

Public Perceptions of the Israel- Palestine Conflict

Summary Report

Prepared for the
Middle East Monitor
by ICM Research



Solutions
Answers
Answers A:
Q: Results
Responses
Questions



January 2011

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CONTENTS

Executive Summary	4
Introduction	6
1. Defining of the Israel-Palestine Conflict	9
1.1. Prompted perceptions of the Israel-Palestine conflict	9
1.2 Prompted personal view of Israel	11
2. Influence of Pro-Israeli & Pro-Palestinian Lobby Movements	14
3. Obstacles to Peace in the Middle East	16
4. Attitudes towards the Israel-Palestine Conflict	19
4.1. Responsibility for the Israel-Palestine conflict	19
4.2. Aspects of the Israel-Palestine conflict: legal or illegal?	22
4.3. Hamas' involvement in Israel-Palestinian peace talks	27
4.4. The Israel-Palestine conflict & its impact on Europe	28
5. Attitudes towards the Future Status of Jerusalem	31
6. Party Political Support for Israel	33
Appendices	34
Appendix 1: Guide to statistical reliability	35
Appendix 2: Sample profile	37
Appendix 3: Marked-up questionnaire	39

Executive Summary

This executive summary presents the key findings from a public perceptions study undertaken by ICM Research on behalf of the Middle East Monitor (MEMO). A representative sample of 7,045 adults aged 18+ was interviewed in six European countries¹ - Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands and Spain – using an online methodology. Fieldwork was undertaken between 19th and 25th January 2011.

(When interpreting these findings it should be borne in mind that the confidence interval for data at the overall European level (7,045 interviews) is plus or minus 1 percentage point. When making comparisons between countries the difference needs to be at least +/-4 in order for it to be statistically significant).

- Across Europe, the five most common perceptions of the Israel-Palestine conflict are: **war/violence/fighting** (65%); **the Gaza Strip** (51%); **religious conflict** (47%); **conflict over land** (43%); and **suicide bombs** (30%). More than half (65%) of Europeans believe that **Israel does not treat all religious groups the same**. Meanwhile, a third (34%) think that **Israel is not a democracy**.
- Slightly more people believe that the pro-Israel lobby has an influence on media (70%) and the political system (67%), as opposed to the pro-Palestine lobby (64%; 58%). However, very few people think that either lobby has **a lot** of influence (ranging 4 -10%), and far more either **don't know** (ranging 19-21%), or say they have **just a little** influence (ranging 30-36%).
- **Unwillingness of Israelis/Palestinians to compromise** is viewed as the single biggest obstacle to peace in the Middle East by one-third (32%) of Europeans. When asked to name several obstacles, common responses include: **Israeli (housing) settlements** (40%); **Israel's oppression of Palestinians** (41%); and **Palestinian terror attacks on Israelis** (39%).
- Half (49%) of Europeans view Israelis as **the occupying force**, and a similar proportion (47%) regard Palestinians as **the primary victims**. However, almost as many claim that both sides are the **primary aggressors** in the conflict (43%).
- Europeans think that many of the actions taken during the conflict have violated international law. Three quarters believe that Palestinian **kidnappings** (74%), **suicide bombs** (76%) and **rocket attacks** (75%) against Israel have contravened international rules. However, the large proportion responding **don't know** in each instance suggests that many Europeans have a limited knowledge of the conflict.
- 45 per cent of people believe that Hamas should be included in peace-talks, but a third (31%) is unable or unwilling to offer an opinion.
- Almost half of the countries' populations think that **Israel exploits the suffering of the Jewish people** (48%). Moreover, a sizeable proportion believes that the conflict promotes both **anti-Semitism** (36%) and **Islamophobia** (39%) across Europe.
- Most people believe that in the future Jerusalem should not be a capital city at all. 45 per cent of Europeans think that Jerusalem should become **a neutral international city**, while only 15 per cent think that it should belong exclusively to either Israel or to Palestine.

¹ 1,000 in each country except Great Britain, where 2,000 were interviewed.

Public Perceptions of the Israel-Palestine Conflict – Summary Report

- When asked whether a specific political party/movement in their country should support Israel rather than Palestine, a majority of Europeans either do not know, or have never heard of the party (56%). Overall, one-third (33%) of people think that it would be **wrong**.
- Subgroup analysis reveals a number of interesting trends:
 - Perhaps unsurprisingly, people with no education are less willing or able to provide answers than those who have attended university. For example, asked about the **pro-Israel community's influence on the media**, 43 per cent of those with no education **don't know** compared to 15% of graduates.
 - A more unexpected finding is that women are, consistently, far likelier than men are to say they **don't know**; in several instances women are actually twice as likely to decline an answer. For example when asked who **the occupying force is**, three in ten women (30%) **do not know** compared to just 14 per cent of men.
 - Age is also plays a significant role in shaping opinions; there tend to be striking differences of opinion between the youngest and oldest groups. In addition, 18-24 year olds seem to be more sympathetic to Israel than over 55s are on several counts. For example, when asked **who are the settlers**, just one in five (22%) young people say Israel, compared to more than half (52%) of all over 55s.

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Introduction

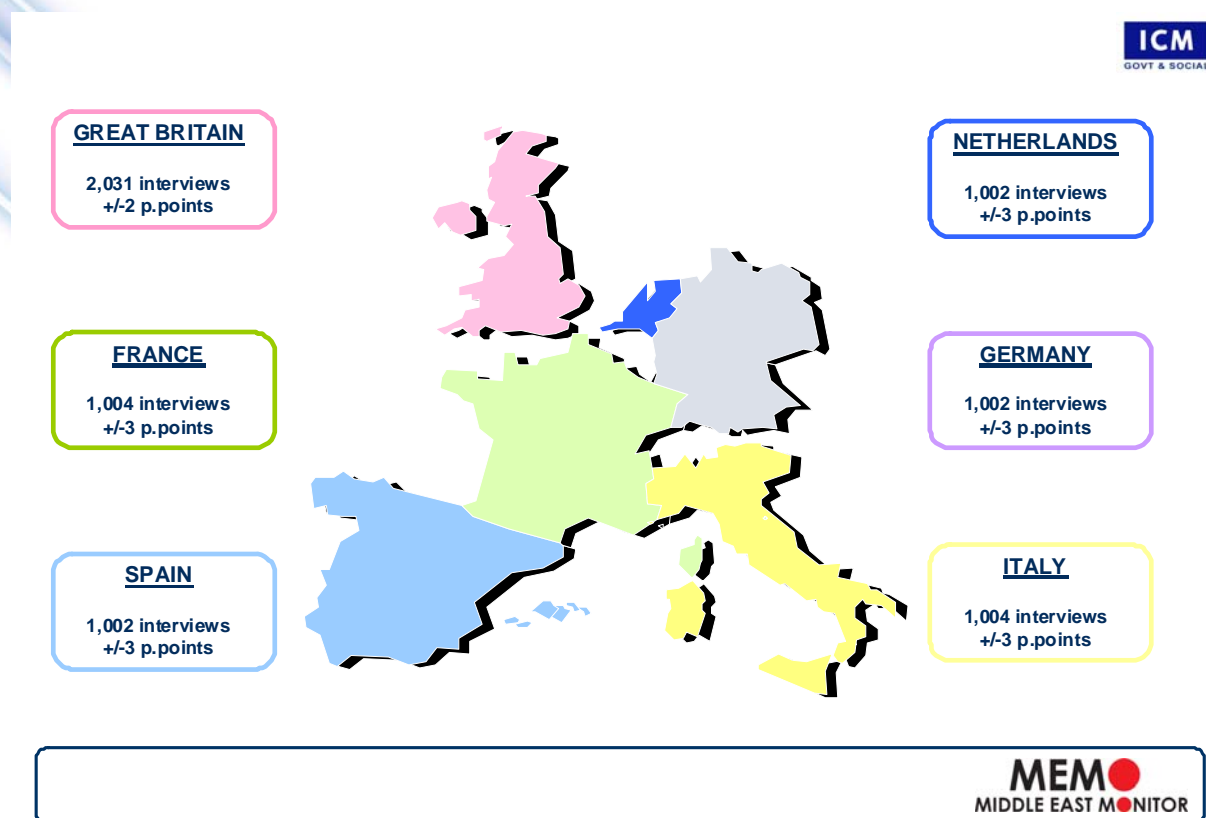
a) Background & objectives

This report presents the findings of a research study conducted by the ICM Government & Social research unit on behalf of the Middle East Monitor (MEMO). ICM interviewed 7,045 adults across six major European countries to explore their attitudes towards the Middle East and the Israel-Palestine conflict. More specifically the research focuses on:

- Top of mind definition of the Israel-Palestine conflict;
- Influence of the pro-Israel and pro-Palestine lobbies in Europe;
- Barriers to peace in the Middle East;
- Overall views towards specific aspects of the Israel-Palestine conflict;
- The perceived legality of aspects of the conflict;
- The role of Hamas in the peace talks; and
- The future of Jerusalem.

b) Methodology

ICM interviewed a random sample of 7,045 adults aged 18 years+ from its online panel in six major European countries. The fieldwork was conducted between 19th and 25th January 2011



Demographic quotas were set by age, gender, work status and region in each country to ensure the achieved sample reflects the known profile of all adults in each country. At the analysis stage the data was weighted to the known profile of all adults in each country using the same variables. The overall European data has also been weighted to take into account each country's share of the total population.

c) Report layout

In addition to this introduction, the report contains:

- detailed commentary on the **main findings**; and
- **appendices**, including guides to statistical reliability, a profile of the sample and a marked up questionnaire showing overall 'topline' results.

All responses have been analysed by a range of demographic and geographical variables; detailed breakdowns have been provided in a separate volume of computer tables.

d) Interpretation of the data

It should be remembered that a sample, not the entire population of each country, has been interviewed. In consequence, all results are subject to sampling tolerances, which means that not all differences are statistically significant. Overall Europe-wide data is accurate to plus or minus one (+/-1) percentage point and data at the country level is reliable to +/-3 (+/-2 for Great Britain). A guide to statistical reliability is appended.

Where percentages do not sum to 100, this may be due to computer rounding, the exclusion of 'don't' know' categories or multiple answers. Throughout the volume an asterisk (*) denotes any value of less than half a per cent but above zero.

In this report, reference is made to 'net' figures. This represents the balance of opinion on attitudinal questions, and provides a particularly useful means of comparing the results for number variables. In the case of a 'net satisfaction' figure, this represents the percentage *strongly* agreeing with a particular issue or service and the percentage *tending* to agree.

e) Sponsors



The Middle East Monitor (MEMO) is an independent media research institution founded in the United Kingdom in 2009 to foster a fair and accurate coverage of Middle Eastern issues and in particular the Palestine Question in the Western media. Toward this end, MEMO provides its readers with up to date reporting and carefully reasoned commentaries rooted in factual evidence.

MEMO actively engages with a wide range of research institutions through regular consultations and has become an essential point of reference for journalists, researchers, human rights organisations and NGOs as well as policy and decision-makers across the political spectrum.

MEMO's ultimate aim is to facilitate a better understanding and appreciation of the Palestine issue and make a significant contribution to a change of media coverage and official policy on the subject.

Established in 2006, the **Al Jazeera Centre for Studies** conducts in-depth analysis of current affairs at both regional and global levels. Its research agenda focuses primarily on geo-political and strategic developments in the Arab world and surrounding regions.



Based in the heart of the Middle East, and operating from within the socio-political and cultural fabric of the Arab world, Al Jazeera Centre for Studies seeks to contribute to knowledge sharing and present a better understanding of the complexity of the region. With a strong network of distinguished researchers and a wide array of experts from across the globe, the Centre aims to promote dialogue and build bridges of mutual understanding and cooperation between cultures, nations, and religions.

As a think-tank extension of the Al Jazeera Network, the Centre endeavours to research and build relevant, insightful, and in-depth knowledge for Al Jazeera's news media operations and services.



**EUROPEAN
MUSLIM
RESEARCH
CENTRE**

The European Muslim Research Centre (EMRC) is based in the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter. The centre takes a rigorous academic approach to its research and subsequent policy recommendations across the UK and Europe, led by its flagship 10 year study into Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hate crime. Its two directors, Dr Jonathan Githens-Mazer and Dr Robert Lambert OBE, share communities' concerns with political agendas that only view Muslims through lenses of 'security' or 'cohesion' – agendas which, unchecked, can serve to stigmatise, alienate and isolate inhabitants of the state who happen to be Muslim.

The EMRC is particularly concerned about the use of the "War on Terror" and/or counter-insurgency paradigms, as well as the blasé regard to the use of torture and the infringement of civil liberties as blunt and counter-productive tools for tackling terrorist threats. Moreover, we do not accept that Islamically inspired political thought or politics pose inherent threats to the West. To that end, EMRC works with many other academic, community, governmental and non-governmental stakeholders to ensure that there continues to be the space for Muslims to engage in the political process."

1. Defining the Israel - Palestine Conflict

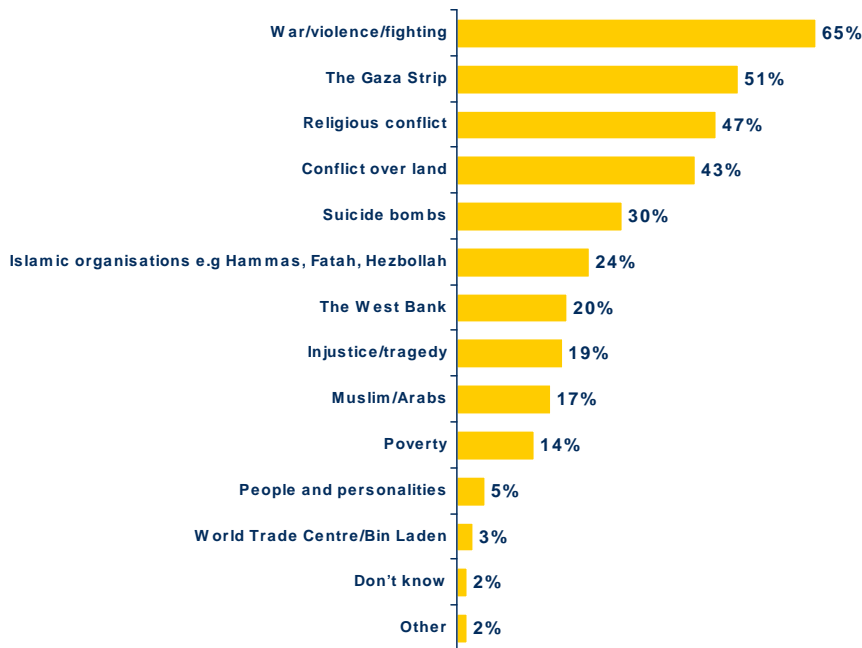
1.1. Prompted perceptions of the Israel-Palestine conflict

Europeans were presented with a list of issues and were asked which came into their mind when they hear the words “Israel-Palestine conflict”. Cross-nationally, the most common perception of the Israel-Palestine conflict is of “war/violence/fighting”, which is mentioned by two-thirds (65%) of people. Other popular responses are “The Gaza Strip” (51%), “religious conflict” (47%) and “conflict over land” (43%). In contrast to some of the findings later in this report, very few people (2%) are unable to express a view.

Meanwhile, the contrast between the opinions of younger and older Europeans appears as a recurring theme throughout this report. For example, just 17 per cent of 18-24 year olds mention “Islamic organisations”, compared to three in ten (30%) older Europeans.

Figure 1

Prompted perceptions of the ‘Israel-Palestine conflict’



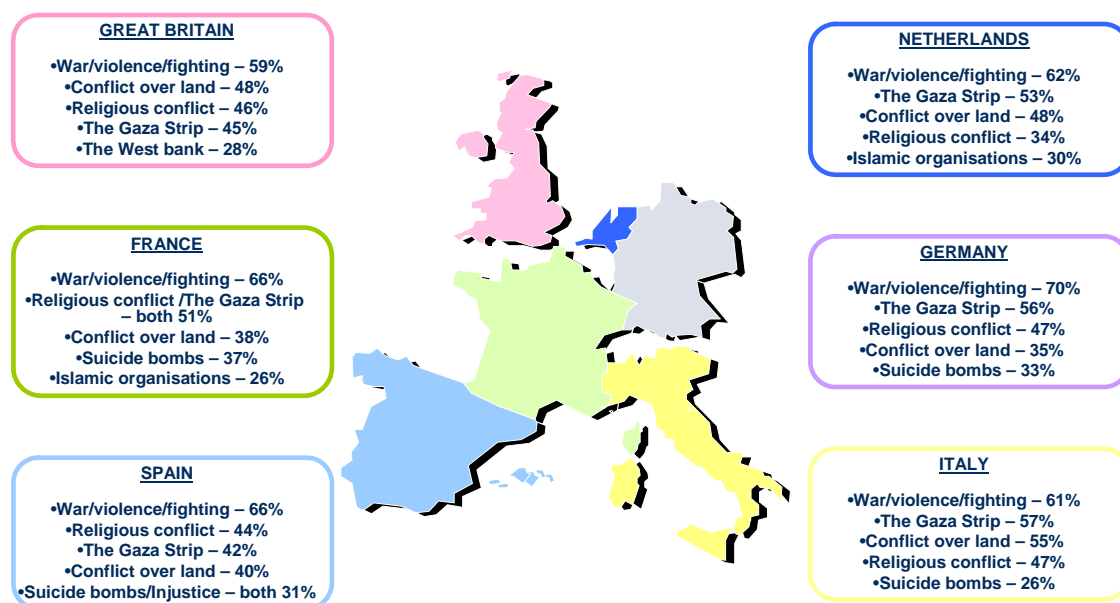
Q1. Which three or four things come into your mind when you hear the words “Israel-Palestine conflict”?
 Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



Looking at responses by country, “war/violence/fighting” emerges as the most common perception in all six nations. Responses such as “religious conflict”, “conflict over land”, and “the Gaza Strip” also feature in the top-five of all countries, suggesting that there is a broad consensus on perceptions of the conflict. Beyond these top-four responses, the number of those mentioning “suicide bombs” ranges between a high of 37 per cent of French people to a low of 23 per cent of Britons.

Figure 2

Prompted perceptions of the ‘Israel-Palestine conflict’ – by country



Q1. Which three or four things come into your mind when you hear the words “Israel-Palestine conflict”?
Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



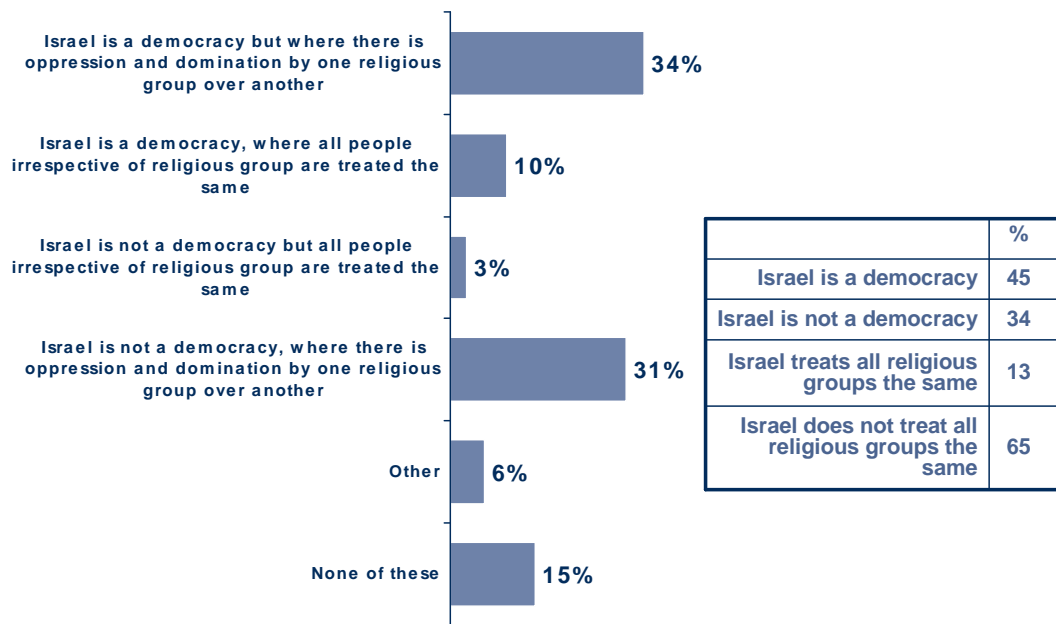
1.2. Prompted personal view of Israel

There appears to be cross-national agreement that Israel does not treat all religious groups the same (65%) compared to 13 per cent who believe that it does. Opinion is more divided on whether Israel is a democracy, with 45 per cent claiming that it is, compared to 34 per cent who say it is not. Moreover, one in five (21%) give a different response altogether.

Again, age splits opinion on these issues. Just eight per cent of 18-24 year olds think that Israel treats all religious groups the same, compared to almost three times as many over 55s (30%). Meanwhile, the contrast between men and women is apparent where more than half (55%) of all men think that Israel “is a democracy”, while just a third (32%) of women think the same. Education also plays a role in opinion-shaping, with more than half (51%) of all graduates saying that Israel is a democracy, compared to just one third (36%) of those with no education.

Figure 3

Prompted personal view of Israel



Q2. Which statement best describes your personal view of Israel?

Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



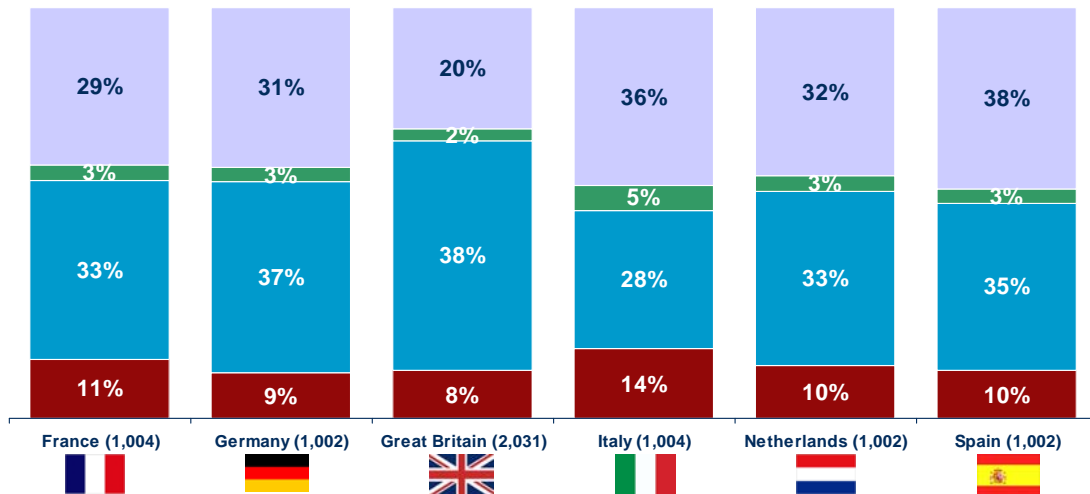
The personal views from individual countries are largely consistent with overall results. In each country, at least three times as many people believe that Israel “does not” treat all religious groups the same as those who think that it “does”. There is less of a consensus on whether Israel is a democracy, with twice as many Spaniards (41%) and Italians (41%) as Britons (21%) claiming that “it is not” a democracy.

Figure 4

Personal view of Israel - by country (1)



- Israel is not a democracy, where there is oppression and domination by one religious group over another
- Israel is not a democracy but all people irrespective of religious group are treated the same
- Israel is a democracy but where there is oppression and domination by one religious group over another
- Israel is a democracy, where all people irrespective of religious group are treated the same

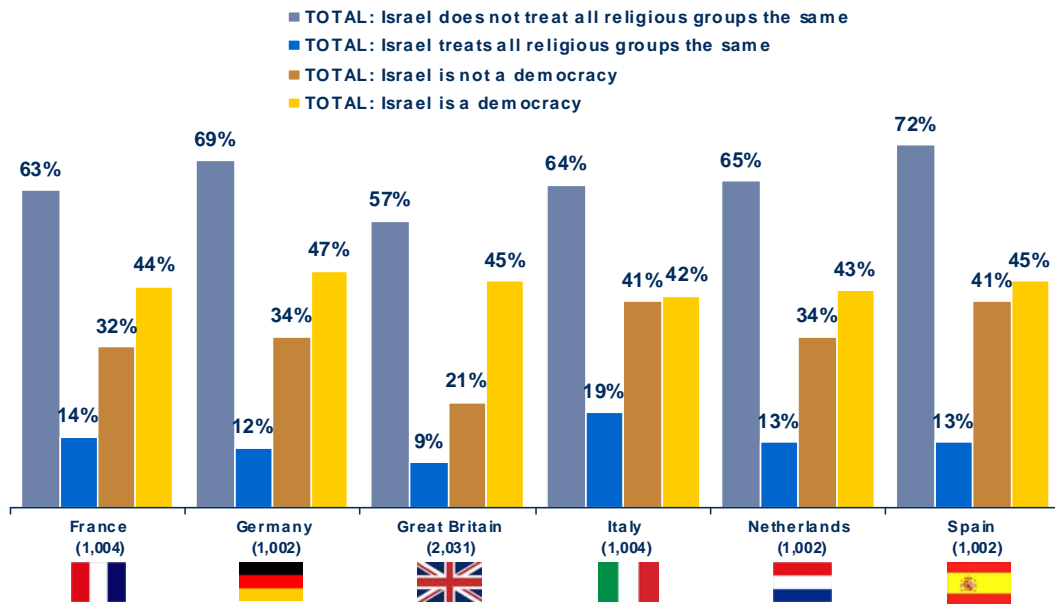


Q2. Which statement best describes your personal view of Israel?
 Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



Figure 5

Personal view of Israel – by country (2)



Q2. Which statement best describes your personal view of Israel?
 Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



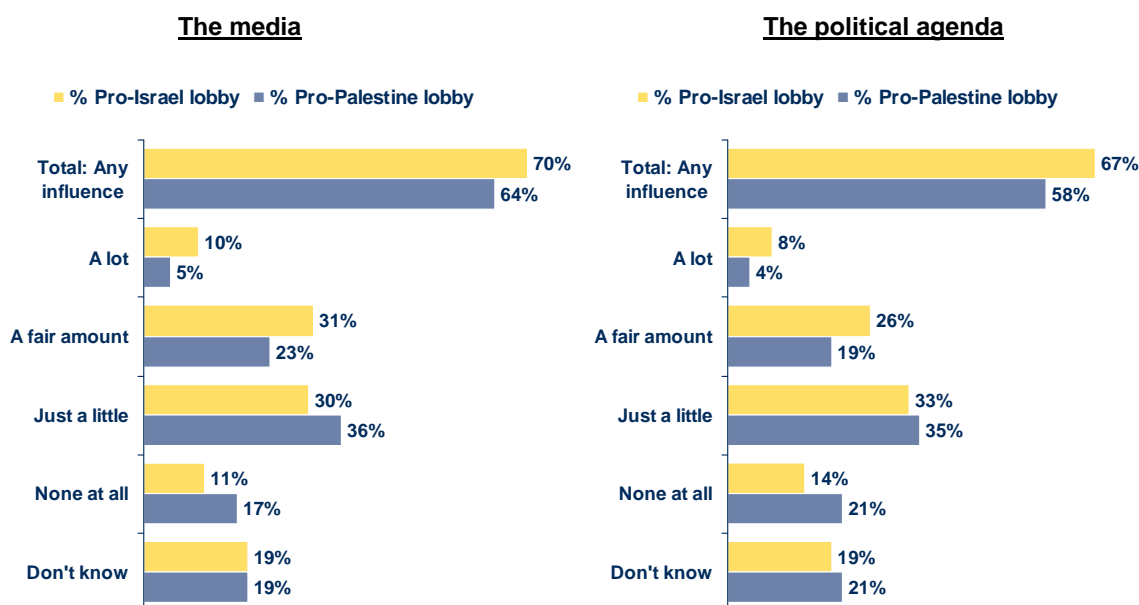
2. Influence of Pro-Israeli and Pro-Palestinian Lobby Movements

At the Europe-wide level, perceived influences of the pro-Israel and pro-Palestine lobby movements are fairly equal on both the media and the political agenda. There is some variance in terms of the political agenda, on which two-thirds (67%) of Europeans perceive the pro-Israel lobby to have an influence, compared to over half (58%) who think the same is true of the pro-Palestine lobby. Less than 10 per cent of people believe that either group has “a lot” of influence, and most people believe that both groups have “just a little” influence.

It is worth noting the significant proportion of “don’t know” responses, which constitute around one-fifth of all answers. This implies that many people may lack the background knowledge necessary to provide an answer. Indeed, people with no formal education are more likely than any other subgroup to say “don’t know” (43% compared to 16% among university graduates).

Figure 6

Perceived influence of the pro-Israel and pro-Palestine lobby movements



Q3. How much influence, if at all, would you say the pro-Israel / pro-Palestine lobby has when it comes to influencing the media / political agenda in your country?

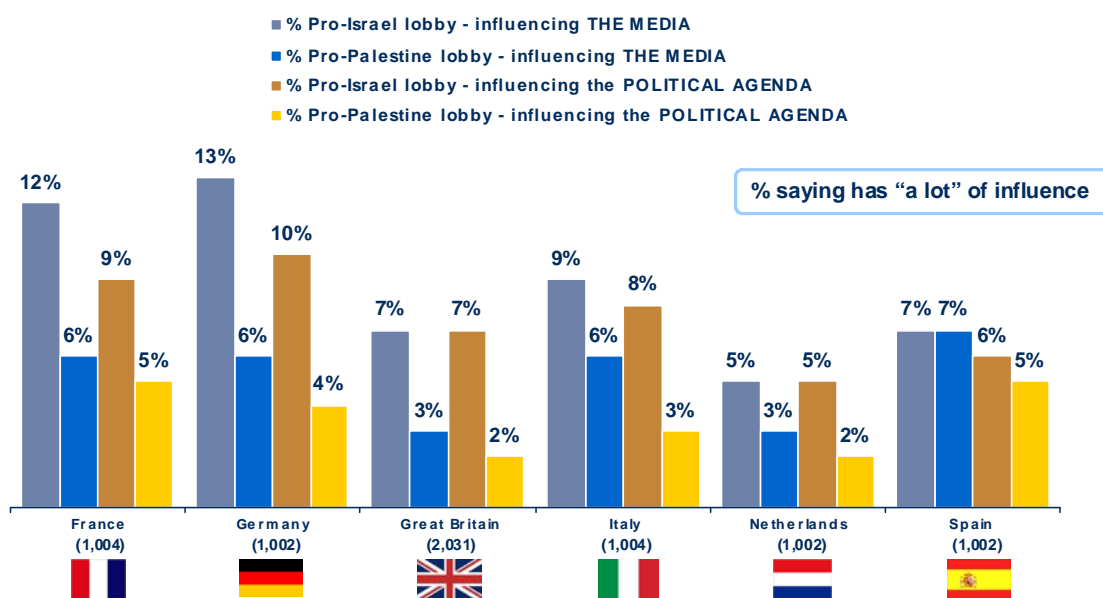
Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



On a country-by-country level, responses are broadly consistent with the cross-national trends. People in France and Germany seem more likely than other Europeans to believe that the pro-Israel lobby has “a lot” of influence on the media. Meanwhile, those in Spain and the Netherlands seem less likely to believe that one lobby has significantly more influence than the other.

Figure 7

Perceived influence of the pro-Israel and pro-Palestine lobby movements – by country



Q3. How much influence, if at all, would you say the pro-Israel / pro-Palestine lobby has when it comes to influencing the media / political agenda in your country?

Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



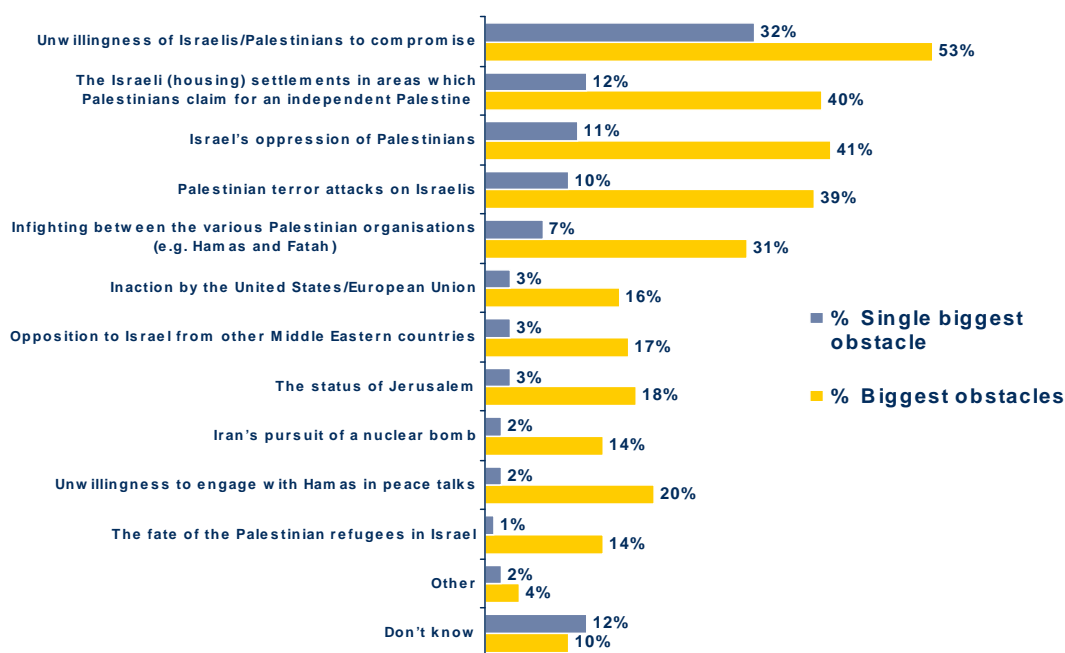
3. Obstacles to Peace in the Middle East

The European public overwhelmingly believes that “unwillingness of Israelis and Palestinians to compromise” is the single biggest obstacle to peace in the Middle East (32%). The second most popular response concerns Israeli settlements, but this receives a relatively small 12 per cent of answers. A similar proportion – one in ten – identify “Israel’s oppression of the Palestinians” (11%) and “Palestinian terror attacks on Israelis” (10%) as the single main barrier to an end to the conflict. This implies that the European public believes that both parties are partially responsible for the obstacles to peace.

It is also worth noting the strong minority mentioning the role of international relations. Indeed, 16 per cent of Europeans cite “inaction by the United States/European Union” as an obstacle, while 17 per cent refer to “opposition to Israel from other Middle Eastern countries”.

Figure 8

Biggest obstacles to peace in the Middle East



Q4a. What, in your view, are the biggest obstacles to peace in the Middle East?
 Q4b. And what, in your view, is the single biggest obstacle to peace in the Middle East?
 Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



Subgroup analysis of the top five “biggest obstacles” reveals a number of interesting trends. In line with findings elsewhere in this report, opinion divides along the lines of age, gender, education, tenure, and work status:

1. **“Unwillingness of Israelis/Palestinians to compromise”**
 - Average: (32%)
 - Male (30%); Female (34%)
 - No education (24%); Secondary education (31%); University (36%)

2. **“The Israeli (housing) settlements in areas which Palestinians claim for an independent Palestine:**
 - Average (12%)
 - Male (15%); Female (9%)
 - 18-24 (6%); 35-44 (11%); 55+ (19%)
 - No education (7%); University (14%)

3. **“Israel’s oppression of Palestinians”:**
 - Average (11%)
 - Male (12%); Female (9%)
 - No education (8%); University (8%)

4. **“Palestinian terror attacks on Israelis”:**
 - Average (10%)
 - 18-24 (13%); 55+ (9%)
 - Working full-time (11%); Working part-time (7%)
 - Tenure: Own outright (12%); Social/private rent (8%)

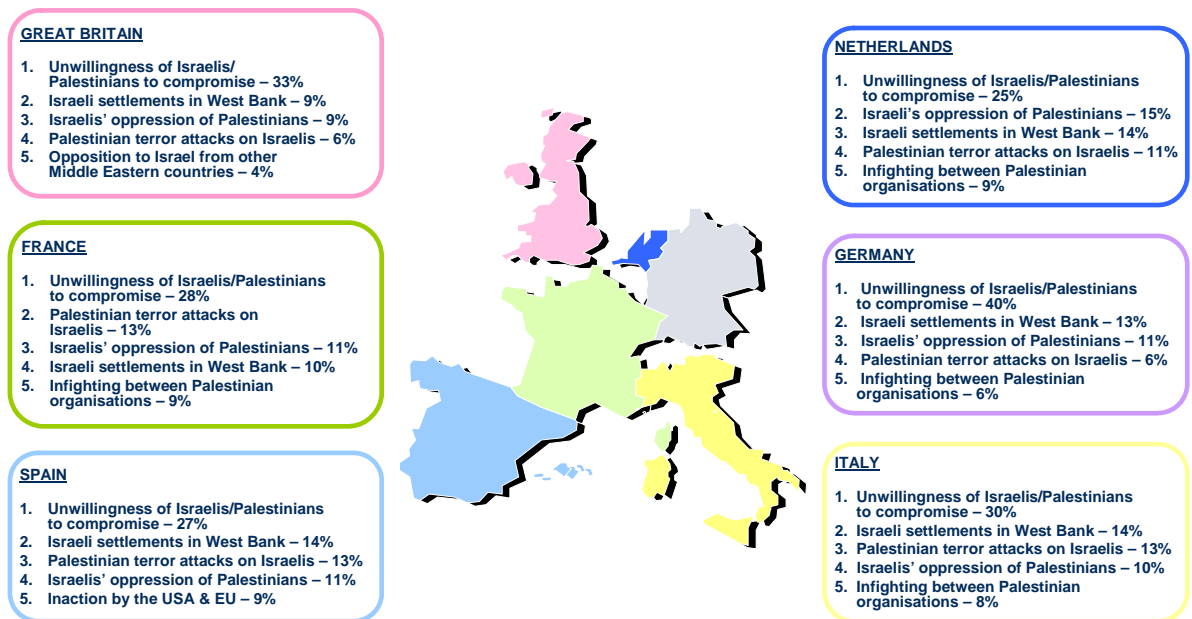
5. **“Infighting between various Palestinian organisations”:**
 - Average (7%)
 - Male (5%); Female (8%)
 - 18-24 (8%); 55+ (5%)

- **Don’t know:**
 - Average (12%)
 - Male (7%); Female (16%)
 - 18-24 (14%); 55+ (8%)
 - No education (25%); Secondary (13%); University (9%)

In line with the Europe-wide pattern, each of the individual countries record “unwillingness of Israelis/Palestinians to compromise” as the single biggest obstacle to Middle-Eastern peace. This response is most common Germany (40%), where it receives three times more mentions than the second most popular option (13%). Spain is the only country in which as many as 9 per cent of people cite “inaction by the USA and EU” as the biggest obstacle. Notably, almost a quarter of Britons (23%) answer “don’t know”, compared to just six per cent in Italy.

Figure 9

Single biggest obstacles to peace in the Middle East: by country



Q4b. And what, in your view, is the single biggest obstacle to peace in the Middle East?
 Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



4. Attitudes towards the Israel-Palestine Conflict

4.1. Responsibility for the Israel-Palestine conflict

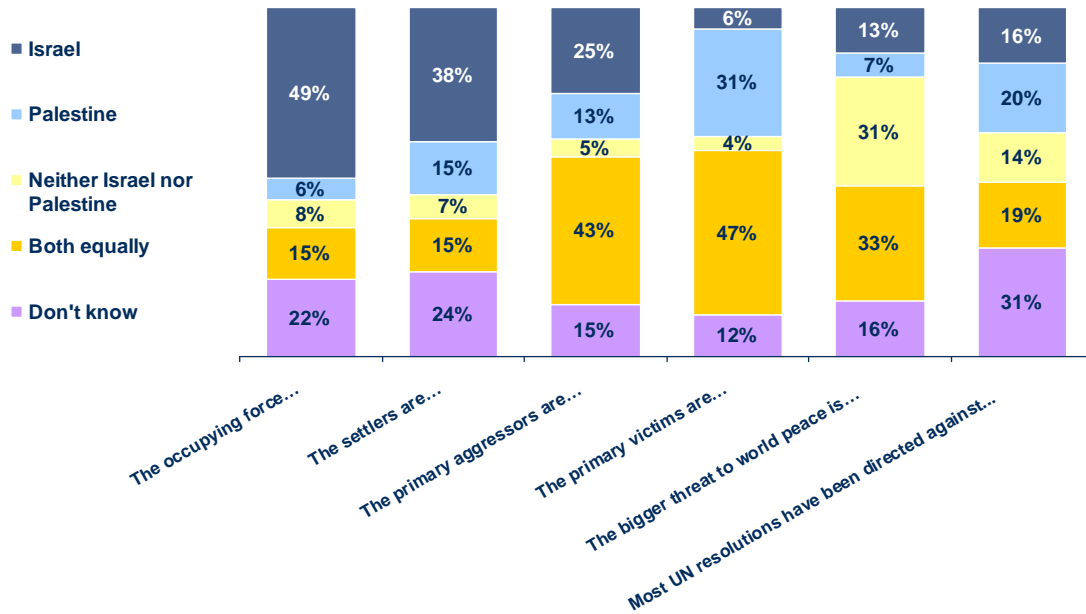
Just under half (49%) of Europeans perceive Israelis to be “the occupying force” and “the settlers” (38%), while a third (31%) name the Palestinians as the “primary victims”. However, people appear to have a more neutral opinion of violence, with two-fifths (43%) answering “both equally” when asked who the primary aggressors are. Similarly, when asked to name the bigger threat to world peace, only one in five (20%) choose either Israel or Palestine, while close to two-thirds (64%) say “neither Israel nor Palestine” or “both equally”.

Nonetheless, it is once again worth noting the high rates of “don’t know” responses. For example, as many as three in ten (31%) people answer “don’t know” when asked about UN resolutions. The causes of this are likely to be twofold. Firstly, the data implies that many Europeans lack the background knowledge which might be necessary to give a confident response. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that half (48%) of all of those with no education say they “don’t know” who the occupying force is. Secondly, those who are sensitive to the contentious nature of the debate surrounding the conflict may be more hesitant in offering a decisive answer. This may, for instance, explain why a third (33%) of all women “don’t know” who the settlers are.

Responses to this question are once again divided along the lines of age. For example, one in five (22%) 18-24 year olds believe that “Israel are the settlers” compared to half (52%) of over 55s who think the same. Moreover, while two in five (38%) over 55s think that Palestinians are “the primary victims”, just one in four (24%) 18-24 year olds agree.

Figure 10

Responsibility for the 'Israel-Palestine conflict'



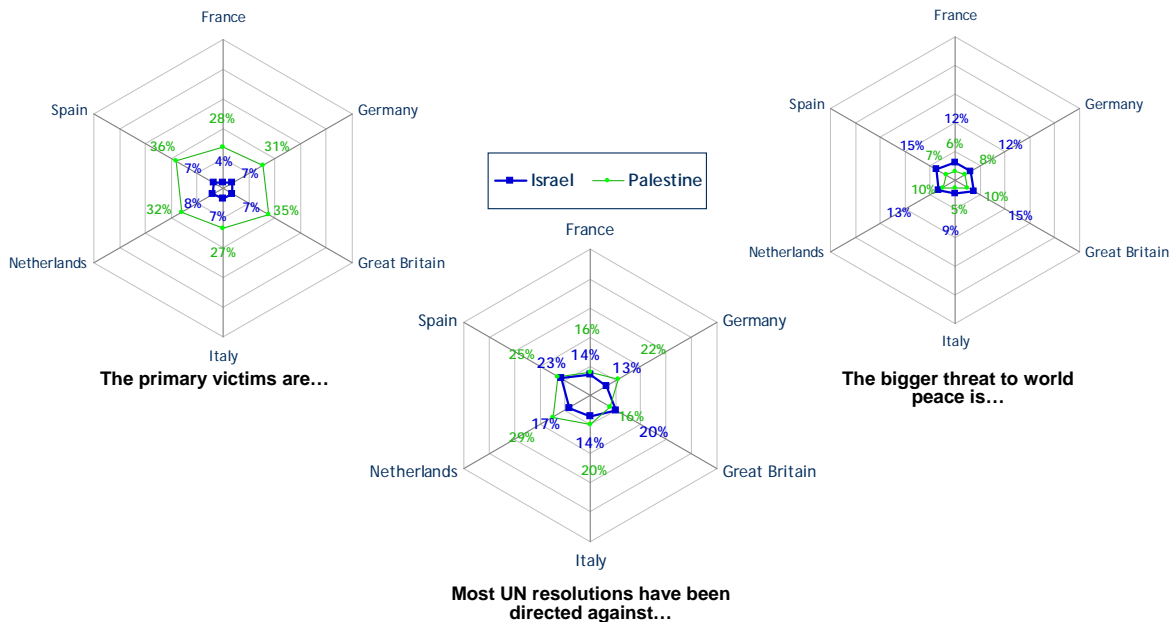
Q5. We are going to present you with a few statements about the Israel-Palestine conflict. For each one, please tell me whether you think the most appropriate answer is Israel, the most appropriate answer is Palestine, or whether neither of these two answers applies. **Base:** All European respondents (7,045)



The following charts reveal that Europeans are more or less in agreement over issues of responsibility. However, there are some differences. For example, one in five (20%) Britons believe that “most UN resolutions have been directed against Israel”, while just 13 per cent of Germans think the same. Equally, while just 16 per cent of people in Britain and France believe that “most UN resolutions have been directed against Palestine”, twice as many people in the Netherlands think that it is the case. Meanwhile, people in Spain (36%) and Britain (35%) are more likely than those in Italy (27%) and France (28%) to say that Palestinian are “the primary victims”.

Figure 11

Responsibility for the ‘Israel-Palestine conflict’ by country

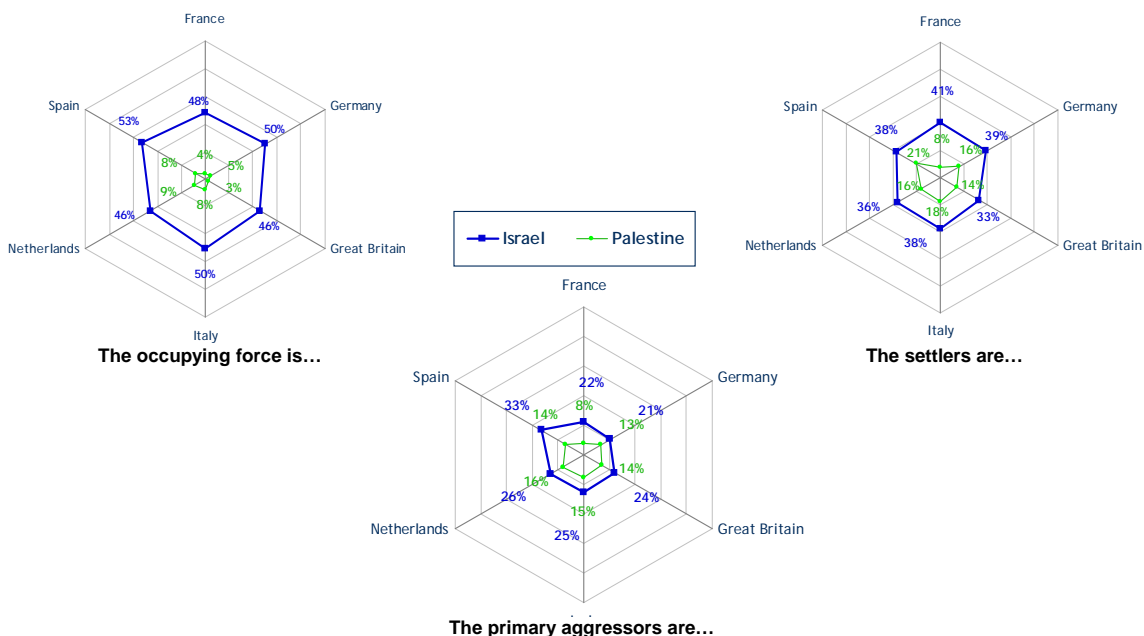


Q5. We are going to present you with a few statements about the Israel-Palestine conflict. For each one, please tell me whether you think the most appropriate answer is Israel, the most appropriate answer is Palestine, or whether neither of these two answers applies. **Base:** All European respondents (7,045)



Figure 12

Responsibility for the 'Israel-Palestine conflict' by country



Q5. We are going to present you with a few statements about the Israel-Palestine conflict. For each one, please tell me whether you think the most appropriate answer is Israel, the most appropriate answer is Palestine, or whether neither of these two answers applies. **Base:** All European respondents (7,045)



4.2. Aspects of the Israel-Palestine conflict: legal or illegal?

Respondents were presented with a number of aspects related to the Israel-Palestine conflict and were asked whether they thought each was legal or illegal under international law. (The statements in Fig 12 overleaf are presented in the order they were listed in the questionnaire although in the survey the starting statement was rotated).

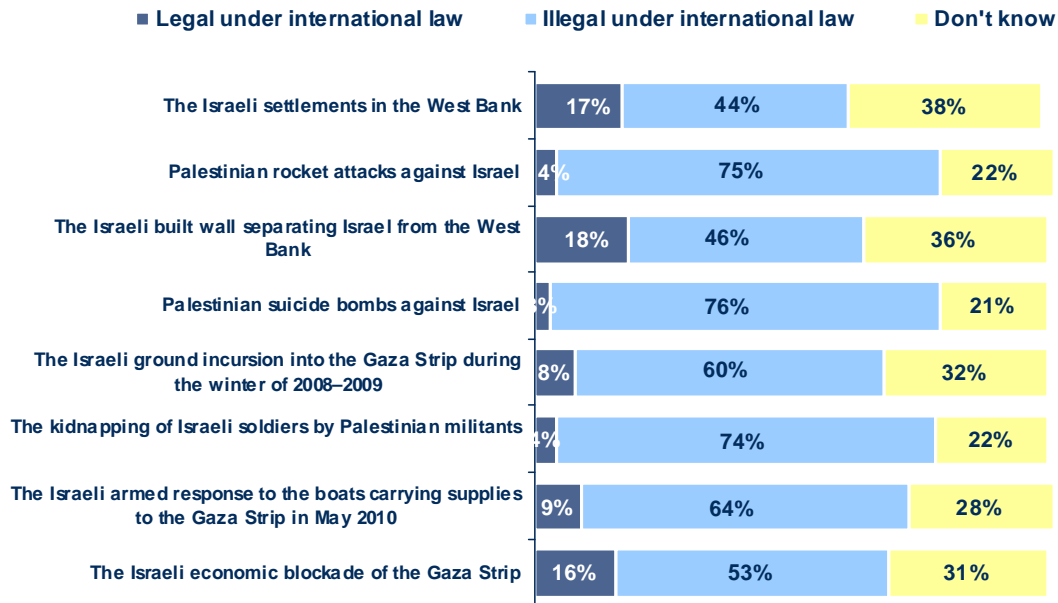
Most Europeans deem each of the statements to be illegal, with three quarters (76%) believing that "Palestinian suicide bombs against Israel" breach international law. However, it is worth noting that some examples require a deeper level of contextual understanding than others. For example, a third (32%) of Europeans state that they "don't know" whether or not the 2008-2009 Israeli ground incursion was legitimate or not, while only one in five (22%) cannot offer an opinion on Palestinian rocket attacks. Indeed, it is worth referring to the "don't know" response, since in some instances it represents up to 38 per cent of the population.

There are no statistically significant differences in the views of the population between countries indicating a broad European consensus with regards the perceived legality or illegality of aspects of the conflict. However, there are subgroup divides, with six in ten (57%) people aged

55 years and over deeming Israeli settlements on the West Bank as illegal, compared to half as many 18-24s (30%).

Figure 13

Aspects of the 'Israel-Palestine conflict': legal or illegal?



Q6. For each of the following statements, please tell us whether you think it is legal or illegal under international law?

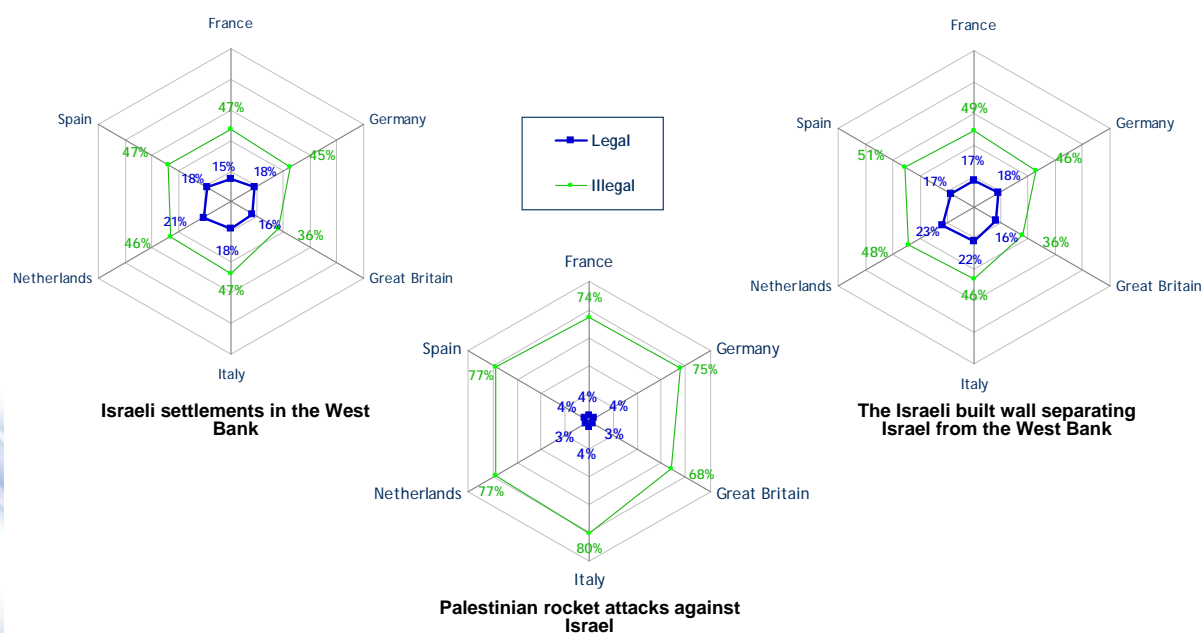
Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



The charts below again demonstrate European consensus on a number of issues related to the perceived legality of the conflict. However, there are a few notable disparities. For example, Italians (80%) seem to be more certain than Britons (68%) that Palestinian rocket attacks are illegal. Meanwhile, two thirds (68%) of people in France believe that the Israeli ground incursion was illegal, compared to half (49%) in Britain.

Figure 14

Aspects of the 'Israel-Palestine conflict': legal or illegal?



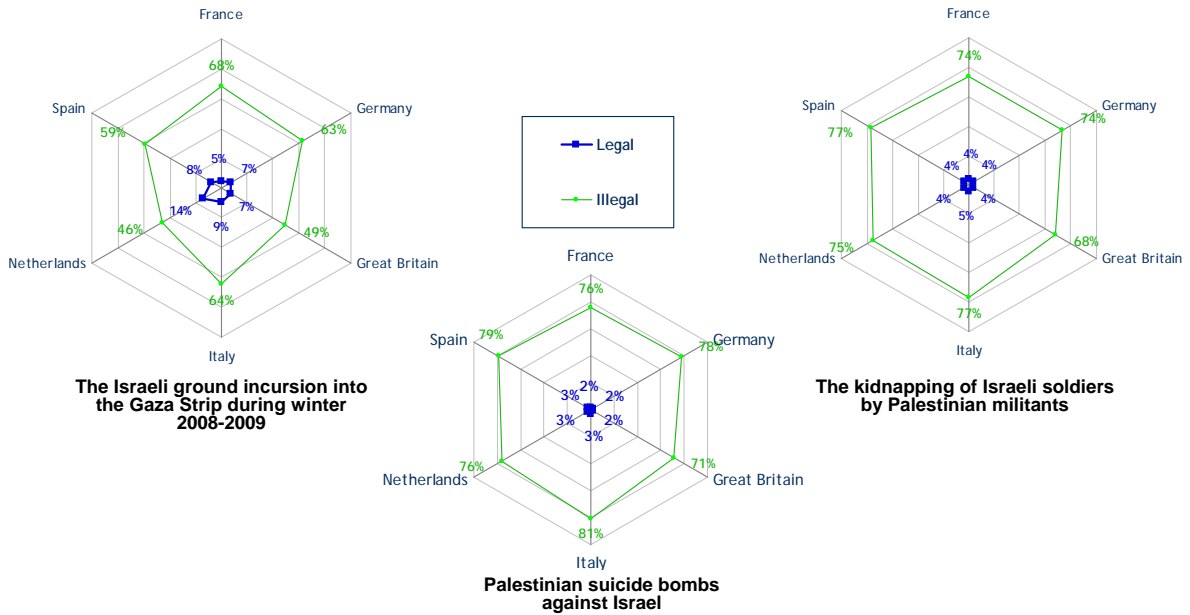
Q6. For each of the following statements, please tell us whether you think it is legal or illegal under international law?

Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



Figure 15

Aspects of the 'Israel-Palestine conflict': legal or illegal?

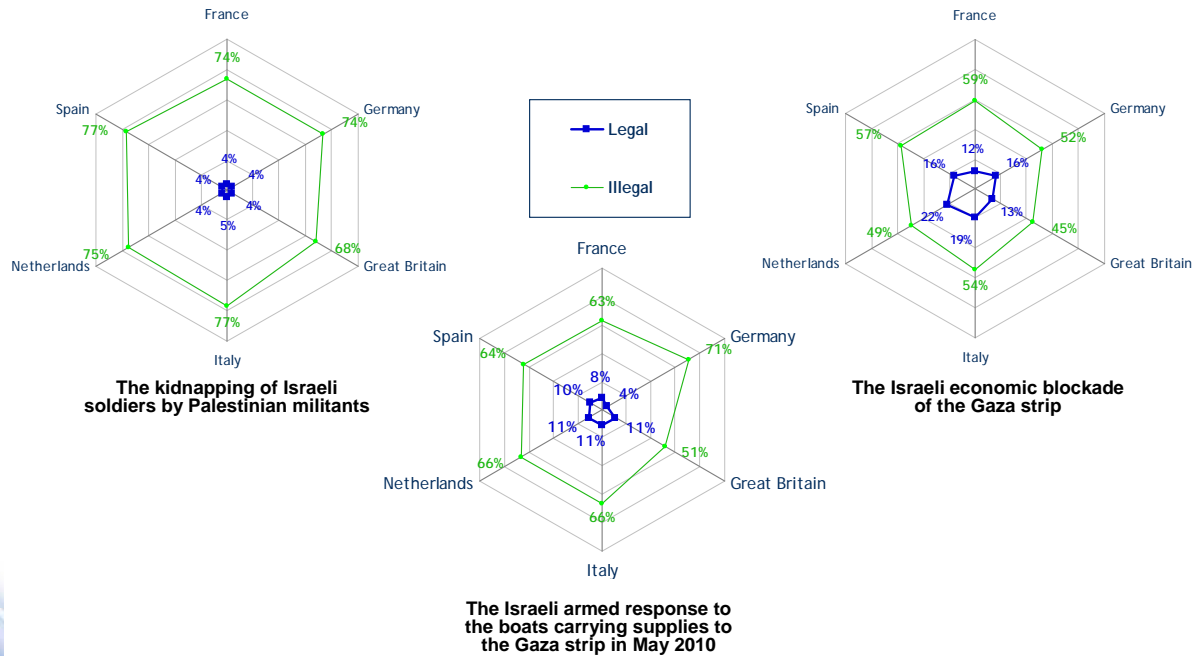


Q6. For each of the following statements, please tell us whether you think it is legal or illegal under international law?
 Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



Figure 16

Aspects of the 'Israel-Palestine conflict': legal or illegal?



Q6. For each of the following statements, please tell us whether you think it is legal or illegal under international law?
Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.

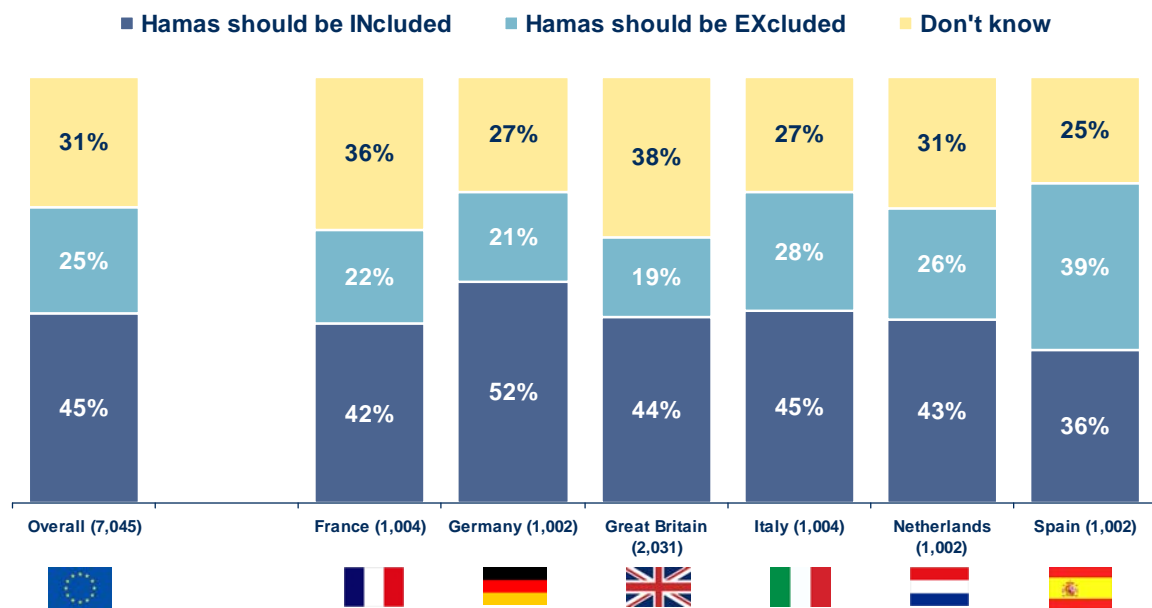


4.3. Hamas’ involvement in Israeli-Palestinian peace talks

Of those Europeans who are able to offer response, a majority (45% across Europe) believe that Hamas should be **included** in Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. On the national level, more than half (52%) of all Germans believe that Hamas should be included, while only 36 per cent of Spaniards think the same. Spanish people are the most likely to favour the exclusion of Hamas (39%), compared to just one in five Britons (19%). Once again, “don’t know” constitutes a large proportion of all responses, with up to 38 per cent of Britons and 36 per cent of French people proving unable to offer an opinion.

Figure 17

Hamas involvement in Israeli-Palestinian peace talks



Q7. Hamas, an organisation representing Palestinians, is currently excluded from Israel – Palestine peace talks. In 2006 Hamas won the Palestinian Authority legislative elections in the Gaza Strip although it is designated a terrorist organisation by Israel, the United States and the European Union. Do you believe that Hamas should be included or excluded from continuing Israel – Palestine peace talks? **Base:** All European respondents (7,045)

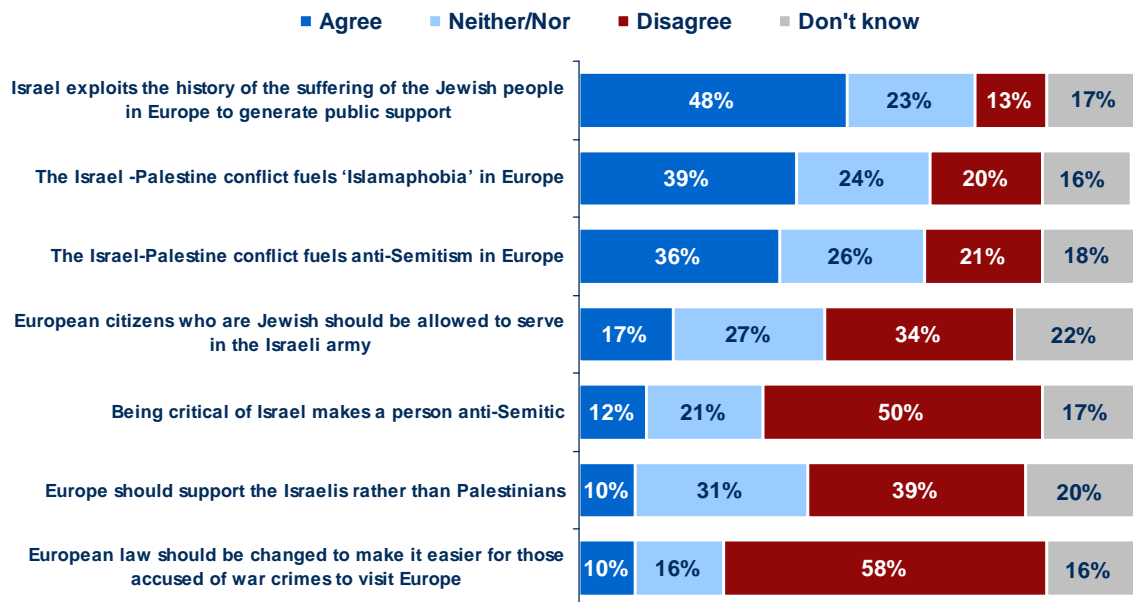


4.4. The Israel-Palestine conflict & its impact on Europe

Almost half (48%) of the European population believes that “Israel exploits the suffering of the Jewish people”, although slightly more (52%) either “disagree”, “don’t know”, or select “neither/nor”. Some of the responses suggest that many Europeans perceive a link between the conflict and attitudes towards religion, with two out of every five (39%) believing that the conflict fuels Islamophobia, while 36 per cent think that it promotes anti-Semitism. On the other hand, half of Europeans (50%) disagree that “being critical of Israel makes a person anti-Semitic”. The strongest European consensus (58%) is that European law should **not** be changed to make it easier for those accused of war crimes to visit Europe.

Figure 18

The ‘Israel-Palestine conflict’ and Europe



Q8. To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?
 Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



On the topic of religion, (Fig.19) the individual country responses reveal a broad consensus, which is in keeping with Europe-wide trends. Three times as many Germans (19%) as Britons (6%) agree that “Being critical of Israel makes a person anti-Semitic”. Moreover, more than half of all Spaniards (54%) and Germans (53%) believe that “Israel exploits the history of the Jewish people”. More than a third of people in all countries believe that the conflict “fuels ‘Islamophobia’ in Europe”, with a high of 45 per cent in Italy, and a low of 32 per cent in Britain.

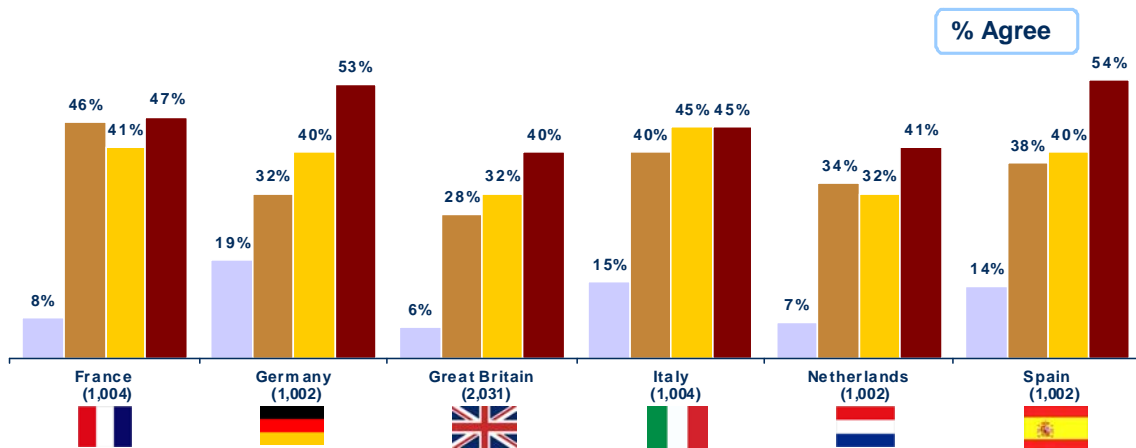
In addition, older Europeans appear to be more sensitive to the incitement of anti-Semitism: more than half of over 55s (53%) agree that “being critical of Israel makes a person anti-Semitic” compared to 45 per cent of 18-24 year olds. Equally, 4 in 10 (40%) over 55s believe that the conflict “fuels anti-Semitism in Europe”, while three in ten (31%) 18-24 year olds think the same.

Figure 19

The ‘Israel-Palestine conflict’ and Europe – by country (1)



- Being critical of Israel makes a person anti-Semitic
- The Israel-Palestine conflict fuels anti-Semitism in Europe
- The Israel-Palestine conflict fuels ‘Islamaphobia’ in Europe
- Israel exploits the history of the suffering of the Jewish people in Europe to generate public support



Q8. To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?
Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



On issues of legality (Fig. 20), individual countries follow a similar pattern. One notable disparity is that the percentage of Britons who believe that Jewish European citizens should be allowed to serve in the Israeli army (23%) is six percentage points above the European average (17%), and 10 points above the French figure (13%). In addition, twice as many Spanish people (14%) as French (7%) agree that Europe should support Israelis rather than Palestinians, although these figures represent relative small portions of the total population.

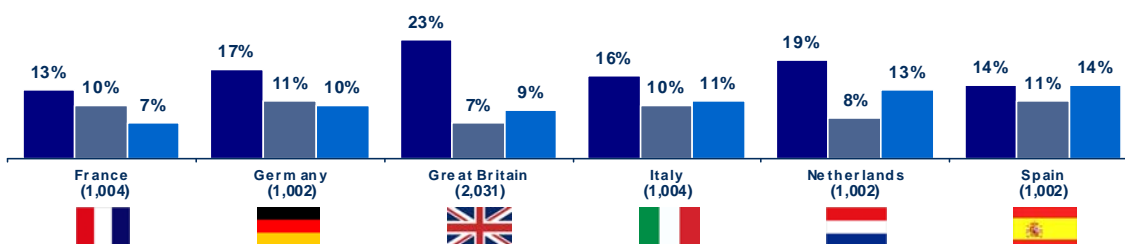
Figure 20

The 'Israel-Palestine conflict' and Europe – by country (2)



- European citizens who are Jewish should be allowed to serve in the Israeli army
- European law should be changed to make it easier for those accused of war crimes to visit Europe
- Europe should support the Israelis rather than Palestinians

% Agree



Q8. To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?
Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



5. Attitudes towards the Future Status of Jerusalem

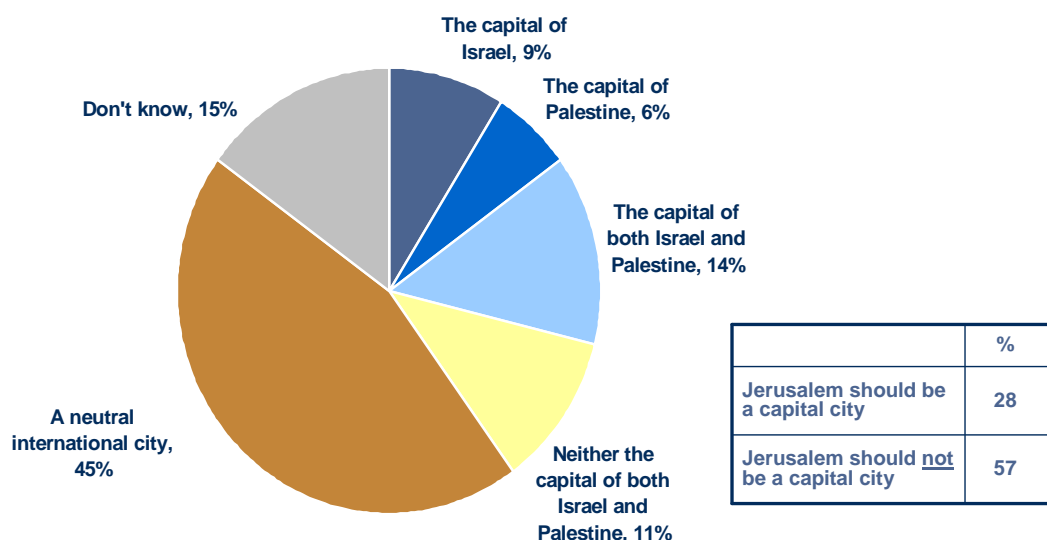
When asked what should happen to Jerusalem, over two-fifths (45%) of Europeans agree that it should become a neutral international city, while just 15 per cent believe that it should be the capital of either Israel (9%) or Palestine exclusively (6%). Overall, three in ten (28%) believe that Jerusalem should be capital city in some sense, while 57 per cent agree that it should not be a capital city at all.

Once again, gender appears to play a significant part in shaping opinion. One out of every three men (33%) thinks that Jerusalem **should** be a capital, whereas as only one in every four women thinks the same (24%). Moreover, one in every five women (19%) says that they “don’t know”, while just one in every ten men (11%) says the same. In line with findings elsewhere, people with no education are more than twice as likely to decline an answer (38%) than graduates (11%) and the rest of the population (15%)

Age is once again divisive; young people (18-24s) are twice as likely (18%) as over 55s (9%) to say that they “don’t know”. In addition, while as many as two-thirds (65%) of all over 55s believe that Jerusalem should **not** be a capital city, a far small proportion of 18-24 year olds think the same (49%). Indeed, it is worth noting that each of these responses are out of line with the overall average of 57 per cent.

Figure 21

Attitudes towards the future status of Jerusalem



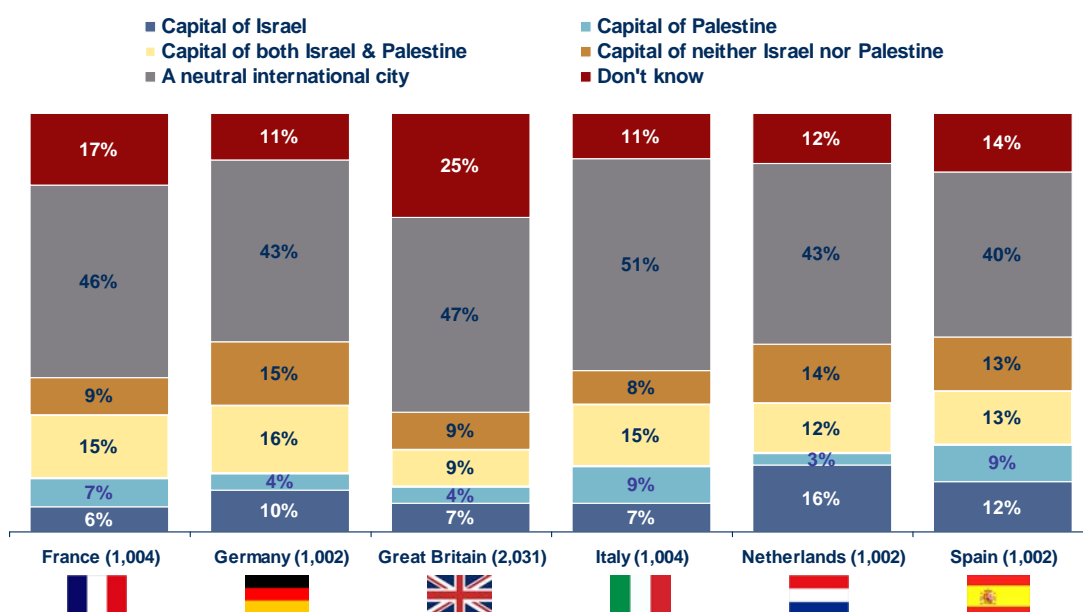
Q9. The city of Jerusalem is currently divided between the Israelis and Palestinians. If the Palestinians were to be given their own state, which of the following best describes what you think should happen to Jerusalem. It should be...? **Base:** All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th – 25th Jan 2011.



Individual country responses fall broadly in line with the overall findings. By far the most popular view in all countries is that Jerusalem should be a neutral international city, with support ranging from 51 per cent in Italy to 40 per cent in Spain. A quarter of all Britons state that they “don’t know”, which is a large figure compared with Germany and Spain’s 11 per cent. There is slightly more support for the idea an Israeli capital of Jerusalem amongst the Dutch (16%) when compared with the French (6%), but overall these represent small proportions of the population.

Figure 22

Attitudes towards the future status of Jerusalem – by country



Q9. The city of Jerusalem is currently divided between the Israelis and Palestinians. If the Palestinians were to be given their own state, which of the following best describes what you think should happen to Jerusalem. It should be...? Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th – 25th Jan 2011.



6. Party Political Support for Israel

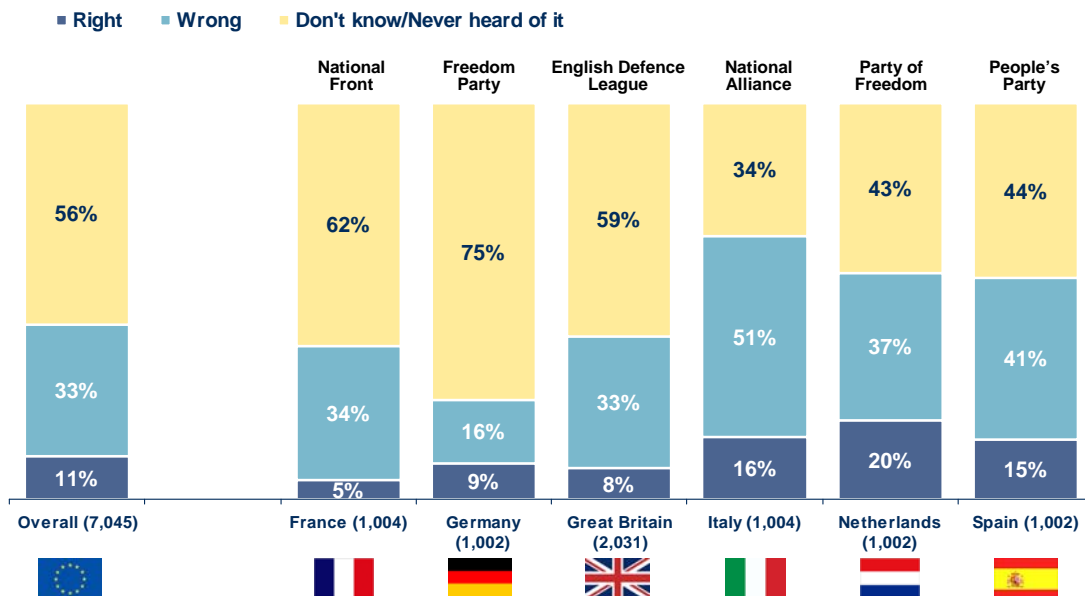
Respondents were asked whether they believed it to be right or wrong for a named party/movement on the right-wing of the ideological spectrum in their country to support Israel rather than Palestine. Parties/movements are not treated as being ideologically homogeneous, and are specific to each of the countries. For instance, it is generally accepted that the Spanish People’s Party and the Italian National Alliance are mainstream centre-right political parties, while the others are on the far-right.

Overall, the overwhelming response is that Europeans either do not know, or have not heard of the party/movement (56%). Indeed, roughly half of people in every subgroup abstain from giving a response. In Germany, as much as three-quarters (75%) of the population is unable to answer the question, with France (62%) and Britain (59%) following the trend. Amongst those Europeans who do offer an answer, a majority believe that it is **wrong** for the named party/movement to support Israel over Palestine. The strength of this feeling ranges from a low of just 16 per cent in Germany, to over half of Italians (51%).

Once more, women are far likelier than men to say that they “don’t know” (63% compared to 49%), and are consequently less likely either to think that it is “right” (8% and 14% respectively), or “wrong” (29% compared to 37%). Moreover, while more than half of Europeans from all age groups either “don’t know” or have “never heard of them”, 18-24s (59%) are far likelier to give the response than over 55s are (52%).

Figure 23

Whether it is right or wrong for each of the named parties to support Israel rather than Palestine



Q10. Do you think it is right or wrong for [PARTY] to support Israel rather than the Palestinians? (N.B. Welsh Defence League in Wales). Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19th and 25th January 2011.



APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Guide to Statistical Reliability

The respondents to this research are only samples of the total “population” in each of the six countries, so we cannot be certain that the figures obtained are exactly those we would have if everybody in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands and Spain had been interviewed (the “true” values). We can, however, predict the variation between the sample results and the “true” values from a knowledge of the size of the samples on which the results are based and the number of times that a particular answer is given. The confidence with which we can make this prediction is usually chosen to be 95% - that is, the chances are 95 in 100 that the “true” value will fall within a specified range. The table below illustrates the predicted ranges for different sample sizes and percentage results at the “95% confidence interval”.

Size of sample on which survey result is based	Approximate sampling tolerances applicable to percentages at or near these levels		
	10% or 90% ±	30% or 70% ±	50% ±
100 interviews	6	9	10
200 interviews	4	6	7
400 interviews	3	4	5
500 interviews	3	4	4
600 interviews	2	3	4
800 interviews	2	3	4
900 interviews	2	3	3
1,000 interviews (<i>i.e. a country other than GB</i>)	3	3	3
1,300 interviews	2	2	3
2,000 interviews (<i>i.e. Great Britain</i>)	1	2	2
3,000 interviews	1	2	2
7,045 interviews (<i>i.e. total sample size</i>)	1	1	1

For example, with a total sample of 7,045 where 30% give a particular answer, the chances are 19 in 20 that the “true” value (which would have been obtained if the whole population had been interviewed) will fall within the range of plus or minus 1 percentage point (+/-1%) from the sample result. In Great Britain the result would be accurate to plus or minus 2 points and in the other five nations it would be accurate to plus or minus 3 points.

Public Perceptions of the Israel-Palestine Conflict – Summary Report

When results are compared between separate groups within a sample (e.g. countries), different results may be obtained. The difference may be “real”, or it may occur by chance (because not everyone in the population has been interviewed). To test if the difference is a real one - i.e. if it is “statistically significant”, we again have to know the size of the samples, the percentage giving a certain answer and the degree of confidence chosen. If we assume the “95% confidence interval”, the differences between the two sample results must be greater than the values given in the table below:

Size of samples compared	<u>Differences required for percentage levels significance at or near these</u>		
	10% or 90% ±	30% or 70% ±	50% ±
100 and 100	8	13	14
200 and 200	6	9	10
400 and 400	4	6	7
600 and 600	3	5	6
1,000 and 1,000 (i.e. comparing 2 countries)	3	4#	4
2,000 and 1,000 (i.e. comparing GB and another country)	2	4	4
7,045 and 1,000 (i.e. comparing the total and another country)	2	3*	3
7,045 and 2,000 (i.e. comparing the total and Great Britain)	2	2	3

* For example, when comparing a sample of 1,000 (a country) with the population of 7,045 where 30% give a particular answer, the chances are 19 in 20 that the “true” value (which would have been obtained if the whole population had been interviewed) will fall within the range of plus or minus 3 percentage points (+/-3) from the sample result.

When comparing two countries where each has a sample of 1,000 and where 30% give a particular answer, if we assume the “95% confidence interval, the “true” result will fall within the range of plus or minus 4 percentage points (+/-4) from the sample result.

Appendix 2: Sample Profile

		Total Sample		
		<u>Number of people unweighted</u>	<u>Unweighted %</u>	<u>Weighted %</u>
Total		7,045	100	100
Gender				
	Male	3,512	50	49
	Female	3,533	50	51
Age				
	18-24	871	12	13
	25-34	1,445	21	21
	35-44	1,674	24	24
	45-54	1,443	20	21
	55+	1,612	23	21
Work Status				
	Working full-time	3,312	47	48
	Working part-time	778	11	10
	Not working	2,881	41	40
Tenure				
	Own outright	2,078	29	31
	Own with a mortgage	2,382	34	29
	Social rent	1,084	16	14
	Private rent	1,280	18	21
	Other	221	3	4
Education level				
	University	2,454	35	33
	School/College/Training	4,381	62	64
	None	210	3	3

Source: ICM Research

Public Perceptions of the Israel-Palestine Conflict – Summary Report

		(Unweighted) number of people per country						
		Total	France	Germany	Italy	Spain	Nether-lands	GB
Total		7,045	1,004	1,002	1,004	1,002	1,002	2,031
Gender								
	Male	3,512	488	490	502	507	497	1,028
	Female	3,533	516	512	502	495	505	1,003
Age								
	18-24	871	148	131	118	134	131	209
	25-34	1,445	214	190	232	264	205	340
	35-44	1,674	236	265	254	245	252	422
	45-54	1,443	217	233	210	199	223	361
	55+	1,612	189	183	190	160	191	699
Work Status								
	Working full-time	3,312	568	492	465	505	412	870
	Working part-time	778	74	111	95	81	174	243
	Not working	2,881	352	382	430	397	402	918
Tenure								
	Own outright	2,078	341	161	540	360	49	627
	Own with a mortgage	2,382	222	220	245	416	511	768
	Social rent	1,084	157	232	34	15	356	290
	Private rent	1,280	240	351	142	155	73	319
	Other	221	44	38	43	56	13	27
Education level								
	University	2,454	479	284	329	72	348	942
	School/College/Training	4,381	485	707	633	907	644	975
	None	210	40	11	12	23	10	114

Source: ICM Research

Appendix 3: Marked-up Questionnaire

Public Perceptions of the Palestine-Israel Conflict

Topline Findings

(7th February 2011)

- ICM interviewed a random sample of 7,045 European adults aged 18 years+ from its online panel in each country:
 - Great Britain (2,031)
 - France (1,004)
 - Germany (1,002)
 - Italy (1,004)
 - Netherlands (1,002)
 - Spain (1,002).
- Fieldwork was conducted between 19th and 25th January 2011.
- Surveys were conducted across each country and the results have been weighted to the known profile of all adults in each country. Demographic quotas were set by age, gender, work status and region in each country. The overall European data has also been weighted to take into account each country's share of the total population.
- Where results do not sum to 100%, this may be due to multiple responses, computer rounding or the exclusion of don't knows/not stated.
- An asterisk (*) represents a value of less than one half or one percent, but not zero.
- Study undertaken by ICM Research on behalf of Middle East Monitor (MEMO).
- ICM is a member of the British Polling Council and abides by its rules. Further information at www.icmresearch.co.uk

1. Which 3 or 4 things most come into your mind when you hear the words “Israeli-Palestinian conflict”? ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT UP TO 4 ANSWERS.

	%
War/violence/fighting	65
The Gaza Strip	51
Religious conflict	47
Conflict over land	43
Suicide bombs	30
Islamic organisations, e.g. Hamas, Fatah, Hezbollah	24
The West Bank	20
Injustice/tragedy	19
Muslim/Arabs	17
Poverty	14
People and personalities, e.g. Netanyahu, Abbas, Obama	5
World Trade Centre/Bin Laden	3
Other	2
Nothing	2
Don't know	2

2. Which statement best describes your personal view of Israel? ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY.

	%
Israel is a democracy but where there is oppression and domination by one religious group over another	34
Israel is a democracy, where all people irrespective of religious group are treated the same	10
Israel is not a democracy but all people irrespective of religious group are treated the same	3
Israel is not a democracy, where there is oppression and domination by one religious group over another	31
Other ¹	7
None of these	15

ROTATE STARTING ORDER OF Q3A AND Q3B.

3. A) How much influence, if at all, would you say the **pro-Israel lobby** has when it comes to influencing...? ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT.

- B) How much influence, if at all, would you say the **pro-Palestinian lobby** has when it comes to influencing...? ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT.

	<u>Media Influence</u>		<u>Political Influence</u>	
	Pro-Israel lobby	Pro-Palestinian lobby	Pro-Israel lobby	Pro-Palestinian lobby
	%	%	%	%
A lot	10	5	8	4
A fair amount	31	23	26	19
Just a little	30	36	33	35
None at all	11	17	14	21
Don't know	19	19	19	21

¹ Please see the computer tables for a full breakdown of 'other' responses.

4. A) What, in your view, are the **biggest obstacles** to peace in the Middle East? PLEASE SELECT AS MANY AS APPLY.

B) And what, in your view, is the **single biggest obstacle** to peace in the Middle East? PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER (FROM THOSE CARRIED OVER FROM Q4.A)

	A) Biggest obstacles %	B) Single biggest obstacle %
Unwillingness of Israelis/Palestinians to compromise	53	32
The Israeli (housing) settlements in areas which Palestinians claim for an independent Palestine	40	12
Israel's oppression of Palestinians	41	11
Palestinian terror attacks on Israelis	39	10
Infighting between the various Palestinian organisations (e.g. Hamas and Fatah)	31	7
Inaction by the United States/European Union	16	3
Opposition to Israel from other Middle Eastern countries	17	3
The status of Jerusalem	18	3
Iran's pursuit of a nuclear bomb	14	2
Unwillingness to engage with Hamas in peace talks	20	2
The fate of the Palestinian refugees in Israel	14	1
Other	4	2
None / There are NO obstacles	1	1
Don't know	10	12

5. We are going to present you with a few statements about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. For each one, please tell me whether you think the most appropriate answer is Israel, the most appropriate answer is Palestine, or whether neither of these two answers applies. ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT.

		Israel	Palestine	Neither Israel nor Palestine	Both equally	Don't know
a) The occupying force is...	%	49	6	8	15	22
b) The settlers are...	%	38	15	7	15	24
c) The primary aggressors are...	%	25	13	5	43	15
d) The primary victims are...	%	6	31	4	47	12
e) The bigger threat to world peace is...	%	13	7	31	33	16
f) Most United Nations (UN) resolutions have been directed against...	%	16	20	14	19	31

6. And, for each of the following statements, please tell us whether you think it is legal or illegal under international law? ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT.

		Legal under international law	Illegal under international law	Don't know
a) The Israeli settlements in the West Bank	%	17	44	38
b) Palestinian rocket attacks against Israel	%	4	75	22
c) The Israeli built wall separating Israel from the West Bank	%	18	46	36
d) Palestinian suicide bombs against Israel	%	3	76	21
e) The Israeli ground incursion into the Gaza Strip during the winter of 2008–2009	%	8	60	32
f) The kidnapping of Israeli soldiers by Palestinian militants	%	4	74	22
g) The Israeli armed response to the boats carrying supplies to the Gaza Strip in May 2010	%	9	64	28
h) The Israeli economic blockade of the Gaza Strip	%	16	53	31

7. Hamas, an organisation representing Palestinians, is currently excluded from Israel – Palestine peace talks. In 2006 Hamas won the Palestinian Authority legislative elections in the Gaza Strip although it is designated a terrorist organisation by Israel, the United States and the European Union. Do you believe that Hamas should be included or excluded from continuing Israel – Palestine peace talks? PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

	%
Hamas should be included	45
Hamas should be excluded	25
Don't know	31

8. To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?
ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT.

		Strongly agree	Tend to agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Tend to disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
a) [INCLUDE NATIONALITY SPECIFIC TO COUNTRY: British/Dutch/French/German/Italian/Spanish] and European citizens who are Jewish should be allowed to serve in the Israeli army	%	5	12	27	12	23	22
b) European law should be changed to make it easier for those accused of war crimes to visit Europe	%	4	6	16	14	45	16
c) [COUNTRY] and Europe should support the Israelis rather than Palestinians	%	4	6	31	14	25	20
d) Being critical of Israel makes a person anti-Semitic	%	4	8	21	16	34	17
e) The Palestine-Israel conflict fuels anti-Semitism in [COUNTRY] and Europe	%	8	28	26	13	8	18
f) The Palestine-Israel conflict fuels 'Islamaphobia' in [COUNTRY] and Europe	%	10	30	24	12	7	16
g) Israel exploits the history of the suffering of the Jewish people in Europe to generate public support	%	18	30	23	8	5	17

9. The city of Jerusalem is currently divided between the Israelis and Palestinians. If the Palestinians were to be given their own state, which of the following best describes what you think should happen to Jerusalem. It should be...? ROTATE STARTING POINT. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

	%
The capital of Israel	9
The capital of Palestine	6
The capital of both Israel and Palestine	14
Neither the capital of Israel nor Palestine	11
A neutral international city	45
Don't know	15

10. Do you think it is right or wrong for the [INSERT NAME OF RELEVANT FAR RIGHT PARTY BELOW] to support Israel rather than the Palestinians? SINGLE CODE

		Right	Wrong	Don't know / Never heard of it
GREAT BRITAIN: English Defence League²	%	8	33	59
FRANCE: National Front	%	5	34	62
GERMANY: Freedom Party	%	9	16	75
NETHERLANDS: Party for Freedom	%	20	37	43
ITALY: National Alliance	%	16	51	34
SPAIN: People's Party (PP)	%	15	41	43

² Welsh Defence League in Wales.