

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 (82)

Optimism about the holding the second phase of local elections and Fatah is more popular than Hamas in West Bank cities; but three quarters of the public demand the resignation of president Abbas while Hamas' standing, as a potential representative and leader of the Palestinian people, witnesses a setback; in Palestinian-Israeli relations, support increases for confidence building measures to improve daily living conditions

8-11 December 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 8-11 December 2021. The period before the conduct of the poll witnessed several developments including the preparation for the holding of the first phase of local elections in rural areas and small towns in the West Bank but without a confirmation of the date for holding the second phase of local elections in cities and big towns. Hamas prevented the holding of the local elections in the Gaza Strip. The first phase of local elections was held in the West Bank on 11 December, the last day of the field work, in 154 localities and the participation rate stood at 66% according to the Palestinian Central Elections Commission. The number of participants stood at 262,827 voters. This period witnessed also various violent incidents in Palestinian universities and the death of one student. Israel classified 6 Palestinian human rights NGOs as terrorist organizations. The UK labeled Hamas as a terrorist organization. This press release addresses some of 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 1270 adults interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is +/-3%.

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Main Findings:

Findings of the last quarter of 2021 show that while the public is pessimistic about the prospects of holding parliamentary or presidential elections in the near future, it is optimistic that the second phase of local elections will take place soon. The second phase of local elections is now set to take place in cities and big towns on 26 March 2022. The findings show that Fatah is more popular than Hamas in West Bank cities that will participate in the second phase of the local elections while Hamas is more popular in the Gazan cities that might participate in the second phase of the local elections. Nonetheless, the findings show that the overall domestic balance of power between Fatah and Hamas has not changed compared to

our findings of September 2021. Hamas is more popular than Fatah, and Ismail Haniyyeh easily wins against president Abbas and prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh in one to one competitions. But Marwan Barghouti, also from Fatah, wins against Haniyyeh with two-thirds voting for him. Three quarters of the public demand the resignation of president Abbas.

What is noticeable however is that despite the stability in the domestic balance of power, there is a clear disappointment in Hamas' leadership indirectly expressed by the public compared to the situation six and even three months ago. The findings show that the percentage of those who choose Hamas to represent and lead the Palestinian people has declined significantly and the gap between those who choose Hamas compared to those who choose Fatah, under Abbas' leadership, has now narrowed to 11 percentage points in favor of Hamas; in September, the gap stood at 26 points in favor of Hamas and in June, a month after the Hamas-Israeli May 2021 war, the gap stood at 39% in favor of Hamas. The percentage of those who believe that neither Fatah, under Abbas, nor Hamas deserve to represent and lead the Palestinian people has now increased considerably.

In this poll, we have asked about various political solutions to the conflict with Israel and about the confidence building measures that seek to improve the daily living conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The findings show the following:

- The majority is still opposed to the two-state solution. But support for this solution has increased compared to the September 2021 findings and decreased compared to the October 2021 findings.
- The two-state solution remains the one with the largest percentage of support compared to other solutions, including that of the one-state solution in which the two sides, Palestinians and Israeli Jews, enjoy equal rights; support for the one-state solution is higher than one quarter and less than one third.
- There is a clear majority, higher than 60%, in favor confidence building measures that improves Palestinian daily living conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; the current level of support is higher than that of September 2021 when we first asked about the issue.

Findings also show that despite a two-third opposition to a resumption of unconditional bilateral Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, a large minority approaching about half of the public is in favor of a resumption of such negotiations under the sponsorship of the Quartet. Moreover, despite the opposition of the majority to the resumption of dialogue between the US and PA, a large minority approaching half of the public believes that the US is the most effective in influencing the decisions of the Palestinians and the Israelis on the matter of the renewal of the peace process. Also on the peace process, findings show a decrease in the percentage of those who believe that armed struggle is the most effective means of ending the Israeli occupation and an increase in the percentage of those who believe that negotiation is the most effective. Nonetheless, armed struggle is viewed as more effective than negotiations.

Findings also show that the largest percentage of respondents believes the main Israeli motivation behind the labeling of six Palestinian NGOs as terrorist organizations is to weaken the ability of these organizations to document Israeli violations of human rights and to weaken the PA efforts to take Israelis to the International Criminal Court.

(1) Legislative and presidential elections:

- **Pessimism about holding national elections and optimism about holding local elections**
- **Fatah wins against Hamas in West Bank cities and Hamas wins in Gaza Strip cities**
- **In presidential elections, Ismail Haniyyeh wins against president Abbas and prime minister Shtayyeh but loses against Marwan Barghouti**
- **In parliamentary elections, Hamas wins 38% of the vote and Fatah 35%**

- **34% see Hamas, and 23% see Fatah, more deserving to represent and lead the Palestinians**

70% say they support the holding of presidential and legislative elections in the Palestinian territories in the near future while 27% say they do not support that. Demand for elections stands at 75% in the Gaza Strip and 67% in the West Bank. But a majority of 52% (62% in the Gaza Strip and 45% in the West Bank) believe no legislative or legislative and presidential elections will take place soon. Nonetheless, a majority of 59% (68% in the West Bank and 44% in the Gaza Strip) expect the holding of the second stage of local elections in cities and big towns in the near future; 34% do not expect that.

Fatah is more popular than Hamas (38% to 30%) in West Bank cities which will participate in the second phase of local elections while Hamas is more popular than Fatah (47% to 29%) in the cities in the Gaza Strip that might participate in the second phase of local elections.

If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, Mahmoud Abbas and Ismail Haniyeh, only 51% would participate and from among those, Abbas would receive 35% and Haniyeh 58% of the votes (compared to 56% for Haniyeh and 34% for Abbas three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 33% of the votes (compared to 34% three months ago) and Haniyeh receives 64% (compared to 61% three months ago). In the West Bank, Abbas receives 37% (compared to 33% three months ago) and Haniyeh 52% (compared to 52% three months ago). If the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, participation would increase to 65% and from among those Barghouti receives 57% and Haniyeh 38%. If the competition is between prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh and Haniyeh, participation rate would decrease to 52% and from among those the former receives 33% and the latter 59%. Three months ago, Shtayyeh received 31% and Haniyeh 60%.

If Abbas does not run for elections, the public would vote for the following: 35% say they want Marwan Barghouti, 20% say Ismail Haniyeh, 5% say Dahlan and 4% say Yahia Sinwar, Khalid Mishaal and Mustafa Barghouti 3% each, and Salam Fayyad 2%.

Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 26% and dissatisfaction at 71%. Level of satisfaction with Abbas stands at 27% in the West Bank and 25% in the Gaza Strip. Satisfaction with the performance of Abbas three months ago stood at 24% and dissatisfaction at 73%. Moreover, 74% of the public want president Abbas to resign while only 21% want him to remain in office. Three months ago, 78% said they want Abbas to resign. Demand for Abbas' resignation stands at 73% in the West Bank and 77% in the Gaza Strip.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions that participated in the 2006 elections, 67% say they would participate. Of those who would participate, 38% say they will vote for Hamas and 35% say they will vote for Fatah, 9% will vote for all other third parties combined, and 18% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 37% and Fatah at 32%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 47% (compared to 47% three months ago) and for Fatah at 29% (compared to 27% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas stands at 30% (compared to 28% three months ago) and Fatah at 40% (compared to 38% three months ago).

In light of the recent confrontations with Israel, 34% think Hamas is most deserving of representing and leading the Palestinian people while 23% think Fatah under president Abbas is the most deserving of representing and leading the Palestinians; 36% think neither side deserves such a role. Three months ago, 45% selected Hamas, 19% Fatah under Abbas, and 28% said neither side deserves such a role. In this poll, the percentage of those selecting Hamas for representation and leadership is higher in the Gaza Strip (40%) compared to the West Bank (30%), among those whose age is 50 years and above (35%) compared to the youth between the ages of 18 and 22 (30%), among Hamas supporters (89%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (6% and 15% respectively), in refugee camps and cities (39% and 34% respectively)

compared to villages (28%), among professionals and students (43% and 36% respectively) compared to laborers (30%), among those who work in the public sector (36%) compared to those who work in the private and non-governmental sector (31%), among those with the lowest income (37%) compared to those with the highest income (24%), among the religious (47%) compared to the non-religious and the somewhat religious (18% and 24% respectively).

(2) Domestic conditions and satisfaction with the Shtayyeh government:

- **Positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 31% and in the Gaza Strip at 5%; but perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 79% and the West Bank at 51%.**
- **27% want to emigrate; the percentage stands at 31% in the Gaza Strip and 23% in the West Bank.**
- **84% say there is corruption in the institutions of the PA and 69% say there is corruption in the institutions controlled by Hamas in the Gaza Strip**
- **Only one third is optimistic about the prospects of reconciliation; and 56% view the PA as a burden on the Palestinian people**

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 5% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 31%. Nonetheless, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 79% and in the West Bank at 51%. 27% of the public say they want to emigrate due to political, security, and economic conditions. The percentage in the Gaza Strip stands at 31% and in the West Bank at 23%. Three months ago, 21% of West Bankers expressed a desire to emigrate and 36% 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, 69% indicated that there is corruption in these institutions. Three months ago, 83% said there is corruption in PA institutions and 61% said there is corruption in public institutions controlled by Hamas.

A minority of 39% of West Bankers think people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear while 58% think they cannot. In the Gaza Strip, 40% think people in the Strip can criticize Hamas' authorities without fear and 59% think they cannot.

In its assessment of the PA, a majority of the Palestinians (56%) views it as a burden on the Palestinian people while 39% view it as an asset for the Palestinian people. Three months ago, 59% viewed the PA as a burden and 34% viewed it as an asset. Looking at the prospects of reconciliation, 33% are optimistic and 63% are pessimistic. Three months ago, optimism stood at 32%.

After more than 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, 71% expect failure; only 23% 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, 29% of the public expect success and 65% expect failure. In another question about the ability of the new government to improve economic conditions, a majority of 69% expects failure and 27% 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 27%, followed by al Aqsa TV (14%), Palestine TV (11%), Maan (10%), Palestine Today (9%), al Mayadeen (4%), and al Arabiya (3%).

(3) The Coronavirus: Mandatory vaccination and PA performance during the pandemic:

- **A majority in the West Bank says it has already received the Covid-19 vaccination and about one quarter in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip does not want to take the vaccine.**
- **77% are satisfied with the efforts of the PA government to make the vaccine available but only 57% are satisfied with the measures taken by the PA to contain the spread of the virus.**

58% (68% in the West Bank and 41% in the Gaza Strip) report that they have already received the coronavirus vaccination; 18% (11% in the West Bank and 32% in the Gaza Strip) says that they are willing to take the vaccine when available; and 24% say they and their families are not willing to take the vaccine when it becomes available to them. An overwhelming majority of 77% (87% in the Gaza Strip and 71% in the West Bank) are satisfied with the efforts made by the government to obtain the vaccine and 21% are dissatisfied. But only 57% are satisfied with the measures taken by the PA to contain the spread of the coronavirus while 42% are dissatisfied. Three months ago, only 45% expressed satisfaction.

The majority is satisfied with the performance of the various actors involved in the management of the Coronavirus crisis: 69% express satisfaction with the performance of the security services deployed in their areas and 69% are satisfied with the performance of the ministry of health. But satisfaction with the performance of the prime minister in the management of the coronavirus crisis stands at 46%. Three months ago, satisfaction with the prime minister's performance in the coronavirus crisis stood at 39%.

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

- **39% support the two-state solution and 59% are opposed; support for a one-state solution reaches up to 29%.**
- **To break the deadlock, 56% support popular non-violent resistance, 50% support a return to armed intifada, and 48% support dissolving the PA**
- **61% view positively the confidence building measures between the PA and Israel that aim at improving living conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip**
- **The largest percentage (42%) views armed struggle as the most effective means of ending the occupation**
- **61% say the international, regional, and local conditions does not make it possible to resume peace negotiations, but 46% support a resumption of negotiations under the sponsorship of the Quartet**
- **The largest percentage believes that the Israeli classification of Palestinian human rights organizations as terrorist aims at weakening the efforts of these organizations to document Israeli violations**

Support for the concept of the two-state solution stands at 39% and opposition stands at 59%. No description or details were provided for the concept. Three months ago, support for the concept stood at 36%. When asked about their *preferences* regarding a political solution for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict from among three specific solutions, one third (33%) preferred the “two state solution, the state of Palestine next to the state of Israel,” 16% preferred a “one state solution, from the River to the Sea, with equal rights to Jews and Arabs,” and 11% preferred a one state solution in which the status of the Palestinians would be “the same as the status of the inside Palestinians,” and 32% preferred other solutions, such as “historic Palestine,” or “full Palestine,” or “independent Palestine,” and others. In this context, reflecting on the latest UN speech of president Abbas in which he described the situation on the ground in the West Bank as “apartheid”

and that the Palestinian people will demand equal rights in one state for two peoples, only 29% say that they are in favor of such one state solution while 65% expressed opposition. Support for the one-state with equal rights in the West Bank (30%) compared to the Gaza Strip (27%), among youth between the ages of 18 and 22 (32%) compared to those whose age is 50 years or higher (29%), among supporters of Fatah (45%) compared to supporters of Hamas and third parties (17% and 30% respectively), in villages and small towns (44%) compared to refugee camps and cities (26% and 27% respectively), among women (30%) compared to men (27%), and among laborers and students (36% and 33% respectively) compared to employees and professionals (24% each). When asked about support for specific policy choices to break the current deadlock, 60% supported joining more international organizations; 56% supported resort to non-violent resistance; 50% supported return to armed confrontations and intifada; 48% supported dissolving the PA; and 24% supported abandoning the two-state solution and embracing a one state solution for Palestinians and Israelis. Three months ago, 54% supported a return to armed confrontations and intifada; 47% supported dissolving the PA; and 27% supported abandoning the two-state solution in favor of a one-state solution.

We asked the public about its views regarding Palestinian-Israeli confidence building measures that would improve living conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, such as approval of family unification permits or making available to the PA additional financial resources. A majority of 61% said it looks positively, while 33% said it looks negatively, at such measures. Three months ago, 56% of the public said it viewed these measures positively. Support for confidence building measures is higher in the West Bank (66%) compared to the Gaza Strip (54%), among those whose age is 50 years or higher (62%) compared to the youth between the ages of 18 and 22 (52%), among supporters of third parties and Fatah (74% and 72% respectively) compared to supporters of Hamas (51%), in villages and cities (66% and 61% respectively) compared to refugee camps (56%), among women (64%) compared to men (59%), among businessmen (67%) compared to students (55%), among those who work in the private sector and the non-governmental institutions (64%) compared to those who work in the public sector (47%), among the married (62%) compared to the unmarried (56%), and among those whose has the highest income (68%) compared to those with the lowest income (52%).

A majority of 59% believes that the two-state solution is no longer practical or feasible due to the expansion of Israeli settlements while 37% believe that the solution remains practical. Moreover, 72% 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 25% believe the chances to be medium or high. When asked about the most effective means of ending the Israeli occupation and building an independent state, the public split into three groups: 42% chose armed struggle, 31% negotiations, and 23% popular resistance. Three months ago, 48% chose armed struggle and 28% chose negotiations.

A majority of 61% thinks that current international, regional, and local conditions does not make possible a resumption of negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis while 35% think that these conditions make a resumption of negotiations possible. Under current conditions, a majority of 66% opposes and 26% support an unconditional resumption of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations. But when asked about a resumption of negotiations in a multilateral forum, support for a return to Palestinian-Israeli negotiations under the leadership of the international Quartet increase to 46%; 49% are opposed. Support for a return to negotiations under a Quartet sponsorship is higher in the West Bank (47%) compared to the Gaza Strip (45%), among supporters of third parties and Fatah (69% and 68% respectively), compared to supporters of Hamas (32%), in villages (50%) compared to refugee camps and cities (45% and 46% respectively), among students and businessmen (53% and 52% respectively) compared to professionals and employees (38% and 44% respectively), among those who work in the public sector (49%) compared to those who work in the private and nongovernmental sectors (45%),

among those with the highest income (55%) compared to those with the lowest income (40%), and among the non-religious and the somewhat religious (59% and 48% respectively) compared to the religious (43%).

56% are opposed, and 39% are supportive, of a return to dialogue with the new US administration under president Joe Biden. Yet, when asked about the country or party that is most influential in convincing the Palestinian and Israeli sides to return to the peace process, 46% said the US, 33% said Arab countries such as Jordan, Egypt, the UAE, or Qatar, 10% said Europe, and 3% said Russia.

We asked the public to speculate about the reasons for the lack of mass popular participation in non-violent resistance and provided the following list: trust in leadership and parties, burden of living conditions, or loss of will to fight. The largest percentage (44%) replied that it is due to lack of trust in the PA political leadership and; 38% said it has to do with the preoccupation and the burden of daily living conditions; and only 19% selected the loss of the will to fight.

When asked about the country or party most responsible for derailing the peace process in the region, 65% said it is Israel, 15% said it is the US, 15% said it is Arab countries, and 3% said Palestine.

We asked the public about its views on the reason Israel labelled six Palestinian human rights NGOs, such as Al Haq and Addameer, as terrorists organizations. The largest percentage (40%) said the Israeli decision aimed at weakening the ability of these NGOs to document Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights; 20% said it aimed at weakening the PA-led campaign to try Israelis at the International Criminal Court; 17% said it aimed at weakening the ability of these NGOs to document PA violations of human rights in the West Bank; 11% said it aimed at weakening the ability of these NGOs to document Hamas' violations of human rights in the Gaza Strip, and another 11% said it aimed at weakening the PFLP.

In reaction to the UK government decision to label Hamas as a terrorist organization and the idea of boycotting British products, 49% expressed the belief that such a boycott would be effective in forcing the UK government to rescind its decision while 45% think the boycott would not be effective. The belief in the efficacy of the boycott of British products is higher in the West Bank (52%) compared to the Gaza Strip (45%), among the youth between the ages of 18 and 22 (54%) compared to those whose age is 50 or higher (45%), in villages (57%) compared to refugee camps and cities (46% and 48% respectively), and among women (52%) compared to men (47%).

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

- **41% view ending the occupation and building a Palestinian state as the most vital national goal**
- **The largest percentage (33%) view Israeli occupation as the most pressing problem confronting the Palestinians today**

41% 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, 14% 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 11% 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 (26%; 15% in the Gaz Strip and 32% in the West Bank) said it is corruption in the PA; 22% said it is the unemployment and poverty, 20% said it is the continued siege and blockade percentage of the

Gaza Strip; 16% said it is the continuation of the occupation and settlement construction; 12% said it is the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; and 5% said it is the weakness of the judiciary and the absence of liberties, accountability and democracy.

When asked about the most pressing problem confronting the Palestinians today, the largest percentage (33%) said it is the Israeli occupation, while 26% said it is corruption, 16% said it is unemployment, 13% said it is the internal violence, and 10% said it is the split or division.

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8-11 December 2021

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
00) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?			
1) al Arabia	3%	2%	4%
2) al Jazeera	27%	27%	26%
3) Palestine Today	9%	12%	5%
4) al Manar	0%	0%	1%
5) Palestine TV	11%	14%	8%
6) alaqsa	14%	5%	27%
7) man(mix)	10%	13%	6%
al myadeen	4%	4%	5%
10) Do not watch TV	18%	20%	14%
11) others	2%	2%	2%
12) Do not have a dish	1%	0%	2%
13) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q01) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?			
1) Very good	0%	0%	1%
2) Good	5%	5%	5%
3) so so	15%	12%	18%
4) Bad	37%	44%	26%
5) Very bad	41%	35%	50%
6) DK/NA	2%	4%	0%
Q02) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?			
1) Very good	7%	2%	14%
2) Good	24%	21%	28%
3) so so	30%	29%	32%
4) Bad	23%	30%	12%
5) Very bad	16%	18%	13%
6) DK/NA	1%	0%	1%
Q03) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	42%	36%	52%
2) somewhat religious	55%	62%	45%
3) not religious	3%	3%	3%
4) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q04) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?			
1) yes	84%	84%	84%
2) no	11%	9%	14%
3) DK-NA	6%	8%	2%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q05) What about the institutions controlled by Hamas in the Gaza Strip, do you think that there is corruption in these Hamas-controlled institutions?			
1) yes	69%	67%	72%
2) no	18%	12%	26%
3) DK-NA	14%	21%	2%
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?			
1) yes	40%	39%	40%
2) no	58%	58%	59%
3) DK-NA	2%	3%	0%
Q07) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	13%	6%	23%
2) Assured	50%	45%	56%
3) Not assured	28%	36%	17%
4) Not assured at all	9%	13%	4%
5) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q08) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	10%	8%	12%
2) Seek emigration	17%	15%	19%
3) Do not seek emigration	43%	41%	44%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	31%	35%	25%
5) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q09) Do you want the holding of general legislative and presidential elections soon in the Palestinian territories?			
1) Certainly yes	26%	22%	33%
2) YES	44%	45%	42%
3) NO	22%	21%	23%
4) Certainly no	5%	7%	2%
5) DK-NA	3%	5%	0%
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?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	35%	37%	33%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	58%	52%	64%
4) DK/NA	7%	11%	3%
Q11) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmoud Abbas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	48%	59%	35%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	37%	26%	50%
3. Mahmud Abbas	12%	10%	13%
5) DK/NA	4%	5%	1%

	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	57%	67%	47%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	38%	27%	51%
4) DK/NA	4%	6%	2%

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	33%	32%	33%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	59%	55%	64%
4) DK/NA	8%	13%	3%

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%	2%
2) independent Palestine	3%	1%	6%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	2%	0%	3%
4) Abu al Abbas	0%	0%	0%
5) freedom and social justice	0%	0%	0%
6) change and reform	38%	30%	47%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	0%	0%	0%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	1%	1%	1%
9) freedom and independence	1%	1%	1%
10) Palestinian justice	0%	1%	0%
11) Fateh	35%	40%	29%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	18%	24%	11%

Q16) 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	35%	41%	27%
2) Ismail Haniyeh	20%	14%	28%
3) Mustafa Barghouti	3%	1%	5%
4) Khalid Mishal	3%	1%	5%
5) Salam Fayyad	2%	2%	3%
6) Mohammad Dahlan	5%	2%	11%
7) ALSENOAR	4%	2%	7%
8) other:	4%	3%	6%
9) DK\NA	24%	34%	8%

Q17) 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?

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) yes	40%	41%	37%
2) no	52%	45%	62%
3) DK-NA	9%	14%	1%

Q17-1) Local elections will take place/is taking place today in villages and small towns in the West Bank. Do you expect the holding of similar local elections for cities and other big municipalities in cities like Nablus, Hebron, and Ramallah soon?

1) yes	59%	68%	44%
2) no	34%	20%	55%
3) DK-NA	8%	12%	1%

Q18) 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?

Q18-1) 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	41%	45%	36%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	34%	32%	37%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	11%	8%	14%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	14%	14%	13%
5) DK/NA	1%	1%	0%

Q18-2) 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	19%	22%	16%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	38%	42%	32%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	22%	16%	30%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	20%	19%	22%
5) DK/NA	1%	1%	0%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q19) 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?			
1) the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip	20%	15%	28%
2) the spread of corruption	26%	32%	15%
3) spread of unemployment and poverty	22%	19%	27%
4) continuation of occupation and settlements	16%	18%	12%
5) the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip	12%	10%	15%
6) the weak judiciary, the absence of liberties, and the absence of accountability and democracy	5%	6%	2%
Q20) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) very satisfied	4%	3%	6%
2) satisfied	22%	24%	19%
3) not satisfied	36%	39%	31%
4) not satisfied at all	35%	29%	43%
5) DK/NA	3%	5%	1%
Q21) If it is up to you, would you want to have Abbas resign or not resign?			
1) Certainly resign	38%	36%	42%
2) Resign	36%	37%	35%
3) Not resign	16%	15%	17%
4) Certainly not resign	5%	4%	5%
5) DK/NA	6%	8%	1%
Q22) 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?			
1) yes	23%	21%	26%
2) no	71%	71%	72%
3) DK-NA	6%	8%	2%
Q23) will the Shtayyeh government succeed in conducting legislative or legislative and presidential elections?			
1) yes	29%	30%	26%
2) no	65%	60%	72%
3) DK-NA	6%	9%	1%
Q24) will it succeed in improving economic conditions in the PA?			
1) yes	27%	25%	30%
2) no	69%	69%	69%
3) DK-NA	4%	5%	1%
Q25) 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?			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) Satisfied	57%	53%	62%
2) Dissatisfied	42%	44%	38%
3) DK/NA	2%	3%	0%

Q26) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the following Palestinian institutions and actors during the period of the spread of the Corona virus? 26-1 prime minister

26-1) Mohammad Shtayyeh

1) Satisfied	46%	46%	45%
2) Dissatisfied	52%	50%	54%
3) DK/NA	2%	3%	0%

26-2 the ministry of health

1) Satisfied	69%	63%	79%
2) Dissatisfied	29%	35%	21%
3) DK/NA	1%	2%	0%

26-3 the security services in your area

1) Satisfied	69%	63%	79%
2) Dissatisfied	29%	35%	21%
3) DK/NA	2%	2%	1%

Q27) 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	41%	39%	45%
2) Somewhat satisfied	36%	32%	42%
3) Somewhat dissatisfied	13%	16%	10%
4) Totally dissatisfied	8%	11%	3%
5) DK/NA	1%	2%	0%

Q28) 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	58%	68%	41%
2) Certainly, I want to take the vaccine	9%	5%	17%
3) I think we want to be vaccinated	9%	6%	15%
4) I think we do not want to be vaccinated	13%	10%	17%
5) Certainly, we do not want to be vaccinated	11%	11%	10%
6) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%

Q32) 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	39%	40%	38%
2 The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people	56%	54%	60%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3 DK/NA	5%	6%	2%
Q32_1) Which of the following problems are the most pressing for the Palestinians today?			
1. The occupation	33%	34%	31%
2. Internal violence	13%	19%	5%
3. Corruption	26%	30%	18%
4. Split	10%	4%	20%
5. Unemployment	16%	10%	24%
6. Poor infrastructure	1%	1%	1%
7. Poor medical services	1%	2%	0%
8. Others: specify ---	0%	0%	0%
Q33) 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	4%	3%	7%
2) succeed	29%	21%	41%
3) fail	46%	47%	44%
4) Certainly fail	17%	23%	7%
5) DK/NA	4%	6%	1%
Q34) 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	7%	7%	6%
2) support	32%	32%	31%
3) oppose	34%	34%	35%
4) Strongly oppose	25%	23%	27%
5) DK/NA	3%	4%	1%
Q34_1) Which of the following is the solution you prefer for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?			
1. The two-state solution, state of Palestine next to the state of Israel	33%	32%	34%
2. One state from the river to the sea with equal rights to Jews and Arabs	16%	17%	16%
3. One state as the case of the Palestinians of the inside today	11%	12%	10%
4. Others, specify	32%	32%	33%
5. DK/NA	8%	7%	8%
Q35) 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	59%	57%	63%
2. The two-state solution remains viable today	37%	38%	35%
3. DK/NA	4%	5%	2%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
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Q36) 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?

1) very low	40%	41%	39%
2) Low	32%	33%	31%
3) Medium	23%	21%	26%
4) High	2%	2%	3%
5) very high	0%	0%	1%
6) DK/NA	3%	4%	0%

Q36_1) Do you think current local, regional, and international conditions make it possible to return to negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis?

1) yes	35%	36%	33%
2) no	61%	57%	67%
3) DK-NA	4%	7%	0%

Q37) Under current conditions, do you support the return of the Palestinian side to negotiations with Israel without prior conditions from either side?

1) yes	26%	26%	26%
2) no	66%	62%	73%
3) I support return to negotiations but under a condition (specify:)	5%	8%	1%
4) DK-NA	3%	4%	0%

Q38) In your view, which party is the most effective in influencing the Palestinian and Israeli sides toward returning to the peace process?

1) US	46%	56%	30%
2) Europe	10%	5%	17%
3) Arab countries, such as Jordan, Egypt, UAE, or Qatar	33%	23%	48%
4) Russia	3%	3%	3%
5) DK/NA	8%	13%	1%

Q38_1) Which side is the one most responsible for derailing the peace process in the region?

1) Israel	65%	66%	62%
2) Palestine	3%	2%	4%
3) US	15%	12%	19%
4) Arab Countries	15%	15%	14%
5) DK/NA	3%	4%	0%

Q39) In your view, what is the best means of achieving Palestinian goals in ending the occupation and building an independent state?

1) Negotiations	31%	34%	27%
2) Peaceful popular resistance	23%	21%	24%
3) Armed action	42%	38%	47%
5) DK/NA	4%	7%	1%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
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Q39-1) Israel classified six human rights organizations from the Palestinian civil society, such as al Haq and al Dhameer, as terrorist groups, and claimed that they belong to the PFLP. In your view, what is the real reason that led Israel to make this decision? You can select two of the following:

1) Weaken the efforts of these organizations in documenting Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights	40%	39%	43%
2) Weaken the efforts of these organizations in documenting PA violations of Palestinian human rights in the West Bank	17%	13%	22%
3) Weaken the efforts of these organizations in documenting Hamas' violations of Palestinian human rights in the Gaza Strip	11%	12%	10%
4) Weaken the efforts led by the PA to bring Israel to trial in the International Criminal Court and other UN organizations	20%	23%	16%
5) Weaken the PFLP	11%	13%	9%

Q40) Despite the success of the nonviolent confrontations in various places, such as Shaikh Jarrah and Beita and before that at the entrance to al Aqsa Mosque when Israel tried to install metal detectors, the participation of the Palestinians in these resistance events remains very small. In your view, what reasons lie behind the weak participation? Did the Palestinian people lose the will to fight or are the daily life concerns becoming the top and most important priority? Or is it a sign that people no longer trust their political leadership and parties? Or perhaps there are other reasons? You can select two of the following:

1) Loss of the will to fight	19%	19%	18%
2) Daily life concerns	38%	37%	39%
3) Loss of trust in leadership and parties	44%	43%	44%

Q41) Under current conditions, do you support or oppose the following policy options? 2
Joining more international organizations

1) Strongly support	18%	18%	19%
2) support	42%	39%	45%
3) oppose	30%	30%	30%
4) Strongly oppose	7%	8%	6%
5) DK/NA	3%	5%	0%

3 Abandon the two -state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis

1) Strongly support	5%	4%	6%
2) support	19%	20%	17%
3) oppose	51%	50%	53%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) Strongly oppose	23%	23%	23%
5) DK/NA	2%	3%	0%
4 Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance			
1) Strongly support	10%	9%	11%
2) support	46%	48%	44%
3) oppose	34%	30%	40%
4) Strongly oppose	8%	10%	5%
5) DK/NA	1%	2%	0%
5 Return to the armed intifada and confrontations			
1) Strongly support	17%	17%	19%
2) support	33%	27%	42%
3) oppose	37%	40%	31%
4) Strongly oppose	11%	14%	7%
5) DK/NA	2%	2%	1%
6 Dissolve the Palestinian Authority			
1) Strongly support	14%	15%	12%
2) support	34%	29%	42%
3) oppose	38%	38%	38%
4) Strongly oppose	11%	14%	6%
5) DK/NA	3%	5%	1%
Q43) 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?			
1) Hamas	34%	29%	40%
2) Fatah	23%	23%	23%
3) None of them	36%	38%	34%
4) Others, specify: -----	2%	2%	2%
5) DK/NA	5%	8%	1%
Q44) Do you support for oppose a return to dialogue with the US under the new administration of Joe Biden?			
1) support	39%	41%	37%
2) oppose	56%	53%	62%
3) DK/NA	4%	7%	1%
Q44_1) 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	46%	47%	45%
2) no	49%	45%	54%
3) DK-NA	5%	8%	1%
Q45) The British government has recently classified Hamas as a terrorist organization. Some believe that the Palestinian response should be to boycott British products. Do you think if such response was adopted it would be effective in forcing the British government to rescind its decision?			
1) yes	49%	52%	45%
2) no	45%	39%	54%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) DK-NA	6%	9%	1%
Q47) There is talk these days about Palestinian-Israeli confidence building measures to improve living conditions of Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Palestinian-Israeli meetings took place with the goal of reaching an understanding of some of those measures such as family unification permits and making additional funds available to the PA. Do you view these measures positively and worth supporting or negatively and worth opposing?			
1) Positively	61%	66%	54%
2) Negatively	33%	26%	44%
3) Other: specify	0%	1%	0%
4) DK/NA	5%	7%	2%
Q48) President Abbas made a speech at the UN in which he described the evolving conditions in the West Bank as a one state reality for the two peoples, the Palestinian and the Israeli and describe it as a reality of Apartheid. He emphasized that if the Israeli occupation is not ended , the Palestinians will demand equal rights in one state for two peoples. Are you for or against this one state solution which the two sides enjoy equal rights?			
1. For	29%	30%	27%
2. Against	65%	60%	72%
3. DK/NA	6%	9%	2%
Q60) 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?			
1) Much better	6%	2%	12%
2) Better	20%	14%	29%
3) Same as today	26%	23%	30%
4) A little worse than today	24%	30%	14%
5) Much worse than today	22%	27%	13%
6) DK/NA	2%	4%	1%
7) Refuse to answer	0%	1%	0%
Q61) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....			
1) Strongly support	13%	6%	24%
2) support	25%	20%	33%
3) oppose	42%	48%	33%
4) Strongly oppose	16%	21%	9%
5) DK/NA	3%	4%	1%
Q62) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1- PPP	1%	1%	0%
2- PFLP	3%	2%	3%
3- Fateh	26%	27%	24%
4- Hamas	27%	20%	39%
5- DFLP	1%	1%	1%
6- Islamic Jihad	1%	0%	3%
7- Fida	0%	0%	0%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
8- National initiative (almubadara)	1%	0%	1%
9- Independent Islamist	2%	2%	2%
10- Independent nationalist	5%	2%	10%
11)third way headed by salam feyyad	0%	0%	0%
12- none of the above	32%	42%	16%
13- others	2%	2%	1%

Q63) 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?

1) More than once a day	55%	62%	43%
2) daily	27%	22%	35%
3) between 2-5 times weekly	6%	4%	10%
4) once a week	2%	1%	3%
5) once a month	2%	1%	2%
6) other -----	0%	0%	0%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	8%	9%	7%