

December 6, 2013

***Fielded in Israel by Midgam Project
 (with Pollster Mina Zemach)***

Dates of Survey: November 21-25
 Sample Size: 1053; 902 Jews, 151 Arabs

***Fielded in the Palestinian Territories
 by the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion
 (with Pollster Dr. Nabil Kukali)***

Dates of Survey: November 17-28, 2008
 Sample Size: 1003
 Margin of Error: +/- 3.2%

Statement: As you may know there are currently negotiations occurring between Israel and the Palestinian Authority with the United States as a mediator.

[For Palestinians only]

Q1-P: How confident are you that Palestinian negotiators will get the best possible deal in the negotiations?

	Palestinians
1 Very confident	6%
2 Somewhat confident	25
3 Not very confident	40
4 Not at all confident	29

[For Israelis only]

Q1-I: How confident are you that Israeli negotiators will get the best possible deal in the negotiations?

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very confident	6%	4%	20%
2 Somewhat confident	18	15	37
3 Not very confident	49	53	28
4 Not at all confident	27	28	15

[For Both Israelis and Palestinians]

Q2. How much confidence do you have that the American mediators will try to negotiate a fair deal?

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very confident	7%	5%	4%	7%
2 Somewhat confident	21	23	21	34
3 Not very confident	35	48	49	36
4 Not at all confident	37	25	25	24

[For Both Israelis and Palestinians]

Statement: I would like you to imagine that you are an advisor to the [Prime Minister/Palestinian Authority] and the [Israeli/Palestinian] delegation have reported back saying that after extensive negotiations they have the best package deal they were able to get the Palestinians to agree to and are looking for guidance on whether to agree to accept it as an overarching framework or to end the negotiations. So the terms of the package deal are as follows:

1. A sovereign Palestinian state would be established. The boundaries would generally be based on 1967 borders, but Israel would annex 3-4% of the West Bank that includes major settlement blocks with comparable land swaps to be negotiated.
2. Gaza and the West Bank would have a secure, unobstructed link, either in the form of a tunnel, highway or bridge.
3. For Jerusalem, Israel would have sovereignty over Jewish neighborhoods, while the new Palestinian state would have sovereignty over Arab neighborhoods. The Walled City would be under a special regime that would include both international control, and Israeli and Palestinian participation.
4. Neither Israel nor the Palestinians would have military forces in the Palestinian state, but Palestinian Security Forces would handle internal security in the Palestinian State. International military forces, such as NATO forces possibly under American command, would be stationed along the Jordan River.
5. Palestinian refugees would be compensated for loss of property, would be allowed to return to the Palestinian state, with a limited number being allowed to return to Israel.
6. Palestinians would recognize Israel as a state of the Jewish people and of all its citizens.

7. Israel and Arab and Muslim states would establish full diplomatic relations and open trade.

8. Israel and the Palestinians state would explicitly agree to end the conflict and Palestinians would relinquish all claims pertaining to the conflict.

[For Israelis Only]

STATEMENT: I am now going to read you a number of arguments for and against accepting the package. For each one please tell me how convincing you find the argument. I am going to go back and forth between arguments for and against supporting the package.

[Half of Respondents start with a pro, and half with a con, then alternate pros and cons]

[PROS]

Q3-I: We have a moral responsibility to seek a solution to the humanitarian plight of several million Palestinians, living under occupation or in squalid refugee camps for decades.

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very convincing	13%	7%	51%
2 Somewhat convincing	23	21	35
3 Somewhat unconvincing	32	35	11
4 Very unconvincing	32	37	3

Q4-I: If we don't make a deal to create a Palestinian state, eventually international pressure will grow to accept Palestinians as citizens, and with the growing Palestinian population, it would threaten Israel's Jewish identity.

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very convincing	18%	16%	27%
2 Somewhat convincing	36	35	38
3 Somewhat unconvincing	30	30	24
4 Very unconvincing	17	18	11

Q5-I: If the Palestinians don't have independence in their own state, it is only a matter of time before they start another violent intifada, creating a dangerous and costly confrontation for Israel.

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very convincing	23%	18%	54%
2 Somewhat convincing	36	37	31
3 Somewhat unconvincing	33	36	13
4 Very unconvincing	8	9	2

Q6-I: If Israel does not come to an agreement with the Palestinians, Israel will likely face increasing international isolation. The trend toward imposing sanctions on Israel will only grow, with both economic and strategic consequences.

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very convincing	14%	13%	23%
2 Somewhat convincing	35	36	30
3 Somewhat unconvincing	41	43	29
4 Very unconvincing	10	8	18

Q7-I: Israeli-Palestinian peace would make it possible to have normal relations with all Arab and Muslim states. This could lead to coordination with Arab states on common threats and a significant expansion of trade. Peace would also eliminate the vast costs of maintaining the military administration in the West Bank and subsidizing the settlements.

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very convincing	15%	12%	31%
2 Somewhat convincing	29	27	37
3 Somewhat unconvincing	43	47	19
4 Very unconvincing	13	13	12

Q8-I: This is an opportune time for Israel to make a deal. Today, Israel is strong, even dominant, militarily, with strong support from the United States. Arab states are weakened by the Arab uprisings. In the future, conditions could change for the worse. It is best to make a deal now.

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very convincing	14%	11%	30%
2 Somewhat convincing	37	36	43
3 Somewhat unconvincing	36	39	17
4 Very unconvincing	14	15	10

[CONS]

Q9-I: Even if the Palestinian Authority were to make a deal, it is possible that eventually Hamas will once again gain control of the Palestinian government, and simply ignore the terms of the deal.

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very convincing	38%	40%	22%
2 Somewhat convincing	37	37	35
3 Somewhat unconvincing	19	17	33
4 Very unconvincing	6	6	10

Q10-I: As a matter of principle, Israel should never give up the West Bank. It is an indispensable part of Eretz Yisrael.

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very convincing	27%	30%	9%
2 Somewhat convincing	26	28	15
3 Somewhat unconvincing	30	30	30
4 Very unconvincing	17	12	46

Q11-I: It is not necessary for us to accept this deal. Israel is strong enough to maintain itself as a Jewish state, continue to control the West Bank, keep the Palestinians in their current status, and withstand the pressure from the Palestinians and the international community.

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very convincing	21%	21%	15%
2 Somewhat convincing	30	29	37
3 Somewhat unconvincing	33	33	29
4 Very unconvincing	17	16	19

Q12-I: Palestinians cannot be trusted with a state next door to our cities. They reject us and we cannot assume that they would keep the deal not to acquire military forces. And once they do, it will only be a matter of time until they use them to attack us.

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very convincing	44%	49%	13%
2 Somewhat convincing	30	30	35
3 Somewhat unconvincing	19	16	35
4 Very unconvincing	7	6	17

Q13-I: We cannot rely on international control of the Walled City and along the Jordan River. Once we relinquish control to international entities, there is no guarantee they won't abandon us and fail to defend our rights and interests.

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very convincing	39%	44%	11%
2 Somewhat convincing	34	33	37
3 Somewhat unconvincing	21	18	37
4 Very unconvincing	7	5	15

Q14-I: It's not realistic to have two states, because it's just too late. It's impossible to get a large number of settlers out of the West Bank and the Palestinians will never agree to a Swiss cheese state.

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very convincing	28%	30%	16%
2 Somewhat convincing	30	29	35
3 Somewhat unconvincing	32	31	35
4 Very unconvincing	11	10	14

[Respondents were re-presented the Package Deal]

Q15-I: So what would you say about what the Israeli negotiators should do? Would you say:

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 I would recommend accepting this framework for a package deal. However, I would need to see the details, after they are negotiated, before making a final decision.	54%	50%	77%
2 I would recommend rejecting such a package deal, even though it would mean ending the negotiations and letting go of the prospect of an agreement for a two state solution.	46	50	23

[Only the Israeli Jews that REJECTED the package deal were presented question 15a-I and question 16-I]

Q15a-I: When you say that you recommend rejecting such a package are you saying this because:

	Israeli Jews
1 You think it would be better to terminate the negotiations than to accept this framework for a package deal	23%
2 You think the Palestinian Authority will not really accept such a framework for a package deal, so there is no point in saying that we would accept it	27

Q16-I: Now, let us assume the Palestinian Authority DOES accept the package deal, what would you then say about what the Israeli negotiators should do? Would you say:

	Israeli Jews
1 I would recommend accepting this framework for a package deal. However, I would need to see the details, after they are negotiated, before making a final decision.	11% (9%)*
2 I would recommend rejecting such a package deal, even though it would mean ending the negotiations and letting go of the prospect of an agreement for a two-state solution	39 (34)*

[For Palestinians Only]

[Palestinian Respondents were presented the Package Deal]

STATEMENT: I am now going to read you a number of arguments for and against accepting the package. For each one please tell me how convincing you find the argument. I am going to go back and forth between arguments for and against supporting the package.

[Half of Respondents start with a pro, and half with a con, then alternate pros and cons]

[PROS]

Q3-P: If a Palestinian state is not established now, it is unlikely that Israel will accept a one-state solution and Palestinians will remain under occupation and as refugees for an indefinite period. These conditions are intolerable. A Palestinian state would allow the next generation of Palestinians to live normal lives and to achieve their potential.

	Palestinians
1 Very convincing	19%
2 Somewhat convincing	41
3 Somewhat unconvincing	25
4 Very unconvincing	16

* Percent of all Israelis

Q4-P: If we don't have our own state soon, it is only a matter of time before we have another Intifada, creating a costly confrontation with Israel, with uncertain consequences.

Palestinians

1 Very convincing	21%
2 Somewhat convincing	38
3 Somewhat unconvincing	30
4 Very unconvincing	11

Q5-P: The uprisings in the Arab world are likely to endure for years to come, and Arabs are likely to be preoccupied so that they will not be in a position to help us. We cannot assume that time will be on our side, so it is better to make a deal now.

Palestinians

1 Very convincing	17%
2 Somewhat convincing	37
3 Somewhat unconvincing	28
4 Very unconvincing	18

Q6-P: Time is not on our side; without an agreement on a two-state solution, we keep losing more land to Israeli settlements every year. It is better to have a state, even with limits, rather than the status quo and the uncertainty of the future.

Palestinians

1 Very convincing	15%
2 Somewhat convincing	39
3 Somewhat unconvincing	28
4 Very unconvincing	18

Q7-P: This proposed package is the best we can get for a two state solution. For those who prefer a one state solution with equal citizenship, it is unrealistic to hold out for it, because Israelis would never accept such an outcome and are in a position to prevent it from happening.

Palestinians

1 Very convincing	18%
2 Somewhat convincing	37
3 Somewhat unconvincing	31
4 Very unconvincing	15

[CONS]

Q9-P: The Palestinians should have all of historic Palestine. It is better to stay with the status quo than to accept living on only 22 percent of what the Palestinians rightfully deserve.

	Palestinians
1 Very convincing	20%
2 Somewhat convincing	37
3 Somewhat unconvincing	28
4 Very unconvincing	14

Q10-P: Any solution that does not allow all Palestinian refugees to return to their original towns in Israel itself is unjust and simply unacceptable.

	Palestinians
1 Very convincing	31%
2 Somewhat convincing	32
3 Somewhat unconvincing	28
4 Very unconvincing	9

Q11-P: It is not necessary for us to accept this deal. Time is on our side, even if we have to endure more occupation in the meantime. Eventually, Israel will be forced to accept Palestinians as full citizens or face international isolation.

	Palestinians
1 Very convincing	22%
2 Somewhat convincing	38
3 Somewhat unconvincing	32
4 Very unconvincing	8

Q12-P: It is unacceptable for the Palestinian state not to have military forces. The ability to defend ourselves is essential to being a sovereign state. Moreover Israelis cannot be trusted. They would still have the upper hand and the superior military forces to continue to dominate us without the risk of any cost to them.

	Palestinians
1 Very convincing	26%
2 Somewhat convincing	34
3 Somewhat unconvincing	28
4 Very unconvincing	12

Q13-P: It's just not realistic to have two states, because it's just too late. It's impossible to get all those settlers out of the West Bank and we will never agree to a Swiss cheese state.

	Palestinians
1 Very convincing	28%
2 Somewhat convincing	31
3 Somewhat unconvincing	28
4 Very unconvincing	13

[All Respondents were re-presented the Package Deal]

Q15-P: So what would you say about what the Palestinian negotiators should do? Would you say:

	Palestinians
1. I would recommend accepting this framework for a package deal. However, I would need to see the details, after they are negotiated, before making a final decision.	41%
2. I would recommend rejecting such a package deal, even though it would mean ending the negotiations and letting go of the prospect of an agreement for a two state solution.	59

[Only those respondents that REJECTED the package deal were presented question 15a and question 16]

Q15a-P: When you say that you recommend rejecting such a package are you saying this because:

	Palestinians
1. You think it would be better to terminate the negotiations than to accept this framework for a package deal	31%*
2. You think the Israeli government will not really accept such a framework for a package deal, so there is no point in saying that we would accept it	28

* Percent of all Palestinians

Q16-P: Now, let us assume the Israeli government DOES accept the package deal, what would you then say about what the Palestinian negotiators should do? Would you say:

	Palestinians
1. I would recommend accepting this framework for a package deal. However, I would need to see the details, after they are negotiated, before making a final decision.	18%†
2. I would recommend rejecting such a package deal, even though it would mean ending the negotiations and letting go of the prospect of an agreement for a two state solution.	41

[For Both Israelis and Palestinians]

[Only those respondents that REJECTED the package deal in question 15, and also in question 16, were presented question 17]

Q17a-I/Q17b-I: Please tell me which TWO elements in the package deal are the most unacceptable to you. If you like I can re-read the list.

[List of package deal elements were re-read to the respondent, if necessary]

1. A sovereign Palestinian state would be established. The boundaries would generally be based on 1967 borders, but Israel would annex 3-4% of the West Bank that includes major settlement blocks with comparable land swaps to be negotiated.

Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
24%	55%	54%	70%

2.Gaza and the West Bank would have a secure, unobstructed link, either in the form of a tunnel, highway or bridge.

Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
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† Percent of all Palestinians

25%

21%

21%

15%

3. For Jerusalem, Israel would have sovereignty over Jewish neighborhoods, while the new Palestinian state would have sovereignty over Arab neighborhoods. The Walled City would be under a special regime that would include both international control, and Israeli and Palestinian participation.

Palestinians
38%

All Israelis
59%

**Israeli
Jews**
61%

**Israeli
Arabs**
33%

4. Neither Israel nor the Palestinians would have military forces in the Palestinian state, but Palestinian Security Forces would handle internal security in the Palestinian State. International military forces, such as NATO forces possibly under American command, would be stationed along the Jordan River.

Palestinians
24%

All Israelis
13%

**Israeli
Jews**
13%

**Israeli
Arabs**
22%

5. Palestinian refugees would be compensated for loss of property, would be allowed to return to the Palestinian state, with a limited number being allowed to return to Israel.

Palestinians
22%

All Israelis
35%

**Israeli
Jews**
35%

**Israeli
Arabs**
37%

6. Palestinians would recognize Israel as a state of the Jewish people and of all its citizens.

Palestinians
35%

All Israelis
8%

**Israeli
Jews**
8%

**Israeli
Arabs**
7%

7. Israel and Arab and Muslim states would establish full diplomatic relations and open trade.

Palestinians
14%

All Israelis
4%

**Israeli
Jews**
4%

**Israeli
Arabs**
7%

8. Israel and the Palestinians state would explicitly agree to end the conflict and Palestinians would relinquish all claims pertaining to the conflict.

Palestinians
18%

All Israelis
6%

**Israeli
Jews**
5%

**Israeli
Arabs**
7%

[For Both Israelis and Palestinians]

Q18: Suppose the parties can agree on all the other issues, and the terms are to your satisfaction, but the last sticking point is the issue of Jerusalem. Here are some possible terms on this issue that may be put forward. For each one please tell me how acceptable it would be for you. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10 with 0 being completely unacceptable, 5 being just tolerable and 10 being completely acceptable.

1. Israel would have sovereignty over all of Jerusalem, East and West.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	60%	11%	5%	42%
1-4	31	12	9	35
5	5	10	11	8
6-10	4	67	75	15
Mean	1.1	7.0	7.9	2.2

2. Palestinians would have sovereignty over all East Jerusalem occupied in 1967, and Israel would have sovereignty over West Jerusalem.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	31%	37%	42%	3%
1-4	37	23	26	14
5	17	12	13	3
6-10	15	28	19	80
Mean	2.8	3.5	2.8	7.6

3. Palestinians would have sovereignty over Arab neighborhoods, Israel would have sovereignty over Jewish neighborhoods, and there would be a special international status for the walled Old City.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	25%	29%	33%	5%
1-4	39	21	24	4
5	23	12	12	13
6-10	14	38	31	79

Mean	3.1	4.2	3.7	7.3
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4. Palestinians would have sovereignty over Arab neighborhoods, Israel would have sovereignty over Jewish neighborhoods, and there would be shared Palestinian-Israeli sovereignty over the walled Old City.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	20%	32%	37%	5%
1-4	33	21	22	15
5	25	13	13	15
6-10	23	34	29	65
Mean	3.9	3.9	3.4	6.3

Q19: Suppose the parties can agree on all the other issues, and the terms are to your satisfaction, but the last sticking point is the issue of the Israeli settlements in the West Bank. Here are some possible terms on this issue that may be put forward. For each please tell me how acceptable it would be for you. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10 with 0 being completely unacceptable, 5 being just tolerable and 10 being completely acceptable.

1. All Israeli settlers would be evacuated from the West Bank.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	9%	37%	43%	1%
1-4	20	20	22	6
5	5	11	12	4
6-10	66	32	23	89
Mean	6.9	3.8	3.0	8.6

2. All Israeli settlers would remain and would be under Israeli sovereignty.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	32%	13%	9%	37%
1-4	32	19	16	40
5	13	11	11	5
6-10	23	57	64	18
Mean	3.2	6.1	6.7	2.6

3. The Israeli settlers in settlements that are deep inside the West Bank would be removed; Israel would annex major settlement blocks closest to the 1967 boundaries; and lands annexed by Israel would be compensated through agreed-upon swaps.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	17%	21%	22%	12%
1-4	38	18	18	18
5	22	15	16	15
6-10	24	46	44	55
Mean	4.0	5.0	4.9	5.5

4. Israel would annex major settlement blocks with agreed swaps. Some settlers beyond these settlement blocks could remain, but would come under Palestinian sovereignty.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	16%	31%	35%	9%
1-4	34	24	23	23
5	20	15	14	22
6-10	29	30	27	46
Mean	4.3	3.8	3.5	5.1

Q20: Suppose the parties can agree on all the other issues, and the terms are to your satisfaction, but the last sticking point is the issue of the Palestinian refugees. Here are some possible terms on this issue that may be put forward. For each please tell me how acceptable it would be for you. Please use a scale of 0 to 10 with 0 being completely unacceptable, 5 being just tolerable and 10 being completely acceptable.

1. Refugees and their families would be allowed to return to Israel or the Palestinian state as they wish.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	9%	49%	56%	4%
1-4	18	22	25	8
5	11	8	9	3
6-10	62	21	10	84
Mean	6.8	2.7	1.8	8.0

2. Refugees and their families would be allowed to settle in the new Palestinian state, with a small number being allowed to settle in Israel.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	13%	30%	35%	1%
1-4	21	30	33	16
5	21	14	13	17
6-10	45	26	19	67
Mean	5.2	3.4	2.9	6.3

3. Refugees and their families would be allowed to settle in the new Palestinian state, but not in Israel.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	19%	11%	11%	11%
1-4	26	19	16	34
5	19	11	11	15
6-10	36	59	62	40
Mean	4.5	6.2	6.4	5.0

Q20.4. Now in regard to compensation for lost property, please evaluate the following on the same 0 to 10 scale.

4. Regardless of where refugees settle permanently, refugees and their families would be offered compensation for lost property.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	11%	32%	36%	11%
1-4	24	26	27	18
5	17	14	15	8
6-10	48	28	22	63
Mean	5.5	3.6	3.1	6.6

Q21: Suppose the parties can agree on all the other issues, and the terms are to your satisfaction, but the last sticking point is the issue of the presence of foreign military forces in a Palestinian state. Here are some possible terms on this issue that may be put forward. For each please tell me how acceptable it would be for you. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10 with 0 being completely unacceptable, 5 being just tolerable and 10 being completely acceptable.

1. Some Israeli forces would have a presence along the Jordan River indefinitely.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	43%	5%	3%	17%
1-4	40	11	8	30
5	8	10	9	12
6-10	9	74	80	41
Mean	2.0	7.4	7.8	4.4

2. Some Israeli forces would have a presence along the Jordan River, but for a limited transitional period, as agreed by both sides.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	26%	18%	21%	3%
1-4	44	24	23	27
5	18	20	20	18
6-10	12	39	36	52
Mean	2.9	4.6	4.4	6.0

3. A joint Israeli-Palestinian force would have a presence along the Jordan River.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	19%	22%	25%	4%
1-4	41	22	23	22
5	25	20	20	19
6-10	15	36	32	56
Mean	3.5	4.4	4.2	5.9

4. A United Nations force would have a presence along the Jordan River.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	24%	23%	25%	9%
1-4	36	24	25	17
5	24	16	17	7
6-10	16	38	33	68
Mean	3.3	4.4	4.1	6.4

5. A Western force under American command, possibly NATO, would have a presence along the Jordan River.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	31%	20%	21%	13%
1-4	35	23	24	17
5	18	17	18	11
6-10	17	40	37	59
Mean	3.0	4.6	4.4	5.9

6. No foreign forces would be stationed inside the Palestinian state.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	9%	27%	31%	4%
1-4	21	26	28	11
5	12	14	15	10
6-10	58	33	26	75
Mean	6.4	4.2	3.6	7.6

Q22. In regard to the transportation link between the West Bank and Gaza, would you favor:

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 A tunnel	17%	34%	36%	23%
2 A raised bridge	25	33	35	20
3 A highway	58	33	30	57

[For Palestinians only]:

Q23-P: In regard to the Palestinian refugees' question, which of the following positions is closest to yours?

	Palestinians
1 I would never accept any agreement that does not acknowledge the Palestinian right of return and allow all Palestinians to return to their original towns.	59%
2 I would never accept any agreement that does not acknowledge the right of return, but I support settlement of the claims to those rights through a package that includes compensation for lost property and return to a Palestinian state.	33
3 If all other issues are settled to my satisfaction, I am prepared to compromise on the Palestinian right of return.	8

[For Israelis only]:

Q23-I: In regard to the Palestinian refugees question which position is closest to yours?

	All	Israel Jews	Arabs
1. I would never accept an agreement that acknowledges a Palestinian right of return, even if all other issues are resolved to my satisfaction.	55%	64%	3%
2. I have no problem with acknowledging a right of return as long as all refugee claims are resolved without a significant number of refugees returning to Israel, and there are no further claims in the future.	45%	36%	97%

[For both Israelis and Palestinians]

Q24: For each of the following please say how acceptable they would be for you. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10 with 0 being completely unacceptable, 5 being just tolerable and 10 being completely acceptable.

1. For Palestinians to accept Israel as "a Jewish state" before conclusion of negotiations

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	52%	6%	4%	24%
1-4	38	13	8	34
5	7	11	10	15
6-10	3	71	78	28

Mean	1.3	7.5	8.1	3.8
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2. For Palestinians to accept Israel as “a Jewish state” as part of a deal on all final status issues

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	37%	9%	6%	22%
1-4	45	12	10	31
5	11	14	13	21
6-10	7	65	71	26
Mean	1.9	6.8	7.3	3.8

3. For Palestinians to accept Israel as “a state of the Jewish people and of all its citizens,” thus assuring equality of non-Jewish citizens, before conclusion of negotiations.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	34%	15%	15%	19%
1-4	41	17	15	23
5	15	16	17	12
6-10	10	52	53	46
Mean	2.4	5.7	5.8	4.9

4. For Palestinians to accept Israel as “a state of the Jewish people and of all its citizens,” thus assuring equality of non-Jewish citizens, as part of a deal on all final status issues

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
0	32%	14%	16%	4%
1-4	40	17	16	20
5	17	15	16	11
6-10	12	55	53	66
Mean	2.6	5.8	5.7	6.5

Q25: Suppose the Israelis and Palestinians agree to a comprehensive deal. What if the UN Security Council were to then endorse the deal with a new resolution that would supersede all past UN resolutions on the conflict. And suppose this resolution would bind both sides, regardless of changes in their leadership. Would you see this resolution as something positive, something negative, or neither? [If positive or negative] Is that somewhat positive/negative or very positive/negative?

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very Positive	9%	17%	14%	29%
2 Somewhat positive	30	31	28	48
3 Neither	37	33	36	15
4 Somewhat negative	17	12	12	8
5 Very negative	7	7	9	8

[For Palestinians only]

Q26-P: Suppose the Israelis and Palestinians agree to a comprehensive deal. And suppose the Arab League were to support the deal. Would the support from the Arab League give you more confidence in the deal or would it make no difference to you?

	Palestinians
1 More confidence in the deal	35%
2 Make no difference	65

[For Both Israelis and Palestinians]

Q27: Suppose Israel and the Palestinian Authority do come to an agreement on a deal that leads to two states. Once these two states exist, which of the following would be your preference:

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1. Keep interactions with the other side to a minimum, limited to necessary economic, trade, security and other functional tasks	62%	51%	55%	28%
2. Have more societal interactions, including those aimed at building greater understanding and better relations	38	49	45	72

Q28: Once a two state system were fully established, would you support or oppose “a truth and reconciliation commission” like ones that have occurred in a number of countries after a period of strife? It would establish and air the facts of the painful past, for both Israelis and Palestinians, not for purposes of blame or punishment, but with the goal of fostering greater mutual understanding and reconciliation.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Support	51%	67%	63%	89%
2 Oppose	49	33	37	11

Q29: As you may know, some people are saying that conditions are changing in the West Bank such that it may soon become simply impossible to implement a two-state solution. Imagine if both sides were to generally come to the conclusion that a two-state solution is not possible. How likely do you think each of the following outcomes would then be? For each one, please say whether you think it would be very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, not at all likely

1. The status quo would continue indefinitely with little change.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very likely	40%	21%	18%	38%
2 Somewhat likely	41	40	38	48
3 Not very likely	14	28	32	9
4 Not at all likely	6	11	12	5

2. There would be more intense conflict and instability for years to come.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very likely	38%	28%	23%	54%
2 Somewhat likely	38	49	51	36
3 Not very likely	20	19	21	9
4 Not at all likely	4	4	4	1

3. Israel and the Palestinian Territories would become one state with Israelis and Palestinians as equal citizens.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very likely	16%	4%	3%	7%
2 Somewhat likely	37	12	12	11
3 Not very likely	27	32	33	26
4 Not at all likely	20	52	51	57

4. Israel and the Palestinian Territories would become one state, but Palestinians would not be fully equal citizens in order to maintain Israel as a Jewish state.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very likely	22%	9%	9%	10%
2 Somewhat likely	38	21	22	12
3 Not very likely	22	31	32	27
4 Not at all likely	19	39	37	51

5. Israel would be so strong that Palestinians would gradually conclude that resistance is futile, with some deciding to permanently leave for another country, thus preserving a Jewish majority.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very likely	17%	10%	9%	19%
2 Somewhat likely	37	19	17	29
3 Not very likely	27	35	37	19
4 Not at all likely	19	36	37	33

6. Israel would eventually annex the West Bank, but not Gaza, and then offer Palestinians in the West Bank full citizenship.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very likely	17%	5%	5%	4%
2 Somewhat likely	36	18	19	17
3 Not very likely	29	43	46	23
4 Not at all likely	18	34	30	55

7. Israel would eventually annex the West Bank, but not Gaza, and expel some Palestinians from the West Bank to assure a robust Jewish majority.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very likely	22%	5%	5%	7%
2 Somewhat likely	35	22	23	20
3 Not very likely	25	37	40	19
4 Not at all likely	83	35	32	54

8. Israel would annex part of the West Bank, and cede territories most heavily populated by Palestinians to Jordan.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very likely	19%	7%	7%	8%
2 Somewhat likely	33	23	24	16
3 Not very likely	25	38	40	24
4 Not at all likely	23	32	29	53

Q30: Now I would like to know how you would feel if each of these outcomes were to occur. Please answer on a scale of -5 to +5, with -5 being very negative, 0 being neutral and +5 being very positive.

1. The status quo would continue indefinitely with little change.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
-5 to -1	58%	35%	30%	62%
0	14	26	28	13
1 to 5	28	40	42	26
Mean	-1.6	0.1	0.3	-1.3

2. There would be more intense conflict and instability for years to come.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
-5 to -1	61%	54%	52%	69%
0	13	16	18	8
1 to 5	25	30	31	23
Mean	-1.7	-1.1	-1.0	-1.7

3. Israel and the Palestinian Territories would become one state with Israelis and Palestinians as equal citizens.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
-5 to -1	49%	61%	61%	62%
0	21	18	18	17
1 to 5	30	21	21	20
Mean	-1.0	-1.8	-1.7	-1.8

4. Israel and the Palestinian Territories would become one state but Palestinians would not be fully equal citizens in order to maintain Israel as a Jewish state.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
-5 to -1	63%	54%	50%	74%
0	15	17	18	9
1 to 5	22	30	32	17
Mean	-1.7	-1.1	-0.9	-2.7

5. Israel would be so strong that Palestinians would gradually conclude that resistance is futile, with some deciding to permanently leave for another country, thus preserving a Jewish majority.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
-5 to -1	63%	40%	34%	75%
0	15	17	19	8
1 to 5	22	43	47	17
Mean	-1.9	0.2	0.6	-2.5

6. Israel would eventually annex the West Bank, but not Gaza, and then offer Palestinians in the West Bank full citizenship.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
-5 to -1	55%	57%	53%	75%
0	19	20	21	10
1 to 5	26	24	25	15
Mean	-1.2	-1.5	-1.3	-2.7

7. Israel would eventually annex the West Bank, but not Gaza, and expel some Palestinians from the West Bank to assure a robust Jewish majority.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
-5 to -1	63%	50%	45%	80%
0	14	20	23	3
1 to 5	23	30	32	17
Mean	-1.9	-0.9	-0.6	-3.1

8. Israel would annex part of the West Bank, and cede territories most heavily populated by Palestinians to Jordan.

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
-5 to -1	56%	46%	41%	75%
0	15	20	23	5
1 to 5	29	34	36	20
Mean	-1.4	-0.7	-0.3	-2.6

Q31: How would you describe the current status of Arabs in Israel?

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 There is full equality between Arab and Jewish citizen	12%	21%	23%	8%
2 There is legal equality, but institutional and societal discrimination	27	67	68	64
3 It is an apartheid relationship	61	12	9	28

[For Israelis only]

Q32-I. Which of the following is closer to your views?

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1. The Jewishness of Israel is more important to me than its democracy	32%	32%	28%
2. The democracy of Israel is more important to me than its Jewishness	24	20	51
3. Both are equally important to me	44	48	20

[For Both Israelis and Palestinians]

Q33. Which of the following statements are closest to your view about the prospects of a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians?

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1. The current American mediation effort will succeed in reaching an agreement in the next year.	11%	4%	4%	7%
2. A peace agreement will be reached within the next five years	19	15	15	15
3. A peace agreement is inevitable, but it will take more than five years	22	33	32	42
4. I don't believe a peace agreement will ever be reached	47	48	50	36

[For Israelis only]

Statement: Now turning to the subject of Iran:

Q34-I: How likely do you think it is that Iran will eventually develop nuclear weapons?

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Very likely	52%	54%	41%
2 Somewhat likely	39	37	52
3 Not very likely	8	8	6
4 Not at all likely	1	1	1

Q35-I: With the tone set by the new Iranian President, Hassan Rouhani, US leaders have said that they see an opportunity to reach a verifiable diplomatic deal to assure that Iran does not develop nuclear weapons. Which one of the following is closer to your view:

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1. I support exploring a diplomatic deal with Iran, as long as the deal would have clear verification requirements	54%	49%	85%
2. I oppose any diplomatic effort. I believe Iran can only be prevented from acquiring nuclear weapons through sanctions and ultimately the possible use of force.	46	51	15

Q36-I: As you may know, the elected president of Egypt Mohammed Morsi was overthrown last June. Would you say his removal is:

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Better for Israel	35%	32%	51%
2 Worse for Israel	14	14	18
3 The same as before for Israel	51	54	31

Q37-I: Thinking about the next four years, what do you think is most likely to happen to the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty?

	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 It will remain in force in its present form	33%	33%	33%
2 It will remain in force, but will be modified	54	54	52
3 It will be terminated	13	13	15

STATEMENT: Now finally just a few questions about you:

[Ask Palestinians only]

Q39-P: Did you or any of your relatives become refugees in 1947-48?

	Palestinians
1 Yes	43%
2 No	57

[For Both Israelis and Palestinians]

Q40-P: Have you or a member of your family participated in any program or meeting with Israelis/Palestinians intended to improve mutual understanding?

[If respondents ask what this means, READ:] “Activities in which Israelis and Palestinians get to know each other and try to improve understanding of each other’s point of view.”

	Palestinians	All Israelis	Israeli Jews	Israeli Arabs
1 Have participated	5%	11%	10%	22%
2 Have not participated	95	87	90	78