

The **Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR)** is an independent nonprofit institution and think tank of policy analysis and academic research. PSR was founded with the goal of advancing scholarship and knowledge on immediate issues of concern to Palestinians in three areas: domestic politics and government, strategic analysis and foreign policy, and public opinion polls and survey research. The center engages in several activities. It conducts academic and policy analysis studies. It organizes socio-political surveys and public opinion polls on current Palestinian political and social attitudes. It sponsors study groups and task forces on issues of critical importance to the Palestinians. Finally, it organizes conferences, public lectures, and briefings on current public policy issues. PSR is dedicated to promoting objective and nonpartisan research and analysis and to encouraging a better understanding of Palestinian domestic and international environment in an atmosphere of free debate and exchange of ideas.

This poll is part of PSR series of regular polls.

This poll has been conducted in cooperation with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Ramallah



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PRESS RELEASE

Palestinian Public Opinion Poll No (58)

Three trends found in the last quarter continue: two thirds of the public demand Abbas resignation; two-thirds support an armed intifada and the current wave of stabbings; and support for the two-state solution continues to decline

10-12 December 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 10 and 12 December 2015. The period before the poll witnessed significant escalation in Palestinian-Israeli confrontations with increased number of stabbings by young Palestinians in the West Bank and in Israel and stone throwing at checkpoints and other areas of friction. At his UN speech in September, PA president Mahmoud Abbas threatened to suspend Palestinian implementation of the Oslo agreement obligation as long as Israel does not implement its own obligations. There were several terrorist attacks in Paris and Beirut and the downing of a Russian civilian plane over Sinai in October. Major waves of refugees from Syria, Libya and Iraq hit Europe during the months preceding data collection. This press release addresses many of those issues and covers attitudes regarding Palestinian elections, conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, reconciliation, Palestinian-Israeli confrontations, the Palestinian threat to dismantle the Oslo agreement, and other internal and international issues. Total size of the sample is 1270 adults interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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Main Findings:

Findings of the last quarter of 2015 indicate a continuation of three recent developments documented in our last poll in September: two thirds continue to demand the resignation of president Abbas; a growing majority supports return to an armed intifada; and a growing majority continues to reject the two-state solution. Moreover, while a majority supports ending PA commitment to the Oslo agreement, a similar majority doubts Abbas' seriousness about abandoning that agreement. As we found in our last poll in September, the "Oslo generation" of youth between the ages of 18 and 22 are the most supportive of an armed intifada and stabbings and the least supportive of the two-state solution.

If presidential elections are held today, Hamas candidate would win a clear victory against Abbas. If parliamentary elections are held today, Hamas and Fatah would receive two-thirds of the popular vote, one third each. But Marwan Barghouti remains Fatah's only hope of defeating Hamas.

In the context of the current escalation in Palestinian-Israeli confrontations, two thirds support stabbing attacks against Israelis even though an almost three quarters express opposition to the involvement of young school girls in such stabbings. Half of the public believes that the current confrontations will escalate into an armed intifada. If so, two thirds believe that the armed intifada will serve Palestinian national interests in ways that negotiations could not.

Findings also indicate a growing rejection of the two-state solution. Similarly, two thirds believe that the two-state solution is no longer viable due to settlement expansion, and three quarters believe that the chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years are slim or none existing.

Responding to the declaration by the Palestinian president that the PA will not continue to honor its Oslo commitments if Israel continues to ignore its own Oslo obligations, two thirds say they support abandoning the Oslo agreement. A similar majority however does not believe that Abbas is serious about his declared intention to abandon the Oslo Accords. Regardless of the price that Palestinians might have to pay, the public is particularly in favor of ending security coordination even though a smaller majority supports also the suspension of Palestinian-Israeli civil coordination.

(1) Popular Palestinian-Israeli confrontations:

- **Two thirds support knifing attacks, but three quarters oppose the participation of young school girls in such attacks.**
- **Two thirds believe that if the current confrontations develop into an armed intifada, it will help in achieving national interests in ways that negotiations could not.**
- **By contrast, only 51% believe that if the current confrontations continue as they are, such confrontations will help in achieving national rights in ways that negotiations could not.**
- **Only 51% of the public believe that most Palestinians who were killed after being shot by Israelis have indeed stabbed or attempted to stab Israelis.**
- **71% of the public believes that Hamas supports the current confrontations; 59% believes that Fatah supports these confrontations; but only 33% believe that Abbas supports them.**

67% support and 31% oppose use of knives in the current confrontations with Israel. But about three quarters (73%) oppose the participation of young school girls in the stabbing attacks and a quarter supports it. Support for stabbing attacks is higher in the Gaza Strip (85%) compared to the West Bank (57%), in refugee camps and cities (71% and 69% respectively) compared to villages/towns (55%), among men (69%) compared to women (65%), among refugees (72%) compared to non-refugees (64%), among those who work in the private sector (70%) compared to those who work in the public sector (65%), among the youth between 18-22 years old (73%) compared to those who are 50 years old and above (64%), and among voters of Hamas and third parties (86% and 67% respectively) compared to those who do not intend to participate in parliamentary elections, the undecided, and Fatah voters (62%, 62% and 59%).

37% believe that the current confrontations will develop into a new armed intifada, 18% believe they will develop into wide scale peaceful popular confrontations, and 13% believe they will develop in both directions. By contrast, 19% believe the confrontation will stay as they are now and 10% believe they will gradually dissipate. 66% of the public believe that if the current confrontations develop into an armed intifada, such a development would serve Palestinian national interests in ways that negotiations could not. The percentage of those who believe that a turn to an armed intifada would help Palestinians achieve national rights that negotiations could not is higher in the Gaza Strip (71%) compared to the West Bank (63%), among students (75%) compared to employees, unemployed, and retirees (64%, 57%, and 55% respectively), among those who work in the private sector (72%) compared to those who work in the public sector (65%), among the youth between 18-22 years old (70%) compared to those who are 50 years old and above (62%), and among Hamas voters (85%) compared to those who do not intend to participate in parliamentary elections, the undecided, third parties' voters, and Fatah voters (64%, 63%, 61%, and 54% respectively). 50% of the public (61% in the Gaza Strip and 43% in the West Bank) believe that if the current confrontations develop into wide scale peaceful popular confrontations, such a development would serve Palestinian national interests in ways that negotiations

could not. 51% of the public (62% in the Gaza Strip and 43% in the West Bank) believe that if the current confrontations stay as they are now, they would serve Palestinian national interests in ways that negotiations could not.

51% of the Palestinian public (67% in the Gaza Strip and 40% in the West Bank) believe that most of the Palestinians who fell after being shot by the Israeli army or settlers have in fact stabbed or were attempting to stab Israelis. But 47% believe that most of those who were shot have not stabbed or were not attempting to stab Israelis.

We ask the public in an open-ended question what reason it believes behind the lack of large popular participation in the current confrontations. The largest percentage (43%) said that the reason might be fear of the PA or the occupation; 19% thought the reason is despair and the belief that the confrontations are likely to be in vain; 6% said that most people are busy providing for their families; 5% said it is due to lack of factional leadership for the current confrontations; and 4% said it has to do with the lack of friction points with the Israeli occupation forces. We also asked the public in an open-ended question about the motivation of the little school girls who participate in stabbing attacks: 41% said they believe they are driven by national motivation; 26% said the motivation was personal; and 16% said the motivation was religious. 11% said it was a combination of national and religious motivations. When comparing the level of support of various parties for the current confrontations, Hamas comes on top with 71% of the public believing that it supports them, followed by the PFLP, receiving 66%, Fatah (59%), and al Mubadara or the Initiative (53%). By contrast, only 33% say president Abbas supports the confrontations, 28% say Jordan supports them, and only 14% say Egypt supports them.

(2) The future of the Oslo agreement:

- **90% believe that Israel does not abide by the Oslo Agreement and 68% support abandoning that agreement.**
- **Two thirds believe that President Abbas is not serious about abandoning the Oslo Agreement.**
- **70% support a ban on the importation of Israeli goods; 64% support ending security coordination; and 58% support ending civil coordination even if such steps lead to Israeli retaliation.**

90% of the public believe that Israel does not abide by the Oslo agreement and 6% believe it does. 68% support and 25% oppose abandoning the Oslo agreement. Support for abandoning the Oslo Agreement is higher in the Gaza Strip (73%) compared to the West Bank (66%), in refugees camps and cities (77% and 69% respectively) compared to villages/towns (61%), among men (71%) compared to women (66%), among holders of BA degree (72%) compared to the illiterates (27%), among Hamas voters, the undecided, and those who do not intend to participate in parliamentary elections (77%, 70%, and 67% respectively) compared to voters of Fatah and third parties (63% and 60%).

But 67% of those who believe that Israel does not abide by the Oslo agreement believe that president Abbas is not serious about abandoning Palestinian Oslo obligations and only 25% think he is serious. Percentage of those who believe that Abbas is not serious about abandoning the Oslo Agreement is higher in the West Bank (68%) compared to the Gaza Strip (64%), in cities and refugee camps (68% and 65% respectively) compared to villages/towns (61%), among men (69%) compared to women (65%), among holders of BA degree (67%) compared to illiterates (55%), among students (73%) compared to employees and housewives (64% and 63%)

respectively), and among Hamas voters, those who do not intend to participate in parliamentary elections, third parties voters, and the undecided (82%, 74%, 72%, and 65% respectively) compared to Fatah voters (40%).

70% support and 26% oppose a decision to ban entry of Israeli products into Palestinian areas even if Israel responded by banning the entry of Palestinian products into Israel. 64% support and 33% oppose a decision to stop security coordination with Israel even if Israel responded by preventing Palestinian police access to B and C areas. Similarly, 58% support and 39% oppose a decision to stop civil coordination with Israel even if Israel responded by banning the travel of those carrying newly issued Palestinian passports that were not coordinated with Israel. Support for ending security coordination despite expected Israeli counter measures is higher in the Gaza Strip (72%) compared to the West Bank (59%), in refugee camps and cities (68% and 64% respectively) compared to villages/towns (60%), among men (66%) compared to women (63%), among holders of BA degree (69%) compared to illiterates (58%), among the youth between 18-22 years (66%) compared to those who are 50 years old and above (60%), and among Hamas voters (74%) compared to third parties' voters, Fatah voters, those who do not intend to participate in parliamentary elections, and the undecided (65%, 61%, 60%, and 59% respectively).

A majority of 52% believe that Israel will abandon its current settlement policy and agree to enter serious negotiations to end its occupation if the Palestinian side suspended its implementation of its Oslo obligations. By contrast, 37% believe that a Palestinian suspension of its Oslo obligations will lead to PA collapse and the return of the Israeli civil administration.

(3) Palestinian Elections:

- **65% want president Abbas to resign and 31% do not want him to resign. In presidential elections between Abbas and Haniyeh, the latter receives 51% and the latter 41% of the vote.**
- **In presidential elections between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former wins by 56%; the latter receives 38% of the vote.**
- **In parliamentary elections, Fatah receives 33%, Hamas 33%, all third parties combined 11%, and 23% remain undecided.**

65% of the public want president Abbas to resign while 31% want him to remain in office. These results are identical to those obtained in our previous poll three months ago. The percentage of those who demand Abbas' resignation is higher in the Gaza Strip (67%) than in the West Bank (63%), in refugee camps and cities (69% and 66% respectively) compared to villages/towns (58%), among refugees (67% compared to non-refugees (63%), among holders of BA degree (68%) compared to illiterates (47%), among youth between 18-22 years old (67%) compared to those whose age is 50 years and above (58%), and among Hamas voters, those who did not decide to whom they will vote, those who will not participate in parliamentary elections, and voters of third parties (96%, 71%, 69%, and 66% respectively) compared to Fatah voters (27%).

If president Abbas does not nominate himself in a new elections, 30% prefer to see Marwan Barghouti replacing him, while 21% prefer Ismail Haniyeh. Ramil al Hamdallah, Khalid Mishal and Mohammad Dahlan, and Mustapha Barghouti receive 6% each; Salam Fayyad receives 4% and Saeb Erikat receives 3%.

If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, Ismail Haniyeh and Mahmoud Abbas, the former would win 51% (compared to 49% three months ago) and the latter 41% (compared to 44% three months

ago). Vote for Haniyeh is greater in the West Bank (53%) compared to the Gaza Strip (48%), in refugee camps and cities (53% and 52% respectively) compared to villages/towns (44%), among women (52%) compared to men (49%), among refugees (56%) compared to non-refugees (47%), among students and housewives (59% and 54% respectively) compared to employees, unemployed, and the retired (44%, 42%, and 28% respectively), among those who work in the private sector (54%) compared to those who work in the public sector (38%), and among those who intend to vote for Hamas in parliamentary elections, third parties voters, and those who do not intend to participate in legislative elections (97%, 54%, and 53% respectively) compared to those who intend to vote for Fatah and those who did not decide yet to whom they intend to vote (5% and 32% respectively). Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas continues to decline from 38% three months ago to 35% in this poll; satisfaction with Abbas stood at 44% six months ago. If presidential elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 56% and the latter would receive 38% of the participants' votes. If presidential elections were between three: Mahmud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Abbas would receive 25%, Barghouti 36% and Haniyeh 35%.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 71% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 33% say they would vote for Hamas and 33% say they would vote for Fatah, 11% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 23% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 35% and Fatah at 35%. 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 35% and for Fatah at 37%. In the West Bank vote for Hamas stands at 32% and Fatah at 30%.

(4) Domestic Conditions:

- **Perception of safety and security rises in the Gaza Strip and declines in the West Bank.**
- **Percentage of those wishing to emigrate stands at 41% in the Gaza Strip and 24% in the West Bank.**
- **Preferred areas for immigration are Europe, Gulf countries, Turkey, and lastly the US.**
- **Al Aqsa satellite station receives the highest viewership followed by Palestine TV, Ma'an, and al Jazeera.**
- **Optimism regarding the success of reconciliation declines to 30%.**

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 15% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 21%. Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 53%. In the West Bank perception of safety and security stands at 29%. Three months ago, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stood at 40% and in the West Bank at 49%.

Findings show that the percentage of Gazans who say they seek to immigrate to other countries stands at 41%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 24%. 47% of the Palestinian public believe that if emigration was feasible, 40% or more of Gazans would emigrate, 15% say that the percentage of Gazans who would seek to emigrate is likely to be between 25% and 40%, and 38% say that about a quarter Gazans would emigrate. Area preferred by Palestinians seeking to emigrate to is Europe, selected by 44% of them (Sweden is the most preferred country selected by 17%, followed Germany selected by 8%, Norway was selected by 4%, and 15% selected other European countries). 15% selected Arab Gulf countries, 13% selected Turkey, 12% selected the US, 4% selected Canada, and 4% selected Jordan.

Hamas' al Aqsa TV viewership is the highest, standing at 23%, followed by Palestine TV (22%), Al Jazeera and

Ma'an-Mix at 16% each, and Al Arabiyya at 6%. Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 78%. 18% say there is press freedom in the West Bank and 20% say the same about the status of the press in the Gaza Strip. 34% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the PA authority in the West Bank without fear.

Optimism about the success of reconciliation and the end of the split stands today at 30% and pessimism at 66%. Three months ago optimism stood at 40% and pessimism at 56%. Belief that Hamas was responsible for hindering the functioning of the reconciliation government does not exceed 23% while 30% believe that the PA and president Abbas were to blame for that and 14% blame the head of the reconciliation government.

(5) Peace Process and Israel's long term aspirations:

- **In the absence of negotiations, 60% support return to an armed intifada and an identical percentage supports peaceful popular resistance.**
- **Support for a two-state solution continues to decline, standing today at 45%.**
- **Support for a permanent political settlement along the lines of the Clinton parameters and the Geneva Initiative stands today at 36%.**
- **65% believe the two state solution is no longer practical due to settlement construction and 75% believe that the chances for the creation of a Palestinian state during the next five years are slim to non-existent.**
- **82% believe that Israel's long term aspirations are to extend its borders to include all territories occupied in 1967 and expel the Palestinian inhabitants or deny them their political rights.**
- **51% believe that Israel plans to destroy al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock and build a Jewish temple in their place.**

In the absence of a peace negotiation, 60% support a return to an armed intifada; 76% support joining more international organizations; 60% support a popular non-violent resistance; 46% support the dissolution of the PA. Three months ago, only 57% supported return to armed intifada. Only 45% support and 54% oppose the two-state solution. Three months ago, 48% supported and 51% opposed this solution. Support for the two-state solution is almost equal in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (46% and 45% respectively) and among refugees and non-refugees (45% and 46% respectively). But it is higher in villages/towns and refugee camps (49% and 48% respectively) compared to cities (44%), among the illiterates and holders of elementary education (55% and 51%) compared to holders of BA degree (45%), among retirees and employees (71% and 50% respectively) compared to students and housewives (35% and 44% respectively), among those who work in the public sector (51%) compared to those who work in the private sector (46%), among those who are married (47%) compared to the unmarried (40%), and among Fatah voters (69%) compared to third parties' voters, those who do not intend to participate in parliamentary elections, the undecided, and Hamas voters (47%, 44%, 44%, and 23% respectively).

36% support and 62% oppose a package permanent settlement along the lines of the Clinton Parameters and the Geneva Initiative. But 12% of those opposed to the package change their mind and accept it if Israel also accepted the Arab Peace Initiative. As shown in the table below, the public is divided equally on the item related to the settlement of the border and territorial swap (50% support and 50% oppose). A majority supports one item, the one related to end of conflict, supported by 58% and opposed by 41%. A majority opposes all remaining four items: only 45% support and 54% oppose the item related to security arrangements; only 39% support and 60% oppose the item related to refugees settlement; only 29% support and 71% oppose the item related the disarming the Palestinian state so that it would not have an army; and finally only 24% support and 76% oppose the item related to dividing East Jerusalem and the Israeli annexation of some parts of it.

Summary Table: Support for Clinton's Permanent Settlement/ Geneva Initiative Framework 2003-2015

	Dates													
	Dec 2003	Dec 2004	Dec 2005	Dec 2006	Dec 2007	Dec 2008	Aug 2009	June 2010	Dec 2010	Dec 2011	Dec 2012	Dec 2013	Dec 2014	Dec 2015
1) Borders and Territorial Exchange	57%	63%	55%	61%	56%	54%	49%	60%	49%	63%	53%	52%	45	50%
2) Refugees	25%	46%	40%	41%	39%	40%	37%	48%	41%	45%	41%	46%	40%	39%
3) Jerusalem	46%	44%	33%	39%	36%	36%	31%	37%	36%	40%	29%	32%	29%	24%
4) Demilitarized State	36%	27%	20%	28%	23%	27%	24%	28%	24%	32%	28%	28%	28%	29%
5) Security Arrangements	23%	53%	43%	42%	51%	35%	34%	41%	38%	50%	46%	52%	46%	45%
6) End of Conflict	42%	69%	64%	62%	66%	55%	55%	63%	58%	63%	59%	63%	61%	58%
Overall Package	39%	54%	46%	48%	47%	41%	38%	49%	40%	50%	43%	46%	38%	36%

Palestinian views on the most effective means of establishing a Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel vary: 46% think that armed action is the most effective, 26% think negotiation is the most effective, and 23% think popular non-violent resistance is the most effective. Three months ago, only 42% said armed action was the most effective and 29% said negotiation was the most effective. A majority of 65% believes that the two-state solution is no longer practical due to settlement expansion while 34% say it is still practical. Despite this, only 29% support, and 70% oppose, a one-state solution in which Arabs and Jews enjoy equal rights. 75% 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 and 24% believe the chances are high or medium. Findings also show that 45% support the Arab Peace Initiative and 53% oppose it. Similarly, only 39% support a mutual recognition of national identity of Israel as the state for the Jewish people and Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people and 61% oppose it.

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 79%. 21% are not worried. Furthermore, an overwhelming majority of 82% believes that Israel's long term aspiration is to annex the lands occupied in 1967 and expel their population or deny them their rights. 16% believe that Israel's long term aspiration is to insure its security and withdraw from all or most of the territories occupied in 1967. When asked about the long term aspiration of the PA and the PLO, 65% said that it is to recover all or parts of the land occupied in 1967 while 26% 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: 51% believe that Israel intends to destroy al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock and replace them with a Jewish temple; 17% 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 11% believe that Israel is interested in maintaining the status quo without change.

(6) ISIS, Paris attacks, and waves of refugees:

- **88% believe that ISIS does not represent true Islam.**
- **An overwhelming majority opposes ISIS attacks in Lebanon, Sinai, and Paris.**
- **55% believe that European treatment of refugees are bad or mostly bad.**

An overwhelming majority of 88% believes that ISIS is a radical group that does not represent true Islam and 7% believe it does represent true Islam. 5% are not sure or do not know. In the Gaza Strip, 10% (compared to 5% in the West Bank) say ISIS represents true Islam. 77% support and 20% oppose the war waged by Arab and Western countries against ISIS.

87% oppose the recent bombings in Lebanon and 8% support them; 80% oppose the November Paris attacks and 14% support them; and 78% oppose the downing of the Russian plane in October and 16% support it. 42% believe that the Paris attacks will have no impact on the Palestinian cause but 41% think they will have a negative impact and 8% think they will have a positive impact.

55% say the European treatment of the current wave of refugees from countries like Syria, Libya, and Iraq is bad or mostly bad and 37% say it is good or mostly good.

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10-12 December 2015

	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	6.0%	2.7%	11.5%
2) al Jazeera	15.6%	9.9%	25.1%
3) al Hurra	.6%	.2%	1.2%
4) al Manar	1.5%	1.1%	2.2%
5) Palestine TV	21.9%	23.0%	20.0%
6) alaqsa	23.0%	23.5%	22.3%
7) man(mix)	15.5%	20.0%	8.2%
8) Do not watch TV	4.7%	5.0%	4.2%
9) others	11.0%	14.3%	5.4%
10) Do not have a dish	.1%	.1%	0.0%
11) DK/NA	.1%	.2%	0.0%
1) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?			
1) Very good	1.8%	1.4%	2.5%
2) Good	13.1%	11.9%	15.1%
3) so so	16.5%	15.2%	18.8%
4) Bad	38.6%	45.3%	27.7%
5) Very bad	28.8%	24.6%	35.7%
6) DK/NA	1.1%	1.6%	.2%
2) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?			
1) Very good	4.0%	2.7%	6.0%
2) Good	17.4%	14.8%	21.8%
3) so so	20.2%	19.3%	21.8%
4) Bad	34.6%	39.3%	26.9%
5) Very bad	23.0%	23.8%	21.6%
6) DK/NA	.8%	.1%	1.9%
3) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	46.5%	41.7%	54.4%
2) somewhat religious	47.3%	53.0%	37.9%
3) not religious	5.8%	4.9%	7.3%
4) DK/NA	.4%	.4%	.4%
4) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) supportive of the peace process	45.9%	46.4%	45.1%
2) opposed to the peace process	29.0%	29.3%	28.7%
3) between support and opposition	23.5%	22.4%	25.2%
4) DK/NA	1.6%	2.0%	1.0%
5) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?			
1) yes	77.8%	81.0%	72.6%
2) no	14.9%	10.0%	23.1%
3) DK-NA	7.2%	9.0%	4.3%
7) In your view, is there a press freedom in the West Bank?			
1) yes	18.3%	16.4%	21.5%
2) to some extent	40.5%	38.5%	43.8%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) no	38.7%	42.9%	32.0%
4) DK-NA	2.4%	2.2%	2.8%
8) In your view, is there a press freedom in the Gaza Strip?			
1) yes	19.5%	16.2%	25.0%
2) to some extent	34.6%	29.6%	42.8%
3) no	37.7%	41.2%	31.8%
4) DK-NA	8.2%	13.0%	.5%
9) In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear?			
1) yes	34.3%	35.9%	31.6%
2) no	60.5%	59.2%	62.7%
3) DK-NA	5.2%	4.9%	5.7%
10) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	5.9%	1.8%	12.7%
2) Assured	32.2%	27.5%	40.0%
3) Not assured	45.2%	51.5%	35.0%
4) Not assured at all	16.4%	19.1%	12.1%
5) DK/NA	.2%	.1%	.3%
12) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	13.8%	10.1%	19.9%
2) Seek emigration	16.4%	13.6%	21.1%
3) Do not seek emigration	36.4%	38.1%	33.5%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	33.1%	37.9%	25.2%
5) DK/NA	.3%	.3%	.3%
13) If you are able to emigrate, which country would be your preferred destination? (open ended) -----			
1) Germany	8.1%	4.6%	11.2%
2) Jordan	3.5%	6.7%	.6%
3) Arabian Gulf	15.0%	23.0%	7.8%
4) Sweden	16.5%	9.6%	22.7%
5) Norway	4.4%	3.8%	4.9%
6) USA	11.6%	23.1%	1.3%
7) Turkey	12.9%	5.0%	20.0%
8) Canada	4.2%	4.1%	4.2%
9) Other European countries	15.3%	13.1%	17.3%
10) DK/NA	.9%	1.9%	0.0%
11) Ohter	7.7%	5.2%	9.9%
14) If it was possible for Gazans to emigrate, what is the percentage of those who might wish to emigrate to European or other countries? Is it 10%, 20%, 50%, or other? Open ended			
1) 0-24	38.2%	32.8%	46.6%
2) 25-40	14.7%	16.3%	12.1%
3) more than 40	47.1%	50.8%	41.3%
19) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) very satisfied	4.3%	2.9%	6.7%
2) satisfied	30.8%	32.1%	28.8%
3) not satisfied	40.3%	42.3%	37.0%
4) not satisfied at all	22.7%	19.8%	27.3%
5) DK/NA	1.9%	2.9%	.2%
20) 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	41.2%	37.0%	47.1%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	50.7%	52.6%	48.0%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) DK/NA	8.1%	10.3%	4.9%
21) And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh representing Hamas, whom would you vote for?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	55.9%	56.4%	55.2%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	38.0%	36.3%	40.7%
4) DK/NA	6.1%	7.4%	4.1%
22) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmud Abbas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	36.0%	38.2%	32.6%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	35.2%	33.7%	37.4%
3. Mahmud Abbas	24.7%	22.7%	27.6%
5) DK/NA	4.2%	5.4%	2.4%
24) 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	1.8%	.6%	3.5%
2) independent Palestine	3.3%	3.9%	2.6%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	3.3%	2.8%	4.1%
4) Abu al Abbas	.5%	.7%	.3%
5) freedom and social justice	.5%	.3%	.6%
6) change and reform	33.2%	32.0%	34.9%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	.2%	.2%	.3%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	1.0%	1.3%	.5%
9) freedom and independence	.3%	.2%	.6%
10) Palestinian justice	.2%	.4%	0.0%
11) Fateh	32.9%	30.2%	36.6%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	22.6%	27.5%	16.0%
25) 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	30.4%	29.7%	31.7%
2) Hamas	22.6%	13.8%	37.1%
3) The head of the reconciliation government	14.1%	10.2%	20.4%
4) The PA is doing its job as it should	13.5%	18.3%	5.5%
5 DK/NA	19.4%	27.9%	5.3%
26) 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	3.0%	.9%	6.5%
2) succeed	26.8%	26.5%	27.3%
3) fail	46.7%	47.5%	45.5%
4) Certainly fail	19.3%	20.0%	18.2%
5) DK/NA	4.1%	5.1%	2.5%
27) If it is up to you, would you want to have Abbas resign or not resign?			
1) Certainly resign	28.9%	25.5%	34.3%
2) Resign	35.9%	37.8%	32.8%
3)Not resign	25.9%	26.7%	24.5%
4) Certainly not resign	5.4%	4.6%	6.9%
5) DK/NA	4.0%	5.4%	1.5%
28) 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	29.7%	33.2%	23.9%
2)Ismail Haniyeh	20.7%	19.8%	22.1%
3) Saeb Erikat	2.5%	2.2%	3.2%
4) Rami al Hamdallah	5.6%	5.8%	5.4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
5)Mustapha Barghouti	5.5%	4.2%	7.6%
6) Khalid Mishal	6.1%	4.8%	8.4%
7) Salam Fayyad	3.9%	3.6%	4.4%
8) Mohammad Dahlan	6.4%	2.2%	13.4%
9)Other (specify -----)	4.1%	4.8%	3.1%
88) DK/NA	15.3%	19.5%	8.4%
29) President Abbas has announced that the PA will not continue to adhere to the Oslo agreement as long as Israel does not adhere to it. Do you think Israel is currently adhering to the Oslo agreement?			
1) Certainly adhering to it (skip to Q31)	1.6%	1.2%	2.1%
2) Adhering to it (skip to Q31)	4.8%	4.5%	5.4%
3) Not adhering to it	55.7%	60.6%	47.6%
4) Certainly not adhering to it	34.2%	29.7%	41.5%
5)DK/NA	3.8%	4.0%	3.4%
30) If you think Israel is not adhering to the Oslo agreement, do you think President Abbas is or is not serious in this threat to stop adhering to the Oslo agreement?			
1) Certainly serious	4.6%	2.8%	7.4%
2) Serious	19.9%	19.0%	21.5%
3) Not serious	51.2%	57.3%	40.9%
4) Certainly not serious	15.4%	10.8%	23.1%
5) DK/NA	9.0%	10.1%	7.2%
31) Do you support or oppose abandoning the Oslo agreement?			
1) certainly support	20.2%	17.8%	24.1%
2) support	48.1%	47.8%	48.6%
3) oppose	21.4%	23.4%	18.1%
4) certainly oppose	4.0%	3.6%	4.5%
5) DK/NA	6.4%	7.4%	4.7%
32) Suspend civil Coordination: If he suspends civil coordination with Israel by issuing new passports without informing the Israeli side, Israel might retaliate by preventing the travel of those carrying the new passports that were not coordinated with it. Do you think the president should or should not take this measure despite the possible probable Israeli response?			
1) Certainly should take it	17.2%	12.5%	24.9%
2) Should take it	40.5%	39.1%	42.7%
3) Should not take it	33.1%	37.9%	25.1%
4) Certainly should not take it	5.9%	6.8%	4.5%
5) DK/NA	3.4%	3.8%	2.8%
33) Suspend security coordination: If the president suspended security coordination with Israel, for example by not informing the Israeli side of the movement of the Palestinian police on the roads of areas B and C, Israel might respond by threatening to prevent the movement of the Palestinian police in those areas. Do you think the president should or should not take this measure despite the possible probable Israeli response?			
1) Certainly should take it	20.7%	16.4%	27.9%
2) Should take it	43.2%	42.7%	44.2%
3) Should not take it	28.3%	32.5%	21.3%
4) Certainly should not take it	4.2%	4.2%	4.2%
5) DK/NA	3.5%	4.2%	2.5%
34) Prevent entry of Israeli goods into Palestinian territories: If the president implements his threat to prevent the entry of Israeli goods into Palestinian territories, Israel might respond by preventing Palestinian goods into the Israeli markets. Do you think the president should or should not take this measure despite the possible probable Israeli response?			
1) Certainly should take it	21.9%	17.2%	29.5%
2) Should take it	48.5%	48.5%	48.5%
3) Should not take it	22.1%	25.7%	16.3%
4) Certainly should not take it	3.5%	3.5%	3.4%
5) DK/NA	4.1%	5.2%	2.4%
35) A Palestinian suspension of the implementation of the Oslo agreement might lead to two possibilities: the collapse of the Palestinian Authority and the return of the Israeli civil administration			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
to control the lives of the Palestinians or it could lead to an Israeli suspension of its settlement activities and acceptance to enter serious negotiations to end its occupation. Which of these two possibilities, in your view, is the most likely one?			
1) Collapse of the PA and return of the Israeli civil administration	36.8%	41.1%	29.8%
2) Israeli suspension of its settlement activities and acceptance to enter serious negotiations to end occupation	51.8%	44.7%	63.5%
3) Other: specify -----	3.6%	4.0%	2.8%
4) DK/NA	7.8%	10.2%	3.9%
36) Two months ago, large scale confrontations broke out in the Palestinian territories against the occupation forces and the settlers in which many Palestinians fell after being shot by the Israeli army or settlers claiming that they stabbed or tried to stab Israelis. Do you think that most of those Palestinians have indeed stabbed or tried to stab Israelis or that most of them did not stab or try to stab Israelis?			
1) Certainly most of them stabbed or tried to stab	14.1%	7.2%	25.6%
2) Most of them stabbed or tried to stab	36.4%	33.2%	41.7%
3) Most of them did not stab or try to stab	36.4%	43.9%	24.2%
4) Certainly most of them did not stab or try to stab	11.0%	12.9%	7.8%
5) DK/NA	2.0%	2.8%	.8%
37) Do you support or oppose the use of knives in the current confrontations with Israel?			
1) certainly support	25.2%	15.6%	41.2%
2) support	41.9%	40.9%	43.7%
3) oppose	25.8%	33.0%	14.0%
4) certainly oppose	5.2%	7.8%	.9%
5) DK/NA	1.8%	2.7%	.2%
38) Do you expect these confrontations to develop into a new armed intifada or to wide scale peaceful popular confrontations?			
1) Will develop more toward a new armed intifada	37.0%	39.0%	33.7%
2) Will develop more toward wide scale peaceful popular confrontations	18.2%	18.3%	17.9%
3) Will develop on both directions	12.6%	9.5%	17.6%
4) Will not develop beyond what it is now	18.7%	20.2%	16.1%
5) Will not develop further and will gradually weaken	10.4%	8.5%	13.7%
6) DK/NA	3.1%	4.4%	1.0%
39) If the current confrontations develop into an armed intifada, do you think such a development would contribute to achieving Palestinian national rights in ways that negotiations could not?			
1) Certainly yes	19.3%	16.2%	24.4%
2) YES	47.0%	47.1%	46.8%
3) NO	26.9%	29.9%	21.9%
4) Certainly no	4.1%	3.4%	5.2%
5) DK-NA	2.7%	3.4%	1.7%
40) And what if the current confrontations develop into wide scale peaceful popular confrontations, do you think such a development would contribute to achieving Palestinian national rights in ways that negotiations could not?			
1) Certainly yes	9.3%	5.6%	15.4%
2) YES	40.5%	37.6%	45.4%
3) NO	40.5%	46.7%	30.2%
4) Certainly no	7.3%	7.2%	7.5%
5) DK-NA	2.4%	3.0%	1.5%
41) If the current confrontations remain as they are today, do you think that they would contribute to achieving Palestinian national rights in ways that negotiations could not?			
1) Certainly yes	8.4%	6.0%	12.2%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) YES	42.1%	37.4%	49.8%
3) NO	39.7%	45.9%	29.5%
4) Certainly no	7.1%	7.4%	6.6%
5) DK-NA	2.7%	3.2%	1.9%
42) Today, a limited number of youths confront the occupation forces at points of friction and at checkpoints, but so far the wider Palestinian public has not participated in these confrontations. Why in your view there is no wide popular participation as the case was during the first intifada? (Open ended question) -----			
1) Fear of authority/ Authority prevents them	12.4%	8.9%	18.2%
2) Fear of occupation	10.3%	7.9%	14.2%
3) Fear in general	20.4%	22.0%	17.9%
4) hopelessness/ boredom/ Lack of conviction in the usefulness of Intifada	19.1%	20.7%	16.6%
5) Non-participation of the factions and the Absence of a leadership of the Intifada	5.4%	6.1%	4.3%
6) Palestinian split	2.0%	.9%	3.8%
7) preoccupation with daily needs and the difficult economic conditions	5.8%	9.4%	0.0%
8) Lack of opportunity for confrontations; few frictions point	3.6%	.7%	8.4%
9) DK-NA	5.7%	4.2%	8.2%
10) Other	15.2%	19.3%	8.4%
43) Very young girls, from among schoolgirls, participate in the stabbing attacks in a manner not seen before. In your view, what is the strongest motivation for them to carry out such attacks? Do you think the motivation is religious, national, or personal? (Open ended question)			
1) Nationalistic motivation	41.0%	38.7%	44.8%
2) Religious motivation	16.3%	10.8%	25.2%
3) Personal motivation	26.1%	37.6%	7.4%
4) Nationalistic and religious motivation	11.4%	7.0%	18.6%
9) DK-NA	2.6%	3.0%	2.0%
10) Other	2.5%	2.7%	2.0%
44) Do you support or oppose the participation of the very young girls from among the schoolgirls in the stabbing attacks?			
1) certainly support	4.8%	2.6%	8.4%
2) support	20.2%	14.3%	29.8%
3) oppose	45.4%	51.0%	36.2%
4) certainly oppose	27.9%	30.9%	23.0%
5) DK/NA	1.7%	1.3%	2.5%
45-1 President Abbas			
1) certainly support	6.4%	2.4%	13.0%
2) support	26.5%	23.3%	31.7%
3) oppose	44.0%	52.1%	30.7%
4) certainly oppose	19.9%	17.5%	23.8%
5) DK/NA	3.2%	4.7%	.7%
45-2 Hamas			
1) certainly support	23.1%	19.9%	28.4%
2) support	47.7%	43.3%	55.0%
3) oppose	20.5%	24.8%	13.4%
4) certainly oppose	4.3%	5.2%	2.9%
5) DK/NA	4.4%	6.9%	.2%
45-3 Fatah			
1) certainly support	10.3%	5.4%	18.4%
2) support	48.7%	46.6%	52.1%
3) oppose	30.0%	33.9%	23.4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) certainly oppose	7.2%	7.9%	5.8%
5) DK/NA	3.9%	6.1%	.2%
45-5 PFLP			
1) certainly support	11.1%	6.9%	18.0%
2) support	54.4%	48.1%	64.6%
3) oppose	22.3%	27.8%	13.3%
4) certainly oppose	4.4%	5.4%	2.7%
5) DK/NA	7.8%	11.8%	1.3%
45-7 Al Mubadara (Initiative)			
1) certainly support	8.1%	5.3%	12.7%
2) support	45.3%	40.1%	53.7%
3) oppose	30.8%	33.2%	26.9%
4) certainly oppose	5.0%	5.5%	4.3%
5) DK/NA	10.7%	15.8%	2.4%
45-8 Egypt			
1) certainly support	1.9%	1.0%	3.4%
2) support	11.7%	8.8%	16.3%
3) oppose	48.6%	49.0%	47.9%
4) certainly oppose	32.0%	32.9%	30.6%
5) DK/NA	5.9%	8.3%	1.9%
45-9 Jordan			
1) certainly support	3.8%	1.8%	7.0%
2) support	23.7%	19.6%	30.5%
3) oppose	42.9%	44.5%	40.2%
4) certainly oppose	24.1%	26.5%	20.0%
5) DK/NA	5.6%	7.6%	2.3%
46) Now after the eruption of confrontations in Jerusalem and the West Bank, 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	19.3%	19.2%	19.4%
2) the two sides will return to negotiations but some armed attacks will take place	34.7%	36.8%	31.3%
3) Negotiations will not return soon and some armed attacks will take place	30.6%	27.5%	35.8%
4) Negotiations will not return soon and there will be no armed attacks	10.1%	9.6%	10.9%
5) DK/NA	5.3%	6.9%	2.6%
47) 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	7.8%	6.1%	10.6%
2) support	37.5%	39.4%	34.5%
3) oppose	38.1%	41.7%	32.0%
4) certainly oppose	15.9%	11.6%	23.0%
5) DK/NA	.7%	1.2%	0.0%
48) 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	26.2%	25.9%	26.7%
2) Armed action	45.8%	46.5%	44.7%
3) Popular nonviolent resistance	22.6%	20.7%	25.6%
4) Resort to the United Nations	5.4%	6.9%	2.9%
DK/NA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
49) 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?			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1. certainly the two-state solution is no longer viable	31.4%	30.9%	32.1%
2. the two state solution is no longer viable	33.2%	31.8%	35.6%
3. the two-state solution remains viable today	23.5%	24.8%	21.3%
4. Certainly, the two-state solution remains viable today	10.0%	9.8%	10.2%
5. DK/NA	2.0%	2.7%	.7%
50) 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	4.8%	3.8%	6.3%
2) support	23.8%	25.2%	21.5%
3) oppose	48.2%	52.0%	41.9%
4) certainly oppose	22.1%	17.4%	29.7%
5) DK/NA	1.2%	1.6%	.6%
51) Now more than 48 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	36.1%	36.4%	35.7%
2) Low	38.5%	37.8%	39.6%
3) Medium	21.2%	21.4%	20.8%
4) High	2.8%	2.4%	3.4%
5) DK/NA	1.4%	2.0%	.4%
52) 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	40.4%	47.8%	28.3%
2) Worried	38.3%	35.3%	43.1%
3) Not worried	17.5%	14.3%	22.7%
4) Not worried at all	3.8%	2.5%	5.8%
5) DK/NA	.1%	.1%	0.0%
53) 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	7.1%	5.7%	9.3%
2. Withdrawal form part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security	9.3%	7.3%	12.6%
3. Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens	24.9%	22.0%	29.8%
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	56.9%	62.6%	47.7%
5. DK/NA	1.8%	2.5%	.7%
54) 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	41.2%	41.2%	41.2%
2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war	23.4%	20.8%	27.9%
3) Conquer the State of Israel and regain control over the pre 1948 Palestine	15.0%	12.9%	18.4%
4) Conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel	10.8%	11.6%	9.4%
5) DK/NA	9.6%	13.5%	3.1%
55) 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			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
refugees problem will be resolved through negotiation in a just and agreed upon manner and in accordance with UN resolution 194 which allows return of refugees to Israel and compensation. In return, all Arab states will recognize Israel and its right to secure borders, will sign peace treaties with her and establish normal diplomatic relations. Do you agree or disagree to this plan?			
1) Certainly agree	4.9%	3.0%	7.9%
2) agree	39.7%	37.1%	43.9%
3) disagree	37.9%	42.8%	29.7%
4) Certainly disagree	14.9%	13.4%	17.5%
5) DK/NA	2.6%	3.6%	1.0%

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

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

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

56-1) Item #1: withdrawal to 1967 borders with territorial swap

1) Certainly agree	8.5%	3.6%	16.5%
2) agree	41.1%	39.9%	43.2%
3) disagree	38.9%	44.6%	29.7%
4) Certainly disagree	10.6%	10.7%	10.4%
5) DK/NA	.8%	1.2%	.2%

56-2) Item #2: a state without an army but with international forces

1) Certainly agree	2.4%	.6%	5.5%
2) agree	26.4%	23.8%	30.6%
3) disagree	50.6%	56.2%	41.4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) Certainly disagree	20.1%	18.8%	22.3%
5) DK/NA	.5%	.7%	.2%
56-3) Item #3: East Jerusalem as capital of the state of Palestine after it is divided			
1) Certainly agree	2.0%	.6%	4.3%
2) agree	21.6%	20.2%	23.9%
3) disagree	52.0%	56.4%	44.8%
4) Certainly disagree	23.7%	21.9%	26.7%
5) DK/NA	.7%	1.0%	.2%
56-4) Item #4: refugees with five options for permanent residence			
1) Certainly agree	3.7%	1.5%	7.4%
2) agree	34.9%	27.6%	46.8%
3) disagree	41.6%	47.4%	32.1%
4) Certainly disagree	18.2%	21.3%	13.0%
5) DK/NA	1.6%	2.2%	.7%
56-5) Item #5: end of conflict			
1) Certainly agree	10.4%	6.8%	16.4%
2) agree	47.4%	45.6%	50.3%
3) disagree	29.8%	34.6%	21.9%
4) Certainly disagree	11.5%	11.6%	11.2%
5) DK/NA	.9%	1.3%	.2%
56-6) Item #6: a sovereign state with security arrangements			
1) Certainly agree	7.0%	3.4%	12.8%
2) agree	38.3%	31.4%	49.5%
3) disagree	41.0%	49.2%	27.6%
4) Certainly disagree	12.8%	14.8%	9.7%
5) DK/NA	.9%	1.2%	.4%
56-7) Item #7: the combined elements as one permanent status settlement			
1) Certainly agree	3.6%	1.1%	7.7%
2) agree	32.7%	27.8%	40.6%
3) disagree	45.5%	52.1%	34.7%
4) Certainly disagree	16.7%	17.0%	16.4%
5) DK/NA	1.5%	2.1%	.6%
57) I would like you to tell me if you would vote for or against such a peace treaty if presented to you by the Palestinian president in a referendum			
1) Certainly for (do not ask q60)	4.5%	.9%	10.5%
2) For (do not ask q60)	32.8%	29.1%	39.0%
3) Against	47.5%	55.1%	35.0%
4) Certainly against	12.5%	11.4%	14.4%
5) NO/DK	2.6%	3.5%	1.1%
58) And what is the Palestinian majority opinion on this combined package for a permanent status settlement? Do most Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza support or oppose this combined final status package?			
1) Majority supports	31.7%	25.4%	42.0%
2) Majority opposes	60.6%	66.2%	51.5%
3) DK/NA	7.6%	8.3%	6.5%
59) And what is the Israeli majority opinion on this combined package for a permanent status settlement? Do most Israelis support or oppose this combined final status package?			
1) Majority supports	38.3%	32.8%	47.3%
2) Majority opposes	52.6%	58.5%	43.0%
3) DK/NA	9.1%	8.8%	9.6%
60) If in addition to the above items in the card, Israel agreed to accept the Arab peace initiative and in return all Arab countries supported this peace treaty, would you support or oppose it?			
1) yes	11.8%	12.1%	11.3%
2) no	81.2%	80.6%	82.5%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) DK-NA	7.0%	7.3%	6.2%
61) 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) definitely agree	4.2%	3.9%	4.7%
2) agree	34.4%	33.1%	36.6%
3) disagree	44.1%	48.8%	36.3%
4) definitely disagree	16.7%	13.6%	21.7%
5) DK/NA	.6%	.5%	.7%
61-2) Joining more international organizations			
1) certainly support	26.0%	17.2%	40.3%
2) support	50.2%	56.1%	40.5%
3) oppose	20.9%	23.6%	16.5%
4) certainly oppose	2.3%	2.3%	2.2%
5) DK/NA	.7%	.8%	.6%
61-3) Abandon the two state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis			
1) certainly support	5.2%	3.0%	8.8%
2) support	22.3%	22.3%	22.4%
3) oppose	54.5%	61.3%	43.5%
4) certainly oppose	17.6%	13.2%	24.7%
5) DK/NA	.4%	.2%	.7%
61-4) Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance			
1) certainly support	12.4%	8.1%	19.4%
2) support	47.1%	46.8%	47.7%
3) oppose	35.0%	40.5%	25.9%
4) certainly oppose	4.7%	3.6%	6.5%
5) DK/NA	.8%	1.0%	.6%
61-5) Return to the armed intifada and confrontations			
1) certainly support	19.5%	15.6%	26.0%
2) support	40.8%	43.9%	35.8%
3) oppose	33.7%	36.5%	29.0%
4) certainly oppose	5.4%	3.3%	8.8%
5) DK/NA	.6%	.7%	.6%
61-6) Dissolve the Palestinian Authority			
1) certainly support	16.9%	14.6%	20.8%
2) support	29.3%	29.4%	29.1%
3) oppose	39.2%	44.9%	29.7%
4) certainly oppose	11.4%	8.1%	17.0%
5) DK/NA	3.2%	3.1%	3.3%
63) 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 (skip to Q65)	3.1%	2.8%	3.7%
2) Represents true Islam (skip to Q65)	3.9%	2.3%	6.6%
3) Does not represent true Islam	37.0%	37.3%	36.6%
4) Certainly does not represent true Islam	50.6%	51.0%	49.8%
5)DK/NA	5.3%	6.6%	3.3%
64) If you think ISIS does not represent true Islam, do you support or oppose the war against it led by Arab and Western countries?			
1) certainly support	32.0%	33.8%	28.8%
2) support	44.9%	44.9%	44.8%
3) oppose	15.6%	16.3%	14.3%
4) certainly oppose	4.3%	2.7%	6.9%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
5) DK/NA	3.3%	2.2%	5.2%
65) 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	10.7%	6.6%	17.5%
2) Keep the status quo but allow Jews to visit the place anytime	9.6%	4.7%	17.6%
3) Change the status quo and allow Jews to pray in al Haram area	9.3%	4.8%	16.6%
4) Divide al Haram area between Muslims and Jews allowing Jews to establish a synagogue next to al Aqsa Mosque	17.4%	15.8%	20.0%
5) Destroy al Aqsa and Dome of the Rock mosques and build a synagogue in their place	51.1%	65.9%	26.8%
6) DK/NA	1.9%	2.2%	1.4%
66) Do you think the bombing and armed attacks in France will have a positive or a negative impact on the Palestinian cause?			
1) Certainly positive	1.0%	.5%	1.9%
2) Positive	7.1%	7.6%	6.3%
3) so so	42.4%	41.0%	44.6%
4) Negative	29.7%	31.4%	26.9%
5) Certainly negative	11.1%	9.3%	14.0%
6) DK/NA	8.7%	10.2%	6.3%
67) Lately, several bombing attacks took place in France, Lebanon, and against a Russian plane over Egypt leading to the death of many civilians. Do you support or oppose those attacks?			
67-1 bombing of the Russian plane			
1) certainly support	3.5%	1.3%	7.1%
2) support	12.2%	10.5%	15.1%
3) oppose	58.1%	61.9%	51.9%
4) certainly oppose	19.4%	17.7%	22.1%
5) DK/NA	6.8%	8.6%	3.8%
67-2 bombings in Lebanon			
1) certainly support	1.4%	.9%	2.1%
2) support	6.3%	5.1%	8.3%
3) oppose	62.8%	66.3%	57.0%
4) certainly oppose	24.4%	21.4%	29.3%
5) DK/NA	5.2%	6.3%	3.3%
67-3 attacks in France			
1) certainly support	2.5%	1.3%	4.5%
2) support	11.7%	10.1%	14.3%
3) oppose	58.9%	63.5%	51.2%
4) certainly oppose	21.3%	18.3%	26.2%
5) DK/NA	5.7%	6.8%	3.9%
68) A largescale refugee wave is currently hitting Europe from Arab countries like Syria, Lebanon, Libya, and Iraq and from Palestinian refugees. How do you view the way Europe treats those refugees?			
1) Good	12.6%	12.0%	13.5%
2) Mostly good	24.4%	21.3%	29.6%
3) Bad	38.4%	39.7%	36.4%
4) Mostly bad	16.9%	16.1%	18.3%
5) DK/NA	7.6%	10.9%	2.2%
69) 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	3.8%	1.4%	7.8%
2) Better	18.8%	16.3%	22.8%
3) Same as today	25.4%	21.8%	31.4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) A little worse than today	17.4%	20.3%	12.7%
5) Much worse than today	30.6%	35.3%	22.9%
6) DK/NA	3.8%	4.7%	2.2%
7) Refuse to answer	.2%	.2%	.2%
70) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I...			
1) certainly support	18.9%	12.6%	29.2%
2) support	44.6%	46.1%	42.2%
3) oppose	30.4%	34.1%	24.4%
4) certainly oppose	4.2%	4.8%	3.2%
5) DK/NA	1.8%	2.3%	1.0%
71) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) PPP	.3%	0.0%	.9%
2) PFLP	3.9%	3.5%	4.7%
3) Fateh	25.2%	21.1%	31.8%
4) Hamas	23.2%	20.5%	27.7%
5) DFLP	.6%	.3%	1.1%
6) Islamic Jihad	3.3%	1.8%	5.8%
7) Fida	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
8) National initiative (almubadara)	1.1%	1.3%	.8%
9- Independent Islamist	1.7%	.7%	3.1%
10) Independent nationalist	3.6%	1.6%	6.9%
11) third way headed by salam feyyad	.5%	.6%	.3%
12) none of the above	36.0%	47.6%	17.0%
13) others	.6%	.9%	0.0%
72) 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	24.0%	25.0%	22.2%
2) daily	27.8%	26.7%	29.7%
3) between 2-5 times weekly	12.4%	9.2%	17.8%
4) once a week	2.6%	1.8%	4.1%
5) once a month	4.1%	3.8%	4.6%
6) others (specify -----)	.1%	.1%	0.0%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	28.9%	33.4%	21.6%