

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 (86)

The World Cup in Qatar helps to restore Palestinian public trust in the Arab World after years of disappointment; and in light of the escalating armed clashes in the West Bank and the near formation of a right wing and extreme government in Israel, the Palestinian public becomes more hardline while indicating a greater confidence in the efficacy of armed struggle

7-10 December 2022

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 7 and 10 December 2022. The period before the conduct of the poll witnessed several developments including a decision by the President of the Palestinian Authority (PA), Mahmoud Abbas, to form a high judicial council under his chairmanship, a new reconciliation agreement reached in Algeria by Palestinian factions, and media outlets reporting various cases of drowning of Palestinian emigrants in the Mediterranean Sea. On the Israeli side, after winning the November parliamentary elections, the Likud and other right wing and extreme right-wing groups agreed to form a governing coalition under Benjamin Netanyahu's premiership. In Palestinian-Israeli relations, a UN agency adopted a decision to seek the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the legality of the Israeli occupation. Moreover, various armed groups resisting the Israeli occupation in the northern parts of the West Bank, such as the "Lions' Den," which received a wide press coverage, went public during this period. In Qatar, the World Cup football games started and were widely followed by the Palestinians due to a considerable expression of support for and solidarity with Palestine by the fans attending the games.

This press release addresses these issues and covers other matters such as the general conditions in the Palestinian territories, the peace process and future possible directions for Palestinians in the absence of a viable peace process. Total size of the sample is 1200 adults interviewed face to face in 120 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is +/-3%.

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Main Findings:

The findings of the last quarter of 2022 point to a limited change in the domestic balance of power favoring Hamas and centering in the West Bank. Moreover, the popularity of president Abbas drops several percentage points, mostly in the West Bank. In other domestic issues, findings indicate that only one quarter of the public thinks that the factional agreement in Algeria will lead to actual reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas and the level of pessimism about the prospects for reunification exceeds 70%. Findings also

show that the public views negatively Abbas' decree forming a high council for the judiciary under his chairmanship as only one in five Palestinians think it aims to strengthen the judiciary while a vast majority of more than 70% think it aims at weakening the independence of the judiciary.

The findings of the current quarter also indicate a significant decline in the level of support for the two-state solution accompanied by a significant rise in the percentage of those who think this solution is no longer feasible or possible due to settlement expansion. This change is not accompanied by an increase in the percentage of those who support the one-state solution in which Palestinians and Israeli Jews enjoy equal rights. To the contrary, support in the current quarter for this one-state solution has also dropped. These findings point to the possibility that the change in attitudes toward the political settlement with Israel reflects a hardening of public attitudes signifying less willingness to compromise. This hardening of attitudes can also be seen in the significant rise in support, in the West Bank, for a return to armed intifada. Furthermore, findings show a significant decrease, in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, in the percentage of those who view positively Israeli-Palestinian confidence building measures. On top of that, more than 70% of the public support the idea of forming armed groups, such as the "Lions' Den," and only one in ten says the PA has the right to arrest members of these groups or disarm them.

These findings come in a context of three major political and security-related developments, during the current quarter, that might have shaped Palestinian public attitudes, particularly in the West Bank:

- Perhaps the single most important development has been the escalating military clashes between Palestinian armed groups and the Israeli army in the northern part of the West Bank. The number of armed clashes and Israeli military incursions and the number of Palestinian casualties have been unprecedented since the end of the second intifada. This particular development sheds light on the fact that the most significant changes in our findings are centered in the West Bank.
- The results of the Israeli elections and the start of negotiations to form a right-wing coalition government, between the Likud, the religious parties, and the extreme right wing in Israeli politics, might have contributed to the increase in the percentage of those who think the two-state solution is no longer practical or possible. This same development might have also contributed to the rise in the belief that armed struggle, not negotiations, is the most effective means of ending the Israeli occupation. Indeed, the findings indicate that a large Palestinian majority expects the worse from the upcoming Israeli government including high expectation that it will change the status quo in holy places in al Haram al Sharif in East Jerusalem, expel Palestinian families from their homes in East Jerusalem, transfer Bedouin residents, such as Arab al Jahalin, from their villages and encampments in the southeastern parts of Jerusalem to other locations, and annex settlements or the Jordan Valley to Israel.
- Finally, it is clear from the findings that the pro-Palestine scenes at the World Cup in Qatar have contributed to a restoration of the confidence of the Palestinians in the justice of their cause and their right to resist the occupation by all legitimate means. The vast majority of the Palestinians say they have now regained much, or some, of the lost confidence in the Arab peoples in light of the solidarity with Palestine expressed by the fans during the football games. The findings show strong association between the restoration of trust and attitudes regarding the two-state solution and the return to an armed intifada.

(1) “Lions’ Den” and other armed groups:

- **72% support the formation of armed groups such as the “Lions’ Den”**
- **79% stand against the surrender of the members of the armed groups or their arms to the PA**
- **87% say the PA does not have the right to arrest members of the armed groups**
- **59% expect the armed groups to spread to other areas in the West Bank**

A majority of 72% of the public says they are in favor of forming armed groups such as the “Lions’ Den,” which do not take orders from the PA and are not part of the PA security services; 22% are against that. Support for the formation of armed groups is higher in the Gaza Strip (84%) than in the West Bank (65%), in refugee camps and cities (76% and 73% respectively) compared to villages/towns (70%), among women (74%) compared to men (70%), among those whose age is between 18 and 29 (75) compared to those whose age is 30 or above (72%), among refugees (78%) compared to non refugees (68%), among students and professionals (77% and 75% respectively), compared to merchants and employees (60% and 69% respectively), among those who work in the private sector (71%) compared to those who work in the public sector (65%), among the religious (77%) compared to the somewhat religious (68%), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (87% and 78% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (66%).

Nonetheless, 59% are worried that the formation of such armed groups could lead to armed clashes with the PA security services; 39% are not worried. Despite this, 79% say they are against the surrender of the armed groups’ members and their arms to the PA in order to receive protection against Israeli assassination; 17% say they are for it. Similarly, the vast majority (87%) says the PA does not have the right to arrest member of these armed groups in order to prevent them from carrying out attacks against Israel or to provide them with protection; only 10% say they favor it.

A majority of 59% expects these armed groups to expand and spread to other areas in the West Bank; 15% expect Israel to succeed in arresting or killing their members; and 14% expect the PA to succeed in containing or coopting these groups.

(2) The formation of a new Israeli government of right wing and extreme right

- **61% expect the policies of the upcoming Israeli government led by Netanyahu to be more extreme than the previous one**
- **58% expect the new Israeli government to change the status quo at al Haram al Sharif; 64% expect it to expel Palestinian families in al Sheikh Jarrah; 68% expect it to transfer Arab al Jahalin community; and 69% expect it to annex it to annex Israeli settlements or the Jordan Valley**
- **67% are less optimistic today about the prospects for an improvement in Palestinian-Israeli relations**

A majority of 61% expects the policies of the upcoming Israeli government, that is currently being formed under the leadership of Netanyahu from the right wing and the extreme right, to be more extreme and aggressive while 30% expect them to be similar to the current policies; 4% expect them to be less extreme. For example, a majority of 58% expects the upcoming Israeli government under Netanyahu to change the status quo in al Haram al Sharif in East Jerusalem by allowing Jews to pray at the site; 38% do not expect that. Similarly, a majority of 64% expects the upcoming Israeli government under Netanyahu to expel Palestinian families from al Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood in East Jerusalem; 33% do not expect that. Moreover, a majority of 68% expects the new Israeli government under Netanyahu to transfer the Palestinian Bedouin community currently living in the area between Jerusalem and Jericho, such as Arab al Jahalin, in order to build a big

settlement to the east of Abu Din and al Ezariyya; 28% do not expect that. Also, a majority of 69% expects the upcoming Israeli government under Netanyahu to annex settlements or the Jordan Valley to Israel; 27% do not expect that.

A majority of 67% is less optimistic about the prospects of an improvement in Palestinian-Israeli relations, such as reaching new agreements on confidence building measures or reducing the expansion of the settlements during next year; 12% say they are more optimistic today; and 20% are neither optimistic nor pessimistic.

(3) Legislative and presidential elections:

- **69% support holding general elections now, but 63% do not expect elections to take place anytime soon**
- **In a competition between president Abbas and Hamas' Ismael Haniyyeh, the latter wins by 54% and the former receives 36% of the vote; but Marwan Barghouti, from Fatah, defeats Haniyyeh 61% to 34%**
- **Satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 23%; and 75% demand his resignation**
- **In parliamentary elections, Fatah and Hamas receive equal percentage of popular vote, 34% each**

A majority of 69% supports the holding of presidential and legislative elections in the Palestinian territories in the near future while 29% say they do not support that. Demand for elections stands at 75% in the Gaza Strip and 65% in the West Bank. However, a majority of 63% believes no legislative, or legislative and presidential, elections will take place soon.

If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, Mahmoud Abbas and Ismail Haniyeh, only 46% would participate and from among those, Abbas would receive 36% and Haniyeh 54% of the votes (compared to 53% for Haniyeh and 38% for Abbas three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 36% of the votes and Haniyeh receives 60%. In the West Bank, Abbas receives 36% and Haniyeh 46%. If the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, participation would increase to 62% and from among those, Barghouti receives 61% and Haniyeh 34%. If the competition is between Prime Minister Mohammad Shtayyeh and Haniyyeh, participation rate would decrease to 43% and from among those, the former receives 31% and the latter 60%.

If Abbas does not run for elections, the public prefers Marwan Barghouti to succeed him as the largest percentage (39%) selected him in a closed-ended question, followed by Ismail Haniyyeh (17%), Mohammad Dahlan (5%), Yahya al Sinwar (4%), Mohammad Shtayyeh, Khalid Mish'al and Hussein al Sheikh (3% each), and 22% said they do not know or have not decided.

Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 23% and dissatisfaction at 73%. Level of satisfaction with Abbas stands at 23% in the West Bank and 23% in the Gaza Strip. Satisfaction with the performance of Abbas three months ago stood at 26% and dissatisfaction at 74%. Moreover, a vast majority of 75% of the public wants president Abbas to resign while only 20% want him to remain in office. Three months ago, 74% said they want Abbas to resign. Demand for Abbas' resignation stands today at 73% in the West Bank and 79% in the Gaza Strip.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions that participated in the 2006 elections, 65% say they would participate. Of those who would participate, 34% say they will vote for Hamas and 34% say they will vote for Fatah, 10% will vote for all third parties combined, and 21% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 32% and Fatah at 34%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 43% (compared to 44% three months ago) and for Fatah at 30% (compared to 29% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas

stands at 26% (compared to 21% three months ago) and Fatah at 38% (compared to 38% three months ago).

28% say Hamas is most deserving of representing and leading the Palestinian people while 25% think Fatah under president Abbas is the most deserving of representing and leading the Palestinians; 40% think neither side deserves such a role. Three months ago, 27% selected Hamas, 26% Fatah under Abbas, and 42% said neither side deserves such a role.

(4) Domestic conditions, the “assassination” of Yasir Arafat, independence of the Judiciary, and those responsible for the drowning of Palestinian emigrants:

- **64% believe that a Palestinian actor played a role in the death of Yasser Arafat, either alone (14%) or in cooperation with Israel (50%)**
- **72% think the decree by president Abbas to form a high judiciary committee under his chairmanship aims at weakening the independence of the judiciary**
- **27% blame Hamas for the drowning of Gazan illegal emigrants; 24% blame Israel; and 18% blame the PA**
- **24% say they want to emigrate; 30% in the Gaza Strip and 20% in the West Bank**
- **81% think there is corruption in PA institutions; 69% think there is corruption in public institutions controlled by Hamas**
- **59% think the PA is a burden on the Palestinian people**
- **72% are pessimistic about the prospects for reconciliation**
- **The vast majority does not expect the Shtayyeh’s government to succeed in holding general elections, delivering reconciliation, or improving economic conditions**

In light of the leaks in the media regarding the investigation into the death of Yasir Arafat, 50% of the public believe a Palestinian party or actor had implemented the plot to get rid of Arafat but that the planning had been done by Israel; 24% think no Palestinian actor or party had been involved in the death of Arafat; and 14% think a Palestinian party or actor had plotted and implemented the killing of Arafat. The belief that a Palestinian actor implemented an Israel plot to get rid of Arafat is higher in the West Bank (53%) compared to the Gaza Strip (45%), in villages and refugee camps (55% and 52% respectively) compared to cities (49%), among men (52%) compared to women (48%), among those whose age is 30 and above (52%) compared to those whose age is between 18 and 29 (42%), among holders of BA degree (51%) compared to the illiterates (33%), among farmers and merchants (70% and 68% respectively) compared to laborers and students (44% and 47% respectively), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (60% and 54% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (39%).

A large majority of 72% thinks the decree issued by president Abbas to form a high judiciary council under his chairmanship was meant to weaken the independence of the judiciary; 19% think it was meant to strengthen it. The percentage of those who think the decree aims at weakening the independence of the judiciary is higher in villages/towns and cities (75% and 72% respectively) compared to refugee camps (68%), among men (75%) compared to women (68%), among holders of BA degree (76%) compared to the illiterates (31%), among merchants, employees, and professionals (89%, 82%, and 80% respectively) compared to housewives and laborers (64% each), and among supporters of Hamas and third parties (86% and 88% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (49%).

We asked the public about the party indirectly responsible for the drowning in the Mediterranean Sea of Palestinian emigrants from the Gaza Strip while attempting to illegally reach Europe. The largest percentage (27%) puts the responsibility on Hamas, 24% on Israel, 18% on the PA, another 18% blame the emigrants themselves, and 3% blame Egypt. The percentage of those putting the blame on Hamas is higher in the Gaza Strip (31%) than in the West Bank (25%), in refugee camps

(33%) compared to villages/towns and cities (24% and 27% respectively), among those who work in the private sector (28%) compared to those who work in the public sector (19%), among the unmarried (35%) compared to the married (26%), among those with the least income (33%) compared to those with the highest income (23%), and among supporters of Fatah and third parties (51% and 29% respectively) compared to supporters of Hamas (3%).

24% of the public say they want to emigrate due to political, security, and economic conditions. The percentage in the Gaza Strip stands at 30% and in the West Bank at 20%. Three months ago, 23% of West Bankers expressed a desire to emigrate and 29% of Gazans expressed the same desire.

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 6% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 22%. Nonetheless, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 77% and in the West Bank at 46%.

Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 81%. When asked about institutions controlled by Hamas in the Gaza Strip, 69% indicated that there is corruption in these institutions. Three months ago, 86% said there is corruption in PA institutions and 73% said there is corruption in public institutions controlled by Hamas.

A large minority of 46% of West Bankers thinks people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear while 51% think they cannot. In the Gaza Strip, 48% think people in the Strip can criticize Hamas' authorities without fear and 51% think they cannot. In its assessment of the PA, a majority of the Palestinians (59%) views it as a burden on the Palestinian people while 36% view it as an asset for the Palestinian people. Three months ago, 57% viewed the PA as a burden and 38% viewed it as an asset.

Only 26% are optimistic and 72% are pessimistic about the success of reconciliation. Three months ago, optimism stood at 25%. When asked about the prospects for the implementation of the agreement reached in factional meetings sponsored by Algeria, only 26% expressed the belief that the agreement would lead to actual reconciliation while 67% expressed the belief that it will not lead to reconciliation.

After more than three years since the formation of the Shtayyeh government, findings indicate persistent pessimism. Responding to a question about expectations regarding the ability of the Shtayyeh government to make progress in reconciliation and reunification, 78% expect failure; only 18% expect success. When asked about the ability of the government to organize legislative or legislative and presidential elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, 20% of the public expect success and 76% expect failure. In another question about the ability of the new government to improve economic conditions, a majority of 79% expects failure and 17% expects success.

We asked the public about its TV viewership habits in the last three months. Findings indicate that al Jazeera TV has the highest viewership, standing at 31%, followed by Palestine TV (13%), al Aqsa TV (11%), Palestine Today TV (9%), Maan TV (6%), al Arabiya (3%), and al Mayadeen (2%).

(5) Palestinian-Israeli Relations, the Peace process, and the decision to go to ICJ:

- **Support for the two-state solution drops from 37% to 32% and 69% think this solution is no longer feasible due to settlement expansion**
- **26% favor a one-state solution with equal rights; 71% are opposed to that solution**
- **A majority of 55% support the return to an armed intifada**

- **A majority of 51% believe armed action is the most effective means of ending the Israeli occupation**
- **Half of the public believes that going to the International Court of Justice will not benefit the Palestinian people**

Support for the concept of the two-state solution stands at 32% and opposition stands at 66%. No description or details were provided for the concept. Three months ago, support for the concept stood at 37%. A majority of 69% believes that the two-state solution is no longer practical or feasible due to the expansion of Israeli settlements while 28% believe that the solution remains practical. Moreover, 72% 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 25% believe the chances to be medium or high. Three months ago, only 64% said the two-state solution was no longer feasible or practical due to settlement expansion.

Reflecting on the latest UN speech of president Abbas in which he described the situation on the ground in the West Bank as “apartheid” and that the Palestinian people will demand equal rights in one state for two peoples, 26% say that they are in favor of such one state solution while 71% expressed opposition. Three months ago, support for Abbas’ position on the one-state solution stood at 30%.

When asked about support for specific policy choices to break the current deadlock, 59% supported joining more international organizations; 51% supported resort to non-violent resistance; 55% supported return to armed confrontations and intifada; 48% supported dissolving the PA; and 27% supported abandoning the two-state solution and embracing a one state solution for Palestinians and Israelis. Three months ago, 48% supported a return to armed confrontations and intifada; 46% supported dissolving the PA; and 23% supported abandoning the two-state solution in favor of a one-state solution. Support for the return to an armed intifada is higher in the Gaza Strip (61%) than in the West Bank (51%), in refugee camps (58%) compared to villages/towns and cities (50% and 55% respectively), among men (58%) compared to women (52%), and among supporters of Hamas (83%) compared to supporters of third parties and Fatah (50% and 40% respectively).

When asked about the most effective means of ending the Israeli occupation and building an independent state, the public split into three groups: 51% chose armed struggle, 21% negotiations, and 23% popular resistance. Three months ago, 41% chose armed struggle and 30% chose negotiations. The belief that armed struggle is the most effective means of ending the Israeli occupation is higher in the Gaza Strip (53%) than in the West Bank (50%), in refugee camps and cities (53% each) compared to villages/towns (42%), among men (56%) compared to women (47%) among holders of BA degree (61%) compared to illiterates (48%), and among supporters of Hamas (76%) compared to supporters of third parties and Fatah (50% and 36% respectively).

We asked the public about its views regarding Palestinian-Israeli confidence building measures that would improve living conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, such as approval of family unification permits or making available to the PA additional financial resources. A majority of 57% said it looks positively, while 38% said it looks negatively, at such measures. Three months ago, 69% of the public said it viewed these measures positively.

When asked about PA negotiations with the upcoming Israeli prime minister, Netanyahu, 47% said they opposed such negotiations while 25% said they support negotiations with him on a peace agreement and confidence building measures while 11% said they support negotiations if restricted to a peace agreement and 12% said they support negotiations with him if restricted to confidence building measures. In other words, a total of 36% are in favor of negotiations with Netanyahu

about a peace agreement and 37% are in favor of negotiations with him about confidence building measures.

In light of the decision by a UN agency to go to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to ask for its consultative opinion on the legality of the Israeli occupation, half of the public (50%) say the decision and any opinion by the ICJ will have no benefits for the Palestinian people; 28% say the benefit will be symbolic but will have no impact on Israeli policies; 16% say the decision will have an impact on constraining Israeli policies on matters such as settlement construction. The belief that going to the ICJ will not be beneficial is higher in the West Bank (56%) than in the Gaza Strip (40%), among men (54%) compared to women (46%), among holders of BA degree (49%) compared to the illiterates (28%), among those who work in the private sector (54%) compared to those who work in the public sector (44%), and among supporters of Hamas (52%) compared to supporters of third parties and Fatah (42% and 40% respectively).

(6) World Cup in Qatar:

- **Two thirds say they have regained the lost trust in the Arab masses after seeing the solidarity with Palestine during the World Cup**
- **68% think the international standing of Qatar has improved as a result of its effective organization of the World Cup**

Two thirds of the public say that they, now after having seen the scenes of solidarity and support for Palestine in the World Cup in Qatar, have regained much of the trust in the Arab peoples after many disappointments stemming from the Arab normalization with Israel; 21% say they have regained some of that trust; 5% say their trust in the Arab peoples has remained small; and 4% say they have no trust at all in the Arab World.

In light of the Qatari organization of the World Cup, 68% of the Palestinians say they think Qatar's international standing has improved a lot compared to where it was before; 17% say it has improved somewhat; 8% say Qatar's standing has not changed; and 1% say it has worsened.

We asked the public about its predictions for the winner in the World Cup. When the number of remaining country teams was eight, 48% said it expected Morocco to win; when the number of country teams went down to six, 54% expected Morocco to win. By contrast, 22% expect Argentina to win; and 15% expect France to win.

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

- **39% say the most vital goal of the Palestinians should be the ending of Israeli occupation**
- **25% say the spread of corruption is the main problem confronting Palestinian society today**
- **38% say the Israeli occupation is the most pressing problem confronting Palestinians today**

A plurality of 39% believe that the first most vital Palestinian goal should be to end Israeli occupation in the areas occupied in 1967 and build a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital. By contrast, 33% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 14% believe that the first and most vital goal should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings and 13% believes it should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians.

In a question about the main problem confronting Palestinian society today, the largest percentage, 25% (8% in the Gaz Strip and 36% in the West Bank), say it is corruption; 21% (26% in the Gaza Strip and 17% in the West Bank) say it is unemployment and poverty; 20% say it is the continuation of the occupation and settlement construction; 17% (26% in the Gaza Strip and 11% in the West Bank) say it is continued siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip; 10% say it is the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; and 4% say it is the weakness of the judiciary and the absence of liberties, accountability and democracy.

When asked about the most pressing problem confronting the Palestinians today, the largest percentage (38%) said it is the Israeli occupation, while 22% said it is corruption, 15% said it is unemployment, 15% said it is the split or division, and 6% said it is the internal violence.

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	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
00) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?			
1) al Arabia	3%	2%	5%
2) al Jazeera	31%	31%	33%
3) Palestine Today	9%	12%	6%
4) al Manar	0%	0%	0%
5) Palestine TV	13%	15%	9%
6) alaqsa	11%	3%	23%
7) man(mix)	6%	8%	3%
al myadeen	2%	2%	1%
10) Do not watch TV	20%	22%	17%
11) others	2%	3%	1%
12) Do not have a dish	0%	0%	1%
13) DK/NA	2%	2%	2%
Q01) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?			
1) Very good	1%	0%	1%
2) Good	5%	4%	6%
3) so so	16%	12%	23%
4) Bad	34%	40%	26%
5) Very bad	42%	40%	45%
6) DK/NA	2%	4%	0%
Q02) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?			
1) Very good	5%	3%	8%
2) Good	17%	12%	24%
3) so so	27%	26%	28%
4) Bad	28%	34%	17%
5) Very bad	23%	24%	21%
6) DK/NA	1%	1%	2%
Q03) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	46%	40%	55%
2) somewhat religious	50%	56%	41%
3) not religious	3%	3%	4%
4) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q04) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?			
1) yes	81%	82%	80%
2) no	12%	9%	16%
3) DK-NA	7%	10%	4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q05) What about the institutions controlled by Hamas in the Gaza Strip, do you think that there is corruption in these Hamas-controlled institutions?			
1) yes	69%	68%	71%
2) no	15%	8%	26%
3) DK-NA	16%	24%	3%
Q06) In your view, can people in your area (under the PA in the West Bank/or under Hamas in the Gaza Strip) today criticize the authority without fear?			
1) yes	47%	46%	48%
2) no	51%	51%	51%
3) DK-NA	3%	4%	1%
Q07) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	14%	6%	27%
2) Assured	44%	40%	50%
3) Not assured	29%	36%	19%
4) Not assured at all	13%	19%	4%
5) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q08) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	9%	8%	11%
2) Seek emigration	15%	12%	19%
3) Do not seek emigration	36%	37%	34%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	41%	44%	36%
5) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q09) Do you want the holding of general legislative and presidential elections soon in the Palestinian territories?			
1) Certainly yes	28%	21%	39%
2) YES	41%	44%	36%
3) NO	21%	22%	19%
4) Certainly no	8%	9%	6%
5) DK-NA	2%	4%	0%
Q10) If new presidential elections are to take place today, and Mahmud Abbas was nominated by Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh was nominated by Hamas, whom would you vote for?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	36%	36%	36%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	54%	47%	60%
4) DK/NA	10%	17%	4%
Q11) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmoud Abbas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	49%	61%	35%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	33%	22%	46%
3) Mahmud Abbas	14%	10%	18%
5) DK/NA	5%	7%	2%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q12) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	61%	71%	50%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	34%	22%	49%
4) DK/NA	5%	8%	1%
Q13) And what if the competition was between prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Muhammad shteah	31%	32%	30%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	60%	55%	64%
4) DK/NA	9%	13%	5%
Q15) If new elections agreed to by all factions are held today and the same lists that took part in the last PLC elections were nominated, for whom would you vote?			
1) alternative	2%	3%	1%
2) independent Palestine	4%	5%	3%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	2%	2%	1%
4) Abu al Abbas	0%	0%	1%
5) freedom and social justice	0%	1%	0%
6) change and reform	34%	26%	43%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	0%	1%	0%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	0%	0%	1%
9) freedom and independence	0%	0%	0%
10) Palestinian justice	0%	1%	0%
11) Fateh	34%	38%	30%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	21%	23%	20%
Q17) President Abbas has postponed the legislative elections that were scheduled for the 22nd of May and the presidential elections that were scheduled for 31 Of July. Do you think legislative or legislative and presidential elections will indeed take place in the near future in Palestinian territories?			
1) yes	30%	31%	29%
2) no	63%	58%	69%
3) DK-NA	7%	11%	2%
Q18) From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most important one and which should be the second most important goal that the Palestinian people should strive to achieve?			
Q18-1) first goal -----			
1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital	39%	43%	32%
2) Obtain the right of return to refuges to their 1948 towns and villages	33%	34%	32%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	13%	7%	20%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	14%	13%	15%
5) DK/NA	1%	2%	0%
Q18-1) 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	22%	25%	17%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	39%	43%	32%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	19%	13%	29%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	18%	16%	21%
5) DK/NA	2%	3%	0%
Q19) The Palestinian society confronts today the following problems. Tell us, what in your opinion, are the two main problems you want the Palestinian Authority and political forces to address?			
1) the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip	17%	11%	26%
2) the spread of corruption	25%	36%	8%
3) spread of unemployment and poverty	21%	17%	27%
4) continuation of occupation and settlements	20%	21%	20%
5) the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip	10%	7%	15%
6) the weak judiciary, the absence of liberties, and the absence of accountability and democracy	4%	5%	4%
7) DK/NA	1%	1%	0%
Q20) 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%	7%
2) satisfied	19%	21%	16%
3) not satisfied	32%	35%	28%
4) not satisfied at all	41%	37%	47%
5) DK/NA	4%	6%	1%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q21) If it is up to you, would you want to have Abbas resign or not resign?			
1) Certainly resign	43%	43%	43%
2) Resign	32%	30%	36%
3) Not resign	16%	17%	13%
4) Certainly not resign	4%	2%	6%
5) DK/NA	5%	7%	2%
Q21-1) Leaks have recently been published in the press and social media on a Palestinian committee investigation into the death of Yasser Arafat. What is your view about this matter? Do you think a Palestinian actor or party had a role in Arafat's death?			
1) Yes, a Palestinian actor planned to get rid of Arafat and implemented it	14%	9%	21%
2) A Palestinian actor or party did implement a plan by Israel to get rid of Arafat	50%	53%	45%
3) No, no Palestinian actor or party was involved in Arafat's death and Israel alone planned and implemented it	24%	20%	29%
4) DK/NA	12%	17%	5%
Q22) Now, after more than three years since the formation of a new Palestinian government under prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh, will the new government succeed in pushing for reconciliation and reunification of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?			
1) yes	18%	18%	18%
2) no	78%	77%	81%
3) DK-NA	4%	6%	1%
Q23) will the Shtayyeh government succeed in conducting legislative or legislative and presidential elections?			
1) yes	20%	22%	17%
2) no	76%	72%	82%
3) DK-NA	4%	6%	1%
Q24) will it succeed in improving economic conditions in the PA?			
1) yes	17%	17%	17%
2) no	79%	79%	81%
3) DK-NA	3%	4%	2%
Q25) President Abbas issued a decree to form a higher judicial committee under his chairmanship. Do you view this decree strengthening or weakening the independence of the Palestinian judiciary?			
1) Strengthen it	19%	15%	25%
2) Weaken it	72%	72%	71%
3) DK/NA	9%	13%	4%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q26) Whom do you see as the most deserving of representing the Palestinian people today, is it Hamas who controls the Gaza Strip or Fatah under Abbas leadership in the West Bank?			
1) Hamas	28%	24%	35%
2) Fatah	25%	22%	28%
3) None of them	40%	44%	33%
4) Others, specify: -----	2%	1%	3%
5) DK/NA	5%	8%	1%
Q27) Some people say that the Palestinian Authority has become a burden on the Palestinian people while others say that it is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people. What do you think?			
1) The PA is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people	36%	33%	42%
2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people	59%	60%	57%
3) DK/NA	5%	7%	1%
Q28) Which of the following problems are the most pressing for the Palestinians today?			
1) The occupation	38%	42%	31%
2) Internal violence	6%	7%	5%
3) Corruption	22%	30%	10%
4) Split	15%	7%	29%
5) Unemployment	15%	10%	23%
6) Poor infrastructure	1%	0%	1%
7) Poor medical services	0%	1%	0%
8) Others: specify ---	2%	2%	1%
9) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q28-1) From time to time, we hear about the drowning in the Mediterranean Sea of Palestinians from the Gaza Strip while attempting to reach European countries using illegitimate means. In your view, which party is the most responsible for pushing these young Gazans for means to escape the Gaza Strip? Is it ...			
1) The immigrants themselves	18%	17%	20%
2) The Palestinian Authority	18%	15%	23%
3) Hamas in the Gaza Strip	27%	25%	31%
4) Israel	24%	26%	21%
5) Egypt	3%	4%	1%
6) Others: specify ---	6%	8%	4%
7) DK/NA	3%	5%	0%
Q29) 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	2%	1%	3%
2) succeed	24%	21%	28%
3) fail	47%	47%	48%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) Certainly fail	25%	27%	21%
5) DK/NA	3%	4%	1%
Q29-1) Meetings of Palestinian factions in Algeria produced a new reconciliation agreement. Do you think this agreement will indeed lead to reconciliation?			
1) yes	26%	26%	27%
2) no	67%	64%	71%
3) DK-NA	7%	10%	2%
Q30 President Abbas made a speech at the UN in which he described the evolving conditions in the West Bank as a one state reality for the two peoples, the Palestinian and the Israeli and describe it as a reality of Apartheid. He emphasized that if the Israeli occupation is not ended, the Palestinians will demand equal rights in one state for two peoples. Are you for or against this one state solution which the two sides enjoy equal rights?			
1) For	26%	26%	27%
2) Against	71%	70%	72%
3) DK/NA	3%	4%	2%
Q31) 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	39%	46%	28%
2) Ismail Haniyeh	17%	12%	24%
3) Khaled Meshaal	3%	1%	6%
4) Mohamed Dahlan	5%	1%	10%
5) Yahya Sinwar	4%	1%	10%
6) Mohamed Shetia	3%	2%	4%
7) Hussein Sheikh	3%	1%	5%
8) Other:	5%	5%	4%
9) No opinion / I don't know	22%	30%	10%
Q41) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the two-state solution.			
1) support	32%	33%	30%
2) oppose	66%	64%	70%
3) DK/NA	2%	3%	0%
Q42) Some believe that the two-state solution, an independent Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel, is no longer viable due to settlement expansion while others believe that it is still viable today as settlements can be dismantled or evacuated when an agreement is reached. What do you think?			
1) The two-state solution is no longer viable	69%	70%	68%
2) The two-state solution remains viable today	28%	27%	31%
3) DK/NA	2%	3%	2%
Q43) 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	42%	39%	47%
2) Low	30%	33%	26%
3) Medium	22%	21%	23%
4) High	3%	3%	2%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
5) very high	1%	1%	2%
6) DK/NA	2%	3%	0%
Q46) Under current conditions, do you support or oppose the following policy options?			
2) Joining more international organizations			
1) Strongly support	17%	15%	21%
2) support	42%	43%	41%
3) oppose	26%	30%	20%
4) Strongly oppose	12%	8%	18%
5) DK/NA	2%	4%	0%
3) Abandon the two -state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis			
1) Strongly support	8%	7%	9%
2) support	19%	20%	18%
3) oppose	48%	50%	46%
4) Strongly oppose	23%	21%	27%
5) DK/NA	2%	3%	1%
4) Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance			
1) Strongly support	10%	9%	13%
2) support	41%	42%	40%
3) oppose	34%	35%	32%
4) Strongly oppose	13%	12%	15%
5) DK/NA	2%	2%	0%
5 Return to the armed intifada and confrontations			
1) Strongly support	20%	14%	30%
2) support	35%	37%	31%
3) oppose	28%	31%	23%
4) Strongly oppose	15%	14%	16%
5) DK/NA	2%	3%	1%
6 Dissolve the Palestinian Authority			
1) Strongly support	15%	13%	19%
2) support	33%	31%	37%
3) oppose	32%	36%	27%
4) Strongly oppose	15%	15%	16%
5) DK/NA	4%	6%	2%
Q47) A decision has been made by A UN agency to go to the International Court of Justice to express its advisory opinion of the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation and the legality of it the Israeli measures such as settlements. In your view, will this decision have an important positive impact on the reality on the ground?			
1) Yes, it will have a big impact in restricting the Israeli measures, such as settlement construction	16%	12%	23%
2) Yes, it will have an impact, but it will be symbolic and will have no impact on the Israeli policy	28%	24%	35%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) No, it will have no impact or benefit for the Palestinian people	50%	56%	40%
4) DK/NA	5%	8%	2%

Q48) There is talk these days about Palestinian-Israeli confidence building measures to improve living conditions of Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Palestinian-Israeli meetings took place with the goal of reaching an understanding of some of those measures such as family unification permits and making additional funds available to the PA. Do you view these measures positively and worth supporting or negatively and worth opposing?

1) Positively	57%	55%	60%
2) Negatively	38%	36%	39%
3) Other: specify	0%	1%	0%
4) DK/NA	5%	7%	1%

Q49) In your view, what is the best means of achieving Palestinian goals in ending the occupation and building an independent state?

1) Negotiations	21%	21%	21%
2) Peaceful popular resistance	23%	21%	25%
3) Armed action	51%	50%	53%
4) DK/NA	5%	9%	0%

Q50) Armed groups, such as the Jenin Battalion and the Lions' Den, have recently appeared in parts of the West Bank such as the Jenin refugee camp and the old city in Nablus. Are you for or against the formation of such armed groups that do not take orders from the Palestinian Authority and are not part of the official security services?

1) In favor	72%	65%	84%
2) Against	22%	27%	16%
3) DK/NA	5%	9%	0%

Q51) To what extent you fear the formation of these armed groups might lead to internal armed conflict between them and the PA security services?

1) Fear that very much	27%	26%	28%
2) Fear that somewhat	32%	30%	34%
3) Do not fear that somewhat	24%	23%	26%
4) Do not fear that at all	15%	17%	12%
5) DK/NA	2%	4%	0%

Q52) The Palestinian Authority has asked the members of the armed groups in Nablus and Jenin to surrender and give up their arms in order to protect them from Israeli assassination. Are you for or against such a surrender and the give up of arms to the PA security services?

1) In favor	17%	16%	18%
2) Against	79%	78%	82%
3) DK/NA	4%	6%	0%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q53) Do you think the PA security services have the right to arrest members of these armed groups in order to prevent them from carrying out armed attacks against Israel or to ensure their protection?			
1) Yes, it has the right	10%	9%	12%
2) No, it does not have the right	87%	87%	87%
3) DK/NA	3%	4%	1%
Q54) When thinking about the future of these armed groups, do you expect them to expand and spread to other areas in the West Bank or do you expect the PA to contain its spread or Israel to arrest its members?			
1) Expect them to expand and spread to new areas	59%	60%	57%
2) Expect the PA to contain their spread	14%	8%	23%
3) Expect Israel to arrest or kill their members	15%	16%	12%
4) Expect the PA to succeed in contain the groups and Israel to arrest or kill their members	8%	9%	7%
5) DK/NA	4%	7%	1%
Q55) Benjamin Netanyahu is currently forming a government wit the right wing Religious Zionism. How do you expect Israeli policy toward the Palestinians to be affected now after return of Netanyahu in a government that includes the right wing Religious Zionism?			
1) Will become more extreme and aggressive	61%	69%	50%
2) Will stay as it is today	30%	21%	43%
3) Will become a little better	4%	3%	7%
4) DK/NA	5%	7%	1%
Q56) Do you think the upcoming Israeli government led by Netanyahu and the participation of religious extremists might change the status quo in al Haram al Sharif, for example, by officially allowing Jews to pray in al Haram?			
1) Yes, I expect that	58%	62%	52%
2) No, I do not expect that	38%	32%	47%
3) DK/NA	4%	6%	1%
Q57) What about expelling some of the Palestinian families in Jerusalem, for example residents of Sheikh Jarrah. Do you expect the new Israeli government led by Netanyahu to expel them from their homes?			
1) Yes, I expect that	64%	70%	56%
2) No, I do not expect that	33%	27%	43%
3) DK/NA	3%	4%	1%
Q58) What about the settlement expansion. Do you think the upcoming Israeli government to expel the Bedouins who are currently residing between Jerusalem and Jericho, such as al Jahhalin, in order to allow the building of a new big settlement to the east of Abu Dis and al Al Ezaria?			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) Yes, I think so	68%	76%	56%
2) No, I do not think so	28%	19%	42%
3) DK/NA	4%	5%	2%
Q60) Furthermore, the extreme right might demand that the Netanyahu government annex settlements or the Jordan Valley to Israel. Do you think the upcoming Israeli government led by Netanyahu will annex parts of the West Bank to Israel?			
1) Yes, I think so	69%	76%	58%
2) No, I do not think so	27%	19%	40%
3) DK/NA	4%	5%	2%
Q61) Benjamin Netanyahu of the Likud will soon become the Israeli Prime Minister. Do you support a dialogue between the Palestinian leadership and Netanyahu in order to reach new agreements on confidence building measures, such as the issuing of more IDs, permits for laborers, and easing movement and transportation or should the negotiations between the two sides be restricted to reaching a permanent peace agreement or should they cover both subjects? Or should there be no negotiations at all?			
1) Yes to negotiations on confidence building measures only	12%	8%	18%
2) Yes to negotiations on permanent peace only	11%	10%	13%
3) Yes to negotiations on both subjects	25%	22%	31%
4) No to negotiations on any subject	47%	53%	38%
5) DK/NA	5%	8%	1%
Q62) Are you more or less optimistic about the improvement in Palestinian-Israeli relations, such as reaching agreements in confidence building measures or reducing settlement construction during next year?			
1) More optimistic	12%	9%	15%
2) Less optimistic	67%	71%	60%
3) Neither more nor less optimistic	20%	16%	24%
4) DK/NA	2%	3%	0%
Q63) In your view, how will economic conditions in your area (West Bank or Gaza Strip) be in the next few (3-5) years compared to the situation today?			
1) Much better	5%	2%	9%
2) A little better	20%	17%	25%
3) Same as today	25%	20%	32%
4) A little worse than today	23%	28%	14%
5) Much worse than today	24%	28%	18%
6) DK/NA	2%	3%	2%
7) Refuse to answer	0%	0%	0%
Q65) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....			
1) Strongly support	20%	15%	29%
2) support	30%	31%	28%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) oppose	32%	34%	29%
4) Strongly oppose	14%	14%	14%
5) DK/NA	4%	7%	0%
Q66) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) PPP	0%	0%	1%
2) PFLP	2%	1%	2%
3) Fateh	28%	27%	30%
4) Hamas	24%	15%	36%
5) DFLP	1%	2%	1%
6) Islamic Jihad	2%	2%	1%
7) Fida	0%	0%	0%
8) National initiative (almubadara)	0%	0%	0%
9) Independent Islamist	1%	2%	1%
10) Independent nationalist	5%	3%	9%
11) third way headed by salam feyyad	0%	0%	0%
12) none of the above	36%	48%	19%
13) others	0%	0%	0%
Q67) 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	56%	65%	42%
2) daily	26%	20%	36%
3) between 2-5 times weekly	5%	2%	9%
4) once a week	2%	1%	4%
5) once a month	1%	1%	2%
6) other -----	0%	0%	0%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	9%	11%	6%
Q68) How would you evaluate the international standing of Qatar now in light of its organization of the current World Cup football games? In your view, has its international standing become better or worse?			
1) Much better	68%	66%	70%
2) somewhat better	17%	14%	22%
3) stays as before	8%	8%	6%
4) Somewhat worse	1%	2%	1%
5) Much worse	1%	2%	0%
6) DK/NA	5%	8%	1%
Q69) In Qatar, during the World Cup football games, Israeli journalists covering the event were surprised by the size of the support expressed by the viewers for Palestine. To what extent did this World Cup restore some or much of your trust in the Arab people after many disappointments following Arab normalization with Israel?			
1) Much of the trust has been restored	66%	64%	70%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) some trust has been restored	21%	19%	24%
3) My trust remained little as it was before the World Cup	5%	5%	4%
4) I have no trust whatsoever in the Arab World	4%	5%	1%
5) DK/NA	5%	7%	1%
Q70) From among the remaining World Cup football teams currently playing in the football games, which team you think will win?			
1) Brazil	19%	20%	18%
2) Argentina	13%	11%	16%
3) Holland	1%	0%	2%
4) France	9%	7%	12%
5) England	3%	1%	5%
6) Croatia	1%	0%	1%
7) Morocco	49%	56%	40%
8) Portugal	5%	4%	6%