



**Public Opinion Leaders' Survey
Results of a Specialized Poll**

Preliminary Results

**Final Status Issues: Borders, Refugees, Jerusalem, Water
Political System and Democracy
Social and Economic Attitudes
Expectations and Priorities**

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Dates of fieldwork: 12-18 February 2007

Sample size: 520 Public Opinion Leaders (West Bank and Gaza Strip)

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- * For the detailed results, please refer to our website (<http://home.birzeit.edu/dsp>).
- * Supported by the International Republican Institute (IRI).

First Section: Main Results

- When asked about a series of potential scenarios, the majority of public opinion leaders support two solutions for the Palestinian – Israeli conflict: 68 percent support a democratic state in historic Palestine with equal rights for all citizens and no discrimination based on religion, race, ethnicity, color, or sex. Sixty-five percent support a two-state solution: Palestine in the 1967 borders and Israel.
- Of the respondents, 54 percent believe that a two-state solution is feasible, while only 16 percent believe that one secular state is feasible.
- About 77 percent of respondents support the establishment of a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders. Some 63 percent of the respondents agree with introducing border alterations conditioned with geographical congruity of the Palestinian Territory including the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- As much as 97 percent prefer Israeli dismantling or withdrawal from settlements and handing them over entirely to the Palestinian Authority, while 61 percent accept the evacuation of settlements and their use for Palestinian refugees' residential purposes.
- A majority of respondents (75 percent) prefer to resolve the refugee question on the basis of UN Resolution 194 of the Right of Return and Compensation. As a second option, 54 percent of the sample accepts that Israel recognize its responsibility towards the plight of the refugees as a precondition to future discussions of possible solutions.
- A majority of 84 percent of the respondents prefer a solution based on East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian state. In addition, 69 percent of respondents think that this solution is feasible.
- Most of the respondents (69%) believe that a lasting peace and a historical reconciliation between the two people are possible or possible to some extent.
- A vast majority (94 percent) believe that a Palestinian state should maintain normal relations with the neighboring countries. The majority does not support a confederation with Jordan. A higher percentage refuses a confederation with Israel. In addition, 83 percent of respondents refuse to attach the Palestinian Question to the policies of the regional and international alliances.
- Sixty-six percent of the respondents believe that the Palestinian Nation (in the Palestinian Authority as well as in the Diaspora) is the most authorized to ratify any agreement, particularly concerning final status issues.
- Fifty-eight percent of opinion leaders believe that an international conference under the auspices of the UN would provide a solution for a just settlement of the conflict.
- Forty-seven percent of the sample is in favor of combining peaceful popular resistance and negotiation, while 40 percent are in favor of combining armed resistance and negotiations.
- Forty-four percent of the sample believes that dissolving the PNA and having the world assume its responsibilities is the best solution if the peace process fails, whereas, 28 percent see that maintaining the status quo is better than dissolving the PNA.

- Most of the sample (73 percent) would like to form a democratic government similar to political systems in the European countries.
- Fifty-one percent favor the insertion of a constitutional provision that declares the Palestinian state as a secular state, whereas 41 percent reject it.
- Of the respondents, 72 percent said that the PLO is the most capable and legitimate body to manage the Palestinian situation with the need to undergo reform steps and have all Palestinian parties joining it.
- Fifty-seven percent of the sample support amending the electoral law to represent a full proportional system (*i.e.*, all Palestinian districts will be treated as one constituency).

Second Section: Background about Opinion Leaders' Survey, Methodology and Sample

General Introduction:

The opinion leaders' survey conducted by the Development Studies Programme is considered the first of its kind in Palestine. It is the first in regard to its population and the issues approached. The survey is significant and important; it discusses issues representing scenarios and strategies for the current and future status of the Palestinian Territory. The survey lays a solid ground towards reading the Palestinian leaders' approach, helping to understand the process of mobility and polarization of the Palestinian public in relation to the changing events on the ground.

It is important to mention that this survey differs from general public opinion polls in that an opinion leaders' survey does not include the majority of community segments and does not represent the population as a whole, as is the case in general public opinion polls. In the conduct of this opinion leader survey, the population of the sample was targeted and selected from lists that are available as explained later.

The issues discussed in the survey are comprehensive and diverse; the poll includes the issues of most concern and interest to the Palestinian community over the mid to long term. Some issues deal with general approaches, some with scenarios and strategies, while others monitor the positions of less controversial issues. In addition, the style in formulating the questions as well as the quality of answers are diverse; some answers reflect preferences of the sample population while others reflect their visions and the assumptions towards the most viable strategies and approaches.

For the purpose of this survey, the concept of an "opinion leader" was defined as follows: Palestinian individuals living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip who contribute to changing and altering the status of the Palestinian community on the long-term level. These individuals influence public awareness and decisions regarding various political, legislative, social, economic, cultural, and academic issues. In addition, these groups have the capacity to access resources, and thus empower themselves on different levels, increasing their influence on the national level. The term opinion leaders may imply a sense of unity among the individual members of this group. However, the group is

heterogeneous and diverse; its members affiliate with various political, social, cultural, and economic situation and interests.

The Development Studies Programme aspires that the outcome of this contribution would lay the foundation for a comprehensive study on Palestinian public opinion that takes into consideration the factors and variables which shape and direct Palestinian attitudes and opinions. A rich space for understanding and analyzing the public attitudes, their changing dynamics, and the influencing factors can be attained through comparative studies of public opinion poll surveys and opinion leaders' surveys. Such comparative analysis gives insight into the future direction of decisions made by political and social authorities. It also gives insight into how the interests of opinion leaders are articulated and gain legitimacy in the eyes of the public.

Third Section: Methodology of Field Work and the Sample Design:

The sample frame and design relied on purposive sampling (names, addresses and occupation of respondents were identified in advance). Each questionnaire was put in a separate and closed envelope. The sample was classified upon place of residency and was distributed to researchers for field work in the different districts in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. For accuracy of data collection, it was reaffirmed that researchers (although well-trained in field work techniques) make an appointment with each respondent on the telephone and personally visit the respondent to complete the questionnaire in the same session. Another option was to hand the questionnaire to selected respondents and pick up the completed document within a maximum of two days. Confidentiality of information was highly respected; questionnaires were placed in closed envelopes with no signs or references to the person who completed the survey questionnaire.

The classification of opinion leaders is as follows:

1. Political elite: political parties and factions, legislative council, politicians and ministers;
2. Social elite: local organizations, charitable societies, kinship, university staff, educated people (artists), mayors, unions, and women organizations;
3. Economic elite: private sector managers, owners of significant investments and capital;
4. Cultural and Academic elite: thinkers and media leaders, writers, educated people, and religious leaders, such as Imams, priests, and Muftis.

The above classifications were made only for the sake of selecting the sample; such classifications are not always clear in the social stratification of the Palestinian society. For example, there is high potential for the same individual to be a leader, a member of a political party, have significant tribal or kinship affiliation, and conduct significant economic activity in society. This situation is popular in most societies. However, developed societies have clearer classification where different groups develop and

interweave joint interests, values and approaches based on class division (politically, and more specifically, economic in nature).

A preliminary list of individuals and organizations in all Palestinian districts was identified by the field researchers. Researchers followed clear and specific criteria in the identification process. This criteria is consistent with the definition of the concept of 'opinion elite' and its classifications. In addition, the survey team at the Development Studies Programme consulted senior and credible researchers to review the sample target respondents and the classifications. After the identification of a sample population in accordance to the above mentioned classifications, a second sampling process was conducted. The sample population was classified into social and economic categories, and a systematic probability sampling was done in accordance with scientific principles. As a result, the representation of the sample targets is as follows:

- 1- Palestinian Universities and Colleges
- 2- Legislative Council
- 3- PNA Ministries
- 4- Palestinian Municipalities
- 5- Writers and local Media
- 6- Syndicates and Trade Unions
- 7- Chambers of Commerce.
- 8- Banks, Insurance and Investment companies.
- 9- Political parties and social activists
- 10- Civil society organizations divided according to sectors (agriculture, human rights, health, education, research, and environment).
- 11- Religious Organizations
- 12- PLO Organs (Executive Committee, Palestinian National Council, Central Council)
- 13- Women Organizations
- 14- Youth Organizations
- 15- Independent thinkers and writers

Upon the completion of the field work and the finalization of the results, it appeared that:

- Eighty-five percent of the sample is male, which reflects the reality of the leaders in public decision-making positions.
- Seventy-seven percent of the sample lives in an urban area, which reflects the fact that public opinion leaders are more likely to live in an urban area or city despite their origins in a village or refugee camp; this compares with 15 percent of the respondents from villages and 8 percent from a refugee camp.
- It's also important to point out that 77 percent of the sample is over forty years old and 41 percent are fifty or above, while only 3 percent of the sample is between the ages of 20 – 29 years old.

- As for the economic situation of target respondents, the salaries of half the sample exceed 5000 NIS per month, whereas 39 percent declared that their income is between 2500-5000 NIS.
- In addition, 83 percent of the sample has a Bachelor Degree or above.
- The sample is distributed among three sectors; 36 percent belong to the civil society sector, 35 percent to the governmental sector and 29 percent are active in the private sector.
- The political affiliations of the sample are as follows: 64 percent express their support to specific political parties, and 36 percent express their political attitudes and affiliations as independent. The sample was distributed as follows: 30 percent support Fatah, 13 percent support Hamas, 8 percent support the Popular Front, 3 percent support Al-Mubadara, 3 percent support the Democratic Front, 2 percent support the Third Way and the Peoples Party, and 1 percent support the Fida Party, Islamic Jihad and other lists.
- Thirty-six percent of the sample (those who identified themselves as independents) perceive themselves in the lines of a broad political spectrum, encompassing Marxist, Islamic, Democratic, liberal and/or National thoughts and approaches.

It must be noted that the representation of the opinion leader sample's political affiliation does not reflect broader support for each party in general public opinion polls (see table).

Table of Sample Distribution:

Area	Percentage	Residency	Percentage	Social status	Percentage
West Bank	63.5	City	76.7	Unmarried	6.9
Gaza Strip	36.5	Village/town	15.1	Married	90.2
Gender	Percentage	Refugee camp	8.2	Other	2.9
Male	84.8	Religiosity	Percentage	Residency before 1994	Percentage
Female	15.2	Religious	33.5	West Bank and Gaza Strip	84.2
Governorate	Percentage	Religious to some extent	43.4	Outside Palestine	15.8
Jenin	2.9	Not religious	23.1	Educational level	Percentage
Tubas	1.9	Refugee status	Percentage	Literate - illiterate	0.2
Tulkarem	2.7	Refugee	46.6	Elementary	1
Nablus	8.3	Non-refugee	53.4	Preparatory	1.4
Qalqilya	2.9	Age	Percentage	High school	5.4
Salfeet	1.9	20-29	2.7	Diploma	8.9
Jericho	2.5	30-40	20.7	BA and above	83.2
Ramallah	14.8	41-50	35.7	Monthly income in NIS	Percentage
Jerusalem	6.3	51 and above	40.9	Less than 1700	3.1
Bethlehem	7.7	Employment Status	Percentage	1700-2500	7.7
Hebron	11.5	Employed	27.0	2501-5000	38.9
Gaza- North	3.3	Unemployed	73.0	5001-10.000	38.9
Gaza City	24.4			Above 10.000	4.11
Der El Balah	2.1				
KhanYounes	5.6				
Rafah	1.2				

Finally, the Development Studies Programme looks forward to elaborating on the methodology of opinion leader surveys in the future. As this is the first experience with this type of survey research in the Palestinian Territories, the Programme will consider all feedback from experts upon the release of the results to help analyze this experience addressing public opinion leaders.

Analysis of the Results of the Opinion Leaders' Survey:

Section One: Living Conditions: The majority describes the economic and security conditions as bad; yet, there is cautious optimism for the future.

- The absolute majority of opinion leaders (90 percent) think that the economic situation in Palestine is either bad or very bad
- Seventy-four percent believe that Palestinian society is heading in the wrong direction while 22 percent believe the opposite.
- In regard to the current security chaos, 52 percent of respondents feel personal insecurity.
- Despite that, the percentage of pessimistic persons does not exceed a third of the sample (31.1 percent), which is equal to the percentage of those who have optimistic expectation about the future, while 38 percent of the respondents have swinging feelings between pessimistic and optimistic.

Section Two: Final status issues, peace opportunities, and historical reconciliation:

I: Final status issues (refugees, Jerusalem, settlements, borders, water and other natural resources):

This section analyzes the opinions of leaders regarding the proposed scenarios for solving critical issues, i.e. those identified as final status issues:

- 1- **The Right to self-determination:** A democratic Palestinian state for all citizens on historic Palestine is the preferred solution while a two-state solution is perceived to be the most realistic.
 - Among the various scenarios proposed for self-determination, '*one democratic state in historical Palestine for all its citizens without discrimination based on religion, race, ethnicity, color, or sex (to be determined by a constitution and upon international safeguards and guarantees)*' is the preferred scenario among the respondents (68 percent). However, only 16 percent support such a scenario and believe that it is feasible; 52 percent support it regardless of its feasibility.
 - Almost an equal percentage support a two-state solution scenario (65 percent) where one is Palestinian and the other is Israeli (in reference to the 1988 Declaration of Independence and 242 UN Resolution. Indeed, it is the most realistic solution from the point of view of its supporters. Fifty-four percent of supporters believe that a two-state solution is feasible while 11 percent support this potential solution regardless of its feasibility.
 - Sixty-eight percent of the opinion leaders do not support a potential scenario to establish '*An Islamic State on all lands of historic Palestine (Jews and Christians to be treated as minorities of non-Muslim subjects enjoying the protection of Muslim state.*' Likewise, sixty-two percent of respondents believe that such a solution is not feasible.
- 2- **Borders: The borders of the Palestinian state are 1967 borders. Any modification or alteration of borders should consider geographical congruity between the various Palestinian territories including the congruity between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip:**

- Seventy-seven percent of the respondents prefer establishing an independent Palestinian state based on the 1967 borders. Sixty-five percent believe that such a scenario is possible while 12 percent support it regardless of its feasibility.
 - Of the respondents, 63 percent think that any amendments or alterations of borders should take into consideration the necessity of geographical congruity between the Palestinian Territory (including the Gaza Strip and the West Bank). Forty-five percent accept minor border alterations (*i.e.*, land swaps of similar size and quality).
 - The majority (92 percent) reject alterations of borders to solve the issue of settlements on the basis of annexing the huge settlements to Israel. Moreover, 87 percent reject the idea of establishing a state with temporary borders pending the negotiation of permanent borders.
- 3- **Settlements: The majority prefer dismantling settlements or full withdrawal from all the settlements and for them to be handed over to the Palestinian Authority as the first scenario. The second preferred scenario is evacuating settlers and maintaining settlements for Palestinian refugees' residential purposes.**
- The majority of respondents (97 percent) prefer dismantling all settlements or full withdrawal from all settlements within the Palestinian Territories, and handover to Palestinian authorities. Sixty-eight percent of the sample who supports such a scenario thinks that it is feasible while 29 percent support it regardless of its feasibility.
 - Sixty-one percent of the sample prefer to **evacuate settlers and maintain settlements for Palestinian refugees' residential purposes**. Only 39 percent think that such a scenario is applicable while 22 percent support it regardless of its feasibility.
 - The scenario that witnessed the highest percentage of rejection proposed conducting a resident-swap between settlers and Palestinians living inside Israel. Ninety-five percent of the sample reject this option. The second least preferred scenario is maintaining status quo for the larger settlements and consider their residents as Israeli citizens within the Palestinian State. On the other hand, only 17 percent of the sample approves dismantling or full withdrawal from the settlements, while conducting a handover of most settlements to the Palestinian authorities, and annexing the larger settlements to Israel according to a land-swap agreement between the two states.
- 4- **Refugees: The most preferable and applicable scenario from the point of view of the respondents is the implementation of UN Resolution 194 (the Right of Return and/or Compensation).**
- 5- Seventy-five percent of respondents prefer the implementation of UN Resolution 194 (the Right of Return and/or Compensation), according to which refugees would return to their places of origin as Israeli citizens, and receive compensation payments for those who are unwilling to return. Thirty-three percent prefers this scenario and thinks that it is feasible while 42 percent prefers it regardless of its feasibility. However, 17 percent of the respondents think that this scenario is not feasible and they would not support it.

- Of the respondents, 54 percent accepts an Israeli recognition of Israel's responsibility for this question as a first step, and then proceeding to discuss possible solutions. Half of those believe this scenario is feasible and would support it while the other half prefers it regardless of its feasibility.
- The majority (89 percent) totally rejects a scenario of giving compensation to Palestinian refugees and settling them in their host countries of residence.
- Twenty-five percent prefer a fair, comprehensive, and final "negotiated" solution for the issue of refugees (with no reference to the UN resolution) and believe that such a solution is feasible and realistic.

6- Jerusalem: Respondents prefer East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian State over other potential scenarios.

- Eighty-four percent of the respondents would declare East Jerusalem as the capital of an independent Palestinian state. Sixty-nine percent believe that such a solution is feasible and realistic while 15 percent support this option regardless of its perceived feasibility.
- Eighty-four percent of the sample would not accept a potential scenario in which East Jerusalem was declared as the capital of the Palestinian State if it were re-divided to give Israel control over the Jewish quarter. Although 40 percent believe that such a scenario is feasible, they do not prefer this option. Further, 44 percent reject the scenario and believe that it is not feasible. Nevertheless, 16 percent voiced preference for this solution.
- A unified East and West Jerusalem under international sovereignty is the preferred scenario for 30 percent of the sample. Of the respondents, 26 percent support this option if the unified city is the capital of the two states.
- Less acceptable scenarios would be to internationalize East Jerusalem or administratively divide East Jerusalem (with the Palestinian State undertaking the religious, police, and civil functions and Israel maintaining security powers) -no more than 5 percent of the sample supports either scenario.

7-Water: The most preferred scenario is to preserve the water rights of both states with formulas and formats for cooperation in this area. A majority also prefer to have Palestine and Israel maintain full sovereign rights over their water as any other two independent states.

- Sixty-six percent of the sample prefer to preserve the water rights of both states with formulas and formats for cooperation in the area and believe that this scenario is feasible. However, 19 percent prefer such a scenario regardless of its feasibility.
- Of the opinion leaders, 94 percent believe that the water rights of both states should be preserved with formulas and formats for cooperation in this area. They also believe that this scenario is feasible.
- Sixty-three percent reject a settlement agreement which incorporates specific items related to water-sharing in accordance to the needs of the two parties of the agreement.

Section Three: Peace and Reconciliation between Palestinians and Israelis:

Despite the halted efforts to achieve reconciliation between Palestinians and Israelis, the majority of respondents believe in the possibility of achieving peace and reconciliation between the two peoples:

- Thirty percent of participants believe in the opportunity of achieving historical reconciliation between Palestinians and Israelis where normalizing relations between the two people would be the natural by-product of reconciliation. Thirty-nine percent agree with this to a certain extent, while 29 percent do not agree.
- Of the respondents, 33 percent disagree with a potential scenario to establish two independent states with open borders, whereby 65 percent agree completely or to some extent.
- Of the respondents, 67 percent express complete or partial support for establishing joint economic projects between Palestinians and Israelis, towards developing relations that might lead to a joint open market. (This scenario is possible if a comprehensive reconciliation is achieved between the two people.) However, 32 percent disagree with such a scenario.
- In contrast to the support for strengthening economic relations, 68 percent of respondents do not think that there is a possibility to launch joint political institutions and reinforce cooperation between the two peoples on the political, economic, and security levels, achieving a confederation between the two states of Palestine and Israel.
- However, a clear majority of respondents (85 percent) support economic and cultural relations with the surrounding Arab region.

Section Four: The relations between the Palestinian state and its neighbors, especially Jordan, Egypt, and Israel: The Palestinian state should establish normal relations with its surrounding countries while opting out of regional and international coalitions and alliances:

- Ninety-four percent of the respondents prefer a Palestinian state that maintains normal relations with the surrounding countries; a majority, 86 percent, believe that such a solution is feasible.
- A high percentage of the respondents reject the idea of a tri-lateral confederation with Jordan and Israel, or a confederation with Jordan. Eighty-three percent reject a tri-lateral confederation with both Egypt and Jordan. (Tri-lateral confederation is identified as: the Palestinian state would temporarily allow a Jordanian role in the West Bank and an Egyptian one in the Gaza Strip, where the security and economy are the main targeted sectors within such scenario). However, 91 percent and 90 percent, respectively, reject the idea of a bilaterally confederated state with Israel, or a trilateral confederation with Jordan and Israel.
- Finally, sixty-six percent of the sample rejects a potential confederation with Jordan.
- A majority of the respondents believe that achieving the Palestinian priorities obligates the Palestinian Authority to stay out of regional coalitions and alliances while maintaining balanced relations with the international community.
- A small percentage (15%) said that the Palestinian authority should align itself with moderate Arabic countries close to the USA, particularly Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. However, the percentage of respondents who believe that the best way to

achieve the Palestinian priorities would be through affiliating with Iran-Syria-Hezbollah, does not exceed 3 percent.

Section Fiver: Negotiations and Conflict Management Scenarios:

- 1- **The Palestinian Liberation Organization is the most legitimate body (in capability and legitimacy) to manage the final status negotiations:** The respondents were asked to identify the most capable and legitimate authority to manage negotiations on the final status issues with Israel. The answers were divided nearly equally between three bodies:
 - Thirty-five percent believe that the mission of conducting final status negotiations should be given to a negotiating commission consisting of PLO and Islamic movements while 30 percent believe that the negotiations should be handled by a commission consisting of the PLO and the PNA
 - Thirty-three percent believe that the Palestinian Liberation Organization is the most legitimate body to be responsible for negotiations. Only 2 percent of respondents believe that the Islamic movements are the most capable and legitimate bodies to manage negotiations.

- 2- **Ratification of agreements: The majority believe that Palestinians in both the Palestinian Territory and the Diaspora have the most authority to ratify any substantial agreements with Israel (i.e., those which deal with final status issues):**
 - Sixty-six percent favor presenting the agreements for a general referendum by Palestinians all over the world whenever there is a need to ratify core agreements with Israel which tackle final status issues.
 - Of the respondents, 13 percent believe that the National Council should be authorized to ratify such agreements. However, 11 percent of the respondents would authorize a general referendum on the agreements within the Palestinian Territory, while 8 percent would authorize the combined votes of both the National and Legislative Councils. Finally, only 3 percent would approve ratification on the part of the PLC.

Section Six: Coordination of the negotiation tracks: *In order to secure the realization of a permanent and comprehensive peace that observes the rights and interests of the countries in the region, the majority would support the organization of an international conference under the auspices of the UN including Arab parties directly concerned/involved in the conflict and the Arab League:*

- Fifty-eight percent of the respondents would prefer to organize an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations that includes the Arab countries affected directly by the conflict and the Arab League, to guarantee achieving a durable, just and comprehensive peace that takes into consideration the interests of the regional countries.
- Twenty-four percent believe that the best tool to establish a negotiation committee that encompasses all relevant parties would be under the auspices of the Arab

League in order to push forward the Arab initiative as the basis to solve the conflict.

- Potential scenarios connecting the Palestinian negotiations track with the Lebanese and Syrian, or conducting bilateral negotiations in coordination with these two countries, did not receive much support; neither proposition received more than 6 percent support.
- No more than 8 percent of respondents support the continuation of bilateral negotiations with Israel without coordination or linkage to the other concerned parties

Comment: Are we missing something here?

Section Seven: Conflict and Reconciliation Perception: *There is a clear division in opinions among respondents in regard to conflict management, and whether to apply military resistance or popular peaceful resistance alongside negotiations. The majority of prefer the combination of negotiations and resistance:*

- Forty-seven percent express the necessity to combine both popular peaceful resistance and negotiations.
- Forty percent think that the best mechanism to manage the conflict is a combination between military resistance and negotiations.
- Solving the conflict through negotiations alone did not receive support from more than 7 percent of respondents. Similarly, military resistance garnered only 6 percent support.

Section Eight: Temporary and Permanent Solutions: *The majority of respondents do not think that there is potential to achieve a comprehensive peace reconciliation and peace treaty that includes solving all the conflicting issues and establishing an independent Palestinian state, within the coming five years.*

- Of the respondents, 35 percent think that there is a potential to achieve reconciliation and a peace treaty that encompasses a comprehensive solution to all issues, including the establishment of a Palestinian state and the question of refugees, in the coming five years.
- Twenty-three percent think that the most achievable option within the next five years is to establish of a viable Palestinian state while keeping issues such as refugees and settlements open to negotiation.
- Ten percent believe that the next five years might witness a comprehensive truce but with a return to pre-Al Aqsa Intifada conditions.
- Nine percent believe that the long- term truce suggested by Hamas is achievable.
- Only 8 percent believe that the status quo will remain for the next five years, while only 6 percent think that it is possible to achieve a long-term interim peace agreement. Finally, 5 percent think that the next five years will witness the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with temporary borders.

Section Nine: If all efforts to solve the conflict fail, the dissolution of the Palestinian Authority is the most probable solution to manage the Palestinian affairs:

- Forty-four percent of the respondents think that Palestinians and the Palestinian leadership should dissolve the PNA and make the international community responsible for the emerging legal vacuum.
- Twenty-eight percent think that the only solution (in case no progress is achieved within the peace process) is to maintain the situation as is since there is no possibility to dissolve PNA, however, there is a need to develop new mechanisms to manage the conflict.
- Of the respondents, 42 percent think that if reconciliation efforts reach a roadblock, the only solution would be the unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state and escalation of resistance within the framework of nationally agreed resistance strategies and methods.

Section Ten: International presence in the Palestinian Territories:

The majority of respondents are in complete or partial agreement to establish a presence of international forces in the Palestinian territories for an interim period during which the occupation army would withdraw and internationally managed areas would be handed over to the UN successively according to progress in negotiations with Israel. Twenty-five percent reject this option completely.

Section Eleven: Internal Palestinian Circumstances:

The political, economic, and social structure of the Palestinian state and the regulating constitutional texts:

1- Political System: The most acceptable option is a Parliamentary system within a democratic government similar to the European regimes:

- Fifty-three percent support a parliamentary regime in the Palestinian state.
- Of the respondents, 35 percent prefer a mixed regime (presidential and parliamentary) while support for a presidential regime does not exceed 10 percent.
- Seventy-two percent prefer a democratic government based on European and Israeli models. Eight percent prefer a national government based on the model of governments in other Arab countries. An Islamic government similar to the Iranian model receives the support of no more than 3 percent.

2- Economic System: Division about the economic system of the proposed Palestinian state:

- Of the respondents, 32 percent prefer a liberal system based on open market policies as economic system in the Palestinian state.
- Thirty percent support a welfare state system, in which the state interferes on the level of welfare services.
- Twenty-three percent prefer adopting an Islamic economic system.
- Ten percent prefer a socialist system of economy in Palestine.
- Regarding potential constitutional amendments, 64 percent reject inserting an article within the basic law stating that Palestine is a demilitarized state, with the exception of internal security functions. Thirty percent support such an option.

3- Secularism of the Palestinian State: Almost half of the respondents approve a basic law that identifies Palestine as a secular state:

- Fifty-one percent of the sample approve of identifying Palestine as a secular state within the articles of the basic law, while 8 percent were undecided. Forty-one percent rejected this proposal.

4- Equality for Women: An absolute majority accept complete equality for women (rights and duties) within the constitution:

- Eighty-eight percent accept equality for women within the law while 9 percent reject this position.

5- Palestinian Priorities (for a period of one to three years):

The answers demonstrated that the ten listed options are of top priorities to respondents.

- Ending internal chaos and vigilantism;
- Laying the foundations for national unity and maintaining the cohesiveness of the Palestinian society;
- Enhancing economic conditions and reducing unemployment and poverty rates;
- Ending occupation and establishing an independent Palestinian state; and
- Fighting corruption within the Palestinian political system.

The following were secondary priorities among the respondents:

- Realizing democracy and enhancing of public and personal freedoms;
- Enhancing Palestinian diplomatic relations and securing financial support resources;
- Promoting the status of Palestinian women and marginalized social groups;
- Achieving progress in the negotiations and ultimately reaching a comprehensive peace agreement; and
- Preserving social norms and traditions as well as the religious values.

6- Despite the severe polarization between Fatah and Hamas before the signing of the Mecca agreement, a majority of the sample think that there is high possibility to achieve an agreement to end the confrontations between the various political factions:

- Of the respondents, 67 percent think that the most viable option is to reach a political agreement among the factions, particularly between Fatah and Hamas, to settle the differences without resorting to violence.
- Fourteen percent think that the crises and limited confrontations will continue. Twelve percent believe that the political, security, and economical crises might escalate and lead to collapse of the PNA.
- Only four percent think that the situation is moving towards a quasi civil war.

7- The majority of respondents (72 percent) think that PLO (once reformed and restructured), would be the most capable body to manage the Palestinian situation effectively given the internal, regional and international challenges:

- Very minor percentages believe that Fatah or Hamas are capable of managing Palestinian affairs separately (not exceeding 3 percent for each).
- Sixteen percent think that a new democratic stream (including democratic and leftist powers as well as civil powers) would be capable of managing the Palestinian

challenges if there is a majority of the population that supports forming such a political faction.

8- Unity Government: Relatively high expectations in regards to the capability of the Unity Government in achieving progress in domains that are related to the interests of Palestinians:

- Of the respondents, 86 percent agree that that a national unity government would be capable of lifting the political and economic siege imposed on Palestinians (22% think yes, while 64% yes to some extent). Fourteen percent disagree.
- The same percentage (86 percent) thinks that such a government would eliminate security chaos and reinforce rule of law (32 percent agreed completely, while 56 percent agreed to some extent).
- Of the respondents, 84 percent think that a unity government would be capable of improving the economic and living circumstances of Palestinians (21 percent agrees completely, 63 percent agrees to some degree) while 16 percent does not agree.
- Seventy-four percent of the respondents think that the unity government would reinforce democracy and public freedoms (24 percent agrees completely while 50 percent agrees to some degree).
- Eighty-four percent of the opinion leaders believe that the unity government would make progress in reforming the Palestinian institutions and eliminating corruption (21 percent agree completely while 63 percent agree to some degree).
- Finally, 61 percent of the respondents think that the unity government is capable of achieving progress in negotiations with Israel (13 percent completely agrees and 54 percent agrees to some degree) while 39 percent disagrees.

9- Call for Early Presidential and Parliamentary elections:

- Of the respondents, 28 percent agree with President Abbas' call for early presidential and parliamentary elections, while 44 percent would support the initiative on the condition that the President's call for elections is subject to the consensus of all political forces, including Hamas. Twenty-nine percent completely disagree.

10- Electoral System for the Legislative Council: A majority of the respondents support amending the electoral law towards a proportional representation system for all council seats based on one electoral district for Palestine.

- Of the respondents, 57 percent would prefer a fully proportional electoral system, i.e., all council seats would be based on one electoral district for Palestine.
- Twenty-four percent would prefer the current electoral system be based on dividing council seats equally between the proportionate and majority systems, based on electoral districts. However, 17 percent would prefer to return to the previous system (the majority system), based on the system of electoral districts for all council seats.
- Of the respondents, 68 percent expressed their intent to participate in the presidential and parliamentary elections if they were conducted once again. However, 16 percent would abstain from the elections and another 16 percent remain undecided.

11- Assessment of Current Government: The current government receives a negative performance evaluation on all levels:

- Under the current government, 92 percent think that the economic situation has deteriorated.
- Of the respondents, 78 percent think that the current government is not assuming responsibility for the siege imposed against it.
- Over 96 percent of the respondents believe that the security circumstances deteriorated under the power of the current government.
- Eighty percent believe that the current government represents its **partisan audiences more than the Palestinian society.**
- Sixty-three percent believe that the current government contributed in diminishing freedoms especially individual freedoms, freedom of opinion and women rights.
- Half of the sample (50 percent) believes that Hamas will not be able to implement its program even if the siege imposed on it were lifted.
- Sixty-three percent of the respondents think that the current government is not responsible for the siege imposed on it.

12- Societal and Political forces: A majority of the respondents believe it is important to activate the role of the various political and civil society forces to achieve balance in the Palestinian society:

- Of the respondents, 92 percent think that Palestinian NGOs are not capable of having an effective impact on the current crises.
 - Seventy-seven percent think that, in view of the severe polarization between Hamas and Fatah, there is a need to establish a third political way that brings together all the Palestinian democratic forces.
 - Of the respondents, 66 percent agree that it is better to shift all basic services to the Palestinian civil society to avoid a situation where these services are affected by the political situation (40 percent agree completely; 26 percent agree to some degree).
 - Nearly 95 percent of the respondents think that enhancing the role of the civil society and the public sector would contribute to the alleviation of the current state of political standoff within the Palestinian society.
 - Over half (52 percent) think that there is a policy of exclusion practiced against the majority of social sectors who are not affiliated with Fatah or Hamas. However, about 35 percent agree there is a policy of exclusion to some degree.
- Of the respondents, 97 percent think that the state of severe polarization, political confusion, and vigilantism will persist in the absence of a clear national reference point or authority with acknowledged resistance and democratic legitimacy.



Development Studies Programme

Annex 1

Opinion Leaders' Survey

**Final Status Issues: Borders, Refugees, Jerusalem, Water
Political System and Democracy
Social and Economic Attitudes
Expectations and Priorities**

Dates of Field Work: 12-18/2/2007

Date of Publication: 28/2/2007

Sample size: 520 Leaders (West Bank and Gaza Strip)

Section One: Living Conditions			
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1. How do you describe the current economic situation of your family?			
1) Very good	1.0	0.6	1.6
2) Good	0.8	0.6	1.1
3) Fair	7.9	8.2	7.4
4) Bad	48.7	51.5	43.7
5) Very bad	41.7	39.1	46.3
2. Are you optimistic or pessimistic?			
1) Optimistic	30.6	28.2	34.7
2) In between	38.5	37.9	39.5
3) Pessimistic	30.6	33.3	25.8
4) I don't know	0.4	0.6	0.0
3. Do you believe that Palestinian society is heading in the right direction?			
1) Yes	21.6	20.1	24.2
2) No	73.6	74.7	71.6
3) I don't know	4.8	5.2	4.2
4. Do you feel secure given the ongoing political crisis?			
1) Yes	14.3	16.7	10.1
2) To some extent	33.9	37.6	27.5
3) No	51.8	45.8	62.4
Section Two: Final Status Issues, Lasting Peace and Reconciliation (Refugees, Jerusalem, Settlements, Borders, Water And Other Natural Resources)			
<p>There are discussions among the decision-makers and political circles at the regional and international levels, and even in Israel and within the Palestinian society itself about certain scenarios as potential solutions for the final status issues in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. We need you to assess the following scenarios and tell us if they are preferable and-or feasible.</p>			
5. There are several potential scenarios for ending the conflict in the region and determining the future of the Palestinian people, what's your assessment?			

One democratic state in historical Palestine for all its citizens without discrimination based on religion, race, ethnicity, color, or sex (to be determined by a constitution and upon international safeguards and guarantees)			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	15.5	18.4	10.6
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	52.0	48.2	58.7
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	5.6	5.8	5.3
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	26.8	27.6	25.4
A bi-national state in historical Palestine that guarantees the national rights of Palestinians and Jews without discrimination or hegemony of one party over the other (to be determined by a constitution and upon international safeguards and guarantees).			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	15.7	17.4	12.8
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	28.5	28.3	28.7
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	14.1	14.3	13.8
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	41.7	39.9	44.7

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
An Islamic State on all lands of historical Palestine with Jews and Christians to be treated as minorities (non-Muslims enjoying the protection of a Muslim state)			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	9.1	8.4	10.2
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	22.5	21.8	23.7
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	5.9	6.2	5.4
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	62.5	63.6	60.8
Two states, Palestinian and Israeli (according to the 1988 resolution of the Palestinian National Council & UN 242)			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	53.9	52.3	56.6
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	11.3	13.5	7.4
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	20.4	20.0	21.2
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	14.4	14.2	14.8
6. Refugees:			
Implementation of UN Resolution 194 (the right of return and/or compensation), according to which refugees return to their places of origin as Israeli citizens and compensation is made to those who are unwilling to return			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	32.6	32.1	33.3
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	41.9	43.5	39.2
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	8.4	6.5	11.6
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	17.2	17.9	15.9
A fair, comprehensive, and final "negotiated" solution for the issue or Question of refugees (with no reference to the UN resolution)			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	25.0	26.0	23.4
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	18.4	17.3	20.2
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	26.4	25.1	28.7
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	30.1	31.6	27.7
The right of refugees to return to the territories territory of the Palestinian State with the approval of compensations for them			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	31.8	31.2	33.0
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	16.4	13.0	22.3

3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	35.2	37.7	30.9
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	16.6	18.2	13.8
Accept an Israeli recognition of Israel's responsibility for this problem as a first step, then proceed to discuss possible solutions			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	27.1	26.4	28.2
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	27.1	26.7	27.7
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	16.6	17.6	14.9
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	29.2	29.2	29.3
Give compensations to Palestinian refugees and settle them in their host countries of residence			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	6.1	7.2	4.3
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	4.5	5.0	3.7
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	33.1	33.5	32.4
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	56.2	54.2	59.6

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
7. Jerusalem:			
East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian State			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	69.2	69.9	67.9
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	14.6	15.5	13.2
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	8.9	8.2	10.0
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	7.3	6.4	8.9
East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian State, re-divided to give Israel control over the Jewish quarter			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	9.6	10.8	7.4
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	5.5	4.6	6.9
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	40.4	41.8	38.1
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	44.5	42.7	47.6
Unified East and West Jerusalem under international sovereignty			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	10.0	9.6	10.6
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	20.1	20.4	19.6
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	21.1	22.3	19.0
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	48.8	47.7	50.8
Internationalize East Jerusalem only			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	1.6	1.3	2.1
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	2.9	3.8	1.6
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	28.1	28.1	28.0
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	67.4	66.9	68.3
Administrative or functional division of East Jerusalem, whereby the Palestinian State would undertake the religious, police, and civil functions while Israel maintains security powers			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	1.8	1.5	2.1
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	3.3	3.7	2.6
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	28.1	28.8	27.0
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	66.8	65.9	68.3

A unified Jerusalem as capital for the Palestinian and Israeli states			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	10.9	11.4	10.1
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	14.6	16.0	12.2
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	13.9	15.4	11.2
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	60.5	57.1	66.5
8. Settlements:			
Dismantling of or full withdrawal from all settlements inside the Palestinian Territories, and handover to Palestinian authority			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	68.4	69.1	67.2
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	28.5	28.1	29.1
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	1.7	1.2	2.6
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	1.4	1.5	1.1
Dismantling of or full withdrawal from most settlements and handover to the Palestinian authority, while annexing the larger settlements to Israel, according to a land-swap agreement between the two states			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	9.5	7.4	13.2
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	7.6	8.0	6.8
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	45.3	47.2	42.1
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	37.5	37.3	37.9

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Maintain status quo for the larger settlements, while nationalizing the settlers as Palestinian citizens			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	2.1	2.2	2.1
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	6.4	6.8	5.8
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	11.9	12.3	11.1
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	79.5	78.7	81.0
Maintain status quo for the larger settlements and consider their residents Israeli citizens in the Palestinian State			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	2.5	2.5	2.6
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	2.5	2.2	3.2
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	12.3	13.3	10.6
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	82.7	82.1	83.6
Conduct a resident-swap between settlers and Palestinians living inside Israel			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	2.3	2.8	1.6
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	2.3	2.2	2.6
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	13.7	13.3	14.3
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	81.6	81.7	81.5
Evacuate settlers and maintain settlements for Palestinian refugees' residential purposes			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	38.9	38.5	39.7
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	21.8	21.5	22.2
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	17.1	16.3	18.5
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	22.2	23.7	19.6
9. Borders:			
The borders of the Palestinian State are the 1967 borders			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	64.8	66.4	62.1
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	11.9	10.9	13.7
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	16.6	14.6	20.0
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	6.7	8.1	4.2

Introduce minor border alterations according to which a proportionate (in size and quality) geographical swap of lands is conducted			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	31.0	28.1	36.0
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	13.5	11.7	16.4
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	34.1	36.7	29.6
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	21.4	23.5	18.0
Make alterations to the borders, including a solution for the problem of settlements based on the principle of annexing the larger settlement communities to Israel			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	4.5	3.7	5.8
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	4.1	5.3	2.1
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	34.8	33.4	37.0
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	56.6	57.6	55.0
Introduce border alterations that take into consideration geographical congruity in the Palestinian Territories (also between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip)			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	38.9	37.5	41.3
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	23.8	22.9	25.4
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	21.5	19.8	24.3
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	15.8	19.8	9.0

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Establish a Palestinian State with temporary borders, pending the negotiation of permanent borders			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	8.8	9.2	7.9
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	4.3	2.5	7.4
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	28.6	31.1	24.3
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	58.4	57.2	60.3
10. Water:			
Palestine and Israel maintain full sovereign rights over their water as any other two independent states			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	65.8	66.5	64.7
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	18.6	19.1	17.9
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	6.6	5.8	7.9
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	8.9	8.6	9.5
A settlement agreement, which incorporates specific items related to water sharing according to the needs of the two parties of the agreement			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	23.2	22.8	23.8
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	14.6	13.9	15.9
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	28.7	30.6	25.4
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	33.5	32.7	34.9
The water rights of both states preserved with formulas and formats for cooperation in this area			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	49.4	50.5	47.6
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	19.5	19.8	19.0
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	18.4	16.7	21.2
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	12.7	13.0	12.2
Section Three: Prospects Of Peace And Reconciliation Between Palestinians And Israelis.			
11. In the event that negotiations resulted in the establishment of a Palestinian state and the settlement of all issues of contention, it would be possible to:			
Achieve historical reconciliation between the two peoples, Israeli and Palestinian, with normalization as a normal by-product			
1) I agree	30.4	33.6	24.9

2) I agree to some extent	39.3	37.9	41.8
3) I disagree	29.1	27.2	32.3
4) No opinion	1.2	1.2	1.1
Establish two independent states with open borders			
1) I agree	39.8	41.0	37.9
2) I agree to some extent	25.5	23.5	28.9
3) I disagree	33.1	33.6	32.1
4) No opinion	1.5	1.8	1.1
Establish joint economic projects between the two states towards the development of economic relations that could ultimately reach the level of a joint market			
1) I agree	38.6	36.4	42.3
2) I agree to some extent	27.9	27.5	28.6
3) I disagree	32.2	33.9	29.1
4) No opinion	1.4	2.1	0.0

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Build joint political institutions and enhance cooperation at all political, security, and economic levels towards a confederation between the two states			
1) I agree	13.8	11.6	17.5
2) I agree to some extent	15.7	16.2	14.8
3) I disagree	68.2	68.8	67.2
4) No opinion	2.3	3.4	0.5
A process of historical reconciliation is inherently impossible			
1) I agree	40.7	39.3	43.1
2) I agree to some extent	25.0	23.5	27.7
3) I disagree	32.9	35.1	29.3
4) No opinion	1.4	2.1	0.0
Focus on economic and cultural relations with the Arab world rather than Israel			
1) I agree	66.3	65.9	67.2
2) I agree to some extent	18.2	18.6	17.5
3) I disagree	13.9	14.0	13.8
4) No opinion	1.5	1.5	1.6
Section Four: Relations Between the Palestinian State and Jordan, Israel and Egypt.			
<i>12. There are several proposed scenarios for the shape of the regional relations of the anticipated Palestinian State that are linked to visions that are primarily related to the historical relations with both Egypt and Jordan, in addition to security, economic and cultural dimensions. The following are some of the proposed scenarios for these relations. You are kindly requested to give your assessment of each scenario.</i>			
A Palestinian State that maintains normal relations with neighboring countries			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	86.1	87.3	84.1
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	7.5	6.7	9.0
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	3.3	3.0	3.7
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	3.1	3.0	3.2
A confederation with Jordan			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	23.0	28.9	12.7
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	11.1	13.2	7.4
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	32.5	31.7	33.9
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	33.5	26.2	46.0
A tri-lateral confederation with Jordan and Israel			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	6.3	7.5	4.2
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	4.1	4.0	4.2

3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	16.8	20.2	11.1
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	72.8	68.3	80.4
The Palestinian State that allows (temporarily) a Jordanian role in the West Bank and an Egyptian role in the Gaza Strip, according to an agreed format of functional division (security related and economic primarily)			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	9.7	9.9	9.5
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	6.8	9.0	3.2
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	27.1	27.8	25.9
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	56.3	53.4	61.4

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
A bi-lateral confederation with Israel			
1) I prefer this scenario, and believe it is feasible	4.5	3.7	5.8
2) I prefer this scenario, regardless of its feasibility	4.5	5.3	3.2
3) I don't prefer this scenario, but believe it is feasible	7.8	9.3	5.3
4) I don't prefer this scenario, and don't believe it is feasible	83.2	81.7	85.7
Section Five: Negotiation And Conflict Management			
13. Supervision of the negotiation process: In your view, which one of the following bodies is the most legitimate and capable to manage negotiations with Israel, particularly in relation to final status issues:			
1) Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)	32.5	33.8	30.3
2) Palestinian National Authority	1.2	1.3	1.1
3) A negotiation commission consisting of both the PLO and the PNA	29.5	27.8	32.4
4) A negotiation commission consisting of both the PLO and the Islamic movements	34.7	34.7	34.6
5) Islamic Movements	2.2	2.5	1.6
14. Ratification of agreements: If substantial core agreements were concluded with Israel (addressing final status issues), which of the following legislating authorities is the most authorized to ratify it:			
1) The National Council of the PLO	12.6	13.2	11.6
2) The Palestinian Legislative Council	2.9	2.2	4.2
3) The combined votes of both the National and Legislative Councils	8.2	6.8	10.6
4) Present the agreements for a general referendum within the Palestinian Territories	10.5	11.4	9.0
5) Present the agreements for a general referendum by Palestinians all over the world	65.8	66.5	64.6
15. Coordination among the negotiation tracks: in order to secure the realization of permanent and comprehensive peace that observes the rights and interests of the countries in the region, there is a view that advocates linking the negotiation tracks, while another view calls for the specificity of each track. You are kindly requested to give an answer as to which of the following proposed scenarios is the most acceptable to you:			
1) Link the Palestinian negotiation track with both the Lebanese and Syrian tracks	5.5	6.2	4.3
2) Continuation of bi-lateral negotiations with Israel without any coordination or linkage to the two other tracks	7.7	6.2	10.3
3) Bi-lateral negotiations in coordination with Syria and Lebanon	4.3	4.7	3.8

4) Establish a negotiation committee that encompasses all relevant parties under the auspices of the Arab League to promote and advance the Arab initiative	24.3	24.8	23.2
5) An international conference under the auspices of the UN including Arab parties directly concerned/involved in the conflict and the Arab League	58.2	58.1	58.4
<i>16. Scenarios for the settlement and the conflict: Which of the following mechanisms proposed by the Palestinians for the management of the conflict/settlement with Israel, is in your view the most realistic scenario for realizing national liberation and the establishment of the state</i>			
1) Armed resistance	5.7	3.8	8.9
2) Negotiations	7.3	7.5	6.8
3) Combining armed resistance and negotiations	39.7	37.3	43.7
4) Combining peaceful popular resistance and negotiations	47.3	51.4	40.5

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
17. Temporary and permanent solutions: Which one of the following solutions appears to be the most achievable over the next five years:			
1) A peace treaty that encompasses a comprehensive solution to all issues including the establishment of the state and the question of refugees	34.8	38.2	28.9
2) A long-term interim peace agreement	6.0	5.8	6.3
3) Establishment of a viable Palestinian state while keeping issues such as refugees and settlements open to negotiation	22.7	19.4	28.4
4) Truce with Israel based on the Hamas program	9.4	8.2	11.6
5) Comprehensive calm and return to pre-Al Aqsa Intifada conditions	9.8	8.5	12.1
6) Maintain the current status quo	7.9	9.4	5.3
7) Establishment of a Palestinian state with temporary borders	5.2	6.1	3.7
8) Other	4.2	4.5	3.7
18. Failure of conflict settlement efforts: If all attempts to revive the peace process fail, which of the following options is the most feasible for managing the Palestinian affairs:			
1) Unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state, escalating resistance within the framework of nationally agreed resistance strategies and methods	24.2	21.2	29.5
2) Dissolving the PNA, having the world assume its responsibilities towards the resulting legal vacuum, and managing resistance through Palestinian factions	43.7	48.8	34.7
3) Maintain the situation as is, i.e. maintain the PNA and develop new strategies to manage the Palestinian affairs	28.1	25.8	32.1
4) Other	4.0	4.2	3.7
19. International presence in the Palestinian Territories: Do you agree to an international presence in the Palestinian Territories for an interim period, during which the occupation army withdraws and internationally managed areas are handed over to the UN (successively according to progress in negotiations with Israel)?			
1) I agree	39.4	42.1	34.7
2) I agree to some extent	34.6	33.0	37.4
3) I disagree	25.0	24.2	26.3
4) No opinion	1.0	0.6	1.6
Section Six: Internal Palestinian Conditions			
First: The type of the political, economic, and social system of the Palestinian state and the constitution			

20. What is the most acceptable form of governance to you:			
1) A presidential system	9.8	10.1	9.5
2) A parliamentary system	52.9	50.0	57.9
3) A mixed system	35.3	37.2	32.1
4) Other (specify)	1.9	2.7	0.5
21. What is your preferred form of a Palestinian government:			
1) A national government similar to governments in Arab countries	7.9	7.3	8.9
2) A democratic government similar to governments in the European countries and Israel	72.0	71.3	73.2
3) Islamic government similar to the Iranian government	3.1	3.4	2.6
4) Another form of government	17.0	18.0	15.3

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
22. In your view, what is the preferred economic system for the Palestinian state?			
1) A liberal system based on open market policies	32.4	31.4	34.2
2) A socialist system	10.4	11.0	9.5
3) Welfare state system	30.1	30.5	29.5
4) Islamic economic system	22.6	21.0	25.3
5) Other	4.4	6.1	1.6
23. Would you agree to a constitutional text stating that Palestine is a demilitarized state with the exception of internal security functions?			
1) Yes	29.7	28.3	32.3
2) No	63.7	65.3	60.8
3) Undecided	6.6	6.4	6.9
24. Would you agree to a constitutional provision declaring the secularism of the Palestinian state?			
1) Yes	51.4	52.4	49.5
2) No	41.1	39.9	43.2
3) Undecided	7.5	7.6	7.4
25. Would you agree to full equality for women in rights and duties to be stipulated by law?			
1) Yes	87.8	88.8	86.2
2) No	9.1	9.1	9.0
3) Undecided	3.1	2.1	4.8
26. Priorities of the Palestinian society (for the coming 1-3 years):			
Ending occupation and establishing an independent Palestinian state			
1) Important	95.8	96.0	95.3
2) Important to some extent	3.5	3.0	4.2
3) Not Important	0.6	0.6	0.5
4) No opinion	0.2	0.3	0.0
Lay the foundations for national unity and maintain the cohesiveness of the Palestinian society			
1) Important	98.5	99.1	97.4
2) Important to some extent	1.4	0.9	2.1
3) Not Important	0.2	0.0	0.5
Enhancing the economic conditions and reducing unemployment and poverty rates			
1) Important	96.7	96.7	96.8
2) Important to some extent	3.1	3.3	2.6
3) Not Important	0.2	0.0	0.5

Achieving progress in the negotiations and ultimately reaching a comprehensive peace agreement.			
1) Important	72.0	74.4	67.9
2) Important to some extent	19.5	18.3	21.6
3) Not Important	7.1	5.8	9.5
4) No opinion	1.4	1.5	1.1
Realization of democracy and enhancement of public and personal freedoms			
1) Important	84.4	84.8	83.7
2) Important to some extent	13.5	13.1	14.2
3) Not Important	2.1	2.1	2.1

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Ending internal chaos and vigilantism			
1) Important	99.4	99.7	98.9
2) Important to some extent	0.2	0.3	0.0
3) Not Important	0.2	0.0	0.5
4) No opinion	0.2	0.0	0.5
Fighting corruption within the Palestinian political system			
1) Important	94.4	93.0	96.8
2) Important to some extent	5.4	7.0	2.6
3) Not Important	0.2	0.0	0.5
Preserve social norms and traditions as well as the religious values			
1) Important	62.2	61.4	63.7
2) Important to some extent	27.7	29.5	24.7
3) Not Important	9.1	7.6	11.6
4) No opinion	1.0	1.5	0.0
Promoting the status of Palestinian women and marginalized social groups			
1) Important	79.2	80.5	76.8
2) Important to some extent	18.5	18.2	18.9
3) Not Important	2.3	1.2	4.2
Enhancing Palestinian diplomatic relations and securing financial support			
1) Important	84.4	82.1	88.4
2) Important to some extent	13.3	14.6	11.1
3) Not Important	1.9	2.7	0.5
4) No opinion	0.4	0.6	0.0
27. In view of the severe polarization in the Palestinian arena between Fatah and Hamas, which one of the following scenarios appears to be the most likely to prevail and impose itself upon the Palestinian internal situation.			
1) Continuation of the current situation, limited crises and confrontations	14.4	13.9	15.3
2) The situation explodes and evolves into a quasi civil war	3.5	1.8	6.3
3) A political agreement among the factions, particularly between Fatah and Hamas, to settle their differences without resorting to violence	67.1	69.1	63.7
4) Escalation of political, security, and economic crisis which would lead to the collapse of the PNA	11.9	12.4	11.1
5) Other	3.1	2.7	3.7

28. Given the current regional and international contexts, which faction is most capable of effectively managing the future of the Palestinian situation?			
1) Hamas	1.5	1.8	1.1
2) Fatah	3.5	3.0	4.2
3) A coalition of leftist groups	1.2	0.6	2.1
4) A reformed PLO	72.1	73.0	70.5
5) A democratic coalition comprised of civil society and independent leaders	15.6	15.8	15.3
6) Other	6.2	5.8	6.8

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
29. National Unity Government: Do you think that the proposed unity government will be able to achieve the following....?			
Lift the international economic and political boycott against the Palestinians			
1) Yes	21.4	21.3	21.6
2) To some extent	64.4	64.4	64.2
3) No	14.3	14.3	14.2
Reinforce the rule of law and dealing with the security chaos			
1) Yes	32.2	31.9	32.6
2) To some extent	54.3	55.0	53.2
3) No	13.5	13.1	14.2
Achieve progress in the political settlement with Israel			
1) Yes	13.0	13.2	12.6
2) To some extent	47.6	44.9	52.1
3) No	39.4	41.8	35.3
Represent all Palestinians			
1) Yes	31.1	32.0	29.5
2) To some extent	44.2	43.0	46.3
3) No	24.7	25.0	24.2
Reinforce democracy and freedom			
1) Yes	23.7	23.7	23.7
2) To some extent	49.7	48.9	51.1
3) No	26.6	27.4	25.3
Reform institutions and uproot corruption			
1) Yes	21.2	21.6	20.5
2) To some extent	50.2	49.1	52.1
3) No	28.6	29.3	27.4
Improve economic and living conditions			
1) Yes	21.0	21.3	20.5
2) To some extent	63.3	62.8	64.2
3) No	15.6	15.9	15.3
30. Do you support President Abbas's call for early legislative and presidential elections?			
1) Yes	27.6	28.3	26.3
2) No	28.5	28.9	27.9

3) Yes, on the condition that the President's call for elections is subject to the consensus of all forces, including Hamas	43.9	42.9	45.8
<i>31. What electoral system do you prefer for the Legislative Council?</i>			
1) The current electoral system based on dividing the Council seats equally between proportionate and majority system based on electoral districts	23.5	22.1	25.9
2) A majority system, i.e. based on the system of electoral districts for all Council seats (the old electoral system)	17.0	18.2	14.8
3) A proportionate representation system for all council seats based on one electoral district for Palestine	56.6	56.4	57.1
4) Other	2.9	3.3	2.1

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
32. If presidential elections took place in the coming future, would you participate?			
1) Yes	68.3	65.2	73.7
2) No	15.6	17.3	12.6
3) Undecided	16.2	17.6	13.7
33. If legislative elections took place today, which bloc would you vote for?			
1) Al Badil	7.6	8.1	6.8
2) Independent Palestine	2.7	2.8	2.6
3) Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa	8.2	5.9	12.1
4) Freedom and Social Justice	0.2	0.3	0.0
5) Change and Reform (Hamas)	12.5	10.9	15.3
6) National Coalition for Justice and Democracy	0.2	0.3	0.0
7) The Third Way	2.4	0.6	5.3
8) Freedom and Independence	0.2	0.0	0.5
9) Fatah	30.0	33.8	23.7
10) Undecided	22.5	22.2	23.2
11) I will not participate	13.4	15.0	10.5
34. In view of the current government's experience (the Hamas government), evaluate the following statements.			
The economic situation deteriorated further.			
1) True	81.9	80.9	83.7
2) Somewhat true	11.7	13.0	9.5
3) False	6.3	6.1	6.8
The current government is not assuming responsibility for the siege imposed against it.			
1) True	47.8	49.2	45.3
2) Somewhat true	30.4	30.4	30.5
3) False	21.8	20.4	24.2
The security situation deteriorated further, and the Palestinian social fabric is under the risk of fragmentation.			
1) True	85.2	84.5	86.3
2) Somewhat true	10.8	11.2	10.0
3) False	4.0	4.2	3.7
The current government represents its partisan audiences more than the Palestinian society.			
1) True	63.8	63.9	63.7
2) Somewhat true	15.8	17.6	12.6
3) False	20.4	18.5	23.7
I trust the ability of this government to fight corruption.			

1) True	22.2	22.9	21.1
2) Somewhat true	22.4	23.2	21.1
3) False	55.3	53.8	57.9
I trust the ability of the current government to achieve its electoral program if the siege was lifted.			
1) True	23.5	22.2	25.8
2) Somewhat true	25.4	28.0	21.1
3) False	51.1	49.8	53.2
The current government is the most capable of achieving progress in peaceful negotiations.			
1) True	5.2	6.1	3.7
2) Somewhat true	12.5	14.2	9.5
3) False	82.3	79.7	86.8

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Freedoms, particularly individual freedoms, freedom of expression, and women's rights, will be strangled.			
1) True	37.6	35.6	41.1
2) Somewhat true	24.8	27.0	21.1
3) False	37.6	37.4	37.9
The Fatah movement and the institution of the presidency contribute to the siege imposed on the current Palestinian government.			
1) True	35.3	35.8	34.4
2) Somewhat true	27.9	28.1	27.5
3) False	36.8	36.1	38.1
35. Which one of the following regional political alliances appear to be the most realistic to achieve the Palestinian priorities?			
1) The alliance of the PNA with the axis of Iran, Syria, and Hezbollah	2.5	3.1	1.6
2) The alliance of the PNA with moderate Arab countries that have close relations with the US, particularly Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia	14.7	13.2	17.4
3) The PNA staying outside the framework of regional alliances and maintaining balanced international relations	82.8	83.7	81.1
36. The societal and political forces: what is their role and what kind of impact do they have?			
Palestinian NGOs are incapable of having an effective impact on the current Palestinian crisis			
1) True	61.5	59.9	64.2
2) Somewhat true	30.4	31.6	28.4
3) False	8.1	8.5	7.4
In view of the severe polarization between Hamas and Fatah, there is a need to establish a third political way that brings together all the Palestinian democratic forces			
1) True	52.3	52.1	52.6
2) Somewhat true	24.3	22.6	27.4
3) False	23.4	25.3	20.0
It is better to shift all basic services to the Palestinian civil society to avoid a situation where these services are affected by the political situation			
1) True	40.2	39.6	41.3
2) Somewhat true	25.9	24.7	28.0
3) False	33.8	35.7	30.7
Enhancing the role of the civil society and the public sector would alleviate the current state of political standoff (congestion) within the Palestinian society			
1) True	69.6	69.0	70.5

2) Somewhat true	25.8	25.2	26.8
3) False	4.6	5.8	2.6
There is a policy of exclusion practiced against the majority of social sectors, outside Fatah supporters represented by the presidency and outside Hamas supporters represented by the government			
1) True	51.5	50.5	53.2
2) Somewhat true	34.8	34.9	34.7
3) False	13.7	14.7	12.1
The state of severe polarization, political confusion, and vigilantism will persist in the absence of a clear national authority with acknowledged democratic legitimacy			
1) True	84.3	83.5	85.7
2) Somewhat true	13.0	12.8	13.2
3) False	2.7	3.7	1.1

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