**Annex 1**

**Opinion Leaders’ Survey**

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| **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)**    **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.** | | | |
| ***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 |

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|  | **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 |

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|  | **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 |

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|  | **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 |

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|  | **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 |

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|  | **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.*** | | | | | | |
| ***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.*** | | | | | | |
| **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 |
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|  | **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 |
| ***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*** | | | |
| 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 |

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|  | **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 |

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|  | **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 |
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|  | | **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 |
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|  | **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 |
| ***31.***  ***What electoral system do you prefer for the Legislative Council?*** | | | | |
| 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 |
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| ***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 |
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|  | **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 represneted 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 |