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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 Stiftung in Ramallah



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Anger and Lack of Confidence Prevails in the Palestinian Street: While Popularity of Hamas Decreases, and Status of Ismail Haniyeh and Mahmud Abbas Declines, and While the Public Loses Confidence in its Leadership, in Most of the Security Services, and in the Various Armed "Brigades," Three Quarters Demand Early Presidential and Parliamentary Elections and 63% Support the American Security Plan

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 June 14-20, 2007. This poll deals with several issues including early elections, infighting, future of the PA, confidence in leaders and institutions, and the peace process. 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 recent infighting has angered most Palestinians and led to a loss of confidence in the leadership and most of the security services. They also show that while there is a clear support for the American security plan and for holding early parliamentary and presidential elections, the public is split over other alternatives such as the dissolution of the Palestinian Authority and replacing it with an international trusteeship or the establishment of a confederation with Jordan.

Findings show that more than 40% support alternatives to the current status quo such as the dissolution of the PA and its replacement with an international trusteeship or return to Israeli occupation. A similar percentage supports a confederation with Jordan now or later after the establishment of a Palestinian state. Findings also show that Hamas has lost some of its popularity in light of the events in the Gaza Strip but that Fateh's popularity has not benefited from those same events. Pessimism characterizes public assessment of domestic developments with a majority describing infighting and lawlessness as the most immediate and dangerous threat to Palestinians while Israeli occupation came third in a list of threats. A relatively large percentage expressed desire to immigrate to foreign countries. Similarly, a relatively large percentage said it was not proud of being Palestinian.

Despite the continued support for the peace process and the two-state solution, the poll shows a great level of pessimism regarding the chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the next five years. Pessimism also prevails regarding the chances of reaching a compromise agreement with the Israeli Olmert government. Nonetheless, a large percentage expressed support for the American security plan after being told of its main components.

(1) Early Elections and Domestic Balance of Power

- **Overwhelming majority (75%) supports holding early parliamentary and presidential elections and 22% oppose it.**
- **56% support the declaration of the emergency situation and the formation of an emergency government and 38% oppose that. Support for the declaration and the emergency government increases to 59% in the West Bank and decreases to 49% in the Gaza Strip.**
- **If new parliamentary elections are held today, Fateh would receive 43% of the popular vote and Hamas would receive 33%.**
- **If new presidential elections are held today, Mahmud Abbas would receive 49% and Ismail Haniyeh would receive 42%. If the competition is between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, the former would receive 59% and the latter would receive 35%.**

Findings show that three quarters of the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip support the holding of early parliamentary and presidential elections while 22% oppose it. The high level of support indicates public conviction that the split caused by the Gaza events might deepen with time leading to a permanent separation between the two geographically separated entities of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Support for early elections might reflect public desire not only to reject violence as the means to solve domestic problems but also to reunify the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Attitudes of Gazans do not differ from those of West Bankers regarding early elections. In fact, support for early elections is slightly higher in the Gaza Strip (77%) compared to the West Bank (73%). Support for early elections increases among illiterates (83%) and those with elementary education (79%) compared to those with BA degree (72%), among those who define themselves as supporters of the peace process (82%) compared to those who define themselves as opposed to the peace process (47%), and among supporters of Fateh (91%) compared to supporters of Hamas (60%).

Findings show that a majority of 56% support the declaration of emergency and the formation of an emergency government while 38% oppose it. The relatively low level of support for the emergency declaration compared to the support for early elections indicates that a significant part of the public is concerned about the consequences of the formation of an emergency government on the infighting and the split between Gaza and the West Bank. Concern about the emergency situation increases in the Gaza Strip where only 49% support it compared to 59% in the West Bank. Support for the declaration of emergency and for the emergency government increases also among those who define themselves as supporters of the peace process (62%) compared to those who define themselves as opposed to the peace process (30%), and among supporters of Fateh (83%) compared to supporters of Hamas (30%).

If new elections are held today, support for Fateh would remain as it was three months ago (43%) while Hamas's popularity drops to 33%. Hamas's popularity stood at 37% in our last survey in March 2007. Hamas's popularity drops particularly in the West Bank (27%) compared to its popularity three months ago when it stood at 35%. In the Gaza Strip, findings show Hamas's popularity unchanged compared to three months ago (40%). Fateh's popularity increases slightly in the West Bank (from 41% to 43%) and drops slightly in the Gaza Strip (from 46% to 42%). These findings show that the Gaza events did not have a great impact on the domestic balance of power between Fateh and Hamas in the Gaza Strip. In the West Bank, support for Hamas drops while support for Fateh increases slightly. Yet, most of those who defected from Hamas have not shifted loyalty to Fateh and have opted instead to become "undecided." Findings show that the undecided category has increased from 8% in our March survey to 13% in this poll. The implication is that the decrease in Hamas's popularity could be temporary and that Fateh remains unable to benefit from Hamas's mistakes. Findings also show that the other parties and factions have also failed to present themselves as an alternative to the two large factions, Fateh and Hamas. The combined strength of all other parties remains unchanged at 12% compared to their strength three months ago.

Findings regarding the presidential race show a decrease in the popularity of Ismail Haniyeh. In a competition between Haniyeh and Mahmud Abbas, the former receives 42% and the latter 49%. But 40% say they will not participate in such elections if the only two candidates are Haniyeh and Abbas. If the competition is between Haniyeh and Marwan Barghouti, the non participation rate drops to 31% and Barghouti wins by 59% compared to 35% for Haniyeh. Barghouti wins against Haniyeh in the Gaza Strip (55% compared to 41%) and the West Bank (62% compared to 30%).

(2) Infighting, Performance of Public Institutions, and the Future of the PA

- **59% believe that Fateh and Hamas are equally responsible for the infighting, but 15% believe Fateh is more responsible than Hamas and 14% believe Hamas is more responsible than Fateh for the infighting.**
- **71% believe that neither Fateh nor Hamas came out a winner from the infighting. But 18% believe that Hamas came out a winner and only 4% believe Fateh came out a winner.**
- **Satisfaction with the performance of Mahmud Abbas during the infighting does not exceed 13% and dissatisfaction 84%. Satisfaction with the performance of Ismail Haniyeh reaches 22% and dissatisfaction 74%. Satisfaction with the overall performance of Abbas stands at 36% and dissatisfaction at 60%.**
- **Satisfaction with the performance of the National Unity Government during the three months since formation stands at 17% and dissatisfaction at 81%.**
- **Confidence in various security services and armed groups ranges between the low for Preventive Security, Intelligence, Executive Force, and Presidential Guard (33% to 37%) and medium for the National Forces (48%), al Qassam Brigades (45%), al Aqsa Brigades (50%), and Police (58%).**
- **41% support the dissolution of the PA and 49% oppose that. The percentage of those who support the dissolution of the PA is divided into those who would like to replace with an international trusteeship (26%) and those who want to replace it with a return to Israeli occupation (16%).**

Findings indicate that the overwhelming majority of Palestinians does not blame foreign parties for the infighting. Instead, responsibility is placed equally on Fateh and Hamas. Only 9% believe Fateh and Hamas are not responsible for the infighting and 59% blame both sides equally while 15% believe Fateh is more responsible and 14% believe Hamas is more responsible. Moreover, a majority of 71% believe that Fateh and Hamas have not come out winners from the infighting. But in light of the reality of Hamas control in Gaza, 18% believe it has emerged a winner while only 4% believe Fateh has been the winner.

Findings also show that the public has lost confidence in its leadership and in the majority of the security services and armed resistance groups. Satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas during the infighting does not exceed 13% and dissatisfaction stands at 84%. Similarly, satisfaction with the performance of Prime Minister Haniyeh does not exceed 22% and dissatisfaction stands at 74%. Dissatisfaction with the overall performance of Mahmud Abbas drops from 53% three months ago to 36% in this poll. Dissatisfaction with Abbas's performance stands today at 60%. Findings also show a great disappointment with the performance of the national unity government during the last three months with 81% saying that they are dissatisfied with its performance and only 17% expressing satisfaction.

Confidence in the security services and armed groups ranges between little and medium. Confidence in the preventive security stands at 33%, General Intelligence 34%, Executive Force 35%, Presidential Guard 37%, al Qassam Brigades 45%, the National Security forces 48%, al Aqsa Brigades 50%, and Police 58%.

The worsening conditions and the lack of trust in the PA leadership and institutions force people to seek alternatives. Findings show that 41% support the dissolution of the PA and 49% oppose that. The percentage of those who support PA dissolution is the sum of those who want to replace it with an international trusteeship (26%) and those who want to replace it with a return to full Israeli occupation (16%). Similarly, findings show that 42% support and 52% oppose the establishment of a confederation with Jordan. The percentage of those who support the confederation is the sum of those who want such a confederation now--before the creation of a Palestinian state-- (25%) and those who wish to have a confederation with Jordan but only after a Palestinian state is established (17%). Support for a confederation-now is equal in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Support for this step increases among residents of cities (29%) compared to refugee camps (20%), among illiterates

- **Support for a confederation with Jordan reaches 42% and opposition 52%.**

(28%) compared to holders of BA degree (22%), among those over 52 years of age (35%) compared to those between 18-22 years of age (19%), and among supporters of Fateh (28%) compared to supporters of Hamas (17%).

(3) Other Domestic Issues

- **90% describe current Palestinian conditions as bad or very bad.**
- **The most serious and immediate threat to Palestinians today is infighting and lawlessness in the eyes of 56% followed by poverty and unemployment, Israeli occupation and settlements, and finally international sanctions**
- **73% do not feel secure in their homes and 26% say they feel secure. Feeling of security increases in the Gaza Strip to 41% and decreases in the West Bank to 18%.**
- **85% believe that corruption exists in PA institutions and 59% of those believe that it will increase or remain the same in the future.**
- **28% say they want to immigrate to foreign countries and 23% say they are not proud of being Palestinian.**
- **41% believe that democracy is a successful system suitable to Palestine and 54% say it is a failed system unsuitable for Palestine.**
- **Overwhelming majority (82%) describes acts such as kidnappings of foreigners and bombing of internet cafes and foreign schools as criminal deserving condemnation and only 3% describe them as nationalist deserving support.**

Overwhelming majority of Palestinians (90%) describes current condition as bad or very bad while only 6% describe it as good or very good. Findings show that the most immediate and dangerous threat confronting Palestinians today is infighting and lawlessness as perceived by 56% of the public followed by poverty and unemployment as perceived by 21%, Israeli occupation and settlements as perceived by 12%, and finally international boycott and financial sanctions as perceived by 10%. 73% of the public say they do not feel safe or secure in their homes while 26% say they do feel safe and secure. It seems that with Hamas's control over Gaza complete, more Gazans (41%) feel safe and secure than West Bankers (18%). Findings also show that a great majority of 85% believes that corruption exists in the PA institutions and that among those 59% believe that it will increase or remain the same in the future.

Conditions described above lead 28% of the Palestinians to seek immigration to other countries while 23% say they are not proud of being Palestinians. It is worth mentioning that more than a year ago, in May 2006, the percentage of those wishing to immigrate stood at 17% and the percentage of those not proud of being Palestinians did not exceed 2%.

Similarly, events in Gaza have affected public evaluation of democracy. In this poll 41% (compared to 56% in our last survey in March 2007) said that democracy is a viable system suitable for Palestine and 54% (compared to 40% last March) said that democracy is a failed system unsuitable for Palestine. Despite this negative assessment of democracy, 42% of those who said that democracy is unsuitable for Palestine said they want to maintain it despite its problems while 45% said it should be replaced with an undemocratic system.

Findings show that despite the spread of violence and calls for extremism in the Gaza Strip, the overwhelming majority in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (82%) describes acts such as kidnapping of foreigners, burning of internet cafes, and bombing of foreign schools as criminal deserving condemnation while only 3% describe them as nationalist deserving support. 12% say some of these acts are nationalist and others are criminal.

(4) Peace Process

- **Support for the Saudi initiative stands at 66% and opposition at 31%. 36% say they believe that Hamas supports the Saudi Initiative and 41% say it opposes it.**
- **60% support and 38% oppose a two-state proposal based on mutual recognition of Israel as the state for the 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. In such a case, 70% would support and 28% would oppose reconciliation between the two peoples.**
- **After being informed of its main items, 63% support and 36% oppose the May 2007 American Security Plan.**
- **63% support the proposed ceasefire proposal of PA president and 34% oppose it.**
- **35% support and 61% oppose deployment of armed international forces along the Gaza borders with Egypt and Israel in order to prevent smuggling and rocket attacks against Israel.**
- **Only 26% believe that the chances are medium or high for the creation of a Palestinian state in the next five years; 70% say the chances are slim or non-existent.**
- **Similarly, only 31% believe that it is possible these days to reach a compromise agreement with Olmert's government and 65% say that it is impossible to do so.**

The poll asked about public attitudes regarding various aspects of the peace process in order to assess the impact of the infighting on those attitudes. Findings indicate a slight decrease in support for the Saudi initiative and for the two-state solution but show support for security proposals aimed at restoring stability to Palestinian-Israeli relations. They also show a great deal of pessimism about the chances for the creation of a Palestinian state or for reaching a compromise settlement with the Israeli Olmert government.

Support for the Saudi initiative drops to 66%, compared to 72% in our March poll. Opposition to this initiative stands at 31%. Findings also show that 36% of the public believe that Hamas supports the Saudi initiative while 41% believe it does not. Moreover, 25% believe that the Olmert government supports the initiative while 55% believe it does not. When, in an elaboration of a possible version of the Saudi initiative, we inserted a proposed solution to the refugee problem based on the Clinton Parameters of 2000, i.e., a solution based on UN resolution 194 but in which return to Israel is subject to an Israeli decision, support for this version of the Saudi initiative drops to 46% and opposition increases to 49%.

Findings also show that 60%, compared to 63% last March, support and 38% oppose a two-state solution whereby Israel is recognized as the state for the Jewish people and Palestine is recognized as the state for the Palestinian people after the establishment of a Palestinian state and the resolution of all issues of conflict. In such an environment, 70% would support reconciliation between the two peoples.

Respondents were presented with a list of the major components of the American security plan that was presented to the parties in May 2007 and included from the Palestinian side the ending of terrorism, stopping the launching of rockets against Israel, ending smuggling of arms, and putting an end to lawlessness, and from the Israeli side the opening of international crossings, linking the West Bank with Gaza, and removal of Israeli check points in the West Bank. 63% said they support and 36% said they oppose the American security plan. Similarly, 63% supported and 34% opposed the plan presented by PA president Abbas for a ceasefire with Israel that would start in the Gaza Strip and then extend to the West Bank. Support for this ceasefire plan stands at 54% in the Gaza Strip and 68% in the West Bank.

Findings indicate a strong opposition to the deployment of armed international forces along the borders with Egypt and Israel in order to prevent smuggling and launching of rockets against Israel. Only 35% supported and 61% opposed this proposal. Support for the deployment of such forces increases to 38% in the Gaza Strip and decreases to 33% in the West Bank. Support also increases among supporters of Fatah (48%) compared to supporters of Hamas (18%).

Despite the support for the Saudi initiative and the two-state solution, only 26% believe that the chances are medium or high for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the next five years while 70% believe the chances are low or non-existent. Similarly, only 31% believe that it is possible these days to reach a compromise agreement with the Olmert government and 65% believe it is impossible.

**Results of Poll # (24)
14-20 June 2007**

	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	8.4	5.2	13.9
2) Al Jazeera	63.8	72.0	49.5
3) Al Hurra	0.0	0.0	0.0
4) Al Manar	2.1	3.0	0.5
5) Palestine TV	11.2	6.9	18.9
6) Do not watch TV	5.6	6.4	4.1
7) Others	6.4	3.6	11.3
8) Do not have a dish	2.5	3.0	1.6
9) No Opinion/Don't know	0.1	0.0	0.2
01) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) Very satisfied	2.9	1.8	4.9
2) Satisfied	33.1	30.3	38.0
3) Not satisfied	39.7	42.2	35.4
4) Not satisfied at all	20.1	20.8	18.8
5) DK/NA	4.2	5.0	2.9
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?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	49.2	51.2	46.5
2) Ismael Haneyyeh	41.5	38.0	45.9
3) DK/NA	9.4	10.8	7.6
03) And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Khalid Misha'al representing Hams, whom would you vote for?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	59.0	62.0	55.0
2) Ismael Haneyyeh	34.6	29.9	40.9
3) No Opinion/ Don't know	6.4	8.1	4.2

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
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	0.9	1.1	0.7
2) Independent Palestine	3.6	4.1	2.8
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	4.7	5.4	3.7
4) Abu al Abbas	0.4	0.7	0.0
5) Freedom and social justice	0.1	0.2	0.0
6) Change and reform	32.6	27.4	40.2
7) National coalition for justice and democracy	0.1	0.2	
8) Third way	1.5	2.4	0.3
9) Freedom and independence	0.5	0.6	0.3
10) Palestinian justice	0.1	0.2	
11) Fateh	42.6	43.1	41.9
12) None of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	12.7	14.6	10.0
06) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the national unity government during the last three months in the following areas:			
06-1) Enforcing law and order and fighting lawlessness			
1) Highly satisfied	1.8	1.5	2.3
2) Satisfied	13.7	9.2	21.6
3) Dissatisfied	58.6	58.4	58.9
4) Highly dissatisfied	24.2	28.4	16.8
5) DK/NA	1.7	2.6	0.2
06-2) Conduct reforms and fight corruption			
1) Highly satisfied	1.4	1.2	1.6
2) Satisfied	19.3	13.8	29.0
3) Dissatisfied	55.3	57.5	51.4
4) Highly dissatisfied	22.2	24.9	17.4
5) DK/NA	1.9	2.6	0.6
06-3) Reduce restrictions of occupation and confront settlements and wall			
1) Highly satisfied	1.1	1.1	1.1
2) Satisfied	14.4	9.6	22.9
3) Dissatisfied	57.9	59.8	54.4
4) Highly dissatisfied	24.1	26.7	19.5
5) DK/NA	2.5	2.8	2.0

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
06-4) Improve economic conditions, for example solve the problem of salaries and fighting poverty			
1) Highly satisfied	2.0	2.3	1.3
2) Satisfied	13.3	8.6	21.4
3) Dissatisfied	56.6	56.5	56.8
4) Highly dissatisfied	26.2	30.1	19.4
5) DK/NA	2.0	2.5	1.1
06-5) Break international financial siege imposed on the PA			
1) Highly satisfied	1.7	1.9	1.4
2) Satisfied	13.6	9.8	20.2
3) Dissatisfied	57.7	57.8	57.4
4) Highly dissatisfied	24.3	26.9	19.6
5) DK/NA	2.8	3.7	1.3
06-6) Overall performance of the government			
1) Highly satisfied	0.9	0.5	1.4
2) Satisfied	15.9	10.7	24.9
3) Dissatisfied	56.1	57.9	53.1
4) Highly dissatisfied	25.0	28.1	19.5
5) DK/NA	2.2	2.8	1.1
07) If the national unity government fails to achieve vital national goals such as ending infighting, breaking international siege, and enforcing law and order, would you in this case approve or disapprove the following options:			
07-1) Organize early presidential and parliamentary elections			
1) Strongly approve	18.9	18.1	20.2
2) Approve	55.7	55.3	56.4
3) Disapprove	17.9	17.7	18.1
4) Strongly disapprove	4.2	4.3	4.2
5) DK/NA	3.3	4.5	1.1
07-2) Dissolve government and appoint a new non Hamas prime minister			
1) Strongly approve	12.7	12.3	13.4
2) Approve	45.5	46.2	44.3
3) Disapprove	27.3	26.3	28.9
4) Strongly disapprove	7.3	6.5	8.8
5) DK/NA	7.2	8.7	4.6

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
07-3) Declare an emergency situation and form an emergency government			
1) Strongly approve	11.7	11.2	12.5
2) Approve	43.8	47.9	36.6
3) Disapprove	30.3	27.1	35.8
4) Strongly disapprove	7.6	5.4	11.4
5) DK/NA	6.7	8.4	3.7
07-4) Organize a referendum on dissolving parliament and conducting early legislative elections			
1) Strongly approve	18.2	16.9	20.4
2) Approve	57.9	60.3	53.8
3) Disapprove	14.8	13.7	16.6
4) Strongly disapprove	4.5	3.3	6.6
5) DK/NA	4.5	5.6	2.6
08) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas these days?			
1) Very good	1.2	0.0	3.2
2) Good	4.3	1.6	9.1
3) So so	4.6	2.8	7.8
4) Bad	26.1	26.9	24.6
5) Very bad	63.6	68.5	55.0
6) DK/NA	0.2	0.2	0.2
09) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	47.0	40.8	57.7
2) Somewhat religious	48.2	53.5	39.1
3) Not religious	4.3	4.9	3.2
4) DK/NA	0.5	0.8	
10) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Supportive of the peace process	68.6	64.0	76.6
2) Opposed to the peace process	14.7	15.6	13.1
3) Between support and opposition	15.5	18.7	10.0
4) DK/NA	1.2	1.7	0.3
11) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions?			
1) Yes	85.3	86.9	82.6
2) No	7.1	5.8	9.3
3) DK/NA	7.6	7.3	8.0

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
12) If yes, will this corruption in PA institutions increase, decrease or remain as it is in the future?			
1) Will increase	49.9	61.4	28.8
2) Will remain as it is	9.4	11.4	5.7
3) Will decrease	29.1	16.8	51.7
4) DK/NA	11.7	10.5	13.9
13) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	4.3	0.6	10.7
2) Assured	21.9	17.3	30.1
3) Not assured	48.6	56.1	35.6
4) Not assured at all	24.6	25.8	22.5
5) DK/NA	0.5	0.2	1.1
14) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?			
1) Certainly seek to emigration	12.3	9.9	16.6
2) Seek emigration	15.5	16.4	13.9
3) Do not seek emigration	29.8	30.4	28.8
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	42.4	43.3	40.8
5) DK/NA			
15) In these days, to what extent you are proud of being a Palestinian?			
1) Very proud	47.5	47.8	47.0
2) Proud	29.6	28.8	31.0
3) Not proud	16.9	17.0	16.7
4) Not proud at all	5.8	6.1	5.2
5) DK/NA	0.2	0.2	0.0
16) 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?			
1) Successful, suitable to Palestine	40.6	36.3	48.3
2) Failed, unsuitable for Palestine	53.9	56.8	48.9
3) DK/NA	5.4	6.9	2.9

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
17) And what should the Palestinian Authority do now? Should it maintain the democratic system despite its problems or abandon it and adopt a non democratic system?			
1) Should maintain the democratic system despite its problems	42.2	37.8	51.7
2) Should abandon it and adopt a non democratic system	45.3	47.5	40.5
3) DK/NA	12.5	14.7	7.8
18) Do you think the national unity government should accept or reject the Quartet condition which demands recognition of Israel?			
1) Certainly it should accept	7.7	7.4	8.3
2) It should accept	29.8	27.1	34.6
3) It should reject	43.1	45.3	39.3
4) Certainly it should reject	13.0	13.6	12.0
5) DK/NA	6.3	6.5	5.8
19) How do you evaluate the positions and statements of Hamas regarding recognition of Israel since its election victory?			
1) Have come closer to recognizing Israel	32.4	34.4	28.7
2) Have not changed	37.5	35.4	41.1
3) Have become more hard line	30.1	30.2	30.1
20) Some people say that given the continuation of the international diplomatic and financial sanctions and due to the eruption of infighting and the continued Israeli attacks and bombing, and given the absence of security or law and order, it would be better to dissolve the Palestinian Authority and go back to full Israeli occupation or to accept an international trusteeship. What do you think?			
1) Oppose dissolving the PA	49.3	44.6	57.6
2) Support dissolving the PA and replace it with international trusteeship	25.5	25.9	24.7
3) Support dissolving the PA and return to full Israeli occupation	15.9	19.4	9.7
4) DK/NA	9.3	10.1	8.0
21) Also, there is a proposal to deploy international armed forces in the Gaza Strip, especially on the border with Israel and Egypt to prevent arm smuggling and rocket launching on Israel. Do you support or oppose the deployment of such forces in the Gaza Strip?			
1) Certainly support	5.8	5.1	7.2
2) Support	28.8	28.0	30.3
3) Oppose	43.8	46.3	39.6
4) Certainly oppose	17.4	15.2	21.2
5) DK/NA	4.1	5.5	1.7

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
22) Also, there is talk about the establishment of a special relationship with Jordan, for example, the establishment of a confederation between Jordan and the Palestinian Authority. Do you support or oppose the establishment of such a confederation now before the establishment of a Palestinian state or in the future after the establishment of a Palestinian state?			
1) Support the establishment of a confederation between Jordan and the Palestinian Authority now	24.9	24.6	25.4
2) Support the establishment of a confederation with Jordan in the future, only after the establishment of a Palestinian state	16.8	14.9	20.1
3) Do not support the establishment of a confederation with Jordan now or in the future	51.5	52.9	49.1
4) DK/NA	6.8	7.6	5.3
23) Fighting erupted last month between armed men from Fateh and Hamas leading to the death of dozens on both sides. Who in your view is responsible for this infighting?			
1) Both equally	58.8	60.5	55.9
2) None of them	9.0	9.8	7.6
3) Fateh is more responsible than Hamas	15.1	13.1	18.4
4) Hamas is more responsible than Fateh	14.0	12.0	17.4
5) DK/NA	3.1	4.5	0.7
24) And who came out winner from this infighting?			
1) Both equally	3.8	3.5	4.4
2) None of them	71.1	79.3	56.9
3) Fateh came out more of a winner than Hamas	3.9	4.0	3.6
4) Hamas came out more of a winner than Fateh	18.4	9.5	34.0
5) DK/NA	2.8	3.7	1.1
25) Armed groups in the Gaza Strip kidnap foreigners or burn institutions such as internet cafes or bomb foreign schools. How do you view these acts? Are they national and Islamic acts that benefit Palestinians and deserve support or are they criminal acts that hurt Palestinians and deserve condemnation?			
1) Nationalist deserving support	3.3	3.9	2.3
2) Criminal deserving condemnation	82.1	80.5	84.8
3) Some are nationalist and others are criminal	12.3	12.5	12.0
4) DK/NA	2.3	3.1	0.9

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
26) Were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of president Abu Mazin during the infighting last month?			
1) Certainly satisfied	1.3	1.1	1.5
2) Satisfied	11.7	13.0	9.4
3) Dissatisfied	59.8	60.3	58.9
4) Certainly dissatisfied	23.8	20.2	30.2
5) DK/NA	3.5	5.4	0.0
27) And were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of prime minister Ismail Haneih during the infighting last month?			
1) Certainly satisfied	3.5	1.8	6.3
2) Satisfied	18.1	14.3	24.8
3) Dissatisfied	54.6	59.9	45.2
4) Certainly dissatisfied	19.6	17.5	23.3
5) DK/NA	4.2	6.4	0.5
28) The ceasefire agreement with Israel in the Gaza Strip collapsed last month and president Abu Mazin proposed to the armed factions a plan that starts with a comprehensive mutual ceasefire with Israel in the Gaza Strip for one month after which it is extended to the West Bank. Do you support or oppose this proposal?			
1) Certainly support	9.3	9.9	8.4
2) Support	53.3	57.8	45.6
3) Oppose	27.9	23.4	35.8
4) Certainly oppose	5.8	5.4	6.6
5) DK/NA	3.6	3.5	3.7
29) What do you expect to happen now, if a cease fire agreement is reached between Israel and the Palestinians?			
1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	16.8	14.5	20.7
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	34.4	31.1	40.1
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	41.3	46.9	31.7
4) DK/NA	7.5	7.5	7.4

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
30) 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	8.7	8.3	9.5
2) Agree	51.4	53.9	46.9
3) Disagree	27.0	24.4	31.7
4) Definitely disagree	11.0	10.6	11.7
5) DK/NA	1.9	2.9	0.2
31) 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	51.0	52.4	48.6
2) Majority opposes	36.8	35.9	38.3
3) DK/NA	12.2	11.7	13.1
32) 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	42.8	39.3	48.9
2) Majority opposes	43.9	48.1	36.6
3) DK/NA	13.3	12.7	14.5
33) Now 40 years after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, what in your view are the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years? Are they high, medium, low, or none existent?			
1) None existent	30.8	31.7	29.3
2) Low	39.4	40.0	38.4
3) Medium	22.0	21.3	23.1
4) High	4.3	3.4	5.9
5) DK/NA	3.5	3.7	3.2

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
34) The American security plan, which was presented to the Palestinians and Israelis last month, demands few measures from each side. We will read to you the most important measures and then ask for your opinion about the plan, do you approve or disapprove it? The plan requests from the Palestinians the enforcement of law and order, fighting terrorism, preventing rocket attacks on Israel, and preventing smuggling through tunnels. It requests from the Israelis the opening of crossings such as Rafah, Kerem Shalom, and Karni on regular and permanent basis, allow passage of people and goods between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and remove checkpoints in the West Bank.			
1) Certainly approve	11.0	10.4	12.0
2) Approve	51.5	50.2	53.8
3) Disapprove	24.9	24.9	24.7
4) Certainly disapprove	10.6	11.7	8.8
5) DK/NA	2.0	2.7	0.7
35) 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 which allows return of refugees to Israel and compensation. 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?			
1) Certainly agree	8.4	7.7	9.6
2) Agree	57.9	55.8	61.6
3) Disagree	24.2	25.8	21.3
4) Certainly disagree	6.3	6.7	5.8
5) DK/NA	3.1	3.9	1.7
36) What in your view is Hamas's position regarding this Saudi initiative? Does it support it or oppose it?			
1) Oppose it	41.3	41.7	40.8
2) Support it	36.1	33.3	40.9
3) Neither support nor oppose it	8.8	9.2	8.0
4) DK/NA	13.8	15.9	10.3
37) And what about the position of the government of Ehud Olmert? Does the Israeli government support or oppose this Saudi initiative?			
1) Oppose it	55.0	55.8	53.6
2) Support it	25.0	22.4	29.4
3) Neither support nor oppose it	6.1	6.1	6.1
4) DK/NA	13.9	15.6	10.8

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
38) In your opinion, is it possible these days to reach a compromise settlement with the current Israeli leadership?			
1) Definitely possible	2.5	2.1	3.2
2) Think it is possible	28.0	24.2	34.6
3) Think it is impossible	43.9	45.3	41.5
4) Definitely impossible	21.3	23.6	17.4
5) DK/NA	4.2	4.7	3.4
39) How soon do you think will a political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians be achieved?			
1) A political settlement is not possible ever	45.9	45.3	47.1
2) only in many generations to come	19.9	18.4	22.5
3) only in the next generation	9.2	9.4	8.7
4) only in the next decade	4.1	4.2	4.1
5) in the next few years	12.6	13.6	10.9
6) DK/NA	8.2	9.1	6.7
40) I will read to you now a possible solution of the refugees problem within the auspices of the Saudi plan			
Both sides agree that the solution will be based on UN resolutions 194 and 242. The refugees will be given various choices for permanent residency, and this will count as the actualization of the right of return. These are: return to 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 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.			
Given this solution do you agree or disagree to the Saudi plan?			
1) Certainly agree	4.5	4.3	4.7
2) Agree	41.2	37.1	48.3
3) Disagree	37.0	39.2	33.2
4) Certainly disagree	12.1	12.8	10.8
5) DK/NA	5.3	6.6	2.9
41) 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	7.8	7.5	8.4
2) Would support	62.1	61.6	63.0
3) Would oppose	21.6	22.4	20.2
4) Would strongly oppose	6.5	6.0	7.3
5) DK/NA	1.9	2.4	1.1

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
42) Do you have or do not have trust in the following armed groups and security services?			
42-1) Force 17 or presidential guard			
1) Certainly have trust	7.1	6.0	8.9
2) Have trust	29.6	27.6	33.1
3) Do not have trust	36.7	38.8	33.1
4) Certainly do not have trust	16.7	15.1	19.4
5) DK/NA	9.8	12.4	5.5
42-2) Preventive security			
1) Strongly agree	5.5	4.3	7.6
2) Agree	27.8	28.0	27.5
3) Disagree	38.6	39.7	36.8
4) Strongly disagree	19.9	17.7	23.6
5) DN/NA	8.1	10.2	4.5
42-3) General intelligence			
1) Strongly agree	5.7	4.3	8.0
2) Agree	28.0	27.5	29.0
3) Disagree	39.0	41.4	35.0
4) Strongly disagree	17.5	16.0	20.2
5) DN/NA	9.7	10.9	7.7
42-4) Police			
1) Strongly agree	10.8	9.5	13.2
2) Agree	46.8	40.7	57.5
3) Disagree	25.5	31.3	15.4
4) Strongly disagree	11.3	11.8	10.4
5) DN/NA	5.6	6.8	3.6
42-5) Izzeddin al Qassam Brigades			
1) Strongly agree	12.9	9.4	19.0
2) Agree	32.4	30.8	35.3
3) Disagree	30.7	34.2	24.7
4) Strongly disagree	15.8	15.3	16.8
5) DN/NA	8.1	10.4	4.2
42-6) Al Aqsa Myrters Brigades			
1) Strongly agree	9.8	8.3	12.4
2) Agree	39.8	35.6	47.0
3) Disagree	28.8	33.0	21.7
4) Strongly disagree	12.5	12.1	13.2
5) DN/NA	9.1	11.0	5.7

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
42-7) Executive Force			
1) Strongly agree	11.1	6.9	18.5
2) agree	24.3	21.5	29.1
3) disagree	34.9	38.9	27.9
4) strongly disagree	19.0	18.5	19.9
5) DN/NA	10.7	14.2	4.6
42-8) National Security Forces			
1) Strongly agree	9.5	7.2	13.4
2) Agree	38.8	32.9	49.2
3) Disagree	30.6	35.2	22.5
4) Strongly disagree	11.5	11.7	11.2
5) DN/NA	9.6	13.1	3.7
43) In you view what in these days is the greatest threat or danger confronting the Palestinians?			
1) The possibility of infighting	31.9	37.0	23.1
2) International financial sanctions and boycott	10.4	5.6	18.8
3) Anarchy and lawlessness	23.9	26.4	19.5
4) Poverty and unemployment	20.5	18.7	23.5
5) Israeli occupation and settlements	12.2	11.3	13.7
6) DK/NA	1.1	1.0	1.4
49) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) PPP	0.8	1.0	0.5
2) PFLP	2.9	2.9	2.9
3) Fateh	30.4	28.7	33.4
4) Hamas	21.9	17.8	29.1
5) DFLP	0.7	0.7	0.8
6) Islamic Jihad	1.9	2.1	1.6
7) Fida	0.0	0.0	0.0
8) National Initiative (Mubadara)	0.8	1.1	0.2
9) Independent Islamists	3.5	3.9	2.9
10) Independent Nationalists	4.3	4.4	4.3
11) None of the above	31.9	36.6	23.7
12) Other, specify	0.8	0.8	0.7