



NEC's monthly monitor on the Gaza Strip



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INTRODUCTION

It has been five months since Hamas and its Executive Force ousted Fateh from its strongholds in the Gaza Strip, and effectively took power there. The toll of these events on the population of the Gaza Strip has been heavy, affecting nearly every aspect of their daily lives.

The highly volatile and rapidly changing conditions of a very isolated Gaza Strip require that its population is given a voice that can give some insight to policy-makers and decision-makers. NEC's "Gaza Monitor" provides regular updates that specifically concentrate on issues related to the Gaza Strip. This fourth issue is based on a phone survey of 391 randomly selected Palestinians in the Gaza Strip who are over the age of 18. The survey was conducted between 12-14 November, immediately after the rally in remembrance of the late President Yasser Arafat got out of hand. The survey, therefore, on this occasion, also includes some questions related to the late Palestinian president. In addition, with the Annapolis summit forthcoming, quite a few questions also relate to the Palestinian public's expectations not only in relation to the impending conference and its outcomes, but also more generally in terms of options that could be used as a basis for solving final status issues such as Jerusalem, the refugees, and the right of return.

The confidence level is 95% with a \pm /-4.8% margin of error.

The main findings are summarized below. Most results also reflect the differences in opinions depending on respondents' factional preferences of Hamas or Fateh as the polarization in opinions in the Gaza Strip further continues mainly along those lines. If interested in viewing the results to the questions in this survey according to other variables, including area of residence, educational attainment, refugee status, age, and gender, this can be done on NEC's website (www.neareastconsulting.com) by clicking on the banner of 'The Gaza Monitor'.

MAIN FINDINGS

On the feeling of security and concern:

- 83% of Gazans believe that the general situation in the Strip has deteriorated since the Hamas take-over. (Hamas supporters, 39% vs. Fateh supporters, 93%)
- Since the Hamas effective take-over of control in the Gaza Strip, 32% of Gazans feel more secure. (Hamas supporters, 95% vs. Fateh supporters, 8%)





- 67% of Gazans feel insecure with respect to themselves, their family, and their property. (Hamas supporters, 21% vs. Fateh supporters, 87%)
- The internal power struggle (41%) is the main issue of concern among Gazans. Respectively 24% of Gazans are mainly concerned by either the economic hardship of their household or by the absence of security for themselves and their family.
- 56% of Gazans believe that since Hamas took power in the Gaza Strip, they are unable to voice their opinion freely. (Hamas supporters, 15% vs. Fateh supporters, 74%)

<u>On factional trust, trust in leadership, and the legacy of the late</u> <u>Yasser Arafat:</u>

- Factional trust in the Gaza Strip: Fateh (46%), Hamas (17%), Islamic Jihad (4%), PFLP (2%), other factions (5%), no faction (26%).
- 83% of Gazans believe that Fateh's position has worsened since Arafat's death. (Hamas supporters, 95% vs. Fateh supporters, 73%)
- 91% of Gazans believe that the political situation has deteriorated since Arafat's death. (Hamas supporters, 74% vs. Fateh supporters, 97%)
- 92% believe that the current split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would not have happened if Arafat remained alive. (Hamas supporters, 89% vs. Fateh supporters, 95%)
- A mere 6% feel that Arafat has failed the Palestinians and has not succeeded in maintaining their rights. (Hamas supporters, 19% vs. Fateh supporters, 4%)
- 37% of Gazans see Marwan Barghouti as the leader who can fill the gap after the death of Arafat.
- 78% of Gazans hold the view that the Fateh strategy is the best for maximizing Palestinian national interest. (Hamas supporters, 8% vs. Fateh supporters, 100%)
- 72% of Gazans most trust Abu Mazen vs. 28% who most trust Ismael Hanieh.





- 41% of Gazans have high confidence in Salaam Fayyad (Hamas supporters, 0% vs. Fateh supporters, 66%), 28% have moderate confidence in him (Hamas supporters, 14% vs. Fateh supporters, 30%), while 31% have low confidence in the prime minister. (Hamas supporters, 86% vs. Fateh supporters, 5%)
- 61% of Gazans consider the caretaker government their legitimate government (Hamas supporters, 0% vs. Fateh supporters, 92%), 25% consider the Hamas-led Hanieh government to be the legitimate one (Hamas supporters, 93% vs. Fateh supporters, 4%), while 14% believe neither are legitimate. (Hamas supporters, 7% vs. Fateh supporters, 4%)

On the economy, poverty, and shortages:

- 94% of Gazans believe that the economy has worsened since Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip. (Hamas supporters, 75% vs. Fateh supporters, 99%)
- The income **poverty rate** in the Gaza Strip reaches 69%, of which 40% are extremely poor.
- 86% of the respondents reported that the level of problems in obtaining materials for business has increased since the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip. (Hamas supporters, 75% vs. Fateh supporters, 88%)
- 70% of Gazan households suffer from food shortages; 82% suffer from shortages in medication.
- 87% of Gazans report that the availability of necessary commodities for the household has become more difficult since Hamas took effective control of the Gaza Strip.

An early election Monitor?

- 77% support early PLC elections (Hamas supporters, 23% vs. Fateh supporters, 99%); 74% support early presidential elections (Hamas supporters, 39% vs. Fateh supporters, 88%).
- If PLC elections were to be held next week, 54% of Gazans would vote for Fateh, 15% would vote for Hamas, and 13% would





vote for other Palestinian factions. 18% would not participate in these elections (Hamas supporters, 23% vs. Fateh supporters, 0%).

If presidential elections were to be held next week, 55% of Gazans would vote for a Fateh candidate, 15% would vote for a Hamas candidate, and 13% would vote for a candidate of one of the other Palestinian factions. 18% would not participate in these elections. (Hamas supporters, 21% vs. Fateh supporters, 0%)

Peace and the Peace Conference:

- 74% of Gazans support a peace settlement with Israel. (Hamas supporters, 33% vs. Fateh supporters, 91%) At the same time, however, 31% of Gazans believe that Hamas should maintain its position on the elimination of Israel. (Hamas supporters, 82% vs. Fateh supporters, 9%)
- 68% support the Palestinian participation in the international peace conference (Hamas supporters, 23% vs. Fateh supporters, 91%). 57% believe the time is right to hold such a conference, but only 45% believe that the conference will succeed in the achievement of progress in the peace process reaching a final solution to the Palestinian problem. 54% of Gazans believe that Israel is the greatest beneficiary of holding a peace conference. 55% believe that that Jerusalem is the final status issue that should be resolved as soon as possible.
- 81% support any agreement reached in Annapolis to a referendum. (Hamas supporters, 62% vs. Fateh supporters, 87%)
- 53% of Gazans support the notion of 'two states for two people' as a potential basis for a **resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict**.
- 63% consider 'the return of refugees to their original place of residence' as the **solution to the Palestinian refugee issue**.
- As for the solution to the final status issue of Jerusalem, 32% of Gazans would support a resolution that entails that East Jerusalem would be for Palestine, while West Jerusalem would be for Israel. Jerusalem as an international capital is acceptable to another 30% of Gazans, while 25% want Jerusalem to be exclusively the capital of a future Palestinian state. The remaining 13% of Gazans would support a solution to the issue of Jerusalem if it becomes a unified capital for both Palestine and Israel.





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FEELING OF SECURITY AND CONCERN

The large majority of Gazans, 83%, agree that the general situation since the Hamas take-over of power in the Gaza Strip has worsened. Even 39% of Hamas supporters share this opinion, although the majority of them, 56%, believe that the general situation has actually improved in the past five months. Still, the feeling that the general situation has improved since the Hamas take-over is not shared by more than 5% of Gazans who support any of the other factions in the Palestinian political spectrum or those who do not trust any faction.

		Evolution in the general situation in the Gaza Strip since the Hamas take-over.		
		Improved	Worsened	Remained the same
Factional trust	Hamas	56%	39%	5%
	Fateh	2%	93%	5%
	Others	5%	90%	5%
	I trust no faction	4%	95%	1%
	Total	12%	83%	5%

When Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip last June, 47% Gazans felt more secure, 35% felt less secure, and 19% felt just the same. Since, the portion of Gazans who felt more secure since the Hamas take-over initially shrank slightly, but in the past six weeks changed more dramatically. Currently, 56% of Gazans feel less secure since the Hamas take-over, which indicates to an increase of 17% since NEC's previous Gaza Monitor last September. Opinions vary considerably according to the respondents' factional allegiance: For example, an overwhelming 95% of Hamas supporters continue to feel *more* secure since that time.

		Feeling of sec	Feeling of security since Hamas took over the Gaza Strip			
		I feel more	I feel more I feel less My feeling of security			
		secure	secure	remained the same		
Factional	Hamas	95%	2%	3%		
trust	Fateh	8%	82%	10%		
	Others	40%	48%	12%		
	None	30%	50%	20%		
	Total	32%	56%	12%		





Since the power take-over by Hamas in the Gaza Strip last June, the population's immediate sense of security with regard to themselves, their family and their property initially remained quite stable. This was, at least until NEC's September survey, a clear improvement from the period prior to June when the streets of the Gaza Strip were marred by violence. Currently, Gazans' immediate sense of security seems to have tumbled. While last September 53% felt secure with respect to themselves, their family and their property, this is the case for 20% fewer Gazans nowadays, 33%. Although the feeling of security is stronger among Hamas supporters than among Gazans of other convictions, this feeling has also declined among the former from 92% last September to a current 79%.

		Feeling of security with respect to you	rself, family and property
		I feel secure	I do not feel secure
Factional trust	Hamas	79%	21%
	Fateh	13%	87%
	Others	35%	65%
	None	35%	65%
	Total	33%	67%

While in the few months prior and post the Hamas take-over of control in the Gaza Strip the main reason behind Gazans' concern has been 'the internal power struggle', the intensity of this concern in the ensuing months became lower and was replaced by the 'economic hardship of the household' as a prior issue of concern. The results of NEC's current survey show a total reversal in terms of Gazans' prior concern to the situation as it stood last July. Concretely, nowadays 41% of Gazans are again primarily concerned about the internal power struggle, 24% are concerned because of 'the absence of security for themselves and their family', while 24% are currently concerned because of the 'economic hardship of their household'. This reversal in terms of people's prime concern in the Gaza Strip is illustrated in the figure below.





The main issue that makes you feel concerned



The lack of ability among Gazans to voice their opinions remains an issue as - consistently over the past three months since the take-over of control by Hamas in the Gaza Strip -, the majority of its citizens feels unable to voice their opinion freely. Currently this opinion is shared by 56% of the respondents. This seems to particularly affect people with affiliations to Fateh (74%), but also those with other factional affiliations and those who do not trust any of the existing factions. A mere 15% of Hamas supporters say that they are unable to voice their opinion freely under the current circumstances.

		Ability to voice your opinion under the	current circumstances
		Able	Unable
Factional trust	Hamas	85%	15%
	Fateh	26%	74%
	Others	47%	53%
	None	48%	52%
	Total	44%	56%





FACTIONAL TRUST, TRUST IN LEADERSHIP, AND THE LEGACY OF THE LATE YASSER ARAFAT

Ever since Hamas established its de-facto control over the Gaza Strip, support for Fateh has increased substantially and has been maintained. Initially in July, the increased support for Fateh did not really go at the expense of Hamas as it was more the portion of people who did not used to trust any faction anymore who started showing their colours by placing their trust into Fateh. Between August and September, Hamas did lose substantial trust, a decline from 29% to 16%. This portion of support for Hamas has stabilized since, and currently stands at 17%. In addition, 46% support Fateh, while 26% do not trust any faction.



High trust in Fateh can still be accompanied by some level of criticism. When respondents were asked how the position of Fateh had evolved since Yasser Arafat's death, an overwhelming majority of 83% said that its position had worsened. Even a substantial majority of 73% of Fateh supporters agreed that this had been the case.

		Evolution in the position of Fateh since Arafat's death.		
		It improved	It worsened	It remained the same
Factional trust	Hamas	2%	95%	3%
	Fateh	16%	73%	11%
	Others	0%	93%	7%
	I trust no faction	5%	87%	7%
	Total	9%	83%	8%

Gazans did not only believe that the position of Fateh deteriorated since Yasser Arafat's death three years ago, but an even larger majority, 91%, agree that the political situation has worsened since then. Although 21% of





Hamas supporters believe that the political situation has improved since Arafat's time, another 74% do agree that it has deteriorated.

		Did the political situ	ation improve since a remain the same?	Arafat's time, worsen, or ?
		It improved	It worsened	It remained the same
Factional trust	Hamas	21%	74%	5%
	Fateh	2%	97%	1%
	Others	5%	93%	2%
	I trust no faction	5%	93%	2%
	Total	7%	91%	2%

Beyond factional trust and the status of the political situation, 92% of Gazans seem convinced that the current split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would not have happened if Yasser Arafat hadn't died. This belief goes beyond factional lines, as even 89% of Hamas supporters answered to this hypothetical question that the current split would not have occurred.

		Would the current split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have happened if President Yasser Arafat remained alive?		
		Yes	No	
Factional trust	Hamas	11%	89%	
	Fateh	5%	95%	
	Others	17%	83%	
	No faction	7% L L	93%	
	Total	7%	92%	

At a time when many Palestinian factions disagree on the best way to maintain Palestinian rights, the large majority of the Gazan population, 94%, seem to agree that the late Yasser Arafat managed to maintain the Palestinian rights and did not fail them. As can be overviewed in the table below, again, this belief is shared across factional lines.

		Did President Arafat fail the Palestinians or did he maintain the Palestinian rights?		
		He failed the Palestinians He maintained the Palestinian rights		
Factional trust	Hamas	19%	81%	
	Fateh	4%	96%	
	Others	7%	93%	
	No faction	3%	97%	
	Total	6%	94%	





When asked to indicate a leader from a pre-determined list who could potentially fill the gap after the death of Yasser Arafat, 37% of Gazans believe that Marwan Barghouti could be the one, followed by 28% who think that the current President Mahmoud Abbas fits the bill just fine. Ismael Hanieh is the third choice of Gazans, 14%, when it comes to choosing a leader who could fill the vacuum left after Yasser Arafat's death.



Despite the view that Fateh's position has deteriorated since Yasser Arafat's death, an increased majority of Gazans (78%) now believe that the Fateh strategy remains better than the Hamas strategy to maximize Palestinian national interest. In the NEC June survey, 61% of Gazans shared this opinion, in July this percentage reached 64%, and by September 75% thought so. Independent of their political preferences, a majority of Gazans prefer the Fateh strategy over the Hamas one, except for Hamas supporters (8%).



In the first three months after the Hamas take-over of power in the Gaza Strip, trust in President Mahmoud Abbas versus the trust in the dismissed Prime Minister Ismael Hanieh remained quite stable in favour of the former. Since September, trust in Abu Mazen has further leaped to a current 72%, while 28% most trust Ismael Hanieh. Nearly all Fateh supporters (99%) most





trust Abu Mazen, while nearly all Hamas supporters (94%) most trust Ismael Hanieh.

		Trust in Abu Mazen versus trust in Ismael Hanieh.		
		Abu Mazen	Ismael Hanieh	
Factional trust	Hamas	6%	94%	
	Fateh	99%	1%	
	Others	71%	29%	
	I trust no faction	77%	23%	
	Total	72%	28%	

Confidence in Salam Fayyad, the Prime Minister of the West Bank-based Caretaker government has also picked up since last September. Currently, 41% of Gazans have high confidence in Salam Fayyad, 28% have moderate confidence in the Premier, while 31% have low confidence in him.



The survey also asked which, in Gazans' opinion, the legitimate government in the oPt is. For 61% the Caretaker government of Salam Fayyad is the legitimate government, while for 25% of Gazans it is the de-facto Hamas-led Hanieh government. For 14% neither of these two governments is legitimate. In comparison with NEC September results on this question, 9% more Gazans consider the Caretaker government to be legitimate, but this did not come at the expense of the portion of Gazans who consider the de-facto Hanieh government to be their legitimate government. Rather, the results show that it is the Gazans who used to believe that neither government was legitimate, who increasingly believe that the Caretaker government is the legitimate one.

None of the interviewed Hamas supporters believe that the Caretaker government is the legitimate government, while a mere 4% of Fateh supporters consider the Hamas-led Hanieh government as the legitimate one. The largest portion of those who believe neither of the two governments is legitimate can be found among those who do not trust any faction (39%). Of





those who do not trust any faction, a higher percentage consider the Caretaker government legitimate (46%) rather than the de-facto Hanieh government (15%).

		Which is the legitimate government in the oPt?				
		Caretaker gvt of Fayyad	Hamas-led Hanieh gvt	Neither		
Factional trust	Hamas	0%	93%	7%		
	Fateh	92%	4%	4%		
	Others	54%	26%	20%		
	I trust no faction	46%	15%	39%		
	Total	61%	25%	14%		

ECONOMY, POVERTY, AND SHORTAGES

Given the near total seal-off with only limited goods for humanitarian purposes entering the Strip and virtually no Gazans allowed to exit or enter, a viable economy remains a distant possibility. In the Gaza Strip, the population overwhelmingly notices the repercussions on the economy. Overall, 94% of Gazans (+12% since last September) say that the economic situation in the Gaza Strip has worsened since Hamas took control, 3% believe that it remained the same, while 3% say that the economy improved in the past month. The view that the economic situation has worsened since the Hamas take-over is widely shared among Gazans, independent of their political affiliation, but still least so by Hamas supporters (75%).

		Evolution in the ecor	nomy since Hamas took o	over the Gaza Strip.
		Improved	Worsened	Remained the same
Factional trust	Hamas	10%	75%	15%
	Fateh	0%	99%	1%
	Others	3%	97%	0%
	I trust no faction	2%	97%	1%
	Total	3%	94%	3%

The negative evolution in the economy helps explain the persistently high income-based poverty rates¹ in the Gaza Strip. Indeed, after an initial drop in poverty last July following the PA's payment of full salaries to its employees for the first time in months, by September income-based poverty climbed

¹ The poverty analysis is based on income, not on consumption. The poverty level is constructed on the basis of the reported household income and the household size, whereby the poverty line established by Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) is used to establish which households are poor and which ones are not.





again to its previous high levels. Since, the high poverty rate² has stabilized and remained at 69%, of which 40% are extremely poor.



The worsening economic environment in the Gaza Strip can be exemplified by the high number of Gazans involved in business that face increasing problems in obtaining goods and materials necessary to run their business. The closure of the Gaza Strip has negatively impacted businesses and the private sector as the materials needed for production are no longer entering the Strip. A majority of 86% face more problems since the Hamas take-over. Even 75% of Hamas supporters accept this reality. A mere 2% of them say that their difficulty in obtaining goods and materials to run their business has remained the same, while the last 23% believe that they now face less problems in obtaining goods than before Hamas took over power in the Gaza Strip.

		Level of problems faced by household members since the Hamas take-over in obtaining materials for their business		
		More problems Less problems The same problems		
Factional trust	Hamas	75%	23%	2%
	Fateh	88%	12%	0%
	Others	76%	18%	5%
	I trust no faction	90%	10%	0%
	Total	86%	13%	1%

² Households of 2 adults and four children with a monthly household income of approximately NIS 2,000 (US\$501.2) or less fall below the poverty line.





The near total closure of the Gaza Strip since last June seems to also take a heavy toll on the households. Humanitarian assistance, such as food and medicine, is irregularly entering the Gaza Strip, and not at the rates as prior to the 14 June Hamas take-over of power. This causes an increasing portion of Gazan households to suffer from shortages. Currently, 70% of the Gazan households report food shortages. This indicates to a further sharp increase from the 57% last September, the 42% in August and the 34% last July who reported that their household was suffering from food shortages. Similarly, Gazan households suffering from shortages in medication severely increased from 37% last July, to 51% last August, to 58% last September, and currently reach 82%.



Put in a more general fashion, 87% of households in the Gaza Strip affirm that it has become more difficult to obtain necessary commodities since Hamas took control. This is an increase of 12% compared to last September and an increase of 30% compared to last July, when 57% of Gazans said that it had become more difficult to obtain basic commodities. For 3% of households getting hold of necessary commodities did not become more difficult after 14 June, while for 10% it even became less difficult.



An Early Election Monitor?

The results discussed in this bulletin point to dire and complex circumstances, both politically and socio-economically, that could have farreaching consequences. One of the possibilities on the table remains a call for both legislative and presidential early elections.

In the Gaza Strip, 77% support early PLC elections and 74% support early presidential elections. As detailed in the tables below, Hamas supporters are least in favour of holding early PLC elections, and to a lesser extent, presidential elections. Conversely, Fateh supporters are very much in favour of holding early PLC elections, but are slightly less convinced about their support for holding early presidential elections.

		Support or opposition t	o early PLC elections
		Support	Oppose
Factional trust	Hamas	23%	77%
	Fateh	99%	1%
	Others	83%	17%
	No faction	73%	27%
	Total	77%	23%
		Support or opposition to ea	arly presidential election
		Support	Oppose
Factional trust	Hamas	39%	61%
	Fateh	88%	12%
	Others	78%	22%
	No faction	71%	29%
	Total	74%	26%





If early elections were to be held next week, Fateh would come out as a winner in the Gazan ballot boxes in both legislative and presidential elections as 54% would vote for it in the former and 55% would vote for a Fateh candidate in the latter. The proportion of Gazans that would vote for either a Hamas candidate or candidates of other factions is very similar in case of early PLC or presidential elections. Nearly 1/5th of the potential electorate in the Gaza Strip, however, would not participate in any new elections, whether legislative or presidential. As detailed below, in both legislative and presidential elections, a larger majority of Fateh supporters would vote for Fateh candidates than Hamas supporters would vote for Hamas candidates. Interestingly, none of the Fateh supporters in this survey are not willing to participate in legislative or presidential early elections, while this is the case for quite a proportion of the Hamas supporters. Finally, if legislative or presidential elections were to be held next week, Fateh more so than Hamas would be able to count on votes from Gazans who really do not trust any faction, but would still vote.

			Faction you	Faction you will vote for if PLC elections were to be held next week		
			Fateh	Fateh Hamas Others None/I will not participate		
Factional trust	Hamas		2%	72%	3%	23%
	Fateh		95%	0%	5%	0%
	Others		21%	8%	45%	26%
	No factior	ı	32%	6%	20%	43%
	Total		54%	15%	13%	18%

		Faction you will vote for if presidential elections were to be held next week			
		Fateh	Hamas	Others	None/I will not participate
Factional trust	Hamas	0%	72%	7%	21%
	Fateh	95%	1%	5%	0%
	Others	24%	3%	46%	27%
	No faction	31%	6%	18%	45%
	Total	55%	15%	13%	18%

Peace and the Peace Conference

Despite the increased hardship faced by many Gazans, especially in recent months, a majority of 74% continue to support a peace settlement with Israel. Admittedly, this support is least strong among Hamas supporters, but in general the balance is positive.





		Support or opposition to a p	Support or opposition to a peace settlement with Israel.	
		Support	Oppose	
Factional trust	Hamas	33%	67%	
	Fateh	91%	9%	
	Others	73%	27%	
	No faction	72%	28%	
	Total	74%	26%	

Whereas in NEC's September survey, a slight majority, 55%, of Gazans was of the opinion that Hamas should change its position regarding the elimination of Israel, currently 69% share this view. Particularly Fateh supporters, 91%, continue to believe that Hamas should change its position, while the majority of Hamas supporters, 82%, would rather that Hamas maintains its position on the elimination of the state of Israel.

		Should Hamas maintain or change its position on the elimination of the state of Israel?		
		Hamas should maintain its Hamas should change its position		
Factional trust	Hamas	82%	18%	
	Fateh	9%	91%	
	Others	41%	59%	
	No faction	29%	71%	
	Total	31%	69%	

The depth of the support among Palestinians for a peace settlement with Israel can be further analyzed through their opinions about the forthcoming peace conference at the end of this month. A majority of 68% of Gazans support the Palestinian participation in this peace conference. Once again, the support for the Palestinian participation is strongest among Fateh supporters, 91%, and weakest among Hamas supporters, 23%.

			Support or opposition to the Palestinian participation in the peace conference to be held at the end of the month.		
		Support	Oppose		
Factional trust	Hamas	23%	77%		
	Fateh	91%	9%		
	Others	63%	37%		
	No faction	57%	43%		
	Total	68%	32%		

Still, only a slight majority, 57%, agrees that the time to hold a peace conference is right. In addition, 55% does not believe that the peace





conference will succeed in achieving progress towards reaching a final solution to the Palestinian problem.

The time and atmosphere are good to hold a peace conference on the Middle East.



In fact, a mere 25% of Gazans believe that the PA will be the greatest beneficiary from holding the peace conference. The majority, 54%, think that this honour will befall Israel. Of the remaining, 16% are of the opinion that the US government will be the greatest beneficiary, will 5% believe that the Arab states have most to gain.

Who is the greatest beneficiary from holding the peace conference? Arab countries



Finally, of the final status issues that remain to be resolved between Palestinians and Israelis, 55% believe that Jerusalem is to be resolved as





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soon as possible. For 23% the issue of refugees needs to be resolved as soon as possible, while for 14% the final status issue of borders has the priority.



If any agreement would be reached in the upcoming Annapolis peace conference, a majority of 81% of Gazans would support putting such an agreement to a referendum. The notion of a referendum is mostly supported by Fateh supporters, 87%, but also a considerable proportion of Hamas supporters, 62%, would favour a referendum.

		Support or opposition to a referendum for any agreement reached in the peace conference.		
		Support Oppose		
Factional trust	Hamas	62%	38%	
	Fateh	87%	13%	
	Others	92%	8%	
	No faction	78%	22%	
	Total	81%	19%	

In terms of obtaining a clearer notion of what could be all right as a basis to a solution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, for a small majority of 53% 'two states for two people' would be acceptable. This option, however, would find greater support among Fateh-supporters, 66%, than among Hamas supporters, 31%, or even those Gazans who do not trust any faction, 49%. For 31% of Gazans 'a Palestinian state on all historic Palestine' remains the preferred option to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, while for 16% a binational state in historic Palestine' would be the basis for a resolution.





		Support for potential bases to a solution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.		
		Two states for two A bi-national state in A Palestinian state on people historic Palestine all historic Palestine		
Factional trust	Hamas	31%	20%	49%
	Fateh	66%	12%	21%
	Others	49%	20%	31%
	I trust no faction	49%	17%	34%
	Total	53%	16%	31%

In order to resolve the outstanding final status issue pertaining to the Palestinian refugees, 63% of Gazans see the potential solution as being based on the 'refugees returning to their original place of residence'. For 21% the 'return of refugees to a future Palestinian state' would be acceptable, while only 16% would agree to the Palestinian refugee issue being resolved through 'compensation'.



As for the solution to the final status issue of Jerusalem, 32% of Gazans would support a resolution that entails that East Jerusalem would be for Palestine, while West Jerusalem would be for Israel. Jerusalem as an international capital is acceptable to another 30% of Gazans, while 25% want Jerusalem to be exclusively the capital of a future Palestinian state. The remaining 13% of Gazans would support a solution to the issue of Jerusalem if it becomes a unified capital for both Palestine and Israel.

