



المركز الفلسطيني
للبحوث
السياسية والمسحية
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Public Opinion Poll # 3

PALESTINIANS SUPPORT THE CEASEFIRE, NEGOTIATIONS, AND RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE TWO PEOPLES BUT A MAJORITY OPPOSES ARRESTS AND BELIEVE THAT ARMED CONFRONTATIONS HAVE HELPED ACHIEVE NATIONAL RIGHTS

19-24 December 2001

These are the results of opinion poll # 3, conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy & Survey Research, between 19-24 December 2001. The poll deals with the ceasefire, immediate return to negotiations, support for Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation, and domestic affairs. The total sample size of this poll is 1357 from Palestinians 18 years and older, of which 851 in the West Bank and 506 in the Gaza Strip. The margin of error is $\pm 3\%$ and the non-response rate is 3%.

MAIN RESULTS:

(1) Ceasefire and Return to Negotiations

- A majority of 60% supports an immediate and comprehensive ceasefire as declared by president Arafat, and 71% support an immediate return to negotiations
- More than half (52%) agree with what Colin Powell stated in his November 19 speech about the obligations of Israelis and Palestinians, but a clear majority of 84% still sees the US position biased in favor of Israel
- More than three quarters (76%) oppose the arrests being carried out by the Palestinian security services
- Level of (hypothetical) support for different types of armed attacks remain high: 92% for attacks against soldiers, 92% for attacks against settlers, and 58% for attacks against civilians inside Israel
- A majority of 61% believes that armed confrontations have helped achieve Palestinian national rights in ways that negotiations could not

- Only 21% expect that armed confrontations will stop and negotiations will resume soon

The main conclusion of this poll with regard to the intifada and negotiations is the shift of about 10% of the population towards more support for a comprehensive and immediate ceasefire and more support for an immediate return to negotiations compared to the situation that prevailed last July in the aftermath of the release of the Mitchell Report. This development may have been caused by four factors: the Powell statement of November 19 providing some political horizon, the increase in international pressure on Arafat and the Islamists after the Haifa-Jerusalem suicide attacks, the decline in confidence in the intifada's ability to continue to serve the national interest, and the fear of internal infighting, some of which was taking place in Jabalia in the Gaza Strip during the period in which the poll was being conducted.

The survey shows that 60% of the street, compared to 50% last July, supports the comprehensive and immediate ceasefire declared by Yasir Arafat in December. Moreover, 71% (compared to 63% last July) support an immediate return to negotiations. There has been a drop in the percentage of those who believe that armed confrontations have helped achieve national objectives which negotiations failed to achieve from 70% last July to 61% in this poll. The fact that such a majority continues to view armed attacks so positively does not contradict with the public support for the ceasefire. It seems to reflect street thinking that the Palestinians have more than one option in the search for their vital needs: ceasefire and negotiations is one while armed confrontation is another.

This may explain the high level of support for armed attacks against soldiers and settlers (92% for each) and the relatively high level of support for attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel (58%). This support however remains hypothetical for now. But not for long, as most Palestinians do not expect the ceasefire to last. Only 21% expect to see continued ceasefire and return to negotiations. This may reflect the lack of trust in the intentions of the Sharon government. This may explain the high level of opposition (76%) to the arrests carried out by the Palestinian security services against Islamists and others.

The poll finds that a majority of 52% agree with the statement issued by the US Secretary of State, Colin Powell, in his November 19 speech regarding the obligations of the two sides, including the US support for a Palestinian state, end of occupation, freeze of settlement construction, implementation of the ceasefire, and putting an end to incitement against Israel. This does not mean that the street has changed its assessment of the overall American policy; 84% still view it as biased in favor of Israel.

Support for ceasefire increases among residents of the West Bank (62%) compared to residents of the Gaza Strip (56%); in cities (63%) compared to refugee camps (53%); among the old (67%) compared to the young (49%); the non-refugees (64%) compared to the refugees (54%); the illiterates (65%) compared to those who hold BA degree (58%); retired persons (75%) and

professionals (83%) compared to students (40%); and supporters of Fateh (79%) compared to supporters of Hamas (36%).

(2) Palestinian-Israeli Reconciliation

- Almost three quarters (73%) would support reconciliation between the two peoples after reaching a peace agreement leading to the establishment of a Palestinian state recognized by Israel
- An overwhelming majority of 85% would in that case support open borders between the two states
- 66 % would support joint Palestinian-Israeli economic institutions and ventures
- 29% would support joint political institutions leading to an Israeli-Palestinian confederation
- 36% would support taking legal measures against incitement in the state of Palestine
- But only 6% would support adopting school curriculum that recognizes Israel and teaches children not to demand return of all Palestine to Palestinians
- 37% would invite an Israeli colleague to visit at home and 35% would visit an Israeli colleague at his home
- 46% believe that reconciliation is possible, and 41% believe that it is not possible
- 28% believe that a lasting peace is possible, and 20% believe that a majority of Israelis believes that it is possible

Respondents were asked for the third time since July 2000 to express support or opposition, and to speculate about the chances, for reconciliation between the two peoples in the aftermath of a successful conclusion of negotiations that would lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state recognized by Israel. The results show a consistent and overwhelming support for reconciliation but a split in confidence regarding its feasibility. They also show that the Palestinian overwhelming support for reconciliation is based on cold calculations of interests and needs rather than friendship, forgiveness, or tolerance. Moreover, a majority of Palestinians does not believe that a lasting peace is possible between Israelis and Palestinians; a larger majority thinks that most Israelis think similarly.

In the context of an agreement leading to a two-state solution, a majority of 73% would support or strongly support the process of reconciliation, just as it was last July. But only 46% believe that reconciliation is possible, and 41% believe that it "is not possible ever." When asked to speculate about the views of the majority of Israelis regarding the prospects for reconciliation, 54% expressed the belief that they think that reconciliation "is not possible ever."

An overwhelming majority (85%) of the Palestinians support or strongly support open borders to free movement of people and goods in the context of a peace agreement. Similarly, a majority of 66% supports the creation of joint economic

institutions and ventures. However, even in the context of a peace agreement, a majority of Palestinians opposes, or strongly opposes, other forms of cooperation and reconciliation. For example, only 29% support the "creation of joint political institutions, such as a parliament, designed eventually to lead to a confederate system;" 36% support "taking legal measures against incitagainst Israel;" 6% suppadopting "school curriculum in the Palestinian state that would recognize Israel and teach school children not to demand return of all Palestine to the Palestinians;" 37% would invite an Israeli colleague to home for a visit; and 35% would accept an invitation to the home of an Israeli colleague. Moreover, only 28% believe that a lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians is possible.

Support for reconciliation increases among the old (81%) compared to the young (59%); the illiterates (85%) compared to those holding BA degree (69%); professionals (88%) compared to students (54%); and supporters of Fateh (80%) compared to supporters of Hamas (64%).

(3) Terrorism

- Only 36% support the position taken by Arafat toward the American campaign against terror; indeed 94% oppose the US campaign against Ben Laden and his group, with only 16% believing that Ben Laden is responsible for the attacks on the World Trade Center
- 37% believe that there are circumstances under which the use of terrorism to achieve political goals would be justified
- Only 33% support a UN international initiative to fight terrorism
- An overwhelming majority, ranging between 91%-98%, views all Israeli violent acts against Palestinians as acts of terror. Yet a majority, ranging between 52%-67%, believes that the international community does not view these events as acts of terrorism.
- An overwhelming majority, ranging between 81%-87%, does not view Palestinian violent acts against Israelis as acts of terrorism. Yet an overwhelming majority, ranging between 88%-92%, believes that the international community does view these acts as acts of terrorism.
- 41% view the attack on the Twin Towers in New York on 11 September as acts of terrorism; 46% view as terrorism the bombing of a Pan Am plan over Lockerbie, Scotland; and 63% view the distribution of Anthrax envelopes in the US as an act of terrorism.
- While 94% would view as an act of terrorism a future use by Israel of chemical and biological weapons against Palestinians, only 26% would view the same act as terrorism if carried out by Palestinians against Israelis
- 45% of the Palestinians are concerned about a possible Israeli use of chemical and biological weapons
- 43% believe that the 11 September Twin Towers attacks would delay a Palestinian-Israeli agreement while only 18% believe that it would speed up the process of reaching an agreement

The findings show that Arafat's position toward the US campaign against terror is supported by only 36%. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of Palestinians (94%)

is opposed to the American campaign against Ben Laden. The reason for this opposition seems to lie in the finding showing that only 16% believe that Ben Laden was behind the Twin Towers attack of 11 September.

An overwhelming majority, ranging between 91%-98%, views the following Israeli violent acts against Palestinians as acts of terror: the Goldstein massacre of 29 Palestinians in 1994, the assassination of the leader of the PFLP, Abu Ali Mustafa, by Israel, the killing of 13 Israeli Arabs by the Israeli police in the intifada, and the Israeli incursions into area "A" of the Palestinian Authority. Yet, surprisingly, a majority, ranging between 52%-67%, believes that the international community does not view these events as acts of terrorism. This may indicate a growing Palestinian suspicion of the motivation of the international community.

An overwhelming majority, ranging between 81%-87%, does NOT view the following Palestinian violent acts as acts of terrorism: the assassination of the Israeli Minister Ze'evi by armed PFLP men, the shooting at Gilo in Jerusalem by armed Palestinians, the killing of 21 Israeli youths at the Dolphinarium club in Tel Aviv by a Palestinian suicide bomber, and the killing of 3 Israelis in Nahari in Israel at the hands of an Israeli Arab suicide bomber. Yet, an overwhelming majority, ranging between 88%-92%, believes that the international community does view these events as terrorism

Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority (ranging between 81%-87%) does not view Palestinian attacks against Israeli civilians or politicians as terrorism, 37% does agree that there are circumstances under which use of terrorism to achieve political goals would be justified. It is noticeable that while the majority of Palestinians does not agree that Palestinian attacks on Israelis are terrorist acts, an even larger majority (91%-98%) does agree that Israeli attacks on Palestinians are acts of terror. For example, while 98% view the 1994 Baruch Goldstein massacre against Palestinians as terrorism, 82% does not agree that the killing of 21 Israeli youths by a Palestinians in a Tel Aviv night club was an act of terror.

But the Palestinian position is split on events not linked to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The findings show that 41% does view the attack on the Twin Towers on 11 September as an act of terrorism. Similarly, 46% agree that the bombing of the Pan Am jet over Lockerbie in Scotland was an act of terror. A majority of 62% agrees that the distribution of Anthrax envelopes in the US is an act of terror.

It is obvious that the Palestinian perception of terror focuses on the aims of the perpetrators rather than their methods. In this case, any violent act aimed at ending Israeli occupation, regardless of the means, is not likely to be viewed as terror, while all violent acts of the Israeli occupier are seen as acts of terror. For example, while 94% would view an Israeli use of chemical and biological weapons against Palestinians as an act of terror, only 26% would view the same exact attack as an act of terror if it was carried out by Palestinians against Israelis. The findings indicate that 45% of the Palestinians are indeed concerned about a possible Israeli use of such weapons.

Finally, the poll finds that more people (43%) tend to believe that the September 11 attacks will delay a peace agreement between Palestinians and Israelis than those (18%) who believe that the attacks will speed up the peace process.

Support for Arafat position toward the American campaign against terror increases among holders of BA degree (41%) compared to the illiterates (33%), professionals (50%) compared to students (32%); those who do not observe any religious rules and traditions (67%) compared to those who do observe all religious rules and traditions (30%); those with the highest income level (44%) compared to those with the lowest income level (34%); and supporters of Fateh (52%) compared to supporters of Hamas (20%).

(4) Arafat's Popularity, Political Affiliation, Corruption and Democracy

- Arafat's popularity reaches 36% compared to 33% last July and 46% in July 2000
- The most popular Palestinians after Arafat are: Ahmad Yasin (14%), followed by Marwan Barghouti (11%), Haidar Abdul Shafi (11%), Sa'eb Erikat (9%), and Hanan Ashrawi (9%)
- Support for Fateh reaches 28% compared to 29% last July and 37% in July 2000
- Support for the Islamists reaches 25% compared to 27% last July and 17% in July 2000
- 74% believe that corruption exists in PA institutions, and 60% believe that it will increase or remain the same in the future
- Positive evaluation of Palestinian democracy stands at 23% and 49% believe that people can not criticize the PA without fear
- Only 17% would support a political system "as in Iran" for the future Palestinian state. 42% said they would prefer a system "as in other Arab countries, like in Egypt, Jordan, and Syria; and 19% said they would prefer a system "as in the US, Europe and Israel."

Arafat's popularity increased from 33% in our last poll in July 2001 to 36% in this poll. Arafat did not lose support over the ceasefire decision and the subsequent arrest of Islamists and other militants. Arafat may have gained some sympathy during the past few weeks in response to Sharon decision to prevent him from visiting Bethlehem during Christmas. The public may be responding negatively to Sharon's attempts to delegitimize the Palestinian president. It is also possible that the trend of continued decline in Arafat's popularity may have finally ended. His popularity on July 2000 stat 46% compato 71% in January 1996.

Support for Fateh remained essentially unchanged at 28%, while the popularity of the Islamist groups dropped slightly from 27% last July to 25% in this poll. This indicates that the continued decline in support for Fateh may have also stopped. Fateh's popularity stood at 55% in January 1996. The rise in support for the Islamists may have also stopped. In July 2001, the popularity of Hamas, Islamic Jihad and other Islamists reached 27% compared to 17% in July 2000. In this poll, the Islamists received the support of 25% of the Palestinians. Some Palestinians may be blaming the Islamists for the loss of international support in the aftermath

of the suicide attacks in Haifa and Jerusalem three weeks before the poll was taken. Others may be blaming the Islamists for the bloodshed in Jabalia in the Gaza Strip which resulted from internal infighting during the period of the in which the poll was conducted.

The findings indicate that well-known Palestinian figures, like Mahmud Abbas (Abu Mazin) and Ahmad Quari (Abu Ala'), may have lost much of their popularity dropping to less than 2% for each. But the rising figure seems to be Fateh leader Marwan Barghouti, who received the support of 11%. His name did not show up at all before the start of the intifada in September 2000. Hamas leader Ahmad Yasin received the support of 14%, Haidar Abdul Shafi 11%, Saeb Erikat 9%, compared to 7% last July, and Hanan Ashrawi 9%, compared to 1% last July. The increase in Ashrawi's popularity may have been the result of her appointment as the spokesperson of the Arab League and the resulting media exposure. It should be noticed that while in the last survey respondents were not given a list of name to chose from, this time a list was presented. The list was compiled based on the responses to the same questions last July.

The results indicate a persistent negative public perception of governance in Palestine despite a drop in the perception of PA corruption from 83% in the last poll to 74% in this one. An increase occurred in the percentage of those who believe that corruption will increase or remain the same in the future, from 57% to 60% during the same period. Positive evaluation of Palestinian democracy remains low, at 23%, while the percentage of those who believe that people cannot criticize the PA without fear decreased from 51% in July 2001 to 49% in this poll.

Finally, after making a slight change in the question related to preferences for a future Palestinian political system, the results changed dramatically. In our last survey we asked respondents to tell us which political system they would prefer for Palestine after the establishment of the state. At that time, one of the answers, "an Islamic system as in Iran," received the support of 46%. In this poll, the same answer, after dropping the adjective "an Islamic system" to read "as in Iran" received only 17%.

Results of Public Opinion Poll # (3) 19-24 December 2001

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
01. Secretary Powell says that now the US wants the end of Israeli occupation, establishment of an independent Palestinian state, and the cessation of all settlement activities and from the Palestinians a cease-fire and the end of incitements against Israel. Do you find yourself strongly agreeing, agreeing, disagreeing or strongly disagreeing?			
1. Strongly agree	9.1	7.3	12.3
2. Agree	43.0	45.2	39.3
3. Disagree	28.4	29.4	26.7
4. Strongly disagree	16.6	14.2	20.6
5. Do not know/ no answer	2.9	3.9	1.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
02. Given Secretary Powell statements above, how do you now evaluate this American position?			
1. I see a new and more balanced position	9.0	8.5	9.9
2. The US position is the still the same biased one in favor of Israel	83.6	82.5	85.5
3. The US position is shifting toward more support for the Palestinians	4.0	4.7	2.8
4. Do not know/ no answer	3.4	4.4	1.8
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
02A. In his Eid speech, President Arafat announced an immediate and comprehensive ceasefire. Do you support or oppose this ceasefire?			
1. Support	59.9	62.2	56.0
2. Oppose	36.4	34.0	40.4
3. Do not know/ no answer	3.8	3.9	3.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

03. Now that President Arafat has announced an immediate and comprehensive ceasefire and that the special envoy of Secretary of State Colin Powell, Zinni, will be returning to the area to implement the Mitchell Report, which calls for a cease-fire and a freeze on settlement construction, what in your opinion will happen now?

1. Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	20.5	22.3	17.4
2. Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	37.5	38.3	36.3
3. Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	34.4	31.6	39.2
4. Don't know	7.6	7.9	7.1
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

04. Now that both the Israeli and Palestinian sides have accepted the Colin Powell's statement regarding the implementation of the Mitchell Report and the cease fire, do you strongly support, support, oppose, or strongly oppose the immediate return to Palestinian-Israeli negotiations?

1. Strongly support	14.5	10.8	20.8
2. Support	56.6	59.8	51.2
3. Oppose	20.0	21.8	17.0
4. Strongly oppose	6.8	5.3	9.3
5. No Opinion/ Don't know	2.1	2.4	1.8
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

05. Palestinian security services say they are arresting those who violate the ceasefire agreement. Do you support or oppose such arrests?

1. Strongly support	2.4	2.2	2.6
2. Support	17.3	18.8	14.8
3. Oppose	50.7	55.4	42.9
4. Strongly oppose	25.7	18.7	37.5
5. No Opinion /Don't know	3.8	4.8	2.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

06. Do you believe that the armed confrontations so far have achieved Palestinian

rights in a way that negotiations could not?

1. Definitely yes	16.1	12.2	22.5
2. Yes	44.4	47.5	39.1
3. No	30.9	33.0	27.3
4. Definitely no	5.3	3.3	8.7
5. No Opinion/ Don't know	3.4	4.0	2.4

Total West Bank Gaza Strip

07. 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	10.8	7.1	17.0
2. Support	62.2	65.8	56.3
3. Oppose	18.2	19.6	15.8
4. Strongly oppose	6.6	4.7	9.7
5. No opinion/do not know	2.2	2.8	1.2

Total West Bank Gaza Strip

08. 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	41.1	40.8	41.7
2. Only in many generations to come	16.6	16.8	16.2
3. Only in the next generation	8.6	8.6	8.7
4. Only in the next decade	6.1	6.0	6.1
5. On the next few years	14.2	14.0	14.6
6. No Opinion /Don't know	13.4	13.8	12.6

Total West Bank Gaza Strip

09. And what about the majority of Israelis? How soon do they in your opinion believe that a full reconciliation between the two peoples can be achieved?

1. Reconciliation is not possible ever	53.6	53.3	54.2
2. Only in many generations to come	9.9	10.7	8.5
3. Only in the next generation	6.0	5.4	7.1
4. Only in the next decade	3.6	3.4	4.0
5. On the next few years	10.5	10.7	10.1
6. No Opinion /Don't know	16.4	16.5	16.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

10. After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian side and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, the following are steps may be taken in order to enhance relations between the State of Israel and a Palestinian State. For each of the suggested steps please tell me whether you support or oppose it:

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
10-1 Open borders to free movement of people and goods			
1. Strongly Support	29.1	26.2	33.8
2. Support	55.6	59.8	48.6
3. Oppose	11.7	11.5	11.9
4. Strongly Oppose	2.8	1.3	5.3
5. Don't Know	0.9	1.2	0.4
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

10-2 Create joint economic institutions and ventures

1. Strongly Support	17.6	14.9	22.1
2. Support	47.9	49.4	45.3
3. Oppose	26.3	28.9	21.7
4. Strongly Oppose	6.0	4.1	9.3
5. Don't Know	2.2	2.6	1.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

10-3 Create joint political institutions (such as a parliament. designed eventually to

lead to a confederate system

1. Strongly Support	5.2	5.3	4.9
2. Support	23.7	26.5	19.2
3. Oppose	47.1	50.4	41.7
4. Strongly Oppose	18.3	11.5	29.6
5. Don't Know	5.7	6.4	4.5
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

10-4 Take legal measures against incitement against Israel

1. Strongly Support	4.9	4.1	6.3
2. Support	31.5	33.2	28.7
3. Oppose	43.4	47.4	36.8
4. Strongly Oppose	15.0	10.0	23.5
5. Don't Know	5.1	5.3	4.7
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

10-5 Adopt school curriculum in the Palestinian state that recognizes Israel and teaches school children not to demand return of all Palestine to the Palestinians

1. Strongly Support	1.6	1.8	1.4
2. Support	4.8	5.5	3.6
3. Oppose	51.0	57.4	40.3
4. Strongly Oppose	39.7	31.5	53.6
5. Don't Know	2.8	3.8	1.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

11. After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian side and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, would you, under these conditions of peace, invite an Israeli colleague to visit you in your home?

1. Definitely yes	6.1	4.8	8.3
2. Yes	30.5	32.6	27.1
3. No	38.3	42.8	30.6
4. Definitely no	24.0	18.5	33.4

5. Don't Know	1.0	1.3	0.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

12. After reaching a peace agreement between the Palestinian side and Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state that is recognized by Israel, would you, under these conditions of peace, visit an Israeli colleague in his home?

1. Definitely yes	5.9	4.6	8.1
2. Yes	29.5	30.7	27.5
3. No	37.5	42.5	29.2
4. Definitely no	25.8	20.6	34.6
5. Don't Know	1.3	1.6	0.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

13. In your opinion, is lasting peace possible between Israelis and Palestinians?

1. Definitely Possible	2.1	1.4	3.2
2. Possible	25.5	25.8	24.9
3. Impossible	41.0	45.8	32.8
4. Definitely impossible	27.8	23.2	35.6
5. No opinion/ do not know	3.7	3.8	3.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

14. And what about the majority of the Israelis, do they, in your opinion, believe that lasting peace is possible between Israelis and Palestinians?

1. Definitely they do	1.3	0.7	2.2
2. They do	18.7	18.2	19.4
3. They do not	42.5	46.6	35.6
4. Definitely they do not	29.7	25.6	36.6
5. No opinion/do not know	7.9	8.8	6.3
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

15. Do you believe that the Ben Laden group is the one that hijacked the American planes and destroyed the Twin Towers in New York on 11 September?

1. Definitely yes	3.2	1.9	5.3
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2. Yes	12.9	14.2	10.7
3. No	41.2	46.6	32.2
4. Definitely no	18.9	13.1	28.7
5. No opinion/do not know	23.8	24.2	23.1
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

16. In your opinion, are there any circumstances under which you would justify the use of terrorism to achieve political goals?

1. Definitely yes	6.6	4.9	9.5
2. Yes	30.4	32.1	27.5
3. No	43.4	46.5	38.2
4. Definitely no	9.6	5.5	16.4
5. No opinion/do not know	10.0	10.9	8.3
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

17. Do you believe that armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel so far have achieved Palestinian rights in a way that negotiations could not?

1. Definitely yes	17.5	12.6	25.7
2. Yes	44.9	48.8	38.3
3. No	29.4	31.4	26.1
4. Definitely no	4.9	3.3	7.7
5. No Opinion/ Don't know	3.3	4.0	2.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

18. Concerning armed attacks against Israeli targets, I....

1. Strongly support	30.8	22.7	44.3
2. Support	51.0	57.4	40.3
3. Oppose	14.3	15.8	11.9
4. Strongly oppose	1.4	0.9	2.2
5. No Opinion /Don't Know	2.5	3.2	1.4
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

19. To what extent do you support or oppose the position taken by President Arafat and the PA regarding the US campaign against Terror

1. Strongly support	4.6	2.6	8.1
2. Support	31.4	33.4	28.1
3. Oppose	35.5	36.1	34.5
4. Strongly oppose	14.9	11.3	21.0
5. Do Not Know PA position	10.8	13.3	6.5
6. No opinion/ Don't Know	2.7	3.3	1.8
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

20. Do you support or oppose the US. campaign against the Ben Laden Organization and the Taliban in Afghanistan?

1. Strongly support	0.7	0.2	1.4
2. Support	3.0	3.4	2.4
3. Oppose	53.7	60.5	42.2
4. Strongly oppose	40.7	33.2	53.3
6. No opinion/ Don't Know	2.0	2.7	0.8
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

21. Would you support or oppose a UN international initiative to fight terrorism ?

1. Strongly support	2.4	0.9	5.0
2. Support	30.3	32.0	27.3
3. Oppose	48.7	50.6	45.3
4. Strongly oppose	12.9	9.1	19.2
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	5.8	7.3	3.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

22. The war against terrorism has recently become a salient issue. I will read you now a list of events. To what extent do you agree or disagree to define these events as terrorist events?

22-1 The killing of 29 Palestinians in Hebron by Baruch Goldstein at al Ibrahimi Mosque in 1994

1. Strongly Agree	86.7	82.8	93.3
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2. Agree	11.4	14.7	6.0
3. Disagree	0.9	1.3	0.2
4. Strongly Disagree	0.9	1.1	0.6
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	0.1	0.1	0.0
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

22-2 The distribution of Antrax envelopes in the US.

1. Strongly Agree	29.4	27.6	32.5
2. Agree	33.8	37.8	27.0
3. Disagree	23.8	23.9	23.8
4. Strongly Disagree	7.2	5.1	10.7
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	5.8	5.6	6.0
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

22-3 The assassination of Minister Rechavam Zeevi by Palestinians

1. Strongly Agree	4.2	4.1	4.4
2. Agree	6.3	8.0	3.4
3. Disagree	48.7	53.6	40.4
4. Strongly Disagree	38.6	31.4	50.7
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	2.2	2.8	1.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

22-4 The destruction of the Twin Towers in New York City by people suspected to be members of a Bin Laden's organization

1. Strongly Agree	15.3	15.4	15.1
2. Agree	26.1	29.2	20.9
3. Disagree	37.6	40.6	32.6
4. Strongly Disagree	15.5	8.9	26.6
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	5.5	5.9	4.8
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

22-5 The killing of 21 Israeli youths by a Palestinian who exploded himself at the

Dolphinarium night club in Tel Aviv

1. Strongly Agree	6.1	6.6	5.4
2. Agree	9.1	11.0	5.8
3. Disagree	47.1	53.3	36.6
4. Strongly Disagree	35.2	25.9	50.9
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	2.5	3.2	1.4
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

22-6 The explosion of a Pan-Am jet over Lockerbie in Scotland by suspected Libyan agents and the killing of 270 people

1. Strongly Agree	14.2	13.9	14.7
2. Agree	31.6	33.6	28.2
3. Disagree	30.6	31.9	28.4
4. Strongly Disagree	10.1	4.1	20.3
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	13.5	16.5	8.3
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

22-7 The assassination of Abu Ali Mustafa, head of the PFLP by Israel

1. Strongly Agree	75.8	72.6	81.3
2. Agree	16.9	20.6	10.5
3. Disagree	3.5	3.4	3.6
4. Strongly Disagree	2.9	2.4	3.8
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	1.0	1.1	0.8
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

22-8 Shooting at Gilo by armed Palestinians

1. Strongly Agree	5.7	4.1	8.4
2. Agree	7.5	10.0	3.4
3. Disagree	49.6	56.8	37.5
4. Strongly Disagree	35.0	26.5	49.4
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	2.1	2.6	1.4

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
22-9 the killing of 13 Israel Arab demonstrators by the Israeli police during the early days of al Aqsa intifada			
1. Strongly Agree	66.0	62.3	72.1
2. Agree	24.5	27.9	18.7
3. Disagree	5.8	6.0	5.4
4. Strongly Disagree	2.6	2.2	3.2
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	1.2	1.5	0.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
22-10 Invasion of Israeli military forces to designated A territories and the shooting of Palestinian civilians			
1. Strongly Agree	72.8	69.5	78.3
2. Agree	21.7	24.6	16.9
3. Disagree	2.4	2.8	1.8
4. Strongly Disagree	1.9	1.6	2.4
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	1.1	1.4	0.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
22-11 the killing of 3 Israeli civilians in Naharia railway station by an Israeli Arab who exploded himself			
1. Strongly Agree	5.9	5.8	6.2
2. Agree	9.9	11.6	7.2
3. Disagree	50.9	55.8	42.5
4. Strongly Disagree	29.8	22.4	42.1
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	3.6	4.5	2.0
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

23. And disregarding your personal opinion, which of the following event is considered to be an act of terrorism by the international community.

23-1 The killing of 29 Palestinians in Hebron by Baruch Goldstein

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
1. Yes	42.3	39.7	46.8

2. No	52.3	53.7	50.0
3. Do Not Know	5.4	6.7	3.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

23-2 The distribution of Antrax envelopes in the US.

1. Yes	94.3	93.7	95.2
2. No	2.9	2.7	3.2
3. Do Not Know	2.8	3.6	1.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

23-3 The assassination of Minister Rechavam Zeevi by Palestinians

1. Yes	89.7	89.2	90.6
2. No	7.0	6.9	7.2
3. Do Not Know	3.3	3.9	2.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

23-4 The destruction of the Twin Towers in New York City by people suspected to be members of a Bin Laden's organization

1. Yes	95.2	94.8	95.8
2. No	2.8	2.7	2.8
3. Do Not Know	2.1	2.5	1.4
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

23-5 The killing of 21 Israeli youths by a Palestinian who exploded himself at the Dolphinarium night club in Tel Aviv

1. Yes	92.1	91.6	93.0
2. No	5.1	5.0	5.2
3. Do Not Know	2.8	3.4	1.8
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

23-6 The explosion of a Pan-Am jet over Lockerbie in Scotland by suspected Libyan agents and the killing of 270 people

1. Yes	88.7	85.6	93.8
2. No	4.0	5.3	1.8

3. Do Not Know	7.3	9.0	4.4
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

23-7 The assassination of Abu Ali Mustafa, head of the PFLP by Israel

1. Yes	28.1	27.0	29.7
2. No	67.3	66.7	68.3
3. Do Not Know	4.7	6.3	2.0
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

23-8 Shooting at Gilo by armed Palestinians

1. Yes	87.9	85.6	91.6
2. No	8.0	8.9	6.6
3. Do Not Know	4.1	5.5	1.8
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

23-9 The killing of 13 Israel Arab demonstrators by the Israeli police during the early days of al Aqsa intifada.

1. Yes	30.9	28.4	35.1
2. No	62.8	63.3	61.8
3. Do Not Know	6.4	8.3	3.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

23-10 Invasion of Israeli military forces to designated A territories and the shooting of Palestinian civilians

1. Yes	29.8	28.6	31.9
2. No	65.9	65.9	65.9
3. Do Not Know	4.2	5.5	2.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

23-11 The killing of 3 Israeli civilians in Naharia railway station by an Israeli Arab who exploded himself.

1. Yes	89.0	88.0	90.6
2. No	7.2	7.6	6.6
3. Do Not Know	3.8	4.4	2.8

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
24. In the long run, what will be the effect of the September 11 Twin Towers destruction in New York, on the Israeli Palestinian conflict?			
1. The event will speed up a peace agreement	17.8	18.3	16.9
2. The event will delay a peace agreement	43.1	43.6	42.3
3. There will be no effect	32.6	30.1	36.7
5. No Opinion /Don't Know	6.6	8.0	4.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
25. If Palestinians would use chemical or biological weapons against Israel, would you consider it to be an act of terror?			
1. Definitely yes	6.1	4.5	8.9
2. Yes	19.5	21.4	16.3
3. No	48.5	53.7	39.9
4. Definitely no	20.9	14.2	32.1
5. No Opinion /Don't Know	5.0	6.3	2.8
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
26. And if Israel would use chemical or biological weapons against Palestinians, would you consider it to be an act of terror?			
1. Definitely yes	55.2	47.0	68.8
2. Yes	38.4	46.2	25.4
3. No	3.9	4.1	3.6
4. Definitely no	1.3	1.2	1.6
5. No Opinion /Don't Know	1.1	1.	0.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
27. To what extent are you worried or not worried that you or your family will be hurt by chemical or biological weapons used by Israelis?			
1. Very worried	14.7	11.0	20.9
2. Worried	30.2	31.6	27.8

3. Not worried	31.6	37.0	22.7
4. Not at all worried	23.5	20.4	28.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

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

1. Strongly support	48.2	40.5	61.1
2. Support	44.1	51.8	31.3
3. Oppose	5.8	5.8	5.8
4. Strongly oppose	0.7	0.6	1.0
5. No Opinion /Don't Know	1.1	1.3	0.8

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
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29. Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians inside Israel, I....

1. Strongly support	20.6	16.3	27.8
2. Support	37.6	40.4	32.7
3. Oppose	37.2	38.7	34.7
4. Strongly oppose	2.6	2.0	3.6
5. No Opinion /Don't Know	2.1	2.6	1.2

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
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30. Concerning armed attacks against Israeli civilians settlers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, I....

1. Strongly support	50.8	42.7	64.5
2. Support	41.3	49.3	27.8
3. Oppose	6.2	6.1	6.3
4. Strongly oppose	0.4	0.4	0.6
5. No Opinion /Don't Know	1.3	1.5	0.8

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
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Now here are few questions about political affairs. Many people don't know the answers to these questions, so if there are some you don't know just tell me and we'll go on

31. How many airplanes were hijacked and crushed on US targets by people suspected to be from Bin Laden's organization on Sept. 11.

1. Two planes	13.6	15.5	10.3
2. Three planes	27.5	25.5	30.8
3. Four planes	33.7	31.7	37.2
4. Five planes	7.6	7.8	7.2
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	17.6	19.5	14.5
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

32. What is the name of the Taliban leader in Afghanistan?

1. Mulla Mohammad Omar	76.3	76.2	76.3
2. Salman Rushdi	0.7	0.8	0.4
3. Ahmed Sha Masud	1.1	1.1	1.2
4. Koffi Anan	0.9	0.5	1.6
5. Do not know	21.1	21.4	20.5
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

33. What percent of the West Bank is currently under full control of the Palestinian authority?

1. less than 20%	40.0	39.6	40.6
2. Between 20% and 30%	18.9	20.4	16.5
3. Between 40% and 50%	6.8	6.9	6.6
4. Between 60% and 70%	3.0	1.9	4.8
5. Do not know	31.4	31.2	31.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

34. Which of the following states borders with Afghanistan?

1. India	17.9	18.0	17.7
2. Tajikistan	50.0	47.7	53.8

3. Turkey	2.9	3.1	2.6
4. Yemen	3.0	3.0	3.2
5. Do not know	25.6	27.8	21.9

Total West Bank Gaza Strip

35. How many times a week do you happen to carry out the following activities?

35-1 Watch news on Palestinian or your local TV stations:

1. Almost every day	50.1	53.2	45.0
2. 3-4 times a week	10.7	11.3	9.5
3. 1-2 times a week	14.4	12.2	18.3
4. never	24.2	22.6	27.0
5. No opinion/ do not know	0.5	0.7	0.2

Total West Bank Gaza Strip

35-2 Watch news on Al-Jazeera satellite channel:

1. Almost every day	65.4	62.8	69.8
2. 3-4 times a week	6.9	7.6	5.8
3. 1-2 times a week	8.0	9.6	5.4
4. never	19.4	19.7	18.8
5. No opinion/ do not know	0.3	0.4	0.2

Total West Bank Gaza Strip

35-3 Watch news on Israeli TV:

1. Almost every day	21.2	23.8	16.9
2. 3-4 times a week	7.3	8.2	5.8
3. 1-2 times a week	20.3	19.7	21.2
4. never	50.1	47.0	55.4
5. No opinion/ do not know	1.1	1.3	0.8

Total West Bank Gaza Strip

35-4 Read news pages in al-Quds news paper:

1. Almost every day	10.3	13.0	5.8
2. 3-4 times a week	6.9	8.1	5.0
3. 1-2 times a week	23.7	25.4	21.0
4. never	58.3	52.6	67.7
5. No opinion/ do not know	0.8	1.0	0.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

35-5 Read news pages in al-Ayyam or al-Hayat al-Jadida newspaper:

1. Almost every day	6.7	6.9	6.3
2. 3-4 times a week	5.1	5.5	4.6
3. 1-2 times a week	17.6	15.9	20.6
4. Never	69.5	70.6	67.9
5. No opinion/ do not know	1.0	1.2	0.6
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

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

1. Yes	73.7	70.1	79.8
2. No	15.0	16.3	12.9
5. No opinion/ Don't Know	11.3	13.6	7.3
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

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

1. Increase	48.7	47.9	49.8
2. Remain as it is	11.3	11.5	11.0
3. Decrease	30.1	29.3	31.4
4. Don't Know/ No Opinion	9.9	11.3	7.8
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

38. If you want to evaluate the status of democracy and human rights under the Palestinian Authority, you would say it is:

1. Very Good	3.2	2.8	3.8
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2. Good	19.6	21.4	16.5
3. Fair	34.3	33.4	35.9
4. Bad	21.7	22.9	19.8
5. Very Bad	15.9	13.2	20.6
6. Don't Know/ No Opinion	5.2	6.3	3.4
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

39. In your opinion, can people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip criticize the Palestinian Authority without fear?

1. Yes	46.8	43.7	52.2
2. No	49.2	51.7	45.0
3. Do not know	3.9	4.6	2.8
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

40. Which of the following forms of government do you want to have for the Palestinian state after the state is established?

1. A system as in Arab countries like Egypt, Syria, or Jordan	41.6	36.8	49.7
2. A system as in the US, Europe or Israel	18.9	21.6	14.3
3. A system as in Iran	17.2	16.3	18.7
4. Other, (specify, one as in ----- .	10.8	12.7	7.8
5. Democratic System	3.6	4.6	1.4
6. Islamic System	7.9	7.8	8.2
	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip

41. If separate elections for the president of the Palestinian Authority were held today, whom would you choose?

1. Haidar Abdul Shafi	9.0	8.5	9.7
2. Yasser Arafat	35.6	36.0	35.0
3. Ahmad Yasin	14.3	12.5	17.3
4. No one	1.8	2.4	0.8
5. Others	25.1	26.0	23.5

6. I will not participate	12.5	12.9	11.7
7. No Opinion / Don't Know	1.8	1.7	2.0

Total West Bank Gaza Strip

42. Which of the following political parties do you support?

1. PPP	0.6	0.6	0.6
2. PFLP	3.3	3.6	2.8
3. Fateh	28.4	28.5	28.2
4. Hamas	16.0	13.8	19.6
5. DFLP	1.1	1.4	0.6
6. Islamic Jihad	5.4	5.9	4.6
7. Fida	0.2	0.4	0.0
8. Independent Islamists	3.9	4.2	3.4
9. Independent Nationalists	5.5	6.3	4.2
10. None of the above	31.6	29.9	34.5
11. Others	4.1	5.6	1.6

Total West Bank Gaza Strip

43. If separate elections for a Vice President of the Palestinian Authority were held today, whom would you choose?

1. Saeb Erikat	9.4	9.7	8.9
2. Hanan Ashrawi	8.7	9.2	7.8
3. Haidar Abdul Shafi	11.1	9.6	13.5
4. Ahmad Yassin	8.9	7.9	10.5
5. Farouq Kaddomi	5.1	6.2	3.4
6. Marwan Bargouthi	11.3	9.9	13.5
7. Ahmad Qurai'	1.6	1.8	1.2
8. Mahmoud Abbas	1.8	2.2	1.0
7. No one, will decide later	27.9	27.1	29.2
8. I will not participate	10.4	11.1	9.1

6. Others	1.5	2.0	0.6
7. No Opinion / Don't Know	2.4	3.2	1.2