



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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On the eve of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, 84% see it as victory for armed resistance and 40% give Hamas most of the credit for it; but 62% are opposed to continued attacks against Israelis from the Gaza Strip, 60% support collection of arms from armed groups in Gaza, Fateh's electoral standing improved at Hamas' expense (47% to 30%), optimism prevails over pessimism, and 73% support the establishment of a Palestinian state in the Gaza Strip that would gradually extend to the West Bank

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 September 7-9, 2005. The poll deals with Palestinian conditions on the eve of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, the future of the peace process after disengagement, voting intentions and considerations in the upcoming Palestinian elections, and domestic Palestinian conditions. Total size of the sample is 1368 adults interviewed face to face in the West Bank (892) and the Gaza Strip (476) in 120 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3%.

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MAIN RESULTS:

Focus in this poll has been placed on Palestinian perception of the meaning of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in the context of the implementation of the Israeli disengagement plan and public expectations of the day after with focus on the future of the peace process. The poll also focused on the upcoming Palestinian parliamentary elections in terms of voters' intentions and behavior.

Three main findings emerge:

- (1) The Palestinian public views the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip as victory for armed resistance to occupation; it gives Hamas most of the credit for this achievement.
- (2) In the meanwhile, with the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip underway, public top priorities are shifting: focus is now placed on matters of reconstruction and state building such as economic conditions, corruption, and law and order.
- (3) The change in priorities is weakening interest in armed resistance and increases demands for its cessation. Moreover, the change in the hierarchy of priorities in weakening the electoral appeal of Hamas and strengthening that of Fateh in anticipation of the upcoming parliamentary elections.

It is evident that the unilateral nature of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip has generated conflicting dynamics: on the one hand, a greater appreciation of the role of violence, and thereby the need to keep the armed pressure on Israel and to protect the arms of the resisting groups; on the other hand, a greater optimism about the future and the critical and urgent need to begin the process of reconstruction and state building, and thereby the need to maintain the existing ceasefire and the consolidation of Fateh's position.

(1) Prevailing Conditions on the Eve of Israeli Withdrawal from the Gaza Strip

- 84% view Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip as victory for armed resistance and 40% give Hamas most of the credit for that achievement
- But a majority of 62% opposes continued armed resistance from the Gaza Strip and 60% support collection of arms from armed factions in the Strip
- 77% support the continuation of the current ceasefire and 56% oppose (and 37%) support the suicide attack that took place in Beer Sheva in August
- Priorities of the public focus on reconstruction and 73% support the creation of a Palestinian state along the 1967 borders that would start in the Gaza Strip and gradually extends to the West Bank
- Optimistic expectations prevails, particularly in the Gaza Strip, but fears remain

Findings show significant increase in the percentage of those who see the Israeli withdrawal as victory for armed resistance from 72% in our last survey in June to 84% in this survey. The largest percentage (40%) gives Hamas most of the credit for this achievement while only 21% give the credit to the PA and 11% to Fateh. Belief that Hamas deserves most of the credit increases among women (44%) compared to men (36%), among holders of the preparatory certificate (47%) compared to holders of university degree (32%), among housewives (45%) compared to employees and farmers (29% each), among those would definitely refuse to buy a lottery ticket (45%) compared to those who would definitely agree to buy one (32%), among those working in the private sector (40%) compared to those working in the public sector (29%), among the married (42%) compared to the unmarried (33%), and among Hamas supporters (69%) compared to supporters of Fateh (24%).

Despite the high public appreciation for armed resistance and for Hamas, findings show a majority opposition to continued armed attacks. 62% oppose (and 35% support) continuation of armed attacks from the Gaza Strip after a full Israeli withdrawal from that area. Opposition to armed attacks from the Gaza Strip after the Israeli withdrawal is greater in Gaza than in the West Bank (65% and 60% respectively). Findings also show that that a majority of 77% supports the continuation of the current ceasefire while only 22% oppose its continuation. This attitude is reflected in the opposition of 56% (and support of 37%) to the suicide attack that took place in August 2005 in Beer Sheva. Opposition to armed attacks is also reflected in the majority support (60%) for collection of arms from armed factions in the Gaza Strip; 37% oppose such a step. Percentage of support for the Gaza collection of arms is equal in the Gaza Strip to that of the West Bank but it increases among those definitely wishing to buy lottery tickets (73%) compared to those definitely opposed to buying lottery tickets (46%) and among Fateh's supporters (74%) compared to Hamas' supporters (43%).

The high positive evaluation of the role of violence while simultaneously opposing its continuation reflects a shift in public priorities towards a focus on reconstruction where poverty and unemployment comes at the top of the public list of priorities (40%) followed by occupation and corruption (25% each) and internal anarchy (8%). In June 2005, these percentages stood at 34% for poverty and unemployment, 33% for occupation, 24% for corruption, and 8% for internal anarchy.

Similarly, findings show strong support (73%) for the establishment of a Palestinian state (with the 1967 lines as its borders) that would start in the Gaza Strip and gradually extends to the West Bank. The idea of a Gaza-first state receives identical support in the West Bank as in the Gaza Strip. But it finds greater support among those intending to vote for Fateh in the upcoming parliamentary elections (82%) compared to those intending to vote for Hamas (67%). It is important to point out that the question clearly identifies the borders of the state as those of the 1967, and therefore some or all respondents might have assumed that no further negotiations would be required to determine the final borders of the state. In other words, one should not assume that support for this Gaza-first state is automatically equivalent to

support for the state with provisional borders referred to in the Road Map.

The Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip has created an optimistic atmosphere, particularly in the Gaza Strip. For example, findings show optimistic expectations regarding future improvement in the economic conditions among 64% of the public, progress in the peace process among 57%, links between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip between 57%, the view that the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip is the beginning of the end of the Israeli occupation among 56%, and the view that further withdrawals will take place in the West Bank in the future among 60%. But pessimism remains high, particularly in the West Bank, regarding the possibility of continued Israeli control over the Rafah crossing and thereby the transformation of the Gaza Strip into a big prison (among 57%) and the expectation that the Israeli withdrawal will be followed by internal infighting (among 60%). It is worth noting that the poll was conducted during the period in which Musa Arafat, security advisor to PA president, was assassinated in the Gaza Strip.

(2) Future of the Peace Process after Disengagement

- 69% support going to comprehensive final status negotiations and only 25% support a gradual interim solution
- Support for the Road Map plan stands at 57% and opposition at 40%
- If permanent status negotiations start with the Sharon government, only 30% expect that it would lead to an agreement while 68% believe that agreement is not possible
- But if a compromise is reached with the current Israeli leadership, 53% believe Sharon is strong enough to convince the Israeli people to accept it and 50% believe Palestinian president Mahmud Abbas is strong enough to convince the Palestinian people to accept it.
- 63% support (and 35% oppose) a two-state solution whereby the state of Israel is recognized as the state for the Jewish people and Palestine is recognized as the state for the Palestinian people
- Level of support for reconciliation between the two peoples after the establishment of a Palestinian state reaches 75% and opposition 24%
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Findings show strong support (69%) for comprehensive final status negotiations with the aim of reaching a permanent status agreement rather than an interim or gradual solution which receives the support of only 25%. They also show that support for the Road Map remains unchanged at 57% and opposition at 40%. But support for final and comprehensive negotiations does not mean optimism about their outcome with the current Israeli government of Ariel Sharon. Indeed, 68% believe an agreement with Sharon is not possible while only 30% believe that such an agreement is possible. Nonetheless, if a compromise agreement is reached with the current Israeli leadership, 53% of the Palestinians believe that Sharon is strong enough to be able to convince the Israelis to accept it. Moreover, 50% of the Palestinians believe the Palestinian president, Mahmud Abbas, is strong enough to convince the Palestinians to accept it.

A compromise agreement acceptable to 63% of the Palestinians is one based on a mutual recognition of identity whereby a Palestinian state is established next to the state of Israel and all final status issues are resolved. Israel in this case, would be recognized as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people. Opposition to this compromise reaches 35%. (In December 2004, identical results regarding this compromise were obtained.) If a two-state solution is reached, 75% of the Palestinians would support reconciliation between the two peoples. Support for facets of reconciliation varies with 87% supporting open borders for labor and goods between the two states, 70% supporting joint economic ventures and institutions, 38% supporting enacting laws prohibiting incitement, 36% supporting joint political institutions aiming at creating a confederation between the two states, and 10% supporting text books that would recognize the state of Israel and does not call for the return of all Palestine to the Palestinians.

(3) Voting Intentions and Considerations in the Upcoming Legislative Elections

- 74% say they will participate in the upcoming parliamentary elections; 47% of the likely voters

Findings show that 74% of the Palestinians will participate in the upcoming parliamentary elections in January 2006. Voting intentions among the likely participants indicate an increase of Fateh's support from 44% last June to 47% in this poll and a drop in Hamas' support from 33% to 30% during the same period. 11% will vote for other factions and groups and 11%

- will vote for Fateh, 30% for Hamas, 11% for other groups, and 11% remain undecided
- Ability to fight corruption is the first top voting consideration followed by name of list or political party, ability to improve economic conditions, ability to reach a peace agreement with Israel, and ability to protect national unity.
 - Hamas is the most able to fight corruption and Fateh is the most able to improve economic conditions, move the peace process forward, and protect national unity
 - Mahmud Abbas is the preferred candidate for the presidency and Marwan Barghouti for the position of the vice president and the position of prime minister

remain undecided. From among eight vital considerations in voting for election lists, # (1) is the ability to fight corruption receiving 24%, # (2) the name or affiliation of the list with 19%, # (3) ability to improve economic conditions with 15%, # (4) ability to reach a peace agreement with Israel with 14%, # (5) ability to maintain national unity with 10%, # (6) ability to enforce law and order with 8%, # (7) ability to protect refugee rights in negotiations with 6%, and finally # (8) ability to insure the continuation of the intifada with 4%.

Hamas is the most able to fight corruption (receiving 46% vs. 37% to Fateh) and to insure the continuation of the intifada (receiving 62% vs. 24% to Fateh). Fateh is perceived as the most able to improve the economy (receiving 46% vs. 31% for Hamas), to push the peace process forward (receiving 64% for Fateh vs. 21% for Hamas), to protect national unity (receiving 46% vs. 37% for Hamas), to enforce law and order (receiving 54% vs. 31% for Hamas) and to protect refugee rights (receiving 44% for Fateh and 37% for Hamas).

In a closed question, in a contest for the position of PA president between Mahmud Abbas (Fateh), Mahmud Zahhar (Hamas), and Mustafa Barghouti (others), Abbas comes first with 44% followed by Zahhar with 21% and Barghouti with 19%. In a closed question, in a contest over the position of vice president, Marwan Barghouti receives the greatest level of support with 24% followed by Mahmud Zahhar with 14%, Ismail Haniyyah with 13%, Mohammad Dahlan and Mustafa Barghouti with 9% each, Farouq Qaddoumi with 8%, and finally Ahmad Qurai and Saeb Erikat with 6% each. In a closed question, in a contest over the position of prime minister, Marwan Barghouti comes first with 30% followed by Zahhar with 22%, Mustafa Barghouti with 17%, and Qurai and Dahlan with 8% each. Public satisfaction with the performance of PA president Mahmud Abbas increases from 60% last June to 64% in this poll.

(4) Domestic Conditions and Political Sympathies

- 87% believe that corruption exists in PA institutions; among those, 61% believe that corruption will increase or remain the same in the future
- Only 36% say that their security and safety and that of their family is insured these days and 64% say it is not
- Positive evaluation of Palestinian democracy stands at 32%
- The popularity of Fateh stands at 39% and Hamas at 27% (compared to 41% and 30% respectively in June 2005)

Findings show that an overwhelming majority (87%) believes that corruption exists in PA institutions. A majority among those (61%) believes that this corruption will increase or remain the same in the future. Only 33% believe that corruption will decrease in the future. The percentage of those who believe corruption does not exist in the PA does not exceed 9%.

Findings also show that about two thirds (64%) believe that these days they and their families lack security and safety while only 36% say they now have security and safety. A clear difference exists between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, with more Gazans feeling safe and secure than West Bankers (55% to 25% respectively).

As for the status of democracy in the Palestinian areas, 32% (compared to 37% last June) give it a positive evaluation.

Popularity of Fateh stands today at 39% compared to 41% last June. Fateh's popularity in the West Bank is almost identical to its popularity in the Gaza Strip (38% and 40% respectively). Hamas' popularity dropped from 30% to 27% during the same period. Hamas' popularity is higher in the Gaza Strip (32%) compared to the West Bank (25%).

Results of Poll # (17)

07-09 September 2005

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
00) From among the following satellite news stations, which one you watched most during the last two months?			
1) al Arabia	6.5	5.9	7.6
2) al Jazeera	63.2	62.3	64.9
3) al Hurra	0.3	0.1	0.6
4) al Manar	6.9	8.0	4.8
5) Palestine TV	7.2	5.5	10.3
6) Do not watch TV	6.7	6.4	7.1
7) others	3.1	4.3	1.1
8) Do not have a dish	6.0	7.3	3.6
9) DK/NA	0.1	0.2	0.0
1) With regard to the upcoming parliamentary elections, what are your expectations regarding the outcome of these elections for the Palestinian Legislative Council? Who are the likely winners, those nominated by Hamas, Fateh, the Left, Independents, or those nominated by their families?			
1) Fateh candidates	49.4	50.3	47.7
2) Hamas and Islamic Jihad candidates	32.4	30.9	35.1
3) leftist candidates (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative)	1.0	1.3	0.4
4) Independent candidates	2.8	3.3	1.9
5) family candidates	2.3	2.8	1.5
6) Other candidates	0.7	0.6	0.8
7) DK/NA	11.4	10.8	12.6
2) Do you intend to participate in the upcoming legislative elections?			
1) Yes	74.2	72.6	77.01
2) No	24.0	25.1	21.8
3) DK/NA	1.8	2.2	1.1
3) If you participate in the legislative elections and if you were asked to vote to election or factional lists, to which of the following would you vote?			
1) Hamas and Islamic Jihad list/s	30.2	28.8	32.8
2) Fateh list	47.4	47.7	47.0
3) leftist list (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative)	2.6	3.4	1.1
4) New lists that might include independents and others	6.0	6.6	4.8
5) Other lists (specify: -----)	2.7	2.8	2.4
6) DK/NA	11.1	10.6	11.8
4) From among the following factors, which one is the most important in determining your vote for one list against another?			
1) the political party or faction it belongs to	18.9	15.7	24.7
2) The ability of the list to reach a peace agreement with Israel	14.0	15.4	11.6
3) The ability of the list to insure the continuation of the intifada	3.7	4.0	3.0
4) The ability of the list to improve economic conditions	14.7	14.2	15.6
5) The ability of the list to fight corruption and implement reform measures	23.5	23.1	24.2

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
6) The ability of the list to enforce law and order	8.0	9.1	5.9
7) The ability of the list to protect national unity	9.5	10.9	7.0
8) The ability of the list to protect refugee rights in negotiations	6.2	6.0	6.5
	1.5	1.5	1.6
5) The following is a list of problems confronting the Palestinians today, tell us which one is the most important problem?			
1) Spread of unemployment and poverty	40.0	35.5	48.6
2) The continuation of the occupation and its daily practices	25.4	30.3	16.2
3) Internal anarchy/ chaos	8.3	8.2	8.4
4) The spread of corruption and lack of internal reforms	25.1	24.5	26.3
5) Others (specify---)	0.5	0.7	0.2
6) DK/NA	0.6	0.8	0.2
6) If we looked at the following political factions/ parties, which one is the most able to:			
6-1) Improving economic conditions			
1) Hamas/Islamic Jihad	31.2	28.1	37.1
2) Fateh	46.2	48.0	42.9
3) leftist list (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative)	2.4	3.4	0.6
4) New lists that might include independents and others	7.6	8.1	6.7
5) others (specify ----)	12.5	12.4	12.6
6-2) Fighting corruption and implementing reforms			
1) Hamas/Islamic Jihad	45.7	42.8	51.2
2) Fateh	37.1	37.6	36.2
3) leftist list (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative)	2.4	3.5	0.4
4) New lists that might include independents and others	6.3	7.3	4.4
5) others (specify ----)	8.5	8.9	7.8
6-3) Pushing the peace process forward			
1) Hamas/Islamic Jihad	21.3	19.5	24.7
2) Fateh	63.7	64.5	62.2
3) leftist list (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative)	2.2	2.8	1.1
4) New lists that might include independents and others	4.4	4.8	3.6
5) others (specify ----)	8.4	8.3	8.4
6-4) Insuring the continuation of Intifada			
1) Hamas/Islamic Jihad	61.5	59.2	65.9
2) Fateh	24.4	26.3	20.8
3) leftist list (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative)	1.9	2.5	0.8
4) New lists that might include independents and others	3.1	2.7	3.8
5) others (specify ----)	9.1	9.3	8.6

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
6-5) protecting national unity			
1) Hamas/Islamic Jihad	36.2	35.2	38.2
2) Fateh	44.3	43.9	44.9
3) leftest list (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative)	3.3	4.1	1.7
4) New lists that might include independents and others	5.5	5.7	5.1
5) others (specify ----)	10.7	11.0	10.1
6-6) Protecting refugee rights in negotiations			
1) Hamas/Islamic Jihad	37.4	38.3	35.8
2) Fateh	44.4	41.8	49.3
3) leftest list (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative)	2.8	4.0	0.4
4) New lists that might include independents and others	4.0	4.2	3.8
5) others (specify ----)	11.4	11.8	10.7
6-7) Enforcing law and order			
1) Hamas/Islamic Jihad	30.9	29.6	33.5
2) Fateh	53.5	52.8	54.7
3) leftest list (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative)	2.0	2.5	1.1
4) New lists that might include independents and others	4.2	4.9	2.9
5) others (specify ----)	9.4	10.2	7.8
7) Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of Mahmud Abbas since his election as president of the PA?			
1) very satisfied	11.3	10.2	13.5
2) satisfied	52.2	51.0	54.5
3) not satisfied	23.0	24.3	20.4
4) not satisfied at all	9.4	9.6	8.8
5) DK/NA	4.1	4.8	2.7
8) If new presidential elections were to take place in the PA, whom do you prefer to see president of the PA?			
1) Mahmoud Abbas	43.5	42.6	45.2
2) Mahoud Zahhar	20.8	20.5	21.4
3) Mustafa Barghouti	18.9	19.5	17.6
4) Others	6.3	7.2	4.6
5) No Opinion/ Don't know	10.5	10.2	11.1
9) And if you were to select a vice president, whom would you choose?			
1) Mahmoud Zahhar	13.5	13.0	14.3
2) Mohammad Dahlan	9.1	5.2	16.4
3) Marwan Barghouti	23.8	26.5	18.7
4) Mustafa Barghouti	8.8	9.1	8.2
5) Ahmad Quri ⁷	5.6	6.3	4.4
6) Ismael Haneyeh	13.3	11.0	17.6
7) Saeb Erikat	6.2	7.6	3.6
8) Farouq Qaddomi	8.1	9.6	5.3
9) Others	2.3	3.0	0.8
10) No Opinion /Don't know	9.4	8.7	10.7

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
10) What do you expect to happen to the Gaza Strip after the Israeli withdrawal? Will it become a big prison? Or will it become open to the world and movement or its residents free?			
1) certainly it will be become a big prison	32.7	36.4	25.8
2) thinks it will become a big prison	24.0	24.3	23.5
3) think it will become open and movement free	28.7	24.9	35.7
4) certainly it will become open and movement free	4.4	3.5	6.1
5) Will remain as it is	5.9	7.5	2.9
6) DK/NA	4.2	3.4	5.9
11) And what about economic conditions in the Gaza Strip? Will they become better or worse after Israeli withdrawal?			
1) certainly better	11.5	10.7	13.2
2) better	52.0	50.3	55.0
3) worse	17.5	20.3	12.4
4) certainly worse	7.2	7.2	7.1
5) Will remain as it is	8.6	9.3	7.1
6) DK/NA	3.2	2.2	5.0
12) And what about the peace process after the Israeli withdrawal? Will it become stronger or weaker?			
1) certainly stronger	8.9	7.1	12.4
2) better	47.8	46.4	50.4
3) weaker	22.3	23.1	20.8
4) certainly weaker	4.4	4.7	3.8
5) Will remain the same	12.6	14.1	9.7
5) DK/NA	4.0	4.6	2.9
13) What do you think will happen to the link between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? Will movement between the two areas become better or worse?			
1) certainly better	11.8	10.2	14.7
2) better	44.9	44.3	46.0
3) worse	18.2	17.5	19.5
4) certainly worse	5.1	5.5	4.4
5) Will remain the same	15.6	18.5	10.1
5) DK/NA	4.5	4.0	5.3
14) Do you expect the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip to be full whereby Israel withdraws from the border strip with Egypt and the Rafah crossing? Or do you expect it to be partial whereby Israeli army remain in these areas?			
1) certainly it will be full	12.1	8.9	18.3
2) think it will be full	22.3	19.3	27.9
3) think it will be partial	42.5	44.5	38.7
4) certainly it will be partial	20.1	23.5	13.7
5) DK/NA	3.0	3.8	1.5
15) How do you see the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip? Do you see it or do not you see it as the beginning of the end of the occupation and the establishment of the state?			
1) certainly see it as the beginning	16.9	11.4	27.2
2) see it as the beginning	38.4	37.8	39.5

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
3) do not see it as the beginning	32.5	36.4	25.1
4) certainly do not see it as the beginning	9.7	11.4	6.3
5) DK/NA	2.6	2.9	1.9

16) If the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip is full, would you in this case support or oppose a declaration of the establishment of a Palestinian state on the boundaries of 1967 that would start in the Gaza Strip and gradually extend to the West Bank?

1) certainly support	17.3	15.2	21.2
2) support	56.0	58.1	51.9
3) oppose	17.0	17.2	16.8
4) certainly oppose	8.2	7.6	9.2
5)DK/NA	1.5	1.9	0.8

17) After the completion of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, do you expect or do not expect to see internal infighting among armed groups in the Strip?

1) certainly expect infighting	17.4	14.5	22.9
2) expect infighting	42.4	43.4	40.3
3) do not expect infighting	32.8	34.7	29.4
4) certainly do not expect infighting	4.8	4.8	4.6
5) DK/NA	2.6	2.6	2.7

18) Now that the first two phases of the local elections have taken place, what do you expect to happen in the next phases in September and December of this year? Who are the likely winners, those nominated by Hamas, Fateh, the Left, Independents, or those nominated by their families?

1) Fateh candidates	44.4	46.9	39.9
2) Hamas and Islamic Jihad candidates	41.0	36.8	48.9
3) leftest candidates (PFLP, DFLP, PPP, and al Mobadara-the Initiative)	1.2	1.6	0.4
4) Independent candidates	3.4	3.8	2.5
5) family candidates	2.9	3.9	0.8
6) Other candidates	0.8	0.8	0.8
7) DK/NA	6.4	6.3	6.5

19) 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?

1) Definitely this is a Palestinian victory	50.0	42.7	63.7
2) Think this is a Palestinian victory	34.4	37.7	28.2
3) Think this is not a Palestinian victory	11.1	13.9	5.9
4) Definitely this is not a Palestinian victory	3.9	4.9	1.9
5) DK/NA	0.7	0.8	0.4

20) 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?

1) Most Palestinians see it as a victory for the Palestinians	83.7	81.2	88.4
2) Most Palestinians don't see it as a victory for the Palestinians	13.5	15.7	9.5
3) DK/NA	2.8	3.1	2.1

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
21) And how do most Israelis see Sharon's plan to evacuate the Israeli settlements from Gaza? Do most Israelis see it or do not see it as a victory for the Palestinians?			
1) Most Israelis see it as a victory for the Palestinians	52.3	50.9	55.0
1) Most Israelis do not see it as a victory for the Palestinians	43.9	45.4	41.2
3) DK/NA	3.7	3.7	3.8
22) How would you evaluate the capacity of the Palestinian Authority to control matters in the Gaza Strip after Israel's disengagement there?			
1) High capacity	27.5	23.5	35.2
2) Reasonable capacity	45.6	46.9	43.2
3) Low capacity	17.1	19.3	13.1
4) no capacity at all	8.1	9.1	6.1
5) DK/NA	1.7	1.2	2.5
23) What do you expect to happen with the settlements in the West Bank, in the coming years??			
1) Most settlements will be evacuated	9.7	9.5	10.1
2) Some settlements will be evacuated	29.7	27.0	34.7
3) The number of settlements will remain as it is today	6.0	5.9	6.1
4) Some settlements will be added	31.6	33.5	27.9
5) Many settlements will be added	20.1	21.3	17.9
6) DK/NA	2.9	2.7	3.4
24) 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, would you under these conditions support or oppose carrying out armed attacks against Israeli targets from the Gaza Strip?			
1) Definitely support	7.2	7.1	7.6
2) support	27.4	28.3	25.8
3) oppose	48.5	50.2	45.4
4) Definitely oppose	13.3	9.9	19.7
5) DK/NA	3.5	4.6	1.5
25) What do you expect to happen to the Israelis and Palestinians now after Israel evacuated all settlements in the Gaza Strip and four in the West Bank and after setting the date of January 25 for Palestinian parliamentary elections.			
1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	24.5	21.1	30.9
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	59.7	61.2	56.9
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	11.0	12.3	8.6
4) DK/NA	4.8	5.4	3.6
26) Palestinians are currently debating the issue of the collection of arms from armed Palestinian groups and factions, stipulated in the Road Map as a PA commitment. Do you support or oppose such a collection of arms?			
1) Strongly support	10.9	9.5	13.4
2) support	31.3	31.4	31.1

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
3) oppose	39.8	40.9	37.8
4) strongly oppose	14.7	14.3	15.5
5) DK/NA	3.3	3.9	2.1

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

1) Israel	12.0	14.9	6.5
2) the Palestinians	49.0	37.0	71.4
3) Both	6.8	7.1	6.3
4) Neither	30.6	39.3	14.1
5) DK/NA	1.7	1.7	1.7

28) 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	10.7	13.6	5.3
2) the Palestinians	61.8	50.9	82.1
3) Both	3.1	3.5	2.3
4) Neither	20.8	27.8	7.8
5) DK/NA	3.6	4.2	2.5

29) 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	47.3	49.4	43.3
2) the Palestinians	30.4	24.0	42.4
3) Both	2.9	3.0	2.5
4) Neither	13.5	18.1	5.0
5) DK/NA	5.9	5.5	6.7

30) Do you support or oppose the current mutual cease fire with Israel?

1) Definitely support	18.8	17.5	21.2
2) Support	58.0	59.2	55.9
3) Oppose	18.8	18.8	18.7
4) Definitely oppose	2.9	2.9	2.9
5) DK/NA	1.5	1.6	1.3

31) In his speech in front of the PLC, president Mahmud Abbas (Abu Mazin) said that after the end of the occupation of the Gaza Strip, there will be only one armed force, that of the PA. After the completion of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, do you support or oppose collection of arms from armed factions *in the Gaza Strip* so that the only armed force in Gaza would be that of the Palestinian security services?

1) certainly support	19.7	17.8	23.1
2) support	40.4	41.8	37.8
3) oppose	28.7	30.0	26.3
4) certainly oppose	8.3	7.3	10.1
5) DK/NA	2.9	3.0	2.7

32) 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?

1) Would strongly support	14.1	13.3	15.5
2) Would support	60.6	62.6	56.9
3) Would oppose	18.1	16.9	20.4
4) Would strongly oppose	5.5	5.0	6.3
5) DK/NA	1.7	2.1	0.8

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
33) 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?			
1) Reconciliation is not possible ever	42.2	39.3	47.7
2) Only in many generations to come	21.1	21.5	20.4
3) Only in the next generation	11.9	13.0	9.9
4) Only in the next decade	5.9	6.6	4.4
5) In the next few years	12.1	12.2	11.8
6) DK/NA	6.8	7.3	5.9
34) In your opinion, is lasting peace possible between Israelis and Palestinians?			
1) Definitely possible	1.8	1.5	2.3
2) Possible	27.1	28.0	25.4
3) Impossible	44.8	48.0	38.9
4) Definitely impossible	25.2	21.4	32.4
5) DK/NA	1.1	1.1	1.1
35) And what about the majority of Israelis, do they, in your opinion, believe that lasting peace is possible between Israelis and Palestinians?			
1) Definitely they do	2.6	1.7	4.2
2) They do	24.7	26.4	21.6
3) They do not	50.3	52.5	46.2
4) Definitely they do not	17.7	14.5	23.7
5) DK/NA	4.7	4.9	4.2
36) 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:			
36-1) Open borders to free movement of people and goods			
1) Strongly Support	31.4	29.8	34.2
2) Support	55.8	57.8	51.9
3) Oppose	9.4	9.1	9.9
4) Strongly Oppose	2.6	2.1	3.6
5) DK/NA	0.8	1.0	0.4
36-2) Create joint economic institutions and ventures			
1) Strongly Support	21.6	19.8	25.0
2) Support	48.8	49.5	47.5
3) Oppose	24.7	25.0	24.2
4) Strongly Oppose	3.7	4.3	2.5
5) DK/NA	1.2	1.5	0.8
36-3) Create joint political institutions designed eventually to lead to a confederate system			
1) Strongly Support	8.2	6.8	10.7
2) Support	27.3	28.1	25.8
3) Oppose	48.0	47.6	48.5
4) Strongly Oppose	13.4	13.9	12.4
5) DK/NA	3.1	3.5	2.5

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
36-4) Take legal measures against incitement against the Israelis			
1) Strongly Support	5.9	4.3	8.8
2) Support	32.3	33.0	30.9
3) Oppose	45.0	44.4	46.1
4) Strongly Oppose	13.3	14.1	11.8
5) DK/NA	3.6	4.3	2.3
36-5) Adopt a school curriculum that recognizes Israel and teaches school children not to demand return of all Palestine to the Palestinians			
1) Strongly Support	1.8	1.3	2.7
2) Support	8.0	7.8	8.2
3) Oppose	48.6	51.5	43.3
4) Strongly Oppose	39.4	37.0	43.9
5) DK/NA	2.2	2.4	1.9
37) And on a personal level, would you, under conditions of peace, invite a Israeli colleague or acquaintance to visit you in your home?			
1) definitely yes	5.0	5.3	4.4
2) Yes	27.9	30.8	22.5
3) No	40.5	43.4	35.1
4) Definitely no	25.6	19.1	37.8
5) DK/NA	1.0	1.5	0.2
38) And would you, under conditions of peace, visit an Israeli colleague or acquaintance in his home?			
1) Definitely yes	5.6	5.4	5.9
2) Yes	27.3	30.4	21.4
3) No	40.9	43.5	35.9
4) Definitely no	25.2	19.1	36.6
5) DK/NA	1.1	1.6	0.2
39) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....			
1) Strongly support	10.3	7.3	16.0
2) Support	27.5	26.2	30.0
3) Oppose	52.3	55.9	45.6
4) Strongly oppose	7.5	7.9	6.9
5) DK/NA	2.3	2.8	1.5
40) Do you believe that armed confrontations so far has helped achieved Palestinian national and political rights in ways that negotiations could not achieve?			
1) Definitely yes	24.1	18.8	34.0
2) Yes	48.8	48.7	49.2
3) No	22.2	26.1	14.9
4) Definitely no	3.1	4.1	1.3
5) DK/NA	1.7	2.2	0.6
41) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions?			
1) Yes	86.9	85.7	89.3
2) No	8.9	9.9	7.1
3) DK/NA	4.2	4.5	3.6

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
42) If yes, Will this corruption in PA institutions increase, decrease or remain as it is in the future?			
1) Will increase	47.7	48.2	46.8
2) Will remain as it is	13.2	15.4	9.2
3) will decrease	33.3	30.2	38.8
4) DK/NA	5.8	6.1	5.2
43) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	4.5	0.8	11.4
2) Assured	31.0	24.6	43.2
3) Not assured	50.9	58.4	36.8
4) Not assured at all	13.3	15.8	8.6
5) DK/NA	0.3	0.4	0.0
44) How would you evaluate the current status of democracy and human rights in the Palestinian Authority? Would you say it is:			
1) Very good	4.1	3.7	4.8
2) Good	28.1	27.8	28.6
3) Fair	28.7	29.0	28.2
4) Bad	22.9	23.2	22.3
5) Very bad	15.1	14.8	15.8
6) DK/NA	1.1	1.5	0.4
45) After holding legislative elections in July, whom do you prefer to see as a prime minister?			
1) Marwan Barghouti	30.1	32.3	26.1
2) Mahmoud Zahhar	22.3	21.0	24.8
3) Ahmad Qurai'	8.0	8.6	6.9
4) Mohammad Dahlan	7.7	3.5	15.5
5) Mustafa Braghouti	16.8	19.0	12.6
6) Others, -----	4.5	5.7	2.1
7) No Opinion /Don't know	10.6	9.9	12.0
46) What do you think would happen now if firing rockets at Israeli towns continued from the Gaza Strip after the completion of the Israeli withdrawal from the Strip?			
1) Israel would reoccupy the Strip and stay in it	28.8	31.0	24.8
2) Israel would carry out a big military operation in the Strip and then withdraw from it	57.3	55.9	59.9
3) Israel will seek to stop the firing of the rockets by diplomatic, not military means	9.9	8.5	12.4
4) DK/NA	4.0	4.6	2.9
47) If a Palestinian-Israeli agreement is reached on new Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank including more evacuation of settlements as part of the agreement, would you support or oppose allowing settlers wishing to live under Palestinian rule?			
1) Certainly support	2.9	2.8	3.2
2) support	23.2	27.4	15.3
3) oppose	47.1	48.7	44.1
4) certainly oppose	24.9	18.7	36.6
5) DN/NA	1.8	2.4	0.8

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
48) 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?			
1) Strongly support	5.4	2.8	10.3
2) Support	51.2	52.5	48.7
3) Oppose	31.2	32.2	29.2
4) Strongly oppose	8.7	8.5	9.0
5) Don't know/No answer	3.5	3.9	2.7
49) 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?			
1) A solution in stages over several years	25.1	21.9	31.1
2) A comprehensive solution of all issues at once	68.8	71.6	63.4
3) (Do not read) Don't prefer any of these approaches	2.6	2.7	2.5
4) (Do not read) Not interested in an agreement	1.5	1.7	1.1
5) (Do not read) DK/NA	2.0	2.1	1.9
50) And if talks begin about a comprehensive solution to all problems at once, do you think it is possible or impossible to reach now a comprehensive compromise settlement with the current Sharon government?			
1) Definitely possible	3.1	2.6	4.0
2) Think it is possible	26.7	26.1	27.7
3) Think it is impossible	51.7	53.3	48.7
4) Definitely impossible	16.1	15.2	17.9
5) DK/NA	2.4	2.8	1.7
51) And if a compromise settlement is negotiated with the current Israeli leadership, do you think prime minister Sharon is strong enough to convince the Israeli people to accept such a compromise settlement?			
1) Definitely he is	13.2	11.8	15.8
2) Think he is	39.6	40.7	37.6
3) Think he is not	34.2	35.0	32.6
4) Definitely he is not	11.0	10.3	12.2
5) DK/NA	2.0	2.1	1.9
52) And what about the Palestinian leadership? Is Mahmud Abbas (Abu Mazin) strong enough to convince the Palestinians to accept such a compromise settlement?			
1) Definitely he is	10.0	9.4	11.2
2) Think he is	39.5	40.0	38.6
3) Think he is not	38.8	40.5	35.7
4) Definitely he is not	9.7	8.3	12.2
5) DK/NA	2.0	1.8	2.3

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
53) How soon do you think will a political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians be achieved?			
1) A political settlement is not possible ever	35.9	33.4	40.8
2) only in many generations to come	28.0	30.4	23.5
3) only in the next generation	9.7	10.1	8.8
4) only in the next decade	4.1	4.3	3.8
5) in the next few years	16.0	16.4	15.3
6) DK/NA	6.2	5.4	7.8
54) Many claim credit for the Israeli decision to disengage from the Gaza Strip. Tell us who among the following is the party who had the greatest credit for the Israeli dthe Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip?			
1) PA	20.7	22.0	18.3
2) Hamas	40.2	39.4	41.6
3) Fateh	10.5	11.0	9.7
4) Others -----	22.3	21.1	24.4
5) DK/NA	6.3	6.4	6.1
55) There is a proposal that after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and the settlement of all issues in dispute, including the refugees and Jerusalem issues, there will be a mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people. Do you agree or disagree to this proposal.			
1) Definitely agree	9.6	9.0	10.7
2) Agree	53.7	56.6	48.3
3) Disagree	24.5	24.7	24.2
4) Definitely disagree	10.3	7.3	16.0
5) DK/NA	1.8	2.4	0.8
56) And what is the Palestinian majority opinion on this issue? Do most Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza support or oppose the recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people at the end of the peace process?			
1) Majority supports	52.7	55.2	48.1
2) Majority opposes	39.7	37.0	44.9
5) DK/NA	7.6	7.9	7.0
57) And what is the Israeli majority opinion on this issue? Do most Israelis support or oppose the recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people at the end of the peace process?			
1) Majority supports	42.8	42.0	44.3
2) Majority opposes	48.2	48.5	47.7
5) DK/NA	8.9	9.5	7.8
58) And what is the majority opinion on this issue among Israeli Arabs? Do most Israeli Arabs support or oppose the recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people at the end of the peace process?			
1) Majority supports	64.4	66.3	60.8
2) Majority opposes	26.1	24.5	29.1
5) DK/NA	9.5	9.2	10.1
59) Do you expect Israel to carry out further unilateral disengagements from additional areas in the West Bank in the future?			
1) certainly it will	11.1	9.6	13.9
2) it will	48.4	48.4	49.6

	Total%	West Bank%	Gaza Strip%
3) it will not	28.5	31.0	23.7
4) certainly it will not	7.0	6.5	7.8
5) DK/NA	4.7	4.5	5.0
60) If Israel does carry out further unilateral disengagement from additional Palestinian areas in the West Bank, would you welcome or not welcome such a step?			
1) Definitely welcome	8.3	7.3	10.3
2) welcome	28.5	27.2	31.1
3) not welcome	46.1	47.6	43.3
4) Definitely not welcome	9.9	9.9	10.1
5) DK/NA	7.1	8.1	5.3
61) There is a talk about the PA building new cities and neighborhoods in the evacuated areas in the Gaza Strip after the completion of the Israeli withdrawal, with funding coming from UAE and Saudi Arabia. If such construction is to take place, do you wish to leave your current home and move to the new areas if this was available to you?			
1) Definitely will move	6.4	1.9	14.7
2) will move	11.2	9.9	13.7
3) will not move	47.7	50.0	43.4
4) Definitely will not move	33.1	36.1	27.6
5) DK/NA	1.5	2.0	0.6
62) In your view, what was the single most important factor in the Israeli decision to withdraw from the Gaza Strip?			
1) Attacks by Palestinian resistance	57.0	50.4	69.3
2) Israeli wish to strengthen settlements in the West Bank	13.1	15.2	9.2
3) an attempt to derail the peace process, especially the Road Map	10.7	10.6	10.9
4) Get rid of one an a quarter million Palestinians to insure a Jewish majority	15.2	19.3	7.6
5) others (specify ----)	0.9	0.7	1.3
6) DK/NA	3.1	3.8	1.7
63) During the years of the intifada, have you participated in acts of resistance or opposition against occupation?			
1) Yes	37.7	33.8	44.8
2) No	57.7	60.6	52.4
3) DK/NA	4.6	5.6	2.7
64) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) 1 PPP	0.7	0.7	0.6
2) PFLP	2.2	2.6	1.5
3) Fateh	38.5	37.8	39.9
4) Hamas	27.3	25.0	31.7
5) DFLP	0.9	1.0	0.6
6) Islamic Jihad	3.7	3.7	3.8
7) Fida	0.8	1.1	0.2
8) National Initiative (Mubadara)	3.2	3.6	2.5
9) Independent Islamists	4.9	5.4	4.0
10) Independent Nationalists	16.6	17.8	14.5
11) None of the above	1.1	1.3	0.6
12) Other, specify -----	17.2	17.6	16.4