



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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**An overwhelming majority is satisfied with the make-up of the national unity government but the public is split into two equal halves with regard to its acceptance of the quartet conditions and almost three quarters are in favor of the Saudi initiative**

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 22-24, 2007. This poll deals with several issues including the national unity government, the peace process, the domestic balance of power, and the Sunni-Shii strife in Iraq. Total size of the sample is 1270 adults, 830 in the West Bank and 440 in the Gaza Strip, interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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**MAIN RESULTS:**

Findings show that the Palestinian public is satisfied with the make-up of the national unity government which was formed just one week before the conduct of the poll. The success of Fateh and Hamas in forming a unity government has created hope, optimism, and great expectations particularly regarding the ability of the new government to end infighting, enforce law and order, and reduce international financial sanctions and diplomatic boycott.

But the public is divided on the issue of international or Quartet conditions for resumption of financial assistance and diplomatic engagement. Half of the public wants the government to accept the conditions and the other half does not want it to do so. Despite this split, a clear majority supports the recognition of Israel when this recognition is part of a settlement that creates a Palestinian state and resolves all issues of the conflict. Moreover, an overwhelming majority supports the current ceasefire between Israel and the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and wants to see it expanded to include the West Bank.

Moreover, it seems that the formation of the national unity government, the majority belief that this development will lead to more moderation regarding Israel inside Hamas, and the increased talk about reaffirming Arab commitment to it in the March 2007 Arab Summit have increased public support for the Saudi Initiative from about 60% last December to about three quarters in this poll. It is worth noting that support for a permanent settlement, such as the Saudi Initiative, does not preclude support for an interim one. Findings show that more than 70% support the conduct of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations on an interim settlement that would lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state in the largest part of the occupied territories to be followed by negotiations leading to a comprehensive permanent settlement.

The formation of the national unity government did not lead to changes in the domestic balance of power between Fateh and Hamas as both have maintained the same levels of popularity as in our poll last December. The same applies to the popularity of PA president Mahmud Abbas and PA Prime Minister Isma'il Haniyeh; as in our December poll both receive in this poll almost equal percentage of support.

In this poll, we have examined for the first time public perception of the Shi-Sunni sectarian violence in Iraq. Findings show that a majority of Palestinians view the current violence in Iraq to be partly sectarian in nature. Among those who do see it that way, a majority believes that the PA, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Fateh and Hamas side with the Sunnis while Iran and Hezbollah side with the Shiis. As for Syria, about one third believes it stands with the Sunnis and another third believes it side with the Shiis.

**(1) National Unity Government**

- **88% are satisfied with the make-up of the national unity government and 11% are dissatisfied.**
- **In evaluating the Mecca Agreement between Fateh and Hamas, 62% believe that both sides had to compromise a little while 9% believe that Hamas had to accept Fateh's position and 4% believe that Fateh had to accept Hamas position.**
- **A small minority not exceeding 13% blames Hamas for the failure of its former government to improve Palestinian conditions**
- **The largest percentage (43%) wants the enforcement of law and order to be the top priority of the unity government.**
- **69% expect the unity government to last at least until the end of the year while 23% expect it to fall before the end of the year.**
- **48% want the unity government to accept the conditions of the Quartet and 48% does not want it to accept them.**
- **In the aftermath of the formation of the national unity government, public expectations are high: a majority ranging between 65% and 71% expect improvements in the ability of the government to pay salaries, the enforcement of law and order, the fight against corruption, the prevention of infighting, the easing of financial sanctions, and the return to Palestinian-Israeli negotiations.**

Findings show that the overwhelming majority of the Palestinians (88%) is satisfied with the make-up of the national unity government while 11% say they are dissatisfied with it. Among other things, this near consensus may have been caused by the perception of a large part of the respondents (62%) that the Mecca Agreement that led to the formation of the unity government has been the outcome of modification in the positions of the two sides, Fateh and Hamas, with only 9% believing that Hamas had to acquiesce to Fateh's demands and 4% believing that Fateh had to acquiesce to Hamas's demands. 20% said neither side had to change its position.

Findings also show that only a small percentage (13%) holds Hamas responsible for the failure of its former government to improve Palestinian conditions. The largest percentage (37%) blames Israel, 25% blame the international community and the US, and 13% blame other Palestinian parties such as Fateh.

The largest percentage (43%) believes that the top priority for the unity government should be the enforcement of law and order while 26% believe that it should be the ending of the current financial sanctions. 17% believe the top priority should be the conduct of political reforms and 13% believe it should be the return to the peace process. One reason for placing the peace process at a low level of importance might be due to public perception that it is not the role of the unity government to negotiate and that negotiation with Israel is the responsibility of the PA president and the PLO. Alternatively, the public might believe that no progress is possible in negotiations any way.

The public is divided into two equal halves regarding how the unity government should respond to the Quartet conditions: 48% want it to accept them and 48% do not want it to accept them. If Israel recognizes the unity government, 49% say the government should in this case recognize Israel and 47% say it should not. Support for the recognition of Israel increases among men (52%) compared to women (47%), among supporters of Fateh (66%) compared to supporters of Hamas (32%), among retired persons (76%) and employees (57%) compared to students (36%), and among people older than 48 years of age (56%) compared to those between 18-22 years of age (38%).

Findings also show high expectations among the majority of Palestinians with 69% expecting the unity government to continue in office at least until the end of the year while 23% expect it to fall before the end of the year. Moreover, 71% expect improvement in the ability of the government to pay salaries, 69% expect improvement in the government's ability to enforce law and order, 65% expect improvement in economic conditions, 65% expect improvement in their personal safety and security, and 65% expect improvement in the fight against corruption and the implementation of reform measures. 71% expect the chances for infighting to recede while 67% expect the financial sanctions to ease. Almost two thirds (65%) expect return to Palestinian-Israeli negotiations in the near future. In fact, 54% expect that formation of the national unity government to lead Hamas to become more flexible and moderate in its position regarding Israel. 18% expect the opposite to happen.

**(2) Domestic Conditions**

- 53% are satisfied with the performance of PA President Mahmud Abbas and 43% are dissatisfied
- Only 6% view conditions of Palestinians in PA areas are good while 82% view them as bad or very bad
- Most important problem confronting Palestinians today is unemployment and poverty followed by Israeli occupation and its daily practices
- 84% believe that corruption exists in the PA and 49% of those believe that this corruption will increase or remain the same in the future
- 27% say that their personal security and safety is assured while 73% say it is not
- 51% evaluate the performance of the "Executive Force" as negative, increasing the level of anarchy and lawlessness, while only 29% see it as positive, contributing to the enforcement of law and order
- In light of the last election experience, 56% see democracy as a viable political system suitable for Palestine while 40% see it as nonviable and unsuitable for Palestine
- 32% say they believe Hamas's goal is to establish a state that guarantees rights but where Sharia, or Islamic law, is the only source of legislation and 16% say they believe it seeks to establish a Sharia state similar to Saudi Arabia

Findings show significant increase in the level of public satisfaction with the performance of PA president Mahmud Abbas compared to findings in our last poll in December 2006: 53% are satisfied now compared to 40% last December. Dissatisfaction in this poll reaches 43%. Despite this improvement and despite the high level of satisfaction with the make-up of the unity government, only 6% describe current condition of the Palestinians in PA areas as good or very good while 82% describe it as bad or very bad. About one third (32%) believe the most important problem confronting Palestinians today is unemployment and poverty while 24% believe it is the continuation of occupation and its daily measure, 23% believe it is corruption and lack of internal reforms, and 20% believe it is internal anarchy.

Findings also show that 84% believe that corruption exists in the PA and among those 49% believe that this corruption will increase or remain the same in the future. About 42% believe it will decrease. It is interesting to note that only 21% believed last December that corruption will decrease in the future. The change might be due to an increase in the level of optimism generated by a high level of expectations from the national unity government.

Only 27% say that their personal safety and security is assured and 73% say it is not. In this regard, it is worth noting that 51% evaluate the performance of the "Executive Force" negatively viewing it as contributing to lawlessness while only 29% evaluate it positively viewing it as contributing to enforcement of law and order. These findings are identical to those we found in our December 2006 poll which means that the formation of the national unity government did not change public views regarding the performance of this force.

But the formation of the unity government might have positively affected, even if slightly, public evaluation of democracy in light of the outcome of the legislative elections in January 2006. Today, 56% view democracy as a viable political system suitable for Palestine (compared to 53% three months ago) while 40% view it as nonviable and unsuitable for Palestine (compared to 43% three months ago).

Finally, the formation of the national unity government did not affect public reading of Hamas's goals regarding the nature of the Palestinian state it seeks to create. 21% (compared to 23% six months ago) view Hamas's goal as the creation of a state that guarantees public liberties and in which Sharia would be one of the sources of legislation. By contrast, 32% (compared to 33% six months ago) view Hamas's goal as the creation of a state that guarantees public liberties and in which Sharia would be the only source of legislation. Moreover, 16% (compared to 13% six months ago) view its goal as the creation of a state based on Sharia like in Saudi Arabia, and 5% (compared to 7% six months ago) view it as the creation of a state based on Sharia like in Afghanistan under the Taliban. 16%, compared to 15% six months ago, believe Hamas's goal is the creation of a state like other Arab states in Egypt, Jordan, and Syria.

**(3) Peace Process**

- A majority of 72% supports the Saudi, or Arab, initiative and 26% oppose it.
- 63% support and 35% oppose mutual recognition of Israel as the state for the

Findings show that about three quarters of the Palestinians (72%) support the Saudi Initiative while 26% oppose it. This finding points to a significant increase in support for this initiative compared to the situation three months ago when support stood at 59% and opposition at 38%. The increase in the level of support

**Jewish people and Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people after the establishment of a Palestinian state and the resolution of all issues of conflict.**

- **A majority of 54% supports and 43% oppose a permanent settlement in which Israel withdraws from all occupied territories with the exception of settlement areas in less than 3% of the West Bank which would be subject to territorial exchange**
- **43% support and 55% oppose a permanent settlement in which East Jerusalem would become the capital of the Palestinian state and Israel annexes Jewish neighborhoods and the Wailing Wall.**
- **43% support and 54% oppose a permanent settlement in which the refugee problem is resolved based on UN resolution 194 but with restrictions on refugee return to Israel which would be subject to an Israeli decision.**
- **A majority of 71% support and 27% oppose the conduct of negotiations with Israel that would aim at establishing a Palestinian state in the Gaza Strip and about 80% to 90% of the West Bank to be followed by negotiations between the Palestinian state and Israel on a permanent settlement.**
- **A majority of 85% supports the current ceasefire in the Gaza Strip. Similarly, 84% support the extension of the current ceasefire to include the West Bank.**
- **47% believe that Hamas's goal is to reach a long term Hudna or truce with Israel, 24% believe its goal is to insure the continuation of the conflict and 22% believe its aim is to seek permanent peace with Israel.**

might have the result of increased Arab and international interest in the initiative and in light of the plan by the Arab Summit in Riyadh to reaffirm Arab commitment to it. Moreover, the Mecca Agreement, the formation of the unity government, and the public expectation that Hamas will show more moderation regarding Israel might have played a role in increasing public support for the initiative. Support for the initiative increases among supporters of Fateh (82%) compared to supporters of Hamas (63%), among non refugees (76%) compared to refugees (66%), among illiterates (81%) compared to holders of BA degree (70%), among retired persons (87%) compared to students (69%), and among those most willing to buy a lottery ticket (86%) compared to the most unwilling (61%).

Findings show that a majority of 63% supports and 35% oppose a mutual recognition in which Palestinians recognize Israel as the state for the Jewish people and Israel recognizes Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people after the establishment of a Palestinian state and the resolution of all issues of conflict. Support for this mutual recognition stood at 58% and opposition at 40% in our poll last December.

Findings show a majority of 54% supports and 43% oppose a permanent territorial solution in which Israel withdraws from all occupied territories with the exception of settlement areas not exceeding 3% of the size of the West Bank which would be exchanged with an equal territory from Israel. Support for this settlement stood at 61% three months ago. With regard to a permanent settlement in Jerusalem -- in which East Jerusalem would become the capital of the Palestinian state but in which Israel would annex Jewish neighborhoods and the Wailing Wall -- 43% would support and 55% would oppose the proposed solution. Three months ago, support for this solution stood at 39%. Similarly, 43% would support and 54% would oppose a refugee permanent settlement based on UN resolution 194 but in which actual return to Israel would be restricted and be subject to an Israeli decision. Three months ago, support for this solution stood at 41% and opposition at 54%.

The poll found a high level of support (71%) for entering negotiations whose objective would be the creation of a Palestinian state in all Gaza and about 80% to 90% of the West Bank to be followed by negotiations on permanent issues to be conducted by the state of Palestine and the state of Israel. 27% opposed entering such negotiations. It is worth mentioning that three months ago we found that 58% would support a Palestinian-Israeli agreement that would lead to the creation of a Palestinian state in all Gaza and 80% to 90% of the West Bank to be followed by permanent status negotiations on borders, refugees, and holy places.

As in our last poll three months ago, an overwhelming majority (85%) supports the current ceasefire in the Gaza Strip and a similar percentage (84%) supports extending it to include the West Bank.

Findings show that only 22% consider Hamas's objective to be the arrival at a permanent settlement with Israel while 47% believe that Hamas aims at reaching a long term Hudna or armistice. About one quarter (24%) believe that Hamas wants to insure the continuation of the conflict with no settlement at all.

**(4) Domestic Balance of Power**

- If new legislative elections are held today, 37% would vote for Hamas, 43% for Fateh, 11% for other lists, and 8% remain undecided. These results are almost identical to those obtained in our last poll conducted three months ago in December 2006.
- If new presidential elections are held today and the only two candidates were PA President Mahmud Abbas and PA Prime Minister Isma'il Haniyeh, 47% would vote for Abbas and 46% for Haniyeh. These results are almost identical with those obtained in our last poll three months ago. But if the only two candidates were Marwan Barghouti and Isma'il Haniyeh, Barghouti would receive 52% and Haniyeh 43%.

Findings show that the formation of the unity government did not affect the popularity of the various factions. If elections are held today, Hamas would receive 37% of the vote (compared to 36% last December), Fateh 43% (compared to 42% last December), all other factions 11% (compared to 12% last December), and 8% remain undecided (compared to 10% last December). It is worth noting however that the popularity of Hamas has finally stabilized after continued but slight decline since June 2006.

If new presidential elections are to be held today with only two candidates, PA president Mahmud Abbas and PA Prime Minister Isma'il Haniyeh, competing, the two would receive almost identical percentages of the vote: 47% for Abbas and 46% for Haniyeh. These are almost identical to the results we obtained last December. If the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Isma'il Haniyeh, Barghouti would win with 52% of the vote against 43% for Haniyeh. In our December 2006 poll, we measured the popularity of Marwan Barghouti against that of Khalid Mish'al: Barghouti received 57% of the vote to Mish'al's 36%.

**(5) Sunni-Shii Strife in Iraq**

- 59% agree and 39% disagree that part of the conflict in Iraq is a sectarian strife between Sunnis and Shiis
- Majorities ranging between 50% to 69% believe that Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the Palestinian Authority take the side of the Sunni Iraqis in their conflict with Shii Iraqis
- On the other hand, 79% believe Iran takes the side of the Shiis and 74% believe Hezbollah too takes the sides of the Shiis in Iraq.
- 69% believe Fateh stands with the Sunnis and 76% believe that Hamas too stands with the Sunnis.
- 75% of the respondents say they stand with the Sunnis of Iraq in their conflict with the Shiis

Findings show that a majority of Palestinians (59%) believes that part of the armed conflict in Iraq is a sectarian conflict between Sunnis and Shiis while 39% disagree with that. A majority (ranging between 50% and 69%) of those who do believe that a sectarian conflict exists in Iraq believes that the Palestinian Authority and Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia stand on the side of the Sunnis in their conflict with the Shiis. By contrast, 79% believe Iran stands on the side of the Shiis. When asked about Syria, about one third (34%) said it stood on the side of the Sunnis and 31% said it stood on the side of the Shiis.

When asked about the position of Hezbollah, Hamas, and Fateh, findings show that about three quarters believe that Hezbollah stands on the side of the Shiis, but 69% said Fateh stands on the side of the Sunnis and 67% said Hamas too stands on the side of the Sunnis. It is worth mentioning that while only 3% said Fateh stands on the side of the Shiis, 13% said Hamas stands on the side of the Shiis.

Three quarters of those who believe that a sectarian conflict exists in Iraq say they stand with the Sunnis, less that 1% say they stand with the Shiis, 18% say they stand with neither side, and 4% say they stand with both sides. Percentage of those who stand with the Sunnis increases in the Gaza Strip (87%) compared to the West Bank (67%), among those living in refugee camps (84%) compared to those living in villages and towns (71%), and among men (79%) compared to women (71%). But supporters of Fateh and Hamas say equally that they stand with the Sunnis (82% and 80% respectively).

**Results of Poll # (23)**

22-24 March 2007

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<b>00) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?</b>			
1) Al Arabia	5.4	4.3	7.2
2) Al Jazeera	74.5	78.8	67.1
3) Al Hurra	0.2	0.1	0.2
4) Al Manar	2.2	2.9	0.9
5) Palestine TV	6.1	4.3	9.4
6) Do not watch TV	4.9	3.9	6.8
7) Others	2.6	2.0	3.6
8) Do not have a dish	4.0	3.5	4.8
9) know Opinion/don't know	0.1	0.2	0.0
<b>0a) And which one you watched second?</b>			
1) Al Arabia	35.9	35.1	37.2
2) Al Jazeera	12.5	12.5	12.3
3) Al Hurra	1.4	1.1	2.0
4) Al Manar	13.8	18.2	6.2
5) Palestine TV	17.5	15.9	20.1
6) Do not watch TV	5.2	4.4	6.6
7) Others	8.0	8.3	7.5
8) Do not have a dish	4.2	3.2	5.9
9) know Opinion/don't know	1.6	1.2	2.2
<b>01) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?</b>			
1) Very satisfied	6.6	5.6	8.4
2) Satisfied	46.8	42.0	55.1
3) Not satisfied	31.6	35.6	24.7
4) not satisfied at all	11.0	11.6	9.9
5) DK/NA	4.0	5.2	1.9
<b>02) If new presidential elections are to take place today, and Mahmud Abbas was nominated by Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh was nominated by Hamas, whom would you vote for?</b>			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	46.7	47.0	46.2
2) Ismael Haneyyeh	45.6	45.9	45.3
3) DK/NA	7.7	7.1	8.5
<b>03) And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Ismail Haneyyeh representing Hams, whom would you vote for?</b>			
1) Marwan Barghouti	51.5	55.0	46.5
2) Ismail Haneyyeh	43.4	40.4	47.9
3) No Opinion/ Don't know	5.1	4.7	5.6
<b>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?</b>			
1) alternative	1.1	1.4	0.6
2) independent Palestine	4.2	5.4	2.3
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	4.2	5.4	2.4
4) Abu al Abbas	0.5	0.6	0.3
5) freedom and social justice	0.3	0.1	0.6
6) change and reform	37.1	34.9	40.4

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
7) third way	0.9	1.5	
8) freedom and independence	0.2	0.2	0.2
9) Palestinian justice	0.2	0.2	0.3
10) Fateh	42.9	41.0	45.8
11) none of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	8.4	9.3	7.1
<b>06) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas these days?</b>			
1) Very good	0.5	0.4	0.8
2) Good	5.9	6.7	4.5
3) So so	12.0	12.9	10.3
4) Bad	35.9	36.2	35.4
5) Very bad	45.7	43.8	49.0
6) DK/NA	0.1	0.1	0.0
<b>07) Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>			
1) Religious	42.9	37.1	52.9
2) somewhat religious	53.4	57.4	46.5
3) not religious	3.6	5.3	0.6
4) DK/NA	0.1	0.1	0.0
<b>08) Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>			
1) supportive of the peace process	67.8	64.6	73.3
2) opposed to the peace process	15.0	15.3	14.4
3) between support and opposition	15.8	18.4	11.1
4) DK/NA	1.5	1.7	1.1
<b>09) The following is a list of problems confronting the Palestinians today; tell us which one is the most important problem?</b>			
1) spread of unemployment and poverty	32.2	33.5	30.0
2) continuation of occupation and its daily practices	24.1	27.4	18.3
3) internal anarchy	20.4	13.3	32.8
4) spread of corruption and lack of internal reforms	22.7	25.2	18.2
5) others (specify: ----- )	0.3	0.1	0.8
6) No Opinion /Don't know	0.4	0.6	
<b>10) Based on what you have heard or seen regarding the performance of the Executive Force, which is under the command of the interior minister and is deployed in the Gaza Strip, how do you evaluate its performance?</b>			
1) positive, contributing to the enforcement of law and order	28.8	19.7	44.9
2) negative, contributing to further chaos and anarchy	51.1	53.5	46.9
3) DK/NA	20.1	26.8	8.2

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>11) The previous Hamas government could not improve Palestinian economic and security conditions and could not prevent internal infighting. In your view, who was responsible first and foremost for this outcome? Was it Hamas or other Palestinian or international parties?</b>			
1) Hamas	13.0	12.7	13.4
2) Other Palestinian parties such as Fateh	12.5	13.4	11.0
3) International actors such as the US	25.3	24.1	27.3
4) Israel	36.9	35.9	38.7
5) others	7.9	8.8	6.3
6) DK/NA	4.4	5.1	3.3
<b>12) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions?</b>			
1) Yes	84.0	86.2	80.3
2) No (go to Q14)	8.1	6.1	11.7
3) DK/NA	7.8	7.8	8.0
<b>13) If yes, will this corruption in PA institutions increase, decrease or remain as it is in the future?</b>			
1) Will increase	37.2	39.3	33.1
2) Will remain as it is	11.7	11.4	12.2
3) will decrease	42.2	39.3	47.8
4) DK/NA	8.9	10.0	6.9
<b>14) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?</b>			
1) Completely assured	2.1	2.2	1.8
2) Assured	25.2	24.7	25.9
3) Not assured	52.6	53.1	51.8
4) Not assured at all	20.0	19.8	20.2
5) DK/NA	0.2	0.1	0.3
<b>15) After the electoral experience that took place early this year, what is your evaluation of democracy in Palestine? Specifically, do you see in this democracy a successful system that is suited for Palestine or do you see in it a failed system that can not be implemented in Palestine?</b>			
1) successful, suitable to Palestine (go to Q17)	55.8	52.5	61.5
2) failed, unsuitable for Palestine	40.2	41.5	37.9
3) DK/NA	4.0	5.9	0.6
<b>16) If you see it as a failed system, what alternative system you think would be suitable for Palestine?</b>			
1) one party system, whereby one party would fully control the government and parliament	17.5	15.4	21.7
2) a system with a strong leader who is not accountable to a parliament	24.3	24.3	24.3
3) a religious system where only men of religion are able to govern	34.9	32.6	39.8
4) none of the above, I prefer ----- -----	10.4	13.4	4.1
5) DK/NA	12.9	14.3	10.1



	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>17) Do you support or oppose the current cease fire agreement in Gaza between the Palestinians and the Israelis?</b>			
1) Definitely support	26.0	26.1	25.9
2) Support	58.6	57.5	60.4
3) Oppose	11.2	11.6	10.4
4) Definitely oppose	2.9	2.9	2.9
5) DK/NA	1.3	1.9	0.4
<b>18) Do you support or oppose expanding the agreement to include the West Bank also?</b>			
1) Definitely support	25.8	26.7	24.2
2) Support	58.3	57.5	59.7
3) Oppose	11.7	11.7	11.7
4) Definitely oppose	2.7	2.0	4.1
5) DK/NA	1.5	2.2	0.4
<b>19) 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?</b>			
1) Certainly possible	2.1	2.2	1.8
2) Possible	39.8	37.7	43.5
3) Impossible	39.5	39.4	39.6
4) Certainly impossible	14.8	16.4	12.2
5) DK/NA	3.8	4.3	2.9
<b>20) Do you believe that armed confrontations so far has helped achieved Palestinian national and political rights in ways that negotiations could not achieve?</b>			
1) Definitely yes	12.2	8.2	19.3
2) Yes	35.9	34.2	38.8
3) No	42.1	45.4	36.2
4) Definitely no	6.5	8.3	3.3
5) DK/NA	3.3	3.9	2.4
<b>21) With regard to relations with Israel, what do you think the goal of Hamas is?</b>			
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	22.0	24.1	18.3
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	46.8	44.1	51.7
3) the continuation of conflict and armed confrontations with Israel	24.3	23.8	25.1
4) DK/NA	6.9	8.1	4.9

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>22) And regarding domestic Palestinian affairs, what do you think the goal of Hamas is?</b>			
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	20.8	21.3	19.8
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	32.3	29.7	36.8
3) The establishment of a state like other Arab states in Egypt, Jordan and Syria	15.9	14.4	18.4
4) The establishment of a state that rules in accordance of Islamic Sharia just like in Saudia Arabia	15.9	18.6	11.2
5) The establishment of a state the rules in accordance of Sharia just like it was under the Taliban in Afghanistan	5.1	5.4	4.7
6) Others (specify: ----- )	2.5	2.6	2.4
7) DK/NA	7.6	8.0	6.8
<b>23) What do you expect to happen now, after the establishment of the Palestinian national unity government and the meetings between Abu Mazin and Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert?</b>			
1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	19.2	16.5	23.9
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	47.0	44.5	51.5
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	27.8	31.5	21.3
4) DK/NA	6.0	7.6	3.2
<b>24) In your view, what from among the following should be the top priority of the national unity government?</b>			
1) Enforce law and order and end anarchy	43.0	39.7	48.9
2) End the financial and political boycott of the PA	25.6	25.3	26.2
3) revive the peace process and negotiations to end occupation	13.0	14.0	11.2
4) Embark or political reforms including fighting corruption	16.6	19.5	11.6
5) Others (specify: ----- --- )	0.7	0.5	1.2
6) DK/NA	1.0	1.0	1.0

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>25) How do you read the Mecca Agreement between Fateh and Hamas? For example, do you see in it a Hamas acceptance of Fateh's views regarding international conditions or do you see in it a Fateh acceptance of the views of Hamas regarding international conditions?</b>			
1) Hamas acceptance of Fateh's views	8.7	8.5	9.1
2) Fateh acceptance of Hamas views	4.2	4.5	3.8
3) neither this nor that, both modified their positions a little	61.8	58.7	67.2
4) neither this nor that, both sides did not change their positions	19.6	21.2	16.7
5) DK/NA	5.7	7.1	3.2
<b>26) Now, after the formation of the national unity government, tell us what your expectations are with regard to the following issues. Tell us if you think things will improve, worsen or stay the same: [, , , ,]</b>			
<b>26-1 Economic conditions such as poverty and unemployment</b>			
1) Will definitely improve	2.6	2.4	2.9
2) Will improve	62.7	58.9	69.4
3) Will stay the same	17.6	19.8	13.8
4) Will worsen	12.2	13.3	10.2
5) Will definitely worsen	2.0	2.6	1.0
6) No Opinion/ Don't know	2.9	3.1	2.6
<b>26-2 Enforcement of law and order</b>			
1) Will definitely improve	3.6	3.6	3.5
2) Will improve	65.5	63.9	68.2
3) Will stay the same	16.2	17.2	14.5
4) Will worsen	10.8	11.0	10.4
5) Will definitely worsen	1.4	1.6	1.1
6) No Opinion/ Don't know	2.5	2.6	2.3
<b>26-3 Fighting corruption and carrying out internal reforms</b>			
1) Will definitely improve	3.2	3.1	3.5
2) Will improve	62.1	59.3	66.9
3) Will stay the same	21.0	21.9	19.5
4) Will worsen	10.2	11.7	7.4
5) Will definitely worsen	1.2	1.0	1.4
6) No Opinion/ Don't know	2.4	3.0	1.3
<b>26-4 Status of democracy, particularly with regard to freedom of the press</b>			
1) Will definitely improve	2.4	2.4	2.4
2) Will improve	56.2	52.0	63.4
3) Will stay the same	24.8	26.5	22.0
4) Will worsen	10.9	12.2	8.7
5) Will definitely worsen	1.1	1.2	0.7
6) No Opinion/ Don't know	4.6	5.7	2.8
<b>26-5 Payment of salaries in the public sector</b>			
1) Will definitely improve	3.2	2.9	3.8
2) Will improve	67.7	65.3	71.9
3) Will stay the same	15.8	17.3	13.2
4) Will worsen	8.0	8.9	6.3
5) Will definitely worsen	1.0	1.0	1.1
6) No Opinion/ Don't know	4.3	4.6	3.7
<b>26-6 Safety and security for you and your family</b>			
1) Will definitely improve	3.2	3.5	2.8
2) Will improve	61.5	56.1	71.0
3) Will stay the same	21.8	26.2	14.2
4) Will worsen	9.0	9.2	8.7

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
5) Will definitely worsen	1.5	1.7	1.2
6) No Opinion/ Don't know	2.9	3.4	2.1
<b>27) And what do you expect to happen with the following issues? In your opinion will the chances that they occur or continue increase or decrease? [will definitely decrease, will decrease, will stay as it is, will increase, will definitely increase, DK/NA]</b>			
<b>27-1 Internal infighting</b>			
1) Will definitely decrease	7.3	8.9	4.6
2) Will decrease	63.3	64.3	61.6
3) Will stay as it is	12.7	11.3	15.2
4) Will increase	13.6	12.4	15.8
5) Will definitely increase	0.8	0.5	1.3
6) DK/NA	2.2	2.5	1.6
<b>27-2 International financial sanctions</b>			
1) Will definitely decrease	4.9	5.5	3.8
2) Will decrease	62.3	58.9	68.4
3) Will stay as it is	17.5	18.1	16.5
4) Will increase	10.8	12.0	8.7
5) Will definitely increase	0.5	0.7	0.2
6) DK/NA	4.0	4.9	2.4
<b>27-3 International political boycott</b>			
1) Will definitely decrease	4.3	4.8	3.5
2) Will decrease	59.7	55.6	66.8
3) Will stay as it is	18.8	20.7	15.6
4) Will increase	10.5	10.4	10.7
5) Will definitely increase	1.1	1.6	0.2
6) DK/NA	5.6	7.0	3.2
<b>27-4 Building of Israeli settlements in the West Bank</b>			
1) Will definitely decrease	1.3	1.4	1.1
2) Will decrease	22.8	16.4	33.8
3) Will stay as it is	25.5	26.1	24.4
4) Will increase	38.8	43.7	30.4
5) Will definitely increase	7.2	8.2	5.6
6) DK/NA	4.4	4.2	4.7
<b>27-5 Building of the separation barrier – wall in the West Bank</b>			
1) Will definitely decrease	1.0	1.1	0.9
2) Will decrease	18.0	10.8	30.7
3) Will stay as it is	30.4	31.0	29.2
4) Will increase	37.9	44.3	26.7
5) Will definitely increase	9.0	10.2	6.8
6) DK/NA	3.7	2.5	5.7
<b>28) And what are your expectations regarding the resumption of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations? Do you think the two sides will return to negotiations in the near future?</b>			
1) Certainly yes	6.4	5.8	7.4
2) Yes	58.6	57.3	60.9
3) No	25.4	26.7	23.1
4) Certainly no	4.9	5.3	4.1
5) DK/NA	4.7	4.8	4.5

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>29) And what about the current ceasefire, will it be maintained or will it collapse in the near future?</b>			
1) Certainly maintained	2.8	2.1	4.0
2) Maintained	49.9	48.5	52.4
3) Collapse	40.1	42.5	35.9
4) Certainly collapse	2.8	2.2	3.8
5) DK/NA	4.4	4.7	3.9
<b>30) And what about the Israeli occupation measures in the West Bank, such as the checkpoints and the closures, will they increase, decrease or remain the same as before?</b>			
1) Certainly will increase	4.7	4.9	4.5
2) Will increase	28.8	29.6	27.5
3) Will remain the same	37.6	39.9	33.6
4) Will decrease	22.8	20.5	26.9
5) Certainly will decrease	2.8	2.0	4.1
6) DK/NA	3.2	3.1	3.4
<b>31) What are your expectations regarding the impact of the unity government on Hamas, will Hams become more moderate and flexible in its attitude regarding Israel? or will it become more hard line? or will it stay unchanged?</b>			
1) Certainly Hamas will become more moderate	13.8	13.4	14.6
2) Hamas will become more moderate	40.6	41.6	38.9
3) Hamas will become more hardline	12.9	12.0	14.4
4) Certainly Hamas will become more hardline	5.3	3.6	8.2
5) Hamas will stay unchanged	22.8	23.8	21.2
6) DK/NA	4.6	5.7	2.7
<b>32) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the new government of national unity?</b>			
1) certainly satisfied	26.3	23.8	30.8
2) satisfied	61.3	61.9	60.4
3) dissatisfied	9.7	11.3	6.9
4) Certainly dissatisfied	1.0	0.8	1.3
5) DK/NA	1.6	2.2	0.7
<b>33) Do you expect the government of national unity to stay in office until at least the end of this year or do you expect it to fall before the end of the year?</b>			
1) certainly it will stay at least until the end of the year	22.0	18.5	28.0
2) will stay at least until the end of the year	47.0	49.3	43.0
3) will not stay until the end of the year	18.3	17.9	19.0
4) certainly it will not stay until the end of the year	4.8	4.9	4.7
5) DK/NA	7.9	9.4	5.3

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>34) Do you think the national unity government should accept or reject the Quartet condition which demands recognition of Israel?</b>			
1) Certainly it should accept	5.4	5.0	6.1
2) It should accept	42.1	42.9	40.6
3) It should reject	40.3	38.9	42.8
4) Certainly it should reject	8.0	8.1	7.8
5) DK/NA	4.2	5.1	2.6
<b>35) And what if Israel recognized the national unity government, should or should not the national unity government in turn recognize Israel?</b>			
1) Certainly it should	8.4	8.6	8.1
2) It should	40.8	41.4	39.7
3) It should not	38.7	36.2	43.2
4) Certainly it should not	8.5	9.2	7.4
5) DK/NA	3.6	4.7	1.6
<b>36) There is currently talk about conducting Palestinian-Israeli negotiations with the aim of establishing a Palestinian state in the Gaza Strip and about 80% to 90% of the West Bank to be followed by negotiations between the Palestinian state and Israel on the remaining issues such as permanent borders, refugees, holy places in Jerusalem, and others. Do you support or oppose the participation of the Palestinian Authority including the national unity government of Fateh and Hamas in such negotiations?</b>			
1) Certainly support	9.6	10.0	8.8
2) Support	61.3	59.5	64.4
3) Oppose	22.0	22.6	21.0
4) Certainly oppose	4.5	4.6	4.4
5) DK/NA	2.6	3.3	1.4
<b>37) 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?</b>			
1) Definitely agree	7.3	6.6	8.4
2) agree	55.8	56.6	54.3
3) disagree	27.3	27.0	27.9
4) definitely disagree	7.5	6.8	8.6
5) DK/NA	2.1	3.0	0.7
<b>38) 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?</b>			
1) Majority supports	54.2	54.2	54.2
2) Majority opposes	36.3	36.5	35.8
3) DK/NA	9.5	9.3	10.0
<b>39) 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?</b>			
1) Majority supports	47.2	45.5	50.2
2) Majority opposes	42.4	44.6	38.5
5) DK/NA	10.3	9.8	11.3

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>40B) According to the Saudi plan, Israel will retreat from all territories occupied in 1967 including Gaza the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and a Palestinian state will be established. The refugees problem will be resolved through negotiation in a just and agreed upon manner and in accordance with UN resolution 194. In return, all Arab states will recognize Israel and its right to secure borders, will sign peace treaties with her and establish normal diplomatic relations. Do you agree or disagree to this plan?</b>			
1) Certainly agree	8.4	8.0	9.1
2) agree	63.3	63.3	63.2
3) disagree	20.9	20.9	20.9
4) Certainly disagree	4.8	4.9	4.4
5) DK/NA	2.7	2.9	2.3
<b>41) If Israel and the Palestinians return to permanent settlement negotiations, various compromise proposals may come up on the table. I will read to you now several items that might be included in the final settlement with the Palestinians. For each of these items tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree to it, taking into account all its elements.</b>			
<b>41-1A</b> As to the <b>territories</b> issue: Israeli withdrawal from all of the Gaza Strip. But in the West Bank, Israel withdraws and evacuates settlements from most of it, with the exception of few settlement areas in less than 3% of the West Bank that would be exchanged with an equal amount of territory from Israel in accordance with the attached map {show map}			
1) Certainly agree	5.1	4.8	5.5
2) agree	49.2	47.6	52.1
3) disagree	35.3	35.8	34.2
4) Certainly disagree	7.5	8.7	5.5
5) DK/NA	3.0	3.1	2.7
<b>41-2A East Jerusalem</b> would become the capital of the Palestinian state with Arab neighborhoods, the Old City and al Haram al Sharif coming under Palestinian sovereignty. Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, the Jewish Quarter, and the Wailing Wall would come under Israeli sovereignty			
1) Certainly agree	3.9	3.7	4.2
2) agree	38.8	41.7	33.7
3) disagree	44.3	42.7	47.2
4) Certainly disagree	10.3	9.4	11.9
5) DK/NA	2.7	2.5	3.0
<b>41-3A</b> With regard to the <b>refugee</b> question, both sides agree that the solution will be based on UN resolutions 194 and 242 <u>and on the Arab peace initiative</u> . The refugees will be given five choices for permanent residency. These are: the Palestinian state and the Israeli areas transferred to the Palestinian state in the territorial exchange mentioned above; no restrictions would be imposed on refugee return to these two areas. Residency in the other three areas (in host countries, third countries, and Israel) would be subject to the decision of the states in those areas. The number of refugees returning to Israel will be based on the average number of refugees admitted to third countries like Australia, Canada, Europe, and others. All refugees will be entitled to compensation for their "refugeehood" and loss of properties.			
1) Certainly agree	4.3	2.9	6.8
2) agree	38.4	40.0	35.4
3) disagree	45.0	43.3	48.1
4) Certainly disagree	8.8	10.1	6.6
5) DK/NA	3.5	3.7	3.1

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>42) Some say that part of the armed conflict in Iraq is sectarian involving Sunnits and Shi'its. What do you think? Do you accept or not accept the view that there exists a sectarian conflict in Iraq between Sunnits and Shi'its?</b>			
1) certainly accept	15.5	14.5	17.2
2) accept	43.0	41.1	46.3
3) do not accept	31.5	33.6	28.0
4) Certainly do not accept	7.1	7.7	5.9
5) DK/NA	2.9	3.1	2.6
<b>43) If you think that part of the conflict in Iraq is between Sunnits and Shi'its, tell us with whom the following parties stand, with the Shi'its or the Sunnits? [With Shi'its, with Sunnits, with both sides, with neither side, DK/NA]</b>			
<b>43-1 Saudi Arabia</b>	3.9	4.9	2.3
1) With Shi'its	59.2	54.2	66.9
2) with Sunnits,	6.8	6.4	7.5
3) with both sides	18.2	19.9	15.5
4) with neither side	12.0	14.7	7.9
5) DK/NA			
<b>43-2 Jordan</b>			
1) With Shi'its	7.1	8.1	5.7
2) with Sunnits,	50.0	48.4	52.5
3) with both sides	8.3	8.0	8.7
4) with neither side	20.3	20.1	20.6
5) DK/NA	14.3	15.4	12.5
<b>43-3 Egypt</b>			
1) With Shi'its	5.3	6.5	3.6
2) with Sunnits,	52.8	48.7	58.9
3) with both sides	8.8	8.0	10.0
4) with neither side	19.2	19.6	18.5
5) DK/NA	13.9	17.2	8.9
<b>43-4 Palestinian Authority</b>			
1) With Shi'its	1.6	1.9	1.2
2) with Sunnits,	69.5	68.1	71.7
3) with both sides	5.2	4.3	6.5
4) with neither side	15.2	15.2	15.3
5) DK/NA	8.5	10.6	5.3
<b>43-5 Iran</b>			
1) With Shi'its	79.8	80.6	78.6
2) with Sunnits,	5.9	4.2	8.5
3) with both sides	3.5	2.1	5.5
4) with neither side	2.4	2.5	2.2
5) DK/NA	8.5	10.7	5.1
<b>43-6 Syria</b>			
1) With Shi'its	30.9	31.2	30.5
2) with Sunnits,	33.7	32.8	35.2
3) with both sides	12.0	11.2	13.3
4) with neither side	8.1	7.9	8.5
5) DK/NA	15.2	16.9	12.6
<b>43-7 Fateh</b>			
1) With Shi'its	2.6	2.9	2.1
2) with Sunnits,	69.3	67.4	72.1
3) with both sides	3.5	2.7	4.7
4) with neither side	12.9	13.3	12.4
5) DK/NA	11.7	13.6	8.8



	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>43-8 Hamas</b>			
1) With Shi'its	12.8	10.2	16.6
2) with Sunnits,	66.8	68.0	65.0
3) with both sides	3.9	3.3	4.9
4) with neither side	7.9	7.7	8.1
5) DK/NA	8.6	10.7	5.5
<b>43-9 Hizbullah</b>			
1) With Shi'its	73.5	72.7	74.8
2) with Sunnits,	12.0	12.3	11.5
3) with both sides	4.3	2.6	6.9
4) with neither side	2.5	2.6	2.4
5) DK/NA	7.6	9.8	4.4
<b>44) And what about you? Which side you stand with?</b>			
1) Shi'its	0.4	0.2	0.7
2) Sunnits	75.1	67.4	87.0
3) both sides	4.3	5.3	2.7
4) neither side	18.1	24.3	8.5
5)DK/NA	2.1	2.8	1.1
<b>45) Which of the following political parties do you support?</b>			
1) PPP	0.8	0.7	0.8
2) PFLP	4.7	5.4	3.3
3) Fateh	29.1	26.8	33.1
4) Hamas	26.7	23.2	32.9
5) DFLP	0.2	0.1	0.3
6) Islamic Jihad	2.5	2.5	2.5
7) Fida	0.0	0.0	0.0
8) National Initiative (Mubadara)	1.5	1.9	0.7
9) Independent Islamists	3.7	4.3	2.8
10) Independent Nationalists	3.7	3.8	3.5
11) None of the above	26.1	29.8	19.6
12) Other, specify	1.1	1.4	0.5