



المركز الفلسطيني للبحوث السياسية والمسحية

Palestinian Center for POLICY and SURVEY RESEARCH

Poll

Survey Research Unit

15 September 2020

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 poll is part of PSR series of regular polls.

*This poll has been conducted in cooperation with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Ramallah*



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### Public Opinion Poll No (77)

**The overwhelming majority of the Palestinians views the decision of the UAE to normalize relations with Israel as a betrayal or abandonment of the Palestinian cause, one that serves only the interests of Israel. A similar majority thinks that Saudi Arabia and Egypt, by endorsing that normalization, have in effect abandoned the Palestinian leadership. But most Palestinians also place the blame on themselves because they are divided and have normalized relations with Israel long before others**

9-12 September 2020

These are the results of the latest poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR) in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip between 9-12 September 2020. The period before the conduct of the poll witnessed several developments including a US announcement about an agreement between the UAE and Israel to normalize relations between the two countries. This normalization agreement stipulated an Israeli suspension or delay of the planned annexation of parts of the West Bank. The period also witnessed a rise in the daily number of coronavirus infections and continued stalemate in Palestinian-Israeli relations that followed a PA decision to sever all security and civil links with Israel which led during the past months to a significant financial loss to the PA. This PA decision came in response to an Israeli announcement about the intention to annex about 30% of the West Bank. This press release addresses these issues and covers other matters such as Palestinian parliamentary and presidential elections, general conditions in the Palestinian territories, the peace process and the future possible directions for Palestinians in the absence of a viable peace process. Total size of the sample is 1270 adults interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is +/-3%.

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### Main Findings:

Finding of the September 2020 poll show a great Palestinian public anger with the UAE decision to normalize relations with Israel viewing it as serving only the interests of Israel and as a betrayal or an abandonment of the Palestinian cause and at the same time as a big failure of Palestinian diplomacy. Additionally, the overwhelming majority estimates that the Palestinian leadership has lost its Arab allies as Saudi Arabia will soon follow the UAE in normalizing relations and that Egypt, by endorsing the deal, has in effect abandoned PA president Mahmoud Abbas. Nonetheless, most believe that the majority of the Arab public is opposed to the normalization deal. Findings show that the public blames the Palestinians

themselves for this development: the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the fact that they had normalized relations with Israel before many others may have hastened the arrival of this day.

The public does not show an appreciation of the fact that the UAE-Israel deal requires the suspension of the annexation plan. The reason for this is the fact that three quarters think that the suspension is only temporary and will soon take place, the normalization deal notwithstanding. Moreover, based on this assessment, the public is opposed to the restoration of PA-Israel security coordination despite the fact that half of the public wishes to restore civil and fiscal relations between the two sides.

Findings also show a significant decline in support for the two-state solution compared to the situation three months ago. They also show that the consensus in rejecting the Trump plan, the deal of the century, first documented in PSR's February 2020 poll, remains unchanged. Similarly, the overwhelming majority remains opposed to a resumption of contacts with the Trump administration. Despite the majority expectation that Trump will lose the upcoming US presidential elections, only one fifth expects positive policy change if the Democratic candidate Joe Biden wins.

Domestically, findings show continued satisfaction with the PA measures to contain the spread of the coronavirus pandemic despite significant decline in the level of satisfaction, especially with the prime minister's performance. Moreover, a majority is opposed to the severing of coordination and cooperation with Israel in the fight against the spread of the coronavirus.

Demand for the resignation of president Abbas rises in this poll. Parallel to this, satisfaction with the performance of the president has declined. As a result, if elections were held today, Hamas' Haniyyeh would win a majority of the public vote. This development might have been boosted by the current economic difficulties in the West Bank resulting from the severing of civil and fiscal coordination with Israel and the resulting inability of the PA to pay the public sector in full. Findings also show a drop in the perception of safety and security in the West Bank and an increase in the desire to emigrate. Despite these developments, the popularity of Fatah in the West Bank is not negatively affected; to the contrary, the findings show a little improvement in its popularity.

#### **(1) UAE-Israel normalization agreement:**

- **86% believe the UAE-Israel normalization agreement benefits Israel only**
- **80% describe their feelings toward the agreement as: treason, abandonment, and insult**
- **70% think other Arab countries will follow the UAE and 82% think Saudi Arabia will be next as well**
- **78% view the Egyptian welcome of the normalization agreement as an abandonment of the PA leadership**
- **But 57% believe the majority of the Arab public opinion is opposed to the current Arab normalization with Israel**
- **53% blame the Palestinians for the agreement and 62% view it as a failure for Palestinian Diplomacy**

A majority of 63% view the normalization agreement between the UAE and Israel as a major event that represents a significant regional shift while 32% view as minor development. Findings show a consensus (86%) that the agreement serves only the interests of Israel while 8% think it serves the interests of both the Palestinians and the Israelis and only 1% think it serves the interests of the Palestinians only. We asked the public to pick one word that represents its sentiments toward the normalization agreement: the majority (53%) picked "treason" or "betrayal," 17% picked "abandonment," 13% "insult," 9% "indifference," 6% "sadness," while only 1% picked words like "satisfaction," "pride," and "joy." The percentage of those who picked "treason" is higher in the West Bank (57%) compared to the Gaza Strip (47%), in cities and villages (54% and 57% respectively) compared to refugee camps (35%), among men (56%) compared to women (50%), among those whose age is 50 years and above (55%) compared to those whose age is between 18

and 22 years (45%), among employees (55%) compared to students (44%), and among those with the lowest income (58%) compared to those with the highest income (45%).

Most Palestinians (57%) believe that the majority among the Arab public is opposed to the normalization agreement while 20% believe an Arab majority supports it. A large majority (70%) believes that other Arab countries, such as Bahrain, Oman, Sudan, and Morocco, will sign similar agreements with Israel while 24% believe they will not do that. An overwhelming majority (80%) believes that Saudi Arabia has given the green light to the UAE to sign the normalization agreement and a similar majority (82%) believes that Saudi Arabia too will sign a similar public agreement. Similarly, an overwhelming majority of the public (78%) believes that the Egyptian position welcoming the agreement represents an abandonment of the Palestinian leadership led by Abbas while 18% do not share this view. A majority of 55% believes that Mohammad Dahlan was one of the participants in the making of the UAE-Israel normalization agreement while 24% do not share this view.

Nonetheless, a majority of 53% believes that the blame for the normalization deal falls on the shoulders of the Palestinians themselves due to their division and due to the fact that they have recognized Israel and normalized relations with it long before the others; 42% disagree with this view. Also, a majority of 62% views the UAE defection from the previous declared Arab consensus on Palestine as a great failure for Palestinian diplomacy; 31% do not share this view. The percentage of those who blame the Palestinians is higher among residents of refugee camps (66%) compared to residents of villages and cities (54% and 52% respectively), among those whose age is 50 years and above (56%) compared to those whose age is between 18 and 22 years (45%), among farmers, merchants, and professionals (70%, 64% and 63% respectively) compared to laborers and students (45% each), among those who work in the private and non-governmental sectors (57%) compared to those who work in the Palestinian Authority (50%), among those with the highest income (60%) compared to those with the lowest income (51%), and among supporters of Hamas (55%) compared to supporters of Fatah (50%).

## **(2) Annexation and the severing of relations with Israel in post UAE-Israel normalization:**

- **Three quarters believe the Israeli annexation has been postponed a little, but that it will take place soon**
- **62% are opposed to a Palestinian resumption of security coordination but 50% support resumption of civil/financial coordination**
- **Findings show great worry about the Israeli failure to transfer Palestinian clearance revenues to the PA; 59% worry about the eruption of violence; and 59% worry about PA collapse**
- **A majority of 61% does not expect the return of the Israeli military government in case of PA collapse and three quarters do not prefer such a return**

Three quarters of the public (75%) believe that the normalization agreement forces Israel to merely postpone annexation while 19% think it forces it to put an end to it. Now, after the normalization agreement, a majority of 62% is opposed to the restoration of security coordination with Israel while 32% are in favor of restoring it. But half of the public (50%) supports, and 45% oppose, the restoration of civil and fiscal coordination with Israel. If Israel conditioned resumption of civil and fiscal coordination with a resumption of security coordination, a majority of 59% will oppose, and 35% will support, the resumption of relations. Support for the resumption of civil and financial coordination is higher in the West Bank (55%) compared to the Gaza Strip (42%), in villages (61%) compared to cities and refugee camps (48% and 49% respectively), among those whose age is 50 years and above (53%) compared those whose age is between 18 and 22 years (43%), among those who work in the private and non-governmental sector (53%) compared to those who work in

the PA (40%), among those with the highest income (54%) compared to those with the lowest income (48%), among the somewhat religious (58%) compared to the religious (42%), and among supporters of Fatah (58%) compared to supporters of Hamas and third parties (43% each).

In response to an actual Israeli annexation of Palestinian territories, the public is divided on how to respond. When asked to choose one of five possible responses, 28% favored resumption of armed struggle, 20% selected stopping the implementation of the Oslo agreement, another 20% favored return to negotiations with Israel and the US on the basis of a Palestinian peace plan, 19% preferred waging nonviolent resistance, and 6% selected the abandonment of the two-state solution in favor of a one-state solution.

The public indicates great worries about the future in case of continued severing of relations with Israel. For example, 74% say they are worried that Israel will stop transfer of clearance revenues, which would mean that the PA would not be able to pay the public sector. 75% say they are worried that patients would not be able to travel from the Gaza Strip to the West Bank or Israel for medical treatment. 77% are worried that they would soon witness shortages or complete cut-off in supplies of water and electricity from Israel. 59% are worried that armed clashes would erupt with Israel. Another 59% are worried that the PA would collapse or fail to deliver services. 70% are worried that security chaos and anarchy would return to Palestinian life. Finally, 60% say they are worried that they would not be able to travel abroad via Jordan.

It is interesting to note that despite the great worry, a majority of the public (63%) does not believe that the PA has in fact ended security coordination with Israel and only 30% believe it indeed did. A majority of 61% does not expect Israel to resume its military rule and that of its civil administration now after Abbas' decision to sever relations with Israel and his invitation to Israel to assume full responsibility for the occupied territories. One third (32%) expects Israel to do so. A large majority of 75% says it does not prefer the return of Israeli military rule or civil administration while only 21% say they do prefer that.

### **(3) The Peace process and the US “Deal of the Century”:**

- **Decline in support for the two-state solution from 45% three months ago to 39% in this poll**
- **Most effective means of ending occupation is armed struggle in the eyes of 41% of the public and negotiations in the eyes of 24% of the public**
- **92% reject the Trump peace plan, known as the deal of the century**
- **71% are opposed to a Palestinian resumption of dialogue with the US administration**
- **Only 21% expect positive change in US policy toward Palestine if Biden wins the US presidential elections**

Support for the concept of the two-state solution declines to 39% and opposition stands at 58%. No description or details were provided for the concept. Three months ago, support for the concept stood at 45%. A majority of 62% believes that the two-state solution is no longer practical or feasible due to the expansion of Israeli settlements while 31% believe that the solution remains practical. Moreover, 77% believe that the chances for the creation of a Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel in the next five years are slim or nonexistence while 20% believe the chances to be medium or high.

The most preferred way out of the current status quo is “reaching a peace agreement with Israel” according to 27% of the public while 36% prefer waging “an armed struggle against the Israeli occupation.” 14% prefer “waging a non-violent resistance” and 14% prefer to keep the status quo. Three months ago, 28% said that they prefer reaching a peace agreement with Israel and 38% said

they prefer waging an armed struggle. When asked about the most effective means of ending the Israeli occupation, 41% chose armed struggle, 24% negotiations, and 26% popular resistance. Three months ago, 45% chose armed struggle and 24% chose negotiations. The belief that armed struggle is the most effective means of ending the occupation is higher in the Gaza Strip (54%) compared to the West Bank (32%), among residents of refugee camps (53%) compared to residents of cities and villages (41% and 35% respectively), among men (48%) compared to women (34%), among those whose age is between 18 and 22 years (44%) compared to those whose age is 50 years and above (39%), among those who have a BA degree (47%) compared to the illiterates (29%), among students (57%) compared to housewives and professionals (29% and 38% respectively), among those who work in the PA (56%) compared to those who work in the private and non-governmental sector (43%), among those with the lowest income (46%) compared to those with the highest income (32%), among the religious (49%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (34% and 32% respectively), and among supporters of Hamas (62%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (36% and 35% respectively).

We asked the public about the Trump plan, known as the “deal of the century:” 92% say they oppose it and 5% say they support it. Three months ago, 88% expressed opposition to the plan. If the Palestinians accept the Deal of the Century, what are the chances that such acceptance would lead to the end of the Israeli occupation and to the building of a Palestinian state? 55% think the chances are zero; 26% think the chances are less than 50%; and only 16% think that the chances are 50% or more.

A majority of 71% is opposed and 19% are not opposed to a resumption of dialogue between the Palestinian leadership and the Trump Administration. Official contacts between the PA and the US government were suspended by the PA after the US, in December 2017, recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Three months ago, 69% said they were opposed to the resumption of dialogue with the US.

A majority of 61% expects president Trump to lose the next US presidential election and 30% expect him to win it. Nonetheless, only 21% expect a positive change if Biden wins while 34% believe US policy will not change and 35% expect it to become worse.

#### **(4) PA performance during the COVID-19 pandemic:**

- **Satisfaction with the performance of the government in dealing with the Coronavirus crisis ranges between 64%, for the performance of the security services, and 48%, for the performance of the prime minister**
- **A majority between 52% and 70% indicate it has been hurt economically as a result of the pandemic**

A two-third majority (68%) is satisfied with the measure taken by the PA to prevent travel between the various governorates in order to contain the Coronavirus pandemic. Similarly, the findings show that the majority is satisfied with the performance of the various entities and individuals involved in the management of the Coronavirus crisis. For example, 64% express satisfaction with the performance of the security services deployed in their areas and 57% are satisfied with the performance of the governor in their area. On the other hand, satisfaction with the performance of the prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh stands at 48% today compared to 62% three months ago.

The majority indicates that it has been harmed economically as a result of the pandemic: 70% say their income or salary has been reduced; 61% say their income or salary has been stopped; and 52% say they stopped working or became unemployed.



A majority of 55% say that are dissatisfied with the PA decision during the past several months to stop cooperation and coordination with Israel in the health sector with the aim of combating the coronavirus, 42% are satisfied with that decision.

#### **(5) Legislative and presidential election**

- **62% want the resignation of the president and satisfaction with his performance stands at 31%**
- **In presidential elections between Abbas and Ismail Haniyyeh, the former receives 39% of the vote and the latter 52%**
- **But in a presidential elections between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyyeh, the former receives 55% of the vote and the latter 39%**
- **In parliamentary elections, Fatah receives 38% of the vote and Hamas 34%**

62% of the public want president Abbas to resign while 31% want him to remain in office. Three months ago, 58% said they want Abbas to resign. Demand for Abbas' resignation stands at 54% in the West Bank and 74% in the Gaza Strip. Demand for Abbas' resignation is also higher in cities (65%) compared to refugee camps and villages (61% and 46% respectively), among men (65%) compared to women (60%), among those whose age is between 18 and 22 years (70%) compared to those whose age is 50 years and above (60%), among holders of BA degree (72%) compared to the illiterates (44%), among merchants, students, professionals, and employees (73%, 68%, 68%, and 67% respectively) compared to housewives and laborers (58% and 61% respectively), among those with the lowest income (63%) compared to those with the highest income (53%), among the religious (66%) compared to the somewhat religious (58%), and among supporters of Hamas (74%) compared to supporters of third parties and Fatah (56% and 49% respectively).

Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 31% and dissatisfaction at 63%. Level of satisfaction with Abbas stands at 36% in the West Bank and 24% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago, satisfaction with Abbas stood at 36% (44% in the West Bank and 24% in the Gaza Strip).

If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, Mahmoud Abbas and Ismail Haniyyeh, the former would receive 39% and the latter 52% of the vote (compared to 42% for Abbas and 49% for Haniyyeh three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 32% of the vote (compared to 32% three months ago) and Haniyyeh receives 62% (compared to 61% three months ago). In the West Bank, Abbas receives 46% (compared to 51% three months ago) and Haniyyeh 42% (compared to 38% three months ago). If the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyyeh, Barghouti receives 55% and Haniyyeh 39%. If the competition is between prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh and Haniyyeh, the former receives 41% and the latter 51%.

We asked in an open-ended question about potential Abbas successors: If president Abbas does not nominate himself in a new election, 22% prefer to see Marwan Barghouti replacing him, while 18% prefer Ismail Haniyyeh. Mohammad Dahlan is preferred by 7% (1% in the West Bank and 15% in the Gaza Strip), Mohammad Shtayyeh is preferred by 5%, Mustafa Barghouti by 4%, Khalid Mishal by 3%, and Salam Fayyad by 2%.

We also asked the public about its willingness to participate in the upcoming elections and if so, to whom it will vote. If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 61% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 34% say they will vote for Hamas and 38% say they will vote for Fatah, 8% will vote for all other third parties combined, and 20% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 34% and Fatah at 36%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 45% (compared to 47% three

months ago) and for Fatah at 30% (compared to 28% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas stands at 23% (compared to 23% three months ago) and Fatah at 46% (compared to 42% three months ago).

**(6) Domestic conditions:**

- **Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 71% and in the West Bank at 57%**
- **Wish to emigrate stands at 25% in the Gaza Strip and 24% in the West Bank**
- **A majority of 62% views the PA as a burden on the Palestinian people and 33% view it as an asset**
- **Public expectations do not reflect optimism about the prospects for reconciliation, the holding of elections, or the improvement of economic conditions**
- **64% believe the Palestinian judiciary and courts rule according to interests and whims and 31% believe they rule according to the law**

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 5% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 16%. Nonetheless, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 71% and in the West Bank at 57%. 24% of the public say they want to emigrate due to political, security, and economic conditions. The percentage in the Gaza Strip stands at 25% and in the West Bank at 24%. Three months ago, only 18% of West Bankers expressed a desire to emigrate.

Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 80%. Three months ago, 81% expressed a similar view. The public is divided over its assessment of the PA: a majority of 62% views it as a burden on the Palestinian people while 33% view it as an asset for the Palestinian people. Three months ago, only 52% viewed the PA as a burden.

A year and a half since the formation of the Shtayyeh government, findings indicate persistent pessimism. Responding to a question about expectations regarding the ability of the Shtayyeh government to make progress in reconciliation and reunification, 60% expect failure; only 31% expect success. In a similar question about the ability of the new government to organize legislative or legislative and presidential elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, a majority of 58% expects failure and 33% expect success. In another question about the ability of the new government to improve economic conditions, a majority of 61% expects failure and 32% expects success. An overwhelming majority of the public (80%) is opposed to the arrest by the PA security services of activists who were planning to demonstrate or were demonstrating against corruption in the PA while 17% support these arrests.

56% (66% in the West Bank and 41% in the Gaza Strip) believes that it will not receive a fair trial if it finds itself in a Palestinian court while 36% (23% in the West Bank and 55% in the Gaza Strip) believe that will receive a fair trial. Six month ago, 42% said it believes it will receive a fair trial. A majority of 64% (75% in the West Bank and 49% in the Gaza Strip) thinks that the Palestinian judiciary rules according to whims and interests; 31% disagree and believe that it rules according to the law. Six month ago, 41% said the judiciary and courts rule according to the law.

We asked the public about its viewership habits in the last three months. Findings indicate that Al Jazeera TV viewership remains the highest, standing at 19%, followed by Palestine TV (15%), Al Aqsa TV (13%), Maan TV at 12%, Palestine Today TV at 11%, Al Arabiya and al Mayadeen at 4% each, and finally al Manar at 2%.

### **(7) Reconciliation:**

- **A majority of 59% are pessimistic about the prospects for reconciliation**
- **41% believe reunification will never be possible**

37% are optimistic and 59% are pessimistic about the success of reconciliation. Three months ago, optimism stood at 29%. Similarly, 41% believe that unity will not be resumed and that two separate entities will evolve in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip while 45% believe unity will eventually return but only after a long time and only 11% believe unity will return soon.

### **(8) Muslims in China:**

- **83% of the public believe that Palestinians should be in solidarity with the Uighur Muslims against the Chinese government**
- **80% support the position of the Turkish president in transforming the Hagia Sophia museum into a mosque**

80% of the Palestinians believe that if press reports about the treatment of the Uighur Muslims in China are true, Palestinians should condemn the Chinese policy towards its Muslim community and 15% disagree with that. Support for condemning China in such a case is a little higher in the West Bank (81%) compared to the Gaza Strip (77%), in villages (90%) compared to cities and refugee camps (79% and 68% respectively), and among supporters of Fatah (83%) compared to supporters of Hamas and third parties (77% and 76% respectively).

An overwhelming majority of 79% indicates that it does not believe the statement of the Chinese government that the camps built by China to allegedly detain the Uighur Muslims are in fact teaching centers aiming at eradicating extremism; 10% believe the Chinese statement. Similarly, an overwhelming majority of 83% believes that world Muslims should express solidarity with the Uighur Muslims against the Chinese government while 10% disagree with that.

An overwhelming majority of 80% approves of the Turkish president Erdogan's decision to transform the Hagia Sophia museum into a mosque; 16% disapprove. Approval of the Erdogan decision is higher in villages (88%) compared to cities and refugee camps (78% respectively), and among those with the lowest income (79%) compared to those with the highest income (68%).

### **(9) Most vital Palestinian goals and the main problems confronting Palestinians today:**

- **42% believe that the most vital Palestinian goal should be the ending of the Israeli occupation and the establishment of a Palestinian state**
- **27% think the most serious problem confronting Palestinians today is poverty and unemployment**

42% believe that the first most vital Palestinian goal should be to end Israeli occupation in the areas occupied in 1967 and build a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital. By contrast, 29% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 15% believe that the first and most vital goal should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings; 13% believe it should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians.

The most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today is poverty and unemployment in the eyes of 27%, the spread of corruption in public institutions in the eyes of 25%, the continuation of occupation and settlement activities in the eyes of 24%, the continued siege of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its crossings in the eyes of 13%, and the lack of national unity in the eyes of 10%.



## Public Opinion Poll No (77)

9-12 September 2020

|   | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| <b>Q00) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?</b>                |       |           |            |
| 1) al Arabia  | 4.4%  | 2.0%      | 8.0%       |
| 2) al Jazeera   | 18.8% | 17.5%     | 20.7%      |
| 3) Palestine Today  | 10.5% | 12.5%     | 7.6%       |
| 4) al Manar   | 1.8%  | .6%       | 3.5%       |
| 5) Palestine TV   | 14.5% | 17.2%     | 10.4%      |
| 6) alaqsa   | 12.6% | 2.5%      | 27.7%      |
| 7) man(mix)   | 11.9% | 16.0%     | 5.9%       |
| 8) al myadeen   | 3.9%  | 3.7%      | 4.2%       |
| 10) Do not watch TV   | 17.2% | 22.2%     | 9.8%       |
| 11) others  | 2.5%  | 3.8%      | .6%        |
| 12) Do not have a dish  | .9%   | .4%       | 1.6%       |
| 13) DK/NA   | 1.0%  | 1.7%      | 0.0%       |
| <b>Q01) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?</b>    |       |           |            |
| 1) Very good  | .5%   | .7%       | .2%        |
| 2) Good   | 4.1%  | 2.7%      | 6.2%       |
| 3) so so  | 10.4% | 7.2%      | 15.2%      |
| 4) Bad  | 32.8% | 37.4%     | 25.9%      |
| 5) Very bad   | 50.3% | 48.8%     | 52.5%      |
| 6) DK/NA  | 1.9%  | 3.2%      | 0.0%       |
| <b>Q02) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?</b> |       |           |            |
| 1) Very good  | 3.3%  | 1.4%      | 6.2%       |
| 2) Good   | 12.7% | 7.5%      | 20.5%      |
| 3) so so  | 19.3% | 18.8%     | 19.9%      |
| 4) Bad  | 32.9% | 39.2%     | 23.5%      |
| 5) Very bad   | 31.0% | 32.3%     | 29.2%      |
| 6) DK/NA  | .8%   | .8%       | .7%        |
| <b>Q03) Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) Religious  | 46.2% | 34.9%     | 63.1%      |
| 2) somewhat religious   | 48.7% | 59.3%     | 32.9%      |
| 3) not religious  | 4.7%  | 5.4%      | 3.8%       |
| 4) DK/NA  | .3%   | .4%       | .2%        |
| <b>Q04) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?</b>                                  |       |           |            |
| 1) yes  | 79.8% | 81.4%     | 77.4%      |
| 2) no   | 10.5% | 6.1%      | 17.0%      |
| 3) DK-NA  | 9.7%  | 12.4%     | 5.6%       |
| <b>Q05) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?</b>             |       |           |            |
| 1) Completely assured   | 10.4% | 3.9%      | 20.0%      |
| 2) Assured  | 52.0% | 52.9%     | 50.6%      |

|  | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|--|-------|-----------|------------|
| 3) Not assured   | 28.4% | 34.2%     | 19.7%      |
| 4) Not assured at all  | 9.2%  | 9.0%      | 9.6%       |
| <b>Q06) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) Certainly seek to emigrate  | 9.0%  | 8.7%      | 9.4%       |
| 2) Seek emigration   | 14.9% | 14.8%     | 15.2%      |
| 3) Do not seek emigration  | 43.0% | 38.3%     | 50.0%      |
| 4) Certainly do not seek emigration  | 33.1% | 38.3%     | 25.4%      |
| <b>Q07) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) very satisfied  | 4.3%  | 2.2%      | 7.3%       |
| 2) satisfied   | 27.1% | 34.0%     | 16.7%      |
| 3) not satisfied   | 37.2% | 34.1%     | 41.8%      |
| 4) not satisfied at all  | 25.7% | 20.6%     | 33.2%      |
| 5) DK/NA   | 5.8%  | 9.0%      | 1.0%       |
| <b>Q08) If it is up to you, would you want to have Abbas resign or not resign?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) Certainly resign  | 24.8% | 17.3%     | 35.9%      |
| 2) Resign  | 37.3% | 37.0%     | 37.7%      |
| 3) Not resign  | 25.5% | 29.3%     | 19.8%      |
| 4) Certainly not resign  | 5.2%  | 4.8%      | 5.8%       |
| 5) DK/NA   | 7.2%  | 11.6%     | .7%        |
| <b>Q09) If new presidential elections are to take place today, and Mahmud Abbas was nominated by Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh was nominated by Hamas, whom would you vote for?</b> |       |           |            |
| 1) Mahmoud Abbas   | 39.1% | 46.0%     | 32.0%      |
| 2) Ismael Haniyyah   | 51.7% | 42.2%     | 61.6%      |
| 4) DK/NA   | 9.1%  | 11.8%     | 6.4%       |
| <b>Q10) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmoud Abbas, to whom would you vote?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) Marwan Barghouti  | 38.4% | 45.1%     | 30.1%      |
| 2) Ismael Haniyyah   | 36.1% | 27.5%     | 46.8%      |
| 3. Mahmud Abbas  | 19.9% | 19.5%     | 20.3%      |
| 5) DK/NA   | 5.6%  | 8.0%      | 2.8%       |
| <b>Q11) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) Marwan Barghouti  | 54.8% | 62.9%     | 44.6%      |
| 2) Ismael Haniyyah   | 38.6% | 28.8%     | 51.0%      |
| 4) DK/NA   | 6.6%  | 8.3%      | 4.4%       |
| <b>Q12) And what if the competition was between prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?</b>                         |       |           |            |
| 1) Muhammad shteah   | 40.5% | 46.5%     | 34.0%      |
| 2) Ismael Haniyyah   | 51.0% | 42.4%     | 60.4%      |
| 4) DK/NA   | 8.5%  | 11.1%     | 5.6%       |
| <b>Q14) If new elections agreed to by all factions are held today and the same lists that took part in the last PLC elections were nominated, for whom would you vote?</b>     |       |           |            |
| 1) alternative   | 1.4%  | 1.5%      | 1.3%       |

|   | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| 2) independent Palestine                      | 3.1%  | 2.7%      | 3.5%       |
| 3) Abu Ali Mustafa                            | 1.0%  | .3%       | 1.8%       |
| 4) Abu al Abbas                               | 0.0%  | 0.0%      | 0.0%       |
| 5) freedom and social justice                 | .5%   | 0.0%      | 1.0%       |
| 6) change and reform                          | 33.9% | 23.3%     | 44.8%      |
| 7) national coalition for justice and democ   | .5%   | 0.0%      | 1.0%       |
| 8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)          | .5%   | 0.0%      | 1.0%       |
| 9) freedom and independence                   | 1.1%  | 1.5%      | .7%        |
| 10) Palestinian justice                       | .2%   | .1%       | .3%        |
| 11) Fateh                                     | 38.1% | 45.8%     | 30.3%      |
| 12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember | 19.8% | 24.9%     | 14.5%      |

**Q15) From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most important one and which should be the second most important goal that the Palestinian people should strive to achieve?**

**Q15-1) first goal -----**

|   |       |       |       |
|---|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital | 42.3% | 45.2% | 37.9% |
| 2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages  | 29.1% | 31.1% | 26.0% |
| 3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians  | 12.8% | 9.8%  | 17.3% |
| 4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings  | 15.1% | 12.7% | 18.8% |
| 5) DK/NA  | .8%   | 1.3%  | 0.0%  |

**Q15-1) second goal -----**

|   |       |       |       |
|---|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital | 23.4% | 24.1% | 22.2% |
| 2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages  | 37.4% | 39.5% | 34.2% |
| 3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians  | 17.9% | 15.0% | 22.2% |
| 4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings  | 20.4% | 19.7% | 21.4% |
| 5) DK/NA  | 1.0%  | 1.6%  | 0.0%  |

**Q16) The Palestinian society confronts today various problems, like the continuation of occupation and settlements, annexation, the spread of unemployment and poverty, the lack of national unity due to the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings, the spread of corruption in public institutions, and others. Tell us, what in your opinion, is the problem you see as the most fundamental, the one that must be on the top priority of the Palestinian Authority?**

|  |       |       |       |
|--|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) continuation of occupation and settlements, | 23.7% | 22.9% | 24.8% |
| 2) spread of unemployment and poverty          | 27.3% | 25.1% | 30.7% |
| 3) lack of national unity due to the split     | 10.3% | 9.5%  | 11.5% |

|  | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|--|-------|-----------|------------|
| 4) continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings  | 12.6% | 5.9%      | 22.6%      |
| 5) the spread of corruption in public institutions   | 24.7% | 34.6%     | 9.8%       |
| 6) others (----- )   | 1.4%  | 1.9%      | .5%        |
| <b>Q17-1) And from among the following names, whom you prefer to be president after Abbas?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) Marwan Barghouti  | 34.0% | 40.8%     | 24.0%      |
| 2) Ismail Haniyeh  | 26.0% | 17.9%     | 38.1%      |
| 3) Mustapha Barghouti  | 3.3%  | 2.9%      | 3.9%       |
| 4) Khalid Mishal   | 3.3%  | 1.0%      | 6.8%       |
| 5) Salam Fayyad  | 1.9%  | 1.0%      | 3.3%       |
| 6) Mohammad Dahlan   | 5.0%  | 1.8%      | 9.9%       |
| 7)Other  | 5.6%  | 4.7%      | 7.0%       |
| 8) DK/NA   | 20.7% | 29.9%     | 7.1%       |
| <b>Q18) Now, after about a year and a half since the formation of a new Palestinian government under prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh, will the new government succeed in pushing for reconciliation and reunification of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) yes   | 30.5% | 32.0%     | 28.2%      |
| 2) no  | 60.3% | 55.3%     | 67.7%      |
| 3) DK-NA   | 9.3%  | 12.7%     | 4.2%       |
| <b>Q19) will the new government succeed in conducting legislative or legislative and presidential elections?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) yes   | 33.4% | 36.0%     | 29.5%      |
| 2) no  | 58.2% | 52.5%     | 66.7%      |
| 3) DK-NA   | 8.4%  | 11.5%     | 3.8%       |
| <b>Q20) will the new government succeed in improving economic conditions in the PA?</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) yes   | 31.7% | 29.7%     | 34.6%      |
| 2) no  | 61.4% | 61.4%     | 61.4%      |
| 3) DK-NA   | 6.9%  | 8.9%      | 4.0%       |
| <b>Q20-1) People differ in these days in their evaluation of the work of the judiciary and the courts in Palestine. Some view them as ruling in accordance with the law while others view them as ruling in accordance with whims and personal interests. If you want to evaluate the judiciary and the courts, you would say they are mostly:</b> |       |           |            |
| 1) ruling in accordance with the law,  | 31.0% | 19.0%     | 48.9%      |
| 2) ruling in accordance with whims and personal interests  | 64.1% | 74.5%     | 48.7%      |
| 3) DK/NA   | 4.9%  | 6.5%      | 2.4%       |
| <b>Q20-2) If you find yourself today in front of a Palestinian court, do you think you would probably receive a fair trial?</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) yes   | 35.9% | 23.3%     | 54.8%      |
| 2) no  | 56.1% | 66.2%     | 41.0%      |
| 3) DK-NA   | 8.0%  | 10.5%     | 4.2%       |
| <b>Q21) Some people say that the Palestinian Authority has become a burden on the Palestinian people while others say that it is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people. What do you think?</b>  |       |           |            |

|   | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| 1 ) The PA is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people  | 33.0% | 39.4%     | 23.4%      |
| 2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people   | 62.4% | 55.1%     | 73.3%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 4.6%  | 5.5%      | 3.3%       |
| <b>Q21-1) The PA security services have arrested Palestinian activists who were planning to organize a demonstration against corruption. Are you for or against the arrest of activists who demonstrate against corruption in the PA?</b>           |       |           |            |
| 1) support  | 16.7% | 12.1%     | 23.5%      |
| 2) do not support   | 79.7% | 82.2%     | 76.0%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 3.6%  | 5.7%      | .5%        |
| <b>Q22) What expectations do you have for the future of reconciliation? Will it continue and succeed or will it fail leading to a return to the split?</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) Certainly succeed  | 2.8%  | 1.2%      | 5.2%       |
| 2) succeed  | 33.8% | 30.0%     | 39.5%      |
| 3) fail   | 41.6% | 41.1%     | 42.4%      |
| 4) Certainly fail   | 17.6% | 21.4%     | 11.9%      |
| 5) DK/NA  | 4.1%  | 6.2%      | 1.0%       |
| <b>Q23) After the failure of the various rounds of reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas during the past several years, what are your expectations regarding the future of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?</b>                                   |       |           |            |
| 1) unity will be resumed soon   | 10.6% | 7.3%      | 15.4%      |
| 2) unity will be resumed but it will take a long period of time   | 45.1% | 44.9%     | 45.4%      |
| 3) Unity will not be resumed and two separate entities in the West Bank and the Gaz Strip will emerge   | 40.5% | 42.6%     | 37.3%      |
| 4) DK/NA  | 3.8%  | 5.2%      | 1.8%       |
| <b>Q24) During the past few months, the Palestinian government took several measures in order to reduce the risk of the spread of the Corona epidemic. Tel us if you are satisfied or dissatisfied with preventing travel between governorates?</b> |       |           |            |
| 1) Satisfied  | 67.8% | 61.1%     | 77.7%      |
| 2) Dissatisfied   | 30.7% | 37.0%     | 21.3%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 1.5%  | 1.9%      | 1.0%       |
| <b>Q25) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied wit the performance of the following Palestinian institutions and actors during the period of the spread of the Corona virus?</b>   |       |           |            |
| <b>Q25-1 prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) Satisfied  | 48.4% | 55.8%     | 37.4%      |
| 2) Dissatisfied   | 48.5% | 40.1%     | 61.1%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 3.1%  | 4.1%      | 1.5%       |
| <b>Q25_2 the governor in your area</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) Satisfied  | 56.8% | 49.2%     | 68.2%      |
| 2) Dissatisfied   | 37.3% | 42.2%     | 29.9%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 5.9%  | 8.5%      | 1.9%       |
| <b>Q25_3 the security services in your area</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) Satisfied  | 64.2% | 58.1%     | 73.3%      |
| 2) Dissatisfied   | 31.5% | 35.8%     | 24.9%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 4.3%  | 6.1%      | 1.7%       |



|  | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|--|-------|-----------|------------|
| <b>Q26) Have you personally or some other member in your family (who live with you at same home) been harmed economically, for example, because the salary was not paid or was reduced, or because you stopped working or became unemployed?</b>   |       |           |            |
| <b>Q26_1 salary or income was stopped</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) yes   | 60.9% | 77.2%     | 36.4%      |
| 2) no  | 35.3% | 19.0%     | 59.9%      |
| 3) DK-NA   | .4%   | .3%       | .6%        |
| <b>Q26-2 salary or income as reduced</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) yes   | 69.6% | 81.8%     | 51.4%      |
| 2) no  | 26.1% | 13.5%     | 44.8%      |
| 3) DK-NA   | .5%   | .4%       | .8%        |
| <b>Q26_3 you stopped working or became unemployed</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) yes   | 51.6% | 60.9%     | 37.8%      |
| 2) no  | 37.5% | 25.5%     | 55.5%      |
| 3) DK-NA   | .7%   | .2%       | 1.6%       |
| <b>Q27) During the period in which the Corona virus was spreading throughout the Palestinian territories, there were many instances of Palestinian-Israeli cooperation and coordination in the health sector. But this cooperation has stopped during the past several months. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the decision to stop this cooperation?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) Satisfied   | 41.7% | 44.3%     | 37.8%      |
| 2) Dissatisfied  | 54.7% | 50.2%     | 61.6%      |
| 3) DK/NA   | 3.6%  | 5.5%      | .7%        |
| <b>Q28) With an American initiative, UAE and Israel arrived at an agreement to normalize relations between the two countries in which Israel agreed to suspend or postpone the annexation of Palestinian areas in the West Bank. Do you see this agreement representing a great transformation in the region in its relations or Israel or do you see it as a minor issues that will have little consequences?</b> |       |           |            |
| 1) minor   | 31.7% | 25.4%     | 41.1%      |
| 2) great transformation  | 63.4% | 67.4%     | 57.5%      |
| 3) Other: specify  | .3%   | .4%       | .2%        |
| 4) DK/NA   | 4.5%  | 6.8%      | 1.2%       |
| <b>Q29) In your view, does this agreement serve the interests of the Palestinians or the Israelis or both sides?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) interests of Palestinians   | 1.3%  | .5%       | 2.5%       |
| 2) interests of Israel   | 86.2% | 88.6%     | 82.6%      |
| 3) interests of both sides   | 7.8%  | 4.1%      | 13.3%      |
| 4) other, specify  | 1.4%  | 2.0%      | .4%        |
| 5) DK/NA   | 3.3%  | 4.8%      | 1.1%       |
| <b>Q30) If you want to pick a single word that describes your feeling toward the decision of UAE to normalize relations with Israel, you would say:</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) indifference  | 8.5%  | 8.7%      | 8.2%       |
| 2) let down  | 16.7% | 15.6%     | 18.4%      |
| 3) joy   | .1%   | .1%       | .3%        |
| 4) insult  | 13.1% | 10.5%     | 16.8%      |
| 5) pride   | .2%   | .1%       | .4%        |

|                 | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|-----------------|-------|-----------|------------|
| 6) betrayal     | 53.0% | 57.1%     | 46.9%      |
| 7) satisfaction | .7%   | .3%       | 1.2%       |
| 8) sadness      | 5.8%  | 4.7%      | 7.3%       |
| 9) DK/NA        | 1.9%  | 2.8%      | .5%        |

**Q31) In your view, does the majority of the public in the Arab World support or oppose the decision of the UAE to normalize relations with Israel in return for stopping or postponing the annexation of Palestinian territories in the West Bank?**

|                |       |       |       |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) support     | 20.2% | 18.8% | 22.4% |
| 2) oppose      | 57.0% | 60.9% | 51.2% |
| 3) indifferent | 19.0% | 14.9% | 25.3% |
| 4) DK/NA       | 3.7%  | 5.5%  | 1.1%  |

**Q32) There are reports about the likelihood of other Arab countries, like Bahrain, Oman, Sudan, and Morocco, to reaching normalization agreements with Israel. Do you think some or all of these countries will indeed normalize relations with Israel in the near future despite continued Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories?**

|          |       |       |       |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) yes   | 69.6% | 70.1% | 68.8% |
| 2) no    | 23.7% | 20.2% | 28.8% |
| 3) DK-NA | 6.7%  | 9.7%  | 2.3%  |

**Q33) Do you think Saudi Arabia has given the green light for the UAE to normalize relations with Israel?**

|          |       |       |       |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) yes   | 80.1% | 84.2% | 74.0% |
| 2) no    | 11.5% | 5.8%  | 20.1% |
| 3) DK-NA | 8.3%  | 10.0% | 5.8%  |

**Q34) Do you think Saudi Arabia too will publicly reach a normalization agreement with Israel?**

|          |       |       |       |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) yes   | 82.4% | 85.4% | 77.8% |
| 2) no    | 12.6% | 7.9%  | 19.6% |
| 3) DK-NA | 5.0%  | 6.7%  | 2.5%  |

**Q35) Egypt has welcomed the UAE-Israel normalization deal while the PA leadership has described the deal as a stabbing in the back of the Palestinian people. Do you view the Egyptian position as an abandonment of the Palestinian leadership led by Abbas?**

|          |       |       |       |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) yes   | 77.8% | 81.2% | 72.7% |
| 2) no    | 18.2% | 12.9% | 26.1% |
| 3) DK-NA | 4.0%  | 5.9%  | 1.1%  |

**Q36) Some of the Palestinian leaders have accused Mohammad Dahlan of participating in the planning of the normalization deal between the UAE and Israel. Do you think that Dahlan was indeed one of the participants in making this deal?**

|          |       |       |       |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) yes   | 54.9% | 54.2% | 56.0% |
| 2) no    | 24.1% | 13.1% | 40.6% |
| 3) DK-NA | 21.0% | 32.6% | 3.5%  |

**Q37) Some say that we should not blame others and instead should blame ourselves first because of our split and second because we have recognized Israel and normalized relations with it before the UAE did that same thing. Do you agree or disagree with this view?**

|          |       |       |       |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) Agree | 53.0% | 54.3% | 51.1% |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|

|   | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| 2) Disagree   | 41.5% | 37.1%     | 48.0%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 5.5%  | 8.6%      | .9%        |
| <b>Q38) Similarly, some say that the decision by the UAE to violate the Arab consensus embodied in the Arab Peace Initiative is big failure for Palestinian diplomacy. Do you agree or disagree with this view?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) Agree  | 61.6% | 58.5%     | 66.2%      |
| 2) Disagree   | 30.7% | 29.7%     | 32.4%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 7.7%  | 11.9%     | 1.5%       |
| <b>Q39) Prime Minister of Israel, Netanyahu, says that he has agreed to a postponement or temporary delay of annexation of the Jordan Valley and settlements. Do you think the government of Israel will indeed stop annexation or just postpone it for few months?</b> |       |           |            |
| 1) stop annexation  | 18.8% | 11.8%     | 29.1%      |
| 2) postpone for a while   | 75.3% | 80.6%     | 67.4%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 5.9%  | 7.6%      | 3.5%       |
| <b>Q40) Now that the UAE and Israel have agreed to normalize relations in return for an stopping or postponing annexation of large parts of the West Bank, do you support or oppose the return of security coordination between the PA and Israel?</b>                  |       |           |            |
| 1) support  | 32.1% | 38.2%     | 22.9%      |
| 2) do not support   | 62.4% | 53.1%     | 76.3%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 5.6%  | 8.7%      | .8%        |
| <b>Q41) what about economic and civil relations with Israel, such as the transfer of clearance funds? Do you support or oppose a return to financial and civil coordination between the PA and Israel?</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) support return to civil and financial coordination   | 50.0% | 55.4%     | 42.0%      |
| 2) oppose return to civil and financial coordination  | 45.2% | 37.5%     | 56.7%      |
| 3) KD/NA  | 4.7%  | 7.1%      | 1.2%       |
| <b>Q42) What if Israel conditioned the resumption of financial and civil coordination on a resumption of security coordination? Do you in this case support or oppose the resumption of security coordination as well?</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) support  | 35.4% | 40.7%     | 27.5%      |
| 2) do not support   | 58.9% | 51.1%     | 70.5%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 5.7%  | 8.2%      | 2.0%       |
| <b>Q43) PA leaders have indicated that Arab countries, with the exception of Algeria, has stopped their financial support of the PA. If true, do you see in this an abandonment of the Palestinian cause by the Arab World?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) yes  | 73.2% | 73.6%     | 72.5%      |
| 2) no   | 21.7% | 19.0%     | 25.7%      |
| 3) DK-NA  | 5.1%  | 7.3%      | 1.7%       |
| <b>Q44) If the Israeli government annexed the Jordan Valley and the settlements, which of the following five alternatives do you prefer as a response to that annexation?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) Stop working in accordance with the Oslo agreement and suspending all links between the PA and Israel  | 20.3% | 17.6%     | 24.4%      |
| 2) Return to armed struggle   | 27.7% | 24.3%     | 32.7%      |
| 3) Resort to peaceful mass popular resistance   | 18.6% | 19.4%     | 17.5%      |

|   | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| 4) abandon the two-state solution and adopt the one-state solution  | 6.3%  | 5.2%      | 8.0%       |
| 5) return to negotiations with Israel and the US in accordance with a detailed Palestinian peace plan, a counter  | 19.9% | 21.6%     | 17.5%      |
| 6) DK/NA  | 7.2%  | 12.0%     | 0.0%       |
| <b>Q45) Daily living conditions of Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip might be affected by the decision of the Palestinian Authority to sever relations with the Israeli government. Are you worried or not worried that the following things might happen?</b> |       |           |            |
| <b>Q45-1 return to security chaos</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) worried  | 69.6% | 78.1%     | 56.7%      |
| 2) not worried  | 28.6% | 19.6%     | 42.0%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 1.9%  | 2.3%      | 1.3%       |
| <b>Q45-2 armed confrontation with Israel</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) worried  | 58.8% | 65.3%     | 48.9%      |
| 2) not worried  | 39.6% | 31.9%     | 51.1%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 1.6%  | 2.7%      | 0.0%       |
| <b>Q45-3 water or electricity shortages or outages</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) worried  | 76.5% | 82.8%     | 67.2%      |
| 2) not worried  | 22.4% | 15.9%     | 32.1%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 1.1%  | 1.3%      | .7%        |
| <b>Q45-4 Inability to travel to Jordan</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) worried  | 60.4% | 71.2%     | 44.3%      |
| 2) not worried  | 38.2% | 26.6%     | 55.5%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 1.4%  | 2.2%      | .2%        |
| <b>Q45-5 inability to obtain health treatment for Gazans in the West Bank or in Israel</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) worried  | 75.1% | 82.3%     | 64.2%      |
| 2) not worried  | 24.2% | 16.6%     | 35.5%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | .8%   | 1.1%      | .3%        |
| <b>Q45-6 Israel refusing to transfer custom duties funds which would mean the PA would not be able to pay or reduce salaries of its public sector</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) worried  | 74.0% | 84.9%     | 57.7%      |
| 2) not worried  | 24.2% | 12.6%     | 41.5%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 1.8%  | 2.5%      | .7%        |
| <b>Q45-7 The collapse of the PA or its inability to deliver services</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) worried  | 59.4% | 65.6%     | 50.2%      |
| 2) not worried  | 38.3% | 31.1%     | 49.0%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 2.3%  | 3.3%      | .8%        |
| <b>Q46) Do you think the PA has indeed ended security relations with Israel and stopped security coordination?</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) Yes  | 30.1% | 33.2%     | 25.4%      |
| 2) No   | 62.9% | 58.0%     | 70.3%      |
| 3) DK-NA  | 7.0%  | 8.8%      | 4.3%       |

|   | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| <b>Q47) In his statement severing relations with Israel, President Abbas stated that now, Israel has to assume all responsibilities as the occupying power of the Palestinian state. Do you expect Israel to return to administering the conditions of the Palestinians alone whereby the military rule and the civil administration would resume responsibilities in full?</b> |       |           |            |
| 1) Yes  | 31.8% | 36.0%     | 25.5%      |
| 2) No   | 60.9% | 53.0%     | 72.6%      |
| 3) DK-NA  | 7.3%  | 11.0%     | 1.9%       |
| <b>Q48) Do you prefer or not prefer the return of the Israeli military rule and the civil administration as things were before the creation of the Palestinian Authority?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) Prefer the return of the military rule   | 21.3% | 24.1%     | 17.1%      |
| 2) do not prefer the return of the military rule  | 74.5% | 70.0%     | 81.2%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 4.2%  | 5.9%      | 1.8%       |
| <b>Q49) In your view, what is the best means of ending the occupation?</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) Negotiations   | 24.0% | 27.5%     | 18.8%      |
| 2) Peaceful popular resistance  | 26.1% | 28.1%     | 23.2%      |
| 3) Armed action   | 40.8% | 32.1%     | 54.0%      |
| 4) other  | 1.9%  | 2.6%      | .9%        |
| 5) DK/NA  | 7.1%  | 9.7%      | 3.2%       |
| <b>Q50) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the two-state solution?</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) certainly support  | 6.0%  | 4.6%      | 8.1%       |
| 2) support  | 32.7% | 37.9%     | 24.8%      |
| 3) oppose   | 39.6% | 38.4%     | 41.4%      |
| 4) certainly oppose   | 17.9% | 14.6%     | 22.8%      |
| 5) DK/NA  | 3.8%  | 4.4%      | 2.9%       |
| <b>Q51) Some believe that the two-state solution, an independent Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel, is no longer viable due to settlement expansion while others believe that it is still viable today as settlements can be dismantled or evacuated when an agreement is reached. What do you think?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) The two-state solution is no longer viable   | 61.6% | 57.8%     | 67.2%      |
| 2) The two-state solution remains viable today  | 31.0% | 36.6%     | 22.5%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 7.5%  | 5.5%      | 10.4%      |
| <b>Q52) The following four possibilities refer to your views about what to do now about Israeli-Palestinian relations, which one is the most preferred to you:</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) Maintain the status quo  | 14.2% | 14.3%     | 13.9%      |
| 2) Wage an armed struggle against the Israeli occupation  | 35.9% | 26.8%     | 49.5%      |
| 3) Wage an unarmed struggle against the Israeli occupation  | 17.5% | 16.8%     | 18.6%      |
| 4) Reach a peace agreement with Israel  | 26.9% | 35.0%     | 14.8%      |
| 5) Other:   | .6%   | .5%       | .7%        |
| 6) DK/NA  | 5.0%  | 6.6%      | 2.6%       |



|   | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| <b>Q53) What in your view are the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) very low   | 44.9% | 45.9%     | 43.4%      |
| 2) Low  | 32.3% | 30.9%     | 34.4%      |
| 3) Medium   | 15.2% | 14.9%     | 15.8%      |
| 4) High   | 4.3%  | 4.1%      | 4.7%       |
| 5) very high  | 1.0%  | .6%       | 1.7%       |
| 6) DK/NA  | 2.2%  | 3.7%      | 0.0%       |
| <b>Q54) Four months ago, the American Administration revealed its peace plan (or the deal of the century). The plan included solutions to all issues of the conflict and a map depicting the borders of Palestinian territories and the areas that Israel would annex as well as the areas of territorial exchange. Tell us if you support or oppose this permanent settlement.</b> |       |           |            |
| 1) support  | 4.8%  | 2.8%      | 7.8%       |
| 2) do not support   | 91.8% | 93.1%     | 89.8%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 3.4%  | 4.1%      | 2.3%       |
| <b>Q55) If the American plan is accepted by the Palestinian side, what are the chances that it would lead to the end of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the establishment of a Palestinian state?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) 100% chance  | 1.3%  | .7%       | 2.2%       |
| 2) More than 50% chance   | 5.1%  | 1.5%      | 10.5%      |
| 3) 50/50 chance   | 9.1%  | 4.1%      | 16.6%      |
| 4) Less than 50% chance   | 25.5% | 19.6%     | 34.4%      |
| 5) Zero chance  | 55.2% | 68.2%     | 35.8%      |
| 6) DK/NA  | 3.8%  | 6.0%      | .5%        |
| <b>Q56) US presidential elections will take place in less than a year. Do you expect or do not expect Trump to win the election for a second time?</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) expect Trump to win  | 29.9% | 26.3%     | 35.2%      |
| 2) expect Trump will lose   | 61.2% | 62.7%     | 58.8%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 9.0%  | 11.0%     | 5.9%       |
| <b>Q56-1) If the candidate competing with Trump, Joe Biden from the Democratic party and former vice president under the Obama administration, wins, do you think this would change US policy in a positive direction with regard to Palestine and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict? Or will the current US policy remain unchanged? or become worse?</b>                           |       |           |            |
| 1) will change a lot in a positive direction  | 2.8%  | .4%       | 6.4%       |
| 2) will change a little in a positive direction   | 18.0% | 10.5%     | 29.3%      |
| 3) will remain as it is now   | 34.4% | 36.0%     | 32.1%      |
| 4) will become a little worse   | 18.0% | 22.3%     | 11.5%      |
| 5) will become a lot worse  | 17.4% | 16.9%     | 18.1%      |
| 6) DK/NA  | 9.4%  | 13.9%     | 2.6%       |
| <b>Q57) In the aftermath of the US recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of the state of Israel, the Palestinian leadership has stopped contacts with the Trump Administration concerning the peace process. In response, the US has threatened to stop financial</b>   |       |           |            |

|   | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| <b>assistance to the PA. Are you with or against the resumption of contacts with the US administration?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) With   | 19.3% | 17.8%     | 21.5%      |
| 2) against  | 71.2% | 68.9%     | 74.6%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 6.0%  | 8.6%      | 2.1%       |
| 4) Contacts did not stop (do not read)  | 3.5%  | 4.7%      | 1.8%       |
| <b>Q58) Press reports claim that Chines Muslims from the Uighur minority are persecuted and that China has detained about one million of them in camps that aim at brainwashing them to force them to abandon the beliefs and force women to abandon hijab. If these reports are true, should we as Palestinians condemn this policy?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) yes  | 79.5% | 81.3%     | 76.9%      |
| 2) no   | 14.7% | 11.1%     | 20.0%      |
| 3) DK-NA  | 5.8%  | 7.6%      | 3.1%       |
| <b>Q59) China says that the camps are in fact educational centers aiming at combating extremism. Do you believe or do not believe this Chinese statement?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) believe it   | 10.4% | 7.0%      | 15.4%      |
| 2) do not believe it  | 79.4% | 79.7%     | 79.0%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 10.2% | 13.3%     | 5.6%       |
| <b>Q60) In your view, should Muslims in the world express solidarity with the Uighur Muslims against the Chines government?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) yes  | 83.0% | 82.0%     | 84.4%      |
| 2) no   | 9.9%  | 8.0%      | 12.9%      |
| 3) DK-NA  | 7.1%  | 10.0%     | 2.7%       |
| <b>Q61) Turkish president Erdogan has recently transformed the Hagia Sophia museum into a mosque. The building served as church that was transformed into a mosque after the Ottoman conquered the city of Constantinople. Former Turkish president Ataturk transformed the mosque into a museum. Do you agree or disagree with the decision to transform the museum into a mosque?</b> |       |           |            |
| 1) Agree  | 79.5% | 78.3%     | 81.4%      |
| 2) Disagree   | 15.7% | 15.5%     | 16.1%      |
| 3) DK/NA  | 4.7%  | 6.2%      | 2.5%       |
| <b>Q62) In your view, how will economic conditions in your area (West Bank or Gaza Strip) be in the next few (3-5) years compared to the situation today?</b>   |       |           |            |
| 1) Much better  | 3.8%  | 1.1%      | 7.8%       |
| 2) Better   | 17.8% | 15.3%     | 21.5%      |
| 3) Same as today  | 23.9% | 19.0%     | 31.3%      |
| 4) A little worse than today  | 22.6% | 25.2%     | 18.6%      |
| 5) Much worse than today  | 27.7% | 33.1%     | 19.7%      |
| 6) DK/NA  | 3.9%  | 5.7%      | 1.1%       |
| 7) Refuse to answer   | .4%   | .6%       | 0.0%       |
| <b>Q63) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I...</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) Strongly support   | 13.4% | 5.3%      | 25.6%      |
| 2) support  | 28.3% | 18.1%     | 43.6%      |

|   | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| 3) oppose   | 41.7% | 52.4%     | 25.8%      |
| 4) Strongly oppose  | 10.8% | 16.4%     | 2.3%       |
| 5) DK/NA  | 5.7%  | 7.8%      | 2.7%       |
| <b>Q64) Which of the following political parties do you support?</b>  |       |           |            |
| 1) PPP  | .1%   | .0%       | .1%        |
| 2) PFLP   | 2.0%  | 1.0%      | 3.5%       |
| 3) Fateh  | 25.0% | 26.1%     | 23.3%      |
| 4) Hamas  | 21.6% | 13.0%     | 34.4%      |
| 5) DFLP   | 1.2%  | 1.3%      | 1.1%       |
| 6) Islamic Jihad  | 1.9%  | .2%       | 4.5%       |
| 7) Fida   | .1%   | 0.0%      | .3%        |
| 8) National initiative (almubadara)   | .6%   | .8%       | .3%        |
| 9) Independent Islamist   | 1.5%  | 1.2%      | 1.9%       |
| 10) Independent nationalist   | 2.6%  | 1.6%      | 4.2%       |
| 11) third way headed by salam feyyad  | .1%   | 0.0%      | .2%        |
| 12) none of the above   | 41.0% | 51.7%     | 25.0%      |
| 13) others  | 2.4%  | 3.1%      | 1.3%       |
| <b>Q65) If you use the internet to surf social sites like Facebook, Twitter, and various groups or to access email, how many times do you normally do that?</b> |       |           |            |
| 1) More than once a day   | 53.1% | 63.8%     | 37.2%      |
| 2) daily  | 19.6% | 15.9%     | 25.2%      |
| 3) between 2-5 times weekly   | 8.0%  | 3.2%      | 15.3%      |
| 4) once a week  | 3.1%  | 1.2%      | 5.8%       |
| 5) once a month   | 2.0%  | 1.4%      | 2.9%       |
| 6) other -----  | .0%   | .1%       | 0.0%       |
| 7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites   | 14.2% | 14.5%     | 13.6%      |