

Survey Research Unit

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

This poll is part of PSR series of regular polls.

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



**Konrad
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Public Opinion Poll No (68)

Abbas' standing improves but the public is worried about possible deterioration in internal conditions in case of his absence and the majority demands compliance with the Basic Law in selecting his successor, as the case was in Arafat's succession. By contrast, the public is dissatisfied with the manner in which the PNC managed its recent meeting and with the ability of the PLO leadership it elected to represent Palestine and its diaspora. An overwhelming majority demands immediate halt to all measures taken by the PA against Gaza. Despite wide support for popular resistance, the majority believes that the March of Return has failed to achieve its goals

25 June-1 July 2018

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 25 June and 1 July 2018. The period before the conduct of the poll witnessed important developments including the convening of the Palestinian National Council in Ramallah, the launch of the Return March in the Gaza Strip, the relocation of the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, rising concerns about economic and humanitarian conditions in the Gaza Strip and the potential impact of a reconciliation failure on these conditions. Weeks before the conduct of the poll, President Abbas entered a hospital in Ramallah for treatment fueling concerns about his health and a potential succession crisis. This press release addresses these issues and covers other matters such as general conditions in the Palestinian territories and the various future directions for Palestinians in the absence of a viable peace process. Total size of the sample is 2150 adults interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 2.5%.

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Main Findings:

In light of the hospitalization of president Abbas, about two-thirds of the public express concern that domestic conditions may deteriorate in the absence of the president as long as no clarity or agreement exists on the succession process that should be followed. The public has a clear preference: it wants a full compliance with the relevant articles in the Basic Law even if this means that Aziz Duwaik from Hamas (being the current Speaker of the Palestinian Legislative Council) would become a temporary president for 60 days. However, a majority would also be happy if Hamas shows flexibility and allows a non-Hamas, non-Fatah speaker to be elected by the parliament thereby allowing a smoother process of succession and the holding of elections after 60 days.

Findings for the second quarter of 2018 also show that Abbas' standing has improved somewhat. This might be due to his hospitalization. But it could also mean that the public is showing an appreciation for his strong rejection of Trump's "Deal of the Century." It is worth mentioning that Fatah's popularity improved slightly as well. Yet despite this, more than 60% of the public demand Abbas' resignation and the public stands decisively against Abbas' domestic policies. An overwhelming majority demands the immediate halt to all measures taken by Abbas against the Gaza Strip and opposes the crackdown on demonstrations demanding an ending to these measures. Moreover, a two-third majority opposes Abbas' demand for disarming armed factional battalions in the Gaza Strip. A majority is also opposed to Abbas' demand that Hamas hand over the entire responsibility over the Gaza Strip to the reconciliation government, including ministries, the security sector, and the "arms."

The public expresses disappointment over some of the outcomes of the most recent meeting of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) which was held two months ago in Ramallah and indeed, an overwhelming majority indicates that it did not follow the proceedings of the meeting. Despite the fact that the largest percentage believes that the PNC represents the Palestinians, this percentage is less than half of the public. Perhaps one reason for this is the perception that the PNC's proceedings and decisions are irrelevant to policy making. Indeed, about 70% believe that president Abbas and his government will not implement the PNC decisions. Moreover, about two thirds of the public are dissatisfied with the way members of the Executive Committee of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) were elected by the Council and 70% expressed dissatisfaction with ability of these members to represent Palestinians at home and in the diaspora. Yet, despite all of this, a majority still views the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

In light of the collapse of Palestinian-Israeli peace process, support for alternatives to negotiations varies. About three quarters continue to support PA efforts to internationalize the conflict and join various UN organizations. Moreover, about two thirds support popular non-violent resistance, a large minority supports return to an armed intifada, a similar percentage supports the dissolution of the PA, and a little less than a third supports abandoning the two-state solution and embracing a one state solution for Palestinians and Israelis. These findings indicate a decline in support for an armed intifada and in the demand for dissolving the PA and point to a rise in support for popular resistance. It is worth mentioning that support for armed action and the dissolution of the PA is much higher in the Gaza Strip than in the West Bank while support for popular resistance is high in both areas.

Nonetheless, confidence in the effectiveness of popular resistance is not high. This lack of confidence is demonstrated in public assessment of the effectiveness of the March of Return in the Gaza Strip. Despite popular support for the March in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, about three quarters of the public (80% in the West Bank and two thirds in the Gaza Strip) believe that the March has failed to achieve its goals or achieved very little. It is worth mentioning that the public is evenly divided in its assessment of the main party behind the March between those who think it is Hamas and those who think it is civil society organizations. Gazans however show no hesitancy on this as they strongly believe that it is indeed Hamas that stands behind the initiation and organization of the March of Return.

(1) Abbas succession and presidential and parliamentary elections:

- **About two-thirds are worried that conditions might deteriorate after Abbas**
- **60% want the process of succession to follow the rules set in the Basic Law**
- **But the majority also supports the idea of electing a new Speaker from outside Fatah or Hamas in order to ease the process of succession**

- **Decrease in the percentage of those demanding the resignation of president Abbas from 68% to 61% and a rise in satisfaction with his performance from 33% to 37%**
- **In presidential elections between Abbas and Ismail Haniyeh, the former receives 47% of the vote and the latter 46%; if elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former receives 58% and the latter 37%**
- **In new parliamentary elections, Fatah receives 39% of the vote and Hamas 32%**

A large majority (64%) is worried that internal conditions might deteriorate or destabilize during the post-Abbas succession process due to lack of clarity and absence of agreement on the means of selecting the next PA president; 32% say they are not worried. A majority (60%) says that in the case of Abbas' absence, the Speaker of the Palestinian Legislative Council, Aziz al Duwaik from Hamas, must become president for two months in implementation of the Basic Law; 29% say they are opposed to such implementation. Support for the implementing the Basic Law is higher in the Gaza Strip (63%) compared to the West Bank (59%), in cities and villages (61% each) compared to refugee camps (54%), among men (62%) compared to women (59%), among the religious (63%) compared to the somewhat religious and those who are not religious (60% and 46% respectively), among Hamas supporters (77%) compared to those of third parties and Fatah (51% and 49% respectively), among non-refugees (62%) compared to refugees (58%), among holders of BA degree (60%) compared to illiterates (53%), and among those working in the private sector (61%) compared to those who work in the public sector (56%).

Similarly, a majority of 62% indicates that it would welcome a Hamas initiative to allow the election of a non-Hamas/non-Fatah Speaker in order to facilitate the post Abbas succession process; 29% say they are opposed to such initiative. Almost half (48%) believes that in the post Abbas period, Palestinian factions will succeed in reaching an agreement on a process that would allow for the holding of presidential elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in order to elect a successor to Abbas; 41% believe the factions will not succeed.

Level of satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas stands at 37% and dissatisfaction at 59%. Level of satisfaction with Abbas stands at 43% in the West Bank and 28% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago, satisfaction with Abbas stood at 33% (40% in the West Bank and 20% in the Gaza Strip). 61% of the public want president Abbas to resign while 33% want him to remain in office. Three months ago, 68% said they want Abbas to resign. Demand for Abbas' resignation stands at 54% in the West Bank and 73% in the Gaza Strip. Three months ago, demand for Abbas resignation stood at 62% in the West Bank and 81% in the Gaza Strip. If president Abbas does not nominate himself in a new election, 30% prefer to see Marwan Barghouti replacing him, while 23% prefer Ismail Haniyeh. Mohammad Dahlan is preferred by 6% (1% in the West Bank and 14% in the Gaza Strip). Similarly, Rami al Hamdallah is selected by 6%, Mustafa Barghouti and Khalid Mishal by 3% each, and Salam Fayyad by 2%.

If new presidential elections were held today and only two were nominated, Ismail Haniyeh and Mahmoud Abbas, the former would receive 46% and the latter 47% of the vote (compared to 52% for Haniyeh and 41% for Abbas three months ago). In the Gaza Strip, Abbas receives 40% of the vote (compared to 35% three months ago) and Haniyeh receives 53% (compared to 62% three months ago). In the West Bank, Abbas receives 52% (compared to 45% three months ago) and Haniyeh 41% (compared to 45% three months ago). If the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Barghouti receives 58% and Haniyeh 37%.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 68% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 32% say they would vote for Hamas and 39% say they would vote for Fatah, 9% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 20% are undecided. Three months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 31% and Fatah at 36%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands today at 38% (compared to 32% three months ago) and for Fatah at 34% (compared to 32% three months ago). In the West Bank, vote for Hamas stands at 28% (compared to 30% three months ago) and Fatah at 43% (compared to 38% three months ago).

(2) Domestic conditions:

- **60% believe that people these days cannot criticize the PA without fear**
- **Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 4% and in the West Bank at 17%**
- **Responsibility for the deterioration in Gaza conditions is Israel's by 38%, PA and Abbas by 26%, and Hamas by 20%**
- **Perception of security and safety stands today at 51% in the Gaza Strip and 52% in the West Bank**
- **Belief that corruption exists in the PA stands at 80% and half of the public views the PA as a burden on the Palestinian people**

Only 35% of the Palestinian public say people in the West Bank can criticize the PA without fear; 60% of the public say that people cannot criticize the PA without fear. Perception of corruption in PA institutions stands at 80%. Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stands at 4% and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank stands at 17%. In an open-ended question, we asked respondents to identify the party or side responsible for the worsening of conditions in the Gaza Strip: the largest percentage (34%) blames Israel; 26% blame the PA and president Abbas and 20% blame Hamas. As we found in the previous poll, responses of West Bankers differ from those of Gazans: 38% of West Bankers compared to only 28% of Gazans blame Israel; 19% of West Bankers compared to 36% of Gazans blame the PA and Abbas, and 17% of West Bankers compared to 24% of Gazans blame Hamas.

Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stands at 51%. In the West Bank perception of safety and security stands at 52%. Three months ago, perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip stood at 54% and in the West Bank at 53%. Half of the public (49%) views the PA as a burden on the Palestinian people while 45% view it as an asset for the Palestinian people.

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 18%, followed by Maan TV and Palestine TV (15% each), Al Aqsa TV and Filasteen al Youm/Palestine Today (12% each), Al Arabiya and al Quds TV (5% each), and al Mayadeen (4%).

(3) Reconciliation and the reconciliation government:

- **Satisfaction with the performance of the reconciliation government stands at 30% and only 30% are optimistic about the chances for reconciliation**
- **71% support the unification of all PA institutions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the full control of the reconciliation government including the police force**
- **But only 32% prefer to keep all existing Gazan police officers in place and 30% want to keep only some of them**
- **53% disagree with Abbas demand that Hamas surrenders full control over the Gaza Strip, including the ministries, the security sector, and the arms, to the reconciliation government**
- **Moreover, 65% oppose the demand to disarm Gaza's factional armed battalions**
- **79% want Abbas to immediately lift all the measures he has take against the Gaza Strip**
- **81% are against the action taken by the PA security services to quell demonstrations in the West Bank**

- **45% do not believe the narrative of Hamas or Fatah regarding who is responsible for the explosion that targeted PA prime minister's convoy in the Gaza Strip several months ago; 26% believe Hamas' and 16% believe the PA narrative**

Now that it has taken control of the border crossings and the headquarters of the ministries and other public agencies, 30% are satisfied and 60% are dissatisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government. Three months ago, satisfaction stood at 26%. 30%, compared to 26% three months ago, are optimistic and 65% are pessimistic about the success of reconciliation. These are the same percentages we obtained three months ago. A majority (71%) supports the unification of all PA institutions throughout the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, including the police force, under the control of the reconciliation government while 23% prefer to keep control over the police force in the Gaza Strip as it is now. But the public is divided over the future of the police officers currently serving in the Gaza Strip: 32% want to keep all of them in place, 30% want to replace some of them by new ones while keeping the others, and 27% prefer to replace all of them with new recruits.

The public is also divided in its attitude regarding the demand made by Abbas requesting Hamas to fully hand over control over the Gaza Strip to the reconciliation government, including the ministries, the security sector, and the "arms:" a large minority of 40% agrees with Abbas' demand but a majority of 53% disagrees. When the question of "arms" was further clarified by asking the public if it supports or opposes the continued existence of armed factional battalions in the Gaza Strip alongside the official PA security sector forces, almost two-thirds (65%) said that they prefer to keep the armed battalions in place and only 26% said that they oppose the continued existence of the armed battalions in the Gaza Strip. No differences exist between Gazans and West Bankers regarding this matter, but support for keeping the armed battalions rises in cities (66%) and declines in villages and towns (61%), among men (68%) compared to women (62%), among the religious (67%) compared to the somewhat religious and those who are not religious (64% and 54% respectively), among those who are opposed to the peace process (78%) compared to those who are supportive of the peace process (57%), among Hamas supporters (83%) compared to supporters of third parties and Fatah (62% and 43% respectively), and among holders of BA degree (69%) compared to the illiterates (60%).

Moreover, an overwhelming majority (79%) demands that the PA immediately lift all the measures taken against the Gaza Strip, such as public sector's salary deductions and the reduction in access to electricity; only 17% say that such measures should be removed only after Hamas fully hands over control over the Strip to the reconciliation government. It is worth mentioning that the demand for the immediate lifting of PA measures stands at 83% in the West Bank but only 72% in the Gaza Strip. Support for immediate lifting of the measures is also higher among those who are opposed to the peace process (89%) compared to those who support the peace process (74%), and among supporters of Hamas (92%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (66% each).

The overwhelming majority (81%) opposes the action taken by the PA security services to quell the demonstrations in the West Bank that demand lifting the measures taken by the PA against the Gaza Strip and only 15% support the crackdown on such demonstrations. Similarly, 81% oppose the measures taken by the Hamas police in the Gaza Strip against similar demonstrations while 13% support them. Opposition to quelling the demonstrations is higher among men (84%) compared to women (78%), among those who are opposed to the peace process (85%) compared to supporters of the peace process (78%), among Hamas supporters (89%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (73% and 72% respectively), among non-refugees (83%) compared to refugees (79%), and among holders of BA degree (81%) compared to illiterates (73%).

Finally, we asked the public about the narrative it believes to be accurate regarding the responsibility of Fatah and Hamas over the Gaza explosion that targeted prime minister Hamdallah convoy several months ago: 26% say they believe in the accuracy of Hamas' narrative (that the PA intelligence

Department had a role in the explosion) and 16% believe in the accuracy of Fatah's narrative regarding Hamas' role in that explosion. But the largest percentage (45%) indicates that neither narrative is accurate. It is worth mentioning that those who see Hamas' narrative or that of the PA as accurate are much higher in the Gaza Strip, with 38% believing in Hamas' and 27% believing in the PA's. The percentage of Gazans who believe that neither side is accurate declines to only 28%.

(4) The meeting of the Palestine National Council (PNC):

- **The overwhelming majority did not follow the proceedings of the PNC meeting and only 46% say that the PNC represents the Palestinian people; but 58% say the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people**
- **Two thirds are dissatisfied with the manner in which the members of PLO Executive Committee were elected and 71% are dissatisfied with the ability of these members to represent the Palestinians at home and in the diaspora**
- **69% believe that Abbas will not implement the decision of the PNC**

The overwhelming majority (83%) says that it either did not follow the proceedings or the decisions of the PNC meeting during its most recent session in Ramallah (55%) or followed only little (28%); only 13% say that they did follow all or most of them. Yet, 46% agree that the PNC represents them or represents the Palestinian people at home and in the diaspora and 35% say that it does not represent them or the Palestinian people. About a fifth (19%) expressed no opinion on the matter. However, when asked about the PLO, a majority (58%) agreed that the current organization, with its existing institutions and current leadership, remains the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; only 30% disagree with that. It is worth mentioning that our findings in June 2006, exactly 12 years ago, a larger majority of 69% viewed the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Findings show major differences between Gazans and West Bankers regarding the issue of PLO legitimacy: while 64% of West Bankers believe that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, only 47% of Gazans believe that. The belief in the PLO representation is higher in villages and towns (72%) compared to cities and refugee camps (56% and 52% respectively), among men (59%) compared to women (56%), among the somewhat religious (62%) compared to the religious (52%), among supporters of the peace process (69%) compared to those who are opposed to the peace process (35%), among Fatah supporters (88%) compared to supporters of third parties and Hamas (55% and 28% respectively), among non-refugees (63%) compared to refugees (52%), among the illiterates (68%) compared to the holders of BA degree (52%), and among those who work in the public sector (65%) compared to those who work in the private sector (56%).

Almost two thirds (65%) are dissatisfied with the manner in which the PNC selected, without allowing nomination and direct personal elections, the members of the PLO Executive Committee; only 23% are satisfied with the PNC selection process. Similarly, a large majority of 71% does not believe that the newly elected members are capable of representing the homeland and the diaspora given their average age and the fact that most came from the West Bank; only 20% say they are satisfied that the new members have that ability. Moreover, a large majority (69%) says that it has no confidence in the commitment of president Abbas and the PA government to implement the PNC decision; only 20% indicate they have such confidence. The belief that the decisions will not be implemented rises in the West Bank (72%) compared to the Gaza Strip (65%), among men (72%) compared to women (67%), among the religious (73%) compared to the somewhat religious and those who are not religious (68% and 52% respectively), among those who are opposed to the peace process (87%) compared to those who support the peace process (61%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (90% and 65% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (46%), among the non-refugees (71%) compared to the refugees (68%), among holders of BA degree (70%) compared to the illiterates (56%), and among those who work in the private sector (75%) compared to those who work in the public sector (69%).

(5) The March of Return, the relocation of the US embassy, and future directions in the absence of the peace process:

- **The public is divided over the identity of the party responsible for the initiation and organization of the March of Return: 38% say it is civil society and 37% say it is Hamas**
- **The majority supports the March of Return but also thinks it has not achieved its goals**
- **55% say that the relocation of the American embassy to Jerusalem weakens the Palestinian negotiating position**
- **73% of East Jerusalemites say they are not considering participating in the upcoming municipal elections**
- **39% say that negotiations is the most effective means of establishing a Palestinian state**
- **58% believe that Israel seeks to annex all Palestinian territories and expel the Palestinians**
- **Widespread support for the internationalization of the conflict with Israel as well as the launching of non-violent resistance while large minorities support armed action and the dissolution of the PA, and 30% support the one state solution**

38% of the public in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip say that civil society organizations are behind the initiation and organization of the March of Return in the Gaza Strip. A similar percentage (37%) says that Hamas is responsible for the March, and 14% say that factions other than Hamas are responsible for its initiation and organization. It is worth mentioning that among Gazans, 61% believe that Hamas stands behind the marches. A slim majority (51%) of Gazans supports the participation of family members and friends in the March of Return and 54% of West Bankers indicate their support for this form of resistance. Nonetheless, only a small minority (21%) believes the marches have achieved their goals or most of their goals and 74% believe they have not achieved their goals or achieved a little.

A majority (55%) believes that the relocation of the US embassy to Jerusalem serves to weaken Palestinian position that East Jerusalem should be the capital of the Palestinian state; 16% think the relocation of the embassy strengthens Palestinian position and 25% believes the relocation has no impact. In this environment of the embassy relocation and the approaching date for the Israeli municipal elections in Jerusalem, we asked East Jerusalemites about their position regarding these elections. 73% of East Jerusalem residents, who carry Blue Israeli IDs, indicate that they do not intend to participate, or have not considered participation, in the Israeli municipal elections in the city but 22% indicate that they are indeed intending to vote or considering voting.

A large minority of 39% thinks that negotiation is the most effective means of establishing a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel while a third (34%) believes that armed resistance is the most effective means and 21% think non-violent resistance is the most effective. Three months ago, 35% indicated that armed resistance is the answer and only 31% sided with negotiation. The belief that negotiation is most effective is higher in the West Bank (41%) compared to the Gaza Strip (35%), in cities and villages (41% and 40% respectively) compared to refugee camps (27%), among women (41%) compared to men (36%), among those who are not religious and the somewhat religious (47% and 44% respectively) compared to the religious (31%), among supporters of the peace process (51%) compared to those who are opposed to the peace process (16%), among supporters of Fatah and third parties (55% and 50% respectively) compared to supporters of Hamas (22%), and among the non-refugees (44%) compared to refugees (32%).

58% believe that Israel's long-term aspiration is to expand the state of Israel to stretch from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea and to expel the Palestinian population, and 21% think that Israel aims at annexing the occupied territories and deny the Palestinian citizens their rights. By contrast, only 19% think that Israel's long-term aspiration is to insure its security and then withdraw from all or parts of the occupied territories.

In light of the suspension of peace negotiations, Palestinians support various alternative directions: 75% support joining more international organizations; 67% support popular non-violence resistance; 43%

support a return to an armed intifada; 42% support dissolving the PA; and 30% support abandoning the two-state solution and demanding the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis.

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

- **43% say the first Palestinian goal should be ending occupation and building a Palestinian state and 29% say it should be the attainment of the right of return**
- **Continued occupation is the most significant problem confronting Palestinians today in the eyes of 27% and 25% say it is poverty and unemployment**

43% believe that the *first* most vital Palestinian goal should be to end Israeli occupation in the areas occupied in 1967 and build a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital. By contrast, 29% believe the first most vital goal should be to obtain the right of return of refugees to their 1948 towns and villages, 14% believe that it should be to build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings, and 13% believe that the first and most vital goal should be to establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians. The most serious problem confronting Palestinian society today in the eyes of 27% of the public is the continuation of occupation and settlement activities while 25% say it is poverty and unemployment; 22% say it is the siege of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its crossings; 21% say it is the spread of corruption in public institutions; and 2% say it is the absence of national unity.

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	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	4.60%	3.60%	6.30%
2) al Jazeera	18.20%	16.60%	20.60%
3) Palestine Today	11.50%	12.50%	9.70%
4) al Manar	1.10%	0.30%	2.50%
5) Palestine TV	14.50%	16.40%	11.30%
6) Alaqsa	12.00%	6.10%	21.80%
7) man(mix)	14.80%	19.50%	7.20%
8) Al myadeen	3.90%	4.50%	3.00%
9) Al Quds	4.50%	2.10%	8.30%
10) Do not watch TV	12.90%	15.70%	8.40%
11) others	1.20%	1.70%	0.30%
12) Do not have a dish	0.40%	0.50%	0.30%
13) DK/NA	0.40%	0.50%	0.20%
PV2-1 How would you describe Palestine's conditions in general these days?			
1) Very good	2.00%	1.90%	2.10%
2) Good	13.00%	14.40%	10.70%
3) so so	22.60%	26.90%	15.50%
4) Bad	37.60%	38.50%	36.00%
5) Very bad	24.60%	18.00%	35.50%
6) DK/NA	0.20%	0.30%	0.10%
Q1) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?			
1) Very good	0.40%	0.00%	1.00%
2) Good	3.60%	3.20%	4.40%
3) so so	6.80%	4.70%	10.00%
4) Bad	30.90%	32.00%	29.00%
5) Very bad	57.00%	57.90%	55.50%
6) DK/NA	1.40%	2.20%	0.10%
Q2) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?			
1) Very good	2.40%	1.90%	3.10%
2) Good	15.00%	14.10%	16.50%
3) So so	29.40%	30.90%	26.90%
4) Bad	32.00%	35.10%	27.10%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
5) Very bad	20.20%	17.70%	24.30%
6) DK/NA	1.00%	0.30%	2.10%
PV23) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	43.40%	36.40%	55.00%
2) somewhat religious	51.60%	59.90%	38.00%
3) not religious	4.80%	3.50%	6.90%
4) DK/NA	0.20%	0.20%	0.20%
Q3) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) supportive of the peace process	53.80%	57.80%	47.10%
2) opposed to the peace process	24.00%	21.80%	27.60%
3) between support and opposition	20.90%	18.50%	24.70%
4) DK/NA	1.30%	1.80%	0.50%
Q04) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions of the Palestinian Authority?			
1) yes	79.50%	82.20%	75.10%
2) no	12.20%	8.60%	18.10%
3) DK-NA	8.20%	9.10%	6.70%
Q05) In your view, can people in the West Bank today criticize the authority without fear?			
1) yes	34.50%	35.20%	33.40%
2) no	60.00%	60.50%	59.20%
3) DK-NA	5.50%	4.40%	7.40%
Q06) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	4.60%	2.20%	8.50%
2) Assured	46.70%	49.50%	42.30%
3) Not assured	38.70%	40.80%	35.40%
4) Not assured at all	9.70%	7.30%	13.70%
5) DK/NA	0.20%	0.20%	0.20%
Q07) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) very satisfied	4.10%	2.00%	7.40%
2) satisfied	33.20%	41.20%	20.10%
3) not satisfied	36.10%	36.20%	35.80%
4) not satisfied at all	23.20%	15.60%	35.80%
5) DK/NA	3.40%	4.90%	1.00%
Q08) If it is up to you, would you want to have Abbas resign or not resign?			

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
1) Certainly resign	25.30%	15.20%	41.90%
2) Resign	36.10%	39.20%	31.00%
3) Not resign	28.70%	34.50%	19.20%
4) Certainly not resign	4.60%	3.40%	6.60%
5) DK/NA	5.30%	7.70%	1.40%
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	46.80%	52.40%	39.60%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	46.20%	40.60%	53.20%
4) DK/NA	7.10%	7.00%	7.20%
Q10) And what if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti from Fatah and Ismail Haniyeh from Hamas, to whom would you vote?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	58.40%	64.30%	50.00%
2) Ismael Haniyyah	36.60%	30.40%	45.50%
4) DK/NA	4.90%	5.20%	4.50%
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	1.10%	1.20%	1.00%
2) independent Palestine	2.50%	2.10%	3.10%
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	1.40%	0.40%	2.60%
4) Abu al Abbas	0.10%	0.10%	0.20%
5) freedom and social justice	1.30%	0.40%	2.40%
6) change and reform	32.30%	27.70%	37.90%
7) national coalition for justice and Democracy	0.50%	0.60%	0.40%
8) third way(headed by salam fayyad)	1.20%	0.80%	1.60%
9) freedom and independence	0.60%	0.00%	1.40%
10) Palestinian justice	0.20%	0.10%	0.40%
11) Fateh	39.00%	43.10%	34.10%
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	19.70%	23.50%	15.10%
Pv30-1) -1From among the following vital national goals, which in your view should the first most important one and which should be the second most important goal that the Palestinian people should strive to achieve? The first is:			
1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital	43.20%	45.50%	39.50%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	29.40%	32.20%	24.80%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	13.00%	10.00%	18.00%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	14.40%	12.30%	17.70%
pv30_2 The second one:			
1) Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital	20.30%	21.50%	18.30%
2) Obtain the right of return to refugees to their 1948 towns and villages	40.60%	41.60%	39.00%
3) Establish a democratic political system that respects freedoms and rights of Palestinians	19.10%	16.30%	23.70%
4) Build a pious or moral individual and a religious society, one that applies all Islamic teachings	20.00%	20.60%	19.00%
PV20) The Palestinian society confronts today various problems, like the continuation of occupation and settlements, the spread of unemployment and poverty, the lack of national unity due to the split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings, the spread of corruption in public institutions, and others. Tell us, what in your opinion, is the problem you see as the most fundamental, the one that must be on the top priority of the Palestinian Authority?			
1) continuation of occupation and settlements,	26.50%	26.60%	26.40%
2) spread of unemployment and poverty	25.20%	26.70%	22.70%
3) lack of national unity due to the split	2.20%	0.20%	5.60%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
4) continuation of the siege and blockade of the Gaza Strip and the closure of its border crossings	22.40%	16.50%	32.10%
5) the spread of corruption in public institutions	21.00%	28.10%	9.40%
6) others (-----)	2.10%	1.10%	3.60%
7) DK/NA	0.60%	0.90%	0.20%

Q12) 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	39.20%	42.10%	34.60%
2) I support unifying the police force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the control of the reconciliation government	32.20%	29.50%	36.60%
3) I support maintaining the current status quo	18.20%	15.90%	21.80%
4) I certainly support maintaining the current status quo	4.50%	4.60%	4.40%
5) DK/NA	5.90%	7.80%	2.70%

Q13) When the reconciliation government assumes control over the police sector in the Gaza Strip, do you prefer to keep the same policemen who are currently operating in the Strip or do you prefer to replace all of them?

1) Prefer keeping the same policemen who were reporting to the former Hamas government	32.30%	33.50%	30.40%
2) Prefer to replace all of them with new ones	26.60%	25.50%	28.50%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) Prefer to keep some and replace some others with new ones	30.40%	26.50%	36.80%
4) DK/NA	10.60%	14.50%	4.30%
Q14) Now, more than four years after the formation of the reconciliation government, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with its performance?			
1) very satisfied	3.10%	1.50%	5.60%
2) satisfied	27.00%	29.00%	23.70%
3) not satisfied	42.00%	41.60%	42.70%
4) not satisfied at all	18.40%	14.20%	25.40%
5) DK/NA	9.50%	13.70%	2.50%
Q15) 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	3.70%	0.60%	8.70%
2) succeed	26.40%	24.70%	29.00%
3) fail	48.20%	51.50%	42.80%
4) Certainly fail	16.50%	17.60%	14.60%
5) DK/NA	5.20%	5.50%	4.80%
Q16) International reports indicate that economic and humanitarian conditions in the Gaza Strip are becoming worse and worse by the day and that the Strip is on the verge of collapse. Who in your view is the side (party) that is the most responsible for the worsening of conditions in the Gaza Strip?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas / PA	25.70%	19.40%	36.10%
2) Fatah/ Hamas	3.90%	5.40%	1.50%
3) Hamas	19.90%	17.20%	24.40%
4) Israel	34.20%	38.10%	27.70%
5) U.S	1.60%	0.50%	3.50%
6) Egypt/ Arab countries	5.70%	7.10%	3.40%
7) Palestinian division	1.50%	1.50%	1.50%
8) Blockade	0.70%	1.10%	0.00%
88) Others	4.20%	5.50%	1.90%
99) DK/NA	2.60%	4.20%	0.00%
Q17) Some people say that the Palestinian Authority has become a burden on the Palestinian people while others say that it is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people. What do you think?			
1) The PA is an accomplishment for the Palestinian people	45.30%	48.10%	40.70%
2) The PA is a burden on the Palestinian people	48.90%	46.00%	53.60%
3) DK/NA	5.80%	5.90%	5.70%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q18) President Abbas says that Hamas must hand over control over the Gaza Strip in a comprehensive manner, from A to Z, including the ministries, security, and arms. Otherwise, he says, the PA will not be responsible for what happens in the Strip. Do you see yourself in agreement or disagreement with the president's position?			
1) Certainly in agreement	8.20%	6.50%	11.00%
2) In agreement	31.80%	34.70%	27.10%
3) In disagreement	35.10%	36.90%	32.20%
4) Certainly in disagreement	17.40%	12.60%	25.30%
5) DK/NA	7.50%	9.30%	4.40%
Q19) President Abbas says that there must be one government and one arm. Do you support or oppose the continued presence of armed battalions alongside the official security forces of the PA?			
1) With armed battalions remaining	64.50%	65.10%	63.60%
2) Against armed battalions remaining	26.10%	25.40%	27.20%
3) DK/NA	9.40%	9.50%	9.20%
Q19-1) Do you think the PA should remove the measures it took against its Gaza employees, such as the deductions in their salaries or the deduction of the available time for access to electricity or do you think the measures should remain until Hamas accepts fully all PA conditions including the handing of of ministries, security, and arms?			
1) Support removing the measures immediately	78.90%	82.90%	72.30%
2) Support removing the measures only after Hamas fully hand over control over the Strip to the PA	17.00%	11.50%	26.00%
3) DK/NA	4.10%	5.60%	1.70%
Q19-2) Do you support or oppose the crackdown of the PA security services two weeks ago on demonstrations calling for the PA to remove the measures taken against the Gaza Strip?			
1) Support the crackdown	15.40%	14.10%	17.40%
2) Oppose the crackdown	80.90%	81.70%	79.60%
3) DK/NA	3.70%	4.20%	2.90%
Q19-3) Do you support or oppose the crackdown of the Hamas security services 10 days ago on the Saraya demonstration that demanded the ending of the split and the removal of the measures taken by the PA against the Gaza Strip?			
1) Support the crackdown	13.40%	8.40%	21.70%
2) Oppose the crackdown	81.20%	86.30%	72.70%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) DK/NA	5.40%	5.30%	5.60%
Q20) 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	30.40%	34.80%	23.20%
2) Ismail Haniyeh	22.60%	19.00%	28.40%
3) Saeb Erikat	0.90%	0.70%	1.10%
4) Rami al Hamdallah	5.60%	5.90%	5.10%
5) Mustapha Barghouti	3.40%	2.00%	5.80%
6) Khalid Mishal	3.20%	1.60%	5.80%
7) Salam Fayyad	1.80%	0.80%	3.50%
8) Mohammad Dahlan	5.80%	0.70%	14.30%
9) Other	2.30%	2.30%	2.40%
10) DK/NA	23.90%	32.20%	10.40%
Q21) With regard to the Gaza explosion that targeted the convoy of the prime minister more than three months ago, Hamas says that some elements of the PA Intelligence Department played a role in that explosion while the PA and Fatah say that some elements in Hamas played a role in that explosion. Which narrative do you support, that of:			
1) PA	16.00%	9.50%	26.70%
2) Hamas	26.10%	18.70%	38.40%
3) Neither	45.10%	55.50%	28.10%
4) DK/NA	12.80%	16.40%	6.90%
Q22) During the past two months, huge marches took place in the Gaza Strip under the title of the Great Return March. In your view, who was responsible for or the main organizer of these marches?			
1) Hamas	37.00%	22.40%	60.90%
2) Civil society groups	38.00%	47.00%	23.20%
3) Factions other than Hamas	14.40%	16.60%	10.90%
4) DK/NA	10.60%	14.00%	5.00%
Q23) In your views, have the marches succeed in achieving their goals?			
1) Yes	6.30%	3.50%	10.90%
2) Only some goals	14.40%	10.80%	20.30%
3) Only a very small part of the goals	32.50%	32.30%	32.90%
4) Did not achieve the goals	41.40%	46.80%	32.60%
5) DK/NA	5.30%	6.50%	3.30%
Q24) Do you support or oppose the following: [for Gazans] participation of your family members in the marches? [for West Bankers] this method of resistance?			
1) support	52.80%	53.60%	51.40%
2) oppose	41.60%	39.50%	45.10%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
3) DK/NA	5.60%	6.90%	3.40%
Q25) After a 25-year absence, the PLO parliament, i.e., the Palestinian National Council (PNC) convened in Ramallah and took several decisions and elected the members of the the PLO Executive Committee. Where you interested in the meeting and followed its deliberations and decisions in this last meeting?			
1) Yes, I followed all or most of its activities	13.30%	8.60%	20.90%
2) I followed a little	27.60%	20.70%	38.80%
3) I did not follow any	55.40%	66.80%	36.80%
4) DK/NA	3.70%	3.90%	3.40%
Q26) How do you view the PNC? Do you feel it represents you or represents the Palestinian people at home and in diaspora?			
1) yes	46.20%	47.80%	43.50%
2) no	35.20%	33.30%	38.40%
3) DK-NA	18.60%	18.90%	18.10%
Q28) And what about the PLO in its current institutions and leadership, do you see that it remains the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people?			
1) yes	57.60%	64.30%	46.70%
2) no	29.90%	24.10%	39.30%
3) DK-NA	12.50%	11.60%	14.00%
Q30) During the PNC meeting, the members agreed on a list of 15 from their ranks to form the PLO Executive Committee (EC) but no actual elections took place for each of 15 and no one else was allowed to nominate themselves. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the EC selection process?			
1) Satisfied	22.80%	18.20%	30.30%
2) Dissatisfied	65.20%	68.10%	60.40%
3) DK/NA	12.10%	13.70%	9.40%
Q31) Average age of the members of the PLO Executive Committee is 68 years, only three of whom come from the Gaza Strip and the rest from the West Bank. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the ability of the these members to represent the homeland and the diaspora?			
1) Satisfied	20.10%	16.70%	25.70%
2) Dissatisfied	70.70%	73.70%	65.80%
3) DK/NA	9.10%	9.50%	8.50%
Q32) Regarding the decisions made by the PNC in its last meeting, are you confident the President Abbas and the Palestinian government will implement these decisions, such as stopping the implementation of Oslo or ending security coordination or removing the punitive measures imposed by the PA on the Gaza Strip?			
1) Yes, all or most will be implemented	19.80%	15.50%	27.00%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
2) No, nothing or few will be implemented	69.40%	72.40%	64.50%
3) DK/NA	10.70%	12.10%	8.50%
Q33) When President Abbas entered the hospital in Ramallah for treatment, there were speculations and discussions regarding succession and how it would eventually be decided upon. Would succession be in accordance with the Palestinian Basic Law, as the case was with Arafat succession, which means that the speaker of the Palestinian Legislative Council Aziz Duwaik from Hamas would become an interim president for two months during which preparation would be made for presidential elections. Are you in favor or not in favor of such arrangement in the case of Abbas succession?			
1) In favor	60.30%	59.00%	62.60%
2) Not in favor	28.60%	27.80%	29.90%
3) DK/NA	11.00%	13.20%	7.50%
Q34) If Hamas agreed to allow the election of a parliamentary speaker who is not a member of Hamas or Fatah, for example someone like Salam Fayyad or Mustafa Barghouti or somebody else from among the members of the Palestinian Legislative Council, would you be in favor or against such an arrangement?			
1) In favor	61.50%	60.80%	62.60%
2) Not in favor	29.00%	27.70%	31.10%
3) DK/NA	9.50%	11.50%	6.40%
Q35) Are you worried or not worried that internal Palestinian conditions will deteriorate towards the worst in case of the absence of the president under condition of lack of clarity or internal agreement on how to elect a successor?			
1) worried	63.80%	66.90%	58.70%
2) not worried	32.30%	28.40%	38.70%
3) DK/NA	3.90%	4.60%	2.60%
Q36) In the case of the absence of the president or his resignation, do you think the Palestinian political factions will succeed to reach an agreement that will allow for the holding of presidential elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in order to elect his successor?			
1) yes	48.40%	48.60%	48.10%
2) no	41.10%	41.60%	40.40%
3) DK-NA	10.50%	9.90%	11.50%
Q37) 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	38.80%	41.20%	34.80%
2) Armed action	33.60%	31.00%	37.90%
3) Popular nonviolent resistance	20.50%	18.90%	23.00%
4) DK/NA	7.20%	8.90%	4.30%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
Q38) What do you think is the long run aspiration of Israel?			
1) Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security	10.90%	4.40%	21.60%
2) Withdrawal form part of the territories it occupied after guaranteeing its security	7.70%	4.00%	13.70%
3) Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens	21.00%	17.00%	27.70%
4) Extending the borders of the state of Israel to cover all the area between the Jordan River and	57.80%	72.50%	33.70%
5) DK/NA	2.60%	2.10%	3.40%
Q39) After the cessation of negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis, would you support or oppose adopting the following options?			
q39_2 Joining more international organizations			
1) certainly support	25.20%	16.00%	40.40%
2) support	50.10%	53.50%	44.50%
3) oppose	18.40%	22.20%	12.10%
4) certainly oppose	4.60%	5.90%	2.50%
5) DK/NA	1.70%	2.40%	0.50%
Q39_3 Abandon the two state solution and demand the establishment of one state for Palestinians and Israelis			
1) certainly support	5.70%	4.10%	8.30%
2) support	24.00%	24.00%	23.90%
3) oppose	46.50%	48.40%	43.20%
4) certainly oppose	21.70%	20.60%	23.50%
5) DK/NA	2.20%	2.90%	1.00%
Q39_4 Resort to popular non-violent and unarmed resistance			
1) certainly support	14.00%	7.40%	24.80%
2) support	52.70%	57.60%	44.80%
3) oppose	26.30%	27.70%	23.90%
4) certainly oppose	5.60%	5.60%	5.70%
5) DK/NA	1.40%	1.80%	0.80%
Q39_5 Return to the armed intifada and confrontations			
1) certainly support	14.80%	10.30%	22.10%
2) support	28.30%	28.40%	28.00%
3) oppose	41.40%	44.80%	35.90%
4) certainly oppose	12.00%	13.00%	10.20%

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
5) DK/NA	3.50%	3.40%	3.70%
Q39_6 Dissolve the Palestinian Authority			
1) certainly support	15.60%	10.90%	23.50%
2) support	26.10%	21.60%	33.40%
3) oppose	39.40%	47.50%	26.30%
4) certainly oppose	13.40%	14.90%	10.80%
5) DK/NA	5.50%	5.10%	6.00%
Q40) [Asked only to East Jerusalemites] Israeli Municipal elections for Jerusalem will take place in the very near future. Do you intend to participate or think about participation in these Israeli elections for the Jerusalem municipality?			
2) Certainly yes	14.00%	14.00%	0.00%
3) Yes	8.20%	8.20%	0.00%
4) No	51.80%	51.80%	0.00%
5) Certainly no	21.10%	21.10%	0.00%
6) DK/NA	4.90%	4.90%	0.00%
Q41) When a Palestinian state is established with East Jerusalem as its capital alongside the state of Israel, there is a proposal to make West and East Jerusalem one single open city accessible freely by Palestinians and Israelis. Would you support or oppose this proposal?			
1) support	36.40%	38.00%	33.60%
2) oppose	59.10%	57.90%	60.90%
3) DK/NA	4.60%	4.10%	5.40%
Q42) Last month the US has relocated its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Does this move in your view affect Palestinian position and the right to have East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian state?			
1) Yes, it weakens it	55.40%	58.20%	50.80%
2) Yes, it strengthens it	16.00%	13.10%	20.70%
3) Has no impact	25.30%	25.80%	24.60%
4) DK/NA	3.30%	2.90%	4.00%
Q43) What do you think the Arab countries should do in response to the US location of its embassy to Jerusalem?			
1) confront the US; cut ties	%26.50	%25.50	%28.20
2) confront Israel, cut ties	%10.00	%12.60	%5.70
3) organize demonstrations, protests	%9.60	%3.30	%19.90
4) denounce the US step	%14.00	%10.50	%19.80
5) unify the Arab nation	%3.00	%2.60	%3.70
6) can do nothing	%2.80	%4.50	%0.00
7) wage war against Israel	%3.40	%3.30	%3.60
8) confront by all means	%1.40	%2.10	%0.30
9) help Palestinians	%3.50	%4.30	%2.20

	Total	west bank	Gaza Strip
10) hold meetings	%0.00	%0.00	%0.00
11) DK/NA	%1.70	%2.70	%0.00
12) Others	%8.40	%11.60	%3.00
13) Nothing	%15.70	%17.10	%13.50
Q44) What do you expect the Arab countries to do in response to the US relocation of its embassy to Jerusalem?			
1) confront the US; cut ties	%4.80	%4.10	%5.90
2) confront Israel, cut ties	%1.80	%1.40	%2.40
3) organize demonstrations, protests	%6.40	%1.60	%14.30
4) denounce the US step	%14.50	%2.60	%34.00
5) unify the Arab nation	%0.40	%0.00	%1.00
6) can do nothing	%0.00	%0.00	%0.00
7) wage war against Israel	%0.40	%0.30	%0.70
8) confront by all means	%0.00	%0.00	%0.00
9) help Palestinians	%0.30	%0.30	%0.40
10) hold meetings	%0.40	%0.40	%0.40
11) DK/NA	%3.80	%6.00	%0.20
12) Others	%4.60	%5.90	%2.40
13) Nothing	%62.50	%77.40	%38.30