



New Polls on Israeli Public Opinion

December 2012

1. [Machon Dahaf: "Positions of the Israeli Public Regarding a Possible Peace Agreement"](#)
2. [Smith Consulting: "Public Poll Findings on Peace with the Palestinians"](#)



Positions of the Israeli Public Regarding a Possible Peace Agreement

(Findings of a third poll in a series)

December 2012, poll number 3129

Main Findings

A poll that was conducted on behalf of the Jerusalem Center in the week following the conclusion of the “Pillar of Defense” operation found that only a minority (between a quarter and a third) of the Israeli public trusts the ability of reaching a peace agreement. A significant part of such lack of faith stems from the disbelief that the Palestinians will uphold the conditions of peace and especially those elements dealing with security.

Two polls that we have previously conducted for the S. Daniel Abraham Center for Middle East Peace found that when Israelis are presented with a peace plan that fortifies security elements, a significant majority (about two-thirds) of Israelis say they would support such an agreement if it was brought to a referendum. It is therefore important to understand the positions of the Israeli public following the recent developments in the Arab states and following the “Pillar of Defense” operation. The current poll is the third in a series¹ of polls aimed at examining the following among the Israeli public:

- A. The level of support for a peace agreement if one were reached between Israel and the Palestinians, based on the following principles:
 - Two states: Israel the state of the Jewish people and Palestine the state of the Palestinian people.
 - Palestinian refugees will have a right to return only to the new state of Palestine.
 - The Palestinian state will be demilitarized, without an army.
 - Borders will be based on the 1967 lines and will include land swaps equal in size that will take into consideration Israel's security needs and will maintain the large settlement blocs under Israeli sovereignty.
 - Jewish neighborhoods of Jerusalem will come under Israeli sovereignty and Arab neighborhoods under Palestinian sovereignty.
 - The Old City within the walls will be without sovereignty and will be jointly administered by the United States, Israel and the Palestinians. The Holy Places will be under the same religious supervision as current arrangements (for example, the Kotel will be under Israeli supervision and responsibility).
- B. The level of support for the above-mentioned agreement if a number of additional favorable (from an Israeli viewpoint) elements would be added to it.
- C. What are the main reasons that drive opposition to an agreement?
- D. Changes, if such occurred, during 2011 in the willingness of the public to support an agreement and the price embedded in it.

The poll's findings are based on the responses of a representative sample of Israel's adult population among 500 people. Prior to being asked about the level of support/opposition for the above-mentioned peace agreement, respondents were asked to commit to review all the questions before proceeding to the main question.

Following are the main findings:

Level of support of a peace agreement – a basic model agreement that includes the six elements mentioned above, and an advanced model agreement with added elements. Data without parenthesis show findings of the current poll; (data in regular parenthesis show findings from 2011); [data in square parenthesis show findings from 2010]

	Basic Agreement			Basic Agreement with Additional Elements		
	Entire Sample	Jews	Arabs	Entire Sample	Jews	Arabs
Support	67 (67) [67]	65 (65) [63]	82 (74) [85]	75 (80) [84]	73 (78) [82]	85 (74) [85]
Oppose	21 (28) [29]	22 (29) [32]	13 (24) [15]	13 (15) [15]	14 (16) [17]	10 (24) [15]
Won't participate	5	6	2	5	6	2
Did not answer	7 (5) [4]	7 (6) [5]	3 (2) [--]	7 (5) [1]	7 (6) [5]	3 (2) [--]
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

¹ The first poll was conducted in January 2010. The second poll was conducted in January 2011.

The findings present a stable support for an agreement among the sample in the three periods in which the polls were conducted. The Arab sector showed decline of support in 2011 and a bounce back to 2010 levels in the current poll.

Following are the findings regarding the level of support of the various added elements: Data without parenthesis show findings of the current poll; (data in regular parenthesis show findings from 2011); [data in square parenthesis show findings from 2010]

	Entire Sample	Jews	Arabs
Basic Agreement (6 principles)	67 (67) [67]	65 (65) [63]	82 (74) [85]
The United States would guarantee Israel's security as a Jewish state	70 (69) [73]	68 (68) [70]	82 (74) [85]
In addition, a strong security fence will be built along the border	71 (73) [77]	69 (72) [74]	85 (81) [91]
In addition, the implementation of the agreement were conditioned on the disarming of Hamas	74 (76) [82]	73 (75) [79]	85 (88) [100]
In addition, the United States signed a mutual defense treaty with Israel under which – if needed – the United States would commit to defend Israel if attacked	74 (78) [83]	74 (77) [81]	85 (88) [100]
In addition, the Arab League will endorse the Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement and the Arab countries would commit to normalize relations with Israel	75 (79) [84]	74 (78) [82]	85 (88) [100]

These findings demonstrate the following:

- A. 41% of those who opposed the basic agreement as presented in the first question removed their opposition after being presented with some or all of the additional elements, making up 8.4% of the sample. Thus, the percentage of those who pledge support for the basic agreement with the additional elements reaches 75% (67% support for the basic agreement with an added 8% support after the additional elements were presented).
- B. The marginal gain of each additional element is as follows:
 - The United States would guarantee Israel's security as a Jewish state – 2.7%
 - In addition, a strong security fence will be built along the border – 1.4%
 - In addition, the implementation of the agreement were conditioned on the disarming of Hamas – 3.3%
 - In addition, the United States signed a mutual defense treaty with Israel under which – if needed – the United States would commit to defend Israel if attacked – 0.4%
 - In addition, the Arab League will endorse the Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement and the Arab countries would commit to normalize relations with Israel – 0.8%
- C. In the Arab sector, the marginal gain summed up at 3%, but the additional elements did not lower support of an agreement.

Goal and Methodology

1. Goal

A poll that was conducted on behalf of the Jerusalem Center in the week following the conclusion of the “Pillar of Defense” operation found that only a minority (between a quarter and a third) of the Israeli public trusts the ability of reaching a peace agreement. A significant part of such lack of faith stems from the disbelief that the Palestinians will uphold the conditions of peace and especially those elements dealing with security.

Two polls that we have previously conducted for the S. Daniel Abraham Center for Middle East Peace found that when Israelis are presented with a peace plan that fortifies security elements, a significant majority (about two-thirds) of Israelis say they would support such an agreement if it was brought to a referendum. It is therefore important to understand the positions of the Israeli public following the recent developments in the Arab states and following the “Pillar of Defense” operation.

The current poll is the third in a series² of polls aimed at examining the following among the Israeli public:

- A. The level of support for a peace agreement if one were reached between Israel and the Palestinians, based on the following principles”
- Two states: Israel the state of the Jewish people and Palestine the state of the Palestinian people.
 - Palestinian refugees will have a right to return only to the new state of Palestine.
 - The Palestinian state will be demilitarized, without an army.
 - Borders will be based on the 1967 lines and will include land swaps equal in size that will take into consideration Israel's security needs and will maintain the large settlement blocs under Israeli sovereignty.
 - Jewish neighborhoods of Jerusalem will come under Israeli sovereignty and Arab neighborhoods under Palestinian sovereignty.
 - The Old City within the walls will be without sovereignty and will be jointly administered by the United States, Israel and the Palestinians. The Holy Places will be under the same religious supervision as current arrangements (for example, the Kotel will be under Israeli supervision and responsibility).
- B. The level of support for the above-mentioned agreement if a number of additional favorable (from an Israeli viewpoint) elements would be added to it.
- C. What are the main reasons that drive opposition to an agreement?
- D. Changes, if such occurred, during 2011 in the willingness of the public to support an agreement and the price embedded in it.

2. Methodology

A. Study Population and Interviewees

The population of the study was defined as “Israel's entire adult population.” The study interviewed a representative sample of 500 people. The sample was extracted by use of a layering system, with the following criteria: population's sector (immigrants from the former Soviet Union of 1990s and later, Haredi, settlers, Kibbutz members, other Jews, and Arabs) and place of residence (geographic area and type of locality according the criteria put forth by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics).

Data was collected via telephone interviews conducted during the first third of December 2012.

² The first poll was conducted in January 2010. The second poll was conducted in January 2011.

B. Data Analysis

Various manipulations were conducted to correct sample discrepancies according to respondents' reporting of their vote in the 2009 Knesset elections.

Data analysis was conducted on the entire sample, both according the voting patterns in the 2009 elections and according to the sector: total Jews, recent immigrants (1990s and later, henceforth termed 'Olim'), other Jews (henceforth termed 'Veterans'), and Arabs.

Findings

1. Positions toward a peace agreement if one were reached between Israel and the Palestinians

Interviewees were asked the following question:

If the government of Israel brought to a referendum a peace agreement that would end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and whose implementation would take place only after the Palestinians would fulfill all their commitments with an emphasis on fighting terror, and the implementation would be monitored and verified by the United States, will you support or oppose an agreement based on the following principles:

- *Two states: Israel the state of the Jewish people and Palestine the state of the Palestinian people.*
- *Palestinian refugees will have a right to return only to the new state of Palestine.*
- *The Palestinian state will be demilitarized, without an army.*
- *Borders will be based on the 1967 lines and will include land swaps equal in size that will take into consideration Israel's security needs and will maintain the large settlement blocks under Israeli sovereignty.*
- *Jewish neighborhoods of Jerusalem will come under Israeli sovereignty and Arab neighborhoods under Palestinian sovereignty.*
- *The Old City within the walls will be without sovereignty and will be jointly administered by the United States, Israel and the Palestinians. The Holy Places will be under the same religious supervision as current arrangements (for example, the Kotel will be under Israeli supervision and responsibility).*

To make sure that interviewees understood the principles, a question was presented in regard to each of them separately: "does this principle strengthen, reduce or leave unchanged your support of a peace agreement?"

Only then, interviewees were asked: "If the government of Israel brought to a referendum such a peace agreement would you vote for or against it?"

Table 1 presents the responses.

Table 1 – position of the general public regarding a peace agreement.

Data without parenthesis show findings of the current poll; (data in regular parenthesis show findings from 2011); [data in square parenthesis show findings from 2010]

A – Entire sample according to population sector

	Entire Sample	Jews (Total)	Veterans	Olim	Arabs
Support	67 (67) [67]	65 (65) [63]	67 (65) [65]	57 (66) [50]	82 (74) [85]
Oppose	21 (28) [29]	22 (29) [32]	22 (28) [32]	22 (33) [34]	13 (24) [15]
Won't participate	5	6	5	10	2
Did not answer	7 (5) [4]	7 (6) [5]	6 (7) [3]	11 (1) [16]	3 (2) [--]
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

B – Entire sample according to party vote if elections were conducted during the interview³

	Likud- Beitenu	Labor	Movement The (Livni)	Yesh Atid (Lapid)	Shas	Meretz	Jewish Home (Bennet)	Eretz Israel Ours	United Torah Judaism	Arab parties	Undecided
Support	57	92	92	88	44	77	53	25	42	44	73
Oppose	25	2	5	12	41	8	43	75	29	17	17
Won't participate	7								5	11	
Did not answer	11	6	3		15	15	4		24	28	10
Total	100 %	100 %	100%	100%	10 0%	100 %	100%	100 %	100%	100 %	100 %

Table 1 A and B demonstrates the following:

- A. The sample shows majority support of a peace package. 67 percent (65 percent of Jews and 82 percent of Arabs) say that they would support such a plan if it were brought to a referendum.
- B. There is indication that among supporters of rightist parties, a small majority supporting an agreement exists.
- C. A comparative analysis between the current poll and the previous one shows that as far as the entire sample is concerned, there has not been a significant change in support for the agreement.

2. What can motivate opposition to an agreement to support it?

In the Jewish sector, those who opposed the agreement were asked the following series of questions (partly or fully):

- And if, in addition, the United States would guarantee Israel's security as a Jewish state, would you then support or oppose the agreement?
- And if, in addition, a strong security fence will be built along the border, would you then support or oppose the agreement?
- And if, in addition, the implementation of the agreement were conditioned on the disarming of Hamas and ending its control of the Gaza Strip, would you then support or oppose the agreement?
- And if, in addition, the United States signed a mutual defense treaty with Israel under which – if needed – the United States would commit to defend Israel if attacked, would you then support or oppose the agreement?
- And if, in addition, the Arab League will endorse the Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement and the Arab countries would commit to normalize relations with Israel, would you then support or oppose the agreement?

The above questions were presented in the order in which they appear. Once an interviewee supported an agreement, he/she were not asked further questions. Since the above conditions could instigate opposition within the Arab sector, all Arab interviewees were asked all the questions.

Initially, results were calculated for each condition and its marginal gain; subsequently, cumulative results for the entire sample were calculated.

Table 2 presents the responses.

³ The sample is inadequate as far as exact predictions are concerned; data should be treated as indicative.

smith
consulting



ידע למקבלי החלטות

**Public Poll Findings
On
Peace with the Palestinians**

December 2012

Rafi Smith
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Public Poll Findings Overview

Following are the findings of a public opinion poll taken between December 11-12, 2012 among 600 people as a representative sample of the adult population (Jews and Arabs, ages 18+) of Israel. The margin of error is 4%.

The central axis of data analysis – according to socio-demographic background variables – is by gender, age, religiosity, origin, income level, education, political philosophy, voting in 2009 and current voting intentions. All the analysis in the tables that is according to background variables adds up to 100% in each row.

Comparison to 2009:

Concept:

Sections A-F of the concept are almost identical to those examined in two surveys carried out in the same format in 2009 (May and July). In the 2009 surveys, there were two additional sections: G – “Freedom of access to the Holy Places for people of all religions will be maintained,” and H – “There will be prohibition on digging, demolishing or construction within the Old City.”

Additions: in 2009 there were 6 additions. Four of them are identical to those in the current survey.

Details of Findings

Concept: If the government of Israel brought to a referendum a peace agreement that would end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and whose implementation would take place only after the Palestinians would fulfill all their commitments with an emphasis on fighting terror, and the implementation would be monitored and verified by the United States, will you support or oppose an agreement based on the following principles:

- A. Two states: Israel the state of the Jewish people and Palestine the state of the Palestinian people.
- B. Palestinian refugees will have a right to return only to the new state of Palestine.
- C. The Palestinian state will be demilitarized, without an army.
- D. Borders will be based on the 1967 lines and will include land swaps equal in size that will take into consideration Israel's security needs and will maintain the large settlement blocks under Israeli sovereignty.
- E. Jewish neighborhoods of Jerusalem will come under Israeli sovereignty and Arab neighborhoods under Palestinian sovereignty.
- F. The Old City within the walls will be without sovereignty and will be jointly administered by the United States, Israel and the Palestinians. The Holy Places will be under the same religious supervision as current arrangements (for example, the Kotel will be under Israeli supervision and responsibility).

Would you support or oppose this agreement?

	Total
Strongly support	%40
Somewhat support	%28
Somewhat oppose	%8
Strongly oppose	%17
No opinion	%7

By sectors:

	Total	By Sector	
		Jews	Arabs
Strongly + Somewhat Support	%68	66%	80%
Strongly + Somewhat Oppose	%25	26%	14%
No Opinion	%7	8%	6%

Comparison to the previous surveys (Concept):

December 2012	Total	By Sector	
		Jews	Arabs
Strongly + Somewhat Support	%68	66%	80%
Strongly + Somewhat Oppose	%25	26%	14%
No opinion	%7	8%	6%

July 2009	Total	By Sector	
		Jews	Arabs
Strongly + Somewhat Support	%71	69%	89%
Strongly + Somewhat Oppose	%29	31%	11%
No opinion			

May 2009	Total	By Sector	
		Jews	Arabs
Strongly + Somewhat Support	%60	%59	%80
Strongly + Somewhat Oppose	%37	%39	%16
No Opinion	%3	%2	%3

2008	By Sector		Total
	Jews	Arabs	
Strongly + Somewhat Support	58%	100%	62%
Strongly + Somewhat Oppose	38%		34%
No Opinion	4%		4%

2007	By Sector		Total
	Jews	Arabs	
Strongly + Somewhat Support	59%	84%	61%
Strongly + Somewhat Oppose	39%	16%	38%
No Opinion	2%		1%

Concept, analysis by background variables (totals 100% in each row)

		Strongly + Somewhat Support	Strongly+ Somewhat Oppose	No Opinion
		68%	25%	7%
Gender	Male	67%	26%	7%
	Female	70%	23%	7%
Age	18-29	61%	34%	5%
	30-49	66%	26%	9%
	50+	73%	19%	7%
Religiosity	Haredi/orthodox	50%	41%	9%
	Traditional	62%	25%	13%
	Secular	77%	20%	4%
	Arab	80%	14%	6%
Origin (Jews only)	Sabra	68%	26%	6%
	Mizrachim	67%	24%	9%
	Ashkenazi	64%	28%	7%
Veterans vs. immigrants	Veterans	68%	24%	8%
	Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union	44%	53%	3%
Levels of Education	High school and below	65%	27%	8%
	Above high school (13-14 years)	70%	21%	9%
	Academic (+15)	72%	23%	5%
Income Level	Below average	66%	26%	7%
	average	67%	25%	8%
	Above average	68%	25%	6%
Political Ideology	Right	47%	43%	9%
	Center	73%	21%	6%
	Left	91%	7%	1%
2009 Vote	Kadima	86%	11%	4%
	Likud	51%	41%	8%
	Yisrael Beytenu	53%	42%	5%
	Labor	92%	4%	4%
	Shas	44%	50%	6%
	United Torah Judaism	59%	22%	19%
	National Union	29%	57%	14%
	Jewish Home	47%	53%	0%
	Meretz	72%	17%	11%
Current Voting intentions	Likud-Beytenu	58%	34%	8%
	Labor	89%	9%	1%
	Shas	58%	42%	0%
	United Torah Judaism	60%	25%	15%
	Jewish Home led by Naftali Bennet	47%	45%	9%
	Meretz	81%	15%	4%
	Yesh Atid led by Yair Lapid	84%	13%	4%
	The Movement led by Tzipi Livni	86%	10%	3%
	Undecided	74%	14%	12%
Place of Residence	02	57%	36%	7%
	03	72%	24%	5%
	04	69%	22%	9%
	08	53%	38%	9%
	09	79%	10%	11%

The percentage of those who support the agreement is relatively high among adults over the age of 50, among the secular and the Arab sector, among those with higher levels of education, with a left wing ideology, those who voted for Kadima, Labor and Meretz in 2009 and those who will vote for Labor, Meretz, "Yesh Atid "and "The Movement" in the January 2013 elections.

Support for the Concept with Additional Specific Conditions

Those that opposed the concept were asked:

- A. And if, in addition, the United States would guarantee Israel's security as a Jewish state, would you then support or oppose the agreement?

Those that still opposed after question A were asked:

- B. And if, in addition, a strong security fence will be built along the border, would you then support or oppose the agreement?

Those that still opposed after question B were asked:

- C. And if, in addition, the implementation of the agreement were conditioned on the disarming of Hamas and ending its control of the Gaza Strip, would you then support or oppose the agreement?

Those that still opposed after question C were asked:

- D. And if, in addition, the United States signed a mutual defense treaty with Israel under which – if needed – the United States would commit to defend Israel if attacked, would you then support or oppose the agreement?

Those that still opposed after question D were asked:

- E. And if, in addition, the Arab League will endorse the Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement and the Arab countries would commit to normalize relations with Israel, would you then support or oppose the agreement?

Note: Because the Arab sector mostly agreed to the concept in the first stage, the analysis of the remaining questions is displayed only for the Jewish sector, since most of the additional support came from this sector.

Following are the results:

	Concept	A	B	C	D	E – Cumulative Support
Strongly + Somewhat Support	%66	%72	%74	%76	77%	%80
Strongly + Somewhat Oppose	%26	%22	%21	%18	%17	%14
No Opinion	%8	%6	%5	%6	%6	%6
Additional Support		+%6	+%2	+%2	+%1	+ %3

Cumulative Support for a Peace Agreement (Jewish sector only) - by background variables (100% in each row)

		מאוד + די תומך	די + מאוד מתנגד	אין דעה
		80%	14%	6%
Gender	Male	79%	16%	5%
	Female	81%	13%	6%
Age	18-29	68%	25%	7%
	30-49	81%	12%	7%
	50+	83%	12%	4%
Religiosity	Haredi/orthodox	65%	28%	7%
	Traditional	80%	14%	6%
	Secular	87%	8%	5%
Origin	Sabra	82%	12%	6%
	Sephardic	81%	13%	5%
	Ashkenazi	77%	17%	6%
Veterans vs. Immigrants	Veteran Israelis	80%	14%	6%
	Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union	71%	23%	6%
Levels of Education	High school and below	76%	16%	9%
	Above high school (13-14 years)	75%	16%	9%
	Academic (15+)	85%	12%	2%
Income Level	Below average	84%	12%	3%
	average	77%	15%	8%
	Above average	79%	15%	5%
Political Ideology	Right	66%	28%	6%
	Center	85%	9%	6%
	Left	96%	3%	1%
2009 Voting	Kadime	90%	8%	3%
	Likud	73%	20%	6%
	Yisrael Beytenu	74%	21%	5%
	Labor	95%	2%	2%
	Shas	61%	33%	6%
	United Torah Judaism	67%	19%	15%
	National Union	57%	29%	14%
	The Jewish Home	65%	35%	0%
Current Voting Intentions	Meretz	88%	0%	12%
	Likud-Beytenu (Joint List)	77%	19%	3%
	Labor	92%	4%	4%
	Shas	65%	35%	0%
	United Torah Judaism	73%	15%	12%
	The Jewish Home led by Naftali Bennet	65%	26%	9%
	Meretz	89%	7%	4%
	"Yesh Atid" led by Yair Lapid	87%	10%	3%
	"The Movement" led by Tzip Livni	90%	3%	7%
Undecided	80%	9%	11%	
Place of Residence	02	69%	24%	7%
	03	82%	15%	3%
	04	84%	9%	7%
	08	80%	18%	2%
	09	79%	6%	15%

There is relatively high cumulative support among adults over the age of 50, secular, with higher education, with a leftist political ideology, those who voted Kadima, Labor and Meretz in 2009 and among those who will vote in the January 2013 elections for Labor, Meretz, "Yesh Atid" and "The Movement."

Comparison to the previous surveys – cumulative support, Jewish sector:

	2012	July 2009	May 2009	2008	2007	2006
Support + Somewhat Support	%80	%87	%85	%82	%78	%79
Oppose + Somewhat Oppose	%14	%13	%14	%16		%13
No Opinion	%6		%1	%2		%8

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