

المركز الفلسطيني للبحوث السياسية والمسحية Palestinian Center for POLICY and SURVEY



Survey Research Unit

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

This poll is part of PSR series of regular polls.

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



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Public Opinion Poll No (64)

Widespread public rejection of two PA's decisions: to reduce salary payments to its Gazan employees, and to suspend payment to cover the cost of Israeli-supplied electricity to the Gaza Strip; in the meanwhile, an almost total consensus rejects pressure on the PA to terminate payments to Palestinian security prisoners, and the largest percentage rejects any Hamas-Dahlan deal to jointly run the Gaza Strip seeing it as leading to total split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, but the findings point to clear differences on this matter between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip

29 June-1 July 2017

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 29 June and 1 July 2017. Internally, the period before the poll witnessed various important developments: the PA instituted a partial deduction, about 30% of the salary, on payments to its public sector in the Gaza Strip; the PA partially stopped covering the cost of Israeli-supplied electricity to the Gaza Strip; Hamas elected Ismail Haniyeh as the head of its Political Bureau and Yahya Sinwar as head of the movement in the Gaza Strip; Hamas engaged in negotiations with the group led by Mohammad Dahlan in an effort to ease conditions in the Gaza Strip; and Hamas also issued a new document reflecting its current principles and positions. Moreover, Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails carried out a hunger strike. This press release addresses these issues and covers other matters such as Palestinian elections, general conditions in the Palestinian territories, and national reconciliation. It also covers some aspects of the peace process and intra Arab relations. Total size of the sample is 1200 adults interviewed face to face in 120 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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Main Findings:

Findings of the second quarter of 2017 show that the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian public rejects the recent PA measures to deduct part of the salaries of its public sector in the Gaza Strip and to stop covering the cost of Israeli-supplied electricity to the Gaza Strip. The largest percentage view these measures as aiming at imposing economic hardships on the population in order to force it to reject Hamas' rule. Very few people think the PA has taken these measures due to the financial problems it currently faces. Findings also show a semi consensus against the termination of the PA payments to the security prisoners in Israeli jails;

but half of the public believes that the PA will indeed acquiesce to the external pressure and suspend the payments.

The largest percentage of the public is opposed to any Hamas-Dahlan agreement that would lead the two sides to share the administration of the Gaza Strip, fearing that such an agreement would lead to the complete separation between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It is worth noting however, that a majority of Gazans would support such an agreement, if one is indeed reached.

After the Trump's visit to Palestine and Israel, most of the public remain pessimistic about the future of Palestinian-Israeli relation and the Palestinian-American relation. But it is worth noting that the level of support for a return to an armed intifada has declined significantly during the past three months. Perhaps the decline is due to public perception of the negligible outcome of such attacks, such as knifings and shooting, on the Israeli side. In other words, the public might view them as ineffective and counterproductive given the fact that the last attack has led to the denial of access to Jerusalem and holy places during the month of Ramadan.

Finally, findings show that the overwhelming majority believes that the Arab World has turned away from the Palestine cause and has become an ally of Israel against Iran. On intra-Arab matters, the public stands with Qatar against the measures taken by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the UAE against it.

(1) The Crisis of electricity in Gaza and the reduction in the salaries of PA employees in the Gaza Strip:

- 84% oppose PA measure to stop covering costs of electricity to Gaza
- 88% oppose the reduction of salary payments to PA employees in the Gaza Strip
- Most of the public believe that the aim of the PA is to pressure the Gazans and punish Hamas

An overwhelming majority of 84% are opposed to the measure taken by the PA to stop covering the Israeli-supplied electricity to the Gaza Strip; only 10% support that measure. Opposition to the measure increases in the West Bank (87%) compared to the Gaza Strip (80%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (93% and 90% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (73%), among the illiterates (87%) compared to those who hold BA degree (83%), and among students (87%) compared to employees (77%).

Similarly, an overwhelming majority of 88% are opposed to the step taken by the PA, reducing the amount of salary payments to its employees in the Gaza Strip; only 8% support the step. 40% believe that the step has been taken by the PA in order to impose economic pressure on the Gazans in order to force them to reject Hamas' rule; 37% believe the PA aimed at punishing Hamas in order to force it to accept its conditions for reconciliation, and 16% believe that the PA has taken the step due to the difficult financial conditions it faces. The belief that the PA seeks to impose economic difficulties on Gazans is higher in the Gaza Strip (44%) compared to the West Bank (37%), among supporters of third parties and Hamas (47% each) compared to supporters of Fatah (32%), among the married (41% compared to the unmarried (37%), and among the holders of BA degree (46%) compared to those who finished elementary school only (34%).

(2) Hamas-Dahlan meetings, the election of Haniyeh and Sinwar, reconciliation, and the reconciliation government:

- 50% believe that a Hamas-Dahlan agreement would lead to the total separation between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip
- 48% oppose and 40% support a Hamas-Dahlan agreement
- 78% believe that the PA pressure on Gaza and Hamas will not succeed in achieving PA goals
- 47% want and 38% do not want Hamas to accept PA and Abbas' conditions for reconciliation
- 64% are pessimistic about the chances for reconciliation
- 61% are dissatisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government

50% believe that a Hamas-Dahlan agreement to create a joint administration for the Gaza Strip, if true, would lead to the total separation between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip while 38% believe that such an agreement would not lead to the total separation between the two areas. The belief that it will lead to the total separation between the two areas stands at 51% in the West Bank and 50% in the Gaza Strip. This percentage rises to 55% among men compared to 46% among women, 56% among Fatah supporters, 50% among supporters of third parties, and 46% among Hamas supporters. It stands at 56% among holders of BA degree compared to 34% among the illiterates, and 60% among the employees compared to 42% among housewives.

48% indicate that they would be opposed to such an agreement between Hamas and Dahlan while 40% indicate that they would be supportive. Support for such an agreement stands at 61% in the Gaza Strip compared to only 29% in the West Bank. Similarly, support is higher among the youth, between the ages of 18 and 22 (38%) compared to those whose age is 50 or above (32%), among supporters of third parties and Hamas (64% and 53% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (35%), among holders of BA degree (44%) compared to illiterates (15%), among refugees (48%) compared to non-refugees (33%), and among those who work in the public sector (45%) compared to those who work in the private and non-governmental sectors (36%).

78% believe that the PA measure that suspended payment to cover the cost of Israeli-supplied electricity to the Gaza Strip, and similar other measures to pressure Hamas, will not succeed in ending the separation between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; only 13% think such measures can succeed in ending the separation. Nonetheless, 47% of the public demand that Hamas accept the conditions put forward by the PA and Abbas if such acceptance can lead to improving conditions in the Gaza Strip; 38% demand that Hamas reject such conditions.

31% believe that the election of Ismail Haniyeh and Yahiya Sinwar as Hamas leaders will weaken the chances for reconciliation; 25% believe it will lead to strengthen the chances; and 33% think it will have no impact on the chances for reconciliation. Optimism about the success of reconciliation and the end of the split stands today at 27% and pessimism at 64%. These findings are similar to those obtained three months ago.

26% say they are satisfied and 61% say they are dissatisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government. In the Gaza Strip, dissatisfaction stands at 73% and in the West Bank at 56%.

(3) PA payments to Palestinian security prisoners in Israeli jails:

- 91% oppose the suspension of PA payments to Palestinian security prisoners
- But 44% expect the PA to stop making the payments to the security prisoners

91% are opposed to the suspension of PA payments to Palestinian security prisoners in Israeli jails; only 7% support such measure. Nonetheless, 46% believe that the PA will not stop making those payments to Palestinian security prisoners while 44% believe it will stop making them. The belief that the PA will indeed stop the payments is higher in the Gaza Strip (46%) compared to the West Bank (43%), among men (47%) compared to women (41%), among the youth, between 18-22 years old (50%) compared to those who are 50 years old or higher (38%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (50% and 46% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (39%) among holders of BA degree (47%) compared to illiterates (35%), and among the employees (46%) compared to housewives (40%).

(4) Prisoners' hunger strike:

- 57% believe that the prisoners' hunger strike has been partially successful
- 69% believe that the strike has improved the leadership position of Barghouti

57% believe that the hunger strike by Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails has partially succeeded while 28% believe it fully succeeded; 13% believe it has failed. Nonetheless, 69% believe that the hunger strike has enhanced the leadership status and role of Marwan Barghouti among the Palestinians while only 12% believe it has not done that. In fact, the strike did not improve the standing of Barghouti since the level of support for him in this poll, compared to that of Haniyeh or Abbas, did not change significantly, as we see below.

(5) Hamas' new document:

- Half of those who have heard about the new Hamas document believes that it deviates from Hamas'
 position as reflected in the charter and the other half believes that it maintains the same positions as in
 the charter
- 30% believe that Hamas' principle motivation behind the release of the new document is to present itself as a moderate movement

The majority (53%) has not heard about Hamas' new document; but 21% (of the total sample) believe the new document differs from some of Hamas' basic principles and positions; 20% (of the total sample) believe it has maintained Hamas' traditional principles and positions. 30% believe that the primary motivation behind the publication of the new document is Hamas' desire to present itself to the world as a moderate movement; 18% believe that Hamas sought to reiterate its traditional positions as outlined in its original charter of 1987; and 16% think that Hamas sought to document the recent positions that the movement has adopted since it issued its original charter.

(6) Presidential and parliamentary elections:

- 62% want president Abbas to resign
- Satisfaction with the performance of the president stands at 34% and dissatisfaction at 61%
- In presidential elections between Abbas and Ismail Haniyeh, each receives 45%
- In presidential elections between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former receives 59% and the latter 35%
- In parliamentary elections, Fatah receives 39%, Hamas 29%, and third parties combined 10% of the vote

62% of the public want president Abbas to resign while 31% want him to remain in office. Three months ago, 64% said they want Abbas to resign. Demand for Abbas' resignation stands at 55% in the West Bank and 75% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago demand for Abbas resignation stood at 61% in the West Bank and 70% in the Gaza Strip. Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 34% and dissatisfaction at 61%. Level of satisfaction with Abbas stands at 39% in the West Bank and 24% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago, satisfaction with Abbas stood at 36% (41% in the West Bank and 29% in the Gaza Strip).

If president Abbas does not nominate himself in a new election, 35% prefer to see Marwan Barghouti replacing him, while 19% prefer Ismail Haniyeh; Mohammad Dahlan 7%; Khalid Mishal and Rami al Hamdallah (5% each), and Salam Fayyad and Mustapha Barghouti (3% each); and Saeb Erekat at 1%. It is worth mentioning that Barghouti was preferred over all others by 33%. It is also worth mentioning that Dahlan (who, in this poll, is preferred over all others by 18% in the Gaza Strip compared to only 1% in the West Bank) has not gained more support in the Strip, in comparison to his standing three months ago, as a result of the agreement he has been reported to have made with Hamas.

If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, Ismail Haniyeh and Mahmoud Abbas, each would receive 45% of the vote (compared to 47% each three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 39% of the vote (compared to 46% three months ago) and Haniyeh receives 55% (compared to 50% three months ago). In the West Bank Abbas receives 50% (compared to 47% three months ago) and Haniyeh 40% (compared to 45% three months ago). If presidential elections were between three: Mahmud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Abbas would receive 22%, Barghouti 41% and Haniyeh 32%. If presidential elections were between two: Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Barghouti receives 59% and Haniyeh 35%. Here too, it is worth mentioning that support for Barghouti against Haniyeh and Abbas stood at 40% three months ago and 59% against Haniyeh alone, figures that are very similar to his current standing.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 64% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 29% say they would vote for Hamas and 39% say they would vote for Fatah, 10% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 24% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 30% and Fatah at 36%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 35% (compared to 34% three months ago) and for Fatah at 36% (compared to 37% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas stands at 24% (compared to 28% three months ago) and Fatah at 40% (compared to 36% three months ago).

(7) Domestic conditions:

- Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 8% and in the West Bank at 24%
- Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 43% and in the West Bank at 53%
- 47% of Gazans and 23% of West Bank seek to emigrate

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 8% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 24%. 47% of the public believe that conditions in the Gaza Strip would improve if Hamas accepted PA and Abbas conditions for reconciliation. Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 43%. In the West Bank perception of safety and security stands at 53%. Three months ago, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stood at 38% and in the West Bank at 50%. Findings show that the percentage of Gazans who say they seek to immigrate to other countries stands at 47%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 23%.

We asked the public about its viewership habits in the last two months. Findings indicate that Al Jazeera TV viewership is the highest, standing at 19%, followed by Maan TV (at 14%), Palestine TV and Filasteen al Youm (Palestine Today) (at 13%), al Aqsa TV (at 11%), Al Arabiya and al Quds TV at 5% each), and al Mayadeen at 3%.

Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 79%. Moreover, only 36% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear; 58% of the public say that people cannot criticize the PA without fear.

(8) The peace process:

- Support for a return to an armed intifada drops from 51% three months ago to 39% in this poll
- After Trump's visit, 51% believe that Palestinian-Israeli relations will worsen
- Similarly, 50% believe that Palestinian-American relations will worsen
- 43% believe that the election of Haniyeh and Sinwar to Hamas leadership will lead to escalation with Israel

In the absence of peace negotiations, 74% support joining more international organizations, 54% support non-violent popular resistance, 39% support a return to an armed intifada, and 44% support the dissolution of the Palestinian Authority. Three months ago, support for a return to an armed intifada stood at 51%. Support for return to armed intifada is higher in the Gaza Strip (47%) compared to the West Bank (35%), among men (44%) compared to women (34%), and among supporters of Hamas (66%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (27% and 42% respectively).

After the visit of the US president, Trump, to Palestine and Israel, 51% believe that Palestinian-Israeli relation will continue to deteriorate, 13% think it will improve, and 33% think it will remain unchanged. Similarly, 50% think Palestinian-American relation will continue to deteriorate, 11% think it will improve and 34% think it will remain unchanged.

43% believe that the election of Ismail Haniyeh and Yahiya Sinwar to Hamas' leadership roles will lead to escalation in Hamas-Israel relations; 15% think it will lead to greater calm in the relation, and 30% think it will have no impact on Hamas-Israel relation.

(9) The Arab World and the Qatar crisis:

- 80% of the public think that the Arab World is preoccupied with its own concerns and that Palestinian is no longer its principle cause
- 67% stand against the measure taken against Qatar by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and UAE

80% (compared to 76% three months ago) say the Arab World is too preoccupied with its own concerns, internal conflicts, and the conflict with Iran and that Palestine is no longer the Arab's principal or primary issue or cause. Only 18% think Palestine remains the Arab's principal cause. Similarly, 68% (compared to 59% three months ago) believe that there is an Arab Sunni alliance with Israel against Iran despite the continued Israeli occupation of Arab land while 21% believe that the Arabs would not ally themselves with Israel until it ends its occupation and allows the creation of a Palestinian state.

Two thirds (67%) of the public is opposed to the steps taken by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the UAE against Qatar and only 12% support them. Support for Qatar is higher in the West Bank (71%) compared to the Gaza Strip (61%), among men (69%) compared to women (65%), among those whose age is between 18 and 22 years (70%) compared to those whose age is 50 or above (65%), and among supporters of Hamas (79%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (60% and 64% respectively).

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

- 43% believe that the most vital goal of the Palestinian people should be the ending of occupation and the building of a state
- In the eyes of 28% of the public, the most serious problem confronting Palestinians today is corruption within the PA

43% 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 Wet Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital. By contrast, 29% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 16% believe that it should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings, and 13% believe that the first and most vital goal should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians.

eyes of 28% of the public while 24% believe it is poverty and unemployment; 22% say it is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities; 20% say it is the siege of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its crossings; and 4% say it is the absence of national unity.

Public Opinion Poll No (64)

29 June-1 July 2017

	Total	west bank	Gaza Stri
${f 00}$) From among the following satelli	te news stati	ions, which one yo	ou watched me
during the last two months?			
1) al Arabia	5.1%	4.8%	5.8%
2) al Jazeera	18.9%	16.4%	23.7%
3) Palestine Today	13.0%	16.2%	6.9%
4) al Manar	.9%	1.0%	.6%
5) Palestine TV	12.7%	12.5%	13.0%
6)alaqsa	11.1%	4.7%	23.3%
7) man(mix)	13.9%	16.8%	8.3%
al myadeen	3.4%	4.5%	1.3%
9) al Quds	5.1%	4.1%	7.1%
10) Do not watch TV	13.1%	15.6%	8.2%
11) others	2.3%	3.1%	.7%
12) Do not have a dish	.4%	.2%	1.0%
13) DK/NA	.0%	.0%	0.0%
Q1) In general, how would you descri			
Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these			
1) Very good	1.3%	1.5%	1.0%
2) Good	6.2%	6.7%	5.3%
3) so so	11.7%	12.4%	10.3%
4) Bad	37.6%	39.0%	34.9%
5) Very bad	39.9%	35.4%	48.5%
6) DK/NA	33.3%	5.0%	0.0%
Q2) In general, how would you descri			
Palestinian areas in the West Bank th		is of the falestima	ms m me
	3.7%	3.5%	4.1%
1) Very good			
2) Good	20.4%	21.8%	17.7%
3) so so	31.1%	31.7%	29.9%
4) Bad	29.9%	30.9%	28.0%
5) Very bad	14.4%	11.8%	19.4%
6) DK/NA	.6%	.4%	.9%
PV2) Generally, do you see yourself a		25.00/	56.00/
1) Religious	42.7%	35.8%	56.0%
2) somewhat religious	50.6%	57.9%	36.5%
3) not religious	6.6%	6.2%	7.5%
4) DK/NA	.1%	.1%	0.0%
Q03) Generally, do you see yourself a	s:		
1) supportive of the peace process	52.5%	53.5%	50.4%
2) opposed to the peace process	22.1%	19.9%	26.5%
3) between support and opposition	22.4%	22.6%	22.0%
4) DK/NA	3.0%	4.0%	1.1%
4) DK/NA Q04) Do you think that there is corru			
Q04) Do you think that there is corru Authority?	puon m rA	msututions of the	ı aicsiillali
•	79 00/	QA 90/	75.20/
1) yes	78.9%	80.8%	75.2%
2) no	12.3%	8.5%	19.6%

3) DK-NA	8.8%	10.6%	5.2%
Q05) In your view, can people in the	West Bank to	day criticize the	authority without
fear?			
1) yes	36.2%	39.2%	30.5%
2) no	58.0%	56.1%	61.9%
3) DK-NA	5.7%	4.8%	7.6%
Q06) Would you say that these days y	our security	and safety, and t	hat of your
family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	5.8%	3.2%	11.1%
2) Assured	43.5%	49.6%	31.7%
3) Not assured	39.0%	38.1%	40.9%
4) Not assured at all	11.6%	9.1%	16.4%
5) DK/NA	.1%	.1%	0.0%
Q07) Do current political, security, an	nd economic (conditions lead y	ou to seek
emigration abroad?	10.007	7.40/	20.007
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	12.0%	7.4%	20.9%
2) Seek emigration	19.5%	16.0%	26.3%
3) Do not seek emigration	40.5%	44.9%	32.0%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	27.7%	31.4%	20.5%
5) DK/NA	.3%	.3%	.4%
Q08) Are you satisfied or not satisfied	d with the per	formance of Ma	hmud Abbas
since his election as president of the P	_		
1) very satisfied	3.4%	2.0%	6.1%
2) satisfied	30.4%	36.6%	18.3%
3) not satisfied	36.0%	36.2%	35.6%
4) not satisfied at all	23.6%	16.7%	37.1%
5) DK/NA	6.5%	8.4%	2.9%
Q09) If new presidential elections are	to take place	today, and Mah	mud Abbas was
nominated by Fateh and Ismail Hani	yeh was nomi	nated by Hamas	, whom would
you vote for?		-	
1) Mahmoud Abbas	45.4%	49.5%	38.8%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	45.3%	39.6%	54.7%
4) DK/NA	9.3%	10.9%	6.5%
Q10) And what if the competition wa			
and Mahmud Abbas, to whom would		ar wan Dargnout	ı, 13111a11 11a111ytll,
1) Marwan Barghouti	40.7%	49.2%	26.0%
,			
2) Ismael Haniyyah	31.9%	27.1%	40.2%
3. Mahmud Abbas	22.4%	17.9%	30.3%
5) DK/NA	5.0%	5.9%	3.5%
Q11) And what if the competition wa		U	i from Fatah and
Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whor	•		
1) Marwan Barghouti	58.7%	64.0%	48.5%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	35.0%	28.4%	47.5%
4) DK/NA	6.4%	7.6%	4.0%
PV34) If new elections agreed to by a	ll factions are	held today and	the same lists that
1 (01) If he wellestions agreed to by a			
took part in the last PLC elections we	ere nominated	l, for whom woul	ld you vote?
	ere nominated .7%	l, for whom woul .5%	ld you vote? .9%

3) Abu Ali Mustafa	2.5%	2.6%	2.4%
4) Abu al Abbas	.5%	.6%	.3%
5) freedom and social justice	.5%	0.0%	1.3%
6) change and reform	28.5%	24.3%	34.8%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	.9%	1.2%	.6%
9) freedom and independence	.9%	.9%	.9%
10) Palestinian justice	.3%	.3%	.3%
11) Fateh	38.5%	40.1%	36.1%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	23.5%	25.8%	19.9%

PV30-1) -1From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most important one and which should be the second most important goal that the Palestinian people should strive to achieve?

The first is:

1)	Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishm	42.8%	43.3%	41.7%
2)	Obtain the right of return to refuges to their 1948 towns	29.0%	31.7%	23.7%
3)	Establish a democratic political system that respects fre	12.7%	10.6%	16.8%
4)	Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society	15.6%	14.4%	17.8%
PV	/30-2) The second one:			
1)	Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishm	21.2%	22.9%	17.9%
2)	Obtain the right of return to refuges to their 1948 towns	38.4%	36.3%	42.7%
3)	Establish a democratic political system that respects fre	21.9%	21.9%	22.0%
4)	Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society	18.4%	18.9%	17.5%
	€			

PV20) 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	22.4%	23.7%	19.8%
settlements,			
2) spread of unemployment and	24.1%	25.6%	21.2%
poverty 3) lack of national unity due to the			
split	3.5%	.7%	8.7%

1) continuation of the giogs and			
4) continuation of the siege and	20.10/	12 10/	25 40/
blockade of the Gaza Strip and the	20.1%	12.1%	35.4%
closure of its border crossings			
5) the spread of corruption in	28.1%	37.0%	10.8%
public institutions	1 00/	00/	4.00/
6) DK/NA	1.9%	.8%	4.0%
Q13) Now, more than two years after			auon
government, are you satisfied or dissa		_	4.20/
1) Certainly satisfy	2.4%	1.4%	4.2%
Satisfy 2) Page not sotisfy	23.8%	26.0%	19.5%
2) Does not satisfy	41.2%	41.7%	40.5%
3) Certainly does not satisfy	20.0%	13.9%	32.0%
4) DK/NA	12.6%	17.1%	3.8%
Q15) What expectations do you have			n? Will it
continue and succeed or will it fail lea	ding to a retu	ırn to the split?	
1) Certainly satisfy	2.9%	.6%	7.5%
Satisfy	24.5%	24.3%	24.9%
2) Does not satisfy	44.9%	46.2%	42.3%
3) Certainly does not satisfy	19.2%	18.8%	20.0%
4) DK/NA	8.5%	10.1%	5.3%
Q16 Hamas has elected Ismail Haniye	eh as head of	its Political Bure	au and Yahva al
Sinwar as the its leader in the Gaza S			•
relationship between Hamas and the			
affect the chances for reconciliation?			r -,
1) will have no impact on			
reconciliation	32.9%	33.4%	31.8%
2) will increase the chances for			
reconciliation	25.1%	19.0%	37.0%
3) will reduce the chances for			
reconciliation	30.7%	33.0%	26.2%
4) DK/NA	11.4%	14.6%	5.0%
Q17 and what about the relationship			the Gaza Strip?
Will the election of Haniyeh and Sinw			-
escalation toward war or will it calm		-	~ .
1) will have no impact on relations	20.70	20.20/	22.70/
with Israel	29.7%	28.2%	32.5%
2) will lead to escalation between	12 00/	10.004	44.007
the two sides	42.8%	43.3%	41.8%
3) will calm conditions between the	4-4-	4.0	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
two sides	15.1%	12.4%	20.4%
4) DK/NA	12.4%	16.1%	5.3%
Q18 The Palestinian Authority has de	ducted abou		rv amounts paid
to its employees in the Gaza Strip and			• •
currently suffers. Do you support or o			
1) support	7.8%	5.3%	12.8%
2) oppose	88.2%	91.1%	82.5%
3) DK/NA	4.0%	3.6%	4.7%
Q19 Why in your view did the PA tak			
	_	s it manny due to r is it to nut nros	

population in order to push them to reject Hamas' rule? _____10 _____

economic conditions? Or is it to punish Hamas? Or is it to put pressure on the

1) difficult economic conditions	15.8%	15.1%	17.3%
2) punish Hamas to force it to			
accept PA conditions	36.5%	36.8%	35.9%
3) impose economic pressure on			
Gazans to push them to reject	39.5%	37.4%	43.7%
Hamas' rule			,.
4) Other	1.8%	2.7%	.1%
5) DK/NA	6.3%	8.0%	3.0%
Q20 The PA has stopped making pay			
by Israel to the Gaza Strip and threat			
to coerce Hamas to end the split. Do y			
payment to cover the electricity cost?			
1) support	10.4%	7.2%	16.7%
2) oppose	84.2%	86.7%	79.5%
3) DK/NA	5.3%	6.1%	3.8%
Q21 Do you think this step and simila	ır other steps	that might be tal	ken by the PA
against Hamas will succeed or fail in			
1) will succeed	13.3%	9.1%	21.6%
2) will fail	78.0%	81.5%	71.2%
3) DK/NA	8.6%	9.4%	7.2%
Q22 Conditions in the Gaza Strip con		•	
conditions improve if Hamas accepts	PA condition	is and those of pr	esident Abbas for
ending the split?	47.10/	47.40/	46.60/
1) yes	47.1%	47.4%	46.6%
2 no	41.7%	38.8%	47.3%
3 DK/NA	11.2%	13.7%	6.1%
Q23 If Hamas' acceptance of PA and the conditions of the Gaza Strip, show			-
conditions in order to end the split?	nu 11amas, m	i your view, accep	of diffect these
1) should accept PA and Abbas'			
conditions	46.6%	44.7%	50.3%
2) should not accept PA and			
Abbas' conditions	38.0%	37.1%	39.6%
3) DK/NA	15.4%	18.2%	10.1%
Q23-1 Media reports indicate that Ha	amas and MP	Mohammad Dal	
Egyptian sponsorship, have agreed to			
that would seek to facilitate societal r	econciliation	in the Gaza Strip	o, raise funds to
pay the salaries of the emplyees in the	e public secto	r, supply Egyptia	n fuel to the
power station, and open the Rafah cr	ossing with E	Egypt. If these rep	orts are
accurate, do you expect the agreemen	it to lead to tl	he complete sepai	ration between
the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?			
1) I expect it not to lead to the			
complete separation between the	38.1%	34.6%	44.9%
West Bank and the Gaza Strip			
2) I expect it to lead to the complete			
-	F O. 40:	FO OO	40.007
separation between the West Bank	50.4%	50.8%	49.8%
separation between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip			
separation between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip 3) DK/NA	11.4%	14.6%	49.8% 5.4%
separation between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip	11.4%	14.6%	

3) DK/NA	12.0%	14.9%	6.4%		
Q24 Last month Hamas released a new document that expresses its principles and political positions. The document is seen by some as a replacement to Hamas' charter which it released first about 30 years ago right after the eruption of the first intifada. If you have heard about the new document, tell us what you think of it: did it maintain the basic and historic positions and principles of Hamas or did it differ from them?					
1) did not hear about it	52.7%	63.6%	31.5%		
2) maintain the former basic	19.5%	11.8%	34.4%		
positions and principles	19.5%	11.0%	34.4%		
3) differ from force basic positions	20.5%	16.1%	29.1%		
and principles	20.570	10.170	27.1 /0		
4) DK/NA	7.3%	8.5%	4.9%		
Q25 What in your view is the main me	otivation beh	ind the release o	f this document		
by Hamas?					
1) to present itself to the world as a					
moderate or un-extreme Islamist	29.8%	22.4%	44.1%		
movement					
2) to reflect the developments and					
changes that occurred on its	16.4%	14.0%	21.0%		
positions since the publication of its charter					
3) to emphasize that its former					
basic principles since the					
publication of the charter have not	17.8%	16.9%	19.5%		
changed					
4) other (specify)	1.4%	2.0%	.3%		
5 DK/NA	34.6%	44.7%	15.1%		
Q27) If it is up to you, would you war	- 110,1				
			G		
1) Certainly resign	28.6%	21.0%	43.5%		
2) Resign	33.1%	34.1%	31.2%		
3) Not resign	26.6%	30.8%	18.5%		
4) Certainly not resign	4.7%	4.4%	5.3%		
5) DK/NA	6.9%	9.7%	1.5%		
Q28) President Abbas says that he wil			-		
elections. If it is up to you, who do you		-			
1)Marwan Barghouti	34.8%	44.0%	17.1%		
2)Ismail Haniyeh	19.1%	16.7%	23.6%		
3) Saeb Erikat	1.1%	1.1%	1.1%		
4) Rami al Hamdallah	4.5%	4.3%	5.0%		
5)Mustapha Barghouti	3.4%	2.3%	5.4%		
6) Khalid Mishal	4.7%	2.7%	8.5%		
7) Salam Fayyad	2.5%	2.2%	3.0%		
8) Mohammad Dahlan	6.9%	1.2%	17.9%		
9)Other (specify)	3.0%	2.7%	3.5%		
DK\NA	20.1%	22.8%	14.9%		
88) DK/NA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		

48.3%

56.6%

32.2%

2) against

Q29 In your view, did the prisoners'	hunger strike	e succeed or fail?	
1) succeeded in full	28.0%	23.7%	36.5%
2) succeeded in part	57.2%	60.2%	51.4%
3) did not succed	13.4%	14.7%	10.8%
4) DK/NA	1.4%	1.4%	1.3%
Q30 Did the prisoners strike consolid	late or did no	t consolidate the	leadership status
of Marwan Barghouti?			
1) consolidate it	69.4%	73.9%	60.8%
2) did not consolidate it	11.6%	11.0%	12.8%
3) did not have an impact on it	14.2%	10.0%	22.4%
4) DK/NA	4.8%	5.2%	4.1%
Q31-1 These days some powers are as	sking the PA	to put an end to p	payments made
to Palestinian security prisoner in Isr	aeli jails. Are	e you with or agai	inst ending such
payments?			
1) with	7.2%	4.1%	13.3%
2) agaisnt	91.2%	94.5%	84.8%
3) DK/NA	1.5%	1.4%	1.8%
Q31-2 Do you think the PA will or wi	ill not end suc		
1) will end the payments	43.9%	42.7%	46.2%
2) will not end the payments	45.6%	46.9%	43.1%
3) DK/NA	10.5%	10.4%	10.7%
Q38) After the cessation of negotiation			sraelis, would
you support or oppose adopting the f		ons?	
Q38-2) Joining more international o	C		
1) certainly support	23.6%	15.4%	39.3%
2) support	50.1%	53.7%	43.1%
3) oppose	19.8%	23.1%	13.4%
4) certainly oppose	4.5%	5.4%	2.9%
5) DK/NA	2.0%	2.4%	1.3%
Q38-3) Abandon the two state soluti for Palestinians and Israelis	ion and dema	na tne establishn	ient of one state
1) certainly support	7.1%	5.0%	11.1%
2) support	28.2%	29.8%	25.1%
3) oppose	48.0%	52.2%	39.7%
4) certainly oppose	15.4%	11.7%	22.6%
5) DK/NA	1.3%	1.2%	1.5%
Q38-4) Resort to popular non-viole	nt and unarn	ned resistance	
1) certainly support	10.5%	4.5%	22.1%
2) support	43.4%	45.1%	40.1%
3) oppose	35.5%	37.9%	30.8%
4) certainly oppose	6.6%	7.1%	5.5%
5) DK/NA	4.0%	5.3%	1.5%
Q38-5) Return to the armed intifad			
1) certainly support	11.1%	7.7%	17.7%
2) support	27.7%	26.9%	29.5%
3) oppose	44.6%	46.5%	40.9%
4) certainly oppose	12.8%	13.7%	10.9%
5) DK/NA	3.8%	5.3%	1.1%

Q38-6) Dissolve the Palestinian Auth	ority		
1) certainly support	12.1%	10.9%	14.3%
2) support	32.1%	26.7%	42.7%
3) oppose	34.3%	39.1%	25.0%
4) certainly oppose	15.1%	16.5%	12.5%
5) DK/NA	6.3%	6.8%	5.5%
Q39) Some say the Arab World is pred	occupied with	n its internal con	cerns and
conflicts or with its conflict with Iran			
longer view Palestine as its first cause.	Others belie	ve that Palestine	remains the
Arabs' most important cause. What do	o you think?		
1) The Arab World is preoccupied	80.3%	87.1%	67.0%
and Palestine is not its first cause	00.570	07.170	07.070
2) Palestine remains the Arabs'	18.3%	12.3%	29.8%
first cause			
3) DK/NA	1.5%	.6%	3.2%
Q39-1 Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the U		-	
Qatar, closed their borders with it, and		••	
do you stand on this dispute? Are you	with or again	nst tnese measur	es:
1) with the measures	12.4%	9.4%	18.3%
2) against the measures	67.3%	70.5%	61.1%
3) neutral (do not read)	13.4%	12.1%	16.0%
DK/NA	6.9%	8.1%	4.7%
Q40) Some say that the current Israeli	government	led by Netanyal	nu have found
Arab allies among the Sunni Arab stat	tes to build a	coalition against	Iran in the view
that Iran is a common enemy for both sides. Others believe that the Sunni Arab			
that Iran is a common enemy for both	sides. Others	s believe that the	Sunni Arab
that Iran is a common enemy for both states will never agree to a coalition wi	sides. Other ith Israel as l	s believe that the long as it occupie	Sunni Arab s Arab land and
that Iran is a common enemy for both states will never agree to a coalition will does not allow the creation of a Palesti	sides. Other ith Israel as l	s believe that the long as it occupie	Sunni Arab s Arab land and
that Iran is a common enemy for both states will never agree to a coalition will does not allow the creation of a Palesti 1) There will be a Sunni Arab	sides. Other ith Israel as l	s believe that the long as it occupie	Sunni Arab s Arab land and
that Iran is a common enemy for both states will never agree to a coalition with does not allow the creation of a Palesti 1) There will be a Sunni Arab coalition with Israel against Iran	sides. Other ith Israel as l	s believe that the long as it occupie	Sunni Arab s Arab land and
that Iran is a common enemy for both states will never agree to a coalition with does not allow the creation of a Palesti 1) There will be a Sunni Arab coalition with Israel against Iran even as the Israeli occupation	sides. Other ith Israel as l nian state. W	s believe that the ong as it occupie Vhat do you thinl	Sunni Arab es Arab land and k?
that Iran is a common enemy for both states will never agree to a coalition with does not allow the creation of a Palesti 1) There will be a Sunni Arab coalition with Israel against Iran even as the Israeli occupation continues	sides. Other ith Israel as l nian state. W	s believe that the ong as it occupie Vhat do you thinl	Sunni Arab es Arab land and k?
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that Iran is a common enemy for both states will never agree to a coalition will does not allow the creation of a Palesti 1) There will be a Sunni Arab coalition with Israel against Iran even as the Israeli occupation continues 2) The Arabs will not build a coalition with Israel until it ends its occupation and allows the creation	sides. Othersith Israel as l nian state. W 68.2%	s believe that the ong as it occupie What do you think 70.0%	Sunni Arab es Arab land and k? 64.6%
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Q43 And what about Palestinian-Isra	eli relations?		
1) will become better	12.6%	8.7%	20.0%
2) will become worse	51.2%	50.4%	52.8%
3) will remain unchanged	33.1%	37.3%	25.0%
4) DK/NA	3.1%	3.6%	2.1%
Q46) In your view, how will economic	conditions in	n your area (Wes	t Bank or Gaza
Strip) be in the next few (3-5) years co	ompared to tl	he situation today	y ?
1) Much better	3.4%	2.5%	5.2%
2) Better	15.6%	17.9%	11.3%
3) Same as today	28.8%	30.9%	24.7%
4) A little worse than today	20.3%	21.7%	17.8%
5) Much worse than today	28.4%	22.4%	40.1%
6) DK/NA	3.1%	4.2%	.9%
7) Refuse to answer	.3%	.4%	0.0%
Q47) Concerning armed attacks again	nst Israeli civ	ilians inside Isra	el, I
1) Certainly agree	10.9%	5.6%	21.2%
2) agree	29.5%	23.4%	41.3%
3) disagree	44.0%	52.0%	28.4%
4) Certainly disagree	11.0%	13.2%	6.7%
5) DK/NA	4.7%	5.8%	2.5%
Q48) Which of the following political			
1- PPP	.4%	.3%	.7%
2- PFLP	2.4%	2.0%	3.1%
3- Fateh	27.0%	27.6%	26.0%
4- Hamas	18.2%	13.9%	26.4%
5- DFLP	.7%	.8%	.5%
6- Islamic Jihad	2.8%	1.3%	5.7%
7- Fida 8- National inititiative	.1%	0.0%	.3%
(almubadara)	1.3%	1.0%	2.0%
9- Independent Islamist	3.0%	1.0%	6.8%
10- Independent nationalist	5.4%	4.4%	7.6%
11)third way headed by salam	3.470	4.470	7.070
feyyad	.3%	.2%	.4%
12- none of the above	37.0%	45.5%	20.7%
13- others	1.4%	2.1%	0.0%
PV35) If you use the internet to surf s			
groups or to access email, how many	times do you	normally do that	?
1) More than once a day	35.2%	38.6%	28.4%
2) daily	23.8%	20.4%	30.2%
3) between 2-5 times weekly	10.8%	9.2%	13.8%
4) once a week	2.1%	1.0%	4.1%
5) once a month	3.5%	1.8%	6.8%
6) others (specify)	.1%	0.0%	.2%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	24.6%	28.9%	16.3%