SABAN CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST POLICY
presents
University of Maryland
with Zogby International

2010
Israeli Arab/Palestinian Public
Opinion Survey

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Nonresident Senior Fellow, Saban Center at Brookings

Special thanks to the Carnegie Corporation of New York
Survey conducted October 20- November 3

Sample size: 600

Margin of error: +/- 4.0%
Identity – most important

When you think about yourself, which of the following is your most important identity?

- Palestinian: 22
- Israeli: 12
- Arab: 36
- Muslim: 19
Identity - Muslim

When you think about yourself, which of the following is your most important identity...?

- Muslim: 27
- Arab: 34
- Israeli: 10
- Palestinian: 24
Identity - Christian

When you think about yourself, which of the following is your most important identity...?

- Christian: 9
- Arab: 53
- Israeli: 12
- Palestinian: 15
Identity - Druze

When you think about yourself, which of the following is your most important identity...?

- Druze: 39
- Arab: 16
- Israeli: 31
- Palestinian: 8
Identity – 1948 war refugees

Do you have any relatives - refugees of the 1948 war?

Yes:
- Palestinian: 30
- Israeli: 11
- Arab: 31
- Muslim: 20

No:
- Palestinian: 12
- Israeli: 15
- Arab: 41
- Muslim: 17
ATTITUDE TOWARD US
Attitudes toward the U.S. - aggregate

Generally speaking, is your attitude toward the United States:

- Very favorable
- Somewhat favorable
- Somewhat unfavorable
- Very unfavorable
- Not familiar

2009:
- 22 Very favorable
- 20 Somewhat favorable
- 15 Somewhat unfavorable
- 32 Very unfavorable
- 10 Not familiar

2010:
- 11 Very favorable
- 26 Somewhat favorable
- 22 Somewhat unfavorable
- 34 Very unfavorable
- 7 Not familiar

Sadat Chair
Views of President Barack Obama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2009</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very positive</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat positive</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very negative</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Somewhat negative</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sadat Chair
Evaluating Obama Administration policy: What are the central issues for you?

- The Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict: 37 in 2009, 40 in 2010
- Economic assistance: 8 in 2009, 10 in 2010
- Democracy: 5 in 2009, 6 in 2010
- Expressed attitudes toward the Arab/Muslim world: 10 in 2009, 11 in 2010
- War in Afghanistan/Pakistan: 3 in 2009, 4 in 2010
- Human rights: 8 in 2009, 20 in 2010
- Iran: 5 in 2009, 13 in 2010
- Iraq: 11 in 2010
Attitude toward Obama Administration policy in the Middle East

2010

- Neutral: 17
- Somewhat negative: 19
- Very negative: 13
- Somewhat positive: 27
- Very positive: 16
Obama’s policy:

What policies do you like most?

- **Iraq policy**: 16
  - First choice: 5
  - Second choice: 11
- **Afghanistan-Pakistan policy**: 3
  - First choice: 2
  - Second choice: 1
- **Policy toward torture**: 21
  - First choice: 8
  - Second choice: 13
- **Arab/Palestinian-Israeli policy**: 9
  - First choice: 9
  - Second choice: 0
- **Speech in Cairo**: 5
  - First choice: 5
  - Second choice: 0
- **He is not George W. Bush**: 15
  - First choice: 8
  - Second choice: 7
- **Views about US - world relations**: 7
  - First choice: 2
  - Second choice: 5
- **Iran policy**: 4
  - First choice: 2
  - Second choice: 2
- **Not favorable, but hopeful**: 9
  - First choice: 3
  - Second choice: 6
- **Not favorable, not hopeful**: 22
  - First choice: 9
  - Second choice: 13
Obama’s Administration Policies:

Most disappointing (choose two)

- Iraq policy: 27%
- Afghanistan-Pakistan policy: 12%
- Policy toward torture: 6%
- Arab/Palestinian-Israeli policy: 34%
- Speech in Cairo: 6%
- He is not George W. Bush: 5%
- Views about US - world relations: 4%
- Iran policy: 16%
- Not favorable, but hopeful: 14%
- Not favorable, not hopeful: 19%

* Percentages add up to more than 100%
American policy drivers in the Middle East (first)

2010

Regional & global dominance 3
Weakening the Muslim world 5
Preventing spread of nukes 3
Spreading human rights 2
Protecting Israel 21
Controlling oil 36
Fighting terrorism 11
Promoting democracy 5
Promoting peace and stability 12
IRAN
Opinion on Iran’s nuclear research purpose

- Iran is merely conducting research for peaceful purposes
- Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Support Peaceful Research</th>
<th>Support Nuclear Weapons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sadat Chair
Opinion on Iran’s nuclear program

- Iran has the right to its nuclear program and the international pressure should cease
- Iran should be pressured to stop its nuclear program

2009:
- Support for right: 53
- Support for stop: 38

2010:
- Support for right: 50
- Support for stop: 41

Sadat Chair
Opinion on Iran’s nuclear program – 1948 war refugees

Do you have any relatives - refugees of the 1948 war?

- Iran has the right to its nuclear program and the international pressure should cease

  
  yes
  
  63

  no
  
  35

- Iran should be pressured to stop its nuclear program

  
  28
  
  57

Sadat Chair
Outcome for Middle East if Iran acquires nuclear weapons

- The outcome would be more positive:
  - 2009: 24
  - 2010: 21

- The outcome would be more negative:
  - 2009: 55
  - 2010: 54

- It would not matter:
  - 2009: 15
  - 2010: 18

Sadat Chair
ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT
Palestinian refugees’ right to return - aggregate

How do you feel about Palestinian refugees’ right to return?

- Not too important
- Important but a compromise should be found
- Important and cannot be compromised in any way

2009
- 12 Not too important
- 31 Important but a compromise should be found
- 54 Important and cannot be compromised in any way

2010
- 11 Not too important
- 28 Important but a compromise should be found
- 57 Important and cannot be compromised in any way

Sadat Chair
Outcome if no two-state solution is found

What do you believe is the likely outcome if the prospects of a two-state solution of the Palestinian/Arab-Israeli conflict collapse:

- **Palestinians will surrender to Israeli power & integrate**
  - 2009: 8
  - 2010: 10

- **Status quo will continue with little change**
  - 2009: 37
  - 2010: 36

- **State of intense conflict for years to come**
  - 2009: 40
  - 2010: 41

- **One-state solution in which Israelis and Palestinians are equal**
  - 2009: 9
  - 2010: 8
Your opinion towards defining Israel as a Jewish state:

- **Do not accept under any conditions**
  - 2009: 50
  - 2010: 49

- **Accept only if Palestinian state established, Arab/Palestinian citizens of Israel given full rights**
  - 2009: 25
  - 2010: 32

- **Accept without conditions**
  - 2009: 21
  - 2010: 13
Israel as a Jewish state - 1948 war refugees

Your opinion towards defining Israel as a Jewish state:

- **Accept w/o conditions yes**
- **Only if Palestinian state established, Arab/Palestinian citizens of Israel given full rights**
- **Do not accept**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Accept w/o conditions yes</th>
<th>Only if Palestinian state established, Arab/Palestinian citizens of Israel given full rights</th>
<th>Do not accept</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sadat Chair
Prospects of lasting peace

Which is closest to your view about the prospects of lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians?

- In the next 5 yrs
- Inevitable, but it will take more time
- Don’t believe it will ever happen

2009:
- 11: In the next 5 yrs
- 33: Inevitable, but it will take more time
- 52: Don’t believe it will ever happen

2010:
- 8: In the next 5 yrs
- 25: Inevitable, but it will take more time
- 63: Don’t believe it will ever happen

Sadat Chair
Palestinian sympathies

In the current conflict among the Palestinians, with whom do you sympathize most?

- Fatah
- Hamas
- Both
- Other groups
- None of the above

2009:
- Fatah: 7
- Hamas: 13
- Both: 17
- Other groups: 13
- None of the above: 46

2010:
- Fatah: 5
- Hamas: 11
- Both: 15
- Other groups: 12
- None of the above: 54

Sadat Chair
Preferences for Palestinian government

As you look at the internal Palestinian political divisions, do you prefer to see a:

- **Fatah government**
- **Hamas government**
- **National unity government**
- **Other**

**2009**
- Fatah government: 7
- Hamas government: 5
- National unity government: 77
- Other: 6

**2010**
- Fatah government: 7
- Hamas government: 5
- National unity government: 64
- Other: 19
Transfer of Arab/Palestinian towns

Would you accept the transfer of some Arab/Palestinian towns currently in Israel to a new Palestinian state, when established?

- **Yes**
- **No**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transfer of Arab/Palestinian towns

If ‘No’, which of the following reasons is most important to you?

- No affinity with Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza:
  - 2009: 2
  - 2010: 9

- Have affinity but feel I have a separate identity:
  - 2009: 6
  - 2010: 6

- Don’t want to be separated from other Israeli-Palestinians/Arabs:
  - 2009: 16
  - 2010: 22

- Fear prospect of religious state in Palestine more than in Israel:
  - 2009: 4
  - 2010: 4

- Israel is likely to be more democratic than Palestinian state:
  - 2009: 12
  - 2010: 9

- Jobs and living standards are better in Israel:
  - 2009: 51
  - 2010: 42
Attitude towards proposed loyalty oath - aggregate

Would support if Israel was defined as a state of all: 22

Would support if it only applied to new citizens: 4

Support: 12

Oppose: 51
Attitude towards proposed loyalty oath – 1948 war refugees

- **Oppose**
- **Support**
- **Support if only applied to new citizens**
- **Support if Israel was defined as state of all**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>67</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sadat Chair
Reasons for rejecting loyalty oath - aggregate

- Oppose loyalty oaths in principle: 10
- Reject definition of Israel as Jewish state: 33
- It does not apply to new Jew citizens: 4
- Ultimately aimed at Arab citizens of Israel: 50
Arab/Palestinian rights in Israel

If peace prevails between Israel and Palestinians through an establishment of Palestinian state at peace with Israel, which is more likely about the status of Arab citizens of Israel:

- Rights will improve
- Rights will decline
- Will not change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rights will improve</th>
<th>Rights will decline</th>
<th>Will not change</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sadat Chair
Recruitment of Arab/Palestinian citizens

Your opinion of possible recruitment of Israeli Arab/Palestinian citizens into non-military national service program:

- Reject under any circumstances
- Accept if Arabs granted equal rights to Jews
- Accept only after Palestinian state established

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Reject</th>
<th>Accept if Arabs</th>
<th>Accept only after Palestinian state established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sadat Chair
When you watch a movie or a program about the Jewish Holocaust which of the following is closest to your feelings:

- Mixed feelings 28
- Resent - it brings sympathy towards Israel, Jews at the expense of Palestinians, Arabs 28
- Empathize with the Jews who suffered under the Nazis 38
Jewish Holocaust movies – Jewish friends

Which of the following most accurately describes you?

- Empathize with Jews who suffered under Nazis
- Resent - brings sympathy towards Jews at the expense of Palestinians/Arabs
- Mixed feelings

Have Jewish friends; in the past 2 years haven't visited:
- Empathize: 40
- Resent: 26
- Mixed: 28

Have Jewish friends; in the past 2 years have visited:
- Empathize: 52
- Resent: 19
- Mixed: 27

Don't have Jewish friends:
- Empathize: 28
- Resent: 37
- Mixed: 27
Jewish Holocaust movies – 1948 war refugees
Do you have any relatives - refugees of the 1948 war?

- Empathize with Jews who suffered under Nazis
- Resent - brings sympathy towards Jews at the expense of Palestinians/Arabs
- Mixed feelings

Yes: 29
No: 50

Total:
Empathize: 33
Resent: 23
Mixed: 22
Palestinian civilian casualties – aggregate (first)

When you see Palestinian civilian casualties in the conflict with Israel, which TWO of the following best describe your feelings:

- Angry with Arab governments: 4
- Angry with Palestinian leadership: 6
- Helpless: 8
- Need for revenge against Israel: 8
- Empathy with Palestinian victims: 69
Palestinian civilian casualties – aggregate (second)

When you see Palestinian civilian casualties in the conflict with Israel, which TWO of the following best describe your feelings:

- Same as when other humans suffer: 6
- Angry with Arab governments: 25
- Angry with Palestinian leadership: 16
- Helpless: 21
- Need for revenge against Israel: 14
Palestinian civilian casualties – 1948 war refugees

Do you have any relatives - refugees of the 1948 war?

- Empathy with Palestinian victims: 66
- Need for revenge against Israel: 10
- Helpless: 7
- Angry with Palestinian leadership: 7
- Angry with Arab governments: 6

Yes

No

- Empathy with Palestinian victims: 73
- Need for revenge against Israel: 4
- Helpless: 7
- Angry with Palestinian leadership: 5
- Angry with Arab governments: 3
Israeli civilian casualties – aggregate (first)

When you watch Israeli civilian casualties in the conflict with the Palestinians, which TWO best describe your feelings:

- Angry with Israeli leaders 3
- Same as when other civilians killed 9
- Revenge for what's happening to Palestinians 5
- Israelis brought it upon themselves 37
- Empathy with Israeli victims 42
Israeli civilian casualties – aggregate (second)

When you watch Israeli civilian casualties in the conflict with the Palestinians, which TWO best describe your feelings:

- Angry with the US: 6
- Angry with Israeli leaders: 20
- Same as when other civilians killed: 19
- Revenge for what's happening to Palestinians: 14
- Israelis brought it upon themselves: 20
Israeli civilian casualties – 1948 war refugees

Do you have any relatives - refugees of the 1948 war?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empathy with Israeli victims</td>
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<tr>
<td>Israelis brought it upon themselves</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Revenge for Palestinians</td>
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<tr>
<td>Same as when other civilians killed</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Angry with Israeli leaders</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
MEDIA
International news source - aggregate

What international news do you watch?

2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Watchers</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An Israeli network</td>
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<tr>
<td>Al Jazeera</td>
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<td>Al Manar</td>
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</table>
International news source - 1948 war refugees

What international news do you watch?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>MBC</th>
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<th>Al Arabiya</th>
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<td>2009</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>2010</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sadat Chair
INTERNATIONAL DYNAMICS
Country - biggest threat to you (first)

Name two countries that you think pose biggest threat to you?

2010

- United States: 28
- Israel: 17
- Iran: 32
- Other: 7
- None: 9
World leader sympathies

Please tell me which world leader (outside of your own country) you admire most?

- Hassan Nassrallah
- Saddam Hussein
- Barack Obama
- Recep Erdogan
- Other

2009:
- Hassan Nassrallah: 20
- Saddam Hussein: 6
- Barack Obama: 5
- Recep Erdogan: 47
- Other: 12

2010:
- Hassan Nassrallah: 15
- Saddam Hussein: 4
- Barack Obama: 10
- Recep Erdogan: 6
- Other: 28
Superpower sympathies

In a world where there is only one superpower, which countries would you prefer more than others to be that superpower?

2009:
- USA: 22
- Russia: 13
- China: 17
- France: 8
- Germany: 6

2010:
- USA: 28
- Russia: 13
- China: 18
- France: 7
- Germany: 10