

**Survey Research Unit**

21 March2016

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*



**Konrad  
Adenauer  
Stiftung**

For further information,  
please contact  
Dr. Khalil Shikaki or Walid  
Ladadweh  
at the Palestinian Center for  
Policy and Survey Research

Ramallah, Palestine  
Telephone 02 296 4933  
Fax 02 296 4934

e-mail: [pcpsr@pcpsr.org](mailto:pcpsr@pcpsr.org)  
<http://www.pcpsr.org>

**Palestinian Public Opinion Poll No (59)**

**A Majority backs a two-state solution and support for knifing attacks drops, but majorities in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip continue to support a return to an armed intifada and 60% of West Bankers and three quarters of Gazans believe that if the current confrontations develop into an armed intifada, it would help achieve national rights in ways negotiations could not**

17-19 March 2016

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 17 and 19 March 2016. The period before the poll witnessed continued limited Palestinian-Israeli confrontations with a number of stabbings by young Palestinians in the West Bank and in Israel and stone throwing at checkpoints and other areas of friction. It also witnessed efforts to move forward Hamas-Fatah reconciliation efforts with a meeting held in Doha. The fieldwork started few days after the government and the teachers reached an agreement that ended a strike that was declared by the teachers in order to increase their wages and improve their work conditions. This press release addresses many of those issues and covers attitudes regarding Palestinian elections, conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, teachers' strike, reconciliation, Palestinian-Israeli confrontations, 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%.

For further details, contact PSR director, Dr. Khalil Shikaki, or Walid Ladadweh at tel 02-296 4933 or email [pcpsr@pcpsr.org](mailto:pcpsr@pcpsr.org).

**Main Findings:**

Findings of the first quarter of 2016 indicate significant changes in some of the findings obtained in the second half of 2015. A majority now backs a two-state solution and support for stabbing attacks against Israelis has dropped, particularly among West Bankers. Nonetheless, a majority in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip continues to support an armed intifada and continues to believe that such an intifada would help Palestinians achieve national rights in ways that negotiations could not. Demand for Abbas' resignation remains unchanged with about two thirds supporting it. As we found in our previous two polls, in September and December 2015, the "Oslo generation" of youth between the ages of 18 and 22 are the least supportive of the two-state solution, the most supportive of stabbing attacks, and the most likely to think that an armed intifada would help Palestinians achieve national rights in ways that negotiations could not.

Findings show a significant drop in the support for stabbing attacks compared to our December 2015 poll. This is particularly true in the West Bank where a majority is opposed to such attacks. Indeed, only a little over one third believes that if the current confrontations continue as they are now they would help achieve national rights in ways that negotiations could not; the majority does not believe that. By contrast, a majority in the West Bank, reaching about 60% (and 75% in the Gaza Strip), believes that if the current confrontations develop into an armed intifada it would help achieve national rights in ways that negotiations could not. Nonetheless, this West Bank percentage is four percentage points fewer than what we found in the West Bank three months ago. In other words, there is a notable drop in the West Bank in the support for knifing attacks due, it seems, to a rising perception in its inefficacy, and a large majority continues to view an armed intifada as more effective than these attacks. We also see a drop in the level of support for abandoning the Oslo agreement, but a large majority continues nonetheless to support such an abandonment.

Support for the two-state solution is on the rise in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, but it remains higher in the former than in the latter. Findings also show that the public rejects the proposed idea of separation advanced recently by the head of the Israeli opposition Labor party which calls for separation between Palestinians and Israelis in East Jerusalem and the West Bank within a context of temporary unilateral interim arrangements.

If new presidential elections are held today in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Hamas' candidate Ismail Haniyeh would win against Mahmud Abbas with a margin of 11 percentage points. But if the competition is between Marwan Barghouti, for Fatah, and Haniyeh, the former would win by a margin of 18 percentage points. If new parliamentary elections are held today, Fatah and Hamas are likely to obtain almost identical results. Nonetheless, findings show a small increase in support for Fatah and a small decrease in support for Hamas in the West Bank; in the Gaza Strip we see the reverse: a small decrease for Fatah and a small increase for Hamas. It is possible that reaching an agreement with the striking teachers have contributed to the slight improvement of Fatah standing in the West Bank. Yet, it is clear that this development did not have an impact on Abbas' standing (despite a minor improvement in the West Bank) as a majority in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip continues to demand his resignation. It should be noted that an overwhelming majority of the public sympathizes with the teachers and their demands and rejects the government policy regarding the teachers' strike. If the poll was conducted before reaching an agreement to end the strike, it is likely that support for Fatah and Abbas would have been less than what today's findings show. It is also possible that the talk about negotiations to build a seaport in the Gaza Strip and the recent reconciliation talks between Hamas and Egypt have contributed to the improvement of Hamas' standing in the Gaza Strip. It should be noted that an overwhelming majority in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip looks positively at the idea of Hamas-Israeli negotiations under Turkish sponsorship to establish a seaport for Gaza.

## **(1) Popular Palestinian-Israeli confrontations:**

- Support for stabbing attacks declines from 67% to 58%.**
- 56% support return to an armed intifada and 65% think that if the current confrontations develop into an armed intifada, it would serve Palestinian national interests.**
- 65% oppose and 30% support measures taken by PA security services to prevent attacks on Israel.**
- 70% believe Hamas supports the current confrontations, 55% believe Fatah supports them, and 29% believe Abbas supports them.**

Findings show that support for use of knives in the current confrontations with Israel drops from 67% three months ago to 58% in this poll. Support for knifing attacks in the Gaza Strip stands at 82% and in the West Bank at 44%. Three months ago, support among West Bankers for knifing attacks stood at 57% and among Gazans at 85%. Support for knifing attacks is also higher among men (60%) compared to women (57%), in cities and refugee camps (62% and 58% respectively) compared to villages (40%), among those whose age is between 18 and 22 (62%) compared to those whose age is over 50 years (55%), among refugees (66%) compared to non-refugees (52%), among those who work in the public sector (63%) compared to those who work in the private sector (53%), among those who hold a BA degree (59%) compared to illiterates (53%), among the religious (65%) compared to the somewhat religious (51%), among supporters of Hamas and those who have not decided to whom they will vote in new elections (82% and 64% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah, third parties, and those who will not participate in new elections (49%, 48%, and 45% respectively), among those who are opposed to the peace process (74%) compared to supporters of the peace process (47%), and among those who use social media on daily basis (61%) compared to those who do not use social media (53%).

Findings also show that 29% believe that the current confrontations will develop into a new armed intifada, 15% believe they will develop into wide scale peaceful popular confrontations, and 17% believe they will develop in both directions. By contrast, 22% believe the confrontation will stay as they are now and 14% believe they will gradually dissipate. Three months ago, 37% said that the current confrontations will develop into an armed intifada.

In the absence of peace negotiations, 56% support a return to an armed intifada; 77% support joining more international organizations; 64% support a popular non-violent resistance; 46% support the dissolution of the PA. Three months ago, 60% supported return to armed intifada. In the West Bank, current level of support for an armed intifada stands at 52% (compared to 60% three months ago).

About two thirds (65%) 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. Three months ago, 66% (71% in the Gaza Strip and 63% in the West Bank) said 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 belief that if the current confrontations developed into an armed intifada it would serve Palestinian national interests in the Gaza Strip (75%) compared to the West Bank (59%), in cities and refugee camps (69% and 65% respectively) compared to villages (51%), among those whose age is between 18 and 22 (73%) compared to those whose age is over 50 years (61%), among holders of BA degree (67%) compared to illiterates (59%), among the religious (71%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (61% and 58% respectively) among Hamas supporters (86%) compared to those who have not decided to whom they will vote in the next elections, those who will not participate in the next elections, supporters of third parties, and supporters of Fatah (70%, 60%, 58%, and 51% respectively), among those who are opposed to the peace process (77%) compared to those who support the peace process (57%), and among those who use social media on daily basis (67%) compared to those who do not use social media (61%).

A majority of 54% of the public (68% in the Gaza Strip and 46% in the West Bank) believes 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. Three months ago, 50% said 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. Moreover, 43% of the public (54% in the Gaza Strip and 36% 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. Three months ago, 51% (62% in the Gaza Strip and 43% in the West Bank) said that if the current confrontations stay as they are now, such a development would serve Palestinian national interests in ways that negotiations could not.

We asked the public about the efforts made by the PA security services during the current confrontations to contain the violence, leading, according to a statement by PA head of intelligence Majid Faraj, to the prevention of 200 attacks against Israelis. 30% of the public indicated its support for the action taken by the PA security services while 65% indicated opposition. Support for the action in the West Bank stands at 34% and opposition at 59% and support in the Gaza Strip stands at 22% and opposition at 74%. Opposition to the action taken by the PA security services is also higher in cities (68%) compared to refugee camps and villages (62% and 52% respectively), among refugees (68%) compared to non-refugees (62%), among holders of BA degree (69%) compared to illiterates (61%), among the religious (71%) compared to the somewhat religious (59%), among Hamas supporters, supporters of third parties and those who have not decided to whom they will vote in the next elections (85%, 68%, and 68% respectively) compared to those who will not participate in the next elections and supporters of Fatah (62% and 45% respectively), and among those who are opposed to the peace process (80%) compared to supporters of the peace process (53%).

When comparing the level of support of various parties for the current confrontations, Hamas comes on top with 70% of the public believing that it supports them, followed by the PFLP, receiving 62%, Fatah (55%), and al Mubadara or the Initiative (52%). By contrast, only 29% say president Abbas supports the confrontations, 23% say Jordan supports them, and only 13% say Egypt supports them. After Iran announced that it intends to provide financial assistance to the families of martyrs and the families whose homes are destroyed by Israel in the current confrontations, 69% say that their impression of Iran is now positive and only 24% say their impression of Iran is negative.

## (2) The future of the Oslo agreement:

- **63% support and 30% oppose abandoning the Oslo agreement.**
- **65% believe that Abbas is not serious about abandoning the Oslo agreement.**

An overwhelming majority of 91% of the public believes that Israel does not abide by the Oslo agreement and 5% believe it does. Findings also show that 63% support and 30% oppose abandoning the Oslo agreement. Three months ago, 68% of the public supported the abandonment of the Oslo agreement and 25% opposed it. But 65% of the public believe that despite his statement to the contrary, president Abbas is not serious about abandoning Palestinian Oslo obligations and only 26% think he is serious. Three months ago, 67% expressed the view that the president is not serious. Support for abandonment of the Oslo agreement is higher in the West Bank (64%) compared to the Gaza Strip (62%), among men (68%) compared to women (58%), in cities (66%) compared to villages and refugee camps (56% and 53% respectively), among holders of BA degree (70%) compared to illiterates (39%), among those who have not decided to whom they will vote in the next elections, supporters of Hamas, and supporters of third parties (71%, 70%, and 65% respectively) compared to those who will not participate in new elections and supporters of

Fatah (59% and 56% respectively), among those who are opposed to the peace process (74%) compared to supporters of the peace process (53%), and among those who use the social media on daily basis (68%) compared to those who do not use social media (56%).

### (3) Palestinian Elections:

- Satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 36%, and 64% demand his resignation.
- In presidential elections, Ismail Haniyeh receives 52% of the vote and Abbas 41%.
- In presidential elections between Haniyeh and Marwan Barghouti, the former receives 39% and the latter 57%.
- In parliamentary elections, Hamas receives 33% of the vote and Fatah 34%.

Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 36% which is similar to the level of satisfaction we obtained three months ago. Satisfaction with Abbas stands at 38% in the West Bank and 32% in the Gaza Strip. Moreover, 64% of the public want president Abbas to resign while 31% want him to remain in office. These results are almost identical to those obtained in our previous poll three months ago. Demand for Abbas' resignation is higher in the Gaza Strip (66%) compared to the West Bank (63%), among men (66%) compared to women (63%), in cities (66%) compared to refugee camps and villages (63% and 57% respectively), among the Oslo generation, those between 18 and 22, (69%) compared to those whose age is over 50 (60%), among holders of BA degree (68%) compared to the illiterates (62%), among the non-religious (57%) compared to the religious (66%), among Hamas supporters, supporters of third parties, and those who have not decided to whom they will vote in the next elections, and those who will not participate in the next elections (90%, 74%, 69%, and 69% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (28%), and among those who are opposed to the peace process (85%) compared to supporters of the peace process (51%).

If president Abbas does not nominate himself in a new election, 33% prefer to see Marwan Barghouti replacing him, while 24% prefer Ismail Haniyeh; Ramil al Hamdallah, Khalid Mishal, and Mustapha Barghouti receive 5% each; Mohammad Dahlan receives 4%; and Salam Fayyad receives 3%. If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, Ismail Haniyeh and Mahmoud Abbas, the former would win 52% (compared to 51% three months ago) and the latter 41% (compared to 41% three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 41% of the vote (compared to 47% three months ago) and Haniyeh receive 54% (compared to 48% three months ago). In the West Bank Abbas receives 41% (compared to 37% three months ago and Haniyeh 50% (compared to 53% three months ago). If the presidential elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 57% and the latter would receive 39% of the participants' votes. If presidential elections were between three: Mahmud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Abbas would receive 22%, Barghouti 37% and Haniyeh 39%.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 73% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 33% say they would vote for Hamas and 34% say they would vote for Fatah, 10% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 23% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 33% and Fatah at 33%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 38% (compared to 35% three months ago) and for Fatah at 34% (compared to 37% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas stands at 29% (compared to 32% three months ago) and Fatah at 34% (compared to 30% three months ago).

### (4) Domestic Conditions:

- Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 47% and in the West Bank at 39%.
- 48% of Gazans and 21% of West Bankers say they want to emigrate.
- Viewership of Hamas' al Aqsa TV station is highest at 21% followed by PA's Palestine TV at 20%.
- Belief that there is corruption in PA institutions stands at 79% and belief that there is free press in the West Bank stands at 17%.

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 14% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 22%. Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 47%. In the West Bank perception of safety and security stands at 39%. Three months ago, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stood at 50% and in the West Bank at 29%. Findings show that the percentage of Gazans who say they seek to immigrate to other countries stands at 48%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 21%. Three months ago 41% of Gazans and 24% of West Bankers said they seek to emigrate. The largest percentage (37%) of those who seek to emigrate indicates that the main motivation is search for jobs; 22% say difficult conditions imposed by Israeli occupation forces them to seek to emigrate; 15% say it is the lack of security and 10% say it is the lack of freedoms and democracy that push them out.

Hamas' al Aqsa TV viewership is the highest, standing at 21%, followed by Palestine TV (20%), Maan-Mix at 19%, Al-Jazeera at 17%, and Al Arabiya at 6%. Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 79%. 17% say there is press freedom in the West Bank and 20% say the same about the status of the press in the Gaza Strip. 29% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the PA authority in the West Bank without fear.

## **(5) Reconciliation, the National Reconciliation government and Gaza seaport negotiation:**

- Optimism about reconciliation stands at 38% and pessimism at 59%.
- 26% are satisfied and 65% are dissatisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government.
- Only 20% believe that Hamas is responsible for the bad performance of the reconciliation government; 51% believe that the PA, Abbas, and head of the reconciliation government are responsible for the bad performance.
- 72% believe that the reconciliation government must pay the salaries of the Gazan public sector that worked for the former Hamas government.
- 65% believe that the reconciliation government, not Hamas, must be in charge of the security sector in the Gaza Strip.

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 30% and pessimism at 66%. 26% say they are satisfied and 65% say they are dissatisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government. In the Gaza Strip, dissatisfaction stands at 70% and in the West Bank at 62%. Belief that Hamas was responsible for hindering the functioning of the reconciliation government does not exceed 20% (12% in the West Bank and 33% in the Gaza Strip) while 34% believe that the PA and president Abbas were to blame for that and 17% blame the prime minister of the reconciliation government.

72% 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 (70%) 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. In return, 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; only 25% believe Hamas should be the one in charge. Similarly, 75% 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 21% prefer to maintain the current status quo in the Gaza Strip, i.e., continued Hamas control of the police in the Gaza Strip.

We presented the public with the news that negotiations between Israel and Hamas, with Turkish mediation, were underway to build a Gaza seaport in return for a long term truce between Hamas and Israel and asked if respondents supported or opposed such a deal: 70% of the public indicated support and 27% indicated opposition for such a deal.

## **(6) Teachers' strike:**

- 73% believe that the teachers' wages are not fair.
- Three quarters blame government policy, not teachers' strike, for the closure of schools and the interruption of teaching.

Almost three quarters (73%) of the public believe that the teachers' wages are not fair and 23% think they are fair. Moreover, three quarters of the public believes that it was the government policy that was responsible for the closure of the schools and the interruption of teaching during the teachers' strike; only 22% blame the teachers. Belief that the government policy, not the teachers, is responsible for the closure and interruption is higher in the West Bank (77%) compared to the Gaza Strip (73%), among those who work in the public sector (78%) compared to those who work in the private sector (75%), among holders of BA degree (77%) compared to the illiterates (69%), among the married (77%) compared to the unmarried (73%), among those who will not participate in the next elections, supporters of Hamas, supporters of third parties, and those who have not decided to whom they will vote in the next elections (86%, 82%, 75%, and 73% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (60%), and among those who oppose the peace process (84%) compared to supporters of the peace process (71%).

An overwhelming majority of 84% indicates that it views as unacceptable the behavior of the PA security services in establishing checkpoints to prevent striking teachers from reaching the government headquarter in Ramallah; only 14% find that behavior acceptable. Now after an agreement has been reached between the government and the teachers to end the strike, only 32% express the view that the teachers have gained most of their demands; 63% believe the teachers did not gain most of their demands.

## **(7) Peace Process and Israel's long term aspirations:**

- **51% support and 48% oppose the two-state solution.**
- **47% support and 50% oppose the Arab Peace Initiative.**
- **61% believe that the two-state solution is no longer practical due to settlement construction.**
- **82% are worried that they would hurt by Israelis.**
- **An overwhelming majority believes that Israel's long term aspiration is to annex all Palestinian territories.**
- **An overwhelming majority believes that Israel plans to change the status quo in al Haram al Sharif.**

A slim majority of 51% supports and 48% oppose the two-state solution. Three months ago, 45% supported and 54% opposed this solution. Support for the two-state solution is higher in the West Bank (53%) compared to the Gaza Strip (49%), among men (53%) compared to women (50%), in villages (60%) compared to cities and villages (50% and 47% respectively), among those whose age is over 50 years (61%) compared to the Oslo generation, 18 to 22 years, (42%), among non-refugees (54%) compared to refugees (48%) among those who work in the private sector (56%) compared to those who work in the public sector (53%), among the illiterates (60%) compared to those who hold a BA degree (50%), among the non-religious and the somewhat religious (73% and 56% respectively) compared to the religious (44%), among supporters of Fatah, supporters of third parties, and those who did not decide to whom they will vote in the next elections (71%, 64%, and 53% respectively) compared to those who will not participate in the next elections and Hamas supporters (49% and 30% respectively), among supporters of the peace process (65%) compared to those who are opposed to the peace process (28%), and among those who do not use the social media (56%) compared to those who use social media on daily basis (51%).

Findings also show that 47% support the Arab Peace Initiative and 50% 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 60% oppose it. We also asked the public about the separation plan proposed by the head of the Israeli opposition Labor party, Isaac Herzog, which talks about a temporary interim arrangement that would lead to separation from the Palestinians along the following lines: (1) place 28 Palestinian villages and towns currently inside Jerusalem under the control of the PA; (2) cessation of settlement construction in the West Bank with the exception of building inside the large settlements; (3) removal of settlers' outposts in the West Bank; (4) transfer civil jurisdiction over most of the West Bank to the PA with the exception of the large settlement blocs which Israel wants to annex in the final status agreement; and (5) the Israeli army stays in its current deployment in the West Bank until a final status agreement is reached. Only 30% of the public said they are in favor of the plan and 66% indicated opposition.

Palestinian views on the most effective means of establishing a Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel vary: 42% think that armed action is the most effective, 29% think negotiation is the most effective, and 24% think popular non-violent resistance is the most effective. Three months ago, 46% said armed action was the most effective and 26% said negotiation was the most effective. Findings also show that majority of 61% believes that the two-state solution is no longer practical due to settlement expansion while 37% say it is still practical. Moreover, 74% 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. Despite this, only 29% support, and 70% oppose, a one-state solution in which Arabs and Jews enjoy equal rights.

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 82%; 18% 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. 17% 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, 61% said that it is to recover all or parts of the land occupied in 1967 while 25% 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: 52% believe that Israel intends to destroy al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock and replace them with a Jewish temple; 20% 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 9% believe that Israel is interested in maintaining the status quo without change.

## **(8) Hezbollah, the Arab World and ISIS:**

- **33% support and 60% oppose the resolution of Arab League labeling Hezbollah a terrorist organization.**
- **76% believe that the Arab World no longer cares about Palestine and that Palestine is no longer its principle cause.**
- **88% see the Islamic State (Daesh) as a radical group that does not represent true Islam.**

60% disagree and 33% agree with the resolution of the Council of the Arab League labeling Hezbollah a terrorist organization. Opposition to the Arab League resolution is higher in the West Bank (68%) compared to the Gaza Strip (46%), in villages (75%) compared to cities and refugee camps (57% and 53% respectively), among those whose age is over 50 years (63%) compared to the Oslo generation, 18 to 22 years, (54%), among non-refugees (64%) compared to refugees (54%), among those who work in the private sector (62%) compared to those who work in the public sector (57%), among the illiterates (62%) compared to holders of BA degree (57%), among the married (62%) compared to the unmarried (56%), among supporters of third parties, those who will not participate in the next elections, and Hamas supporters (77%, 62%, and 61% respectively) compared to those who have not decided to whom they will vote in the next elections and supporters of Fatah (56% and 54% respectively), among those who are opposed to the peace process (62%) compared to supporters of the peace process (59%), and among those who do not use the social media (72%) compared to those who use social media on daily basis (54%).

Moreover, 76% say the Arab World is too preoccupied with its own concerns, internal conflicts, and the conflict with Iran and that Palestine is no longer the Arab's principal or primary issue or cause. 23% think Palestine remains the Arab's principle cause. In fact, 64% believe that there is an Arab Sunni alliance with Israel against Iran despite the continued Israeli occupation of Arab land while 28% believe that the Arabs would not ally themselves with Israel until it ends its occupation and allows the creation of a Palestinian state.

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, 13% (compared to 4% in the West Bank) say ISIS represents true Islam. 80% support and 17% oppose the war waged by Arab and Western countries against ISIS.

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

- **48% believe that the first Palestinian priority should be to end occupation and build a state.**
- **Settlements and occupation is the most serious problem confronting Palestinians today followed by unemployment and poverty.**

48% believe that the *first* most vital Palestinian goal should be to end Israeli occupation in the areas occupied in 1967 and build a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital. By contrast, 30% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 12% believe that it should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings, and 11% believe that the first and most vital goal should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians. The most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities in the eyes of 30% of the public; 25% say it is poverty and unemployment; 23% say it is the spread of corruption in some public institutions; 17% believe it is the siege of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its crossings.

## Palestinian Public Opinion Poll No (59)

17-19 March 2016

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>00 )From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?</b>			
1) al Arabia	5.5%	2.5%	10.4%
2) al Jazeera	16.8%	11.8%	25.0%
3) al Hurra	1.1%	.6%	2.0%
4) al Manar	1.8%	1.7%	1.8%
5) Palestine TV	19.8%	20.9%	17.9%
6)alaqsa	20.7%	19.0%	23.5%
7) man(mix)	19.4%	25.6%	9.2%
8) Do not watch TV	6.1%	6.4%	5.5%
9) others	8.6%	11.1%	4.6%
10) Do not have a dish	.1%	.1%	0.0%
11) DK/NA	.2%	.4%	0.0%
<b>1)In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?</b>			
1) Very good	1.7%	1.7%	1.6%
2) Good	12.6%	14.1%	10.1%
3) so so	14.3%	12.8%	16.9%
4) Bad	37.7%	43.9%	27.5%
5) Very bad	32.3%	25.5%	43.6%
6) DK/NA	1.4%	2.1%	.3%
<b>2)In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?</b>			
1) Very good	4.7%	3.9%	6.1%
2) Good	17.0%	15.8%	19.1%
3) so so	25.9%	25.5%	26.6%
4) Bad	32.4%	35.9%	26.7%
5) Very bad	19.3%	19.0%	19.8%
6) DK/NA	.7%	0.0%	1.8%
<b>3)Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>			
1) Religious	44.5%	39.5%	52.9%
2) somewhat religious	49.3%	55.6%	38.9%
3) not religious	6.0%	4.6%	8.3%
4) DK/NA	.2%	.3%	0.0%
<b>4)Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>			
1) supportive of the peace process	45.7%	49.1%	40.0%
2) opposed to the peace process	30.7%	28.1%	35.0%
3) between support and opposition	22.4%	21.5%	23.7%
4) DK/NA	1.3%	1.3%	1.2%
<b>5)Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?</b>			
1) yes	79.4%	83.2%	73.0%
2) no	13.7%	8.5%	22.4%
3) DK-NA	6.9%	8.3%	4.6%
<b>6)In your view, is there a press freedom in the West Bank?</b>			
1) yes	16.6%	14.6%	19.9%
2) to some extent	38.7%	36.6%	42.1%
3) no	42.8%	47.3%	35.5%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) DK-NA	1.9%	1.5%	2.5%
<b>7)In your view, is there a press freedom in the Gaza Strip?</b>			
1) yes	19.8%	16.2%	25.8%
2) to some extent	33.2%	28.1%	41.6%
3) no	40.1%	45.4%	31.4%
4) DK-NA	6.8%	10.3%	1.2%
<b>8)In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear?</b>			
1) yes	29.0%	31.4%	25.1%
2) no	66.3%	63.8%	70.5%
3) DK-NA	4.6%	4.8%	4.4%
<b>9)Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?</b>			
1) Completely assured	4.6%	1.8%	9.4%
2) Assured	37.2%	36.9%	37.7%
3) Not assured	43.7%	47.1%	38.1%
4) Not assured at all	14.4%	14.0%	14.9%
5) DK/NA	.1%	.2%	0.0%
<b>10)Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?</b>			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	13.8%	8.5%	22.6%
2) Seek emigration	17.3%	12.2%	25.7%
3) Do not seek emigration	38.1%	43.1%	29.8%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	30.8%	36.1%	21.9%
5) DK/NA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>11)What are the reasons that force you to seek to emigrate (pen ended)? -----</b>			
1) In search for better education	6.5%	4.9%	7.7%
2) Lack of employment opportunities	37.3%	35.9%	38.2%
3) Escape from religious extremism	2.2%	.7%	3.2%
4) Harshness of life under occupation	21.7%	26.9%	18.1%
5) The absence of freedoms and democratic life	9.9%	4.9%	13.4%
6) Lack of security	14.5%	17.7%	12.3%
7) having a lot of relatives abroad	4.0%	2.3%	5.2%
8) Other	3.9%	6.7%	2.0%
<b>12) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?</b>			
1) very satisfied	5.0%	3.5%	7.6%
2) satisfied	30.8%	34.6%	24.4%
3) not satisfied	37.0%	37.9%	35.6%
4) not satisfied at all	24.4%	20.5%	30.8%
5) DK/NA	2.7%	3.5%	1.5%
<b>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?</b>			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	41.3%	41.2%	41.4%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	51.8%	49.9%	54.3%
4) DK/NA	6.9%	8.9%	4.3%
<b>q14_1) If the competition between:</b>			
1) Ismael Haniyyah	38.5%	34.2%	44.7%
2) Marwan Barghouti	57.4%	59.7%	54.0%
4) DK/NA	4.1%	6.1%	1.2%
<b>15) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmud Abbas, to whom would you vote?</b>			
1) Marwan Barghouti	36.5%	40.3%	31.0%

	<b>Total</b>	<b>west bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
2) Ismael Haniyyah	39.2%	36.2%	43.3%
3. Mahmud Abbas	22.1%	20.9%	23.8%
5) DK/NA	2.3%	2.5%	1.9%
<b>17) If new elections agreed to by all factions are held today and the same lists that took part in the last PLC elections were nominated, for whom would you vote?</b>			
1) alternative	2.0%	2.3%	1.7%
2) independent Palestine	4.9%	4.9%	4.9%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	1.3%	.8%	1.9%
4) Abu al Abbas	.1%	.1%	0.0%
5) freedom and social justice	.5%	.6%	.3%
6) change and reform	33.2%	29.1%	38.3%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	.4%	.7%	0.0%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	.7%	.7%	.6%
9) freedom and independence	.3%	.2%	.4%
10) Palestinian justice	.2%	.3%	.1%
11) Fateh	34.1%	34.4%	33.7%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	22.5%	26.0%	18.1%

**18 1) From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most important one and which should be the second most important goal that the Palestinian people should strive to achieve? The first is:**

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	47.8%	45.8%	51.1%
2) Obtain the right of return to refuges to their 1948 towns and villages	29.9%	31.4%	27.6%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	10.6%	11.1%	9.6%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	11.7%	11.7%	11.7%

**18-2) From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most important one and which should be the second most important goal that the Palestinian people should strive to achieve?**

**The second one:**

1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state	17.4%	18.7%	15.2%
2) Obtain the right of return to refuges to their 1948 towns and villages	40.1%	42.0%	37.0%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	20.8%	16.9%	27.1%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	21.8%	22.4%	20.6%

**19) The Palestinian society confronts today various problems, like the continuation of occupation and settlements, the spread of unemployment and poverty, the lack of national unity due to the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings, the spread of corruption in public institutions, and others. Tell us, what in your opinion, is the problem you see as the most fundamental, the one that must be on the top priority of the Palestinian Authority?**

1) continuation of occupation and settlements,	29.7%	32.7%	24.8%
2) spread of unemployment and poverty	25.4%	24.4%	27.1%
3) lack of national unity due to the split	3.5%	.6%	8.2%
4) continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the	17.0%	9.6%	29.1%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
closure of its border crossings			
5) the spread of corruption in public institutions	22.7%	30.5%	10.0%
6) others (----- )	1.3%	1.7%	.6%
7) DK/NA	.4%	.5%	.2%
<b>20 Palestinian administrative detainee Mohammad al Qiq went into hunger strike for 94 days in a protest against his detention with trial. Do you see the hunger strike adopted by administrative detainees as an effective method to force Israel to stop this kind of detention?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	30.3%	21.1%	45.4%
2) YES	40.2%	42.6%	36.2%
3) NO	21.0%	26.0%	12.8%
4) Certainly no	7.1%	8.6%	4.6%
5) DK-NA	1.4%	1.6%	1.0%
<b>21) Now, more than a year and a half after the formation of the reconciliation government, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with its performance?</b>			
1) Certainly satisfy	2.5%	1.8%	3.5%
2) Satisfy	23.2%	22.9%	23.8%
3) Does not satisfy	44.6%	48.5%	38.1%
4) Certainly does not satisfy	20.6%	13.7%	32.0%
5) DK/NA	9.2%	13.2%	2.6%
<b>22) 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?</b>			
1) The PA and Abbas	34.1%	31.5%	38.4%
2) Hamas	19.7%	11.6%	33.2%
3) The head of the reconciliation government	17.1%	16.9%	17.4%
4) The PA is doing its job as it should	11.2%	14.2%	6.2%
5) DK/NA	17.9%	25.8%	4.8%
<b>23) Do you think the reconciliation government should be responsible for paying the salaries of the civil public sector that used previously to work for the Hamas government?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	22.3%	19.4%	27.1%
2) YES	50.1%	51.3%	48.3%
3) NO	14.4%	14.4%	14.3%
4) Certainly no	4.0%	2.4%	6.8%
5) DK-NA	9.2%	12.6%	3.4%
<b>24) 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?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	21.2%	17.8%	26.8%
2) YES	48.6%	52.9%	41.6%
3) NO	16.8%	15.0%	19.7%
4) Certainly no	4.0%	2.0%	7.1%
5) DK-NA	9.4%	12.3%	4.8%
<b>25) 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?</b>			
1) Certainly the reconciliation government	18.9%	16.3%	23.2%
2 )The reconciliation government	46.4%	48.3%	43.4%
3) Hamas	22.6%	21.6%	24.1%
4) Certainly Hamas	2.4%	.9%	4.9%
5v DK/NA	9.7%	12.9%	4.3%
<b>26) 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</b>			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>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?</b>			
1) I certainly support unifying the police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the control of the reconciliation government	46.7%	49.4%	42.2%
2) I support unifying the police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the control of the reconciliation government	28.1%	26.7%	30.3%
3) I support maintaining the current status quo	15.8%	14.3%	18.4%
4) I certainly support maintaining the current status quo	4.7%	3.5%	6.7%
5) DK/NA	4.7%	6.0%	2.4%
<b>27) 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?</b>			
1) Certainly succeed	2.3%	1.1%	4.3%
2) succeed	35.4%	37.8%	31.4%
3) fail	43.2%	42.6%	44.2%
4) Certainly fail	15.6%	14.1%	18.2%
5) DK/NA	3.5%	4.5%	1.8%
<b>28) 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?</b>			
1) The PA is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people	45.0%	45.2%	44.6%
2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people	48.3%	48.3%	48.4%
3) DK/NA	6.7%	6.5%	7.0%
<b>29) If it is up to you, would you want to have Abbas resign or not resign?</b>			
1) Certainly resign	29.9%	25.3%	37.5%
2) Resign	34.5%	38.0%	28.9%
3) Not resign	25.3%	26.4%	23.5%
4) Certainly not resign	5.9%	4.2%	8.6%
5) DK/NA	4.4%	6.1%	1.5%
<b>30) 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?</b>			
1) Marwan Barghouti	33.0%	39.3%	22.8%
2) Ismail Haniyeh	23.9%	21.9%	27.3%
3) Saeb Erekat	1.3%	1.1%	1.7%
4) Rami al Hamdallah	4.8%	4.2%	5.9%
5) Mustapha Barghouti	5.3%	4.0%	7.5%
6) Khalid Mishal	4.8%	2.1%	9.2%
7) Salam Fayyad	2.6%	1.8%	4.0%
8) Mohammad Dahlan	4.3%	.7%	10.3%
9) Other (specify -----)	1.5%	2.0%	.7%
88) DK/NA	18.3%	22.9%	10.7%
<b>31) 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?</b>			
1) Certainly adhering to it	.7%	.1%	1.6%
2) Adhering to it	4.5%	3.4%	6.3%
3) Not adhering to it	51.7%	57.5%	42.2%
4) Certainly not adhering to it	39.1%	34.3%	47.0%
5) DK/NA	4.0%	4.7%	2.9%
<b>32) If you think Israel is not adhering to the Oslo agreement, do you think President Abbas is or is not</b>			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>serious in this threat to stop adhering to the Oslo agreement?</b>			
1) Certainly serious	4.2%	1.8%	8.1%
2) Serious	22.2%	19.4%	26.8%
3) Not serious	47.7%	53.2%	38.5%
4) Certainly not serious	17.2%	13.8%	22.8%
5) DK/NA	8.8%	11.8%	3.8%
<b>33) Do you support or oppose abandoning the Oslo agreement?</b>			
1) certainly support	16.6%	12.4%	23.6%
2) support	46.4%	51.5%	37.9%
3) oppose	26.7%	26.5%	27.0%
4) certainly oppose	3.3%	1.7%	5.9%
5) DK/NA	7.1%	8.0%	5.6%
<b>34) Do you support or oppose the use of knives in the current confrontations with Israel?</b>			
1) certainly support	22.4%	11.6%	40.1%
2) support	35.8%	32.2%	41.7%
3) oppose	34.0%	45.1%	15.8%
4) certainly oppose	6.3%	9.3%	1.2%
5) DK/NA	1.5%	1.8%	1.2%
<b>35) Do you expect these confrontations to develop into a new armed intifada or to wide scale peaceful popular confrontations?</b>			
1) Will develop more toward a new armed intifada	29.0%	27.8%	31.0%
2) Will develop more toward wide scale peaceful popular confrontations	14.7%	13.8%	16.1%
3) Will develop on both directions	16.6%	16.0%	17.6%
4) Will not develop beyond what it is now	21.5%	21.4%	21.6%
5) Will not develop further and will gradually weaken	13.7%	15.1%	11.5%
6) DK/NA	4.5%	5.9%	2.3%
<b>36) 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?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	17.3%	11.5%	26.9%
2) YES	47.9%	47.6%	48.3%
3) NO	26.7%	31.5%	19.0%
4) Certainly no	4.8%	5.7%	3.3%
5) DK-NA	3.2%	3.7%	2.5%
<b>37) 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?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	8.7%	3.6%	17.1%
2) YES	45.5%	42.5%	50.4%
3) NO	35.6%	41.5%	25.7%
4) Certainly no	6.3%	8.2%	3.3%
5) DK-NA	4.0%	4.2%	3.6%
<b>38) 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?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	5.9%	3.1%	10.5%
2) YES	37.0%	33.2%	43.3%
3) NO	41.6%	45.8%	34.8%
4) Certainly no	10.8%	12.9%	7.2%
5) DK-NA	4.7%	5.0%	4.2%
<b>39) From among the following Palestinian and Arab parties, which in your view supports and which does not support the current popular confrontations with the occupation?</b>			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>39-1) President Abbas</b>			
1) Support fully	5.9%	1.4%	13.2%
2) Support	23.0%	22.7%	23.5%
3) Does not support	43.2%	47.7%	35.8%
4) Does not support at all	25.3%	24.2%	27.0%
5) DN/NA	2.7%	4.0%	.5%
<b>39-2) Hamas</b>			
1) Support fully	24.1%	17.4%	35.2%
2) Support	46.1%	47.6%	43.4%
3) Does not support	19.0%	21.2%	15.3%
4) Does not support at all	7.1%	8.0%	5.4%
5) DN/NA	3.8%	5.8%	.6%
<b>39-3) Fatah</b>			
1) Support fully	9.5%	4.8%	17.4%
2) Support	45.5%	45.0%	46.3%
3) Does not support	32.4%	36.5%	25.6%
4) Does not support at all	9.6%	9.3%	9.9%
5) DN/NA	3.0%	4.4%	.8%
<b>39-4) PFLP</b>			
1) Support fully	10.6%	5.6%	19.0%
2) Support	51.6%	49.8%	54.4%
3) Does not support	24.1%	26.5%	20.2%
4) Does not support at all	7.5%	8.6%	5.5%
5) DN/NA	6.2%	9.5%	.9%
<b>39-5) Al Mubadara (Initiative)</b>			
1) Support fully	9.3%	5.4%	15.8%
2) Support	42.2%	41.6%	43.1%
3) Does not support	31.2%	30.2%	33.0%
4) Does not support at all	8.6%	10.1%	6.1%
5) DN/NA	8.7%	12.7%	2.0%
<b>39-6) Egypt</b>			
1) Support fully	2.2%	.3%	5.3%
2) Support	10.9%	10.3%	11.9%
3) Does not support	46.8%	47.1%	46.1%
4) Does not support at all	34.7%	35.4%	33.4%
5) DN/NA	5.5%	6.9%	3.2%
<b>39-7) Jordan</b>			
1) Support fully	2.1%	.5%	4.9%
2) Support	20.4%	19.1%	22.4%
3) Does not support	41.4%	41.7%	40.9%
4) Does not support at all	30.4%	32.0%	27.9%
5) DN/NA	5.7%	6.8%	4.0%
<b>40) Head of the Palestinian intelligence department Majid Faraj indicated that the Palestinian security services have succeeded in preventing 200 attacks against Israelis in the recent confrontations. Are you in favor or not in favor of this action by the PA security services?</b>			
1) certainly support	5.8%	6.8%	4.0%
2) support	23.9%	27.4%	18.1%
3) oppose	39.0%	41.2%	35.3%
4) certainly oppose	25.9%	18.0%	38.8%
5) DK/NA	5.6%	6.6%	3.8%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>41) Teachers went into strike to demand raise in their wages. Do you think the wages of the teachers today are fair or not fair?</b>			
1)Certainly fair	3.5%	3.1%	4.1%
2)Fair	19.7%	19.1%	20.8%
3)Not fair	52.7%	53.6%	51.1%
4)Certainly not fair	20.6%	20.9%	20.1%
5)DK/NA	3.5%	3.3%	3.9%
<b>42) The teachers' strike led to the closure of schools and the stopping of teaching for weeks. Who in your view was responsible for this situation? Was it the policy of the government or the positions and strike of the teachers?</b>			
1) Certainly the policy of the government	33.5%	35.8%	29.8%
2) The policy of the government	41.9%	41.1%	43.2%
3) The position and strike of the teachers	18.5%	17.6%	19.9%
4) Certainly the position and strike of the teachers	3.6%	3.3%	4.1%
5) DK/NA	2.5%	2.1%	3.0%
<b>43) Last month, PA security services erected checkpoints in an attempt to prevent striking teachers from reaching the government headquarter in Ramallah. Do you see this behavior by the security services acceptable or unacceptable?</b>			
1) Certainly the policy of the government	3.1%	2.6%	3.9%
2) The policy of the government	10.8%	6.4%	18.1%
3) The position and strike of the teachers	53.5%	55.5%	50.1%
4) Certainly the position and strike of the teachers	30.6%	33.9%	25.1%
5) DK/NA	2.1%	1.7%	2.7%
<b>44) Now after the teachers and the government have reached an agreement to end the strike and after students went back to school, do you think the teachers have obtained most of their demands?</b>			
1)Certainly yes	4.8%	3.0%	7.8%
2)YES	27.0%	22.1%	34.9%
3)NO	44.0%	48.8%	36.2%
4)Certainly no	18.7%	21.6%	14.0%
5)DK-NA	5.5%	4.5%	7.1%
<b>45) Now after the eruption of confrontations in Jerusalem and the West Bank, what do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis?</b>			
1) the two sides will return to negotiations soon and there will be no violence	20.5%	19.2%	22.8%
2) the two sides will return to negotiations but some armed attacks will take place	33.1%	35.9%	28.4%
3) Negotiations will not return soon and some armed attacks will take place	27.4%	23.3%	34.0%
4) Negotiations will not return soon and there will be no armed attacks	13.4%	14.1%	12.3%
5) DK/NA	5.6%	7.5%	2.5%
<b>46) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside Israel known as the two States solution?</b>			
1) certainly support	8.9%	7.5%	11.2%
2) support	42.4%	45.0%	38.2%
3) oppose	34.9%	37.8%	30.2%
4) certainly oppose	12.9%	8.6%	20.1%
5) DK/NA	.8%	1.1%	.3%
<b>47) In your view, what is the most effective means for the establishment of a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel? Is it:</b>			
1) Negotiations	28.6%	27.4%	30.4%

	<b>Total</b>	<b>west bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
2) Armed action	42.1%	39.4%	46.5%
3) Popular nonviolent resistance	23.9%	26.5%	19.6%
4) Resort to the United Nations	5.4%	6.6%	3.4%
5) DK/NA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

**47-1) Head of the opposition Labor party, Isaac Herzog, proposes a temporary interim arrangement that would lead to separation from the Palestinians along the following lines: (1) place 28 Palestinian villages and towns currently inside Jerusalem under the control of the PA; (2) cessation of settlement construction in the West Bank with the exception of building inside the large settlements; (3) removal of settlers' outposts in the West Bank; (4) transfer civil jurisdiction over most of the West Bank to the PA with the exception of the large settlement blocs which Israel wants to annex in the final status agreement; and (5) the Israeli army stays in its current deployment in the West Bank until a final status agreement is reached. Do you agree or disagree with this Herzog proposal?**

1) Certainly agree	3.5%	2.2%	5.6%
2) agree	26.4%	22.7%	32.4%
3) disagree	46.9%	52.9%	37.0%
4) Certainly disagree	19.3%	17.1%	22.9%
5) DK/NA	3.9%	5.1%	1.9%

**48) 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	26.6%	23.6%	31.5%
2) the two state solution is no longer viable	34.1%	35.4%	32.0%
3) the two-state solution remains viable today	25.7%	26.6%	24.2%
4) Certainly, the two-state solution remains viable today	11.1%	11.6%	10.4%
5) DK/NA	2.6%	2.9%	1.9%

**49) 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	4.7%	4.3%	5.3%
2) support	24.5%	23.6%	25.8%
3) oppose	51.0%	56.4%	42.2%
4) certainly oppose	19.0%	14.6%	26.4%
5) DK/NA	.8%	1.1%	.4%

**50) Now after almost 50 years of 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	34.0%	35.3%	32.0%
2) Low	40.4%	41.2%	39.1%
3) Medium	20.1%	18.0%	23.7%
4) High	3.7%	3.4%	4.3%
5) DK/NA	1.7%	2.1%	.9%

**51) 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	38.6%	39.1%	37.6%
2) Worried	43.5%	43.5%	43.4%
3) Not worried	15.2%	15.5%	14.8%
4) Not worried at all	2.6%	1.7%	3.9%
5) DK/NA	.2%	.2%	.3%

**52) 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	6.8%	2.1%	14.5%
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	<b>Total</b>	<b>west bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
2) Withdrawal form part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security	10.1%	6.3%	16.3%
3) Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens	23.7%	21.5%	27.2%
4) Extending the borders of the state of Israel to cover all the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and expelling its Arab citizens	58.1%	68.5%	41.0%
5) DK/NA	1.4%	1.5%	1.1%
<b>53) And what do you think are the aspirations of the Palestinian Authority and the PLO for the long run?</b>			
1) Regain some of the territories conquered in the 1967 war Withdrawal from the territories it conquered in the 1967 war	38.5%	36.8%	41.2%
2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war	22.6%	20.1%	26.7%
3) Conquer the State of Israel and regain control over the pre 1948 Palestine	13.8%	10.5%	19.1%
4) Conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel	11.1%	11.9%	9.9%
5) DK/NA	14.1%	20.8%	3.1%
<b>54) What do you think the long term aspirations or plans of the Israeli government for al Haram al Sharif in Jerusalem?</b>			
1) Keep the status quo as it is	8.9%	4.8%	15.6%
2) Keep the status quo but allow Jews to visit the place anytime	8.7%	4.8%	15.1%
3) Change the status quo and allow Jews to pray in al Haram area	8.6%	4.9%	14.7%
4) Divide al Haram area between Muslims and Jews allowing Jews to establish a synagogue next to al Aqsa Mosque	20.0%	20.2%	19.5%
5) Destroy al Aqsa and Dome of the Rock mosques and build a synagogue in their place	51.9%	62.8%	34.0%
6) DK/NA	1.9%	2.4%	1.1%
<b>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 refugees problem will be resolved through negotiation in a just and agreed upon manner and in accordance with UN resolution 194 which allows return of refugees to Israel and compensation. In return, all Arab states will recognize Israel and its right to secure borders, will sign peace treaties with her and establish normal diplomatic relations. Do you agree or disagree to this plan?</b>			
1) Certainly agree	6.3%	4.3%	9.8%
2) agree	40.3%	36.6%	46.2%
3) disagree	38.8%	43.3%	31.5%
4) Certainly disagree	11.2%	10.8%	11.9%
5) DK/NA	3.4%	5.1%	.6%
<b>56) There is a proposal that after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and the settlement of all issues in dispute, including the refugees and Jerusalem issues, there will be a mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinians people. Do you agree or disagree to this proposal?</b>			
1) Certainly agree	3.6%	3.1%	4.5%
2) agree	35.2%	32.2%	40.1%
3) disagree	45.0%	49.3%	37.7%
4) Certainly disagree	15.0%	13.7%	17.0%
5) DK/NA	1.2%	1.6%	.7%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>57) Now that negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis have stopped, would you support or oppose adopting the following options?</b>			
<b>57-2)Joining more international organizations</b>			
1) certainly support	28.6%	18.9%	44.6%
2) support	47.9%	56.2%	34.2%
3) oppose	20.2%	21.0%	18.8%
4) certainly oppose	2.1%	2.3%	1.7%
5) DK/NA	1.2%	1.5%	.7%
<b>57-3) Abandon the two state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis</b>			
1) certainly support	7.1%	5.3%	10.1%
2) support	21.0%	20.6%	21.8%
3) oppose	50.7%	57.9%	38.8%
4) certainly oppose	19.7%	14.7%	28.1%
5) DK/NA	1.5%	1.6%	1.3%
<b>57-4) Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance</b>			
1) certainly support	12.5%	8.2%	19.7%
2) support	51.7%	56.7%	43.5%
3) oppose	29.9%	30.0%	29.7%
4) certainly oppose	4.9%	3.8%	6.7%
5) DK/NA	1.0%	1.3%	.4%
<b>57-5) Return to the armed intifada and confrontations</b>			
1) certainly support	16.7%	10.4%	27.1%
2) support	39.6%	42.0%	35.7%
3) oppose	36.2%	39.5%	30.7%
4) certainly oppose	6.4%	6.5%	6.3%
5) DK/NA	1.1%	1.6%	.2%
<b>57-6) Dissolve the Palestinian Authority</b>			
1) certainly support	18.0%	13.1%	26.2%
2) support	27.7%	28.4%	26.5%
3) oppose	38.2%	43.1%	30.2%
4) certainly oppose	12.9%	12.0%	14.3%
5) DK/NA	3.2%	3.4%	2.8%
<b>58) Talk has again surfaced regarding negotiations between Turkey, Israel, and Hamas to reach an agreement on the construction of a seaport for the Gaza Strip in return for a long terms truce between Hamas and Israel. Are you in favor or not in favor of this agreement?</b>			
1) Certainly in favor	16.4%	9.7%	27.5%
2) In favor	53.2%	56.4%	47.9%
3) Not in favor	22.8%	25.4%	18.6%
4) Certainly not in favor	4.4%	4.1%	5.0%
5) DK/NA	3.1%	4.5%	.9%
<b>59) The Council of the Arab League adopted a resolution describing Hezbollah as a terrorist organization. Do you agree or disagree with this resolution?</b>			
1) Certainly agree	6.8%	4.4%	10.8%
2) agree	26.6%	20.3%	36.9%
3) disagree	45.1%	52.5%	33.0%
4) Certainly disagree	14.7%	15.8%	12.9%
5) DK/NA	6.8%	7.0%	6.5%
<b>60) Some say the Arab World is preoccupied with its internal concerns and conflicts or with its conflict with Iran and radical Islamist movements and that it no longer view Palestine as its first cause. Others believe that Palestine remains the Arabs' most important cause. What do you think?</b>			

	<b>Total</b>	<b>west bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
1) 'The Arab World is preoccupied and Palestine is not its first cause	76.3%	82.8%	65.6%
2) Palestine remains the Arabs' first cause	22.5%	16.4%	32.7%
3) DK/NA	1.2%	.9%	1.7%
<b>61) Some say that the current Israeli government led by Netanyahu have found Arab allies among the Sunni Arab states to build a coalition against Iran in the view that Iran is a common enemy for both sides. Others believe that the Sunni Arab states will never agree to a coalition with Israel as long as it occupies Arab land and does not allow the creation of a Palestinian state. What do you think?</b>			
1) There will be a Sunni Arab coalition with Israel against Iran even as the Israeli occupation continues	63.7%	66.5%	59.0%
2) The Arabs will not build a coalition with Israel until it ends its occupation and allows the creation of a Palestinian state	28.4%	23.7%	36.1%
3) DK/NA	7.9%	9.8%	4.8%
<b>62) Iran has declared its intention to provide financial support to the families of martyrs and the families whose homes have been demolished by the Israeli occupation. After this step, is your impression of Iran favorable or unfavorable?</b>			
1) Certainly favorable	14.4%	11.3%	19.7%
2) Favorable	54.6%	59.1%	47.4%
3) Unfavorable	20.0%	19.6%	20.7%
4) Certainly unfavorable	4.2%	2.8%	6.5%
5) DK/NA	6.7%	7.2%	5.7%
<b>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?</b>			
1.Certainly represents true Islam	2.4%	1.3%	4.3%
2.Represents true Islam	4.6%	2.3%	8.3%
3.Does not represent true Islam	31.9%	32.9%	30.2%
4.Certainly does not represent true Islam	56.3%	59.7%	50.8%
5.DK/NA	4.8%	3.8%	6.4%
<b>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?</b>			
1) certainly support	33.8%	32.2%	36.9%
2) support	46.2%	49.1%	40.6%
3) oppose	13.4%	12.8%	14.6%
4) certainly oppose	3.6%	3.1%	4.4%
5) DK/NA	3.1%	2.9%	3.5%
<b>65) 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?</b>			
1) Much better	4.8%	2.8%	8.0%
2) Better	18.7%	18.3%	19.2%
3) Same as today	24.9%	21.8%	30.1%
4)A little worse than today	17.7%	20.8%	12.6%
5) Much worse than today	29.7%	31.6%	26.7%
6) DK/NA	3.8%	4.1%	3.4%
7) Refuse to answer	.4%	.6%	0.0%
<b>66) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....</b>			
1) certainly support	18.3%	10.7%	30.9%
2) support	42.0%	40.3%	44.8%
3) oppose	33.3%	40.7%	21.1%
4) certainly oppose	4.5%	5.9%	2.2%
5) DK/NA	1.9%	2.5%	1.0%
<b>67) Which of the following political parties do you support?</b>			
1) PPP	.7%	.6%	.9%

	<b>Total</b>	<b>west bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
2) PFLP	3.7%	3.5%	4.1%
3) Fateh	26.6%	23.7%	31.4%
4) Hamas	26.3%	22.1%	33.2%
5) DFLP	1.3%	1.3%	1.4%
6) Islamic Jihad	2.3%	1.2%	4.2%
7) Fida	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
8) National initiative (almubadara)	1.0%	1.4%	.5%
9- Independent Islamist	2.0%	1.3%	3.0%
10) Independent nationalist	2.5%	1.1%	4.7%
11) third way headed by salam feyyad	.2%	.3%	.1%
12- none of the above	32.6%	43.4%	14.8%
13- others	.7%	.3%	1.5%

**68) 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	28.4%	30.0%	25.6%
2) daily	24.7%	20.6%	31.6%
3) between 2-5 times weekly	14.1%	12.2%	17.2%
4) once a week	1.8%	1.7%	2.1%
5) once a month	2.4%	1.6%	3.7%
6) others (specify -----)	.0%	.0%	0.0%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	28.5%	33.8%	19.8%