

المركز الفلسطيني للبحوث السياسية والمسحية Palestinian Center for POLICY and SURVEY



Survey Research Unit

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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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Public Opinion Poll No (67)

While an overwhelming majority of Palestinians expresses rejection of the American role in the peace process and rejects ideas attributed to the "Deal of the Century," the failure of reconciliation, the recent Gaza explosion, the worsening living and humanitarian conditions in the Gaza Strip, concerns about PA eavesdropping on citizens' phone calls, diminished chances for democracy, and other concerns cast a shadow of pessimism, frustration, and despair over the public leaving it with no trust in its leadership and very little optimism about the medium or even the long term future

14-17 March 2018

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 14-17 March 2018. The poll was conducted after the explosion of a roadside bomb that targeted the convoy of Palestinian Prime Minister Rami al Hamdallah during his visit to the Gaza Strip and amid mutual accusations between Fatah and Hamas regarding the responsibility for the stalemate in reconciliation and the Gaza explosion. The period before the conduct of the poll witnessed also the publication of leaks concerning alleged substance of the American "Deal of the Century." Several other developments may have influenced the findings of the poll: reports were published regarding an eavesdropping by PA security services on citizens' phone calls; public participation in non-violent protests diminished considerably; talks emerged around possible participation of East Jerusalemites in Jerusalem's municipal elections; and warnings were issued by international agencies concerning the worsening living and humanitarian conditions in the Gaza Strip. This press release addresses these issues and covers other matters such as general conditions in the Palestinian territories and various aspects of the peace process. Total size of the sample is 1200 adults interviewed face to face in 120 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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Main Findings:

In the first quarter of 2018, PSR's poll explored various issues and public concerns: (1) the American role in the peace process and reports concerning the "deal of the century," (2) the Gaza explosion which targeted the Prime Minister's convey, (3) the great decline in popular participation in non-violent confrontations, (4) the possible participation of East Jerusalemites in Jerusalem's municipal elections, and (5) other internal matters such as the worsening living and humanitarian conditions in the Gaza Strip, eavesdropping on phone calls of Palestinian citizens, the status of Palestinian democracy and human rights, reconciliation, and the internal balance of power.

Findings show that the overwhelming majority of Palestinians views the American role in the peace process as biased in favor of Israel and refuses the purported American ideas that have been reportedly included in the American "deal of the century," such as making Abu Dis a capital of the Palestinian state or expanding the southern borders of the Gaza Strip into Sinai. The majority views the American suspension of support for UNRWA as aiming at closing the refugees' file and deny them their right of return. A large percentage worries that this American position might weaken the ability of the Palestinian side to defend the rights of the refugees. For all of this, about two-thirds are opposed to the renewal of contacts between the PA and the US or the resumption of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations. Despite the fact that a large percentage supports the peace process, more than 90% expect to see no peace between Palestine and Israel in the next five, ten, or even 100 years. The largest percentage views the medium and long term future with a great deal of trepidation, pessimism and frustration.

Findings show that about half of the public believes that Israel stands behind the explosion that targeted the convoy of the Palestinian Prime Minister during his visit to the Gaza Strip. About three quarters of the public think that the aim of the explosion was to foil reconciliation efforts. About a quarter of Gazans however believe that the explosion represented a protest against the policies of the PA government toward the Gaza Strip.

Despite great public support for non-violent protests and the great admiration the public has for the Palestinian youth, Ahd Tamimi, viewing her as a role model and a symbol of popular resistance, the largest percentage attributes the significant decrease in public participation in non-violent protests to a weak public confidence in the Palestinian leadership and factions. Many also believe that the public thinks that such protests are ineffective in the confrontation with Israel. Indeed, findings of the poll show that about half of the public is in favor of a return to an armed intifada.

Findings also show that despite concerns about being seen as an acceptance of the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem, a majority of the public favors the participation of East Jerusalemites in the next Jerusalem municipal elections. Participation in the vote is seen as giving East Jerusalemites the ability to influence the municipal policies that affect them. Among all Palestinians, but more significantly among East Jerusalemites, less than a third are opposed to such participation.

Finally, when looking at internal conditions, findings show that:

- Almost all Palestinians view conditions in the Gaza Strip as dire, bad or very bad. Responsibility for this situation is placed first on Israel, then the PA, and finally Hamas. But for Gazans, the blame is placed first on the PA, with Israel and Hamas second and third respectively.
- About two-thirds think that the PA security services do indeed eavesdrop on phone calls of citizens and officials and more than 60% believe that such eavesdropping is done illegally and without any just cause. A majority believes that such behavior benefits the occupation first and foremost and that the Palestinian judiciary is incapable of putting an end to it.
- Those who positively view Palestinian democracy, seeing it as good or very good, are less than a quarter while about two-thirds believe that Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip cannot criticize the PA without fear.
- ❖ Optimism about the success of reconciliation plummets to less than a third; satisfaction with the performance of the reconciliation government does not exceed one third; and about half of the public puts the blame for the poor showing of the reconciliation government on the PA and the PA leadership while a small minority puts the blame on Hamas.
- ❖ Finally, the domestic balance of power remains relatively unchanged compared to three months ago: more than two-thirds demand the resignation of president Abbas; a Hamas candidate wins against Abbas in presidential elections; but Fatah enjoys more popular support than Hamas, with a five point difference in its favor.

(1) Presidential and parliamentary elections:

- Satisfaction with the performance of President Abbas stands at 33%; 68% of the public demand the resignation of the president; demand for Abbas' resignation stands at 81% in the Gaza Strip and 62% in the West Bank
- In presidential elections between Hamas' Ismail Haniyeh and Abbas, the former receives 52% and the latter 41% of the popular vote
- In presidential elections between Haniyeh and Fatah's Marwan Barghouti, the former receives 39% and the latter 55% of the popular vote

• In parliamentary elections, Fatah wins 36% of the popular vote, Hamas 31%, and the third parties combined 9%

Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 33% and dissatisfaction at 63%. Level of satisfaction with Abbas stands at 40% in the West Bank and 20% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago, satisfaction with Abbas stood at 31% (36% in the West Bank and 22% in the Gaza Strip). 68% of the public want president Abbas to resign while 27% want him to remain in office. Three months ago, 70% said they want Abbas to resign. Demand for Abbas' resignation stands at 62% in the West Bank and 81% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago, demand for Abbas resignation stood at 64% in the West Bank and 80% in the Gaza Strip. If president Abbas does not nominate himself in a new election, 29% prefer to see Marwan Barghouti replacing him, while 19% prefer Ismail Haniyeh; Mohammad Dahlan 8% (2% in the West Bank and 20% in the Gaza Strip), Rami al Hamdallah (7%), Mustafa Barghouti (4%); Khalid Mishal (3%), and Salam Fayyad (2%).

If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, Ismail Haniyeh and Mahmoud Abbas, the former would receive 52% and the latter 41% of the vote (compared to 53% for Haniyeh and 41% for Abbas three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 35% of the vote (compared to 33% three months ago) and Haniyeh receives 62% (compared to 66% three months ago). In the West Bank, Abbas receives 45% (compared to 47% three months ago) and Haniyeh 45% (compared to 43% three months ago). If the competition was between President Abbas from Fatah and Mustafa Barghouti from al Mubadara (Initiative), Abbas receives 48% and Mustafa Barghouti receives 43% of the vote. If presidential elections were between three: Mahmud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Abbas would receive 22%, Barghouti 38% and Haniyeh 37%. If presidential elections were between two: Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Barghouti receives 55% and Haniyeh 39%.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 61% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 31% say they would vote for Hamas and 36% say they would vote for Fatah, 9% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 25% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 30% and Fatah at 36%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 32% (compared to 36% three months ago) and for Fatah at 32% (compared to 30% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas stands at 30% (compared to 26% three months ago) and Fatah at 38% (compared to 41% three months ago).

(2) Domestic conditions, status of democracy, eavesdropping on phone calls, and 3G:

- Positive evaluation of Palestinian democracy does not exceed 23%
- Only 5% describe conditions in the Gaza Strip as good or very good while 20% describe conditions in the West Bank as good or very good
- Perception of safety and security stands at 54% in the Gaza Strip and at 53% in the West Bank
- But 45% of Gazans compared to 19% in the West Bank indicate that they want to emigrate
- A majority believes that the PA has become a burden on the Palestinian people
- 62% believe that the PA security services eavesdrop on Palestinian citizens and 62% believe that this eavesdropping is done for illegitimate purposes

Only 33% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear; 63% of the public say that people cannot criticize the PA without fear. In a question about the status of democracy in Palestine and other countries, only 23% say Palestinian democracy is good or very good while only 10% say democracy in Egypt is good or very good. By contrast, 64% say democracy in Turkey is good or very good; 57% say democracy in Israel is good or very good, and 55% say democracy in France is good or very good.

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 5% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 20%. In an open-ended question, we asked respondents to identify the party or side responsible for the worsening of conditions in the Gaza Strip: the largest percentage (39%) blames Israel; 25% blame the PA, president Abbas, the reconciliation government, or Fatah; and 18% blame Hamas. Responses of West Bankers differ from those of Gazans: 43% of West Bankers compared to only 30% of Gazans blame Israel; and 16% of West Bankers compared to 43% of Gazans blame the PA, Abbas, the reconciliation government, and Fatah. However, responses of West Bankers and Gazans are almost identical regarding Hamas' responsibility: 19% of West Bankers and 18% of Gazans blame Hamas. The belief that the PA and its various constituents are responsible is higher in refugee camps and cities (30% and 27% respectively) compared to villages/towns (18%), among the religious (33%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (19% and 23% respectively), among those who oppose the peace process (41%) compared to those who support the peace process (18%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (51% and 34% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (7%), among those with the lowest income (36%) compared to those with the highest income (18%), in the governorates of Khanyounis and Rafah (50% each) compared to the

governorates of Jenin, Tulkarm, and Jericho (4%, 8%, and 8% respectively), and among the holders of BA degree (29%) compared to illiterates (21%).

Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 54%. In the West Bank perception of safety and security stands at 53%. Three months ago, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stood at 53% and in the West Bank at 45%. Findings show that the percentage of Gazans who say they seek to immigrate to other countries stands at 45%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 19%. Three months ago, 41% of Gazans and 22% of West Bankers indicated that they seek to immigrate.

Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 78% and a majority of 52% views the PA as a burden on the Palestinian people while 41% view it as an asset for the Palestinian people.

We asked the public about the media reports regarding a possible **eavesdropping by the Palestinian security services** on phone calls of Palestinian officials and citizens:

- ✓ 62% say they believe that the reports are accurate and 29% believe they are inaccurate.
- ✓ 62% do not think, and 26% think, that the eavesdropping on phones was legal or for legitimate purposes.
- ✓ 56% think the primary beneficiary of eavesdropping conducted by the Palestinian security services is the Israel occupation while 25% think it is the PA administration and leadership, and only 12% think it is the Palestinian citizen and his or her security. The percentage of those who believe that occupation is the primary beneficiary increases in the West Bank (58%) compared to the Gaza Strip (51%), among the religious (57%) compared to the non-religious (49%), among those opposed to the peace process (61%) compared to supporters of the peace process (54%), among the youngest, 18-22 years (60%) compared to those whose age is between 40 and 49 years (52%), among supporters of third parties and Hamas (60% and 58% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (46%), among farmers, retirees, and students (81%, 66%, and 59% respectively) compared to laborers (49%), among private sector workers (55%) compared to those who work in the public sector (43%), and among the illiterates (60%) compared to holders of BA degree (54%).
- ✓ Moreover, a majority of 53% think that if a Palestinian citizen (or even a former head of a Palestinian security service) submits a complaint to the Palestinian judiciary, it would be incapable of putting an end to this eavesdropping. Only 37% believe that the judiciary is capable of ending the eavesdropping.

We asked the public about its viewership habits in the last two months. Findings indicate that Al Jazeera TV viewership remains the highest, standing at 19%, followed by Maan TV (15%), Palestine TV and Filasteen al Youm/Palestine Today (13% each), al Agsa TV (12%), Al Arabiya, al Mayadeen, and al Quds TV (5% each).

We asked the public about the rates for **3G service**, a newly introduced service by Palestinian providers in the West Bank that allows for faster access to the internet on mobile phones: a majority of West Bankers (57%) describes the rates as high or very high and only 3% describe them as low. 11% think the rates are reasonable or medium. 30% did not know much about the service or the rates.

We asked respondents about giving or donating money to the poor and charities:

- ✓ Two-thirds believe that the primary motivation behind giving to the poor is to win God's satisfaction while less than a quarter (23%) think that people give to the poor in order to win the satisfaction of other people.
- ✓ Three quarters of the respondents say that they give to the poor and 23% say they do not. When asked in an open-ended question about its own motivation for giving, an overwhelming majority (80%) says that it is driven by religious incentive (such winning God's satisfaction) while 20% say that it is driven by humanistic or social incentives (such as to ease the burden on or help the poor).

(3) Reconciliation and the reconciliation government:

- Only 26% are satisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government; optimism regarding the success of reconciliation drops from 50% to 30%
- 45% hold the PA, PA president, and the reconciliation government responsible for the failure of the reconciliation government to carry out its duties; only 15% put the blame on Hamas
- 60% of Gazans, compared to 26% of West Bankers, support contacts between Hamas and Dahlan to establish a joint administration for the Gaza Strip

• 45% believe that Israel stands behind the explosion that targeted the PA Prime Minister in the Gaza Strip and three quarters believe that the aim of the explosion is to insure the failure of reconciliation

Now that it has taken control of the border crossings and the headquarters of the ministries and other public agencies, 26% are satisfied and 65% are dissatisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government. Three months ago, satisfaction stood at 38%. Similarly, only 30%, compared to 50% three months ago, are optimistic and 64% are pessimistic about the success of reconciliation.

The largest percentage (45%) believes that the PA, president Abbas, and the prime minister are responsible for the poor showing of the reconciliation government. By contrast, only 15% believe that Hamas is responsible for that poor showing; 13% say the government is doing a good job; and 27% do not who is to blame. It is worth noting that the responses of West Bankers are greatly different from those of Gazans: while about one third (32%) of West Bankers blames the PA, Abbas and the prime minister, 69% of Gazans puts the blame on these three. By contrast, only 12% of West Bankers, compared to 21% of Gazans, blame Hamas. We also asked the public about two claims: the one made by the reconciliation government that Hamas is preventing it from assuming control over the Gaza Strip, particularly in financial and security matters, and the claim made by Hamas that the reconciliation government is failing to carry out its responsibilities and duties in the Strip and that it continues to impose sanction on Gazans. About a third (32%) believes the two claims are baseless while 14% think the two claims are accurate. By contrast, 23% believe Hamas' claim to be accurate and only 14% believe that the claim of the reconciliation government is accurate. In this context, 37% (60% in the Gaza Strip and 26% in the West Bank) support the Dahlan-Hamas efforts to reach an agreement on creating a joint administration for the Gaza Strip while 45% (36% in the Gaza Strip and 50% in the West Bank) are opposed to such efforts.

We asked respondents about the Gaza explosion that targeted the convey of the prime minister:

- ✓ In an open question, we asked the public about its estimate of the party behind the explosion: the largest percentage (45%) believes it is the occupation; 14% believe it is Hamas and an identical percentage believes it is the PA or one of its agencies; 2% think it is Fatah, 1% think it is Dahlan, and 3% think it is one of the extremist groups.
- ✓ About three quarters (74%) believe that the aim of the perpetrators is to foil the reconciliation efforts while 17% (23% in the Gaza Strip and 14% in the West Bank) believe that the aim is to protest against the policies of the reconciliation government toward the Gaza Strip.

(4) The peace process:

- 48% support and 50% oppose the two-state solution and 57% say that this solution is no longer practical due to settlement expansion
- 28% support the one-state solution
- 48% support a return to an armed intifada
- 39% say that the decline in popular participation in non-violent resistance is caused by the absence of trust between the public and the PA leadership and factions
- The majority supports the decisions adopted by the PLO Central Council but about two-thirds believe that President Abbas will not implement those decisions
- The majority supports the participation of East Jerusalemites in the Jerusalem municipal elections by nomination and voting or just by voting
- Optimism about reaching a peace agreement with Israel in 10 years, and in 100 years, is the same: a dismal 9%

48% support the two-state solution and 50% oppose it. Moreover, 46% believe that a Palestinian majority supports the two-state solution and 47% say a majority is opposed to it. Similarly, 50% believe that a majority of Israelis are opposed to the two-state solution and 41% think an Israeli majority supports that solution. 57% say that the two-state solution is no longer practical or feasible due to settlement expansion while only 40% think that it remains feasible because settlements can be evacuated. Similarly, 73% believe that the chances for establishing an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel during the next five years are slim or nonexistent while 25% think the chances are high or medium. Despite the above, only 28% support a one-state solution in which Palestinians and Israelis have equal rights and 69% are opposed.

When given three options to choose from, the largest percentage (35%) chose armed resistance as the most effective means of establishing a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel while 31% chose negotiation and 25% chose nonviolent resistance effective. Three months ago, 44% indicated that armed resistance is the answer and 27% sided with negotiation. When the public is asked if it supports each of the following the responses were different: 74% support joining more international organizations; 63% support popular non-violence; 48% support a return to an armed intifada; and 49% support dissolving the PA. Support for a return to an armed intifada is higher in the Gaza Strip (67%) compared to the West Bank (39%), in cities and refugee camps (51% and 49% respectively) compared to villages/towns (34%), among the religious (55%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (43% each), among those who are opposed to the peace process (74%) compared to supporters of the peace process (34%), among men (52%) compared to women (45%), among those whose age is between 18 and 22 (58%) compared to those whose age is 50 years or above (48%), among Hamas supporters (74%) compared to supports of Fatah and third parties (36% and 42% respectively), among students (70%) compared to housewives and laborers (43% and 45% respectively), and among holders of BA degree (54%) compared to holder of elementary education and the illiterates (35% and 48% respectively).

We asked the public about its view on why popular participation in non-violent protests, particularly those related to the American recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital, has been waning: 39% say it is due to lack of trust between the public on the one hand and the PA leadership and factions on the other; 27% say it is due to the fact that non-violence is ineffective; and 25% say that it is due to the fact that many people think that the responsibility for confronting Israel and the US falls on the shoulders of the PA. 92% indicate that they have heard, and 8% have not heard, of Ahd Tamimi, a Palestinian youth activist being tried by the Israeli occupation on charges that she slapped an Israeli soldier. Among those who have heard about her, 64% say that they want her to be a role model for them and their relatives. The percentage of those who consider Tamimi a role model is higher in the Gaza Strip (80%) and lower in the West Bank (56%). It is also higher in refugee camps and cities (68% and 65% respectively) compared to villages/towns (56%), among the religious and the somewhat religious (66% and 62% respectively) compared to non-religious (54%), among those who are opposed to the peace process (72%) compared to those who support the peace process (60%), among supporters of Fatah and Hamas (71% each) compared to supporters of third parties (48%), and among the refugees (71%) compared to the non-refugees (58%).

60% believe that Israel's long-term aspiration is to expand the state of Israel to stretch from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea and to expel the Palestinian population, and 23% think that Israel aims at annexing the occupied territories and deny the Palestinian citizens their rights. By contrast, only 16% think that Israel's long-term aspiration is to insure its security and then withdraw from all or parts of the occupied territories. Similarly, 77% say that they are worried that they would be hurt on their daily life by Israelis or that their land would be confiscated or homes demolished; 22% are not worried.

A majority of 52% indicates that it supports the resolutions made by the recent meeting of the PLO's Central Council, such as the cancellation of the recognition of Israel, the suspension of the Oslo Agreement, and others, while 18% indicate that they agree with some but not all of them, and 24% oppose them. Nonetheless, about two-thirds (65%) believe that president Abbas will not implement these decisions and only 24% believe he will implement them. The belief that president Abbas will not implement the Council's decisions is higher in the Gaza Strip (70%) compared to the West Bank (62%), in cities (66%) compared to refugee camps and villages/towns (60% and 62% respectively), among the religious (66%) compared to the non-religious (47%), among those opposed to the peace process (82%) compared to supporters of the peace process (54%), among men (67%) compared to women (62%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (80% and 65% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (43%), and among those who work in the private sector (70%) compared to those who work in the public sector (59%).

Moreover, 74% 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. Only 24% think Palestine remains the Arab's principle cause. In fact, 70% believe that there is already an Arab Sunni alliance with Israel against Iran despite the continued Israeli occupation of Arab land while 20% believe that the Arabs would not ally themselves with Israel until it ends its occupation and allows the creation of a Palestinian state.

46% of all the Palestinian public support the participation of East Jerusalemites in the next Israeli municipal elections by nomination and voting while 15% support only voting, and 29% say that they are opposed to all kinds of participation. Support for participation, either by nomination or voting, declines to 42% among East Jerusalemites but the opposition to participation among them remains almost identical (30%) to that of the general population. It is worth noting however that a large percentage (28%) did not express any views on the matter, probably out of concern that it might be risky to state its views on the subject or that its answer might not be a popular one.

We asked the public about its expectations regarding Israeli-Palestinian relations after 10 years and after 100 years:

- ✓ 25% believe that after 10 years conditions, or the status quo, will be as they are now with occupation and settlement expansion continuing with little change; 34% say settlements will expand and there will be one political entity characterized by a system of apartheid that discriminates against the Palestinians; 24% believe that there will be a war or an armed intifada that will end the occupation. Only 9% believe that there will be peace between Israel and the Palestinians and a Palestinian state will be established.
- After 100 years, only 12% believe that things will be as they are now with occupation and settlement expansion continuing; 30% think settlements will expand and there will be one apartheid state that discriminates against the Palestinians; 29% think there will be a war or an intifada that will end the occupation. The belief that there will be peace between Israel and a Palestinian state remains unchanged at 9%.

(5) Palestinian-American relations and "the deal of the century":

- Two thirds oppose the resumption of contacts with the US administration and a majority of 51% rejects the "deal of the century" regardless of its content
- 88% view the US as biased in favor of Israel
- 94% reject the idea of making Abu Dis the capital of the Palestinian state
- 86% reject the idea of expanding the Gaza Strip into Sinai
- 63% reject the idea of allowing Israeli Jews to live in the state of Palestine as citizens or residents

65% are opposed to the resumption of contacts with the American administration that have been suspended last December after the US recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel; 21% favor a resumption of contacts. Similarly, 68% say that the PA leadership should not return to negotiations with Israel if the US administration asks it to do so while 27% say it should comply with the US request. If negotiations with Israel resume under US sponsorship, the US will be biased in favor of Israel in the eyes of 88% of the Palestinians while only 7% think the US will be an honest broker and 2% think it will be biased in favor of the Palestinians.

A slim majority of 51% says that if the US submits its peace plan, the so-called "deal of the century," the PA leadership should reject it regardless of its content because it must be bad for Palestinians while 29% say that the leadership should accept or reject the plan only after reviewing and discussing its content. Only 11% say that the Palestinian leadership should accept the "deal of the century." The percentage of those who want the PA to reject the US plan regardless of its content is higher in cities (53%) compared to villages/towns (41%), among the religious (55%) compared to the non-religious and the somewhat religious (36% and 49% respectively), among those opposed to the peace process (62%) compared to supporters of the peace process (46%), among men (55%) compared to women (48%), among Hamas supporters (62%) compared to supporters of third parties and Fatah (44% and 47% respectively), among those who work in the private sector (52%) compared to those who work in the public sector (41%), and among the illiterates (58%) compared to holders of BA degree (49%).

A majority of 52% believes that the US administration has suspended its support for UNRWA because it seeks to close the file of the refugees and deny them their right of return while 43% think the US did that in order to pressure President Abbas to force him to return to negotiations with the US over the "deal of the century." Moreover, 49% think that the suspension of US support for UNRWA will not weaken the Palestinian negotiating position regarding the rights of the refugees but 45% think it will indeed weaken it.

We asked the public about its views regarding some of the leaked ideas that are allegedly linked to the "deal of the century:"

- ✓ On Jerusalem, 94% say they are opposed to making Abu Dis a capital of the Palestinian state; 4% support the idea.
- ✓ 86% are opposed and 10% support the idea of expanding the Gaza Strip to include parts of Sinai in return for an Israeli annexation of parts of the West Bank.
- ✓ 63% oppose and 31% support the idea of allowing Israeli Jews to live in the Palestinian state as citizens or residents while respecting the Palestinian law and enjoying the same rights and duties as the Palestinians. Support for the idea is higher in the West Bank (32%) compared to the Gaz Strip (28%), in refugee camps (39%) compared to cities and villages/towns (29% and 33% respectively), among the non-religious (46%) compared to the religious (26%), among supporters of the peace process (37%) compared to those opposed to the peace process (21%), among men (36%) compared to women (26%), among Fatah supporters (44%) compared to supporters of third parties and Hamas

(16% and 17% respectively), and among those who work in the public sector (38%) compared to those who work in the private sector (32%).

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

- 45% say that the most vital Palestinian goal should be ending occupation and building a Palestinian state; 30% say it is the obtaining of the right of return
- 28% say that the most serious problem facing Palestinians today is occupation and settlements and 25% say it is poverty and unemployment

45% 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, 15% believe that it should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings, and 10% 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 in the eyes of 28% of the public is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities while 25% say it is poverty and unemployment; 22% say it is the siege of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its crossings; 20% say it is the spread of corruption in public institutions; and 4% say it is the absence of national unity.

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	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
$\mathbf{Q00}$) From among the following satellite news \mathbf{s}	stations, wh	ich one you v	watched
most during the last two months?			
1) al Arabia	5.1%	2.7%	9.6%
2) al Jazeera	18.5%	12.9%	29.0%
3) Palestine Today	12.8%	15.7%	7.5%
4) al Manar	1.0%	.9%	1.3%
5) Palestine TV	13.2%	12.6%	14.3%
6)alaqsa	12.2%	8.7%	18.9%
7) man(mix)	14.9%	20.2%	4.9%
al myadeen	4.7%	5.7%	2.9%
9) al Quds	5.0%	4.5%	6.0%
10) Do not watch TV	9.9%	12.7%	4.4%
11) others	2.0%	2.9%	.4%
12) Do not have a dish	.2%	.1%	.4%
13) DK/NA	.4%	.5%	.3%
Q1 How would you describe Palestine's condition	ons in gener	al these days	?
1) Very good	2.5%	3.5%	.6%
2) Good	17.3%	19.2%	13.7%
3) so so	23.8%		19.5%
4) Bad	33.3%	35.1%	29.9%
5) Very bad	22.8%	15.7%	36.3%
6) DK/NA	.3%	.4%	0.0%
Q2) In general, how would you describe conditi			
Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?	ons of the f		1 (11)
1) Very good	.6%	.4%	.8%
2) Good	4.8%	5.1%	4.4%
3) so so	9.7%	9.1%	10.8%
4) Bad	34.6%	35.0%	33.8%
5) Very bad	47.8%	46.6%	50.2%
6) DK/NA	2.5%	3.9%	0.0%
Q3) In general, how would you describe conditi			
Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?	ons of the f	aicstillails ii	i tiit
1) Very good	2.6%	2.2%	3.4%
2) Good	17.8%	19.7%	14.0%
3) so so	28.2%	30.0%	24.7%
4) Bad	30.7%	30.6%	30.8%
5) Very bad	20.2%	16.9%	26.4%
6) DK/NA	.6%	.5%	.7%
Q4) Generally, do you see yourself as:	.070	.5 /0	. / /0
1) Religious	44.8%	39.1%	55.7%
, .			
2) somewhat religious	50.0%	55.6%	39.2%
3) not religious	5.0%	5.0%	5.1%
4) DK/NA	.2%	.3%	0.0%
Q5) Generally, do you see yourself as:		55 0 0 /	22 (2)
1) (1)		57 70/	22 60/
1) supportive of the peace process	48.7%	57.2%	32.6%
 supportive of the peace process opposed to the peace process 	48.7% 26.5%	18.6%	32.6% 41.5%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strij
4) DK/NA	1.8%	2.7%	0.0%
Q06) Do you think that there is corruption in P Authority?	A institution	ns of the Pale	estinian
1) yes	77.9%	78.0%	77.5%
2) no	13.5%	9.9%	20.2%
3) DK-NA	8.7%	12.0%	2.3%
Q07) In your view, can people in the West Bank without fear?	k today criti	cize the auth	ority
1) yes	32.6%	29.7%	38.1%
2) no	62.9%	65.8%	57.5%
3) DK-NA	4.5%	4.5%	4.4%
Q07A) If you want to evaluate the status of den	nocracy and	human right	ts in the
following countries, you would say it is: Palesti			
1) Very good	3.7%	3.4%	4.4%
2) Good	19.4%	20.5%	17.3%
3) so so	25.9%	26.5%	24.7%
4) Bad	28.9%	28.8%	29.1%
5) Very bad	20.7%	18.8%	24.3%
6) DK/NA	1.4%	2.0%	.2%
7a-3 France			
1) Very good	22.1%	21.8%	22.7%
2) Good	33.2%	30.8%	37.9%
3) so so	12.5%	8.8%	19.6%
4) Bad	6.4%	4.7%	9.8%
5) Very bad	2.7%	.9%	6.2%
6) DK/NA	23.0%	33.0%	3.8%
7a-4 Israel			
1) Very good	23.1%	25.7%	18.2%
2) Good	33.7%	36.0%	29.5%
3) so so	11.3%	8.7%	16.2%
4) Bad	11.3%	10.3%	13.2%
5) Very bad	12.1%	7.4%	20.9%
6) DK/NA	8.5%	11.9%	2.0%
7a-5 Egypt	0.570		,
1) Very good	1.8%	1.4%	2.7%
2) Good	8.4%	4.4%	16.0%
3) so so	16.3%	11.6%	25.1%
4) Bad	27.5%	27.6%	27.3%
5) Very bad	34.3%	38.0%	27.4%
6) DK/NA	11.7%	17.1%	1.5%
7a-6 Turkey	11.770	27.270	1.0 / 0
1) Very good	27.6%	23.1%	36.2%
2) Good	36.7%	36.3%	37.4%
3) so so	13.7%	12.5%	16.0%
4) Bad	4.8%	4.8%	4.8%
5) Very bad	1.7%	1.4%	2.2%
6) DK/NA	15.5%	21.8%	3.3%
Q08) Would you say that these days your secur			
family, is assured or not assured?	ity allu sale	iy, anu inat u	or your
iaiiii ya io aooui wa Ul. IIUl aooul Wi			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) Assured	48.4%	50.4%	44.6%
3) Not assured	35.4%	36.4%	33.5%
4) Not assured at all	11.1%	10.2%	12.9%
5) DK/NA	.2%	.3%	0.0%
Q09) Do current political, security, and economic	condition	s lead you to	seek
emigration abroad?		v	
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	9.7%	5.1%	18.5%
2) Seek emigration	18.3%	13.9%	26.7%
3) Do not seek emigration	39.2%	39.9%	37.7%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	32.5%	40.5%	17.1%
5) DK/NA	.4%	.6%	0.0%
Q10) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the pe	rformanc	e of Mahmu	d Abbas
since his election as president of the PA?			
1) very satisfied	3.2%	2.8%	3.9%
2) satisfied	30.0%	37.2%	16.3%
3) not satisfied	35.4%	34.6%	36.9%
4) not satisfied at all	28.0%	20.6%	42.3%
5) DK/NA	3.3%	4.8%	.6%
Q11) If new presidential elections are to take place	e today, a	nd Mahmud	Abbas was
nominated by Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh was nom	inated by	Hamas, who	om would
you vote for?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	40.8%	44.6%	35.1%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	51.8%	45.1%	61.9%
4) DK/NA	7.4%	10.3%	2.9%
Q12) And what if the competition was between M		arghouti, Isn	nail
Haniyeh, and Mahmud Abbas, to whom would yo		42.107	20.60/
1) Marwan Barghouti	37.5%	43.1%	28.6%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	36.8%	31.6%	45.1%
3. Mahmud Abbas	22.1%	19.8%	25.6%
5) DK/NA	3.6%	5.5%	.7%
Q13) And what if the competition was between M		arghouti froi	n Fatah and
Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you		59.1%	49.5%
1) Marwan Barghouti	55.4% 38.8%	39.1%	
2) Ismael Haniyyah	5.8%	32.9% 8.1%	48.3% 2.2%
4) DK/NA			
Q14) And what if the competition was between M Mubadara (the Initiative) and Mahmoud Abbas fi			
vote?	om rata	n, whom v	outu you
1. Mustafa Barghouti	42.5%	33.9%	54.9%
2. Mahmoud Abbas	48.2%	53.4%	40.5%
4. DK/NA	9.4%		4.5%
Q16) If new elections agreed to by all factions are	-		
took part in the last PLC elections were nominate			
1) alternative	1.0%	1.6%	.4%
2) independent Palestine	5.2%	5.5%	4.7%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	1.1%	.2%	2.4%
4) Abu al Abbas	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
5) freedom and social justice	.6%	.3%	.9%
6) change and reform	30.5%	29.5%	31.8%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
, i manorial countries for justice and desired	0.070	0.070	0.070

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	.4%	0.0%	.9%
9) freedom and independence	.4%	.3%	.5%
10) Palestinian justice	.5%	.4%	.7%
11) Fateh	35.7%	38.3%	32.2%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	24.6%	24.0%	25.5%
Q17-1) -1From among the following vital national	_	•	
the first most important one and which should be			rtant goal
that the Palestinian people should strive to achieve 1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital	44.9%	46.1%	42.6%
2) Obtain the right of return to refuges to their 1948 towns and villages	29.8%	30.2%	29.0%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	10.4%	9.3%	12.4%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings The second one:	14.9%	14.4%	15.9%
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	18.9%	19.2%	18.4%
2) Obtain the right of return to refuges to their 1948 towns and villages	38.0%	39.3%	35.5%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	19.2%	16.9%	23.7%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	23.8%	24.5%	22.5%
Q18) The Palestinian society confronts today varied continuation of occupation and settlements, the specific poverty, the lack of national unity due to the split Gaza Strip, the continuation of the siege and block closure of its border crossings, the spread of corruptions. Tell us, what in your opinion, is the proble	read of u between kade of th uption in	nemploymen the West Ban ie Gaza Strip public institu	nt and nk and the n and the ntions, and
fundamental, the one that must be on the top prio	•		•
1) continuation of occupation and settlements,	27.5%	30.5%	21.8%
2) spread of unemployment and poverty	25.4%	25.4%	25.3%
3) lack of national unity due to the split	3.5%	.7%	8.8%
4) continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings	21.5%	16.0%	31.9%
5) the spread of corruption in public institutions	20.1%	26.2%	8.5%
6) others ()	1.7%	1.2%	2.6%
7) DK/NA	.3%	0.0%	1.0%
Q19) Now, four years after the formation of the re	econciliat	ion governm	ent, are you
satisfied or dissatisfied with its performance? 1) Certainly satisfy	2.2%	2.1%	2.4%
2) Satisfy	23.4%	26.2%	18.1%
3) Does not satisfy	42.5%	41.0%	45.4%
4) Certainly does not satisfy	22.0%	15.8%	33.9%

9% 14.9 of reconciliate to the split? 3% .8° .1% 26.8 .7% 43.6 .9% 21 0% 7.6 ment is not la. If you thin uld, who in second in the second i	## 5.1% ## 5.1% ## 30.5% ## 6% 43.9% ## 17.6% ## 3.0% ## doing its job as nk the your view is ## 3% 53.6% ## 6% 15.8% ## 2% 5.0% ## 9% 4.9% ## ian conditions in the Strip is on he most
of reconciliant to the split? 3% .89 .1% .26.8 .7% .43.0 .9% .210 .7.6 ment is not labeled in the split i	## 5.1% ## 5.1% ## 8% 30.5% ## 6% 43.9% ## 17.6% ## 3.0% ## doing its job as nk the your view is ## 3% 53.6% ## 6% 15.8% ## 2% 5.0% ## 9% 4.9% ## ian conditions in the Strip is on the most
to the split? 3% .8° .1% .26.8 .7% .43.0 .9% .210% .7.6 ment is not l. If you thin uld, who in : .4% .214% .10.0 .0% .172% .38.9 humanitari lay and that .ty) that is that .5% .16.6	% 5.1% 8% 30.5% 6% 43.9% 1% 17.6% 5% 3.0% doing its job as nk the your view is 3% 53.6% 6% 20.7% 6% 15.8% 2% 5.0% 9% 4.9% ian conditions in the Strip is on he most
1% 26.8 7% 43.0 9% 21.0 0% 7.6 ment is not l. If you thin uld, who in 3 4% 21.3 .0% 12.0 4% 10.0 .0% 17.3 2% 38.9 humanitari lay and that rty) that is the a Strip? 5% 16.3	8% 30.5% 6% 43.9% 1% 17.6% 5% 3.0% doing its job as nk the your view is 3% 53.6% 0% 20.7% 6% 15.8% 2% 5.0% 9% 4.9% ian conditions in the Strip is on he most
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9% 21 0% 7.6 ment is not l. If you thin uld, who in 4% 21 0% 12 4% 10 0% 17 2% 38.9 humanitari lay and that rty) that is the a Strip? 5% 16	1% 17.6% 3.0% doing its job as nk the your view is 3% 53.6% 0% 20.7% 6% 15.8% 2% 5.0% 9% 4.9% ian conditions in the Strip is on he most
7.6 ment is not l. If you thin uld, who in 12.0 4% 10.0 12.0 4% 10.0 17.2 38.9 humanitarilay and that is that Strip?	3.0% doing its job as as ak the your view is 3% 53.6% 0% 20.7% 6% 15.8% 2% 5.0% 9% 4.9% ian conditions in the Strip is on he most
ment is not la If you thin uld, who in 14% 21.3 21.4 21.4 21.4 21.4 21.4 21.4 21.4 21.4	doing its job as as the your view is 3% 53.6% 0% 20.7% 6% 15.8% 2% 5.0% 9% 4.9% ian conditions in the Strip is on the most
1. If you thing uld, who in 194% 21.3 12.6 12.6 12.6 12.6 12.6 12.6 12.6 12.6	1k the your view is 3% 53.6% 0% 20.7% 6% 15.8% 2% 5.0% 9% 4.9% ian conditions in the Strip is on he most
4% 21.3 .0% 12.0 .4% 10.0 .0% 17.2 .2% 38.9 .humanitarilay and that .ty) that is the Strip? .5% 16.5	your view is 3% 53.6% 0% 20.7% 6% 15.8% 2% 5.0% 9% 4.9% ian conditions in t the Strip is on he most
4% 21.3 0% 12.4 4% 10.6 0% 17.3 2% 38.9 humanitarilay and that rty) that is the interval	3% 53.6% 0% 20.7% 6% 15.8% 2% 5.0% 9% 4.9% ian conditions in t the Strip is on he most
0% 12.0 4% 10.0 0% 17.2 2% 38.9 humanitarilay and that rty) that is the Strip? 5% 16.6	0% 20.7% 6% 15.8% 2% 5.0% 9% 4.9% ian conditions in t the Strip is on he most
0% 12.0 4% 10.0 0% 17.2 2% 38.9 humanitarilay and that rty) that is the Strip? 5% 16.6	0% 20.7% 6% 15.8% 2% 5.0% 9% 4.9% ian conditions in t the Strip is on he most
4% 10.0 .0% 17.2 2% 38.9 humanitari lay and that rty) that is the a Strip? 5% 16.5	6% 15.8% 2% 5.0% 9% 4.9% ian conditions in t the Strip is on he most
0% 17.2 2% 38.9 humanitari lay and that rty) that is the a Strip? 5% 16.5	2% 5.0% 9% 4.9% ian conditions in t the Strip is on he most
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lay and that ty) that is that Strip? .5% 16.5	t the Strip is on he most
a Strip? .5% 16.5	
.5% 16.3	5% 42.7%
	5% 42.7%
20/ 10/	
3% 18.0	6% 17.7%
5% 43.	1% 29.7%
5% 16.	7% 7.5%
2% 5.1	2.3%
of the head	lquarters of the
reventing i	t from controllin
-	act, Hamas says
_	n the Gaza Strip
hich of the	two claims is th
00/ 10	40/ 20.20/
_	vith Mohammad
	•
n 1avor or n	iot in lavor of
30/2 25	5% 59.8%
0	•
s among uit	guarus. WIIU u
7% 47.	1% 40.1%
	24.3%
	16.5% 5.1 of the head preventing it is. By contrability of the self-self-self-self-self-self-self-self-

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) Hamas	13.5%	10.6%	19.0%
5) Mohammad Dahlan	1.1%	1.2%	.8%
6) Egypt	.8%	.9%	.5%
7) Extremist groups	2.9%	.2%	8.2%
8) Other	2.2%	3.1%	.5%
9) DK \NA	18.2%	25.8%	3.7%
Q23-2) In your view, why was the Prime Minister			petrators
aim at foiling reconciliation? Or did they seek to e	_	-	
government policies toward the Gaza Strip? Or po	erhaps th	ey had some	other aims?
1) To foil reconciliation	73.8%	74.7%	72.1%
2) To protest government policy toward the Gaza	16.7%	13.5%	22.9%
Strip		/	- 407
3) Other:	4.1%	4.5%	3.4%
4) DK/NA	5.3%	7.3%	1.6%
Q24) If it is up to you, would you want to have Ab	_	-	
1) Certainly resign	29.7%	21.0%	46.4%
2) Resign	38.7%	40.8%	34.6%
3) Not resign	23.0%	27.7%	14.1%
4) Certainly not resign	4.2%	4.4%	4.0%
5) DK/NA	4.3%	6.1%	.9%
Q25) President Abbas says that he will not noming		_	
elections. If it is up to you, who do you want to be	tne presid 29.3%	gent after nii 34.8%	n? 19.0%
1) Marwan Barghouti	19.3%	34.8% 16.5%	19.0% 24.7%
2) Ismail Haniyeh3) Saeb Erikat	19.5%	.7%	1.5%
4) Rami al Hamdallah	7.2%	.7% 5.7%	1.5%
5) Mustapha Barghouti	3.7%	3.7%	4.5%
6) Khalid Mishal	2.6%	1.2%	5.2%
7) Salam Fayyad	1.7%	1.6%	1.9%
8) Mohammad Dahlan	8.0%	1.5%	20.4%
9)Other	3.3%	3.4%	3.2%
10) DK/NA	23.8%	31.3%	9.5%
Q26) During the past two months, media reports p			
eavesdropping by Palestinian security services on			
including officials and citizens. Do you believe or o			
reports?			
1) I believe them	61.7%	65.4%	54.8%
2) I do not believe them	28.6%	22.6%	40.1%
3) DK/NA	9.7%	12.1%	5.1%
Q27) Do you think this eavesdropping, if it did inc	leed take	place, has be	en done for
legitimate purposes in accordance with the law?			
1) yes	25.8%	20.9%	35.3%
2) no	61.5%	64.0%	56.8%
3) DK-NA	12.6%	15.1%	7.9%
Q28) Whether legitimate or illegitimate, who in yo		s the first be	neficiary
from the eavesdropping by Palestinian security se		(70/	22.40/
1) Palestinian citizens and their security	12.1%	6.7%	22.4%
2) the Palestinian regime and leadership	25.3%	25.9%	24.0%
3) the occupation	55.7%	58.2%	50.9%
o, mo occupation	22.170	20.270	20.770

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) DK/NA	7.0%	9.3%	2.7%
Q29) A former head of one of the Palestinian secu	rity servi	ces has subm	itted a
complaint to a Palestinian court against eavesdrop			
your view, can the Palestinian judiciary put an en	d to eaves	dropping wl	nen it is
found to be illegal or illegitimate?	27.20/	22.00/	45.50/
1) yes	37.3%	33.0%	45.5%
2) no	52.6%	56.1%	45.9%
3) DK-NA	10.2%	11.0%	8.6%
Q30) Some people say that the Palestinian Author Palestinian people while others say that it is an accordance of the people while others say that it is an accordance of the people with the Palestinian Author Palestinian People while others say that it is an accordance of the people with the Palestinian Author Palestinian People while others say that it is an accordance of the people with the Palestinian Author Palestinian People while others say that it is an accordance of the people while others say that it is an accordance of the people while others with the people while others say that it is an accordance of the people while others with the people while other with the people with the people with the people while w	-		
people. What do you think?	compusm	ment for the	r aiestiiliaii
1) The PA is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people	41.3%	46.6%	31.3%
2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people	52.3%	45.9%	64.6%
3) DK/NA	6.3%	7.5%	4.1%
Q31) Lately, the Central Council of the PLO has a			
such as the cancellation of the recognition of Israe			
the Oslo Agreement, submitting a complaint to the			
and ending security coordination with Israel. Do y disagreeing with these resolutions?	ou see yo	ursen agreei	ing or
1) agree	52.2%	53.6%	49.4%
2) disagree	24.3%	24.0%	24.8%
3) agree with only some of them	18.2%	14.8%	24.6%
4) DK/NA O22) The Control Council called the PLO leadersh	5.4%	7.6%	1.2%
Q32) The Central Council asked the PLO leaders! Do you think that President Abbas will actually in			e decisions.
1) yes	23.9%	23.8%	24.1%
2) no	64.5%	61.9%	69.6%
3) DK-NA	11.6%	14.4%	6.3%
Q33) Do you support or oppose the solution based			
Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the tw			
1) certainly support	7.8%	7.8%	7.9%
2) support	40.1%	38.2%	43.7%
3) oppose	34.7%	37.7%	29.0%
4) certainly oppose	14.8%	12.6%	19.1%
5) DK/NA	2.6%	3.8%	.3%
Q34) In your opinion, what is the Palestinian major	ority opin	ion TODAY	on this
solution?	46.1%	46.0%	46 40/
1) Majority supports	46.1%	46.0% 45.7%	46.4% 49.5%
2) Majority opposes3) DK/NA	6.8%	8.3%	49.5%
Q35) And what is Israeli Jewish majority opinion			
1) Majority supports	40.7%	33.2%	54.8%
2) Majority opposes	40.7%	57.9%	34.8% 34.7%
3) DK/NA	9.4%	37.9% 8.9%	10.5%
Q36) Some believe that the two-state solution, an i	-		
alongside the state of Israel, is no longer viable du			
others believe that it is still viable today as settlem			
evacuated			
1) The two state solution is no longer viable	56.9%	58.1%	54.6%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) The two-state solution remains viable today	40.2%	38.7%	43.1%
3) DK/NA	2.9%	3.2%	2.3%
Q37) What in your view are the chances for the o	_	_	
Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the			ependent
1) very low	38.6%	37.4%	40.9%
2) Low	34.0%	35.8%	30.6%
3) Medium	21.0%	20.2%	22.6%
4) High	3.6%	2.9%	5.1%
5) very high	.6%	.9%	0.0%
6) DK/NA	2.2%	2.9%	.8%
Q38) Given the growing belief that the two-state			
idea of one state in which Palestinians and Jews			
and enjoy equal rights is gaining some popularity			
one-state solution?	y. Do you s	support or of	pose such a
1) certainly support	3.9%	3.9%	3.9%
2) support	23.7%	23.0%	25.1%
3) oppose	46.2%	47.6%	43.5%
4) certainly oppose	22.4%	20.4%	26.2%
5) DK/NA	3.8%	5.1%	1.4%
Q38-1) In your view, what is the most effective m			
Palestinian state next to the state of Israel? Is it:	icans for the	ne establishin	ient or a
1) Negotiations	30.9%	32.6%	27.9%
2) Armed action	35.1%	29.8%	45.1%
3) Popular nonviolent resistance	25.4%	27.3%	21.9%
4) DK/NA	8.6%	10.4%	5.1%
Q39) Popular participation in peaceful resistance	e to the occ	cupation, esp	
the protests against the US recognition of Jerusa		-	•
decreasing. Why in your view is this decrease take	_		
1) because peaceful resistance is not effective in influencing Israel and the US	26.5%	21.2%	36.5%
2) because of the lack of public trust in the	38.7%	37.5%	40.9%
leadership and the factions	30.770	37.370	40.570
3) because people think that the responsibility for	24.6%	29.9%	14.5%
confronting Israel falls on the shoulders of the	Z4.070	29.970	14.370
Palestinian Authority and people are too busy			
making living			
4) DK/NA	4.5%	5.8%	1.9%
5) There is no decrease in popular participation (do	5.7%	5.5%	6.2%
not read)	2.770	2.270	0.270
Q40) Have you heard or read about Ahd al Tami	imi who is	currently be	ing tried by
the occupation for slapping an Israeli soldier?		·	
1) yes	91.5%	93.2%	88.2%
2) no	7.6%	6.2%	10.4%
3) DK-NA	.9%	.6%	1.4%
Q41) If you have heard or read about Ahd al Tar	mimi, wou	ld you like he	er to be a
role model for your sister, brother, son, or daugh		-	
	63.8%	55.9%	79.5%
1) yes	02.070		
1) yes 2) no	31.2%	38.3%	17.1%
		38.3% 5.7%	17.1% 3.4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in	8.9%	5.1%	16.2%
1967 after guaranteeing its security	C CO/	2.70/	1.4.107
2) Withdrawal form part of the territories it occupied after guaranteeing its security	6.6%	2.7%	14.1%
3) Annexation of the West Bank while denying	22.5%	18.8%	29.5%
political rights of Palestinian citizens	22.570	10.070	29.370
4) Extending the borders of the state of Israel to	59.5%	70.5%	38.4%
cover all the area between the Jordan River and the			
Mediterranean Sea and expelling its Arab citizens			
5) DK/NA	2.4%	2.8%	1.7%
Q43) To what extent are you worried or not worri			
family could be hurt by Israel in your daily life, or	that you	r land would	be
confiscated or home demolished?1) Very Worried	26.9%	30.4%	20.2%
2) Worried	50.5%	48.1%	55.2%
3) Not worried	18.5%		18.7%
4) Not worried at all	3.8%	2.8%	5.7%
5) DK/NA	.3%	.3%	.3%
Q44) After the cessation of negotiations between P			
you support or oppose adopting the following opti			
organizations			
1) certainly support	19.4%	14.7%	28.2%
2) support	54.7%	57.1%	50.1%
3) oppose	19.7%	20.8%	17.7%
4) certainly oppose	3.6% 2.6%	3.4%	4.1%
5) DK/NA 3 Abandan the two state solution and demand the		4.0%	0.0%
3 Abandon the two state solution and demand the Palestinians and Israelis	establish	ment of one	state for
1) certainly support	4.3%	2.3%	8.0%
2) support	25.3%	25.6%	24.8%
3) oppose	48.0%	50.4%	43.3%
4) certainly oppose	19.9%	18.2%	23.0%
5) DK/NA	2.5%	3.4%	1.0%
4 Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resi	stance		
1) certainly support	10.9%	7.1%	18.2%
2) support	52.3%	56.0%	45.2%
3) oppose	27.8%	28.2%	27.2%
4) certainly oppose	6.6%	5.6%	8.5%
5) DK/NA	2.4%	3.1%	1.0%
5 Return to the armed intifada and confrontations			
1) certainly support	16.3%	11.4%	25.6%
2) support	32.0%	27.2%	41.1%
3) oppose	37.5%	44.2%	24.8%
4) certainly oppose	10.0%	11.8%	6.7%
5) DK/NA	4.1%	5.3%	1.8%
6 Dissolve the Palestinian Authority			
1) certainly support	15.3%	11.0%	23.4%
2) support	31.8%	24.2%	46.3%
3) oppose	37.6%	45.4%	22.7%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) certainly oppose	11.0%	13.7%	6.0%
5) DK/NA	4.3%	5.8%	1.5%
Q44-a) Talks have increased recently regarding the Palestinian Jerusalemites in the upcoming municinomination and voting. Some see this participation annexation of East Jerusalem to Israel while other providing Jerusalemites an ability to influence december 1.	pal election as an ac rs see sucl cisions of	ons in that ci eceptance of h participation	ty by both the on as
you in favor or not in favor of such participation?		45.20/	46.70/
1) With participation in nomination and voting	45.8%	45.3%	46.7%
2) with participation but only in voting	15.1%	12.9%	19.3%
3) against participation of any kind, nomination and voting	29.4%	31.2%	25.9%
4 DK/NA	9.7%	10.5%	8.0%
Q45) Some say the Arab World is preoccupied wire conflicts or with its conflict with Iran and radical longer view Palestine as its first cause. Others believe Arabs' most important cause. What do you think's the Arab World is preoccupied and Palestine is	Islamist r leve that l	novements a	nd that it no
1) The Arab World is preoccupied and Palestine is not its first cause		, 0.0.	
2) Palestine remains the Arabs' first cause	23.5%	18.9%	32.3%
3) DK/NA Q46) Some say that the current Israeli governmen	2.1%	2.3%	1.7%
Arab states will never agree to a coalition with Isr land and does not allow the creation of a Palestini 1) There will be a Sunni Arab coalition with Israel against Iran even as the Israeli occupation continues 2) The Arabs will not build a coalition with Israel until it ends its occupation and allows the creation of a Palestinian state			
DK/NA	9.9%	12.3%	5.3%
Q47) In the aftermath of the US recognition of Jer of Israel, the Palestinian leadership has stopped conditional Administration concerning the peace process. In restop financial assistance to the PA. Are you with ocontacts with the US administration? 1) With	ontacts wi esponse,	s the capital ith the Trum the US has tl	of the state p hreatened to
2) against	65.3%	67.5%	61.2%
3) DK/NA	4.6%		1.6%
4) Contacts did not stop (do not read)	8.7%	9.3%	7.4%
Q48) If the US presented the Palestinian leadership of the Century, what in your view should the respit reject it regardless of its content because it will accept it because it will certainly be better than the accept or reject it only after discussing its content and Arab countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia,	ip with its onse of th certainly e current with the	s peace plan, le leadership be bad, or sh status quo, PLO faction	or the Deal be? Should ould it or should it
1) reject it	51.1%	51.4%	50.4%
2) accept it	11.4%	7.1%	19.6%
2) account or reject only ofter discussing its content	28 00%	20.7%	27 50/

28.9%

29.7%

27.5%

3) accept or reject only after discussing its content

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4 DK/NA	8.6%	11.8%	2.5%
Q49) If the US asked the Palestinian leadership too			iations with
Israel, should the leadership accept or reject such	-		
1) Accept	26.5%	22.9%	33.4%
2) Reject	67.9%	69.9%	64.0%
3) DK/NA	5.6%	7.1%	2.6%
Q50) If negotiations with Israel are resumed under	_		,
the US will be an honest broker or will it be biased			
1) Honest broker	7.4%	1.3%	19.1%
2) Biased in favor of Israel	87.7%	94.7%	74.5%
3) Biased in favor of the Palestinians	2.0%	1.5%	3.0%
4) DK/NA	2.8%	2.5%	3.4%
Q51) If reaching a peace agreement that leads to the			
side by side with the state of Israel requires allowing			
Palestinian state either as citizens or as residents w			
and duties enjoyed by Palestinian Christians and Noppose that?	viusiiiis,	would by su	pport or
1) support	30.6%	31.8%	28.4%
2) oppose	62.6%	60.0%	67.5%
3) DK/NA	6.8%	8.2%	4.1%
Q52) The Trump Administration has decided to su			
provides to UNRWA. In your view, why did the US	_		
do it in order to:			
1) pressure Abbas to return to negotiations with the	43.2%	43.2%	43.3%
US Administration regarding the so-called the Deal			
of the Century? Or			
2) to close the refugee file and remove it from	51.5%	50.7%	53.1%
negotiations and deny the refugees' right of return			
3) Other reasons	1.0%	1.3%	.6%
4) DK/NA	4.2%	4.8%	3.0%
Q53) In your view, would the US suspension of its	support	for UNRWA	lead to a
weakening of the Palestinian position that demand			
1) yes	45.4%	47.7%	41.0%
2) no	48.9%	47.0%	52.5%
3) DK-NA	5.7%	5.3%	6.5%
Q54) Reports claim that the American Deal of the	Century	might call fo	r Abu Dis
to be the center of the capital of the Palestinian sta			or disagree
with Abu Dis becoming the capital of the state of P			
1) Agree	3.8%	1.1%	9.1%
2) Disagree	94.0%		87.0%
3) DK/NA	2.2%	1.3%	3.9%
Q55) Moreover, reports claim that the American I		•	_
Israel to annex large parts of the West Bank in ret		_	
Strip into Sinai and in which Israel compensates E			-
amount of territory in the Negev. Would you agree	e or disag	gree with this	territoriai
exchange between Israel, Egypt, and Palestine?	9.5%	5.2%	17.6%
1) Agree 2) Disagree	9.5% 85.6%		79.1%
2) Disagree 3) DK/NA	5.0%	5.8%	3.3%
,			
Q56-1) If you are able to imagine how things will be	e iii our	country after	สมบนเ 10

Q56-1) If you are able to imagine how things will be in our country after about 10 years from now, which of the following is closer to that image?

	Total	woot hard-	Cara Strin
	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Occupation and settlements will remain as they are today without major change	24.5%	18.9%	35.2%
2) There will be a decisive war or a decisive armed intifada that will end the occupation	23.8%	14.4%	41.5%
3) There will be peace between Israel and the Palestinians and there will be a Palestinian state living in peace next to the state of Israel	9.2%	7.2%	13.0%
4) Settlement expansion will increase and there will be one political entity or one state between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River but the political system will be one of apartheid in which the Palestinians will not have rights equal to those enjoyed by the Jews	34.3%	48.4%	7.7%
5) DK/NA	8.1%	11.0%	2.6%
Q56-2) Now, imagine how conditions will be in ou		after about	100 years
from now. Which of the following is closer to that		0.407	4 = 607
1) Occupation and settlements will remain as they are today without major change	12.0%	9.1%	17.6%
2) There will be a decisive war or a decisive armed intifada that will end the occupation	28.6%	18.7%	47.3%
3) There will be peace between Israel and the Palestinians and there will be a Palestinian state living in peace next to the state of Israel	9.3%	7.4%	13.0%
4) Settlement expansion will increase and there will be one political entity or one state between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River but the political system will be one of apartheid in which the Palestinians will not have rights equal to those enjoyed by the Jews	29.9%	36.0%	18.4%
5 DK/NA	20.1%	28.8%	3.7%
Q56) In your view, how will economic conditions is	in your ar	ea (West Ba	nk or Gaza
Strip) be in the next few (3-5) years compared to t	the situati	on today?	
1) Much better	3.2%	2.7%	4.2%
2) Better	17.2%	13.3%	24.8%
3) Same as today	26.3%	27.2%	24.7%
4) A little worse than today	17.9%	21.1%	11.8%
5) Much worse than today	30.9%	30.4%	31.8%
6) DK/NA	4.0%	5.2%	1.6%
7) Refuse to answer	.5%	.2%	1.2%
Q57) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civ	vilians ins	ide Israel, I.	•••
1) Certainly agree	13.9%	8.3%	24.7%
2) agree	33.4%	26.6%	46.2%
3) disagree	39.8%	46.6%	26.8%
4) Certainly disagree	7.5%	11.1%	.8%
5) DK/NA	5.3%	7.4%	1.4%
Q58) Which of the following political parties do yo			
1) PPP	.9%	1.3%	.1%
2) PFLP	1.9%	1.0%	3.5%
3) Fateh	24.7%	24.4%	25.2%
4) Hamas	19.7%	16.1%	26.6%
•			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
5) DFLP	.2%	.1%	.4%
6) Islamic Jihad	2.5%	1.4%	4.6%
7) Fida	.1%	0.0%	.3%
8) National inititiative (almubadara)	1.6%	1.7%	1.5%
9) Independent Islamist	2.8%	.7%	6.9%
10) Independent nationalist	5.7%	2.9%	10.9%
11) third way headed by salam feyyad	.5%	.7%	.3%
12) none of the above	37.8%	48.0%	18.4%
13) others	1.6%	1.7%	1.4%
Q59) What is the primary means through which you update yourself on current			
issues?	-	•	
1) Television	43.1%	43.1%	43.1%
2) Online newspapers	5.1%	4.8%	5.7%
3) Radio	4.3%	3.2%	6.4%
4) Social Networks (Facebook, Twitter etc.)	46.1%	47.2%	44.1%
5) Print newspapers	.6%	.7%	.6%
6) DK/NA	.7%	1.0%	.2%
Q60) Recently, the 3-G service, that allows fast ac	cess to the	e internet via	the mobile
phone, has been provided in the West Bank. From	n what yo	u have heard	about
regarding the cost of this service to the consumer	, do you se	ee the cost as	reasonable
or high?			
1) low	4.4%	3.0%	7.2%
2) reasonable	17.7%	10.7%	31.1%
3) high	23.5%	25.2%	20.4%
4) very high	23.3%		7.6%
5) DK/NA	31.0%	29.7%	33.6%
Q61) Some people give money to the poor and to charitable projects. In your view,			
what is the motivation of most people for doing th		5 0. 5 0/	00.00/
1) to please God	67.4%	59.7%	82.2%
2) to please people	22.7%	28.0%	12.5%
3) for other reasons	2.1%	2.8%	.8%
4) DK/NA	7.8%	9.5%	4.5%
Q62) What about you, do you give money to the p			
1) yes	74.5%	79.0%	66.0%
2) no	23.4%	18.2%	33.2%
3) DK-NA	2.1%	2.8%	.8%
Q63) If you do give money, why do you do that? V	•		
1) Religious motivation	79.9%	84.2%	69.9%
2) Human motivation	20.1%	15.8%	30.1%
Q64) If you use the internet to surf social sites like Facebook, Twitter, and various			
groups or to access email, how many times do you	ı normally	y do that?	
1) More than once a day	36.8%	42.1%	26.8%
2) daily	25.5%	23.4%	29.4%
3) between 2-5 times weekly	8.5%	4.7%	15.8%
4) once a week	5.4%	2.8%	10.3%
5) once a month	2.6%	1.0%	5.6%
6) other	.3%	0.0%	1.0%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not	20.8%	26.0%	11.1%
visit social sites			