

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 (65)

An overwhelming majority of Palestinians is worried about the future of liberties in Palestine, two-thirds demand the resignation of President Abbas, and half of the public views the Palestinian Authority as a burden on the Palestinian people; but the confrontations at the gates of al Haram al Sharif (Noble Sanctuary) increase confidence in popular non-violent resistance at a time when about three quarters believe that the Trump Administration is not serious about Palestinian-Israeli peace

14-16 September 2017

These are the results of the latest poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR) in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip between 14-16 September 2017. The popular confrontations with the Israeli police in Jerusalem in protest over the installment of metal detectors at the entrance to al Haram al Sharif gates were the most important event during the period in question. During the confrontations, President Abbas announced the suspension of contacts with the Israeli side, including security coordination. Internally, the split and disunity characterized the Palestinian political scene, except during the last two days of data collection when delegates from Hamas and Fatah were called to Cairo for Egyptian sponsored talks. During this period, President Abbas issued a decree in the form of a Cybercrime Law that was severely criticized by human rights organizations, media outlets, and other civil society organizations. Several journalists were arrested in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. *It should be pointed out that data collection was completed just one day before Hamas announced the dissolution of its "Administrative Committee" that has served until then as the de facto government in the Gaza Strip.* This press release addresses these issues and covers other matters such as Palestinian elections, general conditions in the Palestinian territories, and the peace process. Total size of the sample is 1270 adults interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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Main Findings:

Findings of the third quarter of 2017 show that an overwhelming majority of the Palestinian public is worried about the future of liberties in Palestine. This prevailing perception seems to be driven by the recent increase in the incidents in which journalists and activists have been arrested, by the recently announced presidential decree enacting a cybercrime law, and by the government proposed amendments to the Law of the Judiciary. A large majority believes that Palestinians cannot criticize the PA without fear. In fact, half of the public believes that the PA has now become a burden on the Palestinian people.

This worry about the future of liberties, along with the concerns about the steps taken by the PA against the Gaza Strip, might be responsible for the increase in the demand for the resignation of President Abbas and the decline in his popularity compared to that of Hamas' presidential candidate, Ismael Haniyeh. Indeed, if presidential elections are held today, Haniyeh would win against Abbas. Findings also indicate a decline in support for Fatah, particularly in the Gaza Strip where Hamas is more popular. In the West Bank however, Fatah remains more popular than Hamas.

Perhaps the most alarming result of this poll is the fundamental shift in the attitudes of Gazans. This shift was first noticed early this year but accelerated during the past nine months. It is probable that the change came as a response to the punitive steps taken by President Abbas against the Gaza Strip. The split that rested essentially on the power struggle between two large political parties in the entire Palestinian territories is in the process of transformation to one between West Bankers and Gazans, a split that did not exist during the first nine years of Hamas' violent takeover of the Gaza Strip. Gazans are moving away from Fatah and the Palestinian leadership in an unprecedented way and without a parallel or similar process among West Bankers. President Abbas might have hoped that the sanctions he imposed on the Gaza Strip would force Gazans to reject Hamas and its policies forcing Hamas to dismantle its "Administrative Committee" that has served as a *de facto* government for the Gaza Strip. Despite the limited decline in Hamas' popularity in this poll, it is plainly clear that Gazans are directing their greatest anger at Abbas and Fatah, rather than Hamas. Today, 80% of Gazans want Abbas' resignation, satisfaction with the performance of the president is about 20%, and it is certain that he would lose any presidential elections in the Gaza Strip to Hamas' Ismael Haniyeh. Moreover, Fatah is fast losing its popularity in the Gaza Strip, standing at 28% today compared to 40% only nine months ago. Those who still support Fatah in the Gaza Strip are shifting loyalty to Mohammad Dahlan whose popularity among Gazans has more than doubled during the past nine months, from 9% to 23% today, while his popularity among West Bankers did not change, remaining hardly at 1%.

Despite the fact that positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip remains very low, the poll found some positive indicators: the desire to migrate has declined somewhat and the perception of personal and family safety and security has increased. It is also interesting to note the large increase in support for the Hamas-Dahlan deal and the optimism of the majority of Gazans who believe that the deal will be successfully implemented.

It is also worth noting the increase in public confidence in popular non-violent resistance in the aftermath of the success in removing the metal detectors installed by the Israeli police in front of the gates of al Haram al Sharif (the Noble Sanctuary). Support for this model of resistance now reaches two thirds. It should be noted however that the findings also show a rise in support for violence despite the fact that a majority remains opposed to it. One reason for the rise in support for violent and non-violent resistance might be the lack of trust in diplomacy. Findings show that about three quarters believe that the Trump Administration is not serious about Palestinian-Israeli peace making and an even higher percentage believes that the Administration is not an honest broker and that it is biased in favor of Israel.

(1) Presidential and parliamentary elections:

- 67% want president Abbas to resign and only 31% are satisfied with his performance.
- In presidential elections between Ismail Haniyeh and Mahmoud Abbas, the former receives 50% and the latter 42%.
- In presidential elections between Ismail Haniyeh and Marwan Barghouti, the former receives 36% and the latter 59%.
- In parliamentary elections, Fatah receives 36% of the vote, Hamas 29%, and third parties combined 10%.

67% of the public want president Abbas to resign while 27% want him to remain in office. Three months ago, 62% said they want Abbas to resign. Demand for Abbas' resignation stands at 60% in the West Bank and 80% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago demand for Abbas resignation stood at 55% in the West Bank and 75% in the Gaza Strip. Demand for Abbas' resignation is higher in cities and refugee camps (70% and 69% respectively) compared to villages and towns (52%), among the religious (73%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (63% and 52% respectively), among those who are opposed to the peace process (84%) compared to those who support the peace process (56%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (94% and 72% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (34%), among those between the ages of 18 and 22 (69%) compared to those whose age is 50 and above (59%), among the refugees (73%) compared to non-refugees (62%), among holder of BA degree (68%) compared to illiterates (48%), and among students (73%) compared to the retirees (55%). If president Abbas does not nominate himself in a new election, 35% prefer to see Marwan Barghouti replacing him, while 21% prefer Ismail Haniyeh; Mohammad Dahlan 9% (1% in the West Bank and 23% in the Gaza Strip); Mustapha Barghouti (5%); and Khalid Mishal and Rami al Hamdallah (4% each). Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas

stands at 31% and dissatisfaction at 65%. Level of satisfaction with Abbas stands at 38% in the West Bank and 21% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago, satisfaction with Abbas stood at 34% (39% in the West Bank and 24% in the Gaza Strip).

If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, Ismail Haniyeh and Mahmoud Abbas, the former would receive 50% and the latter 42% of the vote (compared to 45% each three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 36% of the vote (compared to 39% three months ago) and Haniyeh receives 62% (compared to 55% three months ago). In the West Bank Abbas receives 45% (compared to 50% three months ago) and Haniyeh 42% (compared to 40% three months ago). If presidential elections were between three: Mahmud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Abbas would receive 20%, Barghouti 43% and Haniyeh 33%. If presidential elections were between two: Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Barghouti receives 59% and Haniyeh 36%.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 63% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 29% say they would vote for Hamas and 36% say they would vote for Fatah, 10% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 25% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 29% and Fatah at 39%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 31% (compared to 35% three months ago) and for Fatah at 28% (compared to 36% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas stands at 28% (compared to 24% three months ago) and Fatah at 42% (compared to 40% three months ago).

(2) Domestic conditions:

- 58% of those who are aware of the debate on the Cybercrime Law believe that it imposes restrictions on liberties and among those who are aware of the debate on the proposed amendments to the Law of the Judiciary, 55% believe the amendments are a threat to the independence of the judiciary.
- 80% are worried about the future of liberties in Palestine.
- 50% believe the PA is a burden on the Palestinian people.
- Perception of personal safety and security stands at 49% in the Gaza Strip and 50% in the West Bank.
- 73% support Abbas' decision to suspend contacts and security coordination with Israel but two-thirds believe that the PA does not in fact implement that decision.

Half of the public is not aware of the debate among the Palestinians surrounding the Cybercrime Law. Among those who are aware of the debate, 58% express the view that the law imposes restrictions on liberties and 39% believe it does not. The belief among those who are aware of the debate that the Law restrict liberties is higher in cities and refugee camps (59% and 58% respectively) compared to villages and towns (48%), among women (60%) compared to men (56%), among supporters of Hamas and the third parties (62% and 57% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (50%), among the holders of BA degree (54%) compared to the illiterates (43%), and among students (59%) compared to farmers and professionals (41% and 47% respectively).

Similarly, 60% are not aware of the debate surrounding the proposed amendments to the Law of the Judiciary. Among those who are aware of the debate, 55% express the view that the proposed amendments pose a threat to the independence of the judiciary and 38% think the amendments will improve the performance of the judiciary. In light of the increase in the incidents of the detention of journalist and activists in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, 80% are worried about the future of liberties in Palestine. The level of worry is higher in the West Bank, standing at 85%, than in the Gaza Strip, standing at 71%; 17% are not worried. 81% believe that the PA does not have the right to arrest activists, such as Issa Amro from Hebron, just because they criticize the behavior of the PA; 14% believe the PA has the right to arrest its critics. Worry about the future of liberties in Palestine is higher among supporters of Hamas (85%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (72% and 69% respectively).

Only 38% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear; 59% of the public say that people cannot criticize the PA without fear. Half of the public (50%) view the Palestinian Authority as a burden on the Palestinians while 44% view it as an asset. Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 77%.

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 6% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 21%. Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 49%. In the West Bank perception of safety and security stands at 50%. Three months ago, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stood at 43% and in the West Bank at 53%. Findings show that the percentage of Gazans who say they seek to immigrate to other countries stands at 43%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 22%. Three months ago, 47% of Gazans and 23% of West Bankers indicated that they seek to immigrate.

In light of the recent incident in which an armed man, who was attempting to cross the Rafah border with Egypt, exploded a bomb that killed him and a Hamas policeman, 73% indicate that they are worried about the spread of

Daesh (ISIS) among the youth in the Gaza Strip and 24% are not worried. Worry is higher in the Gaza Strip (78%) than in the West Bank (70%).

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 20%, followed by Maan TV (14%), al Aqsa TV (13%), Palestine TV (12%), Filasteen al Youm/Palestine Today (11%), Al Arabiya (6%) al Quds TV (4%), and al Mayadeen (3%).

73% support and 23% oppose Abbas' decision to suspend contacts and security coordination with Israel but two thirds (66%) believe that the PA and its security services did not implement that decision. The belief that the PA and its security services have not implemented Abbas decision is higher in the West Bank (68%) compared to the Gaza Strip (63%), among men (69%) compared to women (63%), among those who are opposed to the peace process (80%) compared to supporters of the peace process (59%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (84% and 71% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (46%), and among students (69%) compared to employees (61%).

(3) Reconciliation, the reconciliation government, and the Hamas-Dahlan agreement:

- Only 31% are optimistic and 61% are pessimistic about the success of reconciliation.
- 23% are satisfied and 64% are dissatisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government.
- Only 15% say Hamas is responsible for the bad performance of the reconciliation government and 48% believe the responsibility for that goes to the PA, president Abbas, and the prime minister.
- 56% support the Hamas-Dahlan agreement and 47% think it will succeed.

Optimism about the success of reconciliation and the end of the split stands today at 31% and pessimism at 61%. Three months ago optimism stood at 27% and pessimism at 64%. 23% say they are satisfied and 64% say they are dissatisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government. In the Gaza Strip, dissatisfaction stands at 77% and in the West Bank at 56%. Belief that Hamas was responsible for hindering the functioning of the reconciliation government does not exceed 15% (9% in the West Bank and 23% in the Gaza Strip) while 33% believe that the PA and president Abbas were to blame for that and 15% blame the prime minister of the reconciliation government.

47% believe that the Hamas-Dahlan agreement will fail and 43% think it will succeed. In the Gaza Strip, 57% think it will succeed and 39% think it will fail. 56% support the Hamas-Dahlan agreement and 35% oppose it. In the Gaza Strip, support for the agreement stands at 73% and opposition at 25%. Three months ago, only 40% supported the agreement and 48% opposed it and support for it in the Gaza Strip stood at 61%. Support for the agreement is higher in cities and refugee camps (58% and 57% respectively) compared to villages and towns (44%), among women (61%) compared to men (50%), among the religious (62%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (52% and 38% respectively), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (66% and 61%) compared to supporters of Fatah (48%), among those whose age is between 18 and 22 years (58%) compared to those whose age is 50 years and above (49%), among refugees (64%) compared to non-refugees (49%), among holders of BA degree (64%) compared to the illiterates (44%), among employees and students (63% and 60% respectively) compared to the retirees, farmers, and professionals (29%, 37%, and 45% respectively), and among those who work in the public sector (59%) compared to those who work in the private sector (50%).

(4) Confrontations at the gates of al Haram al Sharif

- 73% believe it was the residents of Jerusalem who forced Israel to remove the metal detectors.
- 63% view popular peaceful confrontations as an effective means of resistance.

An overwhelming majority of 73% believe that the Jerusalem residents who took part in the confrontations that made it possible to force Israel to uninstall the metal detectors played the greatest role in the success of the confrontations. Only 10% attribute the success to the Waqf men; 7% to King Abdullah; 6% to president Abbas, and 1% to King Salman of Saudi Arabia. 63% believe that the approach adopted in the confrontations at the gates of al Haram al Sharif provide a successful model to emulate in confrontations with the Israeli occupation; 34% think the model is not effective.

(5) Convening the Palestinian National Council (PNC)

- 60% want an elected National Council and 61% condition convening it to the participation of Hamas and Islamic Jihad.
- 50% support holding the PNC in Ramallah and 35% support holding it in Amman or Cairo.

60% condition the convening of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) to the prior election of its members while 25% want to convene the meeting with the current membership. Furthermore, 61% condition the convening of the PNC to the participation of Hamas and Islamic Jihad while 28% think it can be convened without them. Conditioning

the holding of the PNC session to the participation of Hamas and Islamic Jihad is higher in the West Bank (68%) compared to the Gaza Strip (49%), among those who are opposed to the peace process (72%) compared to supporters of the peace process (55%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (89% and 60% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (41%), among non-refugees (65%) compared to refugees (56%), and among those who work in the private sector (59%) compared to those who work in the public sector (55%).

50% support holding the meeting of the PNC in Ramallah while 35% support holding it in Cairo or Amman. Support for holding the meeting in Ramallah is higher in the West Bank (55%) compared to the Gaza Strip (43%), in villages and towns (58%) compared to cities and refugee camps (50% and 43% respectively), among supporters of the peace process (56%) compared to those who are opposed to the peace process (40%), among Fatah supporters (63%) compared to supporters of Hamas and third parties (34% and 46% respectively), and among holders of BA degree (51%) compared to the illiterates (44%);.

(6) The peace process:

- 74% say President Donald Trump is not serious about the peace process.
- 83% believe that Trump Administration is biased in favor of Israel.
- 52% support and 47% oppose the two-state solution
- But 57% think the two-state solution is no longer practical.
- 71% support joining more international organizations, 67% support popular non-violent resistance, 45% support a return to an armed intifada, and 47% support the dissolution of the PA.
- 31% support and 67% oppose the one-state solution.

74% believe the US Administration under Donald Trump is not serious in its efforts to reach a Palestinian-Israeli peace agreement; 22% think it is serious. The belief that Trump is not serious is higher in the West Bank (83%) compared to the Gaza Strip (59%), in refugee camps and villages and towns (80% each) compared to cities (72%), among those who are opposed to the peace process (82%) compared to supporters of the peace process (69%), among supporters of Hamas (84%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (60% and 67% respectively), and among non-refugees (78%) compared to refugees (69%).

55% believe that if the Trump Administration invited the Palestinian leadership to return to negotiations with Israel, it should not accept the invitation; 41% think it should accept it. If negotiations are resumed under US sponsorship, the Trump Administration will be biased in favor of Israel according to 83% of the public; 10% think it will be an honest broker and 2% think it will be biased in favor of the Palestinian side.

52% support and 47% oppose the two-state solution, the state of Palestine next to the state of Israel. Support in the Gaza Strip stands at 56% and in the West Bank at 49%. But 57% think the two-state solution is no longer viable or practical due to settlement expansion while 40% think it remains feasible. Similarly, 70% think the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel in the next five years are slim to non-existent and 28% think the chances are medium or high.

35% think that the most effective means of creating a Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel is armed action, 33% think negotiation is the most effective, and 26% think popular non-violent resistance is the most effective. In the absence of peace negotiations, 71% support joining more international organizations, 67% support non-violent popular resistance, 45% support a return to an armed intifada, and 47% support the dissolution of the Palestinian Authority. Three months ago, support for a return to an armed intifada stood at 39% and 54% supported popular non-violent resistance. Support for the one-state solution stands at 31% while 67% are opposed to this solution.

Furthermore, a majority of 58% believes that Israel's long term aspiration is to annex the lands occupied in 1967 and expel their population and 25% believe that Israel wants to annex the West Bank while denying the Palestinians their rights. 16% believe that Israel's long term aspiration is to insure its security and withdraw from all or most of the territories occupied in 1967. The percentage of those who are worried that they would be hurt by Israel or that their land would be confiscated or homes demolished stands at 78%.

77% say the Arab World is too preoccupied with its own concerns, internal conflicts, and the conflict with Iran and that Palestine is no longer the Arab's principal or primary issue or cause. Only 22% think Palestine remains the Arab's principle cause. 64% believe that there is an Arab Sunni alliance with Israel against Iran despite the continued Israeli occupation of Arab land while 25% believe that the Arabs would not ally themselves with Israel until it ends its occupation and allows the creation of a Palestinian state.

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

- 40% believe that the first most vital Palestinian goal should be the end of occupation and the establishment of a state
- The most serious problem today is the spread of poverty and unemployment in the eyes of 26% of the public.

40% 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, 15% believe that it should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings, and 12% believe that the first and most vital goal should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians. The most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today is poverty and unemployment in the eyes of 26% of the public while 25% believe it is the spread of corruption in public institutions; 23% say it is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities; 20% say it is the siege of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its crossings; and 3% say it is the absence of national unity.

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14-16 September 2017

		Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q0) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?	1) al Arabia	5%	4%	8%
	2) al Jazeera	20%	17%	25%
	3) Palestine Today	11%	12%	10%
	4) al Manar	1%	1%	2%
	5) Palestine TV	12%	11%	13%
	6) alaqsa	13%	8%	21%
	7) man(mix)	14%	18%	7%
	al myadeen	3%	4%	1%
	9) al Quds	4%	2%	8%
	10) Do not watch TV	13%	19%	4%
	11) others	2%	3%	1%
	12) Do not have a dish	0%	0%	0%
	13) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q1 How would you describe Palestine's conditions in general these days?	1) Very good	2%	3%	1%
	2) Good	15%	18%	10%
	3) so so	24%	27%	19%
	4) Bad	34%	34%	35%
	5) Very bad	25%	18%	35%
	6) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q2) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?	1) Very good	1%	1%	0%
	2) Good	6%	6%	6%
	3) so so	13%	11%	15%
	4) Bad	35%	37%	32%
	5) Very bad	43%	40%	47%
	6) DK/NA	3%	5%	0%
Q3) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?	1) Very good	4%	4%	4%
	2) Good	17%	18%	15%
	3) so so	28%	32%	22%
	4) Bad	31%	30%	33%

	5) Very bad	19%	15%	24%
	6) DK/NA	1%	1%	1%
Q4) Generally, do you see yourself as:	1) Religious	47%	38%	62%
	2) somewhat religious	48%	58%	32%
	3) not religious	5%	4%	7%
	4) DK/NA	0%	1%	0%
Q5) Generally, do you see yourself as:	1) supportive of the peace process	52%	56%	44%
	2) opposed to the peace process	26%	21%	35%
	3) between support and opposition	20%	20%	21%
	4) DK/NA	2%	3%	1%
Q06) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?	1) yes	77%	79%	73%
	2) no	15%	9%	24%
	3) DK-NA	9%	12%	4%
Q07) In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear?	1) yes	38%	36%	40%
	2) no	59%	60%	58%
	3) DK-NA	3%	3%	3%
Q08) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?	1) Completely assured	5%	2%	10%
	2) Assured	45%	49%	39%
	3) Not assured	40%	40%	39%
	4) Not assured at all	10%	9%	12%
	5) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q09) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?	1) Certainly seek to emigrate	12%	9%	16%
	2) Seek emigration	18%	13%	27%
	3) Do not seek emigration	40%	42%	38%
	4) Certainly do not seek emigration	30%	37%	19%
	5) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q10) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?	1) very satisfied	2%	2%	4%
	2) satisfied	29%	36%	17%
	3) not satisfied	37%	35%	42%
	4) not satisfied at all	27%	21%	37%

	5) DK/NA	4%	6%	0%
Q11) 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	42%	45%	36%
	2) Ismael Haniyyah	50%	42%	62%
	4) DK/NA	9%	13%	2%
Q12) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmud Abbas, to whom would you vote?	1) Marwan Barghouti	43%	50%	31%
	2) Ismael Haniyyah	33%	25%	46%
	3. Mahmud Abbas	20%	19%	21%
	5) DK/NA	4%	6%	1%
Q13) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?	1) Marwan Barghouti	59%	65%	50%
	2) Ismael Haniyyah	36%	29%	48%
	4) DK/NA	5%	7%	2%
Q14) To whom did you vote in the last parliamentary elections?	1) alternative	2%	2%	1%
	2) independent Palestine	3%	4%	1%
	3) Abu Ali Mustafa	4%	6%	2%
	4) Abu al Abbas	0%	0%	0%
	5) freedom and social justice	0%	0%	0%
	6) change and reform	43%	39%	46%
	7) national coalition for justice and democ	0%	0%	0%
	8) third way (headed by salam fayyad)	1%	1%	1%
	9) freedom and independence	2%	4%	1%
	10) Palestinian justice	1%	1%	1%
	11) Fateh	40%	38%	42%
	12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	5%	5%	4%
	1) alternative	1%	1%	1%

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?	2) independent Palestine	4%	3%	4%
	3) Abu Ali Mustafa	3%	3%	4%
	4) Abu al Abbas	0%	0%	0%
	5) freedom and social justice	1%	1%	2%
	6) change and reform	29%	28%	31%
	7) national coalition for justice and democ	0%	0%	0%
	8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	1%	0%	1%
	9) freedom and independence	0%	0%	0%
	10) Palestinian justice	0%	0%	1%
	11) Fateh	36%	42%	28%
	12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	25%	22%	29%
Q16-1) -1From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most important one and which should be the second most important goal that the Palestinian people should strive to achieve? The first is:	1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishm	40%	41%	38%
	2) Obtain the right of return to refuges to their 1948 towns	33%	36%	28%
	3) Establish a democratic political system that respects fre	12%	10%	15%
	4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society	15%	13%	19%
The second one:	1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishm	21%	22%	19%
	2) Obtain the right of return to refuges to their 1948 towns	38%	39%	35%
	3) Establish a democratic political system that respects fre	21%	18%	26%
	4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society	20%	20%	20%

Q17) 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 continuat	1) continuation of occupation and settlements,	23%	24%	23%
	2) spread of unemployment and poverty	26%	29%	20%
	3) lack of national unity due to the split	3%	0%	8%
	4) continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings	20%	10%	37%
	5) the spread of corruption in public institutions	24%	36%	6%
	6) others (----- -)	3%	1%	7%
	7) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
Q18) Now, three years after the formation of the reconciliation government, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with its performance?	1) Certainly satisfy	1%	1%	1%
	2) Satisfy	22%	23%	20%
	3) Does not satisfy	42%	40%	47%
	4) Certainly does not satisfy	22%	16%	30%
	5) DK/NA	13%	20%	1%
Q19) What expectations do you have for the future of reconciliation? Will it continue and succeed or will it fail leading to a return to the split?	1) Certainly succeed	3%	1%	6%
	2) succeed	28%	24%	34%
	3) fail	44%	45%	44%
	4) Certainly fail	17%	19%	14%
	5) DK/NA	8%	11%	3%
Q20) Some people think that the reconciliation government is not doing its job as it should while others think it is doing its job as it should. If you think the reconciliation government is not doing its job as it should, who in your view is responsible?	1) The PA and Abbas	33%	28%	42%
	2) Hamas	15%	9%	23%
	3) The head of the reconciliation government	15%	11%	22%
	4) The PA is doing its job as it should	12%	14%	9%
	5) DK/NA	25%	37%	4%
Q21) Some people say that the Palestinian Authority has become a burden on the	1) The PA is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people	44%	47%	38%

Palestinian people while others say that it is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people. What do you think?	2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people	50%	46%	57%
	3) DK/NA	6%	7%	5%
Q22 Media reports indicate that Hamas and MP Mohammad Dahlan, with Egyptian sponsorship, have agreed to form a joint administration or government that would seek to facilitate societal reconciliation in the Gaza Strip, raise funds to pay the salaries of the employees in the public sector, supply Egyptian fuel to the power station, and open the Rafah crossing with Egypt. If these reports are accurate, do you expect the two sides to succeed or fail in implementing this agreement?	1) will succeed	43%	34%	57%
	2) will fail	47%	51%	39%
	3) DK/NA	11%	15%	4%
Q23 Are you with or against such an agreement?	1) with	56%	45%	73%
	2) against	35%	41%	25%
	3) DK/NA	10%	14%	3%
Q24) If it is up to you, would you want to have Abbas resign or not resign?	1) Certainly resign	31%	22%	46%
	2) Resign	36%	38%	34%
	3) Not resign	24%	29%	16%
	4) Certainly not resign	3%	3%	3%
	5) DK/NA	5%	8%	1%
Q25) President Abbas says that he will not nominate himself for a new presidential elections. If it is up to you, who do you want to be the president after him?	1) Marwan Barghouti	35%	42%	24%
	2) Ismail Haniyeh	21%	18%	27%
	3) Rami al Hamdallah	4%	4%	4%
	4) Mustapha Barghouti	5%	3%	6%
	5) Khalid Mishal	4%	3%	7%
	6) Mohammad Dahlan	9%	1%	23%
	7) Other	2%	3%	1%

	8) DK/NA	19%	26%	8%
Q26 Few weeks ago, the president issued a decree of a cybercrime law. Many civil society organizations, particularly those representing the media and human rights objected and argued that the law is harmful to liberties while others argued that it provide	1) I am not aware of the debate	50%	55%	40%
	2) I see it can potentially restrict liberties	29%	25%	35%
	3) I do not see in it the potential to restrict liberties	19%	18%	22%
	4) DN/NA	2%	2%	2%
Q27 There is an on-going debate over governmental revisions to the law of the judiciary. The judicial authorities, lawyers, and legal and human rights organizations view the revisions as a violation of the independence of the judiciary while the ministry of justice believe that they aim at improving the performance of the judicial authority. If you have heard about the debate, tell us what you think?	1) I am not aware of the debate	60%	68%	46%
	2) The revisions are a threat to the independence of the judiciary	22%	18%	30%
	3) The revisions will improve the performance of the judiciary	15%	11%	22%
	4) DK/NA	3%	3%	2%
Q28 Recently the PA in the West Bank and the Hamas authorities have detained many journalists. Are you worried or not worried about the future of liberties in Palestine?	1) I am not worried about the future of liberties in Palestine	17%	12%	24%
	2) I am worried about the future of liberties in Palestine	80%	85%	70%
	3) DK/NA	4%	3%	6%
Q29 When thinking about the confrontations that erupted after the Israeli installation of metal detectors or electronic gates at the entrance of al Haram al Sharif (Noble Sanctuary) in Jerusalem, do you see or do not see in such confrontations an effective means of resisting occupation on other issues and areas in the occupied Palestinian territories?	1) Effective	63%	65%	58%
	2) Ineffective	34%	32%	37%
	3) DK/NA	4%	3%	5%

Q30) Various parties played a role in insuring the success of the efforts to remove the electronic gates or metal detectors. From among the following list of parties, which one played the greatest role?	1) Jordan king Abdallah	7%	7%	8%
	2) President Abbas	6%	2%	12%
	3) King Salman of Saudi Arabia	1%	0%	3%
	4) Jerusalem residents who took part in the confrontations	73%	84%	54%
	5) Religious personalities representing al Haram and the Waqf	9%	2%	22%
	6) Others	1%	1%	0%
	7) DK/NA	3%	3%	1%
Q31) In light of the confrontations around al Haram al Sharif gates, president Abbas announced the suspension of contacts with the Israelis, including the suspension of security coordination. Do you support or oppose this decision?	1) Support	73%	74%	71%
	2) Oppose	23%	20%	27%
	3) DK/NA	4%	6%	2%
Q32) In your view, on light of the president decision to suspend contacts and security coordination with the Israeli side, did the PA actually implement the decision and stopped security coordination?	1) yes	22%	16%	31%
	2) no	66%	68%	63%
	3) DK-NA	12%	16%	6%
Q33) There are obstacles blocking the efforts to convene the holding of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) of the PLO. Some think that first the members of the Council must be elected while others think the session can take place with the current members. What do you think?	1) Hold it only after electing its members	60%	60%	60%
	2) Hold it with its current members	25%	20%	34%
	3) DK/NA	15%	20%	6%
Q34) Moreover, Some would like to hold the	1) With holding it in Ramallah	50%	54%	43%

<p>PNC session in Ramallah while others argue that this would deny many the opportunity to participate and that it would be preferable to hold it in Amman or Cairo. What do you think?</p>	<p>2) With Holding it in Amman or Cairo</p>	35%	26%	50%
	<p>3) Other (specify ----)</p>	2%	3%	1%
	<p>4) DK/NA</p>	13%	16%	6%
<p>Q35 Similarly, some argue that the PNC session should not be held unless Hamas and Islamic Jihad participate in it while others argue that these two groups are not committed to the PLO program and should not be allowed to participate without first joining the PLO. What do you think?</p>	<p>1) With holding it with Hamas and Islamic Jihad participation</p>	61%	68%	49%
	<p>2) With holding it even if Hamas and Islamic Jihad did not participate</p>	28%	18%	45%
	<p>3) DK/NA</p>	11%	14%	6%
<p>Q35-1 The PA has arrested Issa Amro, the coordinator of Youth Against Settlements who is a resident of Hebron and accused him of bad mouthing, inciting sectorial conflict, and threatening public security. This came he posted on his Facebook page some comments in which he criticized the PA behavior in arresting a Palestinian journalist. What do you think: does the PA have the right to arrest this activist because he criticized its behavior?</p>	<p>1) yes</p>	14%	10%	20%
	<p>2) no</p>	81%	84%	76%
	<p>3) DK-NA</p>	5%	6%	4%
<p>Q36 Few weeks ago, an armed man attempting to cross the Rafah border with Egypt detonated an explosion that led to his death and the death of a member of a Hamas security unit that has stopped him. It was reported that the man was a Daesh (ISIS) supporter. Are you worried or not worried of the spread of Daesh</p>	<p>1) Yes, I am worried</p>	73%	70%	78%
	<p>2) No, I am not worried</p>	24%	26%	21%
	<p>3) DK/NA</p>	3%	4%	1%

views among the youth in the Gaza Strip?				
Q37) 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	8%	7%	9%
	2) support	44%	42%	47%
	3) oppose	33%	37%	25%
	4) certainly oppose	14%	11%	18%
	5) DK/NA	1%	2%	0%
Q38) 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	57%	57%	57%
	2. The two-state solution remains viable today	40%	40%	41%
	3. DK/NA	3%	3%	3%
Q39) 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) certainly support	4%	4%	4%
	2) support	27%	27%	27%
	3) oppose	43%	44%	41%
	4) certainly oppose	24%	23%	27%
	5) DK/NA	2%	2%	2%
Q40) In your view, what is the most effective means for the establishment of a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel? Is it:	1) Negotiations	33%	32%	36%
	2) Armed action	35%	32%	38%
	3) Popular nonviolent resistance	26%	27%	24%
	4) DK/NA	6%	9%	2%
Q41) What in your view are the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of	1) very low	37%	38%	35%
	2) Low	34%	32%	37%
	3) Medium	23%	24%	22%
	4) High	5%	4%	5%

Israel in the next five years?	5) very high	0%	1%	0%
	6) DK/NA	2%	2%	1%
Q42) What do you think is the long run aspiration of Israel?	1) Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security	8%	3%	16%
	2) Withdrawal form part of the territories it occupied after guaranteeing its security	8%	5%	13%
	3) Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens	25%	21%	30%
	4) Extending the borders of the state of Israel to cover all the area between the Jordan River and the M	58%	69%	40%
	5) DK/NA	1%	2%	1%
Q43) To what extent are you worried or not worried that you, a member of your family could be hurt by Israel in your daily life, or that your land would be confiscated or home demolished?	1) Very Worried	34%	36%	30%
	2) Worried	44%	42%	48%
	3) Not worried	18%	18%	17%
	4) Not worried at all	4%	4%	5%
	5) DK/NA	0%	0%	0%
2 Joining more international organizations	1) certainly support	22%	17%	32%
	2) support	49%	52%	44%
	3) oppose	24%	26%	20%
	4) certainly oppose	4%	4%	3%
	5) DK/NA	2%	2%	0%
3 Abandon the two state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis	1) certainly support	6%	4%	9%
	2) support	24%	28%	18%
	3) oppose	50%	50%	50%
	4) certainly oppose	19%	17%	23%
	5) DK/NA	1%	2%	1%
	1) certainly support	11%	8%	17%

4 Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance	2) support	56%	56%	56%
	3) oppose	27%	29%	23%
	4) certainly oppose	5%	5%	4%
	5) DK/NA	2%	2%	1%
5 Return to the armed intifada and confrontations	1) certainly support	14%	11%	19%
	2) support	31%	31%	31%
	3) oppose	40%	41%	38%
	4) certainly oppose	13%	14%	11%
	5) DK/NA	2%	3%	2%
6 Dissolve the Palestinian Authority	1) certainly support	17%	13%	24%
	2) support	31%	26%	38%
	3) oppose	37%	42%	28%
	4) certainly oppose	13%	15%	10%
	5) DK/NA	3%	5%	1%
Q 45) Some say the Arab World is preoccupied with its internal concerns and conflicts or with its conflict with Iran and radical Islamist movements and that it no longer view Palestine as its first cause. Others believe that Palestine remains the Arabs' most important cause. What do you think?	1) 'The Arab World is preoccupied and Palestine is not its first cause	77%	85%	64%
	2) Palestine remains the Arabs' first cause	22%	14%	35%
	3) DK/NA	1%	1%	1%
Q46) Some say that the current Israeli government led by Netanyahu have found Arab allies among the Sunni Arab states to build a coalition against Iran in the view that Iran is a common enemy for both sides. Others believe that the Sunni Arab states will never agree to a coalition with Israel as long as it occupies Arab land and does not allow the creation of a Palestinian state. What do you think?	1) There will be a Sunni Arab coalition with Israel against Iran even as the Israeli occupation continues	64%	70%	55%
	2) The Arabs will not build a coalition with Israel until it ends its occupation and allows the creation o	25%	15%	40%

Q47) The American Administration has sent its delegation to the region in order to talk about the Palestinian-Israeli peace process. In your view, is the American President Trump serious in his efforts to reach a Palestinian-Israeli peace agreement?	1) yes	22%	12%	38%
	2) no	74%	83%	59%
	3) DK-NA	4%	5%	3%
Q48) If the US asked the Palestinian leadership to return to negotiations with Israel, should the leadership accept or reject such a request?	1) Accept	41%	38%	45%
	2) Reject	55%	56%	53%
	3) DK/NA	5%	6%	2%
Q49) If negotiations with Israel are resumed under US sponsorship, do you think the US will be an honest broker or will it be biased in favor of one of the two sides?	1) Honest broker	10%	2%	23%
	2) Biased in favor of Israel	83%	93%	66%
	3) Biased in favor of the Palestinians	2%	1%	4%
	4) DK/NA	5%	4%	7%
Q50) 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%	2%	5%
	2) Better	18%	18%	17%
	3) Same as today	25%	23%	27%
	4) A little worse than today	22%	25%	16%
	5) Much worse than today	30%	28%	34%
	6) DK/NA	2%	3%	0%
	7) Refuse to answer	0%	0%	0%
Q51) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....	1) Certainly agree	12%	6%	23%
	2) agree	34%	27%	45%
	3) disagree	41%	48%	29%
	4) Certainly disagree	9%	14%	3%
	5) DK/NA	4%	6%	1%
Q52) Which of the following political parties do you support?	1) PPP	1%	0%	1%
	2) PFLP	3%	3%	3%
	3) Fateh	25%	25%	24%
	4) Hamas	21%	16%	28%
	5) DFLP	0%	0%	1%

	6) Islamic Jihad	4%	2%	8%
	7) Fida	0%	0%	0%
	8) National initiative (almubadara)	0%	0%	0%
	9) Independent Islamist	3%	1%	5%
	10) Independent nationalist	6%	3%	9%
	11) third way headed by salam feyyad	0%	0%	1%
	12) none of the above	36%	47%	18%
	13) others	1%	2%	0%
Q53) What is the primary means through which you update yourself on current issues?	1) Television	44%	44%	45%
	2) Online newspapers	5%	4%	7%
	3) Radio	4%	3%	5%
	4) Social Networks (Facebook, Twitter etc.)	45%	46%	42%
	5) Print newspapers	1%	1%	1%
	6) DK/NA	2%	3%	0%
Q54) 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	35%	40%	25%
	2) daily	23%	20%	28%
	3) between 2-5 times weekly	10%	7%	15%
	4) once a week	3%	2%	7%
	5) once a month	3%	1%	6%
	6) other -----	0%	0%	0%
	7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	25%	29%	19%