

## المركز الفلسطيني للبحوث السياسية والمسحية Palestinian Center for POLICY and SURVEY



### **Survey Research Unit**

Special Gaza War Poll

26-30 August 2014

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 Foundation in Ramallah



Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

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### Special Gaza War Poll

Gaza War ends with a victory for Hamas leading to a great increase in its popularity and the popularity of its approach of armed resistance: for the first time since 2006, Hamas wins parliamentary and presidential elections if they were to take place today while West Bankers support transferring Hamas' approach to the West Bank

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 26-30 August 2014. The period before the poll witnessed the eruption of the Gaza War which was preceded by the kidnapping and killing of three Israelis. More than 2000 Palestinians, mostly civilians, were killed during the war. About 70 Israelis, mostly from the military, were killed during the war. Our fieldwork started on the last day of the war and continued during the first four days of the ceasefire. This press release covers public perception of the war, who came out a winner, the ceasefire agreement, targeting of civilians, evaluation of the performance of various Palestinian actors during the war, and war impact on reconciliation. It also covers Palestinian elections, the internal balance of power, the June kidnapping and killing of the three Israelis, and others. 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 RESULTS:**

Findings of this special Gaza War poll highlight dramatic changes in public attitudes regarding major issues. It goes without saying that the war was the major driver behind these changes. As expected, and as we saw in previous instances during and immediately after Israeli wars with Hamas, findings show a spike in the popularity of Hamas and its leaders and a major decline in the popularity of Fatah and president Abbas. But, as in previous cases, these changes might be temporary and things might revert in the next several months to where they were before the war.

It is worth noting that the size of the change in favor of Hamas is unprecedented since 2006. Indeed, if presidential elections were to take place today, Ismail Haniyeh would easily win over Abbas and Hamas would win the largest percentage of the popular vote in parliamentary elections. The overwhelming majority of the public views Hamas as the winner and Israel as the loser in this war. Furthermore, a similar majority views Hamas' approach of armed confrontation with Israel as the most effective means of ending Israeli occupation. Indeed, an overwhelming majority of West Bankers wants to transfer "Hamas' way" to the West Bank and rejects the demand to disarm the Islamist group or to disband the other Gazan armed groups. Findings also indicate that the public see Iran, Turkey, and Qatar as the most instrumental in supporting Hamas and helping Gazans remain steadfast against the Israeli attacks. By contrast, Egypt's role is seen as week and unhelpful. Indeed, a majority believes that Egypt played a negative role in the ceasefire negotiations.

Finally, despite the fact that the Palestinian Authority, Abbas, and prime minister Rami al Hamdallah received little positive evaluation for their role during the war, a majority tends to give the reconciliation government a big role in the affairs of the Gaza Strip in the post war period. For example, a majority wants it to control border crossings and to supervise police and security sector employees; the largest percentage wants it to control borders with Israel and Egypt and to lead the reconstruction process in the

#### (1) Gaza War:

- 79% believe that Hamas has won the Gaza War; 79% believe Israel was responsible for the eruption of the Gaza war, and 94% are satisfied with Hamas' military performance in confronting Israeli forces.
- 63% believe that the ceasefire agreement satisfies Palestinian interests, but 34% disagree with that. Moreover, 59% are satisfied and 39% are dissatisfied with war accomplishments
- An overwhelming majority of 86% support the launching of rockets from the Gaza Strip at Israel if the siege and blockade are not ended.
- 49% think it is justified for Hamas to launch rockets from populated areas and 46% disagree with that.
- 57% oppose disarming armed groups in the Gaza Strip while 25% support such a measure after the ending of the siege and the conduct of elections.
- Yet, a majority of 54% support and 40% oppose Abbas' position that argues that the reconciliation government must be committed to existing agreements reached between the PLO and Israel.
- But only 43%, compared to 53% last June, agrees with the statement that the inclusion of Hamas into the PLO means an implicit acceptance by Hamas of the PLO peace program and the existing agreements with Israel.
- About two thirds (64%) believe that Iran, Turkey and Qatar combined have given the Gaza Strip the ability to remain steadfast against Israeli attacks and to be able to continue to launch rockets during the war; only 9% believe Egypt too has contributed to that.
- Moreover, only 25% describe Egypt's role in the ceasefire negotiations as positive while a majority of 52% describe it as negative.
- In an evaluation of the performance of the various Palestinian actors during the war,

79% believe that Hamas has won the Gaza War; 3% believe Israel came out the winner; and 17% believe the two sides were losers. Moreover, 79% believe Israel was responsible for the eruption of the Gaza war; 5% believe Hamas was responsible; and 12% believe the responsibility lies with the two sides. 63% believe that the ceasefire agreement satisfies Palestinian interests, but 34% disagree with that. Moreover, 59% are satisfied with the accomplishment gained in the agreement compared to the human and material losses sustained by the Gaza Strip; 39% are dissatisfied with the accomplishment. Satisfaction with war accomplishments is higher in the West Bank (61%) compared to the Gaza Strip (56%), among those who oppose the peace process (69%) compared to those who support the peace process (55%), among Hamas supporters (69%) compared to supporters of Fatah (53%), among those who hold a BA degree (60%) compared to those who are illiterates (47%), and among students (62%) compared to housewives (58%).

An overwhelming majority of 86% support the launching of rockets from the Gaza Strip at Israel if the siege and blockade are not ended. Support for launching the rockets is higher in the West Bank (88%) compared to the Gaza Strip (82%). 60% say that Hamas does not launch rockets from populated areas, but 30% say it does. 49% think it is justified for Hamas to launch rockets from populated areas and 46% disagree with that. Percentage of those who believe that launching rockets from populated areas is unjustified increases to 59% among Gazans while standing at 38% among West Bankers. The percentage of those who believe that it is unjustified to launch rockets from populated areas increases among supporters of the peace process (48%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (42%), among supporters of Fatah (62%) compared to supporters of Hamas (38%), and among illiterates (57%) compared to those who hold a BA degree (46%). Only 30% believe that Hamas should warn Israeli civilians in the specific targeted areas before launching its rockets; 68% believe it should not do so.

57% oppose disarming armed groups in the Gaza Strip while 25% support such a measure after the ending of the siege and the conduct of elections; 13% support this measure but only after reaching a peace agreement with Israel. In our June 2014 poll, only 33% said it opposed disarming and dissolving armed groups in the Gaza Strip. Despite the current opposition to disarming Gaza groups, a majority of 54% support and 40% oppose Abbas' position that argues that the reconciliation government must be committed to existing agreements reached between the PLO and Israel and rejects Hamas position that opposes Abbas' argument. In our previous poll in June, support for Abbas' position stood at 59%. Yet, only 43%, compared to 53% last June, agrees with the statement that the inclusion of Hamas into the PLO means an implicit acceptance by Hamas of the PLO peace program and the existing agreements with Israel.

About two thirds (64%) believe that Iran, Turkey and Qatar combined have given the Gaza Strip the ability to remain steadfast against Israeli attacks and to be able to continue to launch rockets during the war; only 9% believe Egypt too has contributed to that. Iran comes on top with 28%, followed by Turkey (21%) and Qatar (15%); 25% select other countries or actors. Moreover, only 25% describe Egypt's role in the ceasefire negotiations as positive while a majority of 52% describe it as negative and 22% as neutral. Positive evaluation of Egypt's role is higher in the Gaza Strip (29%) compared to the West Bank (22%), among supporters of the peace process (32%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (13%), among supporters of Fatah (40%) compared to supporters of Hamas and third parties (15% and 21% respectively), among illiterates (42%) compared to holders of BA degree (22%), and among housewives (28%) compared to students (21%).

In an evaluation of the performance of the various Palestinian actors during the war, Prime Minister Rami al Hamdallah comes at the bottom, with 35% giving him a positive rating. The PA comes next with 36%, Abbas with 39%, the reconciliation government with 43%, and the PLO with 44%. On top comes

Prime Minister Rami al Hamdallah comes at the bottom, with 35% giving him a positive rating. The PA comes next with 36%, Abbas with 39%, the reconciliation government with 43%, and the PLO with 44%. On top comes Khalid Mish'al with 78% approval and Hamas with 88% approval.

Khalid Mish'al with 78% approval and Hamas with 88% approval. The approval rating for Abbas rises to 49% in the Gaza Strip and drops to 33% in the West Bank. By contrast, Khalid Mish'al's approval rating drops in the Gaza Strip to 70% and rises to 83% in the West Bank.

### (2) The reconciliation government and its role in Gaza after the war:

- Optimism about the success of reconciliation and the end of the split rises to 69%; 28% remain pessimistic.
- Three months after its establishment, 46% are satisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government and 46% are dissatisfied.
- A majority of 51% wants to place the reconciliation government in charge of the Rafah crossing, but 38% prefer to keep it under Hamas' control.
- 48% want the reconciliation government to control the border with Egypt and 39% want it under Hamas' control.
- 44% believe the responsibility for the reconstruction of the Gaza Strip should be placed in the hands of the reconciliation government while 39% prefer to place it in Hamas' hands.
- 83% want the reconciliation government to pay the salary of the Gaza public sector that served the previous Hamas government; 13% are opposed to that.
- 65% want the reconciliation government to be in charge of supervising the work of the employees of Gaza security sector who worked in the past under Hamas government; 29% disagree with that.

Findings show that optimism about the success of reconciliation and the end of the split rises to 69%; 28% remain pessimistic. In our last poll in June 62% were optimistic. Three months after its establishment, 46% are satisfied with the performance of the reconciliation government and 46% are dissatisfied. Indeed, 60% prefer to get rid of the reconciliation government and form a unity government in which leaders and politicians from all major factions would participate; 34% oppose such a step and prefer to keep the reconciliation government. The preference for a unity government drops significantly to 49% in the Gaza Strip and increases to 66% in the West Bank.

A majority of 51% wants to place the reconciliation government in charge of the Rafah crossing, but 38% prefer to keep it under Hamas' control. In the Gaza Strip, 64% want to place the Rafah crossing under the control of the reconciliation government and only 25% want it under Hamas' control. The same, with minor variation, applies to control over the crossings with Israel. 48% want the reconciliation government to control the border with Egypt and 39% want it under Hamas' control. The same, with minor variation, applies to the border with Israel; with 45% in favor of keeping the border under the control of the reconciliation government and 41% say they should stay under Hamas' control. In the Gaza Strip, 56% say borders with Egypt should come under the control of the reconciliation government and 49% say the border with Israel too should come under the control of the reconciliation government. In the West Bank, 42% say that the Rafah crossing should come under the control of the reconciliation government and 45% say it should remain under Hamas control. The demand to place the control of the Rafah crossing under the reconciliation government increases among men (56%) compared to women (45%), among the somewhat religious (53%) compared to the religious (47%), among supporters of the peace process (58%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (39%), among supporters of Fatah (85%) compared to supporters of Hamas and third parties (31% and 49% respectively), and among refugees (55%) compared to non-refugees (47%).

44% believe the responsibility for the reconstruction of the Gaza Strip should be placed in the hands of the reconciliation government while 39% prefer to place it in Hamas' hands. But 83% want the reconciliation government to pay the salary of the Gaza public sector that served the previous Hamas government; 13% are opposed to that. In this regard, 65% want the reconciliation government to be in charge of supervising the work of the employees of Gaza security sector who worked in the past under Hamas government; 29% disagree with that, wanting instead to keep these employees under Hamas' control. In the Gaza Strip, the demand for placing the security sector employees under the control of the reconciliation government rises to 72% and only 24% want them under Hamas' control. In the West Bank, demand to place supervision over those employees under the reconciliation government stands at 61% while 32% want them to come under the supervision of Hamas. Demand to place the security sector employees under the supervision of the reconciliation government among men (68%) compared to women (62%), among supporters of Fatah and third parties (79% and 75% respectively) compared to supports of Hamas (54%). Nonetheless, 72% agree with Hamas' demand that security and police should remain under its control during the next 6 months, up until the elections; 24%

disagree with that. Two months ago 66% agreed with that.

### (3) Presidential and Legislative Elections:

- If new presidential elections are held today and only two were nominated, Haniyeh would receive a majority of 61% and Abbas would receive 32%.
- Level of satisfaction with the performance of Abbas decreases from 50% two months ago to 39% in this poll.
- If presidential elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 45% and the latter would receive 49% of the participants' votes
- If presidential elections were between three: Mahmud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Haniyeh would receive 48% of the vote, Barghouti 29%, and Abbas 19%.
- If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 46% say they would vote for Hamas and 31% say they would vote for Fatah, 7% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 17% are undecided.

If new presidential elections are held today and only two were nominated, Haniyeh, for the first time since we have started asking about his popularity about 8 years ago, would receive a majority of 61% and Abbas would receive 32%. Vote for Haniyeh stands at 53% in the Gaza Strip and 66% in the West Bank. Abbas receives 43% in the Gaza Strip and 25% in the West Bank. Two months ago, Abbas received the support of 53% in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and Haniyeh 41%. The rate of participation in such elections would reach 71%. Level of satisfaction with the performance of Abbas decreases from 50% two months ago to 39% in this poll. Satisfaction with the performance of Abbas rises among supporters of the peace process (52%) compared to those who oppose the peace process (16%), among supporters of Fatah (86%) compared to supporters of Hamas and third parties (15% and 32% respectively), among those who are over 50 years of age (44%) compared to youth between the ages of 18 ad 28 (37%), and among the illiterates (63%) compared to those who hold a BA degree (33%). With regard to Abbas' vote in the presidential elections, the vote increases among non-religious (66%) compared to the religious and the somewhat religious (25% and 36% respectively), among supporters of the peace process (46%) compared to those who are opposed to the peace process (8%), and among supporters of Fatah (89%) compared to supporters of Hamas and third parties (3% and 29% respectively).

If presidential elections were between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 45% and the latter would receive 49% of the participants' votes. This is the first time in 8 years in which Haniyeh receives more votes than Barghouti. In our previous poll, Barghouti received the support of 58% and Haniyeh 38%. The rate of participation in this case would reach 77%. If presidential elections were between three: Mahmud Abbas, Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Haniyeh would receive 48% of the vote, Barghouti 29%, and Abbas 19%. The rate of participation in this case would reach 80%. In our previous poll in June 2014, Barghouti received 36% of the vote, Haniyeh 33%, and Abbas 28%.

If new legislative elections were held today with the participation of all factions, 78% say they would participate in such elections. Of those who would participate, 46% say they would vote for Hamas and 31% say they would vote for Fatah, 7% would vote for all other third parties combined, and 17% are undecided. Two months ago, vote for Hamas stood at 32% and for Fatah at 40%. Vote for Hamas in the Gaza Strip stands in this poll at 44% and in the West Bank at 47%. Vote for Fatah in the Gaza Strip stands in this poll at 36% and in the West Bank at 27%.

A majority of 69% wants elections to take place within few to six months from today, 14% want them to take place after a year or more, and 12% do not want elections.

### (4) Domestic Conditions:

- Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip drops from 24% two months ago to 20% today, and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank remains almost unchanged at 32%.
- Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip drops dramatically from 64% two months ago to 22% in this poll. In the West Bank perception of

Positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip drops from 24% two months ago to 20% today, and positive evaluation of conditions in the West Bank remains almost unchanged at 32%. Perception of safety and security in the Gaza Strip drops dramatically from 64% two months ago to 22% in this poll. In the West Bank perception of safety and security drops from 51% to 47% during the same period. Findings show that the percentage of Gazans who say they seek immigration to other countries stands at 43%; in the West Bank, the percentage stands at 20%. For the first time ever, Hamas' official TV station, Al Aqsa, is the one with the most viewership (37%) in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip followed by al Jazeera (21%), Palestine TV (16%), Ma'an-Mix (11%), and al Arabiya (5%).

In the West Bank, 35% of the respondents expected economic conditions in their area to improve and a similar percentage (33%) expected them to worsen.

safety and security drops from 51% to 47% during the same period.

- Hamas' official TV station, Al Aqsa, is the one with the most viewership (37%) in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip followed by al Jazeera (21%), Palestine TV (16%), Ma'an-Mix (11%), and al Arabiya (5%).
- In the West Bank, 35% of the respondents expected economic conditions in their area to improve in the next few years. But in the Gaza Strip 56% expected economic conditions to improve.

But in the Gaza Strip 56% expected economic conditions to improve and only 20% expected them to worsen.

#### (5) Peace Process:

- Only 47% believe the chances for the resumption of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations are medium or high; 51% believe the chances are low or non-existent.
- The public is divided over the two-state solution: 49% support it and 50% oppose it.
- A majority of 53% believe that armed confrontation is the most effective means to establish a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel. Only 22% believe negotiation is the best means to establish a Palestinian state.
- 62% say that the two-state solution is no longer practical due to Israeli settlement expansion and 35% think it is still practical.
- 81% are worried that they could be hurt by Israelis in their daily life or that their homes would be demolished and land confiscated.
- An overwhelming majority of 81% believe that Israel's long term aspiration is to annex the land occupied in 1967 and expel its population or deny them their political rights.
- 57% of the public supported the June 2014 kidnapping of the three Israelis in the West Bank.
   Similarly, a majority of 54% supported the killing of the three kidnapped Israelis and 42% opposed it.
- An overwhelming majority of

Findings show that only 47% believe the chances for the resumption of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations are medium or high; 51% believe the chances are low or non-existent. Similarly, the public is divided over the two-state solution: 49% support it and 50% oppose it. In our last poll two months ago, 54% supported this solution and 46% opposed it. A majority of 53% believe that armed confrontation is the most effective means to establish a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel. Only 22% believe negotiation is the best means to establish a Palestinian state and 20% believe that popular non-violent resistance is the most effective route to statehood. 62% say that the two-state solution is no longer practical due to Israeli settlement expansion and 35% think it is still practical. Yet, only 24% support the alternative one-state solution; 75% reject the one-state solution. These findings indicate a drop in the support for the onestate solution which two months ago stood at 31%. The belief that armed confrontations are the most effective means to establish a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel increases in the Gaza Strip (56%) compared to the West Bank (51%), among men (56%) compared to women (50%), among the religious (56%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (52% and 36% respectively), among those who oppose the peace process (78%) compared to those who support the peace process (39%), among supporters of Hamas (72%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (34% and 48% respectively), among refugees (55%) compared to non-refugees (51%), among holders of BA degree (58%) compared to illiterates (49%), and among students (58%) compared to housewives (49%).

81% are worried that they could be hurt by Israelis in their daily life or that their homes would be demolished and land confiscated. Only 19% are not worried. Similarly, an overwhelming majority of 81% believe that Israel's long term aspiration is to annex the land occupied in 1967 and expel its population or deny them their political rights. By contrast, 63% believe that the long term aspiration of the Palestinian Authority and the PLO is to recover part or all of the land occupied in 1967.

57% of the public say that they supported the June 2014 kidnapping of the three Israelis in the West Bank when that incident took place. Support for the kidnapping reached 76% in the Gaza Strip and only 45% in the West Bank. Similarly, a majority of 54% supported the killing of the three kidnapped Israelis and 42% opposed it. Support for the killing reached 69% in the Gaza Strip and only 42% in the West Bank. 52% of the West Bankers opposed the killing of the three kidnapped Israelis. But the public is divided over the identity of those who carried out the kidnapping and the killing of the three Israelis: 32% accuse Israel, 30% accuse Hamas, 21% believe a Palestinian acted on his own, and 2% accuse Fatah. Support for killing the kidnapped Israelis among the religious (62%) compared to the somewhat religious and the non-religious (50%)

88% supports Hamas' way of confronting the Israeli occupation as it did in the Gaza Strip; only 11% is opposed to that. A majority of 72% favors the transfer of Hamas' approach to the West Bank.

and 29% respectively), among those who oppose the peace the peace process (73%) compared to those who support the peace process (43%), among supporters of Hamas (72%) compared to supporters of Fatah and third parties (40% and 50% respectively), among refugees (62%) compared to non-refugees (46%), and among illiterates (72%) compared to those who hold a BA degree (56%).

In the absence of viable negotiations, 85% support joining more international organizations; 84% support joining the International Criminal Court; 62% favor resort to popular non-violent resistance; 60% support a return to an armed intifada; 42% support a dissolution of the PA; and 24% support abandoning the two-state solution in favor of a one-state solution. It is worth mentioning that two months ago only 41% indicated support for a return to an armed intifada. 61% believe that massive popular demonstrations could contribute to ending the Israeli occupation. But a larger majority of 72% favors the transfer of Hamas' armed approach to the West Bank. Support for emulating Hamas in the West Bank stands at 70% among West Bankers and 74% among Gazans. Support for emulating Hamas in the West Bank is higher among those who oppose the peace process (86%) compared to those who support the peace process (63%), among supporters of Hamas and third parties (86% and 69% respectively) compared to supporters of Fatah (50%), and among refugees (75%) compared to non-refugees (68%).

82% say they participate in boycotting Israeli goods that have local alternatives and 18% say they do not participate in the boycott. An overwhelming majority (87%) believes that the boycott movement is effective and 11% believe it to be ineffective.

## **Special Gaza War Poll** 26-30 August 2014

|                                     | Total            | west bank               | Gaza Strip      |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| q00 )From among the following sa    | tellite news sta | itions, which one you   | watched most    |
| during the last two months?         | 5.2%             | 2.4%                    | 9.9%            |
| 1) Al Arabia                        | 20.9%            | 18.1%                   | 25.3%           |
| 2) Al II                            |                  |                         |                 |
| 3) Al Hurra                         | .2%              | .1%                     | .4%             |
| 4) Al Manar                         | .9%              | .8%                     | 1.2%            |
| 5) Palestine TV                     | 15.5%            | 17.9%                   | 11.6%           |
| 6) Al-Aqsa TV                       | 36.5%            | 38.2%                   | 33.7%           |
| 7) Do not watch TV                  | 11.0%            | 11.5%                   | 10.2%           |
| 8) Others                           | 1.2%             | 1.5%                    | .6%             |
| 9) Do not have a dish               | 8.4%             | 9.1%                    | 7.1%            |
| 10) No Opinion/Don't know           | .1%              | .2%                     | 0.0%            |
| 1) Al Arabia                        | .2%              | .3%                     | 0.0%            |
| q01) In general, how would you de   | escribe conditio | ons of the Palestinians | in the          |
| Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip the |                  |                         |                 |
| 1) Very good                        | 7.5%             | 11.1%                   | 1.7%            |
| 2) Good                             | 12.5%            | 14.3%                   | 9.4%            |
| 3) So so                            | 12.2%            | 11.9%                   | 12.7%           |
| 4) Bad                              | 28.2%            | 28.2%                   | 28.4%           |
| 5) Very bad                         | 39.0%            | 33.7%                   | 47.8%           |
| 6) DK/NA                            | .5%              | .8%                     | 0.0%            |
| q02) In general, how would you de   | scribe conditio  | ons of the Palestinians | in the          |
| Palestinian areas in the West Bank  | k these days?    |                         |                 |
| 1) Very good                        | 7.1%             | 6.8%                    | 7.7%            |
| 2) Good                             | 25.3%            | 23.6%                   | 28.2%           |
| 3) So so                            | 31.6%            | 32.8%                   | 29.7%           |
| 4) Bad                              | 23.7%            | 24.6%                   | 22.3%           |
| 5) Very bad                         | 11.5%            | 12.1%                   | 10.6%           |
| 6) DK/NA                            | .7%              | .2%                     | 1.6%            |
| q03) Generally, do you see yoursel  | f as:            |                         |                 |
| 1) Religious                        | 43.2%            | 39.4%                   | 49.4%           |
| 2) Somewhat religious               | 51.0%            | 56.4%                   | 42.2%           |
| 3) Not religious                    | 5.6%             | 4.0%                    | 8.4%            |
| 4) DK/NA                            | .1%              | .2%                     | 0.0%            |
| q04) Generally, do you see yoursel  | f as:            |                         |                 |
| 1) Supportive of the peace          | 50.9%            | 55.5%                   | 43.3%           |
| process 2) Opposed to the peace     | 27.5%            | 25.4%                   | 31.0%           |
| process                             |                  |                         |                 |
| 3) Between support and              | 20.3%            | 17.8%                   | 24.5%           |
| opposition                          |                  |                         |                 |
| 4) DK/NA                            | 1.3%             | 1.3%                    | 1.2%            |
| q05) Would you say that these day   | s your security  | y and safety, and that  | of your family, |
| is assured or not assured?          | 0.004            | 0.004                   | 0.70/           |
| 1) Completely assured               | 3.2%             | 2.9%                    | 3.7%            |
| 2) Assured                          | 34.3%            | 44.4%                   | 17.9%           |

| 2) Not assured   | 43.5%              | 44.8%                                 | 41.4%          |
|--|--------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| <ul><li>3) Not assured</li><li>4) Not assured at all</li></ul> | 18.8%              | 7.7%                                  | 37.0%          |
| ,  | .1%                | .2%                                   | 0.0%           |
| 5) DK/NA   |                    |                                       |                |
| q06) Do current political, securit emigration abroad?          | iy, and economic   | conditions lead you                   | to seek        |
| 1) Certainly seek to emigrate                                  | 13.4%              | 8.0%                                  | 22.4%          |
| 2) Seek emigration   | 15.0%              | 11.7%                                 | 20.3%          |
| 3) Do not seek emigration                                      | 33.5%              | 36.2%                                 | 28.9%          |
| 4) Certainly do not seek                                       | 37.7%              | 43.8%                                 | 27.7%          |
| emigration   | 01.1.70            | 10.070                                | 21 /0          |
| 5) DK/NA   | .4%                | .3%                                   | .7%            |
| q07) Are you satisfied or not satis                            | sfied with the ne  | formance of Mahmi                     | ud Ahhas since |
| his election as president of the PA                            | -                  | Tormunee or wanning                   | da Mobas Since |
| 1) Very satisfied  | 6.1%               | 4.6%                                  | 8.5%           |
| 2) Satisfied   | 32.6%              | 33.2%                                 | 31.8%          |
| 3) Not satisfied   | 38.0%              | 40.9%                                 | 33.2%          |
| 4) not satisfied at all  | 20.5%              | 17.3%                                 | 25.9%          |
| 5) DK/NA   | 2.7%               | 4.0%                                  | .5%            |
| q08 ) If new presidential elections                            |                    |                                       |                |
| nominated by Fateh and Ismail I                                | _                  | • .                                   |                |
| vote for?  | iamyen was nom     | mated by Hamas, w                     | nom would you  |
| 1) Mahmud Abbas  | 32.1%              | 24.7%                                 | 43.3%          |
| 2) Ismail Haniyeh  | 60.5%              | 65.8%                                 | 52.5%          |
| 3) DK/NA   | 7.4%               | 9.5%                                  | 4.2%           |
| q09) And if the competition was                                | hetween Marwan     | . Rarghouti renresen                  | ting Fateh and |
| Ismail Haniyeh representing Har                                |                    |                                       | ang rucen una  |
| 1) Marwan Barghouti  | 44.7%              | 40.1%                                 | 51.9%          |
| 2) Ismail Haniyeh  | 49.2%              | 52.0%                                 | 44.7%          |
| 3) DK/NA   | 6.2%               | 7.9%                                  | 3.4%           |
| q10) And what if the competition                               | n was between M    | arwan Barghouti. Is                   | mail Haniveh.  |
| and Mahmud Abbas, to whom w                                    |                    | ··· ·· ·· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · | <i>j</i> ,     |
| 1) Marwan Barghouti  | 28.6%              | 26.2%                                 | 32.5%          |
| 2) Ismail Haniyeh  | 47.5%              | 50.9%                                 | 42.2%          |
| 3) will not participate  | 19.2%              | 16.8%                                 | 23.1%          |
| 4) DK/NA   | 4.6%               | 6.2%                                  | 2.2%           |
| q12) If new elections agreed to by                             | v all factions are | held today and the s                  | ame lists that |
| took part in the last PLC election                             |                    |                                       |                |
| 1) alternative   | 1.5%               | 2.2%                                  | .4%            |
| 2) independent Palestine                                       | 1.2%               | 1.7%                                  | .5%            |
| 3) Abu Ali Mustafa   | 2.2%               | 2.2%                                  | 2.3%           |
| 4) Abu al Abbas  | 0.0%               | 0.0%                                  | 0.0%           |
| 5) freedom and social justice                                  | .1%                | 0.0%                                  | .1%            |
| 6) change and reform   | 45.8%              | 47.4%                                 | 43.6%          |
| 7) national coalition for justice                              | .3%                | .2%                                   | .6%            |
| and democracy  |                    |                                       |                |
| 8) third way, headed by Salam                                  | .1%                | .1%                                   | .2%            |
| Fayyad   |                    |                                       |                |
| 9) freedom and independence                                    | .9%                | .7%                                   | 1.2%           |
| 10) Palestinian justice  | .2%                | .2%                                   | .3%            |
| 11) Fateh  | 30.6%              | 26.6%                                 | 36.1%          |
|  |                    |                                       |                |

12) none of the above/ DK/NA 17.1% 18.7% 14.8%

q13) In the last war in the Gaza Strip between Hamas and the resistance factions, who, in your view, came out the winner, Hamas or Israel?

| 1) Hamas and the resistance | 78.7% | 83.9% | 70.0% |
|-----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| factions                    |       |       |       |
| 2) Israel                   | 2.6%  | 1.0%  | 5.3%  |
| 3)No one                    | 17.0% | 13.5% | 22.8% |
| 4)Both sides                | 1.2%  | .8%   | 1.9%  |
| 5) DK/NA                    | .5%   | .8%   | 0.0%  |

### q14) In your view, who was responsible for the eruption of the Gaza War, Israel, Hamas or both?

| 1) Israel     | 79.0% | 83.9% | 70.8% |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2)Hamas       | 5.2%  | 2.8%  | 9.4%  |
| 3) Both sides | 12.0% | 7.7%  | 18.9% |
| 4)Other       | 1.9%  | 2.8%  | .4%   |
| 5) DK/NA      | 1.9%  | 2.7%  | .5%   |

q 15) The Egyptian ceasefire proposals include several items including the opening of the crossings with Israel, a gradual cancelation of the buffer area along the Gaza borders with Israel, a gradual expansion of the fishing areas up to 20 km, start of reconstruction, and paving the way to the opening of the Rafah crossing with Egypt. But the issues of the seaport and airport and the demilitarization of Gaza would be postponed. In your view, does this proposal satisfy or does not satisfy the Palestinian interests?

| 1)Certainly satisfy          | 10.3% | 8.4%  | 13.5% |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2)Satisfy                    | 52.2% | 55.4% | 46.8% |
| 3)Does not satisfy           | 27.5% | 27.9% | 26.8% |
| 4)Certainly does not satisfy | 6.9%  | 3.9%  | 11.8% |
| 5) DK/NA                     | 3.1%  | 4.3%  | 1.1%  |

q16) When comparing human and material losses in the Gaza Strip with the potential benefits of the Egyptian proposal mentioned above, do you feel satisfied or dissatisfied with the accomplishments of the war?

| 1) Certainly satisfied   | 10.4% | 9.6%  | 11.7% |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2)Satisfied              | 48.8% | 51.6% | 44.3% |
| 3)Dissatisfied           | 31.5% | 32.7% | 29.5% |
| 4)Certainly dissatisfied | 7.8%  | 4.3%  | 13.6% |
| 5) DK/NA                 | 1.4%  | 1.8%  | .9%   |

## q17) Do you support or oppose the continuation of launching of rockets from the Gaza Strip on Israeli cities and towns until Israel agree to end the siege and closure on Gaza?

| 1) Certainly support | 30.9% | 25.5% | 39.8% |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2) Support           | 55.0% | 62.6% | 42.6% |
| 3) Oppose            | 8.7%  | 8.1%  | 9.6%  |
| 4) Certainly oppose  | 3.5%  | 1.3%  | 7.1%  |
| 5) DK/NA             | 1.9%  | 2.5%  | 1.0%  |

## q18 ) From among the following countries, which one gave the Gaza Strip the capacity to remain steadfast against Israel and to continue to launch rockets during the latest war?

| 1)Egypt  | 8.9%  | 6.9%  | 12.2% |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2)Qatar  | 15.0% | 10.2% | 23.0% |
| 3)Iran   | 28.2% | 30.0% | 25.3% |
| 4)Turkey | 21.3% | 19.4% | 24.4% |

| 5)Others (specify)   | 15.0%  | 19.5%  | 7.5%   |
|--|--|--|--|
| 6) DK/NA   | 11.6%  | 14.1%  | 7.5%   |
| Q19) Last may witnessed the form   | nation of a recon  | ciliation governmen  | nt made up of  |
| experts and independents under p   |  | O  | _  |
| to see this government stay in offi  |  |  |  |
| made up of leaders and politician  | s from the major   | political factions, s  | uch as Fatah,  |
| Hamas, PFLP, and others?   |  |  |  |
| 1)Certainly prefer to keep the   | 15.3%  | 9.6%   | 24.7%  |
| 2)reconciliation government  | 40.00/   | 45.00/   | 00.40/   |
| 3)Prefer to keep the   | 18.6%  | 15.8%  | 23.4%  |
| 4)reconciliation government  | 36.5%  | 41.9%  | 27.6%  |
| <ul><li>5)Prefer to a national unity</li><li>6)government from all factions</li></ul>  | 30.370   | 41.570   | 21.070   |
| 7)Certainly prefer to a national   | 23.1%  | 24.1%  | 21.5%  |
| 8)unity government from all  |  |  |  |
| 9) factions  |  |  |  |
| 10) DK/NA  | 6.5%   | 8.7%   | 2.9%   |
| q20) Now, three months after the   | formation of the   | reconciliation gove  | ernment, are   |
| you satisfied or dissatisfied with i   |  | S  | ,  |
| 1)Certainly satisfied  | 6.2%   | 4.3%   | 9.2%   |
| 2)Satisfied  | 39.7%  | 38.9%  | 40.9%  |
| 3)Dissatisfied   | 34.9%  | 37.0%  | 31.5%  |
| 4)Certainly dissatisfied   | 11.5%  | 8.5%   | 16.5%  |
| 5) DK/NA   | 7.7%   | 11.2%  | 1.9%   |
| q21) When do you want the hold   | _  | • •  |  |
| the West Bank and the Gaza Strij   | p, in the next few   | months, after six n  | nonths, after a  |
| 1 4 41 1 11.   | e 1 4 0  |  |  |
| year or do not want the holding o  |  | 41.6%  | 45 2%  |
| 1)In the next few months   | 43.0%  | 41.6%  | 45.2%<br>30.8%   |
| 1)In the next few months<br>2)After six months   | 43.0%<br>25.9%   | 23.0%  | 30.8%  |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more   | 43.0%<br>25.9%<br>13.7%  | 23.0%<br>13.6%   | 30.8%<br>13.9%   |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections   | 43.0%<br>25.9%<br>13.7%<br>11.5%   | 23.0%<br>13.6%<br>13.4%  | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%   |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA  | 43.0%<br>25.9%<br>13.7%<br>11.5%<br>5.8%   | 23.0%<br>13.6%<br>13.4%<br>8.3%  | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%<br>1.8%   |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA <b>q22) Some say that Hamas launce</b>   | 43.0%<br>25.9%<br>13.7%<br>11.5%<br>5.8%<br><b>h rockets from a</b>  | 23.0%<br>13.6%<br>13.4%<br>8.3%  | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%<br>1.8%   |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launc Do you think this is true or untru  | 43.0%<br>25.9%<br>13.7%<br>11.5%<br>5.8%<br><b>h rockets from a</b>  | 23.0%<br>13.6%<br>13.4%<br>8.3%  | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%<br>1.8%   |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA <b>q22) Some say that Hamas launce</b>   | 43.0%<br>25.9%<br>13.7%<br>11.5%<br>5.8%<br>h rockets from ar  | 23.0%<br>13.6%<br>13.4%<br>8.3%<br>and build rockets in 6  | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%<br>1.8%<br>civilian areas.  |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launce Do you think this is true or untru 1)Certainly true  | 43.0%<br>25.9%<br>13.7%<br>11.5%<br>5.8%<br>h rockets from are?<br>6.5%  | 23.0%<br>13.6%<br>13.4%<br>8.3%<br>ad build rockets in 6   | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%<br>1.8%<br>civilian areas.  |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA <b>q22) Some say that Hamas launc Do you think this is true or untru</b> 1)Certainly true 2)True 3)Untrue  | 43.0%<br>25.9%<br>13.7%<br>11.5%<br>5.8%<br>h rockets from are?<br>6.5%<br>23.1%   | 23.0%<br>13.6%<br>13.4%<br>8.3%<br>and build rockets in 6<br>3.1%<br>23.3%   | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%<br>1.8%<br>civilian areas.<br>12.1%<br>22.8%  |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launce Do you think this is true or untru 1)Certainly true 2)True   | 43.0%<br>25.9%<br>13.7%<br>11.5%<br>5.8%<br><b>h rockets from are?</b><br>6.5%<br>23.1%<br>42.6%   | 23.0%<br>13.6%<br>13.4%<br>8.3%<br><b>nd build rockets in</b> 6<br>3.1%<br>23.3%<br>45.8%  | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%<br>1.8%<br>civilian areas.<br>12.1%<br>22.8%<br>37.4%   |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launce Do you think this is true or untru 1)Certainly true 2)True 3)Untrue 4)Certainly untrue 5) DK/NA  | 43.0%<br>25.9%<br>13.7%<br>11.5%<br>5.8%<br><b>h rockets from ar</b><br><b>e?</b><br>6.5%<br>23.1%<br>42.6%<br>17.4%<br>10.4%                                  | 23.0%<br>13.6%<br>13.4%<br>8.3%<br><b>1d build rockets in</b> 6<br>3.1%<br>23.3%<br>45.8%<br>14.1%<br>13.7%  | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%<br>1.8%<br>civilian areas.<br>12.1%<br>22.8%<br>37.4%<br>22.9%<br>4.8%                                  |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launce Do you think this is true or untru 1)Certainly true 2)True 3)Untrue 4)Certainly untrue   | 43.0%<br>25.9%<br>13.7%<br>11.5%<br>5.8%<br><b>h rockets from ar</b><br><b>e?</b><br>6.5%<br>23.1%<br>42.6%<br>17.4%<br>10.4%                                  | 23.0%<br>13.6%<br>13.4%<br>8.3%<br><b>1d build rockets in</b> 6<br>3.1%<br>23.3%<br>45.8%<br>14.1%<br>13.7%  | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%<br>1.8%<br>civilian areas.<br>12.1%<br>22.8%<br>37.4%<br>22.9%<br>4.8%                                  |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launce Do you think this is true or untru 1)Certainly true 2)True 3)Untrue 4)Certainly untrue 5) DK/NA q23) Is the launching of rockets for   | 43.0%<br>25.9%<br>13.7%<br>11.5%<br>5.8%<br><b>h rockets from ar</b><br><b>e?</b><br>6.5%<br>23.1%<br>42.6%<br>17.4%<br>10.4%                                  | 23.0%<br>13.6%<br>13.4%<br>8.3%<br><b>1d build rockets in</b> 6<br>3.1%<br>23.3%<br>45.8%<br>14.1%<br>13.7%  | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%<br>1.8%<br>civilian areas.<br>12.1%<br>22.8%<br>37.4%<br>22.9%<br>4.8%                                  |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launce Do you think this is true or untru 1)Certainly true 2)True 3)Untrue 4)Certainly untrue 5) DK/NA q23) Is the launching of rockets funjustified?   | 43.0% 25.9% 13.7% 11.5% 5.8% h rockets from are? 6.5% 23.1% 42.6% 17.4% 10.4% From civilian area   | 23.0%<br>13.6%<br>13.4%<br>8.3%<br>ad build rockets in 6<br>3.1%<br>23.3%<br>45.8%<br>14.1%<br>13.7%<br>as in the Gaza Strip   | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%<br>1.8%<br>civilian areas.<br>12.1%<br>22.8%<br>37.4%<br>22.9%<br>4.8%<br>justified or                  |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launce Do you think this is true or untru 1)Certainly true 2)True 3)Untrue 4)Certainly untrue 5) DK/NA q23) Is the launching of rockets funjustified? 1)Certainly justified   | 43.0% 25.9% 13.7% 11.5% 5.8% h rockets from are? 6.5% 23.1% 42.6% 17.4% 10.4% From civilian area  10.1% 39.1% 37.6%  | 23.0% 13.6% 13.4% 8.3%  14.1% 13.7% 15. in the Gaza Strip 15.7% 15.7%  | 30.8%<br>13.9%<br>8.4%<br>1.8%<br>civilian areas.<br>12.1%<br>22.8%<br>37.4%<br>22.9%<br>4.8%<br>justified or                  |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launce Do you think this is true or untrue 1)Certainly true 2)True 3)Untrue 4)Certainly untrue 5) DK/NA q23) Is the launching of rockets funjustified? 1)Certainly justified 2)Justified  | 43.0% 25.9% 13.7% 11.5% 5.8% h rockets from are? 6.5% 23.1% 42.6% 17.4% 10.4% from civilian area  10.1% 39.1% 37.6% 8.6%                                       | 23.0% 13.6% 13.4% 8.3%  nd build rockets in 6 3.1% 23.3% 45.8% 14.1% 13.7% 1s in the Gaza Strip 9.2% 45.7% 35.7% 2.6%  | 30.8% 13.9% 8.4% 1.8% civilian areas.  12.1% 22.8% 37.4% 22.9% 4.8% justified or  11.6% 28.2% 40.5% 18.3%                      |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launce Do you think this is true or untru 1)Certainly true 2)True 3)Untrue 4)Certainly untrue 5) DK/NA q23) Is the launching of rockets funjustified? 1)Certainly justified 2)Justified 3)Unjustified   | 43.0% 25.9% 13.7% 11.5% 5.8% h rockets from are? 6.5% 23.1% 42.6% 17.4% 10.4% From civilian area  10.1% 39.1% 37.6%  | 23.0% 13.6% 13.4% 8.3%  14.1% 13.7% 15. in the Gaza Strip 15.7% 15.7%  | 30.8% 13.9% 8.4% 1.8% civilian areas.  12.1% 22.8% 37.4% 22.9% 4.8% justified or  11.6% 28.2% 40.5%                            |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launce Do you think this is true or untru 1)Certainly true 2)True 3)Untrue 4)Certainly untrue 5) DK/NA q23) Is the launching of rockets funjustified? 1)Certainly justified 2)Justified 3)Unjustified 4)Certainly unjustified 5) DK/NA q24) Do you think that Hamas ar                                      | 43.0% 25.9% 13.7% 11.5% 5.8% h rockets from are? 6.5% 23.1% 42.6% 17.4% 10.4% rom civilian area  10.1% 39.1% 37.6% 8.6% 4.6% and other armed rea               | 23.0% 13.6% 13.4% 8.3%  14.1% 13.7% 15 in the Gaza Strip  9.2% 45.7% 35.7% 2.6% 6.7%  13.6% 14.1% 15.7 | 30.8% 13.9% 8.4% 1.8% civilian areas.  12.1% 22.8% 37.4% 22.9% 4.8% justified or  11.6% 28.2% 40.5% 18.3% 1.3% nould warn      |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launce Do you think this is true or untru 1)Certainly true 2)True 3)Untrue 4)Certainly untrue 5) DK/NA q23) Is the launching of rockets funjustified? 1)Certainly justified 2)Justified 3)Unjustified 4)Certainly unjustified 5) DK/NA q24) Do you think that Hamas and Israeli civilians in targeted areas | 43.0% 25.9% 13.7% 11.5% 5.8% h rockets from are? 6.5% 23.1% 42.6% 17.4% 10.4% rom civilian area  10.1% 39.1% 37.6% 8.6% 4.6% ad other armed rebefore launching | 23.0% 13.6% 13.4% 8.3%  nd build rockets in 6 3.1% 23.3% 45.8% 14.1% 13.7% is in the Gaza Strip 9.2% 45.7% 35.7% 2.6% 6.7% esistance factions shockets at these are  | 30.8% 13.9% 8.4% 1.8% civilian areas.  12.1% 22.8% 37.4% 22.9% 4.8% justified or  11.6% 28.2% 40.5% 18.3% 1.3% nould warn eas? |
| 1)In the next few months 2)After six months 3)After a year or more 4)Do not want elections 5) DK/NA q22) Some say that Hamas launce Do you think this is true or untru 1)Certainly true 2)True 3)Untrue 4)Certainly untrue 5) DK/NA q23) Is the launching of rockets funjustified? 1)Certainly justified 2)Justified 3)Unjustified 4)Certainly unjustified 5) DK/NA q24) Do you think that Hamas ar                                      | 43.0% 25.9% 13.7% 11.5% 5.8% h rockets from are? 6.5% 23.1% 42.6% 17.4% 10.4% rom civilian area  10.1% 39.1% 37.6% 8.6% 4.6% and other armed rea               | 23.0% 13.6% 13.4% 8.3%  14.1% 13.7% 15 in the Gaza Strip  9.2% 45.7% 35.7% 2.6% 6.7%  13.6% 14.1% 15.7 | 30.8% 13.9% 8.4% 1.8% civilian areas.  12.1% 22.8% 37.4% 22.9% 4.8% justified or  11.6% 28.2% 40.5% 18.3% 1.3% nould warn      |

43.6%

38.8%

41.8%

3)Should not

| 4)Certainly should not   | 26.0%            | 19.6%               | 36.7%            |
|--|------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 5) DK/NA   | 2.3%             | 3.0%                | 1.3%             |
| 25)Now After the end of the war,                                   | who in vour viev | y should assume cor | ntrol over the   |
| following matters, the reconciliati                                |                  |                     |                  |
| Abbas or Hamas?  | g-               | <b>F</b>            | <b>F</b>         |
| q25_1) Control over the Rafah cr                                   | ossing with Egyp | t                   |                  |
| 1)Reconciliation government  | 50.6%            | 42.3%               | 64.3%            |
| under the supervision of Abbas                                     |                  |                     |                  |
| 2)Hamas  | 37.6%            | 45.4%               | 24.9%            |
| 3)Others   | 9.9%             | 9.9%                | 10.0%            |
| 4) DK/NA   | 1.8%             | 2.4%                | .9%              |
| q25_2) Control over the borders l                                  | oetween Rafah ai | nd Egypt            |                  |
| 1)Reconciliation government  | 47.6%            | 42.4%               | 56.3%            |
| under the supervision of Abbas                                     |                  |                     |                  |
| 2)Hamas  | 38.7%            | 43.2%               | 31.4%            |
| 3)Others   | 11.1%            | 11.0%               | 11.4%            |
| 4) DK/NA   | 2.5%             | 3.5%                | .9%              |
| q25_3) Control over the crossings                                  | with Israel      |                     |                  |
| 1)Reconciliation government  | 50.8%            | 45.4%               | 59.7%            |
| under the supervision of Abbas                                     |                  |                     |                  |
| 2)Hamas  | 36.0%            | 41.3%               | 27.4%            |
| 3)Others   | 10.9%            | 10.1%               | 12.1%            |
| 4) DK/NA   | 2.3%             | 3.2%                | .9%              |
| q25_4) Control over the borders of                                 | _                | with Israel         |                  |
| 1)Reconciliation government  | 45.1%            | 43.0%               | 48.6%            |
| under the supervision of Abbas                                     |                  |                     |                  |
| 2)Hamas  | 41.1%            | 42.7%               | 38.6%            |
| 3)Others   | 11.4%            | 10.9%               | 12.1%            |
| 4) DK/NA   | 2.4%             | 3.5%                | .6%              |
| q25_5) Rebuilding of destroyed he                                  | omes and infrast |                     |                  |
| 1)Reconciliation government  | 43.8%            | 44.6%               | 42.5%            |
| under the supervision of Abbas                                     | 20.70/           | 00.40/              | 00.00/           |
| 2)Hamas  | 38.7%            | 39.1%               | 38.2%            |
| 3)Others   | 15.7%            | 14.0%               | 18.5%            |
| 4) DK/NA   | 1.8%             | 2.3%                | .9%              |
| q26) Do you think that the reconc                                  |                  |                     |                  |
| paying the salaries of the civilian                                | sector employees | who used to work    | for the previous |
| Hamas government?  | 31.4%            | 28.6%               | 36.0%            |
| 1)Certainly yes  | 51.8%            | 55.3%               | 46.1%            |
| 2)Yes  | 10.2%            | 9.5%                | 11.3%            |
| 3)No   | 2.6%             | 1.6%                | 4.4%             |
| 4)Certainly no   | 3.9%             | 5.0%                | 2.2%             |
| 5)DK/NA  |                  |                     |                  |
| q27) And what about the paymen                                     |                  | _                   |                  |
| used to work for the previous Har<br>government pay those as well? | nas government   | snould the recond   | ากสนาก           |
| 1)Certainly yes  | 30.4%            | 26.1%               | 37.5%            |
| 2)Yes  | 51.5%            | 57.5%               | 41.6%            |
| 3)No   | 10.4%            | 9.4%                | 12.0%            |
| 4)Certainly no   | 3.0%             | 1.2%                | 5.9%             |
| T/Columny no   | 2.2,0            | ,                   | 2.070            |

| 5)DK/NA                          | 4.8%            | 5.9%                    | 2.9%          |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| q28) Who in your view should co  | mmand the secu  | rity men and the polic  | emen who      |
| used to work for the previous Ha |                 | -                       |               |
| Hamas?                           | S               |                         |               |
| 1)Certainly the reconciliation   | 24.1%           | 20.5%                   | 30.0%         |
| government 2)The reconciliation  | 40.9%           | 40.3%                   | 42.0%         |
| government                       |                 |                         |               |
| 3)Hamas                          | 26.3%           | 30.6%                   | 19.3%         |
| 4)Certainly Hamas                | 2.9%            | 1.7%                    | 4.8%          |
| 5)DK/NA                          | 5.8%            | 6.9%                    | 3.9%          |
| 29) How do you evaluate the perf | formance of the | following Palestinian a | actors during |
| the Gaza war?<br>q29_1) PLO      |                 |                         |               |
| 1)Very good                      | 13.9%           | 13.6%                   | 14.5%         |
| 2)Good                           | 29.6%           | 26.6%                   | 34.5%         |
| 3)Medium                         | 21.9%           | 20.9%                   | 23.4%         |
| 4)Bad                            | 17.6%           | 19.7%                   | 14.2%         |
| 5)Very bad                       | 14.0%           | 15.0%                   | 12.2%         |
| 6) DK/NA                         | 3.1%            | 4.2%                    | 1.3%          |
| q29_2) President Abbas           |                 | ,.                      | ,             |
| 1)Very good                      | 13.7%           | 11.3%                   | 17.8%         |
| 2)Good                           | 25.2%           | 21.4%                   | 31.5%         |
| ,                                | 20.8%           | 20.5%                   | 21.2%         |
| 3)Medium                         | 19.2%           | 22.3%                   | 14.2%         |
| 4)Bad                            | 19.5%           | 22.2%                   | 15.1%         |
| 5)Very bad                       | 1.5%            | 2.3%                    | .2%           |
| 6) DK/NA                         |                 | 2.370                   | .270          |
| q29_3) The reconciliation govern |                 | 40.00/                  | 45 50/        |
| 1)Very good                      | 12.2%           | 10.2%                   | 15.5%         |
| 2)Good                           | 30.3%           | 28.5%                   | 33.3%         |
| 3)Medium                         | 23.0%           | 22.3%                   | 24.1%         |
| 4)Bad                            | 16.2%           | 18.6%                   | 12.2%         |
| 5)Very bad                       | 13.8%           | 13.6%                   | 14.1%         |
| 6) DK/NA                         | 4.5%            | 6.8%                    | .7%           |
| q29_4) The Palestinian Authority |                 |                         |               |
| 1)Very good                      | 8.9%            | 8.4%                    | 9.9%          |
| 2)Good                           | 27.4%           | 25.1%                   | 31.2%         |
| 3)Medium                         | 23.0%           | 17.8%                   | 31.4%         |
| 4)Bad                            | 21.8%           | 24.9%                   | 16.7%         |
| 5)Very bad                       | 16.5%           | 20.5%                   | 10.0%         |
| 6) DK/NA                         | 2.3%            | 3.3%                    | .7%           |
| q29_5) Prime Minister Rami al H  | Iamdallah       |                         |               |
| 1)Very good                      | 9.2%            | 8.2%                    | 10.9%         |
| 2)Good                           | 25.3%           | 23.5%                   | 28.3%         |
| 3)Medium                         | 20.7%           | 18.0%                   | 25.0%         |
| 4)Bad                            | 21.1%           | 22.7%                   | 18.6%         |
| 5)Very bad                       | 17.7%           | 18.8%                   | 15.8%         |
| 6) DK/NA                         | 6.0%            | 8.8%                    | 1.3%          |
| <b>q29_6)</b> Hamas              |                 |                         |               |
| 1)Very good                      | 63.3%           | 70.9%                   | 50.7%         |
| , J U "                          |                 |                         |               |

CO E0/

43.5%

| 2)Good                      | 24.4%                       | 20.7%              | 30.4%      |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| 3)Medium                    | 6.7%                        | 4.3%               | 10.6%      |
| 4)Bad                       | 2.9%                        | 2.7%               | 3.1%       |
| 5)Very bad                  | 2.2%                        | .7%                | 4.6%       |
| 6) DK/NA                    | .6%                         | .7%                | .5%        |
| q29_7) Khalild Misha'al     |                             |                    |            |
| 1)Very good                 | 49.9%                       | 57.5%              | 37.2%      |
| 2)Good                      | 28.4%                       | 26.0%              | 32.4%      |
| 3)Medium                    | 10.0%                       | 6.4%               | 16.0%      |
| 4)Bad                       | 5.8%                        | 5.1%               | 6.9%       |
| 5)Very bad                  | 3.5%                        | 1.8%               | 6.3%       |
| 6) DK/NA                    | 2.4%                        | 3.2%               | 1.2%       |
| 30) And how do you evaluate | the performance of <b>H</b> | Hamas during the v | var in the |

## following areas?

| q30_    | 1 Military | performance against the Israeli forces |
|---------|------------|--|
| 1 \ T T | 1          | 70 50/                                 |

| 1)Very good | 76.5% | 80.8% | 69.5% |
|-------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2)Good      | 17.7% | 14.8% | 22.5% |
| 3)Medium    | 3.7%  | 2.5%  | 5.6%  |
| 4)Bad       | 1.0%  | .9%   | 1.2%  |
| 5)Very bad  | .5%   | .1%   | 1.1%  |
| 6) DK/NA    | .6%   | .9%   | 0.0%  |
|             |       |       |       |

00 00/

#### q30\_2) Defense of the civilization population of the Gaza Strip 55.1% 62.2%

| , <b>.</b> |       |       |       |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2)Good     | 22.5% | 19.8% | 27.0% |
| 3)Medium   | 10.8% | 9.2%  | 13.6% |
| 4)Bad      | 5.7%  | 5.6%  | 5.8%  |
| 5)Very bad | 5.0%  | 1.8%  | 10.1% |
| 6) DK/NA   | .9%   | 1.4%  | 0.0%  |

### a30 3) Media and communication

1)Very good

| qeo_e) wedia and communicati | 011   |       |       |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1)Very good                  | 68.8% | 73.9% | 60.4% |
| 2)Good                       | 19.7% | 19.6% | 20.0% |
| 3)Medium                     | 6.8%  | 3.6%  | 12.1% |
| 4)Bad                        | 2.3%  | 1.6%  | 3.4%  |
| 5)Very bad                   | 1.7%  | .5%   | 3.8%  |
| 6) DK/NA                     | .6%   | .9%   | .2%   |
|                              |       |       |       |

### q31) Egypt played a role in the efforts to reach a ceasefire in the Gaza war. How do you evaluate this role? Do you see it as positive, serving Palestinian interests or negative, serving Israel's interests?

| 1)Certainly positive | 4.7%  | 3.0%  | 7.4%  |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1)Positive           | 20.0% | 19.0% | 21.8% |
| 1)Neutral            | 21.6% | 15.9% | 30.9% |
| 1)Negative           | 31.4% | 35.8% | 24.2% |
| 1)Certainly negative | 20.3% | 23.5% | 15.0% |
| 1)DK/NA              | 2.0%  | 2.8%  | .7%   |

q32) President Abbas says that the reconciliation government will be committed to agreements signed by the PLO with Israel. Hamas expressed opposition to this view. What do you think, should the reconciliation government be committed to these agreements?

| 1)Certainly yes | 10.2% | 7.8%  | 14.2% |
|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2)Yes           | 44.0% | 47.9% | 37.6% |

| 3)No           | 32.9% | 32.0% | 34.4% |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 4)Certainly no | 6.7%  | 4.4%  | 10.5% |
| 5)DK/NA        | 6.1%  | 7.9%  | 3.3%  |

q33) President Abbas also says that the admission of Hamas into the PLO will mean Hamas' indirect endorsement of the PLO program and the agreements sighed with Israel. Do you agree or disagree with this interpretation?

| 1)Certainly agree    | 8.2%  | 4.9%  | 13.5% |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2)Agree              | 34.7% | 36.4% | 31.8% |
| 3)Disagree           | 33.7% | 33.9% | 33.2% |
| 4)Certainly disagree | 15.0% | 13.7% | 17.1% |
| 5)) DK/NA            | 8.5%  | 11.0% | 4.3%  |

q34) Hamas says that control over security and the police in the Gaza Strip will remain in its hands during the next 6 months until the conduct of elections. Do you agree or disagree with this arrangement?

| 1)Certainly agree    | 22.5% | 20.9% | 25.1% |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2)Agree              | 49.9% | 58.8% | 35.4% |
| 3)Disagree           | 17.8% | 12.8% | 26.1% |
| 4)Certainly disagree | 5.8%  | 2.1%  | 11.9% |
| 5)) DK/NA            | 3.9%  | 5.4%  | 1.5%  |

q35) The Palestinian Authority in the West Bank has dissolved all armed groups that belonged to political factions or parties. Now after reconciliation, under what conditions you think armed groups in the Gaza Strip should be dissolved?

| 1)Only after signing a peace   | 13.0% | 12.2% | 14.4% |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| agreement with Israel          |       |       |       |
| 2)Only after the ending of the | 13.2% | 12.5% | 14.3% |
| siege and blockade of the Gaza |       |       |       |
| Strip                          |       |       |       |
| 3)Only after the upcoming      | 5.4%  | 4.7%  | 6.6%  |
| legislative and presidential   |       |       |       |
| elections                      |       |       |       |
| 4)Now, having formed a         | 6.8%  | 5.8%  | 8.5%  |
| reconciliation government      |       |       |       |
| 5)I oppose the dissolution of  | 57.2% | 58.8% | 54.6% |
| the armed groups in the Gaza   |       |       |       |
| Strip under any circumstances  |       |       |       |
| 6) DK/NA                       | 4.3%  | 5.9%  | 1.6%  |

q36) 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                     | 13.5% | 6.4%  | 25.2% |
| 2)succeed                               | 55.8% | 55.4% | 56.4% |
| 3)fail                                  | 24.0% | 30.6% | 13.1% |
| 4)Certainly fail                        | 3.6%  | 4.9%  | 1.6%  |
| 5) DK/NA                                | 3.1%  | 2.8%  | 3.7%  |

q37) permanent status negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians under US sponsorship has stopped some five months ago. In your view, what are the chances that the these negotiations will resume?

| 1)Non existent | 18.5% | 17.0% | 20.9% |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2)Little       | 32.1% | 30.7% | 34.3% |
| 3)Medium       | 37.1% | 39.2% | 33.6% |
| 4)High         | 9.4%  | 9.8%  | 8.7%  |
| 5)DK/NA        | 3.0%  | 3.3%  | 2.5%  |

| q38) Now after the war in Gaza, what do you expect to happen between Palestinians |
|---|
| and Israelis?   |

| anu isi acns:                   |       |       |       |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) the two sides will return to | 31.5% | 31.5% | 31.6% |
| negotiations soon and there     |       |       |       |
| will be no violence             |       |       |       |
| 2) the two sides will return to | 33.4% | 37.1% | 27.4% |
| negotiations but some armed     |       |       |       |
| attacks will take place         |       |       |       |
| 3) Negotiations will not return | 16.6% | 14.6% | 19.9% |
| soon and some armed attacks     |       |       |       |
| will take place                 |       |       |       |
| 4) Negotiations will not return | 12.6% | 10.2% | 16.8% |
| soon and there will be no       |       |       |       |
| armed attacks                   |       |       |       |
| 5 DK/NA                         | 5.8%  | 6.6%  | 4.3%  |
|                                 |       |       |       |

## q39) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside Israel known as the two States solution?

| 1) Definitely support | 8.3%  | 6.6%  | 11.2% |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2) support            | 40.4% | 44.6% | 33.5% |
| 3) oppose             | 37.9% | 38.5% | 36.8% |
| 4) definitely oppose  | 12.5% | 9.1%  | 18.3% |
| 5) DK/NA              | .8%   | 1.2%  | .2%   |

## q40) In your view, what is the most effective means for the establishment of a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel? Is it:

| 1)Negotiations                  | 21.7% | 22.2% | 20.8% |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2)Armed action                  | 52.9% | 51.2% | 55.7% |
| 3)Popular nonviolent resistance | 20.0% | 21.0% | 18.3% |
| 4) DK/NA                        | 5.4%  | 5.6%  | 5.2%  |

# 41) Some believe that the two-state solution, an independent Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel, is no longer viable due to settlement expansion while others believe that it is still viable today as settlements can be dismantled or evacuated when an agreement is reached. What do you think?

| 1) certainly the two-state      | 27.4% | 24.1% | 32.7% |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| solution is no longer viable    |       |       |       |
| 2) the two state solution is no | 34.1% | 36.7% | 29.9% |
| longer viable                   |       |       |       |
| 3) the two-state solution       | 26.6% | 27.9% | 24.4% |
| remains viable today            |       |       |       |
| 4) Certainly, the two-state     | 8.7%  | 8.4%  | 9.2%  |
| solution remains viable today   |       |       |       |
| 5) DK/NA                        | 3.3%  | 2.9%  | 3.8%  |

# 42) Talk has recently increased about the inevitable failure of the two-state solution and the need to demand the formulation of a solution based on the establishment of one state in all Palestinian areas and Israel, one in which Arabs and Jews enjoy equality. Do you support or oppose this view?

| 1) Certainly support | 3.2%  | 2.1%  | 4.9%  |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2) support           | 20.7% | 23.2% | 16.6% |
| 3) oppose            | 51.3% | 53.4% | 47.7% |
| 4) Certainly oppose  | 23.5% | 19.5% | 30.2% |
| 5) DK/NA             | 1.3%  | 1.8%  | .6%   |

43) Now more than 45 years after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, what in your view are the chances for the establishment of an

| independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years? Are |                     |                       |              |  |
|---|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------|--|
| they high, medium, low, or none exist   | 23.6%               | 22.3%                 | 25.7%        |  |
| 1) None existent  |                     | 43.6%                 |              |  |
| 2) Low  | 43.6%               |                       | 43.8%        |  |
| 3) Medium   | 25.3%               | 27.5%                 | 21.7%        |  |
| 4) High   | 5.7%                | 4.8%                  | 7.1%         |  |
| 5 5) DK/NA  | 1.8%                | 1.9%                  | 1.7%         |  |
| q44 44) To what extent are you worn   | ried or not worri   | ed that you or a me   | mber of your |  |
| family could be hurt by Israel in you   | ır daily life or th | at your land would    | be           |  |
| confiscated or home demolished?   |                     |                       |              |  |
| 1) Very Worried   | 38.4%               | 30.4%                 | 51.6%        |  |
| 2) Worried  | 42.2%               | 44.9%                 | 37.8%        |  |
| 3) Not worried  | 16.6%               | 21.5%                 | 8.6%         |  |
| 4) Not worried at all   | 2.6%                | 3.1%                  | 1.7%         |  |
| 5 )DK/NA  | .2%                 | .1%                   | .2%          |  |
| q45 45) What do you think are the a   | spirations of Isra  | ael for the long run? | •            |  |
| 1) Withdrawal from the  | 8.3%                | 8.1%                  | 8.6%         |  |
| territories it occupied in 1967   |                     |                       |              |  |
| after guaranteeing its security   |                     |                       |              |  |
| 2) Withdrawal form part of the  | 9.2%                | 7.1%                  | 12.6%        |  |
| occupied territories after  |                     |                       |              |  |
| guaranteeing its security   |                     |                       |              |  |
| 3) Annexation of the West   | 22.5%               | 19.3%                 | 27.8%        |  |
| Bank while denying political  |                     |                       |              |  |
| rights of Palestinian citizens  |                     |                       |              |  |
| 4) Extending the borders of the   | 57.9%               | 63.3%                 | 49.0%        |  |
| state of Israel to cover all the  |                     |                       |              |  |
| area between the Jordan River   |                     |                       |              |  |
| and the Mediterranean Sea and   |                     |                       |              |  |
| expelling its Arab citizens   |                     |                       |              |  |
| 5). DK/NA   | 2.1%                | 2.2%                  | 1.9%         |  |
| q46) And what do you think are the  | aspirations of th   | e Palestinian Autho   | rity and the |  |
| PLO for the long run?   | wsp-1-00-01-0 01 01 |                       |              |  |
| 1) Regain some of the   | 34.8%               | 36.1%                 | 32.5%        |  |
| territories conquered in the  |                     |                       |              |  |
| 1967 war  |                     |                       |              |  |
| Withdrawal from the territories   |                     |                       |              |  |
| it occupied in 1967 after   |                     |                       |              |  |
| guaranteeing its security   |                     |                       |              |  |
| 2) Regain all the   | 28.6%               | 23.8%                 | 36.4%        |  |
| territories conquered in the  |                     |                       |              |  |
| 1967 war  |                     |                       |              |  |
| 3) Conquer the State of Israel  | 14.2%               | 12.2%                 | 17.4%        |  |
| and regain control over the pre   |                     |                       |              |  |
| 1948 Palestine  |                     |                       |              |  |
| 4) Conquer the State of Israel  | 13.8%               | 15.3%                 | 11.3%        |  |
| and destroy much of the Jewish  |                     |                       |              |  |
| population in Israel  |                     |                       |              |  |
| 5 5) DK/NA  | 8.7%                | 12.5%                 | 2.3%         |  |

47) Now that negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis have stopped, would you support or oppose adopting the following options?  ${\tt q47\_2}$  ) Joining more international organizations

| 1) Strongly support            | 37.6%                 | 25.3%               | 57.7%            |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 2) Support                     | 47.4%                 | 55.7%               | 33.7%            |
| 3) Oppose                      | 11.9%                 | 15.0%               | 6.8%             |
| 4) Strongly oppose             | 1.5%                  | 1.6%                | 1.3%             |
| 5 5) DK/NA                     | 1.6%                  | 2.2%                | .6%              |
| q47_3 ) Abandon the two stat   | e solution and deman  | d the establishmen  | nt of one state  |
| for Palestinians and Israelis  |                       |                     |                  |
| 1) Strongly support            | 4.7%                  | 4.7%                | 4.7%             |
| 2) Support                     | 19.3%                 | 20.6%               | 17.1%            |
| 3) Oppose                      | 52.9%                 | 57.8%               | 44.9%            |
| 4) Strongly oppose             | 22.0%                 | 15.8%               | 32.3%            |
| 5 5) DK/NA                     | 1.0%                  | 1.1%                | 1.0%             |
| q47_4 ) Resort to popular nor  | n-violent and unarme  | d resistance        |                  |
| 1) Strongly support            | 13.3%                 | 10.6%               | 17.6%            |
| 2) Support                     | 48.9%                 | 53.9%               | 40.7%            |
| 3) Oppose                      | 30.6%                 | 31.5%               | 29.3%            |
| 4) Strongly oppose             | 6.4%                  | 3.1%                | 11.8%            |
| 5 5) DK/NA                     | .8%                   | .9%                 | .6%              |
| q47_5 ) Return to the armed i  | intifada and confront | ations              |                  |
| 1) Strongly support            | 18.8%                 | 13.9%               | 26.9%            |
| 2) Support                     | 41.4%                 | 41.7%               | 40.9%            |
| 3) Oppose                      | 32.7%                 | 37.2%               | 25.2%            |
| 4) Strongly oppose             | 6.2%                  | 6.0%                | 6.5%             |
| 5 5) DK/NA                     | .9%                   | 1.2%                | .5%              |
| q47_6 ) Dissolve               |                       |                     |                  |
| 1) Strongly support            | 11.1%                 | 10.1%               | 12.8%            |
| 2) Support                     | 31.1%                 | 32.4%               | 29.1%            |
| 3) Oppose                      | 42.5%                 | 44.9%               | 38.7%            |
| 4) Strongly oppose             | 12.0%                 | 9.5%                | 16.0%            |
| 5 5) DK/NA                     | 3.2%                  | 3.1%                | 3.3%             |
| q48) If large popular nonviol  | ent demonstrations as | gainst occupation t | ook place in the |
| West Bank and the Gaza Stri    |                       | _                   | -                |
| occupation?                    | - · · · ·             |                     | G                |
| 1) Certainly yes               | 17.0%                 | 8.0%                | 31.6%            |
| 2) Yes                         | 43.5%                 | 45.7%               | 39.9%            |
| 3) No                          | 28.4%                 | 33.7%               | 19.6%            |
| 4) Certainly no                | 10.2%                 | 11.4%               | 8.2%             |
| 5 5) DK/NA                     | .9%                   | 1.1%                | .6%              |
| q49) What about the approac    | h or method used by   | Hamas in confront   | ting occupation  |
| in the Gaza Strip? Do you suj  |                       |                     |                  |
| 1) Strongly support            | 34.2%                 | 30.5%               | 40.2%            |
| 2) Support                     | 53.7%                 | 62.6%               | 38.9%            |
| 3) Oppose                      | 8.4%                  | 5.4%                | 13.3%            |
| 4) Strongly oppose             | 2.5%                  | .4%                 | 5.9%             |
| 5 5) DK/NA                     | 1.3%                  | 1.1%                | 1.7%             |
| q50) And what about the Wes    |                       |                     |                  |
| approach or method used by     |                       | g occupation in the | Gaza Strip by    |
| transferring it to the West Ba |                       | 24 50/              | 27.00/           |
| 1) Strongly support            | 29.5%<br>42.1%        | 24.5%<br>45.7%      | 37.9%<br>36.0%   |
| . 1 5 11999 OPT                | 4/1-/2                | 4:1 / -/-           | 30 11%           |

45.7%

36.0%

42.1%

2) Support

| 3) Oppose   | 19.9%                | 23.6%                 | 13.7%           |  |
|---|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--|
| 4) Strongly oppose  | 6.6%                 | 4.1%                  | 10.8%           |  |
| 5 5) DK/NA  | 1.9%                 | 2.2%                  | 1.6%            |  |
| q51) Do you participate in the bo   | ovcott of Israeli go | ods that have alter   | natives such as |  |
| diary products?   | ,                    |                       |                 |  |
| 1) Certainly participate  | 37.6%                | 41.0%                 | 32.0%           |  |
| 2) Participate  | 44.4%                | 46.9%                 | 40.1%           |  |
| 3) Do not participate   | 15.6%                | 11.4%                 | 22.5%           |  |
| 4) Certainly do not participate   | 1.9%                 | .3%                   | 4.5%            |  |
| 5) DK/NA  | .5%                  | .3%                   | .9%             |  |
| q52) Do you think the boycott me  | ovement is effectiv  | ve or ineffective?    |                 |  |
| 1) Certainly effective  | 40.0%                | 38.8%                 | 42.0%           |  |
| 2) Effective  | 47.3%                | 50.4%                 | 42.2%           |  |
| 3) Ineffective  | 9.2%                 | 8.9%                  | 9.7%            |  |
| 4) Certainly ineffective  | 1.4%                 | .7%                   | 2.6%            |  |
| 5) DK/NA  | 2.1%                 | 1.3%                  | 3.5%            |  |
| q53) Do you support or oppose a   | decision to have t   | the Palestinian state | e ioin more     |  |
| international organizations inclu   |                      |                       | •               |  |
| if such a step led to the impositio   | 000                  |                       |                 |  |
| US  |                      | ·                     |                 |  |
| 1) Definitely support   | 28.2%                | 23.2%                 | 36.5%           |  |
| 2) support  | 55.6%                | 59.1%                 | 49.8%           |  |
| 3) oppose   | 12.1%                | 13.5%                 | 9.7%            |  |
| 4) definitely oppose  | 1.6%                 | 1.4%                  | 2.0%            |  |
| 5) DK/NA  | 2.5%                 | 2.8%                  | 2.0%            |  |
| q54) In your view, how will econ  | omic conditions in   | your area (West B     | Bank or Gaza    |  |
| Strip) be in the next few (3-5) year  |                      | •                     |                 |  |
| 1) Much better  | 12.3%                | 7.3%                  | 20.5%           |  |
| 2) Better   | 30.2%                | 27.3%                 | 35.0%           |  |
| 3) Same as today  | 24.4%                | 26.3%                 | 21.3%           |  |
| 4) A little worse than today  | 13.1%                | 15.4%                 | 9.4%            |  |
| 5) Much worse than today  | 14.7%                | 17.3%                 | 10.5%           |  |
| 6) DK/NA  | 5.2%                 | 6.3%                  | 3.4%            |  |
| 7) Refuse to answer   | .1%                  | .1%                   | 0.0%            |  |
| q55 55) Last June, three Israelis   | were kidnapped. ]    | Did you support or    | oppose this     |  |
| kidnapping?   |                      |                       |                 |  |
| 1) Strongly support   | 23.5%                | 14.0%                 | 39.1%           |  |
| 2) Support  | 33.3%                | 31.4%                 | 36.5%           |  |
| 3) Oppose   | 17.1%                | 18.2%                 | 15.4%           |  |
| 4) Strongly oppose  | 4.8%                 | 4.5%                  | 5.4%            |  |
| 5) DK/NA  | 1.6%                 | 2.1%                  | .9%             |  |
| 6)There was no kidnapping   | 19.6%                | 29.8%                 | 2.8%            |  |
| q56) After the kidnapping of the three Israelis, they were killed and buried. Did you |                      |                       |                 |  |
| support or oppose this killing?   |                      |                       | •               |  |
| 1) Strongly support   | 21.0%                | 11.6%                 | 32.1%           |  |
| 2) Support  | 33.1%                | 30.2%                 | 36.5%           |  |
| 3) Oppose   | 36.3%                | 45.3%                 | 25.6%           |  |
| 4) Strongly oppose  |                      |                       |                 |  |
| , 2, 11   | 6.1%                 | 7.0%                  | 5.0%            |  |
| 5) DK/NA  | 6.1%<br>3.6%         | 7.0%<br>5.9%          | 5.0%<br>.9%     |  |

| q57) who in your view carried out this kidnapping and killing? |                       |                       |               |  |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|--|
| 1) Hamas   | 29.8%                 | 24.9%                 | 35.6%         |  |
| Fatah  |                       |                       |               |  |
| Palestinians acting on their                                   | 1.6%                  | .6%                   | 2.7%          |  |
| own  | 20.8%                 | 10.4%                 | 33.2%         |  |
| Israel   | 31.6%                 | 40.6%                 | 20.9%         |  |
| Others (specify)   | 1.5%                  | 2.6%                  | .2%           |  |
| 6 DK/NA  | 14.7%                 | 21.0%                 | 7.3%          |  |
| q58) Concerning armed attacks                                  | s against Israeli civ | ilians inside Israel, | I             |  |
| 1) Strongly support  | 21.7%                 | 13.6%                 | 35.0%         |  |
| 2) Support   | 42.2%                 | 43.5%                 | 40.2%         |  |
| 3) Oppose  | 30.2%                 | 36.3%                 | 20.3%         |  |
| 4) Strongly oppose   | 3.7%                  | 3.9%                  | 3.5%          |  |
| 5 5) DK/NA   | 2.1%                  | 2.8%                  | 1.0%          |  |
| q59) Which of the following po                                 | litical parties do yo | u support?            |               |  |
| 1) PPP   | .7%                   | .6%                   | .7%           |  |
| 2) PFLP  | 2.9%                  | 2.5%                  | 3.7%          |  |
| 3) Fateh   | 24.6%                 | 19.7%                 | 32.7%         |  |
| 4) Hamas   | 35.4%                 | 35.5%                 | 35.3%         |  |
| 5) DFLP  | 1.3%                  | 1.2%                  | 1.5%          |  |
| 6) Islamic Jihad   | 2.8%                  | 1.2%                  | 5.6%          |  |
| 7) Fida  | 0.0%                  | 0.0%                  | 0.0%          |  |
| 8) National Initiative   | .3%                   | .3%                   | .3%           |  |
| (Mubadara)   |                       |                       |               |  |
| 9) Independent Islamists                                       | 1.7%                  | .8%                   | 3.2%          |  |
| 10) Independent Nationalists                                   | 3.3%                  | 2.9%                  | 4.0%          |  |
| 11) Third Way, headed by                                       | .3%                   | .3%                   | .5%           |  |
| Salam Fayyad   |                       |                       |               |  |
| 12) None of the above  | 26.0%                 | 34.3%                 | 12.4%         |  |
| 13) Other, specify   | .5%                   | .8%                   | .1%           |  |
| q60) If you use the internet to s                              |                       |                       | , and various |  |
| groups or to access email, how                                 | •                     |                       | 0.4.407       |  |
| 1) More than once a day  | 21.2%                 | 19.4%                 | 24.1%         |  |
| 2) daily   | 23.1%                 | 21.1%                 | 26.5%         |  |
| 3) between 2-5 times weekly                                    | 12.2%                 | 9.9%                  | 16.0%         |  |
| 4) once a week   | 4.5%                  | 4.1%                  | 5.2%          |  |
| 5) once a month  | 3.6%                  | 2.9%                  | 4.7%          |  |
| 6) others (specify)  | .1%                   | .1%                   | 0.0%          |  |
| 7) Does not apply—I have no                                    | 35.4%                 | 42.6%                 | 23.5%         |  |
| email and do not visit social                                  |                       |                       |               |  |
| sites  |                       |                       |               |  |