

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 Foundation in Ramallah



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A confused and uncertain public:

While the Majority Opposes Return to Negotiations Under the Shadow of Settlement Construction, and While the Majority Opposes Alternatives to Negotiations Such as Violence, the Dissolution of the Palestinian Authority, or the Adoption of a One-State Solution, and While the Majority Supports Alternatives Such as Going to the UNSC, a Unilateral Declaration of Statehood, and Resort to Non-Violent Resistance, the Overwhelming Majority has no Confidence in the Efficacy of any of the Alternatives it Supports

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 30 September and 2 October 2010. The poll was conducted right after the expiration of the Israeli partial settlement freeze and during Palestinian deliberations on the future of their direct negotiations with the Israeli government. Few weeks before the conduct of the poll, Hamas carried out an armed attack near Hebron that led to the death of four Israeli settlers. The poll covers issues related to direct negotiations, alternatives Palestinians have in case of pulling out of direct negotiations, Hamas's attack against settlers, and internal Palestinian matters such as the withdrawal of government cars from senior civil servants, current conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, elections, future of reconciliation, and others. Total size of the sample is 1270 adults interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

MAIN RESULTS:

Findings of the third quarter of 2010 show a clear majority, almost two thirds, demanding Palestinian pull out of direct negotiations as long as Israel returns to settlement construction. But the public is uncertain, indeed confused, about the best course of action for the Palestinian side. On the one hand, while strongly rejecting negotiations while settlement construction is underway, it opposes resort to violence, the dissolution of the Palestinian Authority (PA), or the abandonment of the two-state solution and the adoption of a one state solution. And despite the fact that the public supports alternatives such as going to the UN Security Council, the unilateral declaration of statehood, and non violent resistance, about three quarters have no confidence in the efficacy of any of these alternatives. It is worth noting however that despite the lack of support for a general return to violence, findings show a majority support for the Hamas attack on settlers near Hebron in the previous month. This attack took place on the eve of the inauguration of the direct Israeli-Palestinian negotiations in Washington, DC. More puzzling is the finding that despite the majority opposition to violence, the overwhelming majority of respondents expressed opposition to the steps taken by the PA to crack down on Hamas's violence, steps that appear to be consistent in theory with the public view that does not see violence as a viable alternative, one that can help Palestinians achieve national rights in ways that negotiations could not. It is also worth noting that half of the Palestinians believe that Hamas's attack on settlers aimed at derailing the peace process and the direct negotiations.

It is also interesting to note that the balance of power between Fateh and Hamas has remained unchanged since the second quarter of 2010. In fact, the popularity of President Mahmud Abbas has risen during the current period compared to that of Ismail Haniyeh. The implication of this is that Hamas did not gain more popularity despite public support for its armed attack on settlers. Moreover, Abbas and Fateh did not lose public support despite conceding to direct negotiations in the few weeks before the conduct of the poll, negotiations that did not receive public support, and despite the crackdown on Hamas after its armed attack, a crackdown opposed by the overwhelming majority of the public.

Findings also show that the public is not optimistic about the chances for reconciliation between Fateh and Hamas, despite the latest meeting in Damascus between representatives of the two sides, and that half of the public still believes that if Hamas wins the next elections, separation between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will be consolidated while only a quarter of the public believes that a Fateh victory would consolidate separation. Finally, findings show that a clear majority is in favor of the Fayyad government decision to withdraw government cars from senior civil servants.

(1) Domestic Conditions

- **70% describe conditions in the Gaza Strip and 34% describe conditions in the West Bank as bad or very bad.**
- **58% believe there is, or there is to some extent, free press in the West Bank and 32% say there is, or there is to some extent, free press in the Gaza Strip.**
- **Perception of safety and security is identical in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip: 60% say that these days they feel that their safety and security is assured.**
- **Positive evaluation of the performance of public institutions in the West Bank reaches 43% and in the Gaza Strip 30%.**
- **If new presidential elections were held today, Abbas would receive 57% and Ismail Haniyeh 36%, and if competition is between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 65% and the latter 30%.**
- **If new legislative elections were held today, Fateh would receive 45%, Hamas 26%, all other electoral lists combined 12%, and 17% remain undecided.**

11% describe conditions in the Gaza Strip as good or very good and 70% describe them as bad or very bad. By contrast, 33% describe conditions in the West Bank as good or very good and only 34% describe them as bad or very bad. However, 70% say there is corruption in PA institutions in the West Bank while only 60% say there is corruption in the institutions of the dismissed government in the Gaza Strip.

58% say there is, or there is to some extent, press freedom in the West Bank and 32% say there is no such freedom in the West Bank. But only 36% describe conditions of democracy and human rights in the PA under President Mahmud Abbas as good or very good and 33% say they are bad or very bad. Moreover, only 30% say people in the West Bank can criticize the Palestinian Authority without fear while 65% say people cannot do that without fear. By contrast, 42% say there is, or there is to some extent, press freedom in the Gaza Strip while 43% say there is no such freedom in the Gaza Strip. Moreover only 24% say people in the Gaza Strip can criticize the authorities in Gaza without fear and 66% say people cannot do that without fear.

Perceptions of safety and security are almost identical: in the Gaza Strip, 60% say they feel safe and secure in their homes these days and only 40% do not feel safe and secure. In the West Bank, 61% say they feel safe and secure and 39% say they do not.

Positive evaluation of the performance of the PA public institutions in the West Bank reaches 43% and negative evaluation reaches 26%. By contrast, positive evaluation of the performance of the public institutions of the dismissed government in the Gaza Strip reaches 30% and negative evaluation reaches 31%. Moreover, 29% say that political, security, and economic conditions force them to seek immigration to other countries. The percentage of those seeking immigration reaches 37% in the Gaza Strip and 24% in the West Bank. Positive evaluation of the performance of the dismissed

- **Despite the latest reconciliation meeting between Fateh and Hamas in Damascus, 30% say the separation between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is permanent, 51% say unity will be resumed but only after a long time, and only 14% say unity will be resumed soon.**
- **A Hamas victory in new elections will lead to the consolidation of separation between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in the eyes of half of the public and to the tightening of the siege and blockade in the eyes of 86% of the public.**
- **63% support the decision of the Fayyad government to withdraw government cars from senior civil servants and 32% oppose it.**
- **Acts of burning and destruction of summer camps and touristic installations in the Gaza Strip are committed by groups belonging to Hamas or extreme Islamist groups, or groups that have split from Hamas in the eyes of 48% of the public while only 5% put the blame for these acts on Fateh.**

government of Ismail Haniyeh reaches 36% and negative evaluation reaches 27% while positive evaluation of the performance of the government of Salam Fayyad reaches 43% and negative evaluation reaches 25%. Percentage of satisfaction with the performance of President Abbas reaches 51% and dissatisfaction reaches 45%. Satisfaction is higher in the West Bank (53%) than in the Gaza Strip (49%). 26% say the government of Haniyeh is the legitimate Palestinian government and 30% say the Fayyad government is the legitimate one. 30% say both governments are illegitimate and 9% say the two governments are legitimate. These results are almost identical to those obtained last June.

If new presidential elections were held today, and only two, Abbas and Haniyeh, were nominated, the former would receive the vote of 57% and the latter 36% of the vote of those participating. The rate of participation in such election would reach 61%. Last June Abbas received 54% and Haniyeh 39%. In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives today 59% and Haniyeh 37% and in the West Bank Abbas receives 55% and Haniyeh 35%. If the presidential elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, the former would receive 65% and the latter would receive 30% of the participants' votes. The rate of participation in this case would reach 70%. In the Gaza Strip, Barghouti receives 67% and Haniyeh 32% and in the West Bank Barghouti receives 64% and Haniyeh 28%. Most popular figures selected by the public as possible vice presidents from a list of five provided to respondents are Marwan Barghouti (selected by 30% of the public), Ismail Haniyeh (18%), Salam Fayyad (13%) Mustafa Barghouti (11%), and Saeb Erekat (6%).

If new legislative elections are held today with the participation of all factions, 69% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 26% say they would vote for Hamas and 45% say they would vote for Fateh, 12% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 17% are undecided. These results are identical to those obtained in June. Vote for Hamas in the West Bank (27%) is higher than the vote it receives in the Gaza Strip (24%) and vote for Fateh in the Gaza Strip (53%) is higher than it receives in the West Bank (41%). Percentage of the undecided in the West Bank reaches 19% and 14% in the Gaza Strip.

In light of the latest Damascus meeting between Fateh and Hamas, the public is not optimistic about the future of unity between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip: 30% say the split is permanent, 51% say unity will return but only after a long time, and only 14% say unity will return soon.

Responsibility for the continued split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is placed on Hamas by 15% of the respondents and on Fateh by 11% and on both together by 66%. But when asked about the future of the unity of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip if Hamas wins new elections, 49% say such a win would consolidate the split.

But if Fateh wins, only 25% say its win would consolidate the split. Only 17% say a Hamas electoral victory would consolidate unity while 34% say a Fateh electoral victory would consolidate unity. While the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are similar in believing that a Hamas victory would consolidate the split, a major difference between respondents in the two areas emerges regarding the future of the split in the case of a Fateh victory: 25% of West Bankers say such a victory would consolidate unity while 49% of Gazans think it would consolidate unity.

Moreover, findings show that a majority of 86% believes that if Hamas wins the next presidential and legislative elections such victory would lead to the consolidation of the siege and boycott on the Palestinian government or would keep things as they are today. But if Fateh wins the next elections, 37% believe this would lead to the tightening of the siege and blockade or would keep conditions as they are today. 56% believe that a Fateh victory would lead to the lifting of the siege and boycott and only 9% believe a Hamas victory would lead to the lifting of the siege and boycott.

In this regard, what worsens conditions for Hamas is the public belief that the two issues of national unity and ending the siege should be two of the most important Palestinian priorities. In an open question about the main problems confronting Palestinians which should be the top priorities of the PA, 26% mentioned the absence of national unity due to the split, while 15% mentioned the siege and the closure of the Gaza border crossings, 28% mentioned poverty and unemployment, 16% mentioned occupation and settlement activities, and 11% mentioned corruption in some public institutions.

63% support and 32% oppose the decision of the government of Salam Fayyad to withdraw government cars from senior civil servants. Support for the decision is higher in the West Bank (68%) than in the Gaza Strip (54%).

When asked who is behind the wave of burning and destruction of summer camps and tourist installations in the Gaza Strip, 19% said Hamas groups were the culprit, 11% said it was groups that had split from Hamas, 18% said it was radical Islamist groups from outside Hamas. Only 5% said Fateh groups were behind the wave of attacks while the rest said they do not know or selected other groups such as Israel (7%) or collaborators (5%).

(2) Peace Process

- **66% want the Palestinian side to pull out of the direct negotiations as long as settlement construction is underway, but 30% support continuation of negotiations**

66% believe the Palestinian side should withdraw from the direct negotiations now that the Israeli settlement moratorium has ended and construction has been resumed while 30% believe it should not withdraw. Percentage of those demanding withdrawal from negotiations increases to 68% in the West Bank compared to 62% in the Gaza Strip. Even if the US succeeds in finding a compromise for the settlement issue, one that is partial or temporary, a majority of 56%

despite the resumption of settlement construction.

- **Despite opposition to negotiations, 64% of the Palestinians believe that the Palestinian side needs success in the negotiations more than the Israeli side.**
- **In the case of a pull out of negotiations or in case negotiations fail, the majority supports three alternative options: going to the UN Security Council, a unilateral declaration of statehood, and resort to non violent resistance.**
- **But the majority believes that these three alternatives will not be effective in changing current Palestinian condition or in ending occupation or stopping settlement construction.**
- **A majority opposes return to armed intifada, the dissolution of the PA, or the abandonment of the two-state solution and the adoption of a one-state solution.**
- **But Hamas's armed attack on settlers near Hebron receives the support of 51% of the public and the opposition of 44%. Moreover, more than three quarters of the public oppose measures taken by the PA against Hamas in the aftermath of that attack.**
- **More than three quarters of the public are worried that they or members of their families might be harmed by Israelis or that their land would be confiscated or homes demolished.**
- **A majority of 57% support the Arab Peace Initiative and 39% oppose it. But only 49% support and 48% oppose a mutual recognition of Israel as the state for the Jewish people and Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people.**

would still oppose return to direct negotiations while only 39% would support a return. It seems that the opposition to negotiations while settlement construction continues is driven by extreme pessimism about their chances for success. If direct negotiations continue, the chances for success are low or very low in the view of 63% and high or very high in the view of 6% and medium in the view of 29%. Indeed, 67% believe that the chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years are slim or non-existent while 32% believe the chances are medium or high. The opposition to negotiation might also be driven by prevailing doubts about the legitimacy of any agreement that might come out of it given the fact that the term of the President and the legislative council has ended: even if it was possible to reach an agreement, 51% say such an agreement would be illegitimate while 43% say it will be legitimate.

Despite opposition to negotiations, 64% of the Palestinians believe that the Palestinian side is in more need for these negotiations to succeed than the Israelis while only 14% believe that Israel is in more need for success, and 20% believe that the two sides need success in negotiations equally. Percentage of those believing that Palestinians need success more than Israelis increases in the Gaza Strip (68%) compared to the West Bank (61%). Moreover, a majority of Palestinians (53%) believes that the Israelis too believe that the Palestinian side need success more than the Israelis. Here too, differences between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip emerge: 60% of Gazans but only 49% of West Bankers believe that Israelis think Palestinians need success more than Israelis.

In case of Palestinian pull out of the direct negotiations or in case negotiations fail, a majority of Palestinians (69%) supports going to the UN Security Councils to obtain a recognition of a Palestinian state while 54% support a unilateral declaration of Palestinian statehood and 51% support resort to non violent and non armed resistance. Support for a unilateral declaration of statehood increases in the West Bank, reaching 58%, compared to the Gaza Strip (47%). Similarly, support for non violent resistance is higher in the West Bank (53%) compared to the Gaza Strip (47%). By contrast, a majority (71%) is opposed to the abandonment of the two-state solution and the adoption of a one-state solution while 57% is opposed to return to armed intifada and an identical majority is opposed to the dissolution of the PA. Support for a return to armed intifada increases in the Gaza Strip (52%) compared to the West Bank (35%). Similarly, support for PA dissolution increases in the Gaza Strip (44%) compared to the West Bank (37%).

Despite the support for going to the UN Security Council, 76% of the Palestinians believe that if the Palestinians do indeed do that, the US will use its veto power to prevent recognition of the Palestinian state. Moreover, if Palestinians unilaterally declare statehood, 75% are convinced that such a declaration would be meaningless, that it will not change Palestinian conditions or will change them to the worse. Similarly, despite the support for non violent resistance, 72%

believe that such resistance will not succeed in ending occupation or stopping settlement construction.

On the other hand, if armed confrontations were to erupt between Palestinians and Israelis, only 41% of Palestinians believe such confrontations would help achieve national rights in ways that negotiations could not while 55% believe they would not help. Belief that armed confrontations, if erupted, would help achieve national rights in ways that negotiations could not increases in the Gaza Strip (46%) compared to the West Bank (38%). But if such confrontations were indeed to erupt, 47% would support them and 49% would oppose them. Support increases in the Gaza Strip (55%) compared to the West Bank (42%). Nonetheless, a majority of 51% supported and only 44% opposed Hamas's latest armed attack near Hebron which led to the death of four settlers. A majority of the support for the attack came from the Gaza Strip, reaching 61%, while only 44% supported it in the West Bank. An overwhelming majority of Palestinians (76%) opposes the PA crackdown on Hamas, a crackdown that took place in the aftermath of the attack on settlers. Only 20% supported the crackdown. About half of the public (49%) believes that the main motive behind Hamas's attack on settlers was to impede the peace process and direct negotiations while 39% believe that the motivation was to resist occupation and settlements.

76% are worried that they or a member of their family might be hurt by Israelis or that their land might be confiscated or homes demolished while 24% say they are not worried. Moreover, about three quarters believe that Israel's long term goal is to expand so that it stretches between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River while expelling the Arab population and an additional 20% believe its goal is to annex the West Bank and deny the Palestinians political rights and 13% believe its goal is to withdraw from all or part of the occupied Arab land after insuring its security.

57% support and 39% oppose the Arab Peace Initiative. But if the US decides to pressure the Palestinians and the Israelis to accept and implement the initiative, 53% believe that the Palestinian side should accept such American intervention and 42% believe it should not. Moreover, 49% support and 48% oppose a mutual recognition of Israel as the state for the Jewish people and Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people after all issues of the conflict have been resolved and after a Palestinian state has been established.

(3) Turkey Remains Popular:

- **Turkey is the most popular among Palestinians followed by Egypt, Syria, Iran, and Saudi Arabia**

In an open question about the regional country most supportive of the Palestinians, Turkey was selected by 25% of the public, remaining the most popular among respondents, followed by Egypt with 17%, Syria with 8%, and Iran and Saudi Arabia with 7% each. These results indicate a reduction in the percentage of those who selected Turkey from 43% last June and an increase of those who selected Egypt from 13% during the same period. It is worth noting that Egypt came first in the Gaza Strip with 30% selecting it.

PSR Poll No. 37

30 September-2 October 2010

	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	9.3	7.6	12.1
2) Al Jazeera	57.5	62.9	48.6
3) Al Hurra	0.4	0.5	0.2
4) Al Manar	2.8	3.8	1.0
5) Palestine TV	9.5	8.9	10.5
6) Alaqsa	9.3	5.3	15.8
7) Do not watch TV	8.3	8.6	7.8
8) Others	1.6	1.4	2.0
9) Do not have a dish	0.7	0.8	0.5
10) DK/NA	0.8	0.4	1.4
01) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?			
1) Very good	1.5	1.9	0.9
2) Good	9.8	10.1	9.4
3) So So	15.6	13.7	18.9
4) Bad	40.7	43.0	36.9
5) Very bad	29.0	26.2	33.6
6) DK/NA	3.4	5.1	0.5
02) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?			
1) Very good	6.3	5.5	7.5
2) Good	26.4	23.7	31.0
3) So so	27.8	31.9	21.2
4) Bad	24.2	27.6	18.5
5) Very bad	10.0	11.0	8.3
6) DK/NA	5.3	0.4	13.4
03) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	46.4	42.6	52.8
2) Some what religious	50.4	53.5	45.3
3) Not religious	3.2	4.0	1.9
04) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Supportive of the peace process	62.2	58.0	69.2
2) Opposed to the peace process	19.6	21.8	16.1
3) Between support and opposition	17.1	19.1	13.7
4) DK/NA	1.0	1.1	1.0

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
05) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions under the control of President Abu Mazin?			
1) Yes	69.6	72.5	64.9
2) No	17.8	14.6	23.2
3) No opinion/Don't know	12.5	12.9	11.9
M1) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions under the control of the dismissed government in the Gaza Strip			
1) yes	59.8	56.3	65.7
2) No	20.3	17.9	24.4
3) DK-NA	19.9	25.9	9.9
06) How would you evaluate the current status of democracy and human rights in the Palestinian Authority under Abu Mazin? Would you say it is:			
1) Very good	6.2	5.3	7.7
2) Good	30.2	25.4	38.2
3) So so	26.7	28.0	24.6
4) Bad	22.1	26.5	14.9
5) Very bad	11.3	11.4	11.1
6) DK/NA	3.5	3.4	3.6
07) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	9.3	8.0	11.5
2) Assured	50.9	52.6	48.2
3) Not assured	33.6	34.1	32.9
4) Not assured at all	6.0	5.3	7.2
5) DK/NA	0.1		0.2
M2) In your view, is there a press freedom in the West Bank?			
1) Yes	22.6	18.6	29.2
2) To some extent	35.1	39.2	28.5
3) No	32.3	34.1	29.4
4) DK-NA	9.9	8.1	12.9
M3) In your view, is there a press freedom in the West Bank?			
1) Yes	15.3	10.6	23.0
2) To some extent	26.8	25.6	28.7
3) No	43.1	42.9	43.4
4) DK-NA	14.9	20.9	5.0
M4) In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear?			
1) Yes	30.2	28.2	33.4
2) No	64.9	68.4	59.2
3) DK-NA	4.9	3.4	7.4

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
M5) In your view, can people in the Gaza Strip today criticize the authority without fear?			
1) Yes	23.7	21.6	27.1
2) No	66.0	62.8	71.2
3) DK-NA	10.3	15.6	1.7
08) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	14.1	9.6	21.3
2) Seek emigration	15.2	14.8	16.0
3) Do not seek emigration	33.6	34.7	31.6
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	36.5	39.9	30.9
5) DK/NA	0.7	1.0	0.2
09) Tell us how do you evaluate the performance of the dismissed government of Ismail Haniyeh in the Gaza Strip? Is it good or bad?			
1) Very good	6.7	5.7	8.4
2) Good	29.1	27.6	31.6
3) so so	22.3	19.0	27.9
4) Bad	18.3	17.2	20.1
5) Very bad	9.1	7.9	11.1
6) DK/NA	14.5	22.6	1.0
10) Tell us how do you evaluate the performance of the government headed by Salam Fayyad ? Is it good or bad?			
1) Very good	8.3	8.6	7.8
2) Good	34.4	36.5	31.0
3) So so	24.9	26.4	22.3
4) Bad	18.3	15.0	23.7
5) Very bad	6.8	5.6	8.7
6) DK/NA	7.3	7.8	6.5
11) The government of Salam Fayyad has recently decided to withdraw government cars from public employees in order to reduce government spending. But the employees' syndicate opposed the step and saw it harming rights of public employees. Do you support or oppose the decision to withdraw government cars?			
1) Certainly support	26.0	29.2	20.7
2) Support	36.6	39.0	32.8
3) Oppose	28.3	23.5	36.3
4) Certainly oppose	3.5	2.5	5.0
5) DK/NA	5.6	5.8	5.2
12) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) Very satisfied	7.4	6.2	9.4
2) Satisfied	44.0	46.9	39.1
3) Not satisfied	31.9	32.2	31.3

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
4) Not satisfied at all	13.2	10.2	18.1
5) DK/NA	3.5	4.4	2.1
13) 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	56.5	55.0	58.8
2) Ismael Haniyyah	35.7	35.2	36.5
4) DK/NA	7.8	9.8	4.7
14) And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh representing Hamas, whom would you vote for?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	65.2	64.3	66.7
2) Ismael Haniyyah	29.7	28.3	31.8
4) DK/NA	5.1	7.4	1.6
15) If you were to select a vice president, whom would you select from among the following list of candidates?			
1) Ismail Haniyeh	17.6	17.2	18.3
2) Salam Fayyad	12.9	14.5	10.1
3) Marwan Barghouti	30.0	30.9	28.5
4) Mustafa Barghouti	11.3	9.9	13.8
5) Saeb Erekat	6.1	4.8	8.2
6) Others	6.0	4.7	8.3
7) DK/NA	16.1	18.0	12.9
17) 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	0.7	0.8	0.6
2) Independent Palestine	3.8	4.0	3.6
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	2.9	3.0	2.6
4) Abu al Abbas	0.6	0.7	0.4
5) Freedom and social justice	0.1	0.2	
6) Change and reform	25.6	26.6	23.9
7) National coalition for justice and democ	0.7	1.2	
8) Third way(headed by salam fayyad)	2.3	3.3	0.7
9) Freedom and independence	0.7	0.5	1.1
10) Palestinian justice	0.2	0.3	
11) Fateh	45.1	40.5	52.7
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	17.3	18.9	14.4

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
18) After the separation between Gaza and the West Bank, Hamas and the government of Ismail Haniyeh remained in power in Gaza and considered itself the legitimate government while president Abu Mazin formed a new government headed by Salam Fayyad followed by a new government headed by Fayyad and it too considered itself legitimate. What about you, which of the two government you consider legitimate, the government of Haniyeh or the government of Abu Mazin and Fayyad?			
1) Haniyehs' government is the legitimate one	25.9	25.9	25.9
2) Abu Mazin's and Fayyad government is the legitimate one	29.5	29.0	30.5
3) Both governments are legitimate	8.6	11.1	4.7
4) Both governments are not legitimate	30.4	27.4	35.3
5) DK/NA	5.5	6.5	3.7
19) Mahmud Abbas's term as president of the Palestinian Authority ended last January 2010 without new elections being held on that date. Did he or did not he lose his legitimacy as president of the PA?			
1) Certainly loses legitimacy	18.1	19.3	16.0
2) Loses legitimacy	32.9	33.2	32.5
3) Does not lose legitimacy	34.6	34.3	35.1
4) Certainly does not lose legitimacy	8.9	6.5	12.9
5) DK/NA	5.6	6.8	3.5
20) In your view who is responsible for the continued split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? Hamas or Fateh?			
1) Hamas	14.6	12.1	18.7
2) Fateh	10.5	10.8	10.0
3) Both	66.4	65.6	67.6
4) Neither side	2.8	3.8	1.2
5) Other (specify ---)	3.1	4.0	1.5
6) DK/NA	2.7	3.7	0.9
21) If Hamas wins next legislative and president elections, will this in your view lead to the lifting or to tightening of the international boycott of the Palestinian government?			
1) Will lead to the lifting of the boycott	9.3	8.6	10.6
2) Will lead to the tightening of the boycott	66.4	65.3	68.1
3) Conditions will stay as they are today	19.3	20.6	17.1
4) DK/NA	5.0	5.6	4.2
22) And what about the unity between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? Will a Hamas victory in the next legislative and presidential elections lead to consolidation of unity between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip or will it lead to consolidating the split between the two areas?			
1) Will lead to consolidation of WBGS unity	17.2	15.7	19.7
2) Will lead to consolidation of WBGS split	49.1	48.9	49.6
3) Conditions of WBGS will stay as they are today	27.8	28.0	27.4
4) DK/NA	5.9	7.5	3.4

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
23) And what if Fateh wins new legislative and president elections, will this in your view lead to the lifting or to tightening of the international boycott of the Palestinian government?			
1) Will lead to the lifting of the boycott	57.7	44.4	79.5
2) Will lead to the tightening of the boycott	9.4	12.3	4.7
3) Conditions will stay as they are today	27.8	37.8	11.2
4) DK/NA	5.1	5.4	4.6
24) And what about the unity between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? Will a Fateh victory in the next legislative and presidential elections lead to consolidation of unity between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip or will it lead to consolidating the split between the two areas?			
1) Will lead to consolidation of WBGS unity	34.1	25.2	48.7
2) Will lead to consolidation of WBGS split	25.2	27.0	22.1
3) Conditions of WBGS will stay as they are today	34.0	40.1	24.2
4) DK/NA	6.7	7.7	5.1
25) The Palestinian society confronts today various problems, like the continuation of occupation and settlements, the spread of unemployment and poverty, the lack of national unity due to the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings, the spread of corruption in public institutions, and others. Tell us, what in your opinion, is the problem you see as the most fundamental, the one that must be on the top priority of the Palestinian Authority?			
1) Continuation of occupation and settlements,	16.4	18.7	12.5
2) Spread of unemployment and poverty	27.9	27.3	28.8
3) Lack of national unity due to the split between the West	25.8	24.2	28.3
4) Continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip	15.3	9.6	24.6
5) The spread of corruption in public institutions	11.0	14.9	4.7
6) DK/NA	0.2		0.5
7) Others	3.5	5.3	0.6
26) To what extent are you worried or not worried that you or a member of your family could be hurt in your daily life by other Palestinians such as those affiliated with Fateh or Hamas?			
1) Very Worried	12.5	10.7	15.6
2) Worried	34.1	35.1	32.3
3) Not worried	39.6	39.8	39.3
4) Not worried at all	13.2	13.6	12.4
5) DK/NA	0.7	0.8	0.5
27) Now after the renewal of reconciliation dialogue between Fateh and Hamas in Damascus lately, what are your expectations for the future of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?			
1) Unity will resume in the near future	13.6	10.2	19.3
2) Unity will resume but will take a long time	51.1	52.5	48.7

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
3) Unity will not resume and two separate entities will emer	30.4	31.0	29.6
4) DK/NA	4.8	6.3	2.4
28) Lately, several acts of arson and bombing of summer camps and tourist installations in the Gaza Strip have taken place. In your view, who is behind these acts? [respondents can select more than one response]			
1) Groups belonging to Fateh	5.2	7.1	2.2
2) Groups belonging to Hamas	19.1	12.0	30.6
3) Groups split from Hamas	10.9	10.7	11.1
4) Extreme Islamist groups from outside Hamas	18.1	13.4	25.7
5) Others (specify -----)	17.3	25.6	3.6
6) DK/NA	27.1	27.7	26.2
29) The Israeli temporary settlement freeze in the West Bank has expired few days ago and settlers have now returned to building more homes. Under these conditions, in your opinion, should, or should not, the Palestinians withdraw from the direct Palestinian-Israeli negotiations that started about one month ago?			
1) Certainly should withdraw	28.1	30.3	24.5
2) Should withdraw	37.6	37.6	37.5
3) Should not withdraw	24.6	22.6	28.1
4) Certainly should not withdraw	5.3	4.7	6.3
5) DK/NA	4.4	4.9	3.7
30) And what if the US proposed a compromise solution to the settlement question in the next few days whereby the settlement freeze is partial or limited in time, would you in this case approve or not approve of continuing the direct Palestinian-Israeli negotiations?			
1) Certainly approve	6.0	6.3	5.6
2) Approve	33.4	33.3	33.5
3) Do not approve	41.0	39.2	44.0
4) Certainly do not approve	14.9	15.8	13.3
5) DK/NA	4.7	5.4	3.5
31) And in your opinion, what are the chances that the negotiations, if continued, will succeed and will yield an agreement?			
1) Very high chances	1.2	0.8	2.0
2) High chances	4.8	4.3	5.8
3) Medium chances	29.4	28.1	31.7
4) Low chances	35.1	36.8	32.1
5) Very low chances	27.7	27.8	27.6
6) DK/NA	1.7	2.2	0.8

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
32) If an agreement is reached in these negotiations, in your view, would such an agreement be legitimate?			
1) Certainly yes	7.5	5.0	11.5
2) Yes	35.5	34.5	37.1
3) No	37.0	36.8	37.5
4) Certainly no	13.8	15.0	11.8
5) DK/NA	6.2	8.7	2.2
33) Which side is in greater need of success in the direct negotiations - the Palestinians or Israel?			
1) Palestinians are of much greater need for success	47.5	42.7	55.4
2) Palestinians are of greater need for success	16.3	18.6	12.5
3) Both sides are of equal need for success	19.7	21.7	16.5
4) Israel is of greater need for success	10.7	11.5	9.3
5) Israel is of much greater need for success	3.3	3.1	3.5
6) DK/NA	2.5	2.3	2.9
34) And in your opinion, what do the Israelis think about which side is of greater need of success in the negotiations - the Palestinians or Israel?			
1) Palestinians are of much greater need for success	37.5	33.5	44.1
2) Palestinians are of greater need for success	15.6	15.7	15.6
3) Both sides are of equal need for success	14.4	16.1	11.8
4) Israel is of greater need for success	23.5	24.5	21.8
5) Israel is of much greater need for success	5.1	6.2	3.1
6) DK/NA	3.9	4.1	3.6
35-1) Going to the Security Council to obtain a recognition of a Palestinian state			
1) Certainly support	16.9	16.3	17.8
2) Support	52.2	52.7	51.4
3) Oppose	22.5	22.1	23.1
4) Certainly oppose	5.8	5.2	6.7
5) DK/NA	2.6	3.6	1.1
35-2) Unilaterally declare the establishment of a Palestinian state			
1) Certainly support	10.6	10.7	10.6
2) Support	43.3	47.5	36.3
3) Oppose	36.8	32.7	43.6
4) Certainly oppose	6.9	5.6	9.1
5) DK/NA	2.3	3.5	0.5
35-3) Abandon the two state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis			
1) Certainly support	5.7	6.0	5.3
2) Support	21.3	22.6	19.1

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
3) Oppose	53.8	53.5	54.3
4) Certainly oppose	16.9	15.4	19.3
5) DK/NA	2.3	2.5	2.0
35-4) Resort to popular non violent and unarmed resistance			
1) Certainly support	8.5	8.4	8.6
2) Support	42.0	44.5	38.0
3) Oppose	40.2	39.0	42.2
4) Certainly oppose	7.7	6.1	10.3
5) DK/NA	1.6	2.1	0.9
35-5) Return to the armed intifada and confrontations			
1) Certainly support	9.3	7.2	12.7
2) Support	32.0	27.7	39.2
3) Oppose	46.6	51.1	39.2
4) Certainly oppose	10.3	11.9	7.6
5) DK/NA	1.8	2.1	1.3
35-6) Dissolve the Palestinian Authority			
1) Certainly support	10.9	10.6	11.4
2) Support	29.1	26.8	32.8
3) Oppose	45.4	48.0	41.0
4) Certainly oppose	11.5	11.1	12.0
5) DK/NA	3.2	3.5	2.7
36) If the Palestinian side decides to go the security council to obtain recognition of a Palestinian state, do you think the US will use its veto power against such a decision?			
1) Certainly yes	37.2	38.3	35.4
2) Yes	38.3	37.4	39.6
3) No	12.8	12.2	13.8
4) Certainly no	3.8	4.0	3.5
5) DK/NA	7.9	8.1	7.7
37) If at the end of 2011 the Palestinian side unilaterally declares the establishment of a Palestinian state without an agreement with Israel, do you think such a declaration will lead to actual change on the current conditions in the Palestinian areas with regard to settlements and control of the occupation forces over roads and crossings in the West Bank?			
1) Certainly lead to positive change	2.2	1.5	3.3
2) Will lead to change to the better	19.7	20.0	19.3
3) Will not lead to any change, positive or negative	32.5	33.5	30.8
4) Will lead to negative change	31.0	31.1	30.9
5) Certainly will lead to negative change	11.0	9.9	12.8
6) DK/NA	3.6	4.0	3.0

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
38) Do you think the direction the PA is calling for today in the West Bank in favor of peaceful resistance to occupation is capable of ending occupation or stopping settlements?			
1) Certainly capable	3.2	3.6	2.6
2) Capable	22.9	22.1	24.2
3) Incapable	54.6	57.8	49.4
4) Certainly incapable	17.1	14.1	22.0
5) DK/NA	2.2	2.4	1.8
39) If no agreement is reached in the current negotiations, and armed confrontations between Palestinians and Israelis erupted, do you think they will help achieve Palestinian national rights in ways that negotiations could not?			
1) Certainly they will help	8.3	8.8	7.3
2) Will help	33.1	29.5	38.9
3) Will not help	43.9	43.9	43.9
4) Certainly they will not help	10.9	12.6	8.0
5) DK/NA	3.9	5.1	1.9
40) If such armed confrontations like these were to take place, will you support or oppose them?			
1) Certainly support	8.3	7.6	9.6
2) Support	38.6	34.6	45.1
3) Oppose	43.3	46.2	38.6
4) Certainly oppose	5.8	7.0	3.7
5) DK/NA	4.0	4.5	3.1
41) What do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis now after the start of the direct talks with American mediation and after the expiration of the period of the Israeli settlement freeze and the return of settlers to building more homes in settlements?			
1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations	17.4	16.6	18.6
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will cont	44.7	45.5	43.4
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will	31.9	31.0	33.4
4) DK/NA	6.0	6.9	4.6
42) Now more than 40 years after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, 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? Are they high, medium, low, or none existent?			
1) None existent	25.0	25.9	23.6
2) Low	41.9	45.7	35.6
3) Medium	28.3	24.6	34.3
4) High	3.3	2.5	4.6
5) DK/NA	1.6	1.4	1.9

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
43) And generally speaking is it possible or impossible to reach these days a final status settlement with Israel?			
1) Definitely possible	2.0	1.0	3.5
2) Think it is possible	25.1	24.5	26.2
3) Think it is impossible	46.5	49.1	42.4
4) definitely impossible	24.8	23.4	27.1
5) DK/NA	1.6	2.0	0.9
44) To what extent are you worried or not worried that you or a member of your family could be hurt by Israel in your daily life or that your land would be confiscated or home demolished?			
1) Very Worried	28.6	27.5	30.3
2) Worried	47.7	49.2	45.3
3) Not worried	18.5	19.2	17.3
4) Not worried at all	5.1	4.1	6.8
5) DK/NA	0.2	0.1	0.2
45) What do you think are the aspirations of Israel for the long run?			
1) Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after	4.5	3.2	6.7
2) Withdrawal form part of the occupied territories after gu	8.7	10.3	6.1
3) Annexation of the West Bank while denying political right	19.8	16.8	24.6
4) Extending the borders of the state of Israel to cover all	64.5	66.5	61.3
5) DK/NA	2.5	3.3	1.3
46) According to the Saudi plan, Israel will retreat from all territories occupied in 1967 including Gaza the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and a Palestinian state will be established. The refugees problem will be resolved through negotiation in a just and agreed upon manner and in accordance with UN resolution 194 which allows return of refugees to Israel and compensation. In return, all Arab states will recognize Israel and its right to secure borders, will sign peace treaties with her and establish normal diplomatic relations. Do you agree or disagree to this plan?			
1) Certainly agree	10.9	9.7	12.9
2) Agree	46.5	44.2	50.2
3) Disagree	29.0	31.8	24.3
4) Certainly Disagree	9.6	10.0	8.8
5) DK/NA	4.1	4.2	3.8
47) If the US under president Obama decides to pressure the Palestinians and the Israeli sides to accept and implement the Arab or Saudi Peace Initiative, do you think the Palestinian side should accept or reject this American intervention			
1) Accept	52.9	51.8	54.6
2) Reject	41.9	42.6	40.8
3) DK/NA	5.1	5.4	4.5

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
48) What in your opinion will be the attitude of most Israelis to such American intervention - would they accept or reject it?			
1) Certainly accept	6.1	5.1	7.8
2) Accept	34.0	32.0	37.3
3) Reject	45.0	46.6	42.4
4) Certainly reject	8.3	8.5	8.0
5) DK/NA	6.6	7.9	4.5
49) There is a proposal that after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and the settlement of all issues in dispute, including the refugees and Jerusalem issues, there will be a mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinians people. Do you agree or disagree to this proposal?			
1) Certainly agree	5.7	6.2	4.8
2) Agree	43.7	42.1	46.3
3) Disagree	35.4	36.3	34.0
4) Certainly Disagree	13.0	12.8	13.5
5) DK/NA	2.2	2.7	1.4
50_1) From among the countries in the region and the world, which one you view as the most supportive of the Palestinians and their just rights?			
1) Turkey	24.5	24.0	25.2
2) Lebanon	3.6	4.2	2.6
3) Iran	6.9	8.3	4.6
4) Egypt	17.0	8.9	30.1
5) Jordan	2.9	3.8	1.5
6) Saudi Arabia	6.5	6.3	7.0
7) Iraq	1.3	1.5	0.9
8) Syria	8.0	9.5	5.6
9) Venezuela	2.5	3.6	0.6
10) France	1.1	1.4	0.6
11) Qatar	1.9	1.3	2.8
12) Others	6.8	8.5	4.1
13) No Opinion/Don't know	0.7	1.0	0.2
14) No one	16.5	17.8	14.3
51) The issue of religious freedoms has recently resurfaced in the US. How do you evaluate the American society today, is it in your view tolerant or intolerant toward other religions?			
1) Certainly tolerant	1.0	0.8	1.3
2) Tolerant	25.4	24.1	27.7
3) Intolerant	57.3	58.7	54.9
4) Certainly intolerant	10.8	9.9	12.3
5) DK/NA	5.5	6.5	3.8

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
52) Hamas carried out an armed attack near Bani Na'im in the Hebron region leading to the death of four Israeli settlers. What in your opinion was Hamas's primary motivation behind this attack?			
1) Resistance of occupation and settlements	38.8	36.0	43.3
2) Bring about a failure in the launch of negotiations	49.1	48.9	49.4
3) Others (specify -----)	1.7	1.8	1.5
4) DK/NA	10.5	13.3	5.7
53) Do you support or oppose this armed attack?			
1) Strongly support	15.5	12.1	21.1
2) Support	35.4	32.3	40.3
3) Oppose	37.9	41.9	31.3
4) Strongly oppose	6.5	7.4	5.0
5) DK/NA	4.7	6.2	2.3
54) After the attack, the Palestinian Authority carried out a crackdown on Hamas with arrests of members in the West Bank. Do you support or oppose the steps taken by the PA against Hamas after the attack?			
1) Strongly support	3.0	2.2	4.3
2) Support	16.5	16.2	16.9
3) Oppose	55.9	55.5	56.4
4) Strongly oppose	20.4	20.5	20.3
5) DK/NA	4.2	5.5	2.1
55) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....			
1) Strongly support	14.4	10.4	20.8
2) Support	34.6	31.3	40.0
3) Oppose	43.2	48.5	34.5
4) Strongly oppose	6.0	7.1	4.1
5) DK/NA	1.8	2.6	0.4
56) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
01) PPP	0.1	0.1	
02) PFLP	3.3	3.3	3.4
03) Fateh	30.5	29.5	32.3
04) Hamas	18.1	16.7	20.3
05) DFLP	0.5	0.7	0.3
06) Islamic Jihad	1.3	1.0	2.0
07) Fida	0.2	0.2	0.2
08) National initiative (almubadara)	0.9	1.0	0.7
09) Independent Islamist	2.2	2.1	2.2
10) Independent nationalist	3.4	4.2	2.0
11) Third way headed by salam fayyad	1.0	1.6	0.2
12) None of the above	37.6	38.7	35.8
13) Others	0.8	0.9	0.7