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This poll is part of PSR series of regular polls.

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



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**As the gap between Mahmud Abbas and Ismail Haniyeh widens in favor of the former, a majority supports continuation of the current ceasefire between Hamas and Israel and prefers peace negotiations to free Palestinian prisoners but shows little confidence in diplomacy and supports kidnapping of Israeli soldiers in order to exchange them with Palestinian prisoners**

These are the results of the latest poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR) in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip between 28 and 30 August 2008. This period witnessed a relative consolidation of the ceasefire between Hamas and Israel in the Gaza Strip and the release by Israel of about 200 Palestinian prisoners as a gesture to President Mahmud Abbas. The poll examines the following topics: the domestic balance of power, the performance and legitimacy of two governments, that of Ismail Haniyeh and Salam Fayyad, the ceasefire between Hamas and Israel in the Gaza Strip, and the peace process. Total size of the sample is 1270 adults interviewed face to face in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

#### MAIN RESULTS:

Findings of the third quarter of 2008 indicate continued slow decline in Hamas's popularity while Fateh's popularity remains stable as it was during the second quarter. Similarly, findings show a slightly wider gap between the popularity of President Abbas compared to that of Ismail Haniyeh in favor of the former. Positive evaluation of the conditions of Palestinians in the West Bank remains higher than that of conditions in the Gaza Strip. This applies to overall conditions as well as those of democracy and human rights. Findings show also significant opposition to Hamas's military entry into Shijaiah in the Gaza Strip in early August. They also show widespread belief that the term of President Abbas ends in the first month of January 2009, as Hamas claims, and not in the first month of 2010, as the presidency claims. Findings also indicate an overwhelming support for the continuation of the current ceasefire between Hamas and Israel in the Gaza Strip despite recognition of many that it will not lead to the opening of the Rafah Crossing with Egypt. Despite the support for the ceasefire, about two thirds also support kidnapping of Israeli soldiers in order to exchange them with Palestinian prisoners.

It was expected that the ceasefire between Hamas and Israel would lead to improvement in Hamas's standing among the public. But the fact that Hamas continues to lose public support might be due to strong opposition to its behavior in dealing with Shijaiah incident which led to several deaths and the escape of several members of the Hillis family to Israel. Moreover, the fact that the Rafah crossing remained closed since the ceasefire and that the other crossings were only partially opened might have weakened Hamas's appeal. On the other hand, findings show an improvement in the perception of security and safety in the West Bank which might have been responsible in part for the improvement in Abbas's standing. Moreover, Israel's release of about 200 Palestinian prisoners at the end of August might have also played in Abbas's favor.

## 1) Domestic Palestinian Conditions

- If new presidential elections are held today, and the only two candidates were Abbas and Haniyeh, the former would receive the support of 53% and the latter 39%. If the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 61% to Haniyeh's 34%.
- If new parliamentary elections are to take place today, Hamas would receive 29% and Fateh would receive 43%. Percentage of those who would vote for other factions and parties stands today at 11% and the undecided at 16%.
- Positive evaluation of the performance of the government of Salam Fayyad stands at 34%; similarly, positive evaluation of Haniyeh's government stands today at 34%. 33% say Fayyad's government is the legitimate one while 27% say Haniyeh's government is the legitimate one.
- Perception of personal and family security and safety stands at 43% in the West Bank and 54% in the Gaza Strip.
- An overwhelming majority (69%) opposes Hamas's armed entry into the Shijaiah neighborhood in the Gaza Strip and 20% support it.
- 63% believe that Abbas term as president ends in January 2009, not in January 2010.

The Gap between the standing of PA President Mahmud Abbas and Hamas's Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh has increased to 14 percentage points in favor of Abbas. If new presidential elections are held today, and the only two candidates were Abbas and Haniyeh, the former would receive the support of 53% and the latter 39%. This finding represents a slight increase in the popularity of Abbas which stood at 52% last June compared to 40% for Haniyeh. Haniyeh's popularity reached its peak last March, in the aftermath of the breaching of the Rafah border, when it stood at 47% compared to 46% for Abbas. If the competition was between Marwan Barghouti and Haniyeh, the former would receive 61% to Haniyeh's 34%. Level of non-participation in the presidential elections would reach 37% if the competition was between Abbas and Haniyeh and 27% if the competition was between Barghouti and Haniyeh. Satisfaction with the performance of Abbas increases slightly from 46% last June to 48% in this poll. Level of dissatisfaction reaches 47% today.

Moreover, the gap between Fateh and Hamas increases from 12 percentage points last June to 14 percentage points in this poll. If new parliamentary elections are to take place today, Hamas would receive 29% (compared to 31% last June) and Fateh would receive 43% (same as in June). Percentage of those who would vote for other factions and parties stands today at 11% and the undecided at 16%.

Positive evaluation of the performance of the government of Salam Fayyad remains as it was last June standing at 34% and the negative evaluation at 34%. Similarly, positive evaluation of Haniyeh's government stands today at 34% and negative evaluation at 39%. Last June, positive evaluation of Haniyeh's government stood at 37% and negative evaluation at 35%. Today, 33% say Fayyad's government is the legitimate one while 27% say Haniyeh's government is the legitimate one. Last June, belief in the legitimacy of the Fayyad government reached 31% compared to 29% for Haniyeh's. Last March, Haniyeh's government was perceived as legitimate by 34%.

Perception of personal and family security and safety increases in the West Bank from 40% last June to 43% in this poll. But the percentage of personal and family security and safety in the Gaza Strip is higher than in the West Bank as it reaches 54% (compared to 49% in Gaza last June). By contrast, positive evaluation of the overall conditions of Palestinians in the West Bank is higher than in the Gaza Strip, with only 8% describing conditions on the Gaza Strip as good or very good and 27% describing the same conditions in the West Bank and good or very good. Last June, positive evaluation of conditions in the Gaza Strip stood at 5% compared to 25% in the West Bank. Similarly, 34% give a positive evaluation of the status of democracy in the West Bank while only 24% describe the same conditions in the Gaza Strip as good or very good.

An overwhelming majority (69%) opposes Hamas's armed entry into the Shijaiah neighborhood in the Gaza Strip (an event that led to several deaths and the escape of several

members of Hillis family to Israel) while only 20% support it. Support for Hamas's action increases in the Gaza Strip, reaching 35% compared to 12% in the West Bank. The wide gap in support between the two areas might reflect a greater Hamas media influence in Gaza Strip compared to the West Bank. Indeed, our findings show that 21% in the Gaza Strip watch Hamas's satellite TV station, al Aqsa, compared to only 6% in the West Bank. Moreover, support for Hamas's action in Shijaiah increases in refugee camps (27%) compared to villages and towns (16%), among men (25%) compared to women (16%), among those who identify themselves as religious (23%) compared to those who identify themselves as somewhat religious (17%), among those opposed to the peace process (41%) compared to supporters of the peace process (16%), among supporters of Hamas (53%) compared to supporters of Fateh (5%), among refugees (25%) compared to non refugees (16%), among those who hold a BA degree (24%) compared to those who hold a preparatory certificate (13%), among those with the least income (25%) compared to those with the highest income (15%), and among those whose age is between 18-22 years old (26%) compared to those whose age is over 52 years (17%).

23% believe that Fateh is responsible for the Gaza explosion that led to the death of five Hamas members last June while 43% believe it was not responsible; 33% say they do not know.

A majority of 63% believes that Abbas term as president ends in January 2009, as Hamas claims (i.e., four years after he was elected), while only 23% believe that his term extends to five years ending in January 2010, as the presidency claims. Belief that the president's term ends in January 2009 increases among those who oppose the peace process (74%) compared to those who support the peace process (59%), among supporters of Hamas (79%) compared to supporters of Fateh (52%), among those who hold a BA degree (69%) compared to illiterates (40%), among students (71%) compared to employees (56%), and among those whose age is between 18-22 years old (67%) compared to those whose age is over 52 years (56%).

## 2) Ceasefire and Prisoners' Exchange

- **81% support and 15% oppose the continuation of the current ceasefire in the Gaza Strip**
- **49% believe that if the ceasefire continues, it will lead to the opening of the Rafah crossing with Egypt and 42% believe it will not**
- **60% describe Hamas's performance in the ceasefire negotiations with Israel as good or very good and 28% describe it as bad or very bad**
- **75% view the prisoners' exchange deal between Hezbollah and Israel as a**

Findings show that 81% of the Palestinians support and 15% oppose the continuation of the current ceasefire in the Gaza Strip. It is worth noting that our June 2008 poll found that 78% supported and 21% opposed a ceasefire agreement between Hamas and Israel. But we also found at that time that support was very low (23%) to a ceasefire that was restricted to the Gaza Strip and did not include the West Bank. Support was even lower (20%) for an agreement that did not allow for the opening of the crossings, particularly the Rafah crossing. Findings of the current poll indicate that 49% of the Palestinians believe that if the ceasefire continues, it will lead to the opening of the Rafah crossing and 42% believe it will not. Despite the fact that the ceasefire agreement between Hamas and Israel was restricted to the Gaza Strip and did not allow for a normal functioning

victory for Hezbollah and 7% view it as a victory for Israel

- **If an agreement is reached on a prisoners' exchange between Hamas and Israel, 46% expect the deal to be a victory for Hamas and 26% expect it to be a victory for Israel**
- **59% believe that the best way to free Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails is by reaching a peace agreement that would include release of prisoners, but 39% believe the best way is by kidnapping Israeli soldiers and exchanging them with Palestinian prisoners**
- **But given the experience of the kidnapping of the Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit, 74% support and 21% oppose kidnapping of soldiers to exchange them with Palestinian and Arab prisoners**

of the Rafah crossing, a majority of 60% describes Hamas's performance in the ceasefire negotiations as good or very good while only 28% view it as bad or very bad.

Findings show that three quarters of the Palestinians believe that the prisoners' exchange agreement between Hezbollah and Israel was a victory for Hezbollah while only 7% view it as a victory for Israel. But the percentage of those who believe that a prisoners' exchange agreement between Hamas and Israel will be a victory for Hamas does not exceed 46% and 26% believe it will be a victory for Israel.

A majority of 59% believes that the best way to free Palestinian prisoners from Israeli jails is by reaching a peace agreement that includes their release while 39% believe the best way is by kidnapping Israeli soldiers and exchanging them with Palestinian prisoners. But when asked about the lessons learned from the experience of the kidnapping of the Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit, the overwhelming majority (74%) says it supports and only 21% say it opposes kidnapping of soldiers to exchange them with Palestinian and Arab prisoners. In other words, despite the preference for diplomacy, the majority shows little confidence in its viability and opts instead for non-diplomatic means.

Belief that the best way to release Palestinian prisoners is by reaching a peace agreement increases in villages and towns (62%) compared to refugee camps (53%), among women (64%) compared to men (53%), among supporters of the peace process (68%) compared to those who are opposed to the peace process (21%), among supporters of Fateh (77%) compared to supporters of Hamas (32%), among holders of preparatory certificate (68%) compared to holders of BA degree (48%), among farmers (71%) and housewives (66%) compared to students (52%), and among private sector employees (59%) compared to public sector employees (47%).

### 3) Peace Process

- **57% support and 41% oppose a mutual recognition of Israel as the state for the Jewish people and Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and the resolution of all issues of the conflict**
- **68% support and 30% oppose the Saudi Initiative**
- **70% support and 28% oppose reconciliation between the two peoples after reaching a peace agreement between the two sides**
- **But 43% believe that reconciliation between the two peoples is not possible ever**
- **Moreover, 69% believe that the chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the next five years**

Findings show that a Palestinian majority (57%) supports a 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 the conflict. Opposition to this mutual recognition stands at 41%. These figures are almost identical to those obtained last June. Findings also show that two thirds (68%) of the public support and 30% oppose the Saudi Initiative. The Initiative calls for an Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the establishment of a Palestinian state and for reaching a just and agreed upon solution to the refugee problem based on UN resolution number 194. In return, all Arab states will recognize Israel and its right to secure borders and will sign peace treaties and establish normal diplomatic relations with it. These findings are almost identical to those obtained last June. Findings also show that a large majority of 70% supports reconciliation between the two peoples after reaching a peace agreement between the two sides and after the establishment of a Palestinian state recognized by Israel. Opposition to reconciliation stands at 28%. In this context, support for

- are low or non existent while 28% believe the chances are medium or high
- 12% believe that negotiations unleashed by the Annapolis Conference will succeed in ending Israeli occupation while 76% believe it will fail
  - Similarly, 74% believe that it is impossible to reach a permanent settlement with the current Olmert government and 64% say that Abbas-Olmert meetings are not beneficial and should be stopped.

open borders and free movement of individuals and goods between the two states reaches 84%. Support for the establishment of joint economic institutions and ventures reaches 71%. Support for the establishment of joint political institutions, such as a parliament, with the ultimate goal of creating a confederation between the two states reaches 41%. Support for taking legal measures against incitement against Israel reaches 36%, and support for adopting a school curriculum that recognizes Israel and teaches school children not to demand return of all Palestine to the Palestinians reaches 13%. In the context of reconciliation, 32% say that they would invite an Israeli colleague to their homes and an identical percentage says it would accept an invitation from an Israeli colleague to visit his or her home.

Despite support for reconciliation, a large percentage of 43% believes that reconciliation is not possible ever. Moreover, 69% believe that chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state within the next five years are low or non existent while only 28% say the chances are high or medium. More than three quarters (76%) believe that the negotiations unleashed by the Annapolis conference will fail in ending Israeli occupation while only 12% believe it will succeed. In the same context, 74% believe that it is impossible to reach a compromise permanent agreement with the government of Ehud Olmert and 64% say that Olmert-Abbas meetings are not beneficial and should be stopped.

**Results of Poll # (29)**

28-30 August 2008

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>00) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?</b>			
1) Al Arabia	7.1	7.3	6.8
2) Al Jazeera	52.3	56.6	44.7
3) Al Hurra	0.2	0.1	0.2
4) Al Manar	4.7	6.4	1.8
5) Palestine TV	10.5	7.8	15.1
6) Al-Aqsa TV	11.6	6.2	21.0
7) Do not watch TV	8.3	8.7	7.6
8) Others	3.3	4.1	1.8
9) Do not have a dish	1.7	2.1	1.0
10) No Opinion/Don't know	0.4	0.7	
<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	7.2	5.6	10.1
2) Satisfied	40.7	43.8	35.3
3) Not satisfied	33.2	31.9	35.6
4) not satisfied at all	14.0	13.7	14.5
5) DK/NA	4.8	5.0	4.5
<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) Mahmud Abbas	53.4	53.6	53.0
2) Ismail Haniyeh	38.9	37.2	41.4
3 DK/NA	7.7	9.2	5.5
<b>03) And if the competition was between Marwan Barghouti representing Fateh and Ismail Haniyeh representing Hamas, whom would you vote for?</b>			
1) Marwan Barghouti	60.7	62.2	58.3
2) Ismail Haniyeh	34.3	31.4	38.8
3) No Opinion/ Don't know	5.0	6.4	2.9
<b>05) If new elections agreed to by all factions 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	1.5	2.0	0.8
2) independent Palestine	2.8	3.3	2.1
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	5.0	5.7	4.1
4) Abu al Abbas	0.3	0.5	0.0
5) freedom and social justice	0.5	0.3	0.7
6) change and reform	29.3	26.5	33.4
7) national coalition for justice and democracy	0.1	0.2	0.0
8) third way	0.7	0.6	0.8
9) freedom and independence	0.1	0.1	0.0
10) Palestinian justice	0.4	0.5	0.3
11) Fateh	43.2	41.8	45.3
12) none of the above/ DK/NA	16.2	18.6	12.6

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>06) After the separation between Gaza and the West Bank, Hamas and the government of Ismail Haniyeh remained in power in Gaza and considered itself the legitimate government while president Abu Mazin formed a new government headed by Salam Fayyad and it too considered itself legitimate. What about you, which of the two government you consider legitimate, the government of Haniyeh or the government of Abu Mazin and Fayyad?</b>			
1) Haniyehs' government is the legitimate one	27.4	24.1	33.2
2) Abu Mazin's and Fayyad government is the legitimate one	32.8	31.4	35.3
3) Both governments are legitimate	7.6	8.9	5.3
4) Both governments are not legitimate	26.0	29.0	20.9
5) DK/NA	6.1	6.6	5.3
<b>07) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?</b>			
1) Very good	2.0	1.6	2.7
2) Good	6.3	7.3	4.6
3) So so	10.0	9.8	10.3
4) Bad	36.5	40.5	29.4
5) Very bad	43.4	37.9	53.1
6) DK/NA	1.8	2.8	
<b>08) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?</b>			
1) Very good	3.3	2.1	5.5
2) Good	23.7	20.2	29.8
3) So so	29.5	35.9	18.4
4) Bad	28.7	31.1	24.4
5) Very bad	10.3	10.1	10.6
6) DK/NA	4.4	0.5	11.3
<b>09) Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>			
1) Religious	49.0	42.2	60.8
2) Somewhat religious	47.0	52.5	37.3
3) Not religious	3.9	5.0	1.9
4) DK/NA	0.1	0.2	
<b>10) Generally, do you see yourself as:</b>			
1) Supportive of the peace process	72.2	70.1	75.8
2) Opposed to the peace process	13.0	12.8	13.3
3) Between support and opposition	13.9	16.1	10.2
4) DK/NA	0.9	1.1	0.7
<b>11) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions under the control of President Abu Mazin?</b>			
1) Yes	72.3	74.2	69.1
2) No	14.3	11.6	18.9
3) DK/NA	13.4	14.2	12.0

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>12) If yes, will this corruption in PA institutions under the control of President Abu Mazin increase, decrease or remain as it is in the future?</b>			
1) Will increase	51.3	57.0	40.5
2) Will remain as it is	13.4	14.4	11.7
3) will decrease	25.9	19.6	37.5
4) DK/NA	9.4	9.0	10.3
<b>13) How would you evaluate the current status of democracy and human rights in the Palestinian Authority under Abu Mazin? Would you say it is:</b>			
1) Very good	5.6	4.6	7.2
2) Good	27.9	26.4	30.4
3) neither bad nor good	24.8	26.9	20.9
4) Bad	26.3	25.9	27.0
5) Very bad	10.5	10.4	10.6
6) DK/NA	5.0	5.7	3.8
<b>14) How would you evaluate the current status of democracy and human rights in the Gaza Strip under Ismail Hanyieh government? Would you say it is:</b>			
1) Very good	5.0	3.7	7.2
2) Good	18.5	15.5	23.8
3) Fair	17.7	16.5	19.8
4) Bad	29.9	33.8	23.2
5) Very bad	19.4	17.9	22.1
6) DK/NA	9.4	12.6	3.9
<b>15) Tell us how do you evaluate the performance of the dismissed government of Ismail Haniyeh in the Gaza Strip? Is it good or bad?</b>			
1) Very Good	8.5	6.9	11.2
2) Good	25.1	23.0	28.6
3) Neither good nor bad	20.0	19.6	20.6
4) Bad	26.4	28.0	23.7
5) Very Bad	12.3	11.2	14.4
6) No Opinion/Don't know	7.7	11.3	1.5
<b>16) Tell us how do you evaluate the performance of the government headed by Salam Fayyad? Is it good or bad?</b>			
1) Very Good	5.4	4.5	7.0
2) Good	28.1	29.7	25.3
3) Neither good nor bad	23.5	26.1	18.9
4) Bad	23.9	20.6	29.6
5) Very Bad	9.7	8.4	11.8
6) No Opinion/Don't know	9.4	10.6	7.3
<b>17) Hamas says that the term of PA president ends four years after the date of his election as stated by the Basic Law and that it will not recognize his legitimacy after the end of the term. The PA on the other hand says that the term of the current president extends to five, not four, years being an exceptional case as stated by the Election Law. When in your view does the term of President Mahmud Abbas end?</b>			
1) four years after his election, i.e., January 2009	63.4	62.5	64.9
2) five years after his election, i.e., in January 2010	22.6	22.8	22.4
5) DK/NA	14.0	14.8	12.7



	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>18) Early this month, Hamas entered al Shija'ia neighborhood in the Gaza Strip using force which caused many casualties and led to the escape of many members of Hillis family. Do you support or oppose Hamas's action?</b>			
1) certainly support it	5.4	2.7	10.1
2) support it	14.7	9.1	24.5
3) oppose it	45.9	50.6	37.9
4) certainly oppose it	23.0	25.2	19.2
5) DK/NA	10.9	12.4	8.3
<b>19) Last month, five members of Hamas were killed in an explosion in the Gaza Strip. Hamas charged that Fateh was responsible for the explosion. Do you think or do not think that Fateh was responsible for the explosion?</b>			
1) certainly Fateh was responsible	9.5	8.0	12.1
2) think that Fateh was responsible	13.9	14.1	13.5
3) Do not think that Fateh was responsible	25.7	26.9	23.7
4) Certainly Fateh was not responsible	17.6	12.6	26.3
5) DK/NA	33.4	38.5	24.4
<b>20) Do current political, security, and economic conditions lead you to seek emigration abroad?</b>			
1) Certainly seek to emigration	16.7	12.6	24.0
2) Seek emigration	15.7	15.8	15.7
3) Do not seek emigration	29.4	30.0	28.3
4) Certainly do not seek emigration	37.8	41.1	32.0
5) DK/NA	0.4	0.6	
<b>21) With regard to the prisoners' exchange deal between Hezbollah and Israel, who in your views achieved greater gain?</b>			
1) Israel	7.3	7.3	7.2
2) Hizballah	75.3	73.8	78.0
3) both equally	8.8	8.8	8.9
4) None of them	4.1	4.6	3.2
5) DK/NA	4.5	5.5	2.8
<b>22) And what about the prisoners' exchange deal which is now being negotiated between Hamas and Israel through Egypt, Whom do you expect to achieve greater gain, Hamas or Israel?</b>			
1) Israel	25.7	25.2	26.6
2) Hamas	45.7	43.1	50.2
3) both equally	11.3	11.3	11.3
4) None of them	8.7	10.5	5.7
5) DK/NA	8.5	9.9	6.1
<b>23) Given the experience of the kidnapping of the Israel soldier Gilad Shalit in the Gaza Strip, do you support or oppose kidnapping soldiers to exchange them with Palestinian or Arab prisoners?</b>			
1) certainly support	30.3	30.6	29.8
2) support	44.1	41.9	48.0
3) oppose	18.4	19.6	16.3
4) certainly oppose	2.9	1.9	4.5
5) DK/NA	4.3	6.0	1.3

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>24) In your view, what is the best way to free prisoners from Israeli jails?</b>			
1) kidnap soldiers and exchange them	39.1	36.8	43.0
2) reach a peace agreement that includes freeing all prisoners	58.8	60.2	56.4
3) DK/NA	2.2	3.0	0.7
<b>25) Now, after two months have passed since the ceasefire went into effect in the Gaza Strip, do you support or oppose its continuation?</b>			
1) certainly support	20.2	20.0	20.5
2) support	60.8	63.6	55.8
3) oppose	13.3	10.0	19.1
4) certainly oppose	1.9	0.9	3.5
5) DK/NA	3.8	5.5	1.1
<b>26) And how do you evaluate Hamas's performance in the ceasefire negotiations? Do you think it was good or bad?</b>			
1) certainly good	9.2	8.5	10.4
2) think it was good	50.7	49.9	52.0
3) think it was bad	22.4	21.4	24.3
4) certainly bad	5.5	3.9	8.3
5) DK/NA	12.2	16.3	5.0
<b>27) Do you think that if the ceasefire continued, it would lead to the opening of the Rafah crossing with Egypt?</b>			
1) certainly it will	8.9	9.0	8.7
2) think it will	39.9	44.1	32.7
3) think it will not	28.4	25.3	33.7
4) certainly it will not	14.0	10.4	20.3
5)DK/NA	8.8	11.1	4.7
<b>28) American presidential elections will take place in about two months and the Democratic candidate Barak Obama might win the elections. If elected, do you think his election would leave a positive or a negative effect on the Palestinian question?</b>			
1) will leave a positive effect	9.9	10.3	9.1
2) will leave a negative effect	44.9	38.6	55.8
3) will have no effect	35.0	38.8	28.5
4) DK/NA	10.2	12.3	6.6
<b>29) 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	8.6	9.4	7.2
2) agree	48.3	50.1	45.2
3) disagree	31.4	29.7	34.5
4) definitely disagree	9.4	8.3	11.4
5) DK/NA	2.3	2.6	1.8

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>30) 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	48.8	49.1	48.4
2) Majority opposes	39.0	37.7	41.3
3) DK/NA	12.2	13.2	10.3
<b>31) 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	39.2	38.5	40.5
2) Majority opposes	48.8	49.5	47.6
5) DK/NA	12.0	12.0	11.9
<b>32) 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?</b>			
1) None existent	31.2	30.0	33.3
2) Low	38.0	39.5	35.5
3) Medium	24.0	24.2	23.5
4) High	3.5	3.0	4.4
5) DK/NA	3.3	3.3	3.3
<b>36) 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?</b>			
1) Certainly agree	12.5	12.3	12.8
2) agree	55.3	56.0	54.1
3) disagree	23.2	22.9	23.7
4) Certainly disagree	6.3	5.2	8.3
5) DK/NA	2.6	3.6	1.0
<b>37) 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?</b>			
1) Would strongly support	10.0	9.9	10.1
2) Would support	60.1	60.6	59.2
3) Would oppose	21.9	20.5	24.4
4) Would strongly oppose	6.0	6.5	5.2
5) DK/NA	2.0	2.5	1.1
<b>38) If a peace agreement is reached and a Palestinian state is established and recognized by Israel, how soon do you think full reconciliation between the two people will be achieved?</b>			
1) Reconciliation is not possible ever	43.1	39.0	50.2
2) Only in many generations to come	21.2	21.9	20.0
3) Only in the next generation	7.4	7.6	7.1
4) Only in the next decade	9.0	8.3	10.3
5) In the next few years	11.4	14.0	6.8
6) DK/NA	7.9	9.2	5.6

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>39) After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian side and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, the following are steps may be taken in order to enhance relations between the State of Israel and a Palestinian State. For each of the suggested steps please tell me whether you support or oppose it:</b>			
<b>39-1) Open borders to free movement of people and goods</b>			
1) Strongly support	18.0	16.9	19.9
2) Support	65.5	65.9	64.7
3) Oppose	12.0	12.1	11.8
4) Strongly oppose	3.8	4.5	2.5
5) DK/NA	0.7	0.6	1.1
<b>39-2) Create joint economic institutions and ventures</b>			
1) Strongly support	13.3	12.6	14.5
2) Support	57.3	58.5	55.1
3) Oppose	23.0	22.3	24.1
4) Strongly oppose	5.1	5.5	4.6
5) DK/NA	1.4	1.1	1.8
<b>39-3) Create joint political institutions (such as a parliament. designed eventually to lead to a confederate system</b>			
1) Strongly support	5.8	5.6	6.0
2) Support	35.0	35.2	34.5
3) Oppose	44.3	44.1	44.5
4) Strongly oppose	11.5	10.5	13.3
5) DK/NA	3.5	4.5	1.7
<b>39-4) Take legal measures against incitement against Israel</b>			
1) Strongly support	3.0	3.2	2.8
2) Support	33.2	36.2	28.0
3) Oppose	46.2	42.7	52.2
4) Strongly oppose	14.3	13.3	16.1
5) DK/NA	3.3	4.6	0.9
<b>39-5) Adopt school curriculum in the Palestinian state that recognizes Israel and teaches school children not to demand return of all Palestine to the Palestinians</b>			
1) Strongly support	1.5	1.7	1.1
2) Support	11.7	10.6	13.8
3) Oppose	56.5	55.7	57.9
4) Strongly oppose	28.0	28.9	26.4
5) DK/NA	2.3	3.2	0.9
<b>40) After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian side and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, would you, under these conditions of peace, invite an Israeli colleague to visit you in your home?</b>			
1. Definitely yes	4.2	5.1	2.8
2. Yes	28.1	29.5	25.7
3. No	46.0	45.6	46.7
4. Definitely no	20.4	17.9	24.8
5. Don't Know	1.3	2.0	

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>41) After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian side and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, would you, under these conditions of peace, visit an Israeli colleague in his home?</b>			
1. Definitely yes	4.4	5.4	2.7
2. Yes	27.5	28.2	26.2
3. No	47.5	48.3	46.1
4. Definitely no	19.8	17.0	24.6
5. Don't Know	0.8	1.1	0.3
<b>42) And what are your expectations regarding the chances for the success or failure of the negotiations launched by Annapolis conference? Will it succeed or fail in ending Israeli occupation?</b>			
1) certainly will succeed	0.5	0.4	0.8
2) will succeed	11.4	11.4	11.4
3) will fail	47.1	48.5	44.5
4) certainly will fail	29.3	25.9	35.1
5) DK/NA	11.7	13.8	8.2
<b>43) In your view, is it possible or impossible these days to reach a compromise permanent status agreement with the Olmert government?</b>			
1) Certainly possible	0.8	0.2	1.8
2) Possible	21.7	22.0	21.1
3) Impossible	47.4	48.2	46.0
4) Certainly impossible	26.6	24.9	29.5
5) DK/NA	3.5	4.6	1.6
<b>44) With regard to meetings between Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and PA President Mahmud Abbas, do you see them beneficial and should be continued or do you see them unbeneficial and should be stopped?</b>			
1) Beneficial, and should continue	30.9	31.0	30.7
2) Unbeneficial and should stop	64.0	62.4	66.9
3) NO/DK	5.0	6.6	2.4
<b>45) What do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis, now that the ceasefire between Hamas and Israel has entered into effect?</b>			
1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	17.5	17.6	17.4
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	42.7	41.1	45.5
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	32.7	32.0	33.8
4) DK/NA	7.1	9.3	3.3
<b>46) Which of the following political parties do you support?</b>			
1) PPP	0.5	0.5	0.5
2) PFLP	4.6	4.8	4.4
3) Fateh	30.8	29.3	33.3
4) Hamas	20.4	18.4	23.9
5) DFLP	0.7	0.9	0.2
6) Islamic Jihad	1.6	1.2	2.3
7) Fida	0.0	0.0	0.0
8) National Initiative (Mubadara)	0.8	1.0	0.4
9) Independent Islamists	2.9	2.7	3.2
10) Independent Nationalists	2.9	3.3	2.4
11) None of the above	33.9	36.9	28.6
12) Other, specify	1.0	1.1	0.7

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<b>47) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?</b>			
1) Completely assured	6.6	3.4	12.2
2) Assured	40.2	39.4	41.4
3) Not assured	41.1	47.1	30.7
4) Not assured at all	11.9	9.7	15.7
5) DK/NA	0.2	0.4	