

## **OneVoice Palestine and OneVoice Israel**

(A)

Good morning/afternoon/evening my name is \_\_\_\_\_ from \_\_\_\_\_. At this time of so much change in the world we are conducting a survey of public opinion to find out what the people of both Israel and Palestine/the West Bank and Gaza believe needs to be done in a new effort to bring peace and stability to the region and to the possibility of reaching a peace agreement. We want to give your community an opportunity to express their view on all the suggestions that are being made from suggestions in favour of the Palestinian side to suggestions in favour of the Israeli side.

**The Research** is being carried out by OneVoice Israel and OneVoice Palestine.

**The Survey** involves interviewing a representative sample from both Palestine/the West Bank and Gaza and Israel.

**Your opinion** is important to us. We want to give your community an opportunity to express their views on all the suggestions that are being made for their future so please do try and answer all the questions that are asked.

**The Results** will be made available for public access on the Internet, in the local newspapers and in reports that will be given to all the political parties and stakeholders in Israel and Palestine/the West Bank and Gaza.

**All your answers will be kept completely confidential.**

**OneVoice** is an international mainstream grassroots movement that aims to amplify the voice of the overwhelming majority of moderates who wish to end the Israeli – Palestinian conflict.

## The Problems (A)

People from different communities often hold very different views about the problems at the centre of a conflict. Here is a list of some of the problems given to our research teams in Palestine/the West Bank and Gaza and Israel.

### 1. Peace process and a final status agreement (A)

With regards to the peace process and reaching a final status agreement which issues do you consider to be 'Very significant', 'Significant', 'Of some significance', 'Of little significance' or 'Not at all'.

Palestine per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Not At All
1. Establishing an independent sovereign state of Palestine	97	2	1	0	1
2. Agreeing borders for Israel and Palestine	77	13	2	1	5
3. Settlements in the Occupied Territories/West Bank	89	7	2	1	1
4. Security for Israel	21	10	11	10	46
5. Security for Palestine	90	8	1	1	1
6. Agreement on the future of Jerusalem	94	4	1	0	1
7. Agreement on managing Holy sites	91	7	1	0	1
8. The rights of refugees	95	4	0	1	0
9. Rights to natural resources	88	8	2	1	1
10. Peace between Israel and Jordan					
11. Peace between Israel and Egypt					
12. Peace between Israel and Syria	30	15	17	13	23
13. Peace between Israel and Lebanon	31	15	17	13	23
14. Peace between Israel and Iran					
15. Peace between Israel and the Arab World	35	13	12	13	24

Israel per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Not At All
1. Establishing an independent sovereign state of Palestine	33	36	8	4	18
2. Agreeing borders for Israel and Palestine	49	31	3	5	11
3. Settlements in the Occupied Territories/West Bank	33	32	7	5	18
4. Security for Israel	77	13	3	3	3
5. Security for Palestine	23	25	7	13	27
6. Agreement on the future of Jerusalem	68	18	3	3	7
7. Agreement on managing Holy sites	57	28	6	3	6
8. The rights of refugees	25	22	7	10	31
9. Rights to natural resources	62	23	5	5	5
10. Peace between Israel and Jordan	47	32	8	4	8
11. Peace between Israel and Egypt	46	34	7	4	7
12. Peace between Israel and Syria	36	26	6	7	20
13. Peace between Israel and Lebanon	36	29	8	6	16
14. Peace between Israel and Iran	29	21	6	7	28
15. Peace between Israel and the Arab World	37	35	8	4	13

## 2. If the peace process fails (A)

From the different possibilities listed below what do you think will happen if there is no progress in the peace process. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Very probable', 'Probable', 'Possible', 'Improbable' or 'Very improbable'.

Palastine per cent	Very probable	Probable	Possible	Improbable	Very improbable
1. More young people will emigrate					
2. The IDF will be subject to more attacks in the Occupied Territories					
3. Suicide bombing/Attacks against civilians will return to Tel Aviv and Jerusalem					
4. The economy will suffer					
5. International terrorism/violence will increase					
6. Israel will become isolated in the international community					
7. Moderate Arab states will become radicalized					
8. Israel will have new wars with one or more of her neighbours					

Israel per cent	Very probable	Probable	Possible	Improbable	Very improbable
9. More young people will emigrate	21	33	14	20	8
10. The IDF will be subject to more attacks in the Occupied Territories	38	41	9	8	2
11. Suicide bombing/Attacks against civilians will return to Tel Aviv and Jerusalem	31	41	10	14	3
12. The economy will suffer	24	39	12	18	6
13. International terrorism/violence will increase	28	42	12	11	5
14. Israel will become isolated in the international community	11	28	20	30	10
15. Moderate Arab states will become radicalized	19	47	14	13	4
16. Israel will have new wars with one or more of her neighbours	24	46	11	15	4

## **Choosing your options for peace and stability in the region**

Most of the remainder of this questionnaire will present you with various options on what could be done to improve the prospects for peace and stability in the region. For each option you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' and for the purposes of this poll 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' mean:

***'Essential'*** – *You believe this option is a necessary part of a secure, stable and better future for the region and should be fully implemented.*

***'Desirable'*** – *This option is not what you would consider to be 'Essential', but you think this option, or something very similar to it, is a good idea and should be put into practice.*

***'Acceptable'*** – *This option is not what you would consider to be 'Desirable', if you were given a choice, but you could certainly 'live with it'.*

***'Tolerable'*** – *This option is not what you want. But, as part of a secure, stable and better future, you would be willing to put up with it.*

***'Unacceptable'*** – *This option is totally unacceptable under any circumstances. You would not accept it, even as part of a secure, stable and better future for the region.*

You may use each of the terms 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' as many times as you wish in each question.

### 3. Final status (A)

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

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) Historic Palestine – From the Jordanian river to the sea as an Islamic Waqf	59	12	7	5	12
2. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) Historic Palestine – From the Jordanian river to the sea	71	11	5	3	7
3. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) One joint state – A state in which Israelis and Palestinians are equal citizens	18	13	10	12	43
4. One shared state - Bi-national federal state in which Israelis and Palestinians share power	8	7	7	12	59
5. Two state solution - Two states for two peoples: Israel and Palestine	38	15	10	11	24
6. Political status quo with economic development of Palestinian/the West Bank/Gaza (territories)	32	10	8	8	40
7. Confederation between West Bank and Jordan and between Gaza and Egypt	12	7	7	5	65
8. (ISRAELIS ONLY) Greater Israel – A Jewish state from the Jordanian boarder to the sea					

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) Historic Palestine – From the Jordanian river to the sea as an Islamic Waqf					
2. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) Historic Palestine – From the Jordanian river to the sea					
3. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) One joint state – A state in which Israelis and Palestinians are equal citizens					
4. One shared state - Bi-national federal state in which Israelis and Palestinians share power	7	6	11	8	66
5. Two state solution - Two states for two peoples: Israel and Palestine	32	13	16	17	21
6. Political status quo with economic development of Palestinian/the West Bank/Gaza (territories)	27	18	12	14	24
7. Confederation between West Bank and Jordan and between Gaza and Egypt	19	20	15	17	21
8. (ISRAELIS ONLY) Greater Israel – A Jewish state from the Jordanian boarder to the sea	17	10	11	8	47

## 4. Refugees (A)

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.

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Right of return AND compensation	87	5	3	2	3
2. Right of return without compensation	17	14	12	9	48
3. Refugees who do not wish to return to Israel should be offered compensation for their loss and a choice of resettlement in Palestine/a Palestinian state or another Arab country	31	18	14	11	24
4. The number of refugees returning to Israel should be limited to family members and numbers agreed between Israel and Palestine/the Palestinians	4	5	6	9	75
5. Return to Palestine/a Palestinian state within agreed borders					
6. An Israeli recognition of the suffering of the Palestinian refugees, while most refugees return to the West bank or Gaza and some return to Israel (1948)	40	13	11	12	23
7. The UN should close the refugee camps and resettle them with compensation outside of Israel	25	9	7	6	51
8. (ISRAELIS ONLY) Israeli Arabs should be transferred to Palestine/the West Bank and Gaza					

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Right of return AND compensation	10	1	5	6	77
2. Right of return without compensation	2	2	5	7	83
3. Refugees who do not wish to return to Israel should be offered compensation for their loss and a choice of resettlement in Palestine/a Palestinian state or another Arab country	9	8	21	10	51
4. The number of refugees returning to Israel should be limited to family members and numbers agreed between Israel and Palestine/the Palestinians	7	6	21	15	49
5. Return to Palestine/a Palestinian state within agreed borders	13	11	37	16	21
6. An Israeli recognition of the suffering of the Palestinian refugees, while most refugees return to the West bank or Gaza and some return to Israel (1948)	9	5	14	11	60
7. The UN should close the refugee camps and resettle them with compensation outside of Israel	20	19	33	12	14
8. (ISRAELIS ONLY) Israeli Arabs should be transferred to Palestine/the West Bank and Gaza	18	15	15	16	33

## 5. Security (A)

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

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Palestine should not have an army	3	1	2	2	91
(PALESTINIANS ONLY)					
2. Israel should be demilitarized	38	14	7	8	29
3. Palestine should have a strong police force	93	4	2	0	1
4. Palestine should have an army	93	4	1	0	1
5. On signing a peace agreement a force of international, regional and Arab states should replace the IDF in the Occupied Territories/West Bank for an agreed period	23	13	11	11	39
6. If no agreement is reached within two years this force will replace the IDF in the Occupied Territories/West Bank without further delay	24	12	16	14	31
7. If no agreement is reached under the supervision of this force Palestinians will take responsibility for all security on and inside their borders	43	14	11	8	22
8. The international force will ensure security on the Jordanian boarder	26	14	13	10	32
9. For an agreed period Israel will have access to the Jordanian boarder for reasons of security					
10. For an agreed period Israel will have observation posts in the Palestinian state for reasons of security	10	6	10	10	62
11. (ISRAELIS ONLY) The IDF should remain in the Occupied Territories/West Bank					

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Palestine should not have an army	31	16	17	7	26
2. (PALESTINIANS ONLY)					
3. Israel should be demilitarized					
4. Palestine should have a strong police force	27	18	27	7	19
5. Palestine should have an army	14	5	7	8	63
6. On signing a peace agreement a force of international, regional and Arab states should replace the IDF in the Occupied Territories/West Bank for an agreed period	16	12	25	13	32
7. If no agreement is reached within two years this force will replace the IDF in the Occupied Territories/West Bank without further delay	15	10	21	9	43
8. If no agreement is reached under the supervision of this force Palestinians will take responsibility for all security on and inside their borders	14	10	24	8	40
9. The international force will ensure security on the Jordanian boarder	10	8	26	17	36
10. For an agreed period Israel will have access to the Jordanian boarder for reasons of security	22	14	32	10	17
11. For an agreed period Israel will have observation posts in the Palestinian state for reasons of security	34	16	30	3	14
12. (ISRAELIS ONLY) The IDF should remain in the Occupied Territories/West Bank	25	10	12	8	43



## 6. Settlements (A)

With regards to the settlements please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. All the settlers should leave the occupied territories/West Bank and settlements demolished	98	2	0	0	0
2. Settlers can stay in Palestine/a future Palestine if they take up Palestinian citizenship	10	6	11	9	61
3. Settlers who stay in Palestine/a future Palestine should be allowed to choose Palestinian or Israeli citizenship	6	6	8	10	66
4. Abandoned settlements and infrastructure should be given to Palestinians	83	6	4	1	5
5. Dismantle most of the settlements, move settlers to large blocks and exchange land	16	10	9	9	54
6. All the settlements on the Israeli side of the security wall should be part of Israel					
7. (ISRAELIS ONLY) All the settlements should remain as they are					

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. All the settlers should leave the occupied territories/West Bank and settlements demolished	19	7	10	8	53
2. Settlers can stay in Palestine/a future Palestine if they take up Palestinian citizenship	5	4	13	6	69
3. Settlers who stay in Palestine/a future Palestine should be allowed to choose Palestinian or Israeli citizenship	4	5	22	9	58
4. Abandoned settlements and infrastructure should be given to Palestinians	10	6	14	10	58
5. Dismantle most of the settlements, move settlers to large blocks and exchange land	4	8	21	12	51
6. All the settlements on the Israeli side of the security wall should be part of Israel	37	12	33	3	12
7. (ISRAELIS ONLY) All the settlements should remain as they are	20	16	14	10	35

## 7. Borders (A)

With regards to the borders please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Israel should withdraw to the 67 boarder	78	8	3	4	6
2. Israel should withdraw to the 67 boarder with adjustment through agreement of equivalent exchange of land	38	11	9	9	30
3. Boarder established by the security wall	14	3	1	5	73

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Israel should withdraw to the 67 boarder	12	5	7	7	60
2. Israel should withdraw to the 67 boarder with adjustment through agreement of equivalent exchange of land	10	10	21	11	39
3. Boarder established by the security wall	8	13	24	13	35

## 8. West Bank-Gaza connection (A)

With regards to the West Bank-Gaza connection please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Corridor between Gaza and West bank on land given to Palestine under land exchange					
2. Tunnel connecting West bank and Gaza					
3. Bridge connecting West Bank and Gaza					

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Corridor between Gaza and West bank on land given to Palestine under land exchange	8	9	20	16	43
2. Tunnel connecting West bank and Gaza	9	5	13	13	57
3. Bridge connecting West Bank and Gaza	7	3	22	17	47

## 9. Water and natural resources (A)

With regards to water and natural resources please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Division of water between Israel and Palestine according to an agreement	46	13	7	8	24
2. Find a regional solution for water	84	10	2	1	2
3. Palestinians should have control of their energy, minerals and air space	96	2	1	0	1

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Division of water between Israel and Palestine according to an agreement	21	11	25	12	28
2. Find a regional solution for water	45	15	22	10	5
3. Palestinians should have control of their energy, minerals and air space	18	8	26	12	35

## 10. Jerusalem (A)

With regards to Jerusalem please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) All of Jerusalem should remain in Palestine	91	4	2	0	3
2. Jerusalem should be an 'International City of Peace' under the authority of the UN	8	4	7	11	69
3. Jerusalem should be an 'International City of Peace' under the authority of a Multi-faith Municipal Covenant	11	8	13	16	50
4. Divide the city according to Palestinian and Israeli neighbourhoods	8	7	9	13	61
5. Arab neighbourhoods should be the capitol of Palestine/a future Palestine and Israeli neighbourhoods should be the capitol of Israel					
6. Jerusalem should be divided into East and West along the pre 67 boarder	16	8	9	14	50
7. Jewish parts of the Old City should be under Israeli control and Muslim and Christian parts under Palestinian control					
Jewish parts of the Old City should be under Israeli control	4	7	3	10	76
Non-Jewish parts of the Old City should be under Palestinian control	63	11	5	6	14
8. The Old City should be under joint control	10	4	8	17	59
9. The Old City should be under international control	7	4	7	9	71
10. Arab Jerusalem will be connected to all of the Palestinian/future Palestinian state	89	5	3	1	2
11. If everything is agreed except for Jerusalem Palestinians should proceed with the agreement	8	4	4	4	78
12. As the last step to a final agreement give the Arab neighbourhoods of Jerusalem to Palestine					
13. (ISRAELIS ONLY) All of Jerusalem should remain in Israel					

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) All of Jerusalem should remain in Palestine					
2. Jerusalem should be an 'International City of Peace' under the authority of the UN	5	4	7	6	78
3. Jerusalem should be an 'International City of Peace' under the authority of a Multi-faith Municipal Covenant	6	3	18	11	61
4. Divide the city according to Palestinian and Israeli neighbourhoods	9	6	13	15	55
5. Arab neighbourhoods should be the capitol of Palestine/a future Palestine and Israeli neighbourhoods should be the capitol of Israel	7	5	18	15	54
6. Jerusalem should be divided into East and West along the pre 67 boarder	3	2	8	5	77
7. Jewish parts of the Old City should be under Israeli control and Muslim and Christian parts under Palestinian control	5	4	10	12	67
Jewish parts of the Old City should be under Israeli control					
Non-Jewish parts of the Old City should be under Palestinian control					
8. The Old City should be under joint control	3	3	11	11	69
9. The Old City should be under international control	2	3	14	7	72
10. Arab Jerusalem will be connected to all of the Palestinian/future Palestinian state	13	4	17	12	50
11. If everything is agreed except for Jerusalem Palestinians should proceed with the agreement	19	16	25	12	20
12. As the last step to a final agreement give the Arab neighbourhoods of Jerusalem to Palestine	8	7	17	12	50
13. (ISRAELIS ONLY) All of Jerusalem should remain in Israel	45	11	13	5	25

## 11. Holy Sites (A)

With regards to Holy sites please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) East Jerusalem, including Holy sites, under Palestinian sovereignty	92	4	2	1	1
2. The Wailing Wall will be under Israeli sovereignty, Christian and Muslim Holy site, including the Temple Mount, will be under Palestinian sovereignty	13	6	11	15	53
3. Free access for everyone to the Holy sites. No side will have sovereignty on the Holy sites. Israel will be 'guardian' of the Wailing Wall and the Palestinian State 'guardian' of the Islamic Holy sites. The status quo of Christian Holy sites will remain.	19	7	13	13	46
4. Neutral body, e.g. the UN will be the guardian of all the holy sites	5	4	8	12	69
5. (ISRAELIS ONLY) East Jerusalem, including Holy sites, under Israeli sovereignty					

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) East Jerusalem, including Holy sites, under Palestinian sovereignty					
2. The Wailing Wall will be under Israeli sovereignty, Christian and Muslim Holy site, including the Temple Mount, will be under Palestinian sovereignty	6	5	13	7	68
3. Free access for everyone to the Holy sites. No side will have sovereignty on the Holy sites. Israel will be 'guardian' of the Wailing Wall and the Palestinian State 'guardian' of the Islamic Holy sites. The status quo of Christian Holy sites will remain.	7	8	21	16	46
4. Neutral body, e.g. the UN will be the guardian of all the holy sites	6	3	8	10	73
5. (ISRAELIS ONLY) East Jerusalem, including Holy sites, under Israeli sovereignty	36	10	17	8	28

## 12. Implementation (A)

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'.

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. The peace agreement will be subject to a referendum by the people of Israel/Palestine	92	4	2	1	1
2. Each party will mutually recognize the state of Israel and the state of Palestine	56	7	10	10	17
3. All political prisoners shall be released	98	1	0	0	0
4. The peace agreement will be the end of conflict between both parties	64	8	7	7	10
5. An international body acceptable to both parties will be established to monitor and enforce the full implementation of the agreement	64	15	10	6	4

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. The peace agreement will be subject to a referendum by the people of Israel/Palestine	37	21	25	3	11
2. Each party will mutually recognize the state of Israel and the state of Palestine	43	16	21	6	12
3. All political prisoners shall be released	16	7	14	11	45
4. The peace agreement will be the end of conflict between both parties	43	20	17	4	13
5. An international body acceptable to both parties will be established to monitor and enforce the full implementation of the agreement	39	18	23	7	12

## **OneVoice Palestine and OneVoice Israel**

### **(B)**

Good morning/afternoon/evening my name is \_\_\_\_\_ from \_\_\_\_\_. At this time of so much change in the world we are conducting a survey of public opinion to find out what the people of both Israel and Palestine believe needs to be done in a new effort to bring peace and stability to the region and to the possibility of reaching a peace agreement. We want to give your community an opportunity to express their view on all the suggestions that are being made from suggestions in favour of the Palestinian side to suggestions in favour of the Israeli side.

**The Research** is being carried out by OneVoice Israel and OneVoice Palestine.

**The Survey** involves interviewing a representative sample from both Palestine/the West Bank and Gaza and Israel.

**Your opinion** is important to us. We want to give your community an opportunity to express their views on all the suggestions that are being made for their future so please do try and answer all the questions that are asked.

**The Results** will be made available for public access on the Internet, in the local newspapers and in reports that will be given to all the political parties and stakeholders in Israel and Palestine/the West Bank and Gaza.

**All your answers will be kept completely confidential.**

**OneVoice** is an international mainstream grassroots movement that aims to amplify the voice of the overwhelming majority of moderates who wish to end the Israeli – Palestinian conflict.

### **The Problems (B)**

People from different communities often hold very different views about the problems at the centre of a conflict. Here is a list of some of the problems given to our research teams in Palestine/the West Bank and Gaza and Israel.



## 1. Problems in the peace process (B)

With regards to the peace process which problems do you consider to be 'Very significant', 'Significant', 'Of some significance', 'Of little significance' or 'Not at all' in order to achieve a peace agreement.

Palestine per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Not At All
1. The two sides will never reach an agreement without active intervention of other outside parties	57	16	9	7	9
2. Agreements not implemented for lack of trust between Palestinians and Israelis	64	16	8	3	7
3. The substandard living conditions of the people in Gaza	88	7	1	1	2
4. Unbalanced conflict for Palestine with Israel having more power	74	15	4	3	4
5. Unbalanced conflict for Israel with regional Arab and Islamic countries					
Unbalanced conflict for the Arabs against Israel	45	12	8	6	25
6. The freedom of Palestinians from occupation/Israeli rule	94	4	1	0	1
7. The Independence of the Palestinian economy	87	8	1	2	2
8. Lack of health care services in Israel/Palestine	67	16	11	2	3
9. Lack of employment opportunities in Palestine/the West Bank and Gaza	84	9	3	2	1
10. The attitude of the Settlers towards Palestinians	76	9	6	2	6
11. Evacuation of settlers leading to civil war					
12. Israelis believe the State of Palestine will become a terrorist state	42	12	9	7	27
13. No vision of a shared future	46	18	10	7	13
14. Failure to moderate public opinion					
15. Incitement to hatred	50	15	11	8	13
16. Maintaining a Jewish majority in Israel	59	12	7	7	13
17. Israel can not have security without peace	64	14	6	3	11
18. Occupation/Israeli rule has reinforced the conflict	64	14	6	3	11
19. Terror has reinforced the conflict	61	14	6	4	13
20. The settlements	89	7	1	1	2
21. The security wall	88	8	1	1	2
22. Discrimination against the 1948 Palestinians/Arab minority in Israel	70	17	7	3	3
23. Anti-Israeli attitude amongst Palestinians	47	18	11	6	15
24. Anti-Palestinian attitude amongst Israelis	58	18	9	4	10
25. The problem has become global					
The Palestinian cause became dependent on regional and international powers	67	15	7	5	6

26. The global financial crisis	53	10	10	8	17
27. The global environmental crisis					

Israel per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Not At All
1. The two sides will never reach an agreement without active intervention of other outside parties	38	28	8	7	17
2. Agreements not implemented for lack of trust between Palestinians and Israelis	48	27	8	2	13
3. The substandard living conditions of the people in Gaza	29	24	11	8	26
4. Unbalanced conflict for Palestine with Israel having more power	22	17	6	11	41
5. Unbalanced conflict for Israel with regional Arab and Islamic countries					
6. The freedom of Palestinians from occupation/Israeli rule	30	22	12	9	25
7. The Independence of the Palestinian economy	28	30	11	8	23
8. Lack of health care services in Israel/Palestine	27	26	10	7	27
9. Lack of employment opportunities in Palestine/the West Bank and Gaza	31	25	9	6	25
10. The attitude of the Settlers towards Palestinians	28	21	11	9	29
11. Evacuation of settlers leading to civil war	25	19	13	9	30
12. Israelis believe the State of Palestine will become a terrorist state	38	28	9	5	18
13. No vision of a shared future	38	24	9	7	19
14. Failure to moderate public opinion	23	26	17	7	21
15. Incitement to hatred	52	27	8	2	8
16. Maintaining a Jewish majority in Israel	62	20	5	2	10
17. Israel can not have security without peace	46	20	7	7	16
18. Occupation/Israeli rule has reinforced the conflict	32	22	9	8	25
19. Terror has reinforced the conflict	65	24	4	3	4
20. The settlements	31	27	9	10	21
21. The security wall	25	26	9	15	22
22. Discrimination against the 1948 Palestinians/Arab minority in Israel	19	19	11	11	35
23. Anti-Israeli attitude amongst Palestinians	44	27	9	6	12
24. Anti-Palestinian attitude amongst Israelis	24	28	14	8	22
25. The problem has become global	42	26	10	6	14
26. The global financial crisis	31	14	10	12	30
27. The global environmental crisis	21	15	5	14	42

## 2. Lack of progress and responsibility (B)

With regards to responsibility for the lack of progress in the peace process please indicate who's role you consider to be 'Very significant', 'Significant', 'Of some significance', 'Of little significance' or 'Not at all'.

Palastine per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Not At All
1. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) The lack of progress in the peace process led to Palestinian division	73	6	5	4	10
2. (ISRAELIS ONLY) Palestinians divided by Hamas and Fattah					
3. Israeli society is moving to the right	65	13	5	6	8
4. Palestinians have no accountable single partner for peace					
5. Israel is not ready to make peace	85	9	2	2	2
6. Weak Israeli government	34	16	9	7	28
7. Weak Palestinian government	62	16	5	4	10
8. Israel's refusal to accept 67 borders	79	10	4	1	3
9. Israel's refusal to directly negotiate with Hamas	71	9	5	2	11
10. Israel evacuated Gaza without making a peace agreement					
11. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) Israel uses resistance (launching of rocket attacks) from Gaza as an excuse not to make peace	64	15	6	4	10
12. Israel left Lebanon without making a peace agreement					
Israel does not understand the effects of occupation on the peace process.	64	18	7	2	7
13. The failure of the international community to take account of the asymmetry of the conflict between Israel and Palestine					
Palestinians do not understand the security threat to Israel	35	13	13	9	27
Israeli society is divided	44	15	10	9	17
14. The failure of the international community to address the security of Israel in the Middle East	69	14	8	3	5
15. Israeli occupation is changing a political war into a religious war	54	15	9	4	13
16. Islamic extremists are changing a political war into a religious war	43	12	12	6	21
17. Jewish extremists are changing a political war into a religious war	58	13	9	6	11
18. Influence of military in Israeli politics	62	13	8	4	9
19. Arming of Palestinian militants	26	10	7	9	45
20. Arming of settlers	71	11	4	4	9
21. Arab states divided on the future of Palestine	71	13	7	5	4
22. UN failure to implement resolutions	80	7	6	4	3

23. The Quartet (US, EU, UN and Russia) is ineffective in promoting the peace process	71	14	7	3	3
24. Lack of US resolve to establishing a Palestinian state	82	10	3	2	1

**For Israelis, the order of phrases 15-16 will be reversed.**

Israel per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Not At All
1. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) The lack of progress in the peace process led to Palestinian division					
2. (ISRAELIS ONLY) Palestinians divided by Hamas and Fattah	43	24	12	5	15
3. Israeli society is moving to the right	25	24	14	11	25
4. Palestinians have no accountable single partner for peace	48	26	9	4	12
5. Israel is not ready to make peace	14	19	10	10	41
6. Weak Israeli government	36	21	14	9	17
7. Weak Palestinian government	52	18	9	6	13
8. Israel's refusal to accept 67 borders	33	19	13	7	23
9. Israel's refusal to directly negotiate with Hamas	27	19	12	8	31
10. Israel evacuated Gaza without making a peace agreement	38	22	9	6	23
11. (PALESTINIANS ONLY) Israel use resistance from Gaza as an excuse not to make peace					
12. Israel left Lebanon without making a peace agreement	34	21	9	6	28
13. The failure of the international community to take account of the asymmetry of the conflict between Israel and Palestine	35	26	12	7	16
14. The failure of the international community to address the security of Israel in the Middle East	29	26	13	8	19
15. Israeli occupation is changing a political war into a religious war	17	20	10	9	39
16. Islamic extremists are changing a political war into a religious war	52	21	9	7	10
17. Jewish extremists are changing a political war into a religious war	23	21	9	12	31
18. Influence of military in Israeli politics	17	18	11	11	40
19. Arming of Palestinian militants	49	21	9	6	14
20. Arming of settlers	23	21	9	9	36
21. Arab states divided on the future of Palestine	37	27	14	7	13
22. UN failure to implement resolutions	38	25	11	6	17
23. The Quartet (US, EU, UN and Russia) is ineffective in promoting the peace process	31	26	15	9	18
24. Lack of US resolve to establishing a Palestinian state	21	24	16	9	27

**For Israelis, the order of phrases 15-16 will be reversed.**

## **Choosing your options for peace and stability in the region**

Most of the remainder of this questionnaire will present you with various options on what could be done to improve the prospects for peace and stability in the region. For each option you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' and for the purposes of this poll 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' mean:

***'Essential'** – You believe this option is a necessary part of a secure, stable and better future for the region and should be fully implemented.*

***'Desirable'** – This option is not what you would consider to be 'Essential', but you think this option, or something very similar to it, is a good idea and should be put into practice.*

***'Acceptable'** – This option is not what you would consider to be 'Desirable', if you were given a choice, but you could certainly 'live with it'.*

***'Tolerable'** – This option is not what you want. But, as part of a secure, stable and better future, you would be willing to put up with it.*

***'Unacceptable'** – This option is totally unacceptable under any circumstances. You would not accept it, even as part of a secure, stable and better future for the region.*

You may use each of the terms 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' as many times as you wish in each question.

### 3. Rebuilding confidence in the peace process (B)

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'.

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. The new US Administration should place a high priority on Middle East peace	81	10	3	2	3
2. The EU should establish their own policies for the Middle East	73	14	5	2	4
3. EU and US should work with Egypt to end conflict between Hamas and Fatah	65	15	6	5	9
4. The UN should make recommendations for the resolution of the conflict	80	10	3	3	3
5. The UN should hold Israel and Palestine accountable and impose sanctions for all violations of international law	83	8	3	3	2
6. Release Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli prisons	96	2	0	1	0
7. Release Gilad Shalit	30	12	9	15	32
8. Palestinians and Israelis should explain themselves to each other					
Palestinians should explain themselves to the Israelis	39	13	12	6	29
9. Palestinians should declare a unilateral stop of attacks against Israeli targets to put pressure on Israel					
10. Lift the siege of Gaza	96	3	1	0	1
11. Stop firing rockets from Gaza	40	12	11	12	23
12. Israel should freeze settlements as a first step to deal with the settlements	94	4	1	1	1
13. Remove all check points	97	2	1	0	0
14. Stop all suicide/attacks against civilians	37	13	13	10	24
15. Israel should demolish the wall	93	3	1	1	2
16. The wall can be built on the 67 boarder					
17. The Arab League should explain the Arab Peace Initiative to Israelis	49	17	13	7	12
18. Hamas should recognise Israel if Israel withdraws from the Occupied Territories/West Bank and Gaza	26	10	10	10	39
19. Civil society should get more involved in the peace process	58	16	11	6	6
20. Resist occupation/Israeli rule through civil disobedience to achieve peace	40	14	12	8	24
21. Resist occupation/Israeli rule through violence to achieve peace	54	15	10	6	12
22. Achieve peace through negotiation	57	14	10	9	8
23. If there is no agreement have an internationally supervised truce for 5 years	41	17	12	10	17



Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. The new US Administration should place a high priority on Middle East peace	42	17	18	11	11
2. The EU should establish their own policies for the Middle East	27	19	16	10	26
3. EU and US should work with Egypt to end conflict between Hamas and Fatah	36	19	16	9	17
4. The UN should make recommendations for the resolution of the conflict	19	20	20	8	30
5. The UN should hold Israel and Palestine accountable and impose sanctions for all violations of international law	31	11	15	6	36
6. Release Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli prisons	24	9	9	9	47
7. Release Gilad Shalit	75	10	5	3	6
8. Palestinians and Israelis should explain themselves to each other	46	23	15	5	8
9. Palestinians should declare a unilateral stop of attacks against Israeli targets to put pressure on Israel	36	21	17	5	18
10. Lift the siege of Gaza	24	9	11	6	48
11. Stop firing rockets from Gaza	81	6	6	3	4
12. Israel should freeze settlements as a first step to deal with the settlements	41	15	13	4	23
13. Remove all check points	18	8	8	7	57
14. Stop all suicide/attacks against civilians	82	8	6	2	2
15. Israel should demolish the wall	19	4	7	11	56
16. The wall can be built on the 67 boarder	12	8	12	10	50
17. The Arab League should explain the Arab Peace Initiative to Israelis	21	17	19	12	25
18. Hamas should recognise Israel if Israel withdraws from the Occupied Territories/West Bank and Gaza	23	8	11	10	44
19. Civil society should get more involved in the peace process	36	22	16	10	14
20. Resist occupation/Israeli rule through civil disobedience to achieve peace	21	9	13	10	41
21. Resist occupation/Israeli rule through violence to achieve peace	8	3	8	4	76
22. Achieve peace through negotiation	65	14	13	2	5
23. If there is no agreement have an internationally supervised truce for 5 years	25	22	24	11	17

## 4. Negotiations (B)

With regards to negotiations please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Address the roots of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians as an integral part of the negotiations	91	6	2	0	0
2. Negotiators should recognize each others just aspiration	73	13	6	4	5
3. Targets, timetables and milestones should be set for negotiations	79	12	6	1	2
4. The people should be kept informed of progress in the negotiations	87	7	4	1	1
5. Civil society should play a role in negotiations					
6. Women's groups should be involved at all levels in negotiations					
7. Representatives of political prisoners in Israeli prisons should be involved in the negotiations					
8. Israel should allow the Palestinian prisoners to answer this questionnaire					
9. The Arab Peace Initiative should be the bases for negotiations	57	12	12	6	8
10. The Quartet's Road Map should be the basis for negotiations	30	14	16	12	24
11. Saudi Arabia should take a leading role	48	16	13	9	13
12. Palestine and Israel should consult with Arab states on matters of mutual interest					
13. Multilateral negotiations should include Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and the Arab League	51	18	16	7	7
14. The US should negotiate with all Palestinians including Hamas	67	10	9	4	7
15. Israel should agree to include Hamas in negotiations if they guarantee not to endanger Israel's security within the 1967 borders (without formally recognizing Israel as a Jewish state)					
16. Negotiations should be hosted in a neutral country					
17. Fatah and Hamas should reconcile their differences before negotiations	93	5	1	1	1
18. The PLO/ Fatah and Israel should negotiate in secret	11	5	3	5	73
19. Bring the Israeli pro-peace parties into the negotiations	56	16	11	5	9

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Address the roots of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians as an integral part of the negotiations	37	14	20	10	12
2. Negotiators should recognize each others just aspiration	49	17	21	4	7
3. Targets, timetables and milestones should be set for negotiations	51	17	21	3	7
4. The people should be kept informed of progress in the negotiations	50	24	15	5	5
5. Civil society should play a role in negotiations	34	20	20	9	16
6. Women's groups should be involved at all levels in negotiations	24	17	21	7	29
7. Representatives of political prisoners in Israeli prisons should be involved in the negotiations	14	6	15	8	55
8. Israel should allow the Palestinian prisoners to answer this questionnaire	17	9	25	13	35
9. The Arab Peace Initiative should be the bases for negotiations	16	11	17	7	41
10. The Quartet's Road Map should be the basis for negotiations	14	13	21	15	30
11. Saudi Arabia should take a leading role	6	6	14	13	56
12. Palestine and Israel should consult with Arab states on matters of mutual interest	12	13	23	12	39
13. Multilateral negotiations should include Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and the Arab League	17	15	23	7	35
14. The US should negotiate with all Palestinians including Hamas	18	13	20	11	37
15. Israel should agree to include Hamas in negotiations if they guarantee not to endanger Israel's security within the 1967 borders (without formally recognizing Israel as a Jewish state)	15	10	13	8	52
16. Negotiations should be hosted in a neutral country	19	18	36	11	15
17. Fatah and Hamas should reconcile their differences before negotiations	34	24	16	6	16
18. The PLO/ Fatah and Israel should negotiate in secret	6	8	18	13	52
19. Bring the Israeli pro-peace parties into the negotiations	23	19	27	8	22

## 5. Economic development (B)

With regards to economic development please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Ease security measures in the Occupied Territories/West Bank and Gaza so that the economy can develop	89	8	2	1	1
2. Develop the Palestinian economy to help achieve peace					
3. Achieve a peace agreement so that the Palestinian economy can develop	88	7	2	1	1
4. Work on the peace process and economy together	80	12	4	2	1
5. Develop the economy for all Palestinians in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza'	90	6	4	0	0
6. Develop the economies of Jordan, Palestine and Israel together	39	22	18	7	12
7. Cooperate on environmental issues	60	19	12	4	4
8. Israel and Palestinian economic cooperation should be limited to trade and investment	20	13	15	10	37
9. Israel and Palestinian economic cooperation should include the job market	71	14	7	3	4
10. Eliminate all forms of discrimination in Israel and Palestine					
11. Agreements on water and economic development should be signed without delay					
12. Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries should develop their common interests	56	16	10	7	10
13. Allow all Palestinians free access between Gaza, Jerusalem and the West Bank					
14. Establish a permanent corridor between Gaza and the West Bank	92	6	2	0	1
15. Provide Palestinians with access to the ports of Haifa and Ashdod	78	13	3	1	4
16. Open an airport in Palestine	93	5	2	0	0
17. Open boarder crossings between Gaza and Egypt	90	5	3	0	2
18. Open boarder crossings between Palestine and Israel	86	9	2	1	2
19. Remove check points	97	3	0	0	0

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Ease security measures in the Occupied Territories/West Bank and Gaza so that the economy can develop	24	17	22	13	22
2. Develop the Palestinian economy to help achieve peace	29	17	27	9	17
3. Achieve a peace agreement so that the Palestinian economy can develop	26	19	25	10	17
4. Work on the peace process and economy together	28	25	26	8	11
5. Develop the economy for all Palestinians in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza'	24	19	20	10	23
6. Develop the economies of Jordan, Palestine and Israel together	17	16	22	11	27
7. Cooperate on environmental issues	32	22	28	9	8
8. Israel and Palestinian economic cooperation should be limited to trade and investment	9	9	33	17	28
9. Israel and Palestinian economic cooperation should include the job market	13	10	26	13	36
10. Eliminate all forms of discrimination in Israel and Palestine	29	14	18	13	19
11. Agreements on water and economic development should be signed without delay	30	26	17	10	15
12. Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries should develop their common interests	26	23	30	9	9
13. Allow all Palestinians free access between Gaza, Jerusalem and the West Bank	14	6	13	8	57
14. Establish a permanent corridor between Gaza and the West Bank	18	8	17	13	40
15. Provide Palestinians with access to the ports of Haifa and Ashdod	6	6	13	10	64
16. Open an airport in Palestine	11	4	20	20	42
17. Open boarder crossings between Gaza and Egypt	20	9	11	9	46
18. Open boarder crossings between Palestine and Israel					
19. Remove check points	16	5	9	7	61

## 6. Reconciliation (B)

With regards to reconciliation please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Palestine per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Reach an understanding on all core issues and start implementation under international supervision without delay	83	9	2	1	4
2. A peace agreement must lead to living side by side as good neighbours	58	20	9	6	5
3. Both sides should publicly take responsibility for the harm they have done to the other					
4. Prohibit all forms of incitement to hatred					
5. Both sides should use all possible means to build confidence and trust between the two communities	64	16	10	4	5
6. Teach Spoken Arabic in Israeli schools	42	16	17	7	17
7. Teach Hebrew in Palestinian schools	60	14	11	4	10
8. Establish two completely separate states without any interaction	26	13	12	9	37

Israel per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Reach an understanding on all core issues and start implementation under international supervision without delay	33	25	15	7	17
2. A peace agreement must lead to living side by side as good neighbours	52	21	16	4	6
3. Both sides should publicly take responsibility for the harm they have done to the other	36	15	21	9	17
4. Prohibit all forms of incitement to hatred	64	17	12	1	4
5. Both sides should use all possible means to build confidence and trust between the two communities	59	20	15	2	3
6. Teach Spoken Arabic in Israeli schools	27	20	20	13	19
7. Teach Hebrew in Palestinian schools	26	23	20	11	18
8. Establish two completely separate states without any interaction	17	14	18	14	35