

The **Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR)** is an independent nonprofit institution and think tank for policy analysis and academic research. PSR was founded with the goal of advancing scholarship and knowledge on immediate issues of concern to Palestinians in three areas: domestic politics and government, strategic analysis and foreign policy, and public opinion polls and survey research. The center engages in several activities. It conducts academic and policy analysis studies. It organizes socio-political surveys and public opinion polls on current Palestinian political and social attitudes. It sponsors study groups and task forces on issues of critical importance to the Palestinians. Finally, it organizes conferences, public lectures, and briefings on current public policy issues. PSR is dedicated to promoting objective and nonpartisan research and analysis and to encouraging a better understanding of the 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 Opinion Poll No (56)

With only one third of Palestinians satisfied with the Gaza War accomplishments and only one third satisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government, half of Gazans say they are thinking about emigrating and the largest percentage believes that Israel came out a winner in the battle at FIFA. Nonetheless, Ismail Haniyeh and Hamas would win the elections in Gaza Strip while Abbas and Fatah would win in the West Bank.

4-6 June 2015

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 4 and 6 June 2015. The period before the poll witnessed the failure of the reconciliation government efforts to reunify the institutions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, a debate among Palestinians over the decision to drop the demand for expelling Israel from FIFA, the formation of a right wing government in Israel under prime minister Netanyahu, the publication of the corruption court decision asserting as unconstitutional Abbas decision to lift the immunity of Mohammad Dahlan and the publication of news reports indicating that Hamas and Israel have indirectly been negotiating a long term ceasefire in the Gaza Strip. This press release covers attitudes regarding Palestinian elections, conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, reconciliation, the Gaza war, the peace process, FIFA, and other internal and international issues. Total size of the sample is 1200 adults interviewed face to face in 120 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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Main Findings:

Findings of the second quarter of 2015 indicate a high level of frustration among Gazans, with half of the respondents stating that they are considering emigration from the Gaza Strip. This is the highest percentage ever recorded in our polls. Findings also show an additional decline (particularly in the Gaza Strip) in satisfaction with the achievements of the latest Gaza war. Despite this, Hamas does better than Fatah in hypothetical elections in the Gaza Strip and Ismail Haniyeh wins against Abbas in a presidential election in the Strip. In the West Bank Abbas and Fatah are more popular than Haniyeh and Hamas. It is worth mentioning that the public is divided equally on the significance of the election victory of Hamas' student bloc at Birzeit University. Half of the respondents believes that the outcome of this election reflects the trend among the overall public while the other half believes that it reflects the trend among students only.

Given the internal dispute within Fatah regarding Mohammad Dahlan, our findings show that his popularity in the Gaza Strip is relatively high, coming in third place after Ismail Haniyeh and Marwan Barghouti in hypothetical elections in which Abbas does not participate. Dahlan's popularity in the West Bank however is much lower, almost non-existent. In this context, we found that Abbas' decision to lift Dahlan's immunity and bring him to trial for corruption finds significant support in the West Bank while opposition to the decision is widespread in the Gaza Strip.

Findings show that the public is unhappy with the outcome of the FIFA battle over Israel's membership. The largest percentage, around one third, believes that Israel came out a winner while a little over a fifth believes that the Palestinian side came out a winner in that battle.

Finally, findings show that a slight majority continues to support the two-state solution but that no more than a third believes that a Palestinian state alongside Israel can be established through negotiations. Instead, an overwhelming majority supports submitting a complaint against Israel to the ICC and joining more international organizations. Two thirds believe that a popular non-violent resistance is the most effective means of changing the status quo.

(1) Palestinian Elections:

- **In presidential elections, Abbas receives 47% and Haniyeh 46%.**
- **Satisfaction with Abbas rises from 40% to 44%.**
- **In parliamentary elections, Fatah receives 39%, Hamas 35%, third parties combined 11%, and 16% are undecided.**
- **66% want legislative and presidential elections in few to six months.**
- **47% think that the victory of Hamas' student bloc at Birzeit University reflects the general trend among the Palestinian public.**

If new presidential elections are held today and only two candidates were nominated, Mahmoud Abbas and Ismail Haniyeh, the former would receive 47% (compared to 48% three months ago) and the latter 46% (compared to 47% three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 46% and Haniyeh 50%. In the West Bank, Abbas receives 47% and Haniyeh 44%. Meanwhile, the level of satisfaction with the performance of Abbas rises to 44% (compared to 40% three months ago). Satisfaction with Abbas stood at 50% in June 2014 in the aftermath of the Shati reconciliation declaration but before the Gaza war. Satisfaction with Abbas increases in the West Bank (48%) compared to the Gaza Strip (34%), in villages and towns (59%) compared to refugee camps and cities (39% and 41% respectively), among those whose age is over 50 years (54%) compared to those between 18 and 28 years old (43%), among non-refugees (48%) compared to refugees (38%), among the illiterates (55%) compared to holders of BA degree (41%), and among supporters of Fatah (77%) compared to supporters of Hamas and third parties (13% and 41% respectively).

If presidential elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 58% and the latter would receive 36% of the participants' votes. Three months ago, Barghouti received 58% and Haniyeh 38%. If presidential elections were between three: Mahmud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Abbas would receive 25%, Barghouti 38%, and Haniyeh 34%. In an open question, 26% said they prefer to see Marwan Barghouti president after Abbas and 20% said they prefer to see Ismail Haniyeh, 4% said they prefer Dahlan, 3% said they prefer Rami al Hamdallah, another 3% selected Mustapha Barghouti, and 2% said they prefer Khalid Misha'al.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 72% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 35% say they would vote for Hamas and 39% say they would vote for Fatah, 11% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 16% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 32% and Fatah at 39%. In June 2014, just before the Gaza war, vote for Hamas stood at 32% and Fatah 40%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands in this poll at 39% (compared to 39% three months ago) and for Fatah at 44% (compared to 36% three months ago). In the West Bank vote for Hamas stands at 32% (compared to 27% three months ago) and Fatah at 36% (compared to 41% three months ago). A majority of 66% wants

elections to take place within few to six months from today, 10% want them to take place after a year or more, and 21% do not want elections.

47% believe that the outcome of the latest student elections at Birzeit University, in which Hamas' student bloc won, only reflects the trend among university students, while an identical percentage believes that it reflects a trend among the general public. In explaining the outcome of those elections at Birzeit University, 14% said Fatah's student bloc lost because Fatah, the movement, lacks credibility and is rife with corruption. 23% said the loss was due to internal disputes within Fatah's student body or due to its mismanagement of its internal affairs or bad performance inside the university. 12% said it was due to rising Hamas popularity due to the war on Gaza or because the performance of Hamas' student body was satisfactory. The belief that the outcome of Birzeit elections reflects a trend among the general public is higher in the Gaza Strip (50%) compared to the West Bank (45%), among those between the ages of 18 and 28 (50%) compared to those over 50 years of age (42%), among holders of BA degree (47%) compared to illiterates (31%), among the religious (52%) compared to the somewhat religious and non-religious (45% and 24% respectively), and among supporters of Hamas (78%) compared to supporters of Fatah (26%).

(2) Domestic Conditions, salary payment crisis, and ISIS:

- **Positive evaluation of West Bank conditions stands at 30% and Gaza Strip conditions at 14%; perception of security stands at 54% in the West Bank and 46% in the Gaza Strip.**
- **50% of Gazans and 25% of West Bankers say they seek immigration.**
- **Belief that corruption exists in PA institutions stands at 79%.**
- **Belief that there is press freedom in the West Bank stands at 23% and belief that there is press freedom in the Gaza Strip stands at 18%.**
- **39% support the decision of the Corruption Court to refuse to try Dahlan for corruption but 46% support the decision of president Abbas to lift his immunity and try him.**
- **84% see ISIS as a radical group that does not represent true Islam and 10% believe it does represent true Islam.**

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 14% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 30%. Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 46%. In the West Bank perception of safety and security stands at 54%. Findings show that the percentage of Gazans who say they seek immigration to other countries stands at 50%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 25%. Desire to emigrate is higher in refugee camps and cities (35% each) compared to villages and towns (26%), among those between the ages of 18 and 28 (45%) compared to those over 50 years (13%), among holders of BA degree (41%) compared to illiterates (17%), and among students (52%) compared to merchants and farmers (17% and 18% respectively). Desire to emigrate is specially high among Gazan youth between the ages of 18 and 28 (60%), Gazan students (66%), and among unmarried Gazans (68%).

Al Jazeera viewership is the highest, standing at 23%; Al Arabiyya stands at 8%. Viewership of PA's Palestine TV stands at 20% and Hamas' al Aqsa TV at 12%. Maan-Mix viewership stands at 18%.

Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 79%. Furthermore, only 23% say there is press freedom in the West Bank and 18% say the same about the status of the press in the Gaza Strip. 32% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the PA authority in the West Bank without fear. 30% say people in the Gaza Strip can criticize the authorities in Gaza without fear.

In light of the recent decision of the Corruption Court to reject the decision of PA president Abbas to lift the immunity of Mohammad Dahlan and to try him for corruption, 39% said they support the court's decision and 46% said they support the decision of the president to lift the immunity. When asked about the corruption charges against Dahlan, 58% said they thought the charges were true and 19% said they were untrue. 23% said they do not know. Support for the court's decision is higher in

the Gaza Strip (47%) compared to the West Bank (36%), among men (44%) compared to women (35%), among those whose age is over 50 (41%) compared to those whose age is between 18 and 28 (37%), and among supporters of Hamas (45%) compared to supporters of Fatah (33%).

An overwhelming majority of 84% believes that ISIS is a radical group that does not represent true Islam and 10% believe it does represent true Islam. 6% are not sure or do not know. In the Gaza Strip, 14% (compared to 8% in the West Bank) say ISIS represents true Islam.

(3) The reconciliation government and its role in Gaza:

- **Pessimism about the chances for a successful reconciliation continues to rise reaching today 59%; optimism stands at 38%.**
- **Satisfaction with the performance of the reconciliation government stands at 35% and dissatisfaction at 59%.**
- **52% believe that Hamas has established a shadow government in the Gaza Strip but only 24% believe that Hamas is responsible for the weak performance of the reconciliation government.**
- **More than 70% say that the reconciliation government should pay the salaries of the civil and security sectors that worked for the previous Hamas government.**
- **65% say that the reconciliation government, not Hamas, should be in charge of the security and police sector in the Gaza Strip and 76% support the unification of the police forces in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the full command of the reconciliation government.**

Optimism about the success of reconciliation and the end of the split stands today at 38% and pessimism at 59%. Three months ago optimism stood at 42% and pessimism at 54%. Moreover, satisfaction with the implementation of the reconciliation agreement stands at 31% and dissatisfaction at 65%. Similarly, a year after its establishment, satisfaction with the performance of the reconciliation government stands at 35%; dissatisfaction stands at 59%. Three months ago, satisfaction stood at 28%. It is worth mentioning that a year ago, right after its establishment, 61% had confidence in the reconciliation government.

47% (56% in the Gaza Strip) want to place the reconciliation government in charge of the Rafah crossing, but 36% (26% in the Gaza Strip) prefer to keep it under Hamas' control. The same applies to the crossings with Israel with 48% (56% in the Gaza Strip) wishing to place them under the control of the reconciliation government. 43% want the reconciliation government to be in charge of the reconstruction of the Gaza Strip and 33% want it placed in the hands of Hamas.

52% believe that Hamas has established a shadow government in the Gaza Strip and 35% reject this claim. But the belief that Hamas was responsible for hindering the functioning of the reconciliation government does not exceed 24% while 32% believe that the PA and president Abbas were to blame for that and 13% blame the head of the reconciliation government. When asked who was responsible for the return of the ministers of the reconciliation government from the Gaza Strip without being able to assume their responsibilities over their ministries, 46% said it was the reconciliation government and the president and 35% said it was Hamas.

75% believe that the reconciliation government should be responsible for paying the salary of the Gazan civil public sector that used to work for the previous Hamas government. A similar percentage (72%) believes that the reconciliation government is also responsible for paying the salary of the Gaza police and security personnel who used to work for the previous Hamas government. 65% want the reconciliation government, not Hamas, to be in charge of the Gaza police force and security personnel who used to work for the previous Hamas government; 28% believe Hamas should be the one in charge. 76% support the unification of the police forces in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, including those who used to work for the previous Hamas government, under the full command and control of the reconciliation government. But 20% prefer to maintain the current status quo in the Gaza Strip, i.e., continued Hamas control of the police in the Gaza Strip.

48% believe the PA has become a burden on the Palestinian people and only 46% believe it is an achievement. A year ago, right after the formation of the reconciliation government, 50%

said the PA was an achievement and 45% said it was a burden. The drop in the level of optimism regarding the future of reconciliation is probably one of the reasons for the drop in the belief that the PA is a Palestinian achievement.

(4) Gaza War:

- **63% support Hamas' indirect negotiations with Israel for a long term *hudna*.**
- **59% believe that Hamas has won the last Gaza War but satisfaction of the war achievements drops to 35%.**
- **63% support continued rocket launch for Gaza if the siege and blockade continue.**

63% support indirect negotiations between Hamas and Israel to reach a long term *hudna*, or truce, in the Gaza Strip in return for lifting the siege and 32% oppose such negotiations. Support for such negotiations rises in the Gaza Strip (68%) compared to the West Bank (61%), and among supporters of Hamas (74%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (57% each).

Belief that Hamas has won the Gaza War stands at 59%; 25% believe the two sides were losers. Among Gazans, only 47% say Hamas came out a winner. Nine months ago, 69% of all Palestinians said Hamas came out a winner. By contrast, the percentage of satisfaction with war achievements compared to the human and material losses sustained by the Gaza Strip does not exceed 35% and dissatisfaction at 63%. Despite that, a majority of 63% supports the launching of rockets from the Gaza Strip at Israel if the siege and blockade are not ended.

(5) The peace process

- **51% support the two-state solution and 48% oppose it.**
- **34% support the one-state solution and 64% oppose it.**
- **54% oppose and 44% support a mutual recognition of national identity of the states of Israel and Palestine.**
- **86% support submitting a complaint against Israel to the International Criminal Court.**
- **67% support popular non-violent resistance and 49% support return to an armed intifada.**

Findings show that a slight majority of 51% supports and 48% oppose the two-state solution. A larger majority of 55% believes that this solution is no longer practical due to settlement expansion. Similarly, 72% believe that the chances for establishing a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years are slim to non-existent. Despite this, only 34% support, and 64% oppose, a one-state solution in which Arabs and Jews enjoy equal rights. Findings also show that 52% support the Arab Peace Initiative and 44% oppose it. But a majority of 54% opposes a mutual recognition of national identity of Israel as the state for the Jewish people and Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people; 44% support it.

Palestinian views on the most effective means of establishing a Palestinian state vary: 36% think that armed action is the most effective, 32% think negotiations is the most effective, and 26% think popular non-violent resistance is the most effective.

In the absence of a peace negotiation, 82% support joining more international organizations. 86% support the submission of a complaint against Israel to the International Criminal Court. Moreover, two thirds (67%) support a popular non-violent resistance. A slight majority of 52% opposes, and 46% support, the dissolution of the PA. 51% opposes and 49% support a return to an armed intifada.

The percentage of those who are worried that they would be hurt by Israel or that their land would be confiscated or homes demolished stands at 78%. 21% are not worried. Furthermore, an overwhelming majority of 81% believes that Israel's long term aspiration is to annex the lands occupied in 1967 and expel their population or deny them their rights. When asked about the long term aspiration of the PA and the PLO, 69% said that it is to recover all or parts of the land occupied in 1967 while 23% said it was to conquer the state of Israel or conquer the state of Israel and kill most of the Jews.

An overwhelming majority believes that al Haram al Sharif is in grave danger: 50% believe that Israel intends to destroy al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock and replace them with a

Jewish temple; 18% believe that it intends to divide the plateau on which the two mosques sit so that Jews would have a synagogue alongside the Muslim holy places; and 9% believe that Israel intends to change the status quo prevailing in the plateau since 1967 by allowing Jews to pray there. Only 13% believe that Israel is interested in maintaining the status quo without change. More than half of the public (52%) believes that Israel will indeed succeed in implementing its plans for al Haram al Sharif and 44% believe it will not succeed.

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

- **45% believe that the establishment of a Palestinian state is the first most vital Palestinian goal and 30% believe the first goal is to obtain the right of return for the refugees.**
- **29% say that the most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today is the continuation of occupation and an identical percentage says that it is poverty and unemployment.**

45% believe that the *first* most vital Palestinian goal should be to end the 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, 30% believe 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 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. The most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today is the continuation of the occupation and settlement activities in the eyes of 29% of the public; an identical percentage believes it is poverty and unemployment. 22% say it is the spread of corruption in some public institutions; and 15% believe it is the siege of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its crossings.

(7) Other issues: FIFA, boycott, Israeli right wing government, and the nuclear agreement with Iran

- **Israel won more than the Palestinians in the FIFA battle.**
- **An overwhelming majority supports the campaign to boycott Israel.**
- **After the formation of right wing government in Israel, 79% are pessimistic about the future of Israeli-Palestinian relations.**
- **The nuclear deal with Iran is good for Israel but bad for the Arabs.**

FIFA: in the FIFA battle over Israeli membership in the international football federation, 33% believe that Israel came out as the winner and 22% believe the Palestinian side came out as the winner. 10% believe both sides were winners, 4% believe both sides were losers, 15% believe neither side won or lost, and 17% did not know or did not express an opinion.

Boycott of Israeli products: 86% support the campaign to boycott Israel and impose sanctions on it and 88% say they have stopped buying Israeli products, such as those manufactured by Tnuva or Strauss, and 64% believe that the boycott of Israeli products will be effective in helping to end the Israeli occupation.

Israeli right wing government: in the wake of the formation of a new right wing government led by Prime Minister Netanyahu, 79% of the public feel pessimistic about the future of Palestinian-Israeli relations.

Nuclear agreement with Iran: 36% of the public believe that the framework agreement on Iran's nuclear program, signed between the US and Iran, is a bad agreement for the Arabs and 25% believe it is a good agreement for the Arabs. 25% believe it is neither good nor bad. When asked if the agreement is good or bad for Israel, 50% said it was good and 24% said it was bad; 12% said it was neither good nor bad.

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| | 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 | 8.1% | 6.1% | 11.9% |
| 2) al Jazeera | 22.9% | 22.8% | 23.2% |
| 3) al Hurra | 1.8% | 1.1% | 3.0% |
| 4) al Manar | 2.5% | 1.5% | 4.5% |
| 5) Palestine TV | 19.9% | 20.8% | 18.1% |
| 6) alaqsa | 12.1% | 7.3% | 21.3% |
| 7) man(mix) | 17.6% | 23.0% | 7.3% |
| 8) Do not watch TV | 7.3% | 9.0% | 4.1% |
| 9) others | 6.4% | 6.7% | 5.9% |
| 10) Do not have a dish | 1.2% | 1.6% | .5% |
| 11) DK/NA | .1% | .1% | 0.0% |
| Q1) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days? | | | |
| 1) Very good | 1.6% | 2.0% | .9% |
| 2) Good | 12.6% | 11.7% | 14.3% |
| 3) so so | 16.1% | 15.0% | 18.3% |
| 4) Bad | 37.5% | 43.0% | 26.7% |
| 5) Very bad | 31.2% | 26.9% | 39.6% |
| 6) DK/NA | 1.0% | 1.4% | .3% |
| Q2) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days? | | | |
| 1) Very good | 6.2% | 5.4% | 7.6% |
| 2) Good | 23.6% | 22.7% | 25.5% |
| 3) so so | 32.1% | 33.5% | 29.4% |
| 4) Bad | 24.0% | 24.6% | 22.8% |
| 5) Very bad | 14.0% | 13.8% | 14.4% |
| 6) DK/NA | .1% | .0% | .3% |
| Q 3) Generally, do you see yourself as: | | | |
| 1) Religious | 42.7% | 40.0% | 47.8% |
| 2) somewhat religious | 51.7% | 54.8% | 45.5% |
| 3) not religious | 5.5% | 4.9% | 6.6% |
| 4) DK/NA | .2% | .3% | 0.0% |
| Q 4) Generally, do you see yourself as: | | | |
| 1) supportive of the peace process | 51.3% | 53.7% | 46.8% |
| 2) opposed to the peace process | 25.5% | 24.1% | 28.4% |
| 3) between support and opposition | 21.6% | 20.3% | 24.2% |
| 4) DK/NA | 1.5% | 2.0% | .6% |
| Q 5) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority? | | | |
| 1) yes | 78.9% | 81.7% | 73.6% |
| 2) no | 15.1% | 12.1% | 21.0% |
| 3) DK-NA | 5.9% | 6.2% | 5.4% |
| Q 6) In your view, is there a press freedom in the West Bank? | | | |
| 1) yes | 22.6% | 18.1% | 31.3% |
| 2) to some extent | 39.3% | 38.6% | 40.8% |
| 3) no | 35.3% | 40.5% | 25.3% |

| | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| 4) DK-NA | 2.8% | 2.9% | 2.6% |
| Q 7) In your view, is there a press freedom in the Gaza Strip? | | | |
| 1) yes | 17.8% | 11.8% | 29.5% |
| 2) to some extent | 34.4% | 30.5% | 41.9% |
| 3) no | 40.3% | 46.5% | 28.3% |
| 4) DK-NA | 7.5% | 11.2% | .3% |
| Q 8) In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear? | | | |
| 1) yes | 32.0% | 34.3% | 27.5% |
| 2) no | 64.5% | 62.3% | 68.8% |
| 3) DK-NA | 3.5% | 3.5% | 3.7% |
| Q 9) In your view, can people in the Gaza Strip today criticize the authority without fear? | | | |
| 1) yes | 29.9% | 29.9% | 29.8% |
| 2) no | 60.7% | 56.7% | 68.4% |
| 3) DK-NA | 9.4% | 13.3% | 1.8% |
| Q 10) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured? | | | |
| 1) Completely assured | 5.4% | 3.3% | 9.6% |
| 2) Assured | 45.4% | 50.3% | 36.1% |
| 3) Not assured | 38.3% | 38.2% | 38.5% |
| 4) Not assured at all | 10.7% | 8.0% | 15.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | .1% | .2% | 0.0% |
| Q 11) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad? | | | |
| 1) Certainly seek to emigrate | 13.2% | 8.5% | 22.4% |
| 2) Seek emigration | 20.4% | 16.7% | 27.5% |
| 3) Do not seek emigration | 38.6% | 42.8% | 30.3% |
| 4) Certainly do not seek emigration | 27.8% | 32.0% | 19.6% |
| 5) DK/NA | .1% | 0.0% | .3% |
| Q 12) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA? | | | |
| 1) very satisfied | 5.5% | 4.9% | 6.8% |
| 2) satisfied | 38.0% | 43.4% | 27.5% |
| 3) not satisfied | 35.6% | 35.9% | 35.2% |
| 4) not satisfied at all | 19.0% | 13.6% | 29.4% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.8% | 2.2% | 1.1% |
| Q 13) If new presidential elections are to take place today, and Mahmud Abbas was nominated by Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh was nominated by Hamas, whom would you vote for? | | | |
| 1) Mahmoud Abbas | 46.9% | 47.2% | 46.3% |
| 2) Ismael Haniyyah | 46.1% | 43.8% | 50.0% |
| 4) DK/NA | 7.1% | 9.0% | 3.7% |
| Q 14) And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh representing Hamas, whom would you vote for? | | | |
| 1) Marwan Barghouti | 57.5% | 59.8% | 53.1% |
| 2) Ismael Haniyyah | 36.3% | 32.5% | 43.5% |
| 4) DK/NA | 6.2% | 7.7% | 3.4% |
| Q 15) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmud Abbas, to whom would you vote? | | | |
| 1) Marwan Barghouti | 37.5% | 39.4% | 34.1% |
| 2) Ismael Haniyyah | 33.6% | 30.4% | 39.4% |
| 3. Mahmud Abbas | 24.6% | 24.8% | 24.3% |
| 5) DK/NA | 4.3% | 5.4% | 2.2% |

| | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|--|-------|-----------|------------|
| Q 16) President Abbas says that he will not nominate himself for a new presidential elections. If it is up to you, who do you want to be the president after him? | | | |
| 1) Marwan Barghouti | 25.7% | 26.8% | 23.4% |
| 2) Mustafa Barghouthi | 2.6% | 1.1% | 5.4% |
| 3) Ismail Haniyeh | 19.9% | 18.0% | 23.6% |
| 4) Khaled Meshaal | 1.6% | .3% | 4.0% |
| 5) Rami Hamdallah | 3.1% | 2.7% | 3.9% |
| 6) Salam Fayyad | 1.3% | 1.0% | 1.8% |
| 7) Mohammed Dahlan | 4.3% | .6% | 11.4% |
| 8) Saeb Erekat | 1.1% | .4% | 2.4% |
| 9) Other | 9.6% | 9.6% | 9.7% |
| 10) No one | 5.8% | 6.5% | 4.4% |
| 11) DK/NA | 25.1% | 32.8% | 10.0% |
| Q 18 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 | 4.1% | 5.6% | 1.5% |
| 2) independent Palestine | 1.5% | 1.3% | 1.9% |
| 3) Abu Ali Mustafa | 1.9% | 1.2% | 3.3% |
| 4) Abu al Abbas | .9% | 1.4% | 0.0% |
| 5) freedom and social justice | .4% | .4% | .4% |
| 6) change and reform | 34.5% | 31.9% | 39.1% |
| 7) national coalition for justice and democ | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| 8) third way(headed by salam fayyad) | .4% | .5% | .3% |
| 9) freedom and independence | 1.2% | 1.2% | 1.2% |
| 10) Palestinian justice | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| 11) Fateh | 39.0% | 36.4% | 43.9% |
| 12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember | 15.9% | 20.2% | 8.4% |
| Q 19-1)From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most important one | | | |
| 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 | 45.1% | 46.4% | 42.5% |
| 2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages | 29.9% | 29.5% | 30.8% |
| 3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians | 11.4% | 9.8% | 14.4% |
| 4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings | 13.6% | 14.4% | 12.2% |
| Q 19-2) second most important goal | | | |
| 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 | 20.8% | 22.1% | 18.3% |
| 2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages | 37.6% | 37.5% | 37.8% |
| 3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians | 18.4% | 15.4% | 24.4% |
| 4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings | 23.1% | 25.1% | 19.5% |

| | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|--|-------|-----------|------------|
| Q 20) 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? | | | |
| Open ended ----- | | | |
| 1) continuation of occupation and settlements, | 28.6% | 30.3% | 25.3% |
| 2) spread of unemployment and poverty | 28.5% | 30.8% | 24.1% |
| 3) lack of national unity due to the split | 3.6% | .8% | 8.9% |
| 4) continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings | 15.1% | 8.9% | 27.1% |
| 5) the spread of corruption in public institutions | 22.3% | 28.3% | 10.5% |
| 6) others (-----) | 1.7% | .4% | 4.1% |
| 7) DK/NA | .2% | .4% | 0.0% |
| Q 21) Some people say that the Palestinian Authority 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 is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people | 46.0% | 45.7% | 46.7% |
| 2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people | 48.2% | 48.0% | 48.6% |
| 3) DK/NA | 5.8% | 6.4% | 4.7% |
| Q 22) As you satisfied with the speed with which the reconciliation agreement is being implemented in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? | | | |
| 1) Certainly yes | 4.5% | 2.4% | 8.5% |
| 2) YES | 26.6% | 28.7% | 22.5% |
| 3) NO | 43.5% | 48.2% | 34.2% |
| 4) Certainly no | 21.1% | 14.4% | 34.1% |
| 5) DK-NA | 4.3% | 6.3% | .6% |
| Q 23) In the last war in the Gaza Strip between Hamas and the resistance factions, who, in your view, came out the winner, Hamas or Israel? | | | |
| 1) Hamas and the resistance factions | 59.0% | 65.1% | 47.3% |
| 2) Israel | 10.5% | 6.5% | 18.4% |
| 3) No one | 25.2% | 23.1% | 29.2% |
| 4) Both sides | 4.1% | 3.5% | 5.1% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.2% | 1.8% | 0.0% |
| Q 24) What about the approach or method used by Hamas in confronting occupation in the Gaza Strip? Do you support or oppose this approach or method? | | | |
| 1) certainly support | 21.8% | 19.6% | 26.2% |
| 2) support | 51.3% | 58.1% | 38.0% |
| 3) oppose | 17.6% | 12.9% | 26.9% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 6.7% | 5.9% | 8.3% |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.5% | 3.6% | .5% |
| Q 25) And what about the West Bank, do you support or oppose emulating the same approach or method used by Hamas in confronting occupation in the Gaza Strip by transferring it to the West Bank? | | | |
| 1) certainly support | 18.3% | 17.5% | 19.9% |
| 2) support | 37.1% | 37.0% | 37.5% |
| 3) oppose | 32.8% | 33.4% | 31.6% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 9.2% | 9.1% | 9.5% |

| | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|--|-------|-----------|------------|
| 5) DK/NA | 2.5% | 3.1% | 1.5% |
| Q 26) When comparing human and material losses in the Gaza Strip with the potential benefits of the Egyptian proposal mentioned above, do you feel satisfied or dissatisfied with the accomplishments of the war? | | | |
| 1) Certainly satisfy | 6.3% | 5.3% | 8.2% |
| 2) Satisfy | 28.4% | 30.5% | 24.2% |
| 3) Does not satisfy | 47.1% | 50.2% | 41.1% |
| 4) Certainly does not satisfy | 16.3% | 11.5% | 25.4% |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.0% | 2.4% | 1.1% |
| Q 27) Do you support or oppose the continuation of launching of rockets from the Gaza Strip on Israeli cities and towns until Israel agree to end the siege and closure on Gaza? | | | |
| 1) certainly support | 17.1% | 16.0% | 19.4% |
| 2) support | 45.6% | 50.2% | 36.6% |
| 3) oppose | 25.6% | 23.0% | 30.7% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 8.0% | 6.1% | 11.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.7% | 4.7% | 1.6% |
| Q 28) Hamas has conducted indirect negotiations with Israel over the issue of a long term truce in return for ending the Israeli siege over the Gaza Strip. Do you support or oppose the Hamas negotiation with Israel? | | | |
| 1) certainly support | 7.8% | 5.1% | 12.9% |
| 2) support | 55.6% | 56.0% | 54.8% |
| 3) oppose | 25.7% | 27.1% | 23.1% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 6.1% | 5.5% | 7.4% |
| 5) DK/NA | 4.8% | 6.3% | 1.7% |
| Q 29) Now, more than a year after the formation of the reconciliation government, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with its performance? | | | |
| 1) Certainly satisfy | 4.9% | 4.5% | 5.6% |
| 2) Satisfy | 30.5% | 34.0% | 23.7% |
| 3) Does not satisfy | 42.7% | 43.9% | 40.4% |
| 4) Certainly does not satisfy | 15.9% | 9.2% | 28.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 6.0% | 8.4% | 1.4% |
| Q 30) When do you want the holding of parliamentary and presidential elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, in the next few months, after six months, after a year or do not want the holding of elections? | | | |
| 1) In the next few months | 47.1% | 46.9% | 47.5% |
| 2) After six months | 18.7% | 14.4% | 27.2% |
| 3) After a year or more | 9.5% | 9.8% | 8.9% |
| 4) Do not want elections | 21.3% | 24.8% | 14.5% |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.3% | 4.0% | 2.0% |
| Q 31) Who in your view should assume control over the following matters, the reconciliation government under the supervision of president Abbas or Hamas? | | | |
| Q 31-1) Control over the Rafah crossing with Egypt | | | |
| 1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas | 46.8% | 41.9% | 56.3% |
| 2) Hamas | 36.0% | 41.1% | 26.2% |
| 3) Others | 14.8% | 13.4% | 17.5% |
| 4) DK/NA | 2.4% | 3.7% | 0.0% |
| Q 31-2) Control over the borders between Rafah and Egypt | | | |
| 1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas | 45.9% | 42.9% | 51.9% |
| 2) Hamas | 35.1% | 36.8% | 31.6% |
| 3) Others | 16.2% | 16.0% | 16.5% |
| 4) DK/NA | 2.8% | 4.3% | .0% |

| | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|--|-------|-----------|------------|
| Q 31-3) Control over the crossings with Israel | | | |
| 1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas | 48.2% | 44.3% | 55.6% |
| 2) Hamas | 30.1% | 35.3% | 19.8% |
| 3) Others | 19.0% | 16.6% | 23.8% |
| 4) DK/NA | 2.7% | 3.7% | .8% |
| Q 31-4) Control over the borders of the Gaza Strip with Israel | | | |
| 1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas | 45.3% | 42.5% | 50.8% |
| 2) Hamas | 33.7% | 37.8% | 25.9% |
| 3) Others | 17.8% | 15.4% | 22.4% |
| 4) DK/NA | 3.2% | 4.3% | 1.0% |
| Q 31-5) Rebuilding of destroyed homes and infrastructure | | | |
| 1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas | 42.8% | 42.2% | 43.9% |
| 2) Hamas | 32.8% | 36.3% | 25.9% |
| 3) Others | 21.7% | 17.5% | 30.1% |
| 4) DK/NA | 2.7% | 4.0% | .2% |
| Q 32) President Abbas says that Hamas has formed a shadow government in the Gaza Strip But Hamas denies the charge. What do you think? | | | |
| 1) Certainly there is a shadow Hamas government in the Gaza Strip | 19.3% | 16.7% | 24.4% |
| 2) There is a shadow Hamas government in the Gaza Strip | 32.8% | 33.4% | 31.6% |
| 3) There is no shadow Hamas government in the Gaza Strip | 24.5% | 23.3% | 26.9% |
| 4) Certainly there is no shadow Hamas government in the Gaza Strip | 10.4% | 8.4% | 14.3% |
| 5) DK/NA | 12.9% | 18.1% | 2.8% |
| Q 33) Some think that the PA is not doing its job as it should while others think it is doing its job as it should. If you think the reconciliation government is not doing its job as it should, who in your view is responsible for that? | | | |
| 1) The PA and Abbas | 32.0% | 29.9% | 36.1% |
| 2) Hamas | 24.4% | 16.5% | 39.7% |
| 3) The head of the reconciliation government | 13.1% | 12.8% | 13.5% |
| 4) The PA is doing its job as it should | 13.6% | 16.2% | 8.4% |
| 5) DK/NA | 16.9% | 24.6% | 2.2% |
| Q 34) Do you think the reconciliation should be responsible for paying the salaries of the civil public sector that used previously to work for the Hamas government? | | | |
| 1) Certainly yes | 22.8% | 21.7% | 24.9% |
| 2) YES | 51.7% | 53.7% | 47.7% |
| 3) NO | 15.0% | 12.5% | 19.8% |
| 4) Certainly no | 5.4% | 4.6% | 7.0% |
| 5) DK-NA | 5.2% | 7.5% | .6% |
| Q 35) And what about the police and the security personnel that used to work previously for the Hamas government? Should the reconciliation government be responsible for paying their salary? | | | |
| 1) Certainly yes | 21.6% | 21.3% | 22.2% |
| 2) YES | 50.2% | 55.1% | 40.5% |
| 3) NO | 17.3% | 13.0% | 25.7% |
| 4) Certainly no | 5.6% | 2.9% | 11.0% |
| 5) DK-NA | 5.3% | 7.7% | .6% |

| | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| Q 36) Who in your view should supervise the police and the security personnel who used to work previously for the Hamas government? Should it be the reconciliation government or Hamas? | | | |
| 1) Certainly the reconciliation government | 18.4% | 17.9% | 19.5% |
| 2) The reconciliation government | 46.5% | 47.3% | 44.9% |
| 3) Hamas | 28.1% | 27.2% | 29.8% |
| 4) Certainly Hamas | 2.7% | 2.1% | 3.7% |
| 5) DK/NA | 4.3% | 5.5% | 2.1% |
| Q 37) For the reconciliation government to be able to unify public institutions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and to be able to carry out its responsibilities in the Gaza Strip, there is a proposal to place the police force in the Gaza Strip that used to work for the Hamas government under the full control of the reconciliation government so that the police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would follow one command. Do you support this proposal or do you instead want to keep responsibility over the Gaza police force in Hamas control as it is today? | | | |
| 1) I certainly support unifying the police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the control of the reconciliation government | 33.9% | 35.4% | 31.1% |
| 2) I support unifying the police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the control of the reconciliation government | 42.1% | 42.6% | 41.3% |
| 3) I support maintaining the current status quo | 15.9% | 14.3% | 18.9% |
| 4) I certainly support maintaining the current status quo | 3.8% | 3.2% | 4.9% |
| 5) DK/NA | 4.3% | 4.5% | 3.8% |
| Q 38) Several weeks ago, ministers of the reconciliation government went to the Gaza Strip to work in their ministries. But they soon return having failed to do so. Who in your view is responsible for the inability of the ministers to work in their ministries? Is it the reconciliation government and president Abbas or Hamas? | | | |
| 1) Certainly the reconciliation government | 24.1% | 20.8% | 30.5% |
| 2) The reconciliation government | 22.3% | 22.1% | 22.6% |
| 3) Hamas | 29.8% | 27.0% | 35.4% |
| 4) Certainly Hamas | 5.2% | 4.4% | 6.9% |
| 5) DK/NA | 18.6% | 25.7% | 4.6% |
| Q 39) The Palestinian Authority in the West Bank has dissolved all armed groups that belonged to political factions or parties. Now after reconciliation, under what conditions you think armed groups in the Gaza Strip should be dissolved? | | | |
| 1) Only after signing a peace agreement with Israel | 18.3% | 17.5% | 19.8% |
| 2) Only after the ending of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip | 22.0% | 20.1% | 25.8% |
| 3) Only after the upcoming legislative and presidential elections | 6.4% | 4.0% | 10.9% |
| 4) Now, having formed a reconciliation government | 9.8% | 9.1% | 11.1% |
| 5) I oppose the dissolution of the armed groups in the Gaza Strip under any circumstances | 40.9% | 45.5% | 32.0% |
| 6) DK/NA | 2.6% | 3.8% | .3% |
| Q 40) What expectations do you have for the future of reconciliation? Will it continue and succeed or will it fail leading to a return to the split? | | | |
| 1) Certainly succeed | 3.2% | 1.7% | 6.1% |
| 2) succeed | 34.7% | 32.9% | 38.0% |
| 3) fail | 49.7% | 51.9% | 45.3% |
| 4) Certainly fail | 9.1% | 9.0% | 9.4% |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.3% | 4.4% | 1.2% |

| | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| 41) President Abbas lifted the immunity of PLC member Mohammad Dahlan and accused him of corruption. But the corruption court rejected Abbas' lifting of immunity and indicated that immunity can only be lifted by a PLC decision. Are you in favor of the step taken by the president in lifting Dahlan's immunity or the decision taken by the court in rejecting that? | | | |
| 1) Certainly I support the president decision | 16.0% | 17.0% | 14.0% |
| 2) I support the president decision | 30.2% | 31.8% | 27.0% |
| 3) I support the court decision | 31.2% | 30.6% | 32.4% |
| 4) I certainly support the court decision | 8.2% | 4.9% | 14.5% |
| 5) DK/NA | 14.4% | 15.7% | 12.0% |
| Q 42) Regardless of your view regarding the lifting of Dahlan's immunity, do you think the charges of corruption against him are correct or incorrect? | | | |
| 1) Certainly correct | 21.1% | 19.7% | 23.7% |
| 2) Correct | 37.2% | 37.1% | 37.5% |
| 3) Incorrect | 15.2% | 10.9% | 23.5% |
| 4) Certainly incorrect | 3.6% | 2.2% | 6.2% |
| 5) DK/NA | 22.9% | 30.1% | 9.1% |
| Q 43) At Birzeit University student elections, students affiliated with Hamas won while students affiliated with Fatah lost. In your view, what was the reason for the loss of Fatah students? | | | |
| 1) Faults within Fatah due to corruption and lack of credibility | 14.0% | 18.5% | 5.4% |
| 2) PA corruption | 3.5% | 1.1% | 8.1% |
| 3) Increase in Hamas popularity after the Gaza war | 11.9% | 11.7% | 12.4% |
| 4) Elections were unfair | 1.3% | .5% | 2.9% |
| 5) PA security coordination with Israel | 3.0% | .7% | 7.6% |
| 6) Internal Fatah disagreements | 7.1% | 4.6% | 12.0% |
| 7) Mismanagement by Fatah students | 6.4% | 6.4% | 6.5% |
| 8) Weak Fatah performance inside the university and failure to address student problems | 9.3% | 7.6% | 12.8% |
| 9) Other | 18.9% | 22.5% | 11.8% |
| 10) No opinion | 24.4% | 26.4% | 20.4% |
| Q 44) In your view, does the outcome of the student elections at Birzeit represent the general trend among the Palestinian people or just the trend among university students? | | | |
| 1) Certainly the trend among the Palestinian people | 15.6% | 12.3% | 22.0% |
| 2) Trend among the Palestinian people | 31.4% | 33.1% | 28.1% |
| 3) Trend only in universities | 39.5% | 42.1% | 34.4% |
| 4) Certainly only in universities | 7.3% | 5.0% | 11.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | 6.2% | 7.5% | 3.7% |
| Q 45) At the FIFA meeting, the Palestinian side dropped the call for expelling Israel from that football organization after Israel accepted most of the demands of the Palestinian football association. In your view, who came out a winner in this round inside the FIFA, the Palestinian or the Israeli side? | | | |
| 1) The Palestinian | 21.6% | 20.2% | 24.5% |
| 2) The Israeli | 32.7% | 29.0% | 39.8% |
| 3) Both won | 9.9% | 7.7% | 14.0% |
| 4) Both lost | 3.8% | 2.6% | 6.1% |
| 5) None won; none lost | 15.0% | 16.6% | 11.8% |
| 6) DK/NA | 17.1% | 23.9% | 3.8% |

| | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|--|-------|-----------|------------|
| Q 46) Now after the formation of a right wing government in Israel under prime minister Netanyahu, what do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis? | | | |
| 1) the two sides will return to negotiations soon and there will be no violence | 26.8% | 27.2% | 26.0% |
| 2) the two sides will return to negotiations but some armed attacks will take place | 28.9% | 28.1% | 30.4% |
| 3) Negotiations will not return soon and some armed attacks will take place | 19.7% | 17.2% | 24.5% |
| 4) Negotiations will not return soon and there will be no armed attacks | 17.9% | 19.3% | 15.2% |
| 5) DK/NA | 6.8% | 8.2% | 4.0% |
| Q 47) Now after the formation of an Israeli right wing government under the leadership of Netanyahu, do you feel optimistic or pessimistic regarding the future between Palestinians and Israelis? | | | |
| 1) Certainly optimistic | 2.2% | 2.1% | 2.3% |
| 2) Optimistic | 16.3% | 15.3% | 18.3% |
| 3) Pessimistic | 60.4% | 66.3% | 48.9% |
| 4) Certainly pessimistic | 18.4% | 13.8% | 27.2% |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.8% | 2.5% | 3.3% |
| Q 48) 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 | 7.1% | 7.2% | 7.0% |
| 2) support | 43.9% | 47.9% | 36.1% |
| 3) oppose | 35.7% | 36.2% | 34.5% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 12.5% | 7.8% | 21.7% |
| 5) DK/NA | .8% | .8% | .7% |
| Q 49) In your view, what is the most effective means for the establishment of a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel? Is it: | | | |
| 1) Negotiations | 32.3% | 32.5% | 31.7% |
| 2) Armed action | 36.2% | 34.8% | 38.7% |
| 3) Popular nonviolent resistance | 25.8% | 25.8% | 25.8% |
| 4) DK/NA | 5.8% | 6.8% | 3.7% |
| Q 50) 50) 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 | 22.0% | 18.6% | 28.6% |
| 2. the two state solution is no longer viable | 33.3% | 34.0% | 32.1% |
| 3. the two-state solution remains viable today | 28.8% | 31.6% | 23.4% |
| 4. Certainly, the two-state solution remains viable today | 10.8% | 10.8% | 10.7% |
| 5. DK/NA | 5.1% | 5.0% | 5.1% |
| Q 51) 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 | 6.2% | 6.8% | 5.0% |
| 2) support | 27.8% | 27.6% | 28.1% |
| 3) oppose | 46.4% | 48.3% | 42.7% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 17.9% | 14.9% | 23.7% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.7% | 2.4% | .5% |
| 52) 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? | | | |

| | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|
| 1) None existent | 34.9% | 34.8% | 35.0% |
| 2) Low | 37.0% | 36.8% | 37.2% |
| 3) Medium | 23.6% | 24.4% | 22.1% |
| 4) High | 3.2% | 2.0% | 5.5% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.3% | 1.9% | .2% |
| Q 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 | 34.3% | 31.6% | 39.7% |
| 2) Worried | 44.8% | 46.0% | 42.6% |
| 3) Not worried | 19.0% | 20.9% | 15.2% |
| 4) Not worried at all | 1.7% | 1.5% | 2.3% |
| 5) DK/NA | .2% | .1% | .2% |
| Q 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 | 6.4% | 2.5% | 14.0% |
| 2) Withdrawal form part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security | 11.3% | 9.3% | 15.1% |
| 3) Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens | 25.0% | 23.3% | 28.3% |
| 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 | 55.8% | 62.8% | 42.0% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.6% | 2.1% | .5% |
| Q 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 | 38.2% | 37.4% | 39.9% |
| Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security | | | |
| 2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war | 30.3% | 28.3% | 34.3% |
| 3) Conquer the State of Israel and regain control over the pre 1948 Palestine | 13.1% | 12.3% | 14.7% |
| 4) Conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel | 10.2% | 11.8% | 7.0% |
| 5) DK/NA | 8.1% | 10.2% | 4.0% |
| Q 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 | 6.1% | 4.6% | 9.1% |
| 2) agree | 45.6% | 45.2% | 46.4% |
| 3) disagree | 33.3% | 33.8% | 32.4% |
| 4) Certainly disagree | 10.9% | 10.6% | 11.5% |
| 5) DK/NA | 4.0% | 5.8% | .6% |
| Q 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 | 5.5% | 5.8% | 4.8% |
| 2) agree | 38.7% | 38.9% | 38.2% |
| 3) disagree | 38.5% | 38.6% | 38.2% |
| 4) Certainly disagree | 15.2% | 13.6% | 18.3% |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.2% | 3.0% | .5% |

| | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|--|-------|-----------|------------|
|--|-------|-----------|------------|

Q 58) Now that negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis have stopped, would you support or oppose adopting the following options?

Q 58-2) Joining more international organizations

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) certainly support | 29.4% | 21.1% | 45.6% |
| 2) support | 52.9% | 58.1% | 42.8% |
| 3) oppose | 15.5% | 18.3% | 9.9% |
| 4) certainly oppose | .9% | .8% | 1.1% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.3% | 1.7% | .6% |

Q 58-3) Abandon the two state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) certainly support | 9.3% | 8.8% | 10.2% |
| 2) support | 24.2% | 22.5% | 27.6% |
| 3) oppose | 52.7% | 58.0% | 42.5% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 12.8% | 9.3% | 19.7% |
| 5) DK/NA | .9% | 1.4% | 0.0% |

Q 58-4) Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) certainly support | 15.3% | 12.5% | 20.7% |
| 2) support | 51.9% | 55.6% | 44.7% |
| 3) oppose | 28.2% | 28.1% | 28.4% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 3.9% | 2.9% | 6.0% |
| 5) DK/NA | .7% | .9% | .1% |

Q 58-5) Return to the armed intifada and confrontations

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) certainly support | 12.5% | 10.7% | 16.0% |
| 2) support | 36.3% | 37.0% | 34.9% |
| 3) oppose | 43.8% | 45.1% | 41.3% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 6.9% | 6.4% | 7.8% |
| 5) DK/NA | .4% | .6% | 0.0% |

Q 58-6) Dissolve the Palestinian Authority

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) certainly support | 14.2% | 12.0% | 18.4% |
| 2) support | 31.8% | 29.8% | 35.8% |
| 3) oppose | 42.9% | 46.5% | 35.8% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 9.3% | 10.1% | 7.9% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.7% | 1.6% | 2.0% |

Q59) Now after Palestine has joined the ICC, do you want or do not want the PA to submit a complaint to it against Israel for building settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories?

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1 Certainly want that | 29.9% | 24.0% | 41.3% |
| 2 Want that | 56.4% | 61.0% | 47.6% |
| 3 do not want that | 11.1% | 12.3% | 8.8% |
| 4 Certainly do not wan that | 1.1% | 1.1% | 1.1% |
| 5 DK/NA | 1.5% | 1.6% | 1.3% |

Q 60) What do you think the long term aspirations or plans of the Israeli government for al Haram al Sharif in Jerusalem?

| | | | |
|--|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) Keep the status quo as it is | 13.3% | 6.9% | 25.8% |
| 2) Keep the status quo but allow Jews to visit the place anytime | 8.6% | 5.7% | 14.2% |
| 3) Change the status quo and allow Jews to pray in al Haram area | 8.7% | 6.0% | 13.8% |
| 4) Divide al Haram area between Muslims and Jews allowing Jews to establish a synagogue next to al Aqsa Mosque | 17.7% | 17.5% | 18.2% |

| | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|--|-------|-----------|------------|
| 5) Destroy al Aqsa and Dome of the Rock mosques and build a synagogue in their place | 49.7% | 62.1% | 25.5% |
| 6) DK/NA | 2.0% | 1.8% | 2.5% |
| Q 61) In your views, will Israel succeed in implementing these plans or accomplish its aspirations? | | | |
| 1) Certainly yes | 10.2% | 12.3% | 4.8% |
| 2) YES | 42.1% | 43.6% | 38.5% |
| 3) NO | 35.3% | 34.8% | 36.5% |
| 4) Certainly no | 8.6% | 5.3% | 16.7% |
| 5) DK-NA | 3.8% | 4.0% | 3.5% |
| Q 62) The local and international campaign to boycott Israel and impose sanctions on it aims at punishing Israel for its occupation of the West Bank. Do you support or oppose this campaign? | | | |
| 1) certainly support | 23.7% | 19.9% | 31.0% |
| 2) support | 62.0% | 66.2% | 53.8% |
| 3) oppose | 12.1% | 11.8% | 12.7% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 1.2% | 1.1% | 1.4% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.0% | 1.0% | 1.0% |
| Q 63) After the latest call to boycott products of certain Israeli companies, such as Tnova and Strauss, did you stop or did not stop buying these Israeli products? | | | |
| 1) stopped | 52.0% | 55.5% | 45.2% |
| 2) did not stop | 36.1% | 34.0% | 40.2% |
| 3) I did not buy these products before (do not read) | 10.5% | 9.4% | 12.9% |
| 4) DK/NA | 1.2% | 1.0% | 1.6% |
| Q 64) Do you think boycotting Israeli products will be effective or not effective in contributing to ending occupation? | | | |
| 1) certainly effective | 16.9% | 10.4% | 29.6% |
| 2) effective | 47.3% | 50.9% | 40.5% |
| 3) ineffective | 30.8% | 34.1% | 24.5% |
| 4) certainly ineffective | 3.5% | 3.1% | 4.2% |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.5% | 1.6% | 1.3% |
| Q 65) The Iranian and American sides have succeeded in reaching a framework agreement on the Iranian nuclear program. In your view, is this agreement good or bad for the Arabs? | | | |
| 1) Certainly good | 3.6% | 2.6% | 5.5% |
| 2) Good | 21.4% | 20.8% | 22.6% |
| 3) Neither good nor bad | 24.9% | 18.8% | 36.6% |
| 4) Bad | 29.8% | 32.9% | 23.8% |
| 5) Certainly bad | 6.4% | 6.0% | 7.1% |
| 6) DK/NA | 14.0% | 18.9% | 4.4% |
| Q 66) And what about Israel, is the American-Iranian agreement good or bad for it? | | | |
| 1) Certainly good | 14.5% | 11.6% | 20.1% |
| 2) Good | 35.9% | 37.1% | 33.5% |
| 3) Neither good nor bad | 12.4% | 7.1% | 22.8% |
| 4) Bad | 20.7% | 23.0% | 16.3% |
| 5) Certainly bad | 3.7% | 3.7% | 3.7% |
| 6) DK/NA | 12.7% | 17.4% | 3.7% |
| Q 67) Some people think that the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) does not represent true Islam while others think that it is truthful to Islam. What do you think? | | | |
| 1) Certainly represents true Islam | 2.3% | 1.4% | 3.9% |
| 2) Represents true Islam | 7.5% | 6.3% | 9.8% |

| | Total | west bank | Gaza Strip |
|--|-------|-----------|------------|
| 3) Does not represent true Islam | 40.1% | 39.6% | 40.9% |
| 4) Certainly does not represent true Islam | 43.9% | 46.9% | 38.1% |
| 5) DK/NA | 6.3% | 5.7% | 7.4% |
| Q 68) In your view, how will economic conditions in your area (West Bank or Gaza Strip) be in the next few (3-5) years compared to the situation today? | | | |
| 1) Much better | 5.6% | 3.9% | 9.0% |
| 2) Better | 17.9% | 18.3% | 17.0% |
| 3) Same as today | 29.5% | 27.9% | 32.6% |
| 4) A little worse than today | 21.3% | 24.7% | 14.6% |
| 4) Much worse than today | 23.0% | 21.6% | 25.7% |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.5% | 3.2% | 1.1% |
| 6) Refuse to answer | .3% | .4% | 0.0% |
| Q 69) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I.... | | | |
| 1) certainly support | 13.1% | 7.0% | 25.1% |
| 2) support | 36.8% | 37.1% | 36.3% |
| 3) oppose | 41.0% | 48.0% | 27.6% |
| 4) certainly oppose | 6.6% | 5.2% | 9.2% |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.4% | 2.7% | 1.8% |
| Q 70) Which of the following political parties do you support? | | | |
| 1) PPP | .7% | .6% | .9% |
| 2) PFLP | 3.8% | 3.7% | 3.9% |
| 3) Fateh | 28.5% | 26.5% | 32.2% |
| 4) Hamas | 22.6% | 19.6% | 28.5% |
| 5) DFLP | 1.9% | 2.1% | 1.4% |
| 6) Islamic Jihad | 3.5% | 1.7% | 7.0% |
| 7) Fida | .1% | .2% | 0.0% |
| 8) National initiative (almubadara) | .3% | .4% | .2% |
| 9) Independent Islamist | 1.9% | 1.0% | 3.7% |
| 10) Independent nationalist | 3.7% | 2.7% | 5.7% |
| 11)third way headed by salam feyyad | .5% | .4% | .8% |
| 12) none of the above | 32.2% | 40.7% | 15.7% |
| 13) others | .3% | .4% | 0.0% |
| Q 71) 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 | 25.3% | 26.0% | 23.9% |
| 2) daily | 24.2% | 23.7% | 25.3% |
| 3) between 2-5 times weekly | 10.5% | 8.1% | 15.0% |
| 4) once a week | 6.0% | 5.8% | 6.2% |
| 5) once a month | 3.5% | 2.4% | 5.7% |
| 6) others (specify -----) | .2% | .1% | .3% |
| 7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites | 30.3% | 33.9% | 23.5% |