

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 Foundation in Ramallah



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While youth revolts in the Arab World pose a threat to Hamas and its government in the Gaza Strip, al Jazeera leaks of PLO documents recording Palestinian-Israeli negotiations pose a threat to Fateh and the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank, and the US use of its veto power against the UNSC resolution denouncing Israeli settlements destroys much of American credibility in the peace process

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 17-19 March 2011. The poll was conducted during a period of turmoil and revolt in the Arab World leading to regime change in Egypt and Tunisia. Moreover, the Palestinian areas witnessed demonstrations demanding end of the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Before that, al Jazeera satellite TV news station released leaked Palestinian documents pertaining to Palestinian-Israeli negotiations. These documents were leaked from the PLO negotiations department. During the same period, the US used its veto power to block a UNSC resolution condemning Israeli settlements' activities. In the settlement of Itamar, near Nablus, a family of five was killed. This press release covers issues related to the events in the Arab World, the leaks on al Jazeera, Palestinian domestic conditions, the performance of the governments of Salam Fayyad and Ismail Haniyeh, the internal balance of power between Fateh and Hamas, the future of reconciliation and reunification, the views of the public on the most vital Palestinian goals and the most serious problems confronting Palestinians today, the peace process and the impact of the Arab youth demonstrations on it, and the Itamar attack. Total size of the sample is 1270 adults interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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MAIN RESULTS:

Findings of the first quarter of 2010 highlight a number of internal developments that came in response to external events. Three of the most significant events of the period under consideration were the publication of PLO documents related to Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, the eruption of youth demonstrations in the Arab World demanding regime change in their countries, and the US use of its veto power to block a settlements' related UNSC resolution. Palestinians were affected differently by these events. For example, the Palestinian Authority (PA) and its leadership were negatively affected by al Jazeera leaks as findings show a decrease in support for Fateh and a similar decrease in the level of satisfaction with the performance of president Mahmud Abbas. Several factors led to this outcome: al Jazeera remains the most watched TV news station in the Palestinian areas and the most credible one. While the PA leadership in the West Bank defended itself by accusing al Jazeera of conspiring against it, a large majority of Palestinians believed that al Jazeera goal was to seek the truth and not to conspire against the PA. Moreover, in responding to the leaks, the PA's case remained unconvincing in the eyes of a large majority of Palestinians. Above all else, and based on the leaks, half of the public concluded that the PA's negotiating position was not committed to the vital goals and interests of the Palestinian people.

By contrast, the events in the Arab World and particularly the youth demonstrations seem to pose a threat to Hamas in the Gaza Strip rather than to Fateh in the West Bank. For example, findings show that two thirds of Gazans believe that there is a need for demonstrations in the Gaza Strip demanding regime change in the Strip. More seriously for Hamas, half of Gazans indicate that they might participate in such demonstrations. In the West Bank, the picture is different: only one third believes there is a need to demonstrate and demand West Bank regime change and only one quarter indicate willingness to participate in such demonstrations. Findings also show that if demonstrations were to erupt in the Gaza Strip, demands and slogans will focus not only on ending the West Bank-Gaza Strip split, but also on the absence of freedoms. By contrast, if demonstrations erupt in the West Bank, demands and slogans will focus on the two issues of ending the split and ending occupation. It is worth noting that findings show that the Palestinian public expects the developments in the Arab World to have a positive impact on the prospects for opening the Rafah crossing with Egypt on permanent basis. But a large majority does not expect Palestinian demonstrations similar to those in the Arab World would lead to end of occupation or end of settlement activities.

Finally, findings show that the US use of its veto power to block UNSC resolution condemning settlement activities has dealt a severe blow to Palestinian public readiness to accept a large US role in the peace process. The poll found that the percentage of those in favor of such US role has decreased considerably to a small minority; in previous surveys, large majority favored a greater US intervention in the peace process.

(1) Youth demonstrations in the Arab World and in Palestine:

- **92% sympathize with demonstrators in the Arab World and two thirds expect this development to have a positive impact on Palestinian conditions**
- **36% of West Bankers support West Bank demonstrations to change the regime and 24% are ready to participate in such demonstrations**
- **67% of Gazans support demonstrations in the Gaza Strip that would seek to charge the regime and 50% are ready to participate in these demonstrations**
- **51% prefer the slogan that calls for "people want to end the split" and 24% favor "people want to end the occupation"**

An overwhelming majority of 92% sympathizes with the demonstrators in Arab countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, and Yemen; 7% do not sympathize with Arab demonstrators. 41% believe that the first basic demand of the demonstrators in Egypt is to end the state of poverty and unemployment, 38% believe it is freedom from oppression of the ruling regime, 11% believe it is to end corruption, 5% believe it is to replace the Egyptian regime with an Islamist one, and 3% believe the demonstrators want to express opposition to Egypt's pro Western policies. About two thirds (64%) expect the developments in the Arab World to have a positive impact on Palestinian conditions, 17% believe they will have a negative impact, and 15% believe they will have no impact.

Two thirds (66%) expect the fall of the Mubarak regime in Egypt to lead to permanent opening of the Rafah international crossing with Egypt and 27% do not expect that. But a majority of 54% believes the chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years will not change as a result of the developments in the Arab World, 21% believe such chances will increase and 23% believe the chances will decrease.

47% of the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip believe that there is a need for similar demonstrations in the West Bank demanding regime change and 50% believe no need exists. The percentage of the belief that there is a need for demonstrations in the West Bank similar to those in the Arab World increases in the Gaza Strip (64%) compared to only 36% in the West Bank, among the youth, 18-27 years old, (54%) compared to those over 47 years old (41%), among supporters of Hamas (72%) compared to supporters of Fateh (28%), among supporters of other parties and those who do not wish to participate in future elections (46% each), and among the those who define themselves as religious (52%) compared to those who

define themselves as "somewhat religious" (41%).

By contrast, 52% of the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip believe there is a need for similar demonstrations in the Gaza Strip demanding regime change in that area and 40% believe no need exists. The percentage of the belief that there is a need for demonstrations in the Gaza Strip similar to those in the Arab World increases in the Gaza Strip (67%) compared to the West Bank (43%), among the youth, 18-27 years old (62%) compared to those over 47 years old (38%), among supporters of Fatch (71%) and supporters of third parties (70%), nonaffiliated (50%), those who do not wish to participate in future elections (46%) compared to supporters of Hamas (27%), and among supporters of the peace process (57%) compared to those who are opposed to the peace process (37%), and among those who are "somewhat religious" (57%) compared to those who are "religious" (45%).

When asked about their possible participation in such regime-change demonstrations in their respective areas, major differences emerged between West Bankers and Gazans: while 50% of Gazans are ready to participate in demonstrations to demand regime change in the Gaza Strip, only 24% of West Bankers are ready to participate in demonstrations demanding regime change in PA in the West Bank. In the West Bank, the desire to participate in demonstrations to change the regime in the West Bank increases among the youth, 18-27 years old (34%) compared to those over 47 years old (17%). In the Gaza Strip, the desire to participate in demonstrations demanding regime change in the Gaza Strip increases among the youth, 18-27 years old (61%) compared to those over 47 years old (25%).

When asked about the most preferred slogan to raise in Palestinian demonstrations, a majority of 51% opted for "people want to end the split," followed by "people want to end occupation" (24%), and "people want to end corruption" (14%). Four other slogans received 2% each: "people want to end negotiations," "people want to end Oslo," "people want an end to security coordination," and "people want to return to the intifada." In the West Bank, the slogan "people want to end the occupation" (29%) comes second to ending the split (46%).

(2) Al Jazeera Publishes leaked PLO negotiations' documents:

- 79% believe all or some of what al Jazeera has leaked regarding Palestinian-Israeli negotiations; only 19% believe none of it
- 49% believe Palestinian negotiators had not been committed to the goals and interests of the Palestinian people and 44% believe

78% say they have seen or heard, on al Jazeera or other media outlets, about leaked documents published by al Jazeera news TV channel. 79% believe in the truthfulness of all or some of what has been published by al Jazeera regarding concessions made by Palestinian negotiators and 19% do not believe any of it. About half (49%) believes that the Palestinian negotiating position, as revealed by al Jazeera, was not committed to vital Palestinian goals and interests and 44% believe it has been committed to vital goals and interests. The belief that the PA was committed to vital Palestinian interests and goals increases in the Gaza Strip (49%) compared to the West Bank (41%), among supporters of Fatch (78%) compared to supporters of Hamas

- **they had been**
- **59% are convinced that in releasing the documents, al Jazeera sought to uncover the truth and 62% are not convinced by the PA's response to al Jazeera leaks**

(13%) as well as supporters of third parties (40%) the nonaffiliated and those who will not participate in future elections (36% and 35%), and among the "somewhat religious" (49%) compared to the "religious" (38%), and among students (61%) compared to laborers and merchants (37% and 27% respectively), and among those working in the public sector (51%) compared to those working in the private sector (36%).

A majority of 59% believes that the goal of al Jazeera in publishing the leaked documents was to uncover the truth, but 36% believe the aim was to conspire against the Palestinian leadership. Percentage of those who believe that the goal of al Jazeera was to uncover the truth increases in the West Bank (63%) compared to the Gaza Strip (54%), among women (63%) compared to men (57%), among supporters of Hamas (95%) compared to supporters of Fateh (27%), among the "religious" (71%) compared to the "somewhat religious" (51%), and among those who work in the private sector (65%) compared to those who work in the public sector (49%).

A majority of 62% believes that the PA response to al Jazeera leaks of the negotiations' documents was not convincing and 33% believe it was convincing. Percentage of those who believe that the PA response was not convincing increases in the West Bank (67%) compared to the Gaza Strip (54%), among those whose age is over 47 years old (74%) compared to those between the ages of 18-27 (56%), and among supporters of Hamas and those who do not wish to participate in future elections, the nonaffiliated, and supporters of third parties (89%, 70%, 65%, and 64% respectively) compared to supporters of Fateh (34%).

(3) Domestic Conditions

- **21% describe conditions in the Gaza Strip as good or very good and 33% describe conditions in the West Bank as good or very good**
- **70% believe there is corruption in the PA institutions in the West Bank and 59% believe there is corruption in the Hamas government in the Gaza Strip**
- **65% believe that there is, or there is to some extent, free press in the West Bank and the percentage regarding the Gaza Strip is 46%**
- **33% believe that people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear and only 19% believe that people in the Gaza Strip can**

21% describe conditions in the Gaza Strip as good or very good and 56% describe them as bad or very bad. In our last poll, three months ago, in December 2010, 17% described conditions in the Gaza Strip as good or very good and 62% said they were bad or very bad. By contrast, 33% describe conditions in the West Bank as good or very good and 33% describe them as bad or very bad. Three months ago, these percentages stood at 35% and 31% respectively. 70% say there is corruption in the PA institutions in the West Bank while only 59% say there is corruption in the institutions of the dismissed government in the Gaza Strip. These percentages are similar to those obtained three months ago. 65% say there is, or there is to some extent, press freedom in the West Bank and 31% say there is no such freedom in the West Bank. By contrast, 46% say there is, or there is to some extent, press freedom in the Gaza Strip while 42% say there is no such freedom in the Gaza Strip.

33% say people in the West Bank can criticize the authority in the West Bank without fear. By contrast, only 19% say people in the Gaza Strip can criticize the authorities in Gaza without fear. These findings reflect an improvement in the situation in the West Bank and lack of change

- criticize the authorities there without fear**
- **Perception of personal safety and security stands at 54% in the West Bank and 67% in the Gaza Strip**
 - **Positive evaluation of the performance of the Haniyeh government stands at 31% and 39% for the Fayyad government; 23% say Haniyeh's government is the legitimate one and 25% say Fayyad's government is the legitimate one**
 - **Satisfaction with the performance of President Abbas stands at 46% and dissatisfaction at 51%**

in the Gaza Strip. Since the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, in June 2007, these percentages have witnessed gradual and significant decrease. As the table below shows, belief that people can criticize the authorities in the West Bank without fear stood at 56% while 52% believed that people can criticize the authorities without fear in the Gaza Strip.

Table: Gradual decrease in belief about the ability to criticize authorities in the West Bank or Gaza Strip since the split between the two areas

Date	Ability to criticize authorities in the West Bank	Ability to criticize authorities in the Gaza Strip
March 2011	33%	19%
December 2010	27%	19%
September 2010	30%	24%
March 2009	37%	29%
August 2008	47%	42%
September 2007	56%	52%

Perception of safety and security stands at 54% in the West Bank and 67% in the Gaza Strip. Positive evaluation of the performance of the governments of Ismail Haniyeh stands at 31% and Salam Fayyad's at 39%. Three months ago, these percentages stood at 36% and 43% respectively. Findings show that the percentage of Gazans who say that political, security, and economic conditions force them to seek immigration to other countries stands at 37%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 21%.

Percentage of satisfaction with the performance of President Abbas stands at 46% while 51% say they are dissatisfied with his performance. These percentages reflect a decrease in the level of satisfaction with the performance of the president, which stood at 50% three months ago while the level of dissatisfaction stood at 45%. Satisfaction with the performance of the president stands at 39% in the Gaza Strip and 51% in the West Bank. 23% say the government of Haniyeh is the legitimate Palestinian government and 25% say the Fayyad government is the legitimate one. 37% say both governments are illegitimate. These results indicate a decrease in the percentage of those who view the Fayyad government as legitimate.

(4) West Bank-Gaza Strip split and how to end it:

A majority of 52% opposes and 43% support Salam Fayyad's proposal to end the West Bank-Gaza Strip split by an immediate unification of the two areas, the formation of a national unity government under the premiership of a prime minister acceptable to Fatah and Hamas, and

- **A majority of 52% opposes and 43% support Fayyad's proposal to end the West Bank-Gaza Strip split**
- **A majority of 62% blames Fateh and Hamas together for the continuation of the split**
- **A decrease in the percentage of the belief that the split is permanent show a drop from 39% three months ago to 21% in this poll**
- **43% believe that ending the split requires "regime change" in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip**
- **To end the split, 33% support, and 61% oppose, Abbas' acceptance of Hamas conditions for reconciliation even if this leads to the return of international boycott and sanctions**
- **By contrast, to end the split, 47% support and 46% oppose Hamas' acceptance of existing agreements with Israel**

the maintenance of the status quo regarding security conditions in the Gaza Strip (under Hamas's control) and the West Bank (under Fateh). Support for the Fayyad proposal stands at 45% in the West Bank compared to 39% in the Gaza Strip. Fateh and Hamas together are responsible for the continuation of the split as seen by 62% of the public, but 15% blame Hamas alone and 15% blame Fateh alone. But when asked about the future of the split if Hamas won new presidential and parliamentary elections, 46% said it would be consolidated, but in a scenario in which Fateh would win such elections, only 25% said the split would, as a result, be consolidated.

After the events in Egypt and the cessation of the Egyptian role in Fateh-Hamas reconciliation, 21% believe that unity between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will resume soon, 50% believe unity will resume but only after a long time, and 21% believe that unity will never return. These results reflect a significant decrease in the percentage of those who believe that the split is permanent (which stood at 39% three months ago), perhaps due to the increased public and youth demonstrations in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip demanding an end to the split.

In order to end the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, 43% believe that the regimes in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip should fall, while 16% believe that ending the split requires the downfall of the regime in the Gaza Strip only, and 15% believe it requires the downfall of the regime in the West Bank only. 18% believe that ending the split does not require the downfall of either regime.

In order to end the split, 33% support and 61% oppose a proposal whereby president Abbas would accept Hamas conditions for unification even if such a step would lead to the return of international sanctions and boycott. Findings show that 69% view such a step by the president as posing a threat to their own interests and those of the Palestinian people. A majority of 52% believe the chances for the president to take such a step are small or very small while 42% believe chances are high or medium. Support for Abbas' acceptance of Hamas conditions as a way to end the split increases in the Gaza Strip (37%) compared to the West Bank (31%), among those over 47 years old (38%) compared to those between the ages of 18-27 (32%), among supporters of Hamas (56%) compared to supporters of Fateh (23%), among those opposed to the peace process (52%) compared to those who support the peace process (29%), and among the "religious" (43%) compared to the "somewhat religious" (25%).

By contrast, a larger percentage (47%) supports and 46% oppose a different proposal whereby Hamas would end the split by accepting international conditions imposed after it won the elections back in 2006, including accepting peace agreements with Israel. The lesser opposition to this proposal than to the previous one seems to be due to the fact that a much lower percentage (43%) perceive such Hamas shift as a threat to their interests or to the interests of the Palestinian people. But as in the previous proposal, 53% believe the chances

Hamas would take such an initiative are small or very small and only 41% believe the chances are high or medium. Support for a Hamas initiative to accept agreements with Israel as the means to end the split increases in the West Bank (49%) compared to the Gaza Strip (45%), among men (50%) compared to women (46%), among those between the ages of 18-27 (49%) compared to those over 47 years old (40%), among supporters of Fateh (67%) compared to supporters of Hamas (25%), among supporters of the peace process (55%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (23%), and among the "somewhat religious" (52%) compared to the "religious" (39%).

(5) Presidency and Legislative Elections:

- **If new presidential elections were to take place today, Abbas would receive 55%, Haniyeh 38%; and if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 64% and the latter 31%**
- **For vice president, Marwan Barghouti receives 30% while 18% select Ismail Haniyeh, 14% select Salam Fayyad, and 11% select Mustafa Barghouti**
- **If new parliamentary elections were to take place today, Fateh would receive 40%, Hamas 26%, all other lists combined 12%, and 22% are undecided**
- **51% believe that Hamas is opposed to holding new parliamentary and presidential elections due to its perception that it cannot work freely and 37% believe it is fear of losing the elections**

If new presidential elections are held today, and only two were nominated, Abbas would receive the vote of 55% and Haniyeh 38% of the vote of those participating. The rate of participation in such election would reach 58%. These results are similar to those obtained in our previous poll three months ago. In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives in this poll 53% and Haniyeh 42% and in the West Bank Abbas receives 56% and Haniyeh 35%. If the presidential elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, the former would receive 64% and the latter would receive 31% of the participants' votes. The rate of participation in this case would reach 67%. In the Gaza Strip, Barghouti receives 59% and Haniyeh 36% and in the West Bank Barghouti receives 66% and Haniyeh 28%. These results are similar to those obtained three months ago. Most popular figures selected by the public as possible vice presidents from a list of five provided to respondents are Marwan Barghouti (selected by 30% of the public), Ismail Haniyeh (18%), Salam Fayyad (14%) Mustafa Barghouti (11%) and Saeb Erekat (2%). These percentages are similar to those obtained by PSR three months ago.

If new legislative elections are held today with the participation of all factions, 71% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 26% say they would vote for Hamas and 40% say they would vote for Fateh, 12% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 22% are undecided. These results are similar to those obtained three months ago with the exception of the likely vote for Fateh which dropped by four percentage points. Vote for Hamas increases in the Gaza Strip (33%) compared to the West Bank (21%) and among women (28%) compared to men (23%). Vote for Fateh is higher in the Gaza Strip (42%) than in the West Bank (39%), and among men (43%) compared to women (38%). Support for Hamas increases also among those over 38 years old reaching 32% and decreases among those between 18-27 years old to 20%. Fateh's popularity is higher among those between 18-27 years old (44%) compared to those over 38 years old (36%). Hamas is more popular among the "religious" (42%) compared to the "somewhat religious" (15%). Fateh is more popular among the "somewhat religious" (47%) compared to the "religious" (31%). Hamas is more popular among housewives and laborers (30% each) and less popular among students

(18%). Fateh is more popular among employees and students (50% and 49% respectively) and less popular among laborers and retired persons (32% and 22% respectively).

46% believe that if presidential and parliamentary elections were to be held today, Fateh would win and only 16% believe Hamas would win while 22% believe other factions will win. 51% believe that the reason Hamas is opposed to holding parliamentary and presidential elections today is due to Hamas' belief that it is not allowed to operate freely in the West Bank or because it believes such elections would not be fair or free, while 37% believe that the reason behind Hamas' opposition to elections is fear of losing them.

(6) Local elections:

- **60% evaluate the performance of their local councils during the last five years as good or very good**
- **51% believe that the upcoming local elections in July will be fair and 38% believe it will not be fair**
- **47% believe that holding local elections in the West Bank will lead to the consolidation of the split; despite this, 61% of the West Bankers say they will participate in those elections**

60% evaluate the performance of their local councils during the past five years as good or very good and 34% as bad or very bad. 51% believe that the upcoming July local elections will be fair and 38% believe they will not be fair. 47% believe the holding of local elections will consolidate the split and 20% believe it contributes positively to reconciliation while 28% believe that it will have no effect on reconciliation. 46% believe that Fateh will win the upcoming local elections, and 13% believe candidates from the left and independents will win the elections and 20% believe family candidates will be the winners. 61% of the West Bankers say they will participate in the local elections and 35% say they will not participate.

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

- **45% believe that the first most vital goal for the Palestinian people should be to end the occupation and build an independent state; 27% say it should be to insure the right of return, 17% say it should be to build a pious or moral individual and society, and 10% say it should be to build a democratic political system**
- **28% say the most serious**

The largest percentage (45%) believes 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, 27% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return for refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 17% 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 largest percentage (38%) believes that the *second* most vital Palestinian goal should be to obtain the right of return for refugees to their 1948 towns and villages. 25% believe that the second goal should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians, 22% believe that the second 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

problem confronting Palestinian society today is the spread of poverty and unemployment, another 28% say it is the absence of national unity due to the split, 22% say it is the continuation of occupation and settlement expansion, 11% say it is corruption, and 8% say it is the blockade of the Gaza Strip

Jerusalem as its capital, and 15% believe the second most vital goal should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings.

The most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today is the spread of poverty and unemployment in the eyes of 28% of the public while a similar percentage believes the most serious problem is the absence of national unity due to the West Bank-Gaza Strip split, 22% believe the most serious problem is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities, 11% believe it to be the corruption in some public institutions, and 8% believe it is the siege and the closure of the Gaza border crossings.

(8) The peace process:

- **A majority of 69% prefers to have the Rafah border crossing with Egypt, rather than the Gaza border crossings with Israel, open for movement of goods on permanent basis; 27% prefer the opposite**
- **32% support and 63% oppose the attack in the Itamar settlement**
- **After the US veto in the UNSC, 69% oppose a large American role in the peace process**
- **56% support and 41% oppose the Arab Peace Initiative**
- **48% support and 50% oppose a Palestinian-Israeli mutual recognition of national identity**
- **In the absence of negotiations, 33% prefer going to the UNSC while 25% prefer return to armed confrontations, 18% prefer non violent peaceful confrontations, and 17% prefer dissolving the PA**
- **Palestinian attempt to go to the UNSC for recognition of statehood will be met by a US veto according to 75% of the public**
- **A unilateral declaration of statehood will change conditions for the better in**

In the context of youth demonstrations in the Arab World and the possible opening of the Rafah crossing with Egypt, we asked respondents whether they prefer to have the Rafah crossing opened for the movement of goods on permanent basis even if that led to the closure of Israeli-Gazan crossings for goods. Findings show that a big majority of 69% prefers and 27% do not prefer to have the Rafah crossing with Egypt open for goods on permanent basis over the opening of the Israeli goods' crossings with the Gaza Strip on permanent basis. The percentage of those preferring to have the Rafah crossing with Egypt open for goods on permanent basis stands in the West Bank at 73% compared to 63% in the Gaza Strip. The percentage increases among supporters of Hamas (83%) compared to supporters of Fateh (61%), and among those opposed to the peace process (78%) compared to supporters of the peace process (67%).

We also asked about attitudes regarding the attack in the settlement of Itamar which took place just before the conduct of the poll and led to the death of a family of five. The poll found that 63% opposed the attack while 32% supported it. The percentage of support for the attack increases in the Gaza Strip (51%) compared to the West Bank (20%), among those between the ages of 18-37 years old (37%) compared to those over 37 years old (26%), among supporters of Hamas (51%) compared to supporters of Fateh (23%), among those opposed to the peace process (46%) compared to supporters of the peace process (28%), among the "religious" (37%) compared to the "somewhat religious" (28%), and among students (35%) compared to laborers (26%).

Despite the relatively large majority-opposition to the Itamar attack, 45% believe that if peace negotiations do not resume and if armed confrontation between Palestinians and Israelis erupts, it will help achieve national rights in ways that negotiations could not; 49% do not share this view.

Findings show that in the aftermath of the US veto against the UNSC resolution condemning settlement activities, a majority of 58% opposes a return in the future to the UNSC for a similar resolution. Furthermore, a large majority of 69% expresses opposition to a larger

- the eyes of only 24%
- **Peaceful popular revolution against occupation and settlements will succeed in ending occupation and stopping settlement expansion in the eyes of only 31%**
- **Two thirds believe that the chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years are slim or non existent**
- **70% are worried that they or members of their families will be hurt at the hands of Israelis in their daily life or that their land will be confiscated or homes demolished**
- **60% believe that Israel's long term goal is to extend its state to the whole area between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River and to expel its Palestinian population while 21% believe the goal is to annex the West Bank and to deny political rights to its population. Only 17% believe that Israel's long term goal is to ensure its security and to withdraw from all or parts of the West Bank.**

US role in the peace process. In our August 2009 poll, a majority of 61% indicated support for a larger US role in the peace process.

A majority of 56% support and 41% oppose the Arab Peace Initiative which calls for Israeli withdrawal to the line of 1967, the establishment of a Palestinian state, and the resolution of the refugee problem based on UN resolution 194 in return for an Arab recognition of Israel and normalization of relations with it. Support for this initiative stood at 54% and opposition at 42% in our last poll in December 2010.

Findings also show that 48% support and 50% oppose a mutual recognition of national identity with Palestinians recognizing Israel as the state for the Jewish people and Israelis recognizing Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people after all issues of the conflict have been settled and after a Palestinian state has been established. These figures are similar to those obtained in our last poll in December 2010. In light of the cessation of negotiations with Israel, the public is divided over the best means for ending occupation: 33% prefer to go to the UNSC to obtain recognition of a Palestinian state while 25% prefer return to confrontations and armed attacks against Israel, 18% prefer peaceful, non violent, confrontations, and 17% prefer the dissolution of the PA.

Yet, if the Palestinian side decides to go to the UNSC in order to obtain recognition of a Palestinian state, 75% believe that the US will veto such resolution. Moreover, if the Palestinian side is to unilaterally declare independent statehood around the end of 2011, 41% say current conditions in the Palestinian areas will not change while 24% say things will change for the better and 32% say things will change to the worst. If a peaceful popular revolution against occupation is to take place in the West Bank, emulating peaceful popular revolutions in Arab countries like Egypt and Tunisia, such a revolution will be able to end occupation and stop settlement expansion in the eyes of 31% while 66% say it will not be able to do so.

Two thirds believe that the chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel in the next five years are slim or non existent while 32% believe them to be medium or high. Moreover findings show that an overwhelming majority of 70% is worried that they or members of their families would be hurt by Israelis in their daily life or that their land would be confiscated or homes demolished; 30% say they are not worried. Percentage of worry stands at 72% in the Gaza Strip compared to 69% in the West Bank. When asked about their perception of Israel's long term goals, the largest percentage (60%) indicated that it is to extend its state to the whole area between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River and to expel its Palestinian population while 21% indicated that the goal is to annex the West Bank and to deny political rights to its population. Only 17% believe that Israel's long term goal is to ensure its security and to withdraw from all or parts of the West Bank. We found little differences between West Bankers and Gazans in their assessment of Israel's long term goals.

Public Opinion Poll (38)
17-19 March 2011

	Total	West bank	Gaza Strip
00) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?			
1) Al Arabia	21.8	17.9	28.2
2) Al Jazeera	52.4	59.1	41.4
3) Al Hurra	0.5	0.1	1.0
4) Al Manar	1.4	1.4	1.4
5) Palestine TV	8.0	8.0	8.0
6) Alaqsa	7.2	3.4	13.3
7) Do not watch TV	6.0	6.5	5.1
8) Others	1.7	2.0	1.2
9) Do not have a dish	0.5	0.9	
10) DK/NA	0.5	0.7	0.3
01) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?			
1) Very good	3.5	3.4	3.7
2) Good	17.0	16.5	17.8
3) So so	19.2	17.5	22.0
4) Bad	36.8	39.7	32.1
5) Very bad	18.7	15.2	24.4
6) DK/NA	4.9	7.8	
02) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?			
1) Very good	5.7	5.7	5.6
2) Good	27.1	27.2	26.9
3) So so	31.3	31.4	31.2
4) Bad	23.9	25.6	21.2
5) Very bad	9.0	8.8	9.3
6) DK/NA	3.0	1.3	5.8
03) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	43.5	39.8	49.5
2) Somewhat religious	51.7	55.6	45.1
3) Not religious	4.7	4.4	5.2
4) DK/NA	0.2	0.1	0.2
04) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Supportive of the peace process	66.0	65.6	66.8
2) Opposed to the peace process	17.1	16.9	17.5
3) Between support and opposition	15.4	15.4	15.5
4) DK/NA	1.4	2.1	0.2
	Total	West bank	Gaza Strip
M1) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions under the control of President Abu Mazin?			
1) Yes	70.2	71.2	68.7
2) No	18.6	16.6	22.1
3) DK-NA	11.1	12.3	9.2

M1-1)	Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions under the control of the dismissed government in the Gaza Strip?			
	1) Yes	59.0	56.5	63.1
	2) No	21.3	16.6	29.0
	3) DK-NA	19.8	26.9	8.0
M2)	In your view, is there a press freedom in the West Bank?			
	1) Yes	23.5	23.6	23.3
	2) To some extent	41.3	38.2	46.4
	3) No	30.9	33.5	26.7
	4) DK-NA	4.3	4.6	3.6
M2-1)	In your view, is there a press freedom in the Gaza Strip?			
	1) Yes	14.2	12.5	17.0
	2) To some extent	31.6	25.7	41.3
	3) No	41.5	42.0	40.7
	4) DK-NA	12.7	19.8	1.0
M3)	In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear?			
	1) Yes	32.6	33.8	30.5
	2) No	62.6	62.2	63.4
	3) DK-NA	4.8	4.0	6.1
M3-1)	In your view, can people in the Gaza Strip today criticize the authority without fear?			
	1) Yes	19.4	21.3	16.3
	2) No	69.2	62.4	80.4
	3) DK-NA	11.4	16.3	3.3
M10)	Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
	1) Completely assured	8.6	5.7	13.5
	2) Assured	50.3	48.6	53.2
	3) Not assured	35.5	39.5	28.9
	4) Not assured at all	5.5	6.3	4.2
	5) DK/NA	0.1		0.2
05)	Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?			
	1) Certainly seek to emigrate	9.3	6.0	14.8
	2) Seek emigration	17.4	14.6	22.0
	3) Do not seek emigration	35.2	34.4	36.4
	4) Certainly do not seek emigration	37.8	44.9	26.0
	5) DK/NA	0.4	0.1	0.8
06)	Tell us how do you evaluate the performance of the dismissed government of Ismail Haniyeh in the Gaza Strip? Is it good or bad?			
	1) Very good	8.7	7.3	10.8
	2) Good	22.5	22.7	22.2
	3) So so	28.6	24.6	35.2
	4) Bad	19.7	18.4	22.0

5) Very bad	7.3	6.0	9.3
6) DK/NA	13.2	21.0	0.4
07) Tell us how do you evaluate the performance of the government headed by Salam Fayyad ? Is it good or bad?			
1) Very good	6.4	7.7	4.2
2) Good	32.7	34.1	30.4
3) So so	31.5	29.2	35.5
4) Bad	16.3	14.3	19.5
5) Very bad	6.7	6.4	7.4
6) DK/NA	6.4	8.4	3.0
08) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) very satisfied	5.8	6.1	5.3
2) satisfied	40.5	44.6	33.6
3) not satisfied	37.9	35.1	42.6
4) not satisfied at all	13.2	10.8	17.1
5) DK/NA	2.6	3.4	1.4
09) If new presidential elections are to take place today, and Mahmud Abbas was nominated by Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh was nominated by Hamas, whom would you vote for?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	54.8	56.0	53.1
2) Ismael Haniyyah	37.8	34.9	41.8
4) DK/NA	7.5	9.2	5.1
10) And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh representing Hamas, whom would you vote for?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	63.5	66.2	59.4
2) Ismael Haniyyah	31.4	28.2	36.0
4) DK/NA	5.2	5.6	4.6
11) If you were to select a vice president, whom would you select from among the following list of candidates?			
1) Ismail Haniyeh	18.0	15.5	22.2
2) Salam Fayyad	13.9	14.6	12.7
3) Marwan Barghouti	30.3	29.1	32.3
4) Mustafa Barghouti	10.5	11.2	9.5
5) Saeb Erekat	2.2	1.9	2.7
6) Others	7.5	8.4	5.8
7) DK/NA	17.6	19.3	14.9
13) If new elections agreed to by all factions are held today and the same lists that took part in the last PLC elections were nominated, for whom would you vote?			
1) Alternative	1.0	0.7	1.4
2) Independent Palestine	4.7	5.8	2.9
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	4.3	4.8	3.6
4) Abu al Abbas	0.1		0.3
5) Freedom and social justice	0.3	0.4	0.2
6) Change and reform	25.5	20.7	32.9
7) National coalition for justice and democ	0.1		0.2

8) Third way(headed by salam fayyad)	1.5	2.1	0.7
9) Freedom and independence	0.4	0.4	0.3
10) Palestinian justice	0.1		0.3
11) Fateh	40.2	38.9	42.1
12) None of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	21.9	26.2	15.2
14) After the separation between Gaza and the West Bank, Hamas and the government of Ismail Haniyeh remained in power in Gaza and considered itself the legitimate government while president Abu Mazin formed a new government headed by Salam Fayyad followed by a new government headed by Fayyad and it too considered itself legitimate. What about you, which of the two governments you consider legitimate, the government of Haniyeh or the government of Abu Mazin and Fayyad?			
1) Haniyehs' government is the legitimate one	22.5	22.1	23.3
2) Abu Mazin's and Fayyad government is the legitimate one	24.7	23.6	26.4
3) Both governments are legitimate	9.5	11.9	5.5
4) Both governments are not legitimate	37.4	35.2	41.1
5) DK/NA	5.9	7.2	3.8
15) In your view who is responsible for the continued split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? Hamas or Fateh?			
1) Hamas	15.1	12.0	20.1
2) Fateh	15.2	14.1	17.0
3) Both	62.3	63.9	59.7
4) Neither side	2.9	3.6	1.8
5) Other (specify ---)	2.6	3.8	0.6
6) DK/NA	1.9	2.7	0.7
16) If Hamas wins next legislative and president elections, will this in your view lead to the lifting or to tightening of the international boycott of the Palestinian government?			
1) Will lead to the lifting of the boycott	8.7	8.7	8.6
2) Will lead to the tightening of the boycott	62.2	62.4	61.8
3) Conditions will stay as they are today	22.5	20.1	26.5
4) DK/NA	6.6	8.7	3.2
17) And what about the unity between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? Will a Hamas victory in the next legislative and presidential elections lead to consolidation of unity between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip or will it lead to consolidating the split between the two areas?			
1) Will lead to consolidation of WBGS unity	17.1	19.4	13.1
2) Will lead to consolidation of WBGS split	46.4	45.5	47.7

3) Conditions of WBGS will stay as they are today	29.6	26.3	35.0
4) DK/NA	7.0	8.7	4.2

18) And what if Fateh wins new legislative and president elections, will this in your view lead to the lifting or to tightening of the international boycott of the Palestinian government?

1) Will lead to the lifting of the boycott	52.6	40.5	72.6
2) Will lead to the tightening of the boycott	10.5	11.5	8.7
3) Conditions will stay as they are today	32.7	42.6	16.2
4) DK/NA	4.3	5.4	2.4

19) And what about the unity between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? Will a Fateh victory in the next legislative and presidential elections lead to consolidation of unity between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip or will it lead to consolidating the split between the two areas?

1) Will lead to consolidation of WBGS unity	33.0	29.0	39.6
2) Will lead to consolidation of WBGS split	25.2	25.1	25.4
3) Conditions of WBGS will stay as they are today	36.3	39.8	30.6
4) DK/NA	5.4	6.0	4.5

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

1) Continuation of occupation and settlements,	22.0	23.8	19.2
2) Spread of unemployment and poverty	27.5	32.4	19.5
3) Lack of national unity due to the split between the West	28.3	19.7	42.6
4) Continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip	8.0	5.1	12.8
5) The spread of corruption in public institutions	11.3	15.5	4.5
88)DK/NA	0.9	0.6	1.4
99)Other	1.8	3.0	

21-1) 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	45.4	41.2	52.2
2. Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	27.2	26.8	27.8
3. Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	10.3	12.1	7.4
4. Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	17.1	20.0	12.5
21-2) From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should be the first most important one and which should be the second most important goal that the Palestinian people should strive to achieve?			
The second is:			
1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishm	22.4	24.0	19.9
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns	37.8	37.4	38.5
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects fre	25.1	24.0	27.0
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society	14.6	14.6	14.6
22) Now after the latest events in Egypt and the cessation of talk about the Egyptian role in Palestinian reconciliation, what are your expectations for the future of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?			
1) Unity will resume in the near future	20.8	19.9	22.3
2) Unity will resume but will take a long time	50.4	52.1	47.7
3) Unity will not resume and two separate entities will emer	21.2	21.9	20.2
4) DK/NA	7.6	6.2	9.9
23) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?			
23-1) The Palestinian Authority in the West Bank respect freedoms and does not impose press censorship			
1) Certainly agree	7.0	5.2	9.9
2) Agree	38.5	37.7	39.7
3) Disagree	37.1	40.5	31.5
4) Certainly Disagree	9.9	8.6	12.0
5) DK/NA	7.6	8.0	6.9

23-2) The Palestinian Authority in the West Bank does not respect rule of law			
1) Certainly agree	5.9	5.1	7.2
2) Agree	33.2	34.9	30.3
3) Disagree	44.9	45.7	43.4
4) Certainly Disagree	9.2	7.2	12.4
5) DK/NA	7.0	7.1	6.7
23-3) The Palestinian Authority in the Gaza Strip respect freedoms and does not impose press censorship			
1) Certainly agree	3.7	2.7	5.4
2) Agree	25.0	22.7	28.8
3) Disagree	43.2	42.4	44.5
4) Certainly Disagree	11.5	8.8	16.1
5) DK/NA	16.5	23.5	5.1
23-4) The Palestinian Authority in the Gaza Strip does not respect rule of law			
1) Certainly agree	8.8	6.3	12.8
2) Agree	32.9	31.3	35.5
3) Disagree	33.1	31.3	36.2
4) Certainly Disagree	7.2	5.0	10.7
5) DK/NA	18.0	26.1	4.8
24) [do not ask residents of refugee camps in the West Bank and Jerusalem]			
How do you evaluate the performance of the local council in your area during the past five years?			
1) Very good	9.0	12.2	4.6
2) Good	51.4	56.6	44.5
3) Bad	24.2	19.1	31.0
4) Very bad	10.0	9.6	10.5
5) DK/NA	5.5	2.5	9.4
25) The Palestinian Authority in the West Bank has announced its intentions to hold local elections next July. Do you think these upcoming local elections will be fair or unfair?			
1) Certainly fair	6.0	4.7	8.0
2) Fair	45.1	47.3	41.5
3) Unfair	28.8	29.8	27.3
4) Certainly unfair	8.8	8.6	9.1
5) DK/NA	11.2	9.5	14.0
26) Hamas has announced its intentions not to participate in the local elections that will take place next July in the West Bank. Do you believe the holding of these elections will help to make reconciliation closer or will it consolidate separation or will have no impact?			
1) Certainly will make reconciliation closer	4.7	4.2	5.5
2) Will make reconciliation closer	14.9	14.8	15.1
3) Will have no impact	28.2	27.9	28.7
4) Will consolidate separation	23.7	22.2	26.0
5) Certainly will consolidate separation	23.2	25.4	19.5

6) DK/NA	5.3	5.4	5.2
27) In your opinion, who is likely to win in the upcoming local elections in the West Bank: candidates from Fateh, candidates from the left and independents, or family candidates?			
1) Fateh	46.2	47.0	44.9
2) Left and independents	13.0	11.3	15.7
3) Family	20.0	25.6	10.9
4) DK/NA	20.8	16.1	28.6
28) [Ask only West Bank respondents outside refugee camps and Jerusalem]			
Do you think you will or will not participate in the upcoming local elections next July?			
1) Certainly will participate	20.3	20.3	
2) Will participate	41.0	41.0	
3) Will not participate	23.0	23.0	
4) Certainly will not participate	11.7	11.7	
5) DK/NA	4.0	4.0	
29) If parliamentary and presidential elections were to take place now, who you think will win, Fateh, Hamas, or others?			
1) Fateh	46.3	51.9	37.1
2) Hamas	15.8	13.3	20.1
3) others	21.7	18.8	26.3
4) DK/NA	16.2	16.0	16.5
30) The PLO and president Abbas propose holding parliamentary and presidential elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip but Hamas opposes the holding of such elections. Why in your opinion Hamas is opposed to the holding of parliamentary and presidential elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?			
1) because it believes it is not allowed to participate in the political life in the West Bank or because it believes such elections will not be fair	50.6	56.0	41.7
2) because it might lose such elections	37.4	31.6	47.0
3) other reasons (specify: ----- --)	2.8	3.8	1.2
4) DK/NA	9.1	8.6	10.1
31) Have you heard about the publication by al Jazeera of Palestinian documents on Palestinian-Israeli negotiations?			
1) Yes, I heard it on al Jazeera	69.4	69.1	69.7
2) Yes, I heard it on networks other than al Jazeera	8.9	7.3	11.7
3) I have not heard of it	21.4	23.3	18.1
4) DK/NA	0.4	0.3	0.5
32) Do you think all or part of what al Jazeera published about concessions made by president Abbas or Saeb Erekat in the negotiations with Israel to be true?			

1) Think everything published to be true	37.8	39.3	35.4
2) Think some to be true and some to be untrue	40.7	42.3	38.1
3) Do not think any of it is true	18.6	15.0	24.2
4) DK/NA	3.0	3.4	2.3
33) From what you have heard or read in the press about the Palestinian documents published by al Jazeera on Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, do you think the Palestinian negotiating position remained committed or uncommitted to the vital goals and interests of the Palestinian people?			
1) certainly remained committed to interests and goals of the Palestinian people	13.6	9.7	19.6
2) remained committed to interests and goals of the Palestinian people	30.5	31.4	29.0
3) did not remain committed to interests and goals of the Palestinian people	28.9	31.8	24.4
4) Certainly did not remain committed to interests and goals of the Palestinian people	20.4	20.4	20.5
5) DK/NA	6.6	6.7	6.5
34) In your view, what was the goal of al Jazeera in publishing the documents? Was it to reveal the facts as the network says or to conspire against the Palestinian leadership and negotiators as the PA says?			
1) certainly to reveal facts	23.2	25.3	20.0
2) to reveal facts	36.1	37.8	33.5
3) to conspire against the Palestinian leadership and negotiators	27.7	27.1	28.5
4) certainly to conspire against the Palestinian leadership and negotiators	8.1	4.5	13.7
5) DK/NA	4.9	5.3	4.3
35) And what about the response of the Palestinian Authority to the Jazeera revelations, was the response convincing or unconvincing to you?			
1) Certainly convincing	6.4	3.3	11.2
2) Convincing	26.4	24.6	29.3
3) Unconvincing	46.7	51.2	39.6
4) Certainly unconvincing	15.1	15.5	14.4
5) DK/NA	5.4	5.4	5.5
36) Demonstrations have erupted in Tunis, Egypt, and Libya against the leaders of these countries, do you feel or do not feel sympathies with the demonstrators?			
1) Certainly sympathetic	51.7	52.4	50.6
2) Sympathetic	40.4	39.6	41.7
3) Unsympathetic	6.0	6.6	4.9
4) Certainly unsympathetic	1.0	0.7	1.4

5) DK/NA	1.0	0.7	1.4
37) What did the demonstrators in Egypt want in your view?			
1) Freedom from oppression and authoritarianism	37.8	35.0	42.6
2) Find way out of poverty and unemployment	40.7	41.5	39.3
3) Fight corruption	10.8	11.4	9.7
4) Replace the existing system with an Islamist one as the M	4.8	4.6	5.1
5) Oppose Egypt's pro Western policies	3.3	4.0	2.2
6) Others (specify ----)	1.4	2.0	0.3
7) DK/NA	1.2	1.5	0.7
38) Do you expect the developments in the Arab World will have positive or negative effects on Palestinian conditions or will they have no effect at all?			
1) Certainly positive effects	22.3	19.5	26.9
2) Positive effects	41.3	40.7	42.4
3) Negative effects	12.0	12.9	10.5
4) Certainly negative effects	5.4	5.8	4.7
5) Will have no effects	15.2	16.9	12.4
6) DK/NA	3.9	4.3	3.2
39) Now after the fall of the Mubarak regime in Egypt, do you expect that the Rafah terminal will permanently open for passengers?			
1) Certainly will open	14.7	13.0	17.6
2) Will open	51.0	48.0	55.9
3) Will not open	22.5	24.6	19.0
4) Certainly will open	4.0	4.7	2.9
5) DK/NA	7.8	9.7	4.7
40) It seems Israel might not object to the opening of the Rafah terminal for movement of passengers between Gaza and Egypt, but it says that the opening of that terminal for movement of goods would lead to the closure of all Israeli border crossings with the Gaza Strip. If you have to choose, would you prefer if the borders between Israel and Gaza open permanently for movement of goods or would you prefer if the border between Egypt and Gaza open permanently for movement of goods even if this leads to the full closure of borders and crossings with Israel?			
1) certainly prefer open crossings with Egypt for goods permanently	41.9	41.3	42.8
2) prefer open crossings with Egypt for goods permanently	27.2	31.4	20.4
3) prefer open crossings with Israel for goods permanently	20.3	17.9	24.4
4) certainly prefer open crossings with Israel for goods permanently	6.5	4.1	10.4
5) DK/NA	4.0	5.2	2.0

- 41) **Do you feel or do not feel a need for Palestinians in the West Bank to organize demonstrations similar to those occurring in other Arab countries in order to change the ruling regime in the West Bank?**
- | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|
| 1) Certainly feel the need for demonstrations | 16.4 | 12.3 | 23.2 |
| 2) Feel the need for demonstrations | 30.3 | 24.0 | 40.8 |
| 3) Do not feel the need for demonstrations | 37.2 | 43.9 | 26.1 |
| 4) Certainly do not feel the need for demonstrations | 13.0 | 16.9 | 6.5 |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.1 | 2.9 | 3.4 |
- 42) **[Only for WB] If such demonstrations were to take place in the West Bank, do you think you would want to participate in them?**
- | | | | |
|---|------|------|--|
| 1) Certainly want to participate | 6.5 | 6.5 | |
| 2) Want to participate | 17.1 | 17.1 | |
| 3) Do not want to participate | 51.0 | 51.0 | |
| 4) Certainly do not want to participate | 22.6 | 22.6 | |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.8 | 2.8 | |
- 43) **Do you feel or do not feel a need for Palestinians in the Gaza Strip to organize demonstrations similar to those occurring in other Arab countries in order to change the ruling regime in the Gaza Strip?**
- | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|
| 1) Certainly feel the need for demonstrations | 17.6 | 13.9 | 23.5 |
| 2) Feel the need for demonstrations | 34.7 | 29.5 | 43.2 |
| 3) Do not feel the need for demonstrations | 30.2 | 34.7 | 22.6 |
| 4) Certainly do not feel the need for demonstrations | 9.7 | 11.5 | 6.7 |
| 5) DK/NA | 7.9 | 10.3 | 3.9 |
- 44) **[Only for Gaza] If such demonstrations were to take place in the Gaza Strip, do you think you would want to participate in them?**
- | | | | |
|---|------|--|------|
| 1) Certainly want to participate | 18.1 | | 18.1 |
| 2) Want to participate | 32.1 | | 32.1 |
| 3) Do not want to participate | 34.0 | | 34.0 |
| 4) Certainly do not want to participate | 13.8 | | 13.8 |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.1 | | 2.1 |
- 45) **In order to end the Palestinian split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, some call for the downfall of the regime in the West Bank while others call for the downfall of the regime in the Gaza Strip. Tell us what you think: does the ending of the split require the downfall of the regime in the Gaza Strip, or the West Bank, or in both places or in neither?**
- | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|
| 1) does not require the downfall of regime in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip | 18.2 | 23.3 | 9.9 |
| 2) requires downfall of regime in the West Bank | 14.8 | 10.6 | 21.7 |

3) requires downfall of regime in the Gaza Strip	16.4	13.5	21.2
4) requires downfall of regime in both places	43.0	42.8	43.4
5) DK/NA	7.6	9.9	3.8
46) All of the Palestinians demand an end to the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. But the question is how. We want you to help us in selecting the best means of ending the split by telling us if you agree or disagree with the following statement: President Abbas must end the split by agreeing to Hamas conditions even if this leads to the return of international and Israel financial and political boycott of the Palestinian Authority and even if the price was the inability of the PA to pay the salaries of employees and security services.			
1) Certainly agree	5.9	5.1	7.2
2) Agree	27.5	26.1	29.9
3) Disagree	41.8	41.6	42.1
4) Certainly Disagree	18.8	21.6	14.2
5) DK/NA	5.9	5.6	6.5
47) If the split ends but the financial and political boycott returned and the PA was unable to pay salaries or deliver some services, would this pose a threat or a danger to you or to your town or city or to the Palestinian people as a whole?			
1) Certainly pose a threat	25.4	26.5	23.7
2) Pose a threat	43.4	43.8	42.6
3) Would not pose a threat	25.6	24.6	27.3
4) Certainly would not pose a threat	2.3	2.3	2.4
5) DK/NA	3.3	2.8	4.0
48) In your view what are the chances that President Abbas would take the initiative to end the split by accepting Hamas conditions and paying the price of return to political and financial boycott?			
1) Very big chance	3.3	2.9	4.0
2) Big chance	12.2	10.8	14.6
3) Medium chance	26.7	23.6	31.6
4) Small chance	26.2	24.2	29.5
5) Very small or no chance	25.7	31.9	15.6
6) DK/NA	5.9	6.7	4.6
49) There is an alternative suggestion to ending the split whereby Hamas would accept international conditions including accepting existing agreements with Israel and leading to the formation of a national unity government recognized by Israel and the international community. Would you agree or disagree with this alternative suggestion?			
1) Certainly agree	7.3	6.9	8.0
2) Agree	40.1	41.9	37.3
3) Disagree	35.9	35.0	37.3
4) Certainly Disagree	9.9	9.3	10.8
5) DK/NA	6.8	7.0	6.5

50) **If Hamas agrees to pay the price of ending the split by accepting agreements signed with Israel, would this pose a threat or a danger to you or to your town or city or to the Palestinian people as a whole?**

1) Certainly pose a threat	8.2	7.4	9.6
2) Pose a threat	34.8	34.3	35.7
3) Would not pose a threat	45.9	46.5	44.9
4) Certainly would not pose a threat	4.9	5.4	3.9
5) DK/NA	6.2	6.4	6.0

51) **In your view what are the chances that Hamas would take the initiative to end the split by accepting agreements with Israel in order to open the door to the formation of a national unity government recognized by Israel and the international community?**

1) Very big chance	2.5	1.3	4.5
2) Big chance	10.7	8.1	14.9
3) Medium chance	27.9	25.3	32.1
4) Small chance	27.6	29.8	24.0
5) Very small or no chance	25.5	28.5	20.6
6) DK/NA	5.8	7.0	3.9

52) **During the past several weeks, several demonstrations have taken place in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip raising several different slogans like the people want to end the split or the people want to end occupation and others. If you were to select just one slogan for all demonstrators in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which one of the following would you select?**

1) People want an end to corruption	14.2	14.8	13.1
2) People want an end to negotiations	2.3	2.0	2.6
3) People want an end to Oslo	2.4	2.4	2.5
4) People want to return to the intifada	2.3	2.9	1.4
5) People want an end to the split	51.3	45.5	60.9
6) People want an end to occupation	24.1	28.8	16.3
7) People want an end to security coordination	2.0	1.6	2.7
8) other (specify: -----)	1.5	2.1	0.5

53) **Salam Fayyad proposed a way to immediately end the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip but postpone reconciliation between Fateh and Hamas by forming a national unity government to be headed by a prime minister acceptable to the two sides while maintaining the current status quo in the security sector in the Gaza Strip under Hamas' control and the status quo in the West Bank in the security sector under Fateh's control. Do you support or oppose this proposal?**

1) Certainly support	4.8	5.6	3.5
2) Support	38.0	39.7	35.1
3) Oppose	38.7	35.9	43.4
4) Certainly oppose	13.3	12.7	14.3
5) DK/NA	5.2	6.1	3.8

- 54) What do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis now after the US has used its veto power against the UNSC resolution regarding Israeli settlements?**
- | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|
| 1) The two sides will soon return to negotiations | 21.0 | 19.5 | 23.6 |
| 2) The two sides will soon return to negotiations but some armed attacks will continue | 36.0 | 31.3 | 43.8 |
| 3) The two sides will not return to negotiations and armed attacks will not take place | 15.7 | 16.2 | 14.8 |
| 4) The two sides will not return to negotiations and armed attacks increase | 19.6 | 23.7 | 12.8 |
| 5) DK/NA | 7.7 | 9.3 | 5.1 |
- 55) Now more than 40 years after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, what in your view are the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years? Are they high, medium, low, or none existent?**
- | | | | |
|------------------|------|------|------|
| 1) None existent | 28.9 | 33.3 | 21.6 |
| 2) Low | 38.3 | 35.2 | 43.4 |
| 3) Medium | 26.7 | 23.9 | 31.3 |
| 4) High | 4.8 | 5.8 | 3.1 |
| 5) DK/NA | 1.4 | 1.9 | 0.6 |
- 56) Looking at the developments in Egypt and some other Arab countries, do you think that the chances for establishing an independent Palestinian State next to Israel within the next five years had increased or decreased?**
- | | | | |
|------------------------|------|------|------|
| 1) Certainly increased | 1.6 | 1.0 | 2.7 |
| 2) Increased | 19.0 | 20.8 | 16.2 |
| 3) Did not change | 54.3 | 51.6 | 58.7 |
| 4) Decreased | 18.0 | 18.3 | 17.7 |
| 5) Certainly decreased | 5.0 | 6.0 | 3.4 |
| 6) DK/NA | 1.9 | 2.3 | 1.3 |
- 57) 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 | 28.2 | 28.2 | 28.2 |
| 2) Worried | 42.0 | 40.8 | 44.1 |
| 3) Not worried | 25.5 | 27.0 | 23.0 |
| 4) Not worried at all | 4.0 | 3.9 | 4.4 |
| 5) DK/NA | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 |
- 58) 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 | 6.7 | 4.8 | 9.9 |
| 2) Withdrawal form part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security | 10.2 | 11.3 | 8.4 |

3) Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens	21.0	20.3	22.2
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	60.3	61.0	59.0
5) DK/NA	1.7	2.5	0.5
59) According to the Saudi plan, Israel will retreat from all territories occupied in 1967 including Gaza the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and a Palestinian state will be established. The refugees problem will be resolved through negotiation in a just and agreed upon manner and in accordance with UN resolution 194 which allows return of refugees to Israel and compensation. In return, all Arab states will recognize Israel and its right to secure borders, will sign peace treaties with her and establish normal diplomatic relations. Do you agree or disagree to this plan?			
1) Certainly agree	6.3	4.7	8.9
2) Agree	49.4	47.8	52.1
3) Disagree	31.0	32.6	28.4
4) Certainly Disagree	9.5	9.9	8.8
5) DK/NA	3.8	5.0	1.8
60) There is a proposal that after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and the settlement of all issues in dispute, including the refugees and Jerusalem issues, there will be a mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinians people. Do you agree or disagree to this proposal?			
1) Certainly agree	3.8	3.7	3.9
2) Agree	44.6	45.9	42.5
3) Disagree	35.7	35.1	36.8
4) Certainly Disagree	14.1	13.2	15.6
5) DK/NA	1.8	2.1	1.3
61) In light of the termination of negotiations, how do you propose going about ending occupation and building a Palestinian state? If you were to choose from among the following priorities, which one you would prefer?			
1) Going to the UN Security Council to obtain recognition of a Palestinian state	33.0	31.6	35.3
2) Return to armed confrontations and attacks against Israel	24.5	20.6	30.9
3) Organizing widespread peaceful and nonviolent confrontations	18.4	19.9	16.0
4) Dissolve the PA	16.6	17.7	14.8
5) Other (specify: -----)	2.0	2.9	0.4
6) DK/NA	5.5	7.3	2.6

- 62) If the Palestinian side decides to go the security council to obtain recognition of a Palestinian state, do you think the US will use its veto power against such a resolution?**
- | | | | |
|------------------|------|------|------|
| 1) Certainly yes | 33.5 | 35.1 | 30.9 |
| 2) Yes | 41.5 | 41.5 | 41.5 |
| 3) No | 12.0 | 11.0 | 13.6 |
| 4) Certainly no | 4.6 | 4.7 | 4.5 |
| 5) DK/NA | 8.4 | 7.7 | 9.4 |
- 63) The US has used its veto power to prevent the UNSC from issuing a resolution condemning Israeli settlement activities. Given this US behavior, do you support or oppose going to the UNSC in the future to issue similar resolutions?**
- | | | | |
|----------------------|------|------|------|
| 1) Certainly support | 4.7 | 3.9 | 6.1 |
| 2) Support | 31.4 | 33.3 | 28.2 |
| 3) Oppose | 46.5 | 46.3 | 46.8 |
| 4) Certainly oppose | 11.2 | 11.0 | 11.5 |
| 5) DK/NA | 6.2 | 5.5 | 7.4 |
- 64) And what about the US role in the peace process in the future, do you support or oppose a large role for the US?**
- | | | | |
|----------------------|------|------|------|
| 1) Certainly support | 1.5 | 1.7 | 1.2 |
| 2) Support | 25.9 | 28.3 | 21.9 |
| 3) Oppose | 52.6 | 51.9 | 53.7 |
| 4) Certainly oppose | 16.6 | 15.3 | 18.9 |
| 5) DK/NA | 3.4 | 2.9 | 4.3 |
- 65) If at the end of 2011 the Palestinian side unilaterally declares the establishment of a Palestinian state without an agreement with Israel, do you think such a declaration will lead to actual change on the current conditions in the Palestinian areas with regard to settlements and control of the occupation forces over roads and crossings in the West Bank?**
- | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|
| 1) Certainly lead to positive change | 2.2 | 1.6 | 3.2 |
| 2) Will lead to change to the better | 22.2 | 21.0 | 24.1 |
| 3) Will not lead to any change, positive or negative | 40.5 | 35.6 | 48.5 |
| 4) Will lead to negative change | 27.0 | 31.0 | 20.4 |
| 5) Certainly will lead to negative change | 5.0 | 7.3 | 1.3 |
| 6) DK/NA | 3.1 | 3.5 | 2.5 |
- 66) In light of the successes achieved by the peaceful revolts in Arab countries like Egypt and Tunisia, do you think that if a peaceful popular revolution is to erupt against the occupation and the settlements in the West Bank it would be capable of ending occupation or stopping settlements?**
- | | | | |
|------------------------|------|------|------|
| 1) Certainly capable | 2.7 | 1.2 | 5.2 |
| 2) Capable | 28.5 | 22.5 | 38.4 |
| 3) Incapable | 51.2 | 56.7 | 42.1 |
| 4) Certainly incapable | 14.8 | 16.8 | 11.5 |
| 5) DK/NA | 2.9 | 2.9 | 2.8 |

67) With regard to the attack in Itamar settlement near Nabus few days ago which led to the death of a family of five. Do you support or oppose this attack?			
1) Certainly support	5.5	3.4	9.1
2) Support	26.4	16.9	41.9
3) Oppose	45.8	51.3	36.9
4) Certainly oppose	17.3	24.3	5.9
5) DK/NA	5.0	4.2	6.2
68) If no agreement is reached on the resumption of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations and armed confrontations between Palestinians and Israelis erupted, do you think they will help achieve Palestinian national rights in ways that negotiations could not?			
1) Certainly they will help	7.3	5.5	10.2
2) Will help	37.9	32.8	46.4
3) Will not help	41.7	44.6	36.9
4) Certainly they will not help	7.6	10.8	2.5
5) DK/NA	5.5	6.3	4.1
69) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I...			
1) Strongly support	9.2	6.9	13.2
2) Support	33.8	25.7	47.2
3) Oppose	43.4	50.4	31.8
4) Strongly appose	11.2	14.6	5.4
5) DK/NA	2.4	2.4	2.4
70) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) PPP	0.4	0.5	0.4
2) PFLP	5.1	4.7	5.7
3) Fateh	30.7	29.1	33.4
4) Hamas	16.9	13.5	22.5
5) DFLP	0.8	0.7	0.8
6) Islamic Jihad	1.6	0.6	3.4
7) Fida	0.0	0.0	0.0
8) National Initiative (almubadara)	0.8	1.1	0.4
9) Independent Islamist	2.8	2.7	3.1
10) Independent nationalist	4.5	5.0	3.8
11) Third way headed by Salam Fayyad	0.9	1.5	0.0
12) None of the above	34.3	39.1	26.4
13) Others	1.0	1.7	0.0