



المركز الفلسطيني للبحوث السياسية والمسحية

Palestinian Center for POLICY and SURVEY RESEARCH

Poll

Survey Research Unit

25 December 2019

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



For further information, please contact

Dr. Khalil Shikaki or Walid Ladadweh
at the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research

Ramallah, Palestine
Telephone 02 296 4933
Fax 02 296 4934

e-mail: pcpsr@pcpsr.org
<http://www.pcpsr.org>

Public Opinion Poll No (74)

While optimism about the prospects for holding elections rises and a majority thinks that they should be held regardless of the Israeli position on East Jerusalem's participation, half of the public thinks elections, if they were to take place, will neither be free nor fair; indeed, a majority does not have faith in the integrity or neutrality of the police forces, in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, in protecting the election process and a large majority believes that whoever loses the elections will reject the results. On the peace process, two thirds view the US announcement about the legality of Israeli settlements as destructive to the two-state solution and will lead to an Israeli annexation of parts of the West Bank

11-14 December 2019

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 11-14 December 2019. The period before the conduct of the poll witnessed several developments including the announcement by the Palestinian Election Commission and President Abbas that all factions have agreed to the holding of legislative elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. But no decree was issued by Abbas during the period of the data collection. The period also witnessed a debate among Palestinians over the decision of the PA Attorney General to ask the court to block public access to more than 50 Palestinian media websites. Hamas allowed the construction of an American field hospital on the borders of the Gaza Strip with Israel. Power was cut by the Israeli Electric Corporation to central West Bank for two hours every day in many locations served by the Jerusalem District Electricity Company due to unpaid bills. On the Israeli side, prime minister Netanyahu was indicted for corruption and Israeli political parties failed to form a government coalition leading to a decision to hold a third parliamentary election in a single year. The US government declared a new position regarding Israeli settlements in which it disputed the illegality of these settlements from an international law standpoint. In the meanwhile, the US Congress started an on-going effort to impeach president Trump for the use of the presidency to attain personal gains. This press release addresses many of these issues and covers other matters such as Palestinian parliamentary and presidential elections, general conditions in the Palestinian territories, the peace process and the future possible directions for Palestinians in the absence of a viable peace process. Total size of the sample is 1200 adults interviewed face to face in 120 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is +/-3%.

For further details, contact PSR director, Dr. Khalil Shikaki, or Walid Ladadweh at tel. 02-296 4933 or email pcpsr@pcpsr.org.

Main Findings:

Findings of the fourth quarter of 2019 show a small majority indicating optimism about the holding of legislative elections in the near future. Moreover, the poll shows that majority is in favor of holding these elections even if Israel does not allow them in East Jerusalem; in case of Israeli opposition, the public says that East Jerusalemites should vote wherever they can, in Jerusalem and outside it. The bad news however, is that half of the public believes that these upcoming elections will not be free or fair. Furthermore, only half of the public trusts the ability of the Palestinian Election Commission (PEC) to manage the election process with integrity and less than half has confidence in the ability of the police, whether in West Bank and the PA or in the Gaza Strip under Hamas, to provide protection to the election process and the ballot boxes with integrity and without bias. Indeed, a majority believes that Hamas will not be able to conduct its election campaign in the West Bank, and Fatah in the Gaza Strip, without restrictions and interference. These findings indicate a diminished public trust in the entire election process, due probably in part to a distrust in PEC, as indeed supported by the findings, and in the PA public institutions in both areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Worst of all, a large majority believes that if Hamas wins the elections, Fatah, in the West Bank, will not accept the outcome and if Fatah wins the elections, Hamas, in the Gaza Strip, will not accept the outcome. This finding demonstrates beyond any doubt the absence of public confidence in the democratic credentials of the two major political parties, Fatah and Hamas, and raise a big question about the extent of the damage and political corruption that have been generated by the absence of democratic life and by the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip since 2007.

On the ability of a newly elected legitimate government to dissolve the armed groups in the Gaza Strip and collect their arms, a large majority indicates opposition to such measure. Indeed, the majority believes that protecting or keeping the arms of the armed groups has greater legitimacy than that of the electoral legitimacy of the government. These findings reveal that the public does not take the election and its legitimacy seriously (which might be an outcome of the problems identified above) and that in the absence of a viable peace process, the public puts its trust, first and foremost, in armed struggle.

Findings show that if elections take place today, Fatah would receive the biggest share of the vote, followed by Hamas, existing third parties, newly created third parties, and finally an electoral list loyal to Mohammad Dahlan. With this range of options, only a small percentage of participating votes remains undecided. Needless to say, the formation of an electoral list loyal to Dahlan will significantly weaken the size of Fatah's share of the vote and might threaten its ability to emerge as the biggest party. This problem, unique to Fatah, can be exacerbated by its persistent lack of discipline, as demonstrated by the elections of 1996 and 2006, if, for example, other unofficial Fatah lists were formed by disgruntled senior party members who fail to make it to a realistic spot in the party's election list. This means that Fatah might find itself competing against itself thereby ending up with greater fragmentation and great many lost votes. But the greatest threat to a Fatah electoral victory would be its failure to integrate Marwan Barghouti and his supporters in its electoral list. In such a case, as temporarily happened in the 2006 elections, he might form his own electoral list thereby splitting Fatah's vote and insuring that Hamas would receive the greatest share of the vote.

On other domestic political issues, findings indicate that a plurality in the West Bank thinks that Hamas should have participated in the recent exchange of rocket fire between Israel and Islamic Jihad. But the situation in the Gaza Strip is different as a greater plurality thinks that Hamas' decision of refraining from participation has been the correct decision. We also found a large majority views the decision of the PA Attorney General to seek court authorization to block Palestinian media websites as an attack on freedom of speech and therefore he should not stay in his office because he apparently does not believe in free speech. We also found an overwhelming majority supporting the PA government decision to raise the marriage age to 18 years.

Two thirds of the public view the US decision recognizing the legality of Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories in the West Bank and East Jerusalem as destructive the two-state solution. A majority views the decision as destructive also to the one-state solution and that one of its outcomes will be to push Israel to annex parts of the West Bank, such as the Jordan Valley. This American position led to a significant increase in the percentage of Palestinians, standing today at three quarters, who demand that the Palestinian leadership reject the American peace plan, or the Deal of the Century, out of hand, without even looking at its substance while 70% indicate opposition to a restoration of PA dialogue with the Trump Administration.

Finally, findings show that a majority is opposed to the two-state solution, but support for it remains higher than the support for the one-state solution. They also indicate a slight increase in support for armed struggle or a return to armed intifada. It is noticeable however that a majority of the public thinks that the indictment

of Israeli prime minister Netanyahu will soon lead to his removal from power. Similarly, a majority is optimistic about the ability of the US Congress to impeach President Trump and a similar majority is optimistic that he will lose the upcoming US presidential elections. This public betting on the dynamics of domestic Israeli politics and on the workings of the US Congress might be one of the reasons why we still find more public support for the two-state solution compared to other alternative solutions to the conflict with Israel.

(1) A new legislative election?

- **The majority supports holding elections even if Israel does not allow them in East Jerusalem**
- **Only half of the public has confidence in the ability of the Palestinian Election Commission to manage the election process successfully**
- **Only about half trusts the police force in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip to protect to the election process with integrity and neutrality**
- **About two-thirds believe that opposition parties are unable to conduct election campaigns without restrictions and interferences**
- **Only 42% believe the upcoming elections will be fair and free**
- **40% expect Fatah to win and 25% expect Hamas to win the upcoming elections**
- **But a large majority expects the losing party to reject the outcome of the elections**
- **The majority believes that the legitimately-elected government has no right to dissolve the armed groups currently in the Gaza Strip and about two thirds do not support such a decision if one is made**
- **The top priority for the elections, in the eyes of more than a third, is to unify the West Bank and the Gaza Strip**

A majority of 52% of the public expects general elections to take place in the Palestinian territories in the near future; 37% believe no elections will take place. Three months ago, only 38% expected that elections will take place soon. 44% support the holding of simultaneous parliamentary and presidential elections and oppose a separation between the two, while 23% say they support the holding of parliamentary elections to be followed few months later by presidential elections, and 22% want simultaneous presidential and parliamentary elections but do not oppose separating them by few months. Moreover, a majority of 56% (65% in the West Bank and 41% in the Gaza Strip) says that if Israel prevented Palestinian legislative elections in East Jerusalem, voting should be made possible for the residents in any polling station in the West Bank; 35% disagree and say that no election should take place if Israel prevents it in East Jerusalem. Opposition for holding elections if Israel does not allow them in East Jerusalem's post offices is higher in the Gaza Strip (47%) compared to the West Bank (27%), among those who work in the public sector (45%) compared to those who work in the private and non-governmental sectors (34%), among those who oppose the peace process (52%) compared to those who support the peace process (25%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (60% and 44% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (25%).

On the other hand, only 50% trust and 44% do not trust the integrity and capacity of the Palestinian Election Commission to successfully manage the election process. Trust in the integrity and capacity of the election commission is higher in the Gaza Strip (52%) compared to the West Bank (49%), in refugee camps (56%) compared to cities and villages/towns (50% and 49% respectively), among men (54%) compared to women (46%), among those whose age is over 49 years (53%) compared to those whose age is between 18 and 22 years (46%), and among those who support Fatah, Hamas, and third parties (62%, 54%, and 54% respectively) compared to those who do not intend to participate in the elections (36%).

Moreover, only 48% trust, and 46% do not trust, the ability of the West Bank Palestinian police to protect the election process and the ballot boxes with integrity and without bias. Similarly, only 47% trust, and 41% do not trust, the ability of the Gaza Strip police force to protect the election process and the ballot boxes with integrity and without bias. Trust in the integrity and neutrality of the police force deployed in the West Bank is higher in that same area, i.e., the West Bank (56%) compared to the Gaza Strip (38%), in villages/towns (58%) compared to cities and refugee camps (47% and 45% respectively), among men (51%) compared to women (46%), among those whose age is over 49 years (50%) compared to those whose age is between 18 and 22 years (40%), among the married (50%) compared to the unmarried (45%), among those whose income is much higher than the average income (58%) compared to those whose income is much lower than the average (39%), among the non-religious and the somewhat religious (55% and 51% respectively) compared to the religious (43%), among those who support the peace process (56%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (33%), and among supporters of Fatah (75%) compared to those who support Hamas and third parties and those who will not participate in the elections (27%, 41%, and 40% respectively).

Trust in the integrity and neutrality of the police force deployed in the Gaza Strip is higher in that same area, i.e., the Gaza Strip (60%) compared to the West Bank (39%), in refugee camps and cities (55% and 48% respectively) compared to villages/towns (42%), among men (50%) compared to women (44%), among those whose age is over 49 years (52%) compared to those whose age is between 18 and 22 years (38%), among those who work in the public sector (54%) compared to those who work in the private and non-governmental sectors (46%), among the married (48%) compared to the unmarried (39%), among those whose income is much less than the average income (61%) compared to those whose income is much higher than the average income (42%), among the religious (54%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (44% and 43% respectively), among those who oppose the peace process (56%) compared to those who support the peace process (43%), and among supporters of Hamas (75% compared to supporters of third parties, Fatah, and those who will not participate in the election (29%, 39%, and 39% respectively).

A majority of 64% say that it will not be possible, and 29% say it will be possible, for all candidate lists, especially Hamas', to conduct their election campaigns in the West Bank without restrictions or interference from the Palestinian security services. Similarly, a majority of 56% says that it will not be possible, and 37% say it will be possible, for all candidate lists, especially Fatah's, to conduct their election campaigns in the Gaza Strip without restrictions or interference from the Gaza security services. On top of that, only 42% believe, and 50% do not believe, that the upcoming parliamentary elections will be free and fair. The belief that the elections will be fair and free is higher in the West Bank (45%) compared to the West Bank (40%), among men (45%) compared to women (39%), among those who work in the public sector (45%) compared to those who work in the private and non-governmental sectors (40%), among supporters of the peace process (46%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (36%), among supporters of Fatah (56%) compared to those who will not participate in the elections and the supporters of third parties and supporters of Hamas (27%, 36%, and 44% respectively).

The public is divided into two equal halves (43% each) in calling for taking away the jurisdiction of Palestinian courts, especially the Constitutional Court, in annulling the outcome of the legislative elections because of the fear that these courts might do so if the opposition to Abbas and Fatah were to win the elections.

We asked the public about its expectations regarding the outcome of the upcoming elections: 40% (47% in the West Bank and 30% in the Gaza Strip) expect Fatah to win the upcoming legislative elections while only 25% (19% in the West Bank and 35% in the Gaza Strip) expect Hamas to win. We also asked the public about its willingness to participate in the upcoming elections and if so, to

whom it will vote. If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 68% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 32% say they will vote for Hamas and 40% say they will vote for Fatah, 10% will vote for all other third parties combined, and 20% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 29% and Fatah at 38%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 41% (compared to 39% three months ago) and for Fatah at 32% (compared to 31% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas stands at 24% (compared to 20% three months ago) and Fatah at 46% (compared to 43% three months ago). It should be noted that among Fatah voters, as we see in another question, some are loyalists to Mohammad Dahlan, a former senior Fatah official. If these Dahlan loyalists are removed from Fatah's share, it would drop to 35%.

We asked again about the voting intentions, but this time with the assumption that other newly created electoral lists, ones that have not participated in the previous elections in 2006, added to the list of candidates. In this case, the participation rate would increase from 68% to 72% and the share of the undecided would drop from 20% to only 6%; Fatah share would rise from 40% to 44% (including Dahlan loyalists); Hamas share (32%) would remain unchanged; share of third parties (10%) would also remain unchanged; and 8% would vote for the newly created electoral lists. If Dahlan loyalists are removed from Fatah's share, it would drop to 39%.

More than two thirds (68%) believe that if Hamas wins the upcoming elections, Fatah will not accept the results and will not allow it to form a government with full jurisdiction in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; 25% think Fatah will indeed allow Hamas to do so. Similarly, 59% believe that if Fatah wins the upcoming elections, Hamas will not accept the results and will not allow it to form a government with full jurisdiction in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; 34% think Hamas will indeed allow Fatah to do so. It is worth mentioning that among those who intend to vote for Fatah, only 38% think that if Hamas wins the elections, Fatah would accept the results while 58% think that Fatah will not accept the results and will not allow Hamas to form a government with jurisdiction in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Among Hamas voters, only 20% think that Fatah will accept the result in case Hamas wins. By contrast, a large percentage of 69% of Hamas voters believe that if Fatah wins the elections, Hamas will accept the results while only 25% believe Hamas will not accept the results in this case. Among Fatah supporters however, only 26% believe Hamas will accept the result if Fatah wins the election.

A majority of 59% say that after the upcoming elections and the formation of a new government, such a government does not have the right to dissolve existing armed groups in the Gaza Strip and collect their arms because maintain the arms of these groups is more important than electoral legitimacy; 33% say that the newly elected government does indeed have the legitimacy to do so. Regardless of the policy of a newly elected government on the armed groups, two-thirds (67%) say that it would be wrong, and 26% say it would correct, to dissolve Gaza's armed groups and collect their arms. The belief that a new legitimate government can dissolve the Gazan armed groups is higher in the West Bank (34%) compared to the Gaza Strip (31%), among the non-religious and the somewhat religious (45% and 34% respectively) compared the religious (28%), among supporters of the peace process (38%) compared to those opposed to the peace process (26%), among supporters of Fatah (47%) compared to supporters of Hamas, third parties, and those who will not participate in the elections (24%, 28%, and 31% respectively).

If new parties or movements were to be created to take part in the upcoming elections, 13% of the participants say that while they have not yet made up their mind, they will be willing to consider supporting a new party or movement. Also, 12% of committed voters are willing to shift support to a new party or movement. Nonetheless, the largest percentage of participating voters says they will not shift vote to a new party or movement. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority (79%) encourages, and 18% discourage, the participation of independent youth lists in the upcoming elections.

The top priority that should be the aim of the upcoming elections is the unification the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in the eyes of 36% of the public while 18% think it is the improvement of economic conditions, 17% say the ending of Gazan blockade and siege, 13% say fighting corruption, 7% say creating a democratic political system, and 6% say strengthening the resistance to occupation and settlements. The largest percentage (32%) believes that Fatah is the most able of all factions to succeed in realizing the top priority it has selected; 24% say Hamas is the most able, and 20% believe that none of the existing or newly created factions will be able to succeed in achieving the top priority they have selected.

(2) Presidential elections:

- **61% want Abbas to resign and only 37% are satisfied with his performance**
- **Only 31% believe Abbas is the right presidential candidate for Fatah**
- **In a presidential election, Abbas receives 49% of the vote and Haniyyeh receives 44%**
- **Marwan Barghouti is the most popular: he receives 62% compared to Haniyyeh's 34% of the popular vote**

61% of the public want president Abbas to resign while 34% want him to remain in office. Three months ago, 61% said they want Abbas to resign. Demand for Abbas' resignation stands at 52% in the West Bank and 73% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago, demand for Abbas resignation stood at 49% in the West Bank and 74% in the Gaza Strip. Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 37% and dissatisfaction at 59%. Level of satisfaction with Abbas stands at 43% in the West Bank and 27% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago, satisfaction with Abbas stood at 37% (43% in the West Bank and 29% in the Gaza Strip). Only 31% think president Abbas is the best Fatah candidate for the presidency while 41% think that Fatah has better candidates; 29% say they do not know or have no opinion on the matter. The belief that Abbas is the best Fatah candidate is higher in the West Bank (34%) compared to the Gaza Strip (27%), among supporters of the peace process (40%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (18%), among supporters of Fatah (65%) compared to supporters of Hamas, third parties, and those who will not participate in the elections (7%, 21%, and 24% respectively).

If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, Mahmoud Abbas and Ismail Haniyeh, the former would receive 49% and the latter 44% of the vote (compared to 48% for Abbas and 46% for Haniyeh three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 37% of the vote (compared to 39% three months ago) and Haniyeh receives 56% (compared to 57% three months ago). In the West Bank, Abbas receives 58% (compared to 56% three months ago) and Haniyeh 34% (compared to 36% three months ago). If the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Barghouti receives 62% and Haniyeh 34%. We asked about potential Abbas successors: If president Abbas does not nominate himself in a new election, 37% prefer to see Marwan Barghouti replacing him, while 21% prefer Ismail Haniyeh. Mohammad Dahlan is preferred by 6% (2% in the West Bank and 12% in the Gaza Strip), Mustafa Barghouti by 5%, and Khalid Mishal and Salam Fayyad by 4% each.

(3) Blocking websites, the justice system, the electricity crisis, the American field hospital, the Shtayyeh government, and other domestic conditions:

- **60% of the public reject the decision of the Palestinian Attorney General to block some media website and 53% demand his resignation**
- **54% say they are not likely to receive a fair trial in a Palestinian court and 55% think the Palestinian judiciary rules in accordance with whims and interests**
- **61% are in favor of exempting refugee camps from paying the electricity bills and want the PA to cover the cost**

- **36% support the building of the American field hospital along the Gaza borders with Israel**
- **31% are interested in emigrating from the Gaza Strip and 20% from the West Bank**
- **The overwhelming majority supports the government decision to raise the marriage age to 18 years**

A majority of 60% of the public views the decision by the attorney general to ask the court to block access to more than 50 Palestinian media websites as an imposition of restrictions on free speech, a right guaranteed by the Basic Law; but 33% think the decision to do so is correct as it seeks to implement the law. In light of his decision to block more than 50 media websites, 53% think the attorney general should not stay in his position because he apparently does not believe in free speech. But 38% think that he should stay in his position because he simply implemented the law. The belief that blocking access to the sites is an imposition of restrictions on free speech is higher in the Gaza Strip (62%) compared to the West Bank (58%), among men (64%) compared to women (56%), among the youth, between 18 and 22 years (65%) compared to those whose age is over 49 years (61%), among those who work in the public sector (63%) compared to those who work in the private and non-governmental sectors (57%), among the unmarried (66%) compared to the married (59%), among those who are opposed to the peace process (73%) compared to those who support the peace process (51%), among supporters of Hamas, third parties, and those who will not participate in the elections (67%, 63%, and 60% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (47%).

A majority of 54% (59% in the West Bank and 45% in the Gaza Strip) believes that it will not receive a fair trial if it finds itself in a Palestinian court while 39% (34% in the West Bank and 48% in the Gaza Strip) believe that will receive a fair trial. A majority of 55% (60% in the West Bank and 48% in the Gaza Strip) thinks that the Palestinian judiciary is rules according to whims and interests; 42% disagree and believe that it rules according to the law.

In light of the current electricity crisis in central West Bank, 61% think that refugee camps should be exempted from paying their electricity bill and the PA should cover the cost; 35% disagree and think that refugee camps should pay their bills like everybody else. If refugee camps are indeed exempted from paying for their electricity, 89% want the PA to cover the cost while only 5% think that other paying customers should cover the cost.

The largest percentage (36%) says that it supports, and 32% say they oppose, the construction of the American field hospital on the borders of the Gaza Strip with Israel; 28% say they have not heard about it. Support for the construction of the hospital is higher in the Gaza Strip (51%) compared to the West Bank (26%), in refugee camps and cities (46% and 40% respectively) compared to villages/towns (13%), among men (41%) compared to women (31%), among those whose income is much lower the average income (43%) compared to those whose income is much higher the average income (33%), among the religious (40%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (34% each), among those who are opposed to the peace process (51%) compared to those who support the peace process (30%), among supporters of Hamas (67%) compared to supporters of Fatah, third parties, and those who will not participate in the election (23%, 34%, and 28% respectively).

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 6% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 25%. Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 70% and in the West Bank at 60%. Three months ago, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stood at 63% and in the West Bank at 52%. 24% of the public say they want to emigrate due to political, security, and economic conditions. The percentage rises in the Gaza Strip to 31% and declines in the West Bank to 20%.

Only 35% of the West Bankers say that people can criticize the authority in their area without fear and 62% say that they cannot. In the Gaza Strip, 51% say that people in the Gaza Strip can criticize Hamas authority without fear and 46% say they cannot. Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 82% while perception of corruption in the institutions controlled by Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands at 67%. The public is divided over its assessment of the PA: 50% view it as a burden on the Palestinian people while 45% view it as an asset for the Palestinian people.

With more than eight months passing since the formation of the Shtayyeh government, findings indicate that a majority, or a plurality, of the public views its performance as similar to that of the previous government in matters of security (49%), the economy (39%), the reunification of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (53%), the preparation to hold general elections (47%), and the protection of liberties and human rights (51%). But a percentage ranging between 24% and 45% indicates that it believes the performance to be worse than that of the previous government while a percentage ranging between 12% and 24% indicates that the performance of the Shtayyeh government is better than that of the previous government. These findings indicate a slight improvement in public's positive evaluation of the of the Shtayyeh government compared to our findings three months ago. Responding to a question about expectations regarding the ability of the Shtayyeh government to make progress in reconciliation and reunification, 58% expects failure; only 33% expects success. In a similar question about the ability of the new government to organize legislative or legislative and presidential elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, a plurality of 48% expects failure and 44% expect success. In another question about the ability of the new government to improve economic conditions, a majority of 55% expects failure and 37% expects success.

An overwhelming majority of 77% supports, and 22% oppose, the government decision to raise the marriage age to 18 years.

We asked the public about its viewership habits in the last two months. Findings indicate that Al Jazeera TV viewership remains the highest, standing at 19%, followed by Al Aqsa TV (15%), Palestine TV and Maan TV (13% each), Palestine Today TV (9%), al Al Arabiya and al Mayadeen (4% each).

(4) Reconciliation, Hamas and Islamic Jihad:

- **59% are pessimistic about the prospects for reconciliation but 44% think the holding of new elections might contribute to reunifying the West Bank and the Gaza Strip**
- **46% believe that chances for a Hamas-Israel long term cessation of violence or hudna is medium or high**
- **39% believe that Hamas should have participated in the rocket exchange against Israel in the latest wave of violence in the Gaza Strip**

36% are optimistic and 59% are pessimistic about the success of reconciliation. Three months ago, optimism stood at only 30%. 44% are optimistic, and 51% are not optimistic, that the upcoming legislative elections will contribute to the reunification of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. An overwhelming majority (78%) demands that the PA immediately lift all the measures taken against the Gaza Strip, such as public sector's salary deductions and the reduction in access to electricity; only 20% say that such measures should be removed only after Hamas fully hands over control over the Strip to the PA government.

A majority of 52% (down to 44% in the Gaza Strip) believes that the chances for a Hamas-Israel agreement on a long term hudna or cessation of violence are slim while 36% believe the chances are medium and only 10% believe the chances are high. Given Hamas' position during the latest round of fire exchange in the Gaza Strip between Israel and Islamic Jihad, the largest percentage,

standing at 39%, believes that Hamas should have participated in the exchange of rocket fire against Israel while 32% think Hamas made the correct decision by not participating, and 16% think that Hamas did in fact participate. The percentage of those who think Hamas' decision was the right one is higher in the Gaza Strip (46%) compared to the West Bank (23%), in refugee camps (38%) compared to villages/towns and cities (21% and 33% respectively), among those youth whose 18 and 22 years (39%) compared to those whose age is over 49 years (30%), among those who work in the public sector (42%) compared to those who work in the private and non-governmental sectors (29%), among those whose income is much lower than the average income (50%) compared to those whose income is much higher than the average income (27%), among the religious (38%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (29% and 30% respectively), among those who are opposed to the peace process (44%) compared to the supporters of the peace process (27%), and among supporters of Hamas (56%) compared to supporters of Fatah, third parties, and those who will not participate in the elections (22%, 29%, and 28% respectively).

(5) US declaration of settlements' legality, the Trump peace plan, and Trump impeachment:

- **Two thirds believe the US decision declaring Israeli settlements legal under international law will destroy the two-state solution and three quarters believe it will lead to an Israeli annexation of Palestinian territories**
- **85% believe the Trump peace plan will not end the Israeli occupation and allows the annexation of Palestinian territories**
- **About three quarters reject the Trump peace plan regardless of its content**
- **69% oppose the resumption of Palestinian-American dialogue and 60% expect Trump to lose the upcoming American presidential elections**

66% view the US declaration of the legality of Israeli settlements according to international law as destructive to the two-state solution while 18% think it will have no impact and 10% think that it will in fact strengthen the two-state solution. Similarly, 57% view the same decision as have a weakening impact on the one-state solution while 23% think it will have no impact and 9% think it will in fact strengthen the one-state solution.

Almost three quarters (74%) think the US decision will lead to an Israeli annexation of parts of the West Bank, such as the Jordan Valley, while 20% think it will have no such impact

We asked the public if Palestinian acceptance of the Trump peace plan would lead to the end of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank: 85% say no; only 10% say yes it would. When asked if the Trump peace plan permits Israel to annex a large part of the West Bank, a large majority of 75% of the public says it does and only 21% say it does not. We asked the public what should the Palestinian leadership do about the US peace plan: 74% indicate that the Palestinian leadership should reject out of hand the US "deal of the century" if the US presents its plan because it must be bad for the Palestinians; 16% want the PA to examine the substance of the plan before accepting or rejecting it; and 6% believe the leadership should accept the plan out of hand because it will certainly be better than the status quo. Three months ago, 69% said the PA should reject the plan out of hand.

A majority of 69% is opposed and 19% is not opposed to a resumption of dialogue between the Palestinian leadership and the Trump Administration. Official contacts between the PA and the US government were suspended by the PA after the US, in December 2017, recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. A majority of 60% expects US president Trump to lose the next US presidential election and 53% expect the US Congress to succeed in impeaching him.

(6) The peace process:

- **42% support the two-state solution but 61% view it as unfeasible due to Israeli settlement expansion**
- **To end the occupation, 47% view armed struggle as the most effective means, but 26% select negotiations and 20% select non-violent resistance**

Support for the concept of the two-state solution stands at 42% and opposition at 55%. No description or details were provided for the concept. Three months ago, support for the concept stood at 42%. 38% of the public believe that a majority of the Palestinians supports this solution and 54% believe that the majority opposes it. A majority of 61% believes that the two-state solution is no longer practical or feasible due to the expansion of Israeli settlements while 35% believe that the solution remains practical. Moreover, 75% believe that the chances for the creation of a Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel in the next five years are slim or nonexistence while 24% believe the chances to be medium or high.

The most preferred way out of the current status quo is “reaching a peace agreement with Israel” according to 29% of the public while 39% prefer waging “an armed struggle against the Israeli occupation.” Only 14% prefer “waging a non-violent resistance” and 15% prefer to keep the status quo. Three months ago, 32% said that they prefer reaching a peace agreement with Israel and 37% said they prefer waging an armed struggle. When asked about the most effective means of ending the Israeli occupation, the largest group (47%) chose armed struggle, 26% negotiations, and 20% popular resistance. Three months ago, 44% chose armed struggle and 24% chose negotiations.

In light of the suspension of peace negotiations, Palestinians support various alternative directions: 60% support popular non-violent resistance; 52% support a return to an armed intifada; 42% support dissolving the PA; and 28% support abandoning the two-state solution and demanding the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis. Three months ago, 50% said they prefer a return to armed intifada and 40% said they prefer to dissolve the PA.

A majority of 58% expects the indictment of Netanyahu in corruption charges to his ouster from leadership in Israel soon while 34% expect him to succeed in staying in power despite the indictment.

(7) Arab uprisings, Turkish incursion into Syria, and visit of Saudi football team:

- **The majority looks positively as the uprisings in the Arab world today but the majority is opposed to spreading it to Palestine**
- **63% encourage Arab visits, such as the visit of the Saudi football team to Palestine**

57% of the public are in favor and 37% are not in favor of the current uprisings in the Arab world, in Algeria, Sudan, Lebanon, and Iraq. Moreover, 63% reject, and 26% accept, Hizbollah’s position which is opposed to the Lebanese uprising. But 65% do not expect, and only 31% expect, these uprisings to spread to Palestine. Similarly, 65% do not wish to see these uprisings spreading to the West Bank and a little more (70%) do not wish to see them spreading to the Gaza Strip. Support for the spread of the uprisings to the areas of the West Bank is higher in the Gaza Strip (45%) compared to West Bank (22%), in refugee camps and cities (40% and 33% respectively) compared to villages/towns (19%), among men (34%) compared to women (28%), among the youth whose age is between 18 and 22 years (33%) compared to those whose age is over 49 years (28%), among those whose income is much lower than the average income (39%) compared to those whose income is much higher than the average income (32%), among the religious (35%) compared to the somewhat religious (28%), among those who are opposed to the peace process (44%) compared to those who support the peace process (26%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (43% and 35% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah and those who will not participate in the elections (25% and 26% respectively).

On the other hand, support for the spread of the Arab uprisings to the Gaza Strip is higher among Gazans (32%) compared to West Bankers (22%), in refugee camps (38%) compared to villages/towns and cities (16% and 27% respectively), among men (29%) compared to women (23%), among those who work in the private and the non-governmental sectors (30%) compared to those who work in the public sector (25%), among the unmarried (32%) compared to the married (26%), and among supporters of Fatah (32%) compared to supporters of Hamas, third parties, and those who will not participate in the elections (20%, 26%, and 23% respectively).

A majority of 51% (60% in the West Bank and 38% in the Gaza Strip) views the Turkish incursion into the northern border area of Syria as unacceptable aggression while 40% (31% in the West Bank and 53% in the Gaza Strip) view it as a legitimate temporary incursion.

A majority of 63% say that visits from Arab countries, such as that of the Saudi football team, should be encouraged while 34% say such visits should not be encouraged.

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

- **44% believe that the top Palestinian goal should be ending the 1967 occupation and building a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip**
- **The continuation of the Israeli occupation is seen by 28% as the most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today**

44% believe that the first most vital Palestinian goal should be to end Israeli occupation in the areas occupied in 1967 and build a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital. By contrast, 33% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 13% believe that it should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings, and 9% 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 in the eyes of 28% of the public is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities followed by poverty and unemployment and the spread of corruption in public institutions (26% each); 17% say it is the siege of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its crossings.

Public Opinion Poll No (74)

11-14 December 2019

	Total	WB	GAZA
00) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?			
1) al Arabia	4.4%	3.8%	5.3%
2) al Jazeera	19.0%	16.7%	22.4%
3) Palestine Today	9.4%	9.0%	10.1%
4) al Manar	.5%	.2%	1.0%
5) Palestine TV	13.4%	14.9%	11.2%
6) alaqsa	15.2%	7.4%	27.1%
7) man(mix)	12.7%	17.1%	6.0%
al myadeen	4.1%	4.8%	3.2%
10) Do not watch TV	19.2%	23.1%	13.3%
11) others	1.5%	2.2%	.5%
12) Do not have a dish	.1%	.1%	0.0%
13) DK/NA	.4%	.7%	0.0%
Q02) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?			
1) Very good	.5%	.3%	.6%
2) Good	5.5%	4.5%	7.2%
3) so so	12.8%	12.8%	12.9%
4) Bad	38.3%	42.9%	31.4%
5) Very bad	41.6%	37.6%	47.8%
6) DK/NA	1.2%	1.9%	.1%
Q03) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?			
1) Very good	4.2%	3.4%	5.4%
2) Good	20.5%	17.6%	25.0%
3) so so	35.0%	38.6%	29.4%
4) Bad	24.8%	26.8%	21.7%
5) Very bad	14.9%	13.4%	17.2%
6) DK/NA	.6%	.2%	1.3%
Q04) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	37.6%	33.1%	44.4%
2) somewhat religious	57.4%	62.6%	49.6%
3) not religious	5.0%	4.3%	5.9%
4) DK/NA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Q05) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) supportive of the peace process	52.3%	58.8%	42.4%
2) opposed to the peace process	29.1%	22.3%	39.2%
3) between support and opposition	17.0%	16.5%	17.6%
4) DK/NA	1.7%	2.3%	.8%
Q06) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?			
1) yes	81.8%	83.7%	78.9%

	Total	WB	GAZA
2) no	9.8%	8.1%	12.4%
3) DK-NA	8.4%	8.1%	8.7%
Q07) And what about the public institutions controlled by Hamas in the Gaza Strip?			
Is there corruption in these institutions?			
1) Yes, there is	67.3%	70.5%	62.6%
2) No, there is not	19.9%	11.0%	33.3%
3) DK/NA	12.8%	18.6%	4.1%
Q08) In your view, can people in your area (under the PA in the West Bank/or under Hamas in the Gaza Strip) today criticize the authority without fear?			
1) yes	41.3%	35.2%	50.5%
2) no	55.4%	61.6%	46.0%
3) DK-NA	3.2%	3.1%	3.4%
Q09) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	8.0%	2.9%	15.6%
2) Assured	56.1%	57.3%	54.2%
3) Not assured	29.7%	33.3%	24.4%
4) Not assured at all	6.2%	6.5%	5.6%
5) DK/NA	.1%	0.0%	.2%
Q10) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	7.2%	4.3%	11.7%
2) Seek emigration	16.8%	15.2%	19.2%
3) Do not seek emigration	43.3%	41.5%	46.0%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	32.5%	38.9%	22.9%
5) DK/NA	.1%	0.0%	.2%
Q11) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) very satisfied	4.2%	2.4%	7.0%
2) satisfied	32.6%	40.8%	20.2%
3) not satisfied	35.3%	32.1%	40.2%
4) not satisfied at all	23.2%	18.5%	30.2%
5) DK/NA	4.6%	6.1%	2.4%
Q12) If it is up to you, would you want to have Abbas resign or not resign?			
1) Certainly resign	23.3%	15.2%	35.4%
2) Resign	37.4%	36.3%	38.9%
3) Not resign	28.5%	35.0%	18.7%
4) Certainly not resign	5.2%	5.2%	5.4%
5) DK/NA	5.6%	8.3%	1.6%
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?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	48.9%	58.3%	37.3%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	43.8%	33.8%	56.3%
4) DK/NA	7.3%	8.0%	6.4%

	Total	WB	GAZA
Q14) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghout, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmoud Abbas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	41.6%	48.1%	33.1%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	31.8%	22.4%	44.2%
3. Mahmud Abbas	23.0%	25.1%	20.2%
5) DK/NA	3.6%	4.5%	2.4%
Q15) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	61.8%	70.1%	51.0%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	33.9%	25.1%	45.6%
4) DK/NA	4.2%	4.9%	3.4%
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?			
1) alternative	.3%	.1%	.5%
2) independent Palestine	3.9%	3.0%	4.9%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	2.1%	1.7%	2.6%
4) Abu al Abbas	.9%	1.2%	.4%
5) freedom and social justice	.8%	.5%	1.1%
6) change and reform	31.7%	24.1%	40.6%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	.4%	.3%	.5%
9) freedom and independence	.5%	.5%	.4%
10) Palestinian justice	.1%	.0%	.2%
11) Fateh	39.5%	45.5%	32.4%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	19.9%	23.0%	16.3%
Q18) Do you think that legislative or legislative and presidential elections will take place in the Palestinian territories in the near future?			
1) yes	52.0%	54.7%	47.9%
2) no	36.9%	33.4%	42.1%
3) DK-NA	11.1%	11.8%	9.9%
Q19) if it is up to you, do you want to hold simultaneous presidential and legislative elections or legislative elections to be followed several months later by presidential elections?			
1) Prefer legislative elections to be followed months later by presidential elections	23.0%	23.6%	22.0%
2) Prefer simultaneous presidential and legislative elections and oppose a separation between them	44.3%	49.1%	37.0%

	Total	WB	GAZA
3) Prefer simultaneous presidential and legislative elections but I am not opposed to holding them separately	22.4%	14.9%	33.8%
4. DK/NA	10.3%	12.4%	7.2%
Q21) Some say that we should not hold general elections if Israel does not allow them in the post offices in East Jerusalem while others say that since electoral districts have been abolished in the new election law, East Jerusalemites can vote in any polling station in the West Bank. What is your opinion?			
1) No elections should be held if Israel does not allow them in East Jerusalem	34.9%	27.2%	46.6%
2) If Israel prevents elections in East Jerusalem, East Jerusalemites should be allowed to vote in any polling station in the Jerusalem district or in the rest of the West Bank	55.5%	65.1%	41.0%
3) DK/NA	9.6%	7.7%	12.4%
Q21-1) Do you trust the integrity and capacity of the Palestinian Election Commission to successfully manage the election process?			
1) yes	50.0%	48.9%	51.6%
2) no	43.5%	44.8%	41.6%
3) DK-NA	6.5%	6.4%	6.8%
Q21-2) Do you trust the Palestinian Police force in the West Bank in protecting with integrity and without bias?			
1) yes	48.3%	55.5%	37.6%
2) no	45.8%	40.3%	54.1%
3) DK-NA	5.9%	4.2%	8.3%
Q21-3) Do you trust the Palestinian Police force in the Gaza Strip in protecting with integrity and without bias?			
1) yes	47.4%	39.3%	59.5%
2) no	41.0%	46.8%	32.3%
3) DK-NA	11.6%	13.9%	8.3%
Q21-4) In your view, will it be possible for all competing electoral lists, particularly Hamas, to conduct its election campaign in the WEST BANK freely and without constraints imposed by the PA security services?			
1) yes	29.2%	27.7%	31.6%
2) no	63.5%	64.7%	61.8%
3) DK-NA	7.2%	7.6%	6.6%
Q21-5) And, in your view, will it be possible for all competing electoral lists, particularly Fatah, to conduct its election campaign in the GAZA STRIP freely and without constraints imposed by the security services currently controlling the Gaza Strip?			
1) yes	36.6%	26.0%	52.5%
2) no	55.8%	65.2%	41.7%
3) DK-NA	7.6%	8.8%	5.8%

	Total	WB	GAZA
Q21-6) Do you think the upcoming Palestinian legislative elections will be free and fair?			
1) yes	42.1%	40.1%	45.0%
2) no	49.7%	52.1%	45.9%
3) DK-NA	8.3%	7.8%	9.1%
Q21-7) Some, particularly in Hamas, are worried that the Constitutional Court that was appointed by president Abbas about three years ago will annul the results of the upcoming legislative elections if oppositions parties win the elections. Do you support or oppose withdrawing the jurisdiction of the Palestinian courts, particularly the Constitutional Court, in annulling the results of the upcoming elections?			
1) yes	43.4%	33.8%	57.9%
2) no	43.0%	50.4%	31.8%
3) DK-NA	13.6%	15.8%	10.3%
Q22) What do you expect the results of legislative elections to be if they take place in the next few months? Who in your view will win the majority of the votes of the public? Is it likely to be:			
1. Hamas	25.1%	18.7%	34.9%
2. Fatah	40.2%	47.2%	29.7%
3. Third party electoral lists	7.5%	5.2%	11.1%
4. Unknown new party lists	11.3%	10.3%	12.8%
6. DK/NA	15.8%	18.6%	11.5%
Q23) And what about you? For which party you intend to vote? Will you vote for:			
1. Hamas	31.9%	25.7%	39.9%
2. Fatah	43.6%	49.6%	35.7%
3. Third party electoral lists	10.0%	7.1%	13.9%
4. Unknown new party lists	8.4%	9.1%	7.5%
6. DK/NA	6.1%	8.4%	2.9%
P9. If legislative election took place soon, will such election in your view contribute or not contribute to the unification of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?			
1) Will contribute to the unification	43.7%	37.3%	53.4%
2) Will not contribute to the unification	50.8%	56.7%	41.8%
3) DK/NA	5.5%	5.9%	4.8%
Q25. If your view, if Hamas wins the elections, will Fatah accept this result and allow it to form a single unified government with full jurisdiction in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?			
1) yes	24.7%	23.0%	27.3%
2) no	68.1%	70.4%	64.8%
3) DK-NA	7.2%	6.6%	8.0%
Q26. And what if Fatah wins the elections, will Hamas accept this result and allow it to form a single unified government with full jurisdiction in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?			
1) yes	33.5%	24.3%	47.4%

	Total	WB	GAZA
2) no	59.4%	68.5%	45.7%
3) DK-NA	7.1%	7.2%	6.9%
Q27. After the holding of legislative elections and the formation of a new and legitimate government, would the new government, in your view, have the right to dissolve the armed groups in the Gaza Strip, if it so wished to do, and collect their arms and make sure that the only armed force in the Gaza Strip is that of the official PA security services?			
1) yes, it has such a right because it won the elections	32.5%	33.6%	30.9%
2) no, it has no such right because protecting the arms of the armed groups is more important than the legitimacy gained by the elections	59.2%	56.5%	63.3%
3) DK/NA	8.3%	9.9%	5.8%
Q28. Regardless of who wins the upcoming legislative elections, do you personally think it is right or wrong to dissolve the armed groups in the Gaza Strip and to collect the arms of all political factions so that only the official security services would have arms?			
1) think it is the right thing to do to dissolve the armed groups and collect their arms	26.0%	24.3%	28.6%
2) think it is the wrong thing to do to dissolve the armed groups and collect their arms	66.8%	66.3%	67.5%
3) DK/NA	7.2%	9.4%	3.9%
Q29. Some people think that all existing Palestinian parties and movements, such as Fatah, Hamas, and the PFLP, have failed in protecting the Palestinian national interests and they demand the formation of a new political party or movement. If such party or movement is to be created, would you be willing to abandon the party or movement you currently support and consider supporting the new one?			
1) I will not participate in the upcoming elections	32.1%	34.6%	28.4%
2) I have not decided which party to support, and I am ready to support the new one	12.8%	11.0%	15.5%
3) No, I not willing to abandon my party	36.7%	33.3%	41.8%
4) Ye, I am willing to abandon my party and consider supporting the new one	12.2%	14.5%	8.7%
5) DK/NA	6.2%	6.6%	5.6%
P10. Do you support the entry of independent youth electoral lists into the election competition?			
1) Agree	78.7%	80.7%	75.7%
2) Disagree	17.6%	16.3%	19.5%
3) DK/NA	3.7%	3.0%	4.8%

	Total	WB	GAZA
Q31. What in your view is the top most important priority that must be achieved by the upcoming election process? Is it:			
1) reunification of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip	35.6%	39.6%	29.5%
2) create a democratic political system in which power is periodically elected	7.0%	5.5%	9.2%
3) fight corruption	12.8%	18.4%	4.4%
4) improve economic conditions	17.9%	13.6%	24.3%
5) remove the siege and blockade over the Gaza Strip	16.7%	12.4%	23.3%
6) strengthen the resistance to combat occupation and the settlement project	5.9%	5.5%	6.4%
7) other	1.6%	2.2%	.6%
8) DK/NA	2.6%	2.9%	2.2%
Q32. Which of the existing parties or factions are most able to achieve the top priority that you have selected? Is it:			
1) Hamas	24.1%	19.2%	31.4%
2) Fatah	32.0%	32.0%	32.1%
3) currently existing third parties	7.6%	6.1%	9.8%
4) a new party or movement to replace all the existing ones	9.1%	9.3%	8.9%
5) none of the above	20.2%	22.7%	16.5%
6) DK/NA	7.0%	10.7%	1.3%
Q33. Fatah has indicated that president Mahmoud Abbas will be its candidate in the upcoming presidential elections that is to take place few months after the holding of the legislative elections. In your view, is Abbas the best among Fatah leaders for the job or is there others who might be better than him?			
1) Abbas is the best	30.7%	33.5%	26.5%
2) there are others who are better, like: -----	40.6%	36.2%	47.1%
3) DK/NA	28.8%	30.3%	26.4%
Q34) From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most important one and which should be the second most important goal that the Palestinian people should strive to achieve? Q34-1) first goal -----			
1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital	44.4%	46.4%	41.5%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	32.7%	33.6%	31.3%

	Total	WB	GAZA
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	9.3%	7.4%	12.1%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	12.5%	11.4%	14.1%
5) DK/NA	1.1%	1.2%	1.0%
Q34-1) second goal -----			
1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital	20.8%	20.9%	20.5%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	33.6%	39.9%	24.0%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	20.4%	18.3%	23.6%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	24.2%	19.8%	31.0%
5) DK/NA	1.1%	1.2%	.9%
Q35) 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,	27.6%	27.0%	28.6%
2) spread of unemployment and poverty	26.0%	24.5%	28.7%
3) lack of national unity due to the split	3.2%	1.3%	6.5%
4) continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings	16.6%	10.9%	26.4%
5) the spread of corruption in public institutions	25.6%	35.4%	8.7%
6) others (-----)	.9%	.8%	1.2%
7) DK/NA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

	Total	WB	GAZA
Q36) Now, after 8 months after the formation of a new Palestinian government under prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh, how do you evaluate its performance compared to the previous government?			
Q36-1) For example, has security conditions			
1) Better	16.5%	16.1%	17.1%
2) Worse	31.1%	24.8%	40.5%
3) The same	49.2%	54.5%	41.3%
4) DK/NA	3.2%	4.5%	1.2%
Q36-2) economic conditions			
1) Better	13.3%	12.6%	14.3%
2) Worse	45.0%	39.4%	53.4%
3) The same	38.9%	43.9%	31.3%
4) DK/NA	2.8%	4.1%	.9%
Q36-3) efforts to unify the West Bank and the Gaza Strip			
1) Better	12.3%	10.8%	14.6%
2) Worse	31.6%	29.1%	35.5%
3) The same	52.5%	55.3%	48.1%
4) DK/NA	3.6%	4.8%	1.8%
Q36-4) efforts to conduct new general elections			
1) Better	23.9%	21.3%	27.8%
2) Worse	24.2%	20.4%	29.9%
3) The same	47.0%	52.4%	38.8%
4) DK/NA	4.9%	5.9%	3.5%
Q36-5) efforts to defend right and protect human rights in the PA			
1) Better	14.7%	13.6%	16.4%
2) Worse	29.7%	25.6%	35.8%
3) The same	50.7%	54.7%	44.7%
4) DK/NA	4.9%	6.1%	3.0%
Q37) will the new government succeed in pushing for reconciliation and reunification of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?			
1) yes	32.8%	33.3%	32.1%
2) no	57.7%	56.3%	59.7%
3) DK-NA	9.5%	10.4%	8.2%
Q38) will the new government succeed in conducting legislative or legislative and presidential elections?			
1) yes	44.1%	46.0%	41.2%
2) no	47.7%	45.4%	51.2%
3) DK-NA	8.2%	8.6%	7.6%
Q39) will the new government succeed in improving economic conditions in the PA?			
1) yes	37.1%	35.7%	39.2%
2) no	55.4%	54.9%	56.1%
3) DK-NA	7.5%	9.4%	4.7%
Q40) 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?			

	Total	WB	GAZA
1) The PA is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people	45.2%	49.6%	38.6%
2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people	49.6%	45.4%	56.0%
3) DK/NA	5.1%	4.9%	5.4%
Q41) What expectations do you have for the future of reconciliation? Will it continue and succeed or will it fail leading to a return to the split?			
1) Certainly succeed	6.1%	3.5%	10.0%
2) succeed	30.3%	29.8%	31.0%
3) fail	44.4%	46.3%	41.5%
4) Certainly fail	15.0%	16.1%	13.3%
5) DK/NA	4.3%	4.4%	4.1%
Q42) Do you think the PA should remove the measures it took against its Gaza employees, such as the deductions in their salaries or the deduction of the available time for access to electricity or do you think the measures should remain until Hamas accepts fully all PA conditions including the handing of of ministries, security, and arms?			
1) Support removing the measures immediately	77.8%	80.4%	73.7%
2) Support removing the measures only after Hamas fully hand over control over the Strip to the PA	19.5%	17.3%	22.9%
3) DK/NA	2.7%	2.2%	3.4%
Q43) In your view, what are the chances that Hamas and Israeli would arrive at a long term truce or hudna that would ease the siege over the Gaza Strip, end confrontations, open crossings, and improve economic conditions/			
1) Chances are high	9.8%	7.9%	12.6%
2) Chances are medium	36.1%	32.0%	42.2%
3) Chances are slim	52.1%	57.3%	44.3%
4) DK/NA	2.0%	2.8%	.9%
Q44) President Abbas says that he will not nominate himself in new presidential elections. If it is up to you, who do you want to be the president after him?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	36.5%	43.9%	25.5%
2) Ismail Haniyeh	21.4%	14.7%	31.6%
3) Mustapha Barghouti	4.5%	4.3%	4.8%
4) Khalid Mishal	4.2%	2.6%	6.7%
5) Salam Fayyad	3.7%	2.4%	5.7%
6) Mohammad Dahlan	6.3%	2.3%	12.3%
7) Other	4.0%	3.0%	5.6%
8) DK/NA	19.3%	26.9%	7.9%
Q45. Israel is currently cutting electricity in some areas in the center of the West Bank because the Jerusalem Electricity Company (JEC) has not paid for the electricity it has bought from Israel. JEC says that the refugee camps in the West Bank do not pay for the electricity they consume and that the PA does not cover those costs			

	Total	WB	GAZA
either. Do you think the camps should or should not be exempted from paying for the electricity?			
1) yes, they should be exempted and the PA should cover the costs instead	61.0%	58.0%	65.5%
2) No, they should not be exempted, the consumers in the camps must pay just like every body else (skip to Q47)	35.1%	40.3%	27.2%
3) DK/NA (skip to Q47)	3.9%	1.6%	7.3%
Q46. If you support exempting the camps from paying for electricity, who in your view should pay instead?			
1) the PA	89.2%	89.4%	89.0%
2) other consumers of electricity	5.0%	3.5%	7.0%
3) others, specify: -----	5.2%	6.6%	3.3%
4) DK/NA	.6%	.5%	.7%
Q47. The PA government has approved the law to raise the marriage age to 18 years. Do you support or oppose raising the marriage age?			
1) Agree	77.1%	80.1%	72.5%
2) Disagree	21.9%	19.4%	25.6%
3) DK/NA	1.0%	.5%	1.9%
Q48. The Saudi football team came to Palestine to play a game with the Palestinian team. Should we encourage or discourage such visits to the PA areas?			
1) encourage	63.1%	71.5%	50.5%
2) discourage	33.5%	25.7%	45.2%
3) DK/NA	3.4%	2.8%	4.4%
Q49. People differ in these days in their evaluation of the work of the judiciary and the courts in Palestine. Some view them as ruling in accordance with the law while others view them as ruling in accordance with whims and personal interests. If you want to evaluate the judiciary and the courts, you would say they are mostly:			
1) ruling in accordance with the law,	41.9%	37.7%	48.2%
2) ruling in accordance with whims and personal interests	55.3%	59.9%	48.4%
3) DK/NA	2.8%	2.5%	3.3%
Q50. The Attorney General (AG) in Ramallah asked a Palestinian court to block access to more than 50 Palestinian websites based on the current Cybercrime law. The court judged in favor of the AG. But Palestinian civil society organizations and media saw the blocking of the websites as an attack on free expression. What do you think?			
1) Blocking the sites is correct, in implementation of the law	32.7%	33.0%	32.3%
2) blocking the sites is an attack on free speech, a right guaranteed by the Basic Law	59.6%	58.2%	61.6%
3) DK/NA	7.7%	8.8%	6.1%

	Total	WB	GAZA
Q51. Some people say that the AG who asked the court to block the sites should not stay in his position because it seems he does not believe in free speech. But others say he should stay in his position because he only implemented the law that decreed by President Abbas. What do you think?			
1) He can stay in his office because he simply implemented the law	37.5%	37.9%	36.9%
2) He cannot stay in office because he does not believe in free speech	53.1%	51.1%	56.1%
3) DK/NA	9.4%	11.0%	7.0%
Q52) If you find yourself today in front of a Palestinian court, do you think you would probably receive a fair trial?			
1) yes	39.2%	33.5%	47.8%
2) no	53.7%	59.3%	45.2%
3) DK-NA	7.1%	7.2%	7.0%
Q53. Public demonstrations and uprisings are back in the streets of Algeria, Sudan, Lebanon, and Iraq. Do you support or oppose these uprisings?			
1. Agree	57.1%	52.3%	64.3%
2. Disagree	36.9%	41.4%	30.2%
3. DK/NA	6.0%	6.2%	5.5%
Q54. Do you expect these uprisings to find their way to Palestine as well, with the goal being to bring down the regime in the Gaza Strip or the regime in the West Bank?			
1) Yes, they will reach Palestine	31.1%	26.7%	37.8%
2) No, they will not reach Palestine	65.2%	70.2%	57.6%
3) DK/NA	3.7%	3.1%	4.7%
Q55. Do you want to see these uprisings come to the West Bank?			
1) yes	31.1%	22.3%	44.5%
2) no	64.5%	74.2%	49.7%
3) DK-NA	4.4%	3.5%	5.8%
Q56. And do you want them to come to the Gaza Strip also?			
1) yes	26.3%	22.4%	32.3%
2) no	69.9%	74.7%	62.6%
3) DK-NA	3.8%	2.9%	5.2%
Q57. Hizbollah attacked the demonstrations in Lebanon and accused foreign powers of supporting them. Do you accept or reject this Hizbollah position?			
1) I accept	25.5%	28.1%	21.6%
2) I reject	62.8%	57.9%	70.3%
3) DK/NA	11.7%	14.0%	8.2%
Q58. In the latest fire and rocket exchange between Israel and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) in the Gaza Strip, media reports indicated that Hamas has not participated in the rocket exchange in response to the assassination of one of PIJ's commanders. Do you think Hamas should have participated or do you think that its decision to leave the matter of retaliation to PIJ alone was the right one?			
1) Hamas non-participation was the right decision	32.0%	22.5%	46.2%

	Total	WB	GAZA
2) Hamas should have participated	39.1%	42.7%	33.7%
3) Hamas did participate (do not read)	16.4%	17.2%	15.2%
4) DK/NA	12.6%	17.6%	5.0%

Q59. Early this year, the PA leadership refused for a period of 8 months to accept the Israeli transfer of PA custom or clearance revenues because Israel insisted on deducting a certain amount of the revenues equal to the amount paid by the PA to the families of prisoners and those killed in confrontations with Israel. It then changed its mind and decided to accept the revenues even though Israel did not stop the deduction. In your view, did the PA come out a winner or a loser in its conflict with Israel over the clearance revenues?

1) winner	33.9%	36.0%	30.9%
2) loser	59.9%	58.6%	61.9%
3) DK/NA	6.2%	5.5%	7.2%

Q60.) The leadership decided more than three months ago to suspend the implementation of the existing agreements with Israel in response to the Israeli demolition of Palestinian homes in areas under the PA control? What is your impression about the serio

1) Yes, it will stop implementing the agreements or most of them	19.8%	18.4%	22.0%
2) No, it will not stop implementing the agreements or most of them	71.6%	73.5%	68.6%
3) DK/NA	8.6%	8.0%	9.4%

Q61) In your view, what is the best means of ending the occupation?

1) Negotiations	25.7%	28.5%	21.5%
2) Peaceful popular resistance	20.4%	18.9%	22.7%
3) Armed action	46.8%	43.1%	52.6%
4) other	2.2%	3.3%	.6%
5) DK/NA	4.9%	6.3%	2.7%

Q62) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the two-state solution?

1) certainly support	5.8%	5.0%	6.8%
2) support	36.5%	37.9%	34.5%
3) oppose	38.4%	39.9%	36.3%
4) certainly oppose	16.9%	14.2%	21.1%
5) DK/NA	2.3%	3.0%	1.3%

Q63) In your opinion, what is the Palestinian majority opinion TODAY on this solution?

1) Majority supports	38.1%	39.2%	36.5%
2) Majority opposes	53.6%	51.2%	57.2%
3) DK/NA	8.3%	9.6%	6.3%

Q64) 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

	Total	WB	GAZA
others believe that it is still viable today as settlements can be dismantled or evacuated when an agreement is reached. What do you think?			
1) The two-state solution is no longer viable	60.5%	62.0%	58.1%
2) The two-state solution remains viable today	34.9%	34.7%	35.3%
3) DK/NA	4.6%	3.3%	6.7%
Q65) The following four possibilities refer to your views about what to do now about Israeli-Palestinian relations, which one is the most preferred to you:			
1) Maintain the status quo	14.7%	15.6%	13.5%
2) Wage an armed struggle against the Israeli occupation	38.7%	30.9%	50.3%
3) Wage an unarmed struggle against the Israeli occupation	13.7%	15.2%	11.3%
4) Reach a peace agreement with Israel	29.0%	33.7%	21.7%
5) Other:	.6%	.9%	.1%
6) DK/NA	3.4%	3.6%	3.0%
Q66) What in your view are the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years?			
1) very low	36.7%	39.1%	33.2%
2) Low	38.6%	33.4%	46.6%
3) Medium	20.3%	21.7%	18.3%
4) High	3.0%	4.4%	1.0%
5) very high	.6%	.9%	.2%
6) DK/NA	.6%	.6%	.8%
Q67) After the cessation of negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis, would you support or oppose adopting the following options?			
2) Joining more international organizations			
1) certainly support	17.2%	12.3%	24.6%
2) support	50.5%	53.6%	45.7%
3) oppose	26.0%	25.4%	26.9%
4) certainly oppose	4.2%	5.8%	1.7%
5) DK/NA	2.1%	2.9%	1.0%
3 Abandon the two state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis			
1) certainly support	3.7%	2.5%	5.5%
2) support	24.0%	25.6%	21.5%
3) oppose	50.8%	50.3%	51.6%
4) certainly oppose	19.3%	18.3%	20.8%
5) DK/NA	2.2%	3.2%	.7%
4 Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance			
1) certainly support	8.4%	7.2%	10.3%
2) support	51.3%	55.1%	45.5%
3) oppose	32.7%	29.9%	36.9%
4) certainly oppose	6.0%	5.7%	6.6%
5) DK/NA	1.5%	2.1%	.7%

	Total	WB	GAZA
5 Return to the armed intifada and confrontations			
1) certainly support	15.8%	10.2%	24.3%
2) support	35.7%	33.0%	39.7%
3) oppose	38.6%	43.3%	31.7%
4) certainly oppose	7.7%	10.7%	3.2%
5) DK/NA	2.2%	2.8%	1.3%
6 Dissolve the Palestinian Authority			
1) certainly support	10.5%	6.9%	15.7%
2) support	31.2%	25.3%	40.1%
3) oppose	40.0%	45.5%	31.7%
4) certainly oppose	13.8%	18.3%	7.0%
5) DK/NA	4.6%	4.0%	5.5%
Q68. Now after the US recognition of the legitimacy of the Israeli settlement under international law, do you see this position as having a negative impact on the prospects for the two-state solution?			
1) Will have no impact on it	17.9%	11.9%	26.8%
2) will strengthen it	10.3%	5.6%	17.3%
3) Will weaken it	66.4%	76.8%	50.7%
4) DK/NA	5.5%	5.6%	5.2%
Q69. Will it have an impact for the prospects for a one-state solution? For example, will it strengthen it, weaken it, or have no impact on it?			
1) Will have no impact on it	23.1%	14.8%	35.6%
2) will strengthen it	9.3%	6.4%	13.7%
3) Will weaken it	57.3%	68.2%	40.9%
4) DK/NA	10.3%	10.6%	9.8%
Q70. Do you think the US recognition of settlements as legitimate will have an impact of the prospect of Israeli annexation of areas in the West Bank such as the Jordan Valley?			
1) No, it will not have an impact	19.7%	11.5%	32.1%
2) It will embolden Israel to annex parts of the West Bank	73.8%	83.0%	59.9%
3) DK/NA	6.5%	5.6%	7.9%
Q72) If the US presented the Palestinian leadership with its peace plan, or the Deal of the Century, what in your view should the response of the leadership be? Should it reject it regardless of its content because it will certainly be bad, or should it accept it because it will certainly be better than the current status quo, or should it accept or reject it only after discussing its content with the PLO factions, Hamas, and Arab countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan?			
1) reject it	74.1%	76.5%	70.5%
2) Accept it	6.4%	4.8%	8.9%
3) accept or reject only after discussing its content	15.7%	15.1%	16.5%
4) DK/NA	3.8%	3.7%	4.1%
Q73) Do you think that the “deal of the century,” if accepted by the Palestinian side, can lead to the end of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank?			
1) yes	10.0%	7.7%	13.5%

	Total	WB	GAZA
2) no	85.2%	87.7%	81.3%
3) DK-NA	4.8%	4.6%	5.2%
Q74) Do you think the plan will allow Israel to annex a large part of the West Bank?			
1) yes	74.7%	78.9%	68.4%
2) no	20.5%	16.6%	26.4%
3) DK-NA	4.8%	4.5%	5.2%
Q75. US presidential elections will take place in less than a year. Do you expect or do not expect Trump to win the election for a second time?			
1) expect Trump to win	29.4%	28.3%	30.9%
2) expect Trump will lose	60.4%	61.1%	59.3%
3) DK/NA	10.3%	10.6%	9.8%
Q76. Israeli prime minister has been indicted in corruption charges. Do you expect or do not expect the removal of Netanyahu as prime minister soon?			
1) expect his removal	57.9%	59.4%	55.7%
2) expect him to stay in office	34.1%	32.3%	36.8%
3) DK/NA	8.0%	8.3%	7.5%
Q77. US Congress is currently debating the impeachment of President Trump. Do you expect or do not expect the president to be impeached in the near future?			
1) impeached	52.5%	53.1%	51.6%
2) stay president	38.4%	39.1%	37.4%
3) DK/NA	9.1%	7.8%	11.1%
Q78) In the aftermath of the US recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of the state of Israel, the Palestinian leadership has stopped contacts with the Trump Administration concerning the peace process. In response, the US has threatened to stop financial assistance to the PA. Are you with or against the resumption of contacts with the US administration?			
1) With	18.5%	14.9%	23.8%
2) against	69.1%	72.3%	64.2%
3) DK/NA	4.9%	4.9%	4.9%
4) Contacts did not stop (do not read)	7.6%	7.9%	7.1%
Q79. Turkey entered recently into its border area with Syria in what Syria view as an unacceptable aggression what Turkey says that it is a temporary incursion to prevent the Kurds from controlling that area and in order to create a safe area for the return of Syrian refugees to their country. How do you view this Turkish action: as an unacceptable aggression against Syria and its territorial unity or a legitimate action by Turkey to protect its borders and return Syrian citizens to their home?			
1) unacceptable aggression against Syria	51.0%	59.6%	38.1%
2) a legitimate action	39.7%	30.7%	53.3%
3) DK/NA	9.2%	9.7%	8.6%
Q79-1. An American field hospital is currently being build on the Gazan border with Israel with funding from an American NGO and with approval from Hamas and opposition from the PA and other factions. If you have heard about the hospital, are you in favor or not in favor of building it?			
1) I have not heard about it	28.2%	36.5%	15.7%

	Total	WB	GAZA
2) I oppose it	32.0%	33.6%	29.5%
30 I support it	36.3%	26.3%	51.4%
4) DK/NA	3.5%	3.6%	3.4%
Q80) 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	3.8%	2.2%	6.1%
2) Better	18.1%	14.7%	23.2%
3) Same as today	32.5%	30.6%	35.5%
4) A little worse than today	19.9%	24.4%	13.0%
5) Much worse than today	23.7%	25.3%	21.2%
6) DK/NA	1.3%	1.9%	.3%
7) Refuse to answer	.8%	.9%	.7%
Q81) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....			
1) Strongly support	12.7%	4.2%	25.5%
2) support	34.6%	23.5%	51.5%
3) oppose	39.5%	51.7%	21.0%
4) Strongly oppose	10.9%	17.5%	1.0%
5) DK/NA	2.3%	3.1%	1.1%
Q82) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) PPP	.3%	.2%	.4%
2) PFLP	2.2%	2.0%	2.5%
3) Fateh	31.5%	34.5%	27.1%
4) Hamas	23.6%	17.2%	33.4%
5) DFLP	.5%	.3%	.7%
6) Islamic Jihad	1.8%	.5%	3.9%
7) Fida	.1%	.0%	.2%
8) National initiative (almubadara)	.7%	.8%	.7%
9) Independent Islamist	1.3%	.2%	2.9%
10) Independent nationalist	3.7%	1.1%	7.7%
11) third way headed by salam feyyad	.3%	.3%	.2%
12) none of the above	32.2%	41.5%	18.0%
13) others	1.7%	1.4%	2.2%
Q83) 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	48.2%	54.2%	39.2%
2) daily	27.1%	22.5%	34.0%
3) between 2-5 times weekly	6.1%	3.8%	9.5%
4) once a week	1.7%	.7%	3.2%
5) once a month	1.8%	1.2%	2.6%
6) other -----	.1%	0.0%	.3%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	15.0%	17.6%	11.2%