

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 (81)

While almost all Palestinians followed the news about the Gilboa prison break on daily basis viewing it as inspiring to popular resistance, the killing of the opposition activist Nizar Banat and the PA behavior in its aftermath damage the standing of the PA as almost 80% of the public demand the resignation of president Abbas

15-18 September 2021

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 15-18 September 2021. The period before the conduct of the poll witnessed several developments including the killing of a political activist, Nizar Banat, right after his arrest and severe beating by the Palestinian security services, the eruption of widespread demonstrations against the PA demanding justice for Banat, the escape of six Palestinian prisoners from the Gilboa prison in Israel and the capture of four of them (just before the fieldwork began), the continued Egyptian-mediated Hamas-Israeli negotiations to strengthen the ceasefire reached in May and begin the process of reconstruction, the meeting of PA president Mahmoud Abbas with the Israeli defense minister Benny Gantz in Ramallah to talk about Palestinian-Israeli relations and means of improving them while strengthening the PA by implementing various trust-building measures. 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 1270 adults interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is +/-3%.

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Main Findings:

Findings of the third quarter of 2021 show the centrality of domestic issues on shaping public attitudes. Three developments in particular are worth observing: the killing of the political activist Nizar Banat by PA security services, the manner in which PA security services dealt with protests during the last few months, and the residual impact of the last Hamas-Israeli war of May 2021. Findings also show the great importance attached by the public to the issue of prisoners in Israeli jails. Impacted by all of the above, findings reflect continued PA loss of status and support.

A large majority rejects that the notion that the killing of Banat was a mistake unintentionally made by security officers. Instead, the public is confident that the death of the political activist was premeditated, ordered by the political or security leadership. Because of that, the public is not

satisfied with the step taken by the PA to ensure justice by putting all security officers involved on trial. The public is also angry with the manner in which the PA cracked down on public protests that demanded justice in the Banat case. In fact, three quarters view the behavior of the security services as a violation of liberties and human rights.

Findings show that the overwhelming majority of the public has been following, on daily basis, the news regarding the escape of six Palestinian prisoners from the Gilboa prison in Israel. The overwhelming majority views the prisoners' behavior, even after they were captured, as inspiring to the Palestinians to rise and take the initiative to resist the occupation. Yet, on this issue of public consensus, one in which the PA is not a party, the Palestinian leadership and the security establishment do not come out looking good at all. While the public is easily convinced by Hamas' proclamations and plans for freeing the prisoners, the PA is distrusted with the majority believes that the PA security services would not defend the prisoners.

The impact of the May 2021 confrontations in Jerusalem and the war between Hamas and Israel is still strongly felt in this poll. An overwhelming majority still thinks Hamas came out the winner and that Hamas goal has been to defend East Jerusalemites and al Aqsa Mosque. Indeed, the largest percentage (but not the majority) believes that Hamas is more deserving of representing and leading the Palestinian people. The majority calls upon Hamas to relaunch rockets against Israel if East Jerusalemites are expelled from their homes in the city or if restrictions are imposed on Palestinian access to al Aqsa Mosque. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that now, after three months have passed since our last poll, we do see some decline in some of those indicators that measure the ascendance of Hamas. In almost all indicators, we see a small decline ranging between two to eight percentage points.

If new presidential and parliamentary elections were to take place today, Hamas would do relatively well compared to Fatah. This is particularly true for a presidential election, assuming president Abbas is Fatah's candidate. The outcome would be dramatically different and more beneficial to Fatah if its candidate for the presidency is Marwan Barghouti. Most importantly for Fatah, findings show a significant increase in the demand for Abbas' resignation, with almost 80% making the demand, an unprecedented PSR finding.

Findings show that in the context of increased Covid-19 infection rates, the majority is in favor of mandatory vaccination; but opposition is slightly more than a third. Yet, even among those who reject making vaccination mandatory to all of the public, a minority favors making it mandatory to those working in the public sector such as schools and ministries.

Findings on the peace process show continued but slow decline in support for the two-state solution. They also show high levels of support for armed struggle as the best means of ending the occupation with almost half of the public endorsing this position. Consistent with that we find a slim majority opposing a resumption of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations under the sponsorship of the Quartet. Despite this, a majority of Palestinians view positively the confidence building measures that would improve living conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

(1) Prisoners escape from the Gilboa prison:

- **86% followed up the news of the six Palestinian prisoners who escaped from the Gilboa prison; 87% think the event will serve as an inspiration to the Palestinians**
- **81% think that Hamas will succeed in freeing the six prisoners in a prison exchange deal with Israel**
- **But 68% think the Palestinian Authority would not have protect the prisoners if they had succeeded in entering the West Bank**

An overwhelming majority of Palestinians (86%) says that it has heard about and followed on daily basis the news about the escape of the six Palestinian prisoners from the Gilboa prison in Israel and the capture of some of them while 12% say they did that occasionally and only 2% say they have not heard about or followed the news. Similarly, 87% say the escape of the six prisoners and the capture of some of them will serve as an inspiration to Palestinians outside the prison to take the initiative and actively work toward the ending of occupation; only 7% think the escape and capture will have the opposite impact of bringing frustration and despair; 5% say it will have no impact.

81% believe that Hamas will soon succeed in making a deal with Israel on a prisoners' exchange that will include the release of the escaped and recaptured prisoners; 14% believe no such exchange will take place soon. The belief that Hamas will soon reach a prisoners' exchange deal with Israel which would include the release of the six prisoners is higher in the West Bank (83%) compared to the Gaza Strip (77%), among supporters of Hamas (92%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (76% and 78% respectively), and among the religious and the somewhat religious (85% and 80% respectively) compared to the non-religious (55%).

On the other hand, if the escaped prisoners managed to reach the Palestinian territories, only 24% think the PA security services would in this case protect them while 68% think they would not do so. The belief that the PA security services would not protect the escaped prisoners is higher in the West Bank (70%) compared to the Gaza Strip (66%), among the holders of BA degree (75%) compared to the illiterates (57%), among professionals, merchants, and laborers (76%, 75%, and 69% respectively) compared to farmers and students (58% and 60% respectively), among those working in the private sector (73%) compared to those who work in the public sector (57%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (90% and 69% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (46%), and among the religious and the somewhat religious (70% and 68% respectively) compared to the non-religious (51%).

(2) The death of Nizar Banat:

- **63% believe the death of Nizar Banat was a deliberate measure ordered by the PA political or security leaders, not an intentional mistake**
- **69% believe the PA measures taken to ensure justice in the Banat case are not sufficient**
- **74% believe that the arrest of demonstrators is a violation of liberties and human rights**

A majority of 63% of the public believes that the killing of Nizar Banat soon after his arrest by PA security officials was a deliberate measure ordered by the PA political or security leaders while only 22% believe it was an unintentional mistake by those who arrested him. The belief that the killing of Nizar Banat was a deliberate act of PA leadership is higher in the West Bank (64%) compared to the Gaza Strip (61%), among men (65%) compared to women (61%), among professionals and students (72% and 68% respectively) compared to merchants, farmers, and employees (53%, 58%, and 60% respectively), among those who work in the private sector (65%) compared to those who work in the public sector (53%), among supporters of Hamas (93%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (39% and 61% respectively), and among the religious (67%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (61% and 52% respectively).

A large majority of 69% feels the measures taken by the PA to ensure justice in the Banat case, including putting on trial all 14 security officials who took part in his arrest, are insufficient; only 20% think they are sufficient. Moreover, a majority of 63% support and 28% oppose the demonstrations that erupted after the death of Banat demanding the departure of the president from

office and the removal of his government. Almost three quarters (74%) believe the steps taken by the PA security services in arresting the demonstrators who demanded justice for Banat is a violation of liberties and human rights while only 18% view these measures as a legitimate enforcement of law and order.

(3) Three months after the Jerusalem confrontations and the war between Hamas and Israel:

- **71% believe that Hamas came out a winner in its last war with Israel**
- **Two thirds believe that the launching of rockets by Hamas at Jerusalem and Tel Aviv came in defense of Jerusalem and al Aqsa Mosque**
- **45% believe that Hamas is more deserving of representing and leading the Palestinian people; only 19% believe Fatah under the leadership of Abbas is more deserving**

An overwhelming majority of Palestinians (71%) believes that Hamas has come out a winner in its last war with Israel while only 3% think Israel came out a winner; 21% say no one came out a winner and 3% think both sides came out winners. Three months ago, 77% thought Hamas came out the winner. Moreover, 63% think that Hamas has achieved its declared goal behind firing rockets at Israel: to force Israel to stop the expulsion of the families in al Shaikh Jarrah and to bring to an end Israeli restriction on Muslim access to al Aqsa; 29% think it did not. Three months ago, 65% said Hamas has achieved its declared goal

Two thirds think that Hamas' decision to launch rockets at Israeli cities came in defense of Jerusalem and al Aqsa Mosque while 10% think it came as a protest against the PA cancelation of elections with the aim of weakening the PA leadership; 19% think Hamas' decision was motivated by these two drivers. Three months ago, 72% thought that Hamas' decision came in defense of Jerusalem and al Aqsa Mosque.

In light of the recent confrontations with Israel, 45% think Hamas is most deserving of representing and leading the Palestinian people while only 19% think Fatah under president Abbas is the most deserving of representing and leading the Palestinians; 28% think neither side deserve such a role. Three months ago, 53% thought Hamas is more deserving of representation and leadership and 14% thought Fatah under the leadership of Abbas is the more deserving.

If Israel expels the families of al Shaikh Jarrah or reimposes restrictions on access to al Aqsa Mosque, 60% believe the response in this case should be the launching of rockets at Israeli cities, while 20% think it should be the waging of non-violent resistance, and 13% believe Palestinians should respond by submitting a complaint to the UN and the International Criminal Court (ICC).

(4) Legislative and presidential elections:

- **73% demand the holding of presidential and legislative elections, but 56% do not think such elections will take place soon**
- **In presidential elections between Abbas and Ismail Haniyyeh, the former receives 34% of the vote and the later 56%; if the elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyyeh, the former receives 55% and the latter 39%**
- **Satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 24% and demand for his resignation stands at 78%**
- **If new parliamentary elections were to take place today, Hamas would receive 37% of the popular vote and Fatah 32%**

Almost three quarters (73%) say they support the holding of presidential and legislative elections in the Palestinian territories in the near future while 23% say they do not support that. Demand for

elections stands at 82% in the Gaza Strip and 67% in the West Bank. But a majority of 56% (63% in the Gaza Strip and 52% in the West Bank) believe 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 Haniyeh, only 51% would participate and from among those, Abbas would receive 34% and Haniyeh 56% of the votes (compared to 59% for Haniyeh and 27% for Abbas three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 34% of the votes (compared to 30% three months ago) and Haniyeh receives 61% (compared to 60% three months ago). In the West Bank, Abbas receives 33% (compared to 25% three months ago) and Haniyeh 52% (compared to 59% three months ago). If the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, participation would increase to 66% and from among those Barghouti receives 55% and Haniyeh 39%. If the competition is between prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh and Haniyeh, participation rate would decrease to 49% and from among those the former receives 31% and the latter 60%. Three months ago, Shtayyeh received the support of 26% and Haniyeh 63%.

If Abbas does not run for elections, the public would vote for the following: 33% say they want Marwan Barghouti, 22% say Ismail Haniyeh, 6% say Dahlan and another 6% say Yahia Sinwar, Khalid Mishaal and Mustafa Barghouti 3% each, and Salam Fayyad 2%.

Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 24% and dissatisfaction at 73%. Level of satisfaction with Abbas stands at 22% in the West Bank and 26% in the Gaza Strip. Satisfaction with the performance of Abbas six months ago stood at 32% and dissatisfaction at 65%. Moreover, 78% of the public want president Abbas to resign while only 19% want him to remain in office. Three months ago, 68% said they want Abbas to resign. Demand for Abbas' resignation stands at 78% in the West Bank and 77% in the Gaza Strip.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions that participated in the 2006 elections, 68% say they would participate. Of those who would participate, 37% say they will vote for Hamas and 32% say they will vote for Fatah, 13% will vote for all other third parties combined, and 18% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 41% and Fatah at 30%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 47% (compared to 45% three months ago) and for Fatah at 27% (compared to 28% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas stands at 28% (compared to 38% three months ago) and Fatah at 38% (compared to 32% three months ago).

(5) Domestic conditions and satisfaction with the Shtayyeh government:

- **27% want to emigrate; 36% in the Gaza Strip and 21% in the West Bank**
- **83% believe there is corruption in the PA institutions**
- **59% view the PA as a burden on the Palestinian people; 34% view it as an asset**
- **Public expectations from the Shtayyeh government remains negative in three areas: reconciliation, the holding of elections, and improvement of economic conditions**
- **54% favors the formation of a new government under a new prime minister**
- **57% view societal violence that erupts from time to time as an indication of public distrust in the justice and law enforcement system**

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 7% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 23%. Nonetheless, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 67% and in the West Bank at 59%. When asked about interest in emigrating from Palestine, 27% of the public say they want to emigrate due to political, security, and economic conditions. The percentage in the Gaza Strip stands at 36% and in the West Bank at

21%. Three months ago, 15% of West Bankers expressed a desire to emigrate and 42% of Gazans expressed the same desire.

Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 83%. When asked about institutions controlled by Hamas in the Gaza Strip, 61% indicated that there is corruption in these institutions. Three months ago, 84% said there is corruption in PA institutions and 57% said there is corruption in public institutions controlled by Hamas.

On free speech, 38% of West Bankers think people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear while 58% think they cannot. When asked to evaluate the status of democracy and human rights in the West Bank, 18% of West Bankers said it was good or very good. In the Gaza Strip, 58% think people in the Strip can criticize Hamas' authorities without fear and 37% think they cannot. When asked to evaluate the status of democracy and human rights in the Gaza Strip, 43% of Gazans said it was good or very good.

In its assessment of the PA, a majority of the Palestinians (59%) views it as a burden on the Palestinian people while 34% view it as an asset for the Palestinian people. Three months ago, 56% viewed the PA as a burden and 35% viewed it as an asset.

After more than two 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, 70% expect failure; only 22% expect success. When asked about the prospects for reconciliation, 32% expressed optimism and 63% expressed pessimism. Three months ago, optimism stood at 41%. When asked about the ability of the government to organize legislative or legislative and presidential elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, 29% of the public expect success and 63% expect failure. In another question about the ability of the new government to improve economic conditions, a majority of 64% expects failure and 30% expects success.

We asked the public about its view regarding the demands for a change in the current PA government. A majority of 54% expresses support for comprehensive change leading to the appointment of a new government and a new prime minister, while 26% want only to change some of the ministers, and 14% do not want to make any change and want the government to stay as it is. Support for a comprehensive change in which the government and the prime minister are replaced is higher in refugee camps and cities (59% and 54% respectively) compared to villages/towns (48%), among men (60%) compared to women (47%), among those whose age is 30 years or higher (55%) compared to those whose age is between 18 and 29 years (50%), among holders of BA degree (62%) compared to the illiterates (27%), among those who work in the private sector (59%) compared to those who work in the public sector (49%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (74% and 52% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (34%).

We also asked the public about its views on the recurring internal violence similar to the one witnessed recently in which an incident between two individuals led to widespread family and tribal violence. A majority of 57% expressed the view that such incidents indicate a weak public trust in the justice system including law enforcement agencies; but 35% expressed the view that such incidents reflect the traditional nature of Palestinian society that is difficult or impossible to change. When asked how should the PA deal with such incidents, 66% expressed the view that first and foremost, the PA should strengthen the law enforcement authorities while 27% expressed the view that the PA should strengthen the tribal reform committees and cooperate with them. Findings show that the percentage of those who think the PA should strengthen the law enforcement agencies in order to address societal violence is higher in the West Bank (69%) compared to the Gaza Strip (63%), among men (69%) compared to women (64%), among holders of BA degree (75%) compared to the illiterates (58%), among supporters of Fatah and third parties

(72% and 70% respectively) compared to supporters of Hamas (64%), and among the somewhat religious and the non-religious (71% and 67% respectively) compared to the religious (61%).

We asked the public about its viewership habits in the last three months. Findings indicate that al Jazeera TV has the highest viewership, standing at 23%, followed by Palestine TV (14%), al Aqsa TV (12%), Palestine Today (11%), Maan (10%), al Mayadeen (4%), al Arabiya (3%), and al Manar (2%).

(6) The Coronavirus: Mandatory vaccination and PA performance during the pandemic:

- **A majority of 63% support making the Covid-19 vaccination mandatory**
- **74% are satisfied with the PA efforts to ensure the availability of the Covid-19 vaccine**
- **But only 45% are satisfied with the PA efforts to contain the spread of the virus**

With the big rise in the number of Covid infections, we asked the public about the steps it thinks the PA government should take in order to protect people from the pandemic: 39% said it should follow the normal procedures of enforcing social distance, face masks, and payment of fines for violators; a similar percentage (37%) said it should make vaccination mandatory to all those who are allowed to take it; 5% said it should impose a full closure; and 15% said they are in favor of all of the above. When then asked specifically about mandatory vaccination, a majority of 63% expressed support while 35% expressed opposition. Support for mandatory vaccination is higher in the Gaza Strip (66%) compared to the West Bank (62%), in refugee camps and villages (70% and 67% respectively) compared to cities (62%), among men (65%) compared to women (62%), among students and laborers (72% and 66% respectively) compared to farmers, employees, and housewives (57%, 61%, and 62% respectively), among supporters of Fatah (74%) compared to supporters of Hamas and third parties (64% and 55% respectively), and among the non-religious and the somewhat religious (72% and 65% respectively) compared to the religious (61%). Among those who reject mandatory vaccination, 29% are in favor, and 69% are not in favor, of making it mandatory to those who work in the public sector such as those working in schools and ministries.

48% (55% in the West Bank and 39% in the Gaza Strip) report that they have already received the coronavirus vaccination; 27% (19% in the West Bank and 38% in the Gaza Strip) says that they are willing to take the vaccine when available; and 24 say they and their families are not willing to take the vaccine when it becomes available to them.

Almost three quarters (74%, 84% in the Gaza Strip and 68% in the West Bank) are satisfied with the efforts made by the government to obtain the vaccine and 24% are dissatisfied. But only 45% are satisfied with the measures taken by the PA to contain the spread of the coronavirus while 53% are dissatisfied. The majority is satisfied with the performance of the various actors involved in the management of the Coronavirus crisis: 59% express satisfaction with the performance of the security services deployed in their areas and 63% are satisfied with the performance of the ministry of health. But satisfaction with the performance of the prime minister in the management of the Coronavirus crisis stands at only 39%.

(7) The Palestinian-Israeli Peace process and the new Israeli government:

- **Support for the two-state solution drops to 36% and opposition rises to 62%**
- **73% do not believe that a Palestinian state will be created alongside Israel during the next five years**
- **About half of the public believe that armed struggle is the most effective means for ending the occupation; only 28% think negotiations are the most effective means**
- **44% attribute the low levels of popular participation in none violent confrontations to the absence of public trust in the PA leadership and the political parties**

- **54% are in favor of a return to an armed intifada, 27% are in favor of abandoning the two-state solution and the adoption of the one-state solution**
- **39% are in favor of resuming negotiations with Israel under the sponsorship of the Quartet**
- **A majority of 56% looks positively at confidence building measures that aim at improving living conditions**

Support for the concept of the two-state solution stands at 36% and opposition stands at 62%. No description or details were provided for the concept. Three months ago, support for the concept stood at 39%. A majority of 63% believes that the two-state solution is no longer practical or feasible due to the expansion of Israeli settlements while 32% believe that the solution remains practical. Moreover, 73% believe that the chances for the creation of a Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel in the next five years are slim or nonexistent while 23% believe the chances to be medium or high.

The most preferred way out of the current status quo is “reaching a peace agreement with Israel” according to 28% of the public while 39% prefer waging “an armed struggle against the Israeli occupation.” 10% prefer “waging a non-violent resistance” and 18% prefer to keep the status quo. Three months ago, 27% said that they prefer reaching a peace agreement with Israel and 39% said they prefer waging an armed struggle. When asked about the most effective means of ending the Israeli occupation, the public split into three groups: 48% chose armed struggle, 28% negotiations, and 19% popular resistance. Three months ago, 49% chose armed struggle and 27% chose negotiations.

We asked the public to speculate about the reasons for the lack of mass popular participation in non-violent resistance and provided the following list: trust in leadership and parties, burden of living conditions, or loss of will to fight. The largest percentage (44%) replied that it is due to lack of trust in the PA political leadership and; 39% said it has to do with the preoccupation and the burden of daily living conditions; and only 16% selected the loss of the will to fight.

When asked about support for specific policy choices, 63% supported joining more international organizations; 54% supported resort to non-violent resistance; 54% supported return to armed confrontations and intifada; 47% supported dissolving the PA; and 27% supported abandoning the two-state solution and embracing a one state solution for Palestinians and Israelis. Three months ago, 60% supported a return to confrontations and armed intifada, 47% supported dissolving the PA, and 20% supported the abandonment of the two-state solution in favor of a one-state solution.

Under current conditions, a majority of 61% opposes and 24% support an unconditional resumption of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations. 58% are opposed, and 36% are supportive, of a return to dialogue with the new US administration under president Joe Biden. Support for a return to Palestinian-Israeli negotiations under the leadership of the international Quartet stands at 39% and 52% are opposed. Moreover, 49% do not believe, and 41% believe, that the election of Biden and the resumption of American aid to the PA opens the door for a return to Palestinian-Israeli negotiations within the framework of the two-state solution.

We asked the public about its views regarding Palestinian-Israeli confidence building measures that would improve living conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, such as approval of family unification permits or making available to the PA additional financial resources. A majority of 56% said it looks positively, while 35% said it looks negatively, at such measures. The percentage of those who view positively such confidence building measures is higher in the West Bank (57%) compared to the Gaza Strip (53%), in villages and cities (58% and 56% respectively) compared to refugee camps (46%), among supporters of Fatah (73%) compared to supporters of

Hamas and third parties (42% and 51% respectively), and among the non-religious (62%) compared to the religious and the somewhat religious (54% and 56% respectively).

(8) American withdrawal from Afghanistan:

- **43% do not expect, and 36% think expect, the Afghanistan scenario to happen in Palestine in the event of an Israeli withdrawal**
- **46% believe the main lesson for the Palestinians in the Afghanistan example is the need to strengthen Palestinian armed groups while 28% think it is the need to strengthen the PA and its legitimacy**

We asked the public about the meaning of the developments leading to the US withdrawal from Afghanistan: 40% viewed the events as a victory for Taliban against the US and its Afghani allies. But a third (33%) thought that the events leading to the US withdrawal were orchestrated ahead of time between the US and Taliban; 27% say they not know.

The largest percentage of the public (43%) does not expect what happened in Afghanistan to happen in Palestine in case of an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, a scenario in which such withdrawal would lead to the collapse of the PA and its government and the takeover of armed Islamist groups, such as Hamas; but 36% believe this scenario could indeed happen and 21% do not know. The belief that what happened in Afghanistan could happen in Palestine in the event of an Israeli withdrawal, leading to PA collapse, is higher in the Gaza Strip (54%) compared to the West Bank (25%), in refugee camps and cities (40% and 38% respectively) compared to villages/towns (28%), among refugees (47%) compared to non-refugees (28%), among holders of PA degree (39%) compared to illiterates (17%), among students, employees, and professionals (43%, 41%, and 40% respectively) compared to farmers and laborers (15% and 30% respectively), among laborers in the public sector (40%) compared to laborers in the private sector (35%), among supporters of Hamas (66%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (21% and 36% respectively), and among the religious (40%) compared to the non-religious and the somewhat religious (29% and 34% respectively).

Moreover, 46% believe the Palestinians should learn a lesson from what happened in Afghanistan by strengthening the forces of armed resistance, but not the PA and its government, while 28% think the lesson should lead us to strengthen the PA and its legitimacy so that it would not collapse as the Afghani government did. The belief that the lesson should be to strengthen the armed groups is higher in the Gaza Strip (55%) compared to the West Bank (40%), in refugee camps (55%) compared to villages and cities (42% and 46% respectively), among men (51%) compared to women (40%), among those whose age is 30 years or higher (47%) compared to those whose age is between 18 and 29 years (40%), among refugees (50%) compared to non-refugees (42%), among the holders of BA degree (52%) compared to the illiterates (17%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (80% and 49% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (23%), and among the religious (50%) compare to the somewhat religious and the non-religions (43% each).

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

- **44% view the ending of occupation and building of the state as the most vital goal for the Palestinians**
- **Continued siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and unemployment and poverty as the two most important problems confronting Palestinian society today**

44% 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, 32% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 12% believe that 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 10% believes it should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians.

In a question about the two main problems confronting the Palestinians today, the largest (36%; 31% in the Gaz Strip and 40% in the West Bank) said it is the continued siege and blockade percentage of the Gaza Strip, 23% said it is the unemployment and poverty, 13% said it is the continuation of the occupation, 12% said it is the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, 10% said it is the spread of corruption, and 6% said it is the weakness of the judiciary and the absence of liberties, accountability and democracy.

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15-18 September 2021

	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	3.2%	2.1%	4.8%
2) al Jazeera	23.4%	24.1%	22.5%
3) Palestine Today	10.7%	11.3%	9.8%
4) al Manar	1.7%	0.7%	3.0%
5) Palestine TV	13.8%	14.4%	13.0%
6) alaqsa	12.0%	5.1%	22.5%
7) man(mix)	9.8%	13.1%	4.8%
al myadeen	4.1%	3.5%	4.9%
10) Do not watch TV	18.3%	22.3%	12.4%
11) others	1.7%	2.0%	1.4%
12) Do not have a dish	.5%	.3%	.7%
13) DK/NA	.7%	1.0%	.2%
Q01) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?			
1) Very good	.7%	.5%	.9%
2) Good	5.9%	6.0%	5.8%
3) so so	12.8%	14.2%	10.6%
4) Bad	40.1%	43.6%	34.9%
5) Very bad	38.4%	32.2%	47.7%
6) DK/NA	2.1%	3.5%	0.0%
Q02) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?			
1) Very good	4.6%	2.4%	7.9%
2) Good	18.6%	14.1%	25.3%
3) so so	31.8%	35.8%	25.9%
4) Bad	25.8%	29.6%	20.2%
5) Very bad	18.5%	17.6%	19.7%
6) DK/NA	.7%	.6%	.9%
Q03) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	40.9%	36.9%	46.9%
2) somewhat religious	54.9%	60.9%	46.0%
3) not religious	4.0%	2.1%	6.7%
4) DK/NA	.2%	.0%	.4%
Q04) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?			
1) yes	83.3%	84.0%	82.1%
2) no	10.7%	8.5%	13.9%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) DK-NA	6.1%	7.4%	4.0%
Q05) What about the institutions controlled by Hamas in the Gaza Strip, do you think that there is corruption in these Hamas-controlled institutions?			
1) yes	61.3%	64.2%	57.0%
2) no	23.0%	11.5%	40.2%
3) DK-NA	15.7%	24.3%	2.8%
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?			
1) yes	46.0%	38.1%	57.9%
2) no	49.4%	57.5%	37.4%
3) DK-NA	4.5%	4.4%	4.7%
Q07) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	8.5%	4.0%	15.1%
2) Assured	53.7%	54.8%	52.1%
3) Not assured	29.8%	33.4%	24.4%
4) Not assured at all	7.9%	7.5%	8.4%
5) DK/NA	.2%	.3%	0.0%
Q08) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	12.8%	7.8%	20.3%
2) Seek emigration	14.0%	13.0%	15.3%
3) Do not seek emigration	41.5%	38.7%	45.7%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	31.5%	40.3%	18.5%
5) DK/NA	.2%	.2%	.2%
Q09) Do you want the holding of general legislative and presidential elections soon in the Palestinian territories?			
1) Certainly yes	28.4%	21.7%	38.5%
2) YES	44.5%	45.4%	43.1%
3) NO	17.3%	20.0%	13.4%
4) Certainly no	5.4%	6.1%	4.3%
5) DK-NA	4.4%	6.8%	.7%
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?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	33.5%	33.3%	33.6%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	56.3%	52.3%	60.7%
4) DK/NA	10.2%	14.4%	5.7%
Q11) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmoud Abbas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	43.9%	53.1%	32.5%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	36.2%	28.8%	45.5%
3) Mahmud Abbas	15.4%	11.7%	19.9%
5) DK/NA	4.5%	6.4%	2.1%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q12) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	55.2%	59.9%	49.3%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	39.3%	32.2%	48.2%
4) DK/NA	5.5%	7.9%	2.5%
Q13) And what if the competition was between prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Muhammad shteah	30.7%	28.7%	33.0%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	60.0%	58.8%	61.4%
4) DK/NA	9.3%	12.5%	5.7%
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?			
1) alternative	1.9%	3.1%	.6%
2) independent Palestine	3.1%	1.7%	4.6%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	3.9%	3.2%	4.7%
4) Abu al Abbas	.2%	.2%	.3%
5) freedom and social justice	.6%	.9%	.2%
6) change and reform	37.1%	28.3%	46.5%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	1.2%	1.8%	.5%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	.3%	.2%	.5%
9) freedom and independence	1.5%	1.5%	1.5%
10) Palestinian justice	.1%	0.0%	.2%
11) Fateh	32.4%	37.7%	26.8%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	17.6%	21.4%	13.6%
Q16) 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	32.6%	38.4%	24.0%
2) Ismail Haniyeh	22.3%	20.6%	24.8%
3) Mustafa Barghouti	2.5%	.7%	5.3%
4) Khalid Mishal	3.0%	1.5%	5.2%
5) Salam Fayyad	2.0%	1.6%	2.8%
6) Mohammad Dahlan	5.5%	1.6%	11.2%
7) ALSENOAR	6.0%	2.1%	11.7%
9) 8) other:	1.8%	1.6%	2.0%
10) DK\NA	24.3%	31.9%	13.1%
Q17) President Abbas has postponed the legislative elections that were scheduled for the 22nd 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?			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) yes	33.1%	35.9%	28.8%
2) no	56.0%	51.6%	62.7%
3) DK-NA	10.9%	12.5%	8.5%

Q18) 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	44.1%	41.0%	48.8%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	32.0%	34.2%	28.8%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	10.3%	9.0%	12.4%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	11.8%	13.0%	10.0%
5) DK/NA	1.7%	2.8%	0.0%

Q18-2) 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	20.3%	21.2%	19.1%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	33.1%	35.5%	29.6%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	22.5%	20.1%	26.1%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	22.5%	20.6%	25.3%
5) DK/NA	1.6%	2.6%	0.0%

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	36.1%	39.7%	30.9%
1) the spread of corruption	9.7%	5.8%	15.3%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) spread of unemployment and poverty	22.7%	22.1%	23.6%
4) continuation of occupation and settlements	12.8%	15.1%	9.6%
5) the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip	12.4%	10.2%	15.6%
the weak judiciary, the absence of liberties, and the absence of accountability and democracy	5.8%	6.5%	4.7%
DK/NA	.4%	.6%	.2%

Q20) If you want to evaluate the status of democracy and human rights under the authorities where you live (West Bank or the Gaza Strip), you would find it:

1) Very good	6.6%	1.6%	14.1%
2) Good	21.3%	15.9%	29.2%
3) so so	24.2%	23.4%	25.5%
4) Bad	28.6%	35.5%	18.3%
5) Very bad	16.5%	19.4%	12.2%
6) DK/NA	2.8%	4.2%	.7%

Q20-1 About two weeks ago, six Palestinian prisoners were able to escape from the Gilboa prison. Israel has already rearrested four of them. Did you hear/follow up the news about this in the newspapers, TV, radio, or the internet?

1) Yes, every day	86.4%	87.7%	84.4%
2) Occasionally	11.6%	9.7%	14.4%
3) Did not follow up	1.2%	1.3%	1.0%
4) Did not hear or follow up	.4%	.4%	.2%
5) DK/NA	.5%	.8%	0.0%

Q20-2 How do you view the episode of the escape of the six prisoners from the Gilboa prison and the rearrest of some of them? Do you see it inspiring to the Palestinians outside the jail to take the initiative and take action that seeks to end the occupation? Or you see it leading to public frustration and despair or you see it having no impact on those outside the jail.

1) Inspiring to action	86.9%	87.3%	86.1%
2) Frustrating to people	6.9%	7.7%	5.6%
3) Will not have an impact	5.3%	4.1%	7.2%
4) DK/NA	.9%	.8%	1.0%

Q20-3 Hamas says that the prisoners who escaped and were rearrested by Israel will be among the prisoners who will be exchanged with Israel in any future exchange. Do you think Hamas will succeed soon in making such an exchange that would lead to the release of these prisoners?

1) yes	80.9%	83.4%	77.3%
2) no	13.5%	11.3%	16.6%
3) DK-NA	5.6%	5.2%	6.1%

Q20-4 If the escaped prisoners managed to enter the West Bank, do you think the PA security services will protect them?

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) yes	23.6%	21.6%	26.4%
2) no	67.9%	69.5%	65.6%
3) DK-NA	8.5%	8.9%	8.0%

Q21) Three months ago, opposition activist Nizar Banat died few hours after being arrested by the Palestinian security services from his house due to beating at the hands of the security men who arrested him. Do you think his death was at the deliberate orders of the political or security leadership or an unintentional mistake made an individual security officer?

1) Deliberate from the leadership	63.1%	64.4%	61.3%
2) A mistake by an individual	22.0%	18.0%	27.9%
3) DK/NA	14.9%	17.7%	10.8%

Q22) In the aftermath of the death of the activist Nizar Banat, demonstrations took place in some Palestinian cities demanding the departure of president Abbas and his government. Do you support or oppose these demonstration?

1) support	63.2%	61.1%	66.5%
2) oppose	27.8%	27.5%	28.2%
3) DK/NA	9.0%	11.4%	5.3%

Q23) Do you see the measures taken by the Palestinian Authority to go after the perpetrators of the murder of Nizar Banat, such as putting all 14 men from the security services who took part in his arrest, sufficient?

1) yes	19.7%	17.2%	23.3%
2) no	68.8%	70.8%	65.9%
3) DK-NA	11.5%	12.0%	10.8%

Q24) The PA security services arrested many of the demonstrators who demanded putting those who murdered Nizar Banat on trial. Do you see in these arrests a legitimate facets of law enforcement or do you see them as a violation of liberties and human rights?

1) Law enforcement	18.2%	15.0%	22.8%
2) Violation of rights and liberties	73.5%	75.7%	70.2%
3) DK/NA	8.3%	9.2%	6.9%

Q24-1) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?

1) very satisfied	4.9%	1.4%	10.1%
2) satisfied	18.7%	20.9%	15.5%
3) not satisfied	43.6%	46.6%	39.2%
4) not satisfied at all	29.5%	27.0%	33.2%
5) DK/NA	3.2%	4.0%	2.0%

Q24_2) If it is up to you, would you want to have Abbas resign or not resign?

1) Certainly resign	40.4%	39.4%	41.9%
2) Resign	37.1%	38.6%	34.8%
3) Not resign	15.7%	15.4%	16.2%
4) Certainly not resign	3.2%	2.1%	4.8%
5) DK/NA	3.6%	4.5%	2.4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q25) Now, after about two 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	22.4%	19.2%	27.2%
2) no	69.8%	72.2%	66.2%
3) DK-NA	7.8%	8.6%	6.5%
Q26) will the Shtayyeh government succeed in conducting legislative or legislative and presidential elections?			
1) yes	29.1%	29.4%	28.7%
2) no	63.1%	61.8%	65.0%
3) DK-NA	7.8%	8.8%	6.3%
Q27) will it succeed in improving economic conditions in the PA?			
1) yes	29.5%	23.8%	38.0%
2) no	63.8%	68.9%	56.3%
3) DK-NA	6.7%	7.3%	5.7%
Q28) During the past few months, the Palestinian government took several measures in order to reduce the risk of the spread of the Corona epidemic. Tel us if you are satisfied or dissatisfied with preventing travel between governorates?			
1) Satisfied	45.2%	44.8%	45.8%
2) Dissatisfied	52.8%	54.1%	51.0%
3) DK/NA	1.9%	1.1%	3.2%
Q29) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied wit the performance of the following Palestinian institutions and actors during the period of the spread of the Corona virus?			
29-1) prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh			
1) Satisfied	38.8%	39.7%	37.6%
2) Dissatisfied	57.3%	57.4%	57.2%
3) DK/NA	3.8%	2.9%	5.2%
29-2) the ministry of health			
1) Satisfied	63.3%	59.5%	68.9%
2) Dissatisfied	34.4%	37.7%	29.6%
3) DK/NA	2.3%	2.8%	1.6%
29-3) the security services in your area			
1) Satisfied	59.4%	53.6%	68.1%
2) Dissatisfied	37.4%	43.1%	29.0%
3) DK/NA	3.2%	3.3%	2.9%
Q30) What about the government efforts in making the coronavirus vaccine available to Palestinians? Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with these efforts?			
1) Very much satisfied	38.2%	33.3%	45.6%
2) Somewhat satisfied	36.0%	34.4%	38.4%
3) Somewhat dissatisfied	16.8%	20.2%	11.8%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) Totally dissatisfied	7.6%	10.3%	3.5%
5) DK/NA	1.4%	1.9%	.6%
Q31) If the coronavirus vaccine becomes available to you and your family today and you still have not received a shot, would you want to be vaccinated?			
1) I have received my vaccine	48.3%	54.7%	38.9%
2) Certainly, I want to take the vaccine	12.3%	6.9%	20.5%
3) I think we want to be vaccinated	14.5%	12.4%	17.6%
4) I think we do not want to be vaccinated	14.1%	14.3%	13.8%
5) Certainly, we do not want to be vaccinated	9.7%	10.8%	8.1%
6) DK/NA	1.1%	1.0%	1.1%
Q32) With the rise in covid infections, with of the following steps should the PA take if the number of daily cases reaches thousands?			
1) Make vaccination mandatory	37.2%	40.2%	32.6%
2) Impose social distances measures, use of masks, and impose fines on violators	38.9%	42.5%	33.6%
3) Impose a comprehensive closure	5.3%	3.5%	8.0%
4) All of the above	15.0%	8.5%	24.7%
5) DK/NA	3.6%	5.2%	1.1%
Q33) Some believe that the most effective means of preventing future waves of covid cases is by making vaccination mandatory on all citizens allowed to take it. Are you for or against making vaccination mandatory?			
1) For	63.4%	61.7%	65.8%
2) Against	34.6%	36.5%	31.7%
3) DK/NA	2.1%	1.8%	2.5%
Q34) If you do not agree with mandatory vaccination on all those allowed to take it, are you for or against making it mandatory for those who work in the public sector like schools and ministries?			
1) For	29.2%	26.1%	34.4%
2) Against	68.6%	72.4%	62.1%
3) DK/NA	2.2%	1.4%	3.5%
Q35) Demands have been made recently to make changes in the current government led by prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh. If you are in favor of such changes, what changes would you support?			
1) I do not wish to make changes and want the government to stay as it is	13.9%	14.0%	13.7%
2) I support making limited changes like replacing some ministers	25.6%	23.7%	28.3%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) I support comprehensive changes and appoint a new government and a new prime minister	53.6%	53.3%	54.0%
4) DK/NA	7.0%	8.9%	4.1%
Q36) 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?			
1) The PA is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people	34.4%	33.6%	35.5%
2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people	59.4%	59.2%	59.9%
3) DK/NA	6.2%	7.2%	4.6%
Q37) What expectations do you have for the future of reconciliation? Will it continue and succeed or will it fail leading to a return to the split?			
1) Certainly succeed	5.7%	2.3%	10.7%
2) succeed	25.8%	25.6%	26.1%
3) fail	44.1%	46.0%	41.2%
4) Certainly fail	18.6%	18.5%	18.8%
5) DK/NA	5.8%	7.6%	3.2%
Q38) We have seen recently internal incidents of societal violence, in which a murder by an individual can become a big family and tribe confrontations demanding revenge. What do these incidents reflect first and foremost in your view? Are they reflecting:			
1) The nature of the traditional and tribal Palestinian society that cannot or is difficult to change, or	34.8%	22.7%	52.8%
2) Signs indicating a weak public trust in the Palestinian justice and law enforcement system	57.3%	69.8%	38.7%
3) Other: specify -----	2.6%	4.0%	.6%
4) DK/NA	5.3%	3.5%	7.9%
Q39) In your view, how should we address these cases of societal violence? Should we, first and foremost:			
1) Strengthen tribal reconciliation committees and cooperate with them, or	27.1%	23.4%	32.6%
2) Strengthen law enforcement authorities	66.4%	68.5%	63.3%
3) Other means: specify ----	3.2%	4.2%	1.5%
4) DK/NA	3.3%	3.9%	2.5%
Q40) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the two-state solution?			
1) Strongly support	7.4%	3.1%	13.8%
2) support	28.5%	27.7%	29.7%
3) oppose	37.7%	41.0%	32.6%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) Strongly oppose	24.0%	24.8%	22.8%
5) DK/NA	2.4%	3.3%	1.1%
Q41) 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?			
1) The two-state solution is no longer viable	63.3%	66.7%	58.1%
2) The two-state solution remains viable today	32.0%	28.8%	36.8%
3) DK/NA	4.7%	4.4%	5.0%
Q42) 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?			
1) very low	41.5%	40.2%	43.4%
2) Low	31.4%	33.9%	27.7%
3) Medium	19.5%	17.9%	21.7%
4) High	3.2%	3.3%	3.1%
5) very high	.9%	.9%	.9%
6) DK/NA	3.5%	3.7%	3.1%
Q43) Under current conditions, do you support the return of the Palestinian side to negotiations with Israel without prior conditions from either side?			
1) yes	24.3%	21.1%	29.0%
2) no	60.8%	63.7%	56.4%
3) I support return to negotiations but under a condition (specify:)	10.1%	10.3%	9.7%
DK-NA	4.9%	4.8%	4.9%
Q44) The following four possibilities refer to your views about what to do now about Israeli-Palestinian relations, which one is the most preferred to you:			
1) Maintain the status quo	18.1%	16.9%	20.0%
2) Wage an armed struggle against the Israeli occupation	39.0%	34.7%	45.4%
3) Wage an unarmed struggle against the Israeli occupation	10.4%	10.7%	9.9%
4) Reach a peace agreement with Israel	27.7%	31.7%	21.8%
5) Other:	.7%	1.0%	.2%
6) DK/NA	4.1%	5.0%	2.7%
Q45) In your view, what is the best means of ending the occupation?			
1) Negotiations	27.7%	29.2%	25.5%
2) Peaceful popular resistance	18.5%	17.2%	20.4%
3) Armed action	47.8%	45.7%	51.0%
4) other	1.1%	1.1%	.9%
5) DK/NA	5.0%	6.8%	2.2%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q46) Despite the success of the nonviolent confrontations in various places, such as Shaikh Jarrah and Beita and before that at the entrance to al Aqsa Mosque when Israel tried to install metal detectors, the participation of the Palestinians in these resistance events remains very small. In your view, what reasons lie behind the weak participation? Did the Palestinian people lose the will to fight or are the daily life concerns becoming the top and most important priority? Or is it a sign that people no longer trust their political leadership and parties? Or perhaps there are other reasons? You can select two of the following:			
1) Loss of the will to fight	16.4%	12.5%	22.4%
2) Daily life concerns	39.2%	39.0%	39.5%
3) Loss of trust in leadership and parties	43.5%	47.0%	37.9%
4) Other: specify -----	1.0%	1.5%	.2%
Q47) Under current conditions, do you support or oppose the following policy options?			
Q47-2) Joining more international organizations			
1) Strongly support	17.3%	10.8%	27.0%
2) support	45.2%	44.4%	46.4%
3) oppose	26.6%	30.9%	20.3%
4) Strongly oppose	6.4%	8.3%	3.5%
5) DK/NA	4.4%	5.5%	2.9%
Q47-3) Abandon the two -state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis			
1) Strongly support	7.6%	6.0%	10.0%
2) support	19.0%	20.9%	16.3%
3) oppose	46.6%	46.5%	46.7%
4) Strongly oppose	23.5%	22.4%	25.0%
5) DK/NA	3.3%	4.1%	2.0%
Q47-4) Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance			
1) Strongly support	10.9%	7.9%	15.5%
2) support	42.7%	43.2%	42.0%
3) oppose	34.3%	36.4%	31.3%
4) Strongly oppose	8.9%	8.8%	9.1%
5) DK/NA	3.1%	3.7%	2.1%
Q47-5) Return to the armed intifada and confrontations			
1) Strongly support	18.0%	13.2%	25.3%
2) support	36.1%	35.4%	37.0%
3) oppose	34.5%	38.4%	28.6%
4) Strongly oppose	8.1%	8.8%	7.1%
5) DK/NA	3.3%	4.2%	2.0%
Q47-6) Dissolve the Palestinian Authority			
1) Strongly support	16.1%	14.0%	19.2%
2) support	31.1%	29.3%	33.7%
3) oppose	35.5%	37.8%	32.2%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) Strongly oppose	13.0%	13.6%	12.0%
5) DK/NA	4.3%	5.3%	2.9%
Q48) Last month, Hamas launched rockets on Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and other Israeli cities and said that this action came in defense of Jerusalem and al Aqsa Mosque. But others say that Hamas did that to protest the cancelation of elections, to weaken the Palestinian leadership that canceled the elections, and to demonstrate its own popularity among the Palestinian public. Which of these two views you endorse?			
1) Defense of Jerusalem and al Aqsa Mosque	67.0%	69.6%	63.0%
2) To protest the cancelation of the elections and weaken the PA leadership	9.9%	7.6%	13.4%
3) Both views are true	19.1%	16.8%	22.5%
4) Other reasons, specify: ---	.7%	1.1%	.2%
5) DK/NA	3.3%	4.9%	.9%
Q49) Who came out a winner in the last war between Hamas and Israel?			
1) No one	21.2%	19.3%	24.0%
2) Hamas	70.5%	72.4%	67.8%
3) Israel	2.9%	2.4%	3.8%
4) Both came out winners	2.6%	1.9%	3.7%
5) DK/NA	2.7%	4.1%	.8%
Q50) Hamas said that its goal behind the launching of rockets was to “stop the expulsion of the Palestinian families from al Shaikh Jarrah and stop the aggression against al Aqsa.” It issued an ultimatum to Israel to withdraw its soldiers from al Aqsa and al Shaik Jarrah. In your view, did Hamas succeed in achieving its goal?			
1) yes	63.0%	60.1%	67.3%
2) no	29.1%	30.8%	26.7%
3) I support return to negotiations but under a condition	4.1%	5.3%	2.3%
4) DK-NA	3.7%	3.7%	3.7%
Q51) What should Hamas and the rest of the Palestinians do if Israel goes ahead and expel the Palestinian families from al Shaikh Jarrah and continued its “incursions” into al Aqsa and the imposition of restrictions on prayers? Please select the response you most preferred:			
1) Struggle against that peacefully	20.4%	18.7%	23.0%
2) Return to rocket launching on Israeli cities	60.3%	61.6%	58.4%
3) Complain to the UN and the International Criminal Court	12.9%	10.5%	16.5%
4) Others, specify: -----	1.1%	1.5%	.5%
5) DK/NA	5.3%	7.7%	1.6%
Q52) 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?			
1) Hamas	45.1%	41.4%	50.7%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) Fatah	19.4%	17.7%	21.9%
3) None of them	28.1%	31.1%	23.5%
4) Others, specify: -----	2.7%	3.2%	2.0%
5) DK/NA	4.7%	6.7%	1.8%
Q53) Do you support for oppose a return to dialogue with the US under the new administration of Joe Biden?			
1) support	36.0%	31.0%	43.4%
2) oppose	58.1%	61.8%	52.6%
3) DK/NA	5.9%	7.1%	4.1%
Q54) Now after the election of Biden and the resumption of US aid to the PA, do you think these developments open the door for a return of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations within the context of the two-state solution?			
1) yes	41.3%	37.1%	47.5%
2) no	48.7%	51.1%	45.0%
3) DK-NA	10.0%	11.7%	7.5%
Q55) Do you think the PA should return to negotiations with Israel under the sponsorship of the Quartet, made up of the US, Russia, the EU, and the UN?			
1) yes	39.2%	32.8%	48.6%
2) no	51.8%	56.7%	44.4%
3) DK-NA	9.0%	10.4%	7.0%
Q56) There is talk these days about Palestinian-Israeli confidence building measures to improve living conditions of Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Palestinian-Israeli meetings took place with the goal of reaching an understanding of some of those measures such as family unification permits and making additional funds available to the PA. Do you view these measures positively and worth supporting or negatively and worth opposing?			
1) Positively	55.5%	56.9%	53.3%
2) Negatively	34.9%	31.2%	40.4%
3.) Other: specify	.6%	.7%	.4%
4) DK/NA	9.0%	11.1%	5.8%
Q57) Some view what happened recently in Afghanistan as a victory for the Islamist movement known as Taliban against the US occupation and the Afghan government that worked with the American occupation forces while others view it as an implementation of a prior agreement between the Americans and Taliban. What do you think?			
1) Victory against the US and its local allies	39.8%	31.2%	52.6%
2) A prior agreement between Taliban and the US	32.9%	32.9%	32.8%
3) DK/NA	27.3%	35.9%	14.7%
Q58) Do you think that what happened in Afghanistan could happen in Palestine in case of an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank leading to the collapse of the PA and its government and the assumption of control by armed Islamist movements, such as Hamas?			
1) yes	36.3%	24.7%	53.5%
2) no	43.0%	48.7%	34.5%
3) DK-NA	20.7%	26.6%	12.0%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q59) In light of what happened in Afghanistan, some people think that it is worth comparing what happened there with our conditions and based on that come to the necessary conclusions. If this is true, what would be the most important lesson for us?			
1) Need to strengthen the PA and its legitimacy so that it would not collapse as the Afghan government did	28.0%	25.2%	32.1%
2) Need to strengthen the forces of armed resistance against the occupation instead of strengthening the PA	45.7%	39.5%	54.9%
3) DK/NA	25.2%	33.6%	12.5%
4) OTHER	1.2%	1.7%	.5%
Q60) In your view, how will economic conditions in your area (West Bank or Gaza Strip) be in the next few (3-5) years compared to the situation today?			
1) Much better	4.8%	.8%	10.8%
2) Better	21.4%	18.9%	25.1%
3) Same as today	30.2%	27.5%	34.3%
4) A little worse than today	22.2%	26.7%	15.4%
5) Much worse than today	18.1%	21.0%	13.8%
6) DK/NA	3.0%	4.8%	.4%
7) Refuse to answer	.2%	.2%	.2%
Q61) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I...			
1) Strongly support	16.9%	6.5%	32.4%
2) support	33.2%	25.5%	44.6%
3) oppose	36.0%	47.5%	19.0%
4) Strongly oppose	9.0%	13.8%	1.9%
5) DK/NA	4.8%	6.7%	2.0%
Q62) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) PPP	.5%	.5%	.5%
2) PFLP	3.3%	2.7%	4.2%
3) Fateh	25.3%	26.1%	24.0%
4) Hamas	27.1%	20.2%	37.4%
5) DFLP	.6%	.7%	.5%
6) Islamic Jihad	2.8%	1.5%	4.6%
7) Fida	.6%	.6%	.6%
8) National initiative (almubadara)	.3%	.1%	.4%
9) Independent Islamist	1.3%	.8%	2.1%
10) Independent nationalist	3.9%	1.0%	8.2%
11)third way headed by salam feyyad	.2%	.2%	.2%
12) none of the above	32.2%	43.6%	15.3%
13)- others	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%
Q63) 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	53.0%	60.1%	42.4%
2) daily	27.1%	22.6%	33.7%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) between 2-5 times weekly	6.7%	4.2%	10.5%
4) once a week	2.0%	1.6%	2.6%
5) once a month	1.1%	1.0%	1.3%
6) other -----	.4%	.1%	.7%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	9.7%	10.3%	8.7%