



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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FIRST SERIOUS SIGNS OF OPTIMISM SINCE THE START OF INTIFADA

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 December 01 and 05, 2004. The poll deals with Palestinian elections, the post Arafat era, support for violence and reconciliation, internal conditions and perceptions of reform, democracy and corruption, and American elections. Total size of the sample is 1319 adults interviewed face to face in the West Bank (836) and the Gaza Strip (483) in 120 randomly selected locations. Margin of error is 3 % and rejection rate is 2 %.

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MAIN RESULTS:

The poll shows an emerging new reality in the Palestinian territories compared to the situation prevailing three months ago when we conducted our September 2004 poll. The most important changes indicate a more optimistic atmosphere with a significant drop in the level of support for Hamas and a big increase in the level of support for Fateh. It is worth remembering that similar trends were observed in December 1995, one month before the first Palestinian elections in January 1996.

The smooth transition of power after the death of Yasir Arafat, the virtual absence of violence despite the gloomy expectations, and the quick preparations for elections may have all been responsible for the new optimism. Hamas' loss of support may be due to the fact that the Islamist movement had decided to boycott the upcoming presidential elections while the increase in support for Fateh might be explained by the appreciation people have for the way Fateh dealt with the succession issue. A bandwagoning effect may have also helped Fateh as new supporters might be expecting gains from supporting the faction that is most likely to win the upcoming elections.

Optimism can be seen in the fact that a majority believes that a compromise settlement can be reached with the current Israeli leadership and that both the Israeli and Palestinian leaders are strong enough to convince Israelis and Palestinians to accept such a compromise. Optimism can also be seen in the large increase in the percentage of those who believe that the roadmap can still be implemented and the large decrease in the percentage of those who believe that a political settlement with Israel is impossible. It can also be seen in terms of the greater expectation recorded in this poll regarding the chances for a return to negotiations and an end to the violence in the post Arafat era with Abu Mazin leading the PLO.

(1) Palestinian Elections:

- **Mahmud Abbas and Marwan Barghouti in a close race with 40% for the first and 38% for the second**
- **Abbas is the most able to reach a peace agreement with Israel and Barghouti is the most able to protect the right of return**
- **If Hamas participates in the presidential elections, its candidate would receive 28% of the vote**
- **Barghouti is the person most preferred to lead Fateh, followed by Abbas and then Qaddoumi**
- **Large increase in the popularity of Fateh and a large decrease in the popularity of Hamas**

The poll shows that if presidential elections were to be held today, the results would be close, with Mahmud Abbas receiving 40% of the votes and Marwan Barghouti receiving 38%. Mustafa Barghouti would receive 6% while all the other candidates would receive a total of 3% for all of them combined. 13% have not decided yet. The poll shows Abbas winning in the Gaza Strip (48% vs. 34% for Marwan Barghouti). But Marwan Barghouti wins in the West Bank (40% vs. 35% for Mahmud Abbas). These results represent the voting intentions of those planning to participate in the vote on January 9, 2005. The findings show that the level of non participation is going to be low (10%).

When compared to Mahmud Abbas', support for Marwan Barghouti increases in West Bank cities (41% compared to 29%) while support for Abbas compared to Barghouti is higher in Gaza towns (57% compared to 31%) and Gaza cities (50% to 29%). But the gap between the two narrows in West Bank refugee camps, with 42% for Abbas and 40% for Barghouti. Men give more support for Abbas (46% compared to 31% for Barghouti) while women give more support for Barghouti (44% compared to 35% for Abbas). Young people between 18 and 22 years of age give more support to Barghouti (47% compared to 35% to Abbas). Older people give more support to Abbas. Illiterates give more support to Abbas (45%) compared to Barghouti (33%). Support for Abbas is higher among holders of BA degree (37% to 32%). Students give more support to Barghouti (47%) compared to 35% to Abbas while support for Abbas is greater among farmers (50% to 29%), retired people (47% to 18%), unemployed (45% to 30%), and merchants (43% to 26%). Support for Abbas is higher among those working in the public sector (48% to 27%). Abbas receives more votes from those with low income and less votes from those with high income. Among Fateh supporters, 54% go to Abbas and 38% to Barghouti. But among Hamas supporters, 44% go to Barghouti and 24% to Abbas.

The poll shows that Mahmud Abbas is seen as the candidate most capable of reaching a peace agreement with Israel, improving the economic conditions, and enforcing law and order. Marwan Barghouti is viewed as the candidate most capable of protecting the right of return. The public evaluation of the ability of the two candidates to maintain national unity and prevent internal infighting is similar for both. If Hamas nominates Mahmud Zahhar as its candidate in the presidential elections, 28% say they would vote for him. And if the competition for the presidency is between Zahhar, Abbas, and Marwan Barghouti, 34% prefer Barghouti, 29% Abbas, and 24% Zahhar. The overwhelming majority (83%) of those who selected one of the three believes that the person they have chosen would be able to lead the Palestinian people under the current conditions.

In answers to an open question, 30% prefer to see Marwan Barghouti becoming the head of Fateh, while 26% preferred Mahmud Abbas and 7% want Farouq Qaddoumi as head of the

movement. In the Gaza Strip, support for Abbas as head of Fateh reaches 31% (compared to 22% in the West Bank) and for Barghouti 28% (compared to 31% in the West Bank), and for Qaddoumi 5% (compared to 9% in the West Bank).

In local elections, 42% believe that Fateh candidates are likely to win, 20% believe Hamas/Islamic Jihad candidates are likely to win, 14% believe independent candidates are likely to win, and 11% believe that family candidates are likely to win. With regard to voting intentions, 37% say they will vote for Fateh candidates, 20% to Hamas/Islamic Jihad candidates, 13% to independents, and 11% to family candidates. Last September, only 21% said they intend to vote for Fateh candidates. In this poll, those intending to vote for Hamas/Islamic Jihad candidates reach 27% in the Gaza Strip compared to 16% in the West Bank.

The poll shows a significant increase in the popularity of Fateh from 29% last September to 40% in this poll. The increase is higher in the Gaza Strip, from 24% to 38%. The popularity of Hamas drops in the total West Bank and the Gaza Strip from 22% last September to 18% in this poll. In the Gaza Strip, Hamas' popularity drops from 30% to 22%. The total level of support for all Islamists (Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and independent Islamists) drops in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip from 32% to 24% during the same period.

Poll findings show that 88% are satisfied with Arafat's contribution to promoting the status of the Palestinian cause internationally, 86% with his contribution to protecting Palestinian rights in negotiations with Israel, 86% with his contribution in providing basic services such as health and education, 65% with his contribution to building an authority with democratic governance, 65% with his contribution to building public institutions able to enforce law and order, 54% with his contribution to ending the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and 51% with his contribution to fighting corruption in the PA.

In post Arafat period, the percentage of those believing that the situation would be better after Arafat is higher than the percentage of those who believe the situation would be worse in the following areas: provision of basic services such as health and education, building public institutions able to enforce law and order, and building an authority with democratic governance. The percentage of those believing that the situation would be better after Arafat is equal to the percentage of those who believe it will be worse in one area: ending the Israeli occupation. But the percentage of those believing the situation would be worse is higher than the percentage of those believing it would be better when it comes to the areas of protecting Palestinian rights in negotiations with Israel, in promoting the international status of the Palestinian cause, and in fighting corruption in the PA.

About 72% believe that Arafat died of poison and most of those believing in this (64%) believe that Israel is the party responsible for the poisoning while 22% believe that a Palestinian party is responsible.

(2) A Post Arafat Era

- Great public satisfaction with the past performance of Arafat in national causes, medium satisfaction with his performance in ending the occupation and fighting corruption
- After Arafat, things will be better with regard to delivery of basic services, building strong public institutions, and building a democratic PA and will be worse with regard to protection of national rights in negotiations, promoting the Palestinian cause internationally, and fighting corruption
- A majority believes that Arafat died of poison and most think Israel was responsible for his death
- A majority is not worried about internal infighting after Arafat, but 50% expect his death to weaken Fateh

After Arafat, a majority of 52% believe that there will be no internal infighting but 38% believe some internal infighting will take place but not civil war. Only 7% believe that a civil war will erupt. Half of the Palestinians expect Arafat's death to weaken Fateh while one quarter expects it to strengthen Fateh.

(3) The Peace Process

- Wide scale support for a ceasefire and a majority believes that it is possible to reach a compromise settlement with Israel
- A majority supports the roadmap but about half believes that it can not be implemented today
- Increased optimism regarding the chances of a peace settlement with Israel and an increase in the percentage of those expecting return to negotiations soon
- A majority opposes continued armed attacks from the Gaza Strip after a complete Israeli withdrawal from the strip
- A majority views the Israeli disengagement plan from the Gaza Strip as victory for armed struggle

Poll findings show that support for a cease fire and for an immediate return to negotiations is very high, reaching 80% for each. The findings also show an increasing optimism regarding the chances for success in the peace process. A majority of 52% believes that it is possible today to negotiate a compromise settlement with the current Israeli leadership and 48% believe it is not possible. If such a settlement is reached, 58% believe that the Israeli leaders are strong enough to convince the Israelis to accept such a compromise settlement while 37% do not share this belief. Moreover, 56% of the Palestinians believe that Palestinian leaders are strong enough to convince the Palestinian people to accept a compromise settlement with Israel while 41% do not share this belief.

Belief that it is possible to reach a compromise settlement with the current Israeli leadership increases among women (57%) compared to men (46%), among the youngest (61%) compared to the oldest (49%), among non refugees (54%) compared to refugees (49%), among illiterates (68%) compared to holders of BA degree (46%), among students (66%) compared to professionals, the retired, and merchants (29%, 38%, and 41% respectively), and among supporters of Fateh (61%) compared to supporters of Hamas (38%).

With regard to the plan known as the roadmap, findings show that 59% support the plan and 38% oppose it. But 48% believe that the plan cannot be implemented any more while 46% believe it is possible to implement it. In July 2003, support for the roadmap reached 56% and opposition 41%, and last June, only 28% believed that the roadmap could still be implemented. Findings also show that the percentage of those believing that a political settlement with Israel is impossible stands now at 34%. In July 2001, ten months after the start of the current intifada, 46% said this was the end of the peace process. This finding confirms the sense of optimism mentioned above.

With regard to the post disengagement from Gaza, 59% will oppose and 38% will support the continuation of armed attacks from the strip if the Israeli withdrawal was complete. Opposition to continued attacks from Gaza increases in the Gaza Strip to 67% compared to 55% in the West Bank. Last September, 54% opposed and 42% supported continuation of armed attacks from the Gaza Strip after a complete withdrawal. The poll shows that 59% are worried about internal Palestinian infighting after the Israelis evacuate the Gaza Strip and only 29% believe the PA has high capacity to control matters in the strip after the Israeli withdrawal.

Three quarters of the Palestinians believe that Sharon's plan to

disengage from the Gaza Strip is a victory for Palestinian armed resistance against Israel and 23% do not see it as victory. 78% believe that most Palestinians view the plan as victory for the armed resistance. Last September, 71% believed that most Palestinians view the plan as victory.

Poll findings show further optimism regarding return to negotiations with a big increase in the percentage of those believing that now (in the aftermath of Arafat's death and the appointment of Mahmud Abbas as chairman of the PLO) the two sides will return soon to negotiations and that armed confrontations will stop from 17% last September to 30% in this poll. The percentage of those believing that armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations drops from 37% last September to 12% in this poll. Indeed, a majority of 53% believe that the death of Arafat will increase the chances for a political settlement with Israel while only 23% believe that it would decrease those chances.

(4) Support for Violence and Reconciliation

- Decrease in the level of support for armed attacks against Israeli civilians to 49%
- About one third believes that the Palestinians have so far come out winners in the armed confrontations and a larger percentage believes that no one came out winner
- Increase in the level of support for reconciliation between the two peoples, reaching an unprecedented 81%

Support for armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel drops from 54% last September to 49% in this poll. Opposition to such attacks increases from 44% to 48%. A majority of 58% says that it would support and 38% say it would oppose taking measures by the PA to prevent armed attacks against Israelis if an agreement on a mutual cessation of violence is reached. 82% support such an agreement on mutual cessation of violence. Nonetheless, 64% believe, and one third does not believe, that armed confrontations have helped achieve Palestinians national rights in ways that negotiations could not.

More than one third (35%) believes that Palestinians have come out winners in the ongoing armed conflict (compared to 40% last September) and 14% (compared to 16% last September) believe Israel came out a winner. But the highest percentage (44%) is for those who believe neither side came out a winner. In the Gaza Strip, the percentage of those believing that the Palestinians came out winners reaches 46% compared to 28% in the West Bank. Yet, 43% among all Palestinians (compared to 48% last June) believe that most Palestinians believe they came out winners and 59% (compared to 51%) believe the Israelis think Palestinians came out winners.

Belief that no one so far came out a winner increases in the West Bank (48%) compared to the Gaza Strip (37%), among non refugees in the Gaza Strip (44%) compared to refugees in the strip (35%), among holders of BA degree (50%) compared to illiterates (36%), among professionals, students, and the unemployed (71%, 50%, and 50% respectively) compared to farmers, specialists and laborers (25%, 35%, and 39% respectively), and among supporters of Fateh (46%) compared to supporters of Hamas (37%).

The level of support for reconciliation has never been higher reaching 81% (compared to 75% last September). But 34% (compared to 47%) believe that reconciliation is not possible ever.

(5) Internal Situation and Perceptions of Reform, Democracy and Corruption

- Evaluation of Palestinian conditions today is negative and 95% believe that there is wide scale suffering and more than three quarters feel a loss of security and safety
- Great majority supports calls for reform, only 30% gives a positive evaluation of democracy in Palestine, and belief in the existence of corruption in the PA remains very high at 87%

About three quarters of the Palestinians assess Palestinian conditions these days as being bad or very bad and 95% believe that Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip suffer much or very much. But only 67% say that they personally suffer much or very much. Moreover, 76% feel that their security and safety and that of their family are not assured while 24% believe they are assured.

With regard to issues of governance, little has changed. An overwhelming majority of 93% support internal and external calls for fundamental reforms within the PA and 30% give Palestinian democracy positive evaluation. Yet, 62% believe that people can criticize the PA without fear while only 34% believe that people can not do that. A large majority of 87% believes that there is corruption in PA institutions and among those 60% believe that this corruption will increase or remain the same in the future.

(6) American Elections

- About one third views the re election of Bush as increasing the chances for peace while a similar percentage views it as decreasing those chances
- Three quarters believes the second Bush administration will be more supportive of Israel than the first one

Poll findings show that the Palestinians are divided in their evaluation of the impact of the reelection of the US president George Bush on the chances for the peace process. About one third (32%) believes that the reelection of Bush as US president for another four years will increase the chances for a political settlement with Israel but a similar percentage (34%) believes it will decrease those chances. But a clear majority feels pessimistic regarding the ability of the new US administration to play the role of an honest broker with more than three quarters of the Palestinians (76%) believing that the second Bush administration will be more supportive of Israel during the next four years and only 9% believe it will be less supportive.

Results of Poll # (14)
01-05 December 2004

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
01) Have you registered to vote in your area of residence?			
1) Yes (go to Q03)	74.4	73.3	76.2
2) No	25.6	26.7	23.8
02) Presidential election will take place on January 9. Do you plan to register before this date?			
1) Certainly yes	15.4	13.0	20.7
2) Yes	41.7	41.1	43.1
3) No	28.5	33.2	18.1
4) Certainly no	7.9	6.7	10.3
5) DK/NA	6.5	5.9	7.8
03) Do you intend to participate in the presidential elections?			
1) Certainly yes (go to q5)	56.7	54.6	60.2
2) Yes (go to q5)	25.1	25.9	23.8
3) No	13.1	15.0	9.8
4) Certainly no	2.8	2.5	3.3
5) Undecided	2.3	1.9	2.9
04) If national legislative election were to take place at the same time as the presidential elections, would you in this case participate in it?			
1) Certainly yes	19.5	18.6	21.2
2) Yes	34.1	32.6	37.2
3) No	32.0	34.4	27.4
4) Certainly no	10.4	9.8	11.5
5) Undecided	4.0	4.7	2.7
05) If Palestinian opposition forces called for a boycott of the presidential elections, you would:			
1) Certainly, you will boycott	8.8	8.3	9.7
2) Think you will	14.0	16.2	10.1
3) Think you will not boycott	41.2	43.8	36.6
4) Certainly, you will not boycott	27.1	21.9	36.0
5) No Opinion /Don't know	9.0	9.8	7.5
06) Do you believe the Palestinian Authority is serious and truthful about holding national legislative elections in the near term?			
1) Certainly yes	24.0	22.1	27.1
2) Yes	49.1	53.1	42.2
3) No	16.5	16.1	17.0
4) Certainly no	3.1	3.2	2.9
5) No Opinion /Don't know	7.4	5.4	10.8

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
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07) If local elections were held and were fair, which candidates in your views are likely to win, those nominated by family regardless of their political affiliation or those nominated by Fateh and Hamas/Islamic Jihad or the independents?

1) Fateh candidate	42.0	44.0	38.6
2) Hamas/Islamic Jihad candidate	19.7	15.2	27.6
3) Neither, instead family candidate	10.9	13.6	6.2
4) Independent	14.0	15.3	11.6
5) Other (specify ----)	2.5	3.0	1.7
6) No Opinion /Don't know	10.8	8.9	14.3

08) And what about you? Will you give your vote in the next local elections to candidates from Fateh, Hamas/Islamic Jihad, or independents? Or will you vote for your family candidate regardless of his or her political affiliation?

1) Fateh	36.8	38.2	34.2
2) Hamas/Islamic Jihad	20.3	16.3	27.2
3) Independent	13.1	14.6	10.6
4) Family	10.9	12.8	7.5
5) Other	7.6	6.8	8.9
6) Will not participate	5.4	5.7	4.8
6) No Opinion /Don't know	6.0	5.5	6.8

09) The Palestinian Authority is currently conducting consultations with Palestinian factions to arrange for a ceasefire. Do you support or oppose such a ceasefire?

1) Strongly support	27.3	21.9	36.7
2) Support	52.2	57.3	43.4
3) Oppose	16.5	17.0	15.8
4) Strongly oppose	2.4	2.4	2.5
5) No Opinion /Don't know	1.5	1.4	1.7

10) Would you support or oppose a call for an immediate return to the negotiation table?

1) Strongly support	23.5	19.0	31.3
2) Support	56.6	62.4	46.5
3) Oppose	15.4	14.8	16.4
4) Strongly Oppose	2.7	2.2	3.5
5) No Opinion /Don't know	1.8	1.6	2.3

11) In your opinion, is it possible to negotiate these days a compromise settlement with the current Israeli leadership?

1) Definitely possible	9.5	8.7	10.8
2) Think it's possible	42.3	43.8	39.7
3) Think it's impossible	33.6	34.1	32.6
4) Definitely impossible	14.1	12.9	16.2
5) No Opinion /Don't know	0.5	0.5	0.6

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
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12) 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?

1) Definitely they are	19.1	20.5	16.6
2) Think they are	38.7	41.1	34.6
3) Think they are not	26.8	25.3	29.5
4) Definitely they are not	9.9	7.9	13.3
5) No Opinion /Don't know	5.5	5.3	6.0

13) And what about the Palestinian leaders? Are they strong enough to convince the Palestinian people to accept a compromise settlement with Israel?

1) Definitely they are	13.2	12.4	14.5
2) Think they are	42.3	43.4	40.5
3) Think they are not	28.5	30.6	24.7
4) Definitely they are not	12.1	10.0	15.8
5) No Opinion /Don't know	3.9	3.5	4.6

14) The US, Russia, the European Community and the UN, the so called "Quartet", have put forward a "roadmap" for the implementation of a final settlement within 3 years. The plan includes a demand for political reforms in the Palestinian authority including a constitution and election of a strong Prime Minister, stopping the incitement and violence on both sides under the Quartet's supervision, a demand for freeze on settlements and the establishment of a Palestinian State within provisional borders. The next phase will see negotiations on the final borders under the hospices of an international conference. Do you support or oppose this initiative?

1) Definitely support	9.3	8.3	11.0
2) Support	49.2	49.5	48.5
3) Oppose	29.9	31.2	27.6
4) Definitely oppose	7.6	7.1	8.5
5) No Opinion /Don't know	4.1	3.9	4.4

15) And In your opinion can this plan still be implemented or cannot be implemented anymore?

1) Definitely can be implemented	6.0	5.5	6.8
2) Think that can be implemented	39.9	42.2	35.9
3) Think that it cannot be implemented	36.0	36.2	35.7
4) Definitely cannot be implemented	11.8	10.4	14.1
5) No Opinion /Don't know	6.4	5.7	7.5

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

1) A political settlement is not possible ever	34.4	34.0	35.1
2) Only in many generations to come	21.2	24.3	15.8
3) Only in the next generation	9.8	9.9	9.5
4) Only in the next decade	4.2	4.3	3.9
5) Only in the next few years	22.6	20.2	27.2
6) No Opinion /Don't know	7.8	7.4	8.5

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
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17) If the Israeli government evacuates the Gaza settlements and withdraws completely from the Gaza Strip, including the border strip with Egypt and the international border crossing in Rafah, and if it lifts the air and sea blockade so that the airport and sea port would function again, would you in this case support or oppose armed attacks against Israeli targets from the Gaza Strip?

1) Strongly support	7.7	7.9	7.3
2) Support	30.0	33.7	23.7
3) Oppose	48.6	47.2	51.0
4) Strongly oppose	10.8	7.8	16.2
5) No Opinion /Don't know	2.8	3.3	1.9

18) When Israel withdraws from the Gaza Strip, are you worried about internal Palestinian infighting in the Strip?

1) Very worried	15.7	11.0	23.9
2) Worried	43.2	47.7	35.6
3) Not worried	29.7	32.7	24.5
4) Not worried at all	9.1	6.5	13.7
5) No Opinion /Don't know	2.2	2.2	2.3

19) How would you evaluate the capacity of the PA to control matters in the Gaza strip after Israeli withdrawal from it?

1) High capacity	29.4	26.6	34.2
2) Enough capacity	41.6	41.0	42.7
3) Low capacity	18.8	21.8	13.5
4) No capacity at all	7.7	8.7	5.8
5) No Opinion /Don't know	2.6	1.9	3.8

20) Do you see Sharon's plan to evacuate the Israeli settlements from Gaza as a victory for the Palestinian armed resistance against Israel or don't you see it as a victory?

1) Definitely this is a victory	40.4	35.3	49.4
2) I think that this is a victory	34.9	39.0	27.8
3) I think this is not a victory	17.2	19.6	13.1
4) Definitely this is not a victory	5.8	4.7	7.7
5) No Opinion /Don't know	1.7	1.4	2.1

21) And how do you think most Palestinians see Sharon's plan? Do most Palestinians see it or don't see it as a victory for their armed struggle?

1) Most Palestinians see it as a victory for their armed struggle	78.0	76.7	80.3
2) Most Palestinians don't see it as a victory for their armed struggle	16.3	17.8	13.7
5) No Opinion /Don't know	5.7	5.5	6.0

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
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22) What do you expect to happen now after the death of Yasir Arafat and the appointment of Mahmud Abbas (Abu Mazin) as head of the PLO, Ahmad Quari (Abu Ala) head of the National Security Council, and Rouhi Fattouh a temporary president of the PA?

1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	29.7	26.9	34.5
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	53.0	54.4	50.7
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	11.5	13.4	8.1
4) No Opinion /Don't know	5.8	5.3	6.7

23) How will President Arafat's death affect the chances for reaching a political settlement with Israel?

1) Certainly will increase the chances for a political settlement	28.0	25.5	32.4
2) I think it will increase the chances for a political settlement	25.0	27.5	20.7
3) It will have no impact on the chances for a political settlement	18.3	18.5	17.8
4) I think it will decrease the chances for a political settlement	16.6	17.7	14.7
5) Certainly it will decrease the chances for a political settlement	6.4	6.8	5.6
6) No Opinion /Don't know	5.7	3.9	8.7

24) The late President Yasir Arafat contributed more than any other Palestinian in shaping the situation of the Palestinians. Are you satisfied or unsatisfied with his contribution in the following area?

24-1) Protect Palestinian rights in negotiations with Israel

1) Very satisfied	29.7	29.3	30.4
2) Satisfied	56.6	56.2	57.1
3) Unsatisfied	9.9	9.9	9.9
4) not satisfied at all	3.0	3.7	1.7
5) No Opinion /Don't know	0.8	0.8	0.8

24-2) Promote the status of the Palestinian cause internationally

1) Very satisfied	31.2	29.5	34.0
2) Satisfied	56.9	57.5	55.7
3) Unsatisfied	7.9	8.0	7.7
4) not satisfied at all	2.6	3.5	1.0
5) No Opinion /Don't know	1.5	1.4	1.7

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
24-3) Build a national authority with democratic governance			
1) Very satisfied	17.4	15.6	20.5
2) Satisfied	49.7	50.4	48.7
3) Unsatisfied	25.2	26.4	23.2
4) not satisfied at all	5.8	6.2	5.2
5) No Opinion /Don't know	1.8	1.4	2.5
24-4) Fight corruption in the PA			
1) Very satisfied	14.1	11.6	18.4
2) Satisfied	36.9	38.3	34.6
3) Unsatisfied	35.4	37.1	32.5
4) not satisfied at all	11.3	10.3	13.0
5) No Opinion /Don't know	2.3	2.8	1.4
24-5) End the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip			
1) Very satisfied	13.7	10.5	19.3
2) Satisfied	40.6	39.0	43.3
3) Unsatisfied	31.0	35.2	23.8
4) not satisfied at all	13.6	14.4	12.4
5) No Opinion /Don't know	1.1	1.0	1.2
24-6) Build public institutions able to enforce law and order			
1) Very satisfied	14.3	11.4	19.5
2) Satisfied	50.2	50.6	49.5
3) Unsatisfied	25.7	28.9	20.1
4) not satisfied at all	8.2	7.5	9.3
5) No Opinion /Don't know	1.6	1.6	1.7
24-7) Provide basic services such as health and education			
1) Very satisfied	28.6	25.2	34.4
2) Satisfied	57.1	59.1	53.6
3) Unsatisfied	10.5	11.5	8.7
4) not satisfied at all	3.0	3.3	2.3
5) No Opinion /Don't know	0.9	0.8	1.0
25) In your view, did Arafat die of illness or poison?			
Certainly died of illness	7.0	8.6	4.1
Think he died of illness	8.0	9.0	6.2
Think he died of poison	41.2	43.3	37.7
Certainly died of poison	31.2	28.7	35.4
Specify: -----	12.7	10.4	16.6
26) If you think he died of poison, who you think gave it to him?			
1) Israel	64.0	60.5	69.4
2) Palestinians	22.4	26.6	15.9
3) Israel and Palestine	0.5	0.5	0.5
4) U.S.A	1.0	1.2	0.7
5) Others	1.1	1.4	0.7
6) No Opinion /Don't know	11.0	9.8	12.8

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
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27) What do you expect to happen in the absence of Yasir Arafat? Would the Palestinians enter a state of internal infighting or would the next phase be one of internal unity and harmony?

1) A civil war will take place	6.7	6.1	7.7
2) Some internal infighting will take place, but not a civil war	37.9	37.7	38.2
3) There will be no internal infighting, but extreme divisions will remain	22.4	25.4	17.2
4) There will be internal unity and harmony	29.2	27.2	32.8
5) No Opinion /Don't know	3.8	3.6	4.1

28) In your view, how would the absence of Arafat affect Fateh? Would the movement become stronger or weaker or will remain the same?

1) Will become weaker	49.8	51.4	47.1
2) Will become stronger	24.8	23.2	27.4
3) Will remain the same	20.5	20.5	20.5
4) No Opinion /Don't know	4.9	4.9	5.0

29) If it was up to you to choose the next head of Fateh, who would you choose from among the Fateh leaders you know?

01) Abdul Sattar Qasim	0.2	0.4	0.0
02) Ahmad Qurai	0.6	0.8	0.2
03) Farouq Qaddomi	7.4	8.7	5.2
04) Haidar Abdul Shafi	0.5	0.6	0.2
05) Hani Hasan	0.2	0.4	0.0
06) Hasan Khreisheh	0.2	0.4	0.0
07) Mahmud Abbas	25.6	22.4	31.1
8) Marwan Barghuti	29.9	31.2	27.6
9) Mohammad Dahlan	0.5	0.2	0.8
10) Musata Barghouti	1.3	1.7	0.6
11) Rouhi Fattouh	0.8	0.7	0.8
12) Saeb Erekat	0.8	0.7	0.8
13) Others	1.5	1.4	1.5
14) No Opinion /Don't know	30.6	30.3	31.1

30) To what extent are you satisfied or unsatisfied with the performance of the interim leadership, that replaced Arafat when he went for treatment, with regard to the matter of succession matter?

1) Very satisfied	3.9	2.6	6.0
2) Satisfied	42.4	42.2	42.7
3) Unsatisfied	33.3	34.1	31.9
4) Very unsatisfied	11.9	12.6	10.8
5) No Opinion /Don't know	8.5	8.4	8.7

31) In your view, how will the following issues be affected with Arafat gone? To the better or the worse or remain the same?

31-1) Protect Palestinian rights in negotiations with Israel

1) Better	23.5	19.7	30.2
2) The same	36.8	37.5	35.4
3) Worse	35.6	39.2	29.4
4) No Opinion /Don't know	4.1	3.6	5.0

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
31-2) Promote the status of the Palestinian cause internationally			
1) Better	25.9	22.1	32.5
2) The same	37.5	39.2	34.6
3) Worse	31.5	34.3	26.7
4) No Opinion /Don't know	5.1	4.4	6.2
31-3) Build a national authority with democratic governance			
1) Better	31.5	26.7	39.8
2) The same	34.5	36.2	31.7
3) Worse	27.9	31.3	21.9
4) No Opinion /Don't know	6.1	5.8	6.6
31-4) Fight corruption in the PA			
1) Better	31.7	25.3	42.9
2) The same	28.5	30.1	25.7
3) Worse	34.8	39.2	27.1
4) No Opinion /Don't know	5.0	5.4	4.3
31-5) End the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip			
1) Better	32.1	22.7	48.4
2) The same	29.6	32.4	24.8
3) Worse	32.6	39.1	21.5
4) No Opinion /Don't know	5.6	5.9	5.2
31-6) Build public institutions able to enforce law and order			
1) Better	40.8	33.7	53.0
2) The same	31.8	33.9	28.2
3) Worse	22.3	27.5	13.5
4) No Opinion /Don't know	5.1	4.9	5.4
31-7) Provide basic services such as health and education			
1) Better	43.6	34.5	59.2
2) The same	37.0	41.5	29.2
3) Worse	15.3	19.7	7.7
4) No Opinion /Don't know	4.2	4.3	3.9
32) Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?			
1) Completely assured	1.8	1.7	2.1
2) Assured	22.1	19.7	26.1
3) Not assured	49.2	52.0	44.4
4) Not assured at all	26.4	26.2	26.8
5) No Opinion /Don't know	0.5	0.5	0.6
33) 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	34.7	26.4	49.1
2) Support	58.5	66.8	44.1
3) Oppose	4.5	4.6	4.3
4) Strongly oppose	0.8	1.0	0.6
5) No opinion/ do not know	1.5	1.3	1.9

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
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34) In your opinion, can people in the West Bank and Gaza today criticize the PA without fear?

1) yes	62.4	59.4	67.4
2) No	34.4	37.5	29.3
3) No Opinion /Don't know	3.2	3.1	3.3

35) If you want to evaluate the status of democracy and human rights in the Palestinian Authority, you would say it is:

1) Very good	3.8	4.0	3.5
2) Good	25.9	25.7	26.3
3) Not good and not bad	27.4	25.7	30.4
4) Bad	21.7	22.1	21.1
5) Very bad	18.8	20.5	15.9
6) DK/NA	2.3	2.0	2.7

36) Do you think that there is corruption in PA institutions?

1) Yes	86.6	87.8	84.7
2) No	7.8	7.4	8.5
3) Don't Know /No answer	5.5	4.8	6.8

37) If yes, Will this corruption in PA institutions increase, decrease or remain as it is in the future?

1) Will increase	45.5	48.4	40.3
2) Will remain as it is	14.9	16.9	11.2
3) will decrease	31.3	26.7	39.6
4) No opinion /Don't know	8.3	7.9	9.0

38) In general how would you assess the condition of the Palestinian people these days?

1) Very good	1.1	1.0	1.2
2) Good	5.9	4.8	7.7
3) So so	19.2	18.0	21.3
4) Bad	36.6	38.7	33.1
5) Very bad	36.9	37.2	36.4
6) No Opinion /Don't know	0.3	0.4	0.2

39) To what extent do Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza suffer these days as a result of the current situation?

1) Suffer very much	71.7	68.7	76.8
2) Suffer much	23.4	27.3	16.6
3) Suffer some	4.8	3.7	6.6
4) Don't suffer at all	0.1	0.1	0.0
5) DK/NA	0.1	0.1	0.0

39a) And you, personally, to what extent do you suffer these days?

1) Suffer very much	46.8	47.0	46.6
2) Suffer much	22.5	23.4	20.9
3) Suffer some	26.6	25.2	29.0
4) Don't suffer at all	2.2	2.3	2.1
5) No Opinion /Don't know	1.9	2.2	1.4

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
40) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli soldiers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, I....			
1) Strongly support	44.4	39.1	53.6
2) Support	39.6	43.8	32.3
3) Oppose	11.4	11.9	10.6
4) Strongly oppose	2.0	2.0	1.9
5) No opinion/ do not know	2.7	3.2	1.7
41) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli settlers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, I....			
1) Strongly support	44.5	38.2	55.3
2) Support	38.6	42.8	31.5
3) Oppose	12.4	13.8	9.9
4) Strongly oppose	1.7	1.8	1.4
5) No opinion/ do not know	2.8	3.4	1.9
42) Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....			
1) Strongly support	22.5	17.6	30.8
2) Support	26.9	27.5	25.9
3) Oppose	40.9	44.2	35.2
4) Strongly oppose	6.9	7.4	6.0
5) No opinion/ do not know	2.8	3.2	2.1
43) 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	58.0	56.7	60.2
2) Oppose	37.9	39.5	35.2
3) Don't Know /No answer	4.1	3.8	4.6
44) Do you believe that armed confrontations so far have helped achieve Palestinian rights in a way that negotiations could not?			
1) Definitely yes	23.4	20.1	29.0
2) Yes	40.5	43.4	35.6
3) No	28.0	29.3	25.9
4) Definitely no	5.2	4.7	6.2
5) Don't Know /No answer	2.8	2.5	3.3
45) Who came out the winner so far in the ongoing armed conflict that has started in September 2000 between Israel and the Palestinians?			
1) Israel	13.8	16.6	8.9
2) The Palestinians	34.8	28.3	46.1
3) Both	4.9	4.9	4.8
4) Neither	43.8	47.5	37.3
4) No Opinion /Don't know	2.7	2.6	2.9
46) 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) Most Palestinians think Israel is the winner	15.7	18.8	10.2
2) Most Palestinians think they are the winners	42.9	36.1	54.8

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
3) Most Palestinians think both sides are winners	3.1	2.9	3.5
4) Most Palestinians think neither side is a winner	32.7	36.9	25.3
5) No Opinion /Don't know	5.6	5.3	6.2
47) 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) Most Israelis think the Palestinians are the winners	59.3	60.9	56.6
2) Most Israelis think Israel is the winner	13.3	10.9	17.4
3) Most Israelis think both sides are winners	1.5	1.7	1.2
4) Most Israelis think neither side is a winner	19.8	20.6	18.3
5) No Opinion /Don't know	6.1	5.9	6.4
48) Would you support or oppose a call for a mutual cease fire between Palestinians and Israelis?			
1) Strongly support	25.7	21.1	33.5
2) Support	56.5	60.3	50.1
3) Oppose	14.3	14.4	14.1
4) Strongly Oppose	2.3	2.5	1.9
5) DK/NA	1.2	1.7	0.4
49) After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian people and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, would you support or oppose the process of reconciliation between the state of Palestine and the state of Israel?			
1) Strongly support	17.9	15.1	22.6
2) Support	63.3	65.2	60.0
3) Oppose	14.7	15.3	13.7
4) Strongly oppose	3.3	3.1	3.5
5) No Opinion /Don't know	0.8	1.2	0.2
50) After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian people and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, how soon do you think will reconciliation between the two peoples be achieved?			
1) Reconciliation is not possible ever	34.1	32.9	36.2
2) Only in many generations to come	20.1	20.1	20.1
3) Only in the next generation	14.0	15.3	11.6
4) Only in the next decade	7.7	7.0	9.1
5) On the next few years	16.9	17.5	15.7
6) No Opinion /Don't know	7.2	7.2	7.2

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
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51) The American people have reelected president Bush for another four years. How will this vote affect in your view the chances for a political settlement with Israel?

1) Certainly will increase the chances for a political settlement with Israel	16.9	16.3	18.0
2) I think it will increase the chances for a political settlement with Israel	14.5	16.6	11.0
3) It will have no impact on the political settlement with Israel	29.6	28.8	31.1
4) I think it will decrease the chances for a political settlement with Israel	20.7	21.8	18.8
5) Certainly it will decrease the chances for a political settlement with Israel	13.4	12.0	15.9
6) No Opinion /Don't know	4.7	4.4	5.2

52) In your view, would the second Bush administration be more or less supportive of Israel during the next four years?

1) Certainly it will be more supportive	61.4	58.2	66.9
2) Think it will be more supportive	14.9	18.8	8.3
3) Think it will be as it was in the first Bush administration	12.2	13.6	9.9
4) Think it will be less supportive	7.8	6.5	10.1
5) Certainly it will be less supportive	1.3	1.3	1.2
6) No Opinion /Don't know	2.4	1.7	3.5

54) Who among those candidates are most able to carry out the following tasks:

54-1) Rreach a peace agreement with Israel

1) Bassam Salhi	0.2	0.2	0.2
2) Abdul Sattar Qasim	0.2	0.4	0.0
3) Mahmud Abbas	62.3	58.0	69.9
4) Mustafa Barghouti	3.6	4.1	2.6
5) Hasan Khreisheh	0.1	0.2	0.0
6) Marwan Barghouti	15.6	18.1	11.1
7) Taysir Khalid	0.1	0.2	0.0
8) Don't Know	0.1	0.2	0.0
9) No One	17.6	18.5	16.2

54-2) Protect the right of retrun

1) Bassam Salhi	0.4	0.5	0.4
2) Abdul Sattar Qasim	1.5	2.1	0.4
3) Mahmud Abbas	26.3	24.3	29.8
4) Mustafa Barghouti	6.1	6.7	5.1
5) Hasan Khreisheh	0.4	0.7	0.0
6) Marwan Barghouti	37.0	38.8	34.0
7) Taysir Khalid	0.7	0.9	0.2
8) Don't Know	0.1	0.2	0.0
9) No One	27.3	25.7	30.2

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
54-3) Protect national unity and prevent internal infighting			
1) Bassam Salhi	0.5	0.5	0.6
2) Abdul Sattar Qasim	1.0	1.2	0.6
3) Mahmud Abbas	35.3	31.0	42.7
4) Mustafa Barghouti	6.3	6.4	6.3
5) Hasan Khreisheh	0.4	0.6	0.0
6) Marwan Barghouti	33.0	36.9	26.3
7) Taysir Khalid	0.3	0.5	0.0
8) Don't Know	0.1	0.2	0.0
9) No One	23.1	22.9	23.5
54-4) Improve Palestinian economic conditions			
1) Bassam Salhi	0.4	0.6	0.2
2) Abdul Sattar Qasim	0.7	0.7	0.8
3) Mahmud Abbas	51.9	44.7	64.4
4) Mustafa Barghouti	4.7	4.6	4.9
5) Hasan Khreisheh	0.2	0.4	0.0
6) Marwan Barghouti	18.0	21.5	11.9
7) Taysir Khalid	0.4	0.6	0.0
8) Don't Know 0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0
9) No One	23.4	26.7	17.6
54-5) Enforce law and order in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip			
1) Bassam Salhi	0.3	0.4	0.2
2) Abdul Sattar Qasim	0.2	0.4	0.0
3) Mahmud Abbas	46.8	42.6	54.0
4) Mustafa Barghouti	3.5	3.7	3.2
5) Hasan Khreisheh	0.3	0.4	0.2
6) Marwan Barghouti	22.9	25.4	18.4
7) Taysir Khalid	0.2	0.2	0.2
8) Don't Know	0.1	0.2	0.0
9) No One	25.6	26.7	23.7
55) If you participate in the presidential elections, whom would you elect from among those listed?			
1) All other candidates	2.9	3.9	1.3
2) Mahmud Abbas	40.4	34.7	49.8
3) Marwan Barghouti	37.5	40.6	32.4
4) Mustafa Barghouti	6.2	6.9	5.0
5) No Opinion /Don't know	12.9	13.8	11.5
56) From his jail, Marwan Barghouti has decided not to nominate himself as a presidential candidate. If he did nominate himself, would you have voted for him or would you have voted for the candidate you have indicated in the previous question or would you have not voted for him or any other candidate?			
1) I would have voted for Marwan Barghouti	39.5	15.0	60.9
2) I would have voted for the candidate I have indicated in the previous question	44.2	55.0	34.8
3) I would not vote for Marwan Barghouti or any other candidate	9.3	15.0	4.3
4) I will not participate in the elections	7.0	15.0	0.0

	Total%	West Bank %	Gaza Strip%
57) Hamas has decided not to nominate one of its leaders to compete in the presidential elections. If it did nominate one of its leaders, say Mahmud Zahhar, would you have voted for him or would you have voted for the candidate you have indicated in the previous question or would you have not voted for him or any other candidate?			
1) I would have voted for Mahmud Zahhar	28.0	25.6	32.1
2) I would have voted for the candidate I have indicated in the previous question	55.3	56.8	52.6
3) I would not vote for Mahmud Zahhar or any other candidate	4.8	5.9	2.9
4) I will not participate in the elections	6.3	6.4	6.2
5) No Opinion/Don't know	5.6	5.3	6.2
58) If it was up to you, who among the following three individuals would you prefer to become the president of the Palestinian Authority?			
1) Mahmud Zahhar	23.8	22.7	25.7
2) Mahmud Abbas (Abu Mazin)	28.6	25.9	33.3
3) Marwan Barghouti	33.5	36.0	29.2
4) None of the above	11.0	12.8	7.9
5) No Opinion/Don't know	3.1	2.6	3.9
59) Would the person you have selected be able to lead the Palestinian people under the current conditions?			
1) Certainly will be able	40.8	35.2	50.3
2) Think will be able	42.5	47.7	33.7
3) Think will not be able	4.0	3.6	4.6
4) Certainly will not be able	1.7	2.2	0.8
5) No Opinion/Don't know	11.0	11.3	10.6
60) And what about the prime minister? If it was up to you, who among the following would you select to become the prime minister? From among the following names, who would be your preferred person to be a prime minister?			
01) Saeb Erikat	12.8	13.3	12.0
02) Haidar Abdul Shafi	23.1	23.5	22.4
03) Marwan Barghouti	17.4	18.0	16.4
04) Ahmad Quarie	7.5	7.2	8.1
05) Mahmud Abbas	5.9	5.8	6.0
06) Mohammad Dahlan	3.4	1.8	6.2
07) Mahmud Zahhar	11.4	11.5	11.2
08) No one/ Will decide later	13.9	13.6	14.5
09) I will not participate	1.3	2.0	0.0
10) Others	3.3	3.2	3.3
61) Which of the following political parties do you support?			
1) PPP	1.0	0.8	1.4
2) PFLP	2.4	2.9	1.4
3) Fateh	40.2	40.9	39.0
4) Hamas	17.6	15.3	21.8
5) DFLP	1.0	1.0	0.8
6) Islamic Jihad	2.3	2.5	1.8
7) Fida	0.1	0.1	0.0
8) Independent Islamists	3.7	4.3	2.6
9) Independent Nationalists	5.9	7.3	3.4
10) None of the above	25.4	24.3	27.3
11) Other, specify -----	0.5	0.6	0.4