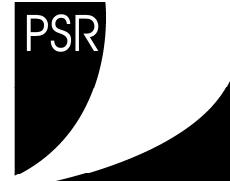




האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים
המכון למחקר ע"ש הרי ס. טרומן
למען קידום השלום
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
The Harry S. Truman
Research Institute
For the Advancement of Peace
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Ford Foundation



المراكز الفلسطينية
للبحوث
السياسية والمسحية
Palestinian Center for
POLICY and
SURVEY RESEARCH

March 2010

PRESS RELEASE

Joint Israeli Palestinian Poll, March 2010

**Majority of Palestinians and Israelis prefer two-state
solution over binational state or confederation**

Jerusalem, March 17, 2010 – A majority of Israelis and Palestinians prefer a two-state solution as the most acceptable resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, as opposed to a single binational state or a Palestinian-Israeli confederation.

This is the clear conclusion drawn from the latest public opinion survey conducted under the auspices of 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.

The March joint Israeli Palestinian poll focused on the main political outlines for a final status Palestinian- Israeli agreement. Those surveyed were asked whether they preferred a solution of two states for two peoples, a binational Palestinian-Israeli state, or a Palestinian-Israeli confederation.

The results were as follows:

- **71% among Israelis and 57% among Palestinians supported the “two-state solution,” namely the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside of Israel.**
- **Compared to the two-state solution, only 24% of the Israelis and 29% of the Palestinians supported the solution of a binational state, in which Israel is unified with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to establish one state in which Palestinians and Israelis would have equal rights.**
- **The third outline for a political settlement is a two states for two peoples solution, with joint political institutions which will lead eventually to a confederation of the two states. Only 30% of the Israelis and 26% among Palestinians supported this solution.**

In recent months the idea of a binational state has increasingly been put forth as a solution. However, it would seem to be impossible to implement this option given the strong opposition to it in the two publics.

- **Palestinians and Israelis also understand that the most difficult solution to implement is the bi-national state solution: 38% of the Israelis and 42% of the Palestinians think so. Fewer respondents, think so about the two-state solution (29% and 32% respectively), and even less (21% and 18% respectively) believe so about the confederation.**

The Palestinian sample size was 1270 adults interviewed in person in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip in 127 randomly selected locations between March 4-6. The margin of error is 3%. The Israeli sample includes 501 adult Israelis interviewed by phone in Hebrew, Arabic or Russian between March 1-10. The margin of error is 4.9%.

The Joint Israeli-Palestinian Poll is supported by the Ford Foundation (Cairo) and the Adenauer Stiftung (Jerusalem and Ramallah). The poll was planned and supervised by Prof. Yaacov Shamir of 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.

Israeli Poll #(31) 1-14 March 2010; Israelis N=501, Settlers N=506*

(Palestinian Poll #35 4 March - 6 March 2010; 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.

V6) How would you describe Israel's condition in general these days?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Very good | 6.5% | 5.0% | 5.6% | |
| 2) Good | 27.9% | 24.0% | 24.0% | |
| 3) So-so | 36.6% | 47.0% | 43.7% | |
| 4) Bad | 14.2% | 13.8% | 14.8% | |
| 5) Very Bad | 11.5% | 8.8% | 10.4% | |
| 6) DK/NA | 3.4% | 1.4% | 1.6% | |

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

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Very good | | | | 2.0% |
| 2) Good | | | | 8.9% |
| 3) So-so | | | | 13.5% |
| 4) Bad | | | | 40.1% |
| 5) Very Bad | | | | 33.1% |
| 6) DK/NA | | | | 2.4% |

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

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Very good | | | | 6.9% |
| 2) Good | | | | 23.9% |
| 3) So-so | | | | 28.9% |
| 4) Bad | | | | 26.1% |
| 5) Very Bad | | | | 9.7% |
| 6) DK/NA | | | | 4.4% |

V7) Did you support or oppose, at the time, Sharon's disengagement plan, in which all the settlements in Gaza Strip and some of the settlements in Samaria were evacuated?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|-------------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely supported | 4.0% | 10.5% | 13.2% | |
| 2) Supported | 14.8% | 40.6% | 40.1% | |
| 3) Objected | 35.6% | 23.5% | 21.2% | |
| 4) Definitely objected | 38.7% | 15.0% | 12.8% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 6.9% | 10.5% | 12.8% | |

V8) (Q44) What do you expect to happen now, after the assassination of Mahmoud Al-Mabhuu In Dubai and the Israeli announcement of Al Haram al Ibrahimi in Hebron and Masjid Bilal in Bethlehem as part of Israeli historic national heritage?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop | 4.3% | 6.4% | 7.0% | 14.4% |
| 2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue | 31.8% | 37.5% | 35.3% | 36.3% |
| 3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations | 49.6% | 44.9% | 45.3% | 43.1% |
| 4) DK/NA | 14.2% | 11.2% | 12.4% | 6.1% |

V9) What do you expect to happen with the settlements in Judea and Samaria in the coming years?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Most settlements will be evacuated | 4.3% | 5.7% | 6.0% | |
| 2) Some settlements will be evacuated | 21.3% | 31.4% | 29.1% | |
| 3) The number of settlements will remain as it is today | 28.9% | 38.7% | 35.7% | |
| 4) Some settlements will be added | 22.1% | 10.2% | 13.4% | |
| 5) Many settlements will be added | 13.4% | 3.6% | 5.0% | |
| 6) DK/NA | 9.9% | 10.5% | 10.8% | |

V10) (*Settlers only*) Various reasons are given for the decision to settle in Judea and Samaria:

- National or religious mission to inhabit the land
- The importance of the territories for the security of Israel
- Personal wish for quality of life, housing and community

Of these three reasons, what is the most important reason for your own decision to live in the place you live now?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) National or religious mission to inhabit the land | 31.2% | | | |
| 2) The importance of the territories to the security of Israel | 15.2% | | | |
| 3) Personal wish for quality of life, housing and community | 46.2% | | | |
| 4) DK/NA | 7.3% | | | |

V11) In your opinion, what is the most important reason for the majority of the residents in Judea and Samaria to settle in the territories?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) National or religious mission to inhabit the land | 48.0% | 57.7% | 54.7% | |
| 2) The importance of the territories to the security of Israel | 13.4% | 18.3% | 21.2% | |
| 3) Personal wish for quality of life, housing and community | 25.9% | 19.0% | 19.2% | |
| 4) DK/NA | 12.6% | 5.0% | 5.0% | |

(*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?

V12) Most important value _____

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Jewish majority | 49.0% | 28.7% | | |
| 2) Greater Israel | 16.0% | 11.2% | | |
| 3) Democracy | 12.1% | 26.1% | | |
| 4) Peace | 20.4% | 32.1% | | |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.6% | 1.9% | | |

V13) 2nd most important _____

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Jewish majority | 23.1% | 20.9% | | |
| 2) Greater Israel | 27.1% | 15.9% | | |
| 3) Democracy | 19.8% | 28.7% | | |
| 4) Peace | 24.9% | 31.4% | | |
| 5) DK/NA | 5.1% | 3.1% | | |

V14) 3rd most important _____

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Jewish majority | 14.2% | 24.0% | | |
| 2) Greater Israel | 20.4% | 25.4% | | |
| 3) Democracy | 27.1% | 24.7% | | |
| 4) Peace | 23.7% | 20.2% | | |
| 5) DK/NA | 14.6% | 5.7% | | |

V15) 4th most important _____

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Jewish majority | 7.5% | 21.9% | | |
| 2) Greater Israel | 25.5% | 40.4% | | |
| 3) Democracy | 27.9% | 15.4% | | |
| 4) Peace | 20.9% | 12.1% | | |
| 5) DK/NA | 18.2% | 10.2% | | |

V16) When do you think will it be possible to achieve a political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) A political settlement is not possible ever | 49.0% | 31.4% | 34.1% | |
| 2) Only in many generations to come | 15.8% | 20.7% | 19.2% | |
| 3) Only in the next generation | 13.2% | 18.5% | 16.4% | |
| 4) Only in the next decade | 4.3% | 9.5% | 9.2% | |
| 5) In the next few years | 7.7% | 11.2% | 11.4% | |
| 6) DK/NA | 9.9% | 8.8% | 9.8% | |

Of the following bodies, which have the authority to decide to evacuate or not evacuate settlements in Judea and Samaria?**V17) The government**

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Yes | 42.7% | 72.2% | 71.9% | |
| 2) No | 53.6% | 24.7% | 24.6% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 3.8% | 3.1% | 3.6% | |

V18) The Knesset

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Yes | 43.1% | 67.0% | 66.7% | |
| 2) No | 51.8% | 29.9% | 29.1% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 5.1% | 3.1% | 4.2% | |

V19) The Knesset but only by a Jewish majority

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Yes | 44.5% | 49.4% | 52.1% | |
| 2) No | 49.2% | 45.8% | 42.1% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 6.3% | 4.8% | 5.8% | |

V20) A referendum

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Yes | 60.1% | 57.0% | 50.9% | |
| 2) No | 35.8% | 38.5% | 43.3% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 4.2% | 4.5% | 5.8% | |

V21) Rabbinical authority

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Yes | 23.9% | 17.1% | 20.0% | |
| 2) No | 70.6% | 79.3% | 75.4% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 5.5% | 3.6% | 4.6% | |

V22) If the government decides on a comprehensive evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria, how in your opinion should one respond to this decision?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|-----------------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Obey | 19.8% | 36.6% | 37.9% | |
| 2) Resist it by legal means | 51.6% | 42.3% | 39.1% | |
| 3) Resist it by all means | 21.1% | 15.0% | 16.6% | |
| 4) DK/NA | 7.5% | 6.2% | 6.4% | |

V23) And is it justified in such a struggle to try to bring down the government?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Yes | 64.0% | 41.1% | 40.9% | |
| 2) No | 29.4% | 52.0% | 50.9% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 6.5% | 6.9% | 8.2% | |

V24) And to endanger yourself and your family?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Yes | 13.2% | 9.5% | 14.8% | |
| 2) No | 79.8% | 81.0% | 74.3% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 6.9% | 9.5% | 11.0% | |

V25) And to endanger other Jews (*Israeli Arabs were asked: Other people*)?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Yes | 9.5% | 8.8% | 12.4% | |
| 2) No | 85.0% | 81.5% | 76.2% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 5.5% | 9.7% | 11.4% | |

V26) And how, in your opinion, will most settlers in Judea and Samaria respond to such a decision?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) The majority will obey | 5.7% | 9.5% | 9.6% | |
| 2) The majority will resist the decision by legal means | 42.9% | 31.6% | 27.1% | |
| 3) The majority will resist the decision by all means | 39.5% | 52.3% | 56.7% | |
| 4) DK/NA | 11.9% | 6.7% | 6.6% | |

V27) (Settlers only) If a comprehensive evacuation of settlements would take place as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians, which of the following arrangements, in your opinion, would be the right one for the settlers in the settlements included in the evacuation?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) To allow Jewish settlers to continue to live in the settlements under Palestinian rule | 5.7% | | | |
| 2) Not to allow them to stay, and settle them in another settlement in Judea and Samaria pending the government's decision | 12.3% | | | |
| 3) Not to allow them to stay, and settle them in another community in Israel pending the government's decision | 11.1% | | | |
| 4) Not to allow them to stay, and pay them compensation so they can decide for themselves where to live | 46.6% | | | |
| 5) The disengagement plan will not occur | 10.3% | | | |
| 6) DK/NA | 14.0% | | | |

V28) A comprehensive evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria might change dramatically the lives of the settlers in the settlements to be evacuated, and cause pain and frustration in the settlers' community as a whole. Which of the following steps is the most important for facilitating the emotional frenzy among the settlers in Judea and Samaria?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Generous financial or economic compensation | 37.4% | 45.8% | 44.1% | |
| 2) Emotional compensation through empathy and understanding of the settlers' pain by the general public | 4.5% | 5.9% | 6.2% | |
| 3) Ideological compensation by strengthening the Jewish identity of the state through legislation and social arrangements | 6.1% | 12.1% | 11.2% | |
| 4) Political compensation by expanding the settlements in the settlement blocs that will remain under Israeli sovereignty | 22.5% | 20.7% | 19.8% | |
| 5) Do not deserve compensation | 0.2% | 1.4% | 4.2% | |
| 6) No compensation sufficient | 17.6% | 8.8% | 9.0% | |
| 7) DK/NA | 11.7% | 5.2% | 5.6% | |

V29) In your opinion, do the settlements contribute or hurt Israel's national security?

| | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Contribute to security | 39.7% | 39.5% | |
| 2) Hurt security | 29.9% | 32.9% | |
| 3) Neither contribute nor hurt | 23.0% | 20.0% | |
| 4) DK/NA | 7.4% | 7.6% | |

V30) 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?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Strongly support | 5.1% | 19.0% | 23.8% | |
| 2) Support | 18.2% | 36.8% | 36.3% | |
| 3) Oppose | 29.2% | 22.1% | 20.0% | |
| 4) Strongly oppose | 39.7% | 15.0% | 12.8% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 7.7% | 7.1% | 7.2% | |

V31) And what about the majority of the Israeli public? Do most Israelis support or oppose dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace agreement?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---------------------------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Majority supports | 22.3% | 31.8% | 31.1% | |
| 2) Majority opposes | 56.5% | 41.8% | 43.9% | |
| 3) <u>(Don't read)</u> Split- half | 8.5% | 12.4% | 12.0% | |
| 4) DK/NA | 12.6% | 14.0% | 13.0% | |

V32) (Q46) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state along side Israel, known as the two-state solution?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely support | 8.5% | 21.4% | 25.7% | 8.4% |
| 2) Support | 30.8% | 46.8% | 45.3% | 48.8% |
| 3) Object | 27.9% | 18.1% | 16.2% | 29.5% |
| 4) Definitely Object | 24.7% | 8.6% | 7.6% | 11.6% |
| 5) DK/NA | 8.1% | 5.2% | 5.2% | 1.7% |

V33) (Q47) Some people think that the best solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the one in which Israel is unified with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to establish one state whereby Palestinians and Israelis would have equal rights – a solution known as the one-state solution for two people (Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews would be equal). Do you support or oppose this solution?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely support | 1.2% | 4.5% | 6.0% | 4.1% |
| 2) Support | 15.4% | 17.8% | 17.8% | 24.6% |
| 3) Object | 33.8% | 36.1% | 37.5% | 47.3% |
| 4) Definitely Object | 40.9% | 35.6% | 32.5% | 21.5% |
| 5) DK/NA | 8.7% | 5.9% | 6.2% | 2.5% |

V34) (Q48) And what about a two-state solution for two people with joint political institutions, which will lead eventually to a confederation of the two states? Do you support or oppose this solution?

(And what about a solution of a Palestinian state alongside Israel where both states share joint political institutions which will eventually lead to a confederation. Do you support or oppose such a solution?)

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely support | 1.2% | 5.7% | 6.8% | 3.3% |
| 2) Support | 11.3% | 24.2% | 23.4% | 23.0% |
| 3) Object | 37.5% | 35.4% | 37.5% | 50.9% |
| 4) Definitely Object | 37.7% | 24.0% | 21.2% | 18.2% |
| 5) DK/NA | 12.3% | 10.7% | 11.2% | 4.6% |

V35) (Q49) And in your opinion, which of the three solutions is the most difficult to achieve?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|--|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) The solution of two independent states | 18.8% | 27.8% | 29.3% | 31.6% |
| 2) The one-state for two people with equal rights solution | 34.4% | 38.7% | 37.7% | 42.2% |
| 3) The two-state with joint political institutions solution (<i>the two states jointly in confederation</i>) | 21.7% | 21.2% | 20.6% | 18.1% |
| 4) DK/NA | 25.1% | 12.4% | 12.4% | 8.2% |

V43) (Q20) To what extent are you worried or not worried that you or a member of your family could be hurt by Arabs (Israel) in your daily life (or that your land would be confiscated or home demolished)?

(Israeli Arabs were asked "To what extent are you or are you not worried that you or your family members may be harmed by Jews in your daily life?")

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Very worried | 17.0% | 17.6% | 16.6% | 33.8% |
| 2) Worried | 34.2% | 35.9% | 35.5% | 42.8% |
| 3) Not worried | 31.6% | 28.5% | 28.3% | 17.3% |
| 4) Not at all worried | 15.2% | 15.0% | 16.4% | 5.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.0% | 3.1% | 3.2% | 0.3% |

44-47) (Settlers only) For each of the following protest activities against the freezing or evacuation of settlements, please tell me whether you participated or did not participate in person:

V44) (Settlers only) Demonstrations, marches or assemblies that were held in Judea and Samaria

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Yes | 27.5% | | | |
| 2) No | 70.2% | | | |
| 3) DK/NA | 2.4% | | | |

V45) (Settlers only) Demonstrations, marches or assemblies that were held within the 1967 borders?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Yes | 27.1% | | | |
| 2) No | 70.8% | | | |
| 3) DK/NA | 2.2% | | | |

V46) (*Settlers only*) Persuasion activities such as discussion groups, house calls, distribution of fliers or picketing on road intersections

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Yes | 18.6% | | | |
| 2) No | 79.2% | | | |
| 3) DK/NA | 2.2% | | | |

V47) (*Settlers only*) And did you participate in active resistance to IDF evacuation of an outpost or settlement?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Yes | 8.7% | | | |
| 2) No | 88.7% | | | |
| 3) DK/NA | 2.6% | | | |

V48) If a comprehensive evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria will be decided upon, do you plan or do not plan on taking an active role in protest activities against such evacuation, during the evacuation?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|-------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely yes | 17.0% | 6.2% | 6.6% | |
| 2) Think yes | 17.6% | 12.4% | 12.8% | |
| 3) Think no | 19.2% | 24.0% | 22.8% | |
| 4) Definitely no | 33.8% | 53.4% | 53.3% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 12.5% | 4.0% % | 4.6% | |

Recently there is much talk about refusals to fulfil duties in the IDF. These usually stem from two major reasons. One is a personal conscience-related reason. The refuser believes that his duty contradicts moral, religious or personal values. This type of refusal is labeled conscience motivated refusal. Another reason is that the refuser seeks social or legal change on issues which are not strictly personal and his refusal connotes an act of demonstration. This is labeled outlook motivated refusal.

V49) In your opinion, a soldier's refusal to serve in the territories is more of an outlook motivated refusal or more of a conscience motivated refusal? Give your answer on a continuum ranging from 1 to 10 where 1 means an outlook motivated refusal and 10 means conscience motivated refusal:

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Mean | 5.20 | 5.38 | 5.57 | |

V50) And how would you rate a soldier's refusal to evacuate settlements in Judea and Samaria– is it more of an outlook motivated refusal or more of a conscience motivated refusal? Again, give your answer on a continuum ranging from 1 to 10 where 1 to 10 where 1 means an outlook motivated refusal and 10 means conscience motivated refusal

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Mean | 6.06 | 5.82 | 5.70 | |

V51) In your opinion should the same punishment be instituted on the refusal to serve in the territories and refusal to evacuate settlements?

| | Settlers | Israeli Jews | All Israelis | Palestinians |
|---|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) Definitely the same punishment | 36.8% | 46.1% | 41.7% | |
| 2) There should be a punishment on the refusal to serve in the territories but not on the refusal to evacuate settlements | 22.9% | 14.0% | 12.8% | |
| 3) There should be a punishment on the refusal to evacuate settlements but not on the refusal to serve in the territories | 2.4% | 5.2% | 7.0% | |
| 4) There should be no punishment on either of them | 22.1% | 22.8% | 25.5% | |
| 5) DK/NA | 15.8% | 11.9% | 13.0% | |

Israeli Settlers Polls 2005, 2010

*Listed below are the questions asked in the Israeli settlers survey, and the comparable older questions. When the 2010 and the 2005 questions differ, the older version is italicized.

V6) (V5) How would you describe Israel's condition in general these days?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Very good | 2.4% | 6.5% | 2.6% | 5.6% |
| 2) Good | 12.2% | 27.9% | 17.5% | 24.0% |
| 3) So-so | 36.1% | 36.6% | 35.3% | 43.7% |
| 4) Bad | 21.8% | 14.2% | 18.9% | 14.8% |
| 5) Very Bad | 26.3% | 11.5% | 25.3% | 10.4% |
| 6) DK/NA | 1.2% | 3.4% | 0.5% | 1.6% |

V7) (V6) Did you support or oppose, at the time, Sharon's disengagement plan, in which all the settlements in Gaza Strip and some of the settlements in Samaria were evacuated?

(Do you support or oppose Sharon's disengagement plan which proposes to evacuate all settlements from Gaza strip and a small number of settlements in the West Bank?)

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Definitely supported | 10.6% | 4.0% | 22.5% | 13.2% |
| 2) Supported | 14.4% | 14.8% | 30.3% | 40.1% |
| 3) Objected | 15.6% | 35.6% | 18.7% | 21.2% |
| 4) Definitely Objected | 54.9% | 38.7% | 20.5% | 12.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 4.6% | 6.9% | 8.0% | 12.8% |

V8) (V10) What do you expect to happen now, after the assassination of Mahmoud Al-Mabhuu In Dubai and the Israeli announcement of Al Haram al Ibrahim in Hebron and Masjid Bilal in Bethlehem as part of Israeli historic national heritage?

(What do you expect to happen now, after the disengagement plan has been postponed to mid-August, and after Abu Mazin's visit to the US?)

| <i>and after Abu Mazin's visit to the US.)</i> | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop | 1.4% | 4.3% | 8.7% | 7.0% |
| 2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue | 41.1% | 31.8% | 59.6% | 35.3% |
| 3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations | 51.9% | 49.6% | 27.3% | 45.3% |
| 4) DK/NA | 5.6% | 14.2% | 4.4% | 12.4% |

V9) (V12) What do you expect to happen with the settlements in Judea and Samaria (in the West Bank) in the coming years?

| | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) Most settlements will be evacuated | 12.0% | 4.3% | 17.4% | 6.0% |
| 2) Some settlements will be evacuated | 29.5% | 21.3% | 40.7% | 29.1% |
| 3) The number of settlements will remain as it is today | 18.0% | 28.9% | 14.0% | 35.7% |
| 4) Some settlements will be added | 15.4% | 22.1% | 11.5% | 13.4% |
| 5) Many settlements will be added | 18.2% | 13.4% | 6.7% | 5.0% |
| 6) DK/NA | 7.0% | 9.9% | 9.8% | 10.8% |

V10) (V14) (Settlers only) Various reasons are given for the decision to settle in Judea and Samaria:

- National or religious mission to inhabit the land
- The importance of the territories for the security of Israel
- Personal wish for quality of life, housing and community

Of these three reasons, what is the most important reason for your own decision to live in the place you live now?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) National or religious mission to inhabit the land | 37.7% | 31.2% | | |
| 2) The importance of the territories to the security of Israel | 16.8% | 15.2% | | |
| 3) Personal wish for quality of life, housing and community | 41.5% | 46.2% | | |
| 4) DK/NA | 4.0% | 7.3% | | |

V11) (V16) In your opinion, what is the most important reason for the majority of the residents in Judea and Samaria (and Gaza district) to settle in the territories?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) National or religious mission to inhabit the land | 60.7% | 48.0% | 54.1% | 54.7% |
| 2) The importance of the territories to the security of Israel | 11.4% | 13.4% | 16.4% | 21.2% |
| 3) Personal wish for quality of life, housing and community | 18.2% | 25.9% | 23.1% | 19.2% |
| 4) DK/NA | 9.8% | 12.6% | 6.4% | 5.0% |

(*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:

5. Israel with a Jewish majority
6. Greater Israel
7. A democratic state (with equal political rights to all)
8. 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?

V12) (V17) Most important value _____

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israeli Jews 05 | Israeli Jews 10 |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1) Jewish majority | 50.9% | 49.0% | 34.6% | 28.7% |
| 2) Greater Israel | 17.8% | 16.0% | 10.2% | 11.2% |
| 3) Democracy | 11.4% | 12.1% | 20.3% | 26.1% |
| 4) Peace | 17.8% | 20.4% | 33.8% | 32.1% |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.2% | 2.6% | 1.0% | 1.9% |

V13) (V18) 2nd most important _____

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israeli Jews 05 | Israeli Jews 10 |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1) Jewish majority | 28.5% | 23.1% | 26.7% | 20.9% |
| 2) Greater Israel | 24.0% | 27.1% | 16.7% | 15.9% |
| 3) Democracy | 22.4% | 19.8% | 28.9% | 28.7% |
| 4) Peace | 21.6% | 24.9% | 25.8% | 31.4% |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.6% | 5.1% | 1.9% | 3.1% |

V14) (V19) 3rd most important

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israeli Jews 05 | Israeli Jews 10 |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1) Jewish majority | 13.8% | 14.2% | 22.4% | 24.0% |
| 2) Greater Israel | 15.6% | 20.4% | 18.7% | 25.4% |
| 3) Democracy | 32.3% | 27.1% | 28.3% | 24.7% |
| 4) Peace | 29.9% | 23.7% | 26.0% | 20.2% |
| 5) DK/NA | 8.4% | 14.6% | 4.6% | 5.7% |

V15) 4th most important

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israeli Jews 05 | Israeli Jews 10 |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1) Jewish majority | | 7.5% | | 21.9% |
| 2) Greater Israel | | 25.5% | | 40.4% |
| 3) Democracy | | 27.9% | | 15.4% |
| 4) Peace | | 20.9% | | 12.1% |
| 5) DK/NA | | 18.2% | | 10.2% |

V16) When do you think will it be possible to achieve a political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) A political settlement is not possible ever | | 49.0% | | 34.1% |
| 2) Only in many generations to come | | 15.8% | | 19.2% |
| 3) Only in the next generation | | 13.2% | | 16.4% |
| 4) Only in the next decade | | 4.3% | | 9.2% |
| 5) In the next few years | | 7.7% | | 11.4% |
| 6) DK/NA | | 9.9% | | 9.8% |

Of the following bodies, which have the authority to decide to evacuate or not evacuate settlements in Judea and Samaria (and the Gaza district)?**V17) (V21) The government**

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Yes | 49.1% | 42.7% | 69.8% | 71.9% |
| 2) No | 49.9% | 53.6% | 28.8% | 24.6% |
| 3) DK/NA | 1.0% | 3.8% | 1.4% | 3.6% |

V18) (V22) The Knesset

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Yes | 48.3% | 43.1% | 63.5% | 66.7% |
| 2) No | 49.1% | 51.8% | 35.4% | 29.1% |
| 3) DK/NA | 2.6% | 5.1% | 1.1% | 4.2% |

V19) (V23) The Knesset but only by a Jewish majority

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Yes | 52.1% | 44.5% | 51.8% | 52.1% |
| 2) No | 45.9% | 49.2% | 45.5% | 42.1% |
| 3) DK/NA | 2.0% | 6.3% | 2.7% | 5.8% |

V20) (V24) A referendum

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Yes | 62.7% | 60.1% | 57.4% | 50.9% |
| 2) No | 34.9% | 35.8% | 40.6% | 43.3% |
| 3) DK/NA | 2.4% | 4.2% | 2.0% | 5.8% |

V21) (V25) Rabbinical authority

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Yes | 26.3% | 23.9% | 18.0% | 20.0% |
| 2) No | 72.1% | 70.6% | 81.0% | 75.4% |
| 3) DK/NA | 1.6% | 5.5% | 1.0% | 4.6% |

V22) (V26) If the government decides on a comprehensive evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria, how in your opinion should one respond to this decision?

(Now that the government decided on the disengagement and on the evacuation of once authorized settlements, how in your opinion should one respond to this decision?)

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Obey | 20.6% | 19.8% | 39.7% | 37.9% |
| 2) Resist it by legal means | 61.1% | 51.6% | 44.5% | 39.1% |
| 3) Resist it by all means | 15.2% | 21.1% | 14.3% | 16.6% |
| 4) DK/NA | 3.2% | 7.5% | 1.6% | 6.4% |

V23) (V27) And is it justified in such a struggle to try to bring down the government?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Yes | 70.7% | 64.0% | 45.6% | 40.9% |
| 2) No | 26.1% | 29.4% | 49.1% | 50.9% |
| 3) DK/NA | 3.2% | 6.5% | 5.3% | 8.2% |

V24) (V28) And to endanger yourself and your family?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Yes | 16.6% | 13.2% | 10.7% | 14.8% |
| 2) No | 79.4% | 79.8% | 86.5% | 74.3% |
| 3) DK/NA | 4.0% | 6.9% | 2.8% | 11.0% |

V25) (V29) And to endanger other Jews (*Israeli Arabs were asked: Other people*)?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Yes | 8.6% | 9.5% | 7.2% | 12.4% |
| 2) No | 87.2% | 85.0% | 89.5% | 76.2% |
| 3) DK/NA | 4.2% | 5.5% | 3.2% | 11.4% |

V26) (V30) And how, in your opinion, will most settlers in Judea and Samaria respond to such a decision?

(And how will most settlers in Judea Samaria and Gaza respond now that the government decided on the disengagement and on the evacuation of once authorized settlements?)

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) The majority will obey | 10.0% | 5.7% | 15.7% | 9.6% |
| 2) The majority will resist the decision by legal means | 59.1% | 42.9% | 38.9% | 27.1% |
| 3) The majority will resist the decision by all means | 25.7% | 39.5% | 38.2% | 56.7% |
| 4) DK/NA | 5.2% | 11.9% | 7.2% | 6.6% |

V27) (V31) (Settlers only in 2010) If a comprehensive evacuation of settlements (*the disengagement*) would take place as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians, which of the following arrangements, in your opinion, would be the right one for the settlers in the settlements included in the evacuation (*disengagement plan*)?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) To allow Jewish settlers to continue to live in the settlements under Palestinian rule | 13.6% | 5.7% | 9.2% | |
| 2) Not to allow them to stay, and settle them <i>in another settlement in Judea and Samaria</i> pending the government's decision | 11.4% | 12.3% | 7.9% | |
| 3) Not to allow them to stay, and settle them in another community in Israel pending the government's decision | 4.0% | 11.1% | 18.8% | |
| 4) Not to allow them to stay, and pay them compensation so they can decide for themselves where to live | 56.3% | 46.6% | 55.8% | |
| 5) The disengagement plan will not occur | 3.8% | 10.3% | 1.3% | |
| 6) DK/NA | 11.0% | 14.0% | 6.8% | |

V28) (V34) A comprehensive evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria might change dramatically (*The disengagement plan dramatically changes*) the lives of the settlers in the settlements to be evacuated, and cause (*causes*) pain and frustration in the settlers' community as a whole. Which of the following steps is the most important for facilitating the emotional frenzy among the settlers in Judea and Samaria (*Judea, Samaria and Gaza*)?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) (<i>More</i>) Generous financial or economic compensation | 31.7% | 37.4% | 41.3% | 44.1% |
| 2) Emotional compensation through empathy and understanding of the settlers' pain by the general public | 17.0% | 4.5% | 17.9% | 6.2% |
| 3) Ideological compensation by strengthening the Jewish identity of the state through legislation and social arrangements | 13.0% | 6.1% | 13.0% | 11.2% |
| 4) Political compensation by expanding the settlements in the settlement blocs that will remain under Israeli sovereignty (<i>the settlements project in Judea and Samaria</i>) | 28.5% | 22.5% | 15.7% | 19.8% |
| 5) Do not deserve compensation | 0.2% | 0.2% | 5.0% | 4.2% |
| 6) No compensation sufficient | 1.6% | 17.6% | 0.8% | 9.0% |
| 7) DK/NA | 8.0% | 11.7% | 6.4% | 5.6% |

V29) Administrative use

V30) (V38) 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?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Strongly support | 12.2% | 5.1% | 28.8% | 23.8% |
| 2) Support | 17.8% | 18.2% | 33.0% | 36.3% |
| 3) Oppose | 21.4% | 29.2% | 14.6% | 20.0% |
| 4) Strongly oppose | 45.3% | 39.7% | 17.6% | 12.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.4% | 7.7% | 6.0% | 7.2% |

V31) And what about the majority of the Israeli public? Do most Israelis support or oppose dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace agreement?

| | Settlers 10 | Israelis 10 |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Majority supports | 22.3% | 31.1% |
| 2) Majority opposes | 56.5% | 43.9% |
| 3) <u>(Don't read)</u> | 8.5% | 12.0% |
| Split- half | | |
| 4) DK/NA | 12.6% | 13.0% |

V39-44) What percent of the Israeli public support dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace agreement with the 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 the Palestinians

| | |
|-------|-------|
| 34.2% | 48.5% |
|-------|-------|

V32) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the two-state solution?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Definitely support | | 8.5% | | 25.7% |
| 2) Support | | 30.8% | | 45.3% |
| 3) Object | | 27.9% | | 16.2% |
| 4) Definitely Object | | 24.7% | | 7.6% |
| 5) DK/NA | | 8.1% | | 5.2% |

V33) Some people think that the best solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the one in which Israel is unified with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to establish one state whereby Palestinians and Israelis would have equal rights – a solution known as the one-state solution for two people. Do you support or oppose this solution?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Definitely support | | 1.2% | | 6.0% |
| 2) Support | | 15.4% | | 17.8% |
| 3) Object | | 33.8% | | 37.5% |
| 4) Definitely Object | | 40.9% | | 32.5% |
| 5) DK/NA | | 8.7% | | 6.2% |

V34) And what about a two-state solution for two people with joint political institutions, which will lead eventually to a confederation of the two states? Do you support or oppose this solution?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Definitely support | | 1.2% | | 6.8% |
| 2) Support | | 11.3% | | 23.4% |
| 3) Object | | 37.5% | | 37.5% |
| 4) Definitely Object | | 37.7% | | 21.2% |
| 5) DK/NA | | 12.3% | | 11.2% |

V35) And which of the three solutions is the most difficult to achieve?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) The solution of two independent states | | 18.8% | | 29.3% |
| 2) The one-state for two people with equal rights solution | | 34.4% | | 37.7% |
| 3) The one-state with joint political institutions solution | | 21.7% | | 20.6% |
| 4) DK/NA | | 25.1% | | 12.4% |

V36 – V42) Administrative use

V43) (V53) To what extent are you or are you not worried (Are you worried or not worried) that you or your family members may be harmed by Arabs in your daily life?

(Israeli Arabs were asked "To what extent are you or are you not worried that you or your family members may be harmed by Jews in your daily life?)

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 6) Very worried | 19.4% | 17.0% | 25.5% | 16.6% |
| 7) Worried | 38.9% | 34.2% | 41.9% | 35.5% |
| 8) Not worried | 26.3% | 31.6% | 19.9% | 28.3% |
| 9) Not at all worried | 14.2% | 15.2% | 10.9% | 16.4% |
| 10) DK/NA | 1.2% | 2.0% | 1.8% | 3.2% |

For each of the following protest activities against the freezing or evacuation of settlements, please tell me whether you participated or did not participate in person:

V44) (V54) (Settlers only in 2010) Demonstrations, marches or assemblies that were held in Judea and Samaria

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israeli Jews 05 | Israeli Jews 10 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1) Yes | 25.5% | 27.5% | 4.3% | |
| 2) No | 73.5% | 70.2% | 94.8% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 1.0% | 2.4% | 0.9% | |

V45) (V55) (Settlers only in 2010) Demonstrations, marches or assemblies that were held within the 1967 borders?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israeli Jews 05 | Israeli Jews 10 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1) Yes | 30.1% | 27.1% | 6.3% | |
| 2) No | 69.1% | 70.8% | 92.8% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 0.8% | 2.2% | 0.9% | |

V46) (V56) (Settlers only in 2010) Persuasion activities such as discussion groups, house calls, distribution of fliers or picketing on road intersections

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israeli Jews 05 | Israeli Jews 10 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1) Yes | 20.0% | 18.6% | 3.5% | |
| 2) No | 79.2% | 79.2% | 95.2% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 0.8% | 2.2% | 1.2% | |

V47) (V57) (Settlers only in 2010) And did you participate in active resistance to IDF evacuation of an outpost or settlement?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israeli Jews 05 | Israeli Jews 10 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1) Yes | 5.2% | 8.7% | 0.3% | |
| 2) No | 93.6% | 88.7% | 98.5% | |
| 3) DK/NA | 1.2% | 2.6% | 1.2% | |

V48) (V58) (*Israeli Jews only*) If a comprehensive evacuation of settlements in Judea and Samaria will be decided upon, do you plan or do not plan on taking an active role in protest activities against such evacuation, during the evacuation?

(Are you planning or not planning on taking an active role in protest activities against the disengagement at the time of the disengagement?)

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israeli Jews 05 | Israeli Jews 10 |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1) Definitely yes | 17.8% | 17.0% | 3.5% | 6.6% |
| 2) Think yes | 15.4% | 17.6% | 5.4% | 12.8% |
| 3) Think no | 8.8% | 19.2% | 10.2% | 22.8% |
| 4) Definitely no | 52.7% | 33.8% | 76.3% | 53.3% |
| 5) DK/NA | 5.4% | 12.5% | 4.6% | 4.6% |

Recently there is much talk about refusals to fulfil duties in the IDF. These usually stem from two major reasons. One is a personal conscience-related reason. The refuser believes that his duty contradicts moral, religious or personal values. This type of refusal is labeled conscience motivated refusal. Another reason is that the refuser seeks social or legal change on issues which are not strictly personal and his refusal connotes an act of demonstration. This is labeled outlook motivated refusal.

V49) (V60-61) In your opinion, a soldier's refusal to serve in the territories is more of an outlook motivated refusal or more of a conscience motivated refusal? Give your answer on a continuum ranging from 1 to 10 where 1 means an outlook motivated refusal and 10 means conscience motivated refusal:

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Mean | 5.42 | 5.20 | 6.03 | 5.57 |

V50) (V62-63) And how would you rate a soldier's refusal to evacuate settlements in Judea and Samaria– is it more of an outlook motivated refusal or more of a conscience motivated refusal? Again, give your answer on a continuum ranging from 1 to 10 where 1 to 10 where 1 means an outlook motivated refusal and 10 means conscience motivated refusal

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Mean | 6.65 | 6.06 | 6.34 | 5.70 |

V51) (V64) In your opinion should the same punishment be instituted on the refusal to serve in the territories and refusal to evacuate settlements?

| | Settlers 05 | Settlers 10 | Israelis 05 | Israelis 10 |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) Definitely the same punishment | 36.5% | 36.8% | 40.0% | 41.7% |
| 2) There should be a punishment on the refusal to serve in the territories but not on the refusal to evacuate settlements | 28.5% | 22.9% | 17.7% | 12.8% |
| 3) There should be a punishment on the refusal to evacuate settlements but not on the refusal to serve in the territories | 2.0% | 2.4% | 6.1% | 7.0% |
| 4) There should be no punishment on either of them | 27.9% | 22.1% | 30.1% | 25.5% |
| 5) DK/NA | 5.0% | 15.8% | 6.0% | 13.0% |