

The **Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR)** is an independent nonprofit institution and think tank of policy analysis and academic research. PSR was founded with the goal of advancing scholarship and knowledge on immediate issues of concern to Palestinians in three areas: domestic politics and government, strategic analysis and foreign policy, and public opinion polls and survey research. The center engages in several activities. It conducts academic and policy analysis studies. It organizes socio-political surveys and public opinion polls on current Palestinian political and social attitudes. It sponsors study groups and task forces on issues of critical importance to the Palestinians. Finally, it organizes conferences, public lectures, and briefings on current public policy issues. PSR is dedicated to promoting objective and nonpartisan research and analysis and to encouraging a better understanding of Palestinian domestic and international environment in an atmosphere of free debate and exchange of ideas.

This poll is part of PSR series of regular polls.

This poll has been conducted in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Ramallah



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One month after the end of the Gaza War: a drop is found in the level of satisfaction with war achievements, in support for Hamas and Ismail Haniyeh, and in support for an armed intifada; but the public still favors Hamas' "way" over negotiations, and Hamas and Haniyeh are still more popular than Fatah and Mahmud Abbas

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 25-27 September 2014. The period before the poll witnessed successful implementation of the cease fire reached a month earlier after more than 50 days of armed confrontations in the Gaza Strip. But the reconciliation government failed to operate in the Gaza Strip during the period of war or ceasefire, and Fatah and Hamas exchanged accusations over who was responsible for that failure. The period of the fieldwork witnessed improvement in the Fatah-Hamas relations due to progress in reconciliation follow up talks in Cairo. It also witnessed Palestinian renewed activities at the UN with President Abbas delivering a speech at the UN General Assembly. This press release covers public perception of the war outcome, domestic Palestinian developments, elections, internal balance of power, and others. 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 RESULTS:

This post-war poll was conducted one month after the end of the war in the Gaza Strip. This report highlights important changes in public perception compared to the findings we obtained in our previous poll which was conducted a month ago, immediately after the war end. Findings show a drop in satisfaction with the achievements of the war, probably due to the continued siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip. A drop was also found in the percentage of those who believed Hamas won the war, in the percentage of opposition to dissolving armed groups in the Gaza Strip, and in the popularity of Hamas and Ismail Haniyeh. Findings also show a rise in the popularity of Abbas and Fatah. Support for a third armed intifada went down in this poll as support for negotiations increased and a majority supported the two-state solution.

Despite the drop in support for the Islamists, Hamas and Haniyeh remain more popular than Fatah and Abbas. Moreover, a majority still supports launching rockets against Israel if the siege and the blockade are not ended and two thirds of the public oppose merging Hamas' al Qassam Brigades into the Palestinian National Security Forces. Furthermore, satisfaction with Abbas remains low.

Findings also show significant drop in the level of optimism regarding the chances for a successful implementation of the reconciliation agreement and indicate continued drop in the level of satisfaction with the performance of the reconciliation government. Indeed, a majority supports replacing the reconciliation government with a national unity government made up of factional leaders and politicians. Despite all that, a majority wants the reconciliation government to control crossings with Egypt and Israel and wants it to have control over Gaza's public sector including those in the security services.

Finally, findings show that a majority of the public has not heard about Abbas' plan to seek a deadline for ending Israeli occupation and establishing a Palestinian state. A majority of those who have heard about it do support it despite the fact that a majority expects the plan to fail.

(1) Gaza War:

- **Belief that Hamas has won the Gaza War drops from 79% a month ago to 69% in this poll.**
- **Percentage of satisfaction with war achievements compared to the human and material losses sustained by the Gaza Strip drops from 59% a month ago to 49% in this poll.**
- **Despite that, an overwhelming majority of 80% supports the launching of rockets from the Gaza Strip at Israel if the siege and blockade are not ended.**
- **Moreover, a majority of 57% believes that launching rockets from populated areas in the Gaza Strip is justified and 39% say it is unjustified.**
- **Opposition to disarming armed groups in the Gaza Strip drops from 57% a month ago to 50% in this poll.**
- **About two thirds (65%) believe that Iran, Turkey and Qatar combined have given the Gaza Strip the ability to remain steadfast against Israeli attacks and to be able to continue to launch rockets during the war; only 7% believe Egypt too has contributed to that.**

Belief that Hamas has won the Gaza War drops from 79% a month ago to 69% in this poll; 22% believe the two sides were losers. In the Gaza Strip, only 58% say Hamas came out a winner. Furthermore, the percentage of satisfaction with war achievements compared to the human and material losses sustained by the Gaza Strip drops from 59% a month ago to 49% in this poll. 50% are currently dissatisfied with the achievements. Satisfaction with the war outcome increases in the West Bank (53%) compared to the Gaza Strip (41%), among women (51%) compared to men (47%), among the religious (54%) compared to somewhat religious and the non-religious (46% and 31% respectively), among those who oppose the peace process (57%) compared to those who support the peace process (46%), among non-refugees (51%) compared to refugees (45%), among the illiterates (66%) compared to holders of BA degree (37%), among merchants, housewives, and professionals (53%, 54%, and 56% respectively) compared to students and employees (44% and 36% respectively), among those who work in the private sector (51%) compared to those who work in the public sector (33%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (67% and 59% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah and those who have not decided to whom they would vote if new elections are held today (32% and 44% respectively).

Despite that, an overwhelming majority of 80% supports the launching of rockets from the Gaza Strip at Israel if the siege and blockade are not ended. Support for launching rockets drops in the Gaza Strip to 72%. Moreover, a majority of 57% believes that launching rockets from populated areas in the Gaza Strip is justified and 39% say it is unjustified. Among Gazans, belief that it is justified to launch rockets from populated areas drops to 48% while increasing in the West Bank to 62%.

Furthermore, opposition to disarming armed groups in the Gaza Strip drops from 57% a month ago to 50% in this poll. Opposition to disarming Gazan armed groups increases in the West Bank (53%) compared to the Gaza Strip (42%), among the religious and the somewhat religious (53% and 49% respectively) compared to the non-religious (29%), among those who oppose the peace process (70%) compared to those who support the peace process (41%), among merchants and housewives (62% and 49% respectively) compared to students and employees (42% each), and among supporters of Hamas and the undecided (68% and 49% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (34% and 42% respectively).

About two thirds (65%) believe that Iran, Turkey and Qatar combined have given the Gaza Strip the ability to remain steadfast against Israeli attacks and to be able to continue to launch rockets during the war; only 7% believe Egypt too has contributed to that. Moreover, only 21% describe Egypt's role in the ceasefire negotiations as positive while a majority of 57% describe it as negative. When asked about the party that should finance the Gaza reconstruction with five options provided to respondents, 30% said it should be Israel, 24% said donor countries, 23% said Arab countries, 10% said Palestinian taxpayers, and 10% said Hamas. When only two options were provided, 50% said Palestinian taxpayers should finance the reconstruction and 19% selected Hamas.

(2) Presidential and Legislative Elections:

- **If new presidential elections are held today and only two were nominated, Ismail Haniyeh and Mahmoud Abbas, the former would win a majority of 55% (compared to 61% a month ago)**

Level of satisfaction with the performance of Abbas stays as it was a month ago at 39%. Satisfaction with Abbas stood at 50% before the Gaza war. The low level of satisfaction with Abbas reflects itself in the outcome of presidential elections if held today: Ismail Haniyeh would win a majority of 55% (compared to 61% a month ago) and Abbas 38% (compared to 32% a month ago). Votes for Abbas and Haniyeh are close in the Gaza Strip with the former receiving 47% and the latter 50%. In the West Bank, Abbas receives 33% and Haniyeh 57%. Vote for Haniyeh is higher in cities and refugee camps (57% each) compared to

and the latter 38% (compared to 32% a month ago).

- **Level of satisfaction with the performance of Abbas stays as it was a month ago at 39%.**
- **If presidential elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 48% and the latter would receive 46% of the participants' votes.**
- **If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 72% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 39% say they would vote for Hamas and 36% say they would vote for Fatah.**
- **A majority of 69% wants elections to take place within few to six months from today, 11% want them to take place after a year or more, and 15% do not want elections.**

villages and towns (41%), among women (56%) compared to men (53%), among those whose age is between 18 and 29 years and 40 and 49 years (58% and 60% respectively) compared to those whose age is between 30 and 39 and those whose age is 50 or over (47% and 52% respectively), among the religious (64%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (51% and 18% respectively), among those who oppose the peace process (82%) compared to supporters of the peace process (43%), among those who hold a BA degree (52%) compared to the illiterates (41%), among housewives, professionals, and merchants (58%, 59% and 76% respectively) compared to students and employees (45% each), among those who work in the private sector (60%) compared to those who work in the public sector (41%), and among supporters of Hamas (97%) compared to supporters of Fatah, third parties and the undecided (7%, 39%, and 46% respectively).

If presidential elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 48% and the latter would receive 46% of the participants' votes. A month ago, Barghouti received 45% and Haniyeh 49%. Before the Gaza War Barghouti received the support of 58% and Haniyeh 38%. If presidential elections were between three: Mahmud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Abbas would receive 22%, Barghouti 30%, and Haniyeh 43%.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 72% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 39% say they would vote for Hamas and 36% say they would vote for Fatah, 5% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 21% are undecided. A month ago, vote for Hamas stood at 46% and Fatah at 31%. Before the Gaza war vote for Hamas stood at 32% and Fatah 40%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands in this poll at 40% and for Fatah at 39%. In the West Bank vote for Hamas stands at 38% and Fatah at 33%. These findings indicate a significant drop in Hamas' popularity in the West Bank compared to the findings a month ago when it stood at 47%. They also indicate a significant rise in Fatah's popularity in the West Bank from 27% to 33% during the same period. A majority of 69% wants elections to take place within few to six months from today, 11% want them to take place after a year or more, and 15% do not want elections.

(3) Domestic Conditions:

- **Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip continues to drop to 9% in this poll and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank continues to drop as well standing at 24% in this poll.**
- **Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip increase from 22% a month ago to 31% in this poll. In the West Bank perception of safety and security remains unchanged compared to a month ago, standing today at 47%.**
- **Percentage of Gazans who say they seek immigration to other countries stands at 44%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 22%.**
- **Perception of corruption in PA**

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip continues to drop to 9% in this poll compared to 20% a month ago and 24% three months ago. Positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank continues to drop as well standing at 24% in this poll compared to 32% a month ago and 33% three months ago. Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip increase from 22% a month ago to 31% in this poll. Three months ago, before the Gaza war, the percentage of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stood at 64%. In the West Bank perception of safety and security remains unchanged compared to a month ago, standing today at 47%; three months ago, it stood at 51%. These findings are reflected in the percentages of those who wish to immigrate from the Gaza Strip, reaching 44%. Among residents of the West Bank, only 22% say economic and security conditions force them to seek to immigrate.

Findings also show that viewership of Hamas TV, al Aqsa, drops from 37% a month ago to 24% in this poll. Other major TV channels witnessed an increase in viewership; for example, Al Jazeera viewership rises from 21% to 24%, Palestine TV from 16% to 20%, Maan-Mix from 11% to 12%, and al Arabiyya from 5% to 7%.

Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 78% compared to 81% three months ago. 23% say there is press freedom in the West Bank and an identical percentage say there is press freedom in the Gaza Strip. 29% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the authority in the West Bank without fear. By contrast, a larger percentage of 35% say people in the Gaza Strip can criticize the

institutions stands at 78% compared to 81% three months ago.

- **29% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the authority in the West Bank without fear. By contrast, a larger percentage of 35% say people in the Gaza Strip can criticize the authorities in Gaza without fear.**

(4) The reconciliation government and its role in Gaza after the war:

- **Optimism about the success of reconciliation and the end of the split drops from 69% a month ago to 53% in this poll.**
- **Satisfaction with the performance of the reconciliation government drops from 46% a month ago to 36% in this poll.**
- **57% prefer to get rid of the reconciliation government and form a unity government in which leaders and politicians from all major factions would participate; 35% oppose such a step and prefer to keep the reconciliation government.**
- **A majority of 50% (64% in the Gaza Strip and 43% in the West Bank) wants to place the reconciliation government in charge of the Rafah crossing, but 37% prefer to keep it under Hamas' control.**
- **Satisfaction with the implementation of the reconciliation agreement drops from 61% three months ago to 48% in this poll.**
- **45% believe that Hamas has established a shadow government in the Gaza Strip and 40% reject this claim.**
- **In light of the dissatisfaction with the performance of the reconciliation government, 52% believe the PA has become a burden on the Palestinian people and only 41% believe it is an accomplishment.**

authorities in Gaza without fear. It seems that the vacuum of authority in the Gaza Strip has given the public a sense of freedom.

Findings indicate a significant drop in the level of optimism about the success of reconciliation and the end of the split from 69% a month ago to 53% in this poll; pessimism rises from 28% to 43%. Optimism remains high in the Gaza Strip (64%) compared to the West Bank (48%). Furthermore, satisfaction with the performance of the reconciliation government drops from 46% a month ago to 36% in this poll. Dissatisfaction rises from 46% to 54%. It is worth mentioning that three months ago, right after its establishment, 61% had confidence in the reconciliation government. Lack of confidence in the reconciliation government is higher in the Gaza Strip (61%) compared to the West Bank (51%), among men (61%) compared to women (48%), among the religious (57%) compared to the somewhat religious (51%), among those who oppose the peace process (77%) compared to those who support the peace process (46%), among holders of BA degree (64%) compared to the illiterates (39%), among merchants and employees (76% and 66% respectively) compared to students (50%) and among supporters of Hamas and the undecided (75% and 56%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (36% and 48% respectively). Lack of trust in the reconciliation government drives 57% of the public to seek replacing it with a unity government, on in which leaders and politicians from all major factions would participate; 35% oppose such a step and prefer to keep the reconciliation government.

Despite the lack of trust in the reconciliation government, a majority of 50% (64% in the Gaza Strip and 43%) wants to place the reconciliation government in charge of the Rafah crossing, but 37% prefer to keep it under Hamas' control. The same applies to the crossings with Israel with 52% (63% in the Gaza Strip and 47% in the West Bank) wishing to place them under the control of the reconciliation government. 46% want the reconciliation government to be in charge of the reconstruction of the Gaza Strip and 34% want it placed in the hands of Hamas.

Furthermore, satisfaction with the implementation of the reconciliation agreement drops from 61% three months ago to 48% in this poll. Indeed, 45% believe that Hamas has established a shadow government in the Gaza Strip but 40% reject this claim. The belief that Hamas has established a shadow government increases in the Gaza Strip (49%) compared to the West Bank (43%), among men (47%) compared to women (42%), among the somewhat religious and the non-religious (48% and 64% respectively) compared to the religious (38%), among supporters of the peace process (52%) compared to those who are opposed to the peace process (27%), among the illiterates (48%) compared to holders of BA degree (42%), among those who work in the public sector (50%) compared to those who work in the private sector (43%), and among supporters of Fatah and third parties (68% and 59% respectively) compared to supporters of Hamas and the undecided (22% and 41% respectively).

But the belief that Hamas is responsible for hindering the functioning of the reconciliation government does not exceed 25% while 36% believe that the PA and president Abbas were to blame for that and 18% blame the head of the reconciliation government. The percentage of those who

accuse Hamas of hindering the work of the reconciliation government increases in the Gaza Strip (37%) compared to the West Bank (18%), among the somewhat religious and the non-religious (26% and 52% respectively) compared to the religious (18%), among supporters of the peace process (31%) compared to those who are opposed to the peace process (12%), among holders of BA degree (27%) compared to the illiterates (14%), among employees and students (36% and 31% respectively) compared to merchants and housewives (12% and 22% respectively), among those who work in the public sector (36%) compared to those who work in the private sector (21%), and among supporters of Fatah and third parties (58% and 32% respectively) compared to supporters of Hamas and the undecided (5% and 15% respectively).

In light of the dissatisfaction with the performance of the reconciliation government, 52% believe the PA has become a burden on the Palestinian people and only 41% believe it is an accomplishment. Three months ago, right after the formation of the reconciliation government, 50% said the PA was an accomplishment and 45% said it was a burden. Findings also show that 80% of the public want the reconciliation government to pay the salaries of the public sector in the Gaza Strip and 17% oppose that. In this regard, 68% want the reconciliation government to be in charge of supervising the work of the employees of Gaza security sector who worked in the past under Hamas government; 29% disagree with that, wanting instead to keep these employees under Hamas' control. Nonetheless, 68% agree with Hamas' demand that security and police should remain under its control during the next 6 months, up until the elections; 28% disagree with that.

(5) Peace Process:

- **Only 40% of the public has heard and 58% have not heard about President Abbas' plan to set a deadline for ending occupation and building a state. Among those who have heard about the plan 72% support it and 25% oppose it.**
- **A majority of 53% supports the two-state solution and 46% oppose it.**
- **The public is divided over the most effective means of ending occupation and building a Palestinian state: 44% believe that armed confrontation is the most effective means; 29% believe negotiation is the best means, and 23% believe that popular non-violent resistance is the most effective route to statehood.**
- **60% say that the two-state solution is no longer practical due to Israeli settlement expansion.**
- **A majority of 59% support and 35% oppose committing the reconciliation government to accept existing agreements with**

Findings show that only 40% of the public has heard and 58% have not heard about President Abbas' plan to set a deadline for ending occupation and building a state. Among those who have heard about the plan 72% support it and 25% oppose it. Only 42% of those who have heard about the plan believe the chances for its success were medium or high and 58% believe its chances for success were low or non-existent. These findings might mean that public interest in the plan is not high and that the public does not trust the process that the president has embarked on. It could also mean that the president has not yet explained his plan to the public and has not sought support for it.

Findings show A majority of 53% supports the two-state solution and 46% oppose it. A month ago, 49% supported it and 50% opposed it. But the public is divided over the most effective means of ending occupation and building a Palestinian state: 44% believe that armed confrontation is the most effective means; 29% believe negotiation is the best means, and 23% believe that popular non-violent resistance is the most effective route to statehood. A month ago, 53% said armed confrontations were the most effective means while 22% selected negotiations, and 20% selected popular non-violent resistance. Support for armed action as the most effective means of building a state is higher among residents of cities and refugee camps (45% each) compared to residents of villages and towns (35%), among men (48%) compared to women (39%), among the religious (48%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (41% and 30% respectively), among those who are opposed to the peace process (67%) compared to supporters of the peace process (33%), among holders of BA degree (47%) compared to illiterates (41%) among merchants and professionals (52% and 51% respectively) compared to students, housewives, and employees (37%, 40% and 41% respectively), among those who work in the private sector (47%) compared to those who work in the public sector (42%), and among supporters of Hamas (67%) compared to supporters of Fatah, the undecided, and supporters of third parties (22%, 35%, and 41% respectively).

Israel.

- **The public is divided equally over the Arab Peace Initiative with 47% supporting it and an identical number opposing it.**
- **In the absence of viable negotiations, 83% support joining more international organizations; 79% support joining the International Criminal Court; and 63% favor resort to popular non-violent resistance.**
- **Only 30% support the merging of Hamas' al Qassam Brigades into the PA's National Security Forces as a way of meeting the demand for disarming Hamas and 67% oppose that.**

Despite the majority support for the two-state solution, 60% say that the two-state solution is no longer practical due to Israeli settlement expansion and 36% think it is still practical. Similarly, 72% believe that the chances for establishing a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years are slim or non-existent. Despite that, only 27% support and 71% oppose the abandonment of the two-state solution and the adoption of the one-state solution.

A majority of 59% support and 35% oppose committing the reconciliation government to accept existing agreements with Israel. A month ago, 54% supported this position and 40% opposed it. But the public is divided equally over the Arab Peace Initiative with 47% supporting it and an identical number opposed to it. A majority of 56% nonetheless is opposed to recognition of Israel as a Jewish state while 41% support this recognition.

In the absence of viable negotiations, 83% support joining more international organizations; 79% support joining the International Criminal Court; and 63% favor resort to popular non-violent resistance. The public is divided equally over a return to armed intifada; a month ago 60% supported this alternative, but three months ago support did not exceed 41%. Findings show also that a majority of 53% is opposed to the dissolution of the PA while 44% support it. 57% believe that massive popular demonstrations could contribute to ending the Israeli occupation but 42% disagree with that. By contrast, a larger majority of 81% favors Hamas way of resisting occupation. Support for Hamas' way stood at 88% one month ago. Furthermore, 63% favor the transfer of Hamas' armed approach to the West Bank and 34% oppose that. One month ago, support for this transfer stood at 72%. In this regard, only 30% support the merging of Hamas' al Qassam Brigades into the PA's National Security Forces as a way of meeting the demand for disarming Hamas and 67% oppose that. Support for the merge is higher in the Gaza Strip (36%) compared to the West Bank (27%), among residents of cities (32%) compared to residents of villages/town and refugee camps (25% and 21% respectively), among the somewhat religious and the non-religious (33% and 40% respectively) compared to religious (24%), among supporters of the peace process (37%) compared to those who are opposed to the peace process (13%), among holders of BA degree (31%) compared to illiterates (19%), among those who work in the public sector (34%) compared to those who work in the private sector (28%), and among supporters of Fatah, third parties, and the undecided (51%, 39%, and 35% respectively) compared to supporters of Hamas (11%).

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

- **50% 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.**
- **The most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities in the eyes of 30% of the public.**

Findings show that 50% 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, 28% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 12% believe that it should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings, and 10% believe that the first and most vital goal should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians.

The most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities in the eyes of 30% of the public, while 26% say it is the spread of poverty and unemployment; 22% believe the most serious problem is corruption in some public institutions, and 18% believe it is the siege of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its crossings.

Palestinian Public Opinion Poll No (53)

25-27 September 2014

	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	7.0%	5.2%	10.4%
2) al Jazeera	24.2%	23.8%	24.8%
3) al Hurra	.3%	.1%	.7%
4) al Manar	1.6%	1.0%	2.7%
5) Palestine TV	20.1%	21.6%	17.1%
6) alaqsa	24.2%	22.3%	27.8%
7) man(mix)	12.2%	14.4%	7.8%
8) Do not watch TV	3.6%	3.3%	4.1%
9) others	5.6%	6.0%	4.7%
10) Do not have a dish	1.0%	1.5%	0.0%
11) DK/NA	.4%	.6%	0.0%
1) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?			
1) Very good	1.8%	2.2%	1.0%
2) Good	7.6%	7.9%	7.0%
3) so so	13.2%	11.9%	15.7%
4) Bad	37.4%	39.4%	33.4%
5) Very bad	38.4%	36.0%	42.9%
6) DK/NA	1.7%	2.5%	0.0%
2) 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%	4.0%	5.8%
2) Good	18.9%	17.5%	21.7%
3) so so	34.0%	35.7%	30.7%
4) Bad	28.2%	29.3%	26.1%
5) Very bad	13.3%	12.9%	14.0%
6) DK/NA	1.0%	.6%	1.7%
3) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	43.4%	37.7%	54.5%
2) somewhat religious	49.6%	56.5%	36.1%
3) not religious	6.8%	5.5%	9.4%
4) DK/NA	.2%	.3%	0.0%
4) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) supportive of the peace process	53.3%	57.7%	44.9%
2) opposed to the peace process	24.2%	19.4%	33.6%
3) between support and opposition	20.7%	20.3%	21.3%
4) DK/NA	1.8%	2.6%	.3%
5) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?			
yes	78.4%	79.3%	76.5%
no	15.0%	12.5%	19.8%
DK-NA	6.7%	8.2%	3.7%
6) In your view, is there a press freedom in the West Bank?			
yes	22.9%	20.6%	27.4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
to some extent	38.2%	37.5%	39.3%
no	35.1%	37.4%	30.6%
DK-NA	3.8%	4.4%	2.7%
7)In your view, is there a press freedom in the Gaza Strip?			
yes	23.4%	22.6%	24.9%
to some extent	36.9%	31.5%	47.3%
no	31.6%	33.8%	27.2%
DK-NA	8.2%	12.1%	.6%
8)In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear?			
yes	29.1%	31.9%	23.8%
no	67.1%	64.4%	72.2%
DK-NA	3.8%	3.7%	4.0%
9)In your view, can people in the Gaza Strip today criticize the authority without fear?			
yes	34.6%	37.7%	28.6%
no	57.1%	50.6%	69.9%
DK-NA	8.3%	11.7%	1.6%
10)Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	3.2%	2.8%	3.9%
2) Assured	38.4%	44.0%	27.4%
3) Not assured	47.0%	46.5%	47.8%
4) Not assured at all	11.3%	6.3%	20.9%
5) DK/NA	.2%	.4%	0.0%
11)Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	12.1%	8.5%	19.2%
2) Seek emigration	17.0%	13.1%	24.4%
3) Do not seek emigration	33.8%	37.6%	26.3%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	36.9%	40.6%	29.6%
5) DK/NA	.3%	.2%	.4%
12)Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) very satisfied	4.8%	3.3%	7.7%
2) satisfied	33.7%	36.0%	29.3%
3) not satisfied	37.9%	40.3%	33.3%
4) not satisfied at all	20.2%	15.4%	29.4%
5) DK/NA	3.4%	5.0%	.3%
13)If new presidential elections are to take place today, and Mahmud Abbas was nominated by Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh was nominated by Hamas, whom would you vote for?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	38.1%	32.5%	47.2%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	54.6%	57.2%	50.4%
4) DK/NA	7.3%	10.3%	2.5%
14)And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh representing Hamas, whom would you vote for?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	48.0%	45.8%	51.7%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	45.8%	45.2%	46.8%
4) DK/NA	6.2%	9.0%	1.5%
15) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmud			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Abbas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	30.0%	31.1%	28.1%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	43.0%	43.1%	42.9%
3. Mahmud Abbas	22.0%	18.6%	27.7%
5) DK/NA	5.0%	7.2%	1.2%
17) If new elections agreed to by all factions are held today and the same lists that took part in the last PLC elections were nominated, for whom would you vote?			
1) alternative	1.2%	1.2%	1.1%
2) independent Palestine	1.3%	1.1%	1.5%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	1.2%	.6%	2.3%
4) Abu al Abbas	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
5) freedom and social justice	.6%	.8%	.3%
6) change and reform	38.6%	37.5%	40.2%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	.1%	0.0%	.2%
9) freedom and independence	.8%	.6%	1.0%
10) Palestinian justice	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
11) Fateh	35.6%	33.2%	39.2%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	20.7%	24.9%	14.2%

18 -1) From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most important one ?

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	50.3%	52.0%	46.9%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	27.8%	26.7%	29.8%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	9.8%	10.1%	9.0%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	12.2%	11.1%	14.3%

18-2) From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the second most important one ?

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	19.8%	20.7%	17.9%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	40.3%	40.8%	39.4%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	16.5%	14.6%	20.2%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	23.4%	23.9%	22.5%

19) The Palestinian society confronts today various problems, like the continuation of occupation and settlements, the spread of unemployment and poverty, the lack of national unity due to the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings, the spread of corruption in public institutions, and others. Tell us, what in your opinion, is the problem you

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
see as the most fundamental, the one that must be on the top priority of the Palestinian Authority?			
1) continuation of occupation and settlements,	30.3%	30.6%	29.7%
2) spread of unemployment and poverty	25.5%	26.9%	22.7%
3) lack of national unity due to the split	1.2%	.3%	2.9%
4) continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings	18.4%	11.7%	31.5%
5) the spread of corruption in public institutions	22.3%	29.2%	8.9%
6) others (-----)	2.4%	1.3%	4.4%
7) DK/NA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
20) 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	41.4%	38.9%	46.3%
2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people	51.7%	53.5%	48.0%
3) DK/NA	6.9%	7.6%	5.7%
21) As you satisfied with the speed with which the reconciliation agreement is being implemented in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?			
1) Certainly yes	6.8%	6.4%	7.5%
2) YES	41.1%	42.5%	38.3%
3) NO	37.7%	38.8%	35.5%
4) Certainly no	10.5%	7.1%	17.0%
5) DK-NA	4.1%	5.2%	1.8%
22) In the last war in the Gaza Strip between Hamas and the resistance factions, who, in your view, came out the winner, Hamas or Israel?			
1) Hamas and the resistance factions	69.4%	75.4%	57.7%
2) Israel	5.4%	4.0%	8.1%
3) No one	22.1%	17.5%	30.8%
4) Both sides	2.2%	2.0%	2.8%
5) DK/NA	1.0%	1.2%	.6%
23) When comparing human and material losses in the Gaza Strip with the potential benefits of the Egyptian proposal mentioned above, do you feel satisfied or dissatisfied with the accomplishments of the war?			
1) Certainly satisfy	9.9%	10.5%	8.7%
2) Satisfy	38.8%	42.1%	32.3%
3) Does not satisfy	38.1%	38.1%	38.1%
4) Certainly does not satisfy	11.8%	7.4%	20.4%
5) DK/NA	1.4%	1.9%	.5%
24) Do you support or oppose the continuation of launching of rockets from the Gaza Strip on Israeli cities and towns until Israel agree to end the siege and closure on Gaza?			
1) certainly support	24.8%	24.8%	24.9%
2) support	54.7%	58.5%	47.3%
3) oppose	12.5%	10.7%	16.0%
4) certainly oppose	5.2%	2.3%	11.1%
5) DK/NA	2.7%	3.7%	.8%
25) From among the following countries, which one gave the Gaza Strip the capacity to remain steadfast against Israel and to continue to launch rockets during the latest war?			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) Egypt	6.9%	4.4%	11.7%
2) Qatar	15.6%	13.2%	20.3%
3) Iran	26.0%	27.2%	23.8%
4) Turkey	23.0%	23.0%	22.9%
5) Others	15.6%	17.3%	12.3%
6) DK/NA	12.9%	14.9%	9.1%

26) Last May witnessed the formation of a reconciliation government made up of experts and independents under prime minister Rami al Hamdallah. Do you prefer to see this government stay in office or replaced by a national unity government made up of leaders and politicians from the major political factions, such as Fatah, Hamas, PFLP, and others?

1) Certainly prefer to keep the reconciliation government	13.2%	10.1%	19.2%
2) Prefer to keep the reconciliation government	21.6%	17.7%	29.0%
3) Prefer to a national unity government from all factions	45.6%	48.9%	39.2%
4) Certainly prefer to a national unity government from all factions	11.7%	12.1%	10.8%
5) DK/NA	7.9%	11.1%	1.7%

27) Now, about five months after the formation of the reconciliation government, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with its performance?

1) Certainly satisfy	3.8%	2.5%	6.4%
2) Satisfy	32.1%	32.6%	31.2%
3) Does not satisfy	44.1%	43.0%	46.1%
4) Certainly does not satisfy	10.2%	7.6%	15.3%
5) DK/NA	9.7%	14.2%	.9%

28) When do you want the holding of parliamentary and presidential elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, in the next few months, after six months, after a year or do not want the holding of elections?

1) In the next few months	45.9%	45.3%	47.1%
2) After six months	23.1%	18.5%	31.9%
3) After a year or more	10.5%	10.4%	10.8%
4) Do not want elections	14.5%	17.7%	8.1%
5) DK/NA	6.0%	8.1%	2.1%

29) Is the launching of rockets from civilian areas in the Gaza Strip justified or unjustified?

1) Certainly justified	13.7%	13.9%	13.3%
2) Justified	43.4%	47.7%	35.0%
3) Unjustified	32.0%	30.5%	34.8%
Certainly unjustified	7.1%	3.2%	14.5%
DK/NA	3.9%	4.6%	2.4%

30) After the end of the war, who in your view should assume control over the following matters, the reconciliation government under the supervision of president Abbas or Hamas?

30-1) Control over the Rafah crossing with Egypt

1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas	49.7%	42.6%	63.6%
2) Hamas	37.1%	43.4%	24.8%
3) Others	10.2%	9.7%	11.2%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) DK/NA	3.0%	4.3%	.4%
30-2) Control over the borders between Rafah and Egypt			
1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas	48.6%	43.7%	58.1%
2) Hamas	36.1%	39.7%	29.1%
3) Others	11.9%	12.0%	11.6%
4) DK/NA	3.4%	4.5%	1.2%
30-3) Control over the crossings with Israel			
1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas	52.1%	46.7%	62.7%
2) Hamas	33.1%	38.4%	22.8%
3) Others	11.3%	10.2%	13.4%
4) DK/NA	3.5%	4.7%	1.2%
30-4) Control over the borders of the Gaza Strip with Israel			
1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas	46.4%	44.9%	49.2%
2) Hamas	38.5%	40.0%	35.5%
3) Others	11.7%	10.6%	13.9%
4) DK/NA	3.4%	4.4%	1.5%
30-5) Rebuilding of destroyed homes and infrastructure			
1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas	45.6%	45.0%	46.9%
2) Hamas	34.1%	36.8%	28.7%
3) Others	17.4%	14.3%	23.5%
4) DK/NA	2.9%	3.9%	.9%
31) In your view, who should pay the cost of the reconstruction of the Gaza Strip after the war?			
1) Palestinian tax payers through the PA (skip to Q33)	10.3%	9.9%	11.1%
2) Hamas (skip to Q33)	9.7%	5.9%	17.1%
3) Arab countries	23.1%	24.9%	19.5%
4) Donor countries	23.8%	20.1%	31.0%
5) Israel	30.0%	34.9%	20.3%
6) Others (skip to Q33)	1.0%	1.3%	.3%
7) DK/NA (skip to Q33)	2.3%	3.1%	.7%
32) If Israel, the donor countries, and the Arab states refused to pay the costs, who in your view should pay the cost of the reconstruction in the Gaza Strip?			
1) Palestinian tax payers through the PA	50.4%	47.8%	56.2%
2) Hamas	19.2%	18.1%	21.7%
3) Others	18.0%	22.7%	7.6%
4) DK/NA	12.4%	11.4%	14.5%
33) In order to meet the request to disarm Hamas, there is a proposal to merge al Qassam Brigades into the Palestinian National Security Forces. Do you support or oppose this proposal?			
1) certainly support	4.5%	3.2%	7.1%
2) support	25.2%	23.4%	28.8%
3) oppose	43.1%	46.3%	36.8%
4) certainly oppose	23.6%	22.9%	24.9%
5) DK/NA	3.6%	4.2%	2.4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
34) President Abbas says that Hamas has formed a shadow government in the Gaza Strip which is preventing the reconciliation government from exercising its authority. But Hamas denies the charge. What do you think?			
1) Certainly there is a shadow Hamas government in the Gaza Strip	16.9%	15.6%	19.2%
2) There is a shadow Hamas government in the Gaza Strip	27.9%	27.1%	29.4%
3) There is no shadow Hamas government in the Gaza Strip	28.9%	30.4%	25.8%
4) Certainly there is no shadow Hamas government in the Gaza Strip	10.6%	8.4%	14.8%
5) DK/NA	15.8%	18.4%	10.8%
35) If you think the reconciliation government is not doing its job as you would want it to do, who in your view is responsible for that?			
1) The PA and Abbas	35.8%	35.3%	36.6%
2) Hamas	24.5%	18.3%	36.6%
3) The head of the reconciliation government	18.0%	16.6%	20.8%
4) DK/NA	21.7%	29.8%	6.0%
36) Did you hear about Abbas' plan which demand the setting of a deadline for ending Israeli occupation and building a Palestinian state?			
1) Certainly yes	7.7%	7.7%	7.8%
2) YES	31.8%	32.4%	30.7%
3) NO (skip to Q39)	53.5%	53.8%	53.0%
4) Certainly no (skip to Q39)	4.9%	3.7%	7.4%
5) DK-NA (skip to Q39)	2.1%	2.5%	1.2%
37) If you have heard about it, do you support or oppose it?			
1) certainly support	11.9%	9.8%	16.0%
2) support	59.7%	63.7%	51.9%
3) oppose	19.3%	19.2%	19.7%
4) certainly oppose	5.9%	4.4%	8.8%
5) DK/NA	3.1%	2.9%	3.7%
38) In your view, what are the chances for its success?			
1) High	9.1%	4.5%	17.8%
2) Medium	32.4%	34.2%	28.7%
3) Low	34.7%	35.4%	33.3%
4) Non-existent	22.9%	24.7%	19.5%
5) DK/NA	1.0%	1.1%	.7%
39) Do you think that the reconciliation government should be responsible for paying the salaries of the civilian sector employees who used to work for the previous Hamas government?			
1) Certainly yes	24.9%	23.3%	27.9%
2) YES	54.6%	58.3%	47.5%
3) NO	14.6%	12.8%	18.1%
4) Certainly no	2.8%	1.8%	4.9%
5) DK-NA	3.1%	3.8%	1.6%
40) And what about the payment of the salaries of the police and security men who used to work for the previous Hamas government? Should the reconciliation government pay those as well?			
1) Certainly yes	23.2%	21.8%	26.1%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) YES	53.9%	58.9%	44.2%
3) NO	15.6%	12.7%	21.0%
4) Certainly no	3.8%	2.2%	7.1%
5) DK-NA	3.5%	4.4%	1.6%
41) Who in your view should command the security men and the policemen who used to work for the previous Hamas government: the reconciliation government or Hamas?			
1) Certainly the reconciliation government	18.6%	17.3%	21.1%
2) The reconciliation government	49.1%	46.5%	54.0%
3) Hamas	26.9%	30.2%	20.4%
4) Certainly Hamas	1.3%	1.1%	1.8%
5) DK/NA	4.2%	4.9%	2.7%
42) Hamas says that control over security and the police in the Gaza Strip will remain in its hands during the next 6 months until the conduct of elections. Do you agree or disagree with this arrangement?			
1) Certainly agree	15.3%	15.4%	15.2%
2) agree	52.9%	59.0%	41.0%
3) disagree	23.6%	19.2%	32.0%
4) Certainly disagree	4.7%	2.3%	9.5%
5) DK/NA	3.5%	4.1%	2.4%
43) And what do you expect to happen to the relationship between the Gaza Strip and Egypt, particularly to the opening of the Rafah crossing? Will be or will not it be opened?			
1) Will certainly open	6.3%	2.6%	13.5%
2) Will open	49.9%	46.0%	57.5%
3) Will not open	34.7%	40.5%	23.4%
4) Will certainly not open	4.3%	4.9%	3.2%
5) DK/NA	4.7%	5.9%	2.4%
44) Egypt played a role in the efforts to reach a ceasefire in the Gaza war. How do you evaluate this role? Do you see it as positive, serving Palestinian interests or negative, serving Israel's interests?			
1) Certainly positive	3.9%	1.4%	8.7%
2) Positive	16.8%	14.9%	20.3%
3) Neutral	20.6%	15.4%	30.7%
4) Negative	34.1%	37.8%	27.0%
5) Certainly negative	22.7%	27.5%	13.3%
6) DK/NA	2.0%	3.0%	0.0%
45) President Abbas says that the reconciliation government will be committed to agreements signed by the PLO with Israel. Hamas expressed opposition to this view. What do you think, should the reconciliation government be committed to these agreements?			
1) Certainly yes	10.2%	10.2%	10.2%
2) YES	49.1%	50.4%	46.4%
3) NO	29.7%	28.6%	31.8%
4) Certainly no	4.9%	2.9%	8.9%
5) DK-NA	6.2%	8.0%	2.6%
46) President Abbas also says that the admission of Hamas into the PLO will mean Hamas' indirect endorsement of the PLO program and the agreements signed with Israel. Do you agree or disagree with this interpretation?			
1) Certainly agree	6.3%	5.0%	8.8%
2) agree	40.2%	41.6%	37.4%
3) disagree	33.7%	34.1%	32.8%
4) Certainly disagree	12.1%	9.6%	16.9%
5) DK/NA	7.7%	9.7%	4.0%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
47) The Palestinian Authority in the West Bank has dissolved all armed groups that belonged to political factions or parties. Now after reconciliation, under what conditions you think armed groups in the Gaza Strip should be dissolved?			
1)Only after signing a peace agreement with Israel	19.6%	18.6%	21.4%
2)Only after the ending of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip	15.0%	11.9%	21.1%
3)Only after the upcoming legislative and presidential elections	5.1%	4.1%	7.1%
4)Now, having formed a reconciliation government	7.8%	7.9%	7.6%
5)I oppose the dissolution of the armed groups in the Gaza Strip under any circumstances	49.5%	53.5%	41.7%
6)DK/NA	3.0%	3.9%	1.2%
48) 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	3.7%	1.8%	7.4%
2)succeed	49.4%	45.9%	56.1%
3)fail	38.1%	42.6%	29.3%
4)Certainly fail	4.6%	5.0%	3.9%
5)DK/NA	4.2%	4.7%	3.3%
49) Now after agreement of the ceasefire and after the war in Gaza, what do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis?			
1) the two sides will return to negotiations soon and there will be no violence	30.3%	29.3%	32.4%
2) the two sides will return to negotiations but some armed attacks will take place	38.2%	40.6%	33.5%
3) Negotiations will not return soon and some armed attacks will take place	17.9%	18.2%	17.2%
4) Negotiations will not return soon and there will be no armed attacks	9.0%	6.4%	13.9%
5) DK/NA	4.6%	5.5%	3.0%
50) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside Israel known as the two States solution?			
1) certainly support	5.3%	6.2%	3.7%
2) support	47.3%	49.5%	43.0%
3) oppose	35.1%	34.9%	35.3%
4) certainly oppose	11.0%	7.9%	17.1%
5) DK/NA	1.3%	1.4%	.9%
51) In your view, what is the most effective means for the establishment of a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel? Is it:			
1)Negotiations	29.2%	27.7%	32.1%
2)Armed action	43.5%	42.7%	44.9%
3)Popular nonviolent resistance	22.7%	23.9%	20.5%
4)DK/NA	4.6%	5.7%	2.5%
52) 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?			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) certainly the two-state solution is no longer viable	24.7%	22.0%	29.9%
2) the two state solution is no longer viable	35.4%	36.3%	33.8%
3) the two-state solution remains viable today	27.0%	29.4%	22.3%
4) Certainly, the two-state solution remains viable today	9.4%	9.0%	10.2%
5) DK/NA	3.5%	3.4%	3.8%
53) Talk has recently increased about the inevitable failure of the two-state solution and the need to demand the formulation of a solution based on the establishment of one state in all Palestinian areas and Israel, one in which Arabs and Jews enjoy equality. Do you support or oppose this view?			
1) certainly support	2.0%	2.3%	1.5%
2) support	24.7%	26.2%	21.8%
3) oppose	49.6%	50.3%	48.2%
4) certainly oppose	21.8%	19.1%	27.1%
5) DK/NA	1.9%	2.1%	1.4%
54) Now more than 45 years after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, what in your view are the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years? Are they high, medium, low, or none existent?			
1) None existent	28.6%	26.9%	32.1%
2) Low	43.2%	44.6%	40.4%
3) Medium	22.9%	23.2%	22.4%
4) High	3.7%	3.3%	4.3%
5) DK/NA	1.6%	2.0%	.8%
55) To what extent are you worried or not worried that you or a member of your family could be hurt by Israel in your daily life or that your land would be confiscated or home demolished?			
1) Very Worried	36.8%	32.2%	45.9%
2) Worried	44.5%	45.8%	42.0%
3) Not worried	16.0%	19.3%	9.6%
4) Not worried at all	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%
5) DK/NA	.0%	.1%	0.0%
56) What do you think are the aspirations of Israel for the long run?			
1. Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security	7.8%	6.4%	10.4%
2. Withdrawal form part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security	11.5%	10.7%	13.0%
3. Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens	23.3%	20.9%	28.1%
4. Extending the borders of the state of Israel to cover all the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and expelling its Arab citizens	56.0%	60.6%	47.2%
5. DK/NA	1.4%	1.4%	1.3%
57) And what do you think are the aspirations of the Palestinian Authority and the PLO for the long run?			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) Regain some of the territories conquered in the 1967 war Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security	37.3%	38.9%	34.2%
2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war	26.5%	23.5%	32.3%
3) Conquer the State of Israel and regain control over the pre 1948 Palestine	14.4%	10.5%	22.0%
4) Conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel	12.8%	15.3%	7.8%
5) DK/NA	9.0%	11.7%	3.7%
58) According to the Saudi plan, Israel will retreat from all territories occupied in 1967 including Gaza the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and a Palestinian state will be established. The refugees problem will be resolved through negotiation in a just and agreed upon manner and in accordance with UN resolution 194 which allows return of refugees to Israel and compensation. In return, all Arab states will recognize Israel and its right to secure borders, will sign peace treaties with her and establish normal diplomatic relations. Do you agree or disagree to this plan?			
1) Certainly agree	5.8%	4.8%	7.7%
2) agree	41.5%	39.7%	45.1%
3) disagree	36.3%	38.7%	31.6%
4) Certainly disagree	10.9%	9.1%	14.5%
5) DK/NA	5.5%	7.7%	1.1%
59) There is a proposal that after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and the settlement of all issues in dispute, including the refugees and Jerusalem issues, there will be a mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinians people. Do you agree or disagree to this proposal?			
1) Certainly agree	2.6%	2.7%	2.3%
2) agree	38.2%	35.8%	42.9%
3) disagree	42.2%	45.0%	36.8%
4) Certainly disagree	14.2%	12.6%	17.4%
5) DK/NA	2.8%	4.0%	.5%
60) Now that negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis have stopped, would you support or oppose adopting the following options?			
60-2) Joining more international organizations			
1) certainly support	30.4%	23.3%	44.1%
2) support	53.0%	56.5%	46.3%
3) oppose	14.6%	17.5%	8.8%
4) certainly oppose	.7%	.7%	.6%
5) DK/NA	1.4%	2.0%	.3%
60-3) Abandon the two state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis			
1) certainly support	5.2%	5.3%	5.2%
2) support	23.2%	26.1%	17.5%
3) oppose	53.0%	54.6%	49.7%
4) certainly oppose	16.8%	11.8%	26.5%
5) DK/NA	1.8%	2.2%	1.1%
60-4) Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance			
1) certainly support	16.6%	14.7%	20.3%
2) support	46.6%	47.9%	44.1%
3) oppose	32.2%	34.4%	27.9%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) certainly oppose	3.1%	1.2%	6.8%
5) DK/NA	1.5%	1.8%	.8%
60-5) Return to the armed intifada and confrontations			
1) certainly support	12.5%	10.0%	17.4%
2) support	36.1%	35.4%	37.6%
3) oppose	39.7%	42.5%	34.3%
4) certainly oppose	9.7%	9.5%	10.0%
5) DK/NA	2.0%	2.6%	.8%
60-6) Dissolve the Palestinian Authority			
1) certainly support	12.8%	14.3%	10.0%
2) support	30.9%	29.4%	33.7%
3) oppose	39.8%	41.4%	36.5%
4) certainly oppose	13.6%	11.5%	17.7%
5) DK/NA	2.9%	3.3%	2.1%
61) If large popular nonviolent demonstrations against occupation took place in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, do you think this will speed up the process of ending occupation?			
1) Certainly yes	13.4%	9.3%	21.3%
2) YES	43.6%	42.0%	46.6%
3) NO	31.4%	36.2%	22.1%
4) Certainly no	10.4%	10.8%	9.6%
5) DK-NA	1.2%	1.7%	.3%
62) What about the approach or method used by Hamas in confronting occupation in the Gaza Strip? Do you support or oppose this approach or method?			
1) certainly support	25.9%	25.0%	27.6%
2) support	55.4%	61.2%	44.1%
3) oppose	14.4%	10.2%	22.7%
4) certainly oppose	2.2%	1.5%	3.7%
5) DK/NA	2.1%	2.1%	1.9%
63) And what about the West Bank, do you support or oppose emulating the same approach or method used by Hamas in confronting occupation in the Gaza Strip by transferring it to the West Bank?			
1) certainly support	22.4%	19.4%	28.2%
2) support	40.9%	42.7%	37.3%
3) oppose	28.4%	28.9%	27.3%
4) certainly oppose	5.9%	6.0%	5.7%
5) DK/NA	2.5%	2.9%	1.5%
64) Do you support or oppose a decision to have the Palestinian state join more international organizations including going to the International Criminal Court even if such a step led to the imposition of financial sanctions on the PA by Israel and the US?			
1) certainly support	18.2%	13.7%	27.1%
2) support	60.9%	63.5%	55.9%
3) oppose	16.1%	17.0%	14.4%
4) certainly oppose	3.0%	3.5%	1.9%
5) DK/NA	1.8%	2.4%	.7%
65) In your view, how will economic conditions in your area (West Bank or Gaza Strip) be in the next few (3-5) years compared to the situation today?			
1) Much better	5.1%	3.1%	8.9%
2) Better	20.6%	15.3%	30.8%
3) Same as today	26.4%	25.2%	28.7%
4) A little worse than today	16.1%	19.2%	10.0%
5) Much worse than today	28.9%	33.8%	19.3%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
6) DK/NA	2.7%	3.0%	2.1%
7) Refuse to answer	.2%	.3%	0.0%
66) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....			
1) certainly support	14.8%	9.9%	24.5%
2) support	39.6%	37.9%	43.0%
3) oppose	38.0%	43.9%	26.5%
4) certainly oppose	5.5%	5.7%	5.2%
5) DK/NA	2.0%	2.6%	.8%
67) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) PPP	.4%	.4%	.5%
2) PFLP	2.4%	1.5%	4.1%
3) Fateh	26.5%	23.0%	33.5%
4) Hamas	27.7%	25.5%	32.1%
5)DFLP	1.1%	1.3%	.8%
6)slamic Jihad	2.5%	.9%	5.5%
7) Fida	.0%	0.0%	.1%
8) National initiative (almubadara)	.5%	.3%	1.0%
9) Independent Islamist	3.0%	2.3%	4.3%
10) Independent nationalist	2.7%	2.1%	3.9%
11) third way headed by salam feyyad	.0%	0.0%	.1%
12) none of the above	32.6%	42.2%	14.0%
13) others	.4%	.6%	0.0%
68) If you use the internet to surf social sites like Facebook, Twitter, and various groups or to access email, how many times do you normally do that?			
1) More than once a day	16.9%	14.7%	21.2%
2) daily	23.4%	22.5%	25.1%
3) between 2-5 times weekly	11.2%	8.7%	16.2%
4) once a week	3.8%	3.1%	5.2%
5) once a month	4.7%	4.6%	4.8%
6) others	.3%	.3%	.3%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	39.7%	46.2%	27.1%