



The **Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR)** is an independent nonprofit institution and think tank of policy analysis and academic research. PSR was founded with the goal of advancing scholarship and knowledge on immediate issues of concern to Palestinians in three areas: domestic politics and government, strategic analysis and foreign policy, and public opinion polls and survey research. The center engages in several activities. It conducts academic and policy analysis studies. It organizes socio-political surveys and public opinion polls on current Palestinian political and social attitudes. It sponsors study groups and task forces on issues of critical importance to the Palestinians. Finally, it organizes conferences, public lectures, and briefings on current public policy issues. PSR is dedicated to promoting objective and nonpartisan research and analysis and to encouraging a better understanding of Palestinian domestic and international environment in an atmosphere of free debate and exchange of ideas.

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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WITH ARAFAT'S POPULARITY REACHING ITS HIGHEST LEVEL IN FIVE YEARS, THREE QUARTERS OF THE PALESTINIANS SUPPORT THE MAXIM RESTURANT SUICIDE BOMBING AND TWO THIRDS BELIEVE THE ROADMAP IS DEAD. NONETHELESS, AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF 85% SUPPORT MUTUAL CESSATION OF VIOLENCE, TWO THIRDS SUPPORT RETURN TO HUDNA, AND 59% SUPPORT TAKING MEASURES AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD VIOLATE A CEASEFIRE

These are the results of opinion poll # 9, conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR) between 07-14 October 2003. The poll deals with Arafat's popularity and other domestic issues, peace and security, public perception of the United States, and local elections. The total sample size of this poll is 1318 from Palestinians 18 years and older, interviewed face-to-face in West Bank (823) and in Gaza Strip (495), in 120 locations. The margin of error is 3%.

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MAIN RESULTS:

The results of this poll point to a degree of contradictions in Palestinian public attitudes toward domestic political issues as well as issues of peace and security. The results show a large increase in Arafat's popularity not seen during the last five years. They also show widespread support for his decision to declare a state of emergency and to appoint Ahmad Qurai' as a prime minister. In addition, 60% support placing all Palestinian security services under the control of a national security council headed by Arafat. Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of Palestinians believe the increase in support for Arafat is due to Sharon's recent threats against him. Moreover, more than 90% still support internal and external calls for extensive political reforms in the PA and 82% still believe that corruption exists in the PA.

In the realm of peace and security, the findings show widespread support, reaching 75%, for the suicide attack at the Maxim restaurant in Haifa, where 20 Israelis were killed. More than two thirds believe that the Roadmap is dead and 78% believe that current Israeli measures, including the building of the separation wall, reduces that chances for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the future. Nonetheless, almost two thirds support a return to the Hunda, 85% support mutual cessation of violence, and, for the first time since the establishment of the PA, 59% support taking measures to prevent attacks on Israelis after reaching an agreement on mutual cessation of violence. Furthermore, about two thirds still support a solution based on two states: Israel and a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

(1) Arafat and Palestinian Domestic

Conditions:

- Arafat's popularity increases from 35% last June to 50% in this poll. This is his highest level of support in five years.
- About 80% of Palestinians believe that Arafat has become stronger and more popular due to Israeli threat to expel or assassinate him.
- Two thirds support Arafat's declaration of state of emergency while 26% oppose it
- 61% support the appointment of Ahmad Qurai (Abu Ala') as prime minister and 27% oppose it, but only 48% are willing, and 37% unwilling, to give confidence to his government.
- 60% support placing all Palestinian security services under the command of a national security council headed by Arafat.
- 46% believe that Abu Ala' and his government will be more capable than Abu Mazin and his government in dealing with Arafat and the presidency; only 12% believe in the opposite.
- But only 22% believe that Abu Ala' and his government will be more capable than Abu Mazin and his government in reaching an agreement with Israel; 23% believe in the opposite.
- While 62% believe that Abu Ala' and his government will be able to return to negotiations with Israel, only 33% believe they will be able to control the security situation and enforce a ceasefire. 44% believe they will be able to carry out political reforms.
- Fall of Abu Mazin and his government is the equal responsibility of Arafat and Israel (27% each). Only 17% put the blame on Abu Mazin himself.
- 32% are satisfied with the reform steps taken by Abu Mazin and 54% are not satisfied
- 90% support internal and external calls for extensive political reforms.
- 82% believe there is corruption in the PA and 71% believe that corruption will increase or remain the same in the future.
- Popularity of Fateh increases slightly from 26% last June to 28% in this poll. Hamas' popularity remains almost unchanged (21%). Total support for Islamists reaches 29% compared to 31% last June.
- Marwan Barghouti remains the most popular Palestinian figure for the position of vice president 17%, followed by Abdul Aziz Rantisi (14% compared to 3% in an open-ended question last June), Sa'eb Erikat (9%), Ahmad Yasin and Haidar Abdul Shafi (7% each), Farouq Qaddoumi and Hanan Ashrawi (5% each), Ahmad Quarie' (4%), Mohammad Dahlan (2%), and Mahmoud Abbas (1%).

One of the main results of this poll is the large increase in Arafat's popularity rising to 50%. This is the highest level of support for Arafat in five years. Arafat's popularity stood at 35% last June, which is the average percentage for Arafat's popularity during the three years of the intifada. The majority of the Palestinian public (79%) believes that the Israeli threats to expel or assassinate Mr. Arafat has made him stronger and more popular. The findings also show that Arafat's decisions to declare a state of emergency, appoint Ahmad Quarai' (Abu Ala') as prime minister, and to put the security services under the control of a national security council headed by Mr. Arafat enjoy popular support (66%, 61%, and 60% respectively).

But the street is reluctant to support Abu Ala's government, with only 48% willing to give it a vote of confidence. In a comparison between Abu Ala' and his government and Abu Mazin and his government, regarding the ability to deal with Arafat and the office of the presidency, the street tends to believe that Abu Ala is better able to do so. When it comes to reaching an agreement with Israel, the street sees no difference between the two.

Despite the increase in support for Arafat, the overwhelming majority (90%) still supports internal and external calls for wide scale political reforms in the PA and 82% still believes that corruption exists in the PA.

No important change has taken place in the domestic balance of power compared to the situation last June. Fateh's popularity increased slightly from 26% to 28% and the total for the Islamists decreased from 31% to 29% during the same period. Marwan Barghouti, at 17%, remains the most popular candidate for the office of the prime minister despite the drop from his June's 21%. But the most dramatic development has been the increase in the popularity of Abdul Aziz Rantisi, one of the main Hamas leaders, rising to 14% compared to 3% in an open-ended question last June. The increase in the popularity of Rantisi may reflect the public response to repeated Israeli attempt to assassinate him.

Arafat's popularity increases in the Gaza Strip (54%) compared to the West Bank (47%), in refugee camps (54%) compared to villages and towns (48%), among the illiterates and those with elementary education (66% and 56% respectively) compared to holders of BA degree (44%), among housewives (54%) compared to students (43%), among those employed in the public sector (59%) compared to those in the private sector (42%), among the most religious men (55%), (with religiosity measured by the number of praying time in mosques) compared to the least religious men (37%), among those with the lowest income (51%) compared to those with the highest income (33%), and among supporters of Fateh (81%) compared to supporters of Hamas (30%).

Support for Abu Ala', as a prime minister, increases in villages and cities (64% and 63% respectively) compared to refugee camps (53%), among the old (68%) compared to the young (54%), among the illiterates (70%) compared to holders of BA degree (56%), among merchants and housewives (68% and 65% respectively) compared to students (50%), among the least religious men (63%) compared to most religious (56%), and among supporters of Fateh (72%) compared to supporters of Hamas (48%).

(2) Peace and Security:

- 75% support the suicide attack at Maxim Restaurant in Haifa leading to the death of 20 Israelis.
- 78% believe that current Israeli measures, including the building of the separation wall, reduce the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the future.
- But 64% still support a two-state solution (Israel and a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip), while only 12% support a one-state solution (for Palestinians and Israelis). 23% want all Palestine back to the Palestinians.
- Percentage of those believing that armed confrontations will not stop and negotiations will not resume soon increases from 24% last June to 39% in this poll. 46% (compared to 56% last June) believe that the two sides will return to negotiations while some violence will continue.
- 68% believe that the roadmap is dead, but 28% believe that it can still be implemented
- 64% want a return to the Hudna that prevailed few weeks ago while 34% oppose it; but 85% (compared to 80% last June) support a mutual cessation of violence while only 14% oppose it.
- If an agreement is reached on a mutual cessation of violence, 59% (compared to 50% last June) would support taking measures by the PA to prevent attacks on Israelis.
- Despite the widespread support for the Hudna and the mutual cessation of violence, 58% would still support Hamas' decision to oppose the ceasefire.
- 59% believe that current armed confrontations have helped the Palestinians achieve national rights in ways that negotiations could not. In June, 65% shared that belief.

(3) Perceptions of the US:

- 96% believe that the US is not sincere when it says it works toward the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.
- 92% believe that the US is not sincere when it says it wants political reforms and clean government in the PA.
- 78% believe the US is not serious in its declared opposition to the Israeli decision to expel or assassinate President Yasir Arafat.
- 97% believe the current US policy toward the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is biased in favor of Israel.
- But Palestinian evaluation of the current US conditions and policies varies on case by case basis. For example, positive evaluation reaches 85% when evaluating American medicine, science, and technology,

The findings indicate a high degree of pessimism regarding the chances for peace, with two thirds believing that the Roadmap has collapsed while more than three quarters believing that the Israeli measures in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, including the building of the separation wall, reduces the chance for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the future. Moreover, the percentage of those believing that armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations increases from 24% in June to 39% in this poll. The percentage of those believing that the two sides will return to negotiations and confrontations will stop decreased from 17% to 10% during the same period. This may explain why such a high percentage (75%) supports the suicide bombing attack at the Maxim restaurant in Haifa in which 20 Israelis were killed. It may also explain why a majority of 58% would support Hamas' opposition to a ceasefire.

Despite the pessimism and the high level of support for violence, the findings show an additional side to the Palestinian street, one that fully supports a mutual cessation of violence (85%) while a majority (64%) supports a return to the Hudna that prevailed few weeks ago. More importantly, an unprecedented majority of 59% now supports taking measures by the PA to prevent attacks on Israelis once the two sides reach an agreement on mutual cessation of violence. Despite the continued buildup of the separation wall, a majority of 64% still supports a solution based on a two-state solution, while only 12% support a one-state solution, and 23% support a solution that would restore all of historic Palestine to the Palestinians.

Support for the bombing attack at the Maxim restaurant increases in the Gaza Strip (82%) compared to the West Bank (70%), in refugee camps (84%) compared to towns and villages (69%), among women (79%) compared to men (71%), among the young (78%) compared to the old (66%), among students (81%) compared to professionals (33%), and among supporters of Hamas (92%) compared to supporters of Fateh (69%).

Support for the two-state (Palestine-Israel) solution increases in the Gaza Strip (69%) compared to the West Bank (61%), among the old (69%) compared to the young (52%), among the illiterates (70%) compared to holders of BA degree (59%), among the professionals (72%) compared to students (48%), among married persons (66%) compared to the unmarried (53%), and among supporters of Fateh (74%) compared to supporters of Hamas (56%).

The findings show a clear lack of trust in the US policy toward the Palestinian-Israeli issue. But Palestinians show a positive evaluation of American values and achievements. For example, almost all Palestinians (97%) believe the US policy is biased in favor of Israel, while 96% believe the US is not sincere when it says it is working toward the establishment of a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel. Moreover, an overwhelming majority of the Palestinians believes the US is not sincere in its position toward Palestinian political reform and that it is not serious about its opposition to the Israeli decision to expel or assassinate Yasir Arafat.

On the other hand, the Palestinians tend to give a positive evaluation to US achievements in medicine, science, and

and reaches 74% when evaluating the status of gender equality, and 63% when evaluating the status of US economic conditions. Positive evaluation drops to 53% with regards to arts and entertainment, 53% with regard to freedom of press and expression, and 44% to democracy and respect for human rights. Positive evaluation drops further when it comes to treatment of minorities (17%), respect for religious freedom (27%), or foreign policy (23%).

(4) Municipal Elections:

- 60% support holding local elections today, but 32% support the continued functioning of the appointed local councils due to existing conditions
- If elections are held today, 61% oppose holding them piecemeal, wherever possible, and demand holding them in all areas at once
- 80% support the direct election of the head of the local council by the voters while 18% support the election of the council head by the elected members of the council
- 67% support the participation of refugee camps located inside cities in the local elections while 25% support independent elections of local camp committees
- 42% give a positive evaluation for the work of the local councils in their areas; 46% believe these councils does represent the majority of the residents while 47% believes that they do not.
- If elections take place today, 33% would vote for the current local council in their area
- If elections take place today, 70% would participate
- Despite the support for local elections and despite the high level of readiness to participate, 51% believe that if local elections are held today, they would not be honest while only 38% believe they would be.
- 80% say they would vote for the candidate in accordance with their knowledge of the candidate's positions, ethics, and qualifications, while 11% say they would vote for the candidate chosen by the family or tribe. In all cases, 81% say they would vote that candidate even if it turns out to be a woman. 16% say they would not vote for a woman candidate.

technology (85%), US gender equality (74%), arts and entertainment (53%), and freedom of the press (53%). Positive evaluation drops when it comes to democracy and human rights (44%), religious freedom (27%), foreign policy (23%), and treatment of minorities (17%).

It is clear that the US response to 11 September has affected Palestinian evaluation of internal American conditions regarding human rights, religious freedom and treatment of minorities especially Arabs and Muslims. The Bush Administration's support for Israeli assassination and incursion policy may have contributed to the clear distrust in the US intentions in the peace process. While half of the Palestinians were convinced last June the belief that President Bush was determined to implement the Roadmap and move the peace process forward, this conviction has completely disappeared in this poll.

The findings show a majority of 60% in support of holding local elections today, while a third of the public supports, due to current conditions, the continued functioning of the existing PA-appointed councils. If a decision is made to hold elections now, a majority of 61% would oppose holding them piecemeal, wherever possible, and would insist on holding them simultaneously in all Palestinian areas. Two thirds of the public support the participation of the residents of refugee camps that are located within the municipal boundaries of existing cities, while 25% support holding separate elections for independent camp committees. There are no differences between refugees and non-refugees regarding the inclusion of the refugee camps in the municipal elections. But in refugee camps, support for the participation of refugee camp residents in the local elections decreases to 58% while support for separate elections for camp committees increases to 36%. The opposition to refugee camp participation in local elections does not exceed 5% among the public at large and among the residents of the camps. The findings also show that the overwhelming majority (80%) supports the direct elections of council heads, while only 18% support the election of the council heads by elected council members.

If local elections are held today, 70% say they would participate in them. When participating, 80% say they would vote for based on their knowledge of the candidate's positions, ethics, and qualifications. 11% say they would vote for the candidate chosen by their family while only 6% say they would for the candidate chosen by their political party or faction. In all cases, an overwhelming majority (81%) says that it would vote for its preferred candidate even if it was a woman.

Despite the fact that a majority supports holding local elections today, and despite the fact that a large percentage is ready to participate in them if held today, confidence in the honesty of such elections is not high, not exceeding 38% while 51% say they would not be honest. Perhaps the reason for demanding elections now despite the lack of confidence in their honesty is the belief of almost half of the public (47%) that the current appointed councils do not represent the majority of the residents in their areas while only 46% believe that they do indeed represent the majority of the residents. Moreover, the percentage of the positive evaluation of the performance of the appointed local councils does not exceed 42%. In case local elections are held today, only 33% would vote the current heads of their local councils.

Results of Poll # (9)

07-14 October 2003

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
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1) Which among the following entertainment and cultural programs has been the one you have seen most during the last six months?

1. MBC's Who Will Win a Million	19.4	21.2	16.6
2. Future's (al Mustaqbal) Super Star	16.0	17.1	14.2
3. Al Jazeera's For Women Only	1.9	2.1	1.6
4. Iqra's Meeting the Dear Ones	26.5	24.2	30.4
5. MBC's Doraid's World	3.1	3.4	2.6
6. I do not watch TV	9.6	8.2	11.7
7. A different program: -----	9.5	9.5	9.5
8. No Dish	13.5	14.1	12.3
9. No opinion/ Do not know	0.5	0.1	1.0

2) In your view, how did the Israeli threats to expel or kill Arafat affect his popularity and strength among the Palestinians?

1. He became stronger and more popular	79.1	77.8	81.2
2. He became weaker and less popular	4.0	3.4	5.1
3. No change	15.1	17.0	11.9
4. NO opinion/Do not know	1.8	1.8	1.8

3) Some people talk about holding local elections (for municipal and village councils), while others argue that due to current difficulties, the current appointed local councils should continue to function. What do you think?

1. I support holding new local elections	60.2	59.9	60.8
2. I support the continued functioning of the appointed local council due to the current difficulties	32.4	31.2	34.3
3. No opinion/Do not know	7.4	8.9	4.8

4) Some argue that in order to overcome the current difficulties, local elections may be held where it is possible and postponed where it would not be possible. What do think?

1. I support holding local elections in cities and town where it would be possible	34.4	38.5	27.7
2. I oppose holding election in cities and towns where it would be possible and demand holding them in all areas simultaneously	60.8	56.3	68.3
3. No opinion/ Do not know	4.8	5.2	4.0

5) Local elections law stipulates that the head of the local council must be elected directly by the voters. Some propose changing the law so that the head of the council would be selected by the elected members of the council. What is your opinion?

1. I support the direct election of the head of the council by the voters	79.6	81.4	76.6
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	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
2. I support the selection of the head of the council by the council members	18.2	15.9	22.0
3. No opinion/ Do not know	2.2	2.7	1.4
6) When talking about the next local elections, some argue in favor of the participation of the residents of the refugee camps that are located within the municipal boundaries of the Palestinian cities in the elections for these cities. Others oppose such participation and propose the holding of independent elections for these camps. What do you think?			
1. I support the participation of the residents of these refugee camps in the local elections of the cities in which the camps are located	67.1	65.3	70.1
2. I support holding independent elections for the camps in order to elect local administrative councils	25.3	25.9	24.2
3. I do not support the participation of the camps in the local elections	4.9	5.8	3.2
4. I have other views (specify----)	0.5	0.9	0.0
5. No opinion/ Do not know	2.2	2.1	2.4
7) In your opinion, does the current local council in your area represent or does not represent the majority of the residents of that area?			
1. Represents the majority of the area residents	46.1	46.2	46.1
2. Does not represent the majority of the area residents	47.4	47.8	46.9
3. No opinion/ Do not know	6.4	6.1	7.1
8) If local elections were to take place in your area today, would it in your opinion be honest or not honest?			
1. Most probably it will be honest	37.7	36.9	39.2
2. Most probably it will not be honest	51.4	50.9	52.3
3. No opinion/ Do not know	10.9	12.3	8.5
9) If local elections were to take place in your area today, would you or would not you participate?			
1. I would participate	69.5	67.4	72.9
2. I would not participate	20.1	20.4	19.6
3. I will decide then	10.0	11.7	7.3
4. No opinion/ Do not know	0.4	0.5	0.2
10) If you do participate in these local elections in your area of residence, for whom would your vote?			
1. For the candidate in accordance with my knowledge of his/her positions, ethics, and qualifications	80.3	81.9	77.8
2. For the candidate nominated by the party or political faction you tend to support	5.8	5.6	6.3

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
3. For the candidate agreed upon by your family or tribe	10.6	9.4	12.5
4. For other candidate (specify ---)	1.2	1.6	0.6
5. No opinion/ Do not know	2.1	1.6	2.8
11) What if the candidate you have selected in the previous question turned out to be a woman, would you still vote or not vote for her?			
1. I would vote for the candidate even if she is a woman	80.7	82.7	77.2
2. I would not vote for a women candidate	16.3	14.8	18.8
3. No opinion/ Do not know	3.0	2.4	4.0
12) If local elections took place today and you decided to participate, would you vote or would not vote for current head of the local council in your area?			
1. I would vote for the current head of my local council	33.1	33.6	32.4
2. I would not vote for the current head of my local council; instead, I would vote for (-----)	48.8	51.9	43.5
3. No opinion/ Do not know	18.1	14.5	24.1
13) How do you evaluate the performance of the current local council in your area?			
1. Very good	11.3	13.1	8.3
2. Good	30.3	28.7	32.9
3. Fair	32.2	31.5	33.3
4. Bad	13.2	12.4	14.5
5. Very bad	9.9	9.8	9.9
6. No opinion/ Do not know	3.2	4.5	1.0
13-a) President Arafat declared a state of emergency and formed an emergency government. Do you support or oppose this step?			
1. Strongly support	10.9	9.3	13.5
2. Support	54.7	56.2	52.3
3. Oppose	19.8	19.5	20.4
4. Strongly oppose	6.0	5.3	7.1
5. No opinion/ Don't know	8.5	9.7	6.7
14) Do you support or oppose the appointment of Ahmad Qurai' (Abu Ala') as Prime Minister?			
1. Strongly support	5.5	4.8	6.7
2. Support	55.8	56.6	54.3
3. Oppose	20.5	19.6	22.0
4. Strongly oppose	6.5	5.7	7.7
5. No opinion/ Don't know	11.8	13.3	9.3
15) What is your view of the emergency government headed by Abu Mazin. Do you, or do not you, for example, give it your vote of confidence?			
1. Certainly yes	5.7	5.6	5.9
2. Yes	41.9	44.3	37.8
3. No	29.3	27.1	32.9
4. Certainly no	7.4	6.9	8.3
5. No opinion/ Don't know	15.7	16.0	15.2

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
16) Do you think that Abu Ala' and his government will be more capable or less capable than Abu Mazin and his government in dealing with the presidency of the PA and Yasir Arafat with regard to the management of internal administrative and financial matters?			
1. Abu Ala' and his government will be more capable than Abu Mazin and his government in dealing with the PA presidency and Yasir Arafat	45.9	45.1	47.2
2. Abu Ala' and his government will be more capable than Abu Mazin and his government in dealing with the PA presidency and Yasir Arafat	12.0	9.5	16.2
3. No difference between the two	33.0	35.7	28.5
4. No opinion/ Do not know	9.1	9.7	8.1
17) And what about reaching an agreement with Israel, who in your opinion is the more capable and who is the less capable?			
1. Abu Ala' and his government will be more capable than Abu Mazin and his government	22.3	22.7	21.7
2. Abu Ala' and his government will be less capable than Abu Mazin and his government	22.8	17.9	31.0
3. No difference between the two	46.7	50.7	40.1
4. No opinion/ Do not know	8.1	8.7	7.3
18) Do you believe that Abu Ala' and his new government will, or will not, be able to do the following?			
18-1 Carry out the political reforms you seek			
1. Certainly yes	5.2	5.1	5.5
2. Yes	38.6	37.1	41.2
3. No	36.1	37.1	34.5
4. Certainly no	10.9	10.3	11.9
5. No opinion/ Don't know	9.1	10.4	6.9
18-2 Fight corruption			
1. Certainly yes	4.7	4.1	5.7
2. Yes	38.4	37.5	39.8
3. No	37.9	40.5	33.7
4. Certainly no	11.5	9.1	15.4
5. No opinion/ Don't know	7.5	8.7	5.5
18-3 Improve economic conditions			
1. Certainly yes	3.3	2.9	3.8
2. Yes	42.1	39.4	46.8
3. No	35.6	39.9	28.5
4. Certainly no	12.1	9.8	15.8
5. No opinion/ Don't know	6.9	8.0	5.1
18-4 Renew negotiations with Israel			
1. Certainly yes	8.4	5.7	12.7
2. Yes	54.0	53.9	54.1
3. No	22.3	24.6	18.6
4. Certainly no	7.7	7.1	8.9
5. No opinion/ Don't know	7.6	8.8	5.7

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
18-5 Control the security conditions and enforce a ceasefire on all factions			
1. Certainly yes	3.2	3.2	3.2
2. Yes	29.8	29.8	29.9
3. No	39.2	43.3	32.5
4. Certainly no	18.7	13.7	26.9
5. No opinion/ Don't know	9.1	10.1	7.5
19) Who in your opinion is the person or side responsible more than any one else for the resignation of Abu Mazin and his government?			
1. The former prime minister Abu Mazin and his government	16.6	14.2	20.7
2. The president of the PA, Yasir Arafat, and the office of the presidency	26.7	26.4	27.2
3. The US	12.9	15.1	9.2
4. Israel	26.8	25.8	28.6
5. Others (specify-----)	7.7	8.5	6.3
6. No opinion/ Do not know	9.3	10.1	8.0
20) In his statement to the Palestinian Legislative Council, Abu Mazin spoke of the reforms his government carried out. In general, are you satisfied or not satisfied with the reforms carried out by Abu Mazin's government?			
1. Very satisfied	3.2	2.1	5.1
2. Satisfied	28.7	24.8	35.2
3. Not Satisfied	37.9	40.0	34.3
4. Not satisfied at all	16.4	15.9	17.2
5. No opinion/ Do not know	13.9	17.3	8.3
21) Some argue for putting the Palestinian security services under the control of the prime minister and his government, but others argue for putting these services under the control of a national security council headed by the president of the Palestinian authority. What do you think?			
1. I support putting the services under the control of the prime minister and his government	12.7	13.5	11.3
2. I support putting the services under the control of a national security council headed by the president of the Palestinian Authority	60.4	58.0	64.4
3. I support keeping things as they are now with the police and preventive security under the minister of interior and the national security forces and the intelligence under the PA president	19.4	19.7	18.8
4. No Opinion /Don't Know	7.5	8.8	5.5
21-a) With regard to the bombing operation in the Maxim Restaurant in Haifa, which led to the death of 20 Israelis, do you support or oppose this operation?			
1. Strongly support	40.4	35.4	48.8
2. Support	34.1	34.4	33.6
3. Oppose	17.4	20.3	12.6
4. Strongly oppose	4.4	5.4	2.6
5. No opinion/ do not know	3.7	4.5	2.4

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
22) 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	32.9	30.5	36.8
2. Support	56.6	58.0	54.3
3. Oppose	7.4	7.5	7.3
4. Strongly oppose	1.2	1.6	0.6
5. No opinion/ do not know	1.9	2.4	1.0
23) Do you think the US is sincere or not sincere when it says it works for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel?			
1. Sincere	3.3	3.3	3.2
2. Not sincere	95.7	95.6	95.8
3. No opinion/ Do not know	1.1	1.1	1.0
24) And do you think the US is sincere or not sincere when it says it wants political reform and that it seeks to fight corruption in the Palestinian Authority?			
1. Sincere	6.8	7.3	6.1
2. Not sincere	91.6	90.9	92.7
3. No opinion/ Do not know	1.6	1.8	1.2
25) Do you think the US is serious or not serious in its declared opposition to the Israeli decision to expel or assassinate President Yasir Arafat?			
1. Serious	19.7	19.1	20.8
2. Not serious	78.4	79.1	77.2
3. No opinion/ Do not know	1.9	1.8	2.0
26) With regard to the current US policy toward the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, you see it:			
1. Biased in favor of Israel	96.6	96.5	96.8
2. Biased in favor of the Palestinians	0.6	0.5	0.8
3. Balanced between the two sides	2.1	2.3	1.8
4. No opinion/ Do not know	0.7	0.7	0.6
27) If you want to evaluate the status of each of the following issues in the United States, you would see it is:			
27-01 Democracy and human rights			
1. Very good	18.8	20.9	15.2
2. Good	25.4	26.5	23.7
3. Fair	16.6	14.7	19.8
4. Bad	20.3	19.6	21.7
5. Very Bad	10.4	9.0	12.8
6. No opinion/ Do not know	8.4	9.4	6.9
27-02 University education			
1. Very good	43.0	45.4	38.9
2. Good	31.0	30.4	32.0
3. Fair	6.5	5.0	8.9
4. Bad	2.8	2.6	3.2
5. Very Bad	0.7	0.6	0.8
6. No opinion/ Do not know	16.1	16.0	16.2
27-03 Medicines, science, and technology			
1. Very good	57.3	57.6	56.7
2. Good	27.6	27.9	27.1
3. Fair	4.3	3.3	6.1
4. Bad	1.1	1.0	1.2
5. Very Bad	0.3	0.4	0.2

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
6. No opinion/ Do not know	9.4	9.8	8.7
27-04 Arts and literature			
1. Very good	23.0	23.9	21.5
2. Good	29.8	31.0	27.7
3. Fair	15.3	14.1	17.4
4. Bad	10.5	9.5	12.1
5. Very Bad	3.7	3.0	4.9
6. No opinion/ Do not know	17.7	18.5	16.4
27-05 Freedom of press and expression			
1. Very good	22.6	20.0	26.7
2. Good	30.7	31.8	28.7
3. Fair	16.2	16.0	16.4
4. Bad	15.3	15.9	14.4
5. Very Bad	6.5	6.3	6.9
6. No opinion/ Do not know	8.7	9.8	6.9
27-06 Religious freedom			
1. Very good	7.5	6.8	8.7
2. Good	19.7	21.9	16.0
3. Fair	17.7	16.4	19.8
4. Bad	30.1	30.4	29.8
5. Very Bad	15.7	13.6	19.2
6. No opinion/ Do not know	9.3	10.9	6.5
27-07 Treatment of minorities			
1. Very good	3.7	3.7	3.6
2. Good	13.7	14.9	11.7
3. Fair	18.1	17.2	19.6
4. Bad	38.0	37.6	38.7
5. Very Bad	16.3	16.1	16.6
6. No opinion/ Do not know	10.3	10.6	9.7
27-08 Equality between men and women			
1. Very good	40.8	36.1	48.6
2. Good	33.3	36.1	28.5
3. Fair	9.0	10.7	6.3
4. Bad	6.4	6.0	7.1
5. Very Bad	1.9	1.3	2.8
6. No opinion/ Do not know	8.7	9.8	6.7
27-09 Economic conditions			
1. Very good	33.4	33.8	32.8
2. Good	29.5	30.3	28.1
3. Fair	12.2	11.4	13.6
4. Bad	13.4	13.9	12.8
5. Very Bad	4.2	2.7	6.7
6. No opinion/ Do not know	7.3	8.0	6.1
27-10 Foreign policy			
1. Very good	8.0	6.8	9.9
2. Good	14.5	13.2	16.6
3. Fair	10.5	9.4	12.3
4. Bad	23.2	23.2	23.3
5. Very Bad	33.1	36.3	27.7
6. No opinion/ Do not know	10.7	11.1	10.1

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
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28) Some believe that the current Israelis measures in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, including the building of a separation wall, affect the chances for the establishment of an independent and contiguous Palestinian state. Do you see these measures as weakening or strengthening the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the future?

1. They weaken the chances	78.1	82.1	71.3
2. They strengthen the chances	11.1	9.4	14.0
3. They have no impact	8.7	6.2	12.8
4. No opinion/ Do not know	2.2	2.3	2.0

29) Some argue that the best solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the establishment of one state (for Palestinians and Israelis) in all of historic Palestine while others argue that the solution is in the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and another state for the Israelis. Which view do you support?

1. The establishment of one state for the Palestinians and the Israelis	11.6	14.2	7.3
2. The establishment of two states one for the Israelis and one for the Palestinians	63.8	60.5	69.4
3. I do not support either solution; instead, I support -----	23.3	24.2	21.9
4. No opinion/ Do not know	1.2	1.1	1.4

30) What do you expect to happen now after the collapse of the ceasefire, the resignation of Abu Mazin and his government, and the Israeli threats to expel or kill President Yasir Arafat?

1. Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	9.7	9.4	10.3
2. Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	46.2	43.5	50.6
3. Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	39.0	42.0	34.2
4. No opinion/ Do not know	5.0	5.1	4.9

31) With regard to the Roadmap, do you think it had collapse or do you think there is still room to implement it?

1. The Roadmap has collapsed	67.7	65.1	72.1
2. It has not collapsed, room exists for its implementation	27.7	30.1	23.7
3. No opinion/ Do not know	4.6	4.7	4.3

32) Do you support or oppose a return to the “hudna” that existed several weeks ago?

1. Strongly support	14.1	12.0	17.4
2. Support	50.0	50.5	49.1
3. Oppose	25.3	26.2	23.9
4. Strongly oppose	8.4	8.5	8.1
5. No opinion/ do not know	2.3	2.8	1.4

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

1. Strongly support	54.0	48.0	64.1
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	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
2. Support	36.1	39.7	30.0
3. Oppose	7.1	8.7	4.3
4. Strongly oppose	0.9	1.1	0.6
5. No opinion/ do not know	1.9	2.4	1.0
34) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli settlers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, I....			
1. Strongly support	51.9	45.4	62.6
2. Support	37.4	41.3	30.8
3. Oppose	7.6	9.6	4.3
4. Strongly oppose	1.1	0.7	1.6
5. No opinion/ do not know	2.1	2.9	0.8
35) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....			
Strongly support	26.9	21.9	35.2
Support	27.5	25.6	30.6
Oppose	36.4	42.3	26.5
Strongly oppose	6.8	6.9	6.7
No opinion/ do not know	2.4	3.3	1.0
36) With regard to call for a cessation of violence by both sides, I			
1. Support it	84.9	84.0	86.4
2. Oppose it	14.2	14.9	13.2
3. No Opinion/ Don't know	0.8	1.1	0.4
37) If an agreement is reached to cease violence by both sides, but armed attacks against Israelis continued, do you approve or oppose, in this case, the Palestinian Authority taking measures to prevent them?			
1. Approve	59.0	59.3	58.5
2. Oppose	37.3	36.8	38.3
3. Don't Know /No answer	3.7	3.9	3.2
38) After reaching an agreement to cease violence by both sides, but the Palestinian Authority did not take measures to prevent these armed attacks against Israelis, do you think that the continuation of such attacks may impede the peace process between the Palestinians and the Israelis?			
1. Yes	76.0	79.6	70.0
2. No	21.8	17.8	28.3
3. Don't Know /No answer	2.2	2.6	1.6
39) After reaching an agreement to cease violence by both sides and the Palestinian Authority takes security measures to prevent such armed attacks against Israelis, are you concerned that these measures may lead to internal Palestinian conflict?			
1. Yes, very worried	43.5	42.7	44.8
2. Somewhat worried	38.5	39.3	37.1
3. No, not worried	15.8	15.5	16.4
4. Don't Know /No answer	2.2	2.6	1.6
40) Hamas and other opposition groups oppose a Palestinian-Israeli ceasefire. Do you support or oppose their position?			
1. Strongly support	15.5	15.6	15.4
2. Support	42.1	41.5	43.2
3. Oppose	32.7	33.1	32.0
4. Strongly oppose	4.1	4.0	4.3
5. No opinion/ Don't know	5.6	5.8	5.1
41) Are you concerned or not concerned that this position of Hamas and other opposition groups could lead to internal Palestinian conflict?			
1. Certainly concerned	19.5	19.1	20.2
2. Concerned	46.2	44.9	48.2

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
3. Not concerned	26.4	27.9	23.9
4. Certainly not concerned	5.1	5.4	4.7
5. No opinion/ do not know	2.8	2.7	3.0
42) Do you believe that armed confrontations so far have helped achieve Palestinian rights in a way that negotiations could not?			
1. Definitely yes	19.8	18.9	21.3
2. Yes	38.8	36.1	43.3
3. No	31.4	34.1	26.9
4. Definitely no	6.9	6.7	7.3
5. Don't Know /No answer	3.0	4.2	1.2
43) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions?			
1. Yes	82.4	81.7	83.6
2. No	8.4	8.3	8.5
3. Don't Know /No answer	9.2	10.0	7.9
44) Will this corruption in PA institutions increase, decrease or remain as it is in the future?			
1. Will increase	56.2	57.4	54.2
2. Will remain as it is	15.2	16.2	13.7
3. Will decrease	20.9	18.8	24.3
4. No opinion /Don't know	7.6	7.6	7.7
45) If separate elections for the president of the Palestinian Authority were held today, whom would you choose?			
1. Haidar Abdul Shafi	6.4	5.1	8.5
2. Yasser Arafat	49.5	46.9	53.5
3. Ahmad Yasin	14.2	14.7	13.4
4. Others (specify ----)	1.2	1.1	1.2
5. None of the above	20.1	21.2	18.5
6. I will not participate	8.0	10.1	4.7
7. No Opinion / Don't Know	0.6	0.9	0.2
46) If separate elections for a Vice President of the Palestinian Authority were held today, whom would you choose?			
1. Saeb Erikat	9.2	9.6	8.5
2. Hanan Ashrawi	4.6	4.6	4.7
3. Haidar Abdul Shafi	6.5	5.5	8.3
4. Ahmad Yassin	7.0	5.1	10.1
5. Farouq Kaddomi	4.9	5.6	3.6
6. Marwan Bargouthi	17.0	17.2	16.6
7. Ahmad Quarai'	4.3	4.5	4.0
8. Mahmoud Abbas	1.1	1.0	1.4
9. Abdul Aziz Al-Rantissi	13.8	13.4	14.6
10. Mohammad Dahlan	1.4	0.4	3.2
11. No one, will decide later	19.4	20.6	17.4
12. I will not participate	8.8	10.2	6.5
13. Others (Less than 2%)	0.8	0.7	0.8
14. No Opinion / Don't Know	1.1	1.6	0.2
47) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
01. PPP	0.8	1.0	0.6
02. PFLP	2.6	3.2	1.6
03. Fateh	28.4	27.2	30.4
04. Hamas	20.9	19.1	23.9
05. DFLP	0.5	0.6	0.4
06. Islamic Jihad	3.7	3.9	3.4
07. Fida	0.2	0.0	0.4

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
08. Independent Islamists	4.0	4.5	3.2
09. Independent Nationalists	4.9	5.9	3.2
10. None of the above	32.9	33.7	31.6
11. Others	1.1	1.0	1.2