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مركز العالم العربي للبحوث والتنمية  
Arab World For Research & Development

## **Results of an Opinion Poll**

**(TABLES)**

**Publication Date: 28 August 2010**

**Field work: 8-14 August 2010**

**Sample Size: 3,001 Palestinians in the West Bank & Gaza**

**Margin of error:  $\pm 1.5$  %**

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## Section One: Progress and responsibility

With regards to responsibility for the lack of progress in the peace process please indicate what issues you consider to be Very Significant, Of Some Significance, Of Little Significance, Of No Significance, or I don't know.

	Very Significant %	Of Some Significance %	Of Little Significance %	Of No Significance %	I don't know %
The United States because of their lack of commitment to a Palestinian state	69.4	14.1	9.2	5.0	2.3
The Israeli people because they are not ready to make peace	69.3	16.2	6.7	5.9	1.9
The Palestinian people because they are divided by the political differences of Hamas and Fateh	68.4	14.7	5.7	9.4	1.8
Arab governments because they are divided on the future of Palestine	62.8	19.2	9.7	6.2	2.1
The United Nations because of failure to implement its resolutions	61.5	18.0	10.9	6.9	2.7
The Quartet because it is ineffective	58.6	19.1	11.0	6.6	4.8
The Israeli public because of their refusal to accept 1967 borders	57.4	21.0	10.9	6.7	4.0
The Palestinian government because they are too weak to compromise	51.4	20.9	12.7	11.2	3.7
The Israeli government because they are too weak to compromise	22.2	13.3	16.3	39.6	8.6

## Section Two: Peace progress and a final status agreement

With regards to the peace process and reaching a final status agreement, which issues do you consider to be Very Significant, Of Some Significance, Of Little Significance Of No Significance or I don't know?

	Very Significant %	Of Some Significance %	Of Little Significance %	Of No Significance %	I don't know %
Establishing an independent and sovereign Palestinian state	91.7	5.9	1.1	0.9	0.5
The status of Jerusalem	91.0	6.5	1.6	0.5	0.4
Security for Palestine	86.2	10.4	2.5	0.4	0.6
The rights of refugees	83.2	10.7	4.5	0.9	0.6
Settlements in the Occupied Territories	81.3	12.8	4.3	0.9	0.6

Agreeing to borders for Palestine	80.2	14.0	3.4	1.7	0.7
Rights to natural resources (water and air)	79.7	12.6	6.1	1.0	0.6
The management of holy sites	79.2	16.0	3.5	0.5	0.8
Peace between Israel and the Arab World	45.7	16.6	15.3	18.7	3.7

### Section Three: Rebuilding confidence in the peace process

With regards to rebuilding confidence in the peace process please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential %	Desirable %	Acceptable %	Tolerable %	Unacceptable %
Israel should remove all check points	88.0	9.1	1.8	0.6	0.4
Israel should demolish the wall	87.7	7.7	2.2	1.2	1.2
Israel should freeze settlements in the West Bank	86.5	9.1	2.1	0.8	1.5
Israel and Egypt should lift the siege of Gaza	79.6	11.6	4.1	3.0	1.7
Israel should release Palestinian prisoners in exchange for Gilad Shalit	71.5	14.4	6.5	3.5	4.0
The Obama Administration should place a high priority on Middle East peace	65.0	21.2	6.3	2.8	4.7
EU and US should work with Egypt to end conflict between Hamas and Fateh	47.8	28.7	10.7	5.2	7.5
The Arab League should keep pushing for the Arab Peace Initiative	45.1	25.5	15.0	7.6	6.8
Resist occupation through violence to achieve a state	36.7	18.7	16.8	14.0	13.7
Achieve a state through negotiations	31.4	24.3	17.2	12.5	14.5
If there is no agreement, have an internationally supervised truce for 5 years	26.9	21.2	19.0	15.3	17.6
Resist occupation through non-violent civil disobedience to achieve a state	26.9	22.2	17.8	11.1	21.9
Armed groups should stop firing rockets from Gaza	25.9	17.3	15.7	12.7	28.4
Palestinians should continue a unilateral ceasefire to put pressure on Israel	19.3	16.6	14.5	12.7	36.9
Hamas should recognize Israel if Israel agrees to withdraw from the Occupied Territories	16.5	13.8	16.2	17.0	36.5
Israel should be allowed to build the wall on the 1967 boarder	9.5	6.2	7.4	12.7	64.2

### Section Four: Final Status (The state)

With regards to the final status of Palestine and Israel please indicate which of the following you consider to be Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable as part of a peace agreement.

	Essential %	Desirable %	Acceptable %	Tolerable %	Unacceptable %
Historic Palestine – from the Jordan River to the sea as a national homeland for Palestinians	78.2	12.5	4.3	3.1	2.0

Two state solution – two states for two peoples: Israel and Palestine according to UN resolutions	17.7	15.7	13.6	15.2	37.7
One joint state – a state in which Israelis and Palestinians are equal citizens between the Jordan River and the sea.	9.6	14.8	13.5	15.0	47.1
One shared state – bi-national federal state in which Israelis and Palestinians share power	5.3	9.3	12.6	16.5	56.2
Confederation between West Bank and Jordan and between Gaza and Egypt	4.7	8.2	9.8	13.5	63.8
<b>Which one of the above-listed scenarios do you believe is most likely to take place in the coming 10 years?</b>					<b>%</b>
Historic Palestine – From the Jordan River to the sea as a national homeland for the Palestinians					10.4
One joint state – A state in which Israelis and Palestinians are equal citizens between the Jordan River and the sea					2.4
One shared state – Bi-national federal state in which Israelis and Palestinians share power					1.0
Two state solution – Two states for two peoples: Israel and Palestine according to UN resolutions					9.1
Confederation between West Bank and Jordan and between Gaza and Egypt					3.6
No change in the status quo will take place					37.9
The situation will only change for the worse					26.9
Don't know					8.7

### Section five: Refugees

**With regards to refugees please indicate which of the following options you consider to be *Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable* as part of a peace agreement.**

	<b>Essential %</b>	<b>Desirable %</b>	<b>Acceptable %</b>	<b>Tolerable %</b>	<b>Unacceptable %</b>
Right of return and compensation	87.5	8.0	1.9	1.6	1.1
Refugees who do not wish to return to Israel should be offered compensation for their loss and a choice of resettlement in Palestine (West Bank/Gaza) or another Arab country	13.1	18.4	22.0	17.9	28.6
Right of return without compensation	18.9	19.7	14.7	12.4	34.2
Return to Palestine (WB/G) within agreed borders	11.4	15.5	17.8	19.3	36.1
The number of refugees returning to Israel should be limited to family members and numbers agreed between Israel and Palestine	3.7	7.8	11.9	16.9	59.6
The UN should close the refugee camps and resettle them with compensation outside of Israel	12.6	9.9	10.8	15.6	51.0
Under Israeli recognition of the suffering of the Palestinian refugees, compensation without right of return	4.8	6.5	8.1	12.6	68.0

<b>Which one of the above-listed scenarios do you believe is most likely to take place in the coming 10 years?</b>	<b>%</b>
Right of return and compensation	12.1
Right of return without compensation	2.7
Refugees who do not wish to return to Israel would be offered compensation for their loss and a choice of resettlement in Palestine (West Bank Gaza) or another Arab country	3.2
The number of refugees returning to Israel would be limited to family members and numbers agreed between Israel and Palestine	1.4
Return to Palestine (WB/G) within agreed borders	1.9
Under Israeli recognition of the suffering of the Palestinian refugees, compensation without right of return	1.7
The UN would close the refugee camps and resettle them with compensation outside of Israel	3.2
No change in the status of refugees will take place	45.7
The situation for refugees will only change for the worse	21.9
Don't know	6.0

### **Section Six: Security**

**With regards to the issue of security please indicate which of the following options you consider to be *Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable* as part of a peace agreement.**

	<b>Essential %</b>	<b>Desirable %</b>	<b>Acceptable %</b>	<b>Tolerable %</b>	<b>Unacceptable %</b>
Palestine should have an army	81.7	12.2	3.4	1.5	1.1
Palestine should have a strong police force	81.0	13.4	3.6	1.3	0.7
Israel should be demilitarized, including the standing down of the military	41.0	21.8	10.6	10.6	16.0
Under the supervision of this force Palestinians will take responsibility for all security on and inside their borders	34.2	20.9	17.1	11.7	16.2
On signing a peace agreement a force of international, regional and Arab states should replace the IDF in the Occupied Territories for an agreed period	25.5	20.6	17.5	13.0	23.4
If no agreement is reached within two years this force will replace the IDF in the Occupied Territories without further delay	22.9	21.6	19.0	15.1	21.4
The international force will ensure security on the Jordanian border	22.7	18.7	19.9	16.7	22.0
Palestine should be demilitarized, including the disbanding of militias and the standing down of the military.	7.8	5.5	4.0	7.6	75.0
For an agreed period Israel will have access to the Jordanian border for reasons of security	6.2	9.6	13.5	21.2	49.5
For an agreed period Israel will have observation posts in the Palestinian state for reasons of security	5.4	8.7	11.3	16.7	57.9

## Section Seven: Settlements

With Regards to the settlements please indicate which of the following options you consider to be *Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable* as part of a peace agreement.

	Essential %	Desirable %	Acceptable %	Tolerable %	Unacceptable %
All the settlers should leave the Occupied Territories and settlements closed	90.8	6.3	1.4	0.8	0.7
Dismantle most of the settlements, move settlers to large blocks and exchange land	9.6	9.0	10.0	17.9	53.6
Settlers can stay in Palestine (WB) if they take up Palestinian citizenship	8.1	8.6	11.7	16.7	54.9

Which one of the above-listed scenarios do you believe is most likely to take place in the coming 10 years?	%
All the settlers should leave the Occupied Territories and settlements closed	12.7
Settlers can stay in Palestine (WB) if they take up Palestinian citizenship	1.8
Dismantle most of the settlements, move settlers to large blocks and exchange land	6.1
No change in the status of settlements will take place	38.9
The situation regarding settlements will only change for the worse	31.9
Don't know	8.6

## Section Eight: Borders

With Regards to the borders please indicate which of the following options you consider to be *Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable* as part of a peace agreement.

	Essential %	Desirable %	Acceptable %	Tolerable %	Unacceptable %
Israel should withdraw to the 1967 boarder between Israel and Palestine	68.4	11.7	6.7	4.5	8.7
1967 border adjusted through agreement of equivalent exchange of land	15.9	17.2	16.3	16.6	34.0
Border established by the security wall	7.0	6.0	6.7	12.1	68.2

Which one of the above-listed scenarios do you believe is most likely to take place in the coming 10 years?	%
Israel should withdraw to the 1967 border between Israel and Palestine	15.0
1967 border adjusted through agreement of equivalent exchange of land	4.7
Border established by the security wall	3.3
No change in the status of borders will take place	40.8
The situation on borders will only change for the worse	26.5
Don't know	9.8

## Section Nine: Jerusalem

With regards to Jerusalem please indicate which of the following options you consider to be *Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable* as part of a peace agreement.

	Essential %	Desirable %	Acceptable %	Tolerable %	Unacceptable %
All of Jerusalem (East and West) should remain in Palestine	84.1	10.3	2.2	1.6	1.7
Jerusalem should be internationalized as a city of peace under the authority of a Multi-faith Municipal Covenant	12.9	15.6	17.5	14.7	39.3

Jerusalem should be divided into East and West along the pre-1967 border	10.4	10.8	11.9	16.6	50.3
Jerusalem should be internationalized as a city of peace under the authority of the UN	10.8	11.9	11.9	14.6	50.9
Divide the city according to Palestinian and Israeli current neighborhoods	6.3	9.6	13.1	16.9	54.1
<b>Which one of the above-listed scenarios do you believe is most likely to take place in the coming 10 years?</b>					<b>%</b>
All of Jerusalem (East and West) should remain in Palestine					8.6
Jerusalem should be internationalized as a city of peace under the authority of the UN					1.6
Jerusalem should be internationalized as a city of peace under the authority of a Multi-faith Municipal Covenant					1.8
Divide the city according to Palestinian and Israeli current neighborhoods					2.6
Jerusalem should be divided into East and West along the pre-1967 border					6.6
No change in the status of Jerusalem will take place					38.1
The situation of Jerusalem will only change for the worse					32.9
Don't know					7.8

## Section Ten: Holy Sites

With regards to Holy sites please indicate which of the following options you consider to be *Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable* as part of a peace agreement.

	<b>Essential %</b>	<b>Desirable %</b>	<b>Acceptable %</b>	<b>Tolerable %</b>	<b>Unacceptable %</b>
East Jerusalem, including holy sites, under Palestinian sovereignty	82.0	10.9	2.6	2.1	2.3
Freedom of religion and free access for everyone to the holy sites. No side will have sovereignty on the holy sites. Israel will be 'guardian' of the Western Wall and the Palestinian State 'guardian' of the Islamic holy sites. The status quo of Christian holy sites will remain.	12.1	11.9	14.7	16.5	44.8
The Western Wall will be under Israeli sovereignty, Christian and Muslim holy sites, including the Temple Mount, will be under Palestinian sovereignty	9.5	12.3	13.3	15.8	49.0
Neutral body, e.g. the UN will be the guardian of the holy sites	9.3	10.5	10.9	16.9	52.4

## Section Eleven: Implementation

With regards to the implementation of a peace agreement please indicate which of the following Options you consider to be *Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable* as part of a peace agreement.

	<b>Essential %</b>	<b>Desirable %</b>	<b>Acceptable %</b>	<b>Tolerable %</b>	<b>Unacceptable %</b>
All prisoners shall be released	90.6	6.0	2.1	0.9	0.3
Any peace agreement will be subject to a referendum by the people of Palestine	76.4	13.4	5.7	2.5	2.0
The peace agreement will be the end of conflict between both	53.3	20.9	11.9	8.6	5.3

parties and enforced by both parties.					
An international body acceptable to both parties will be established to monitor and enforce the full implementation of the agreement	48.0	22.8	14.7	9.1	5.5
<b>Section Twelve: the Mitchell Mission</b>					
<b>How do you evaluate the proximity talks that are lead by the US Envoy George Mitchell?</b>					
Great Progress					1.4
Little Progress					12.3
No Progress					56.8
Regress					19.7
Don't Know					9.8
<b>Do you think that the current proximity talks should continue or should Palestinians and Israelis engage in direct negotiations immediately?</b>					
Proximity talks should continue until Israel declares a freeze on settlements					20.8
Direct negotiations are the better option					31.0
I don't care for negotiations at this stage a they make no difference					37.7
Unsure/Don't know					10.5
<b>If President Abbas decides to engage in direct negotiations with Israel on the final status issues, would you support him?</b>					
Yes, only if Israel commits to a freeze on settlements					10.7
Yes, only if the international community gives assurances that the process will lead to a Palestinian State within a timetable					9.3
Yes, under both of the above-mentioned conditions at the same time					44.8
Yes, without conditions.					7.7
No, I will not support these negotiations					21.6
Unsure/Don't know					5.8
<b>What is the best mechanism to engage in a negotiation process with Israel?</b>					
Negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis with no intermediaries					34.3
Negotiations with an American mediation					6.3
An international conference under the supervision of the UN					31.3
None of the above					28.2
<b>Which of the following documents do you prefer to be the frame of reference for the negotiations?</b>					
UN resolutions					24.6
Road Map					12.6
The Arab Initiative					31.9
Other					5.9
Don't Know					24.9
<b>In your opinion, which one of the following is the best means in terms of its capability to end the occupation and to establish a Palestinian state?</b>					
Negotiations until reaching an agreement between the two parties					34.6
Violent attacks against Israeli military and settlers					25.9
A non-violent popular uprising					19.4
Violent attacks against civilians in Israel through suicide bombers and any other means					6.5
Attacks against the Israeli military only					6.2
Other					7.3



<b>In your opinion, do you think that the negotiations will ever lead to a Palestinian state with full sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza Strip?</b>	
Yes	18.2
Maybe	46.8
No	31.8
Don't know	3.2
<b>Do you believe that Palestinians and Israelis will coexist if Palestinians gain their own independent state?</b>	
Yes	16.7
Maybe	37.7
No	42.3
Don't know	3.2

**(Sample Distribution)**  
**Publication Date: 28 August 2010**  
**Field work: 8-14 August 2010**  
**Sample Size: 3001 Palestinians in the West Bank  
 & Gaza**  
**Margin of error:  $\pm 1.5\%$**

Region	%	Type of locality	%	Refugee Status	%
West Bank	62.6	City	46.5	Refugee	44.1
Gaza Strip	37.4	Village- town	32.6	Non-refugee	55.6
Governorate	%	Camp	%	Sector	%
Jenin	6.7	Gender	%	Government	28.5
Tulkarm	4.4	Male	51.9	Private sector	45.0
Qalqilya	2.6	Female	48.1	NGOs	3.5
Nablus	8.6	Marital status	%	Other	23.0
Salfit	1.6	Single	27.7	Education	%
Tubas	1.2	Married	67.4	1 Up to 9 yrs	23.0
Ramallah	7.4	Others	4.8	2 Secondary/Tawjihi (9-12 yrs)	36.9
Jerusalem	10.3	Age	%	3 More than Tawjihi	40.1
Jericho	1.2	18-30	43.4	Occupation	%
Bethlehem	4.6	31-40	23.1	Laborers	10.2
Hebron	14.0	> 40	33.5	Employees	18.4
Jabalya	7.3	Income	%	Farmers	1.2
Gaza City	13.1	Good or More	16.5	Merchants	6.2
Deir al-Balah	5.4	Not Good, not Bad	60.1	Professional	1.3
Khan Younis	7.2			Craftsman	4.1
Rafah	4.4	Weak	23.4	Students	14.8
				Housewives	32.1
				Not working	10.0
				Retired	1.7