



The **Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR)** is an independent nonprofit institution and think tank of policy analysis and academic research. PSR was founded with the goal of advancing scholarship and knowledge on immediate issues of concern to Palestinians in three areas: domestic politics and government, strategic analysis and foreign policy, and public opinion polls and survey research. The center engages in several activities. It conducts academic and policy analysis studies. It organizes socio-political surveys and public opinion polls on current Palestinian political and social attitudes. It sponsors study groups and task forces on issues of critical importance to the Palestinians. Finally, it organizes conferences, public lectures, and briefings on current public policy issues. PSR is dedicated to promoting objective and nonpartisan research and analysis and to encouraging a better understanding of Palestinian domestic and international environment in an atmosphere of free debate and exchange of ideas.

This is a special PSR poll on East Jerusalem conducted with contribution from the Netherlands Representative Office in Ramallah.

For further information, please contact

Dr. Khalil Shikaki or Walid Ladadweh, at the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research

Ramallah, Palestine

Tel 02 296 4933

e-mail: pcpsr@pcpsr.org

<http://www.pcpsr.org>

East Jerusalem Poll:

Comparing the results of 2010 and 2022 polls

Despite continued lack of trust in the intentions of the Jerusalem municipality and despite a firm belief in the existence of discrimination against Arabs, a comparison between the current findings and those of 2010 shows a decline in the percentage of East Jerusalemites who prefer to hold Palestinian citizenship, in a permanent peace agreement, and an increase in the preference for holding Israeli citizenship; but the majority still prefers Palestinian citizenship. Satisfaction with the services provided by Israel and the Jerusalem municipality increases while worry about living conditions in the future Palestinian state increases

These are the results of the latest poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR) in the areas of occupied East Jerusalem annexed by Israeli to the Jerusalem municipality and where Israeli laws are applied and Israeli (blue) identity cards are held by Palestinian residents. The poll was conducted during November 2022. Interviews were conducted face to face with a random sample of 1000 adult Palestinians over the age of 18 in 50 residential locations throughout all occupied East Jerusalem neighborhoods. Margin of error is 3%. For further details on the neighborhoods and locations where the poll was conducted and for details on the demographic characteristics of the respondents, see annex (1): Sample Characteristics and annex (2): Map of East Jerusalem Neighborhoods.

The period before the conduct of the poll witnessed the electoral victory of the Likud and extreme right wing parties in the Israeli parliamentary elections and the beginning of negotiations to form a purely right wing government. In Palestinian-Israeli relations, a UN resolution asked the International Court of Justice to express its views on the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation. The period also witnessed the formation of armed groups in the Jenin and Nablus areas of the West Bank dedicated to resisting Israeli military incursions into Palestinian territories. The number of such incursions increased considerably during this period and consequently the number of Palestinian casualties increased. The period also witnessed the continuation of home demolition and the attempts to force East Jerusalem residents to evacuate their homes because the land belonged to Jews before 1948. Tension rose in the al Haram al Sharif and al Aqsa Mosque due to increased number of visits by religions Jews, some of whom prayed in the full view of the Israeli police who did not stop them.

The poll has two goals:

(1) To identify current problems and concerns of East Jerusalem Palestinians under existing political and living conditions and to identify their views and likely patterns of behavior in a future political settlement.

For this purpose, respondents have been asked about satisfaction with levels of service delivery, the nature of problems they confront in daily life, views on various peace proposals, and probable behavior under various peace scenarios.

- (2) To compare the findings of the two surveys, the one conducted in 2010 and the current one. For this purpose, the questions in the two polls were identical. The comparison seeks to identify areas of change and their political implications.

The current findings show clear absence of trust in the policies and plans of the Jerusalem municipality and a strong belief that there is discrimination against the Arabs. But they also show a significant rise in the level of satisfaction with the services provided by the municipality and other aspects of life in East Jerusalem. Also, there is a significant rise in the percentage of those who, when confronting problems, seek help from Israeli government agencies or institutions. But East Jerusalemites continue to view the wall that separates them from the West Bank as a big problem. The same applies to Israeli military checkpoints, the level of corruption in the municipality, and the threat posed by the Israeli police and settlers.

The findings show what amounts to a consensus in which East Jerusalemites indicate unwillingness to participate in future Palestinian parliamentary and presidential elections leading to a significant rise in the rate of nonparticipation compared to 2010. Similarly, there is a consensus against participation in the Jerusalem municipal elections even if the Palestinian Authority (PA) encouraged them to vote. There is a significant rise in the level of worry when contemplating a scenario in which East Jerusalem comes under Palestinian sovereignty in a permanent peace agreement. This increased worry led to a significant decrease in the percentage of those who prefer to become Palestinian citizens in such agreement and a significant increase in the percentage of those who prefer to become Israeli citizens. Perhaps the most likely explanation for this development is the distrust in the PA and its institutions as well as the completion of the construction of the separation wall. The completion of the wall forced East Jerusalemites to turn to West Jerusalem for employment and business in order to avoid crossing the wall and the checkpoints which impedes their movement and transportation. This change tied East Jerusalem to the Israeli economy in an unprecedented manner leading to other highly important changes affecting living conditions and administrative and educational aspects of the lives of East Jerusalemites.

Findings also indicate that there is a near consensus among East Jerusalemites to refuse to participate in the future Palestinian legislative and presidential elections, as there has been a remarkable increase in the percentage of rejection compared to the situation in 2010. There is also near unanimity in refusing to participate in the Jerusalem municipal elections even if the PA asks them to participate. It also points to a significant increase in the level of anxiety and concern among the population in the event of a permanent settlement in which East Jerusalem is placed under Palestinian sovereignty. This increase in concern is reflected in several things, the most important of which is a significant decrease in the percentage of those who prefer to hold Palestinian citizenship in the permanent settlement and a significant increase in the percentage of those who prefer to hold Israeli citizenship.

Perhaps the main reason behind this development, in addition to the lack of confidence in the institutions of the PA and the future state and its various capabilities, is the transformation brought about by the completion of the construction of the wall separating East Jerusalem and the West Bank, forcing the residents of the Palestinian city to turn to West Jerusalem, instead of the West Bank, for work and trade, in order to avoid passing through the wall and its military entrances that impede movement and transportation. All of this change forced East Jerusalem residents to tie themselves to the Israeli economy in an unprecedented manner. This was followed by other important administrative, daily life, educational and other transformations that kept East Jerusalemites away from Palestinian public institutions in the West Bank. Israel's decision to prevent East Jerusalemites from participating in the Palestinian general elections in 2021, and the PA's acquiescence and capitulation to that decision by cancelling the elections instead of fighting to force Israel to allow East Jerusalemites to participate in these elections, have added further frustration among East Jerusalemites and increased their beliefs that their fate will remain tied to and under Israeli control for the foreseeable future.

Main Findings:

Findings show that the thing most liked by East Jerusalemites about their city is al Aqsa Mosque (mentioned by 57% of respondents) and the thing most disliked is the occupation and related measures like settlements, wall, siege, and other restrictions (49%) followed by issues of daily living conditions such as crowdedness and high prices, selected by 17% and 6% respectively.

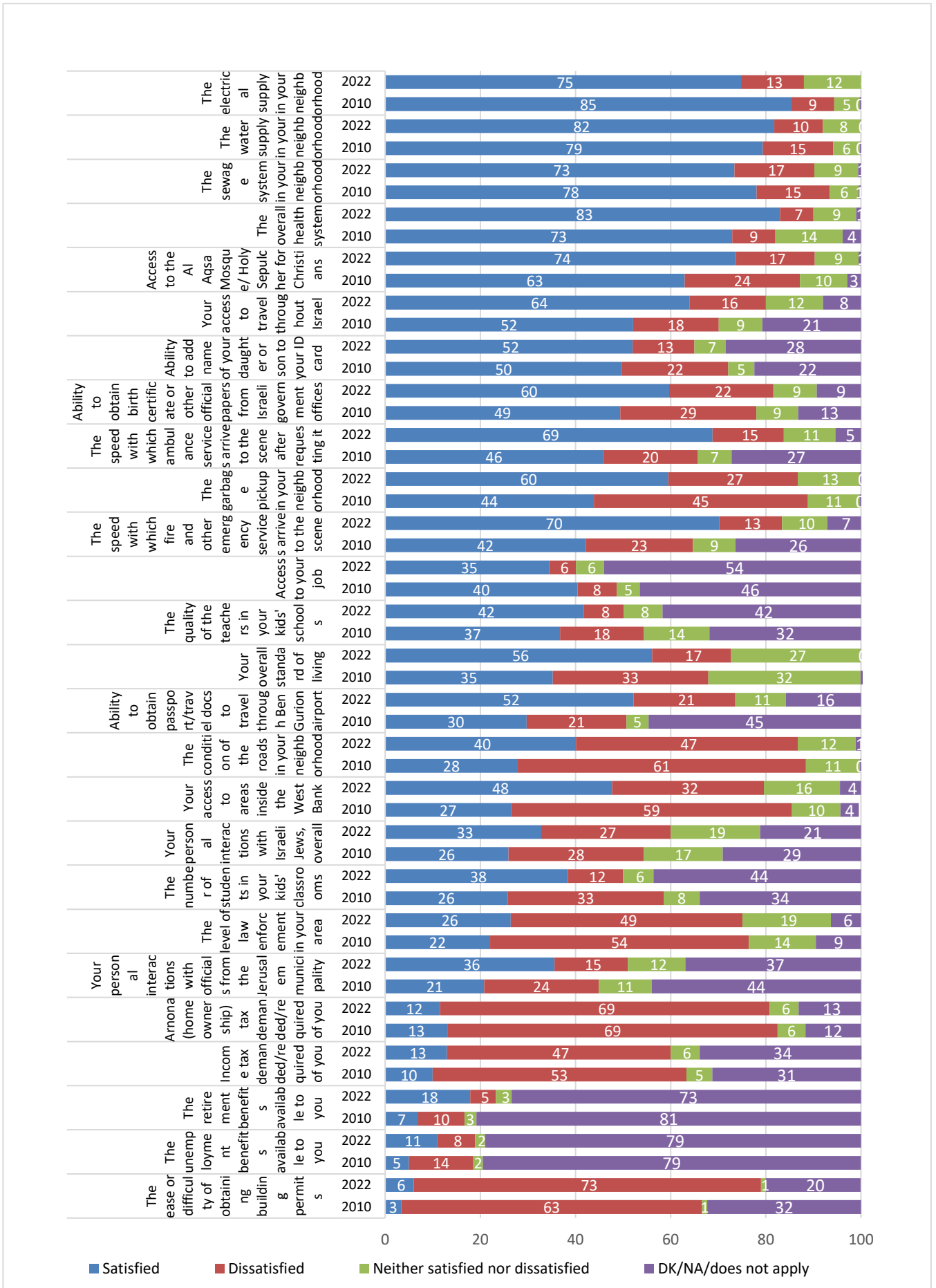
The following summary covers five main issues addressed by the poll: (1) satisfaction with municipal services, (2) the Wall and the checkpoints, (3) political participation, (4) permanent settlement, (5) goals of the Jerusalem Municipality, home demolition, and forced evacuation.

(1) Satisfaction with municipal services

While an overwhelming majority of the residents of East Jerusalem believes that discrimination in municipal service delivery exists between Arabs and Jews, the majority is satisfied with basic and health services; yet, when problems arise, more than half seek help from family followed Israeli governmental agencies and institutions. These findings indicate a rise in the percentage of those who seek assistance from these two resources compared to 2010.

Residents of East Jerusalem are satisfied with many aspects of their life in the city but they are dissatisfied with others. For example, they are satisfied or very satisfied with service delivery in areas of health services (83%), water (82%), electricity (75%), the ease with which they can reach al Aqsa Mosque and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (74%), sewage system (73%), the speed with which fire emergency services arrive (70%), and the speed with which ambulance services arrive (69%). They are also satisfied with access to transportation to Israel (64%), the ease with which they can obtain official birth certificates or other papers from government offices (60%), garbage collection in their neighborhoods (60%), living conditions in general (56%), the ease with which they obtain travel documents to travel through Ben Gurion airport (52%), and adding the names of their children to their IDs (52%). By contrast, the level of dissatisfaction is very high with other services, such as obtaining building permits, to which 73% express dissatisfaction, level of law enforcement (49% dissatisfaction), residence taxes/Arnona (69% are dissatisfied), conditions of roads in their neighborhoods (47% dissatisfaction), and access to West Bank (32%).

Figure (1): Satisfaction and dissatisfaction of Jerusalemites with service delivery- comparing 2022 and 2010 findings (%)



These results indicate an increase in the percentage of satisfaction with 21 services, the most important of which is an increase of more than 20 percentage points in the speed of access to fire and other emergency services, the speed of arrival of ambulance services, the ease of obtaining a passport or document to travel through Ben Gurion Airport, the standard of living in general, and the ease of access to the West Bank. On the other hand, there is a decrease in satisfaction with five services, including the availability of electricity, the sewage system, access to workplaces, income tax, and Arnona tax, as indicated in the following table.

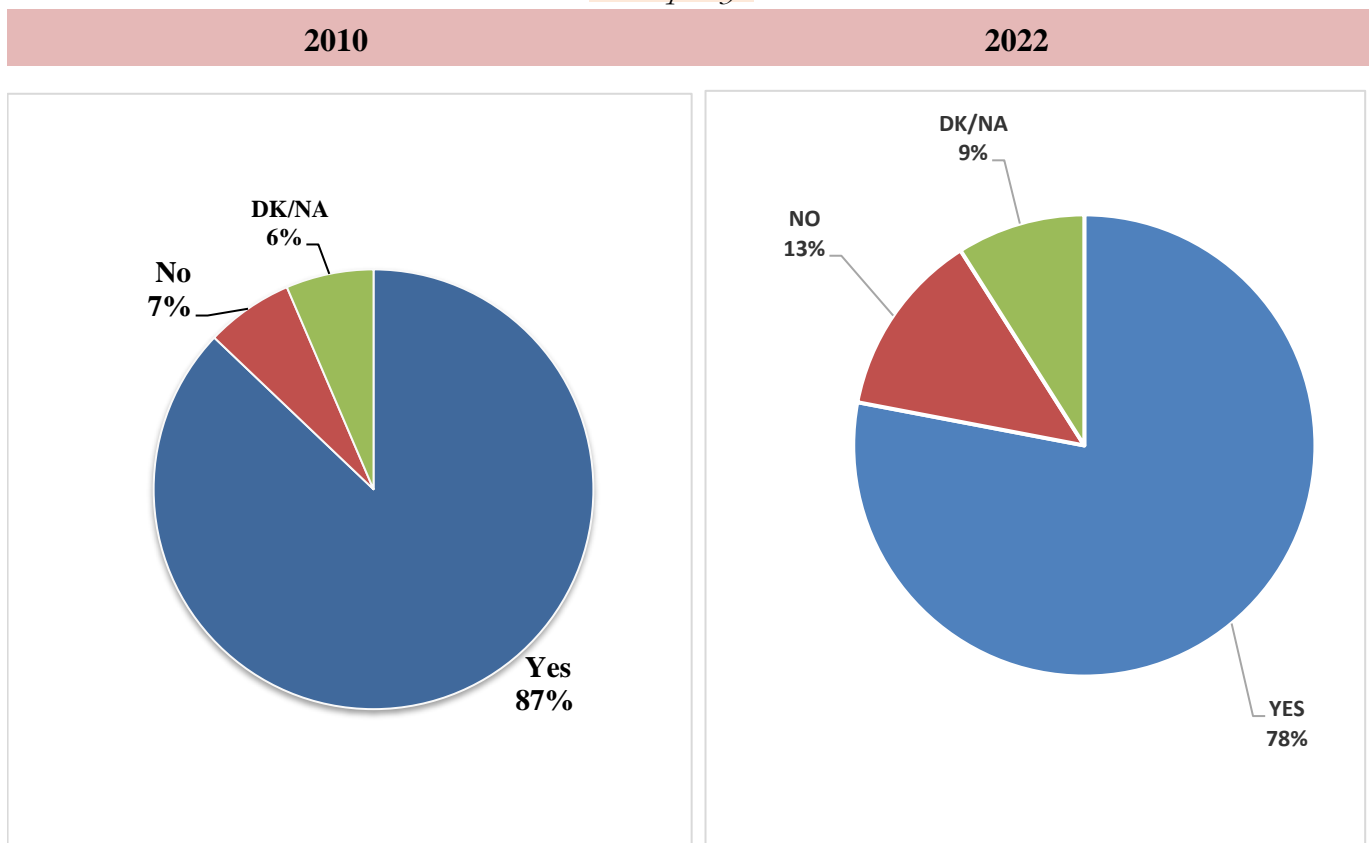
Table (1): Increase and decrease in the percentage of the 2022 satisfaction with service delivery compared to the 2010 findings

No.	List of services that witnessed increase in satisfaction	Increase in percentage points	No.	List of services that witnessed decrease in satisfaction	Decrease in percentage points
1	Speed with which fire and other emergency services arrive	28	1	The electrical supply in your neighborhood	10
2	Speed with which ambulance services arrive	23	2	The sewage system in your neighborhood	5
3	Obtain passport/travel docs to travel through Ben Gurion	22	3	Access to your job	5
4	Overall standard of living	21	4	Income tax	3
5	Access to areas inside the West Bank	21	5	Arnona tax	1
6	The garbage pickup in your neighborhood	16			
7	Personal interactions with municipality officials	15			
8	Access to travel throughout Israel	12			
9	Number of students in your kids' classrooms	12			
10	Condition of the roads	12			
11	Retirement benefits	11			
12	Ability to obtain birth certificate or other official papers	11			
13	Access to the Al Aqsa Mosque/ Holy Sepulcher	11			
14	The overall health system	10			
15	Personal interactions with Israeli Jews,	7			
16	Unemployment benefits	6			
17	Quality of the teachers in your kids' schools	5			
18	Law enforcement	4			
19	Obtaining building permits	3			
20	The water supply in your neighborhood	3			
21	Ability to add name of your daughter or son to your ID card	2			

An overwhelming majority of Jerusalemites (87%) believes that discrimination against Arabs exists in municipal service delivery. The largest percentage (30%) says the discrimination is noticeable in all areas of service delivery while 9% believe it is evident in personal treatment they receive from municipal officials; 7% say it is in areas of basic infrastructure, such as roads; 6% say it is particularly evident in access to health services, and 3% say it is evident in access to building permits. When comparing current results with those obtained 12 years ago, it is clear that the perceptions of discrimination in services remain very high despite falling by nine percentage points (as indicated in Figure 2). Belief that there is no discrimination increases from 7% to 13% during the same period.

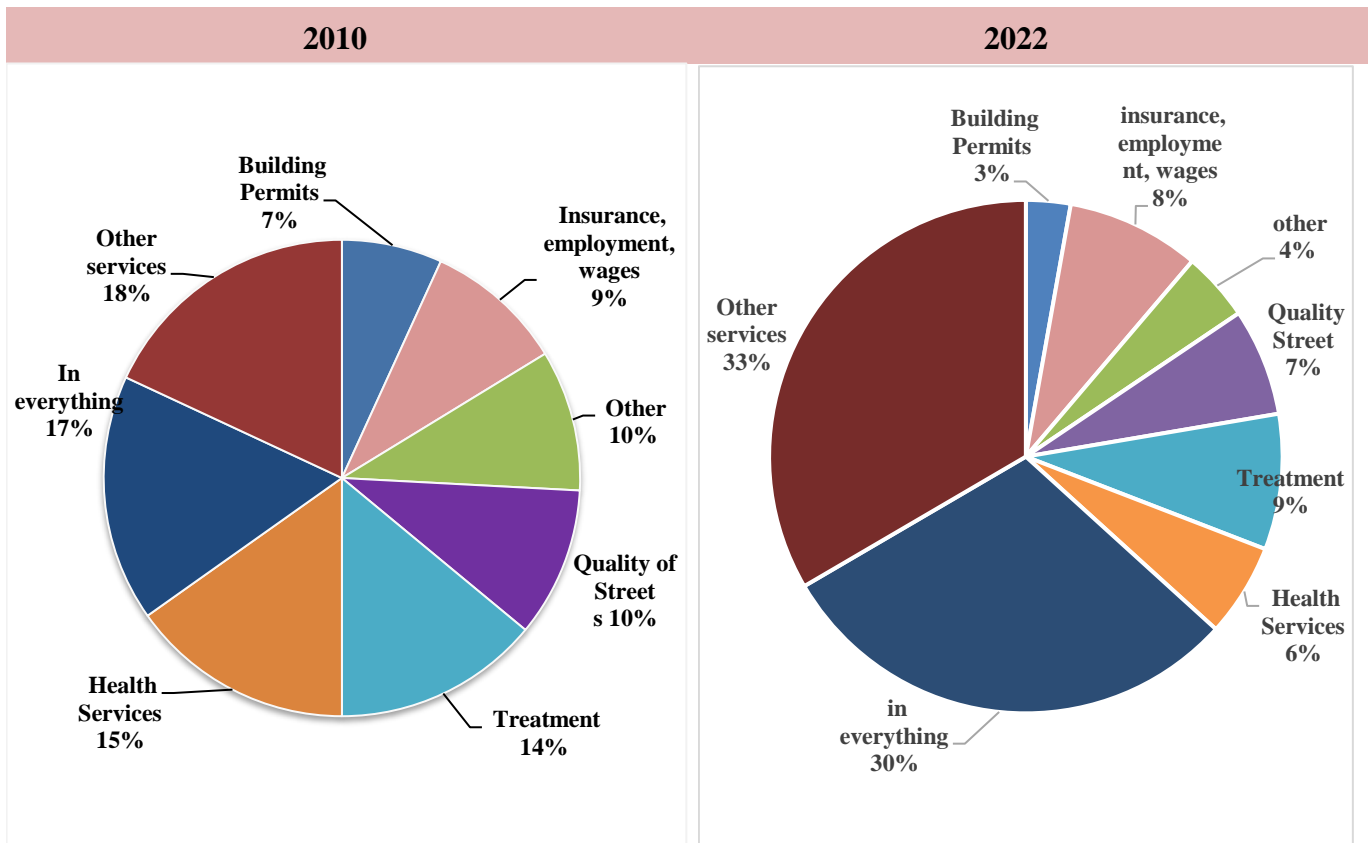
Figure (2): Perception of the existence of discrimination in service delivery between Jews and Arabs- comparing 2022 and 2010 findings

In your view is there any discrimination in the services provided to Arab and Jews by the Jerusalem municipality?



When identifying key areas of discrimination, the main differences between the current results and those we found in 2010 lie in the significant increase in the percentage of those who say discrimination covers all the services we asked about, from 17% twelve years ago to 30% in the 2022 survey. But it is also clear that there is a decrease, as we can see in Figure 3, in the percentage of those who say that there is discrimination in health services, which decreased by 9 percentage points. The percentage of those who say that there is discrimination in personal treatment decreased by 5 percentage points, and the percentage of those who say there is discrimination in issuing building permits decreased by 4 percentage points. Despite this decline, it is not at all certain that these results in their entirety indicate an improvement in the area of discrimination in these specific areas, as the percentage of those who say that there is discrimination in all these areas has increased by 13 percentage points, as mentioned above.

Figure (3): Areas of discrimination as perceived by East Jerusalemites- comparing 2022 and 2010 findings

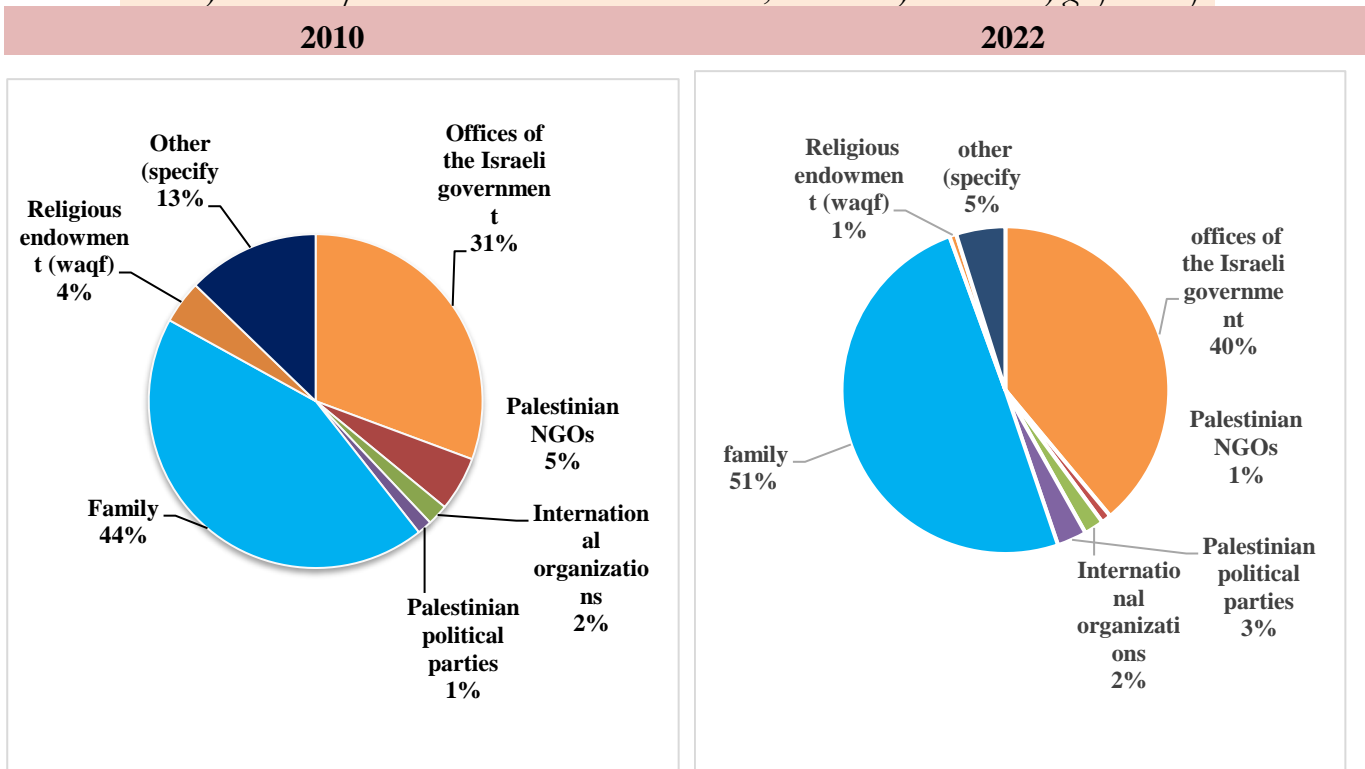


A majority of East Jerusalemites (59%) say that the Israeli stipulation that requires Jerusalem to be the “center of life” in order to receive some services, such as social security or insurance, affects them negatively and 18% say it affects them positively. This finding indicates an 8-point drop in the percentage of those who view the effect negatively and a 9-point rise in the percentage of those who view it positively.

When problems occur, or when in need for social assistance, the largest percentage (51%) seeks relief from family while 40% say they seek it from Israeli public institutions, 2% say they go to international institutions; 1% say they go to Palestinian NGOs, and 1% say they go to *Waqf* (Islamic Endowment). These findings indicate a 9- point rise in the percentage of those who seek help from offices of the Israeli government and a similar increase of 7 points of those who seek family help. They also indicate a 4-point drop in the percentage of those who seek help from Palestinian NGOs.

Figure (4): **Places East Jerusalemites go to for relief at time of problems or when needing social assistance- comparing 2022 and 2010 findings**

When you have a problem or need a social assistance, where do you normally go for relief?



(2) Threats posed by the separation wall, the checkpoints, police and settlers

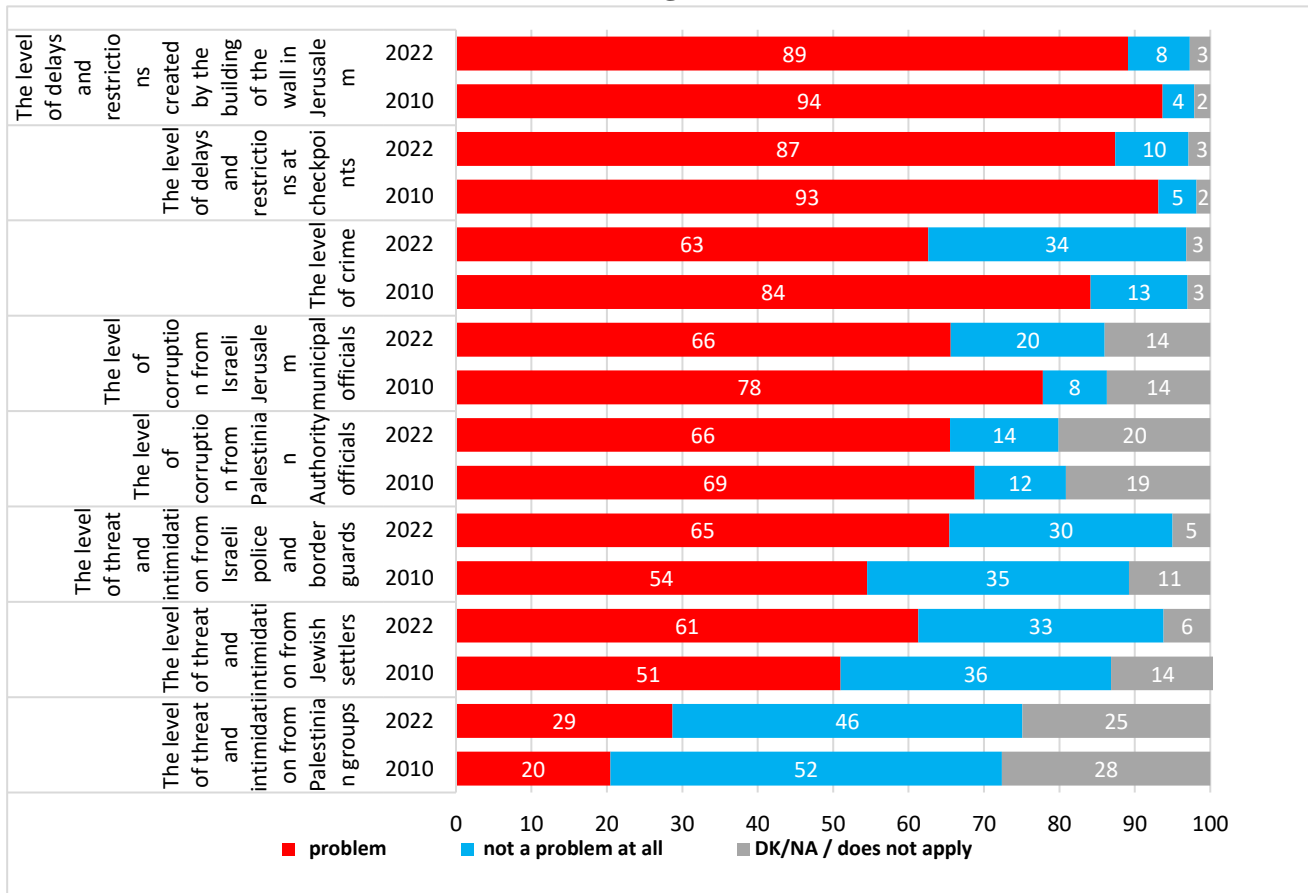
The separation wall and military checkpoints remain the most serious problems for East Jerusalem residents, but a comparison between current conditions and those prevailing 12 years ago indicates a decline in the perception of threat posed by crime and an increase in the perception of threat posed by the police, border guard, and settlers.

The 2022 findings show that 89% of East Jerusalemites identify as a problem the delays that occur during travel due to the construction of the wall that separates East Jerusalem from the West Bank. Similarly, 87% say the delays and restrictions at checkpoints pose a problem; 66% say corruption of municipal staff poses a problem; 66% describe corruption in the PA as a problem; 65% say Israeli police and border guard pose a problem; 63% view the level of crime in the city as a problem; 61% say settlers pose a problem; and threats from other Palestinians are seen as a problem by 29%.

Compared to the 2010 findings, we see the following:

- (1) There is an 11-percentage point increase in the percentage of those who perceive threats and intimidation from the Israeli police and border police; a similar increase (10 points) in the percentage of those who perceive a threat from Jewish settlers; and a 9-percentage point increase in the level of perceived threats and intimidation from Palestinian factions.
- (2) There is a significant decrease of 21 points in the perception of threat from the crime level; a decrease of 12 points in the threat perception from the level of corruption in the Jerusalem municipality; and a decrease of 6 points in the percentage of those who feel threatened by the level of delays and restrictions on checkpoints or due to the construction of the wall in East Jerusalem.

Figure (5): East Jerusalemites View Various Issues as problems- comparing 2022 and 2010 findings (%)



(3) Political Participation

The overwhelming majority of East Jerusalemites did not participate in Palestinian or Israeli elections and will not participate in future Palestinian or Israeli elections even if the PA asked them to do so. Comparing the current findings with those of 2010 indicates that more Palestinians are unwilling to participate in future Palestinian or Israeli elections.

The overwhelming majority of East Jerusalemites (93%) says it did not participate in previous Palestinian elections and 6% say they did participate. The largest percentage did not participate because they were not impressed by the candidates (41%), they felt their participation was pointless (24%), or because the winners could not possibly make a difference in the lives of East Jerusalemites (14%). A small percentage of 4% say it did not participate due to fear of losing its East Jerusalem identity. These findings indicate a significant rise in the rate of nonparticipation compared to 78% in 2010, most likely due to the fact that many among the 2022 respondents were not adults in 2006. The findings also indicate an increase in the percentage of those who think the candidates were either unimpressive or will not be able to serve the interests of their community, which stood at 33% twelve years ago compared to 55% today, a 22-point increase.

If new Palestinian parliamentary and presidential elections are held today, only 6% say they would participate and 92% say they would not. When asked why they would not participate, respondents provided the same explanations for their non-participation as those of 2010: 41% say will most likely see the candidates are unimpressive or that there is no point in the participation (34%) or that the winners will not be able to serve their community (16%). In comparing the current findings with those

of 2010, we see a significant decline in the percentage of those who are willing to participate in the elections standing at 33 points (dropping from 39%) and we see a rise in the non-participation rate standing at 36 points (rising from 56%).

With regard to Israeli elections, 3% say they have participated in previous Knesset or municipal elections and 95% say they did not participate. The largest percentage (41%) say they did not participate because they were not impressed by the candidates; 25% say their participation would be pointless; and 9% say they boycotted the elections because East Jerusalem is an occupied city and not part of the Jerusalem municipality or the state of Israel. When comparing the current findings with those of 2010, we see an 18-point rise in the percentage of those who think they will not be impressed by the candidates and a 12-point decline in the percentage of those who say they boycotted the elections because East Jerusalem is an occupied city and not part of the Jerusalem municipality or the state of Israel.

If the PA were to ask them to participate in the Israeli Jerusalem municipal elections, only 3% say they would do so and 92% say they would not. Compared to 2010, these findings indicate a 20-point drop in the percentage of those who say they would comply with the PA request and a 17-point rise in the percentage of those who say they would refuse to comply with the PA request.

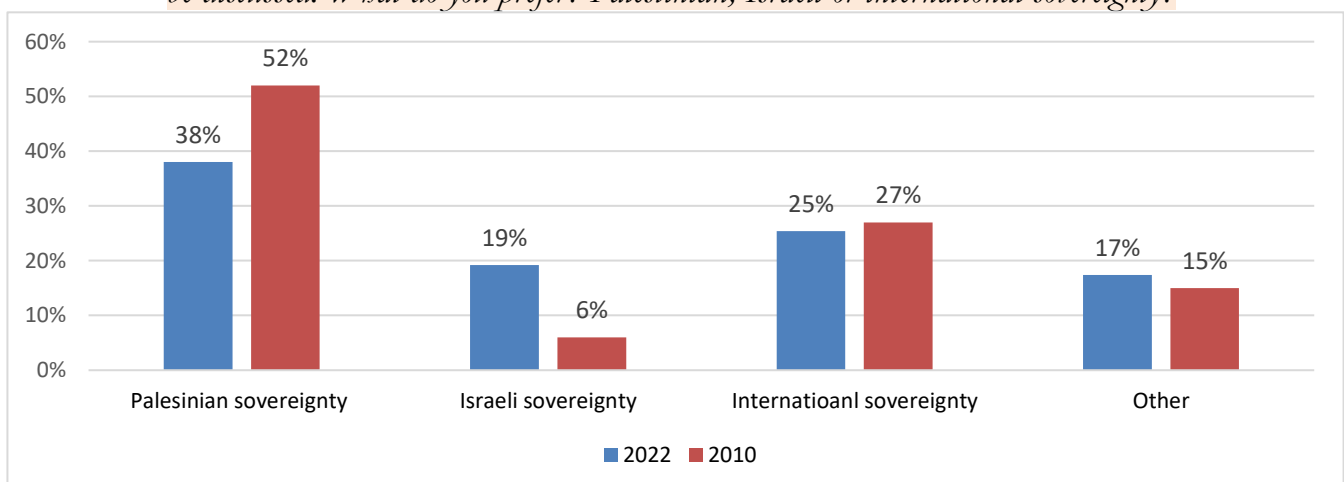
(4) Permanent Settlement

In a permanent settlement, the largest percentage prefers Palestinian sovereignty over East Jerusalem (but significantly less than what we found in 2010); a quarter prefers international sovereignty, and about a fifth prefers Israeli sovereignty (a much higher percentage than what we found in 2010). Despite this, the majority prefers to hold Palestinian citizenship and a large minority prefers to hold Israeli citizenship.

Sovereignty over East Jerusalem should be Palestinian in the eyes of 38% of the respondents while 25% prefer an international sovereignty, 19% prefer Israeli sovereignty, 3% prefer an Islamic or Arab sovereignty, and 14% does not want anyone to have sovereignty over the city. These findings represent one of the most important differences between the current findings and those of 2010 as the preference to have Palestinian sovereignty drops by 14 percentage points and the preference for Israeli sovereignty rises by 13 percentage points, as can be seen in figure (6) below.

Figure (6): Personal preferences of East Jerusalemites regarding sovereignty in East Jerusalem—comparing 2022 and 2010 findings (%)

When Palestinians and Israelis return to negotiations, the issue of the sovereignty over East Jerusalem will be discussed. What do you prefer? Palestinian, Israeli or international sovereignty?



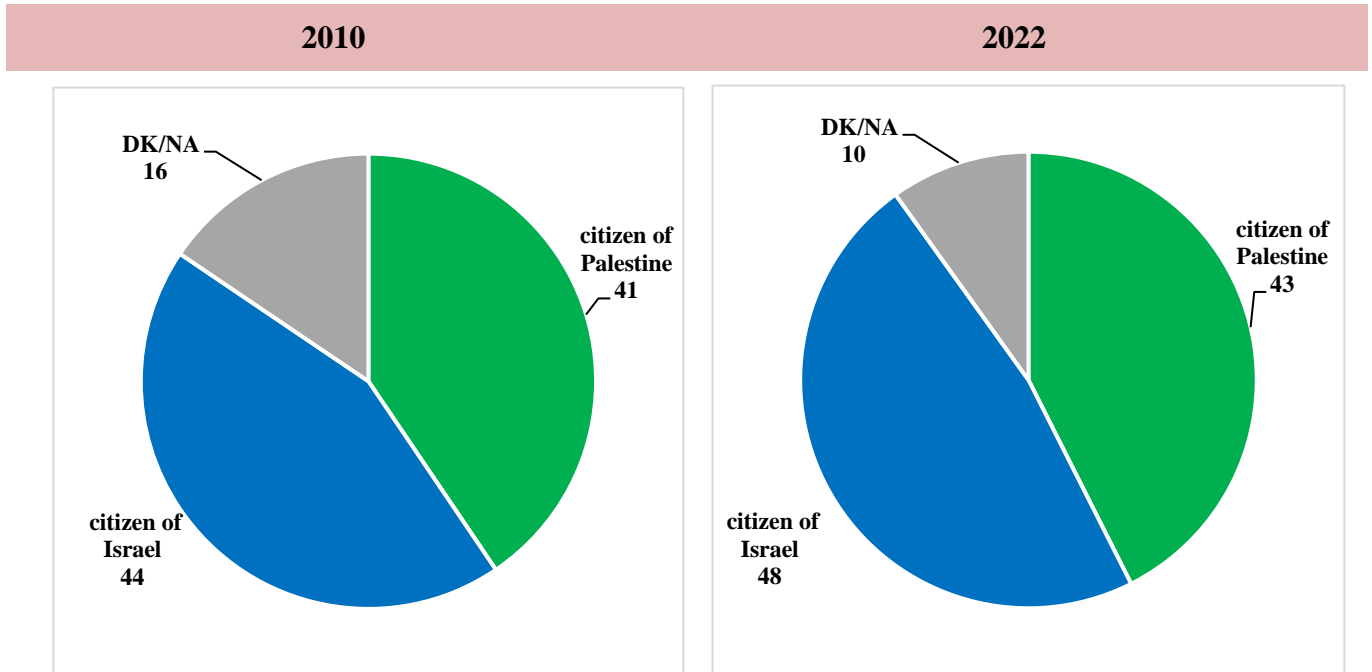
The preference for Palestinian sovereignty is higher in the northern neighborhoods of East Jerusalem, standing at 46%, declining to 33% in the central and southern neighborhoods. The preference for Israeli sovereignty is also higher in the northern neighborhoods, standing at 24% and lower in the central and southern neighborhoods, 15% and 17% respectively. The preference for international sovereignty stands at 30% in the central and southern neighborhoods and at 18% in the northern neighborhoods (*see appendix 1 for the distribution of East Jerusalem neighborhoods into north, central, and southern*).

When asked if they prefer to have Palestinian or Israeli citizenship in the permanent settlement, 58% (compared to 63% in 2010) said they want Palestinian citizenship and 37% (compared to 24% in 2010) said they want Israeli citizenship. In other words, the demand for Israeli citizenship increased by 13 percentage points between 2010 and 2022 while the demand for Palestinian citizenship decreased by 5 points, as can be seen in figure (7) below. The preference for Palestinian citizenship is higher in the central neighborhoods, standing at 66%, followed by the southern neighborhoods (60%) and the northern neighborhoods (48%). The preference for Israeli citizenship is higher in the northern neighborhoods (44%) followed by the southern neighborhoods (34%) and the central neighborhoods (29%). As will be seen later in this section (see figure 10) when we discuss the impact of rising concerns among East Jerusalemites about the possibility that their neighborhoods would become part of a future Palestinian state in a permanent settlement, the differences between the current findings and those of 2010, point clearly to the nature of the change that has taken place among some East Jerusalemites during the past 12 years and led them to show greater preference for Israeli sovereignty over East Jerusalem. These findings indicate that the more concerned they are about a range of issues (such as loss of freedom of movement within Israel, fear of the level of law enforcement and rule of law in the Palestinian state, loss of Israeli unemployment benefits, loss of retirement benefits, shift from the Israeli healthcare system to the Palestinian healthcare system, and other concerns), the greater the preference for Israeli citizenship. On the other hand, the less anxiety and concerns there is, the lower the preference for Israeli citizenship, and thus the more the preference for Palestinian citizenship, as we will see later in Figure 11.

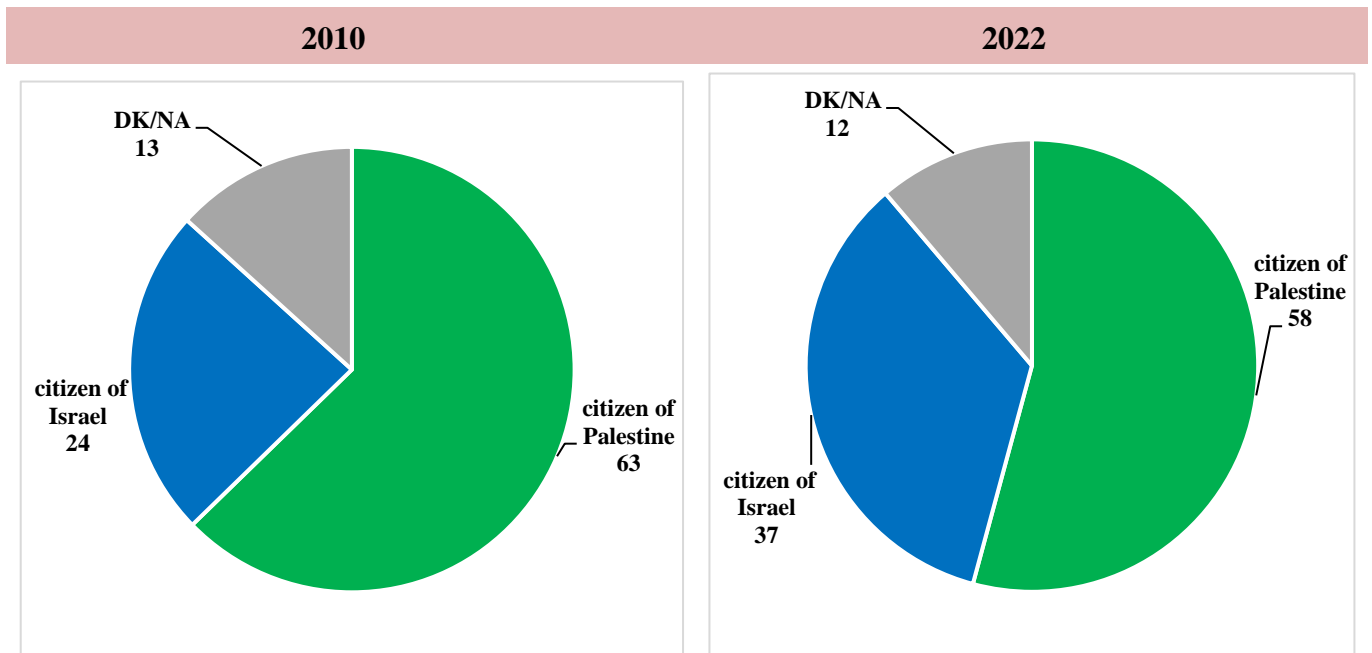
Moreover, when asked to speculate about the preference of the majority of residents in their neighborhoods, 48% said they are likely to prefer Israeli citizenship and only 43% said they are likely to prefer Palestinian citizenship. When compared to the results of 2010, the percentage of those who say that most people in their neighborhood would prefer Palestinian citizenship increased by only two points, while the percentage of those who believe that residents would prefer Israeli citizenship increased by four points.

Figure (7): Personal preferences of East Jerusalemites regarding citizenship and perception regarding likely preferences of neighborhood residents- comparing 2022 and 2010 findings (%)

If a permanent two state solution is arrived at, 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?



If a permanent two state solution is arrived at, would you prefer to become a citizen of Palestine or would you prefer to become a citizen of Israel?



After resolving the issue of sovereignty over East Jerusalem, 74% prefer to keep East and West Jerusalem as an open city, one in which Palestinians and Israelis would have full access while 26% oppose that. These findings are almost identical to those of 2010.

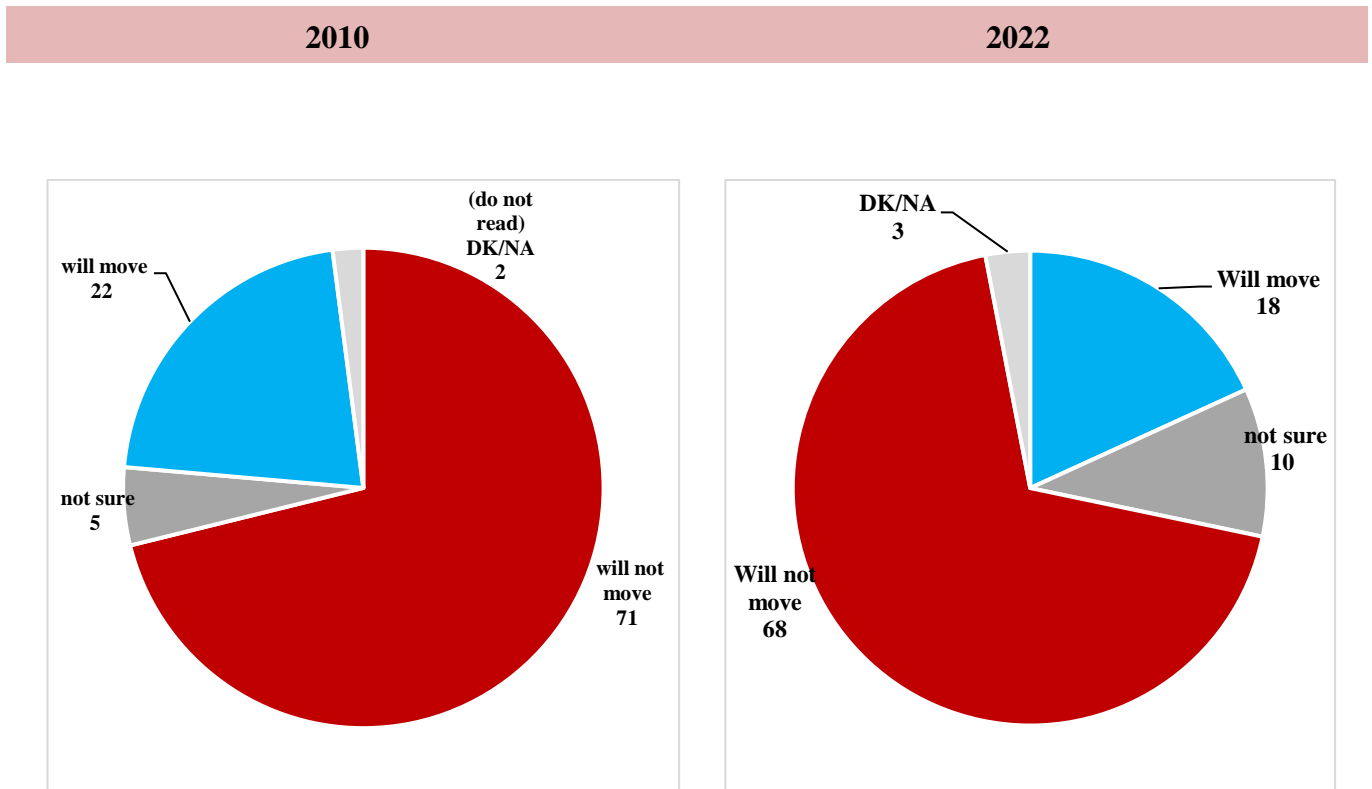
If the neighborhood in which they live is to become part of Israel in a permanent settlement and it was possible for them to move to the Palestinian state, 75% say they would stay in their homes and would not move while 15% say they would move to live in the Palestinian state. These findings indicate a decrease of 5 percentage points among those who would stay in that neighborhood and a limited decline of 4 percentage points among those who would move to live in the Palestinian state. Desire to move to the Palestinian state if the neighborhood falls under Israeli sovereignty increases in the northern neighborhoods of East Jerusalem, reaching 22% (compared to 34% in 2010) and decreases in the southern neighborhoods to 13% (compared to 20% in 2010) and to 9% (compared to 17% in 2010) in the southern neighborhoods.

But if the neighborhood comes under Palestinian sovereignty and it was possible to move to Israel, 69% say they would stay in their homes and would not move to Israel and 18% say they would move to Israel.

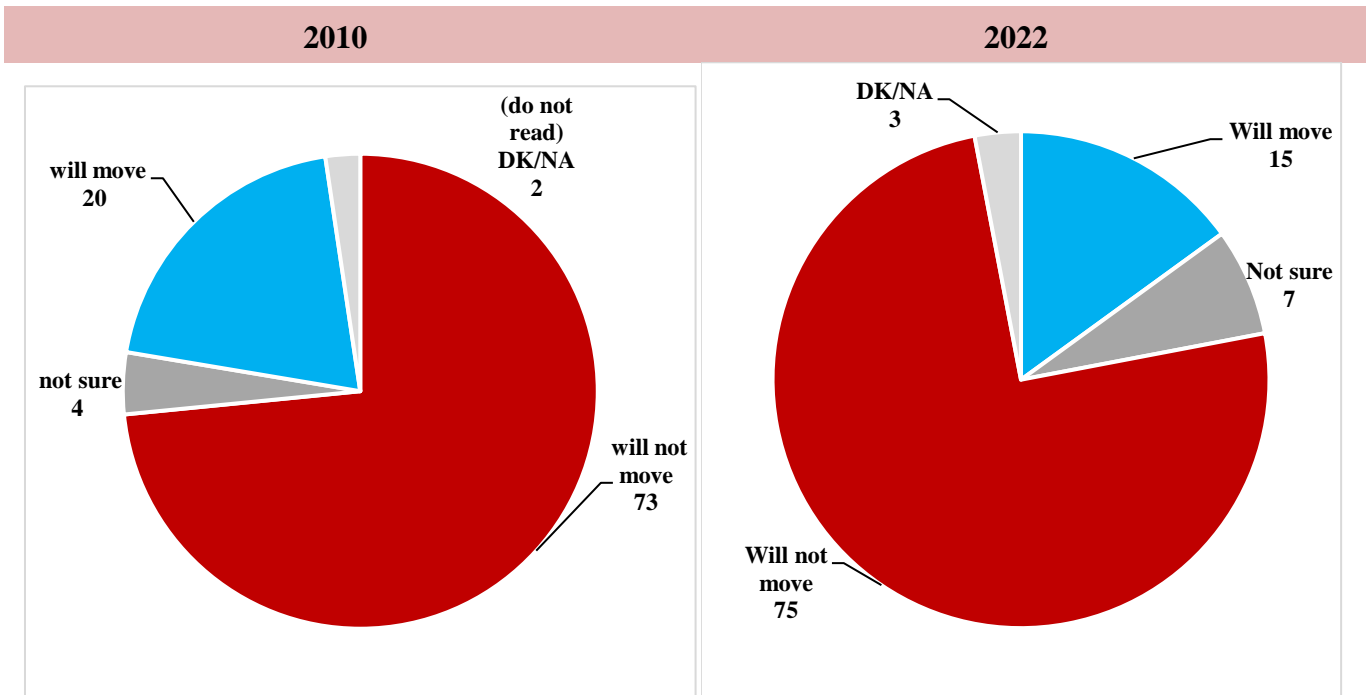
Perhaps the most notable difference here with the 2010 results is a 4-percentage point drop in the total number of people moving to Israel. The percentage of those who want to move to live in Israel if the neighborhood falls under Palestinian sovereignty increases in the northern neighborhoods of East Jerusalem, standing at 24%, compared to 41% in 2010, 22% in the southern neighborhoods (compared to 4% in 2010), and 20% in the central neighborhoods (compared to 14% in 2010).

Figure (8): East Jerusalemites choices of place of residence under two peace scenarios- comparing 2022 and 2010 findings (%)

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?

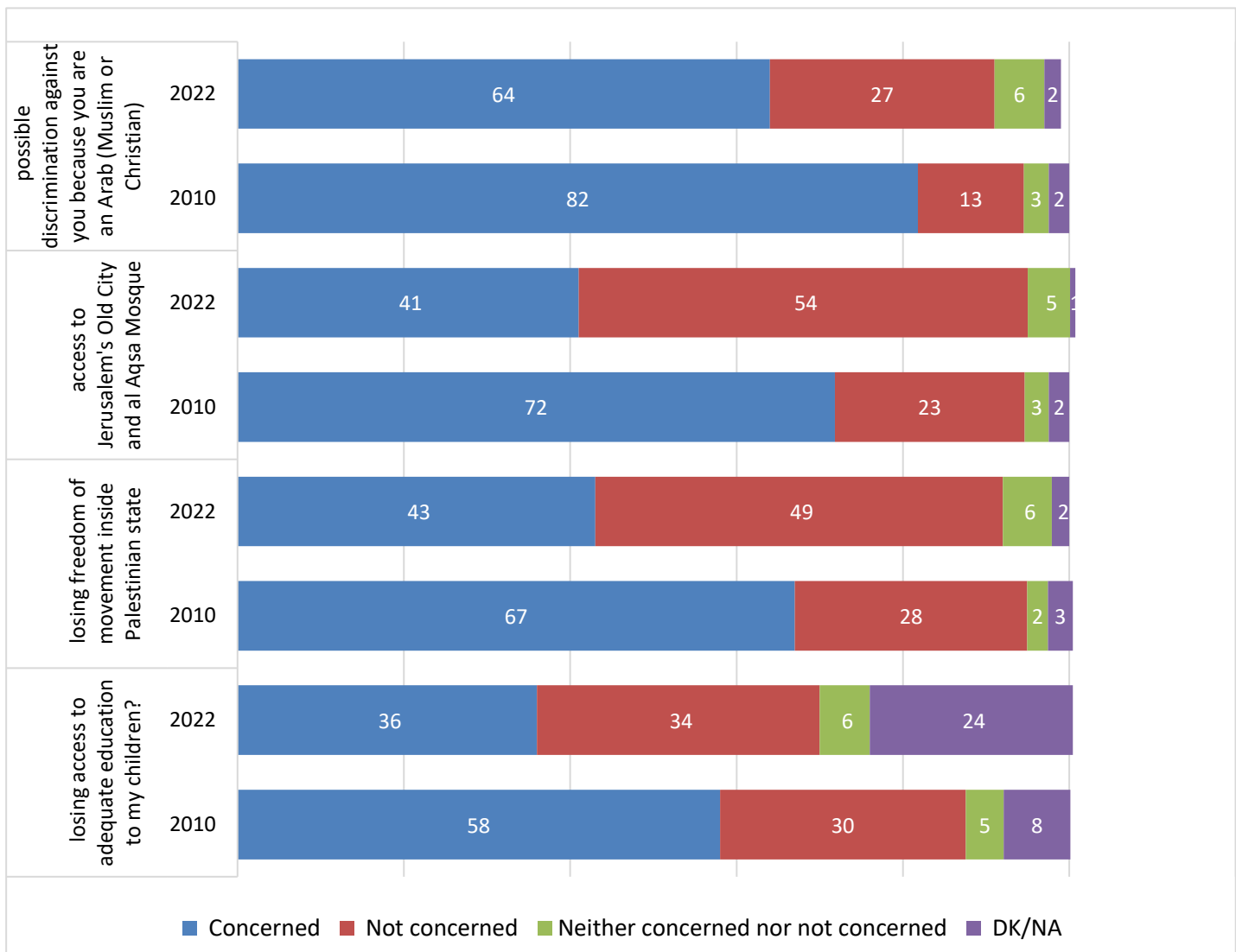


If your current neighborhood became an internationally recognized part of Israel, and you were allowed to move to a different home inside the new state of Palestine, how likely are you to move to a different home inside of Palestine and to become a citizen of Palestine?



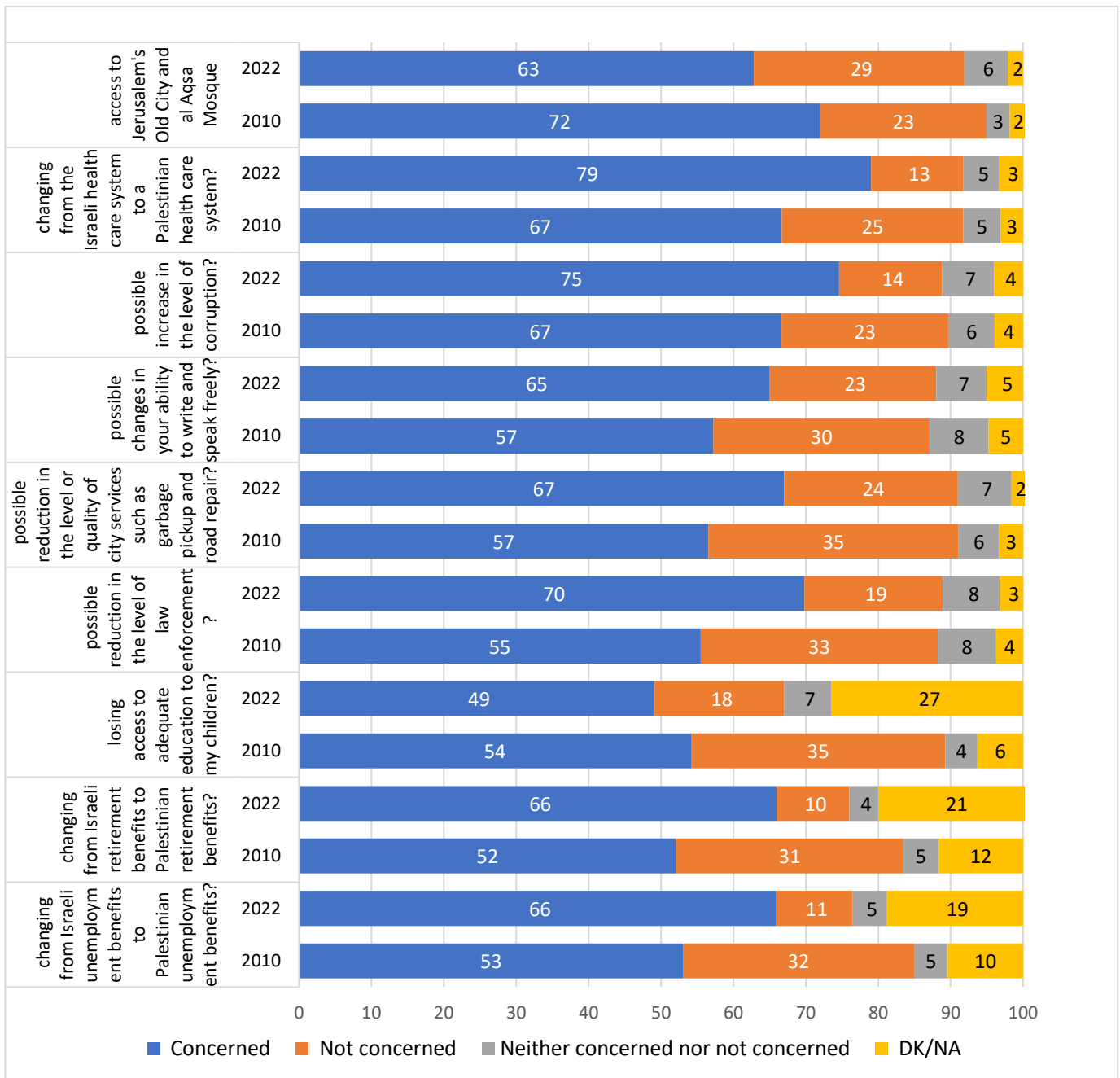
If their neighborhood becomes part of Israel and they were to become Israeli citizens, most or at least some East Jerusalemites would worry or be concerned about various aspects of their lives: 64% would worry about discrimination against them because they are Arabs; 43% would worry about losing freedom of movement inside the Palestinian state; 41% would worry about loss of access to al Aqsa or the old city (if they come under Palestinian sovereignty); 36% would worry about losing access to adequate education to their children. When comparing the current results with those of 2010, we find a significant reduction in the level of anxiety in all of the items mentioned, as shown in the following figure below. The largest decrease (31 percentage points) came in the issue of access to the Old City or Al-Aqsa Mosque, followed by the decrease in concern about the possibility of losing freedom of movement within the Palestinian state, which fell 24 points, then concern about losing access to a suitable education for their children, which fell 22 points, and then concern about the possibility of discrimination against them because they were Arabs, Muslims or Christians, which fell 18 percentage points.

Figure (9): Areas of concern or no concern of East Jerusalemites about their neighborhood becoming part of Israel and they becoming Israeli citizens- comparing 2022 and 2010 findings (%)



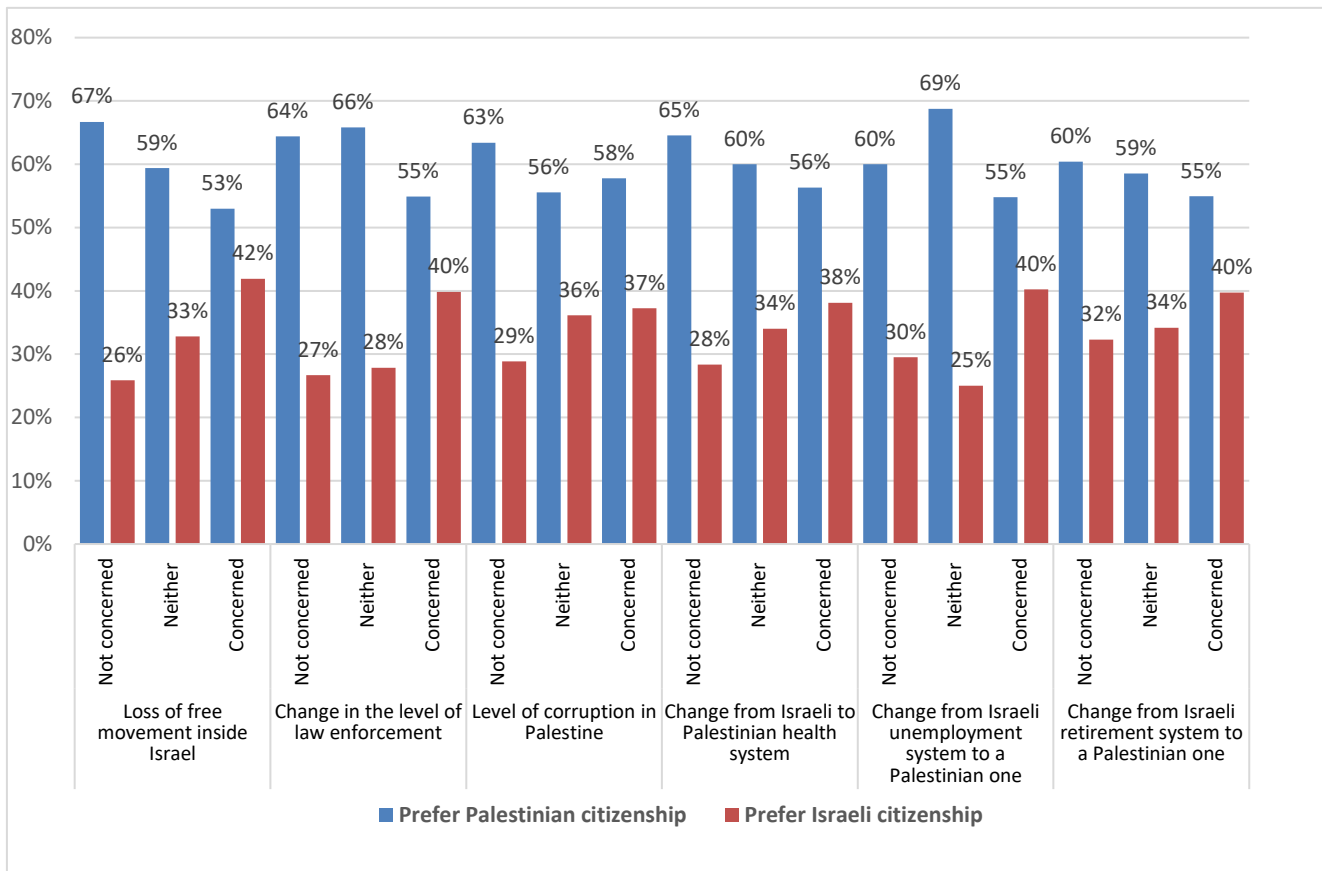
By contrast, if their neighborhood were to become a part of the new state of Palestine and they were to become citizens of Palestine, most or some Jerusalemites say they would worry or be concerned about the following things: 79% about changing from the Israeli health care system to a Palestinian health care system; 75% about possible increase in the level of corruption in the Palestinian state; 70% about possible reduction in the level of law enforcement; 67% about possible reduction in the level or quality of city services such as garbage pickup and road repair; 66% about changing from Israeli unemployment benefits to Palestinian unemployment benefits; 66% about changing from Israeli retirement benefits to Palestinian retirement benefits; 65% about possible changes in their ability to write and speak freely; and 63% about access to Jerusalem’s Old City and al Aqsa Mosque (if they come under Israeli sovereignty); and 49% about losing access to adequate education for their children.

Figure (10): Areas of concern or no concern of East Jerusalemites about their neighborhood becoming part of the new Palestinian state and they becoming Palestinian citizens- comparing 2022 and 2010 findings (%)



The most significant political implication of the increased level of concern in the event that the neighborhood inhabited by East Jerusalemites becomes part of the future Palestinian state is the decrease in the percentage of those who would prefer to hold Palestinian citizenship and the increase in the percentage of those who would prefer to hold Israeli citizenship in the permanent settlement. As shown in Figure 11 below, the preference for Palestinian citizenship is related to the degree of concern about the conditions in the PA/Palestinian state: the greater the level of concern, the lower the percentage of those who prefer to hold Palestinian citizenship and the lower the level of concern the greater the percentage of those who prefer to hold Palestinian citizenship. The same applies to the preference for Israeli citizenship, but in the opposite direction: the greater the level of concern, the greater the preference for Israeli citizenship, and the lower the level of concern, the lower the preference for Israeli citizenship. However, it is necessary to point out the obvious fact that regardless of whether or not there is concern, a majority prefers to hold Palestinian citizenship, ranging between 53% and 69%, as shown in the following figure.

Figure (11): Preference for Palestinian citizenship vs. Israeli citizenship based on the expressed level of concern by East Jerusalemites if their neighborhood became part of the future Palestinian state

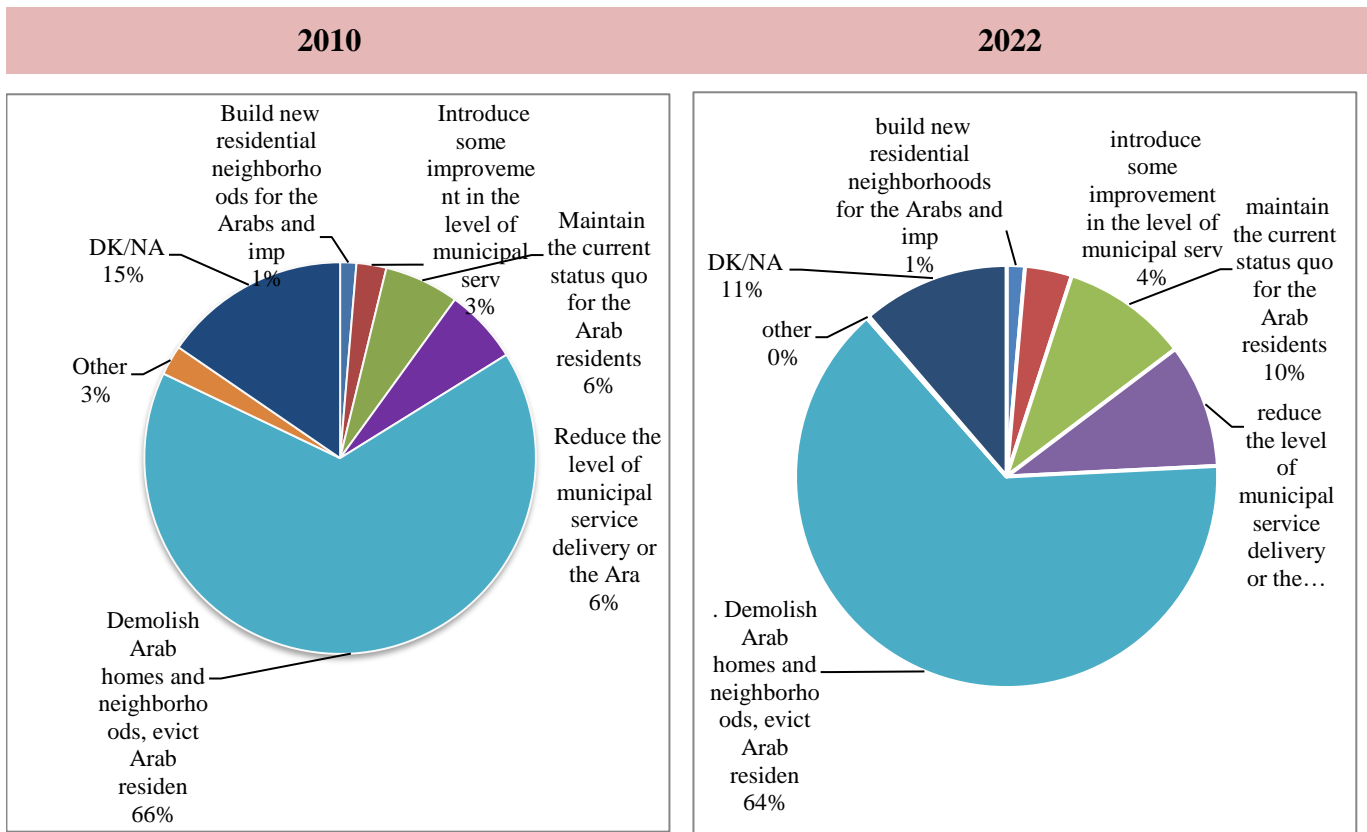


(5) Goals of the Jerusalem Municipality, home demolition, and forced evacuation

Findings show total absence of trust in the intentions of the Jerusalem municipality: about two thirds believe the goal of the Jerusalem municipality is to demolish the homes of Arabs and replace them with Jews. An overwhelming majority of 90% believes that demolition of homes and eviction of Arabs is a policy aiming at punishing them to force them to leave the city and not aiming at enforcing the law.

With regard to the goals of the Jerusalem municipality, 64% say it is to demolish Arab homes and neighborhoods, evict Arab residents, and replace them with Jews, 10% say the goal is to reduce the level of municipal services to Arabs, 10% say it is to maintain the current status quo for the Arab residents, 4% say it is to introduce some improvement in the level of municipal service delivery to the Arabs, and 1% say it is to build new residential neighborhoods for the Arabs and improve the level of municipal service delivery to them.

Figure (12): Jerusalemites’ perceptions of the goals of the Jerusalem municipality for next few years- comparing 2010 and 2010 findings (%)

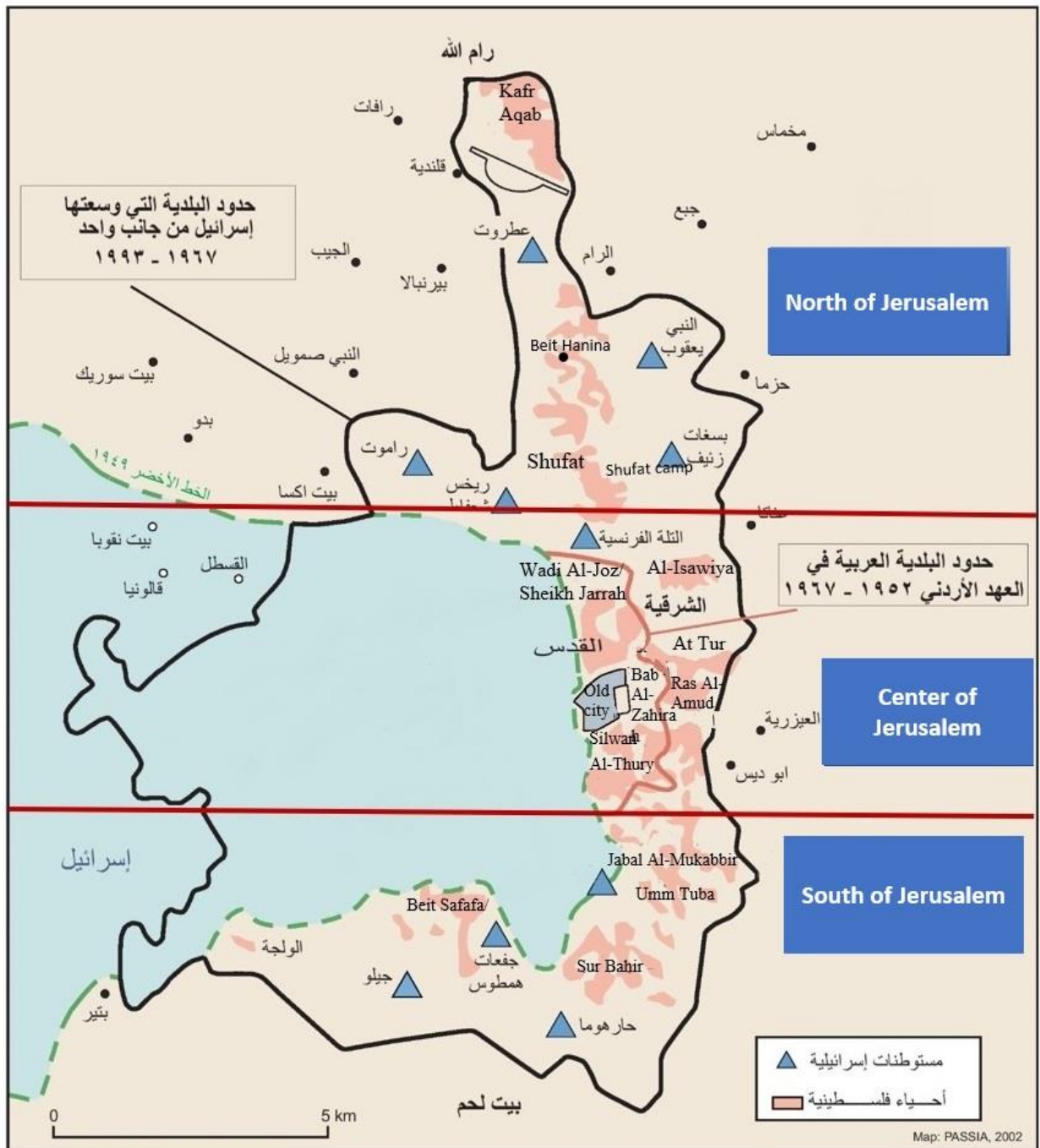


An overwhelming majority of 90% says that the policy of home demolition and eviction aims at punishing the Arabs to force them to abandon the city while only 8% say the goal is to enforce the law. Almost 70% are sympathetic with the residents threatened with home demolition or eviction to the extent that they would be willing to participate in demonstrations while 27% say they do not wish to participate in such demonstration. 20% say the EU is indeed sympathetic with the plight of residents threatened with home demolition or eviction and 81% say it is not. As to the US, only 9% say it is sympathetic and 93% say it is not.

Appendix (1): Sample Characteristics

North of Jerusalem	Jerusalem neighborhoods	Sample size	# of family members at home	Less than 5	%52
	Kafr Aqab	100		Between 5-9	%46
	Shufat	70		10 or more	%2
	Beit Hanina	126	Religion	Muslim	%99
	Shufat Camp	91		Christian	%1
Center of Jerusalem	Al-Thury	35	Education	University	%15
	Silwan	54		College	%10
	Wadi Al-Joz/ Sheik	40		High School	%28
	At Tur/ As Suwwana	86		Preparatory	%39
	Al-Isawiya	60		Elementary and less	%7
	Bab Al-Zahirah	18	Sector of work	Public sector	%3
	Old city	82		Private sector	%40
	Ras Al-Amud	58		Do not work	%57
south of Jerusalem	Sur Bahir	53	Marital status	Married	%75
	Umm Tuba	14		Unmarried	%15
	Jabal Al- Mukabbir	69		Divorced/widowed	%10
	Beit Safafa/ Sharafat	44	Occupation	Housewife	%36
Passport ownership	1) Jordanian Passport	%50		Employee	%15
	2) Israeli Travel Document	%29		Worker	%13
	3) Palestinian Passport	%6		Skilled worker/ vocational	%6
	4) Israeli Passport	%6		Merchant/ businessman	%7
	5) Foreign passport	%2		Student	%3
	6) Do not have one	%7		Retired	%4
	7) Undetermined	%1		Unemployed	%16
Monthly income	Less than NIS3600	%21	Age	18-25	%12
	Between 3600-4200	%19		26-35	%20
	More than 4800	%61		36-45	%18
		46-55		%18	
		55 and above		%32	

Appendix (2): Map of East Jerusalem Neighborhoods



Appendix (3): Table of Findings

Jerusalem Poll
Comparing 2010 and 2022 findings

	Total 2010	Total 2022
04 -1) What are the things that you like most about living in East Jerusalem?		
1) Al-Aqsa Mosque	44.8	55.3
2) Old town	5.0	3.8
3) Everything	16.3	9.3
4) Holy places	5.4	1.7
5) Home and family	9.6	10.3
6) Nothing	2.4	1.5
8) Location and climate	2.3	5.6
9) Other	5.3	1.5
10) Things of life such as services, employment, social relation	9.0	11.0
05-1) What are the things that you like least about living in East Jerusalem t? [open ended]		
01) Occupation, the presence of Jewish, settlements	45.3	38.3
02) The wall, the siege, Israeli harassment	9.7	10.7
03) Other	8.2	2.6
04) Nothing	7.2	10.3
05) Everything	1.4	0.0
06) The economic situation and high cost of living	3.9	6.1
07) Transport and streets and Overcrowding	3.1	16.8
08) Moral corruption	3.6	0.5
9) Social relations	4.5	1.4
10) Entertainment, hygiene, chaos, and services	9.1	13.2
08) Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of these aspects of your life in East Jerusalem.		
08-1) The quality of the teachers in your kids' schools		
1) Not satisfied at all	8.5	2.7
2) Not satisfied	9.2	5.6
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	13.8	8.2
4) Satisfied	32.2	35.2
5) Very satisfied	4.5	6.6
6) DK/NA (do not read)	1.1	1.7
7) Does not apply	30.7	40
08-2) The number of students in your kids' classrooms		
1) Not satisfied at all	14.1	3
2) Not satisfied	18.7	8.6
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	7.5	6.4
4) Satisfied	22.8	33.3
5) Very satisfied	2.9	5.1
6) DK/NA (do not read)	2.6	3
7) Does not apply	31.3	40.6

	Total 2010	Total 2022
08-4) The condition of the roads in your neighborhood		
1) Not satisfied at all	31.8	22.2
2) Not satisfied	28.8	24.4
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	11.4	12.2
4) Satisfied	25.9	35.2
5) Very satisfied	2.0	4.9
6) Does not apply, DK/NA	0.2	1.1
08-5) The garbage pickup in your neighborhood		
1) Not satisfied at all	22.4	12.4
2) Not satisfied	22.5	14.8
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	10.9	13
4) Satisfied	42.0	52
5) Very satisfied	1.9	7.5
6) DK/NA (do not read)	0.3	0.3
08-6) The water supply in your neighborhood		
1) Not satisfied at all	7.1	2.2
2) Not satisfied	7.6	8
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	5.6	7.9
4) Satisfied	73.2	66.9
5) Very satisfied	6.1	14.9
6) DK/NA (do not read)	0.2	0.1
08-7) The electrical supply in your neighborhood		
1) Not satisfied at all	3.8	3.5
2) Not satisfied	5.1	9.7
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	5.3	12
4) Satisfied	78.4	60.3
5) Very satisfied	7.0	14.5
6) DK/NA (do not read)	0.2	0
7) Does not apply	0.1	0
08-8) The sewage system in your neighborhood		
1) Not satisfied at all	8.1	7.8
2) Not satisfied	7.4	9
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	6.0	9.2
4) Satisfied	72.6	61
5) Very satisfied	5.4	12.4
6) DK/NA (do not read)	0.3	0.3
7) Does not apply	0.2	0.3
08-12) Access to the Al Aqsa Mosque/ Holy Sepulcher for Christians		
1) Not satisfied at all	9.2	6.2
2) Not satisfied	15.0	10.4
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	9.9	9.2
4) Satisfied	58.0	60.3
5) Very satisfied	4.9	13.4
6) DK/NA (do not read)	0.3	0.3
7) Does not apply	2.6	0.2

	Total 2010	Total 2022
08-13) Access to your job		
1) Not satisfied at all	3.3	1.9
2) Not satisfied	4.9	3.7
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	4.8	5.9
4) Satisfied	35.9	28.8
5) Very satisfied	4.5	5.7
6) DK/NA (do not read)	1.2	0
7) Does not apply	45.3	54
08-18) The speed with which ambulance services arrive to the scene after requesting it		
1) Not satisfied at all	8.6	3.6
2) Not satisfied	11.4	11.4
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	7.1	5.9
4) Satisfied	40.2	10.8
5) Very satisfied	5.5	55.2
6) DK/NA (do not read)	8.5	4
7) Does not apply	18.8	1.4
08-19) The overall health system		
1) Not satisfied at all	3.6	1.2
2) Not satisfied	5.5	6.1
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	14.1	8.9
4) Satisfied	66.1	64.3
5) Very satisfied	6.9	18.9
6) DK/NA (do not read)	0.9	0.1
7) Does not apply	2.9	0.5
08-20) Your personal interactions with officials from the Jerusalem municipality		
1) Not satisfied at all	13.5	6.1
2) Not satisfied	10.5	9.3
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	11.1	12.1
4) Satisfied	19.2	32.4
5) Very satisfied	1.6	3.2
6) DK/NA (do not read)	8.4	14.7
7) Does not apply	35.6	22.2
08-21) The ease or difficulty of obtaining building permits		
1) Not satisfied at all	51.9	64.6
2) Not satisfied	11.3	8.6
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	1.1	0.8
4) Satisfied	3.3	5.4
5) Very satisfied	0.1	0.7
6) DK/NA (do not read)	5.1	6.2
7) Does not apply	27.1	13.7
08-22) The unemployment benefits available to you		
1) Not satisfied at all	7.9	4.1
2) Not satisfied	5.7	3.9
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	2.0	2.1
4) Satisfied	4.7	9.7

	Total 2010	Total 2022
5) Very satisfied	0.3	1.2
6) DK/NA (do not read)	3.8	6.8
7) Does not apply	75.6	72.2
08-24) The retirement benefits available to you		
1 not satisfied at all	4.6	2.7
2 not satisfied	5.1	2.7
3 neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	2.5	3.3
4 satisfied	6.7	16.1
5 very satisfied	0.3	1.8
6) DK/NA (do not read)	4.1	7.4
7) Does not apply	76.7	66
08-25) The level of law enforcement in your area		
1) Not satisfied at all	30.5	23.6
2) Not satisfied	23.8	25.1
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	14.1	18.6
4) Satisfied	21.0	24.9
5) Very satisfied	1.1	1.5
6) DK/NA (do not read)	5.0	2.5
7) Does not apply	4.4	3.8
08-26) The speed with which fire and other emergency services arrive to the scene		
1) Not satisfied at all	10.2	3.2
2) Not satisfied	12.3	10
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	9.0	9.5
4) Satisfied	39.1	56.5
5) Very satisfied	3.1	13.7
6) DK/NA (do not read)	6.8	6.5
7) Does not apply	19.6	0.6
08-27) Your personal interactions with Israeli Jews, overall		
1) Not satisfied at all	16.1	12.3
2) Not satisfied	12.3	14.9
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	16.6	18.8
4) Satisfied	24.3	30.3
5) Very satisfied	1.6	2.5
6) DK/NA (do not read)	4.8	6.8
7) Does not apply	24.2	14.4
08-28) Your access to travel throughout Israel		
1) Not satisfied at all	7.1	5.8
2) Not satisfied	10.9	10.4
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	9.2	11.7
4) Satisfied	47.8	57.5
5) Very satisfied	4.3	6.5
6) DK/NA (do not read)	4.0	3.1
7) Does not apply	16.7	5
08-29) Ability to obtain passport or travel document to travel through Ben Gurion airport		
1) Not satisfied at all	11.1	7.5

	Total 2010	Total 2022
2) Not satisfied	9.9	13.9
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	4.6	10.6
4) Satisfied	27.7	48.6
5) Very satisfied	2.0	3.6
6) DK/NA (do not read)	10.7	7.4
7) Does not apply	34.0	8.4
08-30) Ability to add name of your daughter or son to your ID card		
1) Not satisfied at all	11.3	5.5
2) Not satisfied	11.0	7.5
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	5.5	6.6
4) Satisfied	44.5	46.4
5) Very satisfied	5.3	5.6
6) DK/NA (do not read)	1.4	0.4
7) Does not apply	21.0	28
08-31) Ability to obtain birth certificate or other official papers from Israeli government offices		
1) Not satisfied at all	13.9	9.5
2) Not satisfied	14.7	12.4
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	8.8	9.1
4) Satisfied	44.8	52.4
5) Very satisfied	4.6	7.3
6) DK/NA (do not read)	1.9	1.5
7) Does not apply	11.3	7.8
08-32) Income tax demanded/required of you		
1) Not satisfied at all	33.2	31.2
2) Not satisfied	20.2	15.6
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	5.4	5.8
4) Satisfied	9.3	12.8
5) Very satisfied	0.7	0.6
6) DK/NA (do not read)	3.3	4.8
7) Does not apply	27.9	29.2
08-33) Arnona (home ownership) tax demanded/required of you		
1) Not satisfied at all	49.7	52.1
2) Not satisfied	19.5	17.2
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	5.8	6.1
4) Satisfied	12.5	11.2
5) Very satisfied	0.7	0.3
6) DK/NA (do not read)	1.8	3.5
7) Does not apply	9.9	9.6
08-34) Your access to areas inside the West Bank		
1) Not satisfied at all	36.4	14.1
2) Not satisfied	23.1	17.8
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	10.2	16
4) Satisfied	24.6	42.8
5) Very satisfied	1.9	4.9
6) DK/NA (do not read)	0.7	1.8

	Total 2010	Total 2022
7) Does not apply	3.1	2.6
08-35) Your overall standard of living		
1) Not satisfied at all	16.0	5
2) Not satisfied	16.6	11.6
3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	31.4	27.2
4) Satisfied	33.3	53.6
5) Very satisfied	1.9	2.5
6) DK/NA (do not read)	0.3	0.1
7) Does not apply	0.4	
09) In your view is there any discrimination in the services provided to Arab and Jews by the Jerusalem municipality?		
1) Certainly yes	78.1	50.8
2) Yes	9.0	27.6
3) No (go to Q11)	5.4	10.7
4) Certainly no (go to Q11)	1.0	2.4
5) (Do not read) DK/NA (go to Q11)	6.4	7.6
		0.9
10-1) If the answer is certainly yes or yes, in which areas you see discrimination?		
1) In everything	16.7	29.8
2) Building Permits	6.8	2.8
3) Quality Street	10.1	6.8
4) Health Services	15.1	5.9
5) Other services	18.4	33.4
6) Treatment	13.9	8.5
7) Insurance, employment, wages	9.4	8.4
8) Other	9.5	4.3
11) Israel requires those residents who receive services like social security or insurance to have Jerusalem as the "center of their life." To what extent does this requirement affect, negatively or positively, your decision regarding the choice of the location of your work, home, or schools for your children?		
1) Great positive effect	3.9	11.9
2) Positive effect to some extent	5.1	5.8
3) Neither positively nor negatively	20.9	17.8
4) Negative to some extent	25.1	26.2
5) Great negative effect	41.6	32.8
6) (Do not read) DK/NA	3.4	2.9
		2.6
12) When you travel to other countries by air, you travel mostly through		
1) Ben Gurion airport	49.6	53.4
2) Amman airport	34.9	34.6
3) Other (specify -----)	15.5	12
13) Tell us to what extent does the following issue represent a problem in East Jerusalem? Is it a big, small, or no problem at all?		
13-1) The level of crime		
1) Very big problem	72.6	47.4

	Total 2010	Total 2022
2) Somewhat a problem	11.5	15.2
3) A very small problem	7.8	13.9
4) Not a problem at all	5.1	20.3
5) DK/NA (do not read)	2.7	2.8
6) Does not apply (do not read)	0.3	0.4
13-2) The level of corruption from Israeli Jerusalem municipal officials		
1) Very big problem	66.7	48.1
2) Somewhat a problem	11.1	17.5
3) A very small problem	3.0	8.8
4) Not a problem at all	5.4	11.6
5) DK/NA (do not read)	12.2	12.7
6) Does not apply (do not read)	1.5	1.3
13-3) The level of corruption from Palestinian Authority officials		
1) Very big problem	57.3	53.9
2) Somewhat a problem	11.5	11.6
3) A very small problem	3.1	3.7
4) Not a problem at all	9.0	10.7
5) DK/NA (do not read)	16.1	12.4
6) Does not apply (do not read)	3.0	7.7
13-4) The level of threat and intimidation from Palestinian groups		
1) Very big problem	14.3	20.8
2) Somewhat a problem	6.1	7.9
3) A very small problem	4.8	7.7
4) Not a problem at all	47.1	38.7
5) DK/NA (do not read)	9.1	9.4
6) Does not apply (do not read)	18.5	15.5
13-5) The level of threat and intimidation from Jewish settlers		
1) Very big problem	36.6	12.9
2) Somewhat a problem	13.8	9.2
3) A very small problem	6.6	23.3
4) Not a problem at all	29.3	2.1
5) DK/NA (do not read)	3.7	4.1
6) Does not apply (do not read)	10.0	12.9
13-6) The level of threat and intimidation from Israeli police and border guards		
1) Very big problem	38.2	50.7
2) Somewhat a problem	16.2	14.7
3) A very small problem	7.0	8.3
4) Not a problem at all	27.7	21.3
5) DK/NA (do not read)	3.3	1.5
6) Does not apply (do not read)	7.5	3.5
13-7) The level of delays and restrictions at checkpoints		
1) Very big problem	84.2	70.9
2) Somewhat a problem	9.0	16.5

	Total 2010	Total 2022
3) A very small problem	2.0	5
4) Not a problem at all	3.0	4.7
5) DK/NA (do not read)	0.7	1.3
6) Does not apply (do not read)	1.1	1.6
13-8) The level of delays and restrictions created by the building of the wall in Jerusalem		
1) Very big problem	87.8	72.9
2) Somewhat a problem	5.8	16.2
3) A very small problem	1.3	4.5
4) Not a problem at all	2.9	3.7
5) DK/NA (do not read)	0.9	1.4
6) Does not apply (do not read)	1.2	1.3
23) Did you participate in the last Palestinian parliamentary or presidential elections?		
1) Yes	21.7	6.1
2) No	78.3	93.2
3) Does not apply		0.7
24) If you did not participate, what was the main reason for not participating?		
1) I was less than 18	9.6	6.7
2) It was difficult to reach voting stations	5.2	0.5
3) Busy doing other things and did not have time	14.3	3.5
4) Pressure from family or society	1.0	0.2
5) Was not convinced with candidates	25.6	41.3
6) Fear of losing Jerusalem ID	2.7	3.5
7) Felt my participation was pointless	8.8	24.2
8) Felt that winners, no matter who they were, could not possibly serve East Jerusalem	9.6	13.7
9) Other reasons (specify -----)look at (24-2)	18.1	1.7
10) (Do not read) DK/NA	5.1	4.6
25) If new presidential or parliamentary elections were to take place and you were given the opportunity to participate, do you wish to participate or not participate?		
1) Yes	38.9	6.4
2) No	56.0	92.3
3) DK/NA	5.2	1.3
26) If you do not wish to participate, what are the reasons for that?		
1) Difficult to reach voting stations	2.1	0.2
2) Pressure from family or society	1.4	0.0
3) Not convinced with elections or candidates	32.2	41.0
4) Fear of losing Jerusalem ID	3.3	3.8
5) My participation would be pointless	20.5	33.6
6) Winners, no matter who they were, cannot possibly serve East Jerusalem	15.9	16.0
7) Other reasons (specify -----)	16.1	1.6
8) DK/NA (do not read)	8.6	3.8
27) And did you participate in Israeli elections, like Jerusalem's municipal elections or Knesset elections?		
1) Yes	8.1	2.7

	Total 2010	Total 2022
2) No	91.4	95.4
3) DK/NA	0.5	1.8
4) Not applicable		1
28) If you did not participate, what was the main reason for not participating?		
1) I was less than 18	5.2	1.3
2) 2 it was difficult to reach voting stations	1.1	0.2
3) busy doing other things and did not have time	6.2	2.6
4) pressure from family or society	0.6	0.4
5) was not convinced with candidates	23.1	41.3
6) I boycotted the elections because East Jerusalem in my view is not part of the Israeli Jerusalem municipality or Israel	20.8	9.3
7) felt my participation was pointless	11.0	25.3
8) felt that winners, no matter who they were, could not pos	9.7	14.8
9) other reasons (specify -----) look at (28-2)	16.5	1.7
10) (do not read) DK/NA	5.8	3.1
29) What if the Palestinian Authority were to ask you to participate in the Israeli municipal elections, would you in this case be willing or unwilling to participate?		
1) I certainly would be willing	8.6	1.2
2) I probably would be willing	13.1	1.7
3) I probably would not be willing	15.3	9.5
4) I certainly would not be willing	59.8	82.3
5) DK/NA	3.3	2.5
6) Does not apply		2.8
30) When you have a problem or need a social assistance, where do you normally go for relief?		
1) Offices of the Israeli government	30.6	40.2
2) Palestinian NGOs	5.3	1.2
3) International organizations	2.0	1.8
4) Palestinian political parties	1.4	0.3
5) Family	43.7	50.7
6) Religious endowment (waqf)	4.2	0.7
7) other (specify	12.8	5.1
31) When Palestinians and Israelis return to negotiations, the issue of the sovereignty over East Jerusalem will be discussed. What do you prefer? Palestinian, Israeli or international sovereignty?		
1) Palestinian	51.8	38.0
2) Israeli	6.1	19.2
3) International	27.0	25.4
4) Other	15.1	17.4
32) If the issue of sovereignty over East Jerusalem is resolved, do you support or oppose in this case making West and East Jerusalem one open city in which movement is free between the Israeli and Palestinian parts for Palestinians and Israelis alike?		
1) Certainly support	50.6	46.1
2) Support to some extent	24.4	27.4
3) Oppose to some extent	7.6	15.7
4) Certainly oppose	17.4	10.8

	Total 2010	Total 2022
34) If your neighborhood becomes part of Israel in the permanent peace agreement and you wanted to become an Israeli citizen with the full rights and privileges of other Israelis, would you in this scenario worry or not worry about the following matters:		
34-2) losing freedom of movement inside Palestinian state		
1) Not concerned at all	17.2	35.4
2) Somewhat not concerned	10.7	13.4
3) In the middle	2.5	5.9
4) Somewhat concerned	23.6	19.5
5) Very concerned	43.0	23.7
6) DK/NA (do not read)	3.0	2.1
34-3) Losing access to adequate education to my children?		
1) Not concerned at all	19.3	22.2
2) Somewhat not concerned	10.3	11.4
3) In the middle	4.5	6.0
4) Somewhat concerned	20.8	13.9
5) Very concerned	37.1	22.1
6) DK/NA (do not read)	8.0	24.4
34-4) Access to Jerusalem's Old City and al Aqsa Mosque		
1) Not concerned at all	14.2	39.3
2) Somewhat not concerned	8.7	14.2
3) In the middle	2.9	5.1
4) Somewhat concerned	19.4	14.6
5) Very concerned	52.4	26.2
6) DK/NA (do not read)	2.5	0.6
34-7) Possible discrimination against you because you are an Arab (Muslim or Christian)		
1) Not concerned at all	7.8	18.1
2) Somewhat not concerned	5.0	9.3
3) In the middle	3.0	6.9
4) Somewhat concerned	25.3	20.2
5) Very concerned	56.5	43.9
6) DK/NA (do not read)	2.5	1.6
35) If your neighborhood becomes part of the new Palestinian state and you wanted to become a Palestinian citizen with the full rights and privileges of other Palestinians, would you in this scenario worry or not worry about the following matters:		
35-2) Losing access to free movement inside Israel?		
1) Not concerned at all	21.6	19.7
2) Somewhat not concerned	12.9	8.5
3) In the middle	4.3	6.4
4) Somewhat concerned	22.5	20.8
5) Very concerned	37.0	39.8
6) DK/NA (do not read)	1.7	4.8
35-4) Possible reduction in the level or quality of city services such as garbage pickup and road repair?		
1) Not concerned at all	20.4	13.8
2) Somewhat not concerned	14.3	9.9

	Total 2010	Total 2022
3) In the middle	5.6	7.2
4) Somewhat concerned	27.4	21.4
5) Very concerned	29.1	45.1
6) DK/NA (do not read)	3.3	2.6
35-5) Possible reduction in the level of law enforcement?		
1) Not concerned at all	18.8	11.2
2) Somewhat not concerned	13.9	7.9
3) In the middle	8.1	7.9
4) Somewhat concerned	25.0	25.0
5) Very concerned	30.5	44.8
6) DK/NA (do not read)	3.7	3.2
35-6) Possible increase in the level of corruption?		
1) Not concerned at all	13.5	7.7
2) Somewhat not concerned	9.5	6.5
3) In the middle	6.4	7.2
4) Somewhat concerned	27.7	25.2
5) Very concerned	38.9	49.4
6) DK/NA (do not read)	3.9	4
35-7) Possible changes in your ability to write and speak freely?		
1) Not concerned at all	18.2	13.9
2) Somewhat not concerned	11.6	8.8
3) In the middle	8.2	7.4
4) Somewhat concerned	25.9	21.6
5) Very concerned	31.4	43.6
6) DK/NA (do not read)	4.8	4.7
35-8) Changing from the Israeli health care system to a Palestinian health care system?		
1) Not concerned at all	14.8	6.3
2) Somewhat not concerned	10.3	6.4
3) In the middle	5.2	5.0
4) Somewhat concerned	24.7	20.7
5) Very concerned	42.0	58.3
6) DK/NA (do not read)	3.1	3.1
35-9) Changing from Israeli unemployment benefits to Palestinian unemployment benefits?		
1) Not concerned at all	21.1	5.0
2) Somewhat not concerned	10.8	5.5
3) In the middle	4.6	4.8
4) Somewhat concerned	20.7	15.6
5) Very concerned	32.3	50.3
6) DK/NA (do not read)	10.4	18.8
35-10) Changing from Israeli retirement benefits to Palestinian retirement benefits?		
1) Not concerned at all	21.3	4.5
2) Somewhat not concerned	10.1	5.1
3) In the middle	4.9	4.1

	Total 2010	Total 2022
4) Somewhat concerned	21.2	14.4
5) Very concerned	30.9	51.3
6) DK/NA (do not read)	11.7	20.4
35-12) Losing access to adequate education to my children?		
1) Not concerned at all	21.6	11.3
2) Somewhat not concerned	13.5	6.6
3) In the middle	4.4	6.5
4) Somewhat concerned	22.5	15.1
5) Very concerned	31.6	34.0
6) DK/NA (do not read)	6.3	26.2
35-13) Access to Jerusalem's Old City and al Aqsa Mosque		
1) Not concerned at all	14.7	19.8
2) Somewhat not concerned	8.3	9.3
3) In the middle	3.2	6.0
4) Somewhat concerned	22.6	19.5
5) Very concerned	48.8	43.3
6) DK/NA (do not read)	2.4	2.1
36) If a permanent, two state solution is arrived at, 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?		
1) Definitely citizen of Palestine	28.3	35.4
2) Probably citizen of Palestine	12.2	7.5
3) Probably citizen of Israel	19.0	33.6
4) Definitely citizen of Israel	24.9	14.0
5) (Do not read) DK/NA	15.5	9.5
37) If a permanent, two state solution is arrived at, would you prefer to become a citizen of Palestine or would you prefer to become a citizen of Israel?		
1) Definitely citizen of Palestine	52.8	52.0
2) Probably citizen of Palestine	9.9	5.5
3) Probably citizen of Israel	8.5	24.6
4) Definitely citizen of Israel	15.4	11.6
5) (Do not read) DK/NA	13.3	6.3
38) 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?		
1) Certainly will not move	66.2	67.2
2) Probably will not move	4.9	8.1
3) Not sure	5.2	7.1
4) Probably will move	11.1	8.6
5) Certainly will move	10.5	6.2
6) (Do not read) DK/NA	2.1	2.8
39) 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?		

	Total 2010	Total 2022
1) Certainly will not move	68.6	61.2
2) Probably will not move	4.8	7.4
3) Not sure	4.2	10.1
4) Probably will move	9.0	10.7
5) Certainly will move	11.0	7.4
6) (Do not read) DK/NA	2.4	3.2
41) And what about the mayor of the municipality of Jerusalem Nir Barakat? What do you think his goals are for East Jerusalem for next few years?		
1) Build new residential neighborhoods for the Arabs and improve the level of municipal service delivery to them	1.3	1.4
2) Introduce some improvement in the level of municipal service delivery to the Arabs	2.5	3.6
3) Maintain the current status quo for the Arab residents	6.2	9.7
4) Reduce the level of municipal service delivery or the Arab residents	6.2	9.5
5) Demolish Arab homes and neighborhoods, evict Arab residents, and reduce the level of municipal services	65.9	64.3
6) Other	2.5	0.2
7) DK/NA	15.4	11.3
42) The Jerusalem municipality and the Israeli police have been demolishing Palestinian homes and evicting Palestinian residents in East Jerusalem. In your opinion, what is the aim of these measures? Are they meant to enforce law and order or to punish Palestinian residents in order to make their lives difficult so they would leave the city or for some other reason?		
1) Certainly the goal is to enforce law and order	3.2	2.5
2) I think the goal is to enforce law and order	4.4	5.6
3) I think the goal is to punish the residents so they would leave the city	15.0	20.1
4) I am certain the goal is to punish residents so they would leave the city	74.0	70.2
5) Others (specify -----)	3.4	1.6
43) Some Palestinians, international supporters, and Israelis participate in demonstrations against home demolition or eviction of residents in East Jerusalem in sympathy with the Palestinian residents. What about you? Do you sympathize with the residents to the extent that you wish to participate in demonstrations even if you are unable to do that?		
1) Certainly wish to participate	45.9	43.7
2) Wish to do that to some extent	22.7	25.3
3) Do not wish to some extent	13.3	10.0
4) Certainly do not wish to participate	15.2	16.9
5) DK/NA	2.9	4.1
44-1) And how do you evaluate the role of international actors such as the EU regarding their position on home demolition or eviction? Do you find it sympathetic or unsympathetic with the Palestinian residents?		
1) Certainly sympathetic	7.3	4.8
2) Somewhat sympathetic	28.2	14.7
3) Somewhat unsympathetic	15.2	14.3

	Total 2010	Total 2022
4) Certainly unsympathetic	49.4	66.2
44-2) And how do you evaluate the role of international actors such as the US regarding their position on home demolition or eviction? Do you find it sympathetic or unsympathetic with the Palestinian residents?		
1) Certainly sympathetic	1.6	1.3
2) Somewhat sympathetic	5.5	8.2
3) Somewhat unsympathetic	12.9	11.6
4) Certainly unsympathetic	80.1	78.9