%. 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](mailto:pcpsr@pcpsr.org). On the Israeli survey, contact Prof Yaacov Shamir at tel. 03-6419429 or email [jshamir@mcc.huji.ac.il](mailto:jshamir@mcc.huji.ac.il).

## MAIN FINDINGS

### (A) Attitudes, perceptions and expectations regarding a permanent settlement

#### *Clinton/Geneva Parameters*

The Clinton parameters for a Palestinian-Israeli permanent settlement were presented by President Clinton at a meeting with Israeli and Palestinian officials eleven years ago, on December 23, 2000, following the collapse of the July 2000 Camp David summit. The Geneva Initiative, along similar lines, was made public around the end of 2003. These parameters address the most fundamental issues which underlie the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: (1) Final borders and territorial exchange; (2) Refugees; (3) Jerusalem; (4) A demilitarized Palestinian state; (5) Security arrangements; and (6) End of conflict. We address these issues regularly since December 2003, and in the current poll we revisited these crucial issues, amidst a turbulent Middle East and the political and diplomatic stalemate between the two sides.

- 58% of Israelis and 50% of Palestinians support a permanent settlement package along the Clinton parameters; 39% of Israelis and 49% of Palestinians oppose such a settlement.
- The results indicate a significant increase in support for the Clinton / Geneva permanent settlement package both sides compared to recent years. In December 2010, the comparable figures were 52% support among Israelis and 40% support among Palestinians.
- Since 2003, we observed only once majority support for such a settlement on both sides: in December 2004, shortly after the death of Arafat. The level of support then was 64% among Israelis and 54% among Palestinians. Our current poll comes close to the 2003 results, where among Israelis there is 58% support, and among Palestinians – 50%.

Below we detail support and opposition to the individual items in the Clinton / Geneva permanent status package.

#### **(1) Final Borders and Territorial Exchange**

**Among Palestinians** 63% support or strongly support and 36% oppose or strongly oppose an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with the exception of some settlement areas in less than 3% of the West Bank that would be swapped with an equal amount of territory from Israel in accordance with a map that was presented to the Palestinian respondents. The map was identical to that presented to respondents in December 2010, when support for this compromise, with its map, stood at 49% and opposition at 50% - an increase in support of 14 percentage points.

**Among Israelis** 51% support and 44% oppose a Palestinian state in the entirety of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip except for several large blocks of settlements in 3% of the West Bank which will be annexed to Israel. Israel will evacuate all other settlements, and the Palestinians will receive in return territory of similar size along the Gaza Strip. In December 2010, 49% of the Israelis supported this component while 43% opposed it.

#### **(2) Refugees**

**Among Palestinians** 45% support and 53% oppose a refugee settlement in which both sides agree that the solution will be based on UN resolutions 194 and 242. The refugees would be given five choices for permanent residency. These are: the Palestinian state and the Israeli areas transferred to the Palestinian

state in the territorial exchange mentioned above; no restrictions would be imposed on refugee return to these two areas. Residency in the other three areas (in host countries, third countries, and Israel) would be subject to the decision of these states. As a base for its decision Israel will consider the average number of refugees admitted to third countries like Australia, Canada, Europe, and others. All refugees would be entitled to compensation for their “refugeehood” and loss of property. In December 2010, 41% agreed with an identical compromise while 57% opposed it.

**Among Israelis** 42% support such an arrangement and 51% oppose it. In December 2010, 36% supported it and 52% opposed.

### **(3) Jerusalem**

**In the Palestinian public** 40% support and 59% oppose a Jerusalem compromise in which East Jerusalem would become the capital of the Palestinian state with Arab neighborhoods coming under Palestinian sovereignty and Jewish neighborhoods coming under Israeli sovereignty. The Old City (including al Haram al Sharif) would come under Palestinian sovereignty with the exception of the Jewish Quarter and the Wailing Wall that would come under Israeli sovereignty. In December 2010, an identical compromise obtained 36% support and 63% opposition.

**Among Israelis**, 38% agree and 60% disagree to this arrangement in which the Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem including the old city and the Temple Mount will come under Palestinian sovereignty, the Jewish neighborhoods including the Jewish quarter and the Wailing Wall will come under Israeli sovereignty, East Jerusalem will become the capital of the Palestinian state and West Jerusalem the capital of Israel. In December 2010, similarly, 38% supported this arrangement and 58% opposed it.

### **(4) Demilitarized Palestinian State**

**Among Palestinians** 32% support and 67% oppose the establishment of an independent Palestinian state that would have no army, but would have a strong security force and would have a multinational force deployed in it to ensure its security and safety. Israel and Palestine would be committed to end all forms of violence directed against each other. A similar compromise received in December 2010, 24% support, and opposition reached 74%.

This item receives the lowest level of support by Palestinians, as in previous polls, although the current level of support is the highest since 2003. Unlike the refugees and Jerusalem components, this issue has not received due attention in public discourse, as it should, since it may become a major stumbling block in the efforts to reach a settlement.

**Among Israelis** 67% support and 33% oppose this arrangement compared to 62% support and 34% opposition obtained in December 2010.

### **(5) Security Arrangements**

**In the Palestinian public** 50% support and 49% oppose a compromise whereby the Palestinian state would have sovereignty over its land, water, and airspace, but Israel would have the right to use the Palestinian airspace for training purposes, and would maintain two early warning stations in the West Bank for 15 years. A multinational force would remain in the Palestinian state and in its border crossings for an indefinite period of time. The task of the multinational force would be to monitor the implementation of the agreement, and to monitor territorial borders and coast of the Palestinian state including the presence at its international crossings. This is a significant increase in support compared to December 2010, when 38% of the Palestinians supported this parameter while 61% opposed it.

**In the Israeli public** 63% support and 33% oppose this arrangement compared to 52% who supported it and 39% who opposed it in December 2010 – a similar increase in support as among Palestinians.

### **(6) End of Conflict**

**In the Palestinian public** 63% support and 35% oppose a compromise on ending the conflict that would state that when the permanent status agreement is fully implemented, it will mean the end of the conflict and no further claims will be made by either side. The parties will recognize Palestine and Israel as the homelands of their respective peoples. In December 2010 58% supported and 41% opposed this item.

**In the Israeli public** 70% support and 27% oppose this component in the final status framework. In December 2010, similarly, 68% of the Israelis supported it while 25% opposed it.

### **The Whole Package**

**Among Palestinians** 50% support and 49% oppose the whole package combining the elements as one permanent status settlement. In December 2010, 40% supported and 58% opposed such a package.

**Among Israelis** 58% support and 39% oppose all the above features together taken as one combined package. In December 2010 52% supported and 39% opposed such a package.

It is important to see that the pattern of support for the overall package is more than the sum of its parts, suggesting that people’s calculus is compensatory and trade-offs are considered. Despite strong reservations regarding some of the components, the overall package always receives greater support in both publics, where the desirable components and the chance of reaching a permanent status agreement seem to compensate for the undesirable parts.

<b>Summary Table: Support for Clinton’s Permanent Settlement Framework 2003-2011</b>										
		<b>Dec 03</b>	<b>Dec 04</b>	<b>Dec 05</b>	<b>Dec 06</b>	<b>Dec 07</b>	<b>Dec 08</b>	<b>Aug 09</b>	<b>Dec 10</b>	<b>Dec 11</b>
1) Borders and Territorial Exchange	<b>ISR</b>	47%	55%	53%	44%	46%	46%	47%	49%	51%
	<b>PAL</b>	57%	63%	55%	61%	56%	54%	49%	49%	63%
2) Refugees	<b>ISR</b>	35%	44%	43%	38%	44%	40%	36%	36%	42%
	<b>PAL</b>	25%	46%	40%	41%	39%	40%	37%	41%	45%
3) Jerusalem	<b>ISR</b>	41%	39%	38%	38%	36%	40%	34%	38%	38%
	<b>PAL</b>	46%	44%	33%	39%	36%	36%	31%	36%	40%
4) Demilitarized State	<b>ISR</b>	61%	68%	69%	62%	61%	64%	56%	62%	67%
	<b>PAL</b>	36%	27%	20%	28%	23%	27%	24%	24%	32%
5) Security Arrangements	<b>ISR</b>	50%	61%	62%	51%	53%	56%	49%	52%	63%
	<b>PAL</b>	23%	53%	43%	42%	51%	35%	34%	38%	50%
6) End of Conflict	<b>ISR</b>	66%	76%	80%	68%	66%	67%	68%	68%	70%
	<b>PAL</b>	42%	69%	64%	62%	66%	55%	55%	58%	63%
<b>Overall Package</b>	<b>ISR</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>58%</b>
	<b>PAL</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>50%</b>

- Despite the actual majority support for the final status package in Israel, only 34% of the Israelis estimate that a majority in their society supports this package, while 55% believe that the majority opposes it. These perceptions tap the normative facet of public opinion and indicate that the package has not acquired widespread normative legitimacy in the Israeli public. Among Palestinians, who are split in their support for the package, 51% believe that a majority in their society supports it, and 41% believe that the majority opposes it.
- In terms of mutual perceptions, majorities of both Israelis and Palestinians think that there is no majority support for this permanent status settlement package on the other side. 53% of the Israelis think that a majority of Palestinians opposes such a package, and 61% of the Palestinians think that a majority of Israelis opposes the package.
- Both sides' expectations regarding a final status settlement are grim: 68% among Israelis and 62% among Palestinians think it is impossible to reach such a settlement these days.
- Both publics also consider the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years low. 66% of Israelis and 63% of Palestinians consider these chances to be low or non-existent.

## **(B) Expectations regarding the recognition by the UN of the Palestinian state**

- 52% of Palestinians think that a state of Palestine will become a UN member in 2012, while 42% do not believe so. Among Israelis, 44% think this will happen while 49% do not believe so.
- 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. 47% of Israelis think the Palestinians will resume the Intifada including armed confrontations, while 25% think they will start non-violent resistance such as peaceful demonstrations, and 17% think they will return to negotiations with the Israeli government. Palestinians however are split among these three options: 31% think peaceful non-violent resistance can force Israelis to withdraw; 30% think that armed attacks on army and settlers and 32% think that negotiations with Israeli can bring it to withdraw.

## **(C) Israeli military strike against Iran's nuclear facilities**

- 47% of Israelis support the bombing of Iran's nuclear facilities, 41% oppose it. 56% believe that the majority of the Israeli public supports such a strike, 25% think that a majority opposes it.
- Palestinians are split in their evaluation whether Israel will actually carry out a military strike against Iran's nuclear facilities: 48% think it will strike, and 48% do not think so.
- 76% of Israelis think that if Israel were to carry out a military strike against Iran, Hamas and Islamic Jihad would retaliate by carrying out a military strike against Israel; 18% do not think so. 48% of Palestinians support such retaliation by Hamas and Islamic Jihad and 46% oppose it.

## **(D) Conflict management and threat perceptions**

- Palestinians and Israelis support their government's position with regard to return to negotiations. 78% of Palestinians support Abbas's conditions for an acceptable term of reference or a freeze on settlement construction for returning to negotiations, while 20% oppose this policy. 69% of Israelis support Netanyahu's position that Israel should not accept these conditions; 29% oppose this position.
- Given the stalemate in the negotiations and the admittance of the Palestinians to UNESCO as a member state, 54% of the Israelis and 38% of the Palestinians think that armed attacks will not stop or even increase and the two sides will not return to negotiations. 37% of the Israelis and 28% of the Palestinians believe that negotiations will continue but some armed attacks will continue as well. Only 5% of Israelis and 27% of Palestinians believe negotiations will continue and armed confrontations will stop.
- 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 66% of the Israeli public, support such a mutual recognition; 29% oppose it. Among Palestinians, 52% support and 47% oppose this step. In September 2011, 58% of the Israelis supported and 36% opposed this mutual recognition of identity, among Palestinians, the corresponding figures were 46% supported and 52% opposed.
- Among Israelis, 50% are worried and 48% are not worried that they or their family may be harmed by Arabs in their daily life, compared to 58% who are worried and 42% who are not worried in September 2011. Among Palestinians 70% fear that their security and safety and that of their family are not assured compared to 73% in September.
- 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 22% 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 (45%); 22% 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 29% of Israelis think the aspirations of the Palestinians are to regain some or all of the territories conquered in 1967.

**Israeli Poll (#38) 11 December – 14 December 2011; N= 605**  
*(Palestinian Poll (#42)15-17 December 2011; N=1270)*

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

**V2) How would you describe Israel's condition in general these days?**

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Very good	7.8%	7.3%	
2) Good	27.0%	25.6%	
3) So-so	42.3%	40.8%	
4) Bad	13.2%	15.7%	
5) Very Bad	9.1%	9.6%	
6) DK/NA	0.6%	1.0%	
	100.00%	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			5.4%
2) Good			20.9%
3) So-so			24.1%
4) Bad			32.9%
5) Very Bad			14.1%
6) DK/NA			2.6%
			100.00%

*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			7.7%
2) Good			28.1%
3) So-so			31.7%
4) Bad			24.1%
5) Very Bad			5.6%
6) DK/NA			2.7%
			99.90%

**V3) (Q23) What do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis now after the Palestinians have been admitted at UNESCO as a member state?**

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Negotiations will continue and armed confrontations will stop	2.9%	5.3%	27.1%
2) Negotiations will continue but some armed attacks will continue	35.0%	36.5%	28.2%
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	59.4%	54.4%	19.9%
4) <i>Two sides will not return to negotiations and armed attacks increase</i>	/	/	18.6%
5) DK/NA	2.7%	3.8%	6.1%
	100.00%	100.00%	99.90%

<b>V4) The Palestinians say that there is no point in returning to negotiations without an acceptable term of reference or a freeze on settlement construction. Do you think Israel should or should not accept these conditions to resume negotiations?</b>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Certain that Should accept		7.0%	9.1%	
2) Think that Should accept		15.5%	19.7%	
3) Think that Should not accept		22.3%	23.1%	
4) Certain that Should not accept		53.0%	46.0%	
5) DK/NA		2.1%	2.1%	
		99.90%	100.00%	

<i>(Q58) President Abbas says that there is no point in returning to negotiations without an acceptable term of reference or a freeze on settlement construction and that he intends to go to the UN one more time to seek a recognition of a Palestinian state. Do you support or oppose this Palestinian intention?</i>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) <i>certainly support</i>				14.3%
2) <i>support</i>				63.3%
3) <i>oppose</i>				17.0%
4) <i>certainly oppose</i>				3.2%
5) <i>DK/NA</i>				2.3%
				100.10%

**When Israel and the Palestinians return to permanent settlement negotiations, various compromise proposals may come up on the table. I will read to you now several items that might be included in the final settlement with the Palestinians. For each of these items tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree to it, taking into account all its elements.**

<b>V5) (Q39-5) The proposed permanent settlement will be based on mutual recognition of Palestine and Israel as the homelands of their respective peoples. The agreement will mark the end of conflict and no further claims will be made by either side. Do you agree or disagree with this item?</b>				
<i>(When the permanent status agreement is fully implemented, it will mean the end of the conflict and no further claims will be made by either side. The parties will recognize Palestine and Israel as the homelands of their respective peoples)</i>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) agree		22.7%	24.0%	11.3%
2) Agree		45.2%	46.3%	51.9%
3) Disagree		19.2%	18.2%	26.6%
4) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) disagree		9.5%	8.8%	8.8%
5) DK/NA		3.3%	2.8%	1.4%
		99.90%	100.10%	100.00%

<b>V6) (Q39-2) Demilitarized independent Palestinian state will be established in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The Palestinian state will have no army, but it will have a strong security force and a multinational force will be established to ensure the security and safety of both sides. Both sides will be committed to end all forms of terrorism and violence directed against each other. Do you agree or disagree with this item?</b>				
<i>(An independent Palestinian state would be established in the areas from which Israel withdraws in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; the Palestinian state will have no army, but it will have a strong security force but an international multinational force would be deployed to insure the safety and security of the state. Both sides will be committed to end all forms of violence directed against each other.)</i>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) agree		23.1%	21.0%	3.9%

2) Agree		42.3%	45.5%	28.4%
3) Disagree		21.4%	21.3%	47.9%
4) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) disagree		12.2%	11.4%	18.9%
5) DK/NA		1.0%	0.8%	0.9%
		100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

**V7) (Q39-6) Israel will have the right to use the Palestinian air space for training purposes. The Palestinian state will have sovereignty over its air space its land and its water resources. In addition Israel will maintain two early warning stations in the West Bank for 15 years. The multinational force will remain in the Palestinian state and its border crossings for an indefinite period of time. The task of the multinational force will be to monitor the implementation of the agreement, and to monitor the territorial integrity of the Palestinian state and its border crossings given its being demilitarized. Do you agree or disagree with this item?**

*(The Palestinian state will have sovereignty over its land, water, and airspace. But Israeli will be allowed to use the Palestinian airspace for training purposes, and will maintain two early warning stations in the West Bank for 15 years. The multinational force will remain in the Palestinian state for an indefinite period of time and its responsibility will be to insure the implementation of the agreement, and to monitor territorial borders and coast of the Palestinian state including its international border crossings.)*

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) agree		13.4%	14.2%	9.5%
2) Agree		47.2%	48.6%	40.5%
3) Disagree		21.9%	21.2%	37.4%
4) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) disagree		13.0%	11.7%	11.6%
5) DK/NA		4.5%	4.3%	1.0%
		100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

**V8) (Q39-1) The Palestinian state will be established in the entirety of Judea Samaria and the Gaza strip territories, except for several large blocks of settlements which will be annexed to Israel and will not exceed 3% of the size of West Bank. Israel will evacuate all other settlements. The Palestinians will receive in return territory of similar size along the Gaza strip. Do you agree or disagree with this item?**

*(An Israeli withdrawal from all of the Gaza Strip and the evacuation of its settlements. But in the West Bank, Israel withdraws and evacuates settlements from most of it, with the exception of few settlement areas in less than 3% of the West Bank that would be exchanged with an equal amount of territory from Israel in accordance with the attached map.)*

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) agree		12.6%	12.9%	10.8%
2) Agree		35.1%	38.3%	52.4%
3) Disagree		25.0%	25.0%	27.0%
4) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) disagree		21.7%	19.0%	8.7%
5) DK/NA		5.4%	4.8%	1.1%
		99.80%	100.00%	100.00%

**V9) (Q39-3) Jerusalem will be the capital of both states. East Jerusalem will be the capital of the Palestinian state and West Jerusalem the capital of Israel. The Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem including those in the old city as well as the Temple Mount will come under Palestinian sovereignty. The Jewish neighborhoods including the Jewish quarter and the Wailing Wall will come under Israeli sovereignty. Do you agree or disagree with this item?**

*(East Jerusalem would become the capital of the Palestinian state with Arab neighborhoods coming under Palestinian sovereignty and Jewish neighborhoods coming under Israel sovereignty. The Old City (including al Haram al Sharif) would come under Palestinian sovereignty with the exception of the Jewish Quarter and the Wailing Wall that will come under Israeli sovereignty.)*

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) agree		12.8%	13.1%	4.1%
2) Agree		20.0%	25.1%	35.9%



3) Disagree		23.1%	23.1%	42.3%
4) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) disagree		42.1%	36.7%	16.5%
5) DK/NA		1.9%	2.0%	1.3%
		99.90%	100.00%	100.10%

**V10) (Q39-4) The solution to the refugee problem will be based on UN resolutions 194 and 242. The refugees will be given five choices for permanent residency:**

- Return to the Palestinian state
- Return to areas currently in Israel which will be transferred to the Palestinian state in the territorial exchange mentioned above
- Residency in their current states
- Immigration to countries such as the US Canada and Australia
- Return to Israel.

**Return to Israel will be restricted and at the discretion of Israel.**

**As a base for its decision, Israel will consider the average number of refugees who will immigrate to states such as Australia Canada and Europe. All refugees irrespective of their choice will be entitled to compensation for their “refugeehood” and loss of properties.**

**Do you agree or disagree with this item?**

*(With regard to the refugee question, both sides agree that the solution will be based on UN resolutions 194 and 242 and on the Arab peace initiative. The refugees will be given five choices for permanent residency. These are: the Palestinian state and the Israeli areas transferred to the Palestinian state in the territorial exchange mentioned above; no restrictions would be imposed on refugee return to these two areas. Residency in the other three areas (in host countries, third countries, and Israel) would be subject to the decision of the states in those areas. The number of refugees returning to Israel will be based on the average number of refugees admitted to third countries like Australia, Canada, Europe, and others. All refugees will be entitled to compensation for their "refugeehood" and loss of properties.)*

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) agree		6.2%	8.1%	4.5%
2) Agree		30.9%	33.6%	40.4%
3) Disagree		29.7%	28.1%	38.1%
4) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) disagree		25.8%	22.5%	14.5%
5) DK/NA		7.4%	7.8%	2.4%
		100.00%	100.10%	99.90%

**V11) (Q39-7) And now after we went over the main features proposed as part of the Israeli Palestinian permanent settlement please tell me the extent to which you support or oppose such a permanent settlement in general, when you consider all features together as one combined package?**

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) agree		11.7%	12.2%	7.1%
2) Agree		41.9%	45.3%	42.4%
3) Disagree		25.4%	24.5%	39.1%
4) Definitely ( <i>Strongly</i> ) disagree		16.9%	14.5%	9.8%
5) DK/NA		4.1%	3.5%	1.7%
		100.00%	100.00%	100.10%

**V12) (Q41) In your opinion, what is the Israeli (Palestinian) majority opinion on this combined package for a permanent status settlement? Do most Israeli (Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza) support or oppose this combined final status package?**

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Majority supports		32.0%	33.7%	50.9%
2) Majority opposes		55.7%	55.4%	41.4%
3) DK/NA		12.2%	10.9%	7.7%
		99.90%	100.00%	100.00%

**V13) (Q42) And what is the Palestinian (Israeli) majority opinion on this combined package for**

<b>a permanent status settlement? Do most Palestinians (Israelis) support or oppose this combined final status package?</b>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Majority supports		29.5%	34.0%	29.7%
2) Majority opposes		55.1%	52.7%	60.4%
3) DK/NA		15.3%	13.2%	9.9%
		99.90%	99.90%	100.00%
<b>V14) And in your opinion is it possible or impossible to reach these days a final status settlement with the Palestinians?</b>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Definitely possible		5.2%	6.4%	
2) Think it is possible		21.7%	24.1%	
3) Think it is impossible		34.6%	33.9%	
4) Definitely impossible		37.5%	34.5%	
5) DK/NA		1.0%	1.0%	
		100.00%	99.90%	
<b>V15) (Q43) Now, more than 40 years after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, what in your view are the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years?</b>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Non-existent		23.3%	21.3%	22.0%
2) Low		44.9%	44.8%	41.1%
3) Medium		23.3%	24.5%	31.4%
4) High		7.2%	8.1%	4.3%
5) DK/NA		1.4%	1.3%	1.2%
		100.10%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>V16) Do you support or oppose to the bombing of Iran's nuclear facilities?</b>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely support		21.7%	19.8%	
2) Support		27.4%	27.3%	
3) Oppose		25.4%	27.3%	
4) Definitely oppose		12.8%	13.6%	
5) DK/NA		12.6%	12.1%	
		99.90%	100.10%	
<b>(Q63) Lately, there has been talk about an Israeli military strike against Iran's facilities, do you think that Israeli will actually carry out such strike in the coming months?</b>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Certainly will strike				6.4%
2) will strike				41.2%
3) will not strike				38.1%
4) certainly will not strike				9.8%
5) DK/NA				4.5%
				100.00%
<b>V17) And what about the majority of the Israeli public do most Israelis support or oppose the bombing of Iran's nuclear facilities?</b>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) The majority supports		55.1%	56.2%	
2) The majority opposes		24.7%	25.3%	
3) DK/NA		20.2%	18.5%	
		100.00%	100.00%	
<b>V18) (Q65) If Israel were to carry out a military strike against Iran, do you think Hamas and Islamic Jihad should retaliate by carrying out a military strike against Israel?</b>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians

1) Certainly yes		45.2%	42.3%	11.4%
2) think that yes		34.0%	33.4%	36.5%
3) think that no		9.1%	12.1%	33.2%
4) Certainly no		5.6%	5.5%	12.6%
5) DK/NA		6.0%	6.8%	6.4%
		99.90%	100.10%	100.10%

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

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

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

**V19) Most important value \_\_\_\_\_**

	Israeli Jews		
1) Jewish majority	38.4%		
2) Greater Israel	12.6%		
3) Democracy	22.5%		
4) Peace	24.7%		
5) DK/NA	1.7%		
	99.90%		

**V20) 2<sup>nd</sup> most important \_\_\_\_\_**

	Israeli Jews		
1) Jewish majority	27.0%		
2) Greater Israel	14.6%		
3) Democracy	29.3%		
4) Peace	26.2%		
5) DK/NA	2.9%		
	100.00%		

**V21) 3<sup>rd</sup> most important \_\_\_\_\_**

	Israeli Jews		
1) Jewish majority	23.9%		
2) Greater Israel	15.1%		
3) Democracy	26.8%		
4) Peace	29.1%		
5) DK/NA	5.0%		
	99.90%		

**V22) 4<sup>th</sup> most important \_\_\_\_\_**

	Israeli Jews		
1) Jewish majority	7.8%		
2) Greater Israel	53.0%		
3) Democracy	17.9%		
4) Peace	17.1%		
5) DK/NA	4.3%		
	100.10%		

**V23) (Q57) In your view, will a state of Palestine become or will not become a member of the UN in the next year, 2012?**

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Certainly will become	4.7%	6.1%	5.2%
2) Will become	35.3%	37.9%	46.9%
3) Will not become	37.3%	35.0%	35.8%

4) Certainly will not become		14.6%	13.7%	6.4%
5) DK/NA		8.2%	7.3%	5.8%
		100.10%	100.00%	100.10%

**V24) (Q59) 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>		25.4%	24.8%	31.3%
2) Resume the Intifada including armed confrontations <i>(Armed attacks on army and settlers)</i>		47.8%	47.3%	29.8%
3) Return to negotiations with the Israeli government		15.0%	17.4%	31.7%
4) DK/NA <i>(other (specify___))</i>		9.3%	8.1%	2.3%
5) other (specify___) <i>(DK/NA)</i>		2.5%	2.5%	4.9%
		100.00%	100.10%	100.00%

**V25) (Q52) 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 Israeli 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>		1.9%	4.1%	5.0%
2) Probably yes <i>(capable)</i>		15.9%	20.7%	31.2%
3) Probably no <i>(incapable)</i>		39.4%	36.2%	49.4%
4) Definitely no <i>(certainly incapable)</i>		34.4%	31.6%	11.5%
5) DK/NA		8.3%	7.4%	2.9%
		99.90%	100.00%	100.00%

**V26) Who do you think earning more from the transaction prisoner swap for Gilad Shalit, Hamas or Israel?**

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely Hamas		35.1%	35.9%	
2) Probably Hamas		15.0%	18.5%	
3) Probably Israel		14.2%	13.7%	
4) Definitely Israel		25.6%	22.8%	
5) Both sides		6.0%	5.1%	
6) DK/NA		4.1%	4.0%	
		100.00%	100.00%	

**V27) 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		19.4%	23.8%	
2) support		27.4%	28.1%	
3) Oppose		22.7%	21.7%	

4) Definitely oppose		25.8%	22.3%	
5) DK/NA		4.7%	4.1%	
		100.00%	100.00%	
<b>V28-30) What percent of the Israeli public support dismantling most of the settlements?</b>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
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		25.8%	25.1%	
<b>V31) (Q47) 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?</b>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely agree		16.1%	16.0%	4.5%
2) Agree		48.9%	49.8%	47.8%
3) Disagree		16.5%	16.9%	35.0%
4) Definitely disagree		13.0%	12.2%	11.8%
5) DK/NA		5.4%	5.1%	0.9%
		99.90%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>V32) 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?</b>				
		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Majority supports		53.6%	56.4%	
2) Majority opposes		31.5%	30.1%	
3) DK/NA		15.0%	13.6%	
		100.10%	100.10%	
<b>V33) (Q44) 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?</b> (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		14.8%	13.9%	26.3%
2) Worried		38.8%	36.0%	43.6%
3) Not worried		29.5%	30.9%	25.3%
4) Not worried at all		15.0%	17.5%	4.3%
5) DK/NA		1.9%	1.7%	0.5%
		100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>V34) (Q45) What do you think are the aspirations of the Palestinians (Israel) for the long run?</b>				
		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)		8.3%	9.1%	7.2%

2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war <i>(Withdrawal from part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security)</i>		17.5%	19.7%	9.6%
3) Conquer the State of Israel <i>(Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens)</i>		20.4%	21.5%	21.8%
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>		49.1%	45.0%	60.1%
5) DK/NA		4.7%	4.8%	1.3%
		100.00%	100.10%	100.00%