



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



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Despite dissatisfaction with the performance of the hamas government, ESPECIALLY regarding salaries, and despite public preference for a national unity government in which Fateh and hamas are equal, hamas' popularity remains largely unchanged and the majority does not think it should recognize israel

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 September 14-16, 2006. The poll deals with public evaluation of the performance of the Hamas government, views on the national unity government, attitudes towards peace and violence in the aftermath of the Lebanon war, and the domestic balance of power. 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:

Six months after the establishment of the Hamas government, poll findings show widespread public dissatisfaction with its performance especially in the economic areas of salaries and poverty as well as the enforcement of law and order. This dissatisfaction leads the majority to support the formation of a national unity government that is not under the full control of Hamas. The largest percentage supports the formation of a government in which Hamas and Fateh would enjoy equal weight.

But the dissatisfaction with the performance of the government does not lead to a reduction in the popularity of Hamas compared to where it was three months ago. Moreover, Fateh does not benefit from Hamas' lack of performance with its popularity remaining essentially stable. Moreover, despite the criticism of the performance of the government, two thirds of the public does not believe that Hamas should recognize Israel as required by the international donor community. This view does not reflect a hardening of public attitude toward the two-state solution. Rather it reflects public rejection of recognition of Israel as a precondition for negotiations. Poll findings show that a Palestinian majority supports recognition of Israel as a state for the Jewish people but only as part of a settlement that creates a Palestinian state along side Israel and resolves all other issues of the conflict.

Poll findings show widespread public acceptance of Hezbollah's narrative regarding the origin and outcome of the war in Lebanon. The war, in the public eye has been a premeditated Israeli plan and its outcome a victory for Hezbollah. Moreover, a clear majority reaches hardline conclusions regarding war lessons. For example, the majority looks positively at the need to emulate Hezbollah's methods of use of rockets and the taking of soldiers as prisoners in order to exchange them with Palestinian prisoners. On the hand, the overwhelming majority also concludes that use of force has its limits and that Palestinians must reach a political settlement with Israel and that they need the understanding and support of the international community.

(1) Domestic Conditions, Governmental Performance, and Views on a National Unity Government

- Only 42% are satisfied with the overall performance of the Hamas government; 54% are dissatisfied. The public is least satisfied with the government's performance regarding economic issues (26%) and most satisfied with its performance in fighting corruption (46%).
- 46% want a national unity government in which Fateh and Hamas would have equal weight; 25% prefer a national unity government under Hamas' control; and 24% prefer an apolitical government made up of professionals, not politicians.
- The largest percentage (32%) wants the top priority of the national unity government to be the enforcement of law and order while 25% want the top priority to be the return to the peace process and 23% want it to be the ending of the financial and political sanctions.
- An overwhelming majority (84%) sees conditions of the Palestinians today to be bad or very bad and only 5% see them good or very good; 80% say they are not safe and secure.
- 89% believe corruption exists in the PA and 72% believe that jobs are obtained mainly through wasta, or personal connections.
- 46% believe the strike of PA employees and teachers is not political while 36% believe it is political aimed against Hamas
- 41% define poverty and unemployment to be the biggest problem confronting Palestinians today while 25% define the biggest problem as being occupation and 22% say it is corruption and 11% say it is internal anarchy.
- 86% oppose kidnapping of foreigners residing in Palestinian areas and 13% support it.

(2) Lebanon War

- 86% believe that Hezbollah emerged as a winner in the Lebanon war and 2% see Israel as a winner.
- 90% oppose the position advanced by some Arab countries that saw the war as an uncalculated adventure by Hezbollah and 9% support this position.
- 73% believe the war strengthens the resistance option in Palestine and 24% believe it weakens it while 75% believe that in light of the war they would support taking Israeli soldiers prisoners in order to

Poll findings show that 54% of the public is dissatisfied with the overall performance of the Hamas government and 42% are satisfied. Satisfaction is at its lowest with regard to performance in economic issues such as providing salaries and alleviating poverty with only 26% satisfied and 69% dissatisfied. Satisfaction is at its highest with regard to performance regarding fighting corruption with 46% satisfied and 49% dissatisfied.

Satisfaction with the overall performance of Hamas government increases in the Gaza Strip (45%) compared to the West Bank (40%), in cities (44%) compared to villages and towns (40%), among the most religious (44%) compared to the least religious (39%) among supporters of Hamas (75%) compared to supporters of Fateh (17%), and among those most unwilling to buy a lottery ticket (51%) compared to those most willing (27%).

Poll findings show that strong correlation exists between satisfaction with the overall performance of Hamas government and those willing to vote for Hamas if new elections are held today: 90% of the highly satisfied intend to vote for Hamas (compared to 4% for Fateh) and 4% of those who are not satisfied at all intend to vote for Hamas (compared to 66% for Fateh)

To find a way out of the current crisis, the largest percentage (46%) supports the formation of a national unity government in which Fateh and Hamas would enjoy equal weight. A quarter supports the formation of a national unity government in which Hamas would dominate while a similar percentage (24%) prefers a non political government made up of professionals. With regard to the priorities of the future national unity government, the public is divided with about one third (32%) focusing on fighting lawlessness by enforcing law and order, a quarter focusing on renewing the peace process, and a similar percentage (23%) focusing on ending the current financial and political sanctions. Only 18% want the top priority to be fighting corruption.

Findings show a great deal of depression regarding existing conditions with 84% describing current condition as bad or very bad and only 5% describing it good or very good. Moreover, 80% say they and their families do not feel secure and safe in PA areas. The percentage of those believing that corruption exists in PA institutions is at its highest (89%) while 72% believe that jobs today can be obtained largely through wasta, or personal connections.

This gloomy perception might be the reason why the largest percentage (46%) does not view the strike by public employees and teachers as a political strike targeting the Hamas government and instead view it as motivated by professional consideration, a protest against the existing miserable conditions. Only 36% view it as an attack against the Hamas government.

Findings show a semi consensus among the public (86%) that Hezbollah has emerged victorious from the war in Lebanon while the percentage of those who believe that Israel came out winner is 2%. Moreover, the overwhelming majority (90%) does not share the views expressed by some Arab countries that the war in Lebanon was an uncalculated risk by Hezbollah with about two thirds (65%) believing that the war was a planned Israeli measure because Hezbollah has become a threat against Israel. The percentage of those who believe that the war had Syrian and Iranian origins did not exceed 5%. In brief, the overwhelming majority of the Palestinians accepts Hezbollah's, rather than Israel's narrative regarding the origin and outcome of the war in Lebanon.

With regard to lessons learned from the war and their implications

exchange them with Palestinians.

- 65% believe that the war was an Israeli calculated step since Hezbollah represented a threat to Israel and only 5% believe it was caused by Iranian and Syrian intentions.
- 84% agree that one of the war lessons is the need to establish soon a Palestinian state in order to prevent in the future a war between Palestinians and Israelis similar to the war in Lebanon but 64% agree with the view that Israel will never allow the creation of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital.
- About three quarters agree with the views that the Palestinians can not count on Arab support, that they are in need for international understanding, and that they can not count on armed action only.
- 63% agree that Palestinians should use the same methods as Hezbollah such as the launching of rockets at Israeli cities and 41% only agree with the view that only after it ends its occupation of the West Bank Israel would be able to live in peace.

(3) Peace Process and Olmert's Realignment Plan

- 74% want permanent status negotiations between Mahmud Abbas and Ehud Olmert but only 44% believe such negotiations if they were to take place would succeed and lead to a compromise agreement.
- 59% want Hamas to negotiate with Israel but only 36% believe such negotiations if they were to take place would lead to a compromise permanent status agreement.
- 67% do not believe Hamas should recognize the state of Israel in order to meet international donor demands. But 63% would support a Palestinian recognition of Israel as a state for the Jewish people after a peace agreement is reached and a Palestinian state is established.
- 77% support the call for a ceasefire between Israel and the Palestinians and 22% oppose it.
- 62% have not heard of Olmert's realignment plan to evacuate most of the West Bank settlements while realigning into large blocks of settlements along the line of the separation barrier.
- 70% do not welcome Olmert's plan and only 20% believe it will be implemented.
- 75% believe that the evacuation of the settlements in the Gaza Strip was a victory for armed struggle.
- 52% support the Road Map and 42% oppose it. Also, only 44% support collection of arms from Palestinian armed groups in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This percentage increases to 64% if collection of arms is restricted to Gaza Strip. 82%

for the Palestinian-Israeli situation, findings show apparent inconsistency. On the one hand, 73% believe that the war has strengthened the armed resistance option in Palestine and in light of the war 75% would support taking Israeli soldiers prisoners in order to exchange them with Palestinian prisoners. Moreover, 63% believe that the Palestinians should emulate Hezbollah's methods by using rockets against Israeli cities.

On the other hand, three quarters agree with the view that Palestinians can not depend on armed action alone and must reach a political settlement with Israel. Moreover, a similar percentage believes that Palestinians can not count on themselves alone and that they need the help and understanding of the international community.

One reason for this apparent inconsistency can be found in the belief of 84% that there is a need to establish soon a Palestinian state in order to prevent a future a war between Palestinians and Israel similar to the war in Lebanon while almost two thirds (64%) believe that Israel will never allow the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital. In other words, while the Palestinians recognize the need for a political settlement acceptable to Israel and the international community they do not believe that Israel would agree to a settlement that would establish a Palestinian state; therefore, most Palestinians support armed confrontations.

Findings show that two thirds of the public do not believe that Hamas should accept the international demand to recognize the state of Israel in order to end the current financial and political sanctions. This view does not mean that the public opposes a future Palestinian recognition of Israel as 63% support recognition of Israel as a Jewish state but only as part of a package of permanent status that would resolve all issues of the conflict and lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state recognized by Israel as the state for the Palestinian people. Moreover, about three quarters (74%) want President Mahmud Abbas (Abu Mazin) to conduct permanent status negotiations with Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert. A majority of 59% (compared to 70% last June) supports Hamas' engagement in peace negotiations with Israel. But expectations that such negotiations would succeed are not high: 44% if conducted by Abu Mazin and 36% if by Hamas.

Findings show that 52% support the Road Map plan while 42% oppose it. But only 44% support collection of arms from armed groups in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as required by the plan. However, if collection of arms is restricted to the Gaza Strip (now, after the Israeli withdrawal from it) support would increase to 64%. Moreover, if the solution to the arms and the armed men and militias can be found in merging them into the Palestinian security services, the overwhelming majority (82%) would support that.

Support for armed attacks against Israeli civilians remain relatively high as it was three months ago, standing today at 57% and opposition at 41%. Findings also show that three quarters believe that the Israeli evacuation of settlements in the Gaza Strip has been victory for armed struggle while 57% believe that armed confrontations have helped achieve national rights in ways that negotiations could not and 40% do not share that view.

Most Palestinians have not heard about Olmert's Realignment Plan for the evacuation of some settlements in the West Bank and the relocation of settlers to settlement blocs near the separation wall. Findings show that 70% do not welcome the plan while only 26% welcome it. Given the war in Lebanon and the continuation of

support the integration of armed groups into the Palestinian security services.

- 57% support armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel and 57% believe that armed confrontations have helped Palestinians achieve national rights in ways that negotiations could not.

(4) Domestic Balance of Power

- Despite the dissatisfaction with the performance of Hamas' government, the percentage of those willing to vote for it in new elections remain as it was three months ago (38%) while Fateh's popularity increases slightly to 41%.
- Satisfaction with the performance of president Mahmud Abbas reaches 55%. But if new elections are held today, only 31% would elect him, 24% would elect Ismail Hanieh, 13% Marwan Barghouti, 5% Mustafa Barghouti, and 3% Mahmud Zahhar.
- If elections were to be held for a vice president, Ismail Hanieh would receive 20% of the vote, Mahmud Zahhar 16%, Marwan Barghouti 15%, Mohammad Dahlan 9%, and Saeb Erikat, Farouq Qaddoumi, and Mustafa Barghouti 7% each.

armed confrontations in the Gaza Strip, the majority (65%) does not believe that the plan will be implemented while only 20% think it will.

Findings show that despite the dissatisfaction with Hamas government, the popularity of Hamas has not dropped compared to where it stood three months ago. 38% say they would vote for Hamas if new elections are held today compared to 39% last June and 47% last March. Support for Fateh remains relatively stable with a slight increase in this poll compared to three months ago. 41% would vote for Fateh if elections are held today compared to 39% in March 2006 and again in June 2006.

Findings show that satisfaction with the performance of Abu Mazin stands today at 55% compared to 53% last June and 61% last March. But if new elections for the presidency are held today and five candidates competed, Abu Mazin would receive 31% followed by Ismail Hanieh, the current Prime Minister, with 24%, Marwan Barghouti (13%), Mustafa Barghouti (5%) and Mahmud Zahhar (3%).

If elections are held for the office of a vice president and seven candidates competed, Ismail Hanieh would receive the largest percentage (20%) followed by Mahmud Zahhar (16%), Marwan Barghouti (15%), Mohammad Dahlan (9%), and Saeb Erikat, Farouq Qaddoumi, and Mustafa Barghouti (7% each).

Results of Poll # (20)

15-18 June 2006

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
00) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?			
1) al Arabia	4.5	4.0	5.4
2) al Jazeera	65.9	67.7	62.8
3) al Hurra	0.3	0.5	0.0
4) al Manar	13.1	14.3	11.1
5) Palestine TV	4.1	2.6	6.6
6) Do not watch TV	5.8	5.0	7.1
7) others	2.2	2.5	1.8
8) Do not have a dish	4.1	3.5	5.2
01) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) Very satisfied	7.2	5.0	11.1
2) Satisfied	48.0	44.7	53.7
3) Not satisfied	30.8	34.2	24.9
4) not satisfied at all	10.0	11.1	8.2
5) DK/NA	4.1	5.1	2.2
02) If new presidential elections are to take place today, whom do you prefer to see as PA president?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	30.9	25.8	39.7
2) Ismael Haniyyah	24.1	21.4	28.6
3) Marwan Barghouti	13.0	14.1	11.2
4) Mustafa Barghouti	4.6	5.8	2.6
5) Mahmoud Zahhar	3.0	3.5	2.1
6) Others/ No one	19.6	24.2	11.6
7) No Opinion/ Don't know	4.9	5.2	4.3
03) And if you were to select a vice president, whom would you choose?			
1) Ismael Haniyyah	19.9	17.4	24.2
2) Mahmoud Zahhar	15.5	14.8	16.8
3) Mohammad Dahlan	8.9	2.8	19.5
4) Marwan Barghouti	15.0	15.2	14.6
5) Saeb Erikat	7.4	8.5	5.3
6) Farouq Qaddomi	6.9	8.5	4.1
7) Mustafa Barghouti	6.6	8.6	3.1
8) Others/ No one	16.0	19.1	10.7
9) No Opinion/ Don't know	3.8	5.1	1.6
04) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of the Hamas government during the last six months in the following areas:			
04-1 Enforce law and order and end anarchy			
1) Highly satisfied	5.7	5.0	7.0
2) Satisfied	35.2	33.6	37.8
3) Not satisfied	42.2	42.3	42.1
4) Not satisfied at all	12.5	12.6	12.4
5) DK/NA	4.4	6.5	0.8

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
04-2 Carry out reforms and fight corruption			
1) Highly satisfied	7.2	6.6	8.4
2) Satisfied	38.7	37.5	40.7
3) Not satisfied	38.3	38.5	38.0
4) Not satisfied at all	10.7	10.2	11.5
5) DK/NA	5.1	7.3	1.5
04-3 Reduce constraints of occupation and confront settlements and the wall			
1) Highly satisfied	4.4	4.4	4.6
2) Satisfied	28.5	26.8	31.4
3) Not satisfied	48.5	48.9	47.7
4) Not satisfied at all	13.5	13.4	13.8
5) DK/NA	5.0	6.5	2.5
04-4 Improve economic conditions such as solving the salary problem and fight poverty			
1) Highly satisfied	4.1	3.9	4.5
2) Satisfied	22.2	19.9	26.1
3) Not satisfied	50.0	53.0	44.8
4) Not satisfied at all	19.3	17.3	22.6
5) DK/NA	4.4	5.8	1.9
04-5 The overall performance of the government			
1) Highly satisfied	6.5	5.6	7.9
2) Satisfied	35.4	34.6	36.8
3) Not satisfied	41.4	42.3	40.0
4) Not satisfied at all	12.2	11.4	13.6
5) DK/NA	4.5	6.0	1.8
05) An agreement has been reached between President Abu Mazin and Prime Minister Ismail Haniyyah on the formation of a national unity government. What kind of a national unity government do you prefer to see?			
1) National unity government from all factions under the leadership of Hamas	25.0	23.3	27.8
2) National unity government led equally by Hamas and Fateh	45.8	42.9	50.8
3) A non political government made up of technocrats (professionals) not led by Fateh or Hamas	23.5	26.8	17.9
4) Other types (specify -----)	2.8	3.3	1.9
	2.9	3.6	1.6
06) In your view, what from among the following should be the top priority of the national unity government?			
1) Enforce law and order and end anarchy	31.8	27.6	39.0
2) End the financial and political boycott of the PA	22.9	23.5	22.0
3) revive the peace process and negotiations to end occupation	24.9	27.3	20.9
4) Embark on political reforms including fighting corruption	18.1	18.8	16.7
5) Others (specify: -----)	0.6	0.7	0.5
6) DK/NA	1.7	2.1	0.9
08) 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	1.3	1.9	0.5
2) Independent Palestine	2.6	3.1	1.7
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	2.9	2.9	3.0

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
5) Freedom and social justice	0.2	0.0	0.5
6) Change and reform	38.0	36.9	39.7
7) National coalition for justice and democracy	0.1	0.0	0.3
8) Third way	1.4	1.6	1.0
9) Freedom and independence	0.5	0.8	0.0
10) Palestinian justice	0.1	0.0	0.2
11) Fateh	40.9	38.9	43.9
12) None of the above	12.0	13.9	9.2
09) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas these days?			
1) Very good	0.8	0.9	0.5
2) Good	3.8	2.8	5.6
3) So so	11.0	11.4	10.4
4) Bad	35.2	36.3	33.3
5) Very bad	49.2	48.7	50.3
10) 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	5.0	4.7	5.7
2) yes	24.3	24.1	24.6
3) no	43.1	44.7	40.4
4) certainly no	23.4	21.4	26.9
5) DK/NA	4.2	5.2	2.4
11) In protest against the non-payment of salaries for six months, PA staff members and teachers have been striking. How do you view these strikes?			
1) Political strikes against the Hamas government	35.5	33.2	39.4
2) Political strikes against the sanctions and the international community	16.0	13.5	20.4
3) Non-political strikes protesting living conditions	46.3	50.6	39.1
4) DK/NA	2.2	2.7	1.2
12) In your opinion, what was the main reason for the outbreak of the war in Lebanon?			
1) Israel's occupation of the Shaba farms	4.1	4.2	3.7
2) Iran and Syria's intention to hurt the US by hurting Israel	4.8	3.0	7.9
3) Israeli calculated due to Hizballah's taking over of South Lebanon and the threat it produced on Israel	64.7	65.2	63.9
4) Israel's excessive response to the abduction of the soldiers by Hizballah	20.7	21.0	20.2
5) Other	1.3	2.0	0.2
6) DK/NA	4.4	4.6	4.0
13) In light of the war in Lebanon, do you support or oppose the taking of Israelis soldiers as prisoners by armed Palestinian factions in order to exchange them with Palestinian prisoners?			
1) Certainly support	27.1	23.2	33.8
2) Support	47.8	50.4	43.4
3) Oppose	20.3	21.1	18.8
4) Certainly oppose	2.6	2.4	2.9
5) DK/NA	2.2	2.9	1.1

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
14) After the war in Lebanon and the way the leadership of Hizbullah has managed that war, did your confidence in the leadership of the various Palestinian factions increase or decrease?			
1) Certainly increase	9.9	8.3	12.8
2) Increase	24.1	24.2	23.8
3) Remains as it is	49.5	50.3	47.9
4) Decrease	11.4	11.6	11.1
5) Certainly decrease	1.9	2.1	1.5
6) DK/NA	3.2	3.4	2.9
15) I will read to you now several statements one can learn from the war in Lebanon. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of them:			
15-1 There is a need to establish soon a Palestinian state in order to prevent in the future a war between Palestinians and Israelis similar to the war in Lebanon			
1) Definitely agree	19.4	19.6	19.1
2) Agree	64.8	64.2	65.8
3) disagree	11.7	11.2	12.5
4) definitely disagree	1.5	1.7	1.2
5) DK/NA	2.6	3.3	1.4
15-2 Palestinians should emulate Hizbuallah by launching rockets at Israeli cities			
1) Definitely agree	16.2	14.8	18.6
2) Agree	46.9	44.6	50.9
3) disagree	32.5	35.5	27.4
4) definitely disagree	2.0	1.9	2.1
5) DK/NA	2.3	3.1	1.0
15-3 Palestinians can not count on Arab support to prevent Israeli attacks on them			
1) Definitely agree	18.9	20.3	16.3
2) Agree	55.3	56.5	53.3
3) disagree	20.7	18.2	25.1
4) definitely disagree	2.1	1.3	3.4
5) DK/NA	3.0	3.7	1.9
15-4 Palestinians need the support and understanding of the international community because they can not depend only on themselves			
1) Definitely agree	15.7	15.4	16.2
2) Agree	59.9	60.4	59.2
3) disagree	20.0	19.7	20.6
4) definitely disagree	2.3	1.8	3.1
5) DK/NA	2.1	2.7	0.9
15-5 Only after it ends its occupation of the West Bank Israel would be able to live in peace in this area			
1) Definitely agree	5.3	6.2	3.8
2) Agree	36.0	38.6	31.4
3) disagree	43.1	40.5	47.5
4) definitely disagree	11.4	8.9	15.6
5) DK/NA	4.3	5.8	1.7
15-6 Palestinians can not depend on armed action only and must reach a political settlement with Israel			
1) Definitely agree	12.5	12.1	13.1
2) Agree	61.6	61.6	61.6
3) disagree	19.7	19.7	19.7
4) definitely disagree	2.9	2.5	3.8
5) DK/NA	3.3	4.1	1.9

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
15-7 Israel will never allow the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital			
1) Definitely agree	18.6	19.9	16.2
2) Agree	45.5	45.4	45.7
3) disagree	27.1	25.8	29.4
4) definitely disagree	5.3	4.9	5.8
5) DK/NA	3.5	3.9	2.8
16) Some Arab countries such as Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia have been critical of Hizbullah because it took an uncalculated adventure that hurt Lebanon. Do you support or oppose this attitude of these countries?			
1) Certainly support	1.2	0.9	1.7
2) Support	7.7	6.3	10.1
3) Oppose	51.6	55.1	45.5
4) Certainly oppose	38.0	36.2	41.1
5) DK/NA	1.5	1.5	1.6
17) In your view did the war in Lebanon strengthen, weaken, or have no effect on Palestinian use of armed resistance to end the Israeli occupation?			
1) Certainly strengthened	37.0	34.2	41.8
2) Strengthened	36.3	37.4	34.3
3) have no effect	19.9	21.4	17.5
4) Weakened	4.1	4.1	3.9
5) Certainly weakened	1.1	1.2	1.0
6) DK/NA	1.6	1.7	1.5
18) In your view, who came out winner from the war in Lebanon: Hizbullah or Israel? Or neither of them?			
1) Neither	10.9	12.3	8.5
2) Hizbullah	85.9	84.0	89.1
3) Israel	1.7	2.1	1.0
4) DK/NA	1.6	1.7	1.4
19) Do you know or have you heard of Prime Minister Olmert's Realignment plan?			
1) I know more or less all the details of the plan	4.5	4.3	4.8
2) I generally know the plan and some of its details	10.8	12.1	8.4
3) I have heard of the plan but I don't know the details	22.4	24.1	19.3
4) I never heard of the plan	61.9	59.1	66.7
5) DK/NA	0.5	0.4	0.7
20) According to Olmert's plan, Israel will evacuate within a few years most of the settlements in the West Bank, while realigning into large blocks of settlements along the line of the separation fence. Do you welcome or not welcome this plan?			
1) Definitely welcome it	3.9	4.5	2.9
2) Welcome it	22.1	24.2	18.4
3) Do not welcome it	47.1	47.5	46.4
4) Definitely do not welcome it	22.4	18.9	28.5
5) DK/NA	4.5	4.9	3.8
21) In your opinion, given the war in Lebanon and the violent confrontation with the Palestinians in Gaza, will Olmert's Realignment plan take place during the current term of the government?			
1) Definitely will take place	2.7	3.4	1.5
2) Think will take place	17.4	15.2	21.2
3) Think will not take place	51.9	55.4	45.9

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
4) Definitely it will not take place	13.1	9.5	19.3
5) DK/NA	14.9	16.5	12.2
22) Five to ten years from now, how do you see relations between Israelis and Palestinians?			
1) As they are now	15.1	14.5	16.1
2) More peace and cooperation	10.2	10.2	10.2
3) Less peace and cooperation	10.6	10.1	11.4
4) Conflict and violence	55.9	57.0	54.0
5) Other (Specify _____)	1.5	2.0	0.7
6) DK/NA	6.7	6.2	7.5
23) The Prisoners' Document stated that negotiations with Israel is the responsibility of the PLO and president Abu Mazin. In your view, should Abu Mazin start permanent status negotiations with Israel?			
1) Certainly should	36.0	33.8	39.8
2) Think he should	38.1	37.7	38.8
3) Think he should not	13.4	13.3	13.6
4) Certainly should not	8.7	10.0	6.5
5) DK/NA	3.8	5.3	1.3
24) In your view, is it possible or impossible these days to reach a compromise permanent status agreement with the Olmert government in negotiations conducted by Abu Mazin?			
1) Certainly possible	4.5	3.3	6.4
2) Possible	39.7	34.3	48.8
3) Impossible	39.2	41.3	35.6
4) Certainly impossible	12.3	15.6	6.7
5) DK/NA	4.4	5.5	2.5
25) 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	16.2	15.7	17.0
2) it should negotiate	42.6	43.4	41.0
3) it should not negotiate	26.0	25.1	27.4
4) certainly it should not negotiate	11.6	11.6	11.7
5) DK/NA	3.6	4.1	2.8
26) And if the negotiations were conducted between Hamas and the Olmert Government, would it be possible or impossible to reach a compromise permanent status agreement?			
1) Certainly possible	3.4	2.5	5.0
2) Possible	32.9	32.9	32.9
3) Impossible	43.1	43.3	42.9
4) Certainly impossible	16.5	17.1	15.6
5) DK/NA	4.1	4.3	3.6
27) In your opinion, is lasting peace possible between Israelis and Palestinians?			
1) Definitely possible	2.2	1.9	2.8
2) Possible	22.2	23.5	20.0
3) Impossible	47.4	49.9	43.0
4) Definitely impossible	27.3	23.6	33.6
5) DK/NA	0.9	1.1	0.6
28) And what about the majority of Israelis, do they, in your opinion, believe that lasting peace is possible between Israelis and Palestinians?			
1) Definitely they do	3.6	2.9	4.9
2) They do	29.6	29.2	30.3

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
3) They do not	46.1	48.0	42.9
4) Definitely they do not	14.8	13.2	17.6
5) DK/NA	5.8	6.6	4.5
29) Do you see the evacuation of the Israeli settlements from Gaza as a victory for the Palestinian armed struggle against Israel or don't you see it as a victory?			
1) Definitely this is a Palestinian victory	35.9	29.9	46.3
2) Think this is a Palestinian victory	39.1	40.3	37.0
3) Think this is not a Palestinian victory	20.5	23.9	14.6
4) Definitely this is not a Palestinian victory	3.9	4.9	2.1
5) DK/NA	0.7	1.0	0.0
30) With regard to relations with Israel, what do you think the goal of Hamas is?			
1) reach a permanent peace with Israel after the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital	22.3	25.6	16.7
2) reach a long term Hudna (truce) after the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital	48.7	44.0	56.9
3) the continuation of conflict and armed confrontations with Israel	24.1	24.7	23.1
4) DK/NA	4.8	5.7	3.2
31) And regarding domestic Palestinian affairs, what do you think the goal of Hamas is?			
1) the establishment of a state that guarantees basic freedoms such as freedom of the press, multiparty system, and periodic elections whereby Islamic Sharia is one of the sources of legislation	23.4	26.0	18.8
2) the establishment of a state that guarantees basic freedoms such as freedom of the press, multiparty system, and periodic elections whereby Islamic Sharia is the only sources of legislation	33.1	30.2	38.3
3) the establishment of a state like other Arab states in Egypt, Jordan and Syria	15.0	15.0	15.1
4) the establishment of a state that rules in accordance of Islamic Sharia just like in Saudia Arabia	12.9	12.7	13.1
5) the establishment of a state the rules in accordance of Sharia just like it was under the Taliban in Afghanistan	6.9	6.2	8.0
6) Others (specify: -----)	1.3	1.6	0.8
7) DK/NA	7.4	8.3	6.0
32) There is a proposal that after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and the settlemnet 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?			

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1) Definitely agree	9.1	8.7	9.6
2) agree	54.0	55.2	51.8
3) disagree	24.8	23.9	26.4
4) definitely disagree	10.8	10.1	11.9
5) DK/NA	1.3	2.0	0.2
33) 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	53.9	54.9	52.1
2) Majority opposes	37.5	36.4	39.2
3) DK/NA	8.7	8.6	8.7
34) And what is the Israeli majority opinion on this issue? Do most Israelis 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	47.5	47.7	47.1
2) Majority opposes	43.5	44.0	42.7
5) DK/NA	9.0	8.3	10.2
35) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	47.8	42.8	56.5
2) somewhat religious	48.6	53.7	39.9
3) not religious	3.3	3.3	3.3
4) DK/NA	0.3	0.2	0.3
36) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) supportive of the peace process	65.8	62.6	71.3
2) opposed to the peace process	12.5	13.1	11.5
3) between support and opposition	21.2	23.7	16.8
4) DK/NA	0.6	0.6	0.4
37) 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	40.6	39.6	42.4
2) continuation of occupation and its daily practices	25.3	28.3	20.2
3) internal anarchy	10.9	8.9	14.5
4) spread of corruption and lack of internal reforms	21.7	22.2	21.0
5) others (specify: -----)	1.1	0.7	1.8
6) DK/NA	0.4	0.5	0.2
38) Palestinians are currently debating the issue of the collection of arms from armed Palestinian groups and factions, stipulated in the Road Map as a PA commitment. Do you support or oppose such a collection of arms?			
1) Strongly support	11.5	8.3	17.0
2) support	32.5	31.0	35.2
3) oppose	40.9	45.8	32.5
4) strongly oppose	12.9	11.9	14.6
5) DK/NA	2.1	3.0	0.7
39) A month ago, Palestinian group had kidnapped foreign journalists. Other such kidnappings of foreigners had taken place in the Gaza Strip. Do you support or oppose these kidnappings of foreigners?			
1) Strongly support	2.4	2.8	1.8
2) Support	10.6	12.1	8.0

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
3) Oppose	59.5	61.3	56.4
4) Strongly oppose	26.6	22.9	32.9
5) DK/NA	0.9	0.9	0.9
40) Do you support or oppose the current mutual cease fire with Israel?			
1) Definitely support	13.2	11.7	15.8
2) Support	63.6	63.8	63.2
3) Oppose	20.0	21.2	18.0
4) Definitely oppose	2.3	2.3	2.5
5) DK/NA	0.9	1.1	0.5
41) In his speech in front of the PLC, president Mahmud Abbas (Abu Mazin) said that after the end of the occupation of the Gaza Strip, there will be only one armed force, that of the PA. After the completion of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, do you support or oppose collection of arms from armed factions in the Gaza Strip so that the only armed force in Gaza would be that of the Palestinian security services			
1) certainly support	15.7	13.9	18.7
2) support	48.7	48.2	49.4
3) oppose	27.0	28.6	24.1
4) certainly oppose	6.5	6.1	7.0
5) DK/NA	2.2	3.1	0.7
42) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....			
1) Strongly support	16.6	11.7	25.1
2) Support	40.8	41.9	39.1
3) Oppose	36.1	39.1	31.1
4) Strongly oppose	4.8	5.2	4.2
5) DK/NA	1.5	2.2	0.5
43) 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	14.4	9.1	23.6
2) Yes	42.9	41.4	45.4
3) No	35.1	40.3	26.0
4) Definitely no	4.6	5.5	2.9
5) DK/NA	3.0	3.6	2.1
44) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions?			
1) Yes	89.3	89.8	88.3
2) No	5.9	5.0	7.4
3) DK/NA	4.8	5.2	4.2
45) If yes, Will this corruption in PA institutions increase, decrease or remain as it is in the future?			
1) Will increase	42.7	44.8	38.8
2) Will remain as it is	12.5	14.3	9.2
3) will decrease	34.8	30.8	41.8
4) DK/NA	10.0	10.0	10.1
46) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	1.5	1.1	2.0
2) Assured	19.0	16.7	23.1
3) Not assured	56.4	62.0	46.7
4) Not assured at all	23.1	20.2	28.2

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
47) How would you evaluate the current status of democracy and human rights in the Palestinian Authority? Would you say it is:			
1) Very good	2.9	2.3	3.8
2) Good	24.4	23.1	26.5
3) Fair	24.5	26.8	20.5
4) Bad	29.8	30.2	29.0
5) Very bad	17.1	15.8	19.3
6) DK/NA	1.4	1.7	0.8
48) The US, Russia, the European Community and the UN, the so called "Quartet", have put forward a "Roadmap" for the implementation of a final settlement within 3 years. The plan includes political reforms in the Palestinian Authority, including a constitution and election of a strong Prime Minister, stopping the incitement and violence on both sides under the Quartet's supervision, a freeze on settlements and the establishment of a Palestinian State within provisional borders. The next phase will see negotiations on the final borders under the auspices of an international conference. Do you support or oppose this initiative?			
1) Strongly support	5.1	4.3	6.4
2) Support	46.9	46.8	47.0
3) Oppose	32.2	33.7	29.7
4) Strongly oppose	9.6	9.1	10.5
5) Don't know/No answer	6.3	6.2	6.4
49) How soon do you think will a political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians be achieved?			
1) A political settlement is not possible ever	45.3	41.8	51.3
2) Only in many generations to come	20.5	20.7	20.2
3) Only in the next generation	7.9	8.2	7.3
4) Only in the next decade	4.1	4.0	4.3
5) Only in the next few years	14.9	17.1	11.1
6) No Opinion /Don't know	7.3	8.2	5.8
50) 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	22.4	16.4	32.7
2) support	59.1	63.0	52.3
3) oppose	13.5	14.1	12.4
4) strongly oppose	2.8	3.2	2.1
5) DK/NA	2.2	3.2	0.5
51) In your opinion, is there a freedom for the press in our country?			
1) Yes	24.9	23.6	27.0
2) To some extent	33.6	33.9	33.1
3) No	38.6	39.3	37.4
4) DK/NA	2.9	3.1	2.5
52) In your opinion, can people in the West Bank and Gaza today criticize the PA without fear?			
1) yes	58.9	57.8	60.7
2) no	38.6	39.6	36.9
3) DK/NA	2.5	2.6	2.4
53) Some people say that one can not these days find a job or work without <i>wasta</i>. Others say that jobs are given to those who deserve them only. From your personal experience, you would say:			
1) To large extent, jobs are obtained through <i>wasta</i>	72.3	67.3	81.0

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
2) Jobs are sometimes obtained through <i>wasta</i>	17.9	22.0	10.7
3) Jobs are obtained without <i>wasta</i>	3.4	2.9	4.1
4) Do not know of a personal experience	5.1	6.1	3.4
5) No Opinion/ Don't know	1.3	1.7	0.8
54) In general, how do you evaluate the performance of:			
54-1 Palestinian Legislative Council			
1) Very good	7.0	5.5	9.7
2) Good	31.9	28.3	38.1
3) Neither good nor bad	30.6	33.8	25.1
4) Bad	17.0	17.6	15.9
5) Very bad	7.0	6.5	7.9
6) DK/NA	6.5	8.3	3.3
54-2 The Palestinian cabinet			
1) Very good	7.1	5.2	10.4
2) Good	33.4	29.6	39.9
3) Neither good nor bad	26.2	28.8	21.8
4) Bad	19.8	21.4	17.1
5) Very bad	7.3	6.8	8.1
6) DK/NA	6.2	8.1	2.7
54-3 The Judicial authorities and the courts			
1) Very good	3.9	3.8	4.1
2) Good	29.6	28.7	31.0
3) Neither good nor bad	22.7	23.3	21.8
4) Bad	22.8	22.5	23.3
5) Very bad	9.3	7.9	11.8
6) DK/NA	11.7	13.8	8.1
54-4 Security services and police			
1) Very good	3.3	3.4	3.0
2) Good	28.9	26.3	33.5
3) Neither good nor bad	20.7	21.1	20.0
4) Bad	30.5	31.5	28.7
5) Very bad	12.3	11.3	14.1
6) DK/NA	4.3	6.4	0.6
54-5 The institution of the presidency			
1) Very good	5.2	4.8	6.1
2) Good	36.7	33.6	42.1
3) Neither good nor bad	22.7	24.5	19.4
4) Bad	18.0	19.2	16.0
5) Very bad	8.7	7.9	10.0
6) DK/NA	8.7	10.0	6.5
54-6 Opposition factions and parties			
1) Very good	3.2	3.0	3.4
2) Good	29.3	28.0	31.6
3) Neither good nor bad	26.6	26.0	27.6
4) Bad	23.3	24.2	21.6
5) Very bad	7.5	6.2	9.9
6) DK/NA	10.1	12.5	5.9
55) There are internal and external calls for wide and fundamental domestic reforms and changes in the institutions and authorities of the Palestinian Authority. Do you support or oppose these calls?			
1) Strongly support	25.8	22.7	31.3
2) Support	65.5	67.1	62.8
3) Oppose	6.2	7.1	4.5
4) Strongly oppose	1.1	1.3	0.7
5) DK/NA	1.4	1.8	0.7

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
56) In your view, does the PA carry out these days wide and fundamental domestic reforms and changes in its institutions and authorities?			
1) Certainly yes	6.4	2.5	13.2
2) Yes	36.9	34.6	40.9
3) No	42.8	47.0	35.6
4) Certainly no	6.7	6.6	7.1
5) DK/NA	7.1	9.3	3.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
57) What do you expect to happen now after the war in Lebanon has stopped and the Palestinians are calling for a return to the Hudna (ceasefire)			
1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	17.7	16.7	19.6
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	50.4	45.9	58.2
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	25.9	29.8	19.1
4) DK/NA	6.0	7.6	3.1
58) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) PPP	0.4	0.6	0.2
2) PFLP	3.2	3.4	2.8
3) Fateh	33.2	30.9	37.2
4) Hamas	29.0	25.3	35.3
5) DFLP	0.2	0.1	0.4
6) Islamic Jihad	1.6	1.6	1.5
7) Fida	0.2		0.5
8) National Initiative (Mubadara)	1.0	1.3	0.3
9) Independent Islamists	3.9	4.7	2.6
10) Independent Nationalists	3.4	4.1	2.4
11) None of the above	23.0	27.0	16.2
12) Other, specify	1.0	1.1	0.7