
Poll no. 49 – October, 2003

**Public Opinion Poll on Palestinian Attitudes Towards
the Palestinian Situation After the Third Anniversary of the Intifada**

Significant Opinion Results

- A majority of Palestinians believes it is of Palestinian interest to renew a ceasefire; yet, the majority remained supportive of continuing negotiations along with al-Aqsa Intifada and its military operations as a suitable response during the current political situation.
- Most Palestinians are split on the goals of the Intifada: establishing an independent Palestinian state based on UN-SC 242 or liberating all of historic Palestine. Also, most Palestinians are divided on whether the Intifada would achieve its goal.
- A great majority of Palestinians have become pessimistic that a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict would be reached, but Palestinians believe the peace process is somehow alive.
- Most Palestinians believe an international presence in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT), with authorities and powers, would contribute to solving the problem with Israel, but do not trust the United States to solely take that role. Most Palestinians prefer either a United Nations presence or a joint U.S.-European presence.
- The majority of Palestinians do not feel the presence of the Palestinian Authority after Israel re-occupied the OPT, but say it is of national interest to maintain the PA though the majority evaluate its performance as bad saying the recent Palestinian emergency government was unjustified.
- The majority of Palestinians said former Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas did not influence the peace process or reform, and blamed the quick downfall of his government first on Israeli escalations and second on President Yasser Arafat.
- Most Palestinians are divided on President Arafat's performance, but say they expect Palestinians to re-elect him if elections take place. Although Arafat and his mainstream Fateh faction remain the most trusted, a similar percentage of Palestinians do not trust any figure or group.

Intifada and Resistance

A majority of Palestinians, 51.8 percent, believes that it is of Palestinian interest to renew and reach a ceasefire while 43.3 percent said it is not of Palestinian interest.

Another great majority of Palestinians, 76.8 percent, remained strongly or somewhat supportive of continuing al-Aqsa Intifada—dropping minimally from 80.7 percent which almost lasted all through 2002—with 44.6 percent saying its goal is to end the Israeli military occupation and establish an independent Palestinian state based on UN Security Council Resolution 242. Only 10 percent say the Intifada's end result would be to improve negotiations conditions compared with 4.4 percent last December. Another 43 percent believe the end result of the Intifada is to liberate all of historic Palestine compared with 47 percent last December, 43 percent last September and only 39.6 percent in December 2001.

There is 21.7 percent who somewhat or strongly opposed the continuation of the Intifada remaining similar to last April's survey and rising from 16.6 percent last December.

Interviewees were almost divided on being very or somewhat optimistic to achieve Intifada goals (51.1 percent) or very or somewhat pessimistic towards achieving those objectives (47.1 percent).

Of those interviewed, 51.2 percent believe that the continuation of the Intifada and negotiations together is the best path to achieve Palestinian national goals and end the Israeli occupation; basically slightly rising from last April (48.6) and last December (49.7). Thirteen percent said only through negotiations would Palestinians achieve their national goals while 32.6 percent said only through the Intifada.

Throughout the Intifada, a significant majority, now 67.9 percent, believes that Palestinian military operations against Israeli targets are a suitable response during the current political situation compared with 64.6 percent last April, 69.3 percent last December and 73.6 percent in March 2002. Of those interviewed, 28 percent opposed military operations and considered them harmful to Palestinian national interests rising from 25.1 percent last April and 24 percent last December.

Yet, as in previous surveys, 42.3 percent do not see a difference between Palestinian military operations conducted inside Israel or in the occupied territory compared with 43 percent last April, 44.7 percent last December and 49.1 percent in March 2002. Only 17.5 percent support these operations only inside Israel and 14.1 percent support them inside the occupied territory only. Similar results were shown last April and December.

As for suicide bombing operations against Israeli civilians, there is a slight trend of decreased support for them since 61.8 percent of those interviewed somewhat or strongly supported them slipping from 62.7 percent last December, 64.3 percent in September 2002, 68.1 in June 2002 and 72 percent in March 2002. Of those surveyed, 34.9 percent somewhat or strongly opposed suicide bombings compared with 29.8 percent last December and 21.7 percent in March 2002.

Peace Process

A great majority of Palestinians, 71.9 percent, have become pessimistic or very pessimistic that a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict would be reached, but 58.3 percent believe that the peace process is still alive—either passing through difficult times with an unknown future or with a possibility of resuming negotiations. Last December, 72.1 percent said they were either pessimistic or very pessimistic with 58.7 percent believing the peace process is alive and 64.7 percent in June 2002 were pessimistic with 66.3 percent believing the process is alive.

Meanwhile, 26.9 percent said they were optimistic or very optimistic that a peaceful settlement would be reached while 39 percent believe that the peace process is dead and there is no chance of resuming negotiations compared with 26 percent during 2002 said they were optimistic or very optimistic. Last December 37.1 percent said the peace process is dead and 29.4 in March 2002.

Most Palestinians, 49.2 percent, believe that it is useful to have a third party role in the Palestinian territory to contribute in solving the problem with Israel, while 18.4 percent do not believe so and 28.9 percent said a third party role will not make a difference. In addition, of those interviewed, 46.3 percent believe that international presence should have authorities and powers compared with 27.7 percent who believe that an international presence should be for monitoring purposes only, and 26 percent did not give an answer.

However, Palestinians do not trust the United States to be the only international presence on Palestinian territory; the survey showed that only 2.5 percent said that it would be appropriate to have this presence limited to the United States compared with 39.3 percent who preferred United Nations presence, and 31 percent who preferred a joint U.S.-European presence.

When asked what is the favored solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, 45.7 percent said a two-state solution compared with 46.5 percent last December and 48.8 percent in December 2001. Of those interviewed, 25.3 percent said a bi-national state in historic Palestine is the preferred solution compared with 26.2 percent last December and 27.6 percent in December 2001. Meanwhile, 13.3 percent said the preferred solution is one Palestinian state with one nationality compared with 11.2 percent last December and 14.4 percent in December 2001.

In March 2002, 41.6 percent preferred a two-state solution, 31.6 percent said a bi-national state.

Reform and Trust in Figures and Factions

A majority of Palestinians said that it does not feel the presence of the Palestinian Authority after three years of Israeli re-occupation of most of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, while 40.4 percent said they feel the presence of the Palestinian Authority. Yet, 57.8 percent said it is of Palestinian national interest to maintain this authority regardless of the feasibility and efficacy of maintaining it in light of Israeli military control over the majority of Palestinian territory. Some 30.6 percent said the national interest stipulates ending the PA.

In addition, 57.5 percent said the recent decision to form a Palestinian emergency government was not justified, while 33.2 percent said the decision was justified.

When asked to evaluate the performance of the Palestinian Authority, 61.4 percent said it is bad to very bad while 36.1 percent said it is good to very good.

Although most Palestinians, 47.1 percent said they believe the PA is interested in conducting serious and effective reform compared to 44.2 percent who do not believe so, 58.7 percent believe that the political situation (Israeli re-occupation, siege) obstructs the success of the recent reform efforts. Of those interviewed 28.5 percent said they don't find recent PA reform efforts serious to achieve success, while 8.8 percent said the financial difficulties were the reason behind the unsuccessful reform process.

Last December, 46.9 percent said the PA is not serious in implementing reform, while 13.1 percent said they are serious, but 33.1 percent said that the political situation obstructs the success of these reforms. Last September, 46 percent of Palestinians believed the Palestinian leadership is serious in conducting reform as opposed to 40.7 percent who did not believe so while 12.1 percent said they did not know.

Of those interviewed, 65 percent said that the appointment of Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) as prime minister did not influence the peace process and 62.7 percent said did not influence the current reform process. However, 61.8 percent said the Israeli escalations were responsible for the quick downfall of the government of Mahmoud Abbas compared with 17.2 percent who said President Yasser Arafat was responsible and 15.8 percent said Mahmoud Abbas himself was responsible for the quick downfall of his government.

Only 10.4 percent said Mahmoud Abbas assisted in pushing the peace process between Palestinians and Israelis forward compared to 19.3 percent who said Abu Mazen assisted in pushing the process backward. Last April, 44.5 percent said that appointed PA Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) will not influence the peace process, while 30.4 percent said he will assist in pushing the peace process forward and 16.5 percent said he will assist pushing the peace process backwards.

Moreover, only 14.6 percent said Mahmoud Abbas assisted in pushing PA reform forward compared with 16.4 percent who said he assisted in pushing reform backward. Last April, most Palestinians, 43.2 percent, said that Mahmoud Abbas will not have an influence on the current PA reform process, while 28.7 percent said he will push the reform forward and 17.4 percent said he will push the reform backward.

When asked on the manner Yasser Arafat manages his position as the PA President, 48.6 percent said they were very to somewhat dissatisfied while 47.2 percent said they were very to somewhat satisfied.

Furthermore, 58.7 percent said President Yasser Arafat is in control or up to a certain degree of the internal Palestinian situation while 39 percent said he is not in control to a certain degree or not in control at all.

Despite Palestinian strong views on the Palestinian Authority and its leadership, a majority of Palestinians, 59.8 percent expect President Yasser Arafat to be re-elected if free, democratic elections were held compared with 56.3 percent last December, 60.6 percent September 2002 and 47.5 percent June 2002. Only 30.8 percent expect otherwise compared with 32.7 percent last December, 28.6 percent in September 2002 and 37.8 percent in June 2002.

Yasser Arafat and his mainstream Fateh faction are still the most popular amongst the Palestinian public with a rise in popularity. A rise to 26.1 percent of Palestinians who said Arafat is the most trusted Palestinian figure compared with 21.1 percent last April, 25.5 percent last December and 27.9 percent in March 2002.

The second in line of trust is Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, founder and spiritual leader of Hamas, who was chosen by 11.2 percent of those interviewed rising from 9.7 last April, while maintaining 11.5 percent last December and in 9.7 March 2002 .

The third in line of trust is for the first time Hamas leader Abdul Aziz Rantisi, whom Israel attempted to assassinate last summer. Rantisi was chosen by 4.4 percent. Fateh leader detained in Israeli jails Marwan Barghouthi, who was third in line last April slided to 2.9 percent (fifth in line) compared with 3.7 percent last April and 5.2 percent last December.

There is 27 percent of Palestinians who do not trust any Palestinian figure compared with 36.1 percent last April, 30 percent last December and 32.1 percent in March 2002.

As for Palestinian factions, Fateh maintained the most trusted faction rising to 29.3 percent from 22.6 percent last April, 28.1 percent last December and 29.5 percent in March 2002.

The Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, was chosen by 22.6 percent compared with 22 percent last April, 20.1 percent last December and 19.8 percent in March 2002.

There are 28 percent of Palestinians who do not trust any faction compared with 34.3 percent last April, 31.4 percent last December and 29.6 percent in March 2002.

Methodology

A random sample of 1198 people over the age of 18 were interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 18 and 21 October 2003. The interviews were conducted in randomly selected homes, and the subjects inside each home were also selected randomly according to Kish tables. The interviews were conducted in 60 sampling points chosen randomly according to population.

In the **West Bank** 758 people were surveyed from the following areas: **Jenin:** Jenin, Jenin Refugee Camp (RC), Zababdeh, Faqou'a, Kufr Dan and Tubas **Nablus:** Nablus, Deir Balut, Talfeet, 'Ain Beit el-ma RC, Zawata, and Salfit. **Tulkarem and Qalqilya:** Tulkarem, Tulkarem RC, Qalqilya, 'Azzoun, 'Anabta and 'Ateel. **Hebron:** Hebron, Beit Ummar, Aroub RC, A-Dahiria, Haloul, Nuba, Beit Kahel and Tarqoumia. **Bethlehem:** Bethlehem, Beit Sahour, Beit Jala, a-Duha and 'Aida RC. **Jericho:** Jericho, 'Ain Sultan RC. **Ramallah & al-Bireh:** al-Bireh, Ramallah, Beit Liqia, Turmus 'Ayya, Jalazon RC and Deir Qadees. **Jerusalem:** ad-Dahia, A-ram, Shufat, Old City, al-'Issawia, a-sheikh Jarrah, Beir Nabala, Hizma, Silwan and Shufat RC.

In the **Gaza Strip:** 440 people were surveyed from: **North Gaza:** Jabalia RC, Jabalia, Beit Lahia, Beit Hanoun. **Gaza City:** Sheikh Radwan, a-Naser, al-Durj, Attufah, Sabra, al-Zaytoun, al-Shaja'ieh, al-Rimal South, al-Rimal North, al-Meghraga, and Shati RC. **Deir al-Balah:** Deir al-Balah, Deir al-Balah RC and Nuseirat RC. **Khan Younis:** Khan Younis, Khan Younis RC, Bani Sahila, Khuza'ah and al- Qararah. **Rafah:** Rafah, Rafah RC, Tal al-Sultan RC.

The margin of error is 3 percent, with a confidence level of 95.

Sample Distribution	Occupation of Respondents	
54.7% of the respondents were from West Bank, 8.6% from Jerusalem, 36.7% from the Gaza Strip.	Students 12.1%	Professionals - e.g. doctors/lawyers/
28.0% said they live in villages, 15.3% in refugee camps, and 56.7% in towns/cities.	laborers 8.4%,	pharmacists/engineers
	Farmers/fishermen 5.1%	2.1%
	Craftsmen 2.7%	Housewives 33.6%,
	Businessmen/private	

<p>50.2% were male, 49.8% were female. 67.3% were married, 25.7% single, 3.5% widowed, 2.1% divorced, 1.4% no answer.</p> <p>The average age of the respondents was 34 years.</p>	<p>business 7.7% Employees e.g. secretaries/municipal employees/teachers/nurses 17.7%</p>	<p>Unemployed 8.8% Retired 0.7%, No answer 1.1%.</p>
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Results:

Q1. In general how optimistic or pessimistic do you feel towards the future?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N= 758	N=440
Very optimistic	2.3	2.2	2.3
Optimistic	38.5	41.4	33.4
Pessimistic	38.6	35.2	44.5
Very pessimistic	20.3	20.7	19.5
No answer	0.3	0.5	0.3

Q.2 How optimistic or pessimistic are you towards reaching a peaceful settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N= 758	N=440
Very optimistic	0.9	1.5	0.0
Optimistic	26.0	29.8	19.5
Pessimistic	43.7	39.8	50.2
Very pessimistic	28.2	27.4	29.5
No answer	1.2	1.5	0.8

Q3. Under the current conditions, some believe that the peace process is dead and there is no chance of resuming the negotiations, while others see that the peace process is passing through difficult conditions with an unclear future. There is another group that believes that the peace process is still alive and there is a possibility of resuming negotiations?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N= 758	N=440
The peace process is dead and there is no chance of resuming the negotiations	39.0	34.3	47.0
The peace process is passing through difficult conditions with an unclear future	44.7	46.2	42.0
The peace process is still alive and there is a possibility of resuming negotiations	13.6	16.4	8.9
Other	0.9	1.3	0.2
Don't know	1.8	1.8	1.8
No answer	0.0	0.0	0.1

Q4. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the continuation of the al-Aqsa Intifada in the West Bank and Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N= 758	N=440
Strongly support	38.7	33.6	47.5
Somewhat support	38.1	39.7	35.2
Somewhat oppose	15.3	17.8	10.9
Strongly oppose	6.4	7.7	4.3
No answer	1.5	1.2	2.1

Q5. Some believe that the Intifada is the best path to achieve our national goals and end the occupation; others believe that the negotiations are the best way to do so. There are some who believe that the continuation of the Intifada and the negotiations together is the method to achieve Palestinian national goals, so in your perspective what is the best way to achieve our national goals?

	Total N= 1198	West Bank N= 758	Gaza Strip N=440
Only the Intifada	32.6	28.2	40.0
Only negotiations	13.0	16.4	7.3
Intifada and negotiations together	51.2	50.8	51.8
I don't know	2.8	4.0	0.7
No answer	0.4	0.6	0.2

Q6. In your opinion, what should be the end result of the current Intifada? Is it improving the negotiation conditions for Palestinians? Ending occupation based on UN Resolution 242 and the establishment of the Palestinian state? Or liberating all of historic Palestine?

	Total N= 1198	West Bank N= 758	Gaza N=440
Improve negotiation conditions for Palestinians	10.0	10.6	9.1
Ending occupation on basis of UN Resolution 242 and establishing the Palestinian state	44.6	49.1	36.8
Liberating all of historic Palestine	43.0	37.1	53.2
Other	0.8	1.1	0.2
I don't know	1.3	1.8	0.2
No answer	0.3	0.3	0.5

Q7. After three years of the Intifada, are you very optimistic, somewhat optimistic, somewhat pessimistic or very pessimistic towards achieving the Intifada's goal? (The one you chose in the previous question):

	Total N= 1198	West Bank N= 758	Gaza N=440
Very optimistic	9.3	8.7	10.5
Somewhat optimistic	41.8	39.8	45.2
Somewhat pessimistic	29.8	31.0	27.7
Very pessimistic	17.3	18.2	15.7
No answer	1.8	2.3	0.9

Q8. Some believe that the "Two - State Formula" is the best solution for the Israeli - Palestinian conflict while others believe that historical Palestine cannot be divided into two states and therefore the best solution would be a "Bi-National State" in all of Palestine where Palestinians and Israelis enjoy equal rights, which of these two solutions would you prefer?

	Total N= 1198	West Bank N= 758	Gaza N=440
"Two – State Formula" is the best solution for the Israeli – Palestinian	45.7	48.4	41.1
The best solution would be a "Bi-National State" in all of Palestine	25.3	26.4	23.4
One Palestinian state with one nationality	13.3	9.8	19.3
Islamic state	3.4	3.0	4.2
Others	1.3	1.5	0.9
There is no solution	9.4	10.0	8.4
Don't know	1.1	0.5	2.0

No answer	0.5	0.4	0.7
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Q9. Do you support the resumption of the military operations against Israeli targets as a suitable response within the current political conditions, or do you reject it and find it harmful to Palestinian national interests?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N= 758	N=440
A suitable response within the current political conditions	67.9	61.7	78.6
I reject it and find it harmful to Palestinian national interests	28.0	33.0	19.3
Other	1.1	1.5	0.5
I don't know	2.7	3.3	1.6
No answer	0.3	0.5	0.0

Q10. Are you with the resumption of the military operations only inside Israel, only inside the occupied territory or inside Israel and the occupied territory?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Inside Israel only	17.5	16.0	20.2
Inside the occupied territory only	14.1	15.4	11.8
Inside Israel and the occupied territory	42.3	36.4	52.5
I am not with the resumption of the military operations	23.5	28.6	14.5
No answer	2.6	3.6	1.0

Q11. What is your feeling towards suicide bombing operations against Israeli civilians, do you support it or oppose it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Strongly support	30.5	24.0	41.6
Somewhat support	31.3	33.6	27.3
Somewhat oppose	11.4	13.5	21.8
Strongly oppose	23.5	24.4	7.7
I don't know/ No opinion	2.7	3.4	1.4
No answer	0.6	1.1	0.2

Q12. Do you strongly or somewhat, support or strongly, or somewhat, oppose stopping all kind of operations inside Israel?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Strongly support	12.7	14.9	8.9
Somewhat support	26.8	32.6	16.8
Somewhat oppose	28.3	22.3	32.7
Strongly oppose	28.5	25.7	39.1
I Don't Know/ No opinion	3.0	3.7	1.8
No answer	0.7	0.8	0.7

Q13. If free democratic elections are held under these conditions, do you expect the Palestinian people to re-elect President Yasser Arafat?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Yes	59.8	62.0	56.1
No	30.8	28.5	34.8
No answer	9.4	9.5	9.1

Q14. In general, how do you evaluate the performance of the Palestinian National Authority? Very good, good, bad or very bad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Very good	2.4	2.1	3.0
Good	33.7	34.8	31.8
Bad	39.5	40.9	37.0
Very bad	21.9	18.6	27.5
No answer	2.5	3.6	0.7

Q15. In general, how do you evaluate the performance of the Legislative Council? Good, in between, or bad?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Good	10.9	10.0	12.3
In between	36.2	39.3	30.9
Bad	49.2	45.8	55.0
No answer	3.7	4.9	1.8

Q16. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the manner Yasser Arafat manages his position as the Palestinian Authority President? Very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, very dissatisfied or somewhat dissatisfied?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Very satisfied	12.2	10.0	15.9
Somewhat satisfied	35.0	36.4	32.5
Very dissatisfied	20.5	17.7	25.5
Somewhat dissatisfied	28.1	31.0	23.2
No answer	4.2	4.9	2.9

Q17. There is a debate among international circles as to whether the Palestinian president is in control of the internal Palestinian situation, or whether he is in control up to a certain degree or whether he is not in control up to a certain degree, or whether he is not in control at all, what is your opinion?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
President Yasser Arafat is in control of the internal Palestinian situation	12.3	9.1	17.7
President Yasser Arafat is in control up to a certain degree	46.4	49.6	40.9
President Yasser Arafat is not in control up to a certain degree	27.0	25.5	29.5
President Yasser Arafat is not in control at all	12.0	13.1	10.2
No answer	2.3	2.7	1.7

Q18. Do you believe that the Palestinian Authority is interested in conducting serious/effective reform?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Yes	47.1	44.9	50.9
No	44.2	44.6	43.6
I don't know	7.9	9.5	5.2

No answer	0.8	1.0	0.3
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Q19. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Yasser Arafat	26.1	24.0	29.8
Ahmad Yassin	11.2	9.6	13.9
'Abdul Aziz Rantisi	4.4	3.6	5.9
Saeb Erekat	3.8	4.6	2.5
Marwan al-Barghouthi	2.9	3.0	2.7
Haider Abdul Shafi	1.7	1.2	2.5
Abdallah a-Shami	1.7	1.1	2.7
Ahmad Sa'adat	1.7	1.3	2.3
Others	15.0	17.4	10.9
I don't trust anyone	27.0	28.8	24.1
No answer	4.5	5.4	2.7

**The Following questions were open ended questions*

Q20. Which Palestinian political or religious faction do you trust most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Fateh	29.3	27.8	31.8
Hamas	22.6	21.1	25.2
Islamic Jihad	5.4	5.1	5.9
PFLP	3.6	3.2	4.3
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades	1.0	0.5	1.8
People's Party (PPP)	0.8	1.3	0.0
Fida	0.7	0.9	0.2
Other Islamic factions	0.9	0.9	0.9
Other PLO factions	0.2	0.3	0.0
Others	0.4	0.7	0.0
Don't trust anyone	28.0	29.6	25.5
No answer	7.1	8.6	4.4

**The Following questions were open ended questions*

Q21. Do you believe that the appointment of Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) as prime minister in Palestine pushed the peace process with Israel forward? Backward? Or did not influence the peace process?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Assisted in pushing the peace process between Israel and Palestine forward.	10.4	9.2	12.5
Assisted in pushing the peace process between Israel and Palestine backward	19.3	22.0	14.5
Did not influence the peace process	65.0	62.9	68.6
Don't Know	4.8	5.7	3.4
No answer	0.5	0.2	1.0

Q22. Do you believe that appointing Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) as prime minister assisted pushing the current PA reform process forward? Backward? Or this appointment did not have an influence on the current reform process?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Assisted in pushing the PA reform process forward.	14.6	13.2	17.0
Assisted in pushing the PA reform process backward.	16.4	17.3	14.8
Did not have an influence on the current reform process.	62.7	62.7	62.7
I Don't Know	5.8	6.7	4.3
No answer	0.5	0.1	1.2

Q23. The Palestinian Authority has been working in recent months on implementing reform, some find the reform serious, others do not find it serious while others see that the political situation (re-occupation and checkpoints) obstruct the success of these reforms, what is your opinion?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
I find it serious	13.2	12.3	14.8
I do not find it serious	35.7	35.6	35.9
Political situation (re-occupation and siege) obstruct the success of these reforms	48.7	50.0	46.4
No answer	2.4	2.1	2.9

Q24. During the process of reform conducted by the Authority there are parts that were reformed and others did not succeed in being reformed, what is the reason? Is it the lack of seriousness by the Authority in reform; restrictions imposed by the occupation on the Authority (re-occupation and siege), is it financial difficulties? Or something else, please state?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Lack of seriousness of the Authority in reform	28.5	25.3	34.1
Restrictions imposed by the occupation on the Authority (re-occupation and siege)	58.7	62.3	52.5
Financial difficulties	8.8	8.6	9.3
Other	1.6	1.6	1.6
No answer	2.4	2.2	2.5

Q25. There is currently a debate in the Palestinian political circles regarding the feasibility and efficacy of maintaining the PA in light of Israeli military control over the majority of the Palestinian territories. Do you believe that the national interest of the Palestinian people stipulates maintaining this authority or ending it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
The national interest stipulates maintaining this authority	57.8	56.3	60.2
The national interest stipulates ending this authority	30.6	31.1	29.8
No answer	11.6	12.6	10.0

Q26. The government of Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) lasted four months. Who do you think is responsible for its quick downfall? Is it:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)	15.8	16.2	15.0
Israeli escalation	61.8	61.1	63.0
President Arafat	17.2	16.6	18.2
No answer	5.2	6.1	3.8

Q27. A decision was issued recently to form a Palestinian emergency government consisting of seven ministers. Do you think?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
This decision is justified	33.2	33.6	32.5
This decision has no justification	57.5	57.0	58.4
No answer	9.3	9.4	9.1

Q28. Three years after the violent struggle with Israel and after Israel re-occupied the majority of the West Bank and Gaza, do you feel there is a Palestinian Authority or do you feel it does not exist?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
I feel its presence	40.4	32.3	54.3
I don't feel its presence	54.1	60.6	43.0
No answer	5.5	7.1	2.7

Q29. Currently, there are discussions and contacts to renew the ceasefire. Do you believe that the Palestinian interest entails reaching such a ceasefire or not?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
Yes	51.8	53.8	48.2
No	43.3	40.6	48.0
No answer	4.9	5.6	3.8

Q30. Do you believe that it is useful or not to have a third party role in the Palestinian lands to contribute to solving the problem with Israel:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
It is useful to have a third party	49.2	46.6	53.6

It is not useful to have a third party	18.4	20.7	14.5
It won't make any difference	28.9	29.3	28.2
No answer	3.5	3.4	3.7

Q31. Do you believe it is appropriate to have the international presence for the sake of monitoring only or to have international presence with authorities and powers?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
International presence for monitoring only	27.7	25.2	32.0
International presence with authorities and powers	46.3	51.8	36.8
No answer	26.0	23.0	31.2

Q32. Do you believe that it is appropriate to have this presence limited in U.S. presence only? UN presence? Or joint American-European presence?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N= 1198	N=758	N=440
U.S. presence only	2.5	3.6	0.7
UN presence	39.3	37.1	43.2
Joint U.S.-European presence	31.0	35.2	23.6
No answer	27.2	24.1	32.5