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This poll is part of PSR series of regular polls.

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



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On The Eve of the Formation of the New Palestinian Government, Hamas' Popularity Increases and Fateh's Decreases, but a Majority of the Palestinians Wants the Continuation of the Peace Process and the Implementation of the Road Map and Supports a New Negotiated, rather than a Unilateral, Israeli Disengagement in the West Bank

These are the results of the latest poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip during March 16-18, 2006. The poll deals with Palestinian perceptions and the popularity of Fateh and Hamas in the post election period, attitudes towards the peace process after Hamas' victory, attitudes regarding the Israeli raid on Jericho jail, and several domestic issues. Total size of the sample is 1270 adults interviewed face to face in the West Bank (809) and the Gaza Strip (463) in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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MAIN RESULTS:

This poll was conducted less than two months after the Palestinian legislative elections which took place on 25 January 2006 in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip but before Hamas government was presented to the new PLC and gained its vote of confidence. At the time of the poll, the international community was threatening to suspend aid to the PA but no action had been taken at that time.

The results indicate that despite threats of sanctions and despite public expectations that donors will indeed cut off support once a Hamas government is formed, support for Hamas has never been as high as it is today. In fact, support for Hamas today is higher than the support it received on the day of elections. By contrast, Fateh's popularity decreased significantly compared to where it was before the elections. In fact, support for Fateh today is less than the support it had on the day of elections.

These results indicate that Israeli and Western threats increase rather than decrease public support for Hamas. Support for Fateh is dropping as some Palestinians might be punishing it for the role it seems, in their eyes, to play in bringing about the downfall of Hamas and the undoing of its victory.

But the increased support for Hamas does not indicate increased support for its views on the peace process. To the contrary, Palestinian public opinion seems today more moderate and willing to compromise than it has been at any time before. Despite public objection to a Hamas' recognition of Israel in response to international pressure, a majority wants Hamas to negotiate with Israel and to implement the Road Map. More importantly, a majority supports the two-state solution and in this context supports a mutual recognition of Israel as the state for the Jewish people in exchange for an Israeli recognition of Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people.

(1) Hamas and Fateh in the Post Legislative Elections' Environment

- Hamas' popularity continues to increase: 47% would vote for Hamas and 39% for Fateh if new elections are held today
- Two main reasons are given by the public for Hamas' victory: the desire to have an authority that would implement Islamic Sharia code and the desire to have an authority that would fight corruption
- Fateh's loss is attributed by the public to three main factors: the voters' desire to punish it for corruption, its divisions and fragmentation, and its failure to enforce law and order
- Majority expects Hamas' success in government, donors' suspension of aid, and Hamas' success in finding alternative sources of support
- Majority opposes a Hamas recognition of Israel in compliance with donors' demands

In the estimate of 37% of the respondents, Hamas won the January parliamentary elections because voters wanted first and foremost an Islamist authority that implements the Sharia code. But 36% believe that voters wanted instead a clean government that fights corruption, 9% believe that voters wanted a strong authority that can put an end to anarchy and enforce law and order, and 7% believe that voters wanted a fighting authority that resists occupation. In the estimate of 52% of the respondents, Fateh lost the elections because voters wanted first and foremost to punish it for the spread of corruption in the PA. But 19% attribute the loss to Fateh's divisions and lack of leadership, 17% to its failure to put an end to anarchy, and 5% to the failure of the peace process.

If new elections are to take place today, 47% of those who would participate say they would vote for Hamas, 39% for Fateh, and 8% for the four other factions represented in the current PLC. When asked about their actual vote in the last parliamentary elections in January, 46% said they voted for Hamas, 44% for Fateh, and 8% for the four other factions. (Actual official results were 44% for Hamas, 41% for Fateh, and 12% for the four other winning factions.)

Support for Hamas increases in the Gaza Strip (51%) compared to the West Bank (45%). By contrast, support for Fateh increases in the West Bank (40%) compared to the Gaza Strip (37%). Support for Hamas increases in cities (52% compared to 36% for Fateh) and refugee camps (47% compared to 37% for Fateh). The two factions receive equal support in rural areas. Support for Hamas increases among women (51% compared to 36% for Fateh) and decreases among men (43% for Hamas compared to 41% for Fateh). It also increases among refugees (49% for Hamas compared to 37% for Fateh) and decreases among non refugees (45% for Hamas compared to 41% for Fateh). It also increases among the illiterates (57% for Hamas compared to 33% for Fateh), students (48% for Hamas compared to 37% for Fateh), housewives (51% for Hamas compared to 35% for Fateh), religious respondents (54% for Hamas compared to 35% for Fateh), and among those opposed to the peace process (68% for Hamas and 16% for Fateh).

A majority of 70% expects Hamas to succeed in leading and managing the affairs of the PA while 22% expect the opposite. A similar percentage (69%) is not worried about its personal freedom after Hamas' victory and 30% are worried. The large percentage of those expecting a Hamas success is somewhat surprising given the fact that a similar percentage (68%) believe that the PA can not manage without donor support and that 50% of the respondents believe that aid will indeed be suspended as long as Hamas does not meet donors' conditions. Despite the strong moderate peace tendencies of the respondents in this poll, a majority of 59% nonetheless believes that Hamas should not recognize the state of Israel in compliance with donors' demands while 37% believe it should.

(2) The Peace Process in the Post Hamas' Victory

- 75% want Hamas to negotiate peace with Israel
- Majority supports the implementation of the Road Map and a majority supports a mutual recognition of Israel as the state for the Jewish people under conditions of peace and the establishment of a Palestinian state in a two-

Despite Hamas' electoral victory and despite the added increase in its popularity after the elections, public support for the peace process is on the rise. Public willingness to compromise has increased significantly during the last few months with about three quarters of the Palestinians wanting Hamas to conduct peace negotiations with Israel and only 22% opposing it. A majority of 64% says it supports the peace process while only 14% says it is opposed to it. These percentages stood at 59% and 17% respectively in our exit poll on the day of elections last January. A majority of 53%, compared to 51% in the exit poll) wants the Hamas

state solution

- Sharp divisions over collection of arms from armed groups but an overwhelming majority supports the integration of armed groups into PA security services
- About three quarters welcome a negotiated Israeli disengagement from the West Bank while only 23% would support the disengagement if it was unilateral
- 80% would support a declaration of Palestinian statehood if it comes as an outcome of negotiations with Israel and 59% would support it if it was unilaterally declared by the PA

government to implement the Road Map and 40% oppose that.

But perhaps the most moderate and surprising attitude is the one toward the two state solution and mutual recognition of identity. In this poll, 66% said they would support, and 32% would oppose, the recognition of Israel as the state for the Jewish people in the context of peace based on a two-state solution and an Israeli recognition of Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people. Support for this solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict stood at 57% and opposition at 41% last December. On the day of elections, only 49% supported this solution and 48% opposed it. As in our December poll, three quarters would support reconciliation between the two peoples under conditions of peace and the establishment of a Palestinian state recognized by Israel.

But divisions remain over how to handle the issue of arms collection. About half (49%) wants the new government to collect the arms of the various armed groups while 21% wants it to do nothing about those arms and 27% prefer to see the new parliament enacting a law that would allow armed groups to keep their arms. Identical results were registered on the day of elections.

Findings show that about three quarters of the respondents (73%) prefer to see a new Israeli disengagement from the West Bank carried out through negotiations while only 23% prefer to see it accomplished unilaterally. Moreover, the poll found that a majority (59%) believes that unilateral steps reduce the chances of eventually reaching permanent settlement to the conflict. Despite this, 59% would support a Palestinian unilateral step such as a PA unilateral declaration of statehood while 37% would oppose that. If the statehood declaration is the outcome of negotiations with Israel, a larger percentage (80%) would support it and only 17% would oppose it.

(3) Jericho Jail Raid

- A semi consensus that both the US and the UK are implicated in the Israeli raid on the Jericho jail
- 51% support non-violent reactions to protest the US and UK involvement but 46% support in various degrees other steps such as kidnappings or armed attacks

Findings show an almost total consensus among the Palestinians (93%) that the US and UK are implicated with Israel in the raid on the Jericho jail which took place few days before the poll was conducted. The raid and the arrest of Ahmad Sa'adat and his colleagues from the PFLP was followed by various types of reaction including demonstrations, attacks and burning of offices and other facilities belonging to the two countries, and kidnapping of foreigners. Findings show that 51% of the respondents supported only peaceful reaction or no reaction at all. Other types of reaction were supported to various degrees. For example, 9% supported attacks on and burning of offices and installations, 12% supported also the kidnapping of foreigners, and 25% supported also armed attacks against nationals from those two countries.

(4) Domestic Issues

- Poverty and unemployment is the most serious problem confronting Palestinians today followed by Israeli occupation and PA corruption
- Three quarters do not feel safe or secure in the PA
- 91% believe corruption exists in the PA but two thirds believe it will decrease in the future
- Large percentage wants to give greater jurisdiction to the new legislative council than the president
- If new presidential elections are held today, 37% would vote for Mahmud Abbas, 25% for

The period in the post Hamas' victory is witnessing a significant change in public priorities. Concern is growing over economic issues such as poverty and unemployment with 44% of the respondents viewing it as the most important problem confronting the Palestinians today while only 25% views the continued occupation as the most important problem and 24% views corruption as the most important problem. On the day of elections only 27% identified poverty and unemployment as the most important problem with corruption coming first with 29% and occupation coming second, like poverty and unemployment, with 27%.

Findings also show that three quarters of the Palestinians do not feel safe in their homes. This finding is identical with that we found on the day of elections. Absence of safety is felt more strongly in the

- Mahmud Zahhar, and 15% for Mustafa Barghouti from among a closed list**
- If elections are held today for a vice president, 30% would vote for Ismail Haniyyeh, 20% for Marwan Barghouti, 11% for Mahmud Zahhar, 8% for Mohammad Dahlan, 7% for Farouq Qaddoumi, and 6% each for Saeb Erikat and Mustafa Barghouti**
- Support for Fateh drops considerably from 45% in our December 2005 poll to 34% in this poll. Support for Hamas increases from 28% to 37% and for the Islamists in general from 35% to 43% during the same period.**
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West Bank, which is under semi full Israeli control, reaching 79% compared to 68% in the Gaza Strip, which is under semi full Palestinian control.

The poll shows that Hamas' victory has also affected public perception regarding the future of corruption in the PA. While 91% believe that corruption exists in PA institutions (the highest level registered since the formation of the PA), findings show that 65% believe that this corruption will decrease in the future. This is the first time that a majority indicated its belief that corruption will decrease in the future. Last December, only 34% believed that corruption will decrease in the future.

But Hamas' victory caused no change in public perception regarding the status of Palestinian democracy. Positive evaluation of democracy under the PA reached 34% in this poll compared to an almost identical result (35%) last December.

Despite the fact that 61% of the public are satisfied (and 37% are dissatisfied) with the performance of President Mahmud Abbas, only a small minority of 19% wants to give him more powers than those of the newly-elected PLC. On the other hand, 44% want to give the PLC greater powers than those enjoyed by the president and 32% want both to have equal powers.

Despite this result, the popularity of Fateh's Abbas (37%) remains higher than that of Mahmud Zahhar of Hamas (25%) and Mustafa Barghouti of other groups (15%). This came in a response to a closed question with respondents asked to choose one of the three. In another closed question on a vote for a vice president, Ismail Haniyyah, the current prime minister, emerged as the most popular with 30% followed by Marwan Barghouti with 20%, Mahmud Zahhar with 11%, Mohammad Dahlan (8%), Farouq Qaddoumi (7%) and Saeb Erikat and Mustafa Barghouti (6% each).

Findings show that support for Fateh has dropped significantly compared to last December while support for Hamas has increased during the same period. Support for Fateh stood at 45% three months ago dropping to 34% in this poll. Hamas' popularity reached 28% last December rising to 37% in this poll. Support for the Islamists in general (Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and independent Islamists) increased from 35% to 43% during the same period.

Results of Poll # (19)

16-18 March 2006

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
01) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) very satisfied	9.2	8.3	10.6
2) satisfied	52.2	50.9	54.5
3) not satisfied	28.3	29.4	26.5
4) not satisfied at all	8.2	8.7	7.2
5) DK/NA	2.1	2.7	1.1
02) If new presidential elections were to take place in the PA, whom do you prefer to see president of the PA?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	36.5	36.0	37.2
2) Mahoud Zahhar	25.2	25.9	23.8
3) Mustafa Barghouti	15.0	13.9	16.8
4) Others	12.1	10.8	14.3
5) No Opinion/ Don't know	11.3	13.4	7.8
03) And if you were to select a vice president, whom would you choose?			
1) Mahmoud Zahhar	10.5	11.8	8.2
2) Mohammad Dahlan	8.0	3.4	16.1
3) Marwan Barghouti	19.8	23.7	13.0
4) Mustafa Barghouti	5.9	6.3	5.2
5) Ahmad Quri'	1.9	2.6	0.7
6) Ismael Haneyeh	30.0	25.6	37.7
7) Saeb Erikat	5.6	6.6	3.9
8) Farouq Qaddomi	7.2	7.1	7.4
9) Others	3.7	4.5	2.3
10) No Opinion /Don't know	7.4	8.5	5.5
04) To whom of the following lists did you vote in the legislative elections that took place in January 25, 2006?			
1) alternative	1.7	1.8	1.6
2) independent Palestine	2.6	2.8	2.2
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	2.9	3.5	2.0
4) Abu al Abbas	0.4	0.4	0.5
5) freedom and social justice	0.2	0.3	
6) change and reform	46.2	43.6	50.0
7) national coalition for justice and democracy	0.2	0.2	0.3
8) third way	1.0	1.5	0.3
9) freedom and independence	0.3	0.1	0.6
10) Palestinian justice	0.1	0.1	
11) Fateh	44.4	45.7	42.4
05) If new elections are held today and the same lists that took part in the last PLC elections were nominated, for whom would you vote?			
1) alternative	1.4	1.6	1.2
2) independent Palestine	3.5	3.8	2.9
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	2.6	3.0	2.0
4) Abu al Abbas	0.3	0.3	0.2
5) freedom and social justice	0.3	0.5	0.0
6) change and reform	47.0	44.7	50.7
7) national coalition for justice and democ	0.3	0.5	0.0
8) third way	0.8	1.1	0.3
9) freedom and independence	0.4	0.4	0.3
10) Palestinian justice	0.2	0.1	0.3

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
11) Fateh	38.9	40.3	36.6
12) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	4.4	3.8	5.5
06) Given the results of PLC elections which took place about two months ago, some say that Hamas won because most voters wanted first and foremost (select one only):			
1) a fighting authority that resists occupation	6.7	6.9	6.4
2) a clean authority that fights corruption	35.6	36.4	34.3
3) a strong authority that ends anarchy and chaos	9.4	9.2	9.7
4) an Islamic authority that rules according to Sharia and religion	36.6	35.4	38.7
5) other reasons: specify ----	9.3	10.1	7.8
6) DK/NA	2.4	2.1	3.0
07) Some say that Fateh Lost these elections because most voters first and foremost (select only)			
1) punished it for the failure of the peace process	5.1	5.2	4.8
2) punished it for the spread of corruption in the PA	51.9	53.8	48.6
3) punished it for its inability to put an end to anarchy and chaos	17.2	14.8	21.3
4) it was divided leaderless	18.9	19.5	17.8
5) other reasons: specify -----	3.7	3.5	4.0
6) DK/NA	3.3	3.2	3.4
08) And why in your opinion did the Left (such as the PFLP, the DFLP, Fida, People's Party, and al Mubadara) lose the elections			
1) because it was divided	27.1	25.4	30.1
2) because of its political positions	15.5	15.1	16.4
3) because of lack of trust in its leadership	33.8	33.6	34.2
4) others: specify -----	11.0	12.1	9.1
5) DK/NA	12.5	13.8	10.2
09) Do you expect Hamas to succeed or fail in its work in leading and managing the affairs of the PA?			
1) Certainly succeed	18.7	13.7	27.4
2) Succeed	51.7	54.4	47.1
3) fail	19.2	20.6	16.7
4) certainly fail	3.1	3.8	2.0
5) DK/NA	7.3	7.6	6.8
10) The PLO and the PA have recognized the state of Israel as part of the peace process which was based on the Oslo Agreement. Hamas refused and still refuses to recognize Israel. What do you think? Now that it has won the elections, should Hamas recognize or not recognize the state of Israel?			
1) It should recognize the state of Israel	35.7	36.3	34.7
2) It should not recognize the state of Israel	60.8	59.6	63.0
3) DK/NA	3.5	4.1	2.3
11) The Western donor community provides the PA economic and financial assistance reaching about one billion dollars every year. Do you think the PA can or can not do without this assistance?			
1) it certainly can do without it	7.5	6.2	9.7
2) it can do without it	23.0	23.7	21.7
3) it can not do without it	40.1	42.1	36.6
4) it certainly can not do without it	27.8	26.3	30.4
5) DK/NA	1.7	1.7	1.6

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
12) For the assistance to continue, the donor community demand that Hamas must recognize the state of Israel. Do you think Hamas should accept this demand and recognize Israel?			
1) Certainly yes	11.6	11.4	12.1
2) yes	25.5	24.8	26.6
3) no	42.0	44.0	38.5
4) certainly no	17.2	16.0	19.5
5) DK/NA	3.7	3.8	3.4
13) If Hamas refuses to recognize Israel, do you think the donor community will indeed stop assisting the PA?			
1) certainly it will stop the assistance	18.4	18.3	18.6
2) it will stop the assistance	32.0	34.2	28.0
3) it will not stop the assistance	35.3	34.7	36.4
4) certainly it will not stop the assistance	10.0	8.2	13.1
5) DN/NA	4.3	4.5	3.8
14) If the donor community does cut off its aid, do you believe the PA would collapse?			
1) certainly it will collapse	17.7	14.9	22.5
2) it will collapse	33.5	35.3	30.4
3) it will not collapse	38.1	39.9	34.9
4) certainly it will not collapse	7.9	6.5	10.4
5) DK/NA	2.8	3.4	1.8
15) If the donor community cut off support to the PA, do you think Hamas would find alternative sources, for example from Arab and Muslim countries?			
1) certainly it will find	24.5	19.3	33.6
2) it will find	53.5	57.8	46.1
3) it will not find	15.4	16.2	14.0
4) certainly it will not find	3.8	3.7	4.0
5) DK/NA	2.8	3.1	2.3
16) What do you think will happen? Do you expect Hamas to agree to the demands of the donor community by recognizing Israel or will it not agree to do that?			
1) certainly it will agree	5.3	4.6	6.6
2) it will agree	35.1	37.1	31.6
3) it will not agree	42.5	43.0	41.7
4) certainly it will not agree	10.7	8.4	14.7
5) DK/NA	6.4	6.9	5.4
17) If Israel agrees to conduct peace negotiations with a Hamas-led PA, do you think the Hamas-led PA should or should not negotiate with Israel?			
1) certainly it should negotiate	26.2	26.1	26.3
2) it should negotiate	48.9	51.1	45.0
3) it should not negotiate	16.7	15.3	19.2
4) certainly it should not negotiate	5.2	3.9	7.5
5) DK/NA	3.0	3.6	2.0
18) A conflict exists at the moment over who should control the security services: the cabinet led by Hamas or president Mahmud Abbas from Fateh. What do think, who should control the security services?			
1) the cabinet	24.5	23.8	25.8
2) the president	27.1	25.5	29.9
3) both	37.1	39.2	33.5
4) one part should come under the cabinet and another under the president	7.9	7.0	9.5
5) other: specify -----	0.7	1.1	
6) DK/NA	2.7	3.5	1.3

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
19) Are you worried or not worried about your personal freedom now that Hamas has won the elections?			
1) very worried	8.1	7.4	9.4
2) worried	22.2	21.4	23.7
3) not worried	43.3	45.8	39.0
4) not worried at all	25.4	24.4	27.0
5) DK/NA	1.0	1.0	0.9
20) In your opinion, the elected PLC should enjoy:			
1) Same powers as those of president Mahmud Abbas	32.4	31.6	33.7
2) Greater powers than those of President Mahmud Abbas	44.2	43.3	45.6
3) Less powers than those of President Mahmud Abbas	19.1	19.3	18.9
4) DK/NA	4.3	5.8	1.8
21) We would like to ask you about your expectations from the PLC you had just elected. Do you want it to			
1) implement the Road Map Plan	53.0	49.9	58.5
2) not to implement the Road Map Plan	39.7	42.0	35.6
3) DK/ NA	7.3	8.1	5.9
22) And with regard to the arms in the hands of the armed factions, do you want it to:			
1) to pass laws to collect arms from all armed groups whereby the PA security services would be the only armed force in PA areas?	49.3	45.1	56.6
2) to pass laws to keep arms of the armed factions in the hands of the armed factions	27.1	27.0	27.2
3) not to interfere in the issue of the arms of the factions	20.8	23.8	15.5
4) DK/NA	2.8	4.1	0.7
23) What do you expect to happen to the Palestinians and Israelis now that Hamas has won Palestinian elections?			
1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	17.8	16.5	20.1
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	40.8	37.4	46.8
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	34.1	37.7	27.8
4) DK/NA	7.3	8.4	5.3
24) There is a proposal to absorb the members of armed groups belonging to Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Fateh into the security services whereby all armed forces become part of the Palestinian Authority. Do you support or oppose this proposal?			
1) strongly support	28.8	25.2	35.2
2) support	52.6	55.8	47.1
3) oppose	12.6	12.7	12.5
4) strongly oppose	3.3	2.7	4.5
5) DK/NA	2.6	3.7	0.7
25) Would you welcome or not welcome a further Israeli disengagements and withdrawals in the West Bank whether they were unilateral or by agreement?			
1) definitely welcome	32.0	27.3	40.3
2) welcome	53.9	56.2	49.9
3) do not welcome	10.3	11.6	8.0
4) definitely do not welcome	2.2	2.7	1.4
5) DK/NA	1.6	2.2	0.5

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
26) Do you prefer to see the Palestinian Authority and Israel negotiate further disengagements or withdrawals in the West Bank or do you prefer to see Israel withdraw unilaterally without negotiations?			
1) I definitely prefer to see the PA and Israel negotiate the withdrawal and disengagement	51.7	53.0	49.4
2) I think I prefer to see the PA and Israel negotiate the withdrawal and disengagement	20.9	19.9	22.8
3) I think I prefer to see Israel unilaterally withdraw without negotiations	16.0	15.6	16.8
4) I definitely prefer to see Israel unilaterally withdraw without negotiations	6.9	6.6	7.5
5) DK/NA	4.4	4.9	3.5
27) Who will benefit politically more from further Israeli unilateral disengagement? Fateh or Hamas			
1) Fateh	8.2	8.1	8.4
2) Hamas	16.5	16.9	15.9
3) both equally	50.4	49.5	51.9
4) neither one	21.6	21.6	21.7
5) DK/NA	3.3	4.0	2.0
28) If the PA decides to declare unilaterally an independent Palestinian state would you support or oppose such a declaration?			
1) definitely support	12.5	12.2	13.1
2) support	46.7	46.9	46.3
3) oppose	32.2	32.0	32.6
4) definitely oppose	5.2	5.2	5.2
5) DK/NA	3.3	3.6	2.7
29) And would you support such a declaration if it were negotiated with Israel?			
1) definitely support	19.7	20.0	19.1
2) support	60.6	61.7	58.7
3) oppose	15.1	13.7	17.5
4) definitely oppose	1.9	1.9	1.8
5) DK/NA	2.7	2.6	2.9
30) And generally speaking do you prefer to see the Palestinian Authority and Israel negotiate their differences or try to solve them unilaterally?			
1) I definitely prefer to see them negotiate differences	57.3	58.0	56.1
2) I think I prefer to see them negotiate differences	24.6	25.3	23.5
3) I think I prefer to see them solve their differences unilaterally	9.0	7.4	11.8
4) I definitely prefer to see them solve differences unilaterally	5.3	5.1	5.5
5) DK/NA	3.8	4.2	3.2
31) And if both sides decide to go the unilateral path in handling the conflict between them who do you think will benefit from such a decision, Israel or the Palestinians?			
1) Israel	41.3	44.4	35.8
2) Palestinians	13.8	11.3	18.2
3) both	25.9	25.0	27.5
4) neither	15.1	14.5	16.0
5) DK/NA	4.0	4.8	2.5

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
32) Will a decision to handle the conflict unilaterally increase or decrease the chances to eventually reach a final status settlement?			
1) definitely increase the chances	5.8	5.9	5.7
2) increase the chances	22.3	18.7	28.4
3) decrease the chances	50.5	53.6	45.2
4) definitely decrease the chances	8.6	9.0	7.7
5) no change	6.6	6.5	6.6
6) DK/NA	6.3	6.2	6.4
33) Is it possible in your opinion to achieve in the future full economic, political, and physical separation from Israel?			
1) Certainly possible	8.2	6.9	10.5
2) possible	39.0	38.1	40.6
3) not possible	40.6	43.4	35.6
4) certainly not possible	10.8	10.0	12.2
5) DK/NA	1.5	1.7	1.1
34) And if such a separation was possible, would you support or oppose it?			
1) I would strongly support it	19.6	17.6	23.0
2) I would support it	55.0	55.5	54.2
3) I would oppose it	21.3	22.5	19.3
4) I would strongly oppose it	2.8	2.7	2.9
5) DK/NA	1.3	1.7	0.7
35) Do you support or oppose the current ceasefire between Palestinians and Israelis?			
1) strongly support	18.4	17.1	20.7
2) support	53.5	54.5	51.8
3) oppose	22.1	22.5	21.3
4) strongly oppose	4.5	4.1	5.2
5) DK/NA	1.5	1.8	0.9
36) If a peace agreement is reached, and a Palestinian state is established and recognized by Israel, would you support or oppose the efforts to reach full reconciliation between Israel and the Palestinian state?			
1) Would strongly support	16.3	13.2	21.9
2) Would support	57.9	61.3	52.1
3) Would oppose	17.8	17.7	18.1
4) Would strongly oppose	6.2	6.0	6.6
5) DK/NA	1.7	1.9	1.3
37) After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian people and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, how soon do you think will reconciliation between the two peoples be achieved?			
1) Reconciliation is not possible ever	44.5	44.9	43.7
2) Only in many generations to come	18.1	18.7	17.2
3) Only in the next generation	11.6	10.6	13.4
4) Only in the next decade	5.7	5.2	6.6
5) On the next few years	12.4	12.8	11.8
6) No Opinion /Don't know	7.6	7.8	7.4
38) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....			
1) Strongly support	14.2	10.0	21.4
2) Support	38.2	35.7	42.5
3) Oppose	40.2	45.1	31.6
4) Strongly oppose	5.0	6.1	3.1
5) DK/NA	2.5	3.1	1.4

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
39) Do you believe that armed confrontations so far has helped achieved Palestinian national and political rights in ways that negotiations could not achieve?			
1) Definitely yes	24.0	14.8	40.0
2) Yes	42.9	44.6	40.1
3) No	25.4	30.7	16.1
4) Definitely no	5.7	7.2	3.2
5) DK/NA	2.0	2.8	0.7
40) The following is a list of problems confronting the Palestinians today, tell us which one is the most important problem?			
1) spread of unemployment and poverty	43.7	41.3	48.0
2) continuation of occupation and its daily practices	24.5	28.3	17.8
3) internal anarchy	6.6	4.9	9.5
4) spread of corruption and lack of internal reforms	23.6	23.4	23.9
5) others (specify: -----)	1.2	1.5	0.7
6) DK/NA	0.4	0.7	0.0
41) There is a proposal that after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and the settlement of all issues in dispute, including the refugees and Jerusalem issues, there will be a mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinians people. Do you agree or disagree to this proposal?			
1) Definitely agree	14.1	13.2	15.8
2) agree	52.3	55.9	46.0
3) disagree	24.2	22.5	27.0
4) definitely disagree	7.8	6.2	10.5
5) DK/NA	1.6	2.2	0.7
42) And what is the Palestinian majority opinion on this issue? Do most Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza support or oppose the recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people at the end of the peace process?			
1) Majority supports	57.5	59.9	53.1
2) Majority opposes	34.1	30.2	41.0
3) DK/NA	8.4	9.9	5.9
43) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions?			
1) Yes	91.3	91.7	90.7
2) No	5.1	5.3	4.8
3) DK/NA	3.6	3.1	4.5
44) If yes, Will this corruption in PA institutions increase, decrease or remain as it is in the future?			
1) Will increase	19.2	19.6	18.5
2) Will remain as it is	9.4	8.3	11.3
3) will decrease	64.6	64.4	64.9
4) DK/NA	6.8	7.7	5.3
45) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	2.3	1.3	3.9
2) Assured	22.6	19.4	28.2
3) Not assured	59.3	61.9	54.7
4) Not assured at all	15.7	17.0	13.2
5) DK/NA	0.2	0.3	0.0

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
46) How would you evaluate the current status of democracy and human rights in the Palestinian Authority? Would you say it is:			
1) Very good	5.4	4.1	7.5
2) Good	28.9	29.5	27.8
3) Fair	26.3	25.0	28.6
4) Bad	24.4	26.4	21.1
5) Very bad	13.0	12.9	13.1
6) DK/NA	1.9	2.0	1.8
47) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	47.9	43.2	56.1
2) somewhat religious	47.7	51.8	40.7
3) not religious	3.8	4.3	3.0
4) DK/NA	0.5	0.7	0.2
48) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) supportive of the peace process	64.4	61.1	70.1
2) opposed to the peace process	14.0	13.6	14.9
3) between support and opposition	20.9	24.5	14.8
4) DK/NA	0.7	0.9	0.2
49) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) PPP	0.5	0.5	0.5
2) PFLP	3.3	3.2	3.4
3) Fateh	34.4	34.0	35.0
4) Hamas	36.7	34.2	41.0
5) DFLP	0.6	0.7	0.4
6) Islamic Jihad	2.0	2.5	1.1
7) National initiative (almubadara)	0.9	0.9	0.7
8) Independent Islamists	4.6	4.6	4.6
9) Independent Nationalists	2.4	2.9	1.6
10) None of the above	14.4	16.2	11.4
11) Other, specify	0.3	0.4	0.2
50) Regarding the Jericho Jail incursion and the Israeli arrest of Ahmad Sa'adat, do you view that the UK and the US as implicated in this operation?			
1) yes, implicated	93.0	93.3	92.5
2) no, not implicated (go to Q52)	4.0	2.9	5.9
3) DN/NA (go to Q52)	3.0	3.8	1.6
51) Various Palestinian reactions to the jail incursion were witnessed. From among the following reactions which one would you approve?			
1) only peaceful reactions	37.7	34.3	43.7
2) In addition I would also approve of attacks on a and burning of American and British facilities	8.9	9.2	8.5
3) In addition to all of the above, I would also approve of kidnapping of American and British nationals	11.5	11.0	12.3
4) In addition to all of the above, I would approve of armed attacks on American and British nationals	25.4	23.2	29.2
5) I do not approve of any reaction	13.5	18.4	5.0
6) DK/NA	2.9	3.9	1.2

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
52) People talk these days about the accuracy and impartiality of public opinion polls and those who conduct them after they all fail to predict the outcome of the legislative elections. How often do you trust polls?			
1) I always trust polls	21.2	20.4	22.6
2) I sometime trust them and sometime do not	59.3	58.6	60.6
3) I never trust polls	17.1	18.0	15.5
4) DK/NA	2.4	3.0	1.3
53) Do you believe that people are truthful in the responses they give to pollsters?			
1) people are always truthful	16.2	15.3	17.8
2) people are sometimes truthful and sometime untruthful	68.8	70.5	65.8
3) people are always untruthful	11.1	10.5	12.1
4) DK/NA	3.9	3.7	4.3
54) And what about you? Were your responses to our questions today truthful or untruthful?			
1) my responses to all the questions were truthful	85.4	83.4	89.0
2) my responses were sometime truthful and sometime untruthful	14.3	16.1	11.0
3) my responses were were always untruthful	0.3	0.5	0.0
4) DK/NA	0.0	0.0	0.0