



*Center for Development Studies*

**Annex 1**

**Results of Survey**

**Living Conditions and internal Issues**

**Legislation and Political Support**

**People Perceptions towards Fateh and Hamas**

**Date of Field Work: 1-9/4/2009**

**Date of Publication: 27/5/2009**

**Sample size: 6398 Palestinians (West Bank and Gaza Strip)**

**Margin of error:  $\pm 1.5$**

Section One : The living conditions in the Palestinian Territories			
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
<b>1. How do you describe the current economic situation of your family?</b>			
1) Very good	5.2	5.3	5.0
2) Good	25.3	28.0	20.5
3) Intermediate	41.5	43.4	38.2
4) Bad	19.2	17.0	23.1
5) Very Bad	8.7	6.2	13.2
<b>2. In the current period, do you feel that you and your family are safe?</b>			
1) Yes	38.3	39.1	36.9
2) Somewhat safe	30.3	32.0	27.2
3) No	31.0	28.3	35.7
4) I don't have an opinion / I don't know	.5	.6	.2
<b>3. Are you generally optimistic or pessimistic about the future?</b>			
1) I am optimistic	42.0	40.7	44.3
2) Somewhat optimistic	26.0	28.2	22.0
3) I am pessimistic	31.3	30.3	33.0
4) No opinion	.7	.7	.8
<b>4. Is the family provider currently employed?</b>			
1) Yes, regularly	48.7	52.5	41.9
2) Yes, occasionally	28.4	35.5	15.8
3) There is no provider for my family	2.7	1.6	4.7
4) The family provider is unemployed	20.2	10.5	37.6
<b>5. If you had the opportunity to migrate and live abroad, would you immigrate?</b>			
1) yes	32.6	28.8	39.4
2) No	67.4	71.2	60.6
<b>6. Have you been personally exposed to any of the following practices by the occupation army?</b>			

<b>Beating</b>			
1) yes	20.9	21.8	19.3
2) No	79.1	78.2	80.7
<b>Arrest</b>			
1) yes	13.7	15.3	10.8
2) No	86.3	84.7	89.2
<b>Injury</b>			
1) yes	8.5	7.9	9.5
2) No	91.5	92.1	90.5
<b>Verbal abuse, and insulting</b>			
1) yes	30.7	35.8	21.3
2) No	96.3	64.2	78.7
<b>Sexual Harassment</b>			
1) yes	4.5	5.5	2.6
2) No	95.5	94.5	79.4
<b><i>Section Two : The general perceptions on the current situation in the Palestinian Territories</i></b>			
<b><i>Are you currently a member of any of the Palestinian political factions?</i></b>			
1) Yes	20.0	18.2	23.1
2) No	77.9	79.3	75.4
3) No opinion	2.1	2.4	1.6
<b><i>Which political faction do you normally support?</i></b>			
1) DFLP	1.0	1.0	.9
2) People's party	1.2	1.4	1.0
3) Fateh	26.5	24.9	29.5
4) PFLP	2.4	2.1	3.0
5) Islamic Jihad	2.6	2.4	2.8
6) Democratic Union Feda	.0	.1	
7) Hamas	12.2	9.4	17.3

8) Al Mubadara	1.5	1.7	1.1
9) Another leftist party (please specify: )	.1	.1	
10) Another Islamic party (please specify: )	.8	.9	.6
11) Another national party (please specify: )	.4	.5	.3
12) I am independent closer to Islamic parties	5.2	4.9	5.9
13) I am independent closer to leftist parties	1.0	1.1	.9
14) I am independent closer to Fateh	3.9	4.2	3.3
15) I am not with any of those parties	41.2	45.5	33.4
If legislative elections take place soon, are you going to participate?			
1) Yes	62.6	59.5	68.2
2) No	27.7	29.0	25.4
3) I have not decided yet	9.6	11.5	6.4
<b><i>In the case electoral lists are formed similar to the following, for to whom are you going to will you vote?</i></b>			
1) The leftist list (including PFLP, DFLP, Feda, People's party, independent leftists)	4.3	4.7	3.4
2) Hamas list (including Hamas and supporters)	16.7	13.0	23.6
3) Fateh List (including Fateh and supporters)	31.3	28.1	37.4
4) Al Mubadara List and supporters	2.2	1.8	3.1
5) I will participate but I did not yet decide to whom I am going to vote	27.9	32.6	19.4
6) I will participate but I will not vote to any of the following, I am waiting for other lists	17.5	19.9	13.1

***To get out of the current Palestinian crisis, which of the following propositions do you approve?***

1) Forming a unity government of all factions	58.0	60.2	54.0
2)Forming a government of independent specialists	19.4	17.8	22.1
3)Forming a mixed government of specialists and factions members.	22.6	22.0	23.9

***Will you approve a solution taking in consideration the UN resolutions and including a Palestinian independent state in West Bank and Gaza with Jerusalem as its capital and a just solution for the refugee problem?***

1) Yes	82.1	80.8	84.5
2) No	13.7	13.6	13.9
3) I am not sure	4.2	5.6	1.6

***Which of the following practices are more commonly used by Fateh, which by Hamas and which of them is practiced by both sides equally?***

***Oppression of general freedoms***

1)Fateh	19.2	20.9	16.4
2)Hamas	28.9	20.7	43.0
3) Both	51.9	58.4	40.6

***Corruption***

1)Fateh	32.6	31.2	35.2
2)Hamas	18.5	16.1	22.6
3) Both	48.9	52.8	42.3

***Preserving national interests /concerns***

1)Fateh	27.8	25.5	31.9
2)Hamas	27.0	25.9	28.9
3) Both	45.2	48.7	39.1

***Will for dialogue and unity***

1)Fateh	35.0	32.1	39.9
2)Hamass	21.3	20.3	23.0
3) Both	43.8	47.6	37.1
<b><i>Putting power before public interests/concerns</i></b>			
1)Fateh	31.7	34.3	27.2
2)Hamass	24.0	18.5	33.7
3) Both	44.3	47.2	39.2
<b><i>Committing and dealing with the regional equation</i></b>			
1)Fateh	35.2	35.7	34.5
2)Hamass	19.9	16.3	26.1
3) Both	44.9	48.0	39.5
<b><i>Taking care of people's problems and developing the society</i></b>			
1)Fateh	32.9	29.9	38.1
2)Hamass	25.7	24.8	27.1
3) Both	41.4	45.3	34.8
<b><i>Resisting the occupation in one way or another</i></b>			
1)Fateh	12.8	12.6	13.2
2)Hamass	39.9	36.6	45.6
3) Both	47.3	50.8	41.3
<b><i>Caring for the party's interests</i></b>			
1)Fateh	23.9	25.8	20.5
2)Hamass	25.4	19.9	35.0
3) Both	50.7	54.3	44.5
<b><i>Democracy</i></b>			
1)Fateh	43.2	38.5	51.5
2)Hamass	15.7	14.8	17.3
3) Both	41.0	46.7	31.2
<b><i>Being attentive to international donors</i></b>			

1)Fateh	32.7	30.3	36.7
2)Hamass	11.9	10.2	14.8
3) Both	55.5	59.5	48.5
<b><i>What in your opinion is the objective behind the national dialogue between the Palestinian factions?</i></b>			
1)Fulfilling national goals/interests	51.5	49.7	54.8
2)Fulfilling the personal interests of those in the meetings	41.6	41.2	42.3
3)No opinion	6.9	9.1	2.9
<b><i>13.Within the different practiced strategies, which of the following is more likely to achieve national liberation and establishment of the independent state?</i></b>			
1)Armed resistance	18.0	17.2	19.4
2) Negotiations	16.6	19.1	12.1
3)Using both resistance and negotiations	42.5	37.4	51.5
4)Non-violent resistance and negotiations	17.7	19.1	15.1
5) I don't know	5.3	7.2	1.8

## Annex 2: Sample Distribution

Region		Type of locality		Refugee Status	
West Bank	64.4	City	57.8	Refugee	43.4
Gaza Strip	35.6	Village- town	27.4	Non-refugee	56.6
<b>Governorate</b>		Camp	14.8	<b>Education</b>	
Jenin	7.1	<b>Gender</b>		Illiterate	5.2
Tulkarm	4.6	Male	50.5	Preparatory	11.3
Nablus	8.8	Female	49.5	Elementary	27.2
Qalqilya	2.5			Secondary	34.5
Salfit	1.7	<b>Marital status</b>		Diploma & above	7.7
Tubas	1.3	Single	32.7		
Jericho	1.3	Married	63.0	<b>Monthly income (NIS)</b>	
Ramallah	8.2	Other	4.2		
Jerusalem	11.0	<b>Age</b>			
Bethlehem	5.0	16-17	6.5	Less than 1700	56.1
Hebron	13.1	18-25	27.5	1700-2500	22.8
North Gaza	6.7	26-35	27.4	2510-4000	15.1
Gaza City	12.4	36-45	17.4	More than 4000	6.1
Deir al-Balah	5.3	46-55	11.0		
Khan Younis	6.9	> 55	10.3		
Rafah	4.4			<b>Statue of work</b>	
<b>Reasons for unemployment</b>				Working	30.9
				Not working	69.1
1 \$ = 4.2 NIS					



**Public Opinion Survey**

**Living Conditions and Internal Issues**

**Legislation and Political Support**

**People Perceptions towards Fateh and Hamas**

**27 May 2009**

**Dates of fieldwork: 1-9 April 2009**

**Sample size: 6398 Palestinians (West Bank and Gaza Strip)**

**Margin of error:  $\pm 1.5$  percent**

- \* For further information or inquiries, contact Center at the listed address or through our e-mail ([CDS@birzeit.edu](mailto:CDS@birzeit.edu)).
- \* For the detailed results, please refer to Annex (1); for the sample distribution, please refer to Annex (2); and for the full methodology refer to our website (<http://home.birzeit.edu/CDS>).

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**First: Methodology of the Survey**

1. The questionnaire: the questionnaire has been prepared in accordance with appropriate standards of scientific enquiry. The questionnaire has been prepared using literature reviews and it was considered by

- a team of researchers and other experts. The questionnaire was tested after the fifth draft to assess the language, the objectivity of questions, the timing, and check the answers.
2. Field researchers: The team consisted of 100 researchers who were selected using a professional code of conduct. The team was trained by field research experts and was observed working in the field for three days.
  3. Field work: Field work was carried out over 9 days, 31/3-7/4/2009.
  4. Sample: The Palestinian territories have been divided into districts (West Bank, and Gaza Strip). Each district was given the same size of questionnaire sample (400 questionnaires). The sample size reached 6400 Palestinians, all above 16 years of age. The goal of the level of sampling was to ensure analysis on many levels, including district location, and place of residence. Different residences were chosen for the sample population (urban, rural, camp), through the use of a probability based method related to the size of every residence location in the district. Each residence location was divided into equal areas. A random sampling method was used in the beginning, through choosing an area for study, drawing the map, choosing a place to start, choosing the gender to start with according to a Kish table.
  5. Sample weighing: The sample in this study isn't self weighed, so weights were adjusted to ensure precision and representation by measurement of characteristics. Each point's weight was calculated using reverse probability choice according to the size of each district, age groups, and gender in the results. The results for all districts will be announced later.
  6. Data entry and analysis: The data was entered using SPSS software, under the supervision of statistics experts and a group of data entry trained staff through a strict monitoring system in Ramallah and Gaza.

## **Second: Headlines**

- **The survey has shown that 30% of the surveyed live in good or very good economic conditions compared to 42% who described their conditions as average, while the remaining 28% described it as bad or very bad.**
- **31% of those surveyed had expressed that they do not feel safe in terms of themselves, families, and possessions. This rate rises in the Gaza Strip to 36%. However, 68% have expressed their full or partial optimism for the future.**
- **51% stated that the family breadwinners work in part time jobs (28%), are unemployed (20%), or have no family breadwinner.**
- **33% of the surveyed stated their intent to emigrate out of the Palestinian territories if presented with the opportunity.**
- **21% of the surveyed have personally been beaten by the occupation army, while 14% were arrested and 9% were injured.**
- **20% of the surveyed stated that they are members of political parties or factions; 78% do not belong to any political group.**

- Fateh had the highest rate of political support, 27%; 12% supported Hamas, while 41% do not express support for any political parties.
- 39% of the surveyed did not specify their opinion regarding the incoming President (in case of a Presidential election).
- In general, figures from the survey indicate that the Fateh party got 33% of the votes (the most prominent figures are Mahmoud Abbas 16%, and Marwan al Barghouti 14%), while Hamas representatives received 16%.
- The survey indicates that Fateh would receive the highest number of votes in a legislative election; the Fateh party list received 31%, while Hamas' list received 17%.
- 58% of those surveyed would prefer a national unity government, while 19% support a technocratic government.
- 43% of the surveyed support the use of negotiation along with armed resistance, while 19% support a strategy of negotiation, as a basis for national liberation and state creation.
- In general, those surveyed prefer Fateh over Hamas in areas including general freedoms, interest in improving community and peoples' conditions and democracy.
- Those surveyed stated a preference for Hamas over Fateh in the areas of resisting occupation, transparency, and integrity.

## **Third: Analysis**

### **Part One: Living Conditions**

#### **1. Living conditions for Palestinian families:**

- 30% of those surveyed described their economic conditions as very good, (5%), or good (25%) while 42% consider their situation to be average.
- 28% have considered their economic condition bad (19%) or very bad (9%).
- In general, the percentage of surveyed who consider their economic situation to be bad or very bad is higher in the Gaza Strip where it reached 36% in comparison with 23% in the West Bank.

#### **2. Safety and security**

- 38% have expressed their feeling of safety for themselves, their families, and their possessions while 30% expressed their feeling of safety to an extent. On the other hand, 31% of the surveyed stated that they do not feel safe regarding themselves, their families, and their possessions.
- By districts, the percentage of those who do not feel safe is higher in the Gaza Strip at 36%, compared to 28% in the West Bank.

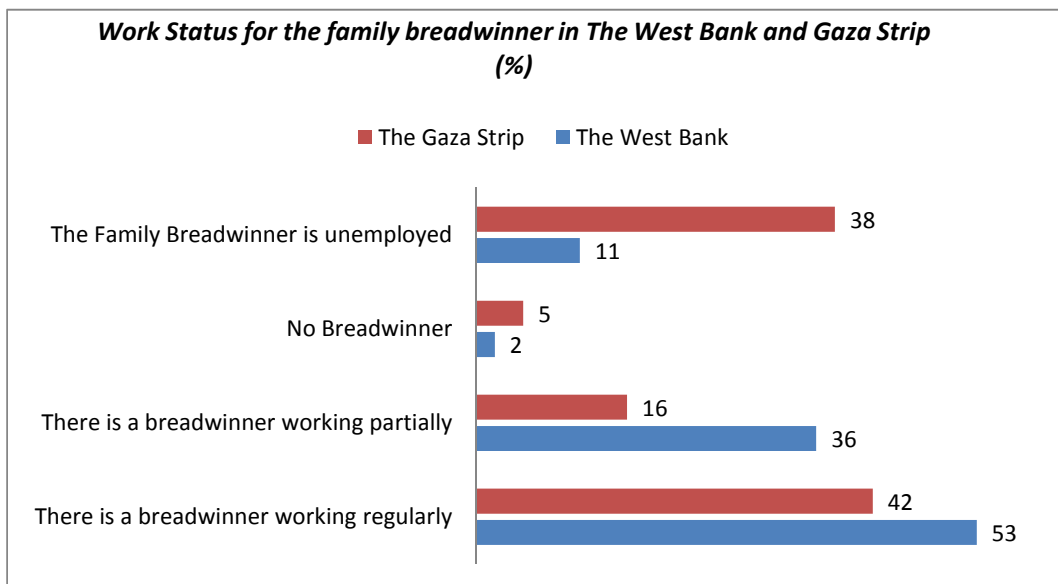
#### **3. Optimism/pessimism regarding the future**

- 42% have expressed optimism towards the future, 26% are optimistic to an extent while 31% are pessimistic towards the future.

#### **4. Work status of the family breadwinner.**

- 49% of the surveyed have a family breadwinner working regularly while 28% have them working part time.
- 3% lack a family breadwinner, while 20% stated that the family breadwinner was unemployed.
- The results show that the percentage of those surveyed whose family breadwinner works regularly is higher in the West Bank (53%), than the Gaza Strip (42%). This is in contrast to

unemployed breadwinners being higher in Gaza at 38%, compared to 11% in the West Bank.



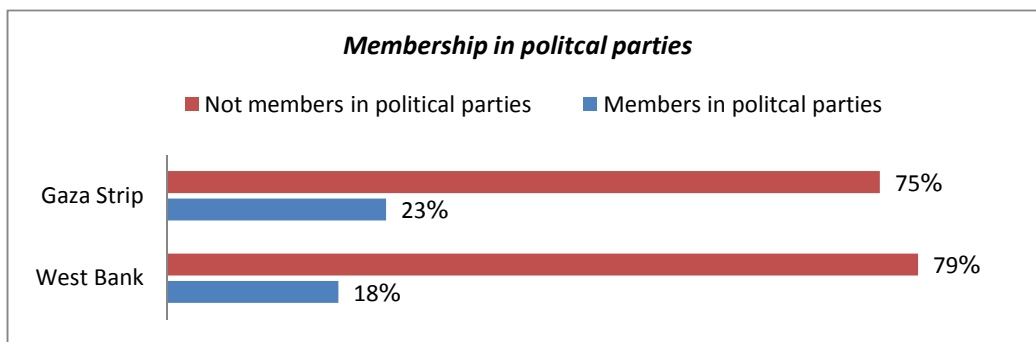
## 5. Emigration

- 33% of the surveyed stated their desire to emigrate if they had the chance, while 67% said they would not.
- The percentage of those who would migrate is 10 points higher in the Gaza Strip (39%)

## Part Two: Political Support

### 1. Membership in political parties and political support

- 20% of those surveyed have stated that they are members of Palestinian political factions, while the majority (78%) are not members. The results show that membership in political parties is higher in the Gaza Strip (23%) ,compared to the West Bank (18%).



- In terms of the political support expressed by those surveyed, the results have shown that 41% of the surveyed do not support any of the available political parties. That rate is higher in the West Bank, reaching 45%, compared to 33% in the Gaza Strip.
- Fateh party has the most support of 27% of all the parties (30% in the Gaza Strip, 25% in the West Bank).
- Hamas is the second most popular group, having the support of 12% of those surveyed (17% in the Gaza Strip, 9% in the West Bank).

- For the rest of the parties, political affiliation is as follows: 5% independent Islamic, 4% independent leaning towards Fateh, 3% Islamic Jihad, 2% Popular Front, less than 2% Al Mubadara (national initiative), while the other factions did not received more than 1% .
- Fateh and Hamas received more support in the Gaza Strip as the rate of those who do not support any of the factions is higher in the West Bank.

## **2. Legislative and Presidential Elections**

- The majority of those surveyed (63%) stated that they intend to participate in upcoming legislative and presidential elections. 28% do not intend to participate; 9% have not decided whether to participate.
- In the Gaza Strip, 68% intend to participate, which is 8 percent higher than those in the West Bank.

### **Presidential elections**

In order to measure the attitudes of Palestinian citizens towards the potential Presidential candidate, the question was open ended. The results were as follows:

- A large percentage of the surveyed (39%) has not specified their position towards a preferred candidate. 7% abstained from answering, 12% stated that they would not vote while 20% have not decided who they would vote for.
- As for the remaining 58% who have specified their preference; the data shows that there is a tendency towards the voting for three candidates:
  - Mahmoud Abbas received 16% of the votes, Ismail Haniyeh 15%, and in third position Marwan al Barghouthi with 14%. In fourth position is Mustafa al Barghouthi who received 6% of the votes, while Mohammed Dahlan, and Salam Fayyad each received 2% of the votes.
  - The other Fateh figures (such as: Farouq al Qaddoumi, Sa'eb Ureikat, Jibril al Rjoob, and others) received 4% of the collated votes.
  - The other Hamas figures (such as: Khaled Mashal, Ahmed Bahar, Mahmoud al Zahhar, and Nasser al Sha'er) received 1% of the collated votes.
  - Leftist figures (Tayseer Khaled, Bassam al Salhi, and Ahmad Sa'dat) received 1% of the collated votes.
  - By grouping the votes received by Fateh candidates, they receive 33% of the votes compared to 16% for Hamas candidates.

### **Legislative Elections**

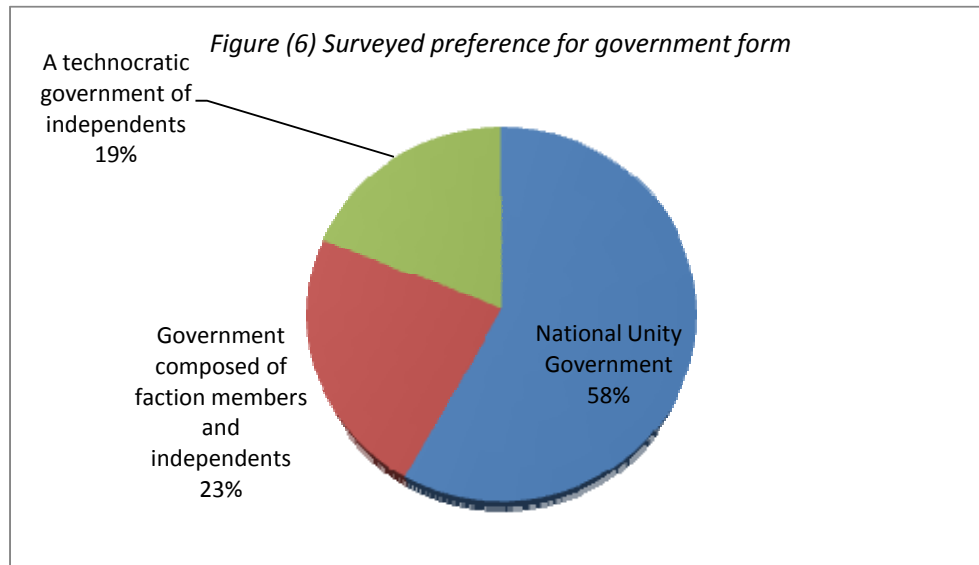
- If the elections are carried out now, the survey results indicate that Fateh's list of candidates would receive more votes, 31% of this total. The rate of support for Fateh is higher in the Gaza Strip is, 37% compared to 28% in the West Bank.
- If the elections were to be carried out now, the survey results indicate that the Hamas list of candidate would register 17% of the vote, with 24% support in the Gaza Strip and 13% in the West Bank.
- As for a leftist list of candidates, headed by the popular and democratic front, and the peoples' party, they would receive 4% of the vote.
- Finally, the National Palestinian Initiative and its allies would receive 2% of the vote.
- 28% of those who have stated that they will participate in the elections have not decided for whom they will vote. This rate is higher in the West Bank with 33%, compared to 19% in the Gaza Strip.
- 18% of the surveyed have stated that they are undecided about participating in the elections. They will not vote for any of the aforementioned parties; they would rather wait for the formation of other blocks.

**1. Violence by the occupation army:**

- 21% stated that they were personally beaten by the occupation army (22%) in West Bank and (19%) in Gaza.
- 14% of the surveyed had been arrested before, 15% in the West Bank, and 11% in the Gaza Strip.
- 31% have stated that they have been verbally insulted by the occupation army, particularly on checkpoints; 36% in the West Bank, and 21% in the Gaza Strip.
- As for sexual harassment, particularly on checkpoints; 5% stated that they have been harassed; 6% in the West Bank, and 3% in the Gaza Strip

**2. Form of government, and national dialogue**

- The majority of those surveyed (58%) preferred a national unity government where all factions are participants, the support for such a government reaches 60% in the West Bank compared to 54% in the Gaza Strip. The second preference for government composition is a mixed government, with participation from the political factions and specialized independents; 23% have expressed their support for this option. ,
- 19% of those surveyed express their support for a technocratic government based on qualified independents.
- 52% believe the Palestinian political dialogue aims for national reconciliation while 42% see the goal to be achieving the personal interests of those engaged in dialogue.



**3. Attitudes toward national liberation, and state creation**

- The majority of those surveyed (82%) support a solution based on UN resolutions, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, with the capital being Jerusalem, including a just solution for the refugees. 14% oppose such a solution.
- In terms of liberation strategies, and the creation of a Palestinian state. 43% consider armed resistance combined with negotiation as being the more successful strategy.
- The strategy coupled with armed resistance, and peaceful resistance with negotiation, received 18%.
- 17% of those surveyed support strategic negotiations as a national liberation strategy.

- In the West Bank the support rates are higher for combining peaceful resistance and negotiations, and strategic negotiations as they reach 19% each, compared to 15% and 12% respectively in the Gaza Strip.
- In contrast, armed resistance combined with negotiations is the more supported strategy in the Gaza Strip at 52%, while it is 37% in the West Bank

#### **Part Four: Evaluation of Fateh and Hamas**

When comparing Fateh and Hamas, the public is divided in the evaluation. With regards to public freedoms, desire for unity and dialogue, interest in the betterment of peoples' conditions and improvement of the society, and democracy, the support for Fateh is more positive than that for Hamas. However, the evaluation is more positive for Hamas in topics such as corruption, resisting occupation in its different forms, and holding the authority in accordance to public interests. The detailed results are as follows

##### **1. Repressing Public Freedom**

- 29% consider Hamas to repress public freedoms more than Fateh, while 19% consider Fateh to be more repressive. 62% believe both to be repressive to the same degree.
- 43% of those surveyed in Gaza believe Hamas to be more repressive, this is compared to 21% in the West Bank.
- 16% of those surveyed in the Gaza Strip consider Fateh to be more repressive compared to 21% from the West Bank.

##### **2. Corruption**

- 33% believe Fateh to be more corrupt than Hamas, while 19% believe Hamas to be more corrupt. 49% of those surveyed consider the parties to be equal on the matter of corruption.
- At the regional level, 31% of those in the West Bank and 35% in Gaza believe Fateh to be more corrupt than Hamas, this is in contrast to 16% in the West Bank, and 23% in the Gaza Strip who believe Hamas to be more corrupt.

##### **3. Ensuring national interests**

- 28% regard Fateh to be more protective than Hamas concerning national interests, while 27% regard Hamas to be more protective of national interests. The remaining 35% find both parties to be equally protective.
- In the West Bank those who think Fateh and Hamas are equally protective of national interests is 26%. In the Gaza Strip, Fateh is considered to be more protective, 32%, compared to 29% for Hamas.

##### **4. Desire for dialogue and unity**

- 35% of those surveyed believe Fateh is more serious in its desire for dialogue and unity than Hamas compared to 21% who find Hamas to be the more serious party. The remaining 44% believe both parties to be serious towards achieving unity.
- 40% of those surveyed in the Gaza Strip surveyed lean positively towards Fateh while 23% for Hamas. In the West Bank 32% lean positively towards Fateh while 20% for Hamas.

##### **5. Holding Authority at the expense of public interest**

- 32% believe Fateh to be holding authority at the expense of public interest. At a regional level, this opinion is shared by 34% in the West Bank and 27% in the Gaza Strip.
- 24% believe Hamas to be holding authority at the expense of public interest. At the regional level, this opinion is shared by 34% in the Gaza Strip and 19% in the West Bank.

##### **6. Commitment to regional alliances**

- 35% of those surveyed regard Fateh to be more committed to regional alliances than Hamas, while 45% regard both parties to be equally committed to regional alliances.
- 20% regard Hamas to more committed to regional alliances. At a regional level, this opinion is supported by 26% in the Gaza Strip, 16% in the West Bank.

## **7. Interest in improving peoples' conditions, and improving the society**

- 33% of those surveyed consider Fateh to be more interested in improving peoples' conditions and the society than Hamas. In the Gaza Strip the rate reaches 38% of those surveyed compared to 30% in the West Bank,
- 26% of those surveyed consider Hamas to be more interested in improving the conditions of people and society.

## **8. Resisting occupation in it's different forms**

- Hamas is the political party preferred by those surveyed for strategies of resistance, with a 27% differential over Fateh, who received 12% of the support. Hamas's support rate was 40%.
- In the West Bank the differential, in favor of Hamas, was 24% while it reached 33% in the Gaza Strip.

## **9. Factional interests**

- 25% of those surveyed believe that Hamas are more involved in factional interests than Fateh, while 24% believe Fateh is more interested in factional interests. 51% of those surveyed believe them to be equally motivated by factional interests.
- 35% of those surveyed in the Gaza Strip believe Hamas to be more involved in factional interests compared to 20% of those surveyed from the West Bank.

## **10. Democracy**

- 41% of those surveyed consider Fateh to be more interested in democracy than Hamas, while 17% consider Hamas to be more interested in democracy. 41% of those surveyed view both parties to be equally interested in democracy.
- 52% of those surveyed in Gaza consider Fateh more interested in democracy than Hamas, compared to 39% in the West Bank.

## **11. International funding**

- 33% of those surveyed believe Fateh to be more interested in international funding while 12% of those surveyed believed Hamas to be more interested.
- The remaining 56% of those surveyed believe both parties have the same level of interest in funding but consider that this funding comes from different sources.

## **Part Five: Results chosen according to variables (Gender, Refugee Status, Work, Income, Age, Education Level)**

This section deals with the analysis of the most important results according to a number of issues to show variation in opinions.

### **Gender**

#### **1. Membership in political parties and political support**

- Of the 20% of those surveyed who declared membership to political factions, the female to male ratio is lower; membership in political parties is 12% women compared to 28% for men.
- When comparing levels of political support, support for Fateh is higher among males than females. Of the 27% who support Fateh (31% Men, 22% Women) In contrast, women demonstrated a higher level of



support for Hamas than men, as 15% of women support Hamas compared to 10% of men (total Hamas support is 12%).

## 2. Legislative and presidential elections

- Of the 63% of those surveyed who stated that they plan to participate in upcoming elections, women have expressed a lower desire to vote, at 59% compared to 66% for men.
- Of the main political blocks, Fateh would receive 27% of the female vote and 35% of male votes (average 31%), while Hamas would receive 20% of the female vote and 14% of male votes (17% general average).

## 3. Form of government, and national liberation strategies

- Our survey indicates that women express more support towards a national unity government than men, 62% compared to 54%. The average rate of support for a unity government is 58%.
- Women demonstrate a greater incidence of support for negotiations as a strategy of national liberation than men; 19% of women compared to 14% of men support this strategy (average support, - %). Women express less support for armed resistance than men, the results being 15% of women compared to 21% of men (average support, 18%).

## 4. Evaluation of Fateh and Hamas

- In general, women evaluate Hamas more positively than men in different issues evaluated in this survey; such is shown in the following table:

		Repressing Freedom	Protecting National Interests	Interest in improving peoples conditions
Fateh	Total	19	28	33
	Women	18	25	30
	Men	20	31	36
Hamas	Total	29	27	26
	Women	27	28	26
	Men	31	26	25

### Refugee Status Variable

- Refugees are more likely to be members of political parties than non-refugees, 22% compared to 19% (average is 20%).
- In the case of legislative elections, refugees are more likely than non-refugees to vote for both Fateh and Hamas. 35% of refugees would vote for Fateh compared to 29% of non-refugees. Similarly for Hamas, 19% of refugees would vote for them compared to 15% of non-refugees.

### Work Status Variable

- Political party members are twice as likely to be members of the workforce, at 30%, than those who are unemployed, 15%. Attitudes toward voting, liberation and state creation have not displayed remarkable differences between workers and non-workers.

### **Age Variable**

- The age group with the highest rate of membership in political parties is the 26-35 age group. The rate of membership in this category is 25%. The age group with the lowest rate of membership in political parties is the 55+ range, at 11%. The breakdown for the rest of the age groups is as follows, 16-17 years: 17%, 18-25: 21%, 36-45: 21% and 46-55: 14%.
- In terms of support for Fateh, there is very little variation between age groups (average support, 27%). The only age group that exhibits a marked difference is the categories of 46-55 and 55+, displaying 22% and 19% support respectively. Support for Hamas remains consistent across all the age groups.
- The voting preference for the main political blocks by age is as follows: voting preference for Hamas is lower for those aged 35+, ranging between 1 and 3%; it is higher between the same rates for the 34- age group. Those expressing a voting preference for Fateh are almost equal among all age group. The only remarkable difference is for those above 55 years, who at 24% are less likely to vote for Fateh at a rate of 6%.
- The average support for armed resistance across all age groups is 18%; the rate of support for armed resistance is higher for younger age groups: 16-17 years at 25% and 18-25 at 21%. Those above 55 years old are more likely to support negotiations, at 23% compared to the average of 17%.

### **Income Variable**

- Survey data shows that the level of income for the surveyed does not affect political party membership, even though those with an income of 1700-2500 and those with higher income than 4000 shekels have more members in political parties, while those with less income than the poverty line (less than 1700 shekel) have less membership in political parties.
- The lowest rate of voter support for Hamas is the highest income category of 4000 ILS per, at 13%, 4% lower than the survey average.
- An interesting survey finding is that the highest income category of 4000 shekels per... registers the least support for armed resistance and negotiations as national liberation strategies. The rate of support expressed for armed resistance was 21% compared to 18% average. The rate of support for negotiations reached 10% while the average was 17%.

### **Education Level Variable**

- There is large differential in membership of political factions in accordance with education levels. Membership of political parties is highest among those with a diploma or higher at 29%, those with secondary education certificate are 22% as likely to be members, those who have not completed secondary education are 14% likely to be members of political parties..
- In terms of political support for Fateh and Hamas, there is a higher rate of support in accordance with educational level for Fateh. This is the inverse in Hamas support. Support for Fateh (average 27%) is as follows: Diploma and Higher: 31%, Secondary Education: 27%, less than secondary education: 24%.
- Like political support, voting for the different political blocks is higher for Fateh with increased levels of education. The following table shows voting rates according to level of education.

	General Voting Average	Less than secondary	Secondary	Diploma or Higher
Fateh	31	29	33	34
Hamas	17	18	17	14

- Support for the various strategies of national liberation varies across education levels. Negotiations is the preferred strategy for those with lower rates of education, at 20% compared to only 13% who have a secondary diploma or higher who support negotiations.