

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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## PRESS RELEASE

### **Palestinian Public Opinion Poll No (55)**

**Popularity of Abbas and Fatah improve and the public shows support for and satisfaction with the PA turn to the ICC, the decision to stop security coordination, and the boycott of selected Israeli products. But the public is highly dissatisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government and worried about the future given the outcome of the Israeli elections.**

19-21 March 2015

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 19-21 March 2015. The period before the poll witnessed the conduct of the Israeli elections and the victory of Netanyahu. Earlier, the PA joined the International Criminal Court (ICC), a step that led to an Israeli decision to suspend the transfer of PA custom funds. As a result, the PA was unable to pay the full salaries of the public sector. Palestinians responded by taking a decision to stop security coordination with Israel and to wage a boycott campaign against selected Israeli products. The period also witnessed a failure in implementing the reconciliation agreement due to the inability of the reconciliation government to take control over Gaza from Hamas. This failure greatly slowed down reconstruction efforts in the Gaza Strip as donors were unwilling to provide the necessary funds due to the absence of the PA. This press release covers attitudes regarding the Israeli elections, Palestinian elections, conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the salary crisis, reconciliation, the peace process, ICC, security coordination and the boycott of Israeli products. Total size of the sample is 1262 adults interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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### **Main Findings:**

Findings show that the public views negatively the outcome of the Israeli elections, believing it will increase the number and intensity of Palestinian-Israeli confrontations and will diminish the opportunity to resume negotiations. Despite this, and despite public concerns about the Israeli suspension of the transfer of PA custom funds, which constrained the ability of the PA to pay the salaries of its public sector, half of the public is optimistic about the chances for ending the suspension, now that the election in Israel is over.

Findings also show a reversal in some of the effects generated by the Gaza war nine months ago. This is particularly true regarding the internal balance of power as well as attitudes regarding the war outcome. The popularity of Abbas has improved considerably allowing him to run neck and neck with Hamas' candidate Ismail Haniyeh. This change might have been generated by public satisfaction with Abbas' decision to join the ICC. Similarly, Fatah's popularity improved, particularly in the West Bank where it gains greater support than Hamas for the first time since June 2014, before the Gaza war.

Findings show a significant decline in the belief that Hamas had won the 2014 Gaza war and the level of satisfaction with the outcome of the war drops considerably. Despite this, support for launching rockets against Israel if the siege and blockade over Gaza do not end remains very high. Similarly, support for an armed intifada—which witnessed some decline—remains high. Hamas' armed approach remains preferable to the public and the majority supports implementing it in the West Bank.

The public shows considerable satisfaction for joining the ICC despite the Israeli retaliation by suspending PA custom funds. Indeed, an overwhelming majority wants the PA to submit a complaint to the ICC against Israeli settlement policy. The public supports the PLO decision to stop security coordination but a majority believes that the PA will not implement this decision. Similarly, an overwhelming majority supports the boycott of selected Israeli products but one third say that they have not stopped buying such products. The public is opposed to the confiscation or destruction of boycotted products found in Palestinian shops; instead, it supports enacting a law banning displaying them in shops or alternatively waging a popular campaign to convince the public to stop buying these products.

Finally, a large majority remains dissatisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government. The public wants the government to assume control over crossings of the Gaza Strip and to supervise the reconstruction efforts. It also wants it to take full control over all civil and security institutions in the Gaza Strip. A clear majority wants the reconciliation government to have full control over the police force in the Gaza Strip and rejects the current status quo whereby Hamas remains in charge. The public wants the government to pay the salaries of the public sector that worked before reconciliation for the Hamas government. Finally, the public wants the reconciliation government to organize presidential and parliamentary elections within six months.

### **(1) Israeli Elections:**

- Israeli right-wing electoral victory heightens concerns about security conditions
- An overwhelming majority expect chances for renewal of negotiations to worsen.
- But the public is optimistic about Israeli release of PA custom funds
- A majority supports return to negotiations if construction in settlements is frozen.

After the Israeli right-wing electoral victory, 47% expect increased confrontations and worsening security conditions while 18% expect the opposite: less confrontations and better security conditions. 32% expect conditions to remain as they are today. Furthermore, 36% expect fewer chances to renew negotiations and 23% expect greater chances. 38% expect chances to remain as they are today. Half of the public expects Israel, now with the elections behind it, to resume the transfers of PA custom funds and 43% expect it will not do so.

Given the outcome of the Israeli elections, only 16% support an unconditional return to negotiations with Israel. By contrast, 42% support return to negotiations only if Israel agreed to freeze settlement construction. Still, 36% oppose return to negotiations even if Israel agreed to freeze settlement construction. Opposition to return to negotiations with the Netanyahu government even if it agreed to freeze settlement construction is higher in the Gaza Strip (40%) compared to the West Bank (34%), among men (41%) compared to women (31%), among those who hold a BA degree (38%) compared to those who completed elementary education only (28%), among students (39%) compared to farmers and housewives (19% and 30% respectively), among the religious (43%) compared to the somewhat religious (31%), among those who oppose the peace process (60%) compared to those who support the peace process (20%), and among Hamas supporters (58%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (18% and 27% respectively).

### **(2) Palestinian Elections:**

- In a presidential election, Abbas would receive 48% of the vote and Haniyeh 47%
- Satisfaction with the performance of Abbas rises from 35% to 40%

- In a parliamentary elections, Fatah would receive 39% of the vote, Hamas 32%, all other lists combined 9%, and 21% remain undecided
- 69% want general elections within six months

If new presidential elections were held today and only Mahmoud Abbas and Ismail Haniyeh were nominated, the former would win 48% (compared to 42% three months ago) and the latter 47% (compared to 53% three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 46% and Haniyeh 52%. In the West Bank, Abbas receives 50% and Haniyeh 42%. Level of satisfaction with the performance of Abbas rises to 40% (compared to 35% three months ago). Satisfaction with Abbas stood at 50% in June 2014 in the aftermath of the Shati reconciliation declaration but before the Gaza war. If the presidential elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 58% and the latter would receive 38% of the participants' votes. Three months ago, Barghouti received 52% and Haniyeh 43%. But if the presidential elections were between three: Mahmud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Abbas would receive 25%, Barghouti 37%, and Haniyeh 35%.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 71% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 32% say they would vote for Hamas and 39% say they would vote for Fatah, 9% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 21% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 36% and Fatah at 34%. In June 2014, just 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 39% (compared to 42% three months ago) and for Fatah at 36% (compared to 34% three months ago). In the West Bank vote for Hamas stands at 27% (compared to 32% three months ago) and Fatah at 41% (compared to 33% three months ago). A majority of 69% wants elections to take place within few to six months from today, 9% want them to take place after a year or more, and 16% do not want elections.

### **(3) Domestic Conditions, salary payment crisis, and ISIS:**

- Positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 30% and in the Gaza Strip at 8%; perception of safety and security stands at 45% in the Gaza Strip and 51% in the West Bank.
- Belief that corruption exists in the PA stands at 77%
- 33% say people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear
- 56% are worried that the PA might collapse if Israel continues to suspend transfer of PA customs funds
- 8% believe ISIS (Daesh) represents true Islam

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 8% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 30%. On the other hand, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 45%. In the West Bank perception of safety and security stands at 51%. Findings show that the percentage of Gazans who say they seek immigration to other countries stands at 45%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 25%.

Al Jazeera viewership is the highest, standing at 24%; Al Arabiyya stands at 7%. Viewership of PA's Palestine TV stands at 20% and Hamas' al Aqsa TV at 16%. Maan-Mix viewership stands at 19%.

Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 77% compared to 81% three months ago. 23% say there is press freedom in the West Bank and 18% say the same about the status of the press in the Gaza Strip. 33% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the PA authority in the West Bank without fear. An identical percentage say people in the Gaza Strip can criticize the authorities in Gaza without fear.

If Israel continues to suspend transfers of PA custom funds, 38% say the PA should borrow from banks to pay the public sector, 44% say the PA should either reduce salaries (29%) or reduce the size of the public sector (15%). A majority of 56% believes that continued withholding of PA custom funds, and the subsequent inability to pay the public sector salaries, will lead, if it lasts long, to the collapse of the PA; 40% do not believe that. Support for borrowing from the banks to pay the public sector is higher in the Gaza Strip (41%) compared to the West Bank (36%), among the youth between the ages of 18 and 28 (40%) compared to those whose age is over 50 years (35%), among women (40%) compared to men (35%), among those who work in the public sector (42%) compared to those who work in the private sector (35%), among supporters of Fatah (52%) compared to supporters of Hamas (31%), and among those who support the peace process (44%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (28%).

An overwhelming majority of 86% believes that ISIS (Daesh) is a radical group that does not represent true Islam and 8% believe it does represent true Islam. 6% are not sure or do not know. In the Gaza Strip, 13% (compared to 5% in the West Bank) say ISIS represents true Islam. Belief that ISIS represents true Islam increases among the youth between the ages of 18 and 28 (10%) compared to those whose age is over 50 (7%), among residents of cities (10%) compared to residents of villages and towns (4%), among men (9%) compared to women (7%), among those who hold a BA degree (12%) compared to those who completed elementary education (7%), among students (15%)

compared to farmers and retirees (0% and 2% respectively), among the religious (12%) compared to the somewhat religious (5%), and among supporters of Hamas (18% compared to supporters of Fatah (3%). Findings show that only 12% of the public support while 84% oppose allowing ISIS supporters to demonstrate publicly in the Palestinian areas (as they did in the Gaza Strip few months ago). In the Gaza Strip, support for allowing ISIS supporters to demonstrate stands at 20% compared to only 8% in the West Bank.

#### **(4) The reconciliation government and its role in Gaza:**

- Pessimism regarding success of reconciliation stands at 54% and optimism at 42%
- Satisfaction with the performance of the reconciliation government stands at 28%
- 45% say Hamas has established a shadow government in the Gaza Strip but only 24% blame Hamas for the poor performance of the reconciliation government
- 73% want the reconciliation government to pay the salaries of the employees of the former Hamas government and 64% believe the reconciliation government should be in charge of the Gaza police
- 72% want the unification of the police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the control of the reconciliation government

Optimism about the success of reconciliation and the end of the split stands today at 42% and pessimism at 54%. Satisfaction with the implementation of the reconciliation agreement stands at 33% and dissatisfaction at 62%. Similarly, satisfaction with the performance of the reconciliation government stands at 28%; dissatisfaction stands at 62%. It is worth mentioning that nine months ago, right after its establishment, 61% had confidence in the reconciliation government.

51% (59% in the Gaza Strip) want to place the reconciliation government in charge of the Rafah crossing, but 30% (26% in the Gaza Strip) prefer to keep it under Hamas' control. The same applies to the crossings with Israel with 51% (55% in the Gaza Strip) wishing to place them under the control of the reconciliation government. 44% want the reconciliation government to be in charge of the reconstruction of the Gaza Strip and 30% want it placed in the hands of Hamas.

45% believe that Hamas has established a shadow government in the Gaza Strip and 39% reject this claim. But the belief that Hamas is responsible for hindering the functioning of the reconciliation government does not exceed 24% while 30% believe that the PA and president Abbas are to blame and 17% blame the head of the reconciliation government.

73% believe that the reconciliation government should be responsible for paying the salaries of the Gazan civil public sector that used to work for the previous Hamas government. A similar percentage (72%) believes that the reconciliation government is also responsible for paying the salaries of the Gazan police and security personnel who used to work for the previous Hamas government. 64% want the reconciliation government, not Hamas, to be in charge of the Gaza police force and security personnel who used to work for the previous Hamas government; 30% believe Hamas should be the one in charge. Similarly, 72% support the unification of the police forces in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, including those who used to work for the previous Hamas government, under the full command and control of the reconciliation government. But 23% prefer to maintain the current status quo in the Gaza Strip, i.e., continued Hamas control of the police in the Gaza Strip. Support for the unification of the police force under the control of the reconciliation government is higher among Fatah supporters (79%) compared to supporters of Hamas (56%), among the somewhat religious (76%) compared to the religious (67%), and among supporters of the peace process (77%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (65%). Support for the unification in the West Bank is similar to that in the Gaza Strip (73% and 71% respectively).

If money to pay the Gazan public sector that used to work for the previous Hamas government is not readily available, 47% support reducing the salary of the current PA public sector by 15% thus allowing the reconciliation government to have the resources to pay the Gazan public sector. A slim majority of 51% is opposed to the reduction of the salary of the current PA public sector.

49% believe the PA has become a burden on the Palestinian people and only 42% believe it is an accomplishment. Nine months ago, right after the formation of the reconciliation government, 50% said the PA was an accomplishment and 45% said it was a burden.

#### **(5) Gaza War and the peace process:**

- A drop in the percentage of those who believe Hamas won the last Gaza war with Israel
- Satisfaction with the achievement of the last Gaza war drops to 37%
- More than two thirds support launching of rockets from the Gaza Strip if the siege and blockade continue

- 51% support the two-state solution but only 29% believe negotiation is the most effective means of establishing a Palestinian state
- Wide spread support (82%) for joining international organizations and 48% support an armed intifada
- 47% believe that Israel plans to destroy the two mosques, al Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock, and replace them with a Jewish temple

Belief that Hamas has won the Gaza War drops from 66% three months ago to 60% in this poll; 24% believe the two sides were losers. In the Gaza Strip, only 51% say Hamas came out a winner. Six months ago, 69% said Hamas came out a winner. Percentage of satisfaction with war achievements compared to the human and material losses sustained by the Gaza Strip drops from 42% three months ago to 37% in this poll. 62% are currently dissatisfied with the achievements. In the Gaza Strip, 60% are dissatisfied with war achievements. Despite that, a majority of 68% supports the launching of rockets from the Gaza Strip at Israel if the siege and blockade are not ended. Satisfaction with the war achievements is higher in the Gaza Strip (39%) compared to the West Bank (35%), among those who hold a BA degree (37%) compared to the illiterate (26%), among students (47%) compared to farmers (29%), among refugees (40%) compared to non-refugees (34%), among the religious (45%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (32% and 29% respectively), among those who oppose the peace process (50%) compared to supporters of the peace process (30%), and among Hamas supporters (64%) compared to Supporters of Fatah (22%).

A majority of 51% supports the two-state solution and 48% oppose it. But the public is more divided over the most effective means of ending occupation and building a Palestinian state living side by side with Israel: 37% believe that armed confrontation is the most effective means; 29% believe negotiation is the best means, and 30% believe that popular non-violent resistance is the most effective route to statehood. Three months ago, 42% said armed confrontations were the most effective means while 26% selected negotiations, and 28% selected popular non-violent resistance. Percentage of those who believe that armed confrontation is the most effective means increases in the Gaza Strip (40%) compared to the West Bank (34%), among residents of cities (39%) compared to residents of refugee camps and villages (31% each), among men (42%) compared to women (32%), among the religious (42%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (33% and 25% respectively), among those who oppose the peace process (66%) compared to supporters of the peace process (22%), and among Hamas supporters (66%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (15% and 26% respectively).

60% say that the two-state solution is no longer practical due to Israeli settlement expansion and 38% think it is still practical. Similarly, 71% 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 31% support and 68% oppose the abandonment of the two-state solution and the adoption of the one-state solution. Support for the one-state solution increases in the West Bank (33%) compared to the Gaza Strip (27%), among women (32%) compared to men (29%), among the illiterate (34%) compared to those who hold a BA degree (26%), among the non-religious and the somewhat religious (51% and 33% respectively) compared to the religious (25%), among supporters of the peace process (39%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (17%), and among supporters of third parties and Fatah (42% and 40% respectively) compared to supporters of Hamas (15%).

46% support and 51% oppose the Arab Peace Initiative; but only 39% support recognition of Israel as the state for the Jewish people in return for an Israeli recognition of Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people.

In the absence of viable negotiations, 82% support joining more international organizations; 68% favor resort to popular non-violent resistance; 48% support return to an armed intifada, and 43% support dissolving the PA. Three months ago, support for a return to armed intifada stood at 56% and nine months ago, i.e., before the Gaza war, at 41%. A majority of 74% favors Hamas way of resisting occupation; this percentage stood at 79% three months ago. Furthermore, 56% favor the transfer of Hamas' armed approach to the West Bank and 40% oppose that. Three months ago support for this transfer stood at 62%. Support for an armed intifada is higher in the Gaza Strip (55%) compared to the West Bank (44%), in cities (50%) compared to refugee camps and villages (41% and 45% respectively), among men (52%) compared to women (45%), among students (53%) compared to housewives (45%), among the religious (52%) compared to the non-religious and the somewhat religious (35% and 46% respectively), among those who oppose the peace process (72%) compared to the supporters of the peace process (38%), and among Hamas supporters (78%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (30% and 44% respectively).

The percentage of those who are worried that they would be hurt by Israel or that their land would be confiscated or homes demolished stands at 77%. 23% are not worried. An overwhelming majority of 82% believes that Israel's long term aspiration is to annex the lands occupied in 1967 and expel their population or deny them their rights. When asked about the long term aspiration of the PA and the PLO, 63% said that it is to recover all or parts of the land occupied in 1967 while 28% said it was to conquer the state of Israel or conquer the state of Israel and kill most of the Jews.

An overwhelming majority believes that al Haram al Sharif is in grave danger: 47% believe that Israel intends to destroy al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock and replace them with a Jewish temple; 20% believe that it intends to divide the plateau on which the two mosques sit so that Jews would have a synagogue alongside the Muslim holy places; and 10% believe that Israel intends to change the status quo prevailing in the plateau since 1967 by allowing Jews to pray there. Only 14% believe that Israel is interested in maintaining the status quo without change. More than half of the public (52%) believes that Israel will indeed succeed in implementing its plans for al Haram al Sharif and 43% believe it will not succeed.

## **(6) ICC, security coordination, and the boycott campaign**

- 86% want the PA to submit a complaint against Israel to the ICC
- 60% support stopping security coordination with Israel
- 85% support the campaign to boycott Israeli products

Despite the fact that the PA decision to become a member in the ICC has led Israel to suspend transfers of PA custom funds, 69% believe that the PA decision was a correct one and 26% believe it was the incorrect decision. Now, after joining ICC, 86% want the PA to submit a complaint against Israel for building settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories. Despite that, public confidence in the effectiveness of the court is not high: only 42% believe it will be effective in reducing or stopping settlement construction and 54% believe it will not be effective. Confidence in ICC effectiveness is higher in the Gaza Strip (47%) compared to the West Bank (39%), among the youth between the ages of 18 and 28 (47%) compared to those who are over 50 years of age (41%), among women (46%) compared to men (37%), among the non-religious and the somewhat religious (51% and 45%) compared to the religious (38%), among supporters of the peace process (49%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (28%), and among supporters of Fatah (52%) compared to supporters of Hamas and the third parties (32% and 37%).

A majority of 60% favors and 35% do not favor stopping security coordination with Israel. But a majority of 57% believes that the PA will not implement the decision of the PLO Central Council to stop security coordination with Israel; only 34% believe the PA will implement it. Support for stopping security coordination is higher in the Gaza Strip (69%) compared to the West Bank (55%), among those who hold a BA degree (67%) compared to the illiterate (55%), among refugees (65%) compared to non-refugees (57%), among the religious (64%) compared to the somewhat religious (56%), among those who are opposed to the peace process (71%) compared to supporters of the peace process (56%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (74% and 64% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (56%).

85% support the local and international campaign to boycott Israel and impose sanctions against it; 13% oppose it. 54% say that they have stopped buying boycotted Israeli products from Tnova and Strauss; 14% say they did not buy these products in the past; and 31% say they have not stopped buying them. Two thirds (65%) believe that the boycott of Israeli products will be effective in contributing to ending occupation and 34% do not believe that. The public is divided over the question of what to do to convince shops from selling boycotted Israeli products: one third (32%) supports confiscating or destroying these products; a second third (31%) wants the PA to enact a law banning selling them; and finally 34% want the PA to encourage people not to buy these boycotted products. In the West Bank, only 23% are in favor of confiscating or destroying these products (11% favor confiscation and 12% favor destruction). Opposition to destroying or confiscating boycotted products is higher in the Gaza Strip (46%) compared to the West Bank (23%), among the youth between the ages of 18 and 28 (37%) compared to those whose age is over 50 years (29%), among refugees (37%) compared to non-refugees (28%), among holders of BA degree (36%) compared to the illiterate (28%), among students (36%) compared to merchants and housewives (25% and 31% respectively), among the religious (34%) compared to the somewhat religious (28%), among those who are opposed to the peace process (36%) compared to supporters of the peace process (31%), and among Hamas supporters (40%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (30% and 31% respectively).

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

- 39% believe that the establishment of a Palestinian state is the top most important goal for the Palestinian people and 36% believe it is obtaining the right of return for refugees
- 28% say that the most serious problem confronting Palestinians today is poverty and unemployment and 26% say it is the continuation of occupation and settlements.

39% 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, 36% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 14% believe that it should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that

applies all Islamic teachings, and 12% 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 poverty and unemployment in the eyes of 28% while 26% of the public say that it is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities; 22% say it is the spread of corruption in some public institutions; and 19% believe it is the siege of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its crossings.

## Palestinian Public Opinion Poll No (55)

19-21 March 2015

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>Q00 )From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?</b>			
1) al Arabia	6.8%	5.7%	8.6%
2) al Jazeera	23.8%	23.0%	25.0%
3) al Hurra	.7%	.4%	1.2%
4) al Manar	2.4%	2.1%	2.8%
5) Palestine TV	20.2%	21.4%	18.3%
6) alaqsa	15.8%	9.1%	26.7%
7) man(mix)	19.1%	25.2%	9.2%
8) Do not watch TV	5.3%	7.2%	2.2%
9) others	5.1%	4.7%	5.8%
10) Do not have a dish	.2%	.2%	.2%
11) DK/NA	.7%	1.1%	0.0%
<b>Q 01) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?</b>			
1) Very good	1.4%	.6%	2.5%
2) Good	6.1%	5.5%	7.1%
3) so so	14.7%	14.8%	14.5%
4) Bad	38.7%	43.3%	31.3%
5) Very bad	37.9%	33.8%	44.5%
6) DK/NA	1.2%	2.0%	0.0%
<b>Q02) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?</b>			
1) Very good	6.4%	4.5%	9.6%
2) Good	23.1%	18.9%	30.0%
3) so so	31.3%	33.3%	28.1%
4) Bad	24.1%	27.0%	19.5%
5) Very bad	14.2%	16.1%	11.2%
6) DK/NA	.8%	.3%	1.7%
<b>Q03) Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>			
1) Religious	43.3%	38.3%	51.5%
2) somewhat religious	50.3%	56.5%	40.2%
3) not religious	6.4%	5.1%	8.4%
4) DK/NA	.1%	.1%	0.0%
<b>Q04) Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>			
1) supportive of the peace process	49.7%	54.8%	41.5%
2) opposed to the peace process	28.2%	24.3%	34.4%
3) between support and opposition	21.0%	19.5%	23.4%
4) DK/NA	1.1%	1.4%	.7%
<b>Q05) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?</b>			
1) yes	76.8%	79.6%	72.3%
2) no	16.2%	10.4%	25.6%
3) DK-NA	7.1%	10.1%	2.1%
<b>Q 06) In your view, is there a press freedom in the West Bank?</b>			
1) yes	23.2%	17.4%	32.5%
2) to some extent	38.5%	40.4%	35.4%



	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) no	34.9%	38.0%	29.8%
4) DK-NA	3.5%	4.2%	2.2%
<b>Q07) In your view, is there a press freedom in the Gaza Strip?</b>			
1) yes	17.8%	13.7%	24.6%
2) to some extent	37.3%	32.9%	44.5%
3) no	36.7%	40.5%	30.4%
4) DK-NA	8.2%	12.9%	.5%
<b>Q08) In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear?</b>			
1) yes	32.6%	32.7%	32.4%
2) no	63.4%	62.6%	64.7%
3) DK-NA	4.0%	4.7%	2.9%
<b>Q09) In your view, can people in the Gaza Strip today criticize the authority without fear?</b>			
1) yes	32.7%	31.2%	35.3%
2) no	56.9%	52.7%	63.8%
3) DK-NA	10.4%	16.2%	.9%
<b>Q10) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?</b>			
1) Completely assured	6.2%	3.9%	10.1%
2) Assured	42.3%	46.8%	34.9%
3) Not assured	38.9%	40.2%	36.7%
4) Not assured at all	12.4%	8.8%	18.1%
5) DK/NA	.2%	.2%	.3%
<b>Q11) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?</b>			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	13.9%	8.3%	23.0%
2) Seek emigration	18.5%	16.3%	22.0%
3) Do not seek emigration	37.6%	42.1%	30.2%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	29.9%	33.1%	24.6%
5) DK/NA	.2%	.1%	.2%
<b>Q12) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?</b>			
1) very satisfied	6.2%	4.0%	9.8%
2) satisfied	34.0%	39.1%	25.5%
3) not satisfied	36.3%	39.1%	31.8%
4) not satisfied at all	20.6%	13.4%	32.4%
5) DK/NA	2.9%	4.4%	.5%
<b>Q13) If new presidential elections are to take place today, and Mahmud Abbas was nominated by Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh was nominated by Hamas, whom would you vote for?</b>			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	48.1%	50.1%	45.8%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	46.3%	41.5%	52.2%
4) DK/NA	5.5%	8.4%	2.1%
<b>Q14) And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh representing Hamas, whom would you vote for?</b>			
1) Marwan Barghouti	58.1%	61.9%	53.2%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	37.6%	31.8%	45.2%
4) DK/NA	4.3%	6.3%	1.7%
<b>Q15) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmud Abbas, to whom would you vote?</b>			
1) Marwan Barghouti	37.1%	41.4%	31.5%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	34.8%	29.0%	42.1%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3. Mahmud Abbas	24.6%	24.2%	25.1%
5) DK/NA	3.6%	5.4%	1.3%
<b>Q17 If new elections agreed to by all factions are held today and the same lists that took part in the last PLC elections were nominated, for whom would you vote?</b>			
1) alternative	2.0%	2.5%	1.3%
2) independent Palestine	1.9%	1.8%	2.1%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	2.8%	2.0%	4.0%
4) Abu al Abbas	.1%	0.0%	.1%
5) freedom and social justice	.6%	.2%	1.1%
6) change and reform	32.0%	26.7%	39.1%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	.6%	.8%	.4%
9) freedom and independence	.5%	1.0%	0.0%
10) Palestinian justice	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
11) Fateh	38.9%	40.8%	36.4%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	20.5%	24.2%	15.5%

**Q18\_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 establishm	38.8%	41.0%	35.3%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns	35.9%	35.8%	36.2%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects fre	11.5%	9.9%	14.0%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society	13.8%	13.4%	14.4%

**Q18\_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 establishm	22.1%	23.3%	20.2%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns	36.5%	38.3%	33.5%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects fre	19.7%	16.7%	24.5%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society	21.7%	21.7%	21.7%

**Q19) The Palestinian society confronts today various problems, like the continuation of occupation and settlements, the spread of unemployment and poverty, the lack of national unity due to the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings, the spread of corruption in public institutions, and others. Tell us, what in your opinion, is the problem you see as the most fundamental, the one that must be on the top priority of the Palestinian Authority?**

1) continuation of occupation and settlements,	25.8%	29.6%	19.6%
2) spread of unemployment and poverty	27.6%	30.1%	23.4%
3) lack of national unity due to the split	4.0%	1.7%	7.8%
4) continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings	18.9%	7.9%	36.8%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
5) the spread of corruption in public institutions	21.5%	29.0%	9.3%
6) others (----- )	1.9%	1.2%	3.1%
7) DK/NA	.3%	.5%	0.0%

**Q 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	42.3%	42.0%	42.8%
2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people	49.2%	48.5%	50.2%
3) DK/NA	8.5%	9.4%	7.1%

**Q21) 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	5.1%	3.8%	7.2%
2) YES	27.9%	30.0%	24.6%
3) NO	41.2%	43.7%	37.2%
4) Certainly no	20.5%	15.0%	29.4%
5) DK-NA	5.2%	7.5%	1.6%

**Q22) 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	59.5%	65.0%	50.6%
2) Israel	12.5%	7.2%	21.3%
3) No one	24.4%	24.7%	24.1%
4) Both sides	1.9%	1.2%	3.1%
5) DK/NA	1.6%	2.0%	1.0%

**Q23) 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	24.5%	21.4%	29.7%
2) support	49.3%	57.6%	35.7%
3) oppose	17.6%	14.6%	22.5%
4) certainly oppose	5.8%	3.2%	10.1%
5) DK/NA	2.7%	3.2%	2.0%

**Q24 24) 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	20.1%	15.8%	27.0%
2) support	36.0%	38.7%	31.6%
3) oppose	29.7%	32.0%	26.1%
4) certainly oppose	10.7%	9.6%	12.4%
5) DK/NA	3.5%	3.8%	2.9%

**Q25) 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	8.2%	6.8%	10.4%
2) Satisfy	28.5%	28.4%	28.7%
3) Does not satisfy	43.3%	48.9%	34.1%
4) Certainly does not satisfy	18.5%	13.9%	25.9%
5) DK/NA	1.6%	2.0%	1.0%

**Q26) 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	22.8%	18.7%	29.3%
2) support	45.1%	51.6%	34.6%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) oppose	21.8%	21.9%	21.7%
4) certainly oppose	6.9%	3.5%	12.4%
5) DK/NA	3.4%	4.2%	2.0%
<b>Q27) Now, about 10 months after the formation of the reconciliation government, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with its performance?</b>			
1) certainly support	2.4%	.9%	4.9%
2) support	25.1%	27.9%	20.5%
3) oppose	43.8%	45.0%	41.8%
4) certainly oppose	18.6%	10.6%	31.7%
5) DK/NA	10.1%	15.6%	1.1%
<b>Q28) 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?</b>			
1) In the next few months	48.2%	47.2%	49.8%
2) After six months	20.4%	17.1%	25.8%
3) After a year or more	8.7%	7.0%	11.6%
4) Do not want elections	16.3%	19.8%	10.5%
5) DK/NA	6.4%	8.8%	2.4%
<b>Q29_1) Control over the Rafah crossing with Egypt</b>			
1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas	51.0%	45.9%	59.2%
2) Hamas	30.0%	32.4%	26.1%
3) Others	14.8%	15.5%	13.7%
4) DK/NA	4.2%	6.2%	.9%
<b>Q29_2) Control over the borders between Rafah and Egypt</b>			
1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas	47.6%	42.3%	56.0%
2) Hamas	32.8%	33.7%	31.4%
3) Others	15.1%	17.1%	11.9%
4) DK/NA	4.5%	6.8%	.7%
<b>Q29_3) Control over the crossings with Israel</b>			
1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas	51.1%	48.9%	54.8%
2) Hamas	26.3%	28.6%	22.7%
3) Others	18.2%	16.1%	21.8%
4) DK/NA	4.3%	6.5%	.7%
<b>Q29_4) Control over the borders of the Gaza Strip with Israel</b>			
1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas	48.6%	47.9%	49.9%
2) Hamas	30.8%	29.5%	33.1%
3) Others	16.2%	16.3%	15.9%
4) DK/NA	4.4%	6.4%	1.2%
<b>Q29_5) Rebuilding of destroyed homes and infrastructure</b>			
1) Reconciliation government under the supervision of Abbas	43.6%	45.4%	40.7%
2) Hamas	29.7%	30.0%	29.2%
3) Others	22.7%	18.8%	29.1%
4) DK/NA	3.9%	5.8%	1.0%
<b>Q30) President Abbas says that Hamas has formed a shadow government in the Gaza Strip But Hamas denies the charge. What do you think?</b>			
1) Certainly there is a shadow Hamas government in the Gaza Strip	18.2%	12.5%	27.4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) There is a shadow Hamas government in the Gaza Strip	27.1%	27.9%	25.6%
3) There is no shadow Hamas government in the Gaza Strip	25.3%	25.5%	24.9%
4) Certainly there is no shadow Hamas government in the Gaza Strip	13.5%	12.1%	15.8%
5) DK/NA	15.9%	21.9%	6.3%
<b>Q31) Some think that the PA is not doing its job as it should while others think it is doing its job as it should. If you think the reconciliation government is not doing its job as it should, who in your view is responsible for that?</b>			
1) The PA and Abbas	29.6%	28.1%	32.0%
2) Hamas	23.7%	16.8%	34.8%
3) The head of the reconciliation government	16.5%	11.5%	24.6%
4) The PA is doing its job as it should	9.6%	12.4%	5.0%
5) DK/NA	20.6%	31.2%	3.5%
<b>Q32) Do you think the reconciliation should be responsible for paying the salaries of the civil public sector that used previously to work for the Hamas government?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	26.6%	24.1%	30.5%
2) YES	46.9%	49.3%	42.8%
3) NO	16.0%	15.5%	16.8%
4) Certainly no	4.5%	2.3%	8.1%
5) DK-NA	6.1%	8.7%	1.7%
<b>Q 33) And what about the police and the security personnel that used to work previously for the Hamas government? Should the reconciliation government be responsible for paying their salary?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	23.2%	21.7%	25.7%
2) YES	48.3%	53.2%	40.4%
3) NO	17.3%	14.9%	21.2%
4) Certainly no	5.4%	2.0%	10.8%
5) DK-NA	5.8%	8.2%	1.8%
<b>Q34) Who in your view should supervise the police and the security personnel who used to work previously for the Hamas government? Should it be the reconciliation government or Hamas?</b>			
1) Certainly the reconciliation government	19.4%	16.0%	25.0%
2) The reconciliation government	44.6%	44.0%	45.6%
3) Hamas	27.1%	29.2%	23.7%
4) Certainly Hamas	2.7%	2.5%	2.9%
5) DK/NA	6.2%	8.3%	2.8%
<b>Q35) If the Arab countries failed to provide the PA with the funds to enable it to pay the salaries of the employees who used previously to work for the Hamas government, there is a proposal to reduce the salary of the current PA employees by about 15% so that the reconciliation government can pay the salary of the employees of the previous Hamas government. Do you support or oppose this proposal?</b>			
1) certainly support	11.4%	5.6%	20.9%
2) support	35.2%	33.1%	38.6%
3) oppose	33.2%	40.0%	22.1%
4) certainly oppose	17.4%	18.3%	15.9%
5) DK/NA	2.7%	2.9%	2.4%
<b>Q36) For the reconciliation government to be able to unify public institutions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and to be able to carry out its responsibilities in the Gaza Strip, there is a proposal to place the police force in the Gaza Strip that used to work for the Hamas government under the full control of the reconciliation government so that the</b>			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would follow one command. Do you support this proposal or do you instead want to keep responsibility over the Gaza police force in Hamas control as it is today?</b>			
1) I certainly support unifying the police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the control of the reconciliation government	34.7%	34.4%	35.2%
2) I support unifying the police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the control of the reconciliation government	37.4%	38.6%	35.4%
3) I support maintaining the current status quo	17.1%	16.2%	18.6%
4) I certainly support maintaining the current status quo	5.5%	4.4%	7.3%
5) DK/NA	5.3%	6.4%	3.6%
<b>Q 37) 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?</b>			
1) Only after signing a peace agreement with Israel	18.3%	17.4%	19.7%
2) Only after the ending of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip	17.3%	16.3%	19.0%
3) Only after the upcoming legislative and presidential elections	8.6%	7.2%	11.0%
4) Now, having formed a reconciliation government	11.7%	12.4%	10.6%
5) I oppose the dissolution of the armed groups in the Gaza Strip under any circumstances	39.8%	41.6%	36.9%
6) DK/NA	4.3%	5.2%	2.8%
<b>Q 38) What expectations do you have for the future of reconciliation? Will it continue and succeed or will it fail leading to a return to the split?</b>			
1) Certainly succeed	4.9%	2.4%	8.9%
2) succeed	37.0%	36.4%	37.9%
3) fail	45.3%	47.2%	42.1%
4) Certainly fail	8.9%	9.2%	8.5%
5) DK/NA	3.9%	4.7%	2.6%
<b>Q 39) If Israel continues to freeze the transfer of PA funds, what in your view is the solution to the problem of the public sector salaries? Which one of the following solution do you believe is preferable?</b>			
1) Borrow from banks	37.9%	36.1%	40.8%
2) Reduce the size of the public sector	15.1%	12.4%	19.5%
3) Reduce the salaries of the PA employees	29.0%	27.6%	31.2%
4) Other	9.1%	13.4%	2.0%
5) DK/NA	9.0%	10.5%	6.5%
<b>40) The PA failed to pay the full salary of its public sector during the past three months due to the Israeli decision to freeze the transfer of PA custom funds. Do you expect or do not expect this development, if it lasts for a long time, to lead to the collapse of the PA?</b>			
1) certainly I expect it will lead to PA collapse	19.4%	20.7%	17.1%
2) Expect it will lead to PA collapse	37.0%	38.5%	34.5%

	<b>Total</b>	<b>west bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
3) I do not expect it will lead to PA collapse	30.6%	28.3%	34.5%
4) Certainly do not expect it will lead to PA collapse	9.5%	7.8%	12.3%
5) DK/NA	3.5%	4.7%	1.5%
<b>Q40_1) The PLO Central Council decided to stop security coordination between the PA and Israel. In your view, will the PA implement this decision?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	6.2%	2.6%	12.1%
2) YES	28.1%	24.2%	34.4%
3) NO	43.2%	50.1%	32.0%
4) Certainly no	14.2%	12.7%	16.7%
5) DK-NA	8.3%	10.4%	4.8%
<b>Q40_2) And what do you think? Do you support or oppose stopping security coordination between the PA and Israel?</b>			
1) certainly support	17.1%	10.8%	27.4%
2) support	43.1%	43.8%	42.0%
3) oppose	29.4%	33.4%	22.8%
4) certainly oppose	5.6%	5.5%	5.8%
5) DK/NA	4.8%	6.5%	2.0%
<b>Q 41) Now after the Israeli elections and the victory of Netanyahu and the Likud and after Palestine has joined the ICC and the Israeli suspension of the transfer of Palestinian custom funds, what do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis?</b>			
1) the two sides will return to negotiations soon and there will be no violence	27.9%	26.7%	29.8%
2) the two sides will return to negotiations but some armed attacks will take place	32.1%	32.8%	30.9%
3) Negotiations will not return soon and some armed attacks will take place	20.9%	17.8%	25.8%
4) Negotiations will not return soon and there will be no armed attacks	13.0%	14.3%	10.8%
5) DK/NA	6.2%	8.3%	2.7%
<b>Q 42) Now after the victory of the Likud under the leadership of Netanyahu in the Israeli elections, what is your expectations regarding security conditions and confrontations with the Israeli occupation in the West Bank? Will they increase or decrease or stay as they are now?</b>			
1) Certainly confrontations will decrease and security conditions will improve	5.7%	4.6%	7.4%
2) confrontations will ease up and security conditions will improve	12.2%	10.5%	15.1%
3) Conditions will remain as they are today	31.7%	33.6%	28.5%
4) Confrontations will increase and security conditions will worsen	36.4%	37.0%	35.5%
5) Certainly confrontations will increase and security conditions will worsen	11.0%	10.7%	11.4%
6) DK/NA	3.1%	3.7%	2.0%
<b>Q43) And what about the chances to return to peace negotiations? Will they improve or deteriorate?</b>			
1) Certainly improve	2.9%	1.7%	4.9%
2) Improve	20.0%	21.6%	17.4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) remain as they are now	38.0%	34.9%	43.1%
4) worsen	29.2%	30.6%	27.0%
5) Certainly worsen	6.5%	6.9%	5.9%
6) DK/NA	3.3%	4.3%	1.6%
<b>Q44) And what about the transfer of the frozen custom fund that Israel has been holding for the past three months? Do you think Israel will transfer it to the PA soon?</b>			
1) Certainly it will not transfer it soon	7.6%	5.1%	11.5%
2) it will not transfer it soon	35.6%	31.9%	41.5%
3) it will transfer it soon	46.3%	52.2%	36.6%
4) Certainly it will transfer it soon	3.6%	2.5%	5.4%
5) DK/NA	7.0%	8.3%	5.0%
<b>Q45) Given the outcome of the Israeli elections, should the PA return or not return to negotiations with Israel?</b>			
1) It should return to negotiations without conditions	16.1%	16.7%	15.2%
2) It should return to negotiations if Israel agree to a settlement freeze	41.6%	43.2%	39.0%
3) it should not return to negotiations even if Israel froze settlement construction	35.8%	33.5%	39.5%
4) DK/NA	6.5%	6.6%	6.2%
<b>Q 46) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside Israel known as the two States solution?</b>			
1) certainly support	8.5%	7.6%	9.9%
2) support	42.6%	47.7%	34.2%
3) oppose	34.0%	33.4%	35.0%
4) certainly oppose	13.7%	9.3%	20.7%
5) DK/NA	1.3%	2.0%	.2%
<b>Q 47) In your view, what is the most effective means for the establishment of a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel? Is it:</b>			
1) Negotiations	29.4%	28.5%	30.9%
2) Armed action	36.7%	34.4%	40.3%
3) Popular nonviolent resistance	29.7%	32.3%	25.3%
4) DK/NA	4.3%	4.7%	3.5%
<b>Q48) Some believe that the two-state solution, an independent Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel, is no longer viable due to settlement expansion while others believe that it is still viable today as settlements can be dismantled or evacuated when an agreement is reached. What do you think?</b>			
1) certainly the two-state solution is no longer viable	24.0%	18.8%	32.5%
2) the two state solution is no longer viable	35.4%	38.1%	31.1%
3) the two-state solution remains viable today	29.8%	32.6%	25.2%
4) Certainly, the two-state solution remains viable today	8.0%	7.6%	8.5%
5) DK/NA	2.8%	2.9%	2.6%
<b>Q49) 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?</b>			
1) certainly support	3.7%	3.0%	4.7%
2) support	27.0%	30.0%	22.1%



	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) oppose	45.1%	48.0%	40.5%
4) certainly oppose	22.9%	17.7%	31.3%
5) DK/NA	1.3%	1.2%	1.4%

**50) 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	33.0%	31.1%	36.1%
2) Low	37.6%	38.6%	36.0%
3) Medium	26.4%	27.3%	25.0%
4) High	2.2%	1.9%	2.6%
5) DK/NA	.8%	1.1%	.3%

**Q 51) 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	35.4%	34.9%	36.2%
2) Worried	41.5%	39.7%	44.4%
3) Not worried	20.3%	23.1%	15.8%
4) Not worried at all	2.7%	2.3%	3.5%
5) DK/NA	.0%	.1%	0.0%

**Q52 What do you think are the aspirations of Israel for the long run?**

1) Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security	6.2%	4.3%	9.2%
2) Withdrawal form part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security	10.1%	8.0%	13.6%
3) Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens	29.3%	25.3%	35.7%
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	53.1%	60.6%	40.8%
5) DK/NA	1.3%	1.7%	.7%

**Q53) And what do you think are the aspirations of the Palestinian Authority and the PLO for the long run?**

1) Regain some of the territories conquered in the 1967 war Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security	36.7%	37.9%	34.8%
2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war	26.1%	23.1%	31.1%
3) Conquer the State of Israel and regain control over the pre 1948 Palestine	15.7%	12.1%	21.6%
4) Conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel	12.1%	12.9%	10.7%
5) DK/NA	9.4%	14.0%	1.8%

**Q54) 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**

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>right to secure borders, will sign peace treaties with her and establish normal diplomatic relations. Do you agree or disagree to this plan?</b>			
1) Certainly agree	6.1%	4.5%	8.7%
2) agree	39.9%	42.4%	35.7%
3) disagree	35.1%	36.6%	32.7%
4) Certainly disagree	15.3%	10.9%	22.4%
5) DK/NA	3.6%	5.5%	.5%
<b>Q 55 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?</b>			
1) Certainly agree	4.4%	4.4%	4.4%
2) agree	34.2%	36.9%	29.7%
3) disagree	40.0%	41.2%	38.1%
4) Certainly disagree	19.2%	14.9%	26.2%
5) DK/NA	2.1%	2.5%	1.5%
<b>q56_2 2 Joining more international organizations</b>			
1) certainly support	32.7%	23.8%	47.3%
2) support	49.6%	57.8%	36.4%
3) oppose	14.1%	14.3%	13.7%
4) certainly oppose	1.9%	1.8%	2.1%
5) DK/NA	1.7%	2.4%	.6%
<b>Q56_3 Abandon the two state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis</b>			
1) certainly support	6.8%	5.0%	9.8%
2) support	23.6%	26.5%	18.9%
3) oppose	48.9%	53.1%	41.9%
4) certainly oppose	19.8%	14.2%	29.0%
5) DK/NA	.9%	1.2%	.3%
<b>Q 56_4 Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance</b>			
1) certainly support	16.0%	14.0%	19.3%
2) support	51.6%	55.5%	45.3%
3) oppose	26.1%	26.9%	24.8%
4) certainly oppose	4.9%	2.1%	9.5%
5) DK/NA	1.4%	1.6%	1.1%
<b>Q 56_5 Return to the armed intifada and confrontations</b>			
1) certainly support	15.3%	9.8%	24.2%
2) support	32.8%	34.0%	30.9%
3) oppose	40.9%	45.5%	33.4%
4) certainly oppose	9.5%	8.7%	10.8%
5) DK/NA	1.5%	2.0%	.7%
<b>Q56_6 Dissolve the Palestinian Authority</b>			
1) certainly support	13.3%	11.5%	16.2%
2) support	29.9%	28.9%	31.6%
3) oppose	38.9%	44.6%	29.7%
4) certainly oppose	13.8%	10.6%	19.0%
5) DK/NA	4.0%	4.3%	3.5%

**Q 57) Now after Palestine has joined the ICC, do you want or do not want the PA to submit a complaint to it against Israel for building settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories?**

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) Certainly want that	30.3%	25.3%	38.5%
2) Want that	55.4%	61.3%	45.9%
3) do not want that	11.5%	10.1%	13.8%
4) Certainly do not want that	1.3%	1.5%	1.0%
5) DK/NA	1.5%	1.9%	.8%

**Q 58) Do you think the ICC will be effective in reducing or stopping Israeli settlement construction in the occupied West Bank?**

1) Certainly effective	6.2%	3.6%	10.5%
2) effective	35.6%	35.1%	36.4%
3) not effective	45.4%	50.8%	36.7%
4) certainly not effective	9.0%	7.4%	11.6%
5) DK/NA	3.7%	3.1%	4.8%

**Q59) After Palestine submitted a request to join the ICC, Israel froze the transfer of PA custom fund making the PA unable to pay the salaries of its public sector. Do you think the decision to join the ICC was the correct or the incorrect decision?**

1) Certainly correct	13.5%	9.5%	20.1%
2) correct	55.9%	59.8%	49.5%
3) Incorrect	23.3%	23.9%	22.3%
4) Certainly incorrect	2.3%	1.4%	3.8%
5) DK/NA	5.0%	5.5%	4.3%

**Q60) Some Arab states promised to support the PA financially in case financial sanctions were imposed on it by Israel and the US. In your view, will these state fulfill or not fulfill their promises?**

1) Certainly fulfill	6.8%	2.8%	13.3%
2) fulfill	42.2%	43.6%	40.0%
3) not fulfill	41.1%	43.6%	37.0%
4) Certainly not fulfill	6.3%	5.7%	7.4%
5) DK/NA	3.5%	4.3%	2.2%

**Q61) What do you think the long term aspirations or plans of the Israeli government for al Haram al Sharif in Jerusalem?**

1) Keep the status quo as it is	13.9%	8.2%	23.1%
2) Keep the status quo but allow Jews to visit the place anytime	7.3%	5.3%	10.6%
3) Change the status quo and allow Jews to pray in al Haram area	10.5%	6.6%	16.8%
4) Divide al Haram area between Muslims and Jews allowing Jews to establish a synagogue next to al Aqsa Mosque	19.7%	21.1%	17.3%
5) Destroy al Aqsa and Dome of the Rock mosques and build a synagogue in their place	46.9%	56.6%	31.3%
6) DK/NA	1.7%	2.2%	.9%

**Q62) In your views, will Israel succeed in implementing these plans or accomplish its aspirations?**

1) Certainly yes	8.1%	7.0%	10.1%
2) YES	44.1%	48.2%	36.0%
3) NO	31.1%	32.7%	27.8%
4) Certainly no	11.6%	5.9%	22.5%
5-DK-NA	5.3%	6.1%	3.6%

**Q63) The local and international campaign to boycott Israel and impose sanctions on it aims at punishing Israel for its occupation of the West Bank. Do you support or oppose this**

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
<b>campaign?</b>			
1) certainly support	26.6%	22.3%	33.5%
2) support	58.8%	63.3%	51.4%
3) oppose	10.7%	11.0%	10.4%
4) certainly oppose	1.8%	0.8%	3.5%
5) DK/NA	2.1%	2.5%	1.3%
<b>Q64) After the latest call to boycott products of certain Israeli companies, such as Tnova and Strauss, did you stop or did not stop buying these Israeli products?</b>			
1) stopped	53.9%	60.3%	43.6%
2) did not stop	31.1%	28.9%	34.6%
3) I did not buy these products before (do not read)	13.8%	10.8%	18.6%
4) DK/NA	1.2%	.0%	3.2%
<b>Q65) Do you think boycotting Israeli products will be effective or not effective in contributing to ending occupation?</b>			
1) certainly effective	16.6%	11.9%	24.2%
2) effective	48.4%	50.8%	44.3%
3) ineffective	30.2%	33.2%	25.3%
4) certainly ineffective	3.7%	2.7%	5.3%
5) DK/NA	1.2%	1.3%	.9%
<b>Q 66) Some Palestinian grocery shops and supermarkets continued to sell Israeli boycotted products despite the warning that they should not. Which in your view is the preferable means of convincing them to stop selling boycotted Israeli products?</b>			
1) Confiscate the boycotted Israeli products	17.5%	11.1%	27.7%
2) Destroy the boycotted Israeli products	14.1%	11.5%	18.4%
3) enact legislation banning the selling of these products	30.8%	33.5%	26.5%
4) Encourage the Palestinian public not to buy these products	33.7%	40.7%	22.4%
5) DK/NA	3.9%	3.2%	5.0%
<b>Q 67) If the status quo in the occupied Palestinian territories with its continued settlement construction and confiscation of Palestinian land continued for a long time, do you think the international community will be at that time ready to impose economic sanctions on Israel?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	3.4%	1.9%	5.8%
2) YES	29.6%	28.1%	32.2%
3) NO	46.7%	51.7%	38.5%
4) Certainly no	16.6%	14.0%	20.8%
5) DK-NA	3.7%	4.3%	2.7%
<b>Q68) A Palestinian group loyal to the Islamic State known as Daesh recently organized a public demonstration in the Gaza Strip, do you think a group like this should be allowed to demonstrate in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?</b>			
1) Certainly should be allowed	3.2%	1.9%	5.3%
2) should be allowed	9.2%	5.7%	14.8%
3) should not be allowed	47.8%	54.7%	36.5%
4) certainly should not be allowed	36.2%	34.3%	39.4%
5) DK/NA	3.6%	3.4%	4.0%
<b>Q69) Some people think that the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) does not represent true Islam while others think that it is truthful to Islam. What do you think?</b>			
1) Certainly represents true Islam	2.5%	2.1%	3.1%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) Represents true Islam	5.7%	3.2%	9.8%
3) Does not represent true Islam	39.2%	39.8%	38.2%
4) Certainly does not represent true Islam	46.7%	49.0%	42.9%
5) DK/NA	5.9%	5.9%	5.9%

**Q70) 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	3.6%	2.0%	6.2%
2) Better	17.7%	16.9%	19.1%
3) Same as today	30.2%	28.3%	33.2%
4) A little worse than today	18.5%	20.3%	15.8%
5) Much worse than today	27.3%	29.4%	23.9%
6) DK/NA	2.5%	3.1%	1.6%
7) Refuse to answer	.1%	.1%	.2%

**Q 71) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I...**

1) certainly support	15.4%	9.6%	25.0%
2) support	39.8%	38.3%	42.3%
3) oppose	35.8%	42.1%	25.5%
4) certainly oppose	6.0%	6.3%	5.5%
5) DK/NA	3.0%	3.8%	1.7%

**Q72) Which of the following political parties do you support?**

1) PPP	.9%	1.5%	0.0%
2) PFLP	2.9%	1.9%	4.3%
3) Fateh	29.7%	29.0%	30.9%
4) Hamas	22.8%	17.9%	30.7%
5) DFLP	.8%	.6%	1.1%
6) Islamic Jihad	3.3%	1.2%	6.7%
7) Fida	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
8) National initiative (almubadara)	.6%	.7%	.5%
9) Independent Islamist	2.6%	1.4%	4.5%
10) Independent nationalist	4.0%	2.5%	6.5%
11)third way headed by salam feyyad	.2%	.2%	.1%
12) none of the above	31.9%	42.7%	14.5%
13) others	.4%	.4%	.3%

**Q73) 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	21.7%	22.2%	20.8%
2) daily	25.8%	23.3%	29.7%
3) between 2-5 times weekly	12.1%	11.1%	13.7%
4) once a week	5.1%	4.9%	5.5%
5) once a month	3.1%	2.4%	4.2%
6) others (specify -----)	.5%	.2%	1.0%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	31.7%	35.8%	25.1%