

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

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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](http://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](mailto: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.

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# 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%

# SURVEY DEMOGRAPHICS

Actual Poll Percentages Unweighted

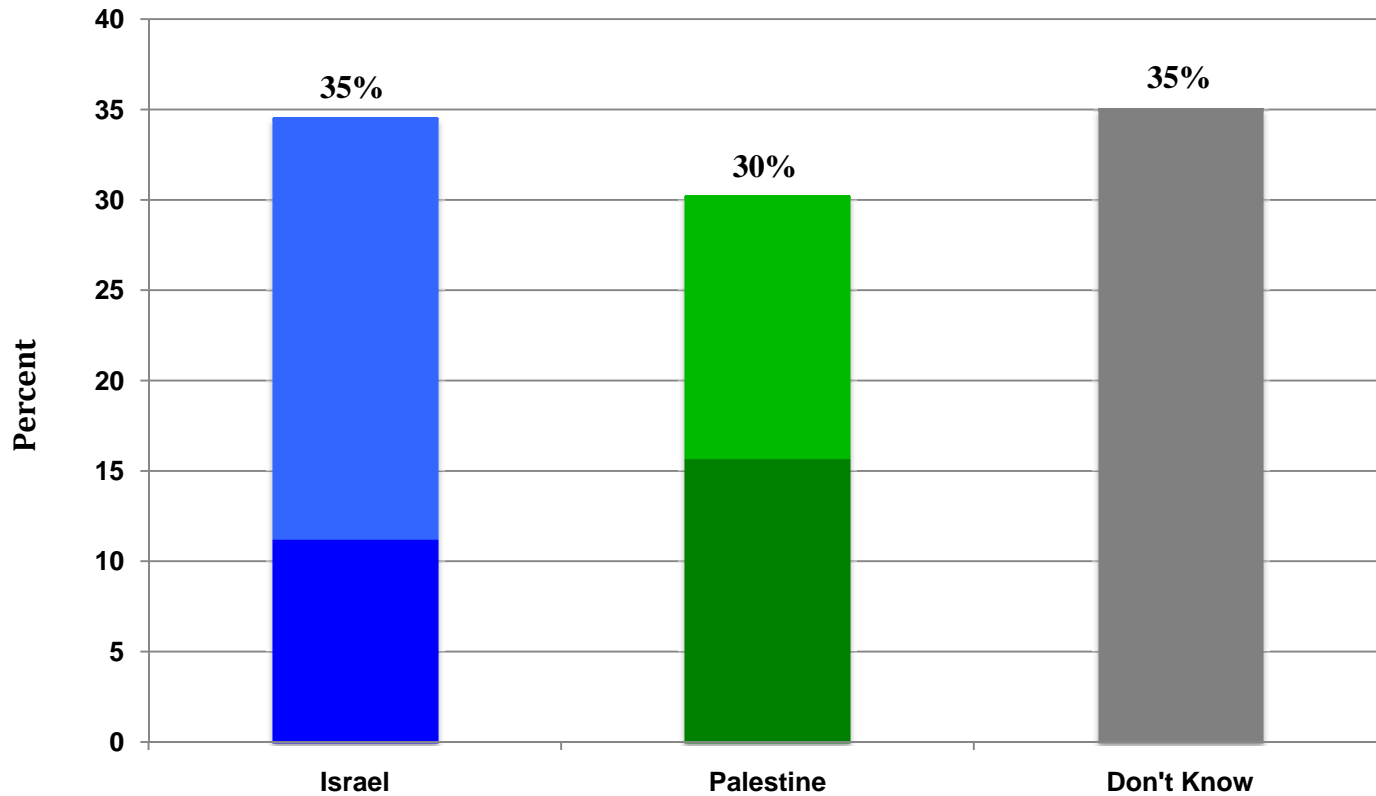
Occupation	Percent
Student	21%
Laborer	22%
Housewife	13%
Employee	22%
Professional	7%
Merchant	7%
Farmer	1%
Retired	2%
Don't Know	7%

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%

# **Citizenship Preferences Following a Two State Solution**

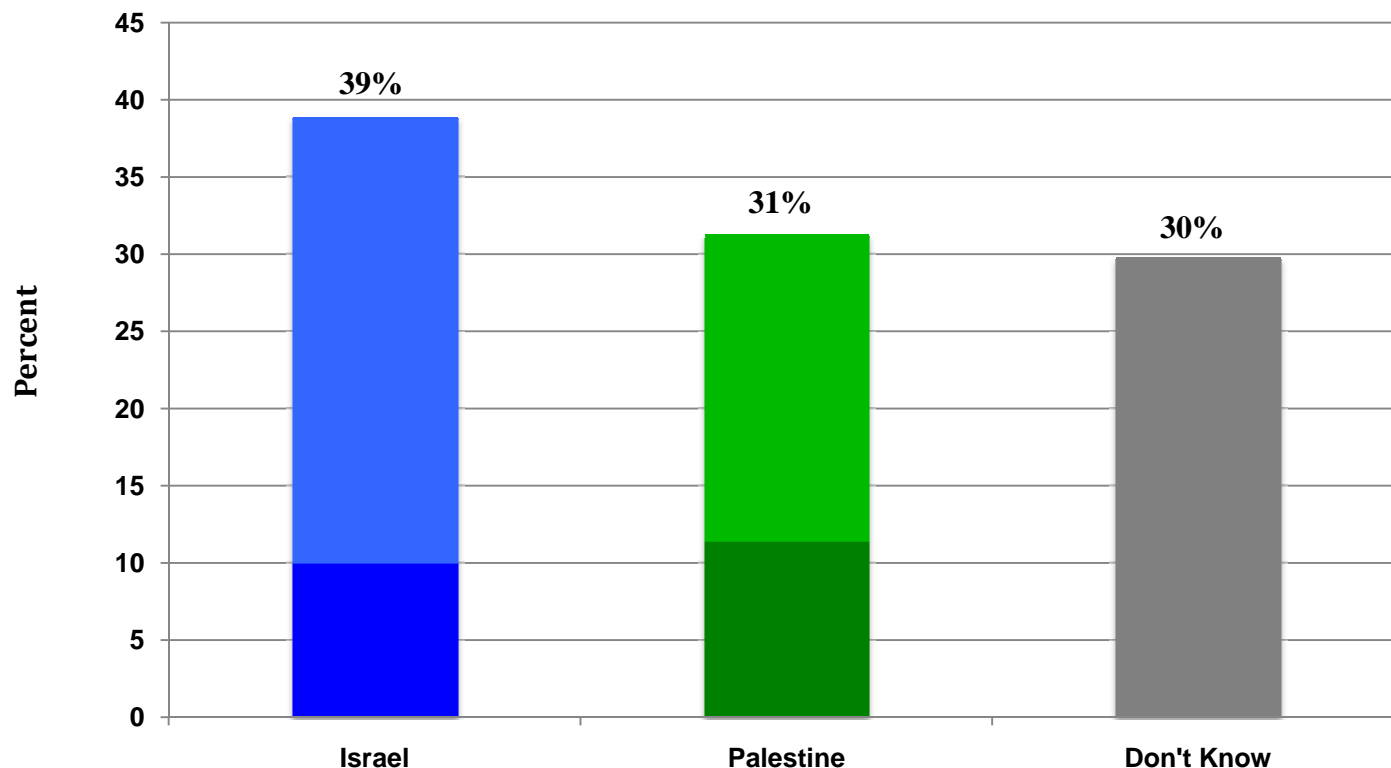
**“If a permanent, two state solution is able to be worked out, **would you** prefer to become a citizen of Palestine, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, or would you prefer to become a citizen of Israel, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Israel?”**



■ Definitely    ■ Probably    ■ Probably    ■ Definitely    ■ Don't Know

N=1039

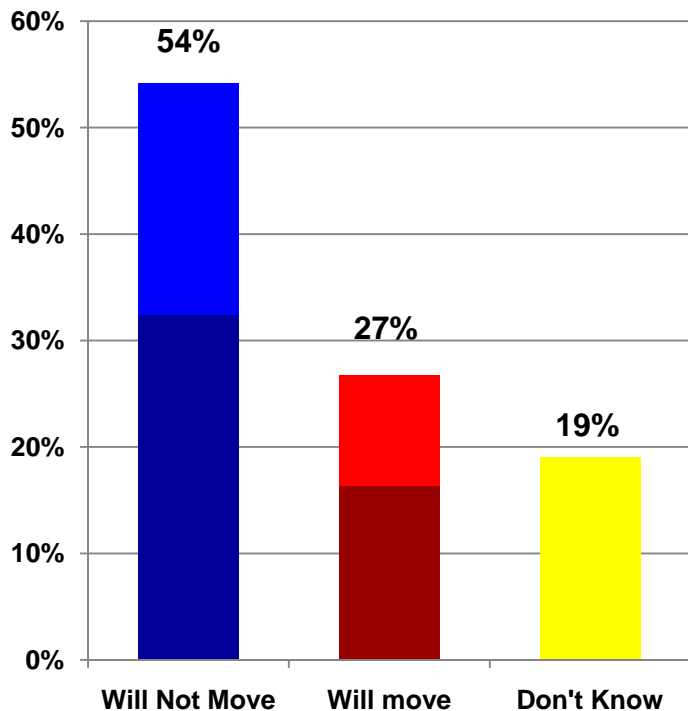
**“If a permanent, two state solution is able to be worked out, do you think that **most people in your neighborhood** would prefer to become citizens of Palestine, with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, or would they prefer to become citizens of Israel, with all of the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



■ Definitely   ■ Probably   ■ Probably   ■ Definitely   ■ Don't Know

N=1039

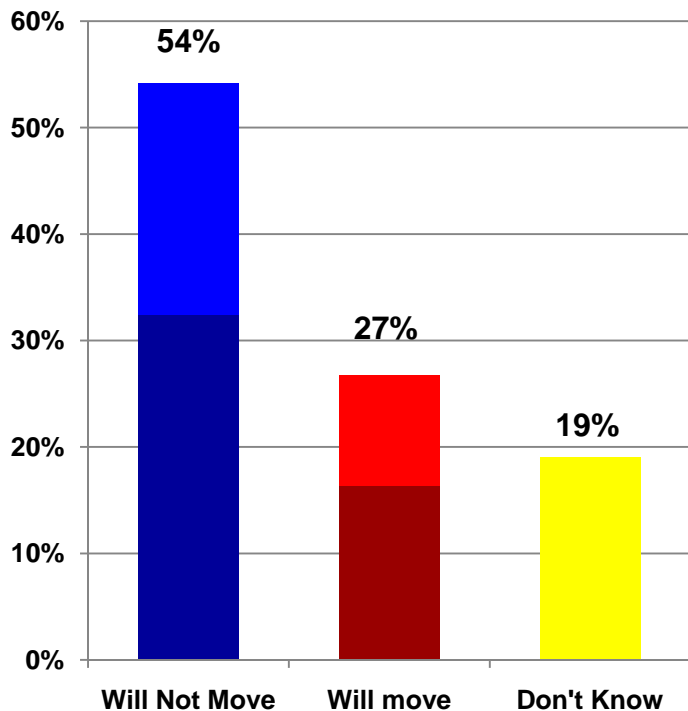
**“If your current neighborhood became an internationally recognized part of *Israel*, and you were allowed to move to a different home inside the new state of *Palestine*, how likely are you to move to a different home inside of *Palestine* and to become a citizen of *Palestine*?”**



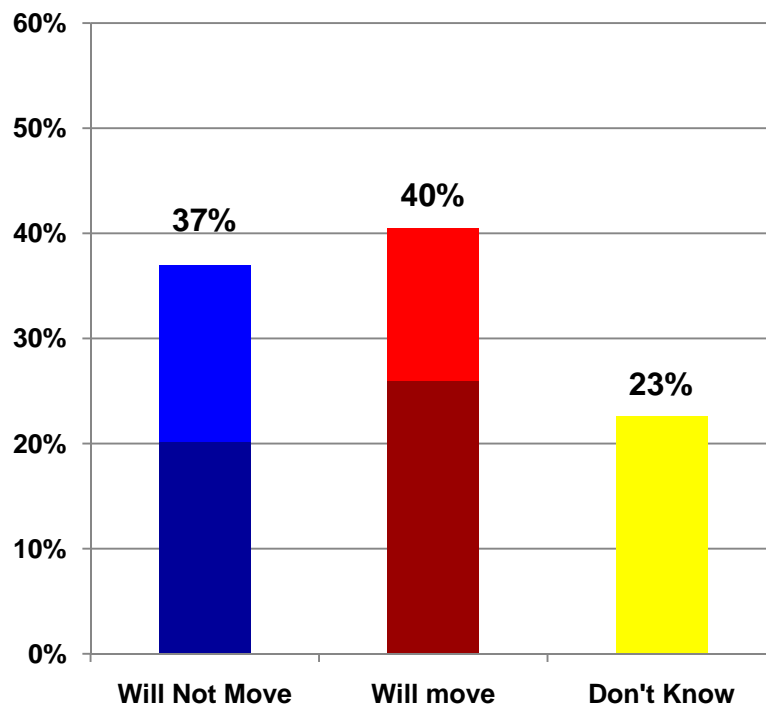
**■ Certainly Will Not Move   ■ Probably Will Not Move   ■ Certainly Will Move   ■ Probably Will Move   ■ Don't Know**

**N=1039**

**“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*?”**



**“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 Will Not Move   
 ■ Probably Will Not Move   
 ■ Certainly Will Move   
 ■ Probably Will Move   
 ■ Don't Know

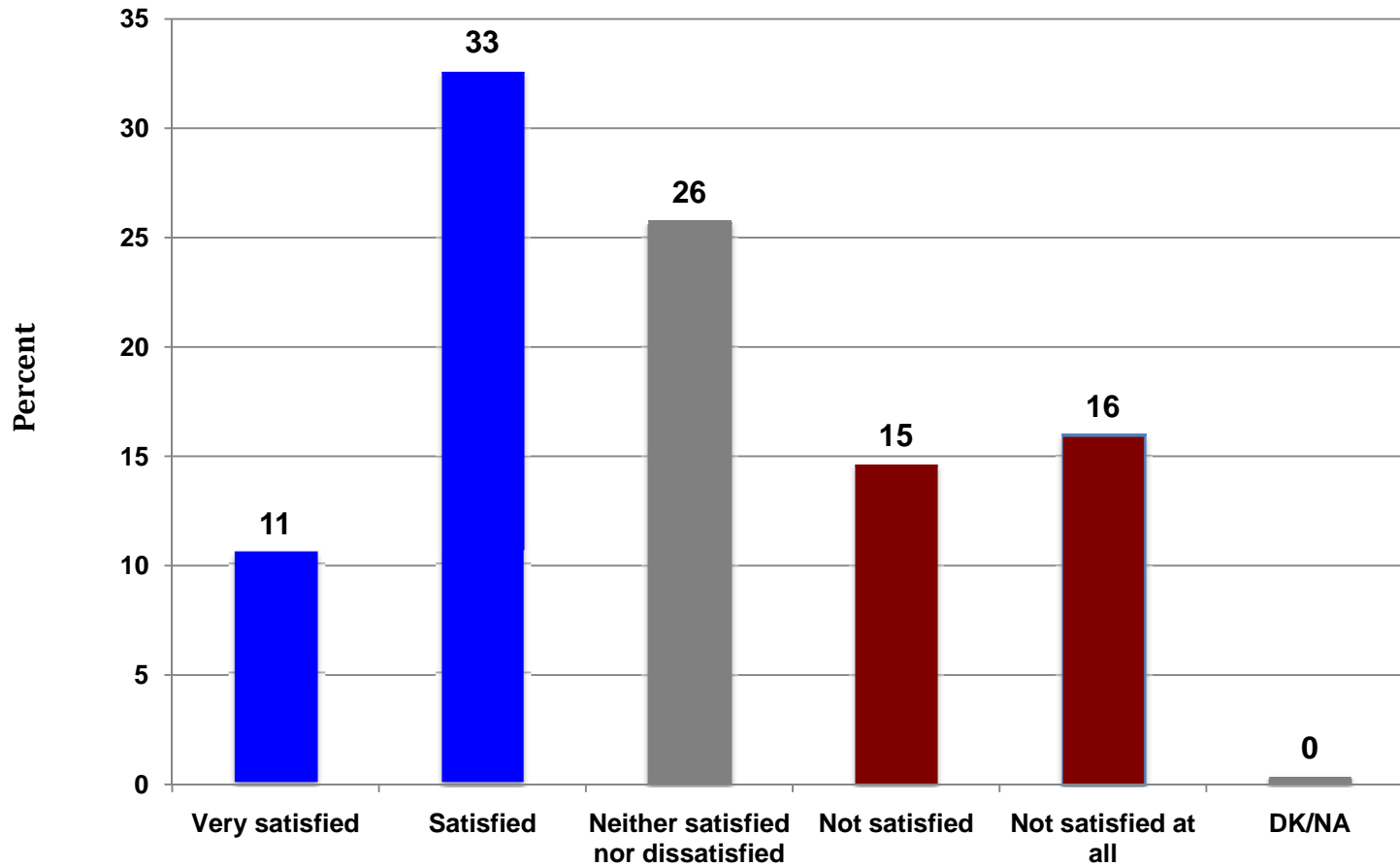
N=1039

# Life in East Jerusalem Today

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

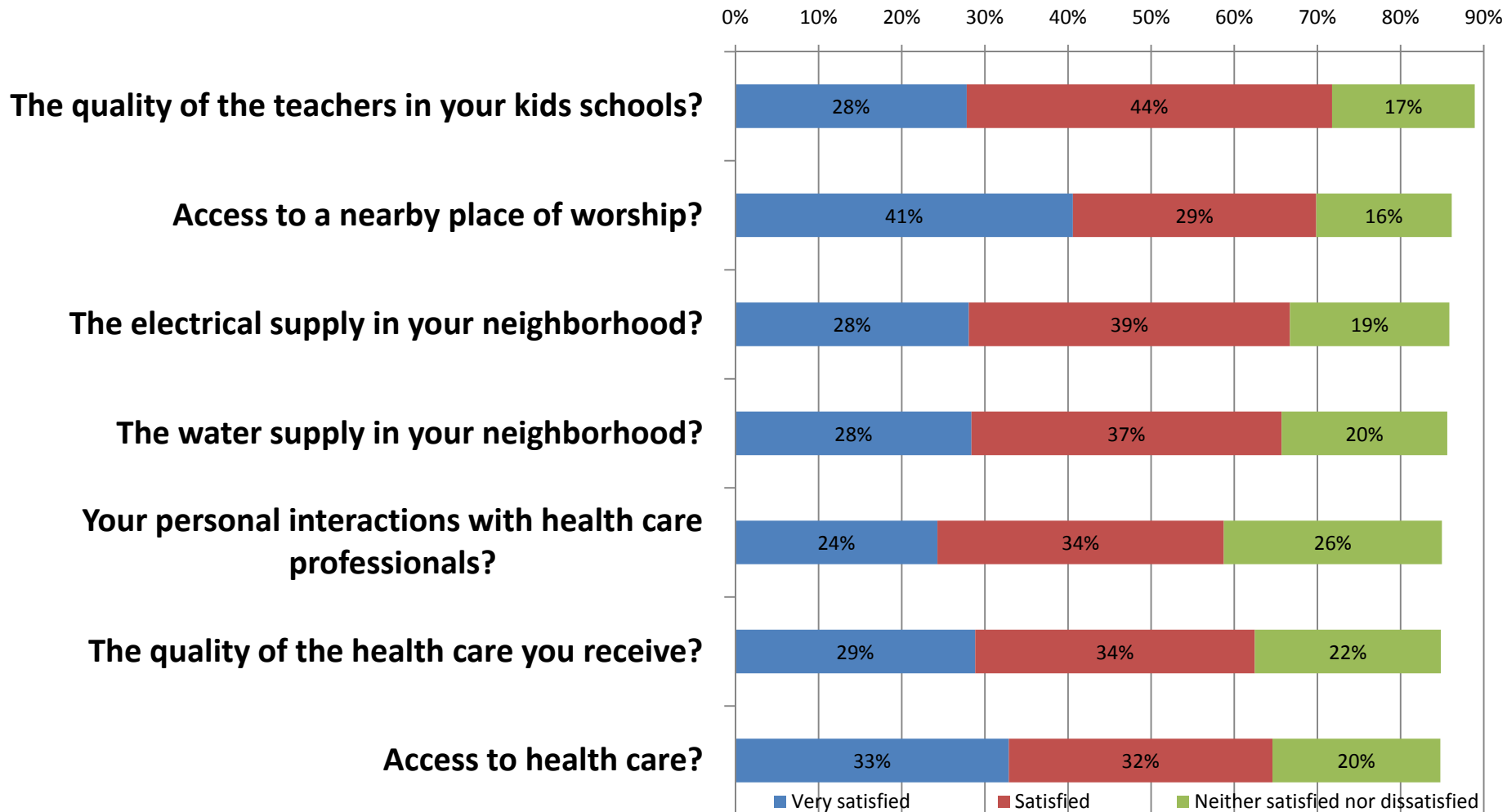
**[33 aspects were rated]**

## How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your overall standard of living?

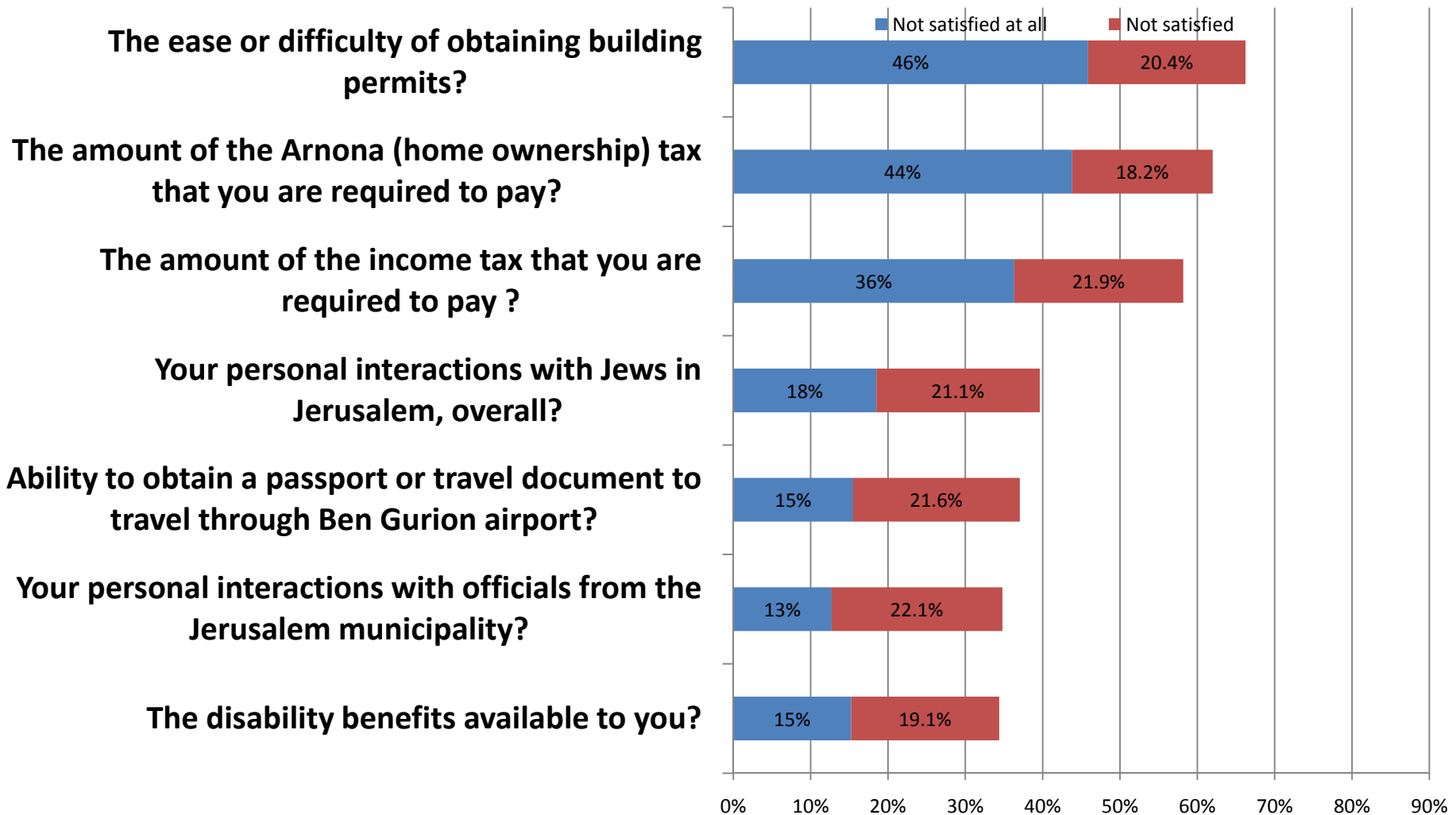


N=1039

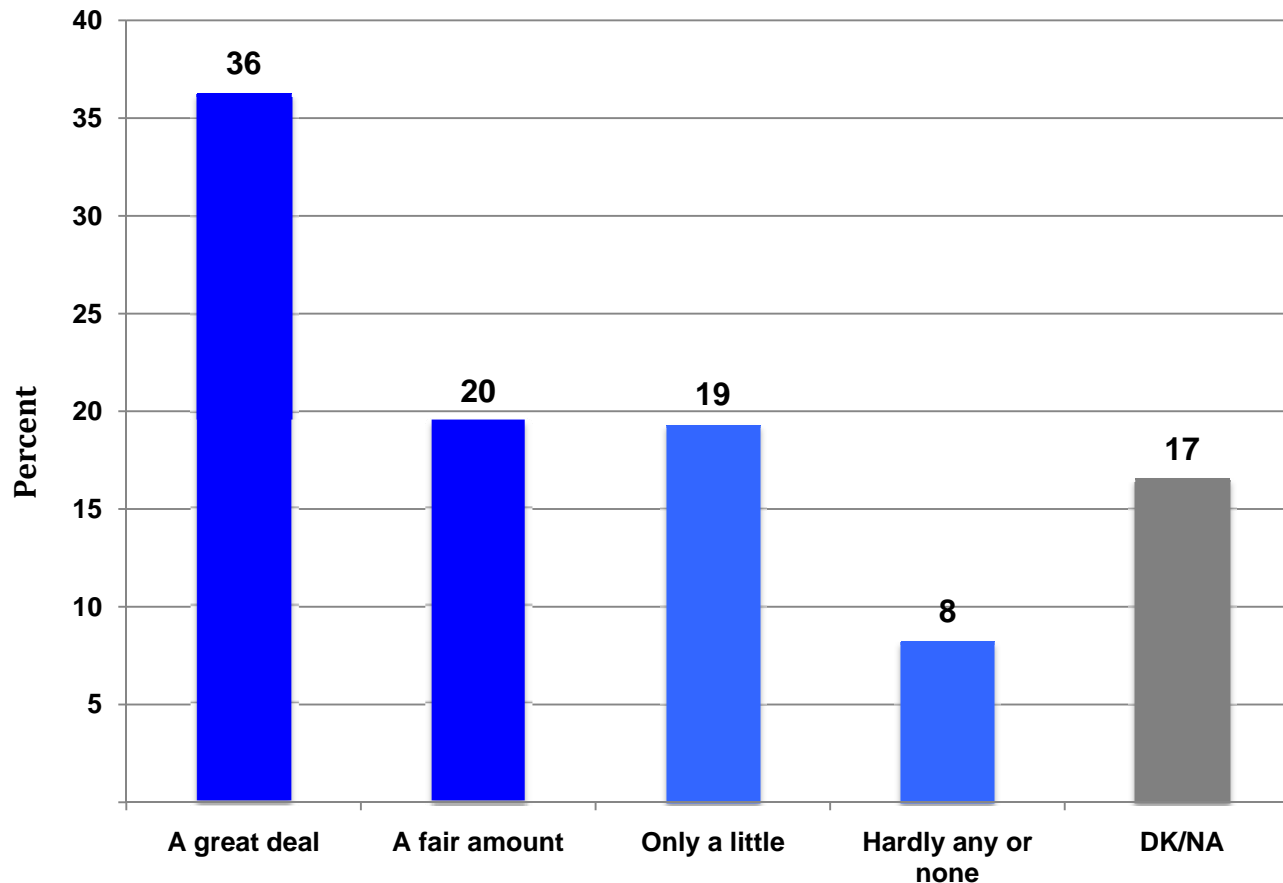
# Most satisfied aspects of life



# Most dissatisfied aspects of life

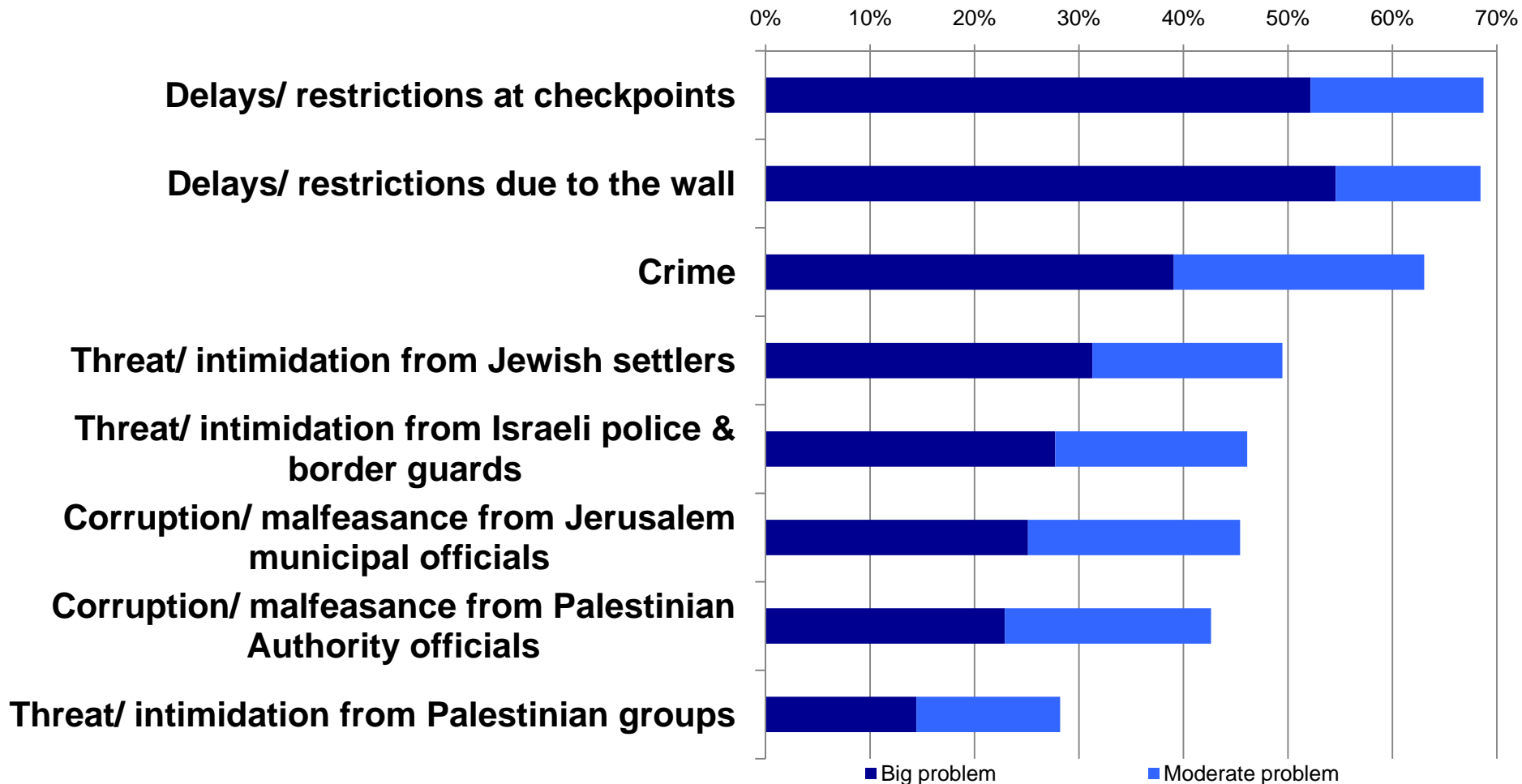


# “In your view is there or is there not discrimination in the services provided to Arab and Jews by the Jerusalem municipality?”

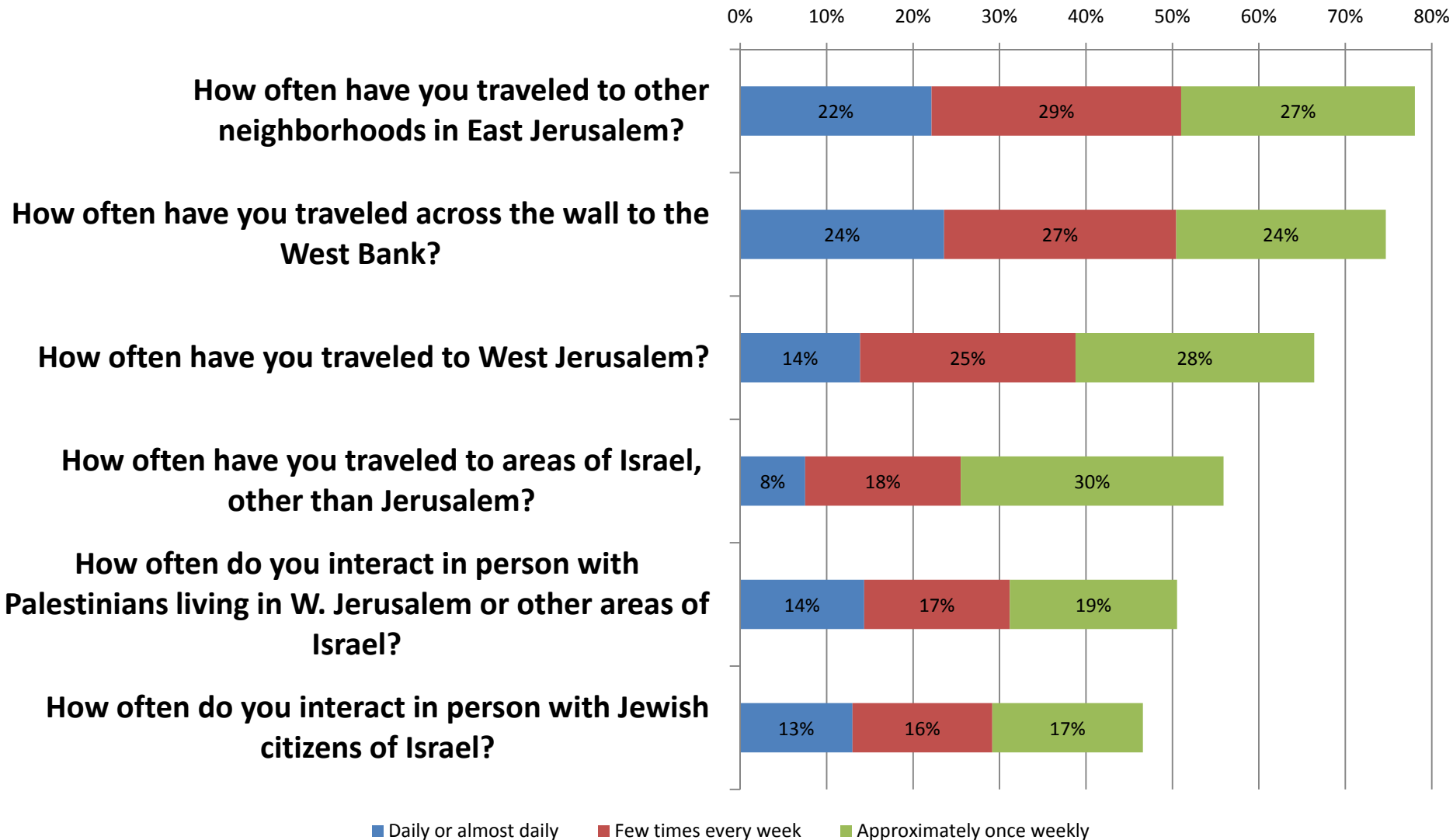


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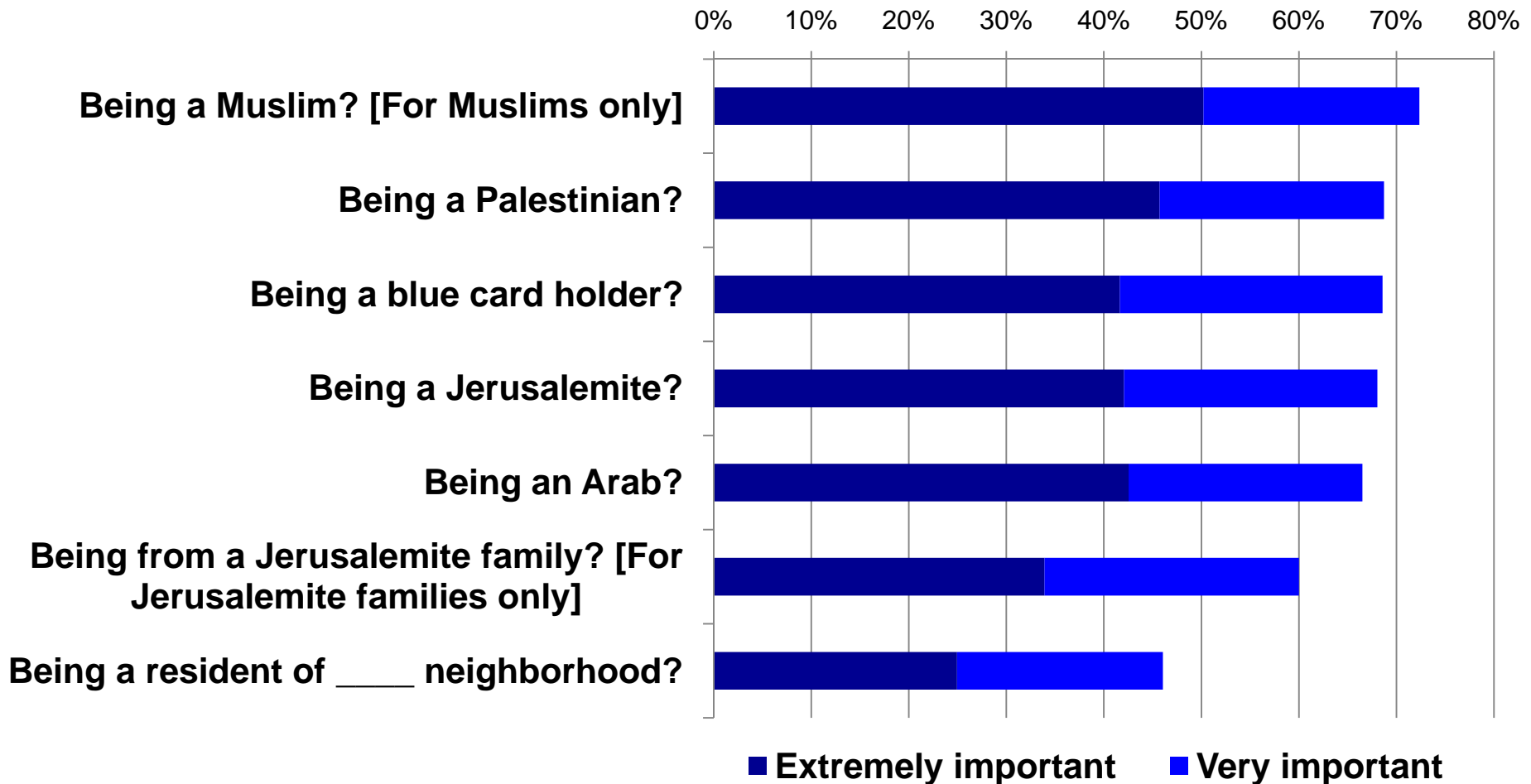
# “How big a problem are the following things in East Jerusalem?”



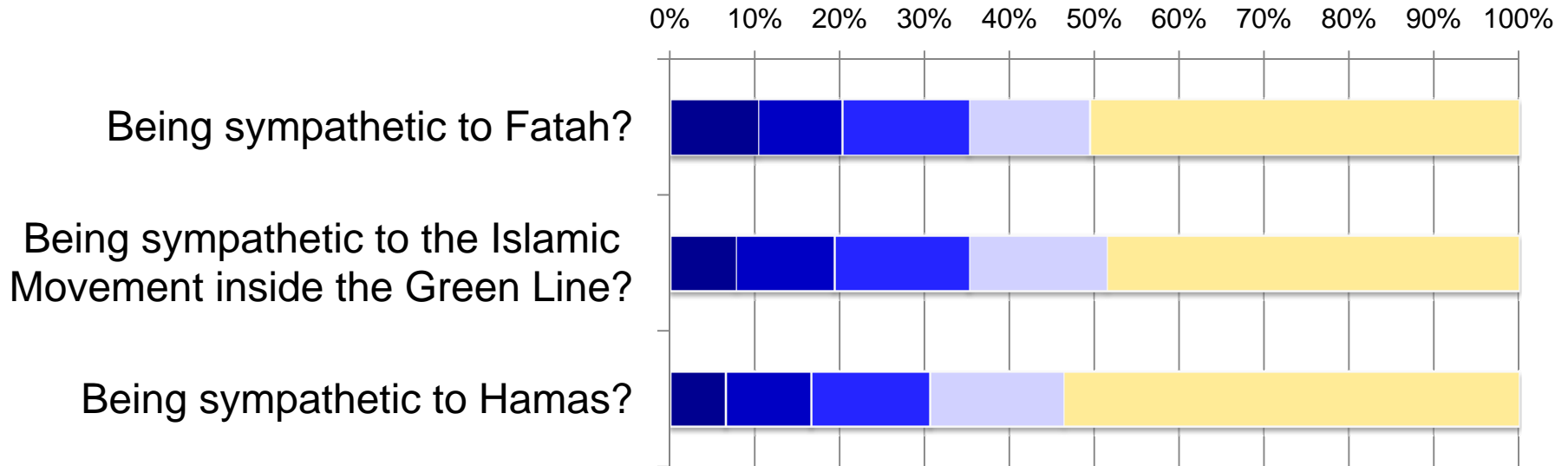
# Travel patterns over the last 6 months



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



# For each one, please tell me how important that identity is to you.

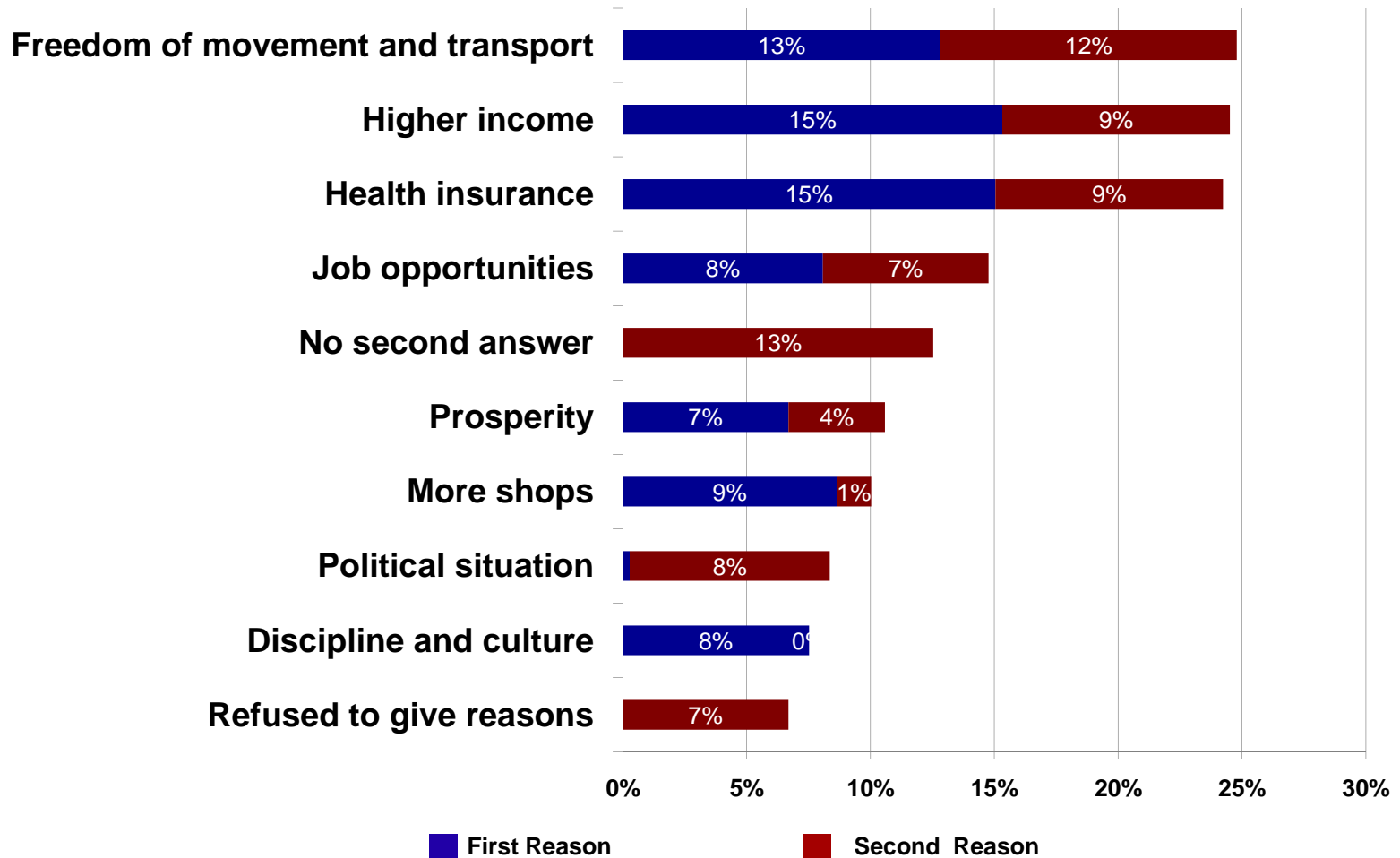


- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- A little important
- Not important at all OR Not applicable

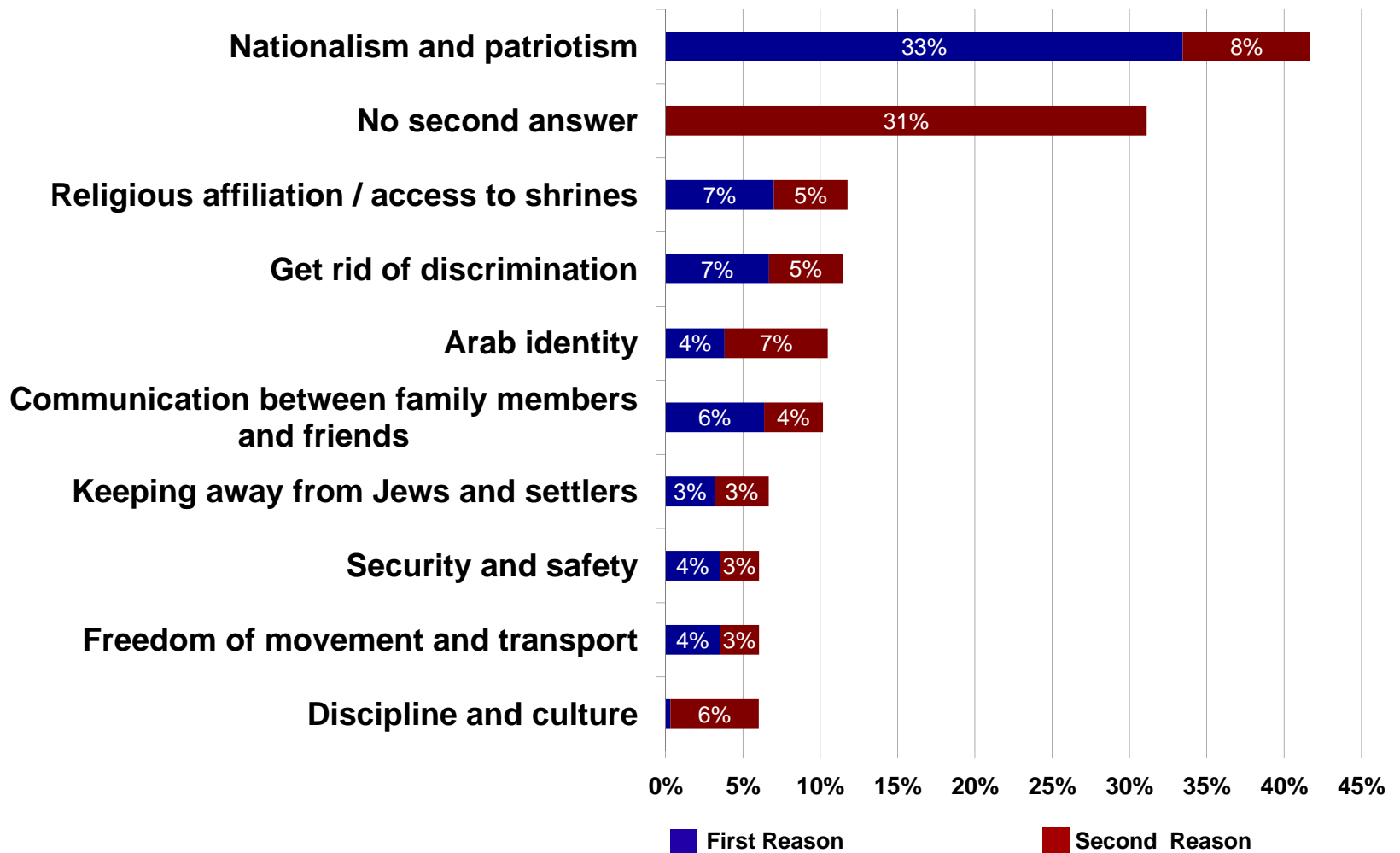
N=1039

# **Why did respondents prefer Israeli or Palestinian citizenship?**

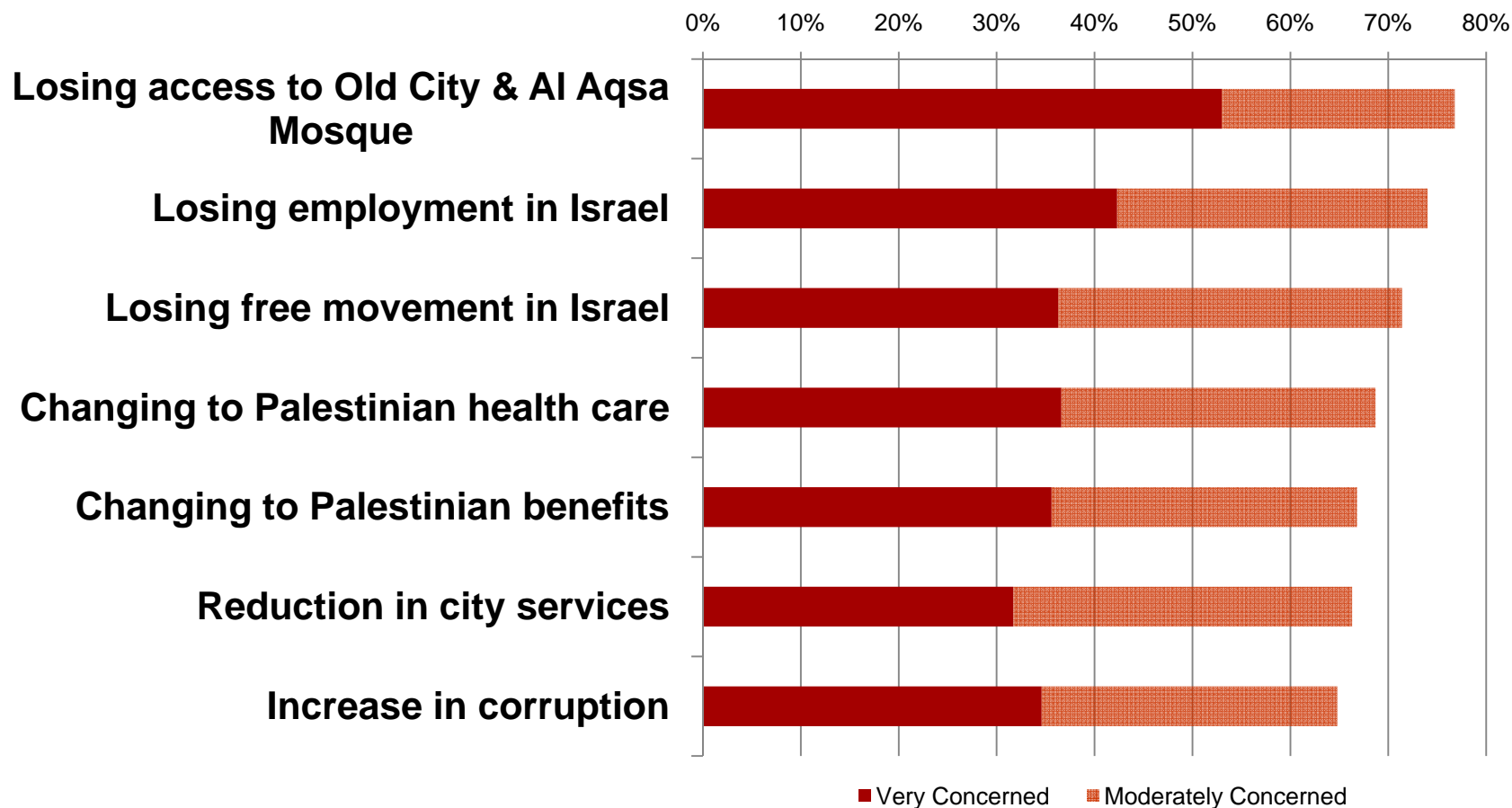
# Preference for Israeli Citizenship: First/ Second Reasons (Top 10 Responses)



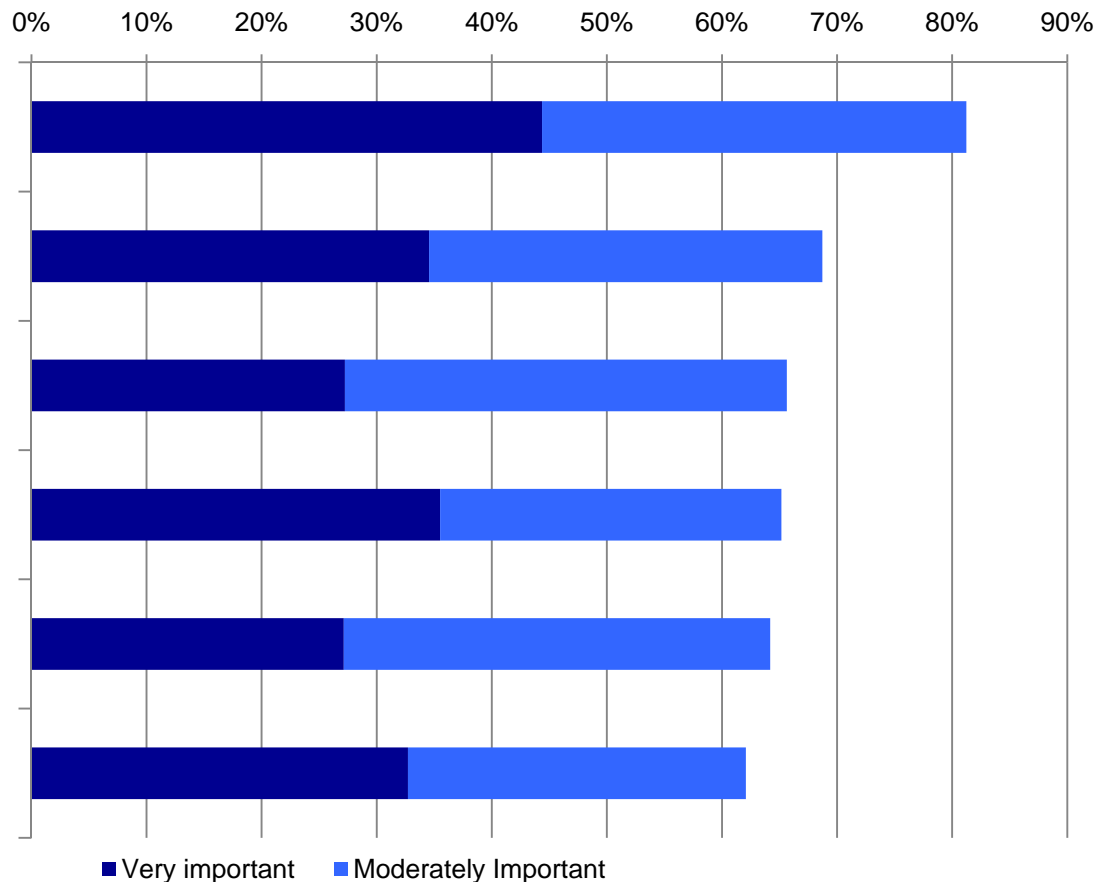
# Preference for Palestinian Citizenship: First/ Second Reasons (Top 10 Responses)



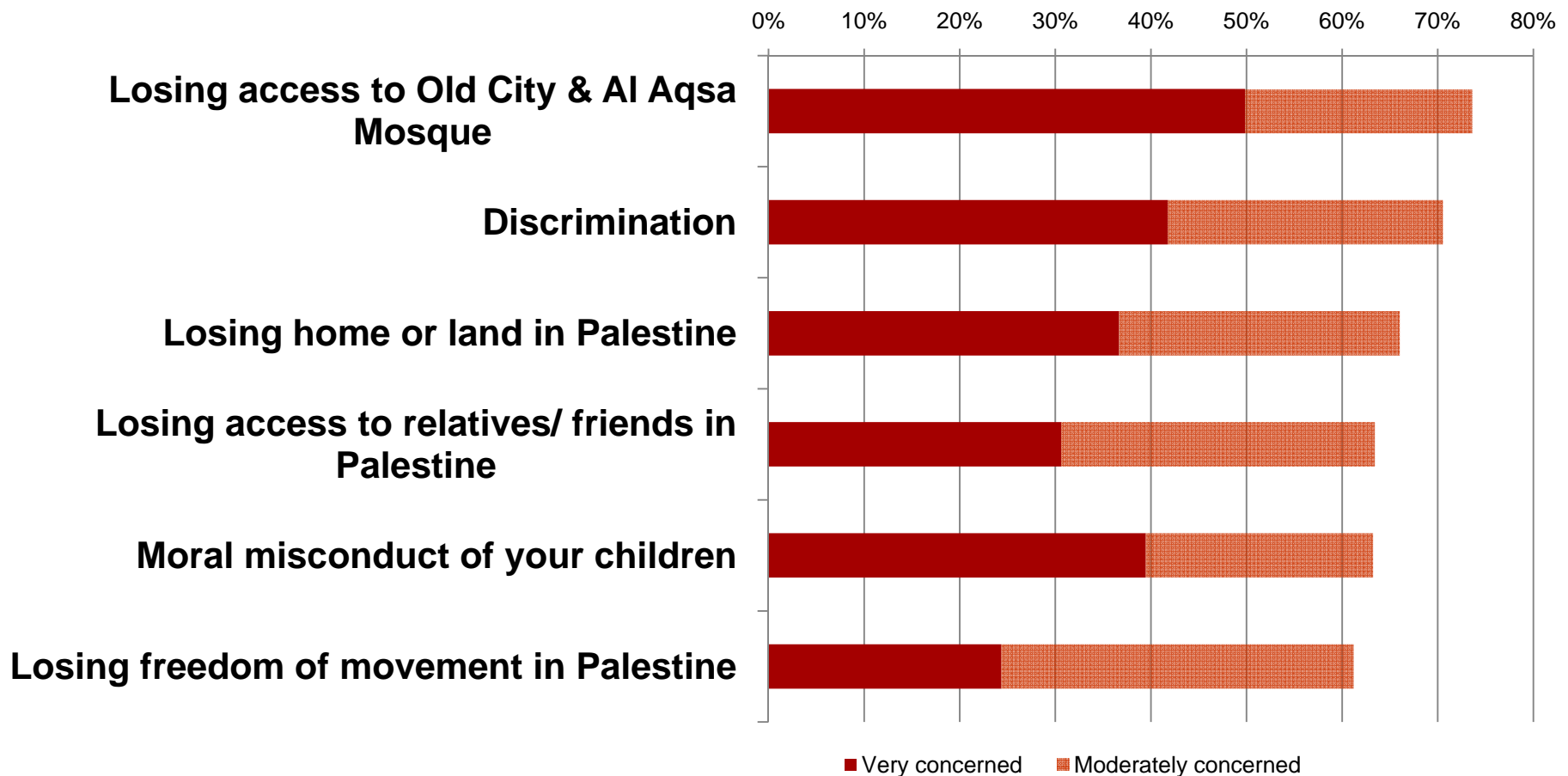
**“If your neighborhood were to become a part of the new state of Palestine and you were to become a citizen of Palestine with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, **how concerned** would you be about each of these possible changes in your life.” [Top rated concerns]**



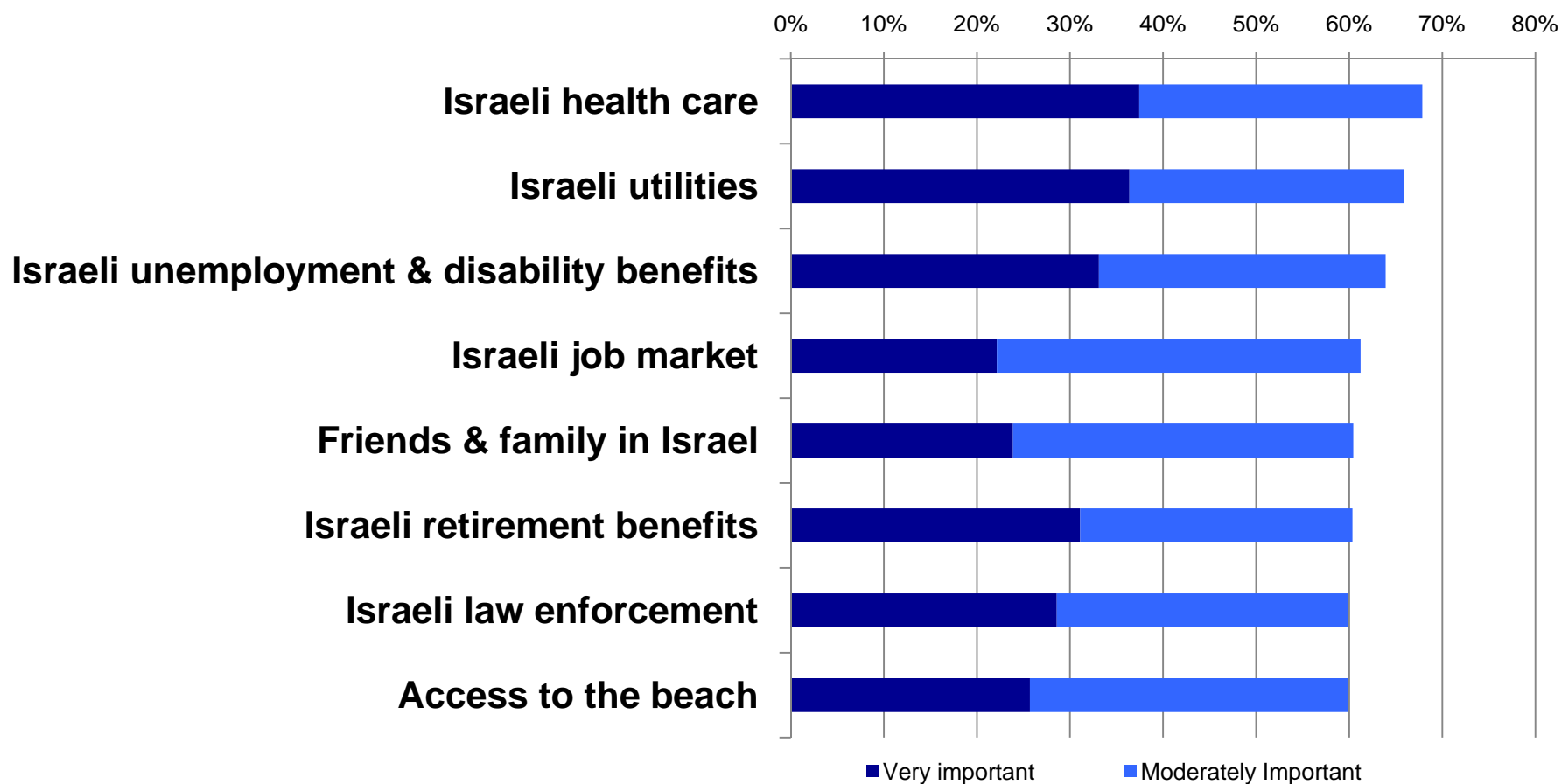
**“If, following a comprehensive peace agreement, your neighborhood were to become part of the new state of Palestine, and you were to become a citizen of Palestine with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Palestine, how important are these benefits of this new citizenship?” [Top rated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



**“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...” [Top rated concerns]**

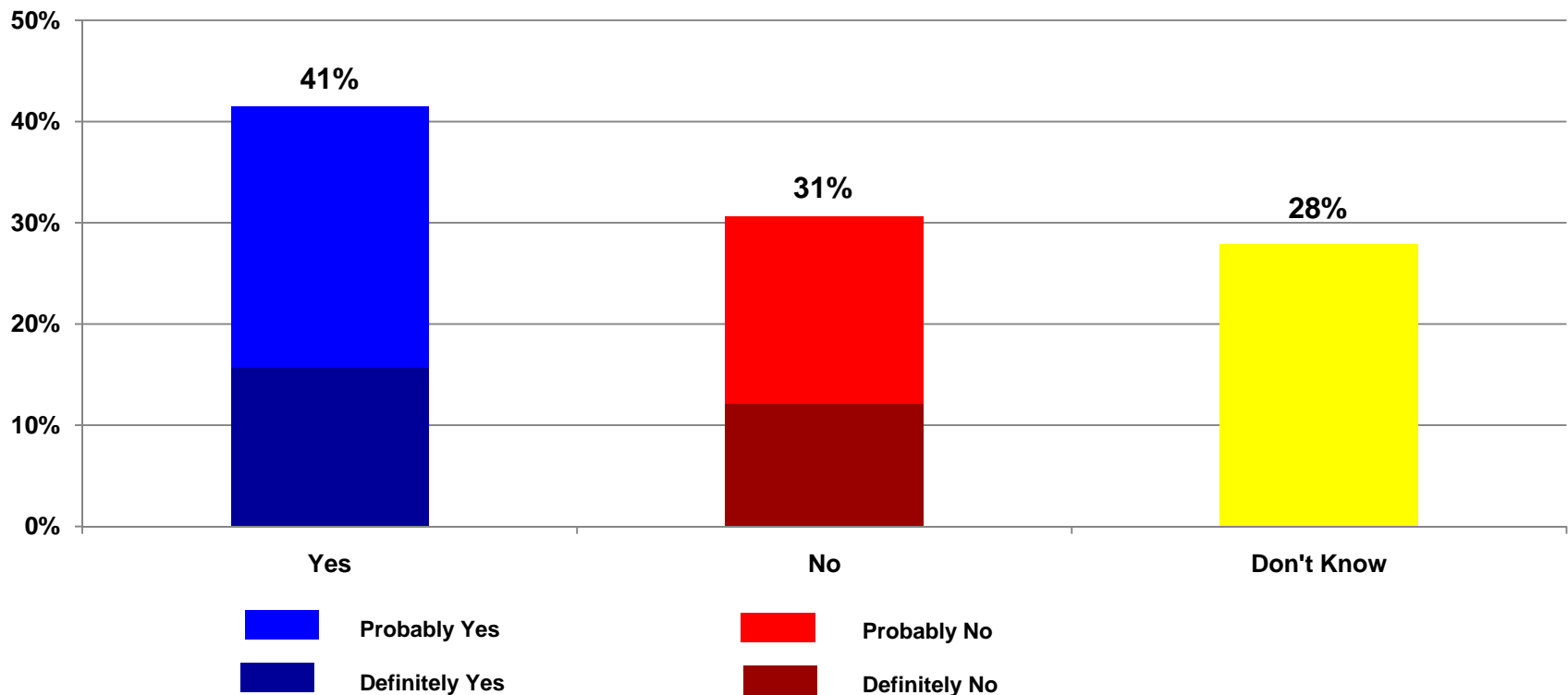


**“If, following a comprehensive peace agreement, your neighborhood were to become part of the state of Israel, and you were to become a citizen of Israel with all of the rights and privileges of other citizens of Israel, **how important are these benefits** of this new citizenship?  
[Top rated benefits]**

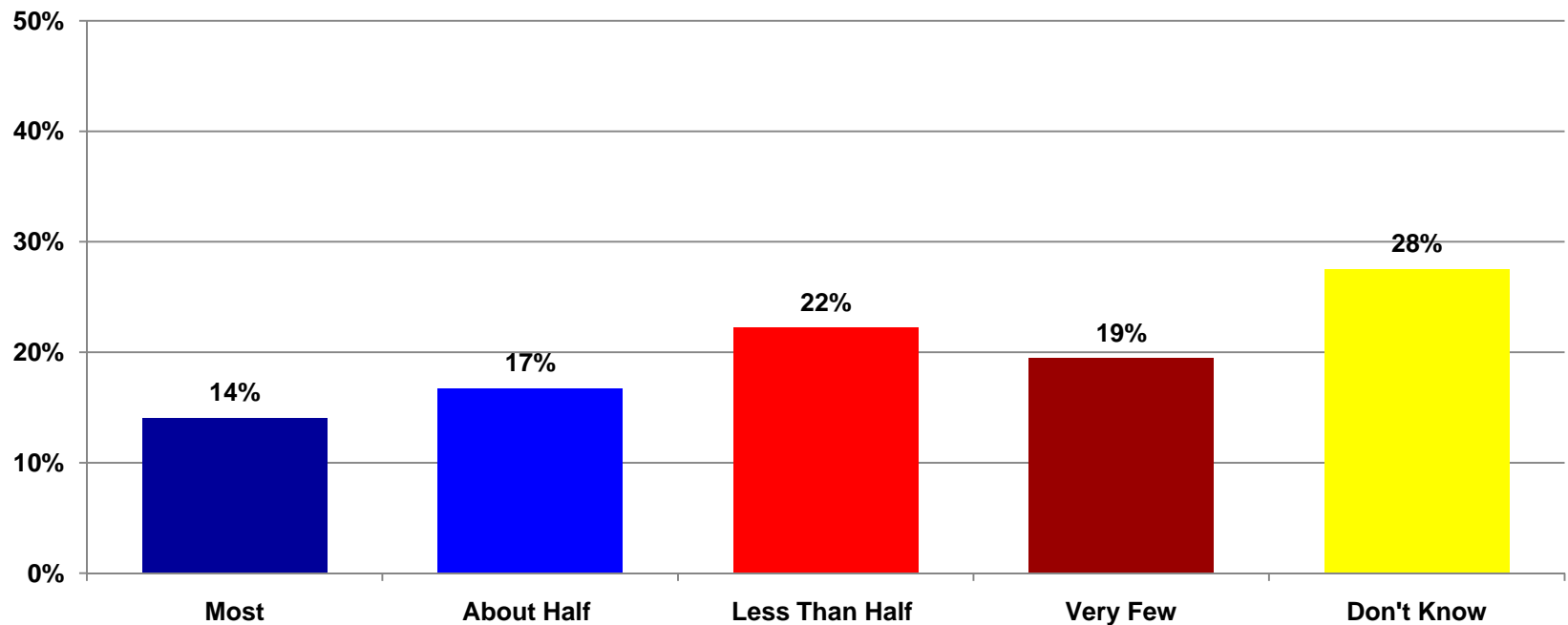


# Views on Peace Negotiations

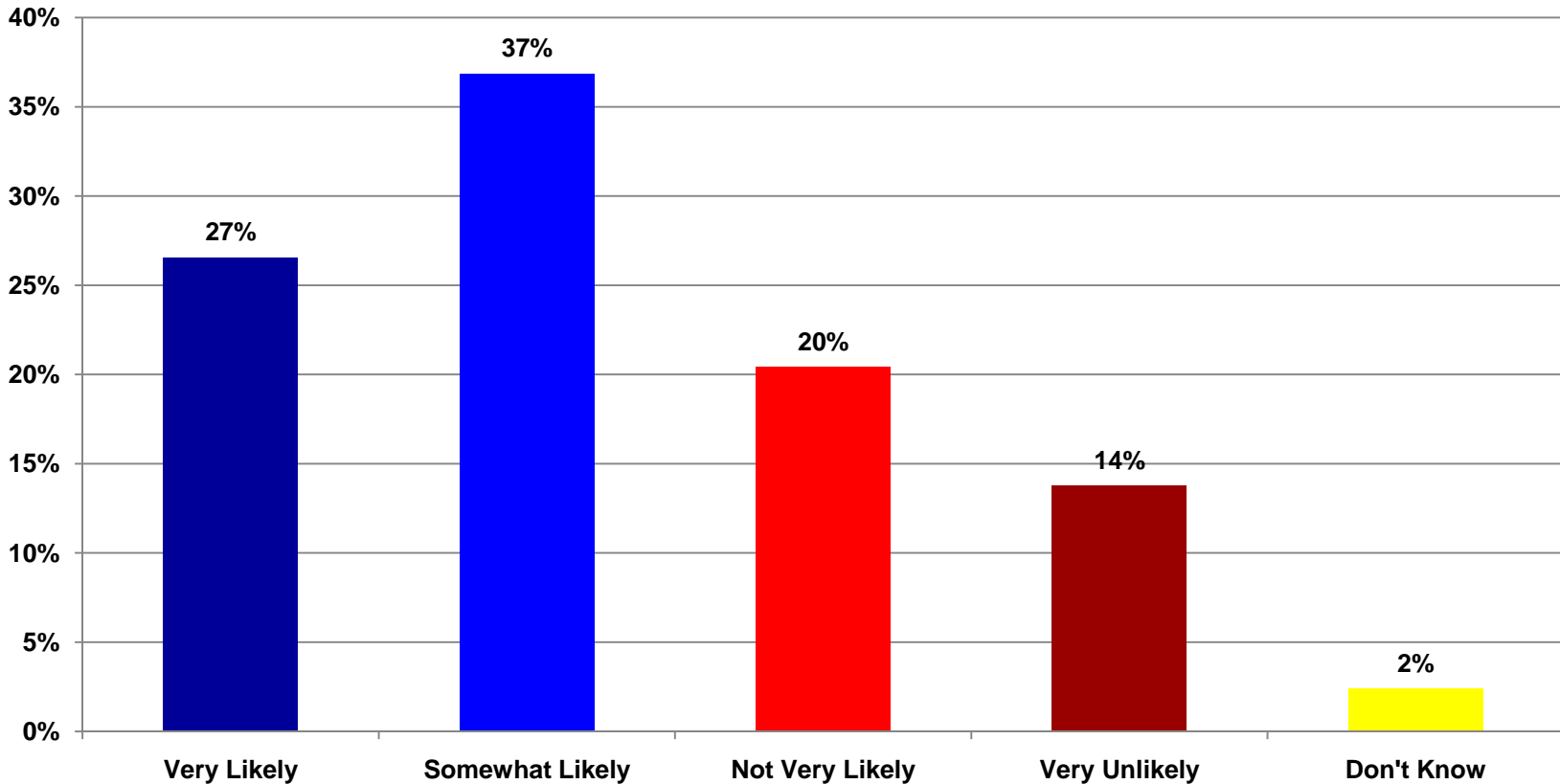
**“If the Israeli and Palestinian leadership signs a peace agreement to end the conflict, and agrees to divide Jerusalem between Israel and Palestine, do you think that some resistance groups will continue the armed struggle?”**



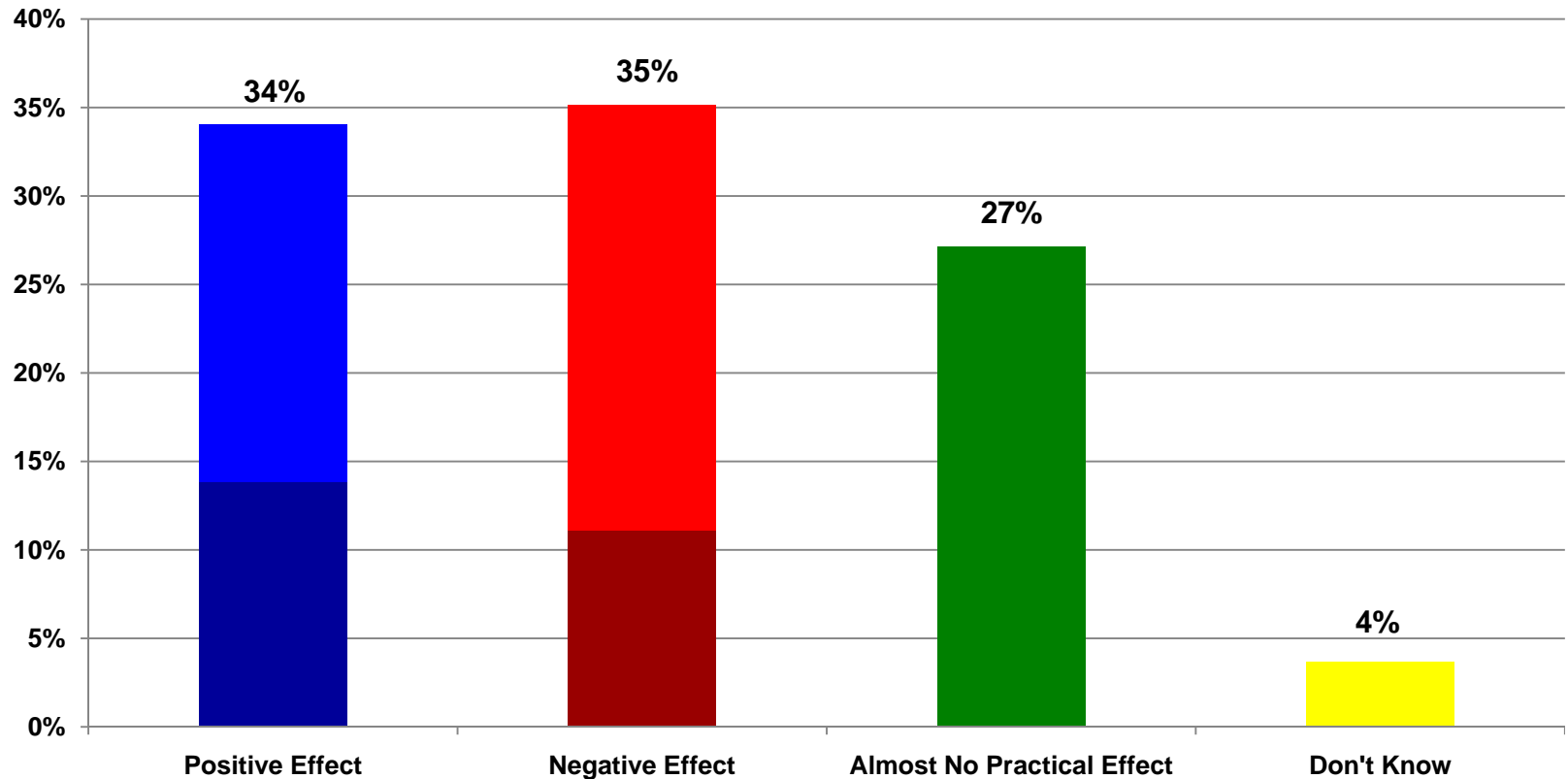
**“If some resistance groups continue the armed struggle after a peace agreement, do you think that people in your neighborhood will agree with the continuation of the armed struggle?”**



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



**“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?”**



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