Migration of Palestinian Christians: Drivers and Means of Combating it

Results of a public opinion poll among Palestinian Christians
27 January-23 February 2020

The Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research conducted a public opinion poll among Palestinian Christians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip during the period between 27 January and 23 February 2020. The poll sought to explore the reasons that drive Christians to emigrate from their homeland in Palestine to other countries and the various means that could potentially stem the flow. The period during the fieldwork of the poll witnessed several developments including the release of Trump’s “Deal of the Century,” and its immediate rejection by the Palestinian leadership. The Arab foreign ministers met in Cairo a few days later and unanimously rejected the plan. A similar rejection followed by representatives of the Islamic countries. Internally, Fatah and Hamas issued conciliatory statements calling for reconciliation, but this was not followed by any concrete measures or efforts to hold Palestinian elections. In Palestinian-Israeli relations, tensions rose significantly during the fieldwork period as popular confrontations developed in various cities and signs of an emerging trade crisis were visible. Total size of the sample is 995 Christian adults interviewed face to face in 98 selected locations in seven Palestinian governorates. Margin of error is +/-3%.

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Summary of Findings:

The findings clearly show that the desire to emigrate is much higher among Palestinian Christians than Palestinian Muslims. Indeed, the percentage among Christians in the West Bank is almost twice as much as that of Muslims. The largest percentage of those wishing to emigrate say that they would like to go to the US, and Canada and Europe placed second and third, respectively. The largest percentage indicate that their desire to emigrate stems from economic reasons, while a smaller percentage indicate a desire to search abroad for educational opportunities, a safer, more stable, and less corrupt place, and a place that allows greater liberties and religious tolerance.

The poll found other reasons for the emigration, some having to do with the conditions of the Israeli occupation and others with the domestic conditions. For example, Christians complain about the impact of occupation measures, such as checkpoints, settlers’ attacks, and land confiscation.
Others complain about the lack of safety and security and a majority believes that the Israeli occupation seeks to expel them from their homeland. Certain domestic conditions are also conducive to a greater demand for emigration. For example, there are complaints and worries about lack of safety, fear of crime and theft, absence of liberties and rule of law, and the spread of corruption. Moreover, there is evidence of worry about the existence of religious Salafist groups in Palestinian society and the presence of armed groups such as Hamas and those that represent political Islam.

Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of Palestinian Christians indicate that they face no irritation or harassment from their Muslim neighbors, or at schools and workplaces, findings do show that somewhere between a fifth and a quarter complain of hearing swearwords or curses and accusations of blasphemy. Indeed, a very large minority believe that most Muslims do not wish to see them in the country. Similarly, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority indicate that they do not suffer from religious discrimination, findings show that a fifth to a quarter feel discrimination when searching for jobs or when seeking PA services. The overwhelming majority indicate that they feel integrated into Palestinian society. Still, three out of ten do not see themselves integrated or feel hated by the Muslim citizens. About a quarter say that some of their Muslim acquaintances invite them to convert to Islam and seven out of ten say they have, at one time or another, heard a Muslim asserting that Christians will go to hellfire.

Findings also show that Christians, like Muslims, do not trust the Palestinian government or the PA security services and the justice sector. Indeed, the majority tend to have no trust in the Christian religious leaders or civil society organizations. The majority believe that corruption exists in the PA institutions. While the overwhelming majority indicates that the democratic system is the best, only one in ten describe the Palestinian system as democratic. Findings show that the overwhelming majority of Christians believe that one should be careful in his/her dealings with other people while only one in ten believes that it is possible to trust most people.

The poll found more than half of the Christians hope for a political settlement that leads to the creation of a single state between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea in which Palestinians and Israelis would have equal rights while three out of 10 prefer a two-state solution. Half of the Christians view the one-state solution as safer than the two-state solution for Palestinian Christians.

The poll also found that one additional reason for the larger Christian emigration is that a large percentage of Palestinian Christians have relatives who have emigrated in the past, and believe that those relatives would help them if they showed interested in emigrating. About half of the sample believe that immigration laws in counties of destination favor Christians. Other external factors, found among two-thirds of the sample, are the regional political developments, which constitute an additional driver pushing people out from Palestine and the entire region.

Finally, when asked about the means of combating the phenomena of Christian emigration, respondents focus on the need for Palestinian policy makers and the leaders of the church to pay more attention to the problem and to develop means to decrease the outflow. Respondents’ suggestions focused on the importance of improving economic conditions, such as creating job opportunities, providing financial assistance to those in need, facilitating greater access to homes and apartments. Other suggestions focused on improving conditions of safety and security, including greater PA capacity to enforce law and order, and promoting values of democracy and tolerance.

**Migration Trends Among Palestinians**

Official Israeli statistical sources indicate that the total net emigration among Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip during the period between 1967 and 1989 stood at around 300,000, which means 13,000 per year. For the period between 1990 until the end of 1994, while highlighting the return of the PLO and its security forces to these Palestinian territories, Israeli sources indicate a net return of 30,000 Palestinians after subtracting those who emigrated during that period. For the period between 1995 and 2003, the same Israeli sources indicate a net loss of 88,000, an annual average of 11,000 emigrants. Findings of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) pointed out in a survey conducted in 2010 that 33,000 emigrated from the Palestinian Territories during the period between 2005 and 2009, an annual average of 7,000 and that during this same period more than 30,000 immigrants returned home to Palestine. There are no published or credible numbers on the current conditions, but estimates suggest that the annual average of emigration during the past ten years might be more than 10,000. Moreover, the opening of the Rafah Crossing with Egypt in a semi-permanent manner in 2018 might have opened the door, according to unconfirmed reports, of about
24,000 emigrants from the Gaza Strip in that year alone, while Israeli governmental sources believe the number to be 35,000.

Among Palestinian Christians, the historic record indicates that emigration has been greater than that of Palestinian Muslims. With the end of the Ottoman era in Palestine and the beginning of the British Mandate in 1922, Christians constituted 11% of the population of the entire historic Palestine with the number standing at 70,429. In 1946, the percentage declined to 8% as the British Mandate was about to end, despite the fact that the number had increased to 145,063. In 1949, the number of Christians in the West Bank stood at 51,053 and in the Jordanian 1961 census, 45,855. As the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip started in 1967, the percentage of Palestinian Christians in the occupied Palestinian territories stood at 6% with a total number of 42,719. When the first PA census was completed in 1997, three years after the creation of the PA, the number of Palestinian Christians stood at 40,055, constituting 1.5% of the total Palestinian population. The second PA census in 2007 indicated a slight increase in the number, now standing at 42,565 but constituting only 1.2% of the population. In 2017, the third census showed 46,850 Christian citizens making up only 1% of the population.

The decline in the Christian population has been attributed first and foremost to emigration, particularly among the youth. But other factors have also contributed to this development. For example, population growth has been slower among the Christians compared to Palestinian Muslims. Higher age of marriage among Christians has been another factor. The Palestinian Arab Barometer poll, conducted at the end of 2018, found that 39% of the Christian population in Palestine was over the age of 50, compared to only 21% among the Muslims.

The decline in the Christian population during the past 100 years is evident in the makeup of some of the main Palestinian cities that have traditionally been Christian. For example, the Christian population of Bethlehem declined from 84% in 1922 to only 28% in 2007; in Beit Jala from 99% to 61% and in Beit Sahour from 81% to 65% during the same period.

The Demographic Characteristics of the Christian Poll Sample

PSR selected a sample of 995 Christians from all West Bank and Gaza Strip governorates with a Christian population. The numbers were distributed based on the number of Christians in each governorate with the exception of the Gaza Strip in which 100 people were added and the sample size was reweighted to reflect the proportionate size of Christians in that area. Moreover, 20 Gazan residents presently residing in the West Bank were selected randomly from a list of 100 provided by a Christian source familiar with status of those Gazans. The total number of Christians in the various governorates was obtained from PCBS census data. But PCBS did not provide data on the number of Christians in the various locations in each governorate and therefore fieldwork was conducted in order to assess the distribution in each governorate. Some areas, with a very small number of Christians, were excluded from the sample. With the assistance of local councils and churches, estimates of numbers were made in the various locations. These were cross tabulated with PCBS data to ensure harmony. Maps were developed for all of the locations that were selected, and were drawn and subdivided based on the number of homes in each location. PSR selected 98 locations, and 10 adult Christians were interviewed in each of the selected locations. Using Kish table, one individual was selected in each home. The interviews were conducted face to face by data collectors that were trained for that particular purpose. One focus group was organized by PSR with more than a dozen Christian participants before the conduct of the fieldwork in order to assess the utility of the questionnaire and to gain insights into the best means of gaining the trust of Palestinian Christians and reducing their concerns about the planned survey. The team of data collectors was formed mostly from Christian fieldworkers and each team consisted of two members under the direct supervision of a field coordinator. Data collectors were instructed not to reveal their religion to the respondents by any means including appearance. Interviews were conducted face-to-face using tablets in all cases with the exception of 15 interviews that were conducted over the phone among Gazans residing in the West Bank.
The distribution of the sample in the West Bank stood at 88% of the total, 10% in the Gaza Strip, and 2% were Gazans residing in the West Bank. Bethlehem had the largest percentage of interviews (42%) followed by Ramallah (24%), Jerusalem (15%), Gaza (12%), Jenin (5%), and Nablus and Jericho (1% each). Males constituted 50% and females 50%. Age distribution shows that the biggest group (64%) came from those whose age is over 40 years, followed by those between the ages of 18 and 29 years (19%) and those between 30 and 39 years (17%). The percentage of illiterates stood at 3%, those who completed elementary school (6%), preparatory education (9%), secondary education (33%), two-year college (19%), BA degree (25%), and MA and higher (5%). The percentage of the married respondents stood at 65%, the unmarried 24%, and widowed or divorced 10%. Those who worked in PA institutions represented only 3% of the sample, Church institutions 7%, private sector 29%, NGOs 6%, Israeli institutions 3%, housewives 25%, unemployed 9%, retirees 7%, and students 5%.

Data collectors and their impressions: The team of data collectors included 17 fieldworkers, most females, of whom 15 were Christians and were distributed as follows: 2 in the Gaza Strip, 3 in the northern West Bank, 6 in the south, and 6 in the middle of the West Bank.¹

¹ Data collectors in the fieldwork teams deployed in the various parts of the West Bank were pleased with public response, as most of the respondents were cooperative and the rejection rate did not exceed 2%. Data collectors also expressed the belief that the overwhelming majority of respondents did not show fear to express political views or affiliation. But conditions were different in Jerusalem where data collectors found concern and fear and a higher rejection rate that exceeded 20% particularly in places like Beit Safafa, al Tur, and Beit Hanina. In other Jerusalem areas, such as the Old City, the reception was much better and the rejection rate did not exceed 7%. Fieldworkers also indicated that in Jerusalem they were repeatedly asked about their own personal religion. As instructed by PSR for such cases, the fieldworkers replied that they could not reveal their religion for fear it might influence responses. In the Gaza Strip, data collectors were also pleased with the public response as the rejection rate did not exceed 10%. PSR’s data collectors expressed the belief that little or no fear was shown by the Gazan respondents.
Detailed Findings

(1) Demand for Emigration Among All Palestinians
- PSR quarterly polls conducted over the past 20 years indicate that the wish to emigrate among the total Palestinian public has been on the rise since 2007, particularly in the Gaza Strip. The split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip left the Gaza Strip in much worse conditions than those in the West Bank due to the siege and closure imposed by Israel. The last 13 years show significant differences in the wish to emigrate between Gazans and West Bankers. As figure (1) below indicates, the gap between the two areas widened during periods of war against the Gaza Strip, and at other times when disappointment over failure to reunify the two areas increased and Gazans came to the conclusion that the split might become permanent or long term. For example, in mid-2015 the desire to emigrate rose considerably when Gazans came to the conclusion that conditions would not improve after the 2014 war and after the reconciliation government failed to reunify the PA institutions. This development led to an unprecedented level of demand for emigration reaching 52% in the Gaza Strip compared to only 22% in the West Bank. Similarly, the impositions of financial and other sanctions by the PA on the Gaza Strip starting in 2017 contributed to increased demand for emigration in the Gaza Strip, ranging between 45% and 47% and increasing in September 2018 to 50% compared to 22% in the West Bank.

Figure (1): Demand for Emigration Among ALL Palestinians Between 2002-2020 Based on PSR Polls

(2) Who Are the Palestinian Christians?
- In our special poll among Palestinian Christians, we asked respondents about their various religious denomination. As figure (2) below shows, the largest percentage indicated that they belong to the Roman Orthodox Church (48%) while 38% indicated that they belong to the Latin Church. Smaller groups identified as Roman Catholic (6%), Evangelical Episcopal and Lutheran Protestants (4%), Syriac Orthodox (2%), and Syriac Catholic (1%). A majority of 61% live near a church to which they can walk while 32% have a
church in their area of residence but they need a car to reach it; only 7% do not have a church in their area of residence. Two-thirds (66%) live in an area with a Christian majority while only 11% say they live in an area of Muslim majority; about a quarter (24%) live in equally mixed areas. When asked to evaluate the relationship with their Muslim neighbors who live close to their homes, about two-thirds (65%) said it is excellent or normal while 10% described it as “medium” or bad, and 25% said they have no Muslim neighbors. When asked how religious their Muslim neighbors are, 64% said they are moderate and 9% said they are too religious or extreme, and 20% said they are liberals or open-minded. When asked if they would accept a Muslim as their neighbor, 14% said they would not while 47% said they would very much accept such neighbors; 39% said it makes no difference to them if their neighbors are Muslims. When asked if they would accept a Christian neighbor, but from a different denomination, 62% said they would very much accept that or accept it to some extent while only 2% said they would not; 37% said it makes no difference to them.

**Figure (2): Selected Characteristics of Palestinian Christians**

We asked respondents how they define their identity and how religious they are. As figure (3) below shows, 36% are religious, 46% are somewhat religious, and only 17% said they are not religious. In our Arab Barometer poll, which we conducted around the end of 2018, only 23% of Palestinian Christians said they are religious while 37% of the entire Palestinian community said they are religious. Also, at that time, 27% of the Christian respondents said they were not religious while only 8% of the entire society said they are unreligious. In this poll, 41% of the respondents said they read or hear the Bible always or most of the time and 34% said they always or most of the time attend Sunday Mass at church.
As shown in figure (4) below, the level of religiosity is higher among those from the Latin Church compared to followers of other denominations. Religiosity is also higher among those who are married and those whose age is 40 or higher. Findings also indicate that religiosity is associated with income as it rises among those with the highest income and declines among those with the lowest income.

We also asked about the role of religion in the public sphere. As indicated in figure (5), an overwhelming majority of 81% agree with the statement that men of religion should not influence how people vote while only 16% disagreed with that statement. A similar large majority (84%) agreed with the statement that religious practices are private and should be separated from social and political life while only 13% disagreed with the statement. But when asked if men of religion should influence government decisions, 37% agreed and 58% disagreed. In our Arab Barometer poll in late 2018, 75% of Palestinian Christians, compared to 73% of all respondents, agreed that
men of religion should not influence people’s vote, and 73% of the Christians, compare to 38% of all respondents, said they agree with the statement that religious practices are a private matter and should be separated from social and political life.

Figure (5): Attitudes Regarding the Role of Religion in Public Sphere

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious practices are private and should be separated from social and political life</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men of religion should not influence how people vote in elections</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men of religious should influence government decisions</td>
<td>0.37</td>
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(3) Demand for Emigration Among Palestinian Christians

- Findings show that 36% of Palestinian Christians are considering emigrating from Palestine while 64% are not. Emigration consideration is higher in the Gaza Strip, standing at 48%, compared to the West Bank where it stands at 35%. This finding is similar to what we found in our Arab Barometer poll in late 2018 when 35% of Palestinian Christians said that they were considering emigrating. This finding indicates that the desire to emigrate is higher among Palestinian Christians than Palestinian Muslims. A PSR poll conducted in February 2020 during the same period in which the Christian poll was conducted, showed that only 23% of all Palestinians are thinking of emigrating (28% in the Gaza Strip and 19% in the West Bank).

- Demand for emigration among Palestinian Christians, as shown in figure (6) below, is higher among the somewhat religious and non-religious, those affiliated with denominations other than the Latin, the unmarried, the youth and middle aged, and those with lower income.

Figure (6): Palestinian Christian Desire to Emigrate According to Selected Factors
Among those who are considering emigration, the largest percentage selected North America as their destination of choice, with 40% selecting the US and 16% selecting Canada. Europe came second with 14% selecting it, 7% selected Eastern Europe, and 6% selected Arab Gulf and other Arab countries.

(4) Economic Drivers of Emigration:

- The largest percentage (59%) indicated that the main reason for thinking about emigrating is economic while 7% said it is in search for education, 7% said it has to do with the security conditions, another 7% said it has to do with political conditions, 4% said it is due to corruption, and 3% said their desire to emigrate is religious. The economic factor was mentioned more in the Gaza Strip (72%). We found an identical percentage of Palestinian Christians (59%) selecting the economic factor in our 2018 poll while a similar percentage (57%) of all Palestinians selected that factor at that time as well.

- It is worth mentioning that 58% of Christians in the current poll described their economic conditions as bad or very bad while 42% said that they are good or very good. This finding indicates that Palestinian Christians enjoy better economic conditions compared to Muslims. Among the total Palestinian population, only 24% said their economic conditions are good or very good. Similarly, when asked about income, only 46% of Palestinian Christians say that their income does not cover their needs and that they face difficulties in meeting those needs. This percentage among Palestinian Christians stood at 42% in our 2018 poll compared to 54% among the total population at that time. However, when asked about economic conditions in the next few years, only 10% of Palestinian Christians said these conditions will improve while 27% said they will stay stagnant and 55% said they will be worse. This low level of economic optimism is lower than it is among the total Palestinian public, which stood at 22% in late 2018 when only 44% said it will be worse.

- It is also worth mentioning that 47% of Christians believe that the church is failing in providing economic assistance to Palestinian Christians while 27% believe it is somewhat failing and 23% say it is not failing. The largest percentage (47%) say that the most important challenge confronting Palestinians today is the economic condition while 22% selected financial and administrative corruption, and 8% selected maintaining stability and internal security.

(5) Role of the Israeli Occupation in Driving Emigration:

- The poll sought to assess perception of safety and security among Palestinian Christians. A large majority of 70% feel safe, but 30% said they do not feel safe and secure. Among the total public, perception of safety and security at the time of the survey stood at 58% in the West Bank and 74% in the Gaza Strip. This means that there is a greater perception of safety and security among Palestinian Christians in the West Bank compared to Muslims in the same area. In this context we looked for the sources of threat and worry for Palestinian Christians starting with those originating in the Israeli occupation. Findings show that 3% have had their homes demolished by the Israeli army, 14% say the Israeli occupation forces have confiscated their land, 17% have been exposed to army fire, 42% have to cross Israeli check points, 6% have been banned from travel, and 28% say they live near Israeli settlements (which in turn exacerbates all these threats). Similarly, 83% to 84% say that they are worried about settlers’ attacks, a potential denial of their civil rights, or an Israeli expulsion of Palestinians from their homes and lands. Additionally, 73% are worried about the endless Israeli occupation and 67% are worried about an Israeli annexation of Palestinian territories. Perhaps the most worrying finding of all is that 62%
of Palestinian Christians believe that Israel’s goal is to expel the Christians from their homeland.

**Figure (7): Impact of Israeli Occupation on Palestinian Christians**

- Figure (8) below shows that the perception of safety and security is higher among those who are religious, among the Latins, the unmarried, the youth, and those with high levels of income.

**Figure (8): Perception of Safety and Security According to Selected Factors**

Also, as figure (9) below shows, the perception that Israel’s goal is to expel Palestinian Christians from the country rises among those who are somewhat religious, and the Roman Orthodox, the married, the oldest group, and among those with the least income.
Figure (9): Perception That “the Israeli Occupation Wants to Expel Us From Here” According to Selected Factors

(6) Role of Domestic Conditions in Driving Emigration:
- We asked about internal sources of threat and worry. Findings show that huge percentages ranging between 80% and 87% are worried about crime and theft in Palestinian areas from the absence of liberties and rule of law, as well as corruption in the PA. An overwhelming majority of 77% are worried about the presence of religious Salafist groups and 69% are worried about the presence of armed Palestinian factions such as Hamas. Two-thirds said they are worried about the fact that the Palestinian Basic Law refers to the principles of the Islamic Sharia as a main source of legislation and are concerned about the rise of political Islam as represented by Hamas, Islamic Jihad, al Tahrir Party, as well as extreme and conservatives in the Palestinian society.

Figure (10): Worry About Selected Domestic Conditions

- The following three figures, 11-13, show that fear and worry about the place of Sharia in the Basic Law rises among those who are somewhat religious, those affiliated with groups other than the Latins, among the youth and the middle aged, and among those with the
least income. Fear and concern about the presence of Salafists rises among the Roman Orthodox, those who are married, and those with the least income. Fear and concern from crime and theft rises among those affiliated with groups other than the Latins, the married, and the middle-aged.

- When asked about incidents of exposure to harassment from members of the Palestinian society, the overwhelming majority says that it has not been exposed to such things. Percentages between 81% and 89% say they have not been exposed to harassment from Muslim neighbors, or because they are Christians, or exposed to mocking of their religious beliefs, nor have their children been exposed to harassment at schools because of their religion. Still, a percentage ranging between 10% to 18% did indicate having been exposed to such things. It is also worth noting that 27% say that they have been exposed to racist curses and or epithets like “kafir” or non-believer or Crusader and others while 73%
say they have not been exposed to such curses or epithets. Worse yet, a large minority standing at 43% feel that most Muslims do not wish to see them in this land, though 54% say they do not feel this way.

Figure (14): Fears Among Christians and Exposure to Societal Constraints

As the two figures below show, the percentage of those exposed to curses and name calling increases among the unreligious, the followers of groups other than the Roman Orthodox and the Latins, among the unmarried, and those with the least income. Those who believe most Muslims do not wish to see them in the country are higher among the somewhat religious, the unmarried, youth, and those with the least income.

Figure (15): Exposed to Curses or Accusations of Blasphemy According to Selected Factors

Figure (16): Belief that “most Muslims do not wish to see us here” According to Selected Factors

When asked about the religious freedom Christians enjoy in Palestine, half responded that it is very high or high enough, 27% said it is medium or average, and 11% said it is low or very low. When asked if the respondent himself or herself experienced discrimination because of his/her
religion, the majority responded in the negative: 85% said they do not suffer from discrimination when dealing with people and society, 62% do not experience discrimination when looking for a job, and 59% said they do not suffer discrimination when seeking PA services. By contrast, a percentage ranging between 13% and 24% stated that they have suffered discrimination in one or more of these cases.

**Figure (17): Perception Among Christians Regarding Discrimination Against Them and the Degree of Religious Freedom**

Additionally, despite the fact that 70% of the respondents indicate that they, as Christians, feel fully integrated in Palestinian society, 30% do not feel that. Moreover, 44% believe that there is discrimination against Christians when they seek jobs in the private sector while an identical percentage (44%) feel that there is no such discrimination. Furthermore, a minority of 29% feel that some Muslims hate Christians while 68% say they do not feel such hatred. Less than a quarter (23%) say that an acquaintance has at one time or another called upon them to become Muslims while more than three quarters (77%) say no one called upon them to do that. By contrast, 8% of the respondents say that they have asked Muslim acquaintances to convert to Christianity while 92% say they have never done that. A large majority (70%) has heard a Muslim state that Christians will go to Hellfire, while 29% say they have never heard that. Despite that, an overwhelming majority of 92% say that if a Muslim friend asked about his/her Christian beliefs, they feel that they can describe them while only 6% say they cannot do that.
Figure (18): Degree of Integration Compared to Fears and Beliefs About Discrimination and Religious Freedom

As figure (19) below shows, the perception of full integration in Palestinian society is higher among the religious, the Latins, the married, the older, and those with higher incomes.

Figure (19): Perception of Full Integration in Palestinian Society According to Selected Factors

(7) Perception of the PA and Palestinian Society:
We asked the Christian public about its trust in the PA public institutions. Two-thirds say they do not trust or have little trust in the PA government and 16% say that they do trust it. Similarly, trust in the judiciary and the courts stands at 16%, and in the PA police at 22%. Trust in Palestinian civil society organizations stands at 29%, in Christian religious leaders at 39%, and in the PLO’s Presidential Committee for Churches Affairs at 31%. Our poll in late 2018 found trust in government among Palestinian Christians stood at 22% and 33% among the total Palestinian public. Trust in courts at that time stood at 26% among Christians and 41% among the total public;
trust in PA police stood at 44% among Palestinian Christians and 52% among the total public; and
trust in civil society organizations at 37% among the Christians and 42% among the total public.
These findings point to an important conclusion: trust in public institutions among Palestinian
Christians is lower than it is among the Muslims and that the trust in these institutions among the
Christians is in decline.

Figure (20): Trust in Selected Palestinian Institutions

We also asked about satisfaction with the performance of the PA government. The largest
percentage (47%) say they are dissatisfied, 28% say they are somewhat satisfied, and only 12% say
they are satisfied. Similarly, satisfaction with the manner in which the Palestinian educational
system addresses Christianity and its history is very low, not exceeding 16%, and 76% say they are
dissatisfied. Our late 2018 poll indicated that satisfaction with PA government stood at 22%
among Palestinian Christians and 19% among the total public.

We asked about the ease of access to PA services. The overwhelming majority (92%) say it is easy
to obtain certificates, passports, or ID cards and 62% say it is easy to obtain assistance from the
police when needed; however, only 42% say it is easy to obtain a building permit. Moreover, a
majority of 58% say that they have not been asked to obtain a permit or a good conduct statement
from the security services as a condition for receiving services such as a passport or ID card; 37%
say they have been asked. Our poll in late 2018 found 82% of Christians and 82% of the total
public find it easy to obtain services such as certificates, passports and ID cards; 60% of
Christians, and 63% of the total public, stated that it is easy to obtain assistance from the PA
police; 36% of Christians and 38% of the total public stated that it is easy to obtain a building
permit; and 35% of Christians and 31% of the total public stated that they were required to obtain a
permit or a good standing statement. These findings point to a greater Christian public appreciation
of the ease with which PA services are obtained compared to how things were a little over a year
before.
We asked about perception of corruption in PA institutions. A slim majority of Palestinian Christians (52%) think a great deal of corruption exists while 30% believe corruption exists to some extent and 8% think it does not exist or exists to a little extent. Similarly, 70% believe that one cannot obtain a job without a “wasta” or connection; 24% think this is true only sometimes and 3% think that wasa does not exist. Back in late 2018, 50% of Christians and 48% of the total public believed that a great deal of corruption exists in PA institutions--at that time, 64% of the Christians and 58% of the total public believed that wasa was widespread.

Findings show that 26% of the Christian public is interested in politics and 74% are a little interested or not interested. Similarly, only 31% say they belong to a civil society, club, or organization while 69% say they do not belong to such groups. Interestingly, however, 61% say that they participated in the last local elections in their area of residence, while 38% say they did not participate. Interest in politics among Christians stood at 31%, compared to 35% among the total public, back at the end of 2018.

We also asked about the Palestinian political system and about support for the various political parties. An overwhelming majority of 73% see democracy as better than any other system of government while 14% think that sometimes a non-democratic government is better and 10% say they do not care about the political system. Our late 2018 poll showed that 74% of the Christians, compared to 50% of the total public, view democracy as better than any other system. When evaluating the status of democracy in the Palestinian political system, 51% say there is no democracy in Palestine or that the level of democracy is poor while 31% say it is “fair”. Only 11% think the PA political system is democratic. Back in 2018, 16% of the Christians and 14% of the total public said that the Palestinian political system is democratic. When asked about support for the current political parties and factions, the largest percentage (54%) said it does not support any
of them while 15% say they support Fatah, 6% support PFLP, 3% the People’s Party, 2% the DFLP, 1% Hamas, and 13% favor independent nationalists.

We asked respondents to assess the way the Palestinian Muslim community views the Christian community; conservative and keeping to traditions, open-minded in search of progress, or less observant of religion and ethics? A little over one-third (35%) said the Muslim community sees the Christian community as less observant of religion and ethics; 30% think they see Christians as open-minded, 22% think they see them as conservative, and 10% think they see them just like the rest of society, having good and bad elements. However, when asked how they, the Christian respondents, view their own community, half believe it tends to be conservative, 29% think it is open-minded, 9% think it is less observant, and 12% think that they are like the rest of the Palestinian society, having the good and the bad.

When asked about trust in other people, only 12% said one can trust most people, but the overwhelming majority (88%) said that one should be careful when dealing with other people. Our 2018 poll showed the percentage of those who think one should be careful stood at 95% among the Christians and 85% among the total public. On the other hand, 52% agree and 43% disagree with the statement that Christian charities do their best to help provide basic needs of Palestinian Christians.

(8) Palestinian Christians on the Peace Process

When asked about the peace process, a majority of 61% indicated a preference for a one-state solution (53% said the best means of achieving peace is by establishing one single state with equal rights and duties for Palestinians and Israelis while 8% said it is the establishment of one single state whereby Palestinians become citizens just like Israeli Arabs). By contrast, 31% said the best solution is a two-state solution. It is worth mentioning that support for the one state solution among all Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip stood at 37% in PSR’s poll in February 2020, the same period in which this special Christian poll was conducted while support for the two-state solution stood at 39%.

When asked to identify the solution that provides the greatest safety to Palestinian Christians, about half (49%) chose the one-state solution with equal rights while only a quarter (25%) chose the two-state solution, and 18% chose a confederation with Jordan. It should be noted that a little less than two-thirds (63%) believe that the two-state solution is no longer practical because of the Israeli settlement expansion in the Palestinian territories while only 29% think it remains practical.
As figure (23) below shows, support for the one-state solution is higher among those affiliated with groups other than the Roman Orthodox, the unmarried, the youth, and those with low income.

(9) External Factors Driving Emigration:

The overwhelming majority of Palestinian Christians (77%) say that they have relatives who have emigrated to other countries and 46% believe that those relatives will help them if they too decide to emigrate while 37% say they will not help them do that. Moreover, 47% believe that the immigration regulations in the countries to which they might want to emigrate discriminate in favor of Christians while 43% think it is not easy for Christians to emigrate. In fact, 80% say that emigration from Palestine is difficult while only 12% say it is easy.

Moreover, when asked about the political developments in the region and their role in pushing for emigration, a majority of 63% said that developments such as the extremism of al Qa’eda and
Da’esh do not push them in the direction of emigration while 36% say these developments do indeed push them to think about it.

10) Combating Emigration Among Palestinian Christians:

Finally, we asked about the means to reduce the drive to emigrate. We started by asking about the interest of Palestinian policy makers in the matter. The largest percentage (48%) said the phenomena of Christian emigration does not receive sufficient attention at the policy level while only 18% said policy makers do pay attention and 27% said there is some attention. When asked about the church and what it is doing about the matter, 40% said it plays an effective role in combating emigration while 22% said it combats it a little, and 36% said it does not combat it.

When asked what the PA can do to help combat Christian emigration, a slim majority (52%) said it can create job opportunities for Christians, 22% said it should enforce law and order more effectively and equally, 10% said it should strengthen democratic values in Palestinian politics and society, and 6% said it should do more to ensure the ability of Christians to practice their own beliefs without restrictions. As for the role of the church, the majority (56%) said it should provide jobs, 22% said it should help provide homes, 9% said it should provide financial assistance, and 2% said it should do more to ensure Christians are able to practice their own religion without restrictions.

Among those who do not think about emigrating, 43% said they want to stay in their homeland to emphasize Palestinian steadfastness, 39% said they cannot abandon family and friends, and 8% said their economic conditions are stable and they cannot leave their jobs. It is worth mentioning that the overwhelming majority (88%) said that none of their relatives have emigrated during the past year; but 12% said that at least one relative has indeed emigrated.
Table of results
Public Opinion Poll Among Palestinian Christians on Emigration
27 January-23 February 2020

Q1. How would you evaluate the current economic situation in your country?
1. Very good 2.2%
2. Good 39.9%
3. Bad 39.2%
4. Very bad 18.5%
5. Don’t know (do not read) .2%

Q2. What do you think will be the economic situation in your country during the next few years (3-5 years) compared to the current situation?
1. Much better 1.0%
2. Somewhat better 9.2%
3. Almost the same as the current situation 27.0%
4. Somewhat worse 27.2%
5. Much worse 27.6%
6. Don’t know (do not read) 7.7%
7. Refused to answer (do not read) .3%

Q3. What is the most important problem and challenge your country is facing today?
1. Economic situation (poverty; unemployment, inflation) 47.1%
2. Financial and administrative corruption 21.8%
3. Democracy and representation/governance .7%
4. Internal stability and security 8.3%
5. Foreign interference 3.9%
6. Religious extremism 1.2%
7. Fighting terrorism .9%
8. Public services (health, education) .6%
9. Security 2.4%
10. Political / Party issues 6.7%
11. Others: …….. (please specify) 5.1%
12. Don’t know (do not read) 1.3%

Q4. Some people think about emigrating from their country and living in some other country. Have you thought about emigrating from your country?
1. Yes 35.5%
2. No 64.0%
3. Don’t know (Go to Q-----) .4%
4. Refused to answer (Go to Q-----) .1%

**Q5. Some people want to emigrate for different reasons. Why do you want to emigrate?**

1. Economic reasons 58.6%
2. For political reasons 7.4%
3. Religious reasons 2.9%
4. Security reasons 7.1%
5. Seeking educational opportunities 6.6%
6. To join family members 4.1%
7. Due to corruption 4.4%
8. For other reasons (specify) 8.5%
9. Don’t know (do not read) .3%

**Q6. Where are you thinking of emigrating? [Do not read responses]**

1. Gulf countries 3.3%
2. Other Arab counties 2.9%
3. Turkey 1.6%
4. The U.S. 39.5%
5. Canada 15.7%
6. Eastern Europe 6.7%
7. Western Europe 13.9%
8. Other (please specify) 12.3%
9. Don’t know (do not read) 4.1%

**Q7. Is emigration to other countries difficult or easy? And why?**

1. Difficult 79.7%
2. Easy 12.4%
3. DK/NA 8.0%

**Q8. Do you have immigrant relatives?**

1. Yes 76.9%
2. No 23.1%

**Q9. Would they help you in case you needed to emigrate from home?**

1. Yes 45.7%
2. No 36.5%
3. DK/NA 17.9%

**Q10. Is it easier for Christians to emigrate because of the immigration laws in the countries they seek to emigrate to? For example, because these laws favor Christians?**

1. Yes 46.6%
Q11. Some people think that Christians will disappear in the future from Palestine. Do you share this concern?

1. Yes, in 10 years 24.3%
2. Yes, in 20 years 25.2%
3. No, I do not share this concern 48.4%
4. DK/NA 2.1%

Q13 Is the phenomenon of Palestinian Christian emigration taken seriously and with enough care by the relevant bodies among the PA policy making institutions?

1. Yes 18.1%
2. No 26.8%
3. To some extent 47.5%
4. DK/NA 7.5%

Q14 In your view, does the church play an effective role in combating this emigration phenomenon?

1. Yes 40.2%
2. No 22.0%
3. To some extent 35.6%
4. DK/NA 2.2%

Q15 What can the church do to limit this phenomenon?

1. Provide job opportunities to Christians 56.0%
2. Provide housing to Christians 21.7%
3. Ensure the ability to perform the Christian practices without restrictions 2.3%
4. Provide financial support 8.8%
5. Others 8.6%
6. DK/NA 2.6%

Q16 What can the PA do to limit this phenomenon?

1. Provide job opportunities to Christians 51.6%
2. Enforce law and order on all with strength and equality 21.5%
3. Guarantee the ability to perform Christian religious practices without restrictions 6.4%
4. Consolidate democracy in Palestinian society and politics 9.6%
5. Other 6.6%
6. DK/NA 4.4%

Q17 Does the turmoil, instability, and extremism, such as the emergence of al Qaeda and ISIS and others in neighboring countries lead you to think about emigration?
Q18 If you do not think about emigration, what factors would you attribute this to?
Select the most important factor:
1. My economic conditions are stable 6.1%
2. I cannot leave family and friends 39.6%
3. I cannot leave my job 2.2%
4. I want to affirm Palestinian steadfastness 43.0%
5. I cannot leave the country due to security prevention .7%
6. Other 4.8%
7. DK/NA 3.6%

Q19 During the past year, has any one of your relatives emigrated to other countries?
1. Yes 11.9%
2. No 87.6%
3. DK/NA .5%

Q20 What is your most preferred solution to achieve peace between Palestinians and Israelis?
1. The two-state solution, Palestine and Israel, based on 1967 borders 31.1%
2. One-state solution with equal rights and responsibilities for Palestinians and Israeli Jews 52.6%
3. One-state, as things are today with the inside Palestinians 7.5%
4. Other solution 2.7%
5. DK/NA 6.0%

Q20-1 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 63.0%
2. The two-state solution remains viable today 28.7%
3) DK/NA 8.3%

Q21. Do you currently feel that your own personal safety as well as your family’s safety and security are ensured or not?
1. Fully ensured 2.6%
2. Ensured 67.4%
3. Not ensured 25.7%
4. Absolutely not ensured 4.0%
5. Don’t know .3%

**Q22. Have you or a member of your family been exposed to or confronted any of the following Israeli measures?**

**Q22-1. Home demolished**
- 1. Yes 2.9%
- 2. No 97.0%
- 3. DK/NA .1%

**Q22-2. Land confiscated**
- 1. Yes 13.8%
- 2. No 86.1%
- 3. DK/NA .1%

**Q22-3. Prevented from travel**
- 1. Yes 5.7%
- 2. No 93.9%
- 3. DK/NA .4%

**Q22-4. Stood at checkpoint**
- 1. Yes 42.4%
- 2. No 57.4%
- 3. DK/NA .2%

**Q22-5. Exposed to violence or shooting**
- 1. Yes 17.1%
- 2. No 82.8%
- 3. DK/NA .1%

**Q22-6. Live near an Israeli settlement**
- 1. Yes 28.0%
- 2. No 71.9%
- 3. DK/NA .1%

**Q23. Does any of the following cause fear or worry for you or your family?**

**Q23-1. Corruption in the PA**
- 1. Yes 79.6%
- 2. No 16.9%
- 3. DK/NA 3.5%

**Q23-2. Absence of liberties and rule of law in the Palestinian Territories**
- 1. Yes 81.7%
- 2. No 14.8%
- 3. DK/NA 3.5%

**Q23-3. The religiosity or conservatism of the Palestinian society**
- 1. Yes 64.9%
- 2. No 33.2%
- 3. DK/NA 1.9%

**Q23-4. Political Islam as embodied in Hamas, Islamic Jehad or al Tahrir Party**
- 1. Yes 66.3%
- 2. No 31.6%
Q23-5. Crime and theft in Palestinian territories
1. Yes 86.7%
2. No 12.1%
3. DK/NA 1.1%

Q23-6. The presence of armed Palestinian organizations, such as Hamas
1. Yes 68.6%
2. No 29.5%
3. DK/NA 2.0%

Q23-7. The presence of religious Salafist groups
1. Yes 76.8%
2. No 20.8%
3. DK/NA 2.4%

Q23-8. Palestinian Basic Law reference to the principles of Islamic Sharia as a main source of legislation
1. Yes 66.8%
2. No 31.0%
3. DK/NA 2.3%

Q24. Does any of the following possible Israeli policies or measures cause you or your family fear or concern?
Q24-1. An Israeli annexation of Palestinian territories
1. Yes 67.0%
2. No 31.6%
3. DK/NA 1.4%

Q24-2. Continuation of the Israeli occupation
1. Yes 73.1%
2. No 25.3%
3. DK/NA 1.6%

Q24-3. An Israeli expulsion of the Palestinian population
1. Yes 84.0%
2. No 15.1%
3. DK/NA .9%

Q24-4. Denial by Israel of your civil rights
1. Yes 83.2%
2. No 16.1%
3. DK/NA .7%

Q24-5. Settler attacks
1. Yes 83.0%
2. No 16.1%
3. DK/NA .9%

Q25 Have you or members of your family who live with you in the same house been exposed during the past year to:
Q25-1. Harassment from your Muslim neighbors
1. Yes 9.7%
2. No 88.6%
3. DK/NA 1.7%

**Q25-2. Harassment from your Christian neighbors**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Yes</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. No</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
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<td>3. DK/NA</td>
<td>.2%</td>
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**Q25-3. Ridicule for being Christian**

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<tr>
<td>1. Yes</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
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<td>2. No</td>
<td>84.7%</td>
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<td>3. DK/NA</td>
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**Q25-4. Ridicule of your Christian beliefs**

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<tr>
<td>1. Yes</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
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<td>2. No</td>
<td>81.4%</td>
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<td>3. DK/NA</td>
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**Q25-5. Ridicule of your children in school by their colleagues or teachers because of their religion**

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<tr>
<td>1. Yes</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
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<td>2. No</td>
<td>84.6%</td>
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<td>3. DK/NA</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
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**Q25-6. Curses by racist words or called a crusader or non-believer or similar words**

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<tr>
<td>1. Yes</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. No</td>
<td>73.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. DK/NA</td>
<td>.1%</td>
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**Q25-A. Tell us if you agree or disagree with the following statements:**

**Q25-A 1) I feel that most Muslims do not wish to see us here**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Agree</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
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<td>3. DK/NA</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
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**Q25-A 2) I feel that the Israeli occupation wants to expel us from here**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Agree</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
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<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>35.1%</td>
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<td>3. DK/NA</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
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**Q25-A 3) I feel, as a Christian, fully integrated in Palestinian society**

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<tr>
<td>1. Agree</td>
<td>69.7%</td>
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<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. DK/NA</td>
<td>.9%</td>
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**Q25-A 4) There is discrimination against Christians who apply for a job in private institutions**

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<tr>
<td>1. Agree</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. DK/NA</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
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**Q25-A 5) There is positive discrimination in favor of Christians in PA institutions**
Q25-A 6) I feel hated by the Muslims
   1. Agree 29.4%
   2. Disagree 67.6%
   3. DK/NA 3.0%

Q25-B. Have any of your Palestinian Muslim colleagues ever invited you to become a Muslim?
   1. Yes 23.0%
   2. No 76.8%
   3. DK/NA .2%

Q25-B1. And have you yourself ever invited one of your Muslim colleagues to become Christian?
   1. Yes 7.9%
   2. No 92.0%
   3. DK/NA .1%

Q25-C. Have you heard one day a Palestinian Muslim saying that Christians go to Hellfire?
   1. Yes 69.8%
   2. No 28.9%
   3. DK/NA 1.3%

Q25-D. If a Muslim friend asked you about your religion, do you feel comfortable describing your religious beliefs?
   1. Yes 92.2%
   2. No 6.3%
   3. DK/NA 1.5%

Q25-D1. We would like to ask you about your perception of the Palestinian Christian society: do you see it tending to be ....
   1) Conservatives, keeping traditions 49.7%
   2) Open-minded and searching for progress 28.9%
   3) Less committed to religion and ethics 8.7%
   4) (Do not read) Having the good and the bad, just like the rest of the Palestinian society 12.2%
   5) DK/NA .6%

Q25E. And what about the perception of the Palestinian Muslim society of the Palestinian Christians and their social environment? Which of the following is the closest in your view to the views of the majority of Palestinian Muslims? Do they see Palestinian Christians as ...
   1) Conservatives, keeping traditions 21.6%
   2) Open-minded and searching for progress 30.0%
3) Less committed to religion and ethics 35.3%
4) (Do not read) Having the good and the bad, just like the rest of the Palestinian society 9.5%
5) DK/NA 3.7%

Q26. Generally speaking, do you think most people are trustworthy or not?
1. Most people are trustworthy 11.8%
2. Most people are not trustworthy 88.0%
3. I don’t know .2%

Q27. I’m going to name a number of institutions. For each one, please tell me how much trust:

1. Government (Council of Ministers)
   1. A great deal of trust 1.4%
   2. Quite a lot of trust 14.3%
   3. Not very much trust 28.7%
   4. No trust at all 38.7%
   5. Don’t know (do not read) 17.0%

2. Courts and legal system
   1. A great deal of trust 1.8%
   2. Quite a lot of trust 14.8%
   3. Not very much trust 28.7%
   4. No trust at all 40.4%
   5. Don’t know (do not read) 14.3%

7. Civil society organizations
   1. A great deal of trust 2.5%
   2. Quite a lot of trust 26.4%
   3. Not very much trust 29.9%
   4. No trust at all 26.0%
   5. Don’t know (do not read) 15.3%

13. Christian religious leaders
   1. A great deal of trust 7.2%
   2. Quite a lot of trust 32.0%
   3. Not very much trust 28.7%
   4. No trust at all 29.4%
   5. Don’t know (do not read) 2.7%

42. Police
   1. A great deal of trust 1.9%
   2. Quite a lot of trust 20.1%
   3. Not very much trust 29.2%
   4. No trust at all 37.1%
   5. Don’t know (Do not read) 11.6%

77. The Presidential Committee on the Affairs of Churches in Palestine
   1. A great deal of trust 5.0%
2. Quite a lot of trust 26.3%
3. Not very much trust 21.4%
4. No trust at all 27.0%
5. Don’t know (Do not read) 20.3%

Q28. Suppose there was a scale from 0-10 to measure the extent of your satisfaction with the government, in which 0 means that you are completely unsatisfied with its performance and 10 means you are completely satisfied. To what extent are you satisfied with the government’s performance?

0 .2%
1 15.8%
2 7.1%
3 10.0%
4 14.0%
5 19.9%
6 7.8%
7 6.8%
8 4.0%
9 .6%
10 .8%
11. Not interested .6%
12. DK 11.8%
13. NA .6%

Q29. To what extent are you satisfied with the way the educational system, such as the history curriculum, deals with the history of Palestinian Christians and fair it treats it?

1. Highly Satisfied .6%
2. Satisfied 15.0%
3. Dissatisfied 44.5%
4. Highly dissatisfied 31.5%
5. DK/NA 8.42%

Q31. Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to obtain the following services?

1. An identity document (such as a birth certificate or passport)
   1. Very Easy 22.3%
   2. Easy 69.2%
   3. Difficult 6.8%
   4. Very Difficult .8%
   5. Never Tried .4%
   6. DK/NA .4%

4. Help from the police when you need it
   1. Very Easy 3.6%
   2. Easy 58.7%
3. Difficult 20.0%
4. Very Difficult 4.4%
5. Never Tried 11.6%
6. DK/NA 1.8%

7. A building permit
1. Very Easy 2.1%
2. Easy 39.3%
3. Difficult 20.9%
4. Very Difficult 24.3%
5. Never Tried 10.4%
6. DK/NA 3.0%

Q32. Have you personally or any of your relatives or anyone you know been demanded to provide a permit or a certificate of good behavior from the security services (police for example) in order to obtain a passport or an identity card or any other document or paper from the government institutions in the region you live in?
1. Yes 36.8%
2. No 58.4%
3. DK/NA 4.8%
4. Don’t know (Go to Q-----) 0.0%
5. Refused to answer (Go to Q-----) 0.0%

Q33. To what extent do you agree with this statement: Christian civil society does all it can to provide our country’s citizens with all services.
1. Strongly agree 5.0%
2. Agree 46.5%
3. Disagree 32.9%
4. Strongly disagree 10.4%
5. Don’t know (Do not read) 5.2%

Q34. To what extent do you think that there is corruption within the state agencies and institutions in your country?
1. To a large extent 52.3%
2. To a medium extent 30.2%
3. To a small extent 6.2%
4. Not at all 2.1%
5. I don’t know (do not read) 8.0%
6. Refused to answer (do not read) 1.2%

Q35. Some people say that nowadays it is impossible to get a job without connections (wasta) while others say that jobs are only available to qualified candidates. Based on a recent experience (or experiences) you are personally aware of, do you think that…
1. Obtaining employment through connections is extremely widespread. 70.0%
2. Employment is sometimes obtained through connections. 23.5%
3. Employment is mostly obtained without connections. 2.7%
4. I do not know of any relevant experiences. 3.8%

Q36. Are you a member of any organization or formal groups such as charitable groups, sports, religion and cultural? (Examples: Living cooperatives or local societies, religious organizations, sport and entertainment clubs, cultural organizations, associations or workers’ unions, farmer unions, professional associations, entrepreneurial organizations, parent-teacher associations, or other voluntary organizations.)
1. Yes 31.2%
2. No 68.6%
3. DK/NA 0.2%

Q37. Have you donated money to a charity or those in need in the past month?
1. Yes 52.0%
2. No 37.6%
3. DK/NA 10.4%

Q38. In general, to what extent are you interested in politics? (AB4)
1. Very interested 7.6%
2. Interested 17.9%
3. Somewhat interested 21.0%
4. Not interested at all 52.7%
5. Don’t know (Do not read) 0.8%

Q39. Among the political parties listed here, which party if any do you feel closest to?
1. PPP 3.4%
2. PFLP 6.4%
3. Fatah 15.3%
4. Hamas 1.1%
5. DFLP 1.6%
6. Fida 0.0%
7. Mubadara 0.4%
8. Independent nationalist 12.9%
9. Third Way led by Salam Fayyad 0.0%
10. None of the above 53.5%
11. Others, specify ------------------ 5.4%

Q40. Did you vote in the last local elections that were held in the West Bank in-?
1. Yes 61.3%
2. No 38.4%
3. DK/NA 0.2%

Q41. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion:
1. For people like me, it does not matter what kind of government we have 9.7%
2. Under some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable 13.9%
3. Democracy is always preferable to any other kind of government 73.4%
4. Don’t know (do not read) 3.0%

Q42. Suppose there was a scale from 0-10 measuring the extent to which your country is democratic, with 0 meaning there is no democracy whatsoever and 10 meaning that it is democratic to the greatest extent possible.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
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Q44. In general, you would describe yourself as...

1. Religious 36.4%
2. Somewhat religious 46.0%
3. Not religious 17.3%
4. Don’t know (do not read) .4%

Q45. Do you a) Attend Sunday services
1. Always/Most of the time 33.9%
2. Sometimes 35.7%
3. Rarely/ever 30.5%

6b. Listen to or read the Bible
1. Always/Most of the time 40.9%
2. Sometimes 37.3%
3. Rarely/ever 21.8%

Q46. For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbors, dislike it, or not care.

1. Muslims
1. Strongly dislike 4.3%
2. Somewhat dislike 9.3%
3. Would not care 38.9%
4. Somewhat like 27.7%
5. Strongly like 19.7%
6. Don’t know (do not read) .1%

2. Members of another Christian denomination
   1. Strongly dislike .7%
   2. Somewhat dislike .8%
   3. Would not care 36.7%
   4. Somewhat like 19.2%
   5. Strongly like 42.3%
   6. Don’t know (do not read) .2%

Q47 To which Christian denomination do you belong:
   1. Roman Orthodox 48.0%
   2. Latin 38.2%
   3. Roman Catholic 5.9%
   4. Protestant 3.5%
   5. Syriac Catholic .9%
   6. Syriac Orthodox 1.7%
   7. Armenian Catholic .2%
   8. Armenian Orthodox .3%
   9. Other (specify ----) 1.3%

Q49 Are most of your neighbors, who are close by:
   1. Christians 65.6%
   2. Muslims 10.5%
   3. Same 23.6%
   4. Others/DK/NA .2%

Q50 Is there a church close to your home so that you can walk to or do you need to reach it by car?
   1. I walk to my church 60.8%
   2. There is one in my area but I need a car to reach it 31.7%
   3. There is no church in my area 7.4%
   4. DK/NA .1%

Q51 How do you identify yourself, first and foremost? Are you …
   1. Christian 29.2%
   2. Palestinian 60.3%
   3. Arab 9.3%
   4. DK/NA .4%
   5. Other, specify --------- .7%

Q48_606. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?
   1. Religious leaders (imams, preachers, priests) should not interfere in voters’ decisions in elections.
      1. I strongly agree 26.0%
2. Religious clerics should have influence over the decisions of government.
   1. I strongly agree 5.0%
   2. I agree 32.3%
   3. I disagree 38.8%
   4. I strongly disagree 19.3%
   5. Don’t know (do not read) 4.5%

3. Religious practice is a private matter and should be separated from socio-economic life.
   1. I strongly agree 37.4%
   2. I agree 46.6%
   3. I disagree 9.7%
   4. I strongly disagree 3.3%
   5. Don’t know (do not read) 3.0%

Q52 Do you suffer from discrimination due to your religion in the following situations?

1. When searching for a job
   1. Yes 24.0%
   2. No 61.9%
   3. DK/NA 14.1%

2. Q52 -2 When seeking a service from PA institutions
   1. Yes 20.4%
   2. No 59.0%
   3. DK/NA 20.6%

3. Q52 -3 When interacting with people and society in the market, restaurant, or street
   1. Yes 13.3%
   2. No 85.1%
   3. DK/NA 1.6%

Q53. How would you evaluate the relationship with the closest Muslim neighbors to you?

1. Bad 1.4%
2. So and so 8.2%
3. Normal 44.0%
4. Excellent 20.7%
5. DK/NA 1.2%
6. We have no Muslim neighbors 24.6%

Q54. Are most of your Muslim neighbors moderates, extremists, or in the center?

1. Extremist 8.9%
2. In the center 64.3%
3. Moderate 20.3%
4. DK/NA 6.5%

Q55 From among the following solutions: the two-state solution, the one-state solution with equal rights to Palestinians and Jews, and a confederation with Jordan, which one is the safest to Palestinian Christians in your view?

1. The two-state solution 25.3%
2. The one-state solution with equal rights to Palestinians and Jews 49.3%
3. Confederation with Jordan 17.7%
4. Other, specify -------------- 1.0%
5. DK/NA 6.6%

Q57 In your view, is the church failing to provide economically to its Christian community?

1. Yes 47.2%
2. No 26.5%
3. To some extent 22.7%
4. DK/NA 3.6%