

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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In an Environment of Increased Pessimism, Greater Support for Violence and Decreased Support for a Permanent Status Agreement Similar to the Clinton Parameters and the Geneva Document, Three Quarters Agree with the Prisoners' Document, but Only 47% Would Actually Vote for it if a Referendum is to Take Place Today

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 15-18, 2006. The poll deals with the prisoners' document and the referendum on the document, permanent settlement, peace process and violence, and domestic balance of power. Total size of the sample is 1270 adults interviewed face to face in the West Bank (830) and the Gaza Strip (440) in 127 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

MAIN RESULTS:

Findings indicate the development of two contradictory domestic dynamics accompanied by an increase in the level of pessimism about the long and short term future, an increase in the level of support for violence, and a decrease in the support for a permanent status agreement along the lines of the Clinton Parameters, Taba negotiations, and the Geneva Initiative. Findings show the development of an internal consensus on the prisoners' document with about three quarters supporting its contents as a package. The fact that the document has been the product of an inclusive consultation among prominent prisoners of all the factions may have contributed to its acceptance. Traditionally, prisoners have been subject on internal consensus.

Parallel to this consensus however, polarization is evident in the way the public views the call for a referendum on the same prisoners' document and the voting intentions in that referendum if it is to take place. In other words, despite public acceptance of the ideas in the document, about half do not intend to vote for it in a referendum if one is to actually be conducted. This finding shows that Hamas has successfully managed to frame the referendum to the public in highly negative terms, as an attempt by PA president Mahmud Abbas to bypass the will of the voters, to marginalize the legislature and the cabinet, and capitulation to international pressure.

But Hamas' success remains limited. It has failed to prevent the development of the consensus indicated above with regard to the prisoners' document, and it has lost significant public support compared to the situation three months ago. The loss of popular support may reflect public disappointment with Hamas' response to the prisoners' document; it may not necessarily reflect public discontent over Hamas' inability to deliver vital services. It is possible that the loss of Hamas' popularity may have more to do with the shift in the source of pressure on that group. When the pressure was external – coming from the Quartet with its conditions and financial sanctions—Hamas gained greater public support. But when pressure became internal – in the form of the prisoners' document and the apparent consensus of the various factions—Hamas lost some of its popularity.

Findings also indicate a decline in the level of short term and long term optimism and an increase in threat perception. Support for armed attacks against Israeli civilians continues to rise. In fact, findings show that support for bombing attacks has more than doubled compared to the situation nine months ago. This development is also reflected in the continued decrease in the level of support for a permanent status agreement along the lines of the Clinton Parameters and the Geneva Initiative. This decrease was first detected in the aftermath of the Sharon's unilateral disengagement from the Gaza Strip.

(1) Prisoners' Document and Referendum

- 74% support the National Conciliation Document and 23% oppose it
- Support for the document's articles ranges between 62% and 85%
- But support for holding a referendum does not exceed 53% while opposition reaches 43%
- Despite support for the substance of the document, only 47% would actually vote for it if a referendum is to be held and 44% would vote against it
- If Hamas rejects the document after it was approved in a referendum, 65% would support taking steps against it
- If President Abbas refuses the formation of a national unity government based on Hamas' program after the document was rejected in a referendum, 39% would call for his resignation

Findings show that the overwhelming majority of Palestinians (74%) supports the national conciliation document, also known as the prisoners' document, as one package and 23% oppose it. Support for the main items of the document ranges between 62% and 85% and opposition ranges between 13% and 34%. The greatest support (85%) goes to the three items dealing with: goal of establishing an independent Palestinians state in the areas occupied in 1967 with Arab East Jerusalem as its capital, right of return, and freeing of prisoners in accordance with international legitimacy, Hamas and Islamic Jihad would join the PLO based on proportional representation, a national unity government based on the national conciliation document and a joint program would be established with the participation of Fateh and Hamas. Slightly less support (73%) goes to the item that concentrate resistance to Israeli occupation to areas occupied since 1967, 70% support the item that calls for the acceptance of international and Arab legitimacy, 69% support the item that asserts that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people wherever they are located, and 62% support the item that asserts that Negotiations with Israel is the responsibility of the PLO and the president of the PA and agreements reached should be submitted to a vote in the PLO National Council or to a referendum.

But support for the conduct of a referendum on the prisoners' document is much less than the support for the document itself with 53% in favor and 43% opposed. Moreover, despite the overwhelming support for the prisoners' document, if the referendum is to take place today, only 47% would vote in favor of it and 44% would vote against it. 9% remain undecided. Only 56% agrees that PA president Mahmud Abbas has the right to call for a referendum on the prisoners' document and 38% do not agree. And if Hamas called for a boycott of the referendum, 44% would boycott it and 50% would participate in it.

If the referendum was conducted and a majority approved the document, 67% believe that the Hamas government would still reject the document and 23% believe it would accept it. If the Hamas government rejects the document after a majority voted in favor of it in the referendum, 65% would support the taking of steps against it such as reducing its powers and jurisdiction (17%), dismissal of the government and the formation of an emergency government (14%), or the dismissal of government and the dissolution of the parliament and the holding of new elections (33%)

If the referendum was conducted and a majority rejected the document, 60% believe that PA president and Fateh would not accept Hamas' program and would not form a national unity government based on that program, but 31% believe they would do so. If PA president and Fateh refuse to form a national unity government based on Hamas' program after a majority rejected the prisoners' document in the referendum, 61% would in this case support either the reduction of the powers and responsibilities of the president (22%) or his resignation (39%).

(2) Peace Process and support for Violence

- 61% would support and 36% would oppose a mutual recognition of identity after reaching a political settlement and the resolution of all issues of the conflict
- 52% support and 43% oppose the Quartet Road Map and 58% support collection of arms from armed factions today
- 71% would support reconciliation between the two peoples after reaching a peace agreement and the establishment of a Palestinian state
- But 49% believe that reconciliation will never be possible and only 13% expect the two sides to return to negotiations and violence to stop
- 70% believe that Hamas should negotiate with Israel and 26% believe it should not
- Significant increase in the level of support for violence against Israeli civilians

A majority of 61% agrees and 36% disagree with the proposal that after reaching a permanent agreement to all issues of the conflict with Israel, there would be a mutual recognition of Israel as the state for the Jewish people and Palestine as the state for the Palestinian people. Only 54% of the Palestinians however believe that a majority of Palestinians supports such a proposal and 34% think a majority opposes it.

A majority of 52% supports and 43% oppose the Road Map. In this context, 58%, the highest since the Road Map became public, support and 39% oppose collection of arms from Palestinian armed factions as mandated by the Road Map. Moreover, if the collection of arms were restricted to the Gaza Strip, support would increase to 70% and opposition would drop to 27%. Support for the current ceasefire, another requirement of the Road Map, reaches 71% and opposition 27%.

When a permanent status agreement is reached and a Palestinian state is established and recognized by Israel, 71% would support reconciliation between the two peoples and 27% would oppose it. From among various reconciliation steps, 85% would support open border to free movement of people and goods, 74% would support the creation of joint economic institutions and ventures, 37% would support the creation of joint political institutions designed eventually to lead to a confederation between the two states, 33% would support taking legal measures against incitement against Israelis, and 10% would support adopting a school curriculum that recognizes Israel and teaches school children not to demand return of all Palestine to the Palestinians. At the personal level, 32% would under conditions of peace invite an Israeli colleague to visit in their homes and a similar percentage would visit an Israeli colleague in his or her home.

After reaching a peace agreement and the establishment of a Palestinian state, belief that reconciliation between the two peoples will be achieved within the next few years or the next generation stands at 26% while 49% believe that reconciliation is not possible ever. Moreover, 51% believe that a political settlement with Israel is impossible while only 23% believe that such a settlement is possible within the next few years or the next generation.

With regard to short term expectations, only 13% expect the two sides to go back to negotiations and that armed confrontations would stop. On the other hand 39% believe that armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations. 38% believe that the two sides will return to negotiations but some armed confrontations will continue.

A majority of 70% thinks that if Israel agrees to enter peace negotiation with Hamas, the Islamist group should agree to do so and 26% think that it should not. In March, 75% said Hamas should enter peace negotiations with Israel if it agrees to do so. Despite this, two thirds in this poll believe that Hamas should not accept international demands regarding recognition of Israel as a precondition for continued donor support for the Palestinian Authority and 30% believe it should. Belief that Hamas should accept international demands reached 37% and belief that it should not reached 59% last March.

Support for armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel continues to rise. Today 56% support it and 42% oppose it. Support

for such attacks stood at 52% last March and 40% last December while opposition stood at 45% and 58% respectively. Similarly, findings show that support for the bombing attack that took place last April stood at 69% and opposition at 27%. Support in September 2005 for the last suicide attack before the one in April, the one that took place in August 2005, stood at 37% and opposition at 56%. It is worth mentioning that this poll was conducted during the period in which Israeli shelling of the Gaza Strip led to a high number of casualties among Palestinian civilians at a Gaza beach and in populated areas. But while findings show a significant increase in support for violence against Israelis based on emotional drivers, a significant drop has been registered in this poll in the percentage of those who believe that armed confrontations have helped Palestinians achieve national rights in ways that negotiations could not from 69% last March to 54% in this poll.

(3) Permanent Status Agreement

- Support for a permanent status agreement along the lines of the Clinton Parameters, the Taba Talks, and the Geneva Initiative continues to drop compared to the situation 6 months and 18 months ago: 44% support this agreement today and 53% oppose it
- A majority of 54% supports the compromise on permanent borders and 58% support the item on end of conflict
- Support for the compromise on refugees reaches 41% and Jerusalem 35%
- Support for the item on creating a state without an army reaches 25% and the item on Israeli use of Palestinian airspace and control of two early warning stations in Palestinian territories reaches 40%

Support for a package of a permanent status deal similar in various degrees to the Clinton Parameters, the Taba negotiations, and the Geneva Initiative reaches 44% and opposition 53%. Support for this solution stood at 54% in December 2004 but went down to 46% one year later in December 2005. 43% of the Palestinians believe that a majority of Palestinians supports this solution and 44% believe a majority opposes it. Moreover, 39% of the Palestinians believe that a majority of Israelis supports this solution and 46% believe that a majority of Israelis opposes it.

Support for the item on final borders, which would be based on the 1967 lines except for about 3% of the West Bank which would be exchanged with an Israeli territory of equal size, reaches 54%. Support for this item stood at 63% in December 2004 and 55% in December 2005.

Support for the item on refugees, which would be based on UNGA resolution 194 while giving refugees five different options for permanent residency with return to Israel being subject to Israeli decision, reaches 41%. Support for this item stood at 46% in December 2004 and 40% in December 2005.

Support for the item on Jerusalem, which would make East Jerusalem capital of the Palestinian state but would put Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty, reaches 35%. Support for this item stood at 44% in December 2004 and 33% in December 2005.

Support for the item on the establishment of a Palestinian state that has no army but with an international force deployed in it reaches 25%. Support for this item stood at 27% in December 2004 and 20% in December 2005.

Support for the item on security arrangements, which would allow Israel to use Palestinian airspace and maintain two early warning stations in Palestinian territories, reaches 40%. Support for this item stood at 53% in December 2004 and 43% in December 2005.

Support for the item on ending the conflict once the permanent status agreement is implemented, which would allow neither side to make further claims and would require both sides to acknowledge that Palestine and Israel are the homelands of their peoples, reaches 58%. Support for this item stood at 69% in December 2004 and 64% in December 2005.

(4) Domestic Balance of Power and Other Domestic Issues

- If new parliamentary elections are held today, Fateh and Hamas would receive 39% each; 13% are undecided
- Satisfaction with the performance of president Abbas drops from 61% to 53% in three months
- Poverty and unemployment is the most important problem confronting Palestinians according to 33% followed by the practices of Israeli occupation according to 26%
- 86% believe that there is corruption in the PA and 82% say they lack personal safety and security

About five months after the parliamentary elections, the gap between Fateh and Hamas narrows to zero. If new elections are held today Fateh's list would receive the support of 39%, Change and Reform 39%, and all other lists 9%. 13% remain undecided. Three months ago, the gap between Fateh and Hamas stood at 8 percentage points in favor of Hamas with 47% voting for Change and Reform and 39% for Fateh.

Satisfaction with the performance of Mahmud Abbas drops from 61% last March to 53% in this poll. If new elections are held, 30% say they would vote for Abbas, 14% for current prime minister Ismail Haniyeh, 4% for Marwan Barghouti, and 2% each for Mahmud Zahhar, Mustafa Barghouti, and Khalid Misha'al. 38% say they do not know to whom they would give their vote. In a vote for a vice president, the percentage of undecided is 49% while 8% say it will vote for Ismail Haniyeh, 7% for Mahmud Zahhar, 6% for Dahlan, 5% for Marwan Barghouti, 3% for Saeb Eriqat, and 2% each for Farouq Qaddumi and Mustafa Barghouti. The two questions on vote intentions were open questions, with no list of names provided.

The largest percentage of Palestinians, 33%, puts poverty and unemployment on top of Palestinian problems today followed by continuation of the Israeli occupation (26%), spread of corruption and lack of reforms (22%), and finally internal anarchy (17%). Last March, the percentage of those who selected poverty and corruption reached 44% and internal anarchy 7%.

Percentage of those who believe that corruption exists in the PA stands at 86% while the percentage of those who believe that corruption will increase or remain the same in the future stands at 51%. Last March, percentage of those who believe that corruption will stay the same or increase in the future stood at only 29%.

Percentage of those who say their personal security and safety are assured stands at 18% while those who say they lack them stand at 82%. Last March, percentage of those who said their safety and security are assured stood at 25%. In this context, 48% support and an identical percentage oppose the deployment of the paramilitary unit established by the minister of interior in the Gaza Strip. A larger percentage (64%) opposes, and 32% support the deployment of a similar force established by Fateh in the cities of Jenin and Tulkarm. A majority of 62% blames both Fateh and Hamas for the internal shooting incidents in the Gaza Strip in which armed men and civilians were killed while 15% blame Fateh, 11% blame Hamas, and 9% blame neither. The overwhelming majority (86%) supports the integration of the members of the armed groups belonging to Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Fateh into the PA security services while 13% oppose that.

Positive evaluation of Palestinian democracy drops from 34% last March to 28% in this poll.

Support for the various factions among the total population, not just those intending to vote, shows equal support for Fateh (34%) and Hamas (33%). But support for all the Islamists reaches 37% and support for all other factions stands at 8%. 21% say they do not support any of the existing factions.

Results of Poll # (20)
15-18 June 2006

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
00) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?			
1) al Arabia	5.8	5.0	7.1
2) al Jazeera	73.0	74.2	71.0
3) al Hurra	0.4	0.3	0.7
4) al Manar	3.6	4.0	2.8
5) Palestine TV	4.9	3.6	7.2
6) Do not watch TV	3.6	2.9	4.8
7) Others	2.5	3.0	1.6
8) Do not have a dish	5.9	6.7	4.4
9) DK/NA	0.4	0.3	0.5
1) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) Very satisfied	8.2	7.5	9.4
2) Satisfied	45.2	43.5	48.0
3) Not satisfied	28.8	30.5	25.7
4) Not satisfied at all	14.0	13.4	15.1
5) DK/NA	3.8	5.0	1.8
2) If new presidential elections are to take place today, whom do you prefer to see as PA president?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	29.5	26.9	34.0
2) Ismael Haneyyeh	13.6	10.5	19.1
3) Marwan Barghouti	3.8	4.2	3.1
4) Mustafa Barghouti	2.3	2.6	1.8
5) Mahmoud Zahhar	2.2	3.0	1.0
6) Others / No one	10.2	9.5	11.2
7) No Opinion / Don't know	38.4	43.3	29.8
3) And if you were to select a vice president, whom would you choose?			
1) Ismael Haneyyeh	8.3	7.3	9.9
2) Mahmoud Zahhar	7.0	5.7	9.4
3) Mohammad Dahlan	6.1	2.2	12.7
4) Marwan Barghouti	4.6	4.8	4.3
5) Saeb Erikat	2.9	2.6	3.3
6) Farouq Qaddomi	1.6	1.5	1.8

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
7) Mustafa Barghouti	1.5	1.6	1.3
8) Others/ No one	18.8	17.9	20.5
9) No Opinion/ Don't know	49.2	56.4	36.8

4) Have you heard or not heard about the National Conciliation Document signed by prisoners from Hamas, like Shaykh Abdul Khaliq al Natsheh, Fateh, like Marwan Barghouti, and others?

1) Heard	79.0	74.5	86.8
2) Have not heard	20.7	24.9	13.2
3) DK/NA	0.3	0.5	0.0

5) I will now read to you the main points in the National Conciliation Document. I want you to tell me if you agree or disagree with each of the points and then to tell me if you agree or disagree with the whole document as one package:

1. The goal of the Palestinian people is to establish a independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital in all areas occupied in 1967, to guarantee the right of return, and to release all prisoners, all in accordance with international legitimacy
2. PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people wherever they are located
3. A new PLO National Council should be established before the end of 2006 whereby all factions, including Hamas and Islamic Jihad, would be represented in accordance with proportional representation
4. Palestinian people have the right to resist occupation by all means but resistance should be concentrated in the lands occupied since 1967 and negotiations and popular resistance should continue
5. A National consensus program should be formulated on the basis on international and Arab legitimacy
6. A national unity government should be established with the participation of all factions especially Fateh and Hamas on the basis on the National Conciliation Document and on the basis of a joint program
7. Negotiations with Israel is the responsibility of the PLO and the president of the PA and agreements reached should be submitted to a vote in the PLO National Council or to a referendum
8. The full document as one package

5-1) The goal of the Palestinian people is to establish a independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital in all areas occupied in 1967, to guarantee the right of return, and to release all prisoners, all in accordance with international legitimacy

1) Certainly agree	31.1	29.2	34.5
2) Agree	53.5	55.2	50.5
3) Disagree	9.6	10.5	8.1
4) Certainly disagree	4.0	2.8	6.0
5) DK/NA	1.7	2.2	0.9

5-2) PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people wherever they are located

1) Definitely agree	21.6	19.5	25.3
2) Agree	47.1	50.2	41.9

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
3) Disagree	20.3	21.0	19.0
4) Definitely disagree	7.9	5.5	12.3
5) DK/NA	3.0	3.8	1.6
5-3) A new PLO National Council should be established before the end of 2006 whereby all factions, including Hamas and Islamic Jihad, would be represented in accordance with proportional representation			
1) Definitely agree	22.7	20.6	26.5
2) Agree	62.0	63.9	58.6
3) Disagree	9.7	10.2	8.7
4) Definitely disagree	3.2	2.3	4.8
5) DK/NA	2.4	2.9	1.3
5-4) Palestinian people have the right to resist occupation by all means but resistance should be concentrated in the lands occupied since 1967 and negotiations and popular resistance should continue			
1) Definitely agree	19.1	18.0	20.9
2) Agree	54.0	56.7	49.3
3) Disagree	17.9	17.3	18.9
4) Definitely disagree	6.2	4.4	9.5
5) DK/NA	2.8	3.5	1.5
5-5) A National consensus program should be formulated on the basis on international and Arab legitimacy			
1) Definitely agree	15.4	14.1	17.6
2) Agree	54.4	57.1	49.7
3) Disagree	20.2	20.2	20.2
4) Definitely disagree	6.0	3.4	10.4
5) DK/NA	4.1	5.2	2.2
5-6) A national unity government should be established with the participation of all factions especially Fateh and Hamas on the basis on the National Conciliation Document and on the basis of a joint program			
1) Definitely agree	23.0	23.0	23.1
2) Agree	61.6	63.3	58.6
3) Disagree	8.8	7.8	10.5
4) Definitely disagree	3.8	2.3	6.4
5) DK/NA	2.8	3.6	1.3
5-7) Negotiations with Israel is the responsibility of the PLO and the president of the PA and agreements reached should be submitted to a vote in the PLO National Council or to a referendum			
1) Definitely agree	13.8	11.7	17.4
2) Agree	48.1	51.0	43.1
3) Disagree	25.6	25.3	26.0

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
4) Definitely disagree	8.3	6.5	11.6
5) DK/NA	4.3	5.6	2.0
5-8) The full document as one package			
1) Definitely agree	13.2	11.1	16.8
2) Agree	60.6	65.9	51.4
3) Disagree	16.9	15.8	19.0
4) Definitely disagree	6.4	4.3	10.2
5) DK/NA	2.9	3.1	2.7
6) Hamas did not agree to the National Conciliation Document while Fateh agreed to it and president Abu Mazin wants to conduct a referendum over the document. Do you support or oppose holding such a referendum?			
1) Certainly support	13.1	12.1	15.0
2) Support	39.1	41.0	35.6
3) Oppose	30.3	30.7	29.6
4) Certainly oppose	13.1	11.1	16.4
5) DK/NA	4.4	5.0	3.4
7) Hamas views support for the document in a referendum as recognition of Israel and submission to international pressure while Fateh and president Abu Mazin view the document as a prelude to national unity and the ending of international financial sanctions against the PA. If a referendum is held, and Hamas asks you to reject it while Fateh and Abbas ask you to approve it, would you vote in favor or against the document?			
1) Certainly in favor	11.3	9.9	13.7
2) In favor	35.6	37.0	33.3
3) Against	33.0	34.1	31.0
4) Certainly against	11.3	8.9	15.5
5) DK/NA	8.8	10.1	6.6
7-1) Hamas says the president has no right to issue a decree calling for a referendum on the prisoners' document while Fateh says he has such right. What do you say?			
1) Certainly has the right	18.4	16.5	21.8
2) Has the right	37.5	40.0	33.2
3) Has no right	26.0	26.3	25.4
4) Certainly has no right	11.9	9.9	15.6
5) DK/NA	6.2	7.4	4.1
7-2) And what if Hamas asked you to boycott the referendum while the president and Fateh asked you to participate in it, will you in this case participate in it or boycott it?			
1) Certainly will boycott	14.9	11.9	20.0
2) Will boycott	28.7	30.8	25.1
3) Will participate	38.6	40.4	35.5
4) Certainly will participate	10.9	8.9	14.3
5) DK/NA	6.9	8.0	5.1

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
8) If the referendum is held and a majority voted with the president in favor of the document, do you believe Hamas government is likely in this case to accept or reject the document?			
1) Certainly will accept it	3.0	2.9	3.1
2) Will accept it	20.3	21.1	18.9
3) Will reject it	52.7	53.4	51.6
4) Certainly will reject it	14.3	11.6	19.1
5) DK/NA	9.6	11.0	7.3
9) If a majority voted in favor of the document but Hamas government nonetheless rejected it, which of the following steps would you in this case support (select one only)			
1) Keep the status quo as it is	16.6	13.9	21.2
2) Increase the powers of the president and reduce the powers of the cabinet	17.3	17.8	16.5
3) Dismiss the cabinet and formulate an emergency government	14.3	13.4	15.9
4) Dismiss the cabinet and hold new legislative and presidential elections	33.1	35.1	29.5
5) None of the above	18.7	19.8	16.9
10) Suppose that the vote of the majority in the referendum was against the document, what do you expect to happen in this case? Do you think the president and Fateh would accept Hamas' program and join a national unity government based on it?			
1) Certainly will accept it	4.1	4.0	4.4
2) Will accept it	26.9	27.1	26.7
3) Will not accept it	45.9	44.4	48.5
4) Certainly will not accept it	14.4	14.0	15.1
5) DK/NA	8.6	10.6	5.3
11) If a majority rejects the document in the referendum but the president and Fateh refused to accept Hamas' political program and a national unity government based on it, which of the following steps would you in this case support? (select one only)			
1) Keep the status quo as it is	15.9	15.5	16.7
2) Reduce the powers of the president and increase the powers of the cabine	22.3	22.0	22.8
3) Abbas should resign and new presidential elections should take place	38.8	38.8	38.9
4) None of the above	23.0	23.8	21.7
12) If the referendum is held and a majority rejects the Prisoners' National Conciliation Document, do you expect such a development to lead to an improvement or deterioration in the overall Palestinian conditions?			
1) Certainly deterioration	20.8	19.5	23.0
2) Deterioration	40.8	41.3	40.0
3) Improvement	21.2	20.6	22.4
4) Certainly improvement	1.2	1.4	0.9

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
5) Will remain as it is today	10.2	10.3	10.1
6) DK/NA	5.7	6.9	3.6
13) Hamas' interior minister has recently established a new security force under the name of "Support Force." Do you support or oppose the deployment of this force in Palestinian streets?			
1) Certainly support	14.6	11.8	19.5
2) Support	33.2	35.5	29.2
3) Oppose	31.8	33.0	29.8
4) Certainly oppose	16.2	14.1	20.0
5) DK/NA	4.1	5.5	1.6
14) In response, Fateh has also formulated its own "support and protection force" and deployed it in areas like Jenin and Tulkarm. Do you support or oppose the deployment of this force in Palestinian streets			
1) Certainly support	4.0	3.7	4.6
2) Support	27.6	28.5	25.8
3) Oppose	42.3	43.8	39.7
4) Certainly oppose	21.4	18.9	25.6
5) DK/NA	4.8	5.1	4.3
15) Several shooting incidents have taken place in the Gaza Strip in which Hamas and Fateh members and others have been killed. In your opinion, who is responsible for these incidents?			
1) Hamas	10.5	8.8	13.3
2) Fateh	14.7	14.8	14.6
3) Both	61.6	63.4	58.3
4) Neither	9.4	9.1	9.9
5) DK/NA	3.9	3.9	3.9
17) If new elections are held today and the same lists that took part in the last PLC elections were nominated, for whom would you vote?			
1) Alternative	1.5	1.9	0.7
2) Independent Palestine	2.0	2.4	1.2
3) Abu Ali Mustafa	2.8	2.1	3.8
4) Abu al Abbas	0.5	0.6	0.3
5) Freedom and social justice	0.1	0.2	
6) Change and reform	39.3	36.8	43.4
7) National coalition for justice and democracy	0.0	0.0	0.0
8) Third way	1.4	1.5	1.2
9) Freedom and independence	0.4	0.6	
10) Palestinian justice	0.1		0.2
11) Fateh	39.3	39.4	39.3
12) None of the above/ DK/NA/ Do not remember	12.7	14.5	9.8

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
18) For the assistance to continue, the donor community demand that Hamas must recognize the state of Israel. Do you think Hamas should accept this demand and recognize Israel?			
1) Certainly yes	7.4	7.6	7.0
2) Yes	22.6	24.8	18.8
3) No	37.4	39.5	33.8
4) Certainly no	28.9	23.1	38.9
5) DK/NA	3.8	5.0	1.6
19) If Israel agrees to conduct peace negotiations with a Hamas-led PA, do you think the Hamas-led PA should or should not negotiate with Israel?			
1) Certainly it should negotiate	22.8	21.7	24.7
2) It should negotiate	47.3	47.6	46.8
3) It should not negotiate	18.0	18.4	17.1
4) Certainly it should not negotiate	8.1	7.4	9.4
5) DK/NA	3.9	4.9	2.0
20) 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	12.0	13.2	9.8
2) Agree	49.4	50.4	47.5
3) Disagree	25.2	24.8	26.0
4) Definitely disagree	11.1	9.0	14.9
5) DK/NA	2.3	2.6	1.8
21) 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	54.1	57.5	48.3
2) Majority opposes	34.4	32.1	38.3
3) DK/NA	11.5	10.4	13.4
22) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Religious	46.8	44.2	51.3
2) Somewhat religious	49.3	51.8	45.1
3) Not religious	3.4	3.6	2.9
4) DK/NA	0.5	0.4	0.7
23) Generally, do you see yourself as:			
1) Supportive of the peace process	68.0	67.4	68.9
2) Opposed to the peace process	14.4	14.3	14.6
3) Between support and opposition	16.6	17.0	16.1
4) DK/NA	1.0	1.3	0.5

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
24) The following is a list of problems confronting the Palestinians today, tell us which one is the most important problem?			
1) Spread of unemployment and poverty	33.1	34.8	30.1
2) Continuation of occupation and its daily practices	25.6	27.7	21.9
3) Internal anarchy	17.1	13.2	24.0
4) Spread of corruption and lack of internal reforms	22.2	22.4	22.0
5) Others (specify: -----)	1.4	1.4	1.4
6) DK/NA	0.6	0.5	0.7
25) Palestinians are currently debating the issue of the collection of arms from armed Palestinian groups and factions, stipulated in the Road Map as a PA commitment. Do you support or oppose such a collection of arms?			
1) Strongly support	19.2	17.1	22.8
2) Support	39.1	40.3	36.9
3) Oppose	29.1	31.0	25.8
4) Strongly oppose	9.6	7.6	13.1
5) DK/NA	3.0	4.0	1.3
26) Do you support or oppose the current mutual cease fire with Israel?			
1) Definitely support	16.6	17.6	15.0
2) Support	54.1	54.6	53.2
3) Oppose	21.7	21.1	22.9
4) Definitely oppose	5.4	4.4	7.3
5) DK/NA	2.1	2.4	1.6
27) In his speech in front of the PLC, president Mahmud Abbas (Abu Mazin) said that after the end of the occupation of the Gaza Strip, there will be only one armed force, that of the PA. After the completion of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, do you support or oppose collection of arms from armed factions <i>in the Gaza Strip</i> so that the only armed force in Gaza would be that of the Palestinian security services?			
1) Certainly support	19.4	17.9	22.0
2) Support	50.5	51.1	49.3
3) Oppose	20.5	21.9	17.9
4) Certainly oppose	6.6	5.1	9.1
5) DK/NA	3.1	4.0	1.6
28) 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	14.4	15.5	12.6
2) Would support	56.2	55.9	56.8
3) Would oppose	20.0	20.0	19.9

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
4) Would strongly oppose	7.2	5.8	9.6
5) DK/NA	2.2	2.7	1.1
29) After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian people and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, how soon do you think will reconciliation between the two peoples be achieved?			
1) Reconciliation is not possible ever	49.2	44.7	56.9
2) Only in many generations to come	13.5	14.4	11.9
3) Only in the next generation	8.2	9.0	6.7
4) Only in the next decade	5.5	5.7	5.2
5) On the next few years	12.7	12.8	12.6
6) No Opinion /Don't know	10.9	13.3	6.7
30) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I...			
1) Strongly support	24.7	16.5	38.8
2) Support	31.4	32.0	30.3
3) Oppose	36.2	42.1	25.9
4) Strongly oppose	5.8	6.5	4.5
5) DK/NA	2.0	2.9	0.4
31) Do you believe that armed confrontations so far has helped achieved Palestinian national and political rights in ways that negotiations could not achieve?			
1) Definitely yes	21.0	11.7	37.1
2) Yes	33.0	32.9	33.3
3) No	36.0	43.1	23.6
4) Definitely no	6.2	7.5	4.0
5) DK/NA	3.7	4.7	2.0
32) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions?			
1) Yes	86.2	85.5	87.5
2) No	7.5	6.6	9.2
3) DK/NA	6.3	7.9	3.4
33) If yes, Will this corruption in PA institutions increase, decrease or remain as it is in the future?			
1) Will increase	39.3	42.6	33.6
2) Will remain as it is	11.2	10.8	11.9
3) Will decrease	42.2	38.3	48.9
4) DK/NA	7.3	8.3	5.6

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
34) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	1.2	1.0	1.4
2) Assured	16.8	17.8	15.0
3) Not assured	52.0	54.4	47.8
4) Not assured at all	29.6	26.3	35.3
5) DK/NA	0.5	0.5	0.5
35) How would you evaluate the current status of democracy and human rights in the Palestinian Authority? Would you say it is:			
1) Very good	4.3	3.8	5.2
2) Good	23.7	23.7	23.8
3) Fair	23.8	24.9	21.8
4) Bad	26.8	28.0	24.8
5) Very bad	18.6	16.0	23.1
6) DK/NA	2.7	3.5	1.4
36) The US, Russia, the European Community and the UN, the so called "Quartet", have put forward a "Roadmap" for the implementation of a final settlement within 3 years. The plan includes political reforms in the Palestinian Authority, including a constitution and election of a strong Prime Minister, stopping the incitement and violence on both sides under the Quartet's supervision, a freeze on settlements and the establishment of a Palestinian State within provisional borders. The next phase will see negotiations on the final borders under the auspices of an international conference. Do you support or oppose this initiative?			
1) Strongly support	6.3	6.9	5.2
2) Support	45.9	45.2	47.2
3) Oppose	30.9	32.7	28.0
4) Strongly oppose	12.0	10.1	15.3
5) Don't know/No answer	4.9	5.2	4.4

Total% West Bank % Gaza Strip%

37) **When Palestinians and Israelis return to final status negotiations the following items might be presented to negotiators as the elements of a permanent compromise settlement. Tell us what you think of each item then tell us what you think of all combined as one permanent status settlement**

1. An Israeli **withdrawal** from all of the Gaza Strip and the evacuation of its settlements. 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}.
2. An independent Palestinian state would be established in the areas from which Israel withdraws in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; the Palestinian state **will have no army**, but it will have a strong security force but an international multinational force would be deployed to insure the safety and security of the state. Both sides will be committed to end all forms of violence directed against each other.
3. **East Jerusalem** would become the capital of the Palestinian state with Arab neighborhoods coming under Palestinian sovereignty and Jewish neighborhoods coming under Israel sovereignty. The Old City (including al Haram al Sharif) would come under Palestinian sovereignty with the exception of the Jewish Quarter and the Wailing Wall that will come under Israeli sovereignty.
4. With regard to the **refugee** question, both sides agree that the solution will be based on UN resolutions 194 and 242 and on the Arab peace initiative. 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.
5. When the permanent status agreement is fully implemented, it will mean the **end of the conflict** and no further claims will be made by either side. The parties will recognize Palestine and Israel as the homelands of their respective peoples 6. The Palestinian state will have **sovereignty** over its land, water, and airspace. But Israeli will be allowed to use the Palestinian airspace for training purposes, and will maintain two early warning stations in the West Bank for 15 years. The multinational force will remain in the Palestinian state for an indefinite period of time and its responsibility will be to insure the implementation of the agreement, and to monitor territorial borders and coast of the Palestinian state including its international border crossings.

Now that you have been informed of each element of the permanent compromise settlement, tell us what you think of each of its item. Do you agree or disagree with it.

37-1) Item #1: withdrawal to 1967 borders with territorial swap

1) Strongly agree	9.3	9.9	8.3
2) Agree	44.5	44.0	45.5
3) Disagree	31.5	32.9	28.9
4) Strongly Disagree	12.2	10.6	15.0
5) No Opinion /Don't Know	2.5	2.6	2.3

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
37-2) Item #2: a state without an army but with international forces			
1) Strongly agree	3.8	4.1	3.4
2) Agree	20.9	21.9	19.0
3) Disagree	51.5	52.3	50.1
4) Strongly Disagree	22.3	20.4	25.7
5) No Opinion /Don't Know	1.5	1.3	1.8
37-3) Item #3: East Jerusalem as capital of the state of Palestine after it is divided			
1) Strongly agree	4.5	4.9	4.0
2) Agree	30.7	35.1	22.9
3) Disagree	43.1	43.1	43.1
4) Strongly Disagree	19.9	15.1	28.2
5) No Opinion /Don't Know	1.8	1.9	1.8
37-4) Item #4: refugees with five options for permanent residence			
1) Strongly agree	4.3	3.6	5.5
2) Agree	37.0	36.9	37.1
3) Disagree	38.0	40.1	34.4
4) Strongly Disagree	16.9	15.4	19.4
5) No Opinion /Don't Know	3.9	4.0	3.6
37-5) Item #5: end of conflict			
1) Strongly agree	7.4	7.2	7.7
2) Agree	50.1	54.3	42.8
3) Disagree	26.5	25.7	27.8
4) Strongly Disagree	13.2	10.2	18.5
5) No Opinion /Don't Know	2.8	2.6	3.1
37-6) Item #6: a sovereign state with security arrangements			
1) Strongly agree	4.6	4.5	4.7
2) Agree	34.9	36.9	31.4
3) Disagree	39.7	41.2	37.2
4) Strongly Disagree	18.0	14.5	23.9
5) No Opinion /Don't Know	2.8	2.9	2.7
37-7) Item #7: the combined elements as one permanent status settlement			
1) Strongly agree	3.9	3.7	4.3
2) Agree	39.6	41.5	36.3
3) Disagree	38.3	39.2	36.7
4) Strongly Disagree	14.3	11.1	19.8
5) No Opinion /Don't Know	3.9	4.5	2.9

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
38) And what is the Palestinian majority opinion on this combined package for a permanent status settlement? Do most Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza support or oppose this combined final status package?			
1) Majority supports	42.7	42.6	42.8
2) Majority opposes	44.2	43.2	45.8
3) DK/NA	13.2	14.1	11.4
39) And what is the Israeli majority opinion on this combined package for a permanent status settlement? Do most Israelis support or oppose this combined final status package?			
1) Majority supports	39.1	36.9	43.0
2) Majority opposes	45.5	46.6	43.5
3) DK/NA	15.4	16.5	13.5
40) How soon do you think will a political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians be achieved?			
1) A political settlement is not possible ever	51.4	45.7	61.4
2) Only in many generations to come	16.2	17.9	13.2
3) Only in the next generation	5.9	7.1	3.8
4) Only in the next decade	3.7	4.5	2.2
5) Only in the next few years	13.1	13.2	12.8
6) No Opinion /Don't know	9.8	11.6	6.5
41) A bombing attack took place in Tel Aviv last April leading to the death of 11 Israelis. Do you support or oppose this bombing attack?			
1) Certainly support	29.4	20.7	44.5
2) Support	40.0	40.6	38.9
3) Oppose	23.7	30.1	12.8
4) Certainly oppose	2.9	3.3	2.2
5) DK/NA	4.0	5.4	1.6
42) There is a proposal to absorb the members of armed groups belonging to Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Fateh into the security services whereby all armed forces become part of the Palestinian Authority. Do you support or oppose this proposal?			
1) Strongly support	29.1	26.2	34.1
2) Support	56.5	58.8	52.5
3) Oppose	10.1	10.9	8.8
4) Strongly oppose	2.8	2.1	4.1
5) DK/NA	1.4	2.0	0.5

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
43) After reaching a peace agreement and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, the following are steps that may be taken in order to enhance normalization between the state of Israel and a Palestinian state. For each of the suggested steps please tell me whether you support or oppose it:			
43-1) Item #1: Open borders to free movement of people and goods			
1) Strongly Support	24.9	25.2	24.4
2) Support	59.9	61.4	57.4
3) Oppose	10.7	10.0	11.9
4) Strongly Oppose	3.3	2.1	5.3
5) DK/NA	1.2	1.4	0.9
43-2) Item #2: Create joint economic institutions and ventures			
1) Strongly Support	18.5	18.4	18.6
2) Support	55.7	56.2	55.0
3) Oppose	19.6	20.6	18.0
4) Strongly Oppose	4.7	3.5	6.8
5) DK/NA	1.4	1.4	1.6
43-3) Item #3: Create joint political institutions designed eventually to lead to a confederate system			
1) Strongly Support	8.3	7.8	9.1
2) Support	29.1	30.6	26.6
3) Oppose	46.5	47.3	45.1
4) Strongly Oppose	12.4	9.8	17.0
5) DK/NA	3.7	4.5	2.3
43-4) Item #4: Take legal measures against incitement against the Israelis			
1) Strongly Support	4.5	4.8	3.9
2) Support	28.2	29.9	25.4
3) Oppose	48.9	49.1	48.7
4) Strongly Oppose	15.1	12.3	19.8
5) DK/NA	3.3	3.9	2.3
43-5) Item #5: Adopt a school curriculum that recognizes Israel and teaches school children not to demand return of all Palestine to the Palestinians			
1) Strongly Support	1.6	1.4	1.9
2) Support	8.1	9.7	5.4
3) Oppose	52.3	55.7	46.2
4) Strongly Oppose	35.2	29.7	44.9
5) DK/NA	2.7	3.4	1.6

	Total %	West Bank %	Gaza Strip %
44) And on a personal level, would you, under conditions of peace, invite a Israeli colleague or acquaintance to visit you in your home?			
1) Definitely yes	4.8	5.2	4.0
2) Yes	27.4	30.0	22.9
3) No	39.6	42.1	35.3
4) Definitely no	26.8	21.3	36.2
5) DK/NA	1.4	1.3	1.6
45) And would you, under conditions of peace, visit an Israeli colleague or acquaintance in his home?			
1) Definitely yes	5.2	5.2	5.1
2) Yes	27.2	29.0	24.3
3) No	40.0	43.7	33.6
4) Definitely no	26.3	20.9	35.6
5) DK/NA	1.3	1.2	1.4
46) What do you expect to happen now to the two sides after Olmert's Conversion plan for disengagement in the West Bank has been made public and after the Prisoners' Document has been release, national dialogue started and the president has issued a decree for the conduct of a referendum?			
1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	13.3	14.2	11.6
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	38.4	35.1	44.1
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	39.1	40.0	37.5
4) DK/NA	9.2	10.6	6.8
47) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) PPP	0.9	1.3	0.2
2) PFLP	3.3	2.9	4.1
3) Fateh	33.7	33.0	34.8
4) Hamas	32.9	30.9	36.3
5) DFLP	0.7	1.0	0.2
6) Islamic Jihad	1.6	2.0	0.9
7) Fida	0.1	0.1	0.0
8) National Initiative (Mubadara)	0.9	1.1	0.4
9) Independent Islamists	2.1	1.8	2.7
10) Independent Nationalists	2.6	3.2	1.6
11) None of the above	21.0	22.3	18.7
12) Other, specify	0.2	0.4	0.0