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Joint Israeli Palestinian Poll, March 2012

In the aftermath of the exploratory talks in Amman, Israelis reject Palestinians' conditions for returning to negotiations, and Palestinians oppose returning to negotiations unconditionally

These are the results of the most recent Joint Israeli-Palestinian 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 poll was conducted in the backdrop of the recent round of violent clashes in Southern Israel and the Gaza Strip.

Chances for resuming talks between Israelis and Palestinians look slim at this point, with a majority of Israelis (68%) rejecting the Palestinian conditions to stop all construction in the settlements and to commit to return to the 1967 borders, and a majority of Palestinians (58%) opposing the return to talks without fulfilling these conditions.

An overwhelming majority of Israelis (69%) support the cooperation between Israel and the US in the bombing of Iran's nuclear facilities, but only a minority (42%) supports such an operation by Israel without the US. Large majorities of both Israelis (73%) and Palestinians (85%) think that if Israel were to carry out a military strike against Iran a big regional war will erupt.

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 March 15 and 17, 2012. The

margin of error is 3%. The Israeli sample includes 600 adult Israelis interviewed by phone in Hebrew, Arabic or Russian between March 11 and 15, 2012. 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. On the Israeli survey, contact Prof Yaacov Shamir at tel. 03-6419429 or email jshamir@mscc.huji.ac.il.

MAIN FINDINGS

(A) Israeli military strike against Iran's nuclear facilities

- 69% of Israelis support the cooperation between the US and Israel in bombing Iran's nuclear facilities, 26% oppose it. However support for such an operation declines dramatically to 42% with a slim majority (51%) opposing it, if Israel acts without the cooperation of the US.
- Palestinians are split in half in their assessment whether Israel will strike Iran or not: 46% think it will strike while 48% believe it will not.
- 85% of Palestinians and 73% of Israelis think that if Israel were to carry out a military strike against Iran, a major regional war will erupt; 11% of Palestinians and 22% of Israelis do not think so.

(B) Attitudes and expectations regarding the peace process

- Majorities among Israelis (64%) and Palestinians (68%) view the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to Israel in the next five years as low or non-existent.
- With recent talk about the inevitable failure of a two-state solution, almost two thirds on the two sides oppose the one state solution in which Arabs and Jews enjoy equality: 61% of Palestinians and 64% of Israelis. 36% of Palestinians and 33% of Israelis support this solution. At the same time, 49% of Israelis think that the two-state solution is bound to fail while 44% regard it as still relevant.
- 56% of the Palestinians support the Saudi initiative and 42% oppose it, while 37% of the Israelis support and 59% 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.
- 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 55% of the Israeli public support such a mutual recognition; 39% oppose it. Among Palestinians, 43% support and 55% oppose this step. In December 2011, 66% of the Israelis supported and 29% opposed this mutual recognition of identity; among Palestinians, the corresponding figures were 52% and 47%.

(C) Conflict management and threat perceptions

- Given the cessation of the Amman exploratory talks, 42% of the Israelis think that armed attacks will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations. 49% of the Israelis believe that negotiations will continue but some armed attacks will continue as well. Only 4% of Israelis believe negotiations will continue and armed confrontations will stop. Among the Palestinians, 18% think that some armed attacks will take place and the two sides will not return to negotiations, 25% think the two sides will soon return to negotiations and 36% think the two sides will return to negotiations but some armed attacks will take place. Finally, 16% think the two sides will not return to negotiations and there will be no armed attacks.
- Palestinians and Israelis support their government's position with regard to return to negotiations. A majority of Israelis (68%) reject the Palestinian conditions to stop all construction in the settlements and to commit to return to the 1967 borders, and a majority of Palestinians (58%) oppose the return to talks without fulfilling these conditions.
- The hunger strike of Palestinian prisoner Khadir Adnan, declared in order to protest his administrative detention, ended with an agreement to release him after his current detention period ends. A majority of Palestinians (57%) believe that this agreement will help to end the practice of administrative detention; however a majority of 60% of Israelis oppose the abolishment of administrative detention for Palestinians.
- 62% of Israelis oppose an Israeli intervention in the events in Syria; 26% support humanitarian assistance and granting political asylum to rebels, 6% support supply of weapons and ammunition, and 3% support active intervention of the Israeli army.
- Among Israelis, 50% are worried and 50% are not worried that they or their family may be harmed by Arabs in their daily life, as they were in December 2011. Among Palestinians, 76% are worried that they or a member of their family could be hurt by Israel in their daily life or that their land would be confiscated or home demolished. In December 2011, perception of worry among Palestinians stood at 70%.
- The level of threat on both sides regarding the aspirations of the other side in the long run is very high. 62% 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 Palestinian aspirations in the long run are to conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel (42%); 22% think the goals of the Palestinians are to conquer the State of Israel. Only 15% 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 30% of Israelis think the aspirations of the Palestinians are to regain some or all of the territories conquered in 1967.

(D) Domestic affairs

- 58% of Israelis support the Supreme Court decision to strike down the "Tal Law" that allowed the ultra-Orthodox yeshiva students not to enlist to the army; 38% oppose it.
- As in other opinion polls carried out recently, the Likud leads by far the other parties in terms of vote intention of Israelis if the elections for the Knesset were to be held now. When we add to the list of political parties a party of the social protest movement, it comes out a close second to the Likud with 14% to the Likud's 16%. Since such a party has not been actually proclaimed, this prognosis is premature; however these results are noteworthy since they were obtained in the backdrop of the recent violent clashes with the Palestinians in the South while security and not social and economic issues were high on the political agenda.
- On the Palestinian side, if new presidential and parliamentary elections were to take place today, Mahmud Abbas receives 54% of the vote and Ismail Haniyeh 42% while Fateh wins 42% and Hamas 27% of the popular vote; all other parties receive 10% of the vote and 20% say they have not decided to whom they will vote.

Israeli Poll (#39) 11-15 March 2012; N= 600
(Palestinian Poll (#43) 15-17 March 2012; 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.

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

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Very good		7.8%	6.8%	
2) Good		23.4%	22.8%	
3) So-so		39.6%	38.4%	
4) Bad		16.2%	18.2%	
5) Very Bad		11.2%	12.1%	
6) DK/NA		1.8%	1.7%	
		100.00%	100.00%	

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

				Palestinians
1) Very good				1.7%
2) Good				11.0%
3) So-so				15.5%
4) Bad				44.7%
5) Very Bad				25.2%
6) DK/NA				1.8%
				99.90%

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

				Palestinians
1) Very good				6.0%
2) Good				24.7%
3) So-so				31.5%
4) Bad				24.8%
5) Very Bad				11.2%
6) DK/NA				1.8%
				100.00%

V2) 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		6.6%	6.4%	
2) Think it is possible		19.8%	23.6%	
3) Think it is impossible		34.7%	34.2%	
4) Definitely impossible		36.1%	33.3%	
5) DK/NA		2.8%	2.5%	
		100.00%	100.00%	

V3) (Q38) What do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis now after the exploratory talks in Amman have stopped?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Negotiations will continue and armed confrontations will stop		2.7%	4.4%	25.4%
2) Negotiations will continue but some armed attacks will continue		48.0%	48.6%	35.7%

3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations		43.5%	41.5%	18.1%
4) Two sides will not return to negotiations and armed attacks increase		/	/	15.8%
5) DK/NA		5.9%	5.5%	5.0%
		100.10%	100.00%	100.00%

V4) (Q39) 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?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Non-existent		30.9%	28.0%	21.6%
2) Low		33.2%	35.7%	36.2%
3) Medium		24.1%	25.6%	26.1%
4) High		8.9%	8.0%	10.8%
5) DK/NA		3.0%	2.7%	5.2%
		100.10%	100.00%	99.90%

V5) The Palestinians say that there is no point in returning to negotiations without a commitment to return to the 67 borders with territorial exchange and a freeze on settlement construction. Do you think Israel should or should not accept these conditions to resume negotiations?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Certain that should accept		6.3%	9.4%	
2) Think that should accept		14.2%	19.9%	
3) Think that should not accept		28.8%	27.3%	
4) Certain that should not accept		47.8%	40.3%	
5) DK/NA		2.9%	3.0%	
		100.00%	99.90%	

Q37) The Amman exploratory talks have been stopped, but pressure from the international Quartet is mounting on the PA to resume them. Given present conditions, do you support or oppose the resumption of the Amman exploratory talks. without an Israeli commitment to return to the 67 borders and to stop construction in the settlements”?

				Palestinians
1) certainly support				4.2%
2) support				31.0%
3) oppose				42.0%
4) certainly oppose				16.1%
5) DK/NA				6.7%
				100.00%

V6) (Q44) According to the Saudi plan, Israel will retreat from all territories occupied in 1967 including Gaza, the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and a Palestinian state will be established. The refugees problem will be resolved through negotiation in a just and agreed-upon manner and in accordance with UN resolution 194 (which allows return of refugees to Israel and compensation). In return, all Arab states will recognize Israel and its right to secure borders, will sign peace treaties with her and establish normal diplomatic relations. Do you agree or disagree to this plan?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely (Certainly) agree		5.7%	11.8%	5.7%
2) Agree		21.5%	25.0%	49.8%
3) Disagree		31.1%	28.0%	32.9%

4) Definitely (<i>Certainly</i>) disagree		36.6%	30.9%	9.1%
5) DK/NA		5.1%	4.3%	2.5%
		100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

V7) Recently, a debate arose about the measure of administrative detention, following the release of a Palestinian prisoner from such a detention after a prolonged hunger strike. Do you think that administrative detention should be abolished?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) definitely should be abolished		6.6%	7.3%	
2) should be abolished		16.2%	19.2%	
3) should not be abolished		38.2%	36.3%	
4) definitely should not be abolished		26.4%	23.6%	
5) DK/NA		12.6%	13.6%	
		100.00%	100.00%	

(Q35) Palestinian prisoner Khadir Adnan has recently declared a hunger strike in order to protest his administrative detention. The strike ended with an agreement to release him after his current detention period ends in April. Do you think this agreement is likely to speed up the process of ending the whole practice of administrative detention?

				Palestinians
1) Certainly will speed it				11.6%
2) will speed it				45.1%
3) will not speed it				29.9%
4) Certainly will not speed it				8.6%
5) DK/NA				4.9%
				100.10%

(Q40) Talk has recently increased about the inevitable failure of the two state solution and the need to demand the formulation of a solution based on the establishment of one state in all Palestinian areas and Israel, one in which Arabs and Jews enjoy equality. Do you support or oppose this view?

				Palestinians
1) Certainly support				5.2%
2) Support				30.4%
3) Oppose				41.5%
4) Certainly oppose				19.4%
5) DK/NA				3.5%
				100.00%

V8) Recently it has been argued that the two-state solution is inevitably doomed to failure because of the settlements. Others claim that two-state solution is still possible because the settlements can be dismantled when a settlement is reached. What is our opinion?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Certain that the two-state solution will fail		27.2%	24.8%	
2) Think that the two-state solution will fail		20.5%	24.6%	
3) Think that the two-state solution is still relevant		34.3%	34.8%	
4) Certain that the two-state solution is still relevant		10.6%	9.5%	
5) DK/NA		7.4%	6.4%	
		100.00%	100.10%	

V9) Given the growing perception a two-state solution is no longer feasible, there is a need to begin to think about a solution of a one state for two people in which Arabs and Jews enjoy equality. Do you agree or disagree with this solution?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Definitely agree		3.8%	7.1%	
2) Agree		21.4%	25.7%	
3) Disagree		31.3%	29.8%	
4) Definitely disagree		40.2%	34.4%	
5) DK/NA		3.3%	3.0%	
		100.00%	100.00%	

V10) Do you support cooperation between Israel and the US in bombing Iran's nuclear facilities?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Definitely support		42.7%	37.4%	
2) Support		35.3%	31.9%	
3) Oppose		10.9%	16.9%	
4) Definitely oppose		6.2%	9.3%	
5) DK/NA		4.9%	4.4%	
		100.00%	99.90%	

V11) And if Israel has to bomb Iran's nuclear facilities alone without the cooperation of the US should Israel do it or not?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Definitely should do it		18.8%	17.2%	
2) Should do it		26.0%	24.5%	
3) Should not do it		27.6%	31.4%	
4) Definitely should not do it		19.6%	19.7%	
5) DK/NA		8.0%	7.3%	
		100.00%	100.10%	

(Q53) 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?

				Palestinians
1) Certainly will strike				7.1%
2) will strike				38.8%
3) will not strike				40.0%
4) certainly will not strike				8.0%
5) DK/NA				6.2%
				100.10%

V12) And what about the majority of the Israeli public - do most Israelis support or oppose an Israeli strike against Iran's nuclear facilities without cooperation with the US?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) The majority supports		42.2%	41.1%	
2) The majority opposes		38.0%	40.7%	
3) DK/NA		19.8%	18.2%	
		100.00%	100.00%	

V13) If Israel were to carry out a military strike against Iran, do you think a large regional war will erupt and Hamas and Islamic Jihad will retaliate by carrying out a military strike against Israel?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Certainly yes		35.9%	32.5%	
2) Think that yes		39.8%	40.8%	
3) Think that no		14.7%	17.2%	
4) Certainly no		4.6%	4.7%	
5) DK/NA		5.0%	4.9%	

		100.00%	100.10%	
<i>Q54) If Israel carried out a military strike against Iran, do you think such a strike would lead to a big war in the region between Israel, Iran, and other parties?</i>				
1) Certainly will lead to a big war				Palestinians
2) will lead to a big war				42.3%
3) will not lead to a big war				42.4%
4) Certainly will not lead to a big war				8.8%
5) DK/NA				2.1%
				4.4%
				100.00%

V14) The Israeli Supreme Court struck down the “Tal Law” that allowed ultra-Orthodox yeshiva students not to enlist to the army. Do you support or oppose this decision of the court?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis
1) Definitely support		38.5%	33.9%
2) Support		22.8%	24.2%
3) Oppose		16.2%	19.7%
4) Definitely oppose		18.7%	18.7%
5) DK/NA		3.8%	3.6%
		100.00%	100.10%

V15) Do you support or oppose an Israeli intervention in the events in Syria and if so in what way?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis
1) Support humanitarian assistance and granting political asylum to the rebels		24.5%	26.4%
2) Support supplying weapons and ammunition		3.3%	6.4%
3) Support active intervention of the IDF		1.9%	3.2%
4) Oppose any kind of intervention		68.0%	61.9%
5) DK/NA		2.3%	2.1%
		100.00%	100.00%

V16) 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		17.5%	25.2%
2) support		22.3%	20.8%
3) Oppose		25.8%	24.7%
4) Definitely oppose		25.3%	21.5%
5) DK/NA		9.2%	7.7%
		100.10%	99.90%

V17-19) What percent of the Israeli public support dismantling most of the settlements?

		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		22.3%	21.5%

V20) (Q45) 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		15.7%	17.5%	2.8%
2) Agree		36.4%	37.2%	40.3%
3) Disagree		21.3%	22.7%	40.4%
4) Definitely disagree		19.1%	16.4%	14.8%
5) DK/NA		7.5%	6.3%	1.7%
		100.00%	100.10%	100.00%

V21) And what is the Israeli majority opinion on this issue? Do most Israelis support or oppose the mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Majority supports		42.1%	44.3%	
2) Majority opposes		37.9%	37.4%	
3) DK/NA		20.0%	18.4%	
		100.00%	100.10%	

V22) (Q42) 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%	19.1%	34.1%
2) Worried		32.4%	30.6%	41.9%
3) Not worried		31.6%	33.3%	18.9%
4) Not worried at all		13.3%	16.2%	4.6%
5) DK/NA		0.9%	0.8%	0.5%
		99.90%	100.00%	100.00%

V23) (Q43) What do you think are the aspirations of the Palestinians (Israel) for the long run?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Regain some of the territories conquered in the 1967 war (<i>Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security</i>)		12.1%	11.6%	6.5%
2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war (<i>Withdrawal from part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security</i>)		14.2%	18.3%	8.6%
3) Conquer the State of Israel (<i>Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens</i>)		17.6%	21.6%	21.0%

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>		49.6%	42.3%	62.2%
5) DK/NA		6.5%	6.2%	1.7%
		100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

V24) 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

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

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis
01) Kadima		4.3%	4.8%
02) Labor		5.0%	4.8%
03) Likud		18.8%	15.9%
04) Shas		4.5%	3.8%
05) Meretz		0.7%	0.8%
06) Habait Hayehudi (Mafdal)		0.6%	0.5%
07) Yahadut Hatora (Agudat Israel, Degel Hatora)		3.2%	2.6%
08) Israel Beteinu – Lieberman		7.2%	6.0%
09) HaIchud Haleumi		2.6%	2.2%
10) Social Protest Movement		16.7%	14.2%
11) Yerukim		0.2%	0.1%
12) Hatnua Hayeruka-Meimad		/	/
13) Ale Yarok		0.2%	0.1%
14) Gimlaim		0.2%	0.1%
15) Hzmaot		0.7%	0.6%
16) Hadash		/	3.8%
17) Raam Taal		/	1.6%
18) Balad		/	1.1%
19) Other		2.0%	1.7%
20) Blank Ballot		/	0.2%
21) Haven't decided		21.6%	21.4%
22) No vote		10.6%	11.8%
23) Refusal		0.9%	1.8%
		100.00%	99.90%