

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 (87)

**In light of the recent events in Huwara and the northern West Bank, Palestinian public attitudes become more militant as support for armed struggle rises, support for the two-state solution drops, and the vast majority opposes the Aqaba meeting; parallel to that, trust in the PA declines, demand for the resignation of president Abbas rises, and for the first time since the creation of the PA, a majority says that its dissolution or collapse serves the interest of the Palestinian people**

8-11 March 2023

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 8 and 11 March 2023. The period before the conduct of the poll witnessed several developments including the continuation of the teachers' strike in public schools, the imposition by the PA of one Shekel added to each telecommunication bill as a donation to an East Jerusalem fund, the holding of student elections at Hebron University in which a Fatah affiliated bloc won against a Hamas affiliated one. In Palestinian-Israeli relations, armed confrontations continued to escalate in the West Bank, the PA announced a suspension of security coordination with Israel, and Israel took punitive measures against the PA including the confiscation and withholding of funds. Settlers attacked the town of Huwara and burned dozens of homes with residents inside as well as shops and cars and killed one civilian in a revenge attack following the killing of two settlers in the town earlier that day. A Palestinian-Israeli meeting took place in Aqaba, in the presence of Egyptian, Jordanian, and American delegations, to discuss means of de-escalation and the ending of unilateral measures. In Israel, tens of thousands demonstrated against the Netanyahu government's plan to change the judicial system. Regionally, an earthquake hit Turkey and Syria bringing vast destruction and the death of tens of thousands.

This press release addresses these issues and covers other matters such as the general conditions in the Palestinian territories, the peace process and future possible directions for Palestinians in the absence of a viable 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:

The findings of the first quarter of 2023 indicate that the internal factional balance of power remains unchanged, with parity between Fatah and Hamas, if new parliamentary elections were to take place today, and a majority vote for Hamas' candidate, Ismail Haniyyeh, over Mahmud Abbas in presidential elections. Satisfaction with president Abbas drops four percentage points and the demand for resignation increases by two points.

Public evaluation of internal conditions points to a greater deterioration in the standing of the PA and a significant loss of trust in it. Findings show a rise in the belief that the PA is now a burden on the Palestinian people and for the first time in our polls, a majority supports the dissolution of the PA and views its collapse as an interest for the Palestinian people. In fact, a majority thinks that the continued existence of the PA serves the interests of Israel and that its dissolution or collapse would strengthen Palestinian armed groups.

The declining status of the PA can also be seen in the vast public support, standing at about two thirds in the West Bank, for the strike of the West Bank teachers in public schools and the belief of about 80% or more of the public that the current PA government will fail in conducting elections, reunifying the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, or improving economic conditions. Loss of trust in the PA can be seen in the overwhelming opposition to the PA's imposition of a one-Shekel tax on the telecommunication bill to support East Jerusalem. On top of that opposition, about 80% say the money will not really go to East Jerusalemites.

Findings of the current quarter point a significant decline in the support for the two-state solution accompanied by an increase in the percentage of those who think this solution is no longer practical or feasible due to settlement expansion. Furthermore, the public expresses widespread pessimism about the ability of international organizations and the international community, including the US, the EU, and the Arab states, to impose sanctions on the current Israeli government to pressure it to change its settlement policy or its violations of international law.

In light of all that, findings show a rise in the percentage of those who support a return to armed confrontation and intifada. In fact, 70% of West Bankers expect the eruption of a third armed intifada. Moreover, more than 70% declare support for the latest Huwara shooting attack against settlers; two thirds support the formation of armed groups, such as the Jenin Battalion or the Lions' Den; and almost all express the view that the PA security services should not arrest or disarm members of these groups. More than 60% of the West Bankers believe that members of these armed groups will resist with arms any attempt by the PA security services to disarm or arrest them. Public support for armed resistance is further confirmed by overwhelming opposition to the Palestinian participation in the Aqaba meeting. Almost all Palestinians think Israel will not honor its commitments in that meeting. A large majority, standing at 70%, think Israeli counter measures, which are meant to punish those who commit armed attacks or their families, such as home demolition, expulsion, or the imposition of the death penalty, will only lead to an increase in the intensity of such attacks.

On the background of the settlers' attack on Huwara and given the current right wing government in Israel, two thirds of the public expect an increase in these attacks. In light of the call by the Israeli finance minister to wipe out Huwara, a large minority, approaching almost half of the public, expect Israel to commit massacres and force a large-scale mass expulsion. Three quarters of the public view the Huwara settlers' attack as an expression of the behavior of the Israeli government and army rather than the behavior of the most extreme settlers.

**(1) Armed escalation, security coordination, the Aqaba meeting, and a third intifada:**

- **73% are against the Aqaba meeting and 84% think that Israel will not honor its commitments made during that meeting**
- **68% support the formation of armed groups, such as the "Lions' Den," and 87% believe the PA does not have the right to arrest members of these groups**
- **61% expect the eruption of a third armed intifada and 62% think that members of the PA security services will not take part in the intifada alongside members of the armed groups**

- **59% expect members of the armed groups to use their arms to resist attempts by the PA to arrest or disarm them**
- **63% support ending security coordination with Israel but 79% believe the PA has not ended that coordination as it had announced**
- **70% believe the Israeli punitive measures against the Palestinians will increase the incidence of armed attacks**

A vast majority of 73% is against and only 21% are in favor of the Palestinian attendance of the Aqaba meeting which took place last month in order to stop the escalation of the armed conflict in the West Bank. Opposition to the Aqaba meeting is higher in the West Bank (81%) than in the Gaza Strip (61%), in villages/towns and cities (78% and 73% respectively) compared to refugee camps (63%), among those whose age is 30 years or higher (75%) compared to those whose age is between 18 and 22 years (65%), among men (77%) compared to women (69%), among the non-refugees (77%) compared to the refugees (67%), among farmers, mechants, and professionals (87%, 87%, and 83% respectively) compared to students (64%), among those who work in the private and non-governmental sector (78%) compared to those who work in the public sector (70%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (84% and 85% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (54%).

Similarly, the vast majority (84%) thinks Israel will not honor its commitments in the Aqaba meeting; only 12% think Israel will implement its commitments. 64% say that now, after the Aqaba meeting, they are less optimistic regarding possible improvement in Palestinian-Israeli relations, such as the prospects for the implementation of confidence building measures or the slowing down of settlement expansion next year; only 8% say they are more optimistic and 24% say they are neither more nor less optimistic.

68% of the public (71% in the Gaza Strip and 66% in the West Bank) say they are in favor of forming armed groups such as the “Lions’ Den,” which do not take orders from the PA and are not part of the PA security services; 25% are against that.

Nonetheless, 52% are worried that the formation of such armed groups could lead to armed clashes with the PA security services; 44% are not worried.

83% say they are against the surrender of the armed groups’ members and their arms to the PA in order to receive protection against Israeli assassination; 12% say they are for it.

The vast majority (87%) says the PA does not have the right to arrest member of these armed groups in order to prevent them from carrying out attacks against Israel or to provide them with protection; only 8% say they favor it.

A majority of 58% expects these armed groups to expand and spread to other areas in the West Bank; 15% expect Israel to succeed in arresting or killing their members; and 14% expect the PA to succeed in containing or coopting these groups.

A majority of 61% (69% in the West Bank and 48% in the Gaza Strip) expect security conditions in the West Bank to continue to escalate leading to the eruption of a third armed intifada; 36% say they do not expect a third intifada.

If security conditions escalate further or if a third intifada were to erupt, a majority of 62% does not expect the PA security services to join forces with the Palestinian armed groups; 33% say they expect them to do so.

A majority of 56% says they do not expect the PA to deploy its security forces in the Jenin refugee camp or the old city of Nablus and other areas in which armed groups have recently been formed in order to enforce law and order and ensure “one authority-one gun” by disarming these groups

and arresting their member in return for concessions that Israel might provide; 37% say they expect the PA to do so.

If the PA attempted to disarm the newly created armed groups, a majority of 59% thinks that members of these groups will use their arms to resist the PA security services; 8% think they will surrender; and 23% think they will resist the PA but non-violently.

A majority of 63% says it supports the ending of security coordination with Israel that was announced recently by the PA while 32% say they are opposed to it. But the overwhelming majority (79%) thinks the PA did not actually suspend security coordination with Israel; only 13% think it did. Support for ending security coordination is higher in the Gaza Strip (67%) compared to the West Bank (61%), among those with the least income (67%) compared to those with the highest income (59%), among the religious (68%) compared to the somewhat religious and the not religious (61% and 48% respectively), and among supporters of Hamas (75%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (58% and 57% respectively).

The vast majority (77%) thinks Israel will not stop its army incursions into PA territories in order to encourage the PA to return to security coordination; 18% think Israel will do so. 61% think the PA will not return to security coordination if Israel continued its daily incursions while 32% think the PA will resume security coordination even if the Israeli army incursions continue.

70% (73% in the West Bank and 66% in the Gaza Strip) believe the Israel measures aimed at punishing Palestinian attackers and their families, such as demolishing their homes, or expelling them, or imposing the death penalty, will lead to greater armed attacks; 8% think these measures will lead to lesser attacks; and 20% think they will have no impact on armed attacks.

## **(2) Whose interest is served by the continued existence or the collapse of the PA?**

- **A plurality of the Palestinians thinks Israel's punitive measures against the PA aim at weakening it but not to force its collapse**
- **57% think the continued existence of the PA serves Israel's interests and 52% think the dissolution or collapse of the PA serves the interest of the Palestinian people**
- **57% believe the weakening or collapse of the PA strengthens Palestinian armed groups**

The largest percentage (41%) says Israeli punitive measures against the PA aim at weakening it; 27% think Israel aims at forcing a PA collapse; and 27% think Israel does not want to weaken the PA or bring it to collapse. When asked to define Israel's interest regarding the PA, its continued existence or its collapse, the majority (57%) says the survival of the PA is in Israel's interest while 39% think Israel's interest lies in the collapse of the PA. The belief that the continued existence of the PA serves Israel's interest stands at 62% in the West Bank compared to 49% in the Gaza Strip. It is higher in villages/towns and cities (62% and 57% respectively) compared to refugee camps (44%), among men (61%) compared to women (52%), among non-refugees (60%) compared to refugees (51%), among those holding the BA degree (61%) compared to the illiterates (46%), among those working in the private and non-governmental sector (64%) compared to those working in the public sector (54%), among the somewhat religious (61%) compared to the religious (53%), and among Hamas supporters and the supporters of third parties (66% and 61% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (50%).

When asked to define the interest of the Palestinian people regarding the PA, its continued existence or its collapse or dissolution, a majority of 52% says the Palestinian people's interest lies in the collapse or dissolution of the PA while 42% define the continued existence of the PA as a Palestinian interest. The belief that the collapse or dissolution of the PA serves Palestinian interests



is higher in refugee camps and cities (54% and 53% respectively) compared to villages/towns (48%), among those whose age is between 18 and 22 years (59%) compared to those whose age is 30 years or higher (51%), among the professionals, laborers, and students (62%, 59%, and 58% respectively) compared to farmers, employees, and housewives (41%, 47%, and 48% respectively), among those working in the private and nongovernmental sector (57%) compared to those working in the public sector (40%), among those with the least income (57%) compared to those with the highest income (43%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (77% and 62% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (27%).

In the event that the PA becomes weak or collapses, such a development is seen by 57% of the public as leading to the strengthening of the armed groups in the West Bank while 12% think it will weaken them; 27% think it will neither weaken nor strengthen the armed groups.

If it becomes pretty clear that Israel aims at weakening the PA or even forcing its collapse, 67% of the public thinks the major Arab countries, such as Egypt or Saudi Arabia, will abandon the PA; 28% think they will stand with the PA.

### **(3) The shooting in Huwara, the settler's terror, and the absence of PA police:**

- **71% support the Palestinian armed attack on two Israeli settlers in Huwara**
- **75% think the behavior of settlers in their Huwara rampage reflects an official Israeli conduct and is not restricted to the extreme settlers**
- **67% expect settlers' violence to increase under the current Israeli government**
- **59% believe the absence of the Palestinian police during the settlers' rampage in Huwara was due to the desire of the PA to maintain security coordination with Israel and because the PA seeks to avoid an armed clash with the Israeli army**
- **44% believe that the statement by the Israeli finance minister Smotrich calling for wiping out Huwara points to an Israeli intention to commit massacres against the Palestinians and force their expulsion**

A large majority of 71% say they support the shooting of two settlers in Huwara while 21% express opposition to this and similar armed attacks. Three quarters (75%) believe the settlers' terror attack on Huwara after the killing of the two settlers is an expression of the policy of the Israeli government and army while 20% think it is an expression of the behavior of the extreme settlers only. Two thirds (67%) expect increased settlers' attacks under the current right wing Israeli government, but 16% say there will be less attacks, and 14% think the frequency of settlers' attacks will remain unchanged.

When asked why the PA police and other security services were unable to protect the residents of Huwara and other towns located in area B of the West Bank, despite the fact that the PA has jurisdiction over law enforcement in such areas, the public was divided into four groups. One group of 32% thinks the PA leadership and government prefer to maintain security coordination with Israel over protecting its own people. A second group, of 27%, thinks the PA police and national security forces do not wish to engage the Israeli army in an armed confrontation. A third group, of 24%, thinks the PA police does not have a jurisdiction over the settlers and cannot arrest them. A fourth group, of 11%, thinks the settlers' attacks occur during the night when the PA police is not present in the targeted areas.

When asked what should the PA do to protect the residents of Huwara and other towns located in area B of the West Bank, the largest percentage (39%) says it should form civil guards units made up of volunteers from these towns; 27% say it should build police stations or place permanent police units in these areas; 13% say it should complain to the UN and the International Criminal Court; and 9% say it should issue statements of condemnation.

In light of the call by Smotrich, the Israeli minister of finance, to wipe out the town of Huwara, a large minority of 44% expects the Israeli government to commit massacres and force a mass expulsion of Palestinians if and when Palestinian armed attacks expand; but a majority of 53% says it does not expect that.

#### **(4) Legislative and presidential elections:**

- **68% support the holding of general elections but 69% do not expect elections to take place soon**
- **In presidential elections between president Abbas and Ismail Haniyyeh, the former receives 36% of the popular vote and the latter 52%; in similar elections between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyyeh, the former receives 58% and the latter 37%**
- **77% demand the resignation of president Abbas**
- **In parliamentary elections, Hamas receives 33% of the vote and Fatah 35%**
- **44% think Hamas and Fatah do not deserve to represent and lead the Palestinian people; 26% think Hamas deserve to represent and lead the Palestinians and 24% think Fatah deserves to do so**

68% say they support the holding of presidential and legislative elections in the Palestinian territories in the near future while 28% say they do not support that. Demand for elections stands at 76% in the Gaza Strip and 63% in the West Bank. However, a majority of 69% believes no legislative, or legislative and presidential, elections will take place soon.

If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, Mahmoud Abbas and Ismail Haniyyeh, only 46% would participate and from among those, Abbas would receive 36% and Haniyyeh 52% of the votes (compared to 54% for Haniyyeh and 36% for Abbas three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 35% of the votes and Haniyyeh receives 61%. In the West Bank, Abbas receives 37% and Haniyyeh 43%. If the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyyeh, participation would increase to 62% and from among those, Barghouti receives 58% and Haniyyeh 37%. If the competition is between Prime Minister Mohammad Shtayyeh and Haniyyeh, participation rate would decrease to 43% and from among those, the former receives 29% and the latter 60%.

If Abbas does not run for elections, the public prefers Marwan Barghouti to succeed him as the largest percentage (35%) selected him in a closed-ended question, followed by Ismail Haniyyeh (18%), Khalid Mish'al (5%), Mohammad Dahlan and Mohammad Shtayyeh (4% each), Yahya al Sinwar (3%), and Hussein al Sheikh (2%); 26% said they do not know or have not decided.

Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 19% and dissatisfaction at 77%. Level of satisfaction with Abbas stands at 17% in the West Bank and 22% in the Gaza Strip. Satisfaction with the performance of Abbas three months ago stood at 23% and dissatisfaction at 73%. Moreover, a vast majority of 77% of the public wants president Abbas to resign while only 18% want him to remain in office. Three months ago, 75% said they want Abbas to resign. Demand for Abbas' resignation stands today at 76% in the West Bank and 78% in the Gaza Strip.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions that participated in the 2006 elections, 67% say they would participate. Of those who would participate, 33% say they will vote for Hamas and 35% say they will vote for Fatah, 9% will vote for all third parties combined, and 22% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 34% and Fatah at 34%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 45% (compared to 43% three months ago) and for Fatah at 32% (compared to 30% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas stands at 23% (compared to 26% three months ago) and Fatah at 38% (compared to 38% three months ago).

26% say Hamas is most deserving of representing and leading the Palestinian people while 24% think Fatah under president Abbas is the most deserving of representing and leading the Palestinians; 44% think neither side deserves such a role. Three months ago, 28% selected Hamas, 25% Fatah under Abbas, and 40% said neither side deserves such a role.

A majority of 53% thinks that the recent student election results of Hebron University, in which the student bloc affiliated with Fatah won sixty percent of the vote against the Islamic bloc, which received forty percent of the vote, does not necessarily reflect the balance of power between Fatah and Hamas in the larger Palestinian society in the West Bank or in the Hebron district; 19% think it reflects the balance of power in the Palestinian society in the West Bank; and 15% think it reflects the balance of power in the Hebron district. The belief that the results of the Hebron student elections does not reflect the strength of public support for the two political factions in the Palestinian society is higher in the West Bank (55%) compared to the Gaza Strip (49%), among men (55%) compared to women (50%), among holders of BA degree (57%) compared to the illiterates (45%), among those working in the private and non-governmental sector (59%) compared to those who work in the public sector (52%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (70% and 64% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (34%).

**(5) Domestic conditions, teachers strike, the one-Shekel tax, and the readiness to deal with a major earthquake:**

- **82% think there is corruption in the PA institutions and 71% think there is corruption in the public institutions administered by Hamas**
- **63% believe the PA is a burden on the Palestinian people**
- **After four years, expectations from the Shtayyeh government keep going down**
- **24% say they want to emigrate; 32% in the Gaza Strip and 19% in the West Bank**
- **71% are opposed to the imposition of a one-shekel tax to be added to the telecommunication bill; 79% think the collected funds will not go to East Jerusalem**
- **65% of the West Bankers support the public teachers' strike**

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 9% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 19%. Nonetheless, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 73% and in the West Bank at 46%. Three months ago, the perception of safety and security in the West Bank stood at 64% and at 77% in the Gaza Strip.

Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 82%. When asked about institutions controlled by Hamas in the Gaza Strip, 71% indicated that there is corruption in these institutions. Three months ago, 81% said there is corruption in PA institutions and 69% said there is corruption in public institutions controlled by Hamas.

46% of West Bankers think people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear while 51% think they cannot. In the Gaza Strip, 48% think people in the Strip can criticize Hamas' authorities without fear and 51% think they cannot.

In its assessment of the PA, a majority of the Palestinians (63%) views it as a burden on the Palestinian people while 33% view it as an asset for the Palestinian people. Three months ago, 59% viewed the PA as a burden and 36% viewed it as an asset.

22% are optimistic and 75% are pessimistic about the success of reconciliation. Three months ago, optimism stood at 26%.

After more than three years since the formation of the Shtayyeh government, findings indicate persistent pessimism. Responding to a question about expectations regarding the ability of the Shtayyeh government to make progress in reconciliation and reunification, 81% expect failure;

only 14% expect success. When asked about the ability of the government to organize legislative or legislative and presidential elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, 16% of the public expect success and 79% expect failure. In another question about the ability of the new government to improve economic conditions, a majority of 81% expects failure and 16% expects success.

24% of the public say they want to emigrate due to political, security, and economic conditions. The percentage in the Gaza Strip stands at 32% and in the West Bank at 19%. Three months ago, 20% of West Bankers expressed a desire to emigrate and 30% of Gazans expressed the same desire.

A vast majority of 71% says it opposes the imposition of tax of one Shekel on each telecommunication bill to support an East Jerusalem fund and 28% say are in favor. A large majority of 79% thinks the collected funds will not go to the benefit of East Jerusalemites while only 12% think the money will go to the residents of East Jerusalem. The opposition to the one-shekel tax is higher in the West Bank (77%) compared to the Gaza Strip (62%), in refugee camps (78%) compared to villages/towns and cities (71% and 70% respectively), among those working in the private and non-governmental sector (77%) compared to those working in the public sector (58%), among the somewhat religious (74%) compared to the religious (68%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (76% and 77% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (53%).

A majority of 56% says it supports the strike of the public-school teachers in the West Bank while 42% say they are against it. Support for the strike in the West Bank rises to 65% and declines to 44% in the Gaza Strip.

In light of the devastating earthquake in Turkey and Syria last month, a majority of 52% thinks that the chances that a similar one might hit Palestine during this or next year are slim to nonexistent while 36% think they are high or medium. When asked about their impressions about the PA's capacity to deal with such earthquake if it were to happen in Palestine, the vast majority (81%) thinks it is slight or nonexistent while 18% think it is high or medium.

We asked the public about its TV viewership habits in the last three months. Findings indicate that al Jazeera TV has the highest viewership, standing at 28%, followed by al Aqsa TV (14%), Palestine TV (11%), Palestine Today TV (9%), Maan TV (6%), al Arabiya (3%), and al Mayadeen (2%).

#### **(6) Palestinian-Israeli Relations, the Peace process, and the decision to go to ICJ:**

- **Support for the two-state solution declines from 32% to 27% and 74% think this solution is no longer feasible due to settlements' expansion**
- **Support for a return to armed confrontations and intifada increases from 55% to 58%**
- **Support for dissolving the PA rises from 48% to 52%**
- **A vast majority of 69% does not think international organizations have the capacity to stop Israeli violations of international law**
- **50% expect the fall of the current Israeli government due to the anti-government demonstrations**

Support for the concept of the two-state solution stands at 27% and opposition stands at 71%. No description or details were provided for the concept. Three months ago, support for the concept stood at 32%. A majority of 74% believes that the two-state solution is no longer practical or



feasible due to the expansion of Israeli settlements while 24% believe that the solution remains practical. Moreover, 74% believe that the chances for the creation of a Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel in the next five years are slim or nonexistence while 23% believe the chances to be medium or high. Three months ago, only 69% said the two-state solution was no longer feasible or practical due to settlement expansion.

Reflecting on the latest UN speech of president Abbas in which he described the situation on the ground in the West Bank as “apartheid” and that the Palestinian people will demand equal rights in one state for two peoples, 22% say that they are in favor of such one state solution while 75% expressed opposition. Three months ago, support for Abbas’ position on the one-state solution stood at 26%.

When asked about support for specific policy choices to break the current deadlock, 57% supported joining more international organizations; 49% supported resort to non-violent resistance; 58% supported return to armed confrontations and intifada; 52% supported dissolving the PA; and 28% supported abandoning the two-state solution and embracing a one state solution for Palestinians and Israelis. Three months ago, 55% supported a return to armed confrontations and intifada; 48% supported dissolving the PA; and 27% supported abandoning the two-state solution in favor of a one-state solution.

When asked about the most effective means of ending the Israeli occupation and building an independent state, the public split into three groups: 54% chose armed struggle (55% in the Gaza Strip and 54% in the West Bank), 18% negotiations, and 23% popular resistance. Three months ago, 51% chose armed struggle and 21% chose negotiations.

A vast majority of 69% says that international organizations, such as the International Criminal Court or the International Court of Justice, will not be able to constrain Israeli policies that violate international law and that these organizations will be content with expressions of opposition and condemnation. Only 13% think they will be able to constrain these Israeli policies while 12% think they will have a limited impact.

The overwhelming majority (84%) thinks the Biden Administration will not impose sanctions on Israel to pressure it to change its settlement policy; only 12% think the US will impose such sanctions.

Similarly, 82% think the European Union and European countries like France, the UK, and Germany will not impose sanctions on Israel in order to pressure it to change its settlement policy; 14% think they will do so.

Moreover, 83% think the Arab countries that have recently normalized relations with Israel, such as UAE, Bahrain, Morocco, and Sudan, will not impose sanctions on Israel in order to pressure it to change its settlement policy; only 15% think they will do so.

In light of the anti-government demonstrations in Israel, half of the public (50%) thinks they could lead to the fall of the Netanyahu government while 44% think they do not expect that to happen.

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

- **37% consider ending occupation and building a state as the top national goal for the Palestinians and 31% think it is the refugees’ right of return**
- **38% view the Israeli occupation as the most pressing problem confronting Palestinians today and 24% think corruption is the most pressing problem**

A plurality of 37% 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, 31% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 16% believe that the first and most vital goal should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings and 15% believes it should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians.

In a question about the main problem confronting Palestinian society today, the largest percentage, 26% (12% in the Gaz Strip and 35% in the West Bank), say it is corruption; 21% (26% in the Gaza Strip and 18% in the West Bank) say it is unemployment and poverty; 20% say it is the continuation of the occupation and settlement construction; 16% (26% in the Gaza Strip and 9% in the West Bank) say it is continued siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip; 11% say it is the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; and 4% say it is the weakness of the judiciary and the absence of liberties, accountability and democracy.

When asked about the most pressing problem confronting the Palestinians today, the largest percentage (38%) said it is the Israeli occupation, while 24% said it is corruption, 15% said it is the split or division, 13% said it is unemployment, and 5% said it is the internal violence.

## Public Opinion Poll No (87)

8-11 March 2023

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>00 ) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?</b>			
1) al Arabia	3%	3%	3%
2) al Jazeera	28%	29%	28%
3) Palestine Today	9%	12%	6%
4) al Manar	0%	0%	0%
5) Palestine TV	11%	11%	11%
6) alaqsa	14%	7%	26%
7) man(mix)	6%	8%	4%
8) al myadeen	2%	1%	2%
10) Do not watch TV	22%	25%	18%
11) others	2%	3%	1%
12) Do not have a dish	0%	0%	0%
13) DK/NA	1%	1%	1%
<b>Q01) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?</b>			
1) Very good	1%	1%	1%
2) Good	8%	8%	9%
3) so so	16%	14%	18%
4) Bad	35%	40%	28%
5) Very bad	38%	34%	45%
6) DK/NA	2%	3%	0%
<b>Q02) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?</b>			
1) Very good	5%	2%	9%
2) Good	14%	8%	23%
3) so so	20%	18%	23%
4) Bad	30%	36%	21%
5) Very bad	30%	35%	23%
6) DK/NA	1%	1%	1%
<b>Q03) Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>			
1) Religious	42%	34%	56%
2) somewhat religious	54%	65%	39%
3) not religious	3%	2%	6%
4) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
<b>Q04) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?</b>			
1) yes	82%	84%	78%
2) no	11%	6%	19%
3) DK-NA	7%	9%	3%
<b>Q05) What about the institutions controlled by Hamas in the Gaza Strip, do you think that there is corruption in these Hamas-controlled institutions?</b>			
1) yes	71%	70%	72%
2) no	16%	9%	26%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) DK-NA	14%	21%	2%
<b>Q06) In your view, can people in your area (under the PA in the West Bank/or under Hamas in the Gaza Strip) today criticize the authority without fear?</b>			
1) yes	47%	46%	48%
2) no	51%	51%	51%
3) DK-NA	2%	4%	1%
<b>Q07) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?</b>			
1) Completely assured	11%	6%	19%
2) Assured	46%	40%	54%
3) Not assured	28%	33%	22%
4) Not assured at all	15%	22%	5%
5) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
<b>Q08) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?</b>			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	9%	8%	10%
2) Seek emigration	15%	11%	22%
3) Do not seek emigration	39%	35%	45%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	37%	46%	24%
5) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
<b>Q09) Do you want the holding of general legislative and presidential elections soon in the Palestinian territories?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	30%	28%	34%
2) YES	38%	35%	42%
3) NO	20%	22%	17%
4) Certainly no	8%	8%	6%
5) DK-NA	4%	7%	0%
<b>Q10) If new presidential elections are to take place today, and Mahmud Abbas was nominated by Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh was nominated by Hamas, whom would you vote for?</b>			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	36%	37%	35%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	52%	43%	61%
4) DK/NA	12%	20%	4%
<b>Q11) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmoud Abbas, to whom would you vote?</b>			
1) Marwan Barghouti	45%	57%	31%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	35%	23%	49%
3) Mahmud Abbas	14%	11%	18%
5) DK/NA	5%	8%	2%
<b>Q12) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?</b>			
1) Marwan Barghouti	58%	69%	42%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	37%	23%	55%
4) DK/NA	5%	7%	3%
<b>Q13) And what if the competition was between prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?</b>			
1) Muhammad shteah	29%	29%	28%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) Ismael Haniyyah	60%	52%	67%
4) DK/NA	11%	19%	5%
<b>Q15) If new elections agreed to by all factions are held today and the same lists that took part in the last PLC elections were nominated, for whom would you vote?</b>			
1) alternative	2%	2%	1%
2) independent Palestine	3%	2%	4%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	1%	1%	1%
4) Abu al Abbas	0%	0%	1%
5) freedom and social justice	2%	4%	0%
6) change and reform	33%	23%	45%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	0%	0%	0%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	0%	0%	0%
9) freedom and independence	1%	1%	1%
10) Palestinian justice	0%	0%	0%
11) Fateh	35%	38%	32%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	22%	28%	15%

**Q17) President Abbas has postponed the legislative elections that were scheduled for the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May and the presidential elections that were scheduled for 31 Of July. Do you think legislative or legislative and presidential elections will indeed take place in the near future in Palestinian territories?**

1) yes	25%	28%	20%
2) no	69%	64%	77%
3) DK-NA	6%	8%	3%

**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? Q18-1)**

**first goal -----**

1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital	37%	41%	31%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	31%	30%	34%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	15%	11%	20%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	16%	16%	15%
5) DK/NA	1%	1%	0%

**Q18-1) second goal -----**

1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital	20%	23%	16%
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	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	37%	40%	33%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	19%	16%	25%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	22%	20%	26%
5) DK/NA	1%	2%	0%

**Q19) The Palestinian society confronts today the following problems. Tell us, what in your opinion, are the two main problems you want the Palestinian Authority and political forces to address?**

1) the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip	16%	9%	26%
2) the spread of corruption	26%	35%	12%
3) spread of unemployment and poverty	21%	18%	26%
4) continuation of occupation and settlements	20%	20%	19%
5) the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip	11%	9%	15%
6) the weak judiciary, the absence of liberties, and the absence of accountability and democracy	4%	5%	2%
7) DK/NA	1%	1%	0%
8) other	1%	2%	0%

**Q20) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?**

1) very satisfied	4%	2%	7%
2) satisfied	15%	15%	15%
3) not satisfied	37%	37%	36%
4) not satisfied at all	40%	39%	42%
5) DK/NA	4%	6%	0%

**Q21) If it is up to you, would you want to have Abbas resign or not resign?**

1) Certainly resign	42%	46%	35%
2) Resign	35%	30%	43%
3) Not resign	14%	13%	16%
4) Certainly not resign	4%	3%	6%
5) DK/NA	4%	7%	0%

**Q22) Now, after more than three years since the formation of a new Palestinian government under prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh, will the new government succeed in pushing for reconciliation and reunification of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?**

1) yes	14%	8%	23%
2) no	81%	85%	75%
3) DK-NA	5%	6%	2%

**Q23) will the Shtayyeh government succeed in conducting legislative or legislative and presidential elections?**

1) yes	16%	15%	18%
2) no	79%	79%	80%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) DK-NA	4%	6%	2%
<b>Q24) will it succeed in improving economic conditions in the PA?</b>			
1) yes	16%	10%	24%
2) no	81%	86%	74%
3) DK-NA	3%	4%	3%
<b>Q26) Whom do you see as the most deserving of representing the Palestinian people today, is it Hamas who controls the Gaza Strip or Fatah under Abbas leadership in the West Bank?</b>			
1) Hamas	26%	19%	37%
2) Fatah	24%	22%	27%
3) None of them	44%	51%	33%
4) Others, specify: -----	1%	1%	2%
5) DK/NA	4%	7%	1%
<b>Q27) Some people say that the Palestinian Authority has become a burden on the Palestinian people while others say that it is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people. What do you think?</b>			
1) The PA is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people	33%	27%	41%
2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people	63%	66%	57%
3) DK/NA	5%	7%	2%
<b>Q28) Which of the following problems are the most pressing for the Palestinians today?</b>			
1) The occupation	38%	39%	36%
2) Internal violence	5%	5%	5%
3) Corruption	24%	33%	11%
4) Split	15%	8%	26%
5) Unemployment	13%	9%	19%
6) Poor infrastructure	1%	1%	1%
7) Poor medical services	1%	1%	0%
8) Others: specify ---	2%	2%	2%
9) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
<b>Q29) What expectations do you have for the future of reconciliation? Will it continue and succeed or will it fail leading to a return to the split?</b>			
1) Certainly succeed	5%	2%	9%
2) succeed	17%	13%	24%
3) fail	50%	52%	45%
4) Certainly fail	25%	27%	21%
5) DK/NA	4%	5%	1%
<b>Q30) The PA has imposed a tax of one Shekel on every Palestinian who is issued a bill by the Palestinian Telecommunication company in order to support East Jerusalem. Are you for or against the imposition of this tax?</b>			
1) For	28%	22%	37%
2) Against	71%	77%	62%
3) DK/NA	2%	2%	1%
<b>Q31) Do you think these tax funds will indeed go to East Jerusalem residents?</b>			
1) yes	12%	7%	20%
2) no	79%	82%	74%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) DK-NA	9%	11%	6%

**Q32) The teachers' strike continues in governmental schools and no end seems in sight. Are you for or against this teachers' strike?**

1) For	56%	65%	44%
2) Against	42%	33%	55%
3) DK/NA	2%	2%	1%

**Q33 President Abbas made a speech at the UN in which he described the evolving conditions in the West Bank as a one state reality for the two peoples, the Palestinian and the Israeli and describe it as a reality of Apartheid. He emphasized that if the Israeli occupation is not ended, the Palestinians will demand equal rights in one state for two peoples. Are you for or against this one state solution which the two sides enjoy equal rights?**

1) For	22%	20%	26%
2) Against	75%	77%	72%
3) DK/NA	2%	3%	2%

**Q34) President Abbas says that he will not nominate himself in new presidential elections. If it is up to you, who do you want to be the president after him?**

1) Marwan Barghouti	35%	43%	23%
2) Ismail Haniyeh	18%	13%	25%
3) Khaled Meshaal	5%	1%	10%
4) Mohamed Dahlan	4%	1%	10%
5) Yahya Sinwar	3%	1%	6%
6) Mohamed Shetia	4%	1%	7%
7) Hussein Sheikh	2%	2%	4%
8) Other:	3%	4%	3%
9) No opinion / I don't know	26%	36%	12%

**Q34-1) In the first student council elections to be held in the Hebron University since 2019, al Shabiba students, or the Bloc of the Martyr Yasser Arafat, which is affiliated with the Fatah faction, won a sweeping victory by winning 60% of the student vote compared to 40% for the Islamic Bloc affiliated with Hamas. Do you believe this outcome reflects the true popularity of Fatah compared to that of Hamas in the Palestinian society in the West Bank or in the Hebron governorate?**

1) It reflects the true popularity of Fatah compared to Hamas in Palestinian society in the entire West Bank	19%	16%	24%
2 It reflects the true popularity of Fatah compared to Hamas in Palestinian society in the Hebron governorate only	15%	13%	18%
3) It does not reflect the strength of the two factions in Palestinian society in the West Bank or in the Hebron governorate but reflects the popularity of the two factions among the students in the Hebron University	53%	55%	49%
4) Other: specify -----	1%	1%	1%
5) DK/NA	12%	14%	7%

**Q35) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the two-state solution?**

1) support	27%	26%	29%
2) oppose	71%	71%	71%
3) DK/NA	2%	2%	1%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>Q36) Some believe that the two-state solution, an independent Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel, is no longer viable due to settlement expansion while others believe that it is still viable today as settlements can be dismantled or evacuated when an agreement is reached. What do you think?</b>			
1) The two-state solution is no longer viable	74%	75%	72%
2) The two-state solution remains viable today	24%	22%	27%
3) DK/NA	2%	3%	1%
<b>Q37) 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?</b>			
1) very low	45%	49%	39%
2) Low	29%	26%	34%
3) Medium	20%	18%	23%
4) High	3%	5%	2%
5) very high	1%	1%	1%
6) DK/NA	1%	2%	0%
<b>Q38) Under current conditions, do you support or oppose the following policy options?</b>			
<b>2 Joining more international organizations</b>			
1) Strongly support	20%	17%	24%
2) support	37%	36%	38%
3) oppose	27%	31%	21%
4) Strongly oppose	13%	11%	17%
5) DK/NA	3%	4%	0%
<b>3 Abandon the two -state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis</b>			
1) Strongly support	7%	6%	10%
2) support	21%	22%	19%
3) oppose	44%	46%	41%
4) Strongly oppose	25%	22%	30%
5) DK/NA	2%	4%	1%
<b>4 Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance</b>			
1) Strongly support	12%	9%	17%
2) support	37%	33%	43%
3) oppose	35%	39%	30%
4) Strongly oppose	13%	15%	10%
5) DK/NA	3%	5%	0%
<b>5 Return to the armed intifada and confrontations</b>			
1) Strongly support	23%	19%	29%
2) support	35%	32%	39%
3) oppose	26%	31%	19%
4) Strongly oppose	13%	13%	13%
5) DK/NA	4%	6%	0%
<b>6 Dissolve the Palestinian Authority</b>			
1) Strongly support	19%	18%	21%
2) support	33%	31%	35%
3) oppose	29%	32%	26%
4) Strongly oppose	14%	12%	18%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
5) DK/NA	5%	8%	0%

**Q39) In your view, what is the best means of achieving Palestinian goals in ending the occupation and building an independent state?**

1) Negotiations	18%	18%	18%
2) Peaceful popular resistance	23%	20%	26%
3) Armed action	54%	54%	55%
DK/NA	5%	8%	1%

**Q39-1) Around the end of last month, an official Palestinian delegation met with an official Israeli delegation in Aqaba, in the presence of a Jordanian, Egyptian, and American delegation, in order to manage the rising tension in the West Bank and prevent escalation. Were you for or against the holding of this meeting?**

1) For	21%	11%	38%
2) Against	73%	81%	61%
3) DK/NA	6%	8%	2%

**Q39-2) A statement was issued after the meeting in al Aqaba in which the state of Israel and the PA reiterated their readiness and commitment to stop unilateral measures for a period of 3 to 6 months. This commitment Israel agreed not to discuss the building of any new settlement units during the next four months and to stop legalizing new settler's outposts for six months. In your view, while Israel implement its commitments?**

1) yes	12%	3%	25%
2) no	84%	92%	72%
3) DK-NA	4%	5%	2%

**Q39-3) Now, after the Aqaba meeting, are you more or less optimistic regarding the improvement of Palestinian-Israeli relations, perhaps agreeing to confidence building measures or reducing the settlement construction in the next year?**

1) More optimistic	8%	3%	15%
2) Less optimistic	64%	71%	55%
3) Neither optimistic nor pessimistic	24%	21%	29%
4 DK/NA	4%	5%	2%

**Q40) Armed groups, such as the Jenin Battalion and the Lions' Den, have recently appeared in parts of the West Bank such as the Jenin refugee camp and the old city in Nablus. Are you for or against the formation of such armed groups that do not take orders from the Palestinian Authority and are not part of the official security services?**

1) For	68%	66%	71%
2) Against	25%	22%	29%
3) DK/NA	8%	12%	1%

**Q41) To what extent you fear the formation of these armed groups might lead to internal armed conflict between them and the PA security services?**

1) Fear that very much	19%	18%	19%
2) Fear that somewhat	33%	33%	33%
3) Do not fear that somewhat	23%	20%	27%
4) Do not fear that at all	21%	21%	20%
5) DK/NA	5%	8%	1%

**Q42) The Palestinian Authority has asked the members of the armed groups in Nablus and Jenin to surrender and give up their arms in order to protect them**



	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>from Israeli assassination. Are you for or against such a surrender and the give up of arms to the PA</b>			
1) For	12%	9%	18%
2) Against	83%	84%	81%
3) DK/NA	5%	7%	1%
<b>Q43) Do you think the PA security services have the right to arrest members of these armed groups in order to prevent them from carrying out armed attacks against Israel or to ensure their protection?</b>			
1) Yes, it has the right	8%	6%	12%
2) No, it does not have the right	87%	87%	88%
3) DK/NA	4%	7%	0%
<b>Q44) When thinking about the future of these armed groups, do you expect them to expand and spread to other areas in the West Bank or do you expect the PA to contain its spread or Israel to arrest its members?</b>			
1) Expect them to expand and spread to new areas	58%	60%	56%
2) Expect the PA to contain their spread	14%	7%	23%
3) Expect Israel to arrest or kill their members	15%	15%	15%
4) Expect the PA to succeed in contain the groups and Israel to arrest or kill their members	7%	9%	5%
5) DK/NA	6%	9%	1%
<b>Q45) Given the increase in the frequency of armed clashes between the armed groups and the Israeli army, do you expect or do not expect things to escalate and to lead to the eruption of a third intifada?</b>			
1) Yes, I expect a third intifada	61%	69%	48%
2) No, I do not expect a third intifada	36%	26%	50%
3) DK/NA	4%	5%	1%
<b>Q46) If more armed clashes are to occur between the armed groups and the Israeli army or in case a third intifada erupts, do you expect the PA security forces to take part in the clashes or the intifada alongside the armed groups?</b>			
1) yes	33%	29%	38%
2) no	62%	63%	61%
3) DK-NA	5%	8%	1%
<b>Q47) News reports indicate that the US administration has asked the PA to deploy its security forces in the Jenin refugee camp and the Old City in Nablus and in other areas where armed groups have been formed in order to enforce law and order, ensure on g</b>			
1) Yes, I expect it to do so	37%	34%	43%
2) No, I do not expect it to do so	56%	57%	55%
3) DK/NA	7%	10%	2%
<b>Q48) If the PA does implement the measures the US administration is asking it to do, do you expect members of the armed groups to surrender to the PA or to resist the PA and fight back violently or non-violently?</b>			
1) expect them to surrender	8%	6%	11%
2) expect them to resist the PA forces with arms	59%	62%	55%
3) expect them to resist the PA forces but without arms	23%	16%	33%
4 DK/NA	10%	15%	1%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>Q49) The PA has announced that it stopped security coordination with Israel. Are you for or against stopping this security coordination?</b>			
1) For	63%	61%	67%
2) Against	32%	31%	32%
3) DK/NA	5%	8%	1%
<b>Q50) Do you think the PA has indeed stop security coordination with Israel?</b>			
1) yes	13%	10%	18%
2) no	79%	80%	78%
3) DK-NA	7%	10%	4%
<b>Q51) In your view, will Israel change its policy and stop its incursions on Palestinian cities and refugee camps in the West Bank in order to encourage the PA to resume security coordination?</b>			
1) Yes, it will stop the incursions	18%	8%	33%
2) No, it will not stop the incursions	77%	85%	66%
3) DK-NA	5%	8%	1%
<b>Q52) If Israel continues its daily incursions, do you think the PA will nonetheless backdown and reverse its position and resume security coordination?</b>			
1) Yes, it will backdown	32%	22%	47%
2) No, it will not backdown	61%	67%	51%
3) DK-NA	8%	11%	2%
<b>Q53) The current Israeli government has been taken punitive measures against the PA, such as confiscating or withholding custom duty clearance funds or the withdrawal of VIP cards, and others. In your view, what is the goal behind these measures? Are they meant to pressure the PA in order to weaken it and force it to cooperate with Israel or to force it to collapse?</b>			
1) Make the PA weak	41%	40%	42%
2) Bring it to collapse	27%	25%	29%
3) Neither this nor that	27%	27%	27%
4) other	2%	2%	1%
5) DK/NA	4%	5%	2%
<b>Q54) Regardless of the policy of the current Israeli government, what is Israel's interest: the survival of the PA or its collapse or dissolution?</b>			
1) survival of the PA	57%	62%	49%
2) Collapse or dissolution of the PA	39%	33%	49%
3) DK/NA	4%	5%	2%
<b>Q55) What about the interest of the Palestinian people? Is it in the interest of the Palestinian people to maintain the existence of the PA or to bring it to collapse or dissolve it?</b>			
1) Maintain its existence	42%	40%	46%
2) Bring it to collapse or dissolve it	52%	51%	53%
3) DK/NA	5%	9%	1%
<b>Q56) If the PA becomes weaker or if it collapses, will that lead to the strengthening or weakening of armed groups that belong to the various Palestinian factions or those that emerged latterly, such as the Jenin Battalion or the Lions' Den?</b>			
1) weaken them	12%	9%	17%
2) strengthen them	57%	55%	59%
3) neither strengthen nor weaken them	27%	29%	24%
4) DK/NA	4%	6%	1%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>Q57) If it becomes clear that Israel is working toward weakening the PA or bring it to collapse, will the main Arab countries, such as Egypt or Saudi Arabia, stand with the PA or abandon it?</b>			
1) Stand with it	28%	21%	40%
2) will abandon it or remain indifferent	67%	73%	57%
3) DK/NA	5%	6%	3%
<b>Q58) The PA works with international organizations to fight Israel, including in the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice. In your view, will it be possible for these organizations to stop Israel practices that violate international law or will they be content with statement of denunciations?</b>			
1 will be able to stop Israeli practices that violate international law	13%	5%	24%
2 will be content with words and denunciations	69%	76%	60%
3 will have some limited impact that might restrict Israeli policy	12%	9%	15%
4 DK/NA	6%	10%	1%
<b>Q59) The US government says that it opposes the Israeli settlement policy. Do you expect or do not expect the Biden Administration to impose sanctions on Israel to force it to change its settlement policy?</b>			
1) yes	12%	7%	20%
2) no	84%	88%	77%
3) DK-NA	4%	4%	3%
<b>Q60) What about the European Union and European countries, such as France, Britain, and Germany? In your view, will these actors or some of them take effective measures, such as the imposition of sanctions on Israel to pressure it to change its settlement policy?</b>			
1) yes	14%	8%	24%
2) no	82%	88%	74%
3) DK-NA	4%	4%	2%
<b>Q61) What about the Arab countries that have recently normalized relations with Israel, such as the UAE, Bahrain, Morocco, and Sudan? Will these countries or some of them take effective measures, such as the imposition of sanctions on Israel to pressure it to change its settlement policy?</b>			
1) yes	14%	4%	30%
2) no	83%	93%	67%
3) DK-NA	3%	3%	3%
<b>Q62) What about other Arab countries, such as Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, will these countries or some of them take effective measures, such as the imposition of sanctions on Israel to pressure it to change its settlement policy?</b>			
1) yes	15%	6%	27%
2) no	81%	89%	69%
3) DK-NA	4%	4%	3%
<b>Q63) When considering the incidence of settler attacks in the West Bank, do you expect the frequency of these attacks to increase or decrease under the current Israeli government?</b>			
1) increase	67%	76%	54%
2) decrease	16%	10%	26%
3) will remain without change	14%	11%	18%
4) DK/NA	3%	3%	2%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
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**Q64) Israel has been taken measures against those who carry out attacks and their families. These include demolishing their homes or expelling them from their area of residence. It is also considering imposing the death penalty on them. How do you view the impact of these measures? Do they, in your view, reduce or increase the incidence of these attacks?**

1) Reduce the attacks	8%	3%	14%
2) Increase the attacks	70%	73%	66%
3) have no impact	20%	20%	19%
4) DK/NA	2%	3%	0%

**Q64-1) About two weeks ago, a Palestinian man shot and killed two settlers while they were passing in their car through the town of Howwara to the south of Nablus. Are you in favor or against such as attacks against settlers in the West Bank?**

1) support	71%	70%	72%
2) oppose	21%	17%	25%
3) DK/NA	9%	13%	3%

**Q64-2) After the death of the two settlers in Howwara, hundreds of settlers attacked the town and burned hundreds of homes, cars, and shops. In your view, this attack represents the behavior of extreme settlers of the behavior of the Israeli government and its army?**

1) Only extreme settlers	20%	15%	27%
2) the Israeli government and the Israeli army	75%	78%	72%
3) Other: specify -----	2%	3%	1%
4) DK/NA	3%	5%	0%

**Q64-3) The town of Howwara and its main street which the settlers pass through every day is classified as area B in which the PA police and other security services. If so, why in your view the PA security services are unable to provide security for the Palestinian residents in this other area B towns against settlers' terror?**

1) Because the PA police is not entitled to arresting settlers	24%	23%	25%
2) Terror attacks by settlers occur during the night when the police is not present	11%	8%	15%
3) Because the PA police and national security forces do not wish to engage in armed conflict with the occupation army	27%	27%	25%
4) Because the PA leadership and government prefer to maintain security coordination with Israel	32%	33%	31%
5) DK/NA	6%	8%	3%

**Q64-4) What should the Palestinian Authority do in order to protect the residents of Howwara and other towns located in area B of the West Bank?**

1) Build Palestinian police stations or place permanent police units in Howwara and other such towns	27%	25%	30%
2) Form civil guards made up of volunteers from among the residents	39%	40%	37%
3) Submit complaints to the UN and the International Criminal Court	13%	10%	19%
4) Issue statements of denunciation	9%	9%	9%
5) DK/NA	9%	13%	3%
6) other	3%	3%	2%

**Q64-5) Finance minister and head of the Religious Zionism Smotrich stated that the government of Israel should wipe out Howwara. Do you expect or do not you**

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>expect the current Israeli government to commit massacres against the Palestinians and force their expulsion if armed resistance escalates?</b>			
1) yes	44%	44%	43%
2) no	53%	51%	56%
3) DK-NA	4%	5%	1%
<b>Q64-6) There are mass public demonstrations these days in Israel against the Netanyahu's government plans to alter the judicial system viewing it as a threat to democracy. In your view, will these demonstrations succeed in brining down the Netanyahu's government?</b>			
1) yes	50%	53%	45%
2) no	44%	38%	54%
3) DK-NA	6%	9%	1%
<b>Q65) A strong earthquake his Turkey and Syria and led to the death of tens of thousands. What in your view are the chances that a similar earthquake would hit Palestine during this year or the year after that?</b>			
1) High	11%	9%	13%
2) medium	25%	24%	28%
3) weak	36%	32%	41%
4) does not exist	16%	18%	14%
5) DK/NA	12%	17%	3%
<b>Q66) What are your impressions regarding the capacity of the PA in dealing with a somewhat strong earthquake if one is to hit Palestine?</b>			
1) high	2%	1%	2%
2) medium	16%	13%	20%
3 )weak	32%	26%	42%
4) does not exist	49%	59%	35%
5) DK/NA	1%	2%	0%
<b>Q68) In general, how would describe current economic conditions today in the area where you live (West Bank or the Gaza Strip) compared to conditions five years ago?</b>			
1) Much better	5%	5%	5%
2) somewhat better	17%	15%	20%
3) stays as before	27%	18%	42%
4) Somewhat worse	23%	26%	18%
5) Much worse	26%	34%	14%
6) DK/NA	1%	2%	0%
7) Refuse to answer	0%	0%	0%
<b>Q69) In your view, how will economic conditions in your area (West Bank or Gaza Strip) be in the next few (3-5) years compared to the situation today?</b>			
1) Much better	2%	2%	3%
2) somewhat better	19%	13%	27%
3) stays as before	22%	17%	31%
4) Somewhat worse	21%	22%	19%
5) Much worse	31%	38%	20%
6) DK/NA	4%	7%	0%
7) Refuse to answer	1%	1%	0%
<b>Q70) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....</b>			
1) Strongly support	28%	22%	36%



	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) support	33%	35%	31%
3) oppose	24%	24%	24%
4) Strongly oppose	8%	8%	9%
5) DK/NA	7%	11%	0%

**Q71) Which of the following political parties do you support?**

1) PPP	1%	0%	1%
2) PFLP	2%	1%	3%
3) Fateh	26%	25%	28%
4) Hamas	23%	15%	35%
5) DFLP	1%	1%	1%
6) Islamic Jihad	1%	1%	1%
7) Fida	0%	0%	0%
8) National initiative (almubadara)	0%	0%	1%
9) Independent Islamist	1%	1%	3%
10) Independent nationalist	4%	3%	5%
11) third way headed by salam feyyad	0%	0%	0%
12) none of the above	41%	52%	24%
13) others	0%	0%	0%

**Q72) If you use the internet to surf social sites like Facebook, Twitter, and various groups or to access email, how many times do you normally do that?**

1) More than once a day	61%	74%	42%
2) daily	26%	17%	40%
3) between 2-5 times weekly	4%	2%	6%
4) once a week	1%	0%	2%
5) once a month	1%	0%	1%
6) other -----	0%	0%	0%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	7%	7%	8%