



## **Public Opinion Poll # 28**

**Living Conditions  
Evaluation of Institutions & Leaders  
The Proposed Government  
Palestinian Elections & Political Support  
Palestinian – Israeli Negotiations  
Hezbollah & Hamas**

**20 September 2006**

### **Press Release**

**Dates of fieldwork: 14-16/9/2006**

**Sample size: 1200 Palestinians (West Bank and Gaza Strip)**

**Margin of error:  $\pm 3\%$**

- \* **For further information or queries, contact team coordinator Dr. Nader Said (059-9204527) or Polling coordinator Ayman Abdul Majeed at the listed address or through our e-mail ([dsp@birzeit.edu](mailto:dsp@birzeit.edu)).**
- \* **For the sample distribution, please refer to Annex (2), and for the full methodology refer to our website (<http://home.birzeit.edu/dsp>).**
- \* **Supported by the International Republican Institute (IRI).**

---

*Ramallah office:* Tel.: (972) 2-2959250  
Fax: (972) 2-2958117  
PO Box: 1878 Ramallah, Palestine.

*Gaza Office:* Tel.&Fax:  
(972) 8-2838884

Website: <http://home.birzeit.edu/dsp>

## **DSP Poll 28**

### **September 20 – 2006**

#### **Highlights**

- **71% say that their living conditions have deteriorated since the January 2006 PLC elections.**
- **44% of young Palestinians are willing to immigrate if given the opportunity.**
- **62.3% feel that Palestinian society is not heading in the right direction.**
- **16.1% will be able to secure basic needs without a problem for another three months.**
- **More than 55% view the role of political groups, PLC and Government as (negative).**
- **UNRWA and NGOs receive the most favorable evaluation.**
- **44% criticize Hamas, while 40% criticize Fateh for the current crises.**
- **95% criticize Israel and the United States, while 68% criticize the UN.**
- **20 points decline in the popularity of the President, and 25 points decline in the evaluation of Prime Minister.**
- **60.4% evaluate the implementation of the Hamas program by the new government as weak.**
- **57% are unable to reiterate the Hamas election agenda.**
- **56.6% support the strike organized by public service employees and teachers.**
- **53.7% evaluate the performance of the government in dealing with the strike as negative.**
- **55.3% believe that ministers should be selected from outside the PLC.**
- **62.8% oppose keeping the PLC and the Cabinet as they are.**
- **60.0% support the dissolution of the PLC and the conduct of a new PLC election.**
- **65.8% support dissolving the current government and forming a unity government led by Hamas.**
- **61.9% support the President appointing an independent prime minister.**
- **54.7% support the President appointing a ministerial cabinet that is fully independent.**
- **No change in Fateh's popularity at (42%); decline in Hamas's popularity to (37%).**
- **52.0% support the idea that Hamas must recognize the agreements signed between the PLO and Israel.**
- **62.3% oppose the idea that Hamas must recognize Israel at this point of time.**
- **68.8% believe the performance of Hezbollah is better than that of Hamas.**

## **Analysis of Results**

### **1. Living Conditions**

#### ***Unprecedented deterioration in living conditions; willingness to immigrate soars***

- 71% say that their living conditions have deteriorated since the January 2006 PLC elections; the percentage in Gaza is as high as 78%.
- 26.4% say their income did not change, and only 2.1% say their family's income improved.
- 51.9% describe their economic conditions as bad or very bad, compared with approximately 40% during the last few years.
- 61.4% of Gaza respondents describe their economic conditions as bad or very bad, compared with 46.8% in the West Bank.
- 50.2% don't feel secure for themselves, their family and property, and 26.2% feel secure to some extent.
- The most shocking result is related to willingness to immigrate. Overall, 32.4% of respondents say they are willing to immigrate compared with approximately 19% during the last few years (a 13-point increase). The results also show that 44% of young Palestinians are willing to immigrate if given the opportunity.
- Overall, 62.3% feel that Palestinian society is not heading in the right direction; 30.6% believe it is headed in the right direction.
- Nevertheless, 44.4% are optimistic, 22.7% are somewhat optimistic, and 32.2% are pessimistic.

### **2. Survival Strategies**

#### ***Savings are drying up, and the upcoming three months will be critical***

In dealing with the ongoing economic hardship, respondents utilized the following mechanisms

- 39% of the families asked for assistance (financial or in kind); out of those about 50% received such assistance.
- 85.8% reduced expenditures, 67.6% spent savings, 59.4% resorted to borrowing, and 51.7% sold the wife's dowry.
- Overall, 35% say their families will not be able to secure basic needs if the current situation continues during the coming three months; 46.8% will be able to secure basic needs with difficulty, and only 16.1% will be able to secure basic needs without a problem.
- 43.9% of Gaza respondents say their families will not be able to secure basic needs if the current situation continues during the coming three months.

### **3. Seeking Assistance**

*No where to go soon!*

- One-fifth (20%) of respondents sought assistance from NGOs and charitable organizations, while 17.7% sought assistance from other family/clan members. 13.5% went to PNA institutions and 13.2% sought help from UNRWA.
- The differences between West Bank and Gaza are significant, as 17.6% of West Bank respondents resorted to PNA institutions, compared with 7.5% in Gaza.
- Just over one-fifth (20.9%) of West Bank respondents sought help from their family/clan, while 13.3% did the same in Gaza.
- UNRWA played a more important role in Gaza (15.9%) than in the West Bank (11.3%).
- NGOs also played a more important role in Gaza (22%) than in the West Bank (18.6%).
- Slightly less than one-third of Gaza respondents (29.6%) sought assistance from more than one source, compared with 17.1% of West Bank respondents.

### **4. Evaluation of Local Institutions**

*Political groups, PLC and government are viewed negatively; UNRWA positively.*

- Concerning the evaluation of the performance of the institutions that work within the West Bank and Gaza, political parties, the Government (Cabinet) and the PLC receive the most negative evaluations, while UNRWA and NGOs/charitable organizations receive the most favorable evaluation. The following are the percentages of respondents who describe the role of the following institutions as poor.

- 58.4%	Political Parties
- 55.4%	Government (Cabinet)
- 55.0%	PLC
- 48.9%	Local and Municipal Councils
- 48.4%	President's Office
- 44.2%	Private Sector Institutions
- 40.7%	International Organizations Working in Palestine
- 36.9%	NGOs
- 25.1%	UNRWA

### **5. Evaluation of Political Actors**

*Hamas is more criticized than Fateh; the US & Israel are blamed the most*

- 43.5% view negatively the role of Hamas in dealing with the current situation in Palestine, while 40.2% view negatively the role of Fateh.

- In terms of outside actors, respondents give all actors more negative than positive evaluation. Iran and Syria score the highest positive evaluation, compared with Israel and the U.S. who receive the lowest positive evaluation. The following are the percentages of respondents who describe the role of the following actors as negative.

- 94.8% Israel
- 94.4% USA
- 68.3% U.N.
- 63.2% E.U.
- 65.3% Jordan
- 55.7% Egypt
- 54.9% Russia
- 46.6% Saudi Arabia
- 43.5% Hamas
- 40.2% Fateh
- 40.2% Syria
- 32.0% Iran

## 6. Evaluation of Leaders

### *Decline in the popularity of President Abbas and Prime Minister Hanneya*

- The popularity of President Mahmoud Abbas declined during the last six months, where 33.8% view his performance as good, 34.2% as average, and 32.0% as weak. This is compared with approximately 54% viewing his performance as good in April 2006 – a 20-point decline.
- There is also a significant decline in the popularity of Prime Minister Ismael Hanneya, where 38.5% view his performance as good, 31.8% as average, and 29.8% as weak. This is compared with approximately 64% viewing his performance as good in April 2006 – a 25-point decline.
- The data show a decline in the gap between Hanneya and Abbas (from 10 points in favor of Hanneya in April 2006 to five points in September 2006).

<b>Evaluation of the Performance of Abbas &amp; Hanneya (2006)</b>									
	<b>April</b>			<b>June</b>			<b>September</b>		
	<b>Good</b>	<b>Average</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Average</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Average</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Abbas</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>68%</b>
<b>Hanneya</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>84%</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>71%</b>

## 7. The Performance of Hamas

*Majority view Hamas's implementation of its program negatively; 57% are unable to reiterate the Hamas election agenda*

- The survey shows a significant decline in the expectations from the Hamas win in the PLC elections, where 26.0% expect the election of Hamas to the PLC will improve opportunities for independence, compared with approximately 48% in April 2006 – a 22-point decline.
- Just over one-quarter (26.4%) expect the Hamas win will lead to improving internal living conditions, compared with approximately 56% in April 2006 – a 30-point decline.
- Slightly less than one-third (31.6%) expect the Hamas win will reinforce democracy, compared with approximately 50% in April 2006 – an 18-point decline.
- When asked to explain the Hamas PLC election program, 56.7% said they did not know what the Hamas program was, while 21.0% said they knew the program to some extent, and 22.3% said they knew enough to be able to explain it.
- 60.4% evaluate the implementation of the Hamas program by the new government as weak, while 26.3% evaluate it as average, and only 13.3% evaluate the implementation as good.

## **8. The Strike**

***Majority: support for the strikers; negative evaluation of government's handling of the strike***

- 56.6% support the strike organized by public service employees and teachers, while 41.5% oppose it.
- 53.7% evaluate the performance of the government in dealing with the strike as negative, 27.0% evaluate its performance as average, and 19.3% see the government's performance as positive.

## **9. The Proposed Unity Government**

***Better chances for success on internal issues; ministers must come from outside the PLC***

- Two-thirds of the respondents believe that a national unity government has a better chance of succeeding than the current government; only 14% disagree.
- A majority of 55.3% believe that new ministers should be selected from outside the PLC, while 32.5% believe they should come from within the PLC.
- 66.6% believe a national unity government will not be able to put an end to the building of settlements and the Wall.
- 56.8% believe a national unity government will not be able to end the occupation and achieve independence, whereas 19.0% believe it will, and 24.2% believe it will to some extent. The percentage of those who believe such a government will not be able to bring about independence is as high as 64.8% among West Bank respondents, compared with 41.7% among Gaza respondents.

- The majority of respondents (59.3%) are optimistic the new unity government will bring international assistance, while 27.3% believe a unity government will be capable of doing that to some extent, and 13.5% do not believe it will be capable of securing funding.
- 51.5% believe the proposed unity government will be able to improve international diplomatic relations; 46.8% believe it will be able to improve government services; 40.9% believe it will be able to improve public and personal freedoms; 37.1% believe it will be able to improve economic conditions; 38.0% believe it will be able to improve the situation of women; and 37.2% believe it will be able to combat internal security chaos/end the current state of lawlessness.

## **10. Possible Scenarios for Moving Forward**

***Majority: No to status quo; yes to a unity government led by Hamas; yes to a new PLC election; yes to an independent prime minister***

- 62.8% oppose the continuation of the status quo (i.e., keeping the PLC and the Cabinet as they are). Only 33.7% support (fully or to some extent) such a proposition.
- At the same time, 60.0% support (fully or to some extent) the dissolution of the PLC and the conduct of a new PLC election while 36.0% oppose that strategy.
- 65.8% support (fully or to some extent) dissolving the current government and forming a unity government led by Hamas; 29.9% oppose that option.
- 61.9% support (fully or to some extent) the President appointing an independent prime minister with ministers from all political factions; 32.5% oppose that.
- 54.7% support (fully or to some extent) the President appointing a ministerial cabinet that is fully independent from political parties; 39.9% oppose such a strategy.
- 46.3% support (fully or to some extent) going back to the situation before the January 2006 PLC elections, while 50.9% oppose that.
- 41.2% support (fully or to some extent) keeping the current PLC and bringing back the previous government (that which existed before the January PLC elections); 55.1% oppose that.
- 39.9% support (fully or to some extent) the President appointing a government as he sees fit; 56.5% oppose that.

## **11. Palestinian Elections**

***Decline in the popularity of Hamas; for Fateh there is no change***

- A majority of respondents support the conduct of a new presidential election (57.3%) and a new PLC election (57.6%). Approximately 38.5% oppose such an idea.

- If elections took place today, Fateh would receive 34.9% of the vote (exceeding Hamas for the first time since the January elections); Hamas would receive 30.5%.
- The political landscape had drastically changed during the last six months. The table below shows the popularity of Hamas after the January elections soared to 50% (April 2006), but then started its decline to reach 37% (June 2006), and now to 31%.
- Hamas's losses are not translated to wins by Fateh; the votes lost by Hamas are not going to any of the political groups listed in the poll. Fateh's popularity remains at approximately 35%.
- **These percentages don't take into account those who say they will not participate in any upcoming elections (17%); if taken into account, Fateh will receive 42% of the vote (the same percentage it received in the January elections), and Hamas will receive 37% of the vote (7 points less than January).**

<b>Hamas's popularity declining with no change in Fateh's popularity (2006)</b>			
	<b>April</b>	<b>June</b>	<b>September</b>
<b>Hamas</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>31%</b>
<b>Fateh</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>35%</b>

- In Gaza, Fateh would receive 43.0% of the vote, compared with 30.6% in the West Bank.
- Hamas would receive the same percentage of support in both the West Bank and Gaza (30.7% and 30.1% respectively).
- All other political groups combined would receive 6.9% of the vote.
- These data mean that the results of any elections will be decided by those who are undecided or say they will not participate (27.7% of respondents). Therefore, the results of this poll do not provide any decisive numbers on the actual results of the elections as the gap between the political parties is not large enough.

## **12. Peace Process and Negotiations**

### ***Palestinians: Yes to negotiation;, no to an immediate recognition of Israel by Hamas***

- 67.0% support an immediate resumption of negotiations with Israel, while 29.7% are in opposition.
- In addition, 64.5% support the PNA (led by Hamas) entering into immediate negotiations with Israel to reach a final status agreement.
- 57.8% support a two-state solution as a final settlement to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; 39.0% oppose such a solution.
- 52.5% support the idea that Hamas must recognize international resolutions regarding Palestine; 41.0% are in opposition.
- 52.0% support the idea that Hamas must recognize the agreements signed between the PLO and Israel; 40.8% oppose such a solution.



- The majority (62.3%) opposes the idea that Hamas must recognize Israel at this point of time; one-third (33.3%) support Hamas's immediate recognition of Israel.

### **13. Hezbollah & Hamas**

#### ***Vast majority believes Hezbollah is doing better than Hamas***

- 68.8% of respondents believe the performance of Hezbollah is better than that of Hamas, while 24.4% believe their performance is comparable, and only 3.8% believe the performance of Hamas is better than that of Hezbollah.
- 18.6% of respondents participated in public activities in support of Lebanon and against the war. In Gaza, the percentage increased to 25.1%, while in the West Bank it was 15.1%. Approximately 28% of the most educated (diploma and above) say they participated in activities in support of Lebanon.



**Development Studies Programme**

## **Annex 1**

### **Results of Opinion Poll #28**

**Living Conditions  
Evaluation of Institutions & Leaders  
The Proposed Government  
Palestinian Elections & Political Support  
Palestinian – Israeli Negotiations  
Hezbollah & Hamas**

**Date of Field Work: 14-16/9/2006**

**Date of Publication: 20/9/2006**

**Sample size: 1200 Palestinians (West Bank and Gaza Strip)**

**Margin of error:  $\pm 3\%$**



## Section One : Living Conditions

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<i>How do you describe the current economic situation of your family?</i>			
1) Very good	2.8%	3.3%	1.7%
2) Good	13.4%	15.6%	9.3%
3) Fair	31.9%	34.2%	27.6%
4) Bad	31.5%	30.9%	32.6%
5) Very Bad	20.4%	15.9%	28.8%

*In comparison with before the latest PLC elections, would you say that your family's income has...*

1) Increased?	2.2%	2.2%	2.1%
2) Decreased?	71.4%	68.1 %	77.8%
3) Didn't change?	26.4%	29.7%	20.1%

*Do you feel secure for yourself, your family and property?*

Yes	23.6%	21.5%	27.7%
To an extent	26.2%	27.3%	24.0%
No	50.2%	51.2%	48.3%

*Are you optimistic or pessimistic?*

1) Optimistic	44.4%	37.1%	58.4%
2) In between	22.7%	25.7%	17.1%
3) Pessimistic	32.2%	36.8%	23.4%
4) I don't know	0.6%	0.4%	1.1%

*Do you believe that Palestinian society is heading in the right direction?*

1) Yes	30.6%	26.9%	37.6%
2) No	62.3%	64.6	57.9%
3) I don't know	7.1%	8.5%	4.5%

*If you have a chance to immigrate, will you do that?*

1) Yes	32.4%	33.2%	30.8%
2) No	66.6%	65.7%	68.4%
3) I don't know	1.0%	1.2%	0.8%

<b>Section Two: Survival Strategies</b>			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<i>In trying to cope with the current economic situation, did your family do any of the following?</i>			
<b>Decrease spending</b>			
1) Yes	85.8%	85.0%	87.2%
2) No	13.9%	14.5%	12.8%
3) Does not apply	0.3%	0.5%	0.0%
<b>Spend savings</b>			
1) Yes	67.6%	66.5%	69.7%
2) No	20.9%	24.2%	14.8%
3) Does not apply	11.5%	9.4%	15.5%
<b>Borrow</b>			
1) Yes	59.4%	54.6%	68.5%
2) No	40.2%	44.8%	31.3%
3) Does not apply	0.5%	0.6%	0.2%
<b>Sell wife's jewelry – dowry</b>			
1) Yes	51.7%	47.2%	60.2%
2) No	38.9%	44.9%	27.5%
3) Does not apply	9.4%	7.9%	12.2%
<b>Ask for assistance from others</b>			
1) Yes	42.0%	38.5%	48.5%
2) No	57.6%	61.2%	50.8%
3) Does not apply	0.4%	0.3%	0.7%
<b>Go into domestic agriculture and raising cattle</b>			
1) Yes	16.6%	20.1%	10.0%
2) No	60.8%	59.2%	64.0%
3) Does not apply	27.1%	20.7%	26.1%
<b>Sell land or property</b>			
1) Yes	13.5 %	15.2%	10.2%
2) No	54.8%	64.5%	36.4%
3) Does not apply	30.5%	20.3%	53.4%
<b>Others</b>			
1) Yes	5.9%	5.8%	6.0%
2) No	90.1%	88.4%	91.9%

3) Does not apply	4.0%	5.8%	2.1%
<b><i>Will your family be able to secure basic needs (food, clothing, and housing) for the coming three months?</i></b>			
1) No	35.0%	30.3%	43.9%
2) To some extent	46.8%	49.6%	41.5%
3) Yes, without a problem	16.1%	17.8%	12.8%
4) I don't know	2.1%	2.2%	1.8%

<b>Section Three: Seeking Assistance</b>			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<b><i>Did your family ask for assistance to cover the expenses of family needs in the recent period?</i></b>			
1) Yes	39.0%	34.8%	46.9%
2) No	60.1%	63.8%	53.1%
<b><i>If yes, where did you go to?</i></b>			
1) More than one source	22.3%	17.1%	29.6%
2) NGOs and charitable institutions	20.0%	18.6%	22.0%
3) Family	17.7%	20.9%	13.3%
4) PA institution	13.5%	17.6%	7.5%
5) UNRWA	13.2%	11.3%	15.9%
6) Friends	8.1%	7.5%	8.9%
7) Political groups	1.1%	1.2%	.8%
8) Others	4.1%	5.7%	1.8%
<b><i>If yes, did you actually receive any assistance?</i></b>			
1) Yes	49.2%	51.6%	45.8%
2) No	50.8%	48.4%	54.2%

<b>Section Four : Evaluation of Local Institutions</b>			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<b><i>Given the current conditions, how do you evaluate the performance of the following parties?</i></b>			
<b><i>UNRWA</i></b>			
1) Good	39.8%	26.6%	64.9%
2) Average	19.2%	21.5%	14.9%
3) Poor	25.1%	31.6%	12.7%
4) I don't know	15.9%	20.4%	7.4%
<b><i>Civil Society – NGOs</i></b>			

1) Good	16.9%	15.4%	19.6%
2) Average	31.5%	29.0%	36.3%
3) Poor	36.9%	38.4%	34.1%
4) I don't know	14.7%	17.1%	10.0%
<b><i>International Organizations working in Palestine</i></b>			
1) Good	19.6%	19.1%	20.6%
2) Average	21.6%	19.9%	24.7%
3) Poor	40.7%	43.2%	35.9%
4) I don't know	18.1%	17.7%	18.9%
<b><i>Private Sector</i></b>			
1) Good	15.5%	17.2%	12.4%
2) Average	23.3%	22.4%	25.1%
3) Poor	44.2%	42.6%	47.3%
4) I don't know	17.0%	17.9%	15.2%
<b><i>President's Office</i></b>			
1) Good	20.0%	17.9%	23.9%
2) Average	26.2%	25.8%	27.0%
3) Poor	48.4%	50.6%	44.4%
4) I don't know	5.4%	5.7%	4.8%
<b><i>Local and Municipal Councils</i></b>			
1) Good	18.8%	18.6%	19.3%
2) Average	27.1%	26.5%	28.1%
3) Poor	48.9%	48.8%	49.0%
4) I don't know	5.2%	6.1%	3.6%
<b><i>PLC</i></b>			
1) Good	17.0%	15.7%	19.3%
2) Average	19.8%	17.7%	24.0%
3) Poor	55.0%	56.7%	51.8%
4) I don't know	8.2%	9.9%	5.0%
<b><i>The Palestinian Government- Cabinet</i></b>			
1) Good	18.6%	17.5%	20.7%
2) Average	22.2%	20.2%	25.9%
3) Poor	55.4%	57.5%	51.4%
4) I don't know	3.8%	4.8%	2.0%
<b><i>Political parties</i></b>			
1) Good	10.9%	9.4%	13.9%
2) Average	23.1%	22.9%	23.5%
3) Poor	58.4%	58.8%	57.6%
4) I don't know	7.6%	8.9%	5.0%

<b>Section Five: Evaluation of Political Actors</b>			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<i>Given the circumstances, how do you evaluate the role of the following actors in dealing with the current Palestinian situation?</i>			
<b>USA</b>			
1) Positive	0.8%	0.7%	1.0%
2) Average	2.2%	2.1%	2.5%
3) Negative	94.4%	93.9%	95.4%
4) I don't know	2.6%	3.4%	1.1%
<b>Israel</b>			
1) Positive	2.0%	1.5%	3.1%
2) Average	1.3%	1.5%	1.0%
3) Negative	94.8%	95.1%	94.4%



4) I don't know	1.8%	1.9%	1.5%
<b>UN</b>			
1) Positive	10.2%	4.2%	21.7%
2) Average	15.2%	12.0%	21.4%
3) Negative	68.3%	76.7%	52.5%
4) I don't know	6.2%	7.1%	4.4%
<b>EU</b>			
1) Positive	11.6%	7.2%	20.2%
2) Average	17.2%	13.8%	23.6%
3) Negative	63.2%	70.1%	50.1%
4) I don't know	7.9%	8.9%	6.1%
<b>Jordan</b>			
1) Positive	11.3%	8.1%	17.5%
2) Average	18.3%	13.1%	28.3%
3) Negative	65.3%	72.5%	51.6%
4) I don't know	5.0%	6.3%	2.6%
<b>Egypt</b>			
1) Positive	17.3%	9.2%	32.7%
2) Average	21.6%	15.0%	34.1%
3) Negative	55.7%	68.0%	32.3%
4) I don't know	5.4%	7.8%	.9%
<b>Russia</b>			
1) Positive	10.8%	10.1%	12.2%
2) Average	18.5%	16.4%	22.5%
3) Negative	54.9%	55.5%	53.7%
4) I don't know	15.8%	18.0%	11.6%
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>			
1) Positive	22.7%	17.3%	33.0%
2) Average	26.4%	21.8%	35.1%
3) Negative	46.6%	54.7%	31.1%
4) I don't know	4.3%	6.2%	0.8%
<b>Hamas</b>			
1) Positive	22.8%	22.0%	24.4%
2) Average	29.7%	28.4%	32.0%
3) Negative	43.5%	44.4%	41.8%
4) I don't know	4.0%	5.1%	1.8%
<b>Fateh</b>			
1) Positive	25.3%	22.6%	30.5%
2) Average	30.1%	27.6%	34.9%
3) Negative	40.2%	44.1%	32.6%
4) I don't know	4.4%	5.7%	2.0%
<b>Syria</b>			
1) Positive	28.2%	26.4%	31.7%
2) Average	23.7%	20.2%	30.2%

3) Negative	40.2%	44.0%	33.0%
4) I don't know	7.9%	9.4%	5.1%
<b>Iran</b>			
1) Positive	31.6%	30.8%	33.2%
2) Average	25.1%	23.1%	28.9%
3) Negative	32.0%	32.7%	30.6%
4) I don't know	11.3%	13.4%	7.2%

**Section Six : Evaluation of Leaders**

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b><i>How do you evaluate the performance of President Mahmoud Abbas?</i></b>			
1) Good	33.8%	28.0%	45.0%
2) Average	34.2%	32.9%	36.6%
3) Poor	32.0%	39.1%	18.4%
<b><i>How do you evaluate the performance of Prime Minister Ismael Hanneya?</i></b>			
1) Good	38.5%	33.6%	47.7%
2) Average	31.8%	31.5%	32.3%
3) Poor	29.8%	34.9%	19.9%

<b>Section Seven : The Performance of Hamas</b>			
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b><i>Do you believe the Hamas win in PLC elections will bring an improvement of opportunities to achieve independence and a state?</i></b>			
1) Yes	26.0%	25.7%	26.5%
2) To an extent	21.6%	20.7%	23.3%
3) No	48.6%	48.6%	48.7%
4) I don't know	3.8%	5%	1.6%
<b><i>Do you believe the Hamas win in PLC elections will bring an improvement in internal conditions?</i></b>			
1) Yes	26.4%	26.7%	25.9%
2) To an extent	22.5%	22.0%	23.6%
3) No	47.4%	46.4%	49.4%
4) I don't know	3.6%	4.9%	1.1%
<b><i>Do you believe the Hamas win in PLC elections will reinforce democracy in Palestinian society?</i></b>			
1) Yes	31.6%	31.2%	32.3%
2) To an extent	19.7%	19.9%	19.4%
3) No	43.1%	42.7%	44.0%
4) I don't know	5.6%	6.3%	4.3%
<b><i>If asked to, will you be able to explain the Hamas PLC election program/agenda?</i></b>			
1) Yes	22.3%	19.9%	27.0%
2) To an extent	21.0%	22.9%	17.3%
3) No	56.7%	57.2%	55.8%
<b><i>How do you evaluate the Hamas performance in implementing its election program?</i></b>			
1) Good	13.3%	13.3%	13.4%
2) Average	26.3%	27.3%	24.4%
3) Poor	60.4%	59.4%	62.2%

<b>Section Eight : The Proposed Unity Government</b>			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<b><i>Do you believe the national unity government has a better chance than the current government in dealing with the surrounding conditions?</i></b>			
1) Yes	67.2%	60.7%	79.7%
2) No	14.4%	17.5%	8.4%
3) I'm not sure	18.4%	21.8%	11.9%
<b><i>Do you support that the new ministers be selected from...</i></b>			
1) Outside the PLC	55.3%	56.9%	52.1%
2) Within the PLC	32.5%	28.3%	40.5%
4) No opinion	12.3%	14.8%	7.4%
<b><i>Do you believe the proposed national unity government will be capable of dealing with the following challenges?</i></b>			
<b><i>Putting an end to settlements and the construction of the Wall in the West Bank</i></b>			
1) Yes	14.2%	9.5%	23.0%
2) To an extent	19.2%	16.4%	24.5%
3) No	66.6%	74.1%	52.4%
<b><i>Ending Israeli occupation and achieving independence</i></b>			
1) Yes	19.0%	15.6%	25.3%
2) To an extent	24.2%	19.6%	33.0%
3) No	56.8%	64.8%	41.7%
<b><i>Overcoming corruption in institutions</i></b>			
1) Yes	32.5%	28.3%	40.3%
2) To an extent	32.8%	34.1%	30.5%
3) No	34.7%	37.6%	29.2%
<b><i>Ending the state of lawlessness</i></b>			
1) Yes	37.2%	31.1%	48.9%
2) To an extent	32.5%	35.8%	26.3%
3) No	30.3%	33.1%	24.8%
<b><i>Protecting private and public freedoms</i></b>			
1) Yes	40.9%	33.8%	54.4%
2) To an extent	30.7%	32.5%	27.1%
3) No	28.4%	33.7%	18.5%
<b><i>Protecting democracy</i></b>			
1) Yes	44.6%	36.1%	60.7%
2) To an extent	29.1%	32.2%	23.4%
3) No	26.3%	31.8%	15.9%

<b><i>Improving the situation of women in Palestine</i></b>			
1) Yes	38.0%	30.8%	51.6%
2) To an extent	36.7%	40.0%	30.4%
3) No	25.3%	29.2%	18.0%
<b><i>Achieving economic development</i></b>			
1) Yes	37.1%	29.4%	51.8%
2) To an extent	38.0%	41.4%	31.4%
3) No	24.9%	29.2%	16.8%
<b><i>Solving social problems</i></b>			
1) Yes	36.9%	31.2%	47.6%
2) To an extent	38.4%	41.2%	33.2%
3) No	24.6%	27.5%	19.2%
<b><i>Lowering unemployment rates</i></b>			
1) Yes	36.5%	29.4%	49.8%
2) To an extent	39.0%	41.1%	35.2%
3) No	24.5%	29.5%	15.0%
<b><i>Improving government services</i></b>			
1) Yes	46.8%	39.3%	60.9%
2) To an extent	33.4%	37.2%	26.2%
3) No	19.8%	23.4%	12.9%
<b><i>Improving international diplomatic relations of the Palestinian people</i></b>			
1) Yes	51.5%	43.7%	66.1%
2) To an extent	30.2%	34.8%	21.5%
3) No	18.4%	21.5%	12.5%
<b><i>Acquiring international aid</i></b>			
1) Yes	59.3%	53.2%	70.6%
2) To an extent	27.3%	30.1%	21.9%
3) No	13.5%	16.6%	7.5%

<b>Section Nine: The Strike</b>			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<i>Do you support or oppose the strike by public service employees and teachers?</i>			
1) I support	56.6%	57.5%	55.0%
2) I oppose	41.5%	40.1%	44.0%
3) No opinion	1.9%	2.4%	1.0%
<i>How do you evaluate the performance of the government in handling the strike?</i>			
1) Positive	19.3%	16.0%	25.5%
2) Average	27.0%	24.8%	31.3%
3) Negative	53.7%	59.2%	43.2%

<b>Section Ten : Possible Scenarios</b>			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<i>What would you say about the following scenarios in trying to break out of the current stalemate? Would you say you agree, somewhat agree, or don't agree?</i>			
<i>Keep the current PLC and cabinet without any change</i>			
1) Agree	20.8%	21.1%	20.3%
2) Somewhat agree	12.9%	10.9%	16.5%
3) Don't agree	62.8%	63.3%	61.7%
4) No opinion	3.5%	4.6%	1.6%
<i>Go back to the situation before the PLC elections</i>			
1) Agree	34.7%	31.7%	40.3%
2) Somewhat agree	11.6%	11.5%	11.8%
3) Don't agree	50.9%	53.2%	46.6%
4) No opinion	2.8%	3.6%	1.3%
<i>Keep the PLC, but bring back previous government (from before elections)</i>			
1) Agree	28.2%	25.6%	33.1%
2) Somewhat agree	13.0%	13.5%	12.2%
3) Don't agree	55.1%	56.3%	52.7%
4) No opinion	3.7%	4.7%	2.0%
<i>Dissolve PLC and carry out a new election</i>			

1) Agree	50.1%	48.9%	52.3%
2) Somewhat agree	9.9%	9.5%	10.6%
3) Don't agree	36.0%	36.2%	35.7%
4) No opinion	4.0%	5.4%	1.4%
<b><i>Dissolve current government and form a government that represents all factions with Hamas leading</i></b>			
1) Agree	53.3%	48.9%	61.7%
2) Somewhat agree	12.5%	13.0%	11.5%
3) Don't agree	29.9%	32.0%	25.8%
4) No opinion	4.3%	6.1%	1.0%
<b><i>President appoints an independent prime minister and an independent cabinet</i></b>			
1) Agree	43.7%	44.4%	42.2%
2) Somewhat agree	11.0%	9.6%	13.7%
3) Don't agree	39.9%	39.3%	41.2%
4) No opinion	5.4%	6.7%	2.8%
<b><i>President appoints an independent prime minister with ministers from all political factions</i></b>			
1) Agree	47.0%	44.9%	51.1%
2) Somewhat agree	14.9%	14.8%	14.9%
3) Don't agree	32.5%	32.8%	32.0%
4) No opinion	5.6%	7.5%	2.0%
<b><i>President appoints cabinet as he sees fit</i></b>			
1) Agree	32.2%	28.2%	39.7%
2) Somewhat agree	7.7%	8.4%	6.3%
3) Don't agree	56.5%	58.4%	52.8%
4) No opinion	3.6%	4.9%	1.2%

<b>Section Eleven: Palestinian Elections</b>			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<b><i>Do you support the conduct of a new presidential election?</i></b>			
1) Support	57.3%	58.2%	55.4%
2) Oppose	38.4%	36.1%	42.8%
3) No Opinion	4.3%	5.7%	1.7%
<b><i>Do you support the conduct of a new PLC election?</i></b>			
1) Support	57.6%	57.6%	57.8%
2) Oppose	38.5%	37.4%	40.4%
3) No Opinion	3.9%	5.0%	1.8%
<b><i>If a new legislative election was carried out today, which bloc would you vote for?</i></b>			
Fateh	34.9%	30.6%	43.0%
Change and Reform (Hamas)	30.5%	30.7%	30.1%
I will not participate in the elections	17.3%	17.8%	16.4%
I will submit a blank ballot/ other	10.4%	12.8%	5.7%

The Third Way	2.1%	2.8%	0.7%
Independent Palestine	1.7%	2.0%	1.2%
Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa	1.5%	1.3%	1.8%
Al Badil	0.8%	1.0%	0.4%
Freedom and Social Justice	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%
Social Justice	0.3%	0.3%	0.5%
National Coalition for Justice and Democracy	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%
Freedom and Independence	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%
Martyr Abu al Abbas	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

<b>Section Twelve: The Peace Process/Negotiations</b>			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<b><i>Do you support the continuation of peace negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel?</i></b>			
1) Support	67.0%	62.7%	75.3%
2) Oppose	29.7%	32.9%	23.6%
3) No Opinion	3.3%	4.4%	1.0%
<b><i>Do you support or oppose a two-state solution based on international resolutions?</i></b>			
1) Support	57.8%	59.4%	54.8%
2) Oppose	39.0%	36.5%	43.8%
3) No Opinion	3.2%	4.1%	1.4%
<b><i>Do you support a bi-national state over historic Palestine?</i></b>			
1) Support	23.5%	25.0%	20.5%
2) Oppose	72.9%	70.2%	78.1%
3) No Opinion	3.6%	4.8%	1.4%
<b><i>Do you support or oppose that Hamas recognize international resolutions and agreements on Palestine?</i></b>			
1) Support	52.5%	49.2%	58.7%
2) Oppose	41.0%	43.3%	36.6%
3) No Opinion	6.5%	7.5%	4.7%



<b><i>Do you support or oppose that Hamas recognize agreements signed between PLO and Israel?</i></b>			
1) Support	52.0%	49.3%	57.2%
2) Oppose	40.8%	42.5%	37.6%
3) No Opinion	7.0%	8.2%	4.9%
<b><i>Do you support or oppose that the PNA led by Hamas enter into negotiations with Israel over final status issues?</i></b>			
1) Support	64.5%	61.1%	70.8%
2) Oppose	31.7%	34.0%	27.4%
3) No Opinion	3.8%	4.9%	1.8%
<b><i>Do you support or oppose that Hamas recognize Israel now?</i></b>			
1) Support	33.3%	31.9%	36.1%
2) Oppose	62.3%	62.4%	62.0%
3) No Opinion	4.4%	5.7%	1.9%

<b>Section Thirteen: The Israel-Lebanon War</b>			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<b><i>If you compare Hamas with Hezbollah, do you think the performance of Hamas and Hezbollah is comparable, Hamas's performance is better, Hezbollah's performance is better, or Don't Know?</i></b>			
1) Their performance is comparable	24.4%	23.2%	26.5%
2) Hizbollah's performance is better	68.8%	70.0%	66.3%
3) Hamas's performance is better	3.8%	2.9%	5.4%

4) No opinion	3.1%	3.8%	1.7%
<b><i>Did you participate in a public activity against the war and in support of Lebanon?</i></b>			
1) Yes	18.6%	15.1%	25.1%
2) No	81.4%	84.9%	74.9%

Annex (2) : Sample distribution :

<b>Region</b>		<b>Type of locality</b>		<b>Refugee Status</b>	
West Bank	65.6%	City	58.4%	Refugee	39.2%
Gaza Strip	34.4%	Village- town	27.7%	Non-refugee	60.8%
<b>Governorate</b>		Camp	13.8%	<b>Education</b>	
Jenin	6.1%	<b>Gender</b>		Illiterate	7.2%
Tubas	1.1%	Male	50.4%	Preparatory	17.7%
Tulkarm	3.9%	Female	49.6%	Elementary	26.8%
Nablus	10.9%	<b>Marital status</b>		Secondary	28.9%
Qalqilya	3.1%	Single	23.8%	Diploma	7.5%
Salfit	1.1%	Married	72.0%	B.A. or more	11.9%
Jericho	3.4%	Others	4.2%	<b>Place of Residence prior to 1994</b>	
Ramallah	10.0%	<b>Age</b>			
Jerusalem	7.6%	18-22	19.9%	West Bank & Gaza	91.7%
Bethlehem	4.0%	23-27	16.5%	Abroad	8.3%
Hebron	14.2%	28-32	14%	<b>Monthly Income (NIS)*</b>	
North Gaza	6.1%	33-37	11.8%	No Income	4.2%
Gaza City	12.7%	38-42	9.8%	Less than 700	22.4%
Deir al-Balah	4.6%	43-47	7.9%	700-1000	18.7%
Khan Younis	7.6%	48-52	5.6%	1001-1700	19.5%
Rafah	3.4%	> 52	14.5%	1701-2500	18.2%
<b>Religiosity</b>		<b>Employment status</b>		2501-3000	7.2%
Religious	44.1%	Working	33.9%	More than 3000	9.7%
Somewhat religious	50.9%	Not Working	66.1%		
Not religious	5.0%				
<b>1 \$ = 4.5 NIS</b>					