

Jerusalem Media & Communication Center

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

On Palestinian and Israeli Attitudes

Towards The Future of the Peace Process

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Methodology

Methodology (Palestinian survey):

A random sample of 1199 people over the age of 18 were interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip on 16,17th December 1999. The interviews were conducted in randomly selected homes, and the subjects inside each home were also selected randomly according to Kish tables. The interviews were conducted in 58 sampling points chosen randomly according to population.

In the West Bank, 761 people were surveyed from the following areas : **Jenin**, Tubas, Jenin Refugee Camp, Silat al-Harithiya, Arraba ,**Nablus**: Nablus, Salfit, Kafr al-Deik, Hiwwara, Burin, Beit –Dajan, Deir Sharaf, Zawata, Askar Refugee Camp. **Tulkarem**: Tulkarem, Anabta, Allar, Tulkarem Refugee Camp. **Qalqiliya** : Qalqiliya, Jayous. **Hebron** : Hebron, Sair, Beit Ula, Bani Naim, Dura, Samu, Tarqoumiya, Fawwar Refugee Camp. **Bethlehem** : Bethlehem, Nahalin, Duha, Husan, al-Azza Refugee Camp, **Jericho** : Jericho, Ein al- Sultan Refugee Camp, **Ramallah and Jerusalem**: Ramallah, al-Bireh, al-Jalazon Refugee Camp, Sinjil, Nilin, Silwad, Shuqba, al-Ram, al-Dahiya, Qalandiya Refugee Camp, Shu'fat, Beit Hanina, Old City, Ezzariyah, Abu Dis, Kafr Aqab, Beir Nabala, Anata.

In the Gaza Strip, 438 people were surveyed from: **Gaza North**: Jabaliya Refugee Camp, Jabaliya, Beit Lahiya, Beit Hanoun. **Gaza**: Sheikh Radwan, Daraj, a-Tufah, Sabra, al-Mighraka, a-Zaytoun, a-Nasir, Shuja'ia, a-Rimal North and South, Beach Refugee Camp, **Deir al-Balah**: Nuseirat Refugee Camp, Deir al-Balah Refugee Camp, Deir al-Balah. **Khan Younis**: Khan Younis Refugee Camp, Khan Younis, al-Qarara, Bani Suheila, Khuza'a, **Rafah**: Rafah, Rafah Refugee Camp, Tal al-Sultan Refugee Camp, Shawkat al-Soufi.

51.8% of the respondents were from West Bank, 11.7% from Jerusalem, 36.5% from the Gaza Strip.

30.4% said they live in villages, 15.7% in refugee camps, 53.9% in towns/cities.

45.8% were male, 54.0% were female, 0.2% No answer.

70.6% were married, 23.1%, single, 4.0% widowed, 1.0% divorced, 1.3% no answer.

42.5% were refugees, 57.0% non –refugees, 0.5% no answer

The average age of the respondents was 35 years.

10.0% were students, 12.9% laborers, 1.9% Farmers/ fishermen, 1.8% craftsmen, 7.5% Businessmen, 15.7% employees, 1.9% professionals (doctors, lawyers..), 47.0% Housewives, unemployed and retired, 1.3% no answer.

6.1% illiterate, 11.4% elementary education, 20.9% preparatory, 33.8% secondary, 20.4% some college, 6.8% college and above, 0.6% no answer.

The margin of error is 3 percent, with a confidence level of 95.

Methodology (Israeli survey):

Two random samples of Israelis (Jews and Arabs) over the age of 18 were interviewed by telephone on 28 December 1999. The Jewish sample included 502 respondents; a representative sample of the adult Jewish population (including residents of the settlements in the territories and kibbutzim). The Arab sample included 500 respondents, a representative sample of the Muslim, Christian and Druz populations. Notably, the Arab population in this age cohort accounts for only about 12 percent of the adult Israeli population; we had to use a disproportionately large sample in order correctly to analyze this population group by its subgroups. Obviously, when data for the total population were computed, the Arab population was weighted in accordance with its correct proportion. The margin of error in a sampling of this size is 4.5%.

- **Palestinians and Israelis believe that signing of a permanent peace agreement will not put an end to the historical conflict between the two peoples.**
- **The notion of peace and its consequences are viewed differently by both sides.**

The Palestinian and Israeli public continue to have major differences and the distrust in the intentions of the other side remains strong.

- The majority of Palestinians and Israelis believe that any future agreement between the Israelis and Palestinians will not bring an end to the historical conflict between the two sides. 54.6% of the Israelis and 60.8% of the Palestinians stated that a "two state for two people" will probably or surely not bring the conflict to an end.
- The majority of Israelis (65.3%: 72.7% of Jews and 4.9% of Arab Israelis) oppose the withdrawal by Israel to the 1967 borders. In fact 57.2% of Israelis believe in a Jewish State over the entire area west of the River Jordan. For the Palestinians, 78.3% want either a Palestinian or an Islamic state over this area.

Both the Palestinians and Israelis perceive the solutions to the Jerusalem and Palestinian refugee issues oppositely.

- Regarding the future of Jerusalem, 72.5% of the Israeli public want Jerusalem to be the unified capital of the Jewish state and 57.9% of the Palestinians want unified Jerusalem to be either a capital of Palestine (32.9%) or the capital of the Muslims (25.0%).
- As for the future of the refugees, 52.6% of the Israelis want refugees to be settled in the place of their present residence, while 71.3% of the Palestinians want them to return to their place of origin in historic Palestine.

Israelis are a little more optimistic about the future than are Palestinians.

- Although the percentage of Israelis and Palestinians who believe that the Oslo process will lead to a settlement between both Israelis and Palestinians is similar, this percentage is still a minority among both societies (42% among Israelis and 34.7% among Palestinians).
- Israelis are also more optimistic about the establishment of a Palestinian state than are Palestinians. Whereas 78.1% of the Israelis are either surely (47.3%) or probably (30.8%) confident that the Oslo process will lead to a Palestinian state, only 9.3% of Palestinians are surely confident and 42.2% are probably confident that such a result will emanate out of this process.
- Israelis perceive the Palestinian Authority more positively than the Palestinians perceive the Israeli government. Whereas 59.6% of Israelis think that the Palestinian Authority is genuine about reaching peace with Israel, only 23.5% of the Palestinians think that the Israeli government is genuine about reaching peace with the Palestinians.

Despite the fact that the Israeli public is more optimistic than is the Palestinian public, and although they are reluctant to dismantle settlements or to give east Jerusalem away, the Israelis are more inclined to reject open borders between the future Palestinian State and Israel. Although 65.2% of the interviewed Palestinians want to have open borders with Israel, the majority of Israelis (51.1%) prefer to have closed borders.

While to the Israelis, the Oslo process is likely to bring about a Palestinian state, the Israeli understanding of this state is different than that of the Palestinians. 65.8% of the Israelis are against the evacuation of all Jewish settlements, and 72.8% are against having East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine. For the Palestinians, the evacuation of all Jewish settlements is important to the Palestinian State. Only 27.9% of the Palestinians accept the evacuation of only some Jewish settlements, the majority, (67.3%), insist that all Jewish settlements be dismantled. Also, 67.9% of the Palestinians reject having unified Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Furthermore, the majority of (66%) rejects the idea that Israel will keep certain parts of the territories on the basis of security considerations.

Comparison over the time (February- December 1999):

Overall there has been some decline - among both Israelis and Palestinians - in the various indicators of beliefs and attitudes towards the peace process between the two times of measurement.

The level of optimism regarding the chances of reaching a peaceful Arab-Israeli settlement went down from 60.2 to 54.3 percent among the Israelis and from 65.8 to 60.3 among the Palestinians.

A similar trend was witnessed in regard to the support for the Oslo formula. The support went down from 64.3 to 53.4 among the Israelis and from 60.4 to 54.3 among the Palestinians. The belief in the Oslo formula decreased only among the Israelis - from 48.1 to 42.0 percent while among the Palestinian it has remained stable but considerably lower at both point of time about 35%.

As to the establishment of the Palestinian State - more Israelis today believe that the Oslo Process will eventually lead to such result (73.8 in February compared to 78.1 percent in December) whereas among the Palestinians there has been only a slight increase in this regard - 50.6 to 51.6 percent.

Probably due to the results of the Israeli elections of May 1999, more Palestinians today 23.5 percent compared to 9.9 percent in the past believe that the Israeli government is genuine in reaching peace with the Palestinians. The Israelis perception regarding the Palestinian authority sincerity in reaching peace has hardly changed over time however it has remained at a much higher level than among the Palestinians - 61.5 in February and 59.6 percent in December.

There has been no change in the attitudes of both sides regarding the future status of Jerusalem - if this is the last obstacle to peace 27.8 percent of the Israelis in December as compared to 25.6 percent in February agree that Jerusalem is divided to east Jerusalem as the Capital of Palestine and West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel while among the Palestinians only 2 percents in both points of time agree that Jerusalem will remain the unified capital of Israeli. These results indicate that indeed Jerusalem is the major obstacle in the peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians.

Q.1 How optimistic or pessimistic are you about reaching a peaceful Arab-Israel settlement? Would you say you are:

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Very optimistic	20.9	20.4	25.4	4.3	4.1	4.8
Optimistic	33.4	30.6	55.8	56.0	57.0	54.3
Pessimistic	23.0	24.5	11.0	28.4	28.6	27.9
Very pessimistic	17.3	18.9	4.5	9.0	7.8	11.2
Don't know	5.4	5.6	3.3	2.3	2.5	1.8

Q.2 What do you think about the Oslo formula, would you say you strongly support it, fairly support it, fairly oppose it or strongly oppose it?

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Strongly support	16.9	17.0	38.5	8.3	8.3	8.4
Fairly Support	22.5	22.5	43.6	48.0	51.1	42.5
In the middle	19.9	19.9	8.1			
Fairly Oppose	15.5	15.4	3.1	24.6	24.3	25.1
Strongly oppose	18.8	18.8	--	13.4	11.8	16.2
Don't know	6.4	6.4	6.7	5.7	4.5	7.8

Q.3 Do you believe or not believe that the Oslo agreement between Israel and the PLO will bring about peace between Israel and the Palestinians in the coming years?

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Greatly believe	18.5	18.2	20.7	5.4	5.9	4.6
Somewhat believe	23.5	21.1	42.9	29.3	32.6	23.5
In the middle	15.4	15.4	15.7	24.6	23.3	26.9
Somewhat don't believe	14.9	15.4	10.5	20.9	20.8	21.0
Certainly don't believe	23.7	26.1	4.7	16.4	14.8	19.2
Don't know	4.0	3.8	5.5	3.4	2.6	4.8

Q.4 In your opinion, is there a chance that the Oslo Process will eventually result in the establishment of a genuine sovereign Palestinian state?

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Surely yes	47.3	50.1	24.9	9.3	8.4	11.0
Probably yes	30.8	29.3	42.9	42.2	45.5	36.5
Probably no	8.8	8.3	12.8	19.8	20.1	19.2
Surely no	5.5	4.6	12.6	24.3	21.5	29.0
Don't know	7.6	7.7	6.8	4.4	4.5	4.3

Q. 5 (for the Palestinians) From the Israeli point of view, the concept of a sovereign Palestinian state implies the fulfillment of the following:- removing of only certain Jewish settlements and maintaining the rest under Israel's sovereignty; keeping Jerusalem united and as the capital of Israel only. Which of these conditions is acceptable or not acceptable in your opinion?

Removing of only certain Jewish settlements and maintaining the rest under Israel's sovereignty	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Completely acceptable	7.5	5.2	11.6
Acceptable	20.4	18.8	23.3
Unacceptable	32.2	35.3	26.5
Completely unacceptable	35.1	37.2	31.5
Don't know	4.8	3.5	7.1

Keeping parts of the territories under the sovereignty of Israel on the basis of security considerations	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Completely acceptable	15.1	8.9	26.0
Acceptable	15.3	11.6	21.7
Unacceptable	24.9	28.9	17.8
Completely unacceptable	41.1	48.2	28.8
Don't know	3.6	2.4	5.7

Keeping Jerusalem united and as the capital of Israel only.	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Completely acceptable	21.9	13.5	36.8
Acceptable	7.3	3.9	13.0
Unacceptable	13.4	17.7	5.7
Completely unacceptable	54.5	62.8	40.2
Don't know	2.9	2.1	4.3

Q.6 How genuine do you think the present Palestinian Authority is about reaching peace with Israel. Would you say that it is: very genuine, genuine, not genuine, not genuine at all?

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Very genuine	21.4	19.4	37.2	1.7	1.7	1.6
Genuine	38.2	36.7	50.3	21.8	22.7	20.1
Not genuine	14.1	14.9	7.9	41.9	44.5	37.2
Not genuine at all	20.2	22.5	1.9	31.1	27.6	37.4
Don't know	6.1	6.5	2.7	3.5	3.5	3.7

Q.7 If the issue of Jerusalem is the last obstacle to the signing of the peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians, will you then agree that the city of Jerusalem will remain the unified capital of Israel?

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Agree	34.1	27.8	85.5	2.3	3.2	0.9
Disagree	59.1	65.6	6.6	95.4	93.8	98.2
Don't know	6.8	6.6	7.9	2.3	3.0	0.9

Q.8 What, in your opinion, is the best and final solution to the Jerusalem problem?

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Unified Jerusalem (East and West) as capital of Israel	72.5	81.0	3.8	0.8	1.2	0.0
West Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, The Old City is under a joint sovereignty, and East Jerusalem is under Palestinian sovereignty.	7.2	6.7	11.5	4.4	5.0	3.4
East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian State and West Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel.	7.3	4.0	36.7	18.6	24.6	8.3
Jerusalem as an open city and capital of the two states.	4.0	3.0	12.4	7.6	8.5	5.9
International Jerusalem.	4.8	4.2	9.4	9.1	10.6	6.4
Unified Jerusalem (East and West) as the capital of Palestine.	3.0	1.1	18.8	32.9	25.0	46.8
Capital of Muslims		--	--	25.0	23.8	27.4
Other				0.3	0.2	0.2
Don't know	1.2	--	7.4	1.3	1.1	1.6

Q.9 Where should the Palestinian refugee be permanently settled:

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Mainly in their original homes inside (1948 Palestine) (Israel).	12.2	7.8	48.2	71.3	68.6	76.0
Mainly in places within the Palestinians state.	30.7	31.1	27.8	21.1	23.9	16.2
Mainly in their present place of residence in the Middle East or elsewhere.	48.1	52.6	11.8	5.3	5.0	5.7
Don't know	9.0	8.5	12.2	2.3	2.5	2.1

Q.10 There are different opinions on the question who is responsible for the creation of the refugee problem in 1948-Israel or the Arabs. In your opinion who is the responsible side?

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Only Israel	6.6	4.6	23.1	27.5	27.2	28.1
Mostly Israel	6.0	4.7	16.3	25.3	28.8	19.2
Israel and the Arab side to the same extent	25.1	24.5	30.4	36.1	33.4	40.9
Mostly the Arab side	18.1	19.3	8.8	5.8	6.2	5.0
Only the Arab side	26.2	28.2	9.7	2.1	1.8	2.5
Don't know	18.0	18.7	11.7	3.2	2.6	4.3

Q.11 Some argue that the Two States for the Two People formula is the preferable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, while others argue that historic Palestine cannot be divided into two states and therefore a bi-national state in which the Palestinians and the Palestinians will have equal representation in the various institutional of government regardless of the relative size of the two populations is the most preferable one. Which of the two solutions do you prefer?

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Prefer the Two States solution	60.0	57.9	76.8	46.2	46.1	46.3
Prefer the bi-national solution	15.3	15.3	15.7	20.6	21.4	19.2
Prefer another solution	10.2	11.1	3.0	13.8	12.6	16.0
There is no solution to the conflict	6.7	7.5	0.5	14.0	14.5	13.2
Don't know	7.8	8.2	4.0	5.4	5.4	5.3

Q.12 Which of the following solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict do you prefer?

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 166	n. = 96	n. = 70
A confederation between Israel and the Palestinian state	7.7	7.8	7.1	3.6	4.2	2.9
A Jewish state in the entire territory west of the Jordan river	57.2	63.2	8.8	1.2	2.1	0.0
A Palestinian state in the entire territory west of the Jordan river	5.2	1.5	35.2	35.5	37.5	32.9
An Islamic state in the entire territory, west of the Jordan river	3.9	1.0	27.7	42.8	47.9	35.7
An independent Palestinian state with entire sovereignty				6.6	0.0	15.7
A confederation with Jordan				1.2	2.1	0.0
The Jews leave Palestine				1.2	0.0	2.9
Other	10.9	10.9	--	1.8	1.0	2.8
There is no solution to the conflict	5.0	5.0	5.2	4.8	4.2	5.7
Don't know	10.1	10.6	16.0	1.3	1.0	1.4

Q.13 Under the condition of permanent peace following an Israeli-Palestinian agreement, do you prefer an open border between the two states so that Israelis and Palestinians can move freely between the two states or do you prefer a closed border without such free movement?

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1033	n. = 665	n. = 368
Prefers an open border to both Israelis and Palestinians	35.3	29.3	84.1	65.2	68.5	59.2
Prefers a close border to both Israelis and Palestinians	51.1	56.1	10.5	14.5	13.2	16.8
Prefer an open border for the Israelis and a close border to the Palestinians	5.3	5.9	0.5	1.5	2.3	0.3
Prefers an open border to the Palestinians and a close border to the Israelis	0.4	0.3	0.9	13.6	11.0	18.3
Don't know	8.0	.84	4.0	5.2	5.0	5.4

Q.14 How would you define your economic situation today?

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Very bad	9.5	8.9	14.2	18.1	14.2	25.3
Fairly bad	18.2	17.8	21.6	29.9	28.6	32.0
Fairly good	61.3	62.0	55.5	47.5	53.7	36.5
Very good	8.4	8.4	8.3	3.8	2.6	5.9
Don't know	2.6	2.9	0.4	0.7	0.9	0.3

Q.15 And now what about the situation of Palestinian (Israelis) economy, would you say that it is:

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Very bad	23.2	21.9	33.9	37.6	30.4	50.3
Fairly bad	34.0	34.5	29.8	38.8	40.7	35.4
Fairly good	33.9	34.4	29.8	20.9	25.9	12.3
Very good	4.8	5.0	3.5	0.9	1.3	0.2
Don't know	4.1	4.2	3.0	1.8	1.7	1.8

Q.16 (for the Palestinians) And what about the future of your economic situation with the achievement of a permanent peace, will it

	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Get better	54.5	55.5	52.7
Stay the same	25.6	27.1	23.1
Get worse	11.1	8.4	15.8
Don't know	8.8	9.0	8.4

Q.17 (for the Palestinians)The Israeli economy with the achievement of a permanent peace, will it

	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Get better	57.3	58.5	55.3
Stay the same	20.3	20.2	20.3
Get worse	13.1	11.8	15.3
Don't know	9.3	9.5	9.1

Q.18 If the Israelis and the Palestinians sign a permanent peace agreement based on the “Two States for the Two People” formula. From the point of view of the Palestinians, will such an agreement mean the end to their historical conflict with Israel/with the Palestinians?

	Israeli Total	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs	Palestinian Total	West Bank	Gaza
	n. = 1002	n. = 502	n. = 500	n. = 1199	n. = 761	n. = 438
Surely yes	8.3	6.8	20.3	6.4	7.0	5.5
Probably yes	27.8	25.7	45.0	27.9	29.8	24.4
Probably no	23.2	24.3	14.3	19.3	20.1	18.0
Surely no	31.4	33.9	11.2	41.5	38.0	47.5
Don't know	9.3	9.3	9.2	4.9	5.1	4.6