



المركز الفلسطيني للبحوث السياسية والمسحية

Palestinian Center for POLICY and SURVEY RESEARCH

Poll

Survey Research Unit

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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 (80)

**A semi-consensus that Hamas has won the May 2021 confrontation with Israel triggers a paradigm shift in public attitudes against the PA and its leadership and in favor of Hamas and armed struggle; moreover, a two-third majority rejects the PA decision to postpone the elections, 70% demand forcing legislative and presidential elections on Israel, and the majority says Hamas, not Fatah under Abbas, deserve to represent and lead the Palestinian people**

9-12 June 2021

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 June 2021. The period before the conduct of the poll witnessed several developments including the decision by the PA president to postpone the holding of Palestinian elections that were scheduled to take place on 22 May 2021. It also witnessed the release of various Israeli decisions on an imminent expulsion of several Palestinian families from their homes in al Shaikh Jarrah and the impositions of various restrictions regarding Muslim's access to al Aqsa Mosque during the month of Ramadan. These developments led to popular non-violent confrontations with the Israeli police and settlers in East Jerusalem that escalated to rocket attacks carried out by Hamas against Israeli cities. Hamas claimed that the attacks came in defense of East Jerusalem. The ensuing war between Hamas and Israel lasted for 11 days and led to the death of more than 250 Palestinians, including 66 children, and more than 10 Israelis, including two children. The period also witnessed a PA campaign to vaccinate Palestinian adults in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip against the coronavirus. The campaign led to a significant reduction in the daily rates of deaths and infections, particularly in the West Bank. This press release addresses these issues and covers other matters such as the general conditions in the Palestinian territories, the peace process and future possible directions for Palestinians in the absence of a viable peace process. Total size of the sample is 1200 adults interviewed face to face in 120 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is +/-3%.

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#### Main Findings:

Findings of the second quarter of 2021 show significant changes in public attitudes toward the Palestinian Authority (PA) and its leadership, Hamas, and relations with Israel. Two drivers seem to have triggered the change: the popular confrontations in East Jerusalem, the Israel-Hamas war, and their public perception of their outcomes on the one hand and the postponement of elections by the PA leadership on the other.

The findings show a semi-public consensus that Hamas had won the confrontation with Israel and that Hamas' launching of rockets at Israeli cities has been motivated by its desire to defend al Aqsa Mosque and the Palestinian families in al Shaikh Jarrah. Findings also show widespread public discontent with the performance of the PA government and leadership as well as Fatah during the confrontations and the war. They also show a two-third majority rejection of Abbas' decision to postpone the elections. Two thirds of the public believe that Abbas has postponed the elections because he was afraid of their outcome, not because Israel has prevented the holding of elections in East Jerusalem.

As a result, support for Hamas, and willingness to vote for it, increases dramatically while support for Fatah drops significantly. Moreover, Hamas' leader, Ismail Haniyyeh, manages to deliver an unprecedented victory over Abbas in a presidential election, if one is held today. Perhaps most importantly, a majority of the Palestinians think that Hamas is more deserving of representing and leading the Palestinian people while a small percentage thinks Fatah under Abbas' leadership is the one who deserves to do that.

Findings also show that more than 70% want to hold legislative and presidential elections soon and a similar percentage wants the PA to impose elections in East Jerusalem despite Israeli objection, rather than wait for an Israeli approval. The poll results do not have good news for most of the newly created electoral lists that registered for the legislative elections as only nine out of 36 managed to cross the threshold of 1.5% required to win seats in the parliament.

The confrontations and the war between Hamas and Israel did not have an impact on the level of support for the two-state solution, which remained unchanged. But they did greatly impact other matters related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. For example, support for a return to armed confrontations and intifada rose sharply to 60%, and support for a resumption of negotiations with Israel and the belief that negotiation is the most effective means of ending occupation dropped. Moreover, the confrontations within Israel between the Palestinian citizens of Israel and the Israeli police seem to have contributed to a significant reduction in support for the one-state solution, which declined from a third to a fifth in three months.

It is worth noticing however that the current findings are not fundamentally different from similar findings we obtained in the past immediately after similar Hamas-Israel confrontations. Therefore, they might be reflecting a temporary emotional reaction that might revert back to where things stood before the confrontations. The change from emotional to normal attitudes usually takes three to six months, as can be seen in our previous polls. But it should be pointed out that a return to "normal" attitudes has in the past been associated with a Hamas failure to maintain its gains and a success on the part of the PA to take measures that helped to pacify the public and win back its trust.

For the new Israeli government led by prime minister Naftali Bennett, about a fifth seems to think that it is better for Israeli-Palestinian relations than a government led by Netanyahu. Findings also show that while the largest percentage, but not the majority, is opposed to the participation of the Unified Arab List led by Mansour Abbas in the current coalition government, a similar percentage does support (or does not oppose or support) such participation.

**(1) Jerusalem confrontations and the war between Hamas and Israel:**

- **77% think Hamas has won the last confrontation with Israel and 65% think it has achieved its goals**
- **72% think Hamas' motive was the defense of Jerusalem and al Aqsa Mosque**
- **In their evaluation of the performance of various local and regional actors, the public describe as "excellent" that of East Jerusalemites, Israeli Arabs, and Hamas**
- **53% say Hamas, not Fatah under Abbas, deserves to represent and lead the Palestinian people; only 14% say Fatah under Abbas, not Hamas, deserves to represent and lead the Palestinians**

- **If Israel evict or expel the Palestinian families in al Shaikh Jarrah, 68% would support launching rockets at Israeli cities in retaliation**
- **94% say they are proud of Gaza for its performance during the war**

An overwhelming majority of Palestinians (77%) believes that Hamas has come out a winner in its last war with Israel while only 1% think Israel came out a winner; 18% say no one came out a winner and 2% think both sides came out winners. Moreover, 65% think that Hamas has achieved its declared goal behind firing rockets at Israel: to force Israel to stop the expulsion of the families in al Shaikh Jarrah and to bring to an end Israeli restriction on Muslim access to al Aqsa; 26% think it did not. 72% think that Hamas' decision to launch rockets at Israeli cities came in defense of Jerusalem and al Aqsa Mosque while 9% think it came as a protest against the PA cancellation of elections with the aim of weakening the PA leadership; 17% think Hamas' decision was motivated by these two drivers.

In an evaluation of the performance of 10 local and regional actors during the Jerusalem confrontations and the ensuing war between Israel and Hamas, the overwhelming majority describes as "excellent" that of the residents of Jerusalem and its youth (89%) followed by that of Arab Palestinian citizens of Israel (86%), followed by that of Hamas (75%). About one fifth describes as excellent the performance of each of the following governments: Egypt's (22%), Turkey's (21%), Jordan's (21%), and Iran's (18%). Finally, only 13% describe as excellent the performance of Fatah, 11% the PA government, and 8% Abbas'. The belief that Hamas' performance was "excellent" is higher in the West Bank (80%) compared to the Gaza Strip (67%), in villages/towns (85%) compared to cities and refugee camps (74% and 71% respectively), among holders of BA degree (69%) compared to illiterates (56%), among those who work in the private and non-governmental sector (78%) compared to those who work in the public sector (67%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (88% and 75% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (64%).

A majority of 64% views the residents of East Jerusalem as the group most willing to defend Jerusalem and its holy places, followed by Hamas at 29%, and the PA at 3%. In light of the recent confrontations with Israel, a majority of 53% think Hamas is most deserving of representing and leading the Palestinian people while 14% think Fatah under president Abbas is the most deserving of representing and leading the Palestinians. The belief that Hamas, not Fatah under Abbas, should represent and lead the Palestinians is higher in cities (54%) compared to villages/towns and refugees (49% each), among holders of BA degree (52%) compared to the illiterates (47%), among farmers and housewives (57% and 56% respectively) compared to merchants and students (47% and 48% respectively) among those with the least income (59%) compared to those with the highest income (51%), among the religious (59%) compared to the somewhat religious and the unreligious (50% and 35% respectively), and among supporters of Hamas (93%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (22% and 36% respectively).

A majority of 60% thinks the participation of the Palestinian citizens of Israel in the recent confrontation was driven, first and foremost, by their desire to defend the holy sites, while 28% think it was driven by their desire to express rejection of integration in the Israeli society and their attachment to their national identity, and only 10% think it came as part of their struggle for equality and rejection of discrimination.

If Israel expels the families of al Shaikh Jarrah or reimposes restrictions on access to al Aqsa Mosque, 68% believe the response in this case should be the launching of rockets at Israeli cities, while 18% think it should be the waging of non-violent resistance, and 9% believe Palestinians should respond by submitting a complaint to the UN and the International Criminal Court (ICC). When asked about their expectations from the PA under Abbas leadership in case Israel expelled

the Shaikh Jarrah families, the largest percentage (38%) said the PA will do nothing; 24% said it will write a complaint to the UN and the ICC; 20% think it will end security coordination with Israel, and 14% think it will launch popular non-violent resistance.

Public expectations from Hamas are very different: If Israel expels the Shaikh Jarrah families, 77% think Hamas will respond by launching rockets at Israeli cities; 10% think it will wage a non-violent campaign, 6% think it will issue protest statements, and only 5% think it will do nothing. But a majority of 55% think Israel will not expel the Shaikh Jarrah families and 40% think it will.

Two thirds of the public think there is a high or a medium chance that Hamas and Israel will reach a long-term truce that will ease the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip; 31% think the chances are slim.

A majority of 52% think that the incident in al Aqsa Mosque in which chants were made against the Jerusalem PA-appointed Mufti during his Friday sermon in the aftermath of the ceasefire between Israel and the “resistance” forces does not reflect its views while 44% think it does reflect them.

94% say they are proud of the performance of the Gaza Strip during the May confrontation with Israel while 6% say they are not. When asked about the main reason for being proud, 39% said they are proud because Gaza has delivered a military and rocket strike in defense of Jerusalem that demonstrated the weakness of the Israeli army; another 39% said they were proud because Gaza has brought the Palestinian cause back to forefront of Arab and international politics; and 13% said the reason they are proud is because Gaza has sacrificed and endured all the death and destruction while expressing patience and dignity in defense of Jerusalem. The percentage of those who are proud of Gaza because it delivered a military and rocket strike to Israel is higher in the West Bank (42%) compared to the Gaza Strip (35%), in villages and refugee camps (51% and 45% respectively) compared to cities (36%), among women (42%) compared to men (35%), among those who hold a BA degree (37%) compared to the illiterates (29%), among those who work in the private and nongovernmental sector (38%) compared to those who work in the public sector (34%), among the religious (47%) compared to the somewhat religious and the unreligious (35% and 25% respectively), and among supporters of Hamas (48%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (34% and 39% respectively).

## **(2) The postponement of the legislative and presidential elections:**

- 65% oppose the decision by president Abbas to postpone the elections and two thirds think the postponement came due to his fear of its outcome**
- 72% demand the holding of presidential and parliamentary elections soon and 69% do not want a permission from Israel for holding them in East Jerusalem**
- Ismail Haniyyeh wins in a presidential elections if held today by 59% against president Abbas who receives only 27%**
- If the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyyeh, the former wins by 51% and the latter receives 42%**
- In a new parliamentary elections, Hamas receives 41% of the popular vote and Fatah 30%**
- Most of the new electoral lists that were formed in preparation for holding parliamentary elections in May could not pass the electoral threshold**

65% oppose and 25% support the decision of president Abbas to postpone legislative and presidential elections because Israel refuses to allow the holding of elections in East Jerusalem. Two thirds of the public believe that Abbas postponed the elections because he was worried about the results while 25% think he postponed the elections because Israel refused to allow them in East



Jerusalem. Opposition to the postponement decision is higher in the Gaza Strip (73%) compared to the West Bank (59%), in cities and villages (66% and 63% respectively) compared to refugee camps (57%), among men (67%) compared to women (62%), among refugees (68%) compared to non refugees (62%), among those who carry an AB degree (72%) compared to illiterates (43%), among merchants and professionals (76% and 66% respectively) compared to housewives (62%), among those who work in the private sector (68%) compared to those who work in the public sector (63%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (88% and 75% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (48%). Similarly, the belief that president Abbas postponed the elections because he was afraid of their outcome is higher cities (69%) compared to villages/towns (60%), among holders of BA degree (72%) compared to the illiterates (41%), among merchants, professionals and students (75%, 73%, and 70% respectively) compared to farmers and housewives (65% and 66% respectively), among those who work in the private and non-governmental sector (70%) compared to those who work in the public sector (63%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (88% and 70% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (41%).

The largest percentage (43%) believes that there is no point in protesting Abbas' decision to postpone the elections and that we should therefore accept it. On the other hand, 31% think that there should be protests but they should be conducted through non-violent demonstrations; 17% think the protests should be expressed through the courts and the judicial system routes.

72% say they support the holding of presidential and legislative elections in the Palestinian territories in the near future while 25% say they do not support that. Demand for elections stands at 80% in the Gaza Strip and 66% in the West Bank. 69% say we should not wait for an Israeli approval of elections in East Jerusalem and that we should impose these elections on Israel while 15% say it is better to wait for an Israeli approval. The majority (56%) of those who want the PA to hold elections without an Israeli approval demands holding elections immediately, 24% are in favor of holding the elections within three months, and 13% within a year or more. But about half of the Palestinians (49%) believes there will be no elections in the near future while 44% think elections will take place in the near future.

If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, Mahmoud Abbas and Ismail Haniyeh, the former would receive 27% and the latter 59% of the votes (compared to 46% for Haniyeh and 47% for Abbas three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 30% of the votes (compared to 44% three months ago) and Haniyeh receives 60% (compared to 56% three months ago). In the West Bank, Abbas receives 25% (compared to 52% three months ago) and Haniyeh 59% (compared to 38% three months ago). If the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Barghouti receives 51% and Haniyeh 42%. If the competition is between prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh and Haniyyeh, the former receives 26% and the latter 63%. Three months ago, Shtayyeh received the support of 48% and Haniyyeh 44%.

In an open-ended question on the preferred president, in case Abbas is not nominated, 29% say they want Marwan Barghouti, 28% say Ismail Haniyyeh, 6% Dahlan, 3% Yahia Sinwar, and 2% for each of the following: Khalid Mishaal, Mohammad Shtayyeh, Mustafa Barghouti, and Salam Fayyad. In a closed-ended question, about potential Abbas successors, 29% say they prefer to see Marwan Barghouti replacing him, while 28% prefer Ismail Haniyeh. Mohammad Dahlan is preferred by 7% (1% in the West Bank and 16% in the Gaza Strip), Mustafa Barghouti and Salam Fayyad (3% each), and Khalid Mishal (2%).

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, that participated in the 2006 elections, 73% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 41% say they will vote for Hamas and 30% say they will vote for Fatah, 12% will vote for all other third parties combined, and 17% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas

stood at 30% and Fatah at 43%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 45% (compared to 36% three months ago) and for Fatah at 28% (compared to 32% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas stands at 38% (compared to 25% three months ago) and Fatah at 32% (compared to 53% three months ago).

We also asked about the vote for the 36 electoral lists that registered to compete in the parliamentary elections that was scheduled for May 2021. Only nine lists managed to pass the threshold of 1.5%: the largest percentage went to Hamas' list, "Jerusalem is Our Call" (36%) followed by Fatah's list with 19%, "the freedom list" led by Nasser al Qidwah (9%), "the Future List" of Dahlan (3%), the "National Initiative" 2%, and the following lists managed to pass the threshold: the PFLP, "Together" led by Salam Fayyad, the "Democratic Change" led by Ibrahim Abu Hijlah, and "Palestine for All" led by Mufeed al Hasayneh.

### **(3) Domestic conditions and satisfaction with the Shtayyeh government:**

- **Perception of safety and security stands at 65% in the Gaza Strip and 60% in the West Bank; but 42% of Gazans, compared to only 15% in the West Bank, say they want to emigrate**
- **84% say there is corruption in the institutions of the PA and 57% say there is corruption in the institutions run by Hamas**
- **56% say the PA is a burden on the Palestinian people and 35% view it as an asset**
- **Optimism about the prospects for reconciliation stands at 41% and pessimism at 56%**
- **The expectations that the Shtayyeh government will succeed in delivering reconciliation holding elections, or improving economic conditions stand at 30% or less**

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 8% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 24%. Nonetheless, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 65% and in the West Bank at 60%. 26% of the public say they want to emigrate due to political, security, and economic conditions. The percentage in the Gaza Strip stands at 42% and in the West Bank at 15%. Three months ago, 23% of West Bankers expressed a desire to emigrate and 40% of Gazans expressed the same desire.

Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 84%. When asked about institutions controlled by Hamas in the Gaza Strip, 57% indicated that there is corruption in these institutions. Three months ago, 84% said there is corruption in PA institutions and 70% said there is corruption in public institutions controlled by Hamas. 46% of West Bankers think people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear while 52% think they cannot. When asked to evaluate the status of democracy and human rights in the West Bank, 19% of West Bankers said it was good or very good. In the Gaza Strip, 50% think people in the Strip can criticize Hamas' authorities without fear and 47% think they cannot. When asked to evaluate the status of democracy and human rights in the Gaza Strip, 46% of Gazans said it was good or very good. The public is divided over its assessment of the PA: a slight majority of 56% views it as a burden on the Palestinian people while 35% view it as an asset for the Palestinian people. Three months ago, 51% viewed the PA as a burden and 44% viewed it as an asset.

70% oppose and 26% support making payments to the families of martyrs and prisoners based on need assessment and number of family members rather than on the act committed by the martyr or the number of years in jail.

41% are optimistic and 56% are pessimistic about the success of reconciliation. Three months ago, optimism stood at 34%. Two years 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, 65% expect failure; only 29% expect success. When asked about the ability of the government to organize legislative or legislative and presidential elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, one third of the public expects success and 60% expects failure. In another question about the ability of the new government to improve economic conditions, a majority of 62% expects failure and 32% expects success.

We asked the public about its viewership habits in the last three months. Findings indicate that al Jazeera TV has the highest viewership, standing at 36%, followed by al Aqsa TV (13%), Palestine TV (12%), Palestine Today (10%), Maan (7%), al Mayadeen (4%), al Arabiya (3%), and al Manar (1%).

**(4) The Coronavirus vaccine and PA performance during the COVID-19 pandemic:**

- **Percentage of those who say they have received the coronavirus vaccine stands at 37% in the West Bank and 32% in the Gaza Strip**
- **66% are satisfied with the efforts made by their government to make the vaccine available**
- **A majority of 57% are satisfied with the PA efforts to contain the spread of the coronavirus**

23% (28% in the West Bank and 16% in the Gaza Strip) report that they have already received the coronavirus vaccination; 40% (33% in the Gaza Strip and 51% in the West Bank) says that they are willing to take the vaccine when available; and 35% (37% in the West Bank and 32% in the Gaza Strip) say they and their families are not willing to take the vaccine when it becomes available to them. Also, 66% (81% in the Gaza Strip and 57% in the West Bank) are satisfied with the efforts made by the government to obtain the vaccine and 31% (18% in the Gaza Strip and 40% in the West Bank) are dissatisfied.

A majority of 57% are satisfied with the measures taken by the PA to contain the spread of the coronavirus while 41% are dissatisfied. Dissatisfaction in the West Bank stands at 48% and in the Gaza Strip at 30%. The majority is satisfied with the performance of the various actors involved in the management of the Coronavirus crisis: 63% express satisfaction with the performance of the security services deployed in their areas and 68% are satisfied with the performance of the ministry of health. Satisfaction with the performance of the prime minister in the management of the Coronavirus crisis stands at 49%.

**(5) The Palestinian-Israeli Peace process and the new Israeli government:**

- **Support for the two-state solution stands at 39% and opposition at 58%; but a majority of 61% believes that the two-state solution is no longer practical due to settlement expansion**
- **49% believe that armed struggle is the most effective means of ending the occupation while 27% believe in negotiations**
- **70% are opposed to a return to negotiations with Israel without conditions**
- **A drop in support for the one-state solution in three months from 33% to 20%**
- **54% are opposed to return to dialogue with the new American administration and 63% are opposed to return to negotiations led by the US**
- **Only 19% of the public believe the new Israeli government under prime minister Bennett will be better for Palestinian-Israeli negotiations compared to a Netanyahu government**

Support for the concept of the two-state solution stands at 39% and opposition stands at 58%. No description or details were provided for the concept. Three months ago, support for the concept stood at 40%. Support for the two-state solution increases to 41% and opposition drops to 56% when the borders of the Palestinian state are described as being based on the 1967 lines and its capital as East Jerusalem. When the public is asked to pick a choice from among three, 46% pick the two-state solution based on the 1967 lines, 10% pick a Palestinian-Israeli confederation, and only 6% pick a one-state for Jews and Arabs. We asked the public about its support for the idea of making Jerusalem, both East and West, an open city, whereby the Eastern part would be the capital of the Palestinian state and Western part would be the capital of the state of Israel. Less than a quarter (23%) supported and 73% opposed the idea.

A majority of 61% believes that the two-state solution is no longer practical or feasible due to the expansion of Israeli settlements while 33% believe that the solution remains practical. Moreover, 67% 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 29% 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 39% prefer waging “an armed struggle against the Israeli occupation.” 11% prefer “waging a non-violent resistance” and 18% prefer to keep the status quo. Three months ago, 36% said that they prefer reaching a peace agreement with Israel and 26% said they prefer waging an armed struggle.

When asked about the most effective means of ending the Israeli occupation, the public split into three groups: 49% chose armed struggle, 27% negotiations, and 18% popular resistance. Three months ago, 37% chose armed struggle and 36% chose negotiations. Under current conditions, a majority of 70% opposes and 19% support an unconditional resumption of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations.

When asked about support for specific policy choices, 66% supported joining more international organizations; 58% supported resort to non-violent resistance; 60% supported return to armed confrontations and intifada; 47% supported dissolving the PA; and 20% supported abandoning the two-state solution and embracing a one state solution for Palestinians and Israelis. Three months ago, 43% supported a return to confrontations and armed intifada, 42% supported dissolving the PA, and 33% supported the abandonment of the two-state solution in favor of a one-state solution.

54% are opposed, and 39% are supportive, of a return to dialogue with the new US administration under president Joe Biden. Moreover, 63% are opposed, and 29% are supportive of a return to Palestinian-Israeli negotiations under the US leadership. Support for such negotiations stands at 38% under the leadership of the international Quartet and 55% are opposed. Moreover, 52% do not believe, and 38% believe, that the election of Biden and the resumption of American aid to the PA opens the door for a return to Palestinian-Israeli negotiations within the framework of the two-state solution.

The largest percentage (45%) are opposed to the participation of Israeli Arab parties in the Israeli governmental coalitions while 26% say they support Mansour Abbas’ decision to join the current coalition in Israel, and 21% say they neither support or oppose such participation. About one fifth (19%) thinks that an Israeli government led by Naftali Bennett from the extreme right wing Yamina party will be better for Israeli-Palestinian relations than a government led by Netanyahu; a large majority of 69% disagree with that.



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

- **47% view ending the Israeli occupation and building a Palestinian state as the top priority of the Palestinian people**
- **24% believe that the Gaza siege is the main problem that confronts Palestinian society today and 21% think it is the spread of corruption**

47% 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, 34% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 10% 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 and 8% believes it should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians.

In a question about the two main problems confronting the Palestinians today, the largest percentage (24%; 31% in the Gaz Strip and 20% in the West Bank) said it is the continued siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip, 21% (27% in the West Bank and 12% in the Gaza Strip) said it is the spread of corruption, 20% said it is the unemployment and poverty, 17% said it is the continuation of the occupation, 14% (19% in the Gaza Strip and 10% in the West Bank) said it is the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and 3% said it is the weakness of the judiciary and the absence of liberties, accountability and democracy.

**Public Opinion Poll No (80)**

**9-12 June 2021**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>west bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<b>00 ) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?</b>			
1) al Arabia	3.4%	3.0%	4.0%
2) al Jazeera	35.6%	40.3%	28.5%
3) Palestine Today	10.4%	12.2%	7.6%
4) al Manar	.9%	.6%	1.4%
5) Palestine TV	11.7%	14.0%	8.3%
6) alaqsa	13.0%	5.3%	24.6%
7) man(mix)	6.5%	7.8%	4.7%
al myadeen	3.7%	2.9%	4.8%
10) Do not watch TV	12.8%	11.8%	14.4%
11) others	1.2%	1.4%	1.0%
12) Do not have a dish	.3%	0.0%	.7%
13) DK/NA	.5%	.6%	.2%
<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	.9%	.8%	1.1%
2) Good	7.0%	3.4%	12.4%
3) so so	11.2%	8.2%	15.7%
4) Bad	32.9%	38.2%	24.9%
5) Very bad	46.5%	47.0%	45.9%
6) DK/NA	1.5%	2.4%	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	4.6%	3.7%	6.0%
2) Good	19.6%	14.6%	27.0%
3) so so	29.1%	34.8%	20.4%
4) Bad	27.2%	31.3%	21.1%
5) Very bad	18.5%	14.9%	24.0%
6) DK/NA	1.0%	.7%	1.5%
<b>Q03) Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>			
1) Religious	38.0%	32.0%	46.9%
2) somewhat religious	55.6%	64.0%	43.0%
3) not religious	6.2%	3.9%	9.5%
4) DK/NA	.3%	.1%	.6%
<b>Q04) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?</b>			
1) yes	84.1%	84.7%	83.2%
2) no	9.3%	5.9%	14.3%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) DK-NA	6.6%	9.4%	2.4%
<b>Q05) What about the institutions controlled by Hamas in the Gaza Strip, do you think that there is corruption in these Hamas-controlled institutions?</b>			
1) yes	57.0%	57.9%	55.7%
2) no	26.2%	18.5%	37.9%
3) DK-NA	16.8%	23.7%	6.4%
<b>Q06) In your view, can people in your area (under the PA in the West Bank/or under Hamas in the Gaza Strip) today criticize the authority without fear?</b>			
1) yes	47.5%	45.8%	50.1%
2) no	49.6%	51.6%	46.6%
3) DK-NA	2.9%	2.6%	3.3%
<b>Q07) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?</b>			
1) Completely assured	9.8%	6.2%	15.3%
2) Assured	51.9%	53.4%	49.5%
3) Not assured	28.0%	31.2%	23.3%
4) Not assured at all	9.9%	8.6%	11.9%
5) DK/NA	.4%	.6%	0.0%
<b>Q08) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?</b>			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	10.4%	4.1%	19.9%
2) Seek emigration	15.1%	11.3%	20.8%
3) Do not seek emigration	40.9%	41.8%	39.4%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	33.3%	42.4%	19.7%
5) DK/NA	.3%	.3%	.2%
<b>Q09) Do you want the holding of general legislative and presidential elections soon in the Palestinian territories?</b>			
1)-Certainly yes	28.3%	21.6%	38.4%
2)YES	43.2%	44.5%	41.2%
3)NO	18.3%	20.1%	15.6%
4)Certainly no	6.4%	7.8%	4.3%
5vDK-NA	3.8%	5.9%	.6%
<b>Q10) 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	27.2%	25.0%	30.2%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	59.1%	58.7%	59.7%
4) DK/NA	13.6%	16.3%	10.1%
<b>Q11) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmoud Abbas, to whom would you vote?</b>			
1) Marwan Barghouti	38.8%	42.5%	33.9%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	40.4%	38.2%	43.4%
3. Mahmud Abbas	15.4%	13.0%	18.5%
5) DK/NA	5.4%	6.3%	4.3%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
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**Q12) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?**

1) Marwan Barghouti	51.3%	53.5%	48.2%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	42.0%	39.7%	45.2%
4) DK/NA	6.7%	6.8%	6.6%

**Q13) And what if the competition was between prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?**

1) Muhammad shteah	26.2%	25.2%	27.5%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	62.8%	62.3%	63.5%
4) DK/NA	11.0%	12.5%	9.0%

**Q13\_1 President Abbas says that he does not intend to run in a new presidential elections. If it is up to you, whom do you prefer to say as a president after him? Open-ended questions: -----**

1) Al-Senwar	2.6%	.6%	5.0%
2) Mustafa Barghouti	2.2%	2.1%	2.2%
3) Marwan Barghouti	28.6%	37.8%	17.2%
4) Mohamed Shetia	2.3%	2.1%	2.7%
5) Mohamed Dahlan	6.3%	.3%	13.8%
6) Salam Fayyad	1.9%	.3%	3.8%
7) Khaled Mishal	2.4%	.5%	4.7%
8) Ismail Haniyeh	28.3%	29.0%	27.5%
9) Ahmed Saadat	.9%	.3%	1.6%
10) others	5.6%	4.8%	6.7%
11) no opinion / undecided	18.8%	22.1%	14.8%

**Q15) 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?**

1) alternative	2.2%	3.1%	1.1%
2) independent Palestine	2.0%	1.3%	2.9%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	2.0%	.7%	3.5%
4) Abu al Abbas	.1%	0.0%	.2%
5) freedom and social justice	1.5%	1.5%	1.4%
6) change and reform	41.3%	38.2%	44.8%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	.3%	0.0%	.7%
9) freedom and independence	2.7%	3.8%	1.4%
10) Palestinian justice	1.1%	.7%	1.6%
11) Fateh	30.0%	32.1%	27.7%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	16.7%	18.5%	14.7%

**Q16) The following 36 electoral lists, shown in this card, registered to participate in the legislative elections that were planned for last month. If these elections were to take place today, to whom you would vote? [To interviewer: show the card and let him select the list and enter the number of that list]**

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) Palestine for all - Mufeed Muhammad Musa Al-Hasyaneh	1.3%	1.6%	1.0%
2) Democratic Change List - Ibrahim Abdel Qader Mahmoud Abu Hijleh	1.6%	1.3%	1.9%
6) The Palestinian National Initiative for "Change and End the Division" - Mustafa Kamel Barghouti	2.2%	1.2%	3.5%
10) Jerusalem is our date - Khalil Ismail Ibrahim Al-Hayya	36.0%	30.6%	42.9%
11) The Future - Samir Abdul Qader Muhammad Al-Mashrawi	3.4%	.9%	6.6%
19) The People's Pulse - Ahmed Saadat Youssef Abdel Rasoul (Abu Othman)	1.4%	.5%	2.7%
27) Together we are able - Salam Khaled Abdullah Fayyad	1.3%	.6%	2.2%
35) Freedom List - Muhammad Nasser Jarir Numan Al-Kidwa (Nasser Al-Kidwa)	9.2%	12.4%	5.1%
36) Fatah movement list - Muhammad Othman Ragheb Al-Aloul (Abu Jihad)	18.8%	20.7%	16.3%
None of the above	6.4%	4.6%	8.8%
No opinion/ I don't know	13.9%	21.1%	4.4%

**Q17) President Abbas says that he will not nominate himself in new presidential elections. If it is up to you, who do you want to be the president after him?**

1) Marwan Barghouti	28.9%	34.5%	20.6%
2) Ismail Haniyeh	27.9%	28.4%	27.1%
3) Mustapha Barghouti	3.3%	1.8%	5.6%
4) Khalid Mishal	2.2%	.3%	5.2%
5) Salam Fayyad	2.5%	1.4%	4.1%
6) Mohammad Dahlan	6.7%	.6%	15.8%
7)Other	5.7%	3.7%	8.9%
8) DK/NA	22.7%	29.3%	12.7%

**Q18) Around the end of April, president Abbas announced the indefinite postponement of legislative and presidential elections and said that the postponement came in response to the Israeli refusal to allow these elections in East Jerusalem. Do you support or oppose this postponement decision?**

1) support	24.6%	25.5%	23.2%
2) oppose	64.5%	59.2%	72.7%
3) DK/NA	10.9%	15.3%	4.1%

**Q19) In your view, what was the main motivation behind the president's decision to postpone the elections? Was it because Israel refused to allow them in East Jerusalem or because he was worried about the outcome of the elections?**

1) Because Israel refused to allow elections in East Jerusalem	25.4%	23.7%	28.1%
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	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) Because he was worried about the outcome of the elections	67.3%	68.0%	66.4%
3) DK/NA	7.2%	8.3%	5.6%
<b>Q20) Regardless of whether you support or oppose the decision to postpone the elections, what in your view is the ideal manner to express opposition to the decision?</b>			
1) Protest by going to the judiciary and the Palestinian courts	17.0%	10.5%	26.8%
2) Protest by peaceful demonstration	31.1%	26.8%	37.5%
3) No point in protesting and we need to accept the postponement decision	42.7%	49.3%	32.7%
4) Others, specify -----	1.6%	2.5%	.3%
5) DK/NA	7.6%	10.8%	2.7%
<b>Q21) what should we do now if we want to hold legislative and presidential elections? Should we wait for an Israeli decision allowing such elections in East Jerusalem or impose our decision on Israel and hold the elections in East Jerusalem despite its objection?</b>			
1) Best to wait for a positive answer from Israel (skip to 21-2)	15.3%	11.2%	21.4%
2) Best to impose elections as a fact without Israeli approval	69.2%	70.8%	66.9%
3) DK/NA (skip to 21-2)	8.3%	9.6%	6.3%
4) Don't read: I don't want elections to take place	7.2%	8.4%	5.4%
<b>Q21-1) When should we hold these elections?</b>			
1) Immediately	55.9%	51.7%	62.5%
2) After three months	24.2%	24.8%	23.2%
3) After a year	8.4%	7.1%	10.6%
4) After more than a year	4.8%	5.9%	3.0%
5) DK/NA	6.8%	10.5%	.8%
<b>Q21-2) President Abbas has postponed the legislative elections that were scheduled for the 22nd of May and the presidential elections that were scheduled for 31 Of July. Do you think legislative or legislative and presidential elections will indeed take place in the near future in Palestinian territories?</b>			
1) yes	43.5%	42.7%	44.7%
2) no	48.7%	47.6%	50.5%
3) DK-NA	7.8%	9.7%	4.9%
<b>Q22) 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? first goal -----</b>			
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	46.5%	46.9%	45.8%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	34.1%	34.4%	33.6%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	8.1%	6.9%	10.0%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	10.2%	10.2%	10.1%
<b>Q22-1) first goal -----</b>			
5) DK/NA	1.2%	1.6%	.5%
<b>Q22-1) second goal -----</b>			
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	22.3%	22.9%	21.4%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	37.5%	42.5%	29.9%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	20.3%	15.7%	27.2%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	19.3%	17.9%	21.3%
5) DK/NA	.7%	.9%	.3%
<b>Q23) The Palestinian society confronts today the following problems. Tell us, what in your opinion, are the two main problems you want the Palestinian Authority and political forces to address?</b>			
1) the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip	24.4%	19.9%	30.6%
2) the spread of corruption	20.7%	27.1%	11.7%
3) spread of unemployment and poverty	20.0%	20.5%	19.3%
4) continuation of occupation and settlements	17.4%	18.3%	16.1%
5) the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip	14.0%	10.3%	19.3%
6) the weak judiciary, the absence of liberties, and the absence of accountability and democracy	3.0%	3.2%	2.9%
7) DK/NA	.5%	.8%	.1%
<b>Q24) If you want to evaluate the status of democracy and human rights under the authorities where you live (West Bank or the Gaza Strip), you would find it:</b>			
1) Very good	4.7%	1.8%	9.0%
2) Good	24.9%	17.2%	36.5%
3) Neither good no bad	26.4%	23.1%	31.2%
4) Bad	24.2%	31.1%	13.9%
5) Very bad	18.1%	24.7%	8.0%
6) DK/NA	1.8%	2.1%	1.3%
<b>Q25) Now, after about two years 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>			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) yes	29.2%	28.9%	29.7%
2) no	64.6%	63.5%	66.1%
3) DK-NA	6.2%	7.5%	4.2%

**Q26) will the Shtayyeh government succeed in conducting legislative or legislative and presidential elections?**

1) yes	33.4%	34.7%	31.4%
2) no	59.5%	57.5%	62.5%
3) DK-NA	7.1%	7.8%	6.0%

**Q27) will it succeed in improving economic conditions in the PA?**

1) yes	32.3%	30.0%	35.8%
2) no	61.7%	64.1%	58.1%
3) DK-NA	5.9%	5.9%	5.8%

**Q28) 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?**

1) Satisfied	57.4%	50.4%	67.8%
2) Dissatisfied	40.6%	47.6%	29.9%
3) DK/NA	2.1%	2.0%	2.2%

**Q29) 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? prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh**

1) Satisfied	49.3%	45.2%	55.5%
2) Dissatisfied	46.8%	50.7%	40.8%
3) DK/NA	3.9%	4.1%	3.7%

**29-2) the ministry of health**

1) Satisfied	67.6%	57.6%	82.6%
2) Dissatisfied	31.2%	40.5%	17.2%
3) DK/NA	1.2%	1.9%	.2%

**29-3) the security services in your area**

1) Satisfied	63.2%	53.8%	77.4%
2) Dissatisfied	34.0%	43.6%	19.6%
3) DK/NA	2.8%	2.6%	3.0%

**30) What about the government efforts in making the coronavirus vaccine available to Palestinians? Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with these efforts?**

1) Very much satisfied	29.6%	24.0%	38.0%
2) Somewhat satisfied	36.8%	32.6%	43.2%
3) Somewhat dissatisfied	19.9%	23.6%	14.4%
4) Totally dissatisfied	11.3%	16.2%	3.9%
5) DK/NA	2.4%	3.7%	.5%

**31) If the coronavirus vaccine becomes available to you and your family today and you still have not received a shot, would you want to be vaccinated?**

1) I have received my vaccine	23.4%	28.4%	15.7%
2) Certainly, I want to take the vaccine	18.7%	11.7%	29.3%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) I think we want to be vaccinated	21.6%	21.7%	21.3%
4) I think we do not want to be vaccinated	18.4%	17.1%	20.4%
5) Certainly, we do not want to be vaccinated	16.9%	20.3%	11.8%
6) DK/NA	1.0%	.7%	1.5%

**Q32) given the international and Israeli pressure on the PA demanding that it stop making payments to the families of detainees and martyrs, there is an internal Palestinian discussion of making payment to these families based on financial need and size of family and not based on the activities carried out by the martyr or the number of prison years. Do you support or oppose this idea?**

1) support	26.4%	25.4%	28.0%
2) oppose	70.0%	71.1%	68.5%
3) DK/NA	3.5%	3.5%	3.5%

**Q33) 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?**

1) The PA is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people	35.3%	37.0%	32.8%
2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people	55.7%	54.9%	56.9%
3) DK/NA	9.0%	8.2%	10.3%

**Q34) 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?**

1) Certainly succeed	6.8%	3.2%	12.3%
2) succeed	34.0%	33.3%	35.0%
3) fail	44.0%	46.7%	39.8%
4) Certainly fail	11.5%	12.7%	9.8%
5) DK/NA	3.7%	4.1%	3.2%

**Q35) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the two-state solution?**

1) Strongly support	6.5%	4.9%	9.0%
2) support	32.8%	29.7%	37.6%
3) oppose	36.9%	40.5%	31.4%
4) Strongly oppose	20.6%	20.3%	20.9%
5) DK/NA	3.2%	4.6%	1.1%

**Q36) 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?**

1) The two-state solution is no longer viable	61.2%	60.6%	62.1%
2) The two-state solution remains viable today	33.2%	34.3%	31.5%
3) DK/NA	5.7%	5.1%	6.4%

**Q37) 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?**

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) very low	33.4%	29.9%	38.8%
2) Low	34.0%	32.0%	37.0%
3) Medium	23.1%	26.3%	18.3%
4) High	5.9%	7.5%	3.4%
5) very high	1.1%	1.4%	.6%
6) DK/NA	2.5%	2.9%	1.9%
<b>P2) Under current conditions, do you support the return of the Palestinian side to negotiations with Israel without prior conditions from either side?</b>			
1) yes	19.1%	19.9%	17.8%
2) No	70.3%	70.5%	69.9%
3) I support return to negotiations but under a condition (specify: .....)	6.4%	5.5%	7.7%
4) DK/NA	4.3%	4.2%	4.6%
<b>P3) 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	17.5%	13.9%	22.7%
2) Wage an armed struggle against the Israeli occupation	39.0%	35.1%	44.9%
3) Wage an unarmed struggle against the Israeli occupation	11.2%	13.2%	8.3%
4) Reach a peace agreement with Israel	26.7%	30.3%	21.4%
5) Other	1.5%	2.3%	.4%
6) DK/NA	4.0%	5.2%	2.2%
<b>P4) Which solution from among the following you prefer to put an end to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?</b>			
1) Two states, Palestine next to Israel based on the 1967 borders	46.1%	40.6%	54.4%
2) One state for Jews and Arabs	6.3%	5.1%	8.1%
3) A Palestinian-Israeli confederation	9.6%	6.5%	14.3%
4) Others, specify: -----	19.6%	27.3%	8.0%
5) DK/NA	18.4%	20.5%	15.3%
<b>P5) In your view, what is the best means of ending the occupation?</b>			
1) Negotiations	26.5%	25.3%	28.3%
2) Peaceful popular resistance	18.3%	17.2%	19.8%
3) Armed action	48.7%	48.7%	48.8%
4) other	1.7%	2.0%	1.2%
5) DK/NA	4.8%	6.9%	1.8%
<b>P1) Would you support the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel, known as the two-state solution, if the borders of the Palestinian state are the 1967 borders and East Jerusalem is its capital?</b>			
1) Strongly support	7.9%	5.6%	11.4%
2) support	32.9%	31.2%	35.5%
3) oppose	39.4%	43.5%	33.2%



	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) Strongly oppose	16.9%	15.5%	19.1%
5) DK/NA	2.9%	4.3%	.8%
<b>P6) When reaching an end to the conflict, would you in this case support or oppose making the city of Jerusalem, East and West, an open city while East Jerusalem serves as the capital of the state of Palestine and West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel based on the two-state solution?</b>			
1) support	23.2%	21.7%	25.5%
2) oppose	73.0%	74.7%	70.4%
3) DK/NA	3.8%	3.5%	4.2%
<b>Q38) Under current conditions, do you support or oppose the following policy options? Joining more international organizations</b>			
1) Strongly support	21.1%	12.0%	34.9%
2) support	44.8%	44.0%	46.0%
3) oppose	25.0%	32.6%	13.7%
4) Strongly oppose	5.5%	6.6%	3.8%
5) DK/NA	3.6%	4.9%	1.6%
<b>3 Abandon the two -state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis</b>			
1) Strongly support	3.1%	2.1%	4.7%
2) support	16.9%	19.6%	12.8%
3) oppose	50.2%	53.0%	46.0%
4) Strongly oppose	25.5%	20.6%	32.9%
5) DK/NA	4.2%	4.7%	3.5%
<b>4 Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance</b>			
1) Strongly support	11.8%	5.5%	21.2%
2) support	46.0%	50.7%	39.0%
3) oppose	31.2%	32.6%	29.1%
4) Strongly oppose	8.4%	7.6%	9.7%
5) DK/NA	2.6%	3.6%	1.0%
<b>5 Return to the armed intifada and confrontations</b>			
1) Strongly support	22.5%	14.1%	35.2%
2) support	37.8%	36.3%	40.1%
3) oppose	30.1%	37.3%	19.2%
4) Strongly oppose	7.5%	9.9%	3.7%
5) DK/NA	2.1%	2.3%	1.8%
<b>6 Dissolve the Palestinian Authority</b>			
1) Strongly support	16.6%	10.5%	25.8%
2) support	30.6%	28.3%	34.1%
3) oppose	36.3%	43.1%	26.0%
4) Strongly oppose	12.5%	13.3%	11.4%
5) DK/NA	4.0%	4.8%	2.7%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>Q39) During the last week of Ramadan, Israel adopted several restrictive measures affecting worship in al Aqsa Mosque and Palestinian public congregation in front of the Damascus Gate, and prepared to expel Palestinian families from their homes in al Shaikh Jarrah. Various Palestinian parties intervened to prevent Israel from implementing these measures. Tell us how you evaluate the performance of these parties in defending Jerusalem?</b>			
<b>Q39-1) PA and its government</b>			
1) Excellent	11.3%	9.1%	14.4%
2) Medium	19.3%	18.6%	20.3%
3) Weak	26.6%	25.4%	28.4%
4) Bad	41.7%	45.2%	36.4%
5) DK/NA	1.2%	1.6%	.4%
<b>Q39-2) Residents of East Jerusalem and its youth</b>			
1) Excellent	89.0%	95.3%	79.7%
2) Medium	7.6%	1.5%	16.9%
3) Weak	1.5%	.8%	2.6%
4) Bad	1.0%	1.0%	.9%
5) DK/NA	.8%	1.4%	0.0%
<b>Q39-3) Fatah</b>			
1) Excellent	13.1%	10.2%	17.3%
2) Medium	25.7%	26.7%	24.1%
3) Weak	28.0%	24.2%	33.8%
4) Bad	30.2%	34.3%	24.0%
5) DK/NA	3.0%	4.5%	.8%
<b>Q39-4) Hamas</b>			
1) Excellent	74.9%	80.0%	67.2%
2) Medium	17.6%	11.5%	26.8%
3) Weak	3.9%	3.6%	4.3%
4) Bad	1.8%	2.1%	1.4%
5) DK/NA	1.8%	2.7%	.4%
<b>Q39-5) President Abbas</b>			
1) Excellent	7.5%	5.1%	11.1%
2) Medium	13.8%	12.4%	15.8%
3) Weak	23.9%	21.4%	27.7%
4) Bad	53.1%	58.3%	45.2%
5) DK/NA	1.8%	2.8%	.2%
<b>Q39-6) The Egyptian government</b>			
1) Excellent	21.7%	14.8%	32.1%
2) Medium	33.9%	34.0%	33.8%
3) Weak	21.9%	21.3%	22.8%
4) Bad	20.2%	26.2%	11.1%
5) DK/NA	2.3%	3.6%	.2%
<b>Q39-7) The Jordanian government</b>			
1) Excellent	21.0%	24.0%	16.4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) Medium	36.8%	32.7%	43.0%
3) Weak	25.5%	22.0%	30.7%
4) Bad	14.5%	18.1%	9.2%
5) DK/NA	2.2%	3.1%	.8%
<b>Q39-8) The Iranian government</b>			
1) Excellent	18.0%	17.3%	18.9%
2) Medium	27.4%	23.3%	33.6%
3) Weak	26.3%	21.9%	33.0%
4) Bad	19.8%	25.2%	11.8%
5) DK/NA	8.5%	12.3%	2.8%
<b>Q39-9) The Turkish government</b>			
1) Excellent	21.3%	21.4%	21.2%
2) Medium	37.3%	32.2%	44.9%
3) Weak	24.2%	23.0%	25.9%
4) Bad	12.6%	16.5%	6.7%
5) DK/NA	4.7%	6.8%	1.4%
<b>Q39-10) Palestinians from inside (1948)</b>			
1) Excellent	86.3%	93.2%	75.9%
2) Medium	10.1%	3.9%	19.4%
3) Weak	1.9%	.8%	3.5%
4) Bad	1.3%	1.4%	1.0%
5) DK/NA	.5%	.7%	.2%
<b>Q39-11) In your view, why did the Palestinians from Inside (1948) participate in the confrontations which started in East Jerusalem lately? Was it because:</b>			
1) To struggle against discrimination and for equality	10.1%	6.6%	15.3%
2) To reject integration and hold tight on their national identity	27.7%	25.0%	31.7%
3) To defend the holy places	60.0%	64.7%	52.9%
4) Others, specify: -----	1.4%	2.2%	.1%
5) DK/NA	.9%	1.4%	0.0%
<b>Q40) Last month, Hamas launched rockets on Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and other Israeli cities and said that this action came in defense of Jerusalem and al Aqsa Mosque. But others say that Hamas did that to protest the cancelation of elections, to weaken the Palestinian leadership that canceled the elections, and to demonstrate its own popularity among the Palestinian public. Which of these two views you endorse?</b>			
1) Defense of Jerusalem and al Aqsa Mosque	71.7%	73.8%	68.5%
2) To protest the cancelation of the elections and weaken the PA leadership	8.8%	6.6%	12.2%
3) Both views are true	17.2%	16.3%	18.6%
4) Other reasons, specify: -----	.1%	.1%	0.0%
5) DK/NA	2.2%	3.2%	.7%
<b>Q41) Who came out a winner in the last war between Hamas and Israel?</b>			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) No one	17.9%	15.1%	22.1%
2) Hamas	76.7%	79.9%	71.8%
3) Israel	1.4%	1.2%	1.6%
4) Both came out winners	2.4%	1.9%	3.1%
5) DK/NA	1.7%	2.0%	1.4%
<b>Q42) Hamas said that its goal behind the launching of rockets was to “stop the expulsion of the Palestinian families from al Shaikh Jarrah and stop the aggression against al Aqsa.” It issued an ultimatum to Israel to withdraw its soldiers from al Aqsa and al Shaikh Jarrah. In your view, did Hamas succeed in achieving its goal?</b>			
1) yes	64.7%	60.2%	71.4%
2) no	25.7%	29.5%	20.0%
3) DK-NA	4.1%	3.3%	5.4%
4) Do Not Read: yes, to some extent	5.5%	7.0%	3.2%
<b>Q43) What should Hamas and the rest of the Palestinians do if Israel goes ahead and expel the Palestinian families from al Shaikh Jarrah and continued its “incursions” into al Aqsa and the imposition of restrictions on prayers? Please select the response you most preferred:</b>			
1) Struggle against that peacefully	18.3%	17.0%	20.4%
2) Return to rocket launching on Israeli cities	67.9%	69.6%	65.4%
3) Complain to the UN and the International Criminal Court	8.7%	6.0%	12.7%
4) Others, specify: -----	1.6%	2.4%	.3%
5) DK/NA	3.5%	5.0%	1.2%
<b>Q44) What do you expect to happen now? Will Israel expel the Palestinian families from al Shaikh Jarrah?</b>			
1) yes	39.8%	39.5%	40.2%
2) no	54.5%	54.6%	54.3%
3) DK-NA	5.8%	6.0%	5.5%
<b>Q45) what do you expect the PA under President Abbas to do in response to such Israeli action?</b>			
1) Wage peaceful struggle against Israel	14.2%	13.2%	15.8%
2) End security coordination with Israel	20.3%	20.7%	19.7%
3) Complain to the UN and the International Criminal Court	24.1%	27.4%	19.3%
4) Nothing	37.8%	34.3%	43.2%
5) DK/NA	3.5%	4.4%	2.0%
<b>Q46) what do you expect the Hamas to do in response to such Israeli action?</b>			
1) Wage peaceful struggle against Israel	9.6%	5.0%	16.5%
2) Launch rockets at Israeli cities	76.9%	80.6%	71.4%
3) Issue statements of protest	5.7%	6.0%	5.2%
4) Nothing	4.8%	4.4%	5.4%
5) DK/NA	3.0%	4.1%	1.3%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>Q46-1) What are the chances in your view that Hamas and Israel would reach truce of a long term truce that would ease the siege and blockade over the Gaza Strip and open its crossings and improve economic conditions?</b>			
1) High	15.0%	10.2%	22.1%
2) Medium	51.2%	52.3%	49.6%
3) slim	30.5%	33.1%	26.6%
4) DK/NA	3.4%	4.4%	1.7%
<b>Q47) During the first Friday prayer after the ceasefire between Hamas and Israel, worshippers in al Aqsa Mosque forced the Jerusalem Mufti to step down during his sermon claiming that he did not praise the “resistance” or assert its victory and chanted against all the PA leadership. Did you find this behavior of the worshippers reflecting your own thinking?</b>			
1) Certainly it did	18.5%	13.5%	26.0%
2) Yes, it did	25.4%	17.8%	36.7%
3) It did not	36.3%	42.1%	27.5%
4) Certainly it did not	15.4%	19.5%	9.3%
5) DK/NA	4.4%	7.1%	.5%
<b>Q48) Who among the Palestinian actors you see as the most defending of Jerusalem and its residents and holy places? The residents? Hamas and armed resistance? Or the PA and its leadership? Other perhaps others?</b>			
1) Jerusalem residents	63.8%	74.4%	47.9%
2) Hamas and the resistance	29.2%	19.5%	43.7%
3) The PA and its leadership	3.4%	1.5%	6.3%
4) Others, specify: -----	1.5%	2.2%	.4%
5) DK/NA	2.0%	2.3%	1.6%
<b>Q48-1) Whom do you see as the most deserving of representing the Palestinian people today, is it Hamas who controls the Gaza Strip or Fatah under Abbas leadership in the West Bank?</b>			
1) Hamas	52.7%	52.0%	53.7%
2) Fatah	14.3%	10.5%	20.0%
3) None of them	23.5%	25.5%	20.5%
4) Others, specify: -----	2.9%	3.6%	1.8%
5) DK/NA	6.6%	8.4%	4.0%
<b>Q48-2) Some Palestinians say that they are proud of the performance of Gaza during the last confrontation with Israel. Are you among those? If you are, tell us which of the following reasons is the strongest in making you proud? Is it:</b>			
1) I am not one of those	6.4%	6.9%	5.6%
2) Because it brought the Palestinian issue to forefront regionally and internationally and forced the US to activate the international diplomatic role	38.7%	36.8%	41.6%
3) showed the weakness of Israel and its army	38.7%	41.6%	34.5%



	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) Because it sacrificed and suffered all the killing and destruction patiently and with dignity for the sake of Jerusalem	13.2%	10.3%	17.5%
5) Others, specify: -----	.5%	.4%	.6%
6) DK/NA	2.6%	4.1%	.3%

**Q48-3) A new Israeli government is now being formed under the premiership of Naftali Bennet, the leader of the extreme Yamina party and later under the premiership of Yair Lapid, the leader of the centrist party There is Future. Among the coalition members of this government there is an Arab party led by Mansour Abbas the leader of the Unified Arab List. Abbas says that entry into the Israeli government aims to make gains for the Palestinians inside Israel while the Joint Arab List is opposed to that. Are you for or against the participation of Arab Israeli parties in Israeli governments?**

1) For	26.2%	29.5%	21.2%
2) Against	45.4%	44.1%	47.2%
3) Neither for nor against	20.6%	15.3%	28.7%
4) DK/NA	7.8%	11.1%	2.9%

**Q48-4) Do you think a new Israeli government under the right wing leader Bennet in which parties from the center and left participate would bring about better relations between Palestinians and Israelis compared to a government led by Netanyahu and made up from the Likud, the religious parties, and the extreme right?**

1) yes	18.7%	13.4%	26.7%
2) no	69.1%	72.4%	64.3%
3) DK-NA	12.1%	14.2%	9.0%

**P7) Do you support for oppose a return to dialogue with the US under the new administration of Joe Biden?**

1) support	38.5%	33.3%	46.3%
2) oppose	53.8%	57.3%	48.5%
3) DK/NA	7.7%	9.4%	5.2%

**P8) Now after the election of Biden and the resumption of US aid to the PA, do you think these developments open the door for a return of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations within the context of the two-state solution?**

1) yes	38.1%	33.4%	45.3%
2) no	52.2%	55.9%	46.6%
3) DK-NA	9.7%	10.7%	8.1%

**P9) In your view, should we now return to peace negotiations with Israel under the US leadership?**

1) yes	29.0%	27.8%	30.8%
2) no	63.0%	64.3%	60.9%
3) DK-NA	8.1%	7.9%	8.3%

**P10) Do you think the PA should return to negotiations with Israel under the sponsorship of the Quartet, made up of the US, Russia, the EU, and the UN?**

1) yes	37.8%	39.0%	36.0%
2) no	54.7%	54.0%	55.7%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) DK-NA	7.5%	7.0%	8.3%
<b>Q49) 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	6.8%	2.7%	13.0%
2) Better	20.5%	17.5%	24.9%
3) Same as today	35.1%	32.5%	39.0%
4) A little worse than today	18.8%	22.7%	12.8%
5) Much worse than today	14.1%	18.2%	8.0%
6) DK/NA	4.3%	6.2%	1.6%
7) Refuse to answer	.4%	.2%	.6%
<b>Q50) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I...</b>			
1) Strongly support	20.2%	8.5%	37.8%
2) support	32.2%	24.1%	44.3%
3) oppose	35.2%	49.0%	14.5%
4) Strongly oppose	8.9%	13.7%	1.6%
5) DK/NA	3.5%	4.7%	1.8%
<b>Q51) Which of the following political parties do you support?</b>			
1) PPP	.9%	.8%	1.0%
2) PFLP	3.1%	2.2%	4.4%
3- Fateh	22.9%	22.3%	23.9%
4) Hamas	31.8%	29.5%	35.3%
5) DFLP	.7%	.7%	.7%
6) Islamic Jihad	1.5%	.9%	2.4%
7) Fida	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
8-) National initiative (almubadara)	1.1%	.6%	1.9%
9) Independent Islamist	1.8%	.4%	3.9%
10) Independent nationalist	4.8%	2.1%	8.9%
11) third way headed by salam feyyad	.7%	.2%	1.5%
12) none of the above	27.1%	36.0%	13.7%
13) others	3.5%	4.3%	2.3%
<b>Q52) 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	52.7%	62.1%	38.5%
2) daily	27.4%	22.2%	35.4%
3) between 2-5 times weekly	6.5%	2.9%	11.9%
4) once a week	1.2%	.9%	1.6%
5) once a month	1.4%	.7%	2.5%
6) other -----	.5%	.4%	.7%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	10.3%	10.9%	9.4%