

The Palestinians of East Jerusalem: What Do They Really Want?

Detailed Survey Results

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The Palestinians of East Jerusalem: What Do They Really Want?

Findings from a survey conducted by Pechter Middle East Polls in partnership with the Council on Foreign Relations

Executive Summary

Relatively little research has been done on the Palestinian Arab population of East Jerusalem despite the city's crucial political and diplomatic importance and despite the fact that their situation differs in important ways from the situation for Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza. When Israel took control of East Jerusalem and annexed it in 1967, it made its residents 'Israeli permanent residents' ("blue card holders"). Permanent residents in Jerusalem can routinely work and travel in Israel, receive the same national health care benefits received by Israeli citizens, receive the same retirement, unemployment and disability benefits, and have the right to vote in Jerusalem municipal elections (although, in practice, few of them vote in these elections) but not national elections. Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza do not receive any of these benefits.

This survey explored the attitudes of Palestinian Arabs, living in all 19 neighborhoods of East Jerusalem, about their satisfactions and dissatisfactions with life in East Jerusalem, and their concerns and anticipated benefits of having their neighborhood become part of a new Palestinian state, or alternatively, having their neighborhood become an internationally recognized part of Israel and its residents become full Israeli citizens. Dr. David Pollock was the principal investigator for this study and supervised the design, data collection and analysis of the study. Pechter Middle East Polls, headed by Adam Pechter, initiated, commissioned and analyzed the poll. Field work was conducted in November 2010 by a West Bank based Palestinian polling firm, the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion, headed by Dr. Nabil Kukali, using

in-home, face-to-face interviews with a representative sample of 1,039 East Jerusalemites. The margin of error is 3%.

The most striking finding relates to East Jerusalemite preferences for citizenship after a two-state solution has been reached. When asked if they preferred to become a citizen of Palestine, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, or a citizen of Israel, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Israel, only 30% chose Palestinian citizenship. Thirty five percent chose Israeli citizenship and 35% declined to answer or said they didn't know. A similar question asked respondents if "most people in your neighborhood" would prefer to become citizens of Palestine or of Israel: 31% estimated that most people prefer Palestinian citizenship; 39% estimated that most people prefer Israeli citizenship; and 30% declined to answer or said they didn't know.

Furthermore, when asked if they would move to a different home inside Israel, if their neighborhood became part of Palestine, 40% said they were likely to move to Israel. (Twenty seven percent said they were likely to move to Palestine if their neighborhood became part of Israel.)

Respondents were asked to provide the top 2 reasons they chose one citizenship over the other. Those who chose Israeli citizenship most often mentioned freedom of movement in Israel, higher income and better job opportunities, and Israeli health insurance. Those who chose Palestinian citizenship overwhelmingly cited nationalism/patriotism as

their primary motivation. When surveyed about a number of possible concerns about being part of Palestine or of Israel, the top concern—for both scenarios—was the possibility of losing access to the Al Aqsa Mosque and the Old City, given the uncertainty about where the new border will lie. The other leading concerns about becoming part of Palestine focused on practical issues of losing access to jobs and free movement in Israel, and losing Israeli government provided health care, unemployment and disability benefits, and city services. The leading concerns about becoming part of Israel focused on possible discrimination, losing access to land, relatives and friends in Palestine, and possible moral misconduct of their children.

Other issues explored in the survey include: satisfaction and dissatisfaction with many aspects of current life in East Jerusalem; current travel patterns to the West Bank and to Israel; Hebrew and English language ability; the relative strength of various identities; the likelihood that resistance groups will continue armed struggle after Jerusalem is divided in a 2 state solution; the likelihood of a new intifada if negotiations collapse; and an estimate of the effect that a PA request to the UN to declare a Palestinian state will have on the lives of East Jerusalemites.

The full survey results are available on the website of Pechter Middle East Polls www.pechterpolls.com



Dr. David Pollock, the former chief of Near East/South Asia/Africa research at the U.S. Information Agency, where he supervised the government's study of public opinion, elite attitudes, and media content

across the three regions, is the principal advisor to Pechter Middle East Polls and a senior fellow at The Washington Institute, focusing on the political dynamics of Middle Eastern countries.

Dr. Pollock previously served as senior advisor for the Broader Middle East at the State Department, a post he assumed in 2002. From 1996 to 2001, he served in several other State Department policy advisory positions covering the Middle East and South Asia, including four years as regional expert on the secretary of state's Policy Planning Staff. Dr. Pollock has served as a visiting lecturer at Harvard University and an assistant professor at George Washington University. He has traveled widely in the Middle East and maintains a large network of contacts in government, academia, and business throughout the region. He is fluent in Arabic, Hebrew, and French. DPollock@washingtoninstitute.org

Adam Pechter is the founder and president of Pechter Middle East Polls (PMEP). Since PMEP's founding in June 2009, Mr. Pechter has organized, overseen and managed eleven nationwide polls of the Arab world, including three polls of Iraq, three of Jordan, two of Egypt, two of Lebanon, and one of Saudi Arabia. Previously, Mr. Pechter worked with Dr. Daniel Kurtzer, former ambassador to Egypt and Israel, at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School, and served as the deputy publisher of the *Middle East Quarterly*. He also undertook research and wrote on Arab political polling under the direction of Dr. Fouad Ajami. Mr. Pechter is proficient in Arabic. He has lectured at Princeton University and the US Army War College. ampechter@pechterpolls.com

East Jerusalem November 2010 Poll Overview

- **East Jerusalem Palestinians only**
- **No local government supervision or interference**
- **Respondents interviewed in Arabic in their own homes by local field representatives from the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion (PCPO)**
- **Multistage random probability sample: N=1039; Margin of error= $\pm 3\%$**
- **<3 weeks in November (with break for Eid) to conduct interviews and get back full data set.**
- **Dr. David Pollock designed, supervised, analyzed poll. Was in East Jerusalem during field work.**



	Residential Area	Percentage
1	Old City	13.9%
2	Al-Thawre	3.4%
3	Bet Hanina	12.6%
4	Shu'afat Refugee	8.0%
5	Ras Al-'Amud	6.9%
6	Silwan	4.4%
7	Wadi Al-Goz	3.1%
8	Shu'afat	5.6%
9	Kafr 'Aqb	7.6%
10	Isawiyya	4.6%
11	Bab Az-Zahara	2.5%
12	Bet Safafa	3.4%
13	Sharafat	0.6%
14	Jabal Mukabar	6.4%
15	Sur Bahar	3.6%
16	Sheih Jarrah	1.2%
17	Al-Shayyah	1.5%
18	As-Sawana, At-Tur	9.0%
19	Um Tubba	1.7%

SURVEY DEMOGRAPHICS

Actual Poll Percentages Unweighted

Gender	Percent
Male	51%
Female	49%

Age	Percent
18--24	32%
25--36	36%
36+	32%

Work Sector	Percent
Public	35%
Private And Non Governmental	30%
Doesn't Work	35%

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SURVEY DEMOGRAPHICS

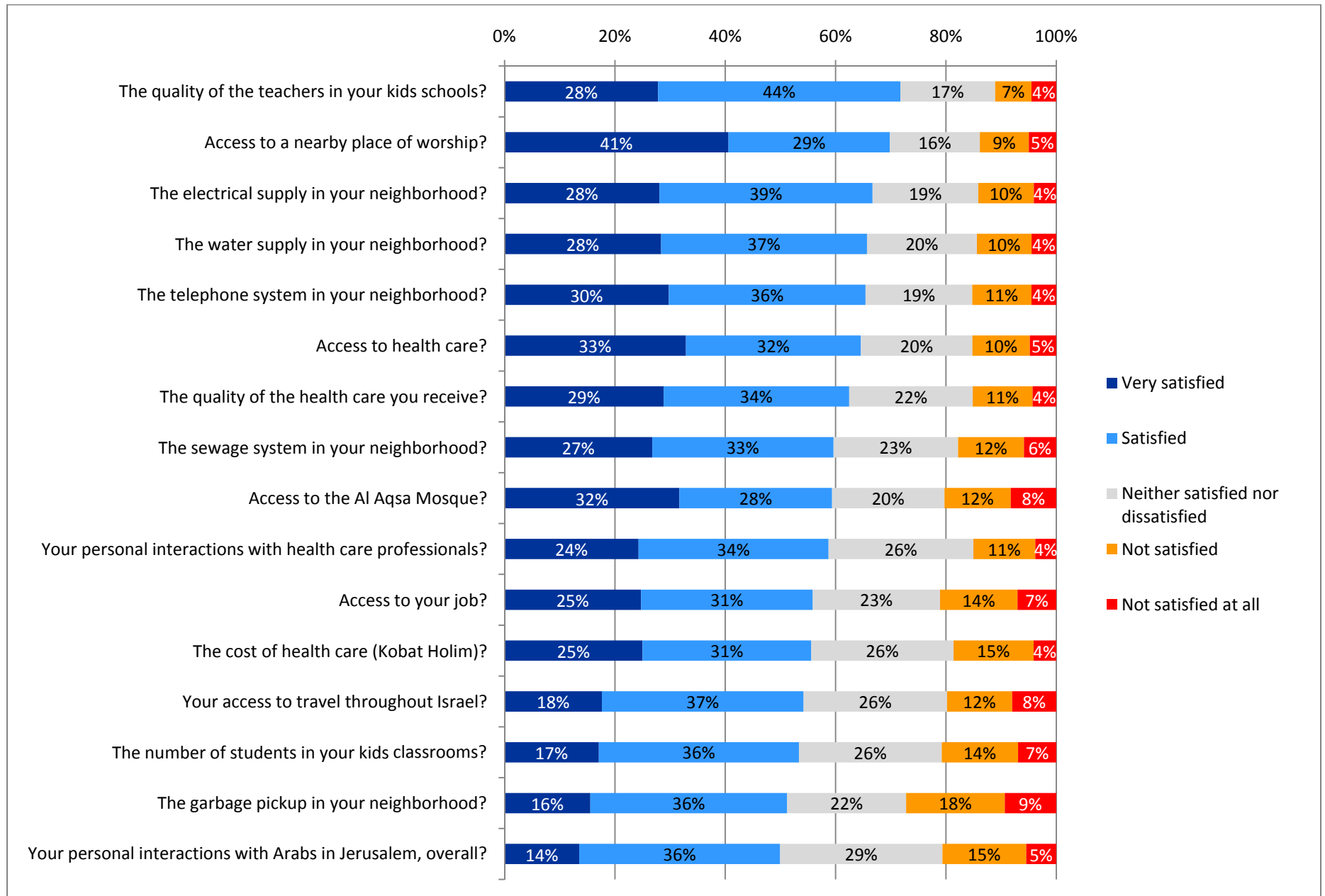
Actual Poll Percentages Unweighted

Occupation	Percent
Student	21%
Laborer	22%
Housewife	13%
Employee	22%
Professional	7%
Merchant	7%
Farmer	1%
Retired	2%
Don't Know	7%

Education	Percent
Illiterate	5%
Elementary	7%
Preparatory	8%
Secondary	30%
2-year College	18%
BA	28%
MA Or Higher	4%

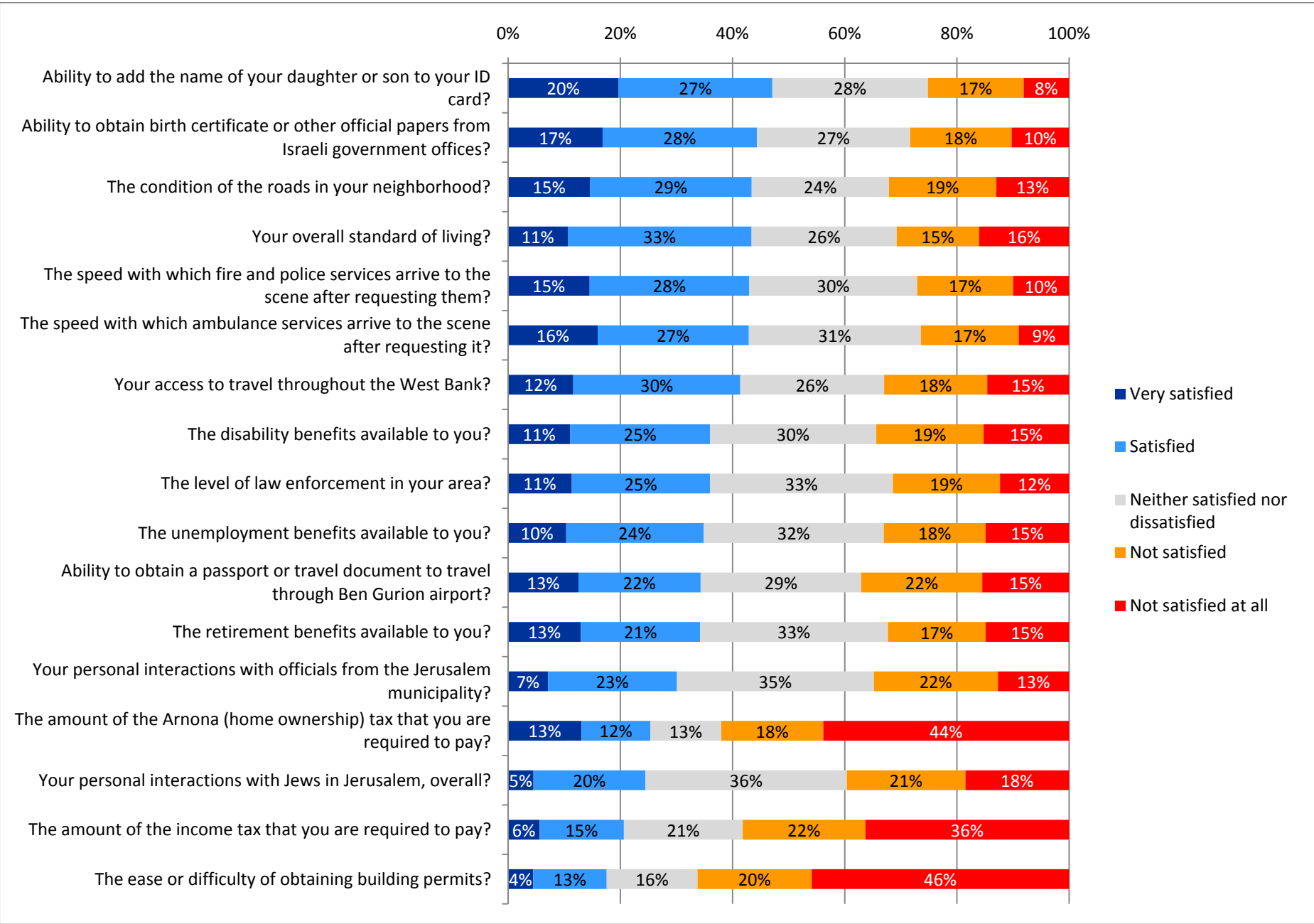
Income	Percent
Less Than NIS 600	3%
Between NIS 601-1200	2%
Between NIS 1201-1800	3%
Between NIS 1801-2400	4%
Between NIS 2401-3000	6%
Between NIS 3001- 3600	12%
Between NIS 3601-4200	11%
Between NIS 4201-4800	18%
More Than NIS 4800	44%

Q1 Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of these aspects of your life in East Jerusalem.



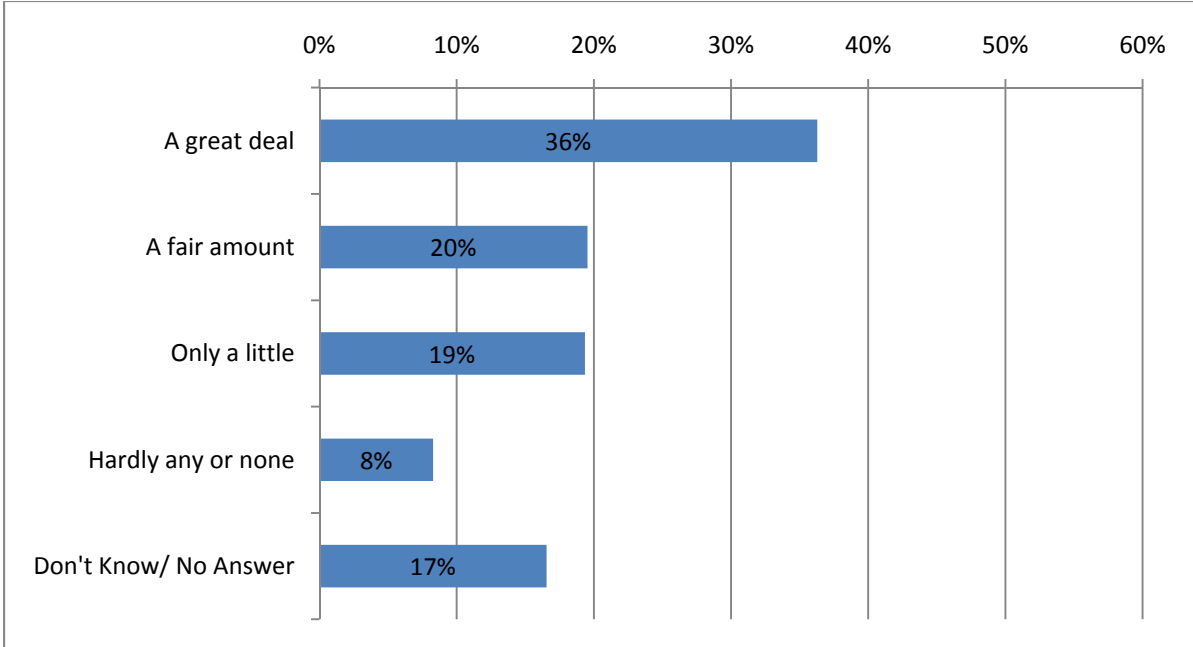
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q1(Cont.) Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of these aspects of your life in East Jerusalem.



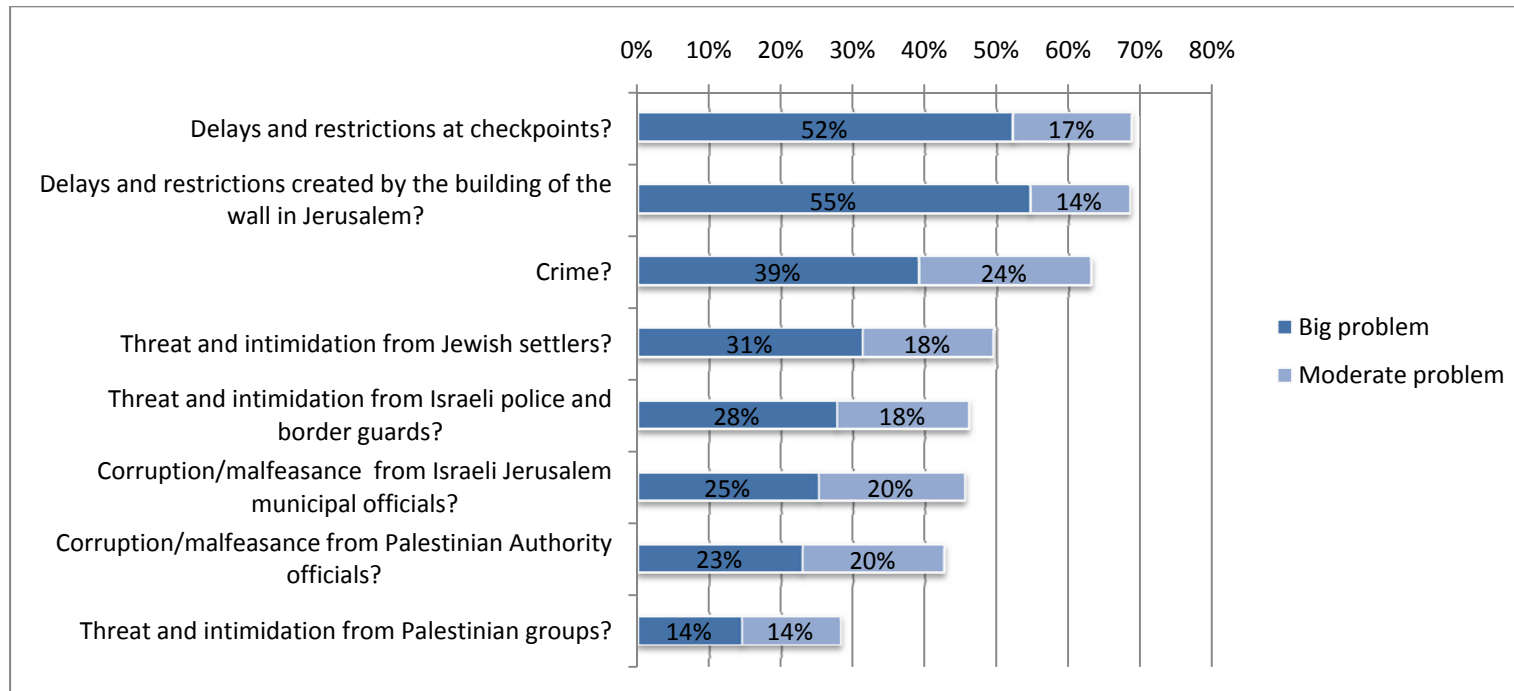
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q2 In your view is there or is there not discrimination in the services provided to Arab and Jews by the Jerusalem municipality? Would you say there is a great deal of discrimination, a fair amount, only a little, or hardly any discrimination at all?



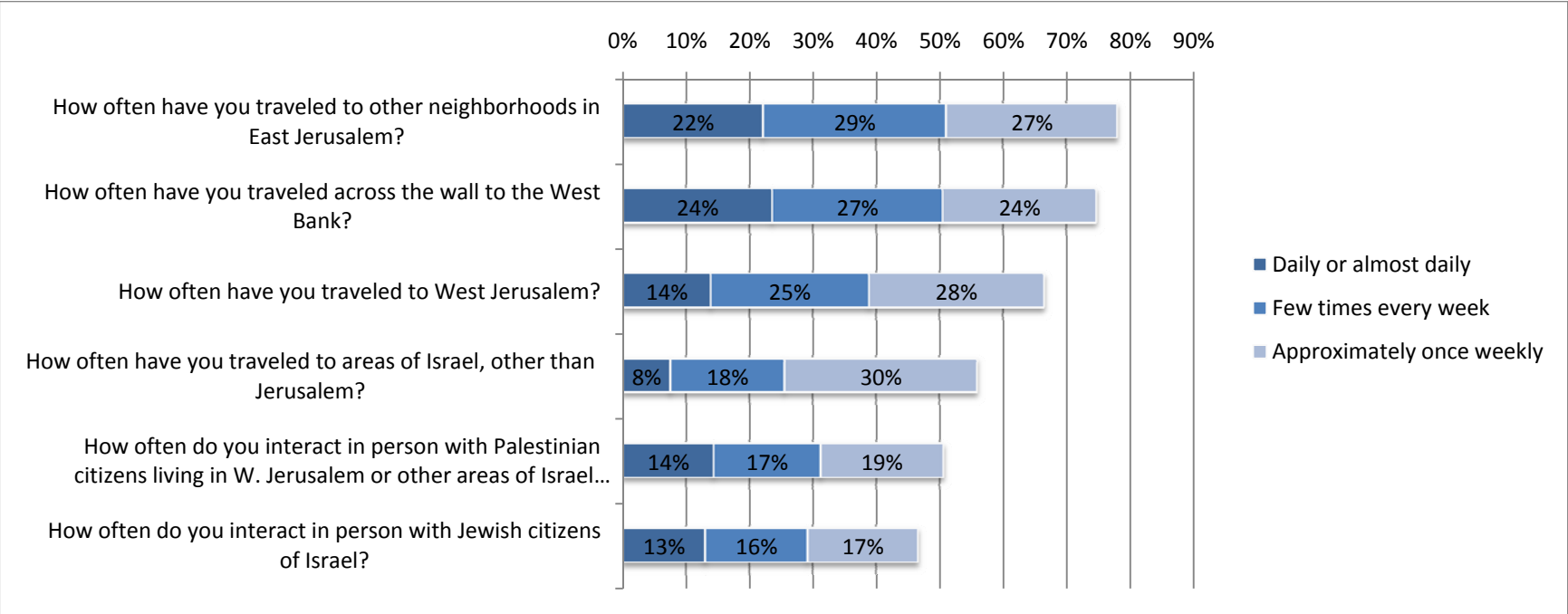
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Q3 From your perspective, how big a problem are the following things in East Jerusalem? Are they a big problem, a moderate-sized problem, a small problem, or not a problem at all?



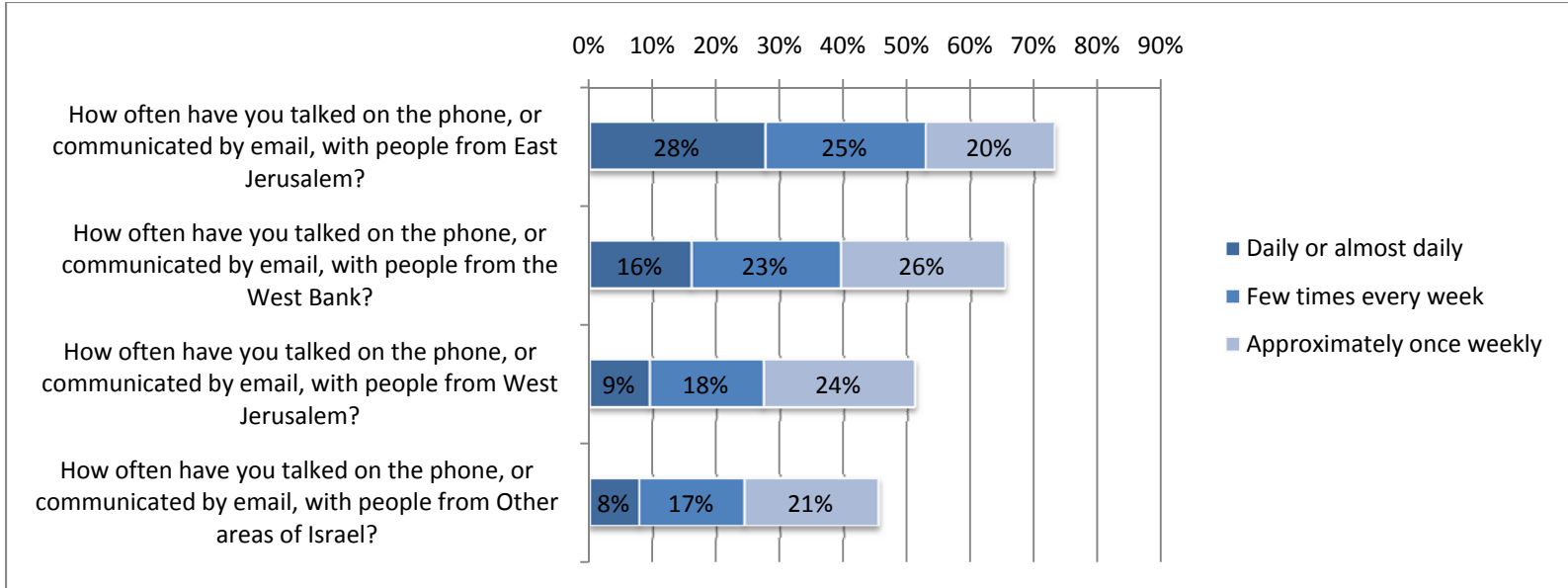
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Q4 I'm going to ask you some questions about how often you have done various activities in the last 6 months.



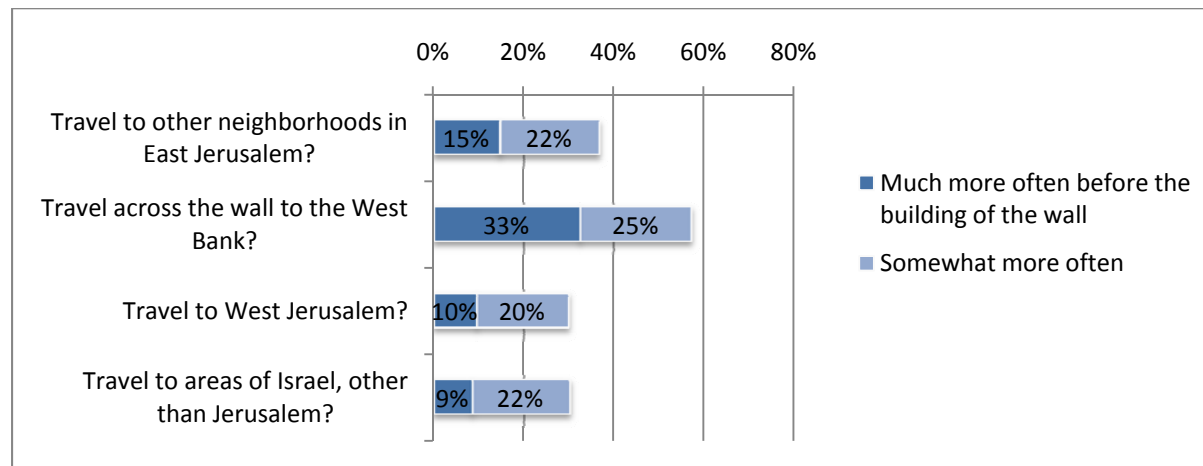
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q5 I'm going to ask you some questions about how often you have done various activities in the last 6 months.



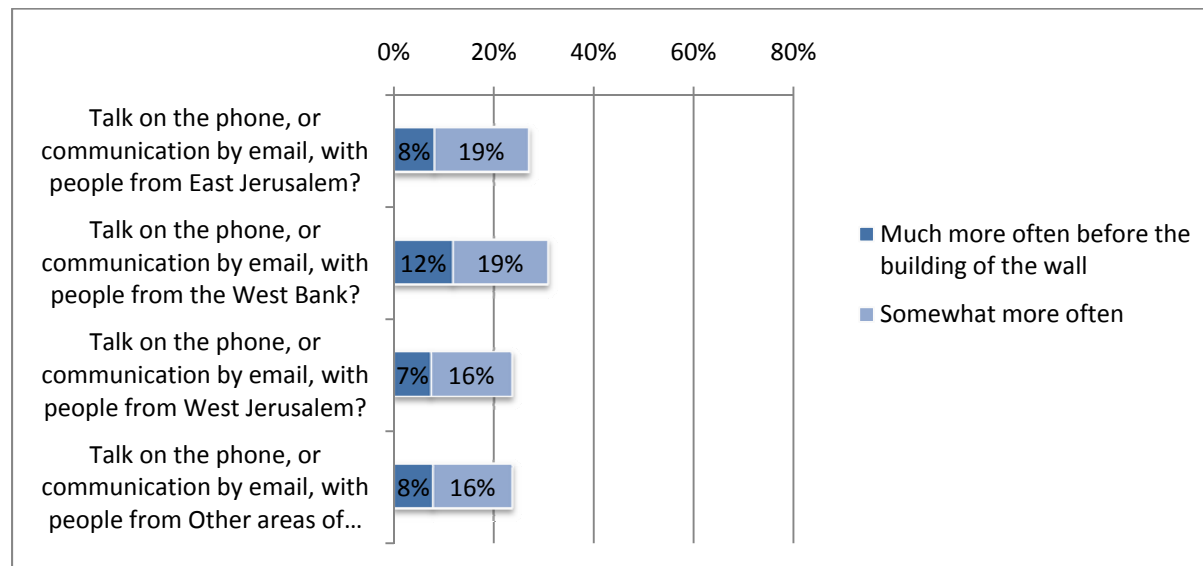
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q6 How often did you do these things before the building of the wall? Did you do them more or less often than now?



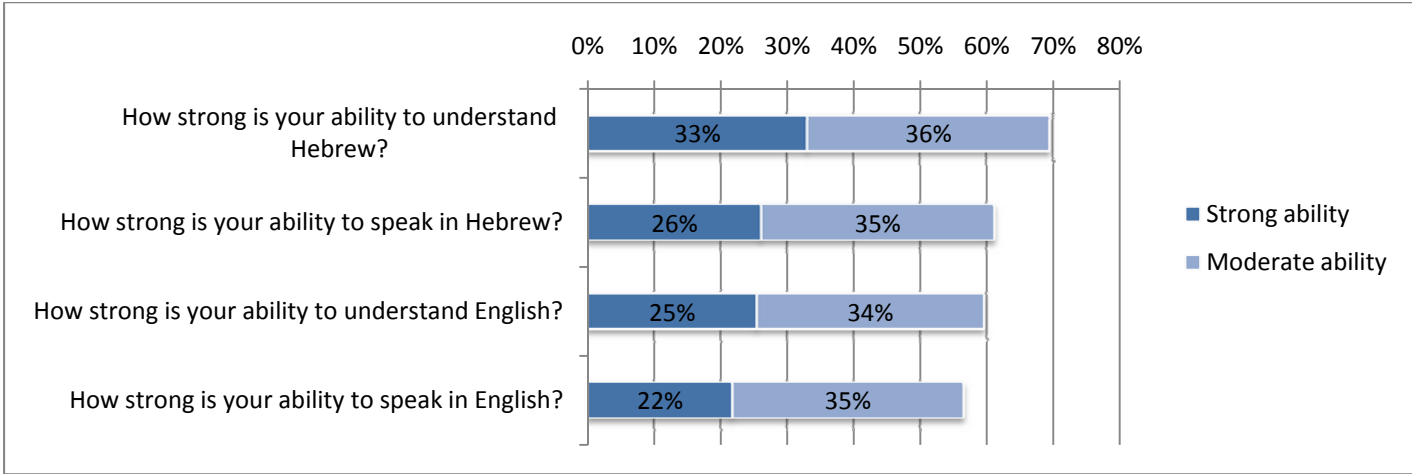
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q7 How often did you do these things before the building of the wall? Did you do them more or less often than now?



The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

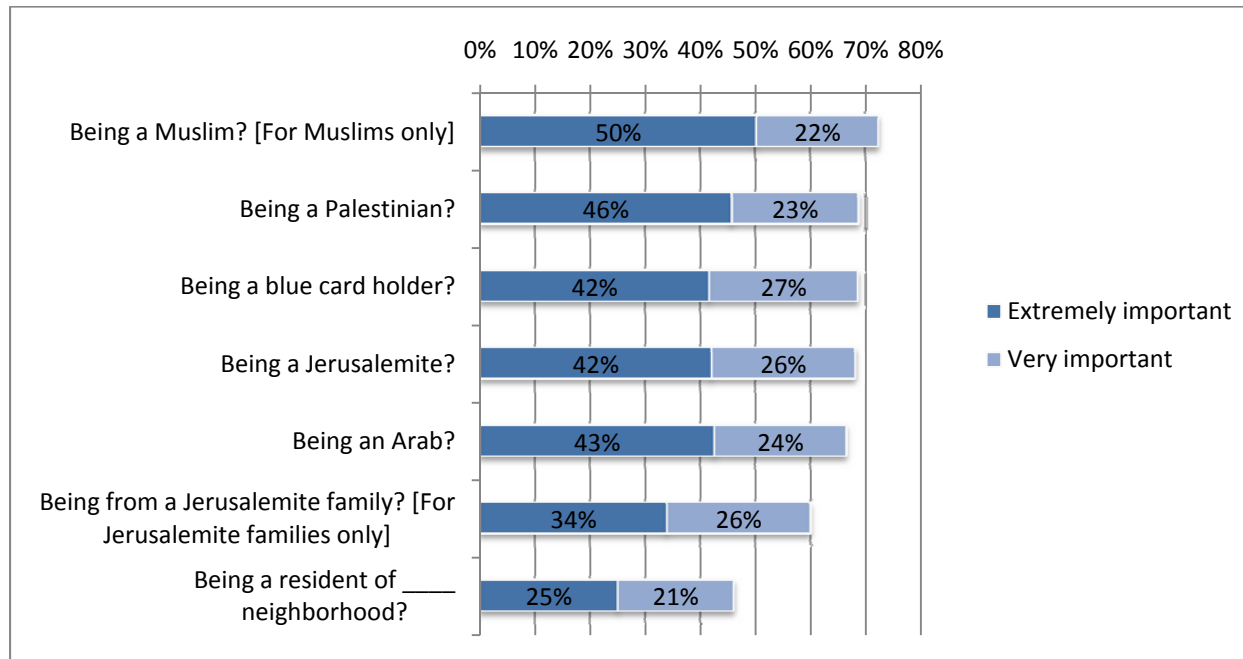
Q8 Now, I'd like to ask about your language abilities in Hebrew and in English:



The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

When we think about the question, “Who am I?” each of us comes up with many answers. I might think of myself as both a father (to my child) and a son (to my own father). I can also think of myself, for example, as a carpenter, or doctor, as an athletic person, or as someone who loves to read. Some of these identities are very important to us, and some of them are less important.

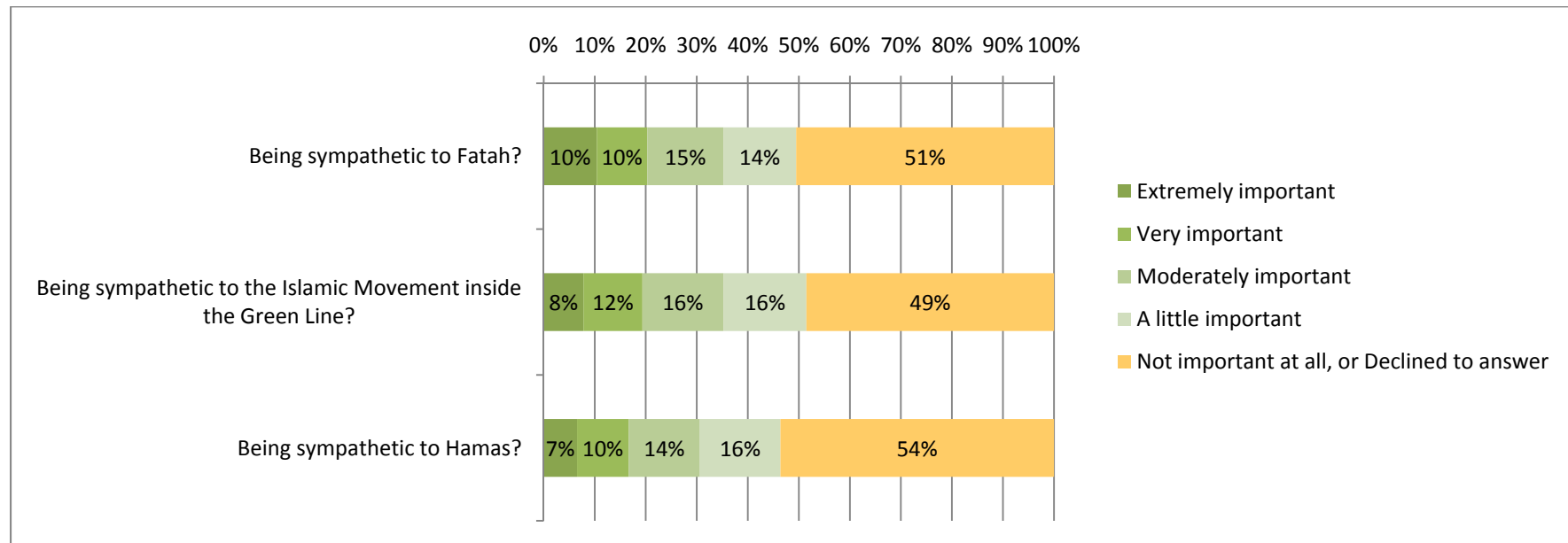
Q9 I’m going to ask you about a number of identities. For each one, please tell me how important that identity is to you.



*Of the 77 Christians surveyed, 35 said extremely important, 14 said very important, 13 said moderately important, 10 said a little important, and 5 said not important at all

The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q9 (continued) I'm going to ask you about a number of identities. For each one, please tell me how important that identity is to you.

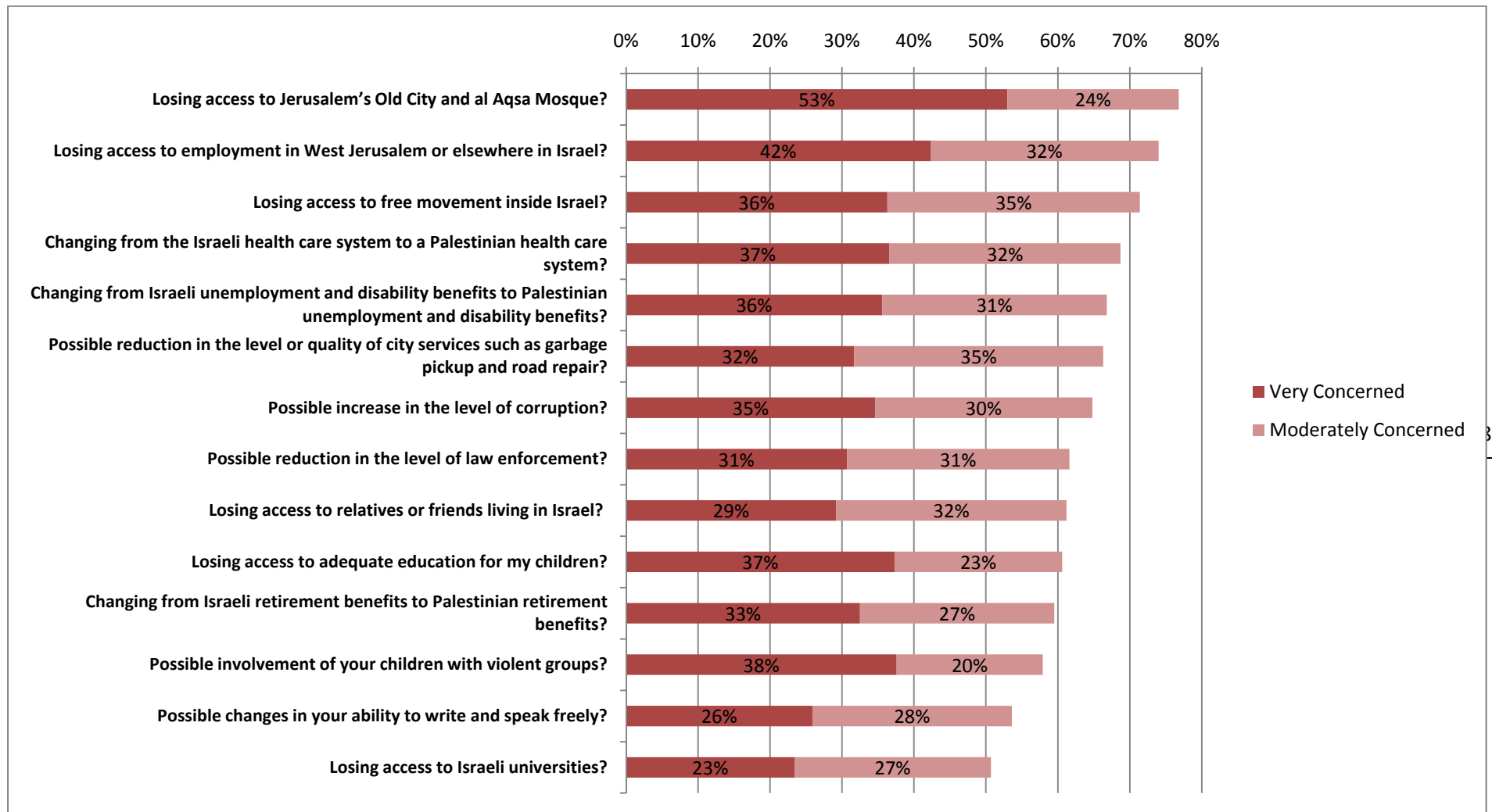


The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Palestinians and Israelis are involved in negotiations aimed at reaching agreement on a two-state solution in the next year. If this happens, East Jerusalemites will no longer have their current status as Israeli residents holding blue cards. Instead, people in each neighborhood will become either full citizens of Palestine or full citizens of Israel, depending on which side of the border they are.

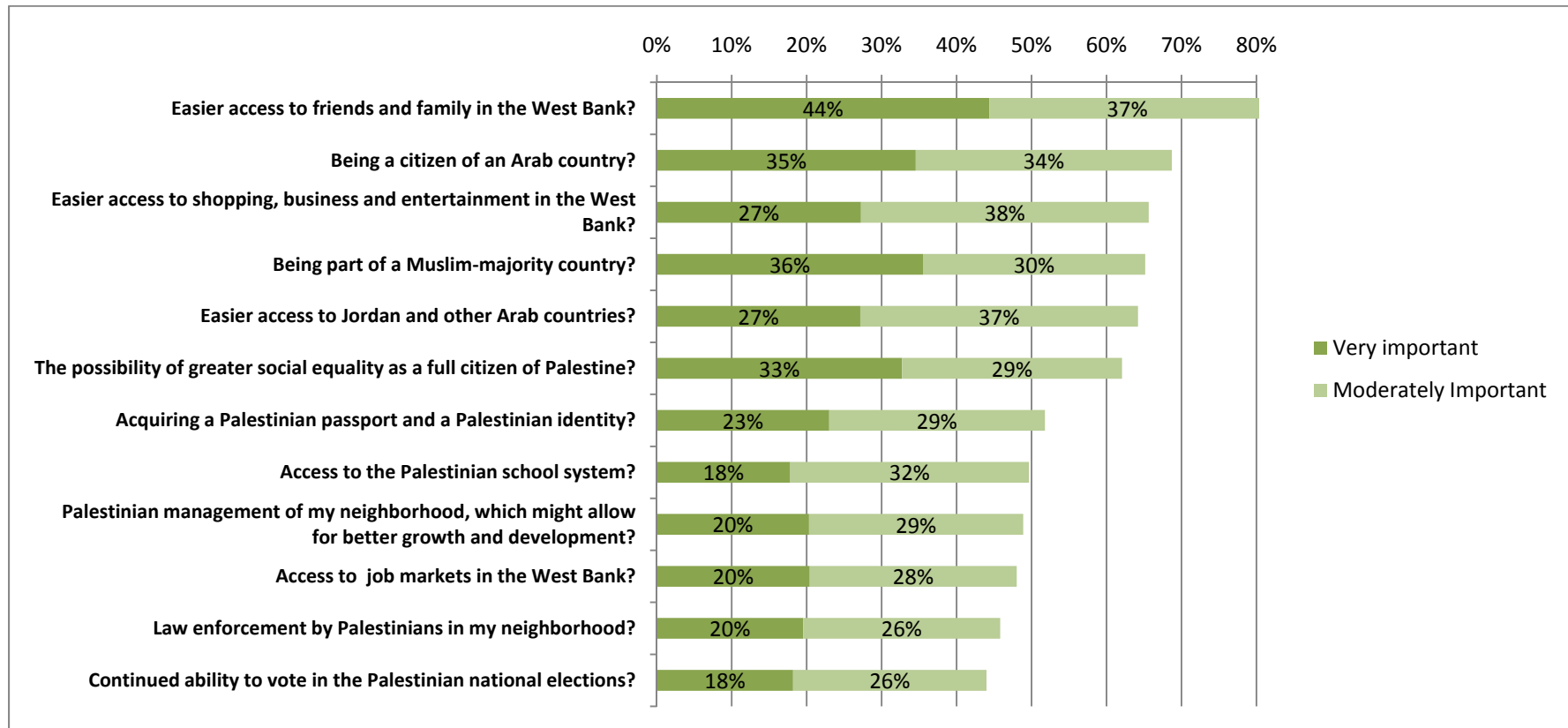
Now, I want to ask you about a number of questions about life in East Jerusalem after a two-state solution has been agreed to:

Q10 If your neighborhood were to become a part of the new state of Palestine and you were to become a citizen of Palestine with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, how concerned would you be about each of these possible changes in your life.



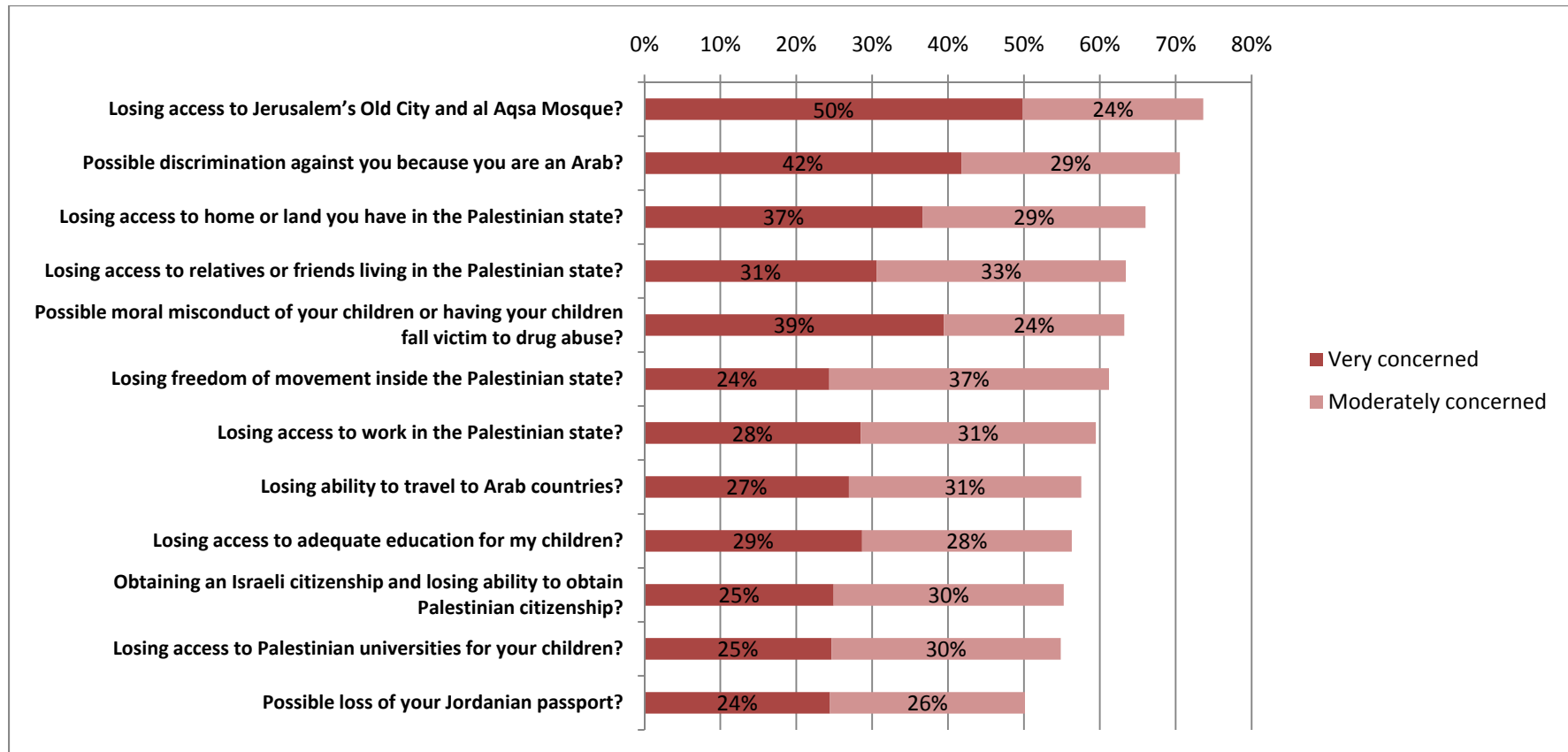
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Q11 If, following a comprehensive peace agreement, your neighborhood were to become part of the new state of Palestine, and you were to become a citizen of Palestine with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, how important are these benefits of this new citizenship?



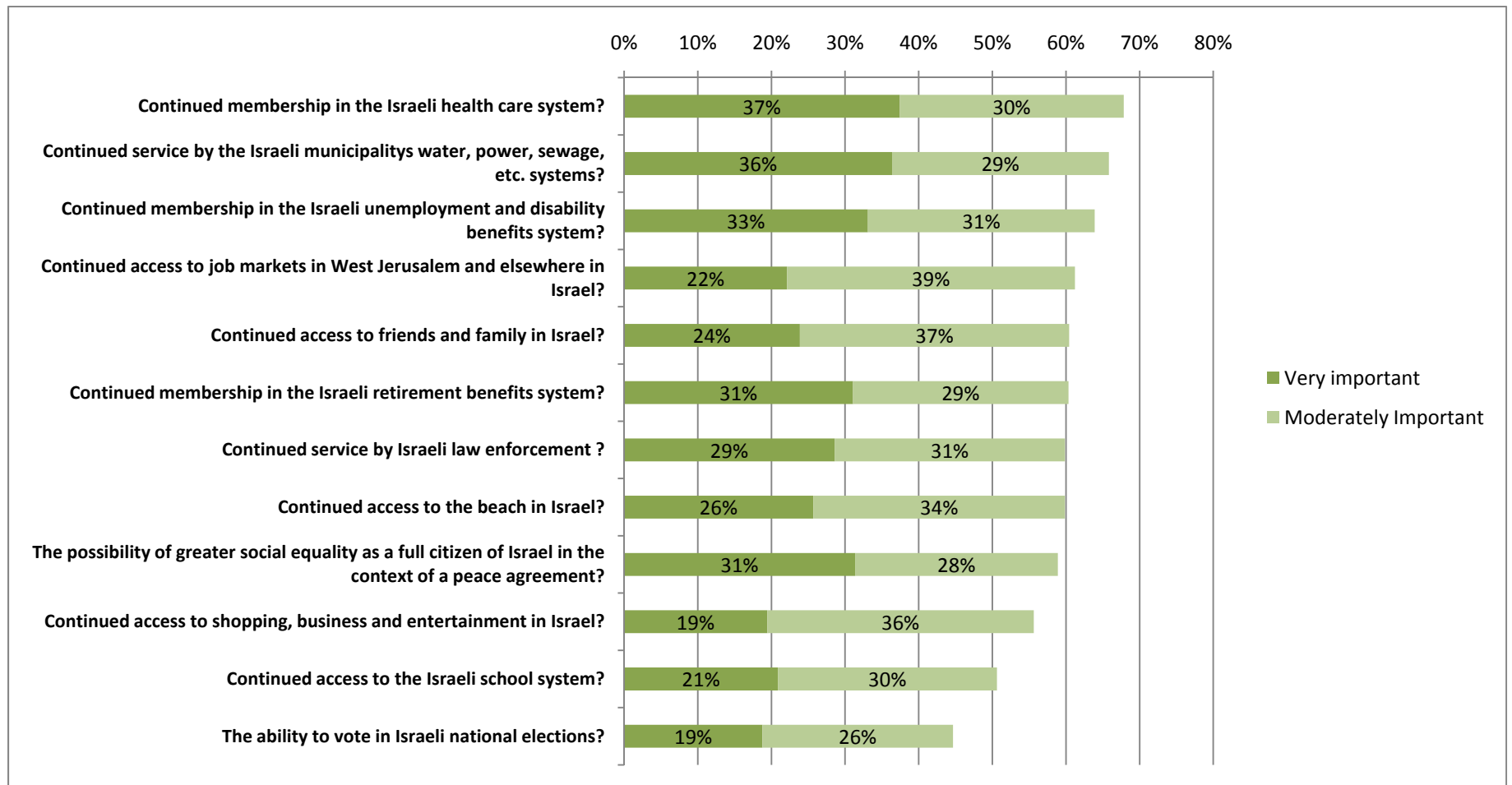
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Q12 On the other hand, if your neighborhood were to become a part of the state of Israel and you were to become a citizen of Israel with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Israel, how concerned would you be about



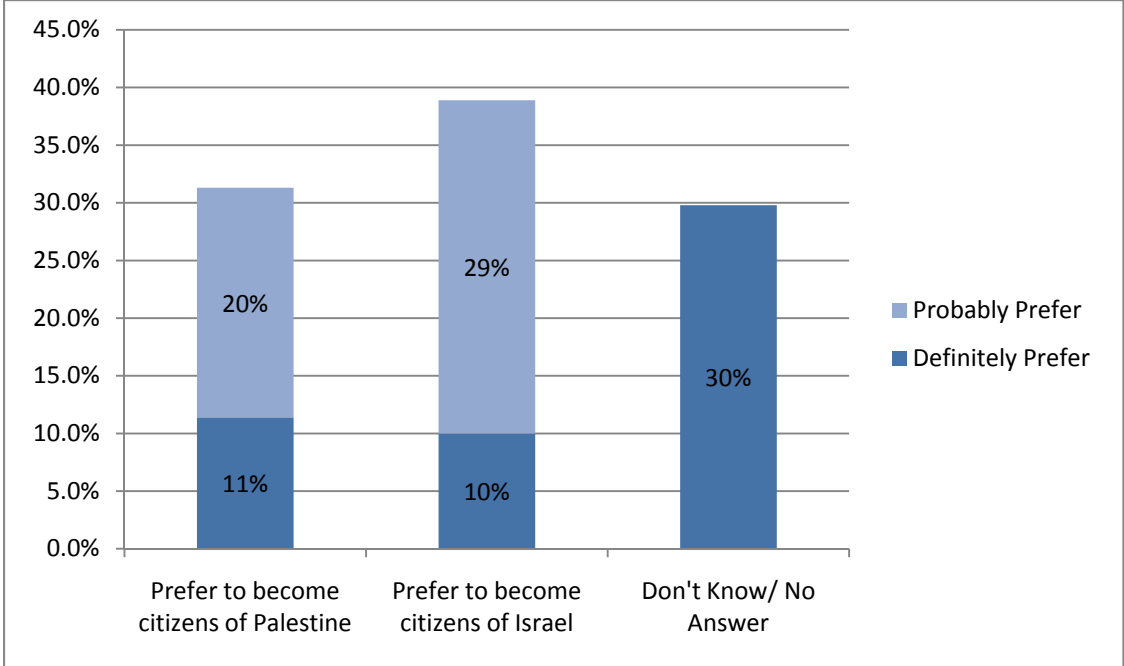
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q13 If, following a comprehensive peace agreement, your neighborhood were to become part of the new state of Israel, and you were to become a citizen of Israel with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Israel, how important are these benefits of this new citizenship?



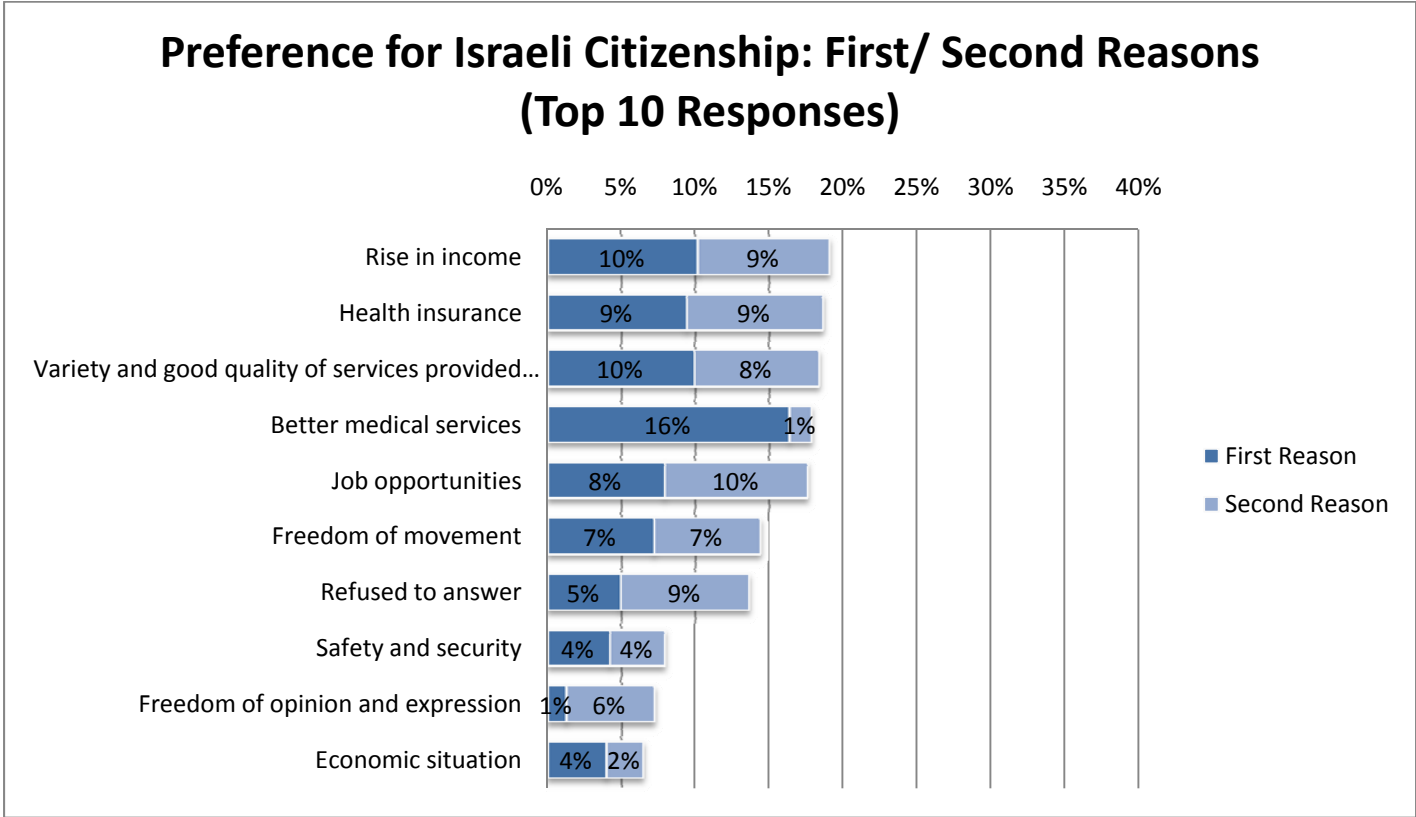
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Q14 If a permanent, two state solution is able to be worked out, do you think that *most people in your neighborhood* would prefer to become citizens of Palestine, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, or would they prefer to become citizens of Israel, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Israel?



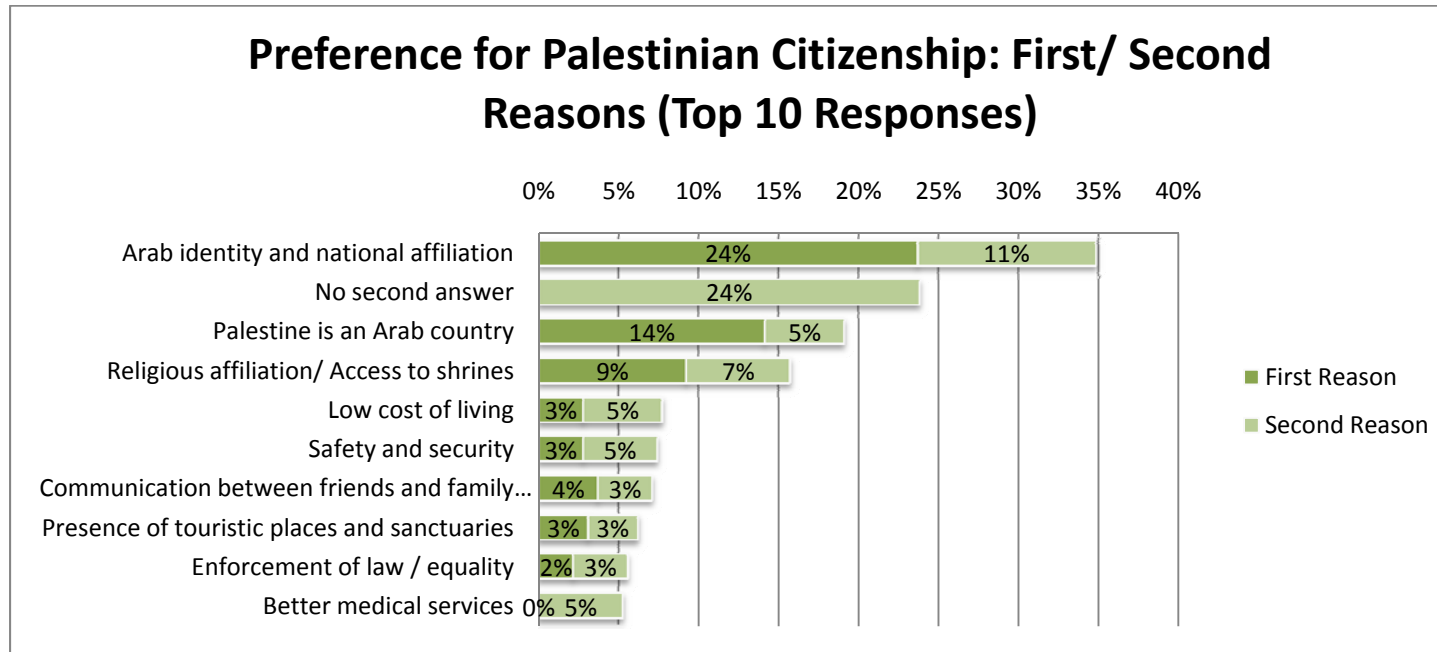
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q15 What are the most important two reasons that *most people* would prefer to become citizens of [Palestine or Israel]?



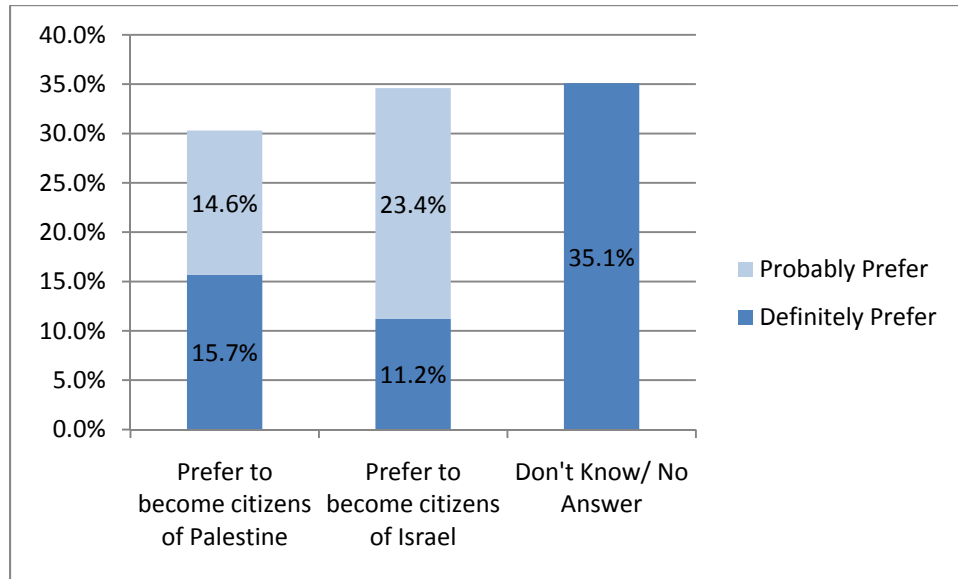
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q16 What are the most important two reasons that *most people* would prefer to become citizens of [Palestine or Israel]?



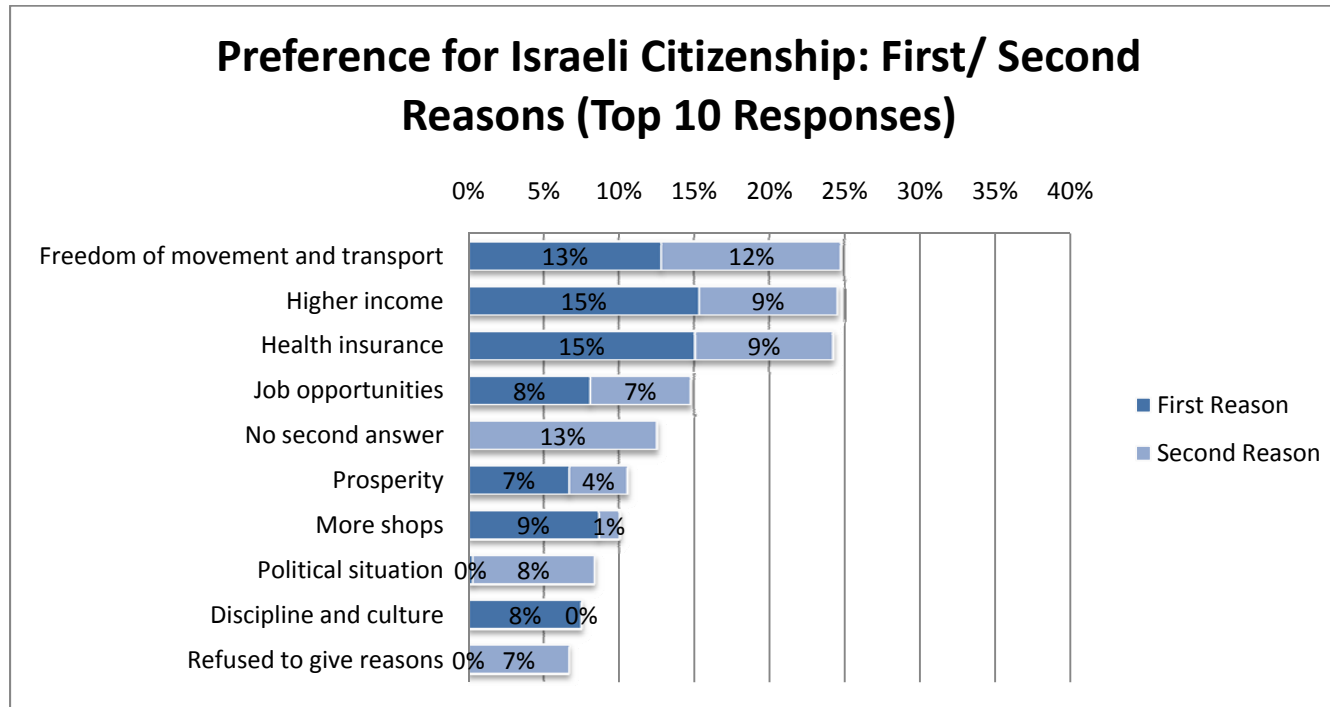
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q17 If a permanent, two state solution is able to be worked out, would you prefer to become a citizen of Palestine, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, or would you prefer to become a citizen of Israel, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Israel?



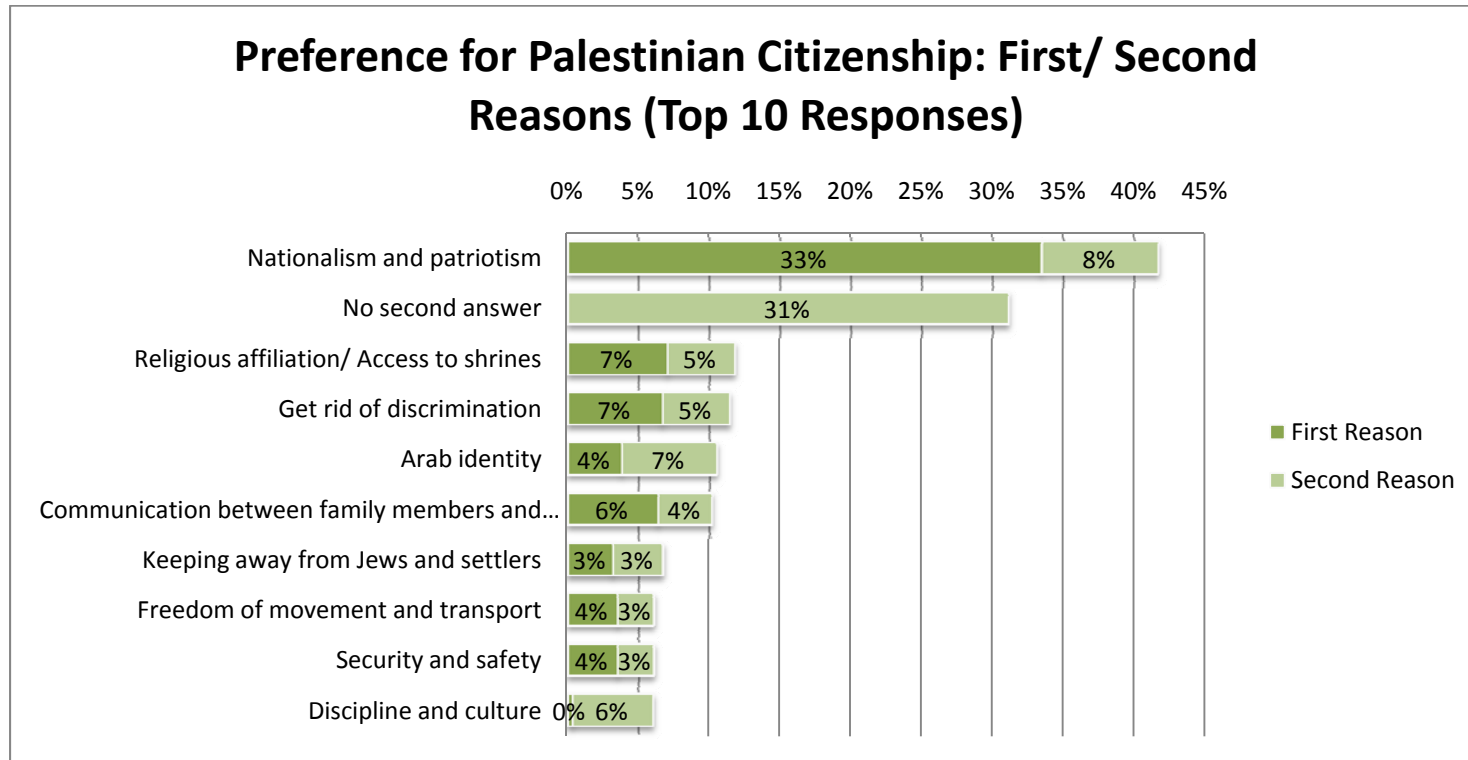
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q18 What are the most important two reasons that *you* would prefer to become a citizen of [Israel or Palestine]?



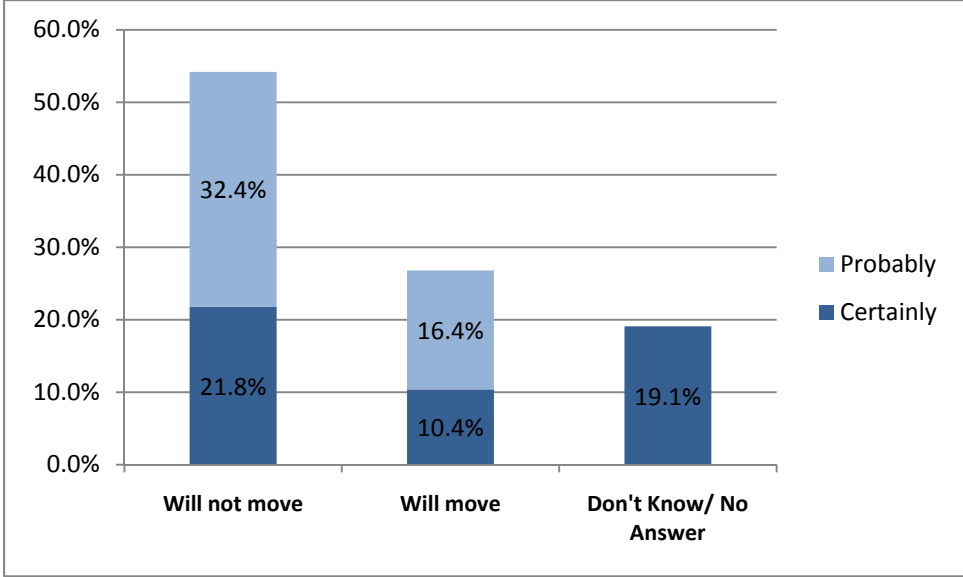
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q19 What are the most important two reasons that *you* would prefer to become a citizen of [Israel or Palestine]?



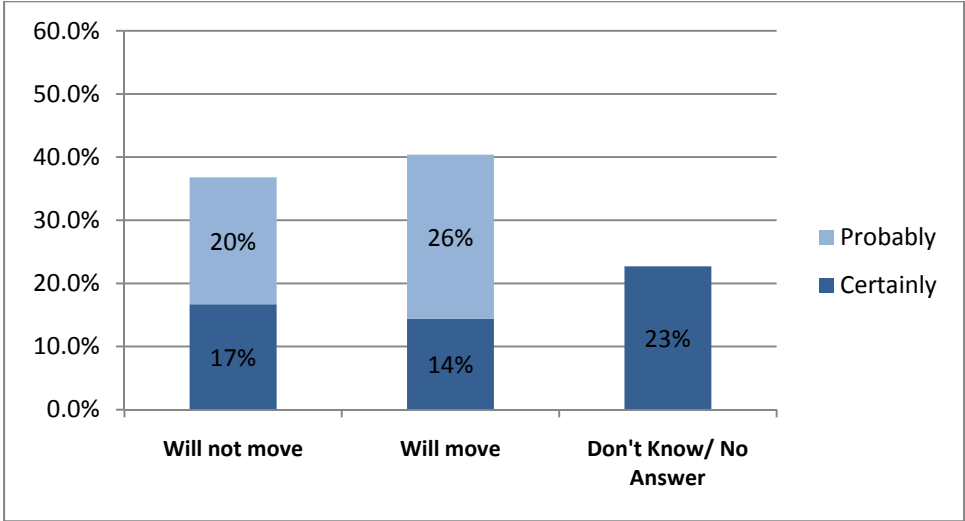
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q20 If your current neighborhood became an internationally recognized part of *Israel*, and you were allowed to move to a different home inside the new state of Palestine, *how likely are you to move to a different home inside of Palestine and to become a citizen of Palestine?*



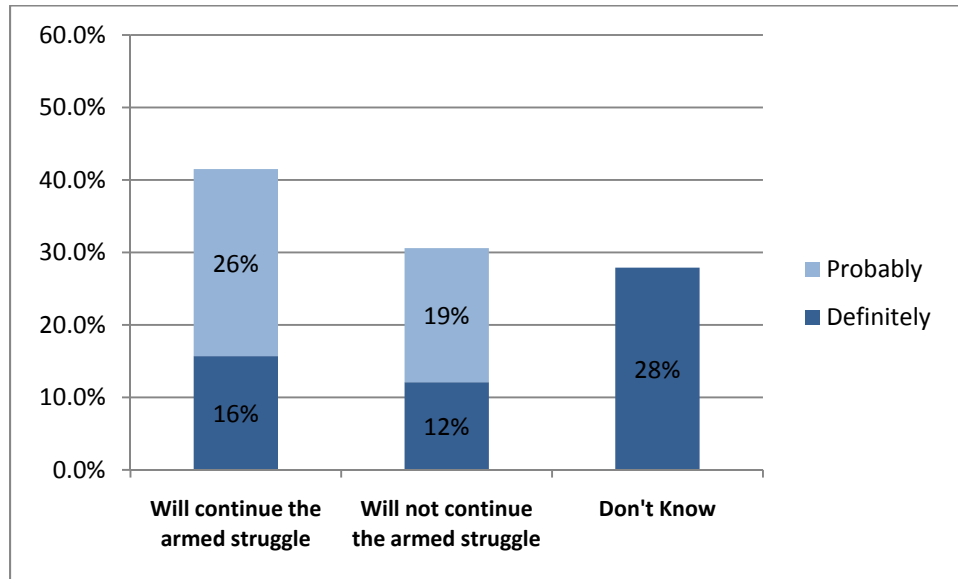
The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q21 If your current neighborhood became an internationally recognized part of *Palestine*, and you were allowed to move to a different home inside Israel, *how likely are you to move* to a different home in an Israeli neighborhood of Jerusalem, or elsewhere inside Israel, and to become a citizen of Israel?



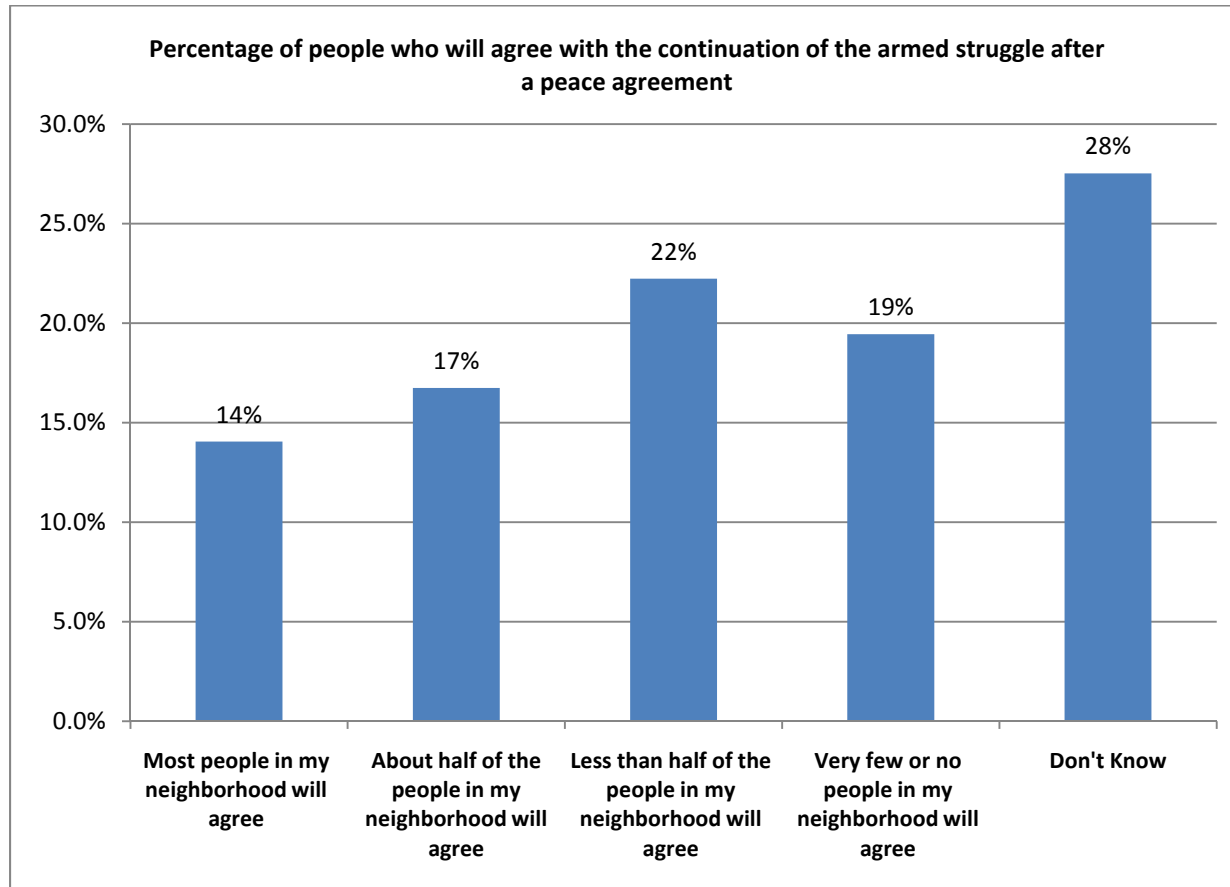
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Q22 If the Israeli and Palestinian leadership signs a peace agreement to end the conflict, and agrees to divide Jerusalem between Israel and Palestine, do you think that some resistance groups will continue the armed struggle?



The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

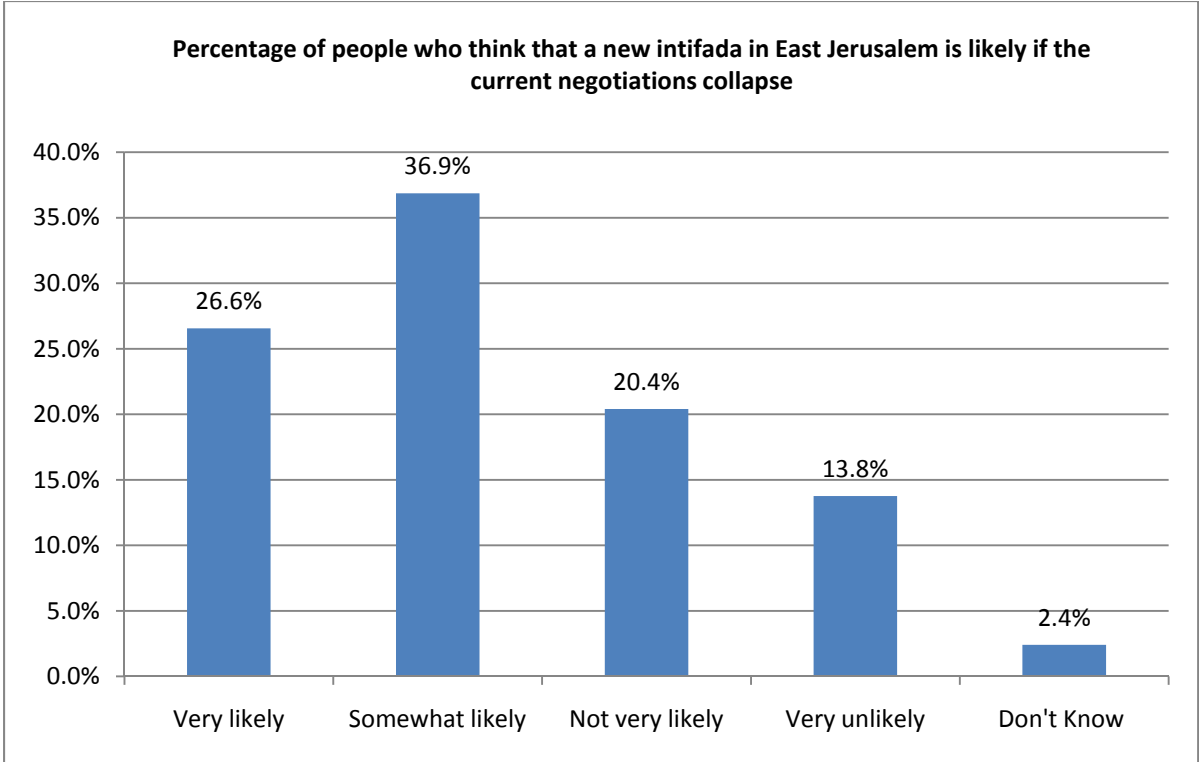
Q23 If some resistance groups continue the armed struggle after a peace agreement, do you think that people in your neighborhood will agree with the continuation of the armed struggle?



The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

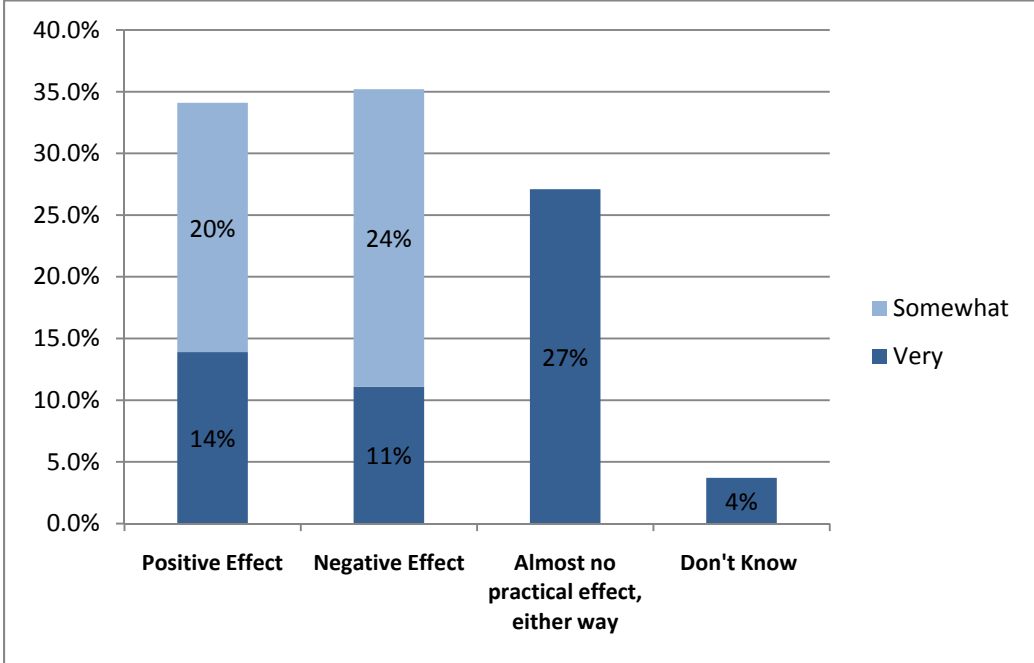
Now, I want to ask you about what would happen if the current Palestinian Israeli negotiations end without signing a peace agreement or creating a new state of Palestine:

Q24 If the current negotiations collapse, how likely is a new intifada in East Jerusalem?



The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Q25 If the current negotiations collapse, and the Palestinian Authority asks the United Nations to declare a Palestinian state without Israel's agreement, what kind of a practical effect will this have on your life?



The full data table for this graph can be found in the Appendix

Appendix

Q1 How satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of these aspects of your life in East Jerusalem?

		Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all	Total respondents for this item	Don't Know/ No Answer (# of people)	Total	Very satisfied plus satisfied
The quality of the teachers in your kids' schools?	Freq	266	420	164	63	43	956	83	1039	686
	%	27.8%	43.9%	17.2%	6.6%	4.5%	100.0%			71.8%
Access to a nearby place of worship?	Freq	416	300	167	91	51	1025	14	1039	716
	%	40.6%	29.3%	16.3%	8.9%	5.0%	100.0%			69.9%
The electrical supply in your neighborhood?	Freq	290	399	198	104	42	1033	6	1039	689
	%	28.1%	38.6%	19.2%	10.1%	4.1%	100.0%			66.7%
The water supply in your neighborhood?	Freq	292	384	205	102	46	1029	10	1039	676
	%	28.4%	37.3%	19.9%	9.9%	4.5%	100%			65.7%
The telephone system in your neighborhood?	Freq	249	353	269	115	39	1025	14	1039	602
	%	29.8%	35.6%	19.3%	10.7%	4.5%	100%			65.4%
Access to health care?	Freq	295	344	229	111	44	1023	16	1039	639
	%	32.9%	31.7%	20.2%	10.4%	4.8%	100%			64.6%
The quality of the health care you receive?	Freq	337	325	207	107	49	1025	14	1039	662
	%	28.8%	33.6%	22.4%	10.9%	4.3%	100%			62.5%
The sewage system in your neighborhood?	Freq	305	365	198	110	46	1024	15	1039	670
	%	26.8%	32.8%	22.6%	11.9%	5.9%	100%			59.6%

Access to the Al Aqsa Mosque?	Freq	274	336	231	122	60	1023	16	1039	610
	%	31.7%	27.7%	20.4%	12.0%	8.3%	100%			59.4%
Your personal interactions with health care professionals?	Freq	255	312	263	148	42	1020	19	1039	567
	%	24.3%	34.4%	26.2%	11.2%	3.8%	100%			58.7%
Access to your job?	Freq	181	375	267	121	82	1026	13	1039	556
	%	24.7%	31.1%	23.1%	14.0%	7.0%	100%			55.9%
The cost of health care (Kobat Holim)?	Freq	322	281	207	122	84	1016	23	1039	603
	%	25.0%	30.6%	25.8%	14.5%	4.1%	100%			55.6%
Your access to travel throughout Israel?	Freq	139	374	302	156	56	1027	12	1039	513
	%	17.6%	36.5%	26.0%	11.8%	8.0%	100%			54.2%
The number of students in your kids' classrooms?	Freq	163	346	247	132	66	954	85	1039	509
	%	17.1%	36.3%	25.9%	13.8%	6.9%	100%			53.4%
The garbage pickup in your neighborhood?	Freq	236	297	220	134	67	954	85	1039	533
	%	15.5%	35.7%	21.6%	17.9%	9.3%	100%			51.2%
Your personal interactions with Arabs in Jerusalem, overall?	Freq	187	260	263	162	77	949	90	1039	447
	%	13.5%	36.4%	29.4%	15.2%	5.5%	100%			50.0%
Ability to add the name of your daughter or son to your ID card?	Freq	162	273	311	177	91	1014	25	1039	435
	%	19.7%	27.4%	27.7%	17.1%	8.1%	100%			47.1%
Ability to obtain birth certificate or other official papers from Israeli government offices?	Freq	147	288	303	173	101	1012	27	1039	435
	%	16.8%	27.5%	27.3%	18.1%	10.3%	100%			44.4%
The condition of the roads in your neighborhood?	Freq	160	367	222	184	96	1029	10	1039	527
	%	14.6%	28.8%	24.5%	19.1%	13.0%	100%			43.4%
Your overall standard of living?	Freq	164	268	266	176	100	974	65	1039	432
	%	10.6%	32.8%	25.9%	14.7%	16.0%	100%			43.4%

The speed with which fire and police services arrive to the scene after requesting them?	Freq	110	339	268	152	166	1035	4	1039	449
	%	14.5%	28.5%	29.9%	17.1%	10.0%	100%			43.0%
The speed with which ambulance services arrive to the scene after requesting it?	Freq	116	252	333	195	126	1022	17	1039	368
	%	16.0%	26.9%	30.7%	17.5%	9.0%	100%			42.9%
Your access to travel throughout the West Bank?	Freq	150	295	251	196	133	1025	14	1039	445
	%	11.6%	29.8%	25.6%	18.4%	14.6%	100%			41.4%
The disability benefits available to you?	Freq	102	167	263	137	117	786	253	1039	269
	%	11.1%	24.9%	29.6%	19.1%	15.2%	100%			36.0%
The level of law enforcement in your area?	Freq	120	308	265	190	151	1034	5	1039	428
	%	11.4%	24.7%	32.6%	19.1%	12.3%	100%			36.0%
The unemployment benefits available to you?	Freq	80	189	248	140	115	772	267	1039	269
	%	10.4%	24.5%	32.1%	18.1%	14.9%	100%			34.8%
Ability to obtain a passport or travel document to travel through Ben Gurion airport?	Freq	88	198	235	152	121	794	245	1039	286
	%	12.6%	21.8%	28.6%	21.6%	15.5%	100%			34.3%
The retirement benefits available to you?	Freq	71	230	351	221	127	1000	39	1039	301
	%	13.0%	21.2%	33.5%	17.4%	14.9%	100%			34.2%
Your personal interactions with officials from the Jerusalem municipality?	Freq	124	215	283	213	153	988	51	1039	339
	%	7.1%	23.0%	35.1%	22.1%	12.7%	100%			30.1%
The amount of the Arnona (home ownership) tax that you are required to pay?	Freq	46	203	365	215	188	1017	22	1039	249
	%	13.1%	12.3%	12.7%	18.2%	43.8%	100%			25.3%
Your personal interactions with Jews in Jerusalem, overall?	Freq	50	134	189	195	324	892	147	1039	184
	%	4.5%	20.0%	35.9%	21.1%	18.5%	100%			24.5%

The amount of the income tax that you are required to pay?	Freq	126	118	122	175	422	963	76	1039	244
	%	5.6%	15.0%	21.2%	21.9%	36.3%	100%			20.6%
The ease or difficulty of obtaining building permits?	Freq	45	132	163	205	462	1007	32	1039	177
	%	4.5%	13.1%	16.2%	20.4%	45.9%	100%			17.6%

Q2 In your view is there or is there not discrimination in the services provided to Arab and Jews by the Jerusalem municipality? Would you say there is a great deal of discrimination, a fair amount, only a little, or hardly any discrimination at all?

A great deal	A fair amount	Only a little	Hardly any or none	Don't Know/ No Answer	Total
36.3%	19.5%	19.3%	8.3%	16.6%	100.0%

Q3 From your perspective, how big a problem are the following things in East Jerusalem? Are they a big problem, a moderate-sized problem, a small problem, or not a problem at all?

	Big problem	Moderate problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	Don't Know/ No Answer	Does not apply	Total	Big problem plus moderate problem
Delays and restrictions at checkpoints?	52.2%	16.6%	12.4%	10.5%	5.6%	2.8%	100.0%	68.7%
Delays and restrictions created by the building of the wall in Jerusalem?	54.6%	13.9%	11.7%	10.0%	6.7%	3.1%	100.0%	68.4%
Crime?	39.1%	24.0%	22.6%	7.6%	6.7%	0.0%	100.0%	63.0%
Threat and intimidation from Jewish settlers?	31.3%	18.2%	21.8%	14.6%	10.1%	3.9%	100.0%	49.5%
Threat and intimidation from Israeli police and border guards?	27.7%	18.4%	27.1%	13.7%	9.5%	3.6%	100.0%	46.1%
Corruption/malfeasance from Israeli Jerusalem municipal officials?	25.1%	20.3%	26.6%	12.7%	11.8%	3.5%	100.0%	45.4%
Corruption/malfeasance from Palestinian Authority officials?	22.9%	19.7%	25.6%	13.2%	14.6%	3.9%	100.0%	42.6%
Threat and intimidation from Palestinian groups?	14.4%	13.8%	26.9%	25.3%	15.0%	4.6%	100.0%	28.2%

Q4 I'm going to ask you some questions about how often you have done various activities in the last 6 months.

	Daily or almost daily	Few times every week	Approximately once weekly	Approximately once every month	Less than once a month	Does not apply	Total	Daily or almost daily + Few times every week + Approximately once weekly
How often have you traveled to other neighborhoods in East Jerusalem?	22.1%	28.9%	27.0%	12.3%	7.1%	2.5%	100.0%	78.1%
How often have you traveled across the wall to the West Bank?	23.6%	26.9%	24.3%	12.7%	8.1%	4.5%	100.0%	74.7%
How often have you traveled to West Jerusalem?	13.9%	24.9%	27.6%	16.2%	11.8%	5.6%	100.0%	66.4%
How often have you traveled to areas of Israel, other than Jerusalem?	7.5%	18.0%	30.4%	21.5%	14.9%	7.7%	100.0%	55.9%
How often do you interact in person with Palestinian citizens living in W. Jerusalem or other areas of Israel [not including E. Jerusalem]?	14.3%	16.8%	19.3%	16.1%	17.3%	16.1%	100.0%	50.5%
How often do you interact in person with Jewish citizens of Israel?	13.0%	16.2%	17.4%	14.1%	16.3%	23.0%	100.0%	46.6%

Q5 I'm going to ask you some questions about how often you have done various activities in the last 6 months.

	Daily or almost daily	Few times every week	Approximately once weekly	Approximately once every month	Less than once a month	Does not apply	Total	Daily or almost daily + Few times every week + Approximately once weekly
How often have you talked on the phone, or communicated by email, with people from East Jerusalem?	27.6%	25.2%	20.3%	14.4%	7.4%	5.0%	100.0%	73.1%
How often have you talked on the phone, or communicated by email, with people from the West Bank?	16.0%	23.5%	25.8%	16.0%	9.7%	9.0%	100.0%	65.3%
How often have you talked on the phone, or communicated by email, with people from West Jerusalem?	9.4%	17.9%	23.8%	17.9%	15.2%	15.8%	100.0%	51.1%
How often have you talked on the phone, or communicated by email, with people from Other areas of Israel?	7.8%	16.6%	21.1%	20.2%	17.1%	17.2%	100.0%	45.4%

Q6 How often did you do these things before the building of the wall? Did you do them more or less often than now?

	Much more often before the building of the wall	Somewhat more often	Unchanged, same as now	Somewhat less often before the wall	Much less often	Does not apply	Total	Much more often before the building of the wall plus Somewhat more often
Travel to other neighborhoods in East Jerusalem?	14.7%	22.0%	49.4%	8.0%	2.3%	3.6%	100.0%	36.8%
Travel across the wall to the West Bank?	32.5%	24.7%	27.7%	7.2%	3.7%	4.1%	100.0%	57.3%
Travel to West Jerusalem?	9.5%	20.4%	52.2%	7.6%	3.8%	6.4%	100.0%	29.9%
Travel to areas of Israel, other than Jerusalem?	8.6%	21.6%	45.3%	9.5%	5.1%	9.9%	100.0%	30.1%

Q7 How often did you do these things before the building of the wall? Did you do them more or less often than now?

	Much more often before the building of the wall	Somewhat more often	Unchanged, same as now	Somewhat less often before the wall	Much less often	Does not apply	Total	Much more often before the building of the wall plus Somewhat more often
Talk on the phone, or communication by email, with people from East Jerusalem?	8.1%	18.9%	50.1%	11.5%	4.7%	6.6%	100.0%	26.9%
Talk on the phone, or communication by email, with people from the West Bank?	11.8%	19.0%	44.0%	10.3%	6.2%	8.8%	100.0%	30.8%
Talk on the phone, or communication by email, with people from West Jerusalem?	7.4%	16.2%	44.9%	11.2%	7.4%	13.0%	100.0%	23.6%
Talk on the phone, or communication by email, with people from Other areas of Israel?	7.8%	15.9%	42.3%	11.2%	6.8%	16.0%	100.0%	23.7%

Q8 Now, I'd like to ask about your language abilities in Hebrew and in English:

	Strong ability	Moderate ability	A little ability	No ability	Total	Strong ability plus Moderate ability
How strong is your ability to understand Hebrew?	33.0%	36.5%	22.0%	8.5%	100.0%	69.5%
How strong is your ability to speak in Hebrew?	26.1%	35.0%	25.8%	13.1%	100.0%	61.1%
How strong is your ability to understand English?	25.4%	34.2%	28.0%	12.4%	100.0%	59.6%
How strong is your ability to speak in English?	21.8%	34.7%	28.6%	14.9%	100.0%	56.5%

Q9 When we think about the question, “Who am I?” each of us comes up with many answers. I might think of myself as both a father (to my child) and a son (to my own father). I can also think of myself, for example, as a carpenter, or doctor, as an athletic person, or as someone who loves to read. Some of these identities are very important to us, and some of them are less important.

I’m going to ask you about a number of identities. For each one, please tell me how important that identity is to you.

		Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	A little important	Not important at all	Declined to answer (included in Percentages)	Total	Not applicable (# of people). Not included in percentages	Total	Extremely important plus very important
Being a Muslim? [For Muslims only]	Freq	483	213	156	82	28		962	77	1039	696
	%	50.2	22.1	16.2	8.5	2.9		100.0			72.3
Being a Palestinian?	Freq	475	239	211	71	43		1039		1039	714
	%	45.7	23.0	20.3	6.8	4.1		100.0			68.7
Being a blue card holder? [For blue card holders only]	Freq	416	269	181	84	49		999	40	1039	685
	%	41.6	26.9	18.1	8.4	4.9		100.0			68.6
Being a Jerusalemite?	Freq	437	270	201	95	36		1039		1039	707
	%	42.1	26.0	19.3	9.1	3.5		100.0			68.0
Being an Arab?	Freq	442	249	220	94	34		1039		1039	691
	%	42.5	24.0	21.2	9.0	3.3		100.0			66.5
Being from a Jerusalemite family? [For Jerusalemite family members only]	Freq	334	257	219	113	62		985	54	1039	591
	%	33.9	26.1	22.2	11.5	6.3		100.0			60.0
Being a resident of _____ neighborhood?	Freq	240	203	255	172	92		962	77	1039	443
	%	24.9	21.1	26.5	17.9	9.6		100.0			42.6
Being sympathetic to Fatah?	Freq	108	103	155	148	343	182	1039			
	%	10.4	9.9	14.9	14.2	33.0	17.5	100.0			
Being sympathetic to the Islamic Movement inside the Green Line?	Freq	81	120	165	169	325	179	1039			
	%	7.8	11.5	15.9	16.3	31.3	17.2	100.0			
Being sympathetic to Hamas?	Freq	68	105	145	164	367	190	1039			
	%	6.5	10.1	14.0	15.8	35.3	18.3	100.0			
*Of the 77 Christians surveyed, 35 said extremely important, 14 said very important, 13 said moderately important, 10 said a little important, and 5 said not important at all											

Palestinians and Israelis are involved in negotiations aimed at reaching agreement on a two-state solution in the next year. If this happens, East Jerusalemites will no longer have their current status as Israeli residents holding blue cards. Instead, people in each neighborhood will become either full citizens of Palestine or full citizens of Israel, depending on which side of the border they are.

Now, I want to ask you about a number of questions about life in East Jerusalem after a two-state solution has been agreed to:

Q10 If your neighborhood were to become a part of the new state of Palestine and you were to become a citizen of Palestine with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, how concerned would you be about each of these possible changes in your life.

	Very concerned	Moderately concerned	A little concerned	Not concerned at all	Don't Know/ No Answer	Total	Very Concerned plus Moderately Concerned
Losing access to Jerusalem's Old City and al Aqsa Mosque?	53.0%	23.8%	15.2%	6.4%	1.5%	100.0%	76.8%
Losing access to employment in West Jerusalem or elsewhere in Israel?	42.3%	31.7%	13.0%	8.7%	4.4%	100.0%	73.9%
Losing access to free movement inside Israel?	36.3%	35.1%	16.7%	8.3%	3.7%	100.0%	71.4%
Changing from the Israeli health care system to a Palestinian health care system?	36.6%	32.1%	16.8%	10.0%	4.4%	100.0%	68.7%
Changing from Israeli unemployment and disability benefits to Palestinian unemployment and disability benefits?	35.6%	31.2%	17.4%	11.1%	4.7%	100.0%	66.8%
Possible reduction in the level or quality of city services such as garbage pickup and road repair?	31.7%	34.6%	20.4%	9.1%	4.2%	100.0%	66.2%
Possible increase in the level of corruption?	34.6%	30.2%	20.8%	8.5%	6.0%	100.0%	64.8%
Possible reduction in the level of law enforcement?	30.7%	30.9%	23.1%	9.8%	5.5%	100.0%	61.6%
Losing access to relatives or friends living in Israel?	29.2%	32.0%	24.7%	10.1%	4.0%	100.0%	61.1%
Losing access to adequate education for my children?	37.3%	23.3%	18.3%	14.1%	6.9%	100.0%	60.6%
Changing from Israeli retirement benefits to Palestinian retirement benefits?	32.5%	27.0%	21.6%	12.6%	6.3%	100.0%	59.6%
Possible involvement of your children with violent groups?	37.6%	20.3%	17.4%	16.7%	8.0%	100.0%	57.9%
Possible changes in your ability to write and speak freely?	25.9%	27.7%	20.8%	17.6%	8.0%	100.0%	53.6%
Losing access to Israeli universities?	23.4%	27.3%	19.8%	24.6%	4.8%	100.0%	50.7%

Q11 If, following a comprehensive peace agreement, your neighborhood were to become part of the new state of Palestine, and you were to become a citizen of Palestine with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, how important are these benefits of this new citizenship?

	Very important	Moderately Important	A little important	Not important at all	Don't Know/ No Answer	Total	Very Important and Moderately Important
Easier access to friends and family in the West Bank?	44.4%	36.9%	13.3%	3.1%	2.4%	100.0%	81.2%
Being a citizen of an Arab country?	34.6%	34.2%	17.8%	9.4%	4.0%	100.0%	68.7%
Easier access to shopping, business and entertainment in the West Bank?	27.2%	38.4%	23.9%	7.8%	2.7%	100.0%	65.6%
Being part of a Muslim-majority country?	35.5%	29.6%	18.4%	11.5%	5.0%	100.0%	65.2%
Easier access to Jordan and other Arab countries?	27.1%	37.1%	25.0%	7.8%	3.0%	100.0%	64.2%
The possibility of greater social equality as a full citizen of Palestine?	32.7%	29.4%	20.8%	9.8%	7.3%	100.0%	62.1%
Acquiring a Palestinian passport and a Palestinian identity?	23.0%	28.8%	29.5%	13.4%	5.4%	100.0%	51.8%
Access to the Palestinian school system?	17.8%	31.9%	28.0%	16.6%	5.8%	100.0%	49.7%
Palestinian management of my neighborhood, which might allow for better growth and development?	20.3%	28.6%	27.1%	17.7%	6.3%	100.0%	48.9%
Access to job markets in the West Bank?	20.4%	27.6%	28.5%	16.5%	7.0%	100.0%	48.0%
Law enforcement by Palestinians in my neighborhood?	19.5%	26.3%	27.8%	18.6%	7.8%	100.0%	45.8%
Continued ability to vote in the Palestinian national elections?	18.2%	25.8%	26.6%	21.7%	7.8%	100.0%	44.0%

Q12 On the other hand, if your neighborhood were to become a part of the state of Israel and you were to become a citizen of Israel with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Israel, how concerned would you be about

	Very concerned	Moderately concerned	A little concerned	Not concerned at all	Don't Know/ No Answer	Total	Very Concerned plus Moderately Concerned
Losing access to Jerusalem's Old City and al Aqsa Mosque?	49.9%	23.8%	14.8%	7.1%	4.4%	100.0%	73.6%
Possible discrimination against you because you are an Arab?	41.8%	28.8%	18.5%	6.4%	4.5%	100.0%	70.5%
Losing access to home or land you have in the Palestinian state?	36.7%	29.4%	20.4%	7.6%	6.0%	100.0%	66.0%
Losing access to relatives or friends living in the Palestinian state?	30.6%	32.8%	21.1%	9.4%	6.1%	100.0%	63.4%
Possible moral misconduct of your children or having your children fall victim to drug abuse?	39.5%	23.8%	18.6%	12.7%	5.5%	100.0%	63.2%
Losing freedom of movement inside the Palestinian state?	24.4%	36.9%	24.4%	11.7%	2.7%	100.0%	61.2%
Losing access to work in the Palestinian state?	28.5%	31.0%	20.0%	16.7%	3.8%	100.0%	59.5%
Losing ability to travel to Arab countries?	26.9%	30.6%	25.7%	12.6%	4.1%	100.0%	57.6%
Losing access to adequate education for my children?	28.7%	27.6%	24.2%	13.9%	5.7%	100.0%	56.3%
Obtaining an Israeli citizenship and losing ability to obtain Palestinian citizenship?	24.9%	30.3%	24.8%	14.4%	5.5%	100.0%	55.2%
Losing access to Palestinian universities for your children?	24.6%	30.2%	24.2%	14.1%	6.8%	100.0%	54.9%
Possible loss of your Jordanian passport?	24.4%	25.7%	23.6%	17.0%	9.2%	100.0%	50.1%

Q13 If, following a comprehensive peace agreement, your neighborhood were to become part of the new state of Israel, and you were to become a citizen of Israel with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Israel, how important are these benefits of this new citizenship?

	Very important	Moderately Important	A little important	Not important at all	Don't Know/ No Answer	Total	Very Important and Moderately Important
Continued membership in the Israeli health care system?	37.4%	30.4%	17.6%	8.3%	6.3%	100.0%	67.9%
Continued service by the Israeli municipality's water, power, sewage, etc. systems?	36.4%	29.5%	19.8%	9.2%	5.1%	100.0%	65.8%
Continued membership in the Israeli unemployment and disability benefits system?	33.1%	30.8%	20.7%	9.6%	5.8%	100.0%	63.9%
Continued access to job markets in West Jerusalem and elsewhere in Israel?	22.1%	39.1%	25.3%	9.6%	3.8%	100.0%	61.2%
Continued access to friends and family in Israel?	23.9%	36.6%	25.9%	9.0%	4.6%	100.0%	60.4%
Continued membership in the Israeli retirement benefits system?	31.1%	29.3%	21.2%	11.0%	7.5%	100.0%	60.3%
Continued service by Israeli law enforcement ?	28.6%	31.3%	24.5%	9.3%	6.3%	100.0%	59.9%
Continued access to the beach in Israel?	25.7%	34.2%	22.3%	12.3%	5.5%	100.0%	59.9%
The possibility of greater social equality as a full citizen of Israel in the context of a peace agreement?	31.4%	27.5%	21.9%	10.5%	8.7%	100.0%	58.9%
Continued access to shopping, business and entertainment in Israel?	19.4%	36.2%	28.6%	11.4%	4.4%	100.0%	55.6%
Continued access to the Israeli school system?	20.9%	29.7%	28.4%	14.4%	6.5%	100.0%	50.6%
The ability to vote in Israeli national elections?	18.8%	25.9%	25.3%	24.7%	5.3%	100.0%	44.7%

Q14 If a permanent, two state solution is able to be worked out, do you think that *most people in your neighborhood* would prefer to become citizens of Palestine, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, or would they prefer to become citizens of Israel, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Israel?

	Definitely Prefer	Probably Prefer
Prefer to become citizens of Palestine	11.4%	19.9%
Prefer to become citizens of Israel	10.0%	28.9%
Don't Know/ No Answer	29.8%	

Q15 & 16 What are the most important two reasons that *most people* would prefer to become citizens of [Palestine or Israel]?

Preference for Israeli Citizenship	First Reason	Second Reason		Preference for Palestinian Citizenship	First Reason	Second Reason
Rise in income	10%	9%		Arab identity and national affiliation	24%	11%
Health insurance	9%	9%		No second answer		24%
Variety and good quality of services provided (water/elect)	10%	8%		Palestine is an Arab country	14%	5%
Better medical services	16%	1%		Religious affiliation/ Access to shrines	9%	7%
Job opportunities	8%	10%		Low cost of living	3%	5%
Freedom of movement	7%	7%		Safety and security	3%	5%
Refused to answer	5%	9%		Communication between friends and family members	4%	3%
Safety and security	4%	4%		Presence of touristic places and sanctuaries	3%	3%
Freedom of opinion and expression	1%	6%		Enforcement of law / equality	2%	3%
Economic situation	4%	2%		Better medical services	0%	5%
Discipline	3%	2%		Staying away from Jews and settlers	2%	2%
Independence and stability	1%	4%		Independence and stability	5%	0%
State of Israel is strong	1%	3%		Freedom of movement	1%	4%
Easiness of life	2%	2%		Refused to answer	5%	0%
Better education	2%	2%		Jerusalem to be the capital of the State of Palestine	3%	2%
Freedom of transport and movement	1%	3%		No discrimination	3%	2%
Cleanliness	2%	2%		Racism	3%	2%
Presence of touristic places and sanctuaries	1%	2%		Social ties	3%	1%
Enforcement of law / equality	3%	0%		Job opportunities	2%	2%
Corruption	1%	2%		Easiness of life	2%	2%
Communication between friends and family members	1%	2%		Freedom of opinion and expression	2%	2%
Democracy	0%	2%		Democracy	1%	2%
Get accustomed to the way of life in Israel	2%	0%		Customs and traditions	2%	1%
Places of amusement and pleasure	1%	1%		Freedom of transport and movement	1%	2%
Freedom of travelling abroad	0%	1%		Nonpayment of taxes	1%	1%
Pension benefits on retirement	1%	1%		For fear of being dismissed from their homes	1%	1%
Development and technology	1%	0%		To live in dignity	1%	1%
No second answer		1%		Political situation	1%	0%
Other	3%	5%		Economic situation	0%	1%
				Pension benefits on retirement	0%	1%
				Freedom of travelling abroad	1%	0%
Total	100%	100%		Total	100%	100%

Q17 If a permanent, two state solution is able to be worked out, would *you* prefer to become a citizen of Palestine, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, or would you prefer to become a citizen of Israel, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Israel?

	Definitely Prefer	Probably Prefer
Prefer to become citizens of Palestine	15.7%	14.6%
Prefer to become citizens of Israel	11.2%	23.4%
Don't Know/ No Answer	35.1%	

Q18 & 19 What are the most important two reasons that *you* would prefer to become a citizen of [Israel or Palestine]?

Preference for Israeli Citizenship	First Reason	Second Reason		Preference for Palestinian Citizenship	First Reason	Second Reason
Freedom of movement and transport	13%	12%		Nationalism and patriotism	33%	8%
Higher income	15%	9%		No second answer		31%
Health insurance	15%	9%		Religious affiliation/ Access to shrines	7%	5%
Job opportunities	8%	7%		Get rid of discrimination	7%	5%
No second answer		13%		Arab identity	4%	7%
Prosperity	7%	4%		Communication between family members and friends	6%	4%
More shops	9%	1%		Keeping away from Jews and settlers	3%	3%
Political situation	0%	8%		Freedom of movement and transport	4%	3%
Discipline and culture	8%	0%		Security and safety	4%	3%
Refused to give reasons	0%	7%		Discipline and culture	0%	6%
Higher standard of education	5%	1%		Job opportunities	4%	1%
Get rid of tax payments	0%	6%		Keeping dignity	3%	1%
Being accustomed to the way of life	3%	3%		Refused to give reasons	2%	3%
Development	3%	2%		Get rid of tax payments	4%	0%
Travelling abroad	1%	4%		Stability	4%	0%
Get rid of discrimination	0%	4%		More shops	2%	2%
Security and safety	4%	0%		Political situation	2%	2%
Pension	2%	2%		Prosperity	2%	1%
Communication between family members and friends	1%	2%		Existence of sanctuaries in it	2%	1%
Psychic comfort	2%	1%		Observance of laborers' rights	1%	2%
Stability	1%	1%		Higher standard of education	0%	3%
East Jerusalem to be the capital of the State of Palestine	0%	2%		Psychic comfort	2%	0%
Existence of sanctuaries in it	2%	0%		Obtainment of a Palestinian citizenship	1%	1%
Democracy	1%	0%		No check-points	0%	2%
Israel is a strong state	0%	1%		Being accustomed to the way of life	2%	0%
No check-points	0%	1%		Democracy	1%	1%
Observance of laborers' rights	1%	1%		Development	0%	2%
				Customs and traditions	1%	1%
				Corruption	0%	1%
				Israel is a strong state	0%	1%
				Freedom of expression	1%	0%
				No threats of house demolitions	0%	1%
Total	100%	100%		Total	100%	100%

Q20 If your current neighborhood became an internationally recognized part of *Israel*, and you were allowed to move to a different home inside the new state of Palestine, *how likely are you to move* to a different home inside of Palestine and to become a citizen of Palestine?

	Certainly	Probably
Will not move	21.8%	32.4%
Will move	10.4%	16.4%
Don't Know/ No Answer	19.1%	

Q21 If your current neighborhood became an internationally recognized part of *Palestine*, and you were allowed to move to a different home inside Israel, *how likely are you to move* to a different home in an Israeli neighborhood of Jerusalem, or elsewhere inside Israel, and to become a citizen of Israel?

	Certainly	Probably
Will not move	16.7%	20.1%
Will move	14.4%	26.0%
Don't Know /No Answer	22.7%	

Q22 If the Israeli and Palestinian leadership signs a peace agreement to end the conflict, and agrees to divide Jerusalem between Israel and Palestine, do you think that some resistance groups will continue the armed struggle?

	Definitely	Probably
Will continue the armed struggle	15.7%	25.8%
Will not continue the armed struggle	12.1%	18.5%
Don't Know	27.9%	

Q23 If some resistance groups continue the armed struggle after a peace agreement, do you think that people in your neighborhood will agree with the continuation of the armed struggle?

Most people in my neighborhood will agree	About half of the people in my neighborhood will agree	Less than half of the people in my neighborhood will agree	Very few or no people in my neighborhood will agree	Don't Know	Total
14.1%	16.7%	22.2%	19.4%	27.5%	100.0%

Now, I want to ask you about what would happen if the current Palestinian Israeli negotiations end without signing a peace agreement or creating a new state of Palestine:

Q24 If the current negotiations collapse, how likely is a new intifada in East Jerusalem?

Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not very likely	Very unlikely	Don't Know	Total
26.6%	36.9%	20.4%	13.8%	2.4%	100.0%

Q25 If the current negotiations collapse, and the Palestinian Authority asks the United Nations to declare a Palestinian state without Israel's agreement, what kind of a practical effect will this have on your life?

	Very	Somewhat
Positive Effect	13.9%	20.2%
Negative Effect	11.1%	24.1%
Almost no practical effect, either way	27.1%	
Don't Know	3.7%	



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