Palestinian Center for POLICY and SURVEY

Survey Research Unit

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 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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Palestinian public is split regarding the resumption of direct negotiations with Israel and pessimistic regarding the chances for success, but if the talks do lead to a peace agreement, the public believes that a majority of the Palestinians will approve it in a referendum

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 19-21 September 2013. The period before the poll witnessed two major developments: the return to Palestinian-Israeli direct bilateral negotiations and the removal of the Egyptian army of president Morsi, replacing him with a new president and a new government. The army also partially closed the Rafah crossing into Egypt and began to close down tunnels along the Egyptian borders with the Gaza Strip. 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 Ismail Haniyeh and Rami Hamdallah, public satisfaction with the performance of President Mahmud Abbas, the internal balance of power between Fateh and Hamas, return to negotiations, developments in Egypt, and others. Total size of the sample is 1261 adults interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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MAIN RESULTS:

Findings show that the Palestinian public is divided almost equally over President's Abbas' decision to resume direct bilateral negotiations with Israel. Moreover, despite the vital importance attached by the public to the issue of prisoners' release, a larger percentage gives greater priority to the two combined issues of the 1967 borders and settlement freeze. Furthermore, the lack of enthusiasm for return to negotiations seems to be driven by the belief of a large majority that the current round of talks will fail just like previous rounds. But if negotiations do succeed and an agreement is reached, the public believes that a majority of the Palestinians will approve it in a referendum.

A majority does not expect to see any positive development during the period of negotiations; only a quarter to a third expects improvement in economic conditions, reduction in settlement activities, or decrease in the number of checkpoints and other Israeli restrictions in the West Bank. Perhaps because of all of this, a majority supports waging popular non-violent resistance, side by side with negotiations. Indeed, two thirds want to go now to the International Criminal Court (ICC) in order to stop settlement construction even if such a step leads to suspension of Israeli transfer of revenues to the PA and a halt to prisoners' release. It is worth mentioning in this regard that on the 20th anniversary of the Oslo Agreement, less than a third of the public views it as having served vital national interests of the Palestinian people with a majority believing that the accord has in fact damaged those interests and that the PA should stop implementing it.

Findings also show that the latest developments in Egypt, including the change of the president and government, increase doubts about the future of reconciliation and reunification of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Optimism about unity has in fact reached the lowest level since the split in 2007. Findings also show that two thirds of the public believe that the change in Egypt will weaken Hamas’ authority in the Gaza Strip. Moreover, perhaps due to the partial closure of the Rafah crossing, the Egyptian army’s closure of the tunnels, and Hamas’s reaction to the change in Egypt, the percentage of positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip has decreased significantly.

Positive evaluation of the performance of the government of Ismail Haniyeh has also dropped. But findings do not show a decrease in the likely vote for Hamas in the West Bank or in the Gaza Strip if elections are held today.
We asked the public about its views regarding developments in Egypt and Syria and regarding relations with Jordan. Findings show that about two thirds view change in Egypt negatively while less than a quarter sees it as good for Palestinians. Perhaps this reaction is driven by the fact that change in Egypt has led to the closure of the tunnels and the Rafah crossing leading to substantial hardships. On Syria, we found that despite the belief of the majority that the Assad regime was the one that used the chemical weapons against Syrian civilians, two-thirds oppose an American military strike against the Assad forces. The opposition to the strike might be due to the belief of many Palestinians that the strike would target Syria more than the Assad regime. Finally, with regard to relations with Jordan, findings show a reduction in support for a Palestinian-Jordanian confederation compared to the level of support obtained three months ago. It should be noted that support for the confederation increased last June in the aftermath of the signing of the holy places agreement, an agreement that was supported by a majority of the public at that time.

(1) Presidential and legislative elections:
- In presidential elections, Abbas receives 51% and Haniyeh 42%.
- If the presidential contest was between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former receives 58% and the latter 35%.
- If the contest was between Barghouti, Haniyeh, and Abbas, the first receives 35%, the second 33%, and the third 27%.
- In parliamentary elections, Fatah receives 38%, Hamas 31%, all other electoral lists combined 10%, and 22% are undecided.

If new presidential elections are held today and only two were nominated, Abbas would receive the vote of 51% and Haniyeh 42% of the vote of those participating. The rate of participation in such elections would reach 63%. Three months ago, Abbas received the support of 49% and Haniyeh 44%. In this poll, in the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 45% and Haniyeh 50% and in the West Bank Abbas receives 55% and Haniyeh 37%. If presidential elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 58% and the latter would receive 35% of the participants’ votes. The rate of participation in this case would reach 71%. In our June poll Barghouti received 57% of the vote and Haniyeh 36%. If presidential elections were between three: Mahmoud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Barghouti would receive the largest percentage (35%) followed by Haniyeh (33%), and Abbas (27%). The rate of participation in this case would reach 75%. In our previous poll last June, the results were identical to the current findings.

If new legislative elections are held today with the participation of all factions, 71% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 31% say they would vote for Hamas and 38% say they would vote for Fatah, 10% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 22% are undecided. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands in this poll at 39% and in the West Bank at 25%. Vote for Fatah in the Gaza Strip stands in this poll at 38% and in the West Bank at 39%. These results indicate a decrease in support for Fatah and stability in the vote for Hamas.

(2) Domestic conditions:
- Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip drops to 21% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank remains at 29%.
- 79% believe that corruption exists in PA institutions in the West Bank and 66% believe it exists in the institutions of the dismissed government in the Gaza Strip.
- Only 31% believe that people in the West Bank can criticize the PA in the West Bank without fear and only 24% believe people in the Gaza Strip can criticize the dismissed Hamas government in the Gaza Strip without fear.
- Percentages of safety and security in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are equal.

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip drops dramatically from 36% three months ago to 21% in this poll while 55% say conditions are bad or very bad. Positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank remains almost unchanged compared to three months ago standing today at 29%. But the percentage of those who believe conditions in the West Bank are bad or very bad increases from 37% to 44% during the same period.

Perception of corruption in PA institutions in the West Bank stands at 79% in this poll. Perception of corruption in the public institutions of Hamas’ Gaza government stands at 66%. Moreover, 20% say there is, and 41% say there is to some extent, press freedom in the West Bank. By contrast, 16% say there is, and 33% say there is to some extent, press freedom in the Gaza Strip. 31% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the authority in the West Bank without fear. By contrast, 24% of the public say people in the Gaza Strip can criticize the authorities in Gaza without fear.

Perception of safety and security in the West Bank stands at 55% and in the Gaza Strip at 55%. Three months ago these percentages stood at 64% in the Gaza Strip and 56% in the West Bank. But findings also show that the percentage of Gazans who say they seek immigration to other countries stands at 45%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 26%. Last June these percentages stood at 42% and 27% respectively.

Positive evaluation of the performance of the Haniyeh government stands at 36%. Three months ago it stood at 41%. Positive evaluation of the government of Rami al Hamdallah in the West Bank stands today at 29%. Percentage of
Palestinians today: the main problems confronting

- Positive evaluation of the performance of the Haniyeh government stands at 36% and positive evaluation of the performance of Al Hamdallah government stands at 29%
- Satisfaction with the performance of President Abbas stands at 49%.

(3) Reconciliation:
- Optimism about the chances for reconciliation and reunification stands today at its lowest point: 12%
- Majority believes that developments in Egypt weakens the chances for reconciliation and weakens Hamas’ authority in the Gaza Strip
- Large majorities believe that reconciliation will not succeed as long as restrictions are imposed on Hamas members in the West Bank and Fatah members in the Gaza Strip or without an agreement on the date for elections
- 77% support continued PA payment of salaries for Gaza public sector employees
- 47% support holding separate elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip if separation continues for a long time

Given the developments in Egypt and the ups and downs in the Fateh-Hamas dialogue, percentage of optimism about the chances for reunification of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip drops to the lowest level since the split in 2007, standing today at 12%. The belief that unity is impossible and that two separate entities will emerge increases from 36% three months ago to 41% in this poll. 42% believe that unity will be restored but only after a long time. 57% believe that the latest development in Egypt reduces the chances for reunitifying the West Bank and the Gaza Strip while 14% believe it increases those chances and 25% believe it makes no difference. 67% believe that the Egyptian developments will weaken Hamas’ authority in the Gaza Strip while 10% believe they will strengthen it and 20% believe they will leave no impact on that authority.

We asked respondents about conditions under which they believe reconciliation cannot succeed. About three quarters believe that reconciliation will not succeed without first ending the restrictions on freedoms enjoyed by supporters of Hamas in the West Bank and a similar percentage (75%) believes that it will not succeed without ending restrictions on freedoms enjoyed by supporters of Fatah in the Gaza Strip. Similarly, 67% say it will not succeed without first agreeing on an election date; 65% say it will not succeed if Hamas continues to reject agreements signed by the PLO with Israel; 63% say it will not succeed if security coordination with Israel in the West Bank continues; another 61% say it will not succeed if the PA continues to recognize Israel and the Oslo agreements; and 56% say it will not succeed as long as Hamas insists on keeping its al Qassam armed wing in the Gaza Strip.

The largest percentage (36%) believes that the PA, with its parts in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, has become a burden on the Palestinian people and 30% believe that it is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people. Furthermore, 15% believe that the PA in the West Bank is an accomplishment while the PA in the Gaza Strip is a burden. By contrast, a similar percentage (13%) believes that the PA in the Gaza Strip is an accomplishment while the PA in the West Bank is a burden.

56% regard the Gaza Strip as an Israeli-occupied territory, just like the West Bank. But 19% consider it a liberated area and 25% consider it semi-liberated and semi-occupied. Belief that the Strip is liberated or semi liberated increases in the Gaza Strip, reaching 58%, and decreases in the West Bank, standing at 35%.

More than three quarters of the public (77%) support the continued payment of salaries to Gaza Strip employees who used to work for the PA before the split in 2007. 20% believe that the PA should stop the payment. But the public is split over the necessity of holding separate elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip if the current disunity continued for a long time: 47% believe it to be necessary to hold such separate elections and 50% believe it to be unnecessary.

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

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• 45% believe that the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip should be the most vital Palestinian goal and 29% believe that obtaining of the right of return should be the most vital goal.

• 28% view the spread of poverty and unemployment as the most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today and 23% view the absence of national unity due to the West Bank-Gaza Strip split as the most serious problem.

(5) Peace process and resumption of negotiations:

• 47% support and 49% oppose return to negotiations with Israel
• 67% say they want the PA to go now to the International Criminal Court to stop settlements
• 70% expect negotiations with Israel to fail
• If the two sides reach a peace agreement, 53% believe a majority of Palestinians would support it
• 51% support the two-state solution and 52% support the Arab Peace Initiative
• 59% believe the two state solution is no longer practical
• 29% support a one-state solution
• 59% believe the Oslo Agreement has damaged vital Palestinian national interests
• 60% want to suspend the implementation of the Oslo agreement

29% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 16% believe that it should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings, and 11% 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, 42% said ending occupation and building a state was most vital goal and 34% said the most vital goal was the right of return.

The most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today is the spread of poverty and unemployment in the eyes of 28% of the public while 23% say it is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities; 19% believe the most serious problem is the absence of national unity due to the West Bank-Gaza Strip split, 16% believe the most serious problem is corruption in some public institutions, and 9% believe it is the siege and the closure of the Gaza border crossings.

The public is split over the decision by president Abbas to return to direct bilateral negotiations with Israel: 47% support the decision and 49% oppose it. But 60% believe that the president has made the right decision by agreeing to suspend for nine months Palestinian application to join more international organizations in return for Israeli release of 104 prisoners. 34% believe he made the wrong decision. But public’s attitude regarding going to the ICC is different: 67% support and 28% oppose submitting a complaint to this international organization against Israeli settlements even if such a step leads to suspension of Israeli transfer of customs’ revenues and a halt to prisoners’ release.

Support for return to negotiations is higher in the West Bank (53%) than in the Gaza Strip (38%), in cities and villages (49% and 48% respectively) compared to refugee camps (34%), among women (52%) compared to men (43%), among supporters of Fatah and supporters of third parties (76% and 53% respectively) compared to supporters of Hamas (23%), among the somewhat religious (54%) compared to the religious (41%), among supporters of the peace process (65%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (16%), among the non-refugees (54%) compared to refugees (41%), and among illiterates and those with elementary education (58%) each) compared to holders of BA degree (40%).

We asked the public about its views regarding the most important condition for return to negotiations: 31% selected the release of prisoners, 28% selected an Israeli acceptance of the 1967 lines as a basis for negotiations, and 14% selected an Israeli settlement freeze. 24% said they oppose resumption of any negotiations.

Only 26% believe that the Palestinian and Israeli negotiators will succeed in reaching an agreement and 70% believe they will not succeed. Only 32% expect negotiations to last for nine months, as planned. But if the two sides succeed in reaching a peace agreement and president Abbas asked the public to vote for it in a referendum, a majority of 53% believes that most of the public will vote to approve it and 37% believe most will vote against it. Belief that the majority will vote in favor of the peace agreement is higher in the West Bank (55%) compared to the Gaza Strip (51%), among residents of villages and towns and residents of cities (63% and 53% respectively) compared to residents of refugee camps (40%), among women (58%) compared to men (49%), among supporters of Fatah (79%) compared to supporters of third parties and supporters of Hamas (42% and 29% respectively), among the somewhat religious (59%) compared to the religious (47%), among supporters of the peace process (69%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (15%), among non-refugees (56%) compared to refugees (51%), among the illiterates and those with elementary education (67% and 66% respectively) compared to holders of BA degree (48%).
Public expectations regarding likely developments during the period of negotiations are not positive: only 31% expect an improvement in economic conditions, only 15% expect a reduction in settlement activities, 27% except a reduction in the number of checkpoints and other Israeli restrictions in the West Bank, only 26% expect increase in the efforts to isolate Israel at the international arena, and only 40% expect a rise in international support for the Palestinians.

A majority of 51% support and 48% oppose the two-state solution. Similarly, 52% support the Saudi peace initiative and 45% oppose it. But only 40% support and 58% oppose a mutual recognition of Israel as the state for the Jewish people and Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people after reaching a peace agreement. 59% believe that the two-state solution is no longer practical due to settlement expansion and 36% believe it is still practical since settlements can be dismantled. Despite this finding, only 29% support a one-state solution in which Arabs and Jews enjoy equality; 70% oppose it. Moreover, 72% believe that the chances for a Palestinian state to emerge alongside Israel in the next five years and slim to non-existent while 26% think the chances are medium or high. Despite the return to negotiations, 60% support resort to popular non-violent resistance and 39% oppose it. By contrast, only 36% support dissolving the PA, 35% support return to armed intifada, and 26% support abandoning the two-state solution in favor of one-state solution.

On the 20th anniversary of the Oslo agreement, 59% believe that the accord has damaged vital Palestinian national interests while only 29% believe that it served those interests. Findings also show that 60% oppose the continued implementation of the Oslo agreement; only 31% support its continued implementation. Belief that the Oslo Agreement has damaged vital Palestinian interests increases in the West Bank (61%) compared to the Gaza Strip (57%), among residents of refugee camps (65%) compared to residents of cities and villages (59% and 57% respectively), among men (65%) compared to women (53%), among supporters of Hamas and supporters of third parties (84% and 59% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (31%), among the religious (63%) compared to the somewhat religious (56%), among those who oppose the peace process (89%) compared to supporters of the peace process (46%), and among holders of BA degree (68%) compared to those with elementary education and the illiterates (53% and 42% respectively).

76% are worried and 24% are not worried that they or members of their families would be hurt by Israelis or their land confiscated or homes demolished. Furthermore, 59% 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 and 21% believe that Israel’s aim is to annex all occupied territories while denying Palestinians their political rights. Only 19% believe that Israel’s long term aspiration is to withdraw from all or parts of the 1967-occupied territories after ensuring its security. With regard to Palestinian long term goals, 66% believe that the goal of the PA and the PLO is to recover parts or all of the land occupied in 1967 while 12% believe the goal is to defeat Israel and recover the land occupied in 1948 and 10% believe the goal is to defeat Israel and destroy its Jewish population.

(6) Developments in Egypt and Syria and relations with Jordan:

- 41% sympathize with Morsi and the Muslim Brothers and 27% sympathize with the army and the new government in Egypt
- 52% believe that the Assad regime used chemical weapons against the Syrian people, but two thirds oppose an American

41% say they sympathize with president Morsi and the Muslim Brothers in Egypt while 27% say they sympathize with the army and the current government and president. Sympathy with Morsi and the Brothers increases in the Gaza Strip (46%) compared the West Bank (38%). Furthermore, 65% regard the change in Egypt which led to the dismissal of Morsi as bad for Palestinians while 22% view it as good for Palestinians.

A majority of 52% believes that it was the Syrian regime that used chemical weapons against Syrian civilians while 20% believe it was the Syrian opposition that used them. Two thirds of the public oppose and 29% support a limited American military against the Assad forces even if it is proven that it was the Assad regime that used the chemical weapons.
Findings show an increase in opposition to a confederation with Jordan now or in the future from 40% three months ago to 48% in this poll. The current percentage of opposition is similar to those obtained in previous years: 49% in 2008 and 52% in 2007. 25% support a confederation with Jordan now and 19% support it if established in the future after the end of occupation and the establishment of a Palestinian state. Opposition to the confederation now or in the future increases in the West Bank (54%) compared to the Gaza Strip (38%), among Hamas supporters (52%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (48% and 40% respectively), among those who oppose the peace process (55%) compared to supporters of the peace process (45%), and among holders of BA degree (51%) compared to the illiterates (37%).
Palestinian Public Opinion Poll No (49)
19-21 September 2013

00 ) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?
   
   1) al Arabia 12.9% 8.7% 20.0%
   2) al Jazeera 34.6% 34.7% 34.4%
   3) al Hurra 1.0% 5.0% 2.0%
   4) al Manar 3.1% 4.3% 1.1%
   5) Palestine TV 18.1% 22.1% 11.4%
   6) alaqsa 9.5% 4.3% 18.2%
   7) Do not watch TV 8.0% 9.9% 4.8%
   8) others 12.2% 14.9% 7.6%
   9) Do not have a dish 0.0% 0.0% 0.0%
   10) DK/NA .6% .6% .5%

q00_other

1) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?
   
   1) Very good 3.9% 4.4% 3.2%
   2) Good 17.2% 16.8% 17.9%
   3) so so 20.4% 20.0% 21.0%
   4) Bad 36.7% 39.9% 31.2%
   5) Very bad 18.5% 13.9% 26.4%
   6) DK/NA 3.2% 5.0% 3.3%

2) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?
   
   1) Very good 5.7% 5.6% 5.9%
   2) Good 23.6% 21.5% 27.2%
   3) so so 25.6% 26.8% 23.4%
   4) Bad 33.3% 35.1% 30.1%
   5) Very bad 10.7% 10.6% 10.8%
   6) DK/NA 1.1% 3.3% 2.5%

3) Generally, do you see yourself as:
   
   1) Religious 46.1% 39.6% 57.0%
   2) somewhat religious 49.0% 55.7% 37.8%
   3) not religious 4.8% 4.6% 5.2%
   4) DK/NA .0% .0% 0.0%

4) Generally, do you see yourself as:
   
   1) supportive of the peace process 53.9% 60.1% 43.5%
   2) opposed to the peace process 25.2% 22.6% 29.5%
   3) between support and opposition 19.9% 15.9% 26.6%
   4) DK/NA 1.1% 1.4% .5%

5) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions under the control of President Abu Mazin?

   yes 78.9% 80.2% 76.5%
   no 13.8% 10.3% 19.7%
6) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions under the control of the dismissed government in the Gaza Strip

- yes: 65.7% 61.8% 72.2%
- no: 17.5% 13.1% 24.7%
- DK-NA: 16.9% 25.1% 3.0%

7) In your view, is there a press freedom in the West Bank?

- yes: 20.3% 20.8% 19.5%
- to some extent: 41.3% 39.8% 43.7%
- no: 35.1% 35.3% 34.7%
- DK-NA: 3.3% 4.1% 2.0%

8) In your view, is there a press freedom in the Gaza Strip?

- yes: 16.1% 13.3% 20.8%
- to some extent: 33.2% 28.4% 41.4%
- no: 40.7% 42.8% 37.3%
- DK-NA: 9.9% 15.5% .4%

9) In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear?

- yes: 31.2% 35.4% 24.1%
- no: 64.2% 59.5% 72.2%
- DK-NA: 4.6% 5.1% 3.7%

10) In your view, can people in the Gaza Strip today criticize the authority without fear?

- yes: 24.3% 23.0% 26.6%
- no: 63.9% 59.8% 70.7%
- DK-NA: 11.8% 17.3% 2.7%

11) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?

- 1) Completely assured: 7.2% 4.1% 12.3%
- 2) Assured: 48.0% 50.9% 43.1%
- 3) Not assured: 37.9% 39.4% 35.5%
- 4) Not assured at all: 6.8% 5.5% 8.9%
- 5) DK/NA: .2% .1% .2%

12) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?

- 1) Certainly seek to emigrate: 15.0% 11.7% 20.6%
- 2) Seek emigration: 18.1% 14.1% 24.8%
- 3) Do not seek emigration: 33.9% 36.6% 29.3%
- 4) Certainly do not seek emigration: 32.8% 37.4% 25.0%
- 5) DK/NA: .2% .2% .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: 10.1% 7.0% 15.4%
- 2) Good: 25.7% 27.7% 22.2%
- 3) Neither good nor bad: 23.2% 23.0% 23.6%
- 4) Bad: 19.1% 17.5% 21.8%
- 5) Very Bad: 8.9% 4.1% 16.9%
- 6) No Opinion/Don’t know: 13.0% 20.6% .1%
14) Tell us how do you evaluate the performance of the government of Rami al Hamdallah in the West Bank? Is it good or bad?

1) Very Good 3.2% 3.1% 3.4%
2) Good 25.2% 24.2% 26.9%
3) Neither good nor bad 29.7% 29.0% 31.0%
4) Bad 16.8% 13.4% 22.5%
5) Very Bad 5.2% 3.4% 8.3%
6) No Opinion/Don’t know 19.8% 26.9% 7.8%

15) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?

1) very satisfied 6.3% 6.8% 5.4%
2) satisfied 43.0% 51.0% 29.7%
3) not satisfied 33.7% 28.7% 42.1%
4) not satisfied at all 14.2% 9.7% 21.8%
5) DK/NA 2.8% 3.8% 1.0%

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 50.8% 54.8% 44.9%
2) Ismael Haniyyah 42.1% 36.9% 49.8%
4) DK/NA 7.1% 8.3% 5.3%

17) And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh representing Hamas, whom would you vote for?

1) Marwan Barghouti 58.2% 60.9% 54.2%
2) Ismael Haniyyeh 35.0% 31.0% 41.0%
4) DK/NA 6.8% 8.1% 4.8%

18) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyyeh, and Mahmud Abbas, to whom would you vote?

1) Marwan Barghouti 34.8% 32.8% 37.8%
2) Ismael Haniyyeh 33.1% 29.1% 39.0%
3) Mahmud Abbas 27.1% 32.2% 19.7%
5) DK/NA 4.9% 5.9% 3.5%

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 1.6% 2.5% .3%
2) independent Palestine 3.1% 3.2% 3.0%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa 2.5% 2.3% 2.8%
4) Abu al Abbas 0.0% 0.0% 0.0%
5) freedom and social justice .5% .3% .8%
6) change and reform 30.5% 24.8% 38.9%
7) national coalition for justice and democ .7% 1.0% .3%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad) .2% .1% .3%
9) freedom and independence .7% .4% 1.2%
10) Palestinian justice .5% .8% 0.0%
11) Fateh 38.1% 38.5% 37.6%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember 21.5% 26.1% 14.7%

21 - From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most
1) 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 45.0% 47.2% 41.2%
2) Obtain the right of return to refuges to their 1948 towns and villages 28.8% 27.7% 30.7%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians 10.6% 9.7% 12.3%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings 15.5% 15.4% 15.8%

21- From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most
2) 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 20.1% 21.1% 18.4%
2) Obtain the right of return to refuges to their 1948 towns and villages 42.1% 41.7% 42.7%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians 19.5% 18.6% 21.1%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings 18.3% 18.6% 17.7%

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
1) continuation of occupation and settlements, 23.4% 23.0% 24.3%
2) spread of unemployment and poverty 28.3% 34.8% 17.2%
3) lack of national unity due to the split 18.9% 13.4% 28.0%
4) continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings 9.2% 1.9% 21.5%
5) the spread of corruption in public institutions 16.4% 22.6% 6.0%
6) others (------------- ) 3.8% 4.3% 3.0%
7) DK/NA 0.0% 0.0% 0.0%

23) Some people say that the Palestinian Authority, in its two parts in the West Bank and
the Gaza Strip, has become a burden on the Palestinian people while others say that it is
an accomplishment for the Palestinian people. What do you think?
1) The PA in its two parts is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people 30.3% 39.6% 14.5%
2 The PA in its two parts is a burden on the Palestinian people
   36.0% 36.6% 34.8%
3 The PA is an accomplishment in the West Bank and a burden in the Gaza Strip
   14.9% 10.3% 22.7%
4 The PA in a burden in the West Bank and an accomplishment in the Gaza Strip
   13.4% 7.6% 23.1%
5 DK/NA
   5.4% 5.8% 4.9%

24) 20 years after the signing of the Oslo Agreement, do you think it served or hurt the vital national interests of the Palestinian people?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Certainly served</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>.7%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Served</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hurt</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Certainly hurt</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. DK/NA</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25) Do you support or oppose the continued implementation of the Oslo Agreement?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Certainly support the continued implementation of the Oslo Agreement</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Support the continued implementation of the Oslo Agreement</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Oppose the continued implementation of the Oslo Agreement</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Certainly oppose the continued implementation of the Oslo Agreement</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. DK/NA</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26) Given the developments in Egypt and the ups and downs, the progress and the setbacks in the Fateh-Hamas dialogue, what are your expectations for the future of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Unity will resume in the near future</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Unity will resume but will take a long time</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
<td>45.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Unity will not resume and two separate entities will emerge</td>
<td>41.3%</td>
<td>43.0%</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) DK/NA</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27-1 without an agreement on a date for presidential and legislative elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-Certainly yes</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-YES</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-NO</td>
<td>49.5%</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>45.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-Certainly no</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-DK-NA</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27-2 with the existing constraints on freedoms for members of Hamas in the West Bank

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-Certainly yes</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-YES</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-NO</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td>56.4%</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-Certainly no</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-DK-NA</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27-3 with the existing constraints on freedoms for members of Fatah in the Gaza Strip

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-Certainly yes</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>.7%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poll</td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Yes (%)</td>
<td>No (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-</td>
<td>with the continuation of security coordination between the Israeli and Palestinian security services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>security services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Certainly yes</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>30.1%</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-</td>
<td>Certainly no</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-</td>
<td>DK/NA</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-</td>
<td>with Hamas insisting on preserving its armed wing, al Qassam Brigades, in the Gaza Strip</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>Strip</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Certainly yes</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-</td>
<td>Certainly no</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-</td>
<td>DK/NA</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-</td>
<td>with the PA in the West Bank continuing to recognize Israel and the Oslo agreement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Certainly yes</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>46.1%</td>
<td>50.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-</td>
<td>Certainly no</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-</td>
<td>DK/NA</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-</td>
<td>with Hamas refusing to accept agreements signed between the PLO and Israel</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Certainly yes</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>49.8%</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-</td>
<td>Certainly no</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-</td>
<td>DK/NA</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28)</td>
<td>Some say that the Gaza Strip is now a territory occupied by Israel just like the West Bank while others say that the Gaza Strip is no longer occupied and that it is in fact liberated. What do you think? Is the Strip occupied or liberated?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>occupied</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>liberated</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>partly occupied and partly liberated</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-</td>
<td>DK/NA</td>
<td>.4%</td>
<td>.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29)</td>
<td>In the context of the talk about the financial crisis in the West Bank, some wonder about the necessity of continuing to pay salaries for PA employees in the Gaza Strip, some of whom do not work because the PA has asked them to boycott the Hamas government. In your view, should the government of Rami al Hamdallah continue to pay salaries to PA employees in the Gaza Strip who used to work for the PA before the split?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Certainly yes</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-</td>
<td>Certainly no</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-</td>
<td>DK/NA</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
30) If the Hamdallah government stopped payment of salaries to PA employees in the Gaza Strip, those who used to work for the PA before the split, do you think the Hamas government alone would be able to provide all the financial needs of the Strip?

- Certainly yes: 8.1%, 9.0%, 6.7%
- YES: 31.7%, 39.3%, 19.0%
- NO: 37.7%, 35.2%, 41.9%
- Certainly no: 13.2%, 4.4%, 28.0%
- DK/NA: 9.3%, 12.1%, 4.5%

31) If the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is to last much longer, would it become necessary in that case to hold new legislative and presidential elections even if separately in each area and even under conditions of split?

- Certainly yes: 9.4%, 8.0%, 11.8%
- YES: 37.4%, 39.7%, 33.6%
- NO: 39.6%, 10.0%, 11.8%
- Certainly no: 10.7%, 10.0%, 11.8%
- DK/NA: 3.0%, 3.6%, 1.8%

32) There is talk about the establishment of a special relationship with Jordan, such as a confederation between Jordan and the Palestinian state. Do you support or oppose the establishment of such a confederation now or in the future after the ending of the Israeli occupation?

1. I support the establishment of a confederation between Jordan and the Palestinian state now: 24.5%, 25.2%, 23.3%
2. I support the establishment of a confederation between Jordan and the Palestinian state in the future after: 19.0%, 15.3%, 25.2%
3. I do not support the establishment of a confederation with Jordan now or in the future: 48.2%, 54.0%, 38.4%
4. DK/NA: 8.3%, 5.5%, 13.1%

33) In light of the developments in Egypt today, do you find yourself sympathizing with the army and the current government and the forces that support them or do you sympathize with president Morsi, the Muslim Brothers and the forces that support them?

1. Certainly with the army and current government and the forces supporting them: 13.0%, 10.4%, 17.5%
2. With the army and current government and the forces supporting them: 13.5%, 13.7%, 13.3%
3. With president Morsi, Muslim Brothers and the forces supporting them: 29.3%, 31.8%, 25.1%
4. Certainly with president Morsi, Muslim Brothers and the forces supporting them: 11.9%, 6.4%, 21.3%
5. I do not sympathize with either side: 27.7%, 31.7%, 21.1%
6. DK/NA: 4.4%, 6.0%, 1.6%

34) Do you think that the latest developments in Egypt including the dismissal of Morsi and the events that followed will contribute toward strengthening or weakening the chances for reunifying the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?

1. Certainly weakening the chances: 19.4%, 16.9%, 23.6%
2. Weakening the chances: 37.6%, 39.2%, 34.8%
3. Strengthening the chances: 9.0%, 7.5%, 11.5%
4. Certainly strengthening the chances: 4.5%, 3.4%, 6.4%
Polls

5. Will not have an impact on the chances for unification 25.0% 26.6% 22.3%
6. DK/NA 4.5% 6.3% 1.5%

35) What about the chances for reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas now after the change of the president and government in Egypt? Will the chances increase, decrease, or remain as they were before?
1. Certainly increase 2.6% 1.9% 3.9%
2. Increase 16.7% 15.4% 18.9%
3. Decrease 38.7% 39.6% 37.3%
4. Certainly decrease 8.3% 5.8% 12.5%
5. Will remain as before 28.5% 30.1% 25.9%
6. DK/NA 5.1% 7.2% 1.6%

36) In your view, is the change of president and government in Egypt with led to the dismissal of president Morsi good or bad for the Palestinians?
1. Certainly good 3.0% .4% 7.3%
2. Good 18.7% 15.3% 24.4%
3. Bad 45.3% 51.4% 35.1%
4. Certainly bad 19.2% 15.5% 25.3%
5. DK/NA 13.8% 17.4% 7.9%

37) In your view, how will the development in Egypt affect Hamas’s authority in the Gaza Strip? Will it strengthen or weaken it or will have no impact on it?
1. Certainly it will strengthen it 1.6% .8% 2.8%
2. It will strengthen 8.4% 7.2% 10.3%
3. It will weaken it 50.0% 54.5% 42.4%
4. Certainly it will weaken it 16.8% 13.7% 22.2%
5. No impact 19.7% 18.8% 21.2%
6. DK/NA 3.5% 5.1% 1.0%

38) Do you support or oppose the decision by President Abbas to return to negotiations with Israel?
1. Definitely support 7.3% 7.8% 6.4%
2. Support 40.2% 45.3% 31.5%
3. Oppose 32.7% 30.0% 37.2%
4. Definitely oppose 16.5% 12.5% 23.3%
5. DK/NA 3.4% 4.4% 1.7%

39) What do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis now after the return of the two sides to negotiations and after the release of some Palestinian prisoners by Israel?
1) the two sides will continue to negotiate 35.9% 35.8% 36.2%
2) the two sides will continue to negotiate but some armed attacks will take place 25.5% 24.9% 26.5%
3) Negotiations will stop soon and armed attacks will take place 17.1% 16.1% 18.9%
4) Negotiations will stop soon and there will be no armed attacks 15.9% 16.9% 14.3%
5) DK/NA 5.5% 6.4% 4.1%

40) Now after the resumption of permanent status negotiations, in your view will the Palestinian and Israeli sides succeed this time in reaching a peace agreement?
1. Certainly will succeed 1.6% .9% 2.7%
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poll # (49) - September 2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 - Will succeed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - Will not succeed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - Certainly will not succeed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - DN/NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41) If the two sides succeed in reaching a peace agreement and president Abbas asked the Palestinian public to vote in favor of this agreement in a referendum, do you think the majority of the public will vote in favor or against the peace agreement?

| 1 - Certainly in favor | 11.1% 9.9% 13.1% |
| 2 - In favor           | 42.1% 44.7% 37.8% |
| 3 - Against            | 22.2% 20.6% 24.9% |
| 4 - Certainly against  | 14.5% 12.9% 17.1% |
| 5 - DK/NA              | 10.1% 11.8% 7.1%  |

42) If you had to decide on the question of the return to negotiations and you were forced to select one condition to be imposed on the Israeli side, which of the following you would select?

| 1 - The release of 104 of the old detainees | 30.6% 32.3% 27.8% |
| 2 - Israeli acceptance of a settlement freeze | 13.9% 14.8% 12.3% |
| 3 - Israeli acceptance of the 1967 lines as a basis for border negotiations | 28.3% 29.6% 26.2% |
| 4 - I do not support return to negotiations | 24.3% 20.2% 31.1% |
| 5 - DK/NA | 2.9% 3.0% 2.7% |

43) Current negotiations are set to continue for 9 months. Do you expect them to continue that long or will they in your view stop before that?

| 1 - Continue the whole period | 32.2% 35.5% 26.6% |
| 2 - Will stop a little before the end of the period | 35.2% 33.0% 38.9% |
| 3 - Will stop long before the end of the period | 24.0% 21.9% 27.6% |
| 4 - DK/NA | 8.5% 9.5% 6.8% |

44) Now that the Palestinian and Israeli sides have returned to negotiations, what are your expectations for the economic conditions in the West Bank? Will they improve or worsen or stay as they were before the resumption of negotiations?

| 1 - Will improve | 30.9% 29.8% 32.8% |
| 2 - Will worsen  | 31.3% 35.6% 24.1% |
| 3 - Will stay as before | 34.8% 32.1% 39.5% |
| 4 - DK/NA        | 2.9% 2.5% 3.6% |

45) And what about the checkpoints and other Israeli imposed limitations in the West Bank, will they increase or decrease or remain as before?

| 1 - Will increase | 36.9% 40.4% 31.1% |
| 2 - Will decrease | 27.2% 24.8% 31.2% |
| 3 - Will stay as before | 33.8% 32.8% 35.4% |
| 4 - DK/NA         | 2.1% 2.0% 2.3% |

46) And what about settlement construction? Will it increase or decrease or remain as before?

| 1 - Will increase | 64.5% 75.4% 46.2% |
| 2 - Will decrease | 15.0% 10.0% 23.6% |
| 3 - Will stay as before | 18.5% 13.0% 27.7% |
And what about your expectations regarding Palestinian and international efforts to isolate Israel? Will they increase or decrease or remain as before?

1) Will increase 25.8% 28.5% 21.2%
2) Will decrease 28.0% 27.1% 29.4%
3) Will stay as before 42.1% 39.9% 45.7%
4) DK/NA 4.2% 4.5% 3.6%

And what about your expectations regarding international support for the Palestinians? Will it increase or decrease or remain as before?

1) Will increase 40.1% 44.0% 33.5%
2) Will decrease 19.7% 16.6% 25.0%
3) Will stay as before 37.4% 36.9% 38.1%
4) DK/NA 2.8% 2.5% 3.4%

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 5.9% 6.4% 5.1%
2) support 44.8% 48.5% 38.4%
3) oppose 36.1% 35.7% 36.7%
4) certainly oppose 11.4% 7.1% 18.5%
5) DK/NA 1.9% 2.2% 1.3%

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 24.9% 20.7% 31.9%
2. the two state solution is no longer viable 34.5% 34.8% 34.1%
3. the two-state solution remains viable today 28.2% 32.0% 21.9%
4. Certainly, the two-state solution remains viable today 8.1% 7.9% 8.3%
5. DK/NA 4.3% 4.7% 3.7%

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 4.3% 5.0% 3.0%
2) support 24.3% 27.9% 18.3%
3) oppose 50.1% 50.6% 49.4%
4) certainly oppose 20.0% 14.9% 28.6%
5) DK/NA 1.3% 1.7% .6%

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 30.3% 29.5% 31.7%
2) Low 41.9% 43.9% 38.6%
3) Medium 23.5% 23.4% 23.6%
4) High
   2.7%  2.0%  4.0%
5) DK/NA
   1.5%  1.2%  2.1%

53) 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
      25.7% 27.7% 22.5%
   2-Worried
      49.9% 46.7% 55.4%
   3. Not worried
      20.6% 22.2% 17.8%
   4. Not worried at all
      3.6% 3.4% 3.9%
   5.DK/NA
      .2%  .1%  .4%

54) 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
      6.9%  5.7%  9.0%
   2. Withdrawal form part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security
      12.3% 10.8% 14.8%
   3. Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens
      21.2% 16.7% 28.8%
   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
      58.5% 65.6% 46.6%
   5. DK/NA
      1.1%  1.2%  .9%

55) 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
      35.4% 37.2% 32.3%
   2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war
      30.9% 26.3% 38.8%
   3) Conquer the State of Israel and regain control over the pre 1948 Palestine
      12.0%  9.7% 15.9%
   4) Conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel
      9.8% 11.8%  6.6%
   5) DK/NA
      11.8% 15.1%  6.4%

56) 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
      6.9%  5.6%  9.1%
   2) agree
      44.7% 45.8% 42.9%
   3) disagree
      33.5% 36.1% 29.0%
   4) certainly Disagree
      11.9%  8.2% 18.1%
   5) DK/NA
      3.0%  4.2%  .9%
57) 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 3.6% 3.4% 4.0%
2) agree 36.1% 38.6% 31.8%
3) disagree 42.2% 43.8% 39.5%
4) certainly Disagree 15.9% 11.3% 23.5%
5) DK/NA 2.3% 2.9% 1.3%

58) Abandon the two state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis

1) certainly support 2.3% 2.0% 2.8%
2) support 23.6% 25.9% 19.7%
3) oppose 54.6% 59.8% 46.0%
4) certainly oppose 18.1% 10.6% 30.8%
5) DK/NA 1.4% 1.8% .7%

59) President Abbas says that he has agreed to suspend Palestinian applications to join new international organizations for 9 months in return for Israeli release of 104 Palestinian prisoners. Do you think he took the right or wrong decision?

1-Certainly right decision 8.8% 7.5% 11.0%
2-Right decision 50.7% 50.2% 51.5%
3-Wrong decision 25.2% 28.3% 20.0%
4-Certainly wrong decision 8.8% 7.0% 11.8%
5-DK/NA 6.5% 7.0% 5.8%

60) Some say that in order to stop settlement expansion, the Palestinians should complain to the International Criminal Court (ICC) while others say that such will lead to financial sanctions leading to cutting of funds and PA collapse and Israel would stop releasing Palestinian prisoners. What do you think? Should we or should not we go the ICC?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poll # (49)- September 2013</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Certainly should go to the ICC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) should go to the ICC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) should not go to the ICC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Certainly should not go to the ICC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) DK/NA</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**61) In your view, who used chemical weapons against Syrian civilians? the Asad regime or the opposition?**

| 1-Certainly the Asad regime | 20.0%  | 10.9%  | 35.2%  |
| 2-The Assad regime | 32.4%  | 29.1%  | 38.1%  |
| 3-The opposition | 14.7%  | 18.0%  | 9.2%  |
| 4-Certainly the opposition | 5.2%  | 5.7%  | 4.4%  |
| 5-others | 12.9%  | 18.2%  | 3.9%  |
| 6-DK/NA | 14.8%  | 18.2%  | 9.2%  |

**62) If it is proven that it was the Asad regime that used chemical weapons against Syrian civilians, would you in this case support or oppose a limited US military strike against the regime?**

| 1) certainly support | 6.8%  | 3.5%  | 12.4%  |
| 2) support | 22.6%  | 17.5%  | 31.2%  |
| 3) oppose | 42.9%  | 47.7%  | 34.9%  |
| 4) certainly oppose | 24.1%  | 27.4%  | 18.6%  |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.5%  | 3.9%  | 2.8%  |

**63) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....**

| 1) certainly support | 10.5%  | 5.0%  | 19.8%  |
| 2) support | 32.9%  | 27.0%  | 42.6%  |
| 3) oppose | 44.5%  | 52.0%  | 32.0%  |
| 4) certainly oppose | 9.3%  | 12.7%  | 3.6%  |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.8%  | 3.2%  | 2.0%  |

**64) Which of the following political parties do you support?**

| 1- PPP | .8%  | 1.0%  | .4%  |
| 2- PFLP | 3.3%  | 2.0%  | 5.5%  |
| 3- Fateh | 28.6%  | 27.7%  | 30.1%  |
| 4- Hamas | 19.1%  | 14.4%  | 26.9%  |
| 5- DFLP | 1.3%  | 1.3%  | 1.2%  |
| 6- Islamic Jihad | 1.7%  | .7%  | 3.4%  |
| 7- Fida | .1%  | 0.0%  | .1%  |
| 8- National inititiative (almubadara) | .5%  | .6%  | .4%  |
| 9- Independent Islamist | 2.9%  | .8%  | 6.4%  |
| 10- Independent nationalist | 4.3%  | 2.8%  | 6.8%  |
| 11)third way headed by salam feyyad | .6%  | .7%  | .3%  |
| 12- none of the above | 36.2%  | 47.2%  | 17.7%  |
| 13- others | .7%  | .7%  | .8%  |

**65) 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?**

<p>| 1) More than once a day | 13.4%  | 11.8%  | 15.9%  |
| 2) daily | 19.2%  | 16.3%  | 24.0%  |
| 3) between 2-5 times weekly | 12.1%  | 10.2%  | 15.3%  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poll</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4) once a week</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>5) once a month</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
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<td>6) others (specify -----)</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
<td>53.0%</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
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