



المركز الفلسطيني  
للبحوث  
السياسية والمسحية  
Palestinian Center for  
POLICY and  
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### **Results of Poll # 6**

#### **WHILE INDICATING IMPORTANT SHIFTS IN PALESTINIAN PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD THE INTIFADA AND THE PEACE PROCESS, PSR POLL SHOWS SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A PRIME MINISTER AND REFUSAL TO GIVE CONFIDENCE IN THE NEW PALESTINIAN GOVERNMENT**

14-22 November 2002

These are the results of opinion poll # 6, conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR) between 14-20 November 2002. The poll deals with the Peace Process, reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians, political reform and new Palestinian government, corruption, democracy and constitution, Arafat's popularity and political affiliation. The total sample size of this poll is 1319 from Palestinians 18 years and older, in the West Bank (814) and the Gaza Strip (505) Interviewed face-to-face, in 120 locations. The margin of error is 3%.

#### **MAIN RESULTS:**

##### **1) The Peace Process:**

- **54% support the peace initiative called the "road map," 42% oppose it**
- **76% support a mutual cessation of violence by Palestinians and Israelis; last August only 48% supported a gradual ceasefire between the two sides.**
- **56% support taking measures by the PA to prevent armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel after reaching an agreement on mutual cessation of violence even though 82% are worried that such measures may lead to internal Palestinian strife. This result is similar to the findings of the March 1996 poll in which 59% supported the measures taken by the PA against the Islamists who organized a series of suicide attacks inside Israel in February and March of that year.**

- **73% believe that a return to the peace process would be impeded if the PA failed to take security measures to prevent attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel after reaching an agreement on mutual cessation of violence. This result too is similar to the findings of the March 1996 poll.**
- **However, 66% continue to believe that armed confrontations have so far helped achieve Palestinian rights in ways that negotiations could not**
- **As in our two previous polls in May and August, 53% support armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel while 43% oppose them. But support for attacks against soldiers in the West Bank and Gaza reach 91% and against settlers 89%.**
- **Only 16% expect a return to negotiations and an end to armed attacks soon**

The poll shows that a significant shift has occurred in Palestinian public attitudes regarding the intifada and the peace process. It shows a majority of 54% supporting the "road map" and 42% oppose it. More importantly, it shows that more than three quarters (76%) support a mutual cessation of violence by both sides. Last August, a PSR poll found only 48% supporting a gradual ceasefire. Another significant shift occurred in attitudes regarding a PA crackdown on those who carry out attacks inside Israel. The poll shows that a majority of 56% support taking measures by the PA against those who continue to resort to attacks against Israelis inside Israel after reaching an agreement on mutual cessation of violence. Our May 2002 survey showed that 86% were opposed to PA measures that included arresting those who organized suicide attacks against Israelis inside Israel.

Two additional findings are remarkable. The majority support for a crackdown is evident despite the fact that 82% of the public fears that such a crackdown may lead to internal civil strife. Moreover, the poll shows that a large majority of 73% believes that after reaching a mutual cessation of violence, a PA failure to take security measures to prevent armed attacks on Israelis inside Israel, would impede a return to the peace process.

It is noticeable that the results of this poll are similar to those obtained in a March 1996 survey. At that time, we found that 59% of the public supported the measures taken by the PA against those Islamists who organized the suicide attacks inside Israel in February and March of that year. At that time, and despite their support for it, 74% were worried that the crackdown would lead to internal strife. In the 1996 poll, 75% feared that if the PA failed to crackdown on the militants, the peace process would be halted.

The events of the last months may have played a role in causing this shift in Palestinian public attitudes. The reoccupation of the Palestinian cities dashed the hopes of many that the intifada would bring about a quick Palestinian independence. Concern that a war against Iraq might be exploited by Israel created public fears of deportations and forced expulsions. On the other hand, the gradual evolution of a political horizon, as in the US call for the establishment

of a Palestinian state and the development of a "road map" in that direction, may have created hopes for a possible revival of the peace process. The Israeli decision to hold early elections may have created fears that such elections could strengthen the right wing and radical forces in Israel in the absence of a halt to the violence. The reassessment among the PA old guard and mainstream Fateh leaders of the value of the intifada may have finally filtered down to the public.

However, despite the importance of the changes in public attitudes regarding the mutual cessation of violence and the crackdown on militants, the shift remains fragile. A majority still supports attacks on Israelis and views positively the achievements of the armed confrontations. As in our last poll in August, more than half of the public (53%) supports armed attacks against civilians inside Israel and about 90% support attacks against soldiers and settlers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Moreover, 66% (compared to 71% last August) believe that the armed confrontations of the intifada had helped achieve Palestinian rights in ways that negotiations could not. As in August, only 16% expect an end to the violence and a quick return to negotiations.

The level of support for the "road map" is affected by gender, education, occupation and political affiliation. Support increases among women (58%) compared to men (50%); among illiterates (64%) compared to those holding a BA degree (41%); among housewives (62%) compared to students (46%); and among supporters of Fateh (72%) compared to supporters of Hamas (48%).

Support for the taking measures against militants who continue to carry out attacks inside Israel is affected by area and place of residence, education, religiosity, income, and political affiliation. Support increases in the West Bank (58%) compared to the Gaza Strip (53%); in Nablus (68%), Jerusalem (65%), Bethlehem (64%) Ramallah (62%) and Gaza city (62%) compared to Rafah (26%), Hebron (50%), and Khanyounis (51%); among those residing in cities (60%) compared to refugee camps (52%); among the illiterates (60%) compared to those holding a BA degree (46%); among the most religious (69%) compared to the least religious (50%); among those with the highest income (67%) compared to those with the lowest income (57%); and among supporters of Fateh (72%) compared to supporters of Hamas (40%).

## **2) Reconciliation Between Israelis and Palestinians:**

- **73% support reconciliation between the two peoples after reaching a peace agreement and establishing a Palestinian state. This is similar to our previous findings during the last two years.**
- **After reaching a peace agreement, 83% would support open borders between Israel and Palestine and 66% would support joint economic institutions and ventures, but only 27% would support joint political institutions, 37% would support taking legal steps to prohibit incitement against Israel, and 8% would support the adoption of school curriculum that recognizes the state of Israel and does not the return of all Palestine to the Palestinians**

- **40% believe that Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation is not possible ever, while 50% believe that most Israelis bthat reconciliation is not possible ever**
- **After peace 37% are ready to invite an Israeli friend to their homes and 37% are willing to visit the home of an Israeli friend**
- **28% believe that permanent peace between Palestinians and Israelis is possible while 23% believe that most Israelis believe that permanent peace is possible**

The poll findings indicate no changes in public attitude regarding Palestinian-Israeli reconciliation compared to previous polls during the last two years. Within the context of a peace agreement and the establishment of a Palestinian state, almost three quarters (73%) of the Palestinians would support reconciliation. Moreover, an even larger majority of 83% would support open borders between the two states, while two thirds would support the establishment of joint economic institutions and ventures. However, support for other reconciliation measures decreases when it focuses on social issues, such as inviting an Israeli colleague to one's home or visiting him at his home. Joint political institutions are also unpopular with only 27% supporting the creation of joint political institutions toward a confederation between the two states. Thirty seven percent would support taking legal measures to prevent incitement against Israel and only 8% would support the adoption of school curriculum that recognizes the state of Israel and does not demand the return of all Palestine to the Palestinians.

### **3) Political Reform and the New Palestinian Government:**

- **Only 40% give confidence to the new Palestinian government while 51% refuse to give it confidence**
- **Only 37% believe that the new government will be able to carry out the needed political reform; 37% believe it will be able to fight corruption; 38% believe it will be able to improve the economic conditions; and 26% believe that it will be able to properly manage relations with Israel**
- **85% support and 13% oppose internal and external calls for fundamental political reform in the PA**
- **73% Support and 24% oppose the appointment or election of a Palestinian prime minister**
- **47% support and 49% oppose changing the current Palestinian political system to a parliamentary system in which power would reside in the hands of a prime minister while the position of the president would be ceremonial**

The findings indicate that the public refuses to give confidence in the new Palestinian government with 51% opposed and 40% supportive. The reason for the lack of confidence is indicated in the public belief that the new government will not be able to carry out political reforms, fight corruption, improve economic conditions, or properly manage the relationship with Israel with the percentage of confidence in the ability of the new government to carry out these tasks ranging between 26% and 38%.

As in our May and August polls, the findings of this one show that a large majority (85%) supports the internal and external calls for political reforms. Support for the appointment or election of a prime minister has increased from 69% in August to 73% in this poll. Support for changing the political system so that power would reside in the hands of a prime minister while the office of the president would become ceremonial received the support of 47%, compared to 44% last August. Forty nine percent oppose this reform measure.

Willingness to give confidence in the new government increases in villages and towns (43%) compared to refugee camps (35%); among the old (49%) compared to the young (41%); among non-refugees (42%) compared to refugees (37%); among the illiterates (57%) compared to those holding a BA degree (26%); among housewives (46%) compared to employees (31%) and professionals (21%); among those with the lowest income (42%) compared to those with the highest income (24%); and among supporters of Fateh (59%) compared to supporters of Hamas (26%).

#### **4) Corruption**

- **84% believe that there is corruption in the PA; among those, 62% believe that corruption will increase or remain the same in the future**
- **Only 25% are convinced that reform measures taken by the Palestinian minister of finance will be sufficient to put an end to financial corruption in the PA**

No significant change has been recorded in public perception of corruption compared to the situation during the past 12 months. A large majority of 84% continues to believe that corruption exists in the PA, while only 8% believe that the PA is free of corruption. The percentage of those who believe that corruption will increase or remain the same in the future increased from 58% last August to 62% in this poll. The percentage of those who are convinced that the reform measures introduced by the new Palestinian minister of finance, Salam Fayyad, will be sufficient to put an end to financial corruption does not exceed 25%, with a drop of five percentage-points compared to our August poll.

#### **5) Democracy and Constitution**

- **88% support and 11% oppose a democratic system with the following characteristics: periodic elections, a president with a limited term in office, freedom to form political parties, free press without censorship, an independent judiciary, and respect for human rights**
- **94% support holding periodic elections, 78% support the election of a president for a limited term only, 76% support complete freedom to form political parties, 74% support freedom of the press with no government censorship, 75% support an independent judiciary, and 98% support respect for human rights**
- **Only 19% give PA democracy a positive evaluation and only 17% expect a democratic system in the Palestinian state. But 66% of the**

**Palestinians give a positive evaluation to the status of democracy and human rights in Israel.**

- **69% do not agree, and 23% agree, with the statement that democratic states do not fight each other**
- **54% believe, and 43% do not believe, that people today can criticize the PA without fear**
- **74% support giving priority to freedom of the press and respect for human rights in accordance with the law even if this contradicted with what the PA may see as the national interest**
- **61% are in favor, and 36% are not in favor, of having provisions in the Palestinian constitution guaranteeing equality for women in giving Palestinian citizenship to their children when the husband is not Palestinian**
- **53% are in favor, and 46% are not in favor, of having provisions in the Palestinian constitution guaranteeing equality between men and women so that a woman could become a president of the Palestinian state**
- **Only 25% are in favor, and 73% are not in favor, of having provisions in the Palestinian constitution guaranteeing equality for women in divorcing their husbands**
- **35% are in favor, and 62% are not in favor, of having provisions in the Palestinian constitution guaranteeing equality for a Christian citizen in becoming a president of the Palestinian state**

As in our August poll, support for a democratic system of government is very high. Eighty eight percent support a democratic system with the following characteristics: periodic elections, a president with a limited term in office, freedom to form political parties, free press without censorship, an independent judiciary, and respect for human rights. The poll also shows that each one of those characteristics enjoys the support of at least three quarters of the public with 98% support for the respect for human rights.

But the public attitude towards equality between men and women and towards equal rights for Christian citizens does not receive comparable levels of support and indeed does not receive the support of the majority in some cases. A majority of 61% is in favor of having constitutional provisions guaranteeing equality for women in giving Palestinian citizenship to their children when the husband is not Palestinian. Also, a majority of 53% is in favor of including provisions in the Palestinian constitution guaranteeing equality between men and women so that a woman could become a president of the Palestinian state. But only a quarter is in favor of having coprovisions guaranteeing equality for women in divorcing their husbands. Moreover, only 35% are in favor of having constitutional provisions equality for a Christian citizen in becoming a president of the Palestinian state.

Despite this fragile support for democracy when it comes to equality, the Palestinian public is willing to support some democratic values even if this entailed contradiction with what the PA may consider as the national interest. For example, 74% would support the upholding of the freedom of the press and

respect for human rights even if it comes at the expense of what the PA may define as the national interest.

The street, as in previous surveys during the past few years, shows little admiration for the status of democracy under the PA. Positive evaluation for the status of democracy in Palestine does not exceed 19%, while the percentage of those who expect to see democracy in the Palestinian state is even less at 17%. On the other hand, two thirds of the Palestinians give the status of democracy in Israel a positive evaluation. Yet, despite the positive evaluation of Israeli democracy and the high level of support for democratic values among Palestinians, a majority of 69% does not agree with the statement that democracies do not fight each other.

Support for the right of a woman to divorce increases in the West Bank (32%) compared to the Gaza Strip (15%); in cities (25%) and towns and villages (27%) compared to refugee camps (20%); among women (31%) compared to men (20%); among the young (29%) compared to the old (22%); among non-refugees (28%) compared to refugees (22%); among those holding a BA degree (26%) compared to illiterates (22%); among the unmarried (29%) compared to the married (24%); and among the least religious (31%) compared to the most religious (21%).

Support for the right of a Christian citizen to become a president of the state increases in the West Bank (41%) compared to the Gaza Strip (26%); among men (39%) compared to women (31%); among the old (47%) compared to the young (25%); among those who hold a BA degree (44%) compared to those who have elementary education only (31%); among the retired (63%) and employees (44%) compared to students (27%); among the least religious (64%) compared to the most religious (32%); among those with the highest income (52%) compared to those with the lowest income (33%); and among supporters of Fateh (34%) compared to supporters of Hamas (27%).

## **6) Arafat's Popularity and Political Affiliation**

- **Compared to last August, Yasir Arafat's popularity remains unchanged at 35%**
- **Marwan Barghouti receives the second largest support at 21%, followed by Ahmad Yasin (14%), Sa'eb Erikat (9%), Haidar Abdul Shafi (8%), Farouq Qaddoumi (6%), and Hanan Ashrawi (5%)**
- **Fateh receives the support of 27%, Islamist groups 25%, PFLP 3%, and 43% are non-affiliated**

No significant change has been recorded in the popularity of Palestinian leaders and factions. Arafat's popularity remains the highest at 35% (compared to 34% in August and 35% in May), followed by Marwan Barghouti with 21% (compared to 23% in August and 19% in May). Ahmad Yasin comes third with 14% (compared to 10% in August and 13% in May) followed by Saeb Erikat with 9% (compared to 8% in August and 10% in May), and Haidar Abdul Shafi with 8% (compared to 13% in August and 10% in May). Support for Fateh remained stable at 27%

(compared to 26% in August), while the Islamists dropped two percentage points, from 27% in August to 25% in this poll.



**Results of Public Opinion Poll # (6)  
14-22 November 2002**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<b>01. The US, Russia, the European Community and the UN, the so called "Quartet", have put forward a "roadmap" for the implementation of a final settlement within 3 years. The plan includes a demand for political reforms in the Palestinian authority including a constitution and election of a strong Prime Minister, stopping the incitement and violence on both sides under the Quartet's supervision, a demand for freeze on settlements and the establishment of a Palestinian State within provisional borders by the end of next year. The next phase will see negotiations on the final borders under the hospices of an international conference. Do you support or oppose this initiative?</b>			
1. Strongly support	8.7	8.7	8.7
2. Support	45.3	44.5	46.5
3. Oppose	31.0	33.0	27.7
4. Strongly oppose	10.9	9.3	13.5
5. No answer/no opinion	4.1	4.4	3.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**02. Now that the Quartet members including the US have been working toward developing this "roadmap", what do you expect to happen next?**

1. Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	15.6	15.4	15.8
2. Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	36.3	34.9	38.6
3. Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	41.8	42.3	41.0
4. Don't know/no opinion	6.3	7.4	4.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**03. The Palestinian president presented his new government to the PLC on Oct. 29. Would you give this government a vote of confidence?**

1. Definitely Yes	6.1	6.6	5.3
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2. Yes	33.9	32.1	36.8
3. No	40.0	41.5	37.4
4. Definitely No	11.3	9.0	15.0
5. Do not know/no opinion	8.7	10.8	5.3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**04. Do you believe that new government will be able to do the following:**

**4-1 Carry out the political reforms you seek**

1. Definitely yes	3.7	3.7	3.8
2. Yes	33.4	33.1	33.9
3. No	44.5	47.0	40.4
4. Definitely no	12.5	9.7	17.0
5. Do not know/ no opinion	5.9	6.5	5.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**4-2 Fight corruption**

1. Definitely yes	3.8	3.3	4.6
2. Yes	33.5	33.7	33.3
3. No	44.9	47.0	41.6
4. Definitely no	11.8	8.6	17.0
5. Do not know/ no opinion	5.9	7.4	3.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**4-3 Improve economic conditions**

1. Definitely yes	3.1	2.5	4.2
2. Yes	34.7	34.0	35.8
3. No	45.5	47.3	42.6
4. Definitely no	11.6	9.5	15.0
5. Do not know/ no opinion	5.1	6.8	2.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**4-4 Manage relations with Israel the way you want it**

1. Definitely yes	2.5	2.5	2.6
2. Yes	23.6	23.8	23.4
3. No	50.0	53.1	45.0
4. Definitely no	16.2	12.2	22.6
5. Do not know/ no opinion	7.7	8.5	6.5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**05. There are internal and external calls for wide and fundamental domestic reforms and changes in the institutions and authorities of the Palestinian Authority. Do you support or oppose these calls?**

1. Strongly support	24.6	23.4	26.6
2. Support	60.4	62.1	57.5
3. Oppose	10.6	11.0	9.9
4. Strongly oppose	2.8	1.7	4.6
5. No answer/no opinion	1.6	1.7	1.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**06. The following measures are among the proposed reform steps. Tell us if you support or oppose each**

**06-1 The appointment or election of a prime minister**

1. Strongly support	13.0	12.9	13.1
2. Support	59.5	61.9	55.8
3. Oppose	19.4	18.9	20.0
4. Strongly oppose	4.6	2.5	7.9
5. No answer/ no opinion	3.6	3.8	3.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**06-2 Changing the Palestinian presidential system to a parliamentary system in which power resides in the hands of a prime minister while the position of the president is ceremonial?**

1. Strongly support	8.0	8.1	7.7
2. Support	38.9	40.7	35.9
3. Oppose	39.4	39.9	38.7

4. Strongly oppose	9.3	5.8	14.9
5. No answer/ no opinion	4.5	5.5	2.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**07. In democratic systems of government, periodic political elections take place, the president is elected for a limited period only, political parties are formed in full freedom and compete in the elections, the press enjoys freedom with no state censorship, the judiciary is independent of the executive authority, and human rights are respected. Tell us first if you support or oppose this system as a whole and then whether you support or oppose each of the features separately:**

**07-1 The democratic system as a whole**

1. Strongly support	32.7	28.9	38.9
2. Support	55.0	59.0	48.4
3. Oppose	9.3	9.2	9.3
4. Strongly oppose	1.3	0.7	2.2
5. Do not know/ No opinion	1.7	2.1	1.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**07-2 The holding of periodic political elections**

1. Strongly support	29.1	25.3	35.2
2. Support	64.5	68.3	58.4
3. Oppose	4.7	4.4	5.1
4. Strongly oppose	0.5	0.5	0.4
5. Do not know/ No opinion	1.2	1.5	0.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**07-3 The election of the president for a limited period only**

1. Strongly support	23.5	20.8	27.9
2. Support	54.7	61.0	44.6
3. Oppose	18.1	15.4	22.4
4. Strongly oppose	2.0	0.9	3.8
5. Do not know/ No opinion	1.7	2.0	1.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**07-4 Full freedom to form political parties**

1. Strongly support	19.9	18.0	23.0
2. Support	55.7	57.6	52.5
3. Oppose	19.6	19.8	19.2
4. Strongly oppose	2.2	1.1	4.0
5. Do not know/ No opinion	2.7	3.4	1.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**07-5 Free press with no state censorship**

1. Strongly support	23.9	22.8	25.7
2. Support	49.9	55.7	40.6
3. Oppose	22.0	18.2	28.1
4. Strongly oppose	2.1	1.5	3.2
5. Do not know/ No opinion	2.0	1.8	2.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**07-6 Judiciary independent of the executive**

1. Strongly support	26.4	25.0	28.8
2. Support	48.8	52.9	42.3
3. Oppose	19.8	17.7	23.2
4. Strongly oppose	1.6	0.4	3.6
5. Do not know/ No opinion	3.3	4.1	2.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**07-7 Respect for human rights**

1. Strongly support	52.5	46.6	62.0
2. Support	45.4	50.9	36.6
3. Oppose	1.0	1.2	0.6
4. Strongly oppose	0.4	0.4	0.4
5. Do not know/ No opinion	0.7	0.9	0.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**08. If you want to evaluate the status of democracy and human rights under the Palestinian Authority, you would say it is:**

1. Very Good	2.5	2.3	2.8
2. Good	16.6	17.6	15.0
3. Fair	28.4	28.8	27.7
4. Bad	28.1	27.9	28.5
5. Very Bad	22.4	20.7	25.1
6. Don't Know/ No Opinion	2.0	2.7	0.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**09. And what are the chances that a democratic system will be established in a future Palestinian State?**

1. Very slim chances	12.4	12.7	12.1
2. Slim chances	24.8	24.7	25.0
3. Medium chances	39.0	38.6	39.6
4. High chances	14.3	14.4	14.3
5. Very high chances	2.8	1.7	4.6
6. Do not know/ no opinion	6.6	7.9	4.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**10. How do you evaluate the status of democracy in Israel?**

1. Very Good	37.3	35.5	40.0
2. Good	28.2	28.7	27.5
3. Fair	11.9	13.7	9.1
4. Bad	12.3	11.9	12.9
5. Very Bad	4.7	4.2	5.5
6. Don't Know/ No Opinion	5.6	6.0	5.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**11. Some say that democratic countries do not fight each other. Do you think this is true or untrue?**

1. True	23.2	22.7	24.0
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2. Untrue	68.5	68.1	69.1
3. Do not know/ no opinion	8.4	9.2	6.9
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**12. In your opinion, can people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip criticize the Palestinian Authority without fear?**

1. Yes	54.2	53.1	55.8
2. No	43.3	43.5	43.0
3. Do not know/ no opinion	2.5	3.3	1.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**13. The Palestinian Authority announced its intention to hold general political elections for the president and the Legislative Council. Are you going to participate in those elections?**

1. Definitely yes	28.3	24.6	34.3
2. Yes	45.0	47.1	41.5
3. No	19.4	21.9	15.3
4. Definitely no	5.4	4.2	7.3
5. Do not know/ no opinion	2.0	2.2	1.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**14. In pursuing its work, the Palestinian Authority sometimes may confront situations in which there might be a contradiction between the press and human rights and what the Authority may see as a national interest. In such situations, which of the following positions do you support?**

1. Guaranteeing freedom of the press & human rights according to the law.	74.4	74.3	74.7
2. What the Palestinian Authority sees as a national interest including the imposition of restrictions on press freedom and Palestinian human rights, if the authority sees a need for that.	21.1	19.8	23.2
3. Do not know/ no opinion	4.5	5.9	2.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**15. Work is underway to draft a Palestinian constitution for the state of Palestine. Do you**

**believe that the constitution should guarantee the following:**

**15-1 Equality between women and men including the right of the woman to become president of the state of Palestine**

1. Definitely yes	14.9	16.0	13.1
2. Yes	38.0	44.7	27.1
3. No	33.2	31.7	35.6
4. Definitely no	12.6	6.1	23.0
5. Do not know/ No opinion	1.4	1.5	1.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**15-2 Equality between women and men including the right of the women to divorce her husband in the same way a man has that right**

1. Definitely yes	6.3	7.4	4.6
2. Yes	19.0	24.6	10.1
3. No	48.1	51.6	42.6
4. Definitely no	24.6	14.6	40.6
5. Do not know/ No opinion	2.0	1.8	2.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**15-3 Equality between women and men including the right of the woman to give citizenship to her children even if her husband is not Palestinian just as the man has that right if his wife was not Palestinian**

1. Definitely yes	13.4	12.3	15.2
2. Yes	47.6	54.1	37.0
3. No	27.9	26.0	31.1
4. Definitely no	8.3	5.0	13.5
5. Do not know/ No opinion	2.8	2.6	3.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**15-4 Equality between Palestinian Muslims and Christians including the right of a Christian citizen to become the president of the state of Palestine**

1. Definitely yes	6.4	8.2	3.6
2. Yes	28.7	32.8	22.2



3. No	43.3	43.9	42.4
4. Definitely no	19.0	11.4	31.1
5. Do not know/ No opinion	2.6	3.7	0.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**16. After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian people and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, would you support or oppose the process of reconciliation between the state of Palestine and the state of Israel?**

1. Strongly support	14.4	12.7	17.2
2. Support	58.2	61.7	52.7
3. Oppose	17.4	18.9	15.0
4. Strongly oppose	8.7	5.3	14.3
5. No answer/no opinion	1.2	1.5	0.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**17. After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian people and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, how soon do you think will reconciliation between the two peoples be achieved?**

1. Reconciliation is not possible ever	40.0	38.1	43.2
2. Only in many generations to come	14.8	15.8	13.1
3. Only in the next generation	10.0	10.1	9.9
4. Only in the next decade	7.1	7.1	7.1
5. On the next few years	18.3	17.3	19.8
6. No Opinion /Don't know	9.8	11.5	6.9
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**18. And what about the majority of Israelis? How soon do then in your opinion believe that a full reconciliation between the two peoples can be achieved?**

1. Reconciliation is not possible ever	50.3	46.9	55.6
2. Only in many generations to come	11.1	11.7	10.3
3. Only in the next generation	7.7	8.6	6.1

4. Only in the next decade	4.9	5.2	4.6
5. On the next few years	13.0	13.1	12.7
6. No Opinion /Don't know	13.0	14.5	10.7
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**19. After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian side and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, the following are steps may be taken in order to enhance relations between the State of Israel and a Palestinian State. For each of the suggested steps please tell me whether you support or oppose it:**

**19-1 Open borders to free movement of people and goods**

1. Strongly support	25.2	21.4	31.5
2. Support	58.2	63.1	50.3
3. Oppose	12.4	11.8	13.5
4. Strongly oppose	3.0	2.2	4.2
5. No answer/no opinion	1.1	1.5	0.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**19-2 Create joint economic institutions and ventures**

1. Strongly support	13.0	10.7	16.6
2. Support	52.8	56.4	47.1
3. Oppose	26.8	27.5	25.7
4. Strongly oppose	5.2	2.7	9.1
5. No answer/no opinion	2.2	2.7	1.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**19-3 Create joint political institutions (such as a parliament. designed eventually to lead to a confederate system**

1. Strongly support	3.1	2.3	4.4
2. Support	23.6	25.3	20.8
3. Oppose	50.3	52.3	46.9
4. Strongly oppose	18.7	14.5	25.3
5. No answer/no opinion	4.4	5.5	2.6

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<b>19-4 Take legal measures against incitement against Israel</b>			
1. Strongly support	3.4	2.3	5.2
2. Support	33.7	34.6	32.1
3. Oppose	45.8	48.3	41.7
4. Strongly oppose	13.3	9.5	19.4
5. No answer/no opinion	3.9	5.3	1.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**19-5 Adopt school curriculum in the Palestinian state that recognizes Israel and teaches school children not to demand return of all Palestine to the Palestinians**

1. Strongly support	0.8	0.9	0.8
2. Support	6.7	7.0	6.1
3. Oppose	50.2	54.1	44.0
4. Strongly oppose	40.6	35.6	48.7
5. No answer/no opinion	1.7	2.5	0.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**20. After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian side and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, would you, under these conditions of peace, invite an Israeli colleague to visit you in your home?**

1. Definitely yes	5.5	5.2	6.1
2. Yes	31.5	35.6	24.8
3. No	39.3	42.5	34.1
4. Definitely no	22.1	15.0	33.7
5. Don't Know	1.6	1.7	1.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**21. After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian side and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, would you, under these conditions of peace, visit an Israeli colleague in his home?**

1. Definitely yes	5.8	5.7	6.0
2. Yes	31.4	35.3	25.2

3. No	41.0	42.9	38.1
4. Definitely no	20.3	14.6	29.6
5. Don't Know	1.4	1.6	1.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**22. In your opinion, is lasting peace possible between Israelis and Palestinians?**

1. Definitely yes	3.0	2.6	3.6
2. Yes	24.6	24.8	24.4
3. No	42.0	45.9	35.6
4. Definitely no	26.9	22.3	34.3
5. Don't Know	3.6	4.4	2.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**23. And what about the majority of the Israelis, do they, in your opinion, believe that lasting peace is possible between Israelis and Palestinians?**

1. Definitely yes	1.9	1.8	2.0
2. Yes	21.5	20.9	22.6
3. No	43.9	49.3	35.2
4. Definitely no	25.3	19.6	34.7
5. Don't Know	7.3	8.4	5.5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**24. Concerning armed attacks against Israeli soldiers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, I....**

1. Strongly support	50.8	43.1	63.4
2. Support	40.2	46.4	30.3
3. Oppose	5.6	5.5	5.7
4. Strongly oppose	0.5	0.7	0.2
5. No answer/no opinion	2.8	4.3	0.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**25. Concerning armed attacks against Israeli settlers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, I....**

1. Strongly support	50.8	43.2	63.2
2. Support	38.3	43.2	30.5
3. Oppose	7.3	8.2	5.7
4. Strongly oppose	0.5	0.6	0.2
5. No answer/no opinion	3.1	4.8	0.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**26. Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....**

1. Strongly support	25.2	20.6	32.7
2. Support	28.0	29.4	25.7
3. Oppose	38.4	40.9	34.5
4. Strongly oppose	4.8	3.8	6.3
5. Do not know/ no opinion	3.6	5.3	0.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**27. With regard to call for a cessation of violence by both sides, I**

1. Support it	75.9	77.2	73.7
2. Oppose it	21.9	20.0	25.1
3. Do not know/ no opinion	2.2	2.8	1.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**28. If an agreement is reached to cease violence by both sides but armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel continued, do you approve or oppose, in this case, the Palestinian Authority tmeasures to prevent them?**

1. Approve	55.9	57.6	53.2
2. Oppose	39.8	36.3	45.4
3. No opinion/ Don't Know	4.3	6.0	1.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**29. After reaching an agreement to cease violence by both sides, but the Palestinian Authority did not take measures to prevent these armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel after, do you think that the continuation of such attacks may impede the peace process between the Palestinians and the Israelis?**

1. Yes	73.3	72.8	74.3
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2. No	23.4	22.9	24.2
3. No opinion/ Don't Know	3.3	4.3	1.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**30. After reaching an agreement to cease violence by both sides and the Palestinian Authority takes security measures to prevent such armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, are you concerned that these may lead to internal Palestinian conflict?**

1. Yes, very worried	44.4	40.1	51.3
2. Somewhat worried	38.0	40.1	34.5
3. No, not worried	15.1	16.3	13.3
4. No opinion/ Don't Know	2.5	3.4	1.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**31. Do you believe that armed confrontations so far have helped achieved Palestinian rights in a way that negotiations could not?**

1. Definitely yes	24.5	23.2	26.7
2. Yes	41.5	42.5	39.8
3. No	26.5	28.1	24.0
4. Definitely no	3.9	2.6	5.9
5. No Opinion/ Don't know	3.6	3.7	3.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**32. Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions?**

1. Yes	84.0	82.4	86.5
2. No	8.4	8.1	8.7
3. No opinion/ Don't Know	7.7	9.5	4.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**33. Will this corruption in PA institutions increase, decrease or remain as it is in the future?**

1. Increase	48.3	50.1	45.6
2. Remain as it is	13.6	12.4	15.6
3. Decrease	28.6	29.3	27.7
4. Don't Know/ No Opinion	9.4	8.2	11.1

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
<b>34. The new Palestinian finance minister says that his ministry controls today all Palestinian revenues and expenditures. Do you believe that that this will lead to the elimination of financial corruption inside the Palestinian Authority?</b>			

1. Yes	25.2	24.9	25.6
2. No	67.0	66.4	67.8
3. No opinion/ Don't Know	7.9	8.7	6.6

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
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<b>35. Does the situation in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank and Gaza force you to seek permanent emigration?</b>			
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1. Yes	20.0	20.9	18.7
2. No	79.1	78.0	81.0
3. No opinion/ Don't Know	0.8	1.1	0.4

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
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<b>36. If separate elections for the president of the Palestinian Authority were held today, whom would you choose?</b>			
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1. Haidar Abdul Shafi	8.0	6.9	9.7
2. Yasser Arafat	35.2	34.2	36.8
3. Ahmad Yasin	13.8	13.3	14.5
4. No one	1.1	1.1	1.0
5. Others	29.0	29.7	27.7
6. I will not participate	11.7	12.9	9.7
7. No Opinion / Don't Know	1.4	1.8	0.6

	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>
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<b>37. If separate elections for a Vice President of the Palestinian Authority were held today, whom would you choose?</b>			
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1. Saeb Erikat	9.3	8.1	11.3
2. Hanan Ashrawi	4.9	4.8	5.0
3. Haidar Abdul Shafi	7.5	5.4	10.9
4. Ahmad Yassin	6.8	5.4	8.9

5. Farouq Kaddomi	5.9	6.9	4.2
6. Marwan Bargouthi	21.2	23.4	17.6
7. Ahmad Qurai'	0.9	0.9	1.0
8. Mahmoud Abbas	1.5	1.5	1.6
9. No one, will decide later	28.4	28.7	27.9
10. I will not participate	11.3	12.2	9.9
11. Others	0.5	0.4	0.8
12. No Opinion / Don't Know	1.7	2.2	1.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>West Bank</b>	<b>Gaza Strip</b>

**38. Which of the following political parties do you support?**

1. PPP	0.9	0.9	1.0
2. PFLP	3.4	3.3	3.6
3. Fateh	26.7	26.8	26.5
4. Hamas	16.6	15.7	18.0
5. DFLP	0.6	0.5	0.8
6. Islamic Jihad	4.0	3.8	4.4
7. Fida	0.1	0.1	0.0
8. Independent Islamists	4.6	4.7	4.4
9. Independent Nationalists	7.1	8.3	5.1
10. None of the above	34.3	34.6	33.9
11. Others	1.7	1.4	2.4