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This poll is part of PSR series of regular polls.

*This poll has been conducted in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Ramallah*



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### **WHILE A MAJORITY SUPPORTS A SEARCH FOR A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT AND OPPOSES INTERIM DEALS AND AT A TIME WHEN HAMAS' SUPPORT INCREASES AND FATEH'S DECREASES, THE POLL FINDS A SHARP DECREASE IN SUPPORT FOR SUICIDE BOMBINGS INSIDE ISRAEL AND SATISFACTION WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF ABU MAZIN**

These are the results of the latest poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip between March 10-12, 2005. The poll deals with the peace process, Sharon's disengagement plan, Palestinian-Israeli reconciliation, and internal Palestinian matters. Total size of the sample is 1319 adults interviewed face to face in the West Bank (835) and the Gaza Strip (484) in 120 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3% and rejection rate 2%.

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#### **MAIN RESULTS:**

The poll finds a significant change in public attitudes regarding violence, particularly suicide attacks. Support for such attacks has dropped sharply to its lowest level in seven years. This public rejection of a return to violence at this time reflects continued and widespread public support for mutual cessation of violence, and a desire to return to normal life and to allow the newly elected president, Abu Mazin, a chance to revive the peace process. But the public is opposed to steps taken by the Palestinian Authority (PA) to crackdown on those who are carrying out attacks against Israelis, such as arrests. This opposition might reflect public perception that the future of the peace process is still uncertain and that Israel might not be serious about or willing to end its occupation and that therefore the PA should maintain the option of returning to violence if the need arise in the future.

The findings indicate also that the public prefers a see negotiations leading to a permanent agreement rather than a new interim one. This attitude reflects public belief that the Oslo process has failed in part due to its interim and partial nature. The public seems more willing than any time before to pay the price of a permanent settlement as the findings show greater levels of support for reconciliation between the two peoples once a permanent settlement is reached.

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Internally, the findings show a rise in the popularity of Hamas and a decline in the support for Fateh. The public believes that Hamas' victory in the December 2004 and January 2005 local elections has been due to incorruptibility of its candidates while Fateh and the PA are perceived as corrupt. The public also believes that the unity and discipline within Hamas vs. the fragmentation and lack of discipline within Fateh has been a second reason for Hamas' victory.

**(1) Peace Process**

- Support for bombing (or suicide) attacks inside Israel drops from 77% last September to 29% in this poll. But support for arrest of the perpetrators of suicide attacks does not exceed 40%.
- 84% support return to negotiations and 59% prefer a permanent, rather than interim agreement. 59% believe that it is possible to reach a compromise agreement with the Israeli leadership.
- 59% support the Road Map and 35% oppose it.
- 79% support the participation of Hamas in the negotiations with Israel while 79% prefer to see more active American involvement in the search for a peace agreement.
- A majority believes that the Oslo peace process failed because Israel was not forthcoming and continued to build Israeli settlements. Similarly, a majority blames Israel for the failure of the Camp David Summit believing the Israeli offer was insufficient.

Findings show that support for the Tel Aviv night club suicide attack, which took place about three weeks ago, reaches 29% compared to 77% for the Bir Shiba suicide attack in September 2004 and 75% for the Maxim Restaurant suicide attack in Haifa in October 2003. Opposition to the Tel Aviv attack reaches 67%. But support for the steps taken by the PA to punish the perpetrators, such as arrests, does not exceed 40% while 57% oppose them. Public opposition to a crackdown on those who commit violence against Israelis might reflect belief that the peace process has not yet been revived. For example, only 44% view positively the achievements of Sharm al Sheikh summit in reviving the peace process. In other words, the public seeks to maintain the option of returning to violence if diplomacy fails.

Opposition to the Tel Aviv suicide attack increases in the Gaza Strip (70%) compared to the West Bank (65%), among holders of BA degree (71%) compared to illiterates (61%), among retired individuals and among employees (86% and 75% respectively) compared to students (62%), among the eldest (69%) compared to the youngest (61%), among individuals willing to buy lottery tickets (74%) compared to those unwilling to buy them (64%), and among supporters of Fateh (75%) compared to supporters of Hamas (53%).

In the current Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, the public organizes its short term priorities as follows: release of prisoners is on top followed by three issues having the same exact importance: freezing settlement construction, stop building the separation barrier inside the West Bank, and return of laborers to work inside Israel. The next priority is the removal of Israeli checkpoints. In the West Bank alone, the list of priorities puts stopping the barrier in second place after release of prisoners, then the freeze of settlement construction, and the removal of checkpoints. In the Gaza Strip, release of prisoners' is also the top priority but it is followed by return of laborers to work inside Israel.

The poll also examined Palestinian preferences concerning the next steps that should be taken in the course of the peace process. 84% of the Palestinians support a return to negotiations on a comprehensive settlement and 59% prefer immediate return to final status negotiations on all issues in dispute at once, while 31% prefer a gradual step by step approach. Despite these preferences, 51% of the Palestinians say they will support their leadership decision to proceed in the peace process with the approach they prefer less, and 41% will not support their leadership decision in such a case.

59% of the Palestinians believe that it is possible to reach a compromise settlement with the other side's current leadership while 41% don't think it is possible. 62% believe the Palestinian leadership is strong enough to convince its constituency to accept such an agreement. Moreover, 65% of the Palestinians believe that the Israeli leadership is strong enough to convince its public to accept such a compromise.

Palestinians were further asked to assess the reasons for the Oslo process and the Camp David summit failures. A majority of the Palestinians (54%) put the blame mainly on Israel for not being forthcoming enough and continuing to build settlements. Only 5% of the Palestinian believe that the main reason for why the Oslo process failed was because the Palestinians were not forthcoming enough and maintained the use of violence. 33% blame the step by step approach for the failure. As to the Camp David summit, 50% of the Palestinians believe it failed because Barak yielded much less than he claimed he did. Only 5% believe that it failed because

Arafat did not seriously intend to reach a final and comprehensive settlement with Israel. 36% of Palestinians think the problems were too numerous and the differences too big to be solved all at once.

59% of the Palestinians support the Quartet's Roadmap plan compared to 35% among Palestinians who oppose it. Moreover, 79% support the participation of the Hamas in the negotiations between the Palestinian Authority and Israel compared to 19% who oppose it. Despite this, an identical percentage (79%) believe that the US should increase its involvement in trying to solve the Israeli Palestinian conflict, while 15% say it should decrease its involvement.

Three quarters of the Palestinians see Sharon's plan to evacuate the Israeli settlements from Gaza as a victory for the Palestinian armed struggle against Israel, while 23% do not see it as such. Despite that, only 29% of the Palestinians support and 68% oppose the continuation of armed attacks against Israeli targets from the Gaza Strip after full Israeli disengagement. 30% of the Palestinians believe that the Palestinian Authority has high capacity to control matters in the Gaza Strip after Israel's disengagement, 43% of think it has reasonable capacity and 23% think it has low or no capacity.

With Arafat's departure from the scene and with the renewed political activity, expectations and support for reconciliation following a comprehensive solution increased in a meaningful way for the first time. 24% of the Palestinians expect full reconciliation to be achieved in the next decade or in the next few years compared to 15% last June. 81% of the Palestinians support reconciliation today compared to 67% last June.

More important however is the consistent across the board increase in support for a list of specific reconciliation steps 89% of the Palestinians will support open borders to free movement of people and goods after a comprehensive settlement is reached, compared to 82% who said so last June. 73% support joint economic institutions and ventures compared to 66% and 66% respectively last June. 40% will support joint political institutions designed eventually to lead to a confederate system given a comprehensive settlement compared to 26% who said so last June. 42% support taking legal measures against incitement directed towards Israelis compared to 35% who said so in June 2004. 13% of the Palestinians will support adoption of a school curriculum that recognizes the sovereignty of the other state and educates against irredentist aspirations. In June 2004, only 4% of the Palestinians thought so.

Findings show that 80% of the Palestinians believe that the successful January elections for presidency could be seen as a step forward towards democracy in the PA, while 17% don't see the elections as such. 35% think there are slim chances that a democratic system will be established in the PA or a future Palestinian State. 44% think there are medium chances for that, and 19% give it high chances. Despite the appreciation of the role of the presidential elections in bringing about a possible democratic transition, only 35% evaluate the current state of democracy in the PA as good or very good, 34% think it is fair and 29% think democracy is in bad or very bad condition.

## **(2) Sharon's Disengagement Plan**

- Three quarters see Sharon's disengagement plan as victory for armed struggle against Israeli occupation.
- Only 30% believe the PA has high capacity to control things in the Gaza Strip after the Israeli withdrawal.
- Two thirds oppose continued armed attacks against Israelis from the Gaza Strip after a full Israeli withdrawal from it.

## **(3) Reconciliation between the Two Peoples**

- 81% support reconciliation between the Palestinian and Israeli peoples after reaching a peace agreement with Israel.
- Increase in the levels of support for various reconciliation measures: 89% support open borders between the two states; 73% support joint economic ventures and institutions; 40% support building joint political institutions; 42% support taking legal measures against incitement; and 13% support adopting school curriculum that recognizes Israel and teaches school children not to demand return of all Palestine to the Palestinians

## **(4) Internal Palestinian Conditions**

- Three quarters are satisfied with the performance of President Mahmud Abbas in the peace process and 62% think he is serious about fighting corruption.
- Only 45% give confidence to the new cabinet headed by Abu Ala'.
- 80% view success in holding the presidential elections as a step forward toward democracy in Palestine, but only 35% give positive evaluation of the current status of Palestinian democracy.

- **Three quarters support a quota system for women whereby they are guaranteed 20% of the seats of the parliament. But the public is divided on the preferred electoral system: a district-based majority system, a proportional representation system, or a mixed system.**
- **Hamas' victory in local elections in December 2004 and January 2005 is attributed by the public to incorruptibility of its candidates and to the unity and discipline of its members while Fateh's loss is attributed to the corruption within the PA and the lack of the discipline within that movement.**
- **Support for Fateh drops to 36% and increases for Hamas to 25%.**

Three quarters are satisfied with Abu Mazin's performance with regard to steps taken to revive the peace process, such as the ceasefire and release of prisoners. 70% are satisfied with his dismissal of senior security officers, and 62% believe that Abu Mazin is serious about fighting corruption in the PA. On the other hand, only 45% give confidence in the new cabinet headed by Abu Ala'. Despite that, 71% believe the new cabinet will be able to return to the peace process; 57% believe it will be able to improve economic conditions; 52% believe it will be able to control the security situation including the enforcement of a ceasefire; a similar percentage believes the new cabinet will be able to fight corruption; and 49% believe it will be able to carry out political reforms.

With regard to the current debate on the election law, 75% support a women quota of 20% guaranteed seats in the legislative council. But the public is split on the electoral system with 39% supporting the current district-based majority system, 26% supporting a proportional representation system, and 25% supporting a mixed system combining elements of the two other systems.

With regard to reform, 91% support internal and external calls for fundamental political reforms in the PA, and 87% believe there is corruption in the PA, and 51% believe this corruption will increase or remain the same in the future.

Support for Fateh reaches 36% (compared to 40% last December) and for Hamas 25% (compared to 18% last December). The public expects close results for Fateh and Hamas in the upcoming May local elections and a victory for Fateh in the legislative elections scheduled for July 2005. But in the Gaza Strip, the public expects a major victory for Hamas in the local elections and a victory for Fateh in the legislative elections. The public believes that Hamas' victory in the previous local elections has been due firstly to the integrity and incorruptibility of its candidates and secondly to the unity and discipline within the movement. Fateh's loss is attributed firstly to the spread of corruption in the PA and Fateh and secondly to divisions and lack of discipline in the movement.

Support for Hamas increases in the Gaza Strip (33%) compared to the West Bank (21%), in refugee camps (29%) compared to villages and towns (21%), among women (29%) compared to men (21%), among students and housewives (28% and 31% respectively) compared to employees and merchants (18% and 13% respectively), among those with the lowest income (32%) compared to those with the highest income (23%), among the youngest (30%) compared to the eldest (20%), among those who would strongly refuse to buy lottery tickets (37%) compared to those who would buy such tickets (14%), and among the most religious (28%) compared to the least religious (6%).

Support for Fateh is equal in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It increases in refugee camps (38%) compared to cities (32%), among men (40%) compared to women (31%), among employees and students (46% and 40% respectively) compared to professionals (27%), among those working in the public sector (45%) compared to those working in the private sector (39%), among the unmarried (43%) compared to the married (33%), among the least religious (56%) compared to the most religious (33%) and among those willing to buy lottery tickets (51%) compared to those unwilling to do so (24%).

**Results of Poll # (15)**

10-12 March 2005

**1) Now that the first phase of the local elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has been completed, what are your expectations regarding the outcome of the upcoming local elections in April of this year? In your view, which of the candidates will do well, those nominated by Hamas, Fateh, the Left, Independents, or those nominated by their families?**

	<b>Total%</b>	<b>West Bank%</b>	<b>Gaza Strip %</b>
1) Fateh candidates	39.6	44.6	31.0
2) Hamas and Islamic Jihad candidates	36.8	29.6	49.2
3) leftest candidates (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative )	1.4	2.0	0.2
4) Independent candidates	5.5	7.7	1.9
5) family candidates	6.1	7.9	2.9
6) Other candidates	1.5	1.1	2.3
7) DK/NA	9.2	7.2	12.6

**2) And what about you, will you give your vote in the local elections to candidates who are mostly from Fateh, Hamas and Islamic Jihad, the Left, the Independents, or family members?**

1) Fateh candidates	35.8	37.1	33.7
2) Hamas and Islamic Jihad candidates	28.1	23.7	35.5
3) leftest candidates (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative )	2.4	3.4	0.8
4) Independent candidates	9.2	11.4	5.4
5) family candidates	5.1	6.0	3.5
6) Other candidates	4.7	4.8	4.5
7) DK/NA	14.7	13.7	16.5

**3) And what about the Parliamentay elections which are scheduled to take place in mid July, what are your expectations regarding the outcome of these elections for the Palestinian Legislative Council? Who are the likely winners, those nominated by by Hamas, Fateh, the Left, Independents, or those nominated by their families?**

1) Fateh candidates	51.8	55.1	46.1
2) Hamas and Islamic Jihad candidates	25.7	21.6	32.9
3) leftest candidates (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative )	0.9	1.2	0.4
4) Independent candidates	6.4	7.9	3.7
5) family candidates	2.2	2.8	1.2
6) Other candidates	2.0	1.8	2.3
7) DK/NA	11.1	9.7	13.4

**4) And what about you, will you give your vote in the parliamentary elections to candidates who are mostly from Fateh, Hamas and Islamic Jihad, the Left, the Independents, or family members?**

1) Fateh candidates	39.8	41.3	37.2
2) Hamas and Islamic Jihad candidates	26.3	22.5	32.9
3) leftest candidates (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative )	2.4	3.2	1.0
4) Independent candidates	8.6	10.2	5.8
5) family candidates	3.4	3.6	3.1
6) Other candidates	3.3	3.1	3.5
7) will not participate in the elections	9.2	10.1	7.6
8) DK/NA	7.1	6.0	8.9

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip %
<b>5) Going back to the results of the local elections that have taken place in some local councils in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which saw Hamas winning most of the seats, what is your interpretation to the cause of Hamas victory?</b>			
1) Due to the integrity and incorruptibility of its candidates	43.1	43.4	42.6
2) Due to its unity and effective organization	33.2	34.1	31.6
3) Due to its opposition the peace process	12.4	12.1	12.8
4) Due to other reasons (specify: ----)	7.9	6.7	9.9
5) DK/NA	3.5	3.7	3.1
<b>6) And what about the defeat of Fateh in these local elections, what do you think has caused it?</b>			
1) Due to the spread of corruption in the PA and Fateh	48.1	48.9	46.7
2) Due to divisions and insubordination within it	35.9	33.9	39.3
3) Due to support for the peace process	9.2	9.7	8.3
4) Due to other reasons (specify: -----)	2.7	2.5	2.9
5) DK/NA	4.2	4.9	2.9
<b>7) In February, a summit meeting was held at Sharm al Shaikh bringing together President Mahmud Abbas (Abu Mazin), Israel Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, and the Jordanian King Abdullah. Do you feel today that the summit meeting has contributed or has not contributed to reviving the Palestinian-Israeli peace process?</b>			
1) Definitely it contributed	8.4	6.1	12.4
2) think it contributed	35.6	37.7	32.0
3) Think it did not contribute	37.6	40.5	32.6
4) Definitely it did not contribute	14.2	12.0	18.0
5) DK/NA	4.2	3.7	5.0
<b>8) Now, two months after the election of Mahmud Abbas (Abu Mazin) as president, do you see him serious about fighting corruption?</b>			
1) Definitely yes	14.3	12.1	18.2
2) Yes	48.1	50.1	44.6
3) No	23.2	22.9	23.8
4) Definitely no	7.0	6.8	7.2
5) DK/NA	7.4	8.1	6.2
<b>9) And what about the practice steps which he has taken so far to revive the peace process, such as the ceasefire, release of prisoners, and others? Tell us are you satisfied or unsatisfied with his performance in the peace process?</b>			
1) Very satisfied	14.0	10.7	19.8
2) Satisfied	61.0	60.8	61.4
3) Unsatisfied	18.8	21.7	13.8
4) Very unsatisfied	4.4	4.6	4.1
5) DK/NA	1.7	2.3	0.8
<b>10) President Abu Mazin has fired some of the top security officials. Tell us are you satisfied or unsatisfied with this step?</b>			
1) Very satisfied	19.3	16.4	24.4
2) Satisfied	51.1	50.3	52.5
3) Unsatisfied	15.8	17.2	13.4
4) Very unsatisfied	3.5	4.3	2.1
5) DK/NA	10.2	11.7	7.6

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip %
<b>11) Abu Ala has formed a government composed of ministers who are not members of the PLC. What do you think of the new government? For example, do you give it or do not give it confidence?</b>			
1) I certainly give it confidence	7.4	7.3	7.6
2) I give it confidence	37.8	39.3	35.3
3) I do not give it confidence	33.0	34.6	30.4
4) I certainly do not give it confidence	6.0	5.0	7.6
5) DK/NA	15.7	13.8	19.0
<b>Do you think Abu Ala and his government are able to do the following?</b>			
<b>12-1) political reforms you want</b>			
1) Certainly yes	8.8	8.9	8.7
2) yes	39.7	38.4	41.7
3) no	34.6	37.4	29.8
4) certainly no	9.1	7.7	11.6
5) DK/NA	7.9	7.7	8.3
<b>12-2 fight corruption</b>			
1) Certainly yes	7.1	7.4	6.4
2) yes	44.4	43.2	46.5
3) no	33.0	35.9	27.9
4) certainly no	9.1	7.2	12.4
5) DK/NA	6.4	6.2	6.8
<b>12-3 improve the economic conditions</b>			
1) Certainly yes	7.1	6.8	7.4
2) yes	49.5	48.8	50.8
3) no	29.1	31.1	25.6
4) certainly no	7.6	6.7	9.1
5) DK/NA	6.8	6.6	7.0
<b>12-4 return to negotiations with Israel</b>			
1) Certainly yes	12.3	12.6	11.8
2) yes	58.4	56.8	61.2
3) no	18.1	19.3	16.1
4) certainly no	4.9	4.6	5.4
5) DK/NA	6.4	6.8	5.6
<b>12-5 control the internal security situation including the enforcement of a ceasefire on Palestinian factions</b>			
1) Certainly yes	7.7	7.2	8.7
2) yes	44.4	41.7	49.2
3) no	32.2	35.6	26.4
4) certainly no	8.6	8.6	8.7
5) DK/NA	7.0	6.9	7.0
<b>13) With regard to current negotiations between the Palestinian Authority and Israel, which issue in the short run should in your view be the first priority?</b>			
1) Freezing Israeli settlements	17.2	16.9	17.8
2) Return of laborers to work in Israel	16.8	11.1	26.7
3) Removal of checkpoints	11.4	14.6	6.0
4) Release of more prisoners	33.0	29.6	38.8
5) stop the building of the wall	17.1	22.5	7.9
6) others (specify: ----- )	3.4	3.8	2.7
7) DK/NA	1.0	1.4	0.2

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip %
<b>14) The PLC is currently debating an amendment to the election law. Some demand that women should be given a guaranteed percentage of seats in the new PLC, for example 20%, while others oppose that. Do you support or oppose such an amendment?</b>			
1) I strongly support giving women a guaranteed percentage of seats, about 20%.	43.1	41.0	46.8
2) I support giving women a guaranteed percentage of seats, about 20%.	34.1	38.3	26.7
3) I oppose giving women a guaranteed percentage of seats, about 20%.	12.9	12.2	14.1
4) I strongly oppose giving women a guaranteed percentage of seats, about 20%.	7.8	6.1	10.8
5) DK/NA	2.1	2.4	1.7
<b>15) Also some prefer to keep the current majoritarian electoral system in which Palestine is divided into 16 districts and where the winning candidate is the one who wins the majority of votes in his district, while others prefer replacing it with a new proportional representation system whereby Palestine become one district and each party or political movement receives a number of seats equal to the percentage of votes in received from voters. Another group prefers a mixed system that combines the two systems. Which system you prefer: the majoritarian, the proportional representation, or the mixed?</b>			
1) prefer the current majoritarian system	39.2	37.9	41.3
2) prefer a proportional representation system	25.5	26.4	24.0
3) prefer a mixed system: 50% of the seats by a majoritarian system and 50% by a proportional representation system	18.7	18.2	19.4
4) prefer a mixed system: one third of the seats by a majoritarian system and two thirds by a proportional representation system	3.5	3.5	3.5
5) prefer a mixed system: two thirds of the seats by a majoritarian system and one third by a proportional representation system	2.9	2.4	3.7
6) DK/NA	10.3	11.6	8.1
<b>16) Do you see Sharon's plan to evacuate the Israeli settlements from Gaza as a victory for the Palestinian armed struggle against Israel or don't you see it as a victory?</b>			
1) Definitely this is a Palestinian victory	38.8	31.7	51.0
2) Think this is a Palestinian victory	36.6	38.6	33.1
3) Think this is not a Palestinian victory	18.6	21.9	12.8
4) Definitely this is not a Palestinian victory	4.7	5.6	3.1
5) DK/NA	1.4	2.2	0.0
<b>17) And how do you think most Palestinians see Sharon's plan to evacuate the Israeli settlements from Gaza? Do most Palestinians see it or don't see it as a victory for the Palestinian armed struggle?</b>			
1) Most Palestinians see it as a victory for the Palestinians	77.3	73.2	84.5
2) Most Palestinians don't see it as a victory for the Palestinians	17.9	21.6	11.6
3) DK/NA	4.5	5.1	3.5
<b>18) How would you evaluate the capacity of the Palestinian Authority to control matters in the Gaza Strip after Israel's disengagement there?</b>			
1) High capacity	30.6	29.7	31.6
2) Reasonable capacity	43.0	39.8	48.6
3) Low capacity	15.0	16.9	11.8
4) The capacity does not exist	8.3	10.4	4.8
4) DK/NA	3.3	3.2	3.3



	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip %
<b>19) If Israel disengages fully in the Gaza strip, including the evacuation of all settlements and the Philadelphi route, and if it lifts the air and sea blockade on the Gaza strip, do you in this case support or oppose the continuation of armed attackds aginast Israeli targets from the Gaza Strip?</b>			
1) strongly support	4.6	4.4	5.0
2) support	24.4	25.0	23.3
3) oppose	55.0	56.0	53.1
4) strongly oppose	12.5	9.8	17.1
5) DK/NA	3.5	4.7	1.4
<b>20) 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 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 freeze on settlements and the establishment of a Palestinian State within provisional borders. The next phase will see negotiations on the final borders under the auspices of an international conference. Do you support or oppose this initiative?</b>			
1) Strongly support	8.7	5.4	14.5
2) Support	50.6	53.3	45.9
3) Oppose	26.0	28.3	22.1
4) Strongly oppose	8.8	7.3	11.4
5) Don't know/No answer	5.9	5.7	6.2
<b>21) Now that the Palestinians performed orderly elections for Presidency in the Palestinian Authority, could this be seen or could it not be seen as a step forward towards democracy in the Palestinian Authority?</b>			
1) Definitely could be seen as a step forward	30.8	25.3	40.2
2) Think this could be seen as a step forward	49.3	52.3	44.1
3) Think this could not be seen as a step forward	12.1	13.8	9.1
4) Definitely could not be seen as a step forward	4.9	5.2	4.3
5) DK/NA	3.0	3.5	2.3
<b>22) And what are the chances that a democratic system will be established in the Palestinian Authority or in a future Palestinian State?</b>			
1) Very slim chances	10.0	9.7	10.5
2) Slim chances	24.7	28.3	18.6
3) Medium chances	43.7	42.2	46.3
4) High chances	16.4	15.6	17.8
5) Very high chances	2.2	1.9	2.7
5) DK/NA	3.0	2.4	4.1
<b>23) How would you evaluate the current status of democracy and human rights in the Palestinian Authority? Would you say it is:</b>			
1) Very good	4.3	4.0	5.0
2) Good	30.6	31.6	28.7
3) Fair	34.3	34.5	34.1
4) Bad	18.0	17.5	18.8
5) Very bad	11.1	10.5	12.0
6) DK/NA	1.7	1.9	1.4

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip %
<b>24) What do you expect to happen now after the summit meeting between Abu-Mazin and Sharon in Sharm al-Shaikh?</b>			
1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	24.9	21.6	30.6
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	54.5	57.6	49.2
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	14.7	15.6	13.2
4) DK/NA	5.9	5.3	7.0
<b>25) There are two approaches to solving the conflict with the Palestinians: A solution in stages over several years or a comprehensive agreement on all issues at once. A solution in stages allows to better verify the other side's compliance but creates an incentive for the disruption of the process along the way. A comprehensive solution of all issues at once is less efficient in terms of the verification of the other side's compliance but decreases the chances that the process will fail along the way. Which approach do you prefer?</b>			
1) A solution in stages over several years	31.1	29.3	34.3
2) A comprehensive solution of all issues at once	59.1	59.4	58.5
3) ( <u>Do not read</u> ) Don't prefer any of these approaches	3.3	3.5	3.1
3) ( <u>Do not read</u> ) Not interested in an agreement	2.1	2.8	0.8
5) ( <u>Do not read</u> ) DK/NA	4.4	5.0	3.3
<b>26) and if the PA will adopt the approach you prefer less, will you support or oppose the decision?</b>			
1) Will definitely support	6.9	4.7	10.7
2) Think will support	43.8	46.3	39.5
3) Think will oppose	35.6	35.4	35.7
4) Will definitely oppose	4.9	4.7	5.2
5) DK/NA	8.9	8.9	8.9
<b>27) In your opinion, is it possible these days to reach a compromise settlement with the current Israeli leadership?</b>			
1) Definitely possible	6.4	4.6	9.5
2) Think it is possible	52.4	51.0	55.0
3) Think it is impossible	29.6	33.1	23.6
4) Definitely impossible	10.9	10.4	11.8
5) DK/NA	0.7	1.0	0.2
<b>28) And if a compromise settlement is negotiated with the Israeli leadership, do you think the Israeli leaders are strong enough to convince the Israelis to accept such a compromise settlement?</b>			
1) Definitely they are	17.1	15.9	19.0
2) Think they are	48.1	51.0	43.0
3) Think they are not	25.5	24.1	27.9
4) Definitely they are not	6.3	6.2	6.4
5) DK/NA	3.1	2.8	3.7
<b>29) And what about the Palestinian leadership? Is it strong enough to convince the Palestinians to accept such a compromise settlement?</b>			
1) Definitely it is	13.3	11.5	16.5
2) Think it is	48.6	51.1	44.2

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip %
3) Think it is not	27.6	27.3	28.1
4) Definitely it is not	7.6	7.3	8.1
5) DK/NA	2.9	2.8	3.1

**30) Do you support the participation of Hamas in the negotiations between the Palestinian Authority and Israel?**

1) Definitely support	28.2	22.6	37.8
2) support	50.6	56.4	40.5
3) oppose	15.0	14.7	15.5
4) Definitely oppose	3.7	3.7	3.7
5) DK/NA	2.5	2.5	2.5

**31) And what about the majority of the Palestinian public? Do most Palestinians support or oppose the participation of Hamas in the negotiations between the Palestinian Authority and Israeli?**

1) Majority supports	59.5	56.5	64.7
2) Majority opposes	30.1	31.5	27.6
3) DK/NA	10.3	12.0	7.5

**32) How soon do you think will a political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians be achieved?**

1) A political settlement is not possible ever	34.3	33.0	36.6
2) only in many generations to come	23.5	25.7	19.7
3) only in the next generation	8.9	9.2	8.3
4) only in the next decade	4.7	5.0	4.1
5) in the next few years	22.2	20.7	24.8
6) DK/NA	6.4	6.4	6.4

**33) Who came out the winner in the ongoing armed conflict that has started in September 2000 between Israel and the Palestinians?**

1) Israel	15.8	19.3	9.7
2) the Palestinians	33.1	23.6	49.4
3) Both	6.9	7.7	5.6
4) Neither	42.3	46.9	34.5
5) DK/NA	1.9	2.5	0.8

**34) And what do the majority of Palestinians think on this issue? In their opinion, who came out the winner in the armed conflict so far?**

1) Israel	17.6	22.1	9.9
2) the Palestinians	40.8	31.9	56.2
3) Both	4.2	3.8	4.8
4) Neither	30.9	35.7	22.5
5) DK/NA	6.5	6.5	6.6

**35) And what do the majority of Israelis think on this issue? In their opinion, who came out the winner in the armed conflict so far?**

1) Israel	55.8	55.9	55.6
2) the Palestinians	15.7	12.6	21.1
3) Both	2.4	2.5	2.3
4) Neither	19.3	22.9	13.0
5) DK/NA	6.7	6.1	7.9

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip %
<b>36) Do you believe that armed confrontations so far has helped achieve Palestinian national and political rights in ways that negotiations could not achieve?</b>			
1) Definitely yes	19.6	14.7	28.1
2) Yes	47.1	47.5	46.3
3) No	25.2	29.1	18.4
4) Definitely no	5.5	5.3	5.8
5) DK/NA	2.7	3.4	1.4
<b>37) Do you support or oppose the mutual cease fire which has been reached with Israel?</b>			
1) Definitely support	20.1	15.0	28.9
2) Support	62.7	64.4	59.7
3) Oppose	13.4	15.8	9.3
4) Definitely oppose	2.8	3.2	2.1
5) DK/NA	1.0	1.6	0.0
<b>38) Two weeks ago, a bombing attack took place in Tel Aviv leading to the death of four Israelis and the injury of 50 others in front of a night club. Do you support or oppose this attack?</b>			
1) strongly support	6.5	6.7	6.2
2) support	22.6	23.6	20.9
3) oppose	53.3	53.6	52.9
4) strongly oppose	13.8	11.9	17.1
5) DK/NA	3.7	4.2	2.9
<b>39) The PA is currently taking steps, such as arrests, to prevent attacks like this one in Tel Aviv and to punish those who committed it. Do you support or oppose these steps?</b>			
1) strongly support	7.1	6.4	8.3
2) support	33.3	35.1	30.2
3) oppose	44.0	43.2	45.5
4) strongly oppose	12.5	11.6	14.0
5) DK/NA	3.1	3.7	2.1
<b>40) Do you support or oppose a return to negotiations with Israel on a comprehensive settlement to the conflict?</b>			
1) Definitely support	16.8	12.5	24.2
2) Support	67.5	70.4	62.6
3) Oppose	12.0	12.4	11.4
4) Definitely oppose	2.4	2.9	1.4
5) DK/NA	1.4	1.9	0.4
<b>41) If a peace agreement is reached, and a Palestinian state is established and recognized by Israel, would you support or oppose the efforts to reach full reconciliation between Israel and the Palestinian state?</b>			
1) Would strongly support	15.2	10.8	22.7
2) Would support	65.9	70.3	58.5
3) Would oppose	12.6	13.4	11.2
4) Would strongly oppose	4.4	3.2	6.4
5) DK/NA	1.9	2.3	1.2
<b>42) If a peace agreement is reached and a Palestinian state is established and recognized by Israel, how soon do you think full reconciliation between the two people will be achieved?</b>			
1) Reconciliation is not possible ever	33.7	32.3	36.2
2) Only in many generations to come	21.5	22.4	19.8
3) Only in the next generation	12.7	13.4	11.6
4) Only in the next decade	7.1	7.8	5.8
5) In the next few years	17.0	16.4	18.0
6) DK/NA	8.0	7.7	8.7

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip %
<b>43) After reaching a peace agreement and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, the following are steps that may be taken in order to enhance normalization between the state of Israel and a Palestinian state. For each of the suggested steps please tell me whether you support or oppose it:</b>			
<b>43-1) Open borders to free movement of people and goods</b>			
1) Strongly Support	30.4	27.7	35.1
2) Support	59.0	61.4	54.8
3) Oppose	7.6	8.0	6.8
4) Strongly Oppose	1.7	1.6	1.9
5) DK/NA	1.2	1.3	1.0
<b>43-2) Create joint economic institutions and ventures</b>			
1) Strongly Support	21.4	18.1	27.1
2) Support	51.5	53.3	48.3
3) Oppose	20.5	21.9	18.0
4) Strongly Oppose	4.9	4.6	5.6
5) DK/NA	1.7	2.2	1.0
<b>43-3) Create joint political institutions designed eventually to lead to a confederate system</b>			
1) Strongly Support	8.3	7.1	10.3
2) Support	32.0	31.4	33.1
3) Oppose	41.6	44.1	37.4
4) Strongly Oppose	13.7	12.5	15.9
5) DK/NA	4.3	5.0	3.1
<b>43-4) Take legal measures against incitement against the Israelis</b>			
1) Strongly Support	5.7	4.2	8.3
2) Support	36.0	35.8	36.4
3) Oppose	40.6	41.7	38.6
4) Strongly Oppose	13.3	13.7	12.8
5) DK/NA	4.4	4.7	3.9
<b>43-5) Adopt a school curriculum that recognizes Israel and teaches school children not to demand return of all Palestine to the Palestinians</b>			
1) Strongly Support	2.8	2.0	4.1
2) Support	10.5	10.8	10.1
3) Oppose	48.4	50.5	44.6
4) Strongly Oppose	35.6	33.7	38.8
5) DK/NA	2.7	3.0	2.3
<b>44) And on a personal level, would you, under conditions of peace, invite a Israeli colleague or acquaintance to visit you in your home?</b>			
1) definitely yes	7.4	7.0	8.1
2) Yes	26.1	30.0	19.4
3) No	38.3	41.0	33.7
4) Definitely no	26.6	20.0	37.8
5) DK/NA	1.7	2.0	1.0
<b>45) And would you, under conditions of peace, visit an Israeli colleague or acquaintance in his home?</b>			
1) Definitely yes	7.1	6.1	8.9
2) Yes	25.7	29.5	19.2
3) No	39.1	41.8	34.5
4) Definitely no	26.5	20.7	36.6
5) DK/NA	1.5	1.9	0.8

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip %
<b>46) In your opinion, is lasting peace possible between Israelis and Palestinians?</b>			
1) Definitely possible	3.1	1.3	6.2
2) Possible	27.2	28.8	24.6
3) Impossible	39.7	44.1	32.0
4) Definitely impossible	27.2	22.9	34.7
5) DK/NA	2.7	2.9	2.5
<b>47) And what about the majority of Israelis, do they, in your opinion, believe that lasting peace is possible between Israelis and Palestinians?</b>			
1) Definitely they do	3.6	2.5	5.4
2) They do	27.3	28.5	25.2
3) They do not	45.9	47.1	43.8
4) Definitely they do not	15.8	12.7	21.1
5) DK/NA	7.4	9.1	4.5
<b>48) In your opinion, should the US increase or decrease its involvement in trying to solve the Israeli Palestinian conflict</b>			
1) Sould greatly increase its involvement	68.5	64.6	75.2
2) Should somewhat increase its involvement	10.3	11.3	8.7
3) Should somewhat decrease its involvement	6.1	7.7	3.3
4) Should greatly decrease its involvement	9.1	9.2	8.9
5) DK/NA	6.1	7.3	3.9
<b>49) In your view, will the second Bush administration be more or less supportive of Israel during the next four years?</b>			
1) Certainly will be more supportive	65.0	61.9	70.5
2) Think it wil be more supportive	13.6	16.6	8.5
3) Think will not change	6.4	5.9	7.2
4) Think will be less supportive	8.5	7.9	9.5
5) Definitely will be less supportive	2.4	3.5	0.6
6) DK/NA	4.0	4.2	3.7
<b>50) In the past, two serious attempts were made to reach an agreement between Israel and the Palestinians which failed: the Oslo process in 1993, and the Camp-David summit in 2000. I am going to read you now some reasons offered for the failure of the Oslo process. For each reason tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or stronglydisagree with it.</b>			
<b>50-1) The Oslo process failed because it was a partial, stage by stage process, rather than a comprehensive solution of all issues at once, and thus created an incentive to disrupt it</b>			
1) Strongly agree	23.4	21.2	27.1
2) Agree	50.5	53.7	45.0
3) Disagree	15.2	13.3	18.4
4) Strongly disagree	3.2	2.9	3.7
5) DK/NA	7.8	9.0	5.8
<b>50-2) The Oslo process failed because Israel was not forthcoming enough and continued to build settlements</b>			
1) Strongly agree	34.4	32.4	38.0
2) Agree	53.9	56.5	49.6
3) Disagree	5.1	4.1	6.8
4) Strongly disagree	1.8	1.3	2.7
5) DK/NA	4.7	5.8	2.9

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip %
<b>50-3) The Oslo process failed because Palestinians were not forthcoming enough and maintained the use of violence</b>			
1) Strongly agree	8.0	6.5	10.5
2) Agree	26.9	26.7	27.3
3) Disagree	44.3	45.7	41.9
4) Strongly disagree	15.0	13.9	16.9
5) DK/NA	5.8	7.2	3.3
<b>51) And of the above reasons, which was the most important one for the failing of the Oslo process?</b>			
1) The process failed because the partial and stage design encouraged its disruption	32.5	33.8	30.4
2) The process failed because Israel continued building settlements	54.4	52.6	57.4
3) The process failed because the Palestinians continued to use violence	5.1	4.4	6.2
4) DK/NA	8.0	9.1	6.0
<b>52) And which was the second most important reason for the failure of the Oslo process?</b>			
1) The process failed because the partial and stage design encouraged its disruption	42.4	40.6	54.7
2) The process failed because Israel continued building settlements	35.5	37.5	32.0
3) The process failed because the Palestinians continued to use violence	10.5	10.1	11.2
4) DK/NA	11.5	11.8	11.0
<b>53) I am going to read to you now some reasons offered for the failure of the Camp-David summit between Barak and Arafat in 2000. For each reason tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with it.</b>			
<b>53-1) The summit failed because the problems were too numerous and the differences too big to be solved all at once</b>			
1) Strongly agree	22.9	22.0	24.6
2) Agree	53.9	55.5	51.2
3) Disagree	12.9	11.6	15.1
4) Strongly disagree	2.1	1.8	2.7
5) DK/NA	8.1	9.1	6.4
<b>53-2) The summit failed because Barak yielded much less than he claimed he did</b>			
1) Strongly agree	29.6	28.7	31.2
2) Agree	54.0	55.0	52.3
3) Disagree	7.9	7.1	9.3
4) Strongly disagree	1.5	1.6	1.4
5) DK/NA	7.0	7.7	5.8
<b>53-3) The summit failed because Arafat did not seriously intend to reach a final and comprehensive settlement with Israel</b>			
1) Strongly agree	6.8	5.6	8.9
2) Agree	15.6	15.1	16.5
3) Disagree	46.7	47.1	46.1
4) Strongly disagree	23.1	22.7	23.8
5) DK/NA	7.7	9.5	4.8

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip %
<b>54) Of the above reasons, which was the most important one for the failure of of the Camp-David summit?</b>			
1) The summit failed because the differences were too big to be solved all at once	36.0	38.7	31.4
2) The summit failed because Barak did yield enough	50.2	47.5	54.8
3) The summit failed because Arafat did not seriously intend to reach a final agreement	4.6	3.8	6.0
4) DK/NA	9.1	10.0	7.6
<b>55) And which was the second most important reason for the failure of the Camp-David summit?</b>			
1) The summit failed because the differences were too big to be solved all at once	45.5	43.2	49.6
2) The summit failed because Barak did yield enough	35.9	38.8	30.8
3) The summit failed because Arafat did not seriously intend to reach a final agreement	6.0	4.8	8.1
4) DK/NA	12.5	13.1	11.4
<b>56) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?</b>			
1) Completely assured	3.5	1.4	7.0
2) Assured	26.1	16.3	43.0
3) Not assured	52.5	60.3	39.3
4) Not assured at all	17.3	21.1	10.7
5) DK/NA	0.5	0.8	0.0
<b>57) 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?</b>			
1) Strongly support	33.7	28.5	42.6
2) Support	57.7	61.8	50.6
3) Oppose	5.5	6.0	4.8
4) Strongly oppose	2.0	2.4	1.2
5) DK/NA	1.1	1.3	0.8
<b>58) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions?</b>			
1) Yes	86.5	85.6	88.2
2) No	8.2	8.8	7.2
3) DK/NA	5.1	5.6	4.1
<b>59) If yes, Will this corruption in PA institutions increase, decrease or remain as it is in the future?</b>			
1) Will increase	34.0	36.4	29.9
2) Will remain as it is	16.5	19.6	11.3
3) will decrease	41.7	36.1	51.0
4) DK/NA	7.8	7.9	7.8



	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip %
<b>60) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I...</b>			
1) Strongly support	9.7	7.9	12.8
2) Support	27.8	26.1	30.8
3) Oppose	50.5	53.0	46.3
4) Strongly oppose	8.5	8.4	8.7
5) DK/NA	3.4	4.6	1.4
<b>61) Since a ceasefire agreement has been reached between the two sides, if some Palestinian groups continued to attack Israeli targets, would you approve or oppose, in this case, the Palestinian Authority taking measures to prevent them?</b>			
1) Approve	55.6	52.8	60.5
2) Oppose	39.4	41.2	36.2
3) DK/NA	4.8	6.0	2.7
<b>62) B'tsaalem is an Israeli organization for human rights in the occupied Palestinian land, have you heard of it?</b>			
1) No, I have not	61.8	59.1	66.3
2) yes, I have	38.2	40.9	33.7
<b>62a) If you have heard of it, how would you evaluate its work, positively or negatively?</b>			
1) Highly positively	5.1	4.8	5.6
2) positively	51.9	56.0	42.9
3) negatively	19.7	16.8	26.1
4) highly negatively	5.7	4.5	8.1
5) DK/NA	17.7	17.9	17.4
<b>63) Which of the following political parties do you support?</b>			
1) 1 PPP	0.4	0.6	0.0
2) PFLP	2.0	2.2	1.7
3) Fateh	35.5	35.6	35.3
4) Hamas	25.1	20.8	32.4
5) DFLP	0.9	1.3	0.2
6) Islamic Jihad	2.3	2.8	1.4
7) Fida	0.3	0.5	0.0
8) National Initiative (Mubadara)	1.1	1.6	0.2
9) Independent Islamists	4.3	4.8	3.5
10) Independent Nationalists	6.2	7.8	3.5
11) None of the above	21.0	20.9	21.3
11 Other, specify -----	0.8	1.2	0.2