

JMCC Public Opinion Poll No. 30

On Palestinian - Israeli Peace Index

February 1999

in cooperation with Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, Tel Aviv University,

People-to-people Program

- [Introduction](#)
- [Methodology](#) (Israeli Survey)
- [Sample distribution](#) (Israeli Survey)
- [Methodology](#) (Palestinian Survey)
- [Sample distribution](#) (Palestinian Survey)
- [Occupation of respondents](#) (Palestinian Survey)
- [Results](#)

Introduction

Despite the obstacles that have been standing in the way of the Israel-Palestinian peace negotiations in the last couple of years, a majority in both sides remained optimistic regarding the future of the peace process in general: 60.2% of the Israelis and 68.2% of the Palestinians feel either optimistic or very optimistic about it.

However, a deeper look into the attitudes of both sides, as reflected in their respective answers to more specific questions, reveals a clear discrepancy between their attitudes, as well as lower levels of optimism in both sides on very important aspects of the process:

The Israeli public is generally more supportive of the peace process and more confident of its success than the Palestinian public. Still, 64.3 of the Israelis and 61.4 of the Palestinians support or strongly support today the Oslo Process. However while 28.2% of the Israelis strongly support Oslo, only 5.9% of Palestinians hold this attitude; the total ratio of Israelis who oppose or strongly oppose Oslo is 29% compared with 36.3% among Palestinians. Furthermore, 14.5% of the Israelis strongly believe in the prospects of the Oslo Accords to achieve peace between the two parties while only 6.3% of Palestinians hold this belief.

A striking discrepancy between the Israelis and the Palestinians emerges in regard to the idea of an independent Palestinian state: while 64.7% of the Israelis oppose the establishment of a Palestinian State with the 1967 borders (including East Jerusalem) as a part of the final solution to the conflict, 52.7% of the Palestinians support this idea. Furthermore, while 73.8% of Israelis actually believe that the Oslo process will bring about a Palestinian state, only 47.9% of Palestinians share this view.

Another interesting difference is revealed in the two sides' assessment of the "other side" authority's sincerity in pursuing peace: 61.5% of the Israelis consider the Palestinian Authority sincere in pursuing peace, while only 11% of the Palestinians believe that the Israeli government is sincere in this regard. On the other hand, 88.5% of the Palestinians do not believe in Israel's genuine desire for peace as opposed to 38% among Israelis who think so about the Palestinian Authority.

The same pattern is seen in the two sides' attitudes when relating to the question of who is more responsible for the deadlock in the peace process. 70% of the Palestinians see Israel as entirely or mostly responsible for it. Only 7.4% of them put some blame on their side while 20.1% believe it is both sides' fault. Among Israelis, however, 46.6% see

the deadlock as the shared responsibility of both sides, while 25% attribute the responsibility to Israel and only 22.5% consider it the Palestinians' fault.

There is a deep contradiction in opinions between both peoples over the preferred solution to the Jerusalem controversy: While, 70.4% of the Israelis reject any solution that makes East Jerusalem the capital of Palestine, 91.3% of Palestinians reject any solution that keeps Jerusalem the unified capital of Israel. However, almost no difference was found between the two sides' understanding the present situation in Jerusalem: 49.2% of the Israelis agree or strongly agree that Jerusalem is practically divided and 48% of the Palestinians share this belief.

Comparing these results with those of a similar opinion poll conducted in December 1997, one can notice relatively small changes occurring, with a few exceptions only. For example, in late 1997 only 9% of the Israelis felt that their personal security had improved since the launching of the peace process, while in this survey 21% of the respondents expressed such sense of improvement. Among the Palestinians, however, the sense of personal security declined from 64.2% in 1997 to 45.9% at the present.

Methodology

Israeli survey (Arab & Jews)

Two random samples of Israelis (Jews and Arabs) over the age of 18 were interviewed by telephone on 24-25 February 1999. The Jewish sample included 500 respondents; a representative sample of the adult Jewish population (including residents of the settlements in the territories and kibbutzim). The Arab sample included 501 respondents, a representative sample of the Muslim, Christian and Druz populations. Notably, the Arab population in this age cohort accounts for only 12 percent of the 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. Thus, the data in the "Total" column of the tables below predominantly reflect the attitudes of the Jewish public. The margin of error in a sampling of this size is 4.5%.

Sample distribution

Gender	Arabs	Jews
Male	49.6%	48.8%
Female	50.4%	51.2%

Age

	Arabs	Jews
18-22	19.2%	13.3%
23-29	22.1%	18.2%
30-39	26.4%	18.5%
40-49	16.1%	18.0%
50-59	7.2%	12.2%
60+	9.0%	19.8%

Education

	Arabs
No formal education	6.2%
Elementary (up to 8 years)	32.4%
Secondary education (9-12 years)	44.4%
Higher education (13+ years)	17.0%

Area of residence

	Arabs	Jews
Jerusalem & Shfela	5.6%	19.3%
Center (Gush Dan & Sharon)	11.0%	43.3%
North (Haifa & Galilee)	79.6%	26.2%
South & Negev	3.8%	11.2%

Religion (Arab sample only)

Muslim 72.1%, Christian 16.5%, Druz 8.5%, Other 2.9

Methodology

Palestinian Survey

A random sample of 1201 people over the age of 18 were interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip on 25,26 February 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 60 sampling points chosen randomly according to population.

In the-West Bank, 761 people were surveyed from the following areas: Jenin: Jenin, Jenin Refugee Camp, al - Yamoun, Kafr Dan, Ya'bad, 'Arraba, Tubas, Zabadeh, Kafr Rai' and Fahmah. Tulkarem: Tulkarem, Thinabeh, Tulkarem Refugee Camp, 'Anabta, and 'Attil. Qalqiliya: Qalqiliya and Azzun. Hebron: Hebron, Yatta, Dhahiriya, Bani Na'im, Beit Ummar, 'Arrub Refugee Camp, Tarqumiya, a-Shyoukh and Sair. Bethlehem. Bethlehem, Beit Sahour, 'Azza Refugee Camp, Battir and al-Khader. Jericho: Jericho. Ramallah & Jerusalem: al-Bireh, al-'Amari Refugee Camp, Ramallah, Beitunia, Beit Rima, al-Mazraa al-Sharqiya, a-Ram, a-Dahiya, Beit Liqiya, Qalandiya Refugee Camp, Shufat, Beit Hanina, Shufat Refugee Camp, Old city, Wadi al-Joz, Sheikh Jarrah , Ras al-Amoud.

In the Gaza Strip, 440 people were surveyed from: Gaza North: Jabaliya Refugee Camp, Jabalia, Beit Lahiya , Beit Hanoun. Gaza: Sheikh Radwan, a-Darj, a-Tufah, Sabra, a-Zaytoun, a-Nasir, a-Shuja'ia, a-Rimal , Beach Refugee Camp. Deir al- Balah: Nuseirat –Kahn Yo unis: 'Abasan Refugee Camp, Deir al-Balah Refugee Ramp, Deir al-BalahAbsan al-Saghira, Khan Younis Refugee Camp, Khan Younis and Bani Suheila. Rafah: Rafah, Rafah Refugee Camp and Tal al-Sultan.

Sample Distribution

51.7% of the respondents were from West Bank, 11.7% from Jerusalem, 36.6% from the Gaza Strip.

33.1 % said they live in villages, 16.2% in refugee camps, 50.7% in towns/cities. 51.8% were male, 48.2% were female.

64.4% were married, 25.4%, single, 4.0% widowed, 2.2% divorced, 4.0% no answer.

- The average age of the respondents was 34 years.

Occupation respondents

Students 1 1.0%; Laborers 14.8%; Housewives 34.5%; Farmers/fishermen 2.9%;

Craftsmen 2.1 %; Unemployed 6.1 %; Retired 1.7%; Businessmen/private business 8.5%;

Employees e.g. secretaries/municipal employees/teachers/nurses 14.9%;

- Professionals - e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers 1.4%; No answer 2.1 %.
-

Results

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

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Total
Very Optimistic	17.9	16.4	17.0	4.7	11.1	7.1
Optimistic	61.3	41.9	43.2	61.1	61.1	61.1
Pessimistic	15.9	25.2	23.9	24.7	19.3	22.7
Very Pessimistic	2.9	11.3	10.3	9.3	8.0	8.8
Don't Know	2.0	5.2	5.6	0.2	0.5	0.3

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

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Strongly support	21.6	29.0	28.2	5.7	6.4	5.9
Support	68.9	39.7	42.8	54.7	54.3	54.5
Oppose	1.6	11.3	10.3	22.7	26.1	24.0
Strongly oppose	7.9	20.0	18.7	12.9	11.4	12.3
Don't Know	--	--	--	4.0	1.8	3.3

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?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Greatly believe	19.0	14.1	14.5	7.1	5.0	6.3
Somewhat believe	48.5	32.4	33.6	29.6	26.6	28.5
In the middle	12.5	18.2	18.4	25.2	27.5	26.1
Somewhat don't believe	10.2	11.8	11.5	13.0	22.3	16.4
Certainly don't believe	4.3	21.2	19.4	21.6	17.5	20.1
Don't Know	5.5	2.3	2.6	3.5	1.1	2.6

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

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Surely yes	16.7	36.3	33.5	12.4	7.3	10.5
Probably yes	46.9	39.6	40.3	38.2	35.9	37.4
Probably no	18.2	10.3	11.5	23.5	32.3	26.7
Surely no	6.2	6.8	6.9	23.3	22.7	23.1
Don't Know	12.0	7.0	7.8	2.6	1.8	2.3

Q.5 Do you agree or disagree with the idea of establishing a Palestinian State with 1967 borders (including East Jerusalem) as a part of the final solution to the Palestinian - Israeli conflict?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Agree	68.0	11.3	17.4	58.2	43.2	52.7
In the middle	15.7	12.0	12.9	18.9	28.2	22.3
Disagree	5.0	72.7	64.7	19.8	25.2	21.8
Don't know	11.3	4.0	5.0	3.1	3.4	3.2

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

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Very genuine	38.3	17.2	19.8	0.7	0.5	0.6
Genuine	46.2	41.4	41.7	10.1	8.0	9.3
Not genuine	6.7	17.6	16.1	35.5	37.7	36.3
Not genuine at all	1.5	19.9	18.0	52.0	52.3	52.1
Don't know	7.3	3.9	4.4	1.7	1.5	1.7

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 (for the Palestinians and Israeli Arabs) the city of Jerusalem will remain the unified capital of Israel (for the Israeli Jews) East Jerusalem will be the capital of the Palestinian State?

	Israel		Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Agree	22.5	25.6	1.8	2.5	2.1
Disagree	69.3	70.4	91.6	90.9	91.3
Don't know	8.2	4.0	6.6	6.6	6.6

Q. 8 To what extent, do you agree or disagree to the argument that Jerusalem is already practically divided between East and West?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Strongly agree	20.2	18.3	18.6	20.5	5.7	15.1
Agree	43.1	29.9	31.1	37.0	25.9	33.0
Fairly disagree	18.2	14.2	14.7	15.0	31.1	20.9
Strongly disagree	9.3	34.4	31.7	22.6	33.6	26.6
Don't know	9.2	3.2	3.9	4.9	3.7	4.4

Q. 9 What, in your opinion, is the best and final solution to the Jerusalem problem?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Unified capital of Israel	2.1	59.3	52.1	0.4	0.7	0.5
West Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, The Old City is under a joint sovereignty, and East Jerusalem is under Palestinian sovereignty	5.7	13.2	12.1	2.4	5.0	3.3
East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian State and West Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel.	33.2	5.0	8.5	37.1	18.6	30.3
Jerusalem as an open city and capital of Palestine	32.3	8.6	11.6	16.2	8.2	13.2
International Jerusalem	16.7	10.0	11.4	18.2	15.0	17.1
Unified Capital of Palestine	--	--	--	4.9	17.3	9.4
Capital of Palestine	--	--	--	15.4	28.2	20.1
Capital of Muslims	--	--	--	3.0	1.4	2.4
Other	3.9	--	--	0.1	0.6	0.4
Don't know	6.1	3.9	4.3	2.3	5.0	3.3

Q. 10 And now after the elapse of sometime since the peace process started, would you say that your sense of personal security is better than before, about the same or worse?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Better than before	33.6	20.1	21.0	45.9	50.9	47.7
About the same	46.3	57.0	56.0	32.1	26.1	29.9
Worsen than before	10.8	20.5	19.9	20.8	22.3	21.3
Don't know	9.3	2.4	3.1	1.2	0.7	1.1

Q. 11 How about our economy in general, since the peace process started, would you say that it is better than before the peace process, about the same or worse?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Better than before	11.0	10.7	10.4	17.9	17.0	17.6
About the same	26.6	30.2	30.1	28.6	23.2	26.6
Worse than before	55.7	51.6	52.3	52.3	58.2	54.5
Don't know	6.7	7.5	7.2	1.2	1.6	1.3

Q. 12 In your opinion, is it possible that after the signing of peace agreement between Israel and the Arabs a "New Middle East" will evolve, similar to the situation in Europe today - no wars, joint economic and political institutions, and borders open to people and goods? Possible immediately following the signing of the peace agreement, possible in the near future, possible but in the far future, not possible at all?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Possible immediately following the signing of the peace agreement	12.2	3.3	4.3	2.0	2.6	2.0
Possible in the near future	37.9	21.2	23.0	12.1	7.7	10.5
Possible but in the far future	28.0	45.1	42.9	41.9	37.7	40.4
Not possible at all	13.6	26.9	25.6	37.8	48.9	41.9
Don't know	8.3	3.5	4.2	6.2	3.1	5.2

Q. 13 What is your opinion in the following argument: Even if peace agreement is reached, it is preferable for the Palestinians to have a close and clear border with Israel, to maintain full separation between the two entities?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Strongly agree	9.5	54.6	49.3	14.3	11.4	13.2
Agree	45.8	27.9	30.1	39.7	35.2	38.1
Disagree	21.1	6.8	8.6	24.0	32.3	27.1
Strongly disagree	8.1	6.7	6.8	12.7	15.2	13.7
Don't know	15.5	4.0	5.2	9.3	5.9	7.9

Q. 14 Did you have in the past or do you have today any personal or business relationships with Israeli (Palestinian) civilians?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Yes	66.4	19.8	25.1	27.7	22.3	25.7
No	32.7	79.5	74.3	71.9	77.7	74.0
Don't know	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.3

Q. 14-1 And how do you describe these relations? Pleasant relationships, unpleasant relationships, sometimes pleasant sometimes unpleasant?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Pleasant	80.9	70.5	73.4	51.2	35.7	46.3
Unpleasant	1.7	5.4	4.1	11.4	17.3	13.3
Sometimes pleasant/ Sometimes unpleasant	17.2	23.1	21.7	35.5	42.9	37.9
Don't know/No answer	0.2	1.0	0.8	1.9	4.1	2.5

Q. 15 Would you mind an Israeli (Palestinian) to be your friend?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Yes (go to 15-1)	7.7	26.5	24.2	45.9	61.4	51.5
No	90.3	69.1	71.4	49.1	35.9	44.4
Don't know	2.0	4.4	4.4	5.0	2.7	4.1

Q. 15-1 If a peace settlement is reached between the Israelis and the Palestinians in the future, would you still have a problem taking an Israeli (Palestinian) as a friend?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Yes	38.5	71.7	71.5	74.1	81.1	77.2
No	27.7	17.7	17.7	18.4	13.7	16.3
Don't know	33.8	10.6	10.8	7.5	5.2	6.5

Q. 16 Now I am going to show you a list of characteristics that could be used to describe the Israelis (Palestinians), using the following scale (show scale), please indicate how you describe the Israelis (Palestinians).

<u>Violent</u>	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
1- Non Violent	34.1	6.7	9.6	3.5	6.8	4.7
2	11.1	8.7	8.6	2.8	5.2	3.7
3	27.1	33.7	33.0	15.5	16.8	16.0
4	7.2	16.1	15.1	15.0	23.0	17.9
5. Violent	15.0	21.2	20.5	63.1	48.2	57.6
Don't know	5.5	13.6	13.2	0.1	0.0	0.1

<u>Honest</u>	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
1. Dishonest	10.2	23.3	21.9	49.5	50.9	50.0
2	6.5	11.4	10.9	17.1	16.8	17.0
3	21.6	30.9	29.9	18.4	15.0	17.2
4	15.7	10.2	10.8	7.0	8.9	7.7
5. Honest	39.5	8.7	12.0	7.9	8.4	8.1
Don't know	6.5	15.5	14.5	0.1	0.0	0.0

<u>Intelligent</u>	Israel			Palestine		
---------------------------	--------	--	--	-----------	--	--

	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
1. Unintelligent	1.2	16.1	14.5	8.4	7.0	7.9
2	4.5	14.3	13.3	7.4	8.2	7.7
3	11.2	33.5	31.1	18.8	23.0	20.3
4	12.2	13.5	13.4	21.0	26.1	22.9
5. Intelligent	65.4	7.7	13.9	44.4	35.2	41.0
Don't know	5.5	14.9	13.8	0.0	0.5	0.2

Q. 17 Who is more responsible for the deadlock in the peace process: the Israeli or the Palestinian side, would you say only the Israeli side, mostly the Israeli side, only the Palestinian side, mostly the Palestinian side, both sides are responsible to the same degree, neither side is responsible?

	Israel			Palestine		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Only the Israeli side	11.2	6.6	7.5	40.1	48.9	43.3
Mostly the Israeli side	16.2	18.1	17.5	26.1	27.3	26.6
Only the Palestinian side	6.4	8.4	8.1	4.5	4.8	4.6
Mostly the Palestinian side	6.1	16.8	15.4	3.0	2.5	2.8
Both sides are responsible to the same degree	51.6	45.6	46.6	23.3	14.8	20.1
Neither side is responsible	3.5	1.1	1.3	1.7	1.7	1.1
Don't know	5.0	3.4	3.6	1.3	0.0	1.5