

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 (66)

The American step increases Abbas' weakness, raises further suspicion concerning the role of regional powers, and increases calls for armed action:

More than 90% view the US recognition of Jerusalem as capital of Israel as a threat to Palestinian interests and the largest percentage demands a strong response that includes a return to an armed intifada. Moreover, the overwhelming majority does not trust Trump's peace intentions, nor trust the major Arab allies of the US, and 70% demand Abbas' resignation, and a majority demands the resignation of the reconciliation government if it does not immediately lift the PA sanctions imposed on the Gaza Strip

7-10 December 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 7-10 December 2017. The poll was conducted one day after the announcement by President Trump that he is recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and during a period in which limited clashes occurred between Palestinian protesters and Israeli soldiers throughout the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. By then, the Palestinian Authority has already publicly condemned the US measure and announced cessation of peace-related contacts with Washington. On the domestic front, reconciliation efforts continued to produce slow progress and a meeting held in Cairo declared that elections will take place before the end of 2018. This press release addresses these issues and covers other matters such as general conditions in the Palestinian territories and certain aspects of 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 last quarter of 2017 show that the overwhelming majority of the Palestinians view the decision by US President Donald Trump as a threat to Palestinian interests, one that requires an appropriate response. But the public is divided on what would be considered appropriate. While the largest percentage favors ending contacts with the US, submitting a formal complaint to the International Criminal Court, and a resumption of an armed intifada, the majority continues to favor responses that exclude armed struggle, despite the rise in support for such struggle during the past three months. Furthermore, it seems obvious that the public does not think that its leadership shares its view on what is considered to be an appropriate response to the American step.

In light of the US step, findings show an almost total public distrust of the role of regional powers, such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Jordan and Qatar, in the peace efforts organized by the US Administration. More than three quarters believe that Palestine is no longer the Arab's first cause. Indeed, more than 70% believe that despite the continuation of Israeli occupation, an alliance already exists between Sunni Arab states and Israel.

On top of that there is little or no confidence in the US Administration and its peace intentions. An overwhelming majority believes that any Trump peace plan will not meet the basic Palestinian need to end occupation and build an independent state. But here too one can see the gap between the position of the public and the public assessment of the position of the Palestinian leadership. Despite public confidence that the Trump ideas cannot serve as a basis for negotiations, about half of the public believes that President Abbas might accept the American ideas. Furthermore, more than 70% of the public believe that major Arab countries like Saudi Arabia and Egypt will also accept the Trump ideas.

Findings show that the public fully supports the assumption of security control by the reconciliation government in the Gaza Strip. In return, the public demands that the reconciliation government pay the salaries of the civil and security sectors which worked in the past under Hamas' government. The public is also firmly opposed to the disarmament of the various armed groups in the Gaza Strip. Moreover, a majority demands the resignation of the reconciliation government if it does not lift the sanctions imposed by the PA over the Strip. If a national unity government is established, about half of the public rejects the idea that such a government should follow the peace program of President Abbas; only a minority wants the unity government to embrace Abbas' peace program.

Finally, findings show how the US step has harmed Abbas' popularity with further decline in his standing and increased demand for his resignation. Demand for Abbas resignation stands today at 70%, a first since such demand became high three years ago. If new presidential elections, in which Abbas competes against Hamas' Ismail Haniyeh, are held today, the latter could easily win. Even if the candidate against Abbas came from the small third parties (such as Mustafa Barghouti from al Mubadara), findings show that it is doubtful that Abbas could win. On the other hand, the party balance remains relatively stable, compared to the findings three months ago, with Fatah having an edge against Hamas. Hamas is more popular than Fatah in the Gaza Strip while Fatah is more popular than Hamas in the West Bank.

(1) Presidential and parliamentary elections:

- **70% want president Abbas to resign; level of satisfaction with Abbas' performance stands at only 31%**
- **In a presidential election between Ismail Haniyeh and Mahmoud Abbas, the former receives 53% of the vote and the latter 41%**
- **In a presidential election between Mustafa Barghouti and Mahmoud Abbas, each receives 45% of the vote**
- **In a presidential election between Ismail Haniyeh and Marwan Barghouti, the former receives 37% and the latter 58%**
- **In a parliamentary election, Fatah receives 36% of the vote, Hamas 30%, and third parties combined 6%**

70% of the public want president Abbas to resign while 26% want him to remain in office. Three months ago, 67% said they want Abbas to resign. Demand for Abbas' resignation stands at 64% in the West Bank and 80% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago demand for Abbas resignation stood at 60% in the West Bank and 80% in the Gaza Strip. If president Abbas does not nominate himself in a new election, 35% prefer to see Marwan Barghouti replacing him, while 22% prefer Ismail Haniyeh; Mohammad Dahlan 7% (1% in the West Bank and 15% in the Gaza Strip); Mustapha Barghouti (5%); Rami al Hamdallah (5%), Khalid Mishal (3%), and Salam Fayyad (2%).

Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 31% and dissatisfaction at 66%. Level of satisfaction with Abbas stands at 36% in the West Bank and 22% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago, satisfaction with Abbas stood at 31% (38% in the West Bank and 21% 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 53% and the latter 41% of the vote (compared to 50% for Haniyeh and 42% for Abbas three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 33% of the vote (compared to 36% three months ago) and Haniyeh receives 66% (compared to 62% three months ago). In the West Bank Abbas receives 47% (compared to 45% three months ago) and Haniyeh 43% (compared to 42% three months ago). If the competition was between President Abbas from Fatah and Mustafa Barghouti from al Mubadara (Initiative), the two receive an identical percentage of 45%. Mustafa Barghouti receives 57% of the vote in the Gaza Strip and 36% in the West Bank and Abbas receives

39% of the vote in the Gaza Strip and 50% in the West Bank. Vote for Mustafa Barghouti is higher in the cities (48%) compared to villages and refugee camps (33% and 44% respectively), among the religious (50%) compared to the unreligious (36%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (87% and 80% respectively) compared to Fatah supporters (16%), among those whose age is between 18-22 years (55%) compared to those whose age is over 50 years (38%), among refugees (56%) compared to non-refugees (34%), among holders of BA degree (49%) compared to illiterates (2%), among students, merchants, and retirees (66%, 55%, and 54% respectively) compared to the unemployed, employees, and housewives (34%, 40%, and 43% respectively), and among those who work in the private sector (46%) compared to those who work in the public sector (35%).

If presidential elections were between three: Mahmud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Abbas would receive 18%, Barghouti 41% and Haniyeh 36%. If presidential elections were between two: Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Barghouti receives 58% and Haniyeh 37%. If presidential elections are held soon, 42% want Hamas to nominate one of its leader while 45% prefer to see Hamas supporting a third party or an independent candidate.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 66% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 30% say they would vote for Hamas and 36% say they would vote for Fatah, 6% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 27% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 29% and Fatah at 36%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 36% (compared to 31% three months ago) and for Fatah at 30% (compared to 28% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas stands at 26% (compared to 28% three months ago) and Fatah at 41% (compared to 42% three months ago).

(2) Domestic conditions:

- **Only 34% believe that people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear**
- **Perception of personal safety and security stands at 53% in the Gaza Strip and 45% in the West Bank**
- **41% of Gazans and 22% of West Bankers seek to immigrate to other countries**
- **Belief that corruption exists in PA institutions stands at 77%**

Only 34% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear; 61% of the public say that people cannot criticize the PA without fear. Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 5% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 12%. Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 53%. In the West Bank perception of safety and security stands at 45%. Three months ago, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stood at 49% and in the West Bank at 50%. Findings show that the percentage of Gazans who say they seek to immigrate to other countries stands at 41%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 22%. Three months ago, 43% of Gazans and 22% of West Bankers indicated that they seek to immigrate. Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 77%.

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 (15%), al Aqsa TV (14%), Filasteen al Youm/Palestine Today (14%), Palestine TV (11%), Al Arabiya (6%) al Quds TV (6%), and al Mayadeen (3%).

(3) Reconciliation and the reconciliation government:

- **81% want the reconciliation government to pay the salaries of the civil and security sectors' employees who served the pervious Hamas government in the Gaza Strip**
- **78% want the police department in the Gaza Strip to come under the full control of the reconciliation government**
- **38% are satisfied and 55% are dissatisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government**
- **Optimism about the future of reconciliation increases from 31% to 50%**
- **78% support the formation of a national unity government but only 43% want such a government to abide by the policies of president Abbas**
- **72% want to keep factions' armed wings in the Gaza Strip in place**
- **51% want the resignation of the reconciliation government if it does not remove the PA-imposed sanctions on the Gaza Strip**

81% want the reconciliation government to pay the salaries of the civil employees of the former Hamas government but 14% do not want it to do so. Similarly, 81% of the public want the reconciliation government to pay the salaries of the security sector employees of the former Hamas government and 14% do not want it to do so. 78% support placing the police department in the Gaza Strip, which is currently under the control of Hamas, to come under the control of the reconciliation government so that the police departments in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would come under the one command and control center; 19% are opposed to that and prefer to maintain the current status quo.

Now that it has taken control of the border crossings and the headquarters of the ministries and other public agencies, 38% are satisfied and 55% are dissatisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government. Satisfaction is higher in the West Bank (41%) compared to the Gaza Strip (33%), in villages and towns (45%) compared to refugee camps and cities (34% and 37% respectively), among women (37%) compared to men (32%), among the unreligious (45%) compared to the religious and the somewhat religious (37% each), among Fatah supporters (61%) compared to supporters of Hamas and third parties (25% and 33% respectively), among the non-refugees (41%) compared to the refugees (35%), among the illiterates (43%) compared to those who hold a BA degree (31%), among the retirees (50%) compared to the farmers, merchants, and students (19%, 27% and 35% respectively), and among those who work in the public sector (41%) compared to those who work in the private sector (35%).

50% are optimistic and 45% are pessimistic about the success of reconciliation. Three months ago, optimism stood at 31% and pessimism at 61%. Despite the rise in optimism, only 43% expect the reconciliation government to take real control of the security conditions in the Gaza Strip; 47% do not expect that to happen. In this context, 45% of the public believe that the latest factional meeting in Cairo has been neither a success nor a failure while 19% view it as a success and 27% as a failure.

78% support the formation of a national unity government composed of Fatah, Hamas, and other faction while only 17% prefer to keep the current reconciliation government. If a national unity government is established, the public is divided over its peace program: 43% want it to adhere to Abbas policy but 49% does not want to do so. Support for the adherence to Abbas policy is higher in the West Bank (48%) compared to the Gaza Strip (35%), in villages and towns (48%) compared to refugee camps and cities (40% and 42% respectively), among women (45%) compared to men (41%), among the unreligious and the somewhat religious (50% and 47% respectively) compared to the religious (38%), among Fatah supporters (76%) compared to supporters of Hamas and third parties (19% and 38% respectively), among those whose age is over 50 years (44%) compared to those whose age is between 18-22 (34%), among none-refugees (48%) compared to refugees (38%), among the illiterates (58%) compared to those how hold a BA degree (35%), among housewives and employees (46% and 44% respectively) compared to students and merchants (29% and 37% respectively), and among those who work in the public sector (48%) compared to those who work in the private sector (40%).

Responding to Abbas' call for "one government, one gun," 72% want the armed groups that belong to the various factions in the Gaza Strip to remain in place and only 22% support disbanding them. Support for keeping the armed wings is higher among the religious (79%) compared to the unreligious and the somewhat religious (52% and 67% respectively), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (88% and 78%) compared to Fatah supporters (49%), among holders of BA degree (69%) compared to the illiterates (59%), and among those who work in the private sector (73%) compared to those who work in the public sector (61%).

Only 43% believe that the date set for elections in the latest factional meeting in Cairo is appropriate while 33% think it is late and 16% think it is too early. 70% support holding legislative and presidential elections but only after resolving all remaining issues such as control over security, PLO, and the armed factions; 26% support holding elections immediately, without resolving these other issues.

The largest percentage (45%) believes that the reason behind Abbas' decision not to remove the sanctions he had imposed on the Gaza Strip is to pressure Hamas to make more concessions that would remove the obstacles to reconciliation. On the other hand, 22% believe that he has not removed the sanctions in order to insure a slow process of reconciliation and 23% think he seeks to bring about the collapse of the process of reconciliation. 51% support and 38% oppose the resignation of the reconciliation government led by Rami al Hamdallah if it does not immediately remove the Abbas-imposed sanctions on the Gaza Strip. Demand for the resignation of the Hamdallah government is higher in the Gaza Strip (59%) compared to the West Bank (47%), in refugee camps (60%) compared to villages and towns (44%), among men (53%) compared to women (50%), among the religious (56%) compared to the unreligious and the somewhat religious (49% and

48% respectively), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (73% and 61% respectively) compared to Fatah supporters (30%), among refugees (55%) compared to non-refugees (48%), among holders of BA degree (55%) compared to illiterates (45%), and among those who work in the private sector (51%) compared to those who work in the public sector (46%).

For the next three months, the top priority of the reconciliation government in the eyes of 42% of the public should be the delivery of electricity and water to Gazans on daily basis while 30% believe it should be the opening of the crossings, 10% think it should be the resolution of the problem of the payment to the employees of the former Hamas government, 9% believe it should be the holding of elections, 6% the imposition of control over security matters in the Gaza Strip, and 2% the convening of the existing Palestinian Legislative Council. For the next year, the top priority of the reconciliation government in the eyes of 41% of the public should be the opening of the crossings; delivery of electricity and water to Gazans on daily basis (31%), while 11% think it should be the holding of elections, 7% think it should be the resolution of the problem of the payment to the employees of the former Hamas government, 7% believe it should be the imposition of control over security matters in the Gaza Strip, and 3% the convening of the existing Palestinian Legislative Council. 51% believe that the reconciliation effort is not linked to the restoration of negotiations and the peace process while 43% think that it is indeed linked.

24% think Fatah and Abbas came out of reconciliation winners and 20% think Hamas came out a winner. But 48% believe that Fatah and Hamas have come out neither winners no losers. With regard to regional players, the largest percentage (51%) believes that Egypt came out of reconciliation a winner while only 34% described Saudi Arabia as a winner (and 25% as a loser), 33% said Qatar came out a winner (and 26% as a loser), and 27% said Iran came out a winner (and 26% as a loser). Although 33% characterized Israel as a winner, 46% characterized it as a loser.

(4) The peace process:

- **91% say the US policy of recognizing Jerusalem as a capital of Israel constitutes a threat to Palestinian interests**
- **In response to US announcement, 45% want a PA policy that stops all contacts with the US Administration, submit an official complaint to the ICC, and seek a return to an armed intifada**
- **Findings show an increase in the belief that armed action is the most effective means for establishing a Palestinian state from 35% to 44% and a decrease in the belief that negotiations is the most effective means from 33% to 27%**
- **72% believe that the Trump Administration will not propose a Palestinian-Israeli peace plan and if one is indeed proposed by the US, 86% believe it will not meet Palestinian needs for ending occupation and building a state**
- **But 49% believe that president Abbas might accept such a US plan and 72% believe that Arab countries such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia might also accept it**
- **Confidence in the role and position of major Arab counties in the peace process is slim with three quarters believing that Palestine is no longer the Arabs' first cause**

91% characterize Trumps declaration recognizing Jerusalem as a capital of Israel as a threat to Palestinian interests (79% as a great threat and 12% as a limited threat) while only 7% saw no threat in the declaration. The largest percentage (45%) believes that the most appropriate Palestinian measure against the US step is to stop all contacts with the American Administration, submit a formal complaint to the International Criminal Court (ICC), and resort to an armed intifada. But 27% think it should stop the contacts and submit a complaint to the ICC, but should resort to non-violent resistance. Still, 12% want the PA to only denounce the US step and stop the contacts with the US Administration and an identical percentage wants it to denounce the step while maintaining contacts with the US toward reaching a permanent peace. Support for stopping contacts, submitting a complaint to the ICC and resorting to an armed intifada is higher in the West Bank (48%) compared to the Gaza Strip (40%), among men (48%) compared to women (43%), among the religious (47%) compared to the unreligious (34%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (58% and 50% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (36%), among holders of BA degree (45%) compared to the illiterates (37%), and among farmers and students (85% and 51% respectively) compared to housewives and merchants (41% and 42%). However, only 27% of the public believe that the Palestinian leadership will actually stop contacts with the US, submit an ICC complaint, and resort to an armed intifada while 24% believe the PA will denounce the US step but will maintain contacts with the Trump Administration.

The largest percentage (44%) believes that armed resistance is the most effective means of establishing a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel while 27% think negotiation is the most effective means and 23% think non-violent resistance is the most effective. Three months ago, only 35% indicated that armed resistance is the answer and 33% sided with negotiation. Support for armed action is higher in the Gaza Strip (47%) compared to the West Bank (42%), in cities (45%) compared to villages and towns (37%), among men (47%) compared to women (40%), among the religious (49%) compared to the unreligious and the somewhat religious (32% and 40% respectively), among supporters of Hamas (67%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (20% and 38%), among refugees (47%) compared to non-refugees (41%), among the illiterates (48%) compared to holders of BA degree (44%), and among farmers, merchants, and students (72%, 52%, and 46% respectively) compared to housewives and professionals (40% and 42% respectively).

An overwhelming majority of 72% believes that the Trump Administration will not submit any ideas or plans for Palestinian-Israeli peace while 24% think it will do so. But even if the US does submit a peace proposal, an even larger majority of 86% believes that such a proposal will not meet Palestinian need to end occupation and build a state; only 11% think the proposal will indeed meet such needs. Nonetheless, 49% believe that president Abbas might accept the American peace plan if one is indeed submitted to him while 42% believe he will not accept it. Belief that Abbas might accept the US proposals is higher in the Gaza Strip (62%) compared to the West Bank (41%), in refugee camps and cities (55% and 51% respectively) compared to villages and towns (39%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (65% and 53% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (43%), among those whose age is between 18-22 years (50%) compared to those whose age is over 40 years (47%), among refugees (53%) compared to non-refugees (45%), among holders of BA degree (54%) compared to illiterates (45%), among farmers, professionals, and students (63%, 56%, and 53% respectively) compared to retirees, laborers, and housewives (40%, 45%, and 47% respectively), and among those who work in the private sector (49%) compared to those who work in the public sector (46%). When asked about the Israeli side, 65% said that they think the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu will accept such American peace plan; only 26% think he will not accept it. Moreover, 72% of the public believe that major Arab countries such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia (or at least one of them) will accept this American plan if submitted; only 20% think they will not accept it.

Regarding public trust in the roles and positions of major Arab countries in the peace process and the US efforts to develop a regional agreement in the context of Palestinian-Israeli peace, an overwhelming majority of 82% says that it does not trust the Saudi role, 75% do not trust the Emirati role, 70% do not trust the Egyptian role, and 59% do not trust the Jordanian or the Qatari roles. Moreover, 76% 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 23% think Palestine remains the Arab's principle cause. In fact, 71% believe that there is already an Arab Sunni alliance with Israel against Iran despite the continued Israeli occupation of Arab land while 21% believe that the Arabs would not ally themselves with Israel until it ends its occupation and allows the creation of a Palestinian state. Three months ago, only 64% said that an Arab Sunni alliance already exists with Israel.

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

- **48% say that the first most vital Palestinian goal should be the ending of occupation and the building of the Palestinian state**
- **The most serious problem facing Palestinian society today is the continuation of occupation and settlement construction**

48% 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, 28% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 14% believe that it should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings, and 9% believe that the first and most vital goal should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians. The most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today in the eyes of 29% of the public is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities while 26% say it is poverty and unemployment; 20% say it is the spread of corruption in public institutions; 17% say it is the siege of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its crossings; and 4% say it is the absence of national unity.

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7-10 December 2017

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q 00) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?			
1) al Arabia	6.3%	5.1%	8.2%
2) al Jazeera	20.2%	16.8%	25.9%
3) Palestine Today	13.5%	16.2%	9.2%
4) al Manar	.5%	.3%	.9%
5) Palestine TV	11.2%	12.5%	9.1%
6) alaqsa	14.3%	8.3%	24.3%
7) man(mix)	15.0%	20.2%	6.5%
8) al myadeen	3.3%	4.0%	2.2%
9) al Quds	5.6%	2.7%	10.3%
10) Do not watch TV	7.4%	10.5%	2.3%
11) others	2.1%	3.1%	.5%
12) Do not have a dish	.4%	.3%	.5%
13) DK/NA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Q1) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?			
1) Very good	.3%	0.0%	.8%
2) Good	4.3%	4.4%	4.1%
3) so so	12.1%	10.5%	14.7%
4) Bad	35.5%	37.3%	32.5%
5) Very bad	45.8%	44.5%	48.0%
6) DK/NA	2.1%	3.4%	0.0%
Q2) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?			
1) Very good	.8%	.6%	1.1%
2) Good	11.5%	10.6%	13.1%
3) so so	22.2%	19.8%	26.0%
4) Bad	36.5%	39.2%	32.2%
5) Very bad	28.6%	29.6%	26.9%
6) DK/NA	.3%	.1%	.7%
PV2) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	44.5%	37.8%	55.4%
2) somewhat religious	49.7%	58.0%	36.2%
3) not religious	5.1%	3.7%	7.4%
4) DK/NA	.7%	.5%	1.0%
Q3) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) supportive of the peace process	45.0%	49.0%	38.5%
2) opposed to the peace process	33.0%	30.5%	37.1%
3) between support and opposition	19.9%	17.8%	23.4%
4) DK/NA	2.1%	2.7%	1.0%
Q4) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?			
1) yes	76.6%	78.2%	73.8%
2) no	14.3%	9.6%	22.0%
3) DK-NA	9.1%	12.1%	4.2%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q5) In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear?			
1) yes	34.4%	35.0%	33.4%
2) no	61.2%	60.4%	62.4%
3) DK-NA	4.5%	4.6%	4.1%
Q6) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	5.0%	2.4%	9.3%
2) Assured	42.6%	42.2%	43.3%
3) Not assured	41.6%	45.2%	35.6%
4) Not assured at all	10.6%	9.9%	11.6%
5) DK/NA	.2%	.2%	.2%
Q07) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?			
1) Certainly seek to emigrate	11.1%	8.2%	15.9%
2) Seek emigration	17.6%	13.3%	24.7%
3) Do not seek emigration	40.3%	43.3%	35.2%
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	30.6%	34.8%	23.6%
5) DK/NA	.5%	.4%	.7%
Q8) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) very satisfied	2.6%	1.7%	4.0%
2) satisfied	28.0%	34.4%	17.5%
3) not satisfied	42.2%	41.5%	43.3%
4) not satisfied at all	23.7%	17.1%	34.6%
5) DK/NA	3.5%	5.2%	.7%
Q09) 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	40.9%	47.3%	32.7%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	53.1%	43.2%	65.8%
3) DK/NA	6.0%	9.5%	1.5%
Q10) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti, Ismail Haniyeh, and Mahmud Abbas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	41.3%	46.1%	34.4%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	36.2%	29.0%	46.7%
3) Mahmoud Abbas	18.4%	18.3%	18.5%
4) DK/NA	4.0%	6.5%	.4%
Q11) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti from Fatah and and Ismael Haniyyah, to whom would you vote?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	57.9%	63.2%	50.2%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	37.0%	28.8%	48.9%
3) DK/NA	5.1%	8.0%	.8%
Q12) And what if the competition was between Mustafa Barghouti from al Mubadara (initiative) and Mahmud Abbas from Hamas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Mustafa Barghouti	44.8%	36.2%	57.3%
2) Mahmud Abbas	45.4%	50.1%	38.5%
4) DK/NA	9.8%	13.7%	4.1%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
PV34) 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	.4%	0.0%	.9%
2) independent Palestine	2.9%	2.3%	3.5%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	1.3%	.9%	1.9%
4) Abu al Abbas	.1%	.2%	0.0%
5) freedom and social justice	.2%	0.0%	.4%
6) change and reform	30.4%	26.1%	35.9%
7) national coalition for justice and democ	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	.4%	0.0%	.9%
9) freedom and independence	.8%	.2%	1.6%
10) Palestinian justice	.1%	0.0%	.3%
11) Fateh	36.0%	40.6%	30.4%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	27.2%	29.6%	24.3%

PV30.1) From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should be 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	48.2%	49.0%	46.8%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns	28.4%	31.3%	23.6%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects fre	9.1%	8.6%	10.1%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society	14.3%	11.1%	19.5%

PV30.2) From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should be 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	20.5%	21.2%	19.4%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns	41.0%	43.2%	37.5%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects fre	18.8%	16.2%	23.1%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society	19.6%	19.4%	20.0%

PV20) The Palestinian society confronts today various problems, like the continuation of occupation and settlements, the spread of unemployment and poverty, the lack of national unity due to the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings, the spread of corruption in public institutions, and others. Tell us, what in your opinion, is the problem you see as the most fundamental, the one that must be on the top priority of the Palestinian Authority?

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) continuation of occupation and settlements,	29.2%	33.6%	22.1%
2) spread of unemployment and poverty	26.4%	26.5%	26.2%
3) lack of national unity due to the split	3.6%	.5%	8.7%
4) continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings	17.0%	9.6%	29.2%
5) the spread of corruption in public institutions	20.2%	27.4%	8.5%
6) others (-----)	3.4%	2.1%	5.4%
7) DK/NA	.2%	.2%	0.0%

Q14) Do you think the reconciliation government should be responsible for paying the salaries of the civil public sector that used previously to work for the Hamas government?

1) Certainly yes	28.3%	29.2%	26.9%
2) YES	52.8%	52.5%	53.3%
3) NO	11.9%	9.7%	15.4%
4) Certainly no	1.7%	1.7%	1.7%
5) DK-NA	5.3%	6.9%	2.7%

Q15) And what about the police and the security personnel that used to work previously for the Hamas government? Should the reconciliation government be responsible for paying their salary?

1) Certainly yes	27.4%	29.1%	24.7%
2) YES	53.7%	53.4%	54.2%
3) NO	11.0%	8.7%	14.9%
4) Certainly no	2.5%	1.7%	3.7%
5) DK-NA	5.4%	7.2%	2.5%

Q17) For the reconciliation government to be able to unify public institutions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and to be able to carry out its responsibilities in the Gaza Strip, there is a proposal to place the police force in the Gaza Strip that used to work for the Hamas government under the full control of the reconciliation government so that the police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would follow one command. Do you support this proposal or do you instead want to keep responsibility over the Gaza police force in Hamas control as it is today?

1) I certainly support unifying the police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the control of the reconciliation government	51.0%	58.2%	39.1%
2) I support unifying the police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the control of the reconciliation government	26.7%	23.2%	32.4%
3) I support maintaining the current status quo	13.7%	10.5%	19.0%
4) I certainly support maintaining the current status quo	4.9%	3.5%	7.2%
5) DK/NA	3.7%	4.6%	2.2%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q18) Now, more than three years and a half after the formation of the reconciliation government, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with its performance?			
1) Certainly satisfy	3.0%	2.4%	4.0%
2) Satisfy	34.9%	38.5%	29.0%
3) Does not satisfy	42.3%	39.4%	47.0%
4) Certainly does not satisfy	12.6%	8.3%	19.8%
5) DK/NA	7.2%	11.4%	.2%
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	5.9%	2.6%	11.3%
2) succeed	43.9%	44.1%	43.7%
3) fail	36.7%	37.7%	35.0%
4) Certainly fail	7.8%	8.7%	6.3%
5) DK/NA	5.7%	6.9%	3.7%
Q20) Now after the reconciliation government has assumed control over the buildings of ministries and civil institutions as well as border crossings in the Gaza Strip, do you expect it to also assume control over security issues and conditions?			
1) yes	43.4%	43.1%	43.9%
2) no	46.5%	45.0%	49.1%
3) DK-NA	10.0%	11.9%	7.0%
Q21) Do you think that the PA should form a national unity government made up of Fatah and Hamas and other powers or should the current government stay in place?			
1) National unity government	78.0%	79.3%	75.7%
2) Current government	16.7%	13.2%	22.3%
3) DK/NA	5.4%	7.4%	2.0%
Q22) If a national unity government is established, do you think such government should or should not be obligated to work in accordance with Abbas' peace policy?			
1) According to the president's policy	42.9%	47.6%	35.3%
2) Not according to the president policy	49.0%	43.5%	58.2%
3) DK/NA	8.0%	8.9%	6.5%
Q23) President Abbas says that there should be one government and one gun. Do you support or oppose the existence of armed groups in the Gaza Strip, along the side of the PA National Security Force?			
1) With the existence of armed groups	71.6%	71.9%	71.2%
2) Against the existence of armed groups	22.4%	22.1%	22.8%
3) DK/NA	6.0%	5.9%	6.0%
Q23-1) In the aftermath of the latest reconciliation meeting in Cairo around the end of last month, a statement was issued setting a date for the conduct of parliamentary and presidential elections by the end of 2018. Do you think the date set is just right, early, or late?			
1) Just right	43.2%	39.4%	49.4%
2) Early	15.6%	14.8%	16.9%
3) Late	32.5%	33.9%	30.2%
4) DK/NA	8.7%	11.8%	3.5%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q23-2) In your view, should elections be conducted only after the resolution of all problems, such as control over security, the PLO, and the arms of the factions or should elections be held immediately without any delay?			
1) With elections after the resolution of all issues first	69.6%	70.1%	68.6%
2) With holding elections immediately	25.5%	23.8%	28.3%
3) DK/NA	5.0%	6.1%	3.1%
Q23-3) President Abbas has not yet cancelled the sanctions he has imposed on the Gaza Strip, such as reducing access electricity or reducing salaries. Why do you think president Abbas has not yet removed these sanctions?			
1) To pressure Hamas so that it would make further concessions and remove the obstacles to reconciliation	44.6%	43.9%	45.7%
2) He wants to impede reconciliation	23.2%	17.6%	32.5%
3) He wants to implement reconciliation slowly	21.6%	23.7%	18.2%
4) DK/NA	10.5%	14.8%	3.6%
Q23-4) Hamas has demanded the resignation of the reconciliation government of Rami al Hamdallah if it does not remove the sanctions currently imposed on the Gaza Strip. Do you support or oppose the resignation of the reconciliation government?			
1) support	51.2%	46.6%	58.8%
2) oppose	37.7%	38.2%	36.9%
3) DK/NA	11.1%	15.2%	4.3%
Q23-5) A statement has been issued last month in Cairo whereby the various factions listed issues of agreement among them. This statement has been seen by some as reflecting a failure to agree on the next steps of reconciliation while others saw it as reflecting success and a continuation of reconciliation. What do you think? Was the meeting of the all factions in Cairo successful or unsuccessful?			
1) Successful	19.4%	16.1%	24.8%
2) Neither successful no unsuccessful	44.7%	42.1%	49.0%
3) Unsuccessful	26.5%	29.2%	22.1%
4) DK/NA	9.4%	12.6%	4.1%
Q25) what should be the priorities of the reconciliation government in the next three months? Select one from the following:			
1) Insure delivery of electricity and water on regular basis for the Gazans	42.0%	48.0%	32.1%
2) Open the border crossings	30.2%	32.0%	27.3%
3) Organize parliamentary and presidential elections	8.6%	5.8%	13.3%
4) Resume the functioning of the Palestinian Legislative Council	2.0%	1.4%	3.0%
5) Insure government control over security in the Gaza Strip	5.6%	4.4%	7.6%
6) Find a solution for the employees of the former Hamas government	9.8%	6.0%	16.1%
7 DK/NA	1.7%	2.4%	.7%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q26) And what should be the priorities of the reconciliation government in the next year? Select one from the following:			
1) Insure delivery of electricity and water on regular basis for the Gazans	30.6%	34.1%	24.8%
2) Open the border crossings	40.5%	45.7%	32.1%
3) Organize parliamentary and presidential elections	10.6%	5.7%	18.7%
4) Resume the functioning of the Palestinian Legislative Council	3.4%	1.4%	6.9%
5) Insure government control over security in the Gaza Strip	6.6%	6.2%	7.1%
6) Find a solution for the employees of the former Hamas government	7.4%	5.9%	9.8%
7) DK/NA	.9%	1.1%	.7%
Q27) Do you think the current reconciliation efforts are or are not meant to facilitate a return to peace negotiations?			
1) To facilitate peace efforts	42.6%	41.4%	44.6%
2) Has no relation to peace efforts	51.1%	52.1%	49.4%
3) DK/NA	6.3%	6.5%	6.0%
Q29) If presidential elections take place soon, do you want Hamas to nominate one of leaders for the position of president or do you prefer if the movement supported a candidate from outside its own ranks?			
1) One of its leaders	41.7%	42.3%	40.7%
2) One from outside its ranks	44.8%	41.0%	50.9%
3) DK/NA	13.5%	16.6%	8.4%
Q30) In your view, who came our a winner more than the other in the current reconciliation efforts? Is it Hamas or Abbas/Fatah?			
1) Hamas	20.0%	14.4%	29.3%
2) Abbas/Fatah	24.4%	23.8%	25.3%
3) None was a winner or a loser	47.8%	52.4%	40.2%
4) DK/NA	7.8%	9.4%	5.1%
Q31) from among the following regional players, who came out a winner and who came out a loser as a result of the current reconciliation efforts?			
Q31-1 Egypt			
1) Winner	50.8%	40.7%	67.3%
2) Loser	13.4%	15.2%	10.5%
3) Not a winner or a loser	28.7%	33.8%	20.2%
4) DK/NA	7.2%	10.3%	2.0%
Q31-2 Saudi Arabia			
1) Winner	34.2%	30.3%	40.5%
2) Loser	24.9%	25.6%	23.8%
3) Not a winner or a loser	32.1%	32.6%	31.2%
4) DK/NA	8.8%	11.5%	4.4%
Q31-3 Qatar			
1) Winner	32.6%	29.3%	38.0%
2) Loser	25.6%	23.2%	29.4%
3) Not a winner or a loser	32.7%	35.2%	28.6%
4) DK/NA	9.2%	12.3%	4.0%
Q31-4 Iran			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) Winner	27.0%	26.9%	27.3%
2) Loser	26.2%	22.0%	33.1%
3) Not a winner or a loser	34.7%	34.4%	35.3%
4) DK/NA	12.0%	16.8%	4.3%
Q31-5 Israel			
1) Winner	32.6%	41.1%	18.7%
2) Loser	46.1%	37.4%	60.4%
3) Not a winner or a loser	15.2%	13.4%	18.2%
4) DK/NA	6.0%	8.1%	2.7%
Q32) If it is up to you, would you want to have Abbas resign or not resign?			
1) Certainly resign	30.2%	22.7%	42.7%
2) Resign	39.5%	40.8%	37.5%
3) Not resign	21.7%	25.7%	15.3%
4) Certainly not resign	4.2%	4.2%	4.1%
5) DK/NA	4.3%	6.7%	.4%
Q33) 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	34.9%	42.9%	21.9%
2) Ismail Haniyeh	21.9%	17.3%	29.3%
3) Saeb Erikat	.7%	.8%	.5%
4) Rami al Hamdallah	4.9%	4.2%	6.0%
5) Mustapha Barghouti	4.6%	2.0%	8.9%
6) Khalid Mishal	3.3%	1.7%	5.9%
7) salam Fayad	1.6%	1.0%	2.5%
8) Mohammad Dahlan	6.5%	1.4%	15.0%
9) Other	1.1%	1.3%	.7%
10) DK/NA	20.5%	27.3%	9.4%
Q34) 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	27.3%	26.8%	28.1%
2) Armed action	43.6%	41.4%	47.2%
3) Popular nonviolent resistance	23.2%	24.3%	21.4%
4) DK/NA	5.9%	7.5%	3.3%
Q35) There is talk these days about a peace deal being prepared by President Trump. Do you expect President Trump to actually present a proposal for peace between Palestinians and Israelis during the next few months?			
1) yes	24.2%	15.0%	39.2%
2) No	72.4%	81.9%	56.9%
3) DK-NA	3.4%	3.1%	3.9%
Q36) If Trump presented such a peace proposal, do you think it would satisfy Palestinian needs for ending occupation and establishing their own independent state?			
1) yes	10.5%	6.2%	17.6%
2) No	86.1%	91.1%	77.9%
3) DK-NA	3.4%	2.8%	4.5%
Q37) If Trump does present such a proposal, do you think President Abbas would accept it?			
1) yes	49.2%	41.3%	62.0%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) No	41.8%	49.8%	28.8%
3) DK-NA	9.0%	8.9%	9.2%
Q38) And what about Prime Minister Netanyahu? Would he accept or reject a peace proposal from Trump?			
1) Accept	64.8%	64.5%	65.4%
2) Reject	25.7%	27.7%	22.5%
3) DK/NA	9.5%	7.9%	12.1%
Q39) And what about Arab countries, such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia? Would one or both of them accept the Trump proposal if he present one?			
1) Accept	72.0%	75.8%	65.9%
2) Reject	20.1%	16.5%	25.9%
3) DK/NA	7.9%	7.7%	8.3%
Q40) President Trump announced US recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Do you see or do not see in this step a threat to Palestinian interests or to the peace process?			
1) big threat	78.9%	87.2%	65.4%
2) limited threat only	12.0%	5.5%	22.5%
3) no threat	6.9%	4.9%	10.2%
4) DK/NA	2.2%	2.4%	1.9%
Q41) IN your view, which of the following measures is the appropriate one in response to the American step?			
1) Denounce the step and continue contacts with the US for permanent peace	11.8%	8.9%	16.6%
2) Denounce the step and stop contacts with the US Administration	11.9%	9.6%	15.7%
3) Stop contacts with the US Administration, submit a formal complaint to the International Criminal Court, popular pe	26.8%	27.6%	25.4%
4) Stop contacts, submit a formal complaint to the ICC, and return to an armed intifada	45.3%	48.3%	40.3%
5) DK/NA	4.2%	5.6%	2.0%
Q42) In your view, what will the Palestinian leadership do in response to this American step?			
1) Denounce the step and continue contacts with the US for permanent peace	23.7%	19.4%	30.8%
2) Denounce the step and stop contacts with the US Administration	16.9%	14.1%	21.7%
3) Stop contacts with the US Administration, submit a formal complaint to the International Criminal Court, popular pe	24.2%	26.0%	21.2%
4) Stop contacts, submit a formal complaint to the ICC, and return to an armed intifada	27.2%	29.4%	23.4%
5) DK/NA	8.0%	11.1%	2.8%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q43) In the context of the Palestinian-Israeli peace process and in light of the current American efforts to formulate a regional agreement to achieve peace with the contribution of some Arab countries, tell us if you trust the following Arab countries to protect Palestinian rights:			
Q43-1 Saudi Arabia			
1) Trust	15.9%	10.0%	25.7%
2) Do not trust	82.3%	88.0%	73.0%
3) DK/NA	1.7%	2.0%	1.4%
Q43-2 Egypt			
1) Trust	26.5%	18.5%	39.6%
2) Do not trust	70.4%	78.1%	57.7%
3) DK/NA	3.1%	3.4%	2.7%
Q43-3 Qatar			
1) Trust	38.0%	24.0%	61.1%
2) Do not trust	58.6%	71.6%	37.2%
3) DK/NA	3.4%	4.4%	1.7%
Q43-4 Jordan			
1) Trust	37.8%	34.2%	43.7%
2) Do not trust	59.0%	62.8%	52.8%
3) DK/NA	3.2%	3.0%	3.4%
Q43-5 UAE			
1) Trust	20.1%	14.3%	29.6%
2) Do not trust	75.3%	81.2%	65.7%
3) DK/NA	4.6%	4.6%	4.7%
Q 44) 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	75.8%	84.1%	62.2%
2) Palestine remains the Arabs' first cause	23.4%	15.1%	37.1%
3) DK/NA	.8%	.9%	.7%
Q45) 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) 1) There will be a Sunni Arab coalition with Israel against Iran even as the Israeli occupation continues	70.7%	73.7%	65.8%
2) 2) The Arabs will not build a coalition with Israel until it ends its occupation and allows the creation of a Palestinian state	21.0%	15.9%	29.3%
3) DK/NA	8.4%	10.5%	5.0%
Q46) 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	4.0%	2.7%	6.0%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) Better	13.3%	12.0%	15.4%
3) Same as today	22.1%	21.1%	23.7%
4) A little worse than today	21.8%	26.2%	14.6%
5) Much worse than today	34.6%	33.2%	36.8%
6) DK/NA	3.4%	3.9%	2.6%
7) Refuse to answer	.9%	.8%	1.0%
Q47) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I...			
1) certainly support	15.6%	8.6%	27.2%
2) support	33.8%	31.0%	38.3%
3) oppose	38.3%	44.1%	28.8%
4) certainly oppose	7.3%	10.0%	2.8%
5) DK/NA	5.0%	6.4%	2.8%
Q48) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) PPP	.8%	.7%	.9%
2) PFLP	2.9%	2.1%	4.1%
3) Fateh	26.4%	28.1%	23.7%
4) Hamas	20.8%	14.7%	30.9%
5) DFLP	.5%	.3%	.9%
6) Islamic Jihad	3.5%	1.1%	7.4%
7) Fida	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
8) National initiative (almubadara)	.3%	.3%	.4%
9) Independent Islamist	4.5%	1.7%	9.0%
10) Independent nationalist	5.9%	4.2%	8.7%
11) third way headed by salam feyyad	.4%	0.0%	1.2%
12) none of the above	33.0%	45.6%	12.2%
13) others	.9%	1.2%	.5%
PV35) 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	37.5%	42.3%	29.5%
2) daily	26.0%	22.6%	31.6%
3) between 2-5 times weekly	9.3%	5.2%	16.2%
4) once a week	4.2%	2.4%	7.2%
5) once a month	3.0%	1.5%	5.3%
6) other -----	.2%	.1%	.4%
7) Does not apply—I have no email and do not visit social sites	19.8%	25.9%	9.9%