

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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### **Massive support for going to the UN, but a majority expects US and Israeli financial and political sanctions and three quarters want an actual exercise of sovereignty throughout the West Bank**

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 15-17 September 2011. The poll was conducted after the PLO declaration of its intention to seek membership in the UN. President Abbas announced the intention to go to the UNSC during data collection. This press release covers Palestinian attitudes regarding the UN issue, the performance of the governments of Salam Fayyad and Ismail Haniyeh, the internal balance of power between Fateh and Hamas, and the views of the public on the most vital Palestinian goals and the most serious problems confronting Palestinians today. Total size of the sample is 1200 adults interviewed face to face in 120 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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#### **MAIN RESULTS:**

Findings of the third quarter of 2011 show that a semi consensus is evolving over the issue of seeking UN membership and recognition of Palestinian statehood despite the fact that a large majority believes that the step will lead to the suspension of American financial support and Israeli custom transfers and will lead to greater hardships on the ground with more Israeli checkpoints and settlement activities. Findings also show that the overwhelming majority of the public want the PA to exercise actual sovereignty throughout the entire West Bank and to insist on assuming control over the Allenby Crossing with Jordan even if such steps lead to a confrontation with the Israeli army and settlers. While findings show widespread opposition to return to an armed intifada, a majority supports, and wants to participate in, large scale peaceful demonstrations. Only 50% however expect Palestine to become a member of the UN this month.

Findings also show that the popularity of Abbas and Fateh has increased somewhat in light of the debate over the UN step. Findings also show a surprising increase in the percentage of those who wish to immigrate from the Gaza Strip, reaching 50%. They also show widespread criticism of, and objection to, Hamas' government decision to ban travel of Gazan students to the US for studies and to the decision requiring prior approval of NGO staff to travel abroad to participate in conferences. Findings also show very little support to the decision by the PA Attorney General to ban the airing of the satirical TV series "Watan ala Watar" seeing the decision as a violation of the freedom of expression.

**(1) Going to the UN:**

- 83% support and 16% oppose going to the UN to obtain membership for a Palestinian state.
- In response to the Palestinian UN efforts, 78% expect Israel to stop transfer of custom funds to the PA and 64% expect the US to stop its financial support to the Palestinians.
- 77% expect the US to use its veto power at the UNSC to prevent admittance of the State of Palestine to the UN.
- After the UN vote, 75% want the PA to exercise sovereignty throughout the West Bank and 73% want the PA to assert control over the Allenby crossing with Jordan.
- A majority of 61% supports non-violent resistance as the means to impose Palestinian sovereignty and 54% say they want to participate in peaceful demonstrations.
- By contrast, only 35% support, and 64% oppose, return to an armed intifada.

83% support and 16% oppose going to the UNSC to obtain recognition of Palestine as a state. Moreover, 74% believe that there is no point in returning to negotiations with Israel without acceptable terms of reference or without freezing settlement construction and that therefore president Abbas is right in seeking UN involvement. Support for going to the UN reaches 86% in the Gaza Strip and 81% in the West Bank. Support for the step increases among supporters of the peace process (87%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (70%), and among supporters of Fateh (91%) compared to supporters of Hamas (78%).

In response to the Palestinian decision to go to the UN, an overwhelming majority of 78% expects Israel to suspend transfer of custom funds to the PA or to suspend the transfer and take additional measures to make occupation harsher by setting more checkpoints and expanding settlement construction. Similarly, 64% expect the US to respond to the UN drive by suspending its financial contribution to the PA or by suspending the contribution and imposing political restrictions. 77% expect the US to use its veto power at the UNSC to prevent admission of Palestine to the UN but 58% believe that most European countries will recognize the new state of Palestine. 50% expect Palestine to become a UN member state this September and 43% do not expect that.

After the UN recognition of Palestine as a state, 75% (76% in the West Bank and 71% in the Gaza Strip) want the PA to exercise sovereignty throughout the entire West Bank even if such a measure leads to a confrontation between the PA and the Israeli army and settlers. Support for imposition of Palestinian sovereignty increases in the West Bank (76%) compared to the Gaza Strip (71%), among supporters of the peace process (80%) compared to those opposed to the peace process (69%), among those with most use of internet (82%) compared to those who do not use the internet (73%), and among supporters of Fateh (79%) compared to supporters of Hamas (66%). Similarly, 73% (71% in the West Bank and 77% in the Gaza Strip) want the PA to assert Palestinian sovereignty over the Allenby crossing with Jordan even if such a step leads to the closure of the crossing.

Only 35% support a return to an armed intifada and 64% oppose it. By contrast, 61% support resort to popular, unarmed and non-violent resistance and 54% say they will participate in peaceful demonstrations that would seek to breach checkpoints and block roads used by Israeli army and settlers after the UN recognition of the state of Palestine. Moreover, an identical percentage says that if large scale peaceful demonstrations were to take place in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, they would contribute to the process of ending Israeli occupation. Belief that peaceful demonstrations can contribute to ending occupation is higher in the Gaza Strip (66%) compared to the West Bank (48%), among supporters of the peace process (57%) compared to those opposed to the peace process (50%), and among holders of BA degree (58%) compared to illiterates (39%).

**(2) Conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, performance of**

23% describe conditions in the Gaza Strip as good or very good and 50% describe them as bad or very bad. By contrast, 39% describe

**the governments of Fayyad and Haniyeh, and presidency and legislative elections**

- **Positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank is higher than that of conditions in the Gaza Strip in areas of general conditions, freedom of the press, and the ability of citizens to criticize authorities without fear. But percentage of those who believe corruption exists in PA institutions in the West Bank is higher than percentage of those who believe corruption exists in Hamas' public institutions in the Gaza Strip.**
- **Positive evaluation of the performance of Haniyeh's government stands at 34% and Fayyad's at 53%.**
- **49% of Gazans say they want to immigrate while in the West Bank only 28% want to do the same.**
- **Satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 52% and dissatisfaction at 44%.**
- **If new presidential elections were to take place today, Abbas would receive 59% of the vote and Haniyeh 34%.**
- **If new legislative elections were to take place today, Hamas would receive 29% of the vote, Fateh 45%, third parties combined 13%, and 14% remain undecided.**
- **23% support and 42% oppose the decision by the PA's Attorney General to ban the satirical series "Watan ala Watar" and 35% have no opinion.**
- **20% support and 71% oppose the decision of the Hamas government in the Gaza Strip to ban the travel**

conditions in the West Bank as good or very good and 30% describe them as bad or very bad. Moreover, 65% say there is, or there is to some extent, press freedom in the West Bank and 30% say there is no such freedom in the West Bank. By contrast, only 48% say there is, or there is to some extent, press freedom in the Gaza Strip while 38% say there is no such freedom in the Gaza Strip. 36% say people in the West Bank can criticize the authority in the West Bank without fear. By contrast, 26% say people in the Gaza Strip can criticize the authorities in Gaza without fear. On the other hand, 71% say there is corruption in the PA institutions in the West Bank while only 58% say there is corruption in the institutions of the dismissed government in the Gaza Strip. These percentages are similar to those obtained three months ago. Perception of safety and security stands at 68% in the West Bank and 65% in the Gaza Strip.

Positive evaluation of the performance of the governments of Ismail Haniyeh stands at 34% and Salam Fayyad's at 53%. Three months ago, these percentages stood at 39% and 43% respectively. Findings show that the percentage of Gazans who say they seek immigration to other countries stands at 49%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 28%. Three months ago, these figures stood at 40% and 26% respectively.

Percentage of satisfaction with the performance of President Abbas stands at 52% while 44% say they are dissatisfied with his performance. Satisfaction with the performance of the president stands at 39% in the Gaza Strip and 59% in the West Bank. If new presidential elections are held today, and only two were nominated, Abbas would receive the vote of 59% and Haniyeh 34% of the vote of those participating. The rate of participation in such election would reach 60%. These results indicate a significant increase in Abbas' popularity and a decline in Haniyeh's compared to the situation three months ago when Abbas received the support of 54% and Haniyeh 38%. Support for Abbas reaches 63% in the West Bank and 51% in the Gaza Strip while support for Haniyeh stands at 29% in the West Bank and 42% in the Gaza Strip. Support for Abbas increases also among men (62%) compared to women (55%) while support for Haniyeh increases among women (39%) compared to men (30%). 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 67%.

If new legislative elections are held today with the participation of all factions, 67% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 29% say they would vote for Hamas and 45% say they would vote for Fateh, 13% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 14% are undecided. These results indicate an increase of three percentage points in Fateh's popularity compared to the situation three months ago. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip in this poll stands at 36% and in the West Bank 25%. Vote for Fateh in the Gaza Strip stands at 43% and in the West Bank 46%.

Only 23% support the decision by PA's Attorney General to ban the

**of students to the US to continue their studies.**

satirical TV series “*Watan ala Watar*” and 42% oppose the decision while 35% have no opinion on the matter. Supporters of the decision accuse the series of mocking PA institutions and ridiculing its leaders or being of low quality and repulsive. Opposition to the decision is based on the argument that it represents a gross violation of freedom of expression or because it is not up to the Attorney General to suspend a TV series. Opposition to the decision is higher among the youth, between the ages of 18 and 28 years of age (50%) compared to those between the ages of 29 and 39 (44%) and those whose age is 40 or above (35%), among those who oppose the peace process (50%) compared to those who support the peace process (40%), among those with most use of internet (56%) compared to those who do not use the internet (32%), and among holders of BA degree (47%) compared to illiterates (16%). Opposition to the decision stands at 42% among supporters of Fateh and 39% among supporters of Hamas.

71% oppose and 20% support the decision by the Hamas government to prevent students who received scholarships from Amideast to travel to the US for studies. Similarly, 63% oppose and 27% support the decision by the Hamas government instructing staff of NGOs wishing to travel abroad to attend conferences to submit a request for permission to travel two weeks in advance of travel date. Opposition to the Hamas government’s decision to ban travel of students to the US is higher in the West Bank (76%) compared to the Gaza Strip (63%), among the youth between the ages of 18 and 28 years of age (76%) compared to those whose age is 40 or over (69%), among those who say they are “somewhat religious” (77%) compared to those who say they are religious (64%) among supporters of the peace process (77%) compared to those opposed to the peace process (54%), among those with most use of internet (81%) compared to those who do not use the internet (70%), among holders of BA degree (77%) compared to illiterates (49%), and among supporters of Fateh (83%) compared to supporters of Hamas (45%).

**(3) The Peace Process**

- **55% support and 40% oppose the Arab Peace Initiative**
- **46% support and 52% oppose a mutual recognition of national identity of Israel and Palestine**
- **73% are worried and 27% are not worried that they or members of their family would be hurt by Israelis or their land will be confiscated or homes demolished**
- **58% believe that Israel’s long term goal is to annex the West Bank and expel its inhabitants and 19% believe that its goal is to annex the**

55% of the Palestinians support the Saudi initiative and 40% oppose it. The plan calls for Arab recognition of and normalization of relations with Israel after it ends its occupation of Arab territories occupied in 1967 and after the establishment of a Palestinian state. The plan calls for Israeli retreat from all territories occupied in 1967 including Gaza the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and the establishment of a Palestinian state. The refugee problem will be resolved through negotiations in a just and agreed upon manner and in accordance with UN resolution 194. 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. In our June 2011 poll there was a similar level of support for the plan. Findings also show that 46% support and 52% oppose a mutual recognition of Israel as the state for the Jewish People and Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people after the resolution of all issues of conflict and the establishment of a Palestinian state. These figures are similar to those obtained in our last poll in June.

Moreover, 73% are worried and 27% are not worried that they or a

**West Bank and deny  
Palestinians their political  
rights**

member of their family may be hurt by Israelis in their daily life or that their land would be confiscated or home demolished. The level of perceived threat regarding the aspirations of Israel in the long run is very high. 58% of Palestinians think that Israel's goals are to extend its borders to cover all the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and expel its Arab citizens, and 19% think the goals are to annex the West Bank while denying political rights to the Palestinians. Only 21% think Israel's aspirations in the long run are to withdraw from part or all of the territories occupied in 1967.

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

- **59% believe that Israeli withdrawal and the establishment of a Palestinian state with the 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as its capital is the most vital Palestinian goal while 24% believe that the most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return**
- **Problems of poverty and unemployment, the absence of national unity, and the continuation of Israeli occupation are seen equally as the top three problems facing Palestinians today.**

The largest percentage (59%) believes that the *first* most vital Palestinian goal should be to end Israeli occupation in the areas occupied in 1967 and build a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital. By contrast, 24% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 11% believe that it should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings, and 7% believe that the first and most vital goal should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians. Three months ago, only 48% viewed statehood within the 1967 borders as the most vital goal. It is likely that the drive to gain UN membership and recognition has pushed this goal to the top priority for a greater number of Palestinians. The belief that Palestinian statehood should be the most vital goal increases in the West Bank (63%) compared to the Gaza Strip (50%), among supporters of the peace process (65%) compared to those opposed to the peace process (46%), among supporters of Fateh (64%) compared to supporters of Hamas (58%), and among illiterates and those with elementary education (70%) compared to holders of BA degree (54%).

Five main problems confront Palestinians today: the most serious problem in the eyes of 25% of the public is the spread of poverty and unemployment while an identical percentage believes that it is the absence of national unity due to the West Bank-Gaza Strip, and 24% believe that it is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities while 13% believe it to be the corruption in some public institutions, and 7% believe it to be the siege and the closure of the Gaza border crossings.

**Poll No. 41**  
**15-17 September 2011**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>00) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?</b>			
1) Al Arabia	13.5%	10.1%	20.2%
2) Al Jazeera	52.9%	62.2%	34.5%
3) Al Hurra	.6%	.6%	.6%
4) Al Manar	3.2%	3.2%	3.1%
5) Palestine TV	12.1%	11.8%	12.8%
6) Alaqsa	5.8%	1.7%	13.8%
7) Do not watch TV	7.8%	7.6%	8.3%
8) Others	2.9%	2.3%	4.0%
9) Do not have a dish	.6%	.1%	1.4%
10) DK/NA	.6%	.3%	1.2%
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>01) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?</b>			
1) Very good	3.9%	4.4%	3.1%
2) Good	18.9%	16.1%	24.4%
3) So so	23.4%	21.5%	26.9%
4) Bad	33.3%	36.8%	26.4%
5) Very bad	16.7%	15.5%	19.1%
6) DK/NA	3.7%	5.6%	.0%
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>02) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?</b>			
1) Very good	7.0%	6.2%	8.5%
2) Good	31.8%	31.3%	33.0%
3) So so	28.8%	27.4%	31.6%
4) Bad	22.2%	25.4%	16.1%
5) Very bad	7.5%	9.2%	4.0%
6) DK/NA	2.7%	.6%	6.9%
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>03) Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>			
1) Religious	43.1%	43.0%	43.4%
2) Somewhat religious	51.8%	52.7%	50.0%
3) Not religious	4.9%	4.2%	6.1%
4) DK/NA	.2%	.1%	.5%
<b>04) Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>			
1) Supportive of the peace process	59.1%	58.2%	60.8%
2) Opposed to the peace process	19.7%	20.0%	19.2%
3) Between support and opposition	20.0%	20.6%	18.8%
4) DK/NA	1.2%	1.2%	1.2%
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>05) If new presidential elections are to take place today, and Mahmud Abbas was nominated by Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh was nominated by Hamas, whom would you vote for?</b>			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	58.5%	63.3%	51.3%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	34.4%	29.1%	42.3%
4) DK/NA	7.1%	7.6%	6.4%
<b>06) And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh representing Hamas, whom would you vote for?</b>			

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1) Marwan Barghouti	65.0%	68.7%	59.2%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	29.6%	25.7%	35.6%
4) DK/NA	5.4%	5.6%	5.1%
<b>07) 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?</b>			
1) Continuation of occupation and settlements,	24.4%	28.0%	17.4%
2) Spread of unemployment and poverty	24.9%	26.0%	22.7%
3) Lack of national unity due to the split	24.8%	21.7%	30.9%
4) Continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings	7.1%	4.9%	11.6%
5) The spread of corruption in public institutions	13.1%	15.8%	7.8%
6) Others (----- )	3.7%	.9%	9.3%
7) DK/NA	1.9%	2.8%	.3%
<b>08) If new elections agreed to by all factions are held today and the same lists that took part in the last PLC elections were nominated, for whom would you vote?</b>			
1) Alternative	2.0%	1.5%	2.8%
2) Independent Palestine	2.7%	2.8%	2.6%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	1.8%	2.2%	1.2%
4) Abu al Abbas	1.9%	2.3%	1.3%
5) Freedom and social justice	.7%	.4%	1.1%
6) Change and reform	29.0%	24.8%	35.5%
7) National coalition for justice and democ	.1%	.1%	.0%
8) Third way(headed by salam fayyad)	1.7%	2.4%	.6%
9) Freedom and independence	.8%	.6%	1.0%
10) Palestinian justice	1.2%	1.2%	1.3%
11) Fateh	44.6%	45.7%	42.9%
12) None of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	13.6%	16.0%	9.7%
<b>09) In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear?</b>			
1) Yes	36.0%	36.0%	36.0%
2) No	58.8%	60.5%	55.6%
3) DK-NA	5.2%	3.5%	8.5%
<b>10) In your view, can people in the Gaza Strip today criticize the authority without fear?</b>			
1) Yes	26.2%	26.6%	25.3%
2) No	60.3%	54.5%	71.7%
3) DK-NA	13.5%	18.9%	3.0%
<b>11) Tell us how do you evaluate the performance of the dismissed government of Ismail Haniyeh in the Gaza Strip in the areas of public services such as those of health, education, and road repairs? Is it good or bad?</b>			
1) Very Good	7.2%	5.4%	10.8%
2) Good	27.1%	27.6%	26.1%

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
3) Neither good nor bad	26.1%	23.0%	32.3%
4) Bad	15.0%	13.4%	18.0%
5) Very Bad	5.5%	2.4%	11.8%
6) No Opinion/Don't know	19.1%	28.3%	1.0%
<b>12) Tell us how do you evaluate the performance of the government headed by Salam Fayyad in the areas of public services such as those of health, education, and road repairs? Is it good or bad?</b>			
1) Very Good	11.2%	10.9%	11.7%
2) Good	42.1%	47.0%	32.3%
3) Neither good nor bad	24.9%	22.2%	30.1%
4) Bad	11.6%	10.4%	14.1%
5) Very Bad	5.3%	5.1%	5.7%
6) No Opinion/Don't know	5.0%	4.4%	6.1%
<b>13) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions under the control of President Abu Mazin?</b>			
1) Yes	71.1%	74.4%	64.7%
2) No	17.9%	15.6%	22.4%
3) DK-NA	11.0%	10.0%	12.9%
<b>14) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions under the control of the dismissed government in the Gaza Strip</b>			
1) Yes	58.4%	56.4%	62.2%
2) No	18.7%	14.7%	26.3%
3) DK-NA	22.9%	28.8%	11.5%
<b>15) In your view, is there a press freedom in the West Bank?</b>			
1) Yes	24.4%	22.6%	27.9%
2) To some extent	40.8%	41.3%	39.7%
3) No	30.2%	32.2%	26.3%
4) DK/NA	4.6%	3.9%	6.1%
<b>16) In your view, is there a press freedom in the Gaza Strip?</b>			
1) Yes	14.8%	12.1%	20.2%
2) To some extent	32.8%	31.0%	36.3%
3) No	38.2%	36.9%	40.8%
4) DK-NA	14.1%	19.9%	2.8%
<b>17) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?</b>			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	14.7%	9.7%	24.7%
2) Seek emigration	20.3%	18.2%	24.5%
3) Do not seek emigration	37.0%	38.4%	34.2%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	26.9%	32.9%	15.2%
5) DK/NA	1.1%	.9%	1.5%
<b>18) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?</b>			
1) Very satisfied	7.5%	6.4%	9.8%
2) Satisfied	44.5%	52.5%	29.0%
3) Not satisfied	32.6%	30.2%	37.2%
4) Not satisfied at all	10.9%	6.2%	20.1%



	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
5) DK/NA	4.5%	4.7%	4.0%
<b>19) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?</b>			
1) Completely assured	7.7%	6.6%	9.9%
2) Assured	58.9%	61.0%	54.8%
3) Not assured	27.2%	27.1%	27.5%
4) Not assured at all	4.7%	4.2%	5.7%
5) DK/NA	1.5%	1.2%	2.1%
<b>20-1) From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most important one and which should be the second most important goal that the Palestinian people should strive to achieve?</b>			
1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital	59.0%	63.3%	50.2%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	24.1%	19.9%	32.5%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	6.5%	6.5%	6.5%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	10.5%	10.3%	10.8%
<b>20-2) From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most important one and which should be the second most important goal that the Palestinian people should strive to achieve? second</b>			
1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state	16.2%	16.3%	16.0%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	46.5%	46.9%	45.8%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	20.0%	20.2%	19.6%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	17.3%	16.6%	18.6%
<b>21) Fateh and Hamas have reached an agreement to unify the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the formation of a government of specialists, and the holding of elections in a year from today. In your view, will the two sides succeed in implementing the agreement and unifying the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	3.6%	3.4%	3.9%
2) Yes	44.3%	46.1%	40.7%
3) No	35.3%	34.0%	38.0%
4) Certainly no	11.1%	10.2%	12.9%
5) DK/NA	5.6%	6.3%	4.4%
<b>22) PA's Attorney General ordered the suspension of the broadcasting of the series called Watan Ala Watar which was aired by Palestine TV during Ramadan. Do you support or oppose the suspension?</b>			

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1) Certainly support	7.1%	5.8%	9.6%
2) Support	15.7%	16.9%	13.4%
3) Oppose	30.6%	30.0%	31.6%
4) Certainly oppose	11.3%	11.8%	10.4%
5) DK/NA	35.4%	35.5%	35.1%
<b>23) If you support the suspension of the broadcasting of the series, what are your reasons for that?</b>			
1) Support the suspension because of the low quality of the work and its repulsive language and style	28.8%	30.0%	26.7%
2) Support the suspension because of its ridicule of Palestinian civil and security services	33.8%	40.5%	21.6%
3) For the two reasons above	32.1%	24.2%	46.4%
4) Other reasons: specify -----	5.3%	5.3%	5.3%
<b>24) If you oppose the suspension of the broadcasting of the series, what are your reasons for that?</b>			
1) Oppose the suspension because it represents a violation of freedom of expression	54.3%	55.4%	52.2%
2) Oppose the suspension because it is not up to the Attorney General to suspend a TV series	19.4%	18.8%	20.5%
3) For the two reasons above	24.4%	23.5%	26.2%
4) Other reasons: specify -----	1.9%	2.2%	1.1%
<b>25) Hamas government in the Gaza Strip decided to prevent students from travel after they were granted scholarships from American AMIDEAST institution to study in the US. Hamas says the decision is justified in order to protect Palestinian social and cultural values while those opposed to the decision argue that it is not justified because it violates the rights and freedoms of citizens. What is your view?</b>			
1) Justified to protect Palestinian values	19.7%	17.0%	25.1%
2) Unjustified as it violates citizens' rights	71.4%	75.8%	62.7%
3) Other: specify -----	1.2%	1.2%	1.3%
4) DK/NA	7.6%	6.0%	10.9%
<b>26) Also, Hamas government issued instructions ordering staff of NGOs wishing to travel abroad to attend conferences to submit a request for permission two weeks in advance of travel date. Hamas says that the decision is justified in order to protect order and enforce the law while those opposed to the decision argue that it is not justified because it seeks to diminish the independence of the NGOs and force them under its wing. What do you think?</b>			
1) Justified to protect Palestinian values	26.8%	24.4%	31.5%
2) Unjustified because it diminishes NGOs'	62.7%	66.2%	56.0%
3) Other: specify -----	1.2%	.9%	1.9%
4) DK/NA	9.3%	8.6%	10.7%
<b>27) Last month, Israel witness widespread popular demonstrations in Israel demanding social justice, particularly affordable housing. Do you see in this development something good or bad for Palestinians? Or will this have no effect on Palestinians?</b>			

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1) Good for Palestinians	24.4%	25.8%	21.5%
2) Bad for Palestinians	25.2%	25.2%	25.1%
3) Will have no effect on Palestinians	44.7%	44.8%	44.4%
4) DK/NA	5.8%	4.2%	8.9%
<b>28) And what about you? Do the rising cost of living and your inability to provide a better future for you and your family push you to demonstrate in order to demand a better standard of living and a better life?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	19.4%	17.1%	24.0%
2) Yes	46.1%	46.5%	45.3%
3) No	27.6%	29.9%	23.1%
4) Certainly no	5.1%	5.2%	4.9%
5) DK/NA	1.8%	1.3%	2.8%
<b>29) Few weeks ago, an armed attack against Israelis took place near Eilat and the Egyptian Sinai borders with Israel against. In your view, did it serve or harm Palestinian interests?</b>			
1) Certainly served Palestinian interests	16.0%	16.9%	14.2%
2) Served Palestinian interests	45.4%	49.8%	36.8%
3) Harmed Palestinian interests	15.9%	12.6%	22.2%
4) Certainly harmed Palestinian interests	7.7%	4.1%	14.7%
5) DK/NA	15.1%	16.6%	12.1%
<b>30) What do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis now after the Palestinian decision to seek membership in the UN on 20 September 2011?</b>			
1)The two sides will soon return to negotiations	27.8%	28.7%	25.9%
2) The two sides will soon return to negotiations but some armed attacks will continue	28.3%	26.4%	31.9%
3)The two sides will not return to negotiations and armed attacks increase	23.3%	22.0%	25.9%
4) The two sides will not return to negotiations and armed attacks will not take place	12.9%	14.5%	9.8%
5) DK/NA	7.8%	8.4%	6.5%
<b>31) 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?</b>			
1) None existent	21.8%	21.3%	22.6%
2) Low	42.1%	41.9%	42.4%
3) Medium	27.9%	29.7%	24.5%
4) High	6.1%	5.5%	7.2%
5) DK/NA	2.1%	1.5%	3.2%
<b>32) 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?</b>			
1) Very Worried	27.2%	26.4%	28.8%
2) Worried	45.5%	45.1%	46.2%
3) Not worried	22.7%	24.2%	19.8%

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
4) Not worried at all	4.1%	4.3%	3.6%
5) DK/NA	.5%	.0%	1.6%
<b>33) What do you think are the aspirations of Israel for the long run?</b>			
1) Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security	7.1%	5.9%	9.3%
2) Withdrawal form part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security	13.6%	14.1%	12.6%
3) Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens	18.6%	15.6%	24.5%
4) Extending the borders of the state of Israel to cover all the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and expelling its Arab citizens	58.2%	62.1%	50.6%
5) DK/NA	2.5%	2.2%	3.1%
<b>34) 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?</b>			
1) Certainly agree	5.5%	5.3%	5.9%
2) Agree	49.9%	49.1%	51.3%
3) Disagree	31.8%	33.6%	28.1%
4) Certainly Disagree	8.2%	6.5%	11.5%
5) DK/NA	4.6%	5.4%	3.2%
<b>35) 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?</b>			
1) Certainly agree	3.4%	2.6%	4.9%
2) Agree	42.9%	42.8%	43.2%
3) Disagree	39.2%	41.4%	34.7%
4) Certainly Disagree	12.6%	10.9%	15.9%
5) DK/NA	2.0%	2.4%	1.2%
<b>36-1) Going to the Security Council to obtain a recognition of a Palestinian state</b>			
1) Certainly agree	24.2%	15.9%	40.5%
2) Agree	58.8%	65.5%	45.7%
3) Disagree	14.8%	16.7%	11.1%
4) Certainly Disagree	1.0%	.3%	2.1%
5) DK/NA	1.2%	1.6%	.5%
<b>36-2) Unilaterally declare the establishment of a Palestinian state</b>			
1) Certainly agree	12.1%	7.1%	22.0%
2) Agree	47.3%	50.0%	42.1%
3) Disagree	35.4%	38.7%	28.9%
4) Certainly Disagree	3.9%	2.5%	6.5%
5) DK/NA	1.3%	1.7%	.5%

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>36-3) Abandon the two state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis</b>			
1) Certainly agree	4.5%	2.9%	7.7%
2) Agree	21.2%	21.4%	20.9%
3) Disagree	56.2%	63.2%	42.4%
4) Certainly Disagree	15.9%	10.2%	27.1%
5) DK/NA	2.2%	2.4%	1.9%
<b>36-4) Resort to popular non violent and unarmed resistance</b>			
1) Certainly agree	9.4%	6.6%	14.8%
2) Agree	51.2%	52.8%	48.0%
3) Disagree	33.2%	34.2%	31.2%
4) Certainly Disagree	4.7%	4.3%	5.6%
5) DK/NA	1.5%	2.1%	.5%
<b>36-5) Return to the armed intifada and confrontations</b>			
1) Certainly agree	12.6%	6.1%	25.1%
2) Agree	22.6%	17.2%	32.9%
3) Disagree	52.4%	62.9%	31.8%
4) Certainly Disagree	11.1%	11.9%	9.6%
5) DK/NA	1.4%	1.8%	.5%
<b>36-6) Dissolve the Palestinian Authority</b>			
1) Certainly agree	9.1%	6.6%	14.0%
2) Agree	26.9%	25.0%	30.7%
3) Disagree	46.6%	52.8%	34.6%
4) Certainly Disagree	14.6%	12.1%	19.5%
5) DK/NA	2.7%	3.5%	1.1%
<b>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?</b>			
1) Certainly lead to positive change	1.3%	.8%	2.2%
2) Will lead to change to the better	24.9%	24.0%	26.6%
3) Will not lead to any change, positive or negative	30.0%	24.2%	41.3%
4) Will lead to negative change	32.7%	38.6%	21.0%
5) Certainly will lead to negative change	6.3%	7.1%	4.8%
6) DK/NA	4.9%	5.3%	4.1%
<b>38) In light of the successes achieved by the peaceful revolts in Arab countries like Egypt and Tunisia, do you think that if a peaceful popular revolution is to erupt against the occupation and the settlements in the West Bank it would be capable of ending occupation or stopping settlements?</b>			
1) Certainly capable	4.0%	3.2%	5.7%
2) Capable	30.1%	25.8%	38.4%
3) Incapable	51.5%	56.4%	42.0%
4) Certainly incapable	12.3%	12.4%	12.2%
5) DK/NA	2.1%	2.2%	1.8%

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>39) If no agreement is reached on the resumption of Palestinian-Israeli 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?</b>			
1) Certainly they will help	5.4%	4.2%	7.9%
2) Will help	34.4%	28.8%	45.4%
3) Will not help	48.2%	53.3%	38.4%
4) Certainly they will not help	7.4%	8.7%	4.9%
5) DK/NA	4.5%	5.1%	3.4%
<b>40) President Abbas says that there is no point in returning to negotiations without an acceptable term of reference or a freeze on settlement construction and that he intends to go to the UN in September to seek a recognition of a Palestinian state. Do you support or oppose this Palestinian intention?</b>			
1) Certainly support	15.2%	13.0%	19.4%
2) Support	58.4%	62.6%	50.4%
3) Oppose	19.4%	18.9%	20.2%
4) Certainly oppose	3.3%	2.3%	5.1%
5) DK/NA	3.7%	3.1%	4.9%
<b>41) In your view, will a state of Palestine become or will not become a member of the UN in September?</b>			
1) Certainly will become a UN member	5.0%	3.4%	8.0%
2) Will become a UN member	44.9%	45.6%	43.4%
3) Will not become a UN member	37.1%	40.4%	30.7%
4) Certainly will not become a member	5.7%	4.0%	9.2%
5) DK/NA	7.3%	6.6%	8.7%
<b>42) In order to join the UN as a member state, the Palestinian state needs the positive votes of the majority of the members of the UN Security Council with no use of veto, in your view, will the US use or not use its veto power in the UN Security Council in September in order to prevent the UN from admitting the state of Palestine as a UN member?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	28.7%	26.2%	33.6%
2) Yes	48.0%	51.4%	41.2%
3) No	13.4%	12.8%	14.5%
4) Certainly no	2.6%	2.5%	2.9%
5) DK/NA	7.3%	7.1%	7.9%
<b>43) In your view, if the Palestinian side goes to the UN with a request for membership, how would the US respond?</b>			
1) Will stop its financial support and will increase political pressure on the PA	56.3%	59.0%	50.9%
2) Will only stop its financial support	7.8%	7.7%	8.0%
3) Will continue its financial support but will increase political pressure on the PA	21.9%	20.0%	25.6%
4) Will do nothing and the status quo will continue	8.7%	8.5%	9.1%
5) Others (specify ---- )	.4%	.4%	.2%
6) DK/NA	5.0%	4.4%	6.2%
<b>44) And what about the Israeli response to Palestinian request for UN membership?</b>			
1) Will stop transfer of custom funds to the	67.7%	70.7%	61.8%

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
PA and will make conditions of occupation harsher,			
2) Will only stop transfer of custom funds	9.8%	8.6%	12.2%
3) Will not stop transfer of customs funds but conditions of occupation will become harsher	11.6%	12.3%	10.4%
4) Will do nothing and the status quo will continue	8.1%	5.9%	12.4%
5) Others (specify ---- )	.5%	.3%	.8%
6) DK/NA	2.3%	2.3%	2.4%
<b>45) After the UN issues its recognition of the Palestinian state in September, do you think the PA president and his government should enforce Palestinian sovereignty over all the territories of the West Bank, for example by opening roads in area C or by starting to build an airport in the Jordan valley, or by deploying Palestinian security forces in area C, even if this lead to confrontation with the Israeli occupation forces and settlers?</b>			
1) Certainly should	15.6%	14.5%	17.6%
2) Should	59.0%	61.9%	53.4%
3) Should not	16.7%	15.3%	19.5%
4) Certainly should not	3.8%	4.0%	3.2%
5) DK/NA	4.9%	4.2%	6.2%
<b>46) And after the UN issues its recognition of the Palestinian state, do you think the Palestinian side should insist on assuming control of the Allenby Bridge terminal from the Israeli side even if this lead to the closure of the terminal and the cessation of Palestinian movement across the bridge to and from Jordan?</b>			
1) Certainly should	19.3%	17.1%	23.6%
2) Should	53.9%	54.2%	53.2%
3) Should not	20.3%	22.2%	16.7%
4) Certainly should not	2.7%	3.1%	2.0%
5) DK/NA	3.8%	3.4%	4.6%
<b>47) And after the UN issues its recognition of the Palestinian state how do you think Palestinians can force the Israelis to withdraw from the territories of the Palestinian state?</b>			
1) Popular peaceful demonstrations that would break through check points and block roads used by army and settlers	36.7%	34.2%	41.6%
2) Armed attacks on army and settlers	25.7%	23.2%	30.6%
3) Return to negotiations with the Israeli government	29.9%	33.5%	22.7%
4) Other (specify: ----- )	3.2%	4.0%	1.7%
5) DK/NA	4.5%	5.1%	3.4%
<b>48) After the recognition of the Palestinian state in September, if large peaceful demonstrations were to take place in the West Bank and Jerusalem in order to break through check points and close army and settler roads, do you think you will participate in such demonstrations? [to be asked only to West Bank including East Jerusalem residents]</b>			
1) Certainly yes	13.3%	13.3%	.0%
2) Yes	40.7%	40.7%	.0%
3) No	34.9%	34.9%	.0%

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
4) Certainly no	8.4%	8.4%	.0%
5) DK/NA	2.7%	2.7%	.0%
<b>49) If such large peaceful demonstrations were to take place in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, do you think they would contribute to speeding the process of ending Israeli occupation?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	9.5%	7.9%	12.7%
2) Yes	44.3%	39.8%	53.2%
3) No	35.7%	40.7%	25.8%
4) Certainly no	7.8%	9.4%	4.7%
5) DK/NA	2.6%	2.1%	3.6%
<b>50) In your view, will most European countries recognize the Palestinian state this September?</b>			
1) Certainly will	5.1%	3.1%	8.9%
2) Will	53.1%	53.6%	52.1%
3) Will not	32.2%	35.6%	25.5%
4) Certainly will not	2.8%	1.6%	5.1%
5) DK/NA	6.8%	6.1%	8.4%
<b>51) From among the countries in the region and the world, which one you see as more supportive of the Palestinians and their just rights?</b>			
1) Jordan	4.3%	6.1%	.5%
2) Iran	4.4%	4.6%	4.2%
3) Saudi Arabia	5.4%	5.5%	5.2%
4) Turkey	35.1%	35.6%	34.2%
5) Syria	2.6%	1.9%	4.0%
6) Egypt	18.1%	11.7%	32.3%
7) Qatar	2.2%	1.3%	4.1%
8) Lebanon	1.1%	1.5%	.3%
9) France	3.2%	3.9%	1.8%
10) No opinion/Don't know	10.2%	13.6%	2.7%
11) Others	13.3%	14.4%	10.9%
<b>52) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....</b>			
1) Strongly support	9.6%	4.0%	20.7%
2) Support	31.6%	25.9%	42.8%
3) Oppose	46.7%	55.3%	29.8%
4) Strongly oppose	8.9%	11.1%	4.7%
5) DK/NA	3.1%	3.7%	2.0%
<b>53) Which of the following political parties do you support?</b>			
1) PPP	1.6%	1.6%	1.6%
2) PFLP	3.0%	2.8%	3.4%
3) Fatch	34.3%	35.2%	32.4%
4) Hamas	18.1%	12.8%	28.4%
5) DFLP	.6%	.4%	.8%
6) Islamic Jihad	1.1%	.5%	2.4%
7) Fida	.1%	.0%	.2%
8) National initiative (almubadara)	.5%	.5%	.6%
9) Independent Islamist	3.2%	3.5%	2.6%
10) Independent nationalist	2.8%	2.6%	3.2%
11) Third way headed by salam feyyad	.7%	.8%	.5%



	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
12) None of the above	32.7%	37.7%	23.0%
13) Others	1.3%	1.6%	.8%
<b>54) If you use the internet to surf social sites like Facebook, Twitter, and various groups or to access email, how many times do you normally do that?</b>			
1) More than once a day	11.5%	8.7%	17.0%
2) Daily	17.9%	15.5%	22.6%
3) Between 2-5 times weekly	12.3%	11.4%	14.1%
4) Once a week	6.3%	5.6%	7.6%
5) Once a month	5.8%	5.5%	6.4%
6) Others (specify -----)	.2%	.1%	.4%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	46.0%	53.2%	31.9%