

# Palestinian Public Opinion: Peace, Politics, and Policy



October 2009

International Peace Institute  
with Charney Research

# Palestinians want a two-state solution, though many would consider a provisional state.

*Here are several options for a Palestinian state. Please tell me which option you would prefer most.*

<b>A Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza, separate from Israel</b>	<b>55%</b>
<b>One state shared by both Palestinians and Israelis</b>	<b>11%</b>
<b>Palestine joins a confederation with Jordan and Egypt with shared defense and foreign policy</b>	<b>11%</b>

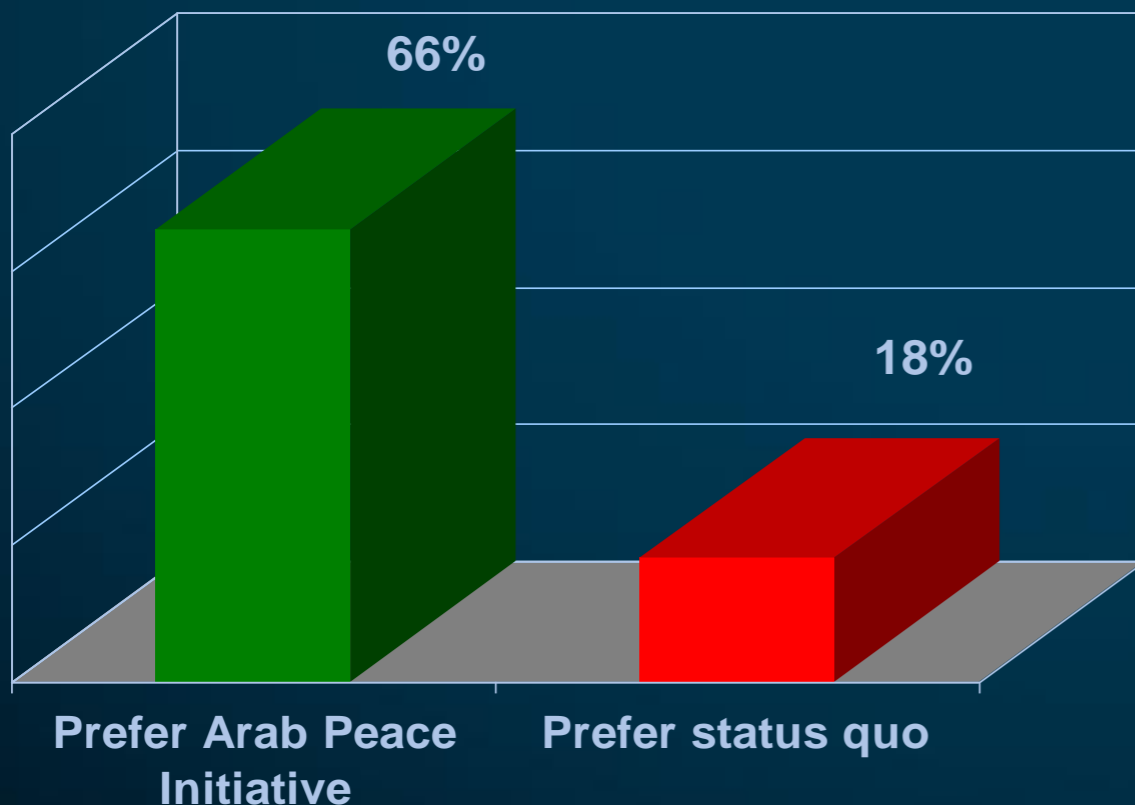
<b>A Palestinian state with final borders including land swaps alongside the Israeli state now with all other issues such as Jerusalem, refugees, and settlements to be negotiated</b>	<b>37%</b>
<b>Status quo continues until all these issues have been negotiated and agreed</b>	<b>27%</b>
<b>A Palestinian state with provisional borders alongside the Israeli state now with all other issues such as Jerusalem, refugees, and settlements to be negotiated</b>	<b>14%</b>

# Two thirds of Palestinians support the Arab Peace Initiative – and a two-state peace plan as a way to implement it.

*The Arab Peace Initiative calls for:*

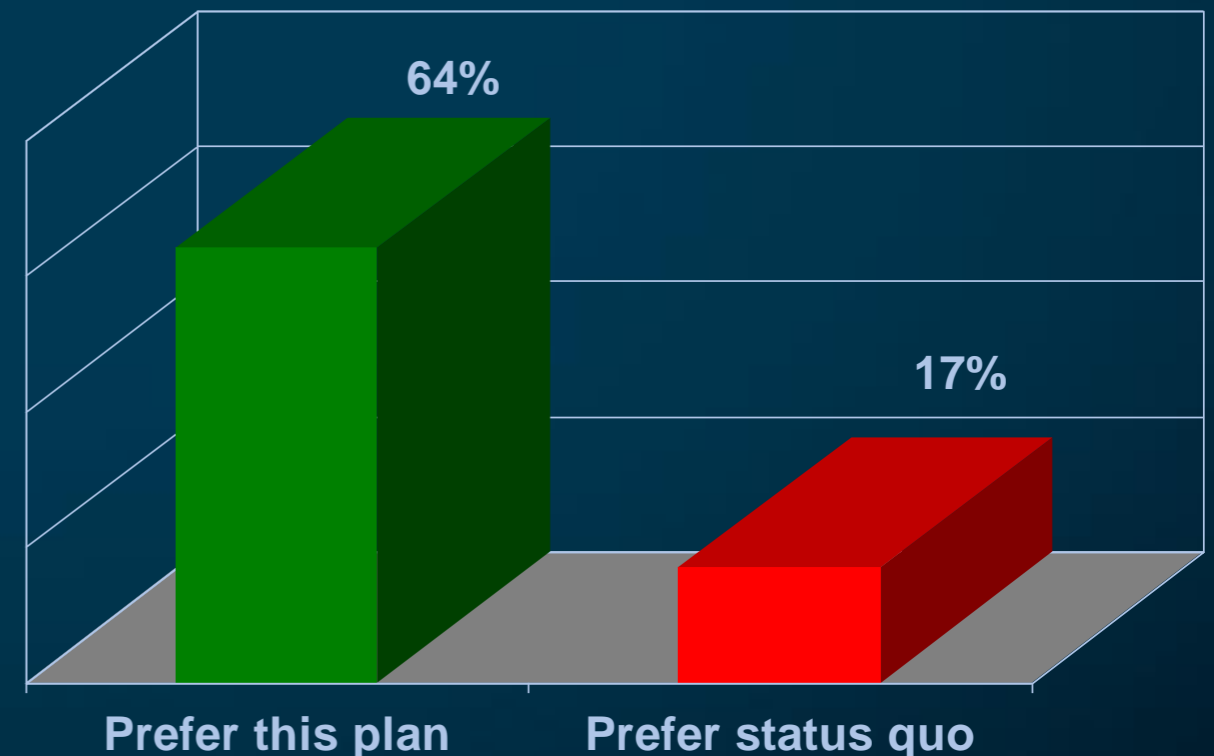
- Israeli withdrawal from lands occupied in 1967, according to UN resolution 242;
- The creation of a Palestinian state on those lands;
- Resolution of the refugee problem according to UN resolution 194 and;
- Arab recognition of Israel.

*Comparing the Arab Peace Initiative to the status quo, do you strongly prefer this plan, somewhat prefer this plan, somewhat prefer the status quo, or strongly prefer the status quo?*



*Comparing this plan to implement the Arab Peace Initiative as a package to the status quo, do you strongly prefer this plan, somewhat prefer this plan, somewhat prefer the status quo, or strongly prefer the status quo?*

*(Details on next slide)*



# A two-state peace plan based on the Taba and Geneva Accords commands broad, and on all but one point, majority support.

*Here are parts of a possible deal to implement the Arab Peace Initiative and establish two separate states of Palestine and Israel.*

	Favor	Oppose
Under UN Res 242, withdrawal from all Gaza and West Bank, except 4% land swap for some settlements.	56%	42%
East Jerusalem Palestine's capital, with Arab neighborhoods, including in Old City, and Temple Mount; Jewish neighborhoods, Jewish Quarter, Wailing Wall to Israel.	46%	52%
Palestine has strong internal security forces and, after five years' calm, an Army; until then Jordanian, Egyptian troops ensure security.	53%	44%
Refugees' right of return and compensation recognized under UN Res 194. Host countries, Israel, and 3rd countries decide residency. Return to Palestine free, Israel admits as many as Australia, Canada, and European countries. Compensation paid for lost property and possessions	69%	27%
Plan's implementation ends conflict and claims. Palestine will be sovereign state. Palestine and Israel recognize each other diplomatically and as homelands of their peoples.	56%	38%

# Palestinians' acceptance of the peace plan is a big change from 2000, when they rejected similar post-Camp David deals.

	2000	2009
<b>Israeli withdrawal</b> From 96% of WB/G, 4% land swap	Reject	Accept
<b>Refugees</b> Recognize Res 194, most return to Palestinian state, compensation for losses	Accept	Accept
<b>Demilitarization</b>	Reject No Air force or heavy weapons, Israelis on Jordan	Accept No army for 5 yrs, international force
<b>Jerusalem divided</b> East as capital, includes Haram es Sharif	Reject Large margin	Reject Narrowly
<b>End of Conflict</b> Mutual recognition, no further claims	Reject	Accept

# The Arab League is the preferred leader of a post-settlement force, while Egypt and Jordan are the only potential contributors with majority support.

*As part of a final settlement with Israel, people have suggested that international troops should provide security in Gaza and the West Bank for a few years before a Palestinian Army is established... Would you prefer the international security force to be led by the UN, the EU, NATO or the Arab League?*

- The Arab League: 60%
- The EU: 17%
- The UN: 11%
- NATO: 11%

*No one country would provide all the troops for this international security force. Please tell me if you favor or oppose troops from each of the following countries making up the security force.*

*Percent Favorable*

- Jordan: 60%
- Egypt: 59%
- Turkey: 44%
- Morocco: 43%
- Pakistan: 40%
- Indonesia: 37%



# Getting rid of settlement/outposts and freeing prisoners matter more to Palestinians than ending settlement growth or cutting checkpoints.

*Here are several steps that could be taken to advance the peace process. Please tell me which issue you think is most important*

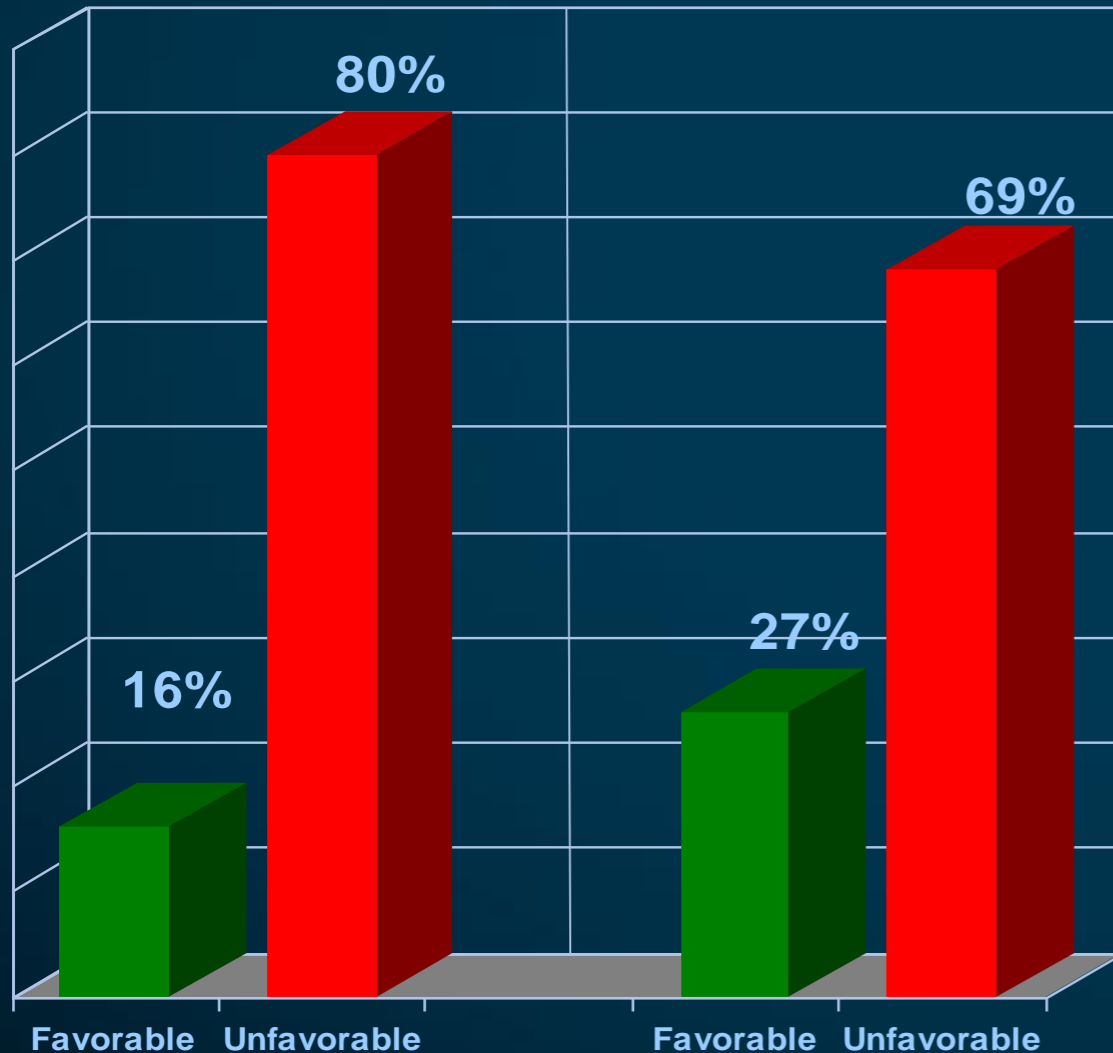
	All	West Bank	Gaza
<b>Evacuation of settlements/outposts</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>16%</b>
<b>Release of prisoners</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>34%</b>
<b>Further withdrawal from the West Bank</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>13%</b>
<b>Easing of border crossing</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>15%</b>
<b>Halting demolitions and settlement building activity</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>11%</b>
<b>Easing of checkpoints</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>6%</b>

# Most Palestinians remain skeptical of the US and President Obama, but many are hopeful that he will significantly advance the peace process.

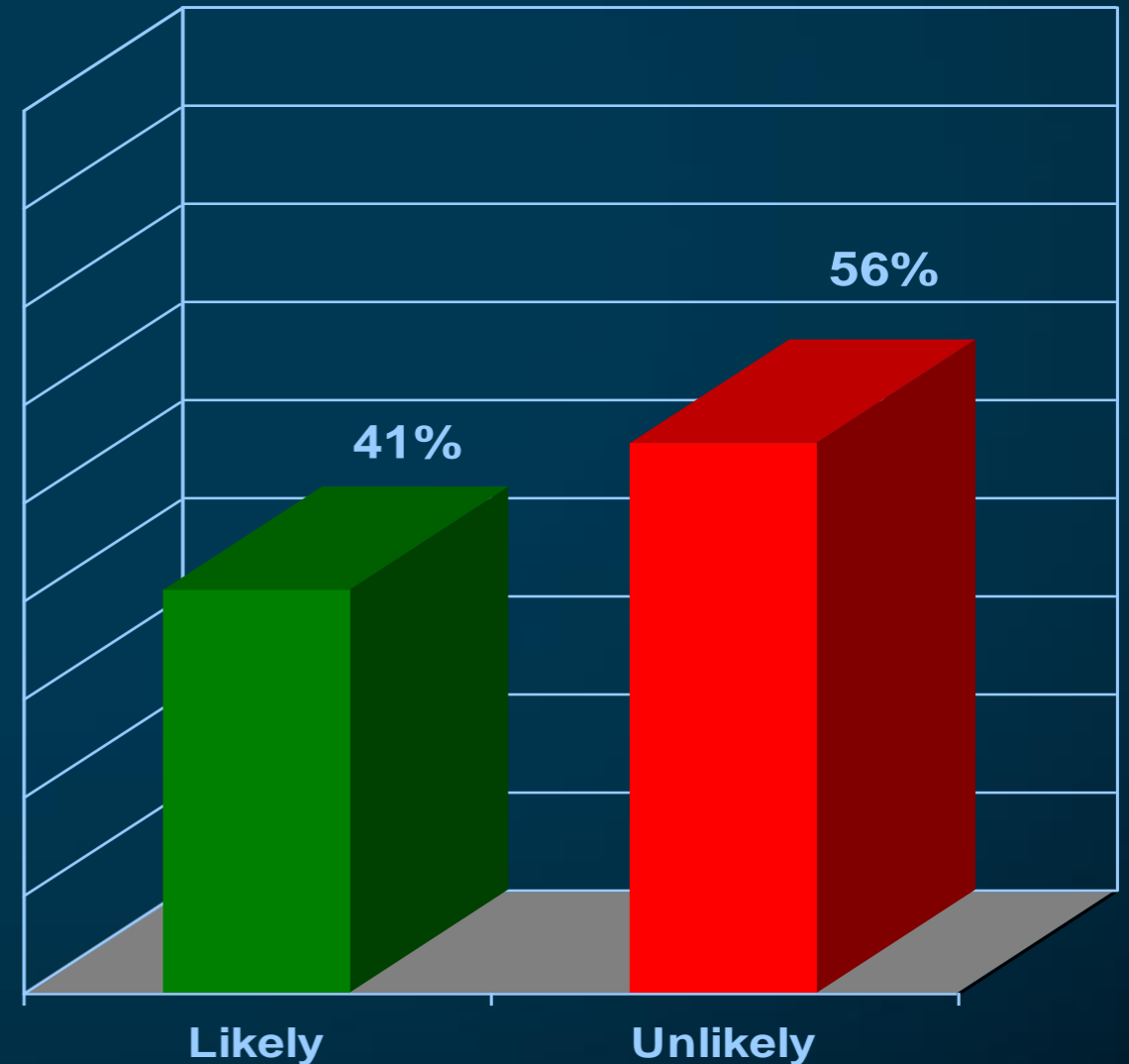
*What is your opinion of:*

*The United States*

*Barack Obama*



*Do you think US President Barack Obama will make significant progress on promoting peace between Palestine and Israel based on two states?*

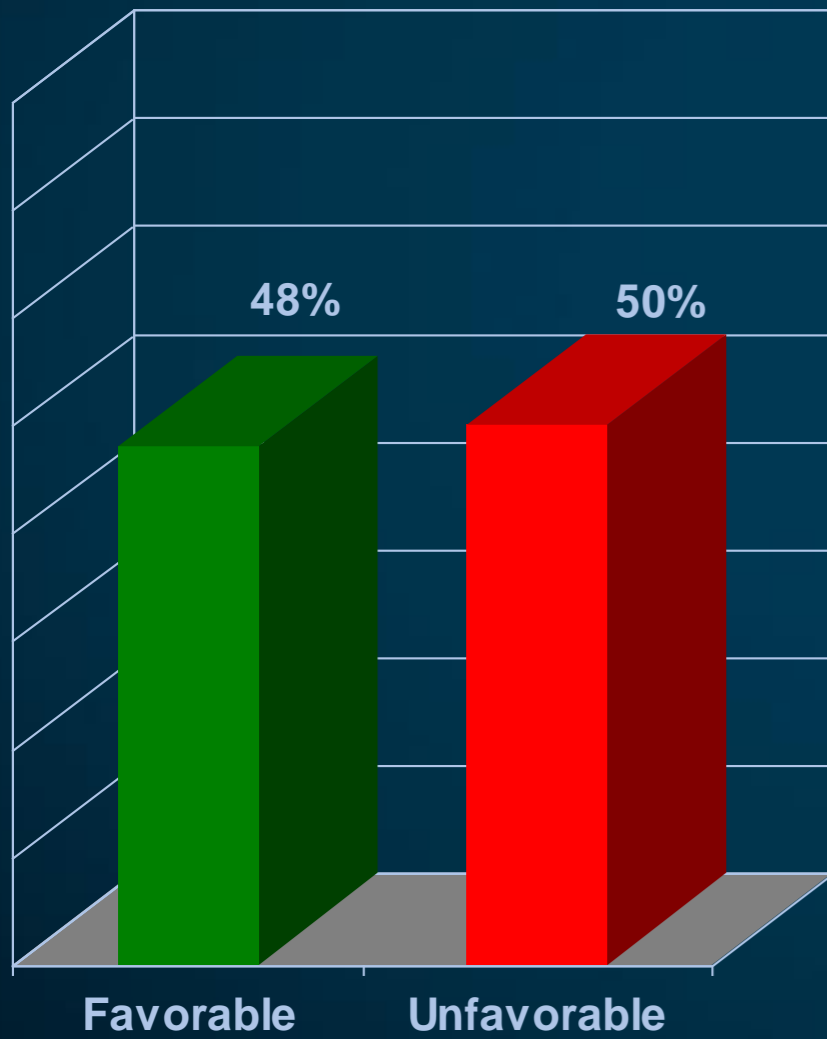




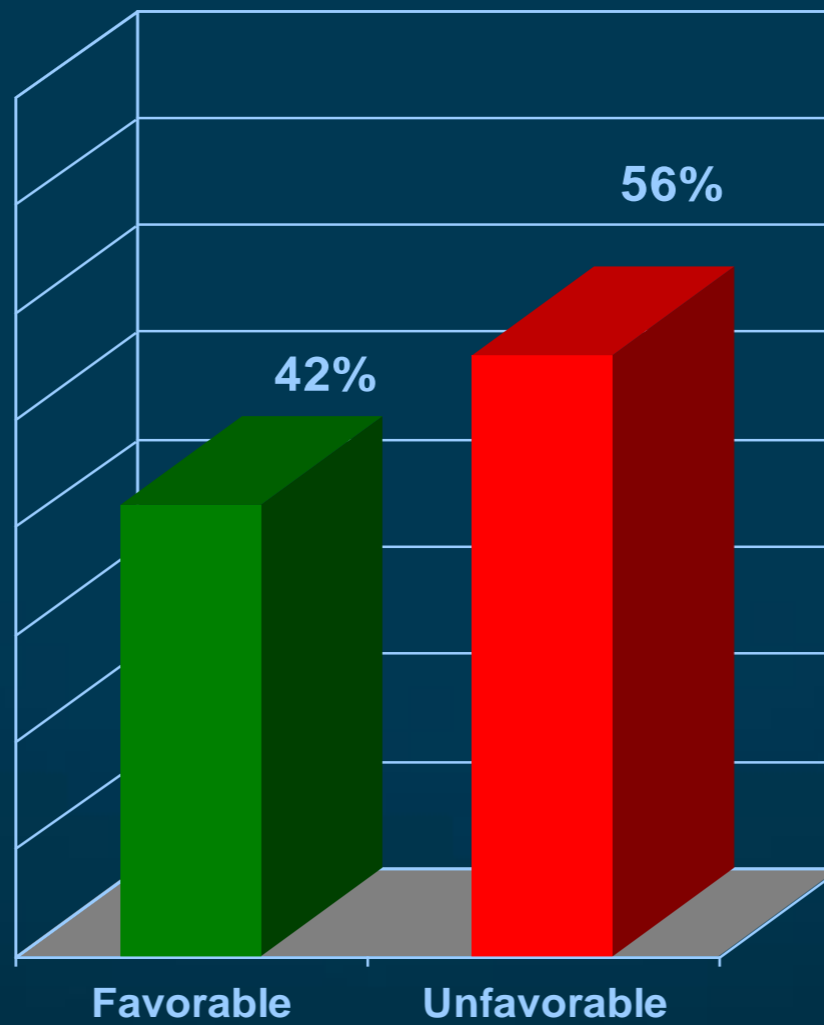
# Palestinians are split on the UN, negative on UNSCO, but hold UNRWA in high regard.

*What is your opinion of the following international organizations?*

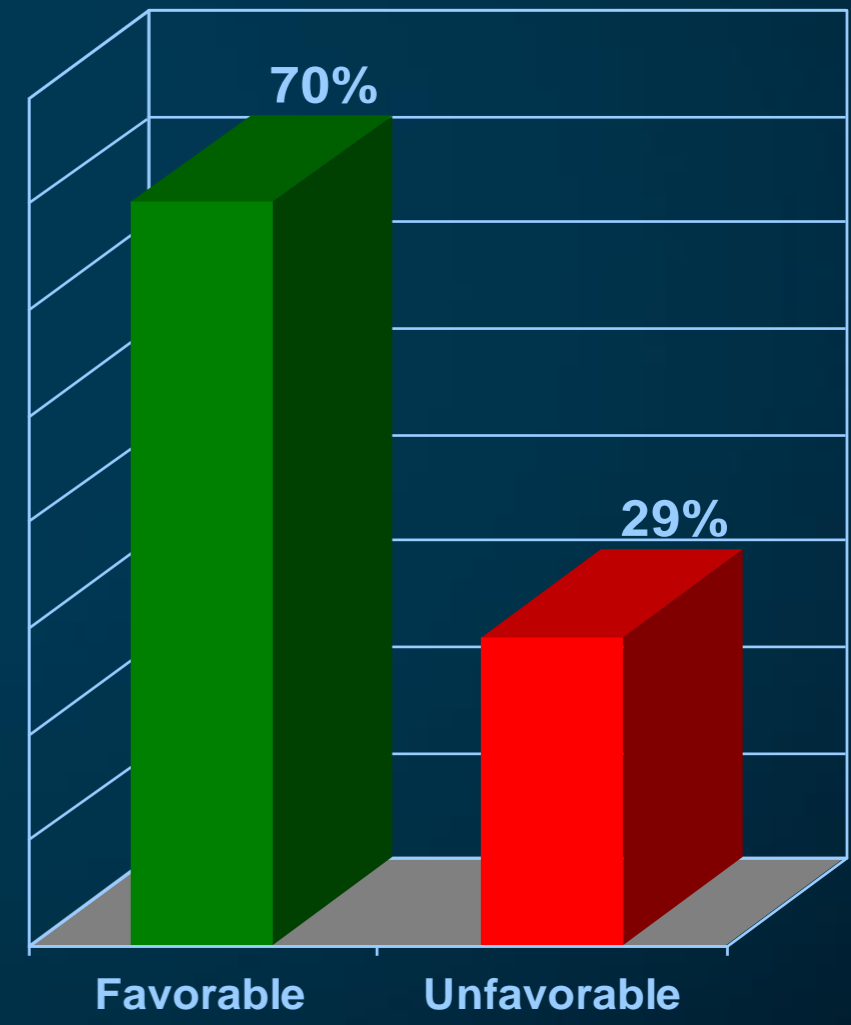
*The United Nations*



*UNSCO*



*UNRWA*



# Who are Palestine's enemies? Who are its friends? Who are both?

*Who do you perceive as Palestine's closest ally in the region?*

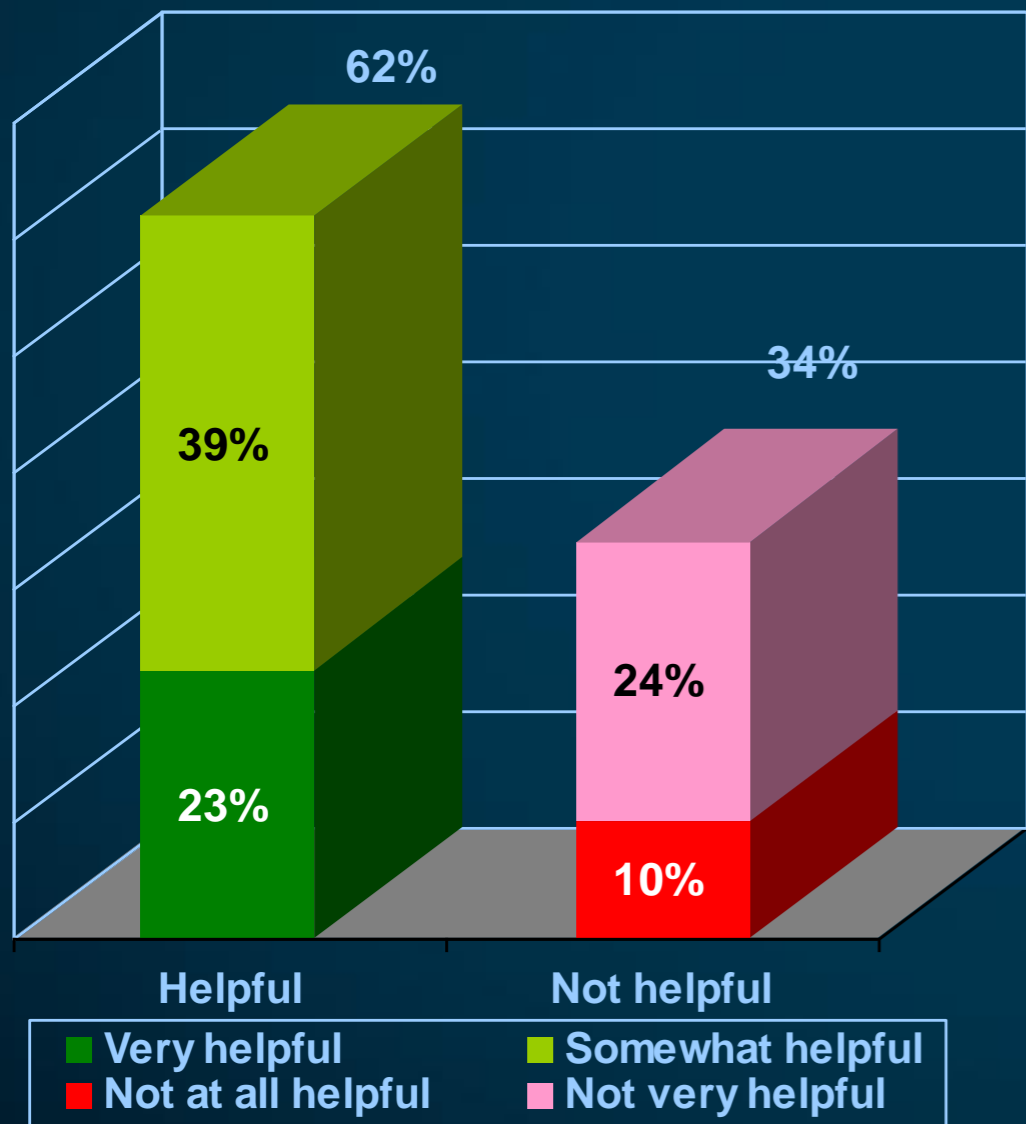
•Egypt:	23%
•Nobody:	15%
•Jordan:	14%
•Iran:	12%
•Syria:	11%
•Saudi Arabia:	8%
•UAE:	8%
•Qatar:	4%

*Who do you perceive as Palestine's greatest threat in the region?*

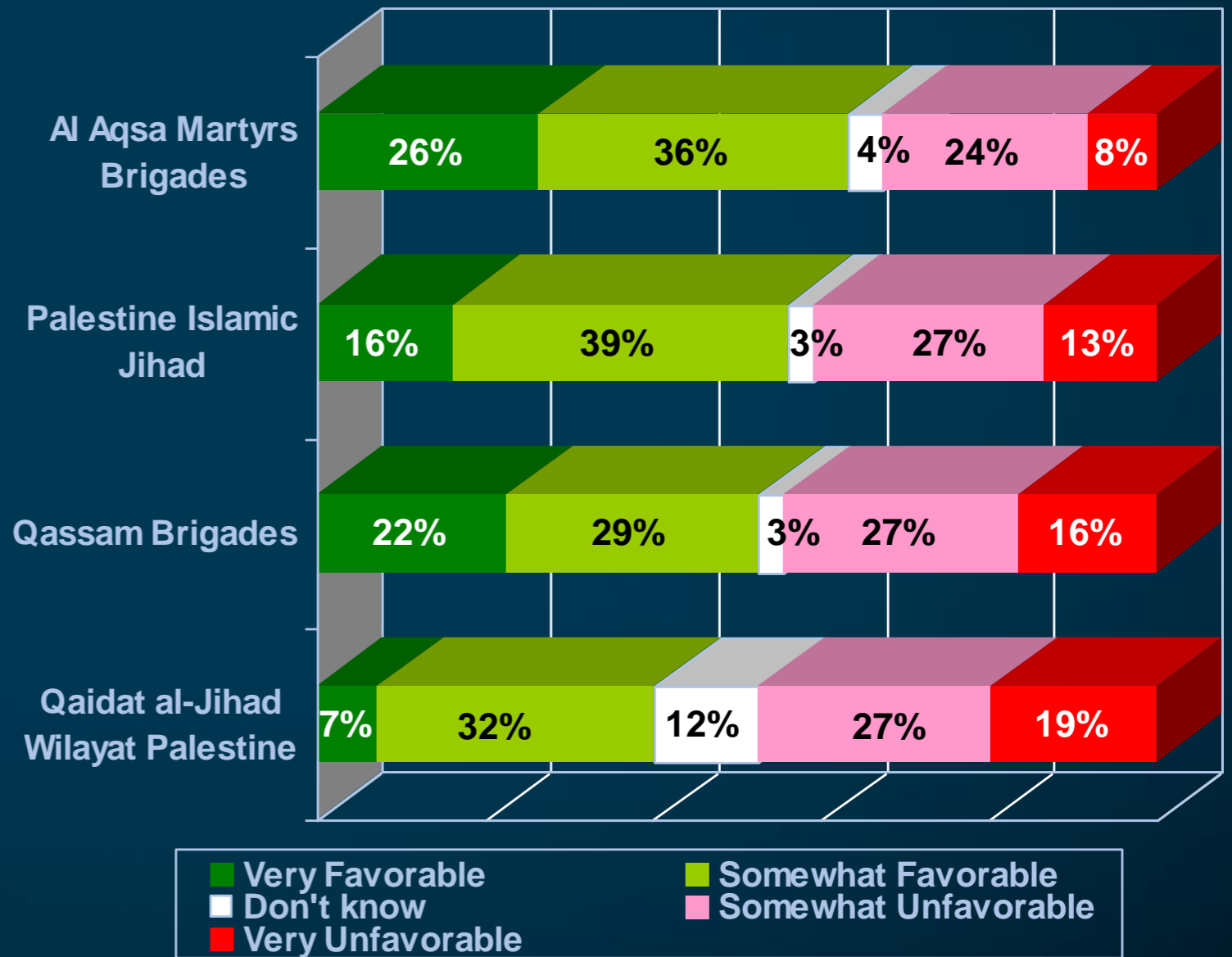
•Israel:	76%
•USA:	9%
•Iran:	6%
•Other:	4%
•Jordan:	3%
•Nobody:	1%

# Palestinians view violent resistance against Israel since 2000 positively, along with most militant resistance organizations.

*Has the resistance since 2000, including fighting in the territories and attacks in Israel, been helpful?*

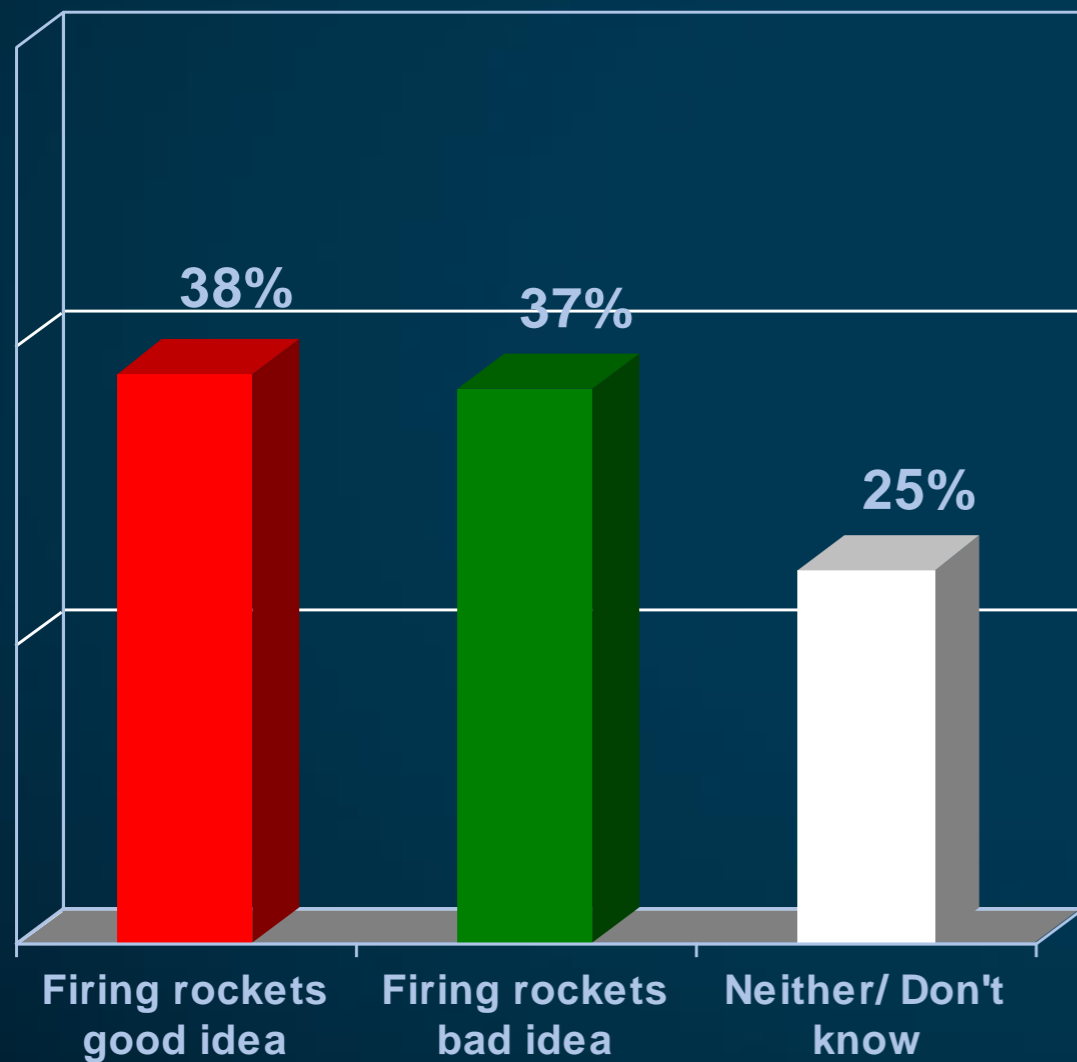


*What is your opinion of the following organizations and movements?*

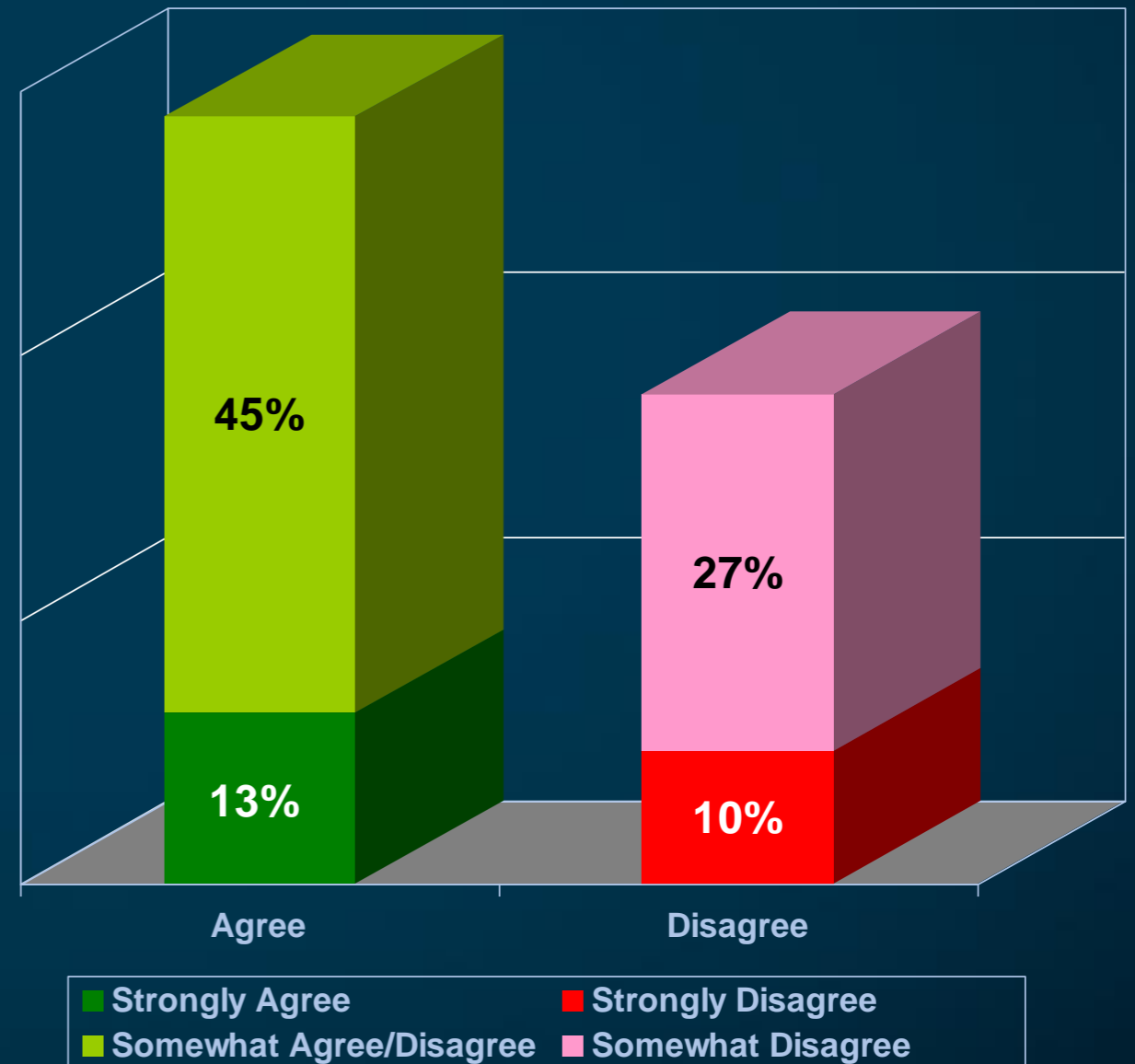


# Palestinians are split on firing rockets from Gaza, but two-thirds would prefer non-violent resistance.

*Is firing rockets from Gaza to Israel a good idea?*



*Renouncing violence and pursuing non-violent resistance would be more effective than violence as a strategy for Palestinians to gain a permanent Palestinian state.*

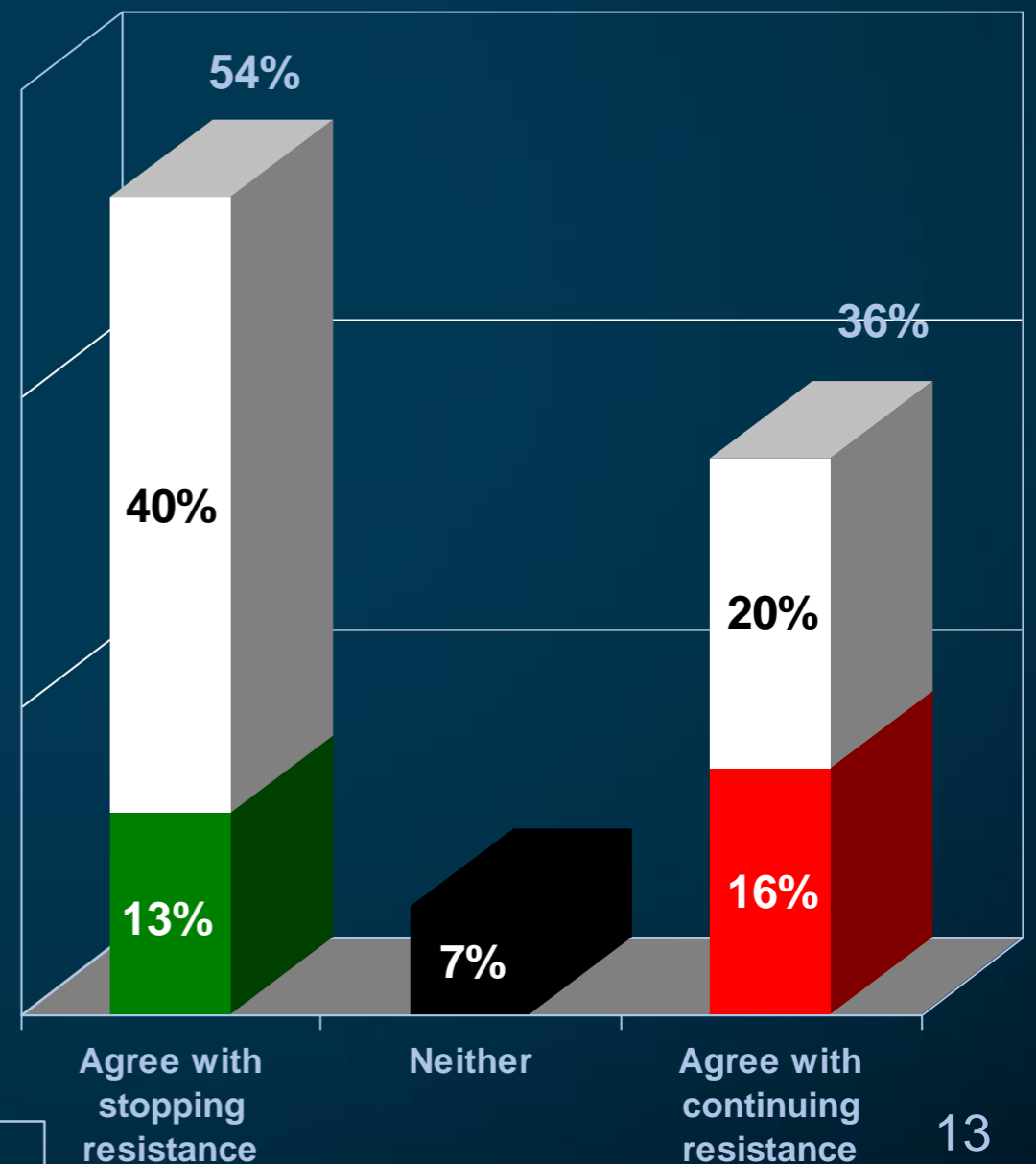
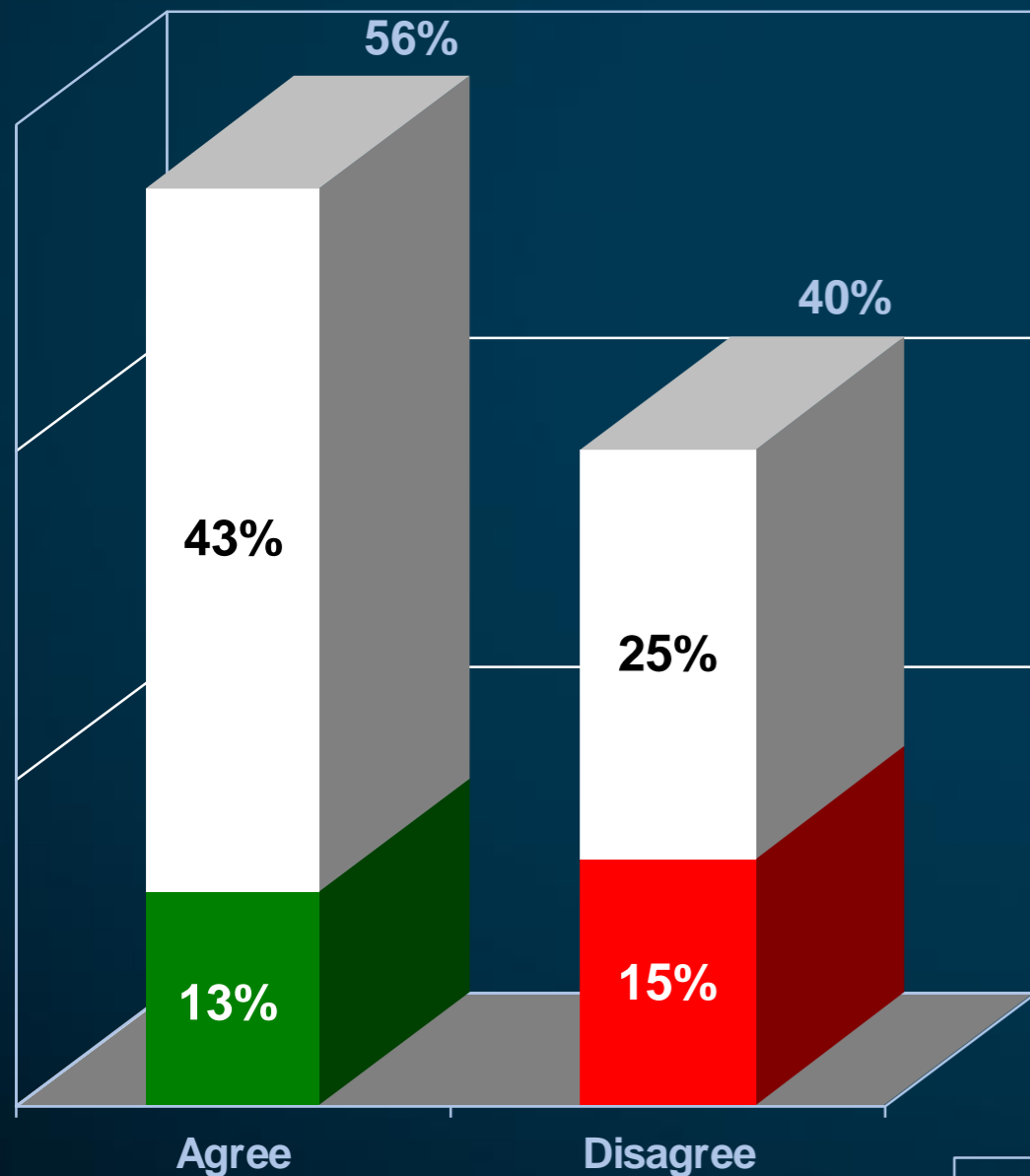


# Most Palestinians support coexistence and compromise with Israel, though one-third favor irredentist claims.

*It is not realistic for us to expect the elimination of the state of Israel or the return of every refugee to their home there. Both Palestinians and the Israelis should be prepared to consider compromises to reach a final settlement, or else things will never change.*

*If a Palestinian state is established under the Peace plan... We should stop violent resistance, because we made promises to end the conflict and make no more claims that we must honor, and so that we can enjoy peace and prosperity.*

*We should continue violent resistance to obtain all of Palestine, even though this means we will break our promises, the conflict will continue and we will have no peace and prosperity.*



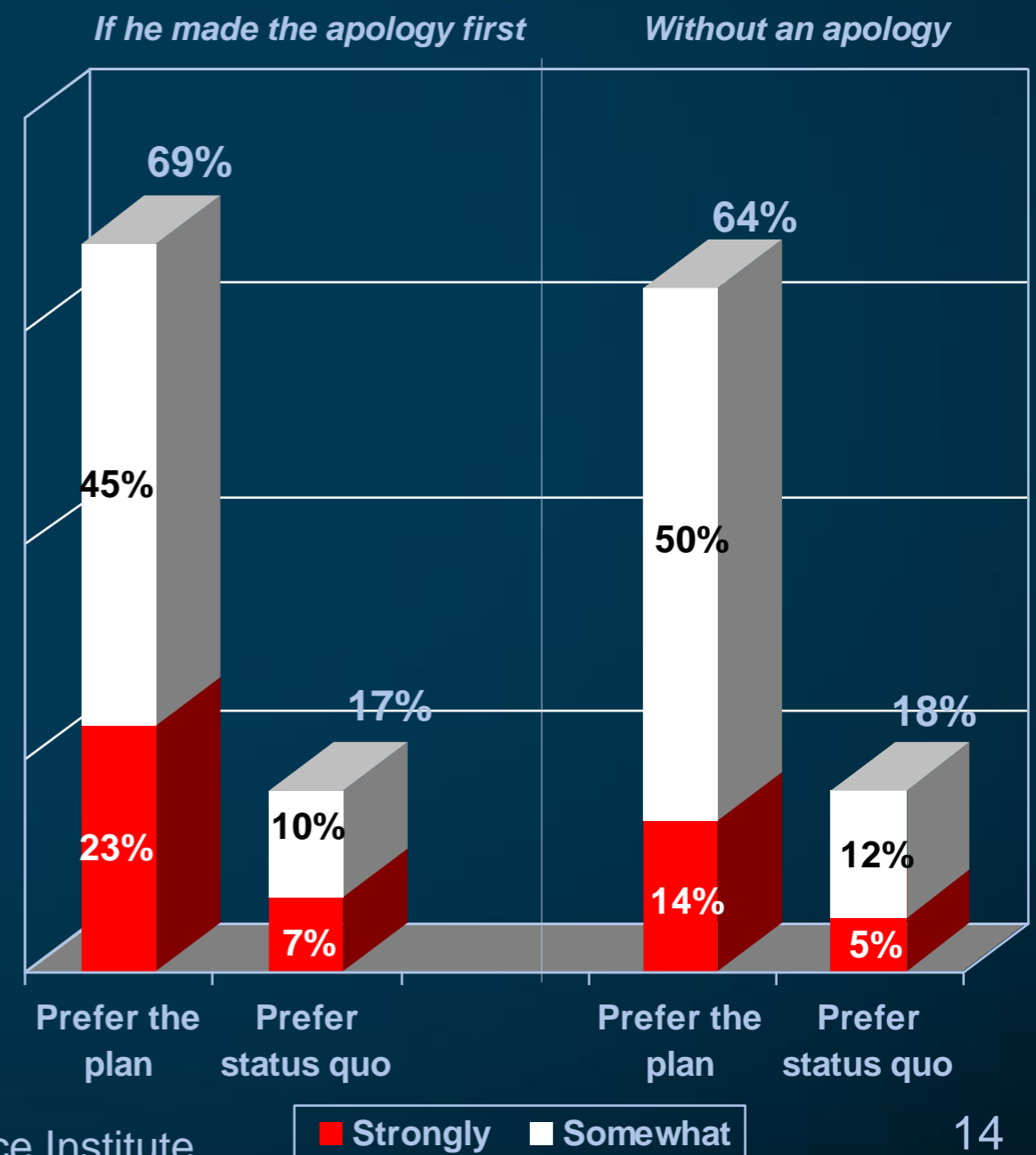
■ Somewhat  
■ Strongly Disagree  
■ Strongly Agree

# An Israeli apology for Palestinian suffering on lines discussed in previous peace talks would help build support for the peace plan.

Suppose you heard the following statement from the Prime Minister of Israel.

*“In the name of the state of Israel, I wish to apologize to the Palestinian people for the suffering caused by the war of 1948 and the conflicts since then between our peoples. We recognize that these events were tragedies for many of you and caused many losses and much pain. We did you many wrongs which we considered necessary. We regret all this. We recognize that you have the right to a homeland. We cannot erase the past, but we have accepted the Arab Peace Initiative to create a future based on justice, in which both peoples will have states and enjoy peace and prosperity.”*

Would you prefer the peace plan or the status quo?





# Palestinians favor accountability for violence against civilians, including a post-settlement Palestinian-Israeli Truth Commission.

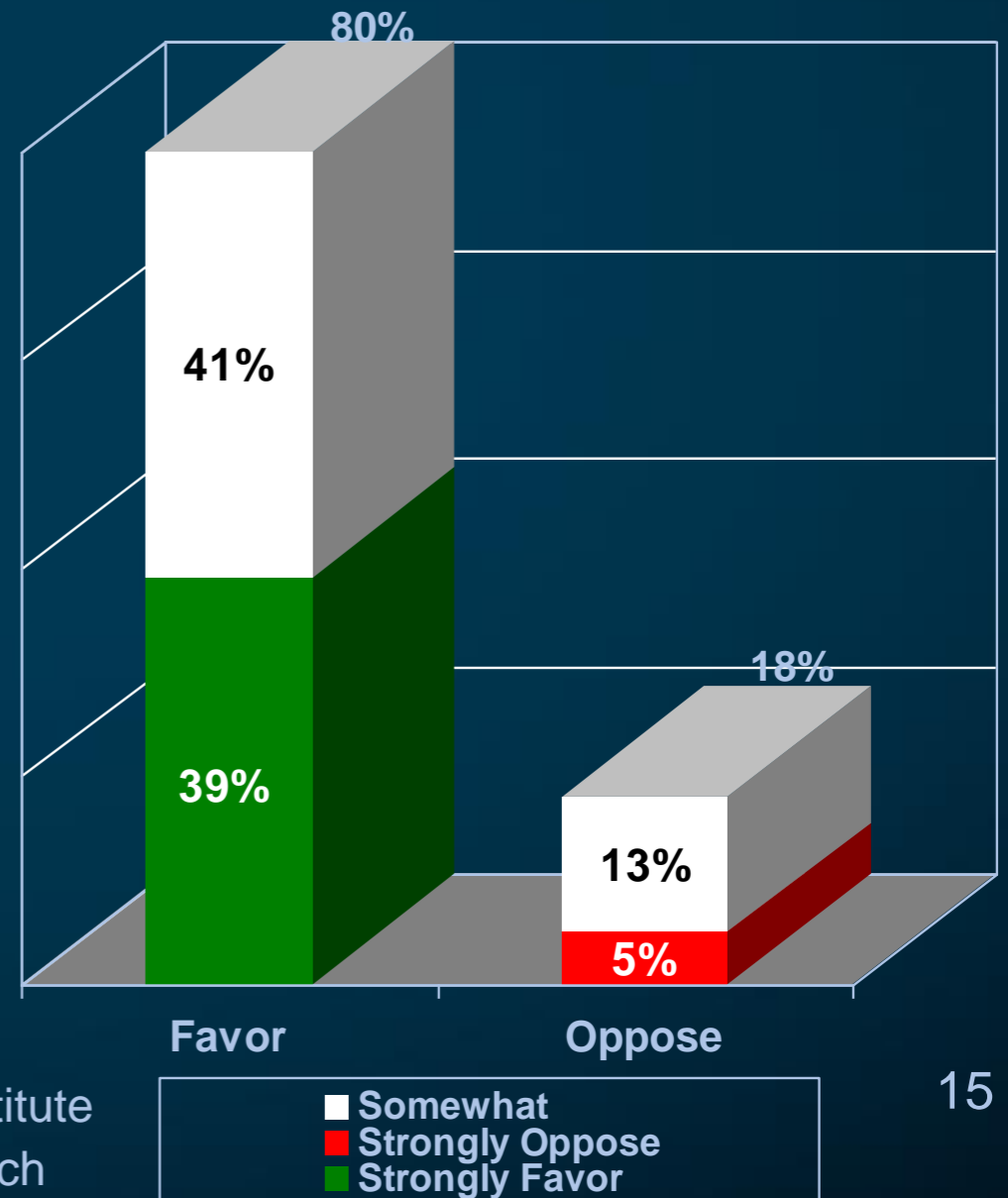
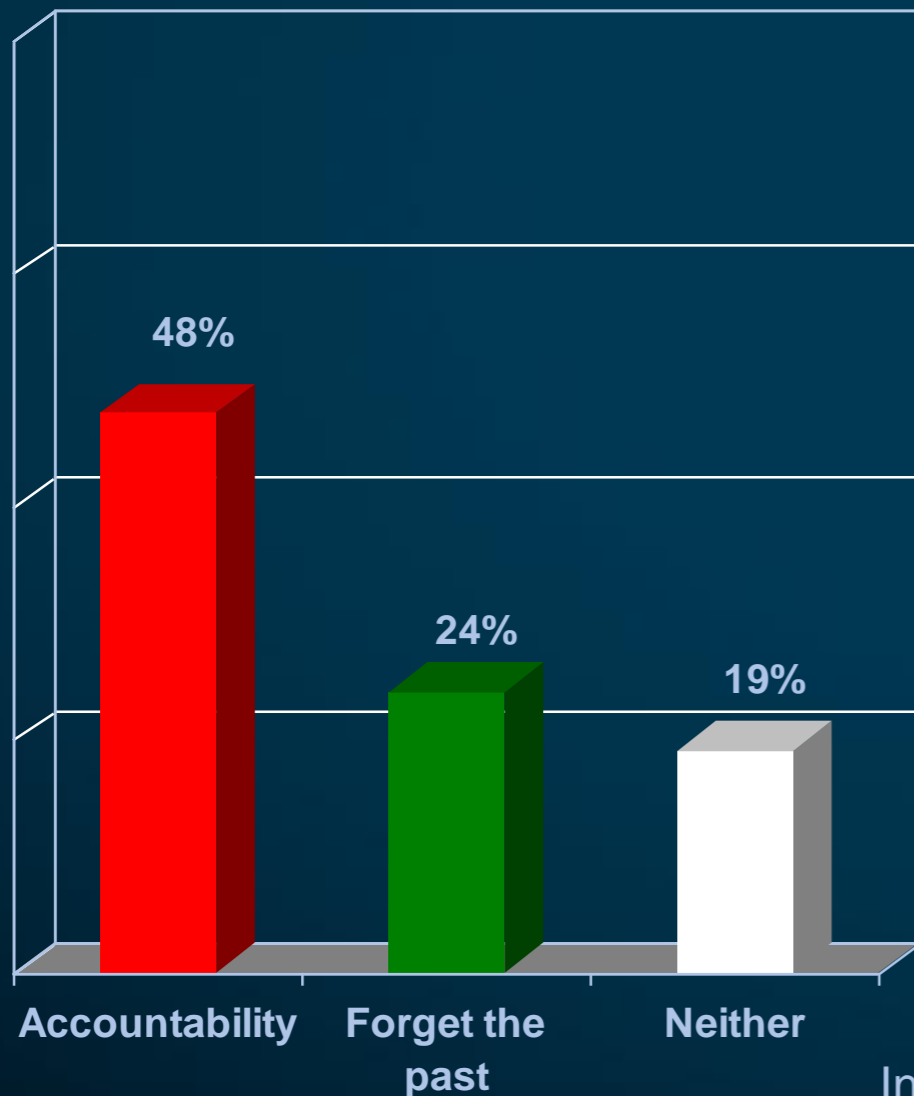
*There are three ways civilians have suffered violence over the years of conflict: Israeli violence hurting Palestinian civilians, Palestinian violence hurting Israeli civilians, and Palestinian violence hurting Palestinian civilians.*

*Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view?*

*Someone should be publicly held accountable for the violence, OR  
It is better to try to forget the past, rather than holding people accountable.*

*In some countries, where it was not possible to put people responsible for violence on trial, governments created "Truth Commissions." These commissions let victims testify publicly about their suffering, recognize and compensate them for their losses from violence, and name those responsible, including government officials.*

*If Palestine and Israel created a joint Truth Commission after a final settlement would you favor or oppose its creation?*

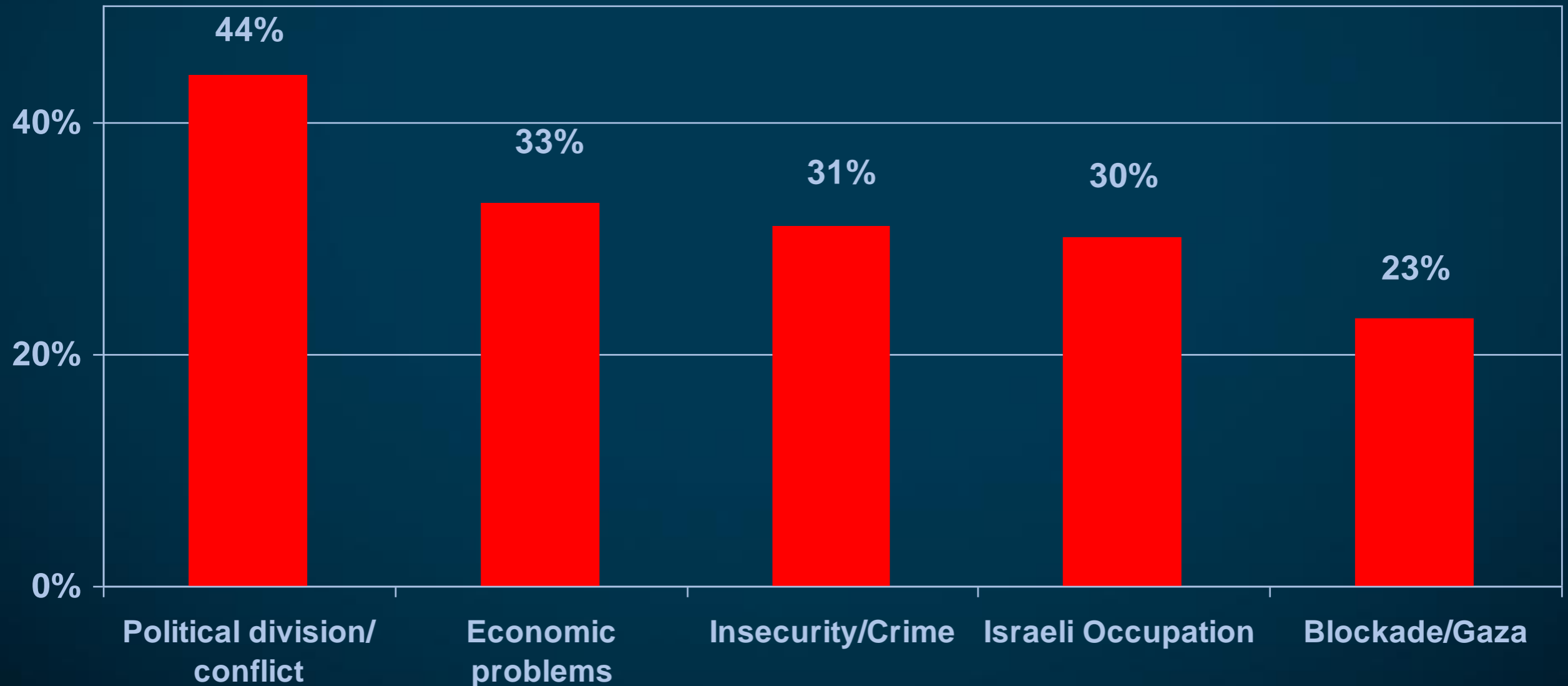


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# Political division concerns Palestinians most, followed by the economy, insecurity, Israeli occupation, and the Gaza blockade.

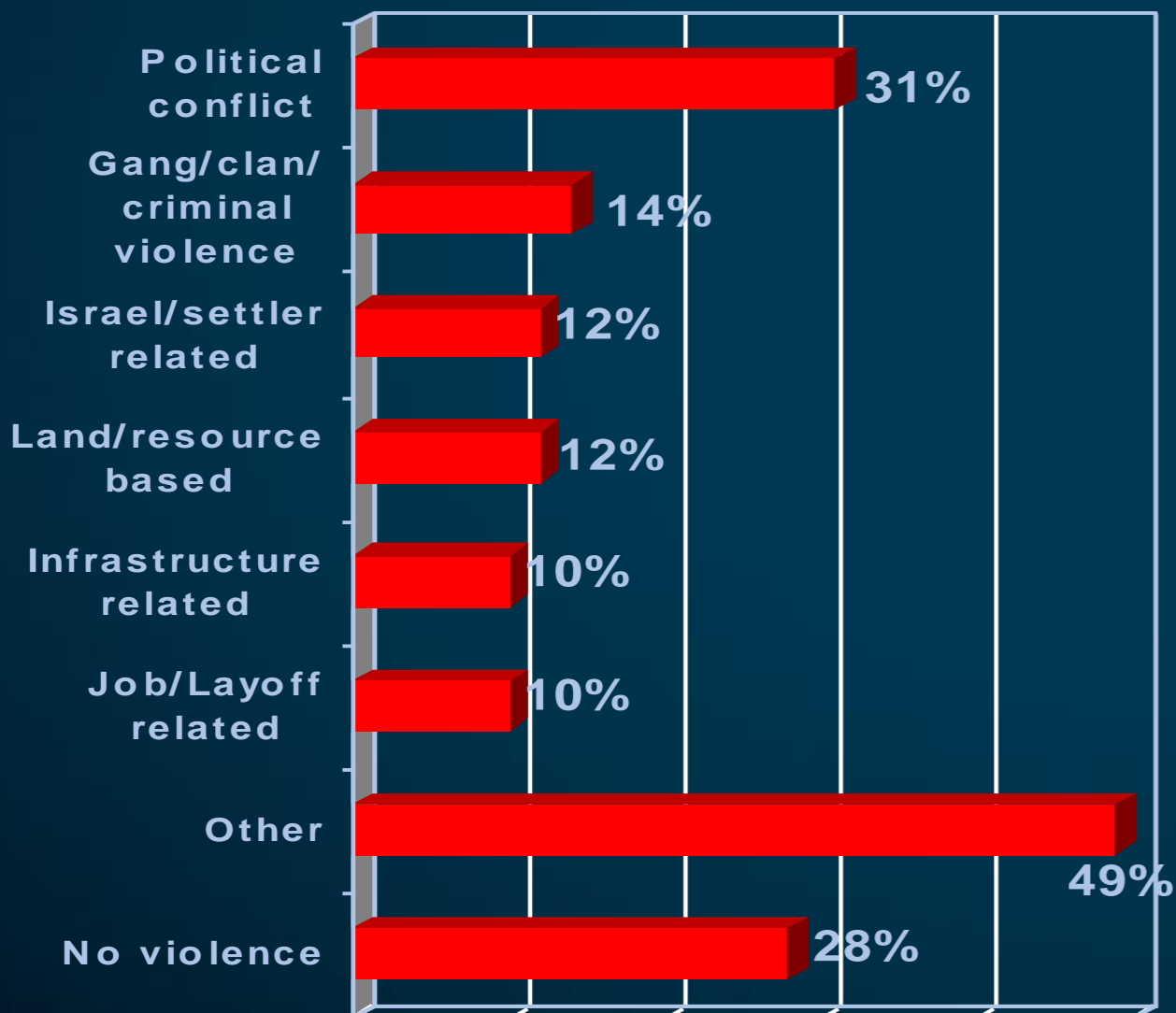
*What is the biggest problem facing Palestine?  
(Responses given by 10% or more)*



# Conflict – internal more than external – has touched most Palestinians, while Gazans are unhappy with postwar reconstruction.

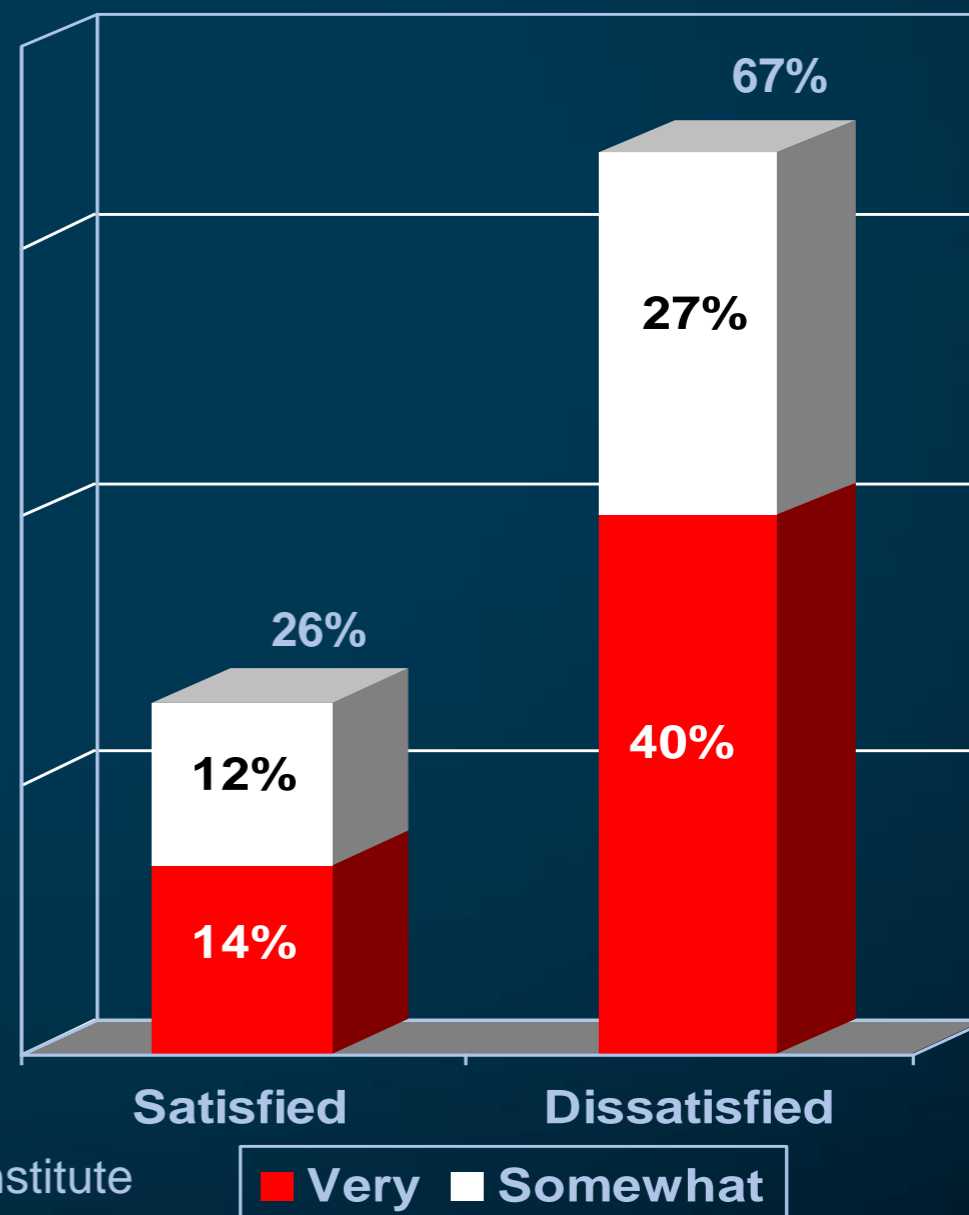
*In the past five years including this year, have there been any conflicts in your area that led to violence or threats between groups of people? If yes, what were they about?*

Conflicts mentioned by over 10%



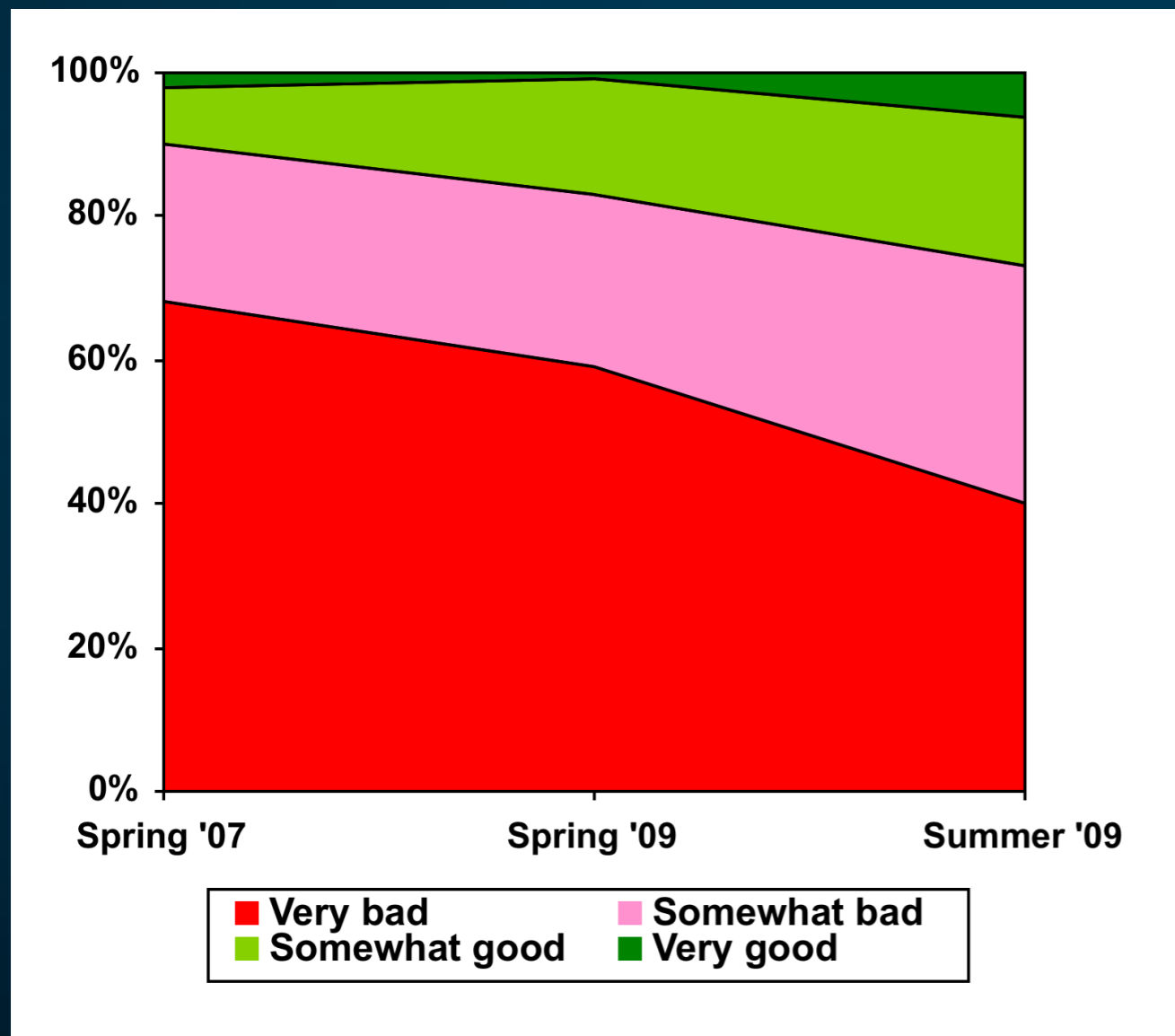
*Are you satisfied / dissatisfied with the assistance in post-war reconstruction?*

(Gaza only)

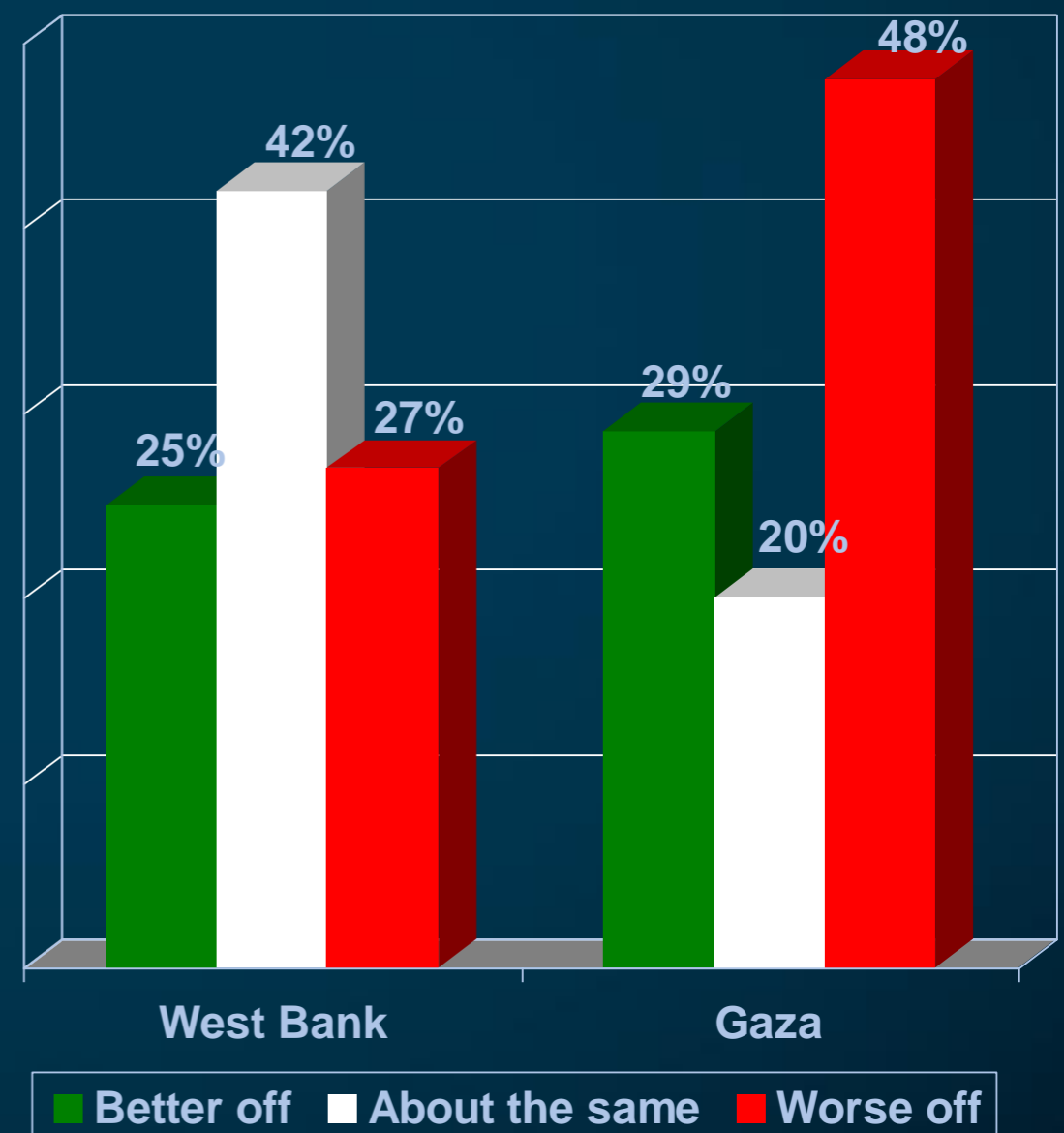


# Palestine's economy has started picking up from rock bottom, but gains have been felt much more in the West Bank than Gaza.

*How would you describe the current economic situation in Palestine?*



*Think about how you and your family were doing financially five years ago. Would you say you are better off today, worse off today or are you doing the same today as you were five years ago?*



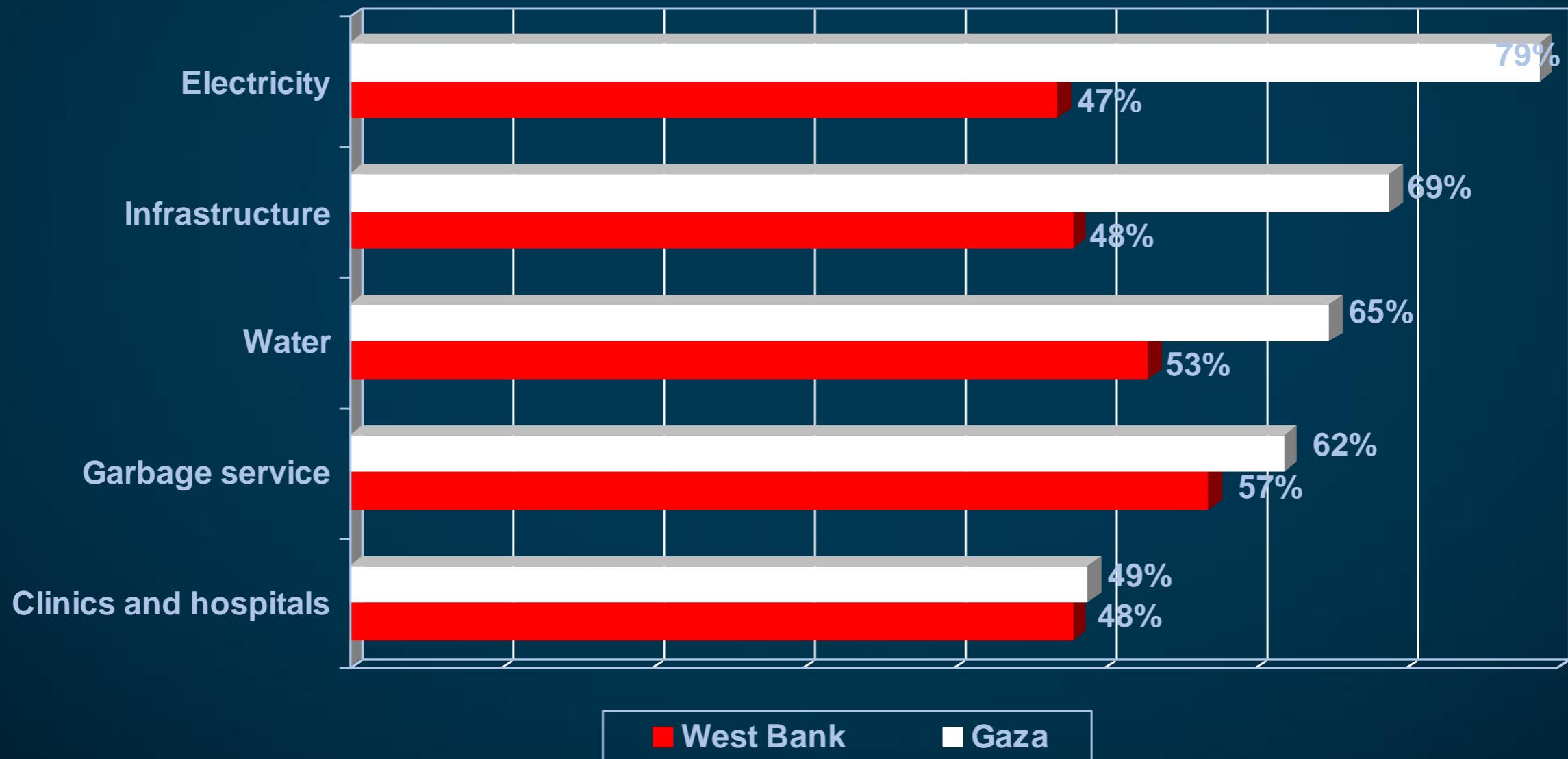
# Living conditions and opportunities are poor and a majority of Palestinians lacks hope for the future.

<b>Local living conditions bad</b>	<b>65%</b>
<b>No real opportunities to improve lives</b>	<b>75%</b>
<b>Laws and rules not set, clear, and fairly enforced</b>	<b>67%</b>
<b>No hope for the future</b>	<b>53%</b>

# Discontent is widespread with utilities and infrastructure, particularly in Gaza, and with health care throughout Palestine.

*How satisfied / dissatisfied are you with the following government services in your neighborhood / area?*

*(Percent dissatisfied only)*

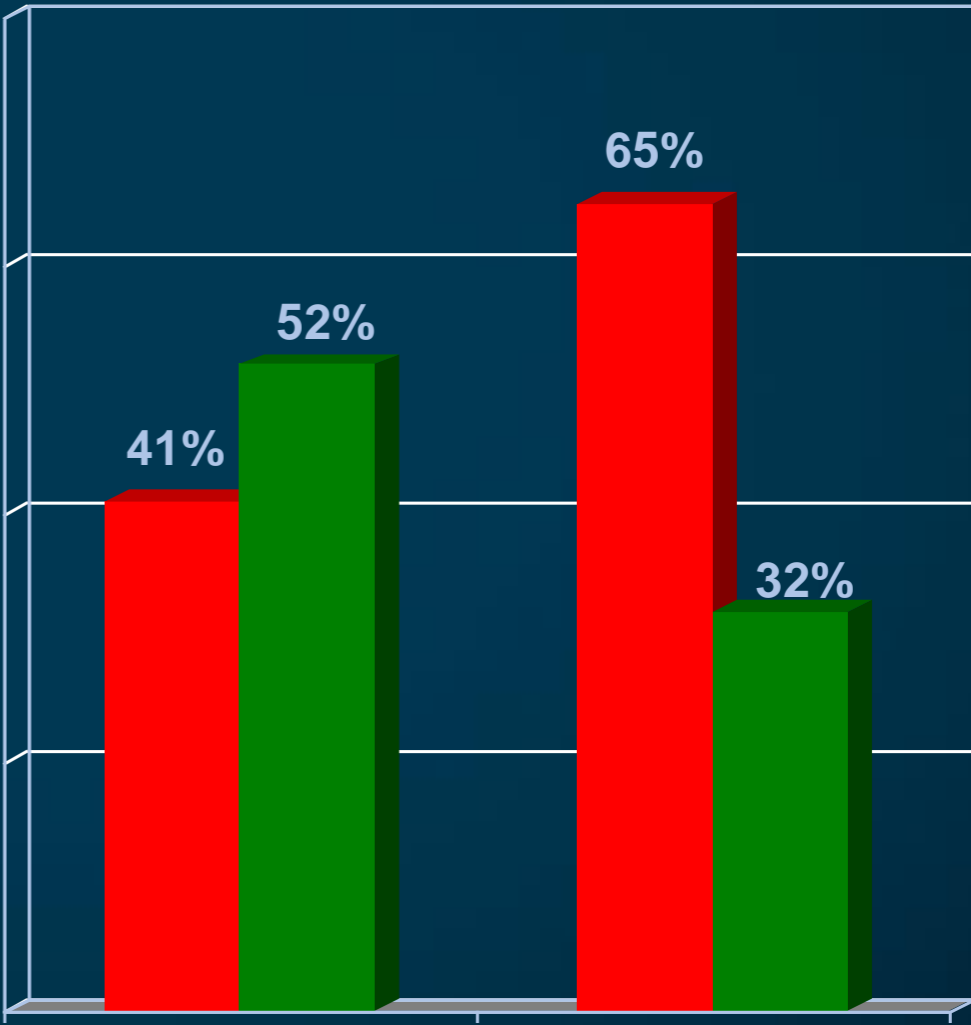
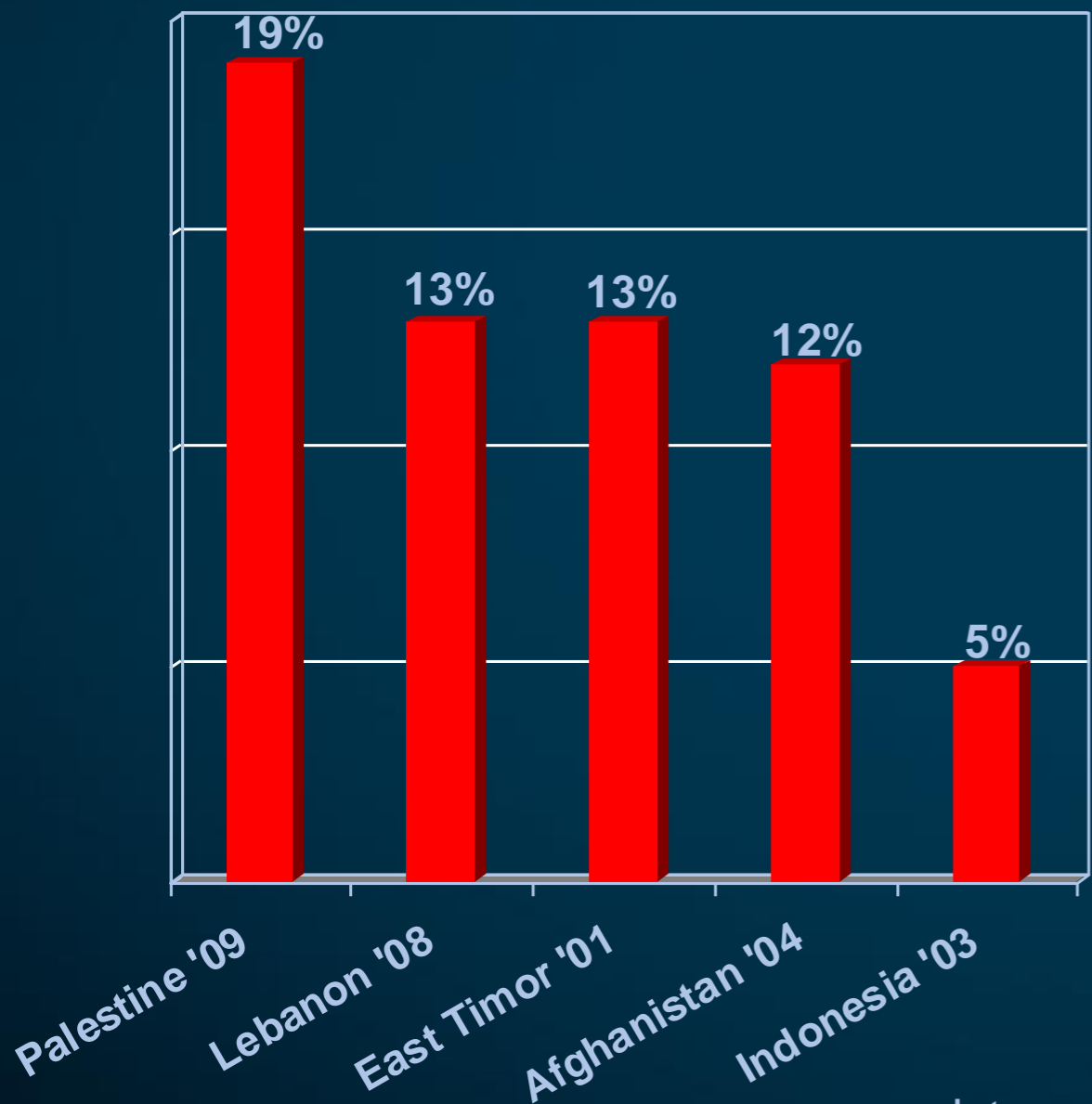


# Palestinians report a very high crime rate, even for areas in transition, and insecurity is rife, especially in Gaza.

*Have you or has anyone in your family been a victim of physical aggression or some criminal act in the home or neighborhood this year?*

*How often do you fear for your own personal safety or security or for that of your family these days?*

Percent Reporting Crime

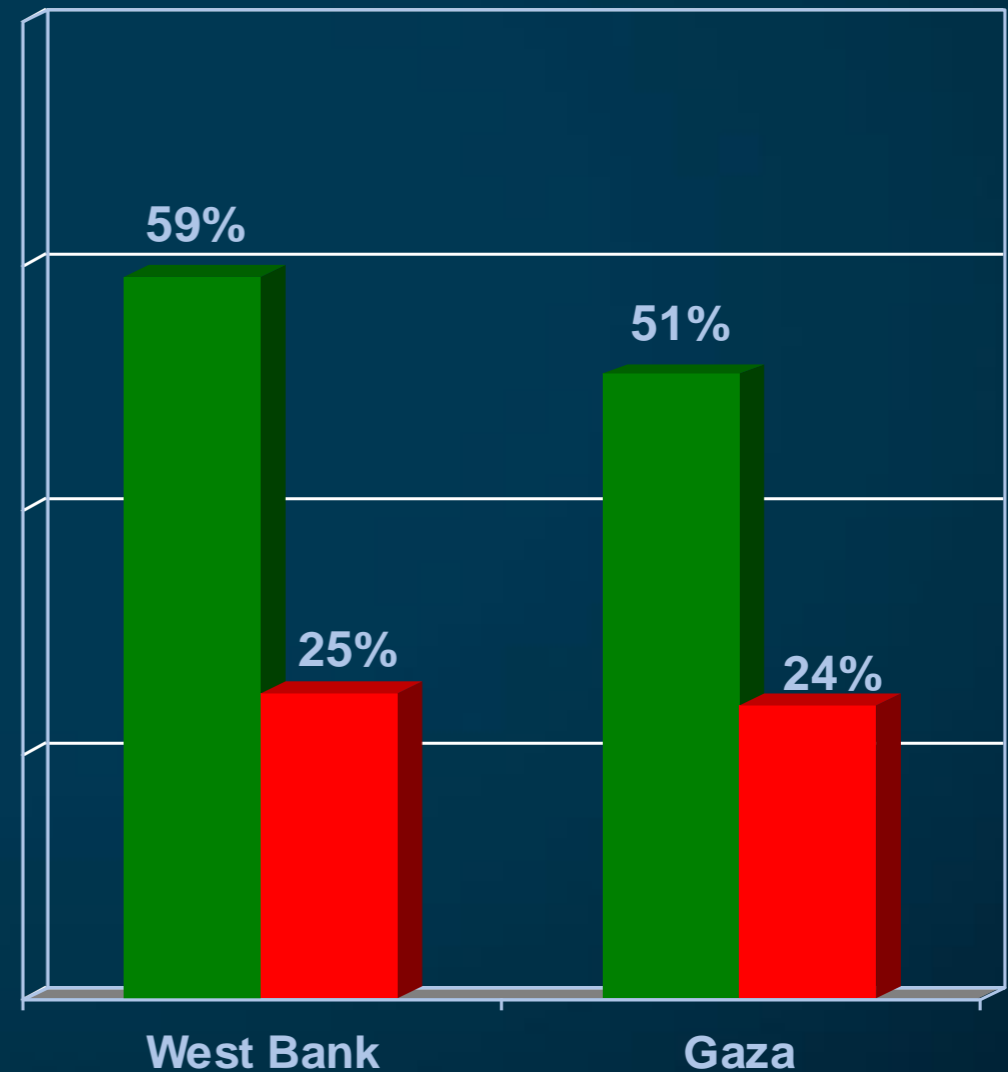


■ Often/Sometimes ■ Rarely/Never

# PA security forces are much better liked than Hamas police and a majority wants the Jenin-Nablus police training project expanded.

*Would you be favorable / unfavorable to the expansion of the training program for Palestinian Police in Jenin and Nablus?*

	PA Security Force – WB	Hamas Police – Gaza
Strong presence	76%	60%
Confident can provide security	71%	40%
Favorable opinion	76%	35%

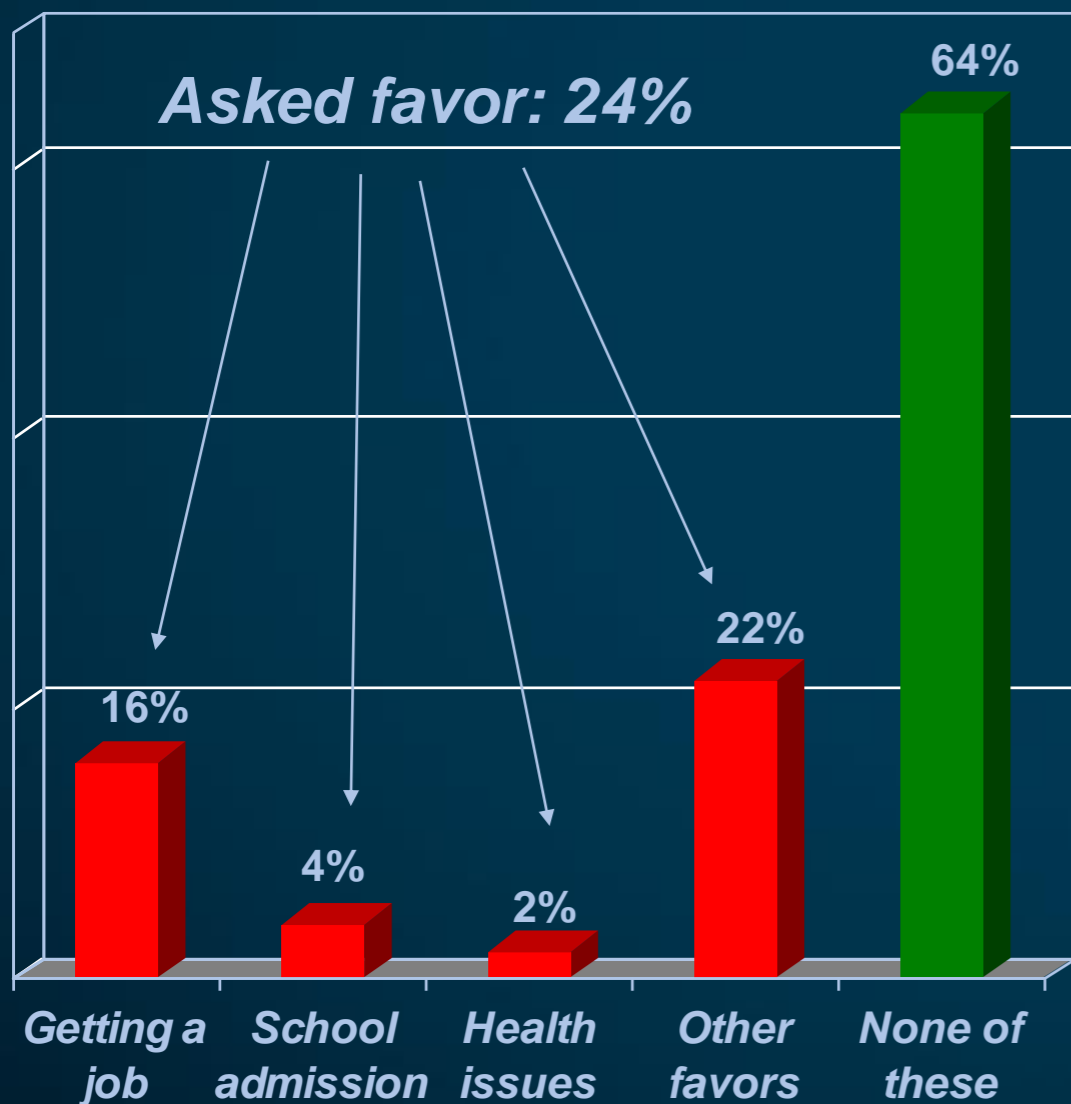


■ Favorable ■ Unfavorable

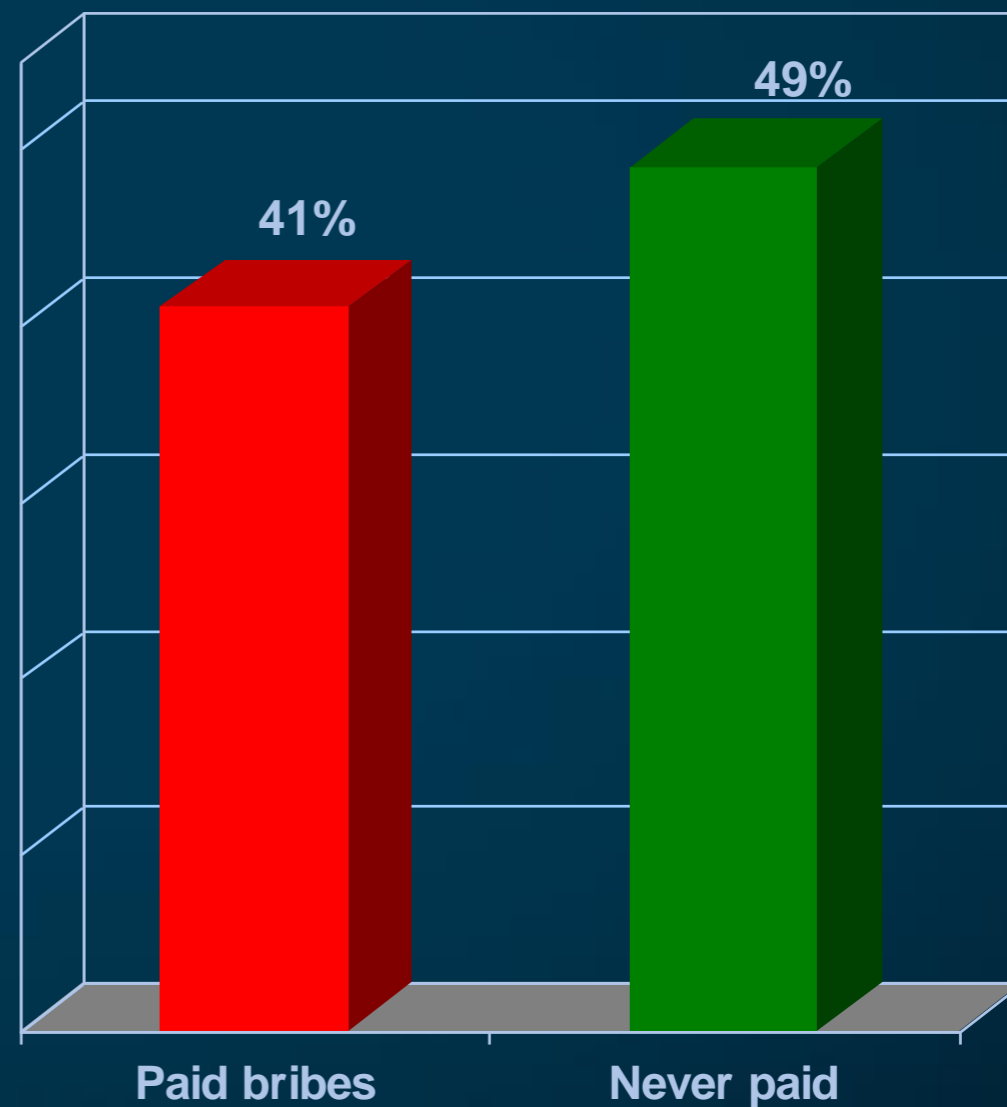


# Over two-fifths of Palestinians had to give officials gifts or bribes, while one-fourth sought favors from a PLC member.

*Do you personally know someone who has approached a member of the Legislative Council or a political leader for help getting a job, admission to school, or some other favor in the past 5 years?*

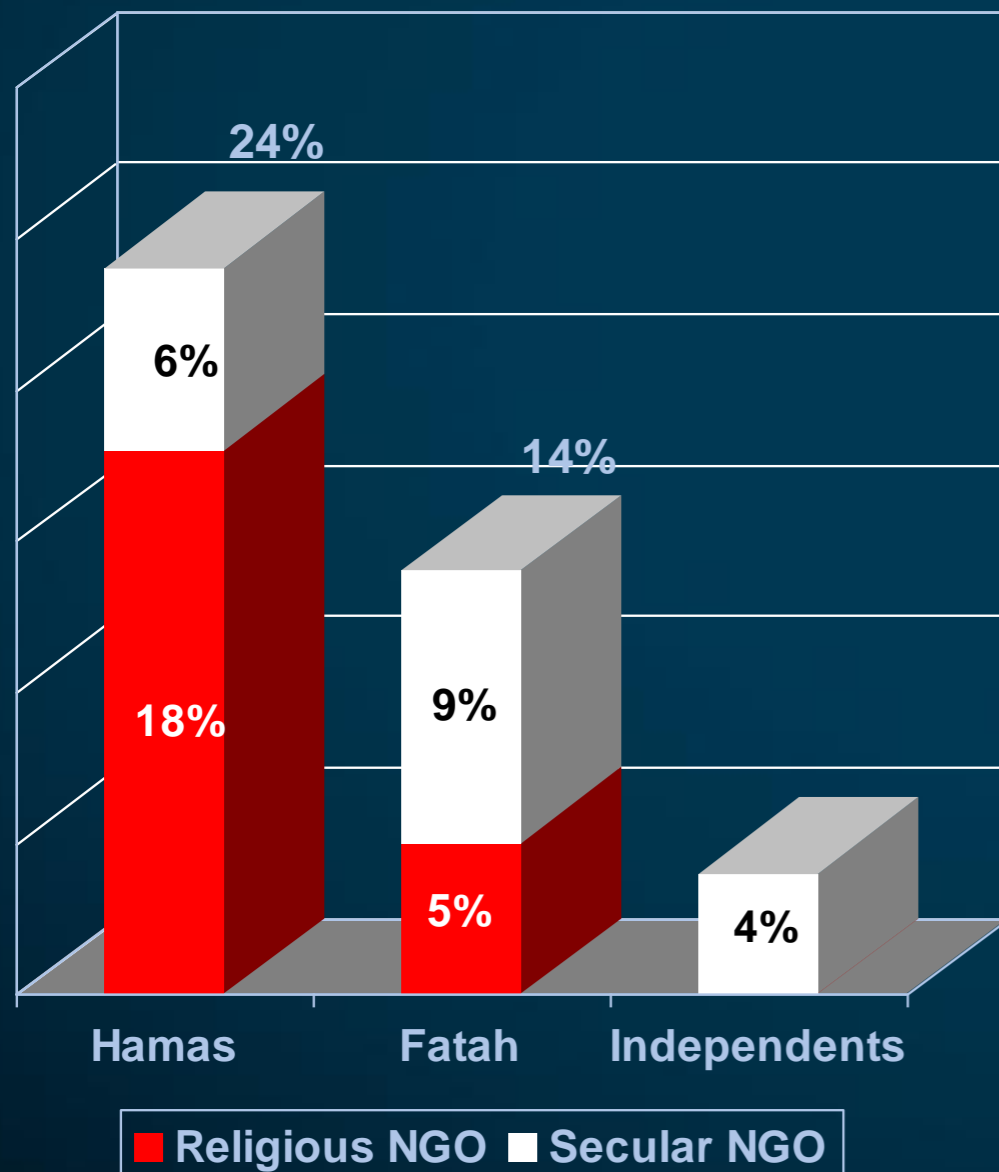


*Have you had to do a favor, give a gift or pay a bribe to a government official in order to get services or a document that the government is supposed to provide?*



# Partisanship shapes Palestinian access to NGO services and Gaza war relief.

*Have you or members of your household gone to a school run by a non-governmental organization? If so, was it a religious organization or a non-religious one?*

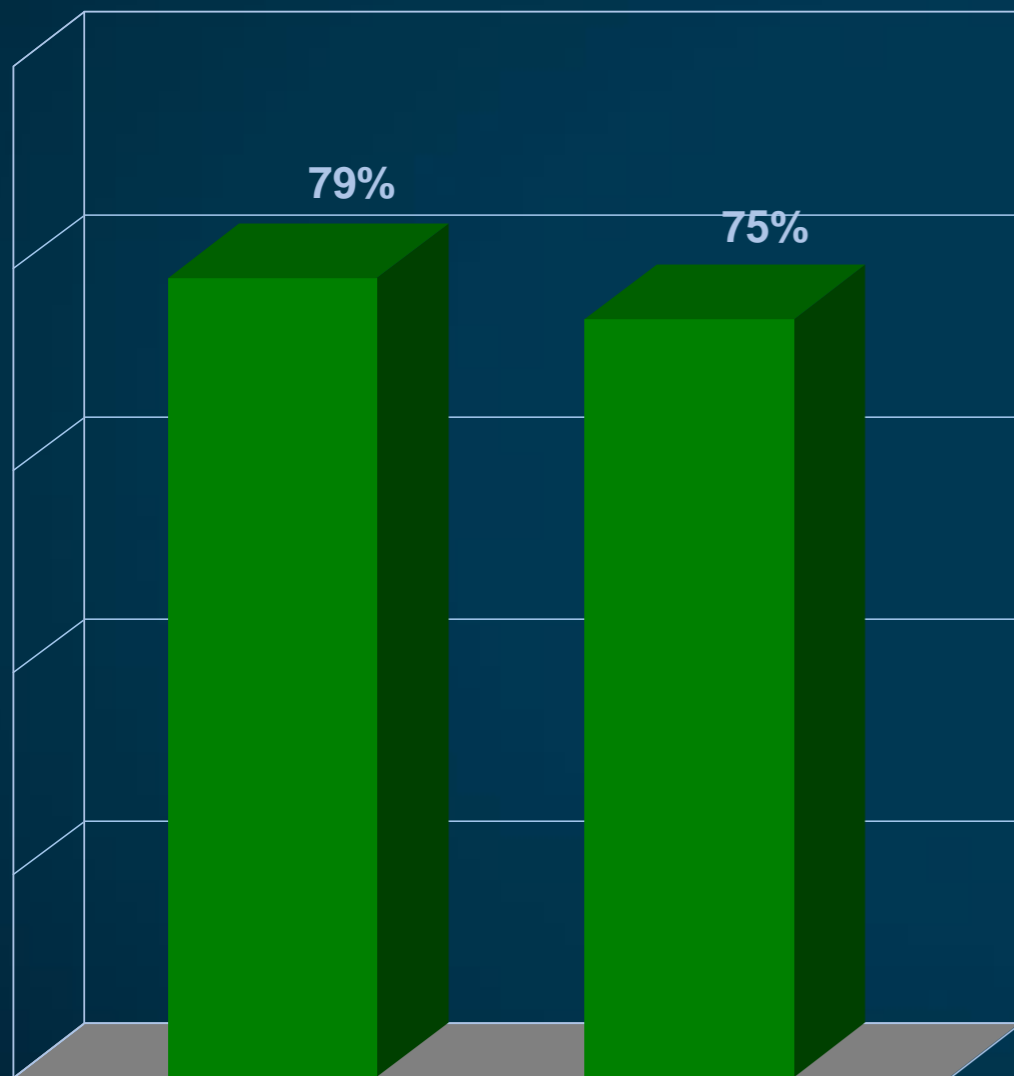


*(Gaza only) Have you or members of your household received relief after the 2006 war from a non-governmental organization?*

	Hamas Supporters	Fatah Supporters	Independents
Total receiving aid From any NGO...	30%	34%	9%
Religious NGOs Of which Hamas-linked	63%	30%	35%
	98%	19%	53%
Secular NGOs Of which Fatah-linked	37%	70%	65%
	0%	29%	15%

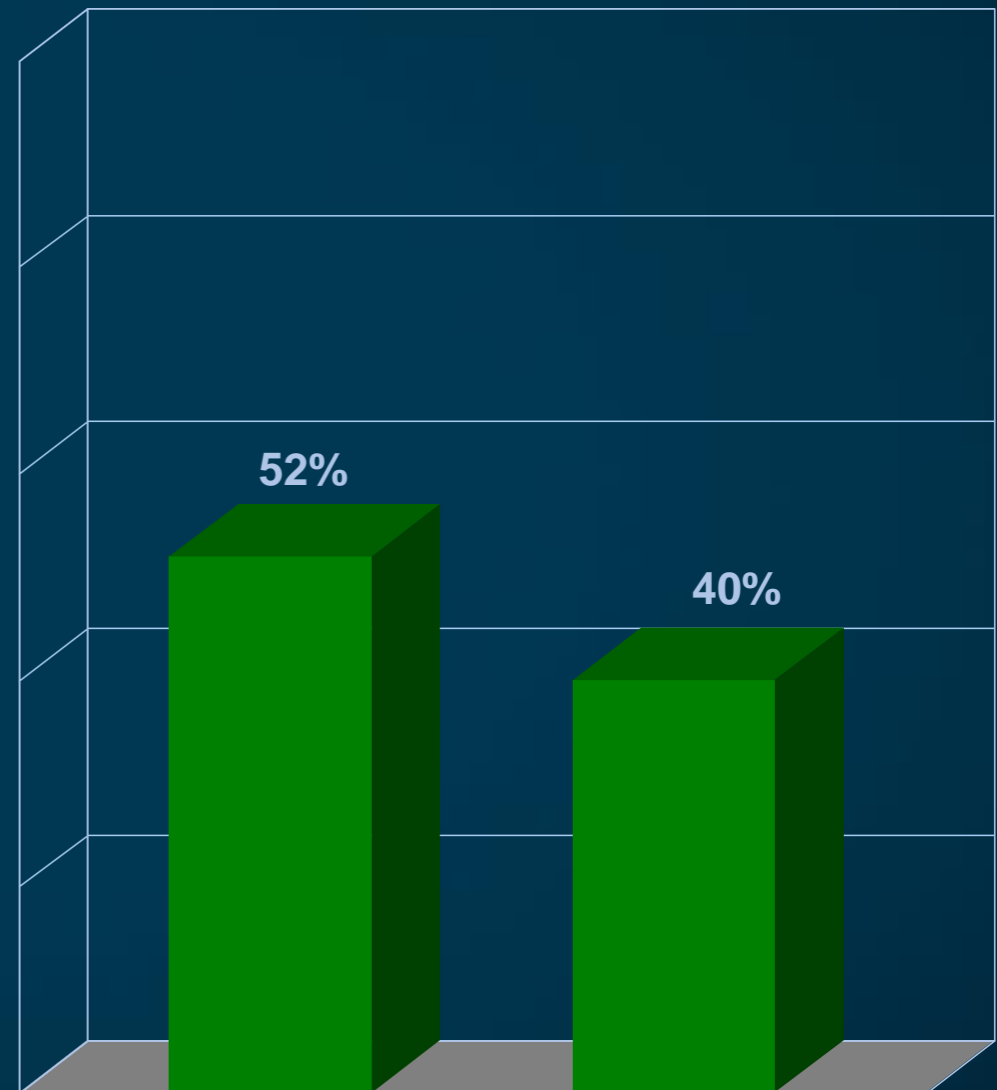
# The PA is seen as strong and has public confidence on the West Bank – the opposite holds for the Hamas government among Gaza residents.

*Palestinian Authority*



■ Strong presence  
■ Confident can provide security

*Gaza Government*

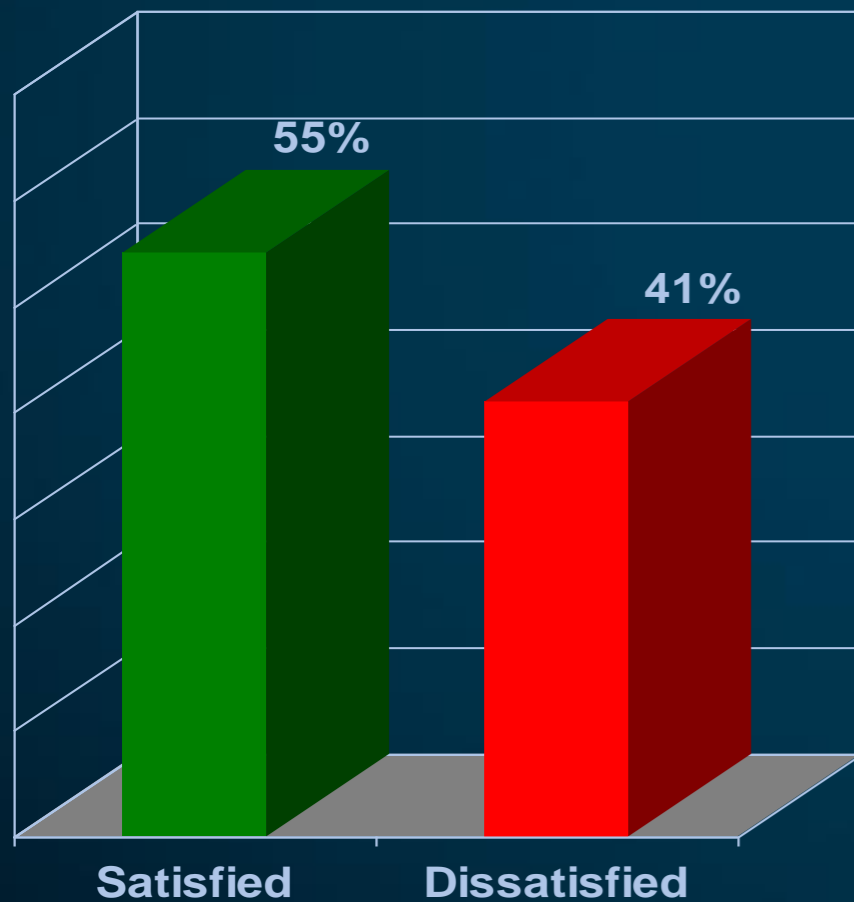


■ Strong presence  
■ Confident can provide security

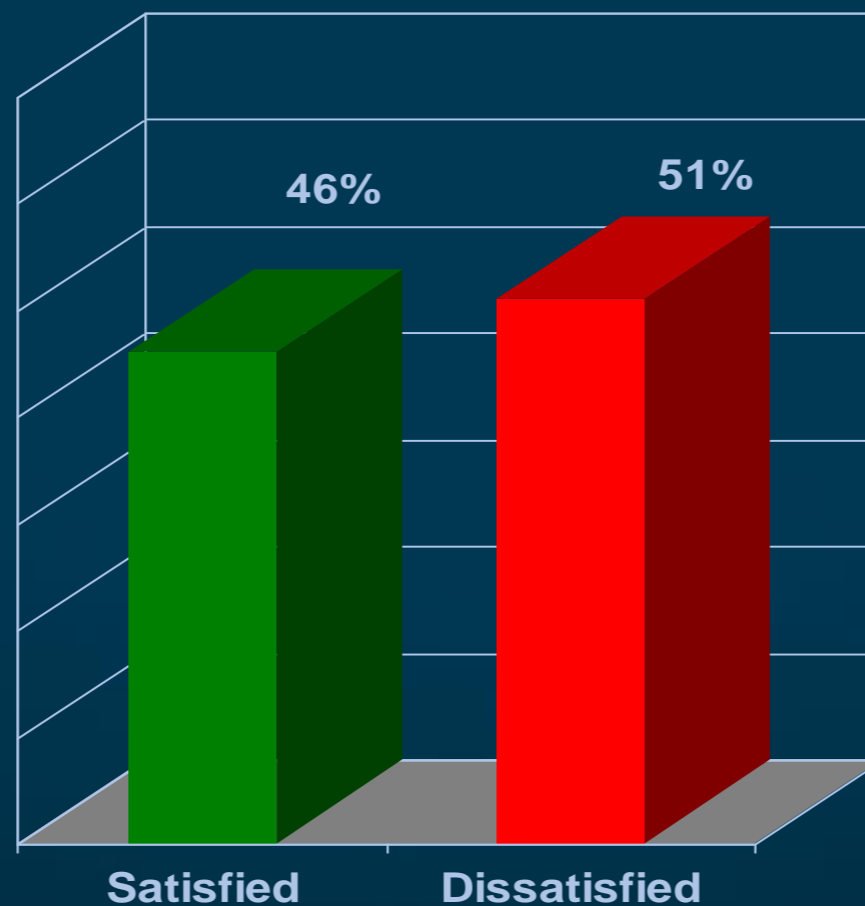
# President Abbas has majority job approval, while ratings are split on Prime Minister Fayyad and negative for Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh.

*Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the following political figures handle their jobs?*

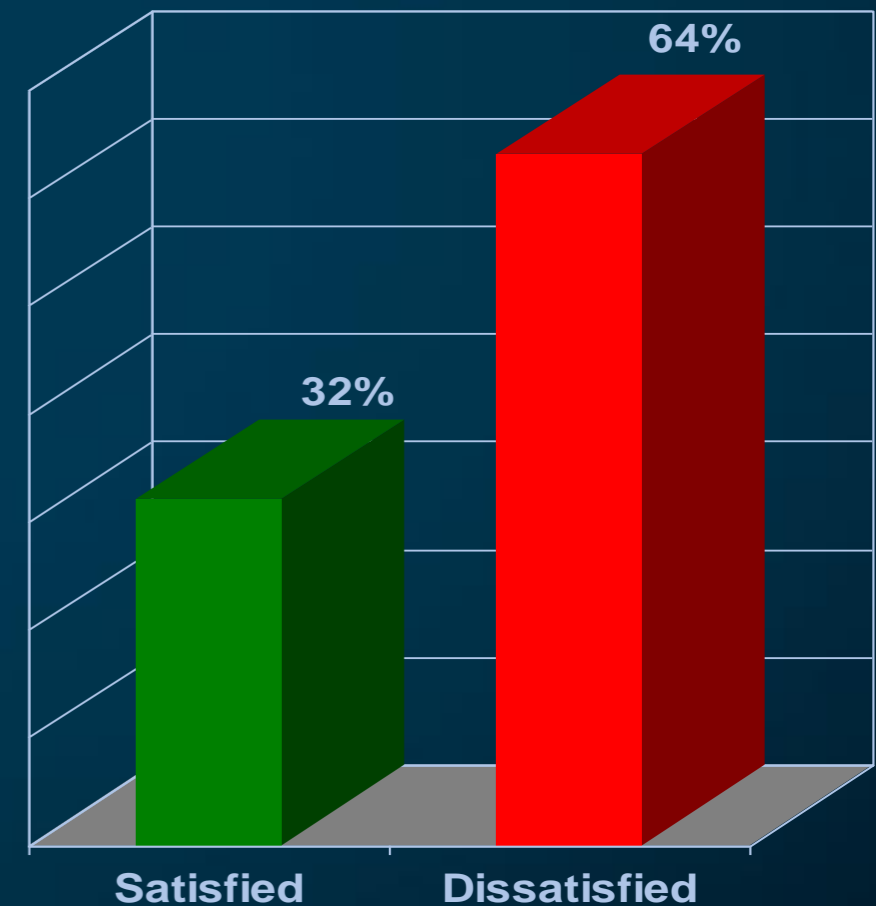
*Mahmoud Abbas as President?*



*Salam Fayyad as Prime Minister?*

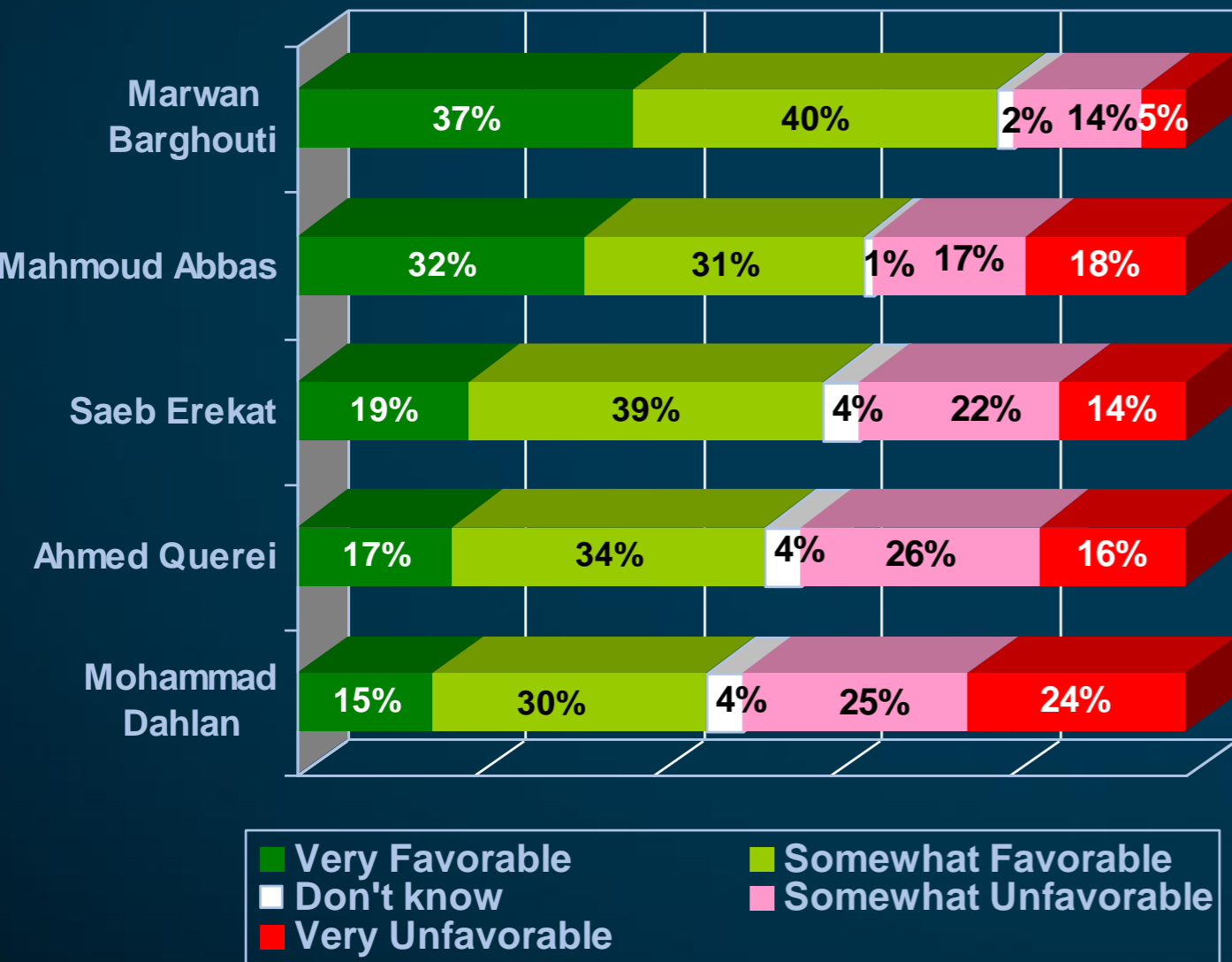


*Ismail Haniyeh as Hamas leader?*

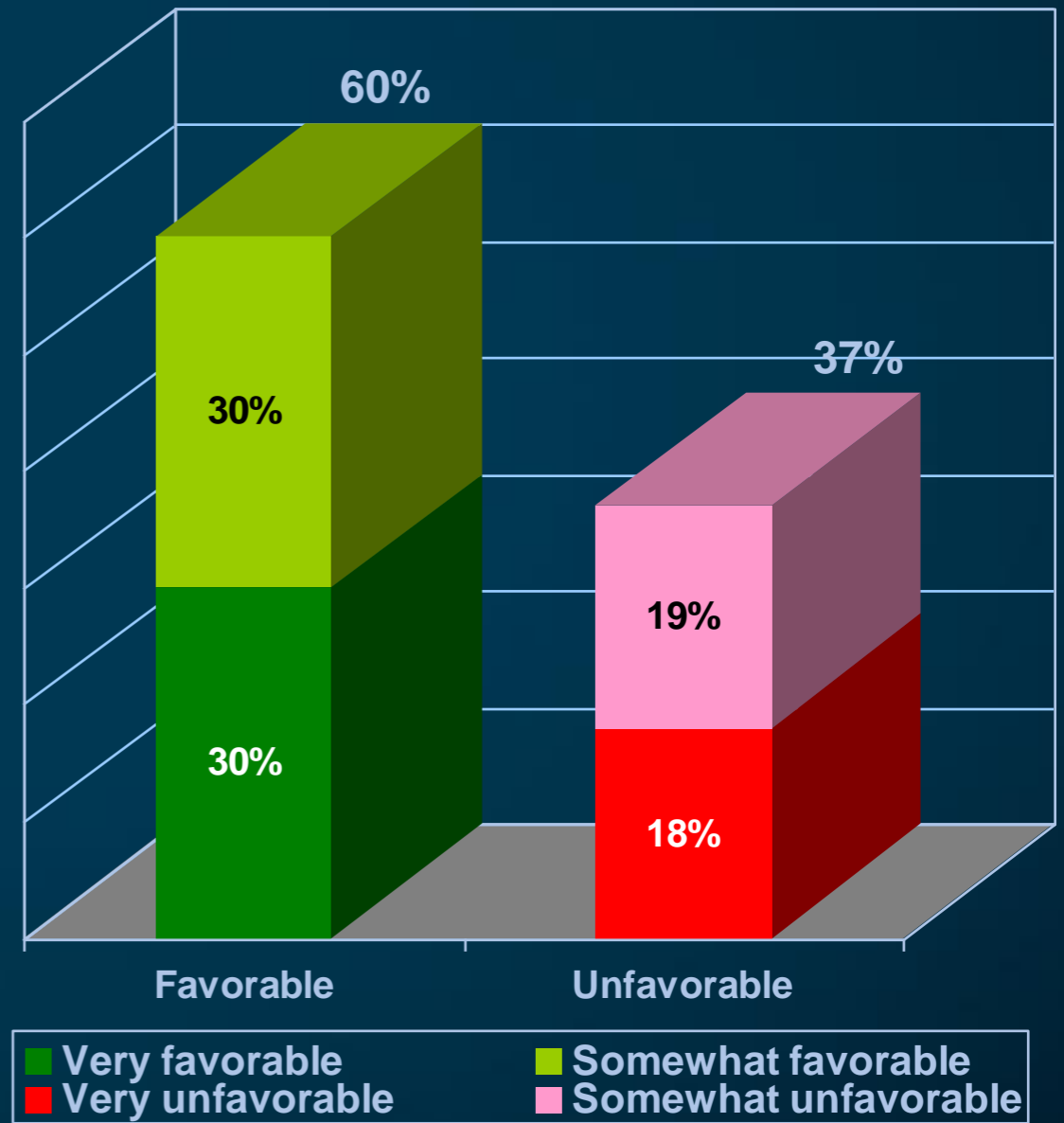


# With Mahmoud Abbas and Marwan Barghouti on top, a majority is favorable to Fatah and its leaders, except Mahmoud Dahlan.

What is your opinion of the following public figures?



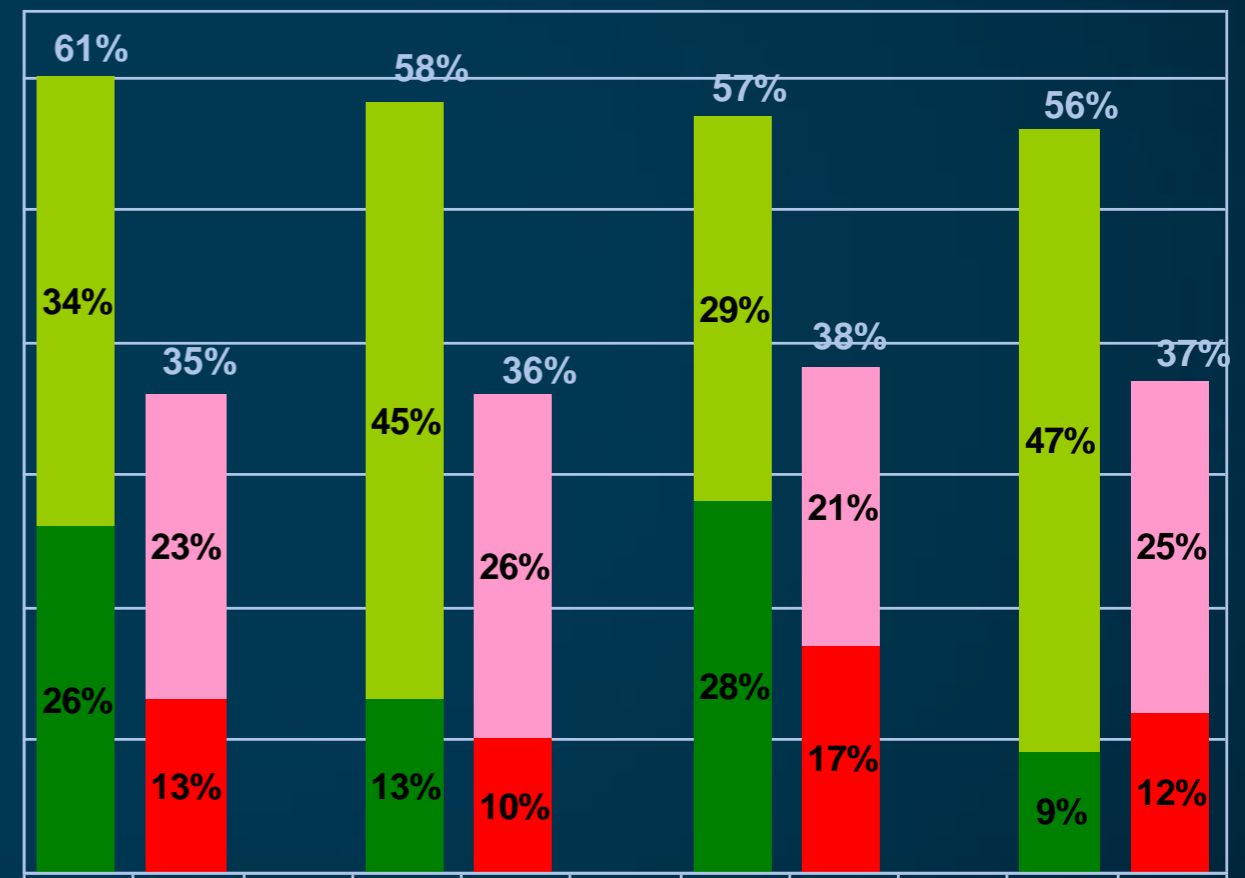
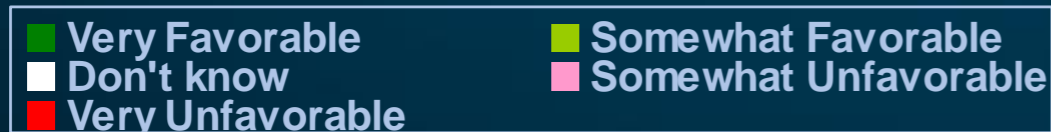
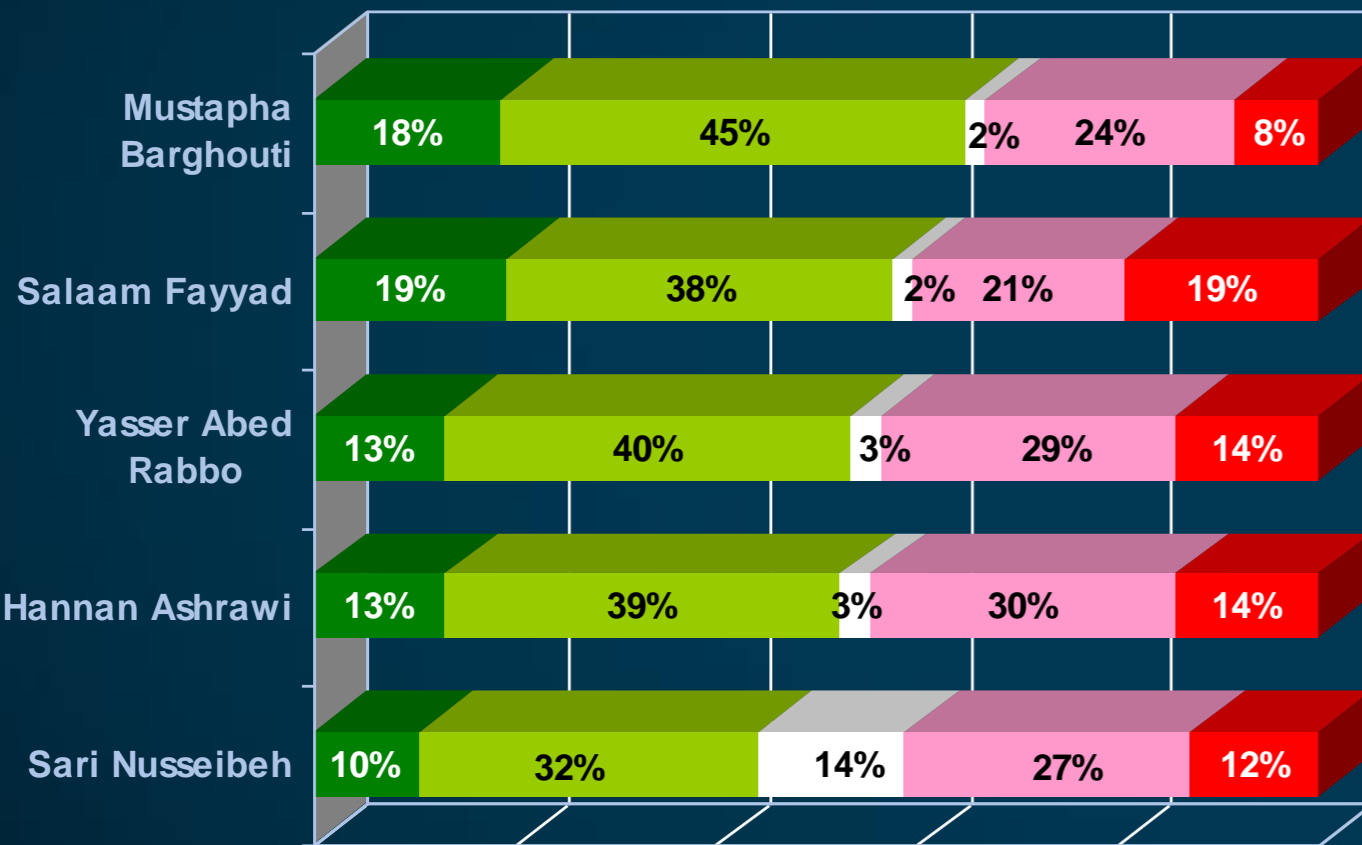
What is your opinion of Fatah?



# The PA, PLO, and independent figures—especially Mustapha Barghouti and Salaam Fayyad—are popular with a majority.

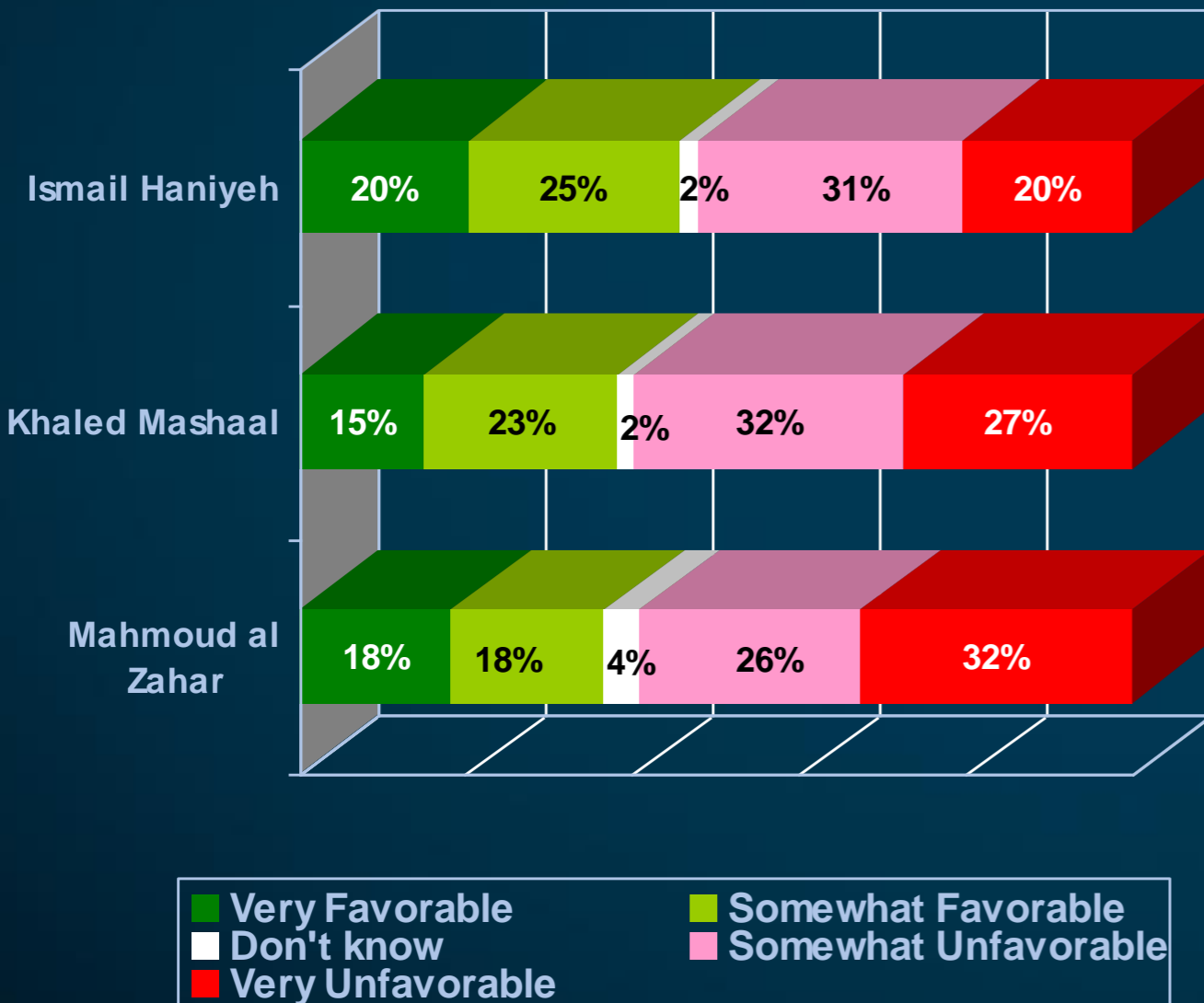
What is your opinion of the following public figures?

What is your opinion of the following organizations / movements?

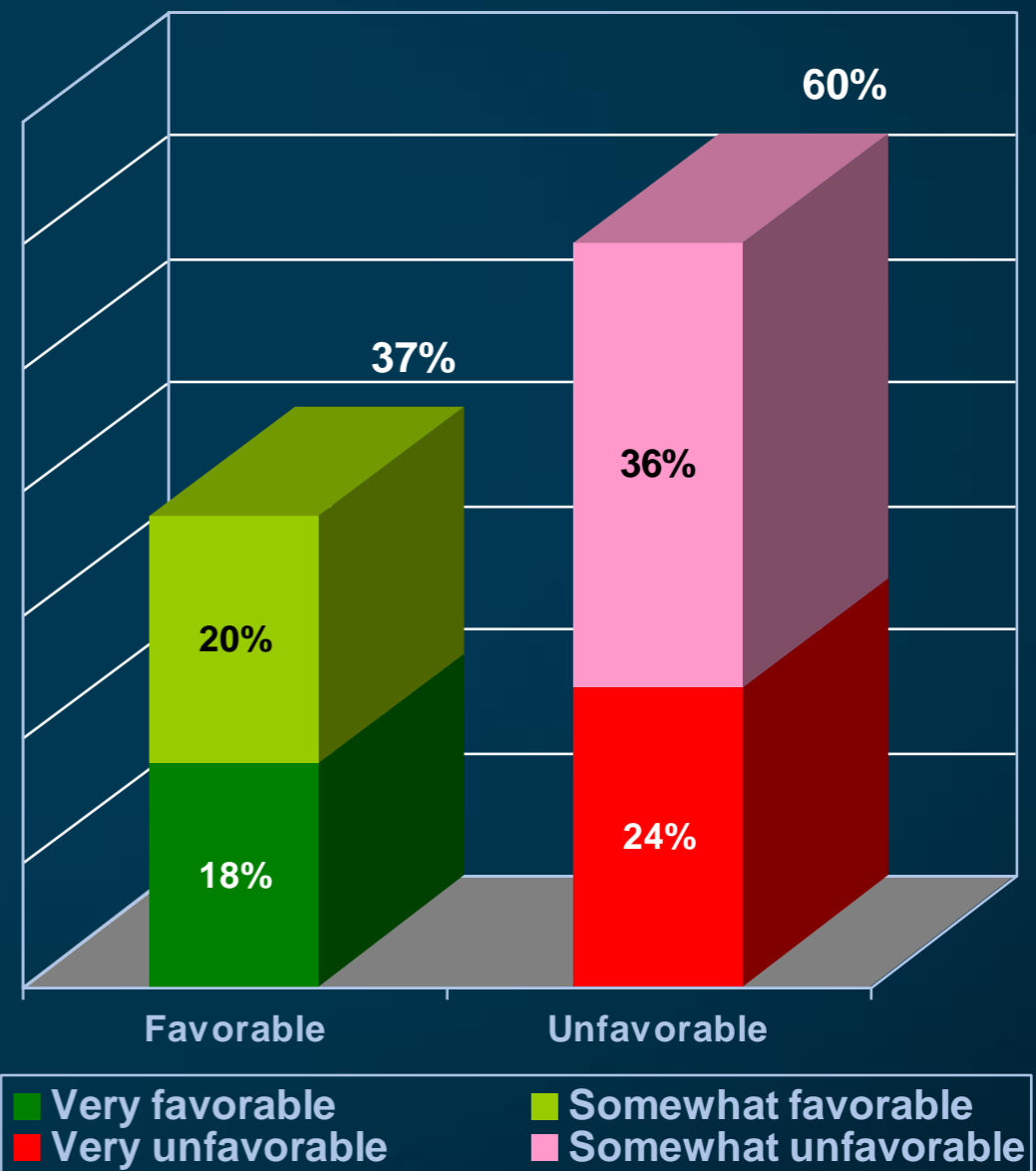


# Hamas and its leaders are popular among 35% to 45% of Palestinians.

What is your opinion of the following public figures?



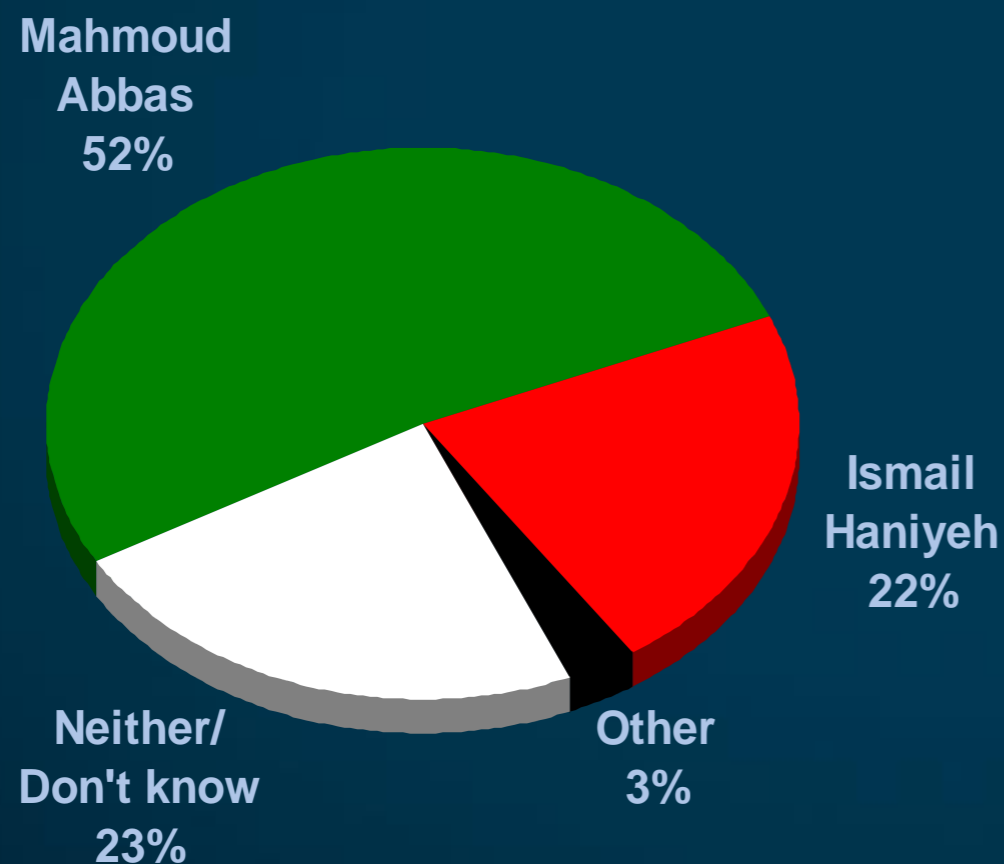
What is your opinion of Hamas?



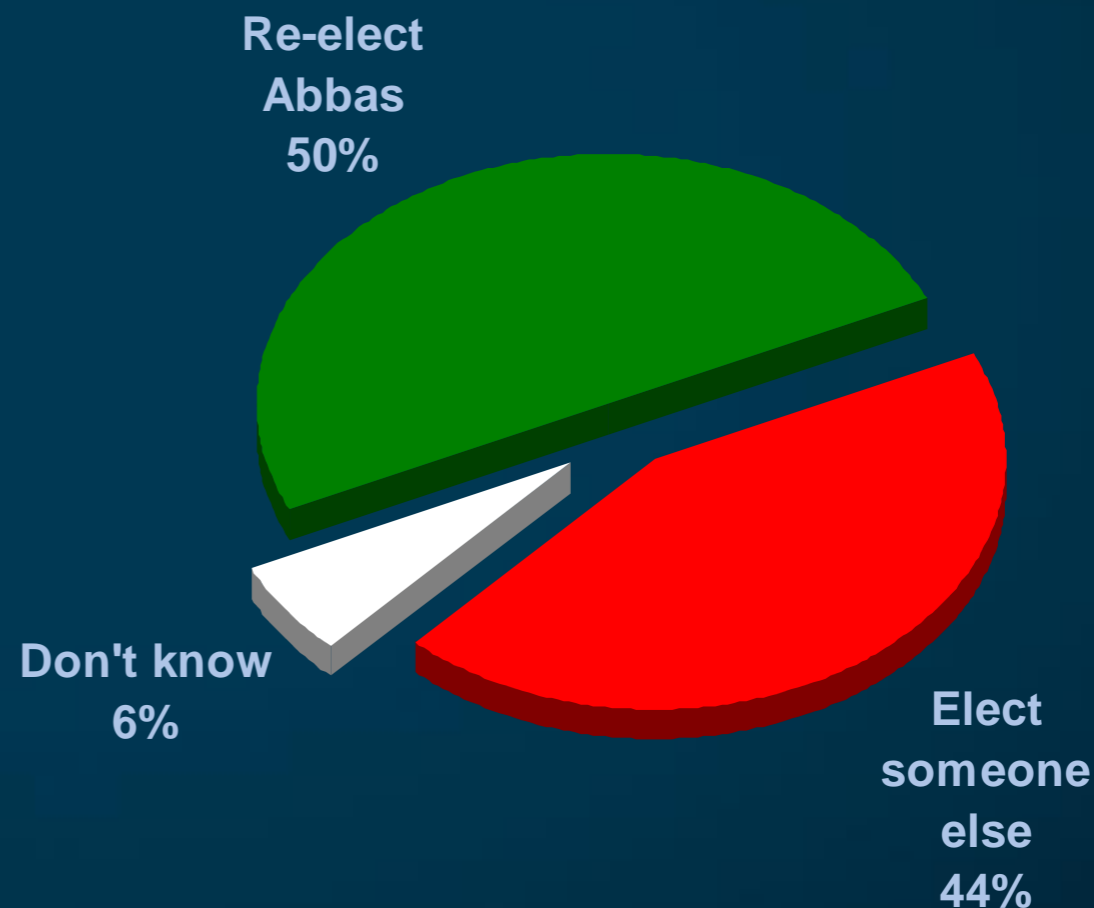


# Abbas leads Haniyeh on the presidential vote, but the close split on his re-election suggests he would face a tight race.

*Presidential Vote Preference*

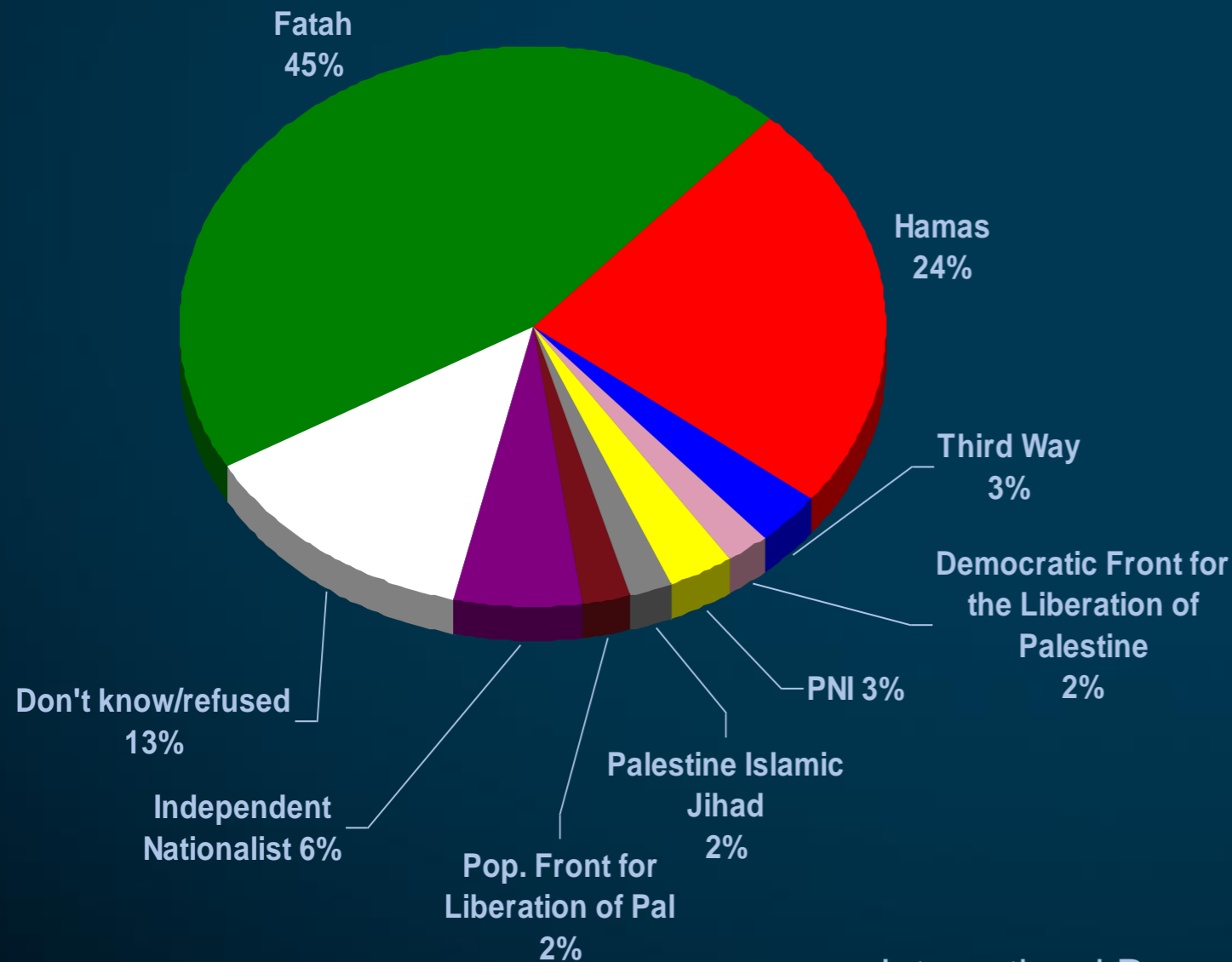


*Re-election Vote Preference*

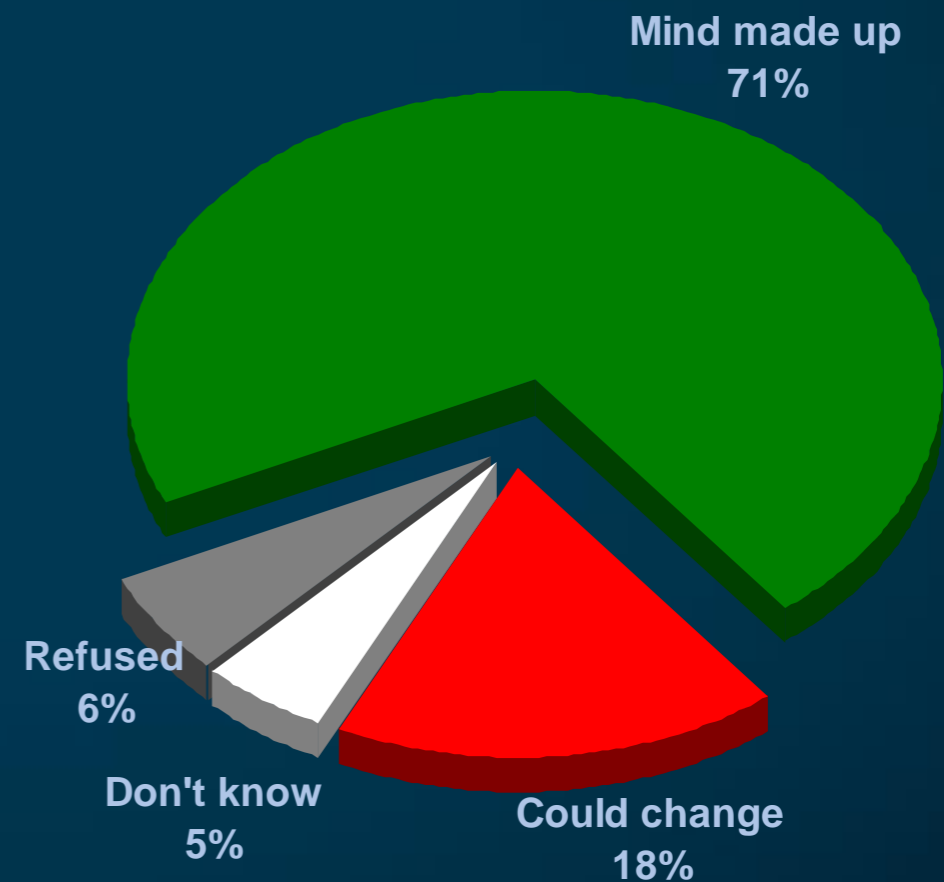


# Fatah leads Hamas in the PLC party vote, but a majority depends on don't-knows, potential switchers, and the electoral system.

*Presidential Vote Preference*

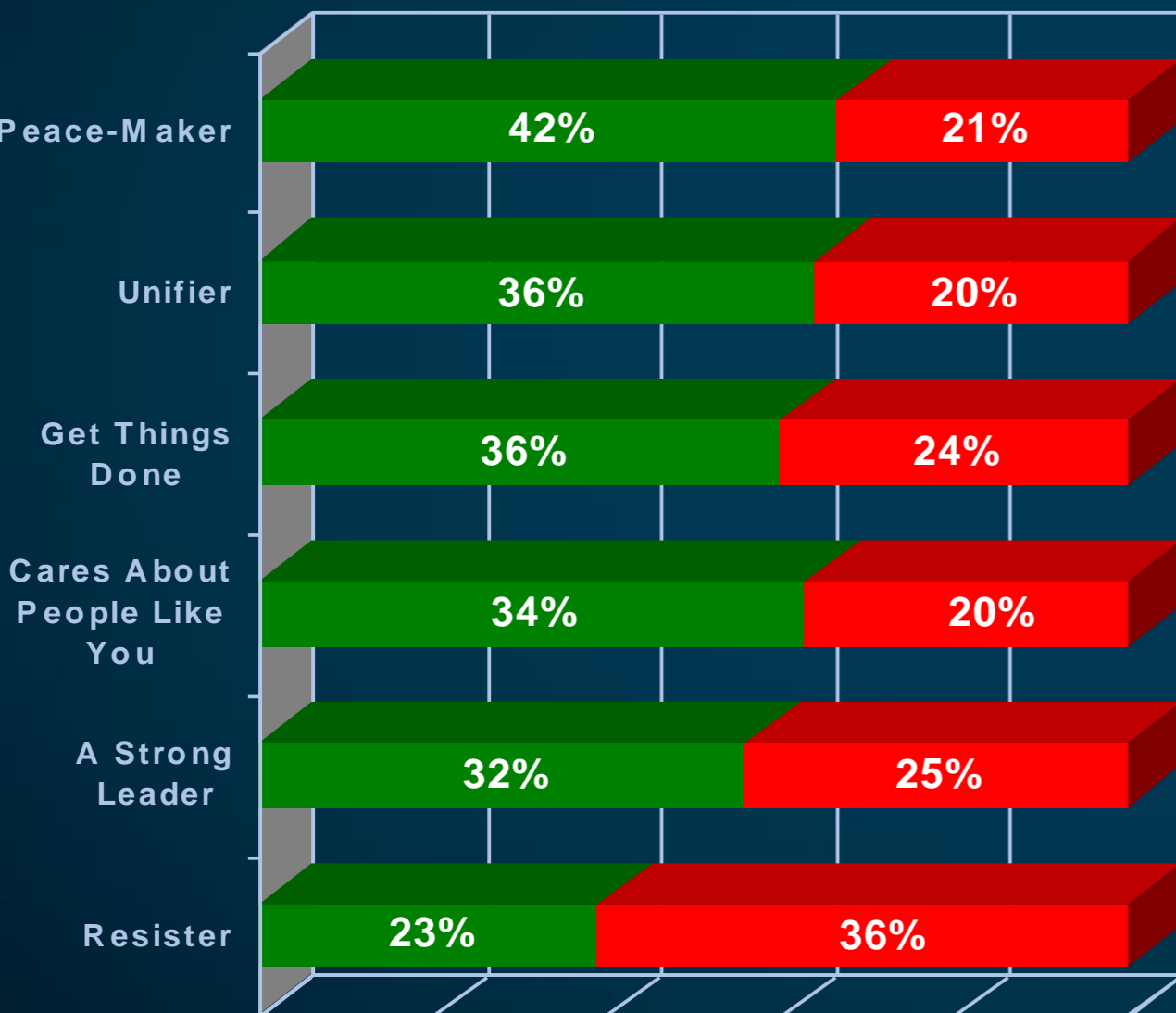


*Willingness to Switch Vote*

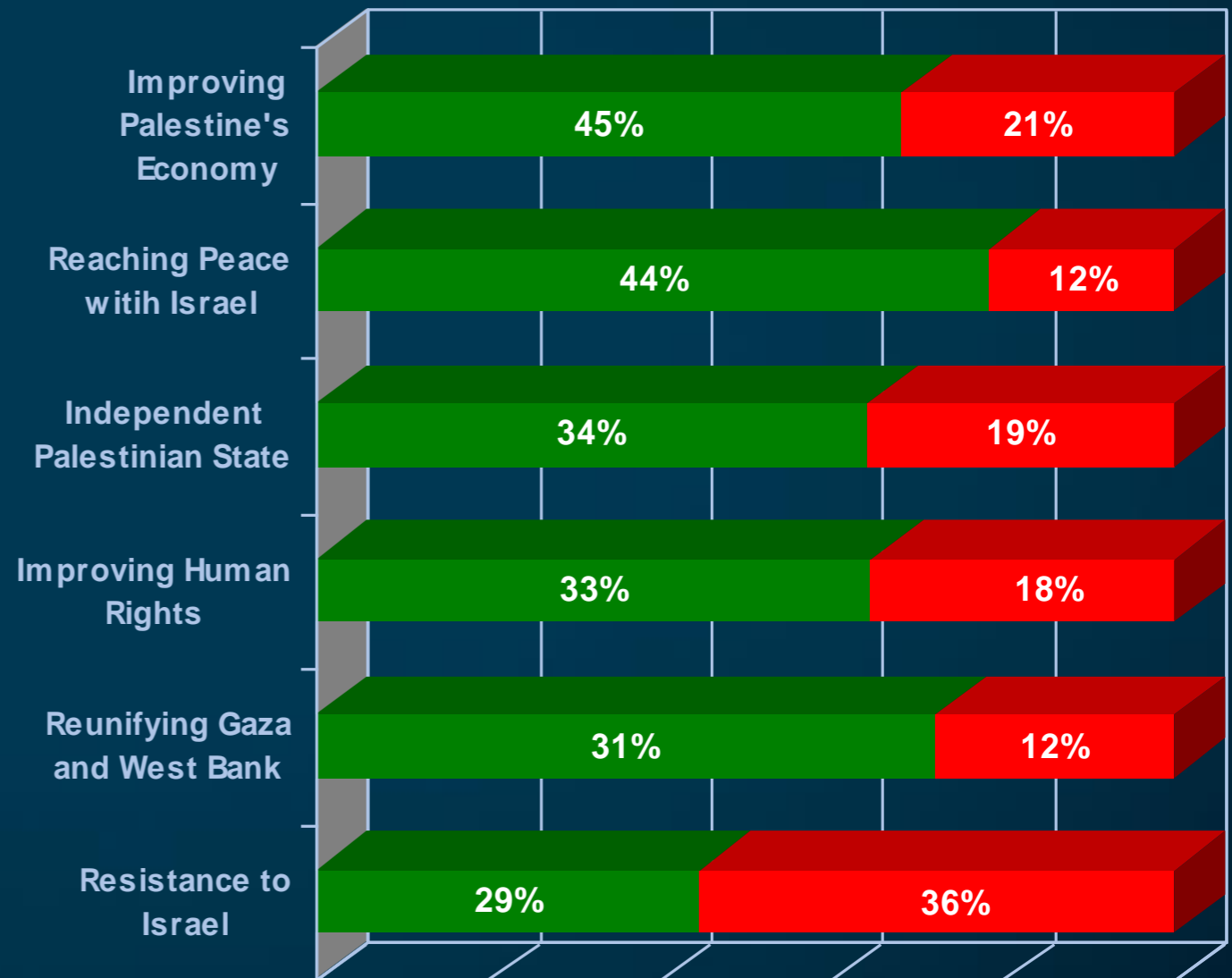


# Fatah leads on peace, unity, the economy, and leadership – while Hamas leads only on the issue of resistance.

*Leader Attributes*



*Best Party for Issues*



■ Abbas/Fatah ■ Haniyeh/Hamas

# **Gaza and West Bank residents differ in perceptions of conditions, the legacy of the Gaza war, and elections, but in some surprising ways.**

## **Conditions**

- Economy: WB more prosperous
- Security: WB better policed, has better security
- Governance: PA, municipal governments more active in WB

## **War legacy**

- Gaza reconstruction: WB credits Hamas, Gaza credits UN/West
- International Organizations: Gaza favorable to UN, UNSCO, EU – WB hostile
- Actors: Gaza hostile to Qassam Brigades, Mashaal, Iran – WB favorable
- Resistance: Gaza favors firing rockets and violence, WB opposes

## **Elections**

- Electoral System: Gaza favors districts, WB proportional
- Independents / Moderates: Gaza hostile, WB favorable
- Vote: Gaza more pro Hamas.

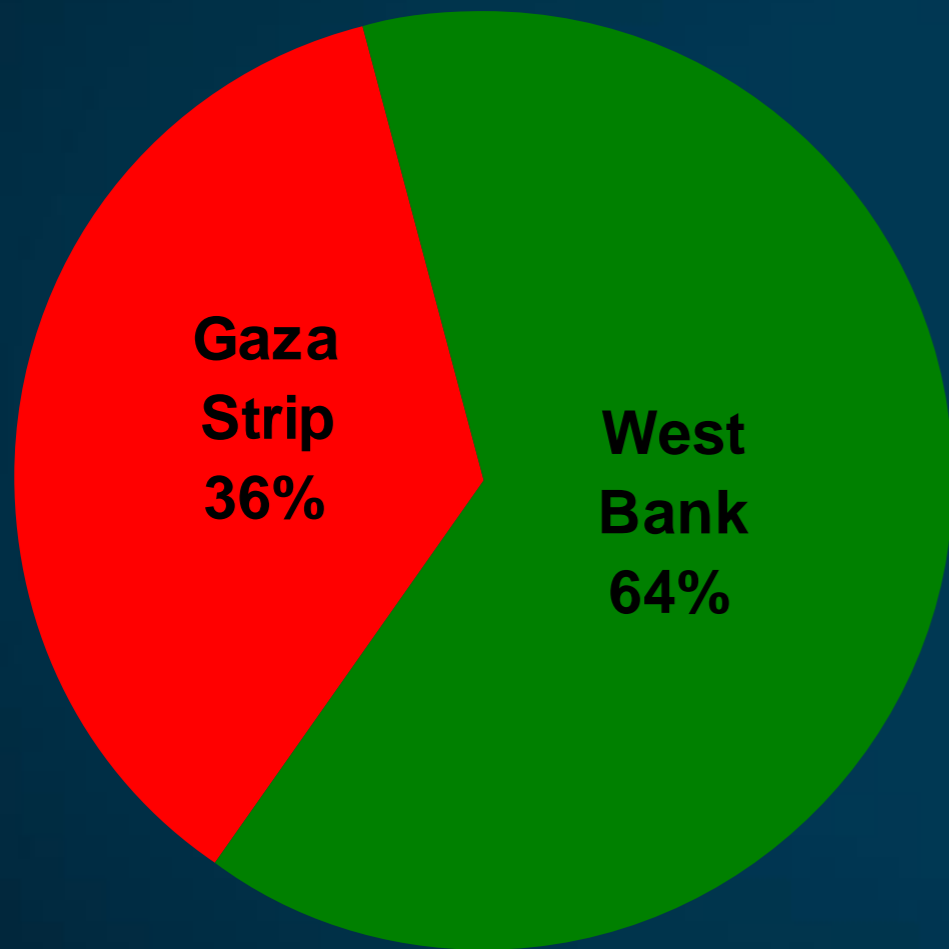
# Key Points

*Findings of the Jun 23-Jul 17 IPI poll of 2,402 Palestinians in West Bank and Gaza include:*

- There is majority support among Palestinians for a two-state peace plan, an important shift from the time of Camp David nine years ago.
- A key to the appeal of the peace plan is the Arab Peace Initiative.
- The main gestures under discussion in Washington and Jerusalem – a settlement freeze and reducing checkpoints – are the least important to Palestinians of six major confidence-building measures under consideration.
- The Palestinians are skeptical of America and Obama – but many hope he will be able to advance the peace process.
- They are critical of the UN and UNSCO, but value UNRWA highly.
- Palestinians have mixed feelings about violent resistance, but want accountability for violence against civilians and a truth commission after a final settlement.
- Political divisions, economic problems, insecurity, and the Israeli occupation are Palestinians' top concerns, despite some economic recovery in the West Bank.
- Discontent is rife with public services, living conditions, and security, though the Jenin-Nablus police training project receives a positive public response.
- Corruption, favor-seeking, and patronage are widespread in Palestinian administrative, legislative, and relief activities.
- Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas and his Fatah party have regained support since January's Gaza war and lead Ismail Haniyeh and Hamas, but elections are likely to be close.

# National Sample and Oversamples

*National Sample*



*District Samples plus Oversamples*

	National	Over		National	Over	
<i>District</i>	n=	n=		<i>District</i>	n=	n=
Jerusalem	73	77		Jericho	107	43
Jenin	49	101		Bethlehem	48	102
Tulkarem	71	79		Hebron	124	26
Tubas	105	45		North Gaza	60	90
Nablus	66	84		Gaza	119	31
Qalqilia	89	61		Deir-Albalah	77	73
Salfeet	110	40		Khan Younis	70	80
Ramallah	55	95		Rafah	87	65

# Representativeness of the Sample

	Actual		Sample	
<b>Gender: Male/Female</b>	<b>West Bank</b> 51/49%	<b>Gaza</b> 51/49%	<b>West Bank</b> 51/49%	<b>Gaza</b> 51/49%
<b>Education:</b> < Primary/Primary/ Secondary +	<b>West Bank</b> 14/18/69%	<b>Gaza</b> 11/14/76%	<b>West Bank</b> 12/16/72%	<b>Gaza</b> 10/12/78%
<b>Age:</b> West Bank: 18-24/25-34/ 35-44/45-54/55+	<b>West Bank</b> 26/28/21/ 12/13%	<b>Gaza</b> n/a	<b>West Bank</b> 26/28/21/ 12/13%	<b>Gaza</b> 18/35/24/ 15/8%