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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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In the aftermath of the Gaza War: Hamas' way is preferred by the majority over Abbas' way as the most effective in ending occupation and building a Palestinian state and Haniyeh defeats Abbas in a presidential election

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 13-15 December 2012. Two major developments preceded the conduct of the poll: (1) the Gaza war between Hamas and Israel followed by a ceasefire, a visit by Khalid Mish'al to the Gaza Strip, and Hamas' celebration of victory in the war on the occasion of the movement's launch, (2) the submission of a Palestinian request for the upgrading of the status of Palestine to a non-member state at the UN, the vote at the General Assembly on the request with 138 countries voting in favor, and the return of president Mahmoud Abbas to the West Bank amid public celebrations in support of his UN bid. This press release covers public evaluation of the general West Bank and Gaza conditions, elections, reconciliation, public evaluation of the performance of the governments of Salam Fayyad and Ismail Haniyeh, the internal balance of power between Fateh and Hamas, views of the public on the most vital Palestinian goals and the main problems Palestinians confront today, the Gaza war, the UN vote, and others. Total size of the sample is 1270 adults interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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MAIN RESULTS:

The events of the past several weeks have given Hamas a significant boost similar to the one it enjoyed in the aftermath of the breaching of the Rafah border with Egypt in early 2008. The fourth quarter of 2012 shows a dramatic change in public attitude favoring Hamas. Haniyeh's popularity increases significantly allowing him to defeat Abbas if new presidential elections are held today. A parliamentary election, if held today, would give Hamas and Fateh an almost equal number of votes. Moreover, positive public evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip increases dramatically and the gap in public perception of conditions in the West Bank compared to conditions in the Gaza Strip widens in favor of the latter; this gap was first registered in our previous poll last September. Needless to say, the outcome of the latest Gaza war between Hamas and Israel is responsible for this change.

Findings are also somewhat positive for Abbas. Evaluation of conditions in the West Bank is more positive today than it was three months ago. Similarly, positive evaluation of Abbas' performance increases in this poll. These results might have been generated by the outcome of the diplomatic warfare at the UN between the PA and Israel. The cessation of demonstrations and internal confrontations that erupted in the West Bank more than three months ago in protest against price rises and the deteriorating economic conditions might have also contributed to the general public perception of improvement in the general conditions in the West Bank. Finally, findings show a dramatic increase in the level of optimism regarding the chances for reconciliation and the reunification of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip compared to the situation not only three months ago but most importantly since the separation in June 2007. But most significantly the poll shows that Hamas's way, as represented by the Gaza war and its outcome, receives the support and confidence of the majority of the public while Abbas' way, represented by the UN bid and the international recognition of the Palestinian state, receives the support and confidence of a little over one quarter. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that the overwhelming majority of Palestinians believe that Hamas has come out victorious in its war with Israel. A majority also believe that conditions in the Gaza Strip will now improve while a majority believes that conditions in the West Bank will now become worse or stay as it was before the UN vote.

(1) Presidential, Legislative, and Local Elections:

- Haniyeh defeats Abbas in a presidential election by 48% to 45%, but Barghouti wins against Haniyeh, 51% to 42%.
- In a three way presidential elections, Haniyeh receives 39%, Marwan Barghouti 29%, and Abbas 27%.
- In a parliamentary election, Fateh wins 36% and Hamas 35% of the voters.

If new presidential elections are held today, and only two were nominated, Abbas would receive the vote of 45% and Haniyeh 48% of those participating. The rate of participation in such elections would reach 69%. Three months ago, Abbas received the support of 51% and Haniyeh 40%. In this poll, in the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 44% and Haniyeh 52% and in the West Bank Abbas receives 45% and Haniyeh 45%. The percentage of vote for Haniyeh is the highest since Hamas' electoral victory in 2006. The previous highest percentage of vote for Haniyeh stood at 47% in March 2008 immediately after the breaching of the Rafah borders with Egypt. Percentage of support for Abbas at that time stood at 46%.

The vote for Haniyeh increases among those who do not use the internet (52%) compared to those who use it on daily basis (44%), among the religious (57%) compared to the somewhat religious (40%), among those who oppose the peace process (74%) compared to those who support the peace process (39%), among non-refugees (50%) compared to refugees (45%), among the illiterates (52%) compared to those holding a BA degree (38%), among the professionals (65%) compared to employees, laborers, and students (37%, 48%, and 48% respectively), and among those who work in the private sector (47%) compared to those who work in the public sector (40%).

If the presidential elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, the former would receive 51% and the latter 42% of the participants' votes. The rate of participation in this case would reach 73%. In our September poll Barghouti received 61% of the vote and Haniyeh 32%.

If the presidential elections were between three: Mahmud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Haniyeh would receive the largest percentage (39%) followed by Barghouti (29%), and Abbas (27%). The rate of participation in this case would reach 77%. In our previous poll last September, Barghouti received 45%, Haniyeh 29%, and Abbas 20%.

If new legislative elections are held today with the participation of all factions, 78% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 35% say they would vote for Hamas and 36% say they would vote for Fateh, 10% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 20% are undecided. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands in this poll at 39% and in the West Bank at 33%. Vote for Fateh in the Gaza Strip stands in this poll at 38% and in the West Bank at 34%. These results indicate a sharp increase in Hamas' popularity compared to our September results when it stood at 28% (31% in the Gaza Strip and 25% in the West Bank). By contrast, Fateh's popularity remained almost unchanged during the same period.

Support for Hamas increases in cities (36%) compared to refugee camps (33%), among women (37%) compared to men (34%), among those whose age is over 50 (39%) compared to those whose age is between 18 and 28 years (30%), among those who do not use the internet (39%) compared to those who use it on daily basis (32%), among the religious (45%) compared to the

somewhat religious (28%), among those who oppose the peace process (55%) compared to those who support it (29%), among the illiterates (38%) compared to holders of a BA degree (25%), among the professional (50%) compared to students, laborers, and employees (33%, 30%, and 29% respectively).

(2) Domestic Conditions:

- Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip is higher than positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank: 43% to 35%.
- Percentage of belief that corruption exists in the PA institutions in the West Bank is higher than the percentage of belief that corruption exists in the institutions of the dismissed government in the Gaza Strip: 74% to 53%.
- 35% believe that people in the West Bank can criticize the PA in the West Bank without fear and 29% believe that people can criticize the authorities in the Gaza Strip without fear.
- Percentage of safety and security stands at 60% among West Bank residents and 70% among residents of the Gaza Strip.
- Positive evaluation of the performance of the Haniyeh government is higher than the positive evaluation of the performance of the Fayyad government: 56% to 34%; satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 54%.
- Optimism regarding the chances for reconciliation rises to highest level since the split in 2007.

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip rises sharply from 25% three months ago to 43% in this poll while 33% say conditions are bad or very bad. Similarly, positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank rises sharply from 19% three months ago to 35% in this poll and 36% say conditions are bad or very bad.

Perception of corruption in PA institutions in the West Bank drops from 79% in our previous poll three months ago to 74% in this poll. Perception of corruption in the public institutions of Hamas' Gaza government stands at 53% compared to 63% three months ago. 24% say there is, and 45% say there is to some extent, press freedom in the West Bank. Similarly, 23% say there is, and 40% say there is to some extent, press freedom in the Gaza Strip. 35% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the PA in the West Bank without fear. By contrast, 29% of the public say people in the Gaza Strip can criticize the authorities in Gaza without fear. These results indicate a decrease in the perception of freedom to criticize authorities in the West Bank compared to results obtained three months ago when it stood at 42%. Only 49% of the public believe that the local elections that took place in the West Bank last October were fair and 34% say they were not fair.

Perception of safety and security in the West Bank stands at 60% and in the Gaza Strip at 70%. Three months ago these percentages stood at 56% and 64% respectively. Nonetheless, findings show that the percentage of Gazans who seek immigration to other countries stands at 41%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands today at 22%. Last September these percentages stood at 42% and 29% respectively.

Positive evaluation of the performance of the Haniyeh government rises sharply from 35% three months ago to 56% in this poll and positive evaluation of the performance of the Fayyad government increases from 22% to 34% during the same period. Percentage of satisfaction with the performance of President Abbas stands at 54% while 44% say they are dissatisfied with his performance. Three months ago, satisfaction with Abbas stood at 46%. The percentage of positive evaluation of the performance of the Haniyeh government is higher in the West Bank (60%) compared to the Gaza Strip (49%), among men (58%) compared to women (54%), among those over 50 years of age (59%) compared to those between 18 and 28 years old (52%), among Hamas supporters (88%) compared to Fateh supporters (35%), among the religious (64%) compared to the somewhat religious (50%), among those opposed to the peace process (73%) compared to supporters of the peace process (52%), among the illiterates (63%) compared to holders of a BA degree (47%), among merchants (78%) compared to students and

employees (52% and 49% respectively), and among those working in the private sector (57%) compared to those who work in the public sector (51%).

In light of the resumption of the dialogue between Fateh and Hamas, 39% say they expect unity between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to be restored in the near future, 40% believe that unity will be restored but only after a long time, and only 18% say unity will never be restored and that two separate entities will be established in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In our September poll, the largest percentage (42%) said that unity will never be restored and two separate entities will be established; only 14% said unity will be restored in the near future. The current percentage of optimism regarding reconciliation and restoration of unity is the highest since separation in 2007. At that time, a percentage of 29% believed that unity will be restored within months while 22% said separation will become permanent.

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

- 44% believe that the most vital Palestinian goal should be the ending of Israeli occupation and the building of a Palestinian state and 33% say it should be to obtain the right of return.
- 27% believe that the most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today is the spread of poverty and unemployment and 25% say it is the continuation of occupation and settlement construction.

44% believe that the *first* most vital Palestinian goal should be to end Israeli occupation in the areas occupied in 1967 and build a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital. By contrast, 33% believe that the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 14% believe that it should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings, and 9% believe that the first and most vital goal should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians. The most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today is the spread of poverty and unemployment in the eyes of 27% of the public while 25% believe the most serious problem is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities, another 25% say it is the absence of national unity due to the West Bank-Gaza Strip split, 15% believe the most serious problem is corruption in some public institutions, and 6% believe it is the siege and the closure of the Gaza border crossings.

4) Gaza War and the UN Vote:

- 81% say Hamas came out the winner from its war with Israel.
- 41% believe that the truce between Israel and Hamas in the Gaza Strip serves Palestinian interests and 39% say it serves the interests of the two sides.
- The largest percentage (39%) believes that it was Iran that gave Hamas the greatest power to stand up to Israel during the Gaza war, 29% say it was Hamas own capacity that gave

Findings indicate that Hamas has gained a great political victory in its war with Israel: 81% believe that it came out the winner and only 3% believe that Israel came out the winner; 13% believe neither side came out a winner. Percentage of those who believe that Hamas came out a winner stands at 75% in the Gaza Strip and 84% in the West Bank. Findings also show that 41% believe that the truce that followed the war serves Palestinian interests and a similar percentage (39%) believes that it serves the interests of the Palestinians and Israelis alike and 16% believe that it serves the Israeli interests only. Furthermore, a majority of 63% believes that conditions in the Gaza Strip, now after the truce, are becoming better than before the war while 27% say conditions are the same as before the war and 8% say conditions are becoming worse. Yet, in parallel with this optimism, a majority

it that power, and 20% say it was Egypt.

- 63% say that now after the truce agreement between Hamas and Israel that followed the last Gaza war conditions in the Gaza Strip are becoming better than before the war.
- After the UN vote, only 41% expect Palestinian conditions to change for the better.
- 64% believe that now after the UN vote the US will punish the PA by suspending financial assistance and 79% believe that Israel too will punish the PA.
- 76% believe that the PA president and government should impose Palestinian sovereignty throughout the West Bank but only 37% believe they will actually do that.
- To force Israel to withdraw from the Palestinian state, the largest percentage (41%) believes that armed attacks on Israeli army and settlers would be the best way but 24% believe the best way is to return to negotiations.
- 60% believe that Hamas' way is the best way to end Israeli occupation while only 28% believe Abbas' is the best way.

of 52% believes that Israel will launch a ground offensive against the Gaza Strip in the near future and 43% say it will not.

Findings show that the largest percentage (39%) believes that it was Iran's support and contribution that gave Hamas the greatest power to stand up to Israel during the last war while 29% attribute Hamas' achievement to its own capacity and 20% believe Egypt's contribution was the most helpful. Percentage of those who attribute Hamas' success to Iran increases in the Gaza Strip (41%) compared to the West Bank (38%), in cities and villages (40% and 41% respectively) compared to refugee camps (30%), among men (47%) compared to women (31%), among those whose age is over 50 years (44%) compared to those whose age is between 18 and 28 years (37%), among supporters of Fateh (47%) compared to supporters of Hamas (35%), among holders of a BA degree (46%) compared to illiterates (24%), and among those who work in the public sector (52%) compared to those who work in the private sector (44%).

With regard to conditions of occupation and settlement construction in the aftermath of the UN vote, findings show that only 41% believe they will improve while 37% believe they will remain the same as before the vote and 21% believe they will worsen. Moreover, the overwhelming majority (79%) believes that Israel will punish the Palestinians by suspending the transfer of custom duties and other taxes and 64% believe the US will suspend financial assistance to the PA.

The overwhelming majority (76%) believes that the PA president and government should impose Palestinian sovereignty over the entire West Bank, for example by deploying the Palestinian security services in area C, currently under Israeli control, even if such a deployment leads to a confrontation with the Israeli army and settlers; 21% oppose this measure. Despite this high level of support for imposing sovereignty in the West Bank, most Palestinians (56%) do not believe the PA government and president will actually take this measure while 37% believe they will. Similarly, while 71% support and 25% oppose Palestinian insistence on taking control of the border terminal with Jordan at the Allenby Bridge even if such a step leads to suspension of travel across the bridge, a majority of 56% believes the PA president and government will not do that and 36% believe they will do that.

We asked the public about its views regarding the best means of forcing Israel to end its occupation of the territories of the Palestinian state, now after the UN vote. The largest percentage (41%) believe that the answer lies in armed attacks against the army and settlers, 30% said it was return to negotiations, and 24% believed it was non-violent resistance. In our previous poll in September 2012, 32% selected armed attacks, 33% selected non-violent resistance, and 28% selected negotiations.

Belief that armed resistance is the answer is higher in the Gaza Strip (46%) than in the West Bank (39%), among men (47%) than women (35%), among those whose age is between 18 and 28 years (44%) compared to those whose age is over 50 years

(38%), among those who use the internet on daily basis (46%) compared to those who use it once a month (24%), among supporters of Hamas (63%) compared to supporters of Fateh (25%), among the religious (46%) compared to the somewhat religious (38%), among those who oppose the peace process (67%) compared to those who support the peace process (33%), among holders of BA degree (47%) compared to illiterates (39%), among students (47%) compared to farmers, housewives, laborers, and retirees (30%, 34%, 35%, and 37% respectively), and among those who work in the private sector (46%) compared to those who work in the public sector (38%).

Finally, we asked the public to compare Hamas' way or approach, given the Gaza war and its outcome, to Abbas' way, given the UN vote and its outcome, and to select the one it prefers as the most effective in ending occupation and building a Palestinian state. Findings show that 60% believe that Hamas' way is the most preferable while only 28% selected Abbas' way. Belief in Hamas' way increases in the Gaza Strip (66%) compared to the West Bank (56%), among supporters of Hamas (93%) compared to supporters of Fateh (30%), among the religious (64%) compared to the somewhat religious (57%), among those who oppose the peace process (81%) compared to those who support the peace process (53%), and among students (65%) compared to farmers and employees (43% and 52% respectively).

5) Peace Process:

- Support for a permanent settlement along the lines of the Clinton Parameters and the Geneva Initiative drops from 50% a year ago to 43% in this poll.
- 52% support and 48% oppose the two-state solution but 62% believe that it is impossible these days to reach a permanent settlement with Israel and 60% believe the chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state are slim to non-existent.
- 58% believe the two-state solution is no longer practical and 39% believe it is still possible.
- Only 27% support a one-state solution in which Jews and Palestinians would have equal rights and 71% oppose it.
- 53% support and 45% oppose the Arab initiative for peace with Israel.
- 74% are worried that they or members of their family would

Findings show that 43% support and 56% oppose a package of a permanent status agreement based on the Clinton Parameters and the Geneva Initiative. Support for this package stood at 50% in December 2011. The Clinton parameters for a Palestinian-Israeli permanent settlement were presented by President Clinton at a meeting with Israeli and Palestinian officials almost ten years ago, on December 23, 2000, following the collapse of the July 2000 Camp David summit. The Geneva Initiative, along similar lines, was made public around the end of 2003. These parameters address the most fundamental issues which underlie the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: (1) final borders and territorial exchange; (2) refugees; (3) Jerusalem; (4) a demilitarized Palestinian state; (5) security arrangements; and (6) end of conflict. We have been addressing these issues periodically since December 2003, and in the current poll we revisited these crucial issues following the diplomatic stalemate throughout 2012.

Findings, as the summary table below shows, indicate that the public rejects four items in the package and accept two. The following is a summary of the items and the attitudes to each:

- (1) Final Borders and Territorial Exchange:** 53% support or strongly support and 45% oppose or strongly oppose an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with the exception of some settlement areas in less than 3% of the West Bank that would be swapped with an equal amount of territory from Israel in accordance with a map that was presented to the Palestinian respondents. The map was identical to that presented to respondents in December 2011, when support for this compromise, with its map, stood at 63% and opposition at 36%.
- (2) Refugees:** 41% support and 56% oppose a refugee settlement in which both sides agree that the solution will be based on UN

be hurt by Israelis or that their land would be confiscated or homes demolished.

- 61% believe that Israel's long term goal is to extend its borders to include all areas between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and to expel its Arab population and 20% believe Israel's long term goal is to annex the occupied territories and deny the Palestinians their political rights.

resolutions 194 and 242. The refugees would be given five choices for permanent residency. These are: the Palestinian state and the Israeli areas transferred to the Palestinian state in the territorial exchange mentioned above; no restrictions would be imposed on refugee return to these two areas. Residency in the other three areas (in host countries, third countries, and Israel) would be subject to the decision of these states. As a base for its decision Israel will consider the average number of refugees admitted to third countries like Australia, Canada, Europe, and others. All refugees would be entitled to compensation for their "refugeehood" and loss of property. In December 2011, 45% agreed with an identical compromise while 53% opposed it.

(3) Jerusalem: 29% support and 70% oppose a Jerusalem compromise in which East Jerusalem would become the capital of the Palestinian state with Arab neighborhoods coming under Palestinian sovereignty and Jewish neighborhoods coming under Israeli sovereignty. The Old City (including al Haram al Sharif) would come under Palestinian sovereignty with the exception of the Jewish Quarter and the Wailing Wall that would come under Israeli sovereignty. In December 2011, an identical compromise obtained 40% support and 59% opposition.

(4) Demilitarized Palestinian State: 28% support and 71% oppose the establishment of an independent Palestinian state that would have no army, but would have a strong security force and would have a multinational force deployed in it to ensure its security and safety. Israel and Palestine would be committed to end all forms of violence directed against each other. A similar compromise received in December 2011, 32% support, and opposition reached 67%. This item receives the lowest level of support by Palestinians. Unlike the refugees and Jerusalem components, this issue has not received due attention in public discourse, as it should, since it may become a major stumbling block in the efforts to reach a settlement.

(5) Security Arrangements: 46% support and 53% oppose a compromise whereby the Palestinian state would have sovereignty over its land, water, and airspace, but Israel would have the right to use the Palestinian airspace for training purposes, and would maintain two early warning stations in the West Bank for 15 years. A multinational force would remain in the Palestinian state and in its border crossings for an indefinite period of time. The task of the multinational force would be to monitor the implementation of the agreement, and to monitor territorial borders and coast of the Palestinian state including the presence at its international crossings. In December 2011, 50% of the Palestinians supported this parameter while 49% opposed it.

(6) End of Conflict: 59% support and 39% oppose a compromise on ending the conflict that would state that when the permanent status agreement is fully implemented, it will mean the end of the conflict and no further claims will be made by either side. The parties will recognize Palestine and Israel as the homelands of their respective peoples. The comparable figures in December 2011 were 63% support and 35% opposition.

summary Table: Support for Clinton's Permanent Settlement/ Geneva Initiative Framework 2003-2012

	Dates										
	Dec 2003	Dec 2004	Dec 2005	Dec 2006	Dec 2007	Dec 2008	Aug 2009	June 2010	Dec 2010	Dec 2011	Dec 2012
1) Borders and Territorial Exchange	57%	63%	55%	61%	56%	54%	49%	60%	49%	63%	53%
2) Refugees	25%	46%	40%	41%	39%	40%	37%	48%	41%	45%	41%
3) Jerusalem	46%	44%	33%	39%	36%	36%	31%	37%	36%	40%	29%
4) Demilitarized State	36%	27%	20%	28%	23%	27%	24%	28%	24%	32%	28%
5) Security Arrangements	23%	53%	43%	42%	51%	35%	34%	41%	38%	50%	46%
6) End of Conflict	42%	69%	64%	62%	66%	55%	55%	63%	58%	63%	59%
Overall Package	39%	54%	46%	48%	47%	41%	38%	49%	40%	50%	43%

Support for the package is higher in the Gaza Strip, standing at 53%, than in the West Bank, standing at 37%, among supporters of the peace process (50%) compared to those opposed to the peace process (24%), among those who would vote for Fateh and third parties (54% and 50% respectively) compared to those who would vote for Hamas or those who are undecided regarding whom they will vote for (36% and 40% respectively), among those whose age is between 18 and 28 years (48%) compared to those whose age is between 40 and 50 years (35%), and among those who live in cities (45%) compared to those who live in villages and towns (32%), and among those who work in the public sector (49%) compared to those who work in the private sector (41%).

Findings also show that 42% of the public believe that a majority among Palestinians supports a settlement along these lines while 49% believe a majority opposes it and 10% say it does not know the position of the majority. Only 33% believe that a majority among Israelis supports such a package while 56% believe a majority of Israelis opposes it. Perhaps for this reason, and others, only 36% believe that it is possible these days to reach a permanent settlement with Israel while 62% believe that it is impossible to reach such a settlement. Moreover, the public is pessimistic about the chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel in the next five years: 60% believe the chances to be slim or non-existent and 38% believe them to be medium or high.

As in our September 2012 poll, findings show that a small majority of 52% supports the two-state solution and 48% oppose it. Similarly, 53% support and 45% oppose the Arab Peace Initiative that calls for a two-state solution and the normalization of relations between Israel and the Arab states. But findings show also that a majority of 58% does not believe that the two-state solution is practical due to Israeli settlement expansion while 39% believe it is still feasible. Moreover, a similar percentage (60%) believes that the chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel are slim or non-existent while 38% believe the chances are medium or high. It is worth mentioning in this regard that the percentage of those who believe that the chances for Palestinian statehood are medium or high have increased by 11 percentage points since our last poll in September. The increase might be due to Palestinian success in gaining UN recognition of Palestinian statehood. It is also worth mentioning that despite the belief that the two-state solution is no longer practical, a large majority of 71% opposes the alternative one-state solution in which Arabs and Jews are treated equally; only 27% support the one-state solution.

Findings show that three quarters of the public (74%) are worried and 26% are not worried that they or members of their families would be hurt by Israelis or their land confiscated or homes demolished. Moreover, 80% believe that Israel's long term goal is to expand its borders to include all territories between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and expel their Palestinian population or deny them their political rights. When asked about the long term goal of the PLO and the PA, 62% said that it is to recover all or some of the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967 and 32% said it is to defeat Israel and recover the 1948 territories or defeat Israel and destroy its Jewish population.

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13-15 December 2012

	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	11.3%	8.0%	16.9%
2) al Jazeera	35.9%	39.7%	29.8%
3) al Hurra	1.1%	0.9%	1.4%
4) al Manar	2.3%	3.1%	1.1%
5) Palestine TV	15.8%	18.3%	11.8%
6) alaqsa	19.4%	14.3%	27.7%
7) Do not watch TV	5.3%	6.0%	4.3%
8) others	8.1%	9.4%	6.0%
9) Do not have a dish	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%
10) DK/NA	0.5%	0.3%	0.8%
1) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?			
1) Very good	11.5%	10.3%	13.5%
2) Good	31.6%	31.2%	32.3%
3) so so	22.0%	19.5%	26.1%
4) Bad	26.0%	29.0%	21.1%
5) Very bad	7.1%	7.2%	7.0%
6) DK/NA	1.7%	2.7%	0.0%
2) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?			
1) Very good	6.0%	2.6%	11.4%
2) Good	29.0%	25.2%	35.2%
3) so so	27.3%	24.8%	31.5%
4) Bad	26.6%	34.0%	14.4%
5) Very bad	9.7%	12.9%	4.4%
6) DK/NA	1.4%	0.4%	3.1%
3) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	46.6%	41.4%	55.1%
2) somewhat religious	49.7%	56.2%	39.0%
3) not religious	3.7%	2.3%	6.0%
4) DK/NA	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
4) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) supportive of the peace process	61.1%	62.6%	58.6%
2) opposed to the peace process	20.7%	20.3%	21.5%
3) between support and opposition	16.5%	14.4%	19.7%
4) DK/NA	1.7%	2.7%	0.1%
5) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions under the control of President Abu Mazin?			
Yes	73.8%	76.7%	69.1%
No	16.1%	12.3%	22.3%
DK-NA	10.1%	11.0%	8.6%
6) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions under the control of the dismissed government in the Gaza Strip			
Yes	53.1%	48.6%	60.6%
No	26.4%	23.9%	30.4%

	DK-NA	20.5%	27.5%	9.0%
7)	In your view, is there a press freedom in the West Bank?			
	Yes	24.1%	25.4%	21.9%
	to some extent	44.9%	41.4%	50.6%
	No	28.2%	29.4%	26.3%
	DK-NA	2.8%	3.7%	1.2%
8)	In your view, is there a press freedom in the Gaza Strip?			
	Yes	23.1%	23.8%	22.0%
	to some extent	40.0%	35.7%	46.9%
	No	28.4%	26.7%	31.2%
	DK-NA	8.6%	13.9%	0.0%
9)	In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear?			
	Yes	35.1%	39.2%	28.3%
	No	60.8%	57.2%	66.9%
	DK-NA	4.1%	3.6%	4.9%
10)	In your view, can people in the Gaza Strip today criticize the authority without fear?			
	Yes	29.0%	33.3%	22.1%
	No	58.9%	49.2%	74.8%
	DK-NA	12.1%	17.5%	3.1%
11)	Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
	1) Completely assured	9.4%	3.9%	18.3%
	2) Assured	54.5%	55.9%	52.1%
	3) Not assured	32.3%	36.4%	25.6%
	4) Not assured at all	3.7%	3.7%	3.7%
	5) DK/NA	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%
12)	Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?			
	1) Certainly seek to emigrate	10.1%	5.8%	17.2%
	2) Seek emigration	18.7%	15.8%	23.5%
	3) Do not seek emigration	40.4%	45.0%	33.0%
	4) Certainly do not seek emigration	30.5%	33.2%	26.1%
	5) DK/NA	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%
13)	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	16.8%	15.3%	19.1%
	2) Good	39.1%	44.7%	29.9%
	3) Neither good nor bad	24.5%	20.9%	30.4%
	4) Bad	9.1%	6.3%	13.8%
	5) Very Bad	3.1%	1.0%	6.4%
	6) No Opinion/Don't know	7.5%	11.9%	0.4%
14)	Tell us how do you evaluate the performance of the government headed by Salam Fayyad? Is it good or bad?			
	1) Very Good	6.3%	5.5%	7.6%
	2) Good	27.6%	26.5%	29.3%
	3) Neither good nor bad	29.3%	26.6%	33.8%
	4) Bad	23.1%	24.5%	21.0%
	5) Very Bad	10.2%	12.0%	7.4%

	6) No Opinion/Don't know	3.4%	4.9%	0.9%
15)	Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
	1) very satisfied	7.2%	5.6%	10.0%
	2) satisfied	46.3%	52.5%	36.0%
	3) not satisfied	35.1%	33.3%	38.0%
	4) not satisfied at all	9.1%	5.6%	14.7%
	5) DK/NA	2.4%	3.0%	1.3%
16)	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	44.6%	45.1%	43.8%
	2) Ismael Haniyyah	47.7%	45.0%	51.9%
	4) DK/NA	7.7%	9.9%	4.3%
17)	And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh representing Hamas, whom would you vote for?			
	1) Marwan Barghouti	51.2%	48.6%	55.1%
	2) Ismael Haniyyah	42.3%	42.2%	42.5%
	4) DK/NA	6.4%	9.2%	2.4%
18)	And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmud Abbas, to whom would you vote?			
	1) Marwan Barghouti	29.3%	24.2%	36.5%
	2) Ismael Haniyyah	39.0%	38.4%	39.9%
	3. Mahmud Abbas	26.9%	30.7%	21.4%
	5) DK/NA	4.8%	6.7%	2.2%
20)	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	1.5%	1.3%	1.6%
	2) independent Palestine	2.6%	2.1%	3.3%
	3) Abu Ali Mustafa	1.8%	1.3%	2.6%
	4) Abu al Abbas	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	5) freedom and social justice	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
	6) change and reform	35.2%	32.5%	39.2%
	7) national coalition for justice and democ	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
	8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	1.9%	3.1%	0.1%
	9) freedom and independence	1.1%	1.2%	1.0%
	10) Palestinian justice	0.4%	0.7%	0.0%
	11) Fateh	35.6%	34.0%	38.1%
	12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	19.8%	23.6%	14.1%
21-1)	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?			
	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	44.1%	44.2%	43.9%
	2. Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	33.1%	31.4%	35.9%
	3. Establish a democratic political	9.2%	10.6%	6.9%

	system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians			
	4. Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	13.6%	13.8%	13.3%
21-2)	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?			
	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	23.0%	23.7%	22.0%
	2. Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	40.6%	41.9%	38.4%
	3. Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	18.1%	17.5%	18.9%
	4. Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	18.3%	16.8%	20.7%
22)	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,	24.6%	23.4%	26.5%
	2) spread of unemployment and poverty	27.0%	32.3%	18.4%
	3) lack of national unity due to the split between the West	25.1%	20.6%	32.4%
	4) continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings	5.8%	2.7%	10.8%
	5) the spread of corruption in public institutions	15.4%	19.3%	9.1%
	88)DK/NA	0.5%	0.6%	0.5%
	99)other	1.5%	1.1%	2.3%
23)	Do you think the local elections that took place last October have or have not been fair?			
	1) certainly fair	4.8%	2.7%	8.1%
	2) fair	44.0%	45.6%	41.3%
	3) unfair	28.1%	30.5%	24.1%
	4) certainly unfair	6.3%	6.0%	6.9%
	5) DK/NA	16.8%	15.2%	19.5%
24)	Given the return of Fateh and Hamas to dialogue, what are your expectations for the future of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?			
	1) unity will resume in the near future	39.2%	35.9%	44.6%
	2) unity will resume but will take a long time	40.4%	40.4%	40.5%
	3) unity will not resume and two separate entities will emerge	17.5%	20.9%	12.0%
	4) DK/NA	2.8%	2.8%	2.9%
25)	What do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis after the last war on Gaza and after the UN has recognized Palestine as a non-member state?			
	1) the two sides will return soon to	27.4%	24.4%	32.3%

	negotiations			
	2) the two sides will return to negotiations but some armed attacks will take place	38.3%	37.5%	39.5%
	3) the two sides will not return to negotiations and some armed attacks will take place	19.1%	20.9%	16.1%
	4) the two sides will not return to negotiations and there will be no armed attacks	10.2%	11.2%	8.6%
	5) DK/NA	5.1%	6.0%	3.6%
26)	In the latest war between Hamas and Israel, who, in your view, came out the winner: Hamas or Israel?			
	1-Hamas	80.9%	84.4%	75.2%
	2-Israel	3.3%	3.5%	2.9%
	3-Nether side	12.5%	9.8%	16.9%
	4-Both sides	2.6%	1.4%	4.6%
	5-DK/NA	0.7%	0.9%	0.5%
27)	Given the outcome of the last war against the Gaza Strip, do you expect or do not expect Israel to wage a ground offensive against the Strip in the near future?			
	1.Certainly it will not	7.5%	5.6%	10.7%
	2.It will not	35.4%	36.2%	34.2%
	3.It will	42.1%	44.2%	38.7%
	4.Certainly it will	10.3%	8.4%	13.3%
	5.DK/NA	4.7%	5.7%	3.1%
28)	Which side you think the agreement on “quite” between Hamas and Israel serve, the interests of the Palestinians or the interests of the Israelis?			
	1)The Palestinians	41.4%	44.0%	37.0%
	2)The Israelis	15.8%	17.2%	13.7%
	3)Both sides	38.5%	33.9%	46.1%
	4)Neither side	3.3%	3.3%	3.3%
	5)DK/NA	1.0%	1.6%	0.0%
29)	Now that an agreement on “quite” has been in place for few weeks, are conditions in the Gaza Strip beginning to change for the better or for the worse or are they the same as before?			
	1)Same as before	27.3%	24.6%	31.7%
	2)Certainly for the better	18.6%	14.3%	25.7%
	3)For the better	43.9%	49.8%	34.3%
	4)For the worse	7.0%	7.6%	6.0%
	5)Certainly for the worse	0.7%	0.6%	1.0%
	6)DK/NA	2.4%	3.1%	1.4%
30)	Given the outcome of the war between Hamas/other resistance groups and Israel, in your view whose way is the best to end the Israeli occupation and build a Palestinian state: Hamas’ way or Abbas’s way?			
	1)Certainly Hamas’	33.0%	31.7%	35.0%
	2)Hamas’	26.6%	23.9%	31.1%
	3)Abbas’	24.7%	28.5%	18.5%
	4)Certainly Abbas	3.2%	3.3%	2.9%
	5)Other (specify: -----)	5.7%	5.4%	6.2%
	6)DK/NA	6.8%	7.2%	6.2%
31)	From among the following parties, which one in your view is the one that most gave Hamas the ability to stand up to Israel and continue to launch rockets against Israel during the whole period of the last war?			
	1)Egypt	20.1%	21.7%	17.4%

2)Qatar	2.4%	0.7%	5.2%
3)Iran	38.9%	37.7%	40.8%
4)Turkey	3.0%	2.6%	3.8%
5)Hamass' own self capacity	29.3%	29.3%	29.2%
6)Other parties: (specify: -----)	1.6%	1.2%	2.4%
7)DK/NA	4.7%	6.8%	1.2%

32) **When Palestinians and Israelis return to final status negotiations the following items might be presented to negotiators as the elements of a permanent compromise settlement. Tell us what you think of each item then tell us what you think of all combined as one permanent status settlement**

1. An Israeli **withdrawal** from all of the Gaza Strip and the evacuation of its settlements. But in the West Bank, Israel withdraws and evacuates settlements from most of it, with the exception of few settlement areas in less than 3% of the West Bank that would be exchanged with an equal amount of territory from Israel in accordance with the attached map {show map}.
2. An independent Palestinian state would be established in the areas from which Israel withdraws in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; the Palestinian state **will have no army**, but it will have a strong security force but an international multinational force would be deployed to insure the safety and security of the state. Both sides will be committed to end all forms of violence directed against each other.
3. **East Jerusalem** would become the capital of the Palestinian state with Arab neighborhoods coming under Palestinian sovereignty and Jewish neighborhoods coming under Israel sovereignty. The Old City (including al Haram al Sharif) would come under Palestinian sovereignty with the exception of the Jewish Quarter and the Wailing Wall that will come under Israeli sovereignty.
4. With regard to the **refugee** question, both sides agree that the solution will be based on UN resolutions 194 and 242 and on the Arab peace initiative. The refugees will be given five choices for permanent residency. These are: the Palestinian state and the Israeli areas transferred to the Palestinian state in the territorial exchange mentioned above; no restrictions would be imposed on refugee return to these two areas. Residency in the other three areas (in host countries, third countries, and Israel) would be subject to the decision of the states in those areas. The number of refugees returning to Israel will be based on the average number of refugees admitted to third countries like Australia, Canada, Europe, and others. All refugees will be entitled to compensation for their "refugeehood" and loss of properties.
5. When the permanent status agreement is fully implemented, it will mean the **end of the conflict** and no further claims will be made by either side. The parties will recognize Palestine and Israel as the homelands of their respective peoples 6. The Palestinian state will have **sovereignty** over its land, water, and airspace. But Israeli will be allowed to use the Palestinian airspace for training purposes, and will maintain two early warning stations in the West Bank for 15 years. The multinational force will remain in the Palestinian state for an indefinite period of time and its responsibility will be to insure the implementation of the agreement, and to monitor territorial borders and coast of the Palestinian state including its international border crossings.

Now that you have been informed of each element of the permanent compromise settlement, tell us what you think of each of its item. Do you agree or disagree with it.

32-1)	Item #1: withdrawal to 1967 borders with territorial swap			
	1) certainly agree	7.1%	3.8%	12.5%
	2) agree	46.1%	40.8%	55.0%
	3) disagree	37.7%	46.8%	22.7%
	4) 4) certainly Disagree	7.5%	6.9%	8.6%
	5) DK/NA	1.5%	1.7%	1.2%
32-2)	Item #2: a state without an army but with international forces			
	1) certainly agree	2.2%	1.1%	4.1%
	2) agree	25.8%	25.2%	26.7%
	3) disagree	55.0%	60.1%	46.6%
	4) 4) certainly Disagree	15.8%	12.1%	21.7%
	5) DK/NA	1.3%	1.4%	1.0%
32-3)	Item #3: East Jerusalem as capital of the state of Palestine after it is divided			
	1) certainly agree	2.6%	1.2%	5.0%
	2) agree	26.5%	28.4%	23.3%
	3) disagree	54.8%	57.3%	50.7%
	4) 4) certainly Disagree	14.9%	11.3%	20.7%
	5) DK/NA	1.2%	1.7%	0.2%
32-4)	Item #4: refugees with five options for permanent residence			
	1) certainly agree	3.9%	1.7%	7.4%
	2) agree	37.2%	33.5%	43.4%
	3) disagree	46.2%	50.3%	39.5%
	4) 4) certainly Disagree	10.0%	10.9%	8.6%
	5) DK/NA	2.7%	3.6%	1.1%
32-5)	Item #5: end of conflict			
	1) certainly agree	11.2%	4.3%	22.6%
	2) agree	47.7%	47.4%	48.1%
	3) disagree	32.5%	38.6%	22.6%
	4) 4) certainly Disagree	6.7%	7.4%	5.6%
	5) DK/NA	1.9%	2.3%	1.2%
32-6)	Item #6: a sovereign state with security arrangements			
	1) certainly agree	6.1%	2.3%	12.2%
	2) agree	39.4%	32.4%	50.9%
	3) disagree	43.2%	52.7%	27.7%
	4) 4) certainly Disagree	10.0%	10.8%	8.5%
	5) DK/NA	1.3%	1.7%	0.7%
32-7)	Item #7: the combined elements as one permanent status settlement			
	1) certainly agree	5.1%	0.8%	12.1%
	2) agree	37.5%	35.7%	40.4%
	3) disagree	46.3%	52.5%	36.2%
	4) 4) certainly Disagree	9.5%	8.9%	10.5%
	5) DK/NA	1.6%	2.1%	0.8%
33)	And what is the Palestinian majority opinion on this combined package for a permanent status settlement? Do most Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza support or oppose this combined final status package?			
	1) Majority supports	41.5%	37.6%	47.9%
	2) Majority opposes	48.7%	51.8%	43.4%
	3) DK/NA	9.8%	10.5%	8.6%

- 34) **And what is the Israeli majority opinion on this combined package for a permanent status settlement? Do most Israelis support or oppose this combined final status package?**
- | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) Majority supports | 33.1% | 30.6% | 37.3% |
| 2) Majority opposes | 55.7% | 60.2% | 48.4% |
| 3) DK/NA | 11.2% | 9.2% | 14.3% |
- 35) **generally speaking is it possible or impossible to reach these days a final status settlement with Israel?**
- | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) Definitely possible | 2.4% | 1.4% | 4.0% |
| 2) Think it is possible | 33.4% | 30.5% | 38.1% |
| 3) Think it is impossible | 45.3% | 45.1% | 45.6% |
| 4) definitely impossible | 17.0% | 20.4% | 11.5% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.9% | 2.6% | 0.8% |
- 36) **Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside Israel known as the two States solution?**
- | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) certainly support | 3.2% | 2.1% | 5.1% |
| 2) support | 48.3% | 47.9% | 49.1% |
| 3) oppose | 38.3% | 43.0% | 30.5% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 9.2% | 6.4% | 13.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 0.9% | 0.6% | 1.5% |
- 37) **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. certainly the two-state solution is no longer viable | 20.7% | 20.1% | 21.7% |
| 2. the two state solution is no longer viable | 36.9% | 40.8% | 30.6% |
| 3. the two-state solution remains viable today | 30.4% | 28.7% | 33.2% |
| 4. Certainly, the two-state solution remains viable today | 8.5% | 7.6% | 9.9% |
| 5. DK/NA | 3.5% | 2.8% | 4.6% |
- 38) **Talk has recently increased about the inevitable failure of the two state solution and the need to demand the formulation of a solution based on the establishment of one state in all Palestinian areas and Israel, one in which Arabs and Jews enjoy equality. Do you support or oppose this view?**
- | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) certainly support | 3.0% | 2.3% | 4.2% |
| 2) support | 24.3% | 28.9% | 16.9% |
| 3) oppose | 52.8% | 55.7% | 48.1% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 18.5% | 11.7% | 29.5% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.4% | 1.4% | 1.2% |
- 39) **Now more than 45 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 | 22.5% | 23.5% | 21.0% |
| 2) Low | 37.6% | 37.1% | 38.5% |
| 3) Medium | 32.0% | 31.9% | 32.2% |
| 4) High | 6.2% | 5.2% | 7.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.7% | 2.4% | 0.5% |
- 40) **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	26.1%	26.2%	25.9%
	2-Worried	48.1%	46.3%	51.2%
	3. Not worried	23.4%	26.2%	18.9%
	4. Not worried at all	2.3%	1.3%	4.0%
	5.DK/NA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
41)	What do you think are the aspirations of Israel for the long run?			
	1. Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security	5.9%	5.3%	6.8%
	2. Withdrawal form part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security	11.7%	11.2%	12.5%
	3. Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens	19.9%	16.8%	24.9%
	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	60.5%	64.8%	53.5%
	5. DK/NA	2.0%	1.8%	2.3%
42)	And What do you think are the aspirations of the Palestinian Authority and the PLO for the long run?			
	1) Regain some of the territories conquered in the 1967 war Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security	28.8%	28.7%	28.8%
	2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war	33.1%	32.0%	34.9%
	3) Conquer the State of Israel and regain control over the pre 1948 Palestine	20.8%	17.4%	26.4%
	4) Conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel	11.5%	13.3%	8.6%
	5) DK/NA	5.9%	8.7%	1.3%
43)	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	4.5%	2.7%	7.4%
	2) agree	48.0%	46.5%	50.4%
	3) disagree	36.0%	42.2%	25.9%
	4) 4) certainly Disagree	9.4%	6.0%	15.1%
	5) DK/NA	2.1%	2.6%	1.3%
44)	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	2.1%	1.7%	2.9%
	2) agree	37.5%	36.2%	39.7%
	3) disagree	46.2%	51.4%	37.6%

4) 4) certainly Disagree	12.9%	8.9%	19.3%
5) DK/NA	1.3%	1.8%	0.5%
3) Abandon the two state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis			
1) certainly support	3.1%	1.0%	6.4%
2) support	20.8%	23.3%	16.8%
3) oppose	59.2%	66.4%	47.6%
4) certainly oppose	15.9%	8.6%	28.0%
5) DK/NA	0.9%	0.7%	1.2%
4) Resort to popular non violent and unarmed resistance			
1) certainly support	7.1%	4.2%	11.7%
2) support	56.3%	58.2%	53.2%
3) oppose	32.0%	35.0%	26.9%
4) certainly oppose	4.0%	1.7%	7.9%
5) DK/NA	0.6%	0.8%	0.2%
5) Return to the armed intifada and confrontations			
1) certainly support	12.3%	8.0%	19.3%
2) support	38.5%	35.8%	42.9%
3) oppose	43.1%	49.7%	32.3%
4) certainly oppose	5.4%	5.5%	5.2%
5) DK/NA	0.7%	1.0%	0.2%
6) Dissolve the Palestinian Authority			
1) certainly support	10.0%	8.4%	12.4%
2) support	27.6%	25.1%	31.7%
3) oppose	49.7%	54.2%	42.4%
4) certainly oppose	10.1%	9.8%	10.7%
5) DK/NA	2.6%	2.5%	2.8%
46) Now that the UN has recognized Palestine as a non-member state without Israeli approval, do think the US will punish the PA by suspending financial support?			
1-Certainly yes	18.9%	18.6%	19.4%
2-YES	45.4%	48.5%	40.5%
3-NO	29.3%	28.2%	31.1%
4-Certainly no	2.1%	0.9%	4.1%
5-DK-NA	4.2%	3.8%	5.0%
47) And what about Israel, will it too punish the PA by suspending financial transfers to it?			
1-Certainly yes	25.3%	22.2%	30.4%
2-YES	53.5%	57.1%	47.5%
3-NO	16.9%	16.9%	16.9%
4-Certainly no	1.2%	0.5%	2.3%
5-DK-NA	3.2%	3.4%	2.9%
48) And what about the EU, will it too punish the PA by suspending financial transfers to it?			
1-Certainly yes	9.2%	9.6%	8.5%
2-YES	25.5%	27.0%	22.9%
3-NO	51.8%	51.3%	52.7%
4-Certainly no	7.6%	6.0%	10.4%
5-DK-NA	5.9%	6.1%	5.6%
49) Now that the UN has recognized Palestine as a non-member state without Israeli approval, do you think this recognition 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	5.0%	2.6%	8.9%
2) will lead to change to the better	35.7%	35.5%	36.0%
3) will not lead to any change, positive or negative	37.1%	34.8%	41.0%
4) will lead to negative change	17.8%	22.1%	10.9%
5) certainly will lead to negative change	3.0%	3.3%	2.5%
6) DK/NA	1.3%	1.7%	0.7%
50) Now that the UN has recognized Palestine as a non-member state without Israeli approval, 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?			
1-Certainly yes	13.6%	11.2%	17.6%
2-YES	62.1%	66.0%	55.9%
3-NO	18.0%	16.4%	20.8%
4-Certainly no	3.0%	2.9%	3.1%
5-DK-NA	3.2%	3.6%	2.6%
51) Do you think the PA president and his government will actually do that?			
1-Certainly yes	4.1%	2.2%	7.1%
2-YES	33.2%	32.4%	34.4%
3-NO	48.0%	51.4%	42.3%
4-Certainly no	8.0%	7.7%	8.5%
5-DK-NA	6.8%	6.3%	7.6%
52) Now that the UN has recognized Palestine as a non-member state without Israeli approval, 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?			
1-Certainly yes	13.7%	11.0%	18.1%
2-YES	57.6%	60.5%	52.8%
3-NO	21.9%	22.2%	21.5%
4-Certainly no	3.2%	3.1%	3.4%
5-DK-NA	3.6%	3.2%	4.2%
53) Do you think the PA president and his government will actually do that?			
1-Certainly yes	3.6%	2.1%	6.1%
2-YES	32.1%	31.6%	33.0%
3-NO	47.8%	51.5%	41.8%
4-Certainly no	8.6%	7.8%	9.9%
5-DK-NA	7.9%	7.0%	9.2%
54) Now that the UN has recognized Palestine as a non-member state without Israeli approval how do you think Palestinians can force the Israelis to withdraw from the territories of the Palestinian state?			
1) popular peaceful demonstrations that would break through check points and block roads used by army and settlers	24.0%	21.0%	28.8%
2) armed attacks on army and settlers	41.4%	38.9%	45.6%

	3) return to negotiations with the Israeli government	29.6%	34.7%	21.2%
	4) other (specify: -----)	2.6%	2.4%	2.8%
	5) DK/NA	2.5%	3.0%	1.5%
55)	Now that the UN has recognized Palestine as a non-member state without Israeli approval 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]			
	1-Certainly yes	12.2%	12.2%	0.0%
	2-YES	39.0%	39.0%	0.0%
	3-NO	41.0%	41.0%	0.0%
	4-Certainly no	6.5%	6.5%	0.0%
	5-DK-NA	1.3%	1.3%	0.0%
56)	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?			
	1-Certainly yes	7.1%	3.8%	12.6%
	2-YES	47.0%	45.0%	50.2%
	3-NO	37.6%	42.4%	29.7%
	4-Certainly no	6.2%	6.5%	5.6%
	5-DK-NA	2.1%	2.3%	1.8%
57)	what is your assessment of the likely impact of the Arab revolts and the results of the elections that followed these revolts on the Palestinian cause? Will it have a positive or negative impact in the next year or two? Or will it have no impact?			
	(1) Certainly it will be positive	22.9%	16.6%	33.3%
	(2) it will be positive	36.1%	36.6%	35.2%
	(3) it will be negative	9.7%	11.6%	6.5%
	(4) Certainly it will be negative	5.3%	6.4%	3.5%
	(5) will have no impact, positive or negative	23.7%	26.1%	19.8%
	(6) DK/NA	2.4%	2.8%	1.7%
58)	Now after Obama's victory in the US elections, do you think his victory will have a positive or negative impact on Palestinian conditions or will it have no impact?			
	1. Will have a negative impact	49.5%	50.7%	47.5%
	2. will have a positive impact	10.2%	10.2%	10.3%
	3. will have no impact, positive or negative	33.5%	32.6%	34.8%
	4. DK/NA	6.8%	6.5%	7.4%
59)	Elections in Israel will take place next month. Which party do you expect to win the elections and form the next Israeli government?			
	1)The coalition of the Likud under Netanyahu and Israel Baitaino under Lieberman	40.7%	44.7%	34.2%
	2)Parties in the center and left such as Labor, Livni's Movement, Kadima, and Yair Lapid's Yesh Atid	24.5%	16.3%	38.1%
	3)Other parties	9.5%	9.9%	8.7%
	4)DK/NA	25.3%	29.1%	19.0%
60)	If Netanyahu wins the next Israeli elections, do you think Israel will launch			

	an attack against the Iranian nuclear facilities?			
	1-Certainly yes	6.1%	7.0%	4.7%
	2-YES	28.0%	27.8%	28.3%
	3-NO	44.0%	46.2%	40.6%
	4-Certainly no	11.0%	8.3%	15.5%
	5-DK-NA	10.8%	10.8%	10.9%
61)	Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....			
	1) certainly support	15.5%	10.5%	23.7%
	2) support	35.3%	30.8%	42.6%
	3) oppose	43.2%	51.0%	30.6%
	4) certainly oppose	4.0%	5.2%	2.0%
	5) DK/NA	2.0%	2.5%	1.2%
62)	Which of the following political parties do you support?			
	1- PPP	1.0%	0.8%	1.4%
	2- PFLP	3.0%	2.1%	4.5%
	3- Fateh	28.9%	27.3%	31.4%
	4- Hamas	25.5%	22.4%	30.6%
	5- DFLP	0.3%	0.1%	0.6%
	6- Islamic Jihad	1.8%	0.8%	3.5%
	7- Fida	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%
	8- National initiative (almubadara)	0.3%	0.3%	0.5%
	9- Independent Islamist	2.7%	2.3%	3.3%
	10- Independent nationalist	3.8%	4.3%	3.2%
	11)third way headed by salam feyyad	1.0%	1.4%	0.5%
	12- none of the above	30.9%	37.8%	19.5%
	13- others	0.6%	0.5%	0.8%
63)	If you use the internet to surf social sites like Facebook, Twitter, and various groups or to access email, how many times do you normally do that?			
	1) More than once a day	13.5%	11.6%	16.6%
	2) daily	19.9%	16.6%	25.1%
	3) between 2-5 times weekly	12.5%	12.1%	13.3%
	4) once a week	6.0%	3.9%	9.6%
	5) once a month	4.8%	4.2%	5.9%
	6) others (specify -----)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	43.2%	51.7%	29.4%